AFFIXATION AND COMPOUNDING IN HAKKA¹

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Abstract

This paper aims to present the internal structures of words in the Hakka language. Similar to other languages, affixation and compounding are outstanding in Hakka. In general, prefixes and suffixes are bound morphemes which do not occur independently, but in Hakka they sometimes appear as independent forms. Apart from single words, identifying compound words is of particular interest. Compound nouns can be made up of two or three words (characters) which may be a noun, adjective or verb. The results found that some prefixes or suffixes have no meaning such as the prefix ʔa¹ 阿 which is used with kinship or address terms. The most interesting suffixes are used with animal gender (ku³ 雄 ‘male’, ma² 女 ‘female’, and kuŋ¹ 公 ‘male’) and in some cases the meaning is not related to the gender of the animal but is merely a component of those morphemes. Such examples are kiŋ¹ ma² 姜女 ‘ginger’ and ha² kuŋ¹ 蝦公 ‘shrimp’.

Keywords
affixation, prefixes, suffixes, compound words, Hakka

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Resumen

Este trabajo tiene como objetivo presentar la estructura interna de las palabras en el idioma Hakka. Al igual que en otras lenguas, la afijación y la composición son excepcionales en esta lengua. En general, los prefijos y sufijos son morfemas concatenados que no ocurren de manera independiente, pero en Hakka a veces aparecen como formas independientes. Además de palabras sueltas, la identificación de palabras compuestas es de particular interés. Los nombres compuestos pueden estar formados por dos o tres palabras (caracteres) que pueden ser un sustantivo, un adjetivo o un verbo. Los resultados muestran que algunos prefijos o sufijos no tienen significado, como el prefijo ʔaⁱ ‘阿’, que se utiliza con los términos de parentesco o de dirección. Los sufijos más interesantes se utilizan con el género de los animales (ku³ 钻 ‘masculino’, ma² 嫡 ‘femenino’, y ku⁰ 公 ‘masculino’) y, en algunos casos, el significado no está relacionado con el género del animal, sino que es meramente un componente de esos morfemas. Ejemplos tales son kioŋ¹ ma² 姜 ‘jengibre’ y ha² ku⁰ 蝦公 ‘camarón’.

Palabras clave
afijación, prefijos, sufijos, palabras compuestas, Hakka

1. Introduction

Publications dealing with Hakka grammar are quite rare. Previous works have tended to investigate the phonology of Hakka dialects, including Meixian, Xingning, and Jieyang Hakka which are spoken in Thailand and researchers can find good informants giving data (Saengtummachai 2003; Ungsitipoonporn 2007, 2009; So-Bha 2001; Wongwantanee 1984; Shiwaruangrote 2008). One important reason why grammars of other Chinese dialects including Hakka are not interesting or not available is that those Chinese dialects have only spoken language. When they read the Chinese characters in Mandarin they can pronounce in their pronunciation. So the grammar of written language is not different from modern standard Chinese or Mandarin. In fact each Chinese dialect group has many sub-dialects and some details are different.
2. Hakka language and Hakka speakers

Hakka belongs to Hakka group of seven Chinese groups (Mandarin, Wu, Xiang, Gan, Min, Hakka or Kejia, and Yue). According to Luo Xianglin (1933), ancestors of Hakka group originally migrated from the Central Plains to south China during several periods in the past so that now Hakka speakers are scattered in many provinces in southern China such as Guangdong, Guangxi, Fujian, Jiangxi, Hunan, Hainan, Sichuan, and Taiwan (cited from Yan 2006: 166). Hakka speakers in Thailand mostly came from Guangdong province but have many sub-dialects. Meixian and Hongshun sub-dialects are the most common. The usage described in this work is that of Meixian Hakka spoken in Bangkok so we can call this Bangkok Hakka. The situation of Hakka in Thailand is endangered now. Although Hakka descendants are large in number, most cannot speak their mother tongue. Only the elderly can provide good data.

