

國立政治大學語言學研究所碩士論文
National Chengchi University
Graduate Institute of Linguistics
Master Thesis

指導教授：賴惠玲 博士
Advisor: Dr. Huei-ling Lai

台灣客語分類詞諺語：隱喻與轉喻之應用
Classifier/Measure Word Proverbial Expressions in Taiwanese Hakka:
Metaphor and Metonymy



研究生：彭曉貞 撰
Student: Xiao-zhen Peng
中華民國一百年七月
July, 2011

台灣客語分類詞諺語：隱喻與轉喻之應用

Classifier/Measure Word Proverbial Expressions in Taiwanese Hakka:

Metaphor and Metonymy



A Thesis Submitted to the
Graduate Institute of Linguistics
In Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

July 2011



Copyright © 2011
Xiao-zhen Peng
All Rights Reserved

Acknowledgements

誌謝

這本論文的完成，我最想要感謝的人，就是我的指導教授賴惠玲老師！謝謝您體恤我的時間緊迫，總是優先處理我的論文，在我雜亂無章的想法之中，抓出一個主軸，一步一步引領我找到一個最適合的研究方向。雖然時間緊迫，您還是秉持著做學問一絲不苟的精神，對論文品質要求嚴謹，鉅細靡遺，一遍又一遍細心的閱讀我的論文，提昇我的寫作技巧，厚實我的理論架構，充實研究內容，使得本篇論文更臻完善。在撰寫論文的過程中，感謝您諄諄的教導，令我如沐春風，獲益良多，無論在學識上或是為人處事上，都從您身上學到了許多。此外，也感謝您的鼓勵與幫忙，讓我重拾信心，我才有機會在 CLDC 及 ICLC 發表。更甚者，感謝您對學生的關心，總能消弭我的擔憂與焦慮，在百忙之中，還是先批改我的論文，和我討論，提供我寶貴的意見，讓我的論文進度能按部就班如期完成。雖然我從來沒有為您做過什麼，可是您卻本著為客語付出一點心力，無私的協助我完成論文。因為有您，這本論文才得以完成！由衷的感謝您！我的論文對客語的保存僅奉獻了棉薄之力，但您對於客語不遺餘力的付出，著實為眾人的典範！

此外，我也很感謝在研究所求學過程中教導過我的所有老師，謝謝何萬順老師，蕭宇超老師，黃瓊之老師，萬依萍老師，徐嘉慧老師，張郇慧老師，以及莫建清老師這兩年來的照顧與教導，為我奠下學術基礎。另外，謝謝鍾曉芳老師和謝富惠老師在提交論文計畫書時指點迷津，給予我寶貴的意見。尤其要感謝我的口試委員連金發老師和葉瑞娟老師，非常仔細審閱我的論文，提供我諸多珍貴的建議和精闢的見解，使本篇論文能更加清晰完整。

接著，我要感謝所上的學長姐和我的同學們。謝謝惠鈴助教學姐，幫了我很多忙，尤其在口試很緊張的時刻，出現在身邊給我溫暖的安慰和鼓勵。謝謝詩敏學姐和秋杏學姐，在客家庄打工，最高興的事就是能夠認識你們！詩敏學姐非常有耐心，每次都幫我解決客語的問題，也謝謝你，我才有機會成為賴老師的指導學生。謝謝秋杏學姐非常熱心，無論是學術上或是生活上，從來不吝與我分享寶貴的經驗，尤其是我感到挫折的時候，學姐字字句句都是真誠的鼓勵，令人感動。謝謝我的同學們，媛嬪，姿幸，婉婷，宛君，晉璋，侃彧，美杏，以及心綸，讓我的研究所生活充滿歡笑；謝謝柏溫，因為有你並肩作戰，才能迎戰 CLDC；謝謝書豪，這兩年因為有你的幫忙和分享苦樂，我才能順利通過一關又關的考驗，謝謝你們，讓我在政大留下了許多美好的回憶！

最後，我要感謝我的家人，謝謝我的父母隨時擔任我的客語顧問，謝謝可愛的妹妹總是分擔我的憂慮，不斷地替我加油打氣，特別感謝讀研究所這一路上一直支持我的昀昇！

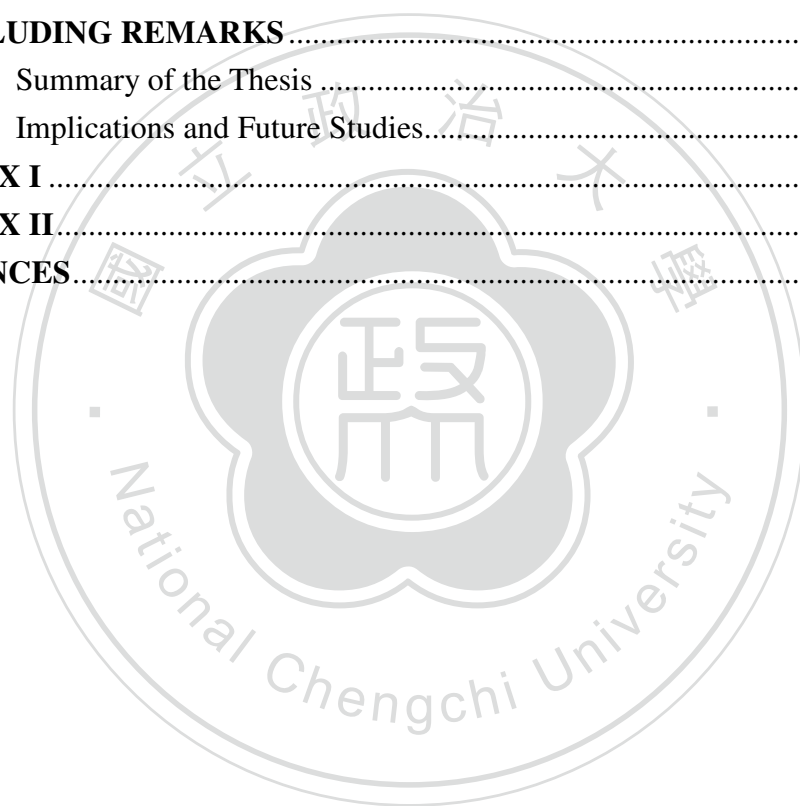
TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements.....	iv
Table of Contents.....	v
Figures and Tables.....	vii
Chinese Abstract.....	viii
English Abstract.....	ix

CHAPTER

I. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Motivation and Purpose	1
1.2 Conventions of the Data.....	6
1.3 Organization of the Thesis	7
II. PREVIOUS STUDIES ON CLASSIFIERS	8
2.1 Defining Classifiers	9
2.2 Classifiers as the Conceptual Classification of the World	11
2.3 Classifiers as the Manifestation of Metaphors and Metonymies	24
2.4 Remarks	27

III. METAPHOR AND METONYMY	29
3.1 Metonymy	30
3.2 Metaphor	37
3.3 The Interaction Between Metaphor and Metonymy	40
3.4 Idiomaticity	44
3.5 Cultural Constraints	49
IV. ANALYSIS	55
4.1 Classifier-Proverbial Constructions	56
4.2 Cases Involving Metonymy	57
4.3 Cases Involving Interaction Between Metaphor and Metonymy	73
4.4 Cultural Constraints	97
V. CONCLUDING REMARKS	112
5.1 Summary of the Thesis	112
5.2 Implications and Future Studies	115
APPENDIX I	119
APPENDIX II	127
REFERENCES	130



FIGURES AND TABLES

List of Figures

Figure 1. Place for institution for people (related to the institution) (Ruiz de Mendoza 2003: 513)	35
Figure 2. Head for leader for action of leading (Ruiz de Mendoza 2003: 515).....	35
Figure 3. Author for work for format (Ruiz de Mendoza 2003: 517).....	36
Figure 4. Triple metonymy of <i>lengyan</i> (冷眼) ‘cold indifference’ (Gao 2005: 64).....	37
Figure 5. Triple metonymy: <i>liong2 de3 pi5</i> (兩埤皮) ‘two pieces of skin’ stands for lips for a mouth for a person	64
Figure 6. Triple metonymy: the classifier <i>de3</i> (埤) for meat for funeral food for funeral	67

List of Tables

Table 1. A continuum from prototypical classifiers to prototypical measure words (Tai et al. 2001: 3).....	20
Table 2. Literalness-metonymy-metaphor continuum (Radden 2003: 409)	40
Table 3. A summary of the classifiers and measure words in proverbial expressions in Taiwanese Hakka displaying metonymy	70
Table 4. A summary of the classifiers and measure words in proverbial expressions in Taiwanese Hakka displaying the interaction between metaphor and metonymy	91
Table 5. The summary of the metonymies and the metaphors activated in the classifier/measure word proverbial expressions in Taiwanese Hakka.....	127

國立政治大學語言學研究所碩士論文提要

研究所別：語言學研究所

論文名稱：台灣客語分類詞諺語：隱喻與轉喻之應用

指導教授：賴惠玲 博士

研究生：彭曉貞

論文提要內容：(共一冊，兩萬七千一百七十二字，分五章)

本論文應用隱喻與轉喻之理論觀點，探討台灣客語分類詞諺語之認知語意機制如何運作。首先，根據 Kövecses and Radden (1998) 從認知語言學角度所提出的轉喻理論，分析台灣客語分類詞諺語中的轉喻類型。接著，本論文分析台灣客語分類詞諺語中隱喻機制的運作，結果發現普遍而言，隱喻都是以轉喻為基礎。此外，本研究針對 Radden (2003) 所提出以轉喻為基礎的隱喻之四種來源分類提出修正。

除了呈現認知語意機制，文化制約之世界普遍性及台灣客家文化之特殊性也在台灣客語分類詞諺語中展現出來。最後，透過 Lakoff and Turner (1989) 所提出的生命物種之大鏈隱喻，我們了解諺語所表達的最終概念是以人為中心，而且諺語通常帶有勸世的功能。簡言之，本論文藉由探討認知語意機制如何在台灣客語分類詞諺語中運作，呈現人類認知過程以及展現台灣客家文化。

ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to explore how the cognitive mechanisms are operated in the classifiers and measure words in Taiwanese Hakka proverbial expressions, in particular metonymy, the interaction between metaphor and metonymy, idiomaticity, and cultural constraints. Since human conceptual system is fundamentally metaphorical in nature, classifiers, representing conceptual classification of the world, are found to manifest metonymically and metaphorically.

First, based on the metonymic relationships proposed by Kövecses and Radden (1998), cases involving metonymy are carefully spelled out. Then, cases involving the interaction between metaphor and metonymy are elaborated. The metaphors activated in these cases are generally grounded in metonymy, which evidences that metaphors generally have a metonymic basis (Radden 2003).

Apart from displaying cognitive mechanisms, the classifier/measure word proverbial expressions in Taiwanese Hakka exhibit Taiwanese Hakka-specific cultural constraints and near universality in conceptual metaphors (Kövecses 2002). Cases which are more specific to Taiwanese Hakka are semantically more opaque whereas cases which are more near universal are semantically more transparent (Gibbs 1995). Furthermore, through the GREAT CHAIN METAPHOR proposed by Lakoff and Turner (1989), we know that all the proverbial expressions are ultimately concerned about human beings. Moreover, proverbial expressions tend to carry pragmatic-social functions, conveying exhortations.

In brief, the cognitive mechanisms of metonymy as well as the interaction between metaphor and metonymy are pervasively found in classifier/measure word proverbial expressions in Taiwanese Hakka. Through unraveling the conceptual mechanisms associated with classifiers and measure words in Taiwanese Hakka proverbial expressions, this study betters our understanding of human cognition in general and Taiwanese Hakka culture in particular.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Motivation and Purpose

Categorization plays a pivotal role in human cognition. Living in the world, we are prone to categorize people, animals, concrete objects, and abstract entities. According to Lakoff (1987: 6), “[a]n understanding of how we operate categorization is central to any understanding of how we think and how we function, and therefore central to an understanding of what makes us human.” Classifiers, an essential linguistic element in classifier languages (e.g., Japanese, Vietnamese, Thai, Malay, and Chinese), are linguistic representations for classifying the conceptualization of the world into categories. Classifiers refer to the shared features of physical objects, including perceptual properties such as material, shape, consistency, size, and attributes of parts. Take the Taiwanese Mandarin classifiers *zhi* (枝) and *ke* (棵) for example. The objects *pen* and *arrow* are classified into the category of *zhi* (枝) due to the shared attributes of being long and rigid, as in *yi zhi bi* (一枝筆) ‘a pen’ and *yi zhi jian* (一枝箭) ‘an arrow’, whereas the objects *tree* and

seedling are classified into the category of *ke* (棵) due to the shared features of having roots and being vital, as in *yi ke shu* (一棵樹) ‘a tree’ and *yi ke youmiao* (一棵幼苗) ‘a seedling’. Classifiers thus represent overt categorization in humans’ conceptual structures (Lakoff 1986).

In addition, speakers of a language with a classifier system may perceive and categorize external stimuli differently from those of a language with a different classifier system (Schmitt and Zhang 1998). For instance, although both Chinese and Japanese are languages with classifier systems, the scope of classifiers in these two languages is different. As exemplified previously, in Chinese the objects *pen* and *tree* are classified into two different categories, whereas in Japanese both *pen* and *tree* are classified into the same category of *hon*, which is used for entities with a perceptually salient long and thin shape. In other words, according to Schmitt and Zhang (1998), although there are still some exceptions where Japanese classifiers are narrower in scope than Chinese classifiers, typically Chinese classifiers are conceptually narrower than Japanese classifiers.¹

Various studies have analyzed Chinese classifiers, including Taiwanese Mandarin, Taiwanese Southern Min, and Taiwanese Hakka, largely concerning classifying them into different types. It is claimed that the estimated quantity of

¹ Thanks to Professor Chinfa Lien for indicating that Japanese classifiers are conceptually broader than Chinese classifiers in that historically Japanese classifiers were influenced by Chinese classifiers.

Taiwanese Mandarin classifiers ranges from several dozen to six hundred (Erbaugh 1986, Hu 1993, Hung 1996, Huang and Ahrens 2003). Liang (2006: 17) attributes this disagreement to the lack of discrimination between classifiers and measure words in some studies. In recent studies, a finer-grained distinction has been proposed based on the syntactic and semantic differences between classifiers and measure words (Zhang 2009, Her and Hsieh 2010). For instance, stacking antonymous adjectives, such as *big* and *small*, is permissible for measure words whereas it is impossible for classifiers. As we can see the phrase *yi da xiang xiao pingguo* (一大箱小蘋果) ‘one big box of small apples’, where *xiang* (箱) is a measure word, is comprehensible while the phrase **yi da ke xiao pingguo* (*一大顆小蘋果), where *ke* (顆) is a classifier, is incomprehensible in that the concurrence of *big* and *small* leads to a contradictory meaning.

Similar approaches have been taken for the analysis of classifiers in Taiwanese Southern Min and Taiwanese Hakka (Tai et al. 1997, Li 1998, Wu 2001, Tai et al. 2001, Chen 2003, Qiu 2007, Wu 2010), where the classifiers are classified into different types. Different from the dichotomy of classifiers and measure words in Taiwanese Mandarin, Tai et al. (2001) propose that the distinction between them is regarded as a continuum from prototypical classifiers to prototypical measure words in Taiwanese Southern Min and Taiwanese Hakka. In brief, Chinese classifiers in

previous studies are mainly explored to reflect human categorization in terms of classification.

As Lakoff (1987: 8) puts it, “human categorization is essentially a matter of both human experience and imagination—of perception, motor activity, and culture on the one hand, and of metaphor, metonymy, and mental imagery on the other.” While reflecting human categorization, classifiers also represent human’s conceptual system metaphorically and metonymically. Take the Taiwanese Mandarin classifiers for example. With the noun *hua* (花) ‘flower’, the classifier *zhu* (株) in *yi zhu hua* (一株花) ‘a flower’ refers to the whole plant itself, whereas the classifier *duo* (朵) in *yi duo hua* (一朵花) ‘a flower’ profiles the ‘bud’ of a flower and metonymically highlights the enchanting part of a flower. Since human conceptual system is fundamentally metaphorical in nature, thus when we aim to depict a person’s charming smile, the classifier *duo* (朵), rather than the classifier *zhu* (株), is used to conceptualize the attractiveness of the smile through A SMILE IS A FLOWER metaphor, as in *yi duo weixiao* (一朵微笑) ‘one smile’.

Similarly, classifiers and measure words in Taiwanese Hakka proverbial expressions are also found to manifest metaphorically and metonymically.² They

² By definition, *proverb* refers to a short popular saying, usually of unknown and ancient origin, that expresses effectively some commonplace truth or useful thought while *idiom* denotes a group of words whose meaning is different from the meanings of the individual words (<http://dictionary.reference.com>). The term “proverbial expressions” used in this thesis includes both proverbs and idioms.

exhibit stand-for relations of metonymies, as well as metaphors based on embodied image schemas such as body parts, container and content, as well as ontological and epistemic correspondences. For example, *ngin1 sim1 zied4-zied4 go1* (人心節節高)

‘a person’s desire gets higher one joint after another’, where the measure word *zied4* (節) ‘joint’ metonymically stands for a bamboo through the DEFINING

PROPERTY-FOR-CATEGORY metonymy. Metaphorically, the DESIRE IS AN ENTITY

metaphor is triggered, allowing us to conceptualize the abstract target concept of

desire as a concrete entity through the source concept, i.e., bamboos, represented by

the measure word *zied4* (節) ‘joint’. Such an ontological metaphor, i.e., the DESIRE

IS AN ENTITY metaphor, is quite universal; however, reification of the abstract

concept of desire as bamboos is specific to Hakka culture. In addition, although the

descriptions evoked in this expression are concerned with bamboos, the activation of

the GREAT CHAIN METAPHOR proposed by Lakoff and Turner (1989) allows us to

associate the attributes and behavior of bamboos with those of human beings.

Furthermore, as an exhortation, this idiom advises people to hold down their desire

and try to have a contented mind in that happiness lies in contentment. While such

phenomena are pervasively found in Taiwanese Hakka, little attention has been paid

to this area of research. This study hence aims to explore how the cognitive

mechanisms are operated with classifier/measure word proverbial expressions in

Taiwanese Hakka, focusing in particular on metonymy, the interaction between metaphor and metonymy, idiomaticity, as well as the cultural constraints.

1.2 Conventions of the Data

The data presented in this research are collected from *Taiwanese Hakka Dictionary of Common Words* (教育部台灣客家語常用詞辭典) (<http://hakka.dict.edu.tw>), *Hakka Dictionary of Taiwan* (台灣客家話辭典), *Taiwanese Hakka Reader* (台灣客家讀本), *Hakka Language Proficiency Certification Rudimentary Vocabulary—Mediate and Intermediate Levels* (客語能力認證基本詞彙—中級、中高級暨語料選粹), *Hakka Grammar* (客語語法), *the NCCU Corpus of Spoken Hakka* (國立政治大學客語口語語料庫), and Hakka informants. The data are transcribed into *Hanyu Pinyin* phonetic symbols (漢語拼音). The tone diacritics are based on the dialect of *Hailu* (海陸) Hakka, where 1 for *yingping*, 2 for *yinshang*, 3 for *yinqu*, 4 for *yinru*, 5 for *yangping*, 7 for *yangqu*, and 8 for *yangru*.³

³ The tone system of the dialect of *Hailu* (海陸) is illustrated in what follows:

Tone Number	1	2	3	4	5	7	8
Pitch Value	falling	rising	low level	short high	high level	mid level	short low
Example	<i>sii1</i> (獅)	<i>fu2</i> (虎)	<i>bau3</i> (豹)	<i>ab4</i> (鴨)	<i>rhung5</i> (熊)	<i>siong7</i> (象)	<i>lug8</i> (鹿)

1.3 Organization of the Thesis

After the motivation and purpose of the present study are introduced, Chapter II presents previous studies on classifiers. Chapter III provides the cognitive mechanisms of this research, including the concept of metonymy, the notion of metaphor, the interaction between metaphor and metonymy, idiomaticity from the cognitive perspective, and cultural constraints. Chapter IV presents data analysis based on the operation of cognitive mechanisms and cultural constraints. Chapter V concludes the thesis and points out future research.



CHAPTER II

PREVIOUS STUDIES ON CLASSIFIERS

Classifiers, an essential linguistic element in Chinese languages, represent overt human categorization. Some previous studies concerning classifiers will be reviewed in this chapter. First, in section 2.1 the studies on typological classifiers will be introduced (Allan 1977, Aikhenvald 2003), which define various typologies of classifiers and indicate that numeral classifiers are within the scope of the current study. Next, since classifiers are regarded as the conceptual classification of the world, in section 2.2 previous studies on classifiers in the Chinese languages will be reviewed. Studies concerning classification include Taiwanese Mandarin classifiers (Tien et al. 2002, Tai and Wang 1990, Hsu 2009, Huang and Ahrens 2003, Her and Hsieh 2010), Taiwanese Southern Min classifiers (Tai et al. 1997, Li 1998), and Taiwanese Hakka classifiers (Luo 1988, Wu 2001, Tai et al. 2001, Chen 2003, Qiu 2007, Wu 2010). Then, in section 2.3 some studies in which classifiers are investigated from metaphorical and metonymic perspectives will be addressed, including the investigation of the metaphorical usages in Chinese classifiers in the

poetry of the Tang and Sung Dynasties (Ma and Zhang 2001), the investigation of the metaphorical and metonymic usages of Taiwanese Mandarin classifiers in modern poems (Chen 2009) and the investigation of the metaphorical and metonymic usages in Taiwanese Hakka (Lee 2005, Wu 2010). Finally, in section 2.4 some remarks will be presented.

2.1 Defining Classifiers

There have been many studies on typological classifiers. Investigating more than fifty classifier languages, Allan (1977: 285) categorizes them into four types: numeral classifier languages, concordial classifier languages, predicate classifier languages, and intra-locative classifier languages. The first type is numeral classifier languages, in which a classifier is obligatory in many expressions of quantity (e.g., Thai and Chinese). The second type is concordial classifier languages, where classifying formatives are affixed to nouns, plus their modifiers, predicates, and proforms (e.g., Bantu and Swahili). The third type is predicate classifier languages, in which verbs of motion/location consist of a theme and a stem that vary according to certain discernible characteristics of the “objects or objects conceived as participating in an event whether as actor or goal” (Hoijer 1945: 13) (e.g., Navajo verbs). Examples of the three types taken from Allan (1977: 286) are shown in what

follows:

- (1) a. Thai: *khru. lâ.j khon* [teacher three person] ‘three teachers’
 b. Bantu: *ba-sika ba-ntu bo-bile* [*ba+have+arrived ba+man ba+two*] ‘Two men have arrived.’ Here *ba-* is the plural human classifier.
 c. Navajo: *béésò sì-ʔá* [money perfect-lie of round entity] ‘A coin is lying there.’
béésò sì-nìl [money perfect-lie of collection] ‘Some money is lying there.’
béésò sì-ʔsòòz [money perfect-lie of flat flexible entity] ‘A note is lying there.’

The fourth type is intra-locative classifier languages, where noun classifiers are embedded in some of the locative expressions which obligatorily accompany nouns in most environments. For example, Toba has a set of locative noun-prefixes for objects, i.e., coming into view, going out of view, out of view, and in view. For objects in view, there are three prefixes which classify the accompanying nouns based on the arrangement and/or shape of their referents, that is, vertical extended object in view, horizontal extended object in view, and saliently three-dimensional object in view. According to Allan, there are few languages of this type. The other two languages are Eskimo and Dyirbal.

In addition to Allan’s (1977) study, Aikhenvald’s (2003) study also presents a full typology of classifiers. As the paradigm type, numeral classifiers, including for example those in Chinese, are within the scope of the current study. The properties

of numeral classifiers taken from Aikhenvald (2003: 98) are given in (2) below:

- (2) a. The choice of a numeral classifier is predominantly semantic.
 b. Numeral classifier systems differ in the extent to which they are grammaticalized. Numeral classifiers can be an open lexical class.
 c. In some numeral classifier languages not every noun can be associated with a numeral classifier. Some nouns can take no classifier at all; other nouns may have alternative choices of classifier, depending on which property of the noun is in focus.

Regarding the property of (2a), Allan (1977: 285) also indicates that classifiers denote some salient perceived or imputed characteristics of the entity to which an associated noun refers. With respect to the property of (2b), Adams (1989) explains that the way numeral classifiers are used often varies from speaker to speaker, depending on their social status and competence. To illustrate the property of (2c), Aikhenvald (2003) exemplifies classifiers in Mandarin Chinese. A distinction is made between specific classifiers and the general classifier *ge*. Specific classifiers typically mark the first mention of a new item; once reference is established, subsequent mentions take the general classifier or constructions where no classifier is required (Erbaugh 1986: 408).

2.2 Classifiers as the Conceptual Classification of the World

Since the classifier system reflects human conceptual structure and

categorization, studies on classifiers in the Chinese languages are largely concerned with classifying them into different types. According to He (2008), the numeral classifiers in Chinese are classified into four main categories: *mingliangci* (名量詞) ‘noun measures’,⁴ *dongliangci* (動量詞) ‘verb measures’, *jianzhi liangci* (兼職量詞) ‘twofold measures’, and *fuhe liangci* (複合量詞) ‘compound measures’. Noun measures include *geti liangci* (個體量詞) ‘individual measures’,⁵ *jihe liangci* (集合量詞) ‘group measures’, *bufen liangci* (部分量詞) ‘partitive measures’, *zhuazhi liangci* (專職量詞) ‘specific measures’, *jiyong liangci* (借用量詞) ‘borrowed measures’, *linshi liangci* (臨時量詞) ‘temporary measures’, and *duliangheng liangci* (度量衡量詞) ‘standard measures’. Verb measures, co-occurring with actions, are used for counting the times of the action. Twofold measures refer to measures that can be regarded either as noun measures or as verb measures. Compound measures are composed of a noun measure and a verb measure, in which the former is used for the entity while the latter measure is used for the action.

