Pet-Naming Practices in Taiwan

Lindsey N. H. Chen

Department of English, National Taiwan Normal University, 162 Heping East Road, Taipei, Taiwan

This study examines the names of dogs and cats as accorded by their Taiwanese owners. The phenomenon was explored in a sample of 321 pet names that were extracted from various online sources. Contrary to previous studies of pet-naming practices found in English-speaking countries, the preference for human names (in the predominant language) for dogs and cats was not observed. Rather, the results show that names of dogs and cats in Taiwan are mainly characterized by reduplication, food references, and markers of endearment (in particular, the forms *xiao*-X, *A*-X, and X-*bao*). Other sources of onomastic inspiration include foreign borrowings and onomatopoeic association. Relative to the findings of this study, William Safire's earlier observations about dog naming are also briefly revisited.

KEYWORDS pet-naming practices, terms of endearment, Chinese, onomastics

Introduction

In many households, pets are considered to be a part of the family. In fact, pets are often treated as if they were children and their owners endearingly refer to themselves as their pet's "mom" or "dad" (AAHA 2006). In addition to being intrinsically interesting, the study of pet naming is also illuminating as it reveals insights into the general linguistic patterns of pet names and the social attitude, via naming, toward our "fur children." The focus here is on names of dogs and cats. Previous studies on names of dogs and cats, for instance, have illustrated the various ways in which Americans anthropomorphize their pets. As Abel and Kruger (2007) show, human names make up the largest single category of names of dogs and cats. Notably, the ten most common dog names in 2008 were *Max*, *Bailey*, *Bella*, *Molly*, *Lucy*, *Buddy*, *Maggie*, and *Chloe*. Moreover, owners use the same gender-related naming patterns for their pets as observed in name phonology studies (cf. Cassidy et al. 1999; Wright et al. 2005). Sometimes, particular dog breeds often inspire appropriate ethnic names; e.g. Irish setters are sometimes called *Kelly*, German shepherds *Fritz*, and Chihuahuas *Pepe*. It also generally has been observed that cats would be more likely to have female-related naming characteristics, whereas dogs would have more male-related naming characteristics.

The analyses of Abel and Kruger (2007) are consistent with the observations made in two other reports on pet names: (1) contra Levi-Strauss's hypothesis, dogs and cats are much more likely to be given human names than birds (Abel 2007); and (2) people apply the same naming practices for pets that they use for both male and female children (Safire 1985; as noted in Brandes 2012). Especially with respect to the latter, Safire in his "Name that Dog" column stated:

> More and more we are giving dogs the names we used to reserve for people […]. [W]e tend to give our dogs the names we had left over for children we never had, or we name them after favorite uncles or cartoon characters or rock stars. (Brandes, 2012: 4)

In this regard, names of flesh-and-blood felines are also different from those of fictional cats (cf. Room 1993). Lambert (1990) and Robbins (2013) in particular have traced the creative cat names in T. S. Eliot's *Old Possum's Book of Practical Cats* to their literary inspiration, rather than to everyday names.

This study contributes to the study of pet naming by examining how Taiwanese owners bestow names upon their pets. The findings of this study provide a snapshot of pet-naming practices in a Chinese-speaking society. The phenomenon was explored in a sample of 321 names of cats and dogs in Taiwan and the data were extracted from various online sources. The results contrast with those of previous studies on the pet-naming patterns found in English-speaking countries, specifically, that pets tend to receive names reserved for people. Taiwanese pets are not afforded bona fide Chinese given names. Rather, the results show that the Chinese names of cats and dogs are mainly characterized by reduplication, food references, and markers of endearment (e.g. the forms *xiao*-X, *A*-X, and X-*bao*). Other sources of onomastic inspiration include foreign borrowings and onomatopoetic association. In the following, various pet-name patterns are discussed and illustrated with examples. In addition, I briefly relate the findings of this study to William Safire's earlier observations regarding dog naming.

