

A Gutyan Jongbao Dialect Notebook 姑田中堡方言的記音簿

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Introduction 小序

This article is a lexicon and brief study of a single rural dialect. I call it a “notebook” because it is not a full-length study, merely a tally of the two dozen or so pages of field notes that I collected at this site. I did less than a single full day of fieldwork in Jongbao, and what I have collected almost certainly has errors and is missing important forms.

But I have no way of knowing if I will ever again have the chance to visit Jongbao to correct and fill out my notes. Furthermore, I have been to many other villages and have surveyed not a few of them. It hardly seems possible to do a full-length study of each. On balance I would rather publish this material in its present, imperfect form — inviting comment and, I hope, correction — than leave it to turn to dust in its original notebook, waiting in vain for more comprehensive study.

本文是一種鄉下方言的辭彙和簡介。我所以管它叫“記音簿”是因為它並不是甚麼全面的論文，只是二十頁左右的田野筆記。肯定有遺漏的地方和錯誤。

我在中堡村才花了不到一整天的時間做田野工作。也不知道以後有沒有機會再去核對、增補資料。在中國時，我也去過不少其他小村做過調查，雖然這些資料不是完整的，將來也會陸續地編為類似的“小簿子”呈獻給做田野的同志。我願以本資料做為拋磚引玉，而不要把它一直藏匿在簿子裡。

1. Site and Informants

The site of this dialect is Gutyan Jongbao 姑田中堡, in the northeastern part of the county of Liancherng 連城 in western Fukien (Longyan Prefecture 龍岩地區). Gutyan borders on western Yeongan County 永安縣 of Sanming Prefecture 三明地區. The name Gutyan means “aunt’s fields”; the story is that when a certain woman of the Doong 董 family married into the area, her aunt (*gugu* 姑姑) gave her a dowry gift of some arable land (*tyan* 田).¹ Perhaps this story has some basis in the fact that the area around the Gutyan Township seat has one of the largest tracts of relatively flat land in all of eastern Liancherng.

Note: The fieldwork on which this paper is based was carried out with financial assistance from Mrs. Shirley Prager Branner, for which I am very grateful. I also wish to thank the people of Gutyan Township and officials of the People’s Government and Chinese Communist Party of Gutyan Township, of Liancherng County, and of Longyan Prefecture, for their hospitality and assistance.

¹. Wang 1992:108. This story is part of the lore well known and repeated around Liancherng County.

The placename Gutyan Shiang 姑田鄉 is reported to be mentioned for the first time in the third year of the Shawshing 紹興 reign period of the Song dynasty (A.D. 1133), when Liancheng Bao 連城堡 and Gutyan Shiang were carved out of Tingchow 汀州.² A recent count gives a population figure of 11,889 for Gutyan Township (including 3,120 troops stationed there, *juhdi* 駐地) and 3,489 for Jongbao as an administrative village.³ Administrative Jongbao includes at least six true villages, but the area along the Township's main road is rather built up, so that it is not easy to tell where Jongbao ends and neighboring administrative villages such as Shanqbao 上堡 and Shiahbao 下堡 begin, let alone most of the small true villages.

All fieldwork was carried out over one afternoon and one morning in late September, 1994, *in situ*. I had the assistance of four informants:

Mr. Huah Chinjinn 華欽進, 62 *suey*⁴ (1994), retired fisherman and calligrapher (principal informant);

Mr. Huah Yeangchuen 華仰春, 71 *suey*, retired farmer;

Mr. Huah Yeangshing 華仰興, 65 *suey*, retired farmer;

Mr. Huah Chorngbao 華崇保, 66 *suey*, retired farmer.

All are natives of Jongbao who have lived there their whole lives, and whose families have been in Jongbao for many generations (*shyhjiu* 世居). Gutyan dialects, even in the Jongbao area, are by no means consistent from one speaker to another, especially in the matter of diagnostic Miin 閩 aspiration (see below). It is said that even within a single village, dialects differ from clan to clan, meaning in reality from surname to surname, and that members of the same clan from different villages may speak more alike than members of different clans from the same village. (If so, this would be an interesting matter to see documented.) In any case, the Huah 華 clan (“Huah’u 華屋”) of Gutyan is reckoned by a number of my other Gutyan informants to “have a more authentic native accent” (*beendihhuah jeang.de bijjiaw dihdaw* 本地話講得比較地道).

As discussed below (Section 3A), the affiliation of this dialect is from a phonological point of view largely Miin, though some of the diagnostic Miin lexical forms are not found.

2. Phonology

The ordinary unit of phonology in this study is the whole syllable. Its formal components — its phonemic elements, if you will — are the initial (*shengmuu* 聲母), final or “rime” (*yunnmuu* 韻母, *yunn* 韻), and tone (*shengdiaw* 聲調). These components are described phonetically in what follows, but in the Lexicon (Section 5, below) they are treated as indivisible. Even though initials and rimes are represented segmentally (it would be more correct to say: in discrete IPA letters), I have carried out no further formal subdivision or subanalysis of them. Tones are represented phonemically, that is, as tone categories, so the issue of subanalysis does not arise.

I have recorded no striking morphophonemic phonotactics (sandhi changes) affecting initials or finals, but there is some tone sandhi.

² Liancheng 1981:66-77. Tingchow is the traditional English spelling of this ancient city, otherwise Tingjou, sometimes Dingjou; note that the name Charngting 長汀 is now usual.

³ Wang 1992:108-9.

⁴ Rural Chinese usually give their ages not in absolute years but in *suey* 歲, which is the number of years they have lived in, counting by the lunar year. *Suey* is usually equal to absolute age plus one.

2A. Rimes

2A-i. Phonetic Values, Order of the Rimes in this Lexicon

Rime categories are represented in approximately phonetic terms. There are 30 of them in this dialect, listed below:

a. Single vowels:

i	y	e	a	ɨ	ɔ	u
		ie	ia		io	
			ua			

yi	ye
----	----

b. Diphthongs:

ai	əi
uai	uəi
ao	əu
iao	iəu
	uəu

c. Nasal endings:

eŋ	aŋ	ŋ	oŋ
	iaŋ		ioŋ
	uaŋ		
yeŋ			

The 30 rimes (of which 29 are contrastive) are listed below in the order in which they are arranged in the lexicon (Section 5, below), together with notes about their absolute articulation and contrasts between them:

/i/ Articulated as [i], sometimes heard with a coda as [i̯] in final position. Often has some palatal friction. Note: I am not sure I have always distinguished rimes /i/ ([i̯]) and /ie/ ([i̯e]) correctly. Note also: This rime is in complementary distribution with /i/ (the sibilant initials never occur with the /i/ rime), but /i/ is written as a distinct category for convenience.

/yi/ Articulated as [y̯i] or [y̯i]. Distinct from /ye/. Poorly attested.

/y/ Articulated as [y], sometimes heard with a coda as [y̯] in final position. Has some simultaneous labiodental and palatal friction.

/e/ Appears to be distinct from /ie/. No friction.

/ie/ Articulated as [i̯e]. Distinguish /e/. The medial sometimes has some palatal friction. Note: I am not sure I have always distinguished rimes /i/ ([i̯]) and /ie/ ([i̯e]) correctly.

/ye/ Articulated as [y̯i̯e] or [y̯e], with simultaneous labiodental and palatal friction on the medial. Distinct from /yi/.

/eŋ/ Articulated always as [eŋ] after sibilants, as [eŋ] or [i̯eŋ] after other initials including zero.

/yeŋ/ Articulated as [y̯i̯eŋ] or [y̯eŋ], with simultaneous labiodental and palatal friction on the medial.

/a/ Articulated as [a].

/ia/ Articulated as [i̯a]. Sometimes has some palatal friction on the medial.

/ua/ Articulated as [u̯a]. Sometimes has some labio-dental friction on the medial.

/aŋ/ Articulated as [aŋ].

/iaŋ/ Articulated as [i̯aŋ]. Sometimes has some palatal friction on the medial.

/uaŋ/ Articulated as [u̯aŋ]. Sometimes has some labio-dental friction on the medial.

- /ai/ Articulated as [ai] or [ɛi]. Note: I have sometimes had difficulty distinguishing this rime from /əi/, but I am sure they are distinct. In a number of cases I believe (on comparative grounds) that forms I have recorded in /əi/ belong in /ai/, such as /məi⁵/ ‘younger sister’, /phəi⁶/ ‘number of times more than’, /pəi⁶/ ‘to recite’, while some forms in /ai/ belong in /əi/, such as /tai¹/ ‘to fill in’, /tai⁵/ ‘toward’, and /lai³/ ‘fishing creel’. But I do not believe these inconsistencies are fatal to the survey as a whole.
- /uai/ Articulated as [uɑi]. Sometimes has some labio-dental friction on the medial. Poorly attested.
- /ao/ Articulated as [ɑo]. Distinguish rime /əu/.
- /iao/ Articulated as [iɑo]. Sometimes has some palatal friction on the medial. Distinguish rime /iəu/.
- /i/ Articulated as [ɿ] (that is, the vocalic equivalent of [z] with friction), and sometimes heard with a coda as [ɿŋ] in final position, after initials /ts-/, /tsh-/, and /s-/. It is articulated as the vocalic equivalent of [ʒ] with friction after initials /tʃ-/, /tʃh-/, and /ʃ-/. Note that this rime is in complementary distribution with /i/ (only the sibilant initials ever occur with the /i/ rime, and they never occur with /i/), but is written as a distinct category.
- /əi/ Articulated anywhere from [əi] to [ɛi]. Note: I have sometimes had difficulty distinguishing it from /ai/, but I am sure they are distinct.
- /uəi/ Articulated as [uəi]. Sometimes has some labio-dental friction on the medial.
- /əu/ Articulated as [əu], also sometimes [æu].
- /iəu/ Articulated as [iəu]. Sometimes has some palatal friction on the medial.
- /uəu/ Articulated as [uəu]. Sometimes has some labio-dental friction on the medial. Poorly attested.
- /ɔ/ Articulated as [ɔ], sometimes heard with a coda as [ɔŋ] in final position.
- /iɔ/ Articulated as [iɔ]. Sometimes has some palatal friction on the medial.
- /oŋ/ Articulated between [oŋ] and [oŋ].
- /ioŋ/ Articulated as [iɔŋ]. Sometimes has some palatal friction on the medial. Poorly attested
- /u/ Articulated as [u]. Has some labio-dental friction.
- /ŋ/ Articulated as [ŋ].

2A-ii. Friction

Rimes /u/ and /y/ and /i/, and to a lesser extent the medials [-u-], [-y-], and [-i-] all have some accompanying friction. Sounds written with the letter “u” have labiodental friction, and sound written with the letter “i” have dorsal alveolar friction; sounds written with the letter “y” have both kinds. This is a common areal feature in Liancheng, northern Longyan and northeastern Shanqharng. In addition, note that medial [-y-] may in fact be treated as [-ui-], since it tends to be articulated this way ([u̥i̥e] as well as [y̥e] for /ye/, [u̥i̥eŋ] as well as [y̥eŋ] for /yeŋ/), although the *rime* /y/ is clearly a single vowel [y].

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 |

Initials /m/, /f/, and /v/ are usually somewhat rounded, so that medial [-u-] is not contrastive with them and is omitted. That is to say, these three initials only appear in rimes that do not begin with letter “u”.

Initial /ŋ/ appears to have two phonetic forms, [ŋ] and [ɲ], in free alternation, whenever it occurs before a letter “i”. But the form [ŋ] is much more common, and [ɲ] is never contrastive in Jongbao.

2C. Tones

2C-i. Isolation Tone Values — Plain Forms.

There are seven contrasting tone categories in Jongbao, six of which correspond to the eight ordinary Common Chinese and Common Miin tone categories. They are numbered from /1/ to /8/, without */4/ or */7/:

- /1/ Articulated as [24]. Corresponds to Common {1}, the *inpyng* 陰平. Goes to /12/ in sandhi, merging with tone /2/. Has diminutive /12d/, also merging with tone /2/.
- /2/ Articulated as [31]. Corresponds to Common {2}, the *yangpyng* 陽平. Goes to /12/ in sandhi, merging with tone /1/. Has diminutive /12d/, also merging with tone /1/.
- /3/ Articulated as [34], with some glottal constriction. One speaker has such marked constriction that the tone almost seems to break in mid-contour. Corresponds to Common {3}, the *inshanq* 陰上, with many cases of Common {4}, the *yangshanq* 陽上. Goes to /35/ in sandhi, merging with tone /5/. Diminutive of /3/ appears as /5/ (see Section 2C-ii, below).
- /5/ Articulated as [11ʔ]. Corresponds to Common {5}, the *inchiuh* 陰去. Two speakers have a faint rise at the end: [112ʔ]. Ordinarily has a glottal stop at the end, but faint. Merges with /3/ in sandhi as /35/. Seems also to serve as the diminutive of /3/ and /8/, what would ordinarily be written */34d/; suspected */34d/ forms are noted in the text (see Sections 2C-ii and 3B-iii, below).
- /6/ Articulated as [55], short but without a glottal stop. Somewhat lower in pitch (about [44]) in non-final position. This category comprises Common {6}, the *yangchiuh* 陽去, and {7}, the *inruh* 陰入.
- /8/ Articulated as [42ʔ]. This category comprises part of Common {4}, the *yangshanq* 陽上, and all of Common {8}, the *yangruh* 陽入. The diminutive of tone /8/ words *corresponding to Common tone {4} only* appears to merge with the diminutive of /3/, becoming indistinguishable from /5/; see Sections 2C-ii and 3B-iii, below, for details. Tone /8/ always includes a glottal stop, usually at the end; syllables ending in [-ŋ] (which are of tone {4} origin) sometimes seem to have the glottal stop *before* the nasal rather than after it, e.g.:

/ku¹² tiaŋ⁸/ [ku₃₃ tia[?]ŋ₄₂] ‘husband of father’s sister’
 /kie¹² keŋ⁸/ [kie₃₃ kie[?]ŋ₄₂] ‘chicken gizzard’ ‘雞肫’.

This effect is not heard with tone /5/, which also contains a glottal stop.

2C-ii. Sandhi Tone Values

There are two special tone categories formed as a result of tone sandhi. I do not number them as ordinary tone categories (not as */9/, */10/, for instance). Instead, I write them in such a way as to show their origins as mergers of ordinary tone categories: e.g., /12/ is the sandhi category formed by the merger of tones /1/ and /2/ in sandhi position. This notation is important because it reminds us that we cannot tell whether the morpheme in question is tone /1/ or /2/ without more information. The sandhi categories are:

- /12/ Articulated as [33]. The usual sandhi form for /1/ and /2/ in non-final position. Also includes /12d/.
- /35/ Articulated as [11]. Sandhi form of both /3/ and /5/. Very short, but no [ʔ] heard.

Tones /6/ and /8/ do not undergo any mergers with other tones as the result of sandhi, although /6/ (as noted above) becomes somewhat lower in pitch. Note that the usual environment for tone sandhi is non-final position within a phrase (this is a widespread Miinnan pattern). So in any compound of more than one syllable, the last syllable has its ordinary “isolation” tone value, but all previous syllables have their sandhi values. In sentences it is usual for the last syllable of the subject and the last syllable of the predicate to have their isolation values, while everything else has sandhi values.

In certain constructions, isolation tone values may be found in the middle of compounds. For instance,

/ŋɔ²⁼ kɔ⁵/ ‘my, mine’ ‘我的’

is articulated as [ŋɔ₃₁ kɔ₁₁] instead of *[ŋɔ₃₃ kɔ₁₁]. This is marked with the symbol “=” after the tone category number of the unsandhified syllable. Most examples involving pronouns or especially emphasized morphemes occurring before a verb:

i¹⁼ tsie^{12d} ‘they’ ‘他們’

ŋy²⁼ tsie^{12d} ‘you (plural)’ ‘你們’

ŋɔ²⁼ tsie^{12d} ‘we (exclusive)’ ‘我們’

tʃe³⁼ kɔ⁵ ‘this, this one’ ‘這、這個’

ha³⁼ kɔ⁵ ‘that, that one’ ‘那、那個’

ia³⁼ ʃie⁶ ‘also to be, is too’ ‘也是’

vie²⁼ laŋ^{12d} ‘squat round mew for holding chickens’ ‘圓雞籠’

taŋ¹⁼ thie^{12d}, taŋ¹⁼ ho⁸ ‘winter’ ‘冬天’.

2C-iii. Isolation Tone Values — Diminutive Forms.

In addition to the eight “plain” tone categories, there is one other tone category that occurs in final position but that connotes diminution. In Gutyan Jongbao, as in dialects spoken elsewhere in Gutyan and in nearby Liancherng Chiushi 連城曲溪 and Layyuan 賴源, and in the villages of Longyan Wann'an Songyang 龍岩萬安松楊 and Bairsha Shoeikoou 白沙水口,

diminution is ordinarily expressed through tone change.⁵ I write these such categories with the letter “d” after the tone number. Jongbao has only one of them:

/12d/ Articulated as [22]. Diminutive of tones /1/ and /2/. Occurs only in final position. As an illustration of diminutive meaning, the morpheme /tɔ¹/ appears in its plain form [tɔ₂₄] (tone /1/) in:

/ŋua⁶ tsu³⁵ tɔ¹/ ‘mother’s father’ ‘外祖父’

but in its diminutive form [tɔ₂₂] (tone /12d/) in:

/ɔ¹² tɔ^{12d}/ ‘father’s father’ ‘祖父’.

One recognizes that these are the same morphemes in different forms. Similarly, the morpheme /ŋeŋ²/ appears in its diminutive form [ŋeŋ₂₂] (tone /12d/) in:

/sie³⁵ kɔ³⁵ ŋeŋ^{12d}/ ‘child’ ‘孩子’

but in its plain form [ŋeŋ₃₁] (tone /2/) in:

/ŋeŋ²/ ‘person’ ‘人’,

and so on. The Jongbao diminutive tone seems to occur only in final position; that is to say, it is not distinguished from the sandhi tone category /12/ in sandhi position.⁶ Note, however that the diminutive category /12d/ has a different height from the sandhi category /12/; although they are never found in contrast, they are phonetically and functionally different and in my view should not be treated as the same category.

Note that if a morpheme is only attested in tone /12d/, we can assume no more about its underlying tone category than that it is either /1/ or /2/, and so label it as belonging to tone /12/. There is a single case of a tone /12d/ morpheme /pai^{12d}/ (in /ləu¹² pai^{12d}/ ‘Chinese white radish’ ‘蘿蔔’) that — to judge from comparative evidence — may have an underlying tone category of /8/, but until more fieldwork is done, this is a unique case.

Unlike Layyuan and the other places where I have heard diminutive tones, in Gutyan the diminutive tone category is not noticeably tense or constricted, nor does it rise in pitch.

On comparative grounds it is possible to recognize a second diminutive category */34d/. No such category is actually heard contrastively in speech, but tone /5/ [11ʔ] or [112ʔ] seems to serve as the diminutive tone category of morphemes in /3/ and those morphemes in /8/ that belong to tone {4} in Common Miin (see Section 3B-iii). For example, the morpheme /ŋy³/ appears in its regular form [ŋy₃₄] (tone /3/) in

/ŋy³/ ‘daughter’ ‘女兒’

but in what seems to be its diminutive form [ŋy₁₁] (tone /5/, that is */34d/) in

⁵ See Branner 1994 for a description.

⁶ For the first several hours of my fieldwork I believed that there were two diminutive tones — a category */1d/ derived from tone /1/ morphemes and a category */2d/ derived from tone /2/ morphemes — but after a while I discovered that there was no contrast between them.

/ŋy⁵/ ‘girl’ ‘女孩子’.

In this case, both the ordinary and diminutive forms of the morpheme are attested, so it is not hard to see that the underlying form is tone /3/. But in many other cases there is not enough internal evidence to tell whether a morpheme belongs to tone /3/ or /8/ or really to tone /5/. This problem is exacerbated because not only is the diminutive of tone /3/ the same as tone /5/, but tones /3/ and /5/ merge in sandhi (see below). Only on comparative grounds can one see that such and such a tone /5/ morpheme must belong in its underlying form to tone */3/ or */4/. Such cases of suspected */34d/ are noted in the text, and are not catalogued here.

Note that morphemes corresponding to *both* Common Miin tones {3} and {4} can be found in */34d/, even though there is no distinct tone /4/. Common Miin tone {8} morphemes do not seem to have diminutive forms in tone */34/.

The result of the merger of underlying tones /1/ and /2/ both in sandhi and in diminution is that these tones are only rarely distinguished in speech; they can only be distinguished in phrase-final position in words where diminution does not occur. The same is true of tones /3/ and /5/ — they are merged and indistinguishable in most environments. This means that the eight tone categories of Common Chinese or Common Miin are reflected as only four Jongbao tone categories most of the time: {1} and {2} are usually merged, {3} and {5} are usually merged, {4} (those forms not occurring in tone /3/ here) and {8} are almost always merged, and {6} and {7} are always merged. A distinction between {1} and {2} in sonorant initial words is important for applying certain Hakka diagnostic criteria; in Jongbao these criteria cannot reliably be applied for many morphemes, unless character readings are used.

2C-iv. Stress

I have recorded a few cases of unstressed morphemes, usually verb-resultative suffixes. Note that these morphemes are not *tonally* unstressed (neutral tone, *chingsheng* 輕聲), but unstressed *in accent*; they retain the general contours of their own tone categories:

ləu¹² pɔ¹ = taŋ^{12d} ‘to forget’ ‘忘記’

pa⁵ = hai⁸ ‘to get (one’s feet) tangled’ ‘(腳) 纏在一起’

tie⁶ = taŋ^{12d} ‘to fall out, drop out, drop off (said of teeth, hair, leaves)’ ‘掉下來(指牙齒、頭髮、葉子)’.

Note also that there is no tone sandhi in the syllable immediately preceding the stressed morpheme.

3. The Affiliation of Jongbao Dialect and Related Matters

3A. Miin Affiliation

This dialect embodies the principal linguistic feature that is diagnostic of Miin, and hence should be considered a variety of Miin. That feature is the specific incidence of aspiration in a large number of obstruent-initial words belonging to lower-register (even-numbered) tones in Common Miin. Compare the following Jongbao forms with their counterparts in Amoy dialect:

	Tone {2}, unaspirated	
Gloss	Jongbao	Amoy
‘to harrow’	pɔ ²	pe ²
‘to slow cook, covered’	pu ²	pu ²
‘to strum’	ta ²	tuã ²
‘to bind up’	tie ²	tĩ ²

‘intestines’	toŋ ²	tŋ ²
‘long’	toŋ ²	tŋ ²
‘tea’	tʃɔ ²	te ²
‘chicken louse’	tʃie ²	tai ²
‘daytime’-‘clear (of sky)’	tsɔ ²	tsĩ ²
‘even’	tsie ²	tsue ²
‘skirt’	kuaŋ ²	kun ²
‘monkey’	kao ^{12d}	kau ²

Tone {2}, aspirated

<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Jongbao</i>	<i>Amoy</i>
‘duckweed’	phiao ^{12d}	phio ²
‘phlegm’	tha ²	tham ²
‘bug’	thaŋ ²	thaŋ ²
‘head’	thao ²	thau ²
‘peach’	thəi ^{12d}	tho ²
‘to kill’	tʃhie ^{12d}	thai ²
‘field’	tshaŋ ²	tshan ²
‘leech’	khi ²	khi ²

Tone {4}, unaspirated

<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Jongbao</i>	<i>Amoy</i>
‘to get broken off’	ta ⁸	tŋ ⁶
‘heavy’	taŋ ⁸	taŋ ⁶
‘elder male kin by marriage’	tiaŋ ⁸	tiu ⁶
‘lazy’	tʃa ⁸	tuã ⁶
‘threshold’	tʃie ⁸	teŋ ⁶
‘to sit’	tsa ⁸	tse ⁶
‘to lick’	tʃie ⁸	tsi ⁶
‘ramie’	ky ⁸	tue ⁶
‘near’	kyeŋ ⁸	kun ⁶
‘gizzard’	keŋ ⁸	kian ⁶
‘steep’	tʃɔ ⁸	kia ⁶
‘thick’	kao ⁸	kau ⁶
‘to bite’	kɔ ⁸	ka ⁶

Tone {4}, aspirated

<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Jongbao</i>	<i>Amoy</i>
‘coverlet’	pha ⁸	phe ⁶
‘column’	thiəu ⁸	thiau ⁶
‘kind of eel’ (<i>shannyu</i>)	tʃhɔ ⁸	tshuã ⁶
‘to stand’	tʃhɔ ⁸	khia ⁶
‘rainbow’	khon ⁸	kheŋ ⁶

Tone {6}, unaspirated

<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Jongbao</i>	<i>Amoy</i>
‘sick’	pɔ ⁶	pĩ ⁶
‘bag’	tai ⁶	te ⁶
‘big’	ta ⁶	tua ⁶
‘sedan’	kiao ⁶	kio ⁶

Tone {6}, aspirated

<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Jongbao</i>	<i>Amoy</i>
‘crack’	phaŋ ⁶	phaŋ ⁶
‘nose’	phi ⁶	phĩ ⁶
‘to poison’	thao ⁶	thau ⁶
‘craftsman’	tshiaŋ ⁶	tshiu ⁶
‘to resemble’	tshiaŋ ⁶	tshiu ⁶
‘tree’	tʃhiəu ⁶	tshiu ⁶

Tone {8}, unaspirated

<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Jongbao</i>	<i>Amoy</i>
‘to bind’	paoŋ ⁸	pak ⁸
‘to carry at end of pole’ - ‘to draw up, hold up’	paŋ ⁸	puaŋ ⁸
‘to trip, stumble’	paŋ ⁸	puaŋ ⁸
‘white’	pɔŋ ⁸	peŋ ⁸
‘thin’	pəuŋ ⁸	poŋ ⁸
‘to step on’	tɔŋ ⁸	taŋ ⁸
‘to buy (grain)’	tiɔŋ ⁸	tiaŋ ⁸
‘straight’	tiŋ ⁸	tit ⁸
‘poisonous’	tuŋ ⁸	tok ⁸
‘tongue’	tʃieŋ ⁸	tsiŋ ⁸
‘to hoe’	kuəiŋ ⁸	kut ⁸
‘wooden shoes’	kiɔŋ ⁸	kiaŋ ⁸

Tone {8}, aspirated

<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Jongbao</i>	<i>Amoy</i>
‘hailstone’	phəuŋ ⁸	phauŋ ⁸
‘to throw over the shoulders’	phaŋ ⁸	phuaŋ ⁸
‘out-of-line’-‘recessed’	thəiŋ ⁸	thut ⁸
‘thief’	tshəiŋ ⁸	tshat ⁸

There are a few examples at variance with this pattern — mostly words in which Jongbao has aspirated and Amoy unaspirated initials. Since the non-Miin dialects spoken nearest to Jongbao (to its north and west) regularly aspirate *all* lower-register obstruents, the more of these we find, the more exotic influence we are seeing in Jongbao. But in fact there are relatively few of them:

<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Jongbao</i>	<i>Amoy</i>
‘to blow with the lips’	phaŋ ²	pun ²
‘surname Chern 陳’	tʃheŋ ²	tan ²
‘crowd, flock’	khyeŋ ²	kun ²
‘surname Shieh 謝’	tshio ⁶	tsia ⁶
‘measure: # of times’	tʃheŋ ⁶	tin ⁶
‘surname Jaw 趙’	tʃhiəu ⁶	tio ⁶
‘to kneel’	khuəi ⁶	kui ⁶
‘brother’s son’	tʃhi ⁸	tit ⁸

‘correct, right’⁷ thiaoʔ⁸ tioʔ⁸

And there are a few apparent correspondences in which Amoy has aspiration and Jongbao does not:

<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Jongbao</i>	<i>Amoy</i>
‘slanted’	tsio ²	tshia ²
‘straw mat’	tsioʔ ⁸	tshioʔ ⁸
‘to wear (clothes)’	tʃoŋ ⁶	tshen ⁶

Amoy forms that would correspond more closely to Jongbao are learned: *sia*² ‘slanted’, *sia*^{ʔ8} ‘mat’.

Besides showing the Miin pattern of aspiration, Jongbao also has a fair portion of the most distinctive Miin lexicon:

<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Jongbao</i>	<i>Amoy</i>
‘field’	tshaŋ ²	tshan ²
‘pot’	tiɔ ³	tiã ³
‘foot’	khɔ ¹	kha ¹
‘to arrive’	kao ⁵	kau ⁵
‘itchy’	tsiaŋʔ ⁸	tsiu ⁶
‘wing’	siʔ ⁸	sit ⁸
‘housefly’	seŋ ^{12d}	sin ²
‘steel’	koŋ ⁵	kŋ ⁵
‘son’	tʃɔ ³ , ki ³⁵	kiã ³

Jongbao’s two words for ‘son’ look rather different from the Amoy form, but I believe they are related. The form *tʃɔ*³ corresponds regularly to Amoy *kiã*³, in spite of the strange-looking initial (which I shall discuss below, in section 3B-ii). The Jongbao morpheme *ki*³⁵ appears as *ki*⁵ ‘son’ and in *ki*³⁵ *ʃɔ*² ‘child’, and I believe it is related to the word for ‘son’ heard in sites to the west in Liancheng, such as Dyikeng 迪坑 *ki*³ and Lii’u 李屋 *keə*^{ʔ3}; it may well have been borrowed from them.⁸

There are a few important Miin words for which the present corpus has no equivalents:

<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Jongbao</i>	<i>Amoy</i>
‘house’	ao ⁶	tshu ⁵
‘person’	ŋeŋ ² , ʃɔ ²	laŋ ²
‘to dry in the sun’	kuəu ⁶	phak ⁸

⁷. Longyan uses a form *thio*⁴ here, however, so Jongbao’s failed correspondence with Amoy is not unusual in the area.

