The Diminutive Word $tsa^{42}$ in the Xianning Dialect: A Cognitive Approach*

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This study reports on the syntactic distribution and semantic features of a spoken word $tsa^{42}$ as a form of diminutive address in the Xianning dialect. Two research questions are examined: what are the distributional patterns of the dialectal word $tsa^{42}$ regarding its different functions in the Xianning dialect? And when this word serves as a suffix of nouns, why can it be widely used as a diminutive marker in the dialect? Based on interview data, I argue that (1) there are restrictions in using the diminutive word $tsa^{42}$ together with adjectives and nouns, and certain countable nouns denoting huge and fierce animals, or large transportation tools, etc., cannot co-occur with the diminutive word $tsa^{42}$; and (2) the markedness theory (Shi 2005) is used to explain that the diminutive suffix $tsa^{42}$ can be used to highlight nouns denoting things of small sizes. The revised model of Radial Category (Jurafsky 1996) helps account for different categorizations metaphorically and metonymically extended from the prototype “child” in terms of $tsa^{42}$, etc. This case study implies that a typological model for diminution needs to be built to connect the analysis of other diminutive words in Chinese dialects and beyond.

1. Introduction

Showing loveliness or affection to small things is taken to be a kind of human nature, and the “diminutive function is among the grammatical primitives which seem to occur universally or near-universally in world languages” (Jurafsky 1996: 534). The term “diminutive” is expressed as a kind of word that has been modified to convey a slighter degree of its root

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meaning, to convey the smallness of the object or quality named, or to convey a sense of intimacy or endearment (Trumble 2007). In world languages, common diminutive markers include “-ino (Italian), -zinho (Portuguese), -let (English), etc.” (Crystal 1997: 145).

The diminutive words of Chinese dialects have long been studied especially in the field of sound change and tone sandhi since 1980s (Li 2002; Li 2004; Shen 2003; Sun 2018; Yu 2009; Zhao 1999; Zhou 1987; Zhu 2004). There are many kinds of diminutive addresses (DIM) with different forms and meanings in Chinese dialects. In general, Shen (2003) concludes four ways to show diminutive addresses: (1a) reduplication, Suzhou 苏州 dialect (Jiangsu province 江苏省); (1b) rhotic sound (er suffix), Beijing 北京 dialect; (1c) suffix (-tsɤ子), Changsha 长沙 dialect (Hunan province 湖南省); (1d) changed-tone diminutive, Guangzhou 广州 dialect (Guangdong province 广东省). Consider for instance the following examples:

(1)  

a. \( n \theta^4_5 n \theta^4_2 \) (Suzhou)  
\text{child} \quad \text{child}  
‘a little child’ (Liu 1986: 8)

b. \( ciau^{214} taur^{55} \) (Beijing)  
\text{little} \quad \text{knife}  
‘a little knife’ (Shi 2005: 36)

c. \( y^{11}_1 tσu^{13} tσai^{41} ts \) (Changsha)  
\text{taro} \quad \text{DIM} \quad \text{SUF}  
‘little taro’ (Li & Bao 1998: 36)

d. \( tong^{21} \rightarrow tong^{35} \) (Guangzhou)  
\text{sugar} \quad \text{piece of candy}  
(Jurafsky 1996: 534)

Correspondingly, in Beijing Mandarin (2a-2c) and Taiwan Mandarin (2d), the above four ways to show diminutive addresses can be clearly seen in the following example from (Zhu 2004):

(2)  

a. \( gou^{214} gou \)  
\text{dog} \quad \text{dog}  
‘little dog’ (esp. child language)

b. \( mauro^{55} \)  
\text{cat}  
‘cute cat’
In this study I mainly discuss the function of a diminutive word *tsa*42 ‘son or child’ which is widely used in the Xianning dialect. In what follows I will primarily introduce what previous studies have done with the diminutive word *tsa*42 as well as my own proposal based on my collected data from native speakers.

Generally, I will discuss the following two issues as my research questions:
i) What are the distributional patterns of the dialectal word *tsa*42 regarding its different functions in the Xianning dialect? and ii) How do we account for the wide use of *tsa*42 as a nominal suffix by native speakers of the Xianning dialect?

This paper is organized as follows. Section 1 is an overview for diminutive words in standard Mandarin and Chinese dialects. Section 2 introduces the background of the Xianning dialect —its geographical location, generic group, linguistic features and research value. Section 3 describes how previous studies address the issues in relation to my research questions by presenting the data of the diminutive word *tsa*42. It will be shown that previous research has partially solved relevant issues such as the distribution and functions of the word *tsa*42. However, there are still some problems to be resolved. Based on my field interviews (Section 4), data observations, and the traditional category of Chinese nouns and adjectives, I propose that there are restrictions on the distribution of the diminutive word *tsa*42 in Section 5. Section 6 is targeted mainly at the theoretical explanations on the reason why the dialectal word *tsa*42 can be widely used as a diminutive marker in the Xianning dialect, and why it can co-occur with the prefix *sa*213, as mentioned in the following example (5). Section 7 briefly concludes my findings along with the contributions, limitations, and future directions of this diminutive study.

2. Background of the Xianning Dialect
Geographically, the Xianning dialect is spoken in the southeastern part of Hubei province. Located in the central China, this area is at the border of Hubei, Hunan, and Jiangxi provinces (Wang 2007).

Traditionally, the Xianning dialect belongs to the Datong subgroup of Gan Dialects (Xie 2006; Li & Xiang 2010). Based on Yuan’s (1960) classification of Chinese dialects, the Gan dialect is one of the seven dialects in China; it is mainly spoken in the central and northern part of Jiangxi province and also spoken in some small parts in southeastern Hubei and eastern Hunan. It is widely acknowledged that the subgroups of the Xianning dialect include Yong’an 永安, Tingsi 汀泗, Heshengqiao 贺胜桥, Damu 大幕 and Danshan 担山, and the Yong’an subgroup can be taken as the representative of the Xianning dialect (Wang 2007). In this article, all my collected data are from native speakers who have a Yong’an accent in the Xianning dialect. In terms of the research value of the Xianning dialect, Wang (2007) briefly introduced that in the past century a couple of famous scholars had investigated the Xianning dialect as a special research topic, their contributions lie in the book *Hubei Fangyan Diaocha Baogao* [Reports on Surveys of Hubei Dialects] written by Chao et al. (1948), this book has one chapter focusing on the Xianning dialect. After that, professors and students from Peking University intently visited this area to collect dialectical samples for their research in order to figure out the relationship between the Xianning dialect and Gan Chinese. Therefore, the study of the Xianning dialect has been a spotlight for researchers to further understand more features among different Gan dialects.