Methodology

In total, 321 pet names (157 names of dogs and 164 names of cats) were collected from various online sources. The multi-source data can be classified into one of the following three types: general pet-related websites, social media, and online news reports. For example, the website *Chong Wu Tao Ke* (*pet.talk.tw*) is a Chinese online magazine that contains various articles and stories about life with cats and dogs (akin to the American publication *Cat Fancy* or *Dog Fancy*). The second source of onomastic samples was social media — in particular, Pixnet, PTT, and Facebook (FB). Pixnet is a popular online social networking service in Taiwan that has a large user following in the Greater Chinese region. Here registered members can blog about and post pictures or drawings of their pets (e.g. *puppyfamily.pixnet.net/blog*). PTT, short for Professional Technology Temple, is a kind of bulletin board system similar to Reddit. Based in Taiwan, PTT has more than 1.5 million registered users and has over 20,000 boards covering a multitude of topics. The search topic in focus was "pet name," which eventually generated numerous text postings contributed by registered community members. Through the online social networking service, FB members can document and publicly share the adventures of their beloved furry companion or internet animal celebrity. Finally, names of pets can

TABLE 1
FEATURES AND FREQUENCY COUNTS FOR PET NAMES

	Dog	Cat
Reduplication	63	46
Reference to food	27	39
Marker of endearment	30	44
Foreign name	28	23
Onomatopoeic association	1	13
Other	14	13
Total (excluding repeating cross-listed examples)	157	164

be found on news media such as Eastern Times (ET) Today. As with Yahoo US, ET Today occasionally reports on pet stories and, in them, a few colorful names could be found. After collecting the data, the names of dogs and cats were then compiled and categorized in terms of common features.

Results

Of the 321 names in the database, 295 (92 %) names consisted of two-character morphemes. By "character morpheme," I refer to monosyllabic units in which one phonetic unit equates to one character. Of the 26 remaining cases, 24 (7 %) were three-character morphemes and 2 (1 %) were four-character morphemes. Table 1 provides the features identified in the onomastic samples and the frequency of each type for the two species.

Here, some comments are in order. Inevitably, there is some overlapping between categories; e.g. *mian* ("noodle") is categorized under "Reduplication" and "Reference to food." Also, most of the sites do not include information on the gender of the animals; thus the names on the list may be male or female. Finally, some of the names on the list have the exact phonetic spelling. These are not typos but English transliterations of homophonous characters. For example, 妹妹 "sister" and 美美 "pretty" are two different characters with the same phonetic spelling (*mei mei*). The full list of pet names is provided in Appendix 1. Due to space reasons, only Romanized Chinese names have been provided. Names mentioned in the text are, however, glossed with their translated meaning.

Reduplication

Reduplication is the prevalent choice for pet names. In English, reduplicated monosyllabic names are exemplified by names like *Fifi*, *Lulu*, *Kiki*, and *Mimi*. In this study, *reduplication* refers to the repetition of monosyllabic character morphemes. The morpheme may be a meaningful unit in that it has semantic transparency; e.g. *le* in the name *le le* means "happy." In fact, the propensity for reduplication in Chinese is a well-known linguistic phenomenon. As documented in Li and Thompson (1981), the reduplicated form can be applied to nouns, adjectives, verbs, and other content words. Of the total sample, 109 (34 %) names underwent this process. The 63 reduplicated dog names include *mao mao* "furry" (for simplicity, the English translation is provided only once), *bei bei* "shell," *qian qian* "money," *tian-tian* "sweet," *xiong xiong* "bear," and *zhuang zhuang* "strong." The 46 reduplicated cat names include *cai cai* "wealth," *chou chou*

"clown," *duan duan* "short," *hua hua* "flower," *huan huan* "joyous," *mei mei* "pretty," *ruan ruan* "soft," and *tiao tiao* "jump." Names common to both species were *an an* "quiet," *dian dian* "spot," *pao pao* "bubble," *qiu qiu* "ball," *rou rou* "meat," and *tang tang* "sugar." In general, there were descriptions of certain external features (e.g. furry, soft, spotty, and strong), denotations of objects (e.g. ball, flower, and money), or phonetically meaningless terms (e.g. *du du* and *zi zi*). In terms of the phonetics, names produced with rounded lips abounded (e.g. *bu bu*, *pu pu*, *hu hu*, *lu lu*, *jiu jiu*, and *yuan yuan*).

