A SEMANTIC STUDY OF THE CLASSIFIERS 只 *ZHĪ*, 个 *GÈ* AND 条 *TIÁO* IN MANDARIN AND THREE SOUTHERN CHINESE DIALECTS¹

Chanyaporn Chawla²

บทคัดย่อ

เป็นที่ยอมรับกันว่าคำลักษณนาม 个 *gè* เป็นคำลักษณนามทั่วไป (general classifier) ในภาษาพูดของภาษาจีนกลาง ปัจจุบัน อย่างไรก็ตาม คำลักษณนามดังกล่าวกลับไม่ได้นำมาใช้เป็นลักษณนามทั่วไปในภาษาจีนถิ่นอื่น กล่าวคือ ในภาษาจีนถิ่นใต้จะใช้คำลักษณนามเฉพาะ 只 *zhī* ที่ใช้ในภาษาจีนกลางมาเป็นคำลักษณนามทั่วไปแทน (Wang, 2008 (c): 279-281) นอกจากนี้ ในภาษาจีนถิ่นใต้บางถิ่น คำลักษณนาม 条 *tiáo* ก็มีการใช้ในวงกว้างและหลากหลาย คำลักษณนามทั้งหมดที่กล่าวถึงข้างต้นนี้มีลักษณะร่วมกัน

¹ (การศึกษาคำลักษณนาม 只 *zhī*, 个 *gè* และ 条 *tiáo* ในภาษาจีนกลางและภาษาจีนถิ่นใต้สามถิ่นตามแนววรรณคดี)

I wish to express my special thanks for the support of the Research Group on Cognitive-Typological Linguistics, Center of Excellence Program on Language, Linguistics and Literature, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok. Also, I wish to express my thanks to Assistant Professor Simon J.P. Wright and Acharn William Whorton for proofreading and valuable comments.

² (ชญญพร จาละลา) Assistant Professor, Department of Eastern Languages, Faculty of Arts, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok

ประการหนึ่งคือ สามารถใช้ร่วมกับคำนามได้หลากหลายประเภทในภาษาจีนกลางหรือภาษาจีนถิ่นใต้ไม่ว่าจะเป็น คน สัตว์ อวัยวะในร่างกาย สิ่งของเครื่องใช้ใน ชีวิตประจำวัน เป็นต้น ดังนั้น ในบทความนี้ผู้วิจัยสนใจจะศึกษาคำลักษณนามในภาษาจีน 3 คำ คือ 只 *zhī* 个 *gè* และ 条 *tiáo* ในภาษาจีนกลางและภาษาจีนถิ่นใต้ คือ ภาษาจีนแคะ ภาษาจีนแต้จิ๋ว และภาษาจีนกวางตุ้ง ผู้วิจัยใช้ทฤษฎีต้นแบบ (Rosch, 1978) และการสัมภาษณ์ โดยมีวัตถุประสงค์ของการวิจัยเพื่อแสดงให้เห็นถึงความแตกต่างของโลกทัศน์ของชาวจีนเหนือและชาวจีนใต้ผ่านการใช้คำลักษณนามทั้งสามคำ

Abstract

As we know, in spoken language, 个 *gè* is a commonly accepted general classifier³ in Modern Chinese. However, this is not the case for other dialects. In the Southern dialects, the specific classifier 只 *zhī* in Mandarin is adopted (Wang, 2008 (c): 279-281). Additionally, in certain Southern dialects, 条 *tiáo* has a wide range of uses. Thus, it can be said that all these individual classifiers share one common feature: all are often used with several kinds of common nouns, i.e. for persons, animals, body parts, objects of daily use, etc. Consequently, in this paper, I will explore the three Chinese classifiers 只 *zhī*, 个 *gè* and 条 *tiáo* in Mandarin, comparing them with the three other Southern dialects, namely Hakka, Chaozhou, and Cantonese, employing the prototype theory (Rosch, 1978) and interview technique, in order to reveal how

³ Classifiers (hereafter 'CLs')

Northern and Southern people view the world through these classifiers.

1. Introduction

This paper will investigate three individual classifiers (只 *zhī*, 个 *gè* and 条 *tiáo*) in Mandarin and three Southern dialects, namely Hakka, Chaozhou and Cantonese. I focus on elaborating the cognitive perspectives underlying the use of these three CLs by explaining their application. Through the Northern and the Southern people's use of CLs, I present a picture of the differences in their cognitive worldviews. This paper supports the view that human cognition and perception play an essential role in a language system, as Tai and Wang (1990) have indicated in their studies of the Chinese classifier 4 system. Additionally, according to Wu, S (1996), although the CL system across Chinese dialects contains great differences, these differences can be analyzed by means of a cognitive approach. In addition, this study employs the prototype theory of categorization in identifying the central and extended use of these individual CLs.

I gathered data in this study from twenty Chinese speakers (five participants per dialect).⁵ To ensure that the dialects they use are their mother tongues, all participants had to have been born and raised in Beijing (for Mandarin data), Meixian (for Hakka dialect data), Chaozhou (for Chaozhou dialect data), and Guangzhou (for Cantonese data). I asked each participant for personal

information and let them see some pictures and say the classifiers that were used with those words⁶. For abstract words, I gave them a list of words in Mandarin or Chinese dialects. Participants supplied the most appropriate CL used with the words given. Additionally, I took the phonetic transcriptions from *Hanyu Pinyin Fang'an* for Mandarin, and *Hanyu Fangyan Fayin Zidian* for the three Southern dialects.⁷

This paper consists of five sections: (1) introduction, (2) background to the study, (3) the CLs 只 *zhī*, 个 *gè*, and 条 *tiáo*, (4) 只 *zhī*, 个 *gè* and 条 *tiáo* in the three Southern dialects as compared to Mandarin, and (5) the conclusion.

2. Background to the Study: Related Literature

In the following section, I offer some information about the classification of Chinese dialects, and contrast the definition of CL with that of measure words. I will also discuss the prototype theory.

2.1 Classification of Chinese Dialects

Norman (1988) divides the Chinese dialects into the following three large groups: the Northern group coincides with the traditional Mandarin 北方 *Běifāng* (Mandarin) classification group; the Southern group includes the 客家 *Kèjiā* (Hakka), 粤 *Yuè* (Cantonese) and 閩

⁴ Classifier (hereafter 'CL')

⁵ See appendix I for background information on each participant

⁶ See appendix II for list of classifiers used by participants

⁷ For consistency reasons, Cantonese examples extract from other documents will use this phonetic transcription system to transcribe.

Mǐn groups (Hokkien), and the Central group includes the 吳 *Wú* (Shanghainese), 贛 *Gàn* (Jiangxinese) and 湘 *Xiāng* (Hunanese) groups, as shown in Figure 1.

2.2 Classifiers and Measure Words⁸

According to the traditional view, there is no difference between MW and CL⁹. For example, Chao (1968: 788) classifies MW into nine types. CL, or what he calls “the individual MW,” is counted as the first type. However, other researchers such as Greenberg (1972), Allan (1977), Tai and Wang (1990) and Cheng and Rint (1998) attempt to differentiate between the meanings of these two terms.

Detailed studies on CLs in languages can be found in Greenberg (1972) and Allan (1977). Greenberg’s study is based on data taken from a hundred CL languages; Allan’s is based on data taken from fifty CL languages. Both studies shed light on the concept of the CL in general linguistics.

