# AKTIONSART AND ASPECT IN QIANG

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#### **Abstract**

The Qiang language reflects a basic Aktionsart dichotomy in the classification of stative and active verbs, the form of verbs directly reflects the elements of the lexical decomposition. Generally, State or activity is the basic form of the verb, which becomes an achievement or accomplishment when it takes a directional prefix, and becomes a causative achievement or causative accomplishment when it takes the causative suffix. It shows that grammatical aspect and Aktionsart seem to play much of a systematic role. Semantically, on the one hand, there is a clear-cut boundary between states and activities, but morphologically, however, there is no distinction between them. Both of them take the same marking to encode lexical aspect (Aktionsart), and grammatical aspect does not entirely correspond with lexical aspect.

# 1.0. Introduction

The Ronghong variety of Qiang is spoken in Yadu Township (雅都鄉), Mao County (茂縣), Aba Tibetan and Qiang Autonomous Prefecture (阿壩藏族羌族自治州), Sichuan Province (四川省), China. It has more than 3,000 speakers. The Ronghong variety of Qiang belongs to the Yadu subdialect (雅都土語) of the Northern dialect of Qiang (羌語北部方言). It is mutually intelligible with other subdialects within the Northern dialect, but mutually unintelligible with other subdialects within the Southern dialect.

In this paper we use *Aktionsart* and lexical decomposition, as developed by Van Valin and LaPolla (1997, Ch. 3 and Ch. 4), to discuss lexical aspect, grammatical aspect and the relationship between them in Qiang. Van Valin and LaPolla (1997) argue that verbs represent different 'states of affairs', which can be classified as events, actions, processes, and situations. All of these states of affairs can occur spontaneously or be induced or brought about in some way. To describe the lexical meaning of verbs, they use the system of lexical decomposition proposed by Vendler (1957 [1967]) based on *Aktionsart* distinctions. Four semantic types are assumed to exist in the world's languages: *States* (which often express situations), *Activities* (which often express actions), *Accomplishments* (which often express processes), and *Achievements* (which often express events):

- a. States: be sick, be tall, be dead, love, know, believe, have
- b. Achievements: pop, explode, collapse, shatter (all intransitive)
- c. Accomplishments: melt, freeze, dry (the intransitive versions); recover from illness, learn
- d. Activities: march, walk, roll (the intransitive versions); swim, think, rain, read, eat

These four classes can be distinguished in terms of three characteristics [ $\pm$  static], [ $\pm$  punctual], and [ $\pm$  telic]. The static feature refers to whether or not the verb codes a happening, whereas the telic feature distinguishes verbs with an intrinsic temporal boundary (achievements and accomplishments) from verbs without one (states and activities). The punctual feature determines if a telic event has internal duration (accomplishments) or is instantaneous (achievements). Since state and activity verbs are atelic, they must cover a span of time and be [-punctual]. The following list summarizes the *Aktionsart* verb feature matrix (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:92-93):

a.	State:	[-dynamic],	[-telic],	[-punctual]
b.	Activity:	[+dynamic],	[-telic],	[-punctual]
c.	Accomplishment:	[+dynamic],	[+telic],	[-punctual]
d.	Achievement:	[+dynamic],	[+telic],	[+punctual]

Apart from the four central verb classes, each of these four classes also has a causative form in English (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 97):

a. State: The boy is afraid.

a'. Causative state: The dog frightens/scares the boy.

b. Achievement: The balloon popped.

b'. Causative achievement: The cat popped the balloon.

c. Accomplishment: The ice melted.

c'. Causative accomplishment: The hot water melted the ice.

d. Activity: The ball bounced around the room.

d'. Causative activity: The girl bounced the ball around the room.

e. Active accomplishment: The soldiers marched to the field.

e'. Causative active accomplishment: The sergeant marched the soldiers to the field.

