

## Constructions and Functions of Particle ?a<sup>4</sup>呀 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 ans 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 ?a<sup>4</sup>呀 in Hakka language. When the author investigated grammar of Bangkok Hakka, The particle ?a<sup>4</sup>呀 was found to have multiple functions. The particle ?a<sup>4</sup>呀 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 ?a<sup>4</sup>呀, according to its function. i) it should be called location particle and its structure is V + particle ?a<sup>4</sup>呀+ locative phrase. ii) it may be called as aspect marker and its structure is V+ particle ?a<sup>4</sup>呀+ PERF. iii) it is used in the interrogative clause and its structure is V+ particle ?a<sup>4</sup>呀+ alternative conjunction + Item. Furthermore, the particle ?a<sup>4</sup>呀 can be deleted in the structure V± particle ?a<sup>4</sup>呀+ 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 *?a<sup>4</sup>呀* 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<sup>h</sup>, t, t<sup>h</sup>, k, k<sup>h</sup>, ?, ts, ts<sup>h</sup>, f, s, h, m, n, ɻ, 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, ɻ whereas the dead syllables are syllables closed with final stops p, t, k. The tone contours and tone values can be symbolized as ↓33 mid level for Tone1, ↓21 mid-low falling for tone 2, ↓31 mid falling for tone 3, ↑44 mid-high level for tone 4, ↓32 short mid falling for tone 5, and ↑4 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
ŋaj <sup>2</sup> k <sup>h</sup> ian <sup>1</sup> kew <sup>3</sup>
𠂇 牽 狗
I to lead dog 'I lead a dog'
ki <sup>2</sup> ta <sup>3</sup> ku <sup>3</sup> ?e <sup>2</sup>
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 ku<sup>3</sup>牯 and kun<sup>1</sup>公 are used to indicate male, while suffix ma<sup>2</sup>嫗 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 <sup>h</sup> or <sup>2</sup> fu <sup>4</sup>
长 裤
long trousers 'long trousers'
t <sup>h</sup> aj <sup>4</sup> wuk <sup>5</sup>
大 屋
big house 'big house'

Example of animate gender:

Head + modifier
ke <sup>1</sup> ma <sup>2</sup>
鸡 嫩
chicken suffix (female) 'hen'
kew <sup>3</sup> ku <sup>3</sup>
狗 �牯

dog	suffix (male)	‘male dog’
ke <sup>1</sup>	kun <sup>1</sup>	
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 ?a<sup>4</sup>呀 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 loj<sup>2</sup>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 hi<sup>4</sup>去 which derives from the verb ‘to go’. Its meaning changes to ‘away’ or ‘to (there)’.

Examples: ηj<sup>2</sup> t<sup>h</sup>aj<sup>4</sup> laj<sup>2</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>iw<sup>4</sup> ?oj<sup>4</sup> kaw<sup>1</sup> su<sup>1</sup>

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: tsew<sup>3</sup> loj<sup>2</sup> tsew<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>4</sup>

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: tsew<sup>3</sup>走 ‘walk’, ‘away’; tson<sup>3</sup>转‘return’, ‘back’, ‘again’; lok<sup>6</sup>落 ‘into’; ts<sup>h</sup>ut<sup>5</sup>出 ‘out of’; son<sup>1</sup>上 ‘up’; ha<sup>1</sup>下 ‘down’; hi<sup>3</sup>起 ‘raise’, ‘up’.

This article will analyze the particle ?a<sup>4</sup>呀 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 ?a<sup>4</sup>呀 in Bangkok Hakka

Siripen (2013) found that the bound morpheme ?a<sup>4</sup>呀 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 ?a<sup>4</sup>呀 + locative phrase.

Examples:

(1)	t <sup>h</sup> on <sup>2</sup> loj <sup>2</sup> t <sup>h</sup> u <sup>3</sup> sam <sup>2</sup> ?oj <sup>4</sup> piaŋ <sup>4</sup> ?a <sup>4</sup> su <sup>4</sup> jap <sup>6</sup> poj <sup>4</sup> hew <sup>1</sup> tsan <sup>4</sup> tsok <sup>5</sup> tet <sup>5</sup> sam <sup>2</sup> me <sup>2</sup> taw <sup>3</sup> .
	螳螂捕蝉爱扉呀树叶背 后正捉得蝉子倒。

grasshopper catch cicada must hide ʔa<sup>4</sup>  
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 ʔa<sup>4</sup>呀 links the  
verb pian<sup>4</sup>屏 and the locative phrase su<sup>4</sup> jap<sup>6</sup>  
poj<sup>4</sup> hew<sup>1</sup>树叶 背后.