⁸ Measure word (hereafter ‘MW’)

⁹After the Han period (漢 *Hàn*, 206 B.C. - 220 A.D.), the ‘number + (CL) + noun’ pattern emerged, but generally ‘number’ can directly be used with a noun. Later in the Weijin period (魏晉 *Wèi Jìn*, 220-420 A.D.) a noun cannot appear directly after a number, but a classifier is needed, forming the ‘number + CL + noun’ pattern (Guo, 2005: 36-38). Then, in the Tang Song dynasties (唐宋 *Táng Sòng*, 628-1279 A.D.), the ‘number + CL + noun’ pattern gained more popularity (Wu, Feng and Huang, n.d.: 1), for example, the classifier 張 *zhāng* developed rapidly in the Weijin dynasty reflecting its frequency and its expanded scope in classifying more objects. (Meng and Li, 2010: 472).

Greenberg’s hypothesis (1972: 34) focuses on the semantic universals of CLs but he recognizes that CLs are sometimes semantically redundant. Although Allan’s general ideas on CLs are fairly similar to Greenberg’s, they differ in some assumptions. Allan (1977: 285) says that “Classifiers denote some salient perceived or imputed characteristics of the entity to which an associated noun refers (or may refer).” Allan’s findings on seven categories of CLs have greatly influenced future work on CLs. His second criterion for defining CLs states that CLs have separate meanings although they seem to be a part of the reference nouns which they classify.

Tai and Wang (1990) point out that there is an important semantic distinction between CLs and MWs. CLs can only classify a limited and specific group of nouns, while MWs can be applied to a wide variety of nouns. Additionally, Cheng and Rint (1998: 12-14) argue that the difference between CLs and MWs is the CLs name the unit that the semantic representation of the noun naturally provides. Languages like Chinese, however, need the presence of a counter for the noun. In the case of mass nouns, these counters create their unit of counting, while in the case of count nouns, the counters simply name the unit that the noun’s semantic representation provides. The counters are called “CLs” because different nouns have different count-CLs, depending on the shape or any other property of the individual units that are characteristics inherent to the units. In Mandarin, for instance, long, tall things like humans are counted with the CL, 個 *gè*, which comes from the word meaning “bamboo” (箇 *gè*).

Figure 1 Map of Chinese dialect areas (Norman, 1988:184)

2.3 Prototype and Categorization

At the end of the 1970s, Eleanor Rosch created the so-called “prototype theory.” This new theory has some major differences from the classical theory. Rosch (1978: 14-15) demonstrates that categories have foundational examples called “prototypes” and different gradations of membership. For example, robins and sparrows are more typical than penguins in the bird category. In addition, human perception and mental capacity play a crucial role in categorization. In Rosch’s view of categorization, categories have clear boundaries and all members of a category share a common but necessary set of properties. Yet, it is difficult to explain the heterogeneous nature of the members within a certain category (Lakoff, 1987: 8). As demonstrated by Lakoff, the assignment of members into a category does not depend on similar objective properties but rather on human experience and cognition. Although prototype theory has its origins in psychology and not linguistics, it has proven useful in such areas as lexical semantics, phonology, syntax and historical linguistics (Geeraerts, 1989: 591). It has also been applied to matters of language pedagogy (Adamson, 1990:1-25).

3. The CLs 只 zhī, 个 gè, and 条 tiáo

3.1 The Classifier 只 zhī

3.1.1 只 zhī in Mandarin Chinese

According to prototype theory, nouns categorized by the CL 只 zhī can be divided into central members and their extensions.

Historically, 只 zhī developed into a CL denoting ‘bird’, as in:

“只，鸟一枚也。”《说文·隹部》

“Zhī, niǎo yī méi yě.” (Shuōwén: Zhuī bù)
Zhī bird one CL is (Shuowen¹⁰: Zhuī radical)

Zhī refers to one unit of bird.

Tan (1998: 87) explains that by combining the radical “bird” (隹) and the radical “hand” (又), we get the meaning of “one” or “single” (隻). This combination is used as a classifier for bird and animals. It was now been replaced by the simplified form 只 zhī.¹¹

Thus, in this paper, nouns denoting animate objects will be selected as central members of the CL 只 zhī.

3.1.1.1 只 zhī and Its Central Members

In Mandarin Chinese, 只 zhī can be used to denote animals as shown below:

¹⁰ *Shuo Wen* is also known as *Explaining Simple and Analyzing Compound Characters*. It is the oldest and one of the most important Chinese character compositions compiled by Xu Shen. (Theobald, 2010 In *Shuowen Jiezi*. Retrieved January 20, 2015, from <http://www.chinaknowledge.de/Literature/Science/shuowenjiezhi.html>).

¹¹ The simplified character is the standard written form used in Mainland China, while the traditional one is mainly employed in Taiwan.

- 1) 一只鸟 *yī zhī niǎo* “a bird,” 一只鸽子 *yī zhī gēzi* “a pigeon,” 一只鸡 *yī zhī jī* “a chicken,” 一只鸭 *yī zhī yā* “a duck,” 一只鹅 *yī zhī é* “a goose,” etc.

Tai and Wang (1990: 53) observe that the CL 匹 *pǐ*, usually used for a horse¹², is employed for other kinds of animals displaying a range in that category. This phenomenon is fairly similar to what we find with the CL 只 *zhī*. Historically, 只 *zhī* was first used with 鸟 *niǎo* “bird” as the prototype of fowl. Then, it was extended to name subordinate animate object of the basic-level word “bird,” such as 鸽子 *gēzi* “a pigeon.”

The data above illustrates that the CL 只 *zhī* in Mandarin Chinese can be used with ‘bird’ and has extended its scope to cover some fowl. Later, it expanded to include insects and animals that have legs regardless of size¹³, for example:

- 2) 一只蝴蝶 *yī zhī húdié* “a butterfly,” 一只蚊子 *yī zhī wénzi* “a mosquito,” 一只青蛙 *yī zhī qīngwā* “a frog,” 一只猫 *yī zhī māo* “a cat,” 一只狗 *yī zhī gǒu* “a dog,” 一只羊 *yī zhī yáng* “a lamb,” 一只牛 *yī zhī niú* “a cow,” 一只狮子 *yī zhī shīzi* “a lion”

However, some animals that are long and flexible, with or without legs, such as 鱼 *yú* “fish,” 蛇 *shé* “snake,” 百足虫 *bǎizúchóng* “centipede” are combined with the CL 条 *tiáo*.

¹² This CL can be used with ‘mule’, and ‘wolf’.

¹³ Some animals may use specific classifiers, for example, elephant, horse, mule, etc.

3.1.1.2 Extended use of 只 *zhī*

只 *zhī* at some unknown time then extended its meaning to include both animate and inanimate nouns. I will give a clearer picture of the extended use of 只 *zhī*.

In present-day usage, 只 *zhī* can be used not only with fowl, insects or animals that have legs but also with one of a symmetrical pair of human body parts. Based on the origin of 只 *zhī*, the development of its meaning from “single” to “a pair” is quite logical. For example:

- 3) 一只耳朵 *yī zhī ěrduō* “an ear,”¹⁴ 一只眼睛 *yī zhī yǎnjīng* “an eye,” 一只手 *yī zhī shǒu* “a hand,” 一只脚 *yī zhī jiǎo* “a foot”

只 *zhī* also developed its meaning to be used with things that are generally in pairs, as in example (4).

