# Classifiers：The Many Ways to Profile＇one＇ A Case Study of Taiwan Mandarin 

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Due to the lack of a rigorous methodology and explicit criteria to distinguish between classifiers（C）and measure words（M），previous inventories of Mandarin C＇s，or geti liangci 個體量詞，vary greatly．Based on the insight that an M in a Chinese［Num C／M N］ phrase is semantically substantive，while a C is semantically redundant and thus does not block numeral quantification or adjectival modification to the noun，this paper further proposes that while C／M both function as a multiplicand mathematically，with Num as the multiplier， C ＇s value is necessarily 1 and M is not，thus $\sim 1$ ．Cognitively，however，the semantically redundant C serves to profile an inherent semantic feature of N and thus selects a narrow class of N＇s．With these explicit distinctions between C and M ，we then re－examine the inventory of C＇s put forth in國語日報量詞典 Mandarin Daily News Dictionary of Measure Words and offer a much more reliable list of C＇s in Taiwan Mandarin．

Keywords：classifier；measure word，profile，multiplicand，Taiwan Mandarin．

## 1．Introduction

Previous studies on Mandarin Chinese classifiers and measure words have come up with drastically different inventories．One crucial factor for the huge

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discrepancies is whether classifiers (C), as in (1), and measure words (M), as in (2), can be meaningfully and accurately distinguished.


Even for those that do support a formal C/M distinction, such distinctions have not been made explicit, and many works on $C / M$ simply assume that $C$ and M are distinguishable and distinguish the two rather subjectively. An informal but insightful characterization is offered in Tai and Wang [1, p.38]:

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

For natural language processing，how to make a formal distinction is obviously an important issue，as one of the most distinctive characteristics of Chinese is the C＇s，not the M＇s．For example，in a machine translation system for Chinese and English，most C＇s in Chinese have no counterparts in English，while most M＇s do，and for the reverse direction，most M＇s in the English［Num M of N］ construction can receive straightforward translations in the Chinese［Num M N］ construction，but the English［Num $\mathrm{N}_{\text {count }}$ ］sequence must be turned into［Num C N ］in Chinese，where the insertion and choice of C affects grammaticality and facility．

In spite of the same syntactic position C／M occupy in the［Num C／M N］ sequence，in this paper we will fully justify the $\mathrm{C} / \mathrm{M}$ distinction from three perspectives：semantic，mathematical，and cognitive．Section 2 first summarizes the explicit tests developed in［2］based on C／M＇s semantic distinction．Section 3 then characterizes the $\mathrm{C} / \mathrm{M}$ distinction in set－theoretic terms．In section 4，we follow［2］and［3］and propose that $\mathrm{C} / \mathrm{M}$ both function as a multiplicand mathematically，with Num as the multiplier，where C is necessarily of the value 1 and M is not．From a cognitive linguistic point of view，section 5 then approaches the issue from the standpoint of cognitive linguistics and shows that the semantically and mathematically null C nonetheless functions to profile an inherent semantic aspect of the head noun．This strict distinction of C versus M makes it possible to identify true classifiers in a language．A report is given in section 6 on the classifiers identified from the category of＇general measure words’ listed in 國語日報量詞典 Mandarin Daily News Dictionary of Measure Words［13］，a dictionary based on Taiwan Mandarin data in the Sinica Corpus．

## 2．Formal Tests to Distinguish Classifiers and Measure Words

Her and Hsieh［4］observe that the two formal tests，i．e．，de－insertion and adjectival modification，which proponents for the $\mathrm{C} / \mathrm{M}$ distinction proposed previously，have been shown to be unreliable［5］［6］．However，based on the insight that M ，but not C ，constitutes a barrier to numeral quantification and adjectival modification，they refine the previous two tests and come up with much more reliable and accurate formulations（Test A，B）．They also restate ge－ substitution as a heuristic（Test C）and observe that temporary measure words are often restricted to the number yi＇one’（Test D）．

## Test A：Numeral／Adjectival Stacking

（1）If［Num X Num Y N］is well－formed，then $\mathrm{X}=\mathrm{M}$ and $\mathrm{Y}=\mathrm{C} / \mathrm{M}$ ．

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { e.g., 一箱十個蘋果, 一箱十包蘋果 vs. *一顆十包蘋果, *一顆十粒頻 } \\
& \text { 果 } \\
& \text { (2) If }[\text { Num } A-X \mathrm{X}]=[\mathrm{Num} \mathrm{X} \mathrm{A-N]} \mathrm{semantically,} \mathrm{then} \mathrm{X}=\mathrm{C} \text { and } \mathrm{X} \neq \mathrm{M} . \\
& \text { e.g., 一大顆蘋果 }=\text { 一顆大蘋果 vs. 一大箱蘋果 } \neq \text { 一箱大蘋果 } \\
& \text { (3) Given antonyms } \mathrm{A}_{1} \text { and } \mathrm{A}_{2} \text {, if }\left[\text { Num } \mathrm{A}_{1}-\mathrm{X} \mathrm{~A}_{2}\right. \text {-N] is semantically } \\
& \text { well-formed, then } \mathrm{X}=\mathrm{M} \text {. } \\
& \text { e.g., } \text {, 大大顆小蘋果 vs. 一大箱小蘋果 } \\
& \text { (4) If }[\mathrm{A}-\mathrm{X} \text { de N] is semantically equivalent to }[\mathrm{A}-\mathrm{N}] \text {, then } \mathrm{X}=\mathrm{C} . \\
& \text { e.g.,大顆的蘋果 }=\text { 大蘋果 vs. 大箱的蘋果 } \neq \text { 大蘋果 }
\end{aligned}
$$

