Chinese Classifier Tiao Revisited: A Cognitive Linguistics Study

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to give a comprehensive and coherent account of the various senses of tiao by analyzing it in terms of cognitive grammar. Although Tai and Wang 1990 have investigated tiao, the discrepancies such as the use of tiao in yi tiao haohan 'an extremely independent man' have not been touched upon. The present study will cover as many synchronic data as possible and treat Tiao as a complex category with a schematic network in which its various senses are shown to be related to one another in a cognitively motivated way. The prototype of tiao will be explored, and the (1) cognitively motivated extensions, e.g., yi tiao tui 'a leg', (2) pragmatic-functionally motivated extensions, e.g., yi tiao shoupa 'a handkerchief', (3) metonymically motivated extensions, e.g., yi tiao kudai 'an elastic for a pair of trousers', and (4) metaphorically motivated extensions, e.g., yi tiao xin 'a common ultimate goal' will be discussed. The result of this study will present a more convincing, reasonable, and comprehensive explication of the internal system of the category tiao.

Key words: classifier; measure word; cognitive grammar; prototype; extension; complex category; schematic network; metonymy
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0. Introduction

Chinese, being a logographic and noninflectional language, has some characteristics which are absent from most of the Indo-European languages in general and from English in particular. Among these characteristics, one of the most striking phenomena is the abundance of classifiers in Chinese. When a noun in Chinese is modified by a numeral, a demonstrative, or a quantifier, a classifier is obligatorily used between the noun and the numeral, the demonstrative, or the quantifier. Thus the noun phrase is in the form of numeral/demonstrative/quantifier plus classifier plus noun.

Although at first sight some patterns of classifier usage can be extracted and recognized, their use in general appears so versatile that their various uses seem to be arbitrary in nature. For example, it seems clear that zhang is used to refer to nouns signifying two-dimensional entities with flat surface as in liang zhang zhi 'two sheets of paper', but it can be used to identify mouth as in yi zhang zui 'a mouth'. Superficially, it is hard to relate a sheet of paper to a mouth, and thus the use of zhang in these two cases seems to be nothing but arbitrary. When all these cases are taken into account, the question of how classifiers operate as well as the relationship held among the various senses of a particular classifier makes Chinese classifiers the resourceful data for the study of how language encodes human cognition, i.e., the relation between language and general cognition. In other words, Chinese classifiers, given the way they work, present themselves as an invaluable empirical data for the investigation in cognitive grammar.

Chinese is so rich in classifiers that The Dictionary of Chinese Classifiers
(1989) lists one hundred and ninety-nine classifiers, among them one of the most commonly used is tiao. Thus this study will focus on Tiao as the first step to investigate Chinese classifiers. Tiao will be analyzed in terms of the basic claims of cognitive grammar and will be viewed as a complex category with schematic network as its internal structure. The way the various senses of tiao are related to one another will be explored and a coherent account of the network involved in its various senses will be proposed.

Although tiao has been studied before, e.g., Tai and Wang 1990 and Loke 1996, none of them has touched upon such discrepancies as the use of tiao in yi tiao haohan (an extremely independent man), yi tiao niu (a hot-quick-tempered man), yi tiao zhu (a lazy man), and yi tiao zouguo (one who is at his evil master's disposal). Thus the present study will analyze tiao in more detail by covering as many synchronic data as possible and by applying the theoretical framework of cognitive grammar with a view to giving tiao a cognitive linguistics description, investigating its prototype, and demonstrating its schematic networks.

Tai and Wang 1990 conduct a semantic study of the Chinese classifier tiao. Their study is an endeavor to view tiao from the perspective of cognitive grammar to demonstrate that a cognition-based study of classifiers in Chinese is not only feasible but also of high explanatory value. While their study provides us with new and valuable insights into Chinese classifiers in general and tiao in particular, there are quite a few questionable claims and analyses in their study. Thus the following section will review their claims and analysis first and then discuss the weaknesses thereof.

1. Review of Tai and Wang's 1990 Analysis of Tiao

For the sake of clarity, the discussion in this section will be divided into two major parts: the reconsideration of the theoretical issue in Tai and Wang's 1990 study, and the double-checking of their analysis.
1.1 The Reconsideration of the Theoretical Issue

The reconsideration concerning the theoretical issue in Tai and Wang's 1990 study will include two facets: the criteria and necessity of the distinction between classifiers and measure words, and whether to mix synchronic and diachronic data or to keep them separate.

Tai and Wang (1990:38) propose a distinction between classifiers and measure words by claiming that "A classifier categorizes a class of nouns by picking out some salient perceptual properties, either physically or functionally based, which are permanently associated with the entities named by the class of nouns; a measure word does not categorize but denotes the quantity of the entity named by a noun." They claim that the distinction is desirable and feasible because they think by doing so we can better understand the cognitive basis of a classifier system. However, after making the distinction, they then hasten to add that the distinction is a graded one with fuzzy boundaries. They mention (1) that the classifiers such as kuai in yi kuai rou 'a piece of meat' and pian in yi pian rou 'a slice of meat' also function as measures because they denote a portion of an object in addition to the shape of the portion, and (2) that the measures such as wan 'bowl' and bei 'glass' are closer to classifiers because they involve containers with a clear visible shape.

From this sketch, we see that Tai and Wang 1990 switch their criteria in defining classifiers. They begin with defining classifiers in terms of the salient properties of the nouns the classifiers refer to, but end with defining classifiers in terms of the salient properties of the classifiers per se. In fact, however, it is not always easy to tell with precision what the classifier means in terms of the meaning or properties of the classifiers per se. This is why in Dictionary of Chinese Classifiers (1989:116) tiao is given various meanings with their English translations 'a bar of', 'a carton of', 'an item of', 'a loaf of', 'a pair of', and 'a piece of'.

The present study holds the position that there is no need to make a
distinction between classifiers and measure words since measure words can simply be viewed as a kind of classifiers which categorize nouns in terms of their quantity. Thus we can, by applying Allan's 1977 seven categories of classification of classifiers, simply divide classifiers into two groups: (1) quality-classifiers which categorize nouns in terms of material, shape, consistency, size, location, and arrangement, and (2) quantity-classifiers, i.e., measure words, which categorize nouns in terms of quanta. This simplifies things a lot, seems reasonable, and eliminates the problem of fuzzy boundary between classifiers and measure words raised by Tai and Wang 1990. Furthermore, this is on a par with most of the studies on classifiers in essence. Chao (1968:584-85) uses 'measures' as a cover term and treats classifiers (also termed by Chao as individual measures) as one of the nine kinds of measures. Allan 1977 implies that one of the functions of classifiers is to count when he mentions that English possesses nouns which correspond exactly to Thai lexemes which everyone agrees are classifiers (Allan 1997:283) and claims that these Thai classifiers and their English free translations, i.e., 'pack' and 'dozen' in 'two packs of cigarettes' and 'two dozen cigarettes', are clearly 'counters' since they are 'unit counter' (Allan 1997:293). Li and Thompson (1981:104) have as the subtitle of section 4.2.1 'Classifier Phrases/Measure Phrases', which implies the interchangeability of classifiers and measure words, and in addition, they (1981:106) mention that any measure word can be a classifier. Norman (1988:10) treats measures and classifiers as interchangeable terms. Yip and Rimmington (1997:15) give a note saying that measure words are sometimes also called classifiers.