⁸. By way of digression: I believe the Yeongan diminutive noun-suffix *tsã*³ is comparable to Jongbao *tʃɔ*³, even though Yeongan has its own form of the Miin word for ‘son’, *kyeiŋ*³. Note that while Yeongan does distinguish initials *ts-* and *tʃ-* in some environments, there is no contrast between them before the final *-ã*. Words in Yeongan final *-ã* tend to appear in the Jongbao finals *-iɔ*, *-ɔ* (such as Yeongan *pã*³ ‘handle’, *pã*⁶ ‘sick’, and *tshã*¹ ‘green’), and also *-eŋ*.

If this congruence is valid, it means that Yeongan is like the Miindong dialects (Foochow 福州, Fwuan 福安) and Teochiu 潮州 in using a real form of the Miin word for ‘son’ as its diminutive particle. By contrast, diminution in Jongbao is achieved by tone change, as described in section 2C-iii, above.

The Jongbao form $\int\omega^2$ seems to be an old word for ‘person’ that may well predate the Chinese presence in Fukien. It occurs in many Hakka and Miinbee dialects, and may even be reflected in Longyan $lo^{3-}sie^2$ ‘father’ (compare the rare Amoy form lau^6se^3).⁹

The word for ‘to dry in the sun’ is homophonous with ‘candle’. I suspect it is comparable to Amoy $tsio\eta^7$ ‘to warm oneself’, $tsio\eta^7zit^8$ ‘to warm oneself in the sun’, although there is not quite enough data to show this firmly. On its initial, see Section 3B-ii below.

In spite of a few exceptional words, then, Jongbao on the whole shows clear evidence of Miin affiliation.¹⁰

3B. Other Phonological Matters

3B-i. Minor Miin Features

Not all features of well-known Miin dialects occur in all forms of Miin, and certain of them are only incompletely attested in Jongbao. One such feature is the merger of the *shershanq*- 舌上 and *shertour*- 舌頭 series initials of formal Jin’in 今音 phonology (a.k.a. “Middle Chinese”); in most other Chinese dialects the *shershanq* initials merge with the *jenqchyy* 正齒 initials of Jin’in. In practical terms, this merger of categories is usually articulated as dental or alveolar stops [t] and [th] in Miin (e.g., in Amoy), instead of as sibilant affricates — in Mandarin, for instance, as [tʂ] or [tʂh]. In Jongbao, however, both patterns are attested:

Jongbao and Amoy merge *shershanq* and *shertour* ggg

Gloss	Jongbao	Amoy	Mandarin
‘surname: Jang 張’	tiaŋ ¹	tiũ ¹	tʂaŋ ¹
‘to tangle, wind’	tie ²	tĩ ²	tʂhan ²
‘long’	toŋ ²	tŋ ²	tʂhan ²
‘to go back, return to’	tie ³	tŋ ³	tʂuan ³
‘walking cane, staff’	thiaŋ ⁵	thŋ ⁶	tʂaŋ ⁵
‘male relative’	tiaŋ ⁸	tiũ ⁶	tʂaŋ ⁵
‘bamboo’	tiəu ⁶	tek ⁷	tʂu ²
‘to tear down’	thio ⁶	thia ⁷	tʂhai ¹
‘the sky’	thie ¹	thĩ ¹	thien ¹
‘to cry’-‘to crow’	thi ²	thi ²	thi ²
‘bottom’	tie ³	tue ³	ti ³
‘to become broken off’	ta ⁸	tŋ ⁶	tuan ⁵
‘to wear (a hat)’	ti ⁵	ti ⁵	tai ⁵
‘large’	ta ⁶	tua ⁶	ta ⁵

⁹. This is a very interesting word, about which there is much too much to say here. The usual Miin word for ‘person’, however, ought to be **naŋ²* in Jongbao, but when I asked my informants if there was such a word as [naŋ₃₁], there was an outcry: “That’s not our word! That’s what they say in Amoy!” The Amoy word is actually pronounced [laŋ₂₄], but as with many people in Fukien, my informants understand a great many phonological correspondences with other dialects than their own. Although they have never been to Amoy and insist they cannot speak its dialect, they are aware that the Amoy word for ‘person’ would be **[naŋ₃₁]* in their dialect, even though it does not in fact exist! This is a humbling experience for the comparativist.

¹⁰. In response to the question, “Are you Hakka?” (*Nii.men shyh.bushyh Kehjiaren?*) my informants said yes, and added that all of western Fwujiann is Hakka, including Longyan, well known to be a Miinnan dialect. This sort of information would not seem to be of any direct use in linguistic classification.

‘to study’ thaoʔ⁸ thak⁸ tu²

Jongbao and Mandarin merge *shershanq* and *jenqchyy*

Gloss	Jongbao	Amoy	Mandarin
‘to set (a trap)’	tʃoŋ ¹	tɿ ¹	tʃuan ¹
‘tea’	tʃɔ ²	te ²	tʃha ²
‘measure: # of times’	tʃheŋ ⁶	tin ⁶	tʃən ⁵
‘to kill’	tʃhie ¹²	thai ²	tʃhɿ ²
‘Earth’ sign #2: 丑	tʃhiəu ³	thiu ³	tāhou ³
‘to support, prop up’	tʃhɔ ⁵	thi ⁵	tʃhəŋ ⁵
‘surname Jou 周’	tʃiəu ¹	tsiu ¹	tʃou ¹
‘vehicle’	tʃhɔ ¹	tshia ¹	tʃhɿ ^ə ¹
in ‘pearl’	tʃəŋ ¹²	tsin ¹	tʃən ¹
‘grain seed’	tʃoŋ ³	tseŋ ³	tʃoŋ ³
‘to smell bad’	tʃhəu ⁵	tshau ⁵	tʃhou ⁵
‘gun’	tʃhoŋ ⁵	tshen ⁵	tʃhoŋ ⁵
‘measure word’	tʃɔ ⁶	tsia ⁷	tʃɿ ¹

There are a few other words which in Jongbao and Amoy seem to be related in the same way as in the *shershanq-jenqchyy* merger — that is, Jongbao has a postalveolar initial where Amoy has a stop:

Gloss	Jongbao	Amoy
in ‘elbow’, ‘heel’	tʃɔ ¹²	tɿ ¹
‘dry’	tʃɔ ¹	ta ¹
‘chicken louse’	tʃie ²	tai ²
‘lazy’	tʃa ⁸	tuã ⁶
‘threshold’	tʃie ⁸	teŋ ⁶
‘otter’ ¹¹	tʃha ⁶	thua ⁷

The Jin'in identity of these morphemes is not obvious. They might be *shershanq*, or they might be examples of overcorrection, in which *shertour* stop-initials became affricates along with *shershanq* stop-initials, as this Miin dialect took on Hakka typological features.

Another important Miin feature not clearly found in Jongbao is cases of velar stop initial in morphemes bearing the *shyamuu* 匣母 initial of Jin'in:

Amoy and Jongbao both have velar stop

Gloss	Jongbao	Amoy
‘monkey’	kao ^{12d}	kau ²
‘salty’	kaŋ ²	kiam ²
‘thick’	kao ⁸	kau ⁶

Amoy has velar stop, Jongbao does not

Gloss	Jongbao	Amoy
‘cold’	ha ²	kuã ²
‘sweat’	ha ⁶	kuã ⁶
‘slippery’	vəi ⁸	kut ⁸

¹¹. These may not be the same morpheme. Much of western Fukien seems to use a form with an affricate initial, which does not correspond to Amoy *thua*⁷ or to Mandarin *tha*³.

Still another noted Miin feature is the presence of affricates corresponding to Jin'in upper-register sibilants (*shin* 心, *sheng* 生, and *shu* 書). Jongbao has affricates for the aspirated initials, but not for the unaspirated ones:

Aspirated initials

Gloss	Jongbao	Amoy	Jin'in Initial
'deep'	tʃheŋ ¹	tshim ¹	<i>sheng</i>
'to sift' ¹²	tʃhie ¹	(thai ¹)	<i>sheng</i>
'raw' ¹³	tsho ¹	tshī ¹	<i>sheng</i>
'goaty, fishy'	tshəu ¹	tsho ¹	<i>shin</i>
'hand'	tʃhiəu ³	tshiu ³	<i>shu</i>
'to stuff in' ¹⁴	tʃhəiʔ ⁶	(that ⁷)	<i>shin</i>
'damp' ¹⁵	tʃhie ⁶	tship ⁷	<i>shu</i>

Unaspirated initials

Gloss	Jongbao	Amoy	Jin'in Initial
'book'	fy ¹	tsu ¹	<i>shu</i>
'water'	fy ³	tsui ³	<i>shu</i>
'few, a little'	ʃao ³	tsio ³	<i>shin</i>
'father's y. brother's wife' ¹⁶	ʃeŋ ⁵	tsim ³	<i>shu</i>
'father's younger brother' ¹⁷	fy ⁶	tsek ⁷	<i>shu</i>

It seems that the presence of aspiration allows Jongbao to retain the typical Miin articulation. In one exceptional case, Jongbao also has an unaspirated affricate initial:

Gloss	Jongbao	Amoy	Jin'in Initial
'to guard'	tsiəu ³	tsiu ³	<i>shu</i>

In sum, Jongbao shows a number of the less distinctive Miin features, to varying degrees. It is surely a form of Miin.

3B-ii. Effects of Palatalization and -y

A notable feature of this dialect is the many kinds of palatalization that seem to have occurred in it. For instance, the appearance of initial *f*- for expected sibilant initials before the vowels -y or -i (in 'book', 'water', above) is presumably the result of palatalization. This is a common areal feature of Western Fukien Hakka, and Jongbao has other such examples:

- ¹². The Amoy stop-initial does not actually correspond to either the Jongbao or Jin'in initials, but it may be a throwback to an earlier form of Chinese.
- ¹³. I list this form here out of respect for convention, but in fact I think the *beentzyh* of 'raw' is not *sheng* 生 at all but *ching* 青 'green', which belongs to the initial *chingmuu* 清母.
- ¹⁴. The Amoy forms are *that*⁷ (more native), and *sat*⁷. The initial of *that*⁷ is another putative throwback (see 'to sift').
- ¹⁵. I propose this rare Amoy form as comparable to Jongbao *tʃhie*⁶. It occurs in the phrase *tship*⁷ *tship*⁷-a³ *tsui*³ 'a very small quantity of water' (Douglas, p. 84). The ordinary Amoy words for 'wet' are *sip*⁷ and more commonly *tam*², which does not seem to have a corresponding form in Jongbao.
- ¹⁶. The tone /5/ of the Jongbao form is presumably */34d/.
- ¹⁷. There is too little data to tell if the finals are comparable.

<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Jongbao</i>	<i>Amoy</i>
‘to comb’	fy ¹	sue ¹
‘distant (of kin)’	fy ¹	sue ¹
‘to lose (in competition)’	fy ¹	sue ¹
‘sweet potato’	fy ²	tsu ²
‘fully cooked, ripe’	fyʔ ⁸	sek ⁸
‘boat’	fiē ²	tsun ²

Jongbao also has a number of cases of ʃ- for expected *hi-, another common Western Fukien Hakka feature that is also due to palatalization:

<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Jongbao</i>	<i>Amoy</i>
‘incense’	ʃoŋ ¹	hiu ¹
‘bear’ ¹⁸	ʃoŋ ²	him ²
‘to understand’	ʃao ³⁵	hiau ³
‘crab’	ʃie ³⁵	hue ⁶
[copula]	ʃie ⁶	he ⁶
‘amaranth’	ʃie ⁶	heŋ ⁶
‘blood’	ʃie ⁶	hui ⁷
‘narrow’ ¹⁹	ʃie ⁷	hiap ⁸

Another, rather rarer correspondence is the presence of postalveolar sibilants in Jongbao in several words where Longyan exhibits a medial y after a velar-laryngeal initial:

<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Jongbao</i>	<i>Longyan</i>	<i>Amoy</i>
‘son’	tʃɔ ³	kyã ³	kiã ³
‘steep’	tʃɔ ⁷	kya ⁴	kia ⁶
‘to stand’	tʃhɔ ⁷	khya ⁴	khia ⁶
‘dipper’	ʃɔ ¹	hya ¹	hia ¹

These sibilants imply the effect of a strongly palatalizing medial on velar-laryngeal initials such as are still heard in in Longyan and Amoy. The medial itself will have been lost in the process of palatalization. There is another form in the series, however, where the medial survives as *-i-* because it occurs with a zero initial:

<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Jongbao</i>	<i>Longyan</i>	<i>Amoy</i>
‘to sow’ ²⁰	io ⁶	gya ¹	ia ⁶

Since this entire correspondence set is limited to forms for which Longyan has a medial *-y-*, and since Jongbao has plenty of examples of syllables /kia/, /kiɔ/, etc., in which the velar initial has *not* palatalized, the Jongbao initials were probably palatalized not by *-i-* but by a medial **-y-* like that in Longyan, or something similar.

There are two other forms in the series, but it takes a little more explanation to show the correspondence:

- ¹⁸. The final of the Amoy form is rather exceptional and does not correspond regularly to Jongbao.
- ¹⁹. The comparable Amoy form *hiap*⁸ is learned; the popular Amoy form *ue*⁷ is not comparable to Jongbao *ʃie*⁷.
- ²⁰. Note that in Longyan the zero initial merges into *g-* before medials plus vowel *-a*, and also that Common Miin tones {1} and {6} merge as tone /1/ in Longyan. So the attested form *gya*¹ is exactly congruent to the expected form **ya*⁶.

<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Jongbao</i>	<i>Longyan</i>	<i>Amoy</i>
‘ant’	nɔ ⁵	ŋyã ⁴	hia ⁶
‘mugwort’	nɔ ⁵	ŋyã ⁵	hiã ⁶

First, the correspondence between Amoy *h-* and Longyan *ŋ-* is quite regular; these are initials for which Norman (1991:208) has asserted a correspondence set that he imputes to old voiceless nasals. Secondly, ‘ant’ belongs to Common Miin tone {4}, but the Jongbao form for ‘ant’ is in tone /5/ instead of the expected */3/; I believe this is one of many cases of an underlying diminutive tone */34d/, and the gloss of /nɔ⁵/ in isolation is indeed diminutive: ‘ant, especially a small one’.

Thirdly, assuming an earlier form *ŋyɔ, why are the Jongbao forms not *niɔ or *ɲiɔ? Current Jongbao phonology allows neither a contrastive palatalized *ɲ- nor *ni- before back vowels. In the following forms, for instance, expected *ɲi- or *ni- is realized as plain *n-* (Dyikeng forms are given for comparison):

<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Jongbao</i>	<i>Dyikeng</i>
in ‘woman’	noŋ ²	ɲioŋ ²
‘to yield to’	noŋ ⁶	ɲioŋ ⁶
‘meat, flesh’	nuŋ ⁸	ɲie ⁴

That is, I am proposing that ‘ant’ and ‘mugwort’ became *nɔ* from *ŋyɔ because they could not become *niɔ or *ɲiɔ. They might also have become *ɲiɔ, which is a permissible syllable in Jongbao, but this would have meant the loss of the original distinction.

These are examples of velar-laryngeal initials becoming dental-alveolar as a result of palatalization. There are other cases of correspondence between these two varieties of initial, and they also seem to have been caused by palatalization. Consider the following correspondence set:²¹

<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Jongbao</i>	<i>Chyuanjou</i>
‘pig’	ky ¹²	tu ¹
‘to cook’	ky ³	tsu ³
‘ramie’	kyŋ ⁸	tu ⁴
‘chopsticks’	ky ⁶	tu ⁵
‘rat’	khy ³	tshu ³

Here it is Jongbao that has the velars, and Miinnan that has the dental/alveolars, rather than the other way around.²² This *y* vowel also produces velar initials in Jongbao when it occurs as a medial:

<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Jongbao</i>	<i>Amoy</i>
‘brick’	kye ¹	tŋ ¹
‘to shiver’	kyeŋ ¹	tsun ¹
‘small stream’	kyeŋ ⁵	tsun ⁵
‘candle’	kuəu ⁶	tsek ⁷

²¹. I cite Chyuanjou here rather than Amoy because Chyuanjou’s *-u* rime corresponds closely to Common Miin *-y* and suggests an **-y* rime in some earlier stage of Miinnan.

²². This is a widespread feature in Liancherng County and nearby sites in northern Longyan and northeastern Shanqharng 上杭 Counties. In addition, a number of Liancherng dialects — nearby Lii‘u, for instance — have the vowel *ɥ* in all the places where Jongbao has *y*, but without the velar initials. Lii‘u has *tʂɥ*, *tʂhɥ*, and *ɲɥ* where Jongbao has *ky*, *khy*, and *ɲy*.

'to dry in the sun'	kuəu ⁶	tsioʔ ⁷
'to steam'	khye ¹	tshe ¹
'to blow'	khye ¹	tshe ¹
'springtime'	khyeŋ ¹	tshun ¹
'stupid'	khyeŋ ³	tshun ³

The two *kuəu*⁶ forms are evidently part of the same pattern involving an original medial *-y-, but because medial *-y- can only occur with high front vowels, it has become simplified to -u-.

Incidentally, all forms in the preceding two tables have either *shershanq* or *jenqchyy* initials in Jin'in. The initials are velars, but the fact remains that Jongbao is following Common non-Miin Chinese here in merging the *shershanq*- and *jenqchyy*-series initials.

3B-iii. The Two Correspondents of Common Miin Tone {4}

Common Miin tone {4} is divided neatly between Jongbao tones /3/ and /8/, with a few items appearing in tone /5/ by diminution. The basis of the division is quite regular: sonorant initials, including *v*- and vowels, are in tone /3/; obstruent initials are in tone /8/. Jongbao lacks the common Hakka feature that divides tone {4} sonorants into two groups: the Jongbao correspondents of sonorant-initial tone {4} are an *undivided tonal category*:

Sonorant initials in tone /3/

<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Jongbao</i>	<i>Amoy</i>
'uncooked, hulled rice'	mi ³	bi ³
'to buy'	mie ³	bue ³
'full'	ma ³	muã ³
'collar'	liɔ ³	niã ³
'to dye'	ŋie ³	nĩ ³
'soft'	ŋye ³	ŋŋ ³
'bowl'	va ³	uã ³
'sleeve'	va ³	ŋ ³
'net'	moŋ ³	baŋ ⁶
'five'	ŋu ³	gɔ ⁶
'rooftile'	vɔ ³	hia ⁶
'rain'	u ³	hɔ ⁶
'far'	va ³	hŋ ⁶
'saliva'	la ³	nuã ⁶
'egg'	la ³	ŋŋ ⁶
'two'	lian ³	ŋŋ ⁶

Obstruent initials in tone /8/

<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Jongbao</i>	<i>Amoy</i>
'dry (said of soil)'	haʔ ⁸	han ⁶
'below, beneath, under'	hɔʔ ⁸	e ⁶
'to bite'	kɔʔ ⁸	ka ⁶
'quilt, coverlet'	phaʔ ⁸	phe ⁶
in 'daughter-in-law'	puʔ ⁸	pu ⁶
'to become broken off'	taʔ ⁸	tŋ ⁶
'heavy'	taŋʔ ⁸	taŋ ⁶
'column in a building'	thiəuʔ ⁸	thiau ⁶
'younger brother'	tiʔ ⁸	ti ⁶
'to go up, ascend'	ʃoŋʔ ⁸	tsiu ⁶

There are a handful of morphemes belonging to comparative tone {4} that appear in tone /5/, apparently because they are diminutives:

<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Jongbao</i>	<i>Amoy</i>
'mother's brother's wife'	keŋ ⁵	kim ⁶
'pestle'-'mortar'	khu ⁵	khu ⁶
'mother's brother'	ku ⁵	ku ⁶
'walking cane, staff'	thiaŋ ⁵	thŋ ⁶
'crab'	ŋie ³⁵	he ⁶

All of these words have obstruent initials, meaning that in plain (not diminutive) form they would be expected to appear in Jongbao's tone /8/. These few words are the only basis on which I assert that tone /8/ words that are of Common tone {4} origin have the same diminutive as tone /3/ words.

There is only one attested example appearing in both plain form in tone /8/ and in undifferentiated /35/:

/tiaŋ ³⁵ / tiaŋ ³⁵ ləu ³ 'wife's father'	
	tiaŋ ³⁵ pəu ² 'wife's mother'
/tiaŋ ⁸ / ku ¹² tiaŋ ⁸ 'husband of father's sister'	
	tsi ³⁵ tiaŋ ⁸ 'husband of elder sister'

In the first example, with an undifferentiated tone /35/, family elders are involved, and for this reason it is not clear that the tone /35/ genuinely represents diminutive meaning. The morpheme *ləu³* is derisive in many western Fukien dialects, however, so the term for 'wife's father' may be somewhat disrespectful after all.

There is one more interesting case. The form *mie⁸* 'don't know how' is a Common Miin tone {4} word appearing in Jongbao tone /8/ in spite of its sonorant initial. I believe the reason for this is to maintain tonal parallelism with the positive form 'to know how':

<i>Gloss</i>	<i>Jongbao</i>	<i>Amoy</i>
'don't know how'	mie ⁸	bue ⁶
'to know how'	fa ⁸	ue ⁶

The Amoy equivalent is evidently a fusion of *m⁶* 'not' and *ue⁶* 'to know how', and the parallelism between the verb's positive and negative forms is clear. Jongbao seems to have kept the negative form in tone /8/ to maintain this parallelism.

3C. Other Sources of Gutyan material

Two published records of Gutyan-area dialects are known to me: an inventory of initials, finals, and tones plus a small amount of material in Guo Chiishi (1990, 1992), and a few odd forms in Luo Tau (1993).

Guo (1990:87) names his informant as one Jeang Jennlin 蔣振林 but does not name the village, although it is likely to have been a site in the built up areas of the township, probably not far from Jongbao. Luo names no informants but states (p. 852) that the village of Jongbao is the representative.

There are a number of differences between these materials and the present corpus. All writers describe essentially the same initials, but Guo and Luo describe slightly different tone contours, and different behavior for Common tone {4}:

	Present work	Guo	Luo
{1}	[24]	[24]	[13]
{2}	[31]	[41]	[42]
{3}	[34]	[35]	[35]
{4}	> /3/ & /8/	> /6/	> /3/
{5}	[11?]	[11]	(no data given)
{6}	[55] short	[55]	[55]
{7}	> /6/	> /6/	> /6/
{8}	[42?]	[3]	[53]

Neither of them makes any mention of the diminutive tone categories. Rimes are in a few cases written differently, probably because Chinese practice is as a general rule much more economical with IPA symbols than mine:

	Present work	Guo	Luo
	[əʌ]	[əʊ]	[əʊ]
	[əi]	[ei]	[ei]
	[ŷeŋ] ~ [uieŋ]	[ueŋ]	(no data given)
	[ao]	[au]	[au]
	[ɔ]	[o]	[o]

There are a number of more important discrepancies, however. In two cases, Guo describes distinctions not found in the present material: ggg needs work

[oŋ]	[oŋ]	[uŋ]
	[ɔŋ]	[ɔŋ]
[eŋ] ~ [ieŋ]	[eŋ]	(no data given)
	[iŋ]	

There are also three rimes in the present material not found in Guo, and one additional rime in Guo that was not found in the present material:

[uəi]	(not listed)	(no data given)
[uəʌ]	(not listed)	(no data given)
[ŷi]	(not listed)	(no data given)
(not attested)	[iu]	(no data given)

The significance of these various discrepancies is unknown. They may be legitimate dialect differences, or the result of mistakes in the present material or in Guo or Luo's materials.

4. References and Conventions

4A. Conventions and Special Symbols

I list homophones only when the informant has volunteered them for some reason. There are certainly homophones in these notes that are not named explicitly as such.

“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* 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.
- " When a gloss is used as the symbol of a morpheme, it is usually put between double quotes. For instance:
 /thie⁵/ ‘on behalf of’
 but
 /thie⁵/ ‘paddy tares’ (homophonous with “on behalf of”).
- = 1. In superscript after a tone number, means that a syllable does not undergo tone sandhi change. For instance, /ŋɔ²⁼ kɔ⁵/ (‘my, mine’) is articulated as [ŋɔ₃₁ kɔ₁₁] instead of *[ŋɔ₃₃ kɔ₁₁]. (See above for more examples.)
 2. To connect two syllables, means that the second one is relatively unstressed. This phenomenon is relatively rare in the lexical citation forms that make up the great part of the present lexicon of this dialect. See above for examples.
- * 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. Sources of Dialect Data

Amoy, a.k.a. Shiahmen 廈門

Important city in southern Fukien. Its dialect is the usual representative of the Miinnan 閩南 (“Southern Miin”) 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 from Lin Liantong 1993.

Dyikeng 迪坑

Village in Tarngchyan 塘前 Township, Liancherng County, Fukien. Informant: Mr. Jiang Yuhtarng 江玉堂, 37 *suey*, local official. Short survey by myself, 1994.

Lii'u 李屋

Township in Liancherng county, Fukien. The actual site is the village of Nanbaan Jang'u 南阪張屋. Informant: Mr. Jang Baeguang 張柏光, 33 *suey*, army newspaper reporter. Short survey by myself, 1994.

Longyan 龍岩

City in western Fukien, whose dialect belongs to the northern variety of Miinnan. Site: Shibeï Tyauwei 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, 1992-1994.

Yeongan 永安

County in central Fukien. All data taken from Jou and Lin (1992), which appears to record the speech of the county seat.