(2) law<sup>3</sup> pak<sup>5</sup> na<sup>1</sup> ts<sup>5</sup>ut<sup>5</sup> tson<sup>1</sup> jiw<sup>1</sup> ke<sup>4</sup> fu<sup>2</sup> lu<sup>2</sup>,  
piɔŋ<sup>4</sup> ʔa<sup>4</sup> t<sup>5</sup>i<sup>4</sup> hon<sup>4</sup>  
老伯拿出装油个葫芦, 放  
呀地上  
old man pick out fill oil rel. gourd,  
lay down ʔa<sup>4</sup> ground on

‘The old man picked out the gourd for  
filling oil and laid it on the ground.’

From example (2), the particle ʔa<sup>4</sup>呀 links piɔŋ<sup>4</sup>  
放 and the locative phrase t<sup>5</sup>i<sup>4</sup> hon<sup>4</sup>地上.

The following examples show the  
function of the particle ʔa<sup>4</sup>呀 in the same  
position.

(3) ts<sup>5</sup>u<sup>4</sup> ʔa<sup>4</sup> niat<sup>6</sup> k<sup>5</sup>iw<sup>2</sup> hon<sup>4</sup>

住 呀月球上

live ʔa<sup>4</sup> the moon on

‘live on the moon’

(4) t<sup>5</sup>aj<sup>4</sup> sim<sup>1</sup> k<sup>5</sup>iw<sup>1</sup> ts<sup>5</sup>hiw<sup>4</sup> pan<sup>4</sup> lu<sup>4</sup> maj<sup>1</sup> taw<sup>3</sup>  
jit<sup>5</sup> tsat<sup>5</sup> san<sup>4</sup> ne<sup>3</sup> taj<sup>4</sup> ʔa<sup>4</sup> sin<sup>1</sup> hon<sup>4</sup>

大心白就半路买倒一扎

扇子带呀身上

big female in-law then half way buy  
PERF. one cl. fan bring ʔa<sup>4</sup> body on

‘The first female in-law walked along the  
path then bought one fan and took it her.’

(5) jiw<sup>1</sup> jit<sup>5</sup> ɿit<sup>5</sup> ka<sup>1</sup> kuon<sup>1</sup> na<sup>1</sup> jit<sup>5</sup> ki<sup>1</sup> saw<sup>4</sup>  
pa<sup>3</sup> piɔŋ<sup>4</sup> ʔa<sup>4</sup> t<sup>5</sup>aj<sup>4</sup> mun<sup>2</sup> hew<sup>3</sup> t<sup>5</sup>i<sup>4</sup> ha<sup>1</sup>.

有一日, 家官拿一枝扫把放  
呀大门口地下

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

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

(6) jit<sup>5</sup> tsak<sup>5</sup> kuaj<sup>3</sup> ɿe<sup>2</sup> ts<sup>5</sup>hu<sup>4</sup> ʔa<sup>4</sup> jit<sup>5</sup> hew<sup>3</sup> fi<sup>4</sup>  
tsian<sup>3</sup> tu<sup>3</sup> ɿe<sup>2</sup>

一只蝎子住呀一口废井肚里  
one cl. frog live ʔa<sup>4</sup> one cl. abolish  
a well inside

‘There was a frog which lived in the  
empty well.’

(7) na<sup>1</sup> wok<sup>6</sup> thew<sup>2</sup> piɔŋ<sup>4</sup> ʔa<sup>4</sup> lu<sup>2</sup> ɿe<sup>2</sup> hon<sup>4</sup>

拿锅头放呀炉子上

take a pan put ʔa<sup>4</sup> stove on  
‘Take a pan and put it on the stove’

(8) ts<sup>5</sup>hu<sup>4</sup> ʔa<sup>4</sup> ho<sup>2</sup> sun<sup>2</sup> ke<sup>4</sup> tsi<sup>4</sup> sew<sup>3</sup>, ja<sup>1</sup>  
ts<sup>5</sup>hiw<sup>4</sup> he<sup>4</sup> pak<sup>5</sup> hiaw<sup>3</sup> sin<sup>1</sup> saŋ<sup>1</sup>

住呀河唇个智叟, 也就  
係百晓先生

live ʔa<sup>4</sup> 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) ki<sup>2</sup> jiw<sup>1</sup> jit<sup>5</sup> tsak<sup>5</sup> se<sup>4</sup> ts<sup>5</sup>ha<sup>2</sup> fu<sup>2</sup>. ki<sup>2</sup> mi<sup>1</sup> ɿit<sup>5</sup>  
tu<sup>1</sup> ts<sup>5</sup>ho<sup>1</sup> ʔa<sup>4</sup> lu<sup>2</sup> pien<sup>1</sup> p<sup>5</sup>haw<sup>4</sup> ts<sup>5</sup>ha<sup>2</sup> pun<sup>1</sup>  
ts<sup>5</sup>hi<sup>4</sup> ka<sup>1</sup> sit<sup>6</sup>.