3. Description and explanation

This article is part of my research results in the project of “The Hakka grammar as spoken in Bangkok” (Ungsitipoonporn 2013). This paper is intended to describe the Hakka grammar of current spoken language especially word formation by compounding and affixation. The objective is to describe the affixation and compounding of Bangkok Hakka from my data collected from several contexts and conversations, focusing on colloquial language pronounced by the Hakka speakers who came from Meixian and have lived in Bangkok for a long time. The Chinese characters that are used together with IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet) mean they are pronounced the same as or similar to the informant pronunciation.

4. Compound words in Hakka

A compound word is combined of two or more independent morphemes to make a single word. Its meaning is sometimes predictable but sometimes may not be. The
compounding can be both nouns and verbs. For examples, pak⁵ kūŋ¹ 伯公 ‘father’s brother and father’s father = god of land’ and mien⁴ sam¹ 面衫 ‘outside – shirt = coat’ are compound nouns because they refer to one single word.

In Hakka, there are several compound nouns and verbs. We classify the compounding according to their properties which mean their parts of speech.

4.1 Compound nouns

Compound nouns are composed of at least two free morphemes. They function as single nouns and act as head nouns in noun phrases. The internal compositions have several types as follows:

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun + Noun</th>
<th>Noun or N+N</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) tsok⁵ pu⁴</td>
<td>菜布 &quot;ผู้ปูใต้&quot;</td>
<td>‘table cloth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>table + cloth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) maw¹ kiŋ⁵</td>
<td>毛脚 &quot;ราห่ม&quot;</td>
<td>‘hair root’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hair + foot</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) tʰien¹ kiŋ¹</td>
<td>天弓 &quot;รองหนา&quot;</td>
<td>‘rainbow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sky + bow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) tʰew⁴ jin²</td>
<td>豆仁 &quot;เมล็ดถั่ว&quot;</td>
<td>‘bean seed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bean + seed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) ɲa² sot⁵</td>
<td>牙刷 &quot;แปรงสีฟัน&quot;</td>
<td>‘a toothbrush’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tooth + brush</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) ɲiet⁶ piaŋ⁴</td>
<td>月 &quot;ขนมสำหรับใช้พระจันทร์&quot;</td>
<td>‘moon cake’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>moon + cake</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7) tsu³ ɲin²</td>
<td>主人 &quot;เจ้าของบ้าน&quot;</td>
<td>‘owner of the house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>owner + person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Their structure can be written as follows: modifier (n.) + Head N.

In the examples above, the right side morpheme functions as the head noun and the left side morpheme function as the modifier.

### Adjective + Noun → Noun or Adj. + N → N

1. **pʰak⁶ maw¹**
   - 白毛
   - "ม่วงขาว"
   - ‘grey hair’
   - white + hair

2. **hon² sam¹**
   - 寒衫
   - "เสื้อกันหนาว"
   - ‘overcoat’
   - cold + coat

3. **pʰak⁶ tsuk⁵**
   - 白粥
   - "ขาวต้ม"
   - ‘porridge’
   - white + porridge

4. **tsʰoŋ² tsʰiek⁶**
   - 长席
   - "ผียาง"
   - ‘long mat’
   - long + mat

5. **saŋ¹ kuo²**
   - 生果
   - "ผลไม้"
   - ‘fruit’
   - raw + fruit

Their structure can be written as follows: modifier (adj.) + Head N.

In the examples above, the noun on the right side functions as the head noun and the adjective on the left side function as the modifier.

### Verb + Noun → Noun or V+N → N

1. **hok⁶ kaw³**
   - 学校
   - "โรงเรียน"
   - ‘school’
   - study + school

2. **hok⁶ tʰon² ha¹**
   - 学堂
   - "โรงเรียน"
   - ‘school’
   - study + room for specific purpose

3. **son⁴ mieŋ⁴ sin¹ saŋ¹**
   - 禮命先生
   - "หมอผี"
   - ‘fortune-teller’
   - tell one’s fortune + teacher/master

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² Literary language.
Their structure can be written as follows: modifier (v.) + Head N.
In the examples above, the verb functions as the modifier which is placed on the left side of the head noun.