4C. Bibliography

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5. Lexicon

Rime /i/ 韻

/i¹/	‘he, she, it’ ‘他’ i¹= tsie¹²ᵈ ‘they’ ‘他們’
/i¹²/	ɔ¹² i¹²ᵈ ‘mother’s sister’ ‘阿姨’
/i²/	‘the third of the twelve “Earth” cyclical signs: yn 寅’ ‘第三個地支：寅’
/i³/	khəu³⁵ i³ ‘may’ ‘可以’
/i⁶/	‘one’ (the only word in this language) ‘一’ (只有這個說法) i⁶ pɔ⁶ ‘one hundred’ ‘一百’ i⁶ tʃɔ⁶ pa⁶ ‘one grain of rice’ ‘一粒飯’ i⁶ mɔ² ‘one night’ ‘一夜’
/pi¹/	ti⁶ pi¹ ‘gravestone’ ‘墓碑’
/pi⁶/	‘pen, writing implement’ ‘筆’
/pi⁶/	pi⁶ phaŋ⁶ ‘to form a crack, to crack’ ‘裂一條縫’
/pi⁷⁸/	ʃɔ⁷⁸ pi⁷⁸ tɔ⁶ ‘kind of tiny, flat-bellied fish’ ‘一種扁肚子的小魚’
/pi⁷⁸/	pi⁷⁸ pəu¹²ᵈ ‘bat (kind of animal)’ ‘蝙蝠’
/phi²/	‘skin’ ‘皮’
/phi⁶/	‘to sniff’ ‘聞’ phi⁶ tʃiəu¹ ‘nose’ ‘鼻子’
/mi¹²/	mi¹² ku¹, mi¹² ku¹²ᵈ ‘Buddhist nun’ (initial correct) ‘尼姑’ (聲母沒錯)
/mi³/	‘uncooked, hulled rice’ ‘米’ mi³⁵ tʃhie¹ ‘sieve’ ‘篩子’
/mi⁷⁸/	mi⁷⁸ pie¹ ‘the edge (of a surface, as the edge of a tabletop)’ ‘邊(譬如面邊)’
/mi⁷⁸/	‘to shut (the mouth)’ ‘閉(嘴)’
/vi⁶/	vi⁶ tao³ ‘old-fashioned iron (for ironing clothes)’ ‘熨斗’
/vi⁶/	‘the eighth of the twelve “Earth” cyclical signs: wey 未’ ‘第八個 地支：未’
/ti³⁵/	ti³⁵ thao² ‘inside’ ‘裡頭’
/ti⁵/	‘to wear (a hat)’ (homophonous with “emperor”) ‘戴(帽子)’ (與“帝”同音)
/ti⁵/	‘emperor’ (bound form; homophonous with “to wear (a hat)”) ‘帝’ (字音； 與“戴”同音)
/ti⁶/	‘a grave’ ‘墳墓’ ti⁶ hɔ⁷⁸ ‘the ground’ ‘地、地上’ ti⁶ pi¹ ‘gravestone’ ‘墓碑’ tsiao⁵ ti⁶ ‘to sweep a grave, do obeisance at a grave (at Chingming festival or other occasions)’ ‘掃墓、祭墓’
/ti⁶/ti⁶, ti⁶ ti⁶	‘a little’ ‘一點’ ti⁶ ti⁶ ta⁶ ‘child’ ‘孩子’ kiɔ¹² liɔ⁶ ti⁶ ‘walk faster’ ‘走快一點’
/ti⁷⁸/	ləu³⁵ ti⁷⁸ ‘younger brother’ ‘弟弟’ ʃɔ¹² ti⁷⁸ ‘brothers’ ‘兄弟’
/ti⁷⁸/	‘straight’ ‘直’
/thi²/	‘to cry, weep’ ‘哭’; ‘to cluck, crow (said of a chicken), low (carabao)’ ‘(雞、牛)叫’
/ni⁶/	ni⁶ tʃɔ⁶ ‘which? which one?’ ‘哪、哪個?’; ‘who?’ ‘誰’ ni⁶ ta² ‘where?’ ‘哪裡?’
/li²/	‘to come’ ‘來’

	faŋ ⁸ li ¹² ləuŋ ⁸ u ³ ‘it looks like it’s going to rain’ ‘好像會下雨’
/li ¹² /	li ^{12d} ‘pear’ ‘犁’
/li ³ /	‘mile’ ‘里(量辭)’
/li ³ /	‘surname: Leu 呂’ (homophonous with Lii) ‘姓：呂’ (與“李”同音)
/li ³ /	‘surname: Lii 李’ (homophonous with Leu) ‘姓：李’ (與“呂”同音)
/li ³⁵ /	li ³⁵ ŋy ² ‘carp’ ‘鯉魚’
/li ⁵ /	‘plum’ (suspected to be */34d/) ‘李子’ (疑為*/34d/)
/li ⁶ /li ⁶ mɔ ²	‘leaf rain hat’ ‘斗笠’
/tsi ⁶ /	tsao ⁵ tsi ⁶ ‘cricket (any kind)’ ‘蟋蟀’
/tsiŋ ⁸ /	‘to hit or poke hard with the finger or with one end of a staff or stick’ ‘用手指捅，用桿子或棍子的一頭打’; ‘to stab’ ‘用刀刺’; ‘to clear (a clogged pipe or spout)’ ‘挖通’
/tshi ⁶ /	‘seven’ ‘七’
/si ⁶ /	‘great grandson’ ‘曾孫’
/si ⁶ /	‘the eleventh of the twelve “Earth” cyclical signs: shiu 戌’ ‘第十一個地支：戌’
/siŋ ⁸ /	‘wing’ ‘翅膀’
/ki ¹ /	tʃhiəu ⁶ ki ¹ ‘branch of a tree’ ‘樹枝’ tiəu ⁶ ki ¹ ‘bamboo branch, with leaves’ ‘有葉子的竹枝’
/ki ¹ /	paŋ ³⁵ ki ¹ ‘scoop-shaped woven basket, with handles, used for carrying trash or soil’ ‘畚箕(有耳)’ ie ¹² ki ¹ , sɔ ⁶ ki ¹ ‘scoop-shaped woven basket, without handles used for straining partially-cooked rice’ ‘撈飯用的小畚箕(沒有耳)’
/ki ² /	taŋ ⁶ ʃi ¹² ki ² , taŋ ⁶ ŋiŋ ⁸ ki ^{12d} ‘to fix a date, set a date’ ‘定日期’
/ki ³ /	‘the sixth of the ten “Heaven” cyclical signs: jii 己’ ‘第六個天干：己’
/ki ³⁵ /	ki ⁵ ‘boy’ (suspected to be */34d/; see also /tʃɔ ³ /) ‘男孩子’ (疑為*/34d/; 另詳/tʃɔ ³ /)
	ki ³⁵ ʃɔ ² ‘child’ ‘孩子’
/ki ⁵ /	ki ⁵ tie ⁶ ‘to remember’ ‘記得’
/khi ² /	‘to ride astride’ ‘騎’
/khi ² /	fu ¹² khi ² ‘leech’ ‘水蛭’ la ¹² khi ² ‘slug; large snail’ ‘蝸蝓、蝸牛’
/khi ³ /	ŋɔ ¹² khi ³ ‘tooth’ ‘牙齒’
/khi ³⁵ /	khi ³⁵ taŋ ^{12d} ‘to go spastically into a shamanistic trance’ ‘跳神’
/khi ⁵ /	kao ¹² khi ⁵ ‘(wild) persimmon’ (suspected to be */34d/) ‘(野) 柿子’ (疑為*/34d/)
/ŋi ⁵ /	ŋi ⁵ ‘loop handle of a bucket’ (suspected to be */34d/) ‘桶子的耳’ (疑為*/34d/) ŋi ³⁵ laŋ ¹ ‘deaf’ ‘耳聾’ ŋi ³⁵ kaŋ ¹ ‘ear’ ‘耳朵’ ŋi ³⁵ təu ² ‘earlobe’ ‘耳垂’
/ŋi ⁶ /	‘two’ (name of the numeral) ‘二’ (數字的名稱) ŋi ⁶ pɔ ⁶ ‘father’s second eldest elder brother’ ‘二伯父’
/ŋi ⁶ /	‘to shut (the eyes), blink, squint’ ‘閉、眨(眼睛)，半閉(眼睛) 看’
/ŋiŋ ⁸ /	ŋiŋ ⁸ thao ² ‘the sun’ ‘太陽’ taŋ ⁶ ŋiŋ ⁸ ki ^{12d} ‘to fix a date, set a date’ ‘定日期’ ŋiŋ ⁸ tao ⁵ ‘noon’ ‘中午’

Rime /yi/ 韻

/khiŋ ⁶ /	‘to exit, go or come out from; to emit, cause to go or come out’
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Rime /y/ 韻

/fy ¹ /	‘book’ ‘書’
/fy ¹ /	‘to comb’ ‘梳’
/fy ¹ /	‘to lose (in competition)’ ‘輸’
/fy ¹ /	‘distant (of a kinship relation)’ ‘疏遠(指親戚關係)’
/fy ² /	fa ¹² fy ² ‘sweet potato’
/fy ³ /	‘water’ ‘水’
	khao ³⁵ la ³⁵ fy ³ ‘saliva’ ‘口水’
	lu ³⁵ fy ³ ‘dew’ ‘露水’
	fy ³⁵ kyeŋ ⁵ ‘water conduit’ ‘水渠’
	fy ³⁵ kua ⁵ ‘bamboo dipper with long handle’ ‘長柄的竹水瓢’
	fy ³⁵ kie ³ ‘water pipe, made from split bamboo’ ‘劈開的竹子做的
水管’	
	ɔ ⁶ fy ³ ‘to train a calf’ ({{軛水}}) ‘教小牛’ ({{軛水}})
/fy ⁶ /	ɔ ¹² fy ⁶ ‘father’s younger brother’ ‘叔叔’
/fy ⁷ /	‘fully cooked, ripe’ ‘熟’
/ky ¹ /	tʃeŋ ¹² ky ¹ ‘pearl’ ‘珍珠’
/ky ¹² /	ky ^{12d} ‘pig’ ‘豬’
	ky ¹² ku ⁵ ‘adult male pig, usually castrated and raised for food’ ‘公
豬，一般指被閹過的，	養來吃的’
	ky ¹² kɔ ¹ ‘stud boar’ ‘種豬’
	ky ¹² mɔ ² ‘sow, female pig’ ‘母豬’
	ky ¹² tia ^{12d} ‘adolescent pig’ ‘中豬’
	ky ¹² tsai ⁵ ‘piglet’ ‘小豬’
	ky ¹² ŋy ⁵ ‘sow that has not yet gone into heat’ (tone suspected to
be */34d/)	‘還沒發春過的母豬’ (疑為*/34d/)
	ky ¹² lao ³ , ky ¹² siəu ² , ky ¹² həu ² ‘large cage used for transporting a
stud boar’	‘種豬籠’
	ky ¹² tiəu ² ‘pigsty’ ‘豬圈’
	ky ¹² iəu ² ‘lard’ (usual term) ‘豬油’ (一般的說法)
	ky ¹² ʃi ³⁵ pɔ ^{12d} ‘hoe (very narrow-bladed variety; cf. /kəu ⁶ thao ² /
and /kua ³⁵ tsi ³ /)	{豬屎耙兒}) ‘很窄的鋤頭(參見/kua ³⁵ tsi ³ /、/kəu ⁶ thao ² /)’ ({{豬屎耙兒}})
/ky ¹ /	pao ⁶ ky ¹ ‘hungry’ ‘肚子餓’
/ky ² /	‘cupboard’ ‘廚子’
/ky ³ /	‘to cook (porridge)’ ‘熬(粥)’
/ky ³⁵ /	ky ³⁵ ŋeŋ ² , ky ³⁵ toŋ ^{12d} ‘host’ ‘主人’
/ky ⁶ /	‘chopsticks’ ‘筷子’
/ky ⁷ /	‘ramie (a kind of fine hemp)’ ‘苧麻’
/khy ¹ /	‘to play, have fun’ ‘玩’
/khy ² /	kiɔ ⁷ khy ^{12d} ‘hammer, large mallet’ ‘槌子’
	thie ⁶ khy ² ‘hammer (made of metal)’ ‘鐵槌’
	lɛi ¹² khy ^{12d} ‘small pestle for grinding medicine’ ‘研藥用的小杵’
/khy ³ /	ləu ³⁵ khy ³ ‘rat’ ‘老鼠’
/khy ⁵ /	‘to go’ ‘去’
	ŋ ⁶ khy ⁵ ‘not to be going’ ‘不去’
	khy ³⁵ ʃi ³⁵ khɔ ¹ ‘to go to the bathroom’ ‘上廁所’
/khy ⁶ /	‘rice in the hull’ ‘稻穀’

/ŋy ² /	li ³⁵ ŋy ² ‘carp’ ‘鯉魚’ ŋy ¹² laŋ ¹ ‘scale of a fish’ ‘魚鱗’ ŋy ¹² lai ³ ‘fish creel’ ‘魚簍子’
/ŋy ² /	‘you (singular)’ ‘你’ ŋy ²⁼ tsie ^{12d} ‘you (plural)’ ‘你們’
/ŋy ³ /	‘daughter’ ‘女兒’ ŋy ⁵ ‘girl’ (suspected to be */34d/) ‘女孩子’ (疑為*/34d/) ky ¹² ŋy ⁵ ‘sow that has not yet gone into heat’ (tone suspected to be */34d/) ‘還沒發春過的母豬’ (疑為*/34d/) ta ⁵⁼ ŋy ⁵ , ioŋ ³⁼ ŋy ⁵ ‘girl bought as the future bride of a family’s son’ ‘童養媳’

Rime /e/ 韻

/e ³ /	‘short (in height)’ ‘矮’; ‘low (said of a house, terraced fields)’ ‘低(指房子、梯田)’
/te ² /	ŋ ⁶ te ² ‘Don’t...’ (informants insist that this contrasts with /tie ² /) ‘別...’ (發音人強調：與/tie ² / 對立)
/tshe ² /	hao ⁶ keŋ ¹² tshe ² ‘to raise evil creatures in one’s house’ ‘養惡物’
/se ⁶ /	‘surname: Shiue 薛’ ‘姓：薛’
/se ⁶ /	‘snow’ ‘雪’
/tʃe ³⁼ /	tʃe ³⁼ ko ⁵ ‘this, this one’ ‘這、這個’ tʃe ³⁵ tʃo ⁶ khai ^{12d} ‘here’ ‘這裡’

Rime /ie/ 韻

/ie ¹ /	ie ¹² thie ⁶ ‘spleen of the pig’ ‘沙肝’
/ie ¹² /	ie ¹² ki ¹ ‘scoop-shaped woven basket, without handles used for straining partially-cooked rice’ ‘撈飯用的小畚箕(沒有耳)’
/ie ² /	‘salt’ ‘鹽’
/ie ⁶ /	‘the second of the ten “Heaven” cyclical signs: yii 乙’ ‘第二個天干：乙’
/ieʔ ⁸ /	‘leaf’ ‘葉子’ tʃo ¹² ieʔ ⁸ ‘tealeaves’ ‘茶葉’
/pie ¹ /	‘to carry (anything, but especially a child) on the back’ ‘背(任何東西，但特指背小孩)’
/pie ¹ /	miʔ ⁸ pie ¹ ‘the edge (of a surface, as the edge of a tabletop)’ ‘邊(譬如面邊)’
/pie ³ /	‘to turn (pig’s intestine) inside out’ ‘反(豬腸子)’
/pie ³⁵ /	pie ³⁵ to ¹ ‘burden pole’ ‘扁擔’
/pie ⁵ /	‘to change, change into’ ‘變’
/pie ⁶ /	‘eight’ ‘八’
/pie ⁶ /	‘fine-toothed louse-comb’ ‘篦子’
/phie ³ /	‘measure for one of two halves’ ‘兩個半邊之一(量辭)’
/phie ⁵ /	ti ³⁵ phie ⁵ ‘flat wooden lid of a wok’ (木板做的) 鍋蓋’
/phie ⁶ /	‘to cook (transitive; general word)’ ‘做(飯)’; ‘to cook (soup)’ ‘煮(湯)’ phie ⁶ pa ⁶ ‘to cook (VO compound)’ ‘做飯’
/mie ¹² /	mie ¹² mo ² ‘night, evening’ ‘晚上’; ‘tonight’ ‘今天晚上’
/mie ² /	‘to bury’ ‘埋’
/mie ³ /	‘to buy’ ‘買’
/mie ⁵ /	tsie ¹² mie ⁵ ‘in front’ ‘前面’

/mie ⁶ /	‘to sell’ ‘賣’
/mie ⁶ /	‘dented (said of a metal can), sunken (said of the cheeks of a toothless person)’ ‘癟下去的(指鐵罐子), 凹下去的(指沒有牙齒的人的臉頰)’
/mie ⁶ /	‘late (not on time; also late at night)’ ‘遲, 晚’
/mie ¹ ⁸ /	‘don’t know how’ (the form /ŋ ⁶ fa ¹ ⁸ / is used with equal frequency) ‘不會、不通曉’ (與/ŋ ⁶ fa ¹ ⁸ / 通用)
/fie ² /	‘boat’ ‘船’
/vie ² /	‘round’ ‘圓’ vie ² laŋ ^{12d} ‘squat round mew for holding chickens’ ‘圓雞籠’ vəu ¹ ⁸ vie ^{12d} ‘pill’ ‘藥丸’
/vie ⁶ /	‘to pick (the nose)’ ‘挖(鼻子)’
/tie ² /	‘to tangle, wind’ ‘纏’ tie ² sie ³⁵ khə ¹ ‘to bind one’s feet (said of a woman)’ (this was practiced locally in traditional times) ‘裹小腳’ (本地曾有這個習俗)
/tie ² /	‘sweet’ ‘甜’
/tie ³ /	‘to go back, return to’ ‘回’
/tie ³ /	‘bottom’ ‘底’
/tie ⁶ /	‘dye’ ‘染料’ haŋ ¹² tie ⁶ ‘red dye’ ‘紅色的染料’
/tie ⁶ /	‘to fall out, drop out, drop off (said of teeth, hair, leaves)’ ‘掉(指牙齒、頭髮、葉子)’; ‘to lose’ ‘(不小心) 丟掉、遺失’ tie ⁶ = taŋ ^{12d} ‘to fall out, drop out, drop off (said of teeth, hair, leaves)’ (V-Result form) ‘掉下來(指牙齒、頭髮、葉子)’ pa ¹ ⁸ tie ⁶ təu ⁵ ‘to trip, trip and fall’ ‘蹣倒’
/tie ⁶ /	[verb suffix indicating degree, obtainment, or success] [表示程度或成果的動辭後綴] ʃi ⁶ tie ⁶ ‘to understand’ ‘懂’, ‘to know (a person)’ ‘認識’ tsəu ⁵ ŋ ⁶ tie ⁶ ‘may not, it is not permitted to’ ‘不可以’ kiə ¹² tie ⁶ liə ⁶ ‘to run fast’ (the use of /tie ⁶ / to introduce manner or degree is optional; and Mandarin sentences such as <i>ley.de buneng donq</i> , in which <i>.de</i> introduces result, cannot be directly translated at all, with or without /tie ⁶ /) ‘跑得快’ (接程度性的補語的/tie ⁶ / 字可有可無; 而且接結果性的補語的用法, 如官話的“累得不能動”這種例子, 中堡話不管加不加/tie ⁶ / 字都沒有直接的翻譯)
	ki ⁵ tie ⁶ ‘to remember’ ‘記得’ ŋeŋ ⁶ tie ⁶ ‘to recognize’ ‘認得’ ʃao ³⁵ tie ⁶ ‘to know’ ‘知道’
/thie ¹ /	‘the sky’ ‘天’ taŋ ¹ thie ^{12d} ‘winter’ ‘冬天’ thie ¹² koŋ ¹ ‘morning’ ‘早上’ thie ¹² tsə ² ‘daytime’ ‘白天’
/thie ⁵ /	‘paddy tares’ (homophonous with “on behalf of”) ‘稗子’ (與“稗子”同音) vai ¹² thie ⁵ ‘the ear of the rice plant’ ‘稻穗’
/thie ⁵ /	‘on behalf of’ (homophonous with “paddy tares”) ‘替’ (與“稗子”同音)
/thie ⁶ /	‘iron’ ‘鐵’ thie ⁶ khy ² ‘hammer (made of metal)’ ‘鐵槌’ ie ¹² thie ⁶ ‘spleen of the pig’ ‘沙肝’
/thie ⁶ /	tsaŋ ¹² thie ⁶ ‘coir mattress’ ‘棕毛床墊’

/thie ⁶ /		‘measure for doses of medicine’ ‘服(藥的量辭)’
/nie ² /		‘year’ ‘年’
/nie ² /		‘soil’ ‘泥土’
		nie ¹² ku ^{12d} ‘large native black field clam’ ‘本地的大黑蚌’
		nie ¹² ku ¹² tsie ⁵ ‘tiny field clam’ ‘田裡的小蚌’
/nie ³ /		‘mother’ ‘母親’
/nie ⁶ /		‘small ceramic pot (with a handle) for decocting medicine’ ‘藥銚’
	子’	
/lie ² /		‘to sew’ (general word for all forms of sewing) ‘縫’ (動辭；總稱)
/lie ⁸ /		‘to chase’ (faster than /la ² /) ‘趕、追’ (比/la ² /快)
/tsie ¹ /		‘to hit with the fist, punch’ ‘揍、用拳頭打’
/tsie ¹ /		‘to split (wood) with a wedge’ ‘(用楔子)劈柴’
/tsie ² /		‘money’ ‘錢’
		tu ³⁵ tsie ² ‘to gamble, wager money’ ‘賭博、賭錢’
/tsie ² /		‘in front’ (bound form) ‘前’ (字音)
		tsie ¹² thao ^{12d} , tsie ¹² mie ⁵ ‘in front’ ‘前面’
/tsie ² /		‘even (said of the teeth)’ ‘齊(指牙齒)’
		ɔ ¹² tsie ^{12d} ‘we (inclusive)’ ‘咱們’
		ŋɔ ²⁼ tsie ^{12d} ‘we (exclusive)’ ‘我們’
		ŋy ²⁼ tsie ^{12d} ‘you (plural)’ ‘你們’
		i ¹⁼ tsie ^{12d} ‘they’ ‘他們’
/tsie ³ /	kaŋ ¹² tsie ³	‘paternal great grandfather’ ‘曾祖父’
	pəu ¹² tsie ³	‘paternal great grandmother’ ‘曾祖母’
/tsie ⁵ /		[diminutive suffix] (distinguish /tsəi ⁵ /; suspected to be */34d/) [指小後綴] (參見/tsəi ⁵ /; 疑為*/34d/)
		kie ¹² tsie ⁵ ‘baby chick’ ‘小雞’
		kie ¹² kao ⁶ tsie ⁵ ‘male spring chicken’ ‘小公雞’
		ɔ ⁶ tsie ⁵ ‘duckling’ ‘小鴨’
		ŋu ¹² tsie ⁵ ‘calf’ ‘小牛’
		tʃhiəu ³⁵ tʃi ³⁵ tsie ⁵ ‘finger’ ‘手指’
		nie ¹² ku ¹² tsie ⁵ ‘tiny field clam’ ‘田裡的小蚌’
/tsie ⁵ /		‘arrow’ ‘箭’
		tʃoŋ ¹² tsie ⁵ ‘crossbow’ ‘弩弓’
/tsie ⁶ /		‘to catch (something thrown)’ ‘接(丟的東西)’; ‘to meet (someone arriving from elsewhere)’ ‘接(人)’
/tshie ⁵ /		‘vegetable’ ‘蔬菜’; ‘dish of food, cooked food’ ‘(一個)菜’
		tsho ¹² tshie ⁵ ‘green vegetable’ ‘青菜’; ‘mustard greens’ ‘芥菜’
		ka ⁶ tshie ⁵ ‘mustard greens’ ‘芥菜’
		tao ⁶ pu ⁶ tshie ⁵ ‘spinach’ (“beancurd” + “vegetable”) ‘菠菜’ (“豆腐” + “菜”)
		ʃie ⁶ tshie ⁵ ‘amaranth’ ‘莧菜’
/tshie ⁶ /		‘to cut with a knife’ ‘切’
		tshie ⁶ naŋ ⁶ ‘to cut finely’ ‘切碎’
/sie ¹ /		‘first’ ‘先’
		sie ¹² thao ^{12d} ‘just now’ ‘剛才’
/sie ¹² /	tiəu ⁶ sie ^{12d}	‘bamboo branch, without leaves’ ‘沒有葉子的竹枝’
/sie ³ /		‘to wash’ ‘洗’
/sie ³⁵ /	sie ³⁵ loŋ ²	‘son-in-law’ ‘女婿’
/sie ⁵ /		‘small’ ‘小’

	sie ³⁵ ʃɔ ² , sie ³⁵ kɔ ³⁵ ŋeŋ ^{12d} ‘child’ ‘孩子’
	tie ²⁼ sie ³⁵ khɔ ¹ ‘to bind one’s feet (said of a woman)’ (this was practiced locally in traditional times) ‘裹小腳’ (本地曾有這個習俗)
/tʃie ² /	‘chicken louse’ ‘雞蝨子’
/tʃie ^{ʔ8} /	fu ¹² tʃie ^{ʔ8} ‘threshold’ ‘門檻’
/tʃie ^{ʔ8} /	‘to lick’ (there is no other word) ‘舔’ (沒有其他說法); ‘tongue’ ‘舌頭’
/tʃhie ¹ /	‘to sift’ ‘篩’
	mi ³⁵ tʃhie ¹ ‘sieve’ ‘篩子’
/tʃhie ¹² /	tʃhie ^{12d} ‘to kill’ (general word) ‘殺’ (總稱)
/tʃhie ⁶ /	‘wet’
/ʃie ¹ /	kuəi ³⁵ ʃie ¹ ‘a kind of tiny, flat-bellied fish with a gaping mouth’ ‘一種扁肚子、大嘴巴的小魚’
/ʃie ¹² /	ʃie ¹² kaŋ ^{12d} “‘plain-clothes’ Taoist priest: man who lives at home and wears ordinary dress but observes all the regulations of one in a Taoist order’ ‘在家道士’
/ʃie ³⁵ /	ʃie ³⁵ kaŋ ¹ ‘crab (edible)’ ‘螃蟹(可食)’
/ʃie ⁵ /	‘to slap (the face)’ ‘打(耳光)’
/ʃie ⁶ /	‘blood’ ‘血’
/ʃie ⁶ /	ʃie ⁶ tʃhie ⁵ ‘amaranth’ ‘莧菜’
/ʃie ⁶ /	[the copula] [系辭]
	ŋ ⁶ ʃie ⁶ ‘it is not’(negative copula) ‘不是’ (否定系辭)
	ŋ ⁶ ʃie ⁶ tha ⁵ ‘not there, not to be located at...’ (negative locative expression) ‘不在...’ (否定方位辭)
	ia ³⁼ ʃie ⁶ ‘also to be, is too’ ‘也是’
/ʃie ⁶ /	ʃie ⁶ maɔ ^{ʔ8} ‘blind (having no eyes)’ ‘瞎了(沒有眼睛)’
	ʃɔ ¹² koŋ ¹² ŋie ³⁵ ʃie ⁶ ‘blind (having eyes that cannot see)’ ‘瞎了(有眼睛，看不見)’
/ʃie ^{ʔ8} /	‘narrow’ ‘窄’
/kie ¹² /	kie ^{12d} ‘chicken’ ‘雞’
	kie ¹² la ⁵ ‘spring pullet’ ‘小母雞’
	kie ¹² mɔ ² ‘hen’ ‘母雞’
	kie ¹² kao ⁶ ‘male chicken’ ‘公雞’
	kie ¹² kao ⁶ tsie ⁵ ‘male spring chicken’ ‘小公雞’
	kie ¹² tsie ⁵ ‘baby chick’ ‘小雞’
	kie ¹² thaŋ ^{12d} ‘adolescent chicken’ ‘中雞’
	kye ⁶ kie ^{12d} ‘castrated chicken’ ‘閹雞’
	kie ¹² keŋ ^{ʔ8} ‘chicken gizzard’ ‘雞肫’
	kie ¹² thəi ³ ‘chicken drumstick’ ‘雞腿’
	kie ¹² keŋ ² ‘conical basket for catching and holding chickens’ ‘雞罩’
	kie ¹² tiəu ² ‘chicken coop’ ‘雞窩’
	kie ¹² laŋ ¹ ‘poultry mew’ ‘雞籠’
/kie ¹ /	kie ¹ kie ^{12d} kie ¹² lu ⁶ ‘street, road’ ‘街、路’
/kie ³ /	‘to untie (shoelaces)’ ‘解(鞋帶)’
/kie ³ /	fy ³⁵ kie ³ ‘water pipe, made from split bamboo’ ‘劈開的竹子做的水管’
/kie ⁵ /	maŋ ¹² kie ⁵ ‘dream’ (noun. This is the common word, but cf. /moŋ ⁵ /). Informants say this sounds like it means “door” + “to see”) ‘夢’ (發音人說是“門見”的意思)
	la ⁶ maŋ ¹² kie ⁵ ‘to have a dream’ ‘做夢’
/kie ⁵ /	‘measure for split halves of a stick of wood’ (see /kai ¹ /, /phie ³ /)

‘木柴劈成兩半的一個半邊(量辭)’ (參見/kai¹/, /phie³/)

/kie ⁶ /	meŋ ³⁵ kie ⁶ ‘face’ ‘臉’
	meŋ ³⁵ kie ⁶ la ³ ‘cheeks’ ‘臉頰’
/khie ¹ /	‘river’ (usual word) ‘河’ (一般的說法)
	ta ⁶ khie ¹ ‘large river’ ‘大河’
/khie ⁶ /	‘to be lacking, missing (something)’ ‘缺’
	khie ⁶ kye ⁵ ‘to have a harelip’ ‘缺嘴’
	tshaj ¹² khie ⁶ ‘drainage gap in the berm of a wet field’ ‘田埂缺’
/ŋie ³ /	‘measure for segments of citrus fruit’ (usage the same as /ku ³ /) ‘橘子的瓣(量辭)’ (與/ku ³ / 通用)
/ŋie ³ /	‘to dye’ ‘染’
/ŋie ³⁵ /	ʃɔ ¹² koŋ ¹² ŋie ³⁵ ʃie ⁶ ‘blind (having eyes that cannot see)’ ‘瞎了(有眼睛，看不見)’
/ŋie ⁸ /	‘hot’ (general word) ‘熱’ (總稱); ‘medicinally heating’ ‘熱’ (藥理的術辭)

Rime /ye/ 韻

/kye ¹ /	‘brick’ ‘磚’
/kye ⁵ /	khie ⁶ kye ⁵ ‘to have a harelip’ ‘缺嘴’
/kye ⁶ /	‘to spay’ ‘閹割’
	kye ⁶ kie ^{12d} ‘castrated chicken’ ‘閹雞’
/khye ¹ /	‘to blow (an object such as a whistle, also said of the wind blowing)’ ‘吹(口哨)、颯(風)’
/khye ¹ /	‘to steam’ ‘蒸’; ‘to decoct (medicine)’ ‘熬(藥)’; ‘to stew in an earthen pot within another pot’ ‘燉’
/ŋye ³ /	‘soft’ ‘軟’