Tai and Wang mention that one of the important reasons for them to study tiao is that they have more data about historical development on tiao. They treat as the central members those nouns in Mandarin Chinese denoting three-dimensional concrete objects with a long shape because, according to their argument, the historical development of tiao shows that in its inception as a classifier, it was used to refer to long things. They do not claim that they are engaging in the diachronic investigation of tiao in particular, and from the way they present the study, it is apparent that they are doing synchronic analysis of
tiao and it seems that their main concern is to demonstrate how the classifier tiao is being used by speakers of Chinese at the present time. In spite of their concern of synchronic study, they have their study based on the diachronic information and data they have access to. It seems that they mix synchronic study with diachronic data.

The distinction between synchronic and diachronic study has been a widely discussed issue since it was first proposed by de Saussure. de Saussure (1974:99-100) differentiates these two aspects of linguistic study by saying that, 'Synchronic linguistics will be concerned with the logical and psychological relations that bind together coexisting terms and form a system in the collective mind of speakers. Diachronic linguistics, on the contrary, will study relations that bind together successive terms not perceived by the collective mind but substituted for each other without forming a system.' By synchronic he means everything that relates to the static side of our science and by diachronic he means everything that has to do with evolution. To him, the aim of general synchronic linguistics is to set up the fundamental principles of the constituents of any language-state, which he further clarifies is, in practice, not a point but rather a certain span of time during which the sum of the modifications that have supervened is minimal. He thinks that the succession of linguistic facts in time does not exist insofar as the speaker is concerned and the intervention of historical evolutionary linguistic facts can only falsify one's judgement.

Some scholars have different opinions, though. For example Labov (1965 & 1968) argues against the distinction synchrony-diachrony as having any basis in reality, and Heine (1997) assumes that the synchrony/diachrony distinction derives from the perspective adopted rather than from the facts considered and argues that there is no such thing as synchronic or diachronic language or language use since there is only language use.

However, de Saussure's claim of the independence of synchronic investigation is currently accepted by almost all linguists although they admit that the diachronic study must be based itself on prior knowledge of synchronic
organizations.

Like most of the linguists, I accept the idea that in doing synchronic study of language phenomena it is better to ignore diachronic language phenomena. The main reason is that none of the native speakers who have mastered their native language would have any knowledge of the language facts of the past without doing a specific study of his/her native language of the past. For native speakers, the diachronic information about their language is learned rather than acquired. They can master and function well in their native language without the slightest idea as to what the earlier form of their ancestors' language is like. Thus, the diachronic information about a language is to a large extent irrelevant to the speakers' use of their language, and therefore the analysis of synchronic language use based on the diachronic data not only makes little sense but may also veil some important insights. Tai and Wang (1990) simply incorporate the diachronic information of tiao into their synchronic analysis without, as Heine 1997 suggests, making clear the perspective they adopt. Thus, as could be expected, their mixing of diachronic data with synchronic analysis weakens the result of as well as bring problems to their study.²

1.2 Weaknesses of Tai and Wang's 1990 Analysis of Tiao

Tai and Wang's 1990 analysis of tiao, when looked into speculatively, has quite a few implausible points which need further discussion. To begin with, in claiming the central members of tiao, Tai and Wang 1990 use the historical development of tiao as a criterion. They mention that in tiao's inception as a classifier, it was used to refer to long things, and thus they treat as the central members those nouns in Mandarin Chinese denoting three-dimensional concrete objects with a long shape. This appears to be a reverse order in doing linguistic analysis since they first define the meaning of the classifier tiao, and then assign the three-dimensional concrete nouns with long shape as the central members. Furthermore, within the central members they group, yu 'fish', chuan 'boat', and tui 'leg' can also be identified by other classifiers zhi, sou, zhi, respectively as in yi zhi fish 'a fish', yi sou boat 'a ship', and yi zhi tui 'a leg'. Thus it does not
seem reasonable to group these entities as the central/prototype members in the category tiao because it would be expected that the central members can be identified by nothing but tiao.

Less convincing is their claim of the natural extension of tiao based on two-dimensional nouns which do not interact with the human body as closely as the central members. Without any argument or explanation, it is hard for us to see why two-dimensional long shaped nouns should be treated as natural extension of tiao. More strange is the claim that the proposed distinction between the central members and the naturally extended members in terms of their different manners of interaction with human body is in line with a view of language held by many anthropologists and psychologists that human language reflects the biological make-up of human beings. To use the degree of interaction with the human body as a property for distinction in analyzing extensions is reasonable, but claiming that the use of this criterion is simply because it is in line with the view of scholars in other fields (1990:41) seems to be merely drifting with the tide. The view of interaction itself may be a relevant breakthrough to the analysis of tiao, but instead of simply borrowing it from the related fields to their analysis, the analysts should justify why the view of other fields is relevant to their analysis as well.

As to the metaphorical extension of tiao, they give the examples and then claim without any justification that the examples can properly be construed as metaphorical extension which is based on the imagined long shape of an entity through the creative mind of human beings. This sounds simply like whichever is abstract and invisible should be considered as metaphorical extension. Even if we agree with them on this point, they still contradict themselves in claiming on the one hand that the metaphorical extension includes nouns which are invisible and abstract, e.g., yi tiao hetong 'an agreement', and on the other hand that the metaphorical extension is clearly associated with the fact that in Chinese items, legal articles, agreements, opinions, and so forth are traditionally written down vertically on the page (1990:42). If these documents are written down on the
page, how can they be invisible and abstract?

In summary, there are weaknesses in Tai and Wang's analysis of tiao, and the weaknesses seem to be the result of lumping together the historical development of tiao, the recent findings in linguistics and related fields, and the findings of the anthropologists and psychologists concerning language and the biological make-up of human beings.

2. Cognitive Semantics Analysis of Tiao

Tiao will be analyzed from the viewpoints of cognitive grammar\(^3\), which while admitting that certain aspects of language may be discrete and algebraic, claims that language in general is more accurately likened to a biological organism and assumes that language evokes other cognitive systems and must be described as an integral facet of overall psychological organization. Before the detailed analysis of tiao, the central assumptions and claims which are relevant to the present study will be presented first.