In addition, there can be three syllables of compound nouns as follows:

- **Noun + Noun + Noun** → **Noun** หรือ **N + N + N** → **N**
  1. **kiŋ⁵ jian³ jin²**  “ตาตุ่ม”  ‘ankle’  
     foot + eye + kernel
  2. **kiŋ⁵ tsan⁴ kut⁵**  “ส้นเท้า”  ‘heel’  
     foot + heel + bone
  3. **fu⁴ th⁴ew² taj⁴**  “เข็มขัด”  ‘belt’  
     trousers + head + belt
  4. **muk⁵ mi² maw¹**  “คิ้ว”  ‘eyebrow’  
     eye + eyebrow + hair
  5. **muk⁵ tsip⁵ maw¹**  “ขนตา”  ‘eyelashes’  
     eye + juice + hair

- **Noun + Noun + Verb** → **Noun or**  **N + N + V** → **N**
  1. **ke² maw¹ saw⁴**  “ไม่แคะหู”  ‘a broom from chicken+ hair + sweep’  
     (feathers for cleaning)

- **Verb + Noun + Noun** → **Noun or**  **V + N + N** → **N**
  1. **pʰa² ṣi⁴ si³**  “ไม่แม่กะปิ”  ‘ear picker’  
     rake up + ear + excrement
Verb + Verb + Noun → Noun or

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>san³</td>
<td>sît⁶</td>
<td>kua¹</td>
<td>&quot;แตงกวา&quot; 'cucumber' raw + to eat + melon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2 Compound verbs

Compound verbs are composed of two morphemes. They seem to be a verb plus object and are corresponding to an intransitive verb in English.

Examples:

Verb + noun (object)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṭsim⁴</td>
<td>suj³</td>
<td></td>
<td>'soak' &quot;แชจุม&quot; soak + water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tʰat⁵</td>
<td>ŋin²</td>
<td></td>
<td>'tell obvious lies' &quot;โกหก&quot; lie + human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kʰon⁴</td>
<td>pʰian⁴</td>
<td></td>
<td>'go to see a doctor' &quot;ไปพบแพทย์&quot; see + illness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laj²</td>
<td>tʰien²</td>
<td></td>
<td>'to plow' &quot;ไถนา&quot; plow + farmland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lok⁶</td>
<td>fo⁴</td>
<td></td>
<td>'to carry, to load on (vehicle), hitches, animals' back' drop + goods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi⁴</td>
<td>suj³</td>
<td></td>
<td>'to dive' &quot;ดำน้ำ&quot; dive + water</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| hoŋ⁴ | tʰon² |       | 'to rise from bed' "ตื่นได้แล้ว ลุกจากเตียง"
Verb + Verb or verb complement

(1) fat⁵ sin⁴ 发性 ‘angry’ ใจแค้น
produce + temper
(2) tʰew¹ kʰon⁴ 偷看 ‘to peep’ แอบดู
steal + see
(3) tʰañ¹ taw⁴ 听到 ‘to hear’ ไดยิน
hear + used as a verb complement to indicate the result of an action

4.3 Compound adjectives

Compound adjectives are composed of at least two morphemes which are adjectives plus verbs or nouns. This process can produce some new adjectives.

Examples:
(1) tʰaj⁴ foŋ¹ 大方 ‘magnanimous’ ใจกว้าง
big + locality
(2) haw³ tʰañ¹ 好听 ‘melodious’ ไพเราะ
good + hear
(3) haw³ sit⁶ 好食 ‘delicious’ อร่อย
good + eat
(4) tʰaj⁴ sit⁶ 太食 ‘greedy’ ตะกละ
greatest + eat
(5) tet⁵ ŋin² siak⁵ 得人憎 ‘lovely’ น่ารัก
gain + human + love
(6) tʰaj⁴ saŋ¹ 大声 ‘loud’ เสียงดัง
big + sound
5. Affixation

There are both prefixes and suffixes in Hakka language. In general, prefixes and suffixes are bound morphemes and do not occur independently. In Hakka, however, prefixes and suffixes may sometimes appear as independent forms but their meanings are not exactly the same when they act as prefixes or suffixes. For example, for the prefix law3 老, its literary meaning is “old” but when it functions as a prefix, its meaning is not related to ‘old’.

