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客語重疊結構之語意研究
Semantic analysis on
Hakka reduplication constructions

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客語重疊結構之語意研究

Semantic analysis on

Hakka reduplication constructions*

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中文摘要

過去對「重疊結構」的語意研究，大致著重在探討重疊形式之多重語意間的關聯性，據此，一般認為「象似性原則」提供了合理的解釋。然而，重疊結構除了表示增強、強調、加倍等正向語意之外，也可表示減弱、縮小等語意。而後者之語意嚴重地挑戰了「象似性原則」。本研究針對這個議題，以客語重疊結構為例，提出下列主張：首先，「象似性原則」確實是最適切的解釋，重疊結構是語言使用者要表達極端、強調等語意時的許多語言策略中的一種。說話者就對外在世界的認知選擇語言形式以利溝通，重疊結構只不過是在這個等級列的其中一種。其次，所謂的減弱/縮小或強調/加倍，是相對而非絕對的觀念，必須就實際的語言使用情境來考量，一旦語言使用的各種語言因素都列入考慮，重疊結構的語意也就應運而生了。綜言之，本研究不僅為客語及其他相關語言重疊結構提出合理的解釋，同時指出，象似性是語言使用者對外在世界認知結果後選擇語言策略時最主要的動因。

關鍵詞：象似性、形態象似性、圖形象似性、象似性的解碼、概念化、客語重疊結構

Abstract

Previous studies on the meaning of reduplication have proposed plausible accounts of the relatedness among various senses associated with it. Iconicity principle is often acclaimed as the motivation behind this process. However, reduplication can be associated with senses such as intensification and attenuation that are inconsistent with each other. The latter even seriously challenges iconicity principle. To resolve this fundamental problem, this study, using Hakka reduplicative constructions to illustrate, has the following claims. First of all, it is argued that iconicity indeed works for

* This study is partly based on the research project *Semantic Analysis of Hakka Reduplication Constructions* granted by Council for Hakka Affairs, Executive Yuan (行政院客家委員會).

reduplication, conforming and non-conforming senses included. Crucially, it is demonstrated that reduplication is among an array of linguistic expressions along a scale, which increases their extensiveness. For the purpose of communication, a reduplicative form, just like other linguistic expressions, is a strategy for the speaker to manifest his conceptualization of the world. Next, it is maintained that the seemingly inconsistent senses—particularly intensification and attenuation— can be resolved when the usage of reduplication is taken into consideration. The senses associated with a reduplicative form can be explicitly elucidated once other contextual factors are examined at the same time. Essentially, the context will bring forward the best interpretation of a reduplicative form when suitable. In sum, the study not only gives a systematic and thorough investigation into Hakka reduplicative constructions in particular but also testifies to the fact that iconic coding of a speaker's conceptualization is the key motivation behind such a linguistic strategy.

Key words: iconicity, imagic iconicity, diagrammatic iconicity, iconic coding, conceptualization, Hakka reduplicative constructions

1. Introduction

Reduplication refers to the process whereby a whole construction in question or part of the construction in question is reiterated to form a new construction—the former being a total reduplication whereas the latter a partial reduplication. Whereas many previous studies focus on the phonological and morphological alternations due to the repetition of the sound stream of linguistic expressions, others probe into the meaning properties exhibited by the reduplicative forms. In languages around the world, from Indo-European languages and Native American languages to Indonesian languages and Sinitic languages, reduplicative processes are so pervasively found (cf. Moravcsik 1978, Regier 1998, Zhang 1999, Conradie 2003, Tai 1993). Various parts of speech are involved as components of reduplicative forms including verbs, nouns, adjectives, adverbs, numerals and interjections (cf. Conradie 2003).

Earlier studies have come up with general semantic characterization of reduplicative constructions.

The most conspicuous observation lies in the repetition of form delineating the repetition of meaning. Hence, reiterated lexemes refer to plurality (e.g. *baabana* ‘coyotes’ vs. *bana* ‘coyoto’ in Papago; *renren* ‘everyone’ vs. *ren* ‘person’ in Mandarin) or increased quantity (e.g. *čors čors kalel* ‘to march four by four’ vs. *čors* ‘four’ in Turkish; *yi dai dai mi* ‘sacks of rice’ vs. *yi dai mi* ‘a sack of rice’ in Mandarin), repeated constructions signal repeated actions (e.g. *–pikpik* ‘touch it lightly repeatedly’ vs. *–pik* ‘touch it lightly’ in Tzeltal), and duration of actions or extension of an action or state (e.g. *khāw, dāən, dāən: paj naan* ‘He walked and walked for a long time’ vs. *dāən* ‘walk’ in Thai), and repetition indicates emphasis or intensification (e.g. *lal-lal* ‘very red’ vs. *lal* ‘red’ in Hindi; *lau-lau-sit-sit* ‘very honest’ vs. *lau-sit* ‘honest’ in Taiwanese Southern Min). In addition to these examples, many examples from different languages are used, however, widely to characterize totally discrepant meanings such as diminution (e.g. *walawer* ‘small creek’ and *wer* ‘creek’ in Agta) or attenuation (e.g. *maji-maji* ‘somewhat wet’ and *maji* ‘wet’ in Swahili; *lau-sit-lau-sit* ‘kind of honest’ in Taiwanese Southern Min).¹

With regard to the aforementioned generalizations of reduplicative constructions, analyses have been proposed to encompass all the senses. Regier (1998), adopting Lakoff’s

¹ Examples of Papago, Turkish, Tzeltal, Thai, Agta, Swahili are cited in Moravcsik (1978). Examples of Mandarin are cited from Zhang (1999) whereas the Taiwanese Southern Min examples are from Tsao (2001).

(1987) idea of radial categories, claims that all the senses can be subsumed by two forces—iconicity and semantic extension. Specifically, he proposes that cross-linguistically three core meanings are associated with reduplication—baby, repetition and plurality. Attenuation and diminution are extended from the baby sense; continuation comes from repetition; intensification and other related senses are developed from plurality. In a similar vein, after citing data from different languages and examining data from various Chinese dialects, Zhang (1997, 1999) proposes an image schema to account for the iconic relationship between linguistic expressions and cognitive motivation.

Another two relevant studies regarding reduplication are Tsao (2001) and Conradie (2003). Unlike previous studies that focus solely on the reduplicative forms, Tsao (2001) considers reduplication within a sentence. After comparing the verbal and adjectival reduplication both in Mandarin and in Taiwanese Southern Min, he proposes a radial structure for verbal reduplication in general, maintaining that with tentativeness as the core, all other senses including delimitness, metalinguistic use, short duration, rapid completion and trying action out can be derived. On the other hand, Conradie (2003), investigating Afrikaans reduplication, contends that the types of iconicity exhibited by the data can be accounted for with the interaction of iconic principles and grammar.

2. Iconic coding of language

Putting those untypical cases that represent attenuation and diminution aside for a while, most of the scholars agree that iconicity motivates the coding of linguistic expressions including the coding of reduplicative forms of language. Langacker (1991) holds that coding refers to “the relationship between a conceptualization one wishes to express and the linguistic structures activated for that purpose” (294). In other words, syntactic coding is not arbitrarily determined but strategically governed by the conceptual principle. Communication being a problem-solving activity, speakers look for target linguistic expressions to manifest their conceptualization (Langacker 1987, 1991, 1999). Linguistic structures, mirroring conceptual structures, reify what is conceptualized of the world by language users.

Essentially iconicity refers to the conceived similarity between linguistic form and conceptual structure (Haiman 1983, 1985, 1999, Harm 2003, Fischer & Nänny 1999, among others). Two types of iconicity are often recognized: imagic iconicity and diagrammatic iconicity. Whereas the former refers to oral / aural, tactile, visual signs, the latter consists of structural and semantic kinds (Fischer & Nänny 1999). Between the two types of iconicity, diagrammatic iconicity, which is more relevant to the current study, lies in the fact that the essence of a diagram is that the relationship between the parts of a complex sign resembles the relationship between the parts of the concept it represents (Harm 2003:225). There are two kinds of diagrammatic iconicity: isomorphic principle and motivational iconicity.

Isomorphism is defined as one meaning standing for one prototypically clustered set of meanings connected through family resemblances (Harm 2003:226). Motivational iconicity delineates that “categories that are marked morphologically [...] are also marked semantically” (Haiman 1983, 1985a).

Such a principle has been employed to tackle many linguistic phenomena cross-linguistically. Tai (1993), for instance, proposes several cases from Chinese grammar to demonstrate iconic motivations behind them, including word order sequence (e.g. temporal sequence principle in Tai (1985)), distance, separateness, juxtaposition, and reduplication. Harm (2003) provides another illustration of a tendency towards iconic coding in German word formation. Most importantly, such a principle neatly explicates reduplicative forms as argued by Conradie (2003) in dealing with Afrikaans reduplication. Crucially, according to the principle, the larger a form is, the more content is conveyed as noticed by Lakoff & Johnson’s (1980) metaphor more-of-form-is-more-of-content or Hiraga’s (1994) quantity iconicity, which specifies the correlation between the quantity of form and the quantity of meaning. Accordingly, since prototypically simple structures represent simple concepts whereas prototypically complex structures represent complex concepts (Lakoff 1987), reduplication is therefore utilized to characterize meanings such as plurality, increased quantity, iteration, intensification, and the like.

3. The issues

It is highly likely that iconicity plays a crucial role for the explanation of the senses associated with reduplication. Previous studies have provided quite a promising picture in terms of how various meanings are extended through semantic mechanisms. Reiger (1998) Zhang (1999), Tsao (2001) and Conradie (2003), for instance, are such successful endeavors. Nevertheless, the previous studies somehow have left out how to unify the inconsistent senses—such as intensification on the one hand and diminution /attenuation on the other. The current study hence would like to gear toward this fundamental but unresolved problem that has been associated with reduplication in general. Iconicity principle, in the stream of Haiman (1983, 1985, 1999) and Givón (1995), among others, offers a very plausible perspective for the analysis of reduplication. However, non-conforming data with senses such as diminution and attenuation go against such a principle. In fact, Zhang (1997, 1999) specifically points out two unresolved issues in previous studies of reduplication both cross-linguistically and cross-dialectally. On the one hand, adjectival reduplication denotes sometimes emphasis or intensification as in *yi tung tung shui* ‘a big barrel of water’ or *gua de gao gao de* ‘(something) is hung quite high’, but sometimes diminution or attenuation as in *yi wan wan fan* ‘a small bowl of rice’ or *ge-zi gao gao de* ‘(someone) is somewhat tall’. On the other hand, although most forms of verbal reduplication characterize iteration or extension of duration, some cases delineate shortening of duration as in *ta tui-xiou zhi hou, kan kan shu*,

xia xia qi... 'He sometimes reads and sometimes plays chess after his retirement.' (1997: 42).

Whereas he maintains that a repetition of language form is a manifestation of speakers' cognitive conceptualization of the world and therefore should be the prototypical norm and that iconicity provides a key to the motivation behind reduplicative forms universally, he does not explain how the untypical senses such as diminution and attenuation can be subsumed under such a principle. In addition, as mentioned previously, Tsao (2001) maintains that tentativeness is the core meaning of reduplication both in Mandarin and in Taiwanese Southern Min, whereas that triplication denotes vividness. If reduplication and triplication undergo similar conceptualization process, the discrepancy existing here remains to be resolved.

As a matter of fact, in these studies, almost all the senses associated with reduplication are taken from the reduplicative forms alone. Except for Tsao (2001), who has taken sentential context into consideration, none of the other analyses have put reduplicative forms in context. In other words, the actual usage of reduplicative forms has not been incorporated into the proposals in those studies. As a result, the research outcomes are often quite confusing though not impossible as in the cases of *yi tung tung shui*, which denotes a big barrel of water and *yi wan wan fan*, which denotes a small bowl of rice. Likewise, whereas *lau-sit-lau-sit* in Taiwanese Southern Min expresses kind of honest, *lau-lau-sit-sit* signifies very honest. These issues are definitely worth exploring so as to consistently and holistically

display reduplication. In this study, Hakka reduplicative constructions will be taken up as the target language to examine the issues for two reasons. First, although Hakka contains numerous reduplicative constructions (cf. Zhang 1998, Chiang 2002, Chung 1998, Luo 1988, Lu 1999, among others), systematic investigation into them has been scanty. Moreover, since Hakka data have been paid less attention to in terms of theory constructing in the previous studies, an in-depth analysis of them will provide a strong piece of empirical evidence to validate the theories.²

4. Does iconicity really work?

In this section data from Hakka language will be used to demonstrate how iconicity principle can indeed account for not only those conforming data but also those seemingly apparent non-conforming data. Crucially, larger context is taken into consideration when a reduplicative form is examined. It is claimed that as a reification of speaker's conceptualization of what he perceives of the world, to reduplicate a linguistic form is to express double meaning. By the same token, to triplicate a form is to represent even stronger extensiveness. And all the various senses associated with reduplicative constructions do demonstrate iconic grounding.

To reexamine reduplicative constructions in general, let us go back to the very essential

² The data of Hakka reduplicative constructions are mainly taken from the following sources: *Miaoli Hakka Stories*, *Dungshi Hakka Stories*, and Hakka Stories from *Hakka Monthly*. Only some examples are extracted from the data base for illustration. All the reduplicative constructions found are given in Appendix.

notion introduced earlier—namely language as a strategy to conceptualize what is perceived by the speaker, in line with what is claimed by Langacker (1987, 1991, 1999), among others. Langacker (1987, 1999) calls it a usage event, whereby a linguistic expression is paired with a conceptualization symbolizing its complete contextual understanding. Accordingly, any linguistic choice should involve a communicative objective, be it passive-active alternation, dative alternation, or reduplicative constructions. For immediate communicative purpose, speakers choose among a wealthy array of linguistic expressions to reify what is conceptualized in order to respond to the situation. As well put by Langacker (1987: 73): “[l]inguistic creativity is best examined ... in the overall context of human knowledge, judgment, and problem-solving ability.”

In accordance with this course of argument, iconicity principle is such an endeavor to delve into the motivation behind various ranges of manifestations of speakers’ understanding of the world. Based on this principle, what is exhibited by reduplicative constructions seems to fall well into place. A reduplicative noun construction usually indicates plurality; a reduplicative adjectival or adverbial construction usually signifies intensification; and a reduplicative verbal construction usually represents repetition or extension of duration. However, these generalizations, although self-explanatory, do not take the usage in context into consideration. When other contextual factors are examined, even the same patterns of reduplication can be interpreted in a different fashion. Furthermore, senses such as

attenuation and diminution that are observed to be associated with some cases of reduplicative constructions but that do not follow the generalization deserve further investigation. In what follows, arguments are to be provided to reveal that all the senses, including the seemingly non-conforming ones, can be subsumed under one single principle when language usage is taken into consideration. In particular, it is claimed that to express what is conceptualized of the world, a speaker chooses among various linguistic strategies, reduplication included. And the senses associated with reduplicative constructions are to be determined by the holistic integration of the meanings of the context.³ It is also maintained that the account advanced here can be generalized to all the phenomena exhibited by Hakka, Taiwanese Southern Min or Mandarin.

First of all, let us start from the non-conforming senses—namely the so-called attenuation and diminution. The issue arisen here is why a speaker would choose to double a linguistic form to express meaning that is on the contrary deducing. Such a strategy obviously goes against the cognition of any language users. What is worse is that there is no generalized regulation as to which form increases the meaning and which form decreases the meaning, as we can see from the phenomena displayed by so many different languages (c.f. Zhang 1997, 1999).⁴ Furthermore, such a complex cognitive activity is not only baffling for native

³ Such a stream of thought accords with what is declared by construction grammar in the shape of Goldberg (1995) and Jackendoff (1997), among others. But the essence of the constructional approach is not detailed in this study and is left for the reader to pursue.

⁴ For example, Tsao (2001) points out that for disyllabic adjectives in the form of AB, there are two methods for reduplication. Whereas ABAB is used mainly for metalinguistic tentativeness, AABB is used to denote

speakers but also very infeasible for any second language learners.⁵ Therefore, it is high time to probe into this issue more carefully. Are any reduplicative constructions associated with senses that are so inconsistent to the representations of the forms to begin with? This study is going to argue that the answer is negative. More specifically, it is going to claim that attenuation or diminution is a relative sense, compared to other stronger senses represented by other linguistic strategies. For instance, observe the following linguistic expressions from Hakka which increase the amount of quality owned by the object described. In this case, *fung* ‘red’ is chosen to illustrate:⁶

- (1) a. 一點也毋紅
yit⁵-diam³¹ zu⁵⁵ m¹¹ fung¹¹
 a little all NEG red
 ‘not red at all’
- b. 一點點紅
yit⁵-diam³¹-diam³¹ fung¹¹
 a little red
 ‘a little bit red’
- c. 紅紅
fung¹¹ fung¹¹
 red red
 ‘kind of red’

vividness. The issue arisen here will be discussed below.

⁵ Reluctant to agree with Zhang’s (1997) judgment of the meanings of the data, Wang (1999), realizing the problem mentioned here, has put a lot of effort to explain the non-symmetric mapping of form and meaning of some reduplicative constructions. Although she has employed cognitive principles to explicate the issue, the fundamental problem pointed out here leaves unaccounted for.

⁶ Pinyin romanization system is rendered for the Hakka data. The following abbreviations are used for the grammatical functions: AG, agent marker; ASP, aspect marker; CL, classifier; COMP, complementizer; NEG, negation marker; Q, question marker; POSS, possessive marker; PART, particle. The character version of the Hakka data is provided in the appendix.

- d. 紅紅紅
*fung*¹¹ *fung*¹¹ *fung*¹¹
 red red red
 ‘very red’
- e. 恁紅 / 盡紅
*an*³¹ / *cin*⁵⁵ *fung*¹¹
 very / very much red
 ‘very very red’
- f. 死紅 / 紅到會死
*si*³¹ *fung*¹¹ / *fung*¹¹ *do*⁵⁵ *voi*⁵⁵ *si*³¹
 die red red COMP will die
 ‘extremely red (in a derogatory sense)’

As shown by the above data, whereas the predicate *fung* ‘red’ alone denotes the predication of certain property, it is seldom used by a speaker to characterize what is perceived in the world. On the contrary, the other expressions, which arise from different strategies, are often employed to delineate the amount of redness a certain object has, depending on the degree of redness perceived by the speaker. The depiction indicates that a reduplicative form as in (1c) indeed is associated with a certain amount of increase of property but that such a sense is relatively smaller, compared with the quantity associated with other linguistic forms such as triplication as in (1d) or modification by degree adverbs as in (1e). Examples in (1f) overstate the redness of the object by using extreme case formulations in Norrick’s (2004) sense. Such an amount of quantity is relatively larger when compared with those denoted by (1a) or (1b), which clearly indicates the little degree of redness. In fact, examples from (1a) to (1f) increase the degree of redness on a scale, depending on what linguistic methods are utilized.

Consequently, reduplication can sometimes signify intensification but can sometimes represent attenuation. Based on the scale a reduplicative form occurs, it is not so surprising after all since contextual factors should bring up very clearly which sense a reduplicative form should stand for. It is also evident that triplication can never be associated with attenuation or diminution whereas some forms of reduplication does. As iconicity goes, more of a form should indicate more of the content (c.f. Lakoff & Johnson 1980).

In fact, a corollary follows from such a line of argument. According to iconic coding, the semantic discrepancy between AABB type and ABAB type in Hakka as well as in Taiwanese Southern Min is quite natural. According to the generalization in Tsao (2001), whereas the former denotes vividness, the latter indicates tentativeness. With a closer scrutiny, we can see that AABB, which reduplicates A and B at the same time, illustrates double reduplication (i.e., in a shape of XXYY). On the contrary, ABAB, a reduplicative construction for disyllabic forms, recopies AB only once (i.e., in a shape of XY). Consequently, AABB usually denotes stronger meaning than ABAB does. Data from both Hakka and Taiwanese Southern Min support such an explication, which also accords with Tsao's (2001) insight. Consider the following examples from Hakka:

- (2) 汝係無屋待，佢便宜便宜賣分汝愛無？
ng¹¹ he⁵⁵ mo¹¹ vuk² dai⁵⁵, gi¹¹ pien¹¹ nqi¹¹ pien¹¹ nqi¹¹ mai⁵⁵ bun²⁴ ng¹¹ oi⁵⁵ mo¹¹?
 you are NEG home live he cheap-cheap sell to you will Q

‘Since you don’t have a place to live, he can sell (his house) to you in a kind of low price. What do you think?’

- (3) 阿冬牯鼻溝紅嚙嚙，因為無衛生紙，經常用衫袖擗鼻水，手袖早已烏烏硬硬，結三層蠟。⁷

A¹¹-dung²⁴-gu²⁴ pi⁵⁵-gieu²⁴ fung¹¹ dong¹¹ dong¹¹, yin²⁴-vi⁵⁵ mo¹¹ vi⁵⁵-sen²⁴ -zi³¹,
 A-dung-male nose red quite quite because NEG tissue paper

gin²⁴-song¹¹ iung⁵⁵ sam¹¹-ciu⁵⁵ cut² pi⁵⁵-sui³¹,
 often use sleeve wipe water
su³¹ -ciu⁵⁵ zo³¹ -yi³¹ wu¹¹ wu¹¹ ngang⁵⁵ ngang⁵⁵, giet² sam²⁴ cen¹¹ lap⁵.
 sleeve already black black stiff stiff cover three layer wax

‘A-dung’s nose is very red. Because he doesn’t have any tissue paper, he often wipes his (sneezing) nose with his sleeves. Therefore, the sleeves are extremely dark and stiff as if they were covered with several layers of wax.’