- 4) 一只耳环 *yī zhī ěrhuán* “an earring,” 一只袜子 *yī zhī wàzi* “a sock (a stocking),” 一只鞋 *yī zhī xié* “a shoe,” 一只手套 *yī zhī shǒutào* “a glove”

It should be noted that all of the examples in (4) refer to things worn on human body parts. For instance, 一只袜子 *yī zhī wàzi* or “one sock” is worn on a human foot or 一只手套 *yī zhī shǒutào* or “a glove” is worn on a human hand.

¹⁴ Some participants report that the CL 个 *gè* can be used with ‘ear’

3.1.2 The use of 只 zhī in Mandarin compared with its equivalents in three other dialects

只 zhī and how they extend its usage to cover other nouns. Let us analyze the data below:

In this section, I am going to discuss how the speakers of other dialects view the CL

Category	Examples	MD ¹⁵	HK	CZ	CT
1. Animal	Bird, chicken (fowl)	√	√	√	√
	Mosquito (insect)	√	√	√	√
	Rabbit, rat, cat	√	√	√	√
	Pig, deer		√	√	√
	Lamb, dog	√		√	√
	Horse			√	√
2. Human	Person, elder/younger brother, elderly people, student, thief		√		
3. Body parts	Hand, foot	√	√	√	√
	Mouth, nose, shoulder		√		
	Face				
	Ear	√	√		√
	Leg		√	√	
	Eye, finger, toe		√	√	√
4. Objects of daily use	Bowl, cup		√		√
	Vase, teapot, basket		√		
	Clock, pin, badge, abacus, flashlight, watches		√		
	Television, computer, lamp				
	Key		√		
	Washing machine, cell phone			√	
5. Transportation	Bicycle, motorcycle			√	
	Airplane			√	
6. Furniture	Chair, table, sofa			√	
	Drawer		√		
7. Construction	House		√		
	Temple, tomb				
	Pond		√		

¹⁵ ‘MD’ here stands for ‘Mandarin’, ‘HK’ stands for ‘Hakka dialect’, ‘CZ’ stands for ‘Chaozhou dialect’, and ‘CT’ stands for ‘Cantonese’.

8. Food and fruit	Watermelon, orange, apple, pumpkin		√		
	Steamed bun		√		
	Egg		√		√
	Bread, cake		√		
9. Abstract entity	Plan, News		√		
	Objective, story, joke story		√		
	Job		√		
	Ideal			√	

Table 1 The use of 只 *zhī* in Mandarin and three Southern dialects

From Table (1), we can summarize: Firstly, in Mandarin and the three Southern Chinese dialects, 只 can denote animals, particularly fowl, insects, small-sized animals and paired body parts (e.g. hand and foot). Secondly, based on my study. Unlike in Hakka, it is uncommon to use 只 with human beings in Mandarin, Cantonese and Chaozhou. For example, while one can say 一只学生 *yit⁵ zak⁵ hok⁶ sang¹* “a student” 一只阿哥 *yit⁵ zak⁵ a¹ go¹* “an elder brother” in the Hakka dialect, in Cantonese, when 只 is used with human beings it always carries a negative connotation. Examples are, 一只鸡 *jat¹ zek³ gai¹* “a prostitute” (expressing the speaker’s disapproval or hostility), or 一只鸭 *jat¹ zek³ app³* “male prostitute” (Matthew and Yip, 2002: 107). Thirdly, using 只 with objects of daily use in the Southern dialect, particularly in Hakka, is quite common, but this never occurs in Mandarin and the Chaozhou dialect. For example, we can use 只 *zak⁵* with “bowl,” and “cup” in the Hakka dialect and Cantonese. Fourthly, in the Chaozhou dialect, 只 *ziah⁴* can be used with furniture with legs. Examples in the Chaozhou dialect are: 一只椅 *zêg⁸ ziah⁴ in²* “a chair,” 一只饭床 *zêg⁸ ziah⁴ huêng⁶ ceng⁵* “a dining table.” Fifthly, 只 *zak⁵* can be used to refer to

construction in the Hakka dialect. For example, one can say: *yit⁵ zak⁵ vuk⁵* 一只屋 “a house”. Sixthly, in the Hakka dialect, it is quite common to use 只 *zak⁵* with food and fruit like “egg,” “watermelon,” and “orange.” For example, one can say: 一只鸡卵 *yit⁵ zak⁵ gai¹ lon³*. Additionally, based on my study, I have also found that 只 can be used with abstract entities in the Hakka and Chaozhou dialects. The Hakka dialect makes extensive use of 只 *zak⁵* in this sense. For example, one can use 只 *zak⁵* with “plan,” “news,” “story,” “objective, and “humorous story,” while in the Chaozhou dialect, 只 *ziah⁴* is only used with ‘ideal.’

To sum up, in Mandarin 只 *zhī* can be regarded as a general CL for fowl and small legged animals, and one of a symmetrical pair of either some human body part or item in a pair. However, the application of 只 seems to be more flexible in the Southern dialects, especially in Hakka dialect. 只 *zak⁵* in Hakka can be viewed as a near-universal CL which has the widest scope of usage compared with Cantonese and Chaozhou.

3.2 The classifier 个 *gè*

3.2.1 个 *gè* in Mandarin Chinese

Wang (1996a, 1996b) examines the history of 个 *gè* and finds that 个 *gè* originated from 丰 * *kai* in Jiaguwen (甲骨文 *Jiǎgǔwén* “oracle bone”) and 介 *jiè* in the Pre-Qin dynasty. Wang explicitly points out that apart from 介 *jiè*, 匹 *pǐ* and 枚 *méi*, 个 *gè* is one of the oldest commonly used CLs in historical Chinese. Furthermore, although 个 *gè* has kept its popularity as a general CL in modern times, this has not always been the case throughout history. For example, between the Wei Jin and the Tang periods (唐 *Táng*, 618-907 A.D), 枚 *méi* originated and was used more often than 个 *gè* but declined gradually and has almost disappeared in modern times. On the other hand, 个 *gè* has grown into the most commonly used general CL in modern times. In addition, Wang also indicates that there are three different characters, 個 *gè*, 个 *gè* and 箇 *gè* for the same CL 个 *gè* in Chinese which are treated as free-variations for one single CL by many scholars. The other two, 个 *gè* and 個 *gè*, appeared later. 箇 *gè* means “bamboo” in ancient Chinese and was originally used as a specific CL for “bamboo”.

Besides Wang, the origin of 箇 / 個 *gè* is traced in *The Metaphor for language change - diachronic development of duo 朵* (Li, 2003). This study shows that the historical development of the CL 箇 / 個 *gè* “unit of bamboo” had several stages. In the first stage, 个 *gè* only categorized entities

associated with special image schemas¹⁶. In the second stage, 个 *gè* was broadened to associate with more generalized image schemas, and began to include other stick-like entities such as 矢 *shǐ* “arrow.” During the third stage, 个 *gè* progressed to a very broad level of association with almost abstract unit schemas, so that 个 *gè* began to include in its categorization almost all entities concrete or abstract.

