

Ideophones in Cantonese — the role of tones

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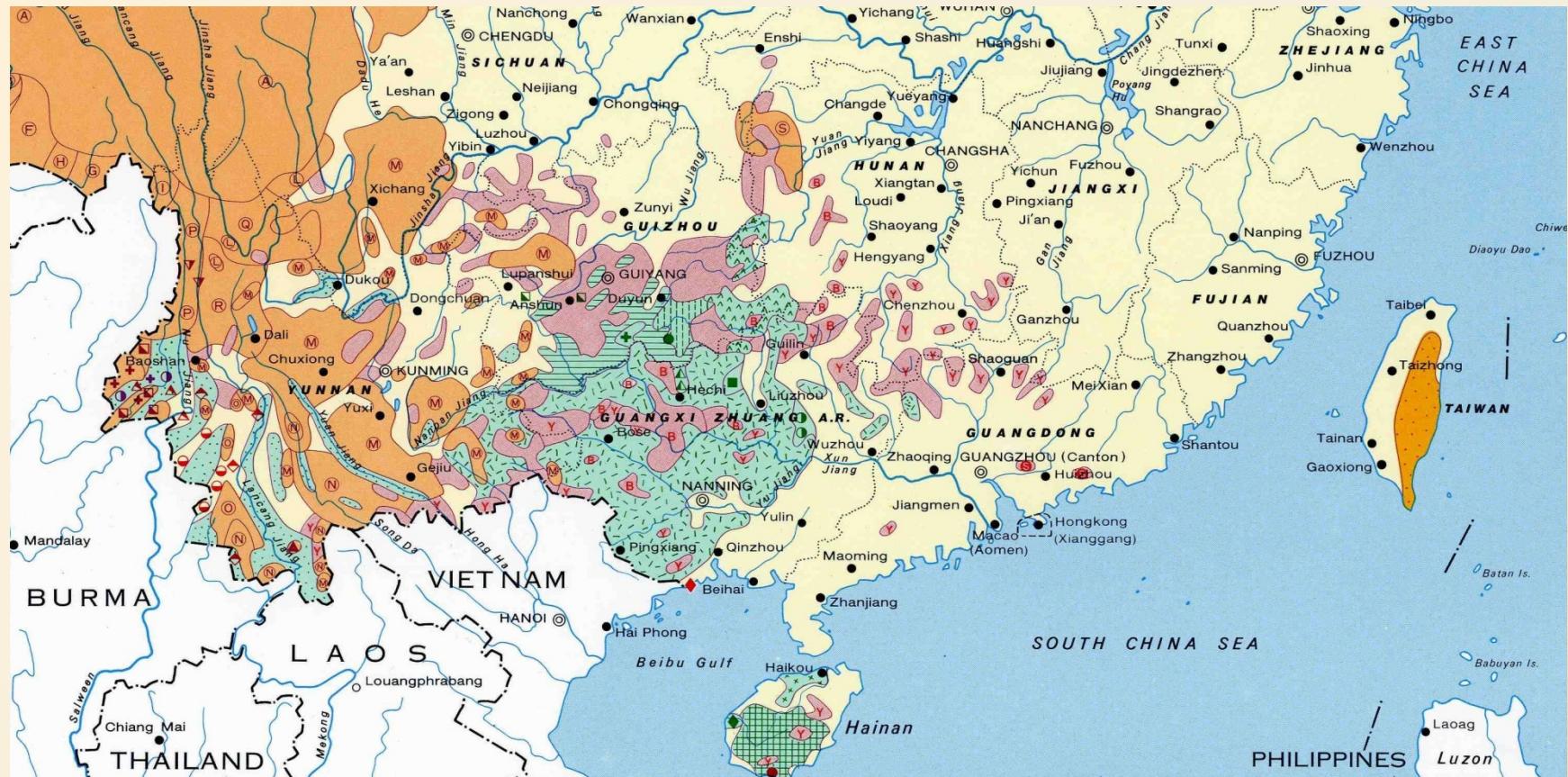
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(Wurm et al. 1987)

S. Pínghùa- Cantonese





Vietnamese
(Austroasiatic)

Tai Kadai

Hmong Mien

Cantonese writing...