## Test B：De－insertion

Test：［yi M／＊C de N］ e．g．，一箱（的）蘋果 vs．一顆（＊的）蘋果

## Test C：Ge－substitution

Test：If $\left[\mathrm{Num}_{i} X N_{j}\right]=\left[\mathrm{Num}_{i}\right.$ ge $\left.N_{j}\right]$ semantically，then $X=C$ ． e．g．，十粒蘋果 $=$ 十個蘋果 $\neq$ 十箱蘋果

## 3．Semantic Distinction between Classifiers and Measure Words

Her and Hsieh［4］further employ the Aristotelian distinction between essential and accidental properties as well as the Kantian distinction between analytic and synthetic propositions to characterize the C／M distinction：C is semantically redundant； M is semantically substantive．Precisely， C indicates an essential property of the noun，and can be paraphrased as the predicate concept in an analytic proposition with the noun as the subject concept；M indicates an accidental property in terms of quantity，and can be restated as the predicate concept in a synthetic proposition with the noun as the subject concept．Given this characterization， M can be demonstrated to be more of a content word，thus open to innovations，while C is more a function word，thus forms a closed set resistant to innovations．

The semantic distinction of $\mathrm{C} / \mathrm{M}$ can receive a mathematical interpretation in set－theoretic terms．In short，properties denoted by C do not contribute to the total compositional semantic content of the phrase． M ，on the other hand，is semantically substantive in［Num M N］and thus does contribute semantic value specific to M only．This contrast can be made explicit in terms of set theory．

## C／M Distinction in Set－theoretic Terms

Given a well－formed phrase［Num K N］，$X$ the set of properties denoted by K，and $Y$ the set of properties denoted by $\mathrm{N}, \mathrm{K}$ is C if $\mathrm{X} \subset \mathrm{Y}$ ；otherwise， K is M ．

The fact that C does not contribute any semantic value to the semantics of the overall［Num C N］phrase is not because it has no semantic value itself； rather，again，it is because it does not contribute any semantic property that the noun does not already possess．This total overlap of semantic properties between C and N is the reason why modification or quantification on C is also on $\mathrm{N} . \mathrm{M}$ ， on the other hand，does contribute semantic properties to the［Num M N］phrase that N does not possess，and any modification or quantification on M thus does not extend to N ．Therefore，the following three expressions with the same Num and N share exactly the same truth value，i．e．，three fish，in spite of the different C＇s：三隻魚 san zhi $y u=$ 三條魚 san tiao $y u=$ 三尾魚 san wei yu；yet，with each C replaced with a different M ，each expression now has its own unique truth value，e．g．，三磅魚 san bang yu＇three pounds of fish＇$=$ 三箱魚 san xiang yu ＇three boxes of fish＇$\neq$ 三打魚 san da yu＇three dozens of fish＇．

## 4．Classifiers and Measure Words as Multiplicands

Most importantly，extending and integrating Landman＇s［7］view of C／M as parcelers，Borer＇s［7］insight that classifiers in Chinese and the plural suffix／－s／ function the same as dividers，and Au Young＇s［9］［10］findings of the mathematical multiplication basis of classifiers，we propose that there is a multiplication relation between Num and C／M，i．e．，$[\mathrm{Num} \mathrm{C/M}]=[$ multiplier $\times$ multiplicand］，but the crucial C／M distinction in terms of their mathematical value is that C＇s value is necessarily 1 ，and M＇s value is not necessarily 1 ，thus $\sim 1$ ．In other words，an M can have any mathematical value，permanent or temporary，numerical or non－numerical，as long as it is not necessarily 1 ，while a C must always be translated to the numerical value of 1 and 1 only．

The mathematics proposed here that C is the multiplicand of the value 1 also formalizes the long－standing view that C serves to individuate the following N （e．g．，［11］and［12］）．Furthermore，the mathematics of C／M also provides another explanation why expressions with the same Num and N shall have the same truth value regardless of the different C＇s used，e．g．，again，三隻魚 san zhi yu＝三條魚 san tiao $y u=$ 三尾魚 san wei $y u$ ，but the same is not true for M，e．g．，again，三磅魚 san bang yu＇three pounds of fish＇$\neq$ 三箱魚 san xiang yu＇three boxes of fish＇$\neq$ 三打魚 san da yu＇three dozens of fish＇．

Thus，C，as the（redundant）multiplicand 1 ，can be omitted，if stylistically required，without affecting the truth value of the nominal phrase，but M cannot．

