

Constructions and Functions of Particle 㗎 in Hakka*

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Abstract

In most languages, the most common particle is the sentence-final particle. However the Hakka language, apart from the sentence-final particle, there are also post-verbal particles and this makes the word class difficult to identify. The particle has no precise meaning itself but has an important function at clause or phrase level.

The goal of this study was to clarify the particle 㗎 in Hakka language. When the author investigated grammar of Bangkok Hakka, the particle 㗎 was found to have multiple functions. The particle 㗎 is a bound morpheme. It cannot stand alone and always attaches to the post-verbal position. Some constructions can delete it but others cannot. Data from colloquial language found in the texts were collected and analyzed. Research findings indicate that there are at least three patterns of use for particle 㗎, according to its function. i) it should be called location particle and its structure is V + particle 㗎 + locative phrase. ii) it may be called as aspect marker and its structure is V + particle 㗎 + PERF. iii) it is used in the interrogative clause and its structure is V + particle 㗎 + alternative conjunction + Item. Furthermore, the particle 㗎 can be deleted in the structure V ± particle 㗎 + direction but the sound does not appear so elegant.

Keywords: Hakka, grammatical particle, post-verbal particle

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1. Introduction

There are few studies of Hakka grammar in Thailand. One reason scholars do not choose to research this topic is because Hakka is a dialect of Chinese and they believe it is not different from Mandarin Chinese. However, although they are in the same language family branch, they are not the same. For this reason, a number of aspects of Hakka are of interest for detailed study.

Hakka speakers in Thailand are descendants of migrants from several areas in China, and, as such, they speak different sub-dialects such as Meixian, Fengshun, Taipu, Xingning, Jiayang, Jiaoliang, etc. From previous studies of Hakka in Thailand, it was found that the Hakka language situation is declining (Siripen, 2011:168) and it can be considered an endangered language in Thailand. An indication of this is that it is quite rare to find good informants to collect data from - most informants are over 50 years old (Siripen, 2007). Hakka speakers who are under 50 either cannot use their mother tongue or are only able to use it a little. Although there are many descendants of the original Hakka migrants, they cannot speak or do not speak their language at home. This situation indicates that there will be no good informants who know the Hakka language in the near future. Some issues at the grammar level of Hakka are interesting to study such as particles, modality, aspect, etc. Each language or dialect of Hakka has significant points, not only in the phonology, but also in the grammatical structure. This research is continuation of the researcher's dissertation (2007) in the area of phonological and acoustic studies. The data was collected

from five informants who are descendants of migrants from Meixian, Guangdong Province, China. The main informant is now 85 years old and still speaks Hakka everyday.

The objective of the study is to present and describe the usage of the particle 㗎 (a) in multiple contexts and discuss its functions.

2. Summarized of Hakka phonology

This paper is based on Meixian Hakka phonology (2007) and is based on data collected from Hakka speakers living in the Bangkok area who speak the Meixian dialect. The results of study on the phonology identified 18 onsets or initial consonants /p, p^h, t, t^h, k, k^h, ʔ, ts, ts^h, f, s, h, m, n, ŋ, l, w, j/ which combine with 66 rimes. Within the tonal system there are four contrastive tones that occur on live syllables and two contrastive tones that occur on dead syllables. The live syllables include open syllables and closed syllables with final nasals m, n, ŋ whereas the dead syllables are syllables closed with final stops p, t, k. The tone contours and tone values can be symbolized as 133 mid level for Tone1, 121 mid-low falling for tone 2, 31 mid falling for tone 3, 144 mid-high level for tone 4, 32 short mid falling for tone 5, and 14 short mid-high level for tone 6, respectively.

Phonological differences exist between Hakka sub-dialects particularly between consonant phonemes, single vowel phonemes, final consonants, and tones. For example, Jie Yang sub-dialect (Pratoom, 1984) has 21 consonant phonemes, 6 single vowel phonemes, 6 final consonants, and 4 tones (but not separate dead and live syllables). Hsing Ning sub-dialect (Jurairat, 2001) has a similar phonological structure as the Jie Yang sub-

dialect, however it only has four final consonants. (See more details in Table 2.6 of Siripen, 2007: 30-31)

3. Methodology

Data was collected from several stories using an audio recorder and then transcribed using IPA script. Chinese characters were written for each syllable however, some characters were different from the Mandarin Chinese. The Chinese language uses only one writing system however dialects do not use a standard writing system, and this includes Hakka. Thus, the Chinese characters shown in this study are pronounced in the Hakka dialect, specifically, the Meixian sub-dialect. Siripen (2007) elicited many sentences and explanations, however, any particles present were explored from connected natural speech in context. So, the more data there was from the stories, the more particles were to be found.

