

論文の英文要旨	
論文題目	台湾海陸客家語のアスペクト体系研究 (The Aspect System in Taiwanese Hailu Hakka)
氏名	遠藤雅裕 (ENDO Masahiro)

The aspectual markers of Sinitic Languages have been described in detail and categorized as “*ti* 體” and “*mao* 貌.” However, discussions of the classification criteria and hierarchy of the members of this aspectual system remain inadequate. This paper describes the semantic and syntactic aspects of the aspectual markers of Taiwanese Hailu Hakka and systematizes them based on Chen Qianrui (陳前瑞)’s (2008) “four-level aspectual system” for standard Chinese. The “four-level aspectual system” is characterized by a hierarchy of aspect, including the situational aspects within the verb (phrase), the phasal aspects within the situation (basic/quantitative), and the viewpoint aspects (peripheral/central), and the aspectual forms are treated within one comprehensive system. In this system, the degree of grammaticalization of markers is used as a classification index for viewpoint and other aspects. For this reason, diachronic and linguistic-geographical approaches were also employed to examine aspect markers whose origin is unclear because of their grammaticalization.

The results are presented in the figure below. In this figure, the hierarchy is represented by horizontal columns. The six main features identified for the aspect system of Taiwanese Hilu Hakka are as follows. [1] There is no dedicated marker for the perfective aspect. [2] The anterior aspect marker “*le*⁵³ 了” is derived from the verb “了” and tends to be restricted to the realis events. [3] “*ko*²¹ 過” is complementary to the completive and compensative aspects. [4] The completive aspect “*tʰet*⁵ 掉” has characteristics intermediate between the phasal aspect and the viewpoint aspect. [5] Both the delimitative and instantive aspects are derived from the verbal quantifier “*ha*³³ (*tsɿ*³⁵) 下(子).” [6] the delimitative and repetitive aspects are related categories. The situation aspects and constructional forms such as the “VV” construction in the delimitative aspect are omitted from this figure.

Hierarchical Structure of the Aspect System in Taiwanese Hailu Hakka

marker		phasal aspect	viewpoint aspect	
		quantitative	peripheral	central
1	-a ³³ lə ³³ 啊仔	delimitative		
2	-ʒit ⁵⁻³² ha ³³ a ³³ lə ³³ 一下啊仔	delimitative		
3	-(ʒit ⁵⁻³²) ha ³³ (一)下	delimitative		
4	-a ³³ 啊-	instantive		
		basic		
5	- hi ³⁵ loi ⁵⁵ 起來	inchoative / resultative		
6	- ha ⁵³ hi ²¹ 下去 / - ha ⁵³ loi ⁵⁵ 下來	continuative		
7	- ho ³⁵ 好	completive		
8	- to ³⁵ 倒	resultative		
9	- liau ³⁵ 了	completive		
10	- t ^h et ⁵ 掉	completive		
11	- ko ²¹ 過	completive/compensative	experiential	
12	ʃit ⁵ 識 -		experiential	
13	- le ⁵³ 了#		anterior	
14	t ^h o ⁵³ kai ⁵⁵ 在該- / t ^h o ⁵³ lia ⁵⁵ 在這-		progressive	
15	- nen ³⁵ 等			imperfective

* “-” in the figure indicates the verb (phrase), and “#” indicates that the phrase or sentence ends.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. Chapters 1–3 present the premises of this study, and Chapters 4–7 are the central part of this paper.

Chapter 1, “Introduction,” introduces the history of dialectal grammar research and the literature and other materials used in this paper.

Chapter 2, “Phonological System,” describes the phonological system of Hailu Hakka to aid the reader in understanding the phonetic changes that occur in the process of grammaticalization.

In Chapter 3, “Analytical Framework,” we review aspect research in Chinese dialectal grammar studies and identified the “four-level aspect system.”

In Chapter 4, “Situation Aspects,” using Chen Qianrui’s (2008) classification of situation aspects based on the absence opposition as a working hypothesis, we have restricted the classification to verbs (“食” etc.) and verb phrases with simple objects (“食飯” etc.), and classified their situation aspects as follows: state-types (telic (ø), dynamic (ø), durative (+)), activity-types (telic (ø), dynamic (+), durative (+)), accomplishment-types (telic (+), dynamic (+), durative (ø)), and achievement-types (telic (+), dynamic (+), durative (+)). Note that the state type includes the feature that the dynamicity is more pronounced than in standard Chinese.

In Chapter 5, “Phase Aspects,” the completive, compensative, resultative, inchoative, and continuative aspects are examined as the basic phasal aspects, and the delimitative, instantive, and repetitive aspects as the quantitative phasal aspects.