佢有一只细茶壺. 佢每日都坐呀  
路邊泡茶分自家食.

she has one cl. small kettle. she  
everyday all sit ʔa<sup>4</sup> 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 ?a<sup>4</sup>呀 when occurring with a locative phrase

verb	particle?a <sup>4</sup>	locative phrase	meaning
屏 pian <sup>4</sup> 'hide'	呀	树叶 背后 su <sup>4</sup> jap <sup>6</sup> poj <sup>4</sup> hew <sup>1</sup> 'behind a leaf'	hide behind a leaf
放 pion <sup>4</sup> 'lay down'	呀	地上 thi <sup>4</sup> hon <sup>4</sup> 'on the ground'	lay down on the ground
住tshu <sup>4</sup> 'live'	呀	月球上 ŋiat <sup>6</sup> kʰiw <sup>2</sup> hon <sup>4</sup> 'on the moon'	live on the moon
放piŋ <sup>4</sup> 'put'	呀	大门口地下 tʰaj <sup>4</sup> mun <sup>2</sup> hew <sup>3</sup> tʰi <sup>4</sup> ha <sup>1</sup> 'floor in front of a door'	put on the floor in front of a door
住ts <sup>b</sup> u <sup>4</sup> 'live'	呀	一口废井肚里 jit <sup>5</sup> hew <sup>3</sup> fi <sup>4</sup> tsiaŋ <sup>3</sup> tu <sup>3</sup> ?e <sup>2</sup> 'in the abolish well'	live in the abolish well
放piŋ <sup>4</sup> 'put'	呀	炉子上 lu <sup>2</sup> ?e <sup>2</sup> hon <sup>4</sup> 'on the stove'	put on the stove
住ts <sup>b</sup> u <sup>4</sup> 'live'	呀	河唇 ho <sup>2</sup> sun <sup>2</sup> 'with the river mouth'	live at a with the river mouth
坐ts <sup>h</sup> o <sup>1</sup> 'sit down'	呀	路边 lu <sup>2</sup> pien <sup>1</sup> 'roadside'	sit down at the roadside
带taj <sup>4</sup> 'bring together'	呀	身上 sin <sup>1</sup> hon <sup>4</sup> 'with the body'	bring together with the body

From Table 1, the position of particle ?a<sup>4</sup>呀 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 hoj<sup>1</sup>, an obligatory head filled by the noun phrase, and an obligatory relator filled by the preposition as follows:

$$\text{LocP} = \pm \text{Place} \text{ mk: hoj}^1 + \text{H: np} + \text{Rel: prep.}$$

When the particle ?a<sup>4</sup>呀 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: taw<sup>3</sup>倒, ?e<sup>2</sup>哩, experiential aspect: kuo<sup>4</sup>过, and continuous aspect: ten<sup>3</sup>等, hoj<sup>1</sup> 在 (Siripen, 2013).

When the particle ?a<sup>4</sup>呀 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 ?a<sup>4</sup>呀+ aspect marker (PERF<sup>11</sup>)

Examples:

(10) ka<sup>1</sup> k<sup>h</sup>uon<sup>1</sup> t<sup>h</sup>aj<sup>4</sup> ?a<sup>4</sup> taw<sup>3</sup> sip<sup>6</sup> fun<sup>1</sup> fon<sup>1</sup> hi<sup>3</sup>. mun<sup>4</sup> wa<sup>4</sup> se<sup>4</sup> moj<sup>4</sup> ?e<sup>2</sup> he<sup>4</sup> man<sup>3</sup> njin<sup>2</sup>, ts<sup>h</sup>oj<sup>1</sup> naja<sup>4</sup> ?e<sup>2</sup>.

家官 听 呀 倒 十分 欢喜。  
问话细妹子係么人，在哪里。  
father-in-law listen ?a<sup>4</sup> 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) men<sup>3</sup> ?a<sup>4</sup> ?e<sup>2</sup>. sam<sup>1</sup> tsi<sup>3</sup> saw<sup>3</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>iw<sup>4</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>iun<sup>2</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ew<sup>2</sup> taw<sup>4</sup> mi<sup>1</sup> koj<sup>3</sup> pun<sup>1</sup> ki<sup>2</sup> t<sup>h</sup>aj<sup>1</sup>.

恼呀哩。三子嫂就从头到  
尾讲分佢听。  
think ?a<sup>4</sup> 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<sup>h</sup>in<sup>4</sup> ?a<sup>4</sup> ?e<sup>2</sup> jiw<sup>1</sup> sam<sup>1</sup> pak<sup>5</sup> lioj<sup>1</sup> ?an<sup>3</sup> to<sup>1</sup>. fon<sup>1</sup> hi<sup>3</sup> si<sup>3</sup> ?e<sup>2</sup>.

秤呀哩有三百两恁  
多。欢喜死哩。

weight ?a<sup>4</sup> PERF have three hundred two  
so much delighted die fp.<sup>12</sup>

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

(13) ka<sup>1</sup> k<sup>h</sup>uon<sup>1</sup> t<sup>h</sup>aj<sup>1</sup> ?a<sup>4</sup> taw<sup>3</sup>. sip<sup>6</sup> fun<sup>1</sup> fon<sup>1</sup> hi<sup>3</sup>

家官听呀倒十分欢喜  
father-in-law listen ?a<sup>4</sup> PERF very delight  
'Father-in-law has already heard and he is  
very delighted.'