Apart from four types of verb class and their causative counterparts mentioned above, In Van Valin's new manuscript (2004), he introduces semelfactive as one type of Aktionsart:

f. Semelfactive: The cane tapped on the tabletop.

f'. Causative semelfactive The man tapped the cane on the tabletop.

# 2.0. Aktionsart in Qiang

We now utilize these concepts to classify verbs in Qiang. Qiang marks these classes overtly with some type of morphological marker. Verbs may be classified into four semantic types in terms of their internal temporal properties in the Ronghong variety. In this language, generally, the form of verbs directly reflects the elements of the lexical decomposition. *State* or *activity* is the basic form of the verb, and achievements and accomplishments are derived from these. *State* or *activity* becomes an achievement or accomplishment when it takes a directional prefix, and becomes a causative achievement or accomplishment when it takes the causative suffix.

#### 2.1 States

States are static and temporally unbounded, such as state predicate verbs (adjectives), existential verbs, perception verbs, cognition verbs, desire verbs, and emotion verbs (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:115). Following are some examples of state verbs which can become accomplishments by adding the directional prefixes, or causative accomplishments by adding direction prefixes, the causative-forming suffix:

zbotcu 'think' State

*ho-wuteu* 'have thought' Accomplishment

DIR\*-think

ho-wutcu-z 'cause to have thought' Causative Accomplishment

**DIR-think-CUAS** 

dzuku le 'know' State

source exist

dzuku de-/ 'have known' Accomplishment

source DIR-exist

dzuku de-l-zə 'cause to have known' Causative Accomplishment

source DIR-exist-CAUS

stse 'believe' State

tə-ctce 'have believed' Accomplishment

DIR-believe

te-gtge-z 'cause to have believed' Causative Accomplishment

DIR-believe-CAUS

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<sup>\*</sup> Abbreviations used in the examples: ADV adverbial marking, CAUS causative suffix; CSM change of state marking, CONT continuative aspect prefix; DEF definite marking, DIR directional prefix; EXP experiential particle, HABIT habitual aspect marking, HRS hearsay evidential marking; LOC locative marking, PROS prospective aspect marking; QUES question marking, REDUP reduplication, REP repetitive aspect marking.

topu 'love' State

*ho-topu* 'have loved' Accomplishment

DIR-love

*ho-topu-z* 'cause to have loved' Causative Accomplishment

**DIR-love-CAUS** 

qu 'fear' State

do-qu 'have feared' Accomplishment

DIR-fear

do-qu-z 'cause to have feared' Causative Accomplishment

DIR-fear-CAUS

skueteu 'hard' State

tu-skugtgu 'become hard' Accomplishment

DIR-hard

tu-skugtgu-z 'cause to become hard' Causative Accomplishment

DIR-hard-CAUS

From the examples above we can see that state verbs change into accomplishment verbs when a directional prefix is added. Accomplishments become causative accomplishments if they take the causative suffix /-z/. There is a semantic basis for the choice of prefix, as /hə-/ is for 'downward' direction, and /tə-/ is for 'upward' direction, respectively. Directional prefixes /tə-/ and /hə-/ are the most commonly used prefixes with state verbs (LaPolla with Huang 2003: 159-160).

Apart from adding the causative suffix after the root to code a causative, we find one pair of verbs using different roots to distinguish between a state predicate and a causative state predicate:

nə 'sleep' State

stə 'make someone sleep' Causative state

# 2.2 Activities

Activities, in general, are dynamic and temporally unbounded, such as motion, light emission, sound emission, performance, consumption, creation, repetitive action, directed perception, and use (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997:115). In the Ronghong variety of Qiang, activities, like states, use the directional prefixes to form accomplishments or achievements, and take the causative suffix to express causative accomplishments and achievements:

