

國立新竹教育大學

台灣語言與語文教育研究所碩士論文

National Hsinchu University of Education

Graduate Institute of Taiwan Languages and Language Education

M.A. Thesis

客語小稱詞之研究

The Diminutive in Hakka



國立新竹教育大學
National Hsinchu University of Education

指導教授：曹逢甫 博士 **Dr. Feng-fu Tsao**

研究生：劉曉蓓 **Hsiao-chien Liu**

中華民國九十七年七月

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	v
LIST OF FIGURES	vi
ABSTRACT	vii
摘要	ix
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	xi
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Motivation and purpose	1
1.2 The basic notions about Chinese diminutive	4
1.3 Transcription	6
1.4 Organization of the thesis	7
LITERATURE REVIEW	9
2.1 Theoretical Background	10
2.1.1 Basic notions	10
2.1.1.1 A Brief history	10
2.1.1.2 Definition	16
2.1.1.3 Motivation and Mechanism	18
2.1.1.3.1 Creativity	18
2.1.1.3.2 Pragmatic inference	19
2.1.1.3.3 Reanalysis	24
2.1.1.3.4 Analogy	27
2.1.1.4 Uni-directionality	28
2.1.1.5 The grammatical cycle or cyclicity	34
2.1.1.6 Remarks	35
2.2 Studies in diminutives	35
2.2.1 Tsao (2006)	36
2.2.2 Jurafsky (1996)	39
2.2.3 Heine, Claudi and Hünemeyer (1991)	44
2.2.4 Heine and Kuteva (2002)	51
2.2.5 Zhu (2006)	52
2.3 Remarks	54
METHOD	56
3.1 Material	56
3.2 Process and principle	56
3.3 The introduction of informants	57
3.4 Method limitation	58
THE PHONOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF HAKKA DIMINUTIVES	60

4.1 The distribution of Hakka in Taiwan	61
4.2 The phonetic, phonological and morphological features of Hakka diminutives.....	63
4.2.1 The diminutive of Sixian Hakka	63
4.2.1.1 The attached suffix [e31]	64
4.2.1.2 The distinction among [e31], [e24] and [e55].....	69
4.2.1.3 The attached suffix [i31].....	72
4.2.2 The diminutive [ə55] in Hailu Hakka	73
4.2.3 The diminutive “35 tone” in Dapu Hakka	74
4.2.4 The diminutives [e31/21] and [ə53] in Raoping Hakka	75
4.2.5 The diminutives [tsu31], [iâu55] and [a31] in Zhaoan Hakka	76
4.2.6 Remarks	77
4.3 Synchronic variation of Hakka diminutives in Taiwan	77
4.3.1 Hailu diminutives	78
4.3.1.1 Wuwei (武威) Village	78
4.3.1.2 Baiyu (白玉) Village	82
4.3.1.3 Jhongshih (中勢) Village.....	83
4.3.2 Syllable contraction	84
4.3.3 Sixian diminutives in Jiadong (佳冬) and Sinpi (新埤) Townships.....	87
4.4 Summary.....	89
THE SEMANTIC DESCRIPTION OF HAKKA DIMINUTIVES.....	91
5.1 The semantic and grammatical functions of Hakka diminutive	92
5.1.1 Category A: Sons and daughters	92
5.1.2 Category B: Descendents of animals	96
5.1.3 Category C: Sprouts of plants	99
5.1.4 Category D1: Small objects.....	100
5.1.5 Category D2: Kinship terms, especially referring to junior or younger generation	101
5.1.6 Category D3: Body parts or organs	104
5.1.7 Category D4: Time terms	105
5.1.8 Category E1: Conveying a sense of respect, admiration or contempt.....	109
5.1.9 Category E2: Particularized term	115
5.1.10 Category E3: Specialized term	117
5.1.11 Category E4: Nominal marker (that marks the composite part as a noun).....	118
5.1.12 Category E5: Nominal marker	119
5.1.13 Category E6: Classifier, adjective, adverb, or verb (that denote	

the degree of slightness, usually involving in reduplicative construction)	121
5.1.13.1 Classifier	122
5.1.13.2 Adjective	125
5.1.13.3 Adverb	126
5.1.13.4 Verb	127
5.2 Overview and discussion	128
5.3 The relation between the grammaticalization cycle and the radial category	131
5.4 Re-examine the use of the diminutive	133
5.5 Summary	138
CONCLUSION	139
6.1 Summary of the thesis	139
6.2 Further study	140
REFERENCES	141



LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1 A list of the pioneers in Grammaticalization.....	11
Table 2.2 Egodeictic of four spaces in Diehl (1975)	13
Table 2.3 Traugott’s three tendencies of semantic-pragmatic change	14
Table 2.4 Seven principles of unidirectionality	34
Table 2.5 Cycle of phonetic change	38
Table 2.6 Second-order senses of the diminutive (Jurafsky 1996:559).....	44
Table 2.7 Sense of Ewe diminutive <i>vî</i> (summarized from Heine <i>et al.</i> (1991:78-97))	47
Table 3.1: The informants’ background information	58
Table 4.1 Northern and Southern Sixian tones	64
Table 4.2: The markers in Hakka sub-dialects.....	77
Table 4.3 The Hakka immigration in Liu-Dui in 1926 (Unit: a hundred)	89
Table 5.1 The distribution of Hakka diminutives in the grammaticalization cycle ...	130
Table 5.2 Category A, B, D1, E1	135
Table 5.3 Category D2, E1.....	135
Table 5.4 Category D4, E6.....	136
Table 5.5 Category E2.....	136
Table 5.6 Category E3, E4	137

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1 Semantic extension of <i>boi55</i> (Chiang 2007:291)	21
Figure 2.2 Revised schema of the development of auxiliary <i>be going to</i>	28
Figure 2.3 Grammatical cycle of the diminutive in semantic, pragmatic and grammatical.....	38
Figure 2.4 Proposed universal structure for the semantics of the diminutive (from Jurafsky 1996).....	41
Figure 2.5 The conceptual expansion of the Ewe noun <i>vi</i> . (from Heine <i>et al.</i> (1999:87))	48
Figure 4.1 Spectrogram of the word [se11 ten335] ‘small chair’ (male).....	79
Figure 4.2 Spectrogram of the word [se11 to424] ‘small knife’ (male).....	80
Figure 4.3 Spectrogram of the word [se11 kiap535] ‘small knife’ (male).....	80
Figure 4.4 Spectrogram of the word [se11 tʃok535] ‘small knife’ (male)	81
Figure 4.5 Spectrogram of the word [it5 tit535] ‘small amount of’ (female).....	82
Figure 4.6 Spectrogram of the word [sin53 k ^h iu535] ‘child bride’ (male)	83
Figure 4.7 Spectrogram of the word [se11 ton113] ‘small bucket’ (female).....	84
Figure 5.1 The weakening of semantic properties in diminutive (Liu 2006:79)	132
Figure 5.2 The radial category of Hakka diminutive	133

ABSTRACT

The diminutive is a grammatical marker involving the development of phonetic, semantics, and grammatical, and it have deeply attracted much attention of linguists. Recently, researches on Hakka diminutives have started, especially in Dapu 35 tone. However, studies on other Hakka diminutives are scantily explored. Therefore, this thesis aims to investigate the phonological and semantic properties of the diminutives in five sub-dialects, Sixian, Hailu, Raoping, Dapu and Zhaoan, for providing a complete and general discussion.

The study is further divided into two sections: the phonological and the semantic descriptions. In the perspective of phonology, an overall illustration is presented after subsuming the discussions on the five diminutives, summarizing the significance, and evaluating the defects. Furthermore, we find that two diminutive phonetic variations [ə] and a special changed tone occurring in Hailu dialects, especially in Wuwei Village, Jhongshih Village and Sinpu area, and also the variations [e] and [i] in Sixian dialects, especially in Jiadong and Sinpi Townships. From the present data, we primarily assume that the two variations are posited in different cycle of grammaticalization. Yet, it requires further investigation.

Based on the model of grammaticalization cycle proposed by Tsao (2006), and the model of radial category conceived by Jurafsky (1996), we describe the characteristics of the diminutives in five sub-dialects in semantic and grammatical, cross-linguistically, and the radial category of Hakka diminutive is illustrated for expressing the semantic properties and explaining the mechanisms of semantic changes. Consequently, we conclude that

1. The degree of grammaticalization: Sixian> Hailu> Raoping> Dapu> Zhaoan
The degree of productivity: Raoping, Zhaoan> Hailu> Sixian> Dapu (A→D3)
Hailu> Sixian> Raoping> Dapu, Zhaoan (D4→E6)
2. The form [se] is adopted and posited in a new grammaticalization cycle, and the diminutives in five sub-dialects are replaced by [se] in category A to D1.

Keywords: Hakka, diminutive, grammaticalization cycle, radial category, synchronic, diachronic



摘要

小稱詞是一個語法標記，牽涉到語音、語意、語法層面，而且一直吸引不少的語言學家的注意與興趣。近來，客語小稱詞的研究開始蓬勃，特別是大埔客家話的特殊 35 調，已經展開相關的研究。然而，其他方言的小稱詞卻乏人問津，缺乏廣泛的收集與深入的分析。因此本文旨在從語音、音韻、語意與語法角度，研究四縣、海陸、大埔、饒平和詔安的小稱詞，並且試圖提供一個完整且廣泛的討論。

本文分成兩個主要章節，一個是音韻的描述，包含語音、音韻與詞彙層面，另一個是語意的描述，包括語意與語法層面。在音韻層面裡，我們收集客語小稱詞相關的討論，概述其重要性，以及評估它們的缺失。特別的是，在我們收集到的海陸客語語料中，發現在伍威村、中勢村和新埔地區，發音人會交替著使用兩種小稱詞，一個是[a]，另一個是採用特殊的變調方式。這是一種共時的變異，而且通行南部四縣客語的佳冬鎮和新埤鎮也出現了同樣的情況，也就是[e]與[i]交替使用。我們認為這兩種不同的小稱詞形式彼此有歷時的聯繫，可能其中一個形式是上一個輪迴留下的化石。然而，這需要更進一步的調查與探討。

基於曹逢甫(2006)的「語法化輪迴」理論與 Jurafsky (1996)的「語意的放射狀範疇」理論，我們描述且比較了五個方言的小稱詞特點，同時建構了客語小稱詞的語意放射狀範疇，裡頭呈現小稱詞多貌的語意，以及解釋其語意的產生。最後，我們認為四縣客語的小稱詞是語法化程度最高的一個，再來是海陸、饒平、大埔，最後是詔安。至於能產度方面，在 A 類到 D3 類，饒平和詔安是最能產的，再來是海陸、四縣與大埔；在 D4 到 E6 類，順序是海陸、四縣、饒平，然後是大埔跟詔安。最後，[se]（細）是新的輪迴所採用的形式，它會在語法化輪迴裡 A 類到 D1 類取代原本的小稱詞。

關鍵詞：小稱詞、語法化輪迴、放射狀範疇、共時、歷時



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My deepest gratitude goes to all the teachers who have taught me at NHCUE and Tsing-Hua University, especially to my advisor professor Tsao, Feng-Fu, who has influenced me most and whose help goes well beyond teaching me Linguistics. I am indebted to the other members of my committee: Dr. Cheng, Ying and Dr. Luo, Zhao-Jin, for the encouragement, patience, and valuable advices in my thesis and in the studies of historical and Chinese Linguistics. My gratitude also goes to Dr. Liu, Hsiu-Hsueh, Dr. Chiang, Min-Hua, and Dr. Evans, Jonathan P., who led me in doing the professional researches. My special thanks are for the informants, who are very kind and friendly to provide me any data as soon as possible. Finally, I would like to thank my family, my classmates and my friends for their assistance, support, patience, and care. You are always in my mind.



國立新竹教育大學
National Hsinchu University of Education

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Motivation and purpose

Chinese language family is a kind of analytic language; that is, each word consists of a single morpheme. The most critical point is that the analytic language does not have prefixes or suffixes for composing words, different from the synthetic language. Consequently, Chinese, having a highly isolating structure, uses morphemes to express the concept of plurality or tense instead attaching other inflectional morphemes to the stem like English. The examples are as given below:

(1) ta55 men zai51 chang51 ge55
He plural progress sing Song
'They are singing the song.'

(2) ta55 men chang51 ge55 le
He plural sing song PFV¹
'They singed the song.'

For expressing the same concept of plural 'they', progress tense '-ing', and past tense '-ed', free morphemes, *men*, *zai51*, *le*, are used in Mandarin Chinese. A word consists of a single morpheme, containing many of the most basic elements of the lexicon. In fact, most of Chinese languages, such as Hakka, Min, Wu, prefer not to change the phonetic form in similar situation as examples above show.

However, some suffixes and prefixes do play important roles in forming words in Chinese languages. Besides single-morpheme words, another large class of words consist of a simple morpheme plus a word-formative suffix. In Mandarin Chinese

¹ PFV is abbreviation of "perfective aspect," from Li and Thompson (2003).

there are a few examples such as prefix *a55* in *a55 jie214* ‘sister’, suffix *tou24* ‘head’ in *guan51 tou24* ‘can’, *gu11 tou24* ‘bone’, *guan55 tou24* ‘the key moment’. Two important common formative suffixes are *zi214* and *er24* either meaning ‘child’ or ‘son’, and they can be monosyllabic words by themselves and they can be bound morphemes attached to a root. The suffix *zi214* has been grammaticalized to the extent that its meaning is bleached, such as *zhuo55 zi* ‘desk or table’, *ping24 zi* ‘bottle’, *bi24 zi* ‘nose’. Unlike *zi214*, *er24* has retained some of its lexical meaning as a diminutive marker. We can find the examples: attached to person’s name like *ling24-er* ‘person’s name with intimate overtone’, *qui24-er* ‘ball, small ball’, *chong24-er* ‘small worm.’ The *er24* suffix is also a nominal marker to make verbs become nouns such as *wan24-er* ‘the object that are played’. Moreover, it is found with adjectives and measure words to convey a sense that the modifier contains the concept of slight motion or small amount, for instance *man11 man55-er* ‘slowly’, *yi55 dian214 dian214-er* ‘a little bit’. Overall, the rime and tone would undergo dramatic changes in the root-suffix combination.

To explore further the topic of diminutives, we can find diminutives as a special kind words in Chinese language family in that it demonstrates the specific functions on grammatical and semantic domains. It appears in many dialects—constituting part of the constructions of nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, classifier, etc., and has an important role to play word formation in a large number of Chinese dialects.

From academics literature, diminutives have different terminologies such as “little diminutive” (a more intimate appellation than ‘diminutive’ from literal translation of Chinese term), “tsi/er suffix”, “suffixation”, “Erhua”, “rime change caused by tsi/er suffixation”, etc. For describing the used terms, we can start from Wang (1995) since she provides an overall classification of diminutives according to their distribution in different Chinese dialects. The term, little diminutive, in Wang

(1995) is divided into two levels: one is called “diminutive” because it is morphologization in the syntactic level, which has function of meaning discrimination in presenting the concept of small size, small amount and the action executed with a sight force; another one is called “intimate diminutive” and is a rhetoric in the pragmatic level, which expresses human’s intimate or pejorative attitude. Then, the term, tsi/er suffix, comes from the suffixation that *zi214* or *er24* can be attached after different syntactic category like verb, noun, adjective or adverb. Similarly, “suffixation” is same as tsi/er suffix, and this term is used in Chu (2005) in investigating the development of Ancient Chinese suffix ‘er’. Further, the typical example of “Erhua” is Standard Mandarin. In fact, Erhua occurs after er-suffixation, and it is a process in which the diminutive suffix causes change in the rime of root. In a similar manner, tsi suffix can bring about similar change to the root morpheme, though not much of this process is understood.

Diminutives have been attracting many attentions in the study of Chinese languages, although often it is described or reported very superficially. Perhaps, it is because diminutives are easily neglected in writing or speaking as it often does not carry concrete meaning. There are, therefore, no many specialized theses or books with diminutives as a main topic. A number of studies in Hakka diminutives have been made, and it is worth write to go into a detailed exploration.

Generally speaking, Hakka as spoken in Taiwan can be further classified into five sub-dialects: Sixian, Hailu, Dapu, Raoping, and Zhaoan. The diminutive marker, used in Sixian, Hailu, Raoping, and Zhaoan, is an independent morpheme, while it manifests as a fixed tone 35 in Dapu, for instance, [tʂa55] means the verb whose meaning is making clothes, but when its tone is changed into [tʂa35], it turns into a noun meaning the sewing-machine. We will introduce the Dapu diminutive in the section 3.4. Roughly speaking, the diminutive in Sixian is [e31], while Hailu is

[ə55], Raoping is [ə53] or [e21] depending on whether it is spoken in Hsinchu or Taoyuan County, and Zhaoan is [tsu31]. We will consult studies that have dealt with different Hakka sub-dialects, spoken in Taiwan. Although these studies provide some descriptions of specific diminutives, they lack a detailed analysis of diminutive functions and meanings and they do not touch upon how a noun becomes a diminutive suffix. More specifically, the process of how a diminutive changes from a full into a derivational suffix remains uninvestigated. In fact, there are not merely five types of diminutive form corresponding with these dialects since we can find diversities of Hakka diminutives that have not been investigated yet.

This thesis thus has three purposes: First, we study diminutive forms found in all the five sub-dialects, trying to formulate a “grammatical cycle” model for explaining the diminutive phonetic form and semantic and grammatical generalization among Hakka dialects. At the same time, the model would help us speculate on the origin of Hakka diminutives. However, it will carry one of evidences to prove the origin and separation of Hakka. Besides grammatical cycle, the “radial category” model of cognitive semantics is adopted in explaining the varied senses of diminutive synchronically and expressing the mechanisms of semantic change diachronically. Finally, the history of Hakka immigration in Taiwan is investigated in this thesis and the information will be needed to support the linguistic phenomenon we find in these dialects.

1.2 The basic notions about Chinese diminutive

About the general definition of diminutive, we can consult from A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics (1997) as below:

Diminutive: A term used in MORPHOLOGY to refer to an AFFIX with the general meaning of ‘little’, used literally or metaphorically (as a term of endearment). Examples include *-ino* in

Italian, *-inho* in Portuguese, and *-let* in English. The term is usually contrasted with AUGMENTATIVE. (Crystal 1997:116)

This term is created according to the studies of Western languages. Similarly, Chinese diminutive is a means to represent ‘little’, ‘small’ and endearment. However, it is slightly dissimilar because we need to deal with the question about the tonal change occurring in diminutive suffixation. Notice that it is confusing when Chinese terms are translated to English ones because sometimes they will become more “simple” term in English. In Chinese literature, the diminutive has lots of names, such as “affective suffix” (Wang 1995), “zi/r ‘son’ suffixation” (Zhu 2005), “Erhua” (referring to the stage when the suffix is merged into the stem) (Xu 2004), “Rime changes of zi/r” (Chen 2006), like [pǎ] ‘accompany’ turning into [pɛ] ‘companion’ in Buoshan dialect.

Actually, there are two kinds of statements in defining the diminutive. First, the diminutive can be also divided into two levels; that is, first one is in morphosyntactic level with the meanings of referring the smallness of an object and the slightness of a motion, and another one is in pragmatic level with the attitude toward intimacy or contempt from the speaker. Therefore, the former is called “diminutive”, and the latter is known “affective suffix” (Wang 1995). Second, some scholars name the diminutive for “zái wěi cí” (仔尾詞) contrasting with “xiǎo chēng cí” (小稱詞). The former is pure noun suffixation since it has lost the function or meaning denoting smallness or affection, while the latter is a productive marker with the meaning of smallness. Nevertheless, these Chinese terms are all translated into diminutive in English, and what we need to do is to judge if it is a real diminutive or a nominal marker.

Specifically, Shao and Kan (2002) suggest that there is another general categorization; that is, there is a kind of diminutive by using the word *xiao* ‘small’ to

modify the head, for example, *xiao wu zi* ‘small house’. They call this kind of diminutive as “limited form” contrasting with “diminutive form”. Thus, they provide a criterion to differentiate the diminutive form from limited form according to three conditions: a. The diminutive suffix is derived from the lexical word, but the limited form is the content word itself. b. The diminutive suffix cannot be independent without a preceding unit or stem, whereas the limited form is usually a free word or phrase and some words can be inserted between the head and its modifier, such as *hen xiao de wu zi* ‘very small house’. c. The diminutive form has morphological feature like diminutive tone changes, but the limited form has not. Based on these criteria, we can easily tell the real diminutive from the “limited form.”

1.3 Transcription

Hakka data are transcribed into IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet), enclosing phonetic symbols with square brackets [], and the corresponding Chinese characters are provided when possible. The tone diacritics marks in the data follow the system adopted in Hakka Proficiency Test (Intermediate and Intermediate-High) of Council of Hakka Affair, the Executive Yuan (行政院客家委員會) as follows:

	Yinping	Yangping	Yinshang	Yangshang	Yinqu	Yangqu	Yinru	Yangru
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Sixian	24	11	31		55		2	5
Hailu	53	55	24		11	33	5	2
Dapu	33	113	31		53		21	52
Raoping	11	55	53			24	2	5
Zhaoan	11	53	31			55	24	53

Notice that there are few tone affected by tone sandhi in Dapu and Zhaoan: In Dapu, some words with the 33 tone would become 35 tone. In Zhaoan, the 53 tone becomes 33, the 31 tone becomes 11 or 55, and the Yinru 24 tone becomes 5. In

addition to person's names and place names, Mandarin Chinese data are transcribed into Hanyu Pinyin System, and it has some distinctive phones contrasting with Tongyong Pinyin in sibilant consonants:

Tongyong Pinyin	Hanyu Pinyin	IPA	Zhuyin
ji	j	tɕi	ㄐ
ci	q	tɕ ^h i	ㄑ
si	x	ɕi	ㄒ
jh	zh	tʂi	ㄓ
ch	ch	tʂ ^h i	ㄔ
sh	sh	ʂi	ㄕ
z	z	tsi	ㄗ
c	c	ts ^h i	ㄘ
s	s	si	ㄙ

1.4 Organization of the thesis

The thesis is arranged as follows: In Chapter 2, we will first concisely review the notion of grammaticalization theory and the studies on the diminutive that has been perceived by scholars. Next, Chapter 3 briefly introduces the materials, research procedure and selection principle, informants' background, and method limitation. Chapter 4 describes the phonological features in Hakka diminutives, and this chapter can be further divided into four subsections. Section 4.1 briefly introduces the distribution of five Hakka dialects. Section 4.2 provides the related discussions proposed by some linguists and offers the examinations. In Section 4.3, the synchronic variations, observed from the field study, are presented, and a brief summary is given in Section 4.4. Chapter 5 chiefly discusses about the semantic description in Hakka diminutives, and it can be classified into five subsections. Section 5.1 is arranged in terms of the order of the grammaticalization cycle. And then an overview of the Hakka diminutives distribution are offered in Section 5.2, and it brought a discussion relating to the relation between the grammaticalization

cycle and the radial category in Section 5.3. After that, we re-examine the use of the diminutives in Section 5.4, and a concise summary is given in Section 4.5. Finally, Chapter 6 concludes the study by summarizing the findings and pointing out considerations for future studies.



CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter aims to review several prominent papers or articles about grammaticalization theory and Hakka diminutives. It is divided into two parts: First, the grammaticalization theory will be reviewed, focusing on the concept of ‘cycle’. Grammatical cycle is supported for interpretation of diminutive linguistic phenomenon, and it serves a systematic model by defining the grammatical degree according to diminutive’s meaning. Another part is to discuss some studies that concentrate on the issue of diminutives, namely Tsao (2006), Jurafsky (1996), Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (1991), Heine and Kuteva (2002) and Zhu (2006). Particularly, we would like to focus on Tsao and Jurafsky’s papers because they provide the concepts of grammatical cycle and cognitive semantics which account for the diminutive. Otherwise, some related discussions are embodied in the works of scholars, for example theses or dissertations. Some of them simply describe the phonological change of diminutive, while others roughly mention about its functions. These studies will be cited when we are discussing each dialect of Hakka in the following chapters. In sum, this chapter is sequenced in the following way: theoretical discussion of grammaticalization will be presented in Section 2.1; Section 2.2 will review previous studies of diminutives, followed by a summary remark in Section 2.3.

2.1 Theoretical Background

This section aims to introduce the basic concept of grammaticalization as well as some previous studies focusing on the diminutive topic. This section is divided into two parts: First, we roughly review what, why and how of grammaticalization, such as the definition, motivation, and mechanism. Then, we focus how other authors explain the phenomenon of diminutive in other languages.

2.1.1 Basic notions

In this section, a brief history and definition about grammaticalization are reviewed for building up a general idea to come into being and development of this theory. Then, we will review motivation and mechanism of grammaticalization, and the concept, unidirectionality and grammatical cycle, are concerned.

2.1.1.1 A Brief history

The term ‘grammaticalization’ was adopted from the French linguist Antoine Meillet (1912), and Hopper and Traugott (1993:18) consider that Meillet had made speculations about the development of human language even though he did not have an explanation the origin of grammatical forms yet; that is, to explain how the functional words come from. Actually, there are major figures who had provided important insights that are descended by Meillet in the early study of grammaticalization such as Humboldt (1825) and Gabelentz (1891). The three scholars provided their hypotheses in different time, but they all pose similar concepts. The relation and comparison among these concepts of grammaticalization can be represented as in Table 2.1:

Time	Author	Assumptions
1825	Wilhelm von Humboldt	<p>It is an evolutionary stage of language:</p> <p>Stage I--- called pragmatic stage, concrete objects are presented become habitual, and the fixing of word order came out.</p> <p>Stage II--- words have concrete and grammatical meanings at the same times and would become more functional.</p> <p>Stage III --- called cliticization now, these functional words often become affixed to the concrete words.</p> <p>Stage IV --- called morphological stage now, the concrete words with affixes are fused into single words.</p>
1891	Georg von der Gabelentz	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. It is a result of two competing tendencies, one tendency toward ease of articulation, the other toward distinctness. As relaxed pronunciations bring about sound changes that wear down words, distinctions become blurred. So new forms must step in and take over the approximate function of the old ones. 2. The evolution of language is a spiral process instead of a cyclic one since changes do not copy themselves but parallel earlier changes in an approximate manner.
1912	Antoine Meillet	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. It tends to be a process of replacing older categories with newer ones having the same approximate values. 2. It also involves change from “expressive” to grammatical meaning, and weakening of phonological form and of concrete meaning is accompanied. 3. New grammatical forms emerge through two processes: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Analogy: new paradigms come into being through formal resemblance to already established paradigms. b. New grammatical forms arise.

Table 2.1 A list of the pioneers in Grammaticalization

We now have a general picture about the beginning of grammaticalization theory. However, it seems like an inconsistency in introducing the history of grammaticalization separately in Hopper and Traugott (1993) and Bernd Heine *et al.* (1991). According to the latter one, there are a few scholars precedes the three ones mentioned in Table 2.1. First, Etienne Bonnot de Condillac (Condillac 1764, 1749), French philosophers, conceives of the notion that verbal inflections such as tense

suffixes originate from independent words. The observation inspired the formulation of comparative grammar principles. Then, J. Horne Tooke was regarded as the father of grammaticalization studies in the same period of Condillac. More general than Condillac, Horne Tooke (1857) argued that “nouns and verbs are called “necessary words”, and are considered to be the essential parts of speech, while other word classes, such as adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions, result from the abbreviation or “mutilation” of “necessary words.” He brought the view of “concrete” and “abstract” that are derived from concrete one. Third, Franz Bopp (1816, 1833) provided important observation in investigating Indo-European linguistics diachronically. Last, August Wilhelm von Schlegel (1818) had a “paper-money theory”, which means words lost their semantic content in order to facilitate their circulation, is based on some common cases of grammaticalization: the development from demonstrative to definite article, from the numeral ‘one’ to an indefinite article.

After adding three scholars’ speculations, we have a rough idea of the origin of grammaticalization. The common thought among these scholars is the specific historical evolution that is explained by the grammatical process in historical linguistics. This process, in Humboldt’s approach, is called “agglutination theory” or “coalescence theory”, and it is related to language typology: Stage I and II correspond to the isolating type, Stage III is agglutinating, while Stage IV is inflectional type. More specifically, Gabelentz mentioned about the rise of new form because of the sound change and blurred distinctness and the development process moving in spirals. Furthermore, Meillet agreed with Gabelentz on the two tendencies, and he claimed two ways in which new grammatical forms emerge, either via analogical innovation or via grammaticalization. The former, he argued, does not affect the overall system of language; the latter brings an evolution of the entire system by introducing new syntactic categories. In sum, these scholars all

have the same conception which evolution is based on the transition from concrete to abstract. After 1970, the studies of synchronic grammar started to be prevalent.

For giving an explanatory in understanding synchronic grammar, scholars proceeded forward a direction to a more explicit grammaticalization theoretical framework. The core elements of direction came from the consciousness of scholars that are cognitive factors and more concrete conception on the continuum of language change. First, cognitive domain includes space, time, manner, etc. Spatial expressions are more basic in grammar, and the related research is referred as “localist hypothesis” or “localism” (Lyons 1977; Diehl 1975). The egodeictic space hierarchy proposed by Diehl is ordered according to inward/ outward position as follows (see Diehl 1975):

Social space	me
Spatial space	here
Temporal space	now
Logical space	in this case

Table 2.2 Egodeictic of four spaces in Diehl (1975)

However, research like Diehl was considered as inadequate linguistic analysis, and a new perspective are required (see Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1987; Langacker 1987). Second, the assertion of cyclic linguistic evolution from Givón has opened a new window. His newest slogan is combined the classic one “Today’s morphology is yesterday’s syntax” with the more recent one “Today’s syntax is yesterday’s pragmatic discourse.” so the result is given:

(3) Discourse > syntax > morphology > morphophonemics > zero

(Givón 1979a: 208-9)

The same idea as Givón is implemented in the work of Li and Thompson (1974), researching the Chinese verb *bǎ*. They argued that *bǎ* is grammaticalized to a case marker in a sequence S-*bǎ*-O-V2, and then V2 becomes the main verb so that a new word order SOV emerges. Applying the idea of grammaticalization to general problems of synchronic descriptions, they provided new ways for reconstructing earlier states of language development.

Besides Diehl, Givón, and Li and Thompson, there are some linguists frameworks need to be brought up for discussion. Elizabeth C. Traugott is concerned about the meaning change in the process of grammaticalization. One of her frameworks is meaning-shift which is from propositional through textual to expressive, that is, from external situation viewed as existing in the world, to text marker functioning a cohesion marker between two events in the world and between two clauses, and finally, to expression from speaker's own attitude. The three tendencies of semantic-pragmatic change and related instances are as follows (Traugott 1987):

I	External described situation	Internal (evaluative/ perceptual/ cognitive) situation	Old English <i>Hwilum</i> 'at times'
II	External or internal situation	Textual situation	Middle English <i>While</i> 'during'
III	(Textual situation)	Speaker's subjective belief state	Present-day English <i>While</i> 'although'

Table 2.3 Traugott's three tendencies of semantic-pragmatic change

Heine and Reh (1984) provided a correlative process of linguistic evolution in the aspects of phonetic, morphosyntactic, and functional, and operations in each aspect are apparently arranged in terms of sequential linguistic change:

- (4) a. Phonetic processes: adaptation, erosion, fusion, loss
- b. Morphosyntactic processes: permutation, compounding, cliticization, affixation, fossilization
- c. Functional processes: desemanticization, expansion, simplification, merger
(Heine and Reh 1984:16)

These processes do not have the specific chronological relations, Heine and Reh claimed some highly possibilities based on the observations in African languages:

- (5) a. Functional processes usually precede all other processes.
- b. Morphosyntactic processes may trigger phonetic processes, but not vice versa. However, the morphosyntactic processes are not necessarily followed by the phonetic processes, for example, erosion preceding affixation.
- c. Phonetic processes appear to be most strongly affected by other processes.
(Heine and Reh 1984:66)

A year later, Bybee and Pagliuca (1985) provides important notions that include generalization and frequency of use. First, they claimed generalization that refers to a morpheme is used in more contexts to become more general. In other words, the more general morpheme lacks certain specific features of meaning so whether a morpheme has generalized depends on the degree of its specificities. In Givón's (1981), generalization is also called "semantic bleaching". Further, influenced by these scholars, metaphorical extension is classified into generalization but not a parameter of grammaticalization. Then, frequency of use is explained in this process: "As the meaning generalizes and the range of uses widens, the frequency increases and this leads automatically to phonological reduction and perhaps fusion." (Bybee and Pagliuca 1985:76)

Lehmann (1986, 1995) also provided manifest assumptions about synchronic

observation of grammaticalization. He formulated six processes: attrition, paradigmaticization, obligatorification, condensation, coalescence, and fixation. More, these processes correspond to six parameters respectively, namely integrity and paradigmatic, paradigmaticity and bondedness, paradigmatic variability and syntagmatic variability. And these parameters are set up on the basis of three aspects: weight, cohesion, and variability. Lehmann's formulation helps not only to determine the degree of "grammaticality", but also to describe active process rather than stative one. Otherwise, Lehmann's "attrition" is similar with "erosion" introduced by Heine and Reh (1984) since the two terms are explained in phenomenon of loss in semantic content and phonological substance.

Afterward, Hopper (1991) proposed five principles of grammaticalization: layering, divergence, specialization, persistence, and decategorialization, by modifying some defects of Lehmann's framework, which is considered not distinctive for grammaticalization. The example of relationship between *Mistress*, *mrs*, *miss*, and *ms* is used to demonstrating that these words have undergone some changes, and these changes is underlying Hopper's five principles (See Traugott and Heine, eds. 1991:17-35).

2.1.1.2 Definition

The theory has three names: grammaticalization (Heine, Claudi, and Hünemeyer 1991; Hopper and Traugott 1993; Lehmann 1995), grammaticization (Bybee and Pagliuca 1985; Hopper 1991; Shibatani 1991), and grammatization seldom appears in the academic literature, despite Matisoff (1991) since he thinks this term concise and is preferable. In this paper we adopt the term of grammaticalization.

Some terms that have been used may give rise to misunderstandings so that we

congregate most of the definitions employed in linguistics and other academic fields for getting a clear idea. They are given according to chronological order as given:

- (a) All empty symbols were formerly full symbols (Zhou Bo-qi (Yuan dynasty, A. D. 1271-1368) adopted from Harbsmeier 1979:159ff.).
- (b) It is a kind of continuum, but it is also a discrete distinction. And, it relates to the inverse correlation between the increase in the frequency of use and the decrease in expressive value (Meillet 1912:135-36). Also, it is an evolutionary continuum (Heine and Reh 1984). It is gradual change (Lehmann 1995).
- (c) It is so-called *xū-huà* (“empty-izing, emptification, evacuation”) in traditional Chinese grammar (Matisoff 1991).
- (d) It is the study of grammatical forms, viewed as entities undergoing processes rather than as static objects (Hopper and Traugott 1993).
- (e) It is a process from lexical to functional (or grammatical) and from functional to even more functional forms so that it is a unidirectional process (Heine and Kuteva 2002). Briefly, a cline from freer to more bonded construction.
- (f) It is used to discover how different grammatical meanings can be related to one another in a principled way, how such issues as polysemy and heterosemy are dealt with (Kuteva 2003).

Hence, there are some keywords to be mentioned because they are basic concepts of grammaticalization such as evolutionary continuum, gradual change, process, cline, unidirectional, grammatical form, etc. In general, grammaticalization refers to a unidirectional cline presenting a grammatical process: content word> function word> clitic> affix, and it is a gradual change in diachronic, while an evolutionary continuum in synchronic. As a result, grammaticalization is a complex subject matter because it relates to diachronic and synchronic linguistic change in the aspects of phonology, morphology, semantics, and syntax, and it is founded in

cognition and pragmatics.

2.1.1.3 Motivation and Mechanism

In this section, we review the driving force and operation of grammaticalization, that is, the issue of why and how. The frameworks of Hopper and Traugott (1993) and Heine *et al.* (1991) are merged and discussed although they respectively have different arrangements of chapters in the book, which Hopper and Traugott distinguish motivation and mechanism clearly, while Heine *et al.* emphasize more the topic of cognition and the cause of grammatical process. We will address Hopper and Traugott and Heine *et al.* as “they” in the following discussion when they have same ideas.

2.1.1.3.1 Creativity

They agree on “creativity” as one of motivations of grammaticalization. However, they posit different starting points; Hopper and Traugott start from the perspective of hearer-speaker interactions and communicative strategies, whereas for Heine *et al.* creativity comes from a conceptual transfer between domains. More specifically, Hopper and Traugott consider that the result of change is derived from the maximization of economy or simplicity. In other words, speaker and hearer tend to achieve maximization of efficiency via minimal differentiation and maximization of informativeness (Langacker 1977). Hence, hearer motivates speaker’s intent to be more informative and clear because he will seek the most unambiguous interpretation. Then, the reduction of *be going to* to *be gonna* is conducted since speaker tend to reduce the speech signal, called “signal simplicity”, e.g., via rapid speech. On the other hand, Heine *et al.* claim grammaticalization is the result of problem solving, and there are three basic assumptions under this claim: First,

concept formation precedes naming, Second, conceptual transfer and the entities involves as source concepts and target concepts, Third, conceptual transfer is a creative act.

Furthermore, in the discussion of Hopper and Traugott, they also mention about why signal simplification come out. The reason is that “routinization (idiomaticization)” of expression causing speaker to simplify signal. And then, the new and innovative ways of saying approximately the same thing appear because speaker tends to enhance expressivity. This situation attracts some attentions in the aspects of the complex balance between creativity and routinization. Therefore, a focus on speaker’s expressive use of language involves in pragmatic enrichment of lexical items in the early stages of grammaticalization. We can come back to the work of Heine *et al.* They argue that creativity is unidirectional, guiding from concrete to abstract concepts and from lexical to grammatical expressions. This activity is demonstrated like that a new link is built between different domains of cognition, and then the concepts from one domain are transferred to another domain. This is called universal creativity in whole human languages. Otherwise, communal creativity is specific to sociocultural, political, or other units, while individual creativity is delimited in the behavior of individuals. Heine *et al.* claim that the process of grammaticalization starts with individual creativity, which leads to communal creativity in specific case, with both being influenced by universal conceptual operation.