(14) nam<sup>2</sup> kuok<sup>5</sup> sin<sup>1</sup> san<sup>1</sup> ti<sup>1</sup> ?a<sup>4</sup> taw<sup>3</sup> kiak<sup>5</sup> kiak<sup>5</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ew<sup>1</sup> tsew<sup>3</sup>.

南郭先生知呀倒遽遽偷走。  
name man know ?a<sup>4</sup> PERF hurry run  
away  
'When the man found out, he ran away  
quickly.'

(15) lu<sup>2</sup> ?e<sup>2</sup> k<sup>h</sup>on<sup>4</sup> ?a<sup>4</sup> taw<sup>3</sup> t<sup>h</sup>aj<sup>4</sup> san<sup>1</sup> jit<sup>5</sup> kiaw<sup>4</sup>.  
law<sup>4</sup> fu<sup>3</sup> hak<sup>5</sup> si<sup>3</sup> ?e<sup>2</sup>, kiak<sup>5</sup> kiak<sup>5</sup> tsew<sup>3</sup> k<sup>h</sup>oj<sup>1</sup>

驴子看呀倒，大声一叫。老虎吓  
死哩，遽遽走开。  
donkey see ?a<sup>4</sup> 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.'

<sup>11</sup> PERF = perfective aspect

<sup>12</sup> fp. = final particle

**Table 2** Summary of the particle ʔa<sup>4</sup>呀 which occurs with aspect marker (PERF<sup>13</sup>)

verb	particle <u>ʔa<sup>4</sup></u>	aspect marker (PERF)	meaning
看k <sup>h</sup> on <sup>4</sup> ‘see’	呀	倒taw <sup>3</sup>	already seen
听thanj <sup>4</sup> ‘listen’	呀	倒taw <sup>3</sup>	already listened
恤men <sup>3</sup> ‘think’	呀	哩ʔe <sup>2</sup>	already thought
秤ts <sup>h</sup> in <sup>4</sup> ‘weigh’	呀	哩ʔe <sup>2</sup>	already weighed
知ti <sup>1</sup> ‘know’	呀	倒taw <sup>3</sup>	already known

From Table 2, the particle ʔa<sup>4</sup>呀 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 ʔa<sup>4</sup>呀 is used in interrogative clauses. It is positioned between the verb and the alternative conjunction and has no precise meaning.

Its structure is V+ particleʔa<sup>4</sup>呀 + alternative conjunction han<sup>2</sup> he<sup>4</sup>还係 + Item

Examples:

(16) ɿj<sup>2</sup> loj<sup>2</sup> ke<sup>3</sup> le<sup>2</sup> he<sup>4</sup> loj<sup>2</sup> liaw<sup>4</sup> ʔa<sup>4</sup> han<sup>2</sup> he<sup>4</sup> loj<sup>2</sup> k<sup>h</sup>iw<sup>2</sup> hok<sup>6</sup>

你来 这里 係 来 翳 呀 还係 来  
求学?

you come here is come travel ʔa<sup>4</sup> or  
come study

‘you came here for travel or study?’

(17) ɿj<sup>2</sup> ɿoj<sup>4</sup> kaw<sup>1</sup> pi<sup>1</sup> ʔa<sup>4</sup> han<sup>2</sup> he<sup>4</sup> ɿoj<sup>4</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>a<sup>2</sup>

你爱 咖啡 呀 还係 爱 茶?

you want coffee ʔa<sup>4</sup> or want tea

‘Do you want coffee or tea?’

### 6.4 Other

#### 6.4.1 Directional particle

The particle ʔa<sup>4</sup>呀 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± particleʔa<sup>4</sup>呀 + direction

Examples:

(18) jiw<sup>1</sup> jit<sup>5</sup> paj<sup>3</sup>, tsɔŋ<sup>1</sup> tsu<sup>1</sup> pot<sup>5</sup> mun<sup>4</sup> pot<sup>5</sup>  
taw<sup>3</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>i<sup>4</sup> ka<sup>1</sup> pien<sup>4</sup> tso<sup>4</sup> jit<sup>5</sup> tsak<sup>5</sup> fu<sup>2</sup> t<sup>h</sup>iap<sup>6</sup>,  
pi<sup>1</sup> ʔa<sup>4</sup> loj<sup>2</sup> pi<sup>1</sup> ʔa<sup>4</sup> hi<sup>4</sup>, sɪp<sup>6</sup> fun<sup>1</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>i<sup>4</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>aj<sup>4</sup>  
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 ʔa<sup>4</sup> come, fly ʔa<sup>4</sup> 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 ʔa<sup>4</sup>呀 can be deleted but the resulting sound does not seem elegant or natural.