sei 'walk' Activity

sei-z 'cause to walk' Causative Activity

walk-CAUS

de-sei 'have walked' Active Accomplishment

DIR-walk

de-sei-z 'cause to have walked' Causative Active Accomplishment

**DIR-walk-CAUS** 

*ze* 'write' Activity

ze-z 'cause to write' Causative Activity

write-CAUS

*he-ze* 'have written' Active Accomplishment

DIR-write

*he-ze-z* 'cause to have written' Causative Active Accomplishment

**DIR-write-CAUS** 

tshua 'sing' Activity

tshua-z 'cause to sing' Causative Activity

sing-CAUS

*ha-tshua* 'have sung' Active Accomplishment

**DIR-sing** 

ha-tshua-z 'cause to have sung' Causative Active Accomplishment

**DIR-sing-CAUS** 

the 'touch' Activity

thə-z 'cause to touch' Causative Activity

touch-CUAS

*e-t* 'have touched' Achievement

DIR-touch

*θ-t-zθ* 'cause to have sung' Causative Achievement

DIR-touch-CAUS

*BZUa* 'collapse' Activity

'cause to collapse' Causative Activity

collapse-CAUS

*ha-uzua* 'have collapsed' Achievement

DIR-collapse

ha-Bzua-z 'cause to have collapsed' Causative Achievement

DIR-collapse-CAUS

phə	'spit'	Activity
phə-z	'cause to spit'	Causative Activity
spit-CAUS		
ha-f	'have spit'	Achievement
DIR-spit		
ha-f-zə	'cause to have spit'	Causative Achievement
DIR-spit-CAUS		

Apart from adding the causative suffix after an activity verb to form a causative activity, we also find a pair of verbs which use different roots to distinguish an activity verb from a causative activity verb:

guə	'put on clothes'	Activity
dzədz	'make the dead wear'	Causative activity

In Qiang there are a lot of intransitive verbs that take a directional prefix to express an accomplishment or an achievement. Generally, the prefixes combine with verb roots and become one syllable. In most cases, the root forms of the verb must be used with the directional prefixes (lexicalization) to accomplishments and achievements, e.g.  $\theta$ -m 'hear' an accomplishment verb,  $\hbar a$ - $\chi$  'broken down' an achievement verb. Following are some examples of this type:

ĥа-l	'melt'	'melt' Accomplishmen	
da-zm	'forget'	Accomplishment	
<i>ĥa-т</i>	'get ripe'	Accomplishment	
da-s	'finish'	Accomplishment	
<i>da-<u></u>s</i> p	'explode'	Achievement	
da-ts	'receive'	Achievement	
de-w	'hit target'	Achievement	

Another important feature of achievement uses a different directional prefix to distinguish causative achievement from achievement. Following are some examples of this difference (cf. Huang 1997: 73, LaPolla & Huang 2003: 160, (4.79)):

Achievements		Causative Achievements		
da-4a	'slip'	ha-‡a	'slide'	
do-tshu	'fall (e.g. fruit from a tree)'	ho-tshu	'pick (fruit from a tree)'	
de-phe	'break open (of bundle)'	ĥe-phe	'break open (a bundle)'	
da-qhua	'collapse (of house)'	ƙa-qhua	'knock down (a house)'	

da-ʁe	'smash (bowl; vi.)'	ha-qhe	'smash (bowl; vt.)'
da-ʁli	'break (tree branch, vi.)'	ĥa-χli	'break (tree branch; vt.)'

As examples above shown, when use of the directional prefix [da-  $\sim$  do-  $\sim$  de  $\sim$  da-] before the verb, it expresses achievement, whereas if use of the directional prefix [ $\hbar$ a-  $\sim$   $\hbar$ o-  $\sim$   $\hbar$ e  $\sim$   $\hbar$ a-] before the verb, it expresses causative achievement.

