A Preliminary Study on the Development of Nominalizer and Diminutive Suffixes in the Hunan Dialects[*]

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Abstract   In some localities of the Hunan dialects, there is a contrast between a nominalizer [tsɿ] and diminutives [tsa]/[tɕi], which is a contrast to but not the same as the contrast between *zi* （子）and *er*（儿）in Mandarin. This paper will use data from sixteen localities to give some initial hypotheses to the path of development of the nominalizer [tsɿ] and the diminutives [tsa]/[tɕi] in the Hunan dialects.

key words   the Hunan dialects; suffixes; nominalizer; diminutive suffix

It is a common impression that in most of the northern dialects, there are two common suffixes: *zi* （子）and *er*（儿）.*Zi* can be treated as a nominalizer, and *er* a diminutive suffix （e.g.Chao1968：229–243）. Most of the southern dialects has a suffix corresponding with *zi* but none for *er* etymologically. However, it does not mean that there are no diminutive suffixes in the southern dialects. In the Hunan dialects, for example, there are diminutive suffix [tsa]–like and [tɕi]–like forms across many localities. Moreover, in terms of grammaticalization, the diminutive suffixes went further than *zi* and *er* in Mandarin.

I   The nominalizer and diminutive suffixes in the Hunan dialects

In the Hunan dialects, there are two set of diminutive forms: [tsa]–like forms written as 崽 or 仔；and [tɕi] like forms written as 基，唧，机 or 姐. For the sake of simplicity in this paper, the [tɕi]–like form will be written as 唧, regardless of the forms used by different writers. In the Xinhua dialect, there are two [tsa]–like forms and they are written as 崽 and 仔 respectively. In other dialects, [tsa]–like forms are all written as 崽, Data from sixteen localities are available for the discussion.[1] In the following table, a' – ' indicates that a certain form does not exist in a particular dialect.

Table 1.   The tsa–like forms, tɕi–like forms and tsɿ–like forms in the Hunan dialects

tsa-like forms	tɕi-like forms	tsɿ-like forms	Localities
tsa	–	tsɿ	Guzhang L[2]
tsæ[45]/tsæ[21]	tɕi	tsɿ	Xinhua[3]
tsæ	tɕi	tsɿ	Hengshan
tsai	tɕi	tsɿ	Dong'an
tsai	tɕi	tsɿ	Hengyang
tsai	tɕi	tsɿ / li	Liuyang
tsai	tɕiɛ	tsɿ	Yiyang
tsɛ	tɕi	tsɿ	Lianyuan
tsɛ	dʑɿ	tsɿ	Shaoshan
tse	tsi	tsɿ	Loudi
tse	tɕi	tsɿ	Changning
tsai	–	tsɿ	Daozhou M
tsai	–	tsɿ	Shaoyang
tsai	–	tsɿ	Qiyang
tsa[41]	–	tsɿ	Changsha
tsai	–	tsə	Linwu M
tsai	–	tsɿ	Linwu L

1.1 The [tsa]–like forms in the Hunan dialects

[tsa]–like forms exist in all the sixteen localities, but their functions are not identical.

Table 2. The [tsa]–like forms in the Hunan dialects

Baby animals	Youngkinterms/ other addressing terms	Small objects	Nominalizer	Particle	Localities
+	+/–	+	–	–	Xinhua
+	+/–	–	–	–	Hengshan
+	+/–	–	–	–	Dong'an
+	+/–	–	–	–	Hengyang
+	+/–	+	–	–	Liuyang
+	+/–	–	–	–	Yiyang
+	+/–	+	–	–	Lianyuan
+	+/–	–	–	–	Shaoshan
+	+/–	–	–	–	Loudi
+	+/–	–	–	–	Changning
+	+/–	+	+	–	Guzhang L
+	+/+	+	+	+	Daozhou M
+	+/–	–	–	–	Shaoyang
+	+/–	–	–	–	Qiyang
+	+/–	–	–	–	Changsha
+	+/–	–	–	–	Linwu M
+	+/–	–	–	–	Linwu L

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1.1.1 The [tsa]–like forms used for animal terms

The above table shows that [tsa]–like forms can be used for baby animals in all of the localities. Three terms: baby chicken, baby dog and baby ox which are the most commonly seen domestic animals in the Hunan speaking area, are listed below.