The two examples, with context, show a clear semantic contrast between the two types of reduplication. Whereas *pien ngi pien ngi* in (2) denotes the flavor of sort-of, *wu wu ngang ngang* signifies intensification.

The two examples illustrated in (2) and (3) lead us to propose the second argument that is advanced in this study—how the contextual factors play a role in the interpretation of a reduplicative form. As a matter of fact, whether a reduplicative form should be interpreted as attenuation or intensification is highly dependent on the context in which it occurs. The seemingly inconsistent senses associated with reduplicative forms can be easily straightened out once contextual factors are taken into consideration. Consider the following passage, in which three cases of reduplicative forms in an AA type are found:⁸

⁷ Since the study tries to reveal as correctly as possible the character forms of Hakka, some of the characters, although believed to be the correct forms, are different from those given in the original sources.

⁸ According to previous studies, several types of reduplicative patterns are observed in Hakka. While researchers might not agree upon all the patterns, the following ten types are often mentioned: AA type (e.g.

- (4) 佢講：佢係為著愛做該間廟，汝知呀，屋家个東西全部賣淨淨，者下就存著汝定定，汝還恁後生，又生來靚靚乸，恩又無細人仔，汝分佢拜託，嫁著个錢就拿來做該間廟。

gi¹¹ gong³¹: ngai¹¹ he⁵⁵ vi¹¹-do⁵⁵ oi⁵⁵ zo⁵⁵ ge⁵⁵ gien¹¹ meu⁵⁵, ng¹¹ di²⁴ a²⁴,
he said I am due to want construct that CL temple you know PART

vuk²-ka¹¹ ge⁵⁵ dung¹¹-si¹¹ zo⁵⁵-ha³¹ mai⁵⁵ qiang⁵⁵-qiang⁵⁵, za³¹-ha⁵⁵ ciu⁵⁵ cun¹¹-do³¹
home POSS stuff all sell empty now only left-ASP

ng¹¹ tin⁵⁵-tin⁵⁵, ng¹¹ han¹¹ an³¹ heu⁵⁵-sang²⁴, iu⁵⁵ sang²⁴-loi¹¹ zianq¹¹ zianq²⁴ nge¹¹,
you just you still very young and look pretty pretty PART

en¹¹ yu⁵⁵ mo¹¹ se⁵⁵-ngin¹¹-e¹¹, ng¹¹ bun²⁴ ngai¹¹ bai⁵⁵-tok²,
we also NEG kids you AG me beg

ga⁵⁵-do³¹ ge⁵⁵ qien¹¹ ciu⁵⁵ na²⁴-loi¹¹ zo⁵⁵ ge⁵⁵ gien¹¹ meu⁵⁵.
Marry-ASP POSS money then take build that CL temple

‘He said: My intention is to rebuild that temple, you know. We have sold everything in our house. You are the only thing left. Since you are still so young, and look kind of pretty, and since we don’t have any kids, I’m begging you to marry (to that rich man). The money we got from your marriage will be used to construct that temple.’

This passage is taken from a story in which a guy wishes to rebuild a run-down temple to protect the idol of the *Guan Yin* goddess. After having sold everything in the house, he still does not have enough money. Therefore he is begging his own wife to pretend to be his sister to marry to a rich man, who would give them a handsome size of money in return. He therefore can use the money to reconstruct that temple. Now from this context, there are three

giong²⁴ giong²⁴ 驚驚), AAA type (e.g. bao¹¹ bao¹¹ bao¹¹ 飽飽飽), ABB type (e.g. giong³¹ vang¹¹ vang¹¹ 頸橫橫), AAB type (e.g. kiong¹¹ kiong¹¹ oi⁵⁵ 強強要), AAAA type (e.g. so¹¹ so¹¹ so¹¹ so¹¹ 鬼鬼祟祟), ABAB type (e.g. fung²⁴ sen¹¹ fung²⁴ sen¹¹ 風神風神), AABB type (e.g. qiang⁵⁵ qiang⁵⁵ li⁵⁵ li⁵⁵ 淨淨利利), ABAC (e.g. tai⁵⁵ zu³¹ tai⁵⁵ yi⁵⁵ 大主大意), ABCB type (e.g. pi¹¹ yong²⁴ gut² yong²⁴ 皮癢骨癢), ABCABC type (e.g. cu⁵⁵ pi⁵⁵ lon³¹ 臭屁卵臭屁卵). Only some relevant types will be discussed in this study. The reader is referred to Chiang (2002).

AA type reduplicative forms. However, their meanings are somewhat different. The first one *qiang-qiang* ‘completely empty’ is used to express how the couple is still short of money even though they have sold every single item in the house. Hence the reduplicative form in question denotes intensification. Likewise, the second reduplicative form *din din* ‘just’ also depicts intensification to emphasize the fact that his wife is the only valuable object left in the house. The third reduplicative form *zhang zhang nge* ‘kind of pretty’, however, delineates attenuation. The speaker is trying to convince his wife that with her young and pretty appearance she is worth the money if she is willing to marry to the rich man. Notice that the particle *nge* after *zhang zhang* helps to characterize the sort-of flavor as the discourse unfolds.

Another example to illustrate how contextual factors play a role can be demonstrated by the following passage:

- (5) 目珠紅紅又凸凸，歸面青青青，頭那毛長長，舌麻西出歸尺長个鬼面穀。
muk⁵-zu²⁴ funq¹¹ funq¹¹ yu⁵⁵ tiet⁵ tiet⁵, gui¹¹ mien⁵⁵ qiang¹¹ qiang¹¹ qiang¹¹
 eyes red red and protruding whole face green green green
- teu¹¹-na¹¹-mo²⁴ cong¹¹ cong¹¹, sat⁵-ma¹¹ le¹¹-cut² gui²⁴ cak² cong¹¹,*
 hair long tongue stick-out whole foot long
- ge⁵⁵ gui³¹-mien⁵⁵-guk².*
 POSS ghost

‘Her eyes very red and protruding, her face terribly green, her hair quite long, and her tongue sticking out one-foot long, she is one hundred percent a ghost.’

This passage is a description to depict a female ghost in the river, who would turn into a beautiful lady to beg a strong guy to carry her to cross the river and later to get the guy

drowned. As shown by the data, the underlined phrases all serve as modifiers for her hideous depiction. In this example, three reduplicative forms, one triplicative form, and a hyperbolic expression are placed in a series to strengthen the horrendousness of the appearance of the ghost, signifying intensification as well as emphasis. In other words, as the discourse unfolds, these linguistic expressions are strategically piling up all together to not only enhance the vividness but also reinforce the horribleness of her ghost face.

5. Conclusion

In sum, the study features three main contributions. First, it is argued that iconicity principle works across the board from reduplication and triplication to extreme case formulations, and to hyperbolic expressions. These linguistic strategies basically line up on a scale, strengthening their intensification along the scale when the form gets longer and larger. It is for a communicative purpose that a certain linguistic form is chosen by a speaker, based on his conceptualization of the world. Hence, it follows that with regard to the inconsistency of the meaning associated with reduplicative constructions, iconicity principle can, in fact, subsume all the senses. Attenuation or intensification can be interpreted not absolutely but relatively. In particular, as a strategy of a speaker for communication, a reduplicative construction is employed flexibly to denote sometimes attenuation and sometimes intensification. A by-product outcome of this claim has to do with an already well-taken

observation that certain linguistic forms cannot be reduplicated. For example, Zhang (1997) or Wang (1999) both point out that achievement verbs which cannot be extended to a certain period of time such as *si* ‘to die’ in Mandarin cannot be reduplicated. According to the current proposal, it is very natural since such verbs do not involve evaluation of a state-of-affair on a scale.

Closely related to the first point, the second argument advanced in this study is that the flexibility of interpretation of reduplication—sometimes intensification but sometimes attenuation—is left for the contextual factors to bring out the most conspicuous sense when appropriate. Hence even for the same reduplicative form, diverse interpretations can be found. A by-product brought forward by this argument is that there is no need to invoke the baby sense in order to incorporate senses such as diminution and attenuation as claimed by Regier (1998). Not only is the reduplicative process much more complicated than that of children’s but the semantic and pragmatic function of a reduplicative form is very different from that produced by a baby (Hsu 1996). Such an ad-hoc explication can hence be avoided in the current study.

Finally, previous studies, including Chiang (2002), Zhang (1998), Lu (1999), Chung (1998), and Luo (1988), have elucidated the main structural patterns and the various semantic functions associated with reduplicative constructions in different Hakka dialects. Their descriptive generalizations still beg for explanatory accounts. Such a task is accomplished by

this study. Furthermore, it is claimed that the explication proposed can be generalized to Taiwanese Southern Min or Mandarin, whose reduplicative constructions exhibit more or less similar linguistic behavior. Essentially, it is argued that given larger context, iconic principle can subsume all the senses including the seemingly opposite senses such as intensification and attenuation. In a nutshell, the study not only gives a systematic and thorough investigation into Hakka reduplicative constructions in particular but also testifies to the fact that a unified analysis for the reduplicative constructions in general can be proposed.

Appendix: Hakka reduplication constructions⁹

AA

● 苗栗縣客語故事集(一)

- (1) 頭擺鄉下人，莊仔離**遠遠**正會有一只莊，像人講个：河背前一只莊，河背後一只莊。
(2)
- (2) 我愛**遠遠**搵衫洗好，趕轉來煮息東西分阿爸食。(4)
- (3) 佢**遠遠**趨去牛欄問家官有看到厥爸無？(4)
- (4) 佢**明明**有看到吾爸。騰著牛嬭就降了，該朝晨就人來報厥爸昨晡過身了。(4)
- (5) 佢毋係妖亦毋係怪，想搵汝講話**定定**，汝莫驚，暗晡夜十二點，山巷个強盜會來屋家搶錢，汝愛有準備。(4)
- (6) 以前係某人，當貪心，者姓林个係吾親家，吾妹子係厥新舅，以前**輒輒**同佢借錢，佢屋家苦，佢抑無同佢討，佢抑一身無想還佢，緊欠緊多，還加無才調還。(8)
- (7) 佢知汝者兜愛來搶，汝者兜正經搶者兜財產，比佢以前欠佢个卡多，故所，佢愛還者兜恩情同錢，就存者擺機會，佢一下做牛子，正知**實實**相報，借人个一定要還，拿人个也一定要還。(8)
- (8) 厥賴子講：哎唷，等下轉會**暗暗**，佢驚喔，莫有鬼唷！婦人家講：無啦，奈有麼个鬼，汝**遠遠**去，買轉來佢好煮菜。(24)
- (9) 頭擺个耕田人耕當多，一割禾就會割當久。有一个做長工个係阿哥，去搵頭家割禾，厥屋家離頭家个屋家無遠，上下莊**定定**。(30)
- (10) 細阿哥聽佢怎樣講知佢係鬼嬭，毋過佢膽識已大，好奇好奇个，就用佢講：汝**明明**係死忒个人，樣看起來又像還生个人？(30)
- (11) 婦娘騰等，佢就**乖乖**轉屋家睡目，睡到半夜就走忒了。(32)
- (12) 沒影啦，我**明明**就係食到豆芽，奈有看到魚脯仔。(42)
- (13) 佢盡乖盡老實盡肯做，佢總係**恬恬**，無搵人計較。(42)
- (14) 拜託拜託，佢麼个所在做大天旱，百姓**強強**會餓死了，無好食，無救命做毋得了。
(44)
- (15) 喊佢喊跪等个人**遠遠**好轉，不好用行路，愛坐車仔抑係騎馬仔，汝未轉到屋家，水就先到了。(44)
- (16) 范丹聽到就講：汝樣恁泥講，汝同頭家做事，應當望頭家好，頭家好汝亦卡好，**煞煞**講過，係無我愛同若頭家講。佢就**遠遠**改嘴講：伯公伯婆，吾頭家 一只雞仔像鳳凰，倒一罐酒像白糖，吾頭家个禾仔上坵黃下坵黃，佢做人个長年，正有錢好討

⁹ The data given here are taken from *Miaoli Hakka Stories*, *Dungshi Hakka Stories* and Hakka stories from *Hakka Monthly*. The data are arranged according to the various types: AA, AAA, AAAA, AAB, AABB, AABC, ABCCBC, ABA, ABAB, ABAC, ABB, ABCABC, ABCB, ABCC and special cases. Since it is claimed that the context in which a reduplicative form occurs will have a lot to do with its meaning, the complete context is hence given here. Furthermore, the study has tried to retrieve the character versions of the data. Hence, some of the data are different from the original sources.

- 婦娘。(54)
- (17) 有一个林員外，降一只妹仔命理盡毋好。有錢人無降賴仔，正一个妹仔定定，講到愛分人招，當多窮苦人就會去分佢招。(54)
- (18) 汝恁樣个命个人，樣做得騰人出世，莊中細阿哥个命會分汝收淨淨，毋去死死忒，妨害一山人个賴子。(56)
- (19) 毋怕啦，佢無阿爸無阿姆，又無婦娘無子女，就佢自家一儕人定定，死忒就算了，無相干啦。(56)
- (20) 足足去個過月久了，有一擺，員外就問老伯公住奈？老伯公講：汝係愛知佢住奈，就等若妹子招第九个老公駕下，喊佢來尋佢。(58)
- (21) 佢出外做事恁樣當費氣，就去捉當多湖蜆，醃缸巷養到淨淨，煮分家娘食。(74)
- (22) 以前个人做事卡辛苦，輒輒愛包袱仔捆等，到外莊仔去做事，屋家就卡無辦法顧到。(80)
- (23) 有一日厥婦娘會做月了，就喊人去趨老公遠遠轉來。(80)
- (24) 食飽夜還係佢該坐爓，實在佢係恁夜了毋敢行，食飽緊趨佢佢還係佢該爓。(80)
- (25) 汝係細阿賴仔，係細妹仔，汝緊趨佢做麼个？佢講毋係啦，趨汝有伴得勢也啦，透透路也驚到會死。(80)
- (26) 汝轉去賴子平安出歲了，婦娘坐月亦會順順序序。等佢轉到屋家，斷真婦娘睹睹降了一个賴子。(82)
- (27) 第二日，佢就劈鎌拿等去，想去尋該門風水，佢一路草劈等去，真經分佢尋到一門當大个風水看起來自從毋曾有人去掛掃，佢就搵佢裝裝淨利買水果搵拒拜。(84)
- (28) 佢閒閒个人，一方面人分食，一方面去搵人題錢造橋。(90)
- (29) 雖然佢目珠看毋到，佢亦係日日拐杖仔扶等去，掌等工人造橋。(92)
- (30) 玉皇接到者條文仔當緊張，恁樣下去人心會蔑壞忒，煞煞喊閻王來問，閻王講：者只吃食仔前生做當壞，佢本成愛歲三擺，一擺做乞食，第二擺目珠壞忒，第三擺跛腳，愛經過者三擺，厥災難正會過。(92)
- (31) 恩煞猛做，做事賺个錢，恩公婆卡省兜也，屋家值錢个東西來賣，奈位仔有一間廟屋頂漏漏，裡肚个觀音佛祖盡才過，常透佢該涿水，佢來搵該間廟做起來。(100)
- (32) 雖然細細間仔(菩薩廟)，毋過菩薩毋會再過涿水了。(102)
- (33) 過無多久个時間，皇帝娘生一个太子，太子日到夜哭，兩只手搭緊緊打毋開。(102)
- (34) 汝早先雖然為到做廟變到恁才過，但是者下有得到福，汝做太子了，愛乖乖分人渡。(104)
- (35) 鳥仔看搵佢行，就開始飛，鳥仔飛比人行卡遽，飛飛呀就簌簌到樹頂巷等暗中，就恁樣一直行到斷烏，鳥仔射毋見了。(114)
- (36) 暗中者下做員外了，有一日，光中請一个做風水个先生去騰龍，直直騰，睹睹好騰到暗中个屋家，原來該間屋正正係龍穴。(116)
- (37) 平平共莊做事，佢恁多錢轉屋，佢無恁多錢轉屋，會分人笑。(128)
- (38) 行到一頭大樹下，恬恬無半儕人，佢就佬領卡多錢个講：若錢分佢好無？(128)
- (39) 好啦，汝無愛刷佢，吾錢來兩儕平分，恩兩儕帶平平多个錢轉。(130)

- (40) 強求講係莫強求，土地伯公一聽到就講：「汝者个壞東西，無愛拉汝了。」結果土地公兩手一放，強求射跌到十二兩**翹翹**。(142)
- (41) 有一日，強求**當當**去探實際的情況，佢就從前山探到後山，緊探緊近，到看到鐘須有，正確實就係佢本人無毋著。(144)
- (42) 錢財公者兜看到，相材擎槌擎棍，愛打佢死。**睹睹**仁義做事轉來到看到，喊者兜不好打，我先趨佢走試看呢，恁呢也係一只功德。(146)
- (43) 蛇哥慢慢仔趨趨到毛藍巷驕等，五六个家丁就搵蛇哥扛到海唇。仁義又搵佢講：蛇哥仔，我搵汝送到海唇了，汝係愛逃命就**遽遽**走，走遠遠去，不好來妨害人。蛇哥就**遽遽**趨遠遠去，等佢趨到當遠去也，就翻轉來滾三到大浪，搵仁義感謝个意思。(146)
- (44) 喊佢財產全部拿出來分汝選，汝**選選**盡輕个，盡輕个係屋契田契。(150)
- (45) 鴨四妹講：愛佢做新舅做得，毋過佢有條件，屋家**項項**愛分佢管理，佢講个話，不論大不論細，大家愛聽。(160)
- (46) 係佢想同恩買金鴨嫲个員外山仔勒个，該搭山仔石頭漏竅，毋知麼个東西，當多烏塔塔个石頭，佢看佢**圓圓**又恁靖，就搵佢勒轉來。(162)
- (47) 汝朝晨愛講佢聽，係無講佢聽，佢桌仔會搵汝**扁扁**忒去，講忒佢無錢，搵汝做奴才，汝就一張命分佢定定，愛送無愛送係若个自由，做麼个逐朝朝晨喊佢無運行个？(176)
- (48) 佢跳呀跳也，跳入營肚巷，因為佢係蟾蜍，吾人會注意到佢，佢搵番人个火藥、油啦，**梭梭**，到各位所，放一陣子火，營分佢燒淨淨，番兵分佢燒死死，恁樣番國就份佢征平了。(190)

● 苗栗縣客語故事集(二)

- (49) 白頭公仔嚇到衝上衝下，老大當精，**遽遽**飛到高高个地方，向四面看，發現係農夫佢東邊架一个網鳥仔个網子，在西邊放紙炮子，農夫想愛佬公白頭公仔趨到網子巷。(2)
- (50) 因這兜絕食減肥有半只月了，差毋多做得出去，佢先來試看仔，汝兜**恬恬**毋好出聲。講完以後就行到鐵欄唇，身體**側側**，嘴巷唸：「南無救苦救難觀世音菩薩。」過了出大力鑽，真經分佢鑽出籠仔，其他个白頭公仔看到，非常歡喜，又跳又噉。(6)
- (51) 老大一聲令下，一只只白頭公仔從籠仔个縫肚巷鑽出來，盡後背存到一只平常當貪食變到**肥肥**个白頭公仔安到**嘟嘟**，因為佢無聽老大講个，無用心絕食，故所佢樣子出力還係鑽毋出去，大家看到又急又譴。(6)
- (52) 因為大家再過絕食三日，全部就**瘦瘦**，當容易鑽出籠仔，大家忒歡喜，聲音射忒大了，搵鳥店頭家吵醒，老大看到事情壞蹄了，就喊大家**遽遽**飛走，該暗晡个月光當光，就像天公有意思幫助大家飛走，盡後背還係存到**嘟嘟**極到籠子，巷鑽毋出來。(8)
- (53) 毋過，等老大**睹睹**好愛飛出去个時節，分頭家捉到腳，樣子**攢攢**毋走，**嘟嘟**翻轉頭