For noun measures specifically, many studies focus on classifying nouns into various categories of classifiers according to the prototypical semantic features shared by classifiers and their corresponding nouns. For instance, nouns which are long and flexible are classified into the category of the classifier *tiao* (條) ‘stripe’,

⁴ Noun measures include both classifiers and measure words in this thesis.

⁵ Individual measures refer to *classifiers* in the following in this thesis.

and nouns which are round and spherical are classified into the category of the classifier *ke* (顆). Tien et al. (2002), conducting psycholinguistic experiments focusing on Chinese classifiers, indicate that each classifier demands specific semantic features on their corresponding nouns. When the prototypical features of nouns are manipulated, the selection of a given classifier will be shifted. This study hence evidences that the selection of classifiers is not arbitrary but determined by shared prototypical semantic features with their corresponding nouns.

Different from the study of Tien et al. (2002), Tai and Wang (1990) examine nouns within the category of the classifier *tiao* (條) 'stripe' according to family resemblance (Wittgenstein 1953) and divide them into three groups by semantic extensions: central members, natural extension, and metaphorical extension. The central members (e.g., fish and pants) denote three-dimensional concrete objects with a long shape, and the natural extension (e.g., rivers and roads) refers to entities which possess a visible long shape but which have only two-dimensions. While central members and natural extension are used to classify concrete visible entities with a long shape, the metaphorical extension (e.g., news and laws) is grounded on the imagined long shape of an entity via the creative mind of human beings. Tai and Wang (1990) thus conclude that classifiers are not an arbitrary linguistic device of categorization but reflect human categorization based on both the salient perceptual

properties of entities and human's imagination.

Concerning the relationship of classifiers and their corresponding nouns, Hsu (2009) proposes an interactive model of classifiers and nouns grounded on the prototype effects (Rosch and Mervis 1975), experiential view of categorization (Johnson 1987, Lakoff 1987), and the intercategory continuity (Kleiber 1900).

With this model, Hsu (2009: 43) argues that the interactions of classifiers and their nominal referents can affect the members of nominal referents. For example, the classifier *duo* (朵) 'prosperity' prototypically combines with flowers. While when the feature *charming* originally belonging to the noun flowers feeds back to *duo* (朵), it can be used to combine with beautiful and charming things, like *smiles* as in *yi duo weixiao* (微笑) 'a smile'. The relationship of the classifier and the noun comes from the temporary metaphor, but the motivation of this metaphor is the interaction of features. If this metaphor is conventionalized, the feature *charming* would become one member of the features clustering in *duo* (朵). Therefore, anything that is beautiful and charming can be linked to *duo* (朵) metaphorically, such as *wanxia* (晚霞) 'sunset' and *zitai* (姿態) 'posture'.

The relationship of classifiers and their corresponding nouns is also investigated in Huang and Ahrens' (2003) study, in which classifier coercion of nouns is

proposed. Employing Pustejovsky's concept of qualia structure,⁶ they propose a tripartite classifier system in Taiwanese Mandarin, i.e., individual, kind, and event. Following Pustejovsky's theory, Huang and Ahrens (2003) assume that individual classifiers can coerce nominal semantic types, and that semantic coercion can be predicted through a well encoded qualia structure. For example, with the noun *dianhua* (電話) 'telephone', the individual classifier *ju* (組) 'set' selects the Formal role of telephone, i.e., the telephone machine itself while the individual classifier *xian* (線) 'line' selects the Telic role of telephone, i.e., the line for the phone. Furthermore, Huang and Ahrens (2003) propose that classifiers can type-shift nouns to a kind reading and an event reading. Unlike the highly idiosyncratic selection of the individual classifiers, the kind classifiers select a broad class of nouns. For instance, the kind classifier *yang* (樣) selects the kinds defined by shape and appearance, as in *san yang shuiguo* (三樣水果) 'three kinds of fruit'. In the same vein, the event classifiers coerce an event type reading from nominals. The semantic nature of events is that they are temporally anchored. Thus, temporal reference is an integral part of the semantics of events. For example, the event classifier *chang* (場) refers to scheduled and regularly occurring events, as in *zhe chang dianying* (這場電

⁶ Qualia structure is a set of semantic constraints by which we understand a word when embedded within the language. These constraints contain four basic roles: Constitutive, Formal, Telic, and Agentive. Constitutive constraints involve the relation between an object and its constituents, or proper parts. Formal constraints distinguish the object within a larger domain. Telic constraints refer to purpose and function of the object. Agentive constraints refer to factors involved in the origin or bringing about of an object (Pustejovsky 1995: 85ff).

影) ‘this movie’. In sum, a noun can result in various interpretations due to the complex semantic content. Also, it can occur with different specific classifiers. However, as Huang and Ahrens (2003) put it, it is the classifier that selects the relevant properties of the noun and coerces the appropriate meaning. That is, the selected classifier coerces a particular meaning of its concurrent noun.

In addition to relationship of classifiers and nouns, the discrimination between classifiers and measure words is also a controversial issue. Tai and Wang (1990: 38) define classifiers and measure words in what follows:

A classifier categorizes a class of nouns by picking out some salient perceptual properties, either physically or functionally based, which are permanently associated with entities named by the class of nouns; a measure word does not categorize but denotes the quantity of the entity named by noun.

In a different study, Lyons (1977: 463) indicates that a classifier is “the one which individuates whatever it refers to in terms of the kind of entity that it is while a measure word is the one which individuates in terms of quantity”. Aikhenvald (2003: 115) also states that “while sortal classifiers categorize nouns in terms of their inherent properties such as animacy, shape, and consistency, measure words are used for measuring units of countable and mass nouns”. Employing the Aristotelian distinction between essential and accidental properties and the Kantian distinction

between analytic and synthetic propositions, Her and Hsieh (2010: 15), furthermore, characterize the distinction between classifiers and measure words as follows:

A classifier indicates an essential property of the noun, and can be paraphrased as the predicate concept in an analytic proposition with the noun as the subject concept; a measure word indicates an accidental property in terms of quantity, and can be restated as the predicate concept in a synthetic proposition with the noun as the subject concept.

In addition to semantic discrimination given above, Her and Hsieh (2010) propose two sets of refined and reliable tests to substantiate the distinction between classifiers and measure words in Taiwanese Mandarin, i.e., numeral/adjectival modification and *de*(的)-insertion. In terms of the test of numeral/adjectival modification, measure words block numeral and adjectival modification to the noun, while classifiers do not. Therefore, numeral stacking is possible only for measure words as *xiang* (箱) ‘box’ in *yi xiang shi ke pingguo* (一箱十顆蘋果) ‘one box of ten apples’ but it is not acceptable for classifiers as *ge* (個) in **yi ge shi ke pingguo* (*一個十顆蘋果). Furthermore, stacking antonymous adjectives is perfectly fine for measure words, such as *xiang* (箱) in *yi da xiang xiao pingguo* (一大箱小蘋果) ‘one big box of small apples’ since the measure word *xiang* (箱) ‘box’ blocks the adjective *da* (大) ‘big’ from modifying the noun *pingguo* (蘋果) ‘apple’. In contrast, stacking antonymous adjectives is impossible for classifiers, such as *ke* (顆) in **yi*

da ke xiao pingguo (*一大顆小蘋果) in that the classifier *ke* (顆) does not block the adjective *da* (大) ‘big’ from modifying the noun *pingguo* (蘋果) ‘apple’. Therefore, the noun *pingguo* (蘋果) ‘apple’ is simultaneously modified by the two antonymous adjectives *big* and *small*, contributing to contradictory meaning. With respect to the test of *de*(的)-insertion, increased computational complexity in the classifier phrase increases the acceptability of *de* (的) intervention. Given *one* is the least complex number, the *de*(的)-insertion is acceptable for measure words such as *xiang* (箱) in *yi xiang de shu* (一箱的書) ‘one box of books’ whereas it is not acceptable for classifiers, such as *ke* (顆) in **yi ke de pingguo* (*一顆的蘋果). Since the tests are more reliable and accurate, the distinction between classifiers and measure words of the data in the current study will be based on them.

Similarly, various studies on classifiers in other Chinese languages, including Taiwanese Southern Min and Taiwanese Hakka, are largely concerned with classifying them into different types. Tai et al. (1997) adopt the experimental paradigms of ranking and listing developed by Rosch (1975) to collect production of classifiers in Taiwanese Southern Min from illiterate, monolingual native speakers of Taiwanese Southern Min. Based on the data collected, they construct categorical structures for classifiers in Taiwanese Southern Min and propose that the distinction between classifiers and measure words in Taiwanese Southern Min is a continuum

from prototypical classifiers to prototypical measure words, including individual measures, partitive measures, group measures, container measures, and standard measures. Analyzing the classifier system in Taiwanese Southern Min, Li (1998) claims that the more prototypical classifiers are, the more they function as a categorization tool, and that the more prototypical measure words are, the more they function as a measurement.

With respect to the classifiers in Taiwanese Hakka, Luo (1988) divides them into two main categories: noun measures and verb measures, in which the former are used to measure nouns and the latter are used to modify verbs. Noun measures contain *duliangheng minliangci* (度量衡名量詞) ‘standard measures’ (e.g., *gin1* (斤) ‘kilogram’), *danweici* (單位詞) ‘individual measures’ (e.g., *tiau5* (條) ‘stripe’), *jiti minliangci* (集體名量詞) ‘group measures’ (e.g., *doi2* (堆) ‘heap’), *jiyongmingci minliangci* (借用名詞名量詞) ‘measures borrowed from nouns’ (e.g., *ang1* (盎) ‘jar’), and *jiyongdongci minliangci* (借用動詞名量詞) ‘measures borrowed from verbs’ (e.g., *quan7* (攞)); verb measures include *zhuanyong dongliangci* (專用動量詞) ‘specific measures’ (e.g., *bai1* (擺)) and *jiyong dongliangci* (借用動量詞) ‘borrowed measures’ (e.g., *ba1 zhong2* (巴掌) ‘palm—slap’).

Focusing on noun measures specifically, Wu (2001), Tai et al. (2001), and Chen (2003), following the study of Tai et al. (1997), elicit data on the production of

Taiwanese Hakka classifiers from illiterate, monolingual native speakers of Taiwanese Hakka. They limit their collection of Taiwanese Hakka classifiers to individual measures, partitive measures, and group measures, which serve the function of understanding human categorization. As the classifier systems in Taiwanese Southern Min, Tai et al. (2001: 3) propose that the distinction between classifiers and measure words in Taiwanese Hakka is a continuum from prototypical classifiers to prototypical measure words, as illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1. A continuum from prototypical classifiers to prototypical measure words (Tai et al. 2001: 3)

			Examples
Count Nouns ↓ Mass Nouns	Prototypical Classifiers ↓	Individual Measures	<i>tiau5</i> (條) <i>gin1</i> (根), <i>gil</i> (枝)
		Partitive Measures	<i>kuai5</i> (塊) <i>pien2</i> (片), <i>si1</i> (絲)
	Prototypical Measure Words	Group Measures	<i>doi1</i> (堆), <i>kiun5</i> (群), <i>tiab8</i> (疊)
		Container Measures	<i>von2</i> (碗), <i>bui1</i> (杯), <i>ang1</i> (盞) ⁷
		Standard Measures	<i>chag4</i> (尺), <i>gin1</i> (斤), <i>bong3</i> (磅)

Based on prototype theory (Allan 1977, Pinker 1989, Rosch 1975) and experiential view (Johnson 1987, Lakoff 1986), they identify the cognitive basis of classifiers in Taiwanese Hakka and construct their categorical structures. In their studies, the

⁷ Since the original container measure *ping* (瓶) 'bottle' in the study of Tai et al. (2001: 3) does not exist in Hakka, we replace it with *ang1* (盞) as the corresponding word in this thesis.

prototype theory explains the classification of nouns to a given classifier. That is, the salient perceptual properties of nouns determine the selection of a classifier. For example, nouns whose salient characteristics are very thin and slight, such as leaves and chipped ginsengs, are classified into the category of the classifier *pi5* (皮), which denotes the feature of thinness and slightness. Moreover, the experiential view accounts for the fossilized or conventionalized collocation of classifiers and nouns, which seem apparently arbitrary, unable to be analyzed in terms of shared semantic features. For instance, the noun *tien5* (田) is specifically classified with the classifier *kiu1* (坵) in the sense that fields are paramount to the agricultural society in Taiwanese Hakka cultures.

Since classifiers in different languages reflect culture-specific constraints, there has been much research concerning the comparison of classifier systems in Taiwanese Mandarin, Taiwanese Southern Min, and Taiwanese Hakka (Wu 2001, Tai et al. 2001, Chen 2003, Qiu 2007). Based on prototype theory (Allan 1977, Pinker 1989, Rosch 1975) and experiential view (Johnson 1987, Lakoff 1986), Wu (2001), Tai et al. (2001), and Chen (2003) comparing the similarities and differences between the classifier systems in Taiwanese Mandarin, Taiwanese Southern Min, and Taiwanese Hakka, demonstrate the variation of classifiers specific to each language to unravel human categorization from different cultural backgrounds. As

an individual measure, for instance, the classifier *tou* (頭) ‘head’ is selected to classify cattle in Taiwanese Mandarin as in *yi tou niu* (一頭牛) ‘a cow’ and to classify trees in Taiwanese Hakka as in *rhid4 teu5 shu7* (一頭樹) ‘a tree’; however, this classifier does not exist in Taiwanese Southern Min. Chen (2003) further analyzes the classification of classifiers and nouns from the functional perspective and attributes the shared classifiers in Taiwanese Southern Min and Taiwanese Hakka to the identical culture and agricultural life they shared in early days. For instance, the noun *fish* is classified with the classifier *tiao* (條) in Taiwanese Mandarin based on the salient perceptual property of its long shape; however, it is classified with the classifier *muil* (尾) both in Taiwanese Southern Min and Taiwanese Hakka in the sense that the feature of its tail is accentuated when people caught fish by the tail in early times. Such an example exhibits that the selection of classifiers is determined by people’s interaction with the environment.

Aside from the comparison of the classifier systems between Taiwanese Mandarin, Taiwanese Southern Min and Taiwanese Hakka from the cognitive perspective and the experimental view, Qiu (2007) compares the syntactic structures of the classifier systems of them and indicates some unique structures of classifiers shared by Taiwanese Southern Min and Taiwanese Hakka, such as the structure [Quantifier-Classifier-Modifier-Classifier], which is not found in Taiwanese

Mandarin. As in the sentence *na1rhid4 tiau5 tai7 tiau5 shiu1gon1 loi5* (拿一條大條水管來) ‘fetch me a big water conduit’, the two classifiers *tiau5* (條) ‘stripe’

function differently: the first classifier in *rhid4 tiau5* (一條) ‘a stripe’ functions as a measurement while the second classifier in *tai7 tiau5* (大條) ‘big stripe’ functions as a categorization tool. Qiu’s (2007) investigation on classifiers in Taiwanese

Mandarin, Taiwanese Southern Min, and Taiwanese Hakka demonstrates that the variety of classifiers is richer and the syntactic structures are more complex in Taiwanese Southern Min and Taiwanese Hakka than those in Taiwanese Mandarin.

Furthermore, Wu (2001) examines classifiers in Southern Hakka and Northern Hakka in Taiwan and finds that they are approximately identical. The only difference between them is individual measures. For example, the noun *trousers* is classified with the classifier *tiau5* (條) in Northern Hakka whereas it is classified with the classifier *liang1* (領) ‘collar’ in Southern Hakka; the noun *white gourds* is classified with the classifier *tiau5* (條) in Northern Hakka whereas it is classified with the classifier *liab8* (粒) in Southern Hakka. Due to the fact that Taiwan is a multilingual country, Wu (2001) assumes that the differences between them may result from the influence of language contact.

After reviewing much research on the classifier systems in Chinese, Wu (2010) constructs a more complete categorical structure for classifiers in Taiwanese Hakka

based on the classification of Luo (1988), in which both noun measures and verb measures are included. In his investigation, Wu (2010) indicates the prototypical nouns, peripheral nouns, and nouns in between within the category of a classifier. For example, in the category of the classifier *tiau5* (條) ‘stripe’, *eggplants* and *ropes* are prototypical members, *rivers* and *roads* are peripheral members, and *towels* are in between. Moreover, due to the complex semantic content, a noun can occur with various classifiers and result in different interpretations. For instance, the noun *ngin5* (人) can occur with the classifier *vui7* (位), which denotes both the person’s social status and speakers’ respect to the person, with the classifier *gai3* (個), which denotes the person’s social status but speakers’ disparagement to the person, and with the classifier *sa5* (儕), which denotes neither the person’s social status nor speakers’ judgment to the person. Additionally, Wu (2010) compares the subdialects of Taiwanese Hakka in Taiwan, including *Southern Sixian* (南四縣), *Northern Sixian* (北四縣), *Hailu* (海陸), *Dapu* (大埔), *Raoping* (饒平) and *Zhaoan* (詔安) and attributes the minute differences of the classifier systems in these subdialects to cultures and customs, environments, technology, experiences, and age.

2.3 Classifiers as the Manifestation of Metaphors and Metonymies

While much research concerning classifiers is analyzed from the perspective of

human categorization, few studies investigate classifiers from the perspective of metaphor and metonymy. Ma and Zhang (2001) investigate the metaphorical usages of classifiers in poetry of the Tang and Sung Dynasties, and classify the relationship between classifiers and nouns into three types. The first type is a one-source-to-one-target relationship, in which one source domain, i.e., the classifier, corresponds only to one target domain, i.e., the noun. For example, the classifier *wan* (丸) ‘ball’ is the only analogy to the noun *ni* (泥) ‘mud’ as in *yi wan ni* (一丸泥) ‘a ball of mud’. The second type is a one-source-to-many-target relationship, where one source domain can map onto various target domains. For instance, the classifier *duo* (朵) can be an analogy to a sea of clouds as in *yi duo hong yun hai* (一朵紅雲海) ‘a red sea of clouds’ or an analogy to a mountain as in *yi duo shan* (一朵山) ‘a mountain’. The third type is a one-target-to-many-source relationship, where one target domain can be mapped onto various source domains. For example, the round shape of the moon can be emphasized by means of the classifier *lun* (輪) ‘wheel’ as in *yi lun yue* (一輪月) ‘a moon’, or its curve part profiled by means of the classifier *wan* (彎) ‘curve’ as in *yi wan xin yue* (一彎新月) ‘a crescent moon’. Although classifiers are investigated from the metaphorical perspective, metaphors in their study are still regarded as figures of speech, i.e., as ornamental devices used in rhetorical style.

Similar to Ma and Zhang's (2001) study, Chen (2009) explores the metaphorical usages of Taiwanese Mandarin classifiers in modern poems. She investigates the metaphorical frames and conceptual integration in Taiwanese Mandarin classifiers and temporary measure words in poetry and analyzes how classifiers and temporal measure words present the mental images based on metaphor theory (Lakoff and Johnson 1980), poetic metaphor (Lakoff and Turner 1989), mental spaces (Fauconnier 1984), and blending theory (Fauconnier and Turner 2002). In the process of conceptual integration, typical images emerging from classifiers would connect with the images of the collocated words and then blend them together. For example, *yi pi xiao hou de taiyang* (一匹笑吼的太陽) 'a roaring sun', where the metaphor THE SUN IS A HORSE is triggered to associate the image of power and explosion force of a horse with the image of the sun through the classifier *pi* (匹). The unconventional uses of Taiwanese Mandarin classifiers in the poems follow the metaphorical cognition, and therefore are the products of the cognitive mechanisms to represent human's conceptualization of the world, which is different from Ma and Zhang's (2001) study where metaphors are regarded as figures of speech.

Regarding the classifiers in Taiwanese Hakka, Lee (2005) investigates classifiers in *Hailu* (海陸) Hakka and proposes that not only can classifiers classify shapes in resemblance but they can also functionally classify objects in the same experience

domain by cognitively motivated metaphors and metonymies. He exemplifies that when used metaphorically, the classifier *ki1* (枝) classifies objects with a slim and long shape, such as sticks and bamboo shoots. On the other hand, when it is used metonymically, it classifies the parts for human to hold, such as pens and candles. Similarly, Wu's (2010) study explores the metaphorical and metonymic usages of classifiers. In his investigation, the metaphorical usages of classifiers refer to classifiers associated with two domains. For example, the abstract concept of *miang7* (命) 'life' is mapped onto the concrete domain and thus classified by the classifier *tiau5* (條) as in *rhid4 tiau5 miang7* (一條命) 'a life'. On the other hand, the metonymic usages of classifiers refer to stand-for relationship of classifiers within one domain. The selection of the classifier depends on the most salient perceptual property of the entity. For instance, both *ng5* (魚) 'fish' and *mui1* (尾) 'tail' are within the same domain. The region of tail is selected as a classifier *mui1* (尾) 'tail' in Taiwanese Hakka to measure the number of fish as in the sense that *tail* is the most salient characteristic of a fish.

2.4 Remarks

Classifiers are widely used in the Chinese languages as well as in other languages in the world. The classifiers examined in this thesis refer to numeral

classifiers, following the definitions of the studies on typological classifiers provided by Allan (1977) and Aikhenvald (2003). Previous studies on Chinese classifiers as classification enrich our understanding of human categorization and provide evidence that the selection of classifiers is not arbitrary but determined by the shared semantic features of classifiers and nouns or by semantic extension.

Moreover, the comparison between Taiwanese Mandarin, Taiwanese Southern Min, and Taiwanese Hakka reflects the manifestation of categorization in various cultures and crystallizes the influence of culture. Since human conceptual system is fundamentally metaphorical in nature, classifiers, representing conceptual classification of the world, are often found to manifest metaphorically and metonymically. In particular, classifiers and measure words in Taiwanese Hakka proverbial expressions are rife with metaphors and metonymies. However, research on the metaphorical and metonymic usages of classifiers in classifier languages, Taiwanese Hakka included, is scanty. This study hence aims to unravel the metaphorical and metonymic interaction associated with classifiers and measure words exhibited in proverbial expressions. Specifically, the cognitive mechanisms associated with classifier/measure word proverbial expressions will be carefully spelled out. Before we come to the analysis in Chapter IV, we will present the theoretical foundations grounded upon metaphor and metonymy in the next Chapter.

CHAPTER III

METAPHOR AND METONYMY

In the traditional view, metaphors and metonymies have been regarded as figures of speech, i.e., as more or less ornamental devices used in rhetorical style. However, cognitive linguists have shown that metaphors and metonymies are powerful cognitive tools for our conceptualization of the world (Ungerer and Schmid 2006). Metonymy exhibits a conceptual mapping between two elements within the same cognitive domain. In contrast, the essence of metaphor is to understand one thing in terms of another. Both metonymy and metaphor involve a vehicle and a target. In metonymy, the vehicle functions as identifying the target construal, allowing us to focus more specifically on certain aspects of what is being referred to. In metaphor, which involves an interaction between two domains construed from two regions of purport, the content of the vehicle domain is an ingredient of the construed target through processes of correspondence and blending (Croft and Cruse 2004).

While metaphors and metonymies individually function as cognitive instruments, numerous cases where the metaphorical and metonymic interaction is found

manifest in proverbial expressions. Radden (2003), for instance, raises an intermediate notion of metonymy-based metaphor based on the literalness-metonymy-metaphor continuum. He also proposes four sources which give rise to metonymy-based metaphor. In addition, due to cultural constraints, metaphors and metonymies exhibit both cultural variation and universality. The cognitive mechanisms, including metonymy, metaphor, the interaction of them, the cognitive perspective of idiomaticity, and cultural constraints will be elaborated, respectively, in the following subsections.

3.1 Metonymy

Metonymy has been viewed as a matter of words used in figurative senses and a stand-for relationship between two names or two entities traditionally. For instance, in the case *The university needs more clever heads*, the entity *head* stands for another entity *person*. The nature of the relationship is generally regarded to be ‘contiguity’ or ‘proximity’. However, metonymy is not restricted to literary language. It is conceptual in nature. The sense of contiguity or proximity can be explained by knowledge structures defined by domains or idealized cognitive models (ICMs). A cognitive-linguistic account of metonymy proposed by Kövecses and Radden (1998: 39) is as follows:

Metonymy is a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same domain, or ICM (idealized cognitive models).

Hence in the previous example, the metonymy PART-FOR-WHOLE is triggered in our conceptual system, where the entity *head* is used as a vehicle to the target entity *person*, and both *head* and *person* are within the same domain. The entities involved in a metonymic relationship are parts of an ICM, and they are contiguously related.