## Mathematical Distinction of C／M

Given［Num X N］，X＝C iff $\mathrm{X}=1$ ；otherwise， $\mathrm{X}=\mathrm{M}$ ．

$$
\begin{aligned}
&\text { e.g., } \text { [五張餅 }=\text { 五 } \times 1 \text { 餅 }=\text { 五餅 }] \text { vs. [五打餅 }=\text { 五 } \times 12 \text { 餅 } \neq \text { 五餅 }] ; \\
& {[\text { 二條魚 }=\text { 二 } \times 1 \text { 魚 }=\text { 二魚 }] \text { vs. [二斤魚 }=\text { 二斤 } \times ⿳ ⺈ ⿴ 囗 十 灬 ⿱ 䒑 灬 力 }=\text { 二魚 }]
\end{aligned}
$$

Under this view of simple mathematics，the many classifiers in Chinese， while denoting an intricate system of classifying nouns，can be seen as many ways to profile some intrinsic semantic aspects of the nouns and ultimately the mathematical value of one．The concept of profile will be presented in the next section．This mathematical interpretation of C／M further explains why C，as the superfluous multiplicand 1 ，may be optional，while M is obligatory，and also why C is semantically null and thus transparent to numeral quantification and adjectival modification，while M is not．Finally，note that under this mathematical interpretation of C／M，English lacks measure words altogether，given the fact that its multiplicand is restricted to 1 and grammaticalized as the nominal suffix－s and thus no longer part of the numeral and must be part of the head noun．Thus， Borer［8］，contra to common misconceptions，is exactly right that English plural maker／－s／is a C．We thus follow through and claim that while English plural suffix／－s／is a C similar to the Chinese generic C ge，English has no measure words and putative M＇s should in fact be treated simply as common nouns．

> Distinction between Chinese and English
> Chinese: [Num X N], X=1 (C) or $\sim 1(\mathrm{M})$
> e.g., $3 \times 1$ book $=$ 三本書; $3 \times$ pile book $=$ 三堆書
> English: $[\mathrm{Num} \mathrm{X} \mathrm{N}$ ], Num $>1$ and X=1 (C)
> e.g., $3 \times 1$ book $=3-s$ book $=3$ books; $3 \times 1$ pile $=3-s$ pile $=3$ piles

## 5．Classifiers as Profilers

Besides the functions of a pacrcler［7］，divider［8］，and multiplicand［9］［10］， which C／M have in common，C，being semantically and mathematically redundant，is shown to have the unique function as a profiler［13］．The notion of profile／base segregation has a strong connection to gestalt psychology，a comprehensive model of perception organization．Langacker［14］illustrates the notion of domain／profile by the example of circle／arc．


Similarly，Hsieh［6］and Her［3］argue that in a［Num C N］phrase，N can be seen as the base，or likewise the＇frame＇，in the sense of Fillmore＇s frame semantics［15］，and C the profile．Below，in the example of 一把壺 yi ba hu＇a teapot＇，it is shown that the teapot provides the frame or base for ba to profile，or to highlight，the handle，an inherent semantic feature of teapot．


Under this view，the classifiers＇function of classification is merely a by－ product of their function as profilers．This thus explains at least partially why in Chinese or any other classifier language，there are always numerous idiosyncrasies or gaps in the noun classes categorized by classifier．${ }^{1}$

## 6．Identifying True Classifiers in Taiwan Mandarin

Based on the discussions above，we are now able to properly define C／M，both occurring between Num and N and serving as the multiplicand mathematically， with Num as the multiplier．However，C serves as an individuating unit，which also must profile a（bundle of）inherent semantic feature（s）of an N that denotes an intrinsically discrete entity；thus，mathematically，C＇s value is necessarily numerical and precisely $1 . \mathrm{M}$ ，on the other hand，whose mathematical value can be anything except 1 and thus may or may not be numerical，provides a measuring unit of N and thus does not profile any inherent semantic feature of

[^0]the N ．Consequent of these properties， $\mathrm{C} / \mathrm{M}$ can be distinguished by the formal tests developed in section 2.

Only with such a precise characterization of C ，is it feasible and practical to attempt a comprehensive list of C＇s in a language．However，we do not intend to provide such a comprehensive list of C＇s in Taiwan Mandarin and will only attempt a partial list based on Mandarin Daily Dictionary of Chinese Classifiers ［16］（MDDCC hereafter）．${ }^{2}$ MDDCC was compiled with data from the Academia Sinica Balanced Corpus of Modern Mandarin Chinese，a corpus that largely reflects Taiwan Mandarin．Seven categories of measure words（C／M）are identified，and the first category，called 一般量詞yiban liangci＇general measure words＇，is intended to be precisely what is defined as C in this paper．Table 1 shows the 173 C＇s listed in MDDCC．${ }^{3}$