Association with food

Food and food-related names constituted 21 % of the total. A few examples have been noted in the reduplication category (e.g. *tang tang* "sugar" and *mian mian* "noodle"). References to sweets and desserts predominate. Examples include *bu ding* "pudding," *nai xi* "smoothie," *nai luo* "brûlée," *hei tang* "black sugar," *yue bing* "moon cake," *tai yang bing* "sun cake," *ma shu* "sticky sweet ball," *tao su* "walnut crispies," *ruan tang* "soft candy," *fen yuan* "tapioca pearl," *qiao ke li* "chocolate," and *shuang ji ling* "ice cream." Various bean-related items were found, including *da dou* "big bean," *hei dou* "black bean," *hong dou* "red bean," *lu dou* "green bean," and *dou jiang* "soy milk." The list is also filled with names gleaned from traditional Chinese dishes and appetizers: *bao zi* "steamed bun," *dan juan* "egg roll," *fan tuan* "rice ball," *lu dan* "braised egg," *man tou* "bread bun," *mo yu* "octopus," *pai gu* "pork chop," *rou bao* "meat-filled bun," *rou wan* "meatball," and *hong shao rou* "braised meat." Other references to consumable items include drinks (*ka fei* "coffee," *ke le* "Coke," *na tie* "latte," *pi jiu* "beer," and *bao li da* "a brand of alcoholic drink"), various fruits (*gui yuan* "longan," *peng gan* "tangerine," *ping guo* "apple," *xi gua* "watermelon," and x*iang jiao* "banana"), and American staples (*han bao* "hamburger," *re gou* "hot dog," and *shu tiao* "French fries").

Markers of endearment

Endearment was evident in the pet-names list and these particular names confer special status within the family. Markers of endearment assume various forms: *xiao*-X, *A*-X, X-*er*, X-*bao*, and sibling terms. In the *xiao*-X form, the diminutive term *xiao* means small. This is akin to the English suffix –*let* (*piglet*, *starlet*) or the Italian –*ito* (*Carlito*, *Sausalito*). On the phenomenon of diminutive markers in dog names (notably –*ie* or –*y*, as in *Joannie*, *Kimmy*, and *Benny*), Safire (as noted in Brandes Brandes, 2012, 5) explains that "it is probably because large animals seem less frightening if named with a diminutive like *Binky*."

Of the total, 74 (23 %) names contained a marker of endearment. Examples of dog names in the form *xiao*-X include *xiao bai* "little white," *xiao guai* "little obedient," *xiao mei* "little beauty," *xiao pang* "little fatty," *xiao xi* "little joy," and *xiao ke ai* "little cutie." Cat names of this form include *xiao hu* "little tiger," *xiao hua* "little flower," *xiao kui* "little sunflower," *xiao long* "little dragon," *xiao er duo* "little ear," and *xiao hei miao* "little black cat." Two names — *xiao ye* "little night" and *xiao yue* "little moon" — are befitting of felines' proclivity to nocturnal activities. On another note, the diminutive term outnumbers the superlative *da* "big, great." Among the dog names,

two (oxymoronic) examples are *da mi* "big rice" and *da dou* "big bean." Among the cat names, one finds *miao lao da* "cat boss" and *da wang* "great king."