5.1 Prefixes in Hakka language

Prefix ʔa1 阿 is a prefix used with kinship terms and person names to identify a closed relationship or to express intimacy with somebody.

Examples:

(1) ʔa1 pa1 阿爸 “爸” ‘father’
(2) ʔa1 me1 阿姆 “姆” ‘mother’
(3) ʔa1 ko1 阿哥 “哥” ‘older brother’
(4) ʔa1 saw3 阿嫂 “嫂” ‘female in-law’
(5) ʔa1 kap5 阿甲 “甲” ‘name of people’
(6) ʔa1 p’o2 阿婆 “婆” ‘grandmother’
(7) ʔa1 tsi3 阿姊 “姊” ‘older sister’
(8) ʔa1 pak5 阿伯 “伯” ‘uncle’

Prefix ʔan3 勒 is placed before verbs or adjectives in order to emphasize a stronger meaning than normal.
Examples:

(1) ꦟan³ sin¹ kʰu³ 餓辛苦 “låmākoǒtô” ‘so difficult’
(2) ꦟan³ tuj⁴ 餓对 “phūtôtô” ‘so accidental’
(3) ꦟan³ hiŋ³ 餓响 “tôtôtô” ‘so loud’
(4) ꦟan³ kʰiŋ² tsʰoj⁴ 餓强壮 “phújɔtôtô” ‘so strong’
(5) ꦟan³ tiam³ 餓惦 “ñôtô” ‘so calm’
(6) ꦟan³ to¹ 餓多 “mâmâkoǒtô” ‘so much’
(7) ꦟan³ ti³ tsʰiën² 餓抵钱 “mâmâkoǒtô” ‘so precious’
(8) ꦟan³ tʰaj⁴ 餓 大 “ñôjôtô” ‘so big’
(9) ꦟan³ tsʰi⁴ tsʰaj⁴ 餓自在 “ñôsàtôtô” ‘so free’
(10) ꦟan³ kaw¹ 餓高 “ñútôjô” ‘so high’

Prefix ꦟlaw³ 老, has the literary meaning of “old” but when it functions as a prefix, its meaning has changed and is not related to the original. Occasionally, it means respect to someone or a senior person when it precedes kinship terms and nouns.

Examples:

(1) ꦟlaw³ pho² 老婆 “ñôwô” ‘wife’
(2) ꦟlaw³ ŋin² 老人 “ñôwô” ‘old people’
(3) ꦟlaw³ pak⁵ 老伯 “ñôwô” ‘elderly’
(4) ꦟlaw³ kuŋ¹ 老公 “ñômô” ‘husband’
(5) ꦟlaw³ tʰaj¹ 老弟 “ñôrâ” ‘younger brother’
(6) ꦟlaw³ moj⁴ 老妹 “ñôsô” ‘younger sister’
(7) ꦟlaw³ sit⁶ 老实 “ñôtô” ‘honest’
(8) ꦟlaw³ sin² 老成 “ñômâtô” ‘careful’
(9) ꦟlaw³ sin¹ saŋ¹ 老先生 “ñôtôkômô” ‘old teacher’

Prefix ꦟlaw⁴ 老, has no meaning in this situation but is used to complete a noun morpheme.
Examples:
(1) law⁴ haj³ 老蟹 “ปู” ‘crab’
(2) law⁴ fu³ 老虎 “เลโอ” ‘tiger’
(3) law⁴ tsʰu³ 老鼠 “หมี” ‘rat’

Prefix m̕² 唔 has a literary meaning of “not” and is used in a negation sentence. We
called it a prefix when it precedes some verbs or adjectives, when it becomes a single
noun.