2.1 Assumptions and Claims of Cognitive Grammar

The viewpoint of meaning in cognitive grammar is particularly relevant to the present study. Instead of viewing meaning in terms of some types of formal logic such as truth-conditions, cognitive grammar equates meaning with conceptualization, i.e., mental experience. Thus in addition to fixed, abstract, intellectual conceptions, meaning in cognitive grammar includes novel conceptions and experiences as well as sensory, emotive, and kinesic sensations. Furthermore, meaning is thought to embrace a person's awareness of the physical, social, and linguistic context of speech event. As a result, meaning, rather than resides in a well-defined algorithmically-computable set of linguistic expressions, involves crucially imagery, i.e., the conceptualizer's ability to mentally construe and shape a conceived speech event or situation. Linguistic semantics is thus considered encyclopedic in scope and language phenomena such as metaphor and semantic extension which used to be viewed peripheral and unimportant are now
thought to be central to the proper analysis of lexicon and grammar.\(^4\)

Another relevant claim is, following Langacker 1987, treat every lexical item as a complex category of senses which, being a synthesis of categorization by prototypes and categorization by schemas, is reasonably described as a schematic network. Categorization by prototypes and categorization by schemas superficially appear different but are inherently compatible with and related to each other. A prototype is a typical member of a category, and other members are assimilated to the category on the basis of their perceived resemblance to the prototype. Thus there are degrees of membership according to degrees of similarity. A schema, unlike the prototype, is an abstract characterization that is fully compatible with all the members of the category it defines. Since the schema is an integrated structure that embodies the commonality of its members which are conceptions of greater specificity and detail, membership is not a matter of degree.

In cognitive grammar, all conventionally established senses of a lexical item are required to be listed and analyzed to see how the different senses are related to one another. From the way the different senses of a lexical item are related, generalization can be extracted from specific instances and many categorizing judgements can be reflected.

In the analysis of the Chinese classifier tiao, the above-outlined claims and principles will be followed. Thus tiao will be treated as a complex lexical category with various senses. These various senses will be listed and discussed, the schema of these senses will be extracted, and the multiple relationships which constitute a network responsible for accommodating the various senses of tiao will be explored.

2.2 The Analysis of the Chinese Classifier Tiao

The tiao analyzed in the present study is basically the tiao used by speakers of modern Mandarin Chinese in Taiwan. Its use by speakers in the mainland China or other parts of the world will not be considered and analyzed in
spite of the fact that its use in the parts of the world other than Taiwan may be substantially the same as that in Taiwan. The diachronic information will be ignored. By doing so, the analysis of tiao is believed to be better able to reflect the way in which the conventionalization of tiao is operated and better able to demonstrate the conceptual structure of tiao as it is used in the speech community of Taiwan.

Tiao, as mentioned at the beginning, is one of the most commonly used classifiers in Mandarin Chinese. Its distribution shows that although it is basically used to refer to nouns which have the salient property of long shape, it can be used in other cases where the property of long shape does not seem to be the primary salient feature. This makes the study of tiao more worth doing since as a complex lexical category of senses, tiao should be able to reveal the broad perceptual and cognitive principles, i.e., conceptual structure, operated collectively by speakers in Taiwan.

2.2.1 The Meaning and Conceptualization of Tiao

Tiao is defined in contemporary Chinese-Chinese dictionaries such as Guoyuribao Cidian (A Dictionary of Mandarin Daily News) as a noun which means a small slender twig or branch and is basically used in such a compound as liu-tiao (willow--twig)\(^5\) 'willow twig'. The interesting point is that tiao can not follow nouns denoting other kinds of trees to form compounds as it does in liutiao 'willow twig'. For example, both *sueng-tiao (pine--twig/branch) 'the branch of pine trees' and *ying-tao-tiao (cherry tree--peach tree--branch) 'the branch of cherry trees' are not conventional in Chinese and are thus ill-formed. This might be due to the fact that willow twigs are something special when compared with the branches of other kinds of trees. In reality, willow twigs are so slender, long, and flexible that they are used in weaving baskets. The branches of most of other kinds of trees cannot be weaved because they are not slender, flexible, and long enough. Thus the intrinsic, functional, and cognitively salient properties people find in willow twigs are slender, long, and flexible. In addition, twigs have the potential for growth unless they are dried or dead.
Thus based on the encyclopedic knowledge and living experience, speakers of modern Mandarin Chinese have conceptualized tiao 'willow twigs' as slender, long, flexible, and having the potential for growth.

The noun tiao is commonly used as a classifier to refer to a variety of nouns and thus has various senses. Its variety of senses and the relationship among these senses will be investigated in the following section.

2.2.2 The Prototype of Tiao

The use of tiao in (1) through (8) exemplifies the prototypical sense of tiao in modern Mandarin Chinese.

(1) yi tiao he6 'a river'
(2) yi tiao xi 'a brook'
(3) yi tiao shanmai 'a mountain range'
(4) yi tiao guenglu 'a highway'
(5) yi tiao jie 'a street'
(6) yi tiao xiaolu 'a small path'
(7) yi tiao lu 'a road'
(8) yi tiao she 'a snake'

The reasons that the use of tiao in these examples are analyzed as the prototype are (1) when asked to give examples of noun phrases containing tiao, native speakers would have these examples come to their mind first,7 (2) the meaning of tiao extracted from all the nouns following tiao in these examples is very close to the original meaning of the noun tiao in liutiao 'the willow twigs', (3) no other classifiers can be used in place of tiao in these examples, and (4) by treating tiao in these examples as the prototype, other uses and senses of tiao can be explained reasonably as non-prototypical extensions cognitively related to the prototype of tiao.

When examples (1) to (8) are examined closely, we see some
commonalities among them. First of all, all the nouns involved are long-shaped entities existing in our natural environment, be they rivers, roads, or snakes. In terms of overall shape, for example, the river, the road, and the snake all exhibit a long shape no matter how wide the river or the road may be or how big the snake may be. Secondly, there is psychologically a potential for growth in length in all these nouns. What is meant by psychologically a potential for growth in length here is that we know the river or the road in front of us extends to where we cannot see them because at any particular spot we can see only a part of them in spite of the fact that we are viewing them from the maximal field of view, i.e., the maximal scope. This is due to the fact that there is physiological limit to us human beings. However, we know that the river or the road does not end in front of us. Instead, we know that they can extend to a large extent in terms of their length. For example, the longest river in China, the Yangtze River is 5800 kilometer long, and the shorter one, the Yellow River covers 4670 kilometers. Except from the map, in any time and at any place there is no way for anyone to see the whole length of the river although we all know that the river does not end in front of us. In reality, there is a point where the river meets the ocean and hence the river comes to an end and the ocean begins. Conceptually however, when we see a river, we rarely would think where it comes to an end. On the contrary, we see the river in front of us and we know that it keeps flowing down. That is, the continuation of the flowing of the river is conceptually more salient than the endpoint of the river. Thus, the property of being extensible seems to built into our concept of rivers. The same is true of brooks, mountain ranges, highways, streets, small paths, and roads. In the case of snakes, although we can usually see their whole length, we know that they have the potentiality to grow longer since they are living and growing creatures.

