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Verbal Aspects and Verbal Classifier Structures in Hui Chinese

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PART I:

RESEARCH PURPOSE

Research Purpose:

- Verbal classifiers (VCLs) have been much less studied from a typological perspective than the category of nominal classifiers (NCLs), and even less in the non-Mandarin branches of Sinitic languages, such as the Hui dialects;

- In this study, I will introduce relationships between lexical aspects, grammatical aspects and verbal classifier phrases (VCLPs) in Hui Chinese, analyzing the similarities and differences with Standard Mandarin.

- Verbal classifier structures in the Hui dialects display a transitional feature compared with Xiang, Gan and Wu, taking auto-verbal classifier (Auto-VCL) structures as examples (auto-VCLs derive from verb reduplicants in the verb phrase [VERB- ('one')-VERB]):
  - Auto-VCLs in the verb phrase [VERB-AUTO VCL] can code the perfective or imperfective aspect in different types of complex sentences in Hui Chinese;
  - More variety of auto-VCL structures is found in Hui Chinese compared with Xiang and Gan dialects.

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PART II:

THE DEFINITION AND CLASSIFICATION OF VCLS IN SINITIC LANGUAGES

1. An introduction to Hui Chinese

- The Hui group is distributed across the southern mountainous areas of Anhui Province, parts of northeastern Jiangxi Province and western Zhejiang Province, and is spoken by about 3.2 million people in 16 cities and counties, governed by the Old Huizhou 徽州 and Old Yanzhou 严州 Prefectures. (*Note*: The data is cited from Zhang and Xiong eds., 2012:146, *Zhongguo Yuyan Dituji, Di'er ban, Fangyan Juan* 中国语言地图集第2版方言卷 (Language Atlas of China, *2nd edition*, volume two: Chinese dialects).

- Zhao (2012:150, B1-21) concludes that there are five subgroups, which are Ji-she 绩歙片, Xiu-Yi 休黟片, Qi-Wu 祁婺片, Yanzhou 严州片 and Jing-Zhan 旌占片.

- The Ji-She 绩歙片 and Xiu-Yi 休黟片 are the center of the Hui area, represented by the Jixi dialect 绩溪话, Shexian dialect 歙县话, Xiuning dialect 休宁话 and Yixian dialect 黟县话.

Refer to Map A1 and Map B1-21: *Languages in China* and *The distribution of the Hui dialects*
(Cited from *Zhongguo Yuyan Dituji, Di'erban, Hanyu Fangyan Juan* 中国语言地图集，第二版，汉语方言卷 *Language Atlas of China, 2nd edition, vol 2: Chinese dialects)*

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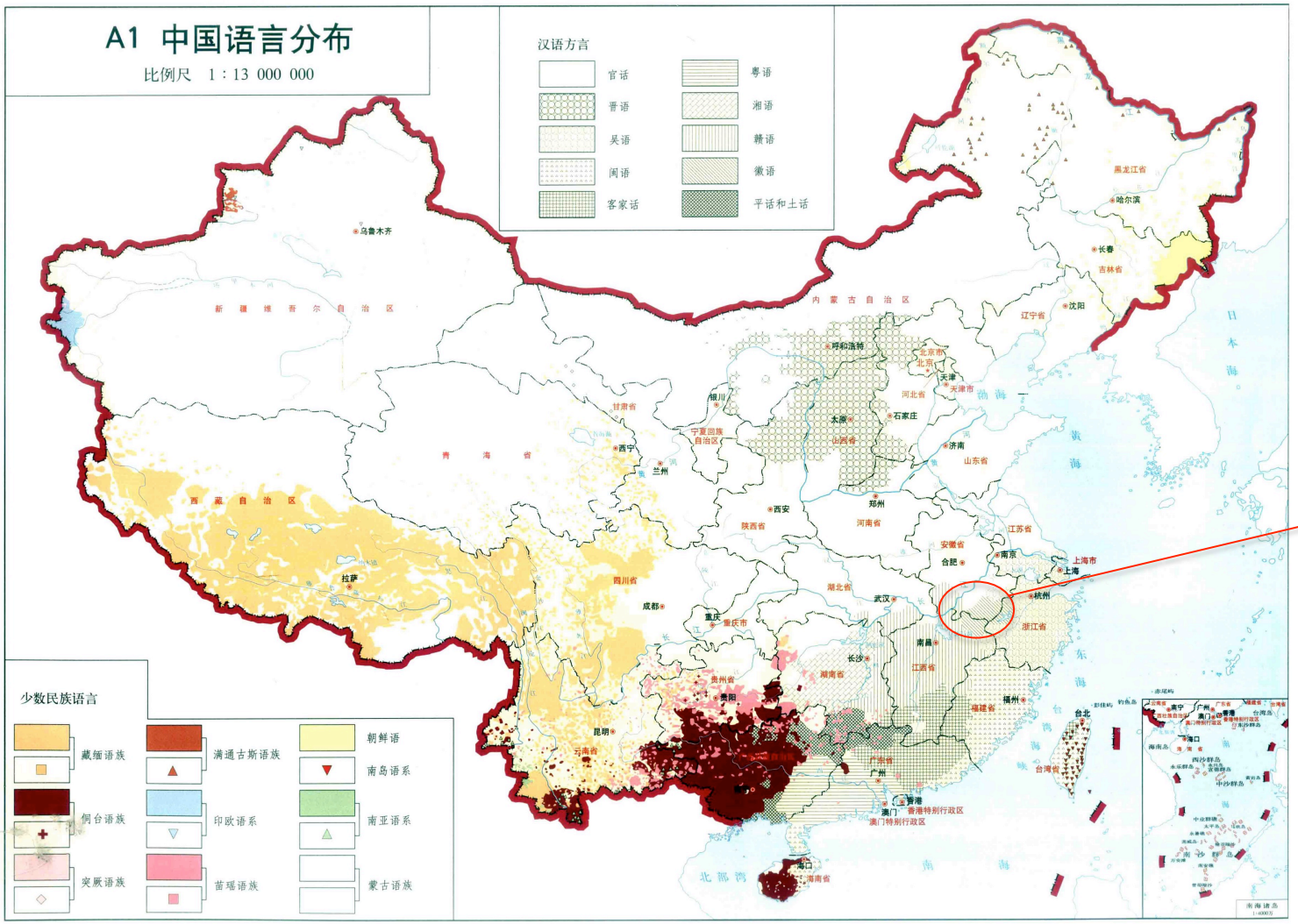

