

行政院客家委員會獎助客家學術研究計畫

客語歇後語之語意類型

**A taxonomic framework for  
Hakka two-part allegorical sayings**

研究計畫主持人：賴惠玲

所屬單位：國立政治大學英國語文學系

中華民國九十四年十二月十五日

客語歇後語之語意類型

# A taxonomic framework for Hakka two-part allegorical sayings \*

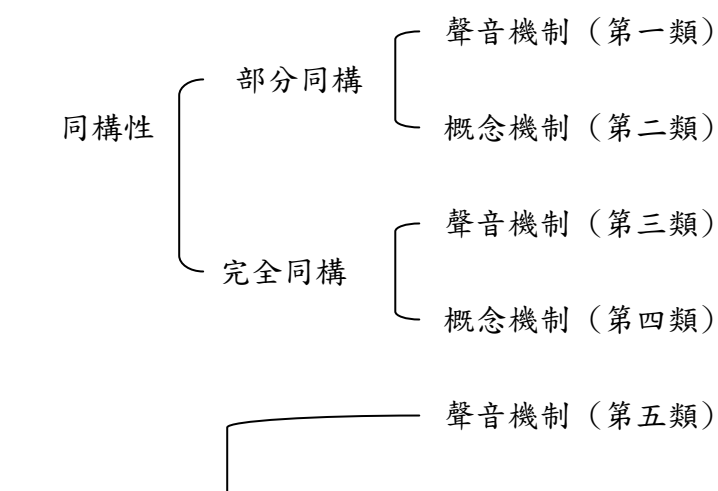
賴惠玲  
國立政治大學

## 中文摘要

語言常藉助語言符號記載日常生活中的經驗及探討生命的體驗，這些反映文化背景及觀點的語言形式即形成所謂的諺語或歇後語。歇後語的語言形式是由前後兩個部分組成的口語，前後的關係是引注關係，表述事物性質、狀態和人物行為心理，風格則多為幽默、風趣、功能也常含教育意味。

從語言層次上而言，歇後語雖非常有特色，仍可涵蓋在廣義的成語或慣用語的範圍內，因為歇後語具有約定俗成性、固定性、引喻性、格言性、非正式性及情感性等六種特性。西方認知語意派的學者指出大多數的成語或慣用語均有認知基礎，可透過認知語意機制產生。如格瑞特斯(1995)即提出同構性及語意透明度兩個面向來分析荷蘭文或英文的成語。

奠基在西方認知語意學派的理論基礎上，本計畫試圖為客語歇後語建立分類架構，因為歇後語之獨特性，本計畫在大幅修正格瑞特斯的架構後，提出歇後語的分類除了概念機制之外，還須考慮聲音機制，因而將歇後語分成六大類：



\* The study is partly based on a research project granted by National Science Council in Taiwan, *Hakka two-part allegorical sayings: perspectives from metaphor and metonymy* (NSC 93-2411-H-004-039; NSC 94-2411-H-004-007) and by Council for Hakka Affairs, Executive Yuan (行政院客家委員會). An earlier version was presented at 9th International Cognitive Linguistics Conference in Seoul. Special thanks are extended to Cliff Goddard, Inger Moen, and Mei-jun Liu for their valuable comments.

非同構性

概念機制（第六類）

同時，本計畫提出歇後語大致反映雷克夫及特耐提出的生命物種的大鏈；即語言形式常引用動物、植物或其他物件的特質來暗喻人的行為、特質或人格。然而，屬於客家文化特有的知識體系也必須同時啟動才能了解客語歇後語的語言全貌。

**關鍵詞：** 客語歇後語、完全同構、部分同構、非同構性、聲音機制、概念機制、生命物種大鍊、知識體系

## Abstract

Examining two-part allegorical sayings—a unique genre pervasively found in many Asian languages—this study has two purposes: establishing a taxonomic framework to appropriately categorize this discourse form, and explicating the knowledge schemas involved for successful construal of this genre. While displaying most of the idiomatic characteristics observed in English or Dutch idioms, two-part allegorical sayings are different such that they cannot be succinctly classified by the conceptual apparatus proposed by Geeraerts (1995, 2003). The criteria of classification require not only form-meaning mappings but also conceptual and phonological associations. Six types are hence identified: partially isomorphic with sound associations, partially isomorphic with conceptual associations, totally isomorphic with sound associations, totally isomorphic with conceptual associations, non-isomorphic with sound associations, and non-isomorphic with conceptual associations. Furthermore, although this discourse form demonstrates the prevalent Great Chain of Being maintained by Lakoff and Turner (1989), specific local folk knowledge schemas are claimed to be activated both for the linguistic choice of surface forms and for the inferred interpretations.

**Key words:** two-part allegorical sayings, total isomorphism, partial isomorphism, sound associations, conceptual associations, the Great Chain of Being, folk knowledge schemas

## 1. Introduction

Contrary to the traditional view of idioms as unanalyzable, the cognitive view of idioms holds that most idiomatic expressions are analyzable with their meanings motivated by conceptual mechanisms (Gibbs 1995, Kövecses and Szabó 1996, Nunberg et al. 1994, Geeraerts 1995, 2003, among others). Lakoff (1993), and Lakoff and Turner (1989) further advance that cognitive mechanisms such as metaphor, metonymy and the interactions of the two are highly involved in the interpretations of poems, fables, allegories, and proverbs. Several cognitive and psychological experiments conducted have also evidenced not only that idioms are compositional but also that conceptual links between idiomatic expressions and their figurative interpretations can be activated by speakers (Gibbs 1990, 1995). In fact, Geeraerts (1995, 2003) proposes a conceptual apparatus that examines idioms from both the paradigmatic dimension and the syntagmatic dimension. Based on his model of the two criteria—motivation and isomorphism—idioms can be classified into four types: isomorphic and motivated (e.g. *spill the beans*), isomorphic and nonmotivated (e.g. *face the music*), nonisomorphic and motivated (e.g. *wring one's hands*) and nonisomorphic and nonmotivated (e.g. *shoot the breeze*).<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, such a succinct four-way classification of idioms in English or

---

<sup>1</sup> In Geeraerts (1995, 2003), examples from Dutch are used to illustrate the four types of idioms.

Dutch, although partially covering some instances of two-part allegorical sayings, cannot appropriately categorize most of them. A quite pervasive colloquial form in Mandarin Chinese, Taiwanese Southern Min, and Hakka, among other Asian languages, a two-part allegorical saying contains two parts—one portraying an image of an object, an event or a situation and the other indicating the intended meaning derived from the first part.<sup>2</sup> To depict a better picture, let us see an example from Hakka first:

- (1) 火燒豬頭—熟面 (熟面)。  
*fo*<sup>31</sup> *seu*<sup>24</sup>    *zu*<sup>24</sup>-*teu*<sup>11</sup>    ---    *suk*<sup>5</sup>-*mian*<sup>55</sup>    (*suk*<sup>5</sup>-*mian*<sup>55</sup>)  
 fire burn    pig's head    cooked face    (looking familiar)  
 'burning a pig's head—looking familiar'

Example (1) contains a typical two-part allegorical saying found in Hakka or Taiwanese Southern Min. The first part of the expression indicates an event—burning a pig's head. After being burned by fire, the face is cooked. The second part hence indicates the result of the event—cooked face. The most intriguing feature of such an expression lies in the derivation of the intended meaning. Like that of proverbs discussed in Lakoff and Turner (1989), the interpretation of such a discourse form relies heavily on a speaker's activation of his conceptual schemas of the cultural

---

<sup>2</sup> The term “two-part allegorical sayings” (called *xie1-hou4-yu3* in Mandarin Chinese) is adopted from Wang (1991). According to Cliff Goddard, Malay also has this kind of genre where there are two fixed expressions involved to obtain intended idiomatic meanings, while Inger Moen remarks that there is no such a discourse form in Norwegian. Investigation into cross-linguistic comparisons will be left for future endeavor, however.

models acquired through his experience and culture and deeply rooted in his unconscious knowledge. Specifically, the first part—the source domain—captures a vivid concrete image and the second—the target domain—identifies the intended interpretation by identifying the most salient part of a head—the face—through metonymy. To draw the intended meaning, a speaker needs to employ another strategy, the association of two homophones in Hakka—‘cooked face’ [suk<sup>5</sup> mian<sup>55</sup>] and ‘looking familiar’ [suk<sup>5</sup> mian<sup>55</sup>]. Such a sound association presents a distinctive feature of two-part allegorical sayings. In fact, this strategy often brings forth pragmatic-discourse functions such as humor, teasing or sarcasm, or exaggeration.<sup>3</sup>

Although the example above typifies a case of two-part allegorical sayings, it represents only one of the various variations of this unique genre. In general, a two-part allegorical saying contains two formulaic expressions, carries opaque figurative semantics that needs to be derived through conceptual mechanisms, and is often associated with evaluative connotations; therefore, it can in a sense be deemed as a genre of idioms (cf. Nunberg et al. 1994, Gibbs 1995, Kövecses and Szabó 1996). However, because their linguistic features are so distinctive that they cannot neatly fit into typical categories of idioms, an appropriate categorization of such a genre is an issue worth investigating. Moreover, since the emergence of such a genre is closely

---

<sup>3</sup> Lakoff and Turner (1989) point out exhortation or description as two major functions of proverbs. While both readings are possible with a proverb, whether exhortation can be induced from a two-part allegorical saying is in need of further exploration.

connected with the folk knowledge rooted in the culture, an examination of the cultural elements is also a crucial issue for the understanding of such a linguistic form. This study hence aims first to structure a taxonomic framework for this special genre of idioms. Following introduction, section 2 presents Geeraerts' (1995, 2003) model of classification of idioms. Section 3 then proposes the taxonomic framework for the classification of two-part allegorical sayings, highlighting specific features adherent to this genre. Then, section 4 explicates the major elements in the cultural models that are employed to portray two-part allegorical sayings. Finally, section 5 concludes the paper and points out future directions for interpretations of such a genre.

## **2. Geeraerts' (1995, 2003) model of idioms**

In classifying kinds of figurative specialization in idioms, Geeraert (1995, 2003) proposes two criteria—*isomorphism* and *motivation*—to examine idioms from both paradigmatic and syntagmatic dimensions. *Isomorphism* refers to syntagmatic transparency whereby there is a correlative correspondence between the syntactic construction and its semantic structure. *Motivation*, on the other hand, is defined as paradigmatic transparency in which the semantic extension that relates the original meaning of an idiom to its idiomatic meaning is observed. Based on this model, four types of idioms are given in Geeraerts (1995, 2003), using Dutch examples:

(2) *de koe bij horens vatten*

to take the cow by the horns >  
'to take the bull by the horns, to grasp the nettle'

(3) *met spek schieten*  
to shoot with bacon >  
'to tell a tall story, to boast'

(4) *met de handen in het haar zitten*  
to sit with one's hands in one's hair >  
'to be at one's wit's end, to be in trouble'

(5) *als puntje bij paaltje komt*  
when point reaches pole >  
'when it comes to the crunch, when all is said and done'

Example in (2) is isomorphic and motivated with the cow metaphorically mapping to the whole problem and the horns metaphorically indicating the most problematic situation. Example in (3) is isomorphic—the telling corresponding to *spek* and the tall tales corresponding to *schieten*. However, it is not motivated since it is opaque why shooting with bacon should come to denote boasting. Example (4) is nevertheless metonymically motivated since it is easy to come up with an image about what a person could do when handling a difficult problem. Yet, it is not isomorphic due to lack of direct mapping between the literal meaning and the idiomatic one. Finally, example (5) is neither isomorphic nor motivated: first, no one-to-one correspondence can be detected between the syntactic structure and the semantic structure; second, it is unclear why a point reaching a pole is related to becoming serious.

Such a nice four-way classification of idioms works very well for Dutch and



English idioms as maintained by Geeraerts. However, when it comes to two-part allegorical sayings, the model requires modification. For one thing, if we stick to Geeraerts' criteria for the moment, several observations can be noted. Most conspicuously, whereas all interpretations of two-part allegorical sayings are motivated from the literal meaning to the intended interpretation, only a few are isomorphic. Furthermore, some cases require not only more than one layer of derivations but also intricate interactions of metaphor and metonymy in order to derive the intended meanings. Others, although isomorphic, need to activate both semantic and phonological processes to get the associated meanings. Still others are not isomorphic but strongly motivated with the activation of both phonological and semantic mechanisms. For another, two-part allegorical sayings often deeply involve diversified local practices heavily embedded in a particular cultural model. Such a complex apparatus hence deserves a finer-grained examination. In the next section, a taxonomic framework is to be established to holistically structure such a unique genre.

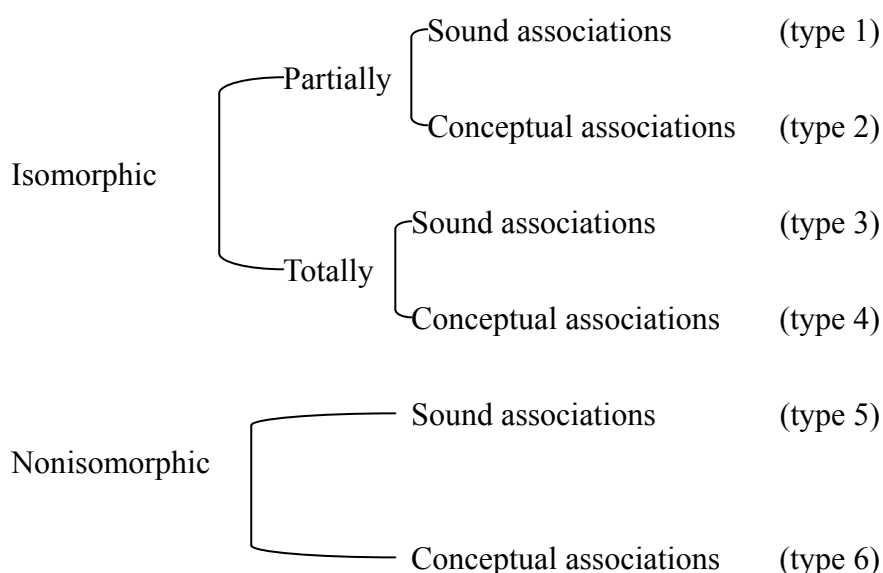
### **3. A taxonomic framework for two-part allegorical sayings**

Total data of approximately 1300 items from Hakka are examined for classification.<sup>4</sup> Out of the data, some of them are isomorphic—partially or

---

<sup>4</sup> Approximately 790 items of Taiwanese Southern Min are also examined by the study. The data are

totally—whereas most of them are non-isomorphic.<sup>5</sup> All of the two-part allegorical sayings, however, are motivated either through activation of various cognitive mechanisms and the interaction of them or through activation of phonological apparatus resulting in frame shifts in Barcelona’s (2003) sense.<sup>6</sup> Hence, cross classification of two-part allegorical sayings will give us the following types:



**Figure 1: types of two-part allegorical sayings**

The figure displays a holistic picture of types of two-part allegorical sayings. Six

---

taken from the following sources: *Taiwan Suyan Yudian* (Dictionary of Taiwanese Sayings), *Taiwan Zhihui Xiehouyu* (Two-part Allegorical Sayings of Taiwanese Wisdom), *Taiwan Xiehouyu Yudian* (Taiwan Two-part Allegorical Sayings Dictionary), and *Xiehouyu Quweiji* (Collections of Interesting Two-part Allegorical Sayings). Nevertheless, only Hakka examples will be utilized for illustration unless there is a need for cross reference. The Hakka data are taken from the following sources: *Kejia Shifu Hua* (Hakka Master’s Proverbs), *Kejiahua Yanyu Xiehouyu Xuanji* (Collections of Hakka Proverbs and Two-part Allegorical Sayings), *Kejia Yanyu Shiswei* (Selections of Hakka Proverbs and Sayings), *Miaolixian Keyu Yanyu Miyu Ji* (Collections of Miaoli Hakka Sayings and Riddles), and *Keyan Yibai Shou* (One-hundred Hakka Proverbs and Sayings).

