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**A Gerchuan Juyu 隔川朱餘 Dialect Notebook**  
隔川朱餘方言的記音簿

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## Introduction 小序

This article is a brief study of a single rural dialect. As in a previous study of similar scope, I call it a “notebook” because it is little more than a tally of the field notes I collected at this site during a short survey.<sup>1</sup> It almost certainly has errors and is missing important forms, but I feel it is accurate enough to give the reader a fair impression of Juyu dialect. Who knows if this unusual dialect will ever receive fuller attention, as it deserves.

### 1. Site and Informants

This dialect is spoken in the village of Juyu 朱餘, in the Township of Gerchuan 隔川, which is located near the county seat of Liancherng 連城 in western Fukien (Longyan Prefecture 龍岩地區). The name Juyu means the “excess of Jufang 朱坊” — Jufang being a nearby village from which Juyu people presumably moved at some point. Gerchuan is five kilometers to the north of the county seat, and is said to have been settled in the late Tarng dynasty. Historically it has also been known as Shyatour 峽頭. One Chern Wannji 陳萬積, the leader of a peasant rebellion at the end of the Mongol period, was a native of Gerchuan. Gerchuan has in recent times belonged to Wenchuan 文川 and Gerlian 隔聯 Townships. As of 1992 there were reported to be 6327 people living in the township, and the population of Juyu village is less than a thousand.<sup>2</sup>

All fieldwork was carried out during four hours on 5 and 10 September, 1994, in the Liancherng County seat. I had the assistance of one informant, Mr. Chern Yunnfuh 陳運富, aged 48 *suey* in 1994. My wife, Yeo Shujen, served as my field assistant.

### 2. Phonology

#### 2A. Rimes.

This sample of Juyu dialect distinguishes the following 27 rimes, of which there are two in complementary distinction. There are almost certainly rimes in this dialect that have been omitted from the sample, for instance \*/ieŋ/. Here is the order in which the rimes occur in the lexicon:

/i/ [i̯]. Some friction.

/y/ [y̯]. Much friction.

<sup>1</sup> See Branner 1995b.

<sup>2</sup> The information in this paragraph is from my informant, from Liancherng 1981, and from Wang 1992: 110-1.

/e/ [e], sometimes giving the impression of [i̯e]. But distinguish rime /ie/, which is contrastive.  
 /ie/. [i̯e]. Distinguish /e/. Attested with initials /0/ and /ŋ-/.  
 /ue/ [ɥe]. Some friction is heard over the medial, as [ɥ̥v̥]. With aspirated initials, the labial friction  
 and aspiration combine to give the impression of [ϕ] or sometimes [f].  
 /ye/ [y̯e] Much friction on the medial: [y̯v̯].  
 /eŋ/ [eŋ] in most cases, but [i̯eŋ] with zero initial. Note that there is no contrast between /eŋ/ and  
 \*/ieŋ/, and the one attested example with zero initial would probably be assigned to \*/ieŋ/ in a  
 larger sample. Compare /e/ and /ie/.  
 /i/ [ɿ] (i.e., vocalic [ʐ]) after plain sibilants, [ʑ] (*not* \*[ɿ]) after palatal alveolar sibilants. Occurs  
 only after sibilants.  
 /əi/ [ɿi], sometimes [ai].  
 /uəi/ [ɥɿi] Distinguish /ue/.  
 /əu/ [ɿu].  
 /iəu/ [i̯ɿu].  
 /əŋ/ [əŋ]. This rime does not contrast with /ŋ/.  
 /uəŋ/ [ɥəŋ].  
 /a/ [a].  
 /ia/ [i̯a].  
 /ua/ [ɥa].  
 /au/ [əu] or [əo].  
 /iau/ [i̯əo].  
 /aŋ/ [aŋ].  
 /iaŋ/ [i̯aŋ].  
 /uaŋ/ [ɥaŋ]. Poorly attested.  
 /o/ [o] or [ɔ].  
 /io/ [i̯o] or [i̯ɔ], with friction on the medial: almost [j̯].  
 /oŋ/ [ɔŋ]. Poorly attested.  
 /u/ [u̯]. Much friction, so that /pu/ is pronounced [pɥu] (not [ɸu])! /, / and /v/ do not contrast in  
 this rime: both are [v̯u̯].  
 /ŋ/ Syllabic [ŋ̩]. This rime does not contrast with /əŋ/, occurring only with the zero initial.

The friction that is heard with high vowels (especially [u] and [y]) is common in the Liancherng area.

## 2B. Initials.

Initials are written in approximately phonetic terms. There are 30 contrasting initials in this dialect, listed below. This is also the order in which they occur in each rime:

- |                           |   |    |   |   |    |     |   |
|---------------------------|---|----|---|---|----|-----|---|
| a. Zero (not transcribed) |   |    |   |   |    |     |   |
| b. Labials:               | p | ph | m |   |    | f   | v |
| c. Dental-alveolars:      | t | th | n | l |    |     |   |
| d. Sibilants:             |   |    |   |   | ts | tsh | s |
|                           |   |    |   |   | tʃ | tʃh | ʃ |
| e. Velar-laryngeals:      | k | kh | ŋ |   |    |     | h |

Initial /h/ is phonetically [χ].

## 2C. Tones.

There are seven contrasting tone categories in Juyu. They are numbered from /1/ to /8/, without \*/4/ (whose behavior is discussed below, Section 3Bi). I have observed no tone sandhi other than some limited examples of partially unstressed “neutral tone”, noted in the lexicon with “=” before the unstressed syllables. Here are the contour values of the tone categories:

/1/: [33], [33̄2]. Mid-high level tone, sometimes with a faint fall at the end when in final position.

Generally corresponds to the *inpyng* 陰平 of Common Chinese.

/2/: [21]. Low sinking tone. Generally corresponds to the *yangpyng* 陰平 of Common Chinese.

/3/: [42], [44̄2]. Long falling tone. Generally corresponds to the *inshanq* 陰上 of Common Chinese.

/5/: [11], [12]. Generally corresponds to the *inchiuh* 陰去 of Common Chinese.

/6/: [24], [24̄2]. Sometimes ends in a faint fall when in final position. Generally corresponds to the *yangchiuh* 陽去 of Common Chinese.

/7/: [43̄?]. Short. Generally corresponds to the *inruh* 陰入 of Common Chinese.

/8/: [55]. Can be short, but [ʔ] not ordinarily present. Generally corresponds to the *yangruh* 陽入 of Common Chinese.

The coda or “faint fall” heard at the end of tones /1/ and /6/ in final position is common in parts of Liancherng County.

### 3. The Identity and Affiliation of Juyu Dialect

#### 3A. Similarities with Other Groups

##### 3Ai. *Chyuanjwo* Aspiration

Juyu's affiliation is not an easy problem to resolve. Perhaps the most striking thing about this dialect is that, although surrounded on all sides by dialects in which the *chyuanjwo* 全濁 initials of Common Chinese are represented by aspirated obstruents, Juyu has almost exclusively *unaspirated* obstruents here. Most of Liancherng follows the typically Hakka/Gann pattern of aspirating these initials. Juyu also differs from the dialects of Gutyan 姑田 and Layyuan 賴源 Townships in eastern Liancherng as well as Longyan 龍岩 County (Municipality) to the south, which show the typical Miin distinction between aspirated and unaspirated initials in the same words. Here are a few representative examples:

/pa <sup>2</sup> /	‘plate’ {盤} (unaspirated in Miin)
/təi <sup>2</sup> /	‘head’ {頭} (aspirated in Miin)
/keŋ <sup>2</sup> /	‘stringed instrument’ {琴} (aspirated in Miin)
/pi <sup>3</sup> /	‘quilt’ {被} (Common {4}; unaspirated in Miin)
/tʃy <sup>3</sup> /	‘ramie’ {苧} (Common {4}; unaspirated in Miin)
/ke <sup>3</sup> /	‘steep’ {倚} (Common {4}; aspirated in Miin)
/pi <sup>6</sup> /	‘to sniff’ {鼻} (aspirated in Miin)
/tʃy <sup>6</sup> /	‘chopsticks’ {箸} (unaspirated in Miin)
/kiəu <sup>6</sup> /	‘old, not new’ {舊} (unaspirated in Miin)
/kue <sup>8</sup> /	‘to dig’ {掘} (unaspirated in Miin)
/tsəi <sup>8</sup> /	‘thief’ {賊} (aspirated in Miin)
/pau <sup>8</sup> /	‘hail’ {雹} (aspirated in Miin)

A few exceptional tone {4} words that are aspirated:

/khiəu <sup>1</sup> /	‘mother’s brother’ (note tone!) {舅}
/tʃhy <sup>3</sup> /	‘column’ {柱}
/kheŋ <sup>3</sup> /	‘gizzard’ {胗}
/khye <sup>3</sup> /	‘near’ {近}

Aside from these examples, all *chyuanjwo* morphemes are unaspirated.

Uniformly unaspirated *chyuanjwo* initials are characteristic of dialects some distance away

from western Fukien — of rural dialects in Hunan, for instance.<sup>3</sup> One hesitates to assign a rural Fukien dialect to a Hunan grouping on the basis of a single feature, however. If more features could be found in common, especially features not found in nearby Liancherng dialects, the case would look better.

### 3Aii. {*Yeou* 有} in *Shyamuu*

One possibility is the presence of initial /h/ in the word for ‘to have, there is’ {*yeou* 有}. This is an attractive feature suggesting some antiquity, because the Jin’in initial category *yunmuu*, to which {*yeou*} belongs, is thought to have developed from the *shyamuu* initial, now widely heard as /h/ in Chinese dialects. Juyu uses a form /həi<sup>3</sup>/. Although to my knowledge this feature has never been used in classification, it shows up in interesting places. There is an initial /h/ in some of the strange dialects of southern Hunan — for instance, Jiangyeong 江永, where the word {*yeou*} is /hou<sup>4</sup>/, and of Longtarn Shiu 龍潭墟 in Jia’her 嘉禾 County, where {*yeou*} is [xau<sup>3</sup>].<sup>4</sup> But this is hardly typical of Hunan dialects overall: a recent survey of 22 sites in the province lists no similar examples.<sup>5</sup> And suggestions of initial {h} occur elsewhere: for instance, a form /iu<sup>1</sup>/ is reported the Kiangsi dialect of Rueyjin 瑞金, probably a variety of Gann or Hakka.<sup>6</sup> (Probably if more detailed fieldwork were done in rural sites, we would have far more information to go on; at the moment Chinese workers show a disastrous tendency to concentrate on the dialects of cities and county seats, and to work with very young informants.) In any case, if we are looking for more features that distinguish Juyu from neighboring dialects, this will not do: I have recorded initial /h/ as well as /f/ or /v/ (both from \*/h/) in the majority of the dialects of central and southern Liancherng, and in Longyan Wann’an 萬安. In other words, this feature links Juyu to its neighbors, rather than isolating it from them.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See for instance Hunan 1993 for various dialects of this kind.

<sup>4</sup> For Jiangyeong see Hwang 1993:54. For Longtarn see Tsuji 1987:190.

<sup>5</sup> See the entries for {*yeou*} in Hunan 1993:218 and in Tsuji 1987:190.

<sup>6</sup> Luo 1989:169. There is also reading /iu<sup>1</sup>/ (the tone value is my guess, based on sandhi changes) listed in a number of places, e.g. pp. 182-188. See also discussion of the correspondents of Common *yuhsan*, pp. 89, 97. Though, again, in urban Gann and Hakka dialects generally this is not a widespread feature. See entries for {*yeou*} in Lii and Jang 1992:77, 433.

<sup>7</sup> I intend to describe this distribution in a future paper.

### 3Aiii. Fronting of Usually Back Vowels

Another possibility, of a rather superficial kind, is the fronting of the *liousheh* 流攝 rimes, which generally contain back vowels, in most of Chinese. Juyu has [əi]~[ai] for most of these words. Examples include {yeou}, just discussed, as well as

/təi<sup>2</sup>/ ‘head’ {頭}

/nəi<sup>3</sup>/ ‘button’ {鈕}

/kəi<sup>3</sup>/ ‘dog’ {狗}

/kəi<sup>3</sup>/ ‘thick’ {厚}

/khəi<sup>3</sup>/ ‘mouthful’ {口}

/həi<sup>2</sup>/ ‘monkey’ {猴}

The Juyu /əi/ rime also includes certain words in *yuhshesh* 遇攝, as well as *ruhsheng* words in *tongshesh* 通攝; these, like the examples above all suggest some sort of fronting:

/məi<sup>3</sup>/ ‘aunt’ (cf. /məi<sup>1</sup>/ ‘mother’) {母}

/məi<sup>6</sup>/ ‘grave, tomb’ {墓}

/thəi<sup>3</sup>/ ‘local’ {土}

/təi<sup>3</sup>/ ‘to gamble’ {賭}

/ləi<sup>3</sup>/ ‘to stew in soy sauce’ {滷}

/ləi<sup>5</sup>/ ‘dew’ {露}

/əi<sup>7</sup>/ ‘house’ {屋}

/pəi<sup>7</sup>/ ‘belly’ (occurs in a phrase for ‘hungry’) {腹}

/təi<sup>8</sup>/ ‘poison’ {毒}

/ləi<sup>8</sup>/ ‘deer’ {鹿}

/kəi<sup>7</sup>/ ‘rice in the husk’ {穀}

All this fronting is reminiscent of another Hunan dialect, that of Shiangshiang 湘鄉, which is reported to use /iei/ for *yuhshesh* and *ruhsheng tongshesh* words, and /ai/ for *liousheh*.<sup>8</sup> But, as with {yeou}, most Hunan dialects do not show this feature.<sup>9</sup> And one can hardly base dialect

<sup>8</sup> See Tzeng 1985.

<sup>9</sup> See Hunan 1993.

classification on mere phonetic likeness — Wusih 無錫 dialect in Kiangsu (almost certainly a Wu dialect) has a fronted [ei] for *liousheh*; and Anhuei dialects such as Chyimen 祁門 and Jishi 績溪 are reported to have /ie/ and /i/ for *liousheh*.<sup>10</sup>

### 3B. Similarities with Nearby Dialects

The features I have listed above are interesting; they fall naturally into that disorderly heap of observations and hunches out of which neat rules of classification can gradually be teased, but they are of little value themselves.

Juyu has any number of features in common with other dialects in the neighborhood.

#### 3Bi. Behavior of Common Tone {4}

For instance, as in most nearby dialects, the great majority of tone {4} words are found in tone /3/. Here are the *chyuanjwo* forms:

/ho <sup>3</sup> /	below	/tʃy <sup>3</sup> /	ramie
/pi <sup>3</sup> /	quilt	/ʃaŋ <sup>3</sup> /	to ascend
/pu <sup>3</sup> /	in daughter-in-law	/ʃe <sup>3</sup> /	crab
/te <sup>3</sup> /	younger brother	/kəi <sup>3</sup> /	thick
/tsəŋ <sup>3</sup> /	to sit	/ke <sup>3</sup> /	to stand; steep
/tʃaŋ <sup>3</sup> /	older male in-law	/kheŋ <sup>3</sup> /	chicken gizzard
/tʃeŋ <sup>3</sup> /	heavy	/khye <sup>3</sup> /	near
/tʃhy <sup>3</sup> /	column	/həi <sup>3</sup> /	to have; there is

There are a handful of anomalies, occurring in other tones than /3/:

/khiəu<sup>1</sup>/ ‘mother’s brother’ {舅}

/ʃe<sup>6</sup>/ ‘eel’ {鱧}

/kue<sup>6</sup>/ ‘to kneel’ {跪}

/tsiaŋ<sup>6</sup>/ ‘to resemble’ {像}

/pəi<sup>6</sup>/ ‘[measure for number of times more than]’ {倍}

/həŋ<sup>6</sup>/ ‘hay 亥’

/təŋ<sup>8</sup>/ ‘to become broken off’ {斷}

<sup>10</sup> For Wusih, see Chyan 1992. For Chyimen, see Sheen 1983. For Jishi, see Jaw 1989.

/fa<sup>8</sup>/ ‘to know how’ {解}

Most of these tonal anomalies are common in other Liancherng dialects. Nearly all the examples found in tone /6/, for instance, are also found in tone /6/ in most other dialects in Liancherng.

And here are the *tsyhjwo* 次濁 words:

/iaŋ <sup>3</sup> /	itchy	/mo <sup>3</sup> /	horse	/va <sup>3</sup> /	bowl
/la <sup>3</sup> /	saliva	/mən <sup>3</sup> /	tail	/ve <sup>3</sup> /	far
/la <sup>3</sup> /	lazy	/nən <sup>3</sup> /	warm	/y <sup>3</sup> /	rain
/lau <sup>3</sup> /	old	/ti <sup>3</sup> /	carp	/ŋ <sup>3</sup> /	five
/laŋ <sup>3</sup> /	cage	/ti <sup>3</sup> /	inside	/ŋa <sup>3</sup> /	I
/ləi <sup>3</sup> /	to stew	/ti <sup>3</sup> /	mile	/ŋe <sup>3</sup> /	to dye
/ləi <sup>3</sup> /	creel	/ti <sup>3</sup> /	surname: 李	/ŋi <sup>3</sup> /	handle, ear
/ləŋ <sup>3</sup> /	egg	/ti <sup>3</sup> /	plum	/ŋo <sup>3</sup> /	roof tile
/ma <sup>3</sup> /	full	/tiaŋ <sup>3</sup> /	tael	/ŋy <sup>3</sup> /	daughter
/ma <sup>3</sup> /	grandmother	/tiaŋ <sup>3</sup> /	two	/ŋye <sup>3</sup> /	soft
/me <sup>3</sup> /	to buy	/tio <sup>3</sup> /	steep path		
/miaŋ <sup>3</sup> /	net, web	/tio <sup>3</sup> /	collar		

This is the usual pattern in central Liancherng. Note that the split of *tsyhjwo shanqsheng* words appearing in tones /1/ and /3/, identified by Jerry Norman as the single crucial Hakka diagnostic feature, does not obtain in this dialect.<sup>11</sup> Elsewhere I have endeavored to show that in all of Liancherng the county seat is virtually alone is reflecting Norman’s diagnostic feature: most rural Liancherng dialects are without it.<sup>12</sup>

### 3Bii. *Laimuu* Behavior

Another interesting matter is the large number of expected /l/-initial words occurring with initial /t/ before vowel [i]. In terms of formal Jin’in 今音 phonology, this usually represents a merger of *sandeeng laimuu* with *dinqmuu* and *duanmuu*). In addition to the nine examples listed immediately above, there are these others:

<sup>11</sup> Norman 1989.

<sup>12</sup> In fact, even Hakka dialects generally do not show this feature consistently. Branner 1995a.

- /ti<sup>2</sup>/ ‘pear’ {梨}
- /tiŋ<sup>7</sup>/ ‘traditional leaf rain hat’ {笠}
- /tiəu<sup>2</sup>/ ‘to leave behind’ {留}

There are also some *sandeeng laimuu* morphemes that now have vowels other than [i] after [t] in Juyu:

- /te<sup>2</sup>/ ‘to sew’ {連}
- /teŋ<sup>1</sup>/ ‘scales of a fish’ {鱗}
- /təu<sup>8</sup>/ ‘six’ {六}

This is a very common areal feature in Hakka dialects of western Fukien. Generally these words are of a more “popular” or “native” lexical stratum than *laimuu* words with an /l/ initial, as:

- /liəu<sup>2</sup>/ ‘to flow’ {流}
- /liəu<sup>2</sup>/ ‘surname: Liou 劉’ (rare locally)
- /lia<sup>2</sup>/ ‘pigsty’ {寮}<sup>13</sup>
- /lia<sup>3</sup>/ ‘[suffix indicating completion]’ {了}

Many of the /t/-initial *laimuu* words are expected to have upper-register tones (i.e., they probably descend from voiceless-initial words), but the pattern does not hold regularly and Norman’s Hakka criterion is by no means manifest in the form of a /t/-/l/ contrast.

In Juyu there is a whole other group of words that not only have [l] before [i], but which look quite native. They all share a vowel [a] following [li-].

- /lia<sup>1</sup>/ ‘to pick (the ear, teeth) with a pick’ {撈}?’
- /lia<sup>2</sup>/ ‘[measure for cracks]’
- /lia<sup>6</sup>/ ‘to play, have fun’
- /lia<sup>7</sup>/ ‘fast, rapid, quick’ {烈}?’
- /lia<sup>8</sup>/ ‘to lick’
- /liau<sup>2</sup>/ ‘to go back, come back, return’ (possibly an error for the following during fieldwork?)
- /liau<sup>5</sup>/ ‘to go’

### 3Biii. Upper Register *Tsyhjwo* Tonal Behavior

Juyu shares with a number of rural Liancherng dialects the absence of a special tonal

<sup>13</sup> I doubt it is significant that {*liau* 寮} and {*leau* 了} are *syhdeeng*, though more data would be useful.

feature that is a hallmark of Hakka and of most of coastal Miin: tone /5/ reflexes of certain Common tone {6} morphemes with sonorant initials. Juyu, like a number of other places in Liancherng, as well as Fukien's Ninghuah 寧化 county seat and a great many Gann dialects (those that distinguish tones {5} and {6}), has these words in tone /6/:

/maŋ <sup>6</sup> /	'to ask'
/məŋ <sup>6</sup> /	'younger sister'
/la <sup>6</sup> /	'spring pullet'
/məi <sup>6</sup> /	'grave, tomb'
/me <sup>6</sup> /	'face'
/ŋe <sup>6</sup> /	'mugwort'

Two other words in this group do appear in tone /5/:

/ŋio <sup>5</sup> /	'to look at'
/ləi <sup>5</sup> /	'dew'

There are a number of similar cases: words with sonorant initials, usually in tone /1/ in Hakka but found in tone /2/ here, or usually in tone /7/ in Hakka but found in tone /8/ here:

/mau <sup>2</sup> /	'hair' {毛}
/lo <sup>2</sup> /	'basket' {籃}
/laŋ <sup>2</sup> /	'deaf' {聾}
/laŋ <sup>2</sup> /	'chicken basket' {籠}
/məi <sup>8</sup> /	'eye' {目}
/mo <sup>8</sup> /	'wheat, oats' {麥}
/təu <sup>8</sup> /	'six' {六}
/ŋiəu <sup>8</sup> /	'meat' {肉}
/ŋie <sup>8</sup> /	'forehead' {額}

And there are a smaller number of cases where the expected upper register tone does appear:

/maŋ <sup>1</sup> /	'mosquito' {蚊}
/teŋ <sup>1</sup> /	'scales of a fish' {鱗}
/ti <sup>7</sup> /	'traditional leaf rain hat' {笠}
/ma <sup>7</sup> /	'socks' {襪}
/məi <sup>7</sup> /	'rotten (said of wood)' {?}

This rough incidence is common in rural Liancherng. Again, with respect to these words Juyu appears quite typical of the dialects in its area.

### 3C. The Possibility of Lost Miin Affiliation

So far, Juyu's lack of aspiration in *chyuanjwo* initials seems to be the main diagnostic feature separating it from neighboring dialects. These unaspirated *chyuanjwo* initials could themselves be a clue to the underlying affiliation of many of Liancherng's dialects.

Before I explain this, let me say that the reason I suspect some sort of substrate Miin affiliation in most of Liancherng is the presence of the Miin word for 'son, male child', one of the most characteristic of all Miin diagnostic features. The Juyu form is /ke<sup>3</sup>/, which is regularly comparable to Amoy /kiã<sup>3</sup>/ {囝}, etc., and there are parallel forms in most of the dialects of Liancherng, except for the county seat and certain areas such as Syhbao in the north.<sup>14</sup> This is such a basic Miin word that I doubt it could simply have been borrowed into a whole group of diverse dialects; it must be a very old word in Liancherng.

Other than 'son', almost nothing of the diagnostic Miin lexicon is to be found in Juyu.

