

A Semantic Study of Mandarin Chinese *Qiān* and Southern Min *Khan**

Larry Hong-lin Li**, Chiu-Ping Su***

Abstract

From a cognitive perspective, this paper explores the polysemous natures of Mandarin Chinese *qiān* and Southern Min *khan*. It is found that although Mandarin Chinese *qiān* and Southern Min *khan* have shared senses, they have developed distinct meaning facets. Southern Min *khan* has engendered senses which Mandarin Chinese *qiān* does not have, such as ‘to endure’, ‘to promote’, ‘to stir (starch)’, ‘to quibble’, and ‘to be in a relationship with’. On the other hand, Mandarin Chinese *qiān* has the sense ‘to concern about’ which Southern Min *khan* does not possess. We conclude that language is not a faculty independent of the other cognitive fields. Also, we verify that cognitive operations in perceiving the real world are encoded in language.

Keywords: Cognition, Polysemy, Causal-Chain Event-Frames, Frame Semantics, Link Schemas, Metaphor

* The authors thank the two anonymous reviewers for the insightful and constructive comments. All the errors solely belong to the authors.

** Assistant Professor, General Education Center, National Taiwan University of Arts, Email: larryli@ntua.edu.tw.

** Lecturer, Department of Applied Foreign Languages, Chungyu Institute of Technology.

1. Introduction

From a cognitive perspective, this paper explores Mandarin Chinese *qiān* and Southern Min *khan*¹ with respect to the derivation of multiplex senses. We identify the senses which these two lexical units possess respectively and discuss how the related but distinct senses of these two morphemes arose.

Mandarin Chinese and Southern Min are in the same language family. However, it is found that although Mandarin Chinese *qiān* and Southern Min *khan* share some senses, there are senses which are only associated with either of them. In view of this fact, we propose that we should investigate how these two morphemes differ with respect to their sense derivations and what the cognitive foundation and processes are underpinning the sense expansions of these two lexical units.

This research adopts the frame semantics approach (Fillmore, 1985) to explore Mandarin Chinese *qiān* and Southern Min *khan* pertaining to polysemy. The link schema (Clausner and Croft, 1997) is also employed as the basic model underlying the central senses of *qiān* and *khan*. As for the explanation of sense expansion, the causal-chain event-frame theory (Talmy, 1976, 1988, 2000) is used. In addition, metaphor theories are utilized to account for the cognitive operations responsible for the minor sense extensions of these two lexical items.

Apart from Introduction, we offer the theoretical foundation in section 2. Section 3 and section 4 identify and account for the meaning derivations of *qiān* and *khan* respectively. Section 5 discusses the results of our study. Section 6 concludes this article.

2. Theoretical Foundation

2.1 Lexical Polysemy

Cognitive linguistics defines a semantic frame as founded on conventionalized conceptual structures. The conventionalized conceptual structures are formed from our

¹ In this paper, the pronunciation of Mandarin Chinese is presented in the Hanyu Pinyin and the pronunciation of Southern Min is symbolized in the Taiwanese Romanization System.

experience or perception of the world. In addition, meaning interpretation also relies on the conceptual operations. Our conceptual operations reveal how speakers construe a scene. Such semantic frames contribute to the polysemous nature of a lexical item (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Langacker, 1987). According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980) who extend the notion of prototypicality (Rosch, 1978) to linguistics theories, polysemy can be analyzed as comprising several major senses which further derive varying minor senses. The network formed by sense derivation is termed radial category (Lakoff, 1993). The understanding relating to the derivation of polysemy offers a skeleton for the multiple senses of Mandarin Chinese *qiān* and Southern Min *khan*. In addition to the theoretical basis of polysemy, the semantic frame including the central schema and the related mental operations underlying the occurrences of multiplex senses are detailed in the following subsections.

2.2 Construing a Causal-Chain Event-Frame

In the causal-chain event-frame theory presented by Talmy (1991), events are viewed as involving causation and consisting of complex sequences of stages. Furthermore, some aspects of the causal-chain event-frame can be highlighted or skipped. A good example of this is the analysis of the sentence *Peter broke the window with a stone*. According to Ungerer and Schmid (1996), this event structure can be analyzed as the following stages.

- (1) a. The agent makes up his mind to break the window.
- b. He bends his knees, moves his hand to the ground to grasp a stone..., releases the stone from his hand thus propelling it forward.
- c. The stone sails through the air.
- d. The stone forcefully makes contact with the window.
- e. The window breaks.

(1a) to (1e) are temporally arranged phases of the event *breaking the window with a stone*. However, it is natural to window the first and final stages for attention and gap the medial stages since *who initiated the event* and *what happened* are the more important information as far as an observer is concerned.

With the causal-chain event-frame, we further employ the link schema (Croft and Cruse, 2004), the force dynamic model (Talmy, 1976, 1988, 2000), and the notion of

perspective (Langacker, 1987) to picture the effect of force on two objects. The link schema is a conceptual structure composed of reoccurring bodily experiences (Lakoff, 1987; Johnson, 1987; Lakoff and Tuner, 1989). The link schema provides a basis to sketch the meaning facets which *qiān* and *khan* encode.

Additionally, the force dynamic model is responsible for the notion of causation. The process of a causative event can be conceptualized as engaging various sorts of forces acting in different manners on the participants of the event. As illustration, consider (2) shown in the following.

- (2) a. He held the ball.
- b. He dropped the ball.

As Croft and Cruse (2004) point out, in (2a) the causer (the antagonist) resists the tendency of the causee (the agonist) to move and in (2b) the causer allows the causee to exert its tendency to move.

While the force dynamic model explains how two objects are interacted, the concept of perspective (Langacker, 1987) serves to account for how an observer perceives a scene. The notion of perspective is a reflection of how the observer looks into a scene. It includes the ideas of viewpoint and focus: the choice of the observer's viewpoint and the selection of units to focus on. As an example, consider (3) as follows.

- (3) The kids walked around the classroom.

In (3), from an external viewpoint, this sentence denotes a situation where the movement circles the outside of the classroom. However, if an internal viewpoint is taken, the kids are moving inside the classroom. What follows are the examples illustrating the conception of focus. Refer to (4) shown as follows:

- (4) a. The light emanated from a beacon (Talmy, 1985).
- b. The beacon emitted the light (Talmy, 1985).

Talmy (1985) notes that the use of *emanate* versus *emit* is determined by the focus. That is, (4a) requires the moving object, the light, as focus of attention, whereas (4b) views the stable beacon as the subject of perception. In a word, the notion of perspective can help us depict the sense extension of *qiān* and *khan*.

The basic ideas of the frame, the central schema, and the relevant mental operations have been explicated in this section. These notions are central to the inspection relating to the polysemous derivation of the two morphemes. Here, it is

helpful to note that the profiling of an event also functions to explain the meaning extensions of the two morphemes. As illustration, the graphic representations are given as follows to symbolize different profiles of the event structure.

The schematic representation in Figure 1 signifies the interaction in which the mobile trajector is leading the second trajector. Figure 2 demonstrates that the focus of attention is given to the link between the two trajectors. In Figure 3, the focus is placed on the leading trajector and the link. Figure 4 shows the schema with the focus on the driven trajector. Figure 5 is a representation portraying a variant of the central schema where the trajectors and the landmark are fused and the paths of movement are non-straight. These distinct profiles of the causal-chain event frame are responsible for the sense extensions of Mandarin Chinese *qiān* and Southern Min *khan*.

We have clarified that construal of the causal-chain event frame affects meaning derivation. Apart from the causal-chain event schema, we need to adopt the theories as to how words undergo metaphorical extension. They are detailed in the subsection. They provide the basis for how the minor senses of *qiān* and *khan* came about.