The interesting thing is several verbs using different roots to distinguish state or activity verbs from accomplishment or achievement verbs. Following are some examples of this difference.

tse	'look at'	State
u-tçu	'see'	Accomplishment
<i>xşuçt</i> ç <sub>u</sub>	'listen to'	State
ə-m	'hear'	Accomplishment
		-
me¹z	'look for'	Activity
da-tɕ	'find'	Achievement

We summarize the lexical rules of the semantic representation and logical structure for verbs in Qiang, as follows (LaPolla & Huang 2003: 158-159):

- (1) Copula:  $\eta u \theta$  **be**' (x) or (x, y) State
- (2) ba big'(x) State

  tə-wa BECOME big'(x) Accomplishment

  tə-wa-z [do'(y, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME big'(x)] Causative Accomplishment
- (3)  $\forall lu$   $\mathbf{do'}(\mathbf{x}, [\mathbf{roll'}(\mathbf{x}) \text{ or } (\mathbf{x}, \mathbf{y})])$  Activity  $\mathbf{do-y}lu$  INGR  $\mathbf{do'}(\mathbf{x}, [\mathbf{roll'}(\mathbf{x}) \text{ or } (\mathbf{x}, \mathbf{y})])$  Achievement  $\mathbf{do-y}lu-\mathbf{z}$  [ $\mathbf{do'}(\mathbf{x}, \emptyset)$ ] CAUSE [INGR  $\mathbf{do'}(\mathbf{x}, [\mathbf{roll'}(\mathbf{x}) \text{ or } (\mathbf{x}, \mathbf{y})])]$  Causative Achievement

There are five existential verbs in the Ronghong variety of Qiang, the use of which depends on the semantics of the referent being located or shown to exist, or on the nature of its location. Existential verbs, in general, have two arguments, one core argument, which is unmarked, and one oblique argument which is usually marked by a locative marker, as in (4a)-(7a). Unlike the Puxi variety (the Southern dialect of Qiang), which can use existential verbs to express possessive meanings (Huang 2004: 94-97). In the Ronghong variety, however, it cannot use existential verbs to express possessive meaning, unless existential verbs take causative suffix /-z/, they can express possessive meanings, as in (4b)-(7b) (cf. Huang 2000, LaPolla & Huang 2003: 97-99):

(4) a. *tşhaq-ta mi e-ze zi*. Existential-animate referent street-LOC person one-CL exist

'There is a person on the street.'

b. *qa tçymi e-ze zj-z-a*. Possessive 1sg child one-CL exist-CAUS-1sg

'I have a child.'

(5) a. *jinxan-ва dzigu le*. Existential-container

bank-LOC money exist

'There is money in the bank.'

b. *the: jinҳan-ва dzigų le-z.* Possessive

3sg bank-LOC money exist-CAUS

'S/he has money in the bank.'

(6) a. *tçiu-la squ sə/xu*. Existential-inanimate

home-LOC gold exist/exist

'There is gold at home.'

b. *tçile tçiu-la şqu şə-z-ə\forall xu-z-ə\forall*. Possessive 1pl home-LOC gold exist-CAUS-1pl / exist-CAUS-1pl

'We have gold at home.'

(7) a. zə-ʁa muntuq we. Existential-immovable referent

field-LOC sunflower exist

'There are sunflowers in the fields.'

b. ?u zə-ва mutuq we-zə-n. Possessive

2sg field-LOC sunflower exist-CAUS-2sg

'You have sunflowers in the fields.'

Note that existential verbs in (4a)-(7a) are all intransitive verbs, which have only one core argument, and expresses something exists. The logical structure of existential verbs is **exist**' (x). In the examples of (4b)-(7b), however, existential verbs become causative states by adding the causative suffix after existential verbs, which codes possessor (x) do an action, and cause to have something (y). In that case, they all take two core arguments, one is possessor, and the other is possessed. The logical structure of possessive constructions is  $[\mathbf{do}'(\mathbf{x}, \emptyset)]$  CAUSE [BECOME **have**'(x, y)].