Table 3. Baby animal terms in the Hunan dialects

Baby chicken	Baby dog	Baby ox	Localities
鸡崽 [4] ka^{55} tsa	狗崽 k^huai^{35} tsa	牛崽 $\eta\partial\mathrm{u}^{55}$tsa	Guzhang L/Xinhua/Linwu M/Linwu L/Daozhou
细鸡崽 $\varsigma i^{11}ci^{33}tsai^{35}$	细狗崽 $\varsigma i^{11}ciau^{55}tsai^{24}$	细牛崽 $\varsigma i^{11}\mathfrak{n}iou^{55}tsai^{24}$	Liuyang
鸡崽崽 $t\varsigma i^{44}tse^{51}ts\varepsilon$	狗崽崽 $t\vartheta^{42}tse^{51}ts\varepsilon$	牛崽崽 $\eta au^{13}tse^{51}ts\varepsilon$	Lianyuan/Shaoyang /Qiyang
鸡崽唧 $t\varsigma i^{33}tsai^{55}t\varsigma i$	狗崽唧 $kau^{55}tsai^{55}t\varsigma i$	牛崽唧 $\eta au^{13}tsai^{55}t\varsigma i$	Dong'an L/Hengshan Shaoshan/Loudi /Yiyang
鸡崽崽/鸡崽唧 $t\varsigma i^{45}tse^{44}tse^{44}$ /$t\varsigma i^{33}tse^{44}t\varsigma i$	狗崽崽/狗崽唧 $ku\mathrm{u}^{44}tse^{44}tse^{44}$ /$ku\mathrm{u}^{44}tse^{44}t\varsigma i$	牛崽崽/牛崽唧 $\eta iu\mathrm{u}^{11}tse^{44}tse^{44}$ /$\eta iu\mathrm{u}^{11}tse^{44}t\varsigma i$	Changning
鸡崽子 $t\varsigma i^{33}tsai^{41}tsı$	狗崽子 $k\vartheta u^{41}tsai^{41}tsı$	牛崽子 $\mathfrak{n}i\vartheta u^{13}tsai^{41}tsı$	Changsha/Hengyang

The above table demonstrates that there are four types of combinations of the words for baby animals：Animal terms+[tsa]；Animal terms+[tsa][tsa]；Animal terms+[tsa][tɕi] and Animal terms+[tsa][tsı]. Sometimes four forms can co–exist in one locality. Animal terms+[tsa][tsa] and animal terms+[tsa][tɕi] can co–exist in the Changning dialect.

1.1.2 The [tsa]–like forms used for kinship terms and addressing terms

[tsa] can also be used to address young kinship in all the localities. It is usually used to refer to a child, a grandchild etc., such as 女崽 [$\mathfrak{n}i\vartheta\mathrm{u}^{35}$ tsa^{55}] 'girl' and 崽崽[$tsa^{35}tsa^{55}$] 'boy' in the Guzhang dialect, and 老弟（崽）[$l\vartheta^{21}li（tsæ^{45}）$] 'younger brother', 侄女（崽）[$t\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{l}^{24}y^{21}（tsæ^{45}）$] 'niece' and 孙崽 [$s\vartheta n^{33}tsæ^{45}$] 'grandson' in the Xinhua dialect. In some localities, it can be used as a general addressing term after person's first name to express loveliness. For example ,a person's first name is 红 'red', can be called 红崽. [5]

1.1.3 The [tsa]–like forms used for small objects

There are only five localities in which the [tsa]–like forms can be used for small objects. The nouns in the Guzhang dialect and the Xinhua dialect will be used to examine their usages. The following types of nouns can take a [tsa]–like form:

ⅰ）Rounded shaped things or seed–like things:

Guzhang dialect:

豆豉糍崽	$da^{33}sı^{35}d\mathfrak{z}i^{41}tsa$	a cake like food made from fermented soya beans
番瓜崽	$fan^{55}kau^{55}tsa$	seeds of pumpkin
藻面盆崽	$tsau^{35}mi\varepsilon^{33}bai^{13}tsa$	a basin for washing the face

Xinhua dialect:

碗豆仔	uã^{33}dʰiə^{21}tsæ^{45}	pea
沙仔	sa^{33}tsæ^{45}	sand
眼珠仔	ã^{21} tɕy^{33}tsæ^{45}	eyeball

It is interesting to see the similarities and differences between these two localities. [tsa]–like forms can all be used for seeds or seeds–like things. However, in the Guzhang dialect, rounded shaped fruits can have a suffix [tsa] while those terms in the Xinhua dialects have a suffix [tsɪ]. The names for different types of bean have a [tsa]–like suffix in the Xinhua dialect while these terms have no suffixes at all in the Guzhang dialect.

ii）Bigger objects can distinguished from small ones by adding a diminutive suffix

Guzhang dialect:

瓮	au^{33}	water vat	瓮崽	au^{33}tsa	small water vat
柑	koŋ^{55}	shaddock	柑崽	koŋ^{55}tsa	orange

Xinhua dialect

竹子	tɕiəʊ^{33}tsɪ	bamboo	竹仔	tɕiəʊ^{33}tsæ^{45}	small bamboo
楠竹	la^{13}tɕiəʊ^{24}	a type of bamboo	筒竹仔	dʰən^{13}tɕiəʊ^{33}tsæ^{45}	a type of bamboo
			水竹仔	ɕy^{21}tɕiəʊ^{33}tsæ^{45}	a type of bamboo
			麻竹仔	ma^{13}tɕiəʊ^{33}tsæ^{45}	a type of bamboo
鼎	tiɔ̃^{24}	pot	鼎仔	tiɔ̃^{24}tsæ^{45}	small pot
溪坑	tɕʰi^{33} kʰõ^{33}	stream	溪坑仔	tɕʰi^{33} kʰõ^{33}tsæ^{45}	small stream

Two phenomena need to be considered:

The small objects in this category refer to something relatively small when they are compared with bigger things. For example, there are different types of bamboo; 楠竹[la^{13}tɕiəʊ^{24}] is one which is relatively big, therefore no [tsæ^{45}] is attached, while three other types of bamboo which are smaller than 楠竹 [la^{13}tɕiəʊ^{24}] all have a [tsæ^{45}] ending. The same phenomenon occurs in the Waxiang dialect, such as the construct between 'a stream' and 'a small stream'.