The Chinese nicknames of *A*-X form are commonly used with family members and close acquaintances. The older generations with knowledge of the Taiwanese dialect often use this nickname form to address even their grown children. Examples of pet names include *A-hu* "tiger," *A-huang* "yellow," *A-mao* "cat," *A-mi* "tiny," *A-jin* "gold," and *A-wang* "prosperous."

For many owners, pets are considered to be their "treasured baby" and thus names of the form X-*bao* (*bao* "treasure," *colloq.* "baby") are often overheard: *bao bao* "baby," *hui bao* "gray baby," *mao bao* "furry baby," *xiao bao* "little baby," and the transposed case *bao bei* "precious." The character morpheme *er* "child" was found in one instance: *hu er* "tiger child." Kinship terms for siblings also can be found in the case of *mei mei* "sister," *qiao mei* "clever sister," *sha mei* "silly sister," *di di* "younger brother," and *di bao* "baby brother." Finally, assigning the family surname to a pet also signals a close familial relationship. Generally, a full Chinese name consists of a surname and a two-character given name. Two names with a family surname plus an affectionate nickname are *Wu xiao di* and *Wu xiao mei* "Wu little brother/sister."

Other terms of endearment are *gong zhu* "princess," *tai zi* "prince," *ha ni* "honey," and the slang term *ma ji* "best friend, BFF." Two forms of cute significance — *wa wa* and *wa ni* (*wa* "doll") — both refer to a baby girl.

Foreign (non-Chinese) names

Fifty-one (16 %) of the pet names were adopted foreign names. With the exception of two Japanese names, all were Romanized English names. In Taiwan, English is a mandatory subject in primary and secondary schools and practically everyone has an English name, which often functions as a nickname or "office name." The phenomenon extends to pet naming, and thereby lends a certain exotic feel to the pet's name. English names for dogs include *an na* "Anna," *bi li* "Billy," *fei bi* "Phoebe," *ha li* "Harry," *lin da* "Linda," *mi li* "Milly," *su fei* "Sophie," *xue li* "Shirley," *ai mi li* "Emily," and *sai lin na* "Selina." Names of two US presidents also can be found: *ke lin dun* "Clinton" and *ou ba ma* "Obama." For cats, English names include common given names (*ai mi* "Amy," *bei la* "Bella," *bo bi* "Bobby," *dai xi* "Daisy," *cha li* "Charlie," *jie ke* "Jack," *kai li* "Kelly," *lu xi* "Lucy," *mi luo* "Milo," and *ao li fo* "Oliver") as well as names of real-life figures (*yao ming* "Yao Ming," *qiao dan* "Jordan," *bei ke han mu* "Beckham," and *dai fei* "Princess Di"). The names *mi ni* "Minnie" and *xin ba* "Simba" (from *The Lion King*) appeared in both the dog and cat name lists. For the most part, these English names were transliterated as they are found in the English-language media. Finally, two Japanese names were identified: *mei ya* and *tai lang*. They are names of popular Japanese cartoon characters. As with American sitcoms, Japanese media programing is also quite popular in Taiwan.

Onomatopoeic association

Of notable mention are onomatopoeic names which are more common among cats than dogs. Here, nine instances of *miao* "meow" (m) were found: *bai miao* "white-m," *hei miao* "black-m," *miao miao* "meow-m," *pang miao* "fat-m," *xiao miao* "little-m,"

xiao bai miao "little white-m," and *xiao hei miao* "little black-m." Cat names with the diminutive *xiao* were also cross-listed in the other category. On the other hand, while one dog name evoked laughter (*ha ha*), none was suggestive of the canine bark. Four other onomatopoeic names identified were *gu lu*, *hu hu*, *yang mie mie*, and *Zhang xi xi*. The first imitates the sound of a rumbling hungry stomach, the second strenuous breathing, the third cries of sheep (*yang*), and the fourth sheepish giggles (*xi xi*).