Consider:

- /kau<sup>1</sup>/ 'pot' {鍋} instead of \*{鼎}, Amoy /tiã<sup>3</sup>/
- /te<sup>2</sup>/ 'field' {田} instead of \*{層}, Amoy /tshan<sup>2</sup>/
- /ŋeŋ<sup>2</sup>/ 'person' {人} instead of \*{儂}, Amoy /laŋ<sup>2</sup>/
- /kiau<sup>7</sup>/ 'foot' {腳} instead of \*{骸}, Amoy /kha<sup>1</sup>/
- /əi<sup>7</sup>/ 'house' {屋} instead of \*{戍}, Amoy /tshu<sup>5</sup>/
- /ie<sup>8</sup>/ 'leaf' {葉} instead of \*{箬}, Amoy /hio<sup>8</sup>/

But there are a few other hints of Miin identity — nothing so definite as the words above, but still highly suggestive Miin forms:

<u>Juyu</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>Amoy</u>	<u>Miin-like feature</u>	<u>beentzyh</u>
/seŋ <sup>2</sup> /	'housefly'	/sin <sup>2</sup> /	/s-/ for */,-/ ( <i>yangmuu</i> )	{蠅}
/kəi <sup>3</sup> /	'thick'	/kau <sup>6</sup> /	/k-/ for */h-/ ( <i>shyamu</i> )	{厚}
/ki <sup>1</sup> /	'branch'	/ki <sup>1</sup> /	/k-/ for */tʃ-/ ( <i>jangmuu</i> )	{支}

The case of 'branch' is quite arresting, because Juyu shows only the rarest trace of the merger of the *jy* 知 series of initials with the *duan* 端 series, so abundantly attested in Miin (one Juyu example is /ti<sup>1</sup>/ 'to know' {知}), yet it also retains this distinctive case of /k/ for *jangmuu*, much

<sup>14</sup> I have discussed this previously in Branner 1995a.

rarer in Miin.

Another arresting case is /həi<sup>6</sup>/ ‘to give’, which is comparable to Amoy /hØ<sup>6</sup>/. Amoy merges tones {4} and {6}, but the evidence of certain Chyuanjou-area dialects that distinguish the two shows that this Miinnan form belongs to tone /6/, as does the Juyu word.<sup>15</sup> If the relationship is valid, this is the first attested appearance I have seen of this word outside of the regular Miin area. Even within Miinnan it is by no means common — Longyan and Teochew use /pun<sup>1</sup>/ or /puŋ<sup>1</sup>/, forms of {分}, and Chyuanjou uses /thØ<sup>6</sup>/ and sometimes /khit<sup>7</sup>/.

I believe that the unaspirated *chyuanjwo* initials that make Juyu unique in its own surroundings are also indirect evidence of a Miin substrate. Miin is alone among attested varieties of Chinese in distinguishing two sets of lower-register obstruent initials, usually as aspirated and unaspirated. This distinction would have had to disappear in order to produce non-Miin typology, and in areas influenced by what we now call Hakka and Gann the two sets of initials would presumably have been under pressure to merge as aspirates. But they could also have merged as non-aspirates in some dialects, and I believe that Juyu represents just such a “recessive” merger when the Miin pattern was lost.

Mergers of this sort may seem strange, but they do in fact occur. One that seems to have occurred in Juyu involves words in Jin’in rimes that are usually open, such as *jjysheh* 止攝, *shiehsheh* 蟹攝, and *guosheh* 果攝, appearing with a nasal coda, having merged with *shansheh* 山攝. Here are some of the words in question:

/pəŋ<sup>1</sup>/ ‘to fly’ {飛}

/pəŋ<sup>6</sup>/ ‘to bark’ {吠}

/məŋ<sup>3</sup>/ ‘tail’ {尾}

/məŋ<sup>6</sup>/ ‘younger sister’ {妹}

/vəŋ<sup>2</sup>/ ‘rice (the plant)’ {禾}

/fəŋ<sup>3</sup>/ ‘fire’ {火}

/təŋ<sup>6</sup>/ ‘pocket’ {袋}

/thəŋ<sup>1</sup>/ ‘to push’ {推}

<sup>15</sup> For a Chyuanjou dialect of this sort, see the record of Derhuah Gayder 德化蓋德 by Jeff Crosland published in this volume. It is common to write this word with {與} or {予}, but the correspondence is not regular, with respect to either initial or tone. This word would fit most easily into the *sheauyunn* {護}~{互} in the Jin'in formal system, and both of these characters can by a stretch of imagination be linked to the sense 'to give'.

/lən<sup>2</sup>/ ‘thunder’ {雷}  
 /tsən<sup>3</sup>/ ‘to sit’ {坐}  
 /tshən<sup>5</sup>/ ‘vegetable’ {菜}  
 /kən<sup>5</sup>/ ‘to cover’ {蓋}  
 /khən<sup>1</sup>/ ‘to open’ {開}  
 /hən<sup>3</sup>/ ‘the sea’ {海}

These are all words that in my experience tend to have finals like [əi] or [uəi] in dialects of Liancherng. All things being equal, we would expect to see such a merger take place with the *shansheh* words losing their nasal endings and becoming open, rather than the open-final words taking on nasal endings. It is quite rare for nasal endings to appear out of nowhere. Yet apparently it has happened here. It has even happened to *ruhsheng* words:

/pən<sup>7</sup>?/ ‘[verb for dreaming, getting diseases]’ {發}?  
 /tən<sup>7</sup>?/ ‘to scold’ { ? }  
 /tən<sup>8</sup>/ ‘to fall out’ { ? }  
 /kən<sup>7</sup>?/ ‘to be pricked’ { ? }

In tone /7/ a glottal stop immediately follows the velar nasal ending. It seems possible that the mechanism by which this nasal coda appeared involved the raising of high vowels to such a degree that the vocalic quality was replaced by friction of some sort. Regardless of the mechanism, however, these examples show that a very unusual-looking merger can occasionally take place. It is not impossible that the unaspirated *chyuanjwo* initials of Juyu are the result of just such a rare merger of the Miin distinction between aspirated and unaspirated lower-register obstruent initials.

At this point there is no sense speculating further about a possible Miin substrate. More fieldwork is needed, both in Gerchuan and in other rural sites all over southern China.

## 4. References and Conventions

### 4A. Conventions and Special Symbols

“Final position” here includes monosyllabic forms in isolation as well as morphemes at the end of a compound.

I have included Chinese glosses in the notes, more as clues to the original elicited in fieldwork than anything else. These glosses are in Mandarin. They are merely translations, and are not meant to represent the *beentzyh* 本字 or “underlying written form” of the dialect words.

Symbols used:

/ Phonemic forms from this dialect are written between slashes.

[] Phonetic forms from this dialect are written between square brackets.

{ } Common Chinese, Miin, or Hakka forms, along with likely *beentzyh*, are written between curly brackets. The sense of the curly brackets is something like “within the diasystem”, whereas square brackets and slashes mean “within the dialect”.

‘ ’ Glosses are ordinarily written between single quotes.

= To connect two syllables, means that the second one is relatively unstressed. For instance:

saŋ<sup>1</sup> = le<sup>1</sup> ‘grandson: son’s son’ ‘孫子’

\* Unattested form. An unattested form may be expected but different from what is in fact observed, or it may be hypothesized without evidence that it does not in fact exist.

#### 4B. Other Sources of Dialect Data

Amoy, a.k.a. Shiahmen 廈門

Important city in southern Fukien. Its dialect is most often cited as the representative of the Miinnan 閩南 (“Southern Miin”) group, and it is certainly the best described of this group. My primary source for Amoy is Douglas (1899). I have adapted Douglas’ romanization system to IPA, using the phonetic values described in Tung (1960:737-791).

Chyuanjou 泉州

Important city in southern Fukien, which speaks a dialect related to that of Amoy but different in a number of ways. All material was obtained from Mr. Tim Miller, and checked against Lin Liantong 1993 and Douglas, both rather inadequate sources for this important dialect.

Longyan 龍岩.

City in western Fukien, whose dialect belongs to the northern variety of Miinnan. Site: Shibeitauwei 西陂條圍, a village near the city limits, whose speech is essentially that of the city proper. Principal informant: Mr. Chern Ijyh 陳一致, 78? *suey* in 1992, village intellectual. Survey by myself, 1992-1995.

Teochew [Chaurjou] 潮州

City in eastern Goangdong, speaking an important variety of Miinnan. Material cited from Choy.

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## 5. Lexicon

### Rime /i/ 韻

/i <sup>1</sup> /	ia <sup>1</sup> i <sup>1</sup> ‘cicada’ ‘蟬’
/i <sup>2</sup> /	‘the third of the twelve “Earth” cyclical signs: yn 寅’ ‘第三個地支：寅’
/i <sup>3</sup> /	khau <sup>3</sup> i <sup>3</sup> ‘can, may’ ‘可以’
/i <sup>7</sup> /	‘one’ (this is the only word) ‘一’ (唯一的說法)
	i <sup>7</sup> po <sup>7</sup> ‘one hundred’ ‘一百’
	i <sup>7</sup> lan <sup>2</sup> ‘a whole mountain-side’ ‘[一座山的一整片側面]’
/pi <sup>1</sup> /	pi <sup>1</sup> ki <sup>5</sup> ‘gravestone’ ‘墓碑’
/pi <sup>2</sup> /	‘skin, leather, surface’ ‘皮’
	pi <sup>2</sup> ta <sup>5</sup> ‘leather strap, belt’ ‘皮帶’
/pi <sup>3</sup> /	‘quilt, coverlet’ ‘被子’
/pi <sup>3</sup> /	‘[character reading: bii 比]’ ‘[字音：比]’
/pi <sup>5</sup> /	pi <sup>5</sup> tsia <sup>1</sup> ‘to drain through the fingers’ ‘用手指濾乾’
/pi <sup>6</sup> /	pi <sup>6</sup> = le <sup>1</sup> ‘rice tares: the common weed of the rice paddy’ ‘稗子’
/pi <sup>6</sup> /	‘to sniff’ ‘用鼻子聞’
	pi <sup>6</sup> kan <sup>1</sup> ‘nose’ ‘鼻子’
/pi <sup>7</sup> /	‘pen, writing implement’ ‘筆’
	pi <sup>7</sup> tʃi <sup>8</sup> ‘very straight’ ‘很直’
/mi <sup>3</sup> /	‘uncooked rice’ ‘米’
/vi <sup>3</sup> /	‘slippery’ ‘滑’
/vi <sup>6</sup> /	‘the eighth of the twelve “Earth” cyclical signs: wey 未’ ‘第八個地支：未’
/ti <sup>1</sup> /	ŋ <sup>6</sup> ti <sup>1</sup> ‘don't know’ ‘不知道’
/ti <sup>2</sup> /	ti <sup>2</sup> = le <sup>1</sup> ‘pear’ ‘梨’
/ti <sup>3</sup> /	ti <sup>3</sup> ŋy <sup>2</sup> ‘carp’ ‘鯉魚’
/ti <sup>3</sup> /	ti <sup>3</sup> tsi <sup>2</sup> ‘inside’ ‘裡面’
	ti <sup>6</sup> ho <sup>6</sup> ti <sup>3</sup> ‘on the ground’ ‘地上’
	te <sup>2</sup> ti <sup>3</sup> ‘wet field for planting rice’ ‘稻田’
/ti <sup>3</sup> /	‘mile’ ‘一里路的里’
/ti <sup>3</sup> /	‘surname: Lii 李’ ‘姓：李’
/ti <sup>3</sup> /	ti <sup>3</sup> = le <sup>1</sup> ‘plum’ ‘李子’
/ti <sup>5</sup> /	tʃa <sup>3</sup> = ti <sup>5</sup> ‘here’ ‘這裡’
	ka <sup>3</sup> = ti <sup>5</sup> ‘there’ ‘那裡’
	na <sup>6</sup> ti <sup>5</sup> ‘where?’ ‘哪裡?’
/ti <sup>6</sup> /	ti <sup>6</sup> ho <sup>6</sup> ti <sup>3</sup> ‘on the ground’ ‘地上’
/ti <sup>7</sup> /	ti <sup>7</sup> mo <sup>2</sup> ‘traditional leaf rain hat’ ‘斗笠’
/tsi <sup>2</sup> /	ti <sup>3</sup> tsi <sup>2</sup> ‘inside’ ‘裡面’
/tsi <sup>5</sup> /	tsi <sup>5</sup> mɔi <sup>6</sup> ‘to clean up a grave, especially ceremonially’ ‘掃墓’
/tsi <sup>8</sup> /	‘to poke’ ‘捅’
/tshi <sup>7</sup> /	‘seven’ ‘七’
/si <sup>1</sup> /	tʃeu <sup>7</sup> si <sup>1</sup> ‘branch of bamboo’ ‘竹枝’
/si <sup>3</sup> /	‘to wash’ ‘洗’
/si <sup>7</sup> /	‘the eleventh of the twelve “Earth” cyclical signs: shiu 戌’ ‘第十一個地支：

戌’

- /ki<sup>1</sup>/ [‘measure for flowers]’ [‘一朵花的量詞’]  
ʃy<sup>6</sup> ki<sup>1</sup> ‘branch of a tree’ ‘樹枝’  
/ki<sup>1</sup>/ pa<sup>5</sup> ki<sup>1</sup> ‘winnowing fan’ ‘簸箕’  
/ki<sup>2</sup>/ fu<sup>2</sup> ki<sup>2</sup> ‘leech’ ‘螞蟥’  
/ki<sup>2</sup>/ ‘to ride astride’ ‘騎’  
/ki<sup>3</sup>/ ‘he, she, it’ ‘他’  
ki<sup>3</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> tse<sup>2</sup> ‘they’ ‘他們’  
/ki<sup>3</sup>/ ‘the sixth of the ten “Heaven” cyclical signs: jii 己’ ‘第六個天干：己’  
/ki<sup>5</sup>/ pi<sup>1</sup> ki<sup>5</sup> ‘gravestone’ ‘墓碑’  
/ŋi<sup>3</sup>/ ‘handle on a teapot or pail’ ‘茶壺或桶子的耳’  
ŋi<sup>3</sup> kaŋ<sup>1</sup> ‘ear’ ‘耳朵’  
/ŋi<sup>3</sup>/ ‘you (singular)’ ‘你’  
ŋi<sup>3</sup> = ka<sup>5</sup> ‘your, yours (singular)’ ‘你的’  
ŋi<sup>3</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> tse<sup>2</sup> ‘you (plural)’ ‘你們’  
/ŋi<sup>6</sup>/ ‘two’ (name of the numeral) ‘二’ (數字的名稱)  
/ŋi<sup>8</sup>/ keŋ<sup>1</sup> ŋi<sup>8</sup> ‘today’ ‘今天’  
ʃau<sup>1</sup> ŋi<sup>8</sup> ‘tomorrow’ ‘明天’  
tsa<sup>6</sup> ŋi<sup>8</sup> ‘yesterday’ ‘昨天’  
kue<sup>3</sup> ŋi<sup>8</sup> tsi<sup>3</sup> ‘to fix (literally, choose) a date’ ‘定(選)日期’

Rime /y/ 韻

- /y<sup>3</sup>/ ‘rain’ ‘雨’  
/y<sup>6</sup>/ y<sup>6</sup> ləŋ<sup>3</sup> ‘taro’ ‘芋子、芋頭’  
y<sup>6</sup> ləŋ<sup>3</sup> tɔi<sup>2</sup> ‘large taro’ ‘大芋頭’  
/tʃy<sup>1</sup>/ ‘pig’ ‘豬’  
tʃy<sup>1</sup> ku<sup>3</sup> ‘boar, castrated boar’ ‘公豬、被閹過的公豬’  
tʃy<sup>1</sup> ko<sup>1</sup> ‘stud boar’ ‘種豬’  
tʃy<sup>1</sup> mo<sup>2</sup> ‘sow’ ‘母豬’  
tʃy<sup>1</sup> tsɔi<sup>3</sup> ‘piglet’ ‘小豬’  
tʃy<sup>1</sup> tia<sup>2</sup> ‘two- or three-month old pig’ ‘中豬’  
tʃy<sup>1</sup> ŋy<sup>3</sup> ‘young sow that has not yet mated’ ‘還沒交配小母豬’  
tʃy<sup>1</sup> kau<sup>1</sup> ‘lard’ ‘豬油’  
khiəu<sup>7</sup> tʃy<sup>1</sup> ‘to raise swine’ ‘養豬’  
/tʃy<sup>1</sup>/ məi<sup>8</sup> tʃy<sup>1</sup> ‘eye’ ‘眼睛’  
tʃeŋ<sup>1</sup> tʃy<sup>1</sup> ‘pearl’ ‘真珠’  
le<sup>2</sup> tʃy<sup>1</sup> tse<sup>5</sup> ‘kind of arrow’ (“multiple bead arrow”) ‘箭的一種’ (“彙珠箭”)  
/tʃy<sup>1</sup>/ ‘surname: Ju 朱’ (one of the three main surnames in this village) ‘姓：朱’ (本地三大姓之一)  
/tʃy<sup>2</sup>/ ‘cupboard’ ‘廚：衣廚、菜廚’  
/tʃy<sup>2</sup>/ ‘hammer, mallet’ ‘槌子’  
/tʃy<sup>3</sup>/ ‘to bring (newly made liquor) to a boil’ ‘煮開(新酒)’  
tʃy<sup>3</sup> tʃəu<sup>7</sup> ‘to cook rice porridge’ ‘熬粥’  
/tʃy<sup>3</sup>/ tʃy<sup>3</sup> ŋeŋ<sup>2</sup> ‘host’ ‘主人’

- /tʃy³/ ‘ramie: a plant with a sturdy fiber much used in traditional society (Boemeria nivea)’ ‘苧麻’
- /tʃy⁶/ tʃy⁶ tʃo⁷ ‘chopstick(s)’ ‘筷子’
- /tʃy⁶/ ‘to live at’ ‘住’
- /tʃhy¹/ tʃhy¹ lia⁶ ‘to play, have fun’ ‘玩’
- /tʃhy³/ lau³ tʃhy³ ‘rat, mouse’ ‘老鼠’
- /tʃhy³/ əi⁷ tʃhy³ ‘column in a building’ ‘房柱’
- /tʃhy⁷/ ‘to exit, go or come out; to cause to go or come out, to emit’ ‘出’
- /ʃy¹/ ‘book’ ‘書’
- /ʃy¹/ ‘to lose in competition’ ‘輸’
- /ʃy²/ fa¹ ʃy² ‘sweet potato’ ‘蕃薯’
- /ʃy³/ ‘water’ ‘水’
- khəi³ la³ ʃy³ ‘saliva, spittle’ ‘口水’
- ləi⁵ ʃy³ ‘dew’ ‘露水’
- tʃa⁵ ʃy³ ‘waterfall’ ‘瀑布’
- ʃy³ kua³ ‘water piping’ ‘水管’
- ʃy³ ʃau⁸ ‘ladle, dipper’ ‘水瓢’
- ʃy³ tʃəu⁷ pa² ‘local placename: Yangmei Shoeijwupyng 楊梅水竹坪’ ‘附近的自然村：楊梅水竹坪’
- /ʃy⁶/ ‘tree’ ‘樹’
- ʃy⁶ ki¹ ‘branch of a tree’ ‘樹枝’
- /ŋy²/ ŋy² teŋ¹ ‘scales of a fish’ ‘魚鱗’
- ti³ ŋy² ‘carp’ ‘鯉魚’
- se¹ ŋy² ‘live fish’ ‘活魚’
- ʃe⁶ ŋy² ‘eel’ ‘黃鱔’
- ŋy² ləi³ ‘creel: basket for holding fish’ ‘魚簍子’
- /ŋy³/ ‘daughter’ ‘女兒’
- ŋy³ = le¹ tsəi³ ‘girl’ ‘女孩子’
- ke³ ŋy³ ‘child (ambiguously male or female)’ ‘孩子(不分男女)’
- ŋy³ saŋ¹ ‘granddaughter: son's daughter’ ‘孫女’
- tʃy¹ ŋy³ ‘young sow that has not yet mated’ ‘還沒交配小母豬’

Rime /e/ 韻

- /e¹/ e¹ ta¹ tse² ‘we, us’ (inclusive and exclusive do not seem to be clearly distinguished) ‘我們、咱們’ (內包、外包分不清楚)
- /e³/ ‘short in height’ ‘矮’; ‘low (said of a house)’ ‘低(指房子)’
- /pe¹/ ‘the side’ ‘旁邊’
- pe¹ ve² ‘rim, edge’ ‘邊垣’
- tia⁵ pe¹ ‘hem’ ‘下襬’
- /pe⁶/ ‘to boil’ ‘煮(湯)’
- pe⁶ tʃəŋ⁵ ‘to cook’ (general word) ‘做菜’
- /phe¹/ ‘to turn (a page)’ ‘翻(一頁)’
- /phe⁷/ ‘[measure for one of two halves of something]’ ‘[兩個半邊之一的量詞]’
- /me²/ ‘to bury’ ‘埋’

/me <sup>3</sup> /	‘to buy’ ‘買’
/me <sup>3</sup> /	ʃi <sup>3</sup> me <sup>3</sup> ‘person's behind, rear end’ ‘屁股’
/me <sup>6</sup> /	‘face’ ‘臉’
	me <sup>6</sup> kia <sup>7</sup> ‘cheeks’ ‘臉頰’
/me <sup>6</sup> /	‘late, tardy’ ‘晚、遲’
/fe <sup>2</sup> /	‘boat’ ‘船’
/ve <sup>2</sup> /	‘round’ ‘圓’
/ve <sup>2</sup> /	pe <sup>1</sup> ve <sup>2</sup> ‘rim, edge’ ‘邊垣’
/ve <sup>3</sup> /	‘far’ ‘遠’
/te <sup>1</sup> /	‘low (said of a field on a mountain-side)’ ‘低(指山上的梯田)’
/te <sup>2</sup> /	‘to sew’ (general word) ‘縫’ (總稱)
/te <sup>2</sup> /	‘to crow (said of a male chicken)’ ‘(公雞)叫’
/te <sup>2</sup> /	te <sup>2</sup> ti <sup>3</sup> ‘wet field for planting rice’ ‘稻田’
	sa <sup>1</sup> lan <sup>2</sup> te <sup>2</sup> ‘dry field (for planting crops other than rice)’ ‘山田’
	te <sup>2</sup> ʃeŋ <sup>2</sup> ‘berm at the edge of a wet field’ ‘田埂、田壩’
	te <sup>2</sup> khe <sup>7</sup> ‘draining gap in the berm of a wet field’ ‘田埂缺口’
	te <sup>2</sup> lau <sup>2</sup> ‘field snail’ ‘田螺’
/te <sup>2</sup> /	‘sweet’ ‘甜’
/te <sup>3</sup> /	lau <sup>3</sup> te <sup>3</sup> ‘younger brother’ ‘弟弟’
/te <sup>3</sup> /	‘bottom’ (newer expression; see /təi <sup>7</sup> /) ‘底’ (新的說法；參見/təi <sup>7</sup> /)
/te <sup>6</sup> /	‘grave’ ‘墳墓’
/the <sup>1</sup> /	‘the sky’ ‘天’
	the <sup>1</sup> kuaŋ <sup>1</sup> ‘morning’ ‘早上’
	the <sup>1</sup> haŋ <sup>2</sup> ʃeŋ <sup>2</sup> ‘rainbow’ (“sky” + “red” + “god”) ‘彩虹’ (“天” + “紅” + “神”)
/the <sup>1</sup> /	the <sup>1</sup> piaŋ <sup>5</sup> ‘to forget’ ‘忘記’
/ne <sup>2</sup> /	‘year’ ‘年’
/ne <sup>2</sup> /	‘soil, earth’ (most common word; compare /thəi <sup>3</sup> /) ‘土’ (最常用的說法；參見/ thəi <sup>3</sup> /)
/le <sup>1</sup> /	‘[noun suffix]’ ‘名詞後綴’
	khiəu <sup>1</sup> = le <sup>1</sup> ‘uncle: mother's brother’ ‘舅舅’
	phaŋ <sup>1</sup> = le <sup>1</sup> ‘bee’ ‘蜜蜂’
	saŋ <sup>1</sup> = le <sup>1</sup> ‘grandson: son's son’ ‘孫子’
	tau <sup>2</sup> = le <sup>1</sup> ‘peach’ ‘桃子’
	ti <sup>2</sup> = le <sup>1</sup> ‘pear’ ‘梨’
	pa <sup>2</sup> = le <sup>1</sup> ‘plate’ ‘盤子’
	həi <sup>2</sup> = le <sup>1</sup> ‘monkey’ ‘猴子’
	piau <sup>2</sup> = le <sup>1</sup> ‘duckweed or any floating plant’ ‘萍草’
	lo <sup>2</sup> = le <sup>1</sup> ‘basket’ ‘籃子’
	ti <sup>3</sup> = le <sup>1</sup> ‘plum’ ‘李子’
	ke <sup>3</sup> = le <sup>1</sup> so <sup>2</sup> ‘boy’ ‘男孩子’
	ŋy <sup>3</sup> = le <sup>1</sup> tsəi <sup>3</sup> ‘girl’ ‘女孩子’
	tia <sup>3</sup> = le <sup>1</sup> ‘bird’ ‘鳥’
	miau <sup>5</sup> = le <sup>1</sup> ‘cat’ ‘貓’
	si <sup>6</sup> = le <sup>1</sup> ‘persimmon’ ‘柿子’