Examples:
(1) m̕² kian⁴ 唔见 “ไม่ + ดี = ห่วย” ‘lose’
not + see
(2) m̕² laŋ² li⁴ 唔伶俐 “ไม่ + สะอาด = สกปรก” ‘dirty’
not + bright
(3) m̕² tʰun³ 唔同 “ไม่ + เหมือน = แตกต่าง” ‘different’
not + same
(4) m̕² pʰian² 唔平 “ไม่ + เรียบ = ขรุขระ” ‘rough’
not + flat
(5) m̕² tsʰin¹ tsʰi³ 唔清楚 “ไม่ + ชัดเจน = คลุมคล้วย” ‘vague’
not + clear
(6) m̕² jaŋ² 唔赢 “ไม่ + ชนะ = แพ้” ‘to be defeated’
not + win
(7) m̕² jit⁵ joŋ⁴ 唔一样 “ไม่ + เหมือน = แตกต่าง” ‘different’
not + same
(8) m̕² woj⁴ nan² 唔会难 “ไม่ + ยาก = ง่าย” ‘easy’
not + difficult
(9) m̕² ki⁴ tet⁵ 唔记得 “ไม่ + จำได้ = ลืม” ‘forget’
not + remember
Prefix jiw¹ 有, has a literary meaning of “to have” but when it precedes a noun, it changes to an adjective.

Examples:
1. jiw¹ tsʰien² 有钱 “มี เงิน = รวย” ‘rich’
   have + money
2. jiw¹ pʰian⁴ 有病 “มี โรค = ป่วย” ‘sick’
   have + disease
3. jiw¹ miaŋ² 有名 “มี ชื่อ = เป็นที่นิยม” ‘famous’
   have + name

Prefix fat⁵ 发, has a literary meaning of “become, get into a certain state” but when it precedes a noun, it changes to a noun.

Examples:
1. fat⁵ pʰian⁴ 发病³ become or get + ill ไม่สบาย ‘to be ill’
2. fat⁵ tsʰoj² 发财 ร่ํารวย ‘get rich’

5.2 Suffixes

Suffixes used to identify gender have three forms. Suffixes ku³ 犀 and kuŋ¹ 公 are used to indicate male, while suffix ma² 婦 is used to indicate female. In general a modifier in the Hakka language is placed on the left side of the head noun but only for the gender it is placed on the right side of the head noun so we classify it into suffixes class.

Examples:

N + suffix

1. ke¹ ma² 鸡婦 “ไก่เมีย” ‘hen’
   chicken + suffix (female)

³ Literary language.
Examples:

(1)  $kio$\textsuperscript{1} ma\textsuperscript{2}  ขิง  “ขิง”  ‘ginger’
(2)  taw\textsuperscript{1} ma\textsuperscript{2}  มีดโต”  ‘kitchen chopper’
(3)  li\textsuperscript{2} ma\textsuperscript{2}  งอบ  “งอบ”  ‘a bamboo hat’
(4)  set\textsuperscript{5} ma\textsuperscript{2}  เรื้อน  “เรื้อน”  ‘louse’
Suffix \textit{kuŋ} has a meaning that is sometimes not related to gender but it is used to complete a noun.

Examples:

(1) ni¹ kuŋ¹ 蚂公 “มด” ‘ant’
(2) ha² kuŋ¹ 蝦公 “ปลำปีอง” ‘shrimp’
(3) san¹ ha² kuŋ¹ 山蝦公 “แมงป่อง” ‘scorpion’
(4) hian³ kuŋ¹ 蠃公 “ไสเดือน” ‘earthworm’

Suffix \textit{ku} has a meaning that is sometimes not related to gender but it is used to complete a noun.