<sup>5</sup> Out of the 1300 items in Hakka, 34% of them are isomorphic whereas 66% of them are non-isomorphic. Out of the 790 items in Taiwanese Southern Min, 10% of them are isomorphic whereas 90% of them are non-isomorphic.

<sup>6</sup> Investigation into the derivations of the intended interpretation of such a genre is a follow-up project of this study, which will be dealt with in another context.

types are observed. Some of the data demonstrate partial mappings between their surface forms and their semantic structures whereas some of them illustrate total mappings. The meanings exhibited by both types are motivated either through sound associations (type one and type three) or through conceptual mechanisms (type two and type four). In addition to isomorphic cases, non-isomorphic examples can also be motivated either through sound associations (type five) or through conceptual mechanisms (type six). In what follows, each of the six types will be illustrated with Hakka examples.<sup>7</sup> Section 3.1 discusses those that are isomorphic and section 3.2 examines those that are non-isomorphic.

### **3.1 Isomorphic two-part allegorical sayings**

About 34% of the Hakka data exhibit isomorphic, with a partial or total mapping between the expressions of the first part and those of the second part. Often a source-in-target or a target-in-source metonymy is invoked to highlight the characters that carry more pertinent information. A close one-on-one linking is observed for cases of total mapping whereas only a partial component of the compounded phrase in

---

<sup>7</sup> The data used in this study come from Hakka in Taiwan. According to the data documented by Council for Hakka Affairs in Taiwan in year 2005, there are approximately 6,800,000 Hakka people in Taiwan, about 27% of the total population ([www.hakkayahoo.com.tw](http://www.hakkayahoo.com.tw)). Phonological and morphological differences can be observed between various sub-dialects including Hailu Hakka, Sixian Northern Hakka, Sixian Southern Hakka, Dapu Hakka, and Zhaoan Hakka. *Hanyu Pinyin* romanization system is rendered for the data. The tone diacritics in the data follow the system used in *Taiwan Kejiahua Cidian (Hakka Dictionary of Taiwan)*. The number 5 is the highest, and 1 is the lowest. 55 is *yinping* (high level), 51 is *qusheng* (high falling), 24 is *yangping* (low rising), 31 is *shangsheng* (low falling), 2 is *yinru* (low entering), and 5 is *yangru* (high entering). The following abbreviations are used for the grammatical functions: NEG, negation; NOM, nominalizer; PF, prefix; SF, suffix. The corresponding character versions of the examples are given in the appendix.

the target is mapped with the source for cases of partial mapping. Both sound associations and conceptual associations are observed in either partially isomorphic type or totally isomorphic type. Each of the four types is illustrated with examples below. First consider the following examples of type one, partially isomorphic with sound associations:<sup>8</sup>

- (6) 春天个果園—有桃李 (有道理)。  
*cun<sup>11</sup>-tien<sup>24</sup> ge<sup>55</sup> go<sup>31</sup>-ien<sup>11</sup> -- yu<sup>11</sup> to<sup>11</sup> li<sup>11</sup> (yu<sup>11</sup>-to<sup>55</sup>-li<sup>24</sup>)*  
 spring NOM orchard exist peach plum make sense  
 ‘Orchards in spring—making sense’

- (7) 爛風車—賺絞 (賺搞)。  
*lan<sup>55</sup> fung<sup>11</sup>-ca<sup>24</sup> -- con<sup>55</sup> gau<sup>31</sup> (con<sup>55</sup>-gau<sup>31</sup>)*  
 broken windmill earn twine earn (time to ) fool around  
 ‘A broken windmill—with some spared time to fool around’

- (8) 豬利頭傍酒—雙舌 (雙蝕)。  
*zu<sup>11</sup>-li<sup>55</sup>-teu<sup>11</sup> bong<sup>31</sup> ziu<sup>31</sup> -- sung<sup>11</sup> sat<sup>5</sup> (sung<sup>11</sup> sat<sup>5</sup>)*  
 pig’s tongue go together wine two tongues double loss  
 ‘(Eating) a pig’s tongue together with wine—double loss’

All the cases display partial isomorphism between the source and the target. In example (6), partial isomorphism between the source and the target is observed since on the surface only the orchard *go<sup>31</sup>-ien<sup>11</sup>* is mapped to full of peaches and plums *yu<sup>11</sup>to<sup>11</sup> li<sup>11</sup>*. The first component with the expression depicts a vivid image—an orchard in spring where peaches and plums grow abundantly. Such an image, however,

<sup>8</sup> About 60 items are classified as type 1, occupying 5% of the total data in Hakka.

does not correlate with the image projected by the second part without a very crucial apparatus—sound associations. In Hakka, *full of peaches and plums* [yu<sup>11</sup> to<sup>11</sup>li<sup>11</sup>] is pronounced closely to *making sense* [yu<sup>11</sup>-to<sup>55</sup>-li<sup>24</sup>]—with the same segmental combinations but different tone patterns. Due to sound associations of the two near homophones, two independent frames are linked together. A frame adjustment from an orchard frame to a frame of human’s comment is called for, resulting in frame shift in Barcelona’s sense (2003).<sup>9</sup> In example (7), *lan<sup>55</sup> fung<sup>11</sup>-ca<sup>24</sup>* ‘a broken windmill’ is mapped onto *gau<sup>31</sup>* ‘strangled’. Sound associations are activated in this example as well. The target expresses how a broken windmill can have its wheel constantly strangled. The expression [con<sup>55</sup> gau<sup>31</sup>] ‘to have the wheels constantly twined’ is a homophone of [con<sup>55</sup> gau<sup>31</sup>] ‘to have some spared time to fool around’. Frame adjustment is triggered between two unrelated frames—one having to do with a windmill and the other having to do with a person’s reaction to a certain states-of-affair. In the same vein, example (8) delineates a partial mapping between *zu<sup>11</sup>-li<sup>55</sup>-teu<sup>11</sup>* ‘pig’s tongue’ and *sat<sup>5</sup>* ‘tongues’. The target expression *sung<sup>11</sup> sat<sup>5</sup>* ‘two tongues’ refers to the pig’s tongue and that of the person who is eating the pig’s tongue. Such an expression is phonologically associated with the expression *double loss* due to the same pronunciation in this Hakka dialect—[sung<sup>11</sup> sat<sup>5</sup>]. What is

---

<sup>9</sup> Barcelona (2003: 86f) points out that frame overlap and frame blend are two types of frame interaction. The former occurs when two cognitive frames are connected by a shared conceptual substructure whereas the latter occurs when two unrelated frames are mingled into one.

intriguing is that because of the sound association between *sat*<sup>5</sup> ‘tongue’ and *sat*<sup>5</sup> ‘loss’, *a pig’s tongue*, which should be pronounced as [zu<sup>11</sup> sat<sup>5</sup>], is never called that way by pork dealers. To diverge from such negative imagery of loss in business, a euphemistic expression *zu*<sup>11</sup>-*li*<sup>55</sup>-*teu*<sup>11</sup>, literally meaning ‘pig profit head’, is coined by them instead. The coinage of this expression with *li*<sup>55</sup> ‘profit’, completely antonymous of *sat*<sup>5</sup> ‘loss’, hence serves as a symbolism of converging to positive imagery of making a lot of profit by selling this particular part of a pig’s head.

Next, let’s turn to examples of type two, partially isomorphic with conceptual associations between the source and the target:<sup>10</sup>

(9) 著蓑衣救火—惹火上身。

*cok*<sup>5</sup>      *sui*<sup>11</sup>-*yi*<sup>11</sup>      *giu*<sup>55</sup>   *fo*<sup>31</sup>--   *ngia*<sup>24</sup>-*fo*<sup>31</sup>-*song*<sup>55</sup>-*siin*<sup>24</sup>  
 wear      coir raincoat   fight fire   put fire   onto   body  
 ‘Trying to fight a fire with a coir raincoat on—asking for trouble.’

(10) 老虎借豬—有借無還。

*lo*<sup>31</sup>-*fu*<sup>31</sup>   *zia*<sup>55</sup>      *zu*<sup>11</sup>—*yu*<sup>24</sup>      *zia*<sup>55</sup>      *mo*<sup>11</sup>      *van*<sup>11</sup>  
 PF-tiger   borrow   pig   have   borrow   NEG   return  
 ‘Tigers borrowing pigs—never returning what are borrowed’

(11) 燈盞無油—費心。

*den*<sup>24</sup>-*zan*<sup>31</sup>   *mo*<sup>11</sup>      *yu*<sup>11</sup> --   *fi*<sup>55</sup>-      *sim*<sup>24</sup>  
 oil lamp      NEG      oil      burn      wick  
 ‘An oil lamp without oil—requiring mental exertion’

(12) 石頭頂種菜—難生根。

*sak*<sup>5</sup>-*teu*<sup>11</sup>   *dang*<sup>31</sup>      *zung*<sup>55</sup>      *coi*<sup>55</sup> --      *nan*<sup>11</sup>      *sang*<sup>24</sup>      *gin*<sup>24</sup>

<sup>10</sup> About 240 items are classified as type 2, holding 19% of the total Hakka data.

stone-SF top      grow      vegetable      hard      grow      root  
 ‘Growing vegetables on the stone—hard to put down roots’

(13) 十二月甘蔗—兩頭甜。

*siip*<sup>5</sup>-*ngi*<sup>55</sup>-*ngiet*<sup>5</sup>    *gam*<sup>11</sup>-*za*<sup>55</sup>    --    *liong*<sup>31</sup>    *teu*<sup>11</sup>    *tiam*<sup>11</sup>  
 December              sugar cane              two              ends              sweet  
 ‘Sugar cane stems in December—a person trying to please both sides’

In all the five examples, partial mappings between the surface form and the semantic structure of the target component are observed. However, unlike those of type 1 which trigger sound associations, these cases exercise conceptual mechanisms to derive the intended meanings. In example (9), there is a causal relationship between the first component and the second—putting fire on the body because of trying to fight a fire wearing a coir raincoat whose material is easily burned by fire. Partial isomorphism is shown by *giu*<sup>55</sup> *fo*<sup>31</sup> ‘fight a fire’ and *ngia*<sup>24</sup> *fo*<sup>31</sup> *song*<sup>55</sup> *siin*<sup>24</sup> ‘put fire on the body’.

The intended meaning of this item is conceptually motivated. It is easy to imagine a situation in which a person who tries to fight a fire when wearing an easily-burned coir raincoat is asking for trouble for himself. A physical action of a person is employed to metaphorically comment on his behavior. Next, example (10) indicates partial isomorphism whereby *zia*<sup>55</sup> ‘borrow’ occurs in both the source and the target.

In this case, an animal’s behavior is used to metaphorically evaluate a person’s behavior. Since a tiger is carnivorous and fierce by nature, there is no chance that a borrowed pig by a tiger will be returned. Hence, such a saying is used to remark on a

person who never returns what are borrowed.

In addition to humans and animals, plants, complex objects or natural objects are utilized in the source domain. In example (11), an attribute of an oil lamp is portrayed—*den*<sup>24</sup>-*zan*<sup>31</sup>*mo*<sup>11</sup>*yu*<sup>11</sup> ‘an oil lamp without oil’. Since the wick of an oil lamp serves to suck up oil so that the lamp can burn, an oil lamp without oil will have to burn its own wick. A wick that is in the middle of a lamp is analogically compared to the heart of a person that is also located in the center of his body. Hence *burning the wick* can be conceptually projected onto an image of *burning a person’s heart*, which then leads to the intended meaning ‘requiring mental exertion’. Example (12) illustrates another causal relationship between the source and the target. In this case, the domain of plants is employed, *sak*<sup>5</sup>-*teu*<sup>11</sup>*dang*<sup>31</sup>*zung*<sup>55</sup>*coi*<sup>55</sup> ‘growing vegetables on the stone’. Folk knowledge tells us that it is highly unlikely for vegetables to grow roots when they are planted on the stone. Without deep roots, vegetables will not grow strong. Likewise, if a person finds hard to put down roots somewhere, he does not fit in; hence he does not feel the place to be home; nor does he have friendly relationships between the people there. Finally, example (13) illustrates a case whereby the essential biological nature of a plant is engaged in the source domain: *siip*<sup>5</sup>-*ngi*<sup>55</sup>-*ngiet*<sup>5</sup>*gam*<sup>11</sup>-*za*<sup>55</sup> ‘sugar cane in December’. Folk knowledge tells us that sugar cane is extraordinarily sweet in December when the stems are to be harvested.



Such an attribute is used to characterize a person who is not trustworthy since he tends to sweet talk both sides in order to please them.

Whereas the above examples involve only partial mapping between the surface form and the semantic structure, the following examples to be discussed demonstrate total isomorphism. Type 3 with total isomorphism and sound associations will be presented first:<sup>11</sup>

(14) 火燒豬頭—熟面 (熟面)。

*fo*<sup>31</sup> *seu*<sup>24</sup>    *zu*<sup>24</sup>-*teu*<sup>11</sup>    ---    *suk*<sup>5</sup>    *mian*<sup>55</sup>    (*suk*<sup>5</sup>-*mian*<sup>55</sup>)  
 fire burn    pig's head    cooked    face    (looking familiar)  
 'Burning a pig's head—looking familiar'

(15) 麥管吹蕭仔—小氣 (小氣)。

*mak*<sup>5</sup>-*gon*<sup>31</sup>    *coi*<sup>11</sup>    *seu*<sup>24</sup>-*e*<sup>31</sup>    --    *seu*<sup>31</sup>    *hi*<sup>55</sup>    (*seu*<sup>31</sup>-*hi*<sup>55</sup>)  
 straw    blow    bamboo vertical flute-SF    small    air    (stingy)  
 'Playing a bamboo vertical flute with a straw—being stingy'

(16) 伯公透大氣—神氣 (神氣)。

*bak*<sup>5</sup>-*gung*<sup>24</sup>    *teu*<sup>31</sup>    *tai*<sup>55</sup>    *hi*<sup>55</sup>    --    *siin*<sup>11</sup>-*hi*<sup>55</sup>    (*siin*<sup>11</sup>-*hi*<sup>55</sup>)  
 God of Earth let out    big    breath    divine atmosphere    (very proud)  
 'God of Earth letting out strong breath—being very proud'

All the three examples delineate a very clear mapping between the first component and the second. Example (14) activates whole-for-part metonymy from *zu*<sup>24</sup>-*teu*<sup>11</sup> 'pig's head' to *mian*<sup>55</sup> 'face' and cause-for-effect metonymy from *fo*<sup>31</sup>*seu*<sup>24</sup> 'fire burn' to *suk*<sup>5</sup> 'cooked'. In example (15), *mak*<sup>5</sup>-*gon*<sup>31</sup> 'straw' is to *seu*<sup>31</sup> 'small' and

<sup>11</sup> Around 90 items belong to this type, occupying 7% of the Hakka data.

