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從認知語意學觀點探討中文「婊」一字的語意變遷

A Cognitive Semantic Perspective on the Semantic
Change of 婊 *biǎo* in Mandarin Chinese

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摘要

　　本研究旨在探討中文中「婊」一字的語意變遷以及語意發展——「婊」一字原來為詈罵語，作名詞使用，但在現代用法中也可以當作謂語。應用 Evans (2005) 提出的「原則性多意模型理論」以及 Traugott 與 Dasher (2002) 所提出的「語意變遷的導引推論理論」，我們不僅分析、說明「婊」一字在現代用法中衍伸出的多個語意，也整合繪出此字的語意網絡圖，並藉由追朔此字字源、歷時性的語意變遷，結合導引推論理論的鐘形圖示，闡釋了此字在變遷的過程中所牽涉的隱喻、轉喻等認知機制以及文化與社會因素。此外，我們也比對分析「婊」一字在「PTT 實業坊」以及「新聞報紙」兩個不同語域中的使用情形，例如該字在兩個語域中的詞類分布以及語意韻等等，藉此讓我們更了解次文化對於主流文化的影響。總結來說，本研究藉由深入探討「婊」一字的語意變遷以及發展，除了闡釋語言與文化錯綜複雜的關係，同時也一探認知機制在語意變遷的過程中的運作，並增加多義詞研究的豐富度。

關鍵詞：認知語意學、多義詞、詈罵語、髒話、空間隱喻、文化研究、語意變遷、
　　　　語意韻

Abstract
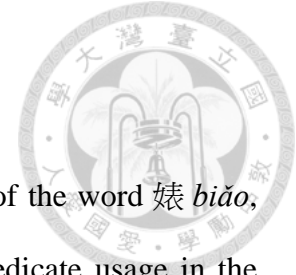
This study focuses on the semantic change and development of the word 婊 *biǎo*, which is once used as an expletive, and then has developed a predicate usage in the modern era. We apply not only the model of Principled Polysemy (Evans 2005) to illustrate the semantic network of 婊 *biǎo*, but the Invited Inferencing Theory (Traugott and Dasher 2002) for its semantic change as well as some possible cultural and social factors. In addition, we compare and contrast how the word is used (e.g., the semantic prosody, the distribution of syntactic categories) in two registers—PTT forum and newspapers, enables us to understand more about the influence of the subculture on the main culture. Through the analysis, we illustrate not only the relation between language and culture but how cognitive mechanisms function during semantic change. Moreover, we provide a complete description and semantic network for the word 婊 *biǎo*, which complements the research gap of Chinese study on this word.

Keywords: Cognitive Semantics; polysemy; expletives; spatial metaphor; cultural meaning; semantic change; semantic prosody

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Motivation and the Issue

Expletives play an important role in a culture. How these words come into existence can inform us about the social and historical backgrounds of a culture. In addition, as a part of the language, these words may inevitably go through linguistic changes (e.g., amelioration), which usually involve various social and cultural factors as well. For instance, English expletive *bitch*, according to Collin (1984), has had a colorful and busy past. The main meaning of this word is "female animal, particularly a canine." It became applicable to a human female, which highlights the similarity in sexual behavior of human and nonhuman beings, with the underlying cultural value of Christian morality.

Similar to English *bitch*, in Chinese, we also have an expletive for degrading females, which is called 婊子 *biǎozi*, an expression highlighting the sexual behavior of an immoral female and showing the similar value that women should be moral. What is different from English, however, is that the semantic development of 婊子 *biǎozi* involves a more complex spatial metaphor and culture-specific value in terms of human relationships in Chinese culture. According to Xu (2011), the expression 婊子 *biǎozi* is originally written as 表子 *biǎozi*, which refers to "a concubine or a secret lover." This phenomenon arouses our interests since the word 表 *biǎo*, which is commonly used as a spatial term denoting "outer, outside, or surface," is used in the domain of human relationships. On the other hand, Hu (2016) provides a detailed diachronic linguistic study. He indicates how the expression goes through reanalysis and gradually changes from a neutral term 表子 *biǎozi* 'a concubine or a secret lover' to a degrading term. However, neither Xu (2011) nor Hu (2016) provides further explanations for how and why people use 表子 *biǎozi* to refer to 'a concubine or a secret lover'. Therefore, we

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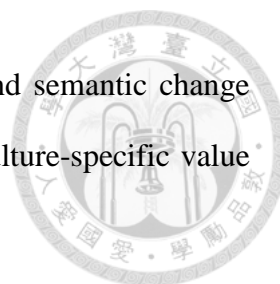
found a research gap in investigating the semantic development and semantic change from the word 表 *biǎo* to the expletive 婊 *biǎo*, which involves culture-specific value as well as a series of steps of semantic change.

The semantic change, however, does not reach an end. When we look up the expletive 婊 *biǎo* in the Online Dictionary from the Ministry of Education (henceforth ODMOE), we can find two definitions, as shown in (1). The first definition is "a prostitute," in (1a) and the second one is "an expletive to female" in (1b).

(1) a.

俗稱	以	性交易	為業	的	女子。
súchēng	*yǐ*	*xìngjiāoyì*	*wéiyè*	*de*	*nǚzǐ*

'Usually refers to a prostitute'

　　b.

俗	以為	辱罵	女人	的	粗話，
sú	*yǐwéi*	*rǔmà*	*nǚrén*	*de*	*cūhuà*
含	貶義。				
hán	*biǎnyì*				

'An expletive to females, with a degrading sense'

Nonetheless, it will be anomalous if we use the two definitions above to interpret (2) and (3) below, which are found in an online forum called PTT.

(2)

每到	夜深人靜	的	此時	正是	每個
měidào	*yèshēnrénjìng*	*de*	*cǐshí*	*zhèngshì*	*měigè*
公主	嗷嗷待哺	的	時候	(自婊	無誤 XDD)
gōngzhǔ	*áoáodàibǔ*	*de*	*shíhòu*	*zìbiǎo*	*wúwù*

'Every night at this moment, every princess is waiting for someone to buy late-night supper for them. (I'm just teasing at myself XDD)'　(from PTT corpus)

(3)

整天	住	別人	家	整天	發勞騷
zhěngtiān	*zhù*	*biérén*	*jiā*	*zhěngtiān*	*fāláosāo*
整天	耍	婊			
zhěngtiān	*shuǎ*	*biǎo*			

'…lives in other people's houses, keeps complaining about everything, and plays underhanded tricks all day long…'   (from PTT corpus)
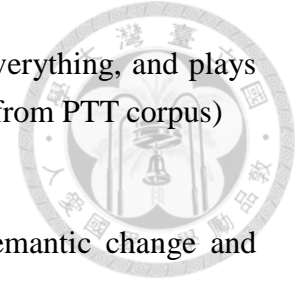
These two examples indicate that 婊 *biǎo* has gone through a semantic change and develops as a polysemous word, whose senses should be inferred from different contexts. Moreover, 婊 *biǎo* in today's usage serves as different syntactic categories. For instance, apart from (2) and (3), we can find expressions such as 婊人 *biǎorén*, 自婊 *zìbiǎo*, and 很婊 *hěnbiǎo* in the Internet forum. In addition, it seems that 婊 *biǎo* as a verb form is less negative than 婊 *biǎo* as a nominal form, especially when speakers want to tease at themselves, as (2) shows.

The linguistic phenomena mentioned above have not been discussed in previous studies, nor have dictionaries and Chinese Wordnet recorded the newly emerging meanings and expressions of 婊 *biǎo*. Therefore, the present paper aims to provide a detailed analysis of the semantic development of the expletive 婊 *biǎo*, within the perspective of Cognitive Linguistics.

1.2 Research Questions

We have pointed out several important points in previous sections about the semantic change and the issue of the newly-emerging polysemous 婊 *biǎo*. To explore the linguistic phenomena, we will focus on the following three research questions.

(i)   How many senses does the newly-emerging polysemous 婊 *biǎo* have?

(ii)   What mechanisms are involved during the semantic change of the word?

(iii)   What can we infer from the semantic prosody of the word during the semantic change?

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1.3　Organization of the Thesis

The thesis consists of six chapters. Chapter 1 provides an overview of the thesis. In Chapter 2, we introduce the theoretical frameworks and three studies on semantic change of expletives—the English one *bitch* and the Chinese one 婊子 *biǎozi*. Chapter 3 introduces the methodology, including how we collect and categorize our data. Chapter 4 presents the analysis on the senses of the newly-emerging 婊 *biǎo* as well as the diachronic and synchronic semantic change of 婊 *biǎo*, where we also provide explanations for semantic change and the semantic networks of the word. Chapter 5 discusses some implications from the semantic change of the word, including cultural issues, semantic prosody of the word, and how it is used in two different registers—the online forum PPT and newspapers. Finally, Chapter 6 provides a conclusion and suggestions for future studies.

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Chapter 2 Literature Review
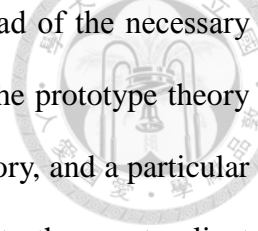
2.1 Theoretical Framework

In this section, we introduce theories and theoretical terms that are applied in the present study, including the cognitive perspective to polysemy and the model of Principled Polysemy (Evans, 2004, 2005; Evans and Tyler, 2004a, 2004b; Evans and Green, 2006; Tyler and Evans, 2001b, 2003), the concept of metaphor and metonymy, the Invited Inferencing Theory of Semantic change (Traugott and Dasher, 2002), the cognitive semantic approach to conversion (Martsa, 2013), and finally the concept of semantic prosody.

2.1.1. A Cognitive perspective on Word Meaning and the Model of Principled Polysemy

Cruse (2011: 53) points out that "…all meaning, whether conventionally associated with a linguistic expression or expressions, or whether it arises by pragmatic construal, is conceptual in nature." A concept is a "mental construct" that represents the correspondence to "a coherent category" of things in a world, and is therefore vital to human activities such as communication, learning, and so on. Concepts result from categorization, which helps to organize the concepts within the network of encyclopaedic knowledge, and which is therefore central to the human conceptual system in terms of knowledge representation as well as linguistic meaning (Evans and Green, 2006).
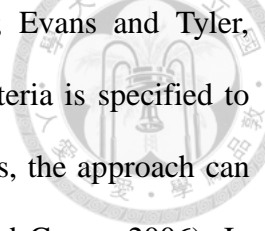
Categorization is essential to cognition so that Cognitive Linguistics takes a specific perspective in the study of polysemy, which is to analyze polysemy as a form of categorization (Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, 2007). In the 1970s, cognitive psychologist Eleanor Rosch proposed in her early research (e.g., Rosch, 1978; Rosch and Mervis,

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1975) that humans categorize "with reference to a prototype" instead of the necessary and sufficient conditions by the classical theory. Briefly speaking, the prototype theory indicates that (i) there are central and peripheral members in a category, and a particular member of the category occupies a focal position since it exhibits the most salient features of the category; (ii) members in a category exhibit "a family resemblance structure." This prototype-based conception of categorization influences the development of a cognitive approach to lexical semantics, characterized by the following assumptions (summarized from Evans and Green, 2006):

(i)   Similar to non-linguistic conceptual categories, "words and their senses represent conceptual categories." Consequently, linguistic categories have prototype structure.