There is a pair of contrast between a nominalizer and a diminutive suffix. That is 竹子 [tɕiəʊ^{33}tsɪ] 'bamboo' and 竹崽 [tɕiəʊ^{33}tsæ^{45}] 'small bamboo' in the Xinhua dialect.

iii）Small plants or parts of a plant:

Waxiang dialect:

灯草崽	taŋ^{55}tsʰau^{25} tsa	rush
树截崽	tsa^{33}dʑiɛ^{33}tsa	tree trunk

It must be pointed out that the words in the Waxiang dialect above with diminutive suffix [tsæ^{45}] are with nominalizer [tsɪ] in the Xunhua dialect:

iv）Something relating to body parts:

Guzhang dialect:

尾手指崽	mai^{41}ɕiəɯ^{25}tsɿ^{41} tsa	little finger
疮崽	tsʰɔn^{55} tsa	sore
腰崽	dʑy^{13} tsa	kidney

ⅴ）Insects or small animals:

Guzhang dialect:

蛛蛛崽	tiəɯ^{55} tiəɯ^{55} tsa	spider
虫崽	liau^{13} tsa	worm
蜂崽	fəɯ^{55} tsa	bee

Xinhua dialect:

鸟崽	diə^{24}tsæ^{21}	bird[6]
牛蚊仔	in^{13}min^{33}tsæ^{45}	gadfly

ⅵ）Other small objects:

Xinhua dialect:

钉仔	tiɔ̃^{33} tsæ^{45}	nail
梳仔	səu^{33} tsæ^{45}	comb

1.1.4 The [tsa]-like forms used as a nominalizer

The [tsa]-like forms used as a nominalizer can be found in the Guzhang dialect and Daozhou dialect only. A verb can become a noun by adding a [tsa^{25}]. For example, [toŋ^{55}] 'to carry' contrasts with [toŋ^{55}tsa] 'a carrying pot'; [kau^{55}] 'to cut' contrasts with [kau^{55}tsa] 'scissors' in the Guzhang dialect. There is a clear distinction between these two dialects. In the Guzhang dialect, the nominalizer is mainly used for objects while in the Daozhou dialect, the nominalizer is mainly used for referring to people.

Guzhang dialect:

□崽	lai^{13} tsa	bamboo mat
梯□崽	tʰæ^{55} oŋ^{35} tsa	ladder

Daozhou dialect:

聋子崽		a deaf person
矮子崽		a short person

1.1.5 The [tsa]-like forms used as a particle at the syntactical level

In the Daozhou dialect, the [tsa] like form also can have some grammatical functions. It can be used after a reduplicated adjective indicating the feature of something is just right. The [tsa]-like form can also used after a monosyllabic adjective to deduce the degree of the adjective and to soften the tone. These meanings should be derived from loveliness and smallness respectively. It can also used after the time words to indicate that the time in speaker's mind is short. All of the examples are taken from Zhou Xianyi, 1988. No IPA transcription is given in the original article except for the word 崽 [tsai^{21}].

（1）那屋高高崽.

that - house - tall - tsai^{21}

That house is high but not too high （the height is just right）.

（2a） 连溪河没得好深.

Lianxi – river – not – too – deep

The Lianxi river is not deep at all.

（2b） 连溪河没得好深崽.

Lianxi – river – not – too – deep – tsai^{21}

The Lianxi river might not be deep at all.

（3） 我去了几回崽北京.

I – to – go – ASP – tsai^{21} – a few – CL – Beijing[7]

I went to Beijing a few times only （not many times at all）.

The following chat summarizes the usages of [tsa]–like forms across dialects. The word 崽 developed from a full noun to a diminutive suffix, then to a nominalizer, and finally it is used as a particle at a syntactical level. [tsa]–like forms in most localities are used only as a full noun and a diminutive, but in the Daozhou dialect, it can have all the usages although its usage on nominalizer is very limited.

Full noun	>	diminutive suffix	>	nominalizer	>	particle
son/baby		young children		change a		have grammatical
		baby animals		verb or an		functions in a sentence
		seeds		adjective		
		small objects		into a noun		

1.2 The [tɕi]–like forms in the Hunan dialects

The [tɕi]–like forms can be found in eight localities out of sixteen as shown below.

Table 4. [tɕi]–like forms in the Hunan dialects

Baby animals	Young kin terms/ other addressing terms	Small objects	Time words	Particle	Localities
（+）	+/+	+	+	–	Xinhua
（+）	+/	–	–	–	Hengshan
+ （+）	–/–	+	–	–	Dong'an
（+）	+/+	–	+	+	Liuyang
（+）	+/–	+	+	+	Yiyang
–	+/–	–	+	+	Lianyuan
（+）	+/–	+	–	–	Shaoshan
（+）	+/–	–	–	–	Loudi

Table 4 shows that [tɕi]–like forms may not share the same usages from dialect to dialect.