*coi*<sup>11</sup>*seu*<sup>24</sup>-*e*<sup>31</sup> ‘blow a vertical bamboo flute’ is to *hi*<sup>55</sup> ‘air’ metonymically. Similarly, in (16), *bak*<sup>5</sup>-*gung*<sup>24</sup> ‘God of Earth’ is to *siin*<sup>11</sup> ‘divine’, and *teu*<sup>31</sup>*tai*<sup>55</sup>*hi*<sup>55</sup> ‘let out big breath’ is to *hi*<sup>55</sup> ‘atmosphere’ metonymically. All three examples illustrate frame shifts due to sound associations of homophones. In example (14), the frame of cooking a pig’s head is adjusted to that of familiarity of humans—[*suk*<sup>5</sup> *mian*<sup>55</sup>] ‘cooked face’ pronounced the same as [*suk*<sup>5</sup>-*mian*<sup>55</sup>] ‘looking familiar’. In example (15), the frame of playing a vertical bamboo flute is shifted into the remark on a person’s excessive carefulness about his money: [*seu*<sup>31</sup> *hi*<sup>55</sup>] ‘small air’ pronounced the same as [*seu*<sup>-31</sup>*hi*<sup>55</sup>] ‘stingy’. Likewise, in example (16), the frame of God of Earth is transposed into the evaluation of a person’s attitude—[*siin*<sup>11</sup> *hi*<sup>55</sup>] ‘divine atmosphere’ articulated the same as [*siin*<sup>-11</sup> *hi*<sup>55</sup>] ‘being very proud’. In general, two independently unrelated frames are being linked due to the activation of sound associations.

Still some examples, although displaying total mapping, trigger conceptual associations for the intended meaning. The following cases illustrate type four:<sup>12</sup>

(17) 燈草打結—心毋開。

<i>den</i> <sup>24</sup> - <i>co</i> <sup>31</sup>	<i>da</i> <sup>31</sup> - <i>giet</i> <sup>2</sup> --	<i>sim</i> <sup>24</sup>	<i>m</i> <sup>11</sup>	<i>koi</i> <sup>24</sup>
rush	knotted	knot	NEG	untied

‘Knotted rushes—unhappy or depressed’

(18) 書堆肚个蛀蟲—咬文嚼字。

<sup>12</sup> There are around 40 items that belong to this type, taking up 3% of the Hakka data.

*su*<sup>24</sup>-*doi*<sup>24</sup>-*du*<sup>31</sup>      *ge*<sup>55</sup>    *zu*<sup>55</sup>-*cung*<sup>11</sup>    --    *ngau*<sup>24</sup>-*vun*<sup>11</sup>-*ziok*<sup>2</sup>-*sii*<sup>55</sup>  
 books-piles-inside    NOM    worms                      bite    texts chew    words  
 ‘Worms in piles of books—paying excessive attention to wording’

(19) 糞缸肚个石頭—又臭又硬。

*bun*<sup>55</sup>-*gong*<sup>24</sup>-*du*<sup>31</sup>    *ge*<sup>31</sup>            *sak*<sup>5</sup>-*teu*<sup>11</sup> --    *yu*<sup>55</sup>-*cu*<sup>55</sup>-*yu*<sup>55</sup>-*ngang*<sup>55</sup>  
 manure pit inside    NOM    stone-SF            both smelly and hard  
 ‘A stone inside a manure pit—extremely unpleasant and stubborn’

In all the three examples, a one-on-one mapping of the surface form and the semantic structure is observed metonymically—*den*<sup>24</sup>-*co*<sup>31</sup> ‘rush’ to *sim*<sup>24</sup> ‘knot’ and *da*<sup>31</sup>-*giet*<sup>2</sup> ‘knotted’ to *m*<sup>11</sup> *koi*<sup>24</sup> ‘not untied’ in (17); *zu*<sup>55</sup>-*cung*<sup>11</sup> ‘worms’ to *ngau*<sup>24</sup> *ziok*<sup>2</sup> ‘bite and chew’ and *su*<sup>24</sup>-*doi*<sup>24</sup>-*du*<sup>31</sup> ‘piles of books’ to *vun*<sup>11</sup> *sii*<sup>55</sup> ‘texts and words’ in (18); *sak*<sup>5</sup>-*teu*<sup>11</sup> ‘a stone’ to *ngang*<sup>55</sup> ‘hard’ and *bun*<sup>55</sup>-*gong*<sup>24</sup>-*du*<sup>31</sup> ‘inside a manure pit’ to *cu*<sup>55</sup> ‘smelly’ in (19). The intended idiomatic meanings can be conceptually inferred from the second components. Knotted rushes, which are tied and twisted together, are employed to depict an unhappy person with a wrung heart. In (18), a person who pays excessive attention to wording is analogized as a worm buried inside piles of books that bites and chews the books. In the same manner, in (19), the attributes associated with a stone inside a manure pit are used to delineate a person’s character of being very unpleasant and stubborn.

### 3.2 Non-isomorphic two-part allegorical sayings

Whereas approximately 34% of the Hakka data show isomorphic mapping between the surface form in the first part and the semantic structure in the second part, the other 66% or so of the data demonstrate non-isomorphism. In other words, the composite nature of the linguistic form in the first part does not syntagmatically correlate with the complexity of the semantic structure of the second part. However, in terms of the transition from the literal meaning to the idiomatic meaning, non-isomorphic cases show two subtypes—type 5 with sound associations and type 6 with conceptual associations. Let's come to type 5 with the following examples:<sup>13</sup>

(20) 十二月芥菜—上心 (傷心)。

*siip<sup>5</sup>-ngi<sup>55</sup>-ngiet<sup>5</sup> gie<sup>55</sup>-coi<sup>55</sup> -- song<sup>24</sup> sim<sup>24</sup> (song<sup>24</sup>-sim<sup>24</sup>)*  
 December Chinese mustard grow center stalks sad  
 ‘Chinese mustard in December—feeling sad’

(21) 三月桃花—多謝 (多謝)。

*sam<sup>11</sup>-ngiet<sup>5</sup> to<sup>11</sup>-fa<sup>11</sup> -- do<sup>11</sup> cia<sup>55</sup> (do<sup>11</sup> cia<sup>55</sup>)*  
 March peach blossom most wither thanks a lot  
 ‘Peach blossom in March—thanks a lot’

(22) 棚頂个老鼠—無擠 (無錢)。

*pang<sup>-11</sup>dang<sup>31</sup> ge<sup>55</sup> lo<sup>31</sup>-cu<sup>31</sup> -- mo<sup>11</sup> ji<sup>24</sup> (mo<sup>-11</sup>ji<sup>24</sup>)*  
 attic top NOM PF-mouse NEG crowded penniless  
 ‘Mice on the attic—penniless’

In all the three examples, the correlation between the surface structure and the semantic structure cannot be detected. It is the global chunk as a whole that gives the

<sup>13</sup> About 50 items belong to type 5, taking up 4% of the Hakka data.

intended meaning, and cultural knowledge needs to be activated for the interpretations of their meanings. In addition, frame adjustment also needs to be brought forth for the derivation of the idiomatic meanings. Both examples (20) and (21) involve the natural features of particular plants in particular seasons. Chinese mustard grows in the winter. In December the leaves are blooming and the center stalks are growing stronger, ready for harvest. Likewise, peach flowers bloom in February and until March, they begin to wither. Both of the biological traits of the plants are used to describe human affairs through sound associations of homophones. In example (20), [song<sup>24</sup> sim<sup>24</sup>] ‘grow center stalks’ is articulated the same as [song<sup>-24</sup> sim<sup>24</sup>] ‘sad’; in example (21), [do<sup>11</sup> cia<sup>55</sup>] ‘most (of the peach flowers) wither’ is pronounced the same as [do<sup>-11</sup> cia<sup>55</sup>] ‘thanks a lot’. In example (22), since there is plenty of space on the attic, mice will not feel crowded on it. What is most appealing about this example is that a code switch from a language to another is triggered here—[mo<sup>11</sup> ji<sup>24</sup>] ‘not crowded’ in Hakka is a homophone of [mo<sup>11</sup> ji<sup>24</sup>] ‘penniless’ in Taiwanese Southern Min.<sup>14</sup> The frame is shifted from an animal domain to a human domain with the assistance of sound associations between two languages.

Other than sounds, conceptual mechanisms are also triggered for the derivations of the idiomatic meanings. That will lead us to the last type, type 6, which includes

---

<sup>14</sup> *Penniless* is pronounced instead as [mo<sup>11</sup> cien<sup>11</sup>] in Hakka.

non-isomorphic cases with conceptual associations. Examine the following

examples:<sup>15</sup>

(23) 竹編个鴨仔—無心肝。

*zuk*<sup>2</sup>    *bien*<sup>11</sup>    *ge*<sup>55</sup>    *ap*<sup>2</sup>-*e*<sup>31</sup>    --    *mo*<sup>11</sup>    *sim*<sup>11</sup>    *gon*<sup>24</sup>  
bamboo weave NOM duck-SF NEG heart liver  
'A bamboo-weaved duck—heartless'

(24) 六月芥菜—假有心。

*liuk*<sup>2</sup>-*ngiet*<sup>5</sup>    *gie*<sup>55</sup> *coi*<sup>55</sup> --    *ga*<sup>31</sup>    *yu*<sup>11</sup>    *sim*<sup>24</sup>  
June Chinese mustard pretend have center stalks  
'Chinese mustard in June—pretended sympathy'

(25) 捉猴入山—顛倒做。

*zok*<sup>2</sup>    *heu*<sup>11</sup>    *ngip*<sup>5</sup>    *san*<sup>24</sup>    --    *dien*<sup>24</sup>-*do*<sup>31</sup>    *zo*<sup>55</sup>  
bring monkey into mountain reverse do  
'Bringing monkeys into the mountain—putting the cart before the horse'

(26) 泥伯公過河—自身難保。

*nei*<sup>11</sup>    *bak*<sup>5</sup>-*gung*<sup>11</sup>    *go*<sup>55</sup>    *ho*<sup>11</sup>    --    *zi*<sup>55</sup>-*siin*<sup>11</sup>-    *nan*<sup>11</sup>-    *bo*<sup>11</sup>  
earth God of Earth cross river self body hard protect  
'Earth-made God of Earth crossing the river—unable even to protect oneself'

In the four cases, the idiomatic meanings of the second parts need to be interpreted

globally. The idiomaticity can be derived conceptually however. In example (23), *zuk*<sup>2</sup>

*bien*<sup>11</sup> *ge*<sup>55</sup> *ap*<sup>2</sup>-*e*<sup>31</sup> 'a duck weaved from bamboo' does not have internal organs but

only the structured shape. The literal description of such a hand-crafted complex

object as without heart and liver is metaphorically utilized to portray a person's

character of being heartless or ruthless. Example (24) contains the plant *gie*<sup>55</sup> *coi*<sup>55</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup> Type 6 includes the largest chunk of the data—around 800 items—taking up 62% of the total Hakka data.

‘Chinese mustard’, but this time it is Chinese mustard in June. Folk knowledge tells us that such a plant grows in the winter; if the center stalks grow in June, they must not be real. Therefore, the literal depiction of a plant of pretending to have a sprout is analogized to delineate a person’s pretended sympathy. Example (25) shows an action-result relationship between the two components. Hakka ancestors used to live in mountainous areas, which are the habitats of monkeys. To experience a more civilized life, they needed to come down the mountain to the town where more chances could be explored both for doing business and for acquiring an education. In this case, monkeys are used to refer to mountainous people, who often strive to get out of the mountain to obtain a better life. Hence, from Hakka people’s common sense knowledge, someone who brings monkeys into the mountain is doing something in a reverse order—taking people back into a less developed place. Such a saying is therefore used to remark on a person who does things in a wrong order—namely putting the cart before the horse—as indicated by the English idiom. Lastly, example (26) contains *bak<sup>5</sup>-gung<sup>11</sup>* ‘God of Earth’, whose statue is made of earth instead of stone or metal. God of Earth, the most often worshipped god by Hakka, is believed by them to be the protector of their lands and crops. But in this example, the god is made of earth that dissolves in the river. Hence, this saying, *nei<sup>11</sup> bak<sup>5</sup>-gung<sup>11</sup>* ‘earth-made God of Earth’ is used to insinuate the incompetence of a person, who cannot even

protect himself, let alone protect others. This example of God of Earth will round up the explication of the 6 types of two-part allegorical sayings. The examples brought forth are highly involved with the local cultural models as have been implied through the discussion. In the next section, the main cultural elements employed are to be investigated into with respect to the Hakka cultural models.

#### **4. The knowledge schemas**

As mentioned several times in the previous section, frame adjustment occurs if the intended meaning of a two-part allegorical saying is to be successfully inferred. Now the question arises is: what are the pertinent frames or idealized cognitive models (ICMs), following Lakoff (1987), that serve as the foundation for the activation of the cognitive mechanisms for such a wealthy array of data to begin with? The resolution of this issue lies in the exploration of the cultural models behind such a linguistic form (Lakoff 1987, Lakoff and Turner 1989). The first component of a typical two-part allegorical saying often evokes a vivid image of a source domain based on objects or events surrounding folks' daily life experience. Yet, the intended meaning of the second component often evokes human features or human behavior to tease, to mock, or to instruct.

What is represented by two-part allegorical sayings accords with what is



discussed about proverbs in Lakoff and Turner (1989). In particular, they point out a cultural model that is composed of the Nature of Things and the Great Chain. The chain consists of a vertical hierarchical ranking of forms of being—humans, animals, plants, complex objects and natural physical things. In accordance, a scale of the features that delineate these forms of being is formulated since the inherent features of forms of being result in their behavior and functions. As Lakoff and Turner maintain, the comprehension of language, especially of opaque linguistic forms like proverbs, strongly depends on such an unconscious cultural knowledge. Take the proverb “Big thunder little rain” illustrated in Lakoff and Turner (1989:174f) for example. The surface form depicts a natural event with two sub-events, thundering and raining. Although the surface form does not say anything about humans, it is to be comprehended as a comment about a person given the fact that proverbs contain matters about human life in general. Such an inference of the intended meaning of a proverb lies heavily on the hearer’s cultural knowledge and the GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor, as maintained by them.

Indeed, two-part allegorical sayings offer speakers ways of understanding the intricate faculties of human beings through other forms of being. In a two-part allegorical saying, the first component depicts a vivid and concrete image of things or states-of-affairs, and the second part characterizes either the attributes of the things or

the result / manner of the situations. Like the answer of a riddle, which is deeply embedded in the linguistic expressions, the targeted meaning of a two-part allegorical saying needs to be drawn by an inference from the speakers. Such an inference requires the evocation of knowledge schemas profoundly grounded in the cultural models. In general, the ICMs induced by the first form involve things or states-of-affairs. Things depicted by the first part, conforming to the basic or extended Great Chain pattern in Lakoff and Turner (1989), come from domains ranging from animals or plants to complex objects or natural physical things. Often, the inherent features or their essential attributes are metonymically highlighted to represent particular features or attributes of human beings. Whereas the data exhibit various forms of being as indicated by the Great Chain, exactly what specific elements in a particular domain are chosen is closely related to specific local cultural practices of Hakka.

Most Hakka people inhabited in less developed areas when they first moved to Taiwan.<sup>16</sup> Their way of life vigorously fostered their cultural conception. They learned to make use of the natural resources around them to live through the hardship.

---

<sup>16</sup> Symbolizing the social status of the Hakka people, the word *Hakka* [hak<sup>6</sup> ka<sup>1</sup>] literally means 'guest people'. Two views are held so as to the formation of Hakka people. One view holds that originating from the Central Plains of China, Hakka people, because of foreign invasions, civil wars and other historical reasons, moved southwards to mainly the areas of southern China. Subsequently, after a couple of major moves, some Hakka people finally migrated all the way down to Taiwan around the middle of the nineteenth century (Hashimoto 1973, Luo 1998). Another view holds that the Hakka have developed from southern Gan in the Song Dynasty, with the Hakka dialects bearing features similar to non-Chinese languages such as She and Yao. Afterwards, Hakka migrated southwards to Taiwan in the early Qing Dynasty (Chappell 2001). Refer also to Chappell and Lamarre (2005) for more detailed descriptions.