Conceptual relationships which give rise to metonymy will be called metonymy-producing relationships. Given that our knowledge about the world is organized by structured ICMs which we perceive as wholes with parts, according to Kövecses and Radden (1998), the types of metonymy-producing relationships may be subsumed under two general conceptual configurations: whole ICM and its parts, and parts of an ICM. The former indicates that we access a part of an ICM through its whole or a whole ICM through one of its parts, i.e., via the WHOLE-AND-PART configuration, whereas the latter indicates that we access a part via another part of the same ICM, i.e., via the PART-AND-PART configuration. Six types of the whole ICM and its parts and seven types of the parts of an ICM are given as follows

(Kövecses and Radden 1998: 49ff):

(3) Whole ICM and its parts

- a. Thing-and-part ICM
- b. Scale ICM
- c. Constitution ICM
- d. Complex event ICM
- e. Category-and-member ICM
- f. Category-and-property ICM

(4) Parts of an ICM

- a. Action ICM
- b. Perception ICM
- c. Causation ICM
- d. Production ICM
- e. Control ICM
- f. Possession ICM
- g. Containment ICM
- h. Assorted ICMs involving indeterminate relationships
- i. Sign and reference ICMs

Among the types regarding the whole ICM and the parts of an ICM, some of the metonymic relationships are reversible. However, we tend to provide access to a given target via a particular vehicle and find that one of them is more natural and more conventionalized than the other due to the cognitive and communicative principles. As Kövecses and Radden (1998: 62ff) illustrate, the cognitive principle CONCRETE OVER ABSTRACT accounts for why we speak of *having one's hands on something* for *controlling something*, the cognitive principle EFFECT-FOR-CAUSE accounts for why we speak of *He got cold feet* for *he was frightened*. Also, the cognitive principle SPECIFIC OVER GENERIC accounts for the generalized

interpretation of proverbs, which is in line with Lakoff and Turner (1989), who claim that we regard proverbs as being specific instances which metonymically stand for a generic-level meaning schema. Furthermore, the communicative principle CLEAR OVER LESS CLEAR accounts for why we speak of *The dog bit the cat* rather than **The dog's teeth bit the cat* in that the metonymic mode of expression is clearer than the literal one.

However, not all metonymies follow the cognitive and the communicative principles. The typical overriding factors for these non-default cases of metonymy taken from Kövecses and Radden (1998: 71ff) are given as follows:

- (5) a. Social-communicative effects
- b. Rhetorical effects
- c. Default principles and indirect speech acts

Kövecses and Radden illustrate that we may override some of the cognitive or communicative principles in communicative situation. For instance, the expression *They did it* for *They have sex* violates the communicative principle CLEAR OVER LESS CLEAR due to social-communicative effects. Moreover, rhetorical effects account for the metonymic expression *The pen is mightier than the sword*, in which the cognitive principle HUMAN OVER NON-HUMAN is overridden. Furthermore, indirect speech acts are a particular case of a non-default metonymy, which violates

the cognitive principle ACTUALITY-FOR-POTENTIALITY.

Apart from the concept of metonymy and the accounts for default and non-default cases of metonymy provided by Kövecses and Radden (1998), Ruiz de Mendoza (2003) further proposes the concept of double metonymy, which includes domain reduction, domain expansion, and the combination of the two, as exemplified in the following examples:

- (6) *Wall Street* (= the people in the institution) is in panic.
- (7) His sister *heads* (= carries out the action of leading) the policy unit.
- (8) *Shakespeare* (= a book which contains part of Shakespeare's work) is on the top shelf.

Example (6) accounts for domain reduction, in which there are two target-in-source metonymies where the target of the first mapping becomes the sources of the second mapping. *Wall Street* originally refers to a street in the southern section of Manhattan in New York. Then, when interpreted with single metonymy reading, *Wall Street* stands for the financial institution located in Wall Street via PLACE-FOR-INSTITUTION metonymy. Furthermore, *Wall Street* metonymically stands for the people who work there via INSTITUTION-FOR-PEOPLE metonymy, as illustrated in Figure 1.

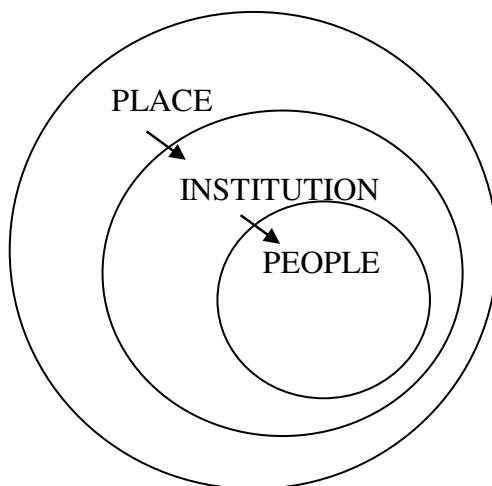


Figure 1. Place for institution for people (related to the institution) (Ruiz de Mendoza 2003: 513)

In contrast to domain reduction, domain expansion is a case whereby the first source-in-target metonymy is the source of the second source-in-target metonymy, which is illustrated by example (7). With single metonymy reading, *head* stands for the person who is in control or in charge of an organization such as a leader via HEAD-FOR-PERSON metonymy. However, *head* metonymically refers to the action of governing or ruling based on the fact that the prototypical activity that a leader carries out is ruling or governing, as shown in Figure 2.

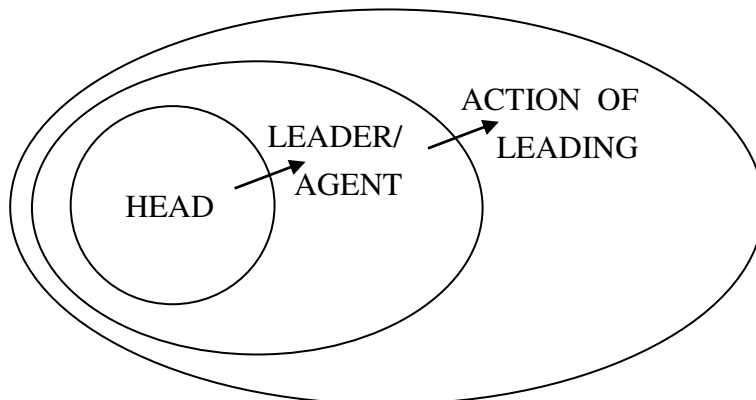


Figure 2. Head for leader for action of leading (Ruiz de Mendoza 2003: 515)

Finally, example (8) accounts for the last type that both a source-in-target and a target-in-source metonymy work in combination. With single metonymy reading, *Shakespeare* stands for his literary work via AUTHOR-FOR-WORK metonymy. In example (8), nevertheless, *Shakespeare* refers to a book which contains part of Shakespeare's work where the source is Shakespeare's work and the target the format in which it is presented, as demonstrated in Figure 3.

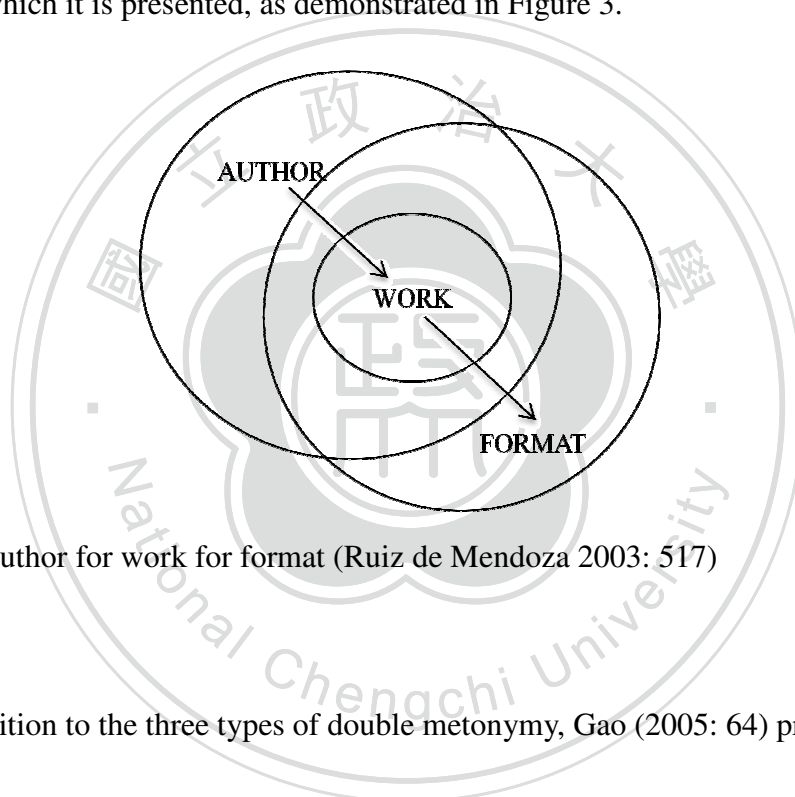


Figure 3. Author for work for format (Ruiz de Mendoza 2003: 517)

In addition to the three types of double metonymy, Gao (2005: 64) proposes triple metonymy where interaction possibility holds three metonymies together.⁸ She illustrates triple metonymy by exemplifying the lexical manifestation of thinking in Taiwanese Mandarin *lengyan* (冷眼) 'cold indifference'. First, it stands for cold perception through the ORGAN OF PERCEPTION-FOR-THE PERCEPTION metonymy. Then, the target domain of the first target-in-source metonymy stands for

⁸ The term *triple metonymy* is proposed by Gao (2005) in her master thesis.

to coldly perceive through the PERCEPTION-FOR-MANNER OF PERCEPTION metonymy, which is also a target-in-source type. Finally, the second target-in-source metonymy stands for indifferent attitude resulting in the cold manner of perception through the EFFECT-FOR-CAUSE metonymy. The processes are captured in Figure 4:

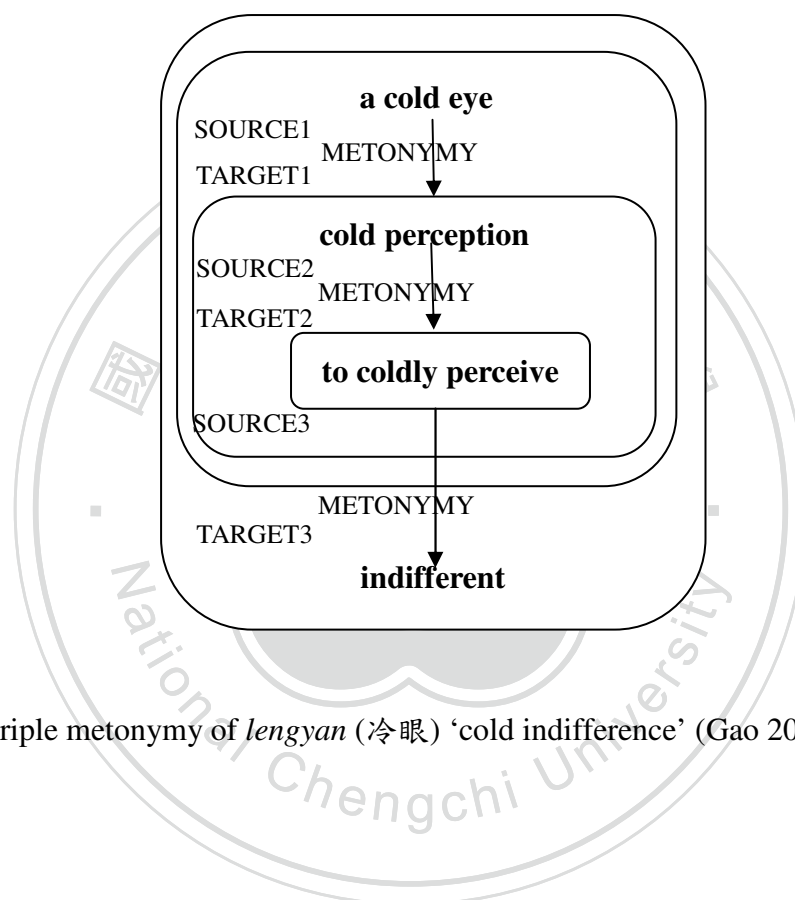


Figure 4. Triple metonymy of *lengyan* (冷眼) 'cold indifference' (Gao 2005: 64)

3.2 Metaphor

Like metonymy, metaphor used to be regarded as figures of speech. Although generally realized linguistically, metaphor is not merely linguistic in nature. It is the result of a special process for construing a meaning. According to Lakoff and Johnson's theory of metaphor (1980), metaphor is a property not of individual linguistic expressions and their meanings, but of the whole conceptual domains. In

principle, any concept from the source domain, i.e., the domain of the literal meaning of the expression, can be used to describe a concept in the target domain, i.e., the domain the sentence actually refers to. For example, *My mind just isn't operating today*, whereby the metaphor THE MIND IS AN ENTITY, specifically, THE MIND IS A MACHINE, is activated in our cognition. Croft and Cruse (2004: 198)

summarize Lakoff's conceptual theory of metaphor as follows:

- (9) A summary of conceptual theory of metaphor
- a. It is a theory of recurrently conventionalized expressions in everyday language in which literal and metaphorical elements are intimately combined grammatically.
 - b. The conventionalized metaphorical expressions are not a merely linguistic phenomenon, but the manifestation of a conceptual mapping between two semantic domains; hence the mapping is general and productive (and assumed to be characteristic of the human mind).
 - c. The metaphorical mapping is asymmetrical: the expression is about a situation in one domain (the target domain) using concepts mapped over from another domain (the source domain).
 - d. The metaphorical mapping can be used for metaphorical reasoning about concepts in the target domain.

The CONDUIT metaphor, an instance of conventional metaphors proposed by Reddy (1979), specifies that our knowledge about language is structured by the following metaphors:

- (10) IDEAS (or MEANINGS) ARE OBJECTS.
 LINGUISTIC EXPRESSIONS ARE CONTAINERS.
 COMMUNICATION IS SENDING.

As Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 10) elaborate, the metaphor MEANINGS ARE OBJECTS entails meanings exist by themselves, independent of people and contexts. The metaphor LINGUISTIC EXPRESSIONS ARE CONTAINERS entails that words have meanings in themselves. The metaphor COMMUNICATION IS SENDING entails that the speaker puts objects, i.e., ideas, into containers, i.e., words, and sends them through a conduit to a hearer. For instance, in this example, *It's difficult to put my ideas into words*, *ideas* are seen as objects and *words* as containers for the speaker to put the objects into.

In addition, a metaphor is a conceptual mapping between the source and target domains, and the mapping between them involves two kinds of metaphorical mappings, i.e., ontological and epistemic correspondences (Lakoff 1987). The ontological correspondences are mappings between elements of two domains, allowing us to map elements in the source domain onto those in the target domain. On the other hand, the epistemic correspondences refer to knowledge about the two domains, allowing us to carry over knowledge about the source domain onto that about the target domain. As Lakoff (1987: 384) has shown with the following examples: since *stewing* indicates the continuance of anger over a long period whereas *simmer* indicates a lowering of the intensity of anger, the two cooking terms are used to distinguish different degrees of intensity of anger. Essentially, the

correspondences between the source and target domains are represented in the conceptual system.

3.3 The Interaction Between Metaphor and Metonymy

Apart from individually functioning as cognitive instruments, metaphor and metonymy interact pervasively in our languages. First, Radden (2003) raises an intermediate notion of metonymy-based metaphor based on the literalness-metonymy-metaphor continuum, where metonymy shades over into metaphor. Radden (2003: 409) takes the attributive adjective *high* for example to illustrate its gradual transition from literalness through various stages of metonymy to metaphor, as given in Table 2:

Table 2. Literalness-metonymy-metaphor continuum (Radden 2003: 409)

literal		metonymic		metaphoric
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
<i>high tower</i>	<i>high tide</i>	<i>high temperature</i>	<i>high prices</i>	<i>high quality</i>

In (a), *high* is used literally to indicate verticality; in (b), *high* is partially metonymic since it refers to both vertical and horizontal extension, i.e., the UP-FOR-UP AND MORE metonymy; in (c), *high* is fully metonymic in that it represents an entity within the same conceptual domain, namely, the scale of

verticality stands for degrees of temperature, i.e., the UP-FOR-MORE metonymy; in (d), *high* vacillates between a metonymic and metaphorical interpretation. On the one hand, people may consider *height* (of a price) and *quantity* (of money) in the same conceptual domain and understand *high prices* via the UP-FOR-MORE metonymy. On the other, people may regard them as belonging to different domains and understand *high prices* via the MORE IS UP metaphor. In (e), *high* is used metaphorically in that *high*, which refers to a scale of evaluation, is different from the conceptual domain of verticality. The GOOD IS UP metaphor is activated to conceptualize the abstract concept of good quality through the concrete source concept of verticality. In brief, height is literally correlated with quantity, and the natural association between quantity and verticality is one of metonymy (e.g., *high temperature*). It is only when more abstract instances of addition are involved does metaphor take over (e.g., *high prices*).

In addition to literalness-metonymy-metaphor continuum, Radden (2003: 413ff) proposes four types of metonymic sources of metaphor. The first type of metonymy-based metaphor is grounded in a common experiential basis, including correlation and complementarity. Correlation refers to “an interrelationship between two variables in which changes in one variable are accompanied by changes in the other variable, and these two variables have to be conceptually contiguous” (414).

For example, the HAPPY IS UP metaphor results from people's facial expressions, such as drawing up their mouths and eyebrows when they feel happy. These reactions are metonymically used to refer to their happiness. Complementarity, on the other hand, refers to a part-whole relationship or a part-part relationship in which parts are tightly associated with each other and such inseparability constitutes a unity.

For instance, THE MIND IS THE BODY metaphor, which allows us to understand the abstract concept of the mind in terms of the concrete concept of the body, is claimed to be based on our common complementary experience of BODY and MIND.

The second metonymic source of metaphor is the process of conversational implicature, involving (i) implicated result and causation, (ii) implicated possession, and (iii) implicated purpose and activity. (i) is found in sequential events and in correlational relationship, as in the example *Once bitten, twice shy*, which gives rise to the causal implicature: since I was bitten once, I am shy twice as much. The metonymic relationship between CAUSATION and CORRELATION forms the base of the metaphor CAUSATION IS CORRELATION. (ii) refers to a conceptual metaphor POSSESSION IS HOLDING, such as *to hold power*, emerging through the HOLDING-FOR-POSSESSION metonymy. (iii) indicates that the metaphor PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS, as in *We've reached an agreement*, is grounded on the implicated PLACE-FOR-(PLACE AND) ACTIVITY metonymy and

DESTINATION-FOR-(DESTINATION AND) PURPOSE metonymy. Radden (2003)

explains that “[t]he association between such man-designed spaces and the activities typically performed there is so tight that the mention of the place suffices to invite the implicature of a special activity” (424).

The third type of metonymy-based metaphor relates to taxonomic hierarchies of categories. The relation between a category and members included in the category is widely utilized in metonymy; for example, the category *pill* stands for its salient member *birth control pill*. Quite often, the physical domain serves as a source domain for an abstract target domain. For instance, the metaphor HARM IS PHYSICAL INJURY, as in *Her death hurt him*, is based on a metonymic relationship between the category psychic harm and a salient member of this category physical injury.

And the fourth source of metonymy-based metaphor derives from cultural models, subsuming (i) physical forces, (ii) communication and language, and (iii) emotions and their physiological reactions. (i) is known as impetus theory, where forces are contained in the moving objects themselves and propel them into a certain direction. For example, *His punches carry a lot of force* is understood in terms of the SUBSTANCE-FOR-FORCE metonymy and the FORCE IS A SUBSTANCE CONTAINED IN AFFECTING CAUSES metaphor. (ii) refers to expressions based on the CONDUIT metaphor, which involves two aspects: that of the relationship between form and

meaning and that of communication as transfer. For instance, *I didn't get my point across* is understood through the metonymy FORM-FOR-CONTENT and the metaphor COMMUNICATION IS TRANSFER. (iii) indicates that the relationship between a given emotion and a particular physiological reaction is considered to be causal. For example, *He was breathing fire*, whereby increased body heat is one of the physiological effects of anger and this metonymic relationship fosters the ANGER IS FIRE metaphor.

Radden (2003) concludes that the distinction of metonymy and metaphor is not to be seen as clear-cut; rather, “the classical notions of metonymy and metaphor are to be regarded as prototypical categories along a metonymy-metaphor continuum with a wide range of intermediate categories such as metonymy-based metaphor in between” (431). In other words, metaphors which are ubiquitous in our languages are generally fostered by metonymic relationships.

3.4 Idiomaticity⁹

Idioms are pervasive in our everyday languages. Traditionally, idioms are viewed as a larger chunk of lexical items in lexicon. They are noncompositional in that their conventional interpretations are not functions of the meanings of their

⁹ Here, *idiom* in this section is defined more rigorously, although it can be used in a broader sense, encompassing various sorts of fixed expressions, including proverbial expressions..

individual parts (Chafe 1970, Chomsky 1965; 1980, Fraser 1970, Katz 1973). The noncompositionality of idioms accounts for their restricted syntactic and lexical productivity, as well as lexical inflexibility. Thus, idioms are claimed to be learned by forming arbitrary links between idioms and their nonliteral meanings in the traditional view. Namely, they are simply linguistic expressions, which are independent of any conceptual system and encyclopedic knowledge (Carter and McCarthy 1988:19).

In contrast to the traditional view, the cognitive view, however, deems that idioms are not merely a matter of language. Rather, they are conceptual in essence. That is, from the cognitive perspective, idioms are products of our conceptual system, usually manifested metonymically and metaphorically (Kövecses and Szabó 1996). People construe idiomatic expressions precisely because they apply the metaphorical, metonymic, and conventional knowledge to the individual word meanings of idioms (Gibbs 1995). In other words, the meanings for idioms are not arbitrary but motivated. This is consistent with Lakoff's (1987) study, where motivation can be regarded as a cognitive mechanism—such as conceptual metonymies, metaphors, and conventional knowledge—which links domains of knowledge to idiomatic meanings. Kövecses and Szabó (1996: 332) take the idiomatic expression *spit fire* as an example:

Special idiomatic meaning:	‘very angry’
Cognitive mechanisms:	metaphor: ANGER IS FIRE
Conceptual domain(s):	FIRE and ANGER
Linguistic forms:	spit fire
Meanings of forms:	‘spit’, ‘fire’

This example illustrates that it is the conceptual domain, rather than the individual words themselves, that participates in the process of creating idiomatic expressions.

That is, the meaning of many idioms is not independent of the domains of knowledge in our conceptual system. On the contrary, conceptual metaphors provide the link between the special idiomatic meaning and the conceptual knowledge.

Furthermore, Gibbs (1995: 104) observes that most languages have many idioms with similar figurative meanings and proposes that the figurative meanings of idioms might well be motivated by people’s conceptual knowledge that is itself constituted by metaphor. For example, people understand the idioms *spill the beans* and *let the cat out of the bag*, where both refer to the revealing of a secret, because the underlying conceptual metaphors, i.e., THE MIND IS A CONTAINER and IDEAS ARE PHYSICAL ENTITIES, are imposed on the link between idiomatic phrases and their nonliteral meanings.

In addition, in contrast to the traditional view, Gibbs (1995) argues that idioms are considered compositional and analyzable, differing in the extent to which they are analyzable. Gibbs (1995) illustrates that *blow your stack* is analyzable since *blow*

refers to the act of releasing internal pressure from the human body whereas *kick the bucket* is less analyzable in that the individual word meanings do not contribute their meaning as a whole. In other words, idioms such as *blow your stack* in which the literal meanings of the components can, entirely or partially, contribute to the idiomatic meaning are semantically more transparent. In contrast, idioms such as *kick the bucket* where the idiomatic meaning cannot be predicted from its components are semantically more opaque. Such an argument is in line with what is claimed by Nunberg et al. (1994), whereby the necessary feature of idioms is conventionality, which means “their meaning or use can’t be predicted, or at least entirely predicted, on the basis of a knowledge of the independent conventions that determine the use of their constituents when they appear in isolation from one another” (492).

Apart from the necessary feature of idioms, Nunberg et al. (1994: 492) further provide the typical properties of idioms in what follows:

(11) The typical properties of idioms (Nunberg et al. 1994: 492)

- a. Inflexibility: restricted syntax, as in *shoot the breeze* vs. **the breeze is hard to shoot*
- b. Figuration: figurative meaning, as in *take the bull by the horns*, *lead a hand*
- c. Proverbiality: description of social activity compared to a concrete activity, as in *climb the wall*, *chew the fat*, *spill the beans*
- d. Informality: typically associated with informal speech styles or registers
- e. Affect: usually have an evaluation or affective stance towards what they describe

Generally, idioms carry pragmatic and social functions. The property of proverbiality signifies that idioms are often concerned with social activities. While these social activities may be abstract, concrete activities are widely used in idioms to refer to intangible concepts. For example, the concrete activity *spill the beans*, where the impalpable concept of secret is compared to tangible objects, i.e., beans, presents a vivid image of the abstract social activity of revealing a secret. Also, with a figurative meaning and hence being highly expressive, idioms tend to be utilized in relatively less formal occasions. Furthermore, with the property of affect, idioms are usually used with social-communicative effects. For instance, considering the listener's stance, the speaker uses the idiom *kick the bucket*, a euphemism for dying, to substitute the taboo words. Such an expression is more pleasant and less offensive towards both the speaker and the listener. Moreover, idioms usually allow us to express an evaluation towards what we describe. Take for instance the idiom *Frog forgets he had a tail* (Lakoff and Turner 1989). Literally, it describes that a frog had a tail, which is dominant and indispensable, when it was a tadpole. However, when developing from a tadpole, the frog does not remember its early stage of being a tadpole and forgets that it had a tail. As an exhortation, this idiom carries a piece of advice for human beings to remember their origins so as not to be just like the frog.

