SWATOW LOAN WORDS IN SIAMESE

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Modern Siamese contains a number of words borrowed from the Swatow dialect (also known as Chao Chou or Tie Chiu), the predominant dialect among the Chinese minority in Thailand. The list contained in this article comprises 181 items assembled from the files of the University of California Thai Dictionary Project, from existing dictionaries, and from my personal notes.¹

The Swatow loan words should not be confused with the older vocabulary items which are related to Chinese or have been borrowed from Chinese at a very early date. There are two main groups of such words: Cyclic terms which have been treated by Li Fang-kuei in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 8 (1945) 333–342 and by myself in *Oriens* 10. 2 (1957) 296–299; and the remaining contact words which have been treated by Kurt Wulff in *Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filo-

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For previous mention of the Swatow loan words in Siamese see Gustave Schlegel, *T'oung Pao*, Ser. 2, 2 (1901) p. 79 ff. (Schlegel thought the origin of the loan words to be Amoy), and E. J. A. Henderson, *Transactions of the Philological Society* (1951) 134–135 and 142–143. The present study provides the missing characters for some of Miss Henderson's comparisons. The Siamese word /nolng/ 'please', for which Miss Henderson suggests a Chinese etymology (p. 135) is of Malay origin.

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logiske Meddelelser 20. 3 (1934) and others. The Swatow loans are much more recent and are recognizable by their form, which is close to the Swatow phonological pattern, as well as by their content, reflecting the role played by the Chinese in Thailand: commerce, labor organization, relaxation, imported goods, eats, drinks, smokes, social and religious events, and expressive adjectives are some of the main categories. There are, however, cases where it is difficult to tell with certainty from the modern data alone to which source a word with Chinese affinities goes back. Siamese /kim/ 'gold' is an older contact word, but it fits the pattern for Swatow loans, and in the compound /kimtýŋ/ 'a kind of porcelain' from Swatow /kîmtýŋ/ 'golden hall' /kim/ does have a Swatow origin.

To a lesser degree Siamese has also borrowed from other Chinese dialects than Swatow. The Siamese pronunciation of Chinese names often does not agree with the Swatow pattern. Thus the name of the famous Chinese restaurant in Bangkok /hûçîthianlûw/ reflects the Cantonese /hûjîthînlûw/, but characteristically enough Cantonese as mispronounced by a Swatow speaker, as shown by the second syllable, cf. Swatow /thîn/. Siamese /ciąqkʰajchêg/ 'Chiang K'ai-shek' with its curious mixture of Mandarin and Cantonese was borrowed via English. Some words included in this paper, especially such as do not render the tones in accordance with the more common patterns, may actually have come to Siamese from other Chinese dialects than Swatow.

A few words from the vocabulary of traditional Chinese story telling are included in the Siamese dictionaries, e. g. /pɔŋ/ 'king', /cîmkoŋ/ 'to bring tribute'. These two words do not exactly reflect modern recorded Swatow forms, for the first one cf. Amoy /pɔŋ/. To this group probably also belong no. 167 of the list below /tɔŋchîn/ 'loyal subject', and no. 63 /kaŋchîn/ 'disloyal minister'.

A very few words common to Tai and Fukienese, but not found in other Chinese dialects, are probably Tai loans in Fukienese, e. g. 'leg' Siamese /khã/, Swatow /khã/, Lungtu /kháa/, Amoy and Fuchow /khã/. No. 98 below 'enough' Swatow /lã/, Siamese /lãa/ may belong in this category.
The phonological systems of Siamese¹ and Swatow² are quite similar, and the loan words are consequently easily assimilated.

Below is given the list of Swatow loan words in our material, followed by a discussion of the sound laws involved in the loaning process under the three headings Consonants, Vowels, and Tones.

1. St³ /pàcè/ 阿姐 'older sister' > Sm⁴ /pàačè/. See also no. 27.
2. St /pàhìav⁵/ 阿兄 'older brother, respectful address to man older than oneself' > Sm /pàaḥia/ 'older brother, respectful address to adult Chinese; adult Chinese'. See also no. 46.
3. St /pàkèw ⁶/ 阿姑 'aunt, father's sister' > Sm /pàaakoo/. See also no. 87.
4. St /pàmùev ⁷/ 阿妹 'younger sister' > Sm /pàamùaŋ/. See also no. 108.
5. St /pàti/ 阿弟 'younger brother' > Sm /pàatìi/. See also no. 158.
6. St /pàpè⁸/ 阿伯 'uncle, father's older brother' > Sm /pàapè⁹/. See also no. 112.
7. St /pàphien ⁺/ 鴉片 'opium' > Sm /pàa phìan/.

¹ For a summary of Siamese phonology see Mary R. Haas, The Thai system of writing, A. C. L. S., 1956. The Haas transcription of Siamese is used throughout this paper.

The Swatow transcription used in The Lungtu Dialect has been modified for the present purpose on the following points: /q/ has been changed to /g/, /p/ to /b/, /t/ to /d/, and /k/ to /g/. As in The Lungtu Dialect the basic tone of a Swatow syllable is written on the main syllabic element of the syllable, the sandhi tone is written after the syllable, for instance in the syllable /bàŋ/, /̀/ is the basic tone, /ˈ/ is the sandhi tone.

My Swatow informants include speakers from Swatow, Bangkok, and Malay.