	pi <sup>6</sup> = le <sup>1</sup> ‘rice tares: the common weed of the rice paddy’ ‘稗子’
	tai <sup>6</sup> = le <sup>1</sup> ‘bean’ ‘豆’
	iau <sup>6</sup> = le <sup>1</sup> ‘pomelo’ ‘柚子’
/le <sup>2</sup> /	‘to come’ ‘來’
/le <sup>2</sup> /	le <sup>2</sup> phaŋ <sup>1</sup> ‘a kind of small spider that lives in a cocoon on the wall’ ‘住在牆上的繭裡的一種小蜘蛛’
/le <sup>2</sup> /	le <sup>2</sup> tʃy <sup>1</sup> tse <sup>5</sup> ‘kind of arrow’ (“multiple bead arrow”) ‘箭的一種’ (“纍珠箭”)
/tse <sup>2</sup> /	e <sup>1</sup> ta <sup>1</sup> tse <sup>2</sup> , ŋa <sup>3</sup> ta <sup>1</sup> tse <sup>2</sup> ‘we, us’ (inclusive and exclusive do not seem to be clearly distinguished) ‘我們、咱們’ (內包、外包分不清楚)
	ŋi <sup>3</sup> ta <sup>1</sup> tse <sup>2</sup> ‘you (plural)’ ‘你們’
	ki <sup>3</sup> ta <sup>1</sup> tse <sup>2</sup> ‘they’ ‘他們’
/tse <sup>2</sup> /	‘money’ ‘錢’
	tai <sup>3</sup> tse <sup>2</sup> ‘to gamble’ ‘賭錢’
/tse <sup>2</sup> /	tse <sup>2</sup> tai <sup>2</sup> ‘the front’ ‘前面’
/tse <sup>5</sup> /	kəŋ <sup>3</sup> tse <sup>5</sup> ‘straw mattress’ ‘稻草墊’
/tse <sup>5</sup> /	‘arrow’ ‘箭’
	le <sup>2</sup> tʃy <sup>1</sup> tse <sup>5</sup> ‘kind of arrow’ (“multiple bead arrow”) ‘箭的一種’ (“纍珠箭”)
/tse <sup>2</sup> ʔ/	‘to connect’ ‘連接’
/tshe <sup>2</sup> ʔ/	‘to cut with a knife’ ‘切’
	tshe <sup>2</sup> ʔ naŋ <sup>6</sup> ‘to cut finely’ ‘切碎’
/tshe <sup>2</sup> ʔ/	maŋ <sup>2</sup> tshe <sup>2</sup> ʔ ‘threshold’ ‘門檻’
/se <sup>1</sup> /	se <sup>1</sup> ŋy <sup>2</sup> ‘live fish’ ‘活魚’
/se <sup>5</sup> /	‘small’ ‘小’
	se <sup>5</sup> kau <sup>1</sup> ‘small wok’ ‘小鍋’
	se <sup>5</sup> laŋ <sup>2</sup> ‘son-in-law’ ‘女婿’
	ta <sup>5</sup> se <sup>5</sup> ŋeŋ <sup>2</sup> ‘to babysit, look after children’ ‘看孩子、帶小孩’
/se <sup>5</sup> /	‘year of age’ ‘歲’
/tʃe <sup>2</sup> /	‘to wind, tangle’ ‘纏’
/tʃe <sup>6</sup> /	‘whorl in the hair’ ‘頭旋’
/tʃhe <sup>3</sup> /	kai <sup>7</sup> tʃhe <sup>3</sup> , vəŋ <sup>2</sup> tʃhe <sup>3</sup> ‘the ear of the rice plant’ ‘稻穗’
/tʃhe <sup>2</sup> ʔ/	‘wet, moist’ ‘濕’
/ʃe <sup>3</sup> /	ʃe <sup>3</sup> kaŋ <sup>1</sup> ‘crab (no longer found in the wild locally on account of wide use of pesticides)’ ‘螃蟹(已被農藥殺滅)’
/ʃe <sup>5</sup> /	‘to slap (the face) with the palm of the hand’ ‘用手掌打(臉)’
/ʃe <sup>6</sup> /	‘[copula]’ ‘是(係詞)’
	ŋ <sup>6</sup> ʃe <sup>6</sup> ‘is not’ ‘不是’; ‘not located at’ ‘不在(地方)’
	ŋ <sup>6</sup> ʃe <sup>6</sup> ta <sup>2</sup> ‘to be dead’ ‘不在了、死了’
	ia <sup>3</sup> ʃe <sup>6</sup> ‘is also’ ‘也是’
/ʃe <sup>6</sup> /	ʃe <sup>6</sup> ŋy <sup>2</sup> ‘eel’ (tone unexpected) ‘黃鱔’ (聲調不規則)
/ʃe <sup>2</sup> ʔ/	‘blood’ ‘血’
/ʃe <sup>8</sup> /	‘[measure for graves]’ ‘[座(墳墓的量詞)]’
/ʃe <sup>8</sup> /	‘to eat’ ‘吃’
/ʃe <sup>8</sup> /	ʃe <sup>8</sup> tai <sup>2</sup> ‘tongue’ ‘舌頭’
/ke <sup>1</sup> /	‘chicken’ ‘雞’

	ke <sup>1</sup> tsəi <sup>3</sup> ‘chick’ ‘小雞’
	ke <sup>1</sup> laŋ <sup>2</sup> ‘cylindrical basket for holding chickens’ ‘雞籠’
	ke <sup>1</sup> kheŋ <sup>3</sup> ‘chicken gizzard’ ‘雞胗’
	ke <sup>1</sup> mo <sup>2</sup> ‘hen’ ‘母雞’
	ke <sup>1</sup> la <sup>6</sup> tsəi <sup>3</sup> ‘spring pullet’ ‘小母雞’
	ke <sup>1</sup> kaŋ <sup>1</sup> ‘male chicken (of any age)’ ‘公雞、小公雞’
	kueŋ <sup>7</sup> ke <sup>1</sup> ‘capon’ ‘閹雞’ (名詞)
	sau <sup>1</sup> ke <sup>1</sup> ‘a crowing adult male chicken’ ‘正在叫的公雞’
	ke <sup>1</sup> thəi <sup>3</sup> ‘chicken's drumstick’ ‘雞腿’
	ke <sup>1</sup> kaŋ <sup>2</sup> ‘conical basket for catching and holding chickens’ ‘雞罩’
/ke <sup>1</sup> /	ke <sup>1</sup> ləi <sup>6</sup> ‘road, street’ ‘路’
/ke <sup>3</sup> /	‘to stand’ ‘站’; ‘steep’ ‘陡’
/ke <sup>3</sup> /	‘son’ ‘兒子’
	ke <sup>3</sup> ŋy <sup>3</sup> ‘child (ambiguously male or female)’ ‘孩子(不分男女)’
	ke <sup>3</sup> = le <sup>1</sup> so <sup>2</sup> ‘boy’ ‘男孩子’
	keŋ <sup>1</sup> ke <sup>3</sup> ‘to give birth to a child’ ‘生孩子’
/ke <sup>6</sup> /	va <sup>2</sup> ke <sup>6</sup> ma <sup>1</sup> ‘Is (someone) still alive?’ ‘還活著嗎?’
/khe <sup>1</sup> /	‘river (small)’ (compare /hau <sup>2</sup> /, /kuəŋ <sup>5</sup> /) ‘溪’ (參見/hau <sup>2</sup> /、/kuəŋ <sup>5</sup> /)
/kheŋ <sup>7</sup> /	‘to be missing, lacking (something)’ ‘缺’
	kheŋ <sup>7</sup> ŋo <sup>2</sup> ‘to be missing a tooth’ ‘缺牙’
	kheŋ <sup>7</sup> kue <sup>5</sup> ‘to have a harelip’ ‘缺嘴、兔脣’
	te <sup>2</sup> kheŋ <sup>7</sup> ‘draining gap in the berm of a wet field’ ‘田埂缺口’
/ŋe <sup>3</sup> /	‘to dye’ ‘染’
/ŋe <sup>5</sup> /	ŋe <sup>5</sup> kaŋ <sup>1</sup> ‘ant’ ‘螞蟻’
/ŋe <sup>6</sup> /	‘mugwort’ ‘艾草’
/ŋe <sup>8</sup> /	‘warming, heating (in the medicinal sense, said of food such as dog meat)’ (also /nəŋ <sup>3</sup> /) ‘熱性(指吃的東西)’ (又稱/nəŋ <sup>3</sup> /)

#### Rime /ie/ 韻

/ie <sup>2</sup> /	‘salt’ ‘鹽’
/ie <sup>2</sup> /	ie <sup>2</sup> thiaŋ <sup>7</sup> ‘spleen’ ‘脾臟’
/ie <sup>3</sup> /	‘to dig (a well)’ ‘挖(井)’; ‘to pick (the nose or ear) with the finger’ ‘用手指頭挖(鼻孔、耳朵)’
/ie <sup>6</sup> /	‘to sow’ ‘播(種)’
/ieŋ <sup>7</sup> /	‘the second of the ten “Heaven” cyclical signs: yii 乙’ ‘第二個天干：乙’
/ie <sup>8</sup> /	‘leaf’ ‘葉子’
	tso <sup>2</sup> ie <sup>8</sup> ‘tea leaf’ ‘茶葉’
/ie <sup>8</sup> /	həiŋ <sup>7</sup> ie <sup>8</sup> , ie <sup>8</sup> həiŋ <sup>7</sup> ‘wing’ ‘翅膀’
/ŋie <sup>8</sup> /	ŋie <sup>8</sup> təi <sup>2</sup> ləŋ <sup>3</sup> ‘forehead’ ‘前額’
/ŋie <sup>8</sup> /	ŋie <sup>8</sup> təi <sup>2</sup> ‘the sun’ ‘太陽’

#### Rime /ue/ 韻

/kue <sup>1</sup> /	liau <sup>2</sup> kue <sup>1</sup> ‘to go back, come back, return’ ‘回(來、去)’
/kue <sup>1</sup> /	pəiŋ <sup>7</sup> kue <sup>1</sup> ‘hungry’ ‘肚子餓’

/kue <sup>3</sup> /	kue <sup>3</sup> ŋi <sup>8</sup> tsi <sup>3</sup> ‘to fix (literally, choose) a date’ ‘定(選)日期’
/kue <sup>5</sup> /	‘mouth’ ‘嘴巴’
	khe <sup>7</sup> kue <sup>5</sup> ‘to have a harelip’ ‘缺嘴、兔脣’
/kue <sup>6</sup> /	‘to kneel’ ‘跪’
/kue <sup>7</sup> /	kue <sup>7</sup> ke <sup>1</sup> ‘capon’ ‘閩雞’ (名詞)
/kue <sup>8</sup> /	‘to dig’ (general word) ‘挖’ (總稱); ‘to dig up (bamboo shoots)’ ‘挖(筍)’
/khue <sup>1</sup> /	‘to blow with the mouth, or through a tube’ ‘吹’; ‘to steam’ ‘蒸’; ‘to stew in a casserole pot’ ‘燉’; ‘to decoct (medicine) by steaming’ ‘(用蒸的方法)熬(藥)’
	khue <sup>1</sup> ŋo <sup>2</sup> tʃhi <sup>3</sup> siau <sup>1</sup> ‘to whistle using the fingers in the mouth’ ‘吹口哨’
	khue <sup>1</sup> sia <sup>5</sup> tsai <sup>3</sup> ‘to blow a whistle’ ‘吹哨子’
	faŋ <sup>1</sup> khue <sup>1</sup> ‘the wind blows’ ‘颳風’
/khue <sup>1</sup> /	‘to steam’ ‘蒸’
/khue <sup>7</sup> /	khu <sup>3</sup> khue <sup>7</sup> ‘mortar’ ‘石臼’
/ŋue <sup>6</sup> /	‘to scold, yell at’ (older word; compare /təŋ <sup>7</sup> /) ‘罵’ (舊說法; 參見/təŋ <sup>7</sup> /)

Rime /ye/ 韻

/kye <sup>1</sup> /	‘brick’ ‘磚’
/kye <sup>1</sup> /	‘root’ ‘根’
/kye <sup>1</sup> /	‘catty (a unit of weight)’ ‘斤’
/khye <sup>3</sup> /	‘near’ ‘近’
/ŋye <sup>3</sup> /	‘soft’ ‘軟’
/ŋye <sup>8</sup> /	‘month’ ‘一個月的月’

Rime /eŋ/ 韻

/eŋ <sup>2</sup> /	‘the ninth of the ten “Heaven” cyclical signs: ren 壬’ ‘第九個天干：壬’
/peŋ <sup>3</sup> /	‘the third of the ten “Heaven” cyclical signs: biing 丙’ ‘第三個天干：丙’
/veŋ <sup>2</sup> /	‘to cook covered, with much water’ ‘燜(烹調方法)’
/veŋ <sup>2</sup> /	‘cloud’ ‘雲’
/teŋ <sup>1</sup> /	ŋy <sup>2</sup> teŋ <sup>1</sup> ‘scales of a fish’ ‘魚鱗’
/leŋ <sup>2</sup> /	‘dragon’ ‘龍’
/tshen <sup>1</sup> /	‘clear (said of liquid)’ ‘清’
/tʃen <sup>1</sup> /	tʃen <sup>1</sup> tʃy <sup>1</sup> ‘pearl’ ‘真珠’
/tʃen <sup>2</sup> /	‘surname: Chern 陳’ (one of the three main surnames in this village) ‘姓： 陳’ (本地三大姓之一)
/tʃen <sup>2</sup> /	san <sup>1</sup> tʃen <sup>2</sup> ‘silkworm’ ‘蠶’
/tʃen <sup>3</sup> /	‘heavy’ ‘重’
/tʃen <sup>5</sup> /	tʃen <sup>5</sup> tɔi <sup>8</sup> ‘to get poisoned’ ‘中毒’
/tʃhen <sup>1</sup> /	‘deep’ ‘深’
/ʃen <sup>1</sup> /	‘the ninth of the twelve “Earth” cyclical signs: shen 申’ ‘第九個地支：申’
/ʃen <sup>2</sup> /	the <sup>1</sup> han <sup>2</sup> ʃen <sup>2</sup> ‘rainbow’ (“sky” + “red” + “god”) ‘彩虹’ (“天” + “紅” + “神”)
/ʃen <sup>2</sup> /	‘the fifth of the twelve “Earth” cyclical signs: chern 辰’ ‘第五個地支：辰’
/ʃen <sup>2</sup> /	te <sup>2</sup> ʃen <sup>2</sup> ‘berm at the edge of a wet field’ ‘田埂、田壩’
/ʃen <sup>1</sup> /	‘heart, soul’ ‘心’
/ʃen <sup>1</sup> /	‘new’ ‘新’

/seŋ <sup>1</sup> /	seŋ <sup>1</sup> pu <sup>3</sup> ‘daughter-in-law’ ‘媳婦’
/seŋ <sup>1</sup> /	‘the eighth of the ten “Heaven” cyclical signs: shin 辛’ ‘第八個天干：辛’
/seŋ <sup>2</sup> /	u <sup>1</sup> seŋ <sup>2</sup> ‘fly (kind of insect)’ ‘蒼蠅’
/seŋ <sup>5</sup> /	‘thread’ ‘線’
/keŋ <sup>1</sup> /	‘to feed’ ‘喂’
	keŋ <sup>1</sup> ke <sup>3</sup> ‘to give birth to a child’ ‘生孩子’
/keŋ <sup>1</sup> /	keŋ <sup>1</sup> ŋi <sup>8</sup> ‘today’ ‘今天’
/keŋ <sup>2</sup> /	‘stringed instrument’ ‘琴’
/kheŋ <sup>3</sup> /	ke <sup>1</sup> kheŋ <sup>3</sup> ‘chicken gizzard’ ‘雞胗’
/ŋeŋ <sup>2</sup> /	‘person’ ‘人’
	tʃy <sup>3</sup> ŋeŋ <sup>2</sup> ‘host’ ‘主人’
	ta <sup>5</sup> se <sup>5</sup> ŋeŋ <sup>2</sup> ‘to babysit, look after children’ ‘看孩子、帶小孩’
/ŋeŋ <sup>6</sup> /	‘character reading: renn 認’ ‘認識的認(字音)’

Rime /i/ 韻

/tsi <sup>3</sup> /	mo <sup>2</sup> tsi <sup>3</sup> ‘elder sister’ ‘姐姐’
	tsi <sup>3</sup> tʃaŋ <sup>3</sup> ‘brother-in-law: elder sister's husband’ ‘姐夫’
/tsi <sup>3</sup> /	kue <sup>3</sup> ŋi <sup>8</sup> tsi <sup>3</sup> ‘to fix (literally, choose) a date’ ‘定(選)日期’
	no <sup>2</sup> tsi <sup>3</sup> so <sup>2</sup> ‘husband’; ‘men’ (in general; this term is commonly used by women) ‘丈夫’; ‘男人家’ (總稱; 女人講的)
	taŋ <sup>2</sup> tsi <sup>3</sup> ŋo <sup>2</sup> , taŋ <sup>2</sup> tsi <sup>3</sup> haŋ <sup>6</sup> ‘local placename: Shikang Torngtzyyshianq 西康童子巷’ ‘附近的自然村：西康童子巷’
/tsi <sup>3</sup> /	‘the first of the twelve “Earth” cyclical signs: tzyy 子’ ‘第二個地支：子’
/tsi <sup>5</sup> /	‘drunk’ ‘醉’
/tsi <sup>6</sup> /	‘kanji: written graph or character’ ‘字’
	mio <sup>2</sup> tsi <sup>6</sup> ‘name’ ‘名字’
/tsi <sup>6</sup> /	tsi <sup>6</sup> ko <sup>1</sup> ‘oneself’ ‘自己’
/tsi <sup>6</sup> /	‘the sixth of the twelve “Earth” cyclical signs: syh 巳’ ‘第六個地支：巳’
/tsi <sup>8</sup> /	‘painful’ ‘痛’
/tʃi <sup>5</sup> /	‘[measure for number of times something is done]’ ‘[一次的量詞]’
/si <sup>1</sup> /	‘to comb (the hair)’ ‘梳(頭)’
/si <sup>3</sup> /	‘to die’ ‘死’
/si <sup>3</sup> /	vo <sup>6</sup> si <sup>3</sup> ‘to speak, say something’ ‘說話’
/si <sup>5</sup> /	‘four’ ‘四’
/si <sup>6</sup> /	si <sup>6</sup> = le <sup>1</sup> ‘persimmon’ ‘柿子’
/si <sup>6</sup> /	məi <sup>6</sup> si <sup>6</sup> ‘thing’ ‘東西’
/si <sup>6</sup> /	mau <sup>2</sup> si <sup>6</sup> ‘to have free time’ ‘閒’
/tʃi <sup>1</sup> /	tʃi <sup>1</sup> mo <sup>2</sup> ‘sesame (rare locally)’ ‘芝麻(罕見)’
/tʃi <sup>2</sup> /	‘to kill’ ‘殺’
/tʃi <sup>2</sup> /	‘chicken louse’ ‘雞蝨子’
	pəŋ <sup>7</sup> tʃi <sup>2</sup> ‘to get chicken lice’ ‘長雞蝨子’
/tʃi <sup>7</sup> /	‘[measure for birds]’ ‘[鳥的量詞]’
/tʃi <sup>8</sup> /	‘straight’ ‘直’
	pi <sup>7</sup> tʃi <sup>8</sup> ‘very straight’ ‘很直’

/tʃhi <sup>3</sup> /	khue <sup>1</sup> ɲo <sup>2</sup> tʃhi <sup>3</sup> siau <sup>1</sup> ‘to whistle using the fingers in the mouth’ ‘吹口哨’
/ʃi <sup>3</sup> /	ʃəu <sup>3</sup> ʃi <sup>3</sup> tsia <sup>3</sup> ‘finger’ ‘手指頭’
/ʃi <sup>3</sup> /	ʃi <sup>3</sup> me <sup>3</sup> ‘person's behind, rear end’ ‘屁股’
/ʃi <sup>7</sup> /	ʃi <sup>7</sup> tia <sup>7</sup> ‘to understand’ ‘懂’; ‘to recognize, to know (a person)’ ‘認識’
/ʃi <sup>8</sup> /	‘ten’ ‘十’

Rime /əi/ 韻

/əi <sup>7</sup> /	‘to pour (liquid fertilizer)’ ‘澆(肥)’
/əi <sup>7</sup> /	‘house’ ‘房子’
	əi <sup>7</sup> tʃhy <sup>3</sup> ‘column in a building’ ‘房柱’
	ʃəu <sup>3</sup> əi <sup>7</sup> ‘to look after a house, house-sit’ ‘看家’
	kiə <sup>6</sup> əi <sup>7</sup> ‘to sweep (the rafters at New Year's)’ ‘(過年前)掃(清家裡)’
	tsau <sup>5</sup> əi <sup>7</sup> ‘to build a house’ ‘蓋房子’
/pəi <sup>1</sup> /	‘to carry (a sack of rice, a child) on one's back’ ‘揹(一包米、小孩)’
/pəi <sup>2</sup> /	‘fertilizer’ ‘肥料’; ‘fat (of meat), corpulent (of a person or animal)’ ‘肥(指肉、人、豬)’
/pəi <sup>6</sup> /	‘[measure for number of times more than: Mandarin bey]’ ‘倍’
/pəi <sup>7</sup> /	pəi <sup>7</sup> kue <sup>1</sup> ‘hungry’ ‘肚子餓’
/pəi <sup>8</sup> /	‘to put one's arm over (another person's shoulder)’ ‘搭(肩)’
/phəi <sup>7</sup> /	phəi <sup>7</sup> tau <sup>3</sup> ‘to fall forward onto the face’ ‘往前跌倒’
/məi <sup>1</sup> /	‘mother’ ‘母親’
/məi <sup>3</sup> /	khie <sup>1</sup> məi <sup>3</sup> ‘aunt: mother's brother's wife’ ‘舅母’
	po <sup>7</sup> məi <sup>3</sup> ‘aunt: wife of father's eldest brother’ ‘大伯母’
	ʃəu <sup>7</sup> məi <sup>3</sup> ‘aunt: wife of father's younger brother’ ‘孀孀’
	tʃaŋ <sup>3</sup> məi <sup>3</sup> io <sup>2</sup> ‘wife's father’ ‘岳父’
	tʃaŋ <sup>3</sup> məi <sup>3</sup> pau <sup>2</sup> ‘wife's mother’ ‘岳母’
/məi <sup>6</sup> /	tsi <sup>5</sup> məi <sup>6</sup> ‘to clean up a grave, especially ceremonially’ ‘掃墓’
/məi <sup>6</sup> /	məi <sup>6</sup> si <sup>6</sup> ‘thing’ ‘東西’
/məi <sup>7</sup> /	‘rotten (said of wood)’ ‘爛(指木頭)’
/məi <sup>8</sup> /	məi <sup>8</sup> tʃy <sup>1</sup> ‘eye’ ‘眼睛’
/məi <sup>8</sup> /	‘ink’ ‘墨’
/məi <sup>8</sup> /	məi <sup>8</sup> tsiaŋ <sup>6</sup> ‘carpenter’ ‘木匠’
/təi <sup>2</sup> /	təi <sup>2</sup> no <sup>2</sup> ‘the head’ ‘頭’
	ŋie <sup>8</sup> təi <sup>2</sup> ləŋ <sup>3</sup> ‘forehead’ ‘前額’

also: [a common noun suffix for large objects and in directional words] [一種名詞後綴，常出現於大東西、方位詞]

kau <sup>1</sup> təi <sup>2</sup>	‘wok: traditional cooking pot’ ‘鍋’
ʃəu <sup>3</sup> təi <sup>2</sup>	‘thumb’ ‘拇指’
y <sup>6</sup> ləŋ <sup>3</sup> təi <sup>2</sup>	‘large taro’ ‘大芋頭’
ʃe <sup>8</sup> təi <sup>2</sup>	‘tongue’ ‘舌頭’
ʃo <sup>8</sup> təi <sup>2</sup>	‘stone’ ‘石頭’
ŋie <sup>8</sup> təi <sup>2</sup>	‘the sun’ ‘太陽’
tse <sup>2</sup> təi <sup>2</sup>	‘the front’ ‘前面’