2.1.1.3.2 Pragmatic inference

This issue mainly emphasizes on the meaning change and the cognitive strategies applying in the early stages of grammaticalization for expressivity. Further, the meaning change starts with pragmatic and associative meaning, existing in the

context of the flow of speech. Take Southern Min *na bo* (若無) and *bo* (無) for instances. The latter is derived from the former, with both being used in the assumptive situation, like if clause. Originally *na* and *bo* refer to different meanings and functions as a conjunction and negative. Then they appear in the same sequence *na bo*, and at later stage, *bo* can represent the function of pseudo-clause without *na*².

There are two types of inferences, metaphorical processes and metonymic processes. First, metaphor was regarded as semantics. However, it is categorized into pragmatics because it acquires the function in communicative use. The definition of metaphorical processes, briefly, is across conceptual boundaries by “mapping” or “associative leaps” from one domain to another. This mapping is motivated by analogy and iconicity. Further, the development of metaphor is divided into two domains, namely the development of body parts and the development of meanings relating to obligation into meanings relating to possibility and probability. The processes of body parts terms into locatives and of spatial into temporals are most common in human languages. The term OBJECT involves three processes as following categories and examples show (Hopper and Traugott 1993; Heine 1997):

- | | |
|--|----------------------|
| (6) OBJECT > | SPACE > |
| ‘human back’> ‘back of thing’> ‘rear of thing’ | ‘space behind thing’ |
| TIME | |
| ‘behind the schedule’ | |

Some locative markers naturally originated from the body-part terms, and this semantic development from body parts to spatial orientations is a universal grammaticalization process (Heine 1997). In Hakka, *boi55* (背) ‘back’ is evidenced to be grammaticalized. According to Chiang (2007), there are four

² This example is provided by Professor Tsao, Feng-Fu in class.

grammaticalization paths and four kinds of pragmatic-inference processes involved as follows:

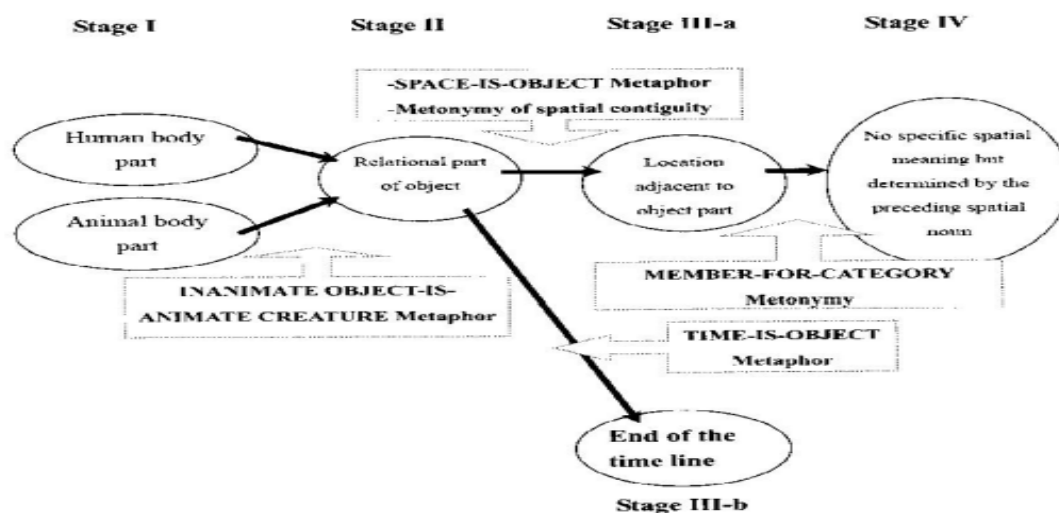


Figure 2.1 Semantic extension of boi55 (Chiang 2007:291)

Talking about the issue of domains, Heine *et al.* provide related concepts including “source structures” as background of cognitive processes and “metaphor” accounting for semantic change. The section of source structures introduces what source concept is and how it can be a source concept. It is either described as “fundamental elements in a typical speech situation” (see Traugott 1982:246), or defined as the basic-level categories, which are highly possibly sources of grammaticalization, such as kinship items like ‘child’, dynamic verbs ‘come’, or mental process verb like ‘say’. Further, they mention about Wierzbicka (1989:8) serves two criteria for defining whether or not source concepts are—power and universality. They help to define items if they have exact semantic equivalents in hundreds of other language. These sources, also basic-level categories, have the highest text frequency to have been grammaticalized, such as *mwana* ‘child’ in Swahili language (see Heine *et al.*:39). In the section of metaphor, Heine *et al.* provide much more parameters of it on the basis of correlating concrete concept to

abstract concept with mapping between domains. Take *is going to* as an example.

The more prominent explanations for this example are given (see Heine *et al.*:46-7):

a) As is characteristic of metaphor, there is one meaning involved that is called “literal” and another one that is “transferred,” or metaphorical. In our example, the form *is going to* is literal in *Henry is going to town*, but there appears to be some justification in calling it “transferred” in *The rain is going to come*.

b) ..., a concrete movement like *go to* is “more easily grasped” than a concept of more abstract domain of tense categories.

From the perspective of less abstract to more abstract, source structures can be developed into grammatical structures as the following scale (see Heine *et al.*:48):

(7) PERSON > OBJECT > ACTIVITY > SPACE > TIME > QUALITY

It is similar with (6) mentioned above although they are slightly different. Heine *et al.* consider that these categories are the prototypical domains of conceptualization. More, they mentioned that ACTIVITY is equal to “PROCESS”, proposed by Claudi and Heine (1986), which a “dynamic situation” including acts, activities, events and processes. Otherwise, the category QUALITY is described the fuzziest of all entities because it can contain the object which does not belong to dynamic situations or physical concepts. For instance, the categorical metaphor “SPACE-to-QUALITY” indicates that situation, states, or qualities are metaphorically rendered in terms of locative concepts, such as GOOD IS UP, up as good metaphorical vehicle while good regarded as the metaphorical topic.

Moreover, Heine *et al.* state that there are two kinds of metaphors, called “creative” and “emerging” metaphor. Creative metaphor is that a new expression is formed containing a false predication and involving an intentional violation of

conceptual or semantic rules, while emerging metaphor is built on existing predication and does not form any new expressions. The difference of these two metaphors is the vehicle of emerging metaphor tends to be viewed as a conceptual extension of the topic rather than as belonging to entirely different conceptual domain as creative metaphor. Hence, we are heavily concerned on emerging metaphor since it presents the metaphorical transfer that explains the process of grammaticalization.

We have reviewed some basic notions about metaphor, and then the inferences of metonymic processes. Started with the comparison with metaphor, metonymy conducts the meaning changes through the contiguity of topics in linguistic or pragmatic contexts, also called “associative”, whereas metaphorical change refers to the situation where one topic leads to another through their similarity. Jakobson and Halle (1956:77) have mentioned about “Metonymical responses to the same stimulus, such as *thatch*, *litter*, or *poverty*, combine and contrast the positional similarity with semantic contiguity”. In short, metaphor is semantic transfer through a similarity of concepts, and is analogical and iconic, while metonymy is semantic transfer through contiguity and “indexical” (means pointing to relations in contexts). Hopper and Traugott (1993:82) provide more explicit description “metaphor operates across conceptual domains, while metonymy operates across interdependent (morpho)syntactic constituents.”

Moreover, metonymy is triggered by analysis. For example, the phrase *be going to* has two characteristics. First one is that the future meaning of *be going to* is derived from the semanticization³ of the dual inferences of later time/ future indexed by go and purposive to: if I am leaving in order to attend a school, the event

³ Semanticization: The process whereby formerly inferred meanings become part of the polysemous structure of a grammatical item. (Hopper 2003:224)

of attending the Ph.D. program will be in the future. Second, the reanalysis is presented in the shift from purposive *be going (to...)* to auxiliary *be going to*, like [I am going [to attend the Ph.D. program]] rebracketed as [I am going to attend the Ph.D. program], involving a change of aspect from progressive aspect to immediate future.

(8) I am going (or leaving) to attend the Ph.D. program.

In sum, the relation between metaphor and metonymy is also concerned. Metaphorical and metonymic inferences interact and are complementary instead mutually exclusive, and these two processes at the pragmatic level that result from the dual operations of reanalysis linked with the cognitive process of similarity, and analogy linked with the cognitive process of contiguity. Furthermore, Heine *et al.* also mention about the related discussion from Goossens (1989); that is, metonymy functions within a metaphor and metaphor, like *catch someone's ear*, and metonymy coexist in some uses of an expression, like *close-lipped*, while metaphor and metonymy interact (Heine *et al.*:63). Also, Goossens argues that “where the metonymy can easily develop into a metaphor” (Goossens 1989:16), and the example is the human sound *giggle*. *Giggle* that means ‘express or utter with a giggle’ is regarded as metonymic interpretation but something like ‘act like someone who giggles’ as metaphorical interpretation. This section is also relevant with the term reanalysis and analogy, and there are more details in the following section.

2.1.1.3.3 Reanalysis

For the purpose of understanding the function and manipulation of reanalysis, we will focus on the discussions on Heine and Reh (1984), Heine *et al.* (1991), and

Hopper and Traugott (1993). Therefore, we will talk about the mechanics of reanalysis and the issue of independence between reanalysis and grammaticalization.

One representative of reanalysis is “fusion”, referring to merging two or more forms across word or morphological boundaries. Compounding is a typical example, and it is usually an outcome of an entire new word and individual parts that are originated from full noun with content semantics. The way of compounding occurs in the development of many productive derivational affixes in English and also in some words in Hakka, like the diminutive. Hopper and Traugott suggest that Present Day English *-hood*, *-dom*, *-ly* are derived from full noun meaning ‘condition,’ ‘state, realm,’ and ‘body, likeness’ that were merged with other nouns, for instance, from ‘*cild-had* ‘condition of a child’ > *childhood*’.

Broadly, fusion also involves changes in the assignment of boundaries, which is called rebracketing, as mentioned in the example (8) above: *be going to* from main verb + progressive aspect + purposive preposition to tense marker. Similarly, *let us* from main verb + object to modal particle + subject. Otherwise, Hopper and Traugott consider that reanalysis is the result of abduction. And we can understand reanalysis more clearly by this example:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------|
| (9) a. [[back] of the mountain] > | Result |
| b. [back of [the mountain]] | Case + Law |

The abduction accounts for the cognition and the process of language change, which are reviewed by Hopper and Traugott (1993:34). Also, it involves three propositions constituting a syllogism:

- (10) The Law (e.g., All men are poor)
 The Case (e.g., Bill is a man)

The Result (e.g., Bill is poor)

To be simple, inductive reasoning proceeds from observed cases and results to establish a law, for example, *Bill is a man*, *Bill is poor*, and so *all men are poor*. Deductive reasoning applies a law to a case and then predicts a result, like, all men are poor, *Bill is a man*, so *Bill is poor*. Finally, Abduction proceeds from an observed result, invokes a law, and infers that something may be the case. In (10), a hearer has heard the “output” (the “Result”), but assigns to it a different structure (the “Case”) after composing it with possible nominal structures (affected by the “Law”).

Another type of reanalysis refers to phenomena occurring in the syntactic domain. Heine and Reh (1984) regard compounding as a morphosyntactic process, and they label reanalysis to the evolution of syntactic or pragmatic structures; that is, they consider that reanalysis is used in solving problems relating to syntactic and pragmatic. Also, they propose two strategies from the observations in African languages: syntactic transfer and adjustment, which applied in the analysis of clause-internal structure and complex clause structures. However, Heine and Reh use the terms grammaticalization and reanalysis as synonyms or near synonyms, same as Meillet (1912), Lord (1976:179), and Givón (1979), but recent scholars assume that they should be kept apart since grammaticalization need not be accompanied by reanalysis (Heine *et al.*:1991:219; Hopper and Traugot 1993:49). For instance, compounding is a process resulting from reanalysis, where the boundary between words or morphemes is changed. Then, we can call that reanalysis has led to grammaticalization when new grammatical affixes come into being. On the contrary, the numeral ‘one’ to an indefinite article ‘a’ is in the process of grammaticalization without reanalysis. Here the focus has been on reviewing the second mechanism—analogy.

2.1.1.3.4 Analogy

That change invoked by analogy is overt since it is obvious to see the outcome of analogy. Analogy is defined as a process of regularization in grammar, particularly at the morphological level. A typical example in English is *shoe-shoen* ‘shoe-shoes’ analogized to the form *shoe-shoes* that is correspondent with *ston-stones* ‘ston-stones’. That is so called “rule generalization” in Hopper and Traugott (1993:56). Particularly, the role of analogy is crucial when we reconstruct the process of language change. The development of negation *pas* in French is a good example:

(11) Il ne va (pas).
he not goes (step)
‘He doesn’t go (a step).’

(12) Il ne sait pas.
he not knows not
‘He doesn’t know.’

The negation *pas* originally meant step and only occurs in the context of verbs of movement like *va* ‘go’, as (11). And then, *pas* was reanalyzed as a negator particle in a construction of *ne Vmovement (pas)*. The following stage is *pas* that is extended analogically to new verbs without the essence of movement, and the structure becomes *ne V (pas)*, as (12) shown. This difference is in the context of movement verbs or not. Therefore, the stage of reanalysis is unknown if there is no evidence of the working of generalization. Analogy makes the unobservable changes of reanalysis observable.

As indicated above, the relationships between reanalysis and metonymy, analogy and metaphor respectively, are complementary but not exclusive since reanalysis triggers metonymy and analogy gives rise to metaphor. It is obvious that

morphosyntactic changes (reanalysis and analogy) precede semantic changes (metonymy and metaphor). The development is demonstrated as follows (from Hopper and Traugott 1993:88):

				Syntagmatic axis
Stage I	be	going	[to visit Bill	Mechanism: reanalysis
	PROG	Vdir	[Purp. clause]	
Stage II	[be going to]		visit Bill	
	TNS		Vact	
	(by syntactic reanalysis/ metonymy)			
Stage III	[be going to]		like Bill	
	TNS		V	Paradigmatic axis
	(by analogy/ metaphor)			Mechanism: analogy

Figure 2.2 Revised schema of the development of auxiliary *be going to*

2.1.1.4 Uni-directionality

The basic notion is that there is relationship between two stages A and B, such that A occurs before B, but not vice versa (Hopper and Traugott 1993:95). More specifically, Traugott and Heine (1991) indicate that there are two kinds of unidirectionalities considered characteristics of grammaticalization—*increase in abstractness* and *increase in bondedness*. For the former one, we have mentioned that before in (6), and Traugott and König on the scale temporal > causal > concessive. In addition, Heine and Traugott argue that increased abstractness in meaning is not necessarily a case of grammaticalization, for example the meaning of *grasp* shifting from the sense ‘seize’ to ‘understand.’ Increasing in bondedness is a cline may develop from independent form to less free and more bound, such as postpositions becoming affixes, at the phrasal level. Hopper and Traugott dwell on two general principles and three processes of unidirectionality, namely

generalization, decategorialization and increase in grammatical status as well as specialization, divergence, and renewal, which are diachronic issues. On the other hand, synchronic issues are also concerned, such as the resultant variability and “layering” arising from the diachronic processes.

The first one is generalization which is classified into two parts: generalization of meaning and that of grammatical function. Generalization, also called bleaching in Jurafsky (1996), means that a new sense is created from an old one by abstracting away specific features of meaning. Then, the new meaning is more general and less informative than the old one. Also, the related example appearing in French preposition *à* that is considered as generalization at stage 2 indicated by Kilroe (1994): “At stage 2, several of the transferred senses underwent generalization, so that these transferred senses became more frequent, gained wider syntactic distributional possibilities, and consequently underwent further bleaching.” In other words, it has gained wider distribution and has more polysemies. On the other hand, Hopper and Traugott elaborate further on the constraints on what meanings are subject to grammaticalization. First, the lexical words that undergo grammaticalization are typically “basic words,” that is, the alternative term—hyponyms, such as *say*, *go*, rather than too specific terms like *jump*, *declare*, *wiggle*. Then, “avoidance of homonymic clash” is noted. It means avoidance of what might be dysfunctional ambiguity from the perspective of “one meaning – one form.” It makes distinct lexical words homonymous when they undergo regular phonological changes, and then it induces the loss and replacement by other forms. For instance, in England Old English *lætan* ‘prevent’ and *lettan* ‘permit’ merge together in Middle English as *let*. Further, the former one is replaced by *forbid* so that the possible ambiguities between opposite meanings brought about by the phonological merger were avoided.

Second one is the correlation between increased grammatical status and decategorialization. That is to say, a form will lose the morphological and syntactic properties that have a major grammatical category such as noun or verb. On the contrary, minor categories include preposition, conjunction, auxiliary verb, pronoun, and demonstrative. Major categories and minor ones are parallel to open class and close one, respectively, manifested as a cline of categoriality in the change of decategorialization as follows:

(13) major category (open class) (> adjective/ adverb) > minor category (close class)

Typologically, two major categories, noun and verb, are universal in almost all languages, whereas the minor categories are specific from language to language. Adjectives and adverbs constitute the intermediate stage between major and minor categories and are represented the development from participial (verbs) and locative, manner, etc. (nouns). For example, the Present Day English conjunction *while* was a noun (Old English *hwil*) meaning a length of time, and then it not only is grammaticalized as a marker of temporal notion in the discourse, but also have lost the grammatical feature that identify *while* as a noun, such as *while* cannot modified by adjectives or demonstratives.

There are two typical paths of development of decategorialization—a cline for nominal categories, another for verbal. Here we mainly concentrate on the first one, in that it is more relating to the study of diminutives. A noun-to-affix cline has been presented by Lehmann (1985:304) as given:

(14) relational noun > secondary adposition > primary adposition >
agglutinative case affix > fusional case affix

Actually, this cline is specific to relational nouns, such as top, back, head, or side, in that relational nouns are inclusive of the meaning of a location or direction. Secondary adpositions are usually distinct forms with concrete content, and originate from relational nouns, e.g., along the river, forward an hour. On the contrary, primary adpositions are more restrictive, often monosyllabic, with grammatical relationships, e.g., of, by, to. Also, primary adpositions are easily cliticized to become affixes. Then, they become agglutinative affixes, that are joined to the stem with apparent boundary between stem and suffix, whereas vice versa in fusional affixes.

Here we start with three processes participating in unidirectionality, and the processes enable us understand how the approach of unidirectionality operates. First, specialization is the process of reducing the variety of grammatical choices, and then the chosen one becomes generalized in meaning and use, e.g., Modern French negative construction, a negative particle *ne* before the verb and a supportive particle *pas* after it. Originally, a number of nouns were placed adverbially after the verb for reinforcing the weakened negation, such as *pas* ‘step, pace,’ *point* ‘dot, point,’ *mie* ‘crumb.’ Then, *pas* ‘step’ is frequently collocated with the motion verb like *go* so that *pas* becomes fully grammaticalized to negation. Otherwise, *point* was also dominated as well as *pas*, and then *point* became an emphatic negator while *pas* was generalized.

Second one, divergence, is also called “split”⁴ referring the phenomenon of meaning overlapping. Hopper (1991:22) argues that: “When a lexical form undergoes grammaticalization to a clitic or affix, the original lexical form may remain as an autonomous element and undergo the same changes as ordinary lexical

⁴ This term appears in Heine and Reh (1984).

items.” The original form is assumed as A, while B is the new form, both shown in the formula: $A > A/B > B$. A and B may continue to coexist as divergent reflexes, or A will disappear. For example, Present Day English *Mistress* keeps its lexical content, but *Miss* is merely an appellation. Another alternative term is persistence. However, in different time of Hopper’s works (1991, 1993), he does not have same agreement about divergence and persistence. Besides of the definition of divergence, Hopper (1991) proposes persistence as “When a form undergoes grammaticization from a lexical to a grammatical function, so long as it is grammatically viable some traces of its original lexical meanings tend to adhere to it, and details of its lexical history may be reflected in constraints on its grammatical distribution.” We think, specifically, that persistence emphasizes one or more meanings of a polysemous form, referred to its original meaning, will reflect the earlier meaning. That is, the future marker *be going to* had pure future meaning, and then willingness and intention meaning are derived. Latterly, the “predictive” future develops out of the intention meaning of *be going to* when inanimate incapable of volition is used with *be going to*.

After divergence, renewal is the process that the existing forms take on new meaning in certain contexts, while old meanings are retained in other contexts. Moreover, the existing forms may be the older ones that have used, or not. A most typical example in English is intensifier *very*. It is cognate with French *vrai* ‘true,’ and meanwhile there are many other intensifiers, like awfully, terribly, really, and so on. But *very* frequently becomes an alternate with such words, even in the written language. *Very* is chosen owing to specialization among intensifiers to take on new meaning that identify intensification. On the other hand, once renewal occurs, the new form may begin to grammaticalize because of rapid speech and routinization, such as *not > n’t*.

Here we introduce last principle of unidirectionality—layering, relating to synchronic variability derived from diachronic reflection. Layering is a result from the effect of the divergence and persistence of older forms and meanings alongside newer forms and meanings, and of the renewal from different sources. Hopper defines this term as “Within a broad functional domain, new layers are continually emerging. As this happens, the older layers are not necessarily discarded, but may remain to coexist with and interact with the newer layers.” That is to say, layers means forms emerged from different generations. An obvious example in the coexistence of three demonstratives in Classical Armenian: *ays* ‘close to first person,’ *ayd* ‘close to second person,’ *ayn* ‘close to third person,’ and three articles *-s*, *-d*, *-n*, apparently reduced from the three demonstratives. Hopper provides a further example by using periphrasis, affixation, an ablaut, for demonstrating grammaticalized forms at different chronological stages, as follows:

- (15) a. Periphrasis: We have used it. (newest layer)
- b. Affixation: I admired it. (older layer)
- c. Ablaut: They sang. (oldest layer)

In sum, the characteristics of processes or principles are concluded into a concise summary for easily recalling memory as below. Nevertheless, it seems that there is no specific order among these processes; that is, generalization is not necessary to occur toward decategorialization although persistence is likely proceeded by divergence. However, layering is obvious to happen afterward.

	form	meaning	Context
generalization	generalized	less informative	in frequent use
decategorialization	lose the morphological and syntactic properties	new meaning given	moving toward grammaticalization

specialization	Reducing the variety	new meaning given	when many synonyms occur
divergence	a original or newer form	getting to have different meanings and functions	one form is split into two forms
persistence	an original form	persist meaning of the original form	when there is a former form
renewal	a newer form	new meaning given	in frequent use
layering	The coexistence of older and newer form	polysemous	in synchronic level with diachronic relics

Table 2.4 Seven principles of unidirectionality

2.1.1.5 The grammatical cycle or cyclicity

Before this section starts, we believe that the development of diminutive is in the cline of unidirectionality, and a new lexeme of diminutive will come into being since the original form begins grammaticalized and have stated to lose the semantic content. Also, the cycle of development keeps ongoing, so that a new form tends to be recruited on the same conceptual pattern as the old one once a given grammatical form decays. If such a development is repeated, the result of morphological cycle is a “recursive cycle” (Heine and Reh 1984:72-74).

However, the assumption on grammaticalization processes is not new. Since Georg von der Gabelentz noted that the evolution of language is a spiral process, mentioned above in Table 2.1, Meillet also adopted the spiral hypothesis although Heine and Reh (1984:70) consider that his thought tends to the cycle process (Meillet 1912). Specifically, Heine and Reh introduce the distinction between spiral and cycle. If the process is spiral, renovation⁵ usually takes place before the existing grammatical element has disappeared. Thus, the new form is likely to be grafted on the old one. In contrast, if the process is cycle, the old form is replaced by a newly introduced marker, especially when the old form is entirely lost. Heine and Reh,

⁵ It means to replace an old category by a new one when a previous morpheme has lost in “functional strength,” distinctiveness, or else undergoes loss or merger. (Lehmann 1995:21).

nevertheless, suggest using “morphological cycle”. In the present study, we prefer to use “the linguistic cycle,” proposed by Talmy Givón (1971a) with cyclic development, indicated above in (1). Still, here is some adjustment:

(16) discourse > syntax > morphology > morphophonemics > zero (> discourse)

Finally, the evolution of language change is largely concerned about the shift from a specific lexical form (e.g. *want*) to a grammatical form (a future marker), and the result of the grammatical form replaced by a new lexeme. This kind of viewpoint is also related to our study.

2.1.1.6 Remarks

After reviewing the background and framework of grammaticalization, we have a general picture about the manipulation of the grammatical cycle. We find that the scale from source structure to grammatical structure, PERSON > OBJECT > ACTIVITY > SPACE > TIME > QUALITY, is consistent with the analysis of diminutive. Our primary assumption is from human’s child, animal posterity, limited time, and then modification. The cline has single direction from less abstract to more abstract. Moreover, the development of diminutive is triggered by reanalysis, the change of morpheme boundary, and analogy, the implementing of regularization. In the next section, we will see how scholars apply grammaticalization theory or other related theories in different languages.

2.2 Studies in diminutives

This section will provide us an overall reviewing which is going through some prominent literature applied in this study of Hakka diminutives. Moreover, we adopt

a semantic-orientation in establishing how meaning change emerges and what strategies are applied in, and what the relation with grammaticalization is as well. Then, we will investigate the effect carried by meaning change, like phonetic reduction, morphosyntactic change. First, Tsao (2006), research of the Chinese diminutives in the form of [-n] or [-ŋ], provides a generalized model that has not been seen before, and it is directly related to the present study. After that, Jurafsky (1996) helps us not only to set up a model to investigate the cognitive semantics in dealing with the varied and contradict senses of the diminutive, but also bring a new semantic mechanism, Lambda-abstraction, as well as other classic ones, metaphor, generalization, and so on. Then, the discussions from Heine, Claudi and Hünemeyer (1991), Heine and Kuteva (2002) as well as Zhu (2006) are introduced.

2.2.1 Tsao (2006)

Based on the primary background of grammaticalization that we have reviewed above, here we introduce the grammatical cycle that is applied in the study of Chinese diminutives. The assumption of grammatical cycle is a transition from a former form to a latter one. That explains that a language will choose another phonetic form instead of the original form that has lost its characteristic or feature via generalization or bleaching. That is, the newer form is used to represent the function or meaning which the older form had. Unpredictable situation is either to discard the older form, or to re-use the older form when the function or meaning of present form is bleaching. Indeed, diminutive is a good example of this domain.

Tsao indicates there are three defects in the previous studies of Chinese diminutives. First, most studies focus on the phenomena existing in each sub-dialect, rather than examining the phenomenon cross-dialectally to get a general picture. Thus, it is necessary to do an integrated description for the purpose of investigating

typological commonness. Secondly, a wealth of data has been unearthed but most of scholars still concentrate on giving a fragmentary account in point; that is, some of them focus on semantic and function of diminutives, some study in sound change, and others engage in the work of searching for their original characters. Thus practice concealed, rather than revealed, the parallel developments in the evolution of the diminutive. For instance, a diminutive tone arises when a diminutive suffix decays in its form; or, the occurrence of the glottal stop may be related to the formation of diminutive tone.

Having the conception of grammatical cycle enables us to distinguish highly productive diminutive forms from historical relics. Tsao divides grammatical cycle of diminutive into semantic, pragmatic, grammatical process and phonetic process, and he draws his generalization on the basis of materials of several Chinese dialects, such as Wu dialect, Min dialect, and Yue dialect, etc. First, Tsao formulates a semantic, pragmatic and grammatical process by consulting some semantic categories of diminutives, proposed by previous researches. As we can see from Figure 2.3, it is translated into English: A (sons, daughters), B (descendents of animals), C (sprouts of plants), D1 (small objects), D2 (kinship terms, especially referring to junior or younger generation), D3 (body parts or organs), E1 (conveying a sense of affective or contempt), E2 (particularized term that is the smaller one in a corresponsive pair, e.g., “a smaller house that is made by paper for the departed” contrasting a normal house for the living), E3 (specialized term that is the smaller one in taxon, dòu ‘bean’ + diminutive > soy bean), E4 (nominal marker), E5 (adjective, adverb or verb, that denote the degree of slightness, usually involving in reduplicative construction), and eventually F (particles). More recently, this model is modified and added two categories—D4 (time terms), E4 (nominal marker that makes the composite part as a noun), and E5 (nominal marker). The revised model is

as below:

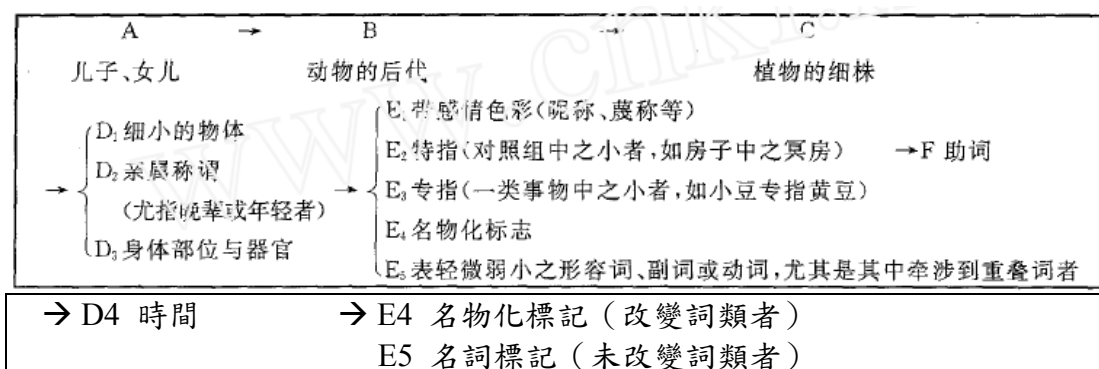


Figure 2.3 Grammatical cycle of the diminutive in semantic, pragmatic and grammatical

Obviously the model Figure 2.3 follows the hypothesis of unidirectionality: from lexical to more grammatical ones, i.e., corresponding to the two extreme point A and E or F. Alternatively, categories A, B, C, and D can be regarded as a concrete class, whereas E as an abstract class. The following is the phonetic change of diminutive and nasalization in the grammatical cycle, and it has six stages:

阶段	组成	语音变化	
		韵	调
1. 复合阶段	根词+小称词		连读变调(分变式)
2. 词缀化	词干+小称词缀		变调合并或小称词缀轻声化
3. 鼻音尾化	带鼻音尾单词	辅音韵尾脱落,元音发生变化,阴声韵变阳声韵	变调持续合并 入声变舒声
4. 鼻音化	带鼻音尾鼻化韵单词	口元音变鼻元音	
5. 鼻音尾脱落	鼻化韵单词	鼻音尾脱落	小称调发展完成(合变式)
6. 去鼻音化	阴声韵单词(带小称调)	阳声韵变阴声韵	喉塞音增生

Table 2.5 Cycle of phonetic change

The first column is morphosyntactic processes with specific construction in the second column, and the remaining columns are phonetic processes. First stage is compounding composed by a stem and lexical diminutive, and the compound follow

the usual tone sandhi patterns of the dialect. Second stage is affixation rather than cliticization, the tone sandhi would tend to converge at this stage and later on continue to do so until one or two tones are reached. At this stage, the one or two tones are likely to be identified as the diminutive tones; that is, in Qīngfán dialect, Píng Shēng becomes [ʔ55], while Shāng Shēng, Qù Shēng, and Rù Shēng become [ʔ224]. Third stage is nasal affixation; in fact, it is more generally regarded as fusion⁶ (Heine and Reh 1984:25-27). For example, in Yīwū dialect, the original form [oŋ] ‘orange’ becomes diminutive form [o:n] with the decay of final consonant, the change in vowel and tone. Fourth stage is nasalization in vowel, e.g., in Wunling dialect, the original form [tɕyoʔ55] ‘desk’ becomes [tɕyʊŋ53] first, and then [tɕyõ53]. The nasalized suffix is lost, and the diminutive tone emerges as [tɕyõ53] in the fifth stage. Lastly, once the de-nasalization occurs, Yang Shang Yun becomes Yin Shang Yun, such as in Ningpo dialect, the phonetic transition of the word *yia* ‘duck’ is like: [æŋ]→[ɛ̃ŋ]→[ɛ̃]→[ɛ].

Tsao also suggests that most of scholars have neglected the importance of cycle so that they merely describe the language phenomena without being able to see the connections between stages. That is why some controversial or unsolved problems remained. Nevertheless, the solution is considering a productive term as a more recent stage in the grammaticalization cycle, and a fossilized or unproductive term as belonging to a more early stage in the cycle. Note that the productive term is used in referring to the diminutive still has the sense of “smallness” when it is attached to a stem.

2.2.2 Jurafsky (1996)

⁶ Fusion is present when the boundary separating two morphemes disappears, these morphemes thus being reduced to one phonological unit.

The main purpose of this study is in search for regularity of diminutive cross-linguistically, especially from the perspectives of synchronic and diachronic semantics. Jurafsky's model, inspired from "Radial category" (George Lakoff 1987), is a type of structured polysemy that explicitly models the different senses of the diminutive and the metaphorical and inferential relations which bind them. The prototypical sense of the diminutive model is "child" and "small," linked to other senses. This model can help us not only to explain the varied and contradictory senses of the diminutive, but also to understand how the mechanisms of semantic change are operated and projected between every two senses, across the field of semantics and pragmatics. Beside some classic mechanisms, such as metaphor, inference, generalization, Jurafsky proposes a new mechanism, called "Lambda-abstraction," for accounting for some unsolved problems that have been explained by previous approaches based on abstraction⁷, like Grimm (1967) and Wierzbick (1984), for example, the rise of quantificational meaning and second-order predicates in the diminutive.

The framework of his model relies on unidirectionality; actually, Jurafsky makes two new unidirectionality predictions, one more general as in (17) and the other more specific as in (18).

(17) Unidirectional tendency: First order predicates give rise to second order predicates.

(18) Unidirectional tendency: 'child' gives rise to 'diminutive': Diminutives arise from semantic or pragmatic links with children.

That is, the meanings of the diminutive in a particular language will develop

⁷ Abstraction is the process or result of generalization by reducing the information content of a concept or an observable phenomenon, typically in order to retain only information which is relevant for a particular purpose (from Wikipedia: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/>).

diachronically from central senses toward senses on the edge of the category, such as the central domain ‘size’ to the domains of ‘gender,’ ‘social power,’ and ‘conceptual centrality.’ Furthermore, Pederson’s Law is adopted for assuming the relationship between categories; that is, we can predict that any language with a diminutive with a ‘member’ sense will have ‘child’ sense. Hence, ‘child’ is considered as the historical prior sense that triggers the other senses by different mechanisms. The universal radial category model is as follows:

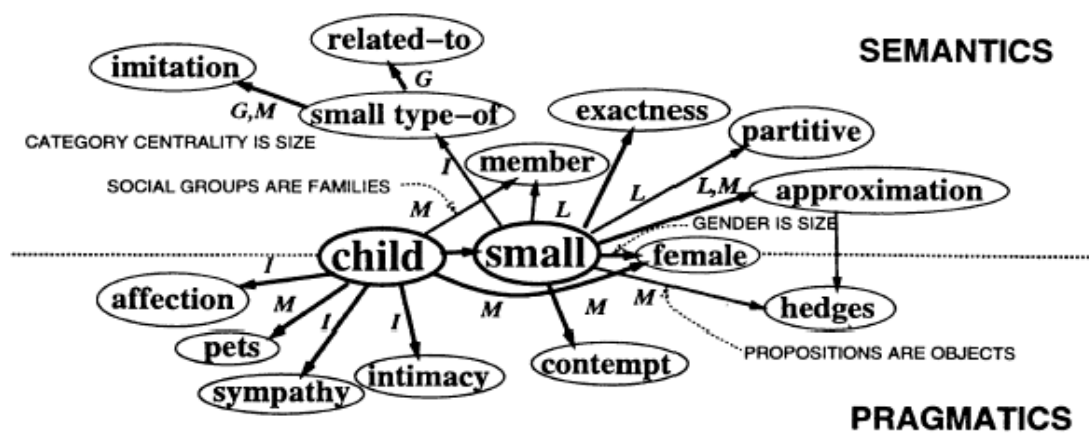


Figure 2.4 Proposed universal structure for the semantics of the diminutive (from Jurafsky 1996)

國立新竹教育大學
National Hsinchu University of Education

For understanding further details about change of meanings and their mappings, here we make a brief summary that includes the problems and corresponding solutions that Jurafsky provides in the article. The reviewing is as given:

(19) a. Metaphors for gender

1. Origins are mothers (mother as the central person in family)
2. Important things are mothers (same as above)
3. Women are children/ small things (rely on the opposition mother/ child)
4. Small things are women (the relation between female/ male)
5. Groups are families (rely on the opposition mother/ child)

b. Metaphors of centrality and marginality

1. Social groups are families (the extension of the core ‘child’ sense)
2. Category centrality is size (derived from the sense ‘small,’ that links central members of a category to large size and links marginal members to small size. Thus, approximation is a marginal member of child, e.g., reddish and red.)

c. Conventionalization of inference

1. The presence of affection sense (natural inference, a natural tendency to feel affection towards children, becomes frozen into the explicit meaning of a form.)
2. The development of ‘small-type’ sense (lexicalized because of conventionalization)

d. Generalization or bleaching

1. The expansion of ‘related to’ sense (leaving the original source domain of Size: ‘small’ → ‘small type’ → ‘related to’)
2. The expansion of ‘imitation’ sense (same as above, but metaphor Marginal is small is applied)

e. Lambda-abstraction-specification: the diminutive to second-order predicates

1. ‘Approximation’ sense (smaller than the prototypical exemplar x on the scale y)
2. ‘Individuating’ or ‘Partitive’ sense (diminutivized form turns a mass noun into a count noun)
3. ‘Exactness’ sense (The second-order predicate ‘exactly (p(x))’ modifies predicates like ‘at-time(x)’ or ‘at-place(x)’)

Again, generalization involves abstracting away specific information about the source form, metaphor involves a transfer of domains, and inference refers the context which determines how the domain gets expressed. Most importantly, Lambda-abstraction/ respecification shares some features with each of them. Specifically, Lambda-abstraction applied to diminutive to derive second-order predicates, quantifying over predicates. For instance, the diminutive act as a quantifier like ‘few’ or ‘little’ when it is represented in ‘low on some scale,’ e.g., ‘red-diminutive’ (reddish) would be ‘low on the scale of redness.’ Thus, the diminutive derives approximation, the second-order predicate. Similarly, the Italian

diminutive *-etto* is applied to the musical tempo *allegro*, the resultant *allegretto* means ‘slower than *allegro*.’ When it is applied to *largo*, the resultant *larghetto* means ‘faster than *largo*.’ Therefore, the distinction of the diminutive and its predicate depends on the relevant scale, and it can be formulized: *Dim (point x, scale y) = lower than x on y.*

Another point to be noticed is the use of lambda-abstraction to build second-order predicates extending into the pragmatic domain, in an extension of the approximative diminutive; that is, the hedge. For example, the ‘merely’ use of the diminutive is used to soften or weaken the illocutionary force of the entire utterance.