One word of caution here is that in talking about the mountain range, usually the horizontal extension of the range rather than the height of the mountains is relevant and therefore the extension of the mountain range is cognitively and conceptually salient. The use of tiao to identify the mountain
range is thus naturally and conceptually motivated rather than just randomly and arbitrarily chosen.

An interesting point to mention is that it seems the immediate shape of the entities in example (1) to (8) is not relevant and is thus usually ignored. By immediate shape is meant the width and the degree of bendness of a river or a road as it is presented in front of a viewer standing by the river or by the road, and the immediate shape of a snake as seen by a viewer in front of the snake. A river or a road we see at a particular location may be very straight or curved sharply. At another location, the same river or road we see may show up with different shapes in terms of its straightness or the degree of curve. Likewise, the snake with its flexible body can so easily curve its body into the shape of a coil or bend its body into the shape of a bent line that in conceiving a snake we simply ignore its contingent particular shape, i.e., its immediate shape. Thus in our conceptualization of rivers, roads, or snakes, all the above-mentioned immediate shapes are not cognitively salient and may thus be ignored partly or completely.

In a word, from the above discussion we can extract the common properties of the entities referred to by the nouns identified by the classifier tiao. These properties are (1) all the entities exist in our natural environment, (2) they all have overall long-shape, (3) they have the flexibility in terms of their immediate shapes, and (4) they have the potential for growth in length, i.e., the extensibility. This leads us to be able to describe tiao as a classifier used to identify entities in our natural environment which are long in shape, has a potential for extending their length, and are flexible in terms of their immediate shapes. Thus the prototypical sense of tiao in terms of its schema is: [entity in natural environment; long shape; potential for extending in length; flexibility in immediate shape].

2.2.3 The Extensions of the Prototype Tiao

In addition to the prototypical use of tiao discussed above, there are other uses of tiao which, being related to the prototypical use in one way or another, are
treated as the extensions of the prototype tiao. For the sake of clarity, these extensions will be analyzed and discussed according to the various ways in which they are related to the prototype. These extensions include (1) the extension which relates to human beings, (2) the extension which relates to non-human beings, (3) the metonymic extension, and (4) the metaphorical extension in identifying abstract entities. They will be discussed in detail in the ensuing sections. In Appendix 1 is a diagram showing the prototype together with all its extensions.

2.2.3.1 The Extension Relating to Human Beings

The first group of extension analyzed is the extension of tiao in classifying long entities which refer either to concrete parts of human bodies as in examples (9) to (11) or to abstract entities connecting to human beings as in (12).

(9) yi tiao tue 'a leg'
(10) yi tiao bianzi 'a braided hair'
(11) yi tiao yingzi 'a shadow'
(12) yi tiao ming 'a life'

It can be noted that all the nouns in the above examples have a long shape. Usually we conceive of a man's/woman's leg, tue, in terms of length no matter how short the man/woman might be. Thus tue 'leg' is conceptually a long-shaped entity. In the case of bianzi 'the braided hair', it must be long since no hair can be braided unless it is long enough. The interesting thing here is that in talking about a single hair we say yi gen toufa 'one hair' rather than *yi tiao toufa 'one hair' no matter how long the hair talked about is. In the case of yi tiao yingzi 'a shadow', the shadow cast on the ground usually assumes long shape although the human body as standing vertically on the ground is usually conceived as tall/short rather than long/short. In talking about longevity, Chinese people usually use the form Ta de ming yiu duo chang? (he--possessive--life--have--how much--long) 'How long does he enjoy his longevity?' This shows that the life span is conceived in Mandarin Chinese in...
terms of length. No wonder people would apply the classifier tiao in saying yi tiao ming.

In a word, the tiao in (9) to (12) is used to identify human-related entities with long shape. This use is similar to the prototypical use in that it identifies long-shaped entities but is different from the prototypical use in that there is no extensibility in length and flexibility involved. Based on the resemblance of identifying long-shaped entities, this use is considered as the extension of the prototype tiao. The sense of this extension in terms of its schema is: [human related entity; long shape].

2.2.3.1.1 The Metonymic Extension

The use of tiao in (13) to identify linghun 'soul', which people believe every human being has, is treated as the metonymic extension of the tiao used in (9) to (12). This is based on the association of the abstract entity linghun 'soul' with human beings. That is, the tiao in (9) to (12) is used to identify human-related entities with long shape, whereas the tiao in (13) is used to identity the abstract entity, not necessarily lon-shaped, associated with human beings. Thus the latter may well be considered as the metonymic extension of the former. The sense here in terms of its schema is: [abstract human-related entities].

(13) yi tiao linghun 'a soul'

2.2.3.2 The Extension Relating to Non-Human Beings

The extension of tiao relating to non-human beings is used to identify (1) domestic animals, (2) vegetables, and (3) fabric products. In identifying each group of entities, tiao reveals its rich internal structure which includes the metonymic extension, the metaphorical extension, and the extension based on pragmatic-function.

2.2.3.2.1 The Extension in Classifying Domestic Animals

In referring to zhu 'pig', niu 'cow', yiang 'sheep', and guo 'dog', tiao is
used, as shown in (14) to (17).