- ❖ Most writing done in Standard Written Chinese (i.e. written standard Mandarin);
- ❖ In less formal situations, Cantonese also written, but there is no standard:
 - ❖ same characters used as in Wr. Chinese if cognate, e.g. *jing6wai4* ‘think’ 認為 (Mandarin: *rèngwéi*)
 - ❖ if not, often *ad hoc*: *nam2* ‘think’ 諗/睬
bei2 ‘give’ 罷/俾/卑/比
di1 MASS:CL 唔/o的/D
ke1 ‘shit’ ?

*Jyutping romanisation
used in this talk*

Cantonese phonology...

- (C) V (C)^T

Onsets:

b [p]		d [t]		g [k]	gw [k ^w]	
p [p ^h]		t [t ^h]		k [k ^h]	kw [k ^{wh}]	
m		n		ng [ŋ]		
	f	s				h
		z [ts]				
		c [ts ^h]				
		l				
			j		w	

- m^T, n^T

Cantonese phonology...

- vowel ‘length’ in closed syllable:

<aa> [a·] vs. <a> [a]

<oe> [œ·] vs. <eo> [ø]

<e> [ɛ·] [e]

<o> [ɔ·] [o]

<i> [i·] [I]

<u> [u·] [U]

<yu> [y·]

Cantonese phonology...

Rimes (boxed: rimes with ‘short’ vowel):

aa	i	u	e	o	oe	yu
aap	ap	ip		ep		
aam	am	im		em		
aat	at	it	ut	(et)	ot	eot (oet) yut
aan	an	in	un		on	eon yun
aak	ak	ik	uk	ek	ok	oek
aang	ang	ing	ung	eng	ong	oeng
aai	ai		ui	ei	oi	eo[i[ey]]
aau	au	iu		eu	ou	

Middle Chinese

*A	*B	*C	*D (-p -t -k)

(c.f. Hmong Mien, Tai Kadai, Việt Mường)

Middle Chinese to Pre-Cantonese

*A	*B	*C	*D (-p -t -k)

*
p f t t^j ts s tʂ s tʃ ʃ tç ç k x
p^h f^h t^h t^{jh} ts^h tʂ^h tʃ^h tç^h k^h
b v d d^j dz z dʐ ʐ dʒ ʒ dʑ ʑ g ɣ

Cantonese tones

*A	*B	*C	*D (-p -t -k)
1 1	2 1	3 ˧	3 ˧ 1 1
4 ˨	5 ˨˩	6 ˨˦	6 ˨˦

*voiceless onsets: Upper/Yin tones (123)

*voiced onsets: Lower/Yang tones (456)

Upper tones: high pitch

Lower tones: low pitch

Cantonese tones

*A	*B	*C
詩 si1 ˥ ‘poem’	屎 si2 ˧ ‘faeces’	試 si3 ˧˥ ‘try’
時 si4 ˨˩ ‘time’	市 si5 ˨˩ ‘city’	事 si6 ˨˧ ‘matter’

*D (-p -t -k)	
L	S
節 zit3 ˧˥	？ zit1 ˥ ‘festival’
截 zit6 ˨˧	‘tickle’
截 zit6 ˨˧	‘sever’

Cantonese Ideophones

- ❖ grammatically diverse;
- ❖ closed(-ish) classes;
- ❖ phonosemantically defined.

Cantonese Ideophones

❖ some onomatopoeic:

ding1 dong3, meu1 meu1, fi4 li1 fe4 let4

❖ often bound morph (often cranberry-):

fu4 fu2- *seng1^{'sound'}, coeng4^{'long'} -laai4 laai4*

❖ (full/ partial) reduplication:

sam1 juk1 juk1

heart move move 'tempted'

?  *hoi1hoi1 sam1sam1* hoi1sam1 ‘happy’

?  *hep1hep1 pi2pi2* hep1pi2 ‘happy’

我都等緊\$49, 得就得, 唔得就唔得, 大家hap hap py py咪好lor.

‘I am waiting (for it to reach) \$49 too; if it reaches it reaches, if it doesn’t it doesn’t; it’s good that everyone is hap-hap-py-py.’

(www3.uwants.com/archiver/?tid-7560461.html)

ABB/BBA adjectives

e.g. *coeng4 laai4 laai4*

long

- ❖ 3 syllable body parts ABB ideophones (?);
- ❖ 3 syllable BBA ideophones;
- ❖ 4 syllable ideophones/onomatopoeias;
- ❖ 1~2 syllable onomatopoeias.