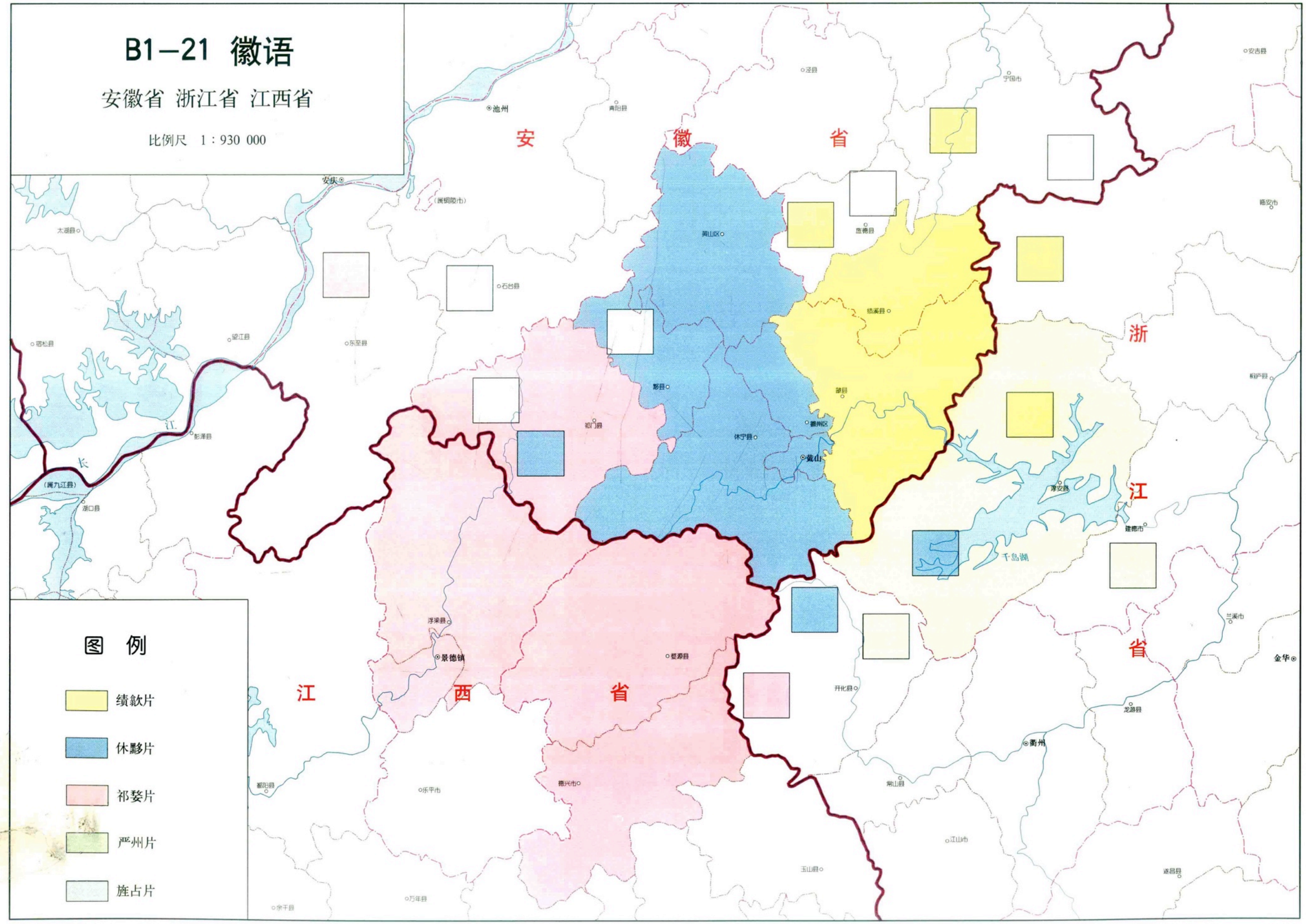

B1—21 徽语
安徽省 浙江省 江西省
比例尺 1∶930 000
图 例
绩歙片
休黟片
祁婺片
严州片
旌占片
安
徽
省
浙
江
省
江
西
省
池州
青阳县
泾县
宁国市
安吉县
临安市
安庆
(属铜陵市)
太湖县
石台县
旌德县
黄山区
绩溪县
宿松县
望江县
东至县
黟县
歙县
徽州区
祁门县
休宁县
黄山
桐庐县
淳安县
建德市
千岛湖
彭泽县
(属九江县)
湖口县
浮梁县
景德镇
婺源县
开化县
兰溪市
金华
龙游县
衢州
德兴市
乐平市
鄱阳县
常山县
江山市
玉山县
遂昌县
余干县
万年县

Table 1: Data in this study (19 dialects) are based on a corpus that is extracted from existing publications in Chinese dialectology and reference grammar books on Hui Chinese:

Sub groups	Dialects
Ji-She 绩歙片 (6)	安徽省 **Anhui Province:** 绩溪方言 Jixi dialect; 绩溪荆州方言 Jixi Jingzhou dialect; 歙县方言 Shexian dialect; 歙县太古运方言 Shexian Daguyun dialect; 歙县向杲方言 Shexian Xianggao dialect; 黄山汤口方言 Huangshan Tangkou dialect
Xiu-Yi 休黟片 (5)	安徽省 **Anhui Province:** 休宁方言 Xiuning dialect; 休宁溪口方言 Xiuning Xikou dialect; 黟县方言 Yixian dialect; 黟县宏村方言 Yixian Hongcun dialect; 屯溪方言 Tunxi dialect
Qi-Wu 祁婺片 (4)	安徽省 **Anhui Province:** 祁门方言 Qimen dialect; 祁门箬坑方言 Qimen Ruokeng dialect; 江西省 **Jiangxi Province:** 婺源方言 Wuyuan dialect; 浮梁旧城村方言 Fuliang Jiuchengcun dialect
Yanzhou 严州片 (4)	浙江省 **Zhejiang Province:** 淳安方言 Chun'an dialect; 遂安方言 Sui'an dialect; 建德方言 Jiande dialect; 寿昌方言 Shouchang dialect
Jing-Zhan 旌占片 (0)	NONE

2. Previous work on VCLs in Mandarin (1)

- **Chao (1968): measures for verbs of action (abbreviated as Mv.)**
  - Chao (1968:615-620) lists 40 verbal classifiers in Mandarin and allocates them into three major categories, according to his semantic definition: 'a measure for verbs of action expresses the number of times an action takes place'.
    - The first category (Mv 1-18) may act as a cognate object that expresses the action of the verb, such as *hui*^{35} 回 'time', *tang*^{51} 趟 'trip', *zao*^{55} 遭 'adventure' and so on;