- 看到，就趕緊飛轉來，用嘴啄頭家个手，不管樣子啄，頭家還係用力捉到老大的腳，最後，老大下定決心，忍痛來攞開頭家个手掌。(8)
- (54)佢屋家肚巷，**事事**愛分阿姆順心，**事事**遵從阿姆个意思，從細到大，佢就係恁樣去賢孝阿姆。(14)
- (55)忽然之間，天頂烏天暗地，一下仔，落非常大个雨，佢無著到蓑衣，涿到歸身仔濕濕。(16)
- (56)佢**遠遠**去看田水，一坵一坵仔去看，看田水會忒滄無？(16)
- (57)老阿公幾十年个婚姻就恁樣結束了，毋過，佢還有賴子、妹仔、心舅、孫仔，一家人**本本**共樣過日子。耕種个事情分賴子繼承，屋家大大細細个事情分心舅來料理，從此以後佢開始過老人家清閒个日子。(20)
- (58)猴仔坐啊落去，屎窟就焮到**紅紅**，屎窟痛到啾啾滾，啾啾滾啾啾滾，就走到山頂巷去也。(28)
- (59)篋子梳頭就**抹抹**光，插箕撈飯噴噴香。(32)
- (60)汝係無寫，偃十姐妹个酒，汝愛做一品食**盡盡**。(40)
- (61)有一日，心舅打扮到**靚靚**，家官看到心舅打扮到恁靚，就搵心舅講：「心舅！心舅！阿爸今晡日心肝鬱鬱卒卒，愈艱苦，汝同阿爸共下去散步好無？」(52)
- (62)賴子走出去**料料**仔就轉來，阿爸問賴子：「問神問到樣般？」(54)
- (63)過了好久，仙人送一頭**金金**个樹仔分佢，放到神桌頂，神明指點佢，係愛用錢下，就搵金樹仔講，錢就會從樹頂巷跌下來，用盤仔去裝等。(56)
- (64)轉到家門口，佢嚇一下，厥屋子分屋唇个大樹炭到**扁扁**，橫下來了，屋唇个雞鴨走毋掣，亦分樹子炭死了，婦人家回想今晡日發生个事情愈奇怪哦！(62)
- (65)因果報應一定有个啦！早慢个问题**定定**。(64)
- (66)這兩只月來，汝做麼个總係**怙怙**毋講話，看起來面臭臭也，汝有麼个事情係無？(70)
- (67)阿吉仔係當孝順个好青年，毋過，為了無愛分吾妹子嫁過去受苦，偃還愛**深深**个來考慮。(76)
- (68)阿吉仔**笑笑**子講：「因為偃逐日早晨去做事愛經過這條路，看到有石頭、磚子，亦係麼个會逕人个東西，偃就會搵佢搬走。」(78)
- (69)阿吉仔得到玉杯个事情，一傳十，十傳百，大家就想來看皇帝用過个杯子，**擠擠**到厥屋家去，像辦喜事樣子，非常熱鬧。(78)
- (70)个量時，奈有像這下个時鐘仔，大家就看人影，影子**澄澄**，無麼个影子就係十二點。(94)
- (71)就緊走光下，堵堵好山下有窟潭，老人家就跳下去，一口鞋留到潭邊，等殭仔走下來走下來已經忒慢仔，阿姆先跳下去了，佢亦藤等跳下去，毋過無尋到阿姆，正尋到阿姆个衫**定定**。(P.96)
- (72)轉到屋家，豬腳煲**綿綿**，自家放勢牯食，無喊人食，看到旨有十二點又過繼續食，愛等死。(102)
- (73)先生無倒轉去教書，就上京科考，中到頭名个狀元，轉來遊街三日，狀元轉去就去調金鈞童先生來，佢頭**懶懶**仔，狀元講：「汝算命瞞騙人。」(104)

- (74)嫁到老公个屋家細妹汝完全改變厥個性，麼个事情就無愛講好抑壞，反正家官家娘喊佢做麼个，總係**笑笑仔**領頭。(110)
- (75)心舅領頭**笑咪咪仔**，也無講好。家娘又問：「伯公佢奈位仔知無？」心舅也共樣領頭**笑笑仔**無講知。心舅牲人還等去，家娘佢後背**偷偷仔**藤等，無分心舅看到。(110)
- (76)看到心舅**拈**雪圓仔**留**落去，牲人擺好就點香**拈**伯公講：「伯公伯婆，今晡日係冬節，冬節冬**煎煎**，上家下家接**叛圓**，保佑吾家官家娘長壽年。」(110)
- (77)汝去灶下，有一桶油，燒火**拈**油煮到**滾滾**拿過來，佢分油燒啊去，就會跌下來分汝食。(120)
- (78)佢這下愛食油了，藤等會跌下去分汝食，汝愛嘴**擘擘**，目珠愛**眨眨**，係無汝目珠恁大粒看等我，佢會驚。(120)
- (79)佢看到怎樣愈傷心又當驚。天**漸漸**光起來了，厥爸厥姆轉來了，緊喊兩儕个名仔，緊喊緊喊！樣會無人應，就**直直**走到大樹下，看到一只大老虎死到个。(120)
- (80)黃雞嫲講佢欠主人个債就會還忒，還清楚了，天光朝晨**早早**雞一啼，主人就愛捉佢去**刷刷**來煮雞酒請人客。(134)
- (81)第二日朝晨頭**早早**，真經呢，主人个輔娘恬恬仔行進來，輕輕仔行到眠床前，手抓啊去就**拈**雞嫲抓出來，捉去**刷**來煮雞酒。(134)
- (82)逐擺就恁仔借，借兩升亦好、三升亦好，借三升愛還个時節，就**拈**兩升米放到篩仔巷，另外一升就**拈**升轉來，頭擺个升係四四角角个扁轉來裝到**息息**仔，看起來係三升，看起來係三升，拿等去還叔姆。(134)
- (83)賊仔來了！賊仔來了！結果，屋家个金銀珠寶，全部分賊仔偷淨淨。拿光光，最後，賊仔看到阿珍仔个手項有金指、頸根項有撥鍊，亦想撈佢剝剝下來了，阿珍仔分賊仔手項三摸四摸，驚到會死，就大麻聲喊：救命喔！救命喔！賊仔聽到聲遽遽就洩走了，阿珍喊阿富仔**遽遽**去捉賊仔，毋好分佢走忒。(140)
- (84)兩公婆為了一塊餅賭一口氣，看到賊仔來偷東西，還毋願意開口，不願意認輸，兩公婆一生人辛辛苦苦賺个金銀財寶，就一下仔**定定**，分賊偷淨淨。(142)
- (85)獵人因為行動匆忙，無看到樵夫手指个方向，又**遽遽**走去別位尋，過了一下，獵人走遠了，野狼就從屋角巷走出來，身體黏到个泥沙仔**揮揮**忒，佢樵夫个面前過，一息仔就無感謝个意思就走了。(148)
- (86)忽然間正想到愛買麼个東西呢？毋記得問到阿爸，**儻儻**佢屋家行到這來，行忒歸日仔，愛買麼个東西射毋知！(154)
- (87)故所，這故事係學喊人會做事个人，在做事以前，一定會詳細計畫會有有一个目標，假使無目標，平常馬馬虎虎就會像這個王大寶，一旦愛做麼个事情个時節，就會做來毋完善，甚至做錯事情，**白白**浪費精神、體力、時間。(154)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(一)

- (88)煞透死，噢呵！該先食大麵个無透死又分佢**拈**死，啊佢想**食食**咧，正來忒該堆銀，正來死該兩個，**盲**知大麵食落去煞透死。(18)

- (89) 看著，**遠遠**看著該天，該天同地就兩相連啦。這下就跋，在該**高高**个高山中頂愛來蹶上天吭，無為難。哦！**官**知去到該方，恁仔：「羅愁 羅愁 三萬丈阿 看等會揆天**朝朝**濛露水 天地兩相連」
- (90) 一下在該方煞謹死。講「恩愛來該羅愁山，恁高會到天庭。食力蹶喔，蹶日蹶夜，蹶到該山頂，又還離天恁高。」啊就企緊煞毋會死，無死又無想落來，企等**恬恬**。(20)
- (91) 企等**恬恬**，啊到二科狀元來，另同佢講畀聽，佢講：「羅愁三萬丈哦，看等會揆天。」講「看等會揆天」就心肝毋會開，樣詢毋會揆天。啊佢就同佢講：「**朝朝**—逐朝晨啦濛露水哦，看著天同哟，就兩相連。」啊佢就砰！橫啊下，另想：「啊！有理，**遠遠**个看著，逐朝晨濛露水哦，看著天地就兩相連。」啊就砰！橫下來；無橫下來，心肝恹歇咧講：「樣詢恹跋恁高又還無上天。緊想毋會開。(20,22)
- (92) 啊常在，厥嫂切个菜，**切切**咧吭，啊就恁仔，像鹹菜麼个，佢就喊佢愛斫斫咧，正毋會講恁仔，長！長！長！恁仔。啊佢是常在罵厥嫂：「**恩**！切這麼个菜？恁長，又麼个。」恁仔緊罵人啦。(32)
- (93) 啊裝一個爛碗，分厥家娘食，爛一空，啊講無--。一下車來畀食，**食食**咧，就放落該櫃頭啦。(36)
- (94) 啊仙人就教佢：「汝這吭，汝轉去，總下拿棍這兜總下拿來園。啊該祛把該竹修啊，拿**大大**把吭，啊是凭啊該方。轉來該東西，大棍啊同佢總下拿走，賸該祛把**大大**把，扞个幾下著，就打幾下萬著咧。」啊該仙人過教佢：「該嘴拿來含一個水。」(44)
- (95) 啊佢就含一個水，阿佢就緊同佢扞哦，扞囉幾下十下咧。幾下十下扞扞咧，笑吭，**撲**一聲笑出來該水就走出來。(44)
- (96) 以前一個秀才，愛上京考試。噢！一日行到忒暗啣。啊！這個煞無那方好歇宿，**遠遠**个看著一個農家，佢就行去。(56)
- (97) 畀做媬娘吭，啊就厥姆就惜，無係。這頭擺該，金角啊並金磚，**包包**歸包過去。啊佢用船載嘛，恩臺灣該下還無人，載到天外這海，海方吭，在該海角方來種食。(64)
- (98) 啊佢就講，吭，去該位講喊佢洗身，舀一桶水該毋咩，舀桶水愛畀洗身。哦！無敢洗哦，「這歸間金愛樣也洗。」係無。「哦！夭壽！」毋敢洗，就清采**滄滄**走出來。(64)
- (99) 啊就請人來起屋，就該金磚拿去**賣賣**咧，就起大樓，起大樓亢來，啊就請人來拔哦，拔个拔，擎个擎哦，擎幾下十間金磚。(66)
- (100) 細个漢妹，細个漢妹就陪厥爸。阿佢就**愁、愁、恁仔**。(72)
- (101) 還了就**遠遠**--自家看有錢，也無喊該中人，無喊證人，自家**遠遠**兩對手拿還佢。啊〔翹牛仔伯〕貪心，「汝愛**遠遠**還恁恁仔。」(80)
- (102) 哦！五兄弟拐人就真災過嘛。「**恁**明明就還忒咧，汝做麼講恁無還？」(80)
- (103) 厥妹就**堵堵**轉妹家：「哦！毋會哟，做麼緊喊〔翹牛仔伯〕个名吭。恁災過，某人某人，麼个哥？某人若牛借恁牽好無？」(82)
- (104) 啊該牛同佢妹就**直直**愛牽轉厥屋下哇。緊牽！跣厥妹，轉！轉！轉到牛欄啊，就

- 綯該牛欄哦，愛來煮飯，煮飯煮好咧，看該牛**翹翹**咧，死忒咧。厥債還忒咧。(84)
- (105) 講麼个，新長年啊，愛佔厥該頭路來做啊，啊**堵堵**割禾，阿佢就喊厥老長年講去拜擲，佢就喊厥新長年講去聽，啊這老長年講，看著這新長年，就講，啊就**偷偷**啊講啊：「啊！這擺長年啊，會毋好分恩做咧。」(98)
- (106) 行哦！暗咧！暗咧哦！就滿那就暗咧，啊該山位，滿那**暗暗**咧，無看著人待，無看著寮。啊過緊行緊行，行到有一位，安著，看著該**火光光**，有人待，啊佢就入去，入去啊該狗，喊喊滾，就走出來。(104)
- (107) 該雞仔講：「汝等姊妹耶！愛**乖乖**啲，恩个主人啦，人客來，天光啊，愛捉僵刷哦，愛做菜啲。汝等姊妹愛出去樂，愛自家保護自家的身體，有該鷄婆來劫汝啲，走去園啲；啊有兩來啲，遽啊走轉來啲。」(106)
- (108) 「清采隨便**食食**咧啲，有飯好飽，**食食**咧就好咧。」(106)
- (109) 恁仔啊啲！到尾，恁對啊！雞仔，去徑著啊，**密密**該款，佢就密密夾，去他們家後面的樹上藏起來。(112)
- (110) 皇帝講：「看麼人尋得著，就愛**大大**个賞佢。」(114)
- (111) 哇！這個扛轎，一個外號啊，一個安著蝦公，一個安著老蟹。哦！**遽遽**就跪落去也。佢就求佢就講，安著該：「饒命哦！饒命！」恁仔講。(116)
- (112) 就起天神个風啊啲！同佢吹一下，吹一下，跌落來啲，是**碎碎**，這個骨頭哦**碎碎**。(122)
- (113) 鼻師，該蟻公啊，有兩枝鬚啊，該就海龍王个，海龍王个鬚啊，一節一節恁仔。該鼻就係皇帝封个，所以那方有放麼个**香香**哦，這個蟻公就會去。(122)
- (114) 又一擺，又毋知去哪方哦，堵著人个火燒屋，煞猛過喊：「恭喜！」耶，又分人打。**打打**咧，厥媬娘講：「汝莫恁戇啦，人火燒屋汝喊恭喜，愛煞猛來車水同人搵救毋知，又喊恭喜。」哦就「係啲！」又記得亢來哦。(130)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(二)

- (115).該下就想講，暗咧，就給載。直直載，**慇慇**直直載啦，載到大湖該就有電火个位所咧，就喊佢落車咧。(2)
- (116) 睡講歸暗晡，頭擺人用个粗紙啦，**粗粗**个粗紙啦。(16)
- (117) 佢食點心愛錢買啦，汝緊**看看**榮豺？(18)
- (118) 啊該主人哪，包一包真大包个雞肫啦，肝啦，啲，共下**包包**路亢，來到佢該師傅愛轉該滿。(24)
- (119) 本成啦，堵堵日本，堵堵愛戰敗个前幾日。(28)
- (120) 佢所有佢經過，都毋記得了了咧。啊這事情啊，毋係一擺兩擺**定定**。(36)
- (121) 啊汝**種種**就恁多猴子眉脰紅紅。(46)
- (122) 佢講，汝樣毋知耶？老鼠**暗暗**啊！耗著飯散啊！(56)
- (123) 啊聽著講，頭擺啲，原本就**狹狹**啦，啊毋係浦啦，本，本平地个啦啲。(62)
- (124) 啊就，心肝還**燒燒**。(75)

- (125)好啊，**佢**這下**堵堵**愛來起齋堂，汝自做功德。(78)
- (126)佢**單單**一條名，啊真多錢。想到該佢个廟方落成。該細妹仔走去看，入來開齋堂仔，恁仔緊看無厥名。「師父啊，拿真多錢，做麼無**佢**个名？」(78)
- (127) 啊佢一個人**搵死忒**呀吭，厥心舅就肚筍**大大**就合，合去就供一個。(84)
- (128) 這碗湯分汝**食食**咧，**佢**毋愛跣汝去囉。(92)
- (129)轉去啲過跣仙公來啲，啊去到**本本**該位啲。(92)
- (130) 厥娘共下講愛請人共下恁仔个食酒，**食食**咧講員外厥娘講煞下咧就恁就煞死咧。(106)
- (131)啊就同佢等拈上，來拈上來就石頭**坎坎**落去。(108)
- (132) 冤家來講，煞**生生**天意也也，煞來火燒屋，屋煞分火燒忒咧。(108)
- (133) 啊厥妹就**直直**緊走，走到路亢，煞毋會行。(108)
- (134) 好得恩公恩婆救**佢**命，係毋**佢**就**險險**無性命。(110)
- (135)想到阿爸來失明，青盲个啦，分火燒煞青盲，想到阿姆**早早**又死呀，分放**佢**姊妹恁可憐。(110)
- (136) 捉來**拂拂**了講，汝這**搵**仔無聽話，**佢**無愛，出去出去！(120)
- (137)生到一身都生該龍个鱗，生**密密**，剩該一粒頭還旨有換過，啊圍身做下換。(128)
- (138)啊佢就**直直**去該安著，柯漢文就**直直**去學仙法，學到一該三年囉啲。(130)
- (139)啊該張竹慶又毋知，該又**本本**變做人，啊佢講，該恁仔**佢**會收。(130)
- (140)毋知厥年輓掛落去，狗煞毋肯行哪，**本本**共隻狗毋肯行咧啊。(150)
- (141)兵恁多兵總下來企該大鼓唇方該，佢就定定 phui 該火炭哪食恁多年个就一多。(158)
- (142)啊該皮剝忒就一個人靚，恩自家**恬恬**偷拿來試看。(158)
- (143)哦！看著厥老公下來，看著，**遽遽**鹹菜拿來遮緊，無麼好遮講，這衫拿來遮。(162)
- (144)**久久**毋敢同厥娘共下。(164)
- (145)啊是，**磬磬**是，緊愛看，哦！老蟹，另外一枝剪啲。(180)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(三)

- (146)天光亢來講幾驚哦，毋知麼个唷，**矮矮**唷，三个在 窗門亢，講王爺公去責罰汝啦，汝恁泥去拍厥頭那啦。(4)
- (147)番龍（人名）哪，顛顛痴痴，常在个講愛做童乩毋係，愛做童乩毋係，在公館搥搥搥涕，分王爺公綯，綯該桌梗去，頭那恁，桌梗恁，桌梗恁多哪，樣詢會畀隆入去吭，隆入去个時節，毋得出毋得入，這擺正去求王爺，公啊**順順**就出來。(4)
- (148)毋知那个，偷捉人个雞來，來拜擲啦吭，偷做賊，啊輦輦出來時，**巡巡**哩，到該吭，是翹碧咧。(4)
- (149)一个老阿姆愛食冬筍，破病啊吭，啊就擎一支刀待該緊噉緊剝，啊這都冬天咩，都無冬筍，啊吾姆病恁傷害，想食冬筍。**噉噉**咧。(14)
- (150)A¹ Ka¹⁰ Lang³(人名)屎屎硬釘釘，阿公德，眉肫生兩支笏，阿婢擺，腳跛跛，阿蘭姐，賣雜細。(20)

- (151) 揸米揸三十个啦，三十个啊番看到，算到就講**明明**三十个啦。(38)
- (152) 磧著汝就就就就尋厥頭那尋毋到，啊番又**惹惹**啦。(38)
- (153) 啊常在一个細妹坑搭靚啦，坐待河壩唇亢，啊常在喊人捐啊，捐過去毋係？有人捐到水真急所在坑，啊就變該舌嫲犁**長長**坑，啊變一歪看啦。(44)
- (154) 啊該細妹還在變到靚～**靚靚**咧啦，啊就喊佢背啦，啊佢就挑知同佢捐，捐捐過去啦。(44)
- (155) 啊中央坑，河壩中央坑同佢打肩頭愛同佢講坑，佢也沒幹頭啦，啊**直直**背過去了就同佢摒落該油鑊肚，就緊煎，**煎煎**到騰該，像該豬油粕恁泥坑。(44,46)
- (156) 啊這，這地啊，恩是**講講**——幾下百年咧坑，恩使得講恩毋知坑。(50)
- (157) 這個紅毛番啊，來到恩東勢，取這個欸，大甲溪兩岸个坑，該欸**一一**，一隻金老蟹，啊一支金擔竿。(50)
- (158) 去第二該，狗恁惡，極惡个狗，厥姆愛去，**硬硬**佢靡出來踰，厥姆又毋敢入，坑，兩個咧坑(56)
- (159) 啊佢打到疾咧：「好咧啦，好咧啦！」佢講：「毋好！一點錢都使毋得了。」打到腫～**腫腫**，一个打好對後尾出去。(62)
- (160) **平平**十月懷胎來出世坑，毋知做麼恁泥，恁夭壽，恁夭壽，**厓**都看毋識。(68)
- (161) 聖筭跌落去**頂頂**跔喔，連連斫也兩三枝喔。(90)
- (162) 厥嫂就想**賤賤**就講看，做嘛桌頂弁幾下个碗。(96)
- (163) 佢講，有恁壞个阿姑，講頭擺待屋下幾壞喂，啊到尾佢自家見笑呵，**遽遽**，看到屎到該咧，壞勢咧，屎，碗就同佢弁落去恁泥。(96)
- (164) 「若等結婚麼个日啊？」啊就**算算**咧。佢講：「壞咧！壞咧！若這坑，結婚个日啦，安諾白虎日！白虎時、白虎日。」(104)
- (165) 食飯啊毋好緊密密挾菜喔。(110)
- (166) 啊佢就看到這細阿妹一中意喔，啊就算命**算算**咧就畫一个符筭分佢啊。(128)
- (167) 這坑，汝轉去坑**燒燒**咧坑，啊就拿來傍茶淋落去啊坑！(128)
- (168) 恁泥緊看人，該目珠一得人驚。**想想**咧煞毋敢淋落去就著。(128)
- (169) 啊豬嫲就**食食**咧，三光半夜講，豬嫲嗚嗚滾囉，就對豬欄肚跳出來講，就直直走，走去該算命仙个屋家就去抨厥門講嗚嗚滾，緊抨厥門啊！(130)
- (170) 厥衫煞**綿綿**咧，煞無著衫、無著褲，用爬、爬，直直爬、爬，爬對厥丈眼老个後尾。(148)
- (171) 啊愛食飯咧，食飯咧，人食飽，人就走去**尿尿**，對厥頭那沖落去。(148)
- (172) 厥妹正講，**遽遽**就用「筒仔」就擲一項東西，**遽遽**去田亢分厥爸食。(148)
- (173) 吾老公啊真惹喔，做个衫啊，愛講愛做該厚个，去做到紙，**烏烏**个紙來著啊，啊就愛捉分汝食个鴨啊，佢拿來放落河壩食水，啊煞走碧，啊佢就踰，踰到該衫，紙煞**綿綿**，走去屎缸下園，分人射到尿，啊 走去尋若衫，尋若衫 著，阿這下喊佢就間亢園住咧，恁泥坑，啊 擲來分汝食。(148)
- (174) 啊本成吳興能校長个時代坑，佢正來到學校，該滿**堵堵**該，打該棒球啊，該棒球**堵堵**當興就著啦。(158)