<sup>13</sup> PERF = perfective aspect

(19) kon<sup>3</sup> 2a<sup>4</sup> p<sup>het</sup><sup>5</sup>, ts<sup>hiw</sup><sup>4</sup> na<sup>1</sup> taw<sup>3</sup> taw<sup>1</sup>  
 ?e<sup>2</sup>. liɔŋ<sup>3</sup> ke<sup>4</sup> ɲin<sup>2</sup> t<sup>hen</sup><sup>4</sup> su<sup>3</sup> ts<sup>hiam</sup><sup>1</sup> ?a<sup>4</sup>  
 lok<sup>6</sup> hi<sup>4</sup>.  
 讲 呀 撇, 就 拿 倒 刀 子. 两个人  
 握 手 鍛 呀 落 去.  
 speak ?a<sup>4</sup> PERF, then pick up asp. knife.  
 two people cooperate stab ?a<sup>4</sup> down  
 'Finished speaking, two people  
 cooperated to stab the fox to death.'

(20) haŋ<sup>2</sup> taw<sup>4</sup> wok<sup>6</sup> pien<sup>1</sup>, kiam<sup>4</sup> hak<sup>5</sup> jit<sup>5</sup> kiam<sup>4</sup>  
 tsam<sup>3</sup> ?a<sup>4</sup> hi<sup>4</sup>.  
 行 到 鍋 边, 劍 客 一 劍 斩  
 呀 去  
 walk to a pan beside, swordsman one  
 time chop ?a<sup>4</sup> off

(21) lu<sup>2</sup> ?e<sup>2</sup> tson<sup>4</sup> 2a<sup>4</sup> ha<sup>1</sup>, ts<sup>hiw</sup><sup>4</sup> pun<sup>1</sup> law<sup>4</sup>  
 hu<sup>3</sup> sit<sup>6</sup> p<sup>het</sup><sup>5</sup> le<sup>2</sup>.  
 驴 子 转 呀 下, 就 分 老 虎 食  
 撇 哩.  
 donkey fall ?a<sup>4</sup> down, then passive tiger  
 eat PERF fp.  
 'The donkey fell down and was eaten by  
 a tiger.'

**Table 3** Summary of the particle ?a<sup>4</sup>呀 which occurs with the direction verbs

verb	Particle ?a <sup>4</sup>	direction	meaning
飞 p <sup>hi</sup> <sup>1</sup> 'fly'	呀	来 loj <sup>2</sup> 'come'	fly back
飞 p <sup>hi</sup> <sup>1</sup> 'fly'	呀	去 hi <sup>4</sup> 'go'	fly forth
鍛 ts <sup>hiam</sup> <sup>1</sup> 'stab'	呀	落去 lok <sup>6</sup> hi <sup>4</sup> 'fall down'	stab down
转 tson <sup>4</sup> 'turn'	呀	下 ha <sup>1</sup> 'down'	fall down
斩 tsam <sup>3</sup> 'chop'	呀	去 hi <sup>4</sup> '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 ?a<sup>4</sup>呀 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 ?a<sup>4</sup>呀 + item (clause or phrase)

Examples:

(22) ki<sup>2</sup> wa<sup>4</sup>, “tsaw<sup>4</sup> kuj<sup>1</sup> ki<sup>3</sup> jiw<sup>1</sup> tsen<sup>1</sup>  
 tsip<sup>5</sup>. ?oj<sup>4</sup> ts<sup>hian</sup><sup>3</sup> sam<sup>1</sup> ke<sup>4</sup> law<sup>3</sup> ɲin<sup>3</sup>  
 ka<sup>1</sup> loj<sup>2</sup> p<sup>han</sup><sup>1</sup>, k<sup>hon</sup><sup>4</sup> 2a<sup>4</sup> man<sup>3</sup> ɲin<sup>2</sup>  
 ts<sup>hok</sup><sup>6</sup> man<sup>3</sup> ɲin<sup>2</sup> m<sup>2</sup> ts<sup>hok</sup><sup>6</sup>

俗话, “照 规 矩 有 争 执, 爱 请  
 三 个 老 人 家 来 判, 看 呀 么  
 人 着, 么 人 吡 着  
 he said the custom have quarrel must  
 invite three cl. old people come judge,  
 see ?a<sup>4</sup> 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<sup>h</sup>on<sup>4</sup> 2a<sup>4</sup> ji<sup>w</sup> 1 1<sup>a</sup>j<sup>4</sup> tsak<sup>5</sup> ja<sup>1</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>u<sup>4</sup> kam<sup>3</sup> m<sup>2</sup> wi<sup>4</sup> 1<sup>a</sup>j<sup>2</sup> 2a<sup>4</sup> mo<sup>2</sup>.*  
看 呀 有 哪 只 野 兽 敢 哪 畏  
佢 呀 无  
see 2a<sup>4</sup> have which wild animals dare  
not fear me 2a<sup>4</sup> not  
'See! no wild animals are unafeard of me.'