(ii)   Word meanings are typically polysemous, and are organized relative to a prototype or prototypes. Therefore, lexical categories form radial categories, which are modeled in terms of a radiating lattice configuration.

(iii)   Radial categories, especially meanings extended from the prototype, are motivated by general cognitive mechanisms—conceptual metaphor and image schema transformations.

(iv)   Distinct senses constituting radial categories are stored in long-term semantic memory rather than being generated.

The application of prototype theory can be seen in Brugman (1981), Brugman and Lakoff (1988) and Lakoff (1987) for their analysis on the English preposition *over*. However, Lakoff's approach (also called the full-specification approach) does not provide principled criteria for determining distinct senses and consequently results in proliferation of senses (see Sandra and Rice, 1995; Sandra, 1998; Evans and Green, 2006). Therefore, to make semantic network analyses more objective, Evans and Tyler

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proposed the Principled Polysemy approach (Evans, 2004, 2005; Evans and Tyler, 2004a, 2004b; Tyler and Evans, 2001, 2003), in which a set of criteria is specified to distinguish each distinct sense. Originally for analyzing prepositions, the approach can also be applied to analysis on other syntactic categories (Evans and Green, 2006). In Evans (2005), he deals with the issue of polysemy of the lexeme *time* within the framework of cognitive linguistics (i.e., the assumptions that we have mentioned above). He considers how the range of senses associated with this form can be accounted for in a principled and systematic manner by applying the Principled Polysemy Model.
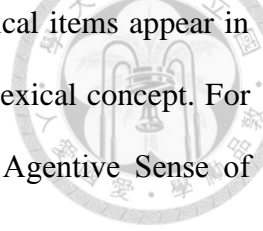
The range of distinct senses constitutes a motivated semantic network that is organized with respect to a central Sanctioning Sense (i.e., the prototypical sense as a center of a semantic network), which is determined as follows:

(i)   historically earliest attested meaning

(ii)   predominance in the semantic network, in the sense of type-frequency

(iii)   predictability regarding other senses

(iv)   a sense which relates to lived human experience of time (i.e., experience at the phenomenological level)

Centering on this Sanctioning Sense, other distinct senses represents a radial-like structure and constitute a word's semantic network. For determining each distinct sense, Evans proposes the following three criteria as principles (Evans 2005: 41):

(i)   Meaning Criterion: If a sense is counted as distinct, it must contain additional meaning which is not apparent in any other senses. For instance, *time* in "The time for a decision has arrived" denotes the Moment Sense, while *time* in "They bought the cashmere scarves at £50 a time" denotes the Instance Sense.

(ii)   Concept Elaboration Criterion: This criterion is related to "semantic selection restrictions."A distinct lexical concept is characteristic of unique or highly

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distinct patterns of concept elaboration. Namely, certain lexical items appear in syntagmatic or collocational relationship with each distinct lexical concept. For instance, the expression "*The time sped by*" indicates the Agentive Sense of *time*.

(iii)   Grammatical Criterion: If a sense is counted as distinct, it may manifest unique or highly distinct structural dependencies. For instance, *time* as a nominal can be a count noun, a mass noun, or a proper noun.

By applying the above-mentioned criteria, Evans (2005) provides a semantic network for *time*, with eight distinct senses in total, as shown in **Figure 2.1** below. Here we only take the Duration Sense as an example to illustrate how Evans applies the above principles and criteria. He considers the Duration Sense as the Sanctioning Sense in that it is the earliest attested meaning associated with the lexeme *time* according to *The Oxford English dictionary*. In addition, it is regarded as a distinct sense since (i) in terms of the Concept Elaboration Criterion, it appears to be felt as if it is "passing" wither "quickly" or "slowly," as (1) shows; (ii) it can only be used as a mass noun, exemplified by (2).

(1) The time has sneaked/tiptoed by/past.
(2) *A time drags when you're bored.
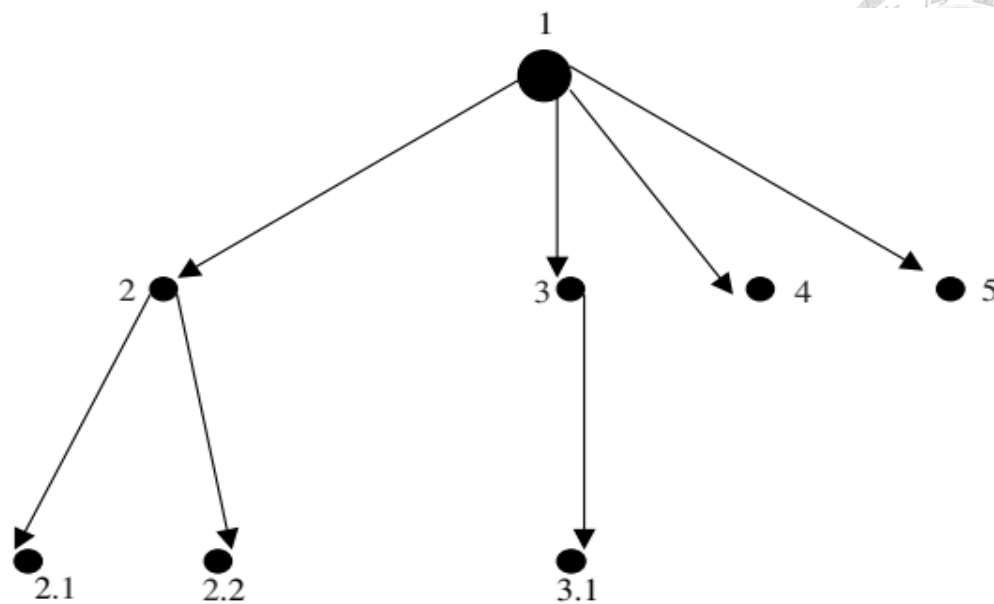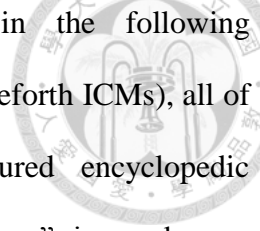
ı: The Duration Sense   3: The Matrix Sense
2: The Moment Sense   3.ı: The Agentive Sense
2.ı: The Instance Sense   4: The Measurement-system Sense
2.2: The Event Sense   5: The Commodity Sense

Figure 2.1 The Semantic Network for *time* (Evans, 2005: 52)

The present study will follow the model of Principled Polysemy to categorize the distinct senses of the newly emerging polysemy 婊 *biǎo*. What should be noted is that we adopt the Concept Elaboration Criterion to meet the need for determination of senses. Originally, this criterion emphasizes the syntagmatic or collocational relationship between the word in question and its distinct lexical concept. The present study, however, also takes into consideration broader units, elaborations, and descriptions related to the word 婊 *biǎo* since its usage depends highly on the whole text. We will elaborate more and present how we analyze the senses of 婊 *biǎo* in Chapter Three and Chapter Four.

2.1.2. Metaphor and Metonymy

In this section, we briefly introduce the notion of metaphor and metonymy.

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However, we need first to introduce three terms used in the following paragraphs—frames, domains, and Idealized Cognitive Model (henceforth ICMs), all of which presenting how human beings characterize the structured encyclopedic knowledge connected with linguistic knowledge. The term "frame" is used as a linguistic term by Charles J. Fillmore, who develops Frame semantics, relating linguistic semantics to encyclopedic knowledge. For instance, to understand the word "sell," we need to know first the situation of commercial transfer that involves elements such as a seller, a buyer, goods, money, and the various relations between each element, and so on. Namely, the word "sell" activates a frame of semantic knowledge relating to specific concepts highlighted by the word (in this case, the COMMERCIAL EVENT frame). A more explicit treatment of "domains" can be found in Langacker (1987: 488), in which a domain is "a coherent area of conceptualization relative to which semantic units may be characterized." Particularly, any mental experience, representational space, concept or conceptual complexes, as well as any elaborate knowledge system, can be a domain.

Finally, ICMs, according to Lakoff (1987), are relatively stable mental representations or structures that enable human beings to organize knowledge about the world, which also account for category structures and prototype effects. Each ICM is a complex structured whole, or a gestalt, and their role is to provide the background knowledge that can be recruited to structure mental spaces. For instance, the category MOTHER is structured by a cluster model consisting of a number of converging ICMs. Namely, there are a number of different MOTHER subcategories such as the birth model, the genetic model, and so on, all of which may categorize a *real* mother. In addition, the composition of ICMs depends on five sorts of structuring principles, and consequently results in five kinds of ICMs: (i) image schematic ICMs; (ii) propositional ICMs; (iii)

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metaphoric ICMs; (iv) metonymic ICMs; (v) symbolic ICMs. Here we explain (i), (ii), (v), and retain (iii) and (iv) to the following sections.

(i)　　Image schematic ICMs: Image schemas serve as the foundation for our conceptual structure. For instance, image schemas such as CONTAINER and UP-DOWN structure our ICM for concepts of SPACE.

(ii)　　Propositional ICMs: Propositional ICMs consists of propositional or factual knowledge. For instance, our knowledge of classifying biological systems such as plants and animals emerges from a propositional ICM.

(v)　　Symbolic ICMs: This kind of ICM represents the knowledge structures similar to Fillmore's semantic frames, illustrated by the example *sell* in COMMERCIAL EVENT frame above. It is described as symbolic in that it is explicitly structured by language, which means its structure contains symbolic units.

From the above studies, we can see that scholars use such different terms as frames, domains, and ICMs. According to Cienki (2007), however, each of the terms "frame," "domain" and "ICM" refer to a kind of knowledge structure that serves as a background for interpreting the meaning of linguistic forms though they seem to find their best functional home within one or two specific theoretical frameworks. To reach consistency, the present study uses the term ICM proposed by Lakoff (1987) instead of the other two terms[1] since ICMs have been used as analytic tools in research on lexical and morphological semantics, polysemy, and the syntax and semantics of grammatical constructions, which caters to the core analysis of the present study.