    - The second category (Mv 19-25) derives from body-part nouns that perform the actions, such as *ba*^{55}*zhang* 巴掌 'a slap of the palm', *quan*^{35} 拳 'fist' and so on;
    - The third category (Mv 26-40) is made up of instrumental nouns with which the action is performed, such as *bian*^{55}*zi* 鞭子 'whip', *qiang*^{55} 枪 'a stab with the lance or spear/a shot of the gun of rifle' and so on.

2. Previous work on VCLs in Mandarin (2)

- Paris (1981, 2013) analyses the different distribution of nominal and verbal classifiers in the post-verbal position from the syntactic perspective, arguing that even the surface structure of [Quantifier-NCL-Noun] and [Quantifier-VCL-Noun] is similar, while their underlying structures are totally different.

[$_{VP}$ Verb-[$_{NP}$[$_{NCLP}$ Quantifier-NCL]-Object]]:

(1) **NCLP interpretation:**

Mandarin (Sinitic)

吃三顿饭

[$_{VP}$	chi^{55}[$_{NP}$ [$_{NCLP}$	san^{55}	dun^{51}]	fan^{51}]]
	eat	three	NCL: meal	meal

'Eat three meals.'

[$_{VP2}$ [$_{VP1}$ Verb-[$_{VCLP}$ Quantifier-VCL]]-Object]:

(2) **VCLP interpretation:**

Mandarin (Sinitic)

吃三顿饭

[$_{VP2}$[$_{VP1}$	chi^{55}[$_{VCLP}$	san^{55}	dun^{51}]]	fan^{51}]
	eat	three	VCL: time	meal

'Eat meals three times.'

3. The definition and classification of VCLs in Sinitic languages (1)

- My definition of VCLs in Sinitic languages:
  - VCLs can combine with a quantifier to form the verbal classifier phrase (VCLP) which functions as the complement of verbs, expressing a range of meanings including the spatial scope, temporal duration, frequency, manner and result of the verbs of action.