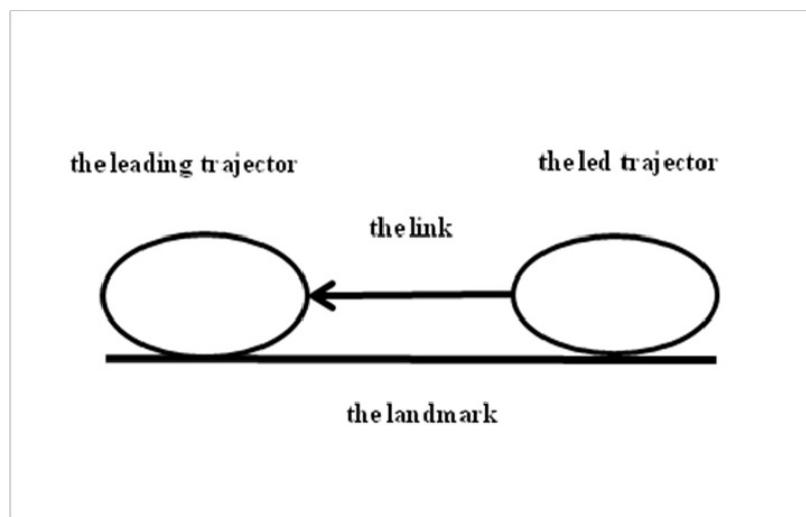


Figure 1: The Event Schema of Two Interacting Trajectors

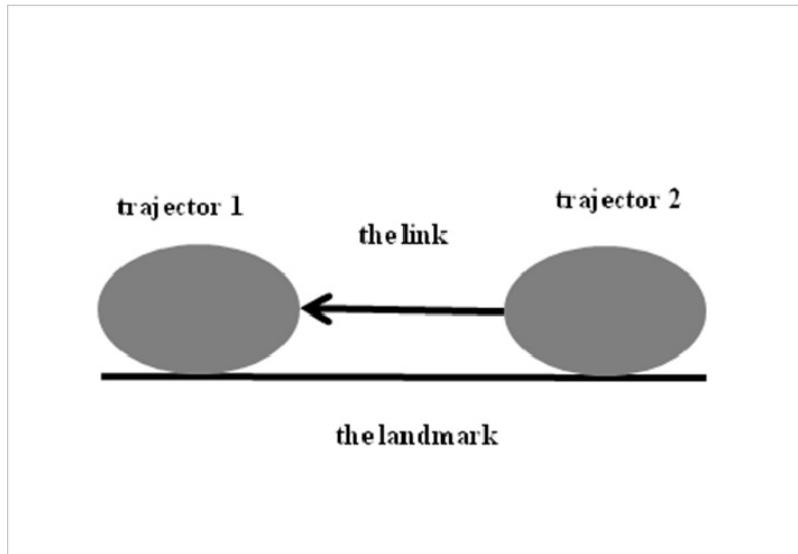


Figure 2: The Focusing of the Link Component

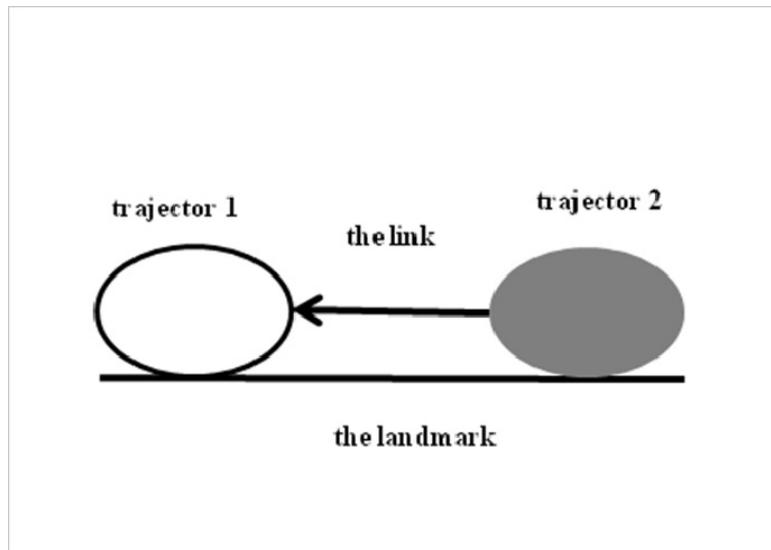


Figure 3: The Focusing of the Leading Trajector and the Link

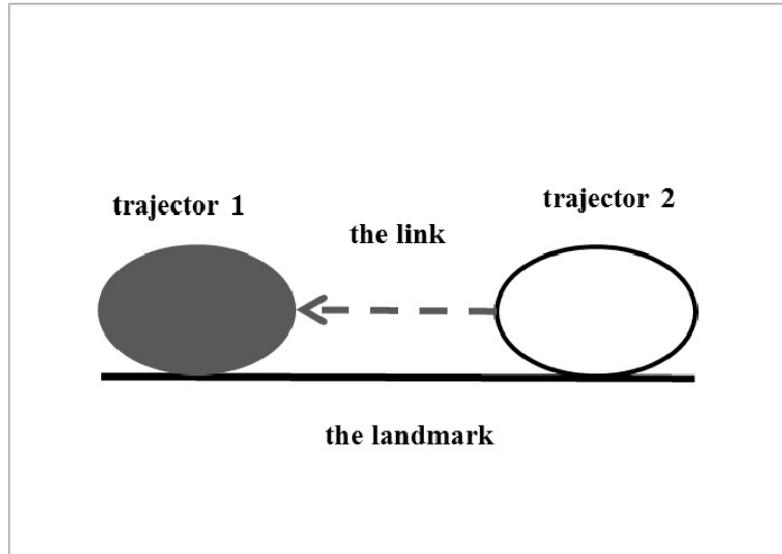


Figure 4: The Focusing of the Led Trajector

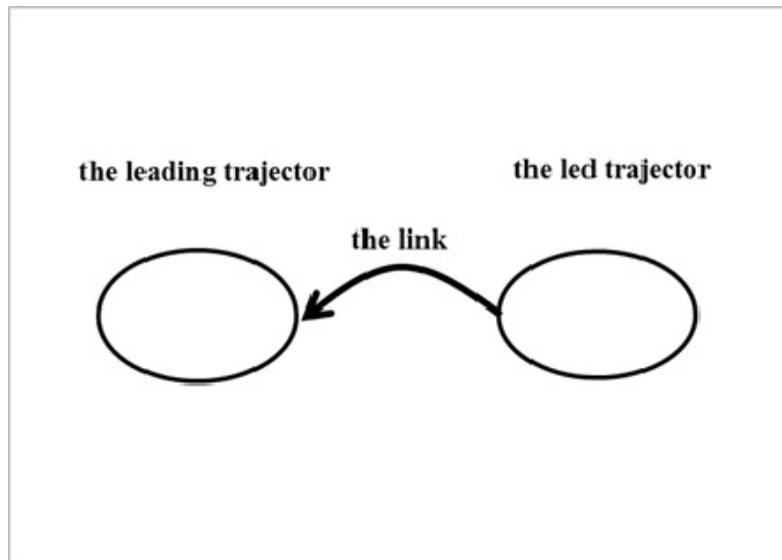


Figure 5: A Variant of the Central Event Schema

2.3 Metaphorical Mapping

Not only view selection, but also metaphorical mapping plays a role in sense derivation. Metaphor, in search of understanding, is a means whereby abstract areas of experiences can be conceptualized in terms of the concrete fields (Reddy, 1993; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Lakoff and Turner, 1989; Lakoff, 1993). In other words, metaphors encode the correspondences between the entity in the concrete (source) domain and abstract (target) domain. The metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) is an instance. Take the following sentences into consideration:

- (5) a. She is writing a novel and she is nearly there.
- b. John planned to finish his work last week but he got side-tracked.

(5a) and (5b) demonstrate that time is seen as a stationary landmark and all the events, activities, or actions conducted by people in their lives are regarded as the moving object traversing the landmark. The groundwork of metaphor being explicated, this research quotes a variety of metaphors and metonyms to justify that the minor senses of Mandarin Chinese *qiān* and Southern Min *khan* were extended from their main senses. In what follows, we proceed to examine the meaning facets of the two morphemes.

3. The Polysemy of Mandarin Chinese *Qiān*

3.1 Multiple Senses of Mandarin Chinese *Qiān*

In order to access the senses extended by Mandarin Chinese *qiān*, we consulted Chinese WordNet, a lexical corpus of Mandarin Chinese. We classified the data which we obtained from Chinese WordNet into eleven categories as follows:²

- (6) a. sense 1: to walk, e.g., *qiān mótuōchē* (牽摩托車)
- b. sense 2: to impede or control, e.g., *qiānzhi* (牽制)
- c. sense 3: to physically link with, e.g., *qiān shǒu* (牽手)
- d. sense 4: to worry about, e.g., *qiānguà* (牽掛)
- e. sense 5: to impose involvement with, e.g., *qiānlían* (牽連)

² In Chinese WordNet, Mandarin *qiān* has twelve main senses. However, we list eleven senses because in our view some of the senses listed by Chinese WordNet can be subsumed under one conceptual umbrella. The categorization of the senses is detailed in the main text.

- f. sense 6: to guide, e.g., *qiān wǒ jìn shètuán* (牽我進社團)
- g. sense 7: to lengthen the link with, e.g., *qiān cǎidài* (牽彩帶)
- h. sense 8: to establish connection with, e.g., *qiān xiàn* (牽線)
- i. sense 9: to move, e.g., *qiān yǎnjiǎo* (牽眼角)
- j. sense 10: to pick up a car, e.g., *qiān chē* (牽車)
- k. sense 11: to possess a new car, e.g., *qiān xīnchē* (牽新車)

(6a) to (6k) are the senses associated with Mandarin Chinese *qiān*. The following subsection analyzes how these senses were derived.

3.2 The Prototypical Sense and the Central Schema of Mandarin Chinese *Qiān*

Mandarin Chinese *qiān* has extended a number of senses as shown in (6). Regarding the meaning expansion of *qiān*, we propose that ‘to walk’ is the prototypical sense. The reason why we take this sense to be the source of derivation is that, according to the link schema, our bodily experiences related to the interaction between two entities form a structure frame in cognition. Thus, it is more than reasonable to treat this meaning facet as the basic sense of Mandarin Chinese *qiān*, since ‘to walk’ encodes the interaction of two entities in space. Moreover, according to the oldest Chinese lexicographic work *Shuowenjiezi* ‘Accounts of simple graphs and analyses of composite graphs’, the morpheme (牽) has the meaning ‘to guide or walk an entity forward’.³ In sum, we take the position that ‘to walk’ is the source from which all the other senses were derived. Examples demonstrating this sense include *qiān zhūgē* ‘to walk a boar (to mate with sows)’ (牽豬哥), *qiān wánghún* ‘to walk the soul (to a destination)’ (牽亡魂), and *qiān mótuōchē* ‘to walk a motorcycle’ (牽摩托車). Consider a sample sentence containing *qiān mótuōchē* as in (7):

(7) *Tā qiānzhe tā de mótuōchē huíjiā.*

He walk ASP he DE motorcycle go home

‘He walked his motorcycle home.’

