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AN INVESTIGATION OF WRITTEN TAIWANESE

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EAST ASIAN LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES (CHINESE)

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To my father

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful to Robert L. Cheng for introducing me to the world of Taiwanese. My study of Taiwanese started from mere curiosity about the language. Compared to other languages that I had studied, it was much harder to study Taiwanese. Not very many study aids were available, and it was difficult to find people who were willing to speak Taiwanese with a foreigner. Circumstances associated with the use of Taiwanese changed dramatically from the time I started studying it in the eighties and now. Currently the Taiwanese language is experiencing a renaissance. Studying Taiwanese certainly broadened my views on Taiwan and Taiwanese culture, and I am happy to be able to write my thesis on the Taiwanese language. It was my pleasure to have Dr. Cheng as the chair of my committee until his retirement from the University of Hawai'i. Even after his retirement, he agreed to serve as a committee member and continued to provide me with valuable comments and suggestions. I would like to thank Ying-che Li, the current chair of the committee, who is also a native speaker of Taiwanese, for giving me numerous comments and feedback on earlier versions of this thesis. I would also like to express my gratitude to Michael Forman for taking time from his busy schedule to give me many insightful comments and suggestions. He had served on one of my previous committees, and I am extremely grateful to him for agreeing to be a member of my committee again.

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Any errors remaining in this thesis, however, are solely mine.

## ABSTRACT

Taiwanese is the language that has the largest number of native speakers on the island of Taiwan. However, the use of the language had been politically suppressed in the past hundred years, the first fifty years by a Japanese colonial government and the second fifty years by a Nationalist government from China that had been ousted by the Communists. With the recent democratization of Taiwan, Taiwanese has steadily been gaining official recognition in many public domains. In this paper, I will use the term Taiwanese to refer to the varieties of Southern Min languages spoken on Taiwan, since *Tâi-oân-ōe* (lit., Taiwanese) is the most common term used by Taiwanese speakers to refer to their own native language. Written Taiwanese, however, is still in the process of being standardized. The current situation somewhat resembles that of the early stages of the standardization process for written Japanese in the mid-nineteenth century, during the Meiji Restoration. The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the problems pertaining to standardization of written Taiwanese. In Section One, I will provide an overview of the current language situation in Taiwan. In Section Two, I will investigate the history of written Taiwanese and its current status. I will provide a detailed discussion of Church romanization and other romanization methods, and the method of writing exclusively with sinographs. In Section Three, I will discuss the merits and drawbacks of different systems for writing Taiwanese. I will also argue for the importance of teaching some type of romanization in elementary education in order to successfully implement any kind of standardized written Taiwanese. Even though written Taiwanese has a history of at least a century, production of texts written in it has been limited to certain groups of people such as people in the church community,

Taiwanese opera (*koa-á-hì*) singers, and those who write and sing Taiwanese pop songs. Therefore, the general public is not aware of the availability of the full range of writing-system options mentioned above. People are only familiar with the near-exclusive use of sinographs broken up by the occasional use of National Phonetic Symbols, popularly known as *bo-po-mo*, which are used to teach Mandarin in elementary schools throughout Taiwan. Under normal circumstances, people do not read materials published in Taiwanese. One of the major exceptions is the lyrics of Taiwanese-language pop songs, found in the inserts of music tapes, compact discs, and karaoke displays. In Section Four, I will report on a study of the use of sinographs in Taiwanese song lyrics, and will provide the results of the study. I will give examples of the most popular strategies for writing Taiwanese using sinographs. Finally, I will provide some suggestions for the standardization of written Taiwanese.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.0 Introduction

The language which I will be examining in this thesis is Taiwanese,<sup>1</sup> a variety of the Southern Min language, which is a member of the Sinitic language family, spoken widely in Taiwan. It is chiefly spoken by the Han people who migrated to Taiwan from Fujian Province, China in the late Ming dynasty. Taiwanese is one of the main languages spoken on the island, in fact it is the largest language in terms of the number of native speakers. However, it did not enjoy official status during the Japanese occupation (1895-1945) and during the Chinese occupation of the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang, KMT) regime (1945-2000).

Unlike Cantonese, another Sinitic language which belongs to the Yue language branch, Taiwanese did not develop a well-recognized writing system of its own. This does not mean that Taiwanese was never written, but writing in Taiwanese never became popular among the general public. However, sometimes necessity to write in Taiwanese arises, and there are a number of existing Taiwanese texts. Some song books of *koa-á-hì* 'Taiwanese opera' were written in sinographs. But modern native speakers, even those who are Taiwanese opera singers, have a difficult time figuring out how to read some of the sinographs used in such song books (Taiwan Public Television 2004). The reason is that sinographs do not always reveal the pronunciation easily and the use of sinographs was not standardized.

Christian missionaries developed romanization for the Taiwanese language in the mid-nineteenth century (Chen 1999:115; Oh 2000:66). It was used extensively in

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<sup>1</sup> The term 'Taiwanese' used in this thesis refers to a variety of the Southern Min languages spoken in Taiwan. For a discussion of problems surrounding this term, please refer to Section 1.4.

the church community in Taiwan, and many books, such as mathematics and nursing textbooks, and novels, were published (Chiung 2000:8; Chiung 2004:125-130). This romanization is commonly known as Church Romanization or *peh-ōe-jī* (lit., white-talk-letters = plain-speech-letters) ‘colloquial letters’ in Taiwanese. Church Romanization was officially banned during the KMT regime in 1957 (Chiung 2004:120).<sup>2</sup>

Because of fifty years of strict promotion of Mandarin, anyone who received education in Taiwan after 1945 is fluent in Mandarin regardless of their native language. Mandarin was the only language used in education until the end of the KMT administration in 2000, and people have been, for the most part, using only Mandarin to read and write. Therefore, most people never used written Taiwanese except for some local phrases in less formal writings. Song lyrics are one of the exceptions. Taiwanese pop songs have been popular among Taiwanese speakers, and people find lyrics written in sinographs in the inserts of cassette tapes and compact disks. This type of written Taiwanese is used in the lyrics that appear in karaoke machines as well.

With recent changes in the political climate in Taiwan, the Taiwanese language as well as thirteen other languages have gained national language status. Taiwanese, however, still does not have standardized orthography. In recent years, several romanization methods and writing orthographies have been suggested. The purpose of this paper is to examine the advantages and disadvantages of the existing methods of writing Taiwanese and to investigate what methods are actually utilized by the general public. Previous studies, such as Li (2000) and Chiung (2001a), did not focus on the writing methods which are most likely to be encountered by the general public. Therefore, I will investigate how the lyrics of Taiwanese songs which are found on the inserts of cassette tapes and compact disks are written. The present study finds that

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<sup>2</sup> However, Church Romanization continued to be used by some people as stated in Oh (2000:64-65).

ordinary people are only familiar with materials written in sinographs and the occasional use of the National Phonetic Alphabet (NPA). This study shows that there are often instances where sinographs are used in ways that the intended readings are not clear. Even though Church Romanization has a long history, it is not generally recognized by the general public. I will argue that the introduction of a systematic phonetic alphabet in elementary education is the key to the successful implementation of any type of Taiwanese orthography. Church Romanization seems to be the best choice for romanization of Taiwanese since it has the longest history and the largest number of dictionaries and other reference materials. Previous studies have focused on the ease of acquiring romanization comparing to the use of sinographs. However, these studies have overlooked the importance of providing formal instruction in the use of romanization in order for people to gain any proficiency.

Chapter 1 will provide some background information about the current language situation in Taiwan. I will present brief background information pertaining to written Taiwanese in Chapter 2. In Chapter 3, I will present the merits and drawbacks of systems used for writing Taiwanese. In Chapter 4, I will present my original study on written Taiwanese song lyrics found on the inserts of cassette tapes and compact disks. In Chapter 5 I will argue that teaching romanization in elementary education is the key to the successful implementation of any type of Taiwanese orthography.

### 1.1 Languages spoken in Taiwan

Taiwan is a multi-lingual community where three major Sinitic languages, namely, Hakka, Mandarin, and Taiwanese, and ten Austronesian languages are spoken.<sup>3</sup> The number of speakers varies greatly depending on language. Mandarin has been the

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<sup>3</sup> They are Amis, Atayal, Bunun, Paiwan, Puyuma, Rukai, Saisiyat Tao, Taroko, and Tsou. See the following section for a detailed discussion of these languages.

official language since 1945. Besides the languages mentioned above, various Mandarin dialects and other Sinitic languages are spoken by older Chinese immigrants who arrived at the beginning part of the KMT administration of Taiwan, which started in 1945. Japanese is widely understood and occasionally used by people who received their education in Taiwan before 1945.

### 1.1.1 Austronesian (Formosan) languages

The indigenous people of Taiwan<sup>4</sup> have their own languages which belong to the Austronesian language family. Some indigenous languages of Taiwan became extinct due to extensive contact with the Han immigrants who started migrating to the island around 1650 or earlier. The languages known to be extinct are Basay (Kawanuwan), Hoanya, Ketangalan, Kulun, Papora, Siraiya, and Taokas. The following seven languages are classified as nearly extinct in Ethnologue 14<sup>th</sup> edition (Grimes, ed. 2000): Amis-Nataoran, Babuza, Kanakanabu, Kavalan, Pazeh, Saaroa, Thao. Ten other languages still spoken are Amis, Atayal, Bunun, Paiwan, Puyuma, Rukai, Saisiyat, Tao, Taroko, and Tsou. All except Tao, formerly known as Yami, belong to the Formosan branch of Austronesian (Grimes, ed. 2000).<sup>5</sup> The number of speakers of these languages is small and only about two percent of the population now speak these languages. Most speakers can speak other languages as well. People who went through the education system after 1945 can speak Mandarin. People who have frequent contact with Taiwanese speakers also speak Taiwanese. Japanese became the lingua franca

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<sup>4</sup> In Taiwan, indigenous people refer to themselves as *yuanzhumin* in Mandarin, *goân-chu-bîn* in Taiwanese, lit., 'original inhabitants'. The term 'aboriginal' is also commonly used when they translate this term into English.

<sup>5</sup> Hereafter, I will refer to these languages spoken by the indigenous people as Formosan languages even though Tao is technically not a part of the Formosan language branch. It belongs to the Bashiic branch of the Northern Philippine group. Tao is closely related to Ibatan, spoken on Babuyan Island, and Ivatan on Batanes Islands.

among indigenous people who speak different languages during the Japanese occupation, and it has been reported that some indigenous people still use Japanese in daily conversations. Chinyang Village located in Nanao Hsiang of Yilan County was mentioned as one of the places where Japanese is still spoken on a daily basis by the indigenous people on a program produced by Fuji Television, a Japanese television station, on October 20, 1994 (Yuhara 1996:97-102).

### 1.1.2 Sinitic languages

Most of the Han immigrants to Taiwan until the nineteenth century were speakers of a Southern Min language, especially of the Quanzhou<sup>6</sup> and Zhangzhou dialects (Chôan-chiu and Chiang-chiu in Taiwanese), and the Hakka language. Southern Min languages introduced in Taiwan later developed into what we now call Taiwanese, a variety of the Southern Min language which is distinct from other varieties spoken in China. Taiwanese is more commonly spoken on a daily basis outside of Taipei City, where the population of non-Taiwanese speakers is large.<sup>7</sup> Hakka is spoken widely in areas settled by the Hakka people, especially in Miaoli County. In other parts of Hakka areas, such as Taoyuan, Hsinchu, and Meinong, many younger people possess only a passive knowledge of the language or have completely shifted to Mandarin (and some cases Mandarin and Taiwanese) (cf. Wen 1990 for a study of Hakka usage in Taoyuan).

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<sup>6</sup> For place names in China, I will use the *pinyin* system, the system officially adopted by the government of the People's Republic of China. When another system is used, I will put the *pinyin* equivalent in parentheses. For place names in Taiwan, I will provide the names in Mandarin since they are widely used and people outside of Taiwan are more familiar with Mandarin names. I will use the Wade-Giles system since Taiwanese place names are normally written in this system except for Taipei City, where the *pinyin* system with some modifications has officially adopted.

<sup>7</sup> This is because many immigrants from China who arrived after 1945 settled mainly in major cities in the northern Taiwan. Many of them married local women. Most such households use Mandarin as their home language since the father is not able to understand or speak Taiwanese. Children of such families generally do not speak Taiwanese fluently unless they have had extensive contacts with Taiwanese-dominant speakers.

Other Sinitic languages (e.g., various Mandarin dialects, Wu languages, and so forth) are also spoken by the Han immigrants who arrived from various parts of China after 1945. Native speakers of these languages are now older than sixty-years old.

### 1.1.3 Japanese

Japan occupied Taiwan from 1895 to 1945. The Japanese colonial government promoted the use of Japanese. Education was conducted in Japanese as well. Therefore, those who went to school during the Japanese era are also able to speak Japanese. The use of Japanese was extremely discouraged during the KMT era. However, after the death of President Chiang Chingkuo in 1987, the restrictions on the use of Japanese in public places was lifted. For instance, Japanese language programs are currently broadcast all-day long on television. A number of Japanese loanwords are found in Hakka, Taiwanese, and Austronesian languages spoken in Taiwan.

### 1.1.4 Local languages used on television

Since 1987, the domain of use of various local languages has been expanding. For instance according to Jang (1993) local language television programs (mainly Taiwanese) occupied only 8 percent of the total number of program hours. Now Taiwanese television programs can be watched any time of the day. A television station which mainly airs Hakka language programs started broadcasting in 2003 (Hakka TV). A television station, ITV, which specializes in programs related to the indigenous peoples, officially started broadcasting on July 1, 2005 (Hwang 2005). Currently, many programs are in Mandarin, but there are some programs broadcasted in Formosan languages (Taiwan no Koe News 2005).<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> The URL for the homepage of ITV (Indigenous Peoples' TV Station) is as follows: <http://www.ch16.com.tw/>.

## 1.2 Language attitudes towards Taiwanese

As a result of the Nationalist education policy, any language other than Mandarin was looked down on and people started to believe that local languages were the languages spoken by uneducated people and something which was not 'fashionable' (e.g., Baran 2004). This value judgment about local languages continues to exist in the minds of many people in Taiwan. Even proficient native speakers of Taiwanese may think speaking Taiwanese is not as good as speaking Mandarin. Many monolingual speakers of Mandarin often look down upon local languages. A few anecdotes to illustrate this point are presented below:

Tom (pseudonym, a twenty-five year old male from Yunlin county, who speaks Taiwanese as his first language) has been speaking primarily Taiwanese since at the time he had been living in the Southern part of Taiwan where Taiwanese is spoken on a daily basis. When I met him in Pintung in 2003, he spoke to me and others in Taiwanese with occasional use of Mandarin. When I saw him again in Taipei in 2004, where he had started to work a couple of months before, he spoke to me in Mandarin even though I used Taiwanese. I observed that he used only Mandarin with other people as well. When I asked him why he did not speak Taiwanese to me, he answered that he felt embarrassed speaking Taiwanese in front of people in Taipei. Therefore, he had switched to Mandarin and he no longer feels comfortable speaking Taiwanese to anyone while he is in Taipei.

Jim (pseudonym, a twenty-five year old male from Taipei county, who speaks Taiwanese as his first language) reported to me that when he was a college student in Taipei, he mainly used Mandarin to communicate with his classmates. He told me that he felt uncomfortable speaking Taiwanese on campus since speaking Taiwanese sounds uneducated and unsophisticated.

In December 2003, Sam (pseudonym, a thirty-year old male from the Taipei county, who speaks Taiwanese as his first language) and I went in to a Thai restaurant in Taipei. We were speaking in Taiwanese, and a waitress came to take our order. Since we were speaking in Taiwanese, Sam started out in Taiwanese but quickly switched to Mandarin. He then told me that it sounded weird to place an order in that kind of restaurant in Taiwanese, because people, especially young people, do not normally speak Taiwanese unless they are ordering food with street vendors or shops at night markets.

These examples show that speaking Taiwanese is regarded as inappropriate in some domains and is often associated with being uneducated and unsophisticated.

### 1.3 Historical background

The linguistic situation in Taiwan is complex because of Taiwan's rather unique historical background. Formosan languages were the sole languages spoken before the arrival of Han immigrants from China. After the arrival of the Han immigrants some indigenous people became Sinicized through extensive contacts with the immigrants from China and started speaking Taiwanese. Consequently some Formosan languages became extinct. Yet Formosan languages and Sinitic languages, namely Taiwanese and Hakka, were still spoken in their respective communities. In 1895 Taiwan became the first colony of Japan. Toward the end of the colonial era in 1943, about 72.9% of the population (82.97% of males above 25 years old) spoke Japanese (Shinohara 1999: 22). Two years later, the KMT government imposed a strict Mandarin-only policy (Chiung 2004:118-120). The island's official language suddenly changed to Mandarin, a language rarely heard on Taiwan previously. Shinohara (1993:3-4) reported the following story told by one of his Taiwanese acquaintances, T. He was educated during



the Japanese era, and after 1945 he was going to a teacher's college. There was an interview test conducted in Japanese by Chinese testers from China who knew Japanese. T was asked 'Can you read some sentences in *kokugo* [lit., national language]?' He thought *kokugo* meant Japanese and immediately answered 'yes'. Then he was given a text written in Mandarin. He could not tell the testers that he mistakenly thought *kokugo* meant Japanese, and he read the text in Taiwanese instead. As soon as he started reading the text in Taiwanese, the testers started laughing and told him 'no, that's not *kokugo*, that's Taiwanese.' There are many other similar anecdotes which confirm that Mandarin was rarely heard in Taiwan before the arrival of the KMT.

I would like to conclude this section with a Taiwanese poem written by Prof. Robert L. Cheng, a native of Tainan. This poem tells us how languages used in Taiwan changed in the past century (Cheng 1997).

Chit-tāi kè chit-tāi

Tī<sup>n</sup> Liông-úi

Chit-tāi kè chit-tāi. A-bú iô nâ, bāng i<sup>n</sup>-á chit-mî tōa chit-chhùn

A-pa phah-pià<sup>n</sup> choè-sit, hō<sup>o</sup> gín-á jīn-chin thak-chheh

Chit-tāi kè chit-tāi, lí khan-kà, góa khòa<sup>n</sup>-iū<sup>n</sup>

Lí láu-sit, pià<sup>n</sup>-sè, góa su lāng m̄ su-tīn

Chit-tāi kè chit-tāi. Pē-bú kap kiá<sup>n</sup>-jī, sio chiàu-kò<sup>o</sup>, sio hu-chhah

Téng-ē-tāi, lí iú<sup>n</sup>-chhī góa, góa hàu-kèng lí

Chit-tāi iáu-bē kè--khi, sin-ê chit-tāi chiū leh kóng bô-kāng-ōe

Ū Tng-soa<sup>n</sup> kong, bô Tng-soa<sup>n</sup>-má ê sī-tāi, a-bú kóng Siraiya ōe

Góa kóng Chhōan-chiu-ōe

A-pa kóng: Lán ê pún-hiong tī Tng-soa<sup>n</sup> hit-pēng

Chit-tāi iáu-bē kè--khi, sin-ê chit-tāi chiū leh òh thak bô-kāng-chheh

Tāi-chheng-tè-kok ê sī-tāi, lán kóng lāng--ê ōe

Su-òh-á-sian kà góan thak kó<sup>o</sup>-chá, kó<sup>o</sup>-chá íe hàn-òh-á chheh

Sian-si<sup>n</sup> kóng, it-jī tát chhian-kim, m̄-bat-jī sī chhi<sup>n</sup>-mî-gū

Thak kó<sup>o</sup>-tián, tiòng chiōng-goân, jip kia<sup>n</sup>-sia<sup>n</sup> chòe tōa-koa<sup>n</sup>

Chit-tāi iáu-bē kè--khì, sin-ê chit-tāi chiū leh kóng bô-kâng-ōe  
 Jit-pún sî-tāi, chhù--lì kóng Tâi-oân-ōe, hâk-hāu thak “aiueo”  
 Sên-séi kóng: Thian-hông-pè-hā tī Tang-kia<sup>n</sup>  
 Chit-tāi iáu-bē kè--khì, sin-ê chit-tāi chiū leh òh bô-kâng-ōe  
 Tiong-kok sî-tāi, chhù-pi<sup>n</sup> keh-piah kóng Tâi-oân-ōe, góa òh bat “po-pho-mo”  
 Lāu-su kóng: “Wǒmén yào fǎnggōng dàlù, Zhōngguó cái yǒu qiántú”  
 Chit-tāi koh kè chit-tāi, a-pa éng-óan sī a-pa, a-bú put-sī to sī a-bú  
 Chin khó-sioh, góa tùi in bô kàu liáu-kái:  
 In ê kàu-iók, in ê bák-sái, in ê khin-tāng, in ê sêng-chiū  
 Ng-bāng hâk-hāu kà goán: Pē-bú ê òe-gú, pē-bú ê su-khó, pē-bú ê kè-khì  
 Chit-tāi koh kè chit-tāi, tī Tâi-oân, lán khiā-khí, lán seng-oah,  
     lán siu kàu-iók, lán kang-chok  
 Ūi Tâi-oân, lán láp-sè, lán siú-hoat, lán tâu-phiò, lán chòe-peng  
 Lán beh jîn-sek lán ê lek-sú, lán ê siā-hōe, lán ê jîn-sèng, lán ê chūn-giâm,  
     lán ê sim-lêng  
 Chit-tāi thôn kè chit-tāi, tiâu-tāi piàn, kok-chék piàn, hâk-hāu mā piàn  
 A-pa put sī to hi-seng, ma-ma éng-óan sī thià<sup>n</sup>-thàng  
 Goa-lâi ê chêng-koân beh kiông-chè, beh chhú-tāi, beh tók-chūn  
 Tâi-oân bûn-hòa ū khip-siu, u pau-iông, ū pí-kàu khah hoat-tían  
 Lán lú thoân lú ū mih-kia<sup>n</sup>, lú òh lú ū tì-huì, lú liân lú ū pún-sū  
 Góa beh thoân hō<sup>o</sup> āu-tāi: siōng chán--ê, siōng ū lō<sup>o</sup>-ēng--ê  
 Siōng hah jîn-sèng--ê koh siōng ū chūn-giâm--ê

Generation after generation

Robert L. Cheng

Mother rocks the cradle basket, wishing the baby would grow every day.  
 Father works hard in the field, so that the kids can study hard.  
 Generation after another generation, you teach me, and I imitate.  
 You are sincere, hard-working, I cannot lose.  
 From generation to generation, parents and their children,  
     they look after each other and help each other.  
 In the next generation, you raise me, and I respect you.  
 The old generation is not yet gone, the new generation speaks a different language.  
 At the time when there were Han men but no Han women,

my mother spoke the Siraiya language,  
 And I spoke the Choan-chiu language.  
 My father said: Our family is originally from over there in China.  
 The old generation is not yet gone,  
     the new generation is studying a different text book.  
 During the Great Empire of Qing, we spoke our own language.  
 Teachers taught us how to read very old Chinese books.  
 The teacher said: each character has a worth in gold,  
     being illiterate is like being a blind cow,  
     study the classics, and pass the national exams,  
     and go to the capital and be an official.  
 The old generation is not yet gone, the new generation speaks a different language.  
 During the Japanese period, we spoke Taiwanese at home,  
     and studied *aiueo* at school.  
 The *sensei* said: The emperor lives in Tokyo.  
 The old generation is not yet gone,  
     the new generation is studying a different language.  
 During the Chinese period, we spoke Taiwanese at home and so did the neighbors,  
     and I studied *bo-po-mo*.<sup>9</sup>  
 The teacher said: We need to strike back at Mainland China,  
     China would then have a future.  
 Generation after generation. Father is always father, mother is always mother.  
 It is so pitiful, I don't really understand them:  
 their education, their sorrows, their values, their achievements.  
 I wish the school would teach us the language of our parents, thoughts of  
     our parents, and the history of our parents.  
 Generation after generation. In Taiwan, we live, make our living,  
     receive education, and work.  
 For Taiwan, we pay taxes, abide by the law, vote, and serve in the military.  
 We want to know OUR history, OUR society, OUR humanity,  
     OUR dignity, and OUR soul.  
 Generation after generation. Government changed, nationality changed,

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<sup>9</sup> I will use *pinyin* for this Mandarin word, except when it occurs in the Taiwanese text above.

schools also changed.