Other

Twenty-seven (8 %) of the pet names did not fit into any of the above categories. Nevertheless, some of these names can be grouped under a common theme.

> Examples of names that may be descriptive of the feline figure were *pang hu* "fat tiger," *pang zi* "fatty," *qi qiu* "balloon," *xue qiu* "snowball," and *hei xiong* "black bear." For dogs, names that comment on their physical characteristics were *hei lian* "dark face," *hei pi* "dark skin," and *qing chun dou* "pimples."

In many cultures, certain animals are thought to be lucky. In Japan, for example, the *maneki-neko* (literally "beckoning cat") is a common Japanese figurine often believed to bring good luck and prosperity. The homophonous *lai fu* "come fortune" (來富) and *lai fu* "come luck" (來福) are common Chinese names for dogs. Another dog name that serves a similar function is *ji li* "good luck." However, no cat names in Chinese connoting good luck were identified.

Nonsensical names were tallied and these included: *jiu wan* "90 thousand," *mi wan* "tiny 10K," *shi tou* "rock," *xing qi tien* "Sunday," and *wu la la* "Ooolala." Here, namegivers aimed to be different or creative by assigning these quirky pet names.

Finally, five names — all on the dog names list — could pass as bona fide Chinese human given names. These included the names *jia yi*, *li hong*, *ya jing*, *ya xin*, and *yu jie*. However, judgment of these among Chinese native speakers may differ.

Discussion

The increasing treatment of companion animals as family members is prevalent in many societies. It is the close feeling of kinship between humans and animals that perhaps explains why people devote so much time, money, and emotional energy to the care of cats and dogs. Where cultural trends may diverge is in regard to pet-naming practices. In both the US and Australia, the adoption of human names for pets is common. In essence, these naming patterns reflect wider developments in animal-human relations. As Franklin (1999, 57) explained: "Trends in pet keeping can be understood as the extension of familial relations to non-humans." The results of this study on pet names conferred by Taiwanese owners, however, found no such distinctive, anthropomorphized naming patterns. Dogs and cats in Taiwan do not have Chinese given names as their human companions do. Rather, the pet names in this study lean towards a greater preference for reduplicated names, names related to food, and endearments of certain forms. While there were some gender-specific *foreign* (English) names, overall, the Chinese names of dogs and cats were gender neutral. In addition, no major species differences were identified, except in the numerous onomatopoeic names for cats.

Additionally, Chinese pet names reflect our stereotypical perceptions regarding certain animal species. For example, cats are often perceived as prissy and "dignified." Names like *miao lao da* "boss cat," *da wang* "great king," *xiao gong zhu* "little princess," *dai fei* "Princess Di," and even *xin ba* "Simba" (from *The Lion King*) seem to affirm cats' royalty status. The names provide insights into the namegivers' attitude toward the bearer, which is generally positive and affectionate. In fact, the pet names function like true nicknames, being forms of address that are mainly reserved for family members or intimate friends. Just as people in real life select names for what they say about people bearing them, the same could be said for the pet-naming practices described here. The pet names in this study provide miniature character sketches or illustrate aspects of pets' physical appearance. They have a high degree of semantic transparency in that they give clues about the bearer's appearance. For example, food color may be indicative of the color of a pet's fur coat: "black bean" (*hei dou*) for a Doberman or "coffee" (*ka fei*) for a dachshund. Such "miniature sketches" via nicknames were also noted in other studies, including those pertaining to nicknames for schoolteachers (Crozier 2004) and female felons (Zaitzow et al. 1997).

Chinese pet names are interesting from a phonetic point of view. In terms of the manner of articulation, the reduplicated names produced with rounded lips (e.g. *bu bu*, *pu pu*, *hu hu*, *lu lu*, *jiu jiu*, and *yuan yuan*) are reminiscent of baby talk. These reduplicated monosyllabic samples lead one to wonder whether our "fur babies" respond better to simple reduplicated names than, say, to multisyllabic names. This issue, however, is beyond the scope of this study. Perhaps research from animal behavior studies could help to answer this question.