(他牽著他的摩托車回家。)

We use a graphic representation to demonstrate how *qiān mótuōchē* is profiled as in Figure 6.

³ We thank one of the reviewers for suggesting the reference to *Shuowenjiezi*, the first dictionary recording ancient Chinese characters.

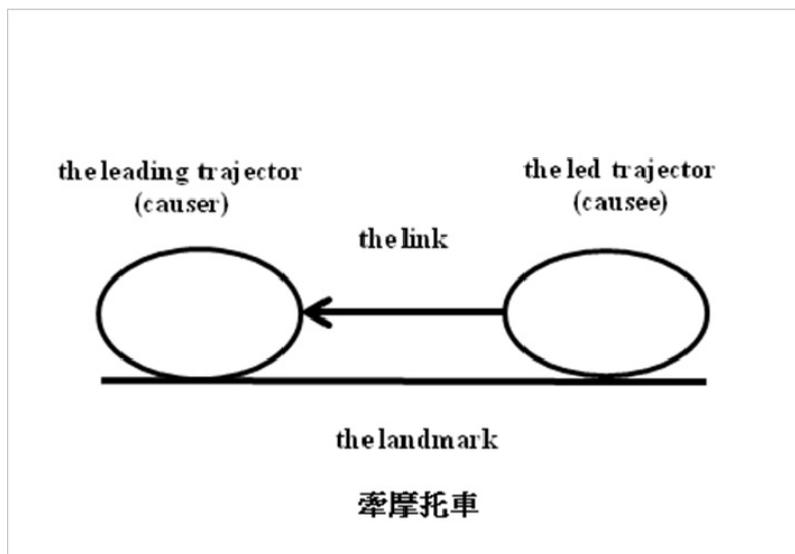


Figure 6: The Central Schema of Mandarin Chinese *qiān*

The force dynamic model (Talmy, 1976, 1988, 2000) offers an account for the interaction between the two objects in the representation. In the representation, the arrow signals the direction in which one trajector is leading the other by force. Specifically, one trajector acts as the causer and the other trajector as the causee. The causer exerts the force on the causee and the causee is subject to the force and subsequently moves. The interactions between the two trajectors background the central sense of Mandarin Chinese *qiān*.

3.3 Profilings: Sense Derivation of *Qiān*

When the link connecting the two objects in the causal-chain event-frame was brought into attention, Mandarin Chinese *qiān* extended a different meaning facet from the prototypical sense. In this derived sense, *qiān* encodes the scene where two entities are tied up with a link. *Qiān shǒu* 'to hold the hand of' (牽手) is a good instance as in (8):

(8) *Tā jǐnjǐnde qiān zhe wǒ de shǒu.*

He tightly hold ASP I POSS hand

‘He held my hand tightly.’

(他緊緊地牽著我的手。)

In addition to *qiān shǒu*, *qiān diànxiàn* ‘to wire’ (牽電線) is also a good example. The focusing of the link is symbolized in Figure 7 as follows.

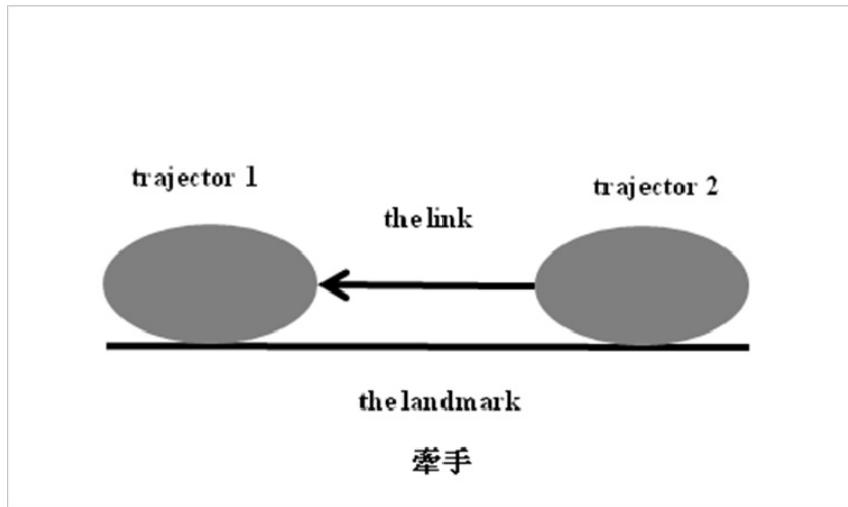


Figure 7: The Profile Underpinning Mandarin Chinese *qiān shǒu*

We have demonstrated how the profiling of the conceptual structure encodes the ‘to physically link with’ sense of Mandarin Chinese *qiān*. Now, we shall tackle the sense ‘to lengthen the link with’. An example of this sense is *qiān cǎidài* ‘to pull colored ribbons’ (牽彩帶). Refer to the following sample sentence (9):

(9) *Tā zài fángjiān qiān cǎidài.*

He in room pull colored.ribbon

‘He was pulling colored ribbons in the room.’

(他在房間牽彩帶。)

Regarding the extension of this sense, we propose that it is a manifestation of attention focusing. Specifically, this sense was extended from the prototypical sense with the focus on the leading trajector and the link. Take into consideration the schematic representation in Figure 8:

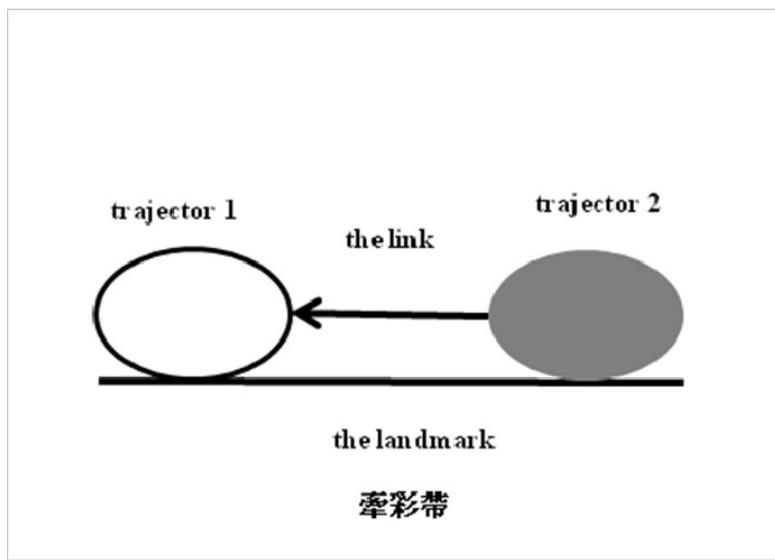


Figure 8: The Profile Underlining Mandarin Chinese *qiān cǎidài*

Still, Mandarin Chinese *qiān* has the sense ‘to move’. Examples such as *qiān yǎnjiǎo* ‘to move the corner of the eye’ (牽眼角) demonstrate the extension of this meaning facet. For reference, witness (10) as follows:

(10) *Tā zhǐ qiān qiān yǎnjiǎo méi shuōhuà.*

He just move move corner.of.eye not speak

‘He just moved the corner of his eye, without speaking anything.’

(他只牽牽眼角沒說話。)

We propose that the meaning extension of this sense concerns attention focusing. Precisely, this sense came about when the attention was focused on the led trajector in the event frame. In this event frame, the trajector takes on the role as causee which is forced to move. Linguistic expressions such as *qiān yǎnjiǎo* are good instances since *yǎnjiǎo* ‘the corner of the eye’ is moved by muscles akin to the causee in a causal-chain event. The operation involved is schematically portrayed as in Figure 9:

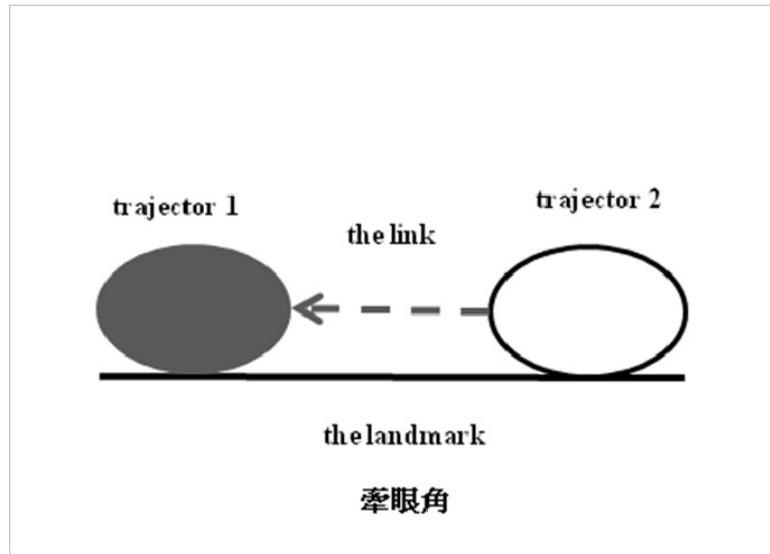


Figure 9: The Schema Depicting Mandarin Chinese *qiān yǎnjǎo*

3.4 Metaphorical Extension of *Qiān*

Mandarin Chinese *qiān* has another sense ‘to pick up (a vehicle)’. An example for this sense is *qiān chē* ‘to pick up a car’ (牽車). *Qiān chē* refers to the act of driving a car away. Consider the example as in (11):

(11) *Wǒ míngtiān huì lái qiān chē.*

I tomorrow will come pick up car

‘I will come to pick up the car tomorrow.’