³ Swatow, thus abbreviated in the following.
⁴ Siamese, thus abbreviated in the following.
⁶ St /v/ designates final nasalization.
8. St /páb/ 盒 'box' > Sm /pão/. This word is likely to be an older contact word.
9. St /pánjó/lów/ 瓦窯 'earthen stove' > Sm /pãojioo/.
10. St /pánjí/ 紅字 'secret society' > Sm /pãojii/.
* St /pí/ 衣 see no. 152.
11. St /pí/ 糖 'sweetmeats' > Sm /pii/.
12. St /píam/cún/ 鹽船 'salt boat, lighter' > Sm /piamcún/.
* St /pív/ 椅 see no. 67.
* St /pív/ 視 see no. 32.
13. St /píw/ 優 'actor' > Sm /piw/ 'Chinese theatre play'.
* St /píw/ 油 see no. 136.
14. St /púlfaj/ 冬涼 'black and cold, black ice coffee' > Sm /púofaj/.
15. St /pú/ 有 'to have' > Sm /póu/ 'rich'.
16. St /bà/ñchòw/ 口醋 'a pork dish' > Sm /bàñchôo/.
17. St /bà/ñmiw/ 口麪 'pork noodles' > Sm /bàñmi/.
18. St /bówtùn/ 牡丹 'peony' > Sm /bootan/.
19. St /búe/ 尾 'tail, end' > Sm /búaj/ 'end, last'.
* St /cái/ 汁 see no. 129.
20. St /cáb/ñchâj/ 雜菜 'mixed vegetables' > Sm /cábheàaj/.
21. St /cáb/ñhúe/ 雜會 '(soup) with many ingredients' > Sm /cábhúaj/.
22. St /cáb/ñkâj/ 雜工 'mixed work, unskilled worker' > Sm /cábkaaj/.
23. St /cáb/ñzí/ 十二枝 '(game played with) twelve bamboo cards' > Sm /cábjúkíi/.
* St /câj/ 睬 see no. 118.
24. St /câ/ñ 粽 'dumpling' > Sm /câaj/.
25. St /câw/ 走 'to go off; a tie in gambling' > Sm /câw/.
26. St /cê/ 快, Chinese lent' > Sm /cê/ or /cê/.
27. St /cê/ 'older sister' > Sm /cêe/. See also no. 1.
28. St /cêg/ 觑 'uncle, father’s younger brother' > Sm /cêg/ 'derogatory term for Chinese'.

1 An asterisk indicates a cross reference.
29. St /cêŋ/ 筝 'harpischord' > Sm /cêŋ/.
30. St /cêŋ/ 腹 'swollen; bankrupt' > Sm /cêŋ/ 'bankrupt'.
   * St /cî/ 子 see no. 171.
   * St /cî/ 口 see no. 61.
   * St /ciaŋ/ 食 see no. 113.
31. St /ciaŋ′cê/ 食齋 'to fast, eat vegetarian food' > Sm /ciaŋ′cee/ or /ciaŋ′cee/.
32. St /ciaŋ′tvı̄/ 尖圓 'short rice noodles' > Sm /ciaŋ′tī/.
33. St /ciaŋ/ 炊 'to pan-fry' > Sm /cion/.
   * St /ciev/ 酒 see no. 150.
   * St /ciw/ 州 see no. 157.
34. St /ciw/ 酒 'liquor' > Sm /ciw/.
35. St /ci/ 坐 'to sit' > Sm /côte/.
36. St /cō′sōav/ 座山 'rich man' > Sm /câwsůa/ 'rich Chinese',
   first syllable altered under influence of Siamese /câw/ 'lord, master'. Also found as Sm /céesůa/, for which form
   I have no explanation.
37. St /côg/ 粥 'congee' > Sm /čóog/.
   * St /cô/ 子 see no. 95.
   * St /cû/ 船 see no. 12.
   * St /cy/ 子 see no. 96.
   * St /chôj/ 茶 see no. 20, no. 75, and no. 86.
38. St /châw′kûe/ 草果 'jelly' > Sm /châwkûaj/.
39. St /chēng/ 清 'clear, to clear debts' > Sm /chèeŋ/ 'to clear
   debts'.
   * St /chî/ 妾 see no. 57.
40. St /châv/ 請 'to ask, to invite' > Sm /chîa/.
   * St /chîn/ 臣 see no. 63 and no. 167.
   * St /chôw/ 酷 see no. 16.
41. St /chûnpâv/ 春餅 'spring cakes' > Sm /chunpîa'/.
   * St /hâŋ/ 合 see no. 114.
   * St /hâ/ 海 see no. 139.
42. St /hâj/ 杭州 'Hainan' > Sm /hâjlâm/.
43. St /hän/ 行 'warehouse' > Sm /hâaŋ/.
44. St /hê’kê/ 蟹卷 ‘shrimp roll’ > Sm /hêkêyn/ or /hêkêin/.
   * St /hê/ 胸 see no. 97.
45. St /hê’ziحار ‘almond’ > Sm /hêjêin/.
46. St /hêav/ 兄 ‘older brother’ > Sm /hia/. See also no. 2 and no. 170.
47. St /hô/ 好 ‘good’ > Sm /hôa/.
   * St /hô/ 号 see no. 126 and no. 181.
48. St /hô’lêqtêw/ 荷蘭「Dutch beans’ > Sm /lantêw/.
   The Siamese form goes back to a form with /-n/ in the second Chinese syllable instead of /-ŋ/, maybe from another dialect. The first syllable may have been dropped in Siamese because of confusion with /hôa/ ‘things wrapped in leaves or paper’.
   * St /hôn/ 風 see no. 171.
   * St /hû/ 坏 see no. 151 and no. 152.
49. St /hûan/ 當 ‘non-Chinese’ > Sm /huan/.
50. St /hûannêw/ 當人 ‘non-Chinese person’ > Sm /huanêng/.
51. St /hûan/ 反 ‘to oppose’ > Sm /huan/.
52. St /hûa/ 風 ‘wind, air’ > Sm /hua/.
   * St /hû/ 花 see no. 153 and no. 154.
53. St /hûe/ 會 ‘lottery’ > Sm /hûaj/. See also no. 21.
   * St /hû/ 費 see no. 144.
54. St /hûn/ 分 ‘unit of weight’ > Sm /hûn/.
55. St /hûn/ 分 ‘a share’ > Sm /hûn/.
56. St /hô/ 魚 ‘fish’ > Sm /hôy/.
   See also no. 99 and no. 111.
57. St /hôchê/ 魚翅 ‘shark’s fin (soup)’ > Sm /hôchê/.
58. St /hô’sêw/ 魚腥 ‘boned fish’ > Sm /hôysê/.
59. St /jâm/ 腌 ‘to salt, pickle’ > Sm /jâm/ ‘to mix’. Although originally unrelated these two words are being confused in names of dishes.
   * St /jô/ 腌 see no. 81.
60. St /jôw/ 甙 ‘ace’ > Sm /jêaw/.
61. St /kêlôcî/ 口口口 ‘a sweetmeat’ > Sm /kêlôcî/.
62. St /kêg/ 角 ‘horn, corner’ > Sm /kêg/ ‘corner, intersection’.
   See also no. 120 and no. 135.
43. * St /kàːn/ 幹 see no. 66.
44. * St /kàŋ/ 工 see no. 22.