3. Previous Observations and Analyses of tsa⁴²

Wang (2007) examines the function, distribution and meanings of tsa⁴² and observes that tsa⁴² has two functions: (i) to serve as a noun, with the meaning as “a son or child”, as shown in (3), and (ii) to serve as a suffix of nouns, with a diminutive denotation (4).
Regarding the distribution of $tsa^{42}$, Wang (2007) observes that when $tsa^{42}$ serves as noun, it can occur with pronouns (3a) and numeral-classifiers (3b). Also, the word $tsa^{42}$ can combine with verbs directly, as shown in (3c) and (3d). He also observes that when $tsa^{42}$ serves as a diminutive suffix, it can appear with a wide variety of nouns, ranging from human nouns (4a), non-human animate nouns (4b), and inanimate nouns (4c-4d).

In addition to the diminutive use, Wang observes that apart from $tsa^{42}$, the prefix $sæ^{213}$ as an adjective can be also used to modify the nouns to indicate something is small. In this regard, the prefix $sæ^{213}$ ‘little’ seems to be necessary in the pre-nominal position [$sæ^{213} + N + tsa^{42}$], and the function of this pattern is to strengthen the degree of emphasis that the thing denoted by the noun is small. Consider for instance the following example from Wang (2007: 113):

(5)  

a. $sæ^{213}$ \( \rightarrow \) \( \rightarrow \) \( tsa^{42} \)  
\[ \text{little chicken DIM} \]  
‘little chick’

b. $sæ^{213}$ \( \rightarrow \) \( \rightarrow \) \( tsa^{42} \)  
\[ \text{little cattle DIM} \]  
‘little calf’

c. $sæ^{213}$ \( \rightarrow \) \( \rightarrow \) \( tsa^{42} \)  
\[ \text{little chair DIM} \]  
‘little chair’

d. $sæ^{213}$ \( \rightarrow \) \( \rightarrow \) \( tsa^{42} \)  
\[ \text{little stool DIM} \]  
‘little stool’
However, the remaining issues regarding $tsa^{d2}$ are as follows: First, although Wang discusses the use of $tsa^{d2}$ as a noun, meaning ‘son, child’, he does not examine what types of adjectives that $tsa^{d2}$ can and cannot combine with. In this paper, I will examine this issue in detail (in Section 5.1). Second, when $tsa^{d2}$ serves as a diminutive marker attaching to nouns, Wang (2007) shows that it can appear with nouns denoting animals, furniture, time expression and transportation tools; however, based on my collected data from ten native speakers of the Xianning dialect (in Section 4), I observe that $tsa^{d2}$ can also appear with other types of nouns and that there are restrictions of using $tsa^{d2}$ with nouns. Third, previous studies provide no account for the fact that $tsa^{d2}$ is widely used as a diminutive marker in the Xianning dialect. Last, Wang (2007) did not mention the reason why the word $tsa^{d2}$ can co-occur with the prefix $sae^{213}$ since $sae^{213}$ as an adjective has already meant “little or small” in the pattern $[sae^{213} + N + tsa^{d2}]$.

In this paper, I will focus primarily on the two uses of $tsa^{d2}$, as discussed in Wang (2007): (i) $tsa^{d2}$ as a noun, and (ii) $tsa^{d2}$ as a diminutive marker which appears with nouns. Specifically, when $tsa^{d2}$ is used as a noun, I will only examine its usage with adjectives. In Section 5, I will first examine the use of $tsa^{d2}$ as a noun and its distribution with adjectives (Section 5.1); then I will examine the use of $tsa^{d2}$ as a diminutive marker and its distribution with nouns (Section 5.2).

4. Data Collection

All my data in this paper are collected from ten native speakers\(^1\) who speak with a Yong’an accent, which is the representative of the Xianning dialect as my informants is mainly because they all represent pure Xianning accent in different ages, and it is necessary to do field interviews in order to get the first-hand data. For my limited resources or energy, I cannot create a big database or corpus, but those data are enough for my description and analysis for this study. Naturally, I admit that collecting data from daily conversations is a good way but the word $tsa^{d2}$ might not be very frequently used if you only look at the random

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dialect. The age of these native speakers ranges from 20 to 65, among them three speakers were born in 1990s, two speakers were born in 1980s, four speakers were born in 1960s and one speaker was born in 1950s. The data collected from all these people can therefore represent the basic characteristics of the modern Xianning dialect. It has been confirmed that these native speakers have at least graduated with a middle school diploma in the Chinese general education system, and they all grew up and are currently living in the Xianning, Hubei, China.

My data were collected via field interviews with native speakers of different ages. The prompt in my research was designed to find out what kinds of words can be used with ʦa⁴². It consisted of four questions as mentioned in Appendix II. The topics of these words cover the most of common things including animate (child, animals, plants, etc.) and inanimate (clothing, transportation tools, geographic locations, time, etc.). I communicated with these participants in standard Chinese and asked them how to use the word ʦa⁴² to describe the aforementioned list of things in the daily life. All the native speakers were told to answer my questions by providing examples of the Xianning dialect with Chinese translations. Meanwhile, I wrote down my recordings by adopting the phonological system in Wang (2007). After my data collection, these participants needed to confirm with each other in terms of all the examples they had provided, so there is no variation of all the data collected from the ten informants. The following data is fully acceptable depending on what they all agreed on.

5. Distribution of ʦa⁴²

data. Given this, I decided to get relevant data directly from native speakers by using the prompt in my interviews.

² It should be pointed out that individual factors such as gender might also affect the accuracy of my data. However, all the data from the ten participants in my study has been confirmed to reach an agreement, so the individual factors should not make a difference. Also, an empirical study conducted by Brouwer (1982) shows no conclusive evidence that women do indeed use diminutives more often than men in Dutch language.
5.1. *tsa* as a noun and its distribution with adjectives

This section discusses the use of *tsa* with adjectives. I adopt Zhu’s (1956, 1961, 1983, 1993) categorization of adjectives in Chinese. Zhu argues for a distinction of two groups of adjectives in Chinese, and Huang (2006) summarizes these two groups as follows:\(^3\):

**Group A:** Simple Adjectives  
This group includes *da* ‘big’, *hong* ‘red’, *hao* ‘good’, *zhai* ‘narrow’, *gui* ‘expensive’, *zang* ‘dirty’, *ganjing* ‘clean’, *weida* ‘great’, etc.