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[1] Still, we follow Lakoff and Johnson's use of the two terms "source domain" and "target domain" in the following review of metaphor.
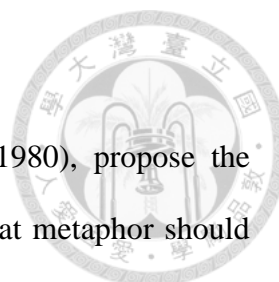
2.1.2.1 Metaphor

Lakoff and Johnson, in their book *Metaphors we live by* (1980), propose the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (henceforth CMT). They point out that metaphor should be considered not as a matter of poetic expression but as a matter of human thought processes, which shows the first proposition of CMT that "the human conceptual system is metaphorically structured and defined" (ibid.: 6). Based on this claim, the second proposition of CMT is that conceptual structures are organized according to mappings or correspondences (in the form of alignment) between conceptual domains—target domains and source domains. Take the common metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY, for instance. The correspondence is shown in the following **Table 2.1** (adapted from Kövecses, 2002 by Geeraerts, 2010), which illustrates how people conceptualize the concept LOVE in terms of the concept JOURNEY, exemplified by expressions such as "This relationship is a *dead-end street*."

Table 2.1 Mappings for LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor

SOURCE: JOURNEY	TARGET: LOVE
the travelers	the lovers
the means of transport	the relationship itself
the journey	the evolution of the relationship
the obstacles encountered	the difficulties experienced
decisions about which way to go	choices about what to do
the destination of the journey	the goals of the relationship

Last but not least, conceptual metaphors are grounded in experience—the notion of embodiment, specified by Johnson (1987) through identifying "image schemas," which are defined as "recurring dynamic patterns of our perceptual interactions and motor programmes that give coherence and structure to our experience" (ibid.: xiv). For instance, the expression *enters into a depression* elucidates how the image schema

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CONTAINMENT is utilized in that people regard the abstract emotional condition as a container that restricts a person's behavior.

CMT attracts a tremendous amount of research and has been expanded in numerous directions. One influential theoretical extension of CMT is Conceptual Integration Network, also called blending theory, proposed in Fauconnier (1994, 1997), Fauconnier and Turner (1994, 1997, 1998, 2002). According to their proposal, blending is "a general cognitive operation that includes analogy, recursion, mental modeling, conceptual categorization, and framing" (Fauconnier and Turner, 1998: 1). Serving a variety of cognitive purposes, therefore, it represents a "dynamic, supple, and active" process in the moment of thinking. With blending, conceptual relations between different mental spaces often undergo compression, which enables human beings to create effective and powerful structure in the blend. **Figure 2.2** represents the typical conceptual network of this theoretical framework. In this model, four mental spaces are presented—the input structures, generic structure, and blend structure—all of which are used generally to model dynamical mappings in thought and language.

Each input space is a partial structure representing the different frames or domains. The cross-space mapping connects the counterparts between the two inputs. The generic space contains what the two input spaces have in common. The concepts and materials in the two inputs partially and selectively projected onto a new space called the blend space, which contains an emergent structure that does not appear in the inputs. Note that three operations are involved in deriving the emergent structure.

(i)   *Composition of elements* provides relations that do not exist in the separate inputs, gives rise to the blend space.

(ii)   *Completion* refers to the operation that a great range of background conceptual structure and knowledge are activated, though we are unconscious of the

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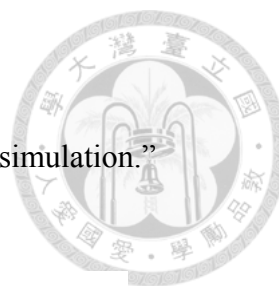
process.

(iii)   *Elaboration* "develops the blend through imaginative mental simulation."
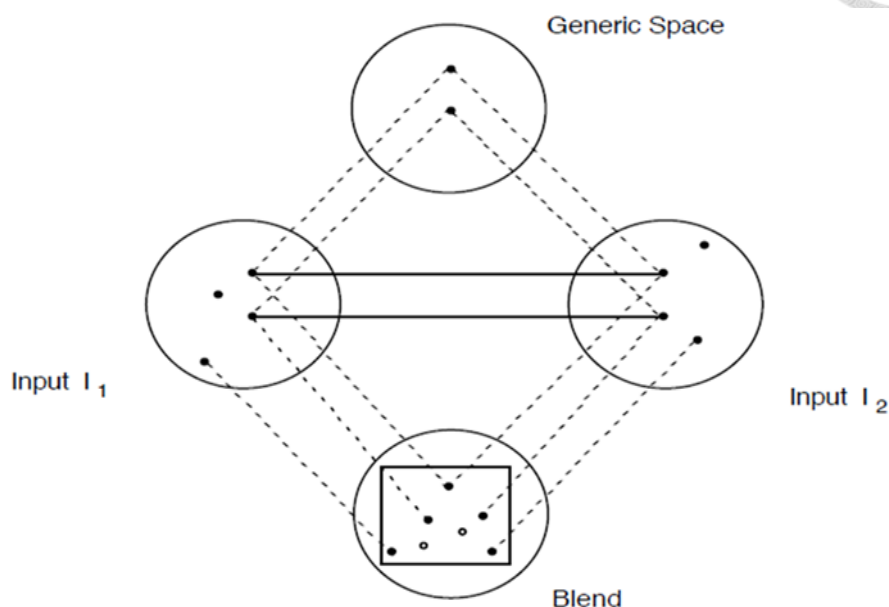
Figure 2.2 Typical Conceptual Integration Network (Fauconnier and Turner, 1998: 13)

2.1.2.2 Metonymy

Kövecses, from the cognitive linguistic viewpoint, defines metonymy as follows:

Metonymy is a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same domain, or idealized cognitive model (ICM). (Kövecses, 2002: 145).

The basis of metonymy lies in the notion of contiguity (Kövecses and Radden, 1998; Peirsman and Geeraerts, 2006), which, according to Koch (2012), means the ideas, memories, and experiences are linked when one is frequently experienced with the other. For instance, we can say that the two words *nurse* and *doctor* are in a contiguous relation in that they belong to the same knowledge structure called HOSPITAL. In addition to contiguity, the concepts of "figure and ground" as well as "profiling" also

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play a crucial role in metonymy, which is characteristic of "a shift in profile" (Langacker, 2008: 69). For instance, when a customer says *I'm the tiramisu* (in the restaurant context), the profile shifts from the dessert to the person who ordered it.

Koch (2012) demonstrates the importance of the cognitive relation of contiguity in semantic and lexical change. In the process of metonymic lexical change, there is always a shift of profiling between not only elements themselves but elements and their background knowledge structure, as **Figure 2.3** illustrates.
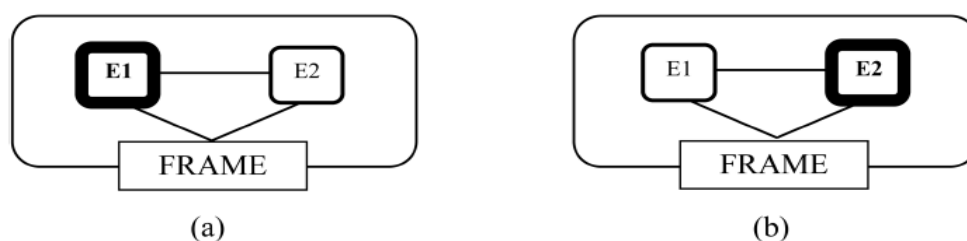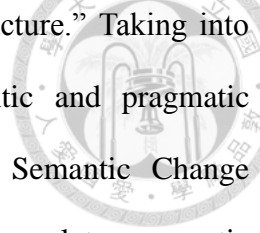
Figure 2.3 The Figure-ground Effect between Two Elements of a Frame (Koch 2012: 267)

In addition, Kövecses and Radden (1998), by appyling the notion of ICM, specify a variety of metonymic tpyes that exist under different ICMs. For instance, Thing-and-part ICM leads to two variants of metonymy: (1) WHOLE THING FOR A PART OF THE THING: *America* stands for *the United States*. (2) PART OF THE THING FOR THE WHOLE THING: *England* stands for *Great Britain*. In addition, there are also Scale ICM (e.g., How *old* are you?), Constitution ICM (e.g., *wood* for "the forest"), Catetory-and-property ICM (e.g., *blacks* for "black people"), and so on.

2.1.3. The Invited Inferencing Theory of Semantic Change

Traugott and Dasher (2002), in their book *Regularity in Semantic Change*, show the predictable paths for semantic change. Their primary goal is to elucidate by examining a range of semantic fields the general tendencies in semantic change

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resulting from "the interaction of language use with linguistic structure." Taking into consideration both cognitive and functional issues (i.e., semantic and pragmatic perspectives), they propose the Invited Inferencing Theory of Semantic Change (henceforth IITSC). They state that the chief driving force that regulates semantic change is pragmatics in that the basic function of language is to convey meaning, which is both cognitive and communicative. Namely, "the context-dependency of abstract structural meaning allows for a change in the situations of use." In addition, what is important in the process of semantic change is the interaction between speakers/writers (SP/Ws) and addressees/readers (AD/Rs), which encompasses the concept of subjectivity and intersubjectivity[2]. The role of SP/Ws is particularly influential in strategizing the dynamic use of meanings.

Figure 2.4 below illustrates the model of IITSC. At the very beginning, SP/Ws initiate the new use of an extant lexeme, which has only an utterance-token meaning in that it arises in context and is not crystallized into commonly used implicatures. Secondly, the new use spread to AD/Rs and are reproduced by them in the role of SP/Ws, which results in the conventionalization of its meaning, which consequently becomes an utterance-type meaning, and finally a coded meaning. What should be noted as well is that semantic change ir related to polysemy in that it is not mere replacement of one item by another (i.e., A > B) but is "layering," as "A > A ~ B (> B)," as the final stage in **Figure 2.4** illustrates—the lexeme L has two coded meanings M_1 and M_2.