With astute observations of the weather and the climate, they practiced farming, raising animals for business or food, and growing vegetables to add to their staples. Hence their language, which is the most salient product of a culture, strongly reflects their cultural conception. Sayings, statements with wise advice of life, especially echo their folk knowledge established through their life.

Take the domain of plants for example first. Chinese mustard is one of the essential staples in Hakka cuisine. Because winter is too cold for rice to grow, during the winter, the rice field is used to grow Chinese mustard instead. The produce is often transformed into several shapes for later use: pickled, preserved or dried. This vegetable hence is a four-season staple for Hakka people. And owing to its importance, it is frequently employed in their language. Moreover, due to the inherent features of Chinese mustard—flourishing in the cold winter, but withering in the hot summer—the second component of a two-part allegorical saying hence picks up such salient biological features, and in turn, the targeted meanings of the sayings can be easily inferred. Likewise, other than Chinese mustard, sugar canes, bamboos, celery, scallions, radishes are often found expressions in two-part allegorical sayings for the same reasoning. Domains of animals and complex objects exhibit similar generalizations—expressions from farming are used. Hence, domestic animals such as dogs, cats, chickens, ducks, cows, or pigs are often highlighted in the source domain.

Animals such as mice, foxes, tigers, or snakes, which usually come to steal their crops or fowls, are utilized to represent evil behaviors. In the same vein, expressions of complex objects often come from instruments for farming such as windmills, coir raincoats, oil lamps, or bamboo baskets.

Whereas most pertinent ICMs of Hakka two-part allegorical sayings accord with the universal basic Great Chain proposed in Lakoff and Turner (1989)—with the lower forms of being signifying human affairs—some of them employ expressions related to gods. Although Lakoff and Turner (1989: 204ff) state that the extended Great Chain, which concerns gods or the universe, is central to Western tradition, the linguistic expressions observed in two-part allegorical sayings evoke such extended Great Chain. Gods, especially God of Earth and God of Death, are often made use of in this discourse form. God of Earth, who is believed to protect their lands and crops, is highly respected by Hakka. Nevertheless, because the temple for God of Earth is often built right around their fields, he is like “a member of the family”, who can be teased or ridiculed. On the other hand, God of Death, who is believed to dominate the world after death, is paid great reverence to by them. Because death is both unknown and inauspicious, expressions involving God of Death are often employed to teach or to curse.

That local cultural knowledge is deeply involved in the expressions of this

discourse form can be further evidenced by the following examples. Both Hakka and Taiwanese Southern Min employ the conceptual frame of Chinese mustard in December, as indicated in (27) and (28). However, the intended interpretations of the two languages are very distinguished due to the different perspectives these two languages take:

(27) 十二月芥菜—上心 (傷心)。  
*siip<sup>5</sup>-ngi<sup>55</sup>-ngiet<sup>5</sup> gie<sup>55</sup>-coi<sup>55</sup> -- song<sup>24</sup> sim<sup>24</sup> (song<sup>24</sup>-sim<sup>24</sup>)*  
 December Chinese mustard grow center stalks sad  
 ‘Chinese mustard in December—feeling sad’

(28) 十二月芥菜—有心 (有心)。  
*chap<sup>8</sup>-ji<sup>7</sup>-geh<sup>8</sup> koa<sup>3</sup>-chhai<sup>3</sup> -- u<sup>5</sup> sim<sup>5</sup> (u<sup>5</sup>-sim<sup>5</sup>)<sup>17</sup>*  
 December Chinese mustard have center stalks (sincere)  
 ‘Chinese mustard in December—being sincere’

Both cultural models observe the same biological nature of Chinese mustard in December. Nevertheless, whereas Hakka puts emphasis of the action of growing the center stalks, Taiwanese Southern Min focuses on the state of having center stalks. Consequently, the sound associations of both languages lead to completely different intended meanings even though the source domains and the evoked commonplace knowledge are exactly the same.

---

<sup>17</sup> The spelling of this Taiwanese Southern Min example is based on the Church romanization, adopted from Chen (2004).

## 5. Concluding remarks

Two-part allegorical sayings, although carrying the main characteristics of idioms identified by previous studies (cf. Nunberg et al. 1994, Gibbs 1995, Kövecses and Szabó 1996), display uniqueness of their own. Geeraerts' (1995, 2003) model of classification of idioms are substantially modified. Two-part allegorical sayings illustrate both isomorphic and non-isomorphic correlations between the linguistic forms and their semantic structures. However, the mappings can be either total or partial. Secondly, while all the intended meanings are motivated, some of them are derived through conceptual mechanisms but others are drawn from sound associations that heavily rely on speakers' adjustments of the frames. A taxonomic framework is hence established to succinctly categorize this genre into six types—partially isomorphic with sound associations, partially isomorphic with conceptual associations, totally isomorphic with sound associations, and totally isomorphic with conceptual associations, non-isomorphic with sound associations, and non-isomorphic with conceptual associations.

Moreover, in line with Lakoff (1987) and Lakoff and Turner (1989), this study maintains that the relevant ICMs of two-part allegorical sayings are closely related to the cultural models made up by Nature of Things and the Great Chain. This discourse form resorts to lower forms of being to signify human affairs. However, the study

further claims that the evoked knowledge schemas are deeply grounded in local cultural practices. Hakka examples investigated in this study clearly demonstrate how their language mirrors their cultural conception.

It has been mentioned frequently that interpretations of two-part allegorical sayings involve not only cognitive mechanisms but also sound mechanisms. Frame adjustments need to be triggered to obtain the intended meanings. Just exactly how the intended meanings are derived is another issue worth future endeavor. Various types of metonymy—part-for-whole, whole-for-part, action-for-result, among others—have been utilized in the source domain. A logical speculation is that the target domain should illustrate a reverse pattern of metonymy. Should such a speculation be validated, the GENERIC IS SPECIFIC and the SPECIFIC IS GENERIC metaphors claimed in Lakoff and Turner (1989) will demonstrate a mirror image in the source domain and the target domain. Examination of this hypothesis is a task for another context in the future. Furthermore, in addition to the two prevalent metaphors, interactions of metonymy and metaphor are detected in some of the derivations of the meanings (cf. Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez 2003). What are the possible patterns of interactions of the cognitive mechanisms and how they correlate with the various types of this genre are also issues that require further investigation.

## 附錄：客語歇後語語料

### ● 歇後語語料來源

客家師傅話  $\alpha$

客家話諺語、歇後語選集  $\beta$

客家諺語拾穗  $\gamma$

苗栗縣客語、諺語、謎語集（二） $\delta$

### I. 部分同構（聲音機制）

1. 兩公婆吊頸—死對頭（ $\beta$  p.221）
2. 泗溝水人焯豬頭—打開鑊蓋面熟熟（ $\beta$  p. 234）
3. 賊仔偷學堂—摸到全輸（書）（ $\beta$  p.239）
4. 觀音跌落井—罈佛（撈佛）（ $\delta$  p.131）
5. 三十暗晡拜年—言之過早（年之過早）（ $\delta$  p.15）
6. 三隻鼻孔—閒管（ $\delta$  p.19）
7. 三腳蛤蟆—歪怪（歪蛙）（ $\delta$  p.20）
8. 下山人打鼓—各顧各（欲鼓欲）（ $\delta$  p.21）
9. 大箍牯食肥肉—加油（ $\delta$  p.27）
10. 六月棉被—揀人講（揀人蓋）（ $\delta$  p.36）
11. 孔夫子徙屋—盡係輸（盡係書）（ $\delta$  p.39）
12. 水牛相鬥—各打各（角打角）（ $\delta$  p.43）
13. 王爺笛—難炊（難吹）（ $\delta$  p.52）
14. 四兩棉打被—談毋上（ $\delta$  p.59）
15. 生吞鴨卵—喔呵（屙殼）（ $\delta$  p.66）
16. 白紙貼窗—無該事（無該字）（ $\delta$  p.68）
17. 老阿婆過樹橋—難過（ $\delta$  p.88）
18. 尿桶裝水—還有嫌味（還有醜味）（ $\delta$  p.105）
19. 灶頭背个砧枋—絕東西（切東西）（ $\delta$  p.108）
20. 兩節王公—脫神（ $\delta$  p.115）
21. 長山埔鑷—無好話（無好煨）（ $\delta$  p.130）
22. 阿公向孫仔行禮—豈有此禮（豈有此理）（ $\delta$  p.132）
23. 阿義哥个赤牛—壞蹄（ $\delta$  p.136）
24. 阿義哥剃頭—粘皮來（ $\delta$  p.139）
25. 阿義哥磨版—將來（漿來）（ $\delta$  p.141）
26. 阿舅送逃亡費—生命要緊（甥命要緊）（ $\delta$  p.143）
27. 春天个果園—有道理（有桃李）（ $\delta$  p.153）
28. 海唇个岔坑仔—加講（加港）（ $\delta$  p.172）



29. 鈍刀破竹—想毋開 (相毋開) ( $\alpha$  p.220)
30. 新聞紙做衫—一身數 (滿身字) ( $\alpha$  p.226)
31. 隔夜油—詐鬼 (炸鬼) ( $\alpha$  p.240)
32. 蒙被骨打屁卵—獨住 (獨臭) ( $\alpha$  p.245)
33. 窮人个狗吠—了錢 (了了了) ( $\alpha$  p.250)
34. 窮木匠開張—只有一句 (只有一鋸) ( $\alpha$  p.250)
35. 豬利頭傍酒—雙舌 (雙蝕) ( $\alpha$  p.254)
36. 豬油點火—燈暈 (登分) ( $\alpha$  p.255)
37. 賣布毋用尺量—存心不良 (存心不量) ( $\alpha$  p.257)
38. 學生放學—包輸 (包書) ( $\alpha$  p.262)
39. 褲襠底吊鏡仔—照屎 (照排) ( $\alpha$  p.268)
40. 螺塵掛嘴—鮎搭 (憨搭) ( $\alpha$  p.287)
41. 嚇卵吊秤砣—砣擋 (妥當) ( $\alpha$  p.292)
42. 雞公打雞嫵—強撇 (強硬) ( $\alpha$  p.294)
43. 響鼓毋使用搥—一點就鳴 (一點就明) ( $\alpha$  p.308)
44. 稗棚下地糜稗—閒稗 (管) ( $\beta$  p.225)
45. 鄉下人孩糞—前後都是屎 (死) ( $\beta$  p.229)
46. 十二兩地秤仔—假正經 (假秤斤) ( $\beta$  p.242)
47. 六月牛眼—白核 (白齧) ( $\chi$  p.24)
48. 六月毛蟹—冇膏 (冇歌) ( $\chi$  p.24)
49. 井肚撐船—難開交 (篙) ( $\chi$  p.28)
50. 嫁妹仔毋使嫁粧—當好價 (嫁) ( $\chi$  p.121)
51. 有錢人个狗吠—項項好 ( $\alpha$  p.76)
52. 鴨仔吞蟲蠅—該食 (容易) ( $\chi$  p.133)
53. 老虎入棺材—嚇死人 ( $\beta$  p.82)
54. 蛇入棺材—驚死人 ( $\beta$  p.200)

## II. 部分同構 (概念機制)

1. 基隆港出去—無石剝 ( $\alpha$  p.190)
2. 萬丹地錶仔—無準 ( $\beta$  p.244)
3. 一孔捉幾尾—好孔 ( $\chi$  p.4)
4. 十五隻井桶—七上八下 ( $\chi$  p.11)
5. 一日屙三到—屎浚浚 ( $\chi$  p.3)
6. 狗食豬利—多舌 ( $\chi$  p.64)
7. 食豬紅—掛血吞 ( $\chi$  p.76)
8. 馬著短褲仔—露出馬腳 ( $\chi$  p.89)
9. 深潭肚个鱸鰻—搞潭精 ( $\chi$  p.101)

10. 閻羅王嫁妹仔—鬼毋知係無( $\chi$  p.134)
11. 目瞎拿報紙—別人看( $\beta$  p.211)
12. 目瞞坐轎—摸無路( $\beta$  p.211)
13. 目瞎起屋仔—亂蓋( $\beta$  p.213)
14. 目瞎拿書—假斯文( $\beta$  p.213)
15. 鐵匠做官—淨管打( $\beta$  p.218)
16. 棺材店地頭家—望人死( $\beta$  p.224)
17. 驚風散—緊張大師( $\beta$  p.225)
18. 雞公打雞嫵—硬擻( $\beta$  p.227)
19. 泗溝水人釣蛤蟆—釣唔到硬擒( $\beta$  p.232)
20. 砧板項地肉—隨在人割( $\beta$  p.238)
21. 三隻手指拈田螺—穩拿( $\beta$  p.243)
22. 有轎唔坐甘願行路—毋識抬舉( $\beta$  p.249)
24. 屙瀉巴食補藥—白食( $\beta$  p.252)
25. 一尺風三尺浪—胖風( $\alpha$  p.2)
26. 七歲罵八歲夭壽—罵過頭( $\alpha$  p.6)
27. 三伏天吃吃惇—驚死( $\alpha$  p.17)
28. 上轎正綦耳孔—亂穿( $\alpha$  p.22)
29. 大砲打屋簷烏「麻雀」—大做細用( $\alpha$  p.25)
30. 大鬼無好樣，細鬼合和尚—學壞樣( $\alpha$  p.25)
31. 大欄牛—使毋著( $\alpha$  p.27)
32. 天公數簿—大本( $\alpha$  p.36)
33. 孔夫子拜師—不恥下問( $\alpha$  p.38)
34. 孔夫子掛腰刀—文武雙全( $\alpha$  p.39)
35. 孔夫子掛腰刀—不文不武( $\alpha$  p.39)
36. 手摸心肝—問良心( $\alpha$  p.41)
37. 尼姑無老公，和尚無軟娘—汝無，佢咩無( $\alpha$  p.61)
38. 瓜子請客—小意思( $\alpha$  p.64)
39. 別人个本錢做生理—毋驚蝕本( $\alpha$  p.100)
40. 秀才當兵—文武雙全( $\alpha$  p.109)
41. 姜太公擺卦攤—老謀深算( $\alpha$  p.148)
42. 家臣透外鬼—食內扒外( $\alpha$  p.170)
43. 做戲个歎鬚—假發譴( $\alpha$  p.186)
44. 淋滾水假醉—騙人( $\alpha$  p.188)
45. 唸一節經，打兩隻屁卵—作惡比行善多( $\alpha$  p.190)
46. 棺材扛上山—一定愛埋( $\alpha$  p.206)
47. 棺材店个頭家—望人死( $\alpha$  p.207)
48. 湖蜞毋齧凳腳—毋係該個腳( $\alpha$  p.208)