**Group B:** Complex Adjectives  
This group of adjectives is constructed from the simple adjectives which undergo some changes either at the word level or at the phrasal level. The resultant complex adjectives describe a state or situation in a more lively, or vivid, or more intensified manner. The following is a sample of such complex adjectives.

(a) reduplicated forms:  
*xy* → *xxyy*: *laoshi* ‘honest’ → *laolao shishi* ‘honest and frank’;  
*ganjing* ‘clean’ → *gangan jingjing* ‘thoroughly clean’  
*xy* → *x-li-xy*: *hutu* ‘muddled’ → *hu-li-hu-tu* ‘good and muddled’;  
*guguai* ‘eccentric’ → *gu-li-gu-guai* ‘really eccentric’

(b) those with ‘lively’ suffixes:  
*x* → *x-honghong*: *luan* ‘messy’ → *luan-honghong* ‘chaotic and noisy’ *chou* ‘stinky’ → *chou-honghong* ‘rampantly stinky’;  
*x* → *x-buliqiu*: *hui* ‘gray’ → *hui-buliqiu* ‘drab and grayish’

(c) those with intensifying prefix-like elements:  
*bing-liang* ‘ice-cold’, *tong-hong* ‘red through and through’,  
*peng-xiang* ‘puffing-sweet and aromatic’

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\(^3\) As noted in Huang (2006: 344, footnote 1), she follows the citation and translation from Chao (1968, pp. 676–677) with a few changes and additions all from Zhu’s original work.
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(d) forms with adverbs of degree and in coordination:

\textit{hen} \textit{hao} ‘very good’, \textit{you} \textit{gao} \textit{you} \textit{da} ‘both tall and big’


Based on the above categorization of adjectives in Chinese, I observe that some simple adjectives can appear with *tsa*\(^{42}\), as illustrated in (6), whereas some adjectives cannot combine with *tsa*\(^{42}\) in the Xianning dialect, as shown in (7).

(6) a. \text庭33 \text席213 *tsa*\(^{42}\)

\begin{tabular}{ll}
dirty & \text‘dirty child’
\end{tabular}

b. \text席34 \text塞31 *tsa*\(^{42}\)

\begin{tabular}{ll}
fool & \text‘fool child’
\end{tabular}

c. \text庭34 \text卵31 *tsa*\(^{42}\)

\begin{tabular}{ll}
astute & \text‘astute child’
\end{tabular}

d. \text尿31 \text浇55 *tsa*\(^{42}\)

\begin{tabular}{ll}
short & \text‘short child’
\end{tabular}

e. \text庭34 \text卵33 *tsa*\(^{42}\)

\begin{tabular}{ll}
aughty & \text‘naughty child’
\end{tabular}

f. \text庭34 *tsa*\(^{42}\)

\begin{tabular}{ll}
well-behaved & \text‘well-behaved child’
\end{tabular}

(7) a. \text*\text序42 *tsa*\(^{42}\)

\begin{tabular}{ll}
good & \text‘good child’
\end{tabular}

b. \text*\text序42 *tsa*\(^{42}\)

\begin{tabular}{ll}
wild & \text‘wild child’
\end{tabular}

c. \text*\text系42 \text此213 *tsa*\(^{42}\)

\begin{tabular}{ll}
mean & \text‘mean child’
\end{tabular}

d. \text*\text系55 *tsa*\(^{42}\)

\begin{tabular}{ll}
weak & \text‘weak child’
\end{tabular}

I also observe that the complex adjectives, regardless of which forms they take, cannot actually appear with *tsa*\(^{42}\) in the Xianning dialect, as shown in example (8):

(8) reduplicated forms:
a. \*\textipa{\textipa{ts}\textipa{a}\textipa{o}\textipa{33}-\textipa{\textipa{t}\textipa{\textipa{a}\textipa{33}}-\textipa{f\textipa{o}\textipa{44}}-\textipa{f\textipa{o}\textipa{44}}}} \textipa{tsa}^{42} \\
very-natural-and-poised child \\
‘very natural and poised child’

b. \*\textipa{\textipa{n}\textipa{o}\textipa{42}-\textipa{\textipa{n}\textipa{o}\textipa{42}}-\textipa{s}\textipa{j}\textipa{33}-\textipa{s}\textipa{j}\textipa{33}} \textipa{tsa}^{42} \\
very honest child \\
‘very honest child’

(9) adjectives with ‘‘lively’’ suffixes:

a. \*\textipa{\textipa{t}\textipa{s}\textipa{h}\textipa{\textipa{a}}\textipa{u}^{213}}-\textipa{\textipa{k}\textipa{h}\textipa{o}^{213}}-\textipa{\textipa{k}\textipa{h}\textipa{o}^{213}} \textipa{tsa}^{42} \\
very stinking child \\
‘very stinking child’

b. \*\textipa{\textipa{f\textipa{o}}\textipa{\textipa{n}}\textipa{31}-\textipa{\textipa{t}\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{n}}\textipa{44}}-\textipa{\textipa{t}\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{n}}\textipa{44}}} \textipa{tsa}^{42} \\
glowing-red child \\
‘glowing red child’

(10) adjectives with intensifying prefix-like elements:

a. \*\textipa{\textipa{p\textipa{i}}\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{n}}}^{44}} \textipa{n}\textipa{31} \textipa{tsa}^{42} \\
ice-cold child \\
‘(body) ice-cold child’

b. \*\textipa{\textipa{t}\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{e}}}^{31} \textipa{p\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{e}}}^{33}}} \textipa{tsa}^{42} \\
snow-white child \\
‘(skin) snow-white child’

(11) forms with adverbs of degree and in coordination:

a. \*\textipa{x\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{n}}}^{32}}} \textipa{\textipa{t}\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{a}}}\textipa{u}^{42}} \textipa{tsa}^{42} \\
very ugly child \\
‘very ugly child’

b. \*\textipa{i\textipa{\textipa{a}}\textipa{u}^{33}}-\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{k}\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{o}}}^{44}}-\textipa{i\textipa{\textipa{a}}\textipa{u}^{33}}-\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{t}\textipa{\textipa{\textipa{a}}}^{33}}} \textipa{tsa}^{42} \\
both tall and big child \\
‘tall and big child’

My first summary is that there are restrictions in using the diminutive word \textipa{tsa}^{42} together with adjectives. Some parts of the simple adjectives can appear with the diminutive word \textipa{tsa}^{42}, but the complex adjectives cannot co-occur with the diminutive word \textipa{tsa}^{42}.