63. St /kājchìn/ 奸臣 ‘disloyal minister’ > Sm /kaŋchhin/.
64. St /kāvnā/ 橄欖 'olive' > Sm /kaaná/.
65. St /kāv/ 敢 ‘dare’ > Sm /kāa/ or /kāa/ ‘daring’.
66. St /kāv'kān/ 敢幹 ‘daring’ > Sm /kákān/.
67. St /kāw’ī/ 交椅 ‘chair’ > Sm /káw’īi/.
68. St /kāwlīaŋ/ 高粱 ‘sorghum liquor’ > Sm /kawlīaŋ/.
69. St /kāw/ 狗 ‘dog’ > Sm /kāw/.
* St /kē/ 家 see no. 178.
70. St /kē/ ‘false’ > Sm /kēe/.
71. St /kēg/ ‘dismiss’ > Sm /kēg/.
72. St /kēŋ/ 宮 ‘mansion, ancestral temple’ > Sm /kēŋ/ ‘small house of Chinese pattern built of boards on a boat or wagon’.

73. St /kī/ or /kī/ 几 ‘stool’ > Sm /kii/ or /kii/.
* St /kī/ 枝 see no. 23.
* St /kī/ 箕 see no. 125.
74. St /kiaŋ/ 腳 ‘sandal’ > Sm /kiaŋ/.
75. St /kiam’chàj/ 醢菜 ‘pickled cabbage’ > Sm /kiamchàaj/.
* St /kïaŋ/ 仔 see no. 110.
76. St /kîaw/ or /kîaw/ 餃 ‘meat dumpling’ > Sm /kîaw/.
77. St /kîaw/ 檐 ‘sedan chair’ > Sm /kîaw/.
78. St /kîntɨ/ 金堂 ‘a kind of porcelain, china’ > Sm /kîntɨŋ/.
* St /kî/ 卷 see no. 44.
79. St /kō/ 糕 ‘cake’ > Sm /kōo/.
* St /kō/ 糯 see no. 163.
80. St /kōg/ 國 ‘country’ > Sm /kōg/ ‘clan, clique’. See also no. 128, no. 138, and no. 168.
81. St /kōjʊŋ/ 雞蓉 ‘a chicken dish’ > Sm /kəjʊŋ/ (or Sm /kājʊŋ/ in which the first syllable is Sm /kā/ ‘chicken’).
82. * St /kōŋ/ 公 ‘unit of volumetric measurement’ > Sm /kōŋ/.
83. * St /kōŋ/ 公 ‘grandfather, mother’s father’ > Sm /kōŋ/.
* St /kōŋ/ 公 see no. 146.
84. St /kōŋsǐ/ 公司 'a company' > Sm /kōŋsǔi/.
85. St /kōŋtèg/ 功德 'meritorious deeds, mahayana funeral' > Sm /kōŋtēg/ 'Chinese funeral'.
86. St /kōŋchāj/ 口菜 ‘pickled vegetables’ > Sm /kōŋchâj/ or /kōŋchâaj/.
87. St /kōw/ 姑 'aunt, father’s sister' > Sm /kōo/.
   See also no. 3.
   * St /kūe/ 果 see no. 38 and no. 115.
88. St /kūatfaw/ 果條 'rice noodles' > Sm /kūajfaw/.
89. St /kūj/ or /kūj/ 驚 or 完 'to cheat, a villain, a derelict' > Sm /kūj/ 'a derelict'.
90. St /kūj/ 鬼 'ghost' > Sm /kūj/.
91. St /kŷn/ 口 'gizzard' > Sm /kŷn/.
92. St /khên/ 箱 'basket' > Sm /khêŋ/.
93. St /khiam/ 傢 'frugal' > Sm /khiam/.
94. St /khim/ 琴 'lute' > Sm /khim/.
95. St /khong`cû/ 孔子 ‘Confucius’ > Sm /khôngcûu/.
96. St /khong`cêy/ 孔子 ‘Confucius’ > Sm /khôngcêy/.
97. St /khôjheŋ/ 開胸 'shirt front' > Sm /kûjheŋ/ 'shirt buttoned in front'. Unexplained lack of aspiration in Sm /k-/
98. St /lă/ 口 'enough' > Sm /lăa/. Tai loan in Swatow?
   * St /lâm/ 南 see no. 42.
   * St /lăŋ/ 蘭 see no. 48.
   * St /li/ 理 see no. 131.
99. St /lêhû/ 鯽魚 ‘carp’ > Sm /lêhûy/.
100. St /lì/ 斤 'unit of weight' > Sm /lîi/.
   * St /li/ see no. 127.
101. St /liaŋ/ 凍 'cool, not hot, not curried' > Sm /liaŋ/.
   See also no. 14.
   * St /liaŋ/ 梁 see no. 68.
102. St /lî/ 里 'li, Chinese mile' > Sm /lîi/.
103. St /lîn/ 綾 ‘damask, thin silk’ > Sm /lîn/.
   * St /liw/ or /liw/ 口 see no. 161.
   * St /lô/ 口 see no. 61.
104. St /lò/ 罗 'gauze, netting, kind of silk' > Sm /lòo/.
    See also no. 138.