ABB adjectives

e.g. *coeng4 laai4 laai4*

long

❖ Ideophonic adjectives:

A: adjective(/verbs) proper

+ B: ideophone proper

(mostly cranberry morphs)

(total/ partial reduplicated)

❖ (some BBA, rare)

❖ Common in the region:

ABB adjectives

Shanghainese:

'tɕʰiŋ-dʑi-dʑi ‘greenish’

pʰan-toʔ-to? ‘fat looking’

pʰan-ku-ku ‘fat and full’ (Creamer 1991)

Fuchow/Hokchiu:

paʔ²¹ tsʰaʔ⁵³ tsʰaʔ²¹² ‘very white’

(*paʔ⁵ sia²¹² sia²¹² >*)

paʔ²¹ lia⁵³ lia²¹² ~ sia²¹ lia²¹ paʔ⁵ ‘pale/tasteless’

ŋain²⁴² kʰouʔ²⁴ kʰouʔ²⁴ ‘hard’

ŋain²⁴² tieu⁵⁵ tieu⁵⁵ ‘stiff’ (Féng 1998)

ABB adjectives

N. Zhuang (Tai, Tai-Kadai):

'dam²⁴ da:t³⁵ da:t³⁵ ‘black’ (Wéi & Tán 1979:42)

Lao (Tai, Tai-Kadai):

jēn³ còɔj⁴ còɔj⁴ ເໝັນຈ້ອນງ ‘cool’ (Enfield p.c.)

Kam (Kam-Sui, Tai-Kadai):

jai³²³ je³¹ je³¹ ‘long’ (Lóng 2003:125)

Be (Be, Tai-Kadai) ('few examples'):

'baŋ²⁴ kiŋ¹¹ kiŋ¹¹ ‘bright’ (Liǎng & Zhāng 1997:82)

‘Mulao’ (Kra, Tai-Kadai):

ŋau³³ teŋ³³ teŋ³³ ‘sweet’ (Bú 2003:80)

ABB adjectives

Vietnamese (E. Mon Khmer):

dài đẳng đẳng ‘long’

dài lê thè ~

dài lượt thượt ‘long’

dày bình bịch ‘thick’

dày cồm côp ‘thick’ (Hé et al 1997)

Mang (N. Mon Khmer):

?e⁵⁵ lep⁵¹ lep⁵¹ ‘hard’ (Gāo 2003:84)

ABB adjectives

Tujia (Tujia, Tibeto-Burman):

tu⁵³ tɕi²¹ tɕi²¹ ‘heavy’

lan²¹ si⁵⁵ si⁵⁵ ‘stinky’ (Chén 2006:103)

Langsu (Burmish, Tibeto-Burman):

pjak⁵⁵ pjak⁵⁵ tʃiŋ^{35/31} ‘sour’

khjεŋ³⁵ khjεŋ³⁵ nε³¹ ‘red’ (Dài 2005:57)

ABB adjectives

Tibetan (Bod, Tibeto-Burman):

dkar khyugkhyug ཅାର୍ ଖୁଶ୍ ଖୁଶ୍ ‘whitish (flashing light)’

dkar chabchab ཅାର୍ କଷ୍ କଷ୍ ‘whittish’

dkar chemchem ཅାର୍ କେଶ୍ କେଶ୍ ‘glittering/sparkling white’
(Goldstein 2001)

Idu (Northern Mishmi, Tibeto-Burman):

ka³³ don⁵⁵ don⁵⁵ ‘bent’

gu³³ tsu⁵⁵ tsu⁵³ ‘wrinkly’ (Jiāng 2005:93)

ABB adjectives

- ❖ Less adjectivy than adjectives:
predicative:

di1 zyu1 zai2 fei4

CL:MASS pig son fat

‘The piglets are fat.’

di1 zyu1 zai2 fei4 dyut1dyut1

CL:MASS pig son fat

‘The piglets are chubby and cute.’

