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Identifying True Classifiers in Mandarin Chinese

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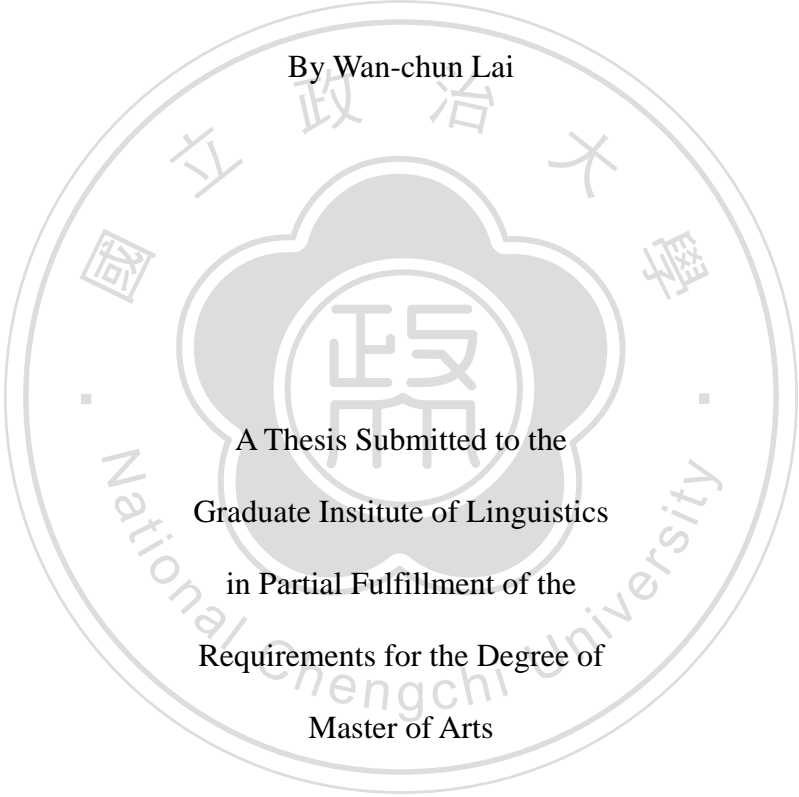
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Identifying True Classifiers in Mandarin Chinese

By Wan-chun Lai

The seal of National Chengchi University is a large, faint watermark in the background. It is circular with a double-line border. Inside the border, the Chinese characters '國立政治大學' (National Chengchi University) are arranged in a circle. In the center of the seal is a stylized five-petaled flower or cloud shape. Inside this shape, the Chinese characters '政大' (Chengchi University) are written in a bold, stylized font. Below the flower shape, the English text 'National Chengchi University' is written in a circular path.

A Thesis Submitted to the  
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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements.....	iv
Table of Contents .....	v
Tables.....	vii
Figures.....	viii
Chinese Abstract.....	ix
English Abstract.....	x
<b>CHAPTER</b>	
<b>I. INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Motivation and Purpose.....	2
1.2 Conventions of the Data.....	3
1.3 Organization of the Thesis.....	4
<b>II. LITERATURE REVIEW.....</b>	<b>6</b>
2.1 Classifiers and Measure Words.....	6
2.1.1 Traditional Views.....	6
2.1.2 Recent Views.....	8
2.2 Mandarin Chinese Classifier Categorizations.....	10
2.2.1 Chao (1968).....	10
2.2.2 Erbaugh (1986).....	11
2.2.3 Hu (1993).....	12
2.2.4 Huang et. al. (1997).....	12
2.2.5 Gao and Malt (2009).....	14
2.3 Remark.....	15
<b>III. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS.....</b>	<b>19</b>
3.1 Numeral / adjectival stacking.....	19
3.2 <i>De</i> -insertion.....	26
3.3 <i>Ge</i> -substitution.....	29
3.4 <i>Yi</i> -multiplier.....	31
3.5 Remark.....	34
<b>IV. DATA ANALYSIS.....</b>	<b>38</b>
4.1 Re-classify Mandarin Chinese Classifier Categorizations.....	39
4.1.1 Chao (1968).....	45
4.1.1.1 Classifiers.....	45
4.1.1.1.1 <i>Mei</i> <sup>2</sup> 枚.....	46
4.1.1.1.2 <i>Ding</i> <sup>3</sup> 頂.....	47
4.1.1.1.3 Words Re-classified as Classifiers.....	49

4.1.1.2	<i>Xc</i> and <i>Xm</i> .....	50
4.1.1.2.1	<i>Ba3</i> 把.....	50
4.1.1.2.2	<i>Kou3</i> 口.....	54
4.1.1.2.3	Words Re-classified as <i>Xc</i> and <i>Xm</i> .....	57
4.1.1.3	Measure Words.....	58
4.1.1.3.1	<i>Hang2</i> 行.....	58
4.1.1.3.2	Words Re-classified as Measure Words.....	59
4.1.4	A Dialect Word.....	60
4.1.2	Erbaugh (1986).....	60
4.1.2.1	Words Re-classified as Classifiers.....	61
4.1.2.2	Words Re-classified as <i>Xc</i> and <i>Xm</i> .....	61
4.1.2.3	Words Re-classified as Measure Words.....	62
4.1.3	Hu (1993).....	62
4.1.3.1	Words Re-classified as Classifiers.....	62
4.1.3.2	Words Re-classified as <i>Xc</i> and <i>Xm</i> .....	63
4.1.3.3	Words Re-classified as Measure Words.....	63
4.1.4	Huang et. al. (1997).....	63
4.1.4.1	Words Re-classified as Classifiers.....	71
4.1.4.2	Words Re-classified as <i>Xc</i> and <i>Xm</i> .....	73
4.1.4.3	Words Re-classified as Measure Words.....	74
4.1.4.4	Inapplicable Words.....	76
4.1.5	Malt and Gao (2009).....	76
4.1.5.1	Words Re-classified as Classifiers.....	77
4.1.5.2	Words Re-classified as <i>Xc</i> and <i>Xm</i> .....	79
4.1.5.3	Words Re-classified as Measure Words.....	80
4.2	True Classifiers.....	81
4.2.1	Core Classifiers and Non-core Classifiers.....	81
4.2.2	An Experiment on Classifier Identifications.....	85
4.3	A Semantic Categorization of True Classifiers.....	95
<b>V.</b>	<b>CONCLUDING REMARKS</b> .....	103
5.1	Summary of the Thesis.....	103
5.2	Issues for Future Study.....	105
<b>REFERENCES</b>	.....	107
<b>APPENDIXS</b>	.....	112
A.	Pre-test of Classifier Identifications.....	112
B.	Formal Test of Classifier Identifications.....	114
C.	A Semantic Categorization of Mandarin Chinese Classifier (Hu 1993).....	116

## TABLES

Table 1. The 51 Classifiers Proposed by Chao (1968).....	11
Table 2. The 22 Classifiers Proposed by Erbaugh (1986).....	11
Table 3. The 20 Classifiers Proposed by Hu (1993).....	12
Table 4. The 173 Classifiers Proposed by Huang et. al. (1997).....	13
Table 5. The 126 Classifiers Proposed by Gao and Malt (2009).....	15
Table 6. Asymmetry of the Rightmost Digit (Her 2011b, Table 1).....	32
Table 7. The Relation of the Three Portions.....	44
Table 8: 39 Words of Classifiers in Chao (1968) ‘ <i>A Grammar of Spoken Chinese</i> ’.....	49
Table 9: 6 Words of <i>Xc</i> and <i>Xm</i> in Chao (1968) ‘ <i>A Grammar of Spoken Chinese</i> ’.....	57
Table 10: 5 Words of Measure Words in Chao (1968) ‘ <i>A Grammar of Spoken Chinese</i> ’.....	60
Table 11: A Dialect Word in Chao (1968) ‘ <i>A Grammar of Spoken Chinese</i> ’.....	60
Table 12: 18 Words of Classifiers in Erbaugh (1986).....	61
Table 13: 3 Words of <i>Xc</i> and <i>Xm</i> in Erbaugh (1986).....	61
Table 14: 1 Word of Measure Word in Erbaugh (1986).....	62
Table 15: 15 Words of Classifiers in Hu (1993).....	62
Table 16: 4 Words of <i>Xc</i> and <i>Xm</i> in Hu (1993).....	63
Table 17: One Measure Word in Hu (1993).....	63
Table 18: The 14 Kind Classifiers Proposed by Huang and Ahren (2003).....	65
Table 19: The 35 Event Classifiers Proposed by Huang and Ahren (2003).....	65
Table 20: 13 Event Classifiers Testified as Classifiers.....	68
Table 21: 83 Words of Classifiers in Huang et. al. (1997) ‘ <i>Mandarin Daily Dictionary of Chinese Classifiers</i> ’.....	71
Table 22: 21 Words of <i>Xc</i> and <i>Xm</i> in Huang et. al. (1997) ‘ <i>Mandarin Daily Dictionary of Chinese Classifiers</i> ’.....	73
Table 23: 75 Words of Measure Words in Huang et. al. (1997) ‘ <i>Mandarin Daily Dictionary of Chinese Classifiers</i> ’.....	74
Table 24: NA Words in Huang et. al. (1997) ‘ <i>Mandarin Daily Dictionary of Chinese Classifiers</i> ’.....	76
Table 25: 71 Words of Classifiers in Malt and Gao (2009).....	77
Table 26: 18 Words of <i>Xc</i> and <i>Xm</i> in Malt and Gao (2009).....	79
Table 27: 37 Words of Measure Words in Malt and Gao (2009).....	80
Table 28: 22 Core Classifiers.....	83
Table 29: 90 Non-core Classifiers.....	84
Table 30: Statistics of Non-core Classifiers.....	89
Table 31: Percentage of Test Items as a Classifier in Non-core Classifiers.....	93
Table 32: 61 True Classifiers.....	94
Table 33: Sixty-one True Classifiers and Their Semantic Meanings.....	97
Table 34: Sixty-one True Classifiers and Their Bottom-up Semantic Categorizations.....	99

## FIGURES

Figure 1: Classifier System.....	10
Figure 2: The Hierarchy of Lexemes and Word-forms.....	41
Figure 3: The Hierarchy of <i>ba3</i> 把, <i>ba3</i> 把 <i>c</i> and <i>ba3</i> 把 <i>m</i> .....	43
Figure 4: The Hierarchy of <i>kou3</i> □, <i>kou3</i> □ <i>c</i> and <i>kou3</i> □ <i>m</i> .....	43
Figure 5: Intersection of Two Sets.....	82
Figure 6: Union of Two Sets.....	83
Figure 7: Portion of $A \cup B - 2 \times A \cap B$ .....	84
Figure 8: A Bottom-up Semantic Categorization of True Classifiers.....	100





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論文提要內容:(共一冊,二萬七千六百七十三個字,分五章)

漢語分類詞數量之歧異現象起因於未有一套共同界定分類詞之準則。因此,本篇論文採用四個以語言學為基礎之準則重新檢視漢語分類詞,並在眾多漢語分類詞分類中,採用五個語言學代表性研究提出之漢語分類詞分類為本篇語料來源。

研究分析之目的在於透過四個以語言學為基礎之準則重新檢視五個代表性人物提出之漢語分類詞分類,並使用二個數學法及一個問卷實驗法找出準確的漢語分類詞。最後,分析所得之準確的漢語分類詞再根據國語日報量詞典列出之分類詞語意做更進一步的語意分類。在分類詞語意分類上,本篇論文採用下到上之方向做分類詞語意分類而非傳統上到下之方向,提供完整且精確之漢語分類詞語意分類。

## Abstract

The discrepancy in the different inventories of Mandarin Chinese classifiers results from there being no identical and consentient tests to identify Mandarin Chinese classifiers. Thus, this thesis adopts four linguistic-based tests as norms to identify Mandarin Chinese classifiers and five Mandarin Chinese classifier categorizations proposed by representative studies (Chao 1968, Erbaugh 1986, Hu 1993, Huang et. al. 1997 and Malt and Gao 2009) as sources of data in Mandarin Chinese classifier categorizations.

The data analysis focuses on offering true classifiers in Mandarin Chinese through re-classifying five Mandarin Chinese classifier categorizations on the basis of four linguistic-based tests, applying two mathematical methods and using a questionnaire experiment. Ultimately, true classifiers will be further classified on the basis of their semantic meanings from the *Mandarin Daily Dictionary of Chinese Classifiers* (Huang et. al.) to provide an explicit semantic categorization in a bottom-up form, rather than a traditional top-down one.

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

Previous studies have provided very different inventories of classifiers in Mandarin Chinese. The number of Mandarin Chinese classifiers estimated by previous studies has been given as in variable numbers, for example fifty-one (Chao 1968), one hundred and seventy-three (Huang et. al. 1997), one hundred and twenty-six (Gao and Malt 2009), four hundred and twenty-seven (Huang & Ahren 2003), two hundred (Hung 1996) and several dozen (Erbaugh 1986, Hu 1993). The main reason for this drastic discrepancy results from the different standards used in identifying classifiers.

In the traditional view of Chinese grammar, classifiers are regarded as on a par with measure words and no distinction is made between classifiers and measure words. For example, Chao (1968) regards classifiers as ‘individual measure words’ in *A Grammar of Spoken Chinese*. Li and Thompson (1981) blend classifiers and measure words and state that ‘any measure word can be a classifier’. For instance, a measure word such as *bang4* 磅 can function as a classifier in ‘*yi1 bang4 rou4*’ 一磅肉. A detailed explanation is given in Section 2.1.1.

The recent views of classifiers support the differentiation of classifiers and measure words. Tai and Wang (1990), for example, think that it is desirable and possible to differentiate classifiers and measure words. Thus, Tai and Wang (1990) postulate an important semantic distinction between measure words and classifiers: that the notion of measure words is based on quantification, while that of classifiers is based on qualification.

Apart from supporting the differentiation of classifiers and measure words, Ahren and Huang (1996) and Huang and Ahren (2003) propose that classifiers can be further divided into three subcategories, namely individual classifiers, kind classifiers and event classifiers. These three subcategories operate under the classifier system, which is a particular system of a natural language grammar. The above concept of three subcategories implies that classifiers seem to be more complicated and varied.

## **1.1 Motivation and Purpose**

Although numerous studies have been conducted on Mandarin Chinese classifiers, discrepancies can be found in the inventories of the classifiers. The main reason for the discrepancies results from being no identical and consentient norms to identify classifiers.

Thus, this thesis will adopt four tests based on linguistic theory mentioned in

Chapter 3 to re-examine five Mandarin Chinese classifier categorizations proposed by representative studies including Chao (1968), Erbaugh (1986), Hu (1993), Huang et. al. (1997) and the Gao and Malt (2009), respectively.

The first purpose is to re-classify five Mandarin Chinese classifier categorizations on the basis of the four norms and offer a solution for use in the classification of ambiguous classifiers. Although the concept of ambiguous classifiers has been mentioned by Tai and Wang (1990) and Tai (1992), such a classification for ambiguous classifiers has not been proposed before.

The next purpose is to offer true classifiers<sup>1</sup> which are definite classifiers in Mandarin Chinese through comparing the results of the analysis of five Mandarin Chinese classifier categorizations, applying two mathematical methods and using a questionnaire experiment.

The last purpose is to further classify true classifiers on the basis of their semantic meanings as given in the *Mandarin Daily Dictionary of Chinese Classifiers* (Huang et. al 1997) so as to offer an explicit semantic categorization in a bottom-up form, rather than a traditional top-down one.

## 1.2 Conventions of the Data

Since the five Mandarin Chinese classifier categorizations are the source of the data in Mandarin Chinese classifier categorizations in this thesis, many of the

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<sup>1</sup> A name given by this thesis to express some classifiers is 'precise classifiers'.

examples used herein thus come from these five Mandarin Chinese classifier categorizations, which include the grammar book 《中國話的文法》 “*A Grammar of Spoken Chinese*” edited by Chao (1968), the dictionary 《國語日報量詞典》 “*Mandarin Daily Dictionary of Chinese Classifiers*” edited by Huang et. al. (1997) and the PhD dissertation of Hu (1993), and two journal papers of Erbaugh (1986) and of Gao and Malt (2009). Since this thesis focuses on Mandarin Chinese classifiers, all the data in this thesis are from studies of Mandarin Chinese classifiers. The tone system used in this thesis is expressed as none for neutral tone, 1 for high level tone, 2 for high raising tone, 3 for falling raising tone and 4 for high falling tone.

### **1.3 Organization of the Thesis**

The thesis is organized in the following way. Both traditional views and recent views of classifiers and measure words will be reviewed in Section 2.1.1 and 2.1.2. Brief introductions of the five Mandarin Chinese classifier categorizations adopted in this thesis will be provided in Section 2.2. Next, Chapter 3 presents the four tests based on linguistic theory tests used in this thesis to re-examine five Mandarin Chinese classifier categorizations proposed by representative linguists. The notion of numeral / adjectival stacking will be introduced in Section 3.1. Next, the notion of *de*-insertion and *ge*-substitution will be introduced in Section 3.2 and 3.3, separately. Section 3.4 provides the notion of *yi*-multiplier. The data analysis will be discussed

in Chapter 4 with re-classifications of the five Mandarin Chinese classifier categorizations proposed by representative studies in Section 4.1. The notion and reason of the emergence of true classifiers will be provided in Section 4.2 and a semantic categorization of true classifiers in a bottom-up form in Section 4.3. Finally, Chapter 5 concludes the study by summarizing the the main points of the thesis and pointing out the implications for future study.



## **CHAPTER II**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

Although numerous studies have been conducted on numeral classifiers in Mandarin Chinese, especially the individual classifiers that are generally called classifiers in the following chapters in this thesis, the core issues addressed in these studies have been controversies in the different definitions and standards of identifying classifiers. In the following, two aspects will be concerned. First, different definitions of classifiers will be provided. One is the traditional view of classifiers and measure words proposed by Chao (1968) and by Li and Thompson (1981), and the other is the more recent one of that proposed by Tai & Wang (1990), by Tai (1992, 1994) and by Ahren & Huang (1996) and Huang & Ahren (2003), all of which will be individually discussed. Second, five Mandarin Chinese classifier categorizations proposed by representative studies will be briefly introduced. Finally, some remarks for this section will be given.

#### **2.1 Classifiers and Measure Words**

##### **2.1.1 Traditional Views**



In the traditional view of Chinese grammar, classifiers are regarded as on a par with measure words. For example, Chao (1968) treats classifiers as a subcategory of measure words in *A Grammar of Spoken Chinese*. Thus, the classifiers that I concentrate on in this thesis are called individual measure words in Chao (1968). Moreover, Li and Thompson (1981) blend classifiers and measure words and state ‘any measure word can be a classifier.’ The following examples from Li and Thompson (1981) can illustrate their opinions.

(1) a. 一 哩  
*yi1 li3*  
 one mile  
 ‘one mile’

\*b. 一 個 哩  
*yi1 ge li3*  
 one C mile

(2) a. 一 磅  
*yi1 bang4*  
 one pound  
 ‘one pound’

b. 一 磅 肉  
*yi1 bang4 rou4*  
 one pound meat  
 ‘one pound of meat’

Not only does a measure word generally not take a classifier as shown in (1), but

any measure word can be a classifier as shown in (2). The standard measure *li3* 哩 in (1a) is acceptable, but not in (1b) because measure words do not take a classifier. However, the standard measure *bang4* 磅 in (2) is regarded as a classifier by Li and Thompson (1981) because the *a* phrase shows a measure word functioning as a noun without a classifier and the *b* phrase shows the same measure word functioning as a classifier with another noun. From observation of (2b), Li and Thompson thus think that ‘any measure word can be a classifier’.

### 2.1.2 Recent Views

The recent views of classifiers and measure words support the differentiation of classifiers from measure words. For example, Tai and Wang (1990) suggest that it is feasible and desirable to differentiate classifiers from measure words in order to better understand the cognitive basis of the classifier system. Thus, Tai and Wang (1990) were the first to study Mandarin Chinese classifiers on the basis of cognitive categorization. According to the concept that ‘a classifier denotes some salient perceived or imputed characteristic of the entity to which the associated noun refers’ postulated by Allan (1977), Tai and Wang (1990) think that classifiers denote relatively ‘inherent’ or ‘permanent’ properties while measure words denote ‘contingent’ or ‘temporary’ properties. Tai and Wang (1990) thus propose the following distinction between ‘permanent’ and ‘temporary’ properties of entities as the fundamental cognitive basis for distinguishing between classifiers and measure

words.

#### Semantic Distinction between Classifiers and Measure Words

‘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.’

But under the view of semantic distinction between classifiers and measure words, Tai (1992) points out that it is difficult to decide in the case of some ambiguous classifiers like *ba3* 把<sup>2</sup> and *kuai4* 塊<sup>3</sup> as to whether they are classifiers or measure words because these classifiers also function as measure words.

The other scholars supporting the recent view are Ahren and Huang (1996) and Huang and Ahren (2003). In addition to approving the existence of classifiers, they think that classifiers can be further divided into three subcategories, namely, individual classifiers, event classifiers and kind classifiers. Individual classifiers are those such *tiao2* 條, *mian4* 面 and so on. Event classifiers coerce event readings on the nouns that they occur with, for example, *chul* 齧, *chang3* 場, *tong1* 通 and so on. Kind classifiers explicitly mark the nominal element that they select as having a kind reading, such *yang4* 樣, *zhong3*

<sup>2</sup> *Ba3* 把 in *yī ba3 dāo1 zǐ* 一把刀子 can mean either ‘one knife’ functioning as a classifier or ‘one handful of knives’ functioning as a measure word.

<sup>3</sup> *Kuai4* 塊 in *yī kuai4 ròu* 一塊肉 can stress either ‘the shape of meat’ functioning as a classifier or ‘a portion of meat’ functioning as a measure word.

種, *shi4* 式, *kuan3* 款 and so on. And these three subcategories, namely individual classifiers, kind classifiers and event classifiers, are under a classifier system which is a particular system of a natural language grammar. The relations of these three subcategories and the classifier system are represented below.

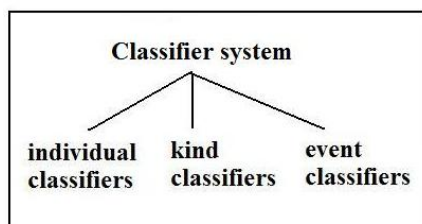


Figure 1: Classifier System

## 2.2 Mandarin Chinese Classifier Categorizations

Because of the large number of studies about Mandarin Chinese classifier categorizations, this thesis only adopts five Mandarin Chinese classifier categorizations proposed by representative studies. In this section below, these five categorizations will be briefly introduced.

### 2.2.1 Chao (1968)

The reason for adopting Chao (1968) is that Chao represents the traditional way of describing Chinese grammar. In *A Grammar of Spoken Chinese*, Chao postulates that measure words could be divided into nine categories and treats classifiers as a subcategory of measure words. This thesis only concentrates on the first category: individual measures. This category includes fifty-one individual measures as shown below. Tai (1992) mention that Chao's 'individual

measure’ is actually a classifier on the basis of the semantic distinction between classifiers and measure words proposed by Tai and Wang (1990). Thus, I will call the first category of ‘individual measures’ in Chao (1968) classifiers in the following.

Table 1: The 51 Classifiers Proposed by Chao (1968)

ba3 把	ding3 頂	guan3 管	li4 粒	shan4 扇	zhang1 張
ban4 瓣	du3 堵	hang2 行	liang4 輛	shou3 首	zhi1 枝
ben3 本	dun4 頓	jia1 家	mei2 枚	sao1 艘	zhi1 隻
bu4 部	duo3 朵	jia4 架	men2 門	suo3 所	zhuang1 樁
chu1 齣	feng1 封	jian4 件	mian4 面	tiao2 條	zun1 尊
chu4 處	fu2 幅	juan4 卷	mu4 幕	tou2 頭	zuo4 座
chuang2 床	gan3 桿	ke1 棵	pi1 匹	wei4 位	
dan4 筴	gen1 根	ke1 顆	pian1 篇	ya2 牙	
dao4 道	ge 個	kou3 口	qi2 期	zhan3 盞	

### 2.2.2 Erbaugh (1986)

Erbaugh is known for investigating classifiers from the view of acquisition. Erbaugh (1986) provides twenty-two core classifiers as shown in Table 2 covering virtually all the classifiers produced by both children and adults in Erbaugh’s studies. No matter in what kind of conversations, adults to adults or adults to children or children to children, Erbaugh (1986) mentions that these core classifiers almost all appear in these conversations. That is to say, Erbaugh (1986) considers that these twenty-two classifiers are representative classifiers.

Table 2: The 22 Classifiers Proposed by Erbaugh (1986)

ba3 把	gen1 根	ke1 棵	shou3 首	zhi1 枝
ben3 本	jia4 架	ke1 顆	tiao2 條	zhi1 隻
ding3 頂	jian1 間	kuai4 塊	tou2 頭	

duan4 段	jia4 件	li4 粒	wei4 位	
duo3 朵	ju4 句	pian4 片	zhang1 張	

### 2.2.3 Hu (1993)

Hu (1993) is also known for investigating classifiers from the view of acquisition. Hu (1993) provides twenty classifiers which are commonly used in the acquisition of Chinese classifiers by young Mandarin speaking children as given in Table 3. Hu also mentions that these twenty classifiers are classifiers which are used to qualify. According to Adam and Conklin (1973), classifiers which are used to qualify usually denote a permanent, particular intrinsic feature of the referent of the noun. On the basis of the semantic distinction between classifiers and measure words provided by Tai and Wang (1990), the concept of qualifying classifiers proposed by Adam and Conklin (1973) corresponds to classifiers. Thus, I focus on the twenty qualifying classifiers provided by Hu (1993) in this thesis.