Surprisingly, the findings here are consistent with Safire's informal observations about dog naming in English-speaking countries. Based on the responses to his "Name that Dog" column, Safire (1985) earlier identified categories of dog names based on food (*Cookie*, *Candy*, and *Taffy*), emotional disposition (*Pepper*, *Rascal*, and *Crab*), color of the canine coat (*Amber* and *Midnight*), and even the owners' occupation (*Shyster*, *Escrow*, *Bones*, and *Psychic*). Before World War II, dogs were called *Laddie*, *Rags*, *Trixie*, *Snap*, *Jaba*, *Boogles*, and similar names that are entirely uncharacteristic for human beings. Even through the 1980s, common pet names such as *Champ*, *Happy*, *Rusty*, and *Spaghetti* were used, and it was unlikely that parents would give a child names such as these (Brandes 2012). In a way, the Chinese names of dogs and cats in this study are more like the earlier pet-naming trend that Safire described than the trend observed after the millennium (cf. Abel and Kruger 2007).

The study has hopefully provided some insight into pet naming in a non-English society. Pet naming provides pet owners with a creative outlet. The naming process examined focused on dogs and cats only. It would be a mistake to conclude that the naming practices are also true of other domestic species, such as birds or hamsters. Furthermore, non-human naming practices appear to be the prevalent trend for internet cat celebrities, such as *Grumpy Cat*, *Lil Bub*, *Smoothie*, *Princess Cheeto*, and *Colonel Meow*. These issues and other questions could be explored in further research studies.

Acknowledgements

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Notes on contributor

Lindsey N. H. Chen is Associate Professor of General Linguistics at the National Taiwan Normal University. Her areas of interest are language and culture, onomastics, and semantics.

Correspondence to: Lindsey N.H. Chen National Taiwan Normal University, 162 Heping East Road, Taipei, Taiwan. Email:chenlindsey@yahoo.com

Appendix 1. Complete list of dog and cat names in Romanized Chinese, by feature

Dog Names		Cat Names	
Reduplication		*Reduplication*	
an an	mi mi	an an	qiu qiu
bao bao*	mian mian*	bao bao (h.)	rou rou*
bei bei	miao miao	bao bao*	ruan ruan
bi bi	na na	bao bao	tang tang*
bing bing	ni ni	bu bu	tian tian
bo bo	niu niu	cai cai	tiao tiao
dang dang	pao pao	chou chou	wei wei
di di* (h.)	peng peng	ci ci	xiang xiang
di di*	pi pi	dai dai	ya ya
dian dian	qi qi	dian dian	yao yao
ding ding (h.)	qian qian	duan duan	you you
ding ding	qiu qiu	duo duo	zai zai
dou dou*	rong rong	fei fei	zhuang zhuang
du du	rou rou* (h.)	guan guan	zi zi
duo duo	rou rou	hu hu*	
ha ha*	tang tang*	hua hua	
han han	tian tian	huan huan	
huan huan	ting ting	hui hui	
jie jie	wa wa	jiu jiu	
jing jing (h.)	wang wang	kai kai	
jing jing	xiao xiao*	le le	
ka ka	xin xin	mei mei* (h.)	
le le	xiong xiong	mei mei	
lei lei	yan yan (h.)	mi mi	
lin lin	yan yan	miao miao*	
lu lu (h.)	yang yang	nai nai	
lu lu	yao yao	ni ni	
man man	ying ying	pao pao	
mao mao	yuan yuan	pi pi	
mei mei* (h.)	zai zai	pu pu	
mei mei	zhuang zhuang	qia qia	
mi mi (h.)		qian qian	
Reference to food		*Reference to food*	
bao zi	ping guo	bao li da	pai gu
bu ding	re gou	bu ding	peng gan
da dou	ru luo	cha mi	pi dan
da mi	shu tiao	dan juan	pi jiu
dong gua	shuang ji ling	dou jiang	qiao ke li
dou dou*	tang tang*	dou zi	rou bao
hai tai	tie dan	fan tuan	rou rou*
han bao		fen yuan	rou wan
hei dou		gui yuan	ruan tang
hong dou		hei dou	tai yang bing
hong shao rou		hei liang feng	tang tang*
ke le		hei ma shu	tao su
lu dan		hei tang	wan zi
lu dou		ka fei	wei yu
ma shu		ke le	xi gua
man tou		ma hua	xiang jiao
mian bao		man tou	xiao mi*
mian mian*		mo yu	xiao ping guo*
nai luo		na tie	yue bing
nai xi		niu nai shi qiu	