(我明天會來牽車。)

Regarding this sense, we propose that it evolved from the central sense by means of a metaphorical extension. This is not a novel idea. The study of Nessel (2010) relating to Russian verb *idti/xodit’* lends support to our proposal. Russian verb *idti/xodit’* is translated as ‘to walk’ in dictionaries. Interestingly, it is used metaphorically as a generalized motion verb in contexts where walking is not involved. For instance, it is used in the form *idet* to refer to the movement of trains as in (12):

(12) *Poedzidet v Moskvu v dvenadcat’ časov.*

Train goes in Moscow in twelve o’clock

‘The train goes to Moscow at twelve o’clock.’

Also, it can be used to replace *exat'/ezdit'* 'to drive' and *vezit/vozit'* 'to transport' in contexts where the sentences denote goals of motion. Nessel (2010) stresses that the meaning extension between the sense 'to walk' and other senses such as 'to drive' and 'to transport' is due to metaphorical mapping. Specifically, the notion "walking" conveys the idea of moving along a path toward a goal and this idea is mapped onto other domains. On the basis of Nessel's analysis, it makes sense to say that the sense 'to pick up (a vehicle)' of Mandarin Chinese *qiān* was metaphorically derived from the central sense 'to walk'. Since we know when we walk a vehicle, we are conducting an act of leading an entity or causing an entity to move, we infer that *qiān chē* may refer to causing a vehicle to leave from a location by an acting force. The only difference is that the force to move the vehicle is driving or riding in the extended sense.

Another expression related to *qiān* is *qiān sīnchē* (牽新車) meaning 'to possess a new car'. Observe (13) below:

(13) *Wǒ méi qián qiān xīnchē.*

I not money buy new car

'I don't have money to get a new car.'

(我沒錢牽新車。)

Concerning this sense extension, we take it to be a manifestation of metaphor. Possession, as Radden (2002) stresses, is metaphorically denoted by means of verbs meaning 'seizing', 'taking', 'getting', and 'holding'. For instance, according to Heine (1997), the utterance "The man has taken the car" in Nama, a Khoisan language, indicates that the man possesses the car. If it is the case that possession is linked to physical touch on and contact with an entity, it makes sense to say that the sense 'to possess a new car' was derived from the concrete, prototypical sense 'to walk'.

Now, let us tackle the sense 'to impede or control' of *qiān*. We hold the view that the link schema helps account for the development of the sense 'to impede or control'. That is, through the metaphor CONTROLLING IS HEADING⁴ (Sommer and Weiss,

⁴ Sommer and Weiss (1996) cite an example from the Bible to illustrate the mapping between heading and leading or controlling: My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they will follow me. From this excerpt, we can see that being controlled is analogically equated with following in space.

1996), the act of walking an entity designated by *qiān* is cognitively mapped onto the behavior of controlling or impeding an entity. As illustration, refer to the sentence containing *qiānzhi* given in (14):

(14) *Měigúo chénggōngde qiānzhi Zhōngguó.*

U.S.A. successfully control China

‘The U.S.A. successfully controlled China.’

(美國成功地牽制中國。)

From (14), it is clear that *qiān* in *qiānzhi* denotes one entity affecting the development or behavior of the other. Apart from *qiānzhi*, *qiānbàn* ‘to impede’ (牽絆) is another example illustrating the meaning facet of obstructing.

In addition to the sense ‘to obstruct or impede’, we have to cope with the sense ‘to guide or introduce’ of Mandarin Chinese *qiān* as in (15):

(15) *Shì tā qiān wǒ jìn shètuán de.*

Be he introduce I into club DE

‘It is he who introduced me into the club.’

(是他牽我進社團的。)

Regarding this mapping of sense, we propose that it was extended from the central sense ‘to walk’. This seems not unreasonable since a sense is always carried over from a concrete spatial domain to an abstract domain. As illustration, witness (16) as follows:

(16) a. He guided the company through the difficulties.

b. It was my younger brother who introduced me to Jazz.

The two examples encode abstract domains. However, as indicated by the prepositions *through* and *to*, the abstract sense ‘to guide or introduce’ is conceptually linked to the concrete sense ‘to lead in space’. On the basis of transfer from a concrete field to an abstract field, we suggest that the understanding of the sense ‘to walk’ helps us capture the sense ‘to guide or introduce’. Since we know when we walk one thing, we cause the thing to move along a path, we may make the inference that *qiān* encodes the behavior of making one perform a particular action by giving direction or instruction.

We have analyzed the meaning facets expanded from the central sense ‘to walk’. Still, some other senses related to Mandarin Chinese *qiān* need considering. We have to take account of *qiān* in expressions such as *qiāngùà* (牽掛) and *qiānniàn* (牽念) which impart the sense ‘to concern about or worry about’. Consider (17) as follows:

(17) *Duìyú zhè jiàn shì, nǐ bú xū qiānguà.*

Regarding this CL matter, you not need worry
'Regarding this matter, you don't need to worry.'
(對於這件事，你不需牽掛。)

With respect to this meaning expansion, we suggest that it was derived from the sense 'to physically link with'. Recall that the sense 'to physically link with' as illustrated in *qiān shǒu* (牽手) is a manifestation of the operation "focusing on the link". Along the lines of the metaphor THINKING IS A THREAD⁵ (Sommer and Weiss, 1996), the focused link in the concrete domain is mapped onto one's worrying and concerning a thing.

In addition to the sense of being worried or concerned, *qiān* developed a sense of imposing relation or establishing connection. This sense 'to impose or have relation with' was brought about by means of the metaphor CONNECTING IS A THREAD⁶ (Sommer and Weiss, 1996). The link between the two trajectors in the spatial domain is analogically compared to a connection in an abstract sense. Examples illustrating *qiān* as conveying this sense include *qiānlián* (牽連), *qiānlèi* (牽累), *qiānshè* (牽涉), and *qiānqiáng* (牽強) which denote the act 'to have or impose involvement with'. Let us refer to the example sentence as in (18):

(18) *Liáng tā dōu bèi qiānlián jìnqù.*

Even he all PASSIVE involve into
'Even he was involved into the matter.'
(連他都被牽連進去。)

Mandarin Chinese *qiān* has another sense 'to establish relationship with'. This sense is illustrated in *jūzhōng qiān xiàn* (居中牽線) and *qiān xiàn* (牽線) meaning 'to build up relationship between'. Refer to (19) as illustration:

⁵ In Sommer and Weiss (1996) are two citations to illustrate the metaphor THINKING IS A THREAD. The first is "What steadiness and sympathy are needed if the thread of thought is to be unwounded without tangles of snapping" and the second is "...seemed to me too complicated and I lost the thread of his thought in the chaos of his imagery".

⁶ Sommer and Weiss (1996) quote two excerpts: "She was the golden thread that united him to a past beyond misery..." and "A magic thread of fellow feeling united his life with theirs..."

(19) *Yoŭ Chén xiānshēng jūzhōng qiān xiàn, wǒ cái chénggōng.*

Have Chen mister broker I only succeed

‘Only with the brokerage of Mr. Chen did I succeed.’

(有陳先生居中牽線，我才成功。)

Regarding (19), we propose that this meaning facet stemmed from the sense ‘to physically link with’ through metaphorical mapping regarding human relationship. The metaphors at work are AN EMOTIONAL RELATIONSHIP IS A DISTANCE BETWEEN TWO ENTITIES and INTIMACY IS CLOSENESS⁷ (Kövecses, 2000). These two metaphors imply that to secure the tie-up between two people is to make a link between two entities. Such being the case, it makes sense that Mandarin Chinese *qiān* encodes the act of building up a stable relationship between two parties.

In this section, we have justified the cognitive foundation for the sense derivation of Mandarin Chinese *qiān*. In what follows, the polysemous nature of Southern Min *khan* is scrutinized.

4. The Polysemy of Southern Min *khan*

4.1 Multiplex Senses of Southern Min *khan*

Consulting Taiwanese Concordancer, a lexical corpus of Southern Min, we list the senses of Southern Min *khan* as follows:

- (20) a. sense 1: to walk, e.g., *khan thihbé* (牽鐵馬)
- b. sense 2: to physically link with, e.g., *khan tiānsuànn* (牽電線)
- c. sense 3: to lengthen the link with, e.g., *khan si* (牽絲)
- d. sense 4: to move, e.g., *khan bákbué* (牽眼尾)
- e. sense 5: to pick up (a vehicle), e.g., *khan tshia* (牽車)
- f. sense 6: to impede or control, e.g., *khantsè* (牽制)
- g. sense 7: to possess (a new vehicle), e.g., *khan sin tshia* (牽新車)
- h. sense 8: to introduce or guide, e.g., *khan lâng liphuē* (牽人入會)
- i. sense 9: to stir (starch), e.g., *khan kinn* (牽羹)

⁷ The metaphorical mapping between interpersonal relation and distance can be illustrated by sentences “I felt closer to Peter that evening than ever before.” and “He distances himself”.