- The basic construction of the VCL in Sinitic languages:
  - $[_{VP2}\ [_{VP1}$VERB-QUANTIFIER-VCL]-(NOUN)]]

in which the VCL cannot be in the same bracket with the noun since VCLs are used to modify and restrict the verbs of action, and not to modify any noun occurring in the Verb Phrase (VP).

3. The definition and classification of VCLs in Sinitic languages (2)

- Based on sources and semantic features of VCLs, I argue for the position to divide the VCL system into three main categories , which are Noun Source Category, Verb Source Category and General Category:
  - **The Noun Source Category** includes VCLs deriving from spatial nouns, temporal nouns (time measure words and interval nouns), body-part nouns and instrumental nouns;
  - **The Verb Source Category** contains verbal reduplicants in the structure [VERB-('one')-VERB], object-morphemes in separable verbs [VERB-(QUANTIFIER)-OBJECT MORPHEME] and the second verb in the verb complex [VERB_1-'one'-VERB_2] coding the result of the first action;
  - VCLs **in the General Category** are frequency markers, such as *XIA* 下 'time' and *DAO* 到 'time' in Hui Chinese.

3. The definition and classification of VCLs in Sinitic languages (3)

- ***Noun Source Category:*** **using examples from Hui dialects**
  - (i). **The spatial VCL** derives from the spatial noun, indicating the spatial scope of the action: such as the spatial VCL *tʃaŋ*^{55} 场 'field' in the Xiuning Xikou dialect;
  - (ii). **The temporal VCL** including **time measure words** and **intervallic classifiers** derives from temporal nouns, revealing the temporal duration of the action, such as the time measure word *i*^{33} 日 'day' in the Qimen Ruokeng dialect, and intervallic classifiers *XIA* 下 'while' and *XIE* 歇 *'while'* in Hui Chinese;
  - (iii). **The body-part VCL** with origins in body-part nouns, indicating the 'agent' of the action, such as *ŋa*^{35} 眼 'eye' in the Shexian Daguyun dialect;
  - (iv). **The instrumental VCL** origins from instrumental nouns, indicating the manner of the action, such as *tɕ*^{h}*io*^{31} 枪 'gun' in the Jixi dialect;

3. The definition and classification of VCLs in Sinitic languages (4)

- ***Verb Source Category:* using examples from Hui dialects**
  - (v). **The auto-VCL** derives from the verbal reduplicant in the structure [VERB-('one')-VERB], such as the verb reduplicant t^ha^{33} 荡 'walk' in the verb phrase $t^ha^{33}i^{33}t^ha^{33}$ 荡一荡 'take a walk' in the Shexian Daguyun dialect. Regarding 'Auto-classifier': Matisoff creates this term originally (1973:89) for Lahu (a Loloish language of Thailand);
  - (vi). **The separable VCL** originates from the morpheme component in the verb structure [VERB-QUANTIFIER-OBJECT MORPHEME] to indicate the frequency of actions, such as the object-morpheme kon^{35} 觉 'nap' in the verb phrase $\boldsymbol{k^hu{:}ə^{53}i^0kon^{35}}$ 睏一觉 'have a sleep' in the Xiuning dialect;
  - (vii). **The resultative VCL** derives from the second verb in the serial verb construction [VERB_1- 'one' -VERB_2] coding the result of the first action, such as the second verb t^hiau^{55} 跳 'startle' in the verb phrase $xa^{35}i^{213}t^hiau^{55}$ 吓一跳 'be frightened, be startled' in the Xiuning dialect;
- ***General Category:* using examples from Hui dialects**
  - (viii). **Frequency VCLs** are used to mark the number of times of an action takes place, such as *JI* 记 'time', *BIAN* 遍 'time' and *DAO* 到 'time' in the Hui dialects.

3. The definition and classification of VCLs in Sinitic languages (5)

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To sum up, the examples of VCL categories in Hui Chinese are presented in Table 2:

Categories	Classes	Examples
Noun Source	Spatial VCLs	*tʃaŋ*^{55} 场 'field' in the Xiuning Xikou dialect
	Time Measure Words	*i:ɐ*^{33} 夜 'night' in the Qimen Ruokeng dialect
	Intervallic Classifiers	*sɤ*^{52} 骚 'while' in the Shexian Daguyun dialect
	Body-Part VCLs	*kou*^{214} 口 'mouth'; *quan*^{35} 拳 'fist'
	Instrumental VCLs	*dao*^{55} 刀 'knife'; *qiang*^{55} 枪 'gun'
Verb Source	Auto VCLs[1]	*xɛn*^{55}*xɛn* 嗅嗅 in the Xiuning Xikou dialect [VERB- ('one')-AUTO VCL] 'smell and smell again'
	Separable VCLs	*kʰu:ə*^{53}*i*^{0}*kon*^{35} 困一觉 [VERB-QUANTIFIER-VCL] 'have a sleep'
	Resultative VCLs	*xa*^{35}*i*^{213}*tʰiau*^{55} 吓一跳 [VERB- 'one'-VCL] 'be frightened, be startled'
General	Frequency VCLs	*BIAN* 遍 'time'; *XIA* 下 'time'; *TANG* 趟 'time'