1.2.1 [tɕi]–like forms used for animal terms:

In most localities, [tɕi] can be used as a suffix for baby animals. In dialects such as Dong'an, it can be used after animal terms directly. The symbol '+' in the table 4 stands for this usage. In

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other localities, however, [tɕi] can be used only after [tsæ], such as 鸡崽唧 [tɕi³³tsæ¹²tɕi³³] in the Hengshan dialect. The symbol（+）stands for this usage in table 4.

In the Dong'an dialects, some, but not all, names for birds and insects have [tɕi] attached directly after their names. It is used occasionally for some other animals such as a leopard. When [tɕi] is used for baby animals, it must combine with [tsæ] before attaching to the animal terms. Some examples are provided below:

Table 5. The [tɕi] and [tsæ] [tɕi] forms in the Hunan dialects

[tɕi]			[tsæ] [tɕi]		
蜜唧	mi⁴¹tɕi	beer	猪崽唧	tiəu³³tsai⁵⁵tɕi	baby pig
豹唧	pu³⁵tɕi	leopard	牛崽唧	ŋau¹³tsai⁵⁵tɕi	baby ox

Birds and insects are small and lovely, and this might be the reason that [tɕi] can be attached. For the words which can have a choice between [tsa] [tɕi] and [tsa], the former carries a stronger flavor of smallness and loveliness than the latter.

1.2.2 [tɕi] used for kinship terms:

The most characteristic feature of [tɕi] is that it can be used as a suffix for kinship terms and addressing terms. In the Lianyuan dialect, [tɕi] combines with kinship terms for higher generations only. There are some minimal pairs to distinguish a pair of related kin. [tɕi] does not seem to have preferences for either gender or age. For example, 伯伯 [pɔ³³pɔ] 'father's elder brother' contrasts with 伯唧 [pɔ³³tɕi] 'father's elder brother's wife'; and 外太婆 [ue¹¹tʰa⁵⁵pu¹³] 'mother's father's mother' contrasts with 外太唧 [ue¹¹tʰa⁵⁵tɕi] 'mother's father's father'. In the Yiyang dialect, [tɕi] combines with some kinship terms in all different generations, such as 叔唧 [səu⁵⁵tɕie] 'father's younger brother', 婶唧 [sən⁴¹tɕie] 'father's younger brother's wife'; 姐唧 [tɕia⁵⁵tɕie] 'older sister'/老妹（唧）[lau⁴¹mi¹¹tɕie] 'younger sister（reference term only）. In the Lianyuan dialect, no preference is given to either gender or generation.

[tɕi] can also be used as a suffix for addressing people. It can either for a general term, such as 细人唧 [ɕi⁴⁵ n̩¹³tɕi] 'child', or can be used after a specific first name such as 桂花唧 [kua⁵⁵fa³³tɕi³³] in the Xinhua dialect.

The table 6 summarizes the different usages of [tɕi] in different localities.

Table 6. [tɕi]–like forms for kinship terms in the Hunan dialects

Localities	Kinship terms（G stands for generation）	Addressing term（general）	Addressing term（specific）
Xinhua	–	+	+
Hengshan	For all G	+	+
Dong'an	Mainly for parent's siblings	+	–
Shaoshan	–	+	+
Loudi	Not for the EGO G	+	?
Yiyang	For all G	+	–
Liuyang	Mainly for old G	+	+

1.2.3 [tɕi]–like forms used for small objects

In four localities out of eight, [tɕi] can be used as a suffix for small objects. These four localities are Dong'an, Shaoshan Xinhua and Yiyang. Checking through all the basic words in these dialects, in most of cases [tɕi] is optional. Only a few words in the Yiyang dialects can have [tɕi] suffixes permanently, for example:

Table 7. Examples of [tɕi] used as suffix for small objects

鸟唧	tiau²¹tɕie	bird
耳锅唧	ɔ⁴¹ko³³tɕie	a small wok with handle

1.2.4 [tɕi]−like forms are used as a suffix for time words

In some localities, [tɕi] can be used as a suffix for words of time, for example, 慢唧 [ma²¹tɕi] 'after a while', 时架唧 [ʐn̩³³ka⁴⁵tɕi] 'in case', 眼麻唧 [ã²¹ma¹³tɕi] 'dusk' and 连咖唧 [liɛ̃⁵⁵katɕi] 'now' in the Xinhua dialect.

1.2.5 [tɕi]−like forms used as a particle at a syntactical level

In the Liuyang Lianyuan and Yiyang dialects, 唧 [tɕi] can be used in sentences to express some extra meaning such as appreciation and sympathy, or can by used to reduce the degree of the adjective and so on. These functions all derived from smallness and loveliness.

(4a)   其是只矮子。

ki⁴²sɪ¹¹ʈɔ³³ŋɑ⁴²tsɪ

he − to − be − CL − short person

He is a short person （too short）.