- j. sense 10: to promote or push, e.g., *khansîng* (牽成)
- k. sense 11: to endure, e.g., *khanbán* (牽挽)
- l. sense 12: to impose involvement with, e.g., *khanliân* (牽連)
- m. sense 13: to establish connection with, e.g., *khan suànn* (牽線)
- n. sense 14: to be in a relationship with, e.g., *khan tshiú* (牽手)
- o. sense 15: to prevaricate or quibble by talking about unrelated topics, e.g., *khanthua* (牽拖)

(20a) to (20o) are the senses related to Southern Min *khan*. The following subsection analyzes how cognition contributes to the derivation of these senses.

4.2 The Prototypical Sense and the Central Schema of Southern Min *Khan*

Regarding the sense expansion of Southern Min *khan*, we treat the sense ‘to walk’ as the prototypical sense. On one hand, on a par with Mandarin Chinese *qiān*, the sense ‘to walk’ of Southern Min *khan* encodes our bodily experiences of the interaction between two entities. The experiences constitute a conventionalized cognitive structure. On the other hand, as we have pinpointed, *Shuowenjiezi* indicates that the morpheme (牽) means ‘to walk an entity forward’. Hence, we take the stance that, like Mandarin Chinese *qiān*, ‘to walk’ is the central sense of Southern Min *khan* from which all the other related meaning facets were engendered. Examples for this basic sense are *khan thihbé* ‘to walk a bicycle’ (牽鐵馬) and *khan tiko* ‘to walk a boar for mating’ (牽豬哥). Let us observe the example sentence (21) below:

(21) *I khan thih-bé tng-khì.*

He walk bicycle return.go

‘He returned home by walking his bicycle.’

(他牽腳踏車回去。)

We propose that the link schema (Croft and Cruse, 2004) underlies the prototypical sense ‘to walk’ of Southern Min *khan*. We provide the graphic representation of the central image schema of *khan* in Figure 10. The graphic representation illustrates the example *khan thihbé* (牽鐵馬) as follows:

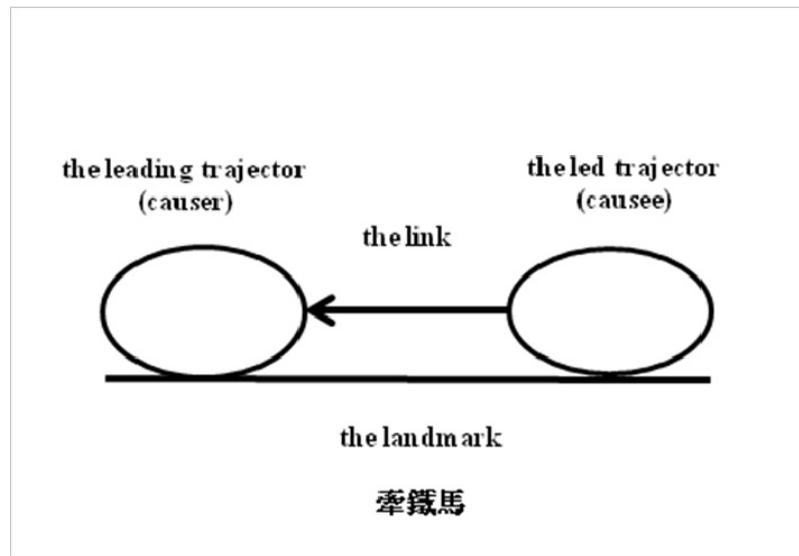


Figure 10: The Central Schema Encoding Southern Min *khan*

With regard to Figure 10, the force dynamic model (Talmy, 1976, 1988, 2000) profiles the movement of the two linked entities. In the schematic representation, the causer acts on the causee and subsequently drives the causee to move. The interaction between the two objects portrays the sense ‘to walk’ of Southern Min *khan*.

4.3 Profilings: Sense Derivation of *khan*

When the link connecting the two objects in the causal-chain event-frame was brought into attention, Southern Min *khan* extended a different sense from the prototypical sense. In this derived sense, *khan* depicts the scene where two entities are tied up with a link. *Khan tiānsuànn* ‘to wire’ (牽電線) is a good instance. Witness (22) as follows:

(22) *Guá beh lâikhì pângking khan tiānsuànn.*

I want come.go room link wire

‘I am going to wire up the room.’

(我要去房間牽電線。)

Aside from *khan tiānsuànn*, *khan tshíú* ‘to hold the hand of’ (牽手) is also a good example for the sense ‘to physically link with’. The focusing of the link in the cognitive

structure is symbolized in Figure 11 as follows.

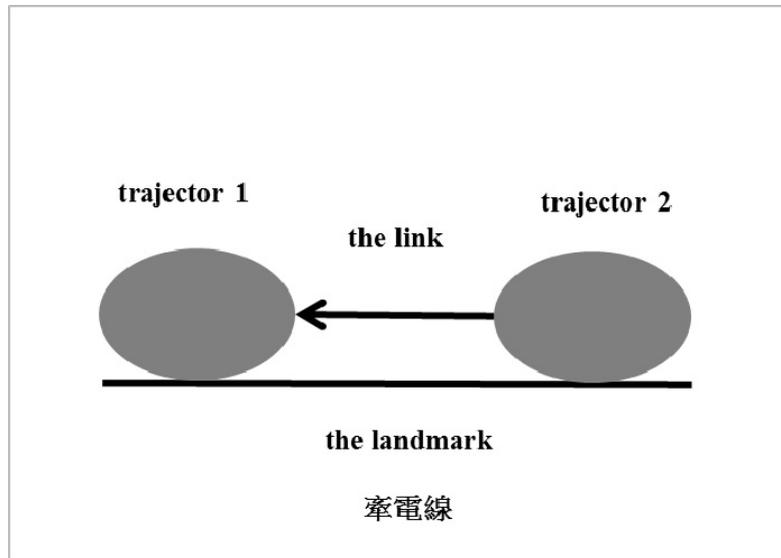


Figure 11: The Cognitive Structure Depicting Southern Min *khan tiānsuànn*

Other than the meaning facet ‘to physically link with’, Southern Min *khan* has the sense ‘to lengthen the link with’. *Khan si* ‘to pull silks’ (牽絲) is an example for this sense. Witness (23) as follows:

(23) *Ti-tu ē khan si.*

Spider can pull silk

‘Spiders pull silks.’

(蜘蛛會牽絲。)

Regarding the extension of this meaning, we propose that it is a manifestation of attention focusing. Specifically, this sense was extended from the prototypical sense with the focus on the leading trajector and the link. Take into consideration the schematic representation in Figure 12:

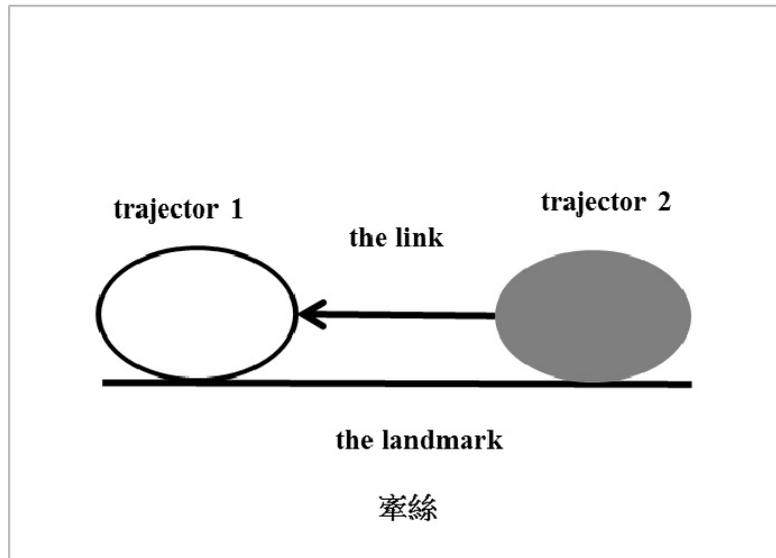


Figure 12: The Conceptual Frame Symbolizing Southern Min *khan si*

Southern Min *khan* also developed the sense ‘to move’. As illustration, refer to the sentence containing *khan bákbué* ‘to move the corner of the eye’ (牽目尾) (24):

(24) *I ittīt tui guá khan bákbué.*

He keep at I move corner.of.ey

‘He kept moving the corner of his eye to me.’