Father always sacrifices himself, mother is always loving.

Foreign governments forced us, changed things, and monopolized us.

Taiwanese culture absorbed, tolerated, compared and developed.

The more we pass to the next generation, the more things we have,

the more we study, the smarter we become, the more we try, the more we thrive.

I would like to pass down to the next generation, the things which are the best,

the most useful, the most humane, and full of dignity.

Cheng's Taiwanese poem describes how spoken language has changed with the passing of generations. During the Qing dynasty, Chinese women were not allowed to migrate to Taiwan, and therefore, most Chinese men ended up marrying the indigenous women of Taiwan. The Siraiya language mentioned in the poem is an extinct Formosan language which was spoken in the Tainan area. Some of the children from these mixed marriages attended private schools which taught classical Chinese. However, from 1895, Taiwan became a Japanese colony, and the Japanese language became the official language there and also the medium of instruction at school. Later, from 1945, Taiwan was ruled by the KMT. The Japanese language became the language of the enemy nation, and a strict Mandarin only policy was imposed at school and in public places. Therefore, in the past 100 years, the language used by people in Taiwan changed with the ruling government. Now, with the end of KMT rule, the Taiwanese language is finally gaining official recognition.

#### 1.4 Problems surrounding the term Taiwanese

The term Taiwanese used in this paper refers to a variety of the Southern Min language spoken in Taiwan. In Taiwan, it is popularly known as *Tâi-oân-ōē*, literally 'the Taiwan language'; however, this term has been criticized by some people in Taiwan, especially by the speakers of the Hakka language, and, to a lesser extent, by

some speakers of Formosan languages. The term Taiwanese may suggest that it is the only language of Taiwan. Some people are opposed to the term ‘Taiwanese’, since ‘Taiwanese’ is not the only language spoken there. Hakka and Formosan languages are also languages spoken in Taiwan, thus some speakers of those languages feel that their languages are ‘Taiwanese’ as well.<sup>10</sup> However, since the term *Tâi-oân-ōe* ‘Taiwanese’ is the most commonly used term in Taiwan to refer to the variety of Southern Min language, especially by the native speakers of this language, I adopt the term Taiwanese in this paper. Hereafter the term Taiwanese refers to the variety of the Southern Min language spoken in Taiwan. There are other commonly known terms which refer to the Taiwanese language. The following is a summary of those terms used in Taiwan. I will provide the equivalent Mandarin terms and their English meanings as well.

| Taiwanese          | Mandarin         | sinographs        | English                                  |
|--------------------|------------------|-------------------|--|
| <i>Tâi-oân-ōe</i>  | <i>Táiwānhuà</i> | 台灣話               | the language of Taiwan                   |
| <i>Tâi-gú</i>      | <i>Táiyǔ</i>     | 台語                | the language of Taiwan                   |
| <i>Bân-lâm-ōe</i>  | <i>Mínnánhuà</i> | 閩南話               | Southern Min <sup>11</sup> language      |
| <i>Bân-lâm-gú</i>  | <i>Mínnányǔ</i>  | 閩南語               | Southern Min language                    |
| <i>Ho-ló-ōe</i>    | <i>Fúlǎohuà</i>  | 河洛話 <sup>12</sup> | the Holo <sup>13</sup> people’s language |
| <i>Hok-kiàn-ōe</i> | <i>Fújiànhuà</i> | 福建話               | the language of Fujian                   |

FIGURE 1. Various terms referring to the Taiwanese language.

In Taiwan, *Tâi-oân-ōe* or *Tâi-gú* (or *Tâi-gí* depending on a dialect) in Taiwanese, and *Táiwānhuà* or *Táiyǔ* in Mandarin are the most commonly used terms by the native speakers of Taiwanese. All of which mean the Taiwanese language. *Mínnánhuà* or

<sup>10</sup> Oh (1978:20) gives the following anecdote. ‘When I started to run a column called “Taiwanese lessons” in *Taiwan Chenglian* magazine, I was criticized by a Hakka reader saying: “What you call Taiwanese is actually Hokkien Taiwanese. You should clearly state that.”’ On October 16, 2004, Lo Chao-jin, chairman of the Council of Hakka Affairs, made the following statement during the Ethnic and Cultural Development Conference (Hong 2004). ‘All Taiwan’s languages should be called “Taiwanese” ... It is exclusionist to refer to just one of those tongues as “Taiwanese”’.

<sup>11</sup> Min is the traditional term which refers to the Fujian Province in China.

<sup>12</sup> There are some variations in sinographic representation. 福佬話, 鶴佬話 are also used.

<sup>13</sup> Holo, which is heard more commonly in Hakka area, refers to the people who migrated to Taiwan from the Fujian Province in China. As for the etymology of the word Holo, see Chiung 2004:115.

*Mǐnnányǔ* in Mandarin is also often used, especially by non-native speakers of Taiwanese whose first language is Mandarin. *Min* is the traditional term which refers to the area currently occupied by the province of Fujian. Some people dislike this term because the sinograph for Min, 閩, has a negative connotation since it refers to an area which is inhabited by barbarians. The following passage is found in *Shuowenjiezi*.

閩東南越它種从虫門聲。

The character 閩 refers to a country of south-eastern barbarians. It is derived from the radical insects (虫). Its phonetic key is 門.

However, it seems that many people are not aware of this negative connotation. When I interviewed twenty-five people from Taiwan in their twenties to forties in 2004, none of them mentioned that the character had a negative connotation. It is likely that the term *Min* was deliberately used by the KMT government to give an impression to the people that Taiwanese is just a dialect of the ‘Chinese language’ (Robert L. Cheng, personal communication). Han Chinese people who arrived in Taiwan after 1949, the so-called *wàishěngrén* ‘lit., people from provinces outside [of Taiwan]’, and their descendants seem to use this term more frequently.

*Fújiàn huà* or *Hok-kiàn-ōe* ‘Fujian’ refers to the language of Fujian Province. This term is commonly used in Singapore, where a variety of Southern Min, which is similar to Taiwanese used in Taiwan, is spoken. There are varieties of mutually unintelligible Min languages spoken in Fujian Province (e.g., Amoy, and Fuzhou), so this term may be misleading. It is probably called this since a variety which is similar to the ones spoken in Taiwan and Singapore is spoken in Amoy (Xiamen), one of the most prominent cities in Fujian Province, and because it is probably the most prominent language spoken in the province.

Currently, the term *Ho-ló-ōe* is also heard more frequently. This term has been in use more commonly in communities where there is a greater number of Hakka speakers. This term is frequently heard in the north-western coast of Taiwan, where there is a large population of Hakka speakers. The Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) often uses *Ho-ló-ōe* when referring to Taiwanese because they know that some Hakka people dislike the term 'Taiwanese' to be used for the varieties of the Southern Min language spoken in Taiwan. Until recently, it seems that the term *Ho-ló-ōe* has not been used so much outside of the Hakka areas.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> During my two months stay in Taipei in 1987, I never heard the term *Ho-lo-oe* used. Prof. Robert L. Cheng, a native of Tainan in his 70s, told me that he never heard the term *Ho-lo-oe* when he was growing up in Tainan. Five Taiwanese students from Taipei studying at University of Hawai'i informed me that they started hearing this term after DPP started to become prominent in various government offices. In December 2003, when I interviewed seven people in their 70s and 80s in Toufen, where the majority of the population is Hakka, they consistently used the term *Holo* to refer to the Taiwanese language and its speakers.

## CHAPTER 2

### WRITTEN TAIWANESE

#### 2.0 Introduction

There are seven major branches in the Sinitic language sub-group; Mandarin, Wu, Hakka, Yue, Min, Xiang, and Gan (e.g., Norman 1988:181).<sup>15</sup> These are often collectively referred to as ‘Chinese’. Some branches may be further divided into smaller groups, for example, the Min branch consists of Northern-Min, Southern-Min, Central-Min, and Eastern-Min branches. Some well-known languages included among the Sinitic languages are Mandarin, Shanghai (a Wu language), Hakka, Cantonese (a Yue language), and Taiwanese (a Southern-Min language). These Sinitic languages are mutually unintelligible. For instance, the differences between Mandarin and Cantonese are so great that they are like English and German. Such languages are often referred to as ‘dialects’ for political reasons.

At present, the official writing norm of Sinitic languages in China, Singapore and Taiwan is Modern Written Chinese (MWC). MWC is based on Mandarin, therefore, the gap between the written language and spoken language is minimal for speakers of Mandarin, but the gap is much larger for those who speak other Sinitic languages. Therefore, native speakers of Sinitic languages other than Mandarin must write in a language which is significantly different from their spoken language in terms of lexicon and grammar.

- (1) 他 給 我 一 本 書。  
 tā gěi wǒ yī běn shū  
 he give I one classifier book  
 ‘He gave me a book.’

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<sup>15</sup> Some claim that there are ten major groups including Jin, Hui, Ping (e.g., Chang 1996:1-20).



The sentence above is in MWC. In Hong Kong, where the majority of people are native Cantonese speakers,<sup>16</sup> even monolingual Cantonese speakers write ‘He gave me a book’ as (1). There is a tradition of reciting MWC using Cantonese pronunciation in Hong Kong. Thus, sentence (1) would be pronounced in Cantonese as follows:

- (2) 他 給 我 一 本 書。  
 tha khap ngo yat pun syu  
 he give I one classifier book  
 ‘He gave me a book.’

However, this is not what people actually say when they converse in Cantonese. In the spoken language, they would say:

- (3) 佢 俾 一 本 書 我。  
 khoey pei yat pun syu ngo  
 he give one classifier book I  
 ‘He gave me a book.’

Notice the difference in word order, and that the words *khoey* ‘he’, *pei* ‘give’ are not cognates of Mandarin counterparts.

Unlike in Hong Kong, anyone who goes to school in Taiwan is instructed in Mandarin, so currently people in Taiwan almost never read MWC using Taiwanese pronunciation. However, the gap between MWC and spoken Taiwanese is still large.

In Taiwanese (1) would be:

- (4) 伊 乎 我 一 本 冊。  
 i hō' góa chit pún chheh  
 he give I one classifier book  
 ‘He gave me a book.’

The words *i* ‘he’, *hō'* ‘give’, *chheh* ‘book’ are not cognates of their Mandarin or Cantonese counterparts.

<sup>16</sup> The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (SAR) of China, as of July 1, 1997, has more people who can speak Mandarin now. However, Cantonese is still the primary language used in daily life. There are still many who do not speak Mandarin.

This situation is similar to that of Europe in the past. People in England spoke English, but when they wrote they used French (or Latin in church contexts) since it was the official written language. In Japan, many official documents were written in a pseudo-Chinese called Kanbun (lit., Han, as in the Han Dynasty, sentences) until around the end of the Edo period in 1968.

Even though the official written language of Hong Kong has been MWC, there is a long tradition of writing in Cantonese in Hong Kong, and therefore, there is a quite well-accepted way of writing in Cantonese. One can easily find examples of written Cantonese in publications such as popular magazines, novels, and comics. They employ many 'local characters'. They are sinographs which are not commonly used in MWC or are especially created sinographs which accommodate unique Cantonese morphemes. Such 'local characters' are not used in Mandarin; therefore, monolingual Mandarin speakers often cannot understand written Cantonese even though it is written using sinographs.

With the democratization of Taiwan, some people expressed desire to write in local languages other than Mandarin. Since there is no wide-spread and well-established tradition of writing in local languages in Taiwan, there are many obstacles to writing in such languages.

## 2.1 Sinographs

As discussed in the previous section, written Taiwanese has never been widely popularized in Taiwan. People who are not involved in the promotion of Taiwanese language education are generally not even aware of the existence of written Taiwanese except for a few phrases which appear in popular writings or in the lyrics found in song books and inserts of cassette tapes and compact disks.

However, there is a history of trying to write in Taiwanese. In the past, most Taiwanese writings utilized sinographs. Chinese traditionally had been written in the so-called literary style using Classical Chinese, which differs greatly from the spoken variety of any modern Sinitic languages. The following examples show differences between literary Chinese (5) and Mandarin (6):

- (5) 有 鴉 集 庭 樹。  
yǒu yā jí tíng shù<sup>17</sup>  
exist crow gather court-yard tree

‘There were [some] crows [who] flocked together [in a] court-yard [upon a] tree.’ (Brandt 1927:1)

- (6) 有 些 烏鴉 聚 在 院 內 樹 上。  
yǒu xiē wūyā jù zài yuàn nèi shù shàng  
exist some crow gather in court-yard in tree above

‘There were some crows [who] flocked together in a court-yard upon a tree.’ (Brandt 1927:1)

Literary Chinese has always been written using sinographs. Since people generally regard Taiwanese as a Chinese dialect and a descendant of Classical Chinese, it does not seem unreasonable for Taiwanese to be written using sinographs. During the time when Taiwan was occupied by Japan, people in Taiwan were educated in Japanese, which also utilizes sinographs. After 1945, people were educated in Mandarin, so sinographs have always been a part of formal education. Therefore, it is easy to understand why people have been using sinographs to write. Another important contributing factor for the continued preference for sinographs has been the fact that in Taiwan no type of romanization has been introduced in schools. Therefore, unlike the People’s Republic of China, where the *pinyin* system of romanization is taught in elementary school, people in Taiwan are not able to write in any type of systematic

<sup>17</sup> Mandarin pronunciation of each sinograph is provided as a reference. How they actually pronounce literary Chinese sentences depends on the background of readers. For example, people in Taiwan use Mandarin pronunciation, Cantonese pronunciation is used in Hong Kong, and so forth.

romanization. In addition to this, there is strong resistance against romanization from the ordinary people of Taiwan.<sup>18</sup> As for a phonetic aid, people in Taiwan are taught the National Phonetic Alphabet (NPA) commonly known as *bo-po-mo* (ㄅ ㄆ ㄇ), which looks like radically simplified sinographs. Traditionally, knowledge of sinographs has been equated with levels of one's education. This phenomenon is observed in Taiwan, as well as in China and in Japan, and to some extent in Korea. Therefore, if you are fluent in writing sinographs, you gain more respect, and written materials containing sinographs are regarded as more scholarly. Therefore, ordinary people would use sinographs, and NPA if necessary, to write Taiwanese.

## 2.2 Church Romanization

Church Romanization was developed by Christian missionaries in the mid-nineteenth century to spread Christianity in the area where Southern Min was spoken (Tiu<sup>n</sup> 1995; Oh 2000:66). Therefore, it now has a history of more than 150 years. As discussed in the previous chapter, it once was popular in the church community and most, if not all, of foreign missionaries were fluent in using this system. Many written materials exist, but people in general are not even aware of such materials. Even though this system is extremely simple compared to sinographs; however, people still need to be instructed in order to gain ability in reading materials written in this system. Since no romanization of any kind was taught in schools in Taiwan until the start of native language education, 母語教育, in recent years, ordinary Taiwanese speakers cannot read materials written in romanization. Many Taiwanese language activists

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<sup>18</sup> Ikutoku Oh (a.k.a. Ông Iòk-tek), a Taiwanese linguist who was proficient in Church Romanization and later introduced two modified versions of this system, wrote that even though he knew of the existence of Church Romanization he never wanted to learn it because of its affinity with Christianity. He was not fond of this religion. He mastered Church Romanization through self study after he moved to Japan in 1949 (Oh 2000:59-62).

know this system and produce writings in Church Romanization or the system called *hân-lô* (lit., sinographs and romanization), a mixture of Church Romanization and sinographs. Currently there are some newsletters which contain writing in Church Romanization, such as *Tâi-bûn bong-pò*, *Tâi-bûn thong-sìn*, and *Whale of Taiwanese Literature*. Some Internet discussion groups such as ‘Tâi-gú bāng’ utilize Church Romanization for the most part (see <http://tai-gu-bang.lomaji.com/phoe/sek-in.html/>).

### 2.3 Other systems

There are some drawbacks to Church Romanization, and attempts have been made to modify this system. Oh (2000) made two modified versions of Church Romanization. Though Church Romanization has the longest history, even longer than the *pinyin* system used in China, it has never been used by the general public. There are a number of books, teaching materials, and dictionaries written in Church Romanization. However, a number of other systems have also been developed. According to Iû<sup>n</sup> and Tiu<sup>n</sup> (1999) as many as sixty-four systems have been created. In addition to Church Romanization, major competing systems include the Taiwan Language Phonetic Alphabet (TLPA), and *tongyong pinyin* (lit., ‘universal usage sound-combining’) ‘general phonetic alphabet’ (Chiung 2004:150). None of them are yet accepted as the standard; therefore, the number of people who utilize these systems vary from system to system. *Tongyong pinyin*, however, was officially adopted by the government for Mandarin in 2002 (Government Information Office 2004), but the system actually used differs from place to place. In elementary education, *tongyong pinyin* is used in Taipei city and county (p.c. Bor-chuan Yu, who created the system in 1998), and Church Romanization is used in Tainan (p.c. Robert L. Cheng, a promoter of Church Romanization).

Non-Roman-alphabet-based systems have been introduced as well. During the Japanese occupation, a system using a modified Japanese syllabary was used. This system became obsolete once Japanese was no longer a language used on a daily basis at home in Taiwan. A system utilizing modified NPA to accommodate sounds which do not exist in Mandarin is commonly found as a pronunciation guide in books. This system is preferred by some people since NPA is taught in schools in Taiwan, and people are already familiar with the system. It is not too difficult for people to learn the extra conventions for writing Taiwanese sounds. This system is comparatively easier to learn than systems which utilize romanization since no type of romanization is taught in school. Some people even suggested a system using a new set of phonetic symbols; however, I have not yet seen actual examples of these systems.

## CHAPTER 3

### MERITS AND DRAWBACKS OF SYSTEMS USED FOR WRITING TAIWANESE

#### 3.0 Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapter, there are several different systems available for writing Taiwanese, but none of them has yet to be accepted as the standard orthography. The method utilizing sinographs, with occasional use of NPA, is the most popular method used by ordinary people. Most Protestant and Catholic missionaries utilize Church Romanization and many activists of written Taiwanese<sup>19</sup> know some type of romanization. There are publications written entirely in romanization, such as *Tâi-oân-hú-sián kàu-hōe-pò* 'Taiwan Church News', which started publication in the late nineteenth century, and some textbooks published in the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century (see Chiung 2005:46-49 and 85 for some examples). The *hân-lô* system, a mixture of sinographs and romanization, is used by some activists. In the following sections, I will examine the merits and drawbacks of each system.

#### 3.1 Merits and drawbacks of sinographs

As discussed earlier, ordinary people use sinographs, and NPA when necessary. Since everyone who is educated in Taiwanese schools is already familiar with sinographs and NPA, they do not need to learn a new set of symbols. However, there are some problems using sinographs to write Taiwanese. Hu (1994:13) describes the situation of written Taiwanese as follows:

說起台文（用台語寫的文章）我想很可能還有不少人不知道其存在，更不知道其如何寫法，因為從來說要做文章或者寫信寫尺牘，都是用文言寫文言文，不然就是用普通話寫成白話文，凡是有學問的人是決不會用俗字去寫土話，寫下他們覺得粗俗下流……只是到了近年，隨著社

<sup>19</sup> These activists have been promoting written Taiwanese and have actively been producing various works in written Taiwanese.

會情況的變遷，又有自我意識的抬頭，才有一些人開始想要用自己母語來寫作，並各人各自依著他們的方式或者想法去試寫其各不相同的台文來了。

When you mention the word ‘Tâibûn’ (written Taiwanese), my guess is that there are still many who do not know of its existence. As for how it is actually written, then I think even more people are not aware of such methods of writing. This is because when people write things, they used to write in the written language using Classical Chinese; otherwise, people write in the written language, closer to the spoken variety using Mandarin. Educated people would not use local characters,<sup>20</sup> and writing in the local language is something which is less sophisticated, ... However, in recent years, because of changes in the social environment and increased confidence in self-identity, some people have started to think that they want to use their native language to write. Because various writers are now using their own systems and methods, written Taiwanese now shows a greater number of varieties... [translation by Ota]

Hu also mentions that due to a lack of standardization, there is no coherence in representing some morphemes using sinographs. A particular morpheme may be represented in different sinographs. A certain sinograph may represent several different morphemes. This lack of standardization makes it difficult for readers to read written Taiwanese. Oh (2000 [originally published between 1960 and 1964]:59-61) also stresses the difficulty of reading Taiwanese written in synographs because people need to employ many different strategies for pronouncing them, and their usage is not standardized.

### 3.1.1 Taiwanese morphemes lacking sinographic reflexes

There are many Taiwanese morphemes that lack sinographic reflexes. Many of these morphemes do not have cognates in Mandarin. Some of them may be non-Sinitic in origin, and some of them are pseudo-onomatopoeic words, such as *chhi<sup>n</sup>-piàng-piàng* ‘very blue’, *o<sup>•</sup>-mà-mà* ‘very black’ and so forth, which do not have conventionalized sinographic representations. Such morphemes are often called

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<sup>20</sup> They are sinographs which are employed to write the local language whose usage may be nonstandard. They may contain characters which are not normally used to write the standard language. Some characters were uniquely created for writing the local language [KJO].



‘morphemes without characters’ *ū-im-bô-jī* 有音無字 (lit., having sound no character) in Taiwanese (Tiu<sup>n</sup> 1995:1). The assumption here is that every single morpheme in Taiwanese should have a corresponding sinographic representation. The notion arises from reader experience with the MWC and literary Chinese, which are written entirely with sinographs. Thus, people, in general, still regard sinographs as the only appropriate way to represent Mandarin and other Sinitic languages. According to Cheng (1989a:332) approximately five percent of Taiwanese morphemes lack sinographic reflexes. Most of them are function words, and thus they occur quite frequently. Such function words constitute about fifteen percent of running texts (Cheng 1989a:336).

### 3.1.2 Lack of standardization

Since people still favor writing Taiwanese with sinographs, how to represent morphemes which lack corresponding sinographic reflexes creates a problem. Because there is a lack of standardization in representing such morphemes, many idiosyncratic uses of sinographs are commonly found in written Taiwanese. A certain writer may represent a single morpheme using several different sinographs, sometimes even in the same text (Tiu<sup>n</sup> 1995:2). According to Cheng (1989b:350-355), function words show the most variation in their written form.

