

Appendices

Appendix 1 Uncle-type kinterms in the 34 selected Sinitic varieties

Group	Variety	BO Group	SHU Group	JIU Group
Mandarin	Harbin	<i>ta</i> ⁵³ <i>ta</i> ⁰ 大大; <i>ta</i> ⁵³ <i>iɛ</i> ⁰ 大爷	<i>ɕu</i> ²⁴ <i>ɕu</i> ⁰ 叔叔	<i>teiou</i> ⁵³ <i>teiou</i> ⁰ 舅舅
	Beijing	<i>ta</i> ⁵¹ <i>iɛ</i> ⁰ 大爷	<i>ɕur</i> ⁵⁵ 叔叔	<i>teiou</i> ⁵¹ 舅
	Jinan	<i>ta</i> ²¹ <i>iə</i> ⁴² 大爷; <i>pa</i> ²¹ <i>pa</i> ⁰ 爸爸; <i>pei</i> ²¹³ <i>pei</i> ⁰ 伯伯; <i>pɛ</i> ²¹³ <i>pɛ</i> ⁰ 伯伯	<i>pa</i> ²¹ <i>pa</i> ⁰ 爸爸; <i>ɕu</i> ²¹³ <i>ɕu</i> ⁰ 叔叔; <i>pɛ</i> ²¹³ <i>pɛ</i> ⁰ 伯伯	<i>teiou</i> ²¹ <i>teiou</i> ⁰ 舅舅
	Muping	<i>ta</i> ²¹³ <i>iə</i> ⁰ 大爷	<i>ɕy</i> ²¹³ 叔	<i>ciou</i> ¹³¹ 舅
	Xi'an	<i>pei</i> ²¹ <i>pei</i> ⁰ 伯伯	<i>ta</i> ²⁴ <i>ta</i> ⁰ 大大; <i>pa</i> ⁴⁴ 爸	<i>teiou</i> ⁴⁴ 舅
	Yinchuan	<i>tie</i> ⁴⁴ 爹; <i>tehin</i> ⁴⁴ <i>tie</i> ⁴⁴ 亲爹; <i>ɕu</i> ¹³ <i>lɔ</i> ⁵³ <i>tsɿ</i> ⁰ 叔老子	<i>ɕu</i> ¹³ <i>lɔ</i> ⁵³ <i>tsɿ</i> ⁰ 叔老子; <i>ɕu</i> ¹³ <i>ɕu</i> ⁰ 叔叔; <i>pa</i> ¹³ <i>pa</i> ⁰ 爸爸	<i>teiəu</i> ¹³ <i>teiəu</i> ⁰ 舅舅
	Chengdu	<i>pe</i> ²¹ <i>pe</i> ²¹ 伯伯	<i>su</i> ²¹ <i>su</i> ²¹ 叔叔; <i>pa</i> ²¹ 爸	<i>pau</i> ²¹ <i>pau</i> ²¹ 保保; <i>teiəu</i> ²¹³ <i>teiəu</i> ²¹³ 舅舅; <i>teiəu</i> ²¹³ <i>iɛ</i> ⁵⁵ 舅爷
	Nanjing	<i>pə</i> ²⁵ <i>pə</i> ²⁰ 伯伯	<i>ɕu</i> ²⁵ <i>ɕu</i> ²⁵ 叔叔; <i>u</i> ²⁵ 屋*; <i>a</i> ²⁵ <i>u</i> ²⁵ 阿屋*	<i>teiəu</i> ⁴⁴ <i>teiəu</i> ⁴⁴ 舅舅
Wu	Danyang	<i>pæ</i> ²³ <i>pæ</i> ²³ 伯伯;	<i>sɔ</i> ²³ <i>sɔ</i> ²³ 叔叔	<i>ŋie</i> ³³ <i>tɛr</i> ¹¹ 娘舅

	<i>tia</i> ³³ <i>tia</i> ³³ 爹爹		MeB: <i>tɛr</i> ¹¹ <i>tia</i> ³³ 舅爹
			MyB: <i>tɛr</i> ¹¹ <i>tɛr</i> ¹¹ 舅舅
Suzhou	<i>læ</i> ³¹ <i>pa</i> ²⁵ <i>pa</i> ²⁵ 老伯伯; <i>pa</i> ²⁵ <i>pa</i> ²⁵ 伯伯	<i>a</i> ²⁵ <i>so</i> ²⁵ 阿叔	<i>nia</i> ¹³ <i>dzir</i> ³¹ 娘舅; <i>dzir</i> ³¹ <i>dzir</i> ³¹ 舅舅
Shanghai	<i>pa</i> ²⁵ <i>pa</i> ²⁵ 伯伯	<i>so</i> ²⁵ <i>so</i> ²⁵ 叔叔; <i>ɦia</i> ¹³ <i>so</i> ²⁵ 爷叔	<i>niã</i> ¹³ <i>dzir</i> ¹³ 娘舅; <i>dzir</i> ¹³ <i>dzir</i> ¹³ 舅舅
Hangzhou	<i>pa</i> ²⁵ <i>pa</i> ²⁵ 伯伯	<i>pa</i> ²⁵ <i>pa</i> ²⁵ 伯伯; <i>ɕio</i> ⁵³ <i>pa</i> ²⁵ <i>pa</i> ²⁵ 小伯伯	<i>nian</i> ²¹³ <i>dziø</i> ¹³ 娘舅
Wenzhou	<i>pa</i> ³³ 爸; <i>pa</i> ³¹³ <i>pa</i> ³¹³ 伯伯	<i>a</i> ³¹³ <i>ɕieu</i> ³¹³ 阿叔; <i>a</i> ³¹³ <i>da</i> ¹¹ 阿大; <i>da</i> ¹¹ <i>da</i> ¹¹ 大大	<i>dziau</i> ²⁴ <i>dziau</i> ²⁴ 舅舅; <i>dziau</i> ²⁴ <i>dziau</i> ²⁴ <i>ŋ</i> ³⁵ 舅舅儿; <i>ɲi</i> ³¹ <i>dziau</i> ²⁴ 娘舅; <i>dziau</i> ²⁴ <i>ji</i> ³¹ 舅爷
Min			MeB: <i>niɔŋ</i> ³³ <i>kiu</i> ⁵⁵ 娘舅; <i>tue</i> ⁵⁵ <i>kiu</i> ⁵⁵ <i>kiu</i> ⁵⁵ 大舅舅; <i>tue</i> ⁵⁵ <i>mu</i> ³³ <i>kiu</i> ⁵⁵ 大母舅
Jian'ou	<i>pa</i> ²¹ <i>pa</i> ²⁴ 伯伯	<i>sy</i> ²¹ <i>sy</i> ²⁴ 叔叔	MyB: <i>kiu</i> ⁵⁵ <i>kiu</i> ⁵⁵ 舅舅
Fuzhou	<i>i</i> ⁵⁵ <i>pa</i> ²⁴ 依*伯; <i>pa</i> ²⁴ <i>pa</i> ²⁴ 伯伯	<i>ka</i> ⁵⁵ <i>ʒøy</i> ²⁴ 家叔; <i>i</i> ⁵⁵ <i>ka</i> ⁵⁵ 依*家; <i>ka</i> ⁵⁵ <i>ka</i> ⁵⁵ 家家; <i>a</i> ⁵⁵ 阿*	<i>kieu</i> ²⁴² 舅; <i>nioŋ</i> ⁵³ <i>kieu</i> ²⁴² 娘舅