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[2] Subjectivity "involves the expressionof self and the representation of a speaker's … perspective or point of view in discourse—what has been called a speaker's imprint" (Finegan 1995:1). Intersubjectivity, according to Traugott and Dasher (2002), is that in communication, both SP/W and AD/R are speaking subject who are aware of each other as speaking subjects.
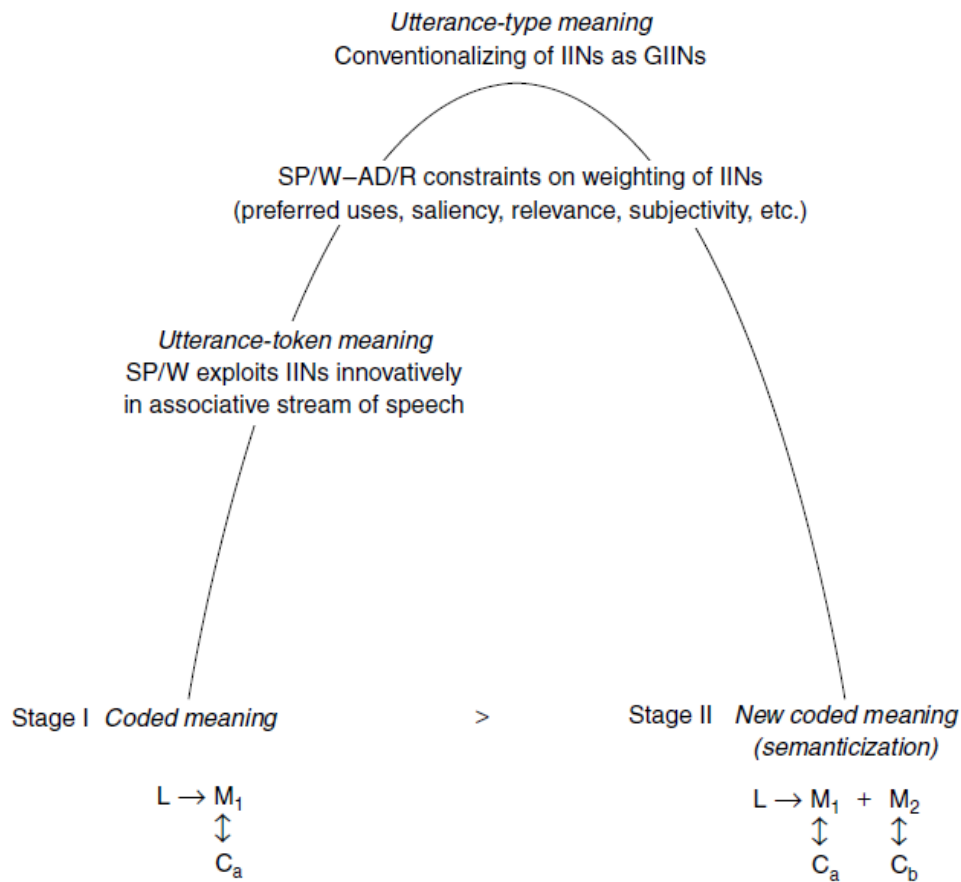
Figure 2.4 Model of the Invited Inferencing Theory of Semantic Change (IITSC; Traugott, 1999a: 96) (L = lexeme; M = Coded meaning; C = Conceptual structure)

Finally, they point out that two mechanisms are usually recognized in semantic change—metaphor and metonymy. However, to emphasize the view of their dynamic dimension and processual function as mechanisms, they refer to them as metaphorization and metonymization. For instance, the semantic change of the word *while* from the temporal meaning "during the time that" to the concessive one "although" involves metaphorization. Metonymization can be exemplified by the noun *concern*, which changes from "interest in some matter" to "the matter that concerns." Through mechanisms such as metaphorization and metonymization (which also include invited inferencing) in the context of spoken and written discourses, SP/Ws innovate a

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metaphoric use of a lexeme. This new use may often spread across the community gradually, which is then acquired by each individual.

2.1.4. A Cognitive Semantic Perspective on Conversion

The semantic change of 婊 *biǎo* also involves the concept of conversion. Martsa (2013), defines conversion within a cognitive perspective as "a morphologically unmarked category-shifting word-formation process motivated by metonymic and / or metaphoric mappings[3]," after a detailed examination on conversion in English with morphological interpretations (i.e., conversion as a zero-derivational process seen in Marchand, 1969; Kastovsky, 1982; Halle, 1973; Kiparsky, 1982:7, etc. cited by Martsa, 2013), syntactic and lexical-semantic interpretations (i.e., conversion as a category changing operation seen in Crocco-Galeas, 1990:28; Myers, 1984; Leech, 1981: 207-230, etc. cited by Martsa 2013), and finally a cognitive semantic interpretation.

Conversion is an unmarked process since the word form of a converted word is the same as its parent word (the original word). Martsa lists different kinds of conversion verbs, conversion nouns and conversion adjectives in English and provides a cognitive semantic analysis on these words by applying the two mechanisms, which finally result in semantic extension. The sentence "She foxed him into giving her all his money" exemplifies metaphoric mapping (Martsa, 2001). To understand the expression, hearers need to first understand that the word *fox* converts from a noun to a verb, with the underlying metaphor A PERSON *DECEIVING* ANOTHER PERSON IS A FOX. On the other hand, the metonymic mapping is illustrated by the expression *author* a book. The word *author* is converted to a verb through the AGENT FOR ACTION metonymy within an Action ICM.

For the categorization of conversion words, although there seems to be no specific

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[3] In the present study, we regard the two terms—metaphoric and metonymic mappings—by Martsa (2013) as metaphorization and metonymization by Traugott and Dasher (2002). We therefore use the latter two terms to emphasize the view of their dynamic dimension and processual function as mechanisms.

categorization for conversion nouns and adjectives, we can refer to Clark and Clark (1979) for the classification of conversion verbs, which are shown as follows:

(i)   LOCATUM VERBS: He blanketed the bed.

(ii)   LOCATION and DURATION VERBS: He kenneled the dog.

(iii)   AGENT and EXPERIENCE VERBS: The customers boycotted the store.

(iv)   GOAL and SOURCE VERBS: Edward powdered the aspirin.

(v)   INSTRUMENT VERBS: John bicycled into town.

(vi)   MISCELLANEOUS VERBS: Jack launched on a hotdog and a coke.
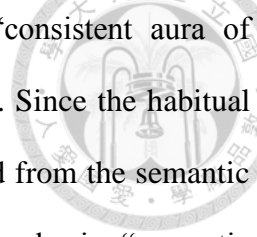
2.1.5   Semantic Prosody

Firth (1957b) states that "You shall know the meaning of a word by the company it keeps." Namely, the co-occurrence of a word with another one enables us to identify the properties of the word in question. For instance, he points out that the meaning of *cows* can be elucidated by collocation[4] such as *They are milking the cows*, *Cows give milk*. The present paper follows this idea and examines semantic prosody—a feature of a word related to the concept of collocation—to understand more about the usage of 婊 *biǎo*.

The idea of semantic prosody is originally from Sinclair (1987) and later recapitulated in Sinclair (1991). He observes the lexicogrammatical environment of the phrase *set in*, and finds out that its grammatical subjects are usually unpleasant states of affairs such as *decay*, *despair*, *ill-will*, and so on. He consequently concludes that "many uses of words and phrases show a tendency to occur in a certain semantic environment" (Sinclair, 1991: 112). The phenomenon observed by Sinclair is then introduced by Louw

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[4] Collocation can be defined broadly as "a lexical relation between two or more words which have a tendency to co-occur within a few words of each other in running text" (Stubbs 2001a: 24).

(1993) as the term "semantic prosody,"[5] which is defined as "consistent aura of meaning with which a form is imbued by its collocates" (ibid.: 30). Since the habitual collocates of *set in* are capable of coloring it, it is no longer isolated from the semantic consistency of its subjects. A notion relative to semantic prosody is "semantic preference," which is "the relation … between a lemma or word form and a set of semantically related words" (Stubbs, 2001a: 65). In other words, semantic prosody is a feature of the node word (i.e., the word under scrutiny), while semantic preference is a feature of the collocates (Partington, 2004a). Examples can be seen from *set in* above—since the phrase shows a "semantic preference" for unpleasant conditions, it therefore carries with a negative semantic prosody.

Bublitz (1996: 6) also points out that "words can have a specific halo or profile, which may be positive, pleasant and good, or else negative, unpleasant and bad…." What is noteworthy, however, is that Bublitz takes into consideration the phenomenon of polysemy and points out that semantic prosodies of a given word vary depending on its different basic meanings. For instance, the word *happen* has an unfavorable semantic prosody in its "occurring-meaning," yet not in its "by-chance-meaning" in *I happen to know his work*. Furthermore, he holds a diachronic perspective and states that a word adopts semantic features from its adjacent item if it is constantly used in that certain kind of context. In addition to indicating the phenomenon of polysemy, semantic prosodies have a pragmatic function (e.g., Sinclair, 1996; Stubbs, 2001a; Hunston 2002, 2007) in that they are "evaluative or attitudinal," which can be used to express the speaker's approval or disapproval for the topic of discourse, and therefore is also called "discourse prosody" (Stubbs, 2001a: 65).

Finally, semantic prosody, which indicates the connotative meanings of words and

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[5] Louw (1993) follows Firth's discussions of prosody in phonological terms that sounds are influenced by their neighbor sounds, a phenomenon called "phonological colouring."

phrases, enables us to make an intensive study of not only in semantics but also other

filed. For instance, Begagić (2013), studying on the phrase *make sense*, points out that

this phrase is usually used in uncertain situations and difficult situations, and suggests

that these features should be added to complement its definition in the dictionary.
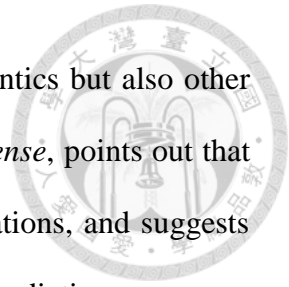
2.1.6 Image Schemas in Cognitive Grammar

In the thesis, we use image schemas to illustrate the process of semantic change.

The way of illustration and the technical terms are based on Langacker's Cognitive

Grammar (Langacker, 2008). Take **Figure 2.5**, for instance. The expressions differ in

meaning and therefore present a different profile, which is highlighted with heavy lines

to indicate the focus of attention and what the expression is conceived. The expression

hub in (a) designates and thus profiles the center of the wheel, which is highlighted with

heavy lines. On the other hand, the expression *rim* in (c) profiles the outer circle part of

a wheel, which is illustrated with heavy lines.
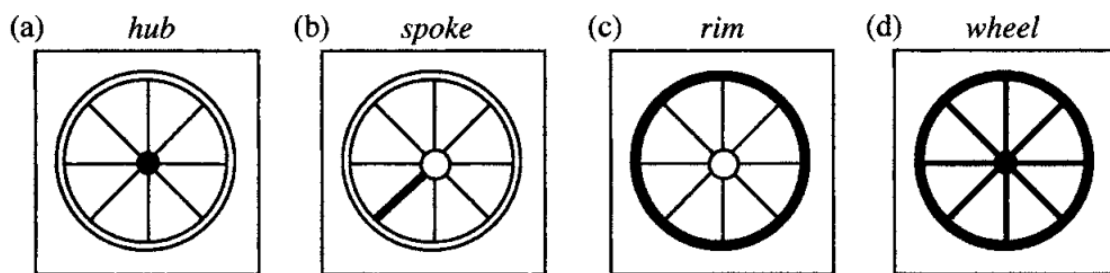
Figure 2.5 Different Profile of Expressions Related to *wheel* (Langacker, 2008: 67)

Another important notion is the trajector/landmark alignment. An expression can

profile a thing or a relationship. When a relationship is profiled, the most prominent

participant, also the primary focus within the profiled relationship, is called the trajector

(tr), while the secondary focus is called the landmark (lm). Consider **Figure 2.6** below.