4. Lexical aspects indicated by the verb phrase [VERB-VCLP] (1)

Lexical aspects are indicated by different combinations of verb classes (activity and semelfactive verbs) and VCLs in Sinitic languages shown in Table 3:

Class	Activity	Semelfactive
Body-Part VCLs	-	SEML/ITER
Instrumental VCLs	-	SEML/ITER
Frequency VCLs	-	SEML/ITER
Intervallic Classifiers	DELM	ITER
Auto VCLs	DELM	ITER

– Note:
  - DELM: Li and Thompson (1981:232) give the definition that 'the delimitative aspect means doing an action 'a little bit', or for a short period of time, this aspect is structurally represented by the reduplication of the verb, and this reduplication may optionally involve the morpheme *yi*^{55} 一 'one' between the verb and the reduplicated syllable.'
  - SEML: Comrie (1976:42) gives the definition that 'semelfactive aspect refers to a situation that takes place once and once only, such as *one single cough* in English'.
  - ITER: Comrie (1976:42) gives the definition that 'iterative aspect' as referring to 'a situation that is repeated, such as *a series of coughs* in English'.

4. Lexical aspects indicated by the verb phrase [VERB-VCLP] (2)

- The Hui dialects and Standard Mandarin both use VCLs combining with activity and semelfactive verbs to code different lexical aspects, such as the delimitative, semelfactive and iterative aspect.
  - (i) Activity verbs combine with intervallic classifiers and auto-VCLs to code the delimitative aspect. Let us next refer to examples from Mandarin and the Shexian Daguyun dialect:

(3) Mandarin (Sinitic)
歇一会儿
xie^{55} yi^{35} hui^{51}-er
[rest one VCL: while] $_{DELM}$
'Rest for a while.'

(4) Shexian Daguyun dialect (Hui, Sinitic)
歇一骚
ɕiei^{33} i^{33} sɤ^{52}
[rest one VCL: while] $_{DELM}$
'Rest for a while.' (Chen Li, 2013:118)

(5) Mandarin (Sinitic)
走一走
zou^{214} yi^{51} zou^{214}
[walk one VCL: walk > while] $_{DELM}$
'Have a walk.'

(6) Shexian Daguyun dialect (Hui, Sinitic)
荡一荡
tʰɑ^{33} i^{33} tʰɑ^{33}
[walk one VCL: walk > while] $_{DELM}$
'Have a walk.' (Chen Li, 2013:118)

4. Lexical aspects indicated by the verb phrase [VERB-VCLP] (3)

- (ii) Semelfactive verbs combine with body-part VCLs, instrumental VCLs and frequency VCLs to code the semelfactive or iterative aspect:

(7) Mandarin (Sinitic)
打一下
da^{213} yi^{35} xia^{51}
[strike one VCL: time] $_{SEML}$
'Strike once.'

(8) Jixi Huayang dialect (Hui, Sinitic)
打一记
tɔ^{213} ieʔ^{32} sɻ^{22}
[strike one VCL: time] $_{SEML}$
'Strike once.' (Hirata Shoji, 1998:234)

(9) Mandarin (Sinitic)
打几下
da^{213} ji^{214} xia^{51}
[strike several VCL: time] $_{ITER}$
'Strike several times.'

(10) Jixi Shangzhuang dialect (Hui, Sinitic)
打哩三下就跳走哩
tɑ^{55} ni sɑ̃^{22} xo ts^{h}e^{223} tiə^{324}tsei^{55} ni
[strike PFV three VCL: time] $_{ITER}$ then run away PRF
'(He) struck (me) three times and then run away.' (Wang Jian, forthcoming)

4. Lexical aspects indicated by the verb phrase [VERB-VCLP] (4)

- (iii) Semelfactive verbs are accompanied by intervallic classifiers and auto-VCLs to code the iterative aspect:

(11) Mandarin (Sinitic)

来嗅嗅这朵花香不香

lai^{35}	xiu^{51}~xiu	zhe^{51}	duo^{214}	hua^{55}	xiang^{55}	bu^{51}	xiang^{55}
come	[sniff ~VCL: sniff] $_{ITER}$	this	NCL	flower	fragrant	not	fragrant

'Come and take a sniff of this flower to see if it is fragrant or not.'

(12) Chun'an dialect (Hui, Sinitic)

来碰下促乙朵花香不

le^{445}	pʰɔm^{24}	xo	tsʰoʔ	iʔ^{5}	tu^{55}	xo^{224}	ɕiɑ̃^{224}	pəʔ^{5}
come	[sniff	VCL: while] $_{ITER}$	TENT	this	NCL	flower	fragrant	not

'Come and take a sniff of this flower to see if it is fragrant or not.' (Cao Zhiyun, 2017:320)

(13) Jixi Jingzhou dialect (Hui, Sinitic)

来碰碰尔朵花香不香

na^{33}	pʰɛ^{35}~pʰɛ	n^{31}	tɵ^{31}	xo^{55}	ɕiõ^{33}	pɤʔ	ɕiõ^{55}
come	[sniff ~ VCL: sniff] $_{ITER}$	this	NCL	flower	fragrant	not	fragrant