5.2. \textipa{tsa}^{42} as a diminutive marker and its distribution with nouns

**Group A: Countable Nouns**
This group of nouns have their corresponding classifiers (in the brackets) like: *shu (ben)* ‘book’, *deng (zhan)* ‘light’, *bi (zhi)* ‘pen’, *ma (pi)* ‘horse’, *shangdian (jia)* ‘shop’, etc.

**Group B: Uncountable Nouns**
This group of nouns does not have corresponding classifiers in general, like *shui* (water), *jiu* (alcohol), *tu* (earth), *mianfen* (flour), *rou* (meat), *bu* (cloth), etc. Also, limited measure words can be used to modify this group of nouns. The first type of measure words are from nouns denoting length, volume and weight, like: *yi chi bu* ‘one 1/3 decimetre cloth’, *yi jin rou* ‘a half-kilogram meat’ and so forth. The second type of measure words are from nouns indicating container, like: *yi tong shui* ‘one bucket of water’, *yi dai mianfen* ‘one bag of flour’, and so on. The third type of measure words are indefinite, like: *yidianer shui* ‘a little water’, *yixie yao* ‘some medicine’, etc.

**Group C: Collective Nouns**
This group of nouns includes compound nouns [noun+classifier], like *zhi zhang* ‘papers’, *qiang zhi* ‘guns’, *renkou* ‘population’, *cheliang* ‘vehicle’, and *chuan zhi* ‘ships’, etc. The -men suffix can be attached to the human nouns to form collective nouns as well, like *renmen* ‘people’, *haizimen* ‘children’, *tong xuemen* ‘students’, and so on.

**Group D: Abstract Nouns**
Some classifiers can modify this group of nouns which denote event duration and times, like *yizhong lijie* ‘a kind of courtesy’ (kind classifier⁴), *yichang huo* ‘a disaster’, *qing yici ke* ‘a treat’ (event classifier²), and *chao le yihui zui* ‘a quarrel’ (event classifier).

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⁴ The concept of kind classifier and event classifier is clarified in Ahrens & Huang (2016: 186-191).
**Group E: Proper Nouns**

This group of nouns denote specific places, people, countries, etc., such as Zhongguo ‘China’, Mao Zedong ‘Chairman Mao’, Li Kui (a character in a classical Chinese novel), and Changjiang ‘Yangtze River’, etc.

Based on the above categorization of nouns in Chinese, I observe that some countable nouns can appear with $t^2$. These nouns include multiple things such as household appliances or kitchenware (12), children things (13), plants and food (14), common locations (15a-15c) and geographical places (15d-15f), and bad guys\(^5\) (16). But some countable nouns cannot appear with $t^2$, as shown in (17):

\[(12)\]  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>a. $k_u^4$ $t^2$</th>
<th>b. $p_h^3 \eta n^3$ $t^2$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bowl DIM</td>
<td>basin DIM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘little bowl’</td>
<td>‘little basin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. $u_\delta^2$ $t^2$</td>
<td>d. $p_h^3 \eta n^3$ $t^2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cupboard DIM</td>
<td>pan DIM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘little cupboard’</td>
<td>‘little pan’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[(13)\]  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>a. $i^4$ $t^2$</th>
<th>b. $x_a^3$ $t^2$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>clothes DIM</td>
<td>shoes DIM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘children’s wear’</td>
<td>‘children’s shoes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c. $u_a^5$ $t^2$</td>
<td>d. $c_h^2 \iota \eta h^4$ $t^2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stocking DIM</td>
<td>car DIM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘children’s stockings’</td>
<td>‘little car’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e. $p_h^3 e^3$ $t_e^3$ $t^2$</td>
<td>f. $t_s \eta n^4$ $t_h^3 e^3$ $t^2$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rubber.ball DIM</td>
<td>pillow DIM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘little rubber ball’</td>
<td>‘little pillow’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[(14)\]  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>a. $s_e^2$ $t^2$</th>
<th>b. $y^3$ $t_h^3 e^3$ $t^2$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sweet.potato DIM</td>
<td>taro DIM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘little sweet potato’</td>
<td>‘little taro’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^5\) This diminutive use can also be seen in West Atlantic languages like Fula (Lieber, 2009: 109), which uses the pejorative diminutives “baa-ŋ gum” meaning “nasty little monkey”. Here “ŋ gum” is a kind of pejorative diminutive marker.
(15) a. \(u^{55} \text{tsa}^{42}\)  
house DIM  
‘little house’

b. \(ke^{44} \text{tsa}^{42}\)  
ditch DIM  
‘little ditch’

c. \(ci^\text{\textcircled{i}}^{\text{\textcircled{e}}} ne^{31} \text{tsa}^{42}\)  
wing-room DIM  
‘little wing-room’

d. \(ko^{44} te^{31} \text{tsa}^{42}\)  
Gaoqiao DIM  
‘Gaoqiao village’

e. \(ts\text{\textcircled{o}}^{\text{\textcircled{o}}} u^{55} \text{tsa}^{42}\)  
Zhongwu DIM  
‘Zhongwu village’

f. \(ci\text{\textcircled{o}}^{\text{\textcircled{r}}} ka^{44} \text{tsa}^{42}\)  
Xiongjia DIM  
‘Xiongjia village’

(16) a. \(cie^{42} t^{\text{\textcircled{i}}} e^{33} \text{tsa}^{42}\)  
theft DIM  
‘little theft’

b. \(t^{\text{\textcircled{i}}} au^{42} fe^{42} \text{tsa}^{42}\)  
bandit DIM  
‘little bandit’

c. \(tc^{\text{\textcircled{i}}} ^{\text{\textcircled{r}}} o^{33} \text{tsa}^{42}\)  
robber DIM  
‘little robber’

d. \(ph^{\text{\textcircled{i}}} 2^{13} ts^{^2} y^{42} \text{tsa}^{42}\)  
cheater DIM  
‘little cheater’

e. \(ts^{\text{\textcircled{h}}} 2^{55} ph^{\text{\textcircled{e}}} e^{33} \text{tsa}^{42}\)  
pickpocket DIM  
‘little pickpocket’

f. \(niau^{31} ta^{42} kua^{42} \text{tsa}^{42}\)  
hooligan DIM  
‘little hooligan’