Wu, T (2010:105) further explains the historical development of 个 *gè*, giving some examples of 个 *gè* used with bamboo and arrow as in examples (1) and (2) below:

- 1) 今有出钱一万三千五百买竹二千三百五十个。《九章算术》

Jīn yǒu chū qián yīwàn sānqiān wǔbǎi mǎi zhú èrqiān sānbǎi wǔshí gè.
(*Jiǔzhāng Suànshù*)

Today I paid thirteen thousand five hundred to buy two thousand three hundred and fifty bamboos. (The Nine Chapters¹⁷)

- 2) 負矢五十个。《荀子》

Fù shǐ wǔshí gè. (*Xúnzi*)

Carry fifty arrows. (Xunzi book)

From the examples above, we can see that in ancient Chinese 个 *gè* originated as a noun and then become a CL for bamboo and

¹⁶ Image schema is a mental patterning function that acts as a source domain in metaphor and provides an understanding of various experiences (Johnson 1987, 2–4)

¹⁷ Chinese Text Project (<http://ctext.org/nine-chapters/ens>)

arrow. Liu, Cao and Wu (1980) claim that after the Wei-Jin period, 个 *gè* developed its meaning to become a general CL, which is used to denote all kinds of entities, both abstract and concrete. Because 个 *gè* is combined with the concrete radical 人 *rén* “person”, I will choose nouns denoting concrete entities as central members of 个 *gè*.

3.2.1.1 个 *gè* and its central members

In Mandarin Chinese 个 *gè* can be used to denote human beings and higher supernatural and lower supernatural beings as shown in (3).

- 3) 一个人 *yī gè rén* “a person,” 一个鬼 *yī gè guǐ* “a ghost,” 一个神 *yī gè shén* “a god”
个 *gè* also expanded its scope to refer to human body parts, as shown in (4).

- 4) 一个肩膀 *yī gè jiānbǎng* “a shoulder,” 一个鼻子 *yī gè bízi* “a nose,” 一个耳朵 *yī gè ěrduō* “an ear”

The examples in (4) show human body parts that can be used with 个 *gè*. However, body parts like 嘴 *zuǐ* “mouth” and 脸 *liǎn* “face” have their own specific CL, 张 *zhāng*, which is used for flat objects. Also, a body part that has a long salient property like 腿 *tuǐ* “leg” will use the CL 条 *tiáo*.

Next, 个 *gè* is used to classify objects of daily use, the natural environment and edible

items, as in (5).

- 5) 一个碗 *yī gè wǎn* “a bowl,” 一个篮子 *yī gè lánzi* “a basket,” 一个湖 *yī gè hú* “a lake,” 一个水池 *yī gè shuǐchí* “a pond,” 一个苹果 *yī gè píngguǒ* “an apple,” 一个包子 *yī gè bāozi* “a steamed bun”

In (5) above, 碗 *wǎn* “bowl,” and 篮子 *lánzi* “basket” are objects of daily use. 湖 *Hú* “lake,” and 水池 *shuǐchí* “pond” are parts of the natural environment; while 苹果 *píngguǒ* “apple,” and 包子 *bāozi* “steamed bun” are things that humans eat.

However, the classifications given in (5) may not include all concrete entities that employ 个 *gè* as their CL because there are many entities that can be classified by 个 *gè*. Moreover, it should be noted that most of the nouns mentioned above do not have any specific CLs. That is why Mandarin speakers use 个 *gè* to classify them.

Category	Examples	MD	HK	CZ	CT
1. Human	Person, elder/younger brother, elderly, student, thief	√		√	√
2. Body parts	Nose	√		√	√
	Shoulder	√			√
	Face, mouth			√	
3. Objects of daily use	Bowl, cup	√		√	
	Television	√		√	
	Vase, basket, teapot, abacus, flashlight	√		√	√
	Watches			√	√
	Bedsheet			√	
	Pin, washing machine, computer, cell phone	√			
	Key			√	
4. Furniture	Sofa	√			
6. Construction	Hotel, bookstore, restroom, classroom, company, theatre, tomb, door	√			
	Public square	√	√	√	√
	Lake	√			√
	Pond	√		√	√
7. Food and fruit	Orange	√			√
	Watermelon, apple, carrot	√		√	√
	Egg	√			
	Steamed bun, bread	√		√	√
	Cake	√			√
8. Abstract entity	Plan, objective, suggestion	√		√	√
	Story, humorous story	√		√	√
	Riddle	√	√		√
	Ideal	√	√		√
	Life				
	Job	√		√	

Table 2 The use of 个 gè in Mandarin and three Southern dialects

Category	Examples	MD	HK	CZ	CT
1. Human	Person				√
2. Animal	Dog	√	√		
	Horse, lamb		√		
	Worm, snake, fish	√	√	√	√
3. Body parts	Leg	√			√
	Wrinkle	√	√	√	√
	Hair		√	√	√
	Tail	√	√	√	√
4. Clothes	Trousers, skirt, scarf, necktie	√	√	√	√
	Towel	√		√	√
5. Natural environment	River	√	√	√	√
	Lake			√	
6. Construction	Road	√	√	√	√
	Bridge		√		√
7. Food and fruit	Vegetable		√		
	Carrot		√		√
	Long bean		√	√	√
8. Abstract entity	Life, news	√	√	√	√
	Riddle	√		√	
	Story		√		

Table 3 The use of 条 *tiáo* in Mandarin and three southern dialects

3.2.1.2 Extended use of 个 *gè*

The classifier 个 *gè* can be used to denote abstract entities, as shown in example (6)

- 6) 一个目的 *yī gè mùdì* “an objective,” 一个理想 *yī gè lǐxiǎng* “an ideal,” 一个计划 *yī gè jìhuà* “a plan,” 一个笑话 *yī gè xiàohuà* “a humorous story”

Generally, 个 *gè* can be viewed as a near-universal CL because it can be used with a great number of nouns referring to all sorts of concrete and abstract entities. Next, *gee* has come to replace or reclassify certain other CLs, for example,

- 7) 一只/个耳朵 *yī zhī / gè ěrduō* “an ear,” 一只/个鸟 *yī zhī / gè niǎo* “a bird,” 一座/个寺庙 *yī zuò / gè sìmiào* “a temple,” 一家/个工厂 *yī jiā / gè gōngchǎng* “a factory”

3.2.2 The use of 个 *gè* in Mandarin compared with its equivalents in three other dialects

Table (2) below presents how native speakers of other Southern dialects categorize entities used with 个 *gè*.

From Table (2) above, we can summarize: Firstly, 个 is used as a general classifier in

Mandarin to classify both concrete and abstract entities. It is used to denote human beings and their body parts in Mandarin and two other Southern dialects, namely; Chaozhou and Cantonese. Secondly, based on my study, the Hakka dialect does not choose 个 with nouns associated with ‘objects of daily use (e.g. bowl, cup), furniture (e.g. sofa), or electrical appliances (e.g. television, washing machine)’ Thirdly, 个 is employed to reclassify nouns denoting buildings in Mandarin as in 教室 *jiàoshì* “classroom,” 书店 *shūdiàn* “bookstore” and 墳墓 *fénmù* “tomb” which are normally used with the CLs 间 *jiān*, 家 *jiā*, and 座 *zuò*, respectively. This circumstance is rarely found in the Southern dialects because Southern people prefer to use specific CLs over 个. However, based on my study, 个 is used with “public square” in all dialects. However, it is also used with “lake” only in Cantonese. Fourthly, Mandarin, and Cantonese use 个 to name round-shaped fruit like “orange.” In this case, 个 and 只 are interchangeable in Cantonese, and Hakka speakers use 只 instead of 个, whereas Chaozhou speakers select 粒 *liè*⁸ as the associated CL for small and round-shaped fruit. Lastly, all dialects can use 个 to denote abstract entities.