A tagmemic framework was used in this study. The analysis of grammar is an interweaving of structure, function, and semantics at the various hierarchical ranks (Thomas, 1993). The same forms or words may reveal different functions according to their meaning and when they change their positions in the structure, the function changes too. The relationship between semantics, functions and structures determines meaning so all need to be considered.

4. Word order in Hakka

Hakka, like other Chinese dialects in general, has subject-verb-object (SVO) word order.

Example: S +V +O
 㗎² k^hian¹ kew³
 㗎 牵 狗
 I to lead dog 'I lead a dog'
 ki² ta³ ku³ 㗎²
 佢 打 鼓 子
 he/she to hit drum suffix
 'He/she hits a drum'

Word types in Hakka can be divided into compounding, affixation, reduplication and onomatopoeia. Prefixes are less common than suffixes and infixes are not found in Hakka. Prefixes and suffixes are usually bound forms which do not occur independently (Matthews and Yip, 1994:31) Suffixes used to identify gender in Hakka normally have three forms. Suffixes ku³ 𠵿 and ku¹ 公 are used to indicate male, while suffix ma² 孃 is used to indicate female (Siripen, 2013: 25-26).

At the phrase level, the modifiers are put on the left side of the head except for animate genders.

Example of general modifier:

modifier + Head
 ts^hon² fu⁴
 长 裤
 long trousers 'long trousers'
 t^haj⁴ wuk⁵
 大 屋
 big house 'big house'

Example of animate gender:

Head + modifier
 ke¹ ma²
 鸡 孃
 chicken suffix (female) 'hen'
 kew³ ku³
 狗 𠵿

dog suffix (male) ‘male dog’
 ke¹ kuŋ¹
 鸡 公 ‘cock’
 chicken suffix (male)

Therefore, post-modifiers of animate genders in Hakka are classified as suffixes (Siripen, 2013: 25) which is different from general pre-modifiers.

5. Meaning and function of the particles

David Crystal (1991: 251-252) provides the following meaning of a particle:

“A term used in grammatical description to refer to an invariable item with grammatical function, especially one which does not readily fit into a standard classification of parts of speech.”

Thus, particles function at the grammatical level and have no precise lexical meaning but act as marker making the context smooth or more elegant. The particle 㗎 (pa⁴) is a bound morpheme and has no meaning in itself so it is also classified as a “particle”.

Chappell and Lamarre (2005) worked on the grammar and lexicon of Hakka and described other postverbal particles (directionals and completives). They offered examples of the postverbal particle loj² 来 which derives from the verb ‘to come’. When it functions as a postverbal particle, its meaning is like ‘to become’ or ‘to have become something’. Another postverbal particle is hi⁴ 去 which derives from the verb ‘to go’. Its meaning changes to ‘away’ or ‘to (there)’.

Examples: ŋi² tʰaj⁴ laj² tsʰiw⁴ ʔoj⁴ kaw¹ su¹
 你大来就爱教书

2sg big come then must teach book
 ‘When you have grown up, you will have to teach.’

(Chappell and Lamarre, 2005:111)

Examples: tsew³ loj² tsew³ hi⁴

走 来 走 去

go come go go

‘to pace up and down’

(Chappell and Lamarre, 2005:113)

Other postverbal particles that they identify are: tsew³ 走 ‘walk’, ‘away’; tson³ 转 ‘return’, ‘back’, ‘again’; lok⁶ 落 ‘into’; tsʰut⁵ 出 ‘out of’; soŋ¹ 上 ‘up’; ha¹ 下 ‘down’; hi³ 起 ‘raise’, ‘up’.

This article will analyze the particle 㗎 (pa⁴) which is not mentioned in Chappell and Lamarre’s description of particles. I will clarify this in the next section.

6. Constructions and functions of grammatical particles 㗎 (pa⁴) in Bangkok Hakka

Siripen (2013) found that the bound morpheme 㗎 (pa⁴) required further investigation. It has no precise meaning but can function in many positions as follows:

6.1 Location particle

The first one is called ‘location particle’ because it occurs between the verb and the locative phrase. Its meaning is similar to ‘at’, and links verbs and locations.

Its structure is V + particle 㗎 (pa⁴) + locative phrase.