(14) yi tiao zhu 'one pig'
(15) yi tiao niu 'one cow'
(16) yi tiao yang 'one sheep'
(17) yi tiao guo 'one dog'

It is worth noting that in traditional agricultural Chinese society all the above-mentioned animals are domestic four-legged animals. Although nowadays in Taiwan, agriculture is no longer dominant, people still have special attitudes towards these domestic animals. Except for pigs and sheep the meat of which is mainly used as food, cows are basically conceived as the animal which helps doing the field work, and dogs, as the animal which keeps doors. However, they can all be used as the source of meat. That is, they are all four-legged domestic edible animals. In addition, most, if not all, of them assume long shape when the proportion of their lengths and heights are considered. Furthermore, they all have the potential for growth. These are the properties common to them all. These properties may attribute to the use of tiao to identify them. No one would deny that cats and horses, like dogs and cows, assume long shape, but they have different story in the use of classifier. Cats are popular four-legged domestic animals, but in referring to them, people say yi zhi mao rather then *yi tiao mao. Cats are different from pigs, cows, sheep, and dogs in that cats are not usually thought of as the source of meat. Horses are not basically conceived as the source of meat although they are four-legged and, if necessary, can be eaten. Not being basically the main source of meat may be the reason for people to classify horse with pi rather than tiao as in yi pi ma 'one horse'. The nouns denoting other familiar animals such as rabbits, chickens, and birds are not preceded by tiao, either. The reasons we can supply here are (1) that rabbits are basically not domestic, (2) that chickens, though used as the main source of meat, are not four-legged, and (3) that birds, though some kinds of them may be used as the source of meat, are not basically thought of as the source of meat, and are not
domestic and four-legged either. Thus instead of using the classifier tiao, we use zhi as in yi zhi tuzi/ji/niao 'one rabbit/chicken/bird'.

In a word, it seems plausible to suggest that in the case of four-legged domestic edible animals, tiao is used as the classifier. The extended sense of tiao in (14) to (17) in terms of its schema is: [domestic 4-legged edible animal; long shape; potential for growth].

2.2.3.2.1.1 The Metonymic Extension from Animal to Human Beings

The metonymic extension analyzed here is based on association. One of the striking points to note in Mandarin Chinese is that tiao can be used to identify people with special characters when the people concerned are referred to metaphorically by nouns denoting animals such as pigs, cows, and dogs. Examples (18) to (20) demonstrate this usage.

(18) yi tiao zhu (one--classifier--pig) 'a lazy person'
(19) yi tiao niu (one--classifier--niu) 'a hot-tempered person'
(20) yi tiao zou-gou (one--classifier--walk--dog) 'one who is at his evil master's disposal'

The use of zhu 'pig', niu 'cow', and zou gou 'walking dog' to designate the lazy person, the hot-tempered person, and the person who is at his evil master's disposal respectively is metaphorical in that some properties of the pig, the cow, and the dog are chosen to map onto human beings. In Taiwan, people have a special festival in which a competition is held to see who has grown the largest pig in the village. To grow one's pigs as big as possible, people feed their pigs as much as they can and eventually the pigs grow so big that they can do nothing but sleep and eat. Thus people in Taiwan have the conception that pigs are lazy. As to the cows, their size is usually considered as large, the schema of largeness is transferred to describe a person's 'hot temper' which in Chinese is described as a person's big temper. Thus in Mandarin Chinese niu pi-qi (cow leather--air) 'hot temper' is used metaphorically to describe that a person has hot
temper which cannot be controlled by others. In the case of zhou-gou (walk--dog) 'one who is at his evil master's disposal', the property of dogs' being faithful to their masters is mapped onto human beings. The prefixion of the character zhou 'walk' may be interpreted as an enhancement of the quality of obedience. That is, the person is so obedient to his evil master that he is always in the status of doing something which is symbolized by the dynamic verb zhou 'walk'. Zhougou in Mandarin Chinese has a negative connotation since usually what a zhougou 'one who is at his evil master's disposal' does are things which are considered bad or harmful to other people. Thus examples (18) to (20) are used to refer to people with some salient feature rather than to pigs, cows, or dogs.

Since pigs, cows, and dogs are popular domestic animals and closely related to the people in Taiwan, the transfer of tiao from classifying animals to classifying people metaphorically described as having special salient properties is treated as the metonymic extension of tiao. The extent of laziness, hot-temper, and obedience in (18) to (20) are not subject to limit in degree and form. Thus the sense of the metonymic extension of tiao here in terms of its schema is: [extensible in degree; flexible in form].

2.2.3.2.1.2 The Metaphorical Extension from Animals to Human Beings

In Mandarin Chinese, there is a fixed phrase yi tiao hao-han (one--classifier--good--man) 'a remarkably independent man', in which the classifier tiao is used to refer to an extremely independent man. The use of tiao here is better viewed as the metaphorical extension of the tiao in examples (14) to (17). The reason is that in Mandarin Chinese the saying is that a remarkable and independent man should reach the sky while standing on the ground. It follows that there is a conception of extending towards the upper direction to reach the sky. Furthermore, the huge size of animals such as cows might be mapped onto yi tiao haohan 'a remarkably independent man' since such a man is conceived as a big figure. Thus the schema of a big animal such as a cow is mapped onto haohan 'an independent man' and brings together with it its classifier tiao. For illustrative purpose, the tiao in this case is interpreted as having the potential to
extend toward the sky. A typical example is (21). The schematic sense of tiao here is simply: [potential for extending], which can be conceived as similar in spirit to [potential for growth].

(21) Ta she yi tiao haonan 'He is a remarkably independent man.'

2.2.3.2.2 The Extension in Classifying Fleshy Fruits

Tiao is used to classify fleshy fruits with long shape as in (22) to (25).

(22) yi tiao sigua 'a loofah'
(23) yi tiao kugua 'a bitter fleshy fruit'
(24) yi tiao huanggua 'a cucumber'
(25) yi tiao xiangjiao 'a banana'

The loofah, bitter fleshy fruit, and cucumber are all eaten as peripheral kinds of vegetable. They all have long shape and tiao is used as their classifier. In the case of bananas, they are basically thought of as fruit rather than vegetable. Since they are finger-shaped, they appear long in shape and the classifier tiao is used. However, the other classifier gen could be used to refer to xiangjiao 'bananas' as in yi gen xiangjiao 'a banana'. The tiao in (22) to (25) specifies long-shaped and non-leaved fleshy fruit, and thus its sense in terms of schema is: [long-shaped, non-leaved, fleshy fruit]

2.2.3.2.3. The Extension in Classifying Fabric Products

Tiao is used to refer to two-dimensional and three-dimensional fabric products. They will be discussed separately.

2.2.3.2.3.1 The Extension in Referring to Two-Dimensional Fabric Products

Tiao is used in (26) to (31) to classify two-dimensional fabric products which in general assume long-shape.

(26) yi tiao chuangjin 'a flat sheet'
(27) yi tiao tanzi 'a blanket'
(28) **yi tiao maotan** 'a wool blanket'
(29) **yi tiao weijin** 'a long scarf'
(30) **yi tiao maojin** 'a towel'
(31) **yi tiao zhuojin** 'a long tablecloth'

All the two-dimensional entities referred to by the classifier *tiao* are flexible in that they can be folded into whichever shape and size we like. In terms of overall shape, they are long. For example, a queen-size flat sheet is basically having dimensions of about five feet by seven feet, and according to the way it is spread out on the bed, it is construed as a long piece. Thus *tiao* here has as its sense long, flexible, and of two-dimensional fabric products, and its schematic sense is: [of 2-dimensional fabric product; long, flexible]

### 2.2.3.2.1.1 The Pragmatic-Functional Extension

From the preceding discussion, it is clear that *tiao* is used overwhelmingly in classifying long-shaped entities. However, in examples (32) to (35), it is used to classify square entities.