(24) *ki<sup>2</sup> k<sup>h</sup>i<sup>1</sup> 2a<sup>4</sup> li<sup>2</sup> mak<sup>5</sup> k<sup>h</sup>et<sup>5</sup> fun<sup>1</sup> sup<sup>6</sup> fun<sup>1</sup> k<sup>h</sup>iun<sup>1</sup>*  
佢 企 呀 离 麦 克 风 十 分 近  
he stand 2a<sup>4</sup> away from microphone  
very near  
'He stood back from the microphone  
very near.'

(25) *ki<sup>2</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>o<sup>1</sup> 2a<sup>4</sup> tset<sup>5</sup> pien<sup>1</sup>*  
佢 坐 呀 侧 边  
he sit 2a<sup>4</sup> beside  
'He sat beside someone else.'

(26) *saj<sup>1</sup> 2a<sup>4</sup> t<sup>h</sup>un<sup>2</sup> jit<sup>5</sup> ke<sup>4</sup> t<sup>h</sup>i<sup>4</sup> fon<sup>1</sup>*  
生 呀 同 一 个 地 方  
sprout 2a<sup>4</sup> together one cl. place  
'(The trees) grew in the same place.'

(27) *ŋj<sup>2</sup> t<sup>h</sup>un<sup>2</sup> man<sup>3</sup> ŋjin<sup>2</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>u<sup>4</sup> 2a<sup>4</sup> jit<sup>5</sup> ha<sup>4</sup>?*  
你 同 么 人 住 呀 一 下 ?  
you with who live 2a<sup>4</sup> together  
'You live together with whom?'

(28) *loj<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>4</sup> han<sup>2</sup> 2a<sup>4</sup> le<sup>2</sup> 2o<sup>4</sup> mo<sup>2</sup>*  
来 去 行 呀 哩 爱 么 ?  
come go walk 2a<sup>4</sup> part. want not  
'Do you want to go for a walk?'

(29) *ŋj<sup>2</sup> he<sup>4</sup> ŋ<sup>2</sup> sin<sup>4</sup>, ts<sup>h</sup>iw<sup>4</sup> t<sup>h</sup>en<sup>2</sup> ten<sup>3</sup> 1<sup>a</sup>j<sup>2</sup> loj<sup>2</sup> hi<sup>4</sup> ŋjin<sup>4</sup> kuon<sup>3</sup> han<sup>2</sup> 2a<sup>4</sup> 2e<sup>2</sup>*  
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 2a<sup>4</sup> fp.  
'If you don't believe me, you can go  
anywhere with me to see.'

Table 4 Summary of the particle 2a<sup>4</sup>呀 which functions as the verbal particle

verb	particle 2a <sup>4</sup>	item
看k <sup>h</sup> on <sup>4</sup> 'see'	呀	么人着,么人唔着man <sup>3</sup> ŋjin <sup>2</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ok <sup>6</sup> , man <sup>3</sup> 1 <sup>a</sup> j <sup>2</sup> 2a <sup>4</sup> ts <sup>h</sup> ok <sup>6</sup> 'who is right, who is wrong'
企k <sup>h</sup> i <sup>1</sup> 'stand'	呀	离麦克风十分近li <sup>2</sup> mak <sup>5</sup> k <sup>h</sup> et <sup>5</sup> fun <sup>1</sup> sup <sup>6</sup> fun <sup>1</sup> k <sup>h</sup> iun <sup>1</sup> 'away from microphone very near'
坐ts <sup>h</sup> o <sup>1</sup> 'sit'	呀	侧边tset <sup>5</sup> pien <sup>1</sup> 'beside'
生saj <sup>1</sup> 'sprout'	呀	同一个地方 t <sup>h</sup> un <sup>2</sup> jit <sup>5</sup> ke <sup>4</sup> t <sup>h</sup> i <sup>4</sup> fon <sup>1</sup> 'together the same place'
住ts <sup>h</sup> u <sup>4</sup> 'live'	呀	一下jit <sup>5</sup> ha <sup>4</sup> 'together'
行han <sup>2</sup> 'walk'	呀	哩?e <sup>2</sup> 'final particle'
行han <sup>2</sup> 'walk'	呀	哩?e <sup>2</sup> , 爱 么 2o <sup>4</sup> mo <sup>2</sup> 'do you want'

From Table 4 we can see that the particle 2a<sup>4</sup>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 ?a<sup>4</sup>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 ?a<sup>4</sup>呀 + complement.

Examples:

(30) ɳaj<sup>2</sup> tsan<sup>4</sup> sit<sup>6</sup> ?a<sup>4</sup> paw<sup>3</sup>

𠂊 正 食 呀 饱

I just eat ?a<sup>4</sup> full

‘I am full from eating.’