- (175)堵堵來看到楊老師，著該領白衫，又繡住〔中科〕。(158)
- (176)一个老阿婆啊吭，山亢撿柴，撿柴撿到真～晝正轉。唉～哦！壞咧嘴屎又恁出喔，這又無哪方有屎缸下好局，恁泥。草結就抵緊，就待該大路亢就**遠遠**就局。(168)
- (177)哦～壞咧，**遠遠**看到巡察來咧，啊將就厥笠嫲就拿來掩緊啦，看到巡察來就掩住。(168)
- (178)僱來去街路哪，請人僱來去街路買菜，啊汝做糰粑放落去炊，**仝仝**好啦。(174)
- (179)人就講籠床亢**炊炊**咧正拿起來攪係無？佢毋係啦，**仝仝**咧放落去盆亢炊，哪會熟該樹盆都**密密**，炊昂久咩毋會熟。(176)
- (180)汝做麼東西！恁泥，好**恬恬**喊人翻慶斗？(186)
- (181)頭擺蕃薯龐啊，**狹狹**等毋係吭？(194)
- (182)啊因為該這个心舅哪，厥个奶真多，真有奶，啊細人啊，該**孫孫**還細漢，啊就吃毋去。(198)
- (183)因為細人啊，做事轉啊來哪，細人噉咧啦，就**遠遠**哪，在廳下就奶杯啊開來，就分厥个人在該吃啦。啊就吃囉吃囉，一片緊吃啦，一片就緊流喔。**堵堵**厥家官轉來看到啦，看到厥心舅个奶一片恁泥緊流哪，啊又真打爽个樣。(198)
- (184)緊吮奶个時哪，堵堵厥孺轉來咧，轉來就看到厥爸哪在食厥孺娘个乳，厥孺就真無歡喜。(200)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(四)

- (185)該毋係麼个正經安啲床公婆，恁泥來仲的。啊佢就在厥眠床拜啊。啊就直、**直直**、直遺傳落來，講愛拜公婆啦。(10)
- (186)該(猴)眉肫**紅紅**吭，就該磚吭。(40)
- (187)**堵堵**該青竹絲个蛇啊，**堵堵**咬到厥个頭那心咧啦吭，就紅打落肚咧，面紅螺咧。(40)
- (188)講講講，過年去攞著，一斤豬肉來爌，講麼个連豬肉就同佢攞轉去，啊無要緊，連豬肉攞轉去無相干，**講講**愛走咧講麼个拖一拖該款个火灰同佢耘落鑊頭亢落去。(52)
- (189)半夜定，厥孺轉定定，**就就**厥孺中狀元轉來啲！(52)
- (190)「太屋堂堂有喪放」。(62)
- (191)**啊啊**老阿公就去杯(火灰)哦，**杯杯**咧。(70)
- (192)頭擺仙**略略**就講，有孝吭，佢就賜一樣麼个分汝。(78)
- (193)「愛用剖係無？**係係**，領頭三著」。(82)
- (194)樣詢吾等代代做到恁好事，做麼會這滿吭恁冤枉。(88)
- (195)吾爸就做善事，做到吾幾多田地總下**賣賣**碧咧。(90)
- (196)汝這下轉去，若孺娘**便便**咧，會講話咧。(92)
- (197)頭擺人愛漿畀**硬硬**吭，啊衫愛漿就愛用飯湯去漿，啊飯湯放讓滷口放，煞分該鳥食食淨，**食食**碧。(100)
- (198)(老阿公)緊盤哦，**盤盤**到位啲，到厥屋下。(102)

- (199)「好哪！今**細細**包無一大包」。(104)
- (200)(老阿婆)啊是緊攞去。攞**言言**到位半路就拿來打開來，想：「恁～大包，可能金一多麼个。」(106)
- (201)啊講蕃薯種大啲，逐日愛改蕃薯就分狐狸食碧，去山亢狐狸又**攞攞**碧。(122)
- (202)(狐狸)毋知講佢有放剪在該，攞个著腳煞分該該剪，剪住咧，煞毋得走咧，是**咕咕**衰哦。(122)
- (203)看看老阿公來，該狐狸是**咕咕**衰喏，畀恁泥恁泥畀剪住咧毋得走。(122)
- (204)狐狸暢壞啲，厥(老阿婆的)衫褲是同佢**脫脫**碧，脫脫碧換狐狸著。(126)
- (205)佢(狐狸)拿肉割割割割咧，**割割**有个所在割割咧，啊就愛煮分老阿公食。(126)
- (206)啊厥姆个褲實在爛一大空毋知啦，坐**緊緊**在擲該豬毛啦咧。(150)
- (207)有一个細妹講當會打屁卵哪咧。厥姆同佢講：「細阿妹，汝好忍屁！無會嫁無人愛喔！」啊都忍、忍、忍，忍到面黃霜霜。(178)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(五)

- (208)「欸～阿堂～來源～若大嫂講，燉一隻鷄，講愛分汝食哪～」「噢～恁泥咧！恁細膩」恁是將恁泥打開來食，兩個緊食，**食食**咧講：「啊～恩兩個人寧，無意思，大嫂都無食，等下～毋好食碧，留兜轉去分大嫂食，不好意思啦～」(2)
- (209)到該時，風颭起了～，噉，正經果然有個細人在該橋邊，是該，是噉，噉！按佢噉～是遽遽該細人噉～是同佢背走。(6)
- (210)伯公火就像一般个火恁泥噢～鬼火**青青**咧會跳來跳去，走來走去，落雨正有。噉雨毛**屑屑**該下就有咧。(22)
- (211)食飽夜，**暗暗**咧，看路毋著咧，火就看得到了，在河壩跳上跳下，一半下歸堆蓄噉。(22)
- (212)噢，噉就～佢咩真～好捉魚啦！噉講去捉魚，**捉捉**噢～捉，噉本等又咩無這項个橋，噉用探該竹橋，噉講捉魚**捉捉**咧，噉又咩有該好兄弟呀！(44)
- (213)化毋碧啊～，化做像捉魚該～魚蜇啦～啊佢看到就愛捉，就趨，就看著佢鑽入該石孔肚，就帶該去 lem5～噉 lem5～lem5～lem5 出來，看著**軟軟**，過同佢放倒轉去，看著這～毋係个蜇咧～，這無共樣的東西，過同佢放倒轉去，放倒轉去。(44)
- (214)噉佢(燕子)就擎一粒蒲仁來分佢種，噉該一頭蒲是打一粒，噉，打一粒，噉鋸開來是**旦旦**銀啦！。(74)
- (215)佢汝都恁愛畜哪～，佢在樹頂，汝都同**捆捆**落來畜～，佢就一个老伯姆分汝畜。(74)
- (216)賣參客講：「啊！佢來去轉佢帶汝來去轉，對分佢做阿姆佢無阿姆」，恁泥噉～賣參客就**直直**帶佢轉去。(80)
- (217)一个有錢人哪，愛起伙房屋，起真素絲啊，該當時啊，恩台灣無人曉起啦。啊就**當當**走去長山啊，請該長山先生來起。(88)
- (218)啊無出，這個師父就氣冒壞喔，就同佢，起好个時節，同佢畫一个，大船載出，這意思就講噉，恩个錢，**多多**出去，啊小船載入就少～少少。(88)

- (219)啊師父就將恁泥直直拿到船頭个吭。(90)
- (220)汝遽遽倒轉去同佢拿來換！換細船載出、大船載入！(90)
- (221)厥腳底樣詢汝知無？用該焮啊紅紅个磚啊，生生个鵝捉去跳，跳該腳底吭會憾憾，啊就愛食恁泥个。(100)
- (222) 講，有日啦吭。講，安喏，愛去食酒啊。逐日就跣厥爸跣住住就著啦。跣厥爸跣到，有一日、有一日，愛去食酒去啊。佢無跣著定定啦，無跣著就按刀仔，煞猛按刀仔啦。(106)
- (223) 該款（拗竹），老頭，該啊，就拗著會剝碧：毋係吭？會剝碧啦吭。啊該，細細拗个，細細軟軟拗个，就一素絲拗，毋係吭？拗咧，好真素絲。(108)
- (224)細人仔，細細就愛教啦。到大个，教吭，教毋聽啦，就會剝碧啦吭。(108)
- (225)牛哦牽到半路方呵！都拿來綯住等去，都怙怙爬轉就想講厥姆定著又待該跣客哥咧，啊佢待个屋唇方，待該偷看～，厥客哥在摸厥乳姑啊！（122）
- (226)細妹人怙怙睡，睡壁角啦～天光阿母正做新衫分汝著啦！。(134)
- (227)頭擺吭，正～大陸人堵堵正來个時吭，該國語同客吭，人總下分毋會清楚毋係吭！。(142)
- (228) 婦人家暗晡時頭睡目咧噢～同厥老公講話：「屎出，屎出～」(婦人家是睡裡角男人是睡外背婦人家屎出是毋曉講客毋係)，「唉～哉，徙出！徙出！緊徙緊出，徙，徙，徙，徙到硬硬會歸暗晡還在徙出，徙出」恁泥哇～噢。(154)
- (229)有一个婦人家真好看電影。啊就厥老公無在屋家，常下，啊一个細人，遽遽食飯哦，食飽囉，細人捕到就遽遽去看電影，赴第一場啦，啊都就去囉。(162)
- (230) 徑到西瓜就橫落去咧，細人就掙咧。該下就緊摸，暗暗又摸毋著：就摸著囉，就到就去囉。去到戲園个，坐落講：「唉唷！該在有赴到！堵堵正愛做(電影正開始上演)」暗暗咧，愛搗乳分細人食講：「唷！做麼恁冷」一看講：「唉哦！煞著西瓜！」恁泥講(162)
- (231)啊大自家都知知吭，愛，愛，佢真愛批人。(166)
- (232)洗洗咧吭，牙絲絲啊吭愛眠床睡吭。(176)
- (233)恁泥一个細人恁泥捉落鑊頭肚來洗身吭。滾滾，恁夭壽。洗到牙絲絲，死碧牙絲絲啦。(176)
- (234)啊就菜炒炒咧，就又去做事咧啦。(182)
- (235)這擺毋信，菜炒炒咧，無愛，無愛去，來這方伏，看佢，這豬子同佢偷賣碧阿毋係，恁泥吭。啊就走過去別儕个寮肚亢睡，啊就拚，拚轉來看，暗晡時頭就偷偷就轉來看。(182)
- (236)哦，厥孀娘該豬子就捉來刷哦，刷刷該咧吭，就拿來打，打泥膏，打打搵搵啊咧就去殼窰，殼殼啊咧吭，就香～香香咧。堵堵愛食，厥老公就走啊入來，就分厥老公捉著咧，捉著咧，就分厥老公推咧，畀打。打打咧就走去間亢噉，噉到吭吭滾噉啦。(184)
- (237)噫！高毛頭都香香哩！（184）
- (238)啊兩兄弟啊吭，討个孀娘啊吭，一个討就真～煞猛做啦。啊一个細孀討个孀娘，

- 惹惹**討个媬娘真煞猛啦；啊**精精**个討个媬娘吭，真懶尸就著咧啦。(196)
- (239) 一个人有錢，一有錢啦，**搵**恁泥**痴痴**啦，**搵**無一精啦吭。(208)

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- (240)但是，又有一種過「壞手腳」個細人仔，放學歸到半路，假使睹到四方沒人時，**緊緊**一溜，就溜到人家新插不久個甘蔗園肚裡，就將人家新插個「西洋蔗」種，**偷偷**拔起來，用洋刀仔，削來一邊行一邊食，這個蔗種雖然**水水**甜度毋夠，但是由於這般細人仔「肚餓」，所食起來耶係拂拂滾，「亦好食」，味邊毋會差！（p.1）
- (241)再講路唇口個「果作」，尤其蕃樣仔開花結子時，明知蕃樣仔還細粒又**青青**，乳味也十分重，實在還落嘴食毋得，耶係奔伊偷摘下，來將細番樣子用石頭來**擦擦**，就用細洋刀仔**慢慢地**削來食（p.1）
- (242)所以就卜算到主人在睡「當作目」時，就偷偷躡躡地到這頭南洋番樣樹下來，**緊緊**拿起石頭就來打番樣，死嘍！（p.1）
- (243)嘿！真像餓到會死地樣，一邊摘，一邊拿來落嘴食，同時將**烏烏**個褲袋仔，袋到**滿滿**個蕃豆，「庚庚古古」，實在壞行路，（p.1）
- (244)這兩三隻細猴哥仔，全部都嚇到面甲青，尿都**險險**洩出來，有腳毋曉行，**隻隻**都係「猴死目死」，手**偏偏**地奔人捉走了。（p.2）
- (245)奧斯汀的客家同鄉會成立也會有兩年了，不過會員大人小子**堆堆**起來，不夠六十人。（p.3）
- (246)厝成下仔會恁樣想：**平平**係人，地主屋家人，不事耕田、不事畜雞鴨，佢食著比厝俚豐足幾百倍（p.4）
- (247)日本人戰敗，當年个威風不見，空出大宿舍，**紛紛**打包回國，臨走个時節還向台灣彎腰低頭行禮哩！（p.4）
- (248)沒想到，因為**種種**个不幸兼不義，又發生了二二八事件，台灣本島个**種種**人才——醫生、教師、土紳、地主，大部分失蹤、死亡，幾萬台灣分中國大陸來的軍人銃殺。（p.4）
- (249)假使毋係過有膽量個人，包伊**日日**雞嬖皮保持三寸高，頭殼胖到相米斗按大粒（p.5）
- (250)後來，子女**慢慢地**長大了，子女也蓋曉得思量爺辛苦，**隻隻**子弟不但生到蓋鼎邦，同時協力殺忙來工作，使得家境**略略**有好轉。（p.5）
- (251)炳華兄雖然細罔細、伊聽到這一句話，心中大悟解，**緊緊**到屋家，趕緊拿大刀嬖來，將儲存已久個錢筒仔大力一剖（p.5）
- (252)同時屋家個豬無人撿豬菜，愛樣哩來畜呢？．．．．．**算算**一大堆理由來阻擋炳華兄去台北，炳華聽了這斗話以後，將頭前絡興個**氣氣**，潑到**冷冷**（p.5）
- (253)尤其經過屏東機場邊時，看到按大隻個飛行機，**險險**大聲地喊出聲來，哦！飛行機**按按按**大隻唷！（p.5）
- (254)同人添手做雞鴨肉個生意，伊每日看到市場肚裡來來去去個人按多，大家尖來尖去，相爭買雞鴨肉，錢又按現，又看到頭家每日拖箱仔肚裡個收入，一疊又一疊

- 的金票，實在係多，阿炳心肚裡就鼓勵自家，愛好好地來學做生意 (p.5)
- (255)暗晡仔都係攞等枕頭緊轉側，緊流目汁，目珠開開眠到天大光。(p.5)
- (256)幾過兩十零年下來，生意日日興隆，平均每日雞鴨肉愛買兩三佰隻，甚至睹到過年過節，都識過三日三夜無日好睡，做到背蝦蝦地，伸腰毋直，但是伊賺個金票，實在係賺到報報滾 (p.6)
- (257)僵一看，哈——僵急急也大聲哇哇噉！猛噉！看看伊還敢打麼！(p.8)
- (258)伊急急伸手摘一把「六月雪」個嫩葉，放到嘴肚去嚼，嚼嚼嚼，一下仔葉汁口涎沾滿嘴唇，黏黏膩膩，青白青白 (p.8)
- (259)伊先用溫滾水慢慢洗，慢慢將目屎浸濕，過後僵感覺有麼个軟軟個東西在目屎上，目珠縫仔該所在輕輕輾過，揉過，撫摸過；個軟軟個東西係溫溫仔個，濕濕個．．．
 噉，矇矇仔看得到咧。噉？軟軟濕濕濕濕個？．．(p.8)
- (260)輾輾，轉來時已經斷斷烏半夜．腳膝頭就不到了。(p.11)
- (261)這些工作，下把子要跔到腳膝頭痺痺，做到頭那愁愁，但我毋識聽阿姆喊一聲苦。(p.11)
- (262)拵鄰居隔壁个共輩打嘴鼓，大約係日時頭勞動夠了，往往出現講个人興頭層層，聽个人早就嘴擘目閉頭搖了。(p.16)
- (263)吾爸係老實人，逐日認做事，分著个田係冷酸田，田坎高高，一細坵一細坵仔，種个禾頭像腳趾公恁大也! (p.17)
- (264)愛離開部落個時，一個細人仔拉等個手，婧婧個大目珠看等講：「既然來到部落，汝們應該要學一句簡的泰雅話啊!」(p.27)
- (265)做官人三年兩年滿，蛇孔透蛙孔，太空毋講，講闊闊。(p.70)
- (266)日本警察，連秀至秀，幾下巴掌如麻，秀到阿番哥連連打光脈。(p.70)
- (267)對面山下个伯公潭，分搞怪个夜吞到烏烏个肚筍項，潭水个清澈，潭水个清涼，．．．(p.78)
- (268)客家人一定愛細意，毋莫分人騙到笠笠轉，還惹惹去佢拵佢搯算錢，毋好分國民黨騙五十年還毋知醒，．．．(p.83)
- (269)目珠紅紅又凸凸，歸面青青，頭那毛長長，舌如麻黎出歸尺長仲鬼面穀。(p.85)
- (270)愛送阿順伯婆上山，歸條大路紙炮仔打到融融，透氣就無出，．．．(p.95)
- (271)僵逐擺拜阿公阿婆亦去掛紙，調調燒當多紙錢，偷偷拵僵爺娘講：要囡加兜地起，來下擺僵係去地正有好使。(p.124)
- (272)差不多逐個拜日，佇屏東平原个不同角落，汝會看到者位皮膚烏烏，無法忘情老師生涯个省議員，邊種樹邊好為人師來解說種植物，，，(p.142)
- (273)雖然選民支持者不斷要求佢服從世俗，多多勤走紅白帖，藉此拜訪可愛个選民。(p.142)
- (274)我想該兜人會遠遠去學客家話。(p.151)
- (275)麼會使到福老台灣人會越來越霸道，強強要定福老話做《國語》。(p.151)
- (276)係講有文學夢，醫療工作之後有時間，寫寫詩麼儘罇了，做麼个還出錢出力投身到南台灣綠色運動拵文學運動? (p.151)

- (277)陳先生講得盡著，客家婦女肩頭扛个毋係兩桶水肥佬小孩**定定**。(p.154)
- (278)不過愛表達个精神係子女想爺娘又少又短，以後做人爺娘正**深深**感覺者道理。
(p.155)
- (279)老屋佇石崗仔，成時去**看看**，對老屋影像也不少，不過對新埔个感情卡深。(p.160)
- (280)僱愛種菜，別儕**常常**問僱奈位學來會種菜，種得出菜有大有嫩有靚，問僱頭擺有種過菜無，講到種講毋會忒。(p.160)
- (281)冷天時相當冷，冷風**咻咻**吹，還記得泥愛堆一壟一壟。(p.160)
- (282)雖然頭擺毋係正經去種菜准了去做个，不過**想想**還多多少少有用，不過頭擺阿爸阿姆教恩兜最重要愛煞猛。(p.160)
- (283)忽然間，一切橫逆全部消失忒，佇**茫茫**人海中浮沉，當名利物慾狂流來襲个時節，該晶明个光亮就出現。(p.162)
- (284)阿母：您請放心，搵仔會自家保重，**好好**煞猛。(p.162)
- (285)**算算**班上个客家人也有三儕，可是恩兜從來無用客家話講過話．．．。(p.168)
- (286)佢還講佢个阿婆係客家人呀，奈一代祖先討客家人，能个全牽牽出來喔，佢就係愛講佢係客家人。(p.169)
- (287)堂兄弟**隻隻**有成就，麼係您的教導有方。(p.171)
- (288)您終於離開您的親戚、朋友去西方的極樂世界，去會您**念念**毋忘的大伯。(p.171)

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- (289)記得寫這者報導个作者愛強調个係光度佬效律無關係，效率增加係因為工人感覺到主人个關心，主人係**常常**去工廠關心，不管係麼个，會有效果。(94, p.76)
- (290)**常常**聽食補个人講，因為自家食補像有保險樣，反少去做運動，少去做檢查。(94, p.77)
- (291)像講朱家个歷史，請長輩來講頭擺个事情**等等**應當係儘有意思。(94, p.77)
- (292)不過因為北方文化卡強，南方人个文化**漸漸**分北方文化同化去。(94, p.77)
- (293)對美濃个瞭解佬感情，**早早**已經超過僱出生的客家鄉，逐擺到美濃，毋單淨因為佢和我童年家鄉感覺相近，是用來解慰鄉愁(95, p.75)
- (294)請有人知有首長講，大家都哩報出來分來知，**多多**褒揚。下擺選舉**多多**報分人知，**多多**選佢。
- (295)良寬被吵醒，看到因為一無所得來丟凳仔的賊仔，內心有兜歉疚，就**偷偷**把身上著的袈裟，脫下來丟給佢，賊仔一聲謝也不講，拿著衫服就走忒。(100, p.100)
- (296)雖然僱細人个時節已經係升學主義時代，**常常**愛補習，新埔鎮還儘多好所在，環境又好，儘多細人去聊个位所，尤其係暑假期間，**常常**走來走去聊，哩暇來回想起來還儘生趣。(101, p.78)
- (297)阿明就愛去做兵咧！．．．車仔停在火車站唇个寄車行；放好車仔、匠好安全帽，**煞煞**走去火車站打單。(104, p.31)
- (298)每一隻掛上帶仔个人，胸脯自自然然弓起來，企到陡陡正正，目光**金金**，非常有