Table 1： 173 Classifiers listed in MDDCC

| ba3 把 | dian3 點 | hang2行 | ke1顆 | pi3 匹 | tao4 套 | zhao1招 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ban1 班 | die2 疊 | hao4 號 | ke4 客 | pian1篇 | ti2 題 | zhen1 針 |
| ban3版 | ding3 頂 | hu4戶 | ke4課 | pian4片 | tiao2 條 | zheng4 幀 |
| ban4 瓣 | ding4 錠 | hui2 回 | kou3 $\square$ | piao4票 | tie4帖 | zhi1支 |
| bang1幫 | dong4 棟 | huo3 夥 | kuai4 塊 | pie3 撇 | ting3 挺 | zhi1只 |
| ben3本 | du3 堵 | ji2 級 | kuan3 款 | pou2 抔 | tou2 頭 | zhi1 枝 |
| bi3 筆 | duan4段 | ji2 集 | kun3 捆 | qi2 畦 | tuan2 團 | zhi1 隻 |
| bing3 柄 | dui1 堆 | ji2 輯 | lan2 欄 | qi2 期 | tuo2 坨 | zhi3 紙 |
| bu4部 | dui4 隊 | ji4記 | li4粒 | qi3 起 | wan1 彎 | zhou2 軸 |
| cai2 槽 | dui4 對 | ji4劑 | lian2 聯 | qu3 曲 | wan1灣 | zhu1 株 |
| ce4 冊 | duo3 朵 | jia1 家 | liang4輛 | quan1圈 | wan2 丸 | zhu4柱 |
| ceng2 層 | fa1發 | jia4架 | lie4列 | que4 関 | wei3 尾 | zhu4 炷 |
| chong2 重 | fang1 方 | jian1 間 | liu3緽 | qun2 群 | wei4 位 | zhuo1桌 |
| chu4 處 | fang2 房 | jian4 件 | lu4 路 | shan4扇 | wei4味 | zong1宗 |
| chuan4 串 | fen4 分 | jie1階 | lun2 輪 | shen1 身 | xi2 席 | zu3組 |
| chuang2 床 | fen4 份 | jie2 節 | luo4落 | sheng1 聲 | xi2 襲 | zun1 尊 |
| chuang2 幢 | feng1封 | jie2 截 | lyu3 旅 | shou3 首 | xian4 線 | zuo4座 |
| cong2 叢 | fu2 服 | jie4 介 | lyu3 縷 | shu4束 | xiang4 項 |  |
| cu4 笶 | fu2 幅 | jin4 進 | mei2 枚 | shuang1雙 | ye4 頁 |  |
| cuo1 撮 | fu4 副 | jing1蒙 | men2 門 | si1絲 | ye4 葉 |  |

[^1]| da3 打 | gan3 桿 | ju4 句 | mian4 面 | sou1 艘 | yuan2 員 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| dai4 代 | gen1 根 | ju4 具 | ming2 名 | suo3 所 | ze2 則 |
| dai4 帶 | ge 個 | juan3 卷 | pai2 排 | tai1 胎 | zha1 紮 |
| dang3 檔 | gu3 股 | juan4 卷 | peng3 捧 | tai2 台 | zhan3 惑 |
| dao4 道 | gua4 掛 | ke1 科 | pi1 匹 | tan1 攤 | zhang1 張 |
| di1 滴 | guan3 管 | ke1 棵 | pi1 批 | tang2 堂 | zhang1 章 |

In one the introduction sections of MDDCC，entitled The Usage and Classification of Measure Words，the editors in fact offer no explicit criteria for the selection of these 174 C＇s．The only relevant characterization is this：$\ulcorner$ 一般量詞是最典型的量詞．．．和數詞搭配用來記量物品的數量」（General measure words are the most prototypical measure words．．．they collocate with numbers and are used to count the number of things ）［16，p．10－11］．One of the several examples given in this section，著兩把 cong liang ba＇green－onions，two handfuls＇，in fact involves 把ba＇handful＇as an M，not C．${ }^{4}$ A more serious misconception is the inclusion of measure words that refer to groups or collections：「．．．有些一般量詞則是用來記量物品組成集合後的數量，如「一群人，一對手錶，一束花，一批外套」。」（．．．some of the general measure words，however，refer to a collection of entities，for example，＇a group of people＇，＇a pair of watches＇，＇a bundle of flowers＇，and＇a batch of coats＇．）［16， p．11］．These are M＇s，not C＇s，as the reader can run the tests and find out，for they all have mathematical values that are not 1 and do not profile any inherent feature of the N ．Thus，it seems that，like most，if not all，previous inventories of C＇s，the selection in this dictionary is also based on rather subjective judgments．

According to［17］，a paper co－authored by the first editor of the dictionary， there are two ways to distinguish $\mathrm{C} / \mathrm{M}$ that can be found in the relevant literature． One is by way of the $d e$－insertion test，where a［Num C］sequence resists $d e$－ insertion，while－de can be freely inserted after［Num M］．Recent works，most notably［4］，［5］，and［18］，have proven this test highly unreliable，using both corpus data and solicited data．What we have adopted in this paper is Test B in section 2，where only the Num 1，thus［yi C］，is found to be resistant to de－ insertion．The other criterion advocated in［17］is based on the informal characterization by Tai and Wang［1］，quoted in section 1，i．e．，C categorizes a particular type of N and also picks out a salient property of N ，but M does not． These informal criteria can be rather subjective．In comparison，our methodology， while maintaining Tai and Wang＇s［1］conception of $\mathrm{C} / \mathrm{M}$ distinction and reinterpreting it in terms of the concept of profiling，employs the three sets of formal tests developed in section 2 and also the mathematically precise test that C has the exact value of numeral 1 and M does not．

[^2]We have therefore carefully re－examined the 173 items and come up with a revised list of true classifiers．In order to be more accurate，Table 2 shows the 76 items that are C＇s and C＇s only，and Table 3 shows the 21 items that can function as both C＇s and M＇s．Thus，out of MDDC＇s 173 putative C＇s，all together only 97 are confirmed to be genuine C＇s．A total of 76 items in MDDC＇s 173 C＇s are in fact M＇s，not C＇s，as shown in Table 4.