(4b)   其是只矮子唧。

ki⁴²sɪ¹¹ʈɔ³³ŋɑ⁴²tsɪ tɕi

he − to −.be − CL − short person

He is a short person （how lovely）.

    （Lianyuan dialect, Chen Hui, 1998:230）

(5a)   依块衣衫崩紧咕。

i³³kʰuɑ⁵⁵i⁴⁴sa⁴⁴paŋ⁴⁴ʈen⁴²ku

this − CL − cloth − tied − MOD

This cloth is very tight （It's no good）.

(5b)   依块衣衫崩紧唧。

i³³kʰuɑ⁵⁵i⁴⁴sa⁴⁴paŋ⁴⁴ʈen⁴²tɕi

this − CL − cloth − tied − MOD

This cloth is very tight （It's good. It's just right）.

    （Lianyuan dialect, Chen Hui, 1998:230）

The following chat summarizes the usages of [tɕi] in the Hunan dialects.

（[tɕi]）   > Diminutive   > Time word   > Particle

?   small animals

kin terms

addressing terms

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From the data above, it can be seen that [tsa] and [tɕi] have some overlapping and also place particular emphasis on different aspects. They both can be used as diminutive suffixes for animal terms, kinship terms and addressing terms. However, although both have the sense of smallness and loveliness, [tsa] is more likely to indicate smallness while [tɕi] is more likely to show loveliness. That is why [tɕi] can be used as a suffix for kinship terms, even in higher generations （for some localities, it is used for high generation(s) only, but [tsa] can be used only for young generation(s)）. Both of them can be used at a syntactical level and their usages are very similar.

The lexicon meaning of [tsa] is very clear, and it can still be used as a full word meaning 'son' or 'baby, but the lexicon meaning of [tɕi] is unknown and it cannot be used as a full word. The etymology of [tɕi] will be discussed in a later section.

1.3 The [tsɪ]–like forms in the Hunan dialects

[tsɪ]–like forms exist in all the sixteen localities, but their functions are not identical either.

Table 8. The [tsɪ]–like forms in the Hunan dialects

Nominalizer	Time words	Particle	Localities
+	−	−	Xinhua
+	−	−	Hengshan
+	+	(+)	Dong'an
+	+	(+)	Hengyang
+	−	−	Liuyang
+	−	−	Yiyang
+	−	−	Lianyuan
+	?	−	Shaoshan
+	−	−	Changning
?	−	−	Guzhang L
+	−	−	Daozhou M
+	−	−	Shaoyang
+	−	−	Qiyang
+	+	+	Changsha
+	−	−	Linwu M
+	−	−	Linwu L

1.3.1 The [tsɪ]–like forms used as a nominalizer

The table 8 shows [tsɪ] can be used as a nominalizer in all of localities. A question marker is used for the Waxiang dialect, since there are only a few words are recorded so far. The differences of the usage of [tsɪ] in different localities are the nouns which can have [tsɪ] suffixes can differ. In some localities, the [tsa] or [tɕi] takes some of the roles of [tsɪ]. For example, in the Changsha dialect, [tsɪ] is the only form for a nominalizer while in the Guzhang dialect [tsa] is the main form and [tsɪ] can be used for some words only. In the Daozhou dialects, [tsɪ] is the nominalizer

and [tsa] a nominalizer for some words only.

1.3.2 [tsɪ]–like forms used as a suffix for time words

Just as [tɕi], [tsɪ]–like forms can be used as a suffix for words of time, for example, 今日子 [tɕin³³zɪ²⁴tsɪ] 'today', 时刻子 [sɪ¹³kʰɤ²⁴tsɪ] 'often', 暴暴子 [pau²¹pau²¹tsɪ] 'just', as in the Changsha dialect.

1.3.3 The [tsɪ]–like forms used as a particle at a syntactical level

In the localities where no [tɕi] form exists, [tsɪ] can usually have functions as a particle in a syntactical level which is a similar usage of [tɕi].[8] The following examples are taken from the Changsha dialect.

（6a）　我去三天子就回。

ŋo⁴¹　kʰɤ⁴⁵ san³³tʰiɛ̌³³tsɪ tɕiəu²¹fei¹³

I – to – go　three day –　then – back

I will be back in only three days　（I won't be long）

（6b）　你要去三天啊。

li⁴¹ iɑʊ⁴⁵ kʰɤ⁴⁵san³³tʰiɛ³³a²¹

you –　to – want – to – go – three day – MOD

You will be gone for three days　（such a long time）.

The [tsɪ] used after a time word makes the time period shorter in the speaker's mind. In the above dialogues, A thinks three days as a short time and uses [tsɪ], while B thinks three days a long time and has omitted it. The following chat summarizes the usages of [tsɪ]–like forms.

[tsɪ]　　　　　　　>　nominalizer　>　time word　　>　particle
（son/baby）

We know that the lexicon source of [tsɪ] is 子 'son, baby'. But this meaning as a full noun does not occur in the Hunan dialects. The following chat summarizes the usages of the three forms discussed above.