### 3.1.3 Creation of new sinographs

Sometimes new sinographs are created to represent Taiwanese morphemes which do not have known corresponding sinographic reflexes. There are two strategies for creating new sinographs; phonetic compounding, and meaning aggregation. These new sinographs are called local characters. In general, many sinographs can be divided into two components: semantic and phonetic. The semantic component specifies the

general semantic field to which the sinograph in question belongs, and the phonetic component, which may represent more than one pronunciation, acts as a general pronunciation guide.

### 3.1.3.1 Phonetic compounding

In phonetic compounding, a semantic key, which is drawn from a closed set of semantic keys called radicals, is combined with a phonetic key, which is a sinograph having the sound that needs to be produced, to create a new sinograph. For example, there is no known sinographic representation which can be historically linked to the morpheme *chiu* as in *bák-chiu* ‘eye’. Therefore, *chiu* is sometimes written as 矚, where the radical 目, which is derived from the sinograph meaning ‘eye’, tells us that the sinograph in question should be categorized as something which is related to ‘eye’, or ‘seeing’, and the sinograph 周 pronounced ‘*chiu*’ serves as the pronunciation key. Thus the whole word *bák-chiu* can be written as 目矚. However, this is not the only way in which this word is represented in sinographs. The word is often written as 目珠 (lit., ‘eye-pearl’, where the pronunciation of the second character is *chu* which is quite close to *chiu*), utilizing the existing sinographs. Some writers even use Mandarin, ignoring the pronunciation of both sinographs, e.g., 眼睛, which means ‘eye’ in Mandarin. Thus, some people write 眼睛 intending the pronunciation *bák-chiu*. However, the phonetic value of these sinographs in Taiwanese should be *gán-cheng*. Therefore, if you read 眼睛 as *bák-chiu*, then the phonetic value of both sinographs is completely ignored.

### 3.1.3.2 Meaning aggregation

In the meaning aggregation strategy, some basic sinographs are combined into one character to represent a certain meaning. Here are some examples. The sinographs 身 ‘body’ and 長 ‘long’ are combined to create a new sinograph 𠄎, which means ‘tall’

*lò*. The sinographs 迓迓, which represent the word ‘play’ *chhit-thô* (or *thit-thô* depending on the dialect), are created by combining two sinographs 日 ‘sun’ and 月 ‘moon’ with the radical 辶, which signifies ‘running’. Thus, running day and night represents ‘playing’. These characters are listed below:

|    |  |           |
|----|--|-----------|
| 躉  | <i>lò</i>                              | ‘tall’    |
| 迓迓 | <i>chhit-thô</i> (or <i>thit-thô</i> ) | ‘to play’ |

The local sinographs representing *chhit-thô* (or *thit-thô*) ‘to play’ are well-known and often used in song lyrics and informal writings such as popular magazines. However, the word ‘play’ is written in other ways as well. The most common way makes use of the existing sinographs 七桃 to represent the word *chhit-thô*, and it literally means ‘seven peaches’. The pronunciation of the first syllable of the word ‘to play’ in Taiwanese is identical to that of ‘seven’, and the second syllable is identical to the pronunciation of the character for ‘peach’. The advantage of using existing sinographs to represent the word ‘to play’ is that the pronunciation can easily be guessed since they are extremely common sinographs. However, the word ‘to play’ is pronounced as *thit-thô* in some Taiwanese dialects. In these dialects, the pronunciation of the sinograph ‘seven’ *chhit* does not match with the first syllable of the word ‘to play’ *thit*. On the other hand, if novel sinographs were created just to represent this word, the problem would be obviated.

### 3.1.4 Phonetic substitution

There are three major ways to represent Taiwanese morphemes using existing sinographs when the sinographic representation of morphemes is not known.

Sinographs in general include both phonetic and semantic information. However, in some cases sinographs can be used for their phonetic values alone, ignoring the semantic values. This practice is also found in Japanese and is called *ateji*, lit.,

assigning characters (Halpern 1990:53a-55a). According to Cheng (1989a), this is the most common way to represent Taiwanese morphemes whose sinographic representation is not known. 七 *chhit-thô* ‘lit., seven peaches’ to represent *chhit-thô* ‘to play’ is such an example. Examples of this type are common in song lyrics.

### 3.1.5 Special reading

Another common method of using sinographs to represent Taiwanese morphemes is to use sinographs based on their semantic values alone, ignoring the phonetic values. This is also commonly found in song lyrics, but this method may cause problems because readers cannot be sure if the phonetic value of a sinograph should be ignored. Also there may be more than one corresponding Taiwanese word for a specific combination of sinographs. Sometimes sinographs which have similar semantic values but slightly different phonetic values are also used.

### 3.1.6 Complicated sinographs

Some scholars have identified historically valid sinographic reflexes to represent some Taiwanese morphemes whose sinographic representation are generally not known. These sinographs tend to be complicated and rarely used. Some of these morphemes may have semi-standardized sinographic representation in Taiwanese. The following are some examples (Tiu<sup>n</sup> 1995:5):

|                 |             |            |
|-----------------|-------------|------------|
| 農 <sup>21</sup> | <i>lâng</i> | ‘people’   |
| 骹               | <i>kha</i>  | ‘foot’     |
| 蠓               | <i>báng</i> | ‘mosquito’ |

However, *lâng* ‘people’ is conventionally written as 人 since this sinograph means ‘people’. Likewise, *kha* ‘foot’ and *báng* ‘mosquito’ are commonly written as 腳 and 蚊

<sup>21</sup> Some identified 儂 as the etymological sinograph [洪].

respectively since they are so used in Mandarin. Sinographs with historically valid reflexes are generally not used in common Taiwanese writings.

### 3.1.7 Colloquial vs. literary readings

In Taiwanese, sinographs may have both ‘literary readings’ and ‘colloquial readings’, and the choice of which reading to use is lexically or pragmatically conditioned. Literary readings are borrowed from northern Sinitic languages (Oh 1987). Some lexical items which were formerly pronounced with literary readings are now pronounced with colloquial readings by younger people in Taiwan. It seems that Southern Min speakers in Fujian Province use fewer literary readings compared with Taiwanese speakers. The word 放假 ‘vacation’, for example, is *hòng-ká* for older speakers (*hòng* is the literary pronunciation of the first sinograph), whereas it is *pàng-ká* for younger speakers (*pàng* is the colloquial reading). The word is *pàng-kè* in Amoy Hokkien (p.c. Ying-che Li at University of Hawai‘i, a native speaker of Taiwanese.). All of these are written 放假 in sinographs, and the sinographs themselves cannot represent the differences in pronunciation described above. Another well-known example is the pronunciation of the word ‘university’. In Taiwan, ‘university’ which is represented in sinographs as 大學 is pronounced as *tai-hák*, utilizing the literary pronunciation; whereas it is pronounced as *tōa-óh* in Amoy Hokkien, utilizing the colloquial reading.

Because sinographs do not indicate the exact pronunciation, variations among the pronunciations of some sinographs found in song lyrics can be found among different speakers. The character 雨 ‘rain’, for example, has the following two readings:

|   |     |                    |
|---|-----|--------------------|
| 雨 | ú   | literary reading   |
|   | hō̍ | colloquial reading |

According to Ikutoku Oh (1993), a native speaker of Taiwanese, the beginning part of the lyrics of a well-known Taiwanese folk song *Ú-iā-hōe* ‘A Rainy Night Flower’ should be pronounced as follows:

- (1) 雨夜花,            雨夜花  
*Ú-iā-hōe,*            *ú-iā-hōe*  
 rain-night-flower, rain-night-flower  
 ‘A rainy night flower, a rainy night flower’
- 受 風雨            吹 落 地  
*Siū hong-hō’        chhe lóh tōe*  
 get wind and rain blow fall ground  
 ‘By the wind and rain, blown to the ground’

However, many singers now sing the second line in (1) as *siū hong-ú* rather than *siū hong-hō’*. Oh (1993:79) makes the following comment on how one sinograph can be read differently in Taiwanese depending on the reader:

‘雨’を *ú* と読むのは文言音。リズムの関係で *hō’* (白話音) とも読む。漢字で書く限り、こういった欠陥を改めることができない。歌詞はとくに発音表記が必要である。でない合唱すら不可能である。

*Ú* is the literary reading. It may be read as *hō’* depending on the rhythm. As long as we write lyrics using sinographs, we will be faced with problems in choosing the intended pronunciation. If we do not solve this problem, we cannot even sing together. [translation by Ota]

Oh points out that it is sometimes hard for even native speakers to determine how some characters should be pronounced without having some sort of pronunciation key. Pñg Lâm-kiông, a pioneer teacher of the Taiwanese language, pointed out a similar problem in the pronunciation of the lyrics of this song. In the third verse, 雨無情 should be pronounced as *ho’ bô chêng*, but it was incorrectly pronounced as *ú bô chêng* in the recording of the song included in the Taiwanese textbook, *Seekatsu Taiwango* ‘Living Taiwanese’ (Ng et al. 200:213). Pñg claims that this kind of problem can be solved by having a pronunciation guide, for example, by using Church Romanization, for the sinographs used in song lyrics (p.c. Pñg Lâm-kiông 2004).

### 3.1.8 Function words

Many function words lack commonly accepted sinographic reflexes. Therefore, a variety of different sinographs are often employed to represent a single function word. In these cases, the use of sinographs may cause confusion. For example, the morpheme *beh* ‘will’ is often written differently. The most common ones are, 要, 欲, and 卜. The following are some variations in sinographic representations found for the passive marker *hō*: 讓, 使, 令,<sup>22</sup> 給, 被, 俾, 後.

Some sinographs representing function words can be read in different ways. For example, the sinograph 給 is often used to represent both *hō*, the passive marker, and *kā*, the benefactive marker, or the disposal marker, which marks the preposed object. Because in some cases either disposal or passive reading makes sense, the intended meaning sometimes becomes unclear.

### 3.2 Merits and drawbacks of romanization

Many different systems have been created, but Church Romanization and *tongyong pinyin* have the most users. Since all Taiwanese people who attended school have a working knowledge of sinographs and have been using sinographs whenever they write, it is very difficult to persuade them to use systems which do not use sinographs. There is also the common assumption that Taiwanese is ‘a dialect of Chinese’, so some believe that Taiwanese should be written in sinographs like Chinese. In addition to this, many people still equate knowing many sinographs with greater intellectual sophistication. Therefore, although it is not impossible, it is very difficult to implement a system which does not involve sinographs.

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<sup>22</sup> The first three examples are taken from *Taiwanese-Japanese dictionary* published in 1931 and 1932 (Ogawa, ed.).

Some advocates of systems utilizing romanization stress the fact that romanization is simpler and easier to learn. However, they often overlook the fact that readers need to be taught in order to read materials written in any kind of system no matter how easy it may seem. People in Taiwan were never taught to write Mandarin in romanization; therefore, they are not familiar with writing systems using romanization. English is taught in schools in Taiwan, but the principles of Taiwanese romanization are quite different from those of English. For example, Taiwanese native speakers who never learned Church Romanization cannot read materials written in this system, not to mention that it is impossible for them to write Taiwanese in this system. Church Romanization is commonly used in the church community in Taiwan, especially by missionaries, but Church Romanization is no longer taught to native speakers of Taiwanese now since they are literate in sinographs. Therefore, even though there are a number of materials written in Church Romanization, many who know about them only have passive knowledge (i.e., they cannot write in Church Romanization), or just know of its existence. In 1996, a new edition of the Bible in Taiwanese was published. This edition was based on an earlier 1973 edition of the Bible written in Church Romanization. In this edition, Church Romanization was replaced by sinographs. The reason is that even in the church community, many people do not read Church Romanization. However, it is reported that many people found it difficult to read this new edition of the Bible in sinographs since they do not know how to pronounce many sinographs used in this new edition (Ong 2002:1-2).

Currently, varieties of romanization systems are being introduced. New books, dictionaries, and reference materials, and teaching materials are being published using different romanization systems. It takes a while to switch from one romanization system to another. For people who are not familiar with romanization, the fact that



there are variations often gives another excuse for not studying any type of romanization system.

### 3.3 A mixture of sinographs and romanization

Generally ordinary people opt for writing Taiwanese using sinographs. However, as it was mentioned earlier, there are many Taiwanese morphemes which do not have well-established sinographic reflexes. In order to remedy this problem, Oh (1957) first suggested an orthography which utilizes both sinographs and romanization. This system is most similar to the one written only in sinographs since romanization is used only for those unique Taiwanese morphemes where sinographic reflexes are not known. Robert L. Cheng then implemented this system, the *hàn-lô* system, in his writings, and it became one of the major types.

A mixed system of sinographs and romanization is relatively new, but this is preferred by some people who are active in writing in Taiwanese. Many Taiwanese works are published in this system in magazines, such as *Whale of Taiwanese Literature*. Many promoters of written Taiwanese, such as Khin-hoa<sup>n</sup> Arnold Li, and Wi-Vun Taiffalo Chiung, contribute to this journal. The mixed system tries to minimize the difficulty of writing Taiwanese using only sinographs. As previously stated, this problem arises because there are many words which do not have a standardized sinographic representation. However, the mixed system is not yet well known to the general public. A major drawback to this system is that ordinary people generally cannot read the romanized portions. Therefore, writing morphemes without regular sinographic reflexes in romanization does not help readers. Education in Church Romanization, or other romanizations used in their version of *hàn-lô*, is essential in order to make this system a standard orthography. Song lyrics found on the inserts of cassette tapes and compact disks are not written this way unless they are produced by

advocates of this system, many of whom are involved in the so-called *Tâi-bûn* movement, 'the movement which promotes writing in the Taiwanese language'.

## CHAPTER 4

### HOW ARE TAIWANESE LYRICS WRITTEN?<sup>23</sup>

#### 4.0 Introduction

Average people do not write in Taiwanese. They also do not see written Taiwanese on a daily basis except for a few common conversational phrases and expressions, such as 讚 *chán* ‘super’, 啥咪 *siá<sup>n</sup>-mih* ‘what’, and 歹勢 *phái<sup>n</sup>-sè* ‘excuse me’. Another major exception is the writing of the lyrics of Taiwanese pop songs and examples can easily be found. People see song lyrics written in Taiwanese in the inserts of cassette tapes and compact disks and on the television screen at karaoke bars called KTV. Even those who do not know of the existence of written Taiwanese materials are familiar with this type of written Taiwanese. Almost all song lyrics use sinographs, with occasional use of the NPA, the Japanese *kana* syllabary, and roman letters.<sup>24</sup>

I decided to study the writing practices used in song lyrics since they are actually seen by ordinary people and represent common strategies for people who are not familiar with romanization or *hàn-lô* in writing Taiwanese.

#### 4.1 Method

I analyzed twenty lyrics of popular Taiwanese songs found in the inserts of cassette tapes and compact disks. Sinographs and their corresponding pronunciations were recorded in an Excel spreadsheet. The number of times each word appeared was tabulated. Inconsistencies of sinographs in representing the same word were noted. The summary of entries is provided in the Appendix. The songs lyrics used in the study

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<sup>23</sup> A preliminary version of this chapter was presented at the Fifth College-wide Conference for Students in languages, Linguistics, and Literature at the University of Hawai‘i in May 2001. See Ota 2003.

<sup>24</sup> The exclusive use of romanization is commonly found in representing the lyrics of church hymns. These lyrics are often accompanied by a text written in sinographs.

are listed below. Each entry is listed in the following order; Song code,<sup>25</sup> Title, Lyricist, Artist, Album title, Year, and Publisher:

1. 命運的吉他, 張宗榮, 阿吉仔, 阿吉仔台語專輯 1 2004, Dragon Records 龍吟唱片.
2. 甬攔愁, 蔡振南, 蔡振南, 可愛可恨 1997, Feidie 飛碟企業股份有限公司.
3. 惜別的海岸, 董家銘, 江蕙, 江蕙真正精選 7 2004, Alpha Music 新點子音樂.
4. I love you 無望, 阿信, 五月天, 五月天第一張創作專輯 2000.4.28, Rock Music Publishing 滾石唱片.
5. 志明與春嬌, 阿信, 五月天, 五月天第一張創作專輯 2000.4.28, Rock Music Publishing 滾石唱片.
6. 補空夢, 三奇, 陳雷, 醜醜啊思相枝 1992, Golden Round Inc., Ltd. 金圓唱片股份有限公司.
7. 細妹仔按靚, 林子淵, 羅時豐, 移山倒海樊梨花 2002, Dashin Music Co., Ltd. 大信唱片.
8. 莎啣娜啦探戈, 吳嘉祥, 陳雷, 陳雷的台灣話 1995.3, Golden Round Inc., Ltd. 金圓唱片股份有限公司.
9. 世界第一等, 李安修/陳富榮, 劉德華, 男人的愛, 尚星唱片.
10. 我沒讀書, 阿弟仔, 阿弟仔, 我沒讀書 1999, E.O. Records Inc. 常喜音樂股份有限公司.
11. 愛拼才會贏, 陳百潭, 吉馬男女大對唱, 移山倒海樊梨花 2002, Dashin Music Co., Ltd. 大信唱片.
12. 慈母心, 蔣錦鴻/陳維祥, 葉啓田, 移山倒海樊梨花 2002, Dashin Music Co., Ltd. 大信唱片.
13. 黃昏的故鄉, 文夏, 蔡振南, 可愛可恨 1997, Feidie 飛碟企業.
13. 黃昏的故鄉, 文夏, 秀蘭瑪雅, 心故事 2001, Dachi music 大旗.
14. 夢中的情話, 黃煜峻/黃揚哲, 江蕙, 紅線 2002.12.12, Plum Music 亞律音樂.
15. 追追追, 陳明章, 黃妃, 台灣歌姬之非常女 2000, Magic Stone Music 魔岩唱片.
16. 漂丿七叢郎, 蔡振南, Karaoke VCD, KTV 台語金曲, 花旗.
16. 漂泊(足日)(足月)人, 蔡振南, 郭桂彬, 極道演歌第2輯戀人啊 2003.8, GMM8866 Co. Lid. 太空人音樂製作有限公司.

<sup>25</sup> The song code corresponds to the number in the Song column of the Appendix.

17. 有我有你，魏寧/曾金虎，王建傑，有我有你 1999.9，Lei Chun Chiang Music 雷群將唱片。
18. 向前走，林強，林強，向前走 1990.12，Rock Records 滾石唱片。
19. 癡情酷恰恰，魏寧/曾金虎，王建傑&賈子蕙，有我有你 1999.9，Lei Chun Chiang Music 雷群將唱片。
20. 誰人甲我比，張勇強，楊宗憲，十年金選 2003，Union Music 有容唱片。

I have examined the two different versions of songs 13 and 16. They are found in different albums sung by different artists.

## 4.2 Results

### 4.2.1 Semantic-based reading and phonetic substitution

The two common strategies in choosing a certain sinograph for a certain word are using it (a) for its semantic-based reading and (b) as a phonetic substitution. For example, in the following two lyrics (1) and (2), the negative morpheme *m̄* and the interrogative word *siá<sup>n</sup>-mih* ‘what’ are represented differently in the identical string of words, *siá<sup>n</sup>-mih lóng m̄-kia<sup>n</sup>* ‘I’m not afraid of anything’.

- (1) 有 你 有 我 什麼 攏 嘸 驚  
 ū lí ū góa, siá<sup>n</sup>-mih lóng m̄ kia<sup>n</sup>  
 have you have me, anything all not afraid  
 ‘Having you, having me, [we are] not afraid of anything.’ (有你有我 / 王建傑 Wang 1999)
- (2) Oh! 再會 吧! Oh! 啥物 攏 不 驚  
 Oh! chàì-hōe pah! Oh! Siá<sup>n</sup>-mih lóng m̄ kia<sup>n</sup>  
 Oh good-bye particle oh anything all not afraid  
 ‘Oh! Good-bye! Oh! [I am] not afraid of anything.’ (向前走 / 林強 Lin 1990)

Example (1) uses a semantic strategy. *Siá<sup>n</sup>-mih* ‘what’ in (1) is written 什麼, borrowing the same form for ‘what’ in Mandarin. Example (2) uses sinographic reflexes of the word *siá<sup>n</sup>-mih* ‘what’ written as 啥物 which reflects its sound and its meaning. For the representation of the morpheme *m̄* ‘not’, (1) uses a local character 嘸 which consists of

the radical 口, often used to indicate that the character is used for its sound value without semantic content. However the sinograph includes the meaning part 無 ‘not’, pronounced *bô*. In this case the intended pronunciation is not *bô*, but *m̄*. The character is created based on the semantic content of the part normally used as the phonetic key. Example (2) simply utilizes the sinograph 不 which means ‘not’ in Mandarin. The appropriate pronunciation of the sinograph 不 in Taiwanese is ‘*put*’. According to Cheng (1989a), most speakers tend to use the phonetic substitution strategy more often, but the semantic strategy is also quite common.

The morpheme *bô*, a negative auxiliary, has four different representations in the data analyzed, 無, 沒, 莫, and 不.

- (3) 我 沒 讀書 歹勢 歹勢  
 Góa bô thák-chheh phái<sup>n</sup>-sè phái<sup>n</sup>-sè  
 I not study sorry sorry

‘I don’t study, sorry, sorry.’ (我沒讀書 / 阿弟仔 Aadia 1999)

In the above example, the sinograph 沒, which is used in Mandarin for negation, is used to represent the Taiwanese negative morpheme *bô*. The dictionary pronunciation of the Taiwanese reading of the sinograph 沒 is *but*, not *bô*.<sup>26</sup>

- (4) 莫 怨天 莫 優人  
 bô oàn-thi<sup>n</sup> bô iu-jîn  
 not complain not blame

‘Don’t complain, don’t blame.’ (世界第一等 / 劉德華 Andy Lau)

Here the sinograph 莫, which is frequently used in literary Chinese, represents the Taiwanese negative morpheme *bô*. This usage was found in only one song. The use of the sinograph 不 to represent Taiwanese *bô* was found in one song as well (補空夢 by 陳雷 1992). The sinograph 無, however, is most frequently used to represent the morpheme *bô* in the data analyzed here.

<sup>26</sup> The pronunciation is cited from a dictionary of the Amoy vernacular spoken throughout the prefectures of Chin-chiu, Chiang-chiu and Formosa (Taiwan) by Rev. W. Campbell 1913.

There is another negative morpheme,  $\bar{m}$ , in Taiwanese. In the data, this morpheme  $\bar{m}$  is written as 不, or 嘸 as shown in Examples (1) and (2). The sinograph 不 is used to represent both the morpheme  $b\hat{o}$  and the morpheme  $\bar{m}$ . Therefore, this use of the sinograph 不 may cause confusion in some cases.

In (3), the character 書 ‘book’ is used to represent the Taiwanese word *chheh* ‘book’. The standard pronunciation of the sinograph 書 is *chu* in Taiwanese, and the correct sinographic reflex for *chheh* is 冊. The sinograph 冊 should be used here to represent the word *chheh* rather than 書 because both *chu* ‘book’ and *chheh* ‘book’ are used in Taiwanese. By consistently writing *chu* as 書 and *chheh* as 冊, these potential ambiguities could be avoided. For example, *góa bô thák chheh* ‘I don’t study’ in (3) could have been transparently written as 我無讀冊 rather than 我沒讀書. Since most speakers are more familiar with written Mandarin, titles tend to be written in the form which is closer to Mandarin as well.