- 49 湖鰱仔搵砂—緊搵緊大條( $\alpha$  p.208)
- 50 蛤蟆顏吊算盤—精打細算( $\alpha$  p.218)
- 51 塑膠花—無香( $\alpha$  p.224)
- 52 隔山打銅鑼—聽毋著( $\alpha$  p.239)
- 53 算盤打過枱—失算( $\alpha$  p.245)
- 54 劉備借荊州—有借無還( $\alpha$  p.248)
- 55 蝦公生鬚—假老人( $\alpha$  p.251)
- 56 嘴硬脣舄有—口是心非( $\alpha$  p.262)
- 57 導遊帶路—引人花錢( $\alpha$  p.263)
- 58 一丈差八尺—差多了( $\chi$  p.7)
- 59 八隻鍋仔七隻蓋—無論仰般蓋，都少一隻( $\chi$  p.10)
- 60 「烏了仔」學講話—人一句，你一句( $\chi$  p.14)
- 61 大鼓換小鼓—共樣係分打个( $\chi$  p.15)
- 62 乞食仔估門樓—緊估緊入頭( $\chi$  p.21)
- 63 水中投石—試深淺( $\chi$  p.26)
- 64 牛雄馬肚—強健( $\chi$  p.27)
- 65 目睡鳥，自有飛來蟲—飛來好運( $\chi$  p.35)
- 66 外地和尚—較會唸經( $\chi$  p.36)
- 67 老王介「痢肚」—橫瀉直瀉( $\chi$  p.42)
- 68 老人食嫩草—老夫少妻( $\chi$  p.44)
- 69 死蛇都有恁懶—懶屍鬼( $\chi$  p.46)
- 70 行錯一隻子，輸了全盤棋—一錯全錯／愛步步小心( $\chi$  p.48)
- 71 地上全知，天上知一半—半仙( $\chi$  p.52)
- 72 卵黃肚尋骨頭—找麻煩( $\chi$  p.58)
- 73 狗咬呂洞賓—毋知好人心( $\chi$  p.66)
- 74 看人屙屎，尿窟癢—技癢( $\chi$  p.75)
- 75 咬薑啜醋—省食儉用( $\chi$  p.83)
- 76 屙尿抓鹹菜—順手( $\chi$  p.90)
- 77 衰鳥遇到長銃—運氣毋好( $\chi$  p.95)
- 78 豬哥搭狗屌—鬥毋搭／亂鬥( $\chi$  p.106)
- 79 靴背/隔靴抓癢—癢還癢( $\chi$  p.121)
- 80 屙豬个同做衫个相打—刀剪相加( $\chi$  p.122)
- 81 屙雞用牛刀—小題大作／大材小用( $\chi$  p.123)
- 82 窮巷追狗—反咬一口( $\chi$  p.128)
- 83 貓公帶數珠—假慈悲( $\chi$  p.130)
- 84 貓徙竇—常搬家／不安定( $\chi$  p.131)
- 85 鴨仔聽雷—聽毋識( $\chi$  p.132)
- 86 雙頭蛇—雙方都討好的( $\chi$  p.143)

87. 偷來哋鑼鼓—打唔得→此事不得宣揚 (β p.218)
88. 泗溝水人釣蛤蟆—落線唔得(β p.232)
89. 敢食三斗米—敢餓七餐(β p.205)
90. 無婦人家个屋—毋成家(β p.211)
91. 發夢做皇帝—空歡喜(β p.213)
92. 碗肚个麵—唔止一條(β p.233)
93. 嘴唇兩埕皮—好壞由佢講(β p.262)
94. 閻王个長年—做鬼頭路(β p.272)
95. 閻王仲腹仔—鬼東西(β p.272)
96. 閻王做生日—鬼知(β p.272)
97. 閻王無著褲—笑死鬼(β p.272)
98. 閻王殿起擂台—鬼打鬼(β p.274)
99. 舊報紙還有麼介—新聞(β p.293)
100. 水打伯公—涼神(χ p.25)
101. 伯公跌落水—涼神(χ p.54)
102. 雷公打伯公—敲神(χ p.113)
103. 閻羅王照鬼轉—官官相照(χ p.135)

### III. 完全同構（聲音機制）

1. 三個人共下屙尿—三合水 (α p.18)
2. 乞食仔看戲—窮開心 (α p.23)
3. 火燒豬頭—熟面 (α p.49)
4. 伯公打屁—神氣 (α p.97)
5. 伯公打觔斗—贊成（碾神）(α p.97)
6. 伯公透大氣—神氣 (α p.98)
7. 伯公翻崩崗—贊成（碾神）(α p.99)
8. 伯公屙屎毋出—神秘 (α p.99)
9. 新安伯公—無老成（無老神）(α p.225)
10. 肚臍講話—謠言（腰言）(α p.110)
11. 狗舐焗鑊—實話（食煨）(α p.127)
12. 狐狸相罵—胡言（狐言）(α p.128)
13. 屎缸底个石頭—又硬又臭 (α p.149)
14. 食芹菜煮田螺—勤勞 (α p.165)
14. 棚頂睡目—高明（高眠）(α p.208)
15. 無牙學生—無恥之徒（無齒之徒）(α p.210)
16. 黃連水洗頭那—苦惱（苦腦）(α p.221)
17. 煨仔焗王公—風神（烘神）(α p.228)

18. 過年地動—謠言 (搖年) ( $\alpha$  p.237)
19. 隔年个假喜—老闆 (老板) ( $\alpha$  p.239)
20. 蝸喙仔吹笛—邪氣 (斜氣) ( $\alpha$  p.243)
21. 親家爺—加工 (家公) ( $\alpha$  p.268)
22. 糰粑膏嘴—糊口 (湖口) ( $\alpha$  p.304)
23. 背瓢項抓癢—倒找 (抓) ( $\beta$  p.204)
24. 伯公生鬚—老神 ( $\beta$  p.204)
25. 半天雲項吊燈籠—高明 ( $\beta$  p.205)
26. 棚頂項睡目—高明 (眠) ( $\beta$  p.207)
27. 麥管吹簫仔—小氣 ( $\beta$  p.210)
28. 火燒月曆仔—無事 (字) ( $\beta$  p.214)
29. 火燒豬頭—面熟 ( $\beta$  p.214)
30. 點燈盞拈糞—尋死 (屎) ( $\beta$  p.216)
31. 棺材項打紙炮仔—嚇死人 ( $\beta$  p.224)
32. 嘴項拌石灰—白食 ( $\beta$  p.238)
33. 牛埔地放紙炮仔—吵死人 ( $\beta$  p.246)
34. 伯公个該支—神經 (神根) ( $\chi$  p.55)
35. 青菜煮豆腐—清清 (青青) 白白 ( $\alpha \chi$  p.62)
36. 河邊洗黃蓮—何 (河) 苦 ( $\chi$  p.71)
37. 圍牆背生个竹筍—外甥 (外生) ( $\chi$  p.109)
38. 二十兩—近視 (斤四) ( $\alpha$  p.6)
38. 十八隻錢平分—久聞久聞 (九文九文) ( $\alpha$  p.11)
39. 三九天著短裙—美麗動人 (美麗凍人) ( $\alpha$  p.14)
40. 女人腳胛下放火囟—北坑 (焔坑) ( $\alpha$  p.28)
41. 天庭頂開舞會—仙人跳 ( $\alpha$  p.37)
43. 心字少一點—無點心 ( $\alpha$  p.40)
44. 日本壽司—輸死 ( $\alpha$  p.41)
45. 水打伯公—神勿會勿會 (誠慫慫) ( $\alpha$  p.44)
46. 火燒寺廟—失神 ( $\alpha$  p.48)
47. 甥打燈籠—照舊 (照舅) ( $\alpha$  p.60)
48. 光頭擎遮—無法無天 (無髮無天) ( $\alpha$  p.72)
49. 汐止下來—難講 ( $\alpha$  p.77)
50. 老公撥扇—淒涼 (妻涼) ( $\alpha$  p.80)
51. 伯公个目珠—承蒙 (神矇) ( $\alpha$  p.96)
52. 伯公轉夜—收成 (收神) ( $\alpha$  p.99)
53. 宋三个老弟—送死 (宋四) ( $\alpha$  p.104)
54. 床公婆—奸臣 (間神) ( $\alpha$  p.105)
55. 男人腳胛下炙火囟—北京 (焔莖) ( $\alpha$  p.108)

56. 秀才个手帕—包輸 (包書) ( $\alpha$  p.109)
57. 两个乞食拜堂—窮倍 (窮配) ( $\alpha$  p.114)
58. 和尚仔个屋—妙 (廟) ( $\alpha$  p.117)
59. 和尚出門—出事 (出寺) ( $\alpha$  p.117)
60. 河壩洗黃蓮—何苦 (河苦) ( $\alpha$  p.122)
61. 油畫中卷國書—話中有話 (畫中有畫) ( $\alpha$  p.122)
62. 空金斗—假壯 (假葬) ( $\alpha$  p.129)
63. 長尾仔跌落井—罈猴 (撈猴) ( $\alpha$  p.131)
64. 阿九个老弟—老十 (老實) ( $\alpha$  p.132)
65. 阿婆孀妹仔—生菇 (生姑) ( $\alpha$  p.134)
66. 南港上去—七堵八堵 ( $\alpha$  p.147)
67. 城隍廟个蚊子—齧鬼 ( $\alpha$  p.148)
68. 食雞卵打屁—蛋氣 (嘆氣) ( $\alpha$  p.166)
69. 剖腹孀細人—破產 ( $\alpha$  p.169)
70. 孀娘个阿爸—泰山 ( $\alpha$  p.169)
71. 教書先生个手帕—包輸 (包書) ( $\alpha$  p.196)
72. 新安伯公—無老成 (無老神) ( $\alpha$  p.225)
73. 雞公相打—胸對胸 (兇對兇) ( $\alpha$  p.295)
74. 灶君地老弟—灶(做)得 ( $\beta$  p.237)
75. 毋使嫁粧—當好嫁(當好價) ( $\chi$  p.32)
76. 狐狸相吵—一派胡(狐)言 ( $\chi$  p.70)
77. 棺材肚个蝮蟬—齧鬼(吝嗇鬼) ( $\chi$  p.108)
77. 王字少—橫—土 ( $\alpha$  p.51)
79. 棺材肚个老鼠—齧鬼 ( $\alpha$  p.206)
80. 閻王殿个蚊仔—齧鬼 ( $\alpha$  p.273)

#### IV. 完全同構 (概念機制)

1. 臭風鴨卵—壞蛋 ( $\alpha$  p.177)
2. 無火磨刀—暗暗幫 ( $\alpha$  p.209)
3. 壽星公唱曲—老調 ( $\alpha$  p.242)
4. 燈心草打結—心毋開 ( $\alpha$  p.265)
5. 關門打屁—暗中出氣 ( $\alpha$  p.302)
6. 叫化仔唱山歌—苦中作樂 ( $\beta$  p.226)
7. 乞食仔唱山歌—窮開心  
—苦中作樂 ( $\chi$  p.21)
8. 天頂唱山歌—唱高調 ( $\chi$  p.25)

9. 石灰揆路—打白行 (  $\chi$  p.35 )
10. ‘黃蓮樹下挨弦仔—苦中作樂 (  $\chi$  p.98 )
11. 伯公食仙草—涼神 (  $\alpha$  p.97 )
12. 伯公跌落埤塘—涼神 (  $\alpha$  p.98 )
13. 阿公做事自家來—公事公辦 (  $\alpha$  p.133 )
14. 皇帝相打—爭天 (  $\alpha$  p.156 )
15. 蚊仔打屁—小氣 (  $\alpha$  p.180 )
16. 旅舍个蚊仔—食客 (  $\chi$  p.86 )
17. 麥稈吹簫—小氣 (  $\chi$  p.99 )
18. 閻羅王个文章—鬼話連篇 (  $\chi$  p.134 )
19. 閻羅王請醫生—鬼病 (  $\chi$  p.135 )
20. 龍王爺透大氣—神氣 (  $\chi$  p.137 )
21. 四隻腳生毛—畜類 (  $\alpha$  p.60 )
22. 後娘喊心肝—嘴甜心冷 (  $\alpha$  p.152 )
23. 無主家神—野鬼 (  $\alpha$  p.210 )
24. 劉玄德个孺仔—阿斗 (  $\alpha$  p.248 )
25. 觀音肚腹—慈善心腸 (  $\alpha$  p.310 )
26. 三十六計頭一計一走 (  $\chi$  p.20 )
27. 家娘有好樣，心舅合和尚—上樑不正，下樑歪 (  $\chi$  p.87 )
28. 鳳凰頭上戴牡丹—好上加好 (  $\chi$  p.125 )
29. 閻羅王个阿公/爺仔—老鬼 (  $\chi$  p.134 )
30. 吞金自殺—死愛錢 (  $\alpha$   $\beta$  p.218 )
31. 無火捉蛤蟆—無本做生理 (  $\alpha$  p.209 )
32. 閻王請醫生—鬼病 (  $\alpha$  p.274 )

## V. 非同構性 (聲音機制)

1. 背囊揸糙米—愛人打 ( 舂 ) (  $\delta$  p.126 )
2. 棚頂個老鼠—無錢 ( 無擠 ) (  $\delta$  p.126 )
3. 十七兩—翹翹 (  $\alpha$  p.9 )
4. 十二月芥菜—傷心 ( 上心 ) (  $\alpha$  p.10 )
5. 三支牛嬭樑—大奸 ( 大間 ) (  $\alpha$  p.16 )
6. 三年無洗身—慢多 ( 嫚多 ) (  $\alpha$  p.17 )
7. 三個人舂斗米—毋會錯 ( 毋會糙 ) (  $\alpha$  p.18 )
8. 三個錢買个豆腐干—有幾多喋 ( 有幾多埗 ) (  $\alpha$  p.18 )
9. 三隻錢提个豬子—毋驚餓死 ( 畏死 ) (  $\alpha$  p.20 )
10. 大豬公上上豬羊架—恭喜 ( 弓起 ) (  $\alpha$  p.26 )

11. 山豬著釣—恭喜 (弓起) ( $\alpha$  p.29)
12. 燒對聯—事壞哩 (字壞哩) ( $\alpha$  p.48)
13. 牛眼核擱屎—用手路 (用手摳) ( $\alpha$  p.50)
14. 半夜響鑼鼓—過黃 (過王) ( $\alpha$  p.57)
15. 去赤柯山—打拚 (打柄) ( $\alpha$  p.59)
16. 尼姑合和尚—犯戒 (犯界) ( $\alpha$  p.60)
17. 伯公過家—盤駁 (攀學) ( $\alpha$  p.98)
18. 卵打爛—真好 (蒸好) ( $\alpha$  p.102)
19. 坐稈仔到鹹菜甕—關死 (關西) ( $\alpha$  p.103)
20. 到八卦山—大齣 (大佛) ( $\alpha$  p.116)
21. 花鉢肚種蔥蒜—無緣 (無園) ( $\alpha$  p.129)
22. 長年菜—長年財 ( $\alpha$  p.131)
23. 阿婆唱曲—隨便上 (鈴叮噹) ( $\alpha$  p.134)
24. 阿義哥个皮鞋—無爭 (無睜) ( $\alpha$  p.136)
25. 阿義哥闖牛—陷 (渾) 下來 ( $\alpha$  p.142)
26. 屎肫頭困禾串—撩刁 (撩鳥) ( $\alpha$  p.150)
27. 食蒜—識算 ( $\alpha$  p.165)
28. 缺嘴仔流凼—頰食 (該食) ( $\alpha$  p.177)
29. 婦人家同契哥—搵眾 (搵種) ( $\alpha$  p.190)
30. 婦人家相打—百三 (擘衫) ( $\alpha$  p.191)
31. 屙屎拖鹹菜—闕液 (續拖) ( $\alpha$  p.193)
32. 屙屎無脫褲—詐欺 (詐企) ( $\alpha$  p.194)
33. 無頭遮仔—直拚 (直柄) ( $\alpha$  p.212)
34. 碗公啣酒—不在乎 (不在壺) ( $\alpha$  p.232)
35. 腳踏馬屎—靠官勢 (靠官事) ( $\alpha$  p.235)
36. 豬肚面—快變 (快搵) ( $\alpha$  p.255)
37. 豬嬲落菜園—大遶 (大哋) ( $\alpha$  p.256)
38. 龍潭人賣鹹菜—無撚水 (無眼水) ( $\alpha$  p.278)
39. 薤菜過溝—探探 (談談) ( $\alpha$  p.287)
40. 醫生發癰—淨腫有限 (像種有限) ( $\alpha$  p.293)
41. 騎馬又拄杖—學老神 (學老成) ( $\alpha$  p.298)
42. 爛布做衫—縫成 (連城) ( $\alpha$  p.306)
43. 三月桃花—多謝 ( $\chi$  p.18)
44. 三个錢買條驢子—自誇 (跨) ( $\chi$  p.18)
45. 目珠看上天—沙鼻 (神氣) (傲慢) ( $\chi$  p.36)
46. 銅鑼人賣鹹菜—冇撚水 (冇眼光) ( $\chi$  p.99)
47. 腦子背 (或頭那背)—無額 ( $\chi$  p.117)
48. 錯過交流道—白花油 ( $\chi$  p.133)