Take Japanese word *chotto* as an example.

- | | | | | | |
|------|-------------------------|--------|-----------|----|-------------|
| (20) | Taroo wa | chotto | iji | ga | warui |
| | Taroo TP | | character | SB | bad (nasty) |
| | ‘Taroo is chotto nasty’ | | | | |

This sentence can be interpreted in two different ways. First one is ‘Taroo is kind of nasty,’ from the approximative sense. Second one is that the speaker does not wish to appear rude in careless judgment. Also, *chotto* is also ‘a little’ functioning like English *please* for minimizing the impact of a command, and the similar example is in Cantonese as (21).

- | | | | |
|------|---------------------------|----------|------|
| (21) | ma:n21 | ma:n35 | ha:ŋ |
| | slow | slow-DIM | walk |
| | ‘Take care, walk safely.’ | | |

Otherwise, Greek diminutive has ‘merely’ sense in downplaying his or her own possessions to avoid bragging:

- (22) ayorasame ke mis ena spit-aki
 We bought and we one house-DIM
 ‘We’ve bought a little house, too.’

In short, Lambda-abstraction/respecification is regarded as motivated explanation of why this particular set of metaphors is employed, such as from ‘small’ to ‘partitive.’ The senses of the diminutive are discussed in this section presented in following table:

Argument	Example	Implicit Scale	Sense
Mass nouns/Plurals	snow	Scale of amount	Partitive
Gradable predicates	red	Scale of redness	
Approximation			
Count nouns	horse	Scale of size	Resemblance
Deictics	here	Scale of deictic extent	Exactness
Durative Verbs	see	Scale of temporal extent	Briefness
Propositions		Scale of illocutionary force	Hedging

Table 2.6 Second-order senses of the diminutive (Jurafsky 1996:559)

2.2.3 Heine, Claudi and Hünnemeyer (1991)

Based on the grammatical process motivated by conceptual manipulation leading from source domain to target domain, Heine *et al.* present the case of Ewe *vi* ‘child’. The mechanisms, which are used to analyzing the grammatical development of *vi*, are three variables—metaphor, context, and creativity. Heine *et al.* propose a conceptual manipulation; that is, first, a link between two domains is established, second, a specific context is required in order for this link to be applicable, finally, an act of creativity relates these concepts to new contexts. Before reviewing the paper, the term of context-induced reinterpretation is introduced. Started with the topic of discontinuity and continuity, it is related to context-induced reinterpretation to some extent.

Most scholars argue that the process of grammaticalization is gradual and continuous rather than discrete and discontinuous because the intermediate stages can be reconstructed between categories mentioned in (7) above. In a similar way, the Ewe lexeme *meɓbé* also involves the process: **OBJECT** > **SPACE** > **TIME** > **QUALITY**, which refers the development from a body part noun ('back') to a prepositional and/ or adverbial entity ('behind, back'). Heine *et al.* suggest two problems while this development is interpreted in terms of metaphorical transfers. First one is semantic ambiguity, which means *meɓbé* denoting two kinds of meanings simultaneously: a body part ('back') and the 'back part' of an inanimate object, the 'back part' of an object and the 'space behind' of that object, a spatial and a temporal meaning, and a temporal and a qualitative meaning. Thus, it means that there is overlapping among these categories that are correspondent with these meanings so that these categories are not entirely discrete from each other. This overlapping is called "split" in Heine and Reh (1984:57-59), for explaining the coexisting phenomena of the older and the newer form or meaning. The second problem is related to the metaphorical structures of categories mentioned above. Heine *et al.* consider that there are two intermediate stages between 'back of body' (**OBJECT/ PERSON**) and the adverbial meaning 'behind' (**SPACE**), that is, 'back part' of an object (**OBJECT**) and the 'space behind' of that object (**OBJECT/ SPACE**).

Context-induced reinterpretation is the process of "the rise of metonyms is a discourse pragmatic manipulation whereby concepts are subjected to contextual factors in utterance interpretation" (Sperber and Wilson 1986:1). Moreover, this term is represented to the following stages:

Stage I: In addition to its focal or core sense A, a given linguistic form F acquires an additional sense B when occurring in a specific context C. This can result in

semantic ambiguity since either of the senses A or B may be implied in context C.

Stage II: The existence of sense B now makes it possible for the relevant form to be used in new contexts that are compatible with B but rule out sense A.

Stage III: Sense B is conventionalized, and forms the secondary sense that is not present in A. Hence, F has two “polysemes,” A and B, which may develop eventually into “homophones.”

For instance, *be going to* has primary sense of spatial movement. It can denote INTENTION, with a secondary sense of PREDICTION, in sentence *Are you going to the zoo?*, and it still has the spatial sense. Further, there is no any spatial sense in sentence *I am going to try my best to enter this school*. And, there is no INTENTION sense but rather PREDICTION in sentence *The rain is going to come*. These senses, spatial, intention and prediction, depend on the context. In other words, they are induced or reinterpreted from diverse contexts. Also, this approach supports the account of the shift from spatial to aspectual meanings of *be going to*.

Context-induced reinterpretation and metaphor transfer play crucial roles in Heine *et al.*'s argument. Here we will observe the synchronic development of Ewe *ví*, from noun to highly derivational suffix, with contrastive meanings in different contexts. Table 2.6 summarizes the major sense of Ewe diminutive *ví*:

	UNMARKED FORM		DIMINUTIVE	
Young	ɲútsu	‘man’	ɲútsu-ví	‘boy’
	yevú	‘European’	yevú-ví	‘young European’
Young(animal)	nyi	‘cow’	nyi-ví	‘calf’
Young(plant)	detí	‘olipalm tree’	detí-ví	‘young olipalm tree’
Inexperienced	núfíálá	‘teacher’	náfíálá-ví	‘inexperienced teacher’
Student	dɔyɔlá	‘healer’	dɔyɔlá-ví	‘assistant of or apprentice to a hearler’
Not yet passed an exam	βu’kulá	‘driver’	βu’kulá-ví	‘somebody who know how to drive but has not yet acquired a driving license’
Unsuccessful	kesinɔ́	‘rich person’	kesinɔ́-ví	‘a parvenu, somebody who is not really rich’

Small	akpa	‘fish’	akpa-ví	‘small fish species’
	du	‘village’	du-ví	‘small village’
	ame	‘person’	ame-ví	‘a short person or a person of small size’
Small- Type	hě	‘knife’	hě sue’	‘a knife that is shorter than average knives’
			hě-ví	‘a small type of knife, e.g. a razor’
Body parts	afɔ	‘foot, leg’	afɔ-ví	‘toe’
	nu’	‘mouth’	nu-ví	‘eyelid’
Attenuating	gbe	‘voice’	gbe-ví	‘weak, faint voice’
	ya	‘wind’	ya-ví	‘light wind, breeze’
Insignificant	nya	‘matter, word’	nya-ví	‘an insignificant matter, a minor thing’
Individuation	súkli	‘sugar’	súkli-ví	‘a piece of sugar, a sugar cub’
Descendant of	megbé	‘back’	megbé-ví	‘late comer, last born, straggler’
			ɲgɔ	‘front’
Member	Eβe	‘Ewe’	Eβe-ví	‘an Ewe’
	pome	‘kinship’	pome-ví	‘a relative’
Typical behavior	Tógó	‘Togo’	Tógó-ví	‘Togolese, somebody who has the characteristic that are representative of a good Togolese’
	amedzró	‘foreigner’	amedzró-ví	‘somebody who behaves like an alien’

Table 2.7 Sense of Ewe diminutive *ví* (summarized from Heine *et al.* (1991:78-97))

From the table above, we have a primary finding that Ewe is a language that utilizes diminutive marker to develop various senses. There are different channels of conceptual expansion among these senses for distinguishing these categories, namely young, small, member, etc., and explaining the presence of seeming contrastive meanings, such as *amedáhe-ví* ‘a truly poor, deplorable person’ and *kesinɔ́-ví* ‘a parvenu, somebody who is not really rich.’ They are involved in different channels of conceptual expansion; that is, the former, derived from *amedáhe* ‘poor person’, exhibits the “typical behavior” of someone who is poor, and who is therefore deplorable. The latter is somebody who endeavors to become rich, but he or she is not successful since he or she is not enough rich or since he or she is

not recognized as a rich person. Therefore, Heine *et al.* build a semantic network for the purpose of associating senses on the polysemy-based accounts of the diminutive.

We now look at three variables whereby Figure 2.6 is proposed—metaphor, context, and creativity, as we noted above. In the following we will describe how the three strategies are used to account for semantic ambiguity of Ewe diminutive *vi*.

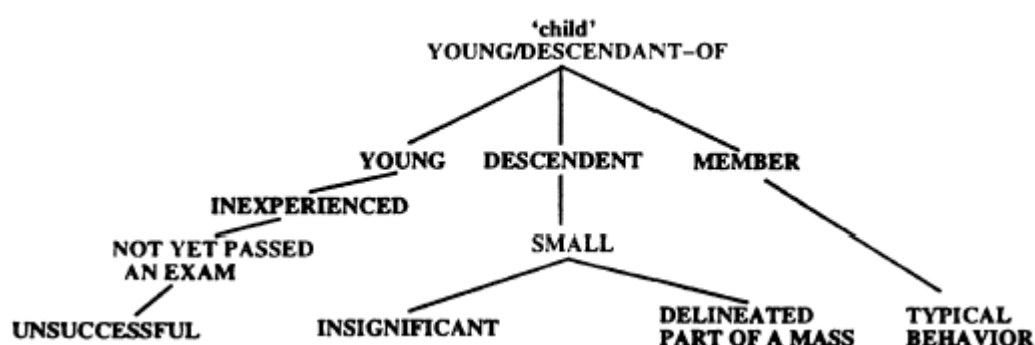


Figure 2.5 The conceptual expansion of the Ewe noun *vi*. (from Heine *et al.*(1999:87))

At the same time, some problems are re-solved by taking the above-mentioned three variables into consideration. First, the development from the noun *vi* ‘child’ to a derivative suffix is suggestive of the **PERSON-to-QUALITY METAPHOR**, such as a transfer from human to nonhuman domain while *vi* is suffixed to names of animals like *nyi* ‘cow’ or *deti* ‘oilpalm tree.’ However, it is not very discernible to classify the relation between **Young** and **Not yet passed an exam** into metaphorical transition because they are typically associative with each other. Further, Heine *et al.* state that this case may be applied to an adult, as in the example *βu'kulá-vi* ‘somebody who knows how to drive but has not yet acquired a driving license,’ then a metaphorical relation comes out between a child and an adult having a feature linked with children. Nevertheless, in my interpretation metaphorical and metonymic relations are both involved in this example. In addition, the expansions

OBJECT-to-PERSON and **Descendant-of-to-Member** respond to conceptual metaphors of the type presented in Lakoff and Johnson (1980): A small object is a young animate and a community is a family, respectively. Particularly, the former is indicated as the meaning **Young**, as in *nyi-vi* ‘calf,’ is projected to inanimate concepts and assumes the meaning **Small**, as in *kpé-vi* ‘small stone.’ In sum, this conceptual expansion is grounded basically on metaphorical transfer, and metonymic strategy is included as well.

Second, we face a problem why the suffix *vi* has the meaning **Young** in the case of animal species, like *nyi* ‘cow,’ but **Small** in the case of more inclusive animal species, like *akpa* ‘fish.’ Thus, we can find an adequate answer from the factor of context. Heine *et al.* suggest that the meaning of suffix *vi* depends on the different situation; that is, *akpa* ‘fish’ is **Small** while *-vi* is added, whereas *akpa-vi* refers **Young** in a situation where fish mother is seen swimming with a shoal of young ones under water. Similarly, *nyi* ‘cow’ is **Young** while *-vi* is added, whereas *nyi-vi* means **Small** for distinguishing within a herd of cow; more, it could express **Descendant-of** because cow baby is descendant of cow mother. Further, prototypical implicatures are applied in association among **Young**, **Inexperienced**, and **Unsuccessful**, as well as **Member** and **Typical behavior**. When people think about **Young**, there are common associations that somebody who is young lacks experience, is immature, or has not yet been recognized as an adult. Then, these associations become conventionalized. It means that **Young** is typically linked to **Inexperienced** and **Unsuccessful**. Then, that the meaning **Member** transferred to **Typical behavior** depends on specific context when somebody is described to have the characteristic of a member, like *Eβe-vi* ‘an Ewe’, presenting the relevant person has the **Typical behavior** of a Ewe. Of course, *Eβe-vi* originally means a citizen of a member or a child born as a member.

Right now, we conclude that each noun has its own focal meaning when the suffix *-ví* is followed, such as *akpa-ví* ‘small fish species’ as **Small** and *nyi-ví* ‘calf’ as **Young**. We may think about a problem first: why is the focal meaning of this suffix **Young** in the case of animal species, such as *koklô* ‘chicken’, but **Small** in the case of more inclusive animal categories, such as *xe-ví* ‘bird’? Heine *et al.* give a reason that is because the factor of age or sexual maturity is determined as **Young**, while the factor of size as **Small**. Therefore, a *koklô* lays eggs, but *koklô-ví* does not; the size of *xe-ví* is more relevant to human experience. Another similar example is the distinction between fully grown versus young in *deti-vi* ‘young oilpalm tree’ as **Young** resulting from that *deti* is a harvested and mature plant but *deti-ví* is not. However, *logo-ví* ‘small wild tree species’ are not cultivated plant as *deti*, so its typical focal meaning is **Small**.

Actually, the category Student is supposed to be added between **Young/Inexperienced** and **Not yet passed an exam**. It seems to be a gap between the domain of children and that of adults if *dɔyɔlá-ví* ‘assistant of or apprentice to a hearler’ is considered as an apprentice who is an adult. Heine *et al.* suggest that the gap can be eliminated when the feature **Young** becomes bleached and another feature, **Not yet passed an exam**, becomes the focus. Similarly, the noun *núfiálá* ‘teacher’ with the suffix *-ví* receives the meaning **Inexperienced**.

In fact, there are a number of questions which remain to be solved. For example, the Ewe *-ví* has the basic meaning ‘child,’ but it has been grammaticalized to an adjective as (21) below. Otherwise, the phonetic distinction between the noun *vi* and the suffix *-vi* is unclear from the instance *suku vi* ‘small school’ with *suku-vi* (schoolchild) ‘student.’ As we noted above, the distinction between **Small** and **Young** is based on age, sexual maturity, and size. However, they are still hard to be told apart since **Small** is derived from Young in Figure 2.6, and they are naturally

similar. To be mentioned, *hɛ̀-ví* ‘razor’ is the case of lexicalization because it becomes used more and more to designate a particularly common type of small knife.

- (23) me-dí súkli ví
 1SG-want sugar little
 ‘I want a bit of sugar’

2.2.4 Heine and Kuteva (2002)

The main purpose of this book “World lexicon of grammaticalization” is this “underlying human behavior there appears to be a strategy of linguistic processing whereby more abstract functions are expressed in terms of forms for concrete concepts.” (Heine and Kuteva 2002:5) They collect data from roughly 500 different languages, and over 400 processes relating to the evolution of grammatical categories are discussed. The world lexicon is based on relation between two kinds of concepts, which are “source” and “target” entities of grammaticalization. We now consult from the “dictionary” to look up the item “Child,” and find out three target entities projected from child as given:

- (24) a. Child > Classifier: Certain nouns are recruited as structural templates for a taxonomic classification of nominal concepts, and a number of source entities, such as Branch, Man, Piece, Song, Tree, Woman, refer classifier. For example, Kilivila *gwadi* ‘child’ > *gudi*, classifier for living beings conceptualized as moving.
- b. Child > Diminutive: The diminutive affix is derived from the noun ‘child’ in many languages. The meaning of suffix is “small,” when used with inanimate nouns, “young” when used with animate nouns, such as *ngú-* + */oan* (house- + child) ‘small house’ in //Ani language.
- c. Child > Partitive: Lingala *nwána* ‘child’ > *mwâ* (+ noun), partitive marker; *mwâ máí* ‘a bit of water’; *mwâ mikɔɔ* ‘a few days.’

In addition, Children is a Plural marker, e.g., *Ik wik* ‘children,’ noun > *-ik*, nominal plural suffix. This process is related to People > Plural, where the plural form of a human noun has been grammaticalized to a plural marker. From the aspect of universal constructions, these three targets do not closely match the senses of diminutive, proposed by Jurafsky (1996), since fewer targets are provided.

2.2.5 Zhu (2006)

We consider that Zhu’s article focusing on the relationship between intimacy and high pitch would not only bring us a new perspective on empirical phonetics, but also provide us universal evidence that high pitch represents intimacy. There are three points are correspondent with our study in Hakka diminutive—“high pitch” and “ethology,” the relation of the “nasal *Er* suffix” and the “diminutive tone”, the origin and development of the diminutive.

First, Zhu suggests that the relationship between sound and meaning is non-arbitrary resulting from the knowledge of ethology. Zhu mentions about the cross-linguistic study in high pitch and low one in Ohala (1983). Ohala argues that the existence of “frequency code,” associating of high pitch vocalizations with smallness, threat weakening of the vocalizer, and of low pitch vocalizations with the vocalizer’s largeness and threatening intent, by observing languages to getting an universal similarity, such as “in “sound symbolic” vocabulary, high tone used with words connoting smallness or diminutive, low tone with words connoting largeness.” Thus, that is possible reason to explain why high pitch vocalization is easy to prevent aggression, e.g., infants or children are usually not allowed to be offended.

Then, Zhu claims the nasal *Er* suffix preceding the diminutive tone

diachronically. For instance, Líchūān (黎川) dialect in Gànn has two diminutive forms, tone [53] and suffix [i33⁸], such as [ts^hŋŋ35] ‘worm’ becoming [ts^hŋŋ53] and the combined construction [p^hon34-53 i33] ‘plate.’ Zhu finds that the word ‘bottle’ can be either [p^haŋ53] or [p^haŋ53 ŋi33], and he considers there is a transition between the nasal *Er* suffix and diminutive tone as follows:

(25) ‘bottle’ [p^haŋ13] (original word)
[p^haŋ13 ŋi0] (*Er* suffix DIM) > [p^haŋ53 ŋi0] (*Er*/tone changing) > [p^haŋ53]
(merging with preceding final)

According to Zhu’s analysis, *Er* suffix diminutive emerges first, and it is replaced by high tone [53] because of the decay of affective or small meaning of *Er* suffix. Finally, the suffix is merged into preceding finals. Now the latter phonetic forms coexist in diachronic.

Finally, the origin of the diminutive is considered as a result of the child language transferred to the adult language; that is, adults mimic the behavior that children use the high pitch for displaying adults’ pleasure to objects they like, and adults would adopt the strategy of using high pitch for getting close to or strengthening the relationship with people. And then, the high pitch would be transferred to a means to represent personal affection to others. Lastly, the high pitch becomes a morphological unit for specializing in diminutive function and meaning. Then, the contempt sense of the diminutive is developed from the core meaning of high pitch, say, smallness, subordinate, not threatening, desirous of the listener’s goodwill. Zhu assumes the various significances of the diminutive induced when diminutive is used in different subjects. It conveys intimate in junior generation,

⁸ According to Yánshēn (1989), the tone of suffix is [33], while Zhu records it as [0]. Otherwise, Líchūān dialect has another diminutive suffix [e33], used to refer the normal or bigger objects, whereas [i33] describes the smaller ones.

deriding among friends or fellows, and further extends to contempt in others.

Zhu's article brings us two logical but interesting conclusions. First one is the difference processes of the ethology and linguistics. From the perspective of ethology, the core sense of high pitch is smallness, and the following secondary meaning is affective, subordinate or weakening force, etc. In contrast, from the observation in linguistic phenomena, the affective sense is core meaning of the high tone, and smallness is derived from it. Second, Zhu claims that the high pitch is universal tendency so that it is highly possible to represent smallness by high pitch in a language even though this language does not have this strategy presently. The second conclusion Zhu makes is very confident, nevertheless, he tends towards the point of view of ethology and excludes any possibilities of using another phonetic forms, such as reduplication, another form that have same function and meaning, or even original form like [kiaŋ53] 'son' (囡) in Min dialect. However, the statements of Zhu would be under consideration in observing linguistic data.

2.3 Remarks

We already not only have a fundamental theoretical background of grammaticalization that is required to implement in the study of diminutive, but also develop a basic framework including the investigation of synchronic and diachronic development of diminutive in terms of previous researches.

Indeed, the researches constitute a skeleton of the present study. We will follow Tsao's grammatical cycle in order to collect data and build a systematic process. In the perspective of semantics, we will consult the model proposed by Jurafsky, and our purpose is to make a cognitive association in each dialect of Hakka. Consequently, these associations will shed light on the comparison among Hakka dialects. Lastly, the analysis of Heine *et al.* in the case of Ewe *vi* offers us a

sequence of thoughts in discussing ambiguous senses of Hakka diminutives.



CHAPTER III

METHOD

3.1 Material

The data presented in this study are mainly collected from Primary and Intermediate and High-level Hakka Proficiency Test Textbooks⁹ of five sub-dialects, Sixian, Hailu, Dapu, Raoping, Zhaoan, from Council for Hakka Affairs, the Executive Yuan (行政院客家事務委員會). Another main resource is from the author's own collection from field study, and the rest is from dissertations, theses, school textbooks, or online databases. And the framework of data collection follows the model “grammaticalization cycle of the diminutive in semantic, pragmatic, and grammatical” (see Figure 2.3 in Section 2.2.1).

3.2 Process and principle

The investigation is divided into three processes; firstly, we read all of the data from the Test Textbooks, and then collect the appropriate data for fitting in the model of grammatical cycle. Then, we look up some data collections, including dictionaries, theses, and dissertations for indicating the correction of the previous data. In order to collect more data that cannot be found in the Test Textbooks, we interview some native speakers from different dialects. And they not only provide the data corresponding to our need, but also examine the previous data.

Based on the purpose of observing the “universal tendencies” of the diminutives among five sub-dialects, our criterion of the data selection is to collect the data formed with the diminutives. Particularly, Dapu and Zhaoan do not have as many diminutives as Sixian or Hailu, so we would search for the diminutives of

⁹ The materials can be downloaded from the website: <http://www.hakka.gov.tw/mp.asp?mp=100>.

Dapu and Zhaoan and then other dialects. After finishing these primary works, we correct all of the words by asking native speakers, especially in Raoping, and Zhaoan, which are lack of particular dictionaries. However, all of these data presented in this study are carefully chosen or transcribed.

3.3 The introduction of informants

Our informants are selected either systematically or randomly. On the one hand, we firstly interview three native speakers from Dapu, Raoping, and Zhaoan, after collecting the literature on the subject of the diminutive. The purpose of interview is to indicate the correction of the data we found. Yet, we do not consult from the speakers from Sixian and Hailu because the author's mother tongue is Sixian Hakka; moreover, there are fruitful studies on Sixian and Hailu Hakka more than Raoping and Zhaoan. On the other, we have accumulated some authentic data from separated places, mostly speaking Sixian and Hailu dialects. Right now, the result of data collections not only helps us to construct a universal statement of the diminutive, but also capture the specific characteristics existing in sub-dialects.

For obtaining the authentic data, we select our informants according to three principles: they need to grow in the particular area, also an inhabitant of that area, and one of their parents reside at that area. Although we do not have a strict limitation in the age of the informants, most of them are beyond the age of 50. We list our informants' background information in the table 3.1, and we use the numbers to call these speakers.

Dialect	Number	Age	Gender	City/County/ Township	Township/ Village	Occupation
Sixian	A	53	F	Kaohsiung	Meinong	an elementary school teacher
	B	50	M	Kaohsiung	Meinong	a photographer
	C	71	M	Kaohsiung	Meinong	a writer
	D	65	M	Kaohsiung	Meinong	a retired elementary school teacher
	E	58	F	Kaohsiung	Meinong	a retired elementary school teacher
	F	75	M	Kaohsiung	Meinong	a farmer
	G	60	M	Kaohsiung	Meinong	a retired engineer
	H	62	M	Pingtung	Neipu	a taxi driver
	I	73	M	Pingtung	Jiadong	a farmer
Hailu	J	81	M	Guanyin	Wuwei	a farmer
	K	41	F	Guanyin	Wuwei	a factory worker
	L	50	M	Guanyin	Wuwei	a factory worker
	M	40	M	Guanyin	Wuwei	an architect
	N	49	F	Guanyin	Wuwei	a bus conductor
	O	63	M	Guanyin	Wuwei	a farmer and a factory worker
	P	78	M	Guanyin	Wuwei	working in Guanyin Township Office
	Q	43	M	Guanyin	Wuwei	a cram school teacher
	R	68	F	Guanyin	Baiyu	a retired textile factory worker
	S	57	M	Hukuo	Jhongshih	the Jhongshih Village head
	T	42	F	Hsinchu	Sinpu	a elementary school teacher
	U	43	M	Hsinchu	Sinfong	a reporter
	V	56	M	Guansi	Nanshan	a retired factory worker
	W	78	M	Guansi	Nanshan	a retired factory worker
Dapu	X	45	F	Taichung	Dongshih	a elementary school teacher
Raoping	Y	59	M	Hsinchu	Jhubei	a retired elementary school principal
Zhaoan	Z	59	M	Yunlin	Erlun	a retired school teacher

Table 3.1: The informants' background information

3.4 Method limitation

This paper has its focus on offering a general picture of the diminutive on the perspective of grammaticalization cycle and presenting a summarized observation.

We do our best to enlist all the possibilities of diminutives among five sub-dialects, but there are still many kinds of diminutives undiscovered and further issues remaining consideration. However, the result of this data analysis will be considered as a linguistic generalization of primary study for further thorough investigation.



CHAPTER IV

THE PHONOLOGICAL DESCRIPTION OF HAKKA DIMINUTIVES

Having reviewed some significant researches relating to the diminutive issues, we can go further to investigate the diminutives of Hakka five sub-dialects in Taiwan. Chapter 4 mainly presents the synchronic spoken data, and we will search for a specific generalization among different diminutives. In the following sections, the diminutives of these five dialects will be discussed in turn in terms of their phonetic, phonological, and grammatical aspects. Here we find out several studies on each Hakka dialect, and they not only provide some linguistic descriptions and analyses but also record a number of data spoken in the languages. Advantages of the synchronic study are to make us understand the variability of functions and meanings of diminutives, and to build up a basis on moving forward to do diachronic works.

In the rear of Chapter 4, we introduce the result of our field works that shows the synchronic variation existing in Sixian and Hailu. More specifically, these dialects have the same features: they all have two diminutive alternatives. This phenomenon makes us to suppose a possibility that the phonetic forms of five Hakka diminutives are connected and this connection is relating to the diachronic change. Yet, this part requires more field works and further consideration, such that the phenomenon is simply affected by language contact.

The chapter is sequenced by six sections: Section 4.1 briefly introduces the general distribution of Hakka people in Taiwan. The discussions of the diminutives, in phonetic, phonological, and morphology, are presented in Section 4.2. Then, the

synchronic variation is in Section 4.3, and in the final section, 4.4 gives a summary.

4.1 The distribution of Hakka in Taiwan

Sixian Hakka is in the largest sub-dialect of Hakka in Taiwan and it is spoken in several places, mainly in Miaoli (苗栗) and Luidui (六堆), also known as northern Sixian and southern Sixian, respectively. Specifically, southern Sixian is distributed in some Townships, Wanluan (萬巒), Jhutian (竹田), Changjih (長治), Linluo (麟洛), Neipu (內埔), Sinpi (新埤), Jiadong (佳冬), Meinong (美濃), Siiawuluo (下武洛), Gaoshu (高樹), Lioukuei (六龜), Shanlin (杉林).

Hailu Hakka is the second largest sub-dialect in Hakka, and the biggest concentration is in Taoyuan (桃園) County and Hsinchu (新竹) County. Actually, there are other Hakka groups speaking Sixian and Raoping dialects living side by side with Hailu Hakkas, such as in some villages in Guanxi (關西) Township in Hsinchu County.

Dapu Hakka is primarily spoken in Dongshi (東勢) Township in Taichung (台中) County. Dongshi Township was originally inhabited by Atayal (泰雅) tribes, and Han people (mainly Hakka) started to move into this place in the later years during Kangxi (康熙). Dapu Hakka has an idiosyncratic diminutive, that is, it manifests as a high tone instead of a suffix. We will provide further details in the following section.

Raoping Hakka is spoken by a small group of people and younger descendents of the group do not speak in Raoping Hakka as it has been assimilated to Sixian, Hailu, or even Southern Min dialect. It is mainly spoken in a few places, scattering in Hsinchu and Taoyuan Counties, that is, Jung-Li (中壢) City, Pingjhen (平鎮) City, Sinwu (新屋) Township, Guanyin (觀音) Township and Bade (八德) City in Taoyuan County, Jhubei Lioujiia (竹北六家) and Chiunglin Shangshan (芎林上山) in Hsinchu County, and Jhuolan Laojhuang(卓蘭老庄) in Miaoli County.

Zhaoan Hakka is the most minority in Taiwan Hakka, and the biggest concentration of Zhaoan Hakka is Lunbei (崙背) and Erlun (二崙) in Yunlin (雲林) County. Also, Zhaoan Hakka is deeply affected by Southern Min, and it can be found in morphological level where Zhaoan Hakka shares many lexicons with Southern Min.

We have briefly presented the main distribution by simply dividing a specific geographic name into a subcategory of a dialect. In fact, this general classification would make us neglect the actual language distribution. Take Kaohsiung (高雄) and Pingtung (屏東) for example. According to Ang's (2006) survey, Siiawuluo¹⁰ is an isolating Hakka community¹¹, surrounded by Southern Min community. And the Hakka population of this place is about five hundred people, having one-third population of Jiadong Village. Similarly, Gaoshu has a complicated language use, resulting from two languages, Hakka and Southern Min, spoken in the same geographical area areas. Moreover, Southern Min becomes a more prestige language there. Another thing is to be noted. There is no full account without taking into consideration some existent factors, i.e., the effect of language contact. Undeniably, language contact often motives language change. For example, Chang (2006) surveys the language use in Wuluo area, called Siiawuluo by Ang (2006), and Ang finds that Wuluo Hakka are heavily affected by Southern Min in phonological and morphological levels, such as borrowing new words.

Recently, there is a good deal of data in each Hakka dialect or sub-dialect transcribed by linguists after doing field works. These data entails that language contact or change happened. In our study, these data conducted by language contact

¹⁰ Siiawuluo is located in Jiadong (茄苳) Village, Ligang (里港) Township, Pingtung (屏東) County.

¹¹ That is also called "dialect island (方言島)". According to You (1992), this term refers that a dialect whom are surrounded by another dialect, particularly a prestige one that are spoken by most people.

or language change are classified into the axis of synchronic change; however, they either help us understand the linguistic phenomena among Hakka diminutives, or provide useful evidences in speculating the evolution of Hakka diminutives.

4.2 The phonetic, phonological and morphological features of Hakka diminutives

The section 4.2 mainly describes the phonetic and phonological representations as well as morphological features in the diminutives of all five Hakka dialects. It is separate with the section 4.3 because it is easier to recognize every phonetic form of the diminutive and focus on our main topic. We will discuss the diminutives in each dialect, sequenced by Sixian, Hailu, Dapu, Raoping, and Zhaoan.

4.2.1 The diminutive of Sixian Hakka

As we mentioned above, Sixian Hakka is generally divided into northern and southern Sixian. There are two kinds of diminutive: [e31] and [i31]. The latter is used in Sinpi, Jiadong, Wuluo, and Gaoshu Daluguan (大路關), whereas [e31] occurs in other places. In phonological, morphological, and semantics, we not only compare the two diminutives, but also mention any words that are used to represent smallness or other related senses.

In addition, the diversities of tones that are transcribed by different linguists would confuse us, so the tones values of several Sixian Hakka languages are given below:

Dialects	Scholars	Yinpin	Yangpin	Shangsheng	Yinqu	Yangqu	Yinru	Yangru
SS- Meinong ¹²	Yang (1971)	24	11	42	55		<u>32</u>	<u>55</u>
SS- Meinong	Luo (1990)	33	11	31	55		<u>21</u>	<u>55</u>

¹² The abbreviation of NS is Northern Sixian, and SS is Southern Sixian.

SS- Changjih, Wanluan, Neipu, Jhutian, Sinpi		24	11	31	55	<u>21</u>	<u>55</u>
NS- Miaoli		24	11	31	55	<u>21</u>	<u>55</u>
SS- Meinong	Chung (2001)	33	11	31	55	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>
SS- Other areas		13	11	31	55	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>
SS- Meinong	Chang (2002)	33	11	31	55	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>
SS- Other areas		13	11	31	55	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>
NS- Miaoli	Gu (2005)	24	11	31	55	<u>32</u>	<u>55</u>

Table 4.1 Northern and Southern Sixian tones

In our study, we prefer to follow Gu (2005) because most of scholars tend to adopt this transcription. The tone representations of Southern Sixian dialects will be marked particularly, and the differences adopted by other scholars will be also indicated.

4.2.1.1 The attached suffix [e31]¹³

Most of linguists would discuss the issue of diminutive when they start from morphological structure of affixation. Jang (1987) considers suffix *-e* as either category-maintaining when being attached after a noun or category-changing after a verb. The suffix *-e* attached with nouns denotes smallness, triviality or inferiority but abstract ideas, large-sized objects, or people superior in rank to the speaker is not allowed to add the suffix *-e*. And the suffix *-e* added to the stem of a verb means “the instrument to perform the action named by the verb” or “the agent who performs the action.” There is a disdainful attitude of the speaker toward the person referred when the suffix *-e* is attached to the verb. The examples are as follows:

(26) **human:**

se55¹⁴ ŋin11 e11 ‘child’

tsia31 e11 ‘young girl’

*t^hai55 ŋin11 e11 ‘adult’

¹³ The tone is either [31] or [11] depending on the preceding words.

¹⁴ The pitch is transcribed as [35] (Yinping), [11] (Yangping), [31] (Shangsheng), [55] (Qusheng), [1] (Yinru) and [5] (Yangru) in Jang (1987).

*sin11 saŋ35 e31 ‘teacher’

nonhuman:

iak5 e11 ‘butterfly’

ŋ11 e11 ‘fish’

*lo55 fu31 e11 ‘tiger’

*t^hai55 sioŋ55 e31 ‘elephant’

inanimate:

miaŋ11 e31 ‘name’

hap5 e31 ‘box’

*t^ho11 li35 e31 ‘principle’

*muŋ55 e31 ‘dream’

instrument:

tsa35 ‘to shelter’ tsa35 e31 ‘umbrella’

kiap5 ‘to be wedged between’ kiap5 e31 ‘pincer’

Agent:

tsu31 fan55 ‘to cook meal’ tsu31 fan55 e31¹⁵ ‘cook’

k^he31 sit5 ‘to beg for food’ k^he31 sit5 e31 ‘beggar’

About the aspect of morphological construction, Chang (1998)¹⁶ suggests that some stems cannot occur without [e11], e.g., [lai55 e31] (賴仔¹⁷)¹⁸ ‘son’, [lan24 a24 e31] (涎丫仔) ‘bib’, [p^hat2 e11] (扒仔) ‘guava’, [kap2 e31] (袷仔) ‘vast’, [fi11 e11] (缶仔) ‘crockery’. It is similar in Chinese *-zi* construction, such as *zhuo zi* ‘desk’, *jìng zi* ‘mirror’, and they cannot be called without the suffix. Another groups, Chang (1998) mentions, some stems are used to attach the suffix [e11] even though these stems have complete lexical meanings. Here Chang categorizes them into two groups:

(27) a. t^hoŋ11 e11 (糖仔) ‘candy’, kua24 e31 (瓜仔) ‘melon’, vu55 e31 (芋仔) ‘taro’, tson55 e31 (傳仔) ‘biography’, aŋ24 e11 (盞仔) ‘bottle’

b. hap5 e31 (盒仔) ‘box’, ap2 e11 (鴨仔) ‘duck’, vuk1 e11 (屋仔) ‘house’, fut2

¹⁵ Strictly speaking, this suffix is supposed to be corrected into nominal marker with the tone [55].

¹⁶ The pitch in Jhang (1988) is same as Jhang (1987) besides [24] (Yinping) and [2] (Yinru).

¹⁷ The Chinese character is according to the Hakka dictionary edited by He & Liu (2006).

¹⁸ The word in the parentheses is current Chinese character of Hakka.

Shangsheng [31] and Yinru [2], whereas [e] becomes [e31] when the preceding stem is Yinping [24], Qusheng [55] and Yangru [5]. In other words, [e11] follows the stems with high pitch, and [e31] occurs after low pitch. And we prefer to use [31] as the basic tone of suffix for the purpose of correspondence with another Sixian suffix [i31].