'Come and take a sniff of this flower to see if it is fragrant or not.' (Zhao Rixin, 2015:294)

5. Relationships between grammatical aspects and the verb phrase [VERB-VCLP-OBJECT] (1)

- Hui dialects share the similarity with Standard Mandarin in this respect:
  - The verb phrase [VERB-VCLP] can incorporate the perfective aspect marker, such as *le* 了 in Mandarin and *tʃo* 着 in the Xiuning Xikou dialect:

(14) Mandarin (Sinitic)

说了一遍，又说了一遍

shuo^{55}	le	yi^{35}	bian^{51}	
say	PFV	one	VCL: time	
you^{51}	shuo^{55}	le	yi^{35}	bian^{51}
REP	say	PFV	one	VCL: time

'(I) said (it) once, and then said (it) once again.'

(15) Xiuning Xikou dialect (Hui, Sinitic)

讲着一遍，又讲着一遍

kaŋ^{42}	tʃo	i^{21}	pi:ɐ^{55}	
say	PFV	one	VCL: time	
iu^{42}	kaŋ^{42}	tʃo	i^{21}	pi:ɐ^{55}
REP	say	PFV	one	VCL: time

'(I) said (it) once, and then said (it) once again.' (Liu Lili, 2014:229)

5. Relationships between grammatical aspects and the verb phrase [VERB-VCLP-OBJECT] (2)

- The verb phrase [VERB-VCLP] cannot include the imperfective aspect markers, such as *sɿ^{13}ka-le* 是个仂 or *sɿ^{13}mo-le* 是么仂 in the Xiuning Xikou dialect, or *zhe* 着 and *zai* 在 in Mandarin, these are incompatible for semantic reasons.

(16) Mandarin (Sinitic)

*睡着一会儿

shui^{51}	*zhe	yi^{55}	hui^{51}-er
sleep	*CONT	one	VCL: while

(17) Mandarin (Sinitic)

*在睡一会儿

*zai^{51}	shui^{51}	yi^{35}	hui^{51}-er
*CONT	sleep	one	VCL: while

(18) Xiuning Xikou dialect (Hui, Sinitic)

*睏是个仂一下

k^{h}uɛn^{55}	*sɿ^{13}ka-le	i^{212}	xa
sleep	*CONT	one	VCL: while

5. Relationships between grammatical aspects and the verb phrase [VERB-VCLP-OBJECT] (3)

- The verb phrase [VERB-AUTO VCLP] combines with an indefinite object to indicate the habitual aspect in Mandarin and Hui Chinese, Comrie (1976: 27-28) gives a definition that 'habitual is a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment, but precisely, as a characteristic feature of a whole period.'

(19) Mandarin (Sinitic)

浇浇花，养养鸟

jiao^{55}~jiao hua^{55}

[water ~ VCL: water flower. INDEF] $_{HAB}$

yang^{214}~yang niao^{214}

[feed ~ VCL: feed bird. INDEF] $_{HAB}$

'(I) water flowers and feed birds everyday.'

(20) Jixi Jingzhou dialect (Hui, Sinitic)

日朝看看妹，搞搞饭的

ŋ̩ie^{3}ʔ^{3}tɕ^{h}ie^{33} k^{h}ɔ^{35}~k^{h}ɔ^{35} ma^{35},

[everyday look after ~ VCL: look after baby. INDEF] $_{HAB}$

kɤ^{213}~kɤ^{213} fɔ^{31} tieʔ^{3}

[make ~ VCL: make meal. INDEF] $_{HAB}$ MOD

'Look after babies and make meals everyday.' (Zhao Rixin, 2015:216)

5. Relationships between grammatical aspects and the verb phrase [VERB-VCLP-OBJECT] (4)

- The verb phrase [VERB-AUTO VCLP] combines with a definite object to indicate the delimitative or iterative aspect in both Mandarin and the Hui dialects in my sample:

(21) Mandarin (Sinitic)

浇一浇这盆花

jiao^{55}	yi^{51}	jiao^{55}	zhe^{51}	pen^{35}	hua^{55}
[water	one	VCL: water	[this. DEF	NCL	flower] $_{\text{DELM}}$

'Water this pot of flowers for a while.'

(22) Qimen dialect (Wu, Sinitic)

来□□伊朵花香不香

lɑ^{55}	pʰɤŋ^{44}~pʰɤŋ^{44}	i^{13}	tɔ^{42}
come	[sniff ~ sniff	this. DEF	NCL
xu:ə^{11}	ɕiɔ̃^{11}	pɐ	ɕiɔ̃^{11}
flower] $_{\text{ITER}}$	fragrant	not	fragrant

'Come and take a sniff of this flower to see if it is fragrant or not.'