(17) a. \(*t^{\text{\textcircled{h}}} a^{33} ci^{\text{\textcircled{e}}}^{33} \text{tsa}^{42}\)  
elephant DIM  
‘little elephant’

b. \(*\eta^{55} y^{31} \text{tsa}^{42}\)  
crocodile DIM  
‘little crocodile’

\(^6\) The Chinese name for the above three villages in the Xianning area is called “高桥崽”, “钟屋崽” and “熊家崽”, respectively. At least ten geographical places whose names contain ts\text{\textcircled{a}}^{42} as diminutive marker are found by searching google map, for example, the place called ‘Gaoqiaozai’ 高桥崽 can be found right here: https://www.google.com/maps/place/Gaoqiaozai,+Xian'an,+Xianning,+Hubei,+China/@29.8560054,114.3505172,12z/data=!4m5!3m4!1s0x342f21709b0bd245:0x9ca6aae4297f2e718m2!3d29.894149!4d114.468749
However, some countable nouns which are associated with huge or fierce animals\(^7\) (17a-17b), or large vehicles and natural sites (e.g. (17c) and (17e)), etc., cannot co-occur with the diminutive word \(tsa^42\). Especially in example (16), we know that \(tsa^42\) can also follow hateful or derogatory things in the expressions of the Xianning dialect. For instance, when the nouns indicate “bad guys” (e.g. “theft” in (16a)), speakers of the Xianning dialect tend to use diminutive suffix \(tsa^42\) to mark a derogatory feeling. In this context, the semantic color of \(tsa^42\) can be changed from the usual denotation of lovely or fondly to a derogatory meaning.

As previously mentioned, Wang (2007) observes that when the uncountable nouns have to do with time, as exemplified in (4c), a couple of cases inform that the temporal noun \(i^55 \text{ \text{kh}}^55\) or \(i^55 \text{ \text{xa}}^33\) ‘a quarter’ can co-occur with the diminutive word \(tsa^42\). However, from my collected data I further observe that in most cases \(tsa^42\) cannot appear with abstract nouns especially for some written words (18) as well as uncountable nouns (19):

\[
\begin{align*}
(18) & \quad a. \ *y\text{ən}^33 \text{ \text{tɕ}^213} \ tsa^42 \\
& \text{fortune} \quad \text{DIM} \\
& \text{‘little fortune’} \\
& b. \ *\text{fu}^55 \ tsa^42 \\
& \text{blessing} \quad \text{DIM} \\
& \text{‘little blessing’}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^7\) Notice that for this phenomenon, I also have asked one Cantonese speaker and Taiwanese speaker and their common answer is that there existed the similar diminutive suffixes in their dialects, and these suffixes can be also attached to the nouns which are related to huge or fierce animals to show affection. In this regard, using diminutive suffix \(tsa^42\) to mark a derogatory feeling seems not to be the uniqueness of the Xianning dialect but at least this phenomenon drives me to compare different diminutive suffixes in my future study. I will leave this in my limitation part.
c. *məŋ*₃₃ tsa⁴²
  dream  DIM
  ‘little dream’

(19) a. *ɕy*⁴² tsa⁴²  
  water  DIM
  ‘little water’

b. *zau*⁵⁵ tsa⁴²  
  meat   DIM
  ‘little meat’

c. *pu*²¹⁳ tsa⁴²
  cloth  DIM
  ‘little cloth’

From above we know that in most cases the abstract nouns cannot actually appear with the diminutive word tsa⁴² because they are uncountable, which is incompatible with the countable denotation of tsa⁴² ‘child or son’.

Besides, the diminutive word tsa⁴² is not allowed to co-occur with collective nouns (20a-20b), neither is allowed to co-occur with proper nouns (20c-20d), as exemplified below:

(20) a. *kə²¹³ sa*⁵⁵ zən³¹ tsa⁴²  
  everybody  DIM
  ‘little everybody’

b. *zən³¹ nae³³ tsa⁴²
  human   DIM
  ‘little human’

c. *pe⁴⁴ tɕiən⁴⁴ tsa⁴²
  Beijing  DIM
  ‘little Beijing’

d. *nae³³ pa²¹³ i⁵⁵ tsa⁴²
  Monday  DIM
  ‘little Monday’

As can be seen, it is not allowed when the diminutive word tsa⁴² co-occurs with collective nouns and proper nouns in all the cases.

My second summary is that when the diminutive word tsa⁴² appears with nouns, it can co-occur with some countable nouns, but it cannot co-occur with nouns which are akin to huge and fierce animals, and large vehicles, neither can it appear with abstract nouns, collective nouns or proper nouns.
Here I want to summarize my answers corresponding to my first research question: what are the distributional patterns of the dialectal word *tsa*⁴² regarding its different functions in the Xianning dialect? My answer is 1) when the diminutive word *tsa*⁴² appears with nouns, it can co-occur with some countable nouns, but it cannot co-occur with nouns relating to huge and fierce animals, and large transportation tools, neither can it appear with abstract nouns, collective nouns and proper nouns; 2) there are restrictions in using the diminutive word *tsa*⁴² together with adjectives. It has been observed that some parts of the simple adjectives can appear with the diminutive word *tsa*⁴², the complex adjectives, however, cannot co-occur with the diminutive word *tsa*⁴².