(他一直對我牽目尾。)

We propose that the meaning extension of this sense concerns attention focusing as in the case of Mandarin Chinese *qiān*. We adopt the position that this sense was engendered when the attention was focused on the led trajector in the cognitive structure. Put differently, the trajector takes on the role as causee which is driven to move. Figure 13 presents the schema regarding the sense derivation of Southern Min *khan bákbué*:

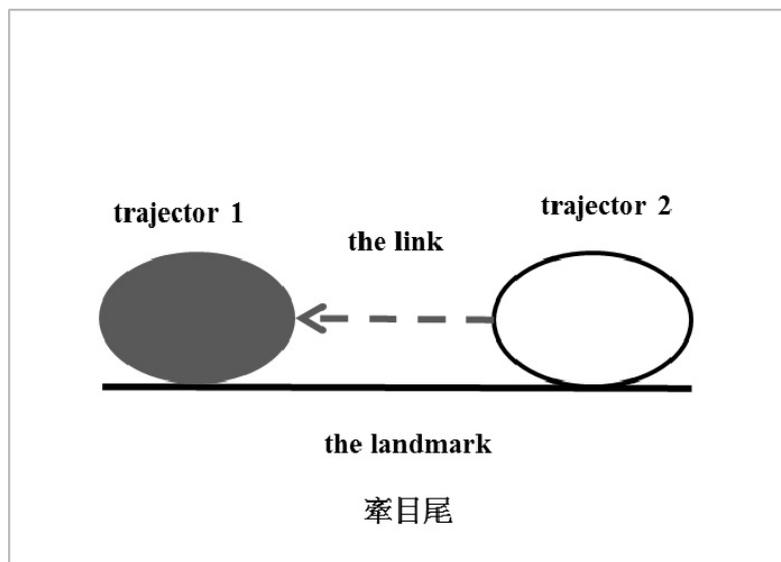


Figure 13: The Cognitive Scheme Signifying Southern Min *khan bákbué*

Another sense related to the central sense is ‘to stir (starch)’. An example for this sense is *khan kinn* ‘to stir starch’ (牽羹). Consider (25) below:

(25) *I tsaián nántsuánn khan kinn.*

He know how stir starch

‘He knows how to stir starch (so as to thicken the soup).’

(他知道怎麼牽羹。)

Following up on Ungerer and Schmid (1996), we assume that the trajectors and the landmark may be fused into one. Moreover, the movement of the leading trajector may not be restricted to a straight manner. Put differently, as long as some information is added to the central schema, a related but different sense can be derived. With this assumption, we can account for the derivation of the sense ‘to stir starch’. The schema picturing this sense is shown in Figure 14:

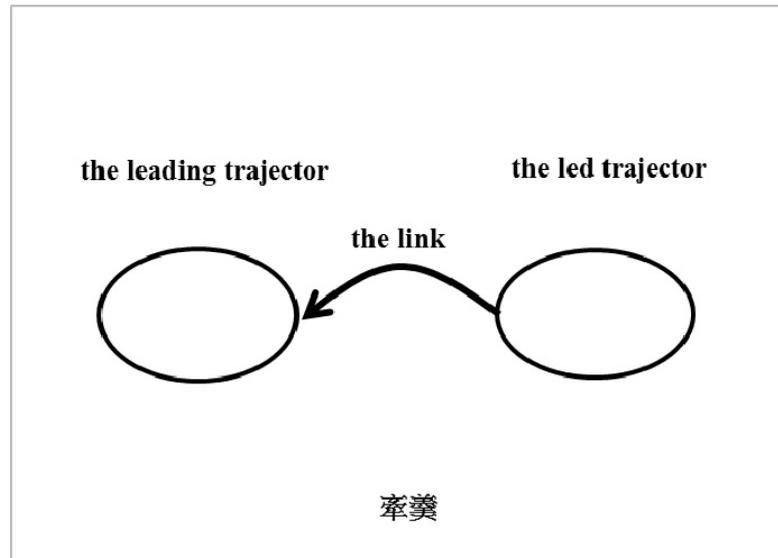


Figure 14: The Schematic Graph Picturing Southern Min *khan kinn*

4.4 Metaphorical Extension of *Khan*

We have analyzed the sense derivation of Southern Min *khan* which was driven by cognitive profiling. Still, Southern Min *khan* has other senses which were engendered by metaphorical mappings. First, let us tackle the sense ‘to pick up (a vehicle)’ of Southern Min *khan*. Witness the example sentence containing *khan tshia* ‘to pick up a car’ (牽車) as in (26):

(26) *In bînátsài beh lâi khan tshia.*

They tomorrow want come pick.up car

‘They will come to pick up the car tomorrow.’

(他們明天要來牽車。)

Concerning the derivation of this sense, again we resort to the analysis of Nessel (2010). Nessel notes that the metaphorical extension between the sense ‘to walk’ and other senses such as ‘to drive’ and ‘to transport’ is attested in natural language. On the basis of Nessel’s analysis, we suggest that the sense ‘to pick up (a vehicle)’ of Southern Min *khan* is analogically mapped from its central sense ‘to walk’ on a par with Mandarin Chinese *qiān*.

Now, let us cope with the sense ‘to possess (a new vehicle)’ of Southern Min *khan*. Consider (27) as follows:

(27) *Khan sin tshia ài tsînn.*

Buy new car need money

‘It takes money to buy a new car.’

(買新車需要錢。)

In (27), *khan* refers to buying a new car. Akin to the sense ‘to possess (a new vehicle)’ of Mandarin Chinese *qiān*, this sense descended from the sense ‘to walk’. Recall that, according to Heine (1997) and Radden (2002), the idea “possession” is signified by verbs of motion in natural language, for it is metaphorically linked to physical contact with an entity. On this assumption, we can account for the sense ‘to possess (a new vehicle)’ of Southern Min *khan*.

Southern Min *khan* also has the sense ‘to impede or control’ as illustrated by *khan leh kiânn* ‘to have firm control over’ (牽著走) and *khantsè* ‘to contain or impede’ (牽制). Consider (28):

(28) a. *I long kā in bóo khan leh kiânn.*

He all make his wife lead ASP go

‘He has firm hold over his wife.’

(他都牽著他太太的鼻子走。)

b. *Tui muîthé ê khantsè kài tiōngiàu.*

To media POSS containment very important

‘It is very important to contain media.’

(對媒體的牽制很重要。)

Again, the link schema helps provide the basis for the development of the ‘to impede or control’ sense. That is, through the metaphor CONTROLLING IS HEADING (Sommer and Weiss, 1996), the basic sense ‘to walk’ of Southern Min *khan* is cognitively mapped onto the sense meaning controlling or impeding an entity.

Southern Min *khan* also has the sense ‘to introduce’. As illustration, witness (29) as follows:

(29) *Guá kûnî khant siok tsuē lâng lip huē.*

I last year introduce very many people enter club

‘I introduced many people into the club last year.’

(我去年介紹很多人入會。)

As in the case of Mandarin Chinese *qiān*, we propose that the abstract sense ‘to guide or introduce’ is conceptually linked to the concrete sense ‘to walk along a path’. On the basis of mapping from a concrete domain onto an abstract domain, we suggest that the understanding of the sense ‘to walk’ helps us capture the sense ‘to guide or introduce’. If it is correct that to walk one thing is to move one thing along a path, it follows naturally that Southern Min *khan* is mapped onto the behavior of making one conduct a particular action by giving guidance.

Not only the sense ‘to guide or introduce’, but also the sense ‘to promote, upgrade, or push’ came into being through the metaphorical conceptualization, the GOOD IS FRONTWARD metaphor⁸ (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). The GOOD IS FRONTWARD metaphor provides a theoretical foundation to view the trajector leading the other as one guiding the other to a better state. Examples for this metaphorical conceptualization are *khansîng* ‘to promote or push’ (牽成) and *khan saia* ‘to train or better novices’ (牽師仔). Consider (30):

(30) *Hibōng lí ētàng kā gún khansîng.*

Hope you can make we push

‘Hopefully, you can give us a push.’

(希望你可以將我牽成。)

In a word, the sense ‘to promote, upgrade, or push’ was metaphorically derived from the prototypical sense ‘to walk’ of Southern Min *khan*.

Now, let us tackle the sense ‘to endure’ of Southern Min *khan*. An example for this sense is given in (31):

(31) *Lāu bong lāu, koh ū khanbán.*

Old although old still have durable

‘Although (I am) old, (I am) still enduring.’

(老歸老，還是很能撐。)

⁸ This metaphorical conceptualization is grounded on the ME-FIRST orientation (Cooper and Ross 1975). That is, both FRONT and GOOD are oriented toward the canonical person, while both BACK and BAD are oriented away from the canonical person. It follows that, in cognitive terms, FRONT and BACK, which are spatial, are respectively linked to GOOD and BAD, which are more abstract.

In (31), the sentence communicates the reading that one is still enduring even though he is old. In addition to *khanbán* ‘to endure’ (牽挽), *khan sènnmiā* ‘to prolong life with difficulty’ (牽性命) is also a good instance. Regarding this sense derivation, the metaphor CAUSES AND EFFECTS ARE LINKED OBJECTS⁹ and the force dynamic model offer an explanation. On the basis of the cause-and-effect metaphor, we propose that the event acting on a person, the cause, and the event of the person’s enduring, the effect, are two linked entities. In addition to the cause-and-effect metaphor, force dynamic model is helpful to account for the development of this sense. As illustration, let us refer back to (2a) repeated as follows:

(2) a. He held the ball.

Recall that (2a) codes the scene that the causer resists the tendency of the causee to move (Croft and Cruse, 2004). In the same vein, we suggest that the sense ‘to endure’ of Southern Min *khan* reflects a resisting relation between two events. To be precise, one is the cause event, an event which acts on a person; the other is the effect event, the person’s resisting against the cause event. With this in mind, we can accommodate (31): *khanbán* refers to the ability to resist challenges or difficulties. In sum, the sense ‘to endure or withstand’ of Southern Min *khan* was metaphorically extended from its prototypical meaning facet ‘to walk’.

Southern Min *khan* has another sense ‘to impose involvement with’. An example for this sense derivation is *khanliân* ‘to impose involvement with’. Let us take (32) into consideration:

(32) *Kiann kâ I khanliân tiòh.*

Afraid make he involve ASP

‘I am afraid to get him involved.’