ABB adjectives

attributive:

fei4 bi4bi1

fat baby

'fat baby'

fei4 ge3 bi4bi1

fat LINK baby

'babies which are fat'

*fei4 tan4tan4 bi4bi1

fei4 tan4tan4 ge3 bi4bi1

fat LINK baby

'babies which are very fat'

ABB adjectives

modifying verbs:

maan6 maan2 haang4 maan6 maan2 gam2 haang4
slow slow walk slow slow like.so walk
'walk slowly' 'walk slowly'

maan6 tan1tan1 gam2 haang4
slow like.so walk
'walk really slowly'

ABB adjectives

modifying verbs:

haang4 dak1 maan6

walk get slow

‘walk slowly’

haang4 dak1 maan6 tan1tan1

walk get slow

‘walk really slowly’

ABB adjectives

being modified:

hou2 mung2 mung2 di1 zeoi3 mung2
‘very muddled’ ‘more muddled’ ‘most muddled’

hou2 mung2 sing6sing6 *mung2 sing6sing6 di1
‘very muddleheaded’ ‘more muddleheaded’

zeoi3 mung2 sing6sing6
‘most muddleheaded’

ABB adjectives

being modified:

san1 *m4 san1*

‘new’ ‘not new’

?? *m4 san1 cuk1cuk1*

NEG new

ABB adjectives

being modified:

san1 *m4 san1*

‘new’ ‘not new’

m4 san1 cuk1cuk1

NEG new

keoi5 m4 jung6 go3wo3, di1 ngan4 zi2.

3SG NEG use DISC CL:MASS money paper

‘S/he doesn’t use them if they are not totally new, the banknotes.’

(See Bodomo 2006 for more on morphosyntax)

ABB adjectives

e.g. *coeng4 laai4 laai4*

- ❖ Ideophonic compounds;
- ❖ Common in the region;
- ❖ Less adjectivy than adjectives;
- ❖ Across a wide range of semantic domains;
- ❖ Largest out of the closed ideophone classes
(≈ 110 individual cases in my current database):

ABB adjectives

e.g.: *_mei6* 味 ‘taste’

tim4 甜 ‘sweet’ *tim4 je4 je4*

syun1 酸 ‘sour’ *syun1 mei1 mei1*

fu2 苦 ‘bitter’

haam4 鹹 ‘salty’

laat6 辣 ‘spicy hot’

sin1 鮮 ‘umami’

gam1 甘 ‘bitter sweet’

gip3 “涩” “dry”

Pinghua:

tim²¹ təp² təp²

tun⁵³ tep⁵ tep⁵

hu³³ lak⁵ lak⁵

ham²¹ lak⁵ lak⁵

kip³ tat² tat²

(Tán, Wěi & Biàn 1997)

ABB adjectives

Role of tones cross-linguistically:

High tones: smallness, highness

Low tones: largeness, shortness

(African languages: Samarin 1965; Wescott 1973;
Courtenay 1976; Bohnhoff 1982; Awoyale 1983; Noss
1985; Bodomo 2006)

(East Asian languages: Matisoff 1994; Mok 2001:180;
Bodomo 2006)

ABB_B adjectives

Role of tones in Cantonese:

Upper tones (123):

sensual	high pitch	sharp	inflated
tenseness	quiet	light	lively

Lower tones (456):

Negative

(LaPolla 1994:142 fn9
quoting S. HN Cheung)
(but c.f. Mok (2001))

big	blunt
loud	heavy

flat
energyless
dragging

ABB adjectives

Not included in this database:

- ❖ Reduplicated forms of monomorphemic disyllabic adjectives
 - e.g. *laa4laa4 lam4* ‘quickly’ (<*laa4lam4*);
- ❖ Meaning of A is not clear.
 - e.g. *caai4 waa1waa1* ‘naively following/agreeing’
(*caai4* = ?)

ABB adjectives

Colour/Appearance:

‘red’	紅	<i>hung4</i>	<i>bok1bok1</i>
‘red’	紅	<i>hung4</i>	<i>dong1dong3/6</i>
‘yellow’	黃	<i>wong4</i>	<i>gam4gam4</i>
‘l. green’	青	<i>ceng1</i>	<i>bi1bi1</i>
(‘green’)	綠	<i>luk6</i>	<i>jau4jau4</i>)

ABB adjectives

Colour/Appearance:

‘black’	黑 haak1	<i>mang1mang1</i>
	~	<i>mi1mang1</i>
‘black’	黑 haak1	<i>maa1maa1</i>
‘black’	黑 haak1	<i>cam4cam4</i>
‘white’	白 baak6	<i>syut1syut1</i>
‘white’	白 baak6	<i>mung1mung1</i>
‘white’	白 baak6	<i>saai4saai4</i>
‘l. black’	烏 wu1	<i>zeot1zeot1</i>