As a rule, many idioms in various languages may convey the identical meaning,

which is a reflection of cultural variation. As the idiom exemplified above, it exhorts us not to forget our origins in terms of the description of a frog, which is specific to English. The identical meaning is also found in the Chinese idiom *yin shui si yuan* (飲水思源) ‘when drinking water, think of its source’, admonishing us against forgetting our origins via the description of drinking water, which is particular to the Chinese culture. While some idioms are restricted to a specific culture, other idioms are more universal and hence more comprehensible in that they are motivated by people’s conceptual knowledge that is constituted by metaphor. For example, the English idiom *spit fire*, denoting that a person is very angry, is easier to comprehend on the basis of near-universal metaphor, i.e., ANGER IS FIRE. Since some idioms reflect cultural specific constraints and others exhibit near-universality, cultural constraints will be elaborated in the following subsection.

3.5 Cultural Constraints

Apart from functioning as cognitive instruments, the conceptual metaphors and metonymies manifested in proverbial expressions allow us to see cultural variation and universality. Kövecses (2002: 195) proposes that most cultural variation in conceptual metaphor occurs at the specific level whereas universality in the metaphor can be found at the generic level. In other words, our knowledge of the

world includes specific-level and generic-level schemas. As Lakoff and Johnson (1989: 165) put it, specific-level schemas are concrete and memorable, containing a great deal of information relevant to our everyday experiences. Generic-level schemas, on the other hand, lacking specificity, have the power of generality to make sense of a large amount of cases, such as causal relations and shapes of events.

Moreover, the changes take place in the cultural models and the conceptual metaphors due to the cultural context and its influence on conceptualization. At a specific level, for example, there are differences in the metaphor for *anger* across cultures. Kövecses (2002) exemplifies that Euro-Americans conceptualize *anger* via the notion of the four humors (phlegm, black bile, yellow bile, and blood); Japanese conceptualize *anger* via the concept of *hara*, which is composed of truth, real intentions, and the real self; Chinese conceptualize *anger* via *qi*, which is energy regarded as a gas that flows through the body and can produce an excess. While reflecting cultural distinctiveness, the culture-specific concepts of *anger*

demonstrate that the ANGER IS A PRESSURIZED CONTAINER metaphor is universal.

That is, *anger* appears to be cross-culturally conceptualized as a kind of internal pressure inside a container, which is found at the generic level.

Furthermore, metaphor is a matter of thought—all kinds of thought—thought about emotion, about society, about human character, about language, and about the

nature of life and death (Lakoff and Turner 1989). Metaphors evoked in proverbs typically concern human affairs. The attributes and behavior of people are understood in terms of those of animals, plants, and so forth activated in metaphors. Lakoff and Turner (1989: 162ff) propose the GREAT CHAIN METAPHOR to provide interpretations of proverbs. The GREAT CHAIN METAPHOR is an ensemble consisting of four ingredients. The first is the basic Great Chain defined by attributes and behavior, and arranged hierarchically, where each form of being has all of the attribute types lower on the hierarchy. For instance, animals do not have mental and character attributes, but they have instinctual attributes, as well as biological, structural, and natural physical attributes.

The Basic Great Chain

- HUMANS: Higher-order attributes and behavior (e.g. thought, character)
- ANIMALS: Instinctual attributes and behavior
- PLANTS: Biological attributes and behavior
- COMPLEX OBJECTS: Structural attributes and functional behavior
- NATURAL PHYSICAL THINGS: Natural physical attributes and natural physical behavior

The second is the commonsense theory of the Nature of Things, which is a causal theory that links attributes to behavior: the characteristic behavior of a form of being is a consequence of its characteristic attributes. The combination of the basic Great Chain and the Nature of Things gives us a more elaborated, hierarchical folk theory of forms of being and how they behave, which is an essential ingredient

in the understanding of proverbs.

The Nature Of Things Plus The Great Chain

- HUMANS: Higher-order attributes lead to higher-order behavior.
- ANIMALS: Instinctual attributes lead to instinctual behavior.
- PLANTS: Biological attributes lead to biological behavior.
- COMPLEX OBJECTS: Structural attributes lead to functional behavior.
- NATURAL PHYSICAL THINGS: Natural physical attributes lead to natural physical behavior.

The third is the GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor, where proverbs evoke schemas, including specific-level and generic-level schemas, rich in images and information they evoke, regarding knowledge of animals, objects, and situations. In other words, the GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor triggers the mappings between a specific-level schema and numerous parallel specific-level schemas that all have the same generic-level structure as the source-domain schema. For example, *Once bitten, twice shy* evokes a concrete and information-rich specific-level schema, which induces a generic-level schema: A traumatic experience can lead to an automatic response to all situations even slightly similar, even when the response is improper. Proverbs like this are grounded in the richness of particular cases through the GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor.

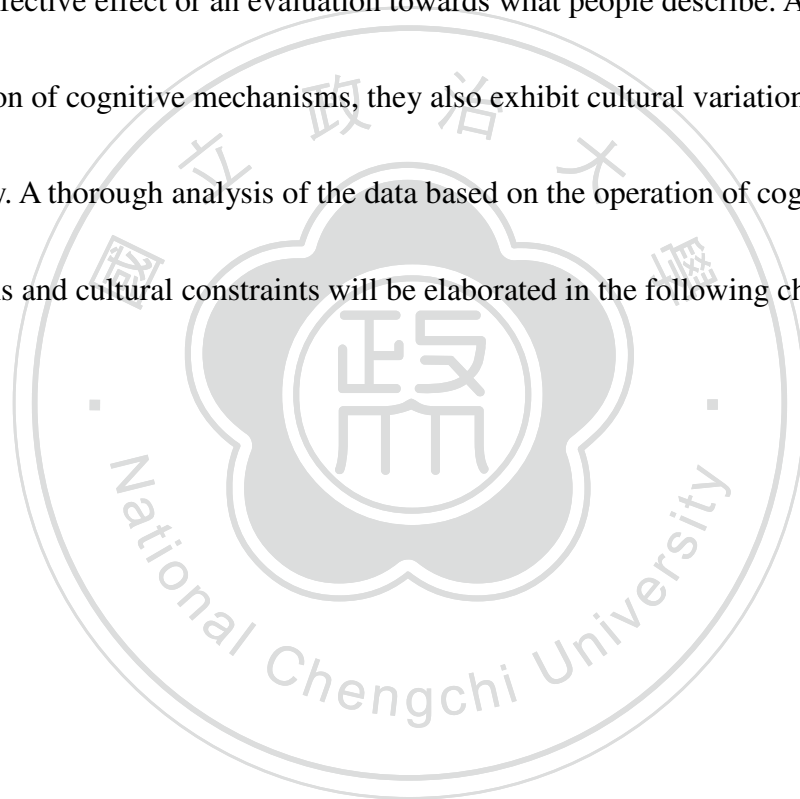
The fourth is the communicative Maxim of Quantity, which indicates that speech should be as informative as is required and not more so. In other words, how much

information should be contained in the response primarily depends on how much information is appropriate in the conversation. O'Grady (1996) exemplifies as follows: If someone asks where a celebrity lives simply out of curiosity, then the response about which part of the country the celebrity lives in is sufficient; if the person intends to visit the celebrity personally, then much more specific information (e.g., the address) is appropriate.

To illustrate that the GREAT CHAIN METAPHOR is a tool of great power and scope, Lakoff and Turner (1989: 174ff) exemplify the proverb *Big thunder, little rain*. Literally, it is simply a description of a storm. Metaphorically, it is used to describe the futile bragging of a person. The GREAT CHAIN METAPHOR applies to the specific-level schema evoked by the words in four ways. First, the Great Chain associates storms with human beings. Second, the commonsense theory of the Nature of Things picks out attributes and their causal relation to behavior at the levels of storms and human beings. Third, the Maxim of Quantity picks out the highest attributes and behavior relevant at each level. Finally, the GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor extracts the corresponding generic-level structure from this specific-level knowledge about storms. It maps this structure onto the target domain of human beings, picking out the highest-level human attributes and behavior which preserves the generic-level structure. In brief, the universality of proverbs is that we

understand the attributes and behavior of human beings in terms of the GREAT CHAIN METAPHOR.

Classifiers and measure words in Taiwanese Hakka are found to manifest metonymically and metaphorically in proverbial expressions. As a rule, these proverbial expressions carry social functions, involving with social activities and denoting affective effect or an evaluation towards what people describe. Apart from the operation of cognitive mechanisms, they also exhibit cultural variation and universality. A thorough analysis of the data based on the operation of cognitive mechanisms and cultural constraints will be elaborated in the following chapter.



CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS

With the cognitive mechanisms laid as the foundation in the previous chapter, this chapter is going to explore how they are operated in the classifiers and measure words in Taiwanese Hakka proverbial expressions. Attention will be paid in particular to metonymy, the interaction between metaphor and metonymy, idiomaticity, and cultural constraints. The data collected in the study include 80 items. For illustration, however, 16 representative proverbial expressions will be carefully spelled out, with the rest listed in Appendix I. First, with a closer scrutiny of the elements of classifier-proverbial expressions, the data are classified into four types of constructions, carrying different meanings. Then, the proverbial expressions involved with classifiers and measure words will be elaborated with the cognitive mechanisms of metonymy and the interaction between metaphor and metonymy. Next, Hakka-specific cultural constraints and near universality in conceptual metaphors associated with the data will be presented. Finally, the reexamination of the four metonymic sources of metaphor will be provided, followed by a summary at

the end of the chapter.

4.1 Classifier-Proverbial Constructions

The data discussed in the thesis are classified into four types of classifier-proverbial constructions according to the three elements, i.e., the numeral, the classifier (CL) or the measure word (MW), and the noun.¹⁰ The first type is the canonical construction [Numeral-CL/MW-Noun], where three of the main elements in a nominal phrase are concurrent.¹¹ For example, *rhid4 mui5 ciang1zhug4si1* (一尾青竹絲) ‘a green bamboo viper’, where the numeral *rhid4* (一) ‘one’, the classifier *mui5* (尾), and the noun *ciang1zhug4si1* (青竹絲) ‘green bamboo viper’ are clearly specified. Moreover, with the same elements but a different word order, the noun can be put initially, resulting in the construction [Noun-Numeral-CL/MW] as in *ciang1zhug4si1 rhid4 mui5* (青竹絲一尾), which is also regarded as the first type. The second type is the construction [Numeral-CL/MW], such as *sam1 von2gung1* (三碗公) ‘three big bowls’, where the noun is omitted but represented by the classifier or the measure word. The third type displays the construction

¹⁰ Hereafter, a classifier would be abbreviated as CL and a measure word as MW in the gloss as well as in the constructions in the following in this thesis. The distinction between CL and MW in this thesis is based on the criteria proposed by Her and Hsieh (2010).

¹¹ According to Liang (2006: 6), the main elements in a fully-fledged nominal phrase in Mandarin are demonstratives, numerals, classifiers, possessives, adjectives, relative clauses, and lexical nouns. The canonical internal word order is demonstrative-numeral-classifier-noun, and other pronominal elements, such as possessives or adjectives, can be placed between the demonstrative and the numeral or between the classifier and the noun in the sequence.

[CL-CL/MW-MW-Predicate], such as *zied4-zied4 go1* (節節高) ‘getting higher one joint after another’, where the numeral and the noun are absent. However, the omitted noun can be represented by the classifier or the measure word, and the reduplication of the classifier or the measure word functions as the numeral, denoting multitudes of the nouns. The last type is the construction [Attribute-CL], such as *tai7 de3* (大埕) ‘big chunk’, where the numeral and the noun are absent. Similar to the case in the third type, the omitted noun can be represented by the classifier. However, in this construction, the quantity of the noun is not specified.

4.2 Cases Involving Metonymy

Metonymy has primarily a referential function, allowing us to use one entity to represent another and serving the function of providing understanding, which is pervasive in classifier/measure word proverbial expressions in Taiwanese Hakka.

For instance, a subevent involved with a classifier can activate the whole event through the SUBEVENT-FOR-COMPLEX EVENT metonymy within the complex event ICM. Examples to be discussed in this section are associated with the cognitive mechanism of metonymy and arranged according to different constructions.

Examples (1) and (2) display the construction [Numeral-CL], where the FORM-FOR-CONCEPT metonymy is triggered in example (1) and the

CATEGORY-FOR-MEMBER metonymy is triggered in both examples. Example (3) displays the construction [CL-CL/MW-MW-Predicate], activating the CATEGORY-FOR-MEMBER metonymy. Examples (4) and (5) display the canonical construction [Numeral-CL/MW-Noun], where the PART-FOR-WHOLE metonymy and the INSTRUMENT-FOR-ACTION metonymy are activated in example (4) and the OBJECT INVOLVED IN AN ACTION-FOR-THE ACTION metonymy is triggered in example (5). Example (6) displays the construction [Attribute-CL], where the metonymies CATEGORY-FOR-MEMBER, PART-FOR-WHOLE, and SUBEVENT-FOR-COMPLEX EVENT are activated. To illustrate, let us begin with the following examples displaying the construction [Numeral-CL]:

(1) 講四句

<i>gong2</i>	<i>si3</i>	<i>gi3</i>		
say	four	CL		

‘To say four sentences of words—to say blessing words’

(2) 一儕比得一儕，山歌比得採茶

<i>rhid4</i>	<i>sa5</i>	<i>bi2-ded4</i>	<i>rhid4</i>	<i>sa5</i>
a	CL	compare-POT	a	CL
<i>san1gol</i>		<i>bi2-ded4</i>	<i>cai2</i>	<i>ca5</i>
folk-song		compare-POT	picking	tea

‘If a person can be compared with one another, folk-songs can be compared with tea-picking—people should not compare with each other just as a folk-song is not comparable to tea-picking.’

Both examples display the construction [Numeral-CL], as *si3 gi3* (四句) ‘four sentences’ in example (1) and *rhid4 sa5* (一儕) ‘a person’ in example (2), where the noun is omitted but represented by the classifier. In example (1), the noun, i.e., *fa3* (話) ‘words’, is represented by the classifier *gi3* (句) ‘sentence’ through the CATEGORY-FOR-MEMBER metonymy within the category-and-member ICM. Literally, it refers to saying four sentences of words. Metonymically, *si3 gi3* (四句) ‘four sentences’ stands for auspicious words through the FORM-FOR-CONCEPT metonymy within the sign and reference ICM. Specifically, *si3 gi3* (四句) ‘four sentences’ refers to seven-word quatrains, where the conceptual content shown by the expressions is about a person’s blessings.¹² Furthermore, the CONDUIT metaphor is activated in this expression. First, the auspiciousness is seen as objects through the MEANINGS ARE OBJECTS metaphor. Then, the speaker puts the auspiciousness into words through the LINGUISTIC EXPRESSIONS ARE CONTAINERS metaphor. Namely, *si3 gi3* (四句) ‘four sentences’ are containers for auspiciousness. Finally, conveying the speaker’s auspiciousness contained in *si3 gi3* (四句) ‘four sentences’ to a listener is viewed as sending good objects to the receiver through COMMUNICATION IS SENDING metaphor. Taiwanese Hakka people highly value the ceremonies of the occasions in one’s life, such as on one’s birthday, in a wedding, or on the day of

¹² Most of *si3 gi3* (四句) ‘four sentences’ are seven-word quatrains, where rhyme is required (Huang, 2004).

housewarming.¹³ During these ceremonies, people are required to say four sentences of words with auspicious meanings since they believe that saying auspicious words, like delivering good objects to a receiver, will bring good fortune to those who receive them.

With the identical construction, the classifier *sa5* (儕) in example (2) represents the referential nominal *ngin5* (人) ‘person’ through the CATEGORY-FOR-MEMBER metonymy. This expression invites a conditional implicature: if a person can be compared with others, folk-songs can be compared with tea-picking. Actually, singing folk-songs and tea-picking are typical activities in early agricultural Taiwanese Hakka society. Workers often sing folk-songs while picking tea leaves to entertain themselves. However, singing folk-songs and tea-picking are two different and independent events. Hence, this expression satirically indicates the inadequate comparison between people by the analogy of folk-songs with tea-picking. That is, just as it is absurd to compare singing folk-songs with tea-picking, it is equally absurd to compare one person with another presumably because every person is an independent individual who has his own merits. Therefore, the moral lesson carried over is: never try to compare people with each other.

¹³ For example, in order to bless a person for his birthday, one of the seven-word quatrains is *diam2 hi2 shiu7 zhug4 zhau3 tang1 tong5, zhau3 do3 shiu7siang1 shiu7 rham5 gong1; fug4 rhi5 dung1hoi2 log8 teu3 ngien5, shiu7 bi2 nam5san1 van7 she3 fong1* (點起壽燭照廳堂，照到壽星壽顏光；福如東海樂透年，壽比南山萬世芳), which blesses the person with boundless happiness and a long life (Huang, 2004).

Next, consider example (3), where the classifier is reduplicated:

(3) 家無嘍嘍公，項項空；家無嘍嘍婆，樣樣無

<i>ga1</i>	<i>mo5</i>	<i>nung5-nung3</i>	<i>gung1</i>	<i>hong3-hong3</i>	<i>kung1</i>
home	NEG	muttering	grandfather	CL-CL	empty
<i>ga1</i>	<i>mo5</i>	<i>nung5-nung3</i>	<i>po5</i>	<i>rhong7-rhong7</i>	<i>mo5</i>
home	NEG	muttering	grandmother	CL-CL ¹⁴	empty

‘If there is no elder male muttering in a family, everything is empty; if there is no elder female muttering in a family, everything is vacant—the elders are very precious to a family.’

Example (3) displays the construction [CL-CL-Predicate], as in *hong3-hong3 kung1* (項項空) ‘every item of things being empty’ and *rhong7-rhong7 mo5* (樣樣無) ‘every kind of things being empty’, where the noun, i.e., *sii7* (事) ‘things’, is represented by the classifiers *hong3* (項) and *rhong7* (樣) ‘kind’ through the CATEGORY-FOR-MEMBER metonymy. Moreover, the reduplication of *hong3* (項) and *rhong7* (樣) in this construction, i.e., *hong3-hong3* (項項) and *rhong7-rhong7* (樣樣), denotes every item of things and every kind of things, respectively. Hence, the literal meaning of this expression is: if there is no elder male muttering in a family, every item of things is empty; likewise, if there is no elder female muttering in a family, every kind of things are vacant. Additionally, *nung5-nung3* (嘍嘍) ‘muttering’ is used to evoke the negative characteristics of the elders through the

¹⁴ In terms of Her and Hsieh’s (2010) test, *rhong7* (樣) ‘kind’ would be categorized as a measure word. However, we regard it as a kind classifier in that *rhong7-rhong7 sii7* (樣樣事) ‘every kind of things’ are individualized in this expression.

DEFINING PROPERTY-FOR-CATEGORY metonymy within the category-and-property

ICM in the sense that it is a stereotypical characteristic associated with the elders.

Although being complained about their muttering, the elders that are so experienced in handling various situations in life are still considered precious in a family in Chinese cultures.

Another example displaying the same construction [CL-CL-Predicate] is *sang1 shid8 con1-con1 bau2, sang2 zhog4 ngid4-ngid4 sin1* (省食餐餐飽，省著日日新) ‘being economical of food presently makes a person full every meal in the future; being economical of clothes presently makes a person be able to wear new clothes every day in the future’, where the reduplication of the classifier *con1* (餐) ‘meal’ denotes every meal, and the reduplication of the classifier *ngid4* (日) ‘day’ denotes every day. As an exhortation, this idiom urges people to be economical and thrifty for the time being with an aim of preventing shortage of food and clothes in the future.

Then, the following two examples to be discussed display the canonical construction [Numeral-CL/MW-Noun]:

(4) 嘴唇兩埕皮，好壞由在你

zhoi3shun5 liong2 de3 pi5 ho2 fai7 rhiu5cai7 ngi5
 lip two CL skin good bad at one’s discretion you
 ‘People like to talk, but it’s up to you to do good or bad.’

(5) 千跪萬拜一爐香，毋當生前一碗湯

cien1 kui2 van7 bai3 rhid4 lu5 hiong1

thousand kneel ten thousand worship a MW¹⁵ incense

m5 dong3 sen1cien5 rhid4 von2 tong1

NEG compare lifetime a MW¹⁶ soup

‘To worship the souls of a person’s parents on bended knees and to fulfill a censer of incense sticks after their death is inferior to serve a bowl of soup to his parents during their lifetime—a person should show his love and respect for his parents when they are alive.’

Both examples display the canonical construction [Numeral-CL/ MW-Noun], where the numeral, the classifier or the measure word, and the noun coexist in a nominal phrase. In example (4), as in *liong2 de3 pi5* (兩埤皮), the quantity of the noun is clearly specified, that is, two pieces of skin. Then, *liong2 de3 pi5* (兩埤皮) ‘two pieces of skin’ displays triple metonymy as proposed by Gao (2005) in that it is used to stand for lips for a mouth and then for a person through the PART-FOR-WHOLE metonymy within the thing-and-part ICM. The cognitive process is shown in Figure 5:

¹⁵ In terms of the test of numeral stacking, *lu5* (爐) ‘censer’ is a measure word in that it is possible to say *rhid4 lu5 shib8 gi1 hiong1* (一爐十枝香) ‘a censer of ten incense sticks’. By the same token, *bun3gi1* (箕箕) ‘wicker scoop’ in example (13) is a measure word.

¹⁶ In terms of the test of antonymous adjectives stacking, *von2* (碗) ‘bowl’ is a measure word in that it is comprehensible to say *rhid4 tai7 von2 se3 teu7 er5* (一大碗細豆仔) ‘a big bowl of small peas’. In the same vein, *von2gung1* (碗公) ‘big bowls’ in examples (7) and (8) and *tong1shi5* (湯匙) ‘spoon’ in example (8) are measure words as well.

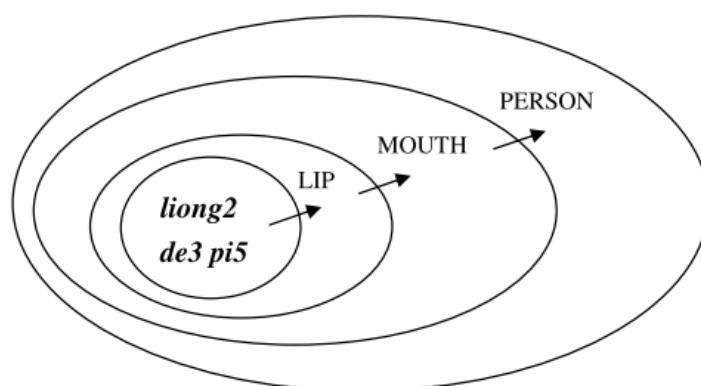


Figure 5. Triple metonymy: *liong2 de3 pi5* (兩埤皮) ‘two pieces of skin’ stands for lips for a mouth for a person

Furthermore, the mouth evokes the scenario of talking through the INSTRUMENT-FOR-ACTION metonymy within the action ICM. Hence, the literal meaning is that people have a mouth with two lips to talk, but whether to behave aboveboard or unjustly is up to you. In this idiom, the social activity of talking is conceptualized via the concrete body part, i.e., the mouth. Alternatively, this expression indicates that regardless of what people’s opinions may be, as long as you behave righteously and uprightly, there is nothing you have to be concerned about.

In the same vein, example (5) displays the canonical construction [Numeral-MW-Noun], as in *rhid4 lu5 hong1* (一爐香) ‘a censer of incense sticks’ and *rhid4 von2 tong1* (一碗湯) ‘a bowl of soup’, where the former is used to stand for the action of censuring and the latter is used to stand for the action of serving a

bowl of soup to show a person's filial piety via the OBJECT INVOLVED IN AN ACTION-FOR-THE ACTION metonymy within the action ICM. Furthermore, censuring and serving a bowl of soup are used to represent a person's filial piety through the PART-FOR-WHOLE metonymy, which is grounded in cultural models. According to Quinn and Holland (1987: 4), cultural models are defined as "presupposed, taken-for-granted models of the world that are widely shared ... by the members of a society and that play an enormous role in their understanding of that world and their behavior in it." Essentially, filial piety plays a paramount role in Chinese cultures. People have to respect their parents and worship their ancestors. When a person grows up, he has to acknowledge his parents' love and care during their lifetime, such as serving, nursing, and pleasing their parents. On the other hand, after his parents pass away, he still has to fulfill filial duty, such as entombing his parents and censuring to worship his parents' souls. Therefore, a censor of incense sticks and a bowl of soup are complementary in that they will never occur at the same time. Serving a bowl of soup symbolizes a person's caring behavior toward their parents when they are alive whereas censuring symbolizes a person's worshipful feeling for his parents after they pass away. Cultural models provide the basis of this expression, hence allowing us to understand that both of them are reflections of people's behaviors to express their love and respect for their parents in Chinese cultures.

In addition, a censer of incense sticks and a bowl of soup activate the EFFECT-FOR-CAUSE metonymy in that a person who is motivated by filial piety serves his parents when they are alive and worships his parents after their death to express his love and respect for his parents. In other words, a person's behaviors of censuring and serving his parents are regarded as a result of his filial piety. Given that elaborated, this expression, however, carries a strong affective stance toward what people should do to show their love and respect for their parents. Even a simple act as serving a bowl of soup is worthy to please their parents during their lifetime. In contrast, the laborious acts of worshipping their parents on bended knees and fulfilling a censer of incense sticks after their death are not as worthy as serving a bowl of soup to express people's love for their parents during their lifetime. Hence, it is advised that people should grasp the chances to show their love and respect to their parents whenever they can.