105. St /lò/ 落 'to fall, to let fall' > Sm /lò/ 'to let fall'.
    * St /lòw/ see no. 9.

106. St /lùd/ 枭 'get loose' > Sm /lùd/.

107. St /lỳ/ 汝 'you' > Sm /lỳ/.
    * St /mìv/ see no. 17.

108. St /mùæv/ 妹 'younger sister' > Sm /mùæj/.
    See also no. 4.
    * St /nâ/ see no. 64.

109. St /nâj/ 'a kind of plum' > Sm /nâj/.
    * St /nâj/ see no. 50.

110. St /mòkìæv/ 孳仔 'children' > Sm /mòkìæj/.

111. St /pæw'hỳ/ 鲍魚 'abelone' > Sm /pæw'hỳ/.

112. St /pè/ 伯 'uncle, father's older brother' > Sm /pè/.
    See also no. 6.

113. St /pècíæ/ 白食 'free meal, tea-money' > Sm /pècíæ/.

114. St /pèhá/ 百合 'lily' > Sm /pèhá/.

115. St /pèkùè/ 白果 'gingko' > Sm /pèkùæj/.

116. St /pèsà/ 白熟 'plain boiled' > Sm /pèsà/.
    * St /pìæv/ 銅 see no. 41.

117. St /pò/ 寶 'to gamble' > Sm /pò/.
    * St /pò/ 寶 see no. 121.

118. St /pòcái/ 駁倉 'to transship, to land cargo by means of
    lighters' > Sm /pòcái/ 'lighter'.

119. St /pò/ 箸 'fishing stake' > Sm /pò/.

120. St /pòkàg/ 八角 'star anise' > Sm /pòkàg/.

121. St /pòpò/ 八寶 'eight precious things, mixed fruits' > Sm /pòpò/.

122. St /pòw/ 補 'to mend, repair' > Sm /pòw/.

123. St /pùj/ 肥 'fatt, fertile' > Sm /pùj/ 'fertilizer'.

124. St /pùn/ 分 'to share' > Sm /pùn/.

125. St /pùn'kì/ or /pùn'kì/ 柳箷 'basket for carrying dirt' > Sm /pùn'kì/. 
126. St /phə̀n⁴zǐ⁴hō³/ 'to stamp the chop' > Sm /phə̀n⁴jūhō³/
See also no. 181.
* St /phien/ see no. 7.
* St /phōw/ 簿 see no. 172.
127. St /sǎlî⁴/ 沙梨 'a kind of pear' > Sm /sǎlî⁴/.
* St /sā⁴/ 熟 see no. 116.
128. St /sǎmkò⁴g/ 三國 'three kingdoms' > Sm /sǎmko⁴g/ 'three kingdoms, three cliques'.
129. St /sāncà⁸/ 山渣 'mountain fragment, name of a dessert' > Sm /sanca⁸/.
130. St /sē⁴ŋ/ 生 'life, livelihood' > Sm /sē⁴ŋ/ 'to sell'.
131. St /sēŋli⁴/ 生理 'business' > Sm /seŋli⁴/.
132. St /sē⁴ŋ/ 承 'to succeed, take over business' > Sm /sē⁴ŋ/.
* St /sē⁴v/ 生 see no. 58.
* St /sē⁴/ 生 see no. 142.
133. St /sē⁴vzǐ⁴d/ 生日 'birth day' > Sm /sejǐ⁴d/.
134. St /sē⁴v/ 姓 'clan' > Sm /sē⁴/.
* St /sǐ⁴/ 司 see no. 84.
135. St /sǐ⁴kà⁴g/ 四角 'four corners, cross-roads, intersection' > Sm /siikà⁴g/. The first syllable has been made identical with Sm /sǐ⁴/ 'four'.
136. St /sǐ⁴w⁴/ 鼓油 'soy' > Sm /sǐ⁴w⁴/.
137. St /sia⁴/ 舍 'son of a rich man' > Sm /sia(khāajá)/ 'a rich Chinese'.
138. St /siamlō⁴kò⁴g/ 暹羅國 'Siam' > Sm /siamlo⁴kó⁴g/.
139. St /sîañ⁴háj/ 上海 'Shanghai' > Sm /siaŋháj/.
140. St /sia⁴w⁴/ 口 'crazy' > Sm /sia⁴w⁴/.
141. St /sien/ 仙 'immortal, fairy, elf' > Sm /sian/.
142. St /sinsē⁴v/ 先生 'teacher, doctor' > Sm /sinsē⁴v/.
143. St /siw⁴/ 修 'to repair' in Sm /tǔa⁴w⁴/ 'to repair' (is Sm /tǔa⁴w⁴/ < St /tua⁴w⁴/ '大 'big'?).
144. St /sō⁴hūj/ 使費 'expenses' > Sm /sōho⁴j/.
* St /sō⁴av/ 山 see no. 36.
145. St /sō⁴u⁴j/ 衰 'decaying, run-down' > Sm /suaj/.
146. St /tāj'kōŋ/ (大公 'master, captain' > Sm /tâj'kōŋ/ 'captain of a Chinese ship'.

* St /tâñ/ (丹 see no. 18.