(29) the attached suffix or diminutive tonal change²⁰:

[31] → [11] / {[11],[31],[3]} ____ (of the ending toneme is [-HIGH])
 → [31] / {[24],[55],[5]} _____ (of the ending toneme is [+HIGH])

Another progressive phonological change is very common in either Hakka or Southern Min. Jang (1987) calls it “ending reduplication”, while Chung (2001) gives it a term “final lengthening”, Tse (2002) suggests a name “segment insertion rule” and Yang (2007) calls it as “sound addition”. They all mean that the same consonant will be repeated before the suffix [e31] when it is attached after a stem ending with a consonant. Chang (1997) provides six consonants or codas, [-m, -n, -ŋ, -p, -t, -k] which is reduplicated and then become the onsets of suffix [e31]. And Chang (1998) gives the same six consonants as same as above and one vowel [u]. Further, Chung (2001) adds another vowel [i] besides the posited by Chang (1997) ones. Thus, the complete examples are as follows:

²⁰ Professor Zhao-Jin Luo considers this rule implausible since it seems contradictory that [e11] follows after the falling tone and [e31] after the rising tone, regarded as an assimilation rule and dissimilation rule respectively.

- (30) a. kim24 e31 → kim24 me31 金仔 ‘gold’
 ten55 e31 → ten55 ne31 凳仔 ‘chair’
 ion24 e31 → ion24 ɲe31 秧仔 ‘rice’
 b. t^hiap3 e31 → t^hiap3 be11 帖仔 ‘invitation letter’
 nit3 e31 → nit3 le11 日仔 ‘day’
 mak5 e31 → mak5 ge31 麥仔 ‘wheat’
 c. pi24 e31 → pi24 i/ye31 杯仔 ‘cup’
 tsu24 e31 → tsu24 we31 豬仔 ‘pig’

According to (30), we have to discuss about two things. The strengthening also involves in the process of sound addition, e.g., [p,t,k] to [b,l,g] and [i,u] to [y,w]. Another thing to be mentioned is the result of sound strengthening because the same [t] is also given to the onset of the following syllable, like [nit3 te11] ‘day’ (Chung 2001), but [i] is strengthened to [i] or [y] (Chung 2005). Besides above, some sounds may be strengthened as the onsets of suffix [e31] in Neipu area:

- (31) a. tsa24 e31 → tsa24 ve31/we31/e31 遮仔 ‘umbrella’
 b. o31 e31 → o31 ve11/we11/e11 襖仔 ‘thick jacket’
 c. kie24 e31 → kie24 ie31/e31 雞仔 ‘chicken’
 d. li11 e31 → li11 ie11/e11 李仔 ‘plum’
 e. vu55 e31 → vu55 ve31/we31/e31 芋仔 ‘taros’

國立新竹教育大學
 National Hsinchu University of Education

As we can see, the vowels [a,o,u] are allowed to insert either one of the following two different sounds [v,w] between the two vowel sounds or maintain the same with the suffix [e]. And the suffix [e], which is preceded by the vowels [e,i], has two representations, [ie] and [e]. Chung (2005) has interviewed eighteen informants for investigating the issue of lengthening, and her finding is that [tsa24 ve31], [o31 we11], [kie24 ie31], [li11 ie11] and [vu55 we31] are preferable forms spoken in Neipu area. Further, she suggests that [ve31] in [tsa24 e31] is usually pronounced by elder people (age above 60²¹), [we31] by middle-aged people (age between 40-59 years old), and [e31] by more young people (age between 20-39

²¹ The age range is established by Chung (2005).

years old). However, the sampling of eighteen people cannot be said to be representative of the whole population and further studies are required. The details of the experiment are in Chung (2005:24-49).

4.2.1.2 The distinction among [e31], [e24] and [e55]

The usage of the suffix [e31] is not clearly differentiated from other two similar homonyms, pronounced as [e24] and [e55]. Luo (1993) observes that the suffix [-e31] is used to follow either verb reduplication for representing the attempting or repeating action in (32) or modifying reduplication for intensifying the degree in (33). The examples are given:

- | | | | |
|------|--|------|---------------------------------|
| (32) | t ^h et2 t ^h et2 te31 | 踢踢仔 | ‘try to kick or repeat to kick’ |
| | tsu31 tsu31 ve31 | 煮煮仔 | ‘to cook within the short time’ |
| | k ^h on55 k ^h on55 ne31 | 看看仔 | ‘to take a look’ |
| | so11 so24 e31 | 掌掌仔 | ‘to rub the back with the hand’ |
| (33) | a.1 pi11 tu55 tu55 ve31 | 肥嘟嘟仔 | ‘very fat’ |
| | a.2 ts ^h u55 p ^h aŋ11 p ^h aŋ24 ŋe31 | 臭薰薰仔 | ‘very stink’ |
| | b.1 teu11 lai11 lai11 e31 | 頭犁犁仔 | ‘the manner to lower the head’ |
| | b.2 poi55 kiuŋ31 kiuŋ31 ŋe11 | 背拱拱仔 | ‘hunchbacked’ |
| | c.1 seu55 mi11 mi24 e31 | 笑微微仔 | ‘smilingly’ |
| | c.2 vat5 t ^h iu55 t ^h iu55 ve31 | 滑溜溜仔 | ‘very slippery’ |
| | d.1 him55 fet5 fet5 e31 | 興□□仔 | ‘very pleasant’ |
| | d.2 tiam24 sok2 sok2 ke31 | 恬肅肅仔 | ‘very quiet’ |

Luo (1993) offers some examples that are constructed of verbs and the suffix [e31] in (32); in fact, not only displaying the sense of attempting or repeating action, but they also entail some actions to be finished within the short time. Luo considers the suffixation of [e31] is either habitual or used to supply the reduplication with sufficient meanings. However, we argue that the suffix [e31] has acquired some substantial senses, such as attempting, repeating, and short-time action, when it is followed by some words. Then how to explain examples in (33)? This part will be

accounted for in detail in the following section.

We have known that the suffix [e31] has the function to modify verb reduplications in (32) as well as adjective and adverb reduplications, which are formed by adjective, the specific reduplicative modifier and [e31] in (33) a., noun, the specific reduplicative modifier and [e31] in (33) b., verb, the specific reduplicative modifier and [e31] in (33) c., and adverb, the specific reduplicative modifier and [e31] in (33) d. The specific reduplicative modifier is usually a modifier for preceding elements. However, Chung (2001) refers to another alternative word, [e33]; for instance, [t^heu11 tɕ^hin55 tɕ^hin55 ne33] (頭磬磬仔) ‘the manner to lower the head’ in the same manner as [t^heu11 lai11 lai11 e31] in (33) b. For getting a clear picture, the examples posed by Chung (2001) are given below:

- (34) a.1 t^haŋ33 t^haŋ33 ŋe31 聽聽仔 ‘try to listen or repeat to listen’
 a.2 kau55 kau55 we31 交交仔 ‘to hand over quickly’
 b.1 pian31 pian31 ne55 扁扁仔 ‘kind of flat’
 b.2 ai31 ai31 je55 矮矮仔 ‘kind of short’
 b.3 lat5 lat5 te35 辣辣仔 ‘kind of spicy’
- (35) a.1 ien11 kun31 kun31 ne33 圓滾滾仔 ‘very round’
 a.2 p^hi11 lut3 lut3 te55 肥攏攏仔 ‘very fat’
 b.1 t^heu11 tɕ^hin55 tɕ^hin55 ne33 頭磬磬仔 ‘the manner to lower the head’
 b.2 poi55 kiun31 kiun31 ŋe33 背拱拱仔 ‘hunchbacked’
 c.1 seu55 mi31 mi31 je31 笑微微仔 ‘smilingly’
 c.2 hi55 tu55 tu55 we33 氣凸凸仔 ‘very angry’

Notice that the tone [33] stands for [24] because Chung transcribes the tones in terms of Southern Sixian dialects. And under Chung’s observation, the suffix [e] with tone [55] is equal to nominal marker *de* (的) in Mandarin Chinese, while [e] with tone [33] is considered as a adverbial suffix, for example:

- (36)a. soŋ33 t^hiu55 t^hiu55 ve55 han33 son55
 酸 溜 溜 个 番 樣
 ‘This mango is very sour.’
- b. ki11 sip5 a55 ien11 kun31 kun31 ne33
 佢 食 (得) 圓 滾 滾 Adv.²²
 ‘He eats too much to become a fat guy.’

The function of [e55] is confirmed because Luo (1993) also mentions it as a nominal marker. Yet [e33] and [e31] are not distinguished very clearly between c.1 and c.2 in (35). Under Chung’s (2001) categorization, [e33] is an adverbial marker and [e31] is a noun suffix. Nevertheless, it seems un-reasonable since [e31] also plays adverbial role shown in (35) c.1. For this question, we consider that [e33] is the allomorph of [e31]. Also, we can account for the adverbial representation of [e31] by the grammaticalization cycle. Otherwise, we find [e11] in [moi11 e31 son33 tuŋ11 tuŋ11 ŋe11] (梅仔酸溜溜仔) ‘This plum is very sour’ from Chung’s (2001) examples. We consider [e11] is derived from [e31] via the tone sandhi change shown in (29).

Moreover, in the morphosyntactic level, [le24] is a perfective aspect and is also pronounced as [e24], e.g., [çia31 le24/e24] (寫了) ‘to have already written it’. Chang (1998) says that [e24] is also pronounced as [e11] that displays the transition between two stages, such as [mai24 e24] (買了) ‘to have bought something’, and [t^hai55 e11] (大了) ‘to become an adult (from a child)’. The suffix [e11] is not considered as a kind of [e31] as it is abbreviated from [le]. And it is probably a semantic or modal emphatic marker contrasting with the pure perfective one [e24]. Finally, Luo (1993) refers [e11] as a question marker, such as [k^hon55 ne11] (看了)

²² Professors Feng-fu Tsao and Zhao-Jin Luo consider that [ne33] is not an adverb because [ien11 kun31 kun31 ne33] describes the subject [ki11] but not the verb [sip5]. Moreover, the author’s father (from Meinong Township) thinks that [e31] can appear in the context, which the speaker describes someone who has eaten very much, such as [ki11 sip5 a55 ien11 t^huŋ31 t^huŋ31 e11 o11] (囉). Conversely, [ŋai11 sip5 a55 ien11 t^huŋ31 t^huŋ31 to11(到)] is used to describe the speaker himself.

‘Have you seen that?’, [tsok2 ho31 e11] (著好了) ‘Have you worn it?’. However, from our observation, it is used to attach a particle [mo11] in a question, say, [tsok2 ho31 e11 mo11] (著好了嗎). And [e] stays [11] in the particle question, while it remains [24] in the affirmative sentence or the corresponding answer, like [tsok2 ho31 e24].

In addition, Chang (1998) mentions about [a55 e31] used after verbs or adjectives for representing the attemptive sense. According to Zhang and Wu (1982), the attached elements “a55 e31” does not have substantial meaning and it cannot be used without the preceding verbs or adjectives. Further, it only conveys supplementary meaning, that is, the attemptive sense, and it will not constitute another new word. Especially in verbs, [ts^hi55 a55 e31] (試 a55 e31) ‘To try it’, [soŋ11 a55 e31] (嚐 a55 e31) ‘To try to taste it’. As a native speaker of Meinong dialect, the forms [se31 se31 a55 le31/e31], [se31 a55 le31/e31] and [se31 se31 le31/e31] are spoken in daily lives. They are used to order someone to do something or to tell people that the event will be finished immediately. Anyway, [e31] is abbreviated from [le31] in Meinong dialect. More comparisons of “a55 e31” in morphosyntactic and semantic between Mainland Hakka and Taiwan Hakka are worth investigating in the future.

4.2.1.3 The attached suffix [i31]

Depending on Chang’s (2006) survey, [i31] is spoken in four areas including Wuluo, Dalukuan, Sinpi, and Jiadong, as we mentioned in section 3.2.1. In order to getting the full picture, the data are adduced from Chang’s paper with a slight modification as given below:

	Changjhih, Linluo, Jhutian, Wuluo, Wanluan, Meinong	Wuluo, Daluguan, Sinpi, Jiadong
柑仔 ‘orange’	kam35 me31	kam35 mi31
凳仔 ‘chair’	ten55 ne31	ten55 ni31
調羹仔 ‘spoon’	t ^h eu11 kaŋ35 ŋe31	t ^h eu11 kaŋ35 ŋi31
鴨仔 ‘duck’	ap3 pe31/be31	ap3 bi31
鐵仔 ‘iron’	t ^h iat3 te31/le31	t ^h iat3 li31
鑊仔 ‘pot’	vok5 ke31/ge31	bok5 gi31

According to the data collected by Deng (2004) and Lai (2004), the use diminutive is not consistent in Sinpi and Jiadong; in other words, besides of [i31], [e31] appear in these two dialects, such as [it21 ha55 e13] ‘for a second’ in Deng (2004:237), [o11 ŋa35 e31] ‘infant’ in Lai (2004:196). We will discuss this issue in Section 4.3.3.

4.2.2 The diminutive [ə55] in Hailu Hakka

Most of scholars transcribe the Hailu Hakka diminutive into 55 tone, recorded in the field works in Lu (1998)²³, Huang (2004)²⁴, Chang (2004)²⁵, and Chu (2006)²⁶. Further, [ə55] do not have any phonological change, like assimilation or tone sandhi. Otherwise, Yeh (1998)²⁷ mentions about the Sixian dialect spoken in Hsinchu, and she considers that [ə31/11] would be through the “coda lengthening” as we mentioned in the section 3.2.1.1. Moreover, she generalizes a tone sandhi rule of the diminutive [ə31/11] as follows:

²³ The field study is implemented in Sinpu (新埔) Township, Jhubei (竹北) City, Kuanhsi (關西) Township, Hukou (湖口) Township, Beipu (北埔) Township, and Chiunglin (芎林) Township, in Hsinchu County.

²⁴ The author interviewed the speaker living in Chiunglin Township in Hsinchu County.

²⁵ The author’s consultants are from Dungsing (東平) Village, Dungsing (東興) Village, and Nanshan (南山) Village, in Kuansi (關西) Township, Hsinchu County.

²⁶ The data of Hailu dialect are collected according to four native speakers living in Jhu Bei City.

²⁷ The suffix [ə31/11] is used in Wundung (雲東) area, Sinpu Township, Hsinchu County. And Yeh assume that the suffix [ə31] is the result of dialects contact between Sixian and Hailu.

- (37) 11 → 11/ {31, 32}²⁸ _____
 → 31 elsewhere

4.2.3 The diminutive “35 tone” in Dapu Hakka

The tone changed diminutive in Dapu attracts many attentions, such as Lu (1993), Tung (1994), Chiang (1996, 2003), Luo (1997), Chang (1998), Chung (2001), Tsao (2005). Why the 35 tone is so interesting? That is because this special tone is not only an isolated form but also a result of Yinping tone sandhi, called “lexical tone” and “derived tone” by Chung (2001:91). Furthermore, the isolated form is the focus, and Tung calls it “super-Yinping” and Luo names it “new level tone”. And the most important is that the 35 tone is a grammatical marker, e.g., [ten33] ‘to nail (verb)’, [ten35] ‘nail (noun)’.

In our literature review, we mainly concentrate on Chiang (1998) and Tsao (2004, 2005) because they have synthesized the arguments what other scholars provide. Simultaneously, these authors mention about the characteristic of the 35 tone, that is, the grammatical and semantic usages (Chiang 1998:68-78, Chiang 2003:208-213). In general, the two scholars consider the 35 tone as a tone-changed diminutive. More specifically, Chiang (1998) indicates three reasons: First, the 35 tone words have “small” sense, and it has a close relation with the nominalization. Then, the 35 tone represents the intimate or ridicule manner, respectively shown in [a33 tʃu33-35] (阿珠) ‘person’s name in vocative way’ and [mo33 pien35] (毛辮) ‘pigtail’. Third, Chiang considers that the 35 tone and the Sixian diminutive [e31] have parallel structural constructions, such as adjective + word X→noun. Finally, Chiang notices that some lexicons would change their meaning by altering the tone, such as [kim33] (金紙) ‘gold paper’²⁹, [kim35] (金子) ‘gold’. Also, Chiang (2003)

²⁸ The tone diacritics mark [11] is Yangping, [31] is Shangsheng, and [32] is Yinru in Yeh (1998).

²⁹ The definition of this sound is ‘gold (color)’, recorded by The Lexicon Dictionary in Taiwan Dapu

provides similar classifications and analyses as same as Chiang (1998). However, the grammaticalization cycle for diminutive, proposed by Tsao (2004), is enough to catch the linguistic phenomenon that the two savants provide above. For instance, the pair [kim33] and [kim35] is categorized into “E4-Adjective”.

4.2.4 The diminutives [e31/21] and [ə53] in Raoping Hakka

There are two forms spoken in different areas, [e55/21] in Miaoli and Taoyuan County and [ə53] in Hsinchu County. The resource of data is from Tu (1998), Hsu (2001), and Chu (2007). At first, Tu (1998) marks [e55] and [tsii31] in transcribing the diminutives in Shangsın (上新) Village and Laojhuang (老庄) Village, located in Jhuolan Township, Miaoli Country. The examples in Shangsın Village are [ŋiau11 e55] (貓仔) ‘cat’, [t^hu55 ve31] (兔仔) ‘rabbit’, [t^ho55 sioŋ53 ŋe55] (拖箱仔) ‘drawer’, whereas they are pronounced [ŋiau55], [t^hu11 tsii31], [t^ho11 sioŋ24] in Laojhuang Village. From Tu’s data collection, we have two primary finding: First, Shangsın Village uses the diminutive [e55], while Laojhuang Village [tsii31], e.g., [lai11 ie55] and [lai11 tsii31] (賴仔/子) ‘son’, [ts^het2 te55] and [ts^het2 tsii31] (賊仔/子) ‘thief’. Second, [tsii31] is not productive as same as [e55], for instance, [k^hu11 li53, k^hu55 kuŋ11] and [k^hu11 lit2 le55] (苦力(仔)) ‘porter’, classified into Category E1 or E4.

Then, Hsu (2001) transcribes the diminutive into [e21] in Jihba Village, Jhongli (中壢) City, Taoyuan County. And [ə53] is spoken in Jhubei City, Hsinchu County according to Chu (2007). In addition to these data collections, we interview an informant living in Jhubei City for getting more authentic data. According to this speaker, he claims that there is an airflow passing through the nasal cavity before pronouncing [ə], but he thinks that this nasal sound is not very obvious. Thus, we

(Hsu *at el.* 2005).

transcribe the diminutive into [ʰə53] now. However, we found that the “coda lengthening” also happened in this suffix [ə53] as mentioned before and the nasal [ʰ] does not exist in the spectrograms. Therefore, we still remain the transcription [ə53] in the following discussions, but the nasal sound still requires thorough and further investigation.

4.2.5 The diminutives [tsu31], [iãu55] and [a31] in Zhaoan Hakka

According to Chen (2002)³⁰, Lao (2003)³¹, and the Hakka Proficiency Test data collection, there are two diminutives, [tsu31] and [a53], in Zhaoan. They have different distributions, for instance, [tsu31] formed in more concrete words, e.g., children, animals, plants, objects, etc, [a53] used in more grammatical words, e.g., the classifier phrase “a little bit”. Also, they do not affect any phonological change, such as tone sandhi. In order to obtaining more related data about Zhaoan diminutive, we visit a native speaker (the informant information presented in the section 3.3), and we found that another diminutive suffix [iãu55], written in Chinese character “夭”, charges with the representations of the “new-born” sense or “small amount” sense. And [tsu31] and [tsi31] are two alternatives in the villages in Er-lun (二崙) Township.

Comparing with the diminutive in other dialects, the constructions of Zhaoan diminutives are not exactly corresponding to the ones of other dialects diminutives. The reason is that there are three kinds of alternatives [tsu31], [iãu55] as well as [a53] borrowed from Southern Min.

³⁰ The author did her field works in Fangnai (枋南) Village, Kangwei (港尾) Village in Lunpei (崙背) Township in Yunlin (雲林) County, and in Nansin (南興) Village in Dasi (大溪) Township in Taoyuan (桃園) County.

³¹ The speakers interviewed by the author are three people living in Kangwei Village and one person in Aquan (阿勸) Village, both in Lunpei Township in Yunlin County.

4.2.6 Remarks

Sometimes the diminutives and the nominal markers would co-occur in the same context, i.e., “打鐵 e” and “打鐵 ke”, thus the two words need to be clearly distinguished. Furthermore, the adverbial markers are easy to be confused with the diminutives. Table 4.2 presents some grammatical markers in Hakka. Notice that nominalization includes the formation of relative clauses and attributive adjectives (Li and Thompson 2003).

	Sixian	Hailu	Dapu	Raoping	Zhaoan	Mandarin
Diminutive	e31	ə55	35	ə53	tsu31/a53/ iãu	-er/-zi
Nominalizer	e55/ke55	ə55/ kai11	kai33	ə53/kai11	e55	de
Genitive	ke55/e55	kai11	kai33	kai11/ke33	kai31	-de
Adverbial	e31	ə55	—	e33	e11	di
Perfective	le24/e24	le53/le11	le33	le31	—	le

Table 4.2: The markers in Hakka sub-dialects

4.3 Synchronic variation of Hakka diminutives in Taiwan

In Chapter three, we mention about there are phonetic alternatives existing in some dialects, Wuwei (武威) Village, Jhongshih (中勢) Village, Sinpu (新埔) Township, Jiadong (佳冬), Sinpi (新埤). Here we will discuss the linguistic phenomenon in detail, and we assume that these alternatives have particular relation that is regarded as the evidence of the historical changes brought about by internal developments or languages contact.

We start with the descriptions and discussion in Wuwei Village, Jhongshih Village, and Sinpu Township, and then Jiadong and Sinpi. In addition, Baiyu Village, near Wuwei Village, is also our subject, but it does not appear to be many alternatives in the dialect spoken here. Significantly, the alternative phenomenon has the phonetic rule or restriction in triggering the sound change. Finally we will offer

our analysis corresponding to the assumptions made by Tsao (2005). The data provided here are collected by the author via interviewing the native speakers.

4.3.1 Hailu diminutives

The basic understanding to the Hailu diminutive is [ə55], recorded in the Hakka dictionaries. Then, we found other kinds of diminutives representations when we did the field works in Wuwei and Baiyu Village. Also, we found that this special diminutive form is realized as [ə55] in the spontaneous speech, especially in the speech made by the elderly living in Wuwei. The possible explanation for this is considered as a linguistic or historical association. After finishing the works on Wuwei and Baiyu, we interviewed a native speaker dwelling in Jhongshih Village, Huko Township, Hsinchu County, and we found evidence in support of explanation. Moreover, the data of a speaker from Sinpu Township also strengthens the possibility that we consider. Next, we will discuss from Wuwei, Baiyu, Jhongshih, to Sinpu, and finally we will offer our analyses corresponding to the assumptions made by Tsao (2005).

4.3.1.1 Wuwei (武威) Village

We visited this village twice, and we have collected the voices of eleven consultants, including one Liu-Fung Hakka speaker, emigrating from Indonesia. But his language does not have any forms with diminutive function. The background information of these speakers is presented in Section 3.3.

We classified the data into three categories according to different finals: nasals, vowels, and glottal stops. At first, we transcribe the diminutive into an independent segment, such as [kim53 m35]. As the figures 4.1, 4.2, 4.3 shown, the diminutive is connected with the stem; that is, they form a complete syllable. Therefore, we regard

the diminutivized form as a single tone. In the diminutive tone, the original tone of the stem will be retained, and then to it is attached a rising final, as 53-5 and 11-3. For the words with 24 rising tone, it will become level and then rise, as 24-335, shown in figure 4.1. Otherwise, in acoustic perception, [n] mainly places in the rising tone.

- (38) a. kim53 → kim535 (金子) ‘gold’
 b. ten24 → ten335 (椅子) ‘chair’
 c. kiaŋ11 → kiaŋ113 (鏡仔) ‘mirror’

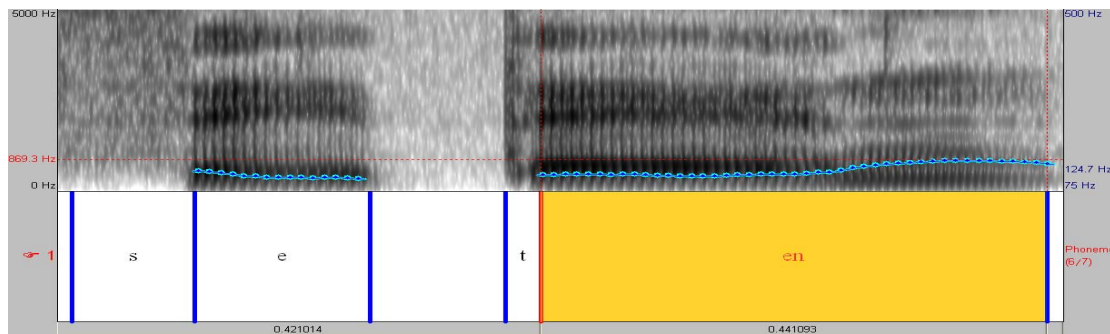


Figure 4.1 Spectrogram of the word [se11 ten335] ‘small chair’ (male)

Notice that two tonemes are affected: the level ones, 55 and 33. It is probably because the 55 and 33 tones are more different to be risen than the 11 tone.

- (39) d. ki11 → ki113 (鋸仔) ‘saw’
 e. ka11 → ka113 (架仔) ‘shelf’
 f. tʃa53 → tʃa535 (遮仔) ‘umbrella’
 g. to53 → to535 (刀仔) ‘knife’
 h. se11 niu55 (小牛) ‘small cow’
 i. se11 su33 (樹) ‘small tree’

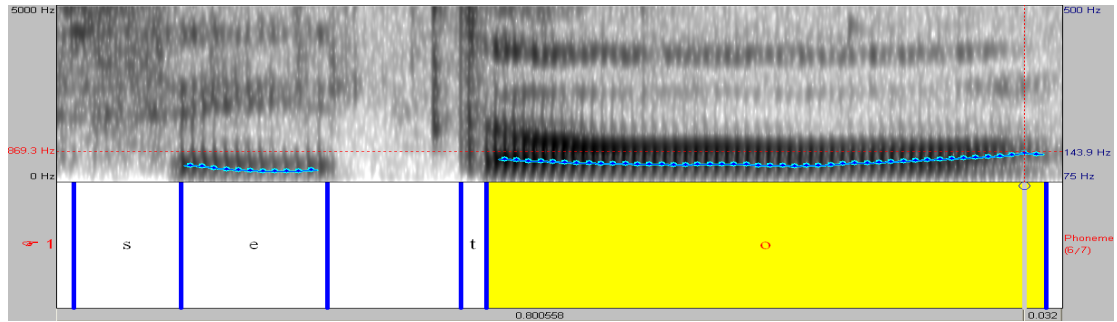


Figure 4.2 Spectrogram of the word [se1 to424] ‘small knife’ (male)

The distinction between figure 4.3 and 4.4 lies in the changes of Rusheng 2 and 5. According to the blue lines in spectrograms, the 5 tone has the higher pitch than the 2 tone, and the corresponding diminutive tone is also higher. Therefore, our transcription is modified from 535 to 424 for 2, while 535 for 5 remains.

- (40) j. kap5 → kaap535 (袂仔) ‘vast’
- k. kiap2 → kiap424 (夾仔) ‘clip’
- l. tʃuk5 → tʃuk535 (竹仔) ‘bamboo’
- m. ʒok2 → ʒok424 (藥仔) ‘medicine’
- n. tʃit2 → tʃit424 (姪子) ‘nephew’

國立新竹教育大學
National Hsinchu University of Education

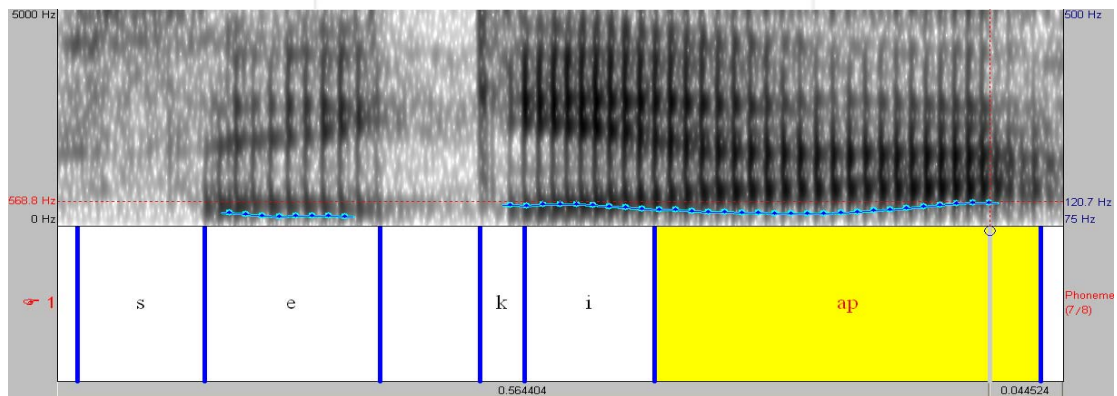


Figure 4.3 Spectrogram of the word [se11 kiap535] ‘small knife’ (male)

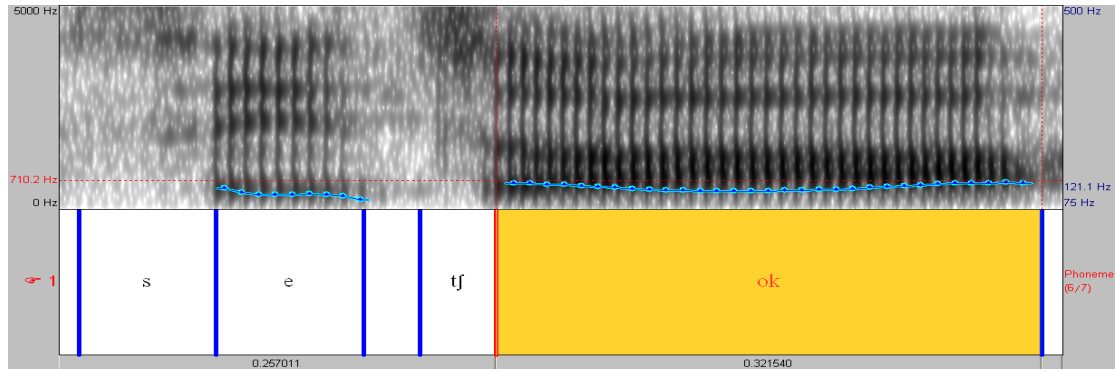


Figure 4.4 Spectrogram of the word [se11 tʃok535] ‘small knife’ (male)

As a result, there are five tone changes for the diminutivized form, and they may be generalized into three simple rules as follows:

$$(41) \{53, 5 \rightarrow 535\}, \{24, 11 \rightarrow 113\}, \{2 \rightarrow 424\}$$

However, these changed tones are not real tonemes, isolating forms in phonology. These change-tones may be considered as a taxon of the 35 tone in Dapu. Now we further consider the variations of phonetic forms existing in Wuwei Village. The speaker No. 1 and 7 unconsciously pronounce two kinds of diminutives when they say these words. We offer the examples in which they use [ə55], but they adopt the diminutivized tone in other words. In particular, there is no restriction where [ə55] appears, so these two forms are not the result of grammaticalization. Based on this assumption, the alternatives do not involve any grammatical or semantic factor; therefore, it is a transfer in phonetic or phonology.

(42)

Word \ Speaker	1. (Age: 81)	7. (Age: 78)	4. (Age: 40)
‘nephew’	ts ^h it2 ə55	ts ^h it2 ə55	ts ^h i31 it13
‘small box’	se11 hap2 pə55	se11 hap2 pə55	se31 ha53 ap35
‘small clip’	kiap2 pə55	se11 kiap2 pə55	se31 kia53 ap35
‘thief’	ts ^h et2 ə55	ts ^h et2 ə55	ts ^h e31 et13

‘pickpocket’	—	tɕen55 liu55 ə53	p ^h a55 fui13
‘brother-in-law’	ŋai55 ʃuk535	ŋai55 ʃuk3 ə33	se11 ʃuk5
‘tadpole’	kuai33 nuk2 ə55	—	—
‘small desk’	se11 tsok2 kə55	se11 tsok2 ə55	se11 tsok424
‘saucer’	tiap2 pə55	—	—
‘a pinch of’	se11 se11 tsep2 ə33	tsep5	se11 se11 tsep424
‘eraser’	—	ts ^h ut2 ə55	ts ^h ut535
‘comb’	—	so53 ə55	so535
‘boy’	se11 lai113	se11 lai11 e55	se11 lai113

4.3.1.2 Baiyu (白玉) Village

Baiyu Village is very close to Wuwei Village, only separated by Guanyin (觀音) Village. Their phonetic representations in diminutive are exactly the same, but Baiyu Village does not have the variant alternation between [ə55] and the special tone, according to a Baiyu, sixty-eight-year-old informant. The diminutivized tone is very steady in her speech. The semantic of Baiyu diminutive, however, is worth mentioning. The lengthening diminutive used with the time terms means the longer extent of time as the phrase [ʒit5 ha113] ‘immediately’ and with the classifier meaning the request for a small amount of food or objects, called [it5 tit535].

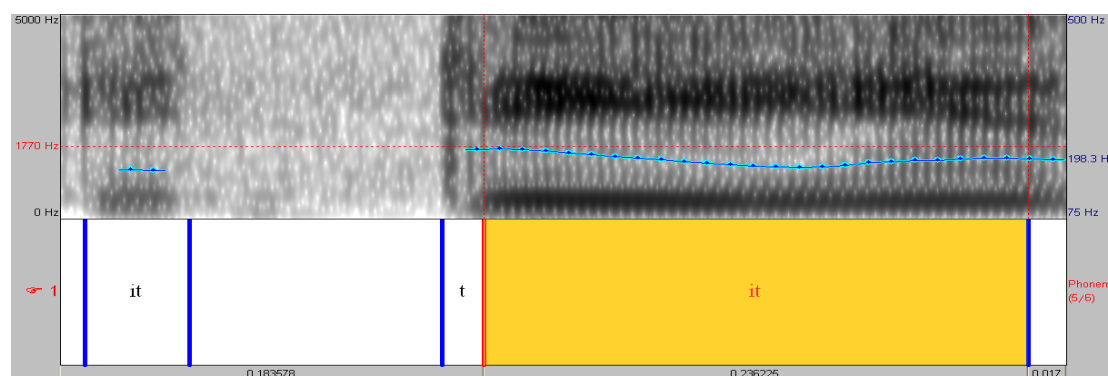


Figure 4.5 Spectrogram of the word [it5 tit535] ‘small amount of’ (female)

4.3.1.3 Jhongshih (中勢) Village

We found, in Jhongshih Village, Hukuo Township, Hsinchu County, a tendency for [ə55] to be pronounced as a high rising tone with no actual suffix attached. We consulted with an informant who is seventy-one-year-old. He considers any lengthening, such as [ə55] or the rising tone, as expressing intimacy or politeness. The most impressive example he mentioned is the distinction between [sin53 k^hiu53] ‘daughter-in-law’ and [sin53 k^hiu535] ‘child bride that has not married with someone’s son’, while the original stem [sin53 k^hiu53] means a ‘married woman’. The linguistic representation is demonstrated in figure 4.6. And there are some words that he pronounces in a similar way as in Wuwei Village. Thus, we transcribe them into the tones as we indicate above.

- (43) a. [sin53 k^hiu535] (心舅仔) ‘child bride’
 b. [se11 ʃu35] or [se11 ʃu33 ə55] (細樹仔) ‘small three’
 c. [k^hiu53 me535] (舅姆仔) ‘wife’s brother’
 d. [so535] (梳仔) ‘comb’
 e. [so113] (刷仔) ‘brush’
 f. [tsoi535] or [tsoi53 tsi24] or [tsoi53 ə55] (臊仔) ‘penis’
 g. [si535] (師仔) ‘apprentice’

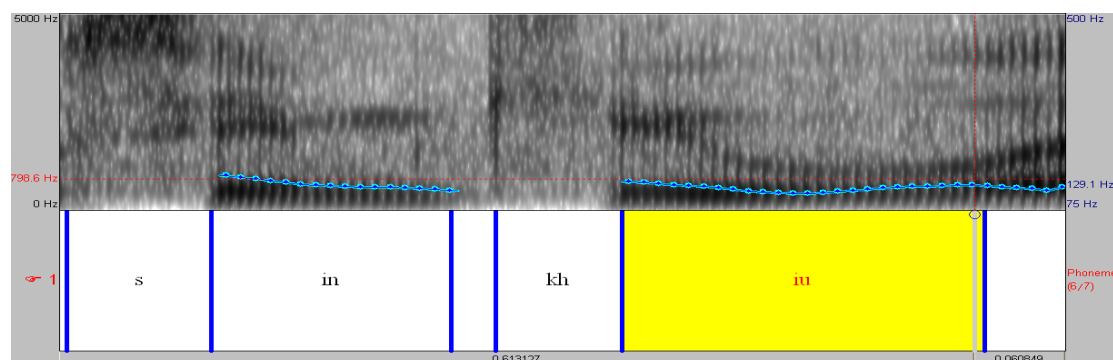


Figure 4.6 Spectrogram of the word [sin53 k^hiu535] ‘child bride’ (male)

However, we found that this special phonetic form will not be realized when

the stem is Yangping (55) tone.

4.3.1.4 Sinpu (新埔) Township

We come to another Township in Hsinchu County, Sinpu Township. The place is classified as speaking a Hailu sub-dialect. This speaker claims that her family and herself use two kinds of diminutives, and they are speaking like that all the time. Besides the following data in (44), [ə55] is used elsewhere. In the data, we find a rising nasal final and a word with the rising 33 tone. For the 33 tone in item i., we give the attached pronounced tone as 335, i.e. it maintains the rising pitch at the end.