Table 3: The 20 Classifiers Proposed by Hu (1993)

ba3 把	jian4 件	liang4 輛	shuang1 雙	wei4 位
ge 個	ke1 顆	pi1 匹	tai2 台	zhang1 張
gen1 根	kuai4 塊	pian4 片	tiao2 條	zhi1 枝
jia4 架	li4 粒	sao1 艘	tou2 頭	zhi1 隻

### 2.2.4 Huang et al. (1997)

A comprehensive dictionary of Mandarin classifiers named the *Mandarin Daily Dictionary of Chinese Classifiers* was edited by Huang et. al. (1997). This dictionary is a representative example of modern Mandarin Chinese. Although many Mandarin Chinese classifier dictionaries have been published, Huang et. al. propose that their

dictionary marks a breakthrough in the lexicography of modern Mandarin Chinese. The dictionary has the following two traits. First, the data in the dictionary is not sourced from existing dictionaries or on the personal opinions, but based on findings from a balanced large electronic corpus (Sinica Corpus) as the database for this dictionary. Second, this dictionary is edited by many linguists with much experience in analyzing Chinese. Thus, this dictionary is claimed to provide a completely new and accurate listing of Mandarin Chinese classifiers.

In this dictionary, Mandarin Chinese classifiers are divided into seven categories. This thesis only concentrates on the first category: individual classifiers which include one hundred and seventy-three individual classifiers as shown in Table 4.

Table 4: The 173 Classifiers Proposed by Huang et. al. (1997)

ba3 把	dian3 點	hang2 行	ke1 顆	pi3 匹	tao4 套	zhao1 招
ban1 班	die2 疊	hao4 號	ke4 客	pian1 篇	ti2 題	zhen1 針
ban3 版	ding3 頂	hu4 戶	ke4 課	pian4 片	tiao2 條	zheng4 幀
ban4 瓣	ding4 錠	hui2 回	kou3 口	piao4 票	tie4 帖	zhi1 支
bang1 幫	dong4 棟	huo3 夥	kuai4 塊	pie3 撇	ting3 挺	zhi1 只
ben3 本	du3 堵	ji2 級	kuan3 款	pou2 杯	tou2 頭	zhi1 枝
bi3 筆	duan4 段	ji2 集	kun3 捆	qi2 畦	tuan2 團	zhi1 隻
bing3 柄	dui1 堆	ji2 輯	lan2 欄	qi2 期	tuo2 坨	zhi3 紙
bu4 部	dui4 隊	ji4 記	li4 粒	qi3 起	wan1 彎	zhou2 軸
cai2 槽	dui4 對	ji4 劑	lian2 聯	qu3 曲	wan1 灣	zhu1 株
ce4 冊	duo3 朵	jia1 家	liang4 輛	quan1 圈	wan2 丸	zhu4 柱
ceng2 層	fa1 發	jia4 架	lie4 列	que4 闕	wei3 尾	zhu4 炷
chong2 重	fang1 方	jian1 間	liu3 絡	qun2 群	wei4 位	zhuo1 桌
chu4 處	fang2 房	jian4 件	lu4 路	shan4 扇	wei4 味	zong1 宗
chuan4 串	fen4 分	jie1 階	lun2 輪	shen1 身	xi2 席	zu3 組
chuang2 床	fen4 份	jie2 節	luo4 落	sheng1 聲	xi2 襲	zun1 尊
chuang2 幢	feng1 封	jie2 截	lyu3 旅	shou3 首	xian4 線	zuo4 座

cong2 叢	fu2 服	jie4 介	lyu3 縷	shu4 束	xiang4 項
cu4 簇	fu2 幅	jin4 進	mei2 枚	shuang1 雙	ye4 頁
cuo1 撮	fu4 副	jing1 莖	men2 門	si1 絲	ye4 葉
da3 打	gan3 桿	ju4 句	mian4 面	sou1 艘	yuan2 員
dai4 代	gen1 根	ju4 具	ming2 名	suo3 所	ze2 則
dai4 帶	ge 個	juan3 卷	pai2 排	tai1 胎	zha1 紮
dang3 檔	gu3 股	juan4 卷	peng3 捧	tai2 台	zhan3 盞
dao4 道	gua4 掛	ke1 科	pi1 匹	tan1 攤	zhang1 張
di1 滴	guan3 管	ke1 棵	pi1 批	tang2 堂	zhang1 章

### 2.2.5 Gao and Malt (2009)

Gao and Malt (2009), who lately provide Mandarin Chinese classifier categorizations, compile a list of one hundred and twenty-six classifiers in order to provide a basis for their studies and to serve as a resource for future research. Although several Chinese classifier dictionaries have been published, Gao and Malt (2009) claim that their list has some advantages. For instance, Gao and Malt (2009) claim that they only include individual classifiers in this list and that they only list classifiers which are familiar to speakers of Chinese. The sources of these classifiers are also very wide-ranging, from Chinese books, newspapers, and dictionaries to casual conversations between Gao and Malt and the other native Chinese speakers and their own knowledge of Chinese. Gao and Malt (2009) mention that these one hundred twenty-six classifiers are approved not only by themselves but also by six paid native speakers of Mandarin Chinese from Beijing (three graduate students at Lehigh University and three college-educated spouses of graduate students). As a result, Gao and Malt (2009) think that these one hundred twenty-six classifiers as



shown below are quite accurate classifiers.

Table 5: The 126 Classifiers Proposed by Gao and Malt (2009)

ben3 本	dong4 洞	ji2 集	liang4 輛	qi2 期	tang2 堂	ye4 頁
ba3 把	dong4 棟	ji4 劑	liu3 絡	qi3 起	tang4 趟	ze2 則
ban1 班	du3 堵	jia1 家	long3 壟	qiang1 腔	tiao2 條	zhan3 盞
ban4 瓣	duan4 段	jia4 架	lü3 縷	qu3 曲	tie4 帖	zhan4 站
bi3 筆	dui4 對	jia4 駕	lun2 輪	quan1 圈	ting3 挺	zhang1 張
bian4 辮	dun4 頓	jian1 間	ma3 碼	ren4 任	tou2 頭	zhang1 章
bu4 部	duo3 朵	jian4 件	mei2 枚	sao1 艘	tuan2 團	zhao1 招
ce4 冊	fa1 發	jie2 節	men2 門	shan4 扇	tuo2 坨	zhen4 陣
chang3 場	fen4 份	jie2 截	mian4 面	shen1 身	wan2 丸	zhi1 支
chu1 齣	feng1 封	jie4 屆	ming2 名	sheng1 聲	wei4 位	zhi1 枝
chu4 處	fu2 幅	ju4 句	mu4 幕	shou3 首	wei4 味	zhi1 隻
chuang2 床	gan3 桿	ju4 具	pan2 盤	shu4 束	wo1 窩	zhou2 軸
chuang2 幢	gen1 根	juan4 卷	pao4 泡	si1 絲	xi2 席	zhu1 株
cuo1 撮	ge 個	ke1 棵	pi1 匹	suo1 梭	xian4 線	zhuang1 椿
dao4 道	gu3 股	ke1 顆	pian1 篇	suo3 所	xiang4 項	zhuo1 桌
di1 滴	gua4 掛	kou3 口	pian4 片	tai1 胎	xing1 星	zong1 宗
dian3 點	guan3 管	kuai4 塊	pie3 撇	tai2 台	ya2 牙	zun1 尊
ding3 頂	hu4 戶	li4 粒	qi2 畦	tan1 灘	yan3 眼	zuo4 座

### 2.3 Remark

On the basis of previous studies in Section 2.1.1, I conclude that there are two views to support the recent view that there needs to be a differentiation between classifiers and measure words. One view is from the set theory. Her (2011b) mentions that classifiers do not contribute any semantic value that the noun has already possessed to the semantics of the overall [Number C Noun] phrase. For example, *yi1 wei3 yu2* 一尾魚 provided by Her (2011b). The classifier *wei3* 尾 will not contribute the ‘tail’ value to *yu2* 魚 because having a tail is part of what necessarily makes a fish. On the other hand, Her (2011b) claims that measure words

do contribute semantic value that the noun does not possess to the semantics of the overall [Number C Noun] phrase. For example, *yi1 xiang1 yu2* 一箱魚. The measure word *xiang1* 箱 will contribute ‘box’ value to *yu2* 魚 because *xiang1* 箱 will furnish additional information to the phrase, indicating that the fish are inside the box and mass boxful quantity. The other view is from Her’s (2010, 2011b) *yi*-multiplier, a mathematic formula which can be used to differentiate classifiers and measure words. Her (2010, 2011b) proposes that classifiers are the multiplier *1* and *1* only. For example, the classifier *wei3* 尾 is the multiplier *1* and *1* only. Thus, *yi1 wei3 yu2* 一尾魚 will be equal to  $1 \times 1 yu2$  魚, which means one fish. Otherwise, measure words are other infinite possible values. For example, the measure word *da3* 打 is the multiplier *12*, rather than *1*. Thus, *yi1 da3 dan4* 一打蛋 is equal to  $1 \times 12 dan4$  蛋, which means twelve eggs. The details of Her’s mathematic formula about the differentiation between classifiers and measure words will be discussed in Section 3.4. According to the above two views, I thus adopt differentiable concept of classifiers and measure words in this thesis and focus on classifiers.

In Section 2.1.2, there are also two aspects to note. First, although Tai (1992) notes that ambiguous classifiers like *ba3* 把 and *kuai4* 塊 can also be measure words, he does not provide any precise classification to show how these ambiguous classifiers should be regarded as classifiers or measure words. Thus, I will provide my solution to these ambiguous classifiers from morphology in the following Section 4.1. Second,

Ahren and Huang (1996) and Huang and Ahren (2003) propose that classifiers can be further divided into three subcategories, namely individual classifiers, event classifiers and kind classifiers. These three subcategories are under the classifiers system. However, a question arises, should these event classifiers and kind classifiers be regarded as classifiers? Because some studies from whom I have adopted Mandarin Chinese classifier categorizations in this thesis such as Chao (1968), Erbaugh (1986), Hu (1993) and Gao and Malt (2009) do not include kind classifiers into their classifier categories. But, event classifiers are included into classifier categories of Chao (1968) and of Gao and Malt (2009). Thus, my hypothesis to the above question is that kind classifiers should not be treated as classifiers and that it is possible for event classifiers to be classified as classifiers. In Section 4.1.4, the further evidence to support this hypothesis will be offered.

Ultimately, the most important thing is solve the discrepancy of the number of Mandarin Chinese classifiers. For example, fifty-one classifiers are given in Chao (1968), twenty-two in Erbaugh (1986), one hundred and seventy-three in Huang et. al. and one hundred and twenty-six in Gao and Malt (2009). The reason for these discrepancies results the lack of consentient norms in classifying Mandarin Chinese classifiers. Thus, I will adopt the four tests introduced in Chapter 3 to re-classify Mandarin Chinese classifier categorizations (Chao 1968, Erbaugh 1986, Hu 1993, Huang et. al 1997 and Gao and Malt 2009) in Chapter 4.

In the following chapters, the theoretical frameworks of this thesis will be introduced. Chapter 4 provides the data analysis of Mandarin Chinese classifier categorizations. Chapter 5 provides a short summary and indicates further points for further study in the future.



## CHAPTER III

# THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

Two well-known syntactic tests, adjective insertion and *de*-insertion have been used to differentiate the distinction between classifiers and measure words. In light of the on-going controversies over both tests, Her (2010) demonstrates that both tests can be made much more accurate and reliable. Below more accurate adjective insertion and *de*-insertion will be briefly introduced. In addition to the above two tests, two other tests will also be adopted. Altogether four tests, numeral/adjectival stacking (Her and Hsieh 2010, Her 2011b), revised *de*-insertion (Her and Hsieh 2010), *ge*-substitution (Tai and Wang 1990 and Tai 1994) and *yi*-multiplier Her (2010, 2011b), are used in this thesis to differentiate classifiers from measure words. These four tests will be successively introduced in this section. Finally, some remarks will be made to sum up the content of this section.

### 3.1 Numeral/adjectival stacking

According to Liang (2006), Mandarin Chinese measure words can be inserted and modified by an adjective while Mandarin Chinese classifiers can not, as shown in (3)

and (4), respectively.

(3) 一 小 箱 書 (Her and Hsieh 2010, (8))

*yi1 xiao3 xiang1 shu1*

one small box book

‘one small box of books’

(4) \*一 小 隻 狗 (Her and Hsieh 2010, (9))

*yi1 xiao3 zhi1 gou3*

one small C<sup>4</sup> dog

Although this test is confirmed by some linguists, many counter-examples to this test are found. For example, Her and Hsieh (2010) find numerous [Adj-C] examples from Google searches in the Taiwan domain as shown in (5a) and (5b), respectively.

(5) a. 一 大 顆 蘋果 (Her and Hsieh 2010, (10a))

*yi1 da4 ke1 ping2guo3*

one big C apple

‘one big apple’

b. 一 大 本 書 (Her and Hsieh 2010, (10b))

*yi1 da4 ben3 shu1*

one big C book

‘one big book’

Although the above examples represent that the adjective insertion test is unreliable, Her and Hsieh (2010) and Her (2011b) note crucial differences between classifiers and measure words.

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<sup>4</sup> Note that *C* refers to classifiers only throughout this thesis.

Her (2011b) proposes that the first observation relates to the scope of the numeral. Her and Hsieh (2010) point out that the pre-classifier numeral quantifies the noun together with the classifier, while a pre-measure word numeral only quantifies the measure word itself, not the noun. In the following examples, Her and Hsieh (2010) apply numeral quantification in pre-measure, as well as pre-classifier positions, as in (6a), or the stacking of measure words, as in (6b). Her (2011b) points out that these two phrases are acceptable because the numeral that quantifies the measure words has its scope blocked by the measure words. Nevertheless, the reverse cases as in (7a) and (7b) are totally ill-formed because Her (2011b) points out that numeral that quantifies the classifiers must also quantify the measure words, thus yielding a nonsensical reading. For example, it can not be one and ten packs at the same time in example (7b).

(6) a. 一 箱 十 顆 蘋果 (Her and Hsieh 2010, (11a))

*yi1 xiang1 shi2 ke1 ping2guo3*

one box ten C apple

‘one box of ten apples’

b. 一 箱 十 包 蘋果 (Her and Hsieh 2010, (11b))

*yi1 xiang1 shi2 bao1 ping2guo3*

one box ten pack apple

‘one box of ten packs of apples’

(7) \*a. 一 個 十 顆 蘋果 (Her and Hsieh 2010, (12a))

*yi1 ge shi2 ke1 ping2guo3*

- one C ten C apple
- \*b. 一 個 十 包 蘋果 (Her and Hsieh 2010, (12b))
- yi1 ge shi2 bao1 ping2guo3*
- one C ten pack apple

A formula for the first observation proposed by Her (2011b) is shown in (8).

(8) Classifiers / Measure words Distinction in Numeral Quantification Scope

If [Num<sup>5</sup> X Num Y Noun] is well-formed, then  $X = M^6$ ,  $X \neq C$ , and  $Y = C/M$ .

Her (2011b) proposes that the second observation relates to the scope of the modification of adjectival. Three forms of adjectival modification, [Num – Adj – C/ M Noun], [Adj – C/ M – *de* – Noun] and [Adj – Adj – *de* – Noun], are included in this observation. Following, examples of these three forms will be demonstrated individually. First, Her and Hsieh (2010) provide the main concept in the second observation that the adjectival modification of a pre-measure word has only the measure word as its scope, while a pre-classifier adjective transcends the classifier to modify the noun and allows the scope of a pre-classifier adjective to cover nouns.

The first form [Num – Adj – C/ M Noun] of adjectival modification is shown in (9a) and (9b) provided in Her and Hsieh (2010). Example (9b) shows that a pre-classifier adjective transcends the classifier to modify the noun and allows the scope of a pre-classifier adjective to cover the noun; while example (9a) shows that measure words do not behave in this way.

<sup>5</sup> Note that *Num* refers to cardinal numerals only throughout this thesis.

<sup>6</sup> Note that *M* refers to measure words only throughout this thesis.



- (9) a. 一 大 箱 蘋果 ≠ 一 箱 大 蘋果  
*yi1 da4 xiang1 ping2guo3 yi1 xiang1 da4 ping2guo3*  
 one big box apple one box big apple  
 ‘one big box of apples’ ‘one box of big apples’
- b. 一 大 顆 蘋果 = 一 顆 大 蘋果  
*yi1 da4 ke1 ping2guo3 yi1 ke1 da4 ping2guo3*  
 one big C apple one C big apple  
 ‘one big apple’ ‘one big apple’

The second form of [Adj – C/ M – *de* – Noun] of adjectival modification is shown in (10a) and (10b). Example (10a) shows that a pre-classifier adjective transcends the classifier to modify the noun and allows the scope of a pre-classifier adjective to cover the noun; while example (10b) shows that measure words do not behave in this way.

- (10) a. 大 顆 的 蘋果 = 大 蘋果 (Her 2011, (8a))  
*da4 ke1 de ping2guo3 da4 ping2guo3*  
 big C DE apple big apple  
 ‘big apple(s)’ ‘big apple(s)’
- b. 大 箱 的 蘋果 ≠ 大 蘋果 (Her 2011, (9a))  
*da4 xiang1 de ping2guo3 da4 ping2guo3*  
 big box DE apple big apple  
 ‘apples that come in big boxes’ ‘big apple(s)’

The third form of [Adj – Adj – *de* – Num – C / M – Noun] in adjectival modification is shown in (11a) and (11b) provided by Her (2011b). Example (11a) shows that a pre-classifier adjective transcends the classifier to modify the noun and

allows the scope of a pre-classifier adjective to cover the noun; while example (11b)

shows that measure words do not behave in this way.

(11) a. 大大的 一 顆 蘋果 = 一 顆 大 蘋果  
*da4da4de yi1 ke1 ping2guo3 yi1 ke1 da4 ping2guo3*  
 big one C apple one C big apple  
 ‘one big apple’ ‘one big apple’

b. 大大的 一 箱 蘋果 ≠ 一 箱 大 蘋果  
*da4da4de yi1 xiang1 ping2guo3 yi1 xiang1 da4 ping2guo3*  
 big one box apple one box big apple  
 ‘one big box of apples’ ‘one box of big apples’

A formula for the second observation proposed by Her (2011b) is shown in (12).

(12) C/M Distinction in Adjectival Modification Scope

If [Num A-X N] = [Num X A-N], [A-X-de N] = [A-N], or [AA-de Num X N] = [Num X A-N], semantically and A refers to size, then X = C, and X ≠ M.

Her (2011b) proposes that the last observation comes from the inferences of the above formula (12). Her (2011b) claims that whether the adjective modifies classifiers or nouns, they all have the same scope. Her (2010) thinks that a pre-classifier adjective and a pre-noun adjective in the same phrase can not contradict each other, as shown in (13); while it is totally fine for a pre-measure word to contradict a pre-noun adjective, as shown in (14).

(13)\*a. 一 大 顆 小 蘋果 (Her and Hsieh 2010, (15a))  
*yi1 da4 ke1 xiao3 ping2guo3*  
 one big C small apple

\*b. 大大的 一 顆 小 蘋果 (Her and Hsieh 2010, (15b))

*da4da4de yi1 ke1 xiao3 ping2guo3*

big one C small apple

(14) a. 一 大 箱 小 蘋果 (Her and Hsieh 2010, (14a))

*yi1 da4 xiang1 xiao3 ping2guo3*

one big box small apple

‘one big box of red/small apples’

b. 大大的 一 箱 小 蘋果 (Her and Hsieh 2010, (14b))

*da4da4de yi1 xiang1 xiao3 ping2guo3*

big one box small apple

‘one big box of red/small apples’

Her (2011b) points out that example (13) does not have a congruent reading because apples can not be big and small at the same time. However, the example in (14) can have a congruent reading because the box can be big and the apples small at the same time. A formula for the last observation proposed by Her (2011b) is shown in (15).

(15) C/M Distinction in Antonym Stacking

Given antonyms  $A_1$  and  $A_2$ , if  $[\text{Num } A_1 \text{ X } A_2 \text{ N}]$  is semantically incongruent, then  $X = C$  and  $X \neq M$ ; otherwise,  $X = M$  and  $X \neq C$

Finally, more accurate adjective insertion is revised as numeral/adjectival stacking including three subtests, C/M distinction in numeral quantification scope, C/M distinction in adjectival modification scope and C/M distinction in antonym stacking.

### 3.2 *De*-insertion

Many linguists claim that *de*-insertion is a further piece of evidence for the distinction between classifiers and measure words (e.g., Chao 1968, Tai and Wang 1990, Tai 1994). *De* may be optionally inserted after measure words, but not after classifiers, as shown in (16).

(16) 一 箱/\*本                    的 書                    (Her and Hiesh 2010, (16))

*yi1 xiang1/ben3                    de shu1*

one box/C                    DE book

‘one box of/\*C books’

However, M. Hsieh (2008) points out that there are many well-formed classifier-*de*-noun examples in the Sinica Corpus as in the following examples of (17) and (18).

(17) 五百萬                    隻                    的 鴨子                    (Her and Hiesh 2010, (17))

*wu3bai3wan4                    zhi1                    de ya1zi*

five-million                    C                    DE duck

‘five million ducks’

(18) 幾百                    條                    的 海蛇                    (Her and Hiesh 2010, (18))

*ji3bai3                    tiao2                    de hai3she2*

several-hundred                    C                    DE sea-snake

‘hundreds of sea snakes’

An explanation that is attempted for the above examples is N. Zhang’s (2009) corroboration that in a [Number – classifier – *de* - noun] phrase, the lower the

number, the less acceptable the phrase. Thus, the higher the number, the more naturally *de* intervenes between classifiers and nouns.

However, Her and Hsieh (2010) indicate that if we apply the fractions of a number including those with a value smaller than one to [Number–classifier–*de*–noun], it will drastically increase acceptability. And they point out that there are seventy instances of 之一顆的 *zhi1 yi1 ke1 de* ‘one fraction of’ found in Google searches, as shown in (19).

(19) a. 八分之一 顆 的 高麗菜 (Her and Hsieh 2010, 21 (a))

*ba1fen1zhi1yi1 ke1 de gao1li4cai4*

one-eighth C DE cabbage

‘one-eighth (of a) cabbage’

b. 四分之一 顆 的 洋蔥 (Her and Hsieh 2010, 21 (b))

*si4fen1zhi1yi1 ke1 de yang2cong1*

one-eighth C DE onion

‘one-eighth (of an) onion’

One explanation that is attempted for the above examples (19a) and (19b) is given by Tang (2005:444), where numeral contrast is interpreted as a contrast in ‘information weight’, the higher the number in [Number – classifier – *de* – noun], the higher its information weight.

However, Her and Hsieh (2010) provide another opinion that the higher the degrees of the computational complexity of the modifications before the classifiers are, the heavier the modifications are and the more acceptable the *de*-insertion

phrases are. In other words, any increase in the complexity of a classifier should increase the acceptability of *de*-insertion. In the following example (20) provided by Her and Hsieh (2010), they say that *ban4* 半 is computationally more complex than *yi1* 一, so the degree of acceptability of *ban4 ke1 de ping2guo3* 半顆的蘋果 is higher than that of *yi1 ke1 de ping2guo3* 一顆的蘋果. But, if we use the method of ‘information weight’, the degree of acceptability of *yi1 ke1 de ping2guo3* 一顆的蘋果 is higher than that of *ban4 ke1 de ping2guo3* 半顆的蘋果 because *yi1* 一 is heavier than *ban4* 半.

However, Her and Hsieh (2010) provide Google matches data<sup>7</sup>, with twenty matches of *ban4 ke1 de ping2guo3* 半顆的蘋果 and merely one of *yi1 ke1 de ping2guo3* 一顆的蘋果, to further support the correctness of the argumentations of computational complexity.

(20) a. 半 顆 的 蘋果 (Her and Hsieh 2010, 22(a))

*ban4 ke1 de ping2guo3*

half C DE apple

‘half an apple’

\*b. 一 顆 的 蘋果 (Her and Hsieh 2010, 22 (b))

*yi1 ke1 de ping2guo3*

one C DE apple

‘an apple’

(21) a. 一 大 條 的 魚 (Her and Hsieh 2010, 23 (a))

<sup>7</sup> Data accessed on February 22, 2010 in Her and Hsieh (2010).

*yi1 da4 tiao2 de yu2*  
 one big C DE fish  
 ‘one big fish’

\*b. 一條的魚 (Her and Hsieh 2010, 23 (b))

*yi1 tiao2 de yu2*  
 one C DE fish  
 ‘one fish’

Example (21) shows that the modification *da4* 大 increases the complexity of classifier itself which is also equal to increase the acceptability of *de*-insertion. Thus, the degree of acceptability of *yi1 da4 tiao2 de yu2* 一大條的魚 is higher than that of *yi1 tiao2 de yu2* 一條的魚.

In conclusion, Her and Hsieh (2010) assume that *one* is computationally the least complex number. They thus restate the test of *de*-insertion as shown in (22) in much more restricted terms and with much more precision.

(22) *De*-insertion (revised)

[*yi* M/\*C *de* Noun]

### 3.3 *Ge*-substitution

Tai and Wang (1990) and Tai (1994) propose that if *ge* 個, the neutral individual classifier, can definitely substitute the element without any changes in its truth conditions, then the element is a classifier rather than a measure word. Consider the following examples:

(23) 三顆蘋果 = 三個蘋果 (Her and Hsieh 2010, (24))

*san1 ke1 ping2guo3 san1 ge ping2guo3*  
 three C apple three C apple  
 ‘three apples’ ‘three apples’

(24) 三 箱 蘋果 ≠ 三 個 蘋果 (Her and Hsieh 2010, (25))

*san1 xiang1 ping2guo3 san1 ge ping2guo3*  
 three box apple three C apple  
 ‘three boxes of apples’ ‘three apples’

Example (23) illustrates that *ke1* 顆 is a classifier because *ke1* 顆 can be replaced by *ge* 個 without any change in the numeral meaning of the apple, while (24) shows that *xiang1* 箱 should be categorized as a measure word because *xiang1* 箱 can not be replaced by the neutral individual classifier *ge* 個. As a result, Tai and Wang (1990) and Tai (1994) suggest that classifiers and measure words can be distinguished by *ge*-substitution.