- 精神个樣 (104, p.31)
- (299) 佢從高中組到教師組搵社會組个朗讀，口說藝術搵演說裡肚，得到盡多个經驗，也深深感覺到悲哀痛心 (109, p.49)
- (300) 分佢賴仔搞，最後又買了牛舌餅兩包，加加起來有一大包。(109, p.49)
- (301) 行入鍾爸佇北醫成立个原住民健康研究中心，入門右邊个櫥肚放等一罐罐標本，裝等各形各樣个長條寄生蟲，條條出自原住民个肚筍！(110, p.77)
- (302) 可能熱愛原住民文化，鍾爸明明係真經个客家人，但講起話來，續有濃濃个原住民腔，毋知情人，常常想佢也係原住民。(110, p.78)
- (303) 去年畢業个黃威軍講，鍾爸暗晡頭常帶鍾媽媽遊校園，講好聽係散步，其實係監督，佢兜全會繞到宿舍監看學生有好好讀書無。(110, p.78)
- (304) 「汝無辦法了解悲傷，」猴仔滿面正經慢慢講：「佢看著這偏塚埔，想起佢个祖先，佢兜係高貴个自由市民，不過，搵做人奴婢者埋在共下，佢實在感慨！」(113, p.78)
- (305) 佢看啊著小王子來定定，遠遠就喊講：「啊！啊！佢黏邊愛接受一個欽慕者个訪問。」(116, p.71)
- (306) 「做做好心。照樣欽慕佢，誒謔佢」(116, p.72)
- (307) 醫院看到鍾老个名，特別交待愛好好招待，診等病房馬上堆滿了花籃水果。(119, p.76)
- (308) 講等講等鍾老喉嚨又積一坵呷毋出去个濃痰，佢遽遽行入灶下。(119, p.76)
- (309) 「還奇怪个星仔！」佢想：「全係燥燥个，全係尖尖个，合全係冷雪雪仔，人無辦法接近个。」(119, p.72)
- (310) 天也不管，地也不管，佢係堂堂男子漢。一碗又一碗，一罐又一罐，無咁會變酸。(117, p.78)
- (311) 佢个書房就係者朗朗天地！佢个屋家有一片闊闊个天井，頭擺係用來曬已經薰燥个芎蕉乾。(117, p.76)
- (312) 兩三年以後，木瓜樹生到丈零高，歸叢仔密密个大葉，像人个手當樣。假使係好天，樹底下就會有涼沁沁个影仔。(117, p.76)
- (313) 一年間，從秋分到春分个半年當央，者樹影會橫橫也斜過天井來。(117, p.76)
- (314) 更可惜連九讚樹頭用佢來安名个老樹頭，也早早已經消失者土地上。
- (315) 小王子穿過沙漠，俟堵著一頭花定定。(118, p.72)
- (316) 對於尤哈尼未來原住民政策个觀點，原權會部落工作隊認為全世界个少數民族母語並無像尤哈尼所講會死會死樣，來看看地理上距離最近个中國个少數民族。(121, p.76)
- (317) 最近靜靜想起鍾提起也《八角塔下》，鍾意思係毋係講《八角塔下》像《魯冰花》好看呢？(122, p.78)
- (318) . . . 使佢个一生像穿過生滿有刺个細樹林又係險阻重重个荒野，驚險萬分，續鍛鍊出珍貴个人生智慧。(124, p.76)
- (319) 老闆娘一動也無動，恹恹聽。(129, p.77)
- (320) 就只係一點點个亮光定定，對冷冷个冬夜來講，也係真真實實溫暖光明。(130, p.77)

- (321)我見擺就挑挑講客佬客人做生理，鬥當幾擺，佢正會用客家話佬我講，．．．。(130, p.75)
- (322)佢回顧自家十年來寫作歲月个種種，可以講苦樂參半。(132, p.73)
- (323)者其實也係僱—毋知政治个門外漢，績硬硬去參加政治多年个基本原因。(132, p.75)
- (324)更進一步講，在現代社會中，生活其中个人，有可能獨善其身無、只顧自家个細人？每一做人父母，或終會做人父母个人，或心疼細人个少男少女，全應好好來想想者兜問題。(132, p.75)
- (325)兒童節快到了，筆者深深希望每一愛護子女、疼惜細人个朋友或長輩，全能冷靜來想想：恩兜个下一代，到底生長麼个生活環境？尋出問題癥結所在，共同努力，希望有一日，逐日就係兒童節。(132, p.75)
- (326)兩年前朋友姜勇分佢一把吉他搞搞中，「頭擺个事情」就出來了，無想到效果不錯，使阿舅笑出目汁出來，阿淘个歌就怎樣唱起來。(133, p.73)
- (327)僱爸也毋會講客家話，就係幾句話定定。拜祖先就愛講客家話，因為感覺到自家个公婆講客家話个，所以佢愛講客家話。(135, p.74)
- (328)好加在，從 2002 年个 9 月開始，恩做得在學校聽到老師教學生仔講客家話个聲，恩做得在教室底肚聽到細人仔講講客話个聲，恩做得在細人仔个書句底肚看到新新个客話課本，者種種个改變，就表示恩母語个運動有第一步个成功。(139, p.65)
- (329)尤其由這擺選舉中，畀僱深深个感覺痛心，係有人兜人利用客家社團，種族情節壯大儕家个政治實力，成為佢在政治前途上个賭本，在選舉中處處以儕家个利益發光，不惜犧牲僱裡客家鄉親个大眾利益(142, p.57)
- (330)那汝按仰，僱相信在社團中个基層工作人員，每個人个目珠金金，有人按慙，做人要有目的，有關心有支持，相信汝再多的熱心，再大个心力，總有一日汝也會手軟腳軟，請身在社團个大老領導幹部，接受僱真心个建議。(142, p.57)
- (331)「唉呀!壞忒哩!」一隻猴仔喊起來：「吾个眉肫紅紅哪!」(148, p.51)
- (332)就同華語共樣，平平係台灣个語言，做麼个華語做得，客家話就做毋得?(151, p.51)
- (333)毋係僱佬人，顛倒係著核核 A 觀念个人：就拿客語進到教育體制來看，好比講在客家語進到教育體制个時節，A 群觀念个人，首先會懷疑敢有可能?(151, p.51)
- (334)僱自家問自家：「麼人講這係苗栗？強強變到台南耶啊!」(153, p.49)
- (335)熱鬧! 熱鬧! 月光華華，星仔囁啊囁，一群猴仔圍等酒桶跳舞。(148, p.51)
- (336)我好惦惦探頭看到遠遠有一束光，向著我兜飛過來，我正想愛問三叔姆，盲知佢捻等吾手在个吃吃惇，害我一下毋記得愛問佢什麼?(156, p.72)
- (337)妹妹就佬厥姆吩咐佢个事講分阿爸聽，阿爸聽了恬恬無講話。(156, p.50)
- (338)該央時，阿哥阿嫂各各有頭路，阿姐又嫁忒了，屋下無人好撿樵草。阿姆背等孫仔，企佇崩崗唇，用竹仔做个勾仔，將棉鼻公花个梗，一支支仔勾上來繳，捆到歸大把，慢慢仔拖轉屋下，團做一只只个草結準樵燒。(161, p.70)
- (339)僱問阿姆，仰毋驚，鼻公會棉？笏會刺？佢笑笑仔講：老了，鼻公棉忒也毋怕；皮恁貴，正毋驚會分笏刺。僱行兼去，牽起阿姆个手，摸著阿姆歸手巴掌，種等

一粒一粒仔个笏球。(161, p.70)

(340)該婦人家雖然咩著一下驚，毋過，佢還係**遽遽**先搵掙牙子仔搵到心肝頭，手緊拍細人仔个背囊，嘴上緊唸「膽大大，做婆太，毋好驚，毋好驚，青天大老爺搵汝做膽。」(163, p.73)

(341)婦人家珍等就應講：「無影無跡喔！佢適其瓜田過，堵堵好東西跌忒，正跔下來拈定定，佢就硬賴佢偷摘佢个西瓜，佢無愛插佢，顛倒講佢走畀逐。」(163, p.73)

(342)張飛頭側側仔適該掄鬚，一下仔又搖頭，一下仔領頭，兩蕊目珠緊看這兩儕。(163, p.73)

(343)很多後生人**明明**即在客家庄，講个客家話續不裕不膝，到底係麼个原因呢？(163, p.74)

(344)另外還有鄉土俗語，像「手痛好過家，腳痛好繡花」，意思係做人要樂觀、樂線。

(345)做令子給汝揣，像弓蕉**彎彎**土來造，兩畝田，三條駁，揣一個字，揣到儕有賞。(163, p.68)

(346)像這兜又生趣又好搞，上課毋斯講嘛鬧熱**煎煎**，山歌捱天。**輒輒**舉辦客語演講、講古、歌唱比賽，不論好壞，給細人仔表演機會，(163, p.68)

(347)一年近古稀之老先生，目珠茫茫，誤以為係紅燒肉，一塊一口，同桌个親朋莫不目瞪口呆。

(348)該晚晡，獅仔洗好身腳，尋出佢盡靚盡中意著个該身土黃色个衫，先熨好，又搵土黃色个皮鞋，捽到**金金**正睡目。(164, p.72)

(349)第二日个臨晝仔，著好靚衫靚鞋，還搵獅仔鬚梳到**亮亮**，又攞一托芎蕉做等路，正去分羅鴉仔請。(164, p.72)

(350)耳公聽到屋肚有菜刀剝砧板个聲，獅仔聽到口涎水**強強**會流出來(164, p.72)

(351)喔！有芋仔、竹筍、還有蕃豆、蕃瓜……爆到**香香**正拿去炆个(164, p.73)

(352)佢請獅仔坐上橫頭，獅仔**遽遽**緊搖頭講：「毋好，毋好，佢又毋係麼个大人物，坐兩片析就好。」(164, p.73)

(353)愛轉該下，獅仔講：「汝正經係一個好鄰居，希望下二擺做得**輒輒**請汝。」(164, p.74)

(354)獅仔食飯用舔，**大大**个嘴，**闊闊**个舌嬾緊舔，羅鴉仔看到呆忒，原來獅仔食飯用盤仔，毋係用罌仔，．．．(164, p.74)

(355)錢鼠仔聽到，無愛搭渠兜，煞煞適个挖灶下个蕃薯籤食。(165, p.77)

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● 苗栗縣客語故事集(二)

(1) 扣！扣！扣！有人在無(116)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(一)

(2) 啊蛇郎君就轉，佢講：「若面做麼？」該第二個吭，該面鴨卵面，藕藕藕？」(74)

(3) 害厥妹目汁緊流。**遽！遽！遽！**問佢講「汝等這牛愛賣無？」(84)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(四)

- (4) 「**遽遽遽**！可能皇帝喔！汝**遽遽**去求佢講安啱該看樣詣解圍」恁泥啦。(28)
- (5) **講講講**，過年去攞著，一斤豬肉來焯，講麼个連豬肉就同佢攞轉去。(52)
- (6) 啊 nak^{4尾}，待這方**該該該**阿狗伯**就就就**噉，就災過噉，是緊噉。(52)
- (7) 頭擺人做下愛舂米，講緊舂米就緊變金啦，緊變寶貝出來，**啊啊啊**就變真有錢咧毋係，變有錢人。(70)
- (8) 又開花，滿田，歸頭樹總下開花，開**靚靚靚**就著。(72)
- (9) 唉～，去到位講，這西方个所在**暗～暗暗**，無半樣喔。(92)
- (10) 有一个細妹講當會打屁卵哪吶。厥姆同佢講：「細阿妹，汝好忍屁噉！無會嫁無人愛喔！」啊都忍、忍、忍，忍到面黃霜霜。(178)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(五)

- (11) 化毋碧啊～，化做像捉魚該～魚蜇啦～啊佢看到就愛捉，就趨，就看著佢鑽入該石孔肚，就帶該去 lem⁵～吶 **lem⁵～lem⁵～lem⁵** 出來，看著軟軟，過同佢放倒轉去，看著這～毋係个蜇咧～，這無共樣的東西，過同佢放倒轉去，放倒轉去。(44)
- (12) 啊無出，這個師父就氣冒壞喔，就同佢，起好个時節，同佢畫一个，大船載出，這意思就講吶，恩个錢，**多多**出去，啊小船載入就**少～少少**。(88)
- (13) 哦，厥娘該豬子就捉來 哦，該咧吶，就拿來打，打泥膏，打打搵搵啊咧就去殼窰，殼殼啊咧吶，就**香～香香**咧。堵堵愛食，厥老公就走啊入來，就分厥老公捉著咧，捉著咧，就分厥老公推咧，畀打。打打咧就走去間亢噉，噉到吶吶滾噉啦。(184)

● 客家雜誌 7-93

- (14) 目珠紅紅又凸凸，歸面**青青青**，頭那毛長長，舌**孃西**出歸尺長伸鬼面穀。(p.85)
- (15) 尤其經過屏東機場邊時，看到按大隻個飛行機，險險大聲地喊出聲來，哦！飛行機**按按按**大隻嘅！（p.5）
- (16) 伊急急伸手摘一把「六月雪」個嫩葉，放到嘴肚去嚼，**嚼嚼嚼**，一下仔葉汁口涎沾滿嘴唇，黏黏膩膩，青白青白（p.8）

AAAA

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(三)

- (1) 磧著你**就就就就**尋厥頭那尋毋到，啊番又戇戇啦。(38)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(四)

(2) 佢（狐狸）拿肉**割割割割**咧，割割有个所在割割咧，啊就愛煮分老阿公食。(126)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(五)

(3) 哦！忍，忍，忍，忍著該个，時刻啦過碧咧，哦！過碧就結局就毋會死咧，過碧咧。(56)

(4) 婦人家暗晡時頭睡目咧噢～同厥老公講話：「屎出，屎出～」(婦人家是睡裡角男人是睡外背婦人家屎出是毋曉講客母係)，「唉～哉，徙出！徙出！緊徙緊出，徙，徙，徙，徙，徙到硬硬會歸暗晡還在徙出，徙出」恁泥哇～噢。(154)

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● 苗栗縣客語故事集(一)

(1) 丟刀落水係著个，毋過，偃者兜愛生活，偃者兜麼个就無，埔娘、房子樣樣無，該偃一下丟刀落水，偃兜愛去奈好？(8)

(2) 有一天，廟巷个人全部無在，主持就偷偷仔去拷灶頭个鑊仔敲爛忒，詐無事樣子。(42)

(3) 菩薩，幫幫忙啦，偃係奈位來，因為該位天旱大家全無好收成，連人就會餓死了，望菩薩大慈大悲放兜水，救莊中人。(44)

(4) 者細妹子聽了就去河壩跳水，堵堵好范丹佢河壩洗身，細妹子看到河壩有人，就毋敢跳落去，范丹看到河唇有人，亦毋敢趺起來，兩儕就佢該等。(56)

(5) 范丹平常心肝盡好，看到者細妹子怪怪也，就問佢：汝作麼个佢河壩唇企久，有麼个事係無？(56)

(6) 頭擺有一个辛舅惱，盡毋賢孝家娘。屋家又當苦，三餐食个齋酪酪也，無麼个好食。(74)

(7) 厥姆講：有啊，總係豬肉樣恁勒，好得佢切幼幼也。(74)

(8) 偃老實同汝講，汝莫驚，偃拷汝做膽做做也，偃實在毋係人，偃確實係鬼，汝毋好緊講驚鬼，鬼毋會煩人，汝無煩佢，佢毋會煩汝。(82)

(9) 做廟毋係恁簡單，又毋去拷人題錢，做做也就無錢好繼續做，倚恃做工賺个錢，實在毋罅，屋家所有值錢个東西，做盡賣淨淨了。(100)

(10) 佢講：偃係為到愛做該間廟，汝知呀，屋家个東西全部賣淨淨，者下就存到汝定，汝還恁後生，又生來靚靚也，恩又無細人仔，汝分偃拜託，嫁到个錢就拿來做該間廟。(102)

(11) 偃者兜無錢，該板橋係一段一段，一目一目，慢慢也造个，今者下又愛下擺有錢駕下，在有辦法再過造橋。(110)

(12) 有一日，光中堵堵好行到者板橋過，看到家家个名仔，想到奇怪，偃又無題錢，樣會寫吾个名仔？(112)

(13) 暗中者下做員外了，有一日，光中請一个做風水个先生去騰龍，直直騰，堵堵好

- 騰到暗中个屋家，原來該間屋正正係龍穴。(116)
- (14) 厥爸年使55歲年老了，發病仔死忒以後，所有厥爸早先梟人賺个錢，全部拿去施貧人鋪鋪橋造路做功德。(124)
- (15) 蛇哥慢慢仔趲趲到毛藍巷長橋等，五六个家丁就搵蛇哥扛到海唇。仁義又搵佢講：蛇哥仔，我搵汝送到海唇了，汝係愛逃命就遽遽走，走遠遠去，不好來妨害人。蛇哥就遽遽趲遠遠去，等佢趲到當遠去也，就翻轉來滾三到大浪，搵仁義感謝个意思。(146)
- (16) 有一擺，年過忒了會月半了，新舅就問家官家娘：侄今晡日轉妹家好無？家娘講：好啊，事做做閒就好去。(158)
- (17) 鴨四妹講：汝樣仔行路頭蹣蹣子無看人，同人个鴨子趲到四四散散，甘汝搵佢搵手趲轉來。(苗栗縣客語故事集 p.158)
- (18) 佢本成就係好食懶做个人，講話又嘸嘸囉囉，堵堵好落水落水，佢去到酒店，酒店个人搵佢講：今晡日無賣零星酒店分人包去了。(苗栗縣客語故事集 p.176)
- (19) 者儕人常透佢者賒數，食酒食到嘸嘸啐啐，店巷个人全部分佢吵到，今晡日佢無愛賣佢，佢就強強愛。(178)
- (20) 下擺仔無一定，看奈日汝身體整整理也，講話毋恁魯夫，睹造化拿該把扇仔去相爺，看佢樣仔講。(180)

● 苗栗縣客語故事集(二)

- (21) 因這兜絕食減肥有半只月了，差毋多做得出去，侄先來試看仔，汝兜恬恬毋好出聲。講完以後就行到鐵欄唇，身體側側，嘴巷唸：「南無救苦救難觀世音菩薩。」過了出大大力鑽，真經分佢鑽出籠仔，其他个白頭公仔看到，非常歡喜，又跳又噉。(6)
- (22) 毋過，等老大堵堵好愛飛出去个時節，分頭家捉到腳，樣子擯擯毋走，嘟嘟翻轉頭看到，就趕緊飛轉來，用嘴啄頭家个手，不管樣仔啄，頭家還係用力捉著老大个腳，最後，老大下定決心，忍痛來擯開頭家个手掌。(8)
- (23) 厥姆當歡喜，快快去櫃仔肚貶到一身卡後生个衫分心舅著(18)
- (24) 猴仔坐啊落去，屎窟就焮到紅紅，屎窟痛到啾啾滾，啾啾滾啾啾滾，就走到山頂巷去也。(28)
- (25) 有一日，街巷發生一件意外个事情，愈多人佢个尖尖等看，其中有一只人目看毋到，毋過偏偏尖等去看，別人罵佢：「汝看毋到，做麼个愛尖等進來呢？」(30)
- (26) 篋子梳頭就抹抹光，插箕撈飯噴噴香。(32)
- (27) 大家佢个食酒个人，聽到就打拍子打到崩崩滾，結局十姐妹就輸忒了。(40)
- (28) 有一群壞人聽到金樹仔个消息，就去搵佢借錢，佢亦共樣借錢分佢者兜，三借四借，射強強愛厥錢，強強愛厥該頭金樹仔，佢毋肯搵金樹仔分壞人，壞人毋得厥錢到，就想辦法拿毒藥搵佢毒死，計畫搵毒藥放到酒肚巷。(58)
- (29) 講完就搵玉杯大大力丟到地泥巷，柄！一聲，這時節屋肚恁多人全部看看忒了，堵

堵好阿吉仔个阿姆同媒人婆，買訂婚个禮物行等轉來，看到象徵幸福个玉杯爛淨淨哩，阿姆像發癲樣仔揪等阿吉仔問。(80)

(30) 汝去拿黃磚仔金紙，一層過一層、一層過一層，包分佢靖靖來，暢暢仔轉去。(86)

(31) 有一日，對面个山仔，盡多羊仔，羊子緊乖，咩咩滾，愛食奶了，長年亦講：「冤枉哦！羊子肚飢了，阿姆毋知走奈去。」(96)

「壞咧！今這下妹仔愛嫁了，妹仔恁跳皮樣刮殺？」下後紙炮仔崩崩滾，轎仔扛起來愛出發駕下，阿姆又走出來同妹仔講：「妹仔啊！佢佬汝交待个事情汝記得無？」(108)

(32) 睡到半夜，佢聽到有人講話个聲，緊看、緊看，奇怪！間巷就無人啊！佢耳角角仔聽，聽來聽去，聽到係眠床下講話个聲，佢伏下去看，看到一竇雞嫲子，聽到原來係黃雞嫲佬雞子講話。(132)

(33) 黃雞嫲講再三交待叮嚀，雞子聽到阿姆天光朝晨就愛走了，就喳喳滾佢个哭。(132)

