淡江人文社會學刊

第三十八期

中華民國九十八年六月
# 目次

| 篇名 | 作者 | 頁
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>《文心雕龍》與印、歐文論之比較</td>
<td>蔡俊</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>再探王逸《楚辭章句》之注釋型態</td>
<td>施盈佑</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>漢語經濟用語中「金錢」—的譬喻用法</td>
<td>黃欣梅</td>
<td>謝菁玉</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>「EZ Talk」作為「英語聽講」課外輔助學習活動之應用與績效研究</td>
<td>李紹毓</td>
<td>林佩冠</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>漢法的字詞形成之分析—以法語「-eau」結尾的動物名詞為例</td>
<td>李蕙珍</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>知識資源與知識產物—關於知識傳輸及傳輸學</td>
<td>羅瀚</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>稿約及論文體例</td>
<td>編輯室</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
淡江人文社會學刊 【第三十八期】
Tamkang Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences

中華民國八十七年五月創刊
中華民國九十八年六月出版

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發行者：淡江大學出版中心
編輯部地址：台北縣 251 淡水鎮英專路 151 號
（淡江大學淡水校園海事博物館 M109 室）
編輯部電話：02-2621-5656（分機 2830）
             02-8631-8661
編輯部傳真：02-8631-8660
電子郵件：tkjour@www2.tku.edu.tw
網址：http://www2.tku.edu.tw/~tkjour
印刷：瑾鴻印刷有限公司
售價：新台幣 250 元

版權所有，請勿翻印
漢語經濟用語中「金錢」
的譬喻用法

黃欣梅* 謝菁玉**

《中文摘要》

本文以以認知譬喻理論及Lakoff and Turner (1989)的生物圈譬喻分析「金錢」的語料。藉研究漢語經濟用語中的「金錢」譬喻用法，探究漢語中理解金錢的機制及其反應出對金錢特有的認知思維。研究結果發現：一、「金錢」在漢語中主要由八種概念呈現，分別是神，人類，獵物等等。二、漢語對於「金錢」一詞表現出三種思維：一為人是自我中心的，二為人對於金錢的解讀依賴其對生物圈的理解，及三為「金錢」是好的或具影響力的。「金錢」雖為經濟用字，根據漢語中的理解機制可以發現譬喻不僅與我們的生活息息相關，其背後所隱含的語意發展更能表達出人們不同的思維。

關鍵詞：生物國譬喻、語料、認知譬喻理論、認知語言學、經濟用語、
譬喻

投稿日期：2008年9月1日
通過日期：2009年2月25日
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Introduction

Metaphor as a figurative language has a special status in cognitive linguistics. Over the decades, it has had a different interpretation for its high frequency in our daily language. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), metaphor is a common strategy that people understand some abstract things in terms of concrete objects. For example, Time as Money metaphor indicates that people conceptualize the time by means of the concrete object money. So, money is concrete. Yet, we still have a mechanism when speaking about money. Charteris-Black and Musolff (2003) investigate euro during the period euro was losing its value in foreign exchange markets. They present Euro as Battered Infant metaphor to describe the depression euro has faced on the market. Charteris-Black (2000) aims at how people perceive the financial term economy. He presents economy as Person metaphor because economy is shown to have mental and physical process. Their research shed light to our study. We have money in Taiwan Chinese as the main focus. However, though Chinese has different words to account for money, such as cai2 財 ‘wealth’, yin2 銀 ‘silver’, tong2 銅 ‘topper’, xian4 jin1 現金 ‘cash’ and so on, the preset study focuses only on jin1 qian2 金錢 ‘gold-money; money.’ By examining them, we aim to demonstrate the vivid and abundant metaphorical usages of jin1 qian2 and the principles leading people’s perceptions.