- (44) a. [tu535] (兔仔) ‘rabbit’
b. [tiau535] (鳥仔) ‘bird’
c. [tʃu535] (豬仔) ‘pig’
d. [ha55 p^hi535] (蝦仔) ‘small shrimp’
e. [se11 to535] (細刀仔) ‘small knife’
f. [tsiŋ113] (秤仔) ‘scale’
g. [se11 toŋ113] (細桶仔) ‘small bucket’
h. [kon113] (罐仔) ‘jar’
i. [leu335] (漏仔) ‘funnel’

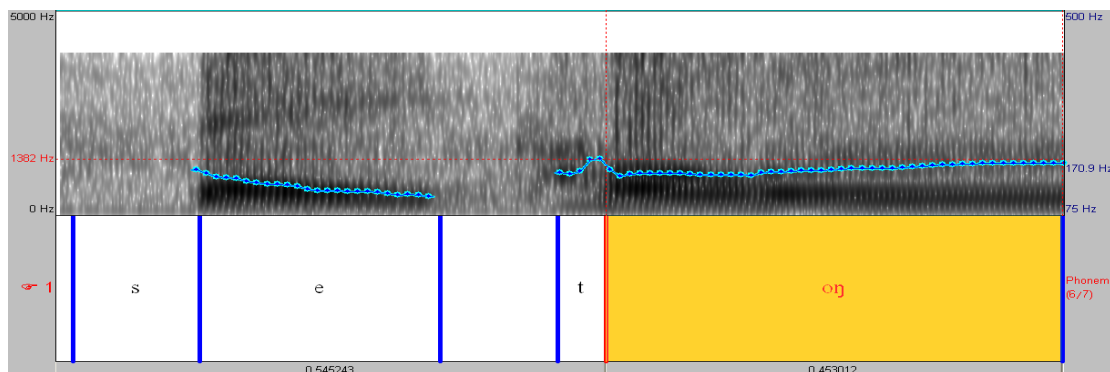


Figure 4.7 Spectrogram of the word [se11 toŋ113] ‘small bucket’ (female)

4.3.2 Syllable contraction

From the data collected from four spots, we assume that it is not a coincidence

for [ə55] and the special tone to co-exist in some speakers. Some people may think that the alternation found in some speakers to be the effect of the factor of language contact. However, we tend to think that this was brought about by phonological changes. There is a term used in phonology, syllable contraction. According to A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics (Crystal 1997:89-90), contraction is defined as: “A term used in Linguistics to refer to the process or result of phonology reducing a linguistic form so that it comes to be attached to an adjacent linguistic form, or fusing a sequence of forms so that they appear as a single form. The first kind of contracted form can be illustrated by *I’ve* from *I have*, *haven’t* from *have not*, and *wanna*-contraction.” Again, Wolfram and Johnson (1982:95) regard it as a recognized case of deletion. And the term “syllable merger” is used by Duanmu (2000:258). For conformity of traditional Chinese syllable transcription, the process of syllable contraction in Chinese is called “edge-in theory”. (Tseng 2005)

Nevertheless, it is kind of unusual to use the knowledge of contraction in solving the problems of two alternative diminutives here because most of scholars (Chung 1997; Hsu 1999, 2000) investigate the generalization of syllable contraction, for example (Chung 1997:5):

- (45) a. t^huj ‘with’ + ki ‘him’ → t^hi ‘with him’
b. pun ‘give’ + ki ‘him’ → pi ‘to give him’
c. ts^ho ‘yesterday’ + am ‘night’ → ts^ham ‘last night’
d. ki ‘how’ + to ‘many’ → kio ‘how many’

Moreover, Hsu (1999, 2000) provides a “Sonority Model” for explaining the contraction in three Chinese dialects, Taiwanese, Sixian Hakka, and Mandarin (cf. Chung 1997:5). As a result, the term contraction seems to be created for the syllable merging, but not considering the issue of tone. So we should discuss this issue in a

different way that provided by Tsao (2005). In the paper of Tsao (2005), the author re-examines Chiang (1998) and Chiang (2003)' arguments on the origin of 35/55 tone in Dapu, and he considers they do not realize the character of 35/55 tone in historical evolvement because they lack the concept of grammaticalization cycle.

Then, Tsao claims a generalization, including six grammatical processes, for 35/55 tone, and the original diminutive is presupposed as “Y”, as below (Tsao 2005:101-102):

- (46) a. The attachment of diminutive induces the tone sandhi of Yinping and Qusheng:
- (1) 33+31: N33 + Y31 → N35 + Y31 (Yinping tone sandhi)
 - (2) 52+31 N52 + Y31 → N55 + Y31 (Qusheng tone sandhi)
- b. The diminutivized tone [31] is generalized to other non-Yingping and Quseng tones
- c. The semantics of the diminutivized tone continues to be bleached
- d. The diminutive Y is lost
- e. The diminutivized tone 35/55 continues to lose its function
- f. Some words are transferred to original tone because they are not regarded as a diminutivized word, and some remain since the diminutivized tone can still denote the meaning.

We think the linguistic phenomena, happened in the preceding sub-dialects of Hailu, can support Tsao's generalizations. In these four areas of Hakka, the rising-tone diminutive is an ongoing change, and that is why we can observe two diminutive forms because the change has just come into being. Yet it is very mature in Baiyu Village, and then Wuwei Village. Therefore, the original form [ə55] emerged from two people in their older age in Wuwei Village. After observing Jhongshih and Sinpu, we need to modify the generalization made in (41) to 47):

[(41) {53, 5 → 535}, {24, 11 → 113}, {2→424}]

- (47) N{53,5} + ə55 → N535
 N{24,11,33} + ə55 → N113
 N{2} + ə55 → N424

In sum, there is difference in age in Wuwei Village because the elderly has the “older” form [ə55], but not for the younger people³². By contrast, we cannot see any independent form existing in Baiyu Village, and the rising-tone diminutive plays a significant role. Next, Jhongshih and Sinpu have just begun to develop this form.

4.3.3 Sixian diminutives in Jiadong (佳冬) and Sinpi (新埤) Townships

According to the data collection from Lai (2004) and Deng (2004), we also find two kinds of diminutives, [e31] and [i31] that are used alternatively. Particularly, that is very common in Jiadong Hakka. The examples of Jiadong are displayed and then the ones of Sinpi:

- (48) [ɲiu11 ɲian31 ne31] (牛眼仔) ‘longan’
 [ke11 kuŋ13 ɲe31] (雞公仔) ‘cock’
 [ke11 lon55 ne31] (雞卵仔) ‘pullet’
 [a11 suk3 me35 a31] (阿叔姆仔) ‘aunt’
 [tsʰi11 kʰiu35 ue31] (妻舅仔) ‘wife’s brother’
 [tsia31 e31] (姐仔) ‘wife’
 [iu11 sin35 ne31] (有身仔) ‘pregnant’
 [kau55 fa55 e31] (教化仔) ‘beggar’
 [sit5 maŋ35 maŋ11 ɲe11] (食□□仔) ‘to coax the child to eat’
- (49) [ɲioŋ31 e13] (仰仔) ‘how’
 [it21 ha55 e13] (一下仔) ‘immediately’

Apparently, Jiadong Hakka uses more [e31] than Sinpi does. Then, we re-investigate the use of [e31] in Jiadong by asking the informant some sentences

³² Age is not strictly, controlled in the study, because the investigator visited these consultants via a friend.

containing time terms, for example, “臺北到新竹無幾遠仔，朝晨頭坐火車，當晝頭就到”。 We find the speaker uses [e31] at the first time, then [i31] at the second time, or vice versa. We are considering if Jiadong is affected by other Sixian Hakka, such as Neipu (內埔), but Jiadong and Neipu are not belonging to the same area, and Sinpi is the most close to Jiadong geographically. And the phonetic alternation from the speech of this speaker makes us to associate with the case of Hailu Hakka discussed above.

Expert for the indirect evidence, [e31] and [i31] do not have any distribution restriction or functional distinction, so it is merely in the level of phonetics in the spontaneous speech. In other words, [e31] and [i31] are not in the different grammatical levels although it is hard to judge their origins, separately. As Chiang (2003:193) mentions, Lichun (黎川), a dialect of Kan language, has two diminutives forms: [i] and [e]. Moreover, the use of [e] is more restricted than [i], and [i] is equivalent to *Er* (兒) and [e] to *zi* (子) in Chinese in grammatical and pragmatic domain. Comparatively, [i] is described for the smaller objects, while [e] for the larger ones. Therefore, [e] and [i] is considered as two separate types (Yiensen 1989, 1993).

Otherwise, we think that [e] and [i] might be similar to a certain extent, or they are the relics in the different levels of language development. That is, they are derived from the same word. From the history of immigration from China to Taiwan recorded by Japanese in 1926 as in (50), the Hakka people, living in Liu-Dui (六堆) ‘six clots’, mostly emigrated from Jia-Ying Zho (嘉應州), and the minority was from Chao Zho (潮州), Zhang Zho (漳州), Quan Zho (泉州), Ting Zho (汀州), and Hui Zho (惠州). At that time in Liu-Dui, the minority was affected by the majority, and then Jia-Ying Zho Hakka becomes the only Hakka language spoken in Liu-Dui.

(50)

	Zhuang (庄)	Quan Zho	Zhang Zho	Ding Zho	Chao Zho	Jia-Ying Zho	Hui Zho	Others	Total	The percentage of Jia-Ying immigration (%)
Cishan 旗山	Meinung	0	2	0	6	171	0	1	180	95
Pingtung 屏東	Changsin ³³	0	24	0	0	96	0	1	121	79.3
	Gaoshu	14	7	0	7	127	0	30	185	68.6
Chaojho 潮州	Wanluan	11	6	0	11	66	0	0	94	70.2
	Neipu	6	30	0	0	144	0	0	180	80
	Chutien	16	0	0	0	59	0	0	75	78.6
	Sinpi ³⁴	0	0	0	5	35	0	0	40	87.5
Dunggang 東港	Jiadong	30	2	0	3	58	0	1	94	67.7
Total		77	71	0	32	756	0	33	969	78

Table 4.3 The Hakka immigration in Liu-Dui in 1926 (Unit: a hundred) (from Tseng 2001)

4.4 Summary

The synchronic variation of the diminutive is one of the interesting issues, but it also difficult to capture its whole aspect because there is no any particular environment that shows the diminutive alternatives are in the complementary distribution in semantic or phonology. Also, since there are still many problems remained, we do not intend to do any conclusion. Still, we believe there is a connection between these alternatives, and then we assume [ə] as the original suffix in (47). It is our assumption, but it could be wrong if some external factors, such as in historical or society, are not excluded. For example, in the historical perspective, it is uncertain if the Hakka diminutives in Taiwan are same as the ones in Kwangtung (廣東) or Fukien (閩西); that is, the original diminutive forms should be found, and then the diachronic development can be assumed. On the other hand, in

³³ This is the old place name of today Changjhih (長治) Township and Linluo (麟洛) Township.

³⁴ The Sinpi Hakka came from Me (梅縣; Jia-Yin Zho) County and Jiaoling (蕉嶺) County.

the societal perspective, the informants should be strictly selected to eliminate any possibilities of language contact. Otherwise, there is another assumption: it is convinced that the reason of two diminutive alternatives is increasing intimacy (Zhu 2006) because the other form is always the rising tone.



CHAPTER V

THE SEMANTIC DESCRIPTION OF HAKKA DIMINUTIVES

After indicating phonological and morphological representations of diminutives in the individual dialect, we further proceed to discuss about diminutives in the perspectives of semantics and grammaticality. In this chapter, we follow the models of Tsao (2006) and Jurafsky (1996), mentioned in Chapter 2, for dealing with the phenomena of diminutives in each Hakka dialect, Sixian, Hailu, Dapu, Zhaoan, and Raoping. Section 5.1 is presented according to the grammaticalization cycle, an overall discussion is given in Section 5.2, Section 5.3 deals with the connection between the grammaticalization cycle and the radial category, Section 5.4 examines the diminutive in the cycle along with the semantic changes, and finally a summary is provided in Section 5.5. Notice that the concepts of semantic change are contained in each category of the grammaticalization cycle in order to make a consistent description.

5.1 The semantic and grammatical functions of Hakka diminutive

This section is set up in terms of categories of the grammaticalization cycle proposed by Tsao (2006), mentioned in Chapter 2.2.1. Here these categories are particularly divided into several sections, and they can help us build the radial semantic category of Hakka diminutives.

On the other hand, the data adduced here are mainly from some linguistics treatises, such as books, dictionaries, dissertations, theses, published papers, etc. Particularly, we consider the data carefully as our materials. Furthermore, the data are arranged according to two principles; in other words, the “standard” data of five Hakka dialects, provided by Council for Hakka Affairs Executive Yuan, are discussed first. We will then expand own database by incorporating data collected by scholars in their works into our discussion.

5.1.1 Category A: Sons and daughters

Tsao (2006) considers that the diminutive is derived from descendent, that is, the core sense of diminutive is regarded as ‘child’. Hence, we start with “son and daughter category”, and the basic positions and functions of diminutives are presented.

(51)

	Lexicon	Dialect				
		Sixian	Hailu	Dapu	Raoping	Zhaoan
1	‘son’	lai55 e31 倅仔	lai11 ə55 倅仔	lai53 倅	lai33 ə53 倅仔 /tsi31 倅子 ³⁵	heu33 saŋ11 後生
2	the youngest child’	man24 tsi31 滿子	man53 tsi35 滿子	man33 lai53 滿倅	man11 tsi53 滿子	man11 tsu31 滿子, man11 iāu55 滿天, se33 tsu33 p ^{hi} 55 a53 細隻□仔
3	‘daughter’	moi55 e31 妹仔	moi11 ə55 妹仔	moi53 妹	moi33 ə53/ tsi31 妹仔	a11 m31 阿女

³⁵ The data containing [tsi31] are collected by the author in Kuoxin (國姓) Township, Nanto (南投) County.

4	'grandson'	sun24 e31孫仔	sun53 ə55孫仔	sun33-35 孫仔	sun11 ə53孫 仔	sun11孫
5	'great grandchild'	set2 e31,ma11 息仔(女麻)	set5 ə55,set5 ma55息仔(女麻)	set21 ma113 息	set5 ə53,set5 ma55 息(女麻) 仔	kan33 na53 sun5□□孫 仔
6	'great great grandchild'	hien11 sun24 玄孫	hien55 sun53 玄孫	hien113 sun 33-35 玄孫	set5 ma53 ə53息(女麻)仔	kan33 na53 sun5□□孫 仔
7	'infant'	oŋ24 ŋa55 e31 搵孖仔	oŋ53 ŋa55 ə55 搵孖仔	o113 ŋa35 搵孖	o55 ŋa55 搵孖	a11 moi24 阿侖
8	'child'	se55 ŋin11 e31 細人仔	se11 ŋin55 ə55 細人仔	se53 ŋin113 細人	se11 ŋin53 ə53細人仔	se31-55 tsu31 細子
9	'boy'	se55 lai55 e31 細佬仔	se11 lai11 ə55 細佬仔	se55 lai53 細佬	se11 lai33 ə53細佬仔	kien55 tsu31/ tsi31囡子
10	'girl'	se55 moi55 e31細妹仔	se11 moi11 ə55細妹仔	se55 moi53 細妹	se11 moi33 ə53細妹仔	moi31-55 tsu31妹子
11	'teenager' (only for male)	ŋin11 t ^h iau11 e31人條仔	ŋin55 t ^h iau55 ə55人條仔	heu53 saŋ33- 35, t ^h iaŋ33- 35 ŋien113 ŋin113後生/ 青年人	ŋin55 t ^h iau55 ə53人條仔	fio11 nen53 少年,heu33 saŋ11 tsu11 ŋin53後生子人

As we can see, every dialect has its own representation by adding an independent syllable in the rear. Apparently, Dapu and Zaoan do not often use their diminutives, unlike other dialects. Especially, Dapu 35 tone sandhi only occurs in 33 tone (Shangsheng) rather than 113 tone (Yangping) or 53 tone (Qusheng). The 35 tone also plays a crucial role in discriminating meanings that will be noted in category E4 in section 5.1.11. Further, the relation between nasal feature and the 35 tone seems close because item 4, 6, 11, that are all 33 tones, end in nasal coda [n] or [ŋ]. However, the 35 tone and the Sixian diminutive [e31] do not have exactly parallel structural constructions: adjective + word X→noun, mentioned in the section 4.2.3.

Especially, the Raoping informant mentions about [set5 ma55 ə53] 'great great grandchild' pronounced as [hien sun] in other dialects. In other words, [ə53] in Raoping has the particular use in distinguishing the different generations; that is, it is equal to 'Er' (兒) in Mandarin Chinese. In this category, we think the diminutive [ə53] is more productive since we do not say [set2 ma11 e31] in Sixian. Besides of

Raoping, Sixian, Hailu, and Dapu are only nominal suffixes. In Zhaoan, the sense of [iäu55] is smaller than [tsu31] because [man11 iäu55] refers to the youngest child that is younger far from other brothers.

For the lexicon ‘the youngest son’, Baiyu (白玉) Village has another kind of vocative: [tʃu53 mui535] (豬尾), for the father calling his youngest son. [mui53] originally means the tail of animal.

Another two lexicons that are worth mentioning are [se] 細 ‘small’ and [tsi] 子 ‘child’. In addition to these data we mention above, there are a lot of lexicons that always contain [se]. For the constructions of some lexicons, [se] is necessary. The prominent examples are given:

(52)

	(1) Sixian	(2) Hailu	(3) Hailu (Lu 1998)	(4) Hailu (Wuwei Villege) ³⁶
(a) ‘daughter-in-law’	心舅 sim24 k ^h iu24	心舅 sim53 k ^h iu53	心舅 sim53 k ^h iu53	心舅 sim53 k ^h iu53
(b) ‘an adopted daughter’	心舅仔 sim24 k ^h iu24 e31	心舅仔 sim53 k ^h iu53 ə55	養女 ʒoŋ53 ŋ53	養女 ʒoŋ53 ŋ53
(c) ‘child bride’	細心舅仔 se55 sim24 k ^h iu24 e31	細心舅仔 se11 sim53 k ^h iu53 ə55	心舅仔 sim53 k ^h iu53 ə55	(細)心舅仔 (se11) sim53 k ^h iu535

The first two, (1) and (2), are cited from Hakka Dictionary of Taiwan (Hsu 2003), that mainly concerns about Hakka in Hsinchu (新竹) and Miaoli (苗栗), also known Hailu and Sixian Hakka. Example (a) and (b) are not different if without [e/ə], and (b) and (c) cannot tell any differences if without [se]. Although this is a very interesting phenomena, we cannot see similar linguistic representations in some field works, as (3) and (4) show. In dialect (3), [e] plays an important role in distinguishing between ‘daughter-in-law’ and ‘child bride’, in which dialect (4) represents the function by lengthening the preceding rime with a rising tone. More

³⁶ Wuwei Villege is located in Kuanyin Township, Taoyuan County.

specifically, this lengthening likes a sequential articulation with the preceding rime, not be cut into an independent suffix, phonetically. Moreover, in (3) and (4), [se] seems to indicate the ranks after daughter-in-laws in the family when it precedes [sim53 k^hiu53].

Sometimes, the co-occurrence of [se] and [e/ə] is common; the former means ‘small’ with the extension of semantics, while the latter is merely a nominal suffix when [se] plays the more important role. Specifically, the sense ‘small’ of [se] is extended from ‘small type’ to another kind of addressing. For example:

(53)

a24 ko24/a53 ko53 阿哥 ‘the older brother’	se55 a24 ko24 e31/se11 a53 ko53 ə55 細阿哥仔 ‘a youngster (casual term)’
a24 tsi31/a53 tse55 阿姐 ‘older sister’	se55 a24 tsi31 e31/se11 a53 tse55 ə55 細阿姐仔 ‘a young lady (casual term)’
a24 moi55/a53 moi11 阿妹 ‘a lady’	se55 a24 moi55 e31/se11 a53 moi11 ə55 細阿妹仔 ‘a girl’
t ^h ai55 fo55 e31/t ^h ai55 fo11 ə55 大貨仔 ‘the older brother’	se55 fo55 e31/se11 fo11 ə55 細貨仔 ‘the younger brother’

In sum, this son and daughter category is regarded as the beginning of grammatical cycle, and these diminutives are assumed to be derived from the sense ‘child’. Otherwise, there are some dialects with same constructions but not same phonetic forms. For instance:

(54)

		<i>Dialect</i>					
		Sixian (Jiadong)	Roaping (Jihbali)	Roaping (Jhuolan)	Zhaoan (Dasi)	Zhaoan (Siluo)	Si-Hai (Fonglin)
1	俵仔 ‘son’	lai55 i31	lai55 e11	lai11 tsii31	a22 tsii52	heu11 saŋ42	lai13 e55
2	妹仔 ‘daughter’	moi55 i31	moi11 e11	moi11 tsii31	a22 ŋ52	a11 ŋ53	moi13 e55
3	細人仔 ‘child’	se55 n̄in11 ni31	se53 n̄in55 ne11	se11 tsii31	se33 e31	se55 tsu31	se22 n̄in55 ne55
4	細俵仔 ‘boy’	se55 lai55 i31	se33 lai11	se11 lai11 tsii31	se33 e31	kien33 tsi31	se31 lai13 e55
5	細妹仔 ‘girl’	se55 moi55 i3 1	se33 moi11	se11 moi55 tsii3 1	se33 moi33	moi31 tsi11 n̄in53	se31 moi13 e5 5

We have not discussed about [tsi]; however, it will be mentioned because it plays a crucial role in category B.

5.1.2 Category B: Descendents of animals

There are two purposes in this section: First, the semantics distributions of diminutives are presented. Then, the distinction between [se] and [tsi] will tell us their relations with the core sense ‘child’. We collect a few groups of words belonging to semantic field small/young animals, as shown in (55). Also, the animals in data (56) are frequently added diminutives [e], [ə], [tsu] or 35 tone, for representing normal-size animals. However, our purpose is to separate these animals into two groups in accordance with whether the animals are domestic (56) or not (55). Thus, the animals in (55) use [se] and (56) adopt [tsi], [tsu] or [iäu], for representing the born, immature, or small-type animals.

(55)

	<i>Dialect</i> <i>Lexicon</i>	Sixian	Hailu	Dapu	Raoping	Zhaoan
1	‘dragonfly’	ioŋ11 mi24 e31 揚尾仔	noŋ55 mi53 ə55揚尾仔	ʒioŋ113 mui33-3 5揚尾仔	noŋ53 mi11 ə53 揚尾仔	ʒioŋ53-33 ni31 揚尾
2	‘mosquito’	mun24 e31 蚊仔	mun53 ə55 蚊仔	mun33-35 蚊仔	mun11 ə53 蚊仔	mun53 蚊
3	‘bird’	tiau24 e31 鳥仔	tiau53 ə55 鳥仔	tiau33-35 鳥仔	tiau11 ə53 鳥仔	teu31 a53 鳥仔
4	‘Reeves’s Muntjac’	kioŋ24 e31 羴仔	kioŋ53 ə55 羴仔	kioŋ33-35 羴仔	kioŋ11 ə53 羴仔	san11 kioŋ11 山羴
5	‘ant’	ŋie55 e31 蟻仔	ŋie11 ə55 蟻仔	ŋie53 kuŋ33-35 蟻公	ŋie53 ə53 蟻仔	ŋi31-55 tsu31 蟻子
6	‘turtle dove’	pan24 kieu24 e31 斑鳩仔	pan53 kieu31 ə55 斑鳩仔	pan33 kieu33-35 ,pan33 kap21 斑 鳩仔	a33 tsiu33 tsien 53 阿鳩, pan11 kieu11 斑鳩	pu55 ku11 斑鳩
7	‘chafer’	kim24 ku24 e31 金姑仔	kim53 ku53 ə55 金姑仔	kim33 ku33-35 金姑仔	kim11 ku11 ə53 金姑仔	kim11 ku11 金姑, kim11 ku11 a53 (小) 金姑
8	‘cicada’	sam11 e31 蟬仔	ʃam55 ə55 蟬仔	ʃam33-35, ʒam53 ʒam53 ri33-35 蟬 仔	ʃam55 ə53 蟬仔	hiam53 蟬

9	'totoise'	kui24 e31 龜仔	kui53 ə55 龜仔	kui33-35 龜仔	kui11 龜	kui33 龜/kui33 i̯au55 (小) 龜
---	-----------	--------------	--------------	-------------	---------	-------------------------------

As we can see in (56), [tsi24] is the most common marker to stand for animals' children. Particularly, Zhaoan uses three diminutives, namely [i̯au55] ([i̯aunn55]), [tsu31], and [a53], and [i̯au55] is from the Chinese character '么 (the youngest)', [tsu31] is '子', while [a53] is borrowed from the diminutive of Min dialect [kian] '囡 (son)'. And there are many diversities uses on diminutives in Zhaoan, for instance [ɲiu53-33 i̯au55] referring to new-born calf, [ɲiu53-33 ai55 a53] meaning the older calf which begins to grow horns, [a53] only occurring after [ɲiu53 ku11] and [keu31 ku31], and [tsu31] as a nominal marker. Moreover, another phonetic form of diminutive of Jhuolan accented sub-dialect³⁷, [ai25] such as [ɲiu11 ai25], spoken in Neiwuan (內灣) Li, Jhuolan (卓蘭) Township, Miaoli County, according to Hsu (1998) and our field work³⁸.

(56)

		<i>Dialect</i>				
<i>Lexicon</i>		Sixian	Hailu	Dapu	Raoping	Zhaoan
1	'calf'	ɲiu11 tsi31 牛子	ɲiu55 tsi24 牛子	ɲiu113 tsi31 牛子	ɲiu55 tsi53 牛 子, ɲiu33 ai55 牛□ ³⁹	ɲiu53-33 i̯au55 牛么, ɲiu53-33 ai55 a53 牛□ 仔
2	'male teenager calf'	ɲiu11 ku31 e11 牛牯仔, saŋ24 ku31 e11 生牯仔	ɲiu55 ku24 牛 牯, saŋ53 ɲiu55 ku24 生牯	ɲiu113 ku31 牛 牯, saŋ33 ku31 生牯	ɲiu55 ku53 牛 牯, saŋ11 ku53 ə53 生牯仔	ɲiu53 ku11 a53 牛牯仔
3	'female teenager calf'	ɲiu11 ts ^h i55 e31 牛牯仔	ɲiu55 ts ^h i33 ə55 牛牯仔	ɲiu113 ts ^h i53 牛牯	ɲiu55 ts ^h i24 ə53 牛牯仔	ɲiu53 ma53 tai31-55 tsu31 牛女麻□子
4	'lamb'	ioŋ11 tsi31	ʒoŋ55 tsi24	ʒoŋ113 tsi31	ʒioŋ55 tsi53	ʒioŋ53 i̯au55

³⁷ Tu (1998:1-2) categorizes Neiwuan dialect into Jhuolan accented Hakka, but it is uncertain whether Jhuolan is Zhaoan.

³⁸ The author met a speaker who pronounces calf as [ɲiu53-33 ai25] when she did the field work in Guosing (國姓) Township, Nantou (南投) County. This speaker was an immigrant from Jhuolan Township to Kuosin Township forty years ago. In addition to calf, he almost uses [tsu31] in other animal lexicons.

³⁹ The datum containing [ɲiu33 ai55] is collected by the author in Guosing (國姓) Township, Nantou (南投) County.

5	‘piggy’	羊子 tsu24 tsi31 豬子	羊子 tʃu53 tsi24 豬子	羊子 tʃu33 tsi31 豬 子,se52 tʃu33 tsi31 細豬子, se52 tʃu35 細豬	羊子 tʃu11 ts ^h i33 ə53 豬仔(f) ,tʃu11 p ^h oi53ə 53 豬胚仔(m)	羊么 tʃi11 iāu55 豬么
6	‘cock’	hiuŋ11 kie24 e31 雄雞仔	hiuŋ55 kai53 ə55 雄雞仔	hiuŋ113 kie33- 35 雄雞仔	hiuŋ55 kie11 ə53 雄雞仔	ke11 kuŋ11 雞公
7	‘chick’	kie24 tsi31 雞子	kai53 tsi35 雞子	kie33 tsi31 雞子	kie11 tsi53 雞子	ke11 iāu55 雞么
8	‘pullet, esp at the time she has not yet begun to lay eggs’	kie24 lon55 e31 雞卵仔	kai53 lon55 ə55 雞卵仔	kie33 lon52 雞卵	kie11 lon24 ə53 雞卵仔	kie11 lon55 tsu31 雞卵子
9	‘cockerel’	kie24 kuk2 e31 雞牯仔	kai53 kuk5 ə55 雞牯仔	kie33 kuk21 雞牯	kie33 kuk5 ə53 雞牯仔	kie11 ku55 雞牯
10	‘duckling’	ap2 tsi31 鴨子	ap5 tsi24 鴨子	ap21 ts31 鴨子	ap5 tsi53 鴨子	ap24 iāu55 鴨么
11	‘gosling’	ŋo11 tsi31 鵝子	ŋo55 tsi24 鵝子	ŋo113 tsi31 鵝子	ŋo53 tsi53 鵝子	ŋo53 iāu55 鵝么
12	‘birdie’	tiau24 tsi31 鳥子	tiau53 tsi24 鳥子	tiau33 tsi31 鳥子	tiau11 tsi53 鳥子	teu31 iāu55 鳥子
13	‘puppy’	kieu31 tsi31 狗子	kieu24 tsi24 狗子	kieu31 tsi31 鳥子	(se11) kieu53 tsi53 狗子	keu31-11 iāu55 狗么
14	‘male dog’	kieu31 ku31 e11 狗牯仔	kieu24 ku24 ə55 狗牯仔	kieu31 ku31 狗牯	kieu53 ku53 狗牯	keu31 ku31 a53 狗牯仔

Here we also find that there are few exceptional instances as shown below. In our assumption, these animals are more prototypical so that they should probably be attached a nominal suffix. More item 1-4 tend to add a suffix because they are single syllables. Otherwise, note that Sixian and Hailu are the dialects that use diminutive very often.

(57)

	Dialect Lexicon	Sixian	Hailu	Dapu	Raoping	Zhaoan
1	‘wolf’	loŋ11 e31 狼仔	loŋ55 ə55 狼仔	loŋ11 狼	loŋ55 kieu53 狼狗	loŋ53 keu31 狼狗
2	‘lion’	si24 e31 獅仔	si53 ə55 獅仔	si33-35 獅	si11 ə53 獅仔	sai11 獅
3	‘leopard’	pau55 e31 豹仔	pau11 ə55 豹仔	pau52 豹	pau33 ə53 豹仔	pau31 豹
4	‘eel’	man11 e31 鰻仔	man55 ə55 鰻仔	man33 鰻	lun11 man53 鱸鰻	man53 鰻
5	‘ide’	sak5 pan24(pien 24) e31 石班仔	ʃak2 pan53 石班	ʃak53 pien33 石班	sak5 pan11(pien11) ə53 石班仔	ʃa55 pan11 石班

We find a sub-dialect that uses more than one diminutive, i.e., [tsu24 tsi31 e31]

‘piggy’ in Meinong Township (Sixian dialect). Yet, [e31] is very common in Meinong dialect because it is used to add after nouns without indicating “smallness”. Thus, we assume that [e] is grammaticalized so that it loses its sense denoting ‘small’ and become a pure noun suffix. Then, [se] and [tsi] were introduced to take the place of [e]. Therefore, [se55 tsu24 e31] is spoken in some dialects and [tsu24 tsi31] in others, but the two sets of words mean the same. Consequently, [se] and [tsi] are related to the sense “son” or “child”, and the transition from “child” domain to “small” domain can be clearly seen by these data mentioned above.

5.1.3 Category C: Sprouts of plants

The sense ‘small’ is associated with “child” of plant or fruit, i.e., relating to the concept of “seed” or “round object”. Here we collect some names of plants and fruits constructed with suffixes [e], [ə], [tsu] and 35 tone. Anyway, we conclude that these plants and fruits names are mostly seeds of plants and have round shape. In other words, the suffixes tend to be attached with the plants, that are seeds themselves, as well as the fruits, that are round in shape. Otherwise, [se] is used to indicate smaller plants or fruits, shown in item 11 in (58).

(58)

	<i>Dialect</i>	Sixian	Hailu	Dapu	Raoping	Zhaolan
1	<i>Lexicon</i>					
	‘seedling’	ioŋ24 e31 秧仔	zioŋ53 ə55 秧仔	zioŋ35 秧仔	zioŋ11 ə53 秧仔	zioŋ11 tsu31 秧子
2	‘string bean’	ton31 t ^h eu55 e31短豆仔	ton24 t ^h eu33 ə55短豆仔	mien53 t ^h eu5 □豆/ton31 t ^h eu53短豆仔	ton53 t ^h eu24 ə53短豆仔	min31 t ^h eu55 □豆
3	‘red bean’	fuj11 t ^h eu55 e31紅豆仔	fuj55 t ^h eu33 紅豆	fuj113 t ^h eu53 紅豆	fuj55 t ^h eu24 ə53紅豆仔	fuj53 t ^h eu55 紅豆
4	‘strawberry’	ts ^h i55 p ^h o24 e31刺波仔	ts ^h oi24 moi55 草莓	ts ^h o11 mui113 草莓	net2 p ^h o11 ə53 刺波仔	ts ^h o31 moi53 草莓
5	‘white shaddock’	p ^h ak5 iu55 e31 白柚仔	p ^h ak2 ziu33 ə55白柚仔	pak21 ziu53 白柚	pak5 ziu53 ə53 白柚仔	p ^h a55 ziu11 tsu31白柚子
6	‘orange’	kam24 e31 柑仔	kam53 ə55 柑仔	kam35 柑仔	kit2 ə53 柑仔	kam11 柑

7	'ramie'	ts ^h u24 e31 芋仔	tʃu53 ə55 芋仔	tʃ ^h u35 芋仔	tʃ ^h u11 ə53 芋仔	tʃ ^h i55 ma53 芋麻
8	'betel nut'	ts ^h ian24 e31 菁仔	pin53 loŋ55 ts ^h ian53 ə55 檳榔葉仔	pin33 noŋ11 檳榔/ ts ^h ian35菁	ts ^h ian11 ə53 菁仔	pin11 loŋ53 檳榔
9	'welsh onion'	ts ^h uŋ24 e31 蔥仔	ts ^h uŋ53 ə55 蔥仔	ts ^h uŋ35 蔥仔	ts ^h uŋ11 ə53 蔥仔	ts ^h uŋ11 蔥
10	'duckweed'	p ^h eu11 e11 藻仔	p ^h eu55 ə55 藻仔	p ^h iau113 藻	p ^h iau55 e31 藻仔	p ^h eu55 tsu31/ tsi31藻仔
11	'formosan sugar palm'	san24 tsuŋ24 e31山棕仔	san53 tsuŋ53 ə55山棕仔	san33 tsuŋ35 山棕仔	san11 tsuŋ11 ə53山棕仔	san11 tsuŋ11 山棕
12	'terminalia catappa'	se55 iap5 lam31 in11 su 55細葉欖仁樹	se11 ziap2 ka53 lam24 ʃu 33細葉欖仁樹	se53 ʒap2 lam 31 zin113 ʃu53 細葉欖仁樹	se53 ziap5 lam 53 zin55 ʃu24 細葉欖仁樹	se31 ziap53 la m31 zin53 ʃi55 細葉欖仁樹

The homophone occurs in (59) because the sound of 'mango' in Sixian (Yianmei) is equal to 'mulberry' in Si-Hai (Fonglin). Some dialects use [tsi31] to represent 'mulberry' as the seed of morus.

(59)

	<i>Dialect</i> <i>Lexicon</i>	Sixian (Yianmei)	Dapu	Roaping (Jhibali)	Roaping (Neiwu ⁴⁰)	Zhaoan (Dasi)	Zhaoan (Siluo)	Si-Hai (Fonglin)
1	'mango'	son24 ne31 樣子	son35樣	maŋ11 ko31芒果	son24樣	son52 ne31 樣子	suai11 a53 樣子	son53 ne55 樣子
2	'mulberry'	son24 tsi31 樣子	ʒoŋ33 ʃii11 vu33羊屎烏/ soŋ11 sui31桑椹	son11 ne31樣子	son11 su53 tsi31桑樹子	an31 niŋ31 tsi52 e2□□ 子仔	soŋ11 sui53桑椹	son24 e31 樣子

5.1.4 Category D1: Small objects

Apparently, the lexicons in this category have common feature, that is, smallness. Further, [se] is used to modify the object small since the suffixes have lost the function of referring to smallness.

(60)

⁴⁰ It is located in Jhuolan Township, Miaoli County.

	Dialect	Sixian	Hailu	Dapu	Raoping	Zhaoan
1	‘star’	sen24 e31 星仔	sen53 ə55 星仔	sen35 星仔	siaŋ11 ə53 星仔	sen11 星
2	‘drizzle’	i31 mo24 e31 雨毛仔	ʃui24 mo53 ə55雨毛仔	ʒi31 mo35 雨毛仔	vu53 mui55 ə53雨毛仔	set24 set24 a5 5 vu31 屑屑仔雨
3	‘sand’	sa24 e31 沙仔	sa53 ə55 沙仔	sa35 沙仔	sa11 ə53 沙仔	sa11 tsu31 沙子
4	‘cup’	pi24 e31 杯仔	bui53 ə55 杯仔	pui35 杯仔	tʃuŋ11 ə53 杯仔	eu24 a31 甌仔
5	‘nail’	taŋ24 e31 釘仔	taŋ53 ə55 釘仔	ten35 釘仔	tʰiet5 ten11 ə53釘仔	tʰiet24 tin11 鐵釘
6	‘saltcellar’	iam11 aŋ24 e31鹽盞仔	ʒiam55 aŋ53 ə55鹽盞仔	ʒam11 aŋ35 鹽盞仔	ʒiam55 aŋ11 ə53鹽盞仔	ʒiam53 aŋ11 鹽盞
7	‘box’	sioŋ24 e31 箱仔	sioŋ53 ə55 箱仔	sioŋ35 箱仔	sioŋ11 ə53 箱仔	sioŋ11 tsu31 箱子
8	‘a glass bead;marble’	ien11 tsu24 e31圓珠仔	ʒan55 tsi24 圓子	ʒen113 tsi31 圓子	vien55 tsi53 圓子	tʃi11 tsu31/ tsi31圓子
9	‘light bulb’	tʰien55 kʰiu11 e31電球仔	tʰien33 kiu55 電球	tʰien55 fo31 tʃu35電火珠	tʰien33 kʰiu55 電球	tʰien55 fo11 tsu33 a53電火 珠仔
10	‘prickly heat’	pi55 e31 痲仔	pui11 ə55 痲仔	pui53 痲	pui53 痲	pui31 tsu31 痲子
11	‘lymphadenoma’	lak5 e31 癰仔	let2 ə55 癰仔	lak2 粒	let5 癰	lat53 tsu31/ tsi31癰子

According to the data collection in Liao (2002), the diminutive [a] of Min dialect is borrowed in Zhaoan and it denotes smallness, such as [to33 a31] ‘small knife’ and [lam33 a31] ‘small basket’, in contrasting with [lam53] ‘basket’.