	ho <sup>3</sup> tɔi <sup>2</sup> ‘underneath, below’ ‘下面’
	ʃaŋ <sup>6</sup> tɔi <sup>2</sup> ‘above, top’ ‘上面’
	io <sup>6</sup> tɔi <sup>2</sup> ‘night’ ‘晚上’
	tsɔi <sup>7</sup> tɔi <sup>2</sup> ‘to the side’ ‘旁邊’
/tɔi <sup>3</sup> /	na <sup>7</sup> tɔi <sup>3</sup> ‘an iron’ ‘熨斗’
/tɔi <sup>3</sup> /	tɔi <sup>3</sup> tse <sup>2</sup> ‘to gamble’ ‘賭錢’
/tɔi <sup>5</sup> /	‘to wear on the head’ ‘戴’
/tɔi <sup>6</sup> /	tɔi <sup>6</sup> = le <sup>1</sup> ‘bean’ ‘豆’
/tɔi <sup>6</sup> /	‘to poison’ ‘毒(動詞)’
/tɔi <sup>7</sup> /	tɔi <sup>7</sup> tau <sup>3</sup> ‘to obtain, get’ ‘得到’
/tɔi <sup>7</sup> /	‘bottom’ (older expression; see /te <sup>3</sup> /) ‘底’ (舊的說法；參見/te <sup>3</sup> /)
/tɔi <sup>8</sup> /	‘poisonous’ ‘毒的’
	tɔi <sup>8</sup> iau <sup>8</sup> ‘poison’ ‘毒藥’
	ka <sup>3</sup> tɔi <sup>8</sup> ‘to detoxify, give an antidote for poison’ ‘解毒’
	tʃeŋ <sup>5</sup> tɔi <sup>8</sup> ‘to get poisoned’ ‘中毒’
/tɔi <sup>8</sup> /	‘to buy (grain)’ ‘買、糴(稻穀、米)’
/tɔi <sup>8</sup> /	‘convex, protruding’ ‘凸’
/thɔi <sup>3</sup> /	ke <sup>1</sup> thɔi <sup>3</sup> ‘chicken's drumstick’ ‘雞腿’
	siau <sup>3</sup> thɔi <sup>3</sup> ‘calf of the leg’ ‘小腿’
/thɔi <sup>3</sup> /	‘to untie’ ‘解(鞋帶)’
/thɔi <sup>3</sup> /	‘soil, earth’ (compare /ne <sup>2</sup> /) ‘土’ (參見/ne <sup>2</sup> /)
	thɔi <sup>3</sup> laŋ <sup>2</sup> ‘bamboo rat’ ‘竹鼠’
/thɔi <sup>7</sup> /	‘to kick’ ‘踢’
/nɔi <sup>3</sup> /	‘button’ ‘鈕釦’
/lɔi <sup>2</sup> /	‘to pick up (a pile of straw) in the arms’ ‘抱(一懷的稻草)’
/lɔi <sup>3</sup> /	‘to stew in soy sauce’ ‘滷’
/lɔi <sup>3</sup> /	‘to spit’ ‘吐出來’
/lɔi <sup>3</sup> /	ŋy <sup>2</sup> lɔi <sup>3</sup> ‘creel: basket for holding fish’ ‘魚簍子’
/lɔi <sup>5</sup> /	lɔi <sup>5</sup> ʃy <sup>3</sup> ‘dew’ ‘露水’
/lɔi <sup>6</sup> /	ke <sup>1</sup> lɔi <sup>6</sup> ‘road, street’ ‘路’
/lɔi <sup>7</sup> /	‘thorn’ ‘刺(名詞)’
/lɔi <sup>7</sup> /	‘to call (an animal)’ ‘叫(動物)’
/lɔi <sup>8</sup> /	‘to embrace (an adult), hold (a child) in one's arms’ ‘抱(大人、小孩)’
/lɔi <sup>8</sup> /	‘deer’ ‘鹿’
/tsɔi <sup>3</sup> /	‘[noun suffix, usually diminutive]’ ‘[名詞後綴，一般是指小的]’
	ku <sup>1</sup> tsɔi <sup>3</sup> ‘aunt: father's younger sister’ ‘比父親小的姑媽’
	ke <sup>1</sup> tsɔi <sup>3</sup> ‘chick’ ‘小雞’
	tʃy <sup>1</sup> tsɔi <sup>3</sup> ‘piglet’ ‘小豬’
	so <sup>1</sup> tsɔi <sup>3</sup> ‘to give birth to young (said of a pig)’ ‘生小豬’
	ŋy <sup>3</sup> = le <sup>1</sup> tsɔi <sup>3</sup> ‘girl’ ‘女孩子’
	khu <sup>3</sup> tsɔi <sup>3</sup> ‘pestle (pole-shaped, or the small variety used by herbal apothecaries)’ ‘杵(棍型的或藥房用的小型的)’
	khue <sup>1</sup> sia <sup>5</sup> tsɔi <sup>3</sup> ‘to blow a whistle’ ‘吹哨子’
	ke <sup>1</sup> la <sup>6</sup> tsɔi <sup>3</sup> ‘spring pullet’ ‘小母雞’

	təŋ <sup>6</sup> tsəi <sup>3</sup> ‘bag’ ‘袋子’
	mo <sup>8</sup> tsəi <sup>3</sup> ‘wheat, oats’ ‘麥子’
/tsəi <sup>3</sup> /	tsəi <sup>3</sup> tia <sup>7</sup> lia <sup>7</sup> ‘to run quickly’ ‘跑得快’
/tsəi <sup>7</sup> /	tsəi <sup>7</sup> təi <sup>2</sup> ‘to the side’ ‘旁邊’
/tsəi <sup>8</sup> /	tsəi <sup>8</sup> ku <sup>3</sup> ‘thief’ ‘賊、小偷’
/tshəi <sup>3</sup> /	‘nest’ ‘窩’
/tshəi <sup>7</sup> /	‘to put into (a pocket)’ ‘放(在口袋裡)’; ‘to stick (solid fertilizer) into the ground’ ‘(把一塊糞) 塞(到田土裡)’
/səi <sup>1</sup> /	‘distant (said of kin relations)’ ‘疏遠(指親戚)’
/səi <sup>5</sup> /	‘lean (said of flesh), skinny (said of a person)’ ‘瘦(指肉、人)’
/kəi <sup>3</sup> /	‘dog’ ‘狗’
	kəi <sup>3</sup> ku <sup>3</sup> ‘male dog’ ‘公狗’
/kəi <sup>3</sup> /	‘thick (in diameter)’ ‘厚’
/kəi <sup>7</sup> /	‘to tie (shoes)’ ‘繫’
/kəi <sup>7</sup> /	‘rice in the husk’ ‘稻穀’
	kəi <sup>7</sup> tʃhe <sup>3</sup> ‘the ear of the rice plant’ ‘稻穗’
	kəi <sup>7</sup> ta <sup>7</sup> ‘mat for drying grain’ ‘曬穀席’
/khəi <sup>3</sup> /	‘[measure for wells, for mouthfuls of food]’ ‘[井、一口飯的量詞]’
	khəi <sup>3</sup> la <sup>3</sup> , khəi <sup>3</sup> la <sup>3</sup> ʃy <sup>3</sup> ‘saliva, spittle’ ‘口水’
/həi <sup>2</sup> /	həi <sup>2</sup> = le <sup>1</sup> ‘monkey’ ‘猴子’
/həi <sup>3</sup> /	‘to have; there is’ ‘有’
/həi <sup>6</sup> /	‘to give’ ‘給’
/həi <sup>7</sup> /	həi <sup>7</sup> ie <sup>8</sup> , ie <sup>8</sup> həi <sup>7</sup> ‘wing’ ‘翅膀’
/həi <sup>8</sup> /	tsau <sup>7</sup> həi <sup>8</sup> ‘to grab hold of’ ‘抓住’

Rime /uəi/ 韻

/kuəi <sup>3</sup> /	‘demon, unpropitiated ghost’ ‘鬼’
/kuəi <sup>5</sup> /	‘expensive’ ‘貴’
/kuəi <sup>5</sup> /	‘the tenth of the ten “Heaven” cyclical signs: guey 癸’ ‘第十個天干：癸’
/kuəi <sup>7</sup> /	kiau <sup>7</sup> siaŋ <sup>3</sup> kuəi <sup>7</sup> ‘shin of the leg’ ‘小腿外脛’

Rime /əu/ 韻

/təu <sup>8</sup> /	‘six’ ‘六’
/ləu <sup>8</sup> /	ləu <sup>8</sup> taŋ <sup>2</sup> ‘to go spastically into a shamanistic trance’ ‘跳神’
/tʃəu <sup>7</sup> /	‘bamboo’ ‘竹子’
	tʃəu <sup>7</sup> si <sup>1</sup> ‘branch of bamboo’ ‘竹枝’
	ʃy <sup>3</sup> tʃəu <sup>7</sup> pa <sup>2</sup> ‘local placename: Yangmei Shoelijwupyng 楊梅水竹坪’ ‘附近的自然村：楊梅水竹坪’
/tʃəu <sup>7</sup> /	tʃy <sup>3</sup> tʃəu <sup>7</sup> ‘to cook rice porridge’ ‘熬粥’
/tʃhəu <sup>3</sup> /	‘the second of the twelve “Earth” cyclical signs: choou 丑’ ‘第二個地支：丑’
/tʃhəu <sup>5</sup> /	‘bad-smelling, stinky’ ‘臭’
/ʃəu <sup>3</sup> /	‘hand’ ‘手’
	ʃəu <sup>3</sup> təi <sup>2</sup> ‘thumb’ ‘拇指’
	ʃəu <sup>3</sup> ʃi <sup>3</sup> tsia <sup>3</sup> ‘finger’ ‘手指頭’

	ʃəu <sup>3</sup> tsiəu <sup>6</sup> ‘sleeve’ ‘袖子’
	ʃəu <sup>3</sup> thau <sup>5</sup> ‘glove’ ‘手套’
/ʃəu <sup>3</sup> /	ʃəu <sup>3</sup> əi <sup>7</sup> ‘to look after a house, house-sit’ ‘看家’
/ʃəu <sup>7</sup> /	ʃəu <sup>7</sup> ʃəu <sup>7</sup> ‘uncle: father's younger brother’ ‘叔叔’
	ʃəu <sup>7</sup> məi <sup>3</sup> ‘aunt: wife of father's younger brother’ ‘嬤嬤’
/ʃəu <sup>8</sup> /	‘fully cooked; ripe’ ‘熟’
/khəu <sup>7</sup> /	‘to rap (on the head) with the knuckles’ ‘(用手指的關節骨)敲(頭)’
/khəu <sup>8</sup> /	khəu <sup>8</sup> maŋ <sup>2</sup> ‘to knock on the door with one knuckle’ ‘(用手指的關節骨) 敲門’

Rime /iəu/ 韻

/iəu <sup>2</sup> /	pa <sup>3</sup> iəu <sup>2</sup> ‘lard of the best quality’ ‘上等豬油’
/iəu <sup>3</sup> /	‘the tenth of the twelve “Earth” cyclical signs: yeou 酉’ ‘第十個地支：酉’
/iəu <sup>6</sup> /	iəu <sup>6</sup> = le <sup>1</sup> ‘pomelo’ ‘柚子’
/tiəu <sup>1</sup> /	‘to throw’ ‘丟(球)’
	tiəu <sup>1</sup> kiau <sup>3</sup> ‘to throw away’ ‘丟掉’
/tiəu <sup>2</sup> /	‘to leave behind’ ‘留’
/liəu <sup>2</sup> /	‘to flow’ ‘流’
/liəu <sup>2</sup> /	‘surname: Liou 劉’ (rare locally) ‘姓：劉’ (本地罕見)
/tsiəu <sup>3</sup> /	‘liquor’ ‘酒’
/tsiəu <sup>6</sup> /	ʃəu <sup>3</sup> tsiəu <sup>6</sup> ‘sleeve’ ‘袖子’
/tshiəu <sup>7</sup> /	‘to stab (a person), stick (a pig)’ ‘刺(人、豬)’
/kiəu <sup>3</sup> /	‘nine’ ‘九’
/kiəu <sup>3</sup> /	‘for a long time’ ‘久’
/kiəu <sup>6</sup> /	‘old, not new’ (older expression; see /lau <sup>3</sup> /) ‘舊’ (舊說法；參見/lau <sup>3</sup> /)
/khiəu <sup>1</sup> /	khie <sup>1</sup> = le <sup>1</sup> ‘uncle: mother's brother’ ‘舅舅’
	khie <sup>1</sup> məi <sup>3</sup> ‘aunt: mother's brother's wife’ ‘舅母’
/khiəu <sup>7</sup> /	khie <sup>7</sup> tʃy <sup>1</sup> ‘to raise swine’ ‘養豬’
/ŋiəu <sup>8</sup> /	‘meat’ ‘肉’

Rime /əŋ/ 韻

/pəŋ <sup>1</sup> /	‘to fly’ ‘飛’
/pəŋ <sup>6</sup> /	‘cooked rice’ ‘飯’
	pəŋ <sup>6</sup> so <sup>3</sup> ‘a grain of rice’ ‘飯粒’
/pəŋ <sup>6</sup> /	‘to bark’ ‘吠’
/pəŋ <sup>7</sup> /	pəŋ <sup>7</sup> maŋ <sup>6</sup> ‘to dream, have a dream’ ‘做夢’
	pəŋ <sup>7</sup> tʃi <sup>2</sup> ‘to get chicken lice’ ‘長雞蟲子’
/phəŋ <sup>1</sup> /	‘to vomit’ ‘嘔吐’
/məŋ <sup>3</sup> /	‘tail’ ‘尾巴’
/məŋ <sup>6</sup> /	lau <sup>3</sup> məŋ <sup>6</sup> ‘younger sister’ ‘妹妹’
/vəŋ <sup>2</sup> /	‘rice (the plant)’ ‘稻子’
	vəŋ <sup>2</sup> tʃhe <sup>3</sup> ‘the ear of the rice plant’ ‘稻穗’
	kəŋ <sup>7</sup> vəŋ <sup>2</sup> ‘to reap rice plants’ ‘割稻子’
/fəŋ <sup>3</sup> /	‘fire’ ‘火’
/təŋ <sup>2</sup> /	‘[measure for clods of earth]’ ‘[一團泥土的量詞]’

/təŋ <sup>3</sup> /	‘short in length’ ‘短’
/ləŋ <sup>6</sup> /	‘pocket’ ‘衣服的口袋’
	təŋ <sup>6</sup> tsəi <sup>3</sup> ‘bag’ ‘袋子’
/təŋ <sup>7</sup> /	‘to scold, yell at’ (newer word; compare /ŋue <sup>6</sup> /) ‘罵’ (新說法；參見/ŋue <sup>6</sup> /)
/təŋ <sup>8</sup> /	‘to fall out (said of teeth, hair)’ ‘掉(指牙齒、頭髮)’
/təŋ <sup>8</sup> /	‘to become broken off’ ‘斷’
/thəŋ <sup>1</sup> /	‘to push’ (compare /tsaŋ <sup>3</sup> /) ‘推’ (參見/tsaŋ <sup>3</sup> /)
/nəŋ <sup>3</sup> /	‘warm’ ‘暖和’; ‘warming, heating (in the medicinal sense, said of food such as dog meat)’ (also /ŋe <sup>8</sup> /) ‘熱性(指吃的東西)’ (又稱/ŋe <sup>8</sup> /)
/ləŋ <sup>2</sup> /	ʃaŋ <sup>3</sup> ləŋ <sup>2</sup> kaŋ <sup>1</sup> ‘to thunder’ ‘打雷’
/ləŋ <sup>3</sup> /	‘egg’ ‘蛋’
	ŋie <sup>8</sup> təi <sup>2</sup> ləŋ <sup>3</sup> ‘forehead’ ‘前額’
	so <sup>1</sup> ləŋ <sup>3</sup> ‘to lay eggs’ ‘下蛋’
	y <sup>6</sup> ləŋ <sup>3</sup> ‘taro’ ‘芋子、芋頭’
	y <sup>6</sup> ləŋ <sup>3</sup> təi <sup>2</sup> ‘large taro’ ‘大芋頭’
/tsəŋ <sup>3</sup> /	‘to sit’ ‘坐’
/tshəŋ <sup>5</sup> /	‘vegetable; dish of food’ ‘菜’
	tshəŋ <sup>5</sup> tau <sup>1</sup> ‘knife for cutting vegetables’ ‘菜刀’
	pe <sup>6</sup> tshəŋ <sup>5</sup> ‘to cook’ (general word) ‘做菜’
/kəŋ <sup>1</sup> /	saŋ <sup>3</sup> kəŋ <sup>1</sup> ‘dried bamboo shoots’ ‘筍乾’
/kəŋ <sup>1</sup> /	‘liver’ ‘肝’
/kəŋ <sup>1</sup> /	to <sup>1</sup> kəŋ <sup>1</sup> ‘shoulder pole, burden pole’ ‘扁擔’
/kəŋ <sup>3</sup> /	‘rice straw’ ‘稻草’
	kəŋ <sup>3</sup> thia <sup>7</sup> , kəŋ <sup>3</sup> tse <sup>5</sup> ‘straw mattress’ ‘稻草墊’
/kəŋ <sup>5</sup> /	‘to cover (with a quilt)’ ‘蓋(被)’; ‘lid’ ‘蓋子’
	tsaŋ <sup>5</sup> kəŋ <sup>5</sup> ‘lid of a traditional wok’ ‘鍋蓋’
/kəŋ <sup>7</sup> /	‘to be pricked (by a thorn)’ ‘(被刺) 刺到’
	kəŋ <sup>7</sup> vəŋ <sup>2</sup> ‘to reap rice plants’ ‘割稻子’
/khəŋ <sup>1</sup> /	khəŋ <sup>1</sup> fo <sup>1</sup> ‘to bloom (said of a flower); to blossom’ ‘開花’
/həŋ <sup>2</sup> /	‘[character reading: harn 寒]’ ‘[字音：寒]’
/həŋ <sup>3</sup> /	‘the sea’ ‘海’
/həŋ <sup>6</sup> /	‘sweat’ ‘汗’
/həŋ <sup>6</sup> /	‘the twelfth of the twelve “Earth” cyclical signs: hay 亥’ ‘第十二個地支：亥’

#### Rime /uəŋ/ 韻

/kuəŋ <sup>1</sup> /	‘to shiver’ ‘發抖’
/kuəŋ <sup>2</sup> /	‘skirt’ ‘裙子’
/kuəŋ <sup>3</sup> /	tsho <sup>5</sup> kuəŋ <sup>3</sup> ‘cane, walking stick’ ‘拐杖’
/kuəŋ <sup>5</sup> /	‘water conduit’ ‘水圳’
/khuəŋ <sup>1</sup> /	khuəŋ <sup>1</sup> ʃaŋ <sup>6</sup> ‘springtime (especially the beginning)’ ‘春天(特別是初期)’
/khuəŋ <sup>3</sup> /	‘to coil into a skein’ ‘網’

#### Rime /a/ 韻

/pa <sup>2</sup> /	pa <sup>2</sup> = le <sup>1</sup> ‘plate’ ‘盤子’
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- 村：楊梅水竹坪  
 楊梅水竹坪  
 /pa<sup>3</sup>/ pa<sup>3</sup> khu<sup>3</sup> ‘mallet-shaped pestle, used in making miiguoo (now rare)’ ‘槌型的杵(做米糲用的，現在罕見)’  
 /pa<sup>3</sup>/ pa<sup>3</sup> iəu<sup>2</sup> ‘lard of the best quality’ ‘上等豬油’  
 /pa<sup>3</sup>/ ‘to carry at one end of a pole (holding the other end in one's hand)’ ‘用扁擔的一頭扛’  
 /pa<sup>5</sup>/ pa<sup>5</sup> ki<sup>1</sup> ‘winnowing fan’ ‘簸箕’  
 /pa<sup>7</sup>/ pu<sup>2</sup> pa<sup>7</sup> ‘pot for boiling water (earthen)’ ‘燒開水用的鍋(土做的)’  
 /pa<sup>7</sup>/ ‘to drape over the shoulders’ ‘披’  
 /pa<sup>8</sup>/ ‘to thresh’ ‘打(穀子)’  
 /pha<sup>5</sup>/ ‘to hit with a stick’ ‘用棍子打’; ‘to split (wood) with a wedge’ ‘用鐵楔子劈(柴)’  
 /ma<sup>1</sup>/ ‘to low (said of a carabao)’ ‘(牛)叫’  
 /ma<sup>1</sup>/ va<sup>2</sup> ke<sup>6</sup> ma<sup>1</sup> ‘Is (someone) still alive?’ ‘還活著嗎?’  
 /ma<sup>2</sup>/ ‘to whet’ ‘磨’  
 /ma<sup>3</sup>/ ‘full’ ‘滿’  
 /ma<sup>3</sup>/ ‘grandmother’ ‘祖母’  
 /ma<sup>6</sup>/ ŋua<sup>6</sup> ma<sup>3</sup> ‘maternal grandmother’ ‘外祖母’  
 /ma<sup>7</sup>/ ‘socks’ ‘襪子’  
 /fa<sup>1</sup>/ fa<sup>1</sup> jɿ<sup>2</sup> ‘sweet potato’ ‘蕃薯’  
 /fa<sup>1</sup>/ fa<sup>1</sup> tau<sup>3</sup> ‘to fall backward onto the back’ ‘往後跌倒’  
 /fa<sup>8</sup>/ ‘to know how’ ‘會、通曉’  
 /fa<sup>8</sup>/ ŋ<sup>6</sup> fa<sup>8</sup> ‘don't know how’ ‘不會、不通曉’  
 /va<sup>2</sup>/ ‘to carry (a backpack) slung over the shoulder’ ‘肩膀上揸(書包)’  
 /va<sup>2</sup>/ va<sup>2</sup> ke<sup>6</sup> ma<sup>1</sup> ‘Is (someone) still alive?’ ‘還活著嗎?’  
 /va<sup>3</sup>/ ‘bowl’ ‘碗’  
 /va<sup>6</sup>/ ‘to change (clothes)’ ‘換’  
 /va<sup>8</sup>/ va<sup>8</sup> paŋ<sup>6</sup> ‘to form a crack’ ‘裂縫’  
 /ta<sup>1</sup>/ e<sup>1</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> tse<sup>2</sup>, ŋa<sup>3</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> tse<sup>2</sup> ‘we, us’ (inclusive and exclusive do not seem to be clearly distinguished) ‘我們、咱們’ (內包、外包分不清楚)  
 /ta<sup>1</sup>/ ŋi<sup>3</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> tse<sup>2</sup> ‘you (plural)’ ‘你們’  
 /ta<sup>1</sup>/ ki<sup>3</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> tse<sup>2</sup> ‘they’ ‘他們’  
 /ta<sup>1</sup>/ ta<sup>1</sup> so<sup>1</sup> ‘unpadded garment’ ‘單層衣服’  
 /ta<sup>2</sup>/ ŋ<sup>6</sup> je<sup>6</sup> ta<sup>2</sup> ‘to be dead’ ‘不在了、死了’  
 /ta<sup>5</sup>/ ‘to bring along’ ‘帶來的帶’  
 /ta<sup>5</sup>/ ta<sup>5</sup> se<sup>5</sup> ŋeŋ<sup>2</sup> ‘to babysit, look after children’ ‘看孩子、帶小孩’  
 /ta<sup>5</sup>/ ‘to wear (gloves)’ ‘戴(手套)’  
 /ta<sup>5</sup>/ pi<sup>2</sup> ta<sup>5</sup> ‘leather strap, belt’ ‘皮帶’  
 /ta<sup>5</sup>/ fu<sup>5</sup> ta<sup>5</sup> ‘belt for the pants’ ‘褲帶’  
 /ta<sup>6</sup>/ ‘large, big’ ‘大’  
 /ta<sup>6</sup>/ ta<sup>6</sup> po<sup>7</sup> ‘uncle: father's eldest brother’ ‘大伯父’  
 /ta<sup>6</sup>/ ta<sup>6</sup> hau<sup>8</sup> ‘a set of large stacked trays, carried by two people by pole and presented to the bride's family by the groom's at a wedding’ (compare /ʃo<sup>6</sup>/) ‘(婚姻前)男方送給女方的一

組大籃子(兩個人抬的) (參見/ʃo<sup>6</sup>/)