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The two prepositions *above* and *below*, for instance, differ in choices of trajectory and landmark even though the two words have the same content, and profile the same relationship.
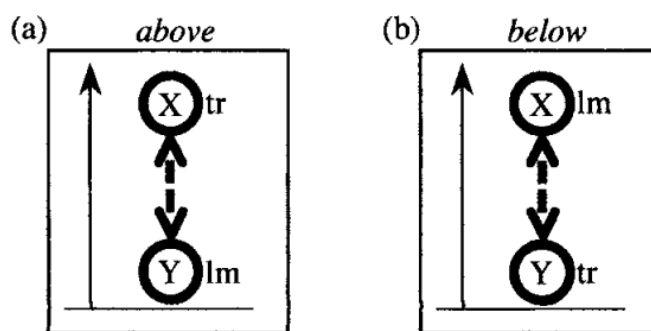
Figure 2.6 Image Schemas for the Two Propositions (Langacker, 2008: 71)

Image schemas are also used to indicate an expression's grammatical category, which is illustrated in **Figure 2.7** below. The square in (2.7a) indicates entity, which is anything that might be referred to in describing conceptual structure such as things, sensations, locations, and so on. A noun is defined schematically as an expression which profiles a thing (not limited to physical objects), as (2.7b) indicates. A verb profiles a process, which can be a complex relationship developing through time indicated by a time axis, as (2.7c) shows.
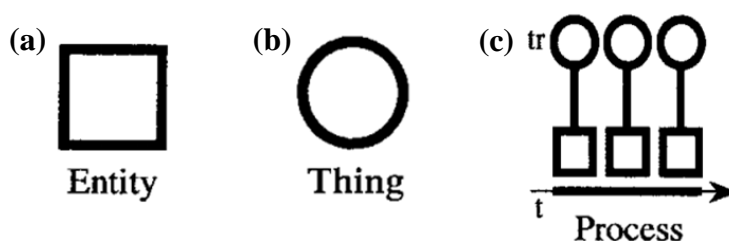
Figure 2.7 Icons of Image Schemas in Cognitive Grammar

Integrating the above illustrations, we can use image schema to illustrate, for instance, the word *enter*, as **Figure 2.8** shows. The word indicates that the trajector (tr) moves

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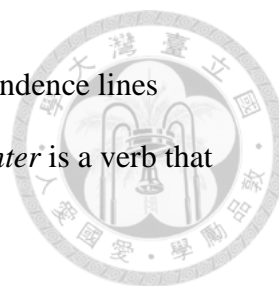
toward the landmark (lm), and finally get into it. The dotted correspondence lines indicate the spatial path, and a time axis is required since the word *enter* is a verb that denotes a process.
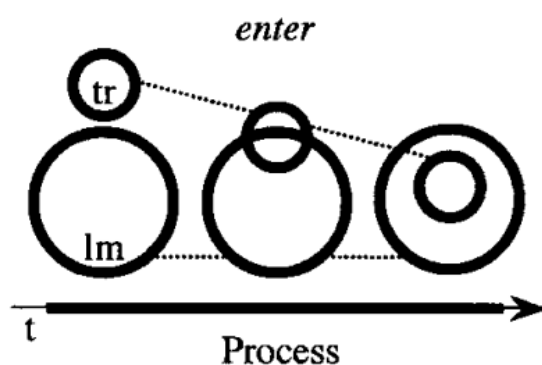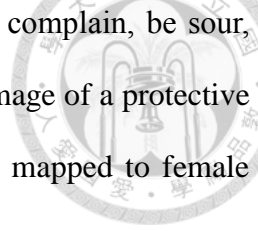
Figure 2.8 Image Schema for the Verb *enter* (Langacker, 2008: 117)

2.2 Relative Studies on the Expletive 婊 *biǎo* 'bitch' in English and Chinese

2.2.1　The English Expletive *bitch*

Collins (1984) studies the historical development of the English expletive *bitch* and elucidates how the semantic mechanism such as metaphors, and other extralinguistic factors such as cultural norms and social values functions during the semantic development of *bitch*. In addition, he provides us with common usages of *bitch*. The main meaning of *bitch* is "the female of the species, especially dogs." The semantic change first occurred around 1400 B.C., when this word became applicable to a female human being, specifically meaning "a prostitute." The cause of the semantic change is a metaphorical association, which highlights the similarity in sexual behaviors of human and nonhuman beings, and which indicates the cultural value of Christian morality that gratification (especially the sexual one) is improper and should be ceased. In addition, he points out that due to functional factors (e.g., to condemn others), the word shifts to different syntactic categories and is used in numerous combinations such as "bitchy." Apart from the first metaphorical derivation, the word *bitch* also develops other

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meanings through metaphorization. For instance, it means "to nag, complain, be sour, carp, be negative" or refers to a person having these qualities. The image of a protective female dog always barking to keep people away is metaphorically mapped to female human beings having similar features.

In the modern era, the word *bitch*, which is a negative word, seems to deviate from its original meaning. Vinter (2017) discusses the contemporary usage of *bitch*. By applying a corpus linguistics approach (with COCA as the database), Vinter calculates and categorizes collocations of *bitch*, which include not only words related to sexuality (i.e., a negative trait of a bitch) such as *dirty*, *sexy*, and *nasty*, but also words related to "independence," a much more positive decription including features such as *rich*, *tough*, and *inner*, as Example (a) below shows.

(a) Once a woman embraces her inner *bitch*, Coffey says, it shifts power in her favor. She feels a lot more confident and better about herself. # Strong women can't be put off by people who complain they are intimidating. (ibid.: 27)

In addition, Vinter collects contemporary music lyrics and analyzes the data, which further supports the corpus findings regarding the present-day use of *bitch*, as well as the indicated semantic change and reappropriation of the word. Traditionally considered an insult when applied to a woman, *bitch* has recently started being used as a self-imposed label rather than an applied one. Namely, the term *bitch* is undergoing a reappropriation and is currently used not only as a derogatory but a self-empowering term due to social and extra-linguistic factors such as the rise of the popular culture.
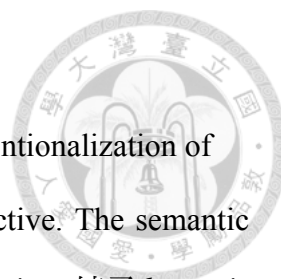
2.2.2 The Chinese Expletive 婊 *biǎo*

Hu (2016) studies 婊子 *biǎozǐ* based on Riemer's (2010) "conventionalization of implicature theory of semantic change" within a diachronic perspective. The semantic change of 婊子 *biǎozǐ* can be separated into three phases. The expression 婊子 *biǎozǐ* is originally written as 表子 *biǎozǐ*, which means "a concubine or a secret lover," and is a neutral term opposite to "the legitimate wife" written as 內子 *nèizǐ* (表 *biǎo* means "outside" and 內 *nèi* means "inside"). Consider (4) (cited from Hu, 2016: 178).

(4) 〔趙令史　　　云〕　　　你　　　那裡　　　是　　　我
　　　Zhào Lìng-shǐ　*yún*　　*nǐ*　　*nǎlǐ*　　*shì*　　*wǒ*
　　　搭識　　　的　　　表子，　　　祇　　　當是　　　我
　　　dāshí　　*de*　　*biǎozi*　　*zhǐ*　　*dāngshì*　　*wǒ*
　　　的　　　娘。
　　　de　　*niáng*
　　　'You are not my concubine but my wife.' (元/李行道《包侍制智賺灰闌記》第一折)
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Hu, 2016: 178)

In Song Dynasty, 表 *biǎo* is added with the radical 女 *nǚ* 'female', but is still used as a neutral term, and it seems that 表子, the one without the radical 女 *nǚ* 'female', is still used more commonly than 婊子 *biǎozi*. In Ming Dynasty, however, 表子 *biǎozǐ* gradually changes its meaning from "a concubine or a secret lover" to "a courtesan" in that a courtesan usually becomes a concubine of a male. Therefore, it changes its referent and sense, as (5) illustrates (cited from Hu, 2016: 179).

(5) （宋江）　　　出　　　得　　　李師師　　　門　　　來，
　　　Sòng-jiāng　*chū*　　*dé*　　*Lǐ Shī-shī*　　*mén*　　*lái*
　　　與　　　柴進　　　道：　　　「今　　　上　　　兩個
　　　yǔ　　*Chái-jìn*　　*dào*　　*jīn*　　*shàng*　　*liǎnggè*
　　　表子，　　　一個　　　李師師，　　　一個　　　趙元奴。」
　　　biǎozi　　*yīgè*　　*Lǐ Shī-shī*　　*yīgè*　　*Zhào Yuán-nú*

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'Sòng-jiāng comes out from Lǐ Shī-shī's place and tells Chái-jìn that they will be accompanied by two courtesans, one is Lǐ Shī-shī and the other one is Zhào Yuán-nú.'

<div align="right">(明/施耐庵、羅貫中《水滸全傳》第七十二回)</div>
<div align="right">(Hu, 2016: 179)</div>

Later, in Ming and Qing Dynasty, 表子 *biǎozi*, usually in the form 婊子 *biǎozi*, gradually develops a degrading meaning "a prostitute" (a process also called "pejoration"), and it is usually used in negative semantic environments, as shown in (6) (cited from Hu, 2016: 182). It shows that the one who has affairs with prostitutes will be punished severely with 一頓馬鞭子 *yīdùn mǎbiānzǐ* 'thrushing'.

(6)

現	包	著	個	婊子	李翠兒，
xiàn	*bāo*	*zhe*	*ge*	*biǎozi*	*Lǐ Cuì-ér*
一兩夜	不	回家	來。	渾家	知道
yīliǎngyè	*bù*	*huíjiā*	*lái*	*húnjiā*	*zhīdào*
就是	一頓	馬鞭子，	打	得	望
jiùshì	*yīdùn*	*mǎbiānzi*	*dǎ*	*de*	*wàng*
影	也	怕。			
yǐng	*yě*	*pà*			

'Now (he) has the other woman *Lǐ Cuì-ér* (a prostitute). If his wife knows, he will be thrushed fiercely, which will make him fear to death.'