Some Taiwanese speakers whom I interviewed reported that they felt that inconsistencies such as those above arise through the influence of written Mandarin. Since written Taiwanese is not yet well-established, the lack of standardization causes people to depend on their knowledge of written Mandarin in inconsistent ways. A similar situation can be found in writing Hawai‘i Creole English commonly known as Pidgin English (as seen in *Pidgin to da Max*, Simonson 1981).<sup>27</sup>

#### 4.2.2 Pronunciation of sinographs

Some sinographic representations in lyrics may cause confusion to readers who have not yet heard the songs. The sinograph 走 in the following example (5) is used to represent the word *kiá*’ ‘walk’, but the Taiwanese pronunciation for this character is

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<sup>27</sup> I would like to thank Prof. Michael Forman for pointing this out to me.

*cháu*. The appropriate sinographic representation of the word *kiá*<sup>n</sup> is 行. In Mandarin, ‘walk forward’ is written as 向前走 *xiàng qián zǒu*, not 向前行 *xiàng qián xíng*. In this case the more familiar orthographically conventional Taiwanese representation 向前行 *hiòng chêng kiá*<sup>n</sup> was avoided in favor of the more familiar sinographic representation 向前走.

- (5) Oh! 再會 吧! Oh! 向 前 走  
 Oh! chàì-hōe pah! Oh! hiòng chêng kiá<sup>n</sup>  
 Oh! Good-bye particle Oh! toward front walk  
 ‘Oh! Good-bye! Oh! Walk forward!’ (向前走 / 林強 Lin 1990)

Misreading of the lyrics caused by the ambiguous use of sinographs is also common. The following is a line from a song called ‘Mài koh gong’:

- (6) 酒 空空  
 chiú khong-khong  
 liquor ephemeral  
 ‘liquor, it is ephemeral’ (甬攔愁 / 蔡振南 Tsai 1997)

The first line starts as ‘酒空空’ *chiú khong-khong*. When I asked five native speakers how to read this, four of them read it *chiú khang-khang* ‘the wine is empty’. They had never heard the song before. The only person who read the lyrics correctly knew the song. The most obvious semantic content of the sinograph 空 is ‘empty’ pronounced *khang*, but here the character is intended to represent the morpheme ‘ephemeral’, which is pronounced *khong*. This kind of misreading is quite common in reading Taiwanese song lyrics. Sometimes one has to listen to the song first before knowing the intended reading of the sinograph in question.

#### 4.2.3 Use of written Mandarin to substitute for written Taiwanese

Sometimes one can find variations in sinographic representation for the identical song lyrics found in different inserts. The following discrepancies were found in the song *Hong-hun ê kò-hiong* ‘My hometown at sunset’.



| Taiwanese word | Gloss         | Tsai's version | Showlen's version |
|----------------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|
| beh            | auxiliary     | [口麥]           | 要                 |
| chhù           | house         | 厝              | 家的                |
| eh             | interjection  | [口也]           | 的                 |
| gún            | I             | 阮              | 我                 |
| hō̍            | give          | 乎              | 給                 |
| i              | it            | 伊              | 它                 |
| m̄-thang       | cannot        | 不倘             | 不可                |
| o              | interjection  | 喔              | 喂                 |
| teh            | aspect marker | 地              | 的                 |
| teh            | aspect marker | 塊              | 在                 |
| tíng-khi       | to return     | 轉去             | 返去                |

Tsai's version uses sinographs which reflect the Taiwanese pronunciation more closely. Showlen Maya's version simply uses sinographs which are used to represent the Mandarin counterparts of the Taiwanese words in question. Therefore, readers need to sight-translate Mandarin words into Taiwanese. It shows that many people do rely on their reading and writing ability of Mandarin in order to express Taiwanese in writing.

#### 4.2.4 Code-switching

Another complication that makes reading Taiwanese song lyrics difficult is the frequent occurrence of code-switching, especially between Mandarin and Taiwanese, in some songs. Sometimes the language used for specific lines is indicated by (國) 'Mandarin' or (台) 'Taiwanese', but such indications are often not provided. Thus a reader cannot always tell which portion needs to be sung in Mandarin. The following are some examples of code-switching found in the data:

- (7) 卡早 聽 人 唱 台北 不 是 我的 家  
 Khah chá thia<sup>n</sup> lāng chhiù<sup>n</sup> Táiběi bú shì wǒde jiā  
 earlier hear people sing Taipei not is my house

'Before, I heard that someone sang that "Taipei is not my home".' (向前走 / 林強 Lin 1990)

- (8) 叫 一聲 My Baby 你 若 歡喜  
 kio chit-sia<sup>n</sup> my baby lí nā hoa<sup>n</sup>-hí  
 shout voice my baby you if happy

(來舊不) 沒有 問題  
 lái-jiù-bù měiyǒu wèntí  
 no problem no problem

‘Say My Baby, and if you like, then (it’s okay), [there is] no problem.’  
 (癡情酷恰恰 / 王建傑 and 賈子蕙 Wang & Chia 1999)

The parts 台北不是我的家 ‘Táiběi bú shì wǒde jiā’ in (7) and 沒有問題 ‘měiyǒu wèntí’ in (7) are supposed to be sung in Mandarin, but there is no written cue which indicates that these portions should be sung in Mandarin. In (8) the word in the parentheses, 來舊不, should be read using the Mandarin pronunciation *lái-jiù-bù*, to approximate the Japanese word, *daijōbu* ‘no problem’. Therefore, the readers in this case are required to use the Mandarin pronunciation of the sinographs in order to get the intended pronunciation.

The reverse situation can be found in the lyrics of some Mandarin songs. The following is an excerpt from the Mandarin song *Dānyǎnpí nǚshēng* ‘A girl with single-edged eyelids’. Even though it is a Mandarin song, the string of sinographs 三碗豬腳 in (9) below must be read using the Taiwanese pronunciation of each sinograph, *sa<sup>n</sup> oá<sup>n</sup> ti-kha*, with the apparent meaning ‘three bowls of pig’s feet’. This, however, approximates the Thai expression *sawàtdii khá* ‘how are you?’.

- (9) 三 碗 豬腳  
 sa<sup>n</sup> oá<sup>n</sup> ti-kha  
 three bowl pig feet

‘How are you?’ (in Thai) (單眼皮女生 / 中國娃娃 China Dolls 2000)

This increasing use of foreign expressions adds to the complexity of reading Taiwanese song lyrics. In the data, two songs used English expressions, four songs used Mandarin expressions, one song used Hakka expressions, and one song used a Japanese expression.

#### 4.3. Summary

Almost all popular Taiwanese language song lyrics are written with sinographs. Although romanization could represent the pronunciation more accurately, romanization is not printed at all in song lyrics. NPA is sometimes used and appears to be preferred over Church romanization. People are educated using NPA in elementary school, but until recently, romanization for neither Mandarin nor Taiwanese was taught in schools.<sup>28</sup> Both semantic-based and phonetic-based strategies are common in choosing sinographs to represent Taiwanese words as previously discussed. Evidence of the strong influence of written Mandarin in writing Taiwanese lyrics is reflected in: (1) Even when the sinographic reflexes for the Taiwanese words in question are known, the use of a semantic-based strategy is common. (2) Taiwanese words are often written using Mandarin equivalents. As Oh (1993) mentioned, written popular Taiwanese song lyrics often confuse readers. In order to resolve this problem, the standardization of written Taiwanese or the use of romanization appears to be necessary.

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<sup>28</sup> Recently, Taiwanese classes are being introduced in some elementary schools. There are no standardized textbooks for Taiwanese language classes. However, many texts utilize some type of romanization.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSIONS

#### 5.0 Conclusions

The Okinawa Dialect Popularization Council put forth four principles in deciding on an orthography for Okinawan (Serafim 2003:7-8). They are phonetically sound writing, consistency, simplicity, and high acceptability. Because of the last criterion, romanization was not chosen for Okinawan. Church Romanization satisfies the first three criteria. As for the last criterion, if one is to advocate Church Romanization as a tool to teach students the basics of the sound system of Taiwanese rather than replacing sinographs, Church Romanization can still be adopted in Taiwanese education.

Even though roman-letter-based orthography is simpler and easier to learn compared to sinographs, such a system still needs to be explicitly taught. As mentioned in Chiung's work, wiping out all sinographs in written Taiwanese is not realistic. However, I do think that the introduction of romanization as a learning tool at the elementary education level is achievable. Chiung (2001a:518) states that 'Over time, the Roman script might come into competition with Han characters [sinographs], or even replace Han characters if Romanization were taught together with Han characters at the time students enter elementary school.' I will go a step further by saying that the success of introducing written Taiwanese depends on having a standardized Romanization system which is taught at the elementary level.

## 5.1 Towards successful promotion of Written Taiwanese

### 5.1.1 Attitudes of the general public toward Taiwanese education

Despite the fact that Taiwanese has gained popularity in recent years, the general public, including proficient Taiwanese speakers, is often reluctant to support teaching Taiwanese beginning in elementary school. Chen (1999:126) makes the following comments in his book:

A more important factor underlying the under-achievement of dialect writing in Taiwan, in my view, is that the wider community is not yet prepared to accept efforts to standardize and promote a separate orthography for Southern Min [Taiwanese].

I think his observations are still valid at the present time. There are frequent critical comments in newspaper columns against the introduction of Taiwanese and the teaching of romanization at school. For example, in April 2003, People First Party members took materials written in romanization to the Taipei City Department of Education demanding that the officials there read them. Since educated Taiwanese speakers such as those officials were not able to read the materials, PFP members demanded that they not introduce such romanization to school children (Huang 2003). It was not unexpected that the people at the Taipei DOE were not able to read the materials since they were not familiar with the system. Similar criticisms have been repeatedly made (see Hsieh 2004, for example). What can be done to change people's attitudes about romanization?

### 5.1.2 Importance of introducing romanization in elementary education

No matter what system of writing one decides to use for Taiwanese, some phonetic-based letters need to be taught in elementary schools when teaching Taiwanese. The importance of this is often overlooked. Even if a system which utilizes only sinographs is adopted, some type of phonetic symbols needs to be introduced at the

elementary level so that students can learn to read sinographs correctly in Taiwanese. Mandarin writing in Taiwan essentially uses sinographs, but everyone in Taiwan learns the NPA before learning sinographs. Even though the NPA was not given full status as an official alphabet for writing, but as only as a pronunciation guide, people often use the NPA to represent words which do not have corresponding sinographs. Recently the slang word *piáng* ‘super’ is often written in the NPA. Such examples are easy to find. Students learn the basic sound system of Mandarin by learning the NPA. In the People’s Republic of China, people use *pinyin* romanization. Even though it may not be a bona fide writing system, school children in the PRC learn the basic sound system of Mandarin by using the phonetic alphabet. The similarities are that school children in both Taiwan and the PRC learn Mandarin by learning some type of phonetic symbols first, not sinographs. Until the introduction of the Taiwanese language into the school curriculum in recent years, Taiwanese speakers, regardless of their proficiency level, never learned Taiwanese in school. Thus, most people in Taiwan, if not all, know that there are four tones in Mandarin. Most Taiwanese speakers, however, do not know exactly how many distinctive tones there are in Taiwanese. When you ask someone to write a certain Mandarin word in the NPA, most people can write it. Most people, however, cannot represent a Taiwanese word either in the NPA or in romanization. Therefore, it is imperative that romanization, or some other type of phonetic symbols (for example, a modified version of the NPA), be introduced in Taiwanese classes before sinographs are taught. Introduction of romanization in elementary school is extremely important for those who advocate the mixture of sinographs and romanization, the *hàn-lô* system because the majority of words written in such a mixed

system are still sinographs. If people cannot read romanization, it defeats the purpose of implementing this writing system.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> I observed Reading Taiwanese classes offered at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa in 2001-2003. Many students from Taiwan simply skipped the romanization when they read the textbook written in the mixture of sinographs and romanization. Even though some students never improved their reading skills, they were able to get the gist of the text using their knowledge of Mandarin. These students never acquired a functional command of romanization.

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| Romanization    | Sinograph | Gloss               | Part of Sp | Freq | Song | Title         |
|-----------------|-----------|---------------------|------------|------|------|---------------|
| a1              | 啊         | Ah                  | Interj     | 2    | 1    | 命運的吉他         |
| a1              | 啊         | Ah                  | Interj     | 1    | 5    | 志明與春嬌         |
| a1              | 啊         | sentence final part | Particle   | 1    | 3    | 惜別的海岸         |
| a1-bu2          | 阿母        | mother              | N          | 1    | 13   | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| a1-ma3          | 啊嗎        | well                | Adv        | 1    | 10   | 我沒讀書          |
| a2              | 呀         | demunitive          | Suffix     | 5    | 7    | 補空夢           |
| ah4             | 呀         | particle            | Particle   | 3    | 2    | 甬擱愁           |
| ah4             | 啊         | sentence final part | Particle   | 1    | 13   | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| ah4             | 啊         | sentence final part | Particle   | 2    | 14   | 夢中的情話         |
| ah4             | 啊         | sentence final part | Particle   | 3    | 15   | 追追追           |
| ai1             | 哀         | sadness             | N          | 1    | 2    | 甬擱愁           |
| ai1-chhiu5      | 哀愁        | sorrowful           | N          | 1    | 1    | 命運的吉他         |
| ai3             | 愛         | have to             | Aux        | 1    | 11   | 愛拼才會贏         |
| ai3             | 要         | have to             | Aux        | 1    | 11   | 愛拼才會贏         |
| ai3             | 愛         | like to             | Aux        | 1    | 18   | 向前走           |
| ai3             | 愛         | to love             | V          | 1    | 4    | I love you 無望 |
| ai3             | 愛         | to love             | V          | 3    | 5    | 志明與春嬌         |
| ai3             | 愛         | to love             | V          | 1    | 7    | 細妹仔按靚         |
| ai3             | 愛         | to love             | V          | 3    | 14   | 夢中的情話         |
| ai3             | 愛         | to love             | V          | 2    | 19   | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| ai3             | 愛         | to love             | V          | 2    | 20   | 誰人甲我比         |
| ai3-cheng5      | 愛情        | love                | N          | 1    | 5    | 志明與春嬌         |
| ai3-cheng5      | 愛情        | love                | N          | 1    | 6    | 補空夢           |
| ai3-cheng5      | 愛情        | love                | N          | 1    | 15   | 追追追           |
| ai3-jin5        | 愛人        | lover               | N          | 1    | 5    | 志明與春嬌         |
| am1             | 澆         | to pour             | V          | 1    | 15   | 追追追           |
| am3             | 暗         | dark                | Adj        | 1    | 16a  | 漂 / 七錢郎       |
| am3             | 暗         | dark                | Adj        | 1    | 16b  | 漂泊(足日)(足月)人   |
| am3-bong5-bong5 | 暗茫茫       | dark                | Adj        | 1    | 2    | 甬擱愁           |
| am3-mi5         | 暗冥        | night               | N          | 1    | 19   | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| an2-choaN2      | 安怎        | how                 | Adv        | 1    | 5    | 志明與春嬌         |
| ang5            | 紅         | red                 | Adj        | 1    | 16a  | 漂 / 七錢郎       |
| ang5            | 紅         | red                 | Adj        | 1    | 16b  | 漂泊(足日)(足月)人   |
| ang5-ang5       | 紅紅        | red                 | Adj        | 1    | 7    | 細妹仔按靚         |
| ang5-ang5       | 紅紅        | red                 | Adj        | 1    | 20   | 誰人甲我比         |
| bak4-sai2       | 目屎        | tears               | N          | 1    | 13   | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| bak8-chiu1      | 目珠        | eyes                | N          | 1    | 7    | 細妹仔按靚         |
| bak8-chiu1      | 眼睛        | eyes                | N          | 2    | 10   | 我沒讀書          |
| bak8-khou1      | 目眶        | an eye socket       | N          | 1    | 16a  | 漂 / 七錢郎       |
| bak8-khou1      | 目眶        | an eye socket       | N          | 1    | 16b  | 漂泊(足日)(足月)人   |
| bak8-khou1      | 目眶        | eyes                | N          | 1    | 20   | 誰人甲我比         |
| ban7            | 萬         | ten-thousand        | Pronoun    | 5    | 15   | 追追追           |
| ban7-li2        | 萬里        | 10000 miles         | Num+mw     | 1    | 17   | 有你有我          |
| bang5           | 茫         | vague               | Adj        | 6    | 6    | 補空夢           |
| bang5-bang5     | 茫茫        | vague               | Adj        | 1    | 8    | 莎啲娜啦探戈        |
| bang5-bang5     | 茫茫        | vague               | Adj        | 1    | 11   | 愛拼才會贏         |
| bang5-bang5     | 茫茫        | vague               | Adj        | 1    | 16a  | 漂 / 七錢郎       |
| bang5-bang5     | 茫茫        | vague               | Adj        | 1    | 16b  | 漂泊(足日)(足月)人   |
| bang7           | 夢         | dream               | N          | 1    | 4    | I love you 無望 |
| bang7           | 夢         | dream               | N/V        | 2    | 13   | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| bang7           | 網         | net                 | N          | 1    | 6    | 補空夢           |
| bang7           | 望         | to hope             | V          | 1    | 2    | 甬擱愁           |
| bang7           | 望         | to hope             | V          | 1    | 14   | 夢中的情話         |

|                |       |                |          |    |     |               |
|----------------|-------|----------------|----------|----|-----|---------------|
| bang7-keng2    | 夢境    | dream          | N        | 1  | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| bang7-tiong1   | 夢中    | in the dream   | N        | 4  | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| be2            | 買     | to buy         | V        | 1  | 9   | 世界第一等         |
| be7            | 不     | not            | Negative | 1  | 2   | 甬擱愁           |
| beh4           | 要     | need           | Aux      | 2  | 2   | 甬擱愁           |
| beh4           | 要     | want           | Aux      | 1  | 20  | 誰人甲我比         |
| beh4           | 要     | want to        | Aux      | 2  | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| beh4           | 欲     | will           | Aux      | 2  | 18  | 向前走           |
| beng2          | 猛     | strong         | Adj      | 1  | 9   | 世界第一等         |
| beng5-li7      | 名利    | famous         | Adj      | 1  | 9   | 世界第一等         |
| bi2-le7        | 美麗    | beauty         | N        | 1  | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| bin5-bang7     | 眠夢    | dream          | N        | 1  | 4   | I love you 無望 |
| bin5-bang7     | 眠夢    | dream          | N        | 1  | 16a | 漂ノ七鬚郎         |
| bin5-bang7     | 眠夢    | dream          | N        | 1  | 16b | 漂泊(足日)(足月)人   |
| bin5-bang7     | 眠夢    | dream          | N        | 1  | 18  | 向前走           |
| bo5            | 無     | don't have     | V        | 2  | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| bo5            | 無     | negative       | Negative | 1  | 7   | 細妹仔按靚         |
| bo5            | 無     | negative       | Negative | 2  | 15  | 追追追           |
| bo5            | 沒     | not            | Negative | 4  | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| bo5            | 沒     | not            | Negative | 12 | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| bo5            | 無     | not            | Negative | 1  | 3   | 惜別的海岸         |
| bo5            | 無     | not            | Negative | 5  | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| bo5            | 無     | not            | Negative | 1  | 8   | 莎啲娜啦探戈        |
| bo5            | 無     | not            | Negative | 1  | 11  | 愛拼才會贏         |
| bo5            | 無     | not            | Negative | 1  | 18  | 向前走           |
| bo5            | 莫     | not            | Negative | 2  | 9   | 世界第一等         |
| bo5-bang7      | 無望    | hopeless       | N        | 3  | 4   | I love you 無望 |
| bo-5chhai2     | 無彩    | pity           | Adj      | 1  | 6   | 補空夢           |
| bo5-chhu3      | 無厝    | homeless       | N        | 1  | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| bo5-kang5      | 不同    | different      | Adj      | 1  | 6   | 補空夢           |
| bo5-lou7-iong7 | 無路用   | useless        | Adj      | 1  | 2   | 甬擱愁           |
| bo5-lun7       | 無論    | no matter      | Adv      | 1  | 17  | 有你有我          |
| bo5-nai7       | 無奈    | cannot help it | N        | 1  | 1   | 命運的吉他         |
| bo5-nai7       | 無奈    | hopeless       | Adj      | 1  | 8   | 莎啲娜啦探戈        |
| bo5-sou2-ui7   | 無所為   | doesn't matter | Idiom    | 1  | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| bo5-theng5     | 無停    | non-stop       | Adj      | 1  | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| boe7           | 袂     | cannot         | FW       | 1  | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| boe7           | 袂     | can't          | Negative | 1  | 8   | 莎啲娜啦探戈        |
| boe7           | 噍     | not            | Negative | 1  | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| boe7-ki3       | 忘記    | to forget      | V        | 1  | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| boe7-tang2     | (勿會)凍 | refuse         | N        | 2  | 6   | 補空夢           |
| boe7-tang3     | 不當    | cannot         | Aux      | 1  | 4   | I love you 無望 |
| boe7-tang3     | 未凍    | not-possible   | FW       | 1  | 3   | 惜別的海岸         |
| boeh4          | 嘜     | want           | Aux      | 1  | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| bok8-phiau1    | 目標    | target         | N        | 1  | 17  | 有你有我          |
| bong1-bu7      | 茫霧    | fog            | N        | 1  | 6   | 補空夢           |
| bu5            | 無     | negative       | Negative | 2  | 2   | 甬擱愁           |
| but4           | 不     | not            | Negative | 2  | 3   | 惜別的海岸         |
| cha2-tioh8     | 早就    | early          | Adv      | 1  | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| chai1          | 知     | know           | V        | 1  | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| chai1          | 知     | to know        | V        | 1  | 18  | 向前走           |
| chai1-iaN2     | 知影    | to know        | V        | 1  | 12  | 慈母心           |
| chai3          | 再     | again          | Adv      | 1  | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| chai3          | 再     | again          | Adv      | 1  | 15  | 追追追           |