Table 2： 76 Classifiers out of the MDDCC＇s 173

| ben3本 | yi1 ben3 shu1一本書 | jian4 件 | yi1 jian4 da4yi1一件大衣 | ting3 挺 | yi1 ting3 ji1qiang1一挺機槍 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| bi3 筆 | yi1 bi3 shou1ru4一筆收入 | jie4 介 | yi1 jie4 shu1sheng1一介書生 | tou2 頭 | yi1 tou2 da4xiang4一頭大象 |
| bing3 柄 | yi1 bing3 fu3tou2 <br> 一柄斧頭 | jing1 莖 | yi1 jing1 bai2fa3 <br> 一莖白髮 | wan1彎 | yi1 wan1 ming2yue4一彎明月 |
| ce4 冊 | yi1 ce4 shu1 <br> 一冊書 | ju4 句 | yi1 ju4 kou3hao4一句口號 | wan1 灣 | yi1 wan1 liu2shui3一灣流水 |
| chu4 處 | yi1 chu4 shang1kou3一處傷口 | ju4 具 | yi1 ju4 shi1ti3 <br> 一具屍體 | wan2 九 | yi1 wan2 yao4wan2 <br> 一丸藥丸 |
| chuang2 <br> 床 | yi1 chuang2 mian2bei4一床棉被 | juan3 卷 | $\begin{gathered} \text { yi1 juan3 } \\ \text { lu4yin1dai4 } \\ \text { 一卷錄音帶 } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | wei3 尾 | yi1 wei3 yu2 <br> 一尾魚 |
| chuang2 <br> 幢 | yi1 chuang2 lou2fang2一幢樓房 | ke1 棵 | yi1 ke1 song1shu4一棵松樹 | wei4 位 | yi1 wei4 lao3shi1 <br> 一位老師 |
| dang3 檔 | yi1 dang3 gu3piao4一檔股票 | ke1 顆 | yi1 ke1 xi1gua1一顆西瓜 | xi2 席 | yi1 xi2 dong3shi4 <br> 一席董事 |
| dao4 道 | yi1 dao4 zhuan1qiang2 <br> 一道磚牆 | li4 粒 | yi1 li4 hong2dou4 <br> 一粒紅豆 | xi2 襲 | yi1 xi2 bo2sha1一襲薄紗 |
| ding3 頂 | yi1 ding3 mao4zi一頂帽子 | liang4 <br> 輛 | yi1 liang4 jing3che1一輛警車 | yuan2 員 | yi1 yuan2 da4jiang4一員大將 |
| ding4 錠 | yi1 ding4 <br> yuan2bao3 <br> 一錠元寶 | mei2 枚 | yi1 mei2 jiang3zhang1一枚獎章 | ze2 則 | yi1 ze2 xiao4hua4 <br> 一則笑話 |
| dong4 棟 | yi1 dong4 da4 lou2一棟大樓 | mian4 <br> 面 | yi1 mian4 jing4zi <br> 一面鏡子 | zhan3 嘁 | yi1 zhan3 deng1一㟌燈 |
| du3 堵 | yi1 du3 qiang2 <br> 一堵牆 | $\begin{gathered} \text { ming2 } \\ \text { 名 } \end{gathered}$ | yi1 ming2 <br> xue2sheng1 一名學生 | zhang1 <br> 張 | yi1 zhang1 chunag2一張床 |
| duo3 朵 | yi1 duo3 mei2gui1 <br> 一朵玫瑰 | pi1 匹 | $\begin{gathered} \text { yi1 pi1 ma3 } \\ \text { 一匹馬 } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | zhao1 招 | yi1 zhao1 ce4lüe4一招策略 |
| fa1發 | yi1 fa1 zi3dan4 | pian1篇 | yi1 pian1 | zheng4 | yi1zheng4 |