	Jieyang	<i>a</i> ³³ <i>pe</i> ²¹ 阿伯; <i>pe</i> ²¹ <i>pe</i> ²¹ 伯伯; <i>pe</i> ²¹ 伯	<i>tsek</i> ¹ 叔; <i>tsek</i> ¹ <i>tsek</i> ¹ 叔叔; <i>a</i> ³³ <i>tsek</i> ¹ 阿叔	<i>ku</i> ³⁵ 舅; <i>ku</i> ³⁵ <i>ku</i> ³⁵ 舅舅; <i>a</i> ³³ <i>ku</i> ³⁵ 阿舅; <i>bo</i> ⁵³ <i>ku</i> ³⁵ 母舅
Jin	Taiyuan	<i>lau</i> ⁵³ 老; <i>ta</i> ⁴⁵ <i>ie</i> ¹¹ 大爷	<i>suə</i> ²² 叔; <i>lau</i> ⁵³ 老	<i>teiəu</i> ⁴⁵ <i>teiəu</i> ⁴⁵ 舅舅
	Xinzhou	<i>piɛ</i> ²² <i>piɛ</i> ²² 伯伯	<i>suə</i> ²² <i>suə</i> ²² 叔叔	<i>teiəu</i> ⁵³ <i>teiəu</i> ⁵³ 舅舅
Xiang	Changsha	<i>pə</i> ²⁴ <i>pə</i> ⁰ 伯伯	<i>ʂəu</i> ²⁴ <i>ʂəu</i> ⁰ 叔叔; <i>man</i> ⁴¹ <i>man</i> ⁰ 晚晚	<i>teiəu</i> ⁵⁵ <i>teiəu</i> ⁰ 舅舅
	Xiangxiang	<i>pia</i> ²⁴ <i>pia</i> ²⁴ 伯伯; <i>pia</i> ²⁴ <i>io</i> ²⁴ 伯爷	<i>ɕiei</i> ²⁴ <i>ɕiei</i> ⁰ 叔叔; <i>ɕiei</i> ²⁴ <i>tei</i> ⁰ 叔唧*	<i>giei</i> ³³ <i>giei</i> ³³ 舅舅
Ping-Patois	Nanning Ping	<i>pi</i> ³³ <i>ie</i> ²¹ 伯爷	<i>sək</i> ³ 叔	<i>kəu</i> ²⁴ <i>ie</i> ²¹ 舅爷; <i>niɛŋ</i> ²¹ <i>kəu</i> ²⁴ 娘舅
	Jiangyong Patois	<i>naŋ</i> ²¹ <i>naŋ</i> ²¹ 郎郎	<i>ɕiəu</i> ⁵⁵ <i>ɕiəu</i> ⁵⁵ 叔叔	<i>teiəu</i> ³³ <i>teiəu</i> ³³ 舅舅
Yue	Guangzhou	<i>a</i> ³³ <i>pak</i> ³³ 阿伯; <i>pak</i> ³³ <i>fu</i> ²² 伯父	<i>a</i> ³³ <i>sək</i> ⁵ 阿叔	<i>kʰeu</i> ²³ <i>fu</i> ²² 舅父; <i>kʰeu</i> ²³ <i>fu</i> ²² <i>tsei</i> ³⁵ 舅父仔
	Fengkai	<i>pə</i> ³² 爸	<i>fək</i> ⁵ 叔	<i>tʃəŋ</i> ²⁴ 舅翁
Hakka	Meixian	<i>a</i> ⁴⁴ <i>pək</i> ¹ 阿伯	<i>a</i> ⁴⁴ <i>sək</i> ¹ 阿叔	<i>a</i> ⁴⁴ <i>kʰiu</i> ⁴⁴ 阿舅
	Yudu	<i>pa</i> ²⁵ <i>pa</i> ²⁵ 伯伯; <i>tʰæ</i> ⁴² <i>pa</i> ²⁵ 大伯; <i>pa</i> ²⁵ <i>lɔ</i> ³⁵ 伯老	<i>ʂu</i> ²⁵ 叔; <i>ʂu</i> ²⁵ <i>lɔ</i> ³⁵ 叔老	<i>məŋ</i> ³¹ <i>tɕʰiu</i> ⁰ 母舅; <i>tɕʰiu</i> ³¹ <i>tɕʰiu</i> ⁰ 舅舅
Gan	Nanchang	<i>pa</i> ²⁵ <i>ia</i> ³⁵ 伯爷	<i>su</i> ²⁵ 叔	<i>mu</i> ²¹³ <i>tɕʰiu</i> ⁰ 母舅

	Pingxiang	<i>pa</i> ¹³ <i>lau</i> ³⁵ <i>tsɿ</i> ⁰ 伯老子; <i>pa</i> ¹³ <i>pa</i> ³⁵ 伯伯	<i>su</i> ¹³ <i>su</i> ³⁵ 叔叔; <i>su</i> ¹³ <i>lau</i> ³⁵ <i>tsɿ</i> ⁰ 叔老子	<i>tɕhiu</i> ¹¹ <i>ia</i> ⁴⁴ 舅爷; <i>tɕhiu</i> ¹¹ <i>lau</i> ³⁵ <i>ia</i> ⁴⁴ 舅老爷
Hui	Xiuning	<i>a</i> ²¹² <i>pa</i> ¹³ 阿伯	<i>a</i> ²¹² <i>ia</i> ⁵⁵ 阿爷; <i>ɕiu</i> ²¹² <i>ia</i> ⁵⁵ 叔爷	<i>tɕhiu</i> ¹³ <i>ia</i> ⁵⁵ 舅爷
Waxiang		<i>a</i> ⁴⁴ <i>po</i> ⁴¹ 阿伯;		
	Luxi	<i>po</i> ⁴¹ <i>po</i> ⁰ 伯伯; <i>lu</i> ¹³ <i>da</i> ¹³ 大大	<i>a</i> ⁴⁴ <i>uo</i> ²⁴ 阿亚; <i>ɲian</i> ⁴⁴ <i>da</i> ¹³ 儿大	<i>kuo</i> ²⁴ <i>kɕi</i> ⁵¹⁴ 舅公
	Yuanling	<i>po</i> ²⁵³ <i>po</i> ²⁵³ 伯伯	<i>o</i> ¹³ <i>tsa</i> ⁰ 亚子; <i>ɲia</i> ¹³ <i>tia</i> ⁵⁵ 儿爹	<i>go</i> ³⁵ <i>ko</i> ⁰ 舅家; <i>go</i> ³⁵ <i>kəu</i> ⁵⁵ 舅公
Bai-Caijia	Dali Bai	<i>ta</i> ⁵⁵ 大; <i>ti</i> ³³ 爹	<i>je</i> ⁴⁴ 爷	<i>tɕou</i> ⁵⁵ 舅
	Bijie Caijia	<i>pa</i> ⁵⁵ <i>pa</i> ⁵⁵ 伯伯	<i>tsa</i> ²¹ <i>tsa</i> ²⁴ 嬢嬢	MeB: <i>kʰa</i> ⁵⁵ <i>pa</i> ⁵⁵ 假伯 MyB: <i>ko</i> ²¹ <i>ko</i> ²⁴ 舅舅
Chinese-based creole	Yajiang Dao	<i>pa</i> ³³² 爸; <i>pe</i> ³³² <i>pe</i> ⁰ 伯伯	<i>su</i> ³³² <i>su</i> ⁰ 叔叔; <i>pa</i> ³³² 爸	<i>tɕiu</i> ³²⁴ <i>tɕiu</i> ⁰ 舅舅

Appendix 2 Lists of Explications

[1] someone's *MOTHER* (e.g., Mary's mother)

[WHO]

a. a woman [m]

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

b. people can say about her 'she is this someone's mother'

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

c. people can say about a woman 'she is this someone's mother' when they can know that it is like this:

'some time before this someone was born [m], something happened in this woman's body
because this happened, some time after this, there was the body of a child [m]
inside this woman's body
after some time, this child was born.
it was this someone'

[EXTENSION]

d. sometimes people can say about a woman: 'she is this someone's mother', because they know some other things about this woman

[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

e. when people say about a woman 'she is this someone's mother', they can think like this: 'she wants to do some good things for this someone'

[FEELING]

f. at the same time, they can think like this:

'when she thinks about this someone, she can feel something good'

[2] someone's *FATHER* (e.g., Mary's father)

[WHO]

a. a man [m]

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

b. people can say about him 'he is this someone's father'

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

c. people can say about a man 'he is this someone's father' when they can know that it is like this:

'some time before this someone was born [m], this man did something to a woman [m]
he did it with one part of his body, men's bodies have such a part,
women's bodies don't have such a part
because he did this, something happened in this woman's body
because of this, some time after this there was a body of a child [m] inside this woman's body
after some time, this child was born.
it was this someone'

[EXTENSION]

d. sometimes people can say about a man 'he is this someone's father' because they know some other things about this man

- e. when people say about a man 'he is this someone's father', they can think like this:
'he can't not-do some good things for this someone'

[3] his *XIONG* [兄]