Rime /eŋ/ 韻

/eŋ ² /	‘the ninth of the ten “Heaven” cyclical signs: ren 壬’ ‘第九個天干：壬’
/eŋ ⁶ /	‘small hill’ ‘小土丘’
	tʃhiəu ⁶ koŋ ¹² eŋ ⁶ ‘local placename: Jawgongji 趙公岌’ ‘小地名：趙公岌’
/peŋ ¹ /	‘soldier’ ‘兵’
/meŋ ¹² /	meŋ ¹² tshoŋ ² ‘bed’ ‘床’
/meŋ ⁵ /	meŋ ⁵ , meŋ ³⁵ kie ⁶ ‘face’ ‘臉’
	meŋ ³⁵ kie ⁶ la ³ ‘cheeks’ ‘臉頰’
/feŋ ² /	tsio ³⁵ feŋ ² ‘wellkerb’ ‘井垣’
/teŋ ¹ /	teŋ ¹ , lo ¹² lo ¹² teŋ ¹² teŋ ¹ , lo ¹² lo ²⁼ teŋ ¹² teŋ ¹ ‘to hang out, hang down’ ‘垂下來’
/teŋ ³ /	‘to shove with one’s body’ ‘用身體的力量推’
/tseŋ ¹ /	ka ¹² tseŋ ¹ ‘kind of mountain grass eaten by carabaos’ ‘所謂蘆葦：牛喜歡吃的一種山草’
/tshen ¹ /	‘clear (said of water)’ ‘清’
/seŋ ¹ /	‘the eighth of the ten “Heaven” cyclical signs: shin 辛’ ‘第八個天干：辛’
/seŋ ¹ /	‘heart’ ‘心’
/seŋ ¹ /	‘new’ ‘新’
/seŋ ¹² /	seŋ ¹² pu ⁸ ‘daughter-in-law’ ‘媳婦’
/seŋ ¹² /	u ¹² seŋ ^{12d} ‘housefly’ ‘蒼蠅’
/seŋ ³ /	‘bamboo shoot’ ‘乾’

	seŋ ³⁵ ka ¹ ‘dried bamboo shoots’ ‘筍乾’
/tʃeŋ ¹² /	tʃeŋ ¹² ky ¹ ‘pearl’ ‘珍珠’
/tʃheŋ ¹ /	‘deep’ ‘深’
/tʃheŋ ² /	tʃhaŋ ¹² tʃheŋ ² ‘berm of a wet field’ ‘田埂、田壩’
/tʃheŋ ² /	‘surname: Chern 陳 (known locally)’ ‘本地的姓：陳’
/tʃheŋ ⁶ /	‘measure for number of times said’ ‘遍(話的量辭)’
/ʃeŋ ¹ /	‘the ninth of the twelve “Earth” cyclical signs: shen 申’ ‘第九個 地支：申’
/ʃeŋ ¹² /	ʃeŋ ¹² tia ¹ ‘tomorrow’ ‘明天’
/ʃeŋ ² /	‘the fifth of the twelve “Earth” cyclical signs: chern 辰’ ‘第五個 地支：辰’
/ʃeŋ ⁵ /	ɔ ¹² ʃeŋ ⁵ ‘father’s younger brother’s wife’ (suspected to be */34d/) ‘孀孀’ (疑為 */34d/)
/keŋ ¹ /	keŋ ¹ , keŋ ¹² tsi ³ ‘gold’ ‘金、金子’
	hao ⁶ keŋ ¹² tshe ² ‘to raise evil creatures in one’s house’ ‘養惡物’
/keŋ ¹² /	keŋ ¹² tia ¹ ‘today’ ‘今天’
/keŋ ² /	‘Chinese zither, or more generally any stringed musical instrument’ ‘琴，或任何其他弦樂器’
/keŋ ² /	kie ¹² keŋ ² ‘conical basket for catching and holding chickens’ ‘雞罩’
/keŋ ⁵ /	ɔ ¹² keŋ ⁵ ‘mother’s brother’s wife’ (suspected to be */34d/) ‘舅母’ (疑為*/34d/)
/keŋ ⁸ /	kie ¹² keŋ ⁸ ‘chicken gizzard’ ‘雞肫’
/ŋeŋ ² /	‘person’ ‘人’
	ky ³⁵ ŋeŋ ² ‘host’ ‘主人’
	sie ³⁵ ko ³⁵ ŋeŋ ^{12d} ‘child’ ‘孩子’
	ha ¹² ŋeŋ ² ‘cold (said of the weather)’ (this form translates as “makes one cold”) ‘冷(指天氣)’ (這個說法直意就是“令人家冷”)
/ŋeŋ ⁶ /	ŋeŋ ⁶ tie ⁶ ‘to recognize’ ‘認得’

Rime /yeŋ/ 韻

/kyeŋ ¹ /	‘root’ (homophonous with “military”) ‘根’ (與“軍”同音)
/kyeŋ ¹ /	‘military’ (bound form; homophonous with “root”) ‘軍’ (字音； 與“根”同音)
/kyeŋ ¹ /	‘to shiver’ ‘發抖’
/kyeŋ ⁵ /	‘small stream’ ‘小溪’
	fy ³⁵ kyeŋ ⁵ ‘water conduit’ ‘水渠’
/kyeŋ ⁸ /	‘near’ ‘近’
/khyeŋ ¹ /	ʃoŋ ⁸ khyeŋ ¹ ‘springtime’ (this verbal noun is the real word for the Spring) ‘春 天’ (這個動辭性名辭是最道地的說法)
/khyeŋ ² /	ɔ ⁶ khyeŋ ² ‘flock of ducks’ ‘鴨群’
/khyeŋ ³ /	‘stupid’ ‘笨’

Rime /a/ 韻

/pa ¹ /	‘to move (furniture, one’s home)’ ‘搬(傢俱、家)’
/pa ² /	‘plate’ ‘盤子’
/pa ³⁵ /	pa ³⁵ ki ⁸ ‘traditional wooden shoes’ ‘木屐’
	pa ³⁵ kəu ¹ ‘large slabs of pure fat found inside a pig’s body’ ‘板油’
/pa ⁵ /	‘half’ ‘半’
	pa ³⁵ mo ¹² ʃi ² ‘dusk’ ‘傍晚’
/pa ⁵ /	‘to get (one’s feet) tangled...’ ‘(腳) 纏在...’

	pa ⁵ = hai ⁸ ‘to get (one’s feet) tangled’ ‘(腳) 纏在一起’
/pa ⁶ /	‘cooked rice’ ‘飯’
	phie ⁶ pa ⁶ ‘to cook (VO compound)’ ‘做飯’
	i ⁶ tʃɔ ⁶ pa ⁶ ‘one grain of rice’ ‘一粒飯’
/pa ⁶ /	pu ¹² pa ⁶ ‘large earthen casserole pot’ ‘大土鍋、沙鍋’
/pa ⁸ /	pa ⁸ tau ⁵ , pa ⁸ tie ⁶ tau ⁵ ‘to trip, trip and fall’ ‘蹺倒’
/pa ⁸ /	‘to carry at one end of a pole (holding the other end in one’s hand)’ ‘用扁擔的一頭扛’
/pa ⁸ /	‘to smash’ ‘摔(迫)’
/pha ¹ /	‘to vomit’ ‘嘔吐’
/pha ¹² /	pha ¹² ʃa ¹² tan ⁵ ‘local placename: Gaujyidiing 高岌頂’ ‘小地名：高岌頂’
/pha ⁸ /	‘quilt, coverlet’ ‘被子’
/pha ⁸ /	‘to wear thrown over the shoulders, to carry (a garment) slung over one shoulder’ ‘披著、搭著(衣服)’
/ma ³ /	‘full’ ‘滿’; ‘heaping (said of an overfull bowl)’ ‘高起來(指過滿的碗)’
/ma ³ /	ɲua ⁶ tsu ³⁵ ma ³ ‘mother’s mother’ ‘外祖母’
	ɔ ¹² ma ⁵ ‘father’s mother’ ‘祖母’
/ma ⁸ /	‘sock’ ‘襪子’
/fa ¹ /	‘to turn (a page)’ ‘翻(一頁)’
/fa ¹² /	fa ¹² fy ² ‘sweet potato’
/fa ⁸ /	‘to know how’ ‘會、通曉’
	ɲ ⁶ fa ⁸ ‘don’t know how’ (the form /mie ⁸ / is used with equal frequency) ‘不會、不通曉’ (與/mie ⁸ / 通用)
	fa ⁸ li ¹² lau ⁸ u ³ ‘it looks like it’s going to rain’ ‘好像會下雨’
/va ¹ /	‘to wear (a shirt or jacket) on one arm, with the other arm not put through its sleeve’ ‘(外套、襯衫) 一支手穿著一支手沒穿’
/va ³ /	‘bowl’ (homophonous with “far”) ‘碗’ (與“遠” 同音)
/va ³ /	‘far’ (homophonous with “bowl”) ‘遠’ (與“碗” 同音)
/va ³ /	tʃhiəu ³⁵ va ³ ‘sleeve’ ‘袖子’
/va ⁵ /	khɔ ¹² tan ¹² va ⁵ ‘back of the knee’ (suspected to be */34d/) ‘膕窩’ (疑為*/34d/)
/va ⁵ /	‘to carry (a backpack) slung over one’s shoulder’ ‘背(書包)’
/va ⁶ /	‘to change (clothing)’ ‘換(衣服)’
	tai ⁵ va ⁶ ‘to exchange’ ‘交換’
/ta ¹ /	ta ¹² ʃɔ ^{12d} ‘single-layer garment’ ‘單衣服’
/ta ² /	‘to strum’ ‘彈(琴)’
/ta ² /	ni ⁶ ta ² ‘where?’ ‘哪裡?’
/ta ³ /	‘to cut (wood) into smaller pieces’ ‘(把木條) 砍成幾片’
/ta ⁵ /	‘to bring along’ ‘帶(來、去)’
	ta ⁵ ɲy ⁵ ‘girl bought as the future bride of a family’s son’ ‘童養媳’
/ta ⁶ /	‘large’ ‘大’
	ta ⁶ pɔ ⁶ ‘father’s (eldest) elder brother’ ‘(大) 伯父’
	ta ⁶ paŋ ⁵ ‘wife of father’s eldest brother’ ‘大伯母’
	ta ⁶ khie ¹ ‘large river’ ‘大河’
/ta ⁶ /	ti ⁶ ti ⁶ ta ⁶ ‘child’ ‘孩子’
/ta ⁶ /	ku ⁶ ta ⁶ ‘mat for drying rice’ ‘攤穀蓆’
/ta ⁸ /	‘to become broken off’ ‘斷’
/tha ² /	‘measure for coils of rope or thread, for clods of earth’ ‘桄(繩子或線的量辭)、坨(土的量辭)’

/tha ⁵ /	ŋ ⁶ ʃie ⁶ tha ⁵ ‘not there, not to be located at...’ (negative locative expression) ‘不在...’ (否定方位辭)
/na ³ /	‘warm’ ‘暖和’
/na ⁶ /	‘burning hot’ ‘很燙’; ‘to iron with an iron’ ‘用熨斗燙’; ‘to crisp or heat in a pan without oil’ ‘用乾鍋煎烤’
/la ¹² /	la ¹² khia ² ‘kind of large spider’ ‘一種大蜘蛛’
/la ² /	la ¹² khi ² ‘slug; large snail’ ‘蛞蝓、蝸牛’
/la ² /	‘to chase’ (slower than /ka ³ / and /lie ² /) ‘趕、追’ (比/ka ³ /、/lie ² /慢)
/la ³ /	‘egg’ ‘蛋’
	meŋ ³⁵ kie ⁶ la ³ ‘cheeks’ ‘臉頰’
	u ⁶ la ³ ‘taro’ ‘芋子’
	tʃhiəu ³⁵ tʃo ¹² la ⁵ ‘elbow’ (suspected to be */34d/) ‘手肘’ (疑為*/34d/)
/la ³ /	khao ³⁵ la ³ , khao ³⁵ la ³⁵ fy ³ ‘saliva’ ‘口水’
/la ⁵ /	kie ¹² la ⁵ ‘spring pullet’ ‘小母雞’
/la ⁶ /	la ⁶ maŋ ¹² kie ⁵ ‘to have a dream’ ‘做夢’
	tɔ ³⁵ la ⁶ vɔ ⁶ ‘to talk in one’s sleep’ ‘講夢話’
/la ⁶ /	‘rotten’ (general word) ‘腐爛’ (總稱); ‘overcooked’ ‘(煮得) 很爛’
/la ⁶ /	la ⁶ si ⁶ ‘(cultivated) persimmon’ ‘(養的) 柿子’
/tʃa ⁵ /	ka ³⁵ tʃa ⁵ ‘straw mattress’ ‘稻草床墊’
/tʃa ⁵ /	‘measure for flowers’ ‘朵(花的量辭)’
/tʃa ⁶ /	‘to tie up in a bundle (said of rice seedlings, usually at one end of the bundle)’ ‘綁在一起(指秧苗, 一般指綁在一端)’
/tʃa ² /	‘to sit’ ‘坐’
/tʃa ² /	voŋ ¹² tʃa ² ‘cockroach’ ‘蟑螂’
/tʃa ⁵ /	‘surname: Tsay 蔡’ ‘姓: 蔡’
/sa ¹ /	‘sour’ ‘酸’
/sa ³ /	‘umbrella’ ‘雨傘’
/sa ⁵ /	‘to count, calculate’ ‘算、數’
/sa ⁵ /	‘garlic’ ‘蒜’
/sa ⁵ /	‘to disperse (said of people at a meeting)’ ‘散(會)’
/tʃa ³ /	‘to grab’ ‘抓’; ‘measure for fistfuls’ ‘把(抓到的東西的量辭)’
/tʃa ² /	‘lazy’ ‘懶惰’
/tʃha ³ /	‘to crush or grind into the ground with one’s foot’ ‘用腳踩滅’
/tʃha ⁶ /	‘otter’ ‘水獺’
/ʃa ¹ /	‘mountain’ ‘山’
	ʃa ¹² foŋ ^{12d} ‘dry field, esp. in mountainous land’ ‘山地、山田’
	pha ¹² ʃa ¹² taŋ ⁵ ‘local placename: Gaujyidiing 高炭頂’ ‘小地名: 高炭頂’
/ʃa ¹ /	‘to pour (liquor, tea)’ ‘倒(茶、酒)’
/ʃa ⁶ /	‘to kill (a person)’
/ka ¹ /	seŋ ³⁵ ka ¹ ‘dried bamboo shoots’ ‘筍乾’
/ka ¹² /	ka ¹² tseŋ ¹ ‘kind of mountain grass eaten by carabaos’ ‘所謂蘆葦: 牛喜歡吃的一種山草’
/ka ¹² /	ka ¹² tʃo ⁵ ‘sugar cane’ ‘甘蔗’
/ka ³ /	‘rice straw, reaped rice plants’ ‘稻草’
	ka ³⁵ tʃa ⁵ ‘straw mattress’ ‘稻草床墊’
/ka ³ /	‘to chase’ (faster than /la ² /) ‘趕、追’ (比/la ² /快)

/ka ³ /	‘to give the antidote for (poison)’ ‘解(毒)’
/ka ⁶ /	‘to reap’ ‘割(稻子)’
/ka ⁶ /	ka ⁶ tshie ⁵ ‘mustard greens’ ‘芥菜’
/ka ⁶ /	ka ⁶ moŋ ⁵ ‘long net, which can be stretched across a stream’ ‘長網’
/ha ² /	ha ² , ha ¹² ŋeŋ ² ‘cold (said of the weather)’ (the second form translates as “makes one cold”) ‘冷(指天氣)’ (第二個說法直意就是“令人家冷”)
/ha ³ /	ha ³ kɔ ⁵ ‘that, that one’ ‘那、那個’
	ha ³ khai ^{12d} ‘there’ ‘那裡’
/ha ⁶ /	‘sweat’ ‘汗’
/ha ⁸ /	‘dry (said of soil)’ ‘乾(指土)’
/ha ⁸ /	‘the twelfth of the twelve “Earth” cyclical signs: hay 亥’ ‘第十二個地支：亥’

Rime /ia/ 韻

/ia ³ /	ia ³ fie ⁶ ‘also to be, is too’ ‘也是’
/ia ⁸ /	‘to turn (a page)’ ‘翻(一頁)’
/tia ⁶ /	ɔ ¹² tia ⁶ ‘elder sister’ ‘姐姐’
/kia ¹² /	kia ¹² lai ^{12d} ‘tiny clam (not snail) found in the sand’ ‘沙裡的小蚌(不是螺!)’
/kia ⁶ /	‘to step over, cross (the threshold)’ ‘邁過(門檻)’
/kia ⁶ /	‘to sweep (the rafters at New Year’s)’ ‘(過年前)掃(清家裡)’;
	‘any kind of bamboo broom’ ‘竹掃子’
/kia ⁸ /	‘to spank (a child, using the palm or a bamboo slat)’ ‘(用手掌或竹片)打(小孩子)’
/khia ² /	la ¹² khia ² ‘kind of large spider’ ‘一種大蜘蛛’

Rime /ua/ 韻

/kua ¹ /	‘official’ (noun) ‘官’
/kua ¹ /	‘to shut (the door)’ ‘關(門)’
/kua ³ /	‘water pipe or pipe-shaped dipper’ ‘水管’; ‘measure for writing implements’ ‘筆的量辭’
	tsi ³⁵ kua ³ ‘mouth’ ‘嘴巴’
	fy ³⁵ kua ⁵ ‘bamboo dipper with long handle’ (suspected to be */34d/) ‘長柄的竹水瓢’ (疑為*/34d/)
	kua ³⁵ tsi ³ ‘hoe (narrow-bladed variety; cf. /ky ¹² ʃi ³⁵ pɔ ^{12d} / and /kəu ⁶ thao ² /)’ ‘窄鋤頭(參見/ky ¹² ʃi ³⁵ pɔ ^{12d} /、/kəu ⁶ thao ² /)’
/kua ⁶ /	‘to scrape’ ‘刮’; ‘to level (the contents of a bowl)’ ‘(把碗裡面的東西)刮平’
/kua ⁸ /	‘measure for gobs of spat phlegm’ ‘坨(吐出來的痰的量辭)’
/khua ⁵ /	‘measure for clods of earth’ ‘坨(土的量辭)’
/khua ⁶ /	‘wide’ ‘寬’
/ŋua ⁶ /	ŋua ⁶ thao ² ‘outside’ ‘外面’
	ŋua ⁶ saŋ ^{12d} ‘daughter’s son; man’s sister’s son’ ‘外孫、外甥’
	ŋua ⁶ tsu ³⁵ tɔ ¹ ‘mother’s father’ ‘外祖父’
	ŋua ⁶ tsu ³⁵ ma ³ ‘mother’s mother’ ‘外祖母’
/ŋua ⁸ /	‘month’ ‘月’; ‘the moon’ ‘月亮’
	ŋua ⁸ piɔ ⁵ ‘moon cake’ ‘月餅’

Rime /aŋ/ 韻

/aŋ ¹ /	‘to spread (manure fertilizer)’ ‘施(肥)’
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		an ¹² paŋ ⁵ 'to spread manure fertilizer' '施肥'
/aŋ ⁵ /		'dark (said of the sky)' '暗(指天)'
/paŋ ¹ /	nɔ ¹² paŋ ¹	'to give, give to' '給'
/paŋ ¹ /		'to collapse, have an avalanche (said of a mountain)' '崩'
/paŋ ¹ /	laŋ ¹² paŋ ¹	'ice' '冰'
/paŋ ⁵ /		'manure' '糞'
		an ¹² paŋ ⁵ 'to spread manure fertilizer' '施肥'
		tʃhəi ⁶ paŋ ⁵ 'to press a lump of manure into the soil as fertilizer'
		'把一塊糞塞在地下(做肥料)'
		paŋ ³⁵ ki ¹ 'scoop-shaped woven basket, with handles, used for carrying trash or soil' '畚箕(有耳)'
		paŋ ³⁵ khə ¹ 'to defecate' (polite) '拉屎' (客氣)
/paŋ ⁵ /		'to set down, let go' '放'
/paŋ ⁵ /	ɔ ¹² paŋ ⁵	'wife of father's elder brother' (term of direct address) '伯母' (面稱)
		ta ⁶ paŋ ⁵ 'wife of father's eldest brother' '大伯母'
/paŋ ⁵ /		'stupid' '笨'
/phaŋ ¹ /		'bee' '蜂'
/phaŋ ² /		'surname: Perng 彭' (not local) '姓：彭' (不是本地姓)
/phaŋ ² /		'to blow with the lips (as through a tube to kindle fire)' '吹'
/phaŋ ⁵ /		'to spew' '噴'
/phaŋ ⁶ /		'a crack' '縫' (名辭)
		pi ⁶ phaŋ ⁶ 'to form a crack, to crack' '裂一條縫'
/maŋ ¹ /		'to overflow' '溢(出來)'
/maŋ ¹² /	maŋ ¹² kie ⁵	'dream' (noun. This is the common word, but cf. /moŋ ⁵ /). Informants say this sounds like it means "door" + "to see") '夢' (發音人說是“門見”的意思)
		la ⁶ maŋ ¹² kie ⁵ 'to have a dream' '做夢'
/maŋ ¹² /	maŋ ¹² kɔ ^{12d}	'mosquito' '蚊子'
/maŋ ¹² /	maŋ ¹² fɔ ¹	'the dried flower-stalks of the /ka ¹² tseŋ ¹ / grass, used in making brooms' '/ka ¹² tseŋ ¹ / 草的乾花稈，用來做掃帚'
/maŋ ² /		'door' '門'
		mɔ ^{ʔ8} maŋ ² 'to knock on the door' (no */khə/ form) '敲門' (沒有*/khə/ 的說法)
		khai ¹² maŋ ² , tɔ ³⁵ maŋ ² 'to open a door' '開門'
/maŋ ⁵ /		'to ask' '問'
/maŋ ⁶ /		'to braise: to stew covered, with relatively little water' '燜(用比較少的水)'; 'hot and stuffy, muggy' '悶熱'
/vaŋ ² /		'to stew covered, with a lot of water' '燜(用很多水)'
/vaŋ ² /		'cloud' '雲'
/faŋ ¹ /	ʃi ^{ʔ8} faŋ ¹	'to eat non-vegetarian food' '吃葷'
/faŋ ⁶ /		'measure for portions, for terraced fields' '梯田的量辭'
/taŋ ¹ /	taŋ ¹⁼ thie ^{12d} , taŋ ¹⁼ hɔ ^{ʔ8}	'winter' '冬天'
		taŋ ¹² kɔ ¹ 'winter melon' '冬瓜'
/taŋ ¹ /		'to cut off (branches)' '割(樹枝)'
/taŋ ¹² /	tie ⁶ = taŋ ^{12d}	'to fall out, drop out, drop off (said of teeth, hair, leaves)' (V-Result form) '掉下來(指牙齒、頭髮、葉子)'
		ləu ¹² pɔ ¹ = taŋ ^{12d} 'to forget' '忘記'
/taŋ ¹ /		'the fourth of the ten "Heaven" cyclical signs: ding 丁' '第四個天干：丁'
/taŋ ¹² /	taŋ ¹² tsi ¹	'male shaman' '跳神的男巫師'

		khi ³⁵ taŋ ^{12d} ‘to go spastically into a shamanistic trance’ ‘跳神’
/taŋ ² /	khə ¹² taŋ ² ‘leg of a person’ ‘人的腿’	
		khə ¹² taŋ ¹² kuəi ⁶ ‘shin’ ‘脛骨’
		khə ¹² taŋ ¹² va ⁵ ‘back of the knee’ ‘脛窩’
/taŋ ³ /		‘measure for hats’ ‘頂(帽子的量辭)’
/taŋ ³ /		‘fencepost’ ‘籬笆桿’
/taŋ ⁵ /	pha ¹² ʃa ¹² taŋ ⁵ ‘local placename: Gaujyidiing 高岌頂’ (suspected to be */34d/;	
	cf. /taŋ ³ /) ‘小地名：高岌頂’ (疑為*/34d/；參見/taŋ ³ /)	
/taŋ ⁶ /	taŋ ⁶ ʃi ¹² ki ² , taŋ ⁶ ŋi ⁸ ki ^{12d} ‘to fix a date, set a date’ ‘定日期’	
/taŋ ⁸ /		‘heavy’ ‘重、不輕’
/thaŋ ¹² /	kie ¹² thaŋ ^{12d} ‘adolescent chicken’ ‘中雞’	
/thaŋ ² /		‘bug’ ‘蟲子’
		soŋ ¹² thaŋ ² ‘silkworm’ ‘蠶’
/naŋ ⁶ /	tshie ⁶ naŋ ⁶ ‘to cut finely’ ‘切碎’	
/laŋ ¹ /	ŋy ¹² laŋ ¹ ‘scale of a fish’ ‘魚鱗’	
/laŋ ¹ /	ŋi ³⁵ laŋ ¹ ‘deaf’ ‘耳聾’	
/laŋ ¹ /	kie ¹² laŋ ¹ ‘poultry mew’ ‘雞籠’	
/laŋ ¹² /	laŋ ¹² paŋ ¹ ‘ice’ ‘冰’	
/laŋ ¹² /	toŋ ²⁼ laŋ ^{12d} ‘long cylindrical mew for holding chickens’ ‘長雞籠’	
		vie ²⁼ laŋ ^{12d} ‘squat round mew for holding chickens’ ‘圓雞籠’
/laŋ ² /		‘to polish (rice)’ ‘磨’
		thu ³⁵ laŋ ² ‘old fashioned hand-operated rice mill’ ‘老式磨米的機器’
/laŋ ² /	thu ³⁵ laŋ ² ‘bamboo rat’ ‘吃竹根的一種野鼠’	
/laŋ ³ /		‘cold (said of an object or the weather)’ ‘冷(指東西、天氣)’
/tsaŋ ¹² /	tsaŋ ¹² thie ⁶ ‘coir mattress’ ‘棕毛床墊’	
/tsaŋ ¹² /	tsaŋ ¹² mo ² ‘yesterday’ ‘昨天’	
		tsaŋ ¹² mo ¹² mo ^{12d} ‘last night’ ‘昨天晚上’
/tsaŋ ⁸ /		‘to press’ ‘按’; ‘to mash with the finger’ ‘用手指頭捻’
/tshaŋ ² /		‘wet field’ ‘田’
		tshaŋ ¹² tʃheŋ ² ‘berm of a wet field’ ‘田埂、田壩’
		tshaŋ ¹² khie ⁶ ‘drainage gap in the berm of a wet field’ ‘田埂缺’
/saŋ ¹² /	saŋ ^{12d} ‘son’s son’ ‘孫子’	
		ŋua ⁶ saŋ ^{12d} ‘daughter’s son; man’s sister’s son’ ‘外孫、外甥’
/saŋ ³ /		‘to push (a person)’ ‘推(人)’
/ʃaŋ ¹ /		‘measure for things in pairs’ ‘雙(量辭)’
/ʃaŋ ¹ /	hao ⁶ ʃaŋ ¹ ‘man’ ‘男人’	
/kaŋ ¹ /	ləu ³⁵ kaŋ ¹ ‘husband’ ‘丈夫’	
		kaŋ ¹² tsie ³ ‘paternal great grandfather’ ‘曾祖父’
		ʃoŋ ³⁵ ləi ¹² kaŋ ¹ ‘to thunder’ ‘打雷’
		ʃie ³⁵ kaŋ ¹ ‘crab (edible)’ ‘螃蟹(可食)’
		tʃo ¹² kaŋ ^{12d} ‘“plain-clothes” bonze: man who lives at home and wears ordinary dress but observes all the regulations of one in a Buddhist order’ ‘在家和尚’
		ʃie ¹² kaŋ ^{12d} ‘“plain-clothes” Taoist priest: man who lives at home and wears ordinary dress but observes all the regulations of one in a Taoist order’ ‘在家道士’
/kaŋ ¹ /	ŋi ³⁵ kaŋ ¹ ‘ear’ ‘耳朵’	
/kaŋ ¹ /	mu ¹² si ¹² kaŋ ¹ ‘a kind of blind man’s buff’ ‘一種遊戲，類似北京的蒙老瞎’	

/kaŋ ² /	‘salty’ ‘鹹’
/kaŋ ³ /	‘to cover (with a quilt, piece of cloth)’ ‘蓋(被子); (用布) 蓋’
/khaŋ ¹ /	‘to pour out, dump out’ ‘倒掉’
	khaŋ ¹² piø ² ‘to make (the contents of two bowls) even’ ‘使(兩個碗 的那容) 平均’
/haŋ ² /	‘red’ ‘紅’
	haŋ ¹² tie ⁶ ‘red dye’ ‘紅色的染料’
/haŋ ² /	tiəu ⁶ haŋ ² ‘water pipe, made from whole, unsplit bamboo’ ‘整條(沒破開的) 竹 子做的水管’
/haŋ ⁵ /	‘to call out; to call to, call (by a name)’ ‘叫(出來); 叫(名字)’