|  | 一發子彈 |  | wen2zhang1 <br> 一篇文章 | 幀 | jie2hun1zhao4 <br> 一幀結婚照 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| fang1 方 | yi1 fang1 <br> yin4zhang1 <br> 一方印章 | qi2 畦 | yi1 qi2 dao4tian2 <br> 一畦稻田 | zhi1 只 | yi1 zhi1 jiu3tan2 <br> 一只酒罈 |
| feng1 封 | yi4 feng1xin4 <br> 一封信 | qu3 曲 | yi1 qu3 <br> liu2xing2ge1 <br> 一曲流行歌 | zhi1 枝 | yi1 zhi1 shu4zhi1 <br> 一枝樹枝 |
| fu2 幅 | yi1 fu2 hua4一幅畫 | que4 闋 | yi1 que4 gu3ci2一関古詞 | zhi1 隻 | yi1 zhi1 mao1一隻貓 |
| gan3 桿 | yi1 gan3 qiang1 <br> 一桿槍 | shan4 <br> 扇 | yi1 shan4 men2 <br> 一扇門 | zhi3 紙 | yi1 zhi3 qie4jie2shu1 <br> 一紙切結書 |
| gen1 根 | yi1 gen1 tou2fa3 <br> 一根頭髮 | sheng1聲 | yi1 sheng1 jian1jiao4一聲尖叫 | zhou2 軸 | yi1 zhou2 hua4一軸畫 |
| ge 個 | yi1 ge ren2 <br> 一個人 | shou3 <br> 首 | yi1 shou3 er2ge1一首兒歌 | zhu1 株 | yi1 zhu1ying1hua1一株櫻花 |
| guan3 管 | yi1 guan3 mao2bi3 <br> 一管毛筆 | sao1 艘 | yi1 sao1 chuang2 <br> 一艘船 | zhu4 柱 | yi1 shu4 dian4xian4gan1一柱電線杆 |
| ji4 記 | $\begin{gathered} \text { yi1 ji4 } \\ \text { zuo3gou1quan2 } \\ \text { 一記右勾拳 } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | suo3 所 | yi1 suo3 da4xue2 <br> 一所大學 | zhu4 炷 | yi1 shu4 xiang1 <br> 一炷香 |
| ji4 劑 | $\begin{gathered} \text { yi1 jie4 } \\ \text { qiang2xin1ji4 } \\ \text { 一劑強心劑 } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | ti2 題 | yi1 ti2 xuan3ze2ti2 <br> 一題選擇題 | zun1 尊 | yi1 zun1 fo2xiang4 <br> 一尊佛像 |
| jia4 架 | yi1 jia4 fei1ji1 <br> 一架飛機 | tiao2 條 | yi1 tiao2 wei2jing1一條圍巾 | zuo4 座 | yi1 zuo4 shan1一座山 |
| jian1 間 | yi1 jian1 shu1dian4 <br> 一間書店 |  |  |  |  |

Table 3： 21 dual status C／M out of the MDDCC＇s 173 Classifiers

| ba3 把 | ba3 把 c | yi1 ba3 dao1zi <br> 一把刀子 | ba3 把 m | yi1 ba3 tong2ban3 <br> 一把銅板 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ban1 班 | ban1 班 c | yi1 ban1 fei1ji1 <br> 一班飛機 | ban1 班 m | yi1 ban1 xue2sheng1 <br> 一班學生 |
| ban4 瓣 | ban4 瓣 c | yi1 ban4 hua1ban4 <br> 一瓣花瓣 | ban4 瓣 m | yi1 ban4 ju2zi <br> 一瓣橘子 |
| bu4 部 | bu4 部 c | yi1 bu4 qi4che1 <br> 一部汽車 | bu4 部 m | yi1 bu4 shu1 <br> 一部書 |
| dian3 點 | dian3 點 c | yi1 dian3 zhi4 <br> 一點病 | dian3 點 m | yi1 dian3 qian2 <br> 一點錢 |

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| fen4 分 | fen4 分 c | yi1 fen4 bao4gao4一分報告 | fen4 分 m | yi1 fen4 qing2yi4一分情意 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| fen4 份 | fen4 份 c | yi1 fen4 bao4gao4一份報告 | fen4 份 m | yi1 fen4 qing2yi4 <br> 一份情意 |
| jia1 家 | jia1 家 c | yi1 jia1 gong1si1一家公司 | jia1 家 m | yi1 jia1 ao4zhou1ren2一家澳洲人 |
| jie2 節 | jie2 節 c | yi1 jie2 che1xiang1一節車廂 | jie2 節 m | yi1 jie2 gan1zhe4一節甘蔗 |
| kou3 $\square$ | kou3 $\square \mathrm{c}$ | yi1 kou3 jing3一口井 | kou3 $\square \mathrm{m}$ | yi1 kou3 zhu4ya2一口蛀牙 |
| kuai4 塊 | kuai4 塊 C | yi1 kuai4 zhuan1tou2一塊磚頭 | kuai4 塊 m | yi1 kuai4 di4一塊地 |
| $l u n 2$ 輪 | lun2 輪 C | yi1 lun2 ming2yue4 <br> 一輪明月 | lun2 輪 m | yi1 lun2 bi3sai4一輪比賽 |
| lü3 縷 | lü3 縷 c | yi1 lü3 xian4 <br> 一縷線 | lü3 縷 m | yi1 lü3 qing1yan1 <br> 一縷清煙 |
| men2 問 | men2 門 c | yi1 men2 da4pao4一門大砲 | men2 門 m | yi1 men2 sheng1yi4一門生意 |
| pian4 片 | pian4 片 с | yi1 pian4 shu4ye4一片樹葉 | pian4 片 m | yi1 pian4 nai3you2一片奶油 |
| qi3 起 | qi3 起 c | yi1 qi3 yi4wai4一起意外 | qi3 起 m | yi1 qi3 ren2ma3 <br> 一起人馬 |
| tai2 台 | tai2 台 c | yi1 tai2 dian4shi4一台電視 | tai2 台 m | yi1 tai2 ge1zai3xi4一台歌仔戲 |
| xian4線 | xian4線 C | yi1 xian4 che1dao4一線車道 | xian4線m | yi1 xian4 xi1wang4一線希望 |
| ye4 葉 | ye4 葉 c | yi1 ye4 pian1zhou1一葉扁舟 | ye4 葉 m | yi1 ye4 shu1 <br> 一葉書 |
| zhi1 支 | zhi1 支 c | yi1 zhi1 ge1 <br> 一支歌 | zhi1 支 m | yi1 zhi1 chun2mao2sha1一支純毛紗 |
| zong1 宗 | zong1 宗 c | yi1 zong1 yi4wai4一宗意外 | zong1 宗 m | yi1 zong1 huo4wu4一宗貨物 |