3.3 The classifier 条 *tiáo*

3.3.1 条 *tiáo* in Mandarin Chinese

Zhang and Liu (1991) provide us with some important information on the historical development of 条 *tiáo*, stating that 条 *tiáo*

originated as a noun¹⁸, meaning 小枝 *xiǎo zhī* “twig” as in example (8):

8) “遵彼汝坟，伐其条枚。”《诗经·周南》

Zūn bǐ Rú fén, fá qí tiáo méi. (Shījīng: Zhōunán)

Follow the dam on the river Ru, then cut the twig. (The Book of Songs¹⁹: Zhounan) Then, 条 *tiáo* developed to mean “long” as in example (9).

9) 故木之大者害其条。《淮南子·詮言》

Gù mù zhī dà zhě hài qí tiáo. (Huáinánzi: Quányán)

Cut the twig of the big tree. (Huainanzi, Quanyan)

In examples (8) and (9), we can see that 条 *tiáo* originated from “twig” and then expanded to become an adjective, meaning “long.” Thus, nouns denoting long shaped objects are chosen as central members of the CL 条 *tiáo* in this study.

3.3.1.1 条 *tiáo* and its central members

¹⁸ In the beginning of the Eastern Han period (东汉 Dōng Hàn, 25 - 220 A.D.), 条 *tiáo* grammaticalized from a noun to be a classifier (Chen, 2013: 85)

¹⁹ *Shijing* is also known as *The Book of Songs*. It assembled 305 works of Chinese poetry in the Zhou period (周 Zhōu, 1050-221B.C.) (Theobald, 2010 In *Shijing*. Retrieved December 11, 2014, from <http://www.chinaknowledge.de/Literature/Classics/shijing.html>).

In Mandarin, 条 *tiáo* can be used to denote long-shaped objects such as in:

- 10) 一条胡萝卜 *yī tiáo húluóbo* “a carrot,”
一条青豆 *yī tiáo qīngdòu* “a long bean,”
一条桥 *yī tiáo qiáo* “a bridge,” 一条路 *yī tiáo lù* “a road”

We treat this group as the central members of 条 *tiáo* because it has a long shape salient property. Now let us compare the data in (11) below:

- 11) 一条绳子 *yī tiáo shéngzi* “a rope,” 一条裤子 *yī tiáo kùzi* “trousers,” 一条毛巾 *yī tiáo máojīn* “a towel,” 一条电线 *yī tiáo diànxiàn* “a wire”

We can see that (10) and (11) refer to long shaped objects. However, we can distinguish (10) from (11) by classifying them regarding rigidity and flexibility. For example, in (10) 一条胡萝卜 *yī tiáo húluóbo* “a carrot” has a long shape and is rigid, whereas

- (11) 一条绳子 *yī tiáo shéngzi* “a rope”
although long is also flexible and we can twist it. Now let us examine the following data:

- 12) 一条河 *yī tiáo hé* “a river,” 一条江 *yī tiáo jiāng* “a river”

Although these two items discussed in (12) have a long shape, we cannot group them in (10) and (11) because they contain linear and depth attributes.

As discussed above, 条 *tiáo* developed from a noun to a CL, and it is used to refer to long shaped objects. Now, we can see why 条

tiáo is employed to name animals and their body parts along with human beings and their body parts. Below are lists of their members:

- 13) 一条虫 *yī tiáo chóng* “a worm,” 一条蛇 *yī tiáo shé* “a snake,” 一条狗 *yī tiáo gǒu* “a dog,” 一条鱼 *yī tiáo yú* “a fish”
14) 一条腿 *yī tiáo tuǐ* “a leg,” 一条皱纹 *tiáo zhòuwén* “a wrinkle,” 一条好汉 *yī tiáo hǎohàn* “a hero,” 一条尾巴 *yī tiáo wěiba* “a tail”

We can see from (13) and (14) that 条 *tiáo* is used with long shaped animals, human beings and body parts of animals and humans. For example, 一条狗 *yī tiáo gǒu* “a dog” is an animal, while 一条尾巴 *yī tiáo wěiba* “a tail” is a body part of a dog. Let us see the lists in (14) 一条好汉 *yī tiáo hǎohàn* “a hero,” while 一条腿 *yī tiáo tuǐ* “a leg” is a human body part.

3.3.1.2 Extended use of 条 *tiáo*

条 *tiáo* can be used to classify not only concrete entities but also abstract ones. Consider example (15):

- 15) 一条建议 *yī tiáo jiànyì* “a suggestion,”
一条人命 *yī tiáo rén mìng* “a human life”

The members of group (15) can be viewed as abstract objects. Tai and Wang (1990) give a good explanation that the metaphorical extension is based on human imagination and creativity.

It can be said that 条 *tiáo* is used to refer to long objects but this does not mean that all long shaped objects can use 条 *tiáo*. Apart from 条 *tiáo*, there are still some CLs that can denote long shaped attributes in Mandarin, as shown in (16).

- 16) 一棵树 *yī kē shù* “a tree,” 一根筷子 *yī gēn kuàizi* “a chopstick,” 一枝笔 *yī zhī bǐ* “a pen,” 一支歌 *yī zhī gē* “a song”

All of the items in (16) have a long shaped property but we can select different CLs to use with them. 棵 *kē* is a special CL for ‘tree’. For 根 *gēn*, 枝 *zhī* and 支 *zhī*, Tai and Wang (1990: 35-56) explain that 根 *gēn* and 条 *tiáo* overlap considerably. However, 条 *tiáo* can be extended from being used with three-dimensional objects to being used with one or two dimensional objects. Moreover, they explicitly indicate that 支 *zhī* first appeared to mean “a tree branch.” Later, as 支 *zhī* was extended to mean “division,” 枝 *zhī* was added to stand for “tree branch.”²⁰

3.3.2 The use of 条 *tiáo* in Mandarin compared with its equivalents in three other dialects

Next, I am going to demonstrate how speakers of the other three dialects view the CL 条 *tiáo* and how they have extended its use to refer to other objects.