Rime /iaŋ/ 韻

/tiaŋ ¹ /	‘surname: Jang 張’ (known locally) ‘本地的姓：張’
/tiaŋ ¹ /	‘measure for flat things’ ‘張(平東西的量辭)’
/tiaŋ ³⁵ /	tiaŋ ³⁵ ləu ³ ‘wife’s father’ ‘岳父’
	tiaŋ ³⁵ pəu ² ‘wife’s mother’ ‘岳母’
/tiaŋ ^{ʔ8} /	ku ¹² tiaŋ ^{ʔ8} ‘husband of father’s sister’ ‘姑丈’
	tsi ³⁵ tiaŋ ^{ʔ8} ‘husband of elder sister’ ‘姐夫’
/thiaŋ ⁵ /	‘walking cane, staff’ (suspected to be */34d/) ‘柺杖’ (疑為*/34d/)
/liaŋ ² /	‘dragon’ ‘龍’
/liaŋ ³ /	‘ounce, tael’ ‘兩(量辭)’
/liaŋ ³ /	‘two’ ‘兩(數辭)’
/tsiaŋ ^{ʔ8} /	‘itchy’ ‘癢’
/tshiaŋ ² /	‘wall’ ‘牆’
	tshiaŋ ¹² lai ^{12d} ‘edible wet-field snail’ ‘田螺’
/tshiaŋ ⁶ /	‘to resemble’ ‘象’; ‘to look alike’ ‘相似’
/tshiaŋ ⁶ /	mao ^{ʔ8} tshiaŋ ⁶ ‘carpenter’ ‘木匠’

Rime /uaŋ/ 韻

/kuaŋ ² /	‘skirt’ ‘裙子’
/khuaŋ ³ /	‘to wind into a skein or coil’ ‘絞成一朶’

Rime /ai/ 韻

/pai ¹ /	‘to fly’ ‘飛’
/pai ¹² /	pai ^{12d} ‘cup, glass’ ‘杯子’
/pai ¹² /	ləu ¹² pai ^{12d} ‘Chinese white radish’ ‘蘿蔔’
/pai ⁵ /	pai ³⁵ tsiø ⁶ ‘a person’s back’ ‘人的背’
	ʃi ⁶ nao ¹² pai ⁵ ‘behind’ ‘後面’
/phai ⁵ /	piø ³⁵ phai ⁵ ‘hide and seek’ ‘捉迷藏’
/mai ² /	‘rice porridge’ ‘稀飯’
/mai ³ /	‘tail’ ‘尾巴’
/fai ³ /	‘fire’ ‘火’
/fai ⁵ /	piø ³⁵ fai ⁵ ‘hide and seek’ ‘捉迷藏’
/vai ¹ /	‘to bury’ ‘埋’; ‘to make a pile of (soil, manure) at the base of a growing plant such as paddy’ ‘在稻子或其他植物的根頭培(土、糞)’
/vai ¹² /	vai ¹² ʃoŋ ⁶ ‘bonze: Buddhist monk’ ‘和尚’
/vai ² /	‘paddy: rice (as a plant)’ ‘稻子’
	vai ¹² thie ⁵ ‘the ear of the rice plant’ ‘稻穗’
	vai ¹² tʃho ^{ʔ8} ‘mud-eel’ ‘鱧魚、黃鱔’

	vai ¹² tshiau ¹	‘loach’ ‘泥鰱’
/tai ¹ /		‘to fill in, fill up’ ‘添’
/tai ³ /		‘short in length’ ‘短’
/tai ⁵ /		‘toward, facing’ ‘對、對著’
	tai ⁵ va ⁶	‘to exchange’ ‘交換’
	tai ⁵ thao ³	‘to exchange, barter’ (oldest expression) ‘交換、以物換物’ (最傳統的說法)
/tai ⁶ /		‘bag, pocket; to put in a pocket’ ‘袋子、口袋；放在口袋裡’
/lai ² /	tshian ¹² lai ^{12d}	‘edible wet-field snail’ ‘田螺’
	tsiau ³⁵ lai ²	‘whorl in the hair’ ‘頭旋’
	kia ¹² lai ^{12d}	‘tiny clam (not snail) found in the sand’ ‘沙裡的小蚌(不是螺！)’
	khɔ ¹² tsəi ⁶ thəi ³⁵ lai ^{12d}	‘knee’ ‘膝蓋’
/lai ³ /	ŋy ¹² lai ³	‘fish creel’ ‘魚簍子’
/sai ⁵ /		‘years of age’ ‘歲’
/jai ⁵ /		‘skinny’ ‘瘦(指人)’
/kai ¹ /		‘measure for split pieces (more than two) of a stick of wood’ (see /phie ³ /, /kie ⁵ /) ‘木柴劈成幾片(兩片以上)的一片(量辭)’ (參見/phie ³ /, /kie ⁵ /); ‘measure for rooftiles’ ‘瓦的量辭’
/kai ⁵ /		‘lid, cover’ ‘蓋子’; ‘to lay (rooftiles)’ ‘瓦(動辭)’
/khai ¹ /		‘to open (said of a flower)’ ‘開(花)’; ‘to open (a door)’ ‘開(門)’
	khai ¹² maŋ ²	‘to open a door’ ‘開門’
/khai ¹² /	tʃe ³⁵ tʃɔ ⁶ khai ^{12d}	‘here’ ‘這裡’
	ha ³ khai ^{12d}	‘there’ ‘那裡’
/khai ² /		‘to fell (a tree)’ ‘砍(樹)’
/hai [?] ⁸ /		‘to dwell at, long term’ ‘長期住在…’
	pa ⁵ = hai [?] ⁸	‘to get (one’s feet) tangled’ ‘(腳)纏在一起’

Rime /uai/ 韻

/khuai⁵/

‘fast, rapid’ ‘快’

Rime /ao/ 韻

/ao¹²/

ao^{12d} ‘small tea or liquor cup’ ‘小茶杯、酒杯’

/ao⁶/

‘house’ ‘房子’

ao⁶ vɔ³ ‘rooftile’ ‘瓦’

ao⁶ thiəu[?]⁸ ‘column in a building’ ‘柱子’

/pao¹/

‘to wrap’ ‘包(起來)’

/pao⁶/

pao⁶ ky¹ ‘hungry’ ‘肚子餓’

/pao⁶/

‘to peel’ ‘剝’

/pao[?]⁸/

‘to tie up in a bundle (said of firewood)’ ‘捆(木柴)’

/phao³⁵/

phao³⁵ kɔ¹ ‘pomelo’ (tone correct) ‘柚子’ (聲調沒錯)

/mao³/

‘the fourth of the twelve “Earth” cyclical signs: mao 卯’ ‘第四個

地支：卯’

/mao[?]⁸/

mao[?]⁸ tʃiəu¹ ‘eye’ ‘眼睛’

khɔ¹² mao[?]⁸ tʃəu¹² kuəi⁶ ‘ankle’ ‘踝骨’

ʃie⁶ mao[?]⁸ ‘blind (having no eyes)’ ‘瞎了(沒有眼睛)’

/mao[?]⁸/

mao[?]⁸ tshian⁶ ‘carpenter’ ‘木匠’

/tao³/

vi⁶ tao³ ‘old-fashioned iron (for ironing clothes)’ ‘熨斗’

/tao⁵/

tao³⁵ ʃi² ‘forenoon’ ‘上午’

	ŋi ⁷⁸ tao ⁵ ‘noon’ ‘中午’
	tao ³⁵ lao ³ ‘afternoon’ ‘下午’
/tao ⁶ /	‘bean’ ‘豆’
	tao ⁶ pu ⁶ ‘beancurd’ ‘豆腐’
	tao ⁶ pu ⁶ tshie ⁵ ‘spinach’ (“beancurd” + “vegetable”) ‘菠菜’ (“豆腐” + “菜”)
/tao ⁶ /	‘to chop (wood) into logs’ ‘(把木條) 截成一段一段的’
/thao ² /	‘head’ ‘頭’; [noun suffix] [名辭性的後綴]
	thao ¹² no ² ‘head’ (common word) ‘頭’ (一般的說法)
	ʃo ⁷⁸ thao ² ‘stone’ ‘石頭’
	ʃoŋ ⁶ tsi ⁵ thao ^{12d} ‘local placename: Shanqchihtour 上A頭’ ‘小地名：上A頭’
	ti ³⁵ thao ² ‘inside’ ‘裡頭’
	ŋua ⁶ thao ² ‘outside’ ‘外面’
	tsie ¹² thao ^{12d} ‘in front’ ‘前面’
	ʃoŋ ⁶ thao ² ‘on top, above’ ‘上面’
	ho ⁷⁸ thao ² ‘below, beneath, under’ ‘底下、下面’
	kəu ¹² thao ² ‘wok’ (common word; traditionally also used for boiling water) ‘鍋’ (一般的說法；也是燒開水用的)
	tʃhiəu ³⁵ tʃi ³⁵ thao ^{12d} ‘thumb’ ‘拇指’
	ŋi ⁷⁸ thao ² ‘the sun’ ‘太陽’
	sie ¹² thao ^{12d} ‘just now’ ‘剛才’
	pu ³⁵ thao ² ‘axe’ ‘斧頭’
	kho ¹² tʃo ¹² thao ² ‘heel’ ‘腳跟’
	kəu ⁶ thao ² ‘hoe (ordinary, broad-bladed variety; cf. /ky ¹² ʃi ³⁵ po ^{12d} / and /kua ³⁵ tsi ³ /)’ ‘普通的鋤頭(參見/ky ¹² ʃi ³⁵ po ^{12d} /、/kua ³⁵ tsi ³ /)’
/thao ³ /	‘to open (a wrapped package)’ ‘打開(包裹)’
/thao ³ /	tai ⁵ thao ³ ‘to exchange, barter’ (oldest expression) ‘交換、以物換物’ (最傳統的說法)
/thao ⁶ /	‘to poison’ ‘毒(動辭)’
/thao ⁷⁸ /	‘to study, read’ ‘讀’
/nao ¹² /	ʃi ⁶ nao ¹² pai ⁵ ‘behind’ ‘後面’
/lao ¹ /	‘to poke through (the dividers in a length of bamboo)’ ‘(把一條竹子的節膜) 穿通’
/lao ² /	‘to leave, retain’ ‘留’
/lao ³ /	ky ¹² lao ³ ‘large cage used for transporting a stud boar’ ‘種豬籠’
/lao ³ /	tao ³⁵ lao ³ ‘afternoon’ ‘下午’
/lao ⁶ /	‘to wear, put on (gloves)’ ‘戴(手套)’
	tʃhiəu ³⁵ lao ⁶ ‘gloves’ ‘手套’
/lao ⁷⁸ /	‘to blanch, expose to heat for a short time’ ‘燙’
/lao ⁷⁸ /	‘deer’ ‘鹿’
/tsao ⁵ /	‘traditional stove’ ‘灶’
	tsao ⁵ tsi ⁶ ‘cricket (any kind)’ ‘蟋蟀’
/tshao ³ /	‘grass, low plant’ ‘草’
/sao ³ /	‘nest’ ‘窩’
/sao ³⁵ /	sao ³⁵ tsiəu ³ ‘straw broom’ ‘(稻草) 掃帚’
/sao ⁶ /	‘to push’ ‘推’
/sao ⁷⁸ /	‘to sweep (tone correct!)’ ‘掃’ (聲調沒錯)
/ʃao ³ /	‘few, little’ ‘少’

/ʃao ³⁵ /	ʃao ³⁵ tie ⁶ ‘to know’ ‘知道’
/ʃao ⁵ /	‘lean (said of meat)’ ‘瘦(指肉)’
/kao ^{12d} /	kao ^{12d} ‘very small stream, brook’ ‘很小的小溪’
/kao ^{12d} /	kao ^{12d} ‘monkey’ ‘猴子’
	kao ¹² khi ⁵ ‘(wild) persimmon’ ‘(野) 柿子’
/kao ³ /	‘dog’ ‘狗’
	kao ³⁵ ku ³ ‘male dog’ ‘公狗’
	kao ³⁵ mo ² ‘female dog’ ‘母狗’
	kao ³⁵ ʃai ⁶ ‘louse’ ‘跳蚤’
/kao ³ /	‘to pick (the ear)’ ‘挖(耳朵)’
/kao ⁵ /	‘to arrive’ ‘到’
/kao ⁶ /	[suffix for certain animals] [後綴；出現於某些動物的名稱]
	ho ¹² kao ⁶ ‘shrimp’ ‘蝦’
	no ³⁵ kao ⁶ ‘ant, especially a large one’ ‘螞蟻，特指大螞蟻’
	kie ¹² kao ⁶ ‘male chicken’ ‘公雞’
	kie ¹² kao ⁶ tsie ⁵ ‘male spring chicken’ ‘小公雞’
/kao ⁶ /	‘substantial, solid’ ‘結實’
/kao ^{ʔ8} /	‘thick’ ‘厚’
/khao ³ /	‘measure for mouthfuls’ ‘口(嘴裡的東西的量辭)’
	khao ³⁵ la ³ , khao ³⁵ la ³⁵ fy ³ ‘saliva’ ‘口水’
/khao ⁶ /	‘to wail’ ‘號哭’
/hao ⁶ /	hao ⁶ ʃaŋ ¹ ‘man’ ‘男人’
/hao ⁶ /	‘to raise (pigs)’ ‘養(豬)’
	hao ⁶ keŋ ¹² tshe ² ‘to raise evil creatures in one’s house’ ‘養惡物’

Rime /iao/ 韻

/iao ^{12d} /	iao ^{12d} ‘measure for pairs of pants’ ‘褲子的量辭’
/iao ³ /	‘to scoop up in a net’ ‘用網舀’
/iao ⁵ /	‘to want to, be going to’ ‘要、想要’
/phiao ^{12d} /	phiao ^{12d} ‘floating plant, duckweed’ ‘浮萍’
/miao ⁵ /	‘cat’ ‘貓’
/tiao ¹ /	keŋ ¹² tiao ¹ ‘today’ ‘今天’
	ʃeŋ ¹² tiao ¹ ‘tomorrow’ ‘明天’
/tiao ¹² /	o ⁶ tiao ^{12d} ‘adolescent duck’ ‘中鴨’
	ky ¹² tiao ^{12d} ‘adolescent pig’ ‘中豬’
/tiao ² /	‘measure for skirts, roads’ ‘裙子、路的量辭’
/tiao ⁵ /	‘bird (suspected to be */34d/)’ ‘鳥’ (疑為*/34d/)
/tiao ⁶ /	‘metal dipper’ ‘鐵水瓢’
/thiao ⁵ /	‘to sell (grain)’ ‘糶’
/thiao ^{ʔ8} /	‘correct, right, not mistaken’ ‘對、沒錯’
/liao ¹ /	‘to pick (the teeth) with a toothpick’ ‘(用牙籤) 挖(牙)’
/liao ⁶ /	pəi ¹² liao ⁶ ‘fertilizer’ ‘肥料’
/tsiao ⁵ /	‘to sweep (a grave)’ (is the <i>beetzyh</i> for this {{醮}}?) ‘掃(墓)’ (本 子是否{{醮}}?)
	tsiao ⁵ ti ⁶ ‘to sweep a grave, do obeisance at a grave (at Chingming festival or other occasions)’ ‘掃墓、祭奠’
/tsiao ⁶ /	‘to lend, borrow’ ‘借’
/tshiao ¹ /	‘to scoop up, shovel up (in a motion away from oneself)’ ‘(往外面 的方向) 舀、剷’

/tshiao ⁵ /	‘to scrape up (dripped wax)’ ‘(把蠟) 刮起來’
/siao ¹ /	kiao ¹² siao ¹ ‘spider’ (general word) ‘蜘蛛’ (總稱)
/kiao ¹² /	kiao ¹² siao ¹ ‘spider’ (general word) ‘蜘蛛’ (總稱)
/kiao ³ /	‘to wind into a skein or coil’ ‘絞成一朶’
/kiao ⁶ /	‘sedan’ ‘轎子’
/ŋiao ⁶ /	əu ¹² ŋiao ⁶ ‘to urinate’ ‘撒尿’

Rime /i/ 韻

/tsi ¹ /	taŋ ¹² tsi ¹ ‘male shaman’ ‘跳神的男巫師’
/tsi ³ /	[noun suffix] [名辭的後綴] no ¹² tsi ³ ‘man’ ‘男人’ tʃhi ⁸ tsi ⁵ ‘brother’s son’ (suspected to be */34d/) ‘姪子’ (疑為*/34d/)
/tsi ³ /	kua ³⁵ tsi ³ ‘hoe (narrow-bladed variety; cf. /ky ¹² ʃi ³⁵ po ¹² d/ and /kəu ⁶ thao ² /)’ ‘窄鋤頭(參見/ky ¹² ʃi ³⁵ po ¹² d/、/kəu ⁶ thao ² /)’
/tsi ³ /	keŋ ¹² tsi ³ ‘gold’ ‘金、金子’ ‘the first of the twelve “Earth” cyclical signs: tzyy 子’ ‘第一個地支：子’
/tsi ³⁵ /	tsi ³⁵ tiaŋ ⁸ ‘husband of elder sister’ ‘姐夫’
/tsi ⁵ /	tsi ⁵ , tsi ³⁵ kua ³ ‘mouth’ ‘嘴巴’
/tsi ⁵ /	‘drunk’ ‘醉’
/tsi ⁶ /	‘kanji’ ‘字’ mio ¹² tsi ⁶ ‘name’ ‘名字’
/tsi ⁶ /	tsi ⁶ kə ^{12d} ‘oneself’ ‘自己’
/tsi ⁸ /	‘the sixth of the twelve “Earth” cyclical signs: syh 巳’ ‘第六個地支：巳’
/tsi ⁸ /	‘painful’ ‘痛’
/tshi ⁵ /	‘thorn (no other form)’ ‘刺(名辭)’ (沒有其他說法)
/tshi ⁵ /	‘to stab’ ‘用刀刺’
/si ¹² /	mu ¹² si ¹² kaŋ ¹ ‘a kind of blind man’s buff’ ‘一種遊戲，類似北京的蒙老瞎’
/si ⁵ /	‘four’ ‘四’
/si ⁶ /	la ⁶ si ⁶ ‘(cultivated) persimmon’ ‘(養的) 柿子’
/si ⁶ /	koŋ ³⁵ si ⁶ ‘to talk, speak’ ‘說話’
/si ⁶ /	təu ⁶ si ⁶ ‘Taoist priest’ ‘道士’
/tʃi ³⁵ /	tʃhiəu ³⁵ tʃi ³⁵ tsie ⁵ ‘finger’ ‘手指’ tʃhiəu ³⁵ tʃi ³⁵ thao ^{12d} ‘thumb’ ‘母指’
/tʃhi ⁸ /	tʃhi ⁸ tsi ⁵ ‘brother’s son’ ‘姪子’
/ʃi ² /	taŋ ⁶ ʃi ¹² ki ² ‘to fix a date, set a date’ ‘定日期’ tao ³⁵ ʃi ² ‘forenoon’ ‘上午’ pa ³⁵ mo ¹² ʃi ² ‘dusk’ ‘傍晚’
/ʃi ³ /	‘feces’ ‘大便’ ʃi ³⁵ kho ¹ ‘outhouse’ ‘廁所’ əu ¹² ʃi ³ ‘to defecate’ ‘拉屎’ khy ³⁵ ʃi ³⁵ kho ¹ ‘to go to the bathroom’ ‘上廁所’ ky ¹² ʃi ³⁵ po ^{12d} ‘hoe (very narrow-bladed variety; cf. /kəu ⁶ thao ² / and /kua ³⁵ tsi ³ /)’ ({{豬屎耙兒}}) ‘很窄的鋤頭(參見/kua ³⁵ tsi ³ /、/kəu ⁶ thao ² /)’ ({{豬屎耙兒}})
/ʃi ⁶ /	ʃi ⁶ , ʃi ⁶ tie ⁶ ‘to understand’ ‘懂’, ‘to know (a person)’ ‘認識’
/ʃi ⁶ /	ʃi ⁶ nao ¹² pai ⁵ ‘behind’ ‘後面’
/ʃi ⁸ /	‘ten’ ‘十’

/ʃiŋ⁸/ ‘to eat’ ‘吃’
 ʃiŋ⁸ tʃɔ¹ ‘to eat vegetarian food’ ‘吃素’
 ʃiŋ⁸ faŋ¹ ‘to eat non-vegetarian food’ ‘吃葷’

Rime /əi/ 韻

/əi⁶/ ‘to level (the contents of a bowl)’ ‘(把碗裡面的東西) 刮平’
 /pəi²/ ‘fat, corpulent (adjective)’ ‘肥’; ‘fat (noun)’ ‘肥肉’
 pəi¹² liao⁶ ‘fertilizer’ ‘肥料’
 /pəi⁶/ ‘to bark (said of a dog)’ ‘吠’
 /pəi⁶/ ‘to recite (a text)’ ‘背(書)’
 /phəi⁶/ ‘measure-word: number of times more than’ ‘倍(量辭)’
 /məi⁵/ ləu³⁵ məi⁵ ‘younger sister’ ‘妹妹’
 /məi⁶/ ‘rotten (said of wood)’ ‘腐爛(指木頭)’
 /məiŋ⁸/ ‘ink’ ‘墨’
 /fəi²/ ‘measure for number of times said’ ‘遍(話的量辭)’
 /fəi⁶/ ‘to beat with great force using a switch’ ‘用竹枝很用力打’
 /vəiŋ⁸/ ‘slippery’ ‘滑’
 /təi⁶/ təi⁶ təu⁵ ‘to obtain’ ‘得到’
 /thəi³/ khɔ¹² tsəi⁶ thəi³⁵ lai^{12d} ‘knee’ ‘膝蓋’
 kie¹² thəi³ ‘chicken drumstick’ ‘雞腿’
 /thəiŋ⁸/ ‘to sag (said of a floor, roof, seat of a chair, beam of a house)’
 ‘陷(指地板、屋頂、椅座、房樑)’; ‘to protrude, bulge, distend (said of a belly, a wall, the eyes)’ ‘禿(指肚子、牆壁、眼睛)’
 /ləi¹²/ ʃoŋ³⁵ ləi¹² kaŋ¹ ‘to thunder’ ‘打雷’
 /ləi²/ ‘to grind into powder (usually in a small mortar; said usually of medicine)’ ‘研成粉末(一般指的是用小杵臼研藥)’
 ləi¹² khy^{12d} ‘small pestle for grinding medicine’ ‘研藥用的小杵’
 /tsəi⁵/ ky¹² tsəi⁵ ‘piglet’ (rime correct; distinguish /tsie⁵/; tone suspected to be */34d/) ‘小豬’ (韻沒錯; 參見/tsie⁵/; 疑為*/34d/)
 /tsəi⁶/ khɔ¹² tsəi⁶ thəi³⁵ lai^{12d} ‘knee’ ‘膝蓋’
 /tshəiŋ⁸/ tshəiŋ⁸, tshəiŋ⁸ ku³ ‘thief’ ‘小偷、賊’
 /tʃhəi⁶/ tʃhəi⁶ paŋ⁵ ‘to press a lump of manure into the soil as fertilizer’ ‘把一塊糞塞在地下(做肥料)’
 /ʃəi⁶/ pɔ^{ŋ8} ʃəi⁶ ‘the color white’ ‘白色’
 u¹² ʃəi⁶ ‘the color black’ ‘黑色’
 /ʃəi⁶/ kao³⁵ ʃəi⁶ ‘louse’ ‘跳蚤’
 ʃəi⁶ mɔ² ‘flea’ ‘蝨子’
 /kəi⁶/ ‘to tie (shoelaces)’ ‘繫(鞋帶)’
 /kəiŋ⁸/ ‘to rap (on the head) with the knuckles, backhand’ ‘用半拳頭敲(頭)’

Rime /uəi/ 韻

/kuəi³/ ‘unpropitiated ghost’ ‘鬼’
 /kuəi³⁵/ kuəi³⁵ ʃie¹ ‘a kind of tiny, flat-bellied fish with a gaping mouth’ ‘一種扁肚子、大嘴巴的小魚’
 /kuəi⁵/ ‘expensive’
 /kuəi⁵/ ‘the tenth of the ten “Heaven” cyclical signs: goei 癸’ ‘第十個天干: 癸’
 /kuəi⁶/ kiɔ³⁵ kuəi⁶ ‘neck’ ‘脖子’

	khɔ ¹² taŋ ¹² kuəi ⁶ ‘shin’ ‘脛骨’
	khɔ ¹² maɔŋ ⁸ tʃəu ¹² kuəi ⁶ ‘ankle’ ‘踝骨’
/kuəiŋ ⁸ /	‘to dig up with a hoe or knife (as bamboo shoots)’ ‘(用鋤頭、刀挖(筍等)); ‘to hoe’ ‘鋤(地)’; ‘to scoop up, shovel up (in a motion toward oneself)’ ‘(向自己的方向) 舀、剷’
/khuəi ⁶ /	‘to kneel’ ‘跪’
/khuəi ⁶ /	khu ³⁵ khuəi ⁶ ‘mortar’ ‘石臼’

Rime /əu/ 韻

/əu ¹ /	‘to void (bodily waste)’ ‘放(便)’ əu ¹² ŋiao ⁶ ‘to urinate’ ‘撒尿’ əu ¹² ʃi ³ ‘to defecate’ ‘拉屎’
/əu ⁶ /	‘to yell at, scold, berate (a child)’ ‘罵(小孩)’
/pəu ² /	pɔ ⁶ pəu ² ‘wife of father’s elder brother’ (general term of indirect address) ‘伯母’ (總背稱)
	ku ¹² pəu ² ‘father’s father’s sister’ ‘父親的姑姑’ tiaŋ ³⁵ pəu ² ‘wife’s mother’ ‘岳母’ pəu ¹² tsie ³ ‘paternal great grandmother’ ‘曾祖母’ tʃɔ ¹² pəu ^{12d} “‘plain-clothes’ Buddhist nun: woman who lives at home and wears ordinary dress but observes all the regulations of one in a Buddhist order” ‘在家尼姑’
/pəu ⁶ /	piŋ ⁸ pəu ^{12d} ‘bat (kind of animal)’ ‘蝙蝠’
/pəuŋ ⁸ /	‘to connect’ ‘連接’
/phəu ¹ /	‘thin’ ‘薄’
/phəuŋ ⁸ /	‘foam’ ‘泡沫’
/məu ¹ /	‘hail’ ‘雹子’
/məu ² /	‘hair’ ‘毛、頭髮’
/fəu ³ /	‘to lack; there is not’ ‘沒有’; ‘Don’t...’ ‘別...’
/vəu ⁶ /	kɔ ¹² fəu ³ ‘thing’ ({{家伙}) ‘東西’ ({{家伙})
/vəuŋ ⁸ /	‘to hit (on the head) with a stick’ ‘用棍子打(頭)’ ‘medicine’ ‘藥’ vəuŋ ⁸ vie ^{12d} ‘pill’ ‘藥丸’
/təu ¹ /	‘much, many’ ‘很多’
/təu ¹ /	‘blade, knife’ ‘刀’
/təu ² /	ŋi ³⁵ təu ² ‘earlobe’ ‘耳垂’
/təu ⁵ /	təi ⁶ təu ⁵ ‘to obtain’ ‘得到’ paŋ ⁸ təu ⁵ , paŋ ⁸ tie ⁶ təu ⁵ ‘to trip, trip and fall’ ‘蹣倒’
/təu ⁶ /	təu ⁶ si ⁶ ‘Taoist priest’ ‘道士’
/thəu ¹² /	thəu ^{12d} ‘peach’ ‘桃子’
/thəu ⁵ /	‘measure for number of times said’ ‘遍(話的量辭)’ tʃhiəu ³⁵ thəu ⁵ ‘gloves’ ‘手套’
/ləu ¹² /	ləu ¹² pɔ ¹ = taŋ ^{12d} ‘to forget’ ‘忘記’
/ləu ¹² /	ləu ¹² pai ^{12d} ‘Chinese white radish’ ‘蘿蔔’
/ləu ³ /	‘old, not young’ ‘老’; ‘old, not new’ ‘舊’ ləu ³⁵ khy ³ ‘rat’ ‘老鼠’ ləu ³⁵ fu ³ ‘tiger’ ‘老虎’ ləu ³⁵ tiŋ ⁸ ‘younger brother’ ‘弟弟’ ləu ³⁵ məi ⁵ ‘younger sister’ ‘妹妹’ ləu ³⁵ pɔ ⁶ ‘elder brother’ ‘哥哥’

		ləu ³⁵ kaŋ ¹ ‘husband’ ‘丈夫’
/ləu ³ /	tiaŋ ³⁵ ləu ³	‘wife’s father’ ‘岳父’
/ləu ⁸ /		‘to go down, come down, descend’ ‘下(動辭)’
		faŋ ⁸ li ¹² ləu ⁸ u ³ ‘it looks like it’s going to rain’ ‘好像會下雨’
/tsəu ³ /		‘early’ ‘早’
/tsəu ⁵ /		‘to make, do’ ‘做’
		tsəu ⁵ ŋ ⁶ tie ⁶ ‘may not, it is not permitted to’ ‘不可以’
/tsəu ⁵ /		‘jube’ (suspected to be */34d/) ‘棗子’ (疑為*/34d/)
/tshəu ¹ /	tʃhəu ³⁵ tshəu ¹	‘to smell or taste goaty, fishy’ ‘腥、臊’
/tʃəu ¹² /	khə ¹² maŋ ⁸ tʃəu ¹² kuəi ⁶	‘ankle’ (may be a mistake for /tʃiəu ¹ /) ‘踝骨’ (可能記錯了；應該是/tʃiəu ¹ /)
/tʃhəu ⁵ /		‘to stink, smell bad’ ‘臭’
		tʃhəu ³⁵ tshəu ¹ ‘to smell or taste goaty, fishy’ ‘腥、臊’
/səu ⁶ /		‘rope’ ‘繩子’
/kəu ¹ /	kəu ¹² thao ²	‘wok’ (common word; traditionally also used for boiling water) ‘鍋’ (一般的說法；也是燒開水用的)
/kəu ¹ /		‘tall’ ‘高’
/kəu ¹ /	pa ³⁵ kəu ¹	‘large slabs of pure fat found inside a pig’s body’ ‘板油’
/kəu ⁶ /	kəu ⁶ thao ²	‘hoe (ordinary, broad-bladed variety; cf. /ky ¹² ʃi ³⁵ pə ¹² d/ and /kua ³⁵ tsi ³ /)’ ‘普通的鋤頭(參見/ky ¹² ʃi ³⁵ pə ¹² d/、/kua ³⁵ tsi ³ /)’
/khəu ³⁵ /	khəu ³⁵ i ³	‘may’ ‘可以’
/ŋəu ⁶ /		‘to starve, cause to go hungry’ ‘餓(動辭)、使人餓’
/həu ¹ /		‘to teach’ ‘教’
/həu ² /		‘very large river (of the kind not known locally)’ ‘大河(本地沒有)’
		həu ¹² tsiə ² ‘local placename: Hershe 河畚’ ‘小地名：河畚’
/həu ² /	ky ¹² həu ²	‘large cage used for transporting a stud boar’ ‘種豬籠’
/həu ³⁵ /	həu ³⁵ toŋ ¹² ku ³	‘a long time’ ‘很久’
/həu ⁶ /		‘hot and stuffy, muggy’ ‘悶熱’; ‘to roast in ash’ ‘在灰裡頭烤’
/həu ⁸ /		‘to learn’ ‘學’