(Hirata Shoji, 1998:296)

Interim Summary

- The Hui dialects and Mandarin show similar patterns of syntactic behaviour for the features of lexical aspects for coding the delimitative, iterative and semelfactive aspects:
  - The delimitative aspect is indicated by the verb phrase:
    [ACTIVITY VERB- ('one') – INTERVALLIC CLASSIFIER/AUTO VCL];
  - The semelfactive aspect is indicated by the verb phrase:
    [SEMELFACTIVE VERB- 'one' – BODY PART VCL/INSTRUMENTAL VCL/FREQUENCY VCL]
  - The iterative aspect is indicated by the verb phrase:
    [SEMELFACTIVE VERB- ('one') – INTERVALLIC CLASSIFIER/AUTO VCL]

- The habitual aspect is indicated by the verb phrase:
  - [VERB- ('one')-AUTO VCL-INDEFINITE OBJECT]

- The Hui dialects and Mandarin also show similar semantic constraints on the compatibility of grammaticalized aspect markers with VCLs. To be precise, imperfective aspect markers are not compatible.

- Next, I will show some interesting auto-VCL structures of the Hui dialects that are distinct from Standard Mandarin.

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PART III:

GRAMMATICAL ASPECTS INDICATED BY SPECIAL AUTO-VCL STRUCTURES IN HUI CHINESE

6. The Perfective aspect (1)

- Perfective aspect can be coded by auto-VCLs in a variety of head-final structures such as the topicalized structure, relative clause and cleft structure in the Hui dialects. This is a special feature of Hui dialects not found in Standard Mandarin or in other dialect groups such as Gan and Wu Chinese.

  - *The auto-verbal classifiers code the perfective aspect in the verb complex in a topicalized structure: [OBJECT NP-VERB-AUTO VCLP]:*

(23) Jixi Shangzhuang dialect (Hui, Sinitic)

我口饭吃吃再来仂

ɑ^{55}tsɑ̃^{22}	fɑ̃^{223}	tɕ^{h}iʔ^{35}~tɕ^{h}iʔ^{32}	tsa^{35}	na^{32}	nə
1SG	lunch	eat ~ VCL: eat. **PFV**	REP	come	MOD

'I came here after I had eaten lunch.' (Wang Jian, forthcoming)

6. The Perfective aspect (2)

- *The auto-verbal classifiers code the perfective aspect in a relative clause: [SUBJECT NP-VERB-AUTO VCL-(NOM)-OBJECT NP]:*

The following example is a relative clause based on Object Noun Phrase Relativization:

(24) Jixi Jingzhou dialect (Hui, Sinitic)

渠吃吃（仂）只碗

kɪi^{33}	tɕ^{h}ie?^{3}~tɕ^{h}ie?	(nɤ?)	tɕie?^{3}	vɔ^{213}
3SG	eat ~ VCL: eat. **PFV**	(NOM)	NCL	bowl

'The bowl of food that he has eaten.' (Zhao Rixin, 2015:214)

6. The Perfective aspect (3)

– *The auto-verbal classifiers code the perfective aspect in a cleft sentence with patient topicalization:*

– *[OBJECT NP-FOC-SUBJECT NP-VERB-AUTO VCLP-NOM]:*

(25) Jixi Jingzhou dialect (Hui, Sinitic)

那块地是我挖挖仂

nɔ^{31}	k^{h}uɛ^{55}	ts^{h}ɿ^{31}	ts^{h}ɿ^{213}	ɔ^{213}	vo^{55}~vo	nɤʔ
that	NCL	field	FOC	1SG	dig ~ VCL: dig. **PFV**	NOM

'I have dug that piece of field.' (Zhao Rixin, 2015:214)

(26) Jixi Jingzhou dialect (Hui, Sinitic)

尔本书是渠看看仂

n^{31}	pɛ^{213}	t^{h}ə̃^{31}	ts^{h}ɿ^{213}	kɪi^{33}	k^{h}ɔ^{35}~k^{h}ɔ	nɤʔ
this	NCL	book	FOC	3SG	read ~ VCL: read. **PFV**	NOM

'He has read this book.' (Zhao Rixin, 2015:214)

7. The imperfective aspect (1)

- In the Hui dialects, the auto-VCLs in the verb phrase [VERB-AUTO VCL] can code the imperfective aspect in the verb construction [(VERB$_1$-AUTO VCL)-VP$_2$] in a subordinate clause to provide the background information.
- This is also a structure not found in Standard Mandarin.

(27) Shexian dialect (Hui, Sinitic)

佢讲讲就笑起来喽

ti^{44}	**ka^{35}~ka^{35}**	ts^{h}io^{313}	siɔ^{35}	tɕ^{h}i^{35}lɛ^{44}	lɔ
3SG	**talk ~ VCL: talk. IPFV**	then	laugh	INCEP	PRF

'He was talking and then began to laugh.'