|                             |           |                |          |   |     |             |
|-----------------------------|-----------|----------------|----------|---|-----|-------------|
| chai3                       | 再         | again          | Adv      | 1 | 16a | 漂 / 七齣郎     |
| chai3                       | 在         | again          | Adv      | 1 | 16b | 漂泊(足日)(足月)人 |
| chai3-hoe7                  | 再會        | Good-bye       | Interjec | 6 | 18  | 向前走         |
| chai5                       | 財         | wealth         | N        | 1 | 2   | 甬擱愁         |
| chai7                       | 在         | at             | Prep     | 1 | 3   | 惜別的海岸       |
| chai7                       | 在         | in, at         | Prep     | 1 | 14  | 夢中的情話       |
| chau2-jip8                  | 走入        | to go into     | V        | 1 | 16a | 漂 / 七齣郎     |
| chau2-jip8                  | 走入        | to go into     | V        | 1 | 16b | 漂泊(足日)(足月)人 |
| cheng1-chhu2                | 爭取        | to strive for  | V        | 1 | 12  | 慈母心         |
| cheng5                      | 前         | front          | N        | 1 | 17  | 有你有我        |
| cheng5                      | 前         | front          | N        | 3 | 18  | 向前走         |
| cheng5                      | 情         | love           | N        | 2 | 14  | 夢中的情話       |
| cheng5                      | 情         | love           | N        | 1 | 15  | 追追追         |
| cheng5-hai2                 | 情海        | ocean of love  | N        | 1 | 8   | 莎啲娜啦探戈      |
| cheng5-keng2                | 情景        | scenery        | N        | 1 | 3   | 惜別的海岸       |
| chhang1-chhang1             | 蔥蔥        | hastily        | Adv      | 1 | 15  | 追追追         |
| chhek4-ma2                  | 策馬        | rush the horse | N        | 1 | 15  | 追追追         |
| chheN1-me5                  | 青明        | blind          | Adj      | 2 | 10  | 我沒讀書        |
| chheng1                     | 清         | clear          | Adj      | 1 | 10  | 我沒讀書        |
| chheng1-chhiN2              | 清醒        | to wake up     | V        | 1 | 14  | 夢中的情話       |
| chheng7                     | 穿         | to wear        | V        | 1 | 2   | 甬擱愁         |
| chhi1-cheng5                | 痴情        | blind love     | Adj      | 1 | 8   | 莎啲娜啦探戈      |
| chhi1-cheng5-lang5          | 癡情人       | people in love | N        | 2 | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰       |
| chhi1-liang5                | 淒涼        | lonesome       | N        | 2 | 1   | 命運的吉他       |
| chhi3-koe3                  | 試過        | tried          | V        | 1 | 14  | 夢中的情話       |
| chhia1-cham7                | 車站        | station        | N        | 1 | 18  | 向前走         |
| chhia1-thau5                | 車頭        | station        | N        | 2 | 18  | 向前走         |
| chhian1                     | 千         | thousand       | Pron     | 5 | 15  | 追追追         |
| chhian1-kim1                | 千金        | fortune        | N        | 1 | 9   | 世界第一等       |
| chhiaN2                     | 請         | please         | Adv      | 1 | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉       |
| chhiaN2                     | 請         | please         | Interjec | 1 | 18  | 向前走         |
| chhian2                     | 淺         | shallow        | Adj      | 1 | 8   | 莎啲娜啦探戈      |
| chhin1-ai3                  | 親愛        | dear           | Adj      | 1 | 9   | 世界第一等       |
| chhin1-ai3                  | 親愛        | dear           | Adj      | 1 | 18  | 向前走         |
| chhin1-chhiuN7              | 親像        | to resemble    | V        | 1 | 10  | 我沒讀書        |
| chhin1-chhiuN7              | 親像        | to resemble    | V        | 2 | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉       |
| chhin1-chhiuN7              | 親像        | to resemble    | V        | 1 | 18  | 向前走         |
| chhin1-chhiuN7              | 親像        | to resemble    | V        | 1 | 9   | 世界第一等       |
| chhin1-chhiuN7              | 親像        | to resemble    | V        | 1 | 11  | 愛拼才會贏       |
| chhin1-chhiuN7              | 親像        | to resemble    | V        | 1 | 7   | 細妹仔按靚       |
| chhin1-chiaN5               | 親戚        | relatives      | N        | 1 | 18  | 向前走         |
| chhiN2                      | 醒         | awake          | Adj      | 1 | 8   | 莎啲娜啦探戈      |
| chhin3-chhin3-chhai2-chhai2 | 青青菜菜      | whatever       | Adv      | 1 | 10  | 我沒讀書        |
| chhio3                      | 笑         | to laugh       | V        | 1 | 10  | 我沒讀書        |
| chhio3                      | 笑         | to laugh       | V        | 1 | 18  | 向前走         |
| chhio3-iong5                | 笑容        | smile          | N        | 1 | 7   | 細妹仔按靚       |
| chhit4                      | 七         | seven          | Numeral  | 1 | 11  | 愛拼才會贏       |
| chhit4                      | 擦         | to wipe        | V        | 1 | 12  | 慈母心         |
| chhit4[thit4]-tho5-lang5    | (足日)(足月)人 | a gangster     | N        | 4 | 16b | 漂泊(足日)(足月)人 |
| chhit4-tho5                 | (足日)(足月)  | to play around | V        | 1 | 9   | 世界第一等       |
| chhit4-tho5-lang5           | 七齣郎       | a gangster     | N        | 4 | 16a | 漂 / 七齣郎     |
| chhiu7                      | 愁         | tree           | N        | 1 | 15  | 追追追         |
| chhiuN3                     | 唱         | to sing        | V        | 1 | 1   | 命運的吉他       |
| chhiuN3                     | 唱         | to sing        | V        | 2 | 6   | 補空夢         |

|                    |     |                  |         |   |    |               |
|--------------------|-----|------------------|---------|---|----|---------------|
| chhiuN7            | 像   | like             | Adv     | 1 | 18 | 向前走           |
| chhiuN7            | 像   | to look like     | V       | 1 | 3  | 惜別的海岸         |
| chhiuN7            | 像   | to resemble      | V       | 1 | 2  | 甬擱愁           |
| chhoe1             | 吹   | to blow          | V       | 1 | 4  | I love you 無望 |
| chhoe7             | 找   | to find          | V       | 1 | 15 | 追追追           |
| chhoe7             | 找   | to look for      | V       | 1 | 7  | 細妹仔按靚         |
| chhong3-cho7       | 創造  | to create        | V       | 1 | 17 | 有你有我          |
| chhou1-loan5       | 初戀  | first love       | N       | 1 | 14 | 夢中的情話         |
| chhui2-a2          | 手() | hand             | N       | 1 | 12 | 慈母心           |
| chhun1-kiaul       | 春嬌  | (Name)           | N       | 2 | 5  | 志明與春嬌         |
| chhut4             | 出   | (come out)       | FW      | 1 | 1  | 命運的吉他         |
| chhut4-hoat4       | 出發  | to start         | V       | 1 | 14 | 夢中的情話         |
| chhut4-thau5-thiN1 | 出頭天 | to be successful | V       | 1 | 9  | 世界第一等         |
| chi2               | 只   | only             | Adv     | 1 | 4  | I love you 無望 |
| chi2-iau3          | 只要  | only             | Adv     | 1 | 14 | 夢中的情話         |
| chi2-u7            | 只有  | only             | Adv     | 1 | 14 | 夢中的情話         |
| chi3-beng5         | 志明  | (Name)           | N       | 2 | 5  | 志明與春嬌         |
| chi4-khoan2        | 這款  | this kind        | N       | 1 | 18 | 向前走           |
| chial              | 這   | here             | N       | 3 | 5  | 志明與春嬌         |
| chial              | 這   | here             | Dem     | 1 | 17 | 有你有我          |
| chial              | 這   | here             | Dem     | 1 | 18 | 向前走           |
| chial              | 這   | so that          | Dem     | 1 | 14 | 夢中的情話         |
| chiah4             | 才   | function word    | FW      | 1 | 20 | 誰人甲我比         |
| chiah4             | 甲   | function word    | FW      | 1 | 20 | 誰人甲我比         |
| chiah4             | 這   | like this        | Adv     | 3 | 5  | 志明與春嬌         |
| chiah4             | 才   | only             | Adv     | 1 | 8  | 莎啲娜啲探戈        |
| chiah4             | 才   | then             | Conj    | 1 | 11 | 愛拼才會贏         |
| chiah4-kau7        | 這厚  | this much        | Adv     | 1 | 19 | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| chiah8             | 吃   | to eat           | V       | 1 | 2  | 甬擱愁           |
| chiam1             | 針   | needle           | N       | 1 | 15 | 追追追           |
| chiam7-chiam7      | 漸漸  | slowly           | Adv     | 1 | 18 | 向前走           |
| chian5-theng5      | 前程  | future           | N       | 1 | 3  | 惜別的海岸         |
| chian5-tou5        | 前途  | future           | N       | 1 | 17 | 有你有我          |
| chiau3             | 照   | to follow        | V       | 1 | 11 | 愛拼才會贏         |
| chin1              | 真   | real             | Adj     | 3 | 14 | 夢中的情話         |
| chin1              | 很   | very             | Adv     | 1 | 15 | 追追追           |
| chin1              | 真   | very             | Adv     | 1 | 7  | 細妹仔按靚         |
| chin1-chhiuN7      | 親像  | be like          | Adv     | 1 | 12 | 慈母心           |
| chin1-chiaN3       | 真正  | really           | Adv     | 2 | 5  | 志明與春嬌         |
| chin1-sim1         | 真心  | sincerely        | Adv     | 1 | 19 | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| chio3              | 照   | to light         | V       | 1 | 13 | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| chio3-chhut4       | 照出  | to light         | V       | 1 | 12 | 慈母心           |
| chiong1            | 將   | let              | FW      | 2 | 4  | I love you 無望 |
| chit4              | 這   | this             | Dem     | 1 | 15 | 追追追           |
| chit4-chhut4       | 這齣  | this [movie]     | Det+CL  | 1 | 5  | 志明與春嬌         |
| chit4-e5           | 這個  | this             | Dem     | 1 | 13 | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| chit4-khaon2       | 這款  | this kind        | N       | 2 | 4  | I love you 無望 |
| chit4-ui7          | 這位  | here             | Det+CL  | 1 | 5  | 志明與春嬌         |
| chit8              | 一   | one              | Numeral | 2 | 2  | 甬擱愁           |
| chit8              | 一   | one              | Numeral | 1 | 10 | 我沒讀書          |
| chit8              | 一   | one              | Numeral | 2 | 14 | 夢中的情話         |
| chit8-bou7         | 一幕  | one scene        | Num+CL  | 2 | 18 | 向前走           |
| chit8-cham7        | 一站  | one station      | Num+CL  | 2 | 18 | 向前走           |
| chit8-hun1-cheng1  | 一分鐘 | one minute       | N       | 1 | 4  | I love you 無望 |

|                   |      |                     |         |    |     |               |
|-------------------|------|---------------------|---------|----|-----|---------------|
| chit8-ke1-hoe2-a2 | 一家夥仔 | one family          | N       | 1  | 17  | 有你有我          |
| chit8-koa2        | 一掛   | a little            | Adv     | 1  | 17  | 有你有我          |
| chit8-ku3         | 一句   | one phrase          | Num+MW  | 1  | 20  | 誰人甲我比         |
| chit8-lui2        | 一蕾   | one [flower]        | Num+CL  | 1  | 7   | 細妹仔按靚         |
| chit8-mi5         | 一暝   | one night           | N       | 1  | 8   | 莎啲娜啦探戈        |
| chit8-poaN1       | 一般   | same                | Det     | 1  | 12  | 慈母心           |
| chit8-si3-lang5   | 一世   | this life           | N       | 1  | 4   | I love you 無望 |
| chit8-si5         | 一時   | a while             | Adv     | 2  | 11  | 愛拼才會贏         |
| chit8-siaN1       | 一聲   | a call              | Num+CL  | 1  | 7   | 細妹仔按靚         |
| chit8-siaN1       | 一聲   | once                | Num+M   | 1  | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| chit8-tiam2-a2    | 一點() | a little            | Adv     | 1  | 18  | 向前走           |
| chit8-tong3       | 一棟   | one building        | Num+CL  | 2  | 18  | 向前走           |
| chiu2             | 酒    | alcohol             | N       | 1  | 15  | 追追追           |
| chiu2             | 酒    | wine                | N       | 1  | 2   | 甬擱慙           |
| chiu7             | 就    | just                | Adv     | 1  | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| chiu7             | 就    | then                | FW      | 1  | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| chiu7-si7         | 就是   | is                  | Copula  | 1  | 17  | 有你有我          |
| cho3              | 作    | to do               | V       | 1  | 4   | I love you 無望 |
| cho7-seng5        | 造成   | create              | V       | 1  | 3   | 惜別的海岸         |
| choa7             | 趟    | times               | Measure | 1  | 2   | 甬擱慙           |
| choan1-kang1      | 專工   | go out of the way   | Adv     | 1  | 6   | 補空夢           |
| choaN2-iuN5       | 怎樣   | how to              | Adv     | 1  | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| choan5            | 全    | all                 | Adv     | 1  | 17  | 有你有我          |
| choe3             | 做    | to be               | V       | 1  | 16a | 漂ノ七巖郎         |
| choe3             | 做    | to be               | V       | 1  | 16b | 漂泊(足日)(足月)人   |
| choe3             | 作    | to have             | V       | 1  | 18  | 向前走           |
| choe3-e5          | 做入   | to be made          | V       | 1  | 15  | 追追追           |
| choe3-tin7        | 作陣   | together            | Adv     | 1  | 4   | I love you 無望 |
| choe7             | 多    | lot                 | Adj     | 1  | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| choe7             | 找    | to find             | V       | 1  | 8   | 莎啲娜啦探戈        |
| chong1            | 蹤    | print               | N       | 1  | 2   | 甬擱慙           |
| chong2            | 總    | whatever the case   | Adv     | 1  | 11  | 愛拼才會贏         |
| chong2-si7        | 總是   | always              | Adv     | 1  | 12  | 慈母心           |
| chong5            | 藏    | take care of things | V       | 1  | 2   | 甬擱慙           |
| chu1-bi7          | 滋味   | flavor              | N       | 1  | 6   | 補空夢           |
| chu1-bi7          | 滋味   | teast               | N       | 1  | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| chu3-teng7        | 註定   | fate                | N       | 1  | 9   | 世界第一等         |
| chu7              | 自    | from                | Prep    | 1  | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| chu7              | 自    | since               | Conj    | 1  | 8   | 莎啲娜啦探戈        |
| chu7-chai7        | 自在   | easy                | Adj     | 1  | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| chu7-jian5        | 自然   | natural             | Adj     | 1  | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| chu7-ki2          | 自己   | self                | Pronoun | 1  | 12  | 慈母心           |
| chui2-chun2       | 水準   | standards           | Adj     | 3  | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| chui3             | 醉    | to be drunk         | V       | 1  | 11  | 愛拼才會贏         |
| chui3-khi2        | 嘴齒   | teeth               | N       | 1  | 7   | 細妹仔按靚         |
| chun2             | 準    | just                | Adv     | 1  | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| chun7             | 陣    | classifier          | CL      | 1  | 2   | 甬擱慙           |
| e5                | 的    | CL things           | CL      | 6  | 1   | 命運的吉他         |
| e5                | 的    | classifier: things  | CL      | 2  | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| e5                | 的    | classifier: things  | CL      | 8  | 3   | 惜別的海岸         |
| e5                | 入    | of                  | Prep    | 11 | 15  | 追追追           |
| e5                | 的    | of                  | Prep    | 3  | 4   | I love you 無望 |
| e5                | 的    | of                  | Prep    | 3  | 6   | 補空夢           |
| e5                | 的    | of                  | Prep    | 3  | 7   | 細妹仔按靚         |

|             |      |                     |          |    |     |               |
|-------------|------|---------------------|----------|----|-----|---------------|
| e5          | 的    | of                  | Prep     | 2  | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| e5          | 的    | of                  | Prep     | 1  | 11  | 愛拼才會贏         |
| e5          | 的    | of                  | Prep     | 1  | 12  | 慈母心           |
| e5          | 的    | of                  | Prep     | 10 | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| e5          | 的    | of                  | Prep     | 2  | 16a | 漂 / 七齣郎       |
| e5          | 的    | of                  | Prep     | 2  | 16b | 漂泊(足日)(足月)人   |
| e5          | 的    | of                  | Prep     | 5  | 17  | 有你有我          |
| e5          | 的    | of                  | Prep     | 8  | 18  | 向前走           |
| e5          | 的    | of                  | Prep     | 1  | 20  | 誰人甲我比         |
| e5          | 的    | of; non-human       | Prep     | 5  | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| e5          | 的    | the one             | N        | 1  | 7   | 細妹仔按靚         |
| e7          | 會    | can                 | Aux      | 1  | 11  | 愛拼才會贏         |
| e7          | 會    | can                 | Aux      | 1  | 7   | 細妹仔按靚         |
| e7          | 會    | can                 | Aux      | 2  | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| e7          | 會    | can                 | Aux      | 1  | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| e7          | 會    | could               | Aux      | 1  | 20  | 誰人甲我比         |
| e7          | 會    | will                | Aux      | 1  | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| e7-sai2     | 可以   | can                 | Aux      | 1  | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| eh4         | (口也) | sentence final part | Particle | 3  | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| eng2        | 影    | shadow              | N        | 1  | 2   | 甬擱愁           |
| eng2-oan2   | 永遠   | forever             | N        | 1  | 3   | 惜別的海岸         |
| eng2-oan2   | 永遠   | forever             | N        | 1  | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| eng5-oan2   | 永遠   | forever             | Adv      | 1  | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| gan2-chian5 | 眼前   | front               | N        | 1  | 3   | 惜別的海岸         |
| gau5        | 會    | skilled, good       | Adv      | 1  | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| geh8-kng1   | 月光   | moon light          | N        | 1  | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| gian3-thau5 | 愿頭   | stupid              | Adj      | 2  | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| gih4-ta1    | 吉他   | guitar              | N        | 3  | 1   | 命運的吉他         |
| goa2        | 我    | I                   | Pronoun  | 2  | 1   | 命運的吉他         |
| goa2        | 我    | I                   | Pronoun  | 1  | 3   | 惜別的海岸         |
| goa2        | 我    | I                   | Pronoun  | 3  | 4   | I love you 無望 |
| goa2        | 我    | I                   | Pronoun  | 8  | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| goa2        | 我    | I                   | Pronoun  | 4  | 6   | 補空夢           |
| goa2        | 我    | I                   | Pronoun  | 3  | 7   | 細妹仔按靚         |
| goa2        | 我    | I                   | Pronoun  | 4  | 8   | 莎啣娜啦探戈        |
| goa2        | 我    | I                   | Pronoun  | 1  | 9   | 世界第一等         |
| goa2        | 我    | I                   | PRO      | 21 | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| goa2        | 我    | I                   | Pronoun  | 14 | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| goa2        | 我    | I                   | Pronoun  | 4  | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| goa2        | 我    | I                   | Pronoun  | 2  | 15  | 追追追           |
| goa2        | 我    | I                   | Pronoun  | 4  | 17  | 有你有我          |
| goa2        | 我    | I                   | Pronoun  | 6  | 18  | 向前走           |
| goa2        | 我    | I                   | Pronoun  | 4  | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| goa2        | 我    | I                   | Pronoun  | 3  | 20  | 誰人甲我比         |
| goa2        | 阮    | I                   | Pronoun  | 1  | 18  | 向前走           |
| goa2-e5     | 我的   | my                  | Genitive | 3  | 4   | I love you 無望 |
| goa2-e5     | 我的   | my                  | Genitive | 2  | 18  | 向前走           |
| goa7-choe7  | 多少   | how many            | QW       | 1  | 18  | 向前走           |
| goan2       | 阮    | mine                | Genitive | 1  | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| goan2       | 阮    | we                  | Pronoun  | 2  | 12  | 慈母心           |
| goan2       | 阮    | we                  | Pronoun  | 1  | 14  | 夢中的情話         |



|                   |      |               |          |   |     |               |
|-------------------|------|---------------|----------|---|-----|---------------|
| goan5-bang7       | 願望   | wish          | N        | 1 | 17  | 有你有我          |
| goan5-in1         | 原因   | reason        | N        | 1 | 20  | 誰人甲我比         |
| goan5-liong7      | 原諒   | to forgive    | V        | 1 | 18  | 向前走           |
| goan7             | 願    | to be willing | V        | 1 | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| goeh8             | 月    | moon          | N        | 1 | 7   | 細妹仔按靚         |
| goeh8             | 月    | moon          | N        | 2 | 15  | 追追追           |
| gong7             | 慇    | stupid        | Adj      | 2 | 2   | 甬擱慇           |
| gong7-gong7       | 慇慇   | stupid        | Adj      | 1 | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| gong7-kiaN2       | 慇子   | stupid kid    | N        | 2 | 18  | 向前走           |
| gun2              | 阮    | I             | Pronoun  | 1 | 2   | 甬擱慇           |
| gun2              | 阮    | I             | Pronoun  | 1 | 3   | 惜別的海岸         |
| gun2              | 阮    | I             | Pron     | 2 | 15  | 追追追           |
| gun2              | 阮    | I             | Pronoun  | 1 | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| gun2              | 阮    | I             | Pronoun  | 3 | 4   | I love you 無望 |
| gun2-e5           | 阮的   | my            | Genitive | 1 | 20  | 誰人甲我比         |
| hai2              | 海    | ocean         | N        | 1 | 11  | 愛拼才會贏         |
| hai2-eng2         | 海湧   | ocean-waves   | N        | 1 | 3   | 惜別的海岸         |
| hai2-hoaN7        | 海岸   | beach         | N        | 1 | 3   | 惜別的海岸         |
| hai2-hoaN7        | 海岸   | beach         | N        | 1 | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| hai2-piN1         | 海邊   | coast         | N        | 1 | 6   | 補空夢           |
| hai7              | 害    | causative     | FW       | 1 | 7   | 細妹仔按靚         |
| ham5              | 和    | with, and     | Prep     | 1 | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| han1-chi5-gin2-a2 | 蕃蕃囡仔 | Taiwanese     | N        | 1 | 17  | 有你有我          |
| han5              | 寒    | cold          | Adj      | 1 | 11  | 愛拼才會贏         |
| han5              | 含    | to hold       | V        | 1 | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| hang7             | 巷    | lane          | N        | 1 | 16a | 漂 / 七巖郎       |
| hang7             | 巷    | lane          | N        | 1 | 16b | 漂泊(足日)(足月)人   |
| heng1-hoi5        | 胸懷   | chest         | N        | 1 | 17  | 有你有我          |
| heng5-iaN2        | 形影   | figure        | N        | 1 | 4   | I love you 無望 |
| heng5-iaN2        | 形影   | shade         | N        | 1 | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| heng7-hok4        | 幸福   | happiness     | N        | 1 | 3   | 惜別的海岸         |
| hil-bang7         | 希望   | hope          | N        | 1 | 4   | I love you 無望 |
| hil-bang7         | 希望   | hope          | N        | 1 | 11  | 愛拼才會贏         |
| hil-bang7         | 希望   | hope          | N        | 1 | 16a | 漂 / 七巖郎       |
| hil-bang7         | 希望   | hope          | N        | 1 | 16b | 漂泊(足日)(足月)人   |
| hil-bang7         | 希望   | hope          | N        | 1 | 17  | 有你有我          |
| hil-bang7         | 希望   | hope          | N        | 1 | 18  | 向前走           |
| hil-sengl         | 犧牲   | to sacrifice  | V        | 1 | 12  | 慈母心           |
| hi2               | 喜    | happiness     | N        | 1 | 2   | 甬擱慇           |
| hi3-lang7         | 戲弄   | tease         | N        | 1 | 6   | 補空夢           |
| hi3-lang7         | 戲弄   | to tease      | V        | 1 | 4   | I love you 無望 |
| hia1              | 那    | there         | Dem      | 1 | 18  | 向前走           |
| hiah4-nih4        | 彼呢   | so            | Adv      | 1 | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| hiah4-nih4        | 那麼   | so            | Adv      | 1 | 15  | 追追追           |
| hiaN1-ti7         | 兄弟   | brothers      | N        | 1 | 9   | 世界第一等         |
| hian7-tai7        | 現代   | modern        | Adj      | 1 | 18  | 向前走           |
| hiau1-hiong5      | 梟雄   | hero          | N        | 1 | 15  | 追追追           |
| hio7-hoe2         | 後悔   | to regret     | V        | 1 | 16a | 漂 / 七巖郎       |
| hio7-hoe2         | 後悔   | to regret     | V        | 1 | 16b | 漂泊(足日)(足月)人   |
| hio7-ko2          | 後果   | bad outcome   | N        | 1 | 18  | 向前走           |
| hiong3            | 向    | facing        | Prep     | 1 | 17  | 有你有我          |
| hiong3            | 向    | facing        | Prep     | 3 | 18  | 向前走           |
| hit4              | 彼    | that          | Dem      | 1 | 3   | 惜別的海岸         |