Appendix 1. (*Continued*)

Dog Names		Cat Names	
Marker of endearment		*Marker of endearment*	
A. *Xiao*-X		A. *Xiao*-X	
xiao bai	xiao ping	Wu xiao di*	xiao long
xiao bao*	xiao shi mei	Wu xiao mei*	xiao mi (h.)
xiao bei	xiao xi	xiao bai miao*	xiao mi*
xiao guai		xiao ben	xiao miao*
xiao hei		xiao bo	xiao ping guo*
xiao huang		xiao er duo	xiao san
xiao ke ai		xiao gong zhu	xiao ye
xiao li		xiao hei miao*	xiao yue
xiao mei		xiao hu	Xie xiao qi*
xiao mi		xiao hua	Zhang xiao mao*
xiao pang		xiao kui	
B. *A*-X		B. *A*-X	
A-bu	A-mou	A-hu	A-mao
A-fei	A-wang	A-huang	A-mi
		A-jin	A-pi
C. X-*bao*		C. X-*bao*	
bao bei	xiao bao*	bao bao*	hui bao
bao bao*		di bao*	mao bao
D. Familial relation		D. Familial relation	
di di*		di bao*	Wu xiao mei*
mei mei*		hu er	Xie xiao qi*
qiao mei (h.)		mei mei*	Zhang san feng
qiao mei		sha mei	Zhang xi xi*
		Wu xiao di*	
E. Other affectionate terms		E. Other affectionate terms	
ha ni	tai zi	ma ji	
gong zhu	wa wa	mi tu	
mei li		wa ni	
Foreign names		*Foreign names*	
ai mi li	ma ni	ai mi	lu xi
an na	mei ya	ai sha	mi ka
ba dun	mi li	ai si	mi luo
bei le	mi ni	ao li fo	mi ni
bi li	mi qi	bei ke han mu	mi ya
du bi	mi xiu	bei la	qiao dan
fei bi	ou ba ma	bo bi	tai bi
ha li	sai lin na	cha li	xin ba
ke lin dun	su fei	dai fei	yao ming
lai en	tai lang	dai xi	
li ao	wei na	hu ke	
li li si	xin ba	jie ke	
li na	xue li	kai li	
lin da	yi lai	lu na	
Onomatopoeic association		*Onomatopoeic association*	
ha ha*		bai miao	pang miao
		gu lu	xiao bai miao*
		hei miao	xiao hei miao*
		hu hu*	xiao miao*
		miao de le	yang mie mie
		miao lao damiao miao	Zhang xi xi*

Appendix 1. (*Continued*)

Dog Names		Cat Names	
Other		*Other*	
hei lian	ma da	ban deng	pang hu
hei pi	qing chun dou	da wang	pang zi
ji li	shi tou	hei xiong	qi qiu
jia yi	shui jing	jiu wan	wu la la
lai fu (h.)	ya jing	le ka	xing qi tian
lai fu	ya xin	mi wan	xue qiu
li hong	yu jie	mo bi	

* cross-listed in multiple categories; (h.) phonetically similar to another character (the meanings of some names are given in the text)