Examples:

- (1) tʰoŋ² loŋ² tʰu³ sam² ʔoj⁴ pian⁴ 㗎 su⁴ jap⁶
 poj⁴ hew¹ tsan⁴ tsok⁵ tet⁵ sam² me² taw³.
 螳螂捕蝉爱辟呀树叶背
 后正捉得蝉子倒。

grasshopper catch cicada must hide 㗎⁴
leaf behind then catch can cicada asp.
'When the grasshopper wants to catch a
cicada, it must hide itself behind a leaf.'

From example (1), the particle 㗎 links the
verb pian⁴ 屏 and the locative phrase su⁴ jap⁶
poj⁴ hew¹ 树叶 背后.

- (2) law³ pak⁵ na¹ ts^hut⁵ tson¹ jiw¹ ke⁴ fu² lu²,
pion⁴ 㗎⁴ thⁱ ho⁴
老伯拿出装油个葫芦, 放
㗎地上
old man pick out fill oil rel. gourd,
lay down 㗎⁴ ground on
'The old man picked out the gourd for
filling oil and laid it on the ground.'

From example (2), the particle 㗎 links pion⁴
放 and the locative phrase thⁱ ho⁴ 地上.

The following examples show the
function of the particle 㗎 in the same
position.

- (3) ts^hu⁴ 㗎⁴ niat⁶ k^hiw² hon⁴
住 㗎⁴ 月球上
live 㗎⁴ the moon on
'live on the moon'
- (4) th^aj⁴ sim¹ k^hiw¹ ts^hiw⁴ pan⁴ lu⁴ maj¹ taw³
jit⁵ tsat⁵ san⁴ ne³ taj⁴ 㗎⁴ sin¹ hon⁴
大心白就半路买倒一扎
扇子带 㗎⁴ 身上
big female in-law then half way buy
PERF. one cl. fan bring 㗎⁴ body on
'The first female in-law walked along the
path then bought one fan and took it her.'
- (5) jiw¹ jit⁵ nit⁵ ka¹ kuon¹ na¹ jit⁵ ki¹ saw⁴
pa³ pion⁴ 㗎⁴ th^aj⁴ mun² hew³ thⁱ ha¹.
有一日, 家官拿一枝扫把放
㗎大门口地下

have one day, father in-law (of a woman)
take one cl. broom put down 㗎⁴ big door
mouth floor

'One day, father in-law took a broom and
put it on the floor in front of the door.'

- (6) jit⁵ tsak⁵ kuaj³ 㗎² ts^hu⁴ 㗎⁴ jit⁵ hew³ fi⁴
tsian³ tu³ 㗎²
一只 蛄子住 㗎⁴ 一口 废井肚里
one cl. frog live 㗎⁴ one cl. abolish
a well inside
'There was a frog which lived in the
empty well.'
- (7) na¹ wok⁶ thew² pion⁴ 㗎⁴ lu² 㗎² hon⁴
拿 锅头放 㗎⁴ 炉子上
take a pan put 㗎⁴ stove on
'Take a pan and put it on the stove'
- (8) ts^hu⁴ 㗎⁴ ho² sun² ke⁴ tsi⁴ sew³, ja¹
ts^hiw⁴ he⁴ pak⁵ hiaw³ sin¹ san¹
住 㗎⁴ 河唇个智叟, 也就
係百晓先生
live 㗎⁴ river mouth rel. clever old
man, also is shrewd man
'The man who lives at the mouth of the
river is a clever old man.'
- (9) ki² jiw¹ jit⁵ tsak⁵ se⁴ ts^ha² fu². ki² mi¹ nit⁵
tu¹ ts^ho¹ 㗎⁴ lu² pien¹ p^haw⁴ ts^ha² pun¹
ts^hi⁴ ka¹ sit⁶.
佢有一只 细茶壶. 佢每日都坐 㗎⁴
路边泡茶分自家食.
she has one cl. small kettle. she
everyday all sit 㗎⁴ roadside boil tea give
oneself drink
'She has a small kettle. She sits down at
the roadside and boils tea for herself everyday.'