Finally, consider the following example displaying the construction

[Attribute-Classifier]:

(6) 食大埕

shid8 tai7 de3

eat big CL

'To eat a big chunk of meat—to attend a funeral'

The expression literally refers to eating a big chunk of meat. Metonymically, it is a euphemism for attending a funeral in Taiwanese Hakka culture. Triple metonymic mappings are triggered in this example. First, with the construction [Attribute-Classifier], as in *tai7 de3* (大埤) ‘big chunk’, the noun *ngiug4* (肉) ‘meat’ is represented by the classifier *de3* (埤) ‘chunk’ through the CATEGORY-FOR-MEMBER metonymy, without specifying the quantity of the noun. Next, through double PART-FOR-WHOLE metonymy, *tai7 de3* (大埤) ‘big chunk’ stands for the meat eaten at the funeral, and then the funeral food stands for the funeral. The cognitive process of this example is captured in Figure 6:

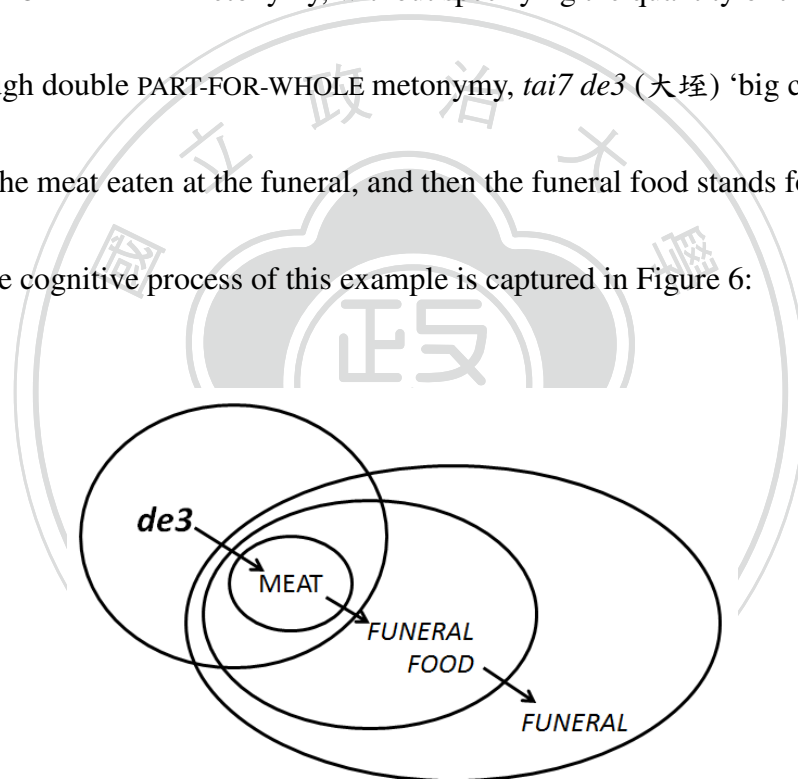


Figure 6. Triple metonymy: the classifier *de3* (埤) for meat for funeral food for funeral

The triple metonymic mappings of *shid8 tai7de3* (食大埤) ‘to eat a big chunk of meat’ render Taiwanese Hakka people a euphemism to avoid expressing a taboo word, i.e., the funeral. Such a metonymy-based euphemism is a non-default case of

metonymy, which violates the communicative principle CLEAR OVER LESS CLEAR.

Kövecses and Radden (1998) indicate that social considerations in a communicative situation may require speakers to override some of the cognitive principles, so that its intended target is not clearly accessible. Moreover, specifying a less clear aspect of a taboo ICM achieves the effect of distracting from the intended target, which is exactly the communicative and social purpose of euphemisms.

In addition, this metonymy-based euphemism is prone to shade over into metaphor according to the literalness-metonymy-metaphor continuum proposed by Radden (2003). Specifically, *ngiug4* (肉) ‘meat’ represented by the classifier *de3* (坵) refers to pork belly, which is an obligatory dish at the funeral in the agricultural society in Taiwanese Hakka culture. For the time being, the subevent *shid8 tai7 de3* (食大坵) ‘to eat a big chunk of meat’ activates the whole funeral ceremony through the SUBEVENT-FOR-COMPLEX EVENT metonymy within the complex event ICM. However, with the simplification of the rituals and ceremonies in the modern society, the feast of funeral is likely to be simplified or even omitted in the future, let alone maintaining the dish pork belly at the funeral. Chances are the phenomenon of eating a big chunk of pork belly at the funeral would probably fade away in the future in Taiwanese Hakka culture. At that time, eating a big chunk of pork belly and attending a funeral would no longer belong to the identical conceptual domain;

hence this situation can be seen purely metaphorically as ATTENDING A FUNERAL IS EATING A BIG CHUNK OF MEAT. The opaqueness of this idiom will thus increase when it shades over from a metonymic expression into a metaphor.

In sum, the expressions discussed above demonstrate that classifiers and measure words in proverbial expressions in Taiwanese Hakka are found to manifest metonymically. Specifically, a classifier or measure word can be used to stand for its referential nominals through the CATEGORY-FOR-MEMBER metonymy within the category-and-member ICM. A noun involved with the classifier or a measure word can represent certain meanings through the FORM-FOR-CONCEPT metonymy within the sign and reference ICM, and activate particular actions through the metonymy OBJECT INVOLVED IN AN ACTION-FOR-THE ACTION and the metonymy INSTRUMENT-FOR-ACTION within the action ICM. Also, a noun involved with the classifier or a measure word can trigger the PART-FOR-WHOLE metonymy within the thing-and-part ICM and the EFFECT-FOR-CUASE metonymy within the causation ICM. Furthermore, an event involved with the classifier triggers the whole event via the SUBEVENT-FOR-COMPLEX EVENT metonymy within the complex event ICM. A summary of the classifiers and measure words associated with metonymy in proverbial expressions in Taiwanese Hakka is given in Table 3:

Table 3. A summary of the classifiers and measure words in proverbial expressions in Taiwanese Hakka displaying metonymy

Conceptual Configurations	Metonymy-producing Relationships	Examples
a. Category-and-member ICM	CATEGORY-FOR-MEMBER metonymy	(i) <i>si3 gi3</i> (四句) ‘four sentences’ (ii) <i>rhid4 sa5</i> (一儕) ‘a person’ (iii) <i>hong3-hong3 kung1</i> (項項空) ‘every item of things being empty’ (iv) <i>rhong7-rhong7 mo5</i> (樣樣無) ‘every kind of things being empty’ (v) <i>tai7 de3</i> (大埤) ‘a big chunk’
b. Sign and reference ICM	FORM-FOR-CONCEPT metonymy	<i>si3 gi3</i> (四句) ‘four sentences’
c. Action ICM	INSTRUMENT-FOR-ACTION metonymy	<i>liong2 de3 pi5</i> (兩埤皮) ‘two pieces of skin’
	OBJECT INVOLVED IN AN ACTION-FOR-THE ACTION metonymy	(i) <i>rhid4 lu5 hiong1</i> (一爐香) ‘a censer of incense sticks’ (ii) <i>rhid4 von2 tong1</i> (一碗湯) ‘a bowl of soup’
d. Thing-and-part ICM	PART-FOR-WHOLE metonymy	(i) <i>liong2 de3 pi5</i> (兩埤皮) ‘two pieces of skin’ (ii) <i>rhid4 lu5 hiong1</i> (一爐香) ‘a censer of incense sticks’ (iii) <i>rhid4 von2 tong1</i> (一碗湯) ‘a bowl of soup’ (iv) <i>tai7 de3</i> (大埤) ‘a big chunk’
e. Causation ICM	EFFECT-FOR-CUASE metonymy	(i) <i>rhid4 lu5 hiong1</i> (一爐香) ‘a censer of incense sticks’ (ii) <i>rhid4 von2 tong1</i> (一碗湯) ‘a bowl of soup’
f. Complex event ICM	SUBEVENT-FOR-COMPLEX EVENT metonymy	<i>shid8 tai7 de3</i> (食大埤) ‘to eat a big chunk of meat’

Based on the discussions so far, some generalizations can be drawn from the examples involving metonymy. First, the CATEGORY-FOR-MEMBER metonymy is activated in expressions which display the construction [Numeral-CL/MW]. For instance, the classifier *gi3* (句) ‘sentence’ stands for words in example (1) and the classifier *sa5* (儕) stands for a person in example (2) through the CATEGORY-FOR-MEMBER metonymy. Other cases displaying [Numeral-CL/MW] can be found in examples 9-14, 16, 17, and 18 listed in Part I in Appendix I.

Furthermore, the majority of the expressions are composed of two chunks with parallel structures. For instance, the case *ga1 mo5 nung5-nung3 gung1, hong3-hong3 kung1; ga1 mo5 nung5-nung3 po5, rhong7-rhong7 mo5* (家無嘍嘍公，項項空；家無嘍嘍婆，樣樣無) ‘if there is no elder male muttering in a family, everything is empty; if there is no elder female muttering in a family, everything is vacant’ displays parallelism, carrying the function of emphasis. Such a strategy of employing parallel linguistic structures for an emphatic function is indeed often found in proverbial expressions. Similar examples can be observed in cases 16, 17, and 20 listed in Part I in Appendix I.

Sometimes parallel structures are utilized to denote contrastive or concessive functions, however. For instance, the case *cien1 kui2 van7 bai3 rhid4 lu5 hong1, m5 dong3 sen1 cien5 rhid4 von2 tong1* (千跪萬拜一爐香，毋當生前一碗湯) ‘it

would be better to serve a bowl of soup to a person's parents during their lifetime than to worship their souls on bended knees and to fulfill a censer of incense sticks after their death' carries a contrastive function, where the laborious acts of worship on bended knees and the simple act of serving a bowl of soup are contrasted.

Simultaneously, this example also carries a concessive function: even with just a simple act of serving a bowl of soup to express love for parents when they are alive is superior to the laborious acts of worshipping on bended knees after parents pass away. Other cases with parallel structures but carrying contrastive and concessive functions can be found in cases 2, 3, 10, 11, 12, and 13 listed in Part I in Appendix I.

Apart from carrying contrastive and concessive functions, some expressions with parallelism can give rise to a conditional implicature, as in the case *rhid4 sa5 bi2-ded4 rhid4 sa5, san1go1 bi2-ded4 cai2 ca5* (一儕比得一儕，山歌比得採茶) 'if a person can be compared with one another, folk-songs can be compared with tea-picking'. Another example is example 15 listed in Part I in Appendix I.¹⁷

In addition to metonymy, the interaction between metaphor and metonymy is also found to manifest in the classifier/measure word proverbial expressions in Taiwanese Hakka. The following section will discuss cases involving the interaction between metaphor and metonymy.

¹⁷ Still some examples with parallel structures but inviting a causal implicature can be found in cases 5-7 listed in Part I in Appendix I.

4.3 Cases Involving Interaction Between Metaphor and Metonymy

As mentioned previously, metaphor and metonymy are not just figures of speech in literature. Rather, they are conceptual in nature. In addition to individually functioning as cognitive mechanisms, metaphor and metonymy interact ubiquitously in our languages. Classifiers and measure words in proverbial expressions in Taiwanese Hakka are found to display metaphorical and metonymic interactions. For example, *rhid4 du2shi gai3 fo2* (一肚屎个火) ‘a stomachful of fire’ displays the ANGER IS FIRE metaphor. Furthermore, having a stomachful of fire is metonymically used to stand for anger since increased body heat is one of the physiological effects of anger. The following examples to be elaborated in this section will illustrate how the interaction between metaphor and metonymy is reified in classifiers and measure words in Taiwanese Hakka proverbial expressions. Examples (7) and (8) display the construction [Numeral-MW]. Examples (9) and (10) display the construction [Attribute-CL]. Examples (11) and (12) display the construction [CL-CL-Predicate]. Examples (13) and (14) display the canonical construction [Numeral-CL/MW-Noun]. Finally, examples (15) and (16) display the construction [Numeral-MW-Noun], but the numeral is restricted to *rhid4* (一) ‘one’, denoting wholeness.

Now, let us begin with the following examples displaying the construction

[Numeral-MW]:

(7) 恬恬食三碗公

diam1-diam1 shid8 sam1 von2gung1
 quietly eat three MW

‘A person is quietly eating three big bowls of rice—an unnoticed person unexpectedly has an outstanding achievement.’¹⁸

(8) 做無一湯匙，愛食一碗公

zo3 mo5 rhid4 tong1shi5 oi3 shid8 rhid4 von2gung1
 cook NEG a MW desire eat a MW

‘Without cooking a spoonful of food, a person desires to eat a big bowl of food—as you sow, so shall you reap.’

Both examples display the construction [Numeral-MW], as *sam1 von2gung1* (三碗公) ‘three big bowls’ in example (7) and *rhid4 tong1shi5* (一湯匙) ‘a spoon’ and *rhid4 von2gung1* (一碗公) ‘a big bowl’ in example (8), where the noun is omitted but represented by the measure word. In example (7), *von2gung1* (碗公) ‘big bowl’, the measure word as well as a container, is used to stand for the noun *pon7* (飯) ‘rice’, through the CATEGORY-FOR-MEMBER metonymy within the category-and-member ICM and the CONTAINER-FOR-CONTENT metonymy within the containment ICM. As Kövecses and Radden (1998: 57) put it, “the image-schematic relationship that holds between a container and things contained in it is conceptually well-entrenched and applies to many standardized situations, which may lead to metonymy.” Consequently, the content contained in a container

¹⁸ Prototypically, *von2gung1* (碗公) ‘big bowl’ is used to stand for *pon7* (飯) ‘rice’ in this proverbial expression. It can also be used to stand for other food in specific contexts.

interests us more than the container itself, which leads to the preferred metonymy CONTAINER-FOR-CONTENT. Then, typically, the average amount of rice that a person can eat is a bowl of rice per meal; occasionally, a person who is taller or heavier may be able to eat more than a bowl of rice. This case, however, implies that a person who is considered to be able to eat one bowl of rice unnoticedly finishes three big bowls of rice instead, signifying that he can eat more than expected. With the property of proverbiality, this proverbial expression associates the domain of rice with the domain of achievement through the ACHIEVEMENT IS AN ENTITY metaphor, allowing us to conceptualize the target concept of achievement via the source concept of rice. Such a metaphor is rooted in the correlation of stature and appetite as well as implicated result and causation in the literal meaning. Simultaneously, the correlation of competence and performance is also reflected in the metaphorical reading. That is, due to limited competence, an ordinary person can only have an ordinary performance; on the contrary, a person with extraordinary ability can contribute to greater achievement than ordinary people do. Hence, the inference of this idiom is that an unnoticed person unexpectedly has an outstanding achievement.

In example (8), *tong1shi5* (湯匙) ‘spoon’ and *von2gung1* (碗公) ‘big bowl’, the measure words as well as containers, are used to stand for the noun, i.e., cooked food, through the CATEGORY-FOR-MEMBER metonymy and through the

CONTAINER-FOR-CONTENT metonymy. Literally, it depicts that a person desires to eat a bowl of cooked food even though the amount of food he cooks is less than a spoon. Metaphorically, *rhid4 tong1shi5* (一湯匙) ‘a spoon’ is used to stand for a person’s efforts and *rhid4 von2gung1* (一碗公) ‘a big bowl’ is used to stand for the results, where the metaphors EFFORTS ARE ENTITIES and RESULTS ARE ENTITIES are triggered. Due to the contrastive capacity of a spoon and a big bowl, such a metaphor allows us to quantify the abstract concept of a person’s efforts and results in terms of the cooking utensils. In addition, the social activities, i.e., working hard and gaining results, are compared to household activities, i.e., cooking and eating. The metaphors in this expression are grounded in implicated result and causation, as well as the correlation of efforts and results. Namely, the amount that a person can eat is a result of how much he cooks. In the same vein, a person will gain the results in accordance to the efforts he makes, just as the proverb says, “You reap what you sow”, a quote from the Biblical New Testament. With the property of affect, this idiom satirically indicates that a person desires to gain more results which are not proportionate to the efforts he pays.

Next, the following cases to be discussed display the construction

[Attribute-CL]:

(9) 坐儕毋知企儕苦

co1 sa5 m5 di1 ki1 sa5 ku2

sitting CL NEG know standing CL pain

‘The sitting one does not know the pain that the standing one suffers—people will not know others’ feelings unless they have similar experiences.’

(10) 湖鰍搵泥沙，緊搵緊大條

fu5ciu1 vun3 nai5sa1 gin2 vun3 gin2 tai7 tiau5

loach soak silt more soak more big CL

‘A loach’s shape becomes bigger when it is soaked in the silt—things become harder to cope with when getting worse.’

Both examples display the construction [Attribute-CL], where the quantity is not specified. In example (9), as in *co1 sa5* (坐儕) ‘sitting person’ and *ki1 sa5* (企儕) ‘standing person’, the noun, i.e., *ngin5* (人) ‘person’, is represented by the classifier *sa5* (儕) through the CATEGORY-FOR-MEMBER metonymy. Literally, the expression depicts that the sitting person does not know the pain that the standing one suffers. Metaphorically, the sitting person is mapped onto those who are in more beneficiary status whereas the standing person is mapped onto those who are in less beneficiary status. However, unaware of the pain that other people suffer, those who are in the superior status are still unsatisfied, grumbling about their unsatisfactory status. Such a metaphor is shaped by our sensorimotor system and is grounded in our common experiential basis, i.e., the correlation of the physical gestures and states, as well as implicated result and causation. Namely, it is more comfortable for people to sit than

to stand since the latter results in a more laborious state than the former does. In addition, this idiom allows us to conceptualize the abstract concept of status via the concrete actors, i.e., the sitting person and the standing person. As an exhortation, this expression advises that we should not complain about our status before we experience the pain other people that are in worse conditions suffer.

Due to the construction of [*gin2* (緊)-Verb-*gin2*(緊)] ‘becoming more and more’, the classifier-proverbial construction following [*gin2* (緊)-Verb-*gin2*(緊)] ‘becoming more and more’ in example (10) is restricted to [Attribute-CL], where the noun *fu5ciu1* (湖鰍) ‘loach’ appearing at the beginning of the expression is suppressed in the second chunk of the construction. Literally, this expression depicts that due to its mucus, a loach becomes bigger when soaked in the silt. Actually, the novel metaphor PROBLEMS ARE PERCIPITATES IN A CHEMICAL SOLUTION, which is based on the conventional metaphor PROBLEMS ARE OBJECTS, is activated. As Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 148) put it, “the similarities induced between problems as we usually experience them and precipitates in a chemical solution are: they both have a perceptible form and thus can be identified, analyzed, and acted upon.” Thus, when a problem is solved, it may disappear just like a precipitate is gone when it is dissolved. This metaphor allows us to comprehend the abstract target concept, i.e., problems getting worse, through envisaging that loaches are getting bigger when

soaked in silt. In addition, such a metaphor is based on implicated result and causation, giving rise to a causal implicature; since the loach is soaked in silt, its shape will become bigger and bigger. Likewise, since problems get worse, they will become harder to cope with. Furthermore, this metaphor is also grounded in the correlation of the quantity of silt and the physical size of the loach; that is, the more silt a loach is stained with, the bigger it will become. Hence, this expression advises us to solve problems before they become too complex to manage.

Another example displaying the construction [Attribute-CL] is *da2 ng5 sa5 shid8 ng5 shi2* (打魚儕食魚屎) ‘a fisherman sells fine fishing goods but eats fish’s feces—being frugal’, as *da2 ng5 sa5* (打魚儕) ‘fisherman’, where the noun, i.e., *ngin5* (人) ‘person’, is represented by the classifier *sa5* (儕) through the CATEGORY-FOR-MEMBER metonymy. In addition, if a fisherman eats fish’s feces as described in the second chunk of the proverbial expression, then *da2 ng5 sa5* (打魚儕) ‘fisherman’ can be metaphorically used to stand for a thrifty and economical person.¹⁹

Then, consider the following two examples, where the classifier and the measure word are reduplicated:

¹⁹ Thanks to Professor Jui-chuan Yeh for indicating that *da2 ng5 sa5* (打魚儕) ‘fisherman’ can be metaphorically used to stand for a thrifty and economical person only when collocated with what is described in this expression.

(11) 正月松，二月杉，三月種竹條條生

<i>zhang1ngied8</i>	<i>ciung5</i>	<i>ngi5ngied8</i>	<i>cam7</i>	
January	pine	February	fir	
<i>sam1ngied8</i>	<i>zhung3</i>	<i>zhug4</i>	<i>tiau5-tiau5</i>	<i>sang1</i>
March	plant	bamboo	CL-CL	grow

‘If pines are planted in January, firs in February, and bamboos in March, they will flourish—just as we should follow the time to cultivate plants subsequently, so we should follow the proper order and advance step by step when doing things.’

(12) 人心節節高，有酒嫌無糟²⁰

<i>ngin1</i>	<i>sim1</i>	<i>zied4-zied4</i>	<i>go1</i>	
person	heart	MW-MW ²¹	high	
<i>rhiu1</i>	<i>ziu2</i>	<i>hiam5</i>	<i>mo5</i>	<i>zo1</i>
have	brewage	complain	without	brewery cellar

‘Since a person’s desire gets higher one joint after another, he starts to complain about lacking a brewery cellar after the brewage is bestowed to him—a person’s desire is insatiable.’

Both examples display reduplication of a classifier or a measure word, where the reduplication of the classifier and the measure word denotes multitudes of the nouns. In example (11), the noun *zhug4* (竹) ‘bamboo’ appearing in the same chunk of the expression is suppressed in the construction [CL-CL-Predicate]. Hence,

²⁰ This case has a legendary origin. Once upon a time, the immortal Dong-bin Lu (呂洞賓) went to a tavern to drink. After drinking three jars of brewage, he asked the owner for more, but the owner apologized to him for running out of brewage. However, Lu still longed to drink, so he took the owner to the well in the backyard and whispered. Suddenly, the water in the well became brewage under his spell. From then on, the owner led a wealthy life. One year later, Lu came over the tavern and was received cordially by the owner. Lu asked the owner if he still had any difficulties. The owner replied: “Thanks for the brewage bestowed upon me, but would you please denote a brewery cellar to me for store?” Laughing loudly, Lu took the owner to the well and whispered: *ngin1 sim1 zied4-zied4 go1, rhiu1 ziu2 hiam5 mo5 zo1* (人心節節高，有酒嫌無糟) ‘a person’s desire is insatiable’. Then, the brewage in the well turned into water again.

²¹ In terms of the test of antonymous adjectives stacking, *zied4* (節) ‘joint’ is a measure word in that it is possible to say *rhid4 tai7 zied4 se3 zhug4 er5* (一大節細竹仔) ‘a big section of a small bamboo’.

tiau5-tiau5 sang1 (條條生) literally refers to bamboos' flourishing. Then, the whole expression depicts that pines which are planted in January, firs in February, and bamboos in March can grow fast. In other words, if they are planted in the right time, they will thrive and flourish. Furthermore, cultivating plants is metaphorized as doing things. That is, when the plants are cultivated one after another in the right time, they will thrive and flourish; likewise, when we follow a meticulous plan step by step, we have a stronger chance to succeed in doing anything. Hence, this metaphor allows us to conceive of the abstract concept of being successful by virtue of the concrete acts of cultivating plants timely. In addition, such a metaphor is grounded in correlation in the common experiential basis, inviting a conditional implicature: if pines, firs, and bamboos are planted in the right time, they will thrive and flourish. In the same vein, if we follow a meticulous plan progressively, we will succeed in doing anything. Alternatively, cultivating plants in the right time contributes to their prosperity. Correspondingly, following a meticulous plan leads to a person's success. Therefore, this expression implies that the key to success is making a scrupulous plan and realizing it progressively.

In example (12), *ngin1 sim1 zied4-zied4 go1* (人心節節高) 'a person's desire gets higher one joint after another' displays the construction [MW-MW-Predicate], where the noun *ngin1sim1* (人心) 'a person's desire' is metaphorized as a bamboo

through the measure word *zied4* (節) ‘joint’. First, the measure word *zied4* (節), with the meaning of a joint, is used to stand for a bamboo through the CATEGORY-FOR-MEMBER metonymy as well as the DEFINING PROPERTY-FOR-CATEGORY metonymy in that a bamboo joint is an essential property of bamboos. Then, the reduplication of the measure word *zied4* (節) ‘joint’ refers to multitudes of bamboo joints. Hence, *zied4-zied4 gol* (節節高) ‘getting higher one joint after another’ depicts that bamboos are getting higher one joint after another. Furthermore, the DESIRE IS AN ENTITY metaphor is activated; namely, the target concept, i.e., people’s desire, is metaphorized as the source concept, i.e., bamboos, allowing us to quantify people’s increasing desire in terms of the increase of bamboo’s height. Therefore, metaphorically, the first chunk of this expression indicates that a person’s desire is insatiable by analogy with bamboos. Simultaneously, the MORE IS UP metaphor is triggered to construe the target concept, i.e., the increasing desire, via the source concept of up represented by *gol* (高) ‘high’. Such an orientational metaphor has a basic correlation in our physical experience since when we add more of a substance to a container, the level goes up. Similarly, if a person’s desire increases, the level will go up just like the increase of bamboo joints in the vertical orientation. In addition, this expression is grounded in implicated result and causation, giving rise to a causal implicature. In other words,

the first chunk of the expression serves as the cause of the event expressed in the second chunk; due to a person's insatiable desire, he still complains about lacking a brewery cellar after given the brewage. Given that elaborated, this expression, however, urges us to hold down our desire since happiness lies in contentment.