- a. someone
- b. he can say about this someone: 'this is my *XIONG*'
- c. he can say this about someone when he can know it is like this:
'his mother [m] is this someone's mother, his father [m] is this someone's father
he was born [m] after this someone was born
this someone is someone of one kind
someone of this kind can be a man
someone of this kind can be a child if after some time this child can be a man'
- d. sometimes he can say about someone 'he is my *XIONG*' because he knows some other things about this someone
- e. when he says about someone 'this is my *XIONG*', people can think like this:
'this someone is someone above him'
- f. at the same time, people can think like this:
'this someone can't not-do some good things for him'

[4] his *DI* [弟]

- a. someone
- b. he can say about this someone: 'this is my *DI*'
- c. he can say this about someone when he can know it is like this:
'his mother [m] is this someone's mother, his father [m] is this someone's father
he was born [m] before this someone was born
this someone is someone of one kind
someone of this kind can be a man
someone of this kind can be a child if after some time this child can be a man'
- d. sometimes he can say about someone 'he is my *DI*' because he knows some other things about this someone
- e. when he says about someone 'this is my *DI*', people can think like this:
'he is above this someone
this someone can't be above him'
- f. at the same time, people can think like this:
'he can't not-do some good things for this someone'

[5] his *JIE* [姐]

- a. someone
- b. he can say about this someone: 'this is my *JIE*'
- c. he can say this about someone when he can know it is like this:
'his mother [m] is this someone's mother, his father [m] is this someone's father
he was born [m] after this someone was born
this someone is someone of one kind
someone of this kind can be a woman
someone of this kind can be a child if after some time this child can be a woman'

- d. sometimes he can say about someone 'she is my *JIE*' because he knows some other things about this someone
- e. when he says about someone 'this is my *JIE*', people can think like this:
 'this someone is someone above him'
- f. at the same time, people can think like this:
 'this someone can't not-do some good things for him'

[6] his *MEI* [妹]

- a. someone
- b. he can say about this someone: 'this is my *MEI*'
- c. he can say this about someone when he can know it is like this:
 'his mother [m] is this someone's mother, his father [m] is this someone's father
 he was born [m] before this someone was born
 this someone is someone of one kind
 someone of this kind can be a woman
 someone of this kind can be a child if after some time this child can be a woman'
- d. sometimes he can say about someone 'she is my *MEI*' because he knows some other things about this someone
- e. when he says about someone 'this is my *MEI*', people can think like this:
 'he is above this someone
 this someone can't be above him'
- f. at the same time, people can think like this:
 'he can't not-do some good things for this someone'

[7a] someone's *BO* [伯] (e.g. Li Fei's *BO*)

- a. a man
- b. people can say about him: 'he is this someone's *BO*'
- c. people can say this about a man when they can know that it is like this:
 'this man's father is the father of this someone's father
 this man's mother is the mother of this someone's father
 this someone's father was born[m] after this man'
- d. sometimes people can say about a man 'he is this someone's *BO*' because they know some other things about this man
- e. when people say about a man 'he is this someone's *BO*', they can think like this:
 'he will not do bad things to this someone.'
- f. at the same time, they can feel like this:
 'this man is above this someone'

[7b] someone's *BO* [伯] (e.g. Li Fei's *BO* in General Chinese)

[WHO]

- a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

- b. people can say about this man: 'he is this someone's *BO*'

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

- c. people can say this about a man when they can know that it is like this:

'this man is a *XIONG* of this someone's father'

[EXTENSION]

- d. sometimes people can say about a man 'he is this someone's *BO*' because they know some other things about this man

[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

- e. when people say about a man 'he is this someone's *BO*', they can think like this:
'he will not do bad things to this someone.'

[FEELING]

- f. at the same time, they can feel like this:
'this man is above this someone'

[8a] someone's *ta*⁵⁵ [大] (e.g. Li Fei's *ta*⁵⁵ in Dali Bai)

[WHO]

- a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

- b. people can say about this man: 'he is this someone's *ta*⁵⁵'

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

- c. people can say this about a man when they can know that it is like this:
'this man is a *XIONG* of this someone's father'

[EXTENSION]

- d. sometimes people can say about a man 'he is this someone's *ta*⁵⁵' because they know some other things about this man

[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

- e. when people say about a man 'he is this someone's *ta*⁵⁵', they can think like this:
'he will not do bad things to this someone.'

[FEELING]

- f. at the same time, they can feel like this:
'this man is above this someone'

[8b] someone's *pa*²⁵*pa*²⁵ [伯伯] (e.g. Li Fei's *pa*²⁵*pa*²⁵ in Shanghai Wu)

[WHO]

- a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

- b. people can say about this man: 'he is this someone's *pa*²⁵*pa*²⁵'

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

- c. people can say this about a man when they can know that it is like this:
'this man is a *XIONG* of this someone's father'

[EXTENSION]

- d. sometimes people can say about a man 'he is this someone's *pa*²⁵*pa*²⁵' because they know some other things about this man

[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

- e. when people say about a man 'he is this someone's *pa*²⁵*pa*²⁵', they can think like this:
'he will not do bad things to this someone.'

[FEELING]

- f. at the same time, they can feel like this:

‘this man is above this someone’

[9a] his *pei*²¹*pei*⁰ [伯伯] (Xi'an Mandarin)

[WHO]

a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

b. he can say about this man: ‘he is my *pei*²¹*pei*⁰’

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

c. a child can say this about a man if this man is a *XIONG* of this child’s father

[EXTENSION]

d. a child can say the same about a man if he knows some other things about this man

e. If someone can say this about a man when this someone is a child, this someone can say the same after this

[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

f. when someone says this about a man, people can think like this:
‘he will not do bad things to this someone’

[FEELING]

g. when someone says this about a man, this someone can feel like this:
‘this man is above me’

[9b] his *pei*²¹ [伯] (Xi'an Mandarin)

[WHO]

a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

b. he can say about this man: ‘he is my *pei*²¹’

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

c. a child can say this about a man if this man is a *XIONG* of this child’s father

[EXTENSION]

d. a child can say the same about a man if he knows some other things about this man

e. If someone can say this about a man when this someone is a child,
this someone can say the same after this

[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

f. when someone says this about a man, people can think like this:
‘he will not do bad things to this someone’

[FEELING]

g. when someone says this about a man, this someone can feel like this:
‘this man is above me’

[9c] his *pe*²¹ [伯] (Jieyang Min)

[WHO]

a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

b. he can say about this man: ‘he is my *pe*²¹’

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

c. a child can say this about a man if this man is a *XIONG* of this child’s father

[EXTENSION]

- d. a child can say the same about a man if he knows some other things about this man
- e. If someone can say this about a man when this someone is a child,
this someone can say the same after this

[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

- f. when someone says this about a man, people can think like this:
'this man will not do bad things to this someone'

[FEELING]

- g. when someone says this about a man, this someone can feel like this:
'this man is above me'

[10a] his *peʔ¹peʔ¹* [伯伯] (Jieyang Min)

[WHO]

- a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

- b. he can say about this man: 'he is my *peʔ¹peʔ¹*'

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

- c. a small child can say this about a man if this man is a *XIONG* of this child's father

[EXTENSION]

- d. a child can say the same about a man if he knows some other things about this man
- e. many people can say this about a man when they are small children,
some people can say this about a man after this

[FEELING]

- f. when a child says this about a man, this child is saying at the same time:
'I feel something good towards this man,
I know that this man feels something good towards me'

[10b] his *ɑ³³peʔ¹* [阿伯] (Jieyang Min)

[WHO]

- a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

- b. he can say about this man: 'he is my *ɑ³³peʔ¹*'

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

- c. a child can say this about a man if this man is a *XIONG* of this child's father

[EXTENSION]

- d. a child can say the same about a man if he knows some other things about this man
- e. If someone can say this about a man when this someone is a child,
this someone can say the same after this

[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

- f. when someone says this about a man, this someone can think like this:
'he will not do bad things to this someone'

[FEELING]

- g. when someone says this about a man, this someone can feel like this:
'this man is above me
at the same time, I feel something good towards this man'

[11a] someone's *pa*³³² [爸] (e.g. Li Fei's *pa*³³² in Yajiang Dao)

[WHO]

a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

b. people can say about this man: 'he is this someone's *pa*³³²

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

c. people can say this about a man when they can know that it is like this:

'this man can have a *XIONG*, this man can have a *DI*

this man can do something to a woman with one part of his body

men's bodies have such a part, women's bodies don't have such a part

his *XIONG* can do the same thing to the same woman like this man can do

his *DI* can do the same thing to the same woman like this man can do

some time before this someone was born, they did this thing to the woman

after they did this, something happened in this woman's body

because of this, some time after this there was a body of a child inside this woman's body

after some time, this child was born

it was this someone'

[EXTENSION]

d. people can say this about a man

like they can say the same about this man's *XIONG*

people can say this about a man

like they can say the same about this man's *DI*

[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

e. when people say about a man 'he is this someone's *pa*³³²', they can think like this:

'he can't not-do good things for this someone'

[FEELING]

f. when this someone says it about this man, this someone is saying at the same time

'I feel something good towards this man

like I feel the same towards this man's *XIONG*

like I feel the same towards this man's *DI*

I know that these people feel something good towards me'

[12] someone's *fu* [父] (e.g. Wu Ding [武丁]'s *fu* in Shang Chinese)

[WHO]

a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

b. people can say about this man: 'he is this someone's *fu*

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

c. people can say this about a man if this man is this someone's father

they can say this about a man if this man is a *XIONG* of this someone's father

they can say this about a man if this man is a *DI* of this someone's father

[EXTENSION]

d. people can say about a man 'he is this someone's *fu*' because they know some other things about this man

[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

e. when people say about a man 'he is this someone's *fu*', they can think like this:

'he can't not-do some good things for this someone'

[13a] someone's $pa^{21}pa^0_{<1>}$ [爸爸_{<1>}] (e.g. Li Fei's $pa^{21}pa^0_{<1>}$ in Jinan Mandarin)

[WHO]

a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

b. someone can say about this man: 'this is my $pa^{21}pa^0_{<1>}$ '

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

c. someone can say this about a man if this man is a *XIONG* of this someone's father

[EXTENSION]

d. sometimes people can say this about a man because this someone knows some other things about this man

[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

e. when someone says about a man 'this is my $pa^{21}pa^0_{<1>}$ ', people can think like this:
'this man will not do bad things to this someone'

[FEELING]

f. when someone says this about a man, this someone is saying at the same time:
'this man is not my father
at the same time, this is someone like my father'
many people think like this at many times when they say this about this man

[13b] someone's $pa^{21}pa^0_{<2>}$ [爸爸_{<2>}] (e.g. Li Fei's $pa^{21}pa^0_{<2>}$ in Jinan Mandarin)

[WHO]

a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

b. someone can say about this man: 'this is my $pa^{21}pa^0_{<2>}$ '

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

c. someone can say this about a man if this man is this someone's father

[EXTENSION]

d. sometimes someone can say this about a man because this someone knows some other things about this man

[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

e. when someone says about a man 'this is my $pa^{21}pa^0_{<2>}$ ', people can think like this:
'he can't not-do some good things for this someone'

[FEELING]

f. when someone says this about a man, this someone is saying at the same time:
'I feel something good towards this man
I know that this man feels something good towards me'

[13c] someone's $pa^{55}_{<2>}$ [伯伯_{<2>}] (e.g. Li Fei's $pa^{55}_{<2>}$ in Bijie Caijia)

[WHO]

a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

b. someone can say about this man: 'this is my $pa^{55}_{<2>}$ '

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

c. someone can say this about a man if this man is this someone's father

[EXTENSION]

- d. sometimes someone can say this about a man because this someone knows some other things about this man
[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]
- e. when someone says about a man 'this is my *pa*⁵⁵_{<2>}', people can think like this:
'he can't not-do some good things for this someone'
- f. when someone says this about a man, this someone is saying at the same time:
'I feel something good towards this man
I know that this man feels something good towards me'

[14] someone's *a*³³*pe*²¹_{<2>} [阿伯_{<2>}] (e.g. Li Fei's *a*³³*pe*²¹_{<2>} in Jieyang Min)

- a. a man
[WHO]
- b. someone can say about this man: 'this is my *a*³³*pe*²¹_{<2>}'
[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]
- c. someone can say this about a man if this man is this someone's father
[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]
- d. sometimes someone can say this about a man because this someone knows some other things about this man
[EXTENSION]
- e. when someone says this about this someone's father, people can think like this:
'this man can't not-do some good things for this someone'
- f. at the same time, they can think like this:
'if this someone doesn't say this about this someone's father
something bad can happen to this someone
if this someone says this about this someone's father
something good can happen to this someone
this someone's father wants this someone to say this about him
because he wants something good to happen to this someone'

[15] someone's *pa*²¹*pa*⁰_{<1>} [爸爸_{<1>}] (e.g. Li Fei's *pa*²¹*pa*⁰_{<1>} in Jinan Mandarin)

- a. a man
[WHO]
- b. someone can say about this man: 'this is my *pa*²¹*pa*⁰_{<1>}'
[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]
- c. someone can say this about a man if this man is a *XIONG* of this someone's father
someone can say this about a man if this man is a *DI* of this someone's father
[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]
- d. sometimes someone can say this about a man because this someone knows some other things about this man
[EXTENSION]
- e. when someone says about a man 'this is my *pa*²¹*pa*⁰_{<1>}', people can think like this:
'this man can't do bad things to this someone'
- f. when someone says this about a man, this someone is saying at the same time:
'this man is not my father'

at the same time, this is someone like my father'
many people think like this at many times when they say this about this man

[16a] someone's $pa^{21}pa^0<3>$ [爸爸<3>] (e.g. Li Fei's $pa^{21}pa^0<3>$ in Jinan Mandarin)

[WHO]

a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

b. someone can say about this man: 'this is my $pa^{21}pa^0<3>$ '

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

c. someone can say this about a man if this man is the father of this someone's husband

d. someone can say this about a man if this man is the father of this someone's wife

[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

e. when someone says about a man 'this is my $pa^{21}pa^0<3>$ ', people can think like this:
'he can't not-do some good things for this someone'

[FEELING]

f. when someone says this about a man, this someone is saying at the same time:
'I feel something good towards this man
I know that this man feels something good towards me'

[16b] someone's $po^{253}<2>$ [伯<2>] (e.g. Li Fei's $po^{253}<2>$ in Yuanling Waxiang)

[WHO]

a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

b. someone can say about this man: 'this is my $po^{253}<2>$ '

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

c. a woman can say this about a man if this man is the father of this woman's husband

[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

d. when someone says about a man 'this is my $po^{253}<2>$ ', people can think like this:
'he will not do bad things to this someone'

[FEELING]

e. when someone says this about a man, this someone is saying at the same time:
'this man is above me'

[16c] someone's $ta^{213}ia^0<2>$ [大爷<2>] (e.g. Li Fei's $ta^{213}ia^0<2>$ in Muping Mandarin)

[WHO]

a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

b. someone can say about this man: 'this is my $ta^{213}ia^0<2>$ '

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

c. someone can say this about a man if this man is the father of this someone's wife

[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

d. when someone says about a man 'this is my $ta^{213}ia^0<2>$ ', people can think like this:
'he will not do bad things to this someone'

[FEELING]

- e. when someone says this about a man, this someone is saying at the same time:
'this man is above me'

[17] someone's *pa²⁵pa²⁵<3>* [伯伯<3>] (e.g. Li Fei's *pa²⁵pa²⁵<3>* in Shanghai Wu)

[WHO]

- a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

- b. someone can say about this man: 'this is my *pa²⁵pa²⁵<3>*'

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

- c. someone can say this about a man if this man is the husband of this someone's father's *JIE*
someone can say this about a man if this man is the husband of this someone's father's *MEI*

[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

- d. when someone says about a man 'this is my *pa²⁵pa²⁵<3>*', people can think like this:
'he will not do bad things to this someone'

[FEELING]

- e. when someone says this about a man, this someone is saying at the same time:
'I feel something good towards this man'

[18] someone's *pia²⁴pia²⁴<2>* [伯伯<2>] (e.g. Li Fei's *pia²⁴pia²⁴<2>* in Xiangxiang Xiang)

[WHO]

- a. a woman

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

- b. someone can say about this woman: 'she is my *pia²⁴pia²⁴<2>*'

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

- c. someone can say this about a woman if this woman is the wife of this someone's father's *XIONG*