Jin1 qian2 has a financial status. However, its metaphorical semantic extensions seem to vividly account for its activeness in human conceptions. Metaphor is an important cognitive device in our linguistic life. As Ungerer and Schmid (2006: 114) claim, “metaphors are powerful tools for our conceptualization of the world.” It is self-evident because Shuell (1990: 102) claims that “If a picture is worth 1,000 words, a metaphor is worth 1,000 pictures!” By breaking literal meanings, the device creates thousands of possibilities. Nevertheless, even though metaphor creates multiple possibilities, people have no difficulty understanding the speaker’s communication intension because conceptual metaphor builds a bridge in between. Metaphor denotes one entity in a target domain by the help of another entity in a source domain. A comprehensible link between two domains takes place because two different domains are comparable and share similar attributes. The mapping device is conceptual metaphor, which can be seen as a body of knowledge by which human beings conceptualize the linguistic utterances (Lakoff and Johnson
1980). In a word, with the help of metaphor and conceptual metaphor, people concretize abstract ideas, and that makes the conceptualizations of the outside world easier and faster.

This paper is organized as follows: (1) introduction, (2) previous research on economic linguistic expressions, (3) the methodology and theoretical framework, (4) results which present the metaphorical extensions of 金錢, (5) discussion which demonstrates the underlying philosophy in people’s mind, and (6) conclusions.

**Previous research on economic linguistic expressions**

Charteris-Black (2000: 156) has investigated the metaphorical expressions of Economy and found that Economy is Organism metaphor. For instance, people utter economic growth. The inanimate entity is conceptualized as if it can grow up. In this way, though economy and organism as two different ideas, they are comparable for they share similar concepts.

When people apply metaphor to comprehend the world, language is twisted, and new meanings are created. However, people have no difficulty understanding the new interpretation, for the mapping from the concrete object (the source domain) to the abstract ideas (the target domain) is systematic. That is to say, the comparisons between the concrete and abstract concepts are not randomly chosen but fall into patterns. Here the systematic assimilation is conceptual metaphor, which contributes to the comprehensible mapping. In other words, conceptual metaphor refers to the schematic knowledge people know about a certain object. It is people's underlying cognitive level which is the bridge between language and thought. Thus, with conceptual metaphor, a group of linguistic utterances can be categorized and narrowed down to a certain shared concept.

For example, Charteris-Black (2000: 156-158) presents Economy as Patient metaphor based on the data he collected. He observes that healthy economy, ailing and remedy occur very frequent in the data. Therefore, though the data are a lot, the shared concept is economy is regarded as a patient who gets cured when receiving the right decisions and vice versa. Thus, by looking into the utterances co-occurring with economy, conceptual metaphor examines the appropriateness of the mapping between two concepts and identifies
the metaphor.

Chung, Ahrens, and Huang (2003: 103) focus on economy in English and Chinese and present that Economy in both languages as Person metaphor. They say so because economy like human beings has growth cycle, such as ‘growth period,’ ‘degeneration’ and ‘weakening.’ Charteris-Black (2000) investigates how people perceive economy and market and illustrate Economy as Patient metaphor. People have ‘economic depression and breakdown,’ suggesting that economy is extended to have mental and physical process.

Similarly, Charteris-Black and Musolff (2003: 162-163) has euro as the research target and report Euro as Person metaphor. For instance, ‘ailing, robust, suffer, debility’ are the common words people employ to describe the value of euro which indicates the poor state of the euro, implying euro is a person or specifically a patient suffering from sickness. Besides being a patient, euro is a ‘battered hero’ or an ‘innocent victim’ which needs some actions to prevent its situation from getting worse.

Moreover, White (2003) has a similar finding. His study aims at understanding people’s conceptualization of economy by means of growth occurring in economy circumstances. He found that personification helps structure economy in laypeople’s mind. ‘Depressed growth, ‘bloated growth’ and ‘aggressive growth’ (White 2003: 136-141) are the physical statements of a person, pointing out human beings are the common concept employed to understand other ideas. The above studies indicate that people have the tendency to utilize human beings as the common source domain in conceptualizing economic linguistic expressions.