5.1.5 Category D2: Kinship terms, especially referring to junior or younger generation

Here we provide a pair of kinship terms, that one is addressing seniors by junior generations and another is addressing people who relate to husband or wife by that husband or wife. Thus, in the pairs 1, 3, 4, 5, 6 in (61), the diminutive plays a role to represent the younger members in a family. In the pairs 2 and 7, [se] displays the marked family member, especially ‘stepmother’ that is ranked after ‘mother’. On the other hand, in Zhaoan [se31] is relating to the age, such as [se31 ku55 a53] referring to the youngest aunt.

More especially in Zhaoan, [a11 k^hiu55] is differentiated from [a11 k^hiu11] by the mean of changing the tone.55 into 11, parallel to the phenomenon in Dapu. Similarly, Dapu and Zhaoan does not differentiate ‘uncle’ and ‘husband’s younger brother’, ‘aunt’ and ‘wife’s younger sister’, and ‘uncle’ and ‘husbands of wife’s sisters’, as the pairs 1, 2, 4 in (61) show. Finally, [ʃu55 a53] and [ku55 a53] in Zhaoan both denote that the person’s age is not very far from his/her nephew/niece’s age. For this case, [a53] contains the sense of “smallness”, reflected from the age.

Otherwise, the speaker in Raoping represent that [ŋoi33 sen11/saŋ11 (ə53)] is more intimate than without [ə53].

(61)

	<i>Dialect</i>	Sixian	Hailu	Dapu	Raoping	Zhaoan
1	<i>Lexicon</i>					
	‘uncle’	a24 suk2 阿叔	a53 ʃuk5 阿叔	a35 ʃiuk21 阿叔	a33 ʃuk2 阿叔	a11 ʃu24阿叔, ʃu55 a53叔仔
	‘husband’s younger brother’	a24 suk2 e11 阿叔仔	a53 ʃuk5 ə55 阿叔仔	se55 ʃiuk21 細叔	ʃuk2 ə53 叔仔	ʃu55 a53 叔仔
2	‘aunt’	a24 ku24 阿姑	a55 ku53 阿姑	a33 ku33 阿姑	a33 ku11 阿姑	a11 ku55阿姑, ku55 a53姑仔
	‘husband’s younger sister’	se55 ku24 細姑	se11 ku53 細姑	a33 ku35 阿姑	a33 ku11 ə53 阿姑仔,se11 ŋioŋ53 ku11細 儂姑	ku55 a53姑仔, se31-11 ku11 a31細姑仔
3	‘uncle’	a24 k ^h iu24 阿舅	a55 k ^h iu53 阿舅	a33 k ^h iu33 阿舅	a33 k ^h iu11 阿舅	a11 k ^h iu55 阿舅
	‘wife’s younger brother’	a24 k ^h iu24 e31 阿舅仔	a55 k ^h iu53 ə55 阿舅仔	a33 k ^h iu35 阿舅仔	k ^h iu11 ə53 阿舅	a11 k ^h iu11 阿舅
4	‘aunt’	a24 i11阿姨	a53 ʒi55阿姨	a35 ʒi113阿姨	a11 ʒi55阿姨	a11 ʒi53阿姨
	‘wife’s younger sister’	a24 i11 e31 阿姨仔	a53 ʒi55 ə55 阿姨仔	a35 ʒi113 阿姨	a11 ʒi55 ə53 阿姨仔	a11 ʒi53 阿姨
5	‘uncle’	i11 ts ^h oŋ24 姨丈	ʒi55 tʃ ^h oŋ53 姨丈	ʒi113 tʃ ^h oŋ33 姨丈	ʒi55 tʃ ^h oŋ11 姨丈	ʒi53-33 ts ^h oŋ11姨丈
	‘husbands of wife’s sisters’	i11 ts ^h oŋ24 e31姨丈仔	ʒi55 tʃ ^h oŋ53 ə55姨丈仔	ʒi113 tʃ ^h oŋ35 姨丈仔	ʒi55 tʃ ^h oŋ11 ə53姨丈仔	ʒi53-33 ts ^h oŋ11姨丈
6	‘aunt’	k ^h iu24 me24 舅姆	k ^h iu53 me31 舅姆	k ^h iu33 me33 舅姆	k ^h iu11 me11 舅姆	k ^h iu11 mi55 舅姆
	‘wife of wife’s brother’	(ts ^h i24) k ^h iu24 me24 e31 (妻)舅姆仔	k ^h iu53 me31 ə55 舅姆仔	(ts ^h i33) k ^h iu33 me35 (妻)舅姆仔	(ts ^h i11) k ^h iu11 me11 ə53 (妻)舅姆仔	k ^h iu11 mi11 舅姆
7	‘mother’	a24 me24阿姆	a55 me53阿姆	a33 me33阿姆	a11 me11-55 阿姆,a11 tʃia53阿姐	a11 pu11阿 姆,a11 mi55阿 □,a11 i55阿依

	細阿媽 'stepmother'	se55 a24 me24 細阿媽	se53 a33 me33 細阿媽	se53 a33 me33 細阿媽, se53 me35	se53 me11-55 細阿媽	a11 mi55阿□
8	'nephew'	ts ^h it5 e31姪仔	tʃ ^h it3 ə55姪仔	tʃ ^h it5姪	tʃ ^h it5 ə53姪仔	sun11 a53孫仔
9	'sister's son'	ŋoi55 sen24 e31外甥仔	ŋoi33 sen53 ə55外甥仔	ŋuai53 sen33-35 外甥仔	ŋoi33 sen11/ saŋ11 (ə53) 外甥仔	ŋuai55 sen11 外甥

The speaker from Jhongshih Village emphasizes the importance of [ə55], and he says that 'uncle' is not allowed to be spoken [a33 ʃuk5 ə55]. Moreover, he considers that [ə55] not only displays a sense of respectful, e.g., [ʒi55 ə55] is the term used in addressing the speaker's aunt, but also sounds more pleasing. In addition, under our observation, there are two kinds of articulations of diminutives pronounced by the speaker spontaneously, namely [ə55] as well as a lengthening of the preceding rime. Nevertheless, this speaker does not present too many instances with the two articulations meanwhile. On the contrary, the speaker from Baiyu Village uses the lengthening instead of any suffixes. The contour tone is from falling, conducted by the stem's tone, to rising, affected by the lengthening. We believe the lengthening comes into being first and then produces a new suffix tone. However, they do not sound two independent syllables but rather pronounced the syllables as connected in the spontaneous speech. We wonder that the diminutives representations between Jhongshih and Baiyu have interrelationship because of historical or geographical factor.

(62)

	<i>Lexicon</i>	<i>Dialect</i>	Hailu (Jhongshih⁴¹)	Hailu (Baiyu⁴²)
1	阿叔 'uncle'		a33 ʃuk5	a33 ʃuk5
	阿叔仔 'husband's younger brother'		a33 ʃuk5 ə55, se53 ʃuk5 ə55	ʃuk535
2	阿姑 'aunt'		ku55 ku55	a33 ku53
	細姑 'husband's younger sister'		a33 ku53, a33 ku535/ə55	a33 ku53 u35/ŋai55 ku535
3	阿舅 'uncle'		a33 k ^h iu53	a33 k ^h iu53

⁴¹ It is situated in Hukuo (湖口) Township, Hsinchu County.

⁴² The consultant lives in Baiyu (白玉) Village, Kuanyin Township, Taoyuan County.

4	阿舅仔 ‘wife’s younger’s brother’	a33 k ^h iu53 ə55	k ^h iu535
	阿姨 ‘aunt’	a33 ʒi55	a33 ʒi55
	阿姨仔 ‘wife’s younger’s sister’	a33 ʒi55 ə55, ʒi55 ə55	se33 a33 ʒi55, ŋai55 ʒi55 i55
5	舅姆 ‘aunt’	k ^h iu53 me31	k ^h iu53 me31
	(妻)舅姆仔 ‘wife of wife’s brother’	k ^h iu53 me313/ə55	k ^h iu53 me313

In addition, the lexeme [man24/53]⁴³ (滿) means the youngest in the ranking of a family, and it is always prefixed to the relatives who are younger, e.g., [man24 suk2/man53 ʃuk5] (滿叔) ‘the youngest uncle’, [man24 ku24/man53 ku53] (滿姑) ‘the youngest aunt’, and [man24 i11/man53 ʒi55] (滿姨) ‘the youngest aunt’. [man24 tsi53/man53 tsi24] (滿子) ‘the youngest son’ is the most common in these five dialects of Hakka.

In sum, we consider that the sense ‘child’ or ‘small’ is not enough to account for the semantics of this category, so the sense ‘young’ is better one and it can be associated with ‘small’.

5.1.6 Category D3: Body parts or organs

The diminutives are not productive in the morphological construction of body parts. In the six lexicons, shown below, only six items can be found. Note that only Dapu and Zhaoan use diminutives in the word ‘ear’, while other dialects use [kuŋ24]. On the other hand, ‘uvula’ is constructed of deictic and diminutive suffix. And ‘penis’ and ‘the private parts’ are marked lexical items as they are easily connected with un-respectful remarks, i.e., profanity interpreted as insulting.

(63)

⁴³ The tones are based on Sixian and Hailu.

	Dialect	Sixian	Hailu	Hailu (Baiyu)	Dapu	Raoping	Zhaoan
1	Lexicon	tin31 tuŋ24 e31頂中仔	tin24 tuŋ53 ə55頂中仔	tin53 tuŋ53 uŋ35頂中仔	t ^h in53 toŋ35 頂中仔	tin11 tuŋ11 ŋe21 ⁴⁴ 頂中仔	heu53-33 len53-33 t ^h uŋ1 1,heu53-33 len53-33 t ^h i55 喉連□
2		ŋi31 kuŋ24 耳公	ŋi24 kuŋ53 耳公	ŋi24 kuŋ53 耳公	ŋi31 kuŋ35 耳公仔	ŋi33 k ^h uŋ11 耳公	ŋi55 tsu31 耳子
3		ieu24 e31 腰仔	ɣiau53 ə55 腰仔	—	ɣieu35 ⁴⁵ 腰仔	iau11 ve21 ⁴⁶ 腰仔	ɣio11 tsu31 腰子
4		tsoi24 e31 腹仔	tsoi53 ə55 腹仔	tsoi53 oi35 腹仔	tsoi35 腹仔	tsoi11 ə53 腹仔	tsoi11 tsu31 腹子
5		piet2 e11 屎仔	piet5 ə55 屎仔	moi31 piet31 et2妹屎仔	t ^h ji33-35 p ^h ai113 屎仔	t ^h ji11 (pai24) 腔□	t ^h i11 p ^h ai53 腔□
6		su31 tsi31 手指	ɣiu24 t ^h ji24 手指	—	ɣiu31 t ^h ji31 手指	ɣiu33 t ^h ji33 ə53手指仔 (kiok2 t ^h ji33 ə53腳趾仔)	ɣiu11 t ^h eu53 手頭

5.1.7 Category D4: Time terms

In this category, we find some interesting points. First, six items are collected because they are very common with the morphological construction of diminutive among time words. Somehow they are not too many, but the word ‘邊仔’ with diminutives is the most general. In short, they contain the denotations of exactness, as item 6 in (64), and approximate, as other data. The exactness means that deictic physical location is viewed as a region in a line or a plane; diminutivization of this region converts it to a point. Also, it is via the metaphor TIME IS SPACE, that is, a physical location in time extending to spatial extent. Then, the common feature of approximation refers to the days close to the definite time that the speaker asserts, possibly before or after that.

(64)

⁴⁴ It is spoken in Jhiba Li, Jung-Li City, Taoyuan County.

⁴⁵ This data is collected from Jiang (1996).

⁴⁶ It is spoken in Jhiba Li, Jung-Li City, Taoyuan County.

	Dialect	Sixian	Hailu	Dapu	Raoping	Zhaoan
1	Lexicon					
1	'the days just before new year's day'	ŋien11 ha24 e31 年下仔	ŋien55 ha53 年下	ŋien113 ha35 年下仔	ŋien55 ha11 ə53 年下仔	va31 nen53 儂(倚)年
2	'the end of a month'	ŋiet5 mi24 e31 月尾仔	ŋiet2 mui53 月尾	ŋiet21 mui33 月尾仔	ŋiet5 mui11 ə53 月尾仔	ŋiet53 mui11 月尾
3	'the middle of a month'	ŋiet5 pan55 pien24 e31 月半邊仔	ŋiet2 pan11 pien53 月半邊仔	ŋiet21 pan53 pien33-35 月半邊仔	ŋiet5 ta53 pan53 ə53 月打邊仔	ŋiet53 tu11 oŋ11 月中央
4	'around noon'	lim11 tsu55 pien24 e31 臨晝邊仔	lim55 tʃiu11 pien53 ə55 臨晝邊仔	lim113 tʃiu53 pien33-35 臨晝邊仔	lim55 tʃiu53 pien11 ə53 臨晝邊仔	toŋ11 tʃiu31 ʃi53 vu55/ t ^h eu53 當晝時
5	'around a half day'	pan55 tsu55 pien24 e31 半晝邊仔	pan11 tʃiu11 pien53 ə55 半晝邊仔	pan53 tʃiu53 pien33-35 半晝邊仔	pan53 tʃiu53 pien11 ə53 半晝邊仔	pan31 ziu31 tsu31 半晝子
6	'immediately'	it2 ha55 e31 一下仔	zit5 ha11 ə55 一下仔	zit21 ha53 一下	zit2 ha55 ə53 一下仔	zit53 ha11 tsu31 一下子
7	'about two days'	lioŋ31 ŋit2 e11 兩日仔	lioŋ24 ŋit5 ə55 兩日仔	lioŋ31 ŋit21 兩日	lioŋ53 ŋit53 ə53 兩日仔	lioŋ31 ŋit24 tsu31 兩日子

How might the approximation concept have developed from the sense 'small'? Jurafsky (1996) suggests using 'Lambda-abstraction-specification', in which has the meaning 'smaller than the prototypical exemplar x on the scale of y', for the diminutive. Therefore, x is the exact time, and y is on the scale of time. Then, the approximation occurs since diminutivizing an extent in time is smaller than the exact time, and particularly, it would be beyond the exact time in the durative scale. Thus, approximation is the second sense (predicate) of diminutive. However, 'the end of a month' with diminutive is more close to the end parts than the one without diminutive.

Sixian, Hailu and Raoping is the dialects that use time terms with diminutives frequently. Again, Sixian and Raoping is the most among them, as shown in (65) and (68). Otherwise, an important thing is that [ə33] is an adverbial marker but not a diminutive suffix in Raoping, such as item 1, 2, and the Raoping informant indicates that the adverbial marker [ə33] refers a period of the time and the nominal marker [ə53] simply denotes a kind of the time term.

(65)

	<i>Dialect</i>	Sixian	Hailu	Raoping
1	<i>Lexicon</i>			
1	'more than one month by a few days'	ke55 laŋ11 ŋiet5 e31 個零月仔	kai11 laŋ55 ŋiet2 ə55 個零月仔	kai33 len11 ŋiet2 ə33 個零月仔
2	'just a minute'	ka33 ha55 e31加下仔	ka53 ha11 ə55加下仔	ka33 ha55 ə33加下□
3	'wait a minute'	ten31 ka24 it2 ha55 e31 等加一下仔	ten24 ka53 ʒit5 ha33 ə55等加一下仔	ten53 ka11 ʒit2 ha24 等加一下仔
4	'half night'	pan55 am55 pu24 e31 半暗晡仔	pan11 am11 pu53 ə55 半暗晡仔	pan53 am53 pu11 ə53 半暗晡仔
5	'a whole night'	kui24 am55 pu24 e31 歸暗晡仔	kui53 am11 pu53 ə55 歸暗晡仔	kui11 am53 pu11 ə53 歸暗晡仔
6	'a little bit over one hour'	tiam31 ko55 tsuŋ24 e31 點過鐘仔	tiam24 ko11 tʃuŋ53 ə55 點過鐘仔	tiam53 ko53 tʃuŋ11 ə53 點過鐘仔
7	'around one hour'	saŋ11 tiam31 tsuŋ24 e31成點鐘仔	ʃaŋ55 tiam24 tʃuŋ53 ə55 成點鐘仔	ʃaŋ55 tiam53 tʃuŋ11 ə53 成點鐘仔
8	'one or two more days'	ŋit2 pa31 e31日把仔	ŋit5 pa24 ə55日把仔	ŋit2 pa53 ə53日把仔
9	'near noon'	lim11 tsu55 e31臨晝仔	lim55 tʃiu11 ə55臨晝仔	lim55 tʃiu53 ə53臨晝仔

In (65) and (68), most of words can be accounted for by the following explanations, exactness and approximation, except items 4, 5 in (65) and items 3, 4 in (68). First, these instances express that diminutives are fully grammaticalized and generalized into other time terms. Then, these instances do not violate the explanations we provided before since they acquire different meanings when applying in the pragmatic domain. In other words, the diminutives obtain the function of intensifying the specific time, and it presupposes that some concepts have existed in the speaker's assertion. Some are given in the following:

(66) a33 kuŋ33 tseu24 ʃn11 ts^hut2 hi55, kui24 ŋit2 e11 tu55 mo11 tson31 loi11
阿 公 朝 晨 出 去 歸 日 仔 都 無 轉 來
'My grandfather left home in the morning, but he has not come back all day round.'

In addition, 暗晡 'night' does not co-occur with a diminutive. Apparently, this word when used with a diminutive means 'only; no more than'. That is to say, the speaker likes to prove that something is done within a very short time, shown in (67):

- (67) ŋai11 tsia31 e31 pan55 am55 pu24 e31 ts^hu55 tso55 ho11 it2 tsak2 lan24 e31
 吾 姐 仔 半 暗 晡 仔 就 做 好 一 隻 籃 仔
 ‘My wife only spends a half night on a basket.’

(68)

	<i>Lexicon</i>	<i>Dialect</i>	Sixian	Raoping
1	‘the early days of next month’		ha24 ŋiet5 ts ^h u24 e31 下月初仔	ha11 ŋiet5 ts ^h u11 ə53 下月初仔
2	‘the break of dawn’		lim11 t ^h ien24 koŋ24 e31 臨天光仔	lim55 t ^h ien11 koŋ11 ə53 臨天光仔
3	‘all year around’		kui24 ŋien11 e11 歸年仔	kui11 ŋien53 ə53 歸年仔
4	‘all day around’		kui24 ŋit2 e11 歸日仔	kui11 ŋit2 ə53 歸日仔

In Sixian Hakka diminutive it is very common for the diminutive to co-occur with words time terms; however, some time words are questionable in Jiadong (佳冬), a southern Sixian sub-dialect. A Jiadong speaker after uses time words without the diminutive, like (66), (67), in which he will use [ts^hu55] (就) to present the concept of ‘only’. This conveys that the diminutive not only have different degree of grammaticality but also involves speaker’s mental consciousness. Otherwise, the speaker would use the diminutive [e] or [i] alternatively when he answers the questions.

The similar example in Baiyu Village and Hukuo Village⁴⁷ is [ŋien55 ha535] (年下仔), referring to the period of time before the new year. In particular, the diminutive lengthening might make the temporal extent uncertain. More specifically, the extent of time is definitely over the specific time, for instance, and [kai11 laŋ55 ŋiet21-et12] (個零月仔), indicating a uncertainty coming from the speaker who predicts the extent of time beyond the expectation. The example is in (69). Yet, this function has not been grammaticalized to be a fixed grammatical feature since some lexicons, such as the perfective aspect [le53] or the approximate

⁴⁷ The actual phonetic value of diminutive lengthening in Baiyu is longer than in Hukuo.

time [ts^ha53 m11 tou53] (差毋多), will replace this function.

(69) lia24 tso11 se11 lion53 ɲit21 it12 si24 tso11 tet2 ho24

這 做 事 兩 日 仔 就 做 得 好

‘This work will be finished a little over two days.’

It is not difficult to answer why the diminutive lengthening with rising tone reflects approximation and uncertainty. Since the rising tone is similar to the tone of an interrogative sentence, it is often associated with uncertainty which might introduce the sense of approximation. And another example provided by the speaker is to convey or emphasize a feeling, e.g., anger, by means of lengthening, as shown in (70):

(70) ke55 se11 ɲin55 kui53 ɲit21 it12 tu55 te11 le55 kau24

該 細 人 歸 日 仔 在 那 裡 玩

‘This child has been playing around the whole day.’

國立新竹教育大學

5.1.8 Category E1: Conveying a sense of respect, admiration or contempt

The category is classified into two kinds of addressing: one is to arouse affective feeling from the addresser, another is a feeling of insulting risen by the contempt of the speaker to the hearer. Under our observation on field works, the use of diminutive is more often used to show contempt rather than show affection. The consultants, from Meinong Township, Neipu Township, Nanshan Village in Kuansi Township, Jhongshih Village in Hukuo Township, Guosing Township in Nantou County and so on, indicate that they directly call the names of their relatives or friends instead of using the suffixation of diminutives, e.g., calling [vun11 im24]⁴⁸ (文音) as [a11 im24] (阿音). The prefix [a] is an informal way used by seniors in

⁴⁸ The examples are according to Sixian Hakka.

calling juniors, by juniors calling juniors in the family. For male, Hakka people would use the suffix [ku31] (牯) and the former prefix [a], but its meaning inclines to tease the hearer but with no offence, e.g., [a24 hiuŋ11 ku31] (阿雄牯). For female, [moi55] (妹) is suffixed to the personal name, such as [a24 lan11 moi55] (阿蘭妹).

Nevertheless, the expressive functions of diminutives among Hakka dialects have different representations. The consultant from Baiyu Village uses the lengthening diminutive to convey the affection, like [ŋiuk2 zin535] (玉英), [a33 lion535] (阿亮), and [k^hiuk2 moi11-24] (菊妹). It always happened in the seniors addressing the juniors, like grandfather calling grand daughter, or an addressing between husband and wife. Particularly, the last example reflects that the intimacy introduces a high pitch, corresponding to Zhu (2006). Notice that the lengthening is restricted by the high level tone; that is, [vun55] in [a33 vun55] is hard to be lengthened. In Raoping, [ə53] is added after the names of friends or neighbors, such as [a33 tsianŋ11 ə53] (阿強仔), but not for relatives, for decreasing the instance between the speaker and his/her friends.

The diminutive is used to mark ridicule and scorn that are derived from the ‘small’ sense of diminutive via the mechanism of metaphor. And ‘small’ is linked to the derogatory sense. On the contrary, the affective sense of diminutive comes into being because the meaning ‘child’ or signifying ‘child’ gives the natural tendency to feel affection towards children, and a hearer will draw the natural inference that the speaker feels affection toward the diminutivized objects. Over time, this inference becomes conventionalized, and then affection becomes the lexicalized meanings of diminutive.

Note that the diminutivized place name is a kind of personal intimacy to his birthplace. According to a consultant from Neipu, Kaohsiung County (Sixian Hakka),

she often says [ŋai11 het5 t^he24 noi55 p^hu11 e11] ‘I live in Neipu-DIM’ when somebody asks her where she lives. There are two probable reasons of attaching the diminutive: First, the diminutive has the function of intensification; then, it is considered as a presentation of intimacy to that place. Also, there are some place names spoken with the diminutive, such as [lo11 tson24 e31] (老莊仔) ‘a later-developed village’, [vuin55 ni31] (塭仔) ‘Wunfong (塭豐) Village’ in Jiadong Township.

There is a term between the line of affection and contempt as in (71). According to consultants from Jhongshih Village and Baiyu Village, ‘細阿哥仔’ contains sort of ridicule but not a very aggressive kind, used in making a joke. ‘細个阿哥’ means the youngest older brother in the family.

(71)

		<i>Dialect</i>					
<i>Lexicon</i>		Sixian	Hailu (Jhongshih)	Hailu (Baiyu)	Dapu	Raoping	Zhaoan
1	阿哥 ‘older brother’	a24 ko24	a53 ko53	a33 ko53	a33 ko33	a33 ko11	a11 ko11
2	細阿哥仔 ‘the person who is younger than teenager’	se55 a24 ko24 e31	se33 a33 ko53-35	se33 a33 ko535	se53 a33 ko33,heu11 saŋ11 kou 35 ⁴⁹	se31 a11 ko11 e21 ⁵⁰	fio31-11 nen53

In general, it involves in the strengthening the personal affection, or the function of semantics and pragmatics, when person’s occupation, appearance, or behavior is concerned. According to semantics, the following data are divided into two parts: the works that is often depreciated in (72) and the appearance or characteristic referred to the specific person in (74). The first group is composed of VO construction and a diminutive or a nominal marker [ke/kai], and only item 3 is

⁴⁹ [heu11 saŋ11 kou35] is collected from the classification of Tsao (2005).

⁵⁰ [se31 a11 ko11 e21] is selected from entries collected by Hsu (2005).

constructed with [[Adj[N]]DIM]. Most of data in the second group leans to [[Adj[N]]DIM] construction besides of items 8, 9, 10. For use of diminutive, Sixian, Hailu and Raoping present the importance of diminutives in making the verb or adjective phrases to become nouns; however, the 35 tone of Dapu is not very productive in representing the contempt sense and several words appear without the diminutive. Similarly, Zhaoan does not need the diminutive in the construction. Meanwhile, the nominal marker [ke55/kai11/33] (个) plays the crucial role in referring to the person who has the specific profession. This marker is equal to De (的) in Mandarin Chinese.

(72)

	<i>Dialect</i> <i>Lexicon</i>	Sixian	Hailu	Dapu	Raoping	Zhaoan
1	'a cow tender'	tsɔŋ31 ŋiu11 ko24 e31 掌牛哥仔	tʃɔŋ24 ŋiu55 ko53 ə55 掌牛哥仔	tʃɔŋ31 ŋiu113 lai53,tʃɔŋ31 ŋiu113 ko33 掌牛哥/俵	tʃɔŋ53 ŋiu55 ko11 ə53 掌牛哥仔	lan53 ŋiu53 ŋin53攔牛人
2	'an employee'	sin11 lo11 e11 承勞仔	ʃin55 lo55 ə55 承勞仔	ʃin113 lo113 承勞	ʃin55 lo55 ə53 承勞仔	sin31 lo53 薪勞
3	'a coolie'	kʰu31 lit5 e31 苦力仔	kʰu24 lit2 ə55 苦力仔	kʰu31 lit52 苦力	kʰu53 lit5 ə53 苦力仔	piəŋ11 ŋəŋ55 e55做硬工个
4	'a long-term laborer'	tsʰoŋ11 ŋien11 e11長年仔	tʃʰoŋ55 ŋien55 ə55長年仔	tʃʰoŋ113 ŋien113長年	tʃʰoŋ55 ŋien55 ə53長年仔	tʃʰoŋ53 kuŋ11 長工
5	'alumnus'	seu31 si31 e31 小使仔	siau24 si24 ə55小使仔	siau31 si33 小使	siau53 si53 ə53小使仔	kuŋ11 ziu31 工友
6	'prostitute'	tsʰon55 sit5 ma11賺食嫖	tsʰon33 ʃit2 ma55賺食嫖	tsʰon55 ɕit5 tɕʰi35賺食嫖	tsʰon11 set2 ŋin53(ə53) 賺食人	tʰan33 ʃit53 pu33 niuŋ33 ŋin53 賺食夫娘人
7	'beggar'	kʰiet2 sit5 e31 乞食仔	kʰiet5-2 ʃit2 ə55乞食仔	kʰiet21 ʃit5 乞食	kʰie33 ʃit2 (ə53)乞食仔	kʰiet24-5 ʃit53 乞食
8	'pork butcher'	tsʰi11 tsu24 e31 ke55 刷豬仔个	tʃʰi55 tʃu53 ə55 kai11 刷豬仔个	tʃʰi113 tʃu33 kai33 刷豬仔个	tʃʰi53 tʃu24 ə53/e31 刷豬仔/个	tʃi33 tʃi11 e31 刷豬个
9	'iron maker'	ta31 tʰiet2 e55/ e11打鐵个/仔	ta24 tʰiet5 kai11/ə55 打鐵个/仔	ta31 tʰiet21 kai33打鐵个	ta53 tʰiet2 e31 打鐵个	ta33 tiet24 le55打鐵个
10	'actor/actress'	tso55 hi55 ke55/e11 做戲个/仔	tso11 hi11 kai11/ə55 做戲 个/仔	tso55 hi53 kai33做戲个	tso33 hi33 ə53 做戲仔	tso55 hi31 e31 ⁵¹ 做戲个

⁵¹ This word is cited from Lao (2002).

More obviously, the sense of contempt is carried by the diminutive. As a consultant from Meinong Sixian indicated, [kaŋ33 t^hien11 ŋin11] (耕田人) is more respectful than [kaŋ33 t^hien11 e55] (耕田个), and the latter is more regardful than [kaŋ33 t^hien11 e11] (耕田仔). This consultant considers that ‘耕田仔’ denotes that the speaker regards this job as an inferior. Thus, the words, [ŋin] (人) or [si fu] (師傅), are used to show respect to the occupations, such as [ta t^hiet si fu] (打鐵師傅) or [t^hi t^heu si fu] (剃頭師傅).

Otherwise, VO phrases, as words 9 and 10 above show, often use the marker [ke55/kai11/kai33], and they are attached the diminutives for displaying the affective meaning. Also, Lien (1996) mentions [tso11 hi11 a53] (做戲仔) is more pejorative than [tso11 hi11 e11] (做戲的) in Southern Min. And the onset of [ke55] in Sixian is easy to be dropped, and the independent [e55] would be attached another onset that are copied from the coda in the preceding syllable, for instance, [ta31 t^hiet2 le55], same as the phonological change of the diminutive.

We can see the interaction between the diminutive, nominal marker, and attributive marker De⁵², for examples:

(73)

- | | | | | | | | | | | |
|----|-------|------|-------|-------|------|--------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------|-------|
| a. | ia31 | ki33 | tan55 | koŋ33 | he55 | mai55 | ts ^h oi55 | ke55 | e55 | |
| b. | ia55 | ki33 | tan11 | koŋ11 | he11 | (ia55 kai55) | mai33 | tj ^h oi53 | ə53 | kai33 |
| c. | lia55 | ki33 | taŋ11 | koŋ53 | he33 | mai33 | ts ^h oi55 | kai33 | (ŋin55 kai33) | |
| | 這 | 根 | 擔 | 弓 | 是 | (這個) | 賣 | 菜 | 个 | (人) 个 |

The sentence a is spoken in Meinong (Sixian Hakka), while b is in Jhubei (竹北), Hsinchu (Raoping Hakka) and c is Sinwu (新屋), Taoyuan (Hailu Hakka).

⁵² The attributive function of the form De is separated from the nominal marker by Hashimoto (1993). That is because Zhu (2006) considers the attributive construction essentially a nominalized construction.

There is a merger of the diminutive [ə55], the nominalized marker [kai33], and the attributive maker [kai33] in the dialect of Hailu Hakka, whereas the nominalized marker [ke55] and the attributive one [e55] are separated. And the diminutive [ə53] appears instead of [kai33] in Raoping.

The items 1-5 in the following table are constructed by [[Adj[N]]DIM] in Sixian, Hailu, and Raoping, and the diminutives can be replaced by nominalized marker, like (縐毛个). The diminutives and nominalized markers have distinct functions as mentioned above.

(74)

	Dialect	Sixian	Hailu	Dapu	Raoping	Zhaoan
1	Lexicon 'a sickly'	p ^h iaŋ55 ten24 e31病丁仔	p ^h iaŋ33 ten53 病丁仔	p ^h iaŋ53 ten33 病丁	p ^h iaŋ24 ten11 ə53病丁仔	p ^h iaŋ55 ten11 病丁
2	'a curly hair'	tsiu55 mo24 e31縐毛仔	tsiu11 mo53 ə55縐毛仔	k ^h iu11 mo33 毬毛	tsiu53 mo11 ə53縐毛仔	k ^h iu53 hm11 縐毛
3	'a big mouth'	fat2 tsoi55 e31 闊嘴仔	fat5 tfoi11-13 闊嘴	k ^h uat21 tfoi53 闊嘴	k ^h uat2 tje53 ə53闊嘴仔	k ^h uat24 tje31 闊嘴
4	'a lame'	pai24 kiok2 e11跛腳仔	pai55 kiok5 ə55跛腳仔	pai113 kiok21 跛腳	pe11kiok2 ə53 跛腳仔	pai31 kio24 跛腳
5	'a westerner'	kieu24 p ^h i55 e31鉤鼻仔	kieu55 p ^h i33 ə55鉤鼻仔	kieu33 p ^h i53 kuŋ33鉤鼻公	kieu11 p ^h i24 ə53鉤鼻仔	se11 zioŋ53 ŋin53西洋人
6	'a bachelor'	tan11 sən11 ko24 e31,lo11 hon55 e31單身 哥仔/羅漢仔	lo55 hon11 ə55羅漢仔	tan33 jin33 ko35單身哥仔	tan11 jin11 ko11 ə53 ⁵³ ,tan 11 jin11 ko13 ⁵⁴ 單身哥	han31-11 kio24 羅漢腳
7	'a paramour'	k ^h e55 ko35 契哥	k ^h ie11 ko53 契哥	k ^h e53 ko35 契哥	k ^h e33 ko11 契哥	t ^h o55 k ^h e31 hia55討客兄
8	'a barbarian'	fan24 e31 番仔	fan53 ə55 番仔	fan35 番仔	fan11 ə53 番仔 ,ŋien53 t ^h u33 min55原住民	—
9	'small monkey; naughty boy'	se55 heu11 e11細猴仔	se11 heu55 ə55細猴仔	se53 heu113 細猴	se53 heu55 ə53細猴仔	se31 heu53 細猴
10	'spendthrift'	p ^h ai55 ka24 tsi31敗家子	p ^h ai33 ka53 tsi24敗家子	p ^h ai52 ka33 tsi31敗家子	p ^h ai33 ka11 tsi 53敗家子	p ^h ai55 ka11 tsu31敗家子

In addition, in Zhaoan some nicknames, named after person's appearance like [t^hai33 t^heu53 e31] (大頭个) and [seu31 e31] (瘦个), represent a sense of intimacy

⁵³ This datum is from Jhu (朱心怡 2006).

⁵⁴ This datum is from Siu (徐瑞珠 2004).

between the speaker and the listener.

The diminutive presents the interpersonal relationship between an addresser and an addressee for expressing intimacy or shortening the distance with one another, e.g., calling someone's diminutivized name. And another function of the diminutive in pragmatics is to show the speaker's contempt for the particular occupations, features of appearance, or misbehavior. Moreover, the sense of contempt derived from the core meaning 'small' via the mechanism of metaphor since 'small' naturally produces the sense of contempt while the receptor feels others inferior or not normal for the society.

5.1.9 Category E2: Particularized term

This category is also called "classificatory diminutives" (Rhodes 1990) because the diminutive object is not only smaller than the larger object, but is also referring to another concept. And the diminutive object is not the same as a smaller version of an object marked with an adjective meaning 'small'. Take the Ewe example from Heine *et al.* (1991):

(75) bare form	hē	'knife'
diminutive	hē-ví	'razor'
with adjective	hē sue'	'shorter-than-average knife'

Jurafsky (1996:552) offers some evidence that is through lexicalization. For instance, [toi21] means 'stage', and the diminutivized form [toi35] denotes 'table' in Cantonese. The tone-change diminutive originally marked the smaller size, but eventually it was lexicalized with that sense because it was frequently used frequent enough, that is, fully conventionalization.

Back to this category of particularized terms, we are searching for a group

including a normal-type object and a smaller-type one distinguished by the diminutive. The similar example is shown as in (52), the words (心舅), (心舅仔), and (細心舅仔). Each set of data is put together according as the diminutive can indicate another concept of non-diminutivized form, and the diminutivized forms refer to the component as in 1-2 and the smaller-type as in 3-4 below.

The function of the particularized diminutive still exists although there are not so many cases found. The obvious instances are items 3 and 4 found in every sub-dialect, whereas [tsi] is used to describe the poise in words 1 and 2.

(76)

		Dialect				
Lexicon		Sixian	Hailu	Dapu	Raoping	Zhaoan
1	'scales'	poŋ55 e31 磅仔	poŋ11 ə55 磅仔	tʃ ^h in53, poŋ113 秤/磅	ts ^h in11 poŋ55 磅秤	poŋ33 a53 磅仔
2	'poise'	poŋ11 tsi31 磅子	fap5 ma53 磅碼	fap2 ma33 磅碼	poŋ11 tsi53 磅子	poŋ33 tsu31 磅子
3	'teacher'	si11 fu55 師傅	si53 fu11 師傅	si33 師	si11 fu55 師傅	su11 fu55 師傅
4	'pupil'	si11 e31 師仔	si53 ə55 師仔	si35 師仔	si11 ə53 師仔	sai55 a53 師仔

Moreover, in Dapu, there is another set: [pien33] (鞭) 'whip' and [pien35] 'male's genitalia' (Tsao & Li 2005). We can find the set, [vo11 soŋ55] (和尚) 'a monk' and [vo11 soŋ55 e31] (和尚仔) 'a Taoist priest' spoken in Sixian, collected from the data materials of Sixian dialect from Hakka Proficiency Test. Moreover, started with the concept of 'small', the word 'a Taoist priest' is the smaller-type of 'a monk'. Even though the cases are few, the process seems clear: the diminutivized forms with the meanings denoting the small-type object are conventionalized. In other words, the smaller-type diminutive is formed via the conventionalization of inference.