(32) **yi tiao shoupa** 'a handkerchief'
(33) **yi tiao weijin**¹¹ 'a square scarf'
(34) **yi tiao xiaomaojin** 'a wash towel'
(35) **yi tiao zhuojin** 'a square tablecloth'

That the above square entities are classified by *tiao* may seem strange at first sight. However, there is a reasonable explanation for this. Since the pragmatic function of the above square scarf, towel, and tablecloth are basically the same as the rectangular scarf, towel, and tablecloth, it is only natural for people to conceive the square ones on a par with the rectangular ones and thus to use the same classifier *tiao* in identifying both the rectangular and the square entities. As to the handkerchief, its pragmatic function in our daily life is pretty much close to, if not the same as, that of the towel. Thus the use of *tiao* to
classify these square entities can be viewed as the pragmatic-functional extension of the tiao in (26) to (31). The sense of tiao here in terms of its schema is: [of two-dimensional fabric product; square; flexible].

2.2.3.2.3.2 The Extension in Referring to Three-Dimensional Fabric Products

Tiao is very frequently used to refer to the three-dimensional fabric products of trousers and skirts as in (36) and (37).

(36) yi tiao kuzi 'a pair of trousers'
(37) yi tiao qunzi 'a skirt'

The trousers and skirts are worn in the lower part of human body. Basically, it is conceived that the lower part of the body is longer than the upper part. Thus it is very likely that trousers and skirts are conceived on a par with the lower part of the body as long in shape. Being made of flexible fabric, trousers and skirts can be folded to the desired size and shape. Thus tiao in (36) and (37) specifies three-dimensional fabric products, flexibility, and long-shape. Its schematic sense is: [of 3-dimensional fabric product; long; flexible].

2.2.3.2.3.2.1 The Metonymic Extension in Classifying Accessories

It is interesting to see that the accessories of trousers and skirts, i.e., yiaodai 'waist belt', kudai 'elastic for trousers', etc., are categorized by tiao as in (38) to (40).

(38) yi tiao yiaodai 'a waist belt'
(39) yi tiao kudai 'an elastic string for trousers'
(40) yi tiao pidai 'a leather belt'

Other accessories of dressing, lingdai 'necktie' and xiedai 'shoe lace' also have tiao as their classifier as can be seen from (41) and (42).

(41) yi tiao lingdai 'a necktie'
(42) yi tiao xiedai 'a shoe lace'
All the accessories referred to by the nouns in (38) to (42) are long-shaped and flexible. Because of the association of *yiaodai* 'waist belt', *kudai* 'elastic string for trousers', and *pidai* 'leather belt' to trousers and skirts, the *tiao* used to classify them is viewed as the metonymic extension of *tiao* in (36) and (37). The schematic sense of *tiao* here is: [accessory; long; flexible].

2.2.3.2.3.2.1.1 The Parallel Extension

The entities referred to by the nouns in (43) to (45), i.e., *shengzi* 'the rope', *xian* 'the string', and *caidai* 'the ribbon for opening ceremony' are parallel in shape to *xiedai* 'the shoe lace', *kudai* 'the elastic string', *yiaodai* 'the waist belt' in that they are all long-shaped and flexible. Thus the use of *tiao* to identify them is considered as the parallel extension of the *tiao* in (38) to (42), and its sense in terms of schema is: [long; flexible].

(43) yi tiao shengzi. 'a rope'
(44) yi tiao xian. 'a string'
(45) yi tiao caidai. 'a ribbon for opening ceremony'

2.2.3.3 The Metonymic Extension of the Prototype

In Chinese, *chuan* is used to refer to both boats and ships, but the classifiers used to identify them are different. Consider:

(46) He shang yiu yi tiao chuan (river--up--have--one--classifier--boat)

The above sentence literally means 'There is a boat on the river'. The striking point is that when people refer to a ship in the ocean, they would, instead, say *Da Hai li yiu yi sao chuan* (large--ocean--in--have--one--classifier--ship) 'There is a ship in the ocean'. That is, the classifier *sao* is used instead of *tiao* as in (46). It seems that the ship which is relatively larger than the boat does not take *tiao* as its classifier. One reasonable explanation for this is that the boat, usually without much height, assumes an overall long shape when its length is compared with its width while the ship, being a large vessel, does not appear long when its length is
compared with its width and height. The other possible account is that the boat, being primarily a transportation vehicle on the river, simply takes over the classifier of river, i.e., tiao, and is thus referred to as yi tiao chuan. Based on the proposed latter explanation, the use of tiao to identify boat is analyzed as the metonymic extension of the prototype tiao, which is used to identify rivers. The schematic sense of tiao in yi tiao chuan is simply [long].

2.2.3.4 The Metaphorical Extension in Identifying Abstract Entities

Tiao is used in categorizing abstract entities as shown in (47) to (50).

(47) Wanzhueng yi tiao xin. 'The incalculable number of people have the same ultimate goal.'

(48) Qianwan tiao shixian dou zai ta shenshang. 'the incalculable Number of lines of sight are accumulated on her.'

(49) Na yi tiao xinwun zui yiyou? 'Which news is the most interesting?'

(50) Ni zeianguo shi silu yi tiao. 'Since you do things in such a way, you are going along the dead end'

In (47), wan-zhueng (ten thousand--majority) literally means ten thousand people and is used here metaphorically to mean the incalculable number of people, and yi tiao xin (one--classifier--heart) literally means one heart and metaphorically means the same ultimate goal since in reality it is impossible for the incalculable of people to have only one heart. Thus the conceptualization underlying yi tiao xin 'one heart' is like this: a particular person has a heart, i.e., a goal, a second person also has the same heart, i.e., the same goal, and so on; the second person's goal is added to the first person's goal, the third person's goal is added to the second person's goal, and so on and so forth. As the process of the addition of the same goal, the heart, goes on, the goal is accumulated and the activity of accumulation can potentially be kept on without limit. As a result, the abstractly construed heart, i.e., goal, has the potential for growth and at the same time grows longer and longer. Thus tiao is used to identify this long, seemingly
endless, and potentially extensible heart, i.e., goal. Its sense, when expressed schematically, is: [abstract; long; extensible].