|                   |      |                     |            |   |    |               |
|-------------------|------|---------------------|------------|---|----|---------------|
| hit4              | 彼    | that                | Det        | 1 | 12 | 慈母心           |
| hit4              | 彼    | that                | Det        | 2 | 13 | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| hit4-lo5          | 彼囉   | that                | Dem        | 1 | 19 | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| hit4-si5          | 彼時   | that time           | N          | 1 | 13 | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| ho2               | 好    | good                | Adj        | 1 | 12 | 慈母心           |
| ho2-bai2          | 好歹   | good or bad         | N          | 1 | 17 | 有你有我          |
| ho2-han3          | 好漢   | brave man           | N          | 1 | 9  | 世界第一等         |
| ho2-hiam2         | 好險   | to close call       | V          | 1 | 10 | 我沒讀書          |
| ho2-ka1-chai3     | 好加在  | luckly              | Adj        | 1 | 10 | 我沒讀書          |
| ho2-khang1-e0     | 好空的  | good stuff          | N          | 1 | 18 | 向前走           |
| ho2-un7           | 好運   | good luck           | N          | 1 | 11 | 愛拼才會贏         |
| ho5               | 河    | river               | N          | 1 | 13 | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| hoai5-gi5         | 懷疑   | doubts              | N          | 1 | 20 | 誰人甲我比         |
| hoaN1-hi2         | 歡喜   | happy               | Adj        | 1 | 19 | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| hoan2             | 反    | to change           | V          | 1 | 12 | 慈母心           |
| hoan2-hoe2        | 反悔   | to regret           | V          | 1 | 14 | 夢中的情話         |
| hoan5             | 煩    | vexed               | Adj        | 4 | 15 | 追追追           |
| hoan5-tian1       | 煩癩   | nonsense            | Adj        | 1 | 10 | 我沒讀書          |
| hoat4-tou7        | 法度   | method              | N          | 2 | 4  | I love you 無望 |
| hoe1              | 花    | flower              | N          | 1 | 7  | 細妹仔按靚         |
| hoe2-chhia1       | 火車   | train               | N          | 1 | 18 | 向前走           |
| hong1             | 風    | wind                | N          | 1 | 2  | 甬擱愁           |
| hong1             | 風    | wind                | N          | 1 | 4  | I love you 無望 |
| hong1             | 風    | wind                | N          | 1 | 5  | 志明與春嬌         |
| hong1             | 風    | wind                | N          | 1 | 14 | 夢中的情話         |
| hong1             | 風    | wind                | N          | 2 | 15 | 追追追           |
| hong1-eng2        | 風湧   | swell               | N          | 1 | 9  | 世界第一等         |
| hong1-hun1        | 黃昏   | sunset              | N          | 3 | 13 | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| hong1-keng2       | 風景   | scenery             | N          | 1 | 18 | 向前走           |
| hong1-keng2       | 風景   | science             | N          | 1 | 9  | 世界第一等         |
| hou5              | 乎    | function word       | FW         | 1 | 17 | 有你有我          |
| hou5              | 乎    | let                 | FW         | 3 | 14 | 夢中的情話         |
| hou7              | 乎    | function word       | FW         | 1 | 20 | 誰人甲我比         |
| hou7              | 後    | to let              | FW         | 1 | 15 | 追追追           |
| hou7-i1           | 乎伊   | to him/her          | Benefactiv | 1 | 13 | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| huai5-liam7       | 懷念   | to think of         | V          | 1 | 13 | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| hun1              | 分    | percentage          | MW         | 2 | 11 | 愛拼才會贏         |
| hun5              | 雲    | cloud               | N          | 1 | 13 | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| hun5              | 魂    | soul                | N          | 1 | 11 | 愛拼才會贏         |
| hun5-iu5-su3-hai2 | 雲遊四海 | go around the world | Idiom      | 1 | 18 | 向前走           |
| i1                | 伊    | him/her             | Genitive   | 1 | 13 | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| i1                | 伊    | she                 | Pronoun    | 1 | 4  | I love you 無望 |
| i2-cheng5         | 以前   | before              | Prep       | 1 | 15 | 追追追           |
| i2-keng1          | 已經   | already             | Adv        | 5 | 5  | 志明與春嬌         |
| i2-keng1          | 已經   | already             | Adv        | 1 | 6  | 補空夢           |
| i2-keng1          | 已經   | already             | Adv        | 1 | 7  | 細妹仔按靚         |
| i3-chi3           | 意志   | mind                | N          | 1 | 20 | 誰人甲我比         |
| i3-hiong1         | 異鄉   | unfamiliar place    | N          | 1 | 13 | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| ia2               | 也    | or                  | Conj       | 1 | 18 | 向前走           |
| ia7               | 也    | also                | Adv        | 1 | 3  | 惜別的海岸         |
| ia7               | 也    | also                | Adv        | 2 | 4  | I love you 無望 |
| ia7               | 也    | also                | Adv        | 1 | 5  | 志明與春嬌         |
| ia7               | 也    | also                | Adv        | 2 | 13 | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| ia7               | 也    | also                | Adv        | 1 | 17 | 有你有我          |

|             |    |                     |           |   |     |             |
|-------------|----|---------------------|-----------|---|-----|-------------|
| ia7         | 亦  | or                  | Conj      | 1 | 14  | 夢中的情話       |
| ian1        | 煙  | smoke               | N         | 1 | 15  | 追追追         |
| ian3-khi3   | 燕氣 | sigh                | N         | 1 | 15  | 追追追         |
| iaN5        | 贏  | to win              | V         | 1 | 11  | 愛拼才會贏       |
| ian5-hun1   | 緣分 | destined to meet so | N         | 1 | 14  | 夢中的情話       |
| ian5-hun7   | 緣份 | affinity            | N         | 1 | 9   | 世界第一等       |
| ian5-hun7   | 緣份 | destined to meet so | N         | 1 | 8   | 莎啲娜啦探戈      |
| ian5-tau5   | 緣投 | handsome            | Adj       | 1 | 7   | 細妹仔按靚       |
| iaul-kiaul  | 妖嬌 | pretty              | Adj       | 1 | 15  | 追追追         |
| iau2        | 還  | still               | Adv       | 1 | 18  | 向前走         |
| im1-gak8    | 音樂 | music               | N         | 1 | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰       |
| in1-ho5     | 因何 | why                 | Adv       | 2 | 16a | 漂ノ七錢郎       |
| in1-ho5     | 因何 | why                 | Adv       | 2 | 16b | 漂泊(足日)(足月)人 |
| in1-ui7     | 因爲 | because             | Conj      | 1 | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰       |
| iong2-kam2  | 勇敢 | courageously        | Adv       | 1 | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰       |
| iong2-khi3  | 勇氣 | courage             | N         | 1 | 17  | 有你有我        |
| iong7       | 用  | to use              | V         | 1 | 2   | 甬擱慙         |
| iong7       | 用  | to use              | V         | 2 | 14  | 夢中的情話       |
| iong7       | 用  | to use              | V         | 1 | 17  | 有你有我        |
| it4-chhe3   | 一切 | everything          | N         | 1 | 3   | 惜別的海岸       |
| it4-seng1   | 一生 | whole life          | N         | 1 | 9   | 世界第一等       |
| it4-seng1   | 一生 | whole life          | Adv       | 1 | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰       |
| it4-tit8    | 一直 | continuously        | Adv       | 1 | 20  | 誰人甲我比       |
| iu1-jin5    | 尤人 | to blame            | V         | 1 | 9   | 世界第一等       |
| iu2-ti3     | 幼稚 | childish            | Adj       | 1 | 18  | 向前走         |
| iu5-goan5   | 猶原 | still               | Adv       | 1 | 3   | 惜別的海岸       |
| iu5-goan5   | 猶原 | still               | Adv       | 1 | 8   | 莎啲娜啦探戈      |
| iu5-goan5   | 猶原 | still               | FW        | 1 | 14  | 夢中的情話       |
| iu7         | 又  | again               | Adv       | 2 | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉       |
| iu7         | 又  | also                | Adv       | 1 | 2   | 甬擱慙         |
| iu7-koh4    | 又擱 | again               | Adv       | 1 | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰       |
| jin5-seng1  | 人生 | life                | N         | 3 | 9   | 世界第一等       |
| jin5-seng1  | 人生 | life                | N         | 1 | 11  | 愛拼才會贏       |
| jit8-ia7    | 日夜 | day and night       | N         | 1 | 15  | 追追追         |
| joah8       | 熱  | hot                 | Adj       | 1 | 12  | 慈母心         |
| ka1-hiongl  | 家鄉 | hometown            | N         | 1 | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉       |
| ka1-ki7     | 甲己 | self                | Pronoun   | 1 | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰       |
| ka1-pil     | 咖啡 | coffee              | N         | 1 | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰       |
| ka1-ti7     | 甲治 | self                | Reflexive | 1 | 2   | 甬擱慙         |
| ka1-ti7     | 自己 | self                | Reflexive | 3 | 18  | 向前走         |
| ka3-si7     | 教示 | moral               | N         | 1 | 12  | 慈母心         |
| ka7         | 把  | object mkr          | FW        | 1 | 18  | 向前走         |
| ka7         | 咬  | to bite             | V         | 1 | 10  | 我沒讀書        |
| kah4        | 和  | and                 | Conj      | 2 | 18  | 向前走         |
| kah4        | 甲  | and                 | Conj      | 1 | 16a | 漂ノ七錢郎       |
| kah4        | 甲  | and                 | Conj      | 1 | 16b | 漂泊(足日)(足月)人 |
| kah4        | 蓋  | to cover            | V         | 1 | 12  | 慈母心         |
| kah4        | 甲  | to the extent       | Adv       | 1 | 7   | 細妹仔按靚       |
| kah4        | 到  | until               | Prep      | 2 | 10  | 我沒讀書        |
| kah4        | 甲  | with                | Prep      | 2 | 20  | 誰人甲我比       |
| kah4        | 跟  | with, and           | Prep      | 2 | 5   | 志明與春嬌       |
| kai2-pian3  | 改變 | change              | N         | 1 | 3   | 惜別的海岸       |
| kak4-sek4   | 角色 | a role              | N         | 1 | 15  | 追追追         |
| kam1-cheng5 | 感情 | feelings            | N         | 1 | 3   | 惜別的海岸       |

|              |     |                 |      |   |    |               |
|--------------|-----|-----------------|------|---|----|---------------|
| kam1-goan7   | 甘願  | happily         | Adv  | 2 | 19 | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| kam2         | 敢   | question marker | QM   | 1 | 6  | 補空夢           |
| kam2         | 敢   | question marker | QW   | 1 | 20 | 誰人甲我比         |
| kam2         | 甘   | question marker | QM   | 1 | 4  | I love you 無望 |
| kam2-cheng5  | 感情  | emotion         | N    | 1 | 9  | 世界第一等         |
| kam2-kak4    | 感覺  | feeling         | N    | 2 | 5  | 志明與春嬌         |
| kam2-kak4    | 感覺  | feeling         | N    | 1 | 18 | 向前走           |
| kam2-si7     | 敢是  | question marker | QM   | 1 | 6  | 補空夢           |
| kam2-sia7    | 感謝  | to thank        | V    | 1 | 14 | 夢中的情話         |
| kang1        | 江   | river           | N    | 3 | 15 | 追追追           |
| kang5        | 同   | same            | Adj  | 3 | 17 | 有你有我          |
| kang5-che5   | 同齊  | together        | Adv  | 1 | 17 | 有你有我          |
| kang5-khoan2 | 同款  | same            | Adj  | 1 | 10 | 我沒讀書          |
| kang5-khoan2 | 同款  | same            | Adj  | 1 | 17 | 有你有我          |
| kat4         | 結   | to tie          | V    | 1 | 17 | 有你有我          |
| kau1-poe5    | 交陪  | to accompany    | V    | 1 | 14 | 夢中的情話         |
| kau2-goeh8   | 九月  | September       | N    | 1 | 4  | I love you 無望 |
| kau3         | 到   | to              | Prep | 1 | 3  | 惜別的海岸         |
| kau3         | 到   | to              | Prep | 1 | 4  | I love you 無望 |
| kau3         | 到   | to              | Prep | 5 | 5  | 志明與春嬌         |
| kau3         | 到   | to reach        | V    | 1 | 13 | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| kau3-ah4     | 到了  | arrived         | V+FW | 1 | 18 | 向前走           |
| kau3-lau7    | 到老  | until old       | Adv  | 1 | 19 | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| ke2          | 假   | false           | N    | 2 | 14 | 夢中的情話         |
| ke3-kau3     | 計較  | to fuss about   | V    | 1 | 2  | 甬擱愁           |
| keng1-ti3    | 景緻  | scenery         | N    | 1 | 3  | 惜別的海岸         |
| khah4        | 卡   | more            | Adv  | 1 | 2  | 甬擱愁           |
| khah4        | 卡   | more            | Adv  | 3 | 10 | 我沒讀書          |
| khah4        | 恰   | relatively      | FW   | 3 | 1  | 命運的吉他         |
| khah4-cha2   | 卡早  | earlier         | Adv  | 1 | 18 | 向前走           |
| khah4-choa7  | 卡抓  | useful          | Adv  | 1 | 5  | 志明與春嬌         |
| khai1-si2    | 開始  | start           | V    | 1 | 19 | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| khan1-seng5  | 牽成  | to patronize    | V    | 1 | 2  | 甬擱愁           |
| khang1       | 空   | nothing         | N    | 6 | 6  | 補空夢           |
| khau3-pe7    | 哭爸  | to cry out      | V    | 1 | 10 | 我沒讀書          |
| khe1-chui2   | 溪水  | stream          | N    | 1 | 13 | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| kheng1-sang1 | 輕鬆  | relax           | Adj  | 1 | 4  | I love you 無望 |
| khi2         | 起   | to go up        | V    | 1 | 11 | 愛拼才會贏         |
| khi2         | 起   | to rise         | V    | 1 | 15 | 追追追           |
| khi2         | 起   | to start        | V    | 1 | 18 | 向前走           |
| khi2-kang1   | 起工  | beginning       | N    | 1 | 11 | 愛拼才會贏         |
| khi2-thok4   | 牙籤  | toothpick       | N    | 1 | 10 | 我沒讀書          |
| khi3         | 氣   | energy          | N    | 1 | 2  | 甬擱愁           |
| khi3         | 去   | to go           | V    | 2 | 2  | 甬擱愁           |
| khi3         | 去   | to go           | V    | 1 | 19 | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| khi3-chhit4  | 氣質  | charm           | N    | 2 | 10 | 我沒讀書          |
| khia7        | 站   | to stand        | V    | 1 | 10 | 我沒讀書          |
| khia7        | 站   | to stand        | V    | 1 | 19 | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| khit4-chiah8 | 乞食  | begger          | N    | 1 | 9  | 世界第一等         |
| kho2         | 靠   | to depend on    | V    | 1 | 11 | 愛拼才會贏         |
| kho2-ai3     | 可愛  | cute            | Adj  | 1 | 4  | I love you 無望 |
| kho2-pi2     | 可比  | to compare      | V    | 1 | 7  | 細妹仔按親         |
| kho2-pi2-si7 | 可比是 | just like       | Adv  | 1 | 18 | 向前走           |
| kho2-pi3     | 可比  | can be implied  | Aux  | 1 | 11 | 愛拼才會贏         |

|                      |     |                    |      |    |     |               |
|----------------------|-----|--------------------|------|----|-----|---------------|
| khoah4               | 闊   | wide               | Adj  | 1  | 17  | 有你有我          |
| khoai3-lok8          | 快樂  | happy              | Adj  | 1  | 17  | 有你有我          |
| khoaN3               | 看   | to see             | V    | 1  | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| khoaN3               | 看   | to see             | V    | 1  | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| khoan3-keng2         | 環境  | enviroment         | N    | 1  | 9   | 世界第一等         |
| khoaN3-phoa3         | 看破  | to see through     | V    | 1  | 8   | 莎啞娜啦探戈        |
| khoan5-keng2         | 環境  | environment        | N    | 2  | 3   | 惜別的海岸         |
| khong1               | 空   | ephemeral          | Adj  | 20 | 2   | 甬擱愁           |
| khou2-mia7           | 苦命  | suffering          | N    | 1  | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| khou2-sim1           | 苦心  | concern            | N    | 1  | 12  | 慈母心           |
| khu2-chhiah4-chhiah4 | 酷恰恰 | cool cha-cha       | N    | 1  | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| khui1                | 開   | to open            | V    | 1  | 2   | 甬擱愁           |
| ki1-hoe7             | 機會  | chance             | N    | 1  | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| ki5-sit8             | 其實  | actually           | Adv  | 1  | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| ki5-thai7            | 期待  | to look forward to | V    | 1  | 3   | 惜別的海岸         |
| kiam1                | 兼   | and                | Conj | 1  | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| kiaN1                | 驚   | to be surprised    | V    | 1  | 17  | 有你有我          |
| kiaN1                | 驚   | to be surprised    | V    | 3  | 18  | 向前走           |
| kian1-chhi5          | 堅持  | to insist          | V    | 1  | 16a | 漂 / 七鬚郎       |
| kian1-chhi5          | 堅持  | to insist          | V    | 1  | 16b | 漂泊(足日)(足月)人   |
| kian1-chhi5          | 堅持  | to insist          | V    | 1  | 17  | 有你有我          |
| kian1-teng7          | 堅定  | made up            | Adv  | 1  | 20  | 誰人甲我比         |
| kiaN2                | 子   | children           | N    | 1  | 12  | 慈母心           |
| kiaN2-li5            | 子兒  | child              | N    | 1  | 18  | 向前走           |
| kiaN5                | 行   | to go              | V    | 1  | 17  | 有你有我          |
| kiaN5                | 走   | to run             | V    | 5  | 18  | 向前走           |
| kiaN5                | 走   | to walk            | V    | 2  | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| kiao7                | 罵   | to scold           | V    | 1  | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| kim1-ia7             | 今夜  | tonight            | N    | 1  | 6   | 補空夢           |
| kim1-ia7             | 今夜  | tonight            | N    | 1  | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| kim1-ia7             | 今夜  | tonight            | N    | 1  | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| kim1-jit8            | 今日  | today              | N    | 1  | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| kin1                 | 斤   | catty              | MW   | 1  | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| kin2-ki3             | 謹記  | to remember        | V    | 1  | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| kio3                 | 叫   | to call            | V    | 1  | 7   | 細妹仔按靚         |
| kio3                 | 叫   | to call            | V    | 1  | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| kio3                 | 叫   | to call            | V    | 12 | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| kiu5                 | 求   | to seek            | V    | 1  | 9   | 世界第一等         |
| kng1-soaN3           | 光線  | light              | N    | 1  | 12  | 慈母心           |
| ko3-hiong1           | 故鄉  | hometown           | N    | 4  | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| ko3-si5              | 告辭  | to part            | V    | 1  | 18  | 向前走           |
| koal-siaN1           | 歌聲  | song-voice         | N    | 1  | 1   | 命運的吉他         |
| koan1-hoi5           | 關懷  | feelings           | N    | 1  | 20  | 誰人甲我比         |
| koan2-kin2           | 趕快  | hurriedly          | Adv  | 2  | 18  | 向前走           |
| koan3-si3            | 慣習  | be used to         | V    | 1  | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| koaN5                | 寒   | cold               | Adj  | 1  | 4   | I love you 無望 |
| koaN5                | 寒   | cold               | Adj  | 1  | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| koaN5                | 寒   | cold               | Adj  | 1  | 12  | 慈母心           |
| koaN7                | 汗   | sweat              | N    | 1  | 12  | 慈母心           |
| koat4-teng7          | 決定  | to decide          | V    | 1  | 4   | I love you 無望 |
| koe3                 | 過   | to pass            | V    | 1  | 15  | 追追追           |
| koe3-khi0            | 過去  | to [go] past       | V    | 1  | 18  | 向前走           |
| koe3-teng5           | 過程  | process            | N    | 1  | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| koh4                 | 擱   | again              | Adv  | 1  | 2   | 甬擱愁           |

|                   |     |                        |          |   |     |               |
|-------------------|-----|------------------------|----------|---|-----|---------------|
| koh4              | 擱   | again                  | Adv      | 2 | 16a | 漂 / 七鬚郎       |
| koh4              | 擱   | again                  | Adv      | 2 | 16b | 漂泊(足日)(足月)人   |
| koh4              | 闊   | again                  | Adv      | 3 | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| koh4              | 擱   | and                    | Conj     | 1 | 7   | 細妹仔按靚         |
| koh4              | 擱   | and                    | Conj     | 2 | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| kong1-im1         | 光陰  | time                   | N        | 1 | 9   | 世界第一等         |
| kong2             | 講   | to alk                 | V        | 1 | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| kong2             | 講   | to say                 | V        | 1 | 20  | 誰人甲我比         |
| kong2             | 講   | to speak               | V        | 1 | 2   | 甬擱愁           |
| kong2             | 講   | to speak               | V        | 1 | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| kong2-ehut4-ehui3 | 講出嘴 | to speak up            | V        | 1 | 20  | 誰人甲我比         |
| kong2-li2         | 講理  | reasonable             | Adj      | 1 | 15  | 追追追           |
| kong2-oe7         | 講話  | to talk                | V        | 1 | 7   | 細妹仔按靚         |
| kong2-oe7         | 講話  | to talk                | V        | 1 | 15  | 追追追           |
| kou1-chit8-e5     | 孤一個 | alone                  | Adj      | 1 | 8   | 莎啲娜啦探戈        |
| kou1-hu7          | 辜負  | to take light          | V        | 1 | 20  | 誰人甲我比         |
| kou1-toaN1        | 孤單  | alone                  | Adj      | 1 | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| kou1-toaN1        | 孤單  | lonely                 | N        | 1 | 1   | 命運的吉他         |
| kou1-toaN1        | 孤單  | lonely                 | N        | 1 | 3   | 惜別的海岸         |
| kou2-chui1        | 古錐  | cute                   | Adj      | 1 | 7   | 細妹仔按靚         |
| kou3-hiong1       | 故鄉  | hometown               | N        | 1 | 18  | 向前走           |
| ku2               | 久   | long time              | N        | 1 | 15  | 追追追           |
| ku3               | 句   | sentence               | N        | 1 | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| kui1-khi3         | 歸去  | crisply                | Adv      | 1 | 8   | 莎啲娜啦探戈        |
| kui2-iN5          | 幾元  | how much               | QW       | 1 | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| kui2-ku3          | 幾句  | several sentences      | N        | 1 | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| kui2-loh8-ni5     | 幾落年 | several years          | Adv      | 1 | 8   | 莎啲娜啦探戈        |
| lah4              | 啦   | sentence final part    | Particle | 1 | 15  | 追追追           |
| lah4              | 啦   | sentence final part    | Particle | 3 | 18  | 向前走           |
| lah4-sap4         | 邋撒  | dirty                  | Adj      | 1 | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| lah8-chek4        | 蠟燭  | candle                 | N        | 1 | 12  | 慈母心           |
| lai5              | 來   | function word          | FW       | 1 | 7   | 細妹仔按靚         |
| lai5              | 來   | function word          | FW       | 2 | 20  | 誰人甲我比         |
| lai5              | 來   | to come                | V        | 1 | 2   | 甬擱愁           |
| lai5              | 來   | to come                | V        | 2 | 4   | I love you 無望 |
| lai5              | 來   | to come                | V        | 1 | 12  | 慈母心           |
| lai5              | 來   | to come                | V        | 3 | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| lai5              | 來   | to come                | V        | 1 | 15  | 追追追           |
| lai5              | 來   | to come                | V        | 1 | 17  | 有你有我          |
| lai5              | 來   | to come                | V        | 1 | 18  | 向前走           |
| lai5              | 來   | will                   | Aux      | 3 | 3   | 惜別的海岸         |
| lai5-hoe5         | 來回  | go and come back       | N        | 1 | 2   | 甬擱愁           |
| lai5-khi3         | 來去  | to go                  | V        | 1 | 18  | 向前走           |
| lai5-kiaN5        | 來行  | to go/follow           | V        | 1 | 11  | 愛拼才會贏         |
| lai5-piau2-si7    | 來表示 | to express             | V        | 1 | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| lai5-poaN1        | 來扮  | to act as              | V        | 1 | 18  | 向前走           |
| lai5-ta1          | 來擔  | to take responsibility | V        | 1 | 18  | 向前走           |
| lam5-chu2-han3    | 男子漢 | man                    | N        | 1 | 16a | 漂 / 七鬚郎       |
| lam5-chu2-han3    | 男子漢 | man                    | N        | 1 | 16b | 漂泊(足日)(足月)人   |
| lam5-chu2-kak4    | 男主角 | hero                   | N        | 1 | 18  | 向前走           |
| lan2              | 咱   | we                     | Pronoun  | 1 | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| lan2              | 咱   | we                     | Pronoun  | 2 | 12  | 慈母心           |
| lan2              | 咱   | we                     | Pronoun  | 1 | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| lan2              | 咱   | we                     | Pronoun  | 1 | 14  | 夢中的情話         |