ABB adjectives

Colour/Appearance:

‘blurry’	矇	<i>mung4 caa4caa4</i>	
‘glittery’		<i>sim2sim2</i>	<i>ling3</i>
‘glossy’		<i>laap3laap3</i>	<i>ling3</i>
‘bright’	光	<i>gwong1 caang4caang4</i>	
‘busy patterns’	花	<i>faa1 li1luk1</i>	

ABB adjectives

Volume:

‘quiet’	靜	<i>zing6 jing1jing1</i>
‘loud’	嘈	<i>cou4 lung4lung4</i>

ABB adjectives

Oral sensation:

‘sweet’	甜	<i>tim4</i>	<i>je4je4</i>
‘sour’	酸	<i>syun1</i>	<i>mei1mei1</i>
‘tasteless’	淡	<i>taam5</i>	<i>mau4mau4</i>
‘oily’	油	<i>jau4</i>	<i>zi4zi4</i>
(‘oily’)	油	<i>jau4</i>	<i>lam4lam4)</i>

(‘sweet’ 甜 *tim4* *si1si1*)

ABB adjectives

Smell:

‘fragrant’	香	<i>hoeng1 pan3pan3</i>
‘stinky’	臭	<i>cau3 bang1bang1</i>
‘stinky’	臭	<i>cau3 hang1hang1</i>
‘...’	腥	<i>seng1 wan1wan1</i>

ABB adjectives

Temperature:

‘hot’	熱 <i>jit6</i>	<i>laat6laat6</i>
‘hot’	熱 <i>jit6</i>	<i>laat1laat1</i>
‘hot’	“慶” <i>hing3</i>	<i>hap6hap6</i>
‘warm’	暖 <i>nyun5</i>	<i>lap1lap1</i>
‘cool’	涼 <i>loeng4</i>	<i>zam3zam3</i>
‘cold’	凍 <i>dung3</i>	<i>bing1bing1</i>

ABB adjectives

Animate physical properties:

‘fat’	肥 <i>fei4</i>	<i>dyut1dyut1</i>
‘fat’	肥 <i>fei4</i>	<i>tan4tan4</i>
‘short’	矮 <i>ngai5</i>	<i>dat1dat1</i>
‘thin’	瘦 <i>sau3</i>	<i>mang1mang1</i>
	~	<i>maang5maang5</i>
‘thin’	奐 <i>ngan1</i>	<i>zi1zi1</i>

ABB adjectives

Animate physical properties:

- | | | |
|--------------|---|--------------------------|
| ‘hairy’ | 毛 | <i>mou4 sang4sang4</i> |
| ‘bald/nude’ | 光 | <i>gwong1 tyut1tyut1</i> |
| ‘naked’ | 坦 | <i>taan2 dong6dong6</i> |
| ‘old’ | 老 | <i>lou5 nget6nget6</i> |
| ‘lively/raw’ | 生 | <i>saang1 ngau1ngau1</i> |
| ‘bloody’ | 血 | <i>hyut3 lam4lam4</i> |

ABB adjectives

Laugh/smile:

笑 *siu3* *mei1mei1*

笑 *siu3* *haa1haa1*

笑 *siu3* *ho1ho1*

笑 *siu3* *ke4ke4*

笑 *siu3* *jam4jam4*

(笑 *siu3* *jing4jing4*)

ABB adjectives

Dumb/stupid/idle:

‘dumb/bored’	戆	<i>ngong6 geoi1geoi1</i>	~	<i>kwaak1kwaak1</i>
		(~	<i>gau1gau1</i>)	
‘dumb’	傻	<i>so4</i>	<i>gaang1gaang1</i>	
‘dumb’	懵	<i>mung2</i>	<i>sing6sing6</i>	
‘dumb’	懵	<i>mung2</i>	<i>bai3bai3</i>	
‘dumb’	烏	<i>wu1</i>	<i>doeng1doeng1</i>	
‘dumb’	烏	<i>wu1</i>	<i>soe2soe4</i>	

ABB adjectives

States of mind and body:

‘worried’	(heart:)	<i>lo1lo1</i>	<i>lyun1</i> 韵
‘angry’	騷	<i>nau1</i>	<i>baau3baau3</i>
‘dizzy’	暈	<i>wan4</i>	<i>to4to4</i>
‘tired’	効/瘡	<i>gui6</i>	<i>laai4laai4</i>
‘arrogant’	橫	<i>waang4</i>	<i>baang1baang6</i>
‘inflexible’	死	<i>sei2</i>	<i>gu4gu4</i>
‘unscrupulous’	爛	<i>laan6</i>	<i>daat3daat3</i>
(‘low character’)		<i>cip1</i>	<i>bung4bung4</i>)

ABB adjectives

States of mind and body:

‘absentminded/blind’ 盲 *maang4 zung1zung1*

‘drunk’ 醉 *zeoi3 fan1fan1*

‘lonely’ 孤 *gu1 ling1ling1*

Positive animate attribute:

‘famous’ 響 *hoeng2 dong1dong1*

ABB adjectives

Inanimate properties:

‘straight’	直 zik6	<i>bat1lat1</i>
‘round’	圓 jyun4	<i>gu1luk1</i>
‘round’	圓 jyun4	<i>dam4dam4</i>
	~	<i>dam4doe4</i>
‘inflated’	漲 zoeng3	<i>buk1buk1</i>
‘flat’	扁 bin2	<i>tet6tet6</i>
‘long’	長 coeng4	<i>laai4laai4</i>
‘thin’	薄 bok6	<i>cit1cit1</i>
(‘thick’)	厚 hau5	<i>dap6dap6)</i>

ABB adjectives

Inanimate properties:

‘smooth’	滑	waat6	lyut1lyut1
‘slimy’	滑	waat6	saan4saan4
‘rough’	?	haai4	saap6saap6
‘hard’	硬	ngaang6gwak6gwak6	
‘soft’	軟	jyun5	nam4nam4
‘squishy’	?	nam4	bet6bet6
‘pointy sharp’	尖	zim2	bat1lat1
‘blunt’	掘	gwat6	leoi4ceoi4

ABB adjectives

Inanimate properties:

‘light’	輕	<i>heng1 piu1piu1</i>
‘heavy’	重	<i>cung5 dam4dam4</i>
‘dry’	乾	<i>gon1 zang1zang1</i>
‘wet’	濕	<i>sap1 zet6zet6</i>
‘sticky’	黏	<i>ci1 nap6nap6</i>
‘wet/sticky’	濕	<i>sap1 nap6nap6</i>
‘watery’	水	<i>seo1 wong1wong1</i>
‘low viscosity’	稀	<i>hei1 leu1leu1</i>
‘high viscosity’	“杰”	<i>git6 taat6taat6</i>

ABB adjectives

Inanimate properties:

‘ordered/neat’ 齊 *cai4* *cap1cap1*

‘unordered/messy’ 散 *saaN2* *sau1sau1*

‘messy’ 亂 *lyun6* *zou1zou1*

‘messy’ *laap6laap2* *lyun6 亂*

‘dense’ 密 *mat6* *zat1zat1*

‘dense’ 密 *mat6* *maa4maa4*

ABB adjectives

Inanimate properties:

‘mushy’	爛 <i>laan6</i>	<i>jung4jung4</i>
‘fatty’	肥 <i>fei4</i>	<i>lam4lam4</i>
‘crunchy’		<i>bok1bok1 ceoi3</i> 脆
‘surface tight’		<i>maang1maang1 gan2</i> 緊
‘loose’	鬆 <i>sung1</i>	<i>pau3pau3</i>
‘wrinkly’	? <i>caau4</i>	<i>mang1mang1</i>
‘empty’	空 <i>hung1</i>	<i>leu1leu1</i>
‘new’	新 <i>san1</i>	<i>cuk1cuk1</i>

ABB adjectives

Manner:

‘slow’ 慢 *maan6 tan1tan1*

‘sneaky’ 靜 *zing6 gai1gai1*

ABB adjectives

Quantity/variety:

‘big amount \$’ 大 *daai6* *laa4laa4*

‘in form of cash’ 現 *jin6* *dau1dau1*

‘lots & various’ 多 *do1* *lo4lo4*

‘assortment’ 雜 *zaap6* *bang1lang1*

(‘all’ 匱 *ham6* *baang6laang6*)

‘insignificant’ *sap1sap1* *seo13* 碎

ABB adjectives

Environment/ state:

‘peopleless’	冷	<i>laang5 cing1cing1</i>
‘late night’	夜	<i>je6 maa1maa1</i>
‘sounds real’	似	<i>ci5 cang4cang4</i>
‘originally good’	好	<i>hou2 dei6dei6</i>

Body part ABB ideophones (?)

e.g. *sam1* *juk1 juk1*

heart move move 'tempted'

Ideophones?