<div align="right">(清/丁耀元《續金瓶梅》第四十一回)</div>
<div align="right">(Hu, 2016: 182)</div>

Finally, in Contemporary Mandarin, 婊子 *biǎozǐ* goes through semantic expansion and becomes an expletive, which refers to "all females that the speakers despise." As (7) illustrates (cited from Hu, 2016: 183), we can see that the speaker curses and degrades the blamed person by calling his mother "a prostitute," and the blamed person "the son of a prostitute."

(7)

他	要	這樣	起來，	我	就
tā	*yào*	*zhèyàng*	*qǐlái*	*wǒ*	*jiù*

罵	這	婊子	養	的
mà	*zhè*	*biǎozi*	*yǎng*	*de*
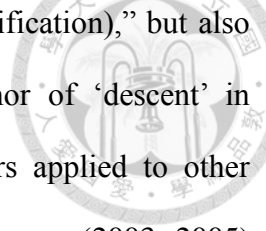
'If he does so, I will call him 'son of bitch'.' (清/陳森編《品花寶鑒》第二十七回)

To briefly conclude Section 2.2, we have reviewed that studies on the English word *bitch* have shown not only the etymology of this word but also its contemporary usage, which illustrates its change from a negative word to a relatively positive one. The semantic change and development of *bitch* involve both the linguistic and non-linguistic factors—its common meaning originates from the metaphorical association as well as the religious norm of morality, and its contemporary usage is affected by popular cultures. For the Chinese studies on the expletive, the other hand, we can see from Hu's study on the semantic change of the expressions 表子 *biǎozi* and 婊子 *biǎozi*. However, he focuses only on the two expressions, without further discussion on the reason why the space-denoting word 表 *biǎo* can be used as 表子 *biǎozi*. On the other hand, the modern usage of 婊 *biǎo* has developed other senses and its negative connotation seems to go through some changes, as the case of *bitch* shown in Vinter (2017). Therefore, the present study will complement this research gap, aiming to provide a complete analysis of this word.

2.3 Spatial Metaphor and Human Relationships in Chinese Culture

Levinson (2003: xvii) states that "spatial cognition is at the heart of our thinking," which "provides us with analogies and tools for understanding other domains" such as utilizing diagrams and evoking the memory of certain places. More importantly, it is the source of spatial metaphors across many other domains—not only "time (where spatial

expressions like *before* quite normally double up for temporal specification),” but also “kinship (as in ‘close’ and ‘distant kin’, or the vertical metaphor of ‘descent’ in kinship)”, and so on (ibid.: 16). How are these spatial metaphors applied to other domains? As scholars such as Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Kövecses (2003, 2005) have pointed out, “metaphors are an inherent part of culture” (Kövecses 2005: 2) With an anthropological point of view, culture is regarded by some scholars (e.g., D’ Andrade, 1995; Shore, 1996; Strauss and Quinn, 1997) as “a set of shared understandings that characterize smaller or larger groups of people,” which echoes with Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980: 8) statement that “our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature.” Namely, metaphors enable us to understand concepts (such as time, emotions, moral values, and so on) as we experience these concepts in a culture.

In Chinese culture, spatial metaphors are often used as a basis for human relationships, implicitly indicating the intimacy, alienation, and even power structure between human beings, and are widely studied by many scholars (e.g., Yuan, 2006; Li and Zhu, 2011; Lu and Shao, 2012; Tan and Xu, 2018). Here we focus on Lu and Shao (2012) in that they provide a more systematic analysis of the spatial metaphor in Chinese human relationships. They categorize five major spatial metaphors, which are shown as follows. In (8), 上 *shàng* ‘up’ and 下 *xià* ‘down’ illustrate the vertical spatial metaphors that indicate the social status of individuals or different groups. Namely, 上 *shàng* ‘up’ is for 君 *jūn* ‘the emperor’ who is “superior to” 臣 *chén* ‘the courtiers’ indicated by 下 *xià* ‘down’. Example (9) illustrates the horizontal spatial metaphors of human relationships. In (9a), 遠 *yuǎn* ‘far’ and 近 *jìn* ‘near’ illustrate the horizontal spatial metaphors that indicate intimacy of individuals. Namely, 遠 *yuǎn* ‘far’ stands for alienation, while 近 *jìn* ‘near’ stands for intimacy. As for (9b), 左 *zuǒ* ‘left’ refers to

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doi:10.6342/NTU202000707

lower social status, while 右 *yòu* 'right' for the higher one. 內 *nèi* 'inside' and 外 *wài* 'outside' in (10) exemplify the inner-outer spatial metaphors that indicate whether an individual belongs to a social group. Finally, 前 *qián* 'front' and 後 *hòu* 'back' in (11) exemplify the in-front-of-after spatial metaphors that indicate the age and experience of an individual. Namely, 前 *qián* in 前人 *qiánrén* stands for "predecessors," while 後 *hòu* in 後人 *hòurén* for "people in later generations."

(8)
君	臣	上	下	親	疏
jūn	*chén*	*shàng*	*xià*	*qīn*	*shū*
之	所	由起	也。		
zhī	*suǒ*	*yóuqǐ*	*yě*		

'This is the reason why the emperor and his courtiers have to follow the feudal hierarchy.' (Lu and Shao 2012: 32)

(9) a.
不	失	疏遠，	不	違	親近，	故
bù	*shī*	*shūyuǎn*	*bù*	*wéi*	*qīnjìn*	*gù*
臣	不	蔽	主，	而	下	不
chén	*bù*	*bì*	*zhǔ*	*ér*	*xià*	*bù*
欺	上。					
qī	*shàng*					

'The feudal hierarchy makes the courtiers obey their masters with sincerity, never deceiving them.' (Lu and Shao 2012: 33)

b.
強	宗	右	姓，	各	擁	眾
qiáng	*zōng*	*yòu*	*xìng*	*gè*	*yōng*	*zhòng*
保	營，	莫	肯	先	附。	
bǎo	*yíng*	*mò*	*kěn*	*xiān*	*fù*	

'The nobilities have their own force, unwilling to be subject to others.'

(Lu and Shao 2012: 34)

(10)
劉詩雯	備受	莫斯科	失利	刺激，	不
Liú Shī-Wén	*bèishòu*	*Mòsīkē*	*shīlì*	*cìjī*	*bù*
排斥	和	圈內人	戀愛。		
páichì	*hé*	*quānnèirén*	*liànài*		

'Liú Shī-Wén was frustrated after her failure in Moscow and therefore was not

against to in-group love.'   (Lu and Shao 2012: 34)

(11) 前人　　　種樹，　　　後人　　　乘涼。
　　　qiánrén　*zhòngshù*　*hòurén*　*chéngliáng*
　　　'The predecessors work so hard that their successors can enjoy what they've
　　　achieved and built.'   (Lu and Shao 2012: 34)

2.4 Interim Summary

To briefly conclude this Chaper, we have reviewed studies on the English word *bitch* and Chinese 表 *biǎo* that include both its etymology and contemporary usage, yet there is a research gap in terms of the contemporary usage of the Chinese word 婊 *biǎo* that is initially an expletive. Therefore, by applying theories of Cognitive Linguistics such as the model of Principled Polysemy, metaphorization and metonymization, the Invited Inferencing Theory, and the concept of semantic prosody, the present paper aims to provide a complete analysis of the word 婊 *biǎo*. In the next Chapter, we will move on to the methodology part and introduce how we collect and analyze the data.

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Database

Cognitive linguistics is characteristic of having a usage-based model (e.g., Langacker, 1987). Namely, a speaker's linguistic system is fundamentally grounded in "usage events," which are "instances of a speaker's producing and understanding language" (Barlow and Kemmer, 2000: iix, cited in Shindo, 2009). Glynn and Robinson, while introducing corpus methods for semantics, also emphasize that "…linguistic research, whether Functional or Cognitive, must adopt an inductive, sample-based, methodology" (Glynn and Robinson, 2014: 8) Following these ideas, therefore, the present paper takes an empirical method—a corpus-based approach, in which three corpora are utilized.

First of all, since the newly emerging 婊 *biǎo* is usually used in online communities and can be consequently seen as an Internet slang, we choose PTT[6] Corpus (Liu, 2014) as our data resource, designed by LOPE Lab of the Graduate Institute of Linguistics, National Taiwan University. The present paper chooses four bulletin boards for analysis, including *Stupid Clown* (笨版), *Joke* (就可版), *Hate* (黑特版) and *Gossiping* (八卦版). *Stupid Clown* is a bulletin board where people share funny things happening in their life, which means the atmosphere is relatively relaxing and enables us to find possible usage other than an expletive one. *Joke*, as its name suggests, is a bulletin board for sharing jokes. It is one of important bulletin boards in the early stage of the foundation of PTT, which is the cradle of punch lines and slang words. *Hate* is a bulletin board for blaming,

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[6] PTT Bulletin Board System, 批踢踢實業坊 in Chinese, is the largest terminal-based bulletin board system (BBS) based in Taiwan. It is an online community that includes more than 1.5 million registered users, with over 150,000 users online during peak hours. The BBS has over 20,000 boards covering copious topics. It is estimated that more than 20,000 articles and 500,000 comments are posted every day. (*Wikipedia*: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/PTT_Bulletin_Board_System#PTT_Boards accessed 24.3.2020)

scolding, or complaining about people and things, which is a good choice for examining the usage of expletive 婊 *biǎo*. *Gossiping* is the most popular bulletin board in PTT, which includes a wide variety of topics, which enables us to find different usage of 婊 *biǎo*.

We have found 621 tokens of 婊 *biǎo* in total from 2003 to 2017: 101 tokens from *Stupid Clown*, 60 tokens from *Joke*, 341 tokens from *Hate* and 119 tokens from *Gossiping*. Here we have to point out one of the features of PTT, which is related to our data collection—the deletion of posts. For better management and maintenance of PTT, the system autonomously deletes out-of-date posts when the number of posts reaches the limit. In addition, not only can netizens delete their own posts, but the managers of each PTT bulletin board are allowed to delete forum spams and negative posts. Moreover, administers can also "mark" noticeable and worth-keeping posts (i.e., *m* 文). Although the deletion of posts implies that the tokens we have collected do not necessarily represent the actual tokens and the amount of PTT real data, they do indicate the potential tendency of the usage of the word since the remaining posts are the most representative ones in terms of each bulletin board.

Finally, while PTT, as an online platform, is taken as an informal register, newspapers can be regarded as formal ones. To compare and contrast the usage of 婊 *biǎo* in two different registers, we utilize two news corora: Udndata.com (聯合知識庫) and Liberty Times Net (自由新聞網). There are totally 662 tokens in total: 162 tokens in Udndata.com (from 2003 to 2017) and 500 tokens (from 2005[7] to 2017) in Liberty Times database.

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[7] The time range of Liberty Times Net starts from 2005, while the Udndata.com starts from 2003.