Besides being human being metaphor, economy is comprehended by different source domains. For example, liquid is used to interpret economic entities. Goatly (2007: 17) mentions that Money as Blood/Liquid metaphor. Chung, Ahrens, and Sung (2003: 129) discover that Stock Market as Ocean Water metaphor. Stock markets have rally and rise and subside, which account for over half of their collected data. Charteris-Black (2000) also reports that Market as Liquid metaphor. The significance of liquid observed in his research is the ability to hold up solid objects because of the co-occurring utterances with market, like ‘float’ and ‘buoyant.’ Overall, since the rising attention attracted to economy metaphor, the present study has the economic linguistic term jin1 qian2 as the research target.
Methodology & theoretical framework

This study aims to examine the way people conceptualize jin1 qian2 and the Taiwan Mandarin's perceptions behind the linguistic expressions of it. To carry out the research goals, we collect oral linguistic data from Academia Sinica Balanced Corpus Mandarin Chinese, which covers the topics of philosophy, science, social studies, arts, literature, life, and so on. Others are collected from the books, TV programs, newspapers, and so on. Totally, 336 utterances are collected in which 103 of them involve metaphorical interpretations.

Conceptual metaphor theory and Lakoff and Turner’s (1989) Great Chain of Being Metaphor serve as the theoretical framework of the present study. Metaphor refers to the cognitive strategy by which people compare the concrete objects to the abstract ideas (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Goddard 1998; Charteris-Black & Ennis 2001). Figure 1 introduces the conceptual metaphor theory, which involve four concepts: (1) target domain, (2) source Domain, (3) mapping and (4) conceptual metaphor.

![Conceptual Metaphor Diagram](image)

**Fig.1. Metaphorical process**

The target domain (hereafter is TD), the explained concept, is the linguistic proposition that the speakers would like to address. The TD requires more explanation for it is an abstract idea in most cases. Therefore, in order to make an abstract idea easily conceptualized, a vivid and concrete object is recommended and therefore employed. The concrete object is the source domain (hereafter is SD) which functions as the explaining concept to help construct the TD. When the lexical correspondences are found between the SD and the TD, mapping takes place. Conceptual metaphor, as people’s schematic
knowledge, will constraint the mappings into a single shared concept. That is also the very significance of conceptual metaphor for the mappings between the concrete and abstract is systematic and fall into patterns.

For example, AN ARGUMENT IS A BUILDING, given by Ungere and Schmid (2006: 123) will well explain the preceding terms.

(a) We have got a framework for a solid argument.

(b) With the groundwork you’ve got, you can construct a pretty solid argument.

The argument in (a) and (b) is the TD that needs to be concretized. It appears to be the proposition or the TD addressed by the interlocutor. An argument is such an abstract concept that a concrete object is required to characterize its properties and make it more understandable. The required concrete object defined as the SD here is the building. Mappings between an argument and a building are ‘the framework’ in (a), and ‘the groundwork,’ ‘construct,’ and ‘solid’ in (b), which appear to be lexical correspondences in between. Though we have found different lexical choices, the shared concept is only one, buildings.

Lakoff and Turner (1989) propose the Great Chain of Being Metaphor. The Great Chain of Being is a model which demonstrates the vertical relationship of different kinds of beings as Figure 2 presents.

It has three implications. First, it is a five-level hierarchical structure. Second, beings or substances are categorized into different scale and are distinguished from the others according to the highest attributes and the behaviors they have in nature. For instance, human beings who are in the highest layer have higher-order attributes and behaviors such as abstract reasoning, highly developed thinking and consciousness; animals appear in the second, which have instinctual attributes and behaviors; plants in the third scale have biological attributes and behaviors, and so on.

Third, beings or substances in the higher level have all the attributes and behaviors of those beneath. Fourth, the upper beings dominate the lower beings. For example, human beings in the upper position have not only rationality but all the attributes and behaviors of
beings in the lower four levels. Besides, they dominate the beings beneath so it is natural to say that humans dominate dogs. Animals like cats and dogs can not think but have animal instincts, which the lower three do not have. Plants like flowers and trees can not think or have instincts but have biological behaviors, which the lower two do no have. Complex objects like medicine are inanimate but have functions, which the natural physical objects do not have. As for natural physical objects like water, they refer to the inanimate pure substance, which only has natural physical properties.