|                           |     |                     |          |   |     |               |
|---------------------------|-----|---------------------|----------|---|-----|---------------|
| lan2                      | 咱   | we (incl)           | Pronoun  | 4 | 17  | 有你有我          |
| lan2                      | 咱   | we-incl             | Pronoun  | 1 | 3   | 惜別的海岸         |
| lan2-e5                   | 咱的  | our                 | Genitive | 1 | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| lan2-e5                   | 咱的  | ours                | Pronoun  | 1 | 8   | 莎啲娜啦探戈        |
| lan5-bong5                | 難忘  | hard-to-forget      | N        | 1 | 3   | 惜別的海岸         |
| lang5                     | 人   | classifier          | CL       | 1 | 17  | 有你有我          |
| lang5                     | 人   | people              | N        | 4 | 4   | I love you 無望 |
| lang5                     | 人   | people              | N        | 1 | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| lang5                     | 人   | people/person       | N        | 1 | 11  | 愛拼才會贏         |
| lang5                     | 人   | people/person       | N        | 1 | 15  | 追追追           |
| lang5                     | 人   | person              | N        | 1 | 2   | 甬擱愁           |
| lang5                     | 人   | person              | N        | 3 | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| lang5-iaN2                | 人影  | shadow of people    | N        | 1 | 1   | 命運的吉他         |
| lau3-pauh4                | 落跑  | to reveal           | V        | 1 | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| leh4                      | 咧   | sentence final part | Particle | 1 | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| lek8-liong7               | 力量  | strength            | N        | 1 | 17  | 有你有我          |
| leng2                     | 冷   | cold                | Adj      | 1 | 16a | 漂ノ七鬚郎         |
| leng2                     | 冷   | cold                | Adj      | 1 | 16b | 漂泊(足日)(足月)人   |
| leng2-cheng7              | 冷靜  | to calm down        | V        | 1 | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| leng5-long1-se7           | 玲瓏迺 | confused            | Adj      | 1 | 7   | 細妹仔按靚         |
| li2                       | 里   | measure word        | MW       | 7 | 15  | 追追追           |
| li2                       | 你   | You                 | Pronoun  | 1 | 2   | 甬擱愁           |
| li2                       | 你   | you                 | Pronoun  | 1 | 3   | 惜別的海岸         |
| li2                       | 你   | you                 | Pronoun  | 2 | 4   | I love you 無望 |
| li2                       | 你   | you                 | Pronoun  | 9 | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| li2                       | 你   | you                 | Pronoun  | 5 | 6   | 補空夢           |
| li2                       | 你   | you                 | Pronoun  | 1 | 7   | 細妹仔按靚         |
| li2                       | 你   | you                 | Pronoun  | 3 | 8   | 莎啲娜啦探戈        |
| li2                       | 你   | you                 | Pronoun  | 4 | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| li2                       | 你   | you                 | Pronoun  | 2 | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| li2                       | 你   | you                 | Pronoun  | 3 | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| li2                       | 你   | you                 | Pronoun  | 6 | 15  | 追追追           |
| li2                       | 你   | you                 | Pronoun  | 4 | 16a | 漂ノ七鬚郎         |
| li2                       | 你   | you                 | Pronoun  | 4 | 16b | 漂泊(足日)(足月)人   |
| li2                       | 你   | you                 | Pronoun  | 4 | 17  | 有你有我          |
| li2                       | 你   | you                 | Pronoun  | 3 | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| li2                       | 你   | you                 | Pronoun  | 6 | 20  | 誰人甲我比         |
| li2                       | 妳   | you (fem)           | Pronoun  | 5 | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| li2-e5                    | 你的  | your                | Genitive | 2 | 4   | I love you 無望 |
| li2-e5                    | 你的  | your                | Genitive | 1 | 12  | 慈母心           |
| li2-e5                    | 妳的  | your                | Genitive | 1 | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| li2-siong2                | 理想  | dream               | N        | 1 | 18  | 向前走           |
| li7-piat8                 | 離別  | separation          | N        | 1 | 3   | 惜別的海岸         |
| liah8                     | 抓   | to take             | V        | 1 | 17  | 有你有我          |
| liam7                     | 念   | to miss             | V        | 1 | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| liat8-cheng5              | 熱情  | passion             | N        | 1 | 17  | 有你有我          |
| liat8-loan5 (jiat8-loan5) | 熱戀  | hot love            | N        | 1 | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| liau2-si5                 | 了時  | to finish           | V        | 1 | 9   | 世界第一等         |
| lim1                      | 喝   | to drink            | V        | 1 | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| lim7-iu5                  | 任由  | let it              | Adv      | 1 | 15  | 追追追           |
| lin2                      | 你們  | you                 | Pronoun  | 3 | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| lin2-tau1                 | 你家  | your (home)         | N        | 1 | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| liin5-seng1               | 人生  | life                | N        | 1 | 2   | 甬擱愁           |
| liin5-seng1               | 人生  | life                | N        | 1 | 16a | 漂ノ七鬚郎         |

|              |    |                     |            |   |     |               |
|--------------|----|---------------------|------------|---|-----|---------------|
| lin5-seng1   | 人生 | life                | N          | 1 | 16b | 漂泊(足日)(足月)人   |
| lin7-chin1   | 認真 | serious             | N          | 1 | 1   | 命運的吉他         |
| liu5-long7   | 流浪 | to roam about       | V          | 1 | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| loan2        | 暖  | warm                | Adj        | 1 | 16a | 漂ノ七錢郎         |
| loan2        | 暖  | warm                | Adj        | 1 | 16b | 漂泊(足日)(足月)人   |
| loan5-cheng5 | 戀情 | love                | N          | 1 | 3   | 惜別的海岸         |
| loan5-koal   | 戀歌 | love songs          | N          | 1 | 6   | 補空夢           |
| loan7        | 亂  | messy               | Adj        | 3 | 15  | 追追追           |
| loan7        | 亂  | without considering | Adv        | 1 | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| loh8         | 落  | to go down          | V          | 1 | 11  | 愛拼才會贏         |
| loh8         | 落  | to go down          | V          | 1 | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| loh8-ehhial  | 下車 | to get off          | V          | 2 | 18  | 向前走           |
| lok8         | 樂  | happiness           | N          | 1 | 2   | 甬擱愁           |
| lok8         | 落  | to fall             | V          | 1 | 15  | 追追追           |
| lok8-koan1   | 樂觀 | optimistic          | Adj        | 1 | 18  | 向前走           |
| lok8-phek4   | 落魄 | depressed           | Adj        | 1 | 11  | 愛拼才會贏         |
| long2        | 攏  | all                 | Adv        | 1 | 3   | 惜別的海岸         |
| long2        | 攏  | all                 | Adv        | 2 | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| long2        | 攏  | all                 | Adv        | 2 | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| long2        | 攏  | all                 | Adv        | 1 | 15  | 追追追           |
| long2        | 攏  | all                 | Adv        | 2 | 17  | 有你有我          |
| long2        | 攏  | all                 | Adv        | 6 | 18  | 向前走           |
| long2        | 攏  | all                 | Adv        | 1 | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| long2-chong2 | 攏總 | all                 | Adv        | 1 | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| long2-si7    | 攏是 | all                 | Adv        | 1 | 9   | 世界第一等         |
| long5-chu2   | 狼主 | leader              | N          | 2 | 15  | 追追追           |
| long5-ian1   | 狼煙 | signal fire         | N          | 2 | 15  | 追追追           |
| lou7         | 怒  | anger               | N          | 1 | 2   | 甬擱愁           |
| lou7         | 路  | road                | N          | 1 | 18  | 向前走           |
| lu2          | 如  | more                | Adv        | 1 | 15  | 追追追           |
| lu2          | 愈  | more                | Adv        | 2 | 1   | 命運的吉他         |
| lu2-kheh4    | 旅客 | passengers          | N          | 1 | 18  | 向前走           |
| lu2-lin5     | 女人 | women               | N          | 1 | 15  | 追追追           |
| lu5-ho5      | 如何 | what                | QW         | 1 | 18  | 向前走           |
| lu5-kim1     | 如今 | nowadays            | Adv        | 1 | 15  | 追追追           |
| m7           | 不  | negative            | FW         | 1 | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| m7           | 不  | not                 | Negative   | 2 | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| m7           | 不  | not                 | Negative   | 4 | 18  | 向前走           |
| m7           | 無  | not                 | Negative   | 1 | 17  | 有你有我          |
| m7-bian2     | 不免 | don't               | Negative   | 1 | 16a | 漂ノ七錢郎         |
| m7-bian2     | 不免 | don't               | Negative   | 1 | 16b | 漂泊(足日)(足月)人   |
| m7-bian2     | 不免 | don't               | FW         | 2 | 11  | 愛拼才會贏         |
| m7-ho2       | 不好 | don't               | Negative   | 1 | 16a | 漂ノ七錢郎         |
| m7-ho2       | 不好 | don't               | Negative   | 1 | 16b | 漂泊(足日)(足月)人   |
| m7-kam1      | 嚟甘 | not willing         | Adv        | 1 | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| m7-kaN2      | 不敢 | can't               | Negative   | 2 | 20  | 誰人甲我比         |
| m7-kiaN1     | 嚟驚 | to be not afraid    | V          | 2 | 9   | 世界第一等         |
| m7-koan2     | 不管 | no matter           | Conj       | 2 | 18  | 向前走           |
| m7-koan2     | 嚟管 | whether             | Comp       | 1 | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| m7-si7       | 不是 | is not              | Neg copula | 1 | 4   | I love you 無望 |
| m7-si7       | 不是 | is not              | Neg+Cop    | 1 | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| m7-si7       | 不是 | or no               | Interj     | 1 | 16a | 漂ノ七錢郎         |
| m7-si7       | 不是 | or no               | Interj     | 1 | 16b | 漂泊(足日)(足月)人   |
| m7-thang1    | 不通 | cannot              | Negative   | 1 | 20  | 誰人甲我比         |



|                   |     |                     |          |    |     |               |
|-------------------|-----|---------------------|----------|----|-----|---------------|
| m7-thang1         | 不倘  | do not              | Negative | 1  | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| m7-thang1         | 不通  | don't               | Negative | 1  | 16a | 漂 / 七鬚郎       |
| m7-thang1         | 不通  | don't               | Negative | 1  | 16b | 漂泊(足日)(足月)人   |
| ma1-mah4          | 媽媽  | mother              | N        | 1  | 12  | 慈母心           |
| ma7               | 也   | also                | Adv      | 2  | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| ma7               | 嘛   | also                | Adv      | 1  | 11  | 愛拼才會贏         |
| ma7               | 嘛   | also                | Adv      | 1  | 12  | 慈母心           |
| ma7               | 會   | also                | Adv      | 1  | 12  | 慈母心           |
| mai3              | 甬   | don't               | Negative | 1  | 2   | 甬攔愁           |
| mai3              | 麥   | don't (again)       | Negative | 2  | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| mai3-koh4         | 麥攔  | not again           | Negative | 1  | 15  | 追追追           |
| mia5-siaN1        | 名聲  | reputation          | N        | 1  | 12  | 慈母心           |
| mia7-un7          | 命運  | fate                | N        | 2  | 1   | 命運的吉他         |
| miaN7-bai2        | 命歹  | unlucky             | Adj      | 1  | 9   | 世界第一等         |
| miaN7-sun7        | 命順  | lucky               | Adj      | 1  | 9   | 世界第一等         |
| mng5-khau2        | 門口  | gate                | N        | 1  | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| mui2-chit8-kang1  | 每一天 | everyday            | Adv      | 2  | 4   | I love you 無望 |
| mui2-jit8         | 每日  | everyday            | Adv      | 1  | 11  | 愛拼才會贏         |
| na1               | 哪   | just like           | Adv      | 2  | 7   | 細妹仔按靚         |
| na2               | 若   | if                  | Conj     | 1  | 2   | 甬攔愁           |
| na2               | 若   | just like           | Adv      | 4  | 16a | 漂 / 七鬚郎       |
| na2               | 那   | just like           | Adv      | 4  | 16b | 漂泊(足日)(足月)人   |
| na2               | 哪   | why                 | Adv      | 1  | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| na2-e7            | 哪會  | how can             | Adv      | 1  | 4   | I love you 無望 |
| na7               | 若   | if                  | Conj     | 2  | 12  | 慈母心           |
| na7               | 若   | if                  | Conj     | 2  | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| na7               | 若   | if                  | Conj     | 1  | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| na7-an2-choaN2    | 若按怎 | whatever the case   | Adv      | 1  | 18  | 向前走           |
| na7-boch4         | 若要  | if                  | Conj     | 1  | 9   | 世界第一等         |
| na7-thang1        | 那通  | how can you         | Adv      | 1  | 11  | 愛拼才會贏         |
| nan5              | 難   | difficult           | Adj      | 1  | 9   | 世界第一等         |
| nng7-chheng1-ban7 | 二千萬 | 200 million         | Numeral  | 1  | 17  | 有你有我          |
| nng7-e5           | 兩個  | 2 people            | Num+CL   | 1  | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| oan3-than3        | 怨嘆  | to blame            | V        | 1  | 16a | 漂 / 七鬚郎       |
| oan3-than3        | 怨嘆  | to blame            | V        | 1  | 16b | 漂泊(足日)(足月)人   |
| oan3-than3        | 怨嘆  | to complain         | V        | 1  | 11  | 愛拼才會贏         |
| oan3-thiN1        | 怨天  | to complain         | V        | 1  | 9   | 世界第一等         |
| oan5-seng5        | 完成  | finish              | N        | 1  | 3   | 惜別的海岸         |
| oe7               | 話   | words               | N        | 4  | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| oh4               | Oh! | Oh                  | Interjec | 10 | 18  | 向前走           |
| oh4               | 喔   | sentence final part | Particle | 3  | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| ong2-hui3         | 枉費  | to use              | V        | 1  | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| ou1               | 黑   | black               | Adj      | 1  | 16a | 漂 / 七鬚郎       |
| ou1               | 黑   | black               | Adj      | 1  | 16b | 漂泊(足日)(足月)人   |
| ou1-peh8          | 黑白  | without considering | Adv      | 1  | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| ou2               | 挖   | to dig              | V        | 1  | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| ou7-a2-kiaN2      | 芋仔子 | Chinese             | N        | 1  | 17  | 有你有我          |
| pah4              | 吧   | sentence final part | Particle | 6  | 18  | 向前走           |
| pai2              | 擺   | classifier, times   | CL       | 1  | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| pang3             | 放   | let                 | FW       | 1  | 8   | 莎啲娜啦探戈        |
| pang3             | 放   | to let go           | V        | 1  | 4   | I love you 無望 |
| pat8-lang5        | 別人  | other people        | N        | 1  | 4   | I love you 無望 |
| pat8-lang5        | 別人  | others              | N        | 3  | 1   | 命運的吉他         |
| pat8-lang5        | 別人  | someone else        | N        | 1  | 20  | 誰人甲我比         |

|                    |      |                     |       |    |    |               |
|--------------------|------|---------------------|-------|----|----|---------------|
| pe7-bu2            | 父母   | parents             | N     | 1  | 6  | 補空夢           |
| pe7-bu2            | 父母   | parents             | N     | 1  | 18 | 向前走           |
| peh8               | 白    | white               | Adj   | 1  | 13 | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| peh8-peh8          | 白白   | white               | Adj   | 1  | 7  | 細妹仔按靚         |
| pek4               | 迫    | to push             | V     | 1  | 15 | 追追追           |
| peng5              | 邊    | side                | N     | 1  | 13 | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| peng5-cheng7       | 平靜   | quiet               | N     | 2  | 3  | 惜別的海岸         |
| peng5-iu2          | 朋友   | friends             | N     | 2  | 18 | 向前走           |
| phah4-piaN3        | 打拼   | hard-working        | N     | 1  | 1  | 命運的吉他         |
| phah4-piaN3        | 打拼   | to strive           | V     | 1  | 11 | 愛拼才會贏         |
| phah4-piaN3        | 打拼   | to strive           | V     | 1  | 12 | 慈母心           |
| phah4-piaN3        | 打拼   | to strive           | V     | 1  | 17 | 有你有我          |
| phah4-piaN3        | 打拼   | to strive           | V     | 2  | 18 | 向前走           |
| phaiN2-mia7        | 歹命   | bad life            | N     | 1  | 1  | 命運的吉他         |
| phaiN2-se3         | 歹勢   | sorry               | Adj   | 16 | 10 | 我沒讀書          |
| phaiN2-un7         | 歹運   | bad luck            | N     | 1  | 11 | 愛拼才會贏         |
| phak8-lit8-thau5   | 曬日頭  | to sunbathe         | V     | 1  | 19 | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| phan3              | 盼    | to look forward     | V     | 1  | 13 | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| phang1-chui2-bi7   | 香水味  | perfume             | N     | 1  | 8  | 莎啲娜啦探戈        |
| phang5             | 帆    | a sail              | N     | 1  | 15 | 追追追           |
| phiau1-phiau4      | 漂撇   | fashionable         | Adj   | 1  | 7  | 細妹仔按靚         |
| phiN7-sai2         | 鼻屎   | bugger              | N     | 1  | 10 | 我沒讀書          |
| pho3-chhui3        | 破碎   | broken              | Adj   | 1  | 15 | 追追追           |
| pho7               | 抱    | to hug              | V     | 1  | 13 | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| phoa3-pak4         | 剖腹   | to be frank         | V     | 1  | 9  | 世界第一等         |
| phoaN3-chau3       | 伴奏   | to accompany        | V     | 1  | 1  | 命運的吉他         |
| phoaN7             | 伴    | to accompany        | V     | 1  | 6  | 補空夢           |
| phoe7-toaN1        | 被單   | sheet               | N     | 1  | 12 | 慈母心           |
| phou1-long7        | 波浪   | wave                | N     | 1  | 11 | 愛拼才會贏         |
| phu5               | 浮    | to float            | V     | 1  | 3  | 惜別的海岸         |
| phui3-than5        | 吐痰   | to spit             | V     | 1  | 10 | 我沒讀書          |
| pi1-ai1            | 悲哀   | sadness             | N     | 1  | 13 | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| pi2                | 比    | (compared to)       | FW    | 3  | 1  | 命運的吉他         |
| pi2                | 比    | to be comparable    | V     | 1  | 20 | 誰人甲我比         |
| piaN3              | 拼    | strive              | Adj   | 1  | 11 | 愛拼才會贏         |
| pian3              | 變    | to change           | V     | 1  | 3  | 惜別的海岸         |
| pian3              | 變    | to change           | V     | 1  | 4  | I love you 無望 |
| piN3-siaN2-bang2   | 柄什蚊  | what are you doing? | Idiom | 1  | 6  | 補空夢           |
| piN5               | 平    | flat                | Adj   | 1  | 9  | 世界第一等         |
| poah8              | 博    | intimate            | Adj   | 1  | 9  | 世界第一等         |
| poah8              | 賭    | to bet              | V     | 1  | 19 | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| poaN1              | 播    | to act              | V     | 1  | 5  | 志明與春嬌         |
| poaN1              | 搬    | to show             | V     | 1  | 8  | 莎啲娜啦探戈        |
| poaN1-hi3          | 扮戲   | to act              | V     | 1  | 19 | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| poaN3-hang7        | 半項   | half                | N     | 1  | 4  | I love you 無望 |
| poaN3-mi5          | 半暝   | mid-night           | N     | 1  | 12 | 慈母心           |
| poel               | 杯    | classifier          | CL    | 1  | 9  | 世界第一等         |
| poe5-poaN7         | 陪伴   | to accompany        | V     | 1  | 4  | I love you 無望 |
| pou2               | 補    | to mend             | V     | 1  | 6  | 補空夢           |
| pou7               | 薄    | thin                | Adj   | 1  | 8  | 莎啲娜啦探戈        |
| put4-hau3          | 不孝   | not filial          | Adj   | 1  | 18 | 向前走           |
| put4-si5           | 不時   | sometimes           | Adv   | 4  | 13 | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| sam1-put4-gou7-si5 | 三不五時 | sometimes           | Adv   | 1  | 9  | 世界第一等         |
| san1               | 山    | mountain            | N     | 1  | 15 | 追追追           |