[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

- d. when someone says this about a woman, people can think like this:
'she will not do bad things to this someone'

[FEELING]

- e. sometimes when this someone says this about a woman, this someone can feel like this:
'this woman is above me'

[19a] someone's *a³³pe²¹<3>* [阿伯<3>] (e.g. Li Fei's *a³³pe²¹<3>* in Jieyang Min)

[WHO]

- a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

- b. someone can say about this man: 'this is my *a³³pe²¹<3>*'

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

- c. a woman can say this about a man if this man is a *XIONG* of this woman's husband

[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

- d. when a woman says about a man 'this is my *a³³pe²¹<3>*', people can think like this:
'he will not do bad things to her husband'

[FEELING]

- e. sometimes when a woman says this about a man, she can feel like this:
'this man is above me'

[19a] someone's $a^{33}pe^{21}_{<3>}$ [阿伯<3>] (e.g. Li Fei's $a^{33}pe^{21}_{<3>}$ in Jieyang Min)

[WHO]

- a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

- b. someone can say about this man: 'this is my $a^{33}pe^{21}_{<3>}$ '

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

- c. a woman can say this about a man if this man is a *XIONG* of this woman's husband

[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

- d. when a woman says about a man 'this is my $a^{33}pe^{21}_{<3>}$ ', people can think like this:
'he will not do bad things to her husband'

[FEELING]

- e. sometimes when a woman says this about a man, she can feel like this:
'this man is above me'

[19b] someone's $a^{44}pak^1_{<3>}$ [阿伯<3>] (e.g. Li Fei's $a^{44}pak^1_{<3>}$ in Meixian Hakka)

[WHO]

- a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

- b. someone can say about this man: 'this is my $a^{44}pak^1_{<3>}$ '

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

- c. a woman can say this about a man if it is like this:
this man is a *XIONG* of this woman's husband
this woman has a child

[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

- d. when a woman says about a man 'this is my $a^{44}pak^1_{<3>}$ ', people can think like this:
'he will not do bad things to her child'

[FEELING]

- e. sometimes when a woman says this about a man, she can think like this:
'I want this man to feel something good towards my child'

[20] someone's $ku^{213}pa^{21}pa^0$ [姑爸爸] (e.g. Li Fei's $ku^{213}pa^{21}pa^0$ in Jinan Mandarin)

[WHO]

- a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

- b. someone can say about this man: 'this is my $ku^{213}pa^{21}pa^0$ '

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

- c. someone can say this about a man if this man is a husband of this someone's father's *JIE*

- d. someone can say this about a man if this man is a husband of this someone's father's *MEI*

[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

- e. when someone says about a man 'this is my $ku^{213}pa^{21}pa^0$ ', people can think like this:
'this man will not do bad things to this someone'

[FEELING]

- f. when someone says this about a man, this someone is saying at the same time:
 'I feel something good towards this man
 I know that this man feels something good towards me'

[21] someone's *i⁴²pa²¹pa⁰* [姨爸爸] (e.g. Li Fei's *i⁴²pa²¹pa⁰* in Jinan Mandarin

[WHO]

- a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

- b. someone can say about this man: 'this is my *i⁴²pa²¹pa⁰*'

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

- c. someone can say this about a man if this man is a husband of this someone's mother's *JIE*

- d. someone can say this about a man if this man is a husband of this someone's mother's *MEI*

[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

- e. when someone says about a man 'this is my *i⁴²pa²¹pa⁰*', people can think like this:
 'this man will not do bad things to this someone'

[FEELING]

- f. when someone says this about a man, this someone is saying at the same time:
 'I feel something good towards this man
 I know that this man feels something good towards me'

[22] someone's *SHU* [叔] (e.g. Li Fei's *SHU* in General Chinese)

[WHO]

- a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

- b. people can say about this man: 'he is this someone's *SHU*'

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

- c. people can say this about a man when they can know that it is like this:
 'this man is a *DI* of this someone's father'

[EXTENSION]

- d. sometimes people can say about a man 'he is this someone's *SHU*' because they know some other things about this man

[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

- e. when people say about a man 'he is this someone's *SHU*', they can think like this:
 'he will not do bad things to this someone'

[23a] someone's *a⁴⁴suk¹* [阿叔] (e.g. Li Fei's *a⁴⁴suk¹* in Meixian Hakka)

[WHO]

- a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

- b. people can say about this man: 'he is this someone's *a⁴⁴suk¹*'

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

- c. people can say this about a man when they can know that it is like this:
 'this man is a *DI* of this someone's father'

[EXTENSION]

- d. sometimes people can say about a man 'he is this someone's $\alpha^{44} \text{suk}^1$ ' because they know some other things about this man
[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]
- e. when people say about a man 'he is this someone's $\alpha^{44} \text{suk}^1$ ', they can think like this:
'he will not do bad things to this someone.'

[23b] someone's $\text{tsa}^{21} \text{tsa}^{24}$ [嬢嬢] (e.g. Li Fei's $\text{tsa}^{21} \text{tsa}^{24}$ in Bijie Caijia)

- a. a man
[WHO]
- b. people can say about this man: 'he is this someone's $\text{tsa}^{21} \text{tsa}^{24}$ '
[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]
- c. people can say this about a man when they can know that it is like this:
'this man is a *DI* of this someone's father'
[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]
- d. sometimes people can say about a man 'he is this someone's $\text{tsa}^{21} \text{tsa}^{24}$ ' because they know some other things about this man
[EXTENSION]
- e. when people say about a man 'he is this someone's $\text{tsa}^{21} \text{tsa}^{24}$ ', they can think like this:
'he will not do bad things to this someone'
[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

[24a] his tsek^1 [叔] (Jieyang Min)

- a. a man
[WHO]
- b. he can say about this man: 'he is my tsek^1 '
[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]
- c. a child can say this about a man if this man is a *DI* of this child's father
[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]
- d. a child can say the same about a man if he knows some other things about this man
[EXTENSION]
- e. If someone can say this about a man when this someone is a child
this someone can say the same after this
[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]
- f. when someone says this about a man, people can think like this:
'this man will not do bad things to this someone'

[24b] his $\alpha^{33} \text{pe}^1$ [阿叔] (Jieyang Min)

- a. a man
[WHO]
- b. he can say about this man: 'he is my $\alpha^{33} \text{tsek}^1$ '
[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]
- c. a child can say this about a man if this man is a *DI* of this child's father
[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]
- [EXTENSION]

- d. a child can say the same about a man if he knows some other things about this man
- e. If someone can say this about a man when this someone is a child
this someone can say the same after this [SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]
- f. when someone says this about a man, people can think like this:
'this man will not do bad things to this someone' [FEELING]
- g. when someone says this about a man, this someone can feel like this:
'I feel something good towards this man'

[24c] his **a⁵⁵** [ʔ⁵⁵*] (Fuzhou Min)

- a. a man [WHO]
- b. he can say about this man: 'he is my **a⁵⁵**' [WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]
- c. a child can say this about a man if this man is a *DI* of this child's father [CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]
- d. a child can say the same about a man if he knows some other things about this man [EXTENSION]
- e. If someone can say this about a man when this someone is a child
this someone can say the same after this [SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]
- f. when someone says this about a man, people can think like this:
'he will not do bad things to this someone' [FEELING]
- g. when someone says this about a man, this someone can feel like this:
'I feel something good towards this man'

[24d] his **tsek¹tsek¹** 叔叔 (Jieyang Min)

- a. a man [WHO]
- b. he can say about this man: 'he is my **tsek¹tsek¹**' [WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]
- c. a small child can say this about a man if this man is a *DI* of this child's father [CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]
- d. a child can say the same about a man if he knows some other things about this man [EXTENSION]
- e. many people can say this about a man when they are small children
some people can say this about a man after this [FEELING]
- f. when a child says this about a man, this child is saying at the same time:
'I feel something good towards this man
I know that this man feels something good towards me'

[24e] his **aʔ⁵uʔ⁵** 阿屋* (Nanjing Wu)

[WHO]

a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

b. he can say about this man: 'he is my **aʔ⁵uʔ⁵**'

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

c. a small child can say this about a man if this man is a *DI* of this child's father

[EXTENSION]

d. a child can say the same about a man if he knows some other things about this man

e. many people can say this about a man when they are small children

some people can say this about a man after this

[FEELING]

f. when a child says this about a man, this child is saying at the same time:

'I feel something good towards this man

I know that this someone feels something good towards me'

[25] someone's **man⁴¹man⁰**_{<1>} [晚晚<1>] (e.g. Li Fei's **man⁴¹man⁰**_{<1>} in Changsha Xiang)

[WHO]

a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

b. people can say about this man: 'he is this someone's **man⁴¹man⁰**_{<1>}'

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

c. people can say this about a man when they can know that it is like this:

'this man is a *DI* of this someone's father

this man doesn't have a *DI*'

[EXTENSION]

d. sometimes people can say about a man 'he is this someone's **man⁴¹man⁰**_{<1>}' because they know some other things about this man

[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

e. when people say about a man 'he is this someone's **man⁴¹man⁰**_{<1>}', they can think like this:

'he will not do bad things to this someone'

[26] someone's **pia¹³tia⁵⁵** [儿爹] (e.g. Li Fei's **pia¹³tia⁵⁵** in Yuanling Waxiang)

[WHO]

a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

b. people can say about this man: 'he is this someone's **pia¹³tia⁵⁵**'

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

c. people can say this about a man when they can know that it is like this:

'this man is a *DI* of this someone's father

this someone's father doesn't have a *DI* before this man was born [m]'

[EXTENSION]

d. sometimes people can say about a man 'he is this someone's **pia¹³tia⁵⁵**' because they know some other things about this man

[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

e. when people say about a man 'he is this someone's **pia¹³tia⁵⁵**', they can think like this:

'he can't do bad things to this someone'

[FEELING]

- f. when people say this about a man, they can feel like this:
'this man is not this someone's father'

[27a] someone's $pa^{13}pa^0_{<1>}$ [爸爸_{<1>}] (e.g. Li Fei's $pa^{13}pa^0_{<1>}$ in Yinchuan Mandarin)

[WHO]

- a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

- b. someone can say about this man: 'this is my $pa^{13}pa^0_{<1>}$ '

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

- c. someone can say this about a man if this man is a *DI* of this someone's father

[EXTENSION]

- d. sometimes people can say this about a man because this someone knows some other things about this man

[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

- e. when someone says about a man 'this is my $pa^{21}pa^0_{<1>}$ ', people can think like this:
'this man can't do bad things to me'

[FEELING]

- f. when someone says this about a man, this someone is saying at the same time:
'this man is not my father
at the same time, this is someone like my father'
many people think like this at many times when they say this about this man

[27b] someone's $pa^{13}pa^0_{<2>}$ [爸爸_{<2>}] (e.g. Li Fei's $pa^{13}pa^0_{<2>}$ in Yinchuan Mandarin)

[WHO]

- a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

- b. someone can say about this man: 'this is my $pa^{13}pa^0_{<2>}$ '

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

- c. someone can say this about a man if this man is this someone's father

[EXTENSION]

- d. sometimes someone can say this about a man because this someone knows some other things about this man

[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

- e. when someone says about a man 'this is my $pa^{13}pa^0_{<2>}$ ', this someone can think like this:
'he can't not-do some good things for me'

[FEELING]

- f. when someone says this about a man, this someone is saying at the same time:
'I feel something good towards this man
I know that this someone feels something good towards me'

[28] someone's $sy^{24}_{<2>}$ [叔_{<2>}] (e.g. Li Fei's $sy^{24}_{<2>}$ in Jian'ou Min)

[WHO]

- a. a man

- [WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]
- b. someone can say about this man: 'this is my $sy^{24}_{<2>}$ '
- [CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]
- c. someone can say this about a man if this man is this someone's father
- [EXTENSION]
- d. sometimes someone can say this about a man because this someone knows some other things about this man
- [SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]
- e. when someone says this about this someone's father, people can think like this:
'this man can't not-do some good things for this someone'
- f. at the same time, they can think like this:
'if this someone doesn't say this about this someone's father
something bad can happen to this someone
if this someone says this about this someone's father
something good can happen to this someone
this someone's father wants this someone to say this about him
because he wants something good to happen to this someone'

[29a] someone's $su^{213}su^0_{<1>}$ [叔叔_{<1>}] (e.g. Li Fei's $su^{213}su^0_{<1>}$ in Jinan Mandarin)

- [WHO]
- a. a man
- [WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]
- b. people can say about this man: 'he is this someone's $su^{213}su^0$ '
- [CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]
- c. people can say this about a man when they can know that it is like this:
'this man is a *DI* of this someone's father'
- [EXTENSION]
- d. sometimes people can say about a man 'he is this someone's $su^{213}su^0$ ' because they know some other things about this man
- [SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]
- e. when people say about a man 'he is this someone's $su^{213}su^0$ ', they can think like this:
'he will not do bad things to this someone.'

[29b] someone's $su^{213}su^0_{<2>}$ [叔叔_{<2>}] (e.g. Li Fei's $su^{213}su^0_{<2>}$ in Jinan Mandarin)

- [WHO]
- a. a man
- [WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]
- b. someone can say about this man: 'this is my $su^{213}su^0_{<2>}$ '
- [CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]
- c. someone can say this about a man if it is like this:
this man is the father of this someone's wife
this man was born after this someone's father was born
- [SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]
- d. when someone says about a man 'this is my $su^{213}su^0_{<2>}$ ', people can think like this:
'he will not do bad things to this someone'

[30] someone's $su^{25}su^{54}<2>$ [叔叔<2>] (e.g. Li Fei's $su^{25}su^{54}<2>$ in Nanjing Mandarin)

[WHO]

a. a woman

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

b. someone can say about this woman: 'she is my $su^{25}su^{54}<2>$ '

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

c. someone can say this about a woman if it is like this

'she is a *MEI* of this someone's mother
at the same time, she doesn't have a *MEI*
she doesn't have a *XIONG*,
she doesn't have a *DI*'

[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

d. when someone says this about a woman, people can think like this:
'she will not do bad things to this someone'

[31] her $so^{23}so^{23}<2>$ [叔叔<2>] (Danyang Wu)

[WHO]

a. someone

b. this someone is someone of one kind

someone of this kind can be a man

someone of this kind can be a child, if after some time this child can be a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

c. she can say about this someone: 'this is my $so^{23}so^{23}<2>$ '

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

d. she can say this about someone if this someone is a *DI* of her husband

[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

e. when she says about someone 'this is my $so^{23}so^{23}<2>$ ', people can think like this:
'this someone will not do bad things to her husband'

[FEELING]

f. sometimes when she says this about this someone, she can feel like this:
'this someone is above me'

[32] someone's *JIU* [舅] (e.g. Li Fei's *JIU* in General Chinese)

[WHO]

a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

b. people can say about this man: 'he is this someone's *JIU*'

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

c. people can say this about a man if it is like this:

'this man is a *XIONG* of this someone's mother'

d. people can say this about a man if it is like this:

'this man is a *DI* of this someone's mother'

[EXTENSION]

e. sometimes people can say about a man 'he is this someone's *JIU*' because they know some other things about this man

[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

- f. when people say about a man 'he is this someone's *JIU*', they can think like this:
'he will not do bad things to this someone'
- g. at the same time, they can think like this:
'he wants to do some good things for this someone's mother'

[33a] someone's *teiou*⁵¹ [舅] (e.g. Li Fei's *teiou*⁵¹ in Beijing Mandarin)

[WHO]

- a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

- b. people can say about this man: 'he is this someone's *teiou*⁵¹'

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

- c. people can say this about a man if it is like this:
'this man is a *XIONG* of this someone's mother'
- d. people can say this about a man if it is like this:
'this man is a *DI* of this someone's mother'

[EXTENSION]

- e. sometimes people can say about a man 'he is this someone's *teiou*⁵¹' because they know some other things about this man

[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

- f. when people say about a man 'he is this someone's *teiou*⁵¹', they can think like this:
'he will not do bad things to this someone'
- g. at the same time, they can think like this:
'he wants to do some good things for this someone's mother'

[33b] someone's *ni*³¹*dziau*²⁴ [娘舅] (e.g. Li Fei's *ni*³¹*dziau*²⁴ in Wenzhou Wu)

[WHO]

- a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

- b. people can say about this man: 'he is this someone's *ni*³¹*dziau*²⁴'