49. 騎馬拄棍仔—學老成(神)( $\chi$  p.143)
50. 大雞拈，細雞啄—在過( $\alpha$  p.26)
51. 趙孫李—缺錢／無錢( $\chi$  p.124)

## VI. 非同構性 (概念機制)

1. 河壩地擺攤仔—外行 ( $\beta$  p.230)
2. 泗溝水人鋸絃仔—伊做伊偈做偈 ( $\beta$  p.232)
3. 泗溝水人打銅鑼—一款還一款 ( $\beta$  p.233)
4. 三十暗晡个尿桶—盡拚 ( $\alpha$  p.14)
5. 三十歲牽孫仔過橋—早種 ( $\alpha$  p.15)
6. 大蛇屙屎—棚(頭)大(絞起架) ( $\alpha$  p.26)
7. 中壩人鋸弦仔—佢做佢、偈做偈 ( $\alpha$  p.32)
8. 水仙無開花—裝蒜 ( $\alpha$  p.44)
9. 半夜行路毋會蹠走—熟地 ( $\alpha$  p.55)
10. 好酒沈盞底—偈罇哩 ( $\alpha$  p.75)
11. 江西人牽風箱—自顧自 ( $\alpha$  p.77)
12. 沙灘打極樂—有去無轉 ( $\alpha$  p.107)
13. 兩公婆拜堂—參隻禮拜 ( $\alpha$  p.115)
14. 阿義哥吹(歎)笛—知堵知 ( $\alpha$  p.138)
15. 阿義哥擎大旗—罇堵 ( $\alpha$  p.142)
16. 阿義哥焯番薯—無躁毋過心 ( $\alpha$  p.142)
17. 風車尾、二槽冇—毋精 ( $\alpha$  p.162)
18. 被單做手帕—大方 ( $\alpha$  p.200)
19. 鈍刀使利手—愛缸幫 ( $\alpha$  p.219)
20. 碗公裝飯—汝敢偈也敢(汝減偈也減) ( $\alpha$  p.233)
21. 蝸喙雞—揀米食(捲米食) ( $\alpha$  p.244)
22. 褲頭下吊燈籠—照汝嘴 ( $\alpha$  p.267)
23. 鬍鬚頭—難剃 ( $\alpha$  p.302)
24. 樹頂項地貓仔—唔成猴( $\beta$  p.241)
25. 尿桶項畜鯉嫲—好潑( $\beta$  p.246)
26. 油漏仔—無底( $\beta$  p.249)
27. 大風天，拔禾稈—議議惹惹( $\chi$  p.17)
28. 三日冇行通—趨屎( $\chi$  p.18)
29. 洗淨身仔—冇味道( $\chi$  p.74)
30. 草索仔絹豆腐—提毋得( $\chi$  p.87)
31. 核卵搨腩碰—共下來去(一起活動) ( $\chi$  p. 89)
32. 豬嫲落菜園—大爽( $\chi$  p.105)

33. 稀奇你个糯米粥—冇愛(χ p.112)
34. 賣托盤—貼本(χ p.127)
35. 箭竹打松筍—尖撈又尖撈 (斟酌又斟酌)(χ p.129)
36. 鼻流到嘴—顏食 (χ p.142)
37. 半夜地望天光—還早(β p.205)
38. 伯勞仔—嘴多(β p.205)
39. 八十歲學吹笛—發神經(β p.205)
40. 發癩地碗—麼人敢用(β p.205)
41. 婊妹地面—冇錢就笑(β p.206)
42. 發夢做皇帝—真想地 (β p.206)
43. 蚊仔叨嚇卵—打唔得(β p.209)
44. 貓撩狗仔—唔係對手(β p.209)
45. 賣豆菜無用秤仔—亂撮(β p.209)
46. 貓仔屙屎—自家壅(β p.209)
47. 米篩篩麻仔—加做地(β p.210)
48. 美濃人睡當晝—加減地(β p.210)
49. 味碟仔裝水—一眼看透透(β p.210)
50. 無老公又死孳仔—無望地(β p.211)
51. 目瞞買針—看錯地(β p.211)
52. 無著褲趕賊仔—唔知羞恥(β p.212)
53. 麥仔田生禾苗—雜種(β p.212)
54. 目瞞算命—亂講(β p.213)
55. 壞貓仔—屙無好屎(β p.214)
56. 肚臍孔頂打屁卵—無恁地事(β p.216)
57. 乳孃搨地孳仔—別人地(β p.219)
58. 老鼠仔同貓公捋鬚—盡把結(β p.219)
59. 老鼠仔跌落米盞—又暢又愁(β p.220)
60. 老鼠仔舐貓鼻公—唔知死(β p.220)
61. 老鼠仔尋貓公—自尋死路(β p.220)
62. 兩公婆吵事—無事(β p.221)
63. 六月地天—講變就變(β p.221)
64. 六月地火煙囪—難兼身(β p.221)
65. 老阿婆做事—滴滴嗒嗒(β p.222)
66. 爛泥糊母上壁—毋係個料仔(β p.222)
67. 硫磺崎(村)地新娘—項項都好(β p.223)
68. 狗仔唔食屎—騙天地(β p.224)
69. 雞嫲孵鴨卵—無采(β p.224)
70. 過時地月曆仔—無效地(β p.225)

- 71 關公食酒—看唔識( $\beta$  p.225)
- 72 叫化仔做皇帝—過一日算一日( $\beta$  p.226)
- 73 鞋底抹油—溜喔( $\beta$  p.229)
- 74 嚇卵皮項擲刀仔—真險吔( $\beta$  p.229)
- 75 泗溝水人踏牛屎—的準( $\beta$  p.233)
- 76 泗溝水人食豬嫲肉—使暗力( $\beta$  p.233)
- 77 秀才堵到兵—有理講唔清( $\beta$  p.233)
- 78 泗溝水人駛牛嫲—一身都無閒( $\beta$  p.234)
- 79 四兩豬頭—懶得刨( $\beta$  p.235)
- 80 祥二哥綯牛仔—看仔到食唔到( $\beta$  p.236)
- 81 灶君爺上天庭—有一句講一句( $\beta$  p.237)
- 82 豬嫲養狗仔—雜種( $\beta$  p.237)
- 83 細人仔打紙炮仔—又好又畏( $\beta$  p.240)
- 84 蛇過吔正搯棍—無麼个用( $\beta$  p.242)
- 85 食鹹魚仔蘸豆油—加了吔( $\beta$  p.240)
- 86 三歲細人仔想妻仔—還早喔( $\beta$  p.243)
- 87 三十暗晡看月光—無望( $\beta$  p.243)
- 88 宋江吔軍師—無用( $\beta$  p.243)
- 89 禾嗶仔嫁妹仔—嘍嘍喳喳( $\beta$  p.244)
- 90 禾田出稗仔—雜種( $\beta$  p.244)
- 91 溫火燉豬腳—慢慢來( $\beta$  p.245)
- 92 和尚林人—無耳公懸裝( $\beta$  p.245)
- 93 年初一看日曆仔—還早( $\beta$  p.246)
- 94 年三十暗晡吔砧板—無閒( $\beta$  p.247)
- 95 啞眇嫲嫁老公—哇滾滾( $\beta$  p.248)
- 96 啞眇讀書—無麼个问题( $\beta$  p.248)
- 97 啞眇吵事—唔知麼人正著( $\beta$  p.248)
- 98 鴨子過河—各顧各( $\beta$  p.248)
- 99 一隻腳踏兩條船仔—落空( $\beta$  p.250)
- 100 袁世凱做皇帝—短命( $\beta$  p.251)
- 101 二婚親—假貨( $\alpha$  p.7)
- 102 人家女恭細人—見毋得人( $\alpha$  p.7)
- 103 入齋堂做和尚—看破( $\alpha$  p.8)
- 104 八十阿公討媪娘—無採工( $\alpha$  p.8)
- 105 八月半蒸甜粿—忒早( $\alpha$  p.8)
- 106 八仙過海—隨人應變( $\alpha$  p.8)
- 107 八字少一撇—盲得時( $\alpha$  p.9)
- 108 刀尖頂打角刀斗—毋驚死( $\alpha$  p.9)

- 109 十五姐妹—七喙八舌( $\alpha$  p.11)
- 110 十步九回頭—難捨( $\alpha$  p.113)
- 111 十歲細阿哥想孀娘—還早( $\alpha$  p.12)
- 112 三十暗晡个飯甌—無閒( $\alpha$  p.14)
- 113 三十暗晡打銅鑼—毋知窮人苦( $\alpha$  p.14)
- 114 三支竹篙撐起來—全部凭得著( $\alpha$  p.16)
- 115 三角犁頭—賭掙( $\alpha$  p.18)
- 116 三國歸司馬懿—完結( $\alpha$  p.20)
- 117 下山人作福—一日事( $\alpha$  p.21)
- 118 上山頂釣魚—大鱸番( $\alpha$  p.21)
- 119 乞食仔拈到黃金—暢死( $\alpha$  p.22)
- 120 乞食仔食蝦公—隻隻都好( $\alpha$  p.23)
- 121 乞食仔掛紙—瀉祖公( $\alpha$  p.24)
- 122 乞食仔趕廟公—喧賓奪主( $\alpha$  p.24)
123. 大細妹仔面腫腫—難看( $\alpha$  p.25)
- 124 六月天賣氈帽—自家愛( $\alpha$  p.34)
- 125 六月日頭，後娘面—得人畏( $\alpha$  p.34)
- 126 天轉笠嫲花—自由自在( $\alpha$  p.37)
- 127 夫妻相吵—無事( $\alpha$  p.38)
- 128 孔明搵周瑜看病—自有妙方( $\alpha$  p.39)
- 129 木匠擎枷—自造个( $\alpha$  p.42)
- 130 水果秤，覘公印—無靈準( $\alpha$  p.44)
- 131 水缸肚捉魚—十拿九穩( $\alpha$  p.45)
- 132 水浸牛皮—無變( $\alpha$  p.45)
- 133 水浸紙—慢慢溶( $\alpha$  p.45)
- 134 水涿簸箕—無留半點( $\alpha$  p.46)
- 135 火焰蟲看做月光—大驚小怪( $\alpha$  p.47)
- 136 牛郎約織女—後會有期( $\alpha$  p.49)
- 137 牛郎會織女—一年見一擺( $\alpha$  p.50)
- 138 牛食稈，鴨食穀—福氣不同( $\alpha$  p.50)
- 139 牛蠅蟀—知入毋知出( $\alpha$  p.51)
- 140 王爺个眉肱—無人敢摸( $\alpha$  p.52)
- 141 包公辦案—鐵面無私( $\alpha$  p.54)
- 142 出窯个磚仔—定型哩( $\alpha$  p.54)
- 143 半斤對八兩—共樣( $\alpha$  p.55)
- 144 半日秀才—短命( $\alpha$  p.55)
- 145 半夜行路毋會躑走—熟地( $\alpha$  p.55)
- 146 半夜佬著天光—還早( $\alpha$  p.55)

- 147 司馬昭个心—路人攞知( $\alpha$  p.58)
- 148 只管食毋做事个—蛀米蟲( $\alpha$  p.59)
- 149 四兩人講半斤話—胖風( $\alpha$  p.59)
- 150 四兩肉切兩盤—好看又省錢( $\alpha$  p.59)
- 151 四腳桌斷一支—企毋核( $\alpha$  p.60)
- 152 尼姑做滿月—難得( $\alpha$  p.61)
- 153 打乞食—毋係好漢( $\alpha$  p.62)
- 154 打屁脫褲—浪費手腳( $\alpha$  p.63)
- 155 生牯仔盲秦鼻—毋知厲害( $\alpha$  p.66)
- 156 生理人个修養—烏龜量( $\alpha$  p.66)
- 157 用飯撈屎水—無採工( $\alpha$  p.67)
- 158 目珠掛斗槩，看著人个東西就想愛—貪心( $\alpha$  p.69)
- 159 石頭開花—無可能( $\alpha$  p.70)
- 160 吊肉跌死貓—中計( $\alpha$  p.73)
- 161 盲成雞打咯雞—盡本份( $\alpha$  p.74)
- 162 盲成雞打咯雞—假大( $\alpha$  p.74)
- 163 好人佬著賊，火炭佬著墨—老癩倮( $\alpha$  p.74)
- 164 好花插牛屎—打喪( $\alpha$  p.75)
- 165 年初一做花圈—無心搞( $\alpha$  p.75)
- 166 有藥難醫—無命人( $\alpha$  p.76)
- 167 老夫少妻對面坐—各想各个事( $\alpha$  p.80)
- 168 老伯姆同契哥—有也好無也好( $\alpha$  p.81)
- 169 老和尚看花轎—今生休想( $\alpha$  p.81)
- 170 老和尚辦嫁妝—來生个事( $\alpha$  p.82)
- 171 老阿婆食豆腐—毋使愁( $\alpha$  p.86)
- 172 老阿婆過家—閒話多( $\alpha$  p.88)
- 173 老鼠拖貓上竹篙—騙細人仔( $\alpha$  p.91)
- 174 行嫁个新娘—滿面春風( $\alpha$  p.94)
- 175 冷水泡菜—無味( $\alpha$  p.100)
- 176 別人食肉佢擔名—冤枉( $\alpha$  p.102)
- 177 杖仔顛倒拄—失禮( $\alpha$  p.105)
- 178 沙壩擺攤仔—外行( $\alpha$  p.107)
- 179 肚臍打屁—無這種事( $\alpha$  p.109)
- 180 和尚齋堂曬裙—少見( $\alpha$  p.118)
- 181 和尚賣袈裟—無人愛( $\alpha$  p.118)
- 182 拂就仔來，飯又滾—仰般好( $\alpha$  p.118)
- 183 放火燒屋捉老鼠—毋合算( $\alpha$  p.119)
- 184 林黛玉个身體—虛弱( $\alpha$  p.120)