- /ta<sup>7</sup>/ kəi<sup>7</sup> ta<sup>7</sup> 'mat for drying grain' '曬穀蓆'  
/tha<sup>1</sup>/ tha<sup>1</sup> kio<sup>8</sup> 'traditional wooden shoes' '木屐'  
/na<sup>6</sup>/ na<sup>6</sup> ti<sup>5</sup> 'where?' '哪裡?'  
na<sup>6</sup> ka<sup>5</sup> 'which, which one?' '哪個?'  
/na<sup>7</sup>/ 'hot to the touch' '很燙'; 'to iron' '熨'  
na<sup>7</sup> təi<sup>3</sup> 'an iron' '熨斗'  
/la<sup>3</sup>/ khəi<sup>3</sup> la<sup>3</sup>, khəi<sup>3</sup> la<sup>3</sup> ʃy<sup>3</sup> 'saliva, spittle' '口水'  
/la<sup>3</sup>/ 'lazy' '懶'  
/la<sup>6</sup>/ ke<sup>1</sup> la<sup>6</sup> tsəi<sup>3</sup> 'spring pullet' '小母雞'  
/la<sup>6</sup>/ 'rotten; mushy' '爛'; 'fully cooked' '(煮) 熟了'  
/tsa<sup>5</sup>/ tsa<sup>5</sup> ʃy<sup>3</sup> 'waterfall' '瀑布'  
ʃaŋ<sup>6</sup> tsa<sup>5</sup> 'local placename: Shanqjay 上 A' '附近的行政村名: 上 A'  
/tsa<sup>6</sup>/ tsa<sup>6</sup> ŋi<sup>8</sup> 'yesterday' '昨天'  
/tsa<sup>8</sup>/ vaŋ<sup>2</sup> tsa<sup>8</sup> 'cockroach' '蟑螂'  
/tsha<sup>3</sup>/ 'to stamp (the foot)' '踩(腳)'  
/tsha<sup>5</sup>/ 'surname: Tsay 蔡' '姓: 蔡'  
/tsha<sup>5</sup>/ 'otter' (tone correct) '水獺' (聲調沒錯)  
/sa<sup>1</sup>/ 'mountain' '山'  
paŋ<sup>1</sup> sa<sup>1</sup> 'avalanche; to have an avalanche' '山崩'  
sa<sup>1</sup> laŋ<sup>2</sup> te<sup>2</sup> 'dry field (for planting crops other than rice)' '山田'  
/sa<sup>1</sup>/ 'to pour (tea, liquor)' '倒(茶、酒)'  
/sa<sup>1</sup>/ 'to sift' '篩'; 'sieve' '篩子'  
/sa<sup>3</sup>/ 'umbrella' '傘'  
/tʃa<sup>3</sup>/ tʃa<sup>3</sup> = ka<sup>5</sup> 'this' '這個'  
tʃa<sup>3</sup> = ti<sup>5</sup> 'here' '這裡'  
/ʃa<sup>8</sup>/ 'narrow' '窄'  
/ka<sup>3</sup>/ ka<sup>3</sup> təi<sup>8</sup> 'to detoxify, give an antidote for poison' '解毒'  
/ka<sup>3</sup>/ ka<sup>3</sup> = ka<sup>5</sup> 'that, that one' '那個'  
ka<sup>3</sup> = ti<sup>5</sup> 'there' '那裡'  
/ka<sup>5</sup>/ '[possessive particle and common measure: used for "thing" (dongshi)]' '[表示屬有的虛字, 常用的量詞: 用於"東西"]'  
so<sup>1</sup> = ka<sup>5</sup> 'raw' '生的'  
tiaŋ<sup>3</sup> = ka<sup>5</sup> 'two (counting form, with measure)' '兩個'  
ŋa<sup>3</sup> = ka<sup>5</sup> 'my, mine' '我的'  
ŋi<sup>3</sup> = ka<sup>5</sup> 'your, yours (singular)' '你的'  
tʃa<sup>3</sup> = ka<sup>5</sup> 'this' '這個'  
ka<sup>3</sup> = ka<sup>5</sup> 'that, that one' '那個'  
na<sup>6</sup> ka<sup>5</sup> 'which, which one?' '哪個?'  
/ŋa<sup>3</sup>/ 'I, me' '我'  
ŋa<sup>3</sup> = ka<sup>5</sup> 'my, mine' '我的'  
ŋa<sup>3</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> tse<sup>2</sup> 'we, us' (inclusive and exclusive do not seem to be clearly distinguished) '我們、咱們' (內包、外包分不清楚)

Rime /ia/ 韻

/ia <sup>1</sup> /	ia <sup>1</sup> i <sup>1</sup> ‘cicada’ ‘蟬’
/ia <sup>3</sup> /	ia <sup>3</sup> fe <sup>6</sup> ‘is also’ ‘也是’
/ia <sup>3</sup> /	‘to break off with the hands’ ‘用手折斷’
/pia <sup>3</sup> /	‘sated, full (in the stomach)’ ‘飽’
/pia <sup>7</sup> /	‘eight’ ‘八’
/mia <sup>3</sup> /	‘the fourth of the twelve “Earth” cyclical signs: mao 卯’ ‘第四個地支：卯’
/mia <sup>7</sup> /	‘indented, sunken, concave’ ‘凹、陷(下去)’
/tia <sup>2</sup> /	‘[measure for skirts]’ ‘[裙子的量詞]’
/tia <sup>2</sup> /	tʃy <sup>1</sup> tia <sup>2</sup> ‘two- or three-month old pig’ ‘中豬’
/tia <sup>3</sup> /	tia <sup>3</sup> = le <sup>1</sup> ‘bird’ ‘鳥’
/tia <sup>5</sup> /	‘to carry in the hand’ ‘提’
	tia <sup>5</sup> pe <sup>1</sup> ‘hem’ ‘下襬’
/tia <sup>7</sup> /	‘to fall out (said of leaves)’ ‘掉(指葉子)’; ‘to lose (by accident)’ ‘(不小心)丟’
	tia <sup>7</sup> tau <sup>3</sup> ‘to trip, stumble’ ‘跌倒’
/tia <sup>7</sup> /	ʃi <sup>7</sup> tia <sup>7</sup> ‘to understand’ ‘懂’; ‘to recognize, to know (a person)’ ‘認識’
	tsəi <sup>3</sup> tia <sup>7</sup> lia <sup>7</sup> ‘to run quickly’ ‘跑得快’
/thia <sup>5</sup> /	‘to sell (grain)’ ‘賣、糶(稻穀、米)’
/thia <sup>7</sup> /	tsaŋ <sup>1</sup> thia <sup>7</sup> ‘coir mattress’ ‘棕毛墊’
	kəŋ <sup>3</sup> thia <sup>7</sup> ‘straw mattress’ ‘稻草墊’
/thia <sup>7</sup> /	‘iron’ ‘鐵’
	ie <sup>2</sup> thia <sup>7</sup> ‘spleen’ ‘脾臟’
/lia <sup>1</sup> /	‘to pick (the ear) with an ear-pick, to pick the teeth with a toothpick’ ‘(用牙籤、耳杷)挖’
/lia <sup>2</sup> /	‘pigsty’ ‘豬圈’
	piaŋ <sup>5</sup> lia <sup>2</sup> ‘toilet, outhouse’ ‘廁所’
/lia <sup>2</sup> /	‘[measure for cracks]’ ‘[(一條)縫的量詞]’
/lia <sup>3</sup> /	‘[verb- or sentence-suffix particle indicating completion of an action]’ ‘[表示完成的後綴詞]’
	khau <sup>5</sup> = lia <sup>3</sup> ‘to have died’ (polite) ‘死了’ (文雅)
/lia <sup>6</sup> /	tʃhy <sup>1</sup> lia <sup>6</sup> ‘to play, have fun’ ‘玩’
/lia <sup>7</sup> /	‘fast, rapid, quick’ ‘快’
	tsəi <sup>3</sup> tia <sup>7</sup> lia <sup>7</sup> ‘to run quickly’ ‘跑得快’
/lia <sup>8</sup> /	‘to lick’ ‘舔’
/tsia <sup>1</sup> /	‘dry’ ‘乾’
	pi <sup>5</sup> tsia <sup>1</sup> ‘to drain through the fingers’ ‘用手指濾乾’
/tsia <sup>3</sup> /	ʃəu <sup>3</sup> ʃi <sup>3</sup> tsia <sup>3</sup> ‘finger’ ‘手指頭’
/tshia <sup>3</sup> /	‘to stir-fry’ ‘炒’
/sia <sup>1</sup> /	‘to strain, scoop up out of liquid’ ‘過慮、撈’; ‘to cook (rice) by first boiling and then steaming’ ‘做(飯)’
/sia <sup>5</sup> /	khue <sup>1</sup> sia <sup>5</sup> tsəi <sup>3</sup> ‘to blow a whistle’ ‘吹哨子’
/kia <sup>7</sup> /	me <sup>6</sup> kia <sup>7</sup> ‘cheeks’ ‘臉頰’
/kia <sup>8</sup> /	‘narrow’ ‘窄’

Rime /ua/ 韻

/kua <sup>1</sup> /	‘official’ ‘官’
/kua <sup>1</sup> /	kua <sup>1</sup> maŋ <sup>2</sup> ‘to shut, close a door’ ‘關門’
/kua <sup>3</sup> /	‘[measure for pens]’ ‘[筆的量詞]’
	ʃy <sup>3</sup> kua <sup>3</sup> ‘water piping’ ‘水管’
/kua <sup>5</sup> /	‘ceramic decocting pot’ ‘熬藥用的小土罐’
/khua <sup>7</sup> /	‘wide’ ‘寬’
/ŋua <sup>6</sup> /	ŋua <sup>6</sup> to <sup>1</sup> ‘maternal grandfather’ ‘外祖父’
	ŋua <sup>6</sup> ma <sup>3</sup> ‘maternal grandmother’ ‘外祖母’
	ŋua <sup>6</sup> saŋ <sup>1</sup> ‘grandson: daughter's son’ ‘外孫’

Rime /au/ 韻

/au <sup>5</sup> /	‘to call by a name, to call aloud’ ‘叫’
/pau <sup>2</sup> /	‘to float’ ‘浮’
/pau <sup>2</sup> /	tʃaŋ <sup>3</sup> məi <sup>3</sup> pau <sup>2</sup> ‘wife's mother’ ‘岳母’
/pau <sup>7</sup> /	‘to splice together’ ‘編接(繩子)’
/pau <sup>8</sup> /	‘thin (in diameter)’ ‘薄’
/pau <sup>8</sup> /	‘hail’ ‘雹子’
/phau <sup>1</sup> /	‘foam’ ‘泡沫’
/mau <sup>2</sup> /	‘to lack, not have; there is not’ ‘沒有’
	mau <sup>2</sup> si <sup>6</sup> ‘to have free time’ ‘閒’
/mau <sup>2</sup> /	‘hair; fur’ ‘頭髮、毛’
/vau <sup>3</sup> /	‘to cry, weep (includes ceremonial weeping at a funeral)’ ‘哭、號哭’
	tso <sup>5</sup> vau <sup>3</sup> ‘to pretend to cry (said of a child)’ ‘假哭(指小孩子)’
/tau <sup>1</sup> /	‘blade, knife’ ‘刀’
	tshəŋ <sup>5</sup> tau <sup>1</sup> ‘knife for cutting vegetables’ ‘菜刀’
/tau <sup>1</sup> /	‘much, many’ ‘多’
/tau <sup>2</sup> /	tau <sup>2</sup> = le <sup>1</sup> ‘peach’ ‘桃子’
/tau <sup>3</sup> /	təi <sup>7</sup> tau <sup>3</sup> , no <sup>1</sup> tau <sup>3</sup> ‘to obtain, get’ ‘得到’
	tsaŋ <sup>6</sup> tau <sup>3</sup> ‘to run into, meet with (a person)’ ‘碰見(人)’
/tau <sup>3</sup> /	‘to fell (a tree)’ ‘砍(樹)’
	tia <sup>7</sup> tau <sup>3</sup> ‘to trip, stumble’ ‘跌倒’
	phəi <sup>7</sup> tau <sup>3</sup> ‘to fall forward onto the face’ ‘往前跌倒’
	fa <sup>1</sup> tau <sup>3</sup> ‘to fall backward onto the back’ ‘往後跌倒’
/tau <sup>5</sup> /	‘to arrive’ ‘到’
/thau <sup>1</sup> /	‘to pull’ ‘拉’
/thau <sup>5</sup> /	ʃəu <sup>3</sup> thau <sup>5</sup> ‘glove’ ‘手套’
/nau <sup>2</sup> /	‘slow’ ‘慢’
/lau <sup>2</sup> /	te <sup>2</sup> lau <sup>2</sup> ‘field snail’ ‘田螺’
/lau <sup>2</sup> /	‘surname: Luo 羅’ (known locally) ‘姓：羅’ (本地有)
/lau <sup>3</sup> /	‘old, not new’ (newer expression; see /kiəu <sup>3</sup> /) ‘舊’ (新說法；參見/kiəu <sup>3</sup> /); ‘old, not young’ ‘老’
/lau <sup>3</sup> /	lau <sup>3</sup> tʃhy <sup>3</sup> ‘rat, mouse’ ‘老鼠’
	lau <sup>3</sup> fu <sup>3</sup> ‘tiger’ ‘老虎’

	lau <sup>3</sup> te <sup>3</sup> ‘younger brother’ ‘弟弟’
	lau <sup>3</sup> məŋ <sup>6</sup> ‘younger sister’ ‘妹妹’
	lau <sup>3</sup> poŋ <sup>7</sup> ‘elder brother’ ‘哥哥’
	lau <sup>3</sup> kaŋ <sup>1</sup> ‘husband’ ‘老公’
/lau <sup>8</sup> /	‘to descend, go down, come down’ ‘下(去、來)’
/tsau <sup>3</sup> /	‘early’ ‘早’
/tsau <sup>5</sup> /	‘to make, do’ ‘做’
	tsau <sup>5</sup> əiŋ <sup>7</sup> ‘to build a house’ ‘蓋房子’
/tsau <sup>7</sup> /	tsau <sup>7</sup> həi <sup>8</sup> ‘to grab hold of’ ‘抓住’
/tshau <sup>1</sup> /	‘to chase’ ‘趕’
/tshau <sup>3</sup> /	‘plant, vegetation’ ‘草’
/sau <sup>1</sup> /	sau <sup>1</sup> ke <sup>1</sup> ‘a crowing adult male chicken’ ‘正在叫的公雞’
/sau <sup>5</sup> /	‘to sweep’ ‘掃’
	sau <sup>5</sup> po <sup>3</sup> ‘bamboo broom used for sweeping the ceiling at New Year's’ ‘(過年前)掃天花板的竹掃子’
	kio <sup>6</sup> sau <sup>5</sup> ‘straw broom, bamboo besom’ ‘稻草掃帚，竹掃帚’
/sau <sup>7</sup> /	‘rope’ ‘繩子’
/tʃau <sup>6</sup> /	‘surname: Jaw 趙’ ‘姓：趙’
/tʃau <sup>8</sup> /	‘correct, not wrong’ ‘對、沒錯’
/tʃhau <sup>7</sup> /	‘to blanch’ ‘(用開水)燙’
/ʃau <sup>1</sup> /	ʃau <sup>1</sup> ŋi <sup>8</sup> ‘tomorrow’ ‘明天’
/ʃau <sup>3</sup> /	‘few, a little bit’ ‘少’
/ʃau <sup>8</sup> /	ʃy <sup>3</sup> ʃau <sup>8</sup> ‘ladle, dipper’ ‘水瓢’
/kau <sup>1</sup> /	kau <sup>1</sup> , kau <sup>1</sup> tɔi <sup>2</sup> ‘wok: traditional cooking pot’ ‘鍋’
	se <sup>5</sup> kau <sup>1</sup> ‘small wok’ ‘小鍋’
/kau <sup>1</sup> /	‘tall’ ‘高’
/kau <sup>1</sup> /	tʃy <sup>1</sup> kau <sup>1</sup> ‘lard’ ‘豬油’
/khau <sup>3</sup> /	khau <sup>3</sup> i <sup>3</sup> ‘can, may’ ‘可以’
/khau <sup>5</sup> /	‘to go’ ‘去’
	ŋ <sup>6</sup> khau <sup>5</sup> ‘not to go’ ‘不去’
	khau <sup>5</sup> = lia <sup>3</sup> ‘to have died’ (polite) ‘死了’ (文雅)
/ŋau <sup>6</sup> /	‘to starve, cause to go hungry’ ‘使餓’
/hau <sup>2</sup> /	‘river (large)’ (compare /khe <sup>1</sup> /, /kuəŋ <sup>5</sup> /) ‘河’ (參見/khe <sup>1</sup> /、/kuəŋ <sup>5</sup> /)
/hau <sup>3</sup> /	‘very’ ‘很’
	khaŋ <sup>1</sup> khaŋ <sup>1</sup> hau <sup>3</sup> ‘just right’ ‘剛剛好’
/hau <sup>6</sup> /	‘[measure for boats]’ ‘[船的量詞]’
/hau <sup>7</sup> /	‘hot (said of the weather)’ ‘熱(指天氣)’
/hau <sup>8</sup> /	‘to study’ ‘學’
/hau <sup>8</sup> /	ta <sup>6</sup> hau <sup>8</sup> ‘a set of large stacked trays, carried by two people by pole and presented to the bride's family by the groom's at a wedding’ (compare /ʃo <sup>6</sup> /) ‘(婚姻前)男方送給女方的
	一組大籃子(兩個人抬的)’ (參見/ʃo <sup>6</sup> /)

Rime /iau/ 韻

/iau <sup>1</sup> /	‘[measure for pairs of pants]’ ‘[一件褲子的量詞]’
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/iau <sup>3</sup> /	‘to scoop up with a ladle or dipper’ (compare /tsho? <sup>7</sup> /) ‘舀’ (參見/tsho? <sup>7</sup> /)
/iau <sup>5</sup> /	‘to want to’ ‘想要’
	ŋ <sup>6</sup> iau <sup>5</sup> ‘Don’t!’ ‘別、不要’
/iau <sup>8</sup> /	‘medicine’ ‘藥’
	təi <sup>8</sup> iau <sup>8</sup> ‘poison’ ‘毒藥’
/pia <sup>2</sup> /	pia <sup>2</sup> = le <sup>1</sup> ‘duckweed or any floating plant’ ‘萍草’
/mia <sup>5</sup> /	mia <sup>5</sup> = le <sup>1</sup> ‘cat’ ‘貓’
/lia <sup>2</sup> /	lia <sup>2</sup> kue <sup>1</sup> ‘to go back, come back, return’ ‘回來、回去’
/lia <sup>5</sup> /	‘to go’ ‘去’
/thia <sup>3</sup> /	‘to exchange’ ‘交換’
/thia <sup>5</sup> /	‘to jump’ ‘跳’
/tsia <sup>2</sup> /	‘firewood’ ‘柴火’
/tsia <sup>8</sup> /	‘bulging, distended (e.g., said of a sagging wall)’ ‘凸(指牆壁)’
/sia <sup>1</sup> /	khue <sup>1</sup> ŋo <sup>2</sup> tʃh <sup>3</sup> sia <sup>1</sup> ‘to whistle using the fingers in the mouth’ ‘吹口哨’
/sia <sup>1</sup> /	kia <sup>2</sup> sia <sup>1</sup> ‘spider (the kind that makes a web)’ ‘(織網的)蜘蛛’
/sia <sup>3</sup> /	sia <sup>3</sup> thəi <sup>3</sup> ‘calf of the leg’ ‘小腿’
/tʃia? <sup>7</sup> /	‘to wear (clothes)’ ‘穿(衣服)’
/kia <sup>1</sup> /	‘[measure for coils or skeins of rope or thread]’ ‘[一團繩子的量詞]’
/kia <sup>2</sup> /	kia <sup>2</sup> mo <sup>8</sup> ‘buckwheat’ ‘蕎麥’
/kia <sup>2</sup> /	kia <sup>2</sup> sia <sup>1</sup> ‘spider (the kind that makes a web)’ ‘(織網的)蜘蛛’
/kia <sup>3</sup> /	tiə <sup>1</sup> kia <sup>3</sup> ‘to throw away’ ‘丟掉’
/kia <sup>6</sup> /	‘sedan’ ‘轎子’
/kia? <sup>7</sup> /	‘foot (body part)’ ‘腳’
	kia? <sup>7</sup> sia? <sup>3</sup> kuəi? <sup>7</sup> ‘shin of the leg’ ‘小腿外脛’

#### Rime /aŋ/ 韻

/aŋ <sup>1</sup> /	‘to spread (fertilizer)’ ‘施(肥)’; ‘to sow, broadcast (seed)’ ‘播(種)’
/aŋ <sup>1</sup> /	‘to cover (the mouth)’ ‘(把嘴巴)搗(住)’
/paŋ <sup>1</sup> /	paŋ <sup>1</sup> sa <sup>1</sup> ‘avalanche; to have an avalanche’ ‘山崩’
/paŋ <sup>1</sup> /	‘[measure for groups of ducks]’ ‘[鴨群的量詞]’
/paŋ <sup>2</sup> /	‘surname: Ferng 馮’ (not local) ‘姓：馮’ (本地沒有)
/paŋ <sup>2</sup> /	‘surname: Perng 彭’ (not local) ‘姓：彭’ (本地沒有)
/paŋ <sup>3</sup> /	‘to tie up, bind’ ‘綁’
/paŋ <sup>6</sup> /	‘a crack’ ‘(一條)縫’
	va <sup>8</sup> paŋ <sup>6</sup> ‘to form a crack’ ‘裂縫’
/phaŋ <sup>1</sup> /	phaŋ <sup>1</sup> = le <sup>1</sup> ‘bee’ ‘蜜蜂’
	le <sup>2</sup> phaŋ <sup>1</sup> ‘a kind of small spider that lives in a cocoon on the wall’ ‘住在牆上的繭裡的一種小蜘蛛’
/maŋ <sup>1</sup> /	maŋ <sup>1</sup> ko <sup>1</sup> ‘mosquito’ ‘蚊子’
/maŋ <sup>1</sup> /	‘to overflow’ ‘溢出來’
/maŋ <sup>2</sup> /	‘door’ ‘門’
	to <sup>3</sup> maŋ <sup>2</sup> ‘to open a door’ ‘開門’
	kua <sup>1</sup> maŋ <sup>2</sup> ‘to shut, close a door’ ‘關門’
	mo <sup>8</sup> maŋ <sup>2</sup> ‘to knock on the door’ (most common word) ‘敲門’ (最常用的說法)

	khəu <sup>8</sup> maŋ <sup>2</sup> ‘to knock on the door with one knuckle’ (用手指的關節骨) 敲門
	maŋ <sup>2</sup> tʂeɿ <sup>7</sup> ‘threshold’ 門檻
/maŋ <sup>6</sup> /	‘dream’ 夢
	pəŋ <sup>7</sup> maŋ <sup>6</sup> ‘to dream, have a dream’ 做夢
/maŋ <sup>6</sup> /	‘to ask’ 問
/maŋ <sup>6</sup> /	‘stuffy (said of the weather)’ 燜熱(指天氣)
/vaŋ <sup>2</sup> /	‘yellow’ 黃色
/vaŋ <sup>2</sup> /	‘surname: Hwang 黃’ (one of the three main surnames in this village) 姓：黃 (本地三大姓之一)
/vaŋ <sup>2</sup> /	vaŋ <sup>2</sup> tsa <sup>8</sup> ‘cockroach’ 蟑螂
	vaŋ <sup>2</sup> kio <sup>1</sup> ‘muntjac’ 黃疊(麋的一種)
/faŋ <sup>1</sup> /	‘the wind’ 風
	faŋ <sup>1</sup> khue <sup>1</sup> ‘the wind blows’ 颶風
	faŋ <sup>1</sup> tio <sup>3</sup> ‘collar’ 領子
/taŋ <sup>1</sup> /	taŋ <sup>1</sup> ho <sup>3</sup> ‘winter’ 冬天
/taŋ <sup>1</sup> /	‘the fourth of the ten “Heaven” cyclical signs: ding 丁’ 第四個天干：丁
/taŋ <sup>2</sup> /	‘sugar’ 糖
/taŋ <sup>2</sup> /	ləu <sup>8</sup> taŋ <sup>2</sup> ‘to go spastically into a shamanistic trance’ 跳神
/taŋ <sup>2</sup> /	ŋ <sup>2</sup> taŋ <sup>2</sup> ‘calf: young carabao’ 小牛
/taŋ <sup>2</sup> /	taŋ <sup>2</sup> tsi <sup>3</sup> ŋo <sup>2</sup> , taŋ <sup>2</sup> tsi <sup>3</sup> haŋ <sup>6</sup> ‘local placename: Shikang Torngtzyyshianq 西康童子巷’ 附近的自然村：西康童子巷
/taŋ <sup>3</sup> /	‘to wait for’ 等; ‘to meet or pick up (at the station)’ 接(人)
/taŋ <sup>5</sup> /	‘to punch’ 揍; ‘to hit with one end of a pole’ 用棍子的一頭打
/thaŋ <sup>1</sup> /	‘to clear (a blockage)’ 挖通
/naŋ <sup>1</sup> /	‘melon pulp’ 瓜瓢
/naŋ <sup>3</sup> /	‘to squash, crush (a bug) with the finger’ (用手指把蟲子) 撚(死)、砸(死)
/naŋ <sup>6</sup> /	tʂeɿ <sup>7</sup> naŋ <sup>6</sup> ‘to cut finely’ 切碎
/laŋ <sup>2</sup> /	‘deaf’ (耳)聾
/laŋ <sup>2</sup> /	‘to polish (rice)’ 礱(米)
/laŋ <sup>2</sup> /	se <sup>5</sup> laŋ <sup>2</sup> ‘son-in-law’ 女婿
/laŋ <sup>2</sup> /	ke <sup>1</sup> laŋ <sup>2</sup> ‘cylindrical basket for holding chickens’ 雞籠
/laŋ <sup>2</sup> /	i <sup>7</sup> laŋ <sup>2</sup> ‘a whole mountain-side’ [一座山的一整片側面]
	sa <sup>1</sup> laŋ <sup>2</sup> te <sup>2</sup> ‘dry field (for planting crops other than rice)’ 山田
/laŋ <sup>2</sup> /	thəi <sup>3</sup> laŋ <sup>2</sup> ‘bamboo rat’ 竹鼠
/laŋ <sup>3</sup> /	‘cold (said of both things and the weather)’ 冷(指東西、天氣)
/laŋ <sup>3</sup> /	‘cage’ 籠子
/tsaŋ <sup>1</sup> /	tsaŋ <sup>1</sup> thia <sup>7</sup> ‘coir mattress’ 棕毛墊
/tsaŋ <sup>1</sup> /	‘heaping (said of an overfull bowl)’ 高起來(指過滿的碗)
/tsaŋ <sup>2</sup> /	‘[measure for trees]’ [棵(樹的量詞)]
/tsaŋ <sup>3</sup> /	‘to push’ (compare /thəŋ <sup>1</sup> /) ‘推’ (參見/thəŋ <sup>1</sup> /)
/tsaŋ <sup>5</sup> /	tsaŋ <sup>5</sup> kəŋ <sup>5</sup> ‘lid of a traditional wok’ 鍋蓋
/tsaŋ <sup>6</sup> /	tsaŋ <sup>6</sup> tau <sup>3</sup> ‘to run into, meet with (a person)’ 碰見(人)
/saŋ <sup>1</sup> /	saŋ <sup>1</sup> = le <sup>1</sup> ‘grandson: son's son’ 孫子
	ŋy <sup>3</sup> saŋ <sup>1</sup> ‘granddaughter: son's daughter’ 孫女