From Table (3) above, we can summarize: firstly, Cantonese speakers perceived 条 *tiu*⁴

differently as, impolite by the normal polite Chinese standard, for example, 你条女 *nei⁵ tiu⁴ nei⁵* “your girlfriend (slang)” or 你条菜 *nei⁵ tiu⁴ coi³* “your girlfriend (vulgar)” (Matthew and Yip, 2002: 107). Furthermore, it should be noted that Cantonese speakers also use 只 *zek³* in this sense. Secondly, all dialects use 条 with long-shaped animals like “snake”. However, this classifier is dominant in the Hakka dialect because Hakka people also use 条 *tiau²* with “horse” and “dog.” Thirdly, Mandarin, and all Southern dialects in this study use 条 for “wrinkle” and “tail”. It is used for “hair” in all Southern dialects in this study, while 条 is used with “leg” in Mandarin and Cantonese. Thus, I can summarize that for the body part group in this study, Cantonese extensively employs the CL 条 *tiu⁴*. Fourthly, in all dialects, people use 条 to classify long thin objects (i.e. trousers, scarf, river) but not “bridge”. This case is understandable because they have certain special CLs which are 座 and 个 to group them. Surprisingly, for the food and fruit category, though some contain long-shaped properties, Mandarin speakers do not choose CL 条 *tiáo* to classify them. Lastly, concerning abstract entities, all dialects use 条 for “life” and “news.” However, only the Chaozhou dialect selects 条 to classify “riddle” and Hakka selects it to classify “story.”

4. 只 *zhī*, 个 *gè* and 条 *tiáo* in other Southern dialects as compared to Mandarin

Tai (1990: 308-322) points out that CL systems vary considerably across Chinese dialects. The specific CLs are different from

²⁰ See Tai and Wang (1990) for a more refined analysis on the differences among 根 *gēn*, 枝 *zhī* and 支 *zhī*.

dialect to dialect and the general CLs in different dialects also differ from each other significantly.

Let us now illustrate the semantic contrast between 只 *zhī*, 个 *gè* and 条 *tiáo* in Mandarin and the three Southern dialects by using the classification that follows:

Dialect	Category		
	Animate		Inanimate
	Human	Non-human (animal)	
Mandarin	个	只, 个, 条	只, 个, 条
Hakka	只, 个	只, 个, 条	只, 个, 条
Chaozhou	个	只, 个, 条	只, 个, 条
Cantonese	个, 只, 条	只, 个, 条	只, 个, 条

Table 4 只 *zhī*, 个 *gè* and 条 *tiáo* in others Southern dialects as compared to Mandarin

As can be seen in the table above, the CLs 只, 个 and 条 can be used with animate and inanimate entities in Mandarin and the three Southern dialects. Now, let us take a look at the differences in their use. We can see that only in Cantonese can the CLs 只, 个 and 条 be used to classify both animate entities, especially human ones, and inanimate entities. Next, if we look at the animate class, at least three findings are revealed. Firstly, 个 *gè* is used with humans in all dialects. Secondly, in the Southern dialects, except Chaozhou, it is common to use 只 when referring to human beings. Perhaps, this is because the speakers in these two dialects view humans as animals in that both are living creatures. Finally, although Mandarin

and Cantonese use the CL 条 to denote humans, this does not mean that they express is the same meaning. Simply stated, when 条 *tiáo* is used in Mandarin, it has a positive connotation. For example, 一条好汉 *yī tiáo hǎohàn* “a hero”. On the other hand, when it is used in Cantonese, it is always used in slang expressions, for example, 我条仔 *ngo⁵ tiu⁴ zai²* “my boyfriend (vulgar)” (Matthew and Yip, 2002: 106). In the non-human (animal) and inanimate columns, all the dialects select all the CLs, 只, 个 and 条.

The diagrams below show the appearance of these three classifiers with their objects in Mandarin and the three Southern dialects in this study.

5. Conclusion

Based on my observations, I have demonstrated the conceptual structure of the three individual CLs 只 *zhī*, 个 *gè* and 条 *tiáo* in Mandarin and the three Southern dialects by employing the prototype theory. This study represents one aspect of how people in the North and South view the world through their categorization. As Shi (2001: 34) stated: “The classification of Chinese classifiers and the establishment of its amount is not random, in contrast, it profoundly reflects the characteristics of categorization of the Han people.” I conclude that these three CLs have their unique characteristics and can be used with both concrete and abstract entities.

I have also found that some words in Mandarin and all the Southern dialects in this study can employ more than one classifier. For example, the words “pig, deer, news, story” in the Hakka dialect can be used with both 只 *zak*⁵ and 条 *tiau*². In Mandarin, one can use the CLs 只 *zhī* and 条 *tiáo* with “dog”; and 个 *gè* and 只 *zhī* with “ear”. In the Chaozhou dialect, the word “watermelon” can be used with both 粒 *lieb*⁸ and 个 *gai*⁵. Also, in Cantonese, one can use 个 *go*³ and 粒 *lap*¹ with “pin”. This phenomenon may lead to a change of CL in the near future because one CL may compete with another and gain more popularity, while the other may disappear.

Although the CL system in Mandarin Chinese differs from those in the other three

Southern dialects, it can be analyzed by means of the prototype principle. Hopefully, this study will not only give a clearer picture of differences in the three CLs among dialects but it will also be useful to Chinese language learners who are interested in the CL system.

References

- Adamson, Hugh Douglas. 1990. *Prototype Schemas, Variation Theory, and the Structural Syllabus*. International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching. 28: 1-25.
- Allan, Keith. 1977. Classifiers. *Journal of the Linguistics Society of America*. 53: 285-311.
- Chao, Yuenren. 1968. *A Spoken Grammar of Chinese*. London: University of California Press.
- Chen, Ran. 2013. The Origin and Development of the Classifier “Tiao.” *Journal of Suihua University*, 35, 3: 85-89.
- Cheng, Lisa and Rint, Sybesma. 1998. *Classifiers in Four Varieties of Chinese*. Retrieved April 15, 2013 from www.cbs.polyu.edu.hk/tang
- Chinese Text Project. 九章算术 - *The Nine Chapters*. Retrieved January 20, 2015 from <http://ctext.org/nine-chapters/ens>
- Geeraerts, Dirk. 1989. *Introduction: Prospects and Problems of Prototype Theory*. *Linguistics*, 27: 587-612.
- Greenberg, Joseph. 1972. *Nominal Classifiers and Substantial Number: Problems in the Genesis of a Linguistic Type*. Working Papers in Language Universals. Stanford, California: Stanford University, 9: 1- 39.
- Guo, Xiliang. 2005. *Works on the History of Chinese*. Beijing: Shangwu Publishing House.
- Hanyu Fangyan Fayin Zidian. n.d. Retrieved November 20, 2015 from <http://cn.voicedic.com/>
- Johnson, Mark. 1987. *The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, George. 1987. *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal About the Mind*. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Li, Yingche. 2003. *Lotus Blossoming from the Tongue: A Metaphor for Language Change— Diachronic Development of Duo (Flower) and Other Morpheme from the Cognitive Perspective*. International Conference on Research and Pedagogy in Classical Chinese and Chinese Language History, March 28-29, 2003. Columbia University.
- Liu Jian, Cao Guangshun and Wu Fuxiang. 1980. *Historical development of Ge*. Beijing: Zhongguo Yuwen.
- Matthew, Stephen and Virginia Yip. 2002. *Cantonese: Comprehensive Grammar*. Great Britain: Lightning Source UK Ltd.