Now, consider the following examples displaying the canonical construction:

(13) 泥蛇一箕箕，毋當一尾青竹絲

<i>nai5sha5</i>		<i>rhid4</i>		<i>bun3gi1</i>	
common rice paddy snake		a		MW	
<i>m5</i>	<i>dong3</i>	<i>rhid4</i>	<i>mui5</i>	<i>ciang1zhug4si1</i>	
NEG	compare	a	CL	green bamboo viper	

‘A wicker scoop of common rice paddy snakes are not as good as a green bamboo viper—a talented man is superior to numerous mediocre men.’

(14) 良言一句三冬暖，惡語傷人六月寒

<i>liong5</i>	<i>ngien5</i>	<i>rhid4</i>	<i>gi3</i>	<i>sam1</i>	<i>dung1</i>	<i>non1</i>
good	word	a	CL	three	winter	warm
<i>og4</i>	<i>ngi1</i>	<i>shong1</i>	<i>ngin5</i>	<i>liug4ngied8</i>	<i>hon5</i>	
mean	word	hurt	people	June	chilly	

‘A sentence of good words makes people warm in the winter for three years, but a sentence of mean words makes people chilly even in the scorching June.’

Both examples display the canonical constructions [Numeral-CL/MW-Noun]. In example (13), *nai5sha5 rhid4 bun3gi1* (泥蛇一箕箕) ‘a wicker scoop of common rice paddy snakes’ displays the construction [Noun-Numeral-MW] and *rhid4 mui5 ciang1zhug4si1* (一尾青竹絲) ‘a green bamboo viper’ displays [Numeral-CL-Noun].

Then, *ciang1zhug4si1* (青竹絲) ‘green bamboo viper’ stands for poisonous snakes and *nai5sha5* (泥蛇) ‘common rice paddy snake’ stands for nonpoisonous snakes through the MEMBER-FOR-CATEGORY metonymy. Hence, the literal meaning of this expression is that a single poisonous snake surpasses a large number of nonpoisonous snakes. Metaphorically, the domain of snakes is mapped onto that of humans. That is, just as a common rice paddy snake is metaphorized as a mediocre person, so a green bamboo viper is metaphorized as a talented person, where the property of being poisonous in the source domain and the property of being competent in the target domain are highlighted. In addition, the metaphors in this expression are based on the metonymic relationship of category structure, where the relation between a category and members included in the category is widely utilized in metonymy. In this case, namely, the category of nonpoisonous snakes is represented by its salient member, i.e., a common rice paddy snake, and the category of poisonous snakes is represented by its salient member, i.e., a green bamboo viper. Furthermore, the metaphors also illustrate the metonymic source of correlation between poison of snakes and its influence on humans, as well as the metonymic source of implicated result and causation: it can be fatal to people even with only a bite by a poisonous snake whereas it may be harmless even with many bites by nonpoisonous snakes. Correspondingly, a man of talent can be powerful and

influential while a man of mediocrity may be insignificant and unimportant. In other words, although a talented man is outnumbered by mediocre men, the influence of the former is far beyond that of the latter. Hence, we infer that it is the quality rather than the quantity that counts.

With a different word order, example (14) displays the construction

[Noun-Numeral-CL], as in *liong5 ngien5 rhid4 gi3* (良言一句) ‘a sentence of good words’, where the noun *liong5 ngien5* (良言) ‘good words’ is put forward. First, *liong5 ngien5 rhid4 gi3* (良言一句) ‘a sentence of good words’ and *og4 ngil* (惡語) ‘mean words’ trigger the action of speaking through the OBJECT INVOLVED IN AN ACTION-FOR-THE ACTION metonymy within the action ICM. Next, the CONDUIT metaphor, which is elaborated in example (1), is also activated in this expression. In this case, alternatively, a speaker can decide whether to put kind or unkind meanings into words, i.e., to put good or bad objects into containers, and then deliver them through a conduit to a listener. Accordingly, good objects will benefit the one who receives them whereas bad objects will make the receiver suffer for a long time.

Furthermore, metaphorically, the domain of the weather is mapped onto the domain of a person’s affective feelings. That is, a person’s being in a good mood is metaphorized as the warm weather in winter whereas a person’s being in a bad mood is metaphorized as the chilly weather in July in summer. Such a metaphor is rooted

in implicated result and causation as well as correlation in that good words often contribute to a person's good mood while mean words often contribute to a person's bad mood. In addition, the weather is usually cold in winter; in contrast, it is usually hot in summer. However, even in frigid winter, a sentence of good words can make people warm whereas even in scorching summer, a sentence of mean words can make people chilly. The contrast of the season and the weather intensifies the power of people's words. So the affective value is that since words have immense power to affect others, people should be prudent in their words, with an aim of avoiding hurting others.

Still some examples display the canonical construction [Numeral-MW-Noun], but the numeral in the construction is limited to one, signifying wholeness. Consider the following two cases:

(15) 一身屎

rhid4 shin1 shi2
 a MW²² excrement
 'a bodyful of excrement—discreditable'

²² As Her and Hsieh (2010: 14) indicate, common nouns can easily function as measure words, and many are created with body parts, as *duzi* (肚子) 'stomach' in *yi duzi huan zhuyi* (一肚子壞主意) 'a stomachful of malicious intentions' and *lian* (臉) 'face' in *yi lian buyue* (一臉不悅) 'a faceful of displeasure'. The temporary uses of common nouns are measure words. In the same vein, *shin1* (身) 'body' in *rhid4 shin1 shi2* (一身屎) 'a bodyful of excrement' in example (15) and *du2shi2* (肚屎) 'stomach' in *rhid4 du2shi2 gai3 fo2* (一肚屎个火) in example (16) are measure words.

(16) 一肚屎个火

rhid4 du2shi2 gai3 fo2

a MW NOM fire

‘A stomachful of fire—extremely angry’

Similar to examples (13) and (14), examples (15) and (16) also display the canonical construction [Numeral-MW-Noun], where the numeral, measure word, and the noun are present. However, the numeral, restricted to *rhid4* (一) ‘one’, denotes not the quantity of one but that of wholeness. In example (15), this expression literally refers to a body of excrement. In fact, it depicts that the whole body is covered with excrement. Then, *rhid4 shin1* (一身) ‘the whole body’ is used to stand for the body part where the excrement is stained through the WHOLE-FOR-PART metonymy within the things-and-part ICM. Moreover, *shin1* (身) ‘body’ is seen as the container with a bounding surface to be covered with the source concept of *shi2* (屎) ‘excrement’. Next, the REPUTATION IS AN ENTITY metaphor is activated, giving us a very specific way to conceptualize the target concept of disrepute as a concrete entity through the source concept of excrement. That is, just as excrement is regarded foul and dirty, so disrepute is considered displeasing and antipathetic. This expression hence metaphorically indicates that a person’s reputation is defamed. In addition, such a metaphor is based on implicated result and causation as well as the correlative relationship between a person’s deeds and

reputation: a person's disrepute is a consequence of his bad deeds. Therefore, with the aim of avoiding being discreditable and infamous, one should be cautious about one's behaviors.

Likewise, example (16) literally refers to a stomachful of fire. Actually, it indicates that the whole stomach is full of fire, where the ANGER IS FIRE metaphor is triggered to conceptualize the target concept of anger as a concrete substance through the source concept of fire. In this case, *du2shi2* (肚屎) 'stomach' is the measure word, which is used to stand for the whole person via the PART-FOR-WHOLE metonymy. Physiologically, besides the stomach, the temperature of all of his body parts, such as the face and the neck, will increase when a person gets angry. That is, the stomach, which is seen as a container, is teemed with the contained substance of fire. Hence, the expression metaphorically indicates that a person is extremely angry.

Furthermore, this is a case based on EFFECT-FOR-CAUSE metonymy, where the increasing body heat through the analogy of a stomachful of fire represents people's physiological responses of getting angry. According to Kövecses and Radden (1998: 66), "[e]ffects in general tend to affect us in more immediate ways than causes. This immediacy principle accounts for many emotion metonymies in which physiological and behavioral responses produced by emotions are used to stand for the emotions themselves". Alternatively, the ANGER IS FIRE metaphor in this expression is rooted

in emotions and their physiological reactions in that the increasing body heat of the stomach is metonymically used to represent a person's emotion of being angry.

Apart from emotions and their physiological reactions, implicated result and causation as well as correlation also provide the basis of the ANGER IS FIRE metaphor in that a person's getting angry results in his increasing body heat. In other words, a person who is in the state of having a stomachful of fire implies that he must be very furious at something offensive.

In addition, the ANGER IS FIRE metaphor is quite ubiquitous in languages worldwide since it displays rich mappings between the source and the target domains. The mappings of the ANGER IS FIRE metaphor triggered in this expression involve two kinds of correspondences, that is, the ontological and epistemic correspondences. Lakoff (1987: 387) uses the example of ANGER IS HEAT OF A FLUID in English to illustrate the two sorts of correspondences. By means of modifying Lakoff's example, the ontological and epistemic correspondences of *rhid4 du2shi gai3 fo2* (一肚屎个火) 'a stomachful of fire' can be demonstrated as follows:

(17) *Ontological correspondences*

Source: FIRE	Target: ANGER
Container	Stomach
Heat of air	Anger

The cause of the fire	The cause of the anger
Heat scale	Anger scale
Temperature in container	The sensorimotor experience of temperature
Limit of container's resistance	Limit of a person's ability to suppress anger
Flaming	Loss of control
Physical damage to the thing burning	Mental damage to the angry person

(18) *Epistemic correspondences*

Source: FIRE

Target: ANGER

- | | |
|--|--|
| a. Things can burn at low intensity for a long time and then burst into flame. | a. People can be angry at a low intensity for a long time and then suddenly become extremely angry. |
| b. When air in a container is heated beyond a certain point of temperature, it will flame. | b. When anger increases beyond a certain limit, 'pressure' increases to a point at which a person loses control. |
| c. Fire is damaging to container and dangerous to things nearby. | c. An angry person is damaging to himself and dangerous to others. |
| d. Things consumed by fire cannot serve their normal function. | d. At the limit of the anger scale, people cannot function normally. |

The correspondences between the source and target domains are represented in the conceptual system. The ontological correspondences allow us to map elements in the source domain, i.e., fire, onto those in the target domain, i.e., anger, when construing the abstract concept of anger. On the other hand, the epistemic correspondences allow us to carry over knowledge about fire onto that about anger. In other words, the conceptual metaphors with inferences from the source and target domains provide us with a way of understanding the target concepts, also evidencing

that metaphors are not merely linguistic expressions. Rather, as Lakoff (1987) puts it, they are conceptual in nature.

In summary, the expressions elaborated above illustrate the metaphorical and metonymic interaction associated with classifiers and measure words in proverbial expressions in Taiwanese Hakka. The metaphors activated in these expressions in general have a metonymic basis. A summary of the examples discussed is shown in

Table 4:

Table 4. A summary of the classifiers and measure words in proverbial expressions in Taiwanese Hakka displaying the interaction between metaphor and metonymy

Metonymic Sources	Examples
Correlation	Example (7): ACHIEVEMENT IS AN ENTITY Example (8): EFFORTS ARE ENTITIES and RESULTS ARE ENTITIES Example (9): PHYSICAL GESTURES ARE STATES Example (10): PROBLEMS ARE PERCIPITATES IN A CHEMICAL SOLUTION Example (12): DESIRE IS AN ENTITY Example (14): A PERSON'S MOOD IS THE TEMPERATURE OF THE WEATHER Example (15): REPUTATION IS AN ENTITY
	Example (11): DOING THINGS SUCCESSFULLY IS CULTIVATING PLANTS IN THE RIGHT TIME SUBSEQUENTIALLY Example (12): MORE IS UP
	Example (16): ANGER IS FIRE
Category structure	Example (13): A TALENTED PERSON IS A POISONOUS SNAKE

Two more issues need to be discussed. First, regarding metonymy-based metaphors, it appears that the four types of metonymic sources of metaphor as proposed by Radden (2003: 413) are not so clear-cut.²³ Rather, they overlap in some way. The four types of metonymic sources of metaphor are elaborated in the previous chapter and recaptured in what follows:

- (19) Four types of metonymic sources of metaphor (Radden, 2003: 413)
- a. Common experiential basis: correlation and complementarity
 - b. Conversational implicature: implicated result and causation, implicated possession, and implicated purpose and activity
 - c. Category structure
 - d. Cultural models: physical forces, communication and language, and emotions and their physiological reactions

According to Radden's analysis, implicated result and causation as well as emotions and their physiological reactions belong to conversational implicature and cultural models, respectively. However, the examples of our study discussed suggest that implicated result and causation and emotions and their physiological reactions can be seen as instances of correlation in the common experiential basis in that they are consistent with the notion of correlation, where changes in one variable correlate to changes in the other variable, and the two variables are conceptually contiguous. Correlational relationships, by definition, do not necessarily imply a causal

²³ Refer to Chapter III on pages 41-44 for examples of each type of metonymic sources of metaphor.

relationship between two variables; in a reverse way, however, a causal relationship will bring forth correlation between two variables. Consider example (12), where the implicated result and causation between *nai5sha5* (泥蛇) ‘common rice paddy snake’ and *ciang1zhug4sil* (青竹絲) ‘green bamboo viper’ and their influence on humans can be spelled out as follows. Since a green bamboo viper is poisonous, it can be fatal to people and thus has great influence on them; in contrast, since a common rice paddy snake is nonpoisonous, it may be harmless to people and thus has little influence on them. The causal relationship expressed in this case also illustrates correlation between the poison of snakes and its influence on humans: the more poisonous a snake is, the greater influence it contributes to humans; in contrast, the less poisonous a snake is, the less influence it contributes to humans.

By the same token, the relationship between emotions and their physiological reactions can be seen as two variables correlating to each other. According to Radden, the metaphors ANGER IS HEAT as in *You make my blood boil* and ANGER IS FIRE as in *He is breathing fire* are grounded in emotions and their physiological reactions in cultural models. However, such metaphors can also be seen to be rooted in correlation in our common experiential basis in that changes of emotions contribute to changes of the physiological reactions; that is, increased body heat is a consequence of physiological effects of the emotion of anger, Example (15) *rhid4*

du2shi gai3 fo2 (一肚屎个火) ‘a stomachful of fire’ can illustrate. The description of the physiological reaction is used to stand for a person’s emotion, i.e., being furious, since the emotion of anger is accompanied by the increasing body heat. In other words, the increasing body heat results from anger, where the two variables are conceptually correlative. Additionally, although it is only a description of the result, this expression implies that a person who is in the state of having a stomachful of fire must be very furious at something offensive. Therefore, these examples lead support to the assumption that due to conceptual contiguity, metaphors derived from implicated result and causation as well as emotions and their physiological reactions can be claimed to be based on the metonymic relationship of correlation in our common experiential basis.

In brief, the classification of the four metonymic sources of metaphor is not as succinct as claimed by Radden, and will beg for more careful examinations. Specifically, implicated result and causation as well as emotions and their physiological reactions can be seen as instances of correlation in our common experiential basis. However, while the four types of metonymic sources of metaphor appear to overlap in some way, they still evidence that metaphors are generally grounded in metonymy.

In addition to the four metonymic sources of metaphor, some generalizations can

be drawn from the examples involving the interaction between metaphor and metonymy. First, the CATEGORY-FOR-MEMBER metonymy is activated in expressions which display the construction [Numeral-CL/MW]. For instance, *sam1 von2gung1* (三碗公) ‘three big bowls’ in example (7) as well as *rhid4 tong1shi5* (一湯匙) ‘a spoon’ and *rhid4 von2gung1* (一碗公) ‘a big bowl’ in example (8) stand for the referential nominals through the CATEGORY-FOR-MEMBER metonymy. Other cases displaying the construction [Numeral-CL/MW] can be found in examples 48-52 listed in Part II in Appendix I. Next, some expressions display the canonical construction [Numeral-MW-Noun], but the numeral is restricted to *rhid4* (一) ‘one’, in which the numeral does not denote the quantity of one but wholeness. Such cases include *rhid4 shin1 shi2* (一身屎) ‘a bodyful of excrement’ in example (14) and *rhid4 du2shi gai3 fo2* (一肚屎个火) ‘a stomachful of fire’ in example (15). Another two examples of this kind can be found in cases 44 and 45 listed in Part II in Appendix I.

Furthermore, numerous expressions contain two chunks with parallel structures, but they tend to carry unparallel functions. For instance, *rhid4 tong1shi5* (一湯匙) ‘a spoon’ and *rhid4 von2gung1* (一碗公) ‘a big bowl’ in example (8), *liong5 ngien5 rhid4 gi3* (良言一句) ‘a sentence of good words’ and *og4 ngil* (惡語) ‘mean words’ in example (14), and *nai5sha5* (泥蛇) ‘a common rice paddy snake’ and

ciang1zhug4si1 (青竹絲) ‘a green bamboo viper’ in example (12) carry a contrastive function. Quite often, the emphasis is put on one of the two chunks in each expression, as in example (14), where the emphasis is placed on the first chunk of the expression, i.e., *liong5 ngien5 rhid4 gi3 sam1 dung1 non1* (良言一句三冬暖) ‘a sentence of good words makes people warm in the winter for three years’. By virtue of the contrastive influence of mean words depicted in the second chunk, the whole expression highlights the influence of good words, advising us to say more good words with an aim of encouraging others. Other cases carrying a contrastive function with parallel structures can be found in examples 8-19, 21, 48, and 49 listed in Part II in Appendix I.

Apart from conveying a contrastive function, some expressions with parallelism invite a causal implicature, as *ngin1 sim1 zied4-zied4 go1, rhiu1 ziu2 hiam5 mo5 zo1* (人心節節高，有酒嫌無糟) ‘since a person’s desire gets higher one joint after another, he starts to complain about lacking a brewery cellar after the brewage is bestowed to him’ in example (12), where the first chunk accounts for a person’s avaricious desire for a brewery cellar depicted in the second chunk of the expression. Similarly, one of the two chunks is emphasized, conveying the main idea of the whole expression. In the same example, the case that a person longs for a brewery cellar after he is given brewage is a result of his insatiable desire expressed in the

first chunk, which is the focus of the whole expression. Other cases giving rise to a causal relationship between the parallel structures can be found in examples 31, 32, and 33 listed in Part II in Appendix I.

Still some examples with parallel structures give rise to a conditional implicature, as *zhang1ngied8 ciung5 ngi5ngied8 cam7, sam1ngied8 chung3 zhug4 tiau5-tiau5 sang1* (正月松，二月杉，三月種竹條條生) ‘if pines are planted in January, firs in February, and bamboos in March, they will flourish’ in example (11). Other cases carrying a conditional function with parallelism can be found in examples 38, 39, 40, 49, and 50 listed in Part II in Appendix I.

4.4 Cultural Constraints

In addition to the operation of cognitive mechanisms, Taiwanese Hakka-specific cultural constraints and near universality in conceptual metaphors are also detected in the classifier/measure word proverbial expressions in Taiwanese Hakka. In the early days, Taiwanese Hakka people lead an agricultural life, cultivating paddy rice for living. Hence, rice is the primary food in Taiwanese Hakka culture. Consider example (7) *diam1-diam1 shid8 sam1 von2gung1* (恬恬食三碗公) ‘a person is quietly eating three big bowls of rice’. Although the referential nominal in this construction is omitted, we can infer that the measure word *von2gung1* (碗公) ‘big

bowl' is used to stand for rice rather than other food, such as noodles which are made of wheat. Furthermore, living around mountains and hills, Taiwanese Hakka people also cultivate tea for living. With an aim of entertaining themselves while working, tea-picking workers often communicate with each other by means of singing folk-songs. Therefore, singing folk-songs and tea-picking are regarded as typical activities in early agricultural society in Taiwanese Hakka culture. Example (2), whereby the insignificant comparison between *san1 go1* (山歌) 'folk-song' and *cai2 ca5* (採茶) 'tea-picking' is used as an analogy to the inadequate comparison between people, manifests such a unique cultural feature.

Apart from cultivating crops, Taiwanese Hakka people also raise cattle, pigs, or chickens. Owing to cattle's toil of plowing the fields for them, many Taiwanese Hakka people do not eat beef. Pork, as the meat of bulky pigs and seen as the most luxurious meat among the livestock, is therefore an obligatory dish on significant ceremonies. Such a phenomenon is reflected in *shid8 tai7 de3* (食大埕) 'to eat a big chunk of meat' in example (6), a euphemism for attending a funeral, whereby the classifier *de3* (埕) specifically refers to pork belly, an obligatory dish at the funeral in Taiwanese Hakka culture.

In addition, filial piety, considered a virtue, plays a pivotal role in Taiwanese Hakka culture. Thus, Hakka children have always been taught to respect their

parents and worship their ancestors. The objects *rhid4 lu5 hiong1* (一爐香) ‘a censer of incense sticks’ and *rhid4 von2 tong1* (一碗湯) ‘a bowl of soup’ in example (5) represent the phenomena of expressing people’s filial obedience and reverence to their parents and ancestors. That is, people serve their parents during their lifetime and worship their ancestors after they pass away. Likewise, due to filial piety, Hakka people would live with the elderly including their parents and their grandparents to have an extended family, rather than live alone. The phenomenon can be reflected in example (3), whereby *nung5-nung3 gung1* (嚶嚶公) ‘muttering elder male’ and *nung5-nung3 po5* (嚶嚶婆) ‘muttering elder female’ are considered precious to a Taiwanese Hakka family.

Apart from being endowed with the Taiwanese Hakka-specific culture, the classifier/measure word proverbial expressions in Taiwanese Hakka also reflect the environments and surroundings of Hakka villages. Since metaphors serve the function of understanding, generally they are grounded in our experiential bases.

Living in rural areas, people are likely to encounter snakes in the countryside. With the aim of defending themselves, they tend to exterminate the poisonous snakes, avoiding being bitten by them. On the other hand, if the snakes are nonpoisonous and harmless, they will release them. Consequently, the correlation between a snake’s poison and its influence can be observed in example (13), whereby

ciang1zhu4si1 (青竹絲) ‘a green bamboo viper’ is metaphorized as a man of influence whereas *nai5sha5* (泥蛇) ‘a common rice paddy snake’ as a man of no importance.

While reflecting Taiwanese Hakka-specific cultural constraints, these proverbial expressions associated with classifiers and measure words display near universality in conceptual metaphor, such as the CONDUIT metaphor and ontological metaphors.

In contrast to such metaphors, as the ARGUMENT IS WAR and A PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A JOURNEY, the CONDUIT metaphor is far more difficult to detect since it is entrenched in our languages. Reddy (1979), examining more than a hundred types of expressions in English, estimates that at least 70 percent of the expressions account for talking about language, where the CONDUIT metaphor is activated. Similarly, the CONDUIT metaphor is also found in the classifier/measure word proverbial expressions in Taiwanese Hakka. The case *gong2 si3 gi3* (講四句) ‘to say four sentences of words’ in example (1) can illustrate, whereby *si3 gi3* (四句) ‘four sentences’ are containers for auspiciousness. In the same vein, the expression *liong5 ngien5* (良言) ‘good words’ in example (14) is regarded as containers for benevolent objects and *og4 ngil* (惡語) ‘mean words’ as containers for malevolent objects.

Through the COMMUNICATION IS SENDING metaphor, the containers will be carried over from the speaker to the receiver.

Apart from the CONDUIT metaphor, ontological metaphors are found to be omnipresent. Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 25) indicate that “[o]ur experience of physical objects and substances provides a further basis for understanding. Understanding our experiences in terms of objects and substances allows us to pick out parts of our experience and treat them as discrete entities or substances of a uniform kind. Once we can identify our experiences as entities or substances, we can refer to them, categorize them, group them, and quantify them—and by this means—reason about them.” Therefore, the ACHIEVEMENT IS AN ENTITY metaphor activated in the case *diam1-diam1 shid8 sam1 von2gung1* (恬恬食三碗公) ‘a person is quietly eating three big bowls of rice’ allows us to conceptualize the target concept of achievement through the source concept of rice represented by *sam1 von2gung1* (三碗公) ‘three big bowls’. The metaphors EFFORTS ARE ENTITIES and RESULTS ARE ENTITIES triggered in example (8) allow us to quantify the abstract concept of efforts and results in terms of concrete objects contained in *rhid4 tong1shi5* (一湯匙) ‘a spoon’ and *rhid4 von2gung1* (一碗公) ‘a big bowl’. The metaphor PROBLEMS ARE OBJECTS activated in the case *fu5ciu1vun3 nai5sa1, gin2 vun3 gin2 tai7 tiauw5* (湖鰱搵泥沙，緊搵緊大條) ‘a loach becomes bigger when soaked in silt’ gives us a way to comprehend the abstract target concept, i.e., problems, through the concrete source concept, i.e., loaches soaked in silk. The

DESIRE IS AN ENTITY metaphor triggered in the case *ngin1 sim1 zied4-zied4 go1* (人心節節高) ‘a person’s desire gets higher one joint after another’ allows us to reify the abstract concept of desire as the concrete entity of bamboos. The REPUTATION IS AN ENTITY metaphor activated in the case *rhid4 shin1 shi2* (一身屎) ‘a bodyful of excrement’ allows us to conceive of the abstract target concept, i.e., disrepute, as a concrete entity via the source concept excrement. In other words, the instances of ontological metaphors elaborated above follow the cognitive principle CONCRETE OVER ABSTRACT provided by Kövecses and Radden (1998) in that our basic human experience relates to concrete physical objects, which are more salient to us than abstract entities.