Rime /iəu/ 韻

/iəu ² /	ky ¹² iəu ²	‘lard’ (usual term) ‘豬油’ (一般的說法)
/iəu ³ /		‘to have; there is’ (homophonous with “tenth of the twelve <i>Dihjy</i> : yeou”) ‘有’ (與“酉”同音)
/iəu ³ /		‘the tenth of the twelve “Earth” cyclical signs: yeou 酉’ (homophonous with “to have; there is”) ‘第十個地支：酉’ (與“有”同音)
/tiəu ¹ /		‘to throw’ ‘丟、扔’; ‘to throw away, discard’ ‘丟掉(不要它)’
/tiəu ² /	ky ¹² tiəu ²	‘pigsty’ ‘豬圈’
		kie ¹² tiəu ² ‘chicken coop’ ‘雞窩’
/tiəu ⁶ /		‘bamboo’ ‘竹子’
		tiəu ⁶ ki ¹ ‘bamboo branch, with leaves’ ‘有葉子的竹枝’
		tiəu ⁶ sie ^{12d} ‘bamboo branch, without leaves’ ‘沒有葉子的竹枝’
		tiəu ⁶ haŋ ² ‘water pipe, made from whole, unsplit bamboo’ ‘整條(沒破開的)竹子做的水管’
/tiəu ⁶ /		‘to live (at), dwell (at)’ ‘住(在)’
/thiəu ⁸ /	ao ⁶ thiəu ⁸	‘column in a building’ ‘柱子’
/liəu ² /		‘surname: Liou 劉’ (local) ‘本地姓：劉’
/liəu ² /		‘to flow’ ‘流’

/liəu ³ /	‘to whip (a child, an animal) with a switch’ ‘用竹枝鞭打(小孩子、動物)’
/liəu ⁸ /	‘six’ ‘六’
/tsiəu ¹ /	‘to squeal (said of a pig)’ ‘(豬)叫’
/tsiəu ³ /	‘liquor’ ‘酒’
/tsiəu ³ /	sao ³⁵ tsiəu ³ ‘straw broom’ ‘(稻草)掃帚’
/tsiəu ³ /	‘to look after, guard (a house)’ ‘看(家)’
/tsiəu ³⁵ /	tsiəu ³⁵ lai ² ‘whorl in the hair’ ‘頭旋’
/tshiəu ¹ /	phi ⁶ tshiəu ¹ ‘nose’ ‘鼻子’
/tshiəu ¹ /	vai ¹² tshiəu ¹ ‘loach’ ‘泥鰍’
/tshiəu ³ /	‘to take back (something given or lent)’ ‘(把借或給的東西)拿回來’
/tshiəu ³ /	[see /tʃhiəu ³ /] [詳/tʃhiəu ³ /]
/tshiəu ⁶ /	tshiəu ⁶ hɔ̃ ⁸ ‘to get pricked (by a thorn)’ ‘(被刺)刺到’
/siəu ² /	ky ¹² siəu ² ‘large cage used for transporting a stud boar’ ‘種豬籠’
/siəu ⁶ /	‘to peel (the skin of a fruit), to scrape off (tree bark)’ ‘削(果皮、樹皮)’
/tʃiəu ¹ /	mao ⁸ tʃiəu ¹ ‘eye’ ‘眼睛’
/tʃiəu ¹ /	‘surname: Jou 周’ (local) ‘本地姓：周’
/tʃhiəu ³ /	‘hand, arm’ (note: this morpheme has also been heard repeatedly as */tshiəu ³ /) ‘手’ (按：本語素我又聽成*/tshiəu ³ /)
	tʃhiəu ³⁵ tʃi ³⁵ tsie ⁵ ‘finger’ ‘手指’
	tʃhiəu ³⁵ tʃi ³⁵ thao ^{12d} ‘thumb’ ‘母指’
	tʃhiəu ³⁵ va ³ ‘sleeve’ ‘袖子’
	tʃhiəu ³⁵ lao ⁶ , tʃhiəu ³⁵ thəu ⁵ ‘gloves’ ‘手套’
	tʃhiəu ³⁵ tʃɔ̃ ¹² la ⁵ ‘elbow’ ‘手肘’
/tʃhiəu ³ /	‘the second of the twelve “Earth” cyclical signs: choou 丑’ ‘第二個地支：丑’
/tʃhiəu ⁵ /	‘stinky, bad-smelling’ ‘臭’
/tʃhiəu ⁶ /	‘surname: Jaw 趙’ (not local) (homophonous with “tree”) ‘姓：趙’ (本地無) (與“樹”同音)
	tʃhiəu ⁶ koŋ ¹² eŋ ⁶ ‘local placename: Jawgongji 趙公岌’ ‘小地名：趙公岌’
/tʃhiəu ⁶ /	‘tree’ (homophonous with “surname: Jaw”) ‘樹’ (與“趙”同音)
	tʃhiəu ⁶ ki ¹ ‘branch of a tree’ ‘樹枝’
	soŋ ¹² tʃhiəu ⁶ ‘mulberry tree’ ‘桑樹’
/kiəu ³ /	‘nine’ ‘九’
/kiəu ⁶ /	‘old and worn-out’ (rare word; said of clothes) ‘舊、破爛’ (很少用；一般指衣服)

Rime /uəu/ 韻

/kuəu ⁶ /	‘to expose to sun, dry in the sun’ (homophonous with “candle”) ‘曬’ (與“蠟燭”同音)
/kuəu ⁶ /	‘candle’ (homophonous with “to expose to sun”) ‘蠟燭’ (與“曬”同音)

Rime /ɔ̃/ 韻

/ɔ̃ ¹² /	ɔ̃ ¹² tɔ̃ ^{12d} ‘father’s father’ ‘祖父’
	ɔ̃ ¹² ma ⁵ ‘father’s mother’ ‘祖母’

	ɔ ¹² ku ⁵ ‘mother’s brother’ ‘舅舅’
	ɔ ¹² keŋ ⁵ ‘mother’s brother’s wife’ ‘舅母’
	ɔ ¹² i ^{12d} ‘mother’s sister’ ‘阿姨’
	ɔ ¹² fy ⁶ ‘father’s younger brother’ ‘叔叔’
	ɔ ¹² ʃeŋ ⁵ ‘father’s younger brother’s wife’ ‘孀孀’
	ɔ ¹² paŋ ⁵ ‘wife of father’s elder brother’ (term of direct address)
‘伯母’ (面稱)	
	ɔ ¹² ku ¹ ‘father’s sister’ ‘姑姑’
	ɔ ¹² tia ⁶ ‘elder sister’ ‘姐姐’
/ɔ ⁶ /	ɔ ¹² tsie ^{12d} ‘we (inclusive)’ ‘咱們’
	‘duck’ ‘鴨’
	ɔ ⁶ khyeŋ ² ‘flock of ducks’ ‘鴨群’
	ɔ ⁶ tsie ⁵ ‘duckling’ ‘小鴨’
	ɔ ⁶ tiao ^{12d} ‘adolescent duck’ ‘中鴨’
/ɔ ⁶ /	ŋu ¹² ɔ ⁶ ‘ox’s yoke’ ‘牛軛’
	ɔ ⁶ fy ³ ‘to train a calf’ ({{軛水}}) ‘教小牛’ ({{軛水}})
/pɔ ¹ /	ləu ¹² pɔ ¹ = taŋ ^{12d} ‘to forget’ ‘忘記’
/pɔ ² /	‘to harrow’ ‘耙’
	ky ¹² ʃi ³⁵ pɔ ^{12d} ‘hoe (very narrow-bladed variety; cf. /kəu ⁶ thao ² /
	and /kua ³⁵ tsi ³ /) ({{豬屎耙兒}}) ‘很窄的鋤頭(參見/kua ³⁵ tsi ³ /、/kəu ⁶ thao ² /)’ ({{豬屎耙兒}})
/pɔ ³ /	‘sated, full after eating’ ‘飽’
/pɔ ⁵ /	‘handle’ ‘柄’
/pɔ ⁶ /	‘sick; sickness’ ‘病’
/pɔ ⁶ /	i ⁶ pɔ ⁶ ‘one hundred’ ‘一百’
/pɔ ⁶ /	ta ⁶ pɔ ⁶ ‘father’s (eldest) elder brother’ ‘(大) 伯父’
	ŋi ⁶ pɔ ⁶ ‘father’s second eldest elder brother’ ‘二伯父’
	pɔ ⁶ pəu ² ‘wife of father’s elder brother’ (general term of indirect
	address) ‘伯母’ (總背稱)
	ləu ³⁵ pɔ ⁶ ‘elder brother’ ‘哥哥’
/pɔ ⁸ /	‘surname: Bair 白’ (not local) ‘姓：白’ (本地無)
/pɔ ⁸ /	pɔ ⁸ ʃəi ⁶ ‘the color white’ ‘白色’
	pɔ ⁸ pu ^{12d} ‘kind of gourd used for making dippers’ ‘匏瓜’
/phɔ ¹ /	‘to shovel into the mouth (with chopsticks)’ ‘(用筷子) 扒(到嘴
	裡)’
/phɔ ⁵ /	‘insubstantial, not solid’ ‘不結實、空虛’
/phɔ ⁵ /	‘to split (wood) with an axe’ ‘劈(柴)’
/mɔ ¹² /	mɔ ^{12d} ‘sesame’ ‘芝麻’
/mɔ ² /	li ⁶ mɔ ² ‘leaf rain hat’ ‘斗笠’
	kao ³⁵ mɔ ² ‘female dog’ ‘母狗’
	kie ¹² mɔ ² ‘hen’ ‘母雞’
	ky ¹² mɔ ² ‘sow, female pig’ ‘母豬’
	ŋu ¹² mɔ ² ‘cow’ ‘母牛’
	ʃəi ⁶ mɔ ² ‘flea’ ‘蟲子’
/mɔ ² /	‘measure for nights’ ‘夜的量辭’
	i ⁶ mɔ ² ‘one night’ ‘一夜’
	tsaŋ ¹² mɔ ² ‘yesterday’ ‘昨天’
	tsaŋ ¹² mɔ ¹² mɔ ^{12d} ‘last night’ ‘昨天晚上’
	mie ¹² mɔ ² ‘night, evening’ ‘晚上’; ‘tonight’ ‘今天晚上’
	pa ³⁵ mɔ ¹² ʃi ² ‘dusk’ ‘傍晚’

/mɔ ² /	‘to sharpen, grind (a blade)’ ‘磨’
/mɔ ³ /	‘horse’ (homophonous with “surname: Maa”) ‘馬’ (與“姓：馬”
同音)	
/mɔ ³ /	‘surname: Maa 馬’ (homophonous with “horse”) ‘姓：
馬’ (與“馬”同音)	
/mɔ ⁵ /	‘barley, wheat’ (tone correct!) ‘麥子、小麥’ (聲調沒錯！)
/mɔ ⁷ ⁸ /	‘to hit (describes action, as hitting a person)’ (distinguish /pa ⁷ ⁸ /)
‘打(人)’ (參見/pa ⁷ ⁸ /)	
	mɔ ⁷ ⁸ maŋ ² ‘to knock on the door’ (no */khɔ/ form) ‘敲門’ (沒有*/
khɔ/ 的說法)	
/fɔ ¹ /	fɔ ^{12d} ‘flower’ ‘花’
	maŋ ¹² fɔ ¹ ‘the dried flower-stalks of the /ka ¹² tseŋ ¹ / grass, used in
	making brooms’ ‘/ka ¹² tseŋ ¹ / 草的乾花稈，用來做掃帚’
/fɔ ⁶ /	‘surname: Huah 華’ (local) ‘本地的姓：華’
/fɔ ⁶ /	‘thing said’ (initial correct) ‘話’ (聲母沒錯)
/fɔ ⁶ /	fɔ ⁶ fɔ ⁶ ‘to paint a painting, draw a picture’ ‘畫畫’
/fɔ ⁷ ⁸ /	‘alive’ ‘活的’
/fɔ ⁷ ⁸ /	‘surname: Fann 范’ (not local but known at nearby Lii‘u 李屋)’ ‘本
	地的姓：范’ (不是本地的，但李屋有)
/vɔ ¹ /	‘to dig (a hole)’ ‘挖(洞)’
/vɔ ² /	‘horizontal’ ‘橫的’
/vɔ ³ /	ao ⁶ vɔ ³ ‘rooftile’ ‘瓦’
/vɔ ⁶ /	tɔ ³⁵ la ⁶ vɔ ⁶ ‘to talk in one’s sleep’ (initial correct) ‘講夢話’ (聲母沒錯)
/tɔ ¹ /	‘to carry on a burden pole’ ‘用扁擔挑’; ‘measure for loads carried
	on a burden pole’ ‘擔(量辭)’
	pie ³⁵ tɔ ¹ ‘burden pole’ ‘扁擔’
/tɔ ¹ /	ɔ ¹² tɔ ^{12d} ‘father’s father’ ‘祖父’
	ŋua ⁶ tsu ³⁵ tɔ ¹ ‘mother’s father’ ‘外祖父’
/tɔ ¹ /	ʃɔ ⁷ ⁸ pi ⁷ ⁸ tɔ ⁶ ‘kind of tiny, flat-bellied fish’ ‘一種扁肚子的小魚’
/tɔ ³ /	‘to open (a door)’ ‘開(門)’
	tɔ ³⁵ maŋ ² ‘to open a door’ ‘開門’
	tɔ ³⁵ la ⁶ vɔ ⁶ ‘to talk in one’s sleep’ ‘講夢話’
/tɔ ⁵ /	‘belt, strap’ ‘帶子’
/tɔ ⁶ /	‘to cover’ ‘蓋’; ‘to catch with an overturned bowl’ ‘(用反過來的
	碗) 抓’
/tɔ ⁷ ⁸ /	‘to step on’ ‘踩’; ‘to stamp (the foot)’ ‘踩(腳)’
/thɔ ¹ /	‘to pull, drag’ ‘拉拖’
	thɔ ¹² kiɔ ⁷ ⁸ ‘traditional wooden shoes’ ‘木屐’
/thɔ ² /	‘phlegm, sputum’ ‘痰’
/nɔ ¹ /	‘to take in the hand’ ‘拿’
	nɔ ¹² paŋ ¹ ‘to give, give to’ ‘給’
/nɔ ¹² /	nɔ ¹² tsi ³ ‘man’ ‘男人’
/nɔ ² /	thao ¹² nɔ ² ‘head’ (common word)
/nɔ ⁵ /	‘ant, especially a small one’ ‘螞蟻，特指小螞蟻’
	nɔ ³⁵ kao ⁶ ‘ant, especially a large one’ ‘螞蟻，特指大螞蟻’
/nɔ ⁵ /	‘mugwort’ ‘艾草’
/lɔ ¹² /	lɔ ^{12d} ‘basket’ ‘籃子’
/lɔ ² /	lɔ ² , lɔ ¹² lɔ ¹² teŋ ¹² teŋ ¹ , lɔ ¹² lɔ ²⁼ teŋ ¹² teŋ ¹ ‘to hang out, hang down’ ‘垂下來’
/lɔ ⁶ /	‘small alley’ ‘小巷子’

/tso ² /	‘clear (said of the sky)’ ‘晴’ thie ¹² tso ² ‘daytime’ ‘白天’
/tsho ¹ /	‘raw’ ‘生的’; ‘green’ ‘青色’ tsho ¹² tshie ⁵ ‘green vegetable’ ‘青菜’; ‘mustard greens’ ‘芥菜’
/tsho ² /	‘wood, firewood’ ‘柴火’
/so ¹ /	‘three’ ‘三’
/so ⁶ /	so ⁶ ki ¹ ‘scoop-shaped woven basket, without handles used for straining partially-cooked rice’ ‘撈飯用的小畚箕(沒有耳)’
/tʃo ¹ /	‘dry’ (general word) ‘乾’ (總稱)
/tʃo ¹ /	ʃi ⁸ tʃo ¹ ‘to eat vegetarian food’ ‘吃素’ tʃo ¹² kaŋ ^{12d} “‘plain-clothes’ bonze: man who lives at home and wears ordinary dress but observes all the regulations of one in a Buddhist order’ ‘在家和尚’
	tʃo ¹² pəu ^{12d} “‘plain-clothes’ Buddhist nun: woman who lives at home and wears ordinary dress but observes all the regulations of one in a Buddhist order’ ‘在家尼姑’
/tʃo ¹ /	‘to cover (the eyes, ears) with the hands, to cover (with cloth)’ ‘(把眼睛) 矇(住), (把耳朵) 掩蓋; (用布) 蓋’
/tʃo ¹² /	tʃhiəu ³⁵ tʃo ¹² la ⁵ ‘elbow’ ‘手肘’ kho ¹² tʃo ¹² thao ² ‘heel’ ‘腳跟’
/tʃo ² /	‘tea’ ‘茶’ tʃo ¹² ie ⁸ ‘tealeaves’ ‘茶葉’
/tʃo ³ /	‘son’ (there is no other word) ‘兒子’ (沒有別的說法)
/tʃo ⁵ /	ka ¹² tʃo ⁵ ‘sugar cane’ ‘甘蔗’
/tʃo ⁶ /	‘general measure word: used with people, round melons, birds’ ‘總量辭: 用於人、圓瓜、鳥等等’ i ⁶ tʃo ⁶ pa ⁶ ‘one grain of rice’ ‘一粒飯’ tʃe ³⁵ tʃo ⁶ khai ^{12d} ‘here’ ‘這裡’ ni ⁶ tʃo ⁶ ‘which? which one?’ ‘哪、哪個?’; ‘who?’ ‘誰’
/tʃo ⁶ /	‘to boil (water)’ ‘燒(開水)’
/tʃo ⁶ /	‘to ladle up’ ‘舀’
/tʃo ⁸ /	‘steep’ ‘陡’
/tʃho ¹ /	‘vehicle, car, cart’ ‘車’
/tʃho ³ /	‘to hold (a child) in the arms, embrace (an adult)’ ‘抱(小孩、大人)’
/tʃho ⁵ /	‘to support, prop up’ ‘支撐’; ‘pillar supporting a bridge or arch’ ‘橋柱’
/tʃho ⁶ /	‘to scoop up out of liquid’ ‘撈’
/tʃho ⁸ /	‘to stand’ ‘站’
/tʃho ⁸ /	vai ¹² tʃho ⁸ ‘mud-eel’ ‘鱧魚、黃鱧’
/ʃo ¹ /	‘to give birth to (said of animals); to lay (eggs)’ ‘生(指動物、雞)’
/ʃo ¹ /	ʃo ¹² lio ³ ‘collar’ ‘領子’ ta ¹² ʃo ^{12d} ‘single-layer garment’ ‘單衣服’
/ʃo ¹ /	pu ¹² ʃo ¹ ‘wood or gourd dipper’ ‘木頭的水瓢、匏瓜做的水瓢’
/ʃo ¹² /	ʃo ¹² ti ⁸ ‘brothers’ ‘兄弟’
/ʃo ¹² /	ʃo ¹² koŋ ¹² ŋie ³⁵ ʃie ⁶ ‘blind (having eyes that cannot see)’ ‘瞎了(有眼睛, 看不見)’
/ʃo ² /	pu ¹² noŋ ¹² ʃo ² ‘women (in general)’ ‘女人家’; ‘that woman over there’ ‘那邊那個女人’

	sie ³⁵ ʃɔ ² , ki ³⁵ ʃɔ ² ‘child’ ‘孩子’
/ʃɔ ² /	‘snake’ ‘蛇’
/ʃɔ ³ /	‘to yell at, scold, berate’ ‘罵’
/ʃɔ ⁶ /	‘a set of six trays or baskets, which can be stacked and carried on a shoulder pole, given as a dowry gift by a bride’s family’ ‘一套可以疊起來的竹籃，辦喜事的時候女方用挑的送給男方’
/ʃɔ ⁸ /	‘to half-cook (rice) in water (preparatory to steaming)’ ‘煮半熟(指蒸飯前)’; ‘to parboil’ ‘清水煮’; ‘to bring (liquor made with unboiled water) to a boil to kill germs’ ‘煮(用生水釀的新酒)’
/ʃɔ ⁸ /	ʃɔ ⁸ thao ² ‘stone’ ‘石頭’
	ʃɔ ⁸ pi ⁸ tɔ ⁶ ‘kind of tiny, flat-bellied fish’ ‘一種扁肚子的小魚’
/kɔ ¹ /	tsi ⁶ kɔ ^{12d} ‘oneself’ ‘自己’
	ky ¹² kɔ ¹ ‘stud boar’ ‘種豬’
	kɔ ¹² fəu ³ ‘thing’ (‘家伙’) ‘東西’ (‘家伙’)
/kɔ ¹ /	kɔ ^{12d} ‘melon’ ‘瓜’
	taŋ ¹² kɔ ¹ ‘winter melon’ ‘冬瓜’
/kɔ ¹ /	‘the seventh of the ten “Heaven” cyclical signs: geng 庚’ ‘第七個天干：庚’
/kɔ ¹ /	‘sweet (specifically, sweet in aftertaste, as fine tea)’ ‘甘(譬如美茶的回味)’
/kɔ ¹² /	maŋ ¹² kɔ ^{12d} ‘mosquito’ ‘蚊子’
/kɔ ¹ /	phao ³⁵ kɔ ¹ ‘pomelo’ (tone correct) ‘柚子’ (聲調沒錯)
/kɔ ³ /	ŋ ⁶ kɔ ³ ‘may not, it is not permitted to’ ‘不可以’; ‘dare not, not to dare to’ ‘不敢’; ‘Don’t...’ ‘別...’
/kɔ ³ /	‘false, fake’ ‘假’
/kɔ ⁵ /	ŋɔ ²⁼ kɔ ⁵ ‘my, mine’ ‘我的’
	sie ³⁵ kɔ ³⁵ ŋeŋ ^{12d} ‘child’ ‘孩子’
	tʃe ³⁼ kɔ ⁵ ‘this, this one’ ‘這、這個’
	ha ³⁼ kɔ ⁵ ‘that, that one’ ‘那、那個’
/kɔ ⁵ /	‘to marry (said of a woman)’ ‘嫁(出去)’
/kɔ ⁶ /	‘rim of a winnowing basket’ ‘簸箕的邊緣’
/kɔ ⁶ /	‘the first of the ten “Heaven” cyclical signs: jea 甲’ ‘第一個天干：甲’
/kɔ ⁸ /	‘to bite’ ‘咬’
/kɔ ¹ /	‘foot, leg’ ‘腳、腿’
	khɔ ¹² taŋ ² ‘leg of a person’ ‘人的腿’
	khɔ ¹² taŋ ¹² kuəi ⁶ ‘shin’ ‘脛骨’
	khɔ ¹² taŋ ¹² va ⁵ ‘back of the knee’ ‘腘窩’
	khɔ ¹² tsəi ⁶ thəi ³⁵ lai ^{12d} ‘knee’ ‘膝蓋’
	khɔ ¹² mao ⁸ tʃəu ¹² kuəi ⁶ ‘ankle’ ‘踝骨’
	khɔ ¹² tʃɔ ¹² thao ² ‘heel’ ‘腳跟’
	tie ²⁼ sie ³⁵ khɔ ¹ ‘to bind one’s feet (said of a woman)’ (this was practiced locally in traditional times) ‘裹小腳’ (本地曾有這個習俗)
/kɔ ¹ /	‘a hole’ ‘洞’
	ʃi ³⁵ khɔ ¹ ‘outhouse’ ‘廁所’
	paŋ ³⁵ khɔ ¹ ‘to defecate’ (polite) ‘拉屎’ (客氣)
	khy ³⁵ ʃi ³⁵ khɔ ¹ ‘to go to the bathroom’ ‘上廁所’
/ŋɔ ² /	‘I’ ‘我’
	ŋɔ ²⁼ tsie ^{12d} ‘we (exclusive)’ ‘我們’

		ŋɔ ² kɔ ⁵ ‘my, mine’ ‘我的’
/ŋɔ ² /	ŋɔ ² , ŋɔ ¹²	khi ³ ‘tooth’ ‘牙齒’
/ŋɔ ⁶ /		‘hard, not soft’ ‘硬’
/hɔ ¹² /	hɔ ¹²	kao ⁶ ‘shrimp’ ‘蝦’
/hɔ ² /		‘measure for ropes, long melons, fish’ ‘繩子、長瓜、魚的量辭’
		u ⁶ hɔ ² ‘above-ground stalks of the taro’ ‘芋頭的桿’
/hɔ ⁶ /		‘afraid’ ‘怕’
/hɔŋ ⁸ /	hɔŋ ⁸	thao ² ‘below, beneath, under’ ‘底下、下面’
		ti ⁶ hɔŋ ⁸ ‘the ground’ ‘地、地上’
		taŋ ¹ hɔŋ ⁸ ‘winter’ ‘冬天’
		tshiau ⁶ hɔŋ ⁸ ‘to get pricked (by a thorn)’ ‘(被刺) 刺到’

Rime /io/ 韻

/io ² /		‘father (term of indirect address)’ ‘父親(背稱)’
/io ³ /		‘to grab’ ‘抓’; ‘measure for fistfuls’ ‘把(抓到的東西的量辭)’
/io ⁶ /	io ⁶	tʃoŋ ³ ‘to sow sprouted grain’ ‘播種’
/pio ² /		‘level’ ‘平、不斜’
		khaŋ ¹² pio ² ‘to make (the contents of two bowls) even’ ‘使(兩個碗的那容) 平均’
/pio ³ /		‘the third of the ten “Heaven” cyclical signs: biing 丙’ ‘第三個天干：丙’
/pio ⁵ /		‘cake, flat confection or baked pastry’ (suspected to be */34d/)
		‘餅’ (疑為*/34d/)
		quaŋ ⁸ pio ⁵ ‘moon cake’ ‘月餅’
/pio ⁵ /		‘to hide, conceal, put away’ ‘藏’; ‘to go into hiding, hide oneself’
		‘躲’
		pio ³⁵ fai ⁵ , pio ³⁵ phai ⁵ ‘hide and seek’ ‘捉迷藏’
/pio ⁶ /	pio ⁶	fu ³ ‘gecko’ ‘壁虎’
/phio ⁶ /		‘to mow (grass and low plants)’ ‘劈(草)’
/mio ¹² /	mio ¹²	tsi ⁶ ‘name’ ‘名字’
/tio ³ /		‘wok’ (old word; now used especially when talking about cleaning “washing” a wok) ‘鍋’ (舊說法：現在一般限於“洗鍋”一辭)
		tio ³⁵ phie ⁵ ‘flat wooden lid of a wok’ ‘(木板做的) 鍋蓋’
/tioŋ ⁸ /		‘to buy (grain)’ ‘糶’
/thio ¹ /		‘to listen to’ ‘聽’
/thio ⁶ /		‘to tie up (a bird)’ (homophonous with “to tear down”)
		‘綁(鳥)’ (與“拆”同音)
		tʃoŋ ¹² thio ⁶ ‘a loop of rope set as a trap for wild animals’ ‘繩套’
/thio ⁶ /		‘to tear down, break apart’ (homophonous with “to tie up (a bird)”) ‘拆’ (與“綁(鳥)”同音)
/lio ³ /	ʃɔ ¹²	lio ³ ‘collar’ ‘領子’
/lio ⁵ /	ʃoŋ ⁸	lio ⁵ ‘steep slope’ (diminutive of expected */3/) ‘爬坡’ (* /34d/)
/lio ⁶ /		‘fast, rapid’ ‘快、不慢’
		kiɔ ¹² tie ⁶ liɔ ⁶ ‘to run fast’ ‘跑得快’
		kiɔ ¹² liɔ ⁶ ti ⁶ ‘walk faster’ ‘走快一點’
/tsio ² /		‘slanted, diagonal’ ‘斜的’
		tsio ^{12d} ‘steep piece of land (said especially of terraced fields)’ ‘陡地(特指梯田)’
		həu ¹² tsiɔ ² ‘local placename: Hershe 河畚’ ‘小地名：河畚’