Table 4： 76 Measure Words out of the MDDCC’s 173 Classifiers

| ban3 版 | yi1 ban3 <br> xin1wen2 <br> 一版新聞 | hui2 <br> 回 | ba1shi2hui2 <br> hong2lou2meng4 <br> 八十回紅樓夢 | piao4 票 | yi1 piao4 <br> sheng1yi4 <br> 一票生意 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| bang1 <br> 幫 | yi1 bang1 <br> gong1ren2 <br> 一幫工人 | huo3 <br> 夥 | yi1 huo3 qiang2dao4 <br> 一夥強盗 | pie3 撇 | yi1 pie3 hu2xu1 <br> 一撇髪鬚 |
| cao2 槽 | yi1 cao2 ya2 | ji2級 | yi1 ji2 shi2jie1 | pou2 抔 | yi1 pou2 tu3 |


|  | 一槽牙 |  | 一級石階 |  | 一抔土 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ceng2 層 | yi1 ceng2 lou2 <br> 一層樓 | ji2 集 | yi1bai3ji2 lian2xu4ju4一百集連續劇 | qi2 期 | za2zhi4 di4yi1qi2 <br> 雜誌第一期 |
| chong2 <br> 重 | wan4 chong2 shan1萬重山 | ji2 輯 | cong2shu1 di4yi1ji2 <br> 叢書第一輯 | quan1 圈 | yi1 quan2 liu3shu4 <br> 一圈柳樹 |
| chuan4 <br> 串 | yi1 chuan4 fo2zhu1一串佛珠 | jie1階 | yi1 jie1 lou2ti1 <br> 一階樓梯 | qun2 群 | $\begin{gathered} \text { yi1 qun2 } \\ \text { peng2you3 } \\ \text { 一群朋友 } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |
| cong2叢 | yi1 cong2 <br> ye3cao3 <br> 一叢野草 | jie2 截 | yi1 jie2 zhu2zi <br> 一截竹子 | shen1 身 | yi1 shen1 yi1shang <br> 一身衣裳 |
| $\mathrm{cu4}$ 簇 | yi1 cu4 <br> mei2gui1 <br> 一簇玫瑰 | jin4 <br> 進 | yi1 jin4 fang2zi <br> 一進房子 | shu4 束 | yi1 shu4 xian1hua1 <br> 一束鮮花 |
| cuo1 撮 | yi1 cuo1 <br> mao2fa3 <br> 一撮毛髮 | juan4 <br> 卷 | za2zhi4 di4yi1juan4雜誌第一卷 | shuang1雙 | yi1 shuang1 xie2 <br> 一雙鞋 |
| da3 打 | yi1 da3 <br> qian1bi3 <br> 一打鉛筆 | ke1科 | ying1wan2yi1ke1英文一科 | si1 絲 | yi1 si1 rou4 <br> 一絲肉 |
| dai4 代 | $\begin{gathered} \text { shang4 yi1 dai4 } \\ \text { ren2 } \\ \text { 上一代人 } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | ke4 客 | yi1 ke4 niu2pai2 <br> 一客牛排 | tai1胎 | yi1 tai1 xiao3gou3 <br> 一胎小狗 |
| dai4 帶 | yi1 dai4 <br> yu2cun1 <br> 一帶漁村 | ke4 課 | yi1 ke4 shu4xue2 <br> 一課數學 | $\tan 1$ 灘 | yi1 $\tan 1$ shui3 <br> 一灘水 |
| di1 滴 | yi1 di1 yan3lei4 <br> 一滴眼淚 | kuan3 <br> 款 | di4yi1kuan3 gui1ding4第一款規定 | tang2 堂 | yi1 tang2 jia1ju4一堂傢具 |
| die2 疊 | yi1 die2 chao1piao4一疊鈔票 | $\begin{gathered} \text { kun3 } \\ \text { 捆 } \end{gathered}$ | yi1 kun3 dao4cao3 <br> 一捆稻草 | tao4 套 | yi1 tao4 can1ju4一套餐具 |
| duan4 <br> 段 | yi1 duan4 <br> gan1zhe4 <br> 一段甘蔗 | $\begin{gathered} \text { lan2 } \\ \text { 欄 } \end{gathered}$ | yi1 lan2 xin1wen2一欄新聞 | tie4帖 | yi1 tie4 zhong1yao4一帖中藥 |
| dui1 堆 | yi1 dui1 tu3 <br> 一堆土 | $\begin{gathered} \text { lian2 } \\ \text { 聯 } \end{gathered}$ | er4lian2shou1ju4二聯收據 | tuan2 團 | yi1 tuan2 <br> shi4bing1 <br> 一團士兵 |
| dui4 隊 | yi1 dui4 <br> shi4bing1 一隊士兵 | lie4 列 | yi1 lie4 luo4tuo2 <br> 一列駱駝 | tuo2 坨 | yi1 tuo2 nai3you2一坨奶油 |
| dui4 對 | yi1 dui4 fu1qi1一對夫妻 | $\begin{gathered} \text { liu3 } \\ \text { 紌 } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ | yi1 liu3 tou2fa3 <br> 一紌頭髮 | wei4味 | hun1cai4 wu3wei4葷菜五味 |
| fang2 房 | yi1 fang2 er2sun1 | lu4 路 | yi1 lu4 ren2ma3一路人馬 | xiang4 項 | xing2fa3 <br> di4ti1xiang4 |