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

- c. people can say this about a man if it is like this:
'this man is a *XIONG* of this someone's mother'
- d. people can say this about a man if it is like this:
'this man is a *DI* of this someone's mother'

[EXTENSION]

- e. sometimes people can say about a man 'he is this someone's *ni*³¹*dziau*²⁴' because they know some other things about this man

[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

- f. when people say about a man 'he is this someone's *ni*³¹*dziau*²⁴', they can think like this:
'he can't do bad things to this someone'
- g. at the same time, they can think like this:
'he wants to do good things for this someone'
'he wants to do good things for this someone's mother'
- h. at many times when people say this about a man, they can think like this:
'he can't not-do some good things for this someone'

he can't not-do some good things for this someone's mother
because they are **zijiren**'

[34a] they are **zijiren** [自己人]

- a. one of two kinds of people
people of this kind are called **zijiren** (people of the other kind are called **wairen**)
- b. if someone thinks about some people like this:
 'these people are people of this kind'
this someone can think like this at the same time:
 'I am one of these people
 these people can know many things about me
 I can say many things to these people
 I can't say all these things to other people
 I feel something good when I think about these people
 When these people want me to do good things for them, I will do them'
- c. people can't think about all people like this
people can't think about people of the other kind in this way
people can think about people of the other kind in another way

[34b] they are **wairen** [外人]

- a. one of two kinds of people
people of this kind are called **wairen** (people of the other kind are called **zijiren**)
- b. if someone thinks about some other people like this:
 'these people are people of this kind'
this someone can think like this at the same time:
 'these people are not **zijiren**
 I can't think about these people like I think about **zijiren**
 I can't say things to these people like I say things to **zijiren**
 If I don't want to do something for these people, I can not-do it
 I don't want these people to know many things about me'
- c. people can't think about all people like this
people can't think about people of the other kind in this way
people can think about people of the other kind in another way

[35] someone's **te^{hiu}11lau³⁵ia⁴⁴** [舅老爷] (e.g. Li Fei's **te^{hiu}11lau³⁵ia⁴⁴** in Pingxiang Gan)

[WHO]

- a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

- b. people can say about this man: 'he is this someone's **te^{hiu}11lau³⁵ia⁴⁴**,

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

- c. people can say this about a man if it is like this:
 'this man is a *XIONG* of this someone's mother'
- d. people can say this about a man if it is like this:
 'this man is a *DI* of this someone's mother'

[EXTENSION]

- e. sometimes people can say about a man ‘he is this someone’s *te^{hiu}11lau³⁵ia⁴⁴*’ because they know some other things about this man
- [SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]
- f. when people say about a man ‘he is this someone’s *te^{hiu}11lau³⁵ia⁴⁴*’, they can think like this:
‘he can’t do bad things to this someone’
- g. at the same time, they can think like this:
‘he can do good things for this someone
he can do good things for this someone’s mother’
- [FEELING]
- h. when this someone says about this man ‘he is my *te^{hiu}11lau³⁵ia⁴⁴*’, this someone can feel like this:
‘this is someone far above me
if he wants me to do something because of him, I can’t not-do it
because I don’t want him to feel something bad towards me’
- i. when this someone says this about this man, this someone can feel like this:
‘this is someone above my mother
if he wants my mother to do something because of him,
at many times she will do it
because she doesn’t want him to feel something bad’
- j. at the same time, this someone can feel like this:
‘this man is someone not below my father
if he wants my father to do something good because of him
at many times my father can’t not-do it’
- k. at many times, when people say about this man ‘he is this someone’s *te^{hiu}11lau³⁵ia⁴⁴*’, they can feel like this:
‘this is a good man’

[36a] his *k^{heu}23fu²²tsei³⁵<1>* [舅父仔<1>] (Guangzhou Yue)

[WHO]

- a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

- b. he can say about this man: ‘he is my *k^{heu}23fu²²tsei³⁵<1>*’

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

- c. a child can say this about a man if it is like this:
‘this man is a *DI* of this child’s mother
this man was born after this child was born’

[EXTENSION]

- d. a child can say the same about a man if he knows some other things about this man
- e. if he can say this about a man when he is a child, he can say the same after this

[FEELING]

- f. when he says this about a man, he is saying at the same time:
‘I feel something good towards this man
I know that this man feels something good towards me’

[36b] his *k^heu²³fu²²tsei³⁵*_{<2>} [舅父仔_{<2>}] (Guangzhou Yue)

[WHO]

a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

b. he can say about this man: 'he is my *k^heu²³fu²²tsei³⁵*_{<2>}'

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

c. a child can say this about a man if it is like this:

'this man is a *DI* of this child's mother

this man was born not a very long time before this child was born'

d. a child can say this about a man if it is like this:

'this man is a *DI* of this child's mother

this man doesn't have a *DI*'

[EXTENSION]

e. a child can say the same about a man if he knows some other things about this man

f. if he can say this about a man when he is a child, he can say the same after this

[FEELING]

g. when he says this about a man, he is saying at the same time:

'I feel something good towards this man

I know that this man feels something good towards me'

[37a] someone's *a³³ku³⁵*_{<1>} [阿舅_{<1>}] (e.g., Li Fei's *a³³ku³⁵*_{<1>} in Jieyang Min)

[WHO]

a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

b. someone can say about this man: 'he is my *a³³ku³⁵*_{<1>}'

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

c. a child can say this about a man if this man is a *XIONG* of this child's mother

d. a child can say this about a man if this man is a *DI* of this child's mother

[EXTENSION]

e. a child can say the same about a man if this child knows some other things about this man

f. if someone can say this about a man when this someone is a child,

this someone can say the same after this

[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

g. when people say about this man: 'this man is this someone's *a³³ku³⁵*_{<1>}', people can think like this:

'this man will not do bad things to this someone'

h. at the same time, they can think like this:

'this man wants to do good things for this someone

this man wants to do good things for this someone's mother'

i. at many times when people say this about a man, they can think like this:

'this man can't not-do some good things for this someone

he can't not-do some good things for this someone's mother

because they are *zijiren*'

[FEELING]

j. when this someone says this about a man, this someone is saying at the same time:

'I feel something good towards this man

I know that this man feels something good towards me

I know that this man wants to do some good things for me'

[37b] his **ku³⁵ku³⁵** [舅舅] (Jieyang Min)

[WHO]

a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

b. he can say about this man: 'he is my **ku³⁵ku³⁵**'

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

c. a small child can say this about a man if this man is a *XIONG* of this child's mother

d. a small child can say this about a man if this man is a *DI* of this child's mother

[EXTENSION]

e. a child can say the same about a man if this child knows some other things about this man

f. many people can say this about a man when they are small children,
some people can say this about a man after this

[FEELING]

g. when a child says this about a man, this child is saying at the same time:

'I feel something very good towards this man,

I know that this man feels something very good towards me

I want this man to do many good things for me'

[38a] someone's **niɔŋ³³kiu⁵⁵** [娘舅] (e.g. Li Fei's **niɔŋ³³kiu⁵⁵** in Jian'ou Min)

[WHO]

a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

b. people can say about this man: 'he is this someone's **niɔŋ³³kiu⁵⁵**'

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

c. people can say this about a man if it is like this:

'this man is a *XIONG* of this someone's mother'

[EXTENSION]

d. sometimes people can say about a man 'he is this someone's **niɔŋ³³kiu⁵⁵**' because they know
some other things about this man

[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

e. when people say about a man 'he is this someone's **niɔŋ³³kiu⁵⁵**', they can think like this:

'he can't not-do some good things for this someone

he can't not-do some good things for this someone's mother

because they are **zijiren**'

[FEELING]

f. when this someone says about this man 'he is my **niɔŋ³³kiu⁵⁵**', this someone can feel like this:

'this man is someone above me

I don't want this man to feel something bad because of me'

g. at the same time, this someone can feel like this:

'this man is one of **zijiren**

I feel something good towards this man

I want this man to feel something good towards me'

h. at many times, this someone can feel like this:

'this is someone like my father'

[38b] someone's *kiu⁵⁵kiu⁵⁵<1>* [舅舅<1>] (e.g. Li Fei's *kiu⁵⁵kiu⁵⁵<1>* in Jian'ou Min)

[WHO]

a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

b. people can say about this man: 'he is this someone's *kiu⁵⁵kiu⁵⁵<1>*'