3.2 Categorization of Data

3.2.1 Data Tagging

We use CKIP CoreNLP[8], an online tagging system, to tokenize the data. (12) and (13) below show how the data was processed.

(12) 臨走前她就這麼婊了我一句…「我這公主還不是 edward4904 你養出來的。」
'Before she left, she criticized me that "It is because of you that I got princess syndrome!"' (*STUPID* 79)

(13) 臨(D)　走(VA)　前(Ng)　他(Nh)　就(D)　這麼(D)　婊(VC)　了(Di)　我(Nh)　一(Neu)　句(Nf) 我(Nh)　這(Nep)　公主(Na)　還不是(D)　edward(FW)　4904(Neu)　你(Nh)　養出來(VB)　的(DE)

The tagging process is shown in **Figure 3.1** below.

Figure 3.1 An Example for the Tagging Process of the Data

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First of all, we enter the content in the upper block of the online system, and submit the data. Second, we copy down and reexamine the tagged data to verify the tagging of the target word 婊 *biǎo*. In (13), 婊 *biǎo* is tagged as a *VC*, an *Activity Transitive Verb*[9], which needs no further correction.
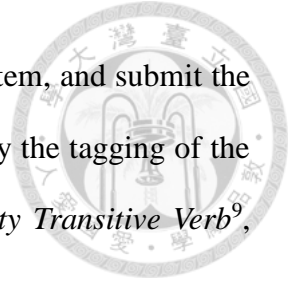
3.2.2 Senses

Since the senses of 婊 *biǎo* depend highly on the contexts, we download each post found in PTT corpus and the two news databases and define the senses according to the linguistic context in the posts. The words used for the definitions of 婊 *biǎo* in the present paper are from Electric Version of Dictionary from Ministry of Education and Chinese Wordnet, both of which provide authoritative definitions of words. Take (12) again for example. It describes a context that a girl criticized a netizen for spoiling her. In this case, we define 婊 *biǎo* as 批評 *pi ping* 'to criticize', and therefore regard it as The CRITICIZING Sense. The sense is verified according to the definition of 批評 *pi ping* 'to criticize' from Chinese Wordnet shown in (14).

(14) 批評：評論是非好壞。通常針對缺點、錯誤提出意見或加以攻擊。

　'to criticize someone; to judge between right and wrong, usually providing opinions

　　upon or argue against weaknesses, and mistakes of a person or a thing'

3.2.3 Semantic Prosody

As we have mentioned previously, the newly emerging 婊 *biǎo* does not seem to be as derogatory as the original one (i.e., the expletive one). Therefore, we apply the concept of semantic prosody to examine if 婊 *biǎo* is ameliorating gradually. Semantic prosody is also called "discourse prosody," which is "from the point of view of the emotive or evaluative attitude expressed by the surrounding words" (Geeraerts,

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[9] Please refer to Huang, Hsieh, and Chen (2017) for detailed CKIP parts of speech system.

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2010: 172). In addition, Stubbs (2001a: 65) defines discourse prosody as "a feature which extends over more than one unit in a linear string," and Partington (2004: 131-132) defines semantic prosody as "spread over a unit of language which potentially goes well beyond the single orthographic word." Following the ideas above, we use two methods to analyze the semantic prosody of 婊 *biǎo*.

First of all, we use AntConc, a software used to process the concordances and calculate the collocates of 婊 *biǎo*, which enables us to analyze the semantic prosody by examining its collocates and the preferred lexical environment (i.e., semantic preference). The Rank and the Statitic are calculated and ordered by the built-in algorithm of AntConc. The outcome is shown in **Table 3.1**. After getting the result from AntConc, we categorize the collocates as neagative (Neg), Neutral (Neu) and Positive (Pos). Then, we calculate the percentage of each category. Finally, we categorize the target word 婊 *biǎo* as a word carrying a negative semantic prosody since it is usually used in a negative semantic environment according to the high percentage of negative semantic prosody.

Table 3.1 Categorization of the Collocates of 婊 *biǎo*

Rank	Statistic	Collocate	Categorization
1.	1235.572	婊	Neg
2.	170.5831	臭	Neg
3.	136.2652	賤	Neg
4.	89.95461	幹	Neg
5.	70.48428	綠茶	Neu
6.	67.54659	死	Neg
7.	49.53323	兄弟	Neu
8.	46.2055	外表	Neu
9.	45.90893	就	Neu
10.	27.55994	好意思	Neg
11.	27.55994	可愛	Pos
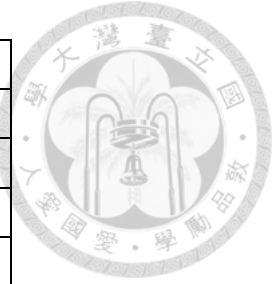
12.	27.55994	乖乖	Pos
13.	27.41837	馬的	Neg
14.	27.41837	媽的	Neg
15.	27.40554	想	Neu
Percentage	Neg (53%); Neu (33%); Pos (14%)		
SP	Negative		

In addition, we suggest that the semantic prosody of 婊 *biǎo* can also be detected by examining the whole text. Please take a look at **Table 3.2** below, for instance. 婊 *biǎo* in this post is in a relatively positive semantic environment since it is about a funny moment when the netizen accidentally called herself a stupid, which made her friend laugh. The attitude and emotion she expressed is a positive one (indicated by words marked in bold). On the other hand, in the post in **Table 3.3**, 婊 *biǎo* is categorized as negative since the netizen scolded someone fiercely with many expletives, which also shows his / her negative emotion.

Table 3.2 An example for Positive semantic prosody

STUPID 21	Semantic prosody
標題: [恍神] 嗨橋牌~ 時間: Jan. 13, 2014, 11:25 p.m. 作者: cleanerlover 今天被朋友提醒很久以前發生的蠢事 那天晚上 大夥兒聚在一起玩橋牌 每次玩都超沒心機 很容易講太多話然後就暴露自己的牌= = (玩風聲從沒贏過) 總之那一場我跟對家超沒默契 喊的花色都不一樣 我方塊超少 但是對家喊到了 dai 3 (daimond 好像每個人習慣不同 我就習慣講方塊 **XD**) 我 : dai 3!!!!!要吃很多墩欸!! 吼我 Dai 死了啊 QAQ　!!!!	Positive

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| 然後當場所有人都靜默一秒後**開始大笑** 徒留我不懂怎麼了
友:「對啊妳真的呆死了 **XDDDDDDDDDDDD**」
終於我發現我自娷 ...。

'I was reminded of a stupid episode happening long time ago.
That night, we were playing cards together.
I am bad at playing cards and always spill the beans accidentally.
Anyway, my partner and I had a poor teamwork since the cards we had were totally different.
I had few diamonds.
But when it's my partner's turn, she used three of diamonds.
Me: Three Dais!!!!! You will have a trick-taking! No! My Dai died!
The next moment, everyone burst into laughter, but I didn't have the slightest idea what had happened.
One of my frineds: Yes, you are truly stupid!
Then, I finally found out that I accidentally called myself a stupid.' | |

Table 3.3 An example for Negative semantic prosody

HATE 1	Semantic prosody
看板: Hate 標題: [震怒] 要上不上 時間: April 1, 2016, 5:22 p.m. 作者: missdeer **幹你妹的** 都幫你橋好了居然還一直拖拖拖 一下要上一下不上 以為人家都吃飽沒事等你上嗎幹 不讓你上就各種威脅 是在**檔三小** 並不是付錢就是大爺好嗎 自己不給力還怪我 … **幹你娘機掰** 連假前遇到這種沒帶腦只帶錢出門的真的**有夠婊** 'Fuck your sister! I'd already settled everything for you but you kept dragging your	Negative

feet. You thought that everyone was such idle person as you? Fuck! You kept threating others whenever things did not go the way you wanted it. What the hell were you doing?

You did pay the money, but that does not mean you can be that arrogant.

You are the one to be blamed but you scolded at me.

…

Fuck your mother!

It was so annoying to confront such person who only remembered to bring the money but forgot to bring the brain, which totally destroyed my holiday.'

Chapter 4 Semantic development of the polysemy 婊 *biǎo*

In this chapter, we discuss the semantic development of the word 婊 *biǎo*, which includes both synchronic and diachronic analysis. In Sections 4.1 and 4.2, we will first provide our analyses of the senses, semantic change, and the mechanism of modern 婊 *biǎo*. Section 4.3 covers the diachronic analysis of the word 婊 *biǎo*, including the etymology and the semantic change of 婊 *biǎo* in ancient time.

4.1 Modern Usage of Newly-emerging 婊 *biǎo*

In this chapter, we present the innovative usage of modern 婊 *biǎo* and the mechanisms of the semantic change. Following the categorization of data we have mentioned in Section 3.2, we have found out two more new senses for nominal 婊 *biǎo*, and thirteen senses for verbal 婊 *biǎo*. In the following sections, we provide a detailed analysis based on Evan's (2005) criteria for each sense, illustrated with examples.

4.1.1 Nominal 婊 *biǎo*

For the senses and examples of the nominal 婊 *biǎo*, we begin with 婊 N2 since we regard **The PROSTITUTE Sense** as 婊 N1, which is already included in Hu's (2016) study. The second sense is The BITCH Sense, meaning an expletive to any female whom the speaker hates and degrades. The definition and example are shown in (15). The sense satisfies not only the Meaning Criterion but the Concept Elaboration Criterion: as an expletive to females, it is modified by expressions such as 不要臉 *bùyàoliǎn* 'shameless', 無情 *wúqíng* 'merciless', and so on, all of which denotes "human properties," especially the properties of a bitch. Although 婊 N2 is an already-existing sense, there is a distinction between the old and modern era in that nowadays the word 婊 *biǎo* can be used alone (i.e., without the suffix 子 zi), while the original and common

use of **The BITCH Sense** should be 婊子 *biǎozi*.

(15) 婊 N2: **The BITCH Sense**

辱罵女性的粗話 (Definition from ODMOE)

rùmà nǔxìng de cūhuà 'an expletive to females'

…還以「台獨婊**(Na)**」稱呼周子瑜等所謂的 「台獨女星」…

hái yǐ táidú biǎo chēnghū Zhōu-Zǐyú děng suǒwèide táidú nǔxīng

'(Some people) even use call these female celebrities such as Zhōu-Zǐyú, who support pro-Taiwan independence "Pro-Taiwan-independence bitch."'

(*GOSSIPING* 14)

The third one is **The UNDERHANDED TRICK Sense** as (16a-b) illustrate. Example (16a) is an extracted sentence from the criticism of a political pundit who disapproved the presidential candidate from a political group in which the members used the Internet to appeal to people for support. This sense can be inferred according to its collocate 出奧步 *chū àobù*, a phrase from Taiwanese Southern Min meaning "play low tricks." In addition, 婊 *biǎo* follows the verb 耍 *shuǎ*, which is synonymous to the verb "play" in the phrase "play low tricks." This conceptual elaboration indicates that The UNDERHANDED TRICK Sense is a distinct sense from others.