147. St /tâŋ/ (铜 'copper' in Sm /tâŋ/tâŋ/ 'lots of money'.

148. St /tâw/ (骰 'dice' > Sm /tâw/.

149. St /tâw'cîw/ (荟 'beans' > Sm /tâw/. See also no. 48.

150. St /tâw'cîw/ (荟 'soya sauce' > Sm /tâw'cîw/.

151. St /tâw'hû/ (腐 'soy bean cake' > Sm /tâwhûu/.

152. St /tâw'hû'wôjî/ (腐衣 'soy bean cake with rice' > Sm /tâwhûu'wôjî/.

153. St /tâw'hû/ (荟 'soy bean cake with ginger syrup' > Sm /tâwhûuaj/.

154. St /tê'hûu/ (茶花 'camellia' > Sm /têhûuaj/.

* St /têg/ (德 see no. 85.

155. St /têŋ/ (顶 'top, uppermost part' > Sm /têŋ/ 'upper floor'.

156. St /têg/ (秤 'scales, steelyard' > Sm /têg/.

157. St /têv'cîw/ (潮州 'Tie Chiu = Chao Chou' > Sm /têv'cîw/.

158. St /tô/ (弟 'younger brother' > Sm /tô/ See also no. 5.

159. St /tô/ (爹 'father' > Sm /tô/.

160. St /lâm/ (店 'shop, inn' in Sm /lôm/lêm/ 'opium den'.

161. St /tâw'liw/ or /tâw'liw/ (口口 'iron spoon' > Sm /têlîw/.

* St /tâw'liw/ (條 see no. 88.

162. St /têw/ (箸 'tally stick, fortune stick' > Sm /têw/.

* St /tô/ (堂 see no. 78.

163. St /tô'kô/ (鼎 'celery' > Sm têp'yôu/o. Or from some other Chinese form with /tô/?

164. St /tō/ (桌 'table' > Sm /tō/.

165. St /tôj/ (口 'to solicit' in Sm /tôj'wan/ 'to solicit funds'.

166. St /tôŋ/ (中 'to collect money in gambling' > Sm /tôŋ/.

167. St /tôchîn/ (忠臣 'loyal subject' > Sm /tôchîn/.

168. St /tôkôg/ (中國 'China' > Sm /tôkôg/. See also no. 80.

169. St /tô/ (軒 'cupboard, chest of drawers' > Sm /tô/.

170. St /tôâ/ (大兄 'eldest brother, head of secret society' > Sm /tôâhâ/.
171. St /tũa’họ̀ng/ 大風子 'seeds of a certain tree' > Sm /tũahọ̀ng/.  
172. St /tũa’phọ̀w/ 大築 'leader of actors, theatre owner’ > Sm /tũaphọ̀w/.  
173. St /tũav/ 場 'chit, ticket' > Sm /tũa/.  
174. St /tũj/ 拳 'to beat with fist, pound' > Sm /tũj/.  
175. St /tũn/ 烏 'to pile up, store away' > Sm /tũn/.  
176. St /tũn/ 立 'to steam-cook' > Sm /tũn/.  
177. St /thàʊ/ 塔 'pagoda' > Sm /thàʊ/.  
178. St /tháw’ké/ 頭家 'headman' > Sm /thâwkêe/ or /thâw-kee/. Sometimes confusion with Sm /thâwkê/ 'old person of rank, woman palace guard etc.'  
179. St /thùn/ 吞 'to swallow (opium, rather than smoking it)' > Sm /thùn/.  
180. St /wa/ 我 'I' > Sm /wàa/.  
   * St /zí/ 字 see no. 10.  
   * St /zí/ 二 see no. 23.  
181. St /zũ’họ̀/ 字號 'a chop, brand' > Sm /jìnhọ/. See also no. 126.  
   * St /zíd/ 日 see no. 133.  
   * St /zíń/ 仁 see no. 45.  

**Sound Laws**

_Swatow possesses the following initial consonants._

/p/, /ph/, /m/, /b/, /w/  
/t/, /th/, /n/, /l/  
/c/, /ch/, /s/, /z/, /j/  
/k/, /kh/, /ŋ/, /g/  
/ŋ/, /h/  

Of these /z/ [dʒ]; palatalized before /i/] and /g/ are not found in Siamese, which on the other hand possesses the phonemes /f/ and /r/ not found in Swatow. /c/ and /ch/ are affricates in Swatow, palatalized before /i/, whereas in Siamese they are al-
ways palatal stops. /s/ is palatalized before /i/ in Swatow, but never palatalized in Siamese. St /w/ and /j/ have less friction than Sm /w/ and /j/, and there is one example each of St /w/ being rendered as Sm /pu/ and St /j/ being rendered as Sm /qi/, although these sounds are not preglottalized in Swatow. St /z/ is borrowed as Sm /j/. The consonants common to both languages are borrowed phonemically unchanged (except for a few cases like no. 163 St /k/ ~ Sm /qi/. See details below).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>St</th>
<th>Sm</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>Nos. 6, 41, 111—125.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ph/</td>
<td>/ph/</td>
<td>Nos. 7, 128, 172.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>Nos. 4, 17, 108.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>Nos. 16—19.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/w/</td>
<td>/pu/</td>
<td>No. 180.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>Nos. 5, 18, 48, 78, 85, 88, 146—176.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/th/</td>
<td>/th/</td>
<td>Nos. 177—179.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>Nos. 50, 64, 100, 110.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>Nos. 9, 14, 42, 48, 61, 68, 98—107, 127, 131, 138, 161.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/c/</td>
<td>/c/</td>
<td>Nos. 1, 12, 20—37, 61, 95, 96, 113, 118, 129, 150, 157, 171.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ch/</td>
<td>/ch/</td>
<td>Nos. 16, 20, 38—41, 57, 63, 75, 86, 167.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>Nos. 36, 58, 84, 116, 127—145.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/z/</td>
<td>/j/</td>
<td>Nos. 10, 23, 45, 120, 133, 181.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/j/</td>
<td>/j/</td>
<td>Nos. 50, 81.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kh/</td>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>No. 103.</td>
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<tr>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>Nos. 92—96.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>No. 97.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>No example.</td>
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<tr>
<td>/q/</td>
<td>/q/</td>
<td>No example.</td>
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<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>No example.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/j/</td>
<td>/j/</td>
<td>Nos. 1—12, 14—15, 32, 67, 136.</td>
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<tr>
<td>/j/</td>
<td>/j/</td>
<td>No. 152.</td>
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<tr>
<td>/q/</td>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>No. 13.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>Nos. 2, 21, 42—58, 97, 99, 111, 114, 126, 139, 144, 151—154, 170, 171, 181.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following final consonants are common to Swatow and Siamese.