But not all classifiers can be replaced by *ge* 個. For instance, Hsieh (2009) mentions that *ben3* 本 ‘a unit used for books’ is typically regarded as a classifier, as in the case of *yi1 ben3 shu1* 一本書, but that the substituted form ? *yi1 ge shu1* 一個書 is not acceptable at all. And other examples that I have found, such as *yi1 gen1 dao4cai3* 一根稻草 will not be acceptable if we substitute *ge* 個 for their specific individual classifier, such as ? *yi1 ge dao4cai3* 一個稻草. Thus, words that can be substituted for *ge* 個 are certain to be classifiers but not all classifiers can be substituted for *ge* 個. In other words, *ge*-substitution is a sufficient but not a



necessary factor to distinguish classifiers from measure words. The following is a *ge*-substitution formula postulated by Her and Hsieh (2010) to distinguish classifiers from measure words.

(25) *Ge*-substitution

If [Num X Noun] = [Num *ge* Noun] semantically, then  $X = C$  and  $X \neq M$ .

### 3.4 *Yi* – Multiplier

In supposing that coding of the operation of multiplication in language is necessary, Her (2011b) thinks that Au Yeung (2005, 2007) makes a convincing case for the essential role of the multiplicative identity, *1*, in the emergence of classifiers. Her (2011b) points out that in the number calling system of both Chinese and English, all multipliers above the ten are called. Take the number 6543 for example.

(26) 六 千 五 百 四 十 三 (Her 2011b, (50))

liu4 qian1 wu3 bai3 si4 shi2 san1

six thousand five hundred four ten three

‘Six thousand five hundred and forty-three’

While, as Comrie (2006) points out, Chinese numbers are famously regular in their decimal pattern,  $(n \times \text{base}) + m$ , where  $m < \text{base}$ , Her (2011b) mentions that the number 6543 can be derived as shown in (27) and (28).

(27) Derivation of the number 6543 in Chinese (I) (Her 2011b, (51))

$$(6 \times 10^3) + (5 \times 10^2) + (4 \times 10^1) + (3 \times 10^0)$$

(28) Derivation of the number 6543 in Chinese (II) (Her 2011b, (52))

$$(6 \times 1000) + (5 \times 100) + (4 \times 10) + (3 \times 1)$$

Her (2011b) points out that the multiplication, that is symbol  $\times$ , and addition, symbol  $+$ , in examples (27) and (28) is not pronounced, but that all of the bases, such as *qian1* ‘thousand’ ( $10^3$ ), *bai3* ‘hundred’ ( $10^2$ ), and *shi2* ‘ten’ ( $10^1$ ) must be. Only, *ge* ( $10^0$ ) will be viewed as an exception as a base but without pronunciation. Such an asymmetry between the rightmost digits such as *ge* and other digits such as *qian1*, *bai3*, and *shi2* has been noted by Au Yeung (2005). Au Yeung (2005) points out that the only phonetically null but numerically present slot is *ge* when a number is called in Chinese as shown in Table 6. The single digit 3 in Table 6 is equal to  $3 \times ge$  that *ge* is bound to appear but without pronunciation. Because *ge* is bound to appear and  $3 \times ge$  is equal to 3, the only possible multiplier for *ge* is the multiplier 1. The single digit 3 is thus represented by the multiplication formula as  $3 \times 1$ . Because *ge* is phonetically null, *ge* is marked as *silent* to represent phonetically null.

Table 6: Asymmetry of the Rightmost Digit (Her 2011b, Table 1)

Number 6543	6	5	4	3
Position Naming	千位 <i>Qian1-we4i</i>	百位 <i>Bai3-wei4</i>	十位 <i>Shi2-wei4</i>	個位 <i>Ge-wei4</i>
Digit Value Calling	<i>Liu6-qian1</i>	<i>Wu3-bai3</i>	<i>Si4-shi2</i>	<i>San1- GE<sub>silent</sub></i>
Number Calling	六千 ( <u>6</u> <i>qian1</i> ) <i>Liu4 qian1</i>	五百 ( <u>5</u> <i>bai3</i> ) <i>wu3 bai3</i>	四十 ( <u>4</u> <i>shi2</i> ) <i>si4 shi2</i>	三 (*個) ( <u>3</u> $\times$ <i>ge</i> ) <i>san1 GE<sub>silent</sub></i>

As a result, Au Yeung (2005: 201) points out: “The silent classifier in the form of  $1_{GE}$  in the CL slot could serve as a seed for the noisy sortal classifier to grow”.<sup>8</sup> However,

Her (2011b) mentions that Au Yeung (2005) does not follow his simple mathematical

<sup>8</sup> Note that Au Yeung (2007) does not differentiate classifiers from measure words and uses ‘classifiers’ to include both of them. However, Au Yeung (2005) does differentiate classifiers which are called as sortal classifiers in his terminology from measure words which are called non-sortal classifiers in his terminology.

value of *ge* as classifiers, which is quite simply the multiplier *1*. Instead, Her (2011b) points out that Au Yeung pursues a more complicated formula and takes a classifier as having a numerical value ‘one token<sub>object</sub> per unit’ and a measure word as ‘*n* token<sub>object</sub> per unit’. Au Yeung (2007) further interprets ‘token<sub>object</sub>’ as the size of the ‘unit’, or the set. ( $1 \times 1\text{set}$ ) in example (29) and ( $2 \times 1\text{set}$ ) in example (30) are demonstrations of ‘one token<sub>object</sub> per unit’ and ‘*n* token<sub>object</sub> per unit’, respectively.

(29) 三 個 球 (Her 2011b (53))

*san1 ge qiu2* ( $3 \times (1 \times 1\text{set}) \times qiu2$ )

three C ball

‘three balls’

(30) 三 對 球 (Her 2011b (54))

*san1 dui4 qiu2* ( $3 \times (2 \times 1\text{set}) \times qiu2$ )

three pair ball

‘three pairs of balls’

From the above two examples and the ‘one token<sub>object</sub> per unit’ and ‘*n* token<sub>object</sub> per unit’ concepts, Her (2011b) proposes that Au Yeung’s distinction between classifiers and measure words rests on the value of *n*. If *n* is equal to *1*, it is a classifier. If *n* is not equal to *1*, it is a measure word. Au Yeung’s formula of is shown below.

(31) Au Yeung’s (2005, 2007) Formula (Her 2011b (55))

[Num X Noun] = [Num  $\times$  ( $n \times 1\text{set}$ )  $\times$  Noun], where X=C if  $n=1$  and X=M if  $n \neq 1$

Although Au Yeung (2005, 2007) is possibly the first researcher to make the above clear and mathematically precise distinction between classifiers and measure

words, Her (2011b) further provides a simpler proposal of Au Yeung's (2005, 2007) formula.

Her (2010) proposes that if a classifier or a measure word is interpreted as having a mathematical value, then the only possible mathematical function is multiplication linking between numeral and classifiers or measure words. Simplifying Au Yeung's formula, Her (2010) proposes that classifiers represents necessarily multiplier  $1$  and  $1$  only while measure words represents other than  $1$ . The precise and simpler distinction for distinguishing between classifiers and measure words of Her (2010) is given as (32).

(32) Her's (2010) Yi-multiplier Formula

$$[\text{Num X Noun}] = [\text{Num} \times n \text{ Noun}], \text{ where } X=C \text{ iff } n=1, \text{ otherwise } X=M.$$

Finally, Her (2011b) mentions that many classifiers in Chinese are all of the same mathematical value which is multiplier  $1$  and that measure words are the other infinite possible values.

### 3.5 Remark

Theories to differentiate classifiers from measure words have been outlined in this section. Numeral/adjectival stacking is not a perfect way to differentiate classifiers and measure words because there are many variables. For example, a Mandarin Chinese classifier *feng1* 封. Under the scope of numeral modification, *yi1 xiang1 shi2 feng1 xin4* 一箱十封信 is acceptable, but under the scope of adjectival

modification *yi1 da4 feng1 xin4* 一大封信 is semantically doubtful if it is equal to *yi1 feng1 da4 xin4* 一封大信 or *da4 feng1 de xin4* 大封的信 is also semantically doubtful if it is equal to *da4 xin4* 大信. Or, a Mandarin Chinese classifiers, *ju4* 具. Under the scope of numeral modification, *yi1 xiang1 shi2 ju4 shi1ti3* 一箱十具屍體 is acceptable, but under the scope of adjectival modification *yi1 da4 ju4 shi1ti3* 一大具屍體 is semantically doubtful if it is equal to *yi1 ju4 da4 shi1ti3* 一具大屍體 or *da4 ju4 de shi1ti3* 大具的屍體 is semantically doubtful if it is equal to *da4 shi1ti3* 大屍體. The above situations in which classifiers are testified as classifiers in one test but where their status is uncertain in others will increase the difficulties and lack of accuracy in determining whether a Mandarin Chinese word is classifiers or measure words. Moreover, it is impossible to have a definite dichotomous distinction for classifiers and measure words.

Although Her (2011b) has already revised the defects of *de*-insertion, I still found some counter-examples through Google searches. For example, a classifier *jian4* 件 is allowed to have *de*-insertion such as in *yi1 jian4 de mao2yi1* 一件的毛衣<sup>9</sup>. A classifier *mian4* 面 is also allowed to have *de*-insertion such as in *yi1 mian4 de jing4zi* 一面的鏡子<sup>10</sup>. Though I found some counter-examples through Google searches, most classifiers are still not allowed to have *de*-insertion. Words which are not allowed to have *de*-insertion must be classifiers, while words which are allowed

<sup>9</sup> Data accessed on June 27, 2011.

<sup>10</sup> Data accessed on June 27, 2011.

to have *de*-insertion are likely to be classifiers. Thus, I think that *de*-insertion is a sufficient but not necessary property for being a classifier.

Although Tai and Wang (1990) and Tai (1994) suggest that *ge*-substitution can distinguish classifiers from measure words, Hsieh (2009) mentions some counter-examples. I also found some counter-examples, such as ? *yi1 ge dao4cai3* 一個稻草. As a result, words which can be substituted for *ge* 個 are certain to be classifiers. However, such substitution does not work the other way as can be seen in some counter-examples. I thus conceive that *ge*-substitution is also a sufficient but not necessary property of being a classifier.

And the last test, *yi*-multiplier, the inspiration for which derives from mathematics, offers a dichotomous distinction between classifiers and measure words. Moreover, Her (2011b) points out that many classifiers in Chinese are all of multiplier 1 and measure words are multiplier other than 1. As a result, I think that *yi*-multiplier is a sufficient and necessary property of being a classifier.

To sum up the above comments that I have made for each of the tests, *de*-insertion and *ge*-substitution are sufficient but not necessary properties of being a classifier. *Yi*-multiplier is a sufficient and necessary property of being a classifier. And numeral / adjectival stacking are optional because some variables are likely to occur. As a result, the decisive test to differentiate classifiers from measure words is the use of *yi*-multiplier. *De*-insertion, *ge*-substitution and numeral / adjectival stacking are used

to supplement and reinforce *yi*-multiplier. So, the order of these tests is *yi*-multiplier first, then *de*-insertion or *ge*-substitution. The last one is numeral / adjectival stacking.

In the following data analysis chapter, the above order of the tests will be adopted to re-classify Mandarin Chinese classifier categorizations.



## CHAPTER IV

### DATA ANALYSIS

On the basis of the theoretical frameworks discussed in Chapter 3, this chapter will present my data analysis of re-classifying five Mandarin Chinese classifier categorizations which are proposed by representative studies such as Chao (1968) in *A Grammar of Spoken Chinese*, Erbaugh (1986), Hu (1993), Huang et. al. (1997) in the *Mandarin Daily Dictionary of Chinese Classifiers* and Gao and Malt (2009).

In the following, three aspects will be discussed. First, due to a lack of consentient tests to identify the classifiers in these five categorizations, there are discrepancies in the number of Mandarin Chinese classifiers. Thus, I will make use of four consentient tests mentioned in Chapter 3 to re-classify five Mandarin Chinese classifier categorizations posed by Chao 1968, by Erbaugh 1986, by Hu 1993, by Huang et. al. 1997 and by Malt and Gao 2009. Second, after re-classifying the five Mandarin Chinese classifier categorizations by using the four consentient tests, the aim is to offer a group of true classifiers through using two mathematical methods and a questionnaire experiment. Third, true classifiers can be further classified according to their semantic meanings as given in the *Mandarin Daily Dictionary of*



*Chinese Classifiers* (Huang et. al 1997) in a bottom-up form to represent an explicit semantic categorization.

#### 4.1 Re-classify Mandarin Chinese Classifier Categorizations

By using the four tests based on linguistic theory to analyze Mandarin Chinese classifier categorizations proposed by representative studies such as Chao (1968) in *A Grammar of Spoken Chinese*, Erbaugh (1986), Hu (1993), Huang et. al. (1997) in the *Mandarin Daily Dictionary of Chinese Classifiers* and Gao and Malt (2009), I propose that these classifier categorizations should be subcategorized into three portions, classifiers,  $Xc$  and  $Xm$  and measure words because some measure words like *dui4* 對 and *shuang1* 雙 the multipliers of which other than 1 are included in these classifier categorizations and ambiguous words which both have classifier functions and measure word functions like *ba3* 把, *pian4* 片 and *kuai4* 塊 do not have any precise classifications. In the following, I will explain the concepts and the reasons for proposing these three portions.

The first portion: classifiers. All of the words in this portion are not only identified as classifiers by Chao (1968), by Erbaugh (1986), by Hu (1993), by Huang et. al. (1997) and by Gao and Malt (2009), but also proved as classifiers by my analysis through using the four tests mentioned in Chapter 3. All of the words in this portion all have a sufficient and necessary property of being a classifier, which is multiplier 1.

And all of the words abide by two sufficient but not necessary properties of classifiers, *ge*-substitution and *de*-insertion.

The second portion is that of *X<sub>c</sub>* and *X<sub>m</sub>*. The reason for why I propose the portion of *X<sub>c</sub>* and *X<sub>m</sub>* is in order to resolve two situations below. First, Tai and Wang (1990) and Tai (1992) mention that classifiers can be ambiguous in some contexts in that they can be interpreted as either classifiers or measure words. For instance, Mandarin Chinese classifiers like *ba3* 把 in *yi1 ba3 dao1zi* 一把刀子 can mean either ‘one knife’ or ‘a handful of knives’. The former ‘one knife’ corresponds to classifier and the latter ‘a handful of knives’ corresponds to measure word. And *kuai4* 塊 in *yi1 kuai4 rou4* 一塊肉 can stress either the shape of an object or a portion of an object. The former which stresses the shape of an object corresponds to classifier and the latter which stresses the portion of an object corresponds to measure word. However, Tai and Wang (1990) and Tai (1992) do not propose any precise classification to show how these ambiguous classifiers should be classified as classifiers or measure words.

Second, each meaning of one classifier may contribute to different categories, classifiers or measure words. Thus, a classifier may be a classifier in one meaning, but a measure word in other meanings. For instance, when *kou3* 口 is in the meaning of calculating a well or a spring, *kou3* 口 is a classifier such as *yi1 kou3 jing3* 一口井. On the other hand, when *kou3* 口 has in the meaning of calculating objects in the

oral cavity, *kou3* 口 is a measure word such as *yi1 kou3 zhu4 ya2* 一口蛀牙. The different meanings of *kou3* 口 contribute *kou3* 口 to be a classifier or a measure word. As a result, a question arises as to whether *kou3* 口 should be regarded as a classifier or as a measure words.

From the above two situations, I find that the similarity in these two situations is that ambiguous classifiers sometimes are classifiers, but are also sometimes measure words. Therefore, whether these ambiguous classifiers should be regarded as classifiers or measure words is an urgent issue that should be solved.

In order to solve this urgent issue and provide a simply categorization, I adopt the concept of the relation between lexemes and word-forms and the concept of the relation between word-forms from morphology to provide a precise classification. Lexemes which are abstract are realized by word-forms which are concrete. And the relation between word-forms is in complementary distribution. The hierarchy of lexemes and word-forms are shown in Figure 2.

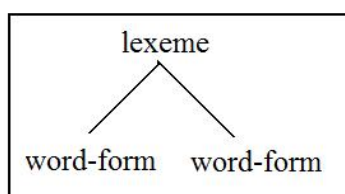


Figure 2: The Hierarchy of Lexemes and Word-forms

According to the relationship between lexemes and word-forms and the concept of the relationship between word-forms, I suppose that the above classifiers like *ba3* 把

and *kou3* 口 which function both as classifiers and measure words are actually two word-forms, namely *ba3* 把 as a classifier or as a measure word and *kou3* 口 as a classifier or as a measure word. Because the relation between word-forms must be in complementary distribution, *ba3* 把 and *kou3* 口 as classifiers also have to be in complementary distribution with *ba3* 把 and *kou3* 口 as measure words. The complementary distribution of *ba3* 把 / *kou3* 口 as classifiers and as measure words can be inferred from their two interpretations, namely a classifier interpretation of *ba3* 把 or *kou3* 口 and a measure word interpretation of *ba3* 把 or *kou3* 口. For example, *ba3* 把 in *yi1 ba3 dao1zi* 一把刀子 has a classifier interpretation, ‘a knife’, and a measure word interpretation, ‘a handful of knives’. *Kou3* 口 also has two interpretations, one as a classifier as in ‘a well or spring’ in *yi1 kou3 jing3* 一口井 and the other as a measure word as in ‘a mouthful of decayed teeth’ in *yi1 kou3 zhu4ya2* 一口蛀牙. Because hearers or speakers only make one interpretation at one time, namely a classifier interpretation or a measure word interpretation, a classifier interpretation for *ba3* 把 or *kou3* 口 and a measure word interpretation for *ba3* 把 or *kou3* 口 will not occur at the same time. This shows that a classifier interpretation for *ba3* 把 or *kou3* 口 and a measure word interpretation for *ba3* 把 or *kou3* 口 are in complementary distribution. As a result, my hypothesis that *ba3* 把 and *kou3* 口 as classifiers and measure words are actually two word-forms is provable. Moreover, *ba3* 把 and *kou3* 口 are listed as only one lexemes in Mandarin Chinese dictionaries,

rather as two lexemes such as one lexeme for being a classifier and the other for being a measure word. Thus, I infer again that *ba3 把* and *kou3 口* as listed in dictionaries are abstract lexemes and that *ba3 把* and *kou3 口* as classifiers and as measure words are actually two concrete word-forms. To sum up the above inferences and in order to have a clear distinction between classifiers and measure words, I propose *c* mark to symbolize classifiers and *m* mark to symbolize measure words. Thus, *ba3 把* as a classifier will be presented as *ba3 把c* and *ba3 把* as a measure word will be presented as *ba3 把m*. The same situation also applies for *kou3 口c* and *kou3 口m*. The hierarchy of *ba3 把*, *ba3 把c* and *ba3 把m* and of *kou3 口*, *kou3 口c* and *kou3 口m* will be shown in below.

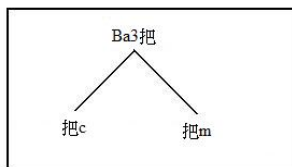


Figure 3: The Hierarchy of *ba3 把*, *ba3 把c* and *ba3 把m*

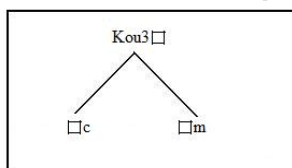


Figure 4: The Hierarchy of *kou3 口*, *kou3 口c* and *kou3 口m*

According to above inferences and observations, I also find that my propositional *Xc* and *Xm* can be further divided into two subcategories. One is for ambiguous classifiers like *ba3 把*. The other is for classifiers like *kou3 口* in which each meaning of one classifier may contribute to different categories, classifiers or

measure words.

The last portion is measure words. All words in this portion are identified as classifiers by Chao (1968), Erbaugh (1986), Hu (1993), Huang et. al. (1997) and Gao and Malt (2009). However, these words are testified as measure words by making use of the four tests mentioned in Chapter 3. None of the words in this portion have a sufficient and necessary property of being a classifier, the multiplier  $I$ . Thus, none of the words in this portion should be included in the classifier categorization. The other three tests in Chapter 3 also support that none of the words in this portion are classifiers.

The following Table 7 shows the relations of these three portions. Briefly, these three portions can be simplified into two categories, classifiers and measure words. Table 7 presents that the classifier portion and  $X_c$  portion are regarded as belonging to classifier category and the measure word portion and  $X_m$  portion are regarded as belonging to measure word category. Thus, the classifiers that I discuss in the following sections will include both the classifier portion and  $X_c$  portion. And the measure words portion and  $X_m$  portion will not be discussed further here because they are not the focus of this thesis.

Table 7: The Relation of the Three Portions

<u>Categories</u>	<b>Classifiers</b>	<b>Measure words</b>
<u>Portions</u>	classifiers , $X_c$	measure words, $X_m$

In analyzing Mandarin Chinese classifier categorizations of the following studies (Chao 1968, Erbaugh 1986, Hu 1993 and Huang et. al. 1997 and Malt and Gao 2009), I will adopt four tests in Chapter 3 in the order of *yi*-multiplier, then *de*-insertion or *ge*-substitution, and then numeral / adjectival stacking to re-examine their classifier categorizations and to re-classify the classifiers which scholars have identified further into three portions, classifiers, *Xc* and *Xm* and measure words.

Below, there is a re-examination of Mandarin Chinese classifier categorization proposed by Chao (1968) in *A Grammar of Spoken Chinese* in Section 4.1.1, of that proposed by Erbaugh (1986) in Section 4.1.2, of that proposed by Hu (1993) in Section 4.1.3, of that proposed by Huang et. al. (1997) in the *Mandarin Daily Dictionary of Chinese Classifiers* in Section 4.1.4 and of that proposed by Gao and Malt (2009) in Section 4.1.5.

#### **4.1.1 Chao (1968)**

The fifty-one classifiers in *A Grammar of Spoken Chinese* edited by Chao (1968) will be re-examined by making use of the four tests mentioned in Chapter 3 and re-classified into three portions on the basis of the concepts of the three portions in Section 4.1. In the following, I will give one or two prototypical examples for each portion and then list the rest of words. Last, some words that I exclude from these three portions will be listed individually.

##### **4.1.1.1 Classifiers**

All of the words in this portion are proved to be classifiers not only by Chao (1968) but also by my analysis. The prototypical examples listed here are *mei2* 枚 and *ding3* 頂. Finally, all words in this portion are listed in 4.1.1.1.3.

#### 4.1.1.1.1 *Mei2* 枚

For example, *yi1 mei2 jiang3 zhang1* 一枚獎章 ‘one medal’.

##### **Yi-multiplier:**

(33) 一 枚 獎章 = 一 × 1 獎章  
*yi1 mei2 jiang3zhang1* *yi1 yi1 jiang3zhang1*  
 one C medal one one medal  
 ‘one medal’ ‘one medal’

By using *yi*-multiplier, *mei2* 枚 is tested to be a classifier.

##### **Ge-substitution:**

(34) 一 枚 獎章 = 一 個 獎章  
*yi1 mei2 jiang3zhang1* *yi1 ge jiang3 zhang1*  
 one C medal one C medal  
 ‘one medal’ ‘one medal’

*Ge*-substitution shows that *mei2* 枚 is a classifier.

##### **De-insertion:**

(35) 一 枚 (\*的) 獎章  
*yi1 mei2 (\*de) jiang3zhang1*  
 one C DE medal  
 ‘one \*C medal’

The semantic meaning of *mei2* 枚 in *de*-insertion shows that *mei2* 枚 is a classifier.

##### **Numeral/adjectival stacking:**



- (36) \*一 枚 十 個 獎章  
*yi1 mei2 shi2 ge jiang3 zhang1*  
 one C ten C medal
- (37) 一 大 枚 獎章 = 一 枚 大 獎章  
*yi1 da4 mei2 jiang3 zhang1 yi1 mei2 da4 jiang3 zhang1*  
 one big C medal one C big medal  
 ‘one big medal’ ‘one big medal’
- (38) 大 枚 的 獎章 = 大 獎章  
*da4 mei2 de jiang3 zhang1 da4 jiang3 zhang1*  
 big C DE medal big medal  
 ‘big medal(s)’ ‘big medal(s)’
- (39) 大大的 一 枚 獎章 = 一 枚 大 獎章  
*da4 da4 de yi1 mei2 jiang3 zhang1 yi1 mei2 da4 jiang3 zhang1*  
 big one C medal one C big medal  
 ‘one big medal’ ‘one big medal’
- (40) \*一 大 枚 小 獎章  
*yi1 da4 mei2 xiao3 jiang3 zhang1*  
 one big C small medal  
 \*‘one big small medal’

*Mei2* 枚 is also a classifier by applying the test of numeral/adjectival stacking. By using the above four tests to examine *mei2* 枚, *mei2* 枚 is proved as a classifier.

#### 4.1.1.1.2 *Ding3* 頂

For example, *yi1 ding3 cao3 mao4* 一頂草帽 ‘one straw hat’.

#### *Yi*-multiplier:

- (41) 一 頂 草帽 = 一 × 1 草帽

*yi1 ding3 cao3mao4*      *yi1 yi1 cao3mao4*  
 one C straw hat      one one straw hat  
 ‘one straw hat’              ‘one straw hat’

By using *yi-multiplier*, *ding3* 頂 is shown to be a classifier.

**Ge-substitution:**

(42) 一 頂 草帽 = 一 個 草帽  
*yi1 ding3 cao3mao4*      *yi1 ge cao3mao4*  
 one C straw hat      one C straw hat  
 ‘one straw hat’              ‘one straw hat’

*Ge*-substitution shows that *ding3* 頂 is a classifier.

**De-insertion:**

(43) 一 頂 (\*的) 草帽  
*yi1 ding3 (\*de) cao3mao4*  
 one C DE straw hat  
 ‘one \*C straw hat’

*Ding3* 頂 in *de*-insertion shows that *ding3* 頂 is a classifier.

**Numeral / adjectival stacking:**

(44) \*一 頂 三 個 草帽  
*yi1 ding3 san1 ge cao3mao4*  
 one C three C straw hat

(45) 一 大 頂 草帽 = 一 頂 大 草帽  
*yi1 da4 ding3 cao3 mao4*      *yi1 ding3 da4 cao3mao4*  
 one big C straw hat      one C big straw hat  
 ‘one big straw hat’              ‘one big straw hat’

(46) 大 頂 的 草帽 = 大 草帽

da4 ding3 de cao3 mao4 da4 cao3mao4

big C DE straw hat big straw hat

'big straw hat(s)' 'big straw hat(s)'

(47) 大大的 一 頂 草帽 = 一 頂 大 草帽

da4da4de yi1 ding3 cao3 mao4 yi1 ding3 da4 cao3mao4

big one C straw hat one C big straw hat

'one big straw hat' 'one big straw hat'

(48) \*一 大 頂 小 草帽

yi1 da4 ding3 xiao3 cao3mao4

one big C small straw hat

\*'one big small straw hat'

*Ding3* 頂 is also a classifier by applying the test of numeral/adjectival stacking. From

the above analysis of *ding3* 頂, it can be seen that *ding3* 頂 is a classifier.