- Meng, Fanjie and Li Rurong. 2010. The Origin and Development of the Classifier "Zhang". *Chinese Language*, 5: 469-480.
- Norman, Jerry. 1988. *Chinese*. United Kingdom: The University Press, Cambridge.
- Rosch, Eleanor. 1978. Principles of Categorization In E. Rosch & B. B. Lloyd (Eds.), *Cognition and Categorization*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum. Reprinted in: Margolis, E. and Laurence, S. (Eds.) (1999). *Concepts: Core Readings*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Shi, Yuzhi. 2001. The Cognitive Foundations of the Shape Based Classifiers in Modern Chinese. *Language Teaching and Linguistic Studies*, 1: 34-41.
- Tai, James Huang. 1990. *Variation in Classifier Systems across Chinese Dialects: Towards a Cognition-Based Semantic Approach*. In: Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Chinese Languages and Linguistics, pp. 308-322.
- Tai, James Huang and Wang, Lianqing. 1990. A Semantic Study of the Classifier Tiao. *Journal of the Chinese Language Teachers Association*, 25: 35-56.
- Tan, Huay Peng. 1998. *What's in a Chinese Character*. Singapore: Federal Publications.
- Theobald, Ulrich. 2010. 诗经 [Book of Songs]. Retrieved December 11, 2014, from <http://www.chinaknowledge.de/Literature/Classics/shijing.html>
- _____. 2010. 说文解字 [Explaining Simple and Analyzing Compound Characters]. Retrieved January 20, 2015, from [http://www.chinaknowledge.de/Literature/ Science/shuowenjiezi.html](http://www.chinaknowledge.de/Literature/Science/shuowenjiezi.html)
- Wang, Lianqing (a).1996. *Origin of Classifiers in Proto-Chinese*. (Chapter 3) Retrieved April 8, 2011 from <http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~whu/China/origin.doc>
- Wang, Lianqing (b). 1996. *On the Indigeness of Chinese Classifiers*. (Chapter 4) Retrieved April 8, 2011 from <http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~whu/China/native.doc>
- Wang Lianqing (c). 2008. Historical and Dialectal Variants of Chinese General Classifiers on the Criteria of General Classifiers. Proceeding of the 20th North American Conference on Chinese Linguistics (NACCL-20), 1, 279-283.
- Wu Fuxiang, Feng Shengli and Huang Zhengde. n.d. *The Origin of the Construction "Numeral+Classifier+Noun" in Chinese* (Manuscript). Retrieved April 8, 2011 from http://isites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic66274.files/Wu_Feng_Huang.2006.classifiers.pdf
- Wu, Suemei.1996. *The Classifier zuo 座, Jian 間 and Suo 所 in Mandarin Chinese* Retrieved April 10, 2011 from [http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~whu/ China/zuo.html](http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~whu/China/zuo.html)

Wu, Tingting. 2010. 量词“个”的历时发展及其表量泛化的原因分析 [The Historical Development of the Classifier “ge” and its Generalization Reason]. 《文学界 (理论版)》 [*Literatures (Theory Version)*], 8, 105-106.

Used Ancient Phonetic Loan Characters]. Dongbei: Dongbei Press.

Zhang, Jun and Liu Naishu. 1991. 古汉语多用通假字典 [*Dictionary of Commonly*

Appendix I Participants information

Language /dialect	Participant	Gender	Age	Birthplace	Other dialects participants can speak
Mandarin	A	Female	31	Beijing	-
	B	Female	30	Beijing	-
	C	Female	34	Beijing	-
	D	Female	39	Beijing	-
	E	Female	61	Beijing	-
Hakka	F	Female	44	Meixian	Mandarin
	G	Female	40	Meixian	-
	H	Female	39	Meixian	-
	I	Female	53	Meixian	Mandarin
	J	Male	40	Meixian	-
Chaozhou	K	Male	24	Shantou	Mandarin
	L	Male	26	Shantou	Mandarin
	M	Female	28	Shantou	Mandarin
	N	Female	36	Shantou	-
	O	Female	35	Shantou	-
Cantonese	P	Female	45	Guangzhou	-
	Q	Female	43	Guangzhou	-
	R	Female	38	Guangzhou	Mandarin, Hakka
	S	Female	44	Guangzhou	-
	T	Female	44	Guangzhou	-

Appendix II List of classifier used by participants

Category	Word list	Mandarin	Hakka	Chaozhou	Cantonese
Human being	Person	个(5),口(2)	只(5),个(1)	个(5)	个(5),只(3),条(3)
	Elder/younger brother	个(5)	只(5),个(1)	个(5)	个(5)
	Thief	个(5)	只(5),个(1)	个(5)	个(5)
	Elderly	个(5),位(4)	只(5),个(1)	个(5)	个(3),位(2)
	Student	个(4),名(3)	只(5),个(1)	个(5)	个(5)
	Bird	只(5)	只(5)	只(5)	只(5)
	Mosquito	只(4),个(1)	只(5)	只(5)	只(5)

Animal	Pig	头(3),只(2), 口(2)	只(4),条(4),头 (1)	只(4),头(1)	只,头(1)
	Dog	条(4),只(3)	条(5),头(1),只 (1)	只(5)	只(5)
	Horse	匹(5)	条(5),头(1),只 (1)	只(4),匹(1)	匹(1),只(3), 头(1)
	Sheep	只(4),头(2)	条(5),头(1),只 (1)	只(4),头(1)	只(4),头(1)
	Rat	只(5)	只(5),头(1),条 (1)	只(5)	只(5)
	Cat	只(5)	只(3),条(2)	只(5)	只(5)
	Deer	只(1),头(4)	只(5),条(3)	只(4),头(3)	只(5)
	Rabbit	只(5)	只(5)	只(5)	只(5)
	Snake	条(5)	条(5)	条(5)	条(5)
	Fish	条(5),尾(1)	条(5),尾(4)	条(3),尾(5)	条,只(1)
	Chicken	只(5)	只(5)	只(5)	只(5)
	Worm	条(4),只(2), 个(1)	条(5),只(2)	条(5)	条(5)
Food and fruit	Vegetable	棵(3),种(1), 类(1)	条(3),把(2),	棵(3),把(3)	棵(3),堆(1), 样(1)
	Egg	个(5)	只(4),个(1)	粒(5),个(1)	只(5)
	Cake	个(3),块(4)	只(4),个(1)	块(4),个(1)	个(5),旧
	Bread	个(3),块(2), 片(2)	只(4),片(1),个 (1)	个(5),条(1)	个(4),块(1), 只(1)
	Steamed bun	个(4)	只(4),片(1),个 (1)	个(5)	个(4)
	Pumpkin	个(5),片(1), 块(1)	只(4),个(1)	个(3),粒(2)	个(4),只(1)
	Watermelon	个(5),块(1)	只(4),个(1)	个(3),粒(3)	个(4),只(1)
	Orange	个(4),只(1)	只(5)	粒(5),个(3)	个(4),只(1)
	Apple	个(4),只(1)	只(5)	个(3),粒(3)	个(4),只(2)
	Carrot	个(1),根(4)	条(5)	个(5)	条(3),个(2)
	Long bean	根(3),个(1), 条(1)	条(5)	条(3),片(2)	条(3),粒(1)
	Hand	只(5)	只(5)	只(5)	只(5)
	Foot	只(5)	只(5)	只(5)	只(5)