Full noun　　>　　diminutive（a）　　>　nominalizer　>　particle
[tsa]　　　　　　　young children
son/baby　　　　　baby animals
　　　　　　　　　seeds
　　　　　　　　　small objects

[tɕi]　　　　　>　　diminutive（b）　>　　time word　>　particle
?　　　　　　　　　small animals
　　　　　　　　　kin terms
　　　　　　　　　addressing terms

[tsɪ]　　　　　>　　nominalizer　　　>　　time word　>　particle
（son/baby）

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This chat indicates the situation of [tsa], [tɕi] and [tsɪ] across localities in Hunan. Generally speaking, the three forms have their own main role. [tsa] is mainly used as a diminutive suffix to indicate smallness, [tɕi] as a diminutive suffix to indicate loveliness and [tsɪ] as a nominalizer. There are some overlappings as well. All of them can be used at a syntactical level, both [tɕi] and [tsɪ] can be used for time words, and both [tsa] and [tsɪ] can be used as a nominalizer.

In the following section, the above data will be used to reconstruct the development of diminutive suffixes and nominalizers in the Hunan dialects.

II The development of diminutive suffixes and nominalizers in the Hunan dialects

In Early Modern and Modern Mandarin, there has been a distinction between *zi*（子）and *er*（儿）. In Guo Pu's time period（276–324）, in his Notes on *Eryan* and *Fangyan*, the examples of *zi*（子）used as both a nominalizer and a diminutive suffix can be found（Xiao Liming, 1997:314）. It is usually considered that the *zi*（子）suffix derived from the diminutive meaning. The modern diminutive suffix *er*（儿）in northern Chinese appeared later than *zi*（子）. In the Dang dynasty, it was mainly used for small animals such as *fengr*（蜂儿）'bee', *yar*（鸭儿）'duck' and *yangr*（羊儿）'sheep'. In the Song Dynasty, it began to be used after something small and lovely, but it of course could also be used just as a suffix for a noun without referring to something small and lovely.

Early in the Han dynasty, it is recorded that the word for 'son' in the northern is *zi*（子）, but in the southern is *zai*（崽）. These two characters have represented the same word but with different pronunciations starting early in Yang Xiong's time period. According to the rhyme books of Middle Chinese, *zi*（子）and *zai*（崽）'son' share the *Shangsheng*（上声）and the *Jingmu*（精母）. They differ only on rhymes. *zi*（子）belongs to *Zhiyun*（之韵）and *zai*（崽）belongs to *Xieshe*（蟹摄）. There are different reconstructions of the pronunciation for *zi*（子）; for example, [tsiə]（Li Shizhen and Zhou Changji 1999:63）, [tsi'/tsi']（Pulleyblank, 1991:420）. In the Hunan dialects, the finals of *Zhiyun*（之韵）usually have a [ɪ]–like final, and the *Xieshe*（蟹摄）usually have an [ai] or [a]–like final. However in the Guzhang dialects the [a] and [ɪ] co–exist in the Middle Chinese *Zhiyun*（之韵）and [a][ɛ] and [ɤ] co–exist in Middle Chinese *Xieshe*（蟹摄）. See the following two tables. In table 9 , all five words come from the *Zhi* rhyme *Jing* initial group. In table 10, all ten words come from the *Xie* rhyme *Jing* initial group.[9]

Table 9. Examples in the Zhi rhyme Jing initials

子	tsa^{25}	son	寺	sɪ^{25}	temple
丝（瓜）	sa^{55}	dishcloth gourd	丝～绸	sɪ^{55}	silk
字	dza^{33}	character			

Table 10. Examples in the Xie rhyme Jing initial

栽	tsa²⁵	to plan	才	dzɛ³³	just
猜	tsʰa⁵⁵	to guess	裁～缝	dzɤ¹³	dress maker
财（主）	dza¹³	rich man	在	dzʰɤ²⁵	to be at
材（木～）	tsa⁵⁵	wood	菜	tsʰɤ³³	vegetable
崽	tsa²⁵	son	蔡	tsʰɤ³³	a surname

The evidence in the Guzhang dialect shows that zi（子）and zai（崽）derived from the same lexicon source. In most dialects, it hard to see their phonological connection today while in the Guzhang dialect, the connections is still clear.

I propose that [tɕi] is a variety of [tsɪ]. As mentioned before, zi（子）and zai（崽）all belong to the *Jingmu*（精母）in Middle Chinese. In the Hunan dialects, many words with *Jingmu*（精母）once had or still have two pronunciations: [tɕ] and [ts]. The general rule is that if a word has a [i-] or [y-] final, the initial of this word will be [tɕ]; otherwise it will be [ts]. For the word 'son', it can have two pronunciations. For example, in the Qiyang dialect, in the city town, the nominalizer can be pronounced as [tsɪ] or [tse], but it is pronounced as [tɕi] by people who live outside of town（Li Weiqi1998:99）.In the Hengyang dialect, if a word has [tsɪ] but it has a meaning of smallness, it sometimes is pronounced as [tɕi] and sometime is pronounced as [tsɪ]

（Li Yongming,1986:399）. I proposed that there might be a time period when zi（子）had two pronunciations in the Hunan dialects: [tsɪ] and [tɕi]. One might be the other's variation and there was no difference in meaning at the first stage. Later [tsɪ] and [tɕi] took different roles. The former acts as a diminutive and the later acts as a nominalizer.