Table 1 A summary of the particle 㗎⁴ when occurring with a locative phrase

verb	particle 㗎 ⁴	locative phrase	meaning
屏 pian ⁴ ‘hide’	㗎	树叶 背后 su ⁴ jap ⁶ poj ⁴ hew ¹ ‘behind a leaf’	hide behind a leaf
放 pian ⁴ ‘lay down’	㗎	地上 thi ⁴ hoj ⁴ ‘on the ground’	lay down on the ground
住 tshu ⁴ ‘live’	㗎	月球上 ŋiat ⁶ k ^{hiw} ² hoj ⁴ ‘on the moon’	live on the moon
放 pian ⁴ ‘put’	㗎	大门口地下 t ^h aj ⁴ mun ² hew ³ t ^h i ⁴ ha ¹ ‘floor in front of a door’	put on the floor in front of a door
住 tshu ⁴ ‘live’	㗎	一口废井肚里 jit ⁶ hew ³ fi ⁴ tsian ³ tu ³ ʔe ² ‘in the abolish well’	live in the abolish well
放 pian ⁴ ‘put’	㗎	炉子上 lu ² ʔe ² hoj ⁴ ‘on the stove’	put on the stove
住 tshu ⁴ ‘live’	㗎	河唇 ho ² sun ² ‘with the river mouth’	live at a with the river mouth
坐 tsho ¹ ‘sit down’	㗎	路边 lu ² pien ¹ ‘roadside’	sit down at the roadside
带 taj ⁴ ‘bring together’	㗎	身上 sin ¹ hoj ⁴ ‘with the body’	bring together with the body

From Table 1, the position of particle 㗎⁴ occurs after verbs and is followed by the locative phrase. The structure of locative phrase is composed of optional place marker filled by the word hoj¹, an obligatory head filled by the noun phrase, and an obligatory relator filled by the preposition as follows:

LocP = ± Place mk: hoj¹ + H: np + Rel: prep.

When the particle 㗎⁴ occurs with a locative phrase, it has no meaning but functions as a preposition, meaning ‘in’, ‘on’ or ‘at’ etc.

6.2 Aspect marker particle

The second one is called ‘aspect marker particle’ because it occurs between the verb and the aspect marker. Aspect is a grammatical category associated with verbs which related to state, time or an event. Examples of aspect in Hakka are perfective aspect: taw³倒, ʔe²哩, experiential aspect: kuo⁴过, and continuous aspect: ten³等, hoj¹ 在 (Siripen, 2013).

When the particle 㗎⁴ occurs with an aspect marker, its meaning cannot be translated precisely but it makes the utterance sound smooth and natural.

Its structure is V+ particle 㗎+ aspect marker (PERF¹¹)

Examples:

- (10) ka¹ k^huon¹ t^haj⁴ 㗎⁴ taw³ sip⁶ fun¹ fon¹ hi³. mun⁴ wa⁴ se⁴ moj⁴ 㗎² he⁴ man³ ɲin², ts^hoj¹ ɲaj⁴ 㗎².

家官听呀倒十分欢喜。
问话细妹子係么人，在哪里。
father-in-law listen 㗎⁴ PERF. very delighted. ask that small woman is who live where

‘Father-in-law was very delighted after listening to (the news) then asked who that was and where she lived.’

- (11) men³ 㗎⁴ 㗎². sam¹ tsi³ saw³ ts^hi^w⁴ ts^hiun² t^hew² taw⁴ mi¹ kon³ pun¹ ki² t^haj¹.

恸呀哩。三子嫂就从头到尾讲分佢听。

think 㗎⁴ PERF three daughter-in-law then from first to end tell to her listen
‘After thinking the three daughters-in-law told her the whole story.’

- (12) ts^hin⁴ 㗎⁴ 㗎² jiw¹ sam¹ pak⁵ lion¹ 㗎³ to¹. fon¹ hi³ si³ 㗎².

秤呀哩有三百两恁多。欢喜死哩。

weight 㗎⁴ PERF have three hundred two so much delighted die fp.¹²

‘The weight was three hundred and twenty so he was very delighted.’

- (13) ka¹ k^huon¹ t^haj¹ 㗎⁴ taw³. sip⁶ fun¹ fon¹ hi³

家官听呀倒十分欢喜
father-in-law listen 㗎⁴ PERF very delight
‘Father-in-law has already heard and he is very delighted.’

- (14) nam² kuok⁵ sin¹ saŋ¹ ti¹ 㗎⁴ taw³ kiak⁵ kiak⁵ t^hew¹ tsew³.

南郭先生知呀倒遽遽偷走。
name man know 㗎⁴ PERF hurry run away

‘When the man found out, he ran away quickly.’

- (15) lu² 㗎² k^hon⁴ 㗎⁴ taw³ t^haj⁴ saŋ¹ jit⁵ kiaw⁴. law⁴ fu³ hak⁵ si³ 㗎², kiak⁵ kiak⁵ tsew³ k^hoj¹

驴子看呀倒，大声一叫。老虎吓死哩，遽遽走开。

donkey see 㗎⁴ PERF, big sound one to roar. tiger fear die part. hurry ran away
‘When the donkey saw a tiger, brayed very loudly and the tiger get frightened and ran away.’