The Great Chain of Being Metaphor is useful for it is our common sense, which provides us a way to understand one thing in terms of another. For instance, ‘Jennifer is a lion,’ implies that Jennifer is compared to a lion. She was the kind of person who has lion’s animal instinctual attributes and behaviors by which what Jennifer is like is encoded. Moreover, ‘money talks’ indicates that money is compared to a person, who has the power to speak. Therefore, with Great Chain of Being Metaphor, it is easier for people to comprehend one thing in a certain scale in terms of that in other scales, by which the attributes of the speakers’ propositions are pointed out.

The metaphorical extensions of jin qian

In this section, the analysis of jin1 qian2 ‘money’ will be analyzed in terms of conceptual metaphor theory. In other words, the data are categorized in terms of the lexical correspondences or the mapping and by identifying the shared concept among the mappings. For example, when dealing with example (c)-(e), the lexical correspondences are shen2 tong2 神通 ‘bionic’ and mo2 bai4 膜拜 ‘to worship’ in (c), bai4 拜 ‘worship’ in (d) and jiu4 shi4 zhu3 救世主 ‘Savior’ in (e). Jin1 qian2 are identified as deities for deities who are considered to have magic power and are worshiped. Therefore, we generalize the conceptual mapping principle to be JIN QIAN IS DEITIES.

(c) shen2 tong2 神通 ‘bionic’
mo2 bai4 膜拜 ‘to worship’
wu2 suo3 bu4 zai4 de shen2 tong2 jin1 qian2 shou4 dao4 zi3 min2 de mo2 bai4
無所不在的神通金錢，受到子民的膜拜
‘money is god that is bionic and worshiped by its Jesus people’
(d) bai4 拜 ‘worship’

_tal shi2 zu2 de bai4 jin1_

她十足的拜金
‘she is a material girl’

(c) jiu4 shi4 zhu3 救世主 ‘Savior’

_jin1 qian2 jiu4 shi4 tal men de jiu4 shi4 zhu3_

金錢就是他們的救世主
‘money is their Savior’

Accordingly, eight main metaphorical clusters which help the conceptualizations of _jin1 qian_ are: (1) deities, (2) human beings, (3) preys, (4) plants, (5) water, (6) commodities, (7) medicine and (8) dirty objects. They are presented in turn in the following sections.

1. _Jin qian is deities_

Examples (1)-(3) are the metaphorical expressions of _jin1 qian2_ as deities. In example (1) _Tal shi2 zu2 de bai4 jin1_ 她十足的拜金 ‘she is a material girl’, _bai4_ 拜 ‘worship’ is the lexical correspondence which contributes _jin1 qian2_ as humans, and so on. Here _jin1 qian2_ is understood as humans because deities involve having almighty power which can make everything so that it is worshiped and respected and _jin1 qian2_ involves being everything so that it is highly admired.

(1) bai4 拜 ‘worship’

_tal shi2 zu2 de bai4 jin1_

她十足的拜金
‘she is a material girl’

(2) shen2 tong2 神通 ‘bionic’, _mo2 bai4_ 膜拜 ‘worship’

_wu2 suo3 bu4 zai4 de shen2 tong2 jin1 qian2 shou4 dao4 zi3 min2 de mo2 bai4_

無所不在的神通金錢，受到子民的膜拜
‘money is god that is bionic and worshiped by its Jesus people’

(3) jiu4 shi4 zhu3 救世主 ‘Savior’

_jin1 qian2 jiu4 shi4 tal men de jiu4 shi4 zhu3_

金錢就是他們的救世主
‘money is their Savior’
2. Jin qian is humans

Examples (4)-(6) are the metaphorical expressions of *jin1 qian2* as humans. Example (4) shows that the *wan2 nong4* 玩弄 ‘to play’ and *wan2 jia1* 玩家 ‘player’ are the lexical correspondences which contribute *jin1 qian2* as humans. All three examples indicate that *jin1 qian2* is understood as humans because humans involve having life, social interaction and the ability to have the very control and *jin1 qian2* involves having the ability to control and influence the social interaction.