The completive aspect markers “t^het⁵ 掉,” “ho³⁵ 好,” “ko²¹ 過,” and “liau³⁵ 了” all have the aspectual meaning of

the end point of the situation as well as a contentive meaning. “t^{het}5 掉” has both a vanishing and a completed meaning, as well as a realized meaning that expresses the continuation of the resultant state of an action. These meanings can also pertain to processes of the situation, and can also imply reaching a natural end point and the “maximization of the quantity of degree.” “ko²¹ 過” means the passing of an end point and does not have the meaning of completion. “liau³⁵ 了” is also unmarked as to whether or not it a natural end point is reached. When quantified in quantitative expression, these markers indicate that a natural endpoint has been reached and are interchangeable with each other. This may be because quantification ensures a perfective aspect interpretation, which neutralizes the differences between the markers.

These markers are in the same paradigmatic relation as the resultative complement in terms of verb postposition. Moreover, “t^{het}5 掉” and “liau³⁵ 了” can be positioned further outside this position. Therefore, it can be said that these two are in the same paradigmatic relation as the anterior aspect marker, which can also follow them. Based on these syntactic features, “t^{het}5 掉” and “liau³⁵ 了” are considered to lie between the completive aspect markers and the anterior aspect marker. In addition, “掉,” “好,” and “過” are also content words, and thus form a separated structure.

Among these markers, the origin of “掉” is unknown. Based on linguistic geography and historical phonology, this paper concludes that it is most likely of the same origin as “p^{hiet}7 撇.”

The compensative aspect marker “ko²¹ 過” is used for an irrealis event, indicating a redo of an action that ended unsuccessfully. It does not co-occur with a quantity complement. This is because quantification with the quantity complement causes its interpretation as indicating perfective aspect and consequently excludes its interpretation as indicating compensative aspect. Therefore, it is complementary to the completive aspect marker “過.”

The resultative aspect marker “to³⁵ 倒” indicates the realization of an action. When the verb is of the state or activity type, it implies the continuation of the state or activity after its realization, depending on the context. In this respect, it differs from the completive aspect marker, which indicates the end of a situation. Syntactically, it can form a separated structure as in the case of the completive aspect marker. “倒” is derived from “到” ‘to reach’. In the process of grammaticalization, the tone changed from *Yin-Qu*(21) to *Shang* (35).

The inchoative aspect marker “hi³⁵ loi⁵⁵ 起來” and continuative aspect marker “ha⁵³ hi²¹ 下去” and “ha⁵³ loi⁵⁵ 下來” are derived from compound directional complements. “起來” tends to be interpreted as the onset and result for activity- and state-type verbs, and as the result for achievement- and accomplishment-type verbs. It is difficult for “起來” to co-occur with verbs of detachment and disappearance due to the original meaning of “起來,” ‘to move from below to above’. Syntactic features include the separation of “起” and “來” and the separation of the preceding V and “起來.”

The continuative aspect markers “下去” and “下來” also co-occur with a limited selection of verbs. “下去” tends to be restricted to co-occurring with verbs of the activity-type, indicating a continuation of the situation. On the other hand, “下來” tends to co-occur with verbs that imply a concrete result (“寫,” “買,” etc.) and some state-type verbs with negative meanings (“暗” “恬,” etc.). The situation indicated by “下來” continues from before the reference point and is interpreted as continuing after the reference point. Contrariwise, “下來” also expresses the continuation of a situation, but tends to be interpreted as a resultant meaning when co-occurring with an achievement- or state-type verb.

There are a variety of forms for the delimitative aspect. There are the forms “V(V) a³³ lə³³ 啊仔,” “V(ʒit⁵⁻³²) ha³³

(一)下,” and “V ʒit⁵⁻³² ha³³ a³³ lə³³ 一下啊仔” with affixation, and constructional “VV” and “VV 仔” forms. The delimitative aspect form “VV” in standard Chinese has short duration and telicity as its main semantic features, and the same is true of Hailu Hakka. The “V 啊 V” and the “V 啊 V 仔” are also forms that serve to indicate the repetitive aspect. Among the elements that make up the delimitative aspect forms, “啊仔” is one of those that is being worn away. This is derived from a reduced form of “一下子” ‘for a while’, “下子.” The connotations of short-time and boundedness remain in the delimitative aspect marker, and the latter is a factor in the perfective aspect interpretation, which recognizes the situation as indivisible.

According to previous research, the repetitive aspect indicates an action repeated an unlimited number of times and does not take lexical forms, but rather a variety of constructional forms such as “反反覆覆” and “走來走去.” “V 啊 V(仔)” and “V 等 V 等” in Hailu Hakka are forms that indicate the repetitive aspect.