As an instance of ontological metaphors, specifically, the ANGER IS FIRE metaphor activated in *rhid4 du2shi gai3 fo2* (一肚屎个火) ‘a stomachful of fire’ in example (16) is quite universal. In addition to Taiwanese Hakka, Taiwanese Mandarin has similar expressions such as *dong gan huo* (動肝火) ‘move liver-fire’ and *mao huo* (冒火) ‘emit fire’, among others. Other examples in different languages taken from Kövecses (2002: 171) are given in (20) below:

- (20) English: *to spit fire*
 Japanese: [my head get hot] ‘My head got hot.’
 Wolof: [he heat my heart] ‘He made me angry.’
 Hungarian: ‘hotheaded’
 Polish: [gall itself in someone-LOC boil] ‘Someone’s blood boils.’

According to Johnson's (1999) theory of conflation, subjective (nonsensorimotor) experiences and judgments, on the one hand, and sensorimotor experiences, on the other, are so regularly conflated that associations are automatically built up between the two domains. When people get angry, certain physiological responses including the increase of the body heat and internal pressure can be observed. Moreover, Kövecses (2002) proposes that the universality of the ANGER IS A RPRESSURIZED CONTAINER metaphor is found at the generic level in that such embodiment of anger is physiology-based. The universality of actual physiology might be seen as leading to the similarities in conceptualized physiology, i.e., the conceptual metonymies, and then in turn leading to the similarities in the metaphorical conceptualization of anger and its counterpart, i.e., the CONTAINER metaphor. Consequently, this metaphor is quite universal, ubiquitous in many languages.

In addition, the GREAT CHAIN METAPHOR is applied in all the proverbial expressions. Take for example *ngin1 sim1 zied4-zied4 go1* (人心節節高) 'a person's desire gets higher one joint after another' in example (12). The GREAT CHAIN METAPHOR applies to the specific-level schema evoked by the words in the following way. First, since the Great Chain is an implicational hierarchy, it associates the plant, i.e., bamboo, with human beings. Second, the commonsense theory of the Nature of Things picks out attributes and their causal relation to

behavior at the levels of the bamboo and those of human beings. Third, since the Maxim of Quantity is assumed not to be violated by people, it picks out the most relevant attributes and behavior and rules out irrelevant lower-level information, such as the features of hollowness, rigidity, at the specific-level knowledge about bamboos. The combination of the Great Chain, the Nature of Thing, and the Maxim of Quantity renders people the knowledge about the causal relationship about the bamboo and the desire of human beings: the increase of bamboo joints results in the increase of their height in the vertical orientation, an analogy to the increasing desire of human beings. Finally, the GENERIC IS SPECIFIC metaphor maps the generic-level information about plants to that about human beings. Therefore, the correlation between the bamboo and the desire of human beings is built up. In brief, the activation of the GREAT CHAIN METAPHOR allows us to understand the attributes and behavior of human beings in terms of the attributes and behavior of plants.

Proverbial expressions are ultimately concerned with human affairs, such as the characteristics of people and the situations people encounter, although they are linguistically descriptions of other things, such as animals or plants. The GREAT CHAIN METAPHOR allows us to understand human characteristics in terms of nonhuman attributes. Consider *fu5ciu1* (湖鰱) ‘loach’ in example (10) and *nai5sha5* (泥蛇) ‘a common rice paddy snake’ and *ciang1zhug4si1* (青竹絲) ‘a green bamboo

viper' in example (13), where the descriptions evoked in the words are concerned with animals, irrelevant to people or human affairs. Metaphorically, however, the feature of a loach, i.e., having mucus, is highlighted in example (10), which contributes to a loach's becoming bigger when soaked in the silt. Hence, this expression is associated with human affairs—problems that become harder to cope with when they get worse. Likewise, the attention is drawn to the feature of a snake's being poisonous in example (13), which results in its influence on human beings. With a metaphorical reading, this expression is associated with the nature of human beings, allowing us to understand people's competence by virtue of the nature of animals. Another two examples literally concerned with animals and metaphorically associated with human beings are examples 33 and 53 listed in Part II in Appendix I.

Furthermore, *zhang1ngied8 ciung5 ngi5ngied8 cam7, sam1ngied8 chung3 zhug4 tiau5-tiau5 sang1* (正月松，二月杉，三月種竹條條生) 'if pines are planted in January, firs in February, and bamboos in March, they will flourish' in example (11) and *ngin1 sim1 zied4-zied4 gol* (人心節節高) 'a person's desire gets higher one joint after another' in example (12) are both descriptions of plants. Metaphorically, however, the intrinsic quality of the plants is emphasized. In other words, in example (11), pines, firs, and bamboos will flourish if they are planted in the right

time according to their nature. Hence, when related to human affairs, this expression provides us with a way to conceptualize the key to success is making a good plan and following it progressively in terms of cultivating plants in the right time sequentially. In the same vein, bamboos' feature of growing upwards is highlighted in example (12), which allows us to conceive of the attribute of people, i.e., people's desire, in terms of the attribute of bamboos' growing upwards. Other examples literally concerned with plants but metaphorically associated with human beings can be found in examples 6, 21, 27, 37, and 40 listed in Part II in Appendix I.

Moreover, *von2gung1* (碗公) 'big bowl' in example (7) and *tong1shi5* (湯匙) 'spoon' and *von2gung1* (碗公) 'big bowl' in example (8) literally refer to cooking utensils. For communication, however, they give us a way to comprehend the abstract concepts of people's efforts and results by means of the concrete objects of cooking utensils, where the capacity of the objects is highlighted. Other examples where the statements are about complex objects but metaphorically associated with human affairs, can be found in examples 10, 11, 17, 29, 30, 31, 41, 51, 52, and 54 listed in Part II in Appendix I. Still some cases depict the natural physical things, but are metaphorically concerned with human affairs, such as examples 15 and 22 listed in Appendix I. In summary, even though the descriptions evoked in expressions literally concern animals, plants, complex objects, and physical natural things, they

are all understood to be associated with the domain of human beings through the GREAT CHAIN METAPHOR. With the salient features of animals, plants, complex objects, and physical natural things highlighted, these expressions allow us to understand attributes of human beings in terms of lower-order forms of being.

Indeed, as Lakoff and Turner (1989) put it, if these proverbial expressions do not refer to the domain of human beings, then they are just interpreted as carrying literal meanings, without carrying proverbial function. For instance, without referring to people's desire, example (12) *zied4-zied4 go1* (節節高) 'getting higher one joint after another' can simply be a description of bamboos. Likewise, without associating with people's competence, example (13) *nai5sha5 rhid4 bun3gi1, m5 dong3 rhid4 mui5 ciang1zhug4si1* (泥蛇一糞箕, 毋當一尾青竹絲) 'it would be better to breed a green bamboo viper than to breed a wicker scoop of common rice paddy snakes' is only a depiction of the contrastive quantity of poisonous and nonpoisonous snakes. Therefore, the examples discussed above illustrate that we understand the attributes and behavior of human beings in terms of the GREAT CHAIN METAPHOR, which reveals the universality of proverbial expressions.

However, even though referring to the domain of human beings, expressions would be simply interpreted literally without carrying proverbial function if not associated with two different domains. Consider example (7) *diam1-diam1 shid8*

sam1 von2gung1 (恬恬食三碗公) ‘a person is quietly eating three big bowls of rice’.

Even though this expression refers to the domain of human beings, it can be seen as a description portraying a person’s act of eating, without a metaphorical reading. On the contrary, due to the ACHIEVEMENT IS AN ENTITY metaphor, which associates the amount of food a person eats with the achievement a person has, this expression hence carries the metaphorical reading, implying that an ordinary person unexpectedly has a great achievement. By the same token, example (8) *zo3 mo5 rhid4 tong1shi5, oi3 shid8 rhid4 von2gung1* (做無一湯匙，愛食一碗公) ‘without cooking a spoonful food, a person desires to eat a big bowl of food’ refers to the domain of human beings, depicting that a person desires to eat more than what he cooks. Without associating with two domains, this expression can only be restricted to its literal meaning. In contrast, due to the metaphors EFFORTS ARE ENTITIES and RESULTS ARE ENTITIES, which associate the domain of cooked food with the domain of a person’s efforts and results, this expression thus provides us with the metaphorical reading: you reap what you sow. Just as examples (7) and (8), which refer to the domain of human beings and associate with two domains, and hence carry proverbial function, so does example (9) *co1 sa5 m5 di1 ki1 sa5 ku2* (坐儕毋知企儕苦) ‘the sitting one does not know the pain that the standing one suffers’. In brief, proverbial expressions must be associated with two domains, and with the help

of metaphors, they are employed to refer to attributes or behaviors of human beings, carrying proverbial function.

In addition, as a rule, proverbial expressions often convey exhortations. For instance, example (3) *ga1 mo5 nung5-nung3 gung1, hong3-hong3 kung1; ga1 mo5 nung5-nung3 po5, rhong7-rhong7 mo5* (家無嘍嘍公，項項空；家無嘍嘍婆，樣樣無) ‘if there is no elder male muttering in a family, everything is empty; if there is no elder female muttering in a family, everything is vacant’ depicts that the elders are precious to a family and hence urges us to appreciate the chance of being able to live with our parents and hence should do our best to serve them. In the same vein, example (5) *cien1 kui2 van7 bai3 rhid4 lu5 hiong1, m5 dong3 sen1 cien5 rhid4 von2 tong1* (千跪萬拜一爐香，毋當生前一碗湯) ‘it would be better to serve a bowl of soup to a person’s parents during their lifetime than to worship their souls on bended knees and to fulfill a censer of incense sticks after their death’ clearly indicates that serving a bowl of soup, symbolizing a person’s caring behavior toward their parents when they are alive, is superior to censuring, symbolizing a person’s worshipful feeling for his parents after they pass away. In other words, both examples (3) and (5) convey the importance of filial piety and exhort us to show our filial obedience and respect for the elders in our family, especially during their lifetime.

Furthermore, some proverbial expressions contain two descriptions and exhort

us to behave as the good one rather than the bad one. Since human beings are different from other forms of being, we are capable of exerting voluntary control and thus we can determine how to behave. For instance, *ho2 fai7 rhiu5 cai7 ngi5* (好壞由在你) ‘whether to do good or bad is up to you’ in example (4) provides two options for people to select. Also, example (14) evaluates the influence of both *liong5 ngien5* (良言) ‘good words’ and *og4 ngil* (惡語) ‘mean words’. The intending exhortation of the two proverbial expressions is to advise us to voluntarily exercise our moral standards so as to watch our own attributes and behavior. That is, we should make good use of our judgment, not behaving unjustly or saying mean words to other people. Instead, it is advised that we should behave righteously and say good words.

In addition, while some proverbial expressions seemingly denote negative descriptions, they nevertheless are ultimately used to exhort people to do good deeds. For example, *ngin1 sim1 zied4-zied4 go1* (人心節節高) ‘a person’s desire gets higher one joint after another’ in example (12) seems to be a negative description depicting a person’s desire. As an exhortation, however, this expression urges us to avoid having insatiable desire, but rather hold down our desire since a contented mind is the path to true happiness. Furthermore, example (8) satirically indicates that a person desires more results than the efforts he pays by means of the contrastive

capacity of *tong1shi5* (湯匙) ‘spoon’ and *von2gung1* (碗公) ‘big bowl’. However, this expression urges us to exert our voluntary control so as not to act like what is portrayed by the idiom. Instead, it is advised that we should pay more efforts if we want to obtain more.

To sum up, this chapter provides four types of classifier-proverbial constructions according to the three elements, i.e., the numeral, the classifier or the measure word, and the noun, based on the data collected in this study. Then, the proverbial expressions involving the cognitive mechanisms of metonymy as well as the interaction between metaphor and metonymy are carefully spelled out. Moreover, the four types of metonymic sources of metaphor proposed by Radden (2003) are reexamined based on the data discussed in this study. In addition, the generalizations drawn from the cases are provided. Furthermore, Hakka-specific cultural constraints and near universality in conceptual metaphors displayed in the proverbial expressions are presented. Finally, how the proverbial expressions are operated with the GREAT CHAIN METAPHOR and what the exhortations they carry are also elaborated in this chapter. The following chapter will give the concluding remarks of the current study.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This thesis aims to explore how the cognitive mechanisms are operated in the classifier/measure words proverbial expressions in Taiwanese Hakka, in particular metonymy, the interaction between metaphor and metonymy, idiomaticity, and cultural constraints. The summary of this thesis will be provided in Section 5.1, and the implications as well as future studies will be presented in Section 5.2.

5.1 Summary of the Thesis

Firstly, regarding the cognitive mechanisms, cases discussed in this study display metonymies within the category-and-member ICM, the sign and reference ICM, the action ICM, the thing-and-part ICM, the causation ICM, the complex event ICM, the containment ICM, and the category-and-property ICM based on the metonymy-producing relationships proposed by Kövecses and Radden (1998). Apart from metonymy, the interaction between metaphor and metonymy is also found to manifest in the classifier/measure word proverbial expressions in Taiwanese Hakka.

According to the metonymic sources of metaphor proposed by Radden (2003), metaphors elaborated in this study exhibit the metonymic sources of implicated result and causation, correlation, emotions and their physiological reactions, as well as category structure. The summary of the metonymies as well as the metaphors activated in the proverbial expressions elaborated in this study is illustrated in Table 5 in Appendix II.

Some generalizations can be drawn from the examples. First, the cases can be classified into four types of constructions, that is, [Numeral-CL/MW-Noun], [Numeral-CL/MW], [CL-CL/MW-MW-Predicate], and [Attribute-CL]. The CATEGORY-FOR-MEMBER metonymy within the category-and-member ICM is activated when the noun is omitted in the construction but represented by the classifier or the measure word in the expression, which is in line with Allan's (1977) study that a classifier or a measure word denotes some characteristics of the entity to which an associated noun refers. Furthermore, numerous proverbial expressions discussed in this study are composed of two chunks with parallel structures. Some carry the parallel function for an emphatic function, and others carry unparallel functions, denoting contrastive, concessive functions, or inviting a causal implicature. Third, the metaphors activated in these expressions have a metonymic basis, which supports Radden's (2003) argument that metaphors are generally

grounded in metonymy.

Secondly, in addition to the operation of cognitive mechanisms, the classifier/measure word proverbial expressions in Taiwanese Hakka exhibit Taiwanese Hakka-specific cultural constraints and near universality in conceptual metaphors. Cases which are more specific to Taiwanese Hakka are less analyzable whereas cases which are more near-universal are more analyzable. Correspondingly, less analyzable cases are semantically more opaque (e.g., *shid8 tai7 de3* (食大埕) ‘to eat a big chunk of meat—to attend a funeral’) whereas more analyzable cases are semantically more transparent (e.g., *rhid4 du2shi gai3 fo2* (一肚屎个火) ‘a stomachful of fire—extremely angry’). The findings accord with what is claimed by Gibbs (1995) in that idioms are considered compositional and analyzable, differing in the extent to which they are analyzable.

Furthermore, the proverbial expressions examined in this study indicate that they ultimately concern issues about human affairs and the nature of human beings even though the descriptions evoked in the words are nonhuman affairs. The GREAT CHAIN METAPHOR, which is proposed by Lakoff and Turner (1989), applies to all the proverbial expressions, allowing us to understand attributes of human beings in terms of lower-order forms of being, such as animals and plants, where the specific features are highlighted. Moreover, since proverbial expressions carry proverbial

functions, they tend to convey exhortations, giving advice or urging humans to behave appropriately.

In brief, classifiers and measure words in proverbial expressions in Taiwanese Hakka demonstrate the cognitive operations of metonymy, the interaction between metaphor and metonymy, idiomaticity, and cultural constraints. Through unraveling the cognitive mechanisms associated with classifiers and measure words in Taiwanese Hakka proverbial expressions, this study better our understanding of human cognition in general and Taiwanese Hakka culture in particular.

5.2 Implications and Future Studies

This thesis explores how the cognitive mechanisms are operated in the classifier/measure word proverbial expressions in Taiwanese Hakka and displays cultural constraints. However, some research implications arise, leading to various directions for future study. First, it appears that metonymy is much more complex as what is claimed by Kövecses and Radden (1998) The 15 types of metonymy-producing relationships proposed by Kövecses and Radden seem to be too powerful to encompass all sorts of stand-for relationships. A more careful investigation of metonymy and its plausible application to various data is hence needed in the future. Second, the four types of metonymic sources of metaphor

proposed by Radden (2003) need further investigation. The classification is not as succinct as claimed by Radden. In particular, the examples elaborated in this study provide evidence that implicated result and causation as well as emotions and their physiological reactions can also be seen as instances of correlation in our common experiential basis. Moreover, some subtypes are too specific, for example, the subtype of physical forces within the type of cultural models, while some subtypes overlap and can be conflated. Therefore, a more careful examination is begged for with an aim of building a more comprehensive theory regarding the interaction between metaphor and metonymy. Furthermore, Barnden (2010) proposes that the fuzziness and slipperiness of the differences between metaphor and metonymy is even greater than it is claimed and further argues that clear-cut differences between metaphor and metonymy may not exist.

In addition to the implications proposed above, some empirical issues remain unexplored. First, quite a few proverbial expressions are composed of two chunks with parallel structures, which can be classified as carrying emphatic, contrastive, concessive, and causal functions according to their meanings. However, further exploration of the form and the function can be done so as to predict the relationships of such a juxtaposition. Second, while some proverbial expressions have fixed meanings, some proverbial expressions carry different interpretations due

to contextualization. For instance, *shid8 tai7 de3* (食大埕) ‘to eat a big chunk of meat’ denotes the fixed meaning of attending a funeral. In contrast, *zhang1ngied8 ciung5 ngi5ngied8 cam7, sam1ngied8 chung3 zhug4 tiau5-tiau5 sang1* (正月松，二月杉，三月種竹條條生) ‘if pines are planted in January, firs in February, and bamboos in March, they will flourish’ can be interpreted as an exhortation that urges people to follow a meticulous plan step by step in order to succeed in doing anything. Also, this proverbial expression can be interpreted as a tip for planting vegetables and fruit in the right time in the agricultural context. Therefore, contextualization seems to play a role in coming up with more possible interpretations of a single proverbial expression. Examination of the actual usage of these proverbial expressions is worthwhile and will be left for another context.

Third, the data collected in this study are concerned with noun measures. *Shiliangci* (時量詞) ‘time measures’, such as *ngid4* (日) ‘day’ and *ngien5* (年) ‘year’, and *dongliangci* (動量詞) ‘verb measures’, such as *bien3* (遍) ‘time’ and *bai2* (擺) ‘time’ are not within the scope of the current study.²⁴ However, similar to noun measures, they also carry proverbial functions, conveying exhortations.²⁵

²⁴ Time measures are different from the other noun measures in that they can exist independently without a concurrent noun.

²⁵ For example, *hog1 nan1 sam1 ngid4, hog1 kiun5 sam1 ngien5* (學懶三日，學勤三年) ‘it takes three days to learn to be lazy while it takes three years to learn to be diligent—a person should persevere in doing anything’. Likewise, *ngan2 kon3 rhid4 cien1 bien3, m5 dong3 tung1 shiu2 zo3 rhid4 bai2* (眼看一千遍，毋當動手做一擺) ‘to see a thousand times is inferior to do just once—people should take part in doing anything personally when learning rather than watch with folded arms.’

Hence, the investigation of Taiwanese Hakka proverbial expressions involved with time measures and verb measures can be incorporated within the framework of the present study in the future research. Finally, a comparison of the classifier/measure word proverbial expressions in Taiwanese Mandarin, Taiwanese Southern Min, and Taiwanese Hakka can also be pursued in the future so as to reveal specific and shared cultures among the Chinese languages.



APPENDIX I

Part I. METONYMY

A. [Numeral-CL/MW-Noun]

1. 十個光頭九個富
shib8 gai3 gong1 teu5 giu2 gai3 fu3, rhid4 gai3 mo5 fu5 bid4 rhiu1 rhan5 gu3
'A man who is bald must be rich.'
2. 一個銅錢，三點汗
rhid4 gai3 tung5 cien5, sam1 diam2 hon7
'It is hard to make money.'
3. 嘴脣兩埕皮，好壞由在你
zhoi3shun5 liong2 de3 pi5, ho2 fai7 rhiu5 cai7 ngi5
'People like to talk, but it's up to you to do good or bad.'
4. 千跪萬拜一爐香，毋當生前一碗湯
cien1 kui2 van7 bai3 rhid4 lu5 hiong1, m5 dong3 sen1 cien5 rhid4 von2 tong1
'People should grasp the chances to show their love and respect to their parents whenever they can.'
5. 上屋投下屋，毋見一籬穀
shong7 vug4 teu5 ha1 vug4, m5 gien3 rhid4 lo5 gug4
'Don't' migrate so easily.'
6. 飯後一杯茶，餓死醫藥儕
pon7 heu7 rhid4 bui1 ca5, ngo7 si2 rhi1 rhog8 sa5
'It is healthy to have tea after meal.'
7. 朝朝三皮薑，餓死賣藥郎
zhau1-zhau1 sam1 pi5 giong1, ngo7 si2 mai7 rhog8 long5
'It is healthy to have ginger.'

B. [Numeral-CL/MW]

8. 講四句
gong2 si3 gi3
'To say blessing words.'
9. 好也一句，壞也一句

ho2 rha7 rhid4 gi3, fai2 rha7 rhid4 gi3

‘People should say good words rather than mean words.’

10. 講一百句，也係五十隻

gong2 rhid4bag4 gi3, rha7 he3 ng2shib8 sung8

‘The content of one’s speech is similar’

11. 千勺萬勺，毋當天頂落

cien1 shog8 van7 shog8, m5 dong3 tien1 dang2 log8

‘When a farmer waters vegetables, a thousand or ten thousand scoops of water are inferior to rainfall.’

12. 還生食四兩，當過死後食豬羊

han5 sang1 shid4 si3 liong1, dong1 go3 si2 heu7 shid4 zhu1 rhong5

‘People should show their filial piety to their parents while they are alive.’

13. 捉魚贏過打獵，無一盤也有一碟

zug4 ng5 rhang5 go3 da2 liab8, mo5 rhid1 pan5 rha7 rhiu1 rhid4 tiab8

‘Go fishing is better than go hunting.’

14. 一儕比得一儕，山歌比得採茶

rhid4 sa5 bi2 ded4 rhid4 sa5, san1 go1 bi2 ded4 cai2 ca5

‘People should not compare with each other.’

15. 讓人一句，免傷和氣

ngiong5 ngin5 rhid gi3, mien1 shong1 fo5 hi3

‘Yielding to others by words keeps peaceful relationships.’

16. 三杯通大道，一醉解千愁

sam1 bui1 tung1 tai7 to7, rhid4 zui3 gai2 cien1 seu5

‘You will have no worried when drunk.’

17. 人老三件歪—行路頭低低，屙尿淋溼鞋，打屁屎續拉

ngin5 lo2 sam1 kien7 vai1—hang5 lu7 teu5 dai1 dai1, o1 ngiau7 lim5 shib4 hai5, da2 pi3 shi2 sa3 lai5

‘Aging people are too old to be sharp in action.’

18. 人一句，你一句

ngin5 rhid4 gi3, ngi5 rhid4 gi3

‘To talk back.’

C. [CL-CL/MW-MW-Predicate]

19. 家無嘍嘍公，項項空；家無嘍嘍婆，樣樣無

gal mo5 nung5-nung3 gung1, hong3-hong3 kung1; gal mo5 nung5-nung3 po5, rhong7-rhong7 mo5

‘Elders are precious to a family.’

20. 省食餐餐飽，省著日日新

sang1 shid8 con1-con1 bau2, sang2 zhog4 ngid4-ngid4 sin1

‘People should be economical and thrifty for the time being with an aim of preventing shortage of food and clothes in the future.’

D. [Attribute-CL]

21. 食大埗

shid8 tai7 de3 (食大埗)

‘To attend a funeral.’

Part II. METAPHOR

A. [Numeral-CL/MW-Noun]

1. 半條命

ban3 tiau5 miang7

‘Almost half way to hell.’

2. 三隻鼻空

sam3 zhag4 pi7 kung1

‘To poke one’s nose into others’ business.’

3. 八隻手

bad4 zhag4 shiu2

‘Competent.’

4. 一條腸仔透屎脬

rhid4 tiau5 chong5 er5 teu3 shi7vud4

‘Frank and straightforward.’

5. 三兩人講四斤話

sam1 liong1 ngin5 gong2 si3 gin1 fa3

‘Boasting.’

6. 一枝竹篙打一船人

rhid4 gi1 zhug4 gol da2 rhid4 shon5 ngin5

‘One swallow does not make a summer.’

7. 良言一句三冬暖，惡語傷人六月寒

liong5 ngien5 rhid4 gi3 sam1 dung1 non1, og4 ngi1 shong1 ngin5 liug4 ngied8 hon5

‘People should be prudent with their words.’

8. 面前同你好，背後燒你一把火

mien3 cien5 tung5 ngi5 hau3, boi3 heu7 shau1 ngi5 rhid4 ba2 fo2

‘Think in one way and act in another; a double-faced man.’