(4) *wan2 nong4* 玩弄 ‘to play’, *wan2 jia1* 玩家 ‘player’

*niu3 yue1 hua2 er3 jie1 wan2 nong4 jin1 qian2 you2 xi4 de jin1 qian2 wan2 jia1*

紐約華爾街玩弄金錢遊戲的金錢玩家

‘the money players in Wall Street in New York who plays money games’

(5) *yin3 you4* 引誘 ‘to entice’

*bei2 shou4 jin1 qian2 suo3 yin3 you4*

別受金錢所引誘

‘should not be enticed by money’

(6) *kong4 zhi4* 控制 ‘to control’

*ren2 jian1 de shi4 quan2 you2 jin1 qian2 kong4 zhi4*

人間的事, 全由金錢控制

‘money controls everything in the world’

3. Jin qian is preys

Examples (7)-(9) are the metaphorical expressions of *jin1 qian2* as preys. Example (7) shows that the *lie4 ren2* 獵人 ‘hunter’ is the lexical correspondence which makes *jin1 qian2* to be preys. And the *diao4* 釣 ‘fish’ is the lexical correspondence which contributes *jin1 qian2* as preys in example (8). All three examples indicate that *jin1 qian2* is understood as preys because preys involve being hunted and *jin1 qian2* involves being fished.

(7) *lie4 ren2* 獵人 ‘hunter’

*shang3 jin1 lie4 ren2*

賞金獵人

‘reward hunter’
(8) diao 釣 ‘fish’
ni2 diao4 da4 qian2 le ma
‘did you fish something’
(9) laoi 撈 ‘to net’
zhe4 ci4 zhun3 bei4 hao3 hao3 de da4 laoi yi4 bi3 (qian2)
‘to be ready to get a great amount of money this time’

4. Jin qian is plants

Examples (10)-(12) are the metaphorical expressions of jin1 qian2 as plants. Jin1 qian2 gual ge4 金錢瓜葛 ‘money entanglement’ in example (10) is the lexical correspondence which makes jin1 qian2 to be plants. All three examples show that jin1 qian2 is understood as plants because plants involve plants involve having a life cycle, sprouting, blossoming, and bearing fruits and jin1 qian2 involves the vital life cycle.

(10) gual ge4 瓜葛 ‘entanglement’
jin1 qian2 gual ge3
金錢瓜葛
‘money entanglement’
(11) meng2 ya2 萌芽 ‘sprout’
jin1 ji4 po4 mie4 de jie2 guo3 qi3 yin1 yu2 qi1 nian2 qian2 meng2 ya2 de jin1 qian2 you2 xi4
經濟破滅的結果起因於七年前萌芽的金錢遊戲
‘the extinction of the economy resulted from the money game which began seven years ago’
(12) kai1 hua1 jie2 guo3 開花結果 ‘to blossom and bear fruits
deng3 dai4 tou2 zil de jin1 qian2 kai1 hual jie2 guo3 le
等待投資的金錢開花結果了
‘when the money we investigate yields positive returns’

5. Jin qian is water

Examples (13)-(15) are the metaphorical expressions of jin1 qian2 as water. In example (13) xuan2 wol 旋渦 ‘whirlpool’ is the lexical correspondence which makes jin1 qian2 to be water. All three examples show that jin1 qian2 is understood as water
because water involves flowing, tide, or even flood and jin1 qian2 involves the flowing attributes.