|  | 一房兒孫 |  |  |  | 刑法第一項 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| fu2 服 | yi1 fu2 zhong1yao4 <br> 一服中藥 | $\begin{gathered} \text { luo4 } \\ \text { 落 } \end{gathered}$ | yi1 luo4 bao4zhi3一落報紙 | ye4 頁 | yi1 ye4 shu1 <br> 一頁書 |
| fu4 副 | yi1 fu4 kuai4zi一副筷子 | lü3旅 | yi1 lü3 bu4dui4一旅部隊 | zha1 紮 | yi1 zha1 zhi3hua1一紮紙花 |
| gu3 股 | yi1 gu3 <br> xiang1qi4 <br> 一股香氣 | pai2 <br> 排 | yi1 pai2 shi4bing1一排士兵 | zhang1章 | di4yi1zhang1 nei4rong2第一章內容 |
| gua4 掛 | yi1 gua4 <br> fo2zhu1 <br> 一掛佛珠 | peng3 <br> 捧 | yi1 peng3 sha1一捧沙 | zhen1 針 | $\begin{gathered} \text { yi1 xhen1 } \\ \text { qiang2xin1ji4 一針 } \end{gathered}$ <br> 強心劑 |
| hang2 <br> 行 | yi1 hang2 <br> liu3shu4 <br> 一行柳樹 | pi1 批 | yi1 pi1 huo4 <br> 一批貨 | zhuo1 桌 | yi1 zhuo1 cai4 <br> 一桌菜 |
| hu4 戶 | $\begin{gathered} \text { yi1 hu4 } \\ \text { nong2min2 } \\ \text { 一戶農民 } \end{gathered}$ | pi3 匹 | yi1 pi3 bu4 <br> 一匹布 | zu3組 | yi1 zu3 ren2yuan2 <br> 一組人員 |
| hao4 號’ | $\begin{gathered} \text { di4yi1hao4 } \\ \text { dao4lu4 } \\ \text { 第一號道路 } \\ \hline \end{gathered}$ |  |  |  |  |

## 7．Concluding Remarks

The precise distinction of classifiers（C）and measure words（M）in a classifier language like Chinese is an important issue for natural language processing，as one of the most distinctive characteristics of Chinese is its C＇s，not its M＇s．For example，in a machine translation system for Chinese and English，most C＇s in Chinese have no counterparts in English，while most M＇s do，and in the reverse direction，while most M＇s in English can receive straightforward translations in Chinese，［Num $\mathrm{N}_{\text {count }}$ ］sequences must be turned into［Num C N］in Chinese． The insertion of a semantically appropriate C is crucial for grammaticality as well as facility．Based on Her and Hsieh＇s［4］insight that M in a Chinese［Num $\mathrm{C} / \mathrm{M} \mathrm{N}$ ］phrase is semantically substantive，while C is semantically redundant and thus does not block the numeral quantification or the adjectival modification to the noun，this paper further proposes a formal distinction of $\mathrm{C} / \mathrm{M}$ from a mathematical perspective．Synthesizing the concepts of parceler［7］，divider［8］， and multiplicand［9］［10］，we follow［2］［3］and propose that while C／M both function as a multiplier mathematically，C＇s value is necessarily 1 and M is not， thus $\sim 1$ ．The semantically null C nonetheless functions to profile an inherent semantic aspect of N．Finally，based on these strict distinctions of C versus M，a
report is given on the true classifiers identified in國語日報量詞典 Mandarin Daily News Dictionary of Measure Words［16］．

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[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ For a full exploration of the profiler analysis of classifiers，refer to the thesis by Hsieh［13］，for which the first author of this current paper served as the adviser．

[^1]:    ${ }^{2}$ For example，in this paper we will not discuss event measure words，another class identified in MDDCC，even though many of them can also be found to be genuine C＇s．For a more comprehensive inventory of C＇s in Taiwan Mandarin，the reader is referred to the second author＇s MA thesis［19］，for which the first author again served as the advisor．
    ${ }^{3}$ In the introduction section of MDDCC，it is stated that a total of 174 general measure words are listed in the dictionary．However，we were able to find only 173 of them，in spite of repeated efforts．

[^2]:    ${ }^{4}$ 把 $b a$ can indeed be a C and profiles the part of an article that functions as a handle，e．g．，一把刀 yi ba dao＇one knife＇．