(34) 第二日朝晨頭早早，真經呢，主人个埔娘恬恬仔行進來，輕輕也行到眠床前，手抓啊去就佬雞嫲抓出來，捉去佬來煮雞酒。(134)

(35) 阿叔、叔姆聽到雞嫲交待話个經過以後，目汁漱漱流，一大鍋个雞酒毋敢食哩！(136)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(一)

(36) 啊就講：「欸！樣詢佢逐擺打汝吭，啊汝就噉到 $ma^3\ ma^3$ 滾；啊這擺打汝，汝做麼還會嘆一聲笑出來吭？」(44)

(37) 啊！這秀才無奈何，就走去稗棚下跼。跼！看著月光啊，堵堵好出來，真明光。(58)

(38) 啊佢講：「恁慇哦！汝阿爸正無愛哦，就係恁慇个細妹，若爸強強押佢吭，分佢做埔娘，這有冤枉。石頭喊佢拿去當店賣，恁見笑个事，喊佢去做，分佢恁仔背手捏緊。」(66)

(39) 行哦！暗咧！暗咧哦！就滿那就暗咧，啊該山位，滿那暗暗咧，無看著人待，無看著寮。啊過緊行緊行，行到有一位，安著，看著該火光光，有人待，啊佢就入去，入去啊該狗，喊喊滾，就走出來。(104)

(40) 恁仔啊吭！到尾，恁對啊！雞仔，去徑著啊，密密該款，佢就密密夾，去他們家後面的樹上藏起來。(120)

(41) 頭擺人啦，一個慇婿郎，真慇啊。愛同厥丈人老做生日啦，厥埔娘就款款拏分佢去做生日。(P128)

(42) 該一埔竹講， $uainn^1\ uainn^1$ 滾，風恁大。無係，風恁大， $uainn^1\ uainn^1$ 滾，佢講：「啊哦，這竹怕風咧，佢這埕布來分這竹圍哪。」(128)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(二)

(43) 該下就想講，暗咧，就給載。直直載，慇慇直直載啦，載到大湖該就有電火个位所咧，就喊佢落車咧。(2)

- (44) 橫街上安著延平里啦，該延平里个舊街吔，卡上一屑屑啦，該位有一百姓公，啊
細細漢恩毋知麼个，這安著百姓公？(8)
- (45) 退童以後佢到該凳頂坐，咳滾囉，透大氣。(36)
- (46) 睡了，煞財產賣來食食貳，啊又無橫財好得，愛出去做事又見笑，本成有錢人。(54)
- (47) 拿來田就直直賣，賣了就，做下就煞了貳。(74)
- (48) 啊無！恁誠意咧吔，遽遽焮，媼該草魚湯啊吔。(74)
- (49) 有一個員外一好額，啊供這殭，啊這殭真戇，硬硬愛佢講望佢疍狀元。(142)
- (50) 啊老地毋會做事錢又空空做麼，就寫大字賣，啊賣也無人同伊買，就愛做乞食分
轉來啲。(142)
- (51) 厥老弟个娘是供到一隻羌，羌就燂燂跳。(156)
- (52) 算來講無麼有讀書啦，啊就細細漢就去學整車啦。(194)
- (53) 有一日這三個人啊，堵堵好共下。(198)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(三)

- (54) 啊過再一擺，大路吔，啊就流，流該血水，直直流哦大林埔个廟亢，啊第二日又
出番，真準哦。(68)
- (55) 叫叫滾个人啊出社會，好講毋好講叫叫滾，一到就好。(86)
- (56) 聖筭跌落去頂頂跔喔，連連斫也兩三枝喔。(90)
- (57) 佢賭繳倒轉來，該垃圾吔，做下迂迂圓在迴阿。(118)
- (58) 蕃薯侄食食碧咧，並芋卵侄隨食碧咧！(124)
- (59) 「吔～！毋會燒哦？」「毋會！堵堵好！侄都一～愛燒吔」(124)
- (60) 啊豬嫲就食食咧，三光半夜講，豬嫲鳴鳴滾囉，就對豬欄肚跳出來講，就直直走，
走去該算命仙个屋家就去抨厥門講鳴鳴滾，緊抨厥門啊！(130)
- (61) 侄這下過講一條古哦吔，恬恬聽哦。(140)
- (62) 啊豬嫲就食食咧，三光半夜講，豬嫲鳴鳴滾囉，就對豬欄肚跳出來講，就直直走，
走去該算命仙个屋家就去抨厥門講鳴鳴滾，緊抨厥門啊！(130)
- (63) 啊就過行，行咧，厥鴨呱呱滾咧，就放厥鴨去河壩亢食水。(146)
- (64) 厥衫煞綿綿咧，煞無著衫、無著褲，用爬、爬，直直爬、爬，爬對厥丈眼老个後尾。
(148)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(四)

- (65) 恁大頭个樹，啊鋸鋸咧就做大春槌，大春白。(68)
- (66) 這個燒陋春白，破破碧，破破燒火！(70)
- (67) 燒茶食食咧，喔就同佢救亢來咧。(90)
- (68) 啊佢就直直行喔，就分佢渡過去就直直行。(92)
- (69) 頭擺人愛漿畀硬硬吔，啊衫愛漿就愛用飯湯去漿，啊飯湯放讓滬口放，煞分該鳥食

食淨，食食碧。(100)

(70) 該隻鳥**啾啾**哀，憾去就走碧，走上山咧，一山盤過一山真遠哦！(102)

(71) 佢(狐狸)就緊行緊行，對 背尾就同佢點厥背，點厥**該該**柴，點落去，啊毋就燒著燒著霹哩啪啦霹哩啪啦。(128)

(72) 以前吭有錢人同噴人共下鄰舍啊吭。有錢人就風神喋喋咧講，亢來就講：「吾狗一吠吭，**項項好！項項好！項項好！**」(150)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(五)

(73) 下次擺講愛體封荷荷，**厝**毋敢去噢～正經河壩火淦淦，**條條滾**，一下條過來這位，一下條過該邊，正該講鬼火就正經有影，吭這下毋知有鬼火，無鬼火恩就毋知咧啦(30)

(74) 將按泥**直直走**～走轉去，打開門，打開來。(38)

(75) 頭擺人哪荷真好心啦！屋家做該燕窩啊！吭是愛徙位啊～就跌落來，吭是涿雨涿濕濕啊，吭佢，擎針是拿來捉起來，是**慢慢畜**，畜大是放分佢飛去。(76)

(76) 哦！該老伯姆是「係荷」餵了就總～下，用衫怕怕就轉厥屋背角方，吭就變講厥心舅轉來咧，講同厥心舅講：「該鷄子啊～**厝**捉去門背角放咧荷～汝去看」打開來講～一堆銀，大～嫵堆，啲啲(**liak³ liak³**)**滾**，暢壞咧。(82)

(77) 可能佢跔客哥个事情分厥孺知咧，嘴角就加佢「豁」啊咧，哦～這方時**堵堵好**笠嫵豁下跌落尿桶肚。(124)

(78) 有一个婦人家，老公死碧啊吭，真～噴啦，啊就一頂眠床**細細頂**踢寧，啊一个妹呀～就共下睡啦～，同一个男人共下待啊～就共下睡。(134)

(79) 有一个婦人家真好看電影。啊就厥老公無在屋家，常下，啊一个細人，遠遠食飯哦，**食食飽**囉，細人捕到就遠遠去看電影，赴第一場啦，啊都就去囉。(162)

(80) 尋著無，**迂迂迴**尋無細人。拿火，點番火緊點緊尋，又尋到一粒枕頭。佢講：「唉哦！吾細人又無擱到，又擱到枕頭出來。」轉去就細人眠床肚睡 **kho⁵kho⁵** 滾。(162)

(81) 汝莫剪，套落去一定**堵堵好**。(172)

(82) 哦，厥嫵娘該豬子就捉來刷哦，**刷刷**該咧吭，就拿來打，打泥膏，打打搵搵啊咧就去殼窰，殼殼啊咧吭，就香～香香咧。堵堵愛食，厥老公就走啊入來，就分厥老公捉著咧，捉著咧，就分厥老公推咧，打。打打咧就走去間亢噉，噉到**吭吭滾**噉啦。(184)

● 客家雜誌 7-93 期

(83) 但是，又有一種過「壞手腳」個細人仔，放學歸到半路，假使睹到四方沒人 時，緊緊一溜，就溜到人家新插不久個甘蔗園肚裡，就將人家新插個「西洋蔗」種，偷偷拔起來，用洋刀仔，削來一邊行一邊食，這個蔗種雖然水水甜度毋夠，但是由於這般細人仔「肚餓」，所食起來耶係**拂拂滾**，「亦好食」，味邊毋會差！（1）

- (84) 經過一段時間，轉一氣擺後，心肝博無按緊後，就走出田埔來，就唱起歌來**壯壯膽**，一邊行一邊唱：「毋好叫！毋好叫！佢帶汝來去拔蕃豆，番豆**全全泥**，汝個阿姐嫁奔佢」(1)
- (85) 幾過兩十零年下來，生意日日興隆，平均每日雞鴨肉愛買兩三佰隻，甚至堵到過年過節，都識過三日三夜無日好睡，做到背蝦蝦地，伸腰毋直，但是伊賺個金票，實在係賺到**報報滾**(6)
- (86) 佢一看，哈——佢急急也大聲**哇哇**！猛噉！看看伊還敢打麼！(8)
- (87) 客家人一定愛細意，毋莫分人騙到**笠笠轉**，還慧慧去佢佬佢搵算錢，毋好分國民黨騙五十年還毋知醒，．．．(83)
- (88) 厥母講無愛分佢跣佢就搵地泥**孔孔顛**，無奈何就帶著第四個厥妹該方了。(96)
- (89) 因為佢發現，佢个佢爸佢姆三代人个過程，就**堵堵好**係台灣當代史。(97)
- (90) 幾下十年來聽母到个聲音，聽啊到目汁就**搭搭跌**，就像聽到阿母慈愛个聲音共樣。(107)

● 客家雜誌 94-165 期

- (91) 該係樣般毋方便就毋使去講咧，單講佢像搖籃樣搖來搖去，或者撇筆時多用一點點力，佢就會搖到**吱吱響**。(117, p.76)
- (92) 一輛電火當光个快車躡過去，車聲像打雷公**朗朗哀**，轉轍工个細屋仔分這火車舞到跔來跔去。(120, p.71)
- (93) 兩肢腳驚到**棘棘擲**，怱怱掣啊！實在毋係搞哦！(129, p.60)
- (94) 最初開始摸索个時節，確實盡辛苦。不過，佢感覺到盡好命，因佢**堵堵好**正堵到一兩位文學方面亦師亦友个前輩(132, p.73)
- (95) 一出屋門下，我就耳**卻卻仔**，盡量專注到尋客話者樣事情。(147, p.45)
- (96) 我好怱怱探頭看到遠遠有一束光，向著我兜飛過來，我正想愛問三叔姆，盲知佢捻等吾手在个**吃吃憊**，害我一下毋記得愛問佢什麼？(156, p.72)
- (97) 婦人家跣等就應講：「無影無跡喔！佢適其瓜田過，**堵堵好**東西跌忒，正跔下來拈定定，佢就硬賴佢偷摘佢个西瓜，佢無愛插佢，顛倒講佢走畀逐。」(163, p.73)
- (98) 該尾雞母蟲就吞落喉嚨肚，還目**金金仔**看等渠順長長个雞喉嚨滑一路下，．．．(165, p.77)
- (99) 阿炳伯姆看啊著，會笑講：「汝這隻無鹽个人，畀到恁滿，恁貪心做什麼？」，佢總係笑**微微仔**，毋敢多講麼个。(124, p.57)
- (100) 分憐侵愛搨細阿妹，特別對个種弱巾巾个細阿妹，時常分憐嚇到**吱吱滾**，就像老鼠堵到貓，走到飛禽。(125, p.71)
- (101) 兩隻腳驚到**棘棘擲**，怱怱掣啊！實在毋係搞哦！(129, p.60)

AABB

● 苗栗縣客語故事集(一)

- (1) 汝喊新舅去買菜，辦兩張桌**豐豐沛沛**，有十八儕會來屋家，酒放桌頂，汝者兜在房間匠等。(4)
- (2) 汝轉去賴子平安出歲了，婦娘坐月亦會**順順序序**。等佢轉到屋家，斷真婦娘睹睹降了一个賴子。(82)
- (3) 一段時間過後，其他人又**尷尷滑滑**，又開始嫉妒暗中，頭家又分暗中一斗金銀，喊佢出外做生意，正會有出頭个日仔。(112)
- (4) 佢**親親猜猜**裝一只地方來睡目。(114)
- (5) 毋了解分人害个須有還一直同強求恭喜無分老虎食忒。須有將自家个經過**詳詳細細**講分強求講。(142)
- (6) 路巷堵到鴨四妹，趨等一群鴨仔，愛去田巷食草。一儕緊趨，趨毋得到田巷，一儕行路又莽撞呀莽撞，還佢該緊想家官講个係麼个東西，射 鴨四妹个鴨子趨到**四四散散**。(158)
- (7) 恩屋家係愛有，**大大細細**平常出門做事，轉夜駕下，所有用得个東西，柴亦好，豬菜亦，番薯亦好，麼个就好帶轉來，想婧婧个石頭亦做得帶轉來曬蘿蔔乾、磧鹹菜，反正轉夜愛帶樣東西轉來，做唔得空手轉屋。**大大細細**全部聽佢講，家庭兩下半就賺有錢了。(162)
- (8) 佢本成就係好食懶做个人，講話又**嚶嚶囉囉**，睹睹好落水落水，佢去到酒店，酒店个人扨佢講：今晡日無賣零星酒店分人包去了。(176)
- (9) 者儕人常透佢者賒數，食酒食到**噉噉啐啐**，店巷个人全部分佢吵到，今晡日 無愛賣佢，佢就強強愛。(178)
- (10) 皇帝看佢食東西恁生趣，**滂滂落落**像豬哥樣子，同人無共樣。(178)

● 苗栗縣客語故事集(二)

- (11) 老阿公幾十年个婚姻就怎樣結束了，毋過，佢還有賴子、妹仔、心舅、孫仔，一家人本本共樣過日子。耕種个事情分賴子繼承，屋家**大大細細**个事情分心舅來料理，從此以後佢開始過老人家清閒个日子。(20)
- (12) 有一日，心舅打扮到靚靚，家官看到心舅打扮到恁靚，就 心舅講：「心舅！心舅！阿爸今晡日心肝**鬱鬱卒卒**，愈艱苦，汝同阿爸共下去散步好無？」(52)
- (13) 佢講：「真經阿！當苦喔！奈就走唔得，係無這塊金仔，恩朝晨頭去做事，到晝轉來，兩公婆**底底兜兜**，又晝又暗了。」(88)
- (14) 睡到半夜，阿姐聽到有**吱吱嘖嘖**食來東西个聲，愈像佢个食个東西，就問姨婆：「姨婆，姨婆，汝佢个食麼个係無？」(118)
- (15) 有一日，歇到下屋个老弟，有住到當遠个遠親來作客，來到个時節愈暗，主人兩公婆無辦法準備到豐富个菜飯來請人客，所以該暗晡就**盡盡在在**食。(132)

- (16) 逐擺就恁仔借，借兩升亦好、三升亦好，借三升愛還个時節，就**撙**兩升米放到篩仔巷，另外一升就**撙**升轉來，頭擺升係**四四角角**个扁轉來裝到息息仔，看起來係三升，看起來係三升，拿等去還叔姆。(134)
- (17) 兩公婆為了一塊餅賭一口氣，看到賊仔來偷東西，還唔願意開口，不願意認輸，兩公婆一生人**辛辛苦苦**賺个金銀財寶，就一下仔定定，分賊偷淨淨。(P.142)
- (18) 頭擺有一个安到王大寶个後生人，這只後生人，作麼个事情總係**馬馬虎虎**。(152)
- (19) 這擺同阿爸只下出門我一定愛好好來表現唔好再過**昂昂倒倒**。(152)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(二)

- (20) 該毋係有恁素絲个廟啦，**聲聲確確**盡細間，寮仔樣仔，恁仔啦。(8)
- (21) 神啊會保護，信佢个人，保護番龍厥姆啦，毋愛分厥該**番番綻綻**孿啦。(38)
- (22) 該毋係這滿日个 i sii 鯉里魚吭，恁仔**紅紅大大**尾該恁仔，頭擺安著金魚啊。(62)
- (23) 面**黃黃霜霜**，就轉來，轉來个時節，厥嫂啊，無愛承認佢，就同佢趨出來。(68)
- (24) 恁堵好堵堵一个人，可能愛上山个人，**熱熱燂燂**，啊是，堵堵攘出該話啊，講樹下啊。(172)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(三)

- (25) 番龍（人名）哪，**顛顛痴痴**，常在个講愛做童乩毋係，愛做童乩毋係，在公館搥搥搥涕，分王爺公綯，綯該桌梗去，頭那恁，桌梗恁，桌梗恁多呢，樣詢會畀窿入去吭，窿入去个時節，毋得出毋得入，這擺正去求王爺，公啊順就出來。(4)
- (26) 一个安呐「河壩底」。啊河壩底就是**略略癲癲**啊，恁泥吭，略略癲癲，啊會滿那緊走，啊一會同人 手，啊略略恁泥戇神戇神，啊有兜細人常在會整治佢，安呐「河壩底」。(18)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(四)

- (27) 啊本頂人个地理先生吭定著愛逐日都愛做項當好分佢食，該，安喏～地理先生个時就**恭恭敬敬**啦。(62)
- (28) 恁泥狐狸哥汝先行下，啊啊**偲偲**到尾行啦吓汝先行。(128)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(五)

- (29) 汝逐日待這方食啦，**魚魚肉肉**喔吭，若屋下媬娘子女啊無好食吭，啊偲這包分汝！(88)
- (30) 該款（拗竹），老頭，該啊，就拗著會剝碧：毋係吭？會剝碧啦吭。啊該，細細拗个，**細細軟軟**拗个，就一素絲拗，毋係吭？拗咧，好真素絲。(108)
- (31) 哦，厥媬娘該豬子就捉來**剝**哦，**剝剝**該咧吭，就拿來打，打泥膏，**打打搥搥**啊咧

就去殼窰，殼殼啊咧吭，就香～香香咧。堵堵愛食，厥老公就走啊入來，就分厥老公捉著咧，捉著咧，就分厥老公推咧，畀打。打打咧就走去間亢噉，噉到吭吭滾噉啦。(184)

- (32) 唉～哉！**厝**這道啊，**攞**啊著兩粒（像秤鈞一樣的東西）啊，真艱苦，做毋得喔！**槓槓晃晃**喔，這兩粒秤鈞做毋得喔！（196）

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- (33) 所以就卜算到主人在睡「當作目」時，就**偷偷躡躡**地到這頭南洋番樣樹下來，緊緊拿起石頭就來打番樣，死嘍！（1）
- (34) 嘿！真像餓到會死地樣，一邊摘，一邊拿來落嘴食，同時將烏烏个褲袋仔，袋到滿滿个蕃豆，「**庚庚古古**」，實在壞行路，（1）
- (35) 厝里客人不好去到南部樣子，摸沒路啊！來到美國還是狗樣！**歡歡喜喜**去參加人的台灣同鄉會，去到才知全部都講河洛話！（3）
- (36) **搵**手做雞鴨肉个生意，伊每日看到市場肚裡**來來去去**个人按多，大家尖來尖去，相爭買雞鴨肉，錢又按現，又看到頭家每日拖箱仔肚裡个收入，一疊又一疊的金票，實在係多，阿炳心肚裡就鼓勵自家，愛好好地來學做生意（5）
- (37) 最後也係答應頭家个要求，倒轉去台北幫忙，阿炳歸到台北以後，也係**老老實實**同頭家忙了兩三年，使得頭家口服心服地想：「炳華這位後生仔，做生意**實實在在**，殺忙又勤儉，嘴馬又好，．．．」（6）
- (38) 伊一看，目珠打直；撲過來用衫袖一邊擦血漬，一邊**嘍嘍嘍嘍**罵起來：「畜牲子！爾死佬係麼？竹咻子抽落去，爾也唔會走開！看哪！安尼流恁多血．．．鳴鳴．．．」**伊咿咿鳴鳴**噉起來咧。（8）
- (39) 伊急急伸手摘一把「六月雪」个嫩葉，放到嘴肚去嚼，嚼嚼嚼，一下仔葉汁口涎沾滿嘴唇，**黏黏膩膩**，青白青白（8）
- (40) 厝母離開伊个子女已三十零年，但係厝裡兜朝晨暗晡**清清楚楚**感覺得到，伊沒離開（8）
- (41) 佢**辛辛苦苦**開个河壩田全部賣，還係無才調救生轉來。(18)
- (42) 自阿茶姐出嫁後，有一兩年，害阿番哥沒落沒著，**黃黃霜霜**險險吊頸。（70）
- (43) 按多兄弟个衫總下**爛爛攞攞**，見眾無得，做阿姆儕就去同鄰舍借一身卡無爛个衫來。(96)
- (44) 該種東西歸肚仔，係厝讀也．歸隻歷史當中，隻隻仔東西，就講，文字史料，變成**實實在在**該放，．．．(97)
- (45) 雖然頭擺毋係正經去種菜准了去做个，不過想想還**多多少少**有用，不過頭擺阿爸阿姆教恩兜最重要愛煞猛。(160)
- (46) 最後佢係**單單純純**个一隻「人」，佢更清楚地看到者个一盞燈哩．更確定感受到个一絲光哩。(162)