≠: all morephemes can be independent words;

→ link between phonology and semantics arbitrary;

≈: ABB shape;

≈: class membership close-ish;

≈: 'vividly' describes physical and/or psychological state.

Body part ABB ideophones (?)

tau4 dap1 dap1,

head lowered

ngaan5 sap1 sap1

lowered, eye wet wet

ngaan5 baak6 baak6

eye white white

daam2 cou1 cou1

g.blader thick thick

‘(naïvely) fearless’

ngaa4 caat3 caat3

tooth brush brush

≈ ‘boastful/arrogant’

3 syllable BBA ideophones

Onomatopoeic:

saa4 saa2 seng1

sound

ham4 ham2 seng1

...

Not (?) onomatopoeic:

baang4 baang2 seng1 ‘rapid increase’

laa4 laa2 seng1 ‘hurry’

~laa4 laa4 lam4

3 syllable BBA ideophones

nouns:

laa4 laa4 deo12

team

'cheerleading squad'

pung3 pung3 ce1

hit hit vehicle

'dodgem car'

verbs:

tam4 tam4 zyun3

turn

'going in loops'

tan4 tan2 zan3

shake

'shiver'

gwaa1 gwaa1 giu3

call

'yell in pain'

3 syllable BBA ideophones

adjectives:

lo1 lo1 *lyun1*

crocked

‘worried’

laap3 laap3 *ling3*

shiny

sap1 sap1 *seo13*

shattered

‘very glossy’

sim2 sim2 *ling3*

‘very shattered/ insignificant’ sparkle sparkle shiny

maang1 maang1 *gan2*

tight

‘very glittery’

verb modifier:

‘very tight’

tam4 tam4 *kwaak1*

encircle

‘circularly’

4 syllable ideophones...

('headed'):

wi1 waa1 gwai2 giu3
 ghost call

cou4 jyun1 baa1 bai3

noisy

daai6 ngaan5 kik1 kok1
big eye

haak1 gu2 lat6 dat6

black

cyut1 coet1 gam2 zyun3
 like.so turn

daai6 tou5 lam4 dam1

big belly

wu1 li1 maa5 caa5

dirty

haau4 si1 dan3 duk1

coquettish

4 syllable onomatopoeias...

dang1 dang1 dang1 dang3 登登登甞 ‘taa daa’

‘Symphony n° 5 Beethoven’

hi4 hi1 hoe4 hoe4

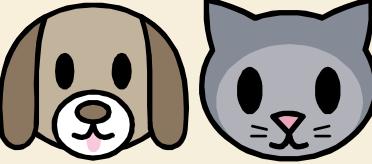
fi4 li1 fe4 let4

si4 li4 saa4 laa4

ping1 ling1 paang1 laang1

gi1 li1 gu1 lu1 ~ gi4 li1 geu4 leu4

1 or 2 syllable onomatopoeias...

- ❖ *wou1 wou1, meu1meu1* 
‘direct quotes’, modifiers of verb
some nouns: *zek3 wou1wou1*

CL	‘the dog’
CL	‘the car’

gaa3 but1 but1

CL	‘the car’
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1 or 2 syllable onomatopoeias...

some verbs:

nei5 *zou6* *me1* *but1* *ngo5* *a3?*
2SG do what 1SG Q

‘Why did you blow your horn at me?’

ding1 *jit6* *bui1* *caa4*
hot cup tea

‘heat the cup of tea up in microwave’

1 or 2 syllable onomatopoeias...

Some can cooccur with ‘head’: (mostly kiddy words)

wou1 wou1 gau1 ‘dog’

gok4 gok4 gai1 ‘fowl’

joeng4 me1 (me1) ‘sheep’/‘goat’

but1 but1 ce1 ‘private vehicle’

bi1 bu3 ce1/ bi4 bu1 ce1

‘emergency vehicle’

*seng1 kiu1
fo6 jo6
aa6 ten1 seon4!!!*