6. Cognitive Account

6.1. Markedness theory

The modern concept of Markedness is originated from the Prague School (1928-1939) and has been applied to phonological, grammatical, and semantic oppositions to date (Andersen 1989). In linguistics, semantic markedness is diagnosed as the rule that a noun with an unmarked feature can often be used to quantify over more types of entities than a noun with a marked feature. (Croft 2003; Greenberg 1966; Jakobson 1971). The concept of markedness indicates the way words are changed or added to give a special meaning, while the unmarked is just the normal meaning. Also, a marked form is often the one with inflectional or derivational endings. For example, the word *lion* as unmarked form can refer to a male or female, while *lioness* as marked form can refer only to females. The existence of the diminutive suffix *tsa*⁴² in the pattern N+*tsa*⁴² shows a morphological derivation from the root word as a N (noun), which can denote a wide range of things in our life. Based on the semantic marking, Shi (2005) in his diminutive study argues that there is a contrast between normal size and small size (diminutive) in terms of things in the nature, therefore people tend to choose grammatical forms to mark nouns with small denotation, which are unusual or less commonly seen compared with nouns denoting the normal size (unmarked). It is therefore natural to conclude that compared with things of normal sizes, things of small sizes
are marked in some Chinese dialects like Xianning dialect, this is because they are not commonly visualized as the typical images in the minds of local people.

With respect to the reason why the dialectal word \( tsa^{42} \) can serve as a diminutive marker in the Xianning dialect, I argue that the diminutive suffix \( tsa^{42} \) can be used to mark nouns denoting things of small sizes by referring to the markedness and diminutive study in Shi (2005). For example, when speakers of the Xianning dialect describe an animal like “cow”, typically the cow can be visualized as an adult cow, with its normal body size and weight in their minds. However, when speakers try to describe a little cow (smaller size than normal), in this unusual situation, they tend to attach a marker to the noun to emphasize that this object is special for its smaller size. The same goes for an inanimate thing like ‘table’, usually speakers visualize it as a normal size in their minds. But when it comes to a small table, which is contrasting to speakers’ usual understandings, they need to attach a marker to the noun to highlight this object with a smaller size. Therefore, the distributional pattern “\( N + tsa^{42} \)” can be used by the speakers of the Xianning dialect to express something small. The suffix \( tsa^{42} \), if looking at it in another light, could well reflect speakers’ perceiving things as normal sizes (neither small nor big) without any marker attached to the nouns.

6.2. Radial category

The Radial Category is initially proposed by Lakoff (1987) and developed into a revised model by Jurafsky (1996), its purpose is to represent both the diachronic growth of the category and its synchronic extent by acting as a kind of “Archaeology Of Meaning” (p. 542). In addition, the model leads to his argument that the origins of the diminutive cross-linguistically are semantically or pragmatically linked to children” (p. 537). In this respect, Jurafsky (1996: 543) argues that 1) “child” gives rise to “diminutive”: diminutives arise from semantic or pragmatic links with children; 2) a large number of diminutive morphemes have developed historically from a word meaning “child” or “son”; 3) diminutives come from morphemes which are pragmatically rather than semantically
associated with children. The pragmatic senses of the diminutive include “affection”, “pets”, “sympathy”, and “intimacy”. The proposed universal structure for the semantics of the diminutive (p. 542) is shown below, and diminutive nodes are labeled with names of senses and arcs with mechanisms of semantic change such as inference (I), metaphor (M), generalization (G), and lambda-abstraction (L):

![Figure 1. Jurafsky's proposed universal structure for the semantics of the diminutive (1996: 542)](image)

Regarding the reason why the diminutive word *tsa*₄² is widely used in the Xianning dialect, I adopt the revised model of Radial Category (Jurafsky 1996) and argue that the semantic change of the word *tsa*₄² can be examined from a synchronic perspective. It is observed from Fig. 2 that the prototype is the “child” which denotes by the word *tsa*₄² as a noun, then the concept of “child” (*tsa*₄²) can be closely connected with the concept of “small”. The prototype “child” at the center of the map can be metaphorically and metonymically extended into different categorizations. Firstly, the concrete object “child” can be mapped onto the abstract

---

8 For details of these four mechanisms, Jurafsky (1996: 544) mentioned that “Inference” allows a morpheme to acquire a new meaning that had been an inference (implicature) of its old meaning; “Metaphor” tells a meaning shifts to a new domain, based on a general metaphor which maps between the old and new domain; “Lambda-abstraction” explains how it applies to the diminutive to derive second-order predicate; and a bleached morpheme (loses some particular features of its meaning) becomes more abstract is called “generalization”.
concept “small” via metaphor “small is beautiful (or cute)”. Children in the world are loved by their parents and even all the people because they are cute in nature. Secondly, the concept of “child (tsa⁴²)” leads to its relevant members (what kind of child is, e.g. kua⁴⁴ tsa⁴² ‘well-behaved child’ in (6)) and the concept of “small” can trigger small types of things (e.g. i₅⁵ kʰ e₅⁵ tsa⁴² ‘a short while’ in (4c) and tsa₅⁵ tsa⁴² ‘little table’ in (4d), etc.). The conceptual extension in “child” and “small” is actually a metonymy which indicates “whole for part”, that is, “child” and “small” as a whole concept can be hence extended into other minor groups. Thirdly, from pragmatic perspective, the concept of “child” can be associated with people’s affection (cute or lovely) towards the “child” (e.g. ŋa₃¹ tsa⁴² ‘little child’ in (4a)) as well as some animate but inhuman things such as pets (e.g. tɕ e₄⁴ tsa⁴² ‘piglet’ in (4b) and Table in Appendix). The metaphorical mapping behind the affection is also “small is beautiful or cute” in human mind. This fact echoes Jurafsky’s argument that diminutives come from morphemes which are pragmatically associated with children, for the reason that human affection either good or bad is a subjective feeling toward things in the nature. Moreover, it is worth pointing out that the pragmatic interpretation is also reflected in the derogatory meaning shown in tsa⁴². The concept of “small” in tsa⁴² can trigger a sense of contempt in terms of some bad guys (e.g. cie⁴² h e₃³ tsa⁴² ‘little theft’ in (16)), showing that people who speak the Xianning dialect can use the diminutive marker tsa⁴² to belittle or deprecate these bad guys.⁹ The metaphor “small is insignificant” can explain the fact that bad guys are unimportant and harmful to the society, therefore they are more likely to be depreciated with the diminutive marker tsa⁴² in Xianning dialect.