/b/, /m/, /w/
/d/, /n/, /j/
/g/, /q/
/q/
In addition Swatow possesses a phoneme of nasalization, here written /ŋ/, foreign to Siamese. This /ŋ/ leaves no trace in Siamese (except perhaps as /ŋ/ in nos. 41 and 110). The other phonemes in final position are generally borrowed unchanged, but /w/ is lost after /ə/, and /ŋ/ is lost after /j/. In the case of the final /ue/ a semivowel /j/ is produced in Siamese and similarly a semivowel /w/ is produced in the case of /ie/: St /ue(ŋ)/ > Sm /uai/ and St /ie(ŋ)/ > Sm /jaw/. For syllabic /ŋ/ see under Vowels below.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{St} /b/ & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{Sm} /b/ : \quad \text{Nos. 8, 20, 23.} \\
\text{St} /d/ & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{Sm} /d/ : \quad \text{Nos. 12, 32, 42, 59, 75, 78, 93, 94, 128, 138, 160.} \\
\text{St} /w/ & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{Sm} /w/ : \quad \text{Nos. 13, 25, 34, 38, 48, 60, 67, 76, 77, 85, 111, 136, 140, 143, 148—153, 157, 161, 162, 178.} \\
\text{St} /w/ & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{Sm} /w/ : \quad \text{Nos. 3, 9, 18, 87, 122, 172.} \\
\text{St} /a/ & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{Sm} /a/ : \quad \text{No. 16.} \\
\text{St} /aw/ & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{Sm} /aw/ : \quad \text{No. 60.} \\
\text{St} /d/ & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{Sm} /d/ : \quad \text{Nos. 106, 133.} \\
\text{St} /n/ & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{Sm} /n/ : \quad \text{Nos. 7, 12, 18, 33, 41, 45, 49—51, 54, 55, 63, 66, 91, 103, 124, 128, 141, 142, 167, 175, 176, 179.} \\
\text{St} /j/ & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{Sm} /j/ : \quad \text{Nos. 20, 42, 75, 81, 86, 89, 90, 97, 109, 118, 123, 139, 144, 146, 165, 174.} \\
\text{St} /s/ & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{Sm} /s/ : \quad \text{Nos. 120, 121.} \\
\text{St} /g/ & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{Sm} /g/ : \quad \text{Nos. 28, 37, 62, 71, 80, 85, 120, 128, 135, 168.} \\
\text{St} /ŋ/ & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{Sm} /ŋ/ : \quad \text{Nos. 9, 10, 14, 22, 24, 29, 30, 39, 43, 45, 50, 52, 63, 68, 72, 81—86, 92, 95—97, 104, 125, 130—132, 139, 146, 147, 155, 156, 166—168, 171.} \\
\text{St} /ŋ/ & \quad \sim \quad \text{Sm} /n/ : \quad \text{No. 48.} \\
\text{St} /ŋ/ & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{Sm} /ŋ/ : \quad \text{Nos. 6, 16, 17, 31, 74, 105, 112—116, 118, 126, 164, 177.} \\
\text{St} /j/ & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{Sm} /j/ : \quad \text{Nos. 120, 121.} \\
\text{St} /w/ & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{Sm} /w/ : \quad \text{Nos. 2, 4, 17, 32, 36, 40, 46, 58, 64—67, 108, 133, 134, 142, 150, 157, 161, 178, 173. Cf. 41 and 110.} \\
\text{St} /v/ & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{Sm} /v/ : \quad \text{No. 110.} \\
\text{St} /v/ & \quad \sim \quad \text{Sm} /v/ : \quad \text{Nos. 41, 110.} \\
\text{St} /lev/ & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{Sm} /law/ : \quad \text{No. 150.} \\
\text{St} /uev/ & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{Sm} /uai/ : \quad \text{Nos. 4, 108.} \\
\text{St} /ue/ & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{Sm} /uai/ : \quad \text{Nos. 19, 21, 38, 53, 88, 115, 145, 153, 154.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

**Vowels:**

Swatow possesses the following vowels and vowels clusters.

\[
\begin{align*}
/i/ , \quad /y/ , \quad /u/ \\
/e/ , \quad /a/ , \quad /o/ \\
/ie/ , \quad /ia/ , \quad /io/ \\
/ue/ , \quad /ua/ \\
\end{align*}
\]
/y/ is [i]. /e/ and /o/ are [e] and [o] respectively, except with the tone "/`, where they are pronounced [æ] and [ω]. For the phonological status of /ie/ see the discussion in The Lungtu Dialect p 17. A pronunciation [ωo] for /ie/ accounts for the Siamese rendering /iaw/.

The vowel system of Siamese is much richer than that of Swatow. It consists of the following single phonemes and clusters:

/ɪ/, /ii/, /y/, /yy/, /u/, /uu/
/e/, /ee/, /a/, /ao/, /o/, /oo/
/ɛ/, /ɛɛ/, /a/, /aa/, /o/, /oo/
/ia/, /ya/, /ua/

/y/ is [i]. The double vowels are pronounced long. In closed syllable the Swatow vowels are mostly rendered as single vowels in Siamese (for exceptions see below), in open syllable and before /-v/ as double vowels. Both Sm /e/ and /s/ are found as renderings of St /e/, and both Sm /o/ and /o/ as renderings of St /o/, sometimes interchangeably in the same word. St /o/ becomes Sm / ao/ before /-j/, but /oo/ before /-j9/. Below the examples are listed of each vowel in open syllable and in combination with all the final consonants.