- 185 牀單拿來做面帕—大方( $\alpha$  p.123)
- 186 狗咬都毋會喊[噉]—暮固( $\alpha$  p.126)
- 187 屎水上天—難又難( $\alpha$  p.129)
- 188 長山人拉差袋—盡採好( $\alpha$  p.130)
- 189 阿公毋做，做人孫仔—賤骨頭( $\alpha$  p.133)
- 190 阿來嫲个契哥—忒多哩( $\alpha$  p.133)
- 191 阿婆搽粉—無採工( $\alpha$  p.135)
- 192 阿義哥打紙炮—又驚又好( $\alpha$  p.137)
- 193 阿義哥打爺—無罇闕( $\alpha$  p.138)
- 194 阿義哥算命—亂講( $\alpha$  p.141)
- 195 雨後送遮仔—假有心( $\alpha$  p.143)
- 196 前世無修孳仔準心舅—命歪( $\alpha$  p.146)
- 197 南蛇腰飯甑肚—好食又畏苦( $\alpha$  p.146)
- 198 屎出，褲帶仔又打結—急死人 ( $\alpha$  p.149)
- 199 屎肫無搭蓆[地]—無閒( $\alpha$  p.150)
- 200 眉肫相換打—無爭( $\alpha$  p.152)
- 201 為老不尊—教壞子孫( $\alpha$  p.155)
- 202 皇帝命，乞食骨—本性難移( $\alpha$  p.156)
- 203 相打毋過田唇—旗鼓相當 ( $\alpha$  p.156)
- 204 食了砒霜去餵老虎—同歸於盡( $\alpha$  p.163)
- 205 食死老公睡爛蓆—懶尸嫲( $\alpha$  p.164)
- 206 唐僧个肚筍—慈悲為懷( $\alpha$  p.169)
- 207 拿錢送老緣—倒貼( $\alpha$  p.170)
- 208 捉猴仔入山—顛倒做( $\alpha$  p.171)
- 209 氣死个—驗無傷( $\alpha$  p.172)
- 210 海龍王辭水—嘴講定定( $\alpha$  p.173)
- 211 笑死个—驗無傷( $\alpha$  p.176)
- 212 缺嘴食米粉—看現現( $\alpha$  p.177)
- 213 臭頭和尚—做無好功德( $\alpha$  p.178)
- 214 臭頭食狗肉—爛做爛來醫( $\alpha$  p.178)
- 215 痾腰仔學伸腰—無辦法( $\alpha$  p.178)
- 216 蚊仔叨嚇卵—打毋得( $\alpha$  p.180)
- 217 討媬娘掛胎來—雙喜臨門( $\alpha$  p.181)
- 218 閃鬼走入廟—死無命( $\alpha$  p.181)
- 219 鬼打伯公—無法無天( $\alpha$  p.183)
- 220 鬼打覘公—無法( $\alpha$  p.183)
- 221 做了皇帝想成仙—貪心不足( $\alpha$  p.186)
- 222 做無一湯匙，愛食歸碗公—恁好空( $\alpha$  p.186)

- 223 啞仔相罵—毋知誰是誰非( $\alpha$  p.188)
- 224 堵著丈人娘喊佢阿嫂—無大無小( $\alpha$  p.190)
- 225 婚後媒人秋後扇—無用哩( $\alpha$  p.191)
- 226 寅時點兵，卯時上陣—應急( $\alpha$  p.192)
- 227 屙尿挖芋仔—順續( $\alpha$  p.193)
- 228 崩崗唇打拳頭—不能隨便( $\alpha$  p.194)
- 229 強盜打官司—穩輸( $\alpha$  p.195)
- 230 曹操刷呂伯奢—將錯就錯( $\alpha$  p.196)
- 231 條條馬屨臭汗臊—百般頭路百般難( $\alpha$  p.197)
- 232 牽豬哥—賺暢( $\alpha$  p.197)
- 233 細心舅仔做媒人—自身難保( $\alpha$  p.198)
- 234 逛街—看人賺錢( $\alpha$  p.201)
- 235 寒天做新娘—難耐( $\alpha$  p.205)
- 236 無著褲个賊仔—毋知羞( $\alpha$  p.212)
- 237 發癩用个碗—無人敢用( $\alpha$  p.214)
- 238 等雞公生卵—無希望( $\alpha$  p.216)
- 239 着水衣又擎遮仔—萬無一失( $\alpha$  p.216)
- 240 菜籃拔水，笊撈屎水—無採工( $\alpha$  p.218)
- 241 蛤蟆捉來搨腰絞—一肚子氣無奈出( $\alpha$  p.218)
- 242 開花竹仔—短命( $\alpha$  p.220)
- 243 順得哥來逆得嫂—兩難( $\alpha$  p.220)
- 244 黃忠喊陣—不服老( $\alpha$  p.220)
- 245 黃麻骨打狗—兩頭驚( $\alpha$  p.221)
- 246 塘涵背塞水—無效( $\alpha$  p.224)
- 247 新娘上眠床—頭一擺( $\alpha$  p.226)
- 248 會算毋會除—糶米換蕃薯( $\alpha$  p.227)
- 249 會噉个鳥仔—無膽( $\alpha$  p.227)
- 250 焯熟个鴨卵—無變( $\alpha$  p.228)
- 251 當衫褲買酒食—顧嘴毋顧身( $\alpha$  p.228)
- 252 睛盲仔走相趨—熟地( $\alpha$  p.229)
- 253 睛盲仔看告示—裝樣仔( $\alpha$  p.229)
- 254 睛盲仔掛目鏡—亂摸( $\alpha$  p.231)
- 255 睛盲仔點燈—浪費( $\alpha$  p.231)
- 256 聖帝廟求子—尋差門路( $\alpha$  p.233)
- 257 腳底打脈—尋毋到症頭(p.234)
- 258 腳踏雙船—左右為難( $\alpha$  p.235)
- 259 腳踭絢石頭—進退兩難( $\alpha$  p.235)
- 260 蜈蚣蟲入雞竇—自尋死路( $\alpha$  p.237)

- 261 過橋丟杖—忘恩負義( $\alpha$  p.238)
- 262 寡婦死獨子—無指望( $\alpha$  p.243)
- 263 銅銀買紙靴—佢做佢暢( $\alpha$  p.246)
- 264 鼻潦唔知擤—痴呆( $\alpha$  p.246)
- 265 諸葛亮做軍師—足智多謀( $\alpha$  p.252)
- 266 豬毋肥狗肥—毋著忒( $\alpha$  p.254)
- 267 柴擎入灶—強人所難( $\alpha$  p.265)
- 268 雞公髻—外來肉( $\alpha$  p.295)
- 269 壞人卻被稱為好人—梁上君子( $\alpha$  p.300)
- 270 一百句，五十雙—共樣( $\chi$  p.1)
- 271 一女配兩郎—做毋得( $\chi$  p.1)
- 272 一鹿九鞭—假貨多( $\chi$  p.4)
- 273 一還一，二還二—彼此分清( $\chi$  p.5)
- 274 一心打兩意—難決定( $\chi$  p.5)
- 275 一帆風順—一切如意( $\chi$  p.5)
- 276 一庄一俗—各有不同( $\chi$  p.7)
- 277 一丈水退八尺—真像大白( $\chi$  p.7)
- 278 二一添作五—對分( $\chi$  p.9)
- 279 七月半个鴨仔—不知死期到( $\chi$  p.9)
- 280 十隻雞仔走九隻—一看就知( $\chi$  p.10)
- 281 入庵做尼姑—看破( $\chi$  p.14)
- 282 大哥莫笑二哥—兩儕差唔多( $\chi$  p.16)
- 283 大腔嚇細腔—有脈個了不起( $\chi$  p.17)
- 284 三條坑水洗唔淨—嫌疑重( $\chi$  p.17)
- 285 大老爺升堂—威風( $\chi$  p.15)
- 286 三十暗晡个紅包—細人歡善，大人愁( $\chi$  p.18)
- 287 三步腳—坎店—唔使愁冇( $\chi$  p.18)
- 288 乞食趕香工—外人趕主人／恩將仇報／唔記得自家身份( $\chi$  p.21)
- 289 山中有老虎—猴哥做大王( $\chi$  p.22)
- 290 天下烏鴉一般黑—大家一樣壞( $\chi$  p.25)
- 291 孔明借箭—滿載而歸( $\chi$  p.25)
- 292 孔明借東風—神機妙算( $\chi$  p.25)
- 293 六月火囟—冇用( $\chi$  p.24)
- 294 水橋頭个鴨子—一嘍(叫)就來( $\chi$  p.26)
- 295 水鬼升城隍—小人得意／神氣碌天( $\chi$  p.26)
- 296 牛欄肚鬥牛嫲—強欺弱／唔係好漢／自家打自家( $\chi$  p.26)
- 297 牛牽到江西還係牛—本性難改( $\chi$  p.26)
- 298 牛牽到廣東還係牛—本性難移( $\chi$  p.26)



- 299 牛頭馬面—兇神惡煞(χ p.26)
- 300 牛腸馬肚—大食王(χ p.26)
- 301 冇尾牛，假亂拂—自家冇，又愛現(χ p.28)
- 302 井肚哈嫲—冇見識／唔識出孔(χ p.28)
- 303 王爺屎窟—冇人敢摸／摸唔得(χ p.28)
- 304 雙腳踏雙船—三心兩意(χ p.29)
- 305 中藥店个甘草—帖帖藥仔和得到(χ p.30)
- 306 公共便所—婊仔(χ p.31)
- 307 太監話—歇後語(χ p.32)
- 308 禾黃水落，飯熟火著—不及時／太慢了(χ p.34)
- 309 打卵見黃—一針見血／急(χ p.34)
- 310 打屁安狗心—騙人介／敷衍一番(χ p.34)
- 311 打嘴鼓—聊天(χ p.35)
- 312 石板頂種菜—愚蠢／無采工(χ p.35)
- 313 石頭開花—不可能(χ p.35)
- 314 白紙貼壁—冇介事／打損(χ p.36)
- 315 白蛇精食雄黃酒—現出原形(χ p.36)
- 317 尼姑合和尚—犯戒(χ p.38)
- 318 加兩支角就變鬼—壞透了(χ p.38)
- 319 只愛工夫深，鐵尺磨成針—有志完成(χ p.39)
- 320 田螺貼壁—嘴會(χ p.39)
- 321 左邊耳孔入，右邊耳孔出—不認真(χ p.40)
- 322 未學行，先學走—順序毋對(χ p.40)
- 323 未供賴仔，先安名—急脈介／顛倒／順序毋著(χ p.40/ p.52)
- 324 平時，雞頸噴天，急時，驚到咳咳呻—正經冇半撇(χ p.41)
- 325 老戲跌落棚—失誤難免(χ p.42)
- 326 老虎也會督目睡—難免／智者亦有一失(χ p.42)
- 327 老鼠過街—人人喊打(χ p.43)
- 328 老虎食天—毋知從那位下手(χ p.44)
- 329 老鳥精—老油條(χ p.44)
330. 老人拖車—慢／難進行(χ p.44)
331. 百貨有百客，伯母有大伯—冇人愛毋使愁(χ p.45)
332. 死一次，總有死兩擺—毋使驚／冇脈介好驚(χ p.46)
333. 肉包子打狗—冇去冇回(χ p.46)
334. 曲不離口，拳不離手—愛勤練(χ p.47)
335. 行船過岡—自有法度(χ p.47)
336. 行一個禮，打隻屁—前功盡去(χ p.47)
337. 好愁毋愁，愁六月天無日頭—平庸人自擾(χ p.48)

338. 好好介嚇卵，割來擱—自找麻煩(χ p.48)
339. 好看人食肉，莫看人破木—君子不近危(χ p.49)
340. 在屎缸肚，蹲一下晝—好大一堆(χ p.49)
341. 丞相打燈籠—回府(χ p.49)
342. 有借有還，再借不難—愛守信用(χ p.50)
343. 有豬目核，有鼓汁—有東西好配／美中不足(χ p.50)
344. 有目珠，叫有目汁—淒慘(χ p.51)
345. 任你跳都有三尺高—有才調(χ p.51)
346. 自家腹什歪，嫌人尿桶漏—自家不對／本末倒置(χ p.52)
347. 尖尾風掌米酒—推你(χ p.53)
348. 地球係圓個—相堵得到(χ p.52)
349. 男人帳簿，女人乳姑—亂摸毋得(χ p.55)
350. 男驚投錯行，女怕嫁錯郎—愛小心(χ p.55)
351. 阿婆嫁孫女—有主有意(χ p.56)
352. 別人食肉，佢飲湯—好空介有佢份(χ p.57)
353. 別儕個大腳臂綯索仔—毋會痛(χ p.57)
354. 芋荷形—毋會存錢(χ p.57)
355. 灶頭下打埔娘—轉絞毋得(χ p.58)
356. 冷天打赤膊—假壯(χ p.58)
357. 坐儕毋知企儕苦—愛做正知(χ p.59)
358. 你莫笑佢篩疏，佢也毋笑你米碎—你佢差不多(χ p.59)
359. 你做你介官，佢打佢介磚—各顧各(χ p.59)
360. 你有上天梯，佢有落地家—佢也有一套 χ
361. 雨後送蓑衣—太慢／有用(χ p.61)
362. 狗食牛屎—貪多(χ p.63)
363. 狗打老鼠—多管閒事(χ p.63)
364. 狗蟲跳入屐—尋死／穩死(χ p.64)
365. 狗呷烏蠅—賭造作(χ p.64)
366. 狗咬都毋會喊—默固(χ p.65)
367. 狗碰門，扯爛帽—心急／貪食(χ p.65)
368. 狗吠火車—徒然／少見多怪(χ p.66)
369. 狗嘴那有屎跌踢—不會浪費／不會遺漏(χ p.66)
370. 放牛食草—由在佢去(χ p.66)
371. 放虎歸山—必有後患(χ p.67)
372. 長索仔牽水牛—走毋去(χ p.67)
373. 長屎窟—廢話連篇而不知進退(χ p.67)
374. 官司打完計正出—太慢了／無效了(χ p.68)
375. 使口不如自走—求人毋當求自家(χ p.68)

- 376 到那個時，擎那個旗—到時自有辦法／到時到說(χ p.69)
- 377 奈冬瓜毋何，捉瓠仔來捋毛—尋別人出水(χ p.69)
- 378 花勞了嘴—多話(χ p.69)
- 379 惡馬，有惡人騎—一物制一物(χ p.70)
- 380 狐狸毋知自家尾下臭—只會講別人(χ p.70)
- 381 狐狸同雞公拜年—不懷好意(χ p.70)
- 382 盲人騎瞎馬，夜半臨深—危機重重／有夠危險(χ p.71)
- 383 東吳招親—弄假成真(χ p.71)
- 384 武大郎的短衫—材料省(χ p.72)
- 385 屋簷鳥，想愛生大鵝卵—空想／有可能(χ p.73)
- 386 風車絞穀—有先行(χ p.73)
- 387 揸柴入山—顛倒(χ p.74)
- 388 揸水介討個賣茶介—絕配(χ p.74)
- 389 食四兩肉，刷一條豬—小題大作(χ p.76)
- 390 食肥走瘦—有采工／不去了(χ p.76)
- 391 食飯打赤膊，做事尋衫著—懶屍蟲(χ p.77)
- 392 食飽換餓—有采工(χ p.76)
- 393 食無三粒黃豆仔，就想愛上西天—道行還差得遠(χ p.77)
- 394 食就食阿爸，賺錢做私蓄—不肖子(χ p.78)
- 395 紅木當柴燒—毋識貨(χ p.79)
- 396 指著麒，講係馬—毋識貨(χ p.79)
- 397 屎窟有搭蓆—有聞(χ p.79)
- 398 茄仔開黃花—變種(χ p.81)
- 399 客哥叔帶孝—名不正，言不順(χ p.82)
- 400 皇帝命，乞食骨—命中注定／本性難移(χ p.83)
- 401 係佢介秤，合佢介鉈—當搭對(χ p.83)
- 402 係佢介公，合佢介婆—當搭對(χ p.83)
- 403 草蜢撩雞公—尋死(χ p.87)
- 404 草上露水—毋長久(χ p.87)
- 405 捉一隻龜，走一隻鱉—有較贏(χ p.88)
- 406 夏爐冬扇—有用(χ p.89)
- 407 屙屎毋知風向—還嫩(χ p.91)
- 408 屙屎毋出怨豬嫲—亂賴人(χ p.91)
- 409 孫猴仔翻跟斗—看家本領／拿手好戲(χ p.92)
- 410 砧枋狗—遺食鬼／酒肉朋友(χ p.93)
- 411 張飛拜觀音—面惡心善／又剛又柔(χ p.98)
- 412 腳踏馬屎，靠官勢—狐假虎威(χ p.99)
- 413 細孔毋補，補大孔—提早處理／那就費氣了(χ p.100)