#### 4.1.1.1.3 Words Re-classified as Classifiers

Thirty-nine words belonging to classifiers are listed below.

Table 8: 39 Words of Classifiers in Chao (1968) 'A Grammar of Spoken Chinese'

<b>ben3</b> 本	yi1 ben3 shu1 一本書	<b>guan3</b> 管	yi1 guan3 mao2bi3 一管毛筆	<b>shou3</b> 首	yi1 shou3 er2ge1 一首兒歌
<b>chu1</b> 齣	yi1 chu1 xi3ju4 一齣喜劇	<b>jia4</b> 架	yi1 jia4 fei1ji1 一架飛機	<b>sao1</b> 艘	yi1 sao1 chuan2 一艘船
<b>chu4</b> 處	yi1 chu4 shang1kou3 一處傷口	<b>jian4</b> 件	yi1 jian4 mao2yi1 一件毛衣	<b>suo3</b> 所	yi1 suo3 da4xue2 一所大學
<b>chuang2</b> 床	yi1 chuang2 mian2bei4 一床棉被	<b>ke1</b> 棵	yi1 ke1 song1shu4 一棵松樹	<b>tiao2</b> 條	yi1 tiao2 wei2jin1 一條圍巾
<b>dao4</b> 道	yi1dao4zhuan1qiang2 一道磚牆	<b>ke1</b> 顆	yi1 ke1 xi1gua1 一顆西瓜	<b>tou2</b> 頭	yi1 tou2 da4xiang4 一頭大象
<b>ding3</b> 頂	yi1ding3 cao3mao4 一頂草帽'	<b>li4</b> 粒	yi1 li4 hong2dou4 一粒紅豆	<b>wei4</b> 位	yi1 wei4 lao3shi1 一位老師
<b>du3</b> 堵	yi1 du3 qiang2 一堵牆	<b>liang4</b> 輛	yi1 liang4 jing3che1 一輛警車	<b>zhan3</b> 盞	yi1 zhan3 deng1 一盞燈

<b>duo3 朵</b>	yi1 duo3 mei2gui1 一朵玫瑰	<b>mei2 枚</b>	yi1 mei2 jiang3zhang1 一枚獎章	<b>zhang1 張</b>	yi1 zhang1 chuang2 一張床
<b>feng1 封</b>	yi1 feng1 xin4 一封信	<b>mian4 面</b>	yi1 mian4 jing4zi 一面鏡子	<b>zhi1 枝</b>	yi1 zhi1 shu4zhi1 一枝樹枝
<b>fu2 幅</b>	yi1 fu2 hua4 一幅畫	<b>mu4 幕</b>	yi1 mu4 qing2jing3 一幕情景	<b>zhi1 隻</b>	yi1 zhi1 mao1 一隻貓
<b>gan3 桿</b>	yi1 gan3 qiang1 一桿槍	<b>pi1 匹</b>	yi1 pi1 ma3 一匹馬	<b>zhuang1 樁</b>	yi1 zhuang1 yi4wai4 一樁意外
<b>gen1 根</b>	yi1 gen1 tou2fa3 一根頭髮	<b>pian1 篇</b>	yi1 pian1 wen2zhang1 一篇文章	<b>zun1 尊</b>	yi1 zun1 fo2xiang4 一尊佛像
<b>ge 個</b>	yi1 ge ren2 一個人	<b>shan4 扇</b>	yi1 shan4 men2 一扇門	<b>zuo4 座</b>	yi1 zuo4 shan1 一座山

#### 4.1.1.2 *Xc* and *Xm*

If classifiers can be ambiguous in some contexts in that they can be either interpreted as classifiers or measure words or each meaning of one word may contribute to different categories, namely classifiers or measure words, these classifiers will be classified into *Xc* and *Xm*. *Xc* stands for an ambiguous classifier functioning as a classifier and *Xm* stands for an ambiguous classifier functioning as a measure word. The prototypical examples listed here are *ba3 把* and *kou3 口*. Then, all of the words in *Xc* and *Xm* will be presented in 4.1.1.2.3.

##### 4.1.1.2.1 *Ba3 把*

For example, *yi1 ba3 dao1zi* 一把刀子 ‘one knife’ or ‘one handful of knives’ .

##### *Yi*-multiplier:

- (49) a. 一 把 刀子 = 一 × 1 刀子  
*yi1 ba3 dao1zi yi1 yi1 dao1zi*  
 one C knife one one knife  
 ‘one knife’ ‘one knife’

- b. 一 把 刀 子 ≠ 一 × 1 刀 子  
*yi1 ba3 dao1zi yi1 yi1 dao1zi*  
 one M knife one one knife  
 ‘one handful of knives’ ‘one knife’

This test demonstrates that the semantic meaning of *ba3 把* is ambiguous because *ba3 把* in *yi1 ba3 jian3 dao1 一把刀子* can mean ‘a knife’ or ‘one handful of knives’. The former is a classifier and the latter is a measure word.

**Ge-substitution:**

- (50) a. 一 把 刀 子 = 一 個 刀 子  
*yi1 ba3 dao1zi yi1 ge dao1zi*  
 one C knife one C knife  
 ‘one knife’ ‘one knife’

- b. 一 把 刀 子 ≠ 一 個 刀 子  
*yi1 ba3 dao1zi yi1 ge dao1zi*  
 one M knife one C knife  
 ‘one handful of knives’ ‘one knife’

*Ba3 把* is tested to be both a classifier and a measure word because of the ambiguity in the semantic meaning of *ba3 把*.

**De-insertion:**

- (51) a. 一 把 (\*的) 刀 子  
*yi1 ba3 (\*de) dao1zi*  
 one C DE knife  
 ‘one \*C knife’

- b. 一 把 (的) 刀 子  
*yi1 ba3 (de) dao1zi*

one M DE knife

‘one handful of knives’

This test demonstrates that *ba3 把* is ambiguous because it can both allow *de*-insertion and not allow *de*-insertion. When *ba3 把* allows *de*-insertion, it is a classifier. When *ba3 把* do not allows *de*-insertion, it is a measure word.

**Numeral/adjectival stacking:**

(52) \*a. 一 把 十 個 刀 子

*yi1 ba3 shi2 ge dao1zi*

one C ten C knife

b. 一 把 十 個 刀 子

*yi1 ba3 shi2 ge dao1zi*

one M ten C knife

‘one handful of ten knives’

(53) a. 一 大 把 刀 子 = 一 把 大 刀 子

*yi1 da4 ba3 dao1zi yi1 ba3 da4 dao1zi*

one big C knife one C big knife

‘one big knife’

‘one big knife’

b. 一 大 把 刀 子 ≠ 一 把 大 刀 子

*yi1 da4 ba3 dao1zi yi1 ba3 da4 dao1zi*

one big M knife one C big knife

‘one large handful of knives’ ‘one big knives’

(54) a. 大 把 的 刀 子 = 大 刀 子

*da4 ba3 de dao1zi da4 dao1zi*

big C DE knife big knife

‘big knife/knives’

‘big knife/knives’

b. 大 把 的 刀 子      ≠      大      刀 子  
*da4 ba3 de dao1zi*      *da4 dao1zi*  
 big M DE knife      big knife  
 ‘large handful of knives’      ‘big knife/knives’

(55) a. 大 大 的      一 把 刀 子      =      一 把 大 刀 子  
*da4da4de yi1 ba3 dao1zi*      *yi1 ba3 da4 dao1zi*  
 big      one C knife      one C big knife  
 ‘one big knife’      ‘one big knife’

b. 大 大 的      一 把 刀 子      ≠      一 把 大 刀 子  
*da4da4de yi1 ba3 dao1zi*      *yi1 ba3 da4 dao1zi*  
 big      one M knife      one C big knife  
 ‘large handful of knives’      ‘one big knife’

(56)\*a. 一 大 把 小 刀 子  
*yi1 da4 ba3 xiao3 dao1zi*  
 one big C small knife  
 \*‘one big small knife’

b. 一 大 把 小 刀 子  
*yi1 da4 ba3 xiao3 dao1zi*  
 one big M small knife  
 ‘one handful of small knives’

This test shows that *ba3 把* can function as both a classifier and a measure word.

According to the above analysis, *ba3 把* is testified as belonging to *Xc* and *Xm*

because *ba3 把* can function as both a classifier and a measure word. Thus, *把c*

represents that *ba3 把* is a classifier and *把m* represents that *ba3 把* is a measure

word.

#### 4.1.1.2.2 Kou3 口

Meaning 1: calculating a well or a spring

For example, *yi1 kou3 jing3* 一口井 ‘one well’.

##### **Yi-multiplier:**

(57) 一 口 井 = 一 × 1 井  
*yi1 kou3 jing3 yi1 yi1 jing3*  
 one C well one one well  
 ‘one well’ ‘one well’

This test demonstrates that *kou3* 口 is a classifier, not a measure word.

##### **Ge-substitution:**

(58) 一 口 井 = 一 個 井  
*yi1 kou3 jing3 yi1 ge jing3*  
 one C well one C well  
 ‘one well’ ‘one well’

*Kou3* 口 is tested to be a classifier by using *ge*-substitution.

##### **De-insertion:**

(59) 一 口 (\*的) 井  
*yi1 kou3 (\*de) jing3*  
 one C DE well  
 ‘one \*C well’

This test shows that *kou3* 井 is a classifier, not a measure word.

##### **Numeral/adjectival stacking:**

(60)\* 一 個 十 口 井  
*yi1 ge shi2 kou3 jing3*



one C ten C well

(61) 一 大 口 井 = 一 口 大 井

*yi1 da4 kou3 jing3 yi1 kou3 da4 jing3*

one big C well one C big well

'one big well' 'one big well'

(62) 大 口 的 井 = 大 井

*da4 kou3 de jing3 da4 jing3*

big C DE well big well

'big well(s)' 'big well(s)'

(63) 大大的 一 口 井 = 一 口 大 井

*da4da4de yi1 kou3 jing3 yi1 kou3 da4 jing3*

big one C well one C big well

'one big well' 'one big well'

(64)\* 一 大 口 小 井

*yi1 da4 kou3 xiao3 jing3*

one big C small well

'one big small well'

*Kou3* 口 is tested to be a classifier by using this test. According to the above tests,

*kou3* 口 in this meaning is a classifier. In the following, the other meanings of *kou3*

口 will be explained.

Meaning 2: calculating objects in an oral cavity

For example, *yi1 kou3 zhu4 ya2* 一口蛀牙 'one mouthful of decayed teeth'.

**Yī-multiplier:**

(65) 一 口 蛀牙 ≠ 一 × 1 蛀牙

*yi1 kou3 zhu4ya2 yi1 yi1 zhu4ya2*

one M decayed tooth          one one decayed tooth  
 ‘one mouthful of decayed teeth’   ‘one decayed tooth’

This test shows that *kou3* 口 is a measure word.

**Ge-substitution:**

(66) 一 口 蛀牙                  ≠ 一 個 蛀牙  
*yi1 kou3 zhu4ya2*                  *yi1 ge zhu4ya2*  
 one M decayed tooth          one C decayed tooth  
 ‘one mouthful of decayed teeth’   ‘one decayed tooth’

This test shows that *kou3* 口 not a classifier, but a measure word.

**De-insertion:**

(67) 一 口 (的) 蛀牙  
*yi1 kou3 (de) zhu4ya2*  
 one M DE decayed tooth  
 ‘one mouthful of decayed teeth’

This test shows that *kou3* 口 is a measure word, not a classifier.

**Numeral/adjectival stacking:**

(68) 一 口 十 個 蛀牙  
*yi1 kou3 shi2 ge zhu4ya2*  
 one M ten C decayed tooth  
 ‘one mouthful of ten decayed teeth’

(69) 一 大 口 蛀牙                  ≠ 一 口 大 蛀牙  
*yi1 da4 kou3 zhu4ya2*                  *yi1 kou3 da4 zhu4ya2*  
 one big M decayed tooth          one M big decayed tooth  
 ‘one mouthful of decay teeth’          ‘one mouthful of big decayed teeth’

(70) 大 口 的 蛀牙                  ≠ 大 蛀牙

- |                               |                     |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>da4 kou3 de zhu4ya2</i>    | <i>da4 zhu4ya2</i>  |
| big M DE decayed tooth        | big decayed tooth   |
| ‘big mouthful of decay teeth’ | ‘big decayed teeth’ |
- (71) 大大的 一 口 蛀牙 ≠ 一 口 大 蛀牙
- |                                     |                                     |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>da4da4de yi1 kou3 zhu4ya2</i>    | <i>yi1 kou3 da4 zhu4ya2</i>         |
| big one M decayed tooth             | one M big decayed tooth             |
| ‘one big mouthful of decayed teeth’ | ‘one mouthful of big decayed teeth’ |
- (72) 一 大 口 小 蛀牙
- |                                       |
|---------------------------------------|
| <i>yi1 da4 kou3 xiao3 zhu4ya2</i>     |
| one big M small decayed tooth         |
| ‘one mouthful of small decayed teeth’ |

Although *xiao3 zhu4ya2kou3* 小蛀牙 and *da4 zhu4ya2* 大蛀牙 are semantically doubtful in examples, they will not affect the result that *kou3 □* is testified as a measure word by use of numeral / adjectival stacking. From the above analysis, *kou3 □* in meaning 2, which is used for the calculation of objects in an oral cavity, is a measure word. However, *kou3 □* in meaning 1, which is used for the calculation of the number of a well or a spring, is a classifier. In this situation, in which *kou3 □* can be both a classifier and a measure word, *kou3 □* is regarded as belonging to *Xc* and *Xm* portion. Thus, *□c*, which stands for *kou3 □*, is a classifier and *□m*, which stands for *kou3 □*, is a measure word.

#### 4.1.1.2.3 Words Re-classified as *Xc* and *Xm*

Six words belonging to *Xc* and *Xm* are listed below.

Table 9: 6 Words of *Xc* and *Xm* in Chao (1968) ‘A Grammar of Spoken Chinese’

<b>ba3 把</b>	<b>ba3 把 c</b>	yī ba3 dāo1zi 一把刀子	<b>ba3 把 m</b>	yī ba3 dāo1zi 一把刀子
<b>ban4 瓣</b>	<b>ban4 瓣 c</b>	yī ban4 huā1ban4 一瓣花瓣	<b>ban4 瓣 m</b>	yī ban4 meī2guī1 一瓣玫瑰
<b>bu4 部</b>	<b>bu4 部 c</b>	yī bu4 shū1 一部書	<b>bu4 部 m</b>	yī bu4 shū1 一部書
<b>jiā1 家</b>	<b>jiā1 家 c</b>	yī jiā1 gōng1sī1 一家公司	<b>jiā1 家 m</b>	yī jiā1 ào4zhōu1rén2 一家澳洲人
<b>kǒu3 口</b>	<b>kǒu3 口 c</b>	yī kǒu3 jǐng3 一口井	<b>kǒu3 口 m</b>	yī kǒu3 zhū4yá2 一口蛀牙
<b>mén2 門</b>	<b>mén2 門 c</b>	yī mén2 dà4pào4 一門大炮	<b>mén2 門 m</b>	yī mén2 shēng1yì4 一門生意

#### 4.1.1.3 Measure words

Although Chao (1968) identifies the words in this portion as classifiers, I think that all of the words in this portion should be excluded from a list of classifiers because all of the words are testified as measure words by four linguistics-based tests. The prototypical example listed here is *hang2 行*. And finally, all of the words in this portion will be listed in 4.1.1.3.2.

##### 4.1.1.3.1 *Hang2 行*

For example, *yī hang2 liú3shù4 一行柳樹* ‘a line of willow trees’.

##### **Yi-multiplier:**

(73) 一 行 柳樹 ≠ 一 × 1 柳樹  
*yī hang2 liú3shù4 yī yī liú3shù4*  
 one M willow tree one one willow tree  
 ‘one line of willow trees’ ‘one willow tree’

*Yi*-multiplier shows that *hang2 行* is a measure word.

##### **Ge-substitution:**

(74) 一 行 柳樹 ≠ 一 個 柳樹  
*yī hang2 liú3shù4 yī ge liú3shù4*

one M willow tree    one C willow tree  
 ‘one line of willow trees’    ‘one willow tree’

*Hang2* 行 in *ge*-insertion shows that *hang2* 行 is a measure word.

**De-insertion:**

(75) 一 行 (的) 柳樹  
*yi1 hang2 (de) liu3shu4*  
 one M DE willow tree  
 ‘one line of willow trees’

*De*-insertion shows that *hang2* 行 is a measure word.

**Numeral/adjectival stacking:**

(76) 一 行 十 棵 柳樹  
*yi1 hang2 shi2 ke1 liu3shu4*  
 one M ten C willow tree  
 ‘one line of ten willow trees’

(77) 一 大 行 柳樹 ≠ 一 行 大 柳樹  
*yi1 da4 hang2 liu3shu4 yi1 hang2 da4 liu3shu4*  
 one large M willow tree    one M large willow tree  
 ‘one large line of willow trees’    ‘one line of large willow trees’

(78) 一 大 行 小 柳樹  
*yi1 da4 hang2 xiao3 liu3shu4*  
 one large M small willow tree  
 ‘one large line of small willow trees’

*Hang2* 行 in numeral / adjectival stacking shows that *hang2* 行 is a measure word.

From the above tests, it can be seen that *hang2* 行 is a measure word.

**4.1.1.3.2 Words Re-classified as Measure Words**

Five words which are testified as measure words are listed below.

Table 10: 5 Words of Measure Words in Chao (1968) ‘A Grammar of Spoken Chinese’

<b>dun4 頓</b>	yi1 dun4 mei3shi2 一頓美食
<b>hang2 行</b>	yi1 hang2 liu3shu4 一行柳樹
<b>juan4 卷</b>	dong1fang1za2zhi4 di4 yi1juan4 東方雜誌第一卷
<b>qi2 期</b>	cai2jing1za2xhi4 di4yi1qi2 財經雜誌第一期
<b>ya2 牙</b>	yi1 ya2 ju2zi 一牙橘子

#### 4.1.1.4 A Dialect Word

Because Chao (1968) points out that *dan4 筴* only exists in one dialect of Chinese and Chao (1968) also does not make more descriptions for *dan4 筴*, I ignore it and do not include it in my analysis.

Table 11: A Dialect Word in Chao (1968) ‘A Grammar of Spoken Chinese’

<b>dan4 筴</b>	(a dialect word)
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#### 4.1.2 Erbaugh (1986)

Erbaugh (1986) lists twenty-two core classifiers. Erbaugh (1986) thinks that no matter in what kind of conversations, adult-adult Mandarin or adult-child Mandarin or child-child Mandarin, these twenty-two core classifiers almost all appear. Thus, these core classifiers are regarded as typical classifiers. However, there are some defects in Erbaugh’s account of the twenty-two core classifiers. For example, Erbaugh does not provide any precise classification to show how ambiguous classifiers should be regarded as classifiers or measure words and Erbaugh does

include measure words in the twenty-two core classifiers. As a result, I will re-examine the twenty-two classifiers and re-classify them into three portions by using the four tests in Chapter 3. In my analysis, I re-classify the twenty-two classifiers into eighteen classifiers, three *Xc* and *Xm* and only one measure word. Because the methods and the processes of analysis used in analyzing the twenty-two classifiers are the same as those in Section 4.1.1, analysis sections will be omitted and only the words of three portions are listed.

#### 4.1.2.1 Words Re-classified as Classifiers

Eighteen words belonging to classifiers are listed below.

Table 12: 18 Words of Classifiers in Erbaugh (1986)

<b>ben3 本</b>	yī ben3 shū1 一本書	<b>jian4 件</b>	yī jian4 dà4yī1 一件大衣	<b>tiao2 條</b>	yī tiao2 yú2 一條魚
<b>ding3 頂</b>	yī ding3 mào4zǐ1 一頂帽子	<b>ju4 句</b>	yī ju4 huà4 一句話	<b>tou2 頭</b>	yī tóu2 dà4xiàng4 一頭大象
<b>duo3 朵</b>	yī duo3 měi2guī1 一朵玫瑰	<b>ke1 棵</b>	yī kē1 shù4 一棵樹	<b>wei4 位</b>	yī wèi4 lǎo3shī1 一位老師
<b>gen1 根</b>	yī gēn1 tóu2fǎ3 一根頭髮'	<b>ke1 顆</b>	yī kē1 xī1guā1 一顆西瓜	<b>zhang1 張</b>	yī zhāng1 chuāng2 一張床
<b>jia4 架</b>	yī jiā4 fēi1jī1 一架飛機'	<b>li4 粒</b>	yī lì4 hóng2dòu4 一粒紅豆	<b>zhi1 枝</b>	yī zhī1 shù4zhī1 一枝樹枝
<b>jian1 間</b>	yī jian1 shū1diàn4 一間書店'	<b>shou3 首</b>	yī shǒu3 èr2gē1 一首兒歌	<b>zhi1 隻</b>	yī zhī1 māo1 一隻貓

#### 4.1.2.2 Words Re-classified as *Xc* and *Xm*

Three words belonging to *Xc* and *Xm* are listed below.

Table 13: 3 Words of *Xc* and *Xm* in Erbaugh (1986)

<b>ba3 把</b>	<b>ba3 把 c</b>	yī bǎ3 dāo1zǐ 一把刀子	<b>ba3 把 c</b>	yī bǎ3 dāo1zǐ 一把刀子
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<b>kuai4 塊</b>	<b>kuai4 塊 c</b>	yi1 kuai4 rou4 一塊肉	<b>kuai4 塊 c</b>	yi1 kuai4 rou4 一塊肉
<b>pian4 片</b>	<b>pian4 片 c</b>	yi1 pian4 shu4ye4 一片樹葉	<b>pian4 片 c</b>	yi1 pian4 shu4ye4 一片樹葉

#### 4.1.2.3 Words Re-classified as Measure words

One word belonging to measure words is listed below.

Table 14: One Measure Word in Ebraugh (1986)

<b>duan4 段</b>	yi1 duan4 gan1zhe4 一段甘蔗
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#### 4.1.3 Hu (1993)

Hu (1993) identifies twenty classifiers which are commonly used. However, some inadequacies mentioned in Section 4.1 also presents in Hu's classifier categorization. Thus, I will re-examine the twenty classifiers and re-classify them into three portions, namely classifiers,  $X_c$  and  $X_m$  and measure words. In my analysis, I re-classify the twenty classifiers into fifteen classifiers, four  $X_c$  and  $X_m$  and only one measure word. Because the methods and the processes of analysis used in analyzing the twenty classifiers are the same as those in Section 4.1.1, the analysis sections will be omitted and only the words which have been re-classified in the three portions are listed in the following.

##### 4.1.3.1 Words Re-classified as Classifiers

By using the four tests mentioned in Chapter 3 to re-examine these twenty classifiers, fifteen classifiers which are re-classified as classifiers are listed below.

Table 15: 15 Words of Classifiers in Hu (1993)



<b>ge1 個</b>	yī ge rén2 一個人	<b>li1 粒</b>	yī lì hóng2dòu4 一粒紅豆	<b>tou2 頭</b>	yī tóu2 dà4xiàng4 一頭大象'
<b>gen1 根</b>	yī gēn1 tóu2fǎ3 一根頭髮	<b>liang4 輛</b>	yī liàng4 jǐng3chē1 一輛警車	<b>wei4 位</b>	yī wèi4 lǎo3shī1 一位老師
<b>jia4 架</b>	yī jià4 fēi1jī1 一架飛機'	<b>pi1 匹</b>	yī pǐ1 mǎ3 一匹馬	<b>zhang1 張</b>	yī zhāng1 chuáng2 一張床
<b>jian4 件</b>	yī jiàn4 dà2yī1 一件大衣'	<b>sao1 艘</b>	yī sāo1 chuán2 一艘船	<b>zhi1 枝</b>	yī zhī1 shù4zhī1 一枝樹枝
<b>ke1 顆</b>	yī kē1 xī1guā1 一顆西瓜'	<b>tiao2 條</b>	yī tiáo2 yú2 一條魚	<b>zhi1 隻</b>	yī zhī1 māo1 一隻貓

#### 4.1.3.2 Words Re-classified as *Xc* and *Xm*

Four *Xc* and *Xm* are given by re-classifying these twenty classifiers.

Table 16: 4 Words of *Xc* and *Xm* in Hu (1993)

<b>ba3 把</b>	<b>ba3 把 c</b>	yī bǎ3 dāo1zǐ 一把刀子	<b>ba3 把 m</b>	yī bǎ3 dāo1zǐ 一把刀子
<b>kuai4 塊</b>	<b>kuai4 塊 c</b>	yī kuài4 ròu4 一塊肉	<b>kuai4 塊 m</b>	yī kuài4 ròu4 一塊肉
<b>pian4 片</b>	<b>pian4 片 c</b>	yī piàn4 shù4yè4 一片樹葉	<b>pian4 片 m</b>	yī piàn4 shù4yè4 一片樹葉
<b>tai2 台</b>	<b>tai2 台 c</b>	yī tái2 diàn4shì4 一台電視	<b>tai2 台 m</b>	yī tái2 gē1zǐ3xì4 一台歌仔戲

#### 4.1.3.3 Words Re-classified as Measure words

One measure word in Hu (1993) is listed below.

Table 17: One Measure Word in Hu (1993)

<b>shuang1 雙</b>	yī shuāng1 xié2 一雙鞋
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#### 4.1.4 Huang et. al. (1997)

One hundred and seventy-three classifiers are identified by Huang et. al in the *Mandarin Daily Dictionary of Chinese Classifiers*. Since Huang et. al. (1997) also do not provide any precise classification for ambiguous classifiers and do also include

measure word in classifier categorization, I will make use of the four tests mentioned in Chapter 3 to re-examine these classifiers. One hundred and seventy-three classifiers are re-classified into seventy-six classifiers, nineteen  $X_c$  and  $X_m$ , seventy-seven measure words and one word which does not belong to any portion.