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

c. people can say this about a man if it is like this:

'this man is a *DI* of this someone's mother'

[EXTENSION]

d. sometimes people can say about a man 'he is this someone's *kiu⁵⁵kiu⁵⁵<1>*' because they know some other things about this man

[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

e. when people say about a man 'he is this someone's *kiu⁵⁵kiu⁵⁵<1>*', they can think like this:

'he will not do bad things to this someone'

f. at the same time, they can think like this:

'he wants to do good things for this someone'

he wants to do good things for this someone's mother'

[FEELING]

g. when this someone says this about this man, this someone is saying at the same time:

'I feel something good towards this man'

I know that this man feels something good towards me'

[39] someone's *tfɔŋ²⁴<2>* [舅翁<2>] (e.g. Li Fei's *tfɔŋ²⁴<2>* in Fengkai Yue)

[WHO]

a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

b. someone can say about this man: 'this is my *tfɔŋ²⁴<2>*'

[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]

c. someone can say this about a man if this man is this someone's father

[EXTENSION]

d. sometimes someone can say this about a man because this someone knows some other things about this man

[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]

e. when someone says this about this someone's father, people can think like this:

'this man can't not-do some good things for this someone'

f. at the same time, they can think like this:

'if this someone doesn't say this about this someone's father

something bad can happen to this someone

if this someone says this about this someone's father

something good can happen to this someone

this someone's father wants this someone to say this about him

because he wants something good to happen to this someone'

[40] someone's *k^ha⁵⁵pa⁵⁵<2>* [假伯<2>] (e.g. Li Fei's *k^ha⁵⁵pa⁵⁵<2>* in Bijie Caijia)

[WHO]

a. a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

- b. people can say about this man: 'he is this someone's *kʰa⁵⁵pa⁵⁵_{<2>}*'
[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]
- c. people can say this about a man if it is like this:
'this man is a father of this someone's husband[m]'
- d. people can say this about a man if it is like this:
'this man is a father of this someone's wife[m]'
- [EXTENSION]
- e. sometimes people can say about a man 'he is this someone's *kʰa⁵⁵pa⁵⁵_{<2>}*' because they know some other things about this man
[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]
- f. when people say about a man 'he is this someone's *kʰa⁵⁵pa⁵⁵_{<2>}*', they can think like this:
'he can't not-do some good things for this someone'
- [FEELING]
- g. when this someone says about this man 'he is my *kʰa⁵⁵pa⁵⁵_{<2>}*', this someone can feel like this:
'this man is someone above me
I don't want this man to feel something bad because of me'
- h. at the same time, this someone can feel like this:
'this man is one of *zijiren*
I feel something very good towards this man
I know that this man feels something very good towards me'
- i. at many times, this someone can feel like this:
'this is someone like my father'

[41] someone's *giei³³giei³³_{<2>}* [舅舅_{<2>}] (e.g. Li Fei's *giei³³giei³³_{<2>}* in Xiangxiang Xiang)

[WHO]

- a. a woman
- [WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]
- b. people can say about this woman: 'she is this someone's *giei³³giei³³_{<2>}*'
[CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]
- c. people can say this about a woman if this woman is the wife of this someone's mother's *XIONG*
- d. people can say this about a woman if this woman is the wife of this someone's mother's *DI*
[EXTENSION]
- e. sometimes people can say this about a woman because they know some other things about this woman
[SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]
- f. when people say about a woman 'she is this someone's *giei³³giei³³_{<2>}*', they can think like this:
'she will not do bad things to this someone'
- [FEELING]
- g. sometimes when someone says this about a woman, this someone can think like this:
'I feel something good towards this woman'

[42] his *a³³ku³⁵_{<2>}* [阿舅_{<2>}] (Jieyang Min)

[WHO]

- a. someone
- b. this someone is someone of one kind
someone of this kind can be a man
someone of this kind can be a child, if after some time this child can be a man

[WHAT CAN PEOPLE SAY]

- c. he can say about this someone: 'he is my $a^{33}ku^{35}_{<2>}$ '
- [CONDITIONS/SCENARIOS]
- d. he can say this about someone if this someone is a *XIONG* of his wife[m]
- e. he can say this about someone if this someone is a *DI* of his wife[m]
- [EXTENSION]
- f. he can say the same about someone if he knows some other things about this someone
- [SOCIAL EXPECTATIONS]
- g. when people say about this someone: 'this someone is this man's $a^{33}ku^{35}_{<2>}$ ', people can think like this:
 'this someone wants to do some good things for this man's wife[m]'
- h. at many times when people say this about someone, they can think like this:
 'this someone can't not-do some good things for this man's wife[m]
 because they are *zijiren*'
- [FEELING]
- i. at many times when he says this about this someone, he can think like this:
 'I want this someone to feel something good towards me
 I want this someone to know that I will do good things for my wife[m]'
- j. at some times when he says this about this someone, he can think like this:
 'this is someone above me
 I don't want this someone to feel something bad towards me'

Appendix 3 List of Implicational Typological Generalizations

- (I) If a Sinitic variety strictly colexifies <FeB> and <FyB>, then it also strictly colexifies <FeB> and <F>.
- (II) If a Sinitic variety colexifies <FeB> and <FyB>, then it also colexifies <FeB> and <F>.
- (III) If a Sinitic variety strictly colexifies <BWF> and <ZHF>, then it also loosely colexifies <FeB> and <BWF/ZHF>.
- (IV) If a Sinitic variety loosely colexifies <FeB> and <BWF/ZHF>, then it employs FeB terms that belong to the onomasiological type of *bo*-[C] 伯.
- (V) If a Sinitic variety loosely colexifies <FeB> and <FZH>, then it also loosely colexifies <FeB> and <MZH>.
- (VI) If a Sinitic variety loosely colexifies <FeB> and <MZH>, then it also loosely colexifies <FeB> and <FZH>.
- (VII) A Sinitic variety loosely colexifies <FeB> and <MZH> if and only if it also loosely colexifies <FeB> and <FZH>.
- (VIII) If a Sinitic variety loosely colexifies together <FeB>, <FZH> and <MZH>, then it also strictly colexifies <FeB> and <F>.
- (IX) If a Sinitic variety loosely colexifies <FeB> and <FFB>, then it also loosely colexifies <FeB> and <FF>.
- (X) If a Sinitic variety loosely colexifies <FeB> and <MF>, then it also loosely colexifies <FeB> and <FF>.
- (XI) If a Sinitic variety strictly colexifies <FeB> and <FyB>, then it also strictly colexifies <FyB> and <F>.
- (XII) If a Sinitic variety colexifies <FeB> and <FyB>, then it also colexifies <FyB> and <F>.
- (XIII) If a two-uncle system exists in a Sinitic variety, then a three-uncle system concurrently exists in the same Sinitic variety.

- (XIV) A two-uncle system cannot coexist with a four-uncle system in a Sinitic variety.
- (XV) If a two-uncle system exists in a Sinitic variety, then a four-uncle system cannot exist in the same Sinitic variety.
- (XVI) If a four-uncle system exists in a Sinitic variety, then a two-uncle system cannot exist in the same Sinitic variety.
- (XVII) If a Sinitic variety strictly colexifies <MB> and <F>, then it also strictly colexifies <FB> and <F>.
- (XVIII) If a Sinitic variety strictly colexifies <MB> and <WB>, then it also has *JIU*-terms that belong to M-*jiu* subtype.
- (XIX) If a Sinitic variety practises two-uncle system, then it exhibits no strict colexification of <MB> and <WB>.
- (XX) If a Sinitic variety practises four-uncle system, then it exhibits no strict colexification of <MB> and <WB>.
- (XXI) If a Sinitic variety strictly colexifies <MB> and <WB>, then it also strictly colexifies <FyB> and <HyB>.
- (XXII) If a Sinitic variety strictly colexifies <MB> and <F>, then it also loosely colexifies <MB> and <WB>.
- (XXIII) If a Sinitic variety loosely colexifies <MB> and <FeB>, then it also loosely colexifies <MB> and <WB>.
- (XXIV) If a Sinitic variety loosely colexifies <MB> and <FF>, then it also loosely colexifies <MB> and <WB>.
- (XXV) If a Sinitic variety loosely colexifies <MB> and <MF>, then it also loosely colexifies <MB> and <WB>.