In (48) Qian-wan tiao shi-xian dou zai ta shen-shang (thousand--ten thousand classifier see--line all at her body--on), qian-wan (thousand--ten thousand) metaphorically means incalculable number, and shi-xian (see--line) 'lines of sight' metaphorically means the attention paid by looking absorbedly at the target. Thus the sentence metaphorically means that the incalculable number of lines of sight, i.e., focus, accumulated on here. The way the sentence is construed is that one person has his/her line of sight, i.e., focus, directed to her, the second person does the same, and the third person and so on and so forth. The focus, being metaphorically symbolized by shixian 'the lines of sight', is construed as invisible, straight, and long. Thus the target ta shen-shang (she--body--on), i.e., 'her body' or more precisely 'she', absorbs the incalculable number of invisible lines of sight. In a word, the incalculable number of invisible, straight, long lines of sight are all accumulated and directed towards her. Now it seems natural for tiao to be used here to identify these incalculable number of invisible straight long lines which have the potential for being accumulated, i.e., extensible in terms of the sum being accumulated. In other words, tiao here has as its schematic sense [invisible; extensible; long].

In (49) Na yi tiao xinwun zui yiuqu? (which one classifier news most interesting) 'Which news is the most interesting?' the tiao is used to identify a conceptual abstract extensible entity, i.e., news. The way that xinwun 'news' is conceived as extensible and abstract is that it does not refer to any particular piece of news and thus when one event is mentioned as the news, it can be reported on and on until it comes to its end. The language used to report the news is a series of phonetic realizations emitted through the process of time and is thus construed as a long entity capable of being extended forwards. In other words, the xinwun 'news' in (49) is construed as an abstract long extensible entity. Thus, its classifier tiao has the schematic sense of [abstract; long; extensible].

In (50) Ni ze-iangz uo shi si-lu yi tiao (you this--like do dead-road one
classifier), 'Since you do things in such a way, you are going along the dead end', it is self-evident that the si-lu (dead-road) 'dead end' referred to here is an abstract entity since it does not identify an actual road. It is used metaphorically to refer to the way things are done, and the way is metaphorically construed as a road which leads to nowhere, i.e., dead end. As discussed before, roads are usually conceived as long and extensible, the classifier tiao, which is expressed in reverse order to emphasize the inapplicability of the way things are done, is used here to identify an abstract, long, extensible path or road. Its schematic sense is: [abstract; long; extensible].

In summary, the tiao used in (47) to (50) identifies abstract, long, and extensible entities, and thus has it schematic sense [abstract; long; extensible].

3. Conclusions

The use of Tiao as a classifier in Chinese appears to be random and arbitrary at first sight since it can be used to identify and categorize entities as diverse as those relating to such different domains as natural environments, artefacts, fruits, animals, human beings, and abstract space. However, as is demonstrated above in a relatively detailed analysis, a rich internal systematic structure of usage with a conceptually motivated nature can be found. This internal structure shows that the use of tiao in various instances is naturally and conceptually motivated rather than randomly and arbitrarily chosen. It has as its prototype the meaning of being long, flexible, and extensible. From this prototype, there are extensions of various kinds, i.e., the extension in identifying human beings, domestic animals, fleshy fruits, fabric products, and abstract entities, the metonymic extension in identifying boats, and the metaphoric extension in identifying abstract entities such as the line of sight. The prototype and its various extensions, i.e., the various senses of tiao, form a complex network as shown in the diagram in Index 2.

The various conceptually motivated senses of tiao show that tiao in particular and Chinese classifiers in general are better viewed as a fundamental
notional category which is used to structure and organize the meaning of Chinese nouns. In addition, they show that the determining factor for the use of tiao is by no means depending solely upon physical visual resemblances; thus, shoup 'handkerchief', with its salient square shape, is identified by tiao, a classifier exclusively used to identify entities with long shape. It is only through the pragmatic-functional similarity between shoup 'handkerchief' and maojin 'towel' that we can give an account of the use of tiao to identify shoup 'handkerchief'. The understanding and judgement of pragmatic-functional similarity is a result of life experience. Thus the use of tiao is a case proving that life experience does reflect in the structure of language.

As mentioned by pass in 2.2.3.1, the classifier gen, which originates from the noun meaning root, is used with toufa 'hair'. This may due to the fact that in our conceptualization toufa 'hair' grows out of our scalp, which is construed very much the same way as the plants grow out of the earth with their roots growing underground. Thus one of the salient property of toufa 'hair' is that it is rooted in the scalp. This salience is brought into the use of gen 'root' as its classifier. In the case of xiangjiao 'banana' discussed in 2.2.3.2.2, since we always see them coming as a hand of bananas rather than as an individual banana, it is very likely that we conceive the stalk of bananas as comparable to its root from which every individual banana spreads out. This results in the more salient property of bananas's being spreading out of its root and in turn leads to the use of gen as its classifier when we refer to an individual banana as yi gen xiangjiao 'a banana'.

All these phenomena support the central claim of cognitive grammar that the structure of language is cognition-based in that it mirrors the way we interact with the world around us. Thus in order to give a reasonable and enlightening account of language structure, it is only natural that we have to include the external factors, our bodily experience, motor and sensory experience, etc., as major factors which shape the way language structure is.

In conclusion, the analysis of tiao presented above is by no means a
representation of the steps native speakers have to go through in their use of tiao. However, it does demonstrate that superficially arbitrary language structure, after a detailed cognitive semantic analysis, may turn out to be naturally and conceptually well-motivated language form. Thus the study of tiao gives us an important implication that without taking into account our encyclopedic knowledge, we simply cannot thoroughly understand our language and the way we communicate with people around us.
Notes

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1. The author plans to investigate into other classifiers in the near future, and eventually would like to be able to give an overall depiction of the classifier system in Chinese.

2. This is discussed in 1.2.

3. This is basically based on Langacker 1987 and 1991.

4. Ibid.

5. Included in the parenthesis is the word by word translation.

6. Since the main concern of the study is tiao, thus to simplify the description, most of the examples are in the form of yi tiao + Noun (one + classifier tiao + noun). However, in reality tiao can be preceded by other numerals such as san 'three', or by demonstratives such as zhe 'this' and na 'that'. For example san tiao he 'three rivers', zhe tiao he 'this river', and na tiao he 'that river'. Appendix 3 gives all the examples, i.e., data analyzed, and Appendix 4 gives the Chinese translation for all the data.
7. The author, being a native speaker of Mandarin Chinese in Taiwan treats herself as the informant since this study is done when the author is at the University of California, San Diego doing research as a visiting scholar and thus it is not easy for her to reach other native speakers as informants.

8. This is based on Langacker 1995.

9. In the case of toufa 'hair', the classifier gen, which is originally a noun meaning root, is used. This will be discussed briefly in the conclusion.