⁹ Someone points out that since these are the cases showing how pragmatics works in the interpretation of tsa⁴², the pragmatic factors here and grammatical distribution (Section 5) should be treated differently in my paper. In my opinion, although the two parts are somewhat mixed together, there is no strict separation existing between grammar and usage (pragmatics). From a usage-based perspective, Bybee (2006) demonstrated that “grammar is built up from specific instances of use which marry lexical items with constructions; it is routinized and entrenched by repetition and schematized by the categorization of exemplars” (p. 22).
Based on my collected data, I adopt the radial category to drew the semantic map showing different categorizations extended from the prototype “child” in terms of tsə²:

![Semantic Map]

**Figure 2. The extension of the prototype tsə² in the Xianing dialect**

### 6.3. Gradable dimensions

From a semantic perspective, Ştefănescu (1992) argues that “the semantic constraint on the diminutive formation requires adjectives to be gradable antonymic adjectives, non-gradable adjectives cannot form bases for the application of the diminutive formation rule. Cases such as good, big, ugly, young and beautiful all have antonymic and gradable features” (p. 351-352). Dressler and Barbaresi (1994) also contend that “only syntactic categories whose referents have gradable dimensions can be diminutivized, and adjectives are mostly gradable by nature” (p. 120-132). The above viewpoints can be also confirmed by Bakema and Geerarts (2004).

Back to example (5), it is now clear as to why the prefix sæ²¹³ ‘little’ is necessary in the pattern [sæ²¹³ + N + tsə²]. As a qualitative adjective, the prefix sæ²¹³ is surely gradable because there is a gradient between the two poles: little and big. It is therefore believed that sæ²¹³ as a gradable antonymic adjective can be diminutivized by co-occurring with the diminutive suffix tsə². The function of the pattern, as previous noted, is
to enhance the strength of the emphasis that the thing denoted by the noun is small.

6.4. Sociocultural factors

For the social context, as Bakema and Geerarts (2004) mentioned, the diminutive suffix used by local people to express their affection is more connected with joyful and tender situations than in contexts characterized by anguish and fear. This is true by looking at the use of tsa\textsuperscript{42}, the ten participants in my study agree on the fact that speakers of Xianning dialect often use this word in spoken context, which is different from the formal speech acts such as declaring, condoling, and praying. For the text type or style, still now, there is no written style for Xianning dialect. Wang’s (2007) dissertation can be taken as a dictionary of spoken Xianning dialect on the grounds that he has collected data from local speeches and designed a comprehensive vocabulary list including phonological system, etymology and dialectal comparison. It is safe to say that speakers of Xianning dialect can orally express something but cannot write dialectal words in formal writings such as documentary archives and essays, part of the reason is that many dialectal words in Xianning do not have corresponding characters or the written language, and so do other dialects in China and beyond.

It is interesting to question why tsa\textsuperscript{42} as a noun is related to “son” (male) or “child” (neutral term) instead of “daughter”? The cultural account plays a role in the male-oriented use of tsa\textsuperscript{42} in the local area since the “frequency of diminution is culture-specific” (Bakema and Geerarts 2004: 1050). It is acknowledged that the patriarchal tradition in China as an agricultural society results in preference of boys to girls, especially happened in the countryside. This prejudice as a traditional phenomenon has been deeply rooted in local languages or dialects as the mirror of social culture. A case in point is the Xianning dialect is the three-character word 做花菌 tsau\textsuperscript{213} xua\textsuperscript{4} k\textsuperscript{44} indicating a female who is born to do needlework. In contrast, a male who needs to get education is called 读书菌 t\textsuperscript{33} au\textsuperscript{3} c\textsuperscript{44} k\textsuperscript{44}. As we can see, the two different considerations tsau\textsuperscript{213} xua\textsuperscript{4} (do needlework) and t\textsuperscript{33} au\textsuperscript{3} c\textsuperscript{44} (get education) embodied in...
Xianning dialects manifest a gender discrimination in its cultural tradition. Back to the diminutive word *tsa*\(^{42}\), usually a speaker of Xianning dialect uses the dialectal word *tsa*\(^{42}\) to refer to “son”, but if someone wants to express “daughter”, he or she needs to add a feminine marker *y*\(^{42}\) (♀) to say *y*\(^{42}\) *tsa*\(^{42}\). This also confirms the markedness theory that the diminutive word *tsa*\(^{42}\) needs to be marked with feminine noun to show “daughter” while it does not have to be marked when it comes to the masculine concept “son”. The finding implies that the male-female contrast exists in diminutive words of Chinese dialects.

To answer my second research question: how do we account for the wide use of *tsa*\(^{42}\) as a nominal suffix by native speakers of the Xianning dialect? My findings are 1) according to the markedness and diminutive study (Shi 2005), I argue that the diminutive suffix *tsa*\(^{42}\) can be used to mark nouns denoting things of small sizes. It is natural to say that the use of diminutive suffix like *tsa*\(^{42}\) well reflects people including Xianning speakers’ perceiving the size of objects (animate or inanimate) as normal (neither small nor big) in the world; 2) the semantic map of Xianning diminutives depending on Jurafsky’s (1996) universal structure for diminutive semantics can be used to account for different categorizations extended from the two prototypes (child and small) in terms of *tsa*\(^{42}\), from a synchronic perspective; 3) the gradable dimensions tell that the word *sæ*\(^{213}\) as a gradable antonymic adjective can be diminutivized by appearing with the diminutive suffix *tsa*\(^{42}\); and 4) sociocultural factors indicate that the suffix *tsa*\(^{42}\) occurs in informal situations such as joyful and tender speeches and there is no written style so far. Crucially, the local culture (the prejudice of preferring boys to girls) plays a role in the male-oriented use of *tsa*\(^{42}\) in the Xianning area.

### 7. Concluding remarks

In this paper I mainly examine the diminutive word *tsa*\(^{42}\) spoken in the Xianning dialect. Building my collected data, I focus on the distributions of the diminutive word *tsa*\(^{42}\) and provide account for the fact that this word can be widely used as a diminutive marker in the Xianning dialect.
For the distribution of $tsa^{42}$ as a noun in the Xianning dialect, the word cannot appear with the complex adjectives but some simple adjectives. Specifically, the diminutive word $tsa^{42}$ can be used with some countable nouns, whereas it cannot co-occur with nouns which are akin to huge and fierce animals, and large transportation tools, neither can it appear with abstract nouns, collective nouns and proper nouns. Regarding reasons for the wide use of $tsa^{42}$ as a nominal suffix I use markedness theory to argue that the word $tsa^{42}$ can be used to mark nouns denoting things of small sizes, which is consistent with Xianning speakers’ perceiving the size of objects as normal (neither small nor big) in their minds; and the semantic map of Xianning diminutive words depending on Jurafsky’s (1996) universal structure can be used to account for different categorizations extended from the two prototypes (child and small) in terms of $tsa^{42}$, from a synchronic perspective; the gradable dimensions also tell that the word $sa^{213}$ ‘little’ as a gradable antonymic adjective can be diminutivized by appearing with the diminutive suffix $tsa^{42}$; from a sociocultural angle, I argue that the suffix $tsa^{42}$ occurs in informal situations such as joyful and tender speeches, and the local culture (the prejudice of preferring boys to girls) plays a role in the male-oriented use of $tsa^{42}$ in the Xianning area.