(47) 佢就企等佢兜个旁邊。該隻細阿哥仔一直拉等阿爸**吱吱喳喳**講話。(168)

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(48) 毋知台灣有人做過研究調查食補係人**確確實實**有者種心態無？(94, p.77)

(49) 每一隻掛上帶仔个人，胸脯**自自然然**弓起來，企到**陡陡正正**，目光**金金**，非常有精神个樣（104, p.31）

(50) 講到這兜學生，鍾爸盡感慨難過。佢從抽屜拿出一本手寫抄本，**密密麻麻**係輔導學生的資料、學習狀況和現況。(110, p.77)

(51) 奈隻學生分人退學、奈兜人繼續讀碩士、博士、麼儕拿到杏林和風獎、麼儕在奈衛生所服務，佢全部像寶貝樣、**清清楚楚**。(110, p.77)

(52) 九月初久係范老先生九十歲生日，全村个大細、老幼，全部來為哩位德高望重个老人家慶祝，大家**歡歡喜喜**辦桌來恭賀范老先生个生日。

(53) 大自家都笑迷迷，大人細子，**內內外外**，又無閑又歡喜，實在鬧熱。(119, p.78)

(54) 佇時速一百公里个車流中，老街个居民並無任何適應不良个情況，反係有兜人嚮往老街个便利**撓清靜**，**陸陸續續**搬來者。(117, p.78)

(55) 若汝過看歐洲幾隻主要國家佇本世紀初期个經濟，已經有幾百年个歷史了。人全**規矩矩**，就像汝个阿公做無皮革業，汝就毋會從事皮革業。(118, p.78)

(56) 者對客家歌來講係破紀錄个，真無想到唱客家歌會賣座，去聽歌係**大大細細老老少少**都有，有新竹當地也，也有從台北、台中、甚至高雄、花蓮都有歌迷來聽，總係，阿淘个客家歌係不分年齡不分階層个人士全會喜歡聽。(133, p.74)

(57) 係毋係自家留起來，還做得種裡種該，將來留分子**子孫孫**，一代一代傳一去。(144, p.58)

(58) 佢踏等**孔孔竅竅**个腳步，行在菜廂**撓菜箱**之間，**搖搖擺擺**个錫桶水，不時會激出來，褲腳常透會搥到**濕濕漉漉**。(124, p.57)

(59) 逐日還係佬頭擺共樣殺猛理家趁做田事，一家人和和樂樂過日仔。(156, p.50)

(60) 我盡想毋解：怎般這兜人毋講客，愛講**哽哽固固**个河洛，雖然為到溝通可以多學幾種語言，．．．(165, p.76)

(61) ．．．對地泥上，左片砰、右片砰，砰到該尾雞母蟲**熟熟犖犖**失魂忒去，毋會趕也，正豁到地泥下，用嘴啄地泥，．．．(165, p.76)

AABC

● 苗栗縣客語故事集(一)

(1) 佢者下行到者想愛 你，**冤冤相報**，換你分佢**犀利**。(130)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(四)

(2) 這個燒陋春白，破破碧，**破破燒火**！(70)

ABA CBC

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(一)

- (1) 哦！去到該半天啦吭。壞咧！**上毋上、下毋下**，就無法渡，待該半天倒吊歇。就喊講，這個：「火燒天囉！」恁仔講吭。(66)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(二)

- (2) 鑽入以後，開始擲出來，擲都毋得出，就「**咿咿噢哦**」啊，啊就無法渡就將該八仙桌啊，擎亢來**撼(hainn³)上撼下撼毋出**。(36)

ABA

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(四)

- (2) **好使好**，路頭恁遠，你又軟腳蟹，樣耐得好？

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(一)

- (2) 啊就請人來起屋，就該金磚拿去**賣賣**咧，就起大樓，起大樓亢來，啊就請人來**拔**哦，**拔个拔**，**擎个擎**哦，擎幾下十間金磚。(66)

- (3) 啊該主人哪，**包一包**真大包个雞肫啦，肝啦，吭，共下包包路亢，來到佢該師傅愛轉該滿。(24)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(三)

- (4) 一擺講，哎唷，大林埔个山背亢，該龍背該，講三兄弟吭就走該龍頭跽歇咧，番看著驚，就退。真興唷！**該下該**唷，去還興唷。(2)

- (5) 牛待沅行**啊行**恁泥講。(26)

- (6) **拔米拔**三十个啦，三十个啊番看到，算到就講明明三十个啦。(38)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(四)

- (7) 講講講，過年去擲著，一斤豬肉來爌，講麼个連豬肉就同佢擲轉去，啊無要緊，連豬肉擲轉去無相干，講講愛走咧講麼个**拖一拖**該款个火灰同佢耘落鑊頭亢落去。(52)

● 客家雜誌

- (8) 佢个家長甚至去買一錄音帶轉屋家學，成時還會問佢講到**止毋止**。(130, p.76)
- (9) 該晚晡，獅仔洗好身腳，尋出佢**盡靚盡**中意著个該身土黃色个衫，先熨好，又搽土黃色个皮鞋，捽到金金正睡目。(164, p.72)

ABAB

● 苗栗縣客語故事集(一)

- (1) 細阿哥聽佢怎樣講知佢係鬼嬭，毋過佢膽識已大，**好奇好奇**个，就用佢講：你明明係死忒个人，樣看起來又像還生个人？(30)
- (2) 佢騰等丟看，著喔！看到就係瓦屋樣子，同一般个屋**共樣共樣**。佢講：佢還一包**糰粿**，愛帶轉去分吾爸吾姆食，愛奈放？(32)
- (3) **拜託拜託**，佢麼个所在做大天旱，百姓強強會餓死了，無好食，無救命做毋得了。(44)
- (4) 聽人講**驚鬼驚鬼**，佢又自家一儕人定定，緊行就緊驚。(82)
- (5) 佢者兜無錢，該板橋係**一段一段**，一目一目，慢慢乜造个，今者下又愛下擺有錢駕下，在有辦法再過造橋。(110)
- (6) 你係無屋住，佢**便宜便宜**賣分你愛無？(116)
- (7) 佢講：好，好，好，**排細排細**，甘你佬佢來搵手趨。(158)
- (8) 佢本成就係好食懶做个人，講話又嘸嘸囉囉，睹睹好**落水落水**，佢去到酒店，酒店个人 佢講：今晡日無賣零星酒店分人包去了。(176)

● 苗栗縣客語故事集(二)

- (9) 佢遽遽去看田水，**一坵一坵**仔去看，看田水會忒忒無？(16)
- (10) 佢看到怎樣愈傷心又當驚。天漸漸光起來了，厥爸厥姆轉來了，緊喊兩儕个名仔，**緊喊緊喊**！樣會無人應，就直直走到大樹下，看到一只大老虎死到个。(120)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(一)

- (11) 看著這細人逐日跣佢，佢就，**心色，心色**，佢講：「細阿孺！細阿孺！你來...」(26)
- (12) 啊！這蘇聯人就滿那去做生理，**賣衫，賣衫**，滿那各國去取寶。(26)
- (13) 厥妹就堵堵轉妹家：「哦！毋會啲，做麼緊喊〔翹牛仔伯〕个名嘅。恁災過，**某人某人**，麼个哥？某人若牛借佢牽好無？」(東勢鎮客語故事集一：P82)
- (14) 行哦！暗咧！暗咧哦！就滿那就暗咧，啊該山位，滿那暗暗咧，無看著人待，無看著寮。啊過**緊行緊行**，行到有一位，安著，看著該火光光，有人待，啊佢就入去，入去啊該狗，喊喊滾，就走出來。(104)
- (15) 鼻師，該蟻公啊，有兩枝鬚啊，該就海龍王个，海龍王个鬚啊，**一節一節**恁仔。該鼻就係皇帝封个，所以那方有放麼个香香哦，這個蟻公就會去。(122)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(四)

- (16)恁古怪，舂白會麼个麼个改良會變會變金，舂了舂米舂了會變金，恁古怪過來同佢借。(70)
- (17)佢(狐狸)就緊行緊行，對厝背尾就同佢點厝背，點厝該該柴，點落去，啊毋就燒著燒著霹哩啪啦霹哩啪啦。(128)
- (18)啊厝埔娘問佢講：「你愛樣詢檢查？」佢講：「上粉上粉个就無啦！金滑金滑个就有！」(146)

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- (19)坑壩唇个田，上有竹東大圳，下有坑壩水，不驚旱燥，可惜係一段一段个細畝田(4)
- (20)偃毋知仰般刀花沒打好，「速」一聲刀仔跌落地上，「啊！」右腳大姆指一涼，接等一麻——毋係，係一絲痛，當痛當痛；痛到會全身收筋縮脈！(8)
- (21)伊急急伸手摘一把「六月雪」個嫩葉，放到嘴肚去嚼，嚼嚼嚼，一下仔葉汁口涎沾滿嘴唇，黏黏膩膩，青白青白(9)
- (22)伊吐出一團攪目汁口涎共下將大腳指個傷口包起來。血，還係滲出一縷一縷……(8)
- (23)伊心碎腸斷樣仔開聲嗽。裡個嗽聲，永遠永遠留在偃心田上……(8)
- (24)背負幾多个生活壓力，客家佇貧困个農村全靠一代一代个阿姆來維持。(154)
- (25)冷天時相當冷，冷風咻咻吹，還記得泥愛堆一壟一壟。(160)

● 客家雜誌 94-165 期

- (26)對於尤哈尼未來原住民政策个觀點，原權會部落工作隊認為全世界个少數民族母語並無像尤哈尼所講會死會死樣，來看看地理上距離最近个中國个少數民族。(121, p.76)
- (27)鍾理和大部分作品，係佢生命最後十年間完成，而者兜作品又盡像佢个生命源流，慢慢一兜一兜流出來……。(124, p.77)
- (28)係毋係自家留起來，還做得種裡種該，將來留分子子孫孫，一代一代傳下去。(144, p.58)
- (29)緊講、緊講，就像偃已經人在日本樣兒，一直向大家介紹日本。(126, p.65)
- (30)大家都幹轉頭來看佢，佢舐舌舐舌問堵好正轉來个二叔講：「二伯，你看該是麼个東西？」(156, p.72)
- (31)偃問阿姆，仰毋驚，鼻公會棉？笏會刺？佢笑笑仔講：老了，鼻公棉忒也毋怕；皮恁貴，正毋驚會分笏刺。偃行兼去，牽起阿姆个手，摸著阿姆歸手巴掌，種等一粒一粒仔个笏球。(161 p.70)

- (32)老先生於眾目睽睽之下，鹹得目淒淒仔無敢講話，沒想到老先生又出筷挾一塊豆腐衣，笑嬉兮仔吞落肚，同時舉手向大家致意：「失禮，失禮！」(163, p.64)
- (33)該罌仔大隻个會曩尺，細隻个咩有尺過高，罌嘴有茶杯火，罌仔肚一陣一陣个香味，鼻到脾胃就會開(164, p.73)
- (34)佢請獅仔坐上橫頭，獅仔遽遽緊搖頭講：「毋好，毋好，佢又毋係麼个大人物，坐兩片析就好。」(164, p.73)

ABAC

● 苗栗縣客語故事集(一)

- (1) 我妹仔嫁分佢屋家，我恁苦，恁樣錢就不使還了。下後，**借來借去**借到兩三百銀。(2)
- (2) 以前係某人，佢當貪心，者姓林个係吾親家，吾妹仔係厥新舅，以前輒輒同佢借錢，佢屋家苦，佢抑無同佢討，佢抑一身無想還佢，**緊欠緊多**，還加無才調還。(8)
- (3) 佢騰等丟看，著喔！看到就係瓦屋樣子，同一般个屋共樣共樣。佢講：**佢還一包糰粿**，愛帶轉去分**吾爸吾姆**食，愛奈放？(32)
- (4) 佢一定**變鬼變怪**，暗晡夜飯佢老人家來煮，汝隔前去等佢，搵佢帶轉來，係無佢又毋知愛走去奈**變鬼變怪**。(32)
- (5) 厥身體**緊來緊無**共樣，人樣子**強強**會變忒了。(34)
- (6) 有一个細妹仔，**一心一意**無愛嫁老公，想愛食齋。(40)
- (7) 范丹還當細就**無爺無哀**，做乞食仔。(54)
- (8) 范丹聽到就講：汝樣恁泥講，汝同頭家做事，應當望頭家好，頭家好汝亦卡好，煞煞講過，係無我愛同若頭家講。佢就遽遽改嘴講：**伯公伯婆**，吾頭家刷一只雞仔像鳳凰，倒一罐酒像白糖，吾頭家个禾仔上坵黃下坵黃，**佢**做人个長年，正有錢好討婦娘。(54)
- (9) 一只乞食仔，無阿爸無阿姆，**無兄無弟**，住在山頂个廟巷。(90)
- (10) 者只故事係勸人多做善事，壞事千萬毋好去做，**善有善報，惡有惡報**。(94)
- (11) 暗中來到一間廟巷歇，看到者間廟，亦係做到**半里半殘**，佢又去問廟主，樣會做到恁樣？。(112)
- (12) 有一日早晨佢點香駕下，看到大陣个鳥仔飛來飛去，佢當像聽到鳥仔講：暗中，暗中，隨時騰**佢**來。毋過別人無聽到。鳥仔**緊飛緊講**，暗中似無似疑，毋知係亦毋係，鳥仔歸陣又毋走駕下汝**緊嗽緊罵**，者下樣恁願死呢？(114)
- (13) **鬼頭鬼腦**謀計，搵須有講：後山个生意恁好，思擎來後山賣。(136)
- (14) 有一日，強求當當去探實際的情況，佢就從前山探到後山，**緊探緊近**，到看到鐘須有，正確實就係佢本人無毋著。(144)
- (15) 臨時外位來一只細妹仔，佢無俚無憑，我**無爺無孃**，亦**無俚無憑**，我倆儕就結婚。(148)

- (16) 佢：佢愛去轉妹家，**無搭無錐**家官喊佢十五去月半轉，又愛帶風包紙、紙包火轉去。(160)
- (17) 鴨四妹个阿老佬佢講：汝平常盡煞猛，者只金鴨嫲分汝做嫁粧。日仔久了以後，莊中人就知佢有金鴨嫲，會**屑金屑銀**。(160)
- (18) 佢有錢好還汝，敢做毋得再過食嘿？兩儕人就該**堵來堵去，撐來撐去**。(178)
- (19) 佢**跳呀跳**也，跳入營肚巷，因為佢係蟾蜍，吾人會注意到佢，佢佬番人个火藥、油啦，梭梭，到各位所，放一陣子火，營分佢燒淨淨，番兵分佢燒死死，恁樣番國就份佢征平了。(190)

● 苗栗縣客語故事集(二)

- (20) 大部分个同伴已經撞入網子肚巷去了，佢網子巷卡等了，佢个**攢來攢去**，老大个心肝又急又難過，最後，佢為到愛救這兜分佢帶等來个白頭公仔，自家亦鑽入網子肚巷去。(4)
- (21) 因這兜絕食減肥有半只月了，差毋多做得出去，佢先來試看仔，汝兜恬恬毋好出聲。講完以後就行到鐵欄唇，身體側側，嘴巷唸：「南無救苦救難觀世音菩薩。」過了出大力鑽，真經分佢鑽出籠仔，其他个白頭公仔看到，非常歡喜，**又跳又噉**。(6)
- (22) 老大一聲令下，一只只白頭公仔從籠仔个縫肚巷鑽出來，盡後背存到一只平常當貪食變到肥肥个白頭公仔安到嘟嘟，因為佢無聽老大講个，無用心絕食，故所佢樣子出力還係鑽毋出去，大家看到**又急又噉**。(6)
- (23) 這只猴仔佢灶下**轟上轟下**，逐擺就佢灶頭巷坐等，佬煮好个飯菜抓到奈就係，非常碌人。(28)
- (24) 這才女**毋聲毋說**，過了一下子就講：「毋係湊雙就係湊單。」
- (25) **追來追去**，射無追到，但是婦人家還係一直追下去，盡命子走，追有一段時間以後，看到賴仔，當平安个坐到石頭面頂，毋過無看到駕下个條鹿子，婦人家鬆了一口氣，行過去攬起賴仔轉屋家。(62)
- (26) 睡到半夜，佢聽到有人講話个聲，緊看、緊看，奇怪！間巷就無人啊！佢耳角角仔聽，**聽來聽去**，聽到係眠床下講話个聲，佢伏下去看，看到一竇雞嫲子，聽到原來係黃雞嫲佬雞子講話。(132)
- (27) 汝這只只賴子，汝樣毋使問呢？問愛買麼个東西呢？汝**糊里糊塗**就出門，汝從小到這下，不管不待汝麼个事情，汝無一件做來分阿爸阿姆滿意个，恁大人了還恁呢个樣像，樣刮殺正好。(154)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(一)

- (28) 啊該掌牛个吭，跛腳，行毋拼毋係。講：「**一孔一缺**，係吾姻緣走毋得。一孔一缺，係吾姻緣走毋得。」講該細妹仔聽著，咕聲就笑出來。(4)

(29) 一下在該方煞謹死。講「恩愛來該羅愁山，恁高會到天庭。食力蹶喔，蹶日蹶夜，蹶到該山頂，又還離天恁高。」啊就企緊煞毋會死，無死又無想落來，企等恬恬。
(20)

(30) 講一個蘇聯吭，就，滿那去做生理，做生理个時節，**做來做去**就去東勢，佢這蘇聯哪，但是滿那去取寶。(26)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(二)

(31) 真好賭繳，這個後生**見賭見輸**啦，佢謹！(8)

(32) 煞變，煞變平常時，煞變兩個冤仇人，變成**剷來剷去**咧啦。(28)

(33) 對頭前難到背囊，又對背囊難到頭前，**難來難去**啊。(34)

(34) 佢講，該井唇个一個老阿伯問**佢愛靚愛醜**。(44)

(35) 閻羅王就笑講，欸！這個人吭，**懶有懶格**哟！(56)

(36) 皇帝就講，今早意這個，**佢也無兒無子**，這個皇帝這王分汝做，啊**佢**來退休。(110)

(37) 正經佢出，**不知不覺**行到該工廠，就待該睡一暗晡。(122)

(38) 有個呢个樣啦，時常愛**恹空恹路**哦，恹這個恹那個。(176)

(39) 整整咧啊，就成功溜買車來駛，**三駛四駛**，就變嘉義个客運公司个董事長吭。(194)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(三)

(40) 番龍（人名）哪，顛顛痴痴，常在个講愛做童乩毋係，愛做童乩毋係，在公館**搥漿搥涕**，分王爺公綯，綯該桌梗去，頭那恁，桌梗恁，桌梗恁多呢，樣詢會畀窿入去吭，窿入去个時節，毋得出毋得入，這擺正去求王爺，公啊順就出來。(4)

(41) 一个老阿姆愛食冬筍，破病啊吭，啊就擎一支刀待該**緊墩緊剝**，啊這都冬天咩，都無冬筍，啊吾姆病恁傷害，想食冬筍。墩墩咧。(14)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(四)

(42) 恁古怪，舂白會麼个麼个改良會變會變金，**舂了舂米**舂了會變金，恁古怪過來同佢借。(70)

(43) （老阿婆分狐狸吭**搥死**吭過煮肉分老阿公食）老阿公就墩哦，**墩日墩夜**。(128)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(五)

(44) 伯公火就像一般个火恁泥噢～鬼火青青吭會**跳來跳去**，**走來走去**，落雨正有。(22)

(45) 食飽夜，暗暗咧，看路毋著咧，火就看得到了，在河壩**跳上跳下**，一半下歸堆蓄噉。
(22)

(46) 汝吹鎖呐哦，若个嘴角哦，**會恣會大**哦，真像吾公个**嚇卵**哦！(148)

(47)婦人家暗晡時頭睡目咧噢～同厥老公講話：「屎出，屎出～」(婦人家是睡裡角男人是睡外背婦人家屎出是毋曉講客母係)，「唉～哉，徙出！徙出！緊徙緊出，徙，徙，徙，徙，徙到硬硬會歸暗晡還在徙出，徙出」恁泥哇～噢。(154)

(48)尋著無，**迂迂迴**尋無細人。拿火，點番火**緊點緊尋**，又尋到一粒枕頭。佢講：「唉哦！吾細人又無擱到，又擱到枕頭出來。」轉去就細人眠床肚睡 **kho⁵kho⁵** 滾。(162)

● 客家雜誌 7-93 期

(49)細孺人，堪毋得佢**軟聲軟斗**要求，就背佢過河壩，佢行到水當大个所在，．．．(85)

(50)故所僱從細就佇茶園項**拷鄰**舍个細人仔開運動會**轟上轟下**。(121)

(51)從大捋到細，再過從細捋到大，六儕噉噉嘶嘶，毋知分吾爸推幾下正煞。(121)

(52)抑係為了節約地下水，在潮州**逐家逐戶**苦勸居民隨時關係緊自流井。(142)

(53)堂表兄弟姊妹中，**講來講去**，還係我六姐妹，受到您的照顧最多最久。(171)

● 客家雜誌 94-165 期

(54)汝係無愛詩人，無就：再尋一位勇士，一擺討兩個**麼無麼个**要緊...(78)

(55)雖然僱細人个時節已經係升學主義時代，常常愛補習，新埔鎮還儘多好所在，環境又好，儘多細人去聊个位所，尤其係暑假期間，常常**走來走去**聊，哩暇來回想起來還儘生趣。(101, p.78)