(13) xuan2 wo1 旋渦 ‘whirlpool’

tou2 ru4 jin1 qian2 de xuan2 wo1

投入金錢的旋渦
‘to throw oneself into the money whirlpool’

(14) fan4 lan4 汾濫 ‘flood’

jin1 qian2 you2 xi4 fan4 lan4

金錢遊戲汾濫
‘money games flood’

(15) zhang3 chao2 man4 yan2 漲潮蔓延 ‘the rising tide spreads’

zu3 zhi3 jin1 qian2 da4 shi3 de zhang3 chao2 man4 yan2

阻止金錢大勢的漲潮蔓延
‘to stop the violent spread of the money’

6. Jin qian is commodities

Examples (16)-(18) are the metaphorical expressions of jin1 qian2 as commodities. Here jin1 qian2 is understood as commodities because commodities involve business or exchange (16) and jin1 qian2 involves the value (17) in the market (18).

(16) shang1 jil 商機 ‘business’

bi3 jiao4 jin1 qian2 shang1 jil

比較金錢商機
‘to compare the business money brings’

(17) zeng1 zhi2 增值 ‘appreciation’

zhuo2 zhong4 yu2 zhuil zhu2 jin1 qian2 zeng1 zhi2 de guan1 guang1 shi4 ye4

著重於追逐金錢價值的觀光事業
‘the tourism enterprise emphasizes and looks for the appreciation of the money’

(18) shang1 jil 行情 ‘market’

jin1 qian2 bing4 fei1 wan4 ling2 dan1 zhi3 yao4 fu2 he2 shi4 chang3 hang2 qing2 ji2 ke3

金錢並非萬靈丹，只要符合市場行情即可
‘money is not everything. It works when it conforms to the market requirements’
7. Jin qian is medicine

Examples (19)-(21) are the metaphorical expressions of jin1 qian2 as commodities. Here jin1 qian2 is understood as medicine because medicine involves curing people and saving lives and jin1 qian2 involves the same curative effect.

(19) ma2 bi4 麻煩 ‘to paralyze’
jin1 qian2 jiu4 xiang4 ma3 fei1, ma2 bi4 le ren2 xin1
金錢就像嗎啡，麻煩了人心
‘money is morphine which will paralyze people’s heart’
(20) zheng3 jiu4 ren2 lei4 拯救人類 ‘to save human beings’
jin1 qian2 ke3 yi3 zheng3 jiu4 ren2 lei4
金錢可以拯救人類
‘money could save human beings’
(21) fu2 服 ‘to take (medicine)’
jin1 qian2 shi4 yi4 tie3 wan4 ling2 dan1 yi4 fu3 jian4 xiao4
金錢是一帖萬靈丹，一服見效
‘money really is panacea. It works after taking it’

8. Jin qian is dirty objects

Examples (22)-(24) are the metaphorical expressions of jin1 qian2 as dirty objects. Here jin1 qian2 is understood as dirty objects because a dirty object involves making things polluted and jin1 qian2 involves the ability to get things rot and stinky.

(22) xi3 洗 ‘to wash’
xi3 qian2
洗錢
‘to wash money’
(23) fu3 hua4 腐化 ‘rot’
jin1 qian2 fu3 hua4 ren2 xin1
金錢腐化人心
‘money rot human beings’ heart’
(24) wu2 ran3 污染 ‘pollution’
ao4 yun4 hui4 que4 shi3 zhong1 mei2 you3 shou4 dao4 jin1 qian2 de wu2 ran3
奧運會卻始終沒有受到金錢的汙染
‘the Olympics is free from the stain of money toward the end’

The SD *jin1 qian2* is interpreted in terms of eight different SD, namely, (1) deities, (2) human beings, (3) preys, (4) plants, (5) water, (6) commodities, (7) medicine and (8) dirty objects, as shown in Figure 3.