However, there is a question. What is the relationship between the [tsa] and [tɕi]/[tsɪ]? As mentioned before, in the Han dynasty, the word zi（子）has had a distinction between northern and southern. zai（崽）has been used in the southern dialects. From the nouns in the Waxiang dialect, we can see that the development of [tsa] is paralleling [tsɪ] in Mandarin. I would like to propose two hypotheses regarding the relationship between [tsa] and [tɕi]/[tsɪ]:

i）[tɕi] and [tsɪ] are borrowed forms from northern dialects. They came into different localities in different time periods.

ii）In the Han dynasty, the word zi（子）took different pronunciations in southern and northern Chinese. Some localities in Hunan have kept two pronunciations.

2.1[tsɪ] is borrowed from northern Chinese

In all of the sixteen localities, [tsɪ] can be used as a norminalizer. However, the number of nouns which can have [tsɪ] differ. In the Guzhang dialect, there are only a couple of words with a [tsɪ] suffix. Most words are with [tsa] which function as both a diminutive suffix or a nominalizer. It may be assumed that the word zai（崽）in the Guzhang dialect has taken the roles of both a diminutive suffix（DIM）or a nominalizer（NOM）since Han. The following chat shows the development of zi in both Mandarin and the Guzhang dialect.

			Han	Tang	Modern time
			子 DIM	儿 DIM	儿 DIM
子	>	Mandarin	子 NOM	子 NOM	子 NOM
		Guzhang	崽 DIM （a）	崽 DIM （a）	崽 DIM （a）
			崽 NOM	崽 NOM	崽 （子） NOM

zi（子）is considered as a nominalizer that came into the Guzhang dialect in modern times not only because only a couple of examples can be found, but also because the [tsa] is still very active for word formation. Most speakers of the Guzhang dialect can speak both Mandarin and the Waxiang dialect. However this situation does not make [tsɪ] become more popular in the Guzhang dialect. In the Daozhou dialect, [tsa]–like sounds can also act as both a diminutive and a nominalizer as they are in the Guzhang dialect, but the main nominalizer is [tsɪ].That may suggest that [tsɪ] came into the Daozhou dialect earlier than in the Guzhang dialect.

However, something is hard to explain if we assume that [tsɪ] is a borrowed form in the Hunan dialect. For example, what is the motivation of borrowing? As it can be seen in the Guzhang dialect, [tsa]–like sounds can have all the functions which the [tɕi] and [tsɪ] have. It is to say that [tsa]–like sounds can have a same or similar path of development of [tsɪ]. There is no need to borrow another form. If we assume a [tsɪ] suffix came into the Hunan dialects along with borrowed words from Mandarin, we should expect that words with [tsɪ] suffix would not be much more common than those in Mandarin, because borrowed words usually are limited and they need to compete with local forms. The fact is that in most localities of Hunan, the usages of [tsɪ] is much wider than those in Mandarin. For example, in the *Dictionary of the Changsha Dialect*（Bao etc. 1993）, there are 713 local nouns（that is 37% of the nouns）with the suffix [tsɪ]. Outsiders note that Hunan people's mouths are full of [tsɪ]. There is a popular local performance called *Ba zige* （百子歌）'A song with one hundred [tsɪ]' in which [tsɪ] is used as a rhyme and occurs at the end of every line.

If [tsɪ] is only a borrowed form, it is hard to explain that why it can be used as a particle in a syntactical level, which is not a usage in northern Chinese. In terms of grammaticalization, [tsɪ] in the Hunan dialects goes further than [tsɪ] in Mandarin. Looking at the words with [tsɪ] in the Guzhang dialect, it is hard to explain why those are borrowed words when these words do not occur in Mandarin at all. Based on the above thought, I put forward the second hypothesis: [tsɪ] is a literal pronunciation of [tsa] and it has been co–existed with [tsa] from Han.

2.2 *zi* （子）is a literal pronunciation of *zai* （崽）

When the word *zi*（子）was split into two pronunciations in the Han dynasty （or earlier than Han）, *zi* （子）was already both a diminutive suffix and a nominalizer. At first, *zi* （子） might have been a literal pronunciation of *zai* （崽） in the Hunan dialects. Later, *zi* （子） and *zai* started to carry different roles. *zi*（子）is mainly used as a normalizer while *zai*（崽）is mainly used as a diminutive suffix. Different dialects have different paths and speed of development although the direction is

the same. Let us look at the different patterns of developments in the Hunan dialects.

Guzhang: [tsɪ]   >   [tsa]   DIM（a）/ NOM
                      [tsɪ]   （NOM）

In the Guzhang dialect, [tsa] takes the main role and can act as both a diminutive and nominalizer while [tsɪ] is very weak and can be used in only a small number of words.