The instantive aspect marker “a³³ 啊” is unique to Hakka languages. The following features were also observed in Hailu Hakka, as pointed out in previous studies: [1] Inserted within a verb-complement structure. [2] Indicates that the action indicated by the verb-complement structure continues or is realized for a short period. [3] Used in the preceding clause of a compound sentence to indicate that the situation indicated by the succeeding clause is realized immediately after the situation indicated by the preceding clause is realized. The marker “啊” is derived from the verbal quantifier “下.” It is possible that the grammaticalization of “下” began with the “V 下 N” structure, which became the delimitative aspect marker, and then the syntactic environment expanded to the “V1 啊 V2” and “V 啊 C” structures to yield the instantive aspect marker.

In Chapter 6, “Viewpoint Aspects,” we examine the anterior aspect marker, the experiential aspect marker, and the progressive aspect marker within the peripheral viewpoint aspect, and also attempt to examine the perfective aspect, which is related to the anterior aspect and for which there is no dedicated marker. In addition, we examine the imperfective aspect marker as the central viewpoint aspect.

The anterior aspect marker “le⁵³ 了” is semantically and syntactically almost parallel to the standard Chinese sentence-final “了 2,” but is more restrictive. Semantically, it represents the conclusion of a situation and implies that it is associated with a reference point. It tends to be used for realis events and not irrealis events. Syntactically, “le⁵³ 了” is used at the end of phrases and sentences and co-occurs with result and directional complements and phasal aspect markers. However, it is not used in yes/no questions and tends to be used infrequently in interrogative questions.

There are two hypotheses about the origin of “le⁵³ 了”: “來” and “了,” but this paper supports the latter theory for the following reasons. [1] The absence of the perfective aspect marker among verbal affixes causes “VO 了” to be interpreted as a perfective aspect, which parallels the “VO 了” structure that historically triggered the occurrence of “了” in standard Chinese. [2] There are several Hakka languages with sentence-final “了” cognate with “了” in standard Chinese in the Yuetai area. [3] Based on the historical phonology of Hakka pronunciation, *Yin-Ping*(53) “le⁵³ 了” may be an older colloquial form of *Shang*(35) “了.”

The experiential aspect has two markers: the verb postposition “過” and the verb preposition “ʃit⁵ 識.” The former is a further grammaticalized form of the completive aspect marker “過,” which has the semantic feature that the situation is already complete at the reference time and is discontinuous with reference time. This semantic feature of “過” reflects its original meaning of ‘passing through a place/boundary’. On the other hand, “識” has a similar semantic feature. It originally meant “to know.” Therefore, both markers are relatively ungrammaticalized. They

also co-occur due to their different syntactic positions.

There are several markers that indicate the progressive aspect. In addition to the commonly used “tʰo⁵³ kai⁵⁵ 在該” and “tʰo⁵³ lia⁵⁵ 在這” are “toŋ⁵³ 當,” “to²¹ kai⁵⁵ 到該,” and “toŋ⁵³ to²¹ kai⁵⁵ 當到該.” All markers are prefixed to the verb, indicating that the situation changes with the passage of time. This kind of marker conflict is similar to the situation of the completive aspect markers. In addition, the form “locative marker + demonstrative” retains its original indicative nature. Based on these features, we can infer that this category is relatively new.

The imperfective aspect marker “nen³⁵ 等” occurs not only with activity- and accomplishment-type verbs, but also with state- and achievement-type verbs. State verbs are limited to dynamic adjectives that imply change, and the addition of “等” changes them into a progressive active-type indicating that the state changes with the passage of time. Conversely, the addition of “等” to an achievement-type verb causes the following two changes. First, the preceding part, which is the background of the situation in question, is foregrounded and becomes dynamic. Second, the end point is backgrounded. This renders the situation unbounded, and it is interpreted as implying the imperfective aspect.

There are several theories on the origin of “等,” including the “kin³ 緊” and “tʰin⁶ 定” theories and the locative theory. Based on the phonetic, semantic, and syntactic similarities between “緊” and “等,” as well as linguistic geographical and diachronic considerations, we find the “緊” derivation theory the most convincing.

In Chapter 7, “Relationship with the Realis Modality ‘有,’” we examined the verb preposition “ziu⁵³ 有,” which is considered the perfective aspect marker. Because this marker can co-occur with aspect markers that include completion and non-completion, it is judged to be the realis modality marker and not an aspect marker of any kind. Sentences with the aspect markers are mainly situated in the realm of actuality, where the realis modality “有” is working.

Note that there is no dedicated sign for the perfective aspect in Hailu Hakka. The perfective aspect interpretation is more heavily influenced by situation and phase aspects, such as the end point of a situation. Aspect markers in Sinitic languages appeared mainly during the Northern and Southern Dynasties and the Sui and Tang Dynasties, and their foundations were laid during the Song Dynasty. In Archaic Chinese, the basic aspect was governed by aspectual verbs such as “畢” and “已,” as well as by the aspect of the situation. The partial lack of viewpoint aspect markers and subdivision of the phasal aspect observed in Hailu Hakka may reflect a relatively old feature in the history of the Sinitic languages.