/ʌ/:
St /im/ > Sm /im/ : Nos. 78, 94.
St /iw/ > Sm /iw/ : Nos. 13, 34, 136, 143, 161, 162.
St /iw/ > Sm /iw/ : No. 157.
St /id/ > Sm /id/ : No. 133.
St /in/ > Sm /in/ : Nos. 45, 63, 103, 142, 167.
St /i/ > Sm /i/ : Nos. 17, 32, 67.
St /i/ > Sm /i/ : Nos. 5, 10, 23, 57, 61, 73, 84, 99, 100, 102, 125—127, 131, 135, 136, 152, 158, 171, 181.

/ɛ/:
St /eg/ > Sm /eg/ : Nos. 28, 71, 85.
St /ev/ > Sm /ev/ : Nos. 29, 30, 45, 72, 92, 130—132, 155, 156.
St /eg/ > Sm /eg/ : Nos. 39, 97.
St /ɛ̃/ > Sm /ɛ̃/ : Nos. 6, 112—116.
St /ev/ > Sm /ev/ : Nos. 58, 133, 134, 142, 157.
St /e/ > Sm /e/ : Nos. 1, 26, 27, 31, 70, 178.
St /e/ > Sm /e/ : Nos. 26, 31, 44, 154.

/ɜ/:
St /yn/ > Sm /yn/ : No. 91.
St /y/ > Sm /yy/ : Nos. 56—58, 96, 99, 107, 111.
/æ/:  
St /æb/ > Sm /æb/ : Nos. 8, 20—23.  
St /æn/ > Sm /æn/ : Nos. 42, 59.  
St /æm/ > Sm /æm/ : No. 128.  
St /æw/ > Sm /æw/ : Nos. 25, 38, 48, 67—69, 111, 148—153, 178.  
St /æn/ > Sm /æn/ : Nos. 18, 66, 129.  
St /æj/ > Sm /æj/ : Nos. 42, 100, 130, 146.  
St /æj/ > Sm /æj/ : Nos. 20, 75, 86, 118.  
St /æg/ > Sm /æg/ : Nos. 62, 120, 135.  
St /æg/ > Sm /æg/ : Nos. 9, 10, 22, 50, 63, 147.  
St /æg/ > Sm /ææg/ : Nos. 24, 43.  
St /æg/ ∼ Sm /æn/ : No. 48.  
St /æj/ > Sm /æj/ : Nos. 16, 17, 114, 116, 126, 177.  
St /æw/ > Sm /æw/ : Nos. 64—66.  
St /æ/ > Sm /æ/ : No. 61.  
St /æ/ > Sm /æ/ : Nos. 1—7, 64, 98, 127, 129.  
St /æa/ > Sm /æa/ : Nos. 180.

/ɑː/:  
St /ɑː/ > Sm /ɑː/ : Nos. 100.  
St /ɑː/ > Sm /ɑː/ : Nos. 12, 41, 54, 55, 175, 176, 179.  
St /ɑː/ > Sm /ɑː/ : No. 124.  
St /ɑːj/ > Sm /ɑːj/ : Nos. 89, 90, 97, 123, 144, 174.  
St /ɑːg/ > Sm /ɑːg/ : No. 125.  
St /ɑː/ > Sm /ɑː/ : Nos. 15, 95, 151, 162, 169.

/ɔː/:  
St /ɔː/ > Sm /ɔː/ : Nos. 3, 9, 18, 87, 122, 172.  
St /ɔː/ > Sm /ɔː/ : No. 16.  
St /ɔːw/ > Sm /ɔːw/ : No. 60.  
St /ɔːj/ > Sm /ɔːj/ : Nos. 81, 165.  
St /ɔː/ > Sm /ɔː/ : Nos. 120, 121.  
St /ɔːg/ > Sm /ɔːg/ : Nos. 80, 128, 168.  
St /ɔːg/ > Sm /ɔːg/ : No. 37.  
St /ɔːj/ > Sm /ɔːj/ : Nos. 81—86, 95, 96, 146, 166—168.  
St /ɔːj/ > Sm /ɔːj/ : No. 171.  
St /ɔːj/ > Sm /ɔːj/ : Nos. 105, 118, 164.  
St /ɔːv/ ∼ Sm /ɔː/ : Nos. 110.  
St /ɔːv/ > Sm /ɔː/ : Nos. 14, 79, 104, 117, 121, 144, 163.  
St /ɔː/ > Sm /ɔː/ : Nos. 35, 47, 61, 126, 138, 181.  
St /ɔː/ ∼ Sm /ɔː/ : No. 36.

/e/:  
St /eŋ/ > Sm /eŋ/ : Nos. 7, 33, 141.  
St /eŋ/ > Sm /eŋ/ : No. 150.

/æː/:  
St /æm/ > Sm /æm/ : Nos. 12, 32, 75, 93, 138, 160.  
St /æm/ > Sm /æm/ : Nos. 76, 77, 88, 140.
Swatow possesses a syllabic /ŋ/, which has no equivalent in Siamese. In no. 44 it is rendered as Sm /yn/ or /in/, in no. 78 as Sm /yn/. In no. 163 we have perhaps a case of Swatow syllabic /ŋ/ rendered as Sm /aq/.

Tones:

Swatow has six tones: /\ [high even] (hia p’ing and hia ju), /\ [high rising] (shang p’ing), /\ [high falling] (shang), /\ [low even] (shang k’ü and shang ju), /\ [low rising] (hia k’ü), and /\ [low falling] (k’ü). For an explanation of the Chinese names of the tones see The Lungtu Dialect p. 17.

In syllables ending in /b/, /d/, /g/, or /ŋ/ only the tones /\ and /\ are found.