|                     |      |                    |         |   |     |               |
|---------------------|------|--------------------|---------|---|-----|---------------|
| san1                | 山    | mountain           | N       | 1 | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| saN1                | 三    | three              | Numeral | 1 | 11  | 愛拼才會贏         |
| san1-beng5-hai2-se3 | 山盟海誓 | swear              | N       | 1 | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| saN1-kak4           | 三角   | triangle           | N       | 1 | 6   | 補空夢           |
| saN1-kiN3           | 參見   | to meet            | V       | 1 | 9   | 世界第一等         |
| sang3-khi3          | 送去   | to send            | V       | 1 | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| sat4-khi3           | 殺氣   | bellicosity        | N       | 1 | 15  | 追追追           |
| se3-cheng5          | 世情   | feelings           | N       | 1 | 2   | 甬擱愁           |
| se3-kai3            | 世界   | world              | N       | 1 | 9   | 世界第一等         |
| se3-kai3            | 世界   | world              | N       | 1 | 17  | 有你有我          |
| se3-kan1            | 世間   | (in the) world     | N       | 1 | 12  | 慈母心           |
| sek4                | 色    | lust               | N       | 1 | 2   | 甬擱愁           |
| sek4-lit8           | 昔日   | old days           | N       | 1 | 3   | 惜別的海岸         |
| seng1-khu1          | 身軀   | body               | N       | 1 | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| seng5-choan5        | 成全   | to help accomplish | V       | 1 | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| si3-lang5           | 世人   | life               | N       | 1 | 15  | 追追追           |
| si5-ki1             | 時機   | chance             | N       | 1 | 17  | 有你有我          |
| si7                 | 是    | is                 | Copula  | 1 | 2   | 甬擱愁           |
| si7                 | 是    | is                 | V       | 1 | 3   | 惜別的海岸         |
| si7                 | 是    | is                 | Copula  | 1 | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| si7                 | 是    | to be              | Copula  | 4 | 4   | I love you 無望 |
| si7                 | 是    | to be              | Copula  | 1 | 7   | 細妹仔按靚         |
| si7                 | 是    | to be              | V       | 1 | 11  | 愛拼才會贏         |
| si7                 | 是    | to be              | Copula  | 4 | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| si7                 | 是    | to be              | Copula  | 3 | 17  | 有你有我          |
| si7                 | 是    | to be              | Copula  | 7 | 18  | 向前走           |
| si7                 | 是    | to be              | Copula  | 1 | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| si7                 | 是    | to be              | Copula  | 1 | 20  | 誰人甲我比         |
| si7                 | 是    | yes                | Interj  | 2 | 16a | 漂 / 七鬚郎       |
| si7                 | 是    | yes                | Interj  | 2 | 16b | 漂泊(足日)(足月)人   |
| siaN1               | 聲    | sound              | N       | 4 | 1   | 命運的吉他         |
| siaN1               | 聲    | sound              | N       | 1 | 3   | 惜別的海岸         |
| siaN1               | 聲    | sound              | N       | 1 | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| siaN2               | 啥    | what               | QW      | 1 | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| siaN2               | 啥    | what               | QW      | 1 | 20  | 誰人甲我比         |
| siaN2-lang5         | 誰人   | who                | QW      | 1 | 20  | 誰人甲我比         |
| siaN2-meh8-khoan2   | 什麼款  | what kind          | N       | 6 | 15  | 追追追           |
| siaN2-mih8          | 什麼   | what               | QW      | 1 | 17  | 有你有我          |
| siaN2-mih8          | 啥物   | what               | QW      | 4 | 18  | 向前走           |
| siaN5               | 城    | city wall          | N       | 1 | 15  | 追追追           |
| siau1-iau5          | 逍遙   | free               | Adj     | 1 | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| siau3-lian5         | 少年   | young              | Adj     | 1 | 18  | 向前走           |
| siau3-lian5         | 少年   | young men          | N       | 1 | 9   | 世界第一等         |
| sim1                | 心    | heart              | N       | 1 | 1   | 命運的吉他         |
| sim1                | 心    | heart              | N       | 1 | 2   | 甬擱愁           |
| sim1                | 心    | heart              | N       | 4 | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| sim1                | 心    | heart              | N       | 1 | 15  | 追追追           |
| sim1                | 心    | heart              | N       | 2 | 16a | 漂 / 七鬚郎       |
| sim1                | 心    | heart              | N       | 2 | 16b | 漂泊(足日)(足月)人   |
| sim1                | 心    | heart              | N       | 1 | 17  | 有你有我          |
| sim1-cheng5         | 心情   | feelings           | N       | 1 | 20  | 誰人甲我比         |
| sim1-cheng5         | 心情   | mood               | N       | 1 | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| sim1-cheng5         | 心情   | mood               | N       | 1 | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| sim1-koan1          | 心肝   | heart              | N       | 1 | 4   | I love you 無望 |

|             |    |                    |      |   |     |               |
|-------------|----|--------------------|------|---|-----|---------------|
| sim1-koaN1  | 心肝 | heart              | N    | 1 | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| sim1-koaN1  | 心肝 | heart              | N    | 1 | 15  | 追追追           |
| sim1-koaN1  | 心肝 | heart              | N    | 1 | 17  | 有你有我          |
| sim1-lai7   | 心內 | in the heart       | N    | 1 | 8   | 莎啞娜啦探戈        |
| sim1-lai7   | 心內 | in your heart      | N    | 1 | 20  | 誰人甲我比         |
| sim1-thau5  | 心頭 | heart              | N    | 1 | 17  | 有你有我          |
| siN1        | 生  | to be born         | V    | 1 | 7   | 細妹仔按靚         |
| sin1-piN1   | 身邊 | by [your] side     | N    | 1 | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| sin1-piN1   | 身邊 | side               | N    | 1 | 4   | I love you 無望 |
| sin3-sim1   | 信心 | belief             | N    | 1 | 17  | 有你有我          |
| sin3-sim1   | 信心 | confidence         | N    | 1 | 16a | 漂ノ七巖郎         |
| sin3-sim1   | 信心 | confidence         | N    | 1 | 16b | 漂泊(足日)(足月)人   |
| sio1        | 燒  | to burn            | V    | 1 | 12  | 慈母心           |
| sio1-chiu2  | 燒酒 | alcohol            | N    | 1 | 8   | 莎啞娜啦探戈        |
| sio1-go2    | 相偎 | lean on each other | V    | 1 | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| sio1-go2    | 相偎 | together           | Adj  | 1 | 17  | 有你有我          |
| sio2-chhui3 | 小嘴 | mouth              | N    | 1 | 7   | 細妹仔按靚         |
| sio2-sim1   | 小心 | becareful          | Adj  | 1 | 9   | 世界第一等         |
| siong1-pi1  | 傷悲 | sadness            | N    | 1 | 8   | 莎啞娜啦探戈        |
| siong1-sim1 | 傷心 | broken heart       | N    | 1 | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| siong1-sim1 | 傷心 | broken heart       | N    | 1 | 6   | 補空夢           |
| siong1-sin3 | 相信 | to believe         | V    | 1 | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| siong1-sin3 | 相信 | to believe         | V    | 1 | 20  | 誰人甲我比         |
| siong5-se3  | 詳細 | carefully          | Adv  | 1 | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| siong7      | 相  | each other         | Adv  | 1 | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| siong7      | 尚  | most               | Adv  | 2 | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| siong7      | 上  | on                 | Prep | 1 | 11  | 愛拼才會贏         |
| siong7      | 最  | the most           | Adv  | 1 | 15  | 追追追           |
| siong7-ho2  | 尚好 | better             | Adv  | 2 | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| siong7-kai3 | 上介 | most               | Adv  | 1 | 17  | 有你有我          |
| siong7-kai3 | 上界 | most               | Adv  | 1 | 2   | 甬攞愁           |
| sit4-chi3   | 失志 | lose ambition      | Adj  | 1 | 11  | 愛拼才會贏         |
| sit4-khi3   | 失去 | to lose            | V    | 1 | 11  | 愛拼才會贏         |
| sit8-chai7  | 實在 | really             | Adv  | 1 | 7   | 細妹仔按靚         |
| siuN7       | 想  | to think           | V    | 1 | 2   | 甬攞愁           |
| siuN7       | 想  | to think about     | V    | 1 | 15  | 追追追           |
| siuN7-beh4  | 想要 | to want to         | V    | 1 | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| sng3        | 算  | to consider        | V    | 1 | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| soah4       | 煞  | then               | Conj | 1 | 8   | 莎啞娜啦探戈        |
| soah4-lai5  | 煞來 | suddenly           | Adv  | 1 | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| soaN1       | 山  | mountain           | N    | 1 | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| soe1        | 衰  | unlucky            | Adj  | 1 | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| song1       | 霜  | frost              | N    | 1 | 15  | 追追追           |
| sou2-u7     | 所有 | all                | Adv  | 1 | 12  | 慈母心           |
| sui1-liam7  | 思念 | miss               | N    | 1 | 4   | I love you 無望 |
| sui1        | 隨  | to go along with   | V    | 1 | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| sui1-lian5  | 雖然 | even though        | Conj | 1 | 3   | 惜別的海岸         |
| sui2        | 水  | pretty             | Adj  | 1 | 15  | 追追追           |
| sui2        | 水  | water              | N    | 1 | 15  | 追追追           |
| sui5-jian5  | 雖然 | although           | Conj | 1 | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| tai5-oan5   | 台灣 | Taiwan             | N    | 1 | 17  | 有你有我          |
| tai5-pak4   | 台北 | Taipei             | N    | 5 | 18  | 向前走           |
| tai7-chi3   | 代誌 | matter             | N    | 1 | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| tak8-kang1  | 逐天 | everyday           | Adv  | 1 | 4   | I love you 無望 |

|                      |     |                      |      |   |     |               |
|----------------------|-----|----------------------|------|---|-----|---------------|
| tam7-chui2           | 淡水  | (Place name)         | N    | 1 | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| taN2                 | 膽   | gall                 | N    | 1 | 11  | 愛拼才會贏         |
| tan2                 | 等   | to wait              | V    | 1 | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| tan2-hau7            | 等候  | to wait              | V    | 1 | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| tan7-si7             | 但是  | but                  | Conj | 1 | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| tan7-si7             | 但是  | but                  | Conj | 1 | 18  | 向前走           |
| tang7                | 重   | heavy                | Adj  | 1 | 6   | 補空夢           |
| tat4                 | 值   | to worth             | V    | 1 | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| tau3-te2             | 到底  | after all            | Adv  | 1 | 7   | 細妹仔按靚         |
| tau3-tin7            | 到陣  | together             | Adj  | 1 | 18  | 向前走           |
| tau3-tin7            | 湊陣  | together             | Adv  | 1 | 9   | 世界第一等         |
| tau3-tin7            | 鬥陣  | together             | Adv  | 3 | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| tau7-hu7             | 豆腐  | tofu                 | N    | 1 | 15  | 追追追           |
| te2                  | 底   | bottom               | N    | 1 | 4   | I love you 無望 |
| te2                  | 底   | bottom               | N    | 2 | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| te2                  | 短   | short                | Adj  | 1 | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| te2-te2              | 短短  | short                | Adj  | 1 | 8   | 莎啲娜啦探戈        |
| te2-te2-a0           | 短短仔 | short                | Adj  | 1 | 9   | 世界第一等         |
| te7-it4-teng2        | 第一等 | number one           | Adj  | 1 | 9   | 世界第一等         |
| teh4                 | 在   | (continued action)   | FW   | 1 | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| teh4                 | 在   | aspect marker        | FW   | 1 | 16b | 漂泊(足日)(足月)人   |
| teh4                 | 在   | aspect marker        | FW   | 1 | 18  | 向前走           |
| teh4                 | 地   | aspect marker        | Aux  | 3 | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| teh4                 | 塊   | aspect marker        | FW   | 1 | 7   | 細妹仔按靚         |
| teh4                 | 塊   | aspect marker        | Aux  | 2 | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| teh4                 | 塊   | aspect marker        | FW   | 1 | 16a | 漂 / 七齣郎       |
| teh4                 | 底   | continuing action    | FW   | 1 | 15  | 追追追           |
| teh4                 | 底   | continuing action    | FW   | 1 | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| teh4                 | 在   | progressive mkr      | FW   | 1 | 4   | I love you 無望 |
| teh4-chhoe1          | 底吹  | to blow              | V    | 1 | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| tek8-piat8           | 特別  | especially           | Adv  | 1 | 6   | 補空夢           |
| teng1-leng5          | 叮嚀  | to remind, to warn   | V    | 1 | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| thak8-chheh4         | 讀書  | to study             | V    | 9 | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| than2                | 趁   | while                | Conj | 1 | 18  | 向前走           |
| than2-peh8           | 坦白  | honest               | Adj  | 1 | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| thau1-thau1          | 偷偷  | secretly             | Adv  | 1 | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| thau3-cha2           | 透早  | early morning        | N    | 1 | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| thau5-cheng5         | 頭前  | front                | N    | 1 | 18  | 向前走           |
| the2                 | 體會  | body                 | N    | 1 | 11  | 愛拼才會贏         |
| the2-hoe7            | 體會  | to appreciate        | V    | 1 | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| the3                 | 替   | for                  | Prep | 1 | 12  | 慈母心           |
| theh8-chhut4         | 提出  | to take out          | V    | 1 | 17  | 有你有我          |
| thiah4-hun1-khui1    | 拆分開 | to break up          | V    | 1 | 20  | 誰人甲我比         |
| thiaN1               | 聽   | to listen            | V    | 1 | 2   | 甬擱愁           |
| thiaN1               | 聽   | to listen            | V    | 2 | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| thiaN1               | 聽   | to listen            | V    | 1 | 12  | 慈母心           |
| thiaN1-kiN3          | 聽見  | to listen            | V    | 1 | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| thiaN1-lang5-chhiuN3 | 聽人唱 | [I] hear people sing | V    | 1 | 18  | 向前走           |
| thiaN1-lang5-kong2   | 聽人講 | [I] hear that        | V    | 1 | 18  | 向前走           |
| thiaN3               | 痛   | to have pain         | V    | 1 | 1   | 命運的吉他         |
| thiaN3-sioh4         | 疼惜  | to love              | V    | 1 | 17  | 有你有我          |
| thiat4-te2           | 徹底  | completely           | Adv  | 1 | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| thiN1                | 天   | sky                  | N    | 1 | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| thiN1-khi3           | 天氣  | weather              | N    | 1 | 12  | 慈母心           |

|              |          |                    |      |    |     |               |
|--------------|----------|--------------------|------|----|-----|---------------|
| thiN1-teng2  | 天頂       | sky                | N    | 1  | 7   | 細妹仔按靚         |
| tho3-tong3   | 妥當       | sure               | Adv  | 1  | 2   | 甯攞愁           |
| thoan5-soat4 | 傳說       | legen              | N    | 1  | 15  | 追追追           |
| ti7          | 在        | at                 | Prep | 2  | 18  | 向前走           |
| ti7          | 塊        | located at         | Prep | 1  | 17  | 有你有我          |
| tiam3        | 惦        | at                 | Prep | 1  | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| tiam3        | 惦在       | at                 | Prep | 1  | 19  | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| tiam7-tiam7  | (失心)(失心) | quiet              | Adj  | 1  | 6   | 補空夢           |
| tiaN7        | 定        | calm down          | V    | 1  | 17  | 有你有我          |
| tian7-iaN2   | 電影       | movie              | N    | 1  | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| tian7-iaN2   | 電影       | movie              | N    | 1  | 18  | 向前走           |
| tiau5        | 條        | (long obj)         | CL   | 1  | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| tim5-tang7   | 沉重       | heavy              | Adj  | 1  | 16a | 漂 / 七鬚郎       |
| tim5-tang7   | 沉重       | heavy              | Adj  | 1  | 16b | 漂泊(足日)(足月)人   |
| tim5-tang7   | 沉重       | heavy              | Adj  | 1  | 20  | 誰人甲我比         |
| tiN1-tiN1    | 甜甜       | sweet              | Adj  | 1  | 7   | 細妹仔按靚         |
| tin5         | 塵        | dust               | N    | 1  | 15  | 追追追           |
| tioh8        | 著        | (continued action) | FW   | 2  | 1   | 命運的吉他         |
| tioh8        | 著        | (continuing)       | FW   | 2  | 3   | 惜別的海岸         |
| tioh8        | 著        | aspect marker      | Aux  | 1  | 12  | 慈母心           |
| tioh8        | 著        | aspect marker      | Aux  | 11 | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| tioh8        | 著        | aspect marker      | FW   | 1  | 17  | 有你有我          |
| tioh8        | 著        | aux                | Aux  | 1  | 2   | 甯攞愁           |
| tioh8        | 就        | just               | Adv  | 1  | 4   | I love you 無望 |
| tioh8        | 就        | just               | Adv  | 3  | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| tioh8        | 就        | just               | Adv  | 1  | 18  | 向前走           |
| tioh8-ai3    | 著愛       | must               | Aux  | 1  | 2   | 甯攞愁           |
| tioh8-hou7   | 著乎       | just let           | Adv  | 1  | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| tióng1       | 重        | double             | Adj  | 1  | 15  | 追追追           |
| tióng1       | 中        | in                 | Prep | 1  | 4   | I love you 無望 |
| tióng7-sin1  | 重新       | to restart         | V    | 1  | 14  | 夢中的情話         |
| tiu7-chhau2  | 稻草       | straw              | N    | 1  | 11  | 愛拼才會贏         |
| tng2-khi3    | 轉去       | to go back         | V    | 1  | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| to2-chit8-e5 | 叨一個      | which one          | QW   | 1  | 7   | 細妹仔按靚         |
| toa3         | 帶        | to bring           | V    | 1  | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| toa3         | 住        | to live            | V    | 1  | 18  | 向前走           |
| toa3         | 帶        | to take            | V    | 1  | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| toa7         | 大        | big                | Adj  | 1  | 17  | 有你有我          |
| toa7         | 大        | big (strong)       | Adj  | 1  | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| toa7         | 大        | to raise up        | V    | 1  | 12  | 慈母心           |
| toa7-hai2    | 大海       | ocean              | N    | 1  | 9   | 世界第一等         |
| toa7-pan7    | 大扮       | generous           | Adj  | 1  | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| toa7-siaN1   | 大聲       | loud               | Adj  | 1  | 15  | 追追追           |
| toaN5        | 彈        | to play            | V    | 1  | 1   | 命運的吉他         |
| toaN7        | 段        | classifier         | CL   | 1  | 3   | 惜別的海岸         |
| tong3-choe3  | 當作       | to pretend         | V    | 1  | 18  | 向前走           |
| tou7-chiau2  | 渡鳥       | visitant           | N    | 1  | 13  | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| tu2-soah4    | 抵煞       | to finish          | V    | 1  | 5   | 志明與春嬌         |
| tuh4-tioh8   | 遇到       | to meet            | V    | 1  | 10  | 我沒讀書          |
| tui1         | 追        | to chase           | V    | 3  | 15  | 追追追           |
| tui1-tioh8   | 追著       | to chase           | V    | 4  | 15  | 追追追           |
| tui3         | 對        | for                | Prep | 1  | 3   | 惜別的海岸         |
| tui3         | 對        | for                | Prep | 1  | 20  | 誰人甲我比         |
| tui3         | 對        | to                 | Prep | 1  | 4   | I love you 無望 |

|                |            |                       |            |   |    |               |
|----------------|------------|-----------------------|------------|---|----|---------------|
| tui3           | 對          | to                    | Prep       | 2 | 5  | 志明與春嬌         |
| tui3           | 對          | to                    | Prep       | 1 | 6  | 補空夢           |
| tui3           | 對          | to                    | Prep       | 1 | 14 | 夢中的情話         |
| tui3           | 對          | to                    | Prep       | 1 | 15 | 追追追           |
| tui3           | 對          | to                    | Prep       | 1 | 19 | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| tui7           | 墜          | to fall               | V          | 2 | 15 | 追追追           |
| u2             | 雨          | rain                  | N          | 1 | 14 | 夢中的情話         |
| u7             | 有          | aux                   | Aux        | 1 | 12 | 慈母心           |
| u7             | 有          | to exit               | V          | 1 | 20 | 誰人甲我比         |
| u7             | 有          | to have               | V          | 1 | 4  | I love you 無望 |
| u7             | 有          | to have               | V          | 1 | 6  | 補空夢           |
| u7             | 有          | to have               | V          | 1 | 11 | 愛拼才會贏         |
| u7             | 有          | to have               | V          | 1 | 13 | 黃昏的故鄉         |
| u7             | 有          | to have               | V          | 8 | 17 | 有你有我          |
| u7             | 有          | to have               | V          | 1 | 18 | 向前走           |
| u7             | 有          | to have               | V          | 1 | 20 | 誰人甲我比         |
| u7-cheng5      | 有情         | have feelings         | Adj        | 1 | 9  | 世界第一等         |
| u7-gi7         | 有義         | to be loyal           | Adj        | 1 | 9  | 世界第一等         |
| u7-iaN2        | 有影         | really                | Adv        | 1 | 5  | 志明與春嬌         |
| u7-si5         | 有時         | sometimes             | Adv        | 2 | 9  | 世界第一等         |
| u7-si5         | 有時         | sometimes             | Adv        | 2 | 11 | 愛拼才會贏         |
| ui1            | 搓          | to stab               | V          | 1 | 15 | 追追追           |
| ui7            | 為          | for                   | Prep       | 1 | 12 | 慈母心           |
| ui7            | 為          | for                   | Prep       | 1 | 15 | 追追追           |
| ui7            | 為          | for                   | Prep       | 1 | 19 | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| ui7-siaN2-mih8 | 為什麼        | why                   | Adv        | 1 | 1  | 命運的吉他         |
| ui7-siaN2-mih8 | 為什麼        | why                   | Adv        | 1 | 5  | 志明與春嬌         |
| ui7-tioh8      | 為著         | for                   | Prep       | 1 | 3  | 惜別的海岸         |
| un1-jiu5       | 溫柔         | gentle                | Adj        | 1 | 15 | 追追追           |
| un1-loan2      | 溫暖         | warm                  | Adj        | 1 | 14 | 夢中的情話         |
| un2            | 穩          | stable                | Adj        | 1 | 10 | 我沒讀書          |
| un7-mia7       | 運命         | destiny               | N          | 1 | 17 | 有你有我          |
| un7-mia7       | 運命         | fate                  | N          | 1 | 1  | 命運的吉他         |
| Z English      | shopping   | shopping              | N          | 1 | 19 | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| Z English      | I love you | I love you            |            | 2 | 4  | I love you 無望 |
| Z Hakka        | 我不知啦       | I don't know          | Idiom      | 1 | 7  | 細妹仔按靚         |
| Z Hakka        | 按靚         | very pretty           | Adj        | 4 | 7  | 細妹仔按靚         |
| Z Hakka        | 做什麼        | What are you doing    | Idiom      | 1 | 7  | 細妹仔按靚         |
| Z Hakka        | 細妹仔        | young woman           | N          | 4 | 7  | 細妹仔按靚         |
| Z Japanese     | 來舊不        | no problem            | Idiom      | 1 | 19 | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| Z Mandarin     | 少爺脾氣       | bad temper            | N          | 1 | 19 | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| Z Mandarin     | 名牌         | brand name            | N          | 1 | 10 | 我沒讀書          |
| Z Mandarin     | 噁心         | disgusting            | Adj        | 1 | 10 | 我沒讀書          |
| Z Mandarin     | 沒有問題       | no problem            | Idiom      | 1 | 19 | 癡情酷恰恰         |
| Z Mandarin     | 小飛俠        | Peter Pan             | N          | 1 | 18 | 向前走           |
| Z Mandarin     | 台北不是我的家    | Taipei is not my home | Expression | 1 | 18 | 向前走           |
| Z Mandarin     | 高樓大廈       | tall buildings        | N          | 1 | 18 | 向前走           |
| Z Mandarin     | 穿西裝打領帶     | wear suit & tie       | VP         | 1 | 10 | 我沒讀書          |
| Z Mandarin     | 小姐         | young lady            | N          | 1 | 7  | 細妹仔按靚         |