In addition to providing classifier category in this dictionary, a kind classifier category and an event classifier category are also given. Recall the former hypothesis, kind classifiers should not be treated as classifiers and that event classifiers may be classifiers, which I made in Section 2.4. Some demonstrations will be offered to support my hypothesis in the following. Kind classifiers will be demonstrated first and event classifiers later.

The fourteen kind classifiers as shown in Table 18 are proposed by Huang and Ahren (2003). Because *yi*-multiplier is a decisive test to differentiate classifiers and measure words, I only use *yi*-multiplier to re-examine these kind classifiers. According to the *yi*-multiplier postulated by Her (2010, 2011b), such kind classifiers can be strongly proven as measure words because the multipliers of these kind classifiers are other than 1. For example, a kind classifier *yang4* 樣, in *yi1 yang4 shui3guo3* 一樣水果, does not have the concepts of multiplier 1. Thus, *yi1 yang4 shui3guo3* 一樣水果 is not equal to  $1 \times 1$  *shui3guo3* or one fruit because *yi1 yang4 shui3guo3* 一樣水果 can mean more than one apple (in which *shui3guo3* 水果 is a hypernym and an apple is a hyponym). Or a kind classifier *zhong3* 種, in *yi1 zhong3*

*mian4bao1* 一種麵包, also does not have the concepts of multiplier 1. So, *yi1 zhong3 mian4bao1* 一種麵包 is not equal to  $1 \times 1$  *mian4bao1* 麵包 or one bread because *yi1 zhong3 mian4bao1* 一種麵包 can mean more than one croissant (in which *mian4bao1* 麵包 is a hypernym and a croissant is a hyponym). The remaining event classifiers in Table 18 are also re-examined as measure words by *yi*-multiplier. Because processes in the analysis of the remaining kind classifiers are the same as with the above examples, the processes will be left out. In this thesis, kind classifiers are excluded from classifiers because they do not have a sufficient and necessary property of being classifiers, namely the multiplier 1.

Table 18: The 14 Kind Classifiers Proposed by Huang and Ahren (2003)

ban1 般	yi1 ban1 ren2 一般人	kuan3 款	liang3 kuan3 xin1che1 兩款新車	se4 色	ge2 se4 ren2zhong3 各色人種
dang3 檔	yi1 dang3 shi4 一檔事	lei4 類	liang3 lei4 shui3guo3 兩類水果	shi4 式	ge2 shi4 zi1liao4 各式資料
dang3zi 檔子	yi1 dang3zi shi4 一檔子事	ma3 碼	yi1 ma3 shi4 一碼事	yang4 樣	yi1 yang4 shui3guo3 一樣水果
deng3 等	zhe4 zong3 shen1cai2 這等身材	ma3zi 碼子	yi1 ma3zi shi4 一碼事	zhong3 種	yi1 zhong3 mian4bao1 一種麵包
hao4 號	yi1 hao4 ren2wu4 一號人物	pai4 派	yi1 pai4 shi4li4 一派勢力		

The thirty-five event classifiers as shown below in Table 19 are proposed by Huang and Ahren (2003).

Table 19: The 35 Event Classifiers Proposed by Huang and Ahren (2003)

ban1 班	yi1 ban1 fei1ji1 一班飛機	fan1 番	yi1 fan1 hua4 一番話	quan1 圈	yi1 quan1 ma2jiang4 一圈麻將
bi3 筆	yi1 bi3 mai3mai4 一筆買賣	hui2 回	yi1 hui2 shi4 一回事	ren4 任	yi1 ren4 zong3tong3 一任總統

bo1 波 一波募款活動	yi1 bo1 mu4kuan3huo2dong4	jian4 件	yi1 jian4 yi4wai4 一件意外	tai2 台	yi1 tai2 ge1zai3xi4 一台歌仔戲
bu4 步	di4 yi1 bu4 gong1zuo4 第一步工作	jie2 節	yi1 jie2 ke4 一節課	tang4 趟	yi1 tang4 lu3xing2 一趟旅行
can1 餐	yi1 can1 fan4 一餐飯	jie4 屆	di4 yi1 jie4 yun4dong4hui4 第一屆運動會	tang2 堂	yi1 tang2 ke4 一堂課
chang3 場	yi1 chang3 yin1yue4ju4 一場音樂劇	ju2 局	yi1 ju2 bang4qiu2sai4 一局棒球賽	tong1 通	yi1 tong1 dian4hua4 一通電話
chu1 齣	yi1 chu1 ge1wu3ju4 一齣歌舞劇	lun2 輪	yi1 lun2 bi3sai4 一輪比賽	xi2 席	yi1 xi2 hua4 一席話
ci4 次	yi1 ci4 hui4yi4 一次會議	mu4 幕	yi1 mu4 qing2jing3 一幕情景	zhe2 折	yi1 chu1 xi4 fen1 san1 zhe2 一齣戲分三折
dang3 檔	yi1 dang3 guo2pian4 一檔國片	pan2 盤	yi1 pan2 qi2 一盤棋	zhen4 陣	yi1 zhen4 ren2chao2 一陣人潮
dao4 道	yi1 dao4 shou3xu4 一道手續	pao4 泡	yi1 pao4 cha2 一泡茶	zhuang1 樁	yi1 zhuang1 yi4wai4 一樁意外
duan4 段	yi1 duan4 shi2qi2 一段時期	qi2 期	yi4 qi2 gai3jian4 gong1cheng2 一期改建工程	zong1 宗	yi1 zong1 yi4wai4 一宗意外
dun4 頓	yi1 dun4 fan4 一頓飯	qi3 起	yi1 qi3 yi4wai4 一起意外		

Below, two pieces of evidences about event classifiers may be classifiers will be given. First, event classifiers are not described until Ahren and Huang (1996). However, the concept of event classifiers, denoting an instance or occurrence of an event, has been proposed by Li and Thompson (1981). But Li and Thompson do not treat a type of classifiers which denote an instance or occurrence of an event as an isolated classifier category. On the contrary, Li and Thompson (1981) regard indicating an instance or occurrence of an event as the other description for classifiers. I also find that Gao and Malt (2009) treat classifiers with indicating an

instance or occurrence of an event as classifiers, rather than as an isolated classifier category. Chao (1968) also treats such classifiers with indicating an instance or occurrence of an event as classifiers. Thus, I infer that indicating an instance or occurrence of an event is another description of classifiers and it is not necessary to have an isolated classifier category denoting an instance or occurrence of an event.

The other reliable reason for proving that event classifiers may be classifiers comes from the test of *yi*-multiplier (Her 2010, 2011b). The concept of multiplier *1* is a sufficient and necessary property for being a classifier. The thirty-five event classifiers listed by Huang and Ahren (2003) like *tong1 通* in *yi1 tong1 dian4hua4 一通電話* have a starting point of a phone ringing and the end point of that event, so a distance from a starting point to an end point is metaphorically viewed as one entity, that is the concept incorporated in multiplier *1*. Thus, *yi1 tong1 dian4hua4 一通電話* corresponds to *yi1 一 × 1 dian4hua4 電話* which means receive one phone. Event classifiers like *zhuang1 椿* in *yi1 zhuang1 yi4wai4 一椿意外*, *jian4 件* in *yi1 jian4 yi4wai4 一件意外*, *qi3 起* in *yi1 qi3 yi4wai4 一起意外* and *zong1 宗* in *yi1 zong1 yi4wai4 一宗意外* also have a starting point of an accident happening and the end point of that event, a distance from a starting point to an end point is also viewed as one entity, that is the concept incorporated in multiplier *1*. As a result, *yi1 zhuang1 yi4wai4 一椿意外* or *yi1 jian4 yi4wai4 一件意外* or *yi1 qi3 yi4wai4 一起意外* or *yi1 zong1 yi4wai4 一宗意外* all correspond to *yi1 一 × 1 yi4wai4 意外* which means

one accident.

However, not all of the event classifiers listed in Huang and Ahren (2003) incorporate the concept of multiplier *l*. For example, *qi2 期* in *yi4 qi2 gai3jian4 gong1cheng2 一期改建工程* does not incorporate the concept of multiplier *l* because it is not necessary to finish the engineering project within one period of time. It can be finished in a further period of periods of time, i.e., surpassing the number of one time. So, *yi4 qi2 gai3jian4 gong1cheng2 一期改建工程* is not necessarily equal to *yi 一 × l gai3jian4 gong1cheng2 改建工程*. Thus, event classifiers are likely to be classifiers, but it is not certain that they will be classifiers.

In my classifier portion, these thirty-five event classifiers proposed by Huang and Ahren (2003) should be re-examined to see which event classifiers incorporate the concept of multiplier *l*. If an event classifier is testified to incorporate the concept of multiplier *l*, I will include it in my classifier portion. Otherwise, I will not discuss such a classifier in any of the portions that I propose. According to my linguistic sense and the use of *yi*-multiplier, thirteen typical and apt identification event classifiers are listed in Table 20. The examples of *jian4 件*, *qi3 起*, *tong1 通*, *zhuang1 樁* and *zong1 宗* have been demonstrated above, and examples (79) to (84) represent the rest of the examples of event classifiers such as *ban1 班*, *bi3 筆*, *chang3 場*, *chu1 齣*, *dang3 檔*, *mu4 幕*, *pan2 盤* and *ren4 任* in Table 20.

Table 20: 13 Event Classifiers Testified as Classifiers

ban1 班	yi1 ban1 fei1ji1 一班飛機	jian4 件	yi1 jian4 yi4wai4 一件意外	tong1 通	yi1 tong1 dian4hua4 一通電話
bi3 筆	yi1 bi3 mai3mai4 一筆買賣	mu4 幕	yi1 mu4 qing2jing3 一幕情景	zhuang1 樁	yi1 zhuang1 yi4wai4 一樁意外
chang3 場	yi1 chang3 yin1yue4ju4 一場音樂劇	pan2 盤	yi1 pan2 qi2 一盤棋	zong1 宗	yi1 zong1 yi4wai4 一宗意外
chu1 齣	yi1 chu1 ge1wu3ju4 一齣歌舞劇	qi3 起	yi1 qi3 yi4wai4 一起意外		
dang3 檔	yi1 dang3 guo2pian4 一檔國片	ren4 任	yi1 ren4 zong3tong3 一任總統		

(79) 一 班 飛 機 = 一 × 1 飛 機  
 yi1 ban1 fei1ji1 yi1 yi1 fei1ji1  
 one C airplane one one airplane  
 ‘one airplane’ ‘one airplane’

A process from taking off to landing is metaphorically viewed as one entity, that is the concept of multiplier 1. Thus, yi1 ban1 fei1ji1 一班飛機 is equal to one airplane.

(80) 一 筆 買 賣 = 一 × 1 買 賣  
 yi1 bi3 mai3mai4 yi1 yi1 mai3mai4  
 one C commerce one one commerce  
 ‘one piece of commerce’ ‘one piece of commerce’

A commerce or commercial process is one which has a starting point and a complete end point and also has the concept of the multiplier 1. Thus, bi3 筆 is also regarded as a classifier because bi3 筆 incorporates the concept of multiplier 1.

(81) a. 一 場 音 樂 劇 = 一 × 1 音 樂 劇  
 yi1 chang3 yin1yue4ju4 yi1 yi1 yin1yue4ju4  
 one C music play one one music play  
 ‘one music play’ ‘one music play’

b. 一 齣 歌 舞 劇 = 一 × 1 歌 舞 劇

$yi1 \quad chu1 \quad ge1wu3ju4 \quad = \quad yi1 \quad yi1 \quad ge1wu3ju4$   
 one C song and dance drama one one song and dance drama  
 ‘one song and dance drama’ ‘one song and dance drama’

c. 一 幕 情景 = 一 × 1 情景  
 $yi1 \quad mu4 \quad qing2jing3 \quad = \quad yi1 \quad yi1 \quad qing2jing3$   
 one C scene one one scene  
 ‘one scene’ ‘one scene’

A music play or a song and dance drama or a scene all have a starting point and an end point. Such a distance from starting point and an end point is metaphorically regarded as one entity, that is the concept of *1*. Thus, *chang3* 場, *chu1* 齣 and *mu4* 幕 all have the concept of multiplier *1*.

(82) 一 檔 國片 = 一 × 1 國片  
 $yi1 \quad dang3 \quad guo2pian4 \quad = \quad yi1 \quad yi1 \quad guo2pian4$   
 one C Chinese movie one one Chinese movie  
 ‘one Chinese movie’ ‘one Chinese movie’

A schedule for a movie from the point of going into the theater to that of coming out of the theater is also the concept of *1*. Thus, *dang3* 檔 also has the concept of multiplier *1*.

(83) 一 盤 棋 = 一 × 1 棋  
 $yi1 \quad pan2 \quad qi2 \quad = \quad yi1 \quad yi1 \quad qi2$   
 one C chess one one chess  
 ‘one board of chess’ ‘one board of chess’

To play a game of chess from start to end is a complete process. Thus, it can be viewed as having the concept of *1*.

(84) 一 任 總統 = 一 × 1 總統  
 $yi1 \quad ren4 \quad zong3tong3 \quad = \quad yi1 \quad yi1 \quad zong3tong3$



one C presidency one one presidency  
 ‘one presidency’ ‘one presidency’

*Yi ren zong tong* 一任總統 does not represent one president, but the term of office for being a president. Because the term of office of a president has a beginning point and an end point, such a process can also be viewed as having the concept of *I*.

The above evidences and inferences further support my hypothesis that kind classifiers should not be treated as classifiers and that it is possible that event classifiers may be classifiers is correct. In the following, except for seventy-six classifiers that I re-classify from one hundred and seventy-three classifiers, I will also include thirteen re-classified event classifiers in Table 20 in the following classifier portion. If the same classifiers both appear in the seventy-six classifiers and thirteen event classifiers, I will regard them as occurring once in my classifier portion such as *ban* 班, *bi* 筆, *dang* 檔, *jian* 件, *qi* 起 and *zong* 宗. Thus, there are eighty-three classifiers in classifier portion.

Because the analysis processes are the same as the above sections, they will be omitted and only the words of three portions are presented in the following.

#### 4.1.4.1 Words Re-classified as Classifiers

Eighty-three classifiers are re-classified as classifiers are presented below.

Table 21: 83 Words of Classifiers in Huang et. al. (1997) ‘*Mandarin Daily Dictionary of Chinese Classifiers*’

<b>ben</b> 本	yi1 ben3 shu1 一本書	<b>jian</b> 件	yi1 jian4 da4yi1 一件大衣	<b>ting</b> 挺	yi1 ting3 ji1qiang1 一挺機槍
<b>bi</b> 筆	yi1 bi3 shou1ru4	<b>jie</b> 介	yi1 jie4 shu1sheng1	<b>tong</b> 通	yi1 tong1 dian4hua4

	一筆收入		一介書生		一通電話
<b>bing3 柄</b>	yi1 bing3 fu3tou2 一柄斧頭	<b>jing1 莖</b>	yi1 jing1 bai2fa3 一莖白髮	<b>tou2 頭</b>	yi1 tou2 da4xiang4 一頭大象
<b>ce4 冊</b>	yi1 ce4 shu1 一冊書	<b>ju4 句</b>	yi1 ju4 kou3hao4 一句口號	<b>wan1 彎</b>	yi1 wan1 ming2yue4 一彎明月
<b>chang3 場</b>	yi1 chang3 yin1yue4ju4 一場音樂劇	<b>ju4 具</b>	yi1 ju4 shi1ti3 一具屍體	<b>wan1 灣</b>	yi1 wan1 liu2shui3 一灣流水 ? <sup>11</sup>
<b>chu1 齣</b>	yi1 chu1 ge1wu3ju4 一齣歌舞劇	<b>juan3 卷</b>	yi1 juan3 lu4yin1dai4 一卷錄音帶	<b>wan2 丸</b>	yi1 wan2 yao4wan2 一九藥丸
<b>chu4 處</b>	yi1 chu4 shang1kou3 一處傷口	<b>ke1 棵</b>	yi1 ke1 song1shu4 一棵松樹	<b>wei3 尾</b>	yi1 wei3 yu2 一尾魚
<b>chuang2 床</b>	yi1 chuang2 mian2bei4 一床棉被	<b>ke1 顆</b>	yi1 ke1 xi1gua1 一顆西瓜	<b>wei4 位</b>	yi1 wei4 lao3shi1 一位老師
<b>chuang2 幢</b>	yi1 chuang2 lou2fang2 一幢樓房	<b>li4 粒</b>	yi1 li4 hong2dou4 一粒紅豆	<b>xi2 席</b>	yi1 xi2 dong3shi4 一席董事
<b>dang3 檔</b>	yi1 dang3 gu3piao4 一檔股票	<b>liang4 輛</b>	yi1 liang4 jing3che1 一輛警車	<b>xi2 襲</b>	yi1 xi2 bo2sha1 一襲薄紗
<b>dao4 道</b>	yi1 dao4 zhuan1qiang2 一道磚牆	<b>mei2 枚</b>	yi1 mei2 jiang3zhang1 一枚獎章	<b>yuan2 員</b>	yi1 yuan2 da4jiang4 一員大將
<b>ding3 頂</b>	yi1 ding3 mao4zi 一頂帽子	<b>mian4 面</b>	yi1 mian4 jing4zi 一面鏡子	<b>ze2 則</b>	yi1 ze2 xiao4hua4 一則笑話
<b>ding4 錠</b>	yi1 ding4 yuan2bao3 一錠元寶	<b>ming2 名</b>	yi1 ming2 xue2sheng1 一名學生	<b>zhan3 盞</b>	yi1 zhan3 deng1 一盞燈
<b>dong4 棟</b>	yi1 dong4 da4 lou2 一棟大樓	<b>mu4 幕</b>	yi1 mu4 qing2jing3 一幕情景	<b>zhang1 張</b>	yi1 zhang1 chunag2 一張床
<b>du3 堵</b>	yi1 du3 qiang2 一堵牆	<b>pan2 盤</b>	yi1 pan2 qi2 一盤棋	<b>zhao1 招</b>	yi1 zhao1 ce4lue4 一招策略
<b>duo3 朵</b>	yi1 duo3 mei2gui1 一朵玫瑰	<b>pi1 匹</b>	yi1 pi1 ma3 一匹馬	<b>zheng4 幀</b>	yi1 zheng4 jie2hun1zhao4 一幀結婚照
<b>fa1 發</b>	yi1 fa1 zi3dan4 一發子彈	<b>pian1 篇</b>	yi1 pian1 wen2zhang1 一篇文章	<b>zhi1 只</b>	yi1 zhi1 jiu3tan2 一只酒罈
<b>fang1 方</b>	yi1 fang1 yin4zhang1 一方印章	<b>qi2 畦</b>	yi1 qi2 dao4tian2 一畦稻田	<b>zhi1 枝</b>	yi1 zhi1 shu4zhi1 一枝樹枝
<b>feng1 封</b>	yi4 feng1xin4 一封信	<b>qu3 曲</b>	yi1 qu3 liu2xing2ge1 一曲流行歌	<b>zhi1 隻</b>	yi1 zhi1 mao1 一隻貓
<b>fu2 幅</b>	yi1 fu2 hua4 一幅畫	<b>que4 闕</b>	yi1 que4 gu3ci2 一闕古詞	<b>zhi3 紙</b>	yi1 zhi3 qie4jie2shu1 一紙切結書

<sup>11</sup> Question marks represent that I adopt the author's opinion because my linguistic sense is not enough to identify if this word is a classifier.

<b>gan3 桿</b>	yī gan3 qiāng1 一桿槍	<b>ren4 任</b>	yī ren4 zōng3tōng3 一任總統	<b>zhou2 軸</b>	yī zhou2 huā4 一軸畫
<b>gen1 根</b>	yī gen1 tóu2fā3 一根頭髮	<b>shan4 扇</b>	yī shān4 mén2 一扇門	<b>zhu1 株</b>	yī zhū1yīng1huā1 一株櫻花
<b>ge 個</b>	yī ge rén2 一個人	<b>sheng1 聲</b>	yī shēng1 jiān1jiāo4 一聲尖叫	<b>zhu4 柱</b>	yī shū4 diān4xiān4gān1 一柱電線杆
<b>guan3 管</b>	yī guan3 máo2bǐ3 一管毛筆	<b>shou3 首</b>	yī shǒu3 èr2ge1 一首兒歌	<b>zhu4 炷</b>	yī shū4 xiāng1 一炷香 ?
<b>ji4 記</b>	yī jì4 zuǒ3gōu1quān2 一記右勾拳	<b>sao1 艘</b>	yī sāo1 chuāng2 一艘船	<b>zhuang1 椿</b>	yī zhūang1 yì4wài4 一椿意外
<b>ji4 劑</b>	yī jiè4 qiāng2xīn1jì4 一劑強心劑	<b>suo3 所</b>	yī suǒ3 dà4xué2 一所大學	<b>zun1 尊</b>	yī zūn1 fò2xiāng4 一尊佛像
<b>jia4 架</b>	yī jiā4 fēi1jī1 一架飛機	<b>ti2 題</b>	yī tí2 xuān3zé2tí2 一題選擇題	<b>zuo4 座</b>	zī1 zuǒ4 shān1 一座山
<b>jian1 間</b>	yī jiān1 shū1diān4 一間書店	<b>tiao2 條</b>	yī tiāo2 wéi2jīng1 一條圍巾		

#### 4.1.4.2 Words Re-classified as Xc and Xm

In the following, twenty-one Xc and Xm are listed.

Table 22: 21 Words of Xc and Xm in Huang et. al. (1997) ‘Mandarin Daily Dictionary of Chinese Classifiers’

<b>ba3 把</b>	<b>ba3 把 c</b>	yī ba3dāo1zǐ 一把刀子	<b>ba3 把 m</b>	yī ba3dāo1zǐ 一把刀子
<b>ban1 班</b>	<b>ban1 班 c</b>	yī bān1 fēi1jī1 一班飛機	<b>ban1 班 m</b>	yī bān1 xué2shēng1 一班學生
<b>ban4 瓣</b>	<b>ban4 瓣 c</b>	yī bān4 huā1bān4 一瓣花瓣	<b>ban4 瓣 m</b>	yī bān4 měi2guī1 一瓣玫瑰
<b>bu4 部</b>	<b>bu4 部 c</b>	yī bù4 shū1 一部書	<b>bu4 部 m</b>	yī bù4 shū1 一部書
<b>dian3 點</b>	<b>dian3 點 c</b>	yī diǎn3 zhū1shā1ahī4 一點硃砂痣	<b>dian3 點 m</b>	yī diǎn3 táng2 一點糖
<b>fen4 分</b>	<b>fen4 分 c</b>	yī fēn4 bào4gāo4 一分報告	<b>fen4 分 m</b>	yī fēn4 qīng2yì4 一分情意
<b>fen4 份</b>	<b>fen4 份 c</b>	yī fēn4 bào4gāo4 一份報告	<b>fen4 份 m</b>	yī fēn4 qīng2yì4 一份情意
<b>jia1 家</b>	<b>jia1 家 c</b>	yī jiā1 gōng1sī1 一家公司	<b>jia1 家 m</b>	yī jiā1 ào4zhōu1rén2 一家澳洲人

<b>jie2 節</b>	<b>jie2 節 c</b>	yi1 jie2 che1xiang1 一節車廂	<b>jie2 節 m</b>	yi1 jie2 gan1zhe4 一節甘蔗
<b>kou3 口</b>	<b>kou3 口 c</b>	yi1 kou3 jing3 一口井	<b>kou3 口 m</b>	yi1 kou3 zhu4ya2 一口蛀牙
<b>kuai4 塊</b>	<b>kuai4 塊 c</b>	yi1 kuai4 rou4 一塊肉	<b>kuai4 塊 m</b>	yi1 kuai4 rou4 一塊肉
<b>lun2 輪</b>	<b>lun2 輪 c</b>	yi1 lun2 ming2yue4 一輪明月	<b>lun2 輪 m</b>	yi1 lun2 bi3sai4 一輪比賽
<b>lü3 縷</b>	<b>lü3 縷 c</b>	yi1 lü3 xian4 一縷線	<b>lü3 縷 m</b>	yi1 lü3 qing1yan1 一縷清煙
<b>men2 門</b>	<b>men2 門 c</b>	yi1 men2 da4pao4 一門大砲	<b>men2 門 m</b>	yi1 men2 sheng1yi4 一門生意
<b>pian4 片</b>	<b>pian4 片 c</b>	yi1 pian4 shu4ye4 一片樹葉	<b>pian4 片 m</b>	yi1 pian4 shu4ye4 一片樹葉
<b>qi3 起</b>	<b>qi3 起 c</b>	yi1 qi3 yi4wai4 一起意外	<b>qi3 起 m</b>	yi1 qi3 ren2ma3 一起人馬
<b>tai2 台</b>	<b>tai2 台 c</b>	yi1 tai2 dian4shi4 一台電視	<b>tai2 台 m</b>	yi1 tai2 ge1zai3xi4 一台歌仔戲
<b>xian4 線</b>	<b>xian4 線 c</b>	yi1 xian4 che1dao4 一線車道	<b>xian4 線 m</b>	yi1 xian4 xi1wang4 一線希望
<b>ye4 葉</b>	<b>ye4 葉 c</b>	yi1 ye4 pian1zhou1 一葉扁舟	<b>ye4 葉 m</b>	yi1 ye4 shu1 一葉書
<b>zhi1 支</b>	<b>zhi1 支 c</b>	yi1 zhi1 ge1 一支歌	<b>zhi1 支 m</b>	yi1 zhi1 chun2mao2sha1 一支純毛紗
<b>zong1 宗</b>	<b>zong1 宗 c</b>	yi1 zong1 yi4wai4 一宗意外	<b>zong1 宗 m</b>	yi1 zong1 huo4wu4 一宗貨物

#### 4.1.4.3 Words Re-classified as Measure words

Below, seventy-five measure words are presented.