/tsio ³ /	‘bland, tasteless, especially not salty enough’ ‘淡、特指不夠鹹’
/tsio ³ /	‘well for water’ ‘井’
	tsio ³⁵ feŋ ² ‘wellkerb’ ‘井垣’
/tsio ⁵ /	‘waterfall’ ‘瀑布’
	foŋ ⁶ tsio ⁵ thao ^{12d} ‘local placename: Shanqchihtour 上A頭’ ‘小地名：上A頭’
/tsio ⁶ /	pai ³⁵ tsio ⁶ ‘a person’s back’ ‘人的背’
/tsioŋ ⁸ /	‘mat’ (not aspirated) ‘蓆’ (不送氣)
/tshio ³ /	‘to invite, ask to, ask politely for’ ‘請’
/tshio ⁶ /	‘surname: Shieh 謝 (known locally)’ ‘本地的姓：謝’
/tshio ⁶ /	‘to stick (a pig)’ ‘(把豬) 刺死’
/sio ² /	‘to call to (a dog)’ ‘叫(狗)’
/sio ⁵ /	‘thread’ ‘線’
/sio ⁵ /	‘surname; to be surnamed’ ‘姓’
/kiō ¹ /	voŋ ¹² kiō ¹ ‘muntjac’ ‘黃麋’
/kiō ² /	kiō ² , kiō ¹² lu ⁶ ‘to walk’ ‘走(路)’
	kiō ¹² tie ⁶ liō ⁶ ‘to run fast’ ‘跑得快’
	kiō ¹² liō ⁶ ti ⁶ ‘walk faster’ ‘走快一點’
/kiō ³ /	kiō ³ , kiō ³⁵ kuai ⁶ ‘neck’ ‘脖子’
/kiōŋ ⁸ /	pa ³⁵ kiōŋ ⁸ , tho ¹² kiōŋ ⁸ ‘traditional wooden shoes’ ‘木屐’
/kiōŋ ⁸ /	kiōŋ ⁸ khy ^{12d} ‘hammer, large mallet’ ‘槌子’
/khiō ¹ /	‘light (in weight)’ ‘輕’
/khiō ² /	‘to carry on the shoulder (said of one person)’ ‘(一個人) 抬’
/ŋiō ⁵ /	‘to look at’ ‘看’
/ŋiō ⁶ /	‘to carry (firewood, straw) in the arms high against one’s chest’
	‘高高地抱著提(柴火、稻草)’
/ŋiōŋ ⁸ /	‘forehead’ ‘前額’

Rime /oŋ/ 韻

/poŋ ¹ /	‘measure for groups of people’ ‘群(人的量辭)’
/poŋ ³ /	‘to tie up (a person)’ ‘綁(人)’
/poŋ ⁶ /	foŋ ¹² poŋ ⁶ ‘dry field, esp. in mountainous land’ ‘山地、山田’
/phoŋ ² /	‘surname: Ferng 馮’ (not local, but known in neighboring Yeongan Sheautaur 永安小陶) ‘姓：馮’ (不是本地的，但永安小陶有)
/moŋ ³ /	‘net’ ‘網’
	ka ⁶ moŋ ⁵ ‘long net, which can be stretched across a stream’ (presumably diminutive form in tone */34d/) ‘長網’ (疑為*/34d/)
/moŋ ⁵ /	‘dream’ (character reading only: not a colloquial word)
/foŋ ¹ /	‘to cover (the mouth)’ ‘搗(嘴)’
/foŋ ¹² /	foŋ ¹² poŋ ⁶ , fa ¹² foŋ ^{12d} ‘dry field, esp. in mountainous land’ ‘山地、山田’
/voŋ ² /	‘yellow’ ‘黃’
	voŋ ¹² tsa ⁸ ‘cockroach’ ‘蟑螂’
	voŋ ¹² kiō ¹ ‘muntjac’ ‘黃麋’
/voŋ ² /	‘local surname: Hwang 黃’ ‘本地姓：黃’
/voŋ ² /	‘local surname: Wang 王’ ‘本地姓：王’
/voŋ ³ /	‘to hold against oneself, hold in an embrace’ ‘懷抱’
/toŋ ¹² /	ky ³⁵ toŋ ^{12d} ‘host’ ‘主人’
/toŋ ² /	‘pond’ ‘池塘’
/toŋ ² /	‘long’ (homophonous with “intestines”) ‘長’ (與“腸子”同音)

		həu ³⁵ tɔŋ ¹² ku ³ ‘a long time’ ‘很久’
		tɔŋ ²⁼ laŋ ^{12d} ‘long cylindrical mew for holding chickens’ ‘長雞籠’
/tɔŋ ^{2/}		‘intestines’ (homophonous with “long”) ‘腸子’ (與“長”同音)
/thoŋ ^{2/}		‘sugar’ ‘糖’
/noŋ ^{1/}		‘melon pulp’ ‘瓜瓢’
/noŋ ^{2/}	pu ¹² noŋ ² , pu ¹² noŋ ^{12d}	‘woman, especially married woman’ ‘女人，特指結婚的 女人’
		pu ¹² noŋ ¹² ʃɔ ² ‘women (in general)’ ‘女人家’; ‘that woman over there’ ‘那邊那個女人’
/noŋ ^{5/}		‘slow’ ‘慢’
/noŋ ^{6/}		‘to yield to’ ‘讓’
/noŋ ^{6/}		‘wrinkled’ ‘皺’
/loŋ ^{2/}	sie ³⁵ loŋ ²	‘son-in-law’ ‘女婿’
/tshoŋ ^{2/}	tshoŋ ² , meŋ ¹² tshoŋ ²	‘bed’ ‘床’
/soŋ ^{12/}	soŋ ¹² thaŋ ²	‘silkworm’ ‘蠶’
		soŋ ¹² tʃhiəu ⁶ ‘mulberry tree’ ‘桑樹’
/tʃoŋ ^{1/}		‘to pestle, pound with a pestle, tamp’ ‘舂’; ‘to pound (the table) with one’s fist’ ‘用拳頭打(桌子)’
		tʃoŋ ¹² khu ⁵ ‘pestle (both pole-shaped and pestle-shaped)’ ‘杵(棍 形、槌形)’
/tʃoŋ ^{1/}		‘surname: Jang 章’ (not local) ‘姓：章’ (不是本地的)
/tʃoŋ ^{1/}		‘to set (a trap)’ ‘裝(陷阱、弩弓)’
		tʃoŋ ¹² tsie ⁵ ‘crossbow’ ‘弩弓’
		tʃoŋ ¹² thiə ⁶ ‘a loop of rope set as a trap for wild animals’ ‘繩套’
/tʃoŋ ^{1/}		‘to meet with, run into’ ‘碰(見)、遇(到)’
/tʃoŋ ^{12/}		‘bell’ ‘鐘’
/tʃoŋ ^{3/}	io ⁶ tʃoŋ ³	‘to sow sprouted grain’ ‘播種’
/tʃoŋ ^{6/}		‘to wear (clothing)’ ‘穿(衣服)’
/tʃhoŋ ^{5/}		‘bird rifle’ ‘鳥銃’
/ʃoŋ ^{1/}		‘pleasant-smelling, fragrant’ ‘很香’
/ʃoŋ ^{1/}		‘incense’ ‘(燒的) 香’
/ʃoŋ ^{2/}		‘bear’ (homophonous with “surname: Shyong”) ‘熊’ (與“姓：熊” 同音)
/ʃoŋ ^{2/}		‘surname: Shyong 熊’ (homophonous with “bear”) ‘姓： 熊’ (與“熊”同音)
/ʃoŋ ^{35/}	ʃoŋ ³⁵ ləi ¹² kaŋ ¹	‘to thunder’ ‘打雷’
/ʃoŋ ^{6/}	ʃoŋ ⁶ thao ²	‘on top, above’ ‘上面’
		ʃoŋ ⁶ tsiə ⁵ thao ^{12d} ‘local placename: Shanqchihtour 上A頭’ ‘小地 名：上A頭’
/ʃoŋ ^{6/}	vai ¹² ʃoŋ ⁶	‘bonze: Buddhist monk’ ‘和尚’
/ʃoŋ ^{8/}		‘to go up, ascend’ ‘上(動辭)’
		ʃoŋ ⁸ liə ⁵ ‘steep slope’ ‘爬坡’
		ʃoŋ ⁸ khyeŋ ¹ ‘springtime’ (this verbal noun is the real word for the Spring) ‘春天’ (這個動辭性名辭是最道地的說法)
/koŋ ^{1/}		‘to feed’ (homophonous with “to carry on the shoulders”) ‘喂’ (與“扛”同音); ‘to give birth to (said of human beings)’ ‘生(指人)’
/koŋ ^{1/}		‘to carry on the shoulders (said of two or more people in tandem)’ (homophonous with “to feed”) ‘兩個人扛’ (與“喂”同音)
/koŋ ^{1/}	thie ¹² koŋ ¹	‘morning’ ‘早上’

	ɬɔ ¹² koŋ ¹² ŋie ³⁵ ʃie ⁶ ‘blind (having eyes that cannot see)’ ‘瞎了(有眼睛，看不見)’
/koŋ ¹ /	‘large river (of the kind not known locally)’ ‘江、大河(本地沒有)’
/koŋ ¹² /	tʃhiəu ⁶ koŋ ¹² eŋ ⁶ ‘local placename: Jawgongjyi 趙公岌’ ‘小地名：趙公岌’
/koŋ ³ /	‘to say’ ‘說’
	koŋ ³⁵ si ⁶ ‘to talk, speak’ ‘說話’
/koŋ ³ /	‘surname: Jeang 蔣’ ‘姓：蔣’
/koŋ ⁵ /	‘steel’ ‘鋼’
/kxoŋ ⁵ /	‘to scoop up out of liquid’ ‘撈’
/kxoŋ ⁸ /	‘rainbow’ ‘彩虹’

Rime /ioŋ/ 韻

/ioŋ ³ /	ioŋ ³ ɲy ⁵ ‘girl bought as the future bride of a family’s son’ ‘童養媳’
/kioŋ ¹ /	‘ginger’ ‘薑’

Rime /u/ 韻

/u ¹ /u ¹ , u ¹²	ʃəi ⁶ ‘the color black’ ‘黑色’
	u ¹² seŋ ^{12d} ‘housefly’ ‘蒼蠅’
/u ³ /	‘rain’ ‘雨’
	fa ⁸ li ¹² ləu ⁸ u ³ ‘it looks like it’s going to rain’ ‘好像會下雨’
/u ⁶ /u ⁶	la ³ ‘taro’ ‘芋子’
	u ⁶ ho ² ‘above-ground stalks of the taro’ ‘芋頭的桿’
/u ⁶ /	‘the fifth of the ten “Heaven” cyclical signs: wuh 戊’ ‘第五個天干：戊’
/pu ¹² /	pu ¹² noŋ ² , pu ¹² noŋ ^{12d} ‘woman, especially married woman’ ‘女人，特指結婚的女人’
	pu ¹² noŋ ¹² ʃɔ ² ‘women (in general)’ ‘女人家’; ‘that woman over there’ ‘那邊那個女人’
/pu ¹² /	pu ¹² ʃɔ ¹ ‘wood or gourd dipper’ ‘木頭的水瓢、匏瓜做的水瓢’
	pɔ ⁸ pu ^{12d} ‘kind of gourd used for making dippers’ ‘匏瓜’
/pu ² /	‘to cook covered in a casserole pot’ ‘(用土鍋) 燜’
	pu ¹² pa ⁶ ‘large earthen casserole pot’ ‘大土鍋、沙鍋’
/pu ³ /	‘to mend, repair’ ‘補’
/pu ³⁵ /	pu ³⁵ thao ² ‘axe’ ‘斧頭’
/pu ⁵ /	‘cloth’ ‘布’
/pu ⁶ /	‘to brood on, hatch (an egg)’ ‘孵’
/pu ⁶ /	tao ⁶ pu ⁶ ‘beancurd’ ‘豆腐’
	tao ⁶ pu ⁶ tshie ⁵ ‘spinach’ (“beancurd” + “vegetable”) ‘菠菜’ (“豆腐” + “菜”)
/pu ⁶ /	‘account book’ ‘簿子’
/pu ⁸ /	seŋ ¹² pu ⁸ ‘daughter-in-law’ ‘媳婦’
/phu ² /	‘to float’ ‘浮’
/mu ¹ /	‘to touch with the hand’ ‘用手碰’; ‘to grope one’s way along’ ‘摸著(牆壁走)’
/mu ¹² /	mu ¹² si ¹² kaŋ ¹ ‘a kind of blind man’s buff’ ‘一種遊戲，類似北京的蒙老瞎’
/fu ¹² /	fu ¹² khi ² ‘leech’ ‘水蛭’
/fu ¹² /	fu ¹² tʃie ⁸ ‘threshold’ ‘門檻’
/fu ³ /	ləu ³⁵ fu ³ ‘tiger’ ‘老虎’
	pi ⁶ fu ³ ‘gecko’ ‘壁虎’

/tu ³ /	‘to gamble’ ‘賭’ tu ³⁵ tsie ² ‘to gamble, wager money’ ‘賭博、賭錢’
/tu ⁸ /	‘poison; poisonous’ ‘毒藥；毒的’
/thu ³⁵ /	thu ³⁵ lan ² ‘old fashioned hand-operated rice mill’ ‘老式磨米的機器’
/thu ³⁵ /	thu ³⁵ lan ² ‘bamboo rat’ ‘吃竹根的一種野鼠’
/nu ⁸ /	‘meat, flesh’ (the only word) ‘肉’ (只有這個說法)
/lu ³ /	‘to stew in soysauce and chicken fat’ ‘滷’
/lu ³ /	‘to spit out’ ‘吐出來’
/lu ³⁵ /	lu ³⁵ fy ³ ‘dew’ ‘露水’
/lu ⁶ /	lu ⁶ , kie ¹² lu ⁶ ‘street, road’ ‘街、路’ ki ¹² lu ⁶ ‘to walk’ ‘走(路)’
/tsu ³⁵ /	ɲua ⁶ tsu ³⁵ tɔ ¹ ‘mother’s father’ ‘外祖父’ ɲua ⁶ tsu ³⁵ ma ³ ‘mother’s mother’ ‘外祖母’
/ku ¹ /	ɔ ¹² ku ¹ ‘father’s sister’ ‘姑姑’ ku ¹² pəu ² ‘father’s father’s sister’ ‘父親的姑姑’ ku ¹² tiaŋ ⁸ ‘husband of father’s sister’ ‘姑丈’ mi ¹² ku ¹ , mi ¹² ku ^{12d} ‘Buddhist nun’ ‘尼姑’
/ku ¹² /	nie ¹² ku ^{12d} ‘large native black field clam’ ‘本地的大黑蚌’ nie ¹² ku ¹² tsie ⁵ ‘tiny field clam’ ‘田裡的小蚌’
/ku ³ /	həu ³⁵ toŋ ¹² ku ³ ‘a long time’ ‘很久’
/ku ³ /	kao ³⁵ ku ³ ‘male dog’ ‘公狗’ ky ¹² ku ⁵ ‘adult male pig, usually castrated and raised for food’ (presumably diminutive form in tone */34d/) ‘公豬，一般指被閹過的，養來吃的’ (疑為*/34d/)
	ɲu ¹² ku ³ ‘male carabao, bull’ ‘公牛’ tshəi ⁸ ku ³ ‘thief’ ‘小偷、賊’
/ku ³ /	‘measure for segments of citrus fruit’ (usage the same as /ɲie ³ /) ‘橘子的瓣(量辭)’ (與/ɲie ³ / 通用)
/ku ⁵ /	ɔ ¹² ku ⁵ ‘mother’s brother’ (presumably diminutive form in tone */34d/) ‘舅舅’ (疑為*/34d/)
/ku ⁵ /	‘measure for things said’ ‘話的量辭’
/ku ⁶ /	‘to squat’ ‘蹲’
/ku ⁶ /	ku ⁶ ta ⁶ ‘mat for drying rice’ ‘綱穀蓆’
/khu ¹ /	‘measure for fields’ ‘田的量辭’
/khu ⁵ /	tʃoŋ ¹² khu ⁵ ‘pestle (both pole-shaped and pestle-shaped)’ (presumably diminutive form in tone */34d/) ‘杵(棍形、槌形)’ (疑為*/34d/)
	khu ³⁵ khuəi ⁶ ‘mortar’ ‘石臼’
/ɲu ² /	‘carabao, water buffalo’ ‘牛’ ɲu ¹² ku ³ ‘male carabao, bull’ ‘公牛’ ɲu ¹² mɔ ² ‘cow’ ‘母牛’ ɲu ¹² tsie ⁵ ‘calf’ ‘小牛’ ɲu ¹² ɔ ⁶ ‘ox’s yoke’ ‘牛軛’
/ɲu ³ /	‘five’ ‘五’
/ɲu ³ /	‘the seventh of the twelve “Earth” cyclical signs: wuu 午’ ‘第七個地支：午’

Rime /ŋ/ 韻

/ŋ ⁶ /	‘not’ (general negative particle) ‘不’ (否定辭) ŋ ⁶ jie ⁶ ‘it is not’(negative copula) ‘不是’ (否定系辭)
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ɲ⁶ ʃie⁶ tha⁵ 'not there, not to be located at...' (negative locative expression) '不在...' (否定方位辭)

ɲ⁶ fa^{ʔ8} 'don't know how' (the form /mie^{ʔ8}/ is used with equal frequency) '不會、不通曉' (與/mie^{ʔ8}/ 通用)

ɲ⁶ khy⁵ 'not to be going' '不去'

ɲ⁶ kɔ³ 'may not, it is not permitted to' '不可以'; 'dare not, not to dare to' '不敢'; 'Don't...' '別...'

tsəu⁵ ɲ⁶ tie⁶ 'may not, it is not permitted to' '不可以'

ɲ⁶ te² 'Don't...' '別...'

Index of Morphemes 語素索引

The following index is arranged alphabetically by Mandarin romanized form (in Gwoyue Romatzyh). It is intended only as a quick guide to the morphemes in the lexicon, and *should not* be used as an independent Mandarin-Jongbao lexicon itself. Many of the items listed are bound forms, and many important dialect morphemes are not 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~ 中堡方言的小辭典！其中的語素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。

<i>a'yi</i> 阿姨	ɔ ¹² i ^{12d}	<i>bihtz</i> 篋子	pie ⁶
<i>ae</i> 矮	e ³	<i>bihtzoei</i> 閉嘴	mi ⁷⁸
<i>ann</i> 按	tsaŋ ⁷⁸	<i>bii</i> 筆	pi ⁶
<i>ann</i> 暗	aŋ ⁵	<i>biing</i> 柄	pɔ ⁵
<i>au</i> 凹	mie ⁶ , thəi ⁷⁸	<i>biing</i> 餅	piɔ ⁵
<i>aytsao</i> 艾草	nɔ ⁵	<i>bing</i> 冰	laŋ ¹² paŋ ¹
<i>ba</i> 八	pie ⁶	<i>bing</i> 兵	peŋ ¹
<i>baang</i> 綁	kəi ⁶ , thio ⁶ , poŋ ³ , pao ⁷⁸ , tsa ⁶	<i>binq</i> 病	pɔ ⁶
<i>bae</i> 百	pɔ ⁶	<i>bojoong</i> 播種	io ⁶ tʃoŋ ³
<i>bah</i> 耙	pɔ ²	<i>botsay</i> 菠菜	tao ⁶ pu ⁶ tshie ⁵
<i>bair</i> 白	pɔ ⁷⁸ ʃəi ⁶	<i>borfuh</i> 伯父	pɔ ⁶
<i>bairtian</i> 白天	tsɔ ²	<i>bormuu</i> 伯母	paŋ ⁵ , pɔ ⁶ pəu ²
<i>banjia</i> 搬	pa ¹	<i>bortz</i> 脖子	kiɔ ³
<i>bann</i> 半	pa ⁵	<i>bu</i> 不	ŋ ⁶
<i>bann</i> 絆	pa ⁵ = hai ⁷⁸	<i>buhuey</i>	ŋ ⁶ fa ⁷⁸ , mie ⁷⁸
<i>banq</i> 蚌	kia ¹² lai ^{12d} , nie ¹² ku ¹² tsie ⁵	<i>bujieshyr</i> 不結實	phɔ ⁵
<i>bao</i> 飽	pɔ ³	<i>bukeeyii</i> 不可以	tsəu ⁵ ŋ ⁶ tie ⁶ , ŋ ⁶ kɔ ³
<i>bau</i> 包	pao ¹	<i>bushyh</i> 不是	ŋ ⁶ ʃie ⁶
<i>bau</i> 剝	pao ⁶	<i>butzay</i> 不在	ŋ ⁶ ʃie ⁶ tha ⁵
<i>baur</i> 薄	pəu ⁷⁸	<i>buyaw...</i> 不要	məu ² , ŋ ⁶ kɔ ³ , ŋ ⁶ te ²
<i>baurtz</i> 電子	phəu ⁷⁸	<i>buh</i> 布	pu ⁵
<i>baw</i> 抱	tʃhɔ ³ , voŋ ³	<i>buhtz</i> 簿子	pu ⁶
<i>baytz</i> 稗子	thie ⁵	<i>buu</i> 補	pu ³
<i>beandan</i> 扁擔	pie ³⁵ tɔ ¹	<i>byitz</i> 鼻子	phi ⁶ tshie ¹
<i>beanfwu</i> 蝙蝠	pi ⁷⁸ pəu ^{12d}	<i>chaan</i> 剗	tshiao ¹ , kuəi ⁷⁸
<i>bei</i> 揩	va ⁵ , pie ¹	<i>chai</i> 拆	thio ⁶ , thao ³
<i>beitz</i> 杯子	ao ^{12d} , pai ^{12d}	<i>char</i> 茶	tʃɔ ²
<i>beng</i> 崩	paŋ ¹	<i>charyeh</i> 茶葉	tʃɔ ¹² ie ⁷⁸
<i>benn</i> 笨	khyeŋ ³ , paŋ ⁵	<i>charn</i> 纏	tie ² , kuan ³ , kiao ³
<i>bey</i> 背	pai ³⁵ tsiɔ ⁶	<i>charng</i> 長	toŋ ²
<i>beyker</i> 貝殼	nie ¹² ku ^{12d}	<i>charngtz</i> 腸子	toŋ ²
<i>beyshu</i> 背書	pəi ⁶	<i>che</i> 車	tʃhɔ ¹
<i>beytz</i> 被子	pha ⁷⁸	<i>chi</i> 七	tshi ⁶
<i>bianyuan</i> 邊緣	kɔ ⁶ , mi ⁷⁸ pie ¹ , tsiɔ ³⁵ feŋ ²	<i>chiang</i> 槍	tʃhoŋ ⁵
<i>biann</i> 變	pie ⁵	<i>chie</i> 切	tshie ⁶ , taŋ ¹
<i>bih yeanjing</i> 閉眼睛	ŋi ⁶	<i>chiing</i> 請	tshio ³
<i>bihhuu</i> 壁虎	piɔ ⁶ fu ³	<i>ching</i> 清	tshəŋ ¹

ching 輕 *khio*¹
chingtsay 青菜 *tsho*¹² *tshie*⁵
chiue 缺 *khie*⁶
chiuetzoei 缺嘴 *khie*⁶ *kye*⁵
chiuh 去 *khy*⁵
chorngtz 蟲子 *than*²
chow 臭 *tʃhəu*⁵
chu 出 *khyi*⁶
chuan 穿 *tʃoŋ*⁶, *va*¹
chuantong 穿通 *tsi*⁸, *lao*¹
chuei 吹 *khye*¹, *phan*²
chuentian 春天 *khyen*¹
chuu 杵 *khu*⁵, *khy*^{12d}
chwan 船 *fi*²
chwang 床 *tshoŋ*²
chwei 垂 *lɔ*², *ten*¹
chweitz 鎚子 *khy*²
chwudih 鋤地 *kuəi*⁸
chwutour 鋤頭 *kua*³⁵, *kəu*⁶, *pɔ*^{12d}
chwutz 櫛子 *ky*²
chy 吃 *ʃi*⁸
chy'huen 吃葷 *ʃi*⁸ *fan*¹
chysuh 吃素 *ʃi*⁸ *tʃɔ*¹
chyan 錢 *tsie*²
chyaner 前額 *ŋi*⁸
chyangbih 牆壁 *tshian*²
chyanmiann 前面 *tsie*²
chyhbaang 翅膀 *si*⁸
chyi 齊 *tsie*²
chyi 騎 *khi*²
chyn 琴 *ken*²
chyng 晴 *tsɔ*²
chyr 遲 *mie*⁶
chyrtarng 池塘 *ton*²
chyuntz 裙子 *kuan*²
daa 打 *mɔ*⁸, *vəu*⁶, *tʃoŋ*¹, *tsie*¹, *tsi*⁸,
*fəi*⁶, *liəu*³, *kia*⁸, *kəi*⁸, *pa*⁸, *ʃie*⁵
daalei 打雷 *ʃoŋ*³⁵ *ləi*¹² *kan*¹
dah 大 *ta*⁶
dahmuujyy 大拇指 *tʃhiəu*³⁵ *tʃi*³⁵ *thao*^{12d}
dan.de 單的 *ta*¹²
dann 淡 *tsio*³
dann 蛋 *la*³
dao 搗 *tʃoŋ*¹
dau 刀 *təu*¹
daw 到 *kao*⁵
daw 倒 *ʃa*¹, *khan*¹
dawshyh 道士 *təu*⁶ *si*⁶, *ʃie*¹² *kan*^{12d}
dawsuey 稻穗 *thie*⁵

dawtsao 稻草 *ka*³
dawtz 稻子 *vai*²
day 戴 *ti*⁵, *lao*⁶
daychiuh 帶去 *ta*⁵
daytz 帶子 *tɔ*⁵
daytz 袋子 *tai*⁶
.de 得 *tie*⁶
.de 的 *kɔ*⁵
derdaw 得到 *təi*⁶ *təu*⁵
di 低 *e*³
dianntz 墊子 *tsa*⁵, *thie*⁶
diaw 掉 *tie*⁶
diedao 蹶倒 *pa*⁸ *tie*⁶ *təu*⁵
dih 地 *ti*⁶ *hɔ*⁸
dihdih 弟弟 *ləu*³⁵ *ti*⁸
dihgua 地瓜 *fa*¹² *fy*²
dihming 地名: *pha*¹² *ʃa*¹² *tan*⁵, *həu*¹² *tsio*²,
*tʃhiəu*⁶ *koŋ*¹² *en*⁶, *ʃoŋ*⁶ *tsio*⁵ *thao*^{12d}
dii 底 *tie*³
dinq 定 *tan*⁶
diou 丟 *tiəu*¹, *tie*⁶
doan 短 *tai*³
donggua 冬瓜 *tan*¹² *kɔ*¹
dongshi 東西 *kɔ*¹² *fəu*³
dongtian 冬天 *tan*¹
donq 洞 *kho*¹
doong 懂 *ʃi*⁶ *tie*⁶
doou 陡 *tʃɔ*⁸
dooulih 斗笠 *li*⁶ *mɔ*²
dow 豆 *tao*⁶
dowfuu 豆腐 *tao*⁶ *pu*⁶
duann 斷 *ta*⁸
duen 蹲 *ku*⁶
duey, meitsuoh 對、沒錯 *thiao*⁸
duey.je 對著 *tai*⁵
duhtz 肚子 *pao*⁶
duo 多 *təu*¹
duoo 躲 *pi*⁵
duubor 賭博 *tu*³
dwu 毒 *tu*⁸, *thao*⁶
dwu 讀 *thao*⁸
eel 桶的耳 *ŋi*⁵
eelchweitz 耳垂子 *ŋi*³⁵ *təu*²
eelduo 耳朵 *ŋi*³⁵ *kan*¹
eellong 耳聾 *ŋi*³⁵ *lan*¹
eh 餓 *ky*¹, *ŋəu*⁶
ell 二 *ŋi*⁶
ertlz 兒子 *tʃɔ*³
fadoou 發抖 *kyen*¹