My contribution in this study is to provide a comprehensive picture for the distributional patterns of the dialectal word $tsa^{42}$ in the Xianning dialect regarding its different functions. I also provide an account for the reason why this diminutive word is widely used in the Xianning dialect, which has not yet been addressed in the previous study (Wang 2007). My established data as well as the observations in my study can help readers better understand the geographic affinity or connection with respect to the diminutive use in the Xianning district. However, the diminutive words in other dialects still need to be further explored, given that geographic variation of dialectal words can often give typological implications. First, as Table in Appendix shows, there are also diminutive words used in Changsha and Nanchang dialects and they somewhat share similar distributions and meanings with the word $tsa^{42}$ in the Xianning dialect. So my question is: is it possible that the word $tsa^{42}$ in the Xianning dialect shares the same historical origin (i.e. sound and meaning) with other diminutive words used in the neighboring dialects such as Xiang and Gan? If so, how are these diminutive words linked to each other in their
semantical and phonological developments? Second, in terms of the diminutive words $zi^2$ $zai^2$ 仔 (Yue dialects) and $tsa^{42}$崽 (Xianning dialect), even if they are different words used in different areas, their pronunciations and meanings are similar to some degree. For example, the word $zai^2$ in Yue Dialects can be also used to address diminutives like $sai^3$ lou$^6$ $zi^2$ 细路仔 (little boy) and $gai^1$ $zi^2$ 鸡仔 (chick). The question is: would it be possible that the two different words are “cognates” in the history of Chinese dialects even if the two dialects are not neighboring in their geographical locations? If so, how?

Last but not least, this case study can serve as a model for the analysis of other diminutive words in Chinese dialects and beyond, and future studies will further address my remaining questions from different perspectives.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Abbreviations

1SG 1st person singular 1PL 1st person plural 2SG 2nd person singular SUF suffix
2PL 2nd person plural 3SG 3rd person singular 3PL 3rd person plural
PREP preposition CL classifier PST past tense NEG negator DIM diminutive

Appendix 2: Questions for Interview

Here are all my inquiries (with English translation) during the field interview:

1. 请您告诉我“崽”这个字可以怎么来形容小孩子（比如性格或特点）？

Could you please tell me how the word *tsa*⁴² can be used to describe the features of children (e.g. personality or character)?

2. 请您告诉我哪些动物能与“崽”这个字一起用？除了动物，其他的有生命的东西呢（比如植物）？

Could you please tell me what kinds of animals can be used with the word *tsa*⁴²? How about other animate things such as plants?
3. Please tell me what kinds of objects (inanimate) (e.g. transportation tools, places, furniture) can be used with the word *tsa*?2?

Could you please tell me what kinds of objects (inanimate) (e.g. transportation tools, places, furniture) can be used with the word *tsa*?2?

4. Please tell me what kinds of abstract things (e.g. time) can be used with the word *tsa*?2?

Could you please tell me what kinds of abstract things (e.g. time) can be used with the word *tsa*?2?
Appendix 3:
Table: Comparison of Diminutive Words in Neighboring Chinese Dialects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialect (Area)</th>
<th>Xiannning Dialect</th>
<th>Changsha Dialect</th>
<th>Nanchang Dialect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>(Southeastern Hubei Province)</td>
<td>(Northeastern Hunan Province)</td>
<td>(Northern Jiangxi Province)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Wang, 2007)</td>
<td>(Luo &amp; Li, 2008)</td>
<td>(Xiong, 1982)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>tsa(^{42}) (son/child)</td>
<td>tsai(^{41}) tsai(^{1}) (son/child)</td>
<td>tsai(^{213}) tsai(^{55}) (son/child)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>This word can not only be used to express little animals, plants, but also to express some little inanimate objects.</td>
<td>This word can be usually used to express little animals and plants in most cases.</td>
<td>This word can be only used to express little animals as usual.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Examples | tsai\(^{42}\) (chick) | tsai\(^{41}\) tsai\(^{1}\) (calf) | tsai\(^{213}\) tsai\(^{55}\) (piglet) |
|          | ke\(^{42}\) tsa\(^{42}\) (puppy) | ian\(^{13}\) tsai\(^{41}\) tsai\(^{1}\) (lamb) | t\(^{6}\) tsa\(^{213}\) tsai\(^{55}\) (bunny) |
|          | tsa\(^{55}\) tsa\(^{42}\) (little table) | tcy\(^{3}\) tsai\(^{41}\) tsai\(^{1}\) (piglet) | \textcircled{\textit{m\textordmasculine}t} tsa\(^{213}\) tsai\(^{55}\) (duckling) |
|          | y\(^{31}\) t\(^{3}\)e\(^{31}\) tsa\(^{42}\) (little taro) | mau\(^{3}\) tsa\(^{41}\) tsai\(^{1}\) (kitten) | ki\(^{213}\) tsa\(^{213}\) tsai\(^{55}\) (puppy) |
|          | cy\(^{33}\) tsa\(^{42}\) (little tree) | tsai\(^{3}\) tsa\(^{41}\) tsai\(^{1}\) (chick) | tci\(^{42}\) tsa\(^{213}\) tsai\(^{55}\) (chick) |
|          | ts\(^{h}\)a\(^{44}\) tsa\(^{42}\) (little car) | y\(^{11}\) t\(^{1}\)au\(^{13}\) tsa\(^{41}\) tsai\(^{1}\) (little taro) | niu\(^{3}\) tsa\(^{213}\) tsai\(^{55}\) (calf) |
|          | u\(^{55}\) tsa\(^{42}\) (little house)... | pin\(^{3}\) lan\(^{13}\) tsa\(^{41}\) tsai\(^{1}\) (little taro) | lau cy tsa\(^{213}\) tsai\(^{55}\) (little mouse)... |

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