Table 23: 75 Measure Words in Huang et. al. (1997) 'Mandarin Daily Dictionary of Chinese Classifiers'

<b>ban3 版</b>	yi1 ban3 xin1wen2 一版新聞	<b>hui2 回</b>	ba1shi2hui2 hong2lou2meng4 八十回紅樓夢	<b>piao4 票</b>	yi1 piao4 sheng1yi4 一票生意
<b>bang1 幫</b>	yi1 bang1 gong1ren2 一幫工人	<b>huo3 夥</b>	yi1 huo3 qiang2dao4 一夥強盜	<b>pie3 撇</b>	yi1 pie3 hu2xu1 一撇鬚鬚
<b>cao2 槽</b>	yi1 cao2 ya2 一槽牙	<b>ji2 級</b>	yi1 ji2 shi2jie1 一級石階	<b>pou2 抔</b>	yi1 pou2 tu3 一抔土

<b>ceng2 層</b>	yi1 ceng2 lou2 一層樓	<b>ji2 集</b>	yi1 bai3 ji2 lian2 xu4 ju4 一百集連續劇	<b>qi2 期</b>	za2 zhi4 di4 yi1 qi2 雜誌第一期
<b>chong2 重</b>	wan4 chong2 shan1 萬重山	<b>ji2 輯</b>	cong2 shu1 di4 yi1 ji2 叢書第一輯	<b>quan1 圈</b>	yi1 quan2 liu3 shu4 一圈柳樹
<b>chuan4 串</b>	yi1 chuan4 fo2 zhu1 一串佛珠	<b>jie1 階</b>	yi1 jie1 lou2 ti1 一階樓梯	<b>qun2 群</b>	yi1 qun2 peng2 you3 一群朋友
<b>cong2 叢</b>	yi1 cong2 ye3 cao3 一叢野草	<b>jie2 截</b>	yi1 jie2 zhu2 zi 一截竹子	<b>shen1 身</b>	yi1 shen1 yi1 shang 一身衣裳
<b>cu4 簇</b>	yi1 cu4 mei2 gui1 一簇玫瑰	<b>jin4 進</b>	yi1 jin4 fang2 zi 一進房子	<b>shu4 束</b>	yi1 shu4 xian1 hua1 一束鮮花
<b>cuo1 撮</b>	yi1 cuo1 mao2 fa3 一撮毛髮	<b>juan4 卷</b>	za2 zhi4 di4 yi1 juan4 雜誌第一卷	<b>shuang1 雙</b>	yi1 shuang1 xie2 一雙鞋
<b>da3 打</b>	yi1 da3 qian1 bi3 一打鉛筆	<b>ke1 科</b>	ying1 wan2 yi1 ke1 英文一科	<b>si1 絲</b>	yi1 si1 rou4 一絲肉
<b>dai4 代</b>	shang4 yi1 dai4 ren2 上一代人	<b>ke4 客</b>	yi1 ke4 niu2 pai2 一客牛排	<b>tai1 胎</b>	yi1 tai1 xiao3 gou3 一胎小狗
<b>dai4 帶</b>	yi1 dai4 yu2 cun1 一帶漁村	<b>ke4 課</b>	yi1 ke4 shu4 xue2 一課數學	<b>tan1 灘</b>	yi1 tan1 shui3 一灘水
<b>di1 滴</b>	yi1 di1 yan3 lei4 一滴眼淚	<b>kuan3 款</b>	di4 yi1 kuan3 gui1 ding4 第一款規定	<b>tang2 堂</b>	yi1 tang2 jia1 ju4 一堂傢具
<b>die2 疊</b>	yi1 die2 chao1 piao4 一疊鈔票	<b>kun3 捆</b>	yi1 kun3 dao4 cao3 一捆稻草	<b>tao4 套</b>	yi1 tao4 can1 ju4 一套餐具
<b>duan4 段</b>	yi1 duan4 gan1 zhe4 一段甘蔗	<b>lan2 欄</b>	yi1 lan2 xin1 wen2 一欄新聞	<b>tie4 帖</b>	yi1 tie4 zhong1 yao4 一帖中藥
<b>dui1 堆</b>	yi1 dui1 tu3 一堆土	<b>lian2 聯</b>	er4 lian2 shou1 ju4 二聯收據	<b>tuan2 團</b>	yi1 tuan2 shi4 bing1 一團士兵
<b>dui4 隊</b>	yi1 dui4 shi4 bing1 一隊士兵	<b>lie4 列</b>	yi1 lie4 luo4 tuo2 一列駱駝	<b>tuo2 坨</b>	yi1 tuo2 nai3 you2 一坨奶油
<b>dui4 對</b>	yi1 dui4 fu1 qi1 一對夫妻	<b>liu3 絡</b>	yi1 liu3 tou2 fa3 一絡頭髮	<b>wei4 味</b>	hun1 cai4 wu3 wei4 葷菜五味
<b>fang2 房</b>	yi1 fang2 er2 sun1 一房兒孫	<b>lu4 路</b>	yi1 lu4 ren2 ma3 一路人馬	<b>xiang4 項</b>	xing2 fa3 di4 ti1 xiang4 刑法第一項
<b>fu2 服</b>	yi1 fu2 zhong1 yao4 一服中藥	<b>luo4 落</b>	yi1 luo4 bao4 zhi3 一落報紙	<b>ye4 頁</b>	yi1 ye4 shu1 一頁書
<b>fu4 副</b>	yi1 fu4 kuai4 zi 一副筷子	<b>lü3 旅</b>	yi1 lü3 bu4 dui4 一旅部隊	<b>zha1 紮</b>	yi1 zha1 zhi3 hua1 一紮紙花
<b>gu3 股</b>	yi1 gu3 xiang1 qi4 一股香氣	<b>pai2 排</b>	yi1 pai2 shi4 bing1 一排士兵	<b>zhang1 章</b>	di4 yi1 zhang1 nei4 rong2 第一章內容
<b>gua4 掛</b>	yi1 gua4 fo2 zhu1 一掛佛珠	<b>peng3 捧</b>	yi1 peng3 sha1 一捧沙	<b>zhen1 針</b>	yi1 zhen1 qiang2 xin1 ji4 一針強心劑

	一掛佛珠		一捧沙		一針強心劑
<b>hang2 行</b>	yi1 hang2 liu3shu4 一行柳樹	<b>pi1 批</b>	yi1 pi1 huo4 一批貨	<b>zhuo1 桌</b>	yi1 zhuo1 cai4 一桌菜
<b>hu4 戶</b>	yi1 hu4 nong2min2 一戶農民	<b>pi3 匹</b>	yi1 pi3 bu4 一匹布	<b>zu3 組</b>	yi1 zu3 ren2yuan2 一組人員

#### 4.1.4.4 Inapplicable Words

*Hao4 號* in Table 24 is a word which is used to mark number, rather than calculate the number of objects, for example, roads. *Hao4 號* is not like *ben3 本* in *yi1 ben3 shu1 一本書* denoting the salient perceptual properties of the associated nouns or *jian4 件* in *yi1 jian4 yi4wai4 一件意外* having the concept of multiplier 1. Thus, *hao4 號* is neither a classifier nor a measure word. I thus give it an NA (not applicable) mark and exclude it from our analysis.

Table 24: NA (not applicable) Words in Huang et. al. (1997) 'Mandarin Daily Dictionary of Chinese Classifiers'

<i>hao4 號</i> '第一號道路'
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#### 4.1.5 Gao and Malt (2009)

Gao and Malt (2009) provide a list which includes one hundred and twenty-six commonly recognized Mandarin Chinese classifiers. These one hundred and twenty-six Mandarin Chinese classifiers are collected from Chinese books, newspapers, dictionaries, and causal conversations between Malt and Gao and the other native Chinese speakers and their own knowledge of Chinese. Gao and Malt (2009) mention that six native speakers of Mandarin Chinese from Beijing (three graduate students at Lehigh University and three college-educated spouses of

graduate students) were paid to check if these one hundred and twenty-six classifiers are commonly used in Mandarin Chinese.

Even if Malt and Gao think that these one hundred and twenty-six classifiers are very reliable and familiar to college-educated speakers of Mandarin Chinese because they tested these one hundred and twenty-six classifiers again and again, I am able to point out certain defects in the list of these one hundred and twenty-six classifiers. As mentioned above in Section 4.1, a Mandarin Chinese classifier categorization proposed by Malt and Gao also does not provide any precise classification to show how an ambiguous classifier should be treated as a classifier or as a measure word and also includes measure words in their classifier categorization. As a result, I will re-classify the one hundred and twenty-six classifiers into three portions and the analysis processes will be omitted because they are the same as the above sections.

#### 4.1.5.1 Words Re-classified as Classifiers

According to my re-classification, seventy-one classifiers are presented below.

Table 25: 71 Words of Classifiers in Gao and Malt (2009)

<b>ben3 本</b>	yì ben3 shu1 一本書	<b>jian1 間</b>	yì jian1 shu1dian4 一間書店	<b>suo1 梭</b>	yì suo1 zi3 dan4 一梭子彈
<b>bi3 筆</b>	yì bi3 shou1ru4 一筆收入	<b>jian4 件</b>	yì jian4 da4yi1 一件大衣	<b>suo3 所</b>	yì suo3 da4xue2 一所大學
<b>ce4 冊</b>	yì ce4 shu1 一冊書	<b>ju4 句</b>	yì ju4 kou3hao4 一句口號	<b>tang4 趟</b>	yì tang4 huo3che1 一趟火車 ?
<b>chang3 場</b>	yì chang3 yin1yue4ju4 一場音樂劇	<b>ju4 具</b>	yì ju4 shi1ti3 一具屍體	<b>tiao2 條</b>	yì tiao2 wei2jing1 一條圍巾
<b>chu1 齣</b>	yì chu1 ge1wu3ju4 一齣歌舞劇	<b>ke1 棵</b>	yì ke1 song1shu4 一棵松樹	<b>ting3 挺</b>	yì ting3 ji1qiang1 一挺機槍

<b>chu4 處</b>	yī chū4 shàng1kǒu3 一處傷口	<b>ke1 顆</b>	yī ke1 xī1guā1 一顆西瓜	<b>tou2 頭</b>	yī tóu2 dà4xiàng4 一頭大象
<b>chuang2 床</b>	yī chuang2 mián2bèi4 一床棉被	<b>li4 粒</b>	yī lì4 hóng2dòu4 一粒紅豆	<b>wan2 丸</b>	yī wán2 yào4wán2 一丸藥丸
<b>chuang2 幢</b>	yī chuang2 lóu2fāng2 一幢樓房	<b>liang4 輛</b>	yī liang4 jǐng3chē1 一輛警車	<b>wei4 位</b>	yī wèi4 lǎo3shī1 一位老師
<b>dao4 道</b>	yī dào4 zhuān1qiāng2 一道磚牆	<b>long3 壟</b>	yī lóng3 tián2 一壟田	<b>xi2 席</b>	yī xī2 dǒng3shì4 一席董事
<b>ding3 頂</b>	yī dǐng3 mào4zǐ 一頂帽子	<b>mei2 枚</b>	yī mèi2 jiǎng3zhāng1 一枚獎章	<b>xing1 星</b>	yī xīng1 yóu2 一星油 ?
<b>dong4 棟</b>	yī dōng4 dà4 lóu2 一棟大樓	<b>mian4 面</b>	yī mián4 jǐng4zǐ 一面鏡子	<b>yan3 眼</b>	yī yǎn3 jǐng3 一眼井
<b>dong4 洞</b>	yī dòng4 qiáo2 一洞橋 ?	<b>ming2 名</b>	yī míng2 xué2shēng1 一名學生	<b>ze2 則</b>	yī zé2 xiào4huā4 一則笑話
<b>du3 堵</b>	yī dǔ3 qiāng2 一堵牆	<b>mu4 幕</b>	yī mù4 qíng2jǐng3 一幕情景	<b>zhan3 盞</b>	yī zhān3 dēng1 一盞燈
<b>duo3 朵</b>	yī duǒ3 měi2guī1 一朵玫瑰	<b>pan2 盤</b>	yī pán2 qí2 一盤棋	<b>zhan4 站</b>	yī zhàn4 jù4lí2 一站距離 ?
<b>fa1 發</b>	yī fā1 zǐ3dàn4 一發子彈	<b>pi1 匹</b>	yī pǐ1 mǎ3 一匹馬	<b>zhang1 張</b>	yī zhāng1 chūnǎg2 一張床
<b>feng1 封</b>	yī fēng1 xìn4 一封信	<b>pian1 篇</b>	yī piān1 wén2zhāng1 一篇文章	<b>zhao1 招</b>	yī zhāo1 cè4lüè4 一招策略
<b>fu2 幅</b>	yī fú2 huà4 一幅畫	<b>qi2 畦</b>	yī qí2 dào4tián2 一畦稻田	<b>zhi1 枝</b>	yī zhī1 shù4zhī1 一枝樹枝
<b>gan3 桿</b>	yī gān3 qiāng1 一桿槍	<b>qi3 起</b>	yī qǐ3 yì4wài4 一起意外	<b>zhi1 隻</b>	yī zhī1 māo1 一隻貓
<b>gen1 根</b>	yī gēn1 tóu2fǎ3 一根頭髮	<b>qu3 曲</b>	yī qū3 liú2xíng2gē1 一曲流行歌	<b>zhou2 軸</b>	yī zhóu2 huà4 一軸畫
<b>ge 個</b>	yī gè rén2 一個人	<b>ren4 任</b>	yī rén4 zǒng3tǒng3 一任總統	<b>zhu1 株</b>	yī zhū1 yīng1huā1 一株櫻花
<b>guan3 管</b>	yī guǎn3 máo2bǐ3 一管毛筆	<b>shan4 扇</b>	yī shān4 mén2 一扇門	<b>zhuang1 樁</b>	yī zhuāng1 yì4wài4 一樁意外
<b>ji4 劑</b>	yī jiè4 qiāng2xīn1jì4 一劑強心劑	<b>sheng1 聲</b>	yī shēng1 jiān1jiào4 一聲尖叫	<b>zun1 尊</b>	yī zūn1 fó2xiàng4 一尊佛像
<b>jia4 架</b>	yī jiā4 fēi1jī1 一架飛機	<b>shou3 首</b>	yī shǒu3 èr2gē1 一首兒歌	<b>zuo4 座</b>	zì zuò4 shān1 一座山
<b>jia4 駕</b>	yī jiā4 mǎ3chē1 一駕馬車 ?	<b>sao1 艘</b>	yī sāo1 chuāng2 一艘船		



#### 4.1.5.2 Words Re-classified as *Xc* and *Xm*

Eighteen *Xc* and *Xm* are presented below after re-classifying the one hundred and twenty-six classifiers.

Table 26: 18 Words of *Xc* and *Xm* in Gao and Malt (2009)

<b>ba3 把</b>	<b>ba3 把 c</b>	yi1 ba3dao1zi 一把刀子	<b>ba3 把 m</b>	yi1 ba3dao1zi 一把刀子
<b>ban1 班</b>	<b>ban1 班 c</b>	yi1 ban1 fei1ji1 一班飛機	<b>ban1 班 m</b>	yi1 ban1 xue2sheng1 一班學生
<b>ban4 瓣</b>	<b>ban4 瓣 c</b>	yi1 ban4 hua1ban4 一瓣花瓣	<b>ban4 瓣 m</b>	yi1 ban4 mei2gui1 一瓣玫瑰
<b>bu4 部</b>	<b>bu4 部 c</b>	yi1 bu4 shu1 一部書	<b>bu4 部 m</b>	yi1 bu4 shu1 一部書
<b>dian3 點</b>	<b>dian3 點 c</b>	yi1 dian3 zhu1sha1ahi4 一點硃砂痣	<b>dian3 點 m</b>	yi1 dian3 tang2 一點糖
<b>fen4 份</b>	<b>fen4 份 c</b>	yi1 fen4 bao4gao4 一份報告	<b>fen4 份 m</b>	yi1 fen4 qing2yi4 一份情意
<b>jia1 家</b>	<b>jia1 家 c</b>	yi1 jia1 gong1si1 一家公司	<b>jia1 家 m</b>	yi1 jia1 ao4zhou1ren2 一家澳洲人
<b>jie2 節</b>	<b>jie2 節 c</b>	yi1 jie2 che1xiang1 一節車廂	<b>jie2 節 m</b>	yi1 jie2 gan1zhe4 一節甘蔗
<b>kou3 口</b>	<b>kou3 口 c</b>	yi1 kou3 jing3 一口井	<b>kou3 口 m</b>	yi1 kou3 zhu4ya2 一口蛀牙
<b>kuai4 塊</b>	<b>kuai4 塊 c</b>	yi1 kuai4 rou4 一塊肉	<b>kuai4 塊 m</b>	yi1 kuai4 rou4 一塊肉
<b>lun2 輪</b>	<b>lun2 輪 c</b>	yi1 lun2 ming2yue4 一輪明月	<b>lun2 輪 m</b>	yi1 lun2 bi3sai4 一輪比賽
<b>lü3 縷</b>	<b>lü3 縷 c</b>	yi1 lü3 xian4 一縷線	<b>lü3 縷 m</b>	yi1 lü3 qing1yan1 一縷清煙
<b>men2 門</b>	<b>men2 門 c</b>	yi1 men2 da4pao4 一門大砲	<b>men2 門 m</b>	yi1 men2 sheng1yi4 一門生意
<b>pian4 片</b>	<b>pian4 片 c</b>	yi1 pian4 shu4ye4 一片樹葉	<b>pian4 片 m</b>	yi1 pian4 shu4ye4 一片樹葉
<b>tai2 台</b>	<b>tai2 台 c</b>	yi1 tai2 dian4shi4 一台電視	<b>tai2 台 m</b>	yi1 tai2 ge1zai3xi4 一台歌仔戲
<b>xian4 線</b>	<b>xian4 線 c</b>	yi1 xian4 che1dao4 一線車道	<b>xian4 線 m</b>	yi1 xian4 xi1wang4 一線網

		一線車道		一線希望
<b>zhi1 支</b>	<b>zhi1 支 c</b>	yì zhi1 gē1 一支歌	<b>zhi1 支 m</b>	yì zhi1 chūn2 mǎo2 shā1 一支純毛紗
<b>zong1 宗</b>	<b>zong1 宗 c</b>	yì zong1 yì4 wai4 一宗意外	<b>zong1 宗 m</b>	yì zong1 huò4 wu4 一宗貨物

#### 4.1.5.3 Words Re-classified as Measure words

Thirty-seven measure words that should not be included in the classifier categorization are listed below.

Table 27: 37 Words of Measure words in Gao and Malt (2009)

<b>bian4 瓣</b>	yì bian4 dà4 suān4 一瓣大蒜	<b>liu3 絡</b>	yì liu3 tóu2 fǎ3 一絡頭髮	<b>tie4 帖</b>	yì tie4 zhōng1 yào4 一帖中藥
<b>cuo1 撮</b>	yì cuo1 máo2 fǎ3 一撮毛髮	<b>ma3 碼</b>	yì ma3 shì4 一碼事	<b>tuan2 團</b>	yì tuān2 shì4 bīng1 一團士兵
<b>di1 滴</b>	yì di1 yǎn3 lèi4 一滴眼淚	<b>pao4 泡</b>	yì pào4 niào4 一泡尿	<b>tuo2 坨</b>	yì tuō2 nǎi3 yóu2 一坨奶油
<b>duan4 段</b>	yì duān4 gān1 zhē4 一段甘蔗	<b>pie3 撇</b>	yì piē3 hu2 xu1 一撇鬚鬚	<b>wei4 味</b>	hūn1 cài3 wu3 wèi4 葷菜五味
<b>dui4 對</b>	yì duì4 fū1 qī1 一對夫妻	<b>qi2 期</b>	zá2 zhì4 dì4 yì1 qī2 雜誌第一期	<b>wo1 窩</b>	yì wō1 xiǎo3 gǒu3 一窩小狗
<b>dun4 頓</b>	yì dùn4 fǎ4 一頓飯	<b>qiang1 腔</b>	mǎn3 qiāng1 rè4 chéng2 滿腔熱誠	<b>xiang4 項</b>	xíng2 fǎ3 dì4 tí1 xiāng4 刑法第一項
<b>gu3 股</b>	yì gǔ3 xiāng1 qì4 一股香氣	<b>quan1 圈</b>	yì quān2 liú3 shù4 一圈柳樹	<b>ya2 牙</b>	yì yá2 jú2 zǐ 一牙橘子
<b>gua4 掛</b>	yì guā4 fó2 zhū1 一掛佛珠	<b>shen1 身</b>	yì shēn1 yī1 shang 一身衣裳	<b>ye4 頁</b>	yì yè4 shū1 一頁書
<b>hu4 戶</b>	yì hù4 nóng2 mín2 一戶農民	<b>shu4 束</b>	yì shù4 xiān1 huā1 一束鮮花	<b>zhang1 章</b>	dì4 yì1 zhāng1 nèi4 róng2 第 一章內容
<b>ji2 集</b>	yì bǎi3 jí2 lián2 xu4 jù4 一百集連續劇	<b>si1 絲</b>	yì sī1 ròu4 一絲肉	<b>zhen4 陣</b>	yì zhēn4 rén2 cháo2 一陣人潮
<b>jie2 截</b>	yì jiē2 zhú2 zǐ 一截竹子	<b>tai1 胎</b>	yì tāi1 xiǎo3 gǒu3 一胎小狗	<b>zhuo1 桌</b>	yì zhuō1 cài4 一桌菜
<b>jie4 屆</b>	yì jiē4 guān4 jūn1 一屆冠軍	<b>tan1 灘</b>	yì tān1 shuǐ3 一灘水		
<b>juan4 卷</b>	zá2 zhì4 dì4 yì1 juān4 雜誌第一卷	<b>tang2 堂</b>	yì táng2 jiā1 jù4 一堂傢具		

## 4.2 True Classifiers

According to the above re-classifications of Mandarin Chinese classifiers from Section 4.1.1 to Section 4.1.5 (Chao 1968, Erbaugh 1986, Hu 1993, Huang et al. 1997 and Malt and Gao 2009), five groups of the classifier portion, the  $X_c$  and  $X_m$  portion and the measure word portion are given. Moreover, five groups of the classifier<sup>12</sup> portion of Chao (1968), Erbaugh (1986), Hu (1993), Huang et al. (1997) and Gao and Malt (2009) are also obtained. In the following, I will carry out further investigations on the basis of the words in these five groups of classifiers. In Section 4.2.1, the intersection method and union method in mathematics will be used to find core classifiers and non-core classifiers in the five groups of classifiers. In Section 4.2.2, a questionnaire experiment on identifying classifiers is used to examine the possibility for non-core classifiers to become true classifiers. Finally, the ultimate goal is to offer a group of true classifiers.

### 4.2.1 Core Classifiers and Non-core Classifiers

The intersection method and union method in mathematics are adopted in order to find core classifiers and non-core classifiers. In the following, I will individually discuss core classifiers through use of the intersection method and non-core classifiers through use of the union method.

First, core classifiers are obtained through use of the intersection method. In

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<sup>12</sup> Classifier here refers to both the classifier portion and  $X_c$  portion that have been mentioned in Table 7.

mathematics, the intersection (denoted as  $\cap$ ) of two sets  $A$  and  $B$  is the set that contains all of the elements of  $A$  that also belong to  $B$  (or equivalently, all of the elements of  $B$  that also belong to  $A$ ), but no other elements. The figure of the intersection of two sets is as shown below. T. Givón (1986) mentions that the shaded area in Figure 5 represents members which display all two ‘characteristic’ properties. They are ‘the most typical’ members of the category, i.e., the prototype of the category.

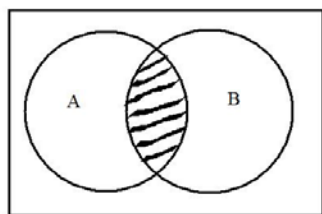


Figure 5: Intersection of Two Sets

Also T. Givón (1986) mentions that the area where three out of four properties intersect are still ‘fairly’ typical except the area where four out of four properties intersect when intersection of four sets. I thus infer that the most typical members, which are  $X$  out of  $X$  intersect ( $X$  stands for any number), and also that fairly typical members, which are  $X-1$  out of  $X$  intersect ( $X$  stands for any number), can be called core members. As a result, core classifiers in this thesis will be found through the above inferences of core members consisting of most typical members and fairly typical members. Below two steps are used to find core classifiers. First, five groups of the classifier portion are intersected, and then the most typical classifiers are

obtained. Second, four groups of the classifier portion are intersected, and then fairly typical classifiers are also obtained. To make a summary of the most typical classifiers and fairly typical classifiers, twenty-two core classifiers are represented as in Table 28. These twenty-two core classifiers are not only identified as classifiers by representative studies but also by my analysis. These twenty-two core classifiers are also shared by the five representative studies. The above dual certifications support that these twenty-two core classifiers are indubitable true classifiers.

Table 28: 22 Core Classifiers

ba3 把 c	jian4 件	pi1 匹	wei4 位
ben3 本	ke1 棵	pian4 片 c	zhang1 張
ding3 頂	ke1 顆	shou3 首	zhi1 枝
gen1 根	kuai4 塊 c	sao1 艘	zhi1 隻
ge 個	li4 粒	tiao2 條	
jia4 架	liang4 輛	tou2 頭	

Next, non-core classifiers are obtained through use of the union method. In set theory, the union (denoted as  $\cup$ ) of a collection of sets is the set of all distinct elements in the collection as shown in Figure 6.

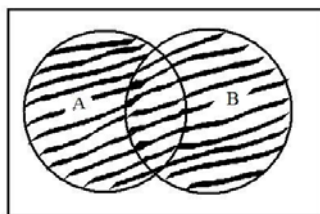


Figure 6: Union of Two Sets

Take a simple example for instance,  $A = \{1, 2, 3, 4\}$  and  $B = \{2, 4, 5, 6\}$ . Thus,  $A \cup B = \{1, 2, 3, 4, 2, 4, 5, 6\}$  and subtract the reduplicated portion  $\{2, 4\}$  which is equal to  $A \cap B$ .  $\{1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6\}$  will be obtained.