9. 逢人且說三分話，未可全拋一片心

fung5 ngin5 cia2 shod4 sam1 fun1 fa3, vui7 ko2 cion5 pau1 rhid4 pien2 sim1

- ‘People should be mentally reserved.’
10. 吹三年簫仔，毋罉人一管大銃
choi1 sam1 ngid4 gai3 siau1 er, m5 la3 ngin5 gon2 tai7 ciong1
 ‘The savings are used up by someone at a time.’
11. 有食兩公婆，無食兩面鑼
rhiu1 shid8 liong2 gung1 po5, mo5 shid8 mien3 lo5
 ‘When poverty walks in the door, love goes out the window.’
12. 有錢莫點雙盞火，莫到無錢打暗摸
rhiu1 cien5 mog8 diam3 sung1 zan2 fo2, mog8 do3 mo5 cien5 da2am3mo1
 ‘Don’t be too prodigal.’
13. 偷雞毋著，還了忒一拖米
teu1 gai1 m5 do2, han5 liau2 ted4 rhid4 rha2 mi2
 ‘To go for wool and come back shorn.’
14. 敢去，一擔樵；毋敢去，就屋下愁
gam2 hi3, rhid4 dam1 ciau5; m5 gam2 hi3, ciu3 vug4ha1 seu5
 ‘People should be decisive and resolute when doing anything.’
15. 一尺風，三尺浪
rhid4 chag4 fung1 sam1 chag4 long7
 ‘Bragging.’
16. 一樣飯供百樣人
rhid4 rhong7 pon7 giung3 bag4 rhong3 ngin5
 ‘People are in great diversity.’
17. 萬丈高樓從底起
van7 chong7 go1 leu5 ciung5 dai2 hi2
 ‘Everything is built upon its base.’
18. 一樣生，百樣死
rhid4 rhong7 sen1, bag4 rhong3 si2
 ‘Everyone has his own destiny.’
19. 閒話一大堆，正經無一撇
han5 fa3 rhid4 tai7 doi1, zhin3 gin1 mo5 rhid4 pied4
 ‘There is no decent thing in one’s verbose talk.’
20. 泥蛇一糞箕，毋當一尾青竹絲
nai5sha5 rhid4 bun3gi1, m5 dong3 rhid4 mui5 ciang1zhug4si1
 ‘It is the quality rather than the quantity that counts.’
21. 一斤黃麻，毋當四兩苧麻
rhid4 gin1 vong5ma5, m5 dong3 si3 liong1 chu1ma5
 ‘It is the quality rather than the quantity that counts.’
22. 三條坑水洗毋淨

- sam1 tiau5 hang1 shui2 se2 m5 ciang7*
‘There’s no clearing your name ever.’
23. 七個和尚，八樣腔
cid4 gai3 vo5shong7 bad4 rhong7 kiong1
‘People have different opinions.’
24. 上夜想个千條路，天光本本磨豆腐
shong7rha7 siong2 gai3 cien1 tiau5 lu7, tien1 gong1
bun2-bun2 mai7 teu7fu7
‘It is in vain to fulfill the goal in dreams.’
25. 釘礮無刷雞，三儕人罉挨
dang1 lung5 mo5 chi5 gai1, sam1 sa5 ngin5 la7 ai1
‘To fall at the last hurdle.’
26. 食三粒黃豆仔，就想上西天
shid8 sam1 liab4 vong5teu7er5, ciu7 siong2 shong1 siltien1
‘It takes efforts and time to reach the goal.’
27. 樹高千丈，落葉歸根
shu7 go1 cien1 chong1, log8 rhab8 gui1 gin1
‘People will return to their origins.’
28. 一隻巴掌打毋響
rhid4 gai3 ba1zhong2 da2 m5 hiong2
‘It takes two to tango.’
29. 半桶水
ban3 tung2 shui2
‘A person who likes to show off is not professional.’
30. 錢無兩個跌毋響
cien5 mo5 liong2 gai3 died4 m5 hiong2
‘It takes two to tango.’
31. 腳踏雙條船，心肝亂茫茫
giog5 tab8 sung1 tiau5 shon5, sim1 gon1 lon7 mong5 mong5
‘A person is hesitant, not able to make a decision.’
32. 偷捉雞仔，也愛蝕一把米
teul zug4 gai1 er5, rha1 oi3 shad8 rhid4 ba2 mi2
‘You need to pay for something in order to succeed.’
33. 南蛇鑽壁籬，毋死也敲一層皮
nam5sha5 zon3 biag8 li5, m5 si2 rha7 lud4 rhid4 cen5 pi5
‘A person goes beyond his depth.’
34. 一隻耳公入，一隻耳公出
rhid4 zhag4 ngi2gung1 ngib8, rhid4 zhag4 ngi2gung1 chud4

- ‘In one ear and out the other.’
35. 一個拉尿个，換一個拉尿个
rhid4 gai3 lai5ngiau7 gai3, von7 rhid4 gai3 lai5shi2 gai3
 ‘The more changes, the worse situation.’
36. 講一隻影，生一隻頸
gong2 rhid4 zhag4 rhang2, sang1 rhid4 zhag4 giang2
 ‘Don’t trust anything without verification.’
37. 甘蔗食了一目正一目
gam1-zha3 shid1 liau2 rhid4 mug4 zhang3 rhid4 mug4
 ‘People should follow the prescribed order when doing anything.’
38. 窮人毋使多，兩升白米會唱歌
kiung5 ngin5 m5 sii do1, liong2 shin2 pag8 mi2 voi7 chong2 go1
 ‘Poor people are easily satisfied.’
39. 夫有千斤擔，舖娘孩一半
fu1 rhiu1 cien1 gin1 dam3, bu1ngiong5 kai1 rhid4ban3
 ‘A couple should share happiness and woe.’
40. 一枝草，一點露
rhid4 gi1 co2, rhid4 diam2 lu3
 ‘God never closes a door without opening a window.’
41. 人心換人心，八兩換半斤
ngin5sim1 von7 ngin5sim1, bad4 liong1 von7 ban3 gin1
 ‘People should treat one another as equals.’
42. 一身屎
rhid4 shin1 shi2
 ‘Discreditable.’
43. 一肚屎个火
rhid4 du2shi gai3 fo2
 ‘Furious.’
44. 頭光面亮一身病
teu5 gong1 mien3 liong7 rhid4 shin1 piang7
 ‘Although a person’s head and face glow with health, he is sick all over the body.’
45. 新聞紙做衫，一身數
sin1vun5 zhi2 zo3 sam1, rhid4 shin1 sii3
 ‘A bodyful of debt.’

B. [Numeral-CL/MW] CATEGORY-FOR-MEMBER

46. 恬恬食三碗公

diam1-diam1 shid8 sam1 von2gung1

‘An unnoticed person unexpectedly has an outstanding achievement.’

47. 做無一湯匙，愛食一碗公

zo3 mo5 rhid4 tong1shi5, oi3 shid8 rhid4 von2gung1

‘A person desires to reap more than what he sows.’

48. 食人一口，還人一斗

shid8 ngin5 rhid4 heu2, van5 ngin5 rhid4 deu2

‘People should repay more than they benefit.’

49. 一餐省一口，一年就有一斗

rhid4 con1 sang2 rhid4 heu2, rhid4 ngien5 ciu7 rhiu1 rhid4 deu2

‘People should be thrifty and economical.’

50. 一人省一口，做得蓄條狗

rhid4 ngin5 sang2 rhid4 heu2, zo3ded4 hiug4 tiau5 gieu2

‘People should be thrifty and economical.’

51. 秤砣細細壓千兩，胡椒細細辣過薑

chin3to5 se3-se3 ab4 cien1 liong1, fu5ziau1 se2-se3 lad8 go3 giong1

‘A tiny thing has an immense influence.’

52. 一個半斤，一個八兩

rhid4 gai3 ban3 gin1, rhid4 gai3 bad4 liong1

‘There is no difference between the two.’

C. [CL-CL/MW-MW-Predicate]

53. 條條馬騰臭汗臊，百般頭路百般難

tiau5-tiau5 ma1lin2 chiu3 hon7 so1, bag4 ban1 teu5lu7 bag4 ban5 nan5

‘Every job has its own difficulty.’

54. 人情似紙張張薄，世事如棋局局新

ngin5 cin5 ciong3 zhi2 zhong1-zhong1 pog8, she3 sii7 rhi5 ki5 kiug8-kiug8 sin1

‘Relationships fluctuate and life changes.’

55. 正月松，二月杉，三月種竹條條生

zhang1ngied8 ciung5 ngi5ngied8 cam7, sam1ngied8 zhung3 zhug4 tiau5-tiau5 sang1

‘If we follow a meticulous plan progressively, we will succeed in doing anything.’

56. 人心節節高，有酒又嫌無糟

ngin1 sim1 zied4-zied4 go1, rhiu1 ziu2 hiam5 mo5 zo1

a person’s desire gets higher one joint after another’

‘A person’s desire is insatiable.’

D. [Attribute-CL]

57. 坐儕毋知企儕苦

co1 sa5 m5 di1 ki1 sa5 ku2

‘People should not complain about their status before they experience the pain other people that are in worse conditions suffer.’

58. 打魚儕食魚屎

da2 ng5 sa5 shid8 ng5 shi2

‘To be frugal.’

59. 湖鰍搵泥沙，緊搵緊大條

fu5ciu1 vun3 nai5sa1, gin2 vun3 gin2 tai7 tiau5

‘Things become harder to cope with when getting worse.’



APPENDIX II

Table 5. The summary of the metonymies and the metaphors activated in the classifier/measure word proverbial expressions in Taiwanese Hakka

Part I. Cases Involving the Cognitive Mechanism of Metonymy		
Conceptual Configurations	Metonymy-producing Relationships	Examples
a. Category-and-member ICM	CATEGORY-FOR-MEMBER metonymy	(i) <i>si3 gi3</i> (四句) ‘four sentences’ (ii) <i>rhid4 sa5</i> (一儕) ‘a person’ (iii) <i>hong3-hong3 kung1</i> (項項空) ‘every item of things being empty’ (iv) <i>rhong7-rhong7 mo5</i> (樣樣無) ‘every kind of things being empty’ (v) <i>tai7 de3</i> (大埕) ‘big chunk’ (vi) <i>sam1 von2gung1</i> (三碗公) ‘three big bowls’ (vii) <i>rhid4 tong1shi5</i> (一湯匙) ‘a spoon’ (viii) <i>rhid4 von2gung1</i> (一碗公) ‘a big bowl’ (ix) <i>co1 sa5</i> (坐儕) ‘sitting person’ (x) <i>ki1 sa5</i> (企儕) ‘standing person’ (xi) <i>zied4-zied4 gol</i> (節節高) ‘getting higher one joint after another’

	MEMBER-FOR-CATEGORY metonymy	(i) <i>nai5sha5 rhid4 bun3gi1</i> (泥蛇一糞箕) ‘a wicker scoop of common rice paddy snakes’ (ii) <i>rhid4 mui5 ciang1zhug4si1</i> (一尾青竹絲) ‘a green bamboo viper’
b. Sign and reference ICM	FORM-FOR-CONCEPT metonymy	<i>si3 gi3</i> (四句) ‘four sentences’
c. Action ICM	INSTRUMENT-FOR-ACTION metonymy	<i>liong2 de3 pi5</i> (兩埕皮) ‘two pieces of skin’
	OBJECT INVOLVED IN AN ACTION-FOR-THE ACTION metonymy	(i) <i>rhid4 lu5 hiong1</i> (一爐香) ‘a censer of incense sticks’ (ii) <i>rhid4 von2 tong1</i> (一碗湯) ‘a bowl of soup’ (iii) <i>liong5 ngien5 rhid4 gi3</i> (良言一句) ‘a sentence of good words’
d. Thing-and-part ICM	PART-FOR-WHOLE metonymy	(i) <i>liong2 de3 pi5</i> (兩埕皮) ‘two pieces of skin’ (ii) <i>rhid4 lu5 hiong1</i> (一爐香) ‘a censer of incense sticks’ (iii) <i>rhid4 von2 tong1</i> (一碗湯) ‘a bowl of soup’ (iv) <i>tai7 de3</i> (大埕) ‘a big chunk’ (v) <i>rhid4 du2shi gai3 fo2</i> (一肚屎个火) ‘a stomachful of fire’
	WHOLE-FOR-PART metonymy	<i>rhid4 shin1 shi2</i> (一身屎) ‘a bodyful of excrement’
e. Causation ICM	EFFECT-FOR-CUASE metonymy	(i) <i>rhid4 lu5 hiong1</i> (一爐香) ‘a censer of incense sticks’ (ii) <i>rhid4 von2 tong1</i> (一碗湯) ‘a bowl of soup’ (iii) <i>rhid4 shin1 shi2</i> (一身屎) ‘a bodyful of excrement’ (iv) <i>rhid4 du2shi gai3 fo2</i> (一肚屎个火) ‘a stomachful of fire’
f. Complex event ICM	SUBEVENT-FOR-COMPLEX EVENT metonymy	<i>shid8 tai7 de3</i> (食大埕) ‘to eat a big chunk of meat’

g. Containment ICM	CONTAINER-FOR-CONTENT metonymy	(i) <i>sam1 von2gung1</i> (三碗公) ‘three big bowls’ (ii) <i>rhid4 tong1shi5</i> (一湯匙) ‘a spoon’ (iii) <i>rhid4 von2gung1</i> (一碗公) ‘a big bowl’
h. Category-and-property ICM	DEFINING PROPERTY-FOR-CATEGORY metonymy	<i>zied4-zied4 gol</i> (節節高) ‘getting higher one joint after another’
Part II. Cases Involving the Cognitive Mechanism of the Interaction Between Metaphor and Metonymy		
Metonymic Sources		Examples
Correlation	Implicated result and causation	Example (7): ACHIEVEMENT IS AN ENTITY Example (8): EFFORTS ARE ENTITIES and RESULTS ARE ENTITIES Example (9): PHYSICAL GESTURES ARE STATES Example (10): PROBLEMS ARE PERCIPITATES IN A CHEMICAL SOLUTION Example (12): DESIRE IS AN ENTITY Example (14): A PERSON’S MOOD IS THE TEMPERATURE OF THE WEATHER Example (15): REPUTATION IS AN ENTITY
	Correlation	Example (11): DOING THINGS SUCCESSFULLY IS CULTIVATING PLANTS IN THE RIGHT TIME SUBSEQUENTIALLY Example (12): MORE IS UP
	Emotions and their physiological reactions	Example (16): ANGER IS FIRE
Category structure		Example (13): A TALENTED PERSON IS A POISONOUS SNAKE

REFERENCES

- Adams, K. L. 1989. *Systems of Numeral Classification in the Mon-Khmer, Nicobarese and Aslian Subfamilies of Austroasiatic*. Canberra: Pacific linguistics.
- Aikhenvald, A. Y. 2003. *Classifier: A Typology of Noun Categorization Devices*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Allan, K. 1977. Classifiers. *Language* 53.2: 282-311.
- Barnden, J. A. 2010. Metaphor and metonymy: Making their connections more slippery. *Cognitive Linguistics* 21.1: 1-34.
- Carter, R. and M. McCarthy. 1988. *Vocabulary and Language Teaching*. London: Longman.
- Chafe, W. 1970. *Meaning and the Structure of Language*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Chen, X.-H. 2009 Mandarin classifiers in modern poetry. M. A. Thesis. National Chung Cheng University.
- Chen, Y.-Y. 2003. A comparative study of classifiers in Southern Min and Hakka in

- Taiwan. M. A. Thesis. National Chung Cheng University.
- Chomsky, N. 1965. *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. 1980. *Rules and Representations*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Chui, K.-W., H.-L. Lai, and H.-C. Chan. 2008. *The NCCU Corpus of Spoken Chinese : Mandarin, Hakka, and Southern Min*. <http://140.119.174.187/>
- Chung, S.-F. 2010. Numeral classifier *buah* in Malay: A corpus-based study. *Language and Linguistics* 11.3: 553-577.
- Croft, W. and D. A. Cruse 2004. *Cognitive Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Erbaugh, M. S. 1986. Taking stock: The development of Chinese noun classifiers historically and in young children. *Noun Classes and Categorization*, ed. by C. Craig, 399-436. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Fauconnier, G. 1994. *Mental Spaces: Aspects of Meaning Construction in Natural Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fauconnier, G. and M. Turner. 2002. *The Way We Think: Conceptual Blending and the Mind's Hidden Complexities*. New York: Basic Books.
- Fraser, B. 1970. Idioms within a transformational grammar. *Foundations of Language* 6: 22-42.

- Gao, H.-S. 2005. Lexical manifestation of human thinking process in Mandarin: A metaphoric and metonymic account. M.A. Thesis. National Chengchi University.
- Gibbs, R. W. 1995. Idiomaticity and human cognition. *Idioms: Structural and Psychological Perspectives*, eds. by M. Everaert, E.-J. van der Linden, A. Schenk, and R. Schreuder, 97–116. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Grady, J. and C. Johnson. 2003. Converging evidence for the notions of subscene and primary scene. *Metaphor and Metonymy in Comparison and Contrast*, eds. by R. Dirven and R. Pörings, 533-554. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- He, J. 2008. *Xiandai Hanyu Liangci Yanjiu* [The Study of Measures in Modern Chinese]. Beijing: Beijing University Press.
- Her, O.-S. and C.-T. Hsieh. 2010. On the semantic distinction between classifiers and measure words in Chinese. *Language and Linguistics* 11.3: 527-551.
- Hojjer, H. 1945. Classificatory verb stems in Apachean languages. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 11: 13-23.
- Hsu, T.-T. 2009. Emergence of Chinese sortal classifiers and the interactive of human categorization. M. A. Thesis. National Tsing Hua University.
- Hu, Q. 1993. The acquisition of Chinese classifiers by young Mandarin-speaking children. Ph.D. dissertation, MIT.

- Huang, C.-R. and K. Ahrens. 2003. Individuals, kinds and events: Classifier Coercion of Nouns. *Language Sciences* 25: 353-373.
- Huang, Y.-D. 2004. *Taiwan Kejia Duben* [Taiwanese Hakka Reader]. Taipei : Council for Hakka Affairs, Executive Yuan.
- Hung, F.-S. 1996. *Prosody and the Acquisition of Grammatical Morphemes in Chinese Languages*. Indiana University Linguistics Club, Bloomington, IN.
- Johnson, C. 1999. Metaphor vs. conflation in the acquisition of polysemy: The case of see. *Cultural, Psychological and Typological Issues in Cognitive Linguistics*, eds. by M. Hiraga, C. Sinha, and S. Wilcox, 155-169. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Johnson, M. 1987. *The Body in the Mind: the Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Katz, J. 1973. Compositionality, idiomaticity, and lexical substitution. *A Festschrift for Morris Halle*, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, eds. by S. Anderson and P. Kiparsky, 357-376. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Kleiber, G. 1990. *La sémantique du prototype: Catégories et Sens Lexical*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.
- Kövecses, Z. 2002. *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Kövecses, Z. and G. Radden. 1998. Metonymy: Developing a cognitive linguistic view. *Cognitive Linguistics* 9: 37-77.
- Kövecses, Z. and P. Szabó. 1996. Idioms: a view from cognitive linguistics. *Applied Linguistics* 17.3: 326-355.
- Lai, H.-L. 2005. A taxonomic framework for two-part allegorical sayings. Paper presented at 9th International Cognitive Linguistics conference, Yonsei University, Seoul, Korea.
- Lakoff, G. 1986. Classifiers as a reflection of mind. *Noun Classes and Categorization*, ed. by C. Craig, 13-52. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Lakoff, G. 1987. *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal About the Mind*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G. and M. Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G. and M. Turner. 1989. *More Than Cool Reason: A Field Guide to Poetic Metaphor*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Langacker, R. W. 2008. *Cognitive Grammar: A Basic Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lee, W.-C. 2005. Hai-lu classifiers: An interactional approach. M. A. Thesis. National Tsing Hua University.

- Li, M.-L. 1998. A study of measures in the Southern Min dialect. M. A. Thesis.
National Chung Cheng University.
- Liang, Y.-C. 2006. Nominal Phrases in English and Japanese Speakers' L2 Mandarin Grammars. Ph.D. Dissertation. Cambridge University.
- Luo, Z.-J. 1988. *Keyu Yufa* [Hakka Grammar]. Taipei: Student.
- Luo, Z.-J. 1990. *Taiwan de Kejiahua* [Hakka Dialects in Taiwan]. Taipei: Taiyuan Press.
- Lyons, J. 1977. *Semantics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ma, B.-J. and L.-M. Zhang. 2001. *Hanyu liangci biyu yongfa chutan* [Preliminary analysis of metaphorical usages of Chinese classifiers]. *Linguistic Researches* 2: 33-37.
- Nunberg, G., I. A. Sag and T. Wasow. 1994. Idioms. *Language* 70: 491-538.
- O'Grady, W. 1996. Semantics: The analysis of meaning. *Contemporary Linguistics: An Introduction*, eds. by, W. O'Grady, M. Dobrovolsky, and F. Katamba, 268-312. London: Longman.
- Pinker, S. 1989. *Learnability and Cognition: The acquisition of Argument Structure*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Pustejovsky, J. 1995. *The Generative Lexicon*. MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.
- Qiu, X.-Y. 2007. *Minnanyu he Kejiahua de liangci—yu Guoyu bijiao* ['The measure

word' of the Southern Min language and Hakka—compare with Mandarin].

Hsuan Chuang Humanities Journal 6: 1-26.

Quinn, N. and D. Holland. 1987. Culture and cognition. *Cultural Models in*

Language and Thought, eds. by D. Holland and N. Quinn, 3-40. Cambridge:

Cambridge University Press.

Radden, G. 2003. How metonymic are metaphors? *Metaphor and Metonymy in*

Comparison and Contrast, eds. by R. Dirven and R. Pörings, 407-434. New

York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Reddy, M. 1979. The conduit metaphor. *Metaphor and Thought*, ed. by A. Ortony,

284-297. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rosch, E. 1975. Cognitive reference points. *Cognitive Psychology* 7: 532-47.

Rosch, E. and C. Mervis. 1975. Family resemblances: studies in the internal

structures of categorization. *Cognitive Psychology* 7: 573-605.

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 A. Barcelona, 109-132. New York: Mouton de

Gruyter.

Schmitt, B. H. and S. Zhang. 1998. Language Structure and Categorization: A Study

of Classifiers in Consumer Cognition, Judgment, and Choice. *Journal of*

Consumer Research 25.2: 108-122.

Smith, E. E., E. J. Shoben and L. J. Rips. 1974. Structure and process in semantic memory: A featural model for semantic decisions. *Psychological Review* 1: 214-241.

Tai, James H.-Y., and F. Chao. 1994. A semantic study of the classifier *zhang* (張). *Journal of the Chinese Language Teachers Association* 29.3: 67-78.

Tai, James H.-Y., and L.-Q. Wang. 1990. A semantic study of *tiao* (條). *Journal of the Chinese Language Teachers Association* 25.1: 35-56.

Tai, James H.-Y., L.-W. Hu, and H.-J. Liu 2000-2001. *Categorization Patterns of Classifiers in Taiwan Hakka and their Cognitive Principles*.
(NSC 89-2411-H-194-056)

Tai, James H.-Y., Y.-J. Li, and M.-L. Guo. 1997. *Categorization Patterns of Classifiers in Taiwanese Southern Min and their Cognitive Principles*.
(NSC 86-2411-H-194-005)

Tai, James H.-Y., Y.-Y. Chen and M.-S. Chen. 2001-2002. *Categorization Patterns of Classifiers in Taiwan Hakka and Their Cognitive Principles, II*.
(NSC 90-2411-H-194-024)

Taylor, J. R. 2003. Category extension by metonymy and metaphor. *Metaphor and Metonymy in Comparison and Contrast*, eds. by R. Dirven and R. Pörings,

323-348. New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Tien, Y.-M., Ovid J.-L. Tzeng, and Daisy L. Hung. 2002. *Hanyu fenleici de yuyi yu renzhi jichu: gongneng yufa guandian* [Semantic and cognitive basis of Chinese classifiers: a functional approach]. *Language and Linguistics* 3.1: 101-132.

Ungerer, F. and H.-J. Schmid. 2006. *An Introduction to Cognitive Linguistics*.

London: Longman.

Wittgenstein, L. 1953. *Philosophical Investigations*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Wu, L.-W. 2001. A study of measures in Taiwan Si Xian Hakka. M. A. Thesis.

National Chung Cheng University.

Wu, Z.-L. 2010. Research on Taiwan Hakka measure words. M. A. Thesis. National Central University.

Yu, N. 2002. Body and emotion: Body parts in Chinese expression of emotion.

Pragmatics and Cognition 10.1: 341–367

Zhang, N. 2009. Syntactic properties of numeral classifiers in Mandarin Chinese.

Talk given on April 10, 2009, at the Graduate Institute of Linguistics, National

Chung Cheng University.

Zhu, D.-X. 1982. *Yufa Jiangyi* [Lectures on Grammar]. Beijing : The Commercial Press.

Dictionaries:

Jiaoyubu Taiwan Kejiayu Changyongci Cidian [Taiwanese Hakka Dictionary of

Common Words]. 2006. <http://hakka.dict.edu.tw>

Keyu Nengli Renzheng Jiben Cihui—Zhongji Zhonggaoji Ji Yuliaoxuancui [Hakka

Language Proficiency Certification Rudimentary Vocabulary—Mediate and

Intermediate Levels]. 2007. Taipei : Council for Hakka Affairs, Executive

Yuan.

Taiwan Kejiahua Cidian [Hakka Dictionary of Taiwan]. 2001. Taipei : SMC.