![Diagram showing conceptual mapping between jin1 qian2 and other SDs](image)

**Fig. 3.** The conceptual mapping between *jin1 qian2* and other SDs

Further, in order to reveal Taiwan Mandarin speaker’s underlying perception of *jin1 qian2*, people’s linguistic preferences are concerned. For the purpose, Table 1 presents the number of tokens and the percentage of each metaphor.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>SDs</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humans</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preys</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plants</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commodities</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicine</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dirty objects</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>103</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *Academia Sinica Balanced Corpus Mandarin Chinese*

N in Table 1 refers to the total number by which *jin1 qian2* is conceptualized. For example, when conceptualizing *jin1 qian2*, 13 of them (12%) employ supernatural power. 44 of them (43%) are conceptualized in terms of humans, and so on. Here it is found that humans (43%) are Taiwan Mandarin’s favorite SD, water (14%) the second, deities (12%) the third in exemplifying *jin1 qian2*. 
Discussion

The metaphorical extensions of the jin1 qian2 金錢 reveal three assumptions underlying people’s mind. First, people are egocentric. Second, people apply their biological understanding into the conceptualization of metaphor. Third, jin1 qian2 is conceptualized to be either good or powerful.

People are egocentric. According to Waller, Lippa, and Richardson (2007: 3), egocentricity means “people’s tendency to use egocentric reference systems to code information about their environment”. That is to say, people use themselves as the reference to interpret other objects in the world. We show that people are egocentric because human beings are very often the source domain that helps conceptualize jin1 qian2. In fact, human beings not merely help construct the financial term jin1 qian2 but appear to be the most frequent strategy people tend to apply. As Henderson claims (1994 in Charteris-Black 2000: 158): ‘personification is a device for us to talk about abstract forces or processes make us feel more at home in a hostile world.’

Further, according to Kövecses (2002: 4) ‘in cognitive linguistic view, metaphor is defined as understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain.’ Our study discovers that people apply their biological understanding into the conceptual understanding of metaphor. That the metaphorical extensions of jin1 qian2 conform to the Great Chain of Being Metapohr is significant for it manifests our conceptual understanding is co-related.

We discover that jin1 qian2 is conceptualized by means of eight concepts, which can be re-categorized by means of Great Chain of Being Metapohr proposed by Lakoff and Turner (1989). The consistency between Great Chain of Being Metapohr and the eight source domains is demonstrated in Figure 4. Human beings belong to the first hierarchy. Preys belong to the second category, and so on.

Jin1 qian2 as humans for jin1 qian2 has higher attributes or behaviors, psychological condition in other words. For instance, bei2 shou4 jin1 qian2 suo3 yin3 you4 別受金錢所引誘 ‘do not be enticed by money’ indicates jin1 qian2 plays tricks. Jin1 qian2 as plants metaphor for jin1 qian2 has biological attributes or behaviors. For example, jin1 qian2 has gual 瓜 ‘melon,’ ge4 葛 ‘kudzu’ (10) hual 花 ‘flower’ and
Further, *jin1 qian2* as commodities metaphor for *jin1 qian2* has its functional attributes, to be exchanged on the market. With Great Chain of Being metaphor, we know that people apply their biological chain into their metaphorical understanding.

Here it is found that *jin1 qian2* as deities metaphor is left out. This metaphorical phenomenon may be resulted from the slight difference between the Great Chain of Being Metaphor of the western society and that of Taiwan Mandarin. Besides, it reinforces the positive viewpoint towards *jin1 qian2*.

![Fig. 4. The correspondence between Great Chain of Being Metaphor and the metaphorical extensions of *jin1 qian2*](image)

Above all, *jin1 qian2* is recognized to be either good or powerful due to the implications shown in the source domains. For instance, when *jin1 qian2* is deities, money is thought to be able to make everything and has to be worshiped and respected. When *jin1 qian2* is human beings, it is good since people believe that *ren2 shi4 wan4 wu4 zhi0 ling2* 人是萬物之靈 ‘human beings as the superior of all the creature,’ implying that humans have the power of control. Further, when *jin1 qian2* is plants, plants bear fruits, blossom, and sprout. All are supposed to be positive. When *jin1 qian2* is medicine, the good and crucial image *jin1 qian2* has is even more vivid since medicine cures disease, benefiting the world. When *jin1 qian2* is water, *jin1 qian2* is conceptualized to be powerful for it has big...
trend like jinl qian2 da4 shi3 de zhang3 chao2 man4 yan2 金錢大勢的漲潮蔓延 ‘the violent spread of the money’ or for its destructing power as jinl qian2 you2 xi4 fan4 lan4 金錢遊戲氾濫 ‘money games flood.’