(31) foŋ<sup>2</sup> ti<sup>4</sup> siŋ<sup>3</sup> sat<sup>5</sup> ɳin<sup>2</sup> mo<sup>2</sup> tsia<sup>4</sup> hew<sup>3</sup>, fo<sup>3</sup> hi<sup>4</sup> mo<sup>2</sup> haw<sup>3</sup> tshut<sup>5</sup> tsioŋ<sup>1</sup> pa<sup>3</sup> su<sup>3</sup> hoŋ<sup>4</sup> na<sup>1</sup> ten<sup>3</sup> ke<sup>4</sup> ɳiuk<sup>6</sup> fut<sup>6</sup> ?ep<sup>6</sup> ?a<sup>4</sup> suj<sup>4</sup>

皇帝想杀人无借口，火气无好出。将把手上拿等个玉笏搣呀碎  
the emperor think kill people not accusation, angry no way out. take hand on pick PERF cl. jade knock ?a<sup>4</sup> 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) m<sup>2</sup> t<sup>h</sup>en<sup>2</sup> men<sup>3</sup> taw<sup>3</sup>, loŋ<sup>2</sup> jit<sup>5</sup> piŋ<sup>4</sup> ?a<sup>4</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>ut<sup>5</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>iw<sup>4</sup> tsŋ<sup>1</sup> ɳa<sup>1</sup> wu<sup>3</sup> tsaw<sup>3</sup> ?oŋ<sup>4</sup> loŋ<sup>2</sup> njat<sup>5</sup> sin<sup>1</sup> san<sup>1</sup>.

唔曾恤倒，狼一放呀出就张牙舞爪，爱来啮先生。

unexpected PERF, wolf just let ?a<sup>4</sup> out then snarl, want to bite man

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

(33) ?an<sup>3</sup> tuj<sup>4</sup> jit<sup>5</sup> tsak<sup>5</sup> t<sup>h</sup>u<sup>4</sup> ?e<sup>2</sup> tsew<sup>3</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>ut<sup>5</sup> loŋ<sup>2</sup> k<sup>h</sup>on<sup>4</sup> taw<sup>3</sup> jiw<sup>1</sup> ɳin<sup>2</sup>, ts<sup>h</sup>ok<sup>6</sup> kian<sup>1</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>in<sup>4</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>iak<sup>5</sup> jit<sup>5</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>on<sup>4</sup>, ts<sup>h</sup>on<sup>4</sup> ?a<sup>4</sup> su<sup>4</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ew<sup>2</sup> ha<sup>1</sup>. kian<sup>3</sup> kin<sup>1</sup> ?aw<sup>3</sup> ?a<sup>4</sup> t<sup>h</sup>on<sup>1</sup> si<sup>3</sup> ?a<sup>4</sup> p<sup>h</sup>et<sup>5</sup>

恁对一只兔子走出来，看倒有人，着惊尽趨一撞，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 ?a<sup>4</sup> tree head below, neck break ?a<sup>4</sup> down, died ?a<sup>4</sup> 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) jit<sup>5</sup> ke<sup>4</sup> law<sup>3</sup> pak<sup>5</sup> tsew<sup>3</sup> loŋ<sup>2</sup> k<sup>h</sup>on<sup>4</sup> taw<sup>3</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>iw<sup>4</sup> kaw<sup>1</sup> ki<sup>2</sup> wa<sup>4</sup> “hi<sup>4</sup> na<sup>1</sup> jit<sup>5</sup> pa<sup>3</sup> ma<sup>2</sup> loŋ<sup>2</sup> tsam<sup>3</sup> ?a<sup>4</sup> t<sup>h</sup>on<sup>1</sup>, m<sup>2</sup> he<sup>4</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>iw<sup>4</sup> tso<sup>4</sup> tet<sup>5</sup> ?o<sup>1</sup>”

一个老伯走来看倒，就教佢话：“去拿一把刀𠵼来斩呀断，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 ?a<sup>4</sup> 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) p<sup>h</sup>on<sup>1</sup> ?e<sup>2</sup> ke<sup>4</sup> hok<sup>5</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>iw<sup>4</sup> k<sup>h</sup>on<sup>4</sup> k<sup>h</sup>uaj<sup>4</sup> hap<sup>4</sup> ?a<sup>4</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>iw<sup>1</sup>, kiap<sup>4</sup> ten<sup>3</sup> tiaw<sup>1</sup> ?e<sup>2</sup> ke<sup>4</sup> tsuj<sup>3</sup>.

蚌子个壳就亢快合  
呀擎，夹等鸟子个嘴  
shell rel.pro. valve then quickly close  
?a<sup>4</sup> tight, clip able bird rel.pro. mouth  
‘The shellfish closed its shell quickly nipping the bird’s beak.’