(我害怕牽扯到他。)

Akin to Mandarin Chinese *qiān*, we suggest that the sense ‘to impose involvement with’ of Southern Min *khan* concerns metaphorical mapping from the spatial reading ‘to physically link with’. Along the lines of the metaphor CONNECTING IS A THREAD (Sommer and Weiss, 1996), we hold the position that the link tying up the

⁹ As illustration for this metaphor, refer to sentences “Drinking is tied to liver cancer” and “What is the link between his cheating and his success?”

two trajectors in the spatial domain is analogically compared to a relation imposed on things.

Apart from the sense ‘to impose involvement with’, Southern Min *khan* has the sense ‘to establish connection with’. Observe (33) as follows:

(33) *Lí ētàng tshì khan suànn khuànn mǎi.*

You can try link line see

‘You can try to make brokerage.’

(你可以試牽線看看。)

As in (33), Southern Min *khan* encodes the acting of building the connection between two parties. *Khan tshintsiánn* ‘to build connection with’ (牽親情) is also an example for this sense. Likewise, we propose that this sense derivation relates to the metaphor AN EMOTIONAL RELATIONSHIP IS A DISTANCE BETWEEN TWO ENTITIES and the metaphor INTIMACY IS CLOSENESS (Kövecses, 2000). Specifically, on a par with Mandarin Chinese *qiān*, this meaning facet was derived from the sense ‘to physically link with’ through metaphorical operation with respect to human relationship. According to the human relationship metaphors, to build and steady the tie-up between two people is to make a linkage between two entities. Therefore, it follows naturally that Southern Min *khan* codes the act of establishing and securing the relationship between two people.

Now, we shall discuss the sense ‘to be in a relationship with’ of Southern Min *khan*. Let us take into consideration (34) as follows:

(34) *I kap Tiunn siótsiá tī leh khan.*

He and Zhang miss ASP ASP relate

‘He is in a relationship with Miss Zhang.’

(他和張小姐在交往。)

Aside from *khan* in (34), *khantshiú* ‘wives’ (牽手) is a good instance for the extension of this meaning. Relating to (34), the BEING IN A RELATIONSHIP IS LINKING metaphor¹⁰ serves to explain why *khan* encodes having a relationship with

¹⁰ In this metaphor, a relationship is viewed as a link. As illustration, consider the following quotations: “She was the glue that held our family together.” and “She glued herself to me all the day.” (Sommer and Weiss, 1996).

someone. This analogical mapping indicates that the relationship between two people is the link between two objects. On the basis of this metaphorical extension, it is more than plausible to say that this meaning was derived from the sense ‘to physically link with’.¹¹

Another sense of Southern Min *khan* is ‘to prevaricate or quibble by talking about unrelated topics’. We propose that the derivation of this sense was brought about by the metaphor COMMUNICATION IS LINKING.¹² Consider (35) as follow:

(35) *I tsintsiànn tsin gâu khandhua.*

He really very able quibble

‘He really knows how to quibble by talking about irrelevant topics’.

(他真的很會推託。)

The expression *khandhua* serves as a piece of evidence for the extension of the sense ‘to lengthen the link with’. The metaphor COMMUNICATION IS LINKING indicates that words or dialogues are viewed as paths or flows. Put differently, a dialogue can be seen as composed of distinct topics which are linked by pathways or streams. This

¹¹ Concerning *khantshiú* (牽手) and *khantshintsiânn* (牽親情), it must be noted that they evolved through different metaphorical extensions. In our view, Taiwanese *khantshiú* (牽手) encodes the sense “being in a relationship”. We assume that the expression was engendered from the sense “to physically link with” through the metaphor BEING IN A RELATIONSHIP IS LINKING. Furthermore, since “being in a relationship” is a stative situation, it is plausible to say that this meaning profiles the “stative” scene containing the focused link with the two entities. As for Taiwanese *khantshintsiânn* (牽親情), we hold the view that it was stemmed from the sense “to physically link with” by means of the metaphors AN EMOTIONAL RELATIONSHIP IS A DISTANCE and INTIMACY IS CLOSENESS. Although *khantshintsiânn* (牽親情) and *khantshiú* (牽手) were both derived from the concrete sense “to physically link with”, they should be differentiated. While *khantshiú* (牽手) encodes a state, *khantshintsiânn* (牽親情) portrays an act of trying to secure the connection between two. Thus, we suggest that *khantshintsiânn* (牽親情) sketches the dynamic scene where the two objects are being brought together through the linkage. The profile of the dynamics to shorten and secure the link symbolizes the intension to strengthen personal relations with others. Because of this, *khantshintsiânn* (牽親情) entails the attempt to steady the interpersonal connections.

¹² This metaphor can be exemplified by the following sentences: “She was veering downstream on the flow of his words.” and “...trying hard to follow the strange rabbit path of this dialogue...” (Sommer and Weiss, 1996).

metaphorical mapping helps clarify why Southern Min *khan* codes the act of linking a series of topics in the conversation as in (35).

5. Discussion

The comparison between Mandarin Chinese *qiān* and Southern Min *khan* indicates that the two morphemes developed different senses. Southern Min *khan* has engendered senses which Mandarin Chinese *qiān* does not have, such as ‘to endure’, e.g., *khanbán* (牽挽), ‘to promote’, e.g., *khansîng* (牽成), ‘to stir (starch)’, e.g., *khan kinn* (牽羹), ‘to quibble’, e.g., *khanthua* (牽拖), and ‘to be in a relationship with’, e.g., *khantshíú* (牽手). On the other hand, Mandarin Chinese *qiān* has the sense ‘to concern about’, e.g., *qiāngguà* (牽掛) which Southern Min *khan* does not possess. In order to clarify the differential sense extensions of the two morphemes, we provide two graphical representations as in Figures 15 and 16 respectively:

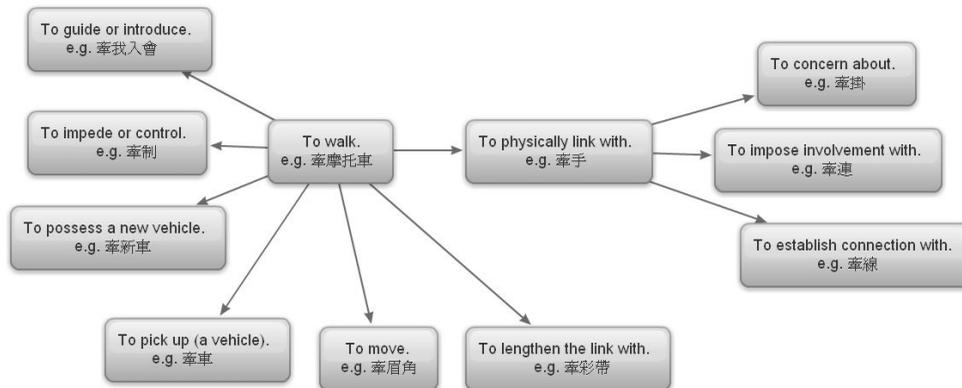


Figure 15: Sense Extension of Mandarin Chinese *qiān*

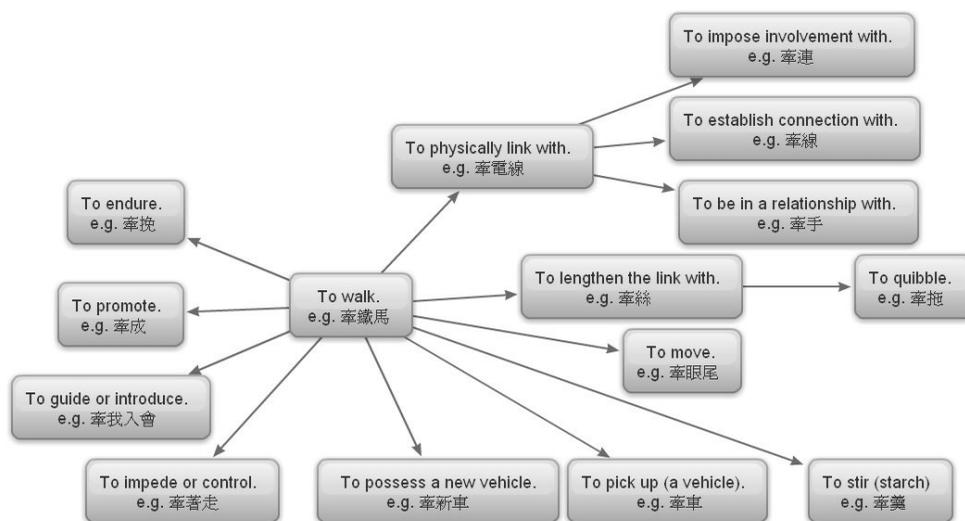


Figure 16: Sense Extension of Southern Min *khan*

As we have analyzed, the two morphemes have expanded their senses due to the work of metaphorical mappings and cognitive operations.