However, the shaded area in Figure 6 does not correspond to the condition of non-core classifiers. The condition of the non-core classifiers in this thesis is that the non-core classifiers must be in the position outside the core classifiers. Thus, the shaded area in Figure 6 has to subtract the  $A \cap B$  portion which represents core classifiers position again. The mathematical formula following represents the concept of the non-core classifiers,  $A \cup B - 2 \times A \cap B$  which can be simplified as  $[A - (A \cap B)] + [B - (A \cap B)]$ . The shaded area in Figure 7 shows the portion of the least typical classifiers to which  $A \cup B - 2 \times A \cap B$  refers.

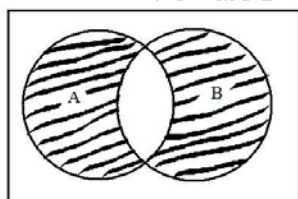


Figure 7: Portion of  $A \cup B - 2 \times A \cap B$

In this thesis, a mathematical formula,  $[A - (A \cap B)] + [B - (A \cap B)]$  is adopted to find non-core classifiers in the five groups of classifier portion. Table 29 below shows that non-core classifiers which are obtained through use of the above mathematical formula.

Table 29: 90 Non-core Classifiers

ban1 班	feng1 封	mu4 幕	xian4 線 c
ban4 瓣	fu2 幅	pan2 盤	xing1 星
bi3 筆	gan3 桿	pian1 篇	yan3 眼
bing3 柄	guan3 管	qi2 畦	ye4 葉
bu4 部 c	ji4 劑	qi3 起	yuan2 員
ce4 冊	ji4 記	qu3 曲	ze2 則
chang3 場	jia1 家 c	que4 闕	zhan3 盞

chu1 齣	jia4 駕	ren4 任	zhan4 站
chu4 處	jian1 間	shan4 扇	zhao1 招
chuang2 床	jie4 介	sheng1 聲	zheng4 幘
chuang2 幢	jie2 節 c	suo1 梭	zhi1 只
dang3 檔	jing1 莖	suo3 所	zhi1 支 c
dao4 道	ju4 句	tai2 台 c	zhi3 紙
dian3 點 c	ju4 具	tang4 趟	zhou2 軸
ding4 錠	juan3 卷	ti2 題	zhu1 株
dong4 棟	kou3 口 c	ting3 挺	zhu4 柱
dong4 洞	long3 壟	tong1 通	zhu4 炷
du3 堵	lü3 縷 c	wan1 彎	zhuang1 樁
duo3 朵	lun2 輪 c	wan1 灣	zong1 宗 c
fa1 發	mei2 枚	wan2 丸	zun1 尊
fang1 方	men2 門 c	wei3 尾	zuo4 座
fen4 分 c	mian4 面	xi2 席	
fen4 份 c	ming2 名	xi2 襲	

According to identical norms to re-classify classifiers proposed by these representative studies, I find that these twenty-two core classifiers are shared by representative studies. Thus, these twenty-two core classifiers are definitely true classifiers. Non-core classifiers are not shared by representative studies, so these non-core classifiers are only classifiers, not true classifiers. However, I think that there is the possibility for these non-core classifiers to become true classifiers. Thus, through an objective questionnaire experiment to double check the possibility for these non-core classifiers to become definitely true classifiers.

#### 4.2.2 An Experiment on Classifier Identifications

In this section, a questionnaire experiment is adopted to investigate the degree of possibility by which the non-core classifiers could become definitely true classifiers.

The methodology, results and discussion are provided below.

### Methodology

Our subjects in this questionnaire experiment limit to have a linguistic knowledge because subjects need linguistic knowledge when they use linguistic-based tests to differentiate classifiers and measure words. In this experiment, subjects are twenty-six linguistics graduate school students in National Chengchi University. They are all Taiwanese and Mandarin speakers and all have received formal linguistic training. The questionnaire experiment comprises two parts. Part One includes a brief introduction of using *yi*-multiplier, *de*-insertion and *ge*-substitution to distinguish classifiers from measure words and a pre-test of classifier identifications. Because the numeral / adjectival stacking is an optional test, it is not included in the Part 1. The pre-test contains twenty-six test items with eighteen core classifiers from Table 22 and eight measure words whose multipliers are definitely not *1*. (Please refer to Appendix A for the details of the pre-test). Subjects were asked to do the pre-test after reading the introduction. No time limit was set for the introduction and the pre-test. In the pre-test, three options were offered for each test item. If subjects view the test item as a classifier, they are to circle option *C* which represents classifiers. If subjects view the test item as a measure word, they are to circle option *M* which represents measure words. Or, if it is possible for the test item to be both a classifier and a measure word, subjects are to circle option *O* which represents classifiers and



measure words. If subjects circle option *O*, they are asked to write down their interpretations of the meaning of the classifiers and measure words. If the correctness in the pre-test has 92 % to 100 %, subjects will be requested to do the formal test. Totally twenty subjects are requested to do the formal test. Part Two is composed of ninety non-core classifiers that are obtained from Table 29. The details of the formal test are shown in Appendix B. There is also no time limit during the formal test and three options are also offered for each test item. Subjects are asked to carry out the formal test in the same way as the pre-test.

### Results and Discussion

In the data analysis, I use percentages to represent the statistics. If a subject circles *C* (classifiers) once, then the classifiers will be calculated once. If a subject circles *M* (measure words) once, then the measure words will be calculated once. Also, if a subject circles *O*, *O* will be counted once. The percentage of three options in each test item adds to one hundred percent. Table 30 shows the statistics of the results from the formal test. In the following, two aspects from Table 30 will be discussed.

First, to discuss the relations between these three options from option *O*'s point of view: the option *O* is chosen twenty-four times. This result shows that the subjects have experienced some degree of confusion over these twenty-four items when differentiating these twenty-four items as classifiers or measure words. The higher the percentage of the choice of the option *O*, the more uncertainty the subjects feel. For

example, the percentage of option *O* for *bi3* 筆 is 20 %. And the percentages of the occurrence of *bi3* 筆 as a classifier and of *bi3* 筆 as a measure word are 40 % and 40%, respectively. We can thus infer that if the percentage of the occurrence of option *O* is high, then the percentages of the occurrence of one word as a classifier and of one word as a measure word are likely to be concordant. However, this inference is not absolute because there are some counter-examples. For example, the percentage of the occurrence of option *O* of *chu4* 處 is 10% and the percentage of the occurrence of *chu4* 處 as a classifier and of *chu4* 處 as a measure word are 80% and 10%, respectively, and the percentage of the occurrence of option *O* of *dang3* 檔 is 5% and the percentage of the occurrence of *dang3* 檔 as a classifier and of *dang3* 檔 as a measure word are 65% and 30%, respectively. Although the percentage of the occurrence of option *O* of *chu4* 處 is higher than that of *dang3* 檔, the difference in the percentages of the occurrence of *chu4* 處 as a classifier and of *chu4* 處 as a measure word is larger than that for *dang3* 檔.

Second, the relations among percentages of one word as a classifier and as a measure word and as option *O* show the following three phenomena. One phenomenon is that the percentage of one word as a measure word is over than as a classifier, such as *bu4* 部<sub>c</sub>, *lü3* 縷<sub>c</sub>, *pan2* 盤, *tang4* 趟 and *xing1* 星. Most subjects circled option *M* for *bu4* 部<sub>c</sub>, *lü3* 縷<sub>c</sub> rather than option *C*. This implies that the properties of *bu4* 部<sub>c</sub> and *lü3* 縷<sub>c</sub> for being a measure word are more prominent than

for being a classifier for most subjects. Next, *pan2* 盤 and *tang4* 趟 are strongly recognized as measure words by the subjects because the percentages of *pan2* 盤 and *tang4* 趟 as a measure word is 50% more than that of *pan2* 盤 and *tang4* 趟 as a classifier. This implies that *pan2* 盤 and *tang4* 趟 are measure words for most of subjects. Last is *xing1* 星. Although *xing1* 星 is rare in Taiwan Mandarin, most the subjects regard *xing1* 星 as a measure word. This implies that the subjects tend to regard a new word as measure word. This further supports that measure words are an open set and are acceptable to innovations as proposed by Her and Hsieh (2010).

The second phenomenon is that the percentages of one word as a measure word and as a classifier are equal, such as *qi2* 畦. Unless the number of subjects is increased, it will be difficult to show if *qi2* 畦 is a classifier or a measure word.

The last phenomenon is the percentages of one word as a measure word and as a classifier are quite similar, such as *jia4* 駕, *long3* 壟 and *wan1* 灣. *Jia4* 駕, *long3* 壟 and *wan1* 灣 may not so common in subjects' daily lives, or *jia4* 駕, *long3* 壟 and *wan1* 灣, may be metaphorical usages in literature, so subjects may have difficulties in differentiating these words. Thus, the percentages of these words as a classifier and as a measure word are quite close.

Table 30: Statistics of Non-core Classifiers

No.	Test Items	Percentage of Test Items as a classifier (%)	Percentage of Test Item as a measure word (%)	Percentage of Test Item as both a classifier and a measure word (%)

1	ban1 班 c <sup>13</sup>	90	5	5
2	ban4 瓣 c	100	0	0
3	bi3 筆	40	40	20
4	bing3 柄	100	0	0
5	bu4 部 c	30	65	5
6	ce4 冊	70	25	5
7	chang3 場	95	5	0
8	chu1 齣	100	0	0
9	chu4 處	80	10	10
10	chuang2 床	70	30	0
11	chuang2 幢	95	5	0
12	dang3 檔	65	30	5
13	dao4 道	85	10	5
14	dian3 點	100	0	0
15	ding4 錠	100	0	0
16	dong4 棟	100	0	0
17	dong4 洞	70	20	10
18	du3 堵	95	5	0
19	duo3 朵	100	0	0
20	fa1 發	100	0	0
21	fang1 方	80	20	0
22	fen4 分 c	80	15	5
23	fen4 份 c	75	15	10
24	feng1 封	100	0	0
25	fu2 幅	100	0	0
26	gan3 桿	95	5	0
27	guan3 管	100	0	0
28	ji4 劑	95	5	0
29	ji4 記	95	5	0
30	jian1 間	100	0	0
31	jia1 家 c	100	0	0
32	jia4 駕	55	45	0
33	jie4 介	100	0	0
34	jie2 節 c	100	0	0
35	jing1 莖	70	30	0
36	ju4 句	90	5	5

<sup>13</sup> C mark is used to symbolize this ambiguous classifier functioning as a classifier rather than as a measure word. C mark does not appear in the pre-test or the formal test.

37	ju4 具	100	0	0
38	juan3 卷	100	0	0
39	kou3 口 c	100	0	0
40	long3 壘	55	45	0
41	lü3 縷 c	45	50	5
42	lun2 輪 c	85	10	5
43	mei2 枚	100	0	0
44	men2 門 c	95	5	0
45	mian4 面	100	0	0
46	ming2 名	100	0	0
47	mu4 幕	75	25	0
48	pan2 盤	20	70	10
49	pian1 篇	100	0	0
50	qi2 畦	50	50	0
51	qi3 起	100	0	0
52	qu3 曲	100	0	0
53	que4 闕	90	10	0
54	ren4 任	80	20	0
55	shan4 扇	90	5	5
56	sheng1 聲	95	5	0
57	suo1 梭	70	25	5
58	suo3 所	100	0	0
59	tai2 台 c	100	0	0
60	tang4 趟	25	75	0
61	ti2 題	100	0	0
62	ting3 挺	85	10	5
63	tong1 通	85	15	0
64	wan1 彎	80	10	10
65	wan1 灣	55	40	5
66	wan2 丸	100	0	0
67	wei3 尾	100	0	0
68	xi2 席	95	5	0
69	xi2 襲	75	15	10
70	xian4 線 c	85	10	5
71	xing1 星	35	55	10
72	yan3 眼	95	5	0
73	ye4 葉 c	100	0	0
74	yuan2 員	100	0	0

75	ze2 則	100	0	0
76	zhan3 盞	100	0	0
77	zhan4 站	60	40	0
78	zhao1 招	90	10	0
79	zheng4 幀	100	0	0
80	zhi1 只	100	0	0
81	zhi1 支 c	100	0	0
82	zhi3 紙	95	0	5
83	zhou2 軸	90	5	5
84	zhu1 株	90	10	0
85	zhu4 柱	95	5	0
86	zhu4 炷	95	5	0
87	zhuang1 樁	90	10	0
88	zong1 宗	100	0	0
89	zun1 尊	100	0	0
90	zuo4 座	100	0	0

After discussing the relations between the three options, Table 31 shows the percentage of test items as a classifier from high to low. In Table 31, I strictly stipulate that only test items with a 100% identification as a classifier are true classifiers because these test items are not only classifiers that mentioned in Section 4.2.1 but also objectively reconfirmed as classifiers by twenty subjects. The above dual certifications support that test items with a 100% identification as a classifier are true classifiers. There are a total of thirty-nine test items with a 100% identification as a classifier in Table 31. These thirty-nine test items are thus definitely true classifiers under my stipulation. The remaining test items are classifiers, but they are not true classifiers because they violate my stipulation that only test items with a 100% identification as a classifier are true classifiers. Merely,

the remaining test items are closer to true classifiers if the percentage of the test items as a classifier is higher. For example, test items with a score of 95% are closer to true classifiers than those with one of 90%. Then, test items with a score of 90% are closer to true classifiers than those with one of 85% again.

Table 31: Percentage of Test Items as a Classifier in Non-core Classifiers

No.	Test Item	Percentage of Test Items as a classifier (%)	No.	Test Item	Percentage of Test Items as a classifier (%)
1	ban4 瓣 c	100	46	men2 門 c	95
2	bing3 柄	100	47	sheng1 聲	95
3	chu1 齣	100	48	xi2 席	95
4	dian3 點 c	100	49	yan3 眼	95
5	ding4 錠	100	50	zhi3 紙	95
6	dong4 棟	100	51	zhu4 柱	95
7	duo3 朵	100	52	zhu4 炷	95
8	fa1 發	100	53	ban1 班 c	90
9	feng1 封	100	54	ju4 句	90
10	fu2 幅	100	55	que4 闕	90
11	guan3 管	100	56	shan4 扇	90
12	jian1 間	100	57	zhao1 招	90
13	jia1 家 c	100	58	zhou2 軸	90
14	jie4 介	100	59	zhu1 株	90
15	jie2 節 c	100	60	zhuang1 樁	90
16	ju4 具	100	61	dao4 道	85
17	juan3 卷	100	62	lun2 輪 c	85
18	kou3 口 c	100	63	ting3 挺	85
19	mei2 枚	100	64	tong1 通	85
20	mian4 面	100	65	xian4 線 c	85
21	ming2 名	100	66	chu4 處	80
22	pian1 篇	100	67	fang1 方	80
23	qi3 起	100	68	fen4 分 c	80
24	qu3 曲	100	69	ren4 任	80
25	suo3 所	100	70	wan1 彎	80
26	tai2 台 c	100	71	fen4 份 c	75
27	ti2 題	100	72	mu4 幕	75

28	wan2 丸	100	73	xi2 襲	75
29	wei3 尾	100	74	ce4 冊	70
30	ye4 葉 c	100	75	chuang2 床	70
31	yuan2 員	100	76	dong4 洞	70
32	ze2 則	100	77	jing1 莖	70
33	zhan3 盞	100	78	suo1 梭	70
34	zheng4 幘	100	79	dang3 檔	65
35	zhi1 只	100	80	zhan4 站	60
36	zhi1 支 c	100	81	jia4 駕	55
37	zong1 宗 c	100	82	long3 壟	55
38	zun1 尊	100	83	wan1 灣	55
39	zuo4 座	100	84	qi2 畦	50
40	chang3 場	95	85	lu3 縷 c	45
41	chuang2 幢	95	86	bi3 筆	40
42	du3 堵	95	87	xing1 星	35
43	gan3 桿	95	88	bu4 部 c	30
44	ji4 劑	95	89	tang4 趟	25
45	ji4 記	95	90	pan2 盤	20

Because the twenty-two core classifiers in Section 4.2.1 and the thirty-nine non-core classifiers in this section are definite true classifiers, both of them compose true classifiers which are a group of definitely true classifiers. Sixty-one true classifiers are shown in Table 32.

Table 32: 61 True Classifiers

ban4 瓣 c	jia1 家 c	ming2 名	ye4 葉 c
ba3 把 c	jia4 架	pi1 匹	yuan2 員
ben3 本	jian1 間	pian1 篇	ze2 則
bing3 柄	jian4 件	pian4 片 c	zhan3 盞
chu1 齣	jie2 節 c	qi3 起	zhang1 張
dian3 點 c	jie4 介	qu3 曲	zheng4 幘
ding3 頂	ju4 具	shou3 首	zhi1 支 c
ding4 錠	juan3 卷	sao1 艘	zhi1 只
dong4 棟	ke1 棵	suo3 所	zhi1 枝
duo3 朵	ke1 顆	tai2 台 c	zhi1 隻
fa1 發	kou3 口 c	ti2 題	zong1 宗 c



feng1 封	kuai4 塊 c	tiao2 條	zun1 尊
fu2 幅	li4 粒	tou2 頭	zuo4 座
gen1 根	liang4 輛	wan2 丸	
ge 個	mei2 枚	wei3 尾	
guan3 管	mian4 面	wei4 位	

### 4.3 A Semantic Categorization of True Classifiers

Hsieh (2009) proposes that classifiers will profile the noun behind the classifier.

For example, *yi1 tiao2 gou3* 一條狗 and *yi1 zhi1 gou3* 一隻狗. A classifier *tiao2* 條 profiles the long shape of dogs while a classifier *zhi1* 隻 profiles the animate character of dogs. The above two collocations with same nouns but different classifiers result in emphasizing the different portions of the noun. The reason is that classifiers have their own semantic meanings and belong to different semantic categories on the basis of their semantic meanings. Traditionally, semantic categorizations of Mandarin Chinese classifiers are arranged in a top-down form. Top-down parsing is a strategy of analyzing unknown data relationships by hypothesizing general parse tree structures and then considering whether the known fundamental structures are compatible with the hypothesis. Thus, a top-down form hypothesized the semantic categorizations of Mandarin Chinese classifiers first and then places Mandarin Chinese classifiers in their compatible categorizations.

However, many defects are found in such semantic categorizations of Mandarin Chinese classifiers. For example, a semantic categorization of Mandarin Chinese classifiers from Hu (1993) is shown in Appendix C. Two defects in Hu's top-down

semantic categorizations of Mandarin Chinese classifier may be pointed out. First, one classifier may simultaneously belong to more than one category. For example, a classifier *zhi1* 隻 in Hu (1993) belongs to four categories such as four-legged big animals, four-legged small animals, birds and arrangement. The classifier *tiao2* 條 in Hu (1993) also belongs to four categories such as big four-legged animals, fish, long and flexible objects and clothing for the lower body.

Second, the semantic meanings of classifiers are not complete and precise resulting in some acceptable collocations for classifiers and nouns being excluded in Hu (1993). For example, a classifier *ba3* 把 in Hu (1993) is regarded as belonging to the hand tool category, but *yi1 ba3 xiao3ti2qin2* 一把小提琴 and *yi1 ba3 yi3zi* 一把椅子 are not hand tools. Also, the classifier *jian4* 件 in Hu (1993) is regarded as belonging to the category of clothing for the upper body category, but *jian4* 件 can occur with other nouns such as in *yi1 jian4 wan2ju4* 一件玩具 or *yi1 jian4 yi4wai4* 一件意外.

The opposite of top-down form is bottom-up form. Bottom-up parsing is a strategy for analyzing unknown information that attempts to identify the most fundamental units first, and then to infer higher-order structures from them. Thus, a bottom-up form identifies Mandarin Chinese classifiers at the bottom and then infers higher levels from the bottom. This thesis finds that bottom-up form can avoid the two defects that I observed in Hu (1993) top-down categorization. As a result, the form of



kuai4塊	calculation of hump-shape objects, such as yil kuai4 zhuant1 tou2—塊磚頭
ding2頂	calculation of objects with top, such as yil ding2 mo4ke1—頂帽子
zuo4座	calculation of buildings, such as yil zuo4 tu2shu1 guan3—座圖書館; calculation of isolated or prominent lands, such as yil zuo4 shan1—座山; calculation of objects with a bottom, such as yil zuo4 jiang2bei1—座獎盃; calculation of large-seat chairs, such as yil zuo4 sha1fa1—座沙發
zun1尊	calculation of Buddhist statues, such as yil zun1 fo2xiang4—尊佛像
wan2丸	calculation of small and round objects, such as yil wan2 yao4wan2—丸藥丸
ke1顆	calculation of granular objects or close to granular objects, such as yil ke1 zhen1zhu1—顆珍珠
li4粒	calculation of granular objects, such as yil li4 dan4zhu1—粒彈珠
jian1間	calculation of organizations, such as yil jian1 da4xue2—間大學; or calculation of buildings or rooms in buildings, such as yil jian1 xiao3mou4wen1—間小木屋, yil jian1 fang2chuan1—間房間
jia1家	calculation of companies or organizations, such as yil jia1 gong1chang2—家公司, yil jia1 bo4shi4—家公司
suo3所	calculation of organizations, such as yil suo3 da4xue2—所大學
zong1宗	calculation of documents, such as yil zong1 wen1jian4—宗文件; or calculation of cargoes, such as yil zong1 huo4wu4—宗貨物; or calculation of incidents, such as yil zong1 yu4wai—宗意外
jian4件	calculation of clothing, especially for coats, such as yil jian4 da4yi1—件大衣; or calculation of utensils, such as yil jian4 chui1yu4—件炊具; or calculation of incidents, such as yil jian4 yu4wai4—件意外
ta2台	calculation of machines, such as yil ta2 bing1xiang1—台冰箱; or calculation of vehicles, such as yil ta2 qi4che1—台汽車
liang4輛	calculation of vehicles, such as yil liang4 jing2che1—輛警車
jia4架	calculation of aircrafts, such as yil jia4 fei1ji1—架飛機
sao1艘	calculation of ships, such as yil sao1 chu2—艘船
zhi1只	calculation of containers or implements, such as yil zhi1 wan3—只碗, yil zhi1 biao3—只錶
ba2把	calculation of objects with handles, such as yil ba2 fao1—把刀; or calculation of objects held by hands, such as yil ba2 yu4zi—把椅子
bing2柄	calculation of tools with handles, such as yil bing2 fu2hou2—柄斧頭
zhan2盞	calculation of lights, such as yil zhan2 hu4deng1—盞燈
ben3本	calculation of books, such as yil ben3 shu1—本書
pian1篇	calculation of complete articles, such as yil pian1 xiao3shuo1—篇小說
ze2則	calculation of pangraphic words, such as yil ze2 xun1 wen1zhuo4deao3—則新聞報導
ti2題	calculation of questions, such as yil ti2 jian3xi2—題問答題
qu2曲	calculation of songs, such as yil qu2 lin2xiang2ge1—曲流行歌
shou3首	calculation of poems, songs, such as yil shou3 shi1—首詩, yil shou3 e2ge1—首樂歌
zhi1支	calculation of songs or dances, such as yil zhi1 ge1—支歌, yil zhi1 we2shi4yus4—支爵士樂
chui1曲	calculation of theatrical programs, such as yil chui1 xi4—齣戲
dong4棟	calculation of buildings, such as yil dong4 da4xue4—棟大廈
fa1發	calculation of bullets, such as yil fa1 zhi3han4—發子彈
qi3起	calculation of incidents, such as yil qi3 yu4wai4—起意外

Table 34 shows sixty-one true classifiers and the semantic categorizations of these sixty-one true classifiers. Each classifier starts from the lowest specific level, namely semantic meanings of each classifier, to the highest general level, namely discrete

level. Such a bottom-up form avoids the acceptable collections which are excluded in

Hu (1993).

Table 34: Sixty-one True Classifiers and Their Bottom-up Semantic Categorizations

True Classifiers	Categorization (Low → high)							
ge 個								discrete
kou3 口								
tiao2 條								
zhi1 隻								
ming2 名							human	
yuan2 員								
jie4 介								
wei4 位							honor	
wei3 尾						tail	animate	non-human
tou2 頭						large		
pi1 匹						riding		
ke1 棵						plant	inanimate	
dian3 點				dot-shape	shape			
gen1 根			long	one-dimension				
zhi1 枝		rigid						
jie2 節	segment							
zhang1 張			flat	two-dimension				
mian4 面								
ye4 葉		thin						
fu2 幅								
pian4 片								
feng1 封	word							
zheng4 幀	pattern							
duo3 朵	flower-shape							
ban4 瓣	petal-shape							
mei2 枚				three-dimension				
ju4 具			long					
guan3 管		hollow						
juan3 卷		tube-shape						
ding4 錠			flat					
kuai4 塊								
ding3 頂		top						
zuo4 座		bottom						
zun1 尊								
wan2 丸		small	round					
ke1 顆			granular					
li4 粒								
jian1 間						function		
jia1 家								
suo3 所								
zong1 宗								
jian4 件								
tai2 台								
liang4 輛			land	transport				
jia4 架			air					
sao1 艘			water					
zhi1 只				utensil				
ba3 把								
bing3 柄			handle					
zhan3 盞			light bulb					
ben3 本				read				
pian1 篇		complete	content					
ze2 則		paragraphic						
ti2 題		query						
qu3 曲				perform				
shou3 首								
zhi1 支								
chu1 齣			play					
dong4 棟				shelter				
fai1 發				number				
qi3 起			incident					

Figure 8 uses a tree diagram to express the bottom-up semantic categorization of sixty-one true classifiers.