**Table 5** Summary of the particle ʔa<sup>4</sup>呀 which occurs with resultative verbs

verb	particle <u>ʔa<sup>4</sup>呀</u>	complement	meaning
合 hap <sup>4</sup> ‘close’	呀	擎ts <sup>h</sup> iw <sup>1</sup> ‘tight’	closed up tightly
食sit <sup>6</sup> ‘eat’	呀	饱paw <sup>3</sup> ‘full’	Full from eating
斩tsam <sup>3</sup> ‘chop’	呀	斷t <sup>h</sup> on <sup>1</sup> ‘cut off’	broken down
拗ʔaw <sup>3</sup> ‘break’	呀	斷t <sup>h</sup> on <sup>1</sup> ‘cut off’	cut something short
扠ʔep <sup>6</sup> ‘knock’	呀	碎suj <sup>4</sup> ‘shatter’	knock until shatter
放piŋ <sup>4</sup> ‘let go’	呀	出ts <sup>h</sup> ut <sup>5</sup> ‘out’	let out
死si <sup>3</sup> ‘die’	呀	撇p <sup>h</sup> et <sup>5</sup> ‘perfective’	already died

#### 6.4.4 The particle ʔa<sup>4</sup>呀 can link two verbs

Its structure is V+particle ʔa<sup>4</sup>呀+V (38)

(36) ŋi<sup>4</sup> sim<sup>1</sup> k<sup>h</sup>iw<sup>1</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>ut<sup>5</sup> loj<sup>2</sup> k<sup>h</sup>on<sup>4</sup> taw<sup>3</sup> saw<sup>4</sup> pa<sup>3</sup> ja<sup>1</sup> han<sup>2</sup> ʔa<sup>4</sup> kuo<sup>4</sup> m<sup>2</sup> da<sup>3</sup> li<sup>1</sup>.  
 二心臼出来看倒扠把,也行呀  
 过唔打理。  
 the second female in-law come see asp.  
 a broom, just walk ʔa<sup>4</sup> 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) ʔan<sup>3</sup> tuj<sup>4</sup> k<sup>h</sup>un<sup>3</sup> tsi<sup>3</sup> soj<sup>4</sup> ʔa<sup>4</sup> sian<sup>3</sup> k<sup>h</sup>on<sup>4</sup> taw<sup>3</sup> njan<sup>2</sup> fi<sup>2</sup> ta<sup>3</sup> k<sup>h</sup>oj<sup>1</sup> p<sup>h</sup>u<sup>2</sup> lo<sup>2</sup> koj<sup>4</sup> njam<sup>1</sup> fan<sup>4</sup> sit<sup>6</sup>.  
 懈对孔子睡呀醒,看倒颜回  
 打开铺裸盖拈饭食  
 by chance Confucius sleep ʔa<sup>4</sup> 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) tsiŋ<sup>1</sup> pa<sup>3</sup> jit<sup>5</sup> lew<sup>3</sup> li<sup>2</sup> ʔe<sup>2</sup> pan<sup>1</sup> soŋ<sup>1</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>a<sup>1</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ew<sup>2</sup> tsɔj<sup>4</sup> ʔa<sup>4</sup> tsew<sup>3</sup>  
 将把一篓梨子搬上车头载呀走  
 take one cl. bamboo basket Chinese pear  
 to put up on frontage of bicycle carry  
ʔa<sup>4</sup> go  
 ‘He took one bamboo basket full of  
 Chinese pears and put it on the front of  
 his bicycle and rode away.’

(39) ʔan<sup>3</sup> tuj<sup>4</sup> jiw<sup>1</sup> tsak<sup>5</sup> se<sup>4</sup> ʔa<sup>4</sup> ko<sup>1</sup>. k<sup>h</sup>ij<sup>2</sup> ten<sup>3</sup> kiɔk<sup>5</sup> t<sup>h</sup>ap<sup>6</sup> ts<sup>h</sup>a<sup>1</sup>. ta<sup>3</sup> ʔa<sup>4</sup> su<sup>4</sup> ha<sup>1</sup> kuo<sup>4</sup>  
 懈对有只细阿哥,骑等脚踏车,  
 打呀树下过  
 accidentally have cl. small child, riding  
 bicycle, pass ʔa<sup>4</sup> tree under across  
 ‘By chance, there was a child who was  
 riding a bicycle under the tree.’

**Table 6** Summary of the particle ?a<sup>4</sup>呀, which occurs between two verbs

Verb <sub>1</sub>	Particle ?a <sup>4</sup>	Locative phrase	Verb <sub>2</sub>	meaning
打ta <sup>3</sup> 'pass'	呀	树下su <sup>4</sup> ha <sup>1</sup> 'under the tree'	过kuo <sup>4</sup> 'across'	pass under the tree
载tsoj <sup>4</sup> 'carry'	呀		走tsew <sup>3</sup> 'away'	put on and ride away
睡suj <sup>4</sup> 'sleep'	呀		醒sian <sup>3</sup> 'wake up'	wake up sleep
行han <sup>2</sup> 'walk'	呀		过kuo <sup>4</sup> 'across'	walk across

From Table 6 the particle ?a<sup>4</sup>呀 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 ?a<sup>4</sup>呀. 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 ?a<sup>4</sup>呀 (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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