- 414 牽豬哥—賺爽(χ p.102)
- 415 粘泥帶水—拖拖拉拉(χ p.103)
- 416 船到灘頭，水路開—到時自有辦法(χ p.103)
- 417 雪中送炭—正及時(χ p.104)
- 418 豬尾吊菜瓜—風神海海(χ p.105)
- 419 豬屎籃結采—不配(χ p.105)
- 420 幾大个頭，就帶大个帽子—量力而為(χ p.107)
- 421 幾大个烏仔，做幾大个竇—量力而為(χ p.107)
- 422 畫眉鳥—花舌(χ p.107)
- 423 焦贊看書—假斯文／裝門面(χ p.107)
- 424 無主孤魂—流浪漢(χ p.108)
- 425 無狗繫貓食屎—勉強勉強(χ p.108)
- 426 無米兼潤月—禍不單行／屋漏偏逢連夜雨(χ p.108)
- 427 無影無跡—毫無根據／說謊(χ p.108)
- 428 硬頸鬼—老頑固(χ p.110)
- 429 詐癲食狗屎—裝瘋賣傻(χ p.111)
- 430 過橋比你行路長，食鹽比你食飯多—依老賣老／經驗豐富(χ p.113)
- 431 雷公響—無空園(χ p.113)
- 432 睛盲狗—毋識人(χ p.114)
- 433 睛盲仔行路，毋使棍仔—熟地(χ p.114)
- 434 睛盲貓，拖死老鼠—該衰(χ p.115)
- 435 落髮為尼—看破(χ p.115)
- 436 落月鬼—好兇(χ p.116)
- 437 新埔个剃頭師父—客氣(χ p.117)
- 438 新娘上轎—頭一擺(χ p.117)
- 439 逼貓食屎—無效(χ p.117)
- 440 逼雞公生卵—無效(χ p.117)
- 441 楊家將上陣—全家總動員(χ p.117)
- 442 想到劉玄德，夜夜睡毋得；想到乞食仔，自家還卡好—比上不足，比下有餘(χ p.118)
- 443 矮仔上樓梯—一步一步來(χ p.119)
- 444 偃腰仔翻斛斗—兩頭翹(χ p.119)
- 445 偃背仔伸腰—不可能(χ p.120)
- 446 飲滾水，頭那暈—騙人(χ p.120)
- 447 鼻流毋知擤—幼稚(χ p.122)
- 448 屎豬、拜佛都係著這領—窮／衣著不講究(χ p.123)
- 449 滿堂伯請客—將就(χ p.123)
- 450 對牛彈琴—無用／聽毋識(χ p.123)

- 451 慢牛食渾水—動作愛快 (  $\chi$  p.123 )
- 452 趙匡胤困河東—大志未申／懷才不遇 (  $\chi$  p.124 )
- 453 蝦公腳敬人意—禮輕意重 (  $\chi$  p.127 )
- 454 瘦肉沈底—好戲在後頭 (  $\chi$  p.128 )
- 455 膠多毋黏，話多毋甜—言多必失／堵好就好 (  $\chi$  p.128 )
- 456 箸个一生—食飽睡，睡飽食 (  $\chi$  p.129 )
- 457 貓公上樹—毋成人 (  $\chi$  p.130 )
- 458 貓打捨／抄飯甌—縱成狗 (  $\chi$  p.130 )
- 459 貓捉老鼠，狗掌門—本行／各守本分 (  $\chi$  p.131 )
- 460 鴨仔上架—無奈何／逼不得已／勉強 (  $\chi$  p.132 )
- 461 鴨嫲嘴罔吮—試看一下／賭造化／無定有 (  $\chi$  p.132 )
- 462 餓倒鳥，飛來蟲—憨人憨福 (  $\chi$  p.135 )
- 463 橫柴入灶—不可能／亂來／方法毋著 (  $\chi$  p.135 )
- 464 遺尿个，換隻遺尿个—更加慘 (  $\chi$  p.136 )
- 465 鮮花插牛屎—打損／可惜／不配 (  $\chi$  p.140 )
- 466 檀香準柴燒—毋識貨／大材小用 (  $\chi$  p.141 )
- 467 戲棚頂个皇帝—威風毋久 (  $\chi$  p.141 )
- 468 齋公買茄—貪大 (  $\chi$  p.141 )
- 469 齋公个草鞋—妙術無邊 (  $\chi$  p.142 )
- 470 刷卵幫剃刀—危險／毋係搞 (  $\chi$  p.142 )
- 471 鯽魚游上，鯉魚游下—人各有志 (  $\chi$  p.143 )
- 472 關公面前弄大刀—不自量力 (  $\chi$  p.145 )
- 473 關門打狗—走毋去 (  $\chi$  p.145 )
- 474 懶心舅遇到惡家娘—日子難過 (  $\chi$  p.145 )
- 475 鏡中花，水中月—全係空个 (  $\chi$  p.145 )
- 476 爛水缸裝鱒魚—走淨淨／走个走，溜个溜 (  $\chi$  p.148 )
- 477 雞嫲孵鴨卵—為別人 (  $\chi$  p.149 )
- 478 木匠師傅哋妻仔—有尺寸哋 (  $\beta$  p.212 )
- 479 豬八戒洗手—一身泥→喻此人骯髒 (  $\beta$  p.237 )
- 480 竹篙量布—錢取湊 (  $\alpha$  p.78 )
- 481 老虎毋作威風—人看做貓 (  $\alpha$  p.82 )
- 482 尿桶肚畜鯉嫲—好拔 (  $\alpha$  p.104 )
- 483 狗屎運—得橫財 (  $\alpha$  p.126 )
- 484 狗逕索—食毋退 (  $\alpha$  p.127 )
- 485 長籬篙—有核燭 (  $\alpha$  p.131 )
- 486 阿理嫲食芋荷—批麵 (  $\alpha$  p.135 )
- 487 阿義哥死爺仔—打退日 (  $\alpha$  p.138 )
- 488 烏心菜頭—好面皮 (  $\alpha$  p.173 )

- 489 婦人家跳童—腔搵搵 ( $\alpha$  p.191)
- 490 細人仔著阿姆衫—忒大( $\alpha$  p.198)
- 491 細妹仔割腹—愛有( $\alpha$  p.199)
492. 焙火窗喊熱—矛盾( $\alpha$  p.209)
493. 無毛雞—假大髀( $\alpha$  p.209)
494. 猴仔著衫—想做人( $\alpha$  p.212)
495. 猴仔照鏡—樣仔看也毋係人( $\alpha$  p.212)
496. 發誓係有靈—天下無人( $\alpha$  p.213)
497. 腓豬肉—沈底( $\alpha$  p.218)
498. 搥背食屁卵—福氣( $\alpha$  p.225)
499. 新娘摸肫卵—輕輕仔( $\alpha$  p.226)
500. 會打官司—也愛錢(p.227)
501. 矮牯仔看戲—跣人笑( $\alpha$  p.232)
502. 過枋菜—當新出( $\alpha$  p.238)
503. 擲籬<sup>筲</sup>假燒金—同契哥( $\alpha$  p.264)
504. 瞞目仔討媬娘—係該時節言( $\alpha$  p.267)
505. 瞞目仔買針—看走了眼( $\alpha$  p.267)
506. 親戚像鋸—汝毋來，佢毋去( $\alpha$  p.239)
507. 貓哭老鼠—假慈悲( $\alpha$  p.270)
508. 貓撩狗仔—毋係其對手( $\alpha$  p.270)
509. 貓躁飯甌—總成狗( $\alpha$  p.271)
510. 賴孵雞嫲—毋知醒( $\alpha$  p.271)
511. 頭臥臥—毋知死日到( $\alpha$  p.276)
512. 鴨子出世—無爺娘( $\alpha$  p.277)
513. 鴨子吞蟲蟻—簡單( $\alpha$  p.277)
514. 鴨嫲絡食—毋知坑窮( $\alpha$  p.278)
515. 龜笑鱉無毛—半斤八兩( $\alpha$  p.279)
516. 龜爬上壁—無信用( $\alpha$  p.280)
517. 彌勒佛个面—笑嘻嘻( $\alpha$  p.282)
518. 瞞目仔過索道—心寒膽慄( $\alpha$  p.285)
519. 螳螂捕蟬—阿鵲在後( $\alpha$  p.287)
520. 講就一百零兩—做到無半撇( $\alpha$  p.288)
521. 攞食坐上橫頭—敢就贏人( $\alpha$  p.292)
522. 肫卵皮磨剃刀—敢做得( $\alpha$  p.293)
523. 雞子出世—無乳食( $\alpha$  p.294)
524. 雞嫲生卵—確實係( $\alpha$  p.296)
525. 壞貓仔—屙無好屎( $\alpha$  p.300)

526. 蟻公遊鑊壁－危險在眼前( $\alpha$  p.301)
527. 鹹魚翻身－奇事( $\alpha$  p.304)
528. 鹹菜甕个乞食仔－毋係做頭路个( $\alpha$  p.305)
529. 鹹菜甕个師傅－拚頭日( $\alpha$  p.305)
530. 籠床貓－掌板( $\alpha$  p.308)
531. 哦糟（愛腹）－好嫁哩( $\delta$  p.120)
532. 麼介－杓菜( $\delta$  p.120)
533. 看戲(去)－看來( $\delta$  p.121)
534. 三橫一直落－想做王( $\chi$  p.18)
535. 毛籃睡目－物(折)死人( $\chi$  p.27)
536. 今日有官做，明日無官賣雜貨－唔使愁( $\chi$  p.29)
537. 公孫聚睹－有失尊卑，有失倫常，不宜( $\chi$  p.31)
538. 生食鴨卵－屙殼( $\chi$  p.33) （事情不成）
539. 打蛇愛打七寸－才會中要害( $\chi$  p.35)
540. 甲字難出頭－合作很難( $\chi$  p.40)
541. 吊爛燈籠－做樣( $\chi$  p.47)
542. 狗打哈啾－會落水( $\chi$  p.64)
543. 臭風鹹菜－說香( $\chi$  p.90)
544. 借雞公打鴨嫲－招郎( $\chi$  p.92)
545. 黃麻稿打狗－兩頭輕( $\chi$  p.99)
546. 唸磬打敲－嚕嚟( $\chi$  p.101)
547. 十二月南風－透雪 ( $\lambda$  p.135)

## References

- Barcelona, Antonio. 2002. Clarifying and applying the notions of metaphor and metonymy within cognitive linguistics: An update. *Metaphor and metonymy in comparison and contrast*, ed. by R. Dirven and R. Pörings, 207-277. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Barcelona, Antonio. 2003. The case for a metonymic basis of pragmatic inferencing: Evidence from jokes and funny anecdotes. *Metonymy and pragmatic inferencing*, ed. by Klaus-Uwe Panther and Linda L. Thornburg, 81-102. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Chappell, Hilary. 2001. Synchrony and diachrony of Sinitic languages: A brief history of Chinese dialects. *Sinitic grammar*, ed. by Hilary Chappell, 3-28. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chappell, Hilary, and Christine Lamarre. 2005. *A grammar and lexicon of Hakka: Historical materials from the Basel Mission Library*. Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales.
- Chen, Yi-ling. 2004. Two-part allegorical sayings in Taiwanese Southern Min: A cognitive semantic analysis. Master Thesis, National Chengchi University.
- Fauconnier, Gilles, and Mark Turner. 1999. Metonymy and conceptual integration. *Metonymy in language and thought*, ed. by Klaus-Uwe Panther and Günter Radden, 77-90. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Geeraerts, D. 1995. Specialization and reinterpretation in idioms. *Idioms: Structural and psychological perspectives*, ed. by Martin Everaert et al., 57-73. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Geeraerts, D. 2003. The interaction of metaphor and metonymy in composite expressions. *Metaphor and metonymy in comparison and contrast*, ed. by René Dirven and Ralf Pörings, 435-465. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Gibbs, R. W. Jr. 1990. Psycholinguistic studies on the conceptual basis of idiomaticity. *Cognitive Linguistics* 1:4. 417-51.



- Gibbs, R. W. Jr. 1995. Idiomaticity and human cognition. *Idioms: Structural and psychological perspectives*, ed. by Martin Everaert et al., 97-116. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- He, Shi-sung. 2003. *Keyan Yibai Shou [One-hundred Hakka Sayings]* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Taipei: Wunnan.
- Hashimoto, Mantaro J. 1973. *The Hakka dialect: A linguistic study of its phonology, syntax, and lexicon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kövecses, Z., and P. Szabó. 1996. Idioms: A view from cognitive semantics. *Applied Linguistics* 17:3. 326-55.
- Lakoff, G. 1993. The contemporary theory of metaphor. *Metaphor and thought*, ed. by Andrew Ortony. 202-51. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lakoff, G., and M. Turner. 1989. *More than cool reason: A field guide to poetic metaphor*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Lai, Huei-ling. 2005. A taxonomic framework of two-part allegorical sayings. Paper presented at 9th International Cognitive Linguistic Conference, Yonsei University, Seoul, Korea.
- Li, Sheng-fa. 1998. *Kejia Yanyu Xiehouyu [Collections of Hakka Proverbs and Two-part Allegorical Sayings]*. Taipei: Anke.
- Liao, De-tien. (ed.) 2001. *Kejia Shifu Hua [Hakka Master's Sayings]* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Taipei: Nantien.
- Luo, Meizhen. 1998. The continuity and variation of Hakka language and culture in Taiwan. *The fourth international conference on Hakkaology: Hakka and modern world*, 275-284. Taipei: Academia Sinica.
- Luo, Zhao-jin. 2000. *Miaolixian Keyu Yanyu, Miyu Ji [Collections of Miaoli Hakka Sayings and Riddles]*. Miaoli: Culture Affairs Bureau of Miaoli County.
- Nunberg, G., I. A. Sag, and T. Wasow. 1994. Idioms. *Language* 70. 491-538.

- Radden, Günter, and Zoltán Kövecses. 1999. Towards a theory of metonymy. *Metonymy in language and thought*, ed. by Klaus-Uwe Panther and Günter Radden, 17-59. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, F. J. 2003. The role of mappings and domains in understanding metonymy. *Metaphor and metonymy at the crossroads: A cognitive perspective*, ed. by Antonio Barcelona, 109-132. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, F. J., and O. I. Díez Velasco. 2003. Patterns of conceptual interaction. *Metaphor and metonymy in comparison and contrast*, ed. by René Dirven and Ralf Pörings, 489-532. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, F. J., and L. P. Hernández. 2003. Cognitive operations and pragmatic implication. *Metonymy and pragmatic inferencing*, ed. by Klaus-Uwe Panther and Linda L. Thornburg, 23-49. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Wang, W. S. Y. 1991. Language prefabs and habitual thought. *Explorations in language*, ed. by W. S. Y. Wang, 397-412. Pyramid Press.
- Xu, zhao-quan. (ed.). 2003. *Taiwan Kejiahua Cidian [Hakka Dictionary of Taiwan]*. Taipei: Nantien.
- Yang, Zhao-zhen. 1999. *Kejia Yanyu Shiswei [Selections of Hakka Sayings]*. Xinzhu: Culture Center of Xinzhu County.