	nua <sup>6</sup> saŋ <sup>1</sup> ‘grandson: daughter's son’ ‘外孫’
/saŋ <sup>1</sup> /	saŋ <sup>1</sup> tʃeŋ <sup>2</sup> ‘silkworm’ ‘蠶’
/saŋ <sup>1</sup> /	saŋ <sup>1</sup> so <sup>1</sup> ‘double-layered garment’ ‘雙層的衣服’
/saŋ <sup>2</sup> /	‘bed’ ‘床’
/saŋ <sup>3</sup> /	‘bamboo shoots’ ‘筍’
	saŋ <sup>3</sup> kəŋ <sup>1</sup> ‘dried bamboo shoots’ ‘筍乾’
/tʃaŋ <sup>1</sup> /	‘surname: Jang 張’ (not local) ‘姓：張’ (非本地姓)
/tʃaŋ <sup>1</sup> /	‘surname: Jang 章’ (not local) ‘姓：章’ (非本地姓)
/tʃaŋ <sup>2</sup> /	‘long’ ‘長’
/tʃaŋ <sup>2</sup> /	‘intestines’ ‘腸子’
/tʃaŋ <sup>3</sup> /	ku <sup>1</sup> tʃaŋ <sup>3</sup> ‘uncle: husband of father's younger sister’ ‘姑丈’
	tsi <sup>3</sup> tʃaŋ <sup>3</sup> ‘brother-in-law: elder sister's husband’ ‘姐夫’
	tʃaŋ <sup>3</sup> məi <sup>3</sup> io <sup>2</sup> ‘wife's father’ ‘岳父’
	tʃaŋ <sup>3</sup> məi <sup>3</sup> pau <sup>2</sup> ‘wife's mother’ ‘岳母’
/ʃaŋ <sup>1</sup> /	‘fragrant, pleasant smelling’ ‘味香’
/ʃaŋ <sup>1</sup> /	‘incense’ ‘燒的香’
/ʃaŋ <sup>3</sup> /	‘to ascend, climb up’ ‘上(動詞)’
	ʃaŋ <sup>3</sup> tio <sup>3</sup> ‘steep mountain path’ ‘上山的爬坡’
/ʃaŋ <sup>3</sup> /	ʃaŋ <sup>3</sup> ləŋ <sup>2</sup> kaŋ <sup>1</sup> ‘to thunder’ ‘打雷’
/ʃaŋ <sup>6</sup> /	khuəŋ <sup>1</sup> ʃaŋ <sup>6</sup> ‘springtime (especially the beginning)’ ‘春天(特別是初期)’
	ʃaŋ <sup>6</sup> tɔi <sup>2</sup> ‘above, top’ ‘上面’
	ʃaŋ <sup>6</sup> tsa <sup>5</sup> ‘local placename: Shanqjay 上 A’ ‘附近的行政村名：上 A’
/kaŋ <sup>1</sup> /	ŋe <sup>5</sup> kaŋ <sup>1</sup> ‘ant’ ‘螞蟻’
	ho <sup>2</sup> kaŋ <sup>1</sup> ‘shrimp’ ‘蝦’
	ʃe <sup>3</sup> kaŋ <sup>1</sup> ‘crab (no longer found in the wild locally on account of wide use of pesticides)’ ‘螃蟹(已被農藥殺滅)’
	ke <sup>1</sup> kaŋ <sup>1</sup> ‘male chicken (of any age)’ ‘公雞、小公雞’
	pi <sup>6</sup> kaŋ <sup>1</sup> ‘nose’ ‘鼻子’
	ŋi <sup>3</sup> kaŋ <sup>1</sup> ‘ear’ ‘耳朵’
	ʃaŋ <sup>3</sup> ləŋ <sup>2</sup> kaŋ <sup>1</sup> ‘to thunder’ ‘打雷’
	lau <sup>3</sup> kaŋ <sup>1</sup> ‘husband’ ‘老公’
/kaŋ <sup>1</sup> /	‘to carry (a sedan): verb for two people carrying something heavy on their shoulders’ ‘抬(轎子)’
/kaŋ <sup>1</sup> /	‘to borrow, lend’ (older expression; see /tsio <sup>7</sup> /) ‘借’ (舊說法；參見/tsio <sup>7</sup> /)
/kaŋ <sup>1</sup> /	kaŋ <sup>1</sup> tsio <sup>2</sup> ‘placename: Jiangshe 江畚(in Miaowchyan 廟前 Township)’ ‘廟前鄉的行政村名：江畚’
/kaŋ <sup>2</sup> /	‘to cover with a /ke <sup>1</sup> kaŋ <sup>2</sup> /’ ‘用雞罩扣’
	ke <sup>1</sup> kaŋ <sup>2</sup> ‘conical basket for catching and holding chickens’ ‘雞罩’
/kaŋ <sup>5</sup> /	‘steel’ ‘鋼’
/khaŋ <sup>1</sup> /	‘to put one's arm around (another person's waist)’ ‘抱(人的腰)’
/khaŋ <sup>1</sup> /	‘to dump out, pour out’ ‘倒掉’
	khaŋ <sup>1</sup> pio <sup>2</sup> ‘to make (the contents of two bowls) even’ ‘使(兩個碗的容量)平均’
/khaŋ <sup>1</sup> /	khaŋ <sup>1</sup> khaŋ <sup>1</sup> hau <sup>3</sup> ‘just right’ ‘剛剛好’
/haŋ <sup>2</sup> /	the <sup>1</sup> haŋ <sup>2</sup> ʃeŋ <sup>2</sup> ‘rainbow’ (“sky” + “red” + “god”) ‘彩虹’ (“天” + “紅” + “神”)

/haŋ<sup>6</sup>/            taŋ<sup>2</sup> tsi<sup>3</sup> haŋ<sup>6</sup> ‘local placename: Shikang Torngtzyyshianq 西康童子巷’ ‘附近的自然村：西康童子巷’

Rime /iaŋ/ 韻

/iaŋ<sup>3</sup>/            ‘itchy’ ‘癢’  
/piaŋ<sup>5</sup>/            ‘to set down, let go’ ‘放’; ‘to hide, conceal’ ‘藏’  
piaŋ<sup>5</sup> lia<sup>2</sup> ‘toilet, outhouse’ ‘廁所’  
the<sup>1</sup> piaŋ<sup>5</sup> ‘to forget’ ‘忘記’  
/miaŋ<sup>1</sup>/            ‘cogon: a kind of mountain grass’ ‘蘆葦’  
/miaŋ<sup>3</sup>/            ‘net, web’ ‘網’  
/miaŋ<sup>6</sup>/            ‘to look at from a distance’ ‘遠看’  
/tiaŋ<sup>3</sup>/            ‘tael: Chinese ounce’ ‘半斤八兩的兩’  
/tiaŋ<sup>3</sup>/            tiaŋ<sup>3</sup> = ka<sup>5</sup> ‘two (counting form, with measure)’ ‘兩個’  
/tsiaŋ<sup>6</sup>/            ‘to resemble; to look alike’ ‘像似’  
/tsiaŋ<sup>6</sup>/            mæi<sup>8</sup> tsiaŋ<sup>6</sup> ‘carpenter’ ‘木匠’  
/siaŋ<sup>3</sup>/            kiau<sup>7</sup> siaŋ<sup>3</sup> kuəi<sup>7</sup> ‘shin of the leg’ ‘小腿外脛’  
/kiaŋ<sup>1</sup>/            ‘ginger’ ‘薑’  
/kiaŋ<sup>2</sup>/            ‘rim of a winnowing tray’ ‘簸箕的邊垣’  
/ŋiaŋ<sup>2</sup>/            pu<sup>1</sup> ŋiaŋ<sup>2</sup> ‘wife’ ‘妻子’  
pu<sup>1</sup> ŋiaŋ<sup>2</sup> so<sup>2</sup> ‘women (in general)’ ‘女人家’ (總稱)  
/ŋiaŋ<sup>6</sup>/            ‘to yield, yield to’ ‘讓’

Rime /uaŋ/ 韻

/kuaŋ<sup>1</sup>/            the<sup>1</sup> kuaŋ<sup>1</sup> ‘morning’ ‘早上’

Rime /o/ 韻

/o<sup>5</sup>/            ‘dark’ ‘暗’  
/o<sup>7</sup>/            ‘duck’ ‘鴨’  
/po<sup>3</sup>/            sau<sup>5</sup> po<sup>3</sup> ‘bamboo broom used for sweeping the ceiling at New Year's’ ‘(過年前)掃天花板的竹掃子’  
/po<sup>7</sup>/            i<sup>7</sup> po<sup>7</sup> ‘one hundred’ ‘一百’  
/po<sup>7</sup>/            ta<sup>6</sup> po<sup>7</sup> ‘uncle: father's eldest brother’ ‘大伯父’  
po<sup>7</sup> mæi<sup>3</sup> ‘aunt: wife of father's eldest brother’ ‘大伯母’  
lau<sup>3</sup> po<sup>7</sup> ‘elder brother’ ‘哥哥’  
/po<sup>8</sup>/            ‘white’ ‘白(色)’; ‘surname: Bair 白’ ‘姓：白’  
/pho<sup>1</sup>/            ‘to shovel into the mouth’ ‘扒(飯)’  
/pho<sup>5</sup>/            ‘insubstantial’ ‘不結實’  
/mo<sup>2</sup>/            ke<sup>1</sup> mo<sup>2</sup> ‘hen’ ‘母雞’  
tʃy<sup>1</sup> mo<sup>2</sup> ‘sow’ ‘母豬’  
ŋ<sup>2</sup> mo<sup>2</sup> ‘cow’ ‘母牛’  
mo<sup>2</sup> tsi<sup>3</sup> ‘elder sister’ ‘姐姐’  
ti<sup>7</sup> mo<sup>2</sup> ‘traditional leaf rain hat’ ‘斗笠’  
/mo<sup>2</sup>/            tʃi<sup>1</sup> mo<sup>2</sup> ‘sesame (rare locally)’ ‘芝麻(罕見)’  
/mo<sup>3</sup>/            ‘horse’ ‘馬’

/mo <sup>3</sup> /	‘surname: Maa 馬’ ‘姓：馬’
/mo <sup>8</sup> /	mo <sup>8</sup> tsai <sup>3</sup> ‘wheat, oats’ ‘麥子’
	kiau <sup>2</sup> mo <sup>8</sup> ‘buckwheat’ ‘蕎麥’
/mo <sup>8</sup> /	‘to hit’ ‘打’; ‘to whip’ ‘鞭打’; ‘to slap with the palm of the hand’ ‘用手掌打’
	mo <sup>8</sup> maŋ <sup>2</sup> ‘to knock on the door’ (most common word) ‘敲門’ (最常用的說法)
/fo <sup>1</sup> /	‘flower’ ‘花’
	khəŋ <sup>1</sup> fo <sup>1</sup> ‘to bloom (said of a flower); to blossom’ ‘開花’
/fo <sup>6</sup> /	‘speech, something said’ ‘話’
/fo <sup>6</sup> /	fo <sup>6</sup> fo <sup>6</sup> ‘to paint a painting, draw a drawing’ ‘畫畫’
/fo <sup>6</sup> /	‘surname: Fann 范’ (not local, but known in nearby Lii‘u) ‘姓：范’ (本地沒有，但隔壁的李屋有)
/vo <sup>2</sup> /	‘horizontal’ ‘衡’
/vo <sup>6</sup> /	vo <sup>6</sup> si <sup>3</sup> ‘to speak, say something’ ‘說話’
/to <sup>1</sup> /	‘to carry on a shoulder pole’ ‘用扁擔挑’; [measure for loads carried on a shoulder pole] ‘[一擔的量詞]’
	to <sup>1</sup> kəŋ <sup>1</sup> ‘shoulder pole, burden pole’ ‘扁擔’
/to <sup>1</sup> /	‘grandfather’ ‘祖父’
	ŋua <sup>6</sup> to <sup>1</sup> ‘maternal grandfather’ ‘外祖父’
/to <sup>3</sup> /	to <sup>3</sup> maŋ <sup>2</sup> ‘to open a door’ ‘開門’
/to <sup>7</sup> /	‘to cover’ (general word) ‘蓋(起來)’ (總稱); ‘to cover (with a bowl or hat)’ ‘(用帽子或反過來的碗)蓋(起來)’
/to <sup>8</sup> /	‘to step on; to crush with the foot’ ‘踩’
/tho <sup>1</sup> /	‘to listen to’ ‘聽’
/tho <sup>1</sup> /	‘bland, not salty’ ‘淡、不鹹’
/no <sup>1</sup> /	‘to grab, take in the hand’ ‘抓、拿’
	no <sup>1</sup> tau <sup>3</sup> ‘to obtain, get’ ‘得到’
/no <sup>2</sup> /	tai <sup>2</sup> no <sup>2</sup> ‘the head’ ‘頭’
/no <sup>2</sup> /	no <sup>2</sup> tsi <sup>3</sup> so <sup>2</sup> ‘husband’; ‘men’ (in general; this term is commonly used by women) ‘丈夫’; ‘男人家’ (總稱; 女人講的)
/no <sup>7</sup> /	‘to bite’ (initial is correct) ‘咬’ (聲母沒錯)
/no <sup>8</sup> /	‘to sew (shoe soles)’ ‘縫(鞋底)’
/lo <sup>2</sup> /	lo <sup>2</sup> = le <sup>1</sup> ‘basket’ ‘藍子’
/lo <sup>7</sup> /	‘alley’ ‘巷子’
/tso <sup>1</sup> /	‘dregs’ ‘渣滓’
/tso <sup>2</sup> /	‘tea’ ‘茶’
	tso <sup>2</sup> ie <sup>8</sup> ‘tea leaf’ ‘茶葉’
/tso <sup>5</sup> /	‘to baste: to stitch together loosely’ ‘紵(衣服)’
/tso <sup>5</sup> /	tso <sup>5</sup> vai <sup>3</sup> ‘to pretend to cry (said of a child)’ ‘假哭(指小孩子)’
/tso <sup>6</sup> /	ŋo <sup>6</sup> tso <sup>6</sup> ‘firm, solid’ ‘結實’
/tsho <sup>5</sup> /	tsho <sup>5</sup> kuəŋ <sup>3</sup> ‘cane, walking stick’ ‘拐杖’
/tsho <sup>7</sup> /	‘to tie up, bind’ ‘綁’
/tsho <sup>7</sup> /	‘to scoop up with a ladle or dipper’ (compare /iau <sup>3</sup> /) ‘舀’ (參見/iau <sup>3</sup> /)
/so <sup>1</sup> /	‘three’ ‘三’
/so <sup>1</sup> /	‘clothing’ ‘衣服’

- ta<sup>1</sup> so<sup>1</sup> ‘unpadded garment’ ‘單層衣服’  
 saŋ<sup>1</sup> so<sup>1</sup> ‘double-layered garment’ ‘雙層的衣服’  
 /so<sup>1</sup>/ so<sup>1</sup> tsəi<sup>3</sup> ‘to give birth to young (said of a pig)’ ‘生小豬’  
 so<sup>1</sup> ləŋ<sup>3</sup> ‘to lay eggs’ ‘下蛋’  
 so<sup>1</sup> = ka<sup>5</sup> ‘raw’ ‘生的’  
 /so<sup>2</sup>/ pu<sup>1</sup> ŋiaŋ<sup>2</sup> so<sup>2</sup> ‘women (in general)’ ‘女人家’ (總稱)  
 no<sup>2</sup> tsi<sup>3</sup> so<sup>2</sup> ‘husband’; ‘men’ (in general; this term is commonly used by women)  
 ‘丈夫’; ‘男人家’ (總稱; 女人講的)  
 ke<sup>3</sup> = le<sup>1</sup> so<sup>2</sup> ‘boy’ ‘男孩子’  
 /so<sup>3</sup>/ pəŋ<sup>6</sup> so<sup>3</sup> ‘a grain of rice’ ‘飯粒’  
 /so<sup>8</sup>/ ‘to parboil’ ‘清水煮’  
 /tʃo<sup>1</sup>/ ‘to cover (with a piece of cloth or paper)’ ‘(用布、紙)遮蓋’; ‘to cover (the ears with the hands)’ ‘(用手)掩蓋(耳朵)’  
 /tʃo<sup>1</sup>/ tʃy<sup>6</sup> tʃo<sup>1</sup> ‘chopstick(s)’ ‘筷子’  
 /tʃo<sup>1</sup>/ ‘to dry in the sun’ ‘曬’  
 /tʃho<sup>1</sup>/ ‘vehicle, car’ ‘車’  
 /ʃo<sup>2</sup>/ ‘snake’ ‘蛇’  
 /ʃo<sup>6</sup>/ ‘a set of six stacked trays, carried by one person by shoulder-pole and presented to the bride's family by the groom's at a wedding’ (compare /ta<sup>6</sup> hau<sup>8</sup>/) ‘(婚姻前)男方送給女方的一組六個籃子(一個人挑的)’ (參見 /ta<sup>6</sup> hau<sup>8</sup>/)  
 /ʃo<sup>8</sup>/ ʃo<sup>8</sup> tsi<sup>2</sup> ‘stone’ ‘石頭’  
 /ko<sup>1</sup>/ maŋ<sup>1</sup> ko<sup>1</sup> ‘mosquito’ ‘蚊子’  
 tʃy<sup>1</sup> ko<sup>1</sup> ‘stud boar’ ‘種豬’  
 /ko<sup>1</sup>/ tsi<sup>6</sup> ko<sup>1</sup> ‘oneself’ ‘自己’  
 /ko<sup>1</sup>/ ‘melon’ ‘瓜’  
 /ko<sup>1</sup>/ ‘the seventh of the ten “Heaven” cyclical signs: geng 庚’ ‘第七個天干：庚’  
 /ko<sup>3</sup>/ ŋ<sup>6</sup> ko<sup>3</sup> ‘may not’ ‘不可以’  
 /ko<sup>3</sup>/ ‘false, artificial’ ‘假’  
 /ko<sup>5</sup>/ ‘to marry (said of a woman)’ ‘嫁’  
 /ko<sup>7</sup>/ ‘the first of the ten “Heaven” cyclical signs: jea 甲’ ‘第一個天干：甲’  
 /kho<sup>1</sup>/ ‘ravine’ ‘山坑’  
 /ŋo<sup>2</sup>/ taŋ<sup>2</sup> tsi<sup>3</sup> ŋo<sup>2</sup> ‘local placename: Shikang Torngtzyyshianq 西康童子巷’ ‘附近的自然村：西康童子巷’  
 /ŋo<sup>2</sup>/ khe<sup>7</sup> ŋo<sup>2</sup> ‘to be missing a tooth’ ‘缺牙’  
 khue<sup>1</sup> ŋo<sup>2</sup> tʃhi<sup>3</sup> siau<sup>1</sup> ‘to whistle using the fingers in the mouth’ ‘吹口哨’  
 /ŋo<sup>3</sup>/ ‘roof tile’ ‘瓦’  
 /ŋo<sup>6</sup>/ ‘hard, not soft’ ‘硬’  
 ŋo<sup>6</sup> tso<sup>6</sup> ‘firm, solid’ ‘結實’  
 /ho<sup>2</sup>/ ‘salty’ ‘鹹’  
 /ho<sup>2</sup>/ ‘to walk’ ‘走’  
 /ho<sup>2</sup>/ ‘[measure for fish, lengths or thread, rope]’ ‘[一條魚、一條線、繩子的量詞]’  
 /ho<sup>2</sup>/ ho<sup>2</sup> kaŋ<sup>1</sup> ‘shrimp’ ‘蝦’  
 /ho<sup>3</sup>/ ho<sup>3</sup> tsi<sup>2</sup> ‘underneath, below’ ‘下面’  
 taŋ<sup>1</sup> ho<sup>3</sup> ‘winter’ ‘冬天’

/ho<sup>6</sup>/ ti<sup>6</sup> ho<sup>6</sup> ti<sup>3</sup> ‘on the ground’ ‘地上’

Rime /io/ 韻

/io<sup>2</sup>/ ‘father’ ‘父親’

tʃaŋ<sup>3</sup> məi<sup>3</sup> io<sup>2</sup> ‘wife's father’ ‘岳父’

/io<sup>6</sup>/ ‘[measure for nights]’ ‘[一夜的量詞]’

io<sup>6</sup> tɔi<sup>2</sup> ‘night’ ‘晚上’

/pio<sup>2</sup>/ ‘level’ ‘平’

kaŋ<sup>1</sup> pio<sup>2</sup> ‘to make (the contents of two bowls) even’ ‘使(兩個碗的內容)平均’

/pio<sup>3</sup>/ ‘cake, biscuit’ ‘餅’

/pio<sup>5</sup>/ ‘handle’ ‘柄’

/pio<sup>6</sup>/ ‘sick; sickness’ ‘病’

/phio<sup>7</sup>/ ‘to cut off (a branch)’ ‘用刀割(樹枝)’; ‘to split (wood) with an axe’ ‘用斧頭子劈(柴)’

/mio<sup>1</sup>/ ‘to cover (the eyes)’ ‘(把眼睛)矇(住)’

/mio<sup>2</sup>/ mio<sup>2</sup> tsi<sup>6</sup> ‘name’ ‘名字’

/tio<sup>3</sup>/ ʃaŋ<sup>3</sup> tio<sup>3</sup> ‘steep mountain path’ ‘上山的爬坡’

/tio<sup>3</sup>/ faŋ<sup>1</sup> tio<sup>3</sup> ‘collar’ ‘領子’

/tsio<sup>1</sup>/ ‘beautiful, lovely’ ‘美’

/tsio<sup>2</sup>/ ‘clear (said of the sky)’ ‘晴’

/tsio<sup>2</sup>/ ‘slanted’ ‘斜’

kaŋ<sup>1</sup> tsi<sup>2</sup> ‘placename: Jiangshe 江畬 (in Miaowchyan 廟前 Township)’ ‘廟前鄉的行政村名：江畬’

/tsio<sup>3</sup>/ ‘well (for water)’ ‘水井’

/tsio<sup>6</sup>/ ‘surname: Shieh 謝’ ‘姓：謝’

/tsio<sup>7</sup>/ ‘to borrow, lend’ (newer expression; see /kaŋ<sup>1</sup>/) ‘借’ (新說法；參見/kaŋ<sup>1</sup>/)

/tsio<sup>8</sup>/ ‘mat’ ‘蓆子’

/tshio<sup>3</sup>/ ‘to invite, hire’ ‘請’

/sio<sup>7</sup>/ kio<sup>8</sup> sio<sup>7</sup> ‘spider (the kind that doesn't make a web)’ ‘(不織網的)蜘蛛’

/kio<sup>1</sup>/ vaŋ<sup>2</sup> kio<sup>1</sup> ‘muntjac’ ‘黃麂(麂的一種)’