However, even though jinl qian2 as dirty objects, which is negative, the power jinl qian2 implies can be observed. For example, ni3 cai2 zhan4 ji3 ge4 xiu4 qian2 jiu4 xiao3 zhang3 de bu4 de2 liao3 你才赚幾個臭銅就囂張的了不得 ‘such a small amount of stinky money you earned can make you so arrogant’ suggests that even that money is dirty, it enables people to feel proud.

The tendency to view jinl qian2 positively is predictable as Lea and Webley (2006: 163-164) indicate that the strong interest in money is biological. Our study proves that money is a useful tool which makes exchange and the gain of people’s wealth the most efficiently. In this perspective, jinl qian2 has the very power to draw people’s attention, especially in an industrialized society.

Conclusion

The present study focuses on two issues. First, what concepts are borrowed to assimilate jinl qian2. Second, what is the hidden principle based on the concepts which help conceptualize jinl qian2. For the first issue, we have observed people tend to rely on eight concepts, which are composed of (1) deities, (2) human beings, (3) preys, (4) plants, (5) water, (6) commodities, (7) medicine and (8) dirty objects.

As for the second, three underlying principles are observed. First, people are egocentric. We said so because egocentricity involves using human beings themselves as the center to interpret the objects on earth. We discover that personification is the most preferred source domain that Taiwan Mandarin speakers feel easy to use, which indicates human beings are the referents in interpreting the financial term jinl qian2. Second, people apply their biological understanding of Great Chain into their understanding of metaphorical expressions. This tendency manifests cognitive linguistics’ perspective of metaphor, in which an abstract idea is understood in terms of concrete ones. Third, jinl qian2 is good for most the source domains which people use for the conceptualization of jinl qian2 imply jinl qian2 is positive for its usefulness and economic value on the exchange.

Overall, the metaphorical understanding is as Charteris-Black (2000: 154) pointed out
that “metaphors do not exist in isolation from each other.” As a matter of fact, the underlying conceptualizations can be found from identifying sets of related metaphors as economic linguistic expression 金錢 'money' in Mandarin Chinese showed.
References


Taiwan Mandarin Speakers' Underlying Perception of Money: The Metaphorical Extensions of \textit{jin1 qian2}

Hsin-Mei Huang* & Shelley Ching-Yu Hsieh**

Abstract

This is a corpus based study which investigates the metaphorical expressions of the economic linguistic expression \textit{jin1 qian2} 金錢 ‘money’ in terms of a cognitive linguistics perspective. Motivated by the attention on economics and the interest in metaphor, we address two research issues: (a) the common source domains that Taiwan Mandarin utilizes in interpreting \textit{jin1 qian2}, (b) the underlying principles that lead to people’s interpretations of \textit{jin1 qian2}. In order to answer the research issues, we use a conceptual metaphor theory and Lakoff and Turner’s (1989) Great Chain of Being Metaphor as the theoretical framework to categorize the data collected from Academia Sinica Balanced Corpus of Mandarin Chinese. Eight concepts are found to conceptualize \textit{jin1 qian2}. They are deities, human beings, prey, plants, water, etc. By investigating the metaphorical extensions of \textit{jin1 qian2}, the present study found that (1) people are egocentric, (2) they are able to apply their biological understanding into the conceptualization of metaphor, and (3) \textit{jin1 qian2} is conceptualized to be either good or powerful. Sets of related metaphors exist and link the underlying conceptualizations. Metaphors do not exist in isolation but co-relatedly.

Key Words: corpus, cognitive linguistics, economic linguistic expression, metaphor, conceptual metaphor, Great Chain Metaphor

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