To sum up, in Qiang, the form of most verbs directly reflects the elements of the lexical decompositions, as the basic form of the verb is usually a state or activity, which becomes an achievement or accomplishment with the addition of the directional prefix, and becomes a causative with the addition of the causative suffix (LaPolla & Huang 2003: 158), therefore, the change of *Aktionsart* in Qiang is realized with morphological devices, as in the following Figure:

- (i) DIR + States  $\rightarrow$  Accomplishments
- (ii) DIR + Activities → Active Accomplishments / Active Achievements
- (iii)  $Activities + CAUS \rightarrow Causative Activities$
- (iv) Existential verbs + causative suffix  $-z \rightarrow$  Possessive
- (v) Accomplishments / Achievements + CAUS →

Causative Accomplishments / Causative Achievements

Figure: Changing Aktionsart of the verb

# 3.0. Grammatical Aspect

There are a few different types of aspect marking. Of these, the perfective, the change of state, and the continuative are marked by prefixes together with suffixes, while the prospective, inchoative, change of state, repetitive and habitual are marked by suffixes, and iterative is marked by reduplication of the verb. Aside from simple use of one of these affixes, there are also interesting combinations of these different types of marking for achieving particular meanings. The imperfective, including progressive, which has no morphological marking on the verb.

# 3.1. Prospective Aspect

In Ronghong Qiang the prospective aspect is represented by the prospective marking -a, combined with the person marking in the case of  $1^{st}$  person actor on state or activity verb, as in (8) and (9):

- (8) qa stuaha bəl-a:. Activity verb

  1sg food do-PROS:1sg

  'I am about to cook.'
- (9) the: stuaha bəl ə<sup>J</sup>-ва:-ji.
  3sg food do DIR-begin:PROS-CSM
  'S/he is about to cook.'

#### 3.2. Inchoative Aspect

Inchoative aspect marks the action or event as having just started. Inchoative in the Ronghong variety of Qiang is usually marked by the matrix verb  $\theta^{J}$ - $\theta$ e 'to begin' followed by the change of state marker -ji, as in (10)-(12):

(10) me<sup>J</sup>: gi (ə<sup>J</sup>-ʁe)-ji. Activity verb rain fall (DIR-begin)-CSM
'It has begun to rain.'

(11) qa l au xz tse  $(a^{-1}-ue)-ji-a$ . State verb

1sg book look.at (DIR-begin)-CSM-1

'I have begun to read.'

(12) *?u stuaha bəl (ə¹-ʁe)-ji-n*. Activity verb

2sg food do DIR-begin-CSM:2sg

'You have started to cook.'

## 3.3. Change of state

Change of state expresses a recent change of state or situation. This aspect is marked by the suffix - jj, which combines with person marking in the case of 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person actor, as in (11)-(12); or by one of the directional prefixes together with the change of state suffix, as in (13)-(16):

(13) *zepi de-pi-ji*. Accomplishment verb

leather DIR-wear.out-CSM

'The leather became worn out.'

(14) *me<sup>J</sup>*; *gi*-ji. Activity verb

rain fall-CSM

'It has started to rain.'

(15) *mu ha-xtṣap-ji*. Accomplishment verb

sky DIR-dark-CSM

'It has already become dark.'

(16) *tçymi he-zei-ji*. Achievement verb

child DIR-cry-CSM:3

'The child cried '

# 3.4. Continuative Aspect

The continuative aspect refers to an action that is ongoing in the past or present or future temporal frame. In the Ronghong variety, the prefix t ca- is used for this meaning. The action, in general, may not discontinue, as in (17)-(18):

(17) tçile ləyz tçe-tse'. State verb

1pl book CONT-look.at:1pl

'We are still reading a book.'

(18) the stuaha tea-te. Activity verb

3sg food CONT-eat

'S/he is still eating.'

If the continuative prefix *tca*- is used in a future temporal frame, it refers to an action that is continuously progressing, or may have stopped but will continue again later. Following are some examples of this sense:

(19) themle stuaha tça-tçhaː-i.