Examples:

(1) si¹ ku¹ 須姑 “หนวด” ‘moustache’
(2) nen⁴ ku¹ 乳姑 “เต้านม” ‘breast’

Suffix \textit{ha}, when it follows a noun, has a meaning which is similar to indicating location and it acts as preposition.

Examples:

N + suffix

(1) wuk⁵ ha¹ (kʰua¹) 屋下 “(ที่) บ้าน” ‘(at) house’
(2) ?am¹ ha¹ 庵下 “(ที่) วัด” ‘(at) temple’
(3) hok⁶ tʰong² ha¹ 学堂下 “(ที่) โรงเรียน” ‘(at) school’
Suffix ʔe² has a sound which is sometimes assimilated to the final consonant of the former syllable. It follows a noun and its meaning denotes the location. Its function is similar to a preposition.

Examples:

N + suffix ʔe² 里

(1)  ka¹ ʔe² 家里 “ในบ้าน” ‘in a house’
(2)  sim¹ (tu¹)ʔe² 心肚里 “ในใจ” ‘in a heart’
(3)  su³ ʔe² 手里 “ในมือ” ‘in a hand’
(4)  san² ʔe² 城里 “ในเมือง” ‘in the city’
(5)  tʰoj⁴ ʔe² 袋里 “ในกระเป๋า” ‘in a bag’
(6)  ho² ʔe² 河里 “ในแม่น้ำ” ‘in a river’
(7)  tʰien² ne² 田里 “ในป่า” ‘in a forest’
(8)  san³ ʔe² 山里 “ในป่า” ‘in a forest’
(9)  wok⁶ ʔe² 燊里 “ในป่า” ‘in water’
(10)  su⁴ lim² me² 树林里 “ในป่า” ‘in a forest’
(11)  suj³ ʔe² 水里 “ในแม่น้ำ” ‘in water’

Suffix tʰew² 头 has a literary meaning of “head” but when it follows a noun, its function changes to complete a noun morpheme.

Examples:

N + suffix tʰew² 头

(1)  kut⁵ tʰew² 骨头 “กระดูก” ‘bone’
(2)  njit⁵ tʰew² 日头 “พระอาทิตย์” ‘sun’
(3)  kuon⁴ tʰew² 罐头 “กระป๋อง” ‘tin, canister’
(4)  kin¹ tʰew² 肩头 “หัวไหล่” ‘shoulder’
(5)  kio⁵ tʰew² 锤头 “จอม” ‘hoe’
(6)  wok⁶ tʰew² 锅头 “กระทะ” ‘pan’
### Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N + suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sak⁶ tʰew²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pu³ tʰew²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsem¹ tʰew²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsim³ tʰew²</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Suffix tsʰi³ หรือ ?e² 子 follows a noun in order to complete a noun morpheme. The pronunciation of this suffix is not exactly the same but it sometimes depend on the final consonant of the former syllable. However, it is usually pronounce as tsʰi³ or ?e².
Suffix `tsaj` 佤 follows an adjective in order to complete a noun morpheme. Most of them mean female.

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>adj. + suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Suffix `ko` 佤 follows a noun in order to complete a noun morpheme.

Examples:

<p>| |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
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<td>5.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
6. Conclusion

Compounding in Hakka can be found as three types: compound nouns, compound verbs, and compound adjectives. Compound nouns are quite clear whereas compound verbs can be identified to be verb-object compounds. This study shows ten suffixes and seven prefixes. Some prefixes or suffixes have no meaning but functions to complete a noun morpheme. Some suffixes act as prepositions such as suffix ʔe² 里 and suffix ha¹ 下. The most interesting finding is that suffixes used to identify gender in Hakka have three morphemes. Suffixes ku³ 醫 and kuŋ¹ 公 are used to indicate male while suffix ma² 婦 is used to indicate female.

References


XIANGLIN, LUO (1933) *Kejia Yanjiu daolun [Introduction to Hakka studies]*, Shishan shushi (Guangdong Xingning), Reprint by Nantian shuju, Taiwan (1992).