Daozhou: [tsɪ]   >   [tsa] DIM（a & b）>   （NOM）>   time word   >   particle
                     [tsɪ]   NOM

In the Daozhou dialect, although [tsa] is also very strong, it has been through a very long path from a full word to a diminutive, to a nominalizer then to a particle. [tsɪ] took the main role of a nominalizer. Both [tsa] and [tsɪ] can act as a nominalizer, but [tsa] can be used as a nominalizer for a small number of words only.

                    [tsa] > DIM（a）
Xinhua: [tsɪ]   >   [tɕi] > DIM（b）>   time word   >   particle
                    [tsɪ] >   NOM

In the Xinhua dialect, the development of [tsɪ] is more complete. The three forms carry different roles. In terms of grammaticalization, [tɕi] goes further than [tsa] and [tsɪ].

Changsha: [tsɪ]   >   [tsa] > DIM（a）
                     [tsɪ]   NOM   timeword   >   particle

In the Changsha dialect, the usage of [tsa] is very limited. It can be used only for baby animals. [tsɪ] is used as a nominalizer.

Summarising the above discussion, we may suggest that both *zi*（子）[tɕi]/[tsɪ] and *zai*（崽）[tsa] have been co-existed in the Hunan dialects. *zai*（崽）[tsa] has carried the local pronunciation and *zi*（子）[tɕi]/[tsɪ] has carried the literal pronunciation. Generally speaking they take different roles in the Hunan dialects. [tsa] carries the original lexicon meaning of *zi*（子）, that is 'son; baby', and in most localities it is used for baby animals and young kinship terms. [tɕi] mainly carries the concept of 'loveliness' derived from the feeling towards young kinship and baby animals.[10] [tsɪ] has lost its concept of smallness and loveliness and became a nominalizer. Of course, as has been described above, not all of localities share the same path and speed.

This hypothesis also has something hard to explain. For example, in the Han dynasty, *zi*（子）was both a nominalizer and a diminutive suffix already. If the sound was split into two, it is assumed that each of the pronunciation would carry those two usages and have their own path of development. What is the motivation for keeping the pronunciation of northern Chinese? Why do the two pronunciations co-exist in the southern dialects but not in the northern dialects?

The above initial hypotheses are based on the data discovered in the sixteen localities only. More detailed investigation needs to be taken before the path of *zai*（崽）and *zi*（子）in the Hunan dialects become clear.

notes

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1 The data of this paper are taken from Luo Xiru 1999 for Xinhua, Peng Zerun 1999 for Hengshan, BaoHouxing 1999 for Dong'an, Chen Hui 1999 for Lianyuan, Zeng Yumei 1999 for Shaoshan, Yan Qinghui, Liu Lihua 1994 for Loudi, Cui Zhenhua 1998 for Yiyang and Chu Zexiang 1999 for Shaoyang; Zhou Xianyi 1988 for Daozhou, Xia Jianqin 1998 for Liuyang, Li Yongming 1986 for Hengyang and 1988 for Linwu, Wu Qizhu, 1998 for Changning . The data from Changsha and Guzhang are from my own investigation.

2 Southern Hunan and western Hunan are bilingual areas where south western Mandarin and local dialects co−exist. a 'L' here stands for local dialect and a 'M' stands for Mandarin dialect.

3 In the Xinhua dialect there are two forms for the word 崽, $[tsæ^{21}]$ and $[tsæ^{45}]$. $[tsæ^{21}]$ is used as a free noun for addressing 'son' or 'children'. It can also be a diminutive suffix for a few nouns. The usage of $[tsæ^{45}]$ as a diminutive suffix is much wider than $[tsæ^{21}]$. There is no semantic distinction between the words with the suffix $[tsæ^{21}]$ and words with $[tsæ^{45}]$. They should derive from the same lexicon source.

4 The transcription is given only to the first dialect on the list.

5 No transcripts can be given since they do not occur in the original data.

6 Please note that for the first three words are with a suffix $[tsæ^{21}]$ and written as 崽 while the last three words are with a suffix $[tsæ^{45}]$ and written as 仔. This has been mentioned in note 4.

7 When 崽 is used after a time word, it is a natural tone; while it is a full tone when it is used after anadjective.

8 These types of usages can also be found in some other dialects rather than Xiang; for example, in the Fujian Yongchun dialect （Lin Liantong 1988） and the Nanchang dialect （Xie Liuwen 1991）.

9 There are more words from the rhyme book, but only these fifteen words that are commonly used inspoken language are recorded.

10 In Mandarin, the earliest usage of zi（子）as a suffix was after people's names and to address people, such as 男子 nanzi 'man', 女子 nuzi 'woman',妻子 qizi'wife'and 小姑子 xiao guzi 'husband's younger sister'（Ohta 1987:85）.

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湖南方言名词词尾和小称爱称的发展演变初探

提要 在湖南的某些方言里，有所谓的名词词尾[tsɪ]和小称[tsa]、爱称[tɕi]的对立，对立的情况和普通话的"子"和"儿"的区别有同也有异。本文利用十六个点的材料，对湖南方言的名词词尾和小称爱称的发展历程提出了一些初步的假设。

关键词 湖南方言；词尾；名词词尾；小称；爱称

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