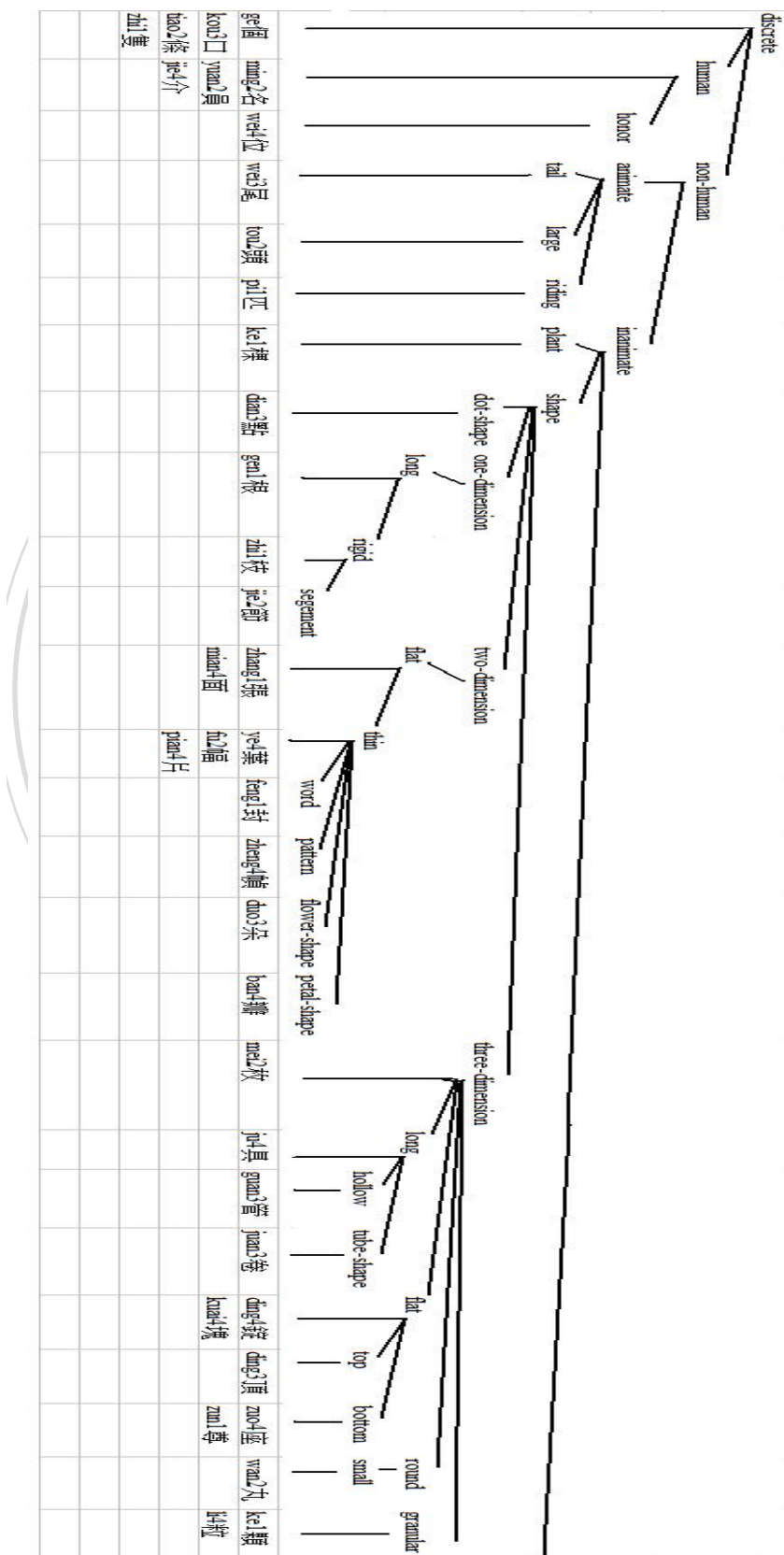
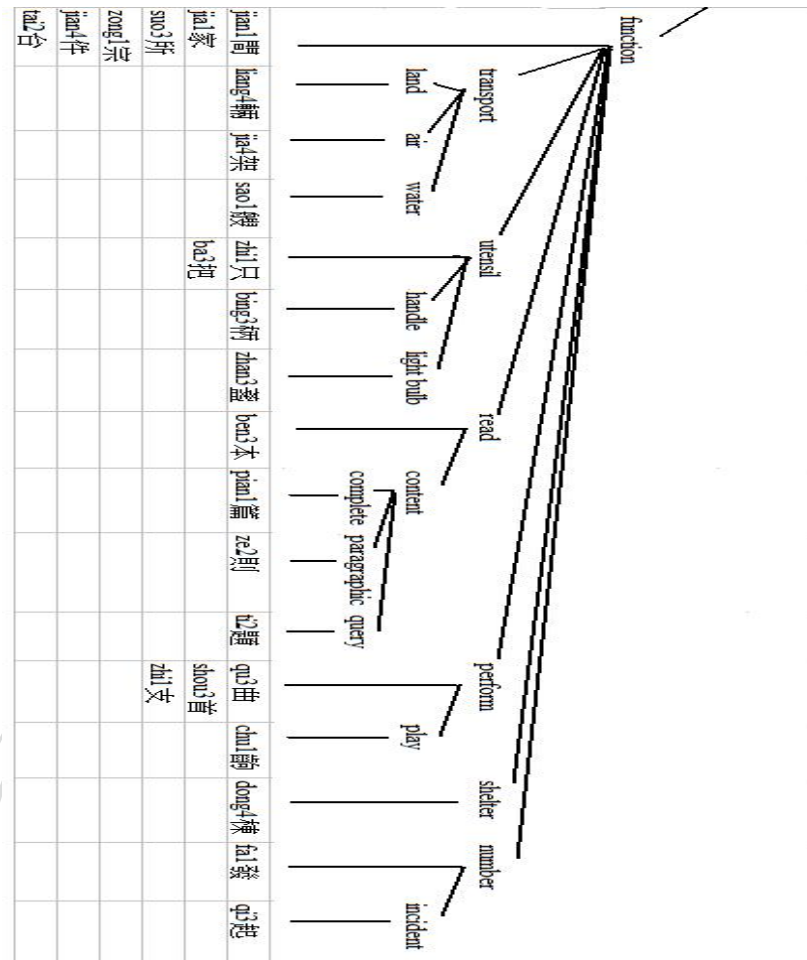


Figure 8: A bottom-up Semantic Categorization of True Classifiers



In Figure 8, classifiers are identified first, and then higher-level are inferred from the lower level, namely classifiers. If classifiers have the similar features, they are categorized in the same category. And this thesis gives the category a name on the basis of the shared semantic features. If classifiers do not have the similar features, they will be an isolated category. And this thesis will also give the isolated category a name on the basis of the semantic feature of classifiers. In Figure 8, the name of these categories including human, non-human, animate, inanimate, shape, and function, are adopted from Allan (1977) and Hu (1993). The remaining names of categories are given according to the inferences that can be made as to the semantic

features of each classifier or shared semantic features of classifiers.

In shape category, this thesis adopts the opinion of Tai (1992) that longness, flatness and roundness and one dimensional, two dimensional and three dimensional are both needed in order to adequately describe the salient cognitive features. Thus, longness, flatness and roundness and one dimensional, two dimensional and three dimensional are used to classify these true classifiers. Finally, Figure 8 shows a tree diagram with the bottom-up form which is quite different from that of a top-down form. The tree diagram is metaphorical in that is like a fallen down tree with the highest general level, namely discrete level, as the roots of a tree and with the lowest specific level, namely classifiers, as the leaves of a tree. This bottom-up semantic categorization not only solves the defects that observed in Hu (1993) top-down semantic categorization but also provides an explicit semantic categorization of Mandarin Chinese classifiers.



## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this chapter, the summary of the thesis will be presented in Section 5.1. Then the directions for future study will be pointed out in Section 5.2.

#### 5.1 Summary of the Thesis

The core aim of this thesis is to re-classify Mandarin Chinese classifiers categorizations by means of four tests based on linguistic theories.

The first part of the analysis rests on re-classifying five Mandarin Chinese classifier categorizations proposed by representative studies, such as Chao (1968), Erbaugh (1986), Hu (1993), Huang et. al. (1997) and Gao and Malt (2009). The Mandarin Chinese classifier categorizations proposed by Chao (1968), by Erbaugh (1986), by Hu (1993), by Huang et. al. (1997) and by Gao and Malt (2009) are individually re-classified into three portions, a classifier portion, a  $X_c$  and  $X_m$  portion and a measure word portion. Placement in the classifier portion represents that a word is a classifier. The  $X_c$  and  $X_m$  portion is offered from morphology to show the classifications of ambiguous classifiers.  $X_c$  stands for an ambiguous classifier

functioning as a classifier and  $X_m$  stands for an ambiguous classifier functioning as a measure word. The measure word portion is used to represent that a word belongs to a measure word, rather than a classifier. Furthermore, three portions can be further simplified into two categories, one is classifier category and the other is measure word category. Both the classifier portion and  $X_c$  portion belong to the classifier category while both the measure word portion and  $X_m$  portion belong to the measure word category. As a result, five groups of classifier portion and five groups of measure word portion are given through re-classifying five Mandarin Chinese classifier categorizations. Because the focus of this thesis is Mandarin Chinese classifiers, the following investigations are made using the five groups of classifier portion.

In the second part, the major task is to offer a group of true classifiers which are definite classifiers in Mandarin Chinese. In five groups of classifier portion provided in the first part, the intersection method in mathematics was used to find twenty-two core classifiers and the union method in mathematics was used to find ninety non-core classifiers. Twenty-two core classifiers are definitely true classifiers while it is possible, but not definite that the ninety non-core classifiers may be true classifiers. In order to know the possibility for the non-core classifiers to become definitely true classifiers, a questionnaire experiment on identifying classifiers was carried out. Due to the stipulation that only test items with a 100% identification as a

classifier are true classifiers in this experiment, there were totally thirty-nine test items that are definitely true classifiers. Finally, both the twenty-two core classifiers and thirty-nine non-core classifiers are grouped together as sixty-one true classifiers in Mandarin Chinese.

In the third part, sixty-one true classifiers are further classified according to their semantic meanings from the *Mandarin Daily Dictionary of Chinese Classifiers* (Huang et. al. 1997) in the bottom-up form because there are some defects in the traditional top-down semantic categorization. In the bottom-up semantic categorization of Mandarin Chinese classifiers, each classifier is given a brief description of its semantic meanings. Also each classifier starts from the lowest specific level to the highest general level to form a tree diagram. This bottom-up semantic categorization not only solves the defects in top-down semantic categorization but also provides an explicit semantic categorization of Mandarin Chinese classifiers.

To sum up, this thesis offers sixty-one strongly-confirmed true classifiers in Mandarin Chinese by means of four consentient linguistic norms, two mathematical methods and a questionnaire experiment. A bottom-up semantic categorization consisting of these sixty-one true classifiers offering an explicit semantic categorization was then derived.

## **5.2 Issues for Future Study**

Noting the discrepancies in the different inventories of Mandarin Chinese classifiers, this thesis offers a group of sixty-one true classifiers as definite classifiers in Mandarin Chinese. However, several issues remain unexplored. First of all, use statistics to analyze the result of the questionnaire experiment. The differences and the relations of the percentage of the three options in the questionnaire experiment can precisely explained through using statistics.

Second, there is the question as to whether these sixty-one true classifiers are also definite classifiers in other dialects such Taiwan Southern Min or Hakka. If these sixty-one true classifiers can also be identified as true classifiers in other dialects, these sixty-one true classifiers may be cross-linguistically approved as definitely true classifiers. If these sixty-one true classifiers do not all occur in other dialects, the classifier systems of different dialects are inferred to have cross-linguistical differences. Noticing, the language backgrounds of subjects have to be the same because the different language backgrounds may have an impact on the results.

Finally, there is an implication for these sixty-one true classifiers in the teaching Chinese as second language. As these sixty-one classifiers are definitely true classifiers, a list of these sixty-one classifiers will provide a norm for teachers when teaching classifiers and measure words and also help students to understand classifiers more easily.

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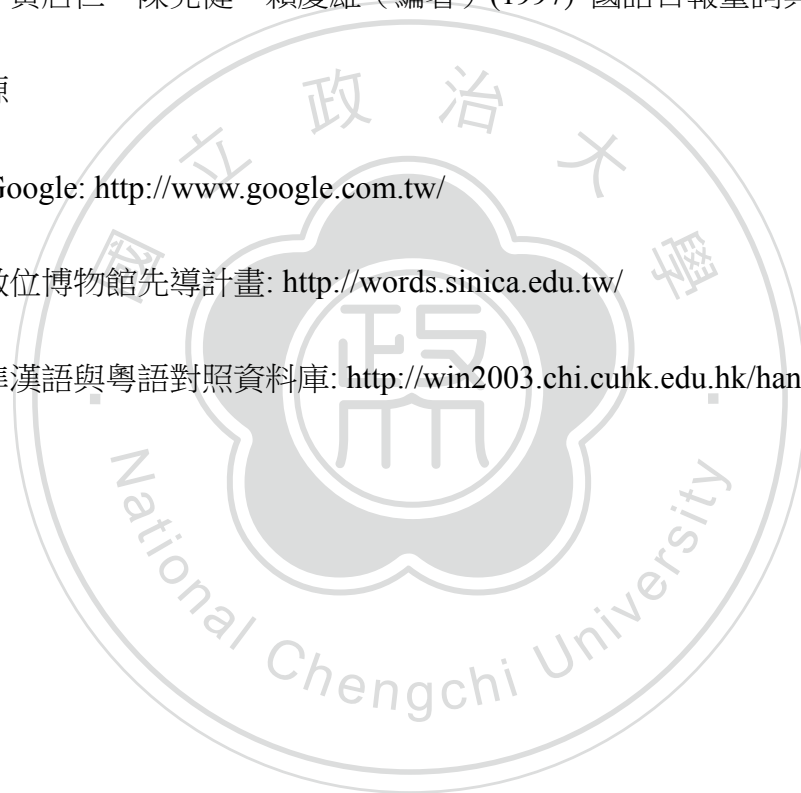
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Taiwan Google: <http://www.google.com.tw/>

國科會數位博物館先導計畫: <http://words.sinica.edu.tw/>

現代標準漢語與粵語對照資料庫: <http://win2003.chi.cuhk.edu.hk/hanyu/>



## APPENDIX A

### Pre-test of Questionnaire Experiment

分辨分類詞 (classifier) 和量詞 (measure word)

簡述分類詞(以下簡稱 C)和量詞(以下簡稱 M):

分類詞和量詞出現的位置為[ Numeral C/ M Noun]

分類詞具有 :  $\times 1$  的概念

如: ‘顆’, ‘位’, ‘條’ 為典型分類詞。

一顆西瓜 = 一  $\times 1$  西瓜 = 一西瓜 的意思

一位老師 = 一  $\times 1$  老師 = 一老師 的意思

二條繩子 = 二  $\times 1$  繩子 = 二繩子 的意思

量詞具有: 非  $\times 1$  的概念

如: ‘對’, ‘打’ 為典型量詞

一對魚  $\neq$  一  $\times 1$  魚  $\neq$  一魚; 而是, 一對魚 = 一  $\times 2$  魚 = 二魚

二打餅  $\neq$  二  $\times 1$  餅  $\neq$  二餅; 而是, 二打餅 = 二  $\times 12$  餅 = 二十四餅

分類詞具有: 可以被 ‘個’ 取代, 而不會改變片語本身的意思。

但並非所有分類詞都能被 ‘個’ 取代, 例如典型分類詞 ‘本’, ‘條’ 等等則是例外。

如: ‘顆’, ‘位’, ‘條’ 為典型分類詞

一顆西瓜 = 一個西瓜 = 一西瓜 的意思

二位老師 = 二個老師 = 二老師 的意思

上述提到並非所有分類詞都能被 ‘個’ 取代的例子如下:

?二條繩子 = 二個繩子 (? 表示此例子不太可接受)

?一本書 = 一個書 (? 表示此例子不太可接受)

量詞具有: 不可以被 ‘個’ 取代。

如: ‘對’, ‘打’ 為典型量詞

一對魚  $\neq$  一個魚  $\neq$  一魚; 而是, 二魚。

二打餅  $\neq$  二個餅  $\neq$  二餅; 而是, 二十四餅。

在[ Numeral C/ M Noun] 中,

分類詞不允許和名詞中間插入 ‘的’。

如: ‘顆’, ‘位’, ‘本’ 為典型分類詞

一顆西瓜 \*一顆的西瓜

一位老師 \*一位的老師

二本書 \*二本的書

量詞允許和名詞中間插入‘的’。

如：‘對’，‘打’為典型量詞

一對夫妻 一對的夫妻

二打雞蛋 二打的雞蛋

請利用上述分類詞及量詞的概念，分析以下例子。

如果您認為是分類詞，請圈選 C；如果您認為是量詞，請圈選 M；

如果您認為分類詞和量詞都有可能，請圈選 O，並說明其歧義現象，分類詞表示之義為何，量詞表示之義為何。

例如：‘一把刀’具有分類詞概念和量詞概念。分類詞概念為‘a knife’，

量詞概念為‘a handful of knives’。

No.	Test Items	Examples	Options	No.	Test Items	Examples	Options
1	ding3 頂	一頂草帽	C M O	14	zhang1 張	一張床	C M O
2	gen1 根	一根頭髮	C M O	15	zhi1 枝	一枝鉛筆	C M O
3	ge 個	一個人	C M O	16	kuai4 塊	一塊肉	C M O
4	jia4 架	一架飛機	C M O	17	pian4 片	一片樹葉	C M O
5	jian4 件	一件毛衣	C M O	18	chuan4 串	一串佛珠	C M O
6	ke1 棵	一棵松樹	C M O	19	dui1 堆	一堆土	C M O
7	li4 粒	一粒紅豆	C M O	20	hang2 行	一行柳樹	C M O
8	liang4 輛	一輛警車	C M O	21	lie4 列	一列駱駝	C M O
9	pi1 匹	一匹馬	C M O	22	qun2 群	一群朋友	C M O
10	shou3 首	一首兒歌	C M O	23	shuang1 雙	一雙鞋	C M O
11	sao1 艘	一艘船	C M O	24	shu4 束	一束鮮花	C M O
12	tou2 頭	一頭大象	C M O	25	tao4 套	一套餐具	C M O
13	zhi1 隻	一隻貓	C M O	26	zu3 組	一組人員	C M O

為求實驗正確性，請受試者保密不要透露內容讓其他受試者或潛在受試者知道。

## APPENDIX B

## Formal Test of Questionnaire Experiment

No.	Test Items	Examples	Options	No.	Test Items	Examples	Options
1	ban1 班	一班飛機	C M O	46	mu4 幕	一幕情景	C M O
2	ban4 瓣	一瓣花瓣	C M O	47	pan2 盤	一盤棋	C M O
3	bi3 筆	一筆收入	C M O	48	pian1 篇	一篇文章	C M O
4	bing3 柄	一柄斧頭	C M O	49	qi2 畦	一畦稻田	C M O
5	bu4 部	一部書	C M O	50	qi3 起	一起意外	C M O
6	ce4 冊	一冊書	C M O	51	qu3 曲	一曲流行歌	C M O
7	chang3 場	一場音樂劇	C M O	52	que4 闕	一闕古詞	C M O
8	chu1 齣	一齣歌舞劇	C M O	53	ren4 任	一任總統	C M O
9	chu4 處	一處傷口	C M O	54	shan4 扇	一扇門	C M O
10	chuang2 床	一床棉被	C M O	55	sheng1 聲	一聲尖叫	C M O
11	chuang2 幢	一幢樓房	C M O	56	suo1 梭	一梭子彈	C M O
12	dang3 檔	一檔股票	C M O	57	suo3 所	一所大學	C M O
13	dao4 道	一道磚牆	C M O	58	tai2 台	一台電視	C M O
14	dian3 點	一點硃砂痣	C M O	59	tang4 趟	一趟火車	C M O
15	ding4 錠	一錠元寶	C M O	60	ti2 題	一題選擇題	C M O
16	dong4 棟	一棟大樓	C M O	61	ting3 挺	一挺機槍	C M O
17	dong4 洞	一洞橋	C M O	62	tong1 通	一通電話	C M O
18	du3 堵	一堵牆	C M O	63	wan1 彎	一彎明月	C M O
19	duo3 朵	一朵玫瑰	C M O	64	wan1 灣	一灣流水	C M O
20	fal 發	一發子彈	C M O	65	wan2 丸	一九藥丸	C M O
22	fang1 方	一方印章	C M O	66	wei3 尾	一尾魚	C M O
21	fen4 分	一分報告	C M O	67	xi2 席	一席董事	C M O
23	fen4 份	一份報告	C M O	68	xi2 襲	一襲薄紗	C M O
24	feng1 封	一封信	C M O	69	xian4 線	一線車道	C M O
25	fu2 幅	一幅畫	C M O	70	xing1 星	一星油	C M O
26	gan3 桿	一桿槍	C M O	71	yan3 眼	一眼井	C M O
27	guan3 管	一管毛筆	C M O	72	yie4 葉	一葉扁舟	C M O
28	ji4 劑	一劑強心劑	C M O	73	yuan2 員	一員大將	C M O
29	ji4 記	一記右勾拳	C M O	74	ze2 則	一則笑話	C M O
30	jian1 間	一間書店	C M O	75	zhan3 盞	一盞燈	C M O
31	jia1 家	一家公司	C M O	76	zhan4 站	一站距離	C M O
32	jie4 介	一介書生	C M O	77	zhao1 招	一招策略	C M O
33	jie4 節	一節車廂	C M O	78	zheng4 幀	一幀結婚照	C M O
34	jing1 莖	一莖白髮	C M O	79	zhi1 支	一支歌	C M O

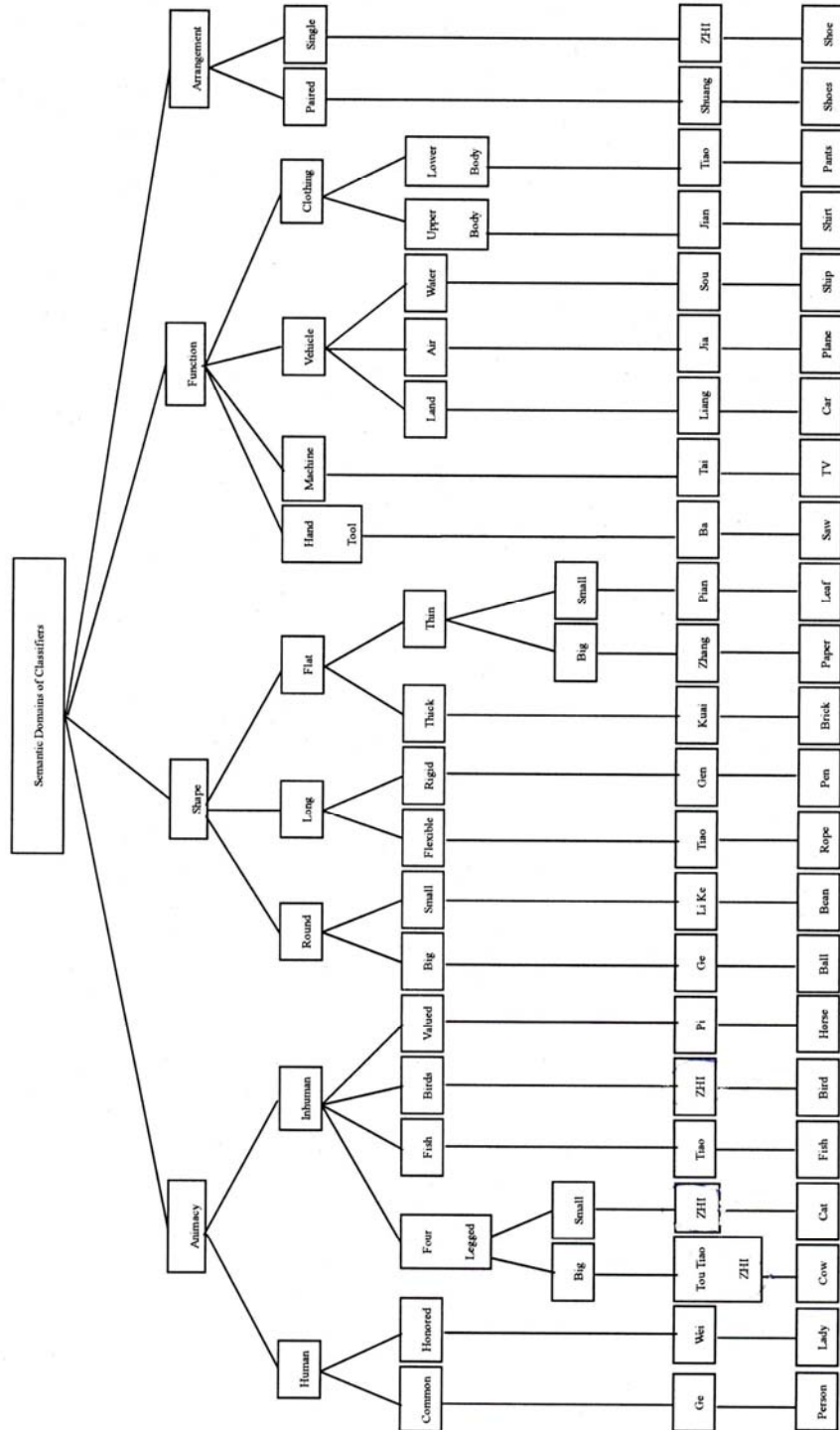
35	ju4 句	一句口號	C M O	80	zhi1 只	一只酒罈	C M O
36	ju4 具	一具屍體	C M O	81	zhi1 支	一支樹枝	C M O
37	juan3 卷	一卷錄音帶	C M O	82	zhi3 紙	一紙切結書	C M O
38	kou3 口	一口井	C M O	83	zhou2 軸	一軸畫	C M O
39	long3 壟	一壟田	C M O	84	zhu1 株	一株櫻花	C M O
40	lü3 縷	一縷線	C M O	85	zhu4 柱	一柱電線杆	C M O
41	lun2 輪	一輪明月	C M O	86	zhu4 炷	一炷香	C M O
42	mei2 枚	一枚獎章	C M O	87	zhuang1 樁	一樁意外	C M O
43	men2 門	一門大砲	C M O	88	zong1 宗	一宗意外	C M O
44	mian4 面	一面鏡子	C M O	89	zun1 尊	一尊佛像	C M O
45	ming2 名	一名學生	C M O	90	zuo4 座	一座山	C M O

為求實驗正確性，請受試者保密不要透露內容讓其他受試者或潛在受試者知道。  
謝謝您參與本問卷！！



## APPENDIX C

### A Semantic Categorization of Mandarin Chinese Classifier (Hu 1993)



A Semantic Categorization of Mandarin Chinese classifiers (Hu 1993)