5.1.10 Category E3: Specialized term

In this category, it is hard to find the specific data that appear in all five dialects, yet here we present a few examples of every single dialect, Sixian and Raoping, Dapu as well as Hailu (Baiyu Village in Taoyuan Township). These data are arranged into pairs that include one word with the diminutive and the other without, with the latter referring to another concept. In (77) 1-6, these words without the diminutives are nouns containing more general meanings, but the use of the diminutive marker in these lexicons refers to them in a derogative and marginalized way, especially in Raoping, Sixian, and Hailu. Note that ‘an old hotel’ in item 6 is the older name of a hotel, and it is only found in Raoping.

(77)

	Dialect	Sixian	Hailu	Dapu	Raoping	Zhaoan
1	Lexicon					
	‘a perch or eel’	lu11 man11 鱸鰻	lu55 man55 鱸鰻	lu113 ŋ113 鱸魚	lun11man53 鱸鰻	lun11 man53 鱸鰻
2	‘a gangster’	lu11 man11 e11 鱸鰻仔	lu55 man55 ə55 鱸鰻仔	lu33 man113 鱸鰻	lun11man53 ə53鱸鰻	lun11 man53 鱸鰻
3	‘a teashop’	ts ^h a11 tiam55 茶店	ts ^h am55 tiam33 茶店	ts ^h a113 tiam52茶店	ts ^h a53 tiam31 茶店	ts ^h a55 tiem11 茶店
4	‘red-light houses’	ts ^h a11 tiam55 e 31茶店仔	ts ^h am55 tiam33 ə55茶店仔	am53 kien33 暗間	ts ^h a53 tiam31 me21茶店仔	ts ^h o55 tiem11 菜店
5	‘a hotel’	—	—	—	tsiu31 tiam31 酒店	—
6	‘an old hotel’	—	—	—	tsiu31 tiam31 e21酒店仔	—
7	‘a horse’	ma24馬	ma53馬	ma33馬	ma11馬	ma11馬
8	‘a bike’	t ^h iet2 ma24 鐵馬	t ^h iet5 ma53 鐵馬	t ^h iet21 ma35 鐵馬	t ^h iet2 ma11 ə53 鐵馬仔	t ^h iet24 ma11 鐵馬
9	‘the number’	ho55號	ho33號	—	—	—
10	‘a stock exchange’	ho55 e31號仔	ho33 ə55號仔	—	—	—
11	‘trash’	la31 sap2垃圾	la24 sap5垃圾	—	—	—
12	‘corpse’	la31 sap2 e31 垃圾仔	la24 sap5 ə55 垃圾仔	—	—	—
13	‘to wash the body’	se53 sin24 洗身	se24 jin53 洗身	se31 jin33 洗身	se31 iuk5 洗浴	se11 vu33 sin 24, se11 vu55
14	‘to swim’	se53 sin24 e31 洗身仔	se24 jin53 ə55 洗身仔	se31 jin35 洗身仔	se31 iuk5 ke21 洗浴仔 ⁵⁵	siu33 fi31 泗水

⁵⁵ The words from 3-6 in Raoping are cited from Hsu’s (2005) collection in Jhiba Li.

Items 7-8 are provided for Dapu because it uses the changed tone to distinguish the two words with different meanings. Then, words item 9-12, collected from Hakka Dictionary of Taiwan (Hsu 2003), have special meaning after adding the diminutives in Sixian and Hailu. More specifically in item 12, it is used in the situation of cremation when people are talking about [seu24 la31 sap2 e11/ʃau53 la24 sap5 ə55] (燒垃圾仔)⁵⁶.

Other special examples we found is in the field work of Baiyu Village. The speaker mentions about three lexicons having particular denotations by the mean of the changed-tone, such as [kien53] meaning ‘room’ but [kien535] referring to ‘living room’. The son of the speaker considers that the changed-tone has the specific function in the different Age, for instance, ‘beeper’ was pronounced [ki535] but nowadays this phonetic form stands for ‘cell phone’. The examples are as given:

(78)	UNMAKED FORM	MARKED FORM
	[kien53] ‘room’	[kien535] ‘living room’
	[miau33] ‘temple’	[miau535] ‘Baosheng Temple (保生廟)’
	[ki53] ‘machine’	[ki535/ʃiu33 ki535] ‘beeper/cell phone’

5.1.11 Category E4: Nominal marker (that marks the composite part as a noun)

This category includes two kinds of constructions: Adjective + DIM and Verb + DIM. The suffixation of diminutive makes an adjective or verb become a noun. And the word formations are most typical in Chinese dialects. In Hakka, Sixian, Hailu, and Raoping entirely use the diminutives to form the words, yet it is seldom seen in Dapu and Zhaoan:

⁵⁶ Words No. 10, 12 remain further investigation since many informants, from different dialects, have never heard of these words.

(79)

	<i>Dialect</i> <i>Lexicon</i>	Sixian	Hailu	Dapu	Raoping	Zhaoan
1	癩 _A 仔	tien24 e31	tien53 ə55	tien33-35	tien53 ə53	siau53 (e31)
2	啞 _A 仔/啞狗	a31 e11	a24 ə55	a31	a33 ə53	a55 kieu31
3	蠢 _A 仔 ‘a dumb’	ŋoŋ55 e31/ ku31	ŋoŋ11 ə55	ŋoŋ52	ŋoŋ24 ə53	ŋoŋ11 (e31)
4	幼 _A 幼 _A 仔 ‘powder’	yi55 yiu55 e31	zi53 zi53 ə55	zi53 zi53-31	zi511 zi53 ə53	zi55 zi511
5	青 _N 盲 _A 仔/ 个/瞎 _A 目 _N 仔 ‘a blind’	ts ^h iaŋ24 miaŋ24 e31/ hat2 muk2 e11	ts ^h iaŋ53 miaŋ53 ə55/ hat5 muk5 ə55	ts ^h iaŋ33 miaŋ33 kai33	ts ^h iaŋ11 miaŋ11 ə53	ts ^h iaŋ11 miaŋ31 (e31)
6	痲 _V 背 _N 仔	ku24 poi55 e31, k ^h iau24 ku24 (蹺 _V 痲 _V), pa11 vok5 e31(背 _V 鑊 _N)	ku53 poi11 ə55, ku53 zi5 53(痲 _V 腰 _N), pa55 vok2 ə55	un33 ku33 kai33	pa11 vok5 ə53	k ^h iau33 (k ^h iou33) ku33
7	落 _V 仔/子 ‘lier’	lau55 e31	lau11 ə55	lau53	lau33 ə53	lau55 tsu31/ tsi31
8	袂 _V 仔 ‘a vest’	kap2 e11	kap5 ə55	kap31	kap5 ə53	kiap24 tsu31/ kiap24 a31
9	搓 _V 仔(子)/刷 仔 ‘scrubber’	ts ^h o55 e31	sot5 ə55	sot2	sot5 ə53	ts ^h o31 tsu31/ tsi31
10	遮仔 ‘umbrella’	tsa24 e31	tʃa53 ə55	tʃa35	tʃa33 ə53	bu55 san31
10	裙 _N 鈎 _V 仔 ‘hook for skirt’	k ^h iun11 tap2 e11	k ^h iun55 tap5 ə55	k ^h iun11 keu33-35, k ^h iun11 tap21	k ^h iun55 tap2 ə53	k ^h un53 keu11/ keu11 tsu31
11	頸 _N 圍 _V 仔 ‘a scarf’	kiaŋ31 vi11 e11	kiaŋ24 vui55 ə55	kiaŋ31 vui113	kiaŋ53 vui55 ə53	vi53 kun11

國立新竹教育大學
National Hsinchu University of Education

Jurafsky (1996) calls the generalization of the diminutive as ‘related to’ sense. He poses the example of the retroflex diminutive –er in Mandarin, using in nominalizing any verb, such as *zhuan* ‘to turn’ and *zhuar* ‘a circle’. His reason is that the noun has some relation with the verb, and the semantic chain is considered as ‘small’ → ‘small type’ → ‘related to’. We agree with him on the ‘related to’ sense in explaining the diminutive meaning. Also, some adjectives can be nominalized by the diminutive mark but does not mention anything in connection with this type of change.

5.1.12 Category E5: Nominal marker

There is a good deal of words classified into this category; in other words, these

words do not change to other categories because they are composed of a noun and the diminutive. Moreover, their formations neither induce any grammatical changes, nor contains the sense of ‘small’ or any marked senses that we have discussed above. And their semantic domains involve astronomical, diet, clothing, components of the residence, transportation, entertainments, religion, culture, occupation, implements, and so on.

(80)

	<i>Dialect</i> <i>Lexicon</i>	Sixian	Hailu	Dapu	Raoping	Zhaoan
1	‘button on clothing’	neu31 e11 鈕仔	neu24 ə55 鈕仔	neu31 鈕	neu33 ə53 鈕仔	neu31 tsu31/ tsi31鈕子
2	‘chestnut’	lit5 e31 栗仔	lit2 ə55 栗仔	k ^h u33 li31 枯里	lit5 ə53 栗仔	lat53 tsu31/ tsi31栗子
3	‘medicine’	iok5 e31 藥仔	ʒok2 ə55 藥仔	ʒok5 藥	ʒio2 ə53 藥仔	ʒio55 藥
4	‘lot’	tɕ ^h iam24 e31 籤仔	ts ^h iam53 ə55 籤仔	ts ^h iam35 籤仔	ts ^h iam11 ə53 籤仔	ts ^h iam11 ki11 籤隻
5	‘coin’	ŋiun11 kok2 e11 銀角仔	ŋiun55 kok5 ə55 銀角仔	ŋiun113 kok2 銀角	ŋiun33 kok5 ə53 銀角仔	ŋun53 ko24 a53 銀角仔
6	‘brick’	tson24 e31 磚仔	tʃon53 ə55 磚仔	tʃion35 磚仔	tʃan11 ə53 磚仔	tʃen11 tsu31/ tsi31 磚子
7	‘beam’	haŋ11 e11 桁仔	haŋ55 ə55 桁仔	haŋ113 桁	haŋ55 ə53 桁仔	haŋ53 tsu31 桁子
8	‘to read a comic book’	on55 ŋin11 kuŋ24 e31 su2 看人公仔書	k ^h on11 ŋin55 kuŋ53 ʃu53 看人公書	k ^h on53 ŋin113 kuŋ35 ʃu33 看人公書	ŋiaŋ53 ŋin55 kuŋ11 ə53 ʃu11 映人公仔書	ŋiaŋ31 aŋ55 a53 ʃi11 睭□仔書
9	‘chess’	k ^h i11 e11 棋子	k ^h i55 ə55 棋子	k ^h i113 棋	k ^h i55 ə53 棋子	k ^h i53 tsu31 棋子
10	‘chapter novel’	ts ^h on55 e31 傳仔	tʃ ^h on33 ə55 傳仔	tʃ ^h on53 傳	tʃ ^h an24 ə53 傳仔	t ^h on55 tsu31 傳子

From category A to here, the diminutive has lose some particular features of its meaning, becoming less specific resulting from applying in a wider range of contexts. That is, it is a generalization or semantic bleaching from a diminutive to a suffix. Chu (1999:157) claims that the Chinese suffix *-zi* ‘son’ has five feature: a. It does not have content meaning; b. It is not independent lexeme and only attached after another stem for forming a new lexicon; c. It is always after the stem; d. It has a very strong ability in lexicon formation by combining stems to derive other new

lexicons abundantly e. It is a nominalized marker. Hakka diminutives all have these features, especially Sixian and Hailu, having very productive the diminutive suffix applied in the more general contexts.

Here the Hakka diminutives are noun suffixes, corresponding with the argument of Wang (2004), regarding the Chinese diminutive as the basis of the *-zi* suffixation. However, Hakka suffixes do not completely occur in the context where the Chinese suffix *-zi* appears; in other words, [iok5 e31] ‘medicine’ in Hakka called *iao* in Mandarin Chinese. In this study, the comparison between Mandarin Chinese and Hakka seems too trivial, therefore we concern about the phenomenon among Hakka dialects.

In the last category, we adopt the sense ‘related to’ to explain those data. Yet, the sense is supposed to be extended in another way since the diminutive is very general. Thus, we think about the sense ‘unrelated to’, contrasting with the category E4, but it does not mean that the lexicon with the suffix is not related to the original stem, e.g., “棋” and “棋仔”. That is to show the highly generalization of the diminutive.

5.1.13 Category E6: Classifier, adjective, adverb, or verb (that denote the degree of slightness, usually involving in reduplicative construction)

This section subsumes four different lexicon constructions, namely classifier + DIM, adjective + DIM, adverb + DIM, and verb + DIM. All of them can be constructed of reduplications so that they contain the sense of slightness, and the diminutive suffixation cause the stems to have some particular meanings, like the concept of small amount, approximateness, and hedging in the illocutionary force, etc. However, these senses are not realized in all the Hakka dialects cited here.

5.1.13.1 Classifier

The construction, comprising a classifier and a diminutive, is used to express several related semantic, i.e. smaller amount, approximate amount or even beyond the specific quantity mentioned, and some pragmatic senses. We start from the sense of small amount as the following data show. It is easy to find examples in most sub-dialects except Dapu which, as we have repeatedly shown, has fewer diminutives, and the only example in this section that we can find is [teu35], e.g., [kiak21 teu35] ‘faster’, [ziu33 teu35] ‘some of’. On the other hand, Zhaoan [zit24 teu11 a53 iäu55] (一兜仔么) denotes a extremely smallest amount than items 1-3. Finally, the diminutives of Sixian and Hailu are most productive, and the classifiers cannot occur without the diminutives.

(81)

	<i>Dialect</i>	Sixian	Hailu	Dapu	Raoping⁵⁷	Zhaoan
1	<i>Lexicon</i>					
	‘a small amount’	seu31 seu31 e11 少少仔	ʃau24 ʃau24 ə55 少少仔	ʃeu31 ʃeu31 少少	ʃau53 ʃau53 e31 少少仔 ⁵⁸	ʒit24 teu11 a31 一兜仔
2	‘a little’	it2 sit5 sit5 e31 一息息仔	ʒit5 sit2 sit2 ə55 一息息仔	ʒit2 sut5 sut5 一息息仔	ʒit2 sit5 sit5 ə33 一息息□	ʒit24 sut5 sut53 la53 一息息仔
3	‘more than a little’	its sit5 e31 一息仔	ʒit5 sit2 ə55 一息仔	ʒit2 sut5 一息	ʒit2 sit5 ə33 一息□	ʒit24 sut53 la53 一息仔
4	‘a bit of’	it2 tit5 e31 一滴仔	ʒit5 ti5 ə55 一滴仔	ʒit21 tit52 一 滴, ʒit21 sut52 一息	ʒit2 tit5 ə33 一滴□	ʒit24 teu11 a53 iäu55 一兜仔么
5	‘some of’	teu24 e31 兜仔	teu53 ə55 兜仔	teu35 兜仔	teu11 ə53 兜仔	teu11 兜
6	‘to work harder’	k ^h a55 ta11 piaŋ55 teu24 e31 較打拚兜仔	k ^h a33 ta33 pia ŋ11 teu53 ə55 較打拚兜仔	k ^h a33 ta33 piaŋ53 teu35 較打拚兜仔	k ^h a33 ta33 piaŋ53 teu24 ə53 較打拚兜仔	k ^h a11 ta55 piaŋ53 feu31 較打拚兜
7	‘somewhat of’	ki31 fun24 e31 幾分仔	ki33 fun53 ə55 幾分仔	ki33 fun33 幾分	ki53 fun11 ə53 幾分仔	kia53 fun11 幾分
8	‘some granules; a little’	ki31 liap5 e31 幾粒仔	ki33 liap2 ə55 幾粒仔	ki33 liap52 幾粒	ki53 liap5 ə33 幾粒□	ʒit24 teu11 a53 一兜仔

⁵⁷ In this category, Raoping presents two kinds of the suffixes, namely the adverbial marker [ə33] and the diminutive suffix [ə53]. Yet, the informant is uncertain about the functional distinction between [ə33] and [ə53].

⁵⁸ The words is cited from Hsu (2005).

In the all of the following examples, they are presented in the order of a. Sixian, b. Hailu, c. Dapu, d. Raoping, and e. Zhaoan.

Sometimes the ‘only’ sense is represented by some words, not by the diminutive, such as “定定”. For instance, the literal translation of phrase “兩步腳” is the distance not far from the length of two footprints, but the actual meaning of this phrase is ‘very near’. And Sixian, Hailu, and Raoping use a diminutives form although there is a separate word meaning ‘merely’ in these dialects. Moreover, this double construction does not make the sense stronger. Thus, the diminutive starts to become a part of the phrase in the specific context. However, [ə33] is an adverbial marker in Raoping, so only Sixian and Hailu use the diminutives in (82).

(82)

- a. ia31 to55 hok5 kau31, lion31 pu55 kiok2 e31 t^hin55 t^hin55
- b. lia24 to11 hok2 kau24, lion24 pu33 kiok5 ə55 t^hin33 t^hin33
- c. lia31 to53 hok5 kau31, lion31 pu53 kiok21 t^hen33 nen35
- d. li53 to53 hok5 kau53, lion53 pu24 kiok2 ə33 t^hin24 t^hin24
- e. li24 to31 ho55 hau55, lion31 pu55 kio24 t^hen55

這 到 學 校, 兩 步 腳 仔 定 定
 ‘It is very near from here to the school.’

Another word “就/斯” literally means ‘immediately’ in (83), is used in conjunction with a diminutive construction to indicate the rapid action of eating a bowl of rice. The diminutives here are used to modify the phrase “兩口/下” to stress the small amount of time spent in doing it; in other words, the role of the diminutives reveals the speaker’s emphasis on the shortness of time.

(83)

- a. it2 von31 fan55 lion31 heu31 e31 tɕ^hiu55 fut5 tɕ^hiaŋ55 tɕ^hiaŋ55
 b. ʒit5 von24 p^hon33 lion24 heu24 ə55 ts^hiu33 fut2 ts^hiaŋ33 ts^hiaŋ33
 c. ʒit2 van31 p^hon53 lion31 heu31 si33 fut2 ts^hiaŋ53 ts^hiaŋ53
 d. ʒit2 van53 p^hon24 lion53 heu53 ə53 ts^hiu24 fut5 ts^hiaŋ55 ts^hiaŋ55
 e. ʒit24 ban31 p^hon55 lion31 ha55 tsu31 ts^hiu55 fut53 ts^hiaŋ55 ts^hiaŋ55
 一 碗 飯 兩 口/下 仔/子 就/斯 拂 淨 淨
 ‘It takes only a little while for him/her to finish a bowl of rice.’

In the next example, the meaning of the phrase “兩領仔” does not mean ‘merely’, but it exhibits two clothes or even more. The diminutive plays a role in representing the approximate sense, and it would be beyond the actual amount to refer to ‘more’. Moreover, it reflects that the speaker’s uncertainty in which he/she does not wish to appear too determinate in expressing how many articles of clothes would be bought. This uncertainty would give the hearer more freedom in interpretation. Here Sixian, Hailu, Dapu, and Raoping all contain this sense.

(84)

- a. t^huŋ11 a24 pa24 mai24 ka24 lion31 liaŋ24 e31 ts^hoŋ11 tɕ^hiu55 sam24
 b. lau53 a53 pa53 mai53 ka53 lion24 liaŋ53 ə55 tʃ^hoŋ55 ts^hiu33 sam53
 c. t^huŋ113 a33 pa33 mai33 ka33 lion31 liaŋ35 tʃ^hoŋ113 ts^hiu53 sam33
 d. t^huŋ55 a11 pa53 mi11 ka11 lion53 liaŋ11 ə53 tʃ^hoŋ55 ts^hiu24 sam11
 e. ka24 a11 pa31 ka11 mi11 lion31 liaŋ11 tʃ^hoŋ53 sam11 ts^hiu55
 摻/同/加 阿 爸 買/加 買 兩 領 仔 長 袖/衫 衫/袖
 ‘I like to buy some long-sleeves-clothes for my father.’

Some more examples from Sixian, Hailu, and Raoping are provided below. In the following context, the ambiguous use of the diminutive shows the distinction between the approximate and pragmatic hedges. In the approximative sense, the sentence means ‘You can speak some Japanese.’ In the pragmatic hedge sense, the speaker is teasing the hearer and implies his/her doubt about the hearer’s ability.

(85)

- a. ŋ11 ia24 voi55 lioŋ31 ki55 e31 ŋit2 pun fa55 tsin24 mo11 kien31 tan24
 b. ŋi55 ʒa53 voi33 lioŋ24 ki11 ə55 ŋit5 pun24 fa11 tʃin53 mo55 kien24 tan53
 d. ŋi55 ʒia53 voi24 lioŋ53 ki53 ə53 ŋit2 pun53 fa53 tʃin11 mo55 kien53 tan11
 你 也 會 兩 句 仔 日 本 話 真 無 簡 單
 ‘You can speak some Japanese sentences. You are very good.’

5.1.13.2 Adjective

The Hakka diminutive occurring after an adjective usually serves one of the following three functions: a nominalizer, an adverbial marker, or a diminutivized marker with approximate sense. The Sixian diminutive has all of the functions but Hailu, Raoping, and Dapu exhibit only two of them, and finally in Zhaoan, only the function of an adverbial marker is found. The three functions are marked in Mandarin Chinese respectively by the nominalizer de (的), shown in items 1,2; then, di (地) presented in items 3, 4; and ‘to seem like; to look like’ (樣子), as shown in items 5, 6; finally the reduplication with the diminutive is in the higher degree than the one without the diminutive, as in items 7.

(86)

		Dialect				
Lexicon		Sixian	Hailu	Dapu	Raoping	Zhaoan
1	‘very fragrant’	hioŋ24 p ^h ut2 p ^h ut2 e11 香醇醇仔	hioŋ53 p ^h ut5 p ^h ut5 ə55 香醇醇仔	hioŋ33 p ^h ut21 p ^h ut21 香醇醇	hioŋ11 p ^h ut2 p ^h ut2 ə33 香醇醇□	hioŋ11 p ^h ŋ31 p ^h ŋ31 香醇醇
2	‘large in size of the body’	p ^h i11 ku55 ku55 e31 肥固固仔	p ^h ui55 ku11 ku11 ə55 肥固固仔	p ^h ui113 tsit2 tsit2 肥□□	p ^h ui55 ku24 ku24 ə33 肥固固□	p ^h ui53 tsit24 tsit24 肥□□
3	‘to be calm and steady’	t ^h in55 t ^h m55 e31定定仔	t ^h in55 t ^h in ə55 定定仔	t ^h in53 t ^h in53 定定仔	t ^h in24 t ^h in24 ə33定定□	vun31 vun31 e11穩穩仔
4	‘to be active’	sat2 sat2 e11 煞煞仔	sat5 sat5 煞煞	sat31 sat31 煞煞	sat2 sat2 ə33 煞煞□	sat24 sat24 e11煞煞仔
5	‘to be sharp-eyed’	ŋien31 kim24 kim24 e31 目金金仔	muk5 kim53 kim53 ə55 目金金仔	muk31 kim33 kim33 目金金	muk2 kim11 kim11 ə33 目金金□	mut24 tʃi11 li55 li55 目珠利利
6	‘to be angry without smile on face’	mien55 ts ^h u55 ts ^h u55 e31 面 臭臭仔	mien11 tʃ ^h iu11 tʃ ^h iu11 ə55 面臭臭仔	mien53 tʃ ^h iu53 tʃ ^h iu53 面臭臭	mien53 tʃ ^h iu53 tʃ ^h iu53 ə33 面臭臭□	mien31 tʃ ^h iu31 tʃ ^h iu31 面臭臭
7	‘very short’	ton31 ton31 e11短短仔	ton24 ton24 ə55短短仔	ton31 ton31 短短	ton53 ton53 ə33短短□	ton31 ton31 短短

The diminutive of Sixian is very productive to be the suffix of adjectives, and it

is translated into “的”, “地”, and the ‘look like’ sense. The Hailu and Raoping diminutive are also active, but they do not appear as many as Sixian. Then, Dapu has some examples that Tsao (2005) provides: [siau52 mi33 mi35] (笑微微) ‘to look smiley’, [t^heu113 t^ham33 t^ham35] (頭探探) ‘a look of stretching one’s neck’. Lastly, the Southern Min diminutive [a] appears in the adverbial use in Zhaoan.

The tone of the Sixian diminutive [e] seems complex because Chung (2001:126) mentions that [e] is pronounced [e55] as an attributive suffix, [e31] as a noun suffix, [e33] as an adverbial suffix, but he marks the [e31] in the example supposed to be read [e33] according to his classification: [fan55 sit5 sit5 e31] (飯食食仔) ‘Please finish up the meal.’ (Chung 2001:125). However, we consider that [e33] and [e31] are homophones of the diminutive because the context of [e33] overlaps the one of [e31], both denoting the approximate sense and representing a manner of not very serious, e.g., *chi i chi* (吃一吃).

5.1.13.3 Adverb

First, we introduce the construction of “恁” ‘very’, and it modifies the following adjectives, such as “恁差” ‘very bad’. As shown below, some interesting examples are presented. The suffixation of diminutives turns the original concepts from ‘very large’ to ‘very little’. It demonstrates that these gradable adjectives suffixed with diminutives have the sense of the lowering in a gradable scale. Note that some dialects use the particular words to express the meaning, such as the onomatopoeic words [niu31], [nai52], [no35] in Dapu, as well as [t^hen11] in Zhaoan.

(87)

		<i>Dialect</i>				
<i>Lexicon</i>		Sixian	Hailu	Dapu	Raoping	Zhaoan
1	‘very long time’	an31 kiu31 恁久	an24 kiu24 恁久	an31 kiu31 恁久	an53 kiu53 恁久	ŋin31 kiu31 恁久
2	‘not very long time’	an55 kiu31 e11恁久仔	an55 kiu24 ə55恁久仔	an31 kiu31 niu31恁久扭	an53 kiu53 ə33恁久□	ŋin31 kiu31 t ^h en11恁久定
3	‘very large’	an31 t ^h ai55 恁大	an24 t ^h ai33 恁大	an31 t ^h ai52 恁大	an53 t ^h ai55 恁大	ŋin31 t ^h ai55 恁大
4	‘not very large’	an55 t ^h ai55 e31恁大仔	an24 t ^h ai33 ə55恁大仔	an31 t ^h ai52 nai52恁大耐	an53 t ^h ai55 ə33恁大□	ŋin31 t ^h ai55 t ^h en11恁大定
5	‘much more’	an31 to24 恁多	an24 to53 恁多	an31 to33 恁多	an53 to11 恁多	ŋin31 to11 恁多
6	‘much less’	an55 to24 e31 恁多仔	an55 to53 ə33 恁多仔	an31 to33 no3 5恁多諾	an53 to11 ə33 恁多□	ŋin31 to11 t ^h en11恁多定

Besides, a word with a diminutive mostly means ‘slight’, ‘approximate’, or ‘little’, but it seems that the diminutives do not affect the meanings of these words. Thus, we consider that the diminutive is often attached to group of words and then it becomes a part of them. Otherwise, item 4 “奈仔” means ‘where’ in the interrogative sentence in which the diminutive is often deleted, e.g., “你去奈?”.

		<i>Dialect</i>				
<i>Lexicon</i>		Sixian	Hailu	Dapu	Raoping	Zhaoan
1	‘a little’	liok5 liok5 e31 略略仔	liau33 liau33 ə55略略仔	liok52 liok52 略略	liok5 liok5 ə33 略略□	lio11 lio11a53 (t ^h en11) 略略仔(定)
2	‘slightly’	se31 k ^h o31 e11小可仔	siau24 k ^h o24 ə55小可仔	siau31 k ^h o31 小可	siau53 k ^h o53 ə33小可仔	sio55 k ^h ua53 (t ^h en11) 小可仔(定)
3	‘mostly’	t ^h ai55 t ^h i31 e11大體仔	t ^h ai33 t ^h i24 ə55大體仔	t ^h ai53 t ^h i31 大體仔	t ^h ai24 t ^h i53 ə33大體仔	t ^h ai33 t ^h o31 大體
4	‘anywhere’	it2 n(l)ai55 e31一奈仔	man53 nai24 ə55滿奈仔	man33 nai53 滿奈	man11 ni24 vi55 ə33 滿奈位仔	man11 a55 bi55滿阿位
5	‘approximately’	sam24 sam24 e31三三仔	sam53 sam53 ə55三三仔	sam33 sam35 三三仔	—	t ^h ai55 ziok53 大約

5.1.13.4 Verb

The words in this category occurring with a diminutive are not as many as the ones in the adjective category. Again, Sixian, Hailu, Raoping’s diminutives are more productive, and it is easy to find the examples denoting ‘lightly, softly’, as

exemplified in items 1, 2. Also, items 3 and 4 mean ‘someone looks like plodding’ and ‘someone who open his/her mouth seems helplessly’. This is the same approximate sense that we mentioned about in Section 5.1.13.3.

	<i>Dialect</i>	Sixian	Hailu	Dapu	Raoping	Zhaoan
1	<i>Lexicon</i> ‘to walk around’	lau24 lau24 liau55 liau55 e 31 繞繞奈奈仔	lau53 lau53 liau33 liau33 ə55 繞繞奈奈仔	lau33 lau33 liau53 liau53 繞繞奈奈	lau11 lau11 lia u55 liau55 ə33 繞繞奈奈□	lau11 lau11 leu55 leu55 e55 繞繞奈奈□
2	‘to describe the water just covering the object’	tep2 tep2 e11 沾沾仔	tep5 tep5 ə55 沾沾仔	tem33 tem35 沾沾仔	tep2 tep2 ə33 沾沾□	zin11,tsop53 tsop53,tsip53 tsip5□□
3	‘to be plodding’	t ^h eu11 ts ^h im5 ts ^h im55 e31 頭沉沉仔	t ^h eu55 t ^h im11 t ^h im11 ə55 頭沉沉仔	t ^h eu113 t ^h in31 t ^h in31 頭沉沉	t ^h eu55 t ^h im53 t ^h im53 ə33 頭沉沉□	t ^h eu53 le53 le53頭沉沉
4	‘to open one’s mouth; helplessly’	tsoi55 pak2 pak2 e11 嘴擘擘仔	t ^h oi11 pak5 pak5 ə55 嘴擘擘仔	t ^h oi53 pak21 pak21 嘴擘擘	t ^h e53 pak2 pak2 ə33 嘴擘擘□	t ^h e31 pa24 pa24嘴擘擘

5.2 Overview and discussion

In our present study, the diminutives among dialects are not only a nominal marker, but it has been through routinization undergoing semantic bleaching. In other words, we assume that these words all started with the senses of “smallness” and in time through frequent use most of them have undergone semantic changes to mean several other things through chiefly metaphorization. When the original meaning of “smallness” was lost, two major content words were then introduced to express the smallness sense: [se31] ‘small’ (細) and [tsi31] (子) ‘child’.

Generally, we cannot indicate if the semantic bleaching is reflected on the loss of the phonetic form; in other words, the Hakka diminutives use the same forms from category A to E6. On the other hand, we found that there are free variations in the field words in Wuwei Village, Zhongshih Village and Sinpu Village, that is, two alternations of representations [ə55] and a special diminutive with the tone 535. The discussion is already presented in Section 4.3.

Notice that the data in bold type in each category are used to refer the sense of smallness or other specific meanings. And the underlined data refer to the sounds of other sub-dialects. Started with the category E5, we can see the nominalized suffix of diminutives. Having the primary idea, we start to do the overall analysis. In category A, [se] (細) is used to distinguish between ‘son’ and ‘child’, and in B it is described the small size of animals, while [tsi] (子) is the juvenile in which [iãu55] (么) or [a] (圪) is used in Zhaoan. In category C, [se] is used to appear with a classifier, such as [se liap kam DIM] (細粒柑仔), and [tsi31] exists in ‘mulberry’. Then, [se] also means the small size of objects in category D1, and the diminutives are the suffixes of normal size objects. And [tsu31] and [a53] have the same function in Zhaoan. After the category D2, those diminutives play crucial roles in presenting the specific meanings. In the same category, [se] and the diminutives are in the complementary distribution, and they both refer to the particular kinship terms. The use of diminutives is not frequent in category D3 except Raoping. After that, the data in category D4 involves the pragmatic domain, and the diminutives convey the shortness of time. Then, these diminutives are very important from E1 (Contempt) to E4. Coming to the category E6, the classification of classifier and verb involves the pragmatic level. In classification of adverb, [e31] and [ə55] have the special function in defining ‘large’ and ‘small’.

(88)

	Sixian	Hailu	Dapu	Raoping	Zaoan
A	e31, <u>i31</u> se55 ,tsi31	ə55, <u>535</u> se11 ,tsi35	35 se55	ə53 , <u>e11</u> se11	tsu31,tsi31 iãu55,a53,se31
B	e31, <u>i31</u> tsi31,se55	ə55, <u>535</u> tsi35,se11	35 tsi31,se55	ə53, <u>e11</u> tsi53,se11	tsu31,tsi31 iãu55,a53
C	e31, <u>i31</u> se55,tsi31	ə55, <u>535</u> se11	35 se55	ə53, <u>e11</u> se11,tsi53	tsu31,a53, <u>e31</u> se31

D1	e31,i31 se55	ə55,535 se11	35 se55	ə53,e11 se11	tsu31,a53,e31 se31
D2	e31,se55	ə55,se11, 535	35,se55	ə53,se11	se31,55-11,a53
D3	e31,i31	ə55,535	35	ə53	tsu31
D4	e31,i31	ə55,535	35	ə53	tsu31
E1(R) (C)	a24- e31,tsi31,i31	a53- ə55,tsi35	a33- 35,tsi35	a33- ,ə53, tsi35,e11	a11- — (e31,e55)
E2	e31,tsi31,i31	ə55	35	ə53,tsi35	tsu31,a53
E3	e31	ə55,535	35	ə53,e21	—
E4	e31	ə55,535	35	ə53,e21	tsu31,a31,tsi31
E5	e31	ə55,535	35	ə53,e31	tsu31,a31,tsi31
E6(C)	e31	ə55,535	35	ə53,e31	iãu55,a31
(Adj)	e31	ə55	—	— (ə33)	— (e11)
(Adv)	e31	ə55	—	ə53	—
(V)	e31	ə55	35	ə53	—

Table 5.1 The distribution of Hakka diminutives in the grammaticalization cycle

There is an obvious characteristic among these five diminutives [e31], [ə55], 35 tone, [ə53], [tsu31]/[iãu55]/[a31]; they are unable to exhibit the smallness sense from category A to D1, so [se] and [tsi] takes the responsibility. Besides of category D3 and E5, the five diminutives start to reveal their semantics and functions from D4 to E6. Although there are some vacancies on Zhaozn, we still can see [tsu31/tsi31] in E4 or E5. In conclusion, the older diminutives are developed in the more grammatical levels, or practical domain, e.g., in pragmatics, and the newer words are introduced in the more concrete domains.

Furthermore, the Sixian diminutive is the most developed and applied in the broaden contexts. For the quantity of diminutive use, Sixian is the most, and then Hailu, Raoping, Dapu, and finally Zhaoan. However, it seems that Hakka diminutives do not have very strong connection between semantics and the loss of the phonetic forms, for example, from [kĩ42] (𠵹) in category A to the changed tone 242 in category D1, in Da Tien Ho Lu dialect (Liu 2006).

Having examined the uses of the diminutives, we further discuss some issues remain unsolved. In addition to the theory of grammaticalization cycle, we also apply the semantic radial category, claimed by Jurafsky (1996), in explaining the varied sense of the diminutives. Thus, any contradiction will occur when the two theories applied in this study simultaneously? We do not think so, because they provide different new perspectives. The model in Tsao (2006) is a new paradigm for the study between the Chinese diminutive and grammaticalization cycle that lead us to observe the productivity of the diminutive. We can understand how a new phonetic form emerges because the original one is replaced due to the weakening of semantic content and the loss of the phonetic form. On the other hand, Jurafsky's (1996) radial category model presents a different way to illustrate the semantic nature of the diminutive more clearly, and significantly, the radial category represents the process of semantic change, where the mapping between the core sense and extensions.

Therefore, these two models do not conflict. In contrast, both of them help us to represent the aspect of the Hakka diminutive as possible. We found that the grammaticalization cycle and the radial category can be merged, and we will adopt this way to reveal a grammatical process of grammatical and semantic functions of the diminutive.

5.3 The relation between the grammaticalization cycle and the radial category

There are a few contrasts between the grammaticalization cycle and the radial category. First, the former proceeds toward a unidirectional process, where claiming the diminutive suffix derived from a content word and the semantics of categories arranged from concrete to abstract. The latter emphasizes the mechanisms of

semantic change and illustrates all of the senses of the diminutive. Second, some senses in the former's model would become weak or some semantic properties begin to be lost. Liu (2006) indicates this phenomenon by representing a figure as follows:

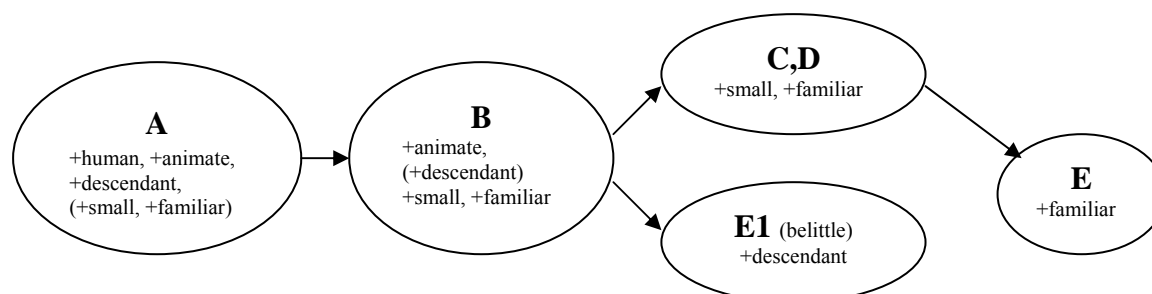


Figure 5.1 The weakening of semantic properties in diminutive (Liu 2006:79)

The figure is proposed by Liu (2006) according to the data collected from her field studies in the four places, where Min dialects are spoken. She considers that the boundary between the stages B and C is obvious, which there is the “descendant” property in the stage B and its diminutive form is realized as a complete syllable, but not shown in the stage C. Moreover, the boundary between the stage C and D is kind of blurred, so the distinctive feature in the stage C is [+small] as in the stage D. Liu also mentions that there are many words in the stage D more than in the stage C because they are more familiar with humans in the daily lives, such as desk, chair, and so on. Further, she claims that the stage E is supposed to be re-categorized into some sub-categories, for instance, E1 divided into two separate categories: a sense of respect and admiration and a sense of contempt.