(56)看到盡多僱裡客家人到該參加比賽，大家就**盡心盡力**，盡煞忙个去講拷表演。(109, p.49)

(57)一輛電火當光个快車躡過去，車聲像打雷公朗朗哀，轉轍工个細屋仔分這火車舞到**跔來跔去**。(120, p.71)

(58)係毋係自家留起來，還做得**種裡種該**，將來留分子子孫孫，一代一代傳下去。(144, p.58)

(59)吾姆委个大菜種，這下正生出嫩莖幼葉，僱**細心細意**淋淋水，驚怕放勢牯潑會斷莖死！(124, p.58)

(60)僱係苗栗縣**土生土長**个客家人，身邊多數係客家人。(126, p.77)

(61)後來搬到南和，與建庭園式个屋家，結合日式、中式風格建築，**一屋一瓦，一草一木**，全係佢設計完成。(127/128, p.137)

(62)為到僱裡客家文化个傳承推廣，僱**盡心盡力、無怨無悔**，不求回報，祇希望僱裡客家鄉親自覺自強，毋好就會在「牛欄肚鬥牛嬭」勇於內鬥，無法抗外。(142, p.57)

(63)那汝按仰，僱相信在社團中个基層工作人員，每個人个目珠金金，有人按慙，做人要有目的，有關心有支持，相信汝再多的熱心，再大个心力，總有一日汝也會**手軟腳軟**，請身在社團个大老領導幹部，接受僱真心个建議。(142, p.57)

(64)婦人家跔等就應講：「**無影無跡**喔！僱適其瓜田過，堵堵好東西跌忒，正跔下來拈定定，佢就硬賴僱偷摘佢个西瓜，僱無愛插佢，顛倒講僱走畀逐。」(163, p.73)

- (65)很多後生人明明邸在客家庄，講个客家話續**不裕不膝**，到底係麼个原因呢？(163, p.74)
- (66)獅仔咩緊**搭(握)**等羅鴉仔个手，**緊握緊講**：「毋成麼該東西，莫細義，承蒙汝个邀請，來到汝个發財屋，勞搞汝一餐。」
- (67) 羅鴉仔毋肯，兩儕又**讓來讓去**，正一儕做一片，坐下來食飯。(164, p.74)
- (68)又一下仔，獅仔兜等一隻裝等菜个盤仔老罌仔，又行出行入，食調羹仔、筷仔、碗，包尾還拿一條面帕仔分羅鴉仔揸手，．．．(164, p.74)

ABB

● 苗栗縣客語故事集(一)

- (1) 強盜想：樣恁奇怪，佢愛來搶東西，無佢罵還顛倒問我有飽無，就講：壞勢啦，汝辦來請人客个酒菜，分佢者兜**食淨淨**了。(6)
- (2) 恁奇怪，婦娘掌等了，奈久走忒就毋知，佢毋相信。該日就特別睡當晝**睡飽飽**，暗晡頭無愛睡目，認真來掌等，聽到佢打門去也，就搵佢拉等，無愛分佢走。(32)
- (3) 吾頭家一只雞仔尾了了，倒一罐酒生冰尿，望吾頭家个禾仔，上坵吊下坵吊，我做个人个長年卡有好**爌**。(54)

● 苗栗縣客語故事集(二)

- (4) 大一聲令下，一只只白頭公仔從籠仔个縫肚巷鑽出來，盡後背存到一只平常當貪食變到肥肥个白頭公仔安到嘟嘟，因為佢無聽老大講个，無用心絕食，故所佢樣子出力還係鑽毋出去，大家看到又急又**譴**。(6)
- (5) 這兩只月來，汝做麼个總係恬恬毋講話，看起來**面臭臭**也，汝有麼个事情係無？(70)
- (6) 講完就搵玉杯大力丟到地泥巷，柄！一聲，這時節屋肚恁多人全部看看忒了，堵堵好阿吉仔个阿姆同媒人婆，買訂婚个禮物行等轉來，看到象徵幸福个玉杯**爛淨淨**了，阿姆像發癲樣仔揪等阿吉仔問佢看到怎樣愈傷心又當驚。天漸漸光起來了，厥爸厥姆轉來了，緊喊兩儕个名仔，緊喊緊喊！樣會無人應，就**直直**走到大樹下，看到一只大老虎死到个。(120)
- (7) 心舅領頭**笑咪咪**仔，也無講好。家娘又問：「伯公佢奈位仔知無？」心舅也共樣領頭笑笑仔無講知。心舅牲人還等去，家娘佢後背偷偷仔藤等，無分心舅看到。(110)
- (8) 吾个牛子**角又又**愛換汝兩只大羊家。(126)
- (9) 吾个羊子**鬚粗粗**，愛換汝四只閩雞公。(126)
- (10) 賊仔來了！賊仔來了！結果，屋家个金銀珠寶，全部分賊仔**偷淨淨**。**拿光光**，最後，賊仔看到阿珍仔个手項有金指、頸根項有撥鍊，亦想撈佢剝剝下來了，阿珍仔分賊仔手項三摸四摸，驚到會死，就大麻聲喊：救命喔！救命喔！賊仔聽到聲遽遽就洩走了，阿珍喊阿富仔遽遽去捉賊仔，毋好分佢走忒。(140)
- (11) 兩公婆為了一塊餅賭一口氣，看到賊仔來偷東西，還毋願意開口，不願意認輸，兩

公婆一生人辛辛苦苦賺个金銀財寶，就一下仔定定，分賊偷淨淨。(142)

(12)「哼！汝展麼个，若一年死三个，三年就**死就就**」結果段真分佢講對對。(144)

(13) 有一日，王大寶个阿爸喊佢去田巷蒔田，佢到田巷，秧子就盡在蒔，草草了事，烏白亂蒔，秧子無幾多日秧子就**死淨淨**，厥姆喊佢去市場巷買鹽，等佢去到市場，射吾記得愛買麼个，就隨便買一包砂糖轉去交差。

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(一)

(14) 煞畀娶著，愛死無命，該卡大頭个又無娶著。走街，直接**走拼拼**麼个恁大頭無趨著。分該跛腳个講：「恁會**忸**，**厓**一孔一缺，係厓姻緣走毋得。」(4)

(15) 有一日，臨暗時吭，暗昏咧，出去巡田水。啊巡田水，**天暗暗**咧嘛，啊就聽著兩個人个聲，就著，兩個人講話：「哦！某某人汝愛去那？」恁仔講。(48)

(16) 啊！掠落去，一掠落去這白鶴就走咧！哇！**煞空空**咧兩百兩銀就，就，安著該，無學著麼个咧。(110, 112)

(17) 隨時拿來做，做一頂帽，**做硬硬**，做衫，歸身就賞佢啣。(118)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(二)

(18) 橫街上安著延平里啦，該延平里个舊街吭，卡上一**屑屑**啦，該位有一百姓公，啊細細漢恩毋知麼个，這安著百姓公？(8)

(19) 下次日就講店方就吃點心，啊人就緊看佢，一身**貼密密**。(18)

(20) 無愛相信，講喊厥徒弟講該手指拿來，該手指拿來鬥落**講密密**啣。(80)

(21) 啊佢愛走該上天庭，該尾呀**撻拂高高**講，移山老鯉收徒弟。(94)

(22) 聲啊啣，臭到厥該間屋**臭淨淨**。(152)

(23) 下定定 **phui**，該堆番做下畀燒**死淨淨**，燒**死淨淨**就得勝轉來。(158)

(24) 樹下一個在該厝尿啦，是比該，**比準準**，對該鳥愛射過去哦。(172)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(三)

(25) A¹ Ka¹⁰ Lang³ (人名) 屎屎**硬釘釘**，阿公德，**厓**肱生兩支笏，阿婢擺，**腳跛跛**，阿蘭姐，賣雜細。(20)

(26) 啊就頭擺人講**久久**，家娘世大人目花，啊逐擺都拿該塊缺碗畀吃毋係。(68)

(27) 一擔麵線緊畱。壞咧，三畱四畱，麵線**畱淨淨**。羈毋亢，鴨又**走淨淨**。(108)

(28) 暗晡時頭轉去，厥埔娘就**洗白白**啊，天光又著來，逐日著該領衫。(158)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(四)

- (29)厥个頭牲 好啦。又過進一步，煮好來。拜，同佢**剝好好**，恁泥像恩普通愛食个恁泥。(22)
- (30)「唉～，這那方來个乞食子吭，又臭頭，**臭拂拂**，走、走、走、走、走！」(28)
- (31)汝這下愛撈飯咧吭，磚拿來**煨紅紅**，放灶頭放，佢係跋上灶頭吭，佢會坐該兜磚，汝看，該磚吭。(40)
- (32)「上坵**水漕漕**，下坵水漕漕，細阿孺！汝一日蒔幾多千頭禾？」(56)
- (33)「欸～一隻馬子**耳掀掀**，細阿哥！汝一日騎幾多千腳跡？」(56)
- (34)山賊同佢**搶淨淨**，又同佢打到半生死，在該路亢。(88)
- (35)吾爸就做善事，田地**賣淨淨**，佢冤枉吭。(92)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(五)

- (36)一日死三个，三日**死擎擎**。(26)
- (37)下次擺講愛體封荷荷，**佢毋敢去噢**～正經河壩**火湊湊**，倏倏滾，一下倏過來這位，一下倏過該邊，正該講鬼火就正經有影，吭這下毋知有鬼火，無鬼火恩就毋知咧啦(30)
- (38)青色就正鬼火，伯公**火紅紅**，吭恩緊看荷，實在去河壩，**佢就當驚**。(30)
- (39)頭擺人哪荷真好心啦！屋家做該燕窩啊！吭是愛徙位啊～就跌落來，吭是**涿雨涿濕濕**啊，吭佢，擎針是拿來捉起來，是慢慢畜，畜大是放分佢飛去。(74)
- (40)哦！該老伯姆是「係荷」餵了就總～下，用**衫帕帕**就轉厥屋背角方，吭就變講厥心舅轉來咧，講同厥心舅講：「該鷄子啊～佢捉去門背角放咧荷～汝去看」打開來講～一堆銀，大～嫫堆，**啲啲(lia³ lia³)**滾，暢壞咧。(82)
- (41)講，有日啦吭。講，安咯，愛去食酒啊。逐日就跣厥爸**跣住住**就著啦。跣厥爸跣到，有一日、有一日，愛去食酒去啊。佢無跣著定定啦，無跣著就掙刀仔，煞猛掙刀仔啦。(106)
- (42)毋曉得講國語啊，啊就，恁泥就安咯，會錯意，啊佢就待在該舊街路同新街相接个南站卡落一層層該地方，一間賣棺材个人。(144)
- (43)洗洗咧吭，**牙絲絲**啊吭愛眠床睡吭。(176)
- (44)**佢同佢洗身洗到牙絲絲**喔，在眠床睡咧啦，汝毋會去看。(176)
- (45)**佢鑊頭煖滾滾**咧，就捉落鑊頭肚同佢（小孩）洗，洗到**牙絲絲**咧。。(176)

● 客家雜誌 7-93 期

- (46)不但豬嬭嚇到著驚跳來跌落豬屎窖仔肚裡，連主人也來吵醒，譴到會死，項起床來一看，個班細猴仔「落尾」就走，主人**眼睜睜**到緊看，到眼珠緊射火星仔！（1）
- (47)「．．．為了保護汝個豬欄的安全，佢看，還是將這頭番樣樹倒下來『過定著』！」某阿伯**氣渺渺**地聽到，也係相當有道理，所以斧頭搯來，兩下手板，（1）
- (48)阿番哥撲在木皮个牆壁偷看，**目西西**，隔牆縫。(70)

(49)阿甜妹不好來河壩，伊驚冷，河壩風，冷咻咻。(71)

(50)蒔禾仔咩有好食，那知發一擺大水沖淨淨，屍骨就無奈尋。(101)

● 客家雜誌 94-165 期

(51)行入鍾爸佇北醫成立个原住民健康研究中心，入門右邊个櫥肚放等一罐罐標本，裝等各形各樣个長條寄生蟲，條條出自原住民个肚筍！（110, p.77）

(52)佢佇幼稚園時，因為愛搞泥又毋帶手巾衛生紙，自小班到大班全係黑板上豬實實个常客。（115, p.77）

(53)大自家都笑迷迷，大人細子，內內外外，又無閑又歡喜，實在鬧熱。（119, p.78）

(54)兩三年以後，木瓜樹生到丈零高，歸叢仔密密个大葉，像人个手當樣。假使係好天，樹底下就會有涼沁沁个影仔。（117, p.76）

(55)醫師應該有同理心、同情心，表現對人个關懷，毋係醫病个機器，不管醫學樣般進步，冷冰冰个儀器、試管，永遠毋會係醫學个全部。（129, p.77）

(56)厝就拈弟弟一邊看圖、一邊聽爸爸媽媽用客家話講古，厝試著當好聽，聽到喙勾勾哦！（129, p.60）

(57)該央時，阿哥阿嫂各各有頭路，阿姐又嫁忒了，屋下無人好撿樵草。阿姆背等孫仔，企佇崩崗唇，用竹仔做个勾仔，將棉鼻公花个梗，一支支仔勾上來鍍，捆到歸大把，慢慢仔拖轉屋下，團做一只只个草結準樵燒。（161, p.70）

(58)該婦人家雖然咩著一下驚，毋過，佢還係遠遠先拈犂犂子仔拈到心肝頭，手緊拍細人仔个背囊，嘴上緊唸「膽大大，做婆太，毋好驚，毋好驚，青天大老爺拈汝做膽。」（163, p.73）

(59)老師：「LOSE，沒人知？真見笑，初二也呢！恁簡單仔單字都無知，係代表愛情个花！久魂花呀，連久魂花就無知？」全班學生鴉雀無聲，目金金仔無人聽得識。（163, p.64）

(60)老先生於眾目睽睽之下，鹹得目淒淒仔無敢講話，沒想到老先生又出筷挾一塊豆腐衣，笑嬉兮仔吞落肚，同時舉手向大家致意：「失禮，失禮！」（163, p.64）

(61)內肚个羅鴉仔應講：「獅仔哥係無？門開開、請入來。」（164, p.73）

(62)頸根拔直直，轉兩下，正直直滑到肚筍上。（175, p.77）

(63)憐侵愛拈細阿妹仔，特別對个種弱巾巾个細阿妹，時常分憐嚇到吱吱滾，就像老鼠堵到貓，走到飛禽。（125, p.71）

ABCABC

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(一)

(1) 啊厥妹就想著講，想著講，毋判得，毋係吭，想託夢給她說：「某某人呀！那隻雞 你別吃哦！那隻雞就是媽媽變來給你的。從前你弟弟幫你做事，你給他一石穀子卻只有八斗精穀，所以我才變成母雞下些空帶來懲罰你。」(12)

(2) 看著這細人逐日跣佢，佢就，心色，心色，佢講：「**細阿孺！細阿孺！你來...**」(26)

● 客家雜誌

(3) 該婦人家雖然咩著一下驚，毋過，佢還係遽遽先**搵**牙子搵到心肝頭，手緊拍細人仔个背囊，嘴上緊唸「膽大大，做婆太，**毋好驚，毋好驚**，青天大老爺**搵**汝做膽。」(73)

ABCB

● 苗栗縣客語故事集(一)

- (1) 頭擺人有一百銀就安到百富，有一千銀就安到千富，有錢人了。奈看得到**百銀千銀**，十介銀就愛卡煞猛兜也。(2)
- (2) 張大伯講：樹頭下三尺，**金山銀山**佢該下背。(62)
- (3) **一擺兩擺**共樣係怎樣，賴子想到奇怪，樣會逐擺就聽阿姆講豬肉恁勒，想偷晡婦娘般割豬肉分阿姆食。(76)
- (4) 厥婦娘分佢**三求四求**，就答應佢了。(102)

● 苗栗縣客語故事集(二)

- (5) 賊仔來了！賊仔來了！結果，屋家介金銀珠寶，全部分賊仔偷淨淨。拿光光，最後，賊仔看到阿珍仔介手項有金指、頸根項有撥鍊，亦想撈佢剝剝下來了，阿珍仔分賊仔手項**三摸四摸**，驚到會死，就大麻聲喊：救命喔！救命喔！賊仔聽到聲遽遽就洩走了，阿珍喊阿富仔遽遽去捉賊仔，唔好分佢走忒。(140)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(一)

- (6) 啊該掌牛个吭，跛腳，**行毋拼毋**係。講：「一孔一缺，係吾姻緣走毋得。一孔一缺，係吾姻緣走毋得。」講該細妹仔聽著，咭聲就笑出來。(4)
- (7) 啊睡了該老阿婆啊，九十六歲就死忒咧吭。就死忒咧，啊心舅就講無好喊人來摒垃圾咧。**死忒埋忒**咧，心舅裝去摒。(36)
- (8) 啊佢就含一個水，阿佢就緊同佢**搵**哦，**搵**囉幾下十下咧。幾下十下**搵**搵咧，笑吭，撲一聲笑出來該水就走出來。(44)
- (9) 啊這第二個妹說：「**愛走毋走**哦，毋走吭，針刺去啲。」(72)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(二)

- (10) 哦無就過掘卡深透，**三掘四掘**講做 khi li khe le。(116)
- (11) 啊就走去該田角，方就嗽，**三嗽四嗽**就正生一團萵菜。(150)

(12) 該鳥堵飛走，**好死毋死**啦，該銃子啊。(172)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(三)

(13) 大个，愛去厝屋家咧，兩公姐**七早八早**門就關緊去山亢，又無人在，佢關緊兩公姐去山亢啊，驚厝姆來啊吭。(56)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(四)

(14) 啊皇帝這兜就毋知講這個人**好个歪个**，講待樹頭樹頭下等講要來聽著佢要揸，講揸又「開花～！」。(72)

● 客家雜誌 7-93 期

(15) 這兩三隻細猴哥仔，全部都嚇到面甲青，尿都險險洩出來，有腳毋曉行，隻隻都係「**猴死目死**」，手偏偏地分人捉走了。(2)

(16) 同人**搵手**做雞鴨肉個生意，伊每日看到市場肚裡來來去去個人按多，大家**尖來尖去**，相爭買雞鴨肉，錢又按現，又看到頭家每日拖箱仔肚裡個收入，一疊又一疊的金票，實在係多，阿炳心肚裡就鼓勵自家，愛好好地來學做生意(5)

(17) 最後也係答應頭家個要求，倒轉去台北幫忙，阿炳歸到台北以後，也係老老實實同頭家忙了兩三年，使得頭家**口服心服**地想：「炳華這位後生仔，做生意實實在在，殺忙又勤儉，嘴馬又好，．．．」(6)

(18) 該係一條陡峭，佢拿一把草鎌行到面前。伊再三喊佢講刀仔放轉菜藍，**毋好緊好**行攪刀仔。(8)

ABCC

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(四)

(1) 以前吭有錢人同噴人共下鄰舍啊吭。有錢人就**風神喋喋**咧講，亢來就講：「吾狗一吠吭，項項好！項項好！項項好！」(150)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(五)

(2) 吾孺捉佢來生理，埋又無掩密噢，啊這下又毋會死唷，涿著**一身潑潑**噢～無看个。(80)

● 客家雜誌 94-165 期

(3) 講起德祿寮下個裡，更是偏僻，在日使頭個時節，對一般人來講，也係**心神在在**，唔會驚麼個魔神仔會來魔人(5)

- (4) 老先生於眾目睽睽之下，鹹得目淒淒仔無敢講話，沒想到老先生又出筷挾一塊豆腐衣，笑嬉兮仔吞落肚，同時舉手向大家致意：「失禮，失禮！」(163, p.64)

SPECIAL CASES

ABA CBC

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(一)

- (1) 哦！去到該半天啦吭。壞咧！上毋上、下毋下，就無法渡，待該半天倒吊 het⁸。就喊講，這個：「火燒天囉！」恁仔講吭。(66)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(二)

- (2) 鑽入以後，開始擲出來，擲都毋得出，就「咿咿噢哦」啊，啊無法渡就將該八仙桌啊，擎亢來撼上撼下撼毋出。！(36)

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(三)

- (3) 阿 Pe³ 桑（日本人）總愛打人。擎支棍，阿講去該王爺公三身，厥頭那。同佢鋸頭那，該暗晡就顯身咧，就去厥窗門，三兄弟把歇咧。啊三兄弟把歇吭。(2)
- (4) 番龍（人名）哪，顛顛痴痴，常在个講愛做童乩毋係，愛做童乩毋係，在公館撼檟撼涕，分王爺公綯，綯該桌梗去，頭那恁，桌梗恁，桌梗恁多呢，樣詢會畀窿入去吭，窿入去个時節，毋得出毋得入，這擺正去求王爺，公啊順就出來。(4) ABCABD
- (5) 啊常在去打番个人會分番剝碧啊。分番剝碧轉來就講：「唉哟！分番 哦，分番剝哦，樣詢哦」(10) ABCABD
- (6) 這聖符啊煞挺挺啊，也毋眨陰毋眨陽啦，啊厥口才也真好喔。(90) ABCABD

● 東勢鎮客語故事集(四)

- (7) 鐵樹開花錢樹開花。(92) ABCDEBCD
- (8) 佢(狐狸)就緊行緊行，對厝背尾就同佢點厥背，點厥該該柴，點落去，啊毋就燒著燒著霹哩啪啦霹哩啪啦。(128) ABCDABCD

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