¹¹ PERF = perfective aspect

¹² fp. = final particle

Table 2 Summary of the particle 㗎 which occurs with aspect marker (PERF¹³)

verb	particle 㗎	aspect marker (PERF)	meaning
看 k ^h on ⁴ ‘see’	呀	倒 taw ³	already seen
听 t ^h an ⁴ ‘listen’	呀	倒 taw ³	already listened
恁 men ³ ‘think’	呀	哩 㗎 ²	already thought
秤 ts ^h in ⁴ ‘weigh’	呀	哩 㗎 ²	already weighed
知 ti ¹ ‘know’	呀	倒 taw ³	already known

From Table 2, the particle 㗎 is always positioned between the verb and perfective markers but it adds no meaning to the phrase. Its function remains that of a particle.

6.3 Conjunction particle

This type of particle 㗎 is used in interrogative clauses. It is positioned between the verb and the alternative conjunction and has no precise meaning.

Its structure is V+ particle 㗎 + alternative conjunction han² he⁴ 还係 + Item
Examples:

(16) 㗎² loj² ke³ le² he⁴ loj² liaw⁴ 㗎² han² he⁴ loj² k^hiw² hok⁶

你来 这里 係 来 𠵿 呀 还係 来 求学?

you come here is come travel 㗎² or come study

‘you came here for travel or study?’

(17) 㗎² 㗎² kaw¹ pi¹ 㗎² han² he⁴ 㗎² ts^ha²

你爱 咖啡 呀 还係 爱 茶?

you want coffee 㗎² or want tea

‘Do you want coffee or tea?’

6.4 Other

6.4.1 Directional particle

The particle 㗎 can be deleted in some cases. This can be called a directional particle because it links the verb and the direction.

Its structure is V± particle 㗎 + direction

Examples:

(18) jiw¹ jit⁵ paj³, tson¹ tsu¹ pot⁵ mu⁴ pot⁵ taw³ ts^hi⁴ ka¹ pien⁴ tso⁴ jit⁵ tsak⁵ fu² t^hiap⁶, pi¹ 㗎² loj² pi¹ 㗎² hi⁴, sip⁶ fun¹ ts^hi⁴ ts^haj⁴

有一摆, 庄周 发梦 发倒自 家 变 做一只 蝴蝶,

飞 呀 来, 飞 呀 去, 十分 自在

have one time, name dream to oneself become to be one cl. butterfly,

fly 㗎² come, fly 㗎² go, very happy

‘Once, Zhong zu had a dream that he turned into a butterfly, flow back and forth and felt very happy.’

In example (18), the particle 㗎 can be deleted but the resulting sound does not seem elegant or natural.

¹³ PERF = perfective aspect

- (19) koŋ³ 㗎⁴ p^het⁵, ts^hiw⁴ na¹ taw³ taw¹
 㗎². lioŋ³ ke⁴ ŋin² t^hen⁴ su³ ts^hiam¹ 㗎⁴
 lok⁶ hi⁴.
 讲 呀 撇, 就 拿 倒 刀 子. 两个人
 搵手 釧 呀 落 去.
 speak 㗎⁴ PERF, then pick up asp. knife.
 two people cooperate stab 㗎⁴ down
 ‘Finished speaking, two people
 cooperated to stab the fox to death.’
- (20) haŋ² taw⁴ wok⁶ pien¹, kiam⁴ hak⁵ jit⁵ kiam⁴
 tsam³ 㗎⁴ hi⁴.
 行 到 鍋 边, 劍 客 一 劍 斩
 呀 去
 walk to a pan beside, swordsman one
 time chop 㗎⁴ off
- (21) lu² 㗎² tson⁴ 㗎⁴ ha¹, ts^hiw⁴ pun¹ law⁴
 hu³ sit⁶ p^het⁵ le².
 驴子转 呀 下, 就 分 老 虎 食
 撇 哩。
 donkey fall 㗎⁴ down, then passive tiger
 eat PERF 㗎⁴.
 ‘The donkey fell down and was eaten by
 a tiger.’