In our opinion, we think that the figure 5.1 is not totally finished because there are still some categories or stages behind E1 and it is worth to construct the whole picture of the semantic properties weakening and to connect the categories after E2 with the sense of “small”. However, inspired by Liu (2006), we suggest combining the nature of the grammaticalization cycle and the radial category.

Naturally, they have some similar common ideas; that is, they are begun with the sense “son” and the grammaticalization processes and semantic changing both follow the notion, from concrete to abstract, more specified to less specified. More specifically, the first idea is corresponding to the “Unidirectional tendency”, ‘child’ gives rise to ‘diminutive’ and diminutives arise from semantic or pragmatic links with children, proposed by Jurafsky (1996) in Section 2.2.2.

5.4 Re-examine the use of the diminutive

This radial category subsumes the semantic change we discussed in every cycle of the diminutive, and it supports two objectives: descriptions of diminutives polysemy in Hakka and explanation of meaning change. The following is Hakka diminutive radial category that represents the diversities of diminutive semantics, investigated and analyzed in Section 5.1.

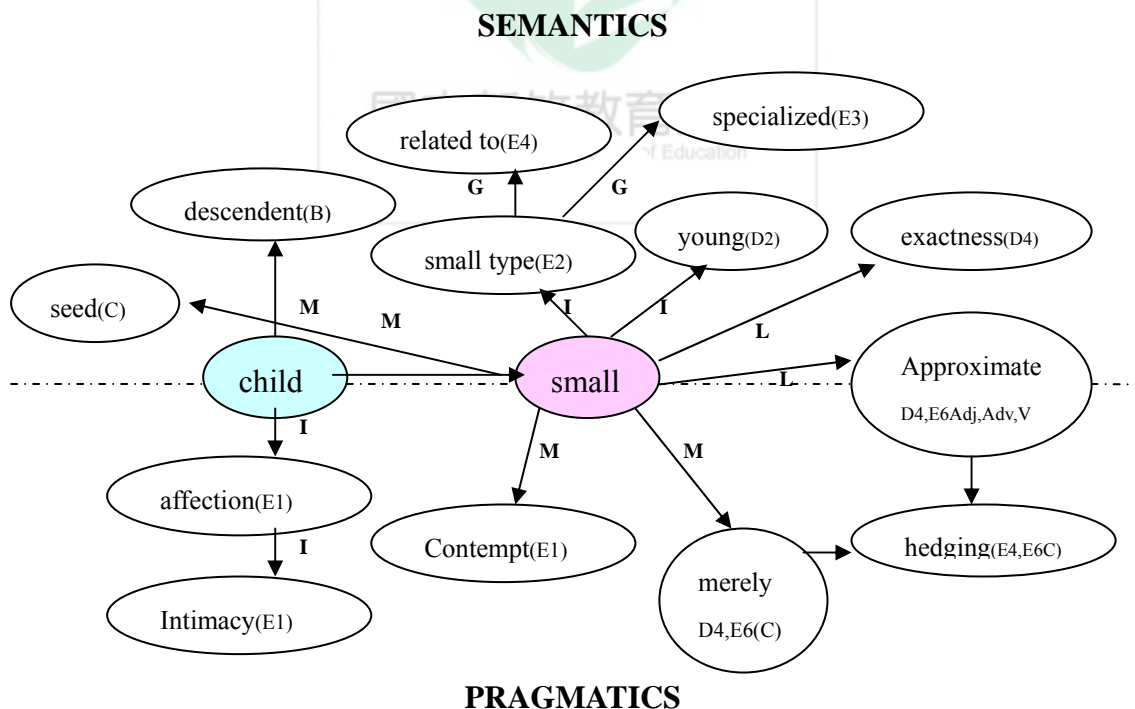


Figure 5.2 The radial category of Hakka diminutive

In the first look, the framework of figure 5.2 is similar Jurafsky’s model, reviewed in Section 2.2.2.; nonetheless, we have examined every sense of Hakka diminutive and we are certain about the semantic change between the core sense and extensions. Before entering the following discussion, notice that the data in bold type in each item are used to refer the sense of smallness or other specific meanings. And the highlighted data refer to the sense of smallness when the original suffix does not work in denoting smallness sense.

Right now, this radial category is expanded to another representation and we will re-explain the role of the diminutive in each category in every five sub-dialect. First, we start from the first large circle—child. It is connected with “descendent”, “seed”, “intimacy”, from stage A, B, D1, to E1. As we can see, Sixian, Hailu, Dapu and Raoping need to use other forms, [se] meaning the small shape and [tsi] referring to the newborn animals, to stand for their original suffixes, but [ə] in Raoping still has the function to mark “chld”. Particularly, [iǎu] and [a] in Zhaoan are very productive diminutives, so that they are not replaced by [se]. However, [se] is used to describe the smaller object among these five sub-dialects; on the contrary, their original forms emerge for representing the sense of intimacy, except Zhaoan. The nominal marker [e], equivalent to de (的) in Mandarin Chinese, is used in Zhaoan. In sum, [ə] in Raoping and [iǎu], [a] in Zhaoan are the most productive diminutives. Otherwise, [se] is another productive marker and it starts its new grammaticalization cycle.

(89) A→B→D1→E1	Child→	Descendent→	(small)→	Intimacy
Sixian	[e]	[e]	[e]	[e]
	[se]	[se] [tsi]	[se]	
Hailu	[ə]	[ə]	[ə]	[ə]

	[se]	[se] [tsi]	[se]	
Dapu	[35]	[35]	[35]	[35]
	[se]	[se] [tsi]	[se]	
Raoping	[ə]	[ə]	[ə]	[ə]
	[se]	[se] [tsi]	[se]	
Zhaoan	[iãu] [tsu]	[iãu] [a] [tsu]	[a] [tsu]	([e])
	[se]	[se]	[se]	

Table 5.2 Category A, B, D1, E1

Let's come to the second large circle—small. “Small” can be associated with “young”, and “young” is considered as a symbolic of inexperienced and is regarded as a minor role via inference. Here five sub-dialects use their old form to denote “young” and “contempt”, and [se] merely represents the youngest in the ranking of the generation in stage D2. Zhaoan, particularly, use the changed tone in the stage D2, and the use of “contempt” still remains investigated.

(90) (small)→D2→E1	(small)→young→	contempt
Sixian	[e] [se]	[e]
Hailu	[ə] [se]	[ə]
Dapu	[35] [se]	[35]
Raoping	[ə] [se]	[ə]
Zhaoan	[a] [se] [55-11]	

Table 5.3 Category D2, E1

The diminutive in stage D4 has the sense of “merely” and “approximate”, while the one has “approximate” in stage E6 (adj., adv., v.), “merely” and “hedging” in

stage E6 (classifier). The Sixian [e] is the most productive suffix that can appear in many places, whereas other diminutives in the rest of dialects do not. In expression of “merely”, Dapu only use the content word “定定”. And “approximate” or “hedging” senses are not found in Zhaoan diminutive.

(91) (small)→D4, E6	(small)→merely,	approximate,	hedging
Sixian	[e]	[e]	[e]
Hailu	[ə]	[ə]	[ə]
Dapu		[35]	[35]
Raoping	[ə]	[ə]	[ə]
Zhaoan	[tsu][iǎu]		

Table 5.4 Category D4, E6

The diminutivized forms with the meanings denoting the small-type object are conventionalized, and then the smaller-type diminutive is formed. Although there are few data found, the original form and [tsi]/[tsu] are in the complementary distribution, that is [tsi]/[tsu] using in ‘poise’ and the original form in ‘pupil’ in (76).

(92) (small)→ E2	(small)→small type
Sixian	[e][tsi]
Hailu	[ə]
Dapu	[35]
Raoping	[ə] [tsi]
Zhaoan	[tsu][a]

Table 5.5 Category E2

The “specialized” and “related to” sense are derived from “small type”. As we can see, these dialects use their original form to represent these senses. The Zhaoan diminutive does not have “specialized” sense. In addition, we create a new term “unrelated to” for category E5 to show the highly generalization of the diminutive.

(93) (E2)→E3→E4 (small type)→specialized→related to

Sixian	[e]	[e]
Hailu	[ə]	[ə]
Dapu	[35]	[35]
Raoping	[e]	[e]
Zhaoan		[tsu]

Table 5.6 Category E3, E4

The examination is based on the grammaticalization cycle due to the loss of semantics. Chiang (2006) divides the grammaticalization cycle of the diminutive into two levels; one is aroused by the loss of the phonetic form, and another one is by the weakening of the semantic content. Furthermore, she considers that the linguistic phenomena of Taiwan Dapu Hakka and Dapu-accented Hakka in Jhuolan (卓蘭) are aroused by the loss of the diminutive phonetic form. For example, the existence of Dapu 35 tone is derived from the effect of Yinping tone sandhi, and since the 35 tone is a highly grammatical marker, it makes people hard to notice. And Dapu-accented Hakka in Jhuolan is also using the 35 tone. She also finds, recently, that the Sixian suffix [e31] is introduced in this dialect because the 35 tone is phonetically difficult to be noticed. This phenomenon is called the loss of the phonetic form in the grammaticalization cycle.

Here we agree with Chiang's argument on Dapu dialect. However, the factor of semantic content should be deliberated in the study. In our opinion, the 35 tone still represents some more abstract meanings, such as “intimacy” in category E1 and “merely” in category D4. These two levels are not easy to be separated because the perspective of phonetic and semantics are concerned. Yet, we also believe that the weak form easily instigates the replacement of a new form.

From these observation, there are two generalization concluded. First, the degree of generalization is sequenced by Sixian> Hailu> Raoping >Dapu> Zhaoan, depending on higher degree to lower degree. This sequence is made according to two criteria: the quantity and the degree of fossilization within the fixed words. Second, the productivity of the diminutives is discussed based on the different grammaticalization categories. From A to D3, the diminutives in Raoping and Zhaoan are the most productive, and then Hailu, Sixian and Dapu. From D4 to E6, the sequence will be Hailu, Sixian, Raoping, and Dapu, Zhaoan.

5.5 Summary

In this chapter, we argue that every diminutive has different role in Hakka. Generally speaking, we have provided a universal tendency of the diminutives, and they are discussed as a simple unit. Nonetheless, the special linguistic phenomena, existing in the specific sub-dialect, cannot be neglected, i.e. (78). It tells us that the diminutive have the ability to stand for any particular function.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, we will first offer a summary of the findings in Section 5.1. Then, the future study will be suggested and the directions will be pointed in Section 5.1.

6.1 Summary of the thesis

The issue of the diminutive is always attracting linguists' attentions because it has the diversities that are presented in either semantics or grammatical and it also involves the argument of the degree of grammaticalization and productivity.

The present study first reviews the basic conception of grammaticalization theory and the related literature on the diminutives. They are generally discussed in Tsao & Liu (2001), Tsao & Li (2005), Tsao (2006), Jurafsky (1996), Heine *et al.* (1991), Zhu (2006), etc. However, the investigation of the Hakka diminutives has not yet been explored. Consequently, the method, including informants' information, the resource of the data and procedure, is described in Chapter 3. And in Chapter 4, a cross-linguistic and detailed phonetic description in Taiwan Hakka is presented. We also find that there are two diminutive alternatives adopted simultaneously in the dialects of Sixian and Hailu. We assume that they are the synchronic variations posited in the different grammaticalization cycles.

In Chapter 5, based on Tsao's (2006) study of grammaticalization cycle in Chinese diminutives and Jurafsky's (1996) study of synchronic and diachronic semantics of the diminutive category with a radial category, we have analyzed the diminutive realizations in five sub-dialects, Sixian, Hailu, Raoping, Dapu and

Zhaoan. Here are our findings:

1. The degree of grammaticalization: Sixian> Hailu> Raoping> Dapu> Zhaoan
The degree of productivity: Raoping, Zhaoan> Hailu> Sixian> Dapu (A→D3)
Hailu> Sixian> Raoping> Dapu, Zhaoan (D4→E6)
2. The form [se] is adopted and posited in a new grammaticalization cycle, and the diminutives in five sub-dialects are replaced by [se] in category A to D1.
3. The varied senses of the diminutive in Hakka are illustrated by the radial category. It also provides some explanations about how the core sense “child” or “small” is expanded.

6.2 Further study

Although we attempt to provide a complete and unified explanation of diminutives in Taiwan Hakka in terms of the grammaticalization cycle and the radial category, there are several issues that are not covered by this thesis and require further research.

First of all, it is crucial to collect more data and construct a database of diminutives. The various diminutive forms, existing in other sub-dialects, are still undiscovered, especially in Taoyuan and Hsinchu, containing a fruitful of diminutive forms.

Secondly, the issue of diachronic development of the diminutive has not yet been reached. That is because these diminutives in Taiwan Hakka are a single vowel in an independent syllable. Thus, the diachronic research has not completed since the large parts of the phonetic forms of these diminutives have lost. It needs to make reference to the investigation and examination between Taiwan Hakka and the cradle of Hakka culture in China.

REFERENCES

English editions

- Bopp, Franz. 1816. *Über das Conjugationssystem der Sanskritsprache in Vergleichung mit jenem der griechischen, lateinischen, persischen und germanischen Sprachen*. Frankfurt: Andreäische.
- . 1833. *Vergleichende Grammatik des Sanskrit, Zend, Griechischen, Lateinischen, Litauischen, Altslawischen, Gothischen und Deutschen*, vol. 1. Berlin.
- Bybee, Joan L., and William Pagliuca. 1985. Cross linguistic comparison and the development of grammatical meaning. Historical semantics, historical word formation. edited by Jacek Fisiak. 1985:59-83.
- Chiang, Shu-Mei. 2003. *Force-Dynamic Manifestation of Verbs of Hitting, Refraining, and Urging in Hakka*. M.A. Thesis, the Graduate Institute of Linguistics, National Chengchi University.
- Chiang, Shu-mei and Lai, Huei-ling. Jun 2007. Grammaticalization and beyond—The invisible space behind the body-part term *boi55* ‘back’ (背) in Hakka. *Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies*, New Series Vol. 37, No. 1, pp. 275-304.
- Chung, Rung-Fu. 1997. On the Structure of /IU/ and /UI/ in Sixian Hakka.
- Condillac, Etienne Bonnot de. 1746. *Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines*. Paris.
- . 1749. *Traité des systèmes*. Paris.
- Crystal, David 1997 4th *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.
- Diehl, Lon. 1975. Space case: Some principles and their implications concerning linear order in natural language. Working paper 19. University of North Dakota, Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Duanmu, San. 1990. A formal study of syllable tone, stress and domain in Chinese languages. Ph. D. dissertation. Department of Linguistics and Philosophy, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- . 2000. *The phonology of standard Chinese*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gabelentz, Georg von der. [1891] 1901. *Die Sprachwissenschaft: Ihre Aufgaben, Methoden und bisherigen Ergebnisse*. 2d ed. Leipzig: Weigel Nachf.
- Givón, Talmy. 1979. *On understanding grammar*. New York: Academic Press.
- . 1981. On the development of the numeral “one” as an indefinite marker.

- Folia Linguistica Historica* 2, no. 1:35-53.
- Goossens, Louis. 1989. *Metonymy in metaphorization: From body parts (and other donor domains) to linguistic action*. Linguistic Agency, University of Duisburg, ser. A, no. 256. Duisburg: Universität Duisburg.
- Grimm, Jacob. 1967. *Deutsche Grammatik*, 4 vols. Reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung.
- Harbsmeier, Christoph. 1979. *Wilhelm von Humboldts Brief an Abel Rémusat und die philosophische Grammatik des Altchinesischen*. Grammatica Universalis 17. Stuttgart/Bad Canstatt: Erich Fromman.
- Hashimoto, M. J. 1973. *The Hakka Dialect*. The Princeton University Press.
- Heine, Bernd. 1997. *Cognitive Foundations of Grammar*. 35-65. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Heine, Bernd and Reh, Mechthild. 1984. *Grammaticalization and Reanalysis in African Languages*. Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- Heine, Bernd, Claudi, Ulrike and Hünnemeyer, Friederike, 1991. *Grammaticalization: A Conceptual Framework*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Heine, Bernd and Tania Kuteva. 2002. *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hopper, Paul J. 1991. *On some principles of grammaticization*. In Traugott and Heine, 1991. vol. 1. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Hopper, Paul J. and Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 1993. *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge University Press.
- Horne Tooke, John. 1857. *Epea pteroenta or the diversions of Purley*. 2 vols. London.
- Hsu, Hui-chuan. 1999. Syllable Contraction in Taiwanese Southern Min: A Sonority Approach. To be published in the *Proceedings of the 34th Colloquium of Linguistics*.
- Hsu, Hui-Chuan. 2000. Syllable Contraction in Four Chinese Dialects. Presented at the *10th International Conference on Chinese Linguistics*. Singapore.
- Humboldt, Wilhelm von. 1825. Über das Entstehen der grammatischen Formen und ihren Einfluß auf die Ideenentwicklung: Gelesen in der Academie der Wissenschaften am 17. Januar 1822. *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 401-30.
- Jakobson, Roman, and Morris Halle. 1956. *Fundamentals of language*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Jurafsky, Daniel 1996. Universal Tendencies in the Semantics of the

- Diminutive. *Language* 72:533-578.
- Lakoff, George. 1987. *Women, fire, and dangerous things: What categories reveal about the mind*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Langacker, Ronald W. 1977. *Syntactic reanalysis*. In Li, ed., 57-139.
- . 1987. *Foundations of cognitive grammar*. vol. 1. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.
- Lehmann, Christian. 1985. Grammaticalization: Synchronic variation and diachronic change. *Lingua e Stile* 20, no. 3:303-18.
- . 1986. Grammaticalization and linguistic typology. *General Linguistics* 26, no. 1:3-23.
- . 1995. *Thoughts on grammaticalization*. Munchen: Lincon Europa.
- Li, Charles N., and Sandra A. Thompson. 1974. Co-verbs in Mandarin Chinese: Verbs or prepositions? *Journal of Chinese Linguistics* 2, no. 3:257-78.
- . [1982] 2003. *Mandarin Chinese*. 3rd rev. Taipei: The Crane Publishing Co.
- Lord, Carol. 1976. Evidence for syntactic reanalysis: From verb to complementizer in Kwa. In Steever, Walker, and Mufwene 1976:179-91.
- Lyons, John. 1977. *Semantics*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Matisoff, James A. 1991a. Areal and Universal Dimensions of Grammatization in Lahu. In Traugott and Heine. 1991. vol. 2. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- . 1991b. The Mother of All Morphemes Augmentatives and diminutives in areal and universal perspective. In Martha Ratliff and Eric Schiller, eds., *Papers from the First Annual Meeting of the Southeast Asia Linguistic Society (SEALS)*, pp. 293-349. Arizona State University, Program for Southeast Asia Studies.
- Meillet, Antoine. 1912. L'évolution des formes grammaticales. *Scientia* 12. (Reprinted in A. Meillet, *Linguistique Historique et linguistique générale*, 1:130-48. Paris; Edouard Campion, 1948.)
- Norman, Jerry. 1988. *Chinese*. Cambridge University Press.
- Ohala, John. 1983. Cross-language use of pitch: an ethological view. *Phonetica* 40. 1-18.
- Pagliuca, William ed. 1994. *Perspectives on grammaticalization*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Rhodes, Richard A. 1990. Lexical hierarchies and Ojibwa noun derivation. *Meanings and prototypes*, ed. by S. L. Tsohatzidis, 151-58. London: Routledge.

- Rubba, Jo. 1994. "Grammaticization as Semantic Change." *Perspectives on Grammaticalization*. ed. by Pagliuca William, pp. 81-101, John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Sam, Duanmu. 1990. *A Formal Study of Syllable, Tone, Stress and Domain in Chinese Languages*. Ph.D. dissertation, the Department of Linguistics and Philosophy, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Schlegel, August Wilhelm von. 1818. *Observations sur la langue et literature provençales*. Paris: Librairie Grecque-Latine-Allemande.
- Shibatani, Masayoshi. 1991. Grammaticization of Topic into Subject. In Traugott and Heine. 1991. vol. 2. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Sperber, Dan, and Deirdre Wilson. 1986. *Relevance: Communication and cognition*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Stewart, Jr. Thomas W., and Vaillette Nathan, ed.. 2001. *Language Files*. the Department of Linguistics, The Ohio State University.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs. 1987. *On the rise of epistemic meanings in English: A case study in the regularity of semantic change*. Stanford University, Linguistic Society of America paper, November.
- Traugott, Elizabeth Closs, and Bernd Heine, eds. 1991. *Approaches to grammaticalization*. 2 vols. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Tseng, Shu-Chuan. 2005. Contracted Syllables in Mandarin: Evidence from Spontaneous Conversations. *Linguistics and Linguistics* 6.1:153-180.
- Wierzbicka, Anna. 1984. Diminutives and depreciatives: Semantic representation for derivational categories. *Quaderni di Semantica* 5. 123-30.
- Wolfram, Walt, and Johnson, Robert. 1982. *Phonological Analysis: Focus on American English*. Prentice-Hall, Inc. A Division of Simon & Schuster Englewood Cliffs, NJ 07632.
- Yue-Hashimoto, Anne O. 1993 *Comparative Chinese Dialectal Grammar: Handbook for Investigators*. Paris: Ecole Des Hautes Etudes En Sciences Sociales, Centre de Recherches Linguistiques sur l'Asie Orientale.

Chinese editions (translated into English)

- Ang, Uijin (洪惟仁). 2006. Kao-ping diqu de yu yan fen bu (Linguistic Layout of Kaohsiung and Pingtung Counties in Southern Taiwan). *Language and Linguistics* Vol. 7. no. 2:365-416。
- Chang, Ping-Sheng(張屏生). 1997. The homophones in Hakka: Some questions in Hakka transcription. *Paper from the Conference of Taiwan Language*

- Development*. Hsichu: National Hsinchu University of Education.
- . 1998/3. Dongshi kejiahua de chao yinping shengdiao bianhua (The Chao Yinping tonal change in Dongshi Hakka). *Sheng Yun Lun Cong (Chinese Phonology)*, series 8:461-478.
- . 2002. The phonetic and morphological contract in Taiwan Hakka sub-dialects. Manuscript.
- Chang, Ping-Sheng, and Lu, Ming-Fen (張屏生&呂茗芬). 2006. The investigation of language use in Hakka in Liu-Dui area: As case study of Wuluo area (六堆地區客家方言島的語言使用調查—以武洛地區為例), found from <http://203.64.42.21/giankiu/GTH/2006/ICTR/lunbun%5C20.pdf>
- Chao, Yuen-Ren (趙元任). 1968. *A Grammar of Spoken Chinese*. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press. Authorized Chinese translation: *Zhongguohua de Wunfa*. Ting, Pang-Hsin trans. 2002. Hongkong: The Chinese University Press.
- Chiang, Min-Hua (江敏華). 2006. Lishui (麗水) fangyan xiaocheng yuyin xingshi de yufahua lunhui (The grammaticalization cycle of the diminutive phonetic forms in Lishui dialect). *Papers from the Symposium of the Diminutive in Chinese Dialects*, pp. 45-66, Hsinchu: Graduate Institute of Linguistics, National Tsing Hua University.
- Chung, Rung-Fu (鍾榮富). 1990b. Kejiahua yunmu de jiegou (The phonological structure of vowels in Hakka). *Han Xue Yan Jiu (Chinese Studies)*, 8.2:47-77.
- . eds. 2001. *Fu Er Mo Sha de laoyin—Taiwan kejiahua daolu (An introduction to Taiwan Hakka)*, vol.1-2. Taipei: Council for Cultural Affairs.
- Gu, Guo-Shun & Luo, Zhao-Jin. (古國順&羅肇錦). 2005. *An introduction to Taiwan Hakka*. Taipei: Wu-Nan Book Inc.
- Jang, Linging (張玲瑛). 1987. *Studies in Hakka Morphology and Syntax*. M.A. Thesis, Graduate Institute of Linguistics, Fu Jen Catholic University.
- Lien, Chin-fa (連金發). 1998. Taiwan Southern Min 'zai' de yanjiu (A study of the affix 'a' in Taiwan Southern Min). *Selected Papers from the Second International Symposium on Languages in Taiwan*. pp. 465-483. Taipei: The Crane Publishing Co. Ltd.
- . 1996. Taiwan Southern Min 'de' de yanjiu (A study of 'de7' in Taiwan Southern Min). In Tseng, Chiu-yu (鄭秋豫), and Ho, Dah-an (何大安), eds, *Papers from the research result presentation on Linguistics (語言學門專題計畫研究成果發表會議論文集)*. Taipei: Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica.
- Liu, Hsiu-Hsueh (劉秀雪). 2006. The grammaticalization study in Min dialect diminutives: Take Zhangzhou, Zhaoan, Youxi, Datian as examples. *Papers*

- from the *Symposium of the Diminutive in Chinese Dialects* (漢語方言小稱詞小型研討會會議論文集), pp. 67-84, Hsinchu: Graduate Institute of Linguistics, National Tsing Hua University.
- Luo, Zhao-Jin (羅肇錦). 1988 [1984]. *Keyu yufa (Hakka gramamr)*. 2nd rev. Taipei: Student Publishing.
- . [1990] 1993. *Taiwan de Kejiahua (Hakka in Taiwan)*. Taipei: Taiuan Publishing Co.
- . 1997. *Cong Taiwan yuan shengdiao xianxiang lun hanyu shengdiao de yanbian de jige guilu* (A study in some phonological rules of Chinese tones).
- Shao, Hui-Jun & Gan, Yu-En (邵慧君&甘于恩). 2002. The comparisons of the types of diminutives in Min dialects. Ding, Bang-xin & Zhang, Shuang-qing, eds., *The study in Min dialect and its relation with other adjacent dialects*. pp. 273-280. Hongkong: The Chinese University Press.
- Tse, Kwok-Ping John (謝國平). 2002. *Yuyanxue gailun (An introduction to Linguistics)*. 2nd rev. Taipei: San Min Book Co., Ltd.
- Tsao, Fung-Fu & Liu, Hsiu-Hsueh (曹逢甫&劉秀雪). 2001. Minnanyu xiaochengci de youlai—Jiantian lishi yanbian yu dili de guanxi (The origin and development of the Minnan diminutive—The case of almost perfect correspondence between historical development and present-day geographical distribution). *Sheng Yun Lun Cong (Chinese Phonology)*. vol. 11. Taipei: Taiwan Xue Sheng Shu Ju (Student Publishing).
- Tsao, Fung-Fu & Li, Yi-Fen (曹逢甫&李一芬). 2005. *Cong liangan sandi de bijiao kan Dongshi Dapu kejiahua de teshu 35/55 diao de xingzhi yu lai yuan* (The properties and development of Da-pu Hakka 35/55 Tones in Taiwan Dapu, Guangdong Dapu and Singapore: A Comparative Analysis). *Han Xue Yan Jiu (Chinese Studies)*, vol. 23, no 1: 79-106.
- Tsao, Fung-Fu (曹逢甫). 2006 The study in the grammaticalization cycle: A case study of Hanyu nasal finals/nasal diminutive. *Hanyu Xuebao* 2:2-15
- Tseng, Tsai-Chin (曾彩金). eds. 2001. *Liu-Dui Kejia shehui wenhua fazhan yu bianqian zhi yanjiu* (六堆客家社會文化發展與變遷之研究). Taipei: Liu-Dui Cultural & Educational Foundation (財團法人六堆文化教育基金會).
- Tu, Chun-Ching (涂春景). 1998. *Miaoli Jhuolan Kejia fanyan cihui duizhao (The vocabulary comparison of Jhuolan Hakka dialects in Miaoli)*. Taipei: Tu, Chun-Ching.
- . 1998. *Taiwan zhongbu diqu Kejia fanyan cihui duizhao (The Vocabulary Comparison of Hakka dialects in the central section of Taiwan)*. Taipei: Tu, Chun-Ching.

- Tung, Chung-szu (董忠司). 1994. The description and phonetic system in Dongshih Hakka (東勢客家語音系略述及其音標方案). In *Papers from Taiwan Hakka language (臺灣客家語論文集)*. Tsao, Feng-Fu and Tsai, Mei-Hui, eds. Taipei: The Crane Publishing Co.
- Wang, Li (王力). 2004. 2nd. *Hanyu Shigao*. Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company.
- Wang, Peng-Ying (王本瑛). 1995. Hanyu fangyan zhong xiao ai cheng de dili leixing yu yan bian (The geographical distribution and development of diminutive in Chinese dialects). *Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies* 25.4: 371-398.
- Xie, Dong-Yuan (謝棟元). 2002. The discussion of the suffix –zi and –er in Meixian Hakka (梅縣客方言「子」尾、「兒」尾辨). *Papers from the Fourth Conference of Hakka Studies*. pp.377-385. Guangzhou: Jinan University Press.
- Xu, Tong-Qiang (徐通鏘). 2004. The relics of [ɛ] “duch” and “Erhua” in Ningpo dialect: To see the language development from the relic (寧波方言“鴨”[ɛ]類詞和“兒化”的殘跡—以殘存現象看語言的發展). *Hanyu Yanjiu Fangfalun Chutan (漢語研究方言論初探)*. Beijing: Commercial Press.
- Yang, Shih-Feng (楊時逢). 1971. The study in Taiwan Meinong Hakka. (台灣美濃客家方言). *The Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology*. 42. vol.3:405-456。
- Yang, Siou-Fang (楊秀芳). 2007/5. The lexical change from the point of view of the loss of phones and characters: A case study of 「南洋鯽仔」「胙下空」(從音字脫節看語詞的變化—以「南洋鯽仔」「胙下空」為例). *Taiwan wunxue yanjiu jikan*. Vol. 3:169-182.
- You, Ru-Jie (游汝杰). 1992. *An introduction to Chinese dialects*. Shanghai: Shanghai Education Press.
- Yeh, Jui-Chuan (葉瑞娟). 1998. Hsinchu Sixian Kejiahua “Er [ə]” de yanjiu (A study of the suffix “Er [ə]” in Hsinchu Sixian Hakka). In Ministry of Education and National Hsinchu University of Education, eds, *Papers from the International Conference of Taiwan Languages and Education*, vol 1, pp. 331-356. National Hsinchu University of Education.
- Yan, Sen (顏森). 1989. The study in the suffix –zai ad –er in Lichuan dialect. *Fangyan* 1:60-64.
- . 1993. *The study in Lichuan dialect*. Beijing: China Social Sciences Press.
- Zhang, Wei-Geng, and Wu Hua (張維耿&吳華). 1982. Meixianhua de “tong+ ae” he “sing+ ae” (“Verb+ ae” and “adjective+ ae” in Mei-xian Hakka). *Zhongguo Yuwen* 1982/6:460-463.
- Zhu, DeXi (朱德熙). 2006. *Yufa jiangyi (A handout on the discussion of grammar)*. Beijing: Shangwu Yinshuguan.

Zhu, Chia-Ning (竺家寧). 1999. *Hanyu cihuei xue* (The lexicology in Chinese).
Wu-Nan Culture Enterprise.
———. 2005.

Zhu, Xiao-nung (朱曉農). 2006. *Qinmi Yu Kaotiao* [Intimacy and high pitch].
Yinyùn Yánjiou. Beijing: The Commercial Press, Ltd.

Dictionaries (translated into English)

Council for Hakka Affairs, the Executive Yuan (行政院客家事務委員會). 2005 &
2007. *Primary and Intermediate and High-level Hakka Proficiency Test
Textbooks of five sub-dialects, Sixian, Hailu, Dapu, Raoping, Zhaoan*.

Hsu, Teng-Chih, Liu, Yu-Chiao, and Chang Jui-Ling (徐登志&劉玉蕉&張瑞玲),
eds., 2005. *The dictionary of Taiwan Dapu Hakka*. Taichung: Taichung
County liaohsia wenhuan hsuehhui (台中縣寮下文化學會).

Hsu, Chao-Chuan (徐兆泉). 2001 first ed. 2003 second ed. *Taiwan Kejiahua cidian
(Hakka Dictionary of Taiwan)*. Taipei: Nan Tian Shu Ju (SMC Publishing
Inc.).

He, Shi-Song, and Liou, Chwen-Shin (何石松&劉醇鑫), eds, Gu, Guo-Shun (古國
順) revise, 2006. *Keyu ciku (Hakka Dictionary)*. Taipei: Council for Hakka
Affairs.

Theses and dissertations (translated into English)

Chang, Yan-Wen (張雁雯). 1998. *Taiwan Sixian Hakka Gouci Yianjiou (Studies of
Taiwan Si-ien Hakka Morphology)*. M.A. Thesis, Department of Chinese
Literature, National Taiwan University.

Chang, Linda (張素玲). 2004. *Guanxi Kejiahua huntong guanxi yan jiu (The Study
of Intermixture of Hakka Dialect in Kuan Shi)*. M.A. Thesis. Graduate
Institute of Taiwan Languages and Language Education, National Hsinchu
University of Education.

Chen, Hsiu-Chi (陳秀琪). 2002. *Hakka dialects on Zhangzhou in Taiwan- A case
study of Zhaoan*. M.A. Thesis. Graduate Institute of Taiwan Languages and
Language Education, National Hsinchu University of Education.

Chen, Sung-Lin (陳菘霖). 2006. *The use and Grammaticalization of Taiwan
Southern Min 「生」*. M.A. Thesis. Graduate Institute of Taiwan Languages
and Language Education, National Hsinchu University of Education.

Chiang, Jiun-Long (江俊龍). 1996. *The morphological study in Taichung Dongshih
Hakka*. M.A. Thesis. Department of Chinese Literature, National Chung
Cheng University.

———. 2003. *The study of Dapu Hakka in Taiwan and China*. Ph.D. dissertation,

- Department of Chinese Literature, National Chung Cheng University.
- Chiang, Min-Hua (江敏華). 1998. *Taichung County Dongshi heyu yinyun yanjiu (Aspects of the Phonology of TungChi Hakka Language)*. M.A. Thesis, Department of Chinese Literature, National Taiwan University.
- . 2003. *Kegan fangyan guanxi yan jiu (The Study of the relation between Ke and Gan)*. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Chinese Literature, National Taiwan University.
- Chu, Shin-Yi (朱心怡). 2007. *Hsinchu Raoping yu Hailu Kejiahua yinyun bijiao yanjiu (Comparative research in Hsin-chu hakka dialect of Roaping and Hai-Lu harmonious sounds)*. M.A. Thesis. Graduate Institute of Hakka Language and Literature, National Central University.
- Chung, Li-Mei (鍾麗美). 2005. *Pingtung Neipu Keyu de gongshi bianyi (The synchronic variation in Pingtung Neipu Hakka)*. M.A. Thesis, Graduate Institute of Taiwan Cultures and Languages, National Kaohsiung Normal University.
- Deng, Ming-Ju (鄧明珠). 2004. *The study in Pingtung Sinpi Hakka*. M.A. Thesis. M.A. Thesis. Department of Chinese Literature, National Changhua University of Education.
- Hsu, Kuei-Jung (徐貴榮). 2001. *Taiwan Taoyuan Raoping Hakkanese research paper*. M.A. Thesis. Graduate Institute of Taiwan Languages and Language Education, National Hsinchu University of Education.
- . 2005. *The research of Taiwan Raoping Hakka*. Wu-Nan Book Inc.
- Huang, Wen-Jun (黃雯君). 2004. *Taiwan Sixian Hailu Kejiahua bijiao yan jiu (A Comparative Study of Taiwan's Sihsian and Hailu Hakka Dialects)*. M.A. Thesis. Graduate Institute of Taiwan Languages and Language Education, National Hsinchu University of Education.
- Lai, Wei-Kai (賴維凱). 2008. *The comparative study between Gaoshu Daluguan Hakka and Neipu Hakka*. M.A. Thesis. Graduate Institute of Hakka Language and Literature, National Central University.
- Lai, Shu-Fen (賴淑芬). 2004. *The study of Pingtung Jiatong Hakka*. M.A. Thesis. Graduate Institute of Taiwan Cultures and Languages, National Kaohsiung Normal University.
- Lai, Wun-Ying (賴文英). 2004. *The study in Fengshun Hakka in Luwu in Xinwu Township*. Hsinchu: M.A. Thesis. Graduate Institute of Taiwan Languages and Language Education, National Hsinchu University of Education.
- Liau, Lie-Jen (廖烈震). 2003. *The study in Zhaoan Hakka in Lunbei area in Yunlin*. M.A. Thesis. Department of Chinese Language and Literature Studies, National Taipei Municipal University of Education.

- Lu, Sung-Yen (呂嵩雁). 1993. *Taiwan Raoping Fangyan (A Dialect in Taiwan-Jaoping)*. M.A. Thesis. Department of Chinese Literature, Soochow University.
- Lu, Yien-Jie (盧彥杰). 1998. *Hsinchu Hailu Kejiahua cihui yanjiu (The Vocabulary Study of Hailu Hakka Dialect in Hsinchu)*. M.A. Thesis. Graduate Institute of Taiwan Languages and Language Education, National Hsinchu University of Education.
- Yeh, Jui-Chuan (葉瑞娟). 2001. *A Preliminary Study on Two Aspect-Related Morphemes “Ø” and “le”*. M.A. Thesis. Graduate Institute of Linguistics, National Tsing Hua University.