10. This will be addressed briefly together with the case of toufa in the conclusion.

11. In Mandarin Chinese, both square and rectangular scarf are referred to as weijin 'scarf' without any phonetic difference.

12. The normal order is yi tiao silu 'a dead end/road'.

13. See the diagram in Appendix 1.
Appendix 1
The Prototype or Tiao and Its Extensions

PT: prototype
EX: examples (listed collectively on pages 53-57)
Appendix 2
The Schematic Network of Tiao

[extension]

Ex. 21

Ex. 9-12
18-20
47-50

Ex. 14-17
22-25
46.13

[flexible]

Ex. 32-35

[long extensible]

Ex. 26-31
36-37
38-42
43-45

[long flexible]

Ex. 1-8

[ ]: semantic properties of schema

Ex: Examples. (listed collectively on pages 53-57)

→: direction of abstraction
Appendix 3

Data Analyzed

(1) yi tiao he  'a river'
(2) yi tiao xi  'a brook'
(3) yi tiao shanmai  'a mountain range'
(4) yi tiao guenglu  'a highway'
(5) yi tiao jie  'a street'
(6) yi tiao xiaolu  'a small path'
(7) yi tiao lu  'a road'
(8) yi tiao she  'a snake'
(9) yi tiao tue  'a leg'
(10) yi tiao bianzi  'a braided hair'
(11) yi tiao yingzi  'a shadow'
(12) yi tiao ming  'a life'
(13) yi tiao linghun  'a soul'
(14) yi tiao zhu  'one pig'
(15) yi tiao niu  'one cow'
(16) yi tiao yiang  'one sheep'
(17) yi tiao guo  'one dog'
(18) yi tiao zhu  
  (one--classifier--pig)  
  'a lazy person'
(19) yi tiao niu
    (one-classifier—ox/cow)
    'a hot-tempered person'

(20) yi tiao zou-gou
    (one-classifier--walk--dog)
    'one who is at his evil master's disposal'

(22) yi tiao sigua
    'a loofah'

(23) yi tiao kugua
    'a bitter fleshy fruit'

(24) yi tiao huanggua
    'a cucumber'

(25) yi tiao xiangjiao
    'a banana'

(26) yi tiao chuangjin
    'a flat sheet'

(27) yi tiao tanzi
    'a blanket'

(28) yi tiao maotan
    'a wool blanket'

(29) yi tiao weijin
    'a long scarf'

(30) yi tiao maojin
    'a towel'

(31) yi tiao zhuojin
    'a long tablecloth'

(32) yi tiao shoupa
    'a handkerchief'

(33) yi tiao weijin
    'a square scarf'

(34) yi tiao xiaomaojin
    'a wash towel'

(35) yi tiao zhuojin
    'a square tablecloth'

(36) yi tiao kuzi
    'a pair of trousers'

(37) yi tiao qunzi
    'a skirt'

(38) yi tiao yiaodai
    'a waist belt'

(39) yi tiao kudai
    'an elastic string for trousers'

(40) yi tiao pidai
    'a leather belt'
(41) yi tiao lingdai 'a necktie'
(42) yi tiao xiedai 'a shoe lace'
(43) yi tiao shengzi. 'a rope'
(44) yi tiao xian. 'a string'
(45) yi tiao caidai. 'a ribbon for opening ceremony'
(46) He shang yiu yi tiao chuan
(river--up--have--one--classifier--boat)
'There is a boat on the river'.
(47) Wanzhueng yi tiao xin.
'The incalculable number of people have
one heart.'
(48) Qianwan tiao shixian dou zai ta shenshang.
'The incalculable number of lines of
sight are accumulated on her.'
(49) Na yi tiao xinwun zui yiuqu?
'Which news is the most interesting?'
(50) Ni ziangzuo shi silu yi tiao.
'Since you do things in such a way, you
are going along the dead end'
Appendix 4

Chinese Translation of the Data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1) yi tiao he</th>
<th>一條河</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(2) yi tiao xi</td>
<td>一條溪</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) yi tiao shanmai</td>
<td>一條山脈</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) yi tiao guenglu</td>
<td>一條公路</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5) yi tiao jie</td>
<td>一條街</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6) yi tiao xiaolu</td>
<td>一條小路</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7) yi tiao lu</td>
<td>一條路</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8) yi tiao she</td>
<td>一條蛇</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9) yi tiao tue</td>
<td>一條腿</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10) yi tiao bianzi</td>
<td>一條辮子</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11) yi tiao yingzi</td>
<td>一條影子</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(12) yi tiao ming</td>
<td>一條命</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(13) yi tiao linghun</td>
<td>一條靈魂</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(14) yi tiao zhu</td>
<td>一條豬</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(15) yi tiao niu</td>
<td>一條牛</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(16) yi tiao yang</td>
<td>一條羊</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(17) yi tiao guo</td>
<td>一條狗</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(18) yi tiao zhu</td>
<td>一條豬（指懶人）</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(19) yi tiao niu</td>
<td>一條牛（指牛脾氣的人）</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(20) yi tiao zou-gou       一條走狗
(22) yi tiao sigua        一條絲瓜
(23) yi tiao kugua        一條苦瓜
(24) yi tiao huanggua     一條黃瓜
(25) yi tiao xiangjiao    一條香蕉
(26) yi tiao chuangjin    一條床巾
(27) yi tiao tanzi        一條毯子
(28) yi tiao maotan       一條毛毯
(29) yi tiao weijin       一條圍巾（長形）
(30) yi tiao maojin       一條毛巾
(31) yi tiao zhuojin      一條桌巾
(32) yi tiao shoupa       一條手帕
(33) yi tiao weijin       一條圍巾（方形）
(34) yi tiao xiaomaojin   一條小毛巾
(35) yi tiao zhuojin      一條桌巾（方形）
(36) yi tiao kuzi         一條褲子
(37) yi tiao qunzi        一條裙子
(38) yi tiao yiaodai      一條腰帶
(39) yi tiao kudai        一條褲帶
(40) yi tiao pidai        一條皮帶
(41) yi tiao lingdai      一條領帶
(42) yi tiao xiedai  一條鞋帶
(43) yi tiao shengzi.  一條繩子
(44) yi tiao xian.  一條線
(45) yi tiao caidai.  一條彩帶
(46) He shang yiu yi tiao chuan  河上有一條船
(47) Wanzhueng yi tiao xin.  萬眾一條心
(48) Qianwan tiao shixian dou zai ta shenshang.  千萬條視線都在她身上。
(49) Na yi tiao xinwun zui yiuqu?  那一條新聞最有趣。
(50) Ni zhiangzuo shi silu yi tiao.  你這樣做是死路一條。
Bibliograph