/kio<sup>2</sup>/ ‘to carry on the shoulder’ ‘用肩膀扛’

/kio<sup>3</sup>/ ‘neck’ ‘脖子’

/kio<sup>6</sup>/ kio<sup>6</sup> ɔi<sup>7</sup> ‘to sweep (the rafters at New Year's)’ ‘(過年前)掃(清家裡)’

kio<sup>6</sup> sau<sup>5</sup> ‘straw broom, bamboo besom’ ‘稻草掃帚，竹掃帚’

/kio<sup>7</sup>/ ‘to touch with the hand’ ‘用手碰’

/kio<sup>8</sup>/ tha<sup>1</sup> kio<sup>8</sup> ‘traditional wooden shoes’ ‘木屐’

/kio<sup>8</sup>/ kio<sup>8</sup> sio<sup>7</sup> ‘spider (the kind that doesn't make a web)’ ‘(不織網的)蜘蛛’

/khio<sup>1</sup>/ ‘light in weight’ ‘輕’

/ŋio<sup>5</sup>/ ‘to look at’ ‘看’

ŋio<sup>5</sup> ŋ<sup>2</sup> ‘to graze cattle’ ‘牧牛’

Rime /oŋ/ 韻

/ʃoŋ<sup>2</sup>/ ‘bear (a kind of animal)’ ‘熊’

Rime /u/ 韻

- /u<sup>1</sup>/ u<sup>1</sup> seŋ<sup>2</sup> ‘fly (kind of insect)’ ‘蒼蠅’  
 /u<sup>6</sup>/ ‘the fifth of the ten “Heaven” cyclical signs: wuh 戊’ ‘第五個天干：戊’  
 /pu<sup>1</sup>/ ‘to squat’ ‘蹲’  
 /pu<sup>1</sup>/ pu<sup>1</sup> ŋiaŋ<sup>2</sup> ‘wife’ ‘妻子’  
 pu<sup>1</sup> ŋiaŋ<sup>2</sup> so<sup>2</sup> ‘women (in general)’ ‘女人家’ (總稱)  
 /pu<sup>2</sup>/ ‘to boil (water)’ ‘燒(開水)’; ‘to decoct (medicine) by baking decocting pot’ ‘(用烤的方法)熬(藥)’; ‘to warm (cooked rice porridge that has become cold) by placing in the fire’ ‘用灶火溫(涼稀飯)’  
 pu<sup>2</sup> pa<sup>7</sup> ‘pot for boiling water (earthen)’ ‘燒開水用的鍋(土做的)’  
 /pu<sup>3</sup>/ ‘to mend, repair’ ‘補’  
 /pu<sup>3</sup>/ seŋ<sup>1</sup> pu<sup>3</sup> ‘daughter-in-law’ ‘媳婦’  
 /pu<sup>5</sup>/ ‘cloth’ ‘布’  
 /pu<sup>6</sup>/ ‘to hatch or brood on (eggs)’ ‘孵’  
 /fu<sup>2</sup>/ fu<sup>2</sup> ki<sup>2</sup> ‘leech’ ‘螞蟥’  
 /fu<sup>2</sup>/ ‘pot for boiling water (aluminum)’ ‘燒開水用的鍋(鋁做的)’  
 /fu<sup>3</sup>/ lau<sup>3</sup> fu<sup>3</sup> ‘tiger’ ‘老虎’  
 /fu<sup>5</sup>/ ‘pants’ ‘褲子’  
 fu<sup>5</sup> ta<sup>5</sup> ‘belt for the pants’ ‘褲帶’  
 /ku<sup>1</sup>/ ‘aunt: father's sister (married or unmarried)’ ‘姑媽、姑姑’  
 ku<sup>1</sup> tsəi<sup>3</sup> ‘aunt: father's younger sister’ ‘比父親小的姑媽’  
 ku<sup>1</sup> tʃaŋ<sup>3</sup> ‘uncle: husband of father's younger sister’ ‘姑丈’  
 /ku<sup>3</sup>/ ‘[measure for segments of citrus fruit]’ ‘[瓣：橘子肉的量辭]’  
 /ku<sup>3</sup>/ tʃy<sup>1</sup> ku<sup>3</sup> ‘boar, castrated boar’ ‘公豬、被閹過的公豬’  
 kəi<sup>3</sup> ku<sup>3</sup> ‘male dog’ ‘公狗’  
 ŋ<sup>2</sup> ku<sup>3</sup> ‘bull: male carabao’ ‘公牛’  
 tsəi<sup>8</sup> ku<sup>3</sup> ‘thief’ ‘賊、小偷’  
 /ku<sup>5</sup>/ ‘[measure for phrases, things said]’ ‘[一句話的量詞]’  
 /ku<sup>6</sup>/ ‘to hide, go into hiding’ ‘躲’  
 /khu<sup>1</sup>/ ‘[measure for fields]’ ‘[田地的量詞]’  
 /khu<sup>3</sup>/ khu<sup>3</sup> tsəi<sup>3</sup> ‘pestle (pole-shaped, or the small variety used by herbal apothecaries)’ ‘杵(棍型的或藥房用的小型)’  
 pa<sup>3</sup> khu<sup>3</sup> ‘mallet-shaped pestle, used in making miiguoo (now rare)’ ‘槌型的杵(做米糲用的，現在罕見)’  
 khu<sup>3</sup> khue<sup>7</sup> ‘mortar’ ‘石臼’

Rime /ŋ/ 韻

- /ŋ<sup>1</sup>/ ‘to attach (buttons to a garment)’ ‘安(釦子)’  
 /ŋ<sup>2</sup>/ ‘carabao: water buffalo’ ‘牛’  
 ŋ<sup>2</sup> ku<sup>3</sup> ‘bull: male carabao’ ‘公牛’  
 ŋ<sup>2</sup> mo<sup>2</sup> ‘cow’ ‘母牛’  
 ŋ<sup>2</sup> taŋ<sup>2</sup> ‘calf: young carabao’ ‘小牛’  
 ŋio<sup>5</sup> ŋ<sup>2</sup> ‘to graze cattle’ ‘牧牛’  
 /ŋ<sup>3</sup>/ ‘five’ ‘五’

/ŋ<sup>3</sup>/            ‘the seventh of the twelve “Earth” cyclical signs: wuu 午’ ‘第七個地支：午’  
/ŋ<sup>6</sup>/ŋ<sup>6</sup> fa<sup>8</sup> ‘don't know how’ ‘不會、不通曉’  
ŋ<sup>6</sup> ʃe<sup>6</sup> ‘is not’ ‘不是’; ‘not located at’ ‘不在(地方)’  
ŋ<sup>6</sup> ʃe<sup>6</sup> ta<sup>2</sup> ‘to be dead’ ‘不在了、死了’  
ŋ<sup>6</sup> ti<sup>1</sup> ‘don't know’ ‘不知道’  
ŋ<sup>6</sup> khau<sup>5</sup> ‘not to go’ ‘不去’  
ŋ<sup>6</sup> ko<sup>3</sup> ‘may not’ ‘不可以’  
ŋ<sup>6</sup> iau<sup>5</sup> ‘Don't!’ ‘別、不要’

## 6. Index

### Brief Index to the Gerchuan Juyu Material

#### 隔川朱餘方言資料的小索引

The following index is arranged alphabetically by Mandarin romanized form (in Gwoyeu Romatzyh). It is intended only as a quick guide to the lexicon, and **should not** be used as an independent Mandarin-dialect lexicon itself. Many of the items are bound forms, while some important dialect morphemes may not be listed here.

以下這個索引是按國語羅馬字拼音排列的，以便讀者察詞彙裡的各個字詞。讀者千萬不要把本索引看成國語~方言的小辭典！其中的字詞有很多是黏著語素而不可以自由用。而且本索引並不一定包括詞彙裡的所有的語素。

- ae* 矮: e<sup>3</sup>  
*an* 暗: o<sup>5</sup>  
*an* 安: ŋ<sup>1</sup>  
*au* 凹: mia<sup>7</sup>  
*aur* 熬: pu<sup>2</sup>, khue<sup>1</sup>  
*aytsao* 艾草: ŋe<sup>6</sup>  
*ba* 八: pia<sup>7</sup>  
*baang* 綁: paŋ<sup>3</sup>, tsho<sup>7</sup>  
*bae* 百: po<sup>7</sup>  
*bair* 白: po<sup>8</sup>  
*bao* 飽: pia<sup>3</sup>  
*baur* 薄: pau<sup>8</sup>  
*baurtz* 雹子: pau<sup>8</sup>  
*baw* 抱: khaŋ<sup>1</sup>, lai<sup>8</sup>, lai<sup>2</sup>  
*baytz* 稗子: pi<sup>6</sup>  
*beandan* 扁擔: to<sup>1</sup> kaŋ<sup>1</sup>  
*bei* 背: pəi<sup>1</sup>, va<sup>2</sup>  
*beng* 崩: paŋ<sup>1</sup> sa<sup>1</sup>  
*bey* 倍: pəi<sup>6</sup>  
*beytz* 被子: pi<sup>3</sup>  
*bian* 邊: kian<sup>2</sup>, ve<sup>2</sup>, phe<sup>7</sup>, pe<sup>1</sup>  
*bianjie* 編接: pau<sup>7</sup>  
*bii* 比: pi<sup>3</sup>  
*bii* 筆: pi<sup>7</sup>  
*biing* 餅: pio<sup>3</sup>  
*biing* 柄: pio<sup>5</sup>  
*binq* 病: pio<sup>6</sup>  
*bo* 播: ie<sup>6</sup>  
*bojoong* 播種: aŋ<sup>1</sup>  
*bohji* 簸箕: pa<sup>5</sup> ki<sup>1</sup>  
*borfuh* 伯父: ta<sup>6</sup> po<sup>7</sup>  
*bormuu* 伯母: po<sup>7</sup> məi<sup>3</sup>  
*bortz* 脖子: kio<sup>3</sup>  
*bu* 不: ŋ<sup>6</sup>  
*bu huey* 不會: ŋ<sup>6</sup> fa<sup>8</sup>  
*bujieshyr* 不結實: pho<sup>5</sup>  
*bu keeyii* 不可以: ŋ<sup>6</sup> ko<sup>3</sup>  
*buh* 布: pu<sup>5</sup>  
*buu* 補: pu<sup>3</sup>  
*bye* 別: ŋ<sup>6</sup> iau<sup>5</sup>  
*byitz* 鼻子: pi<sup>6</sup> kaŋ<sup>1</sup>  
*chairhuoo* 柴火: tsiau<sup>2</sup>  
*chao* 炒: tshia<sup>3</sup>  
*char* 茶: tso<sup>2</sup>  
*charn* 蟬: ia<sup>1</sup> i<sup>1</sup>  
*charn* 纏: tʃe<sup>2</sup>  
*charng* 長: tʃaŋ<sup>2</sup>  
*charngtz* 腸子: tʃaŋ<sup>2</sup>  
*che* 車: tʃho<sup>1</sup>  
*chi* 七: tshi<sup>7</sup>  
*chitz* 妻子: pu<sup>1</sup> ŋiaŋ<sup>2</sup>  
*chiaumen* 敲門: khəu<sup>8</sup>, mo<sup>8</sup>  
*chie* 切: tshe<sup>7</sup>  
*chiing* 請: tshio<sup>3</sup>  
*ching* 輕: khio<sup>1</sup>  
*ching* 清: tshen<sup>1</sup>  
*chiue* 缺: khe<sup>7</sup>  
*chiuh* 去: liau<sup>5</sup>, khau<sup>5</sup>  
*chow* 臭: tʃhəu<sup>5</sup>  
*chu* 出: tʃhy<sup>7</sup>  
*chuan* 穿(衣服): tʃiau<sup>7</sup>  
*chuei* 吹: khue<sup>1</sup>

*chuentian* 春天: khuəŋ<sup>1</sup> ʃaŋ<sup>6</sup>  
*chuu* 杵: khu<sup>3</sup> tsəi<sup>3</sup>  
*chwan* 船: fe<sup>2</sup>  
*chwang* 床: saŋ<sup>2</sup>  
*chweitz* 槌子: tʃy<sup>2</sup>  
*chwutz* 廚子: tʃy<sup>2</sup>  
*chy* 吃: ʃe<sup>8</sup>  
*chyan* 錢: tse<sup>2</sup>  
*chyaner* 前額: ŋie<sup>8</sup> təi<sup>2</sup> ləŋ<sup>3</sup>  
*chyanmiann* 前面: tse<sup>2</sup> təi<sup>2</sup>  
*chyaumay* 蕎麥: kiau<sup>2</sup> mo<sup>8</sup>  
*chyhbaang* 翅膀: həi<sup>7</sup>, ie<sup>8</sup>  
*chyi* 騎: ki<sup>2</sup>  
*chyn* 琴: keŋ<sup>2</sup>  
*chyng* 晴: tsio<sup>2</sup>  
*chyr* 遲: me<sup>6</sup>  
*chyuntz* 裙子: kuəŋ<sup>2</sup>  
*da (jian)* 搭(肩): pəi<sup>8</sup>  
*daa* 打: mo<sup>8</sup>, ʃe<sup>5</sup>, taŋ<sup>5</sup>, pha<sup>5</sup>  
*daa guutz* 打穀子: pa<sup>8</sup>  
*daalei* 打雷: ʃaŋ<sup>3</sup> ləŋ<sup>2</sup> kaŋ<sup>1</sup>  
*dah* 大: ta<sup>6</sup>  
*dan* 單: ta<sup>1</sup>  
*dann* 蛋: ləŋ<sup>3</sup>  
*dann* 淡: tho<sup>1</sup>  
*dau* 刀: tau<sup>1</sup>  
*daw* 倒: sa<sup>1</sup>  
*daw* 到: tau<sup>5</sup>  
*dawdiaw* 倒掉: khaŋ<sup>1</sup>  
*dawguu* 稻穀: kəi<sup>7</sup>  
*dawsuey* 稻穗: tʃhe<sup>3</sup>  
*dawtsao* 稻草: kəŋ<sup>3</sup>  
*dawtyan* 稻田: te<sup>2</sup> ti<sup>3</sup>  
*dawtz* 稻子: vəŋ<sup>2</sup>  
*day* 帶: ta<sup>5</sup>  
*day* 戴: təi<sup>5</sup>, ta<sup>5</sup>  
*daytz* 袋子: təŋ<sup>6</sup>  
*.de* 得: tia<sup>7</sup>  
*.de* 的: ka<sup>5</sup>  
*deeng* 等: taŋ<sup>3</sup>  
*derdaw* 得到: no<sup>1</sup>, təi<sup>7</sup>  
*di* 低: e<sup>3</sup>, te<sup>1</sup>  
*dianntz* 墊子: thia<sup>7</sup>

*diaw* 掉: tia<sup>7</sup>, təŋ<sup>8</sup>  
*dihdih* 弟弟: lau<sup>3</sup> te<sup>3</sup>  
*dihming* 地名: kaŋ<sup>1</sup> tsio<sup>2</sup>, ʃy<sup>3</sup> tʃəu<sup>7</sup> pa<sup>2</sup>, taŋ<sup>2</sup>  
     tsi<sup>3</sup> haŋ<sup>6</sup>, taŋ<sup>2</sup> tsi<sup>3</sup> ŋo<sup>2</sup>, ʃaŋ<sup>6</sup> tsa<sup>5</sup>  
*dihshanq* 地上: ti<sup>6</sup> ho<sup>6</sup> ti<sup>3</sup>  
*dii* 底: təi<sup>7</sup>, te<sup>3</sup>  
*dinq ryhtz* 定日期: kue<sup>3</sup> ŋi<sup>8</sup> tsi<sup>3</sup>  
*diou* 丟: tia<sup>7</sup>  
*dioudiaw* 丟掉: tiəu<sup>1</sup> kiau<sup>3</sup>  
*doan* 短: təŋ<sup>3</sup>  
*dongshi* 東西: məi<sup>6</sup> si<sup>6</sup>  
*dongtian* 冬天: taŋ<sup>1</sup> ho<sup>3</sup>  
*doong* 懂: ʃi<sup>7</sup> tia<sup>7</sup>  
*doou* 陡: ke<sup>3</sup>  
*dooulih* 斗笠: ti<sup>7</sup> mo<sup>2</sup>  
*dow* 豆: təi<sup>6</sup>  
*duann* 斷: təŋ<sup>8</sup>  
*dueh* 對: tʃau<sup>8</sup>  
*duen* 蹲: pu<sup>1</sup>  
*duenn* 燉: khue<sup>1</sup>  
*duhtz* 肚子: pəi<sup>7</sup>  
*duo* 多: tau<sup>1</sup>  
*duoh* 踩: tsha<sup>3</sup>  
*duoo* 躲: ku<sup>6</sup>  
*duuchyan* 賭錢: təi<sup>3</sup> tse<sup>2</sup>  
*dwu* 毒: təi<sup>6</sup>  
*dwu.de* 毒的: təi<sup>8</sup>  
*dyedao* 跌倒: tia<sup>7</sup>, fa<sup>1</sup>, phəi<sup>7</sup>  
*eelduo* 耳朵: ŋi<sup>3</sup> kaŋ<sup>1</sup>  
*eellong* 耳聾: laŋ<sup>2</sup>  
*eh* 餓: ŋau<sup>6</sup>, kue<sup>1</sup>  
*ell* 二: ŋi<sup>6</sup>  
*erltz* 兒子: ke<sup>3</sup>  
*fadoou* 發抖: kuəŋ<sup>1</sup>  
*fan* 翻: phe<sup>1</sup>  
*fanshuu* 蕃薯: fa<sup>1</sup> ʃy<sup>2</sup>  
*fann* 飯: pəŋ<sup>6</sup>  
*fannlih* 飯粒: pəŋ<sup>6</sup> so<sup>3</sup>  
*fanq* 放: piaŋ<sup>5</sup>  
*farngtz* 房子: əi<sup>7</sup>  
*fei* 飛: pəŋ<sup>1</sup>  
*feir* 肥: pəi<sup>2</sup>  
*feng* 風: faŋ<sup>1</sup>

*fenq* 縫: paŋ<sup>6</sup>  
*fernmuh* 墳墓: te<sup>6</sup>  
*ferng* 縫: no<sup>8</sup>, te<sup>2</sup>  
*fey* 吠: pəŋ<sup>6</sup>  
*fu* 孵: pu<sup>6</sup>  
*fuhchin* 父親: io<sup>2</sup>  
*fwu* 浮: pau<sup>2</sup>  
*gaan* 趕: tshau<sup>1</sup>  
*gan* 肝: kəŋ<sup>1</sup>  
*gan* 乾: tsia<sup>1</sup>, kəŋ<sup>1</sup>  
*gang* 鋼: kaŋ<sup>5</sup>  
*gangganghao* 剛剛好: khaŋ<sup>1</sup> khaŋ<sup>1</sup> hau<sup>3</sup>  
*gau* 高: kau<sup>1</sup>  
*gay* 蓋: kaŋ<sup>2</sup>, kəŋ<sup>5</sup>, mio<sup>1</sup>, to<sup>7</sup>, tʃo<sup>1</sup>  
*gay farngtz* 蓋房子: tsau<sup>5</sup> əi<sup>7</sup>  
*gaytz* 蓋子: kəŋ<sup>5</sup>  
*ge* 割: kəŋ<sup>7</sup>, phio<sup>7</sup>  
*gege* 哥哥: lau<sup>3</sup> po<sup>7</sup>  
*geei* 給: həi<sup>6</sup>  
*gen* 根: kye<sup>1</sup>  
*goaijanq* 拐杖: tsho<sup>5</sup> kuəŋ<sup>3</sup>  
*goan* 管: kua<sup>3</sup>  
*goei* 鬼: kuəi<sup>3</sup>  
*gong.de* 公的: ku<sup>3</sup>, kaŋ<sup>1</sup>, sau<sup>1</sup>  
*goou* 狗: kəi<sup>3</sup>  
*gujanq* 姑丈: ku<sup>1</sup> tʃaŋ<sup>3</sup>  
*gumha* 姑媽: ku<sup>1</sup>  
*gua* 瓜: ko<sup>1</sup>  
*guafeng* 颶風: faŋ<sup>1</sup> khue<sup>1</sup>  
*guarang* 瓜瓢: naŋ<sup>1</sup>  
*guan* 官: kua<sup>1</sup>  
*guanmen* 關門: kua<sup>1</sup> maŋ<sup>2</sup>  
*guey* 跪: kue<sup>6</sup>  
*guey* 貴: kuəi<sup>5</sup>  
*guo* 鍋: kau<sup>1</sup>, fu<sup>2</sup>, kua<sup>5</sup>, pu<sup>2</sup> pa<sup>7</sup>  
*guogay* 鍋蓋: tsəŋ<sup>5</sup> kəŋ<sup>5</sup>  
*guohliuh* 過慮: sia<sup>1</sup>, pi<sup>5</sup>  
*hae* 海: həŋ<sup>3</sup>  
*hair* 還: va<sup>2</sup> ke<sup>6</sup> ma<sup>1</sup>  
*hairtz* 孩子: ke<sup>3</sup> ny<sup>3</sup>  
*hann* 汗: həŋ<sup>6</sup>  
*harn* 寒: həŋ<sup>2</sup>  
*harnq* 紉: tso<sup>5</sup>

*heen* 很: hau<sup>3</sup>  
*her* 河: hau<sup>2</sup>  
*herng* 衡: vo<sup>2</sup>  
*hourtz* 猴子: həi<sup>2</sup>  
*how* 厚: kəi<sup>3</sup>  
*hua* 花: fo<sup>1</sup>  
*huah* 話: fo<sup>6</sup>  
*huahhuah* 畫畫: fo<sup>6</sup> fo<sup>6</sup>  
*huann* 換: va<sup>6</sup>  
*huey* 會: fa<sup>8</sup>  
*huoo* 火: fəŋ<sup>3</sup>  
*hwa* 滑: vi<sup>3</sup>  
*hwang* 黃: vaŋ<sup>2</sup>  
*hwangjing* 黃疊: vaŋ<sup>2</sup> kio<sup>1</sup>  
*hwei* 回: liau<sup>2</sup> kue<sup>1</sup>  
*hwo* 活: se<sup>1</sup>, ke<sup>6</sup>  
*i* 一: i<sup>7</sup>  
*ifwu* 衣服: so<sup>1</sup>  
*ia* 鴨: o<sup>7</sup>  
*ianji* 閹雞: kue<sup>7</sup> ke<sup>1</sup>  
*jatzyy* 渣滓: tso<sup>1</sup>  
*jaang* 長: pəŋ<sup>7</sup>  
*jae* 窄: kia<sup>8</sup>, ʃa<sup>8</sup>  
*janglang* 蟑螂: vaŋ<sup>2</sup> tsa<sup>8</sup>  
*jann* 站: ke<sup>3</sup>  
*janqfu* 丈夫: lau<sup>3</sup> kaŋ<sup>1</sup>, no<sup>2</sup> tsi<sup>3</sup> so<sup>2</sup>  
*jea* 假: ko<sup>3</sup>  
*jeajuang* 假裝: tso<sup>5</sup> vau<sup>3</sup>  
*jeau* 腳: kiau<sup>7</sup>  
*jeh.ge* 這個: tʃa<sup>3</sup> = ka<sup>5</sup>  
*jehlii* 這裡: tʃa<sup>3</sup> = ti<sup>5</sup>  
*jenju* 真珠: tʃeŋ<sup>1</sup> tʃy<sup>1</sup>  
*jeng* 蒸: khue<sup>1</sup>  
*jeou* 九: kiəu<sup>3</sup>  
*jeou* 久: kiəu<sup>3</sup>  
*jeou* 酒: tsiəu<sup>3</sup>  
*jer* 折: ia<sup>3</sup>  
*ji* 雞: ke<sup>1</sup>  
*jijaw* 雞罩: kaŋ<sup>2</sup>  
*jijen* 雞胗: kheŋ<sup>3</sup>  
*jilong* 雞籠: laŋ<sup>2</sup>  
*jishytz* 雞蟲子: tʃi<sup>2</sup>  
*jiah* 嫁: ko<sup>5</sup>