(Anhuisheng Difang Bianzuan Weiyuanhui ed. 1997:526)

(28) Yixian dialect (Hui, Sinitic)

佢看看就一个侬笑起来

k^{h}aɯ^{44}	**k^{h}u:ɐ^{324}~k^{h}u:ɐ^{324}**	tʃ^{h}aɯ^{3}	iɛi^{3}kau^{324}nɑŋ^{44}
3SG	**read ~ VCL: read. IPFV**	then	oneself
si:u^{324}	tʃ^{h}ɛi^{53}luaɯ^{44}		
laugh	INCEP		

'He was reading and then began to laugh.'(Anhuisheng Difang Bianzuan Weiyuanhui ed.,1997:526)

7. The imperfective aspect (2)

- The verb phrase [VERB-AUTO VCL] can be reduplicated once to code the imperfective aspect in the verb construction [(VERB$_1$-AUTO VCL)-(VERB$_1$-AUTO VCL)-VP$_2$] in a subordinate clause to provide the background information.
- This is also a structure not found in Standard Mandarin, but it can be identified in other dialect groups such as Wu.

(29) Shexian Daguyun dialect (Hui, Sinitic)

渠看电视看看看看睏着啦

kei^{55}	k^{h}a^{214} t^{h}ei^{33}sɿ^{33}	**k^{h}a^{214}~k^{h}a**	
3SG	watchtelevision	**watch ~ VCL: watch. IPFV**	
k^{h}a^{214}~k^{h}a		k^{h}uəŋ^{214}tɕ^{h}iɤ^{33}	liɑ
watch ~ VCL: watch. IPFV		fall asleep	PRF

'He was watching TV and then fell asleep.' (Chen Li, 2013:159)

- Auto-VCLs in the verb structure can be replaced by the imperfective aspect marker *DE* 得 in Hui Chinese:

(30) Shexian Daguyun dialect (Hui, Sinitic)

渠看电视看得看得睏着啦

kei^{55}	k^{h}a^{214}	t^{h}ei^{33}sɿ^{33}	**k^{h}a^{214}**	**tei**	**k^{h}a^{214}**	**tei**
3SG	watch	television	**watch**	**IPFV**	**watch**	**IPFV**
k^{h}uəŋ^{214}tɕ^{h}iɤ^{33}		liɑ				
fall asleep		PRF				

'He was watching TV and then fell asleep.' (Chen Li, 2013:159)

Interim Summary

- In this section, I have shown several auto-VCL structures and functions that are specific to the Hui dialects for coding the perfective and imperfective aspects:

  – Auto-VCLs code the perfective aspect:
    - In a topicalized structure: [OBJECT NP-VERB-AUTO VCL];
    - In a relative clause: [SUBJECT NP-VERB-AUTO VCL-(NOM)-OBJECT NP];
    - In a cleft sentence with patient topicalization:
      [OBJECT NP-FOC-SUBJECT NP-VERB-AUTO VCL-NOM].

  – Auto-VCLs code the imperfective aspect:
    - In the verb construction [($VERB_1$-AUTO VCL) -VP_2];
    - In the verb construction [($VERB_1$-AUTO VCL)-($VERB_1$-AUTO VCL)-VP_2] (also found in Wu Chinese).

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PART IV:

CONCLUSION

Conclusion (1)

VCL structures in Hui Chinese share these similarities with other Sinitic languages:

- Lexical aspects with VCLPs:
  - Only activity and semelfactive verbs whose semantic features are dynamic and atelic can combine with VCLPs to indicate the delimitative, semelfactive and iterative aspects;
  - The delimitative aspect is indicated by the verb phrase:

    [ACTIVITY VERB- ('one') – INTERVALLIC CLASSIFIER/AUTO VCL];
  - The semelfactive aspect is indicated by the verb phrase:

    [SEMELFACTIVE VERB- 'one' – BODY PART VCL/INSTRUMENTAL VCL/FREQUENCY VCL]
  - The iterative aspect is indicated by the verb phrase:

    [SEMELFACTIVE VERB- ('one') – INTERVALLIC CLASSIFIER/AUTO VCL]

- Grammatical aspects with VCLPs:
  - VCLPs cannot co-occur with the imperfective aspect markers;
  - Auto-VCLs indicate the habitual aspect in the verb construction:

    [VERB-AUTO VCL-INDEFINITE OBJECT]

Conclusion (2)

The following VCL structures are specific to Hui Chinese compared with other Sinitic languages:

- Auto-VCLs can code the perfective or imperfective aspect in different types of complex sentences:
  - Coding the perfective aspect:
    - The auto-VCLs code the perfective aspect in a topicalized structure:
      [OBJECT NP-VERB-AUTO VCL];
    - The auto-VCLs can indicate the perfective aspect in a relative clause:
      [SUBJECT NP-VERB-AUTO VCL-(NOM)-OBJECT NP];
    - The auto-VCLs can code the perfective aspect in a cleft sentence with patient topicalization:
      [OBJECT NP-FOC-SUBJECT NP-VERB-AUTO VCL-NOM]
  - Coding the imperfective aspect:
    - The auto-VCLs in the verb phrase [VERB-AUTO VCL] can code the imperfective aspect in the verb construction [($VERB_1$-AUTO VCL) -VP_2] in a subordinate clause to provide the background information;
    - The verb phrase [VERB-AUTO VCL] can be reduplicated once to code the imperfective aspect in the verb construction [($VERB_1$-AUTO VCL)-($VERB_1$-AUTO VCL)-VP_2] in a complex sentence to provide the background information.

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