3pl food CONT-eat:PROS-HRS

'They will still want to eat.'

(20) ?ile stuaha tça-tçha:-i.

2pl food CONT-eat:PROS-2pl

'You will still want to eat.'

(21) themle ləyz tçe-tsa:-i.

3pl book CONT-look:PROS-HRS

'They will still want to read a book.'

The continuative marker may co-occur with a numeral-classifier phrase before activity verb to express an additive sense, for example:

(22) *a-zə ə-tçi-z*.

a-little DIR-CONT-eat

'Eat some more!'

## 3.5. Perfective/Imperfective Aspect

Activity verbs plus the directional prefixes mark perfective action, whereas the unprefixed form of verb (activity verb) codes imperfective actions. Compare the two clauses in (23)-(24), (LaPolla with Huang 2003: 164, (4.85) and (4.86)):

(23) nes qa e-qa-lai, the: stuaha tehe.

yesterday 1sg DIR-go:1sg-DEF:one:time 3sg food eat

'Yesterday when I entered the room, s/he was eating.'

(24) the: **sə-tç**-ŋ.ike, ʁuatṣa **χuəla**-k.

3sg DIR-eat-after bowl wash-go

'S/he finished eating and went to wash the bowl/bowls.'

In examples above, where both of the first clauses express completed actions, i.e. perfective action, and so there is a directional prefix on the verb, while actions of the second clauses had not been completed (imperfective), and so the verbs do not have the directional prefix.

## 3.6. Repetition

Repetition means doing an action 'again'. This form is expressed by the suffix -*jo*, which precedes the other suffixes, such as aspect marking and person marking. It can be used with the change of state marker:

(25) a.  $me^{-i}$ : Si-je-ji. Imperfective-activity verb

rain fall-REP-CSM

'It is raining again.'

b. *me¹:* de-çi-jə-ji. Perfective-Accomplishment verb

rain DIR-fall-REP-CSM

'It has already rained again.'

(26) a. qa leyz tse-jə-ji-a. Imperfective-state verb

lsg book look.at-REP-CSM-1sg

'I am reading book again.'

b. *qa lev zə-tse-jə-ji-a*. Perfective- Accomplishment verb

1sg book DIR-look.at-REP-CSM-1sg

'I have already read book again.'

(27) a. ?u zdzyta: kə-jə-n-a? Imperfective-activity verb

2sg Chengdu:LOC go-REP-2sg-QUES

'Are you going to Chengdu again?'

b. ?u zdzyta: **ha-qə**-jə-n-a? Perfective-Achievement verb

2sg Chengdu:LOC DIR-go-REP-2sg-QUES

'Have you been to Chengdu again?'

### 3.7. Habitual

The imperfective aspect form covers a range of prototypically imperfective use, progressive, and habitual. Habitual encodes the meaning of 'often/usually/always do something', or 'be used to doing something'. In the Ronghong variety the suffix  $-k \theta p \theta$  or  $-p \theta$  follow the verb to express a habitual meaning, as in (28)-(30):

(28) the: istsimaqa ləyz tse-kəpə. State verb 3sg often book look.at-HABIT 'S/he usually reads books.'

- (29) tuwa ieteimaqa tutsu dete-kə-pə. Activity verb elder.brother often younger.brother hit-HABIT

  'The elder brother often hits the younger brother.'
- (30) the: qe<sup>1</sup> istsimaqa si **tche**-pe. Activity verb 3sg before often wine drink-HABIT

  'S/he used to drink wine (but now s/he does not drink much/doesn't drink any more).'