*jiang* 薑: kjaŋ<sup>1</sup>  
*jiann* 箭: tse<sup>5</sup>  
*jiau* 澆: əi<sup>7</sup>  
*jiauhuann* 交換: thiau<sup>3</sup>  
*jiaw* 叫: te<sup>2</sup>, ma<sup>1</sup>, ləi<sup>7</sup>, au<sup>5</sup>  
*jiawtz* 轎子: kiau<sup>6</sup>  
*jie* 接: tse<sup>7</sup>, taŋ<sup>3</sup>  
*jieshyr* 結實: ŋo<sup>6</sup> tso<sup>6</sup>  
*jiee* 解: thəi<sup>3</sup>  
*jieedwu* 解毒: ka<sup>3</sup> təi<sup>8</sup>  
*jieefu* 姐夫: tsi<sup>3</sup> tʃaŋ<sup>3</sup>  
*jiee.jie* 姐姐: mo<sup>2</sup> tsi<sup>3</sup>  
*jieh* 借: kaŋ<sup>1</sup>, tsi<sup>7</sup>  
*jin* 斤: kye<sup>1</sup>  
*jintian* 今天: keŋ<sup>1</sup> ŋi<sup>8</sup>  
*jinn* 近: khye<sup>3</sup>  
*jiow* 舊: lau<sup>3</sup>, kiəu<sup>6</sup>  
*jiowjiow* 舅舅: khia<sup>1</sup>  
*jiowmuu* 舅母: khia<sup>1</sup> məi<sup>3</sup>  
*jongju* 中豬: tʃy<sup>1</sup> tia<sup>2</sup>  
*jonq* 重: tʃeŋ<sup>3</sup>  
*jonqdwu* 中毒: tʃeŋ<sup>5</sup> təi<sup>8</sup>  
*joongju* 種豬: tʃy<sup>1</sup> ko<sup>1</sup>  
*ju* 豬: tʃy<sup>1</sup>  
*jujuuann* 豬圈: lia<sup>2</sup>  
*juyou* 豬油: pa<sup>3</sup> iəu<sup>2</sup>, tʃy<sup>1</sup> kau<sup>1</sup>  
*jua* 抓: no<sup>1</sup>  
*juajuh* 抓住: tsau<sup>7</sup> həi<sup>8</sup>  
*juan* 磚: kye<sup>1</sup>  
*juh* 柱: tʃhy<sup>3</sup>  
*juh* 住: tʃy<sup>6</sup>  
*juhma* 苧麻: tʃy<sup>3</sup>  
*juu* 煮: tʃy<sup>3</sup>, pe<sup>6</sup>, so<sup>8</sup>  
*juuren* 主人: tʃy<sup>3</sup> ŋeŋ<sup>2</sup>  
*jwushuu* 竹鼠: thəi<sup>3</sup> laŋ<sup>2</sup>  
*jwutz* 竹子: tʃəu<sup>7</sup>  
*jy* 枝: ki<sup>1</sup>, si<sup>1</sup>  
*jyju* 蜘蛛: kiau<sup>2</sup> siau<sup>1</sup>, kio<sup>8</sup> sio<sup>7</sup>, le<sup>2</sup> phaŋ<sup>1</sup>  
*jyma* 芝麻: tʃi<sup>1</sup> mo<sup>2</sup>  
*jyr* 直: tʃi<sup>8</sup>  
*kaan* 砍: tau<sup>3</sup>  
*kaihua* 開花: khəŋ<sup>1</sup> fo<sup>1</sup>  
*kaimen* 開門: to<sup>3</sup> maŋ<sup>2</sup>

*kan* 看: ʃəu<sup>3</sup>, ta<sup>5</sup>  
*kann* 看: mian<sup>6</sup>, ŋio<sup>5</sup>  
*karng* 扛: kio<sup>2</sup>  
*keeyii* 可以: khau<sup>3</sup> i<sup>3</sup>  
*koen* 網: khuəŋ<sup>3</sup>  
*kooushoei* 口水: la<sup>3</sup>  
*ku* 哭: vau<sup>3</sup>  
*kuan* 寬: khua<sup>7</sup>  
*kuay* 快: lia<sup>7</sup>  
*kuaytz* 筷子: tʃy<sup>6</sup> tʃo<sup>7</sup>  
*kuhtz* 褲子: fu<sup>5</sup>  
*-l* (名詞後綴): le<sup>1</sup>  
*laan* 懶: la<sup>3</sup>  
*lai* 來: le<sup>2</sup>  
*lann* 爛: la<sup>6</sup>, məi<sup>7</sup>  
*lantz* 藍子: lo<sup>2</sup>, ʃo<sup>6</sup>, ta<sup>6</sup> hau<sup>8</sup>  
*lao* 老: lau<sup>3</sup>  
*laohuu* 老虎: lau<sup>3</sup> fu<sup>3</sup>  
*laoshuu* 老鼠: lau<sup>3</sup> tʃhy<sup>3</sup>  
*.le* 了: lia<sup>3</sup>  
*lean* 臉: me<sup>6</sup>  
*leanjya* 臉頰: me<sup>6</sup> kia<sup>7</sup>  
*leang* 兩: tiaŋ<sup>3</sup>  
*leang.ge* 兩個: tiaŋ<sup>3</sup> = ka<sup>5</sup>  
*leeng* 冷: laŋ<sup>3</sup>  
*lha* 拉: thau<sup>1</sup>  
*lhau* 撈: sia<sup>1</sup>  
*li* 梨: ti<sup>2</sup>  
*lianqtsyr* 量詞: hau<sup>6</sup>, ho<sup>2</sup>, iau<sup>1</sup>, io<sup>6</sup>, ka<sup>5</sup>, khu<sup>1</sup>,  
 khəi<sup>3</sup>, ki<sup>1</sup>, kiau<sup>1</sup>, ku<sup>3</sup>, ku<sup>5</sup>, kua<sup>3</sup>, lia<sup>2</sup>, paŋ<sup>1</sup>,  
 tia<sup>2</sup>, to<sup>1</sup>, tsəŋ<sup>2</sup>, tʃhi<sup>5</sup>, tʃi<sup>7</sup>, təŋ<sup>2</sup>, ʃe<sup>8</sup>  
*lieh* 裂: va<sup>8</sup>  
*lii* 一里路的里: ti<sup>3</sup>  
*liimiann* 裡面: ti<sup>3</sup> tsi<sup>2</sup>  
*liitz* 李子: ti<sup>3</sup>  
*liiyu* 鯉魚: ti<sup>3</sup> ŋy<sup>2</sup>  
*liingtz* 領子: faŋ<sup>1</sup> tio<sup>3</sup>  
*liou* 流: liəu<sup>2</sup>  
*liou* 留: tiəu<sup>2</sup>  
*liow* 六: təu<sup>8</sup>  
*long* 龍: leŋ<sup>2</sup>  
*longmii* 礮米: laŋ<sup>2</sup>  
*loongtz* 籠子: laŋ<sup>3</sup>

*luwoei* 蘆葦: mian<sup>1</sup>  
*luh* 路: ke<sup>1</sup> lai<sup>6</sup>  
*luh* 鹿: lai<sup>8</sup>  
*luhshoei* 露水: lai<sup>5</sup> sy<sup>3</sup>  
*luu* 滷: lai<sup>3</sup>  
*.ma* 嗎: ma<sup>1</sup>  
*maa* 馬: mo<sup>3</sup>  
*maahwang* 螞蟻: fu<sup>2</sup> ki<sup>2</sup>  
*maayii* 螞蟻: ηe<sup>5</sup> kan<sup>1</sup>  
*maan* 滿: ma<sup>3</sup>, tsan<sup>1</sup>  
*mae* 買: me<sup>3</sup>, tsi<sup>8</sup>  
*mah* 罵: ηue<sup>6</sup>, tən<sup>7</sup>  
*mai* 埋: me<sup>2</sup>  
*mann* 慢: nau<sup>2</sup>  
*mau* 毛: mau<sup>2</sup>  
*may* 賣: thia<sup>5</sup>  
*maytz* 麥子: mo<sup>8</sup> tsai<sup>3</sup>  
*meei* 美: tsio<sup>1</sup>  
*meiyeou* 沒有: mau<sup>2</sup>  
*men* 門: man<sup>2</sup>  
*menkaan* 門檻: tshe<sup>7</sup>  
*menq* 夢: man<sup>6</sup>  
*meymey* 妹妹: lau<sup>3</sup> mən<sup>6</sup>  
*mhau* 貓: miau<sup>5</sup>  
*mhen* 燜: ven<sup>2</sup>  
*mhenreh* 燜熱: man<sup>6</sup>  
*mihfeng* 蜜蜂: phan<sup>1</sup>  
*mii* 米: mi<sup>3</sup>  
*mingtian* 明天: jau<sup>1</sup> ηi<sup>8</sup>  
*mingtzyh* 名字: mio<sup>2</sup> tsi<sup>6</sup>  
*mo* 磨: ma<sup>2</sup>  
*moh* 墨: msi<sup>8</sup>  
*muhbei* 墓碑: pi<sup>1</sup> ki<sup>5</sup>  
*muhji* 木屐: tha<sup>1</sup> kio<sup>8</sup>  
*muhjianq* 木匠: msi<sup>8</sup> tsian<sup>6</sup>  
*muhniou* 牧牛: ηio<sup>5</sup> η<sup>2</sup>  
*muuchin* 母親: msi<sup>1</sup>  
*muu.de* 母的: mo<sup>2</sup>  
*muujyy* 拇指: jau<sup>3</sup> tsi<sup>2</sup>  
*na* 拿: no<sup>1</sup>  
*naalii* 哪裡?: na<sup>6</sup> ti<sup>5</sup>  
*nahlit* 那裡: ka<sup>3</sup> = ti<sup>5</sup>  
*nanhairtz* 男孩子: ke<sup>3</sup> = le<sup>1</sup> so<sup>2</sup>

*nanren* 男人: no<sup>2</sup> tsi<sup>3</sup> so<sup>2</sup>  
*nean* 撚: nan<sup>3</sup>  
*neau* 鳥: tia<sup>3</sup>  
*neei.ge* 哪個?: na<sup>6</sup> ka<sup>5</sup>  
*neoukow* 鈕釦: nsi<sup>3</sup>  
*neuerl* 女兒: ηy<sup>3</sup>  
*neuren* 女人: pu<sup>1</sup> ηian<sup>2</sup> so<sup>2</sup>  
*neushiuh* 女婿: se<sup>5</sup> lan<sup>2</sup>  
*ney.ge* 那個: ka<sup>3</sup> = ka<sup>5</sup>  
*nian* 年: ne<sup>2</sup>  
*nii* 你: ηi<sup>3</sup>  
*nii.men* 你們: ηi<sup>3</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> tse<sup>2</sup>  
*niou* 牛: η<sup>2</sup>  
*noanhwo* 暖和: nən<sup>3</sup>  
*ooutuh* 嘔吐: phən<sup>1</sup>  
*pa* 扒: pho<sup>1</sup>  
*parntz* 盤子: pa<sup>2</sup>  
*parngbian* 旁邊: tsai<sup>7</sup> tsi<sup>2</sup>  
*parngshieh* 螃蟹: se<sup>3</sup> kan<sup>1</sup>  
*pawmoh* 泡沫: phau<sup>1</sup>  
*penq* 碰: kio<sup>7</sup>, tsan<sup>6</sup>  
*pi* 披: pa<sup>7</sup>  
*pi* 劈: pha<sup>5</sup>, phio<sup>7</sup>  
*pihguu* 屁股: si<sup>3</sup> me<sup>3</sup>  
*puhbuh* 瀑布: tsa<sup>5</sup> sy<sup>3</sup>  
*pyi* 皮: pi<sup>2</sup>  
*pyiday* 皮帶: ta<sup>5</sup>  
*pyitzanq* 脾臟: ie<sup>2</sup> thia<sup>7</sup>  
*pyng* 平: pio<sup>2</sup>  
*pyngtsao* 萍草: piau<sup>2</sup>  
*raan* 染: ηe<sup>3</sup>  
*ranq* 讓: ηian<sup>6</sup>  
*reh* 熱: ηe<sup>8</sup>, hau<sup>7</sup>  
*ren* 人: ηen<sup>2</sup>  
*rennshyh* 認識: si<sup>7</sup>, ηen<sup>6</sup>, tia<sup>7</sup>  
*roan* 軟: ηye<sup>3</sup>  
*row* 肉: ηiəu<sup>8</sup>  
*saan* 傘: sa<sup>3</sup>  
*sai* 塞: tshai<sup>7</sup>  
*san* 三: so<sup>1</sup>  
*sao* 掃: sau<sup>5</sup>, kio<sup>6</sup>  
*saomuh* 掃墓: tsi<sup>5</sup> msi<sup>6</sup>  
*sawjoou* 掃帚: kio<sup>6</sup> sau<sup>5</sup>, sau<sup>5</sup> po<sup>3</sup>

*sha* 殺: tʃi²  
*shai* 篩: sa¹  
*shan* 山: sa¹, laŋ², tio³  
*shankeng* 山坑: kho¹  
*shannyu* 鱔魚: ʃe⁶ ŋy²  
*shanq* 上: ʃaŋ³  
*shanqmiann* 上面: ʃaŋ⁶ tɔi²  
*shao* 少: ʃau³  
*shau kaishoei* 燒開水: pu²  
*shawtz* 哨子: sia⁵ tsɔi³  
*shay* 曬: tʃoŋ⁷  
*sheau* 小: se⁵  
*sheaumuuji* 小母雞: la⁶  
*sheauniou* 小牛: ŋ² taŋ²  
*sheen.shen* 孀孀: ʃəu⁷ mɔi³  
*shen* 深: tʃheŋ¹  
*sheng* 生: keŋ¹, so¹  
*sheng.de* 生的: so¹ = ka⁵  
*sher* 蛇: ʃo²  
*shertour* 舌頭: ʃe⁸ tɔi²  
*sherngtz* 繩子: sau⁷  
*sheue* 血: ʃe⁷  
*shi* 溪: khe¹  
*shifann* 稀飯: tʃəu⁷  
*shia* 蝦: ho² kaŋ¹  
*shiah* 下: lau⁸  
*shiahbae* 下襠: tia⁵ pe¹  
*shiahmiann* 下面: ho³ tɔi²  
*shiang* 香: ʃaŋ¹  
*shiann* 線: seŋ⁵  
*shianqsyh* 像似: tsiaŋ⁶  
*shianqtz* 巷子: lo⁷  
*shih* 繫: kɔi⁷  
*shii* 洗: si³  
*shin* 心: seŋ¹  
*shin* 新: seŋ¹  
*shinq* 姓: tʃeŋ², tʃy¹, vaŋ²  
 (大); fo⁶, lau², liəu², mo³, paŋ², paŋ², po⁸,  
 ti³, tsha⁵, tsio⁶, tʃau⁶, tʃaŋ¹, tʃaŋ¹  
*shiowtz* 袖子: ʃəu³ tsiəu⁶  
*shoei* 水: ʃy³  
*shoeijenn* 水圳: kuəŋ⁵  
*shoeijiing* 水井: tsio³

*shoeipyau* 水瓢: ʃy³ ʃau⁸  
*shoeitaa* 水瀨: tsha⁵  
*shoou* 手: ʃəu³  
*shooujyytour* 手指頭: ʃəu³ ʃi³ tsia³  
*shooutaw* 手套: ʃəu³ thau⁵  
*shour* 熟: ʃəu⁸, la⁶  
*show* 瘦: səi⁵  
*shu* 梳: si¹  
*shu* 書: ʃy¹  
*shu* 輸: ʃy¹  
*shuyoan* 疏遠: səi¹  
*shuang* 雙: saŋ¹  
*shuh* 樹: ʃy⁶  
*shuohuah* 說話: vo⁶ si³  
*shwu.shu* 叔叔: ʃəu⁷ ʃəu⁷  
*shy* 濕: tʃhe⁷  
*shyfeir* 施肥: aŋ¹  
*shyan* 鹹: ho²  
*shyan* 閒: mau² si⁶  
*shye* 斜: tsio²  
*shyh* 是: ʃe⁶  
*shyhtz* 柿子: si⁶  
*shyifuh* 媳婦: seŋ¹ pu³  
*shyitz* 蓆子: tsio⁸, ta⁷  
*shyong* 熊: ʃoŋ²  
*shyr* 十: ʃi⁸  
*shyrjiow* 石臼: khu³ khue⁷  
*shyrtour* 石頭: ʃo⁸ tɔi²  
*shyue* 學: hau⁸  
*soen* 筍: saŋ³  
*suentz* 孫子: saŋ¹  
*suey* 歲: se⁵  
*syh* 四: si⁵  
*syy* 死: si³, khau⁵  
*ta* 他: ki³  
*ta.men* 他們: ki³ ta¹ tse²  
*tair* 抬: kaŋ¹  
*tanq* 燙: na⁷, tʃhau⁷  
*tarnq* 糖: taŋ²  
*taurtz* 桃子: tau²  
*tayyang* 太陽: ŋie⁸ tɔi²  
*tean* 舔: lia⁸  
*ti* 踢: thəi⁷

*tian* 天: the<sup>1</sup>  
*tiangan dihjy* 天干地支: koŋ<sup>7</sup>, ieŋ<sup>7</sup>, peŋ<sup>3</sup>, taŋ<sup>1</sup>,  
 u<sup>6</sup>, ki<sup>3</sup>, ko<sup>1</sup>, seŋ<sup>1</sup>, ieŋ<sup>2</sup>, kuəi<sup>5</sup>;  
 tsi<sup>3</sup>, tʃhəu<sup>3</sup>, i<sup>2</sup>, mia<sup>3</sup>, seŋ<sup>2</sup>, tsi<sup>6</sup>, ŋ<sup>3</sup>, vi<sup>6</sup>,  
 seŋ<sup>1</sup>, iəu<sup>3</sup>, siŋ<sup>7</sup>, həŋ<sup>6</sup>  
*tiau* 挑: to<sup>1</sup>, pa<sup>3</sup>  
*tiaw* 跳: thiau<sup>5</sup>  
*tiawshern* 跳神: ləu<sup>8</sup> taŋ<sup>2</sup>  
*tiee* 鐵: thiaŋ<sup>7</sup>  
*ting* 聽: tho<sup>1</sup>  
*toei* 腿: thəi<sup>3</sup>  
*tong* 通: thaŋ<sup>1</sup>  
*tonq* 痛: tsi<sup>8</sup>  
*toong* 捅: tsi<sup>8</sup>  
*tour* 頭: təi<sup>2</sup> no<sup>2</sup>  
*tourfaa* 頭髮: mau<sup>2</sup>  
*tourshyuan* 頭旋: tʃe<sup>6</sup>  
*tsae* 踩: to<sup>8</sup>  
*tsaehorng* 彩虹: the<sup>1</sup> haŋ<sup>2</sup> seŋ<sup>2</sup>  
*tsangyng* 蒼蠅: u<sup>1</sup> seŋ<sup>2</sup>  
*tsao* 草: tshau<sup>3</sup>  
*tsarn* 蠶: saŋ<sup>1</sup> tʃeŋ<sup>2</sup>  
*tsarng* 藏: pian<sup>5</sup>  
*tsay* 菜: tshəŋ<sup>5</sup>  
*tsehsuoo* 廁所: pian<sup>5</sup> lia<sup>2</sup>  
*tsyh* 刺: tshiauŋ<sup>7</sup>, ləiŋ<sup>7</sup>, kəŋŋ<sup>7</sup>  
*tu* 凸: təi<sup>8</sup>, tsiau<sup>8</sup>  
*tuei* 推: thəŋ<sup>1</sup>, tsəŋ<sup>3</sup>  
*tuh* 吐出來: ləi<sup>3</sup>  
*tuu* 土: ne<sup>2</sup>, thəi<sup>3</sup>  
*tyan* 甜: te<sup>2</sup>  
*tyangeeng* 田埂: te<sup>2</sup> seŋ<sup>2</sup>  
*tyanluo* 田螺: te<sup>2</sup> lau<sup>2</sup>  
*tyi* 提: tia<sup>5</sup>  
*.tz* 子: tsəi<sup>3</sup>  
*tza* 砸: naŋ<sup>3</sup>  
*tzao* 早: tsau<sup>3</sup>  
*tzaoshanq* 早上: the<sup>1</sup> kuaŋ<sup>1</sup>  
*tzar.men* 咱們: e<sup>1</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> tse<sup>2</sup>  
*tzeir* 賊: tsəi<sup>8</sup> ku<sup>3</sup>  
*tzoeiba* 嘴巴: kue<sup>5</sup>  
*tzoou* 走: ho<sup>2</sup>  
*tzow* 揍: taŋ<sup>5</sup>

*tzuey* 醉: tsi<sup>5</sup>  
*tzuo* 做: tsau<sup>5</sup>  
*tzuo* 坐: tsəŋ<sup>3</sup>  
*tzuo* 做飯: sia<sup>1</sup>  
*tzuo* 做夢: pəŋŋ<sup>7</sup> maŋ<sup>6</sup>  
*tzuo* 做菜: pe<sup>6</sup> tshəŋ<sup>5</sup>  
*tzuo* 祖父: to<sup>1</sup>  
*tzuo* 祖母: ma<sup>3</sup>  
*tzwo* 昨天: tsa<sup>6</sup> ŋi<sup>8</sup>  
*tz* 字: tsi<sup>6</sup>  
*tz* 自己: tsi<sup>6</sup> ko<sup>1</sup>  
*u* 搗: aŋ<sup>1</sup>  
*ua* 挖: ie<sup>3</sup>, lia<sup>1</sup>, kue<sup>8</sup>  
*uen* 溫: pu<sup>2</sup>  
*uo* 窩: tshəi<sup>3</sup>  
*wa* 襪子: ma<sup>7</sup>  
*wan* 玩: tʃhy<sup>1</sup> lia<sup>6</sup>  
*wan* 忘記: the<sup>1</sup> pian<sup>5</sup>  
*way* 外祖父: ŋua<sup>6</sup> to<sup>1</sup>  
*way* 外祖母: ŋua<sup>6</sup> ma<sup>3</sup>  
*wen* 聞: pi<sup>6</sup>  
*wentz* 蚊子: maŋ<sup>1</sup> ko<sup>1</sup>  
*wenn* 問: maŋ<sup>6</sup>  
*wey* 餵: keŋ<sup>1</sup>  
*woa* 瓦: ŋo<sup>3</sup>  
*woan* 晚: me<sup>6</sup>  
*woan* 碗: va<sup>3</sup>  
*woan* 晚上: io<sup>6</sup> təi<sup>2</sup>  
*woang* 網: mian<sup>3</sup>  
*woeiba* 尾巴: məŋ<sup>3</sup>  
*woo* 我: ŋa<sup>3</sup>  
*woo* 我們: e<sup>1</sup> ta<sup>1</sup> tse<sup>2</sup>  
*wuu* 五: ŋ<sup>3</sup>  
*yan* 鹽: ie<sup>2</sup>  
*yaw* 要: iau<sup>5</sup>  
*yaw* 藥: iau<sup>8</sup>  
*ye* 眼睛: məi<sup>8</sup> tʃy<sup>1</sup>  
*ye* 癢: iaŋ<sup>3</sup>  
*ye* 養: khiəuŋ<sup>7</sup> tʃy<sup>1</sup>  
*ye* 咬: noŋ<sup>7</sup>  
*ye* 舀: iau<sup>3</sup>, tshoŋ<sup>7</sup>  
*yee* 也: ia<sup>3</sup>  
*ye* 葉子: ie<sup>8</sup>

*yeou* 有: həi<sup>3</sup>  
*yeu* 雨: y<sup>3</sup>  
*yihchulai* 溢出來: maŋ<sup>1</sup>  
*yinq* 硬: ŋo<sup>6</sup>  
*yeuan* 遠: ve<sup>3</sup>  
*yowtz* 柚子: iəu<sup>6</sup>  
*yulin* 魚鱗: ŋy<sup>2</sup> teŋ<sup>1</sup>  
*yulooutz* 魚簍子: ŋy<sup>2</sup> ləi<sup>3</sup>

*yuan* 圓: ve<sup>2</sup>  
*yueh* 月: ŋye<sup>8</sup>  
*yuehfu* 岳父: tʃaŋ<sup>3</sup> məi<sup>3</sup> io<sup>2</sup>  
*yuehmuu* 岳母: tʃaŋ<sup>3</sup> məi<sup>3</sup> pau<sup>2</sup>  
*yuhtz* 芋子: y<sup>6</sup> ləŋ<sup>3</sup>  
*yun* 雲: veŋ<sup>2</sup>  
*yunn* 熨: naŋ<sup>7</sup>  
*yunndoou* 熨斗: naŋ<sup>7</sup> təi<sup>3</sup>

Errata in the original printed text 原版的勘誤表

Page 頁	Line 行	Change 改	To 為
291	7	Occurs only with the	Attested with initials
293	24	般	盤
296	18	similarly	[omit] [刪]
	19	/i/ for	/ie/ and /i/ for
300	5	藍	籃
	23	Underlying	Lost
301	20	*/ts-/	*/tʃ-/
308	19	Xuebaw	Shyuebaw
	23	板	版
312	23	辭	詞
314	31	儂	農
316	11	回來、回去	回(來、去)
328	18	泐	完
334	21	儂	農
339	5	那	內