A semantic analysis of *-le* in Mandarin Chinese with aspectual coercion

The semantics of *-le* in Mandarin Chinese is one of the most controversial topics in Chinese linguistics. I will first present three observations that pose challenges for previous analyses, and then propose a new analysis. Specifically, I claim that *-le* is a perfective marker that presupposes that the VP is *quantized* in the sense of Krifka (1989), and may trigger *aspectual coercion* (De Swart 1998, 2011) in order to satisfy this presupposition. As will be shown with examples, this achieves a uniform account of different interpretative effects observed with different Aktionsarten. In addition, in order to account for the fact that *-le*, unlike the perfective in Romance, has the boundedness/termination reading with activities but not with states, I propose that *-le* competes with a different aspectual marker *-guo*.

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