Body part	Nose	个(5)	只(4),个(1)	个(5)	个(5),只(1)
	Ear	个(3),只(3)	只(4),个(1)	个(2),只(1)	只(4)
	Eye	个(2),只(3)	只(5)	只(4)	只(4)
	Finger	根(3),个(2), 只(1)	只(5)	只(5)	只(5)
	Toe	根(3),个(2), 只(1)	只(5)	只(5)	只(5)
	Shoulder	个(4),副(1)	只(3),个(2)	边(2),旁(2)	个(5)
	Face	张(5)	张(5),副(1)	个(4),张(1)	块(3),张(1), 副(1)
	Mouth	张(4),个(1), 只(1)	只(3),张(2),个 (1)	个(4),只(1)	把(2),个(2), 只(1),张(1)
	Leg	条(5)	只(5)	只(5)	条(3),个(2)
	Wrinkle	条(4),道(1), 根(1)	条(5)	条(5)	条(5)
	Hair	根(5)	条(5),头(1)	条(5)	条(4),根(1)
Furniture	Tail	根(3),条(3)	条(5)	条(5),根(1)	条(5)
	Chair	张(2),把(3), 个(1)	张(3),只(2)	只(4),张(1)	张(5)
	Table	张(4),个(2), 只(1)	张(5)	只(4),张(1)	张(5)
	Bed	张(4),个(2), 只(1)	张(5)	张(3),个(2)	张(5)
	Window	扇(4),个(2)	扇(5)	个(5)	个(5)
	Drawer	个(5)	只(3),个(2),张 (1)	个(5)	个(5)
Clothes	Sofa	个(4),张(1)	张(5)	只(4),张(1)	张(5)
	Clothes	件(4),身(1)	件(5),身(1)	件(5)	件(5)
	Trousers	条(5)	条(5)	条(5)	条(5)
	Hat	顶(4),个(1) 只(1)	顶(5)	顶(4),个(1)	顶
	Scarf	条(5),个(1)	条(5)	条(5)	条(5)
	Skirt	条(5),个(1)	条(5)	条(5)	条(5)
	necktie	条(5),个(1)	条(5)	条(5)	条(5)
	Towel	条(5),个(1)	块(3),条(2)	条(5)	条(5)

Objects of daily use	Television	台(4),个(3)	架(4),部(1)	个(3),台(2)	部(4),台(2)
	Computer	台(4),个(3)	架(3),台(2),部(1)	台(2),只(2),个(1)	部(3),台(2)
	Washing machine	台(4),个(3)	架(4),台(1)	只(3),台(2)	部(2),台(2),个(1)
	Cellphone	部(3),个(3),只(2)	架(4),台(1)	只(4),部(1)	部(3),台(1),个(1)
	Lamp	盏(4),个(2)	盏(5)	盏(2),粒(2),台(1)	盏(5)
	Watches	块(4),只(2),个(1)	只(5),块(2)	只(4),条(1)	只(4),块(1)
	Clock	座(3),个(1),台(1),架(1),只(1)	只(3),架(2)	个(4),台(1)	个(5)
	Bowl	个(5),只(1)	只(5)	个(5)	只(4),个(2)
	Cup	个(5),只(1)	只(5)	个(5)	只(4),个(2)
	Vase	个(5)	只(5)	个(4),瓶(1)	个(5),只(1)
	Teapot	个(2),把(3)	只(5)	个(5)	个(5),只(1)
	Basket	个(5),只(1)	只(5)	个(5)	个(4),只(1)
	Bedsheet	条(4),个(2)	张(3),条(1),件(1)	个(5)	张(5)
	Pin	个(3),枚(1),根(1),只(1)	只(5)	张(3),领(2)	个(4),粒(4)
	Badge	个(3),枚(3)	只(5)	个(5)	个(4),块(1)
	Key	把(5),个(1)	只(5)	个(5)	条(5)
	Abacus	个(4),把(2)	只(3),架(2)	个(3),支(2),把(1)	个(5)
	Flashlight	个(5),只(1)	只(3),把(2)	个(4),台(1)	个(3),支(2)
	Rope	条(4),根(3)	条(5)	支(4),个(1)	条(5)
	House	座(3),间(3),栋(2),所(2)	间(3),幢(2),栋(2),只(1)	条	间(5)
	Room	间(4),个(1)	间(3),只(3)	间(2),栋(2),座(1)	间(5),栋(1)
	Temple	座(5),个(2),间(1)	座(4),间(1),只(1)	间(2),栋(2),座(1)	间(3),座(2)
	Church	座(5),所(2),间(1),个(1)	座(4),间(2),只(1)	间(2),栋(1),座(1),个(1)	间

Construction	Restaurant	个(4),家(3)	间(3),家(2),只(1),所(1)	间(2),栋(1),座(1),个(1)	间
	Bookstore	个(4),家(3)	间(5)	间(2),家(2),座(1)	间
	Restroom	个(4),家(3)	间(4),只(1)	间(2),家(2),座(1)	间(3),个(2)
	Classroom	间(4),个(3)	间(5)	间(2),个(2),座(1)	间(4),个(1)
	Company	个(4),家(3)	家(4),间(1)	间(4),座(1)	间
	Theater	家(4),个(3)	家(3),个(1),所(1)	家(2),个(2),座(1)	间
	Tomb	座(4),个(3),片(1)	座(5)	间(2),个(2),座(1)	座(5),个(1)
	Door	个(4),扇(3)	扇(5)	座(3),个(2)	栋(2),度(1),道(2),头(1)
	Public square	个(4),座(2)	个(3),只(2)	个(4),台(1)	个(5)
	Bridge	座(5),架(1)	条(3),座(2)	个(5)	条(3),座(1),度(1),栋(1)
	Road	条(5)	条(5)	条(5)	条(5)
Natural environment	Lake	个(4),条(1)	面(5)	条(5)	个(4),条(1)
	River	条(5)	条(5)	个(5)	条(5)
	Pond	个(5)	只(3),口(2)	棵(5)	个(5)
	Tree	棵(5)	棵(3),条(2)	朵(5)	棵(5)
	Flower	朵(4),枝(1),支(1)	朵(4),枝(3)	条(5)	棵(1),朵(3),枝(1)
Transportation	Airplane	架(5)	架(5),只(1),台(1)	只(4),台(1)	架(5),部(1)
	Bicycle	辆(4),个(1)	辆(5)	只(4),台(1)	部(3),架(2),辆(1)
	Motorcycle	辆(4),个(1)	辆(5)	只(4),台(1)	部(3),架(2),辆(1)
	Boat	艘(4),条(2)	条(3),艘(2)	只(2),条(2),艘(1)	部(3),只(1),条(1),艘(1)
	Ideal	个(5),种(1)	个(5)	只(5)	个(5)
	Objective	个(5)	只(4),个(1)	个(5)	个(5)
	Life	条(5),个(3)	条(5)	条(5)	条(5)

Abstract entity	Plan	个(4),项(1), 部(1)	只(5)	个(3),条(2)	个(5)
	Suggestion	个(4), 条(2)	条(3),个(2)	个(5)	个(5)
	News	条(5),则(1)	条(5),只(3)	条(5)	条(4),个(2), 件(1),则(1)
	Riddle	条(3),个(3), 则(1)	条(2),个(3),只 (1)	条(5)	个(5)
	Story	个(4),则(1)	条(4),只(3),个 (1)	个(3),条(2)	个(5),只(1), 条(1)
	Humorous story	个(5)	只(4),个(1)	个(3),条(2)	个(5),只(1), 条(1)
	Job	个(3),件(2), 项(1),份(1)	只(3),份(2)	个(3),条(2)	份(4),项(1)