The following sandhi rules are in operation: Before all other tones /\, /\, and /\ change into /\, except that /\ in syllables ending in /b/, /d/, /g/, or /ŋ/ changes into /\; /\ changes into /\; /\ changes into /\.

Siamese has five tones: /\ [middle even] (this tonal marker is usually left out in actual transcriptions), /\ [low even], /\ [falling], /\ [high; high rising-falling circumflex in long syllables], and /\ [rising]. In syllables ending in /b/, /d/, /g/, or /ŋ/ only /\, /\, and /\ are found. No tone is normally substituted for any other tone as the result of sandhi.

The following are the most common tonal correspondences.

11 Acta Orientalia, XXIII
St /"/ is loaned by Sm as /"/ or /\/ (before close juncture mostly as /\/ when not resulting from tonal sandhi); St /"/ as Sm /"/; St /"/ as Sm /"/; St /"/ as Sm /"/. In syllables not ending in /b/, /d/, /g/, or // St /"/ is borrowed as Sm /"/, /"/ or /"/; St /"/ as Sm /"/. In syllables ending in /b/, /d/, /g/, or // St /"/ and /"/ are most often both borrowed as Sm /"/.

St /"/ and /"/ resulting from tonal sandhi are rendered as Sm /"/, and St /"/ resulting from tonal sandhi is Sm /"/, except that in syllables ending in /b/, /d/, /g/, or // St /"/ is rendered as Sm /"/.

Some of the tonal correspondences are explainable only as loans from Swatow subdialects which are phonemically identical, but phonetically somewhat different from the one used as the basis for the present discussion. This is hardly surprising, considering the fact that the borrowing has been going on over a long period and originates in a milieu representing speakers from many southern Hoklo areas.

St /"/ rises less than Sm /"/, a fact which explains the hesitation between Sm /"/ and /"/ in rendering St /"/. Fielde (1883, see reference above) describes St /"/ as even. We have to do with differences in time as well as in space. St /"/ never has the circumflex pronunciation of Sm /"/, but it is sometimes very slightly rising; this is probably why we find /"/ rendered not only as Sm /"/, but also as either of the non-circumflex Siamese tones which touch a high pitch: Sm /"/ or Sm /"/. It is surprising that St /"/ should be rendered as Sm /"/, the common feature probably being that the two tones are the highest pitched ones in the two languages.

St /"/ is treated differently in Siamese as a basic tone and as a sandhi tone. Apparently in the predominating Swatow subdialect the sandhi manifestations which we note as /"/ are phonetically different from the basic tone /"/, approaching St /"/.

In the following list of tonal correspondences /"/ following a tonal symbol signifies syllable endings /b/, /d/, /g/, or //. F stands for free syllable (before pause on open juncture), B for bound syllable (before close juncture). Nos. in parenthesis signify examples which are identical with some other number as regards the syllable in question. (2X) after a number means that the words contains two examples of a certain tonal correspondence.
B: Nos. 1, (2—7), 14, 18, 48, 50, 61, 63, 64, 68, 81, 84, 85, 97, 110, 129, 131, 133, 142, 167, 168.

St /"l/ > Sm /"l/  F: Nos. 39, 60, 73, 92, 159, 170.  
B: Nos. 57, 75.

St /"l/ > Sm /"l(9)/  B: No. 61.

St /"l/ > Sm /"l/  F: No. 29.  

St /"l/ > Sm /"l/  F: Nos. 13, 82, 152.  
B: No. 12.

St /"l/ > Sm /"l/  F: Nos. 33, 36, 54, 72, 73, 79, 83, 84, 89, 125, 130, 142, 143, 146, 157, 163, 166, 173, 178, 179.  

St /"l/ > Sm /"l/  F: Nos. 117.

St /"l/ > Sm /"l/  F: No. 67, 44.

St /"l/ > Sm /"l/  F: Nos. (1), 10, 25, 27, 30, 38, 40, 44, 47, 51, 64, 65, 69, 70, 76, 90, 95, 96, 102, 107, 121, 122, 131, 139, 140, 155, 156, 171, 180.

St /"l/ > Sm /"l(9)/  F: Nos. 41, 110.

St /"l/ > Sm /"l/  F: Nos. 65, 147.

St /"l/ > Sm /"l/  F: Nos. 16, 20, 57, 66, (75), (80).  
B: Nos. 20, (21), (22).

St /"l/ > Sm /"l/  F: Nos. 24, 134, 144, 150.  
B: No. 161.

St /"l/ > Sm /"l/  F: No. 160.  
B: No. 88.

St /"l/ > Sm /"l/  B: Nos. 38, 42, 66, (95), 96, 99, 144, 147.

St /"l(9)/ > Sm /"l(9)/  F: Nos. 106, 120, 177.  
B: Nos. 20, (21), (22), 23.

St /"l(9)/ > Sm /"l(9)/  F: Nos. (6), 28, 37, 62, 71, 80, 85, 112, (128), (135), (138), 164, (168).  
B: Nos. 31, 113, 114, (115), (116).

St /"l/ > Sm /"l/  F: Nos. 97, 101, 111.  
B: No. 86.

St /"l/ > Sm /"l/  F: Nos. 43, 104, 127, 162, 169;  
B: Nos. 9, 125.


St /"l/ > Sm /"l/  F: Nos. 11, 32, 42, 61, 63, 68, 78, 81, 88, 94, 100, 103, 123, 148, 167.

St /"l/ > Sm /"l/  F: Nos. (5), 15, 35, 53, 91, 93, 98, 109, 158, 161, 172, 176.

St /"l/ > Sm /"l/  F: No. 48.

St /"l/ > Sm /"l/  F: No. 17.


St /"l/ > Sm /"l/  F: No. 118.

11*
The following chart summarizes the number of examples found for each case of tonal correspondence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Swatow</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>B</th>
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<th>B</th>
<th>F</th>
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<tbody>
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