In this study, special cases of reference ambiguity are found in expressions containing Mandarin Chinese *qiān* and Southern Min *khan*. For instance, as we have demonstrated, Mandarin Chinese *qiān* in *qiān mótuōchē* (牽摩托車) is ambiguous among three readings. It can encode the act of walking a motorcycle, picking up a motorcycle, and possessing a new motorcycle. In our analysis, the sense ‘to walk a motorcycle’ is the source and the senses ‘to pick up a motorcycle’ and ‘to possess a new motorcycle’ were derived from the source via metaphorical mappings. Also, Southern Min *khan* in *khan suànn* (牽線) encodes an ambiguous reading. On one hand, it denotes the act of physically linking things. On the other hand, it encodes the act of establishing connection with someone. As we have analyzed, the sense ‘to physically link with’ is the source from which the sense ‘to establish connection with’ was engendered by means of a metaphorical extension. To sum up, the findings of this study reveal not only that a polysemous word develops senses which are distinct yet related but also that the extended senses may be ambiguous under some circumstances.

6. Conclusion

We have identified the sense extensions of Mandarin Chinese *qiān* and Southern Min *khan*. Yet, there are some other issues to explore in future studies. First, the results of this study remind us that we should discuss the English root word *duct* with its etymologically related words such as *educate*, *conduct*, *induct*, and *introduce*.¹³ *Duct* is a word which refers to a tube, pipe, or canal for fluid to pass through. It originated from Latin *ducere*, which refers to the act of leading. Words like *educate*, *conduct*, *induct*, and *introduce* are etymologically relevant to *duct* in that their Latin origins, namely *educere*, *conducere*, *inducere*, and *introducere*, were derived from *ducere* and share the sense ‘to lead forward’. *Educate* has the sense ‘to make better by teaching or schooling’. *Conduct* has multiple senses. It refers to the act of carrying out an activity, giving directions, behaving one in a particular way, allowing electricity or heat to travel, or taking one somewhere. *Induct* denotes the act of introducing one into an organization or officially giving one a job or position of authority at a special ceremony. *Introduce* encodes the act of telling one’s name to another in the first meeting, bring a new product or system into use for the first time, telling one an experience for the first time, speaking at the beginning of a public event, or making something a new start to happen. We suggest that future studies should evaluate whether metaphorical mapping plays a role in the sense derivation of these words.

Still, some interesting cases need to be addressed in further studies. First, *khan-kâu-á* (牽猴子) is a Southern Min expression referring to brokers. The lexical item *kâu* (猴) in this expression refers to the animal “monkey”. It remains unsettled as to why the expression makes reference to monkeys.¹⁴ One account is that the lexical unit (猴) was borrowed into the Pingpu language as the form of *kâu*, which referred to men. In other words, the expression *khan-kâu-á* originated from the Pingpu language. It denoted “men” who served as brokers and has nothing to do with monkeys. Another explanation holds that this expression originated from an ancient business practice that a man had a broker exchange his monkey with someone for something else. Since this

¹³ We thank one of the reviewers for raising this point.

¹⁴ Liu (2010) and Zhuang (2011) offer accounts for the origin of the expression *khan-kâu-á*.

broker had to walk the monkey around for the exchanger, the term *khan-kâu-á* meaning ‘walking the monkey’ was coined to encode the act of the broker. In addition to the case of *khan-kâu-á*, how the term *khan-gû* ‘longicorns’ (牽牛) came to be the name for the insect “longicorn” is still unclear. In a word, it is intriguing to probe into the historical origins of *khan-kâu-á* and *khan-gû*.¹⁵ Since this issue is beyond the scope of this study, we leave it for further research.

Last but not the least, a question yet to be addressed is the reference of the NP in Southern Min *khan* + NP expressions. As illustration, let us start with the expression *khan-hî* (牽魚). Literally, this expression conveys the meaning “to pull fish”. However, it actually refers to the act of pulling the fish net so as to catch fish. *Khan-hong* (牽風) is another example. *Khan-hong* has the literal sense ‘to pull wind’. However, it designates the act “pulling the rope attached to the fans so as to wave the fans and make wind move”. Aside from the two examples, *khan-ang-î* (牽尪姨) is another instance. The literal meaning of this expression is ‘to guide the woman psychic’. However, its actual reference is the act of guiding a ghost with the assistance of a woman psychic. In view of the three above-cited examples, we suggest that a study should be carried out to explore the cognitive foundation of the sense-reference mismatch in Southern Min *khan* + NP expressions.

The findings of this research add substantially to our understanding of language. Firstly, language is not a faculty independent of the other cognitive fields. That is, language cannot be fully understood without looking into our daily experiences and cognitive processes. Secondly, different speech communities have different cognitive operations in perceiving and interpreting a scene even though the languages are categorized into the same language family. The difference in views or perspectives contributes to distinct expansion routes of meaning.

¹⁵ Again, thanks must go to one of the reviewers for reminding us of the two expressions.

REFERENCES

- Chinese WordNet, <http://cwn.ling.sinica.edu.tw/>
- Clausner, T. C. and W. Croft (1997), "The Productivity and Schematicity of Metaphor," *Cognitive Linguistics*, 10, 1-31.
- Cooper, W. E. and J. R. Ross (1975), "World Order," in R. E. Grossman, L. J. San and T. J. Vance (eds.), *Functionalism*, 63-111, Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Croft, W. and D. A. Cruse (2004), *Cognitive Linguistics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fillmore, C. J. (1985), "Frame and the Semantics of Understanding," *Quaderni di Semantica*, 6, 222-254.
- Heine, B. (1997), *Cognitive foundations of grammar*, New York: Oxford University.
- Johnson, M. (1987), *The Body in the Mind*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kövecses, Z. (2000), *Metaphor and Emotion*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lakoff, G. (1987), *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G. (1993), "The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor," in A. Ortony (ed.), *Metaphor and Thought*, 202-251, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lakoff, G. and M. Johnson (1980), *Metaphors We Live By*, Chicago: University of Chicago University.
- Lakoff, G. and M. Tuner (1989), *More than Cool Reason*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Langacker, R. W. (1987), *Foundation of Cognitive Grammar I*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Liu, J.-R. (2010), *Webblog: Jiàu kàu - Catching a Cheating Spouse*. Retrieved February 24, 2012, from <http://taiwanlanguage.wordpress.com/2010/12/22/> 抓猴 (liáʔ- -kau ʔ-捉姦)
- Nesset, T. (2010), "Metaphorical Walking: Russian *idti* as a Generalized Motion Verb," in V. Hasko and R. erelmutter (eds.), *New Approaches to Slavic Verbs of Motion*, 349-359, Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Radden, G. (2002), "How Metonymic are Metaphors?" in R. Dirven and R. Pörings (eds.), *Metaphor and Metonymy in Comparison and Contrast*, 407-434, Berlin:

Mouton de Gruyter.

Reddy, M. (1993), "The Conduit Metaphor: A Case of Frame Conflict in our Language about Language," in A. Ortony (ed), *Metaphor and Thought*, 164-201, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Rosch, E. H. (1978), "Principles of Categorization," in E. H. Rosch and B. Lloyd (eds), *Cognition and Categorization*, 27-48, Hillsdale, New Jersey: Erlbaum.

Sommer, E. and D. Weiss (1996), *Metaphors Dictionary*, Detroit: Visible Ink Press.

Taiwanese Concordancer, <http://iug.csie.dahan.edu.tw/TG/concordance/form.asp>

Talmy, L. (1976), "Semantic Causative Types," in M. Shibatani (ed.), *The Grammar of Causative Constructions: Syntax and Semantics* 6, 1-40, New York: Academic Press.

Talmy, L. (1985), "Lexicalization Patterns: Semantic Structure in Lexical Forms," in T. Shopen (ed.), *Language and Typology and Syntactic Description*, 57-149, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Talmy, L. (1988), "Force Dynamics in Language and Cognition," *Cognitive Science*, 12, 49-100.

Talmy, L. (1991), "Path to Realization: A Typology of Event Conflation," in L. A. Sutton, C. Johnson and R. Shields (eds.), *Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society*, 480-520, Berkeley: Berkeley Linguistics Society.

Talmy, L. (2000), *Toward a Cognitive Semantics I: Conceptual Structuring Systems*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT press.

Ungerer, F. and H. Schmid (1996), *An Introduction to Cognitive Linguistics*, London: Longman.

Zhuang, S.-B. (2011), *Weblogs: Answering Taiwanese "Walking the Monkey"*. Retrieved February 24, 2012, from <http://hmt201.104es.com/customnews.php?id=11051200>

國語「牽」(Qiān)與閩南語「牽」(Khan) 之語意研究

李鴻麟*、蘇秋萍**

摘 要

本文從認知的觀點探索國語「牽」(qiān)及閩南語「牽」(khan)的多意性。我們發現雖然國語「牽」(qiān)及閩南語「牽」(khan)具有相同的語意，兩者也發展出了不同的意義。閩南語「牽」(khan)有國語「牽」(qiān)不具有的意義，像是「承受某事」、「提拔」、「攪動芡粉(以勾芡)」、「言詞推托」、「交往或具有男女關係」等涵義，而國語「牽」(qiān)亦有閩南語「牽」(khan)不具備的涵義，像是「關心」之語意即是。我們的結論是：語言並非是獨立於認知系統的一種能力。而且，我們證明了用於體驗外在世界的認知運作的確反應在語言系統上。

關鍵詞：認知、多意性、因果事件框架、框架語義學、連結模式、譬喻

* 通訊作者：國立臺灣藝術大學通識教育中心助理教授，E-mail: larryli@ntua.edu.tw。

** 崇右技術學院應用外語系講師。