Table 3 Summary of the particle 㗎 which occurs with the direction verbs

verb	Particle 㗎 ⁴	direction	meaning
飞pi ¹ ‘fly’	呀	来loj ² ‘come’	fly back
飞pi ¹ ‘fly’	呀	去hi ⁴ ‘go’	fly forth
釧ts ^h iam ¹ ‘stab’	呀	落去lok ⁶ hi ⁴ ‘fall down’	stab down
转tson ⁴ ‘turn’	呀	下ha ¹ ‘down’	fall down
斩tsam ³ ‘chop’	呀	去hi ⁴ ‘go’	chop down

The particle described in Table 3 has no meaning. It makes a sentence sound smooth and elegant.

6.4.2 Verbal particle

This type of particle 㗎 functions as a verbal particle because it is always placed after the verb with no need to link it to another word.

Its structure is verb + particle 㗎 + item (clause or phrase)

Examples:

- (22) ki² wa⁴, “tsaw⁴ kuj¹ ki³ jiw¹ tsen¹
 tsip⁵. 㗎⁴ ts^hian³ sam¹ ke⁴ law³ ŋin³
 ka¹ loj² p^han¹, k^hon⁴ 㗎⁴ man³ ŋin²
 ts^hok⁶ man³ ŋin² m² ts^hok⁶

佢话, “照 规矩 有 争执, 爱 请
 三 个 老 人 家 来 判, 看 呀 么
 人 着, 么 人 唔 着

he said the custom have quarrel must
 invite three cl. old people come judge,
 see 㗎⁴ who right, who not right

‘He said, in general custom when anyone
 has a quarrel, they must invite three old
 people to determine who is right and who
 is wrong.’

- (23) k^hon⁴ ʔa⁴ jiw¹ ŋaj⁴ tsak⁵ ja¹ ts^hu⁴ kam³
m² wi⁴ ŋaj² ʔa⁴ mo².
看呀有哪只野兽敢唔畏
佢呀无
see ʔa⁴ have which wild animals dare
not fear me ʔa⁴ not
‘See! no wild animals are unafraid of me.’
- (24) ki² k^hi¹ ʔa⁴ li² mak⁵ k^het⁵ fun¹ sup⁶ fun¹
k^hiun¹
佢企呀离麦克风十分近
he stand ʔa⁴ away from microphone
very near
‘He stood back from the microphone
very near.’
- (25) ki² ts^ho¹ ʔa⁴ tset⁵ pien¹
佢坐呀侧边
he sit ʔa⁴ beside
‘He sat beside someone else.’
- (26) san¹ ʔa⁴ t^huŋ² jit⁵ ke⁴ t^hi⁴ foŋ¹
生呀同一个地方
sprout ʔa⁴ together one cl. place
‘(The trees) grew in the same place.’
- (27) ŋi² t^huŋ² man³ ŋin² ts^hu⁴ ʔa⁴ jit⁵ ha⁴?
你同人住呀一下?
you with who live ʔa⁴ together
‘You live together with whom?’
- (28) loj² hi⁴ han² ʔa⁴ le² ʔoj⁴ mo²
来去行呀哩爱么?
come go walk ʔa⁴ part. want not
‘Do you want to go for a walk?’
- (29) ŋi² he⁴ m² sin⁴, ts^hi⁴ w⁴ t^hen² ten³ ŋaj² loj²
hi⁴ ŋin⁴ kuon³ han² ʔa⁴ ʔe²
你係唔信, 就趁等佢来去
認管行呀哩
you are not believe, just follow me come
go everywhere walk ʔa⁴ fp.
‘If you don’t believe me, you can go
anywhere with me to see.’

Table 4 Summary of the particle ʔa⁴呀 which functions as the verbal particle

verb	particle ʔa ⁴	item
看k ^h on ⁴ ‘see’	呀	么人着,么人唔着man ³ ŋin ² ts ^h ok ⁶ , man ³ ŋin ² m ² ts ^h ok ⁶ ‘who is right, who is wrong’
企k ^h i ¹ ‘stand’	呀	离麦克风十分近li ² mak ⁵ k ^h et ⁵ fun ¹ sup ⁶ fun ¹ k ^h iun ¹ ‘away from microphone very near’
坐ts ^h o ¹ ‘sit’	呀	侧边tset ⁵ pien ¹ ‘beside’
生san ¹ ‘sprout’	呀	同一个地方t ^h uŋ ² jit ⁵ ke ⁴ t ^h i ⁴ foŋ ¹ ‘together the same place’
住ts ^h u ⁴ ‘live’	呀	一下jit ⁵ ha ⁴ ‘together’
行han ² ‘walk’	呀	哩ʔe ² ‘final particle’
行han ² ‘walk’	呀	哩ʔe ² , 爱么ʔoj ⁴ mo ² ‘do you want’

From Table 4 we can see that the particle ʔa⁴呀 follows a verb. The following item can be a clause, phrase, modifier, or simply a

final particle. Its meaning is not exactly the same in every context but depends on the meaning of the complete utterance.