#### 3.8. Iterative

Iterative expresses an action which inherently involves iteration of the action rather than mutual action. In the Ronghong variety of Qiang this aspect is represented by reduplication of a state or activity verb, it is contrasted with semelfactive, which refers to an event taken place once only. Following are some examples:

- (31) a. *the: pana* **xtse**. Semelfactive 3sg thing take.out 'S/he is taking out the thing.'
  - b. *the:* pana **xtse-xtse**. Iterative

    3sg thing take.out-REDUP

    'S/he is taking out things repeatedly.'
- Semelfactive a. the: qhi<sup>1</sup>. (32)SƏ firewood 3sg split 'S/he is splitting the log.' b. the: sə ahi¹-ahi¹. Iterative 3sg firewood split-REDUP

### 3.9. Simultaneous action

When two actions occur simultaneously, it is represented by activity verb or accomplishment/achievement verb, and the adverbial marker *p.i*, sometimes co-occurred with *iɛtɛi* 'together', is used after the expression of the first action, as in (33) and (34):

(33) the: ho-Bo-Ipi ha-qa.
3sg DIR-shout-ADV DIR-go
'S/he went out along shouting.'

'S/he is splitting logs repeatedly.'

(34) qa ləyz **tse**-nietçi zəm **xşuçtçu**-a. 1sg book look.at-ADV:together song listen.to-1sg 'I am reading while listening to songs.'

## 3.10. Experiential aspect

Experiential aspect is expresses by use of the auxiliary verb - dee after the accomplishment or achievement verb, as in (35) and (36):

- (35) qa squnsi-(la) ləxz u-su-dza. Accomplishment
  1sg Fengyi.town-(LOC) book DIR-learn-EXP:1sg
  'I have ever studied in Fengyi town of Mao County.'
- (36) tiangan tsa-la da-ga-dze. Achievement electric.wire this-CL break-EXP

  'This electric wire has ever broken.'

In grammatical aspect, change of state is least constrained, which can co-occur with other aspect. Repetitive cannot co-occur with habitual, prospective, experiential aspect. Inchoative (inceptive) aspect expresses transitions into states and states of activity. Continuative aspect expresses a continuous state, or activity. Iterative expresses iteration of activity--uses reduplicative patterns of verb. Repetitive aspect expresses repetition of state or activity.

# 4.0. Conclusion

Qiang reflects a basic *Aktionsart* dichotomy in the classification of stative and active verbs, both intransitive and transitive. Generally, the form of verbs directly reflects the elements of the lexical decomposition. *State* or *Activity* is the basic form of the verb, which becomes an *Achievement* or *Accomplishment* when it takes a directional prefix, and becomes a *Causative achievement* or *Causative accomplishment* when it takes the causative suffix, even though a few of verbs use different root to distinguish state verb from causative state verb, or to distinguish activity verb from causative activity verb, or to distinguish state and activity verb from accomplishment and achievement verb, or uses a different directional prefix to distinguish causative achievement from achievement. It shows that grammatical aspect and *Aktionsart* seem to play much of a systematic role. Semantically, on the one hand, there is a clear-cut boundary between states and activities, but morphologically, however, there is no distinction between them. Both of them take the same marking to encode aspect.

From analysis of previous sections shown, grammatical aspect does not entirely correspond with lexical aspect (*Aktionsart*). General speaking, prospective, inchoative and imperfective only appear in state and activity verb, and iterative just occurs in activity verb, but perfective and experiential, however, can only appear in accomplishment and achievement verb. Simultaneous

action cannot appear in state verb, but can occur in other three semantic classes, whereas change of state, habitual, continuative and repetitive can occur in all semantic types of verb class. The correlation between *Aktionsart* and aspect is given in the following Table:

Aspect	State	Activity	Accomplishment	Achievement
Prospective	Yes	Yes	No	No
Inchoative	Yes	Yes	No	No
Iterative	No	Yes	No	No
Imperfective	Yes	Yes	No	No
Experiential	No	No	Yes	Yes
Perfective	No	No	Yes	Yes
Simultaneous action	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Change of state	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Habitual	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Continuative	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Repetitive	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table: Correlation between Aktionsart and aspect

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