<i>fan</i> 翻	fa ¹ , ia [?] , pie ³	<i>her</i> 河	koŋ ¹ , khie ¹ , həu ² , kyen ⁵ , kao ^{12d}
<i>fann</i> 飯	pa ⁶	<i>herng</i> 橫	vɔ ²
<i>fanq</i> 放	paŋ ⁵	<i>hershanq</i> 和尚	vai ¹² soŋ ⁶ , tʃɔ ¹² kaŋ ^{12d}
<i>farngtz</i> 房子	ao ⁶	<i>horng</i> 紅	haŋ ²
<i>fei</i> 飛	pai ¹	<i>hourtz</i> 猴子	kao ^{12d}
<i>feir</i> 肥	pəi ²	<i>how</i> 厚	kao [?] ⁸
<i>feirliaw</i> 肥料	pəi ¹² liao ⁶	<i>howmiann</i> 後面	ʃi ⁶ nao ¹² pai ⁵
<i>feng</i> 蜂	phaŋ ¹	<i>hua</i> 花	fɔ ^{12d}
<i>fernmuh</i> 墳墓	ti ⁶	<i>huah</i> 畫	fɔ ⁶
<i>ferng</i> 縫	lie ²	<i>huah</i> 話	fɔ ⁶
<i>fey</i> 肺	pəi ⁶	<i>huann</i> 換	va ⁶ , thao ³
<i>fu</i> 孵	pu ⁶	<i>huey</i> 會	fa [?] ⁸
<i>fuhchin</i> 父親	io ²	<i>huoo</i> 火	fai ³
<i>fuutour</i> 斧頭	pu ³⁵ thao ²	<i>hwa</i> 滑	vəi [?] ⁸
<i>fwu</i> 扶	phu ²	<i>hwaiguu</i> 踝骨	khɔ ¹² mao [?] ⁸ tʃəu ¹² kuəi ⁶
<i>gan</i> 乾	tʃɔ ¹ , ha [?] ⁸ , ka ¹	<i>hwang</i> 黃	voŋ ²
<i>ganjeh</i> 甘蔗	ka ¹² tʃɔ ⁵	<i>hwangdih</i> 皇帝	ti ⁵
<i>gantyan</i> 乾田	foŋ ¹² , poŋ ⁶	<i>hwanghuen</i> 黃昏	pa ³⁵ mo ¹² ʃi ²
<i>gang</i> 釘	koŋ ⁵	<i>hwei</i> 回	tie ³
<i>ganggang</i> 剛剛	sie ¹² thao ^{12d}	<i>hwo</i> 活	fɔ [?] ⁸
<i>gau</i> 高	kəu ¹	<i>i</i> 一	i ⁶
<i>gay</i> 蓋	tʃɔ ¹ , foŋ ¹ , kaŋ ³ , tɔ ⁶	<i>idean</i> 一點	ti ⁶
<i>gaytz</i> 蓋子	kai ⁵	<i>iatz</i> 鴨	ɔ ⁶
<i>ge</i> 割	ka ⁶	<i>iachyun</i> 鴨群	khyen ²
<i>gege</i> 哥哥	ləu ³⁵ pɔ ⁶	<i>ian</i> 闌	kye ⁶
<i>geei</i> 給	paŋ ¹	<i>jaayean</i> 眨眼	ŋi ⁶
<i>goaijanq</i> 拐杖	thian ⁵	<i>jae</i> 窄	ʃie [?] ⁸
<i>goei</i> 鬼	kuəi ³	<i>janglang</i> 蟑螂	voŋ ¹² tsa [?] ⁸
<i>gong.de</i> 公的	ku ³ , ku ⁵ , kao ⁶	<i>jann</i> 站	tʃhɔ [?] ⁸
<i>goou</i> 狗	kao ³	<i>janqfu</i> 丈夫	ləu ³⁵ kaŋ ¹
<i>gugu</i> 姑姑	ku ¹	<i>jea</i> 假	kɔ ³
<i>gujanq</i> 姑丈	tian [?] ⁸	<i>jeau</i> 腳	khɔ ¹
<i>gupor</i> 姑婆	ku ¹² pəu ²	<i>jeaugen</i> 腳跟	tʃɔ ¹²
<i>gua</i> 刮	kua ⁶ , tshiao ⁵	<i>jeh.ge</i> 這個	tʃe ³⁻ kɔ ⁵
<i>gua</i> 瓜	kɔ ^{12d}	<i>jehlii</i> 這裡	tʃe ³⁵ tʃɔ ⁶ khai ^{12d}
<i>guarang</i> 瓜瓢	noŋ ¹	<i>jenju</i> 珍珠	tʃeŋ ¹² ky ¹
<i>guan</i> 官	kua ¹	<i>jeng</i> 蒸	khye ¹
<i>guan</i> 關	kua ¹	<i>jeou</i> 九	kiəu ³
<i>guey</i> 貴	kuəi ⁵	<i>jeou</i> 久	ku ³
<i>guey</i> 跪	khuəi ⁶	<i>jeou</i> 酒	tsiəu ³
<i>guo</i> 鍋	tiɔ ³ , kəu ¹² thao ² , nie ⁶ , pu ¹² pa ⁶	<i>ji</i> 雞	kie ^{12d}
<i>guogay</i> 鍋蓋	tiɔ ³⁵ phie ⁵	<i>jijawtz</i> 雞罩子	keŋ ²
<i>guoo sheaujeau</i> 裹小腳	tie ²⁻ sie ³⁵ khɔ ¹	<i>jijen</i> 雞肫	keŋ [?] ⁸
<i>guutz</i> 穀子	khy ⁶	<i>jilong</i> 雞籠	lan ¹
<i>gwouo</i> 膾窩	khɔ ¹² taŋ ¹² va ⁵	<i>jishytz</i> 雞虱子	tʃie ²
<i>hairtz</i> 孩子	sie ³⁵ ʃɔ ² , sie ³⁵ kɔ ³⁵ ŋeŋ ^{12d} , ki ³⁵	<i>jitoei</i> 雞腿	thəi ³
	ʃɔ ² , ti ⁶ ti ⁶ ta ⁶	<i>jiah</i> 嫁	kɔ ⁵
<i>hann</i> 汗	ha ⁶	<i>jian</i> 煎	na ⁶
<i>hei</i> 黑	u ¹	<i>jiang</i> 薑	kioŋ ¹

jiann 箭 tsie⁵
jiau 教 həu¹, ɔ⁶ fy³
jiaw 叫 haŋ⁵, siə², thi², tsiəu¹
jiawtz 較子 kiao⁶
jie 街 kie¹, lu⁶
jie 接 tsie⁶
jie.chiilai 接起來 pəu⁶
jieshyr 結實 kao⁶
jieedwu 解毒 ka³
jieefu 姐夫 tiaŋ⁸
jiee.jie 姐姐 tia⁶
jiee shyeday 解鞋帶 kie³
jieh 借 tsiao⁶
jiehtsay 芥菜 ka⁶ tshie⁵, tshə¹² tshie⁵
jihder 記得 ki⁵ tie⁶
jiing 井 tsio³
jiitz 麩子 voŋ¹² kiə¹
jintian 今天 keŋ¹² tia¹
jintian woanshanq 今天晚上 mie¹² mɔ²
jintz 金子 keŋ¹
jinn 近 kyen⁸
jiow 舊 ləu³, kiəu⁶
jiowjiow 舅舅 ku⁵
jiowmuu 舅母 keŋ⁵
jiun 軍 kyen¹
jong 鍾 tʃoŋ¹²
jong.de 中的(動物) tia^{12d}, than^{12d}
jongwuu ŋi⁸ tao⁵
jonq 重 taŋ⁸
jow 皺 noŋ⁶
ju 豬 ky^{12d}
joongju 種豬 ky¹² kə¹
jujuann 豬圈 tiəu²
juyou 豬油 ky¹² iəu², pa³⁵ kəu¹
jua 抓 iə³, tʃa³
juan 磚 kye¹
juanq 撞 tʃoŋ¹
juei 追 ka³, lie⁸, la²
juh 住 tiəu⁶, hai⁸
juhma 苧麻 ky⁸
juhtz 柱子 thiəu⁸, tʃhə⁵
juomitsarng 捉迷藏 piə³⁵ fai⁵, piə³⁵ phai⁵,
mu¹² si¹² kaŋ¹
juu 煮(菜等) phie⁶, ky³, pu², maŋ⁶, ʃə⁸,
khye¹, lu³, tʃə⁶, vaŋ²
juuren 主人 ky³⁵ ŋeŋ², ky³⁵ toŋ^{12d}
jwutz 竹子 tiəu⁶
jycheng 支撐 tʃhə⁵
jdaw 知道 ʃi⁶ tie⁶, ʃə³⁵ tie⁶

juju 蜘蛛 la¹² khia², kiao¹² siao¹
jyma 芝麻 mɔ^{12d}
jye 截 tao⁶, ta³
jyr 直 ti⁸
jyrtz 姪子 tʃhi⁸
kaan 砍 khai²
kai 開 khai¹
kaimen 開門 khai¹, tɔ³
kanjia 看家 tsiəu³
kann 看 ŋiə⁵
kao 烤 həu⁶
karng 扛 khio², koŋ¹, pa⁸
keeyii 可以 khəu³⁵ i³
kooushoei 口水 la³
ku 哭 khao⁶, thi²
kuan 寬 khua⁶
kuay 快 khuai⁵, liə⁶
kuaytz 筷子 ky⁶
laanduoh 懶惰 tʃa⁸
lahjwu 蠟燭 kuəu⁶
lai 來 li²
lann 爛 la⁶, məi⁶
lantz 籃子 lə^{12d}, lao³, siəu², həu², ʃə⁶, ki¹
lao 老 ləu³
laohuu 老虎 ləu³⁵ fu³
laoshuu 老鼠 khy³, laŋ²
lean 臉 meŋ⁵
leanjya 臉頰 la³
leang 一兩 lian³
leang.ge 兩個 lian³
leeng 冷 laŋ³, ha²
lha 拉 tho¹
lhashyy 拉屎 əu¹² ʃi³, paŋ³⁵ kho¹
lhau 撈 iao³, khon⁵, tʃhə⁶
li 梨 li^{12d}
libagaan 籬笆桿 taŋ³
liangtsyr 量詞 faŋ⁶, fəi², hɔ², iao^{12d}, iə³, kai¹,
kai¹, khao³, khu¹, khua⁵, kie⁵, ku³, ku⁵,
kua³, kua⁸, mɔ², phie³, phəi⁶, poŋ¹, taŋ³,
tha², thie⁶, thəu⁵, tia², tiaŋ¹, tsa⁵, tʃa³,
tʃheŋ⁶, tʃə⁶, tɔ¹, ʃaŋ¹, ŋie³,
lieh 裂 pi⁶ phaŋ⁶
lii 一里 li³
liimiann 裡面 ti³⁵
liitz 李子 li⁵
liiyu 鯉魚 li³⁵
liingtz 領子 liə³
liou 流 liəu²
liou 留 lao²

liow 六 liəʔ⁸
liuhseh 綠色 tshə¹
long 龍 lian²
long 龔 lan²
luwoei 蘆葦 ka¹² tseŋ¹, maŋ¹² fə¹
luh 路 kie¹, lu⁶
luh 鹿 lao⁸
luhshoei 露水 lu³⁵ fy³
luobo 蘿蔔 ləu¹² pai^{12d}
maa 馬 mə³
maayii 螞蟻 nə⁵
maan 滿 ma³
mae 買 mie³ tiə⁸
mah 罵 ʃə³, əu⁶
mai 埋 mie², vai¹
mann 慢 noŋ⁵
mau 毛 məu¹
may 賣 mie⁶, thiao⁵
mayguoh 邁過 kia⁶
maytz 麥子 mə⁵
meiyeou 沒有 məu²
men 門 maŋ²
menkaan 門檻 fu¹² tʃie⁸
menq 夢 moŋ⁵, maŋ¹² kie⁵
meymey 妹妹 ləu³⁵ məi⁵
mhau 貓 miao⁵
mho 摸 mu¹
mii 米 mi³
mingtian 明天 ʃeŋ¹² tiao¹
mingtzyh 名字 mio¹² tsi⁶
mo 磨 mə²
moh 墨 məi⁸
muhbei 墓碑 ti⁶ pi¹
muhchair 木柴 tshə²
muhji 木屐 kiə⁸
muhjianq 木匠 mao⁸ tshian⁶
muu.de 母的 mə²
muuchin 母親 nie³
na 拿 nə¹
naa.ge 哪個 ni⁶ tʃə⁶
naalii 哪裡 ni⁶ ta²
nah.ge 那個 ha³ kə⁵
nahlui 那裡 ha³ khai^{12d}
nanhairtz 男孩子 ki⁵
nanren 男人 hao⁶ ʃaŋ¹, nə¹² tsi³
nean 捻 tʃha³, tsaŋ⁸
neau 鳥 tiao⁵
neauuo 鳥窩 sao³
neuerl 女兒 ŋy³

neuhairtz 女孩子 ŋy⁵
neuren 女人 pu¹² noŋ²
neushiuh 女婿 sie³⁵ loŋ²
nichiou 泥鰱 vai¹² tshiau¹
nigu 尼姑 mi¹² ku¹, tʃə¹² pəu^{12d}
nian 年 nie²
nii 你 ŋy²
nii.men 你們 ŋy² tsie^{12d}
niou 牛 ŋu²
nioueh 牛軛 ŋu¹² ə⁶
noanhuoh 暖和 na³
nuugong 弩弓 tʃoŋ¹² tsie⁵
pah 帕 hə⁶
parfann 扒飯 phə¹
parntz 般子 pa²
parngshieh 螃蟹 ʃie³⁵
paugua 匏瓜 pə⁸ pu^{12d}
pawmoh 泡沫 phəu¹
pi 劈 phə⁵, tsie¹, phio⁶
pi 披 pha⁸
puhbuh 瀑布 tsio⁵
pyi 皮 phi²
pyitzanq 脾臟 ie¹² thie⁶
pyng 平 piə², əi⁶
pyngtsao 萍草 phiao^{12d}
raan 染 ŋie³
raanliaw 染料 tie⁶
ranq 讓 noŋ⁶
reh 熱 ŋie⁸, həu⁶, maŋ⁶
ren 人 ŋeŋ²
rennshyh 認識 ʃi⁶, ŋeŋ⁶
roan 軟 ŋye³
row 肉 nu⁸
saniaw 撒尿 əu¹² ŋiao⁶
sai 塞 tʃhəi⁶
san 三 sə¹
sangshuh 桑樹 soŋ¹² tʃhiəu⁶
sann 散 sa⁵
sao 掃 tsiao⁵, kia⁶, sao⁸
sawjoou 掃帚 sao³⁵ tsiəu³, kia⁶
sha 殺 tʃhie^{12d}, ʃa⁶
shai 篩 tʃhie¹
shan 山 ʃa¹, eŋ⁶, tsio^{12d}, liə⁵
shannyu 鱸魚 vai¹² tʃhə⁸
shanq 上 ʃoŋ⁸
shanqmiann 上面 ʃoŋ⁶ thao²
shanqwuu 上午 tao³⁵ ʃi²
shao 少 ʃao³
shaurtz 勺子 kua³, ʃə¹, tiao⁶

shay 綱 kuəu⁶
 sheau 小 sie⁵
 sheau.de 小的(動物) tsie⁵, tsəi⁵
 sheaumuuji 小母雞 la⁵
 sheaumuju 小母豬 ny⁵
 sheautou 小偷 tshəi⁸ ku³
 sheen.shen 孀孀 ʃeŋ⁵
 sheir 誰 ni⁶ tʃə⁶
 shen 深 tʃheŋ¹
 sheng 生 ʃə¹, koŋ¹
 sheng.de 生的 tshə¹
 sher 蛇 ʃə²
 shertour 舌頭 tʃie⁸
 sherngtz 繩子 səu⁶
 sheue 雪 se⁶
 shifann 稀飯 mai²
 shigay 膝蓋 kho¹² tsəi⁶ thəi³⁵ lai^{12d}
 shishuay 蜥蜴 tsao⁵ tsi⁶
 shia 蝦 ho¹² kao⁶
 shia 瞎 ʃie⁶ mao⁸, ʃə¹² koŋ¹² ŋie³⁵ ʃie⁶
 shiah 下 ləu⁸
 shiahdann 下蛋 ʃə¹
 shiahmiann 下面 ho⁸
 shiahwuu 下午 tao³⁵ lao³
 shian 先 sie¹
 shiang 很香 ʃoŋ¹
 shiang 燒的香 ʃoŋ¹
 shiann 線 siə⁵
 shianq 象 tshiaŋ⁶
 shianqtz 巷子 lə⁶
 shianntsay 莧菜 ʃie⁶
 shiaupyi 削 siəu⁶
 shiee 血 ʃie⁶
 shii 洗 sie³
 shin 心 seŋ¹
 shin 新 seŋ¹
 shing 腥 tʃhəu³⁵ tshəu¹
 shinq 姓 siə⁵
 Bair 白 pə⁸
 Chern 陳 tʃheŋ²
 Fann 范 fə⁸
 Ferng 馮 phon²
 Huah 華 fə⁶
 Hwang 黃 von²
 Jang 張 tiaŋ¹
 Jang 章 tʃoŋ¹
 Jaw 趙 tʃhiəu⁶
 Jeang 蔣 koŋ³
 Jou 周 tʃiəu¹

Leu 呂 li³
 Lii 李 li³
 Liou 劉 liəu²
 Maa 馬 mə³
 Perng 彭 phaŋ²
 Shieh 謝 tshio⁶
 Shiue 薛 se⁶
 Shyong 熊 ʃoŋ²
 Tsay 蔡 tsha⁵
 Wang 王 von²
 shiongdiŋ 兄弟 ʃə¹² ti⁸
 shiowtz 袖子 va³
 shoei 水 fy³
 shoeigoan 水管 haŋ², kua³, kie³, kyen⁵
 shoeijyh 水蛭 fu¹² khi²
 shoeitaa 水獺 tʃha⁶
 shoou 手 tʃhiəu³
 shooujoou 手肘 tʃə¹² la⁵
 shooujyy 手指 tʃi³⁵
 shooutaw 手套 lao⁶, thəu⁵
 shour 熟 fy⁸, la⁶
 show 瘦 ʃai⁵, ʃao⁵
 shu 書 fy¹
 shu 梳 fy¹
 shu 輸 fy¹
 shushu 叔叔 fy⁶
 shuyoan 疏遠 fy¹
 shuh 樹 tʃhiəu⁶
 shuhgen 樹根 kyen¹
 shuhjy 樹枝 ki¹, sie^{12d}
 shuo 說 koŋ³
 shuo menqhuah 說夢話 tə³⁵ la⁶ və⁶
 shy 溼 tʃhie⁶
 shyfeir 施肥 aŋ¹
 shytz 虱子 kao³⁵ ʃəi⁶
 shyan 鹹 kaŋ²
 shy.de 斜的 tsiə²
 shyhtz 柿子 kao¹² khi⁵, la⁶ si⁶
 shyifuh 媳父 seŋ¹² pu⁸
 shyitz 蓆子 tsiə⁸, ta⁶
 shyong 熊 ʃoŋ²
 shyr 十 ʃi⁸
 shyrjiow 石臼 khu³⁵ khuəi⁶
 shyrtour 石頭 ʃə⁸ thəo²
 shyue 學 həu⁸
 shyy 屎 ʃi³, paŋ⁵
 soen 筍 seŋ³
 suan 酸 sa¹
 suann 算 sa⁵

<i>suann</i> 蒜	sa ⁵	<i>tour</i> 頭	thao ² , no ²
<i>suentsz</i> 孫子	saŋ ^{12d}	<i>tourfaa</i> 頭髮	məu ¹
<i>suey</i> 歲	sai ⁵	<i>tourshyuan</i> 頭旋	tsiəu ³⁵ lai ²
<i>syh</i> 四	si ⁵	<i>tsae</i> 採	tɔ ⁸
<i>ta</i> 他	i ¹	<i>tsaehorng</i> 彩虹	khon ⁸
<i>ta.men</i> 他們	i ¹ - tsie ^{12d}	<i>tsangyng</i> 蒼螢	u ¹² seŋ ^{12d}
<i>tanq</i> 燙	lao ⁸ , na ⁶	<i>tsao</i> 草	tshao ³
<i>tarn</i> 談	ta ²	<i>tsarn</i> 蠶	soŋ ¹² thaŋ ²
<i>tarn</i> 痰	tho ²	<i>tsarng</i> 藏	pio ⁵
<i>tarnq</i> 糖	thoŋ ²	<i>tsay</i> 菜	tshie ⁵
<i>taurtz</i> 桃子	thəu ^{12d}	<i>tsehsuoo</i> 廁所	ʃi ³⁵ kho ¹
<i>tawsherng</i> 套繩	tʃoŋ ¹² thio ⁶	<i>tsyh</i> 刺	tshi ⁵ , tsi ⁸ , tshio ⁶ , tshio ⁶
<i>tayyang</i> 太陽	ŋi ⁸ thao ²	<i>tuei</i> 推	sao ⁶ , saŋ ³ , teŋ ³
<i>tean</i> 舔	tʃie ⁸	<i>(oou)tuh</i> 嘔吐	pha ¹
<i>tian</i> 天	thie ¹	<i>tuu</i> 吐	phan ⁵ , lu ³
<i>tian</i> 添	tai ¹ , vai ¹	<i>tuu</i> 土	nie ²
<i>tiangan dihjy</i> 天干地支		<i>twu</i> 凸	thəi ⁸
天干：		<i>tyan</i> 田	tshaŋ ²
<i>jea</i> 甲	ko ⁶	<i>tyan</i> 甜	tie ² , ko ¹
<i>yii</i> 乙	ie ⁶	<i>tyangeeng</i> 田埂	tʃheŋ ²
<i>biing</i> 丙	pio ³	<i>tyanluo</i> 田螺	tshian ¹² lai ^{12d}
<i>ding</i> 丁	taŋ ¹	<i>tyi</i> 提	ŋio ⁶
<i>wuh</i> 戊	u ⁶	<i>tzao</i> 早	tsəu ³
<i>jii</i> 己	ki ³	<i>tzao</i> 棗	tsəu ⁵
<i>geng</i> 庚	ko ¹	<i>tzaw</i> 灶	tsao ⁵
<i>shin</i> 辛	seŋ ¹	<i>tzaoshanq</i> 早上	thie ¹² koŋ ¹
<i>ren</i> 壬	eŋ ²	<i>tzengsuen</i> 曾孫	si ⁶
<i>goei</i> 癸	kuəi ⁵	<i>tzengtzuufuh</i> 曾祖父	kaŋ ¹² tsie ³
地支：		<i>tzengtzuumu</i> 曾祖母	pəu ¹² tsie ³
<i>tzyy</i> 子	tsi ³	<i>tzoeiba</i> 嘴巴	tsi ⁵ , kua ³
<i>choou</i> 丑	tʃhiəu ³	<i>tzooou</i> 走	kiə ²
<i>yn</i> 寅	i ²	<i>tzuey</i> 醉	tsi ⁵
<i>mao</i> 卯	mao ³	<i>tzuo</i> 做	tsəu ⁵
<i>chern</i> 辰	ʃeŋ ²	<i>tzuo</i> 坐	tsa ⁸
<i>syh</i> 巳	tsi ⁸	<i>tzuufuh</i> 祖父	ɔ ¹² tɔ ^{12d}
<i>wuu</i> 午	ŋu ³	<i>tzuumu</i> 祖母	ɔ ¹² ma ⁵
<i>wey</i> 未	vi ⁶	<i>tzwotian</i> 昨天	tsaŋ ¹² mo ²
<i>shen</i> 申	ʃeŋ ¹	<i>tzwotian woanshanq</i> 昨天晚上	tsaŋ ¹² mo ¹²
<i>yeou</i> 酉	iəu ³		mo ^{12d}
<i>shiu</i> 戌	si ⁶	<i>tzyh</i> 字	tsi ⁶
<i>hay</i> 亥	ha ⁸	<i>tzyhjii</i> 自己	tsi ⁶ ko ^{12d}
<i>tiau</i> 挑	tɔ ¹	<i>ua</i> 挖	vɔ ¹ , kuəi ⁸ , kao ³ , vie ⁶ , liao ¹
<i>tiawtzao</i> 跳蚤	ʃəi ⁶ mo ²	<i>uoniou</i> 蝸牛	la ¹² khi ²
<i>tiee</i> 鐵	thie ⁶	<i>ushy</i> 巫師	taŋ ¹² tsi ¹
<i>tih</i> 替	thie ⁵	<i>wahtz</i> 襪子	ma ⁸
<i>ting</i> 聽	thio ¹	<i>wan</i> 玩	khy ¹
<i>toei</i> 腿	khə ¹ taŋ ²	<i>wanqjih</i> 忘記	ləu ¹² pɔ ¹ = taŋ ^{12d}
<i>tonq</i> 痛	tsi ⁸	<i>waymiann</i> 外面	ŋua ⁶ thao ²
<i>torngyeangshyi</i> 童養媳	ta ⁵ ŋy ⁵ , ioŋ ³ ŋy ⁵	<i>waysheng</i> 外甥	ŋua ⁶ saŋ ^{12d}

waysuen 外孫 $\eta\text{ua}^6 \text{sa}\eta^{12\text{d}}$
waytzuufuh 外祖父 $\eta\text{ua}^6 \text{tsu}^{35} \text{t}\text{ɔ}^1$
waytzuumu 外祖母 $\eta\text{ua}^6 \text{tsu}^{35} \text{ma}^3$
wen 聞 phi^6
wentz 蚊子 $\text{ma}\eta^{12} \text{k}\text{ɔ}^{12\text{d}}$
wenn 問 $\text{ma}\eta^5$
wey 喂 $\text{ko}\eta^1$
woa 瓦 $\text{v}\text{ɔ}^3$
woan 碗 va^3
woanshanq 晚上 $\text{mie}^{12} \text{m}\text{ɔ}^2$
woang 網 $\text{mo}\eta^3, \text{ka}^6 \text{mo}\eta^5$
woeiba 尾巴 mai^3
woo 我 $\eta\text{ɔ}^2$
woo.de 我的 $\eta\text{ɔ}^{2=} \text{k}\text{ɔ}^5$
woo.men 我們 $\text{ɔ}^{12} \text{tsie}^{12\text{d}}, \eta\text{ɔ}^{2=} \text{tsie}^{12\text{d}}$
wuu 五 ηu^3
yachyy 牙齒 $\eta\text{ɔ}^2, \text{khi}^3$
yan 研 lai^2
yanba 鹽巴 ie^2
yaw 要 iao^5
yaw 藥 $\text{v}\text{əu}^28$
yawwan 藥丸 $\text{v}\text{əu}^28 \text{vie}^{12\text{d}}$
yeanjing 眼睛 $\text{mao}^28 \text{t}\text{ɕiəu}^1$
yeang 養 hao^6
yeang 癢 $\text{tsia}\eta^28$
yeau 咬 $\text{k}\text{ɔ}^28$
yeau 啣 $\text{t}\text{ɕ}\text{ɔ}^6$

yee 也 $\text{ia}^{3=}$
yehlii 夜裡 $\text{mie}^{12} \text{m}\text{ɔ}^2$
yehtz 葉子 $\text{ie}^28, \text{h}\text{ɔ}^2$
yeou 有 iəu^3
yeu 雨 u^3
yeusaan 雨傘 sa^3
yih 溢 $\text{ma}\eta^1$
yinq 硬 $\eta\text{ɔ}^6$
yngmiannguu 迎面骨 $\text{kho}^{12} \text{ta}\eta^{12} \text{kuəi}^6$
yoan 遠 va^3
yowtz 柚子 $\text{phao}^{35} \text{k}\text{ɔ}^1$
yu 魚 $\eta\text{y}^2, \text{kuəi}^{35} \text{ɕie}^1, \text{ɕ}\text{ɔ}^28 \text{pi}^28 \text{t}\text{ɔ}^6$
yulin 魚鱗 $\text{la}\eta^1$
yulooutz 魚簍子 lai^3
yuan 圓 vie^2
yueh 月 ηua^28
yuehbiing 月餅 $\eta\text{ua}^28 \text{pio}^5$
yuehfuh 岳父 $\text{tia}\eta^{35} \text{ləu}^3$
yuehlianq 月亮 ηua^28
yuehmuu 岳母 $\text{tia}\eta^{35} \text{pəu}^2$
yuhtz 芋子 $\text{u}^6 \text{la}^3$
yun 雲 $\text{va}\eta^2$
yunn 熨 na^6
yunndoou 熨斗 $\text{vi}^6 \text{tao}^3$

Errata Sheet 刊誤表

Page 頁	Line 行	Change 改	To 為
257		‘nose’	move to p. 258, below ‘crack’ 遺到258 頁，‘crack’ 下
249	note 7 注7	not too serious	not unusual in the area