6.4.3 Resultative particle

The particle ʔa⁴呀 can function as a resultative particle because it is used together with a transitive verb to indicate an effect on the object or the compound verbs.

Its structure is transitive verb + particle ʔa⁴呀 + complement.

Examples:

- (30) ɲaj² tsan⁴ sit⁶ ʔa⁴ paw³

佢正食呀饱

I just eat ʔa⁴ full

‘I am full from eating.’

- (31) fon² ti⁴ siŋ³ sat⁵ ɲin² mo² tsia⁴ hew³, fo³
hi⁴ mo² haw³ tshut⁵ tsion¹ pa³ su³ hon⁴ na¹
ten³ ke⁴ ɲiuk⁶ fut⁶ ʔep⁶ ʔa⁴ suj⁴

皇帝想杀人无借口, 火气无好出。将把手上拿等个玉笏抗呀碎
the emperor think kill people not
accusation, angry no way out. take hand
on pick PERF cl. jade knock ʔa⁴ shatter
‘The emperor thought of killing the
innocent person because he was angry
Then, he picked up a jade stone and threw
it down until it shattered.’

- (32) m² then² men³ taw³, loŋ² jit⁵ pion⁴ ʔa⁴
tshut⁵ tshiw⁴ tson¹ ɲa¹ wu³ tsaw³ ʔoj⁴ loj²
ɲat⁵ sin¹ san¹.

唔曾恹倒, 狼一放呀出就张牙舞
爪, 爱来啮先生。

unexpected PERF, wolf just let ʔa⁴ out
then snarl, want to bite man

‘Unexpectedly, the wolf had just been let
out, it snarled and wanted to bite the man.’

- (33) ʔan³ tuj⁴ jit⁵ tsak⁵ thu⁴ ʔe² tsew³ tshut⁵
loj² kʰon⁴ taw³ jiw¹ ɲin², tshok⁶ kian¹
tshin⁴ tshiak⁵ jit⁵ tshon⁴, tshon⁴ ʔa⁴ su⁴
tʰew² ha¹. kian³ kin¹ ʔaw³ ʔa⁴ tʰon¹ si³
ʔa⁴ pʰet⁵

恁对一只兔子走出来, 看到有
人, 着惊尽越一撞, 撞呀树头下,
颈茎拗呀断, 死呀撇

by chance, one cl. rabbit come out see
PERF have people, fear hurry run,
bump against ʔa⁴ tree head below, neck
break ʔa⁴ down, died ʔa⁴ PERF

‘Accidentally, a rabbit came out, saw the
people, got scared so it ran away quickly,
and ran into a tree trunk, broke its neck
and died immediately.’

- (34) jit⁵ ke⁴ law³ pak⁵ tsew³ loj² kʰon⁴ taw³
tshiw⁴ kaw¹ ki² wa⁴ “hi⁴ na¹ jit⁵ pa³ ma²
loj² tsam³ ʔa⁴ tʰon¹, m² he⁴ tshiw⁴ tso⁴ tet⁵
ʔo¹”

一个老伯走来看倒, 就教佢话: “去
拿一把刀来斩呀断, 唔係就做
得啊?”

one cl. old man walk come see asp., then
teach he that: go take one cl. knife come
chop ʔa⁴ short, not is then be able
question part.

‘An old man came to see him, then told
him to take a knife and cut it short and
after that the bamboo can go to the gate.’

- (35) pʰon¹ ʔe² ke⁴ hok⁵ tshiw⁴ kʰon⁴ kʰuaj⁴
hap⁴ ʔa⁴ tshiw¹, kiap⁴ ten³ tiaw¹ ʔe² ke⁴
tsuj³.

蚌子个壳就亢快合
呀, 夹等鸟子个嘴

shell rel.pro. valve then quickly close
ʔa⁴ tight, clip able bird rel.pro. mouth
‘The shellfish closed its shell quickly
nipping the bird’s beak.’

