

# 客語啊時貌之間的關係探討

余秀敏

語言中心

人文社會學院

kuo@chu.edu.tw

## 摘要

In this paper we concern ourselves with the multiple aspectual functions denoted by the Hakka aspect marker -a55-啊, which widely distributes in the delimitative construction, the tentative construction, the iterative construction, and the immediate anterior construction. Based on a mini corpus and the cross-aspectual analyses on -a55-啊, we propose that there is a semantic core shared by -a55-啊 in the above-mentioned Hakka aspectual constructions, which can be defined as scaling the extent of an action down, a definition like that indicated by the Hakka postverbal diminutive e仔, or like the meaning of Mandarin verbal classifier yi-xia一下, referring to a short period of time and pragmatically serving as a downtoner. With this essential meaning, -a55-啊 expresses the meaning of doing something a little bit in the delimitative construction [verbi (verbi) -a55 le21/-a31] as in (1), conveys the meaning of slightly engaging tentative actions in the tentative construction [try-verb-see-a55 le21/-a31] as in (2), refers to repeated actions by collocating with a reduplicated verb and the classical Hakka diminutive e仔 in the iterative construction of [verbi-a55 -verbi-e31] as in (3), and functions as an immediate anterior marker in the construction of [verb-a55 -complement] where the core meaning of -a55-啊 has been metaphorically transformed from a short period of time into a tight temporal relational meaning between two events: in the single-event sentence it profiles an immediate relationship between the moment of speech and the event time indicated by the sentence, generating the meaning of just. See example (4). Nonetheless, in a complex-event sentence with the first event clause containing the construction of [verb-a55-complement], a55-啊 indicates an immediate sequential order of the two events. Example (5) illustrates. Also, due to the temporally close relationship denoted by -a55- between two events, a pragmatic habitual

reading is derived from contexts with the first event interpreted as the condition under which the second event occurs as shown in (6). This explains why the clause *tung-a-do* ‘動啊著as soon as one moves’ has been idiomatized into a phrase bearing the meaning of English *always* in progressive sentences, indicating one’s annoying habitual behavior. See (7).

(1) *gie-zag se-moi-e an-zam, m hang-giam-a55, sii voi bun-ngin giug-zeu o!*

The girl is wonderful. If you are not in close contact with her, she’ll be chased away.

(2) *m pa na! hi cii-siid-kon-a55, iu mo hem ng mai!*

Go ahead! Just have a taste for it. You are not forced to purchase it.

(3) *gi died-do i-heu, ia-ha hang-lu bai-a55-bai-e. .*

After falling over, he is now hobbling around.

(4) *ng-kon! ngid-teu cud-a55-loi, han ziang na!*

Look! The sun has just risen. What a beautiful sight!

(5) *gi mug-zu sab- a55-log, ziu soi-ted le*

As soon as his eyes closed, he fell asleep (the next minute).

(6) *gi du- a55-do ngin, ciu oi dab ngin-ne gien-teu .*

Whenever he meets someone, he likes to put his arm around his/her shoulder.

(7) *A-vong-baf tung- a55-do ziu ien ngin, mon ngin oi tung gi hang giam.*

Uncle A-Vong is always complaining. No one likes to be near to him.

關鍵字：Hakka aspect markers, Hakka a55, delimitative, tentative, iterative, immediate anterior