Table 5 Summary of the particle 𠵿𠵿 which occurs with resultative verbs

verb	particle 𠵿𠵿	complement	meaning
合 hap ⁴ ‘close’	𠵿	攀 ts ^{hiw} ¹ ‘tight’	closed up tightly
食 sit ⁶ ‘eat’	𠵿	饱 paw ³ ‘full’	Full from eating
斩 tsam ³ ‘chop’	𠵿	断 t ^h on ¹ ‘cut off’	broken down
拗 𠵿aw ³ ‘break’	𠵿	断 t ^h on ¹ ‘cut off’	cut something short
抗 𠵿ep ⁶ ‘knock’	𠵿	碎 suj ⁴ ‘shatter’	knock until shatter
放 pɔŋ ⁴ ‘let go’	𠵿	出 ts ^{hut} ⁵ ‘out’	let out
死 si ³ ‘die’	𠵿	撇 p ^{het} ⁵ ‘perfective’	already died

6.4.4 The particle 𠵿𠵿 can link two verbs

Its structure is V+particle 𠵿𠵿+V

- (36) 𠵿i⁴ sim¹ k^{hiw}¹ ts^{hut}⁵ loj² k^hon⁴ taw³ saw⁴
pa³ ja¹ haŋ² 𠵿a⁴ kuo⁴ m² da³ li¹.

二心 𠵿出来看 倒 𠵿把,也 行 𠵿
过 唔打理.

the second female in-law come see asp.
a broom, just walk 𠵿a⁴ across not interest
‘The second female in-law came out and
saw a broom, She did not pay attention
to it but just walked over it.’

- (37) 𠵿an³ tuj⁴ k^huŋ³ tsi³ soj⁴ 𠵿a⁴ sian³ k^hon⁴ taw³
ŋian² fi² ta³ k^hoj¹ p^hu² lo² koj⁴ ŋiam¹ fan⁴
sit⁶.

恁对 孔子 睡 𠵿醒, 看 倒 颜 回
打开 焮 𠵿盖 拈 饭 食

by chance Confucius sleep 𠵿a⁴ wake up,
see asp. Yanhui open pot lid pick rice eat
‘Accidentally, Confucius woke up and

saw Yanhui was opening the pot’s lid and
picking out some rice to eat.’

- (38) tsioŋ¹ pa³ jit⁵ lew³ li² 𠵿e² pan¹ soŋ¹ ts^{ha}¹
t^hew² tsoj⁴ 𠵿a⁴ tsew³

将把 一 簍 梨子 搬上 车 头 载 𠵿走
take one cl. bamboo basket Chinese pear
to put up on frontage of bicycle carry
𠵿a⁴ go

‘He took one bamboo basket full of
Chinese pears and put it on the front of
his bicycle and rode away.’

- (39) 𠵿an³ tuj⁴ jiw¹ tsak⁵ se⁴ 𠵿a¹ ko¹. k^{hi}² ten³
kiok⁵ t^hap⁶ ts^{ha}¹. ta³ 𠵿a⁴ su⁴ ha¹ kuo⁴

恁对 有 只 细 阿 哥, 骑 等 脚 踏 车,
打 𠵿树 下 过

accidentally have cl. small child, riding
bicycle, pass 𠵿a⁴ tree under across

‘By chance, there was a child who was
riding a bicycle under the tree.’

Table 6 Summary of the particle 㗎, which occurs between two verbs

Verb ₁	Particle 㗎	Locative phrase	Verb ₂	meaning
打ta ³ ‘pass’	呀	树下su ⁴ ha ¹ ‘under the tree’	过kuo ⁴ ‘across’	pass under the tree
载tsoj ⁴ ‘carry’	呀		走tsew ³ ‘away’	put on and ride away
睡soj ⁴ ‘sleep’	呀		醒sian ³ ‘wake up’	wake up sleep
行han ² ‘walk’	呀		过kuo ⁴ ‘across’	walk across

From Table 6 the particle 㗎 links two verbs but the locative phrase may be put before the second verb depending on the first verb.

7. Conclusion and suggestion

This study shows four types and four sub-types of particle 㗎. The particle can be placed after any verb but this research refers to it by several names (6.1, 6.2, 6.3) according to its function. For example, the “location particle”, the “aspect marker particle”, and “conjunction particle” which occur with respectively. The other type of particle 㗎 (6.4) is identified by the verb that it follows such as resultative particle, directional particle and verbal particle occurring with resultative verb, directional verb and other verbs respectively.

The particle itself has no meaning but functions at a grammatical level. Some languages have a complex particle but these are quite difficult to collect and identify, for example, in Thai or Khmer languages. Further study of other Hakka sub-dialects in Thailand would be valuable, particularly a comparative study, if sufficient data could be available.

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