(16) 婊 N3: **The UNDERHANDED TRICK Sense**

下流的手段 *xiàliú de shǒuduàn* 'underhanded tricks' (Definition from ODMOE)

a. 民進黨青年軍很糟糕，在 PTT 耍婊**(Na)**出奧步被逮到是事實…

Mínjìndǎng qīngniánjūn hěn zāogāo zài PTT shuǎ biǎo chū àobù bèi dǎi dào shì shìshí …

'Younger members of DDP are terrible in that they were caught to use underhanded tricks on PTT.' (*GOSSIPING* 63)

b. 整天住別人家整天發騷整天耍婊**(Na)**

zhěngtiān zhù biérén jiā zhěngtiān fā sāo zhěngtiān shuǎ biǎo

'…live in other people's houses, keep complaining everything, and play underhanded tricks all day long' (*HATE* 119)

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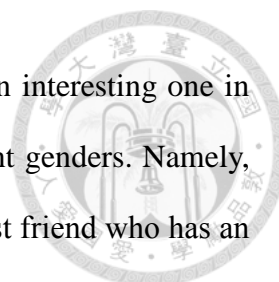
The fourth sense is **The CHEATING WOMAN Sense**, which is an interesting one in that it yields two different interpretations when followed by different genders. Namely, the expression 婊姊妹 *biǎojiěmèi* refers to "a (female) speaker's best friend who has an affair with her partner." On the other hand, 婊兄弟 *biǎoxiōngdì* refers to "buddies who are cheated on by the same female," as shown in (17a-b). **The CHEATING WOMAN Sense** caters to the Conceptual Elaboration Criterion since it should be followed by either 姊妹 *jiěmèi* or 兄弟 *xiōngdì*.

(17) 婊 N4: **The CHEATING WOMAN Sense**
　　劈腿的女性 (Definition from ODMOE)
　　pītuǐ de nǚxìng 'females cheating on others'
a. 好閨蜜竟然會是我的**婊(Na)姊妹**
　　*hǎoguīmì jìnrán huìshì wǒ de **biǎo** jiěmèi*
　　'It turned out that my besties slept with my partner!'　　　　　(*HATE* 114)
b. 版友們變成**婊(Na)兄弟**哭著一起認親…
　　*bǎnyǒumen biànchéng **biǎo** xiōngdì kūzhe yīqǐ rènqīn*
　　'The netizens were cheated by the same woman. They found out that they've become 'brothers' and cried for their unfortunate condition.'　　(*GOSSIPING* 7)

In addition to the above findings, we have found an innovative usage that is triggered by homophony. The usage shows the speakers' negative emotion and attitude, as (18a-b) illustrate. In (18a), the netizen was complaining angrily about the electricity meter, which should have been written as 電表 *diànbiǎo* in Mandarin Chinese. The netizen substituted 表 *biǎo* for 婊 *biǎo*, which strengthen his / her negative emotion. Likewise, in (18b), the netizen not only used expletives but also substituted 婊 *biǎo* for 表 *biǎo* 'table', which expressed his / her unwillingness to learn the periodic table of elements.

(18)
a. 幹！去他媽的**電婊(Na)**

*gàn qùtāmā de **diànbiǎo***

'Fuck! Fucking electricity meter!'　　(*HATE* 263)

b. 以後還要教元素周期婊**(Na)** 幹

*yǐhòu háiyào jiāo **yuánsùzhōuqībiǎo** gàn*

'Teachers will teach us the damned periodic table of elements. Fuck!'　(*HATE* 115)

4.1.2　Verbal 婊 *biǎo*

4.1.2.1 婊 *biǎo* as an Activity Verb

婊 v1 to 婊 v8 are activity verbs. 婊 v1 denotes **The INSULTING Sense**, as (19) illustrates. In (19), it is obvious that two 婊 *biǎo* denote different senses. One is the nominal one (i.e., **The BITCH Sense**), while the boldened one appears in the *bèi*-construction is **The INSULTING Sense**, which caters to the Concept Elaboration Criterion in that it usually followed by other expletives—the contents of insulting.

(19) 婊 v1: **The INSULTING Sense**

罵：以粗話惡語侮辱人 (Definition from Chinese Wordnet)

mà: yǐ cūhuà èyǔ wǔrǔ rén

'to insult others with expletives'

老娘一輩子都等著看婊子被**婊(VC)**，幹。操，臭雞掰…

*lǎoniáng yíbèizi dōu děng zhe kàn biǎozi bèi **biǎo** gàn cāo chòujībāi*

'I will wait to see that bitch being insulted! Fuck!'　　　(HATE 63)

On the other hand, (20a) shows that 婊 v2 is The CRITICIZING Sense, which caters to the Grammatical Criterion, as we can see that it is usually followed by a syntactic object (i.e., the one being criticized) or events and reasons for the criticism. This makes The CRITICIZING Sense distinct from other senses. Also, in (20b), we can see that the netizen said that he/she made a mistake, and owing to this the teacher kept criticizing him/her.

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(20) 婊 v2: **The CRITICIZING Sense**

批評：評論是非好壞。通常針對缺點、錯誤提出意見或加以攻擊。

pīpíng: pínglùn shìfēihǎohuài tōngcháng zhēnduì quēdiǎn cuòwù tíchū yìjiàn huò jiāyǐ gōngjī

'to criticize someone; to judge between right and wrong, usually provide opinions upon or argue against weaknesses, and mistakes of a person or a thing'

a. 臨走前她就這麼**婊(VC)**了我一句…「我這公主還不是 edward4904 你養出來的。」

*línzǒu qián tā jiù zhème **biǎo** le wǒ yī jù wǒ zhè gōngzhǔ háibùshì edward4904 nǐ yǎng chūlái de*

'Before she left, she criticized me that "It is because of you that I got princess syndrome!"' (*STUPID* 79)

b. 犯了錯老師就抓著這點有機會就拿出來**婊(VC)**，我知道我不對，但你這樣說話真的很噁心…

*fànle cuò lǎoshī jiù zhuāzhe zhèdiǎn yǒu jīhuì jiù ná chūlái **biǎo** wǒ zhīdào wǒ bùduì dàn nǐ zhèyàng shuōhuà zhēnde hěn ěxīn*

'When I make a mistake, the teacher always keeps criticizing me for that. I know that I am wrong, but the way you talk to me is really terrible.' (*HATE* 131)

婊 v3 denotes **The SATIRIZING Sense**, as examples (21a-b) illustrate. In (21a), speaker A beat about the bush (i.e., created a formula) to express his dislike towards speaker B and simultaneously satirized speaker B that the world will be better without him.

(21) 婊 v3: The SATIRIZING Sense

諷刺：以隱微的方式嘲諷譏刺 (Definition from ODMOE)

fěngcì: yǐ yǐnwēi de fāngshì cháofěng jīcì

'to satirize somebody or something indirectly (beating about the bush)'

a. A 說：「世界─B=完美=A 」。A 只是單純很屁想**婊(VC)**B，想表達世界沒有 B 就會完美，然後又說自己等於完美。

*A shuō shìjiè jiǎn B děngyú wánměi děngyú A A zhǐshì dānchún hěn pì xiǎng **biǎo** B xiǎng biǎodá shìjiè méiyǒu B jiùhuì wánměi ránhòu yòu shuō zìjǐ děngyú wánměi*

'A created a formula to satire B, saying that the world will be perfect if B is absent, and that he himself is perfect.' (*STUPID* 11)

b. 今天本魯拍一個影片**婊(VC)**工程師都是做回收的台男集散地…

*jīntiān běnlǔ pāi yīgè yǐngpiàn **biǎo** gōngchéngshī dōushì zuòhuíshōu de táinán jísàndì*

'I shot a film to satirize that engineers (in Taiwan) are usually the ones who date with playgirls.' (*JOKE* 30)

The SATIRIZING Sense is distinguished from 婊 v4 The TEASING Sense since the former emphasizes "indirectness," while the latter "directness." Namely, 婊 v3 **The SATIRIZING Sense** usually co-occurs with "media" such as the formula mentioned above, or advertisements and films, and so on. On the other hand, 婊 v4 **The TEASING Sense** is usually used in the context of someone being "directly" teased at, as (22a-b) shows. In (22a), the netizen was teased at by the gas attendant since he/she accidentally locked the keys in the trunk, which is embarrassing but funny. Both of the senses cater to the Concept Elaboration Criterion in terms of the directness of the utterance.

(22) 婊 v4: **The TEASING Sense**

　　挪揄：嘲笑 (Definition from ODMOE)

　　yéyú: cháoxiào xìnòng 'to tease at someone or oneself'

a. 每到夜深人靜的此時正是每個公主嗷嗷待哺的時候(**自婊**(VC)無誤 XDD)

*měidào yèshēnrénjìng de cǐshí zhèngshì měigè gōngzhǔ áoáodàibǔ de shíhòu (**zì biǎo** wúwù)*

'Every night in this moment, every princess is waiting for someone to buy late-night supper for them. (I'm teasing at myself)' (*STUPID* 14)

b. 聽到加油員跟其他人大肆地說："他居然把鑰匙關在車廂裡!!!"

tīngdào jiāyóuyuán gēn qítārén dàsìdi shuō tā jūrán bǎ yàoshí guānzài chēxiāng lǐ

...靠！我被加油員給**婊**(VC)了~

*kào wǒ bèi jiāyóuyuán gěi **biǎo** le*

'I heard the gas station attendant talked loudly to others and teased at me since I accidentally locked my keys in the storage compartment. ... Damn it! The attendant teased at me!' (*STUPID* 15)

婊 v5 **The SLAPPING IN THE FACE Sense** is illustrated by (23a-b). We can see from the two examples key words such as 雙重標準 *shuāngchóng biāozhǔn* 'double

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standards' and 打臉 *dǎliǎn* 'slap in the face', both of which occur frequently in the context of "self-contradiction."

(23) 婊 V5: **The SLAPPING IN THE FACE Sense**

自打嘴巴：比喻人的言行前後矛盾，無法說解，而讓自己出醜

<div align="right">(Definition from ODMOE)</div>

zì dǎ zuǐbā: bǐyù rén de yánxíng qiánhòumáodùn wúfǎ shuōjiě ér ràng zìjǐ chū chǒu

'a slap in the face; to shoot oneself in the foot'

a. ...雙重標準完全**自婊(VC)** 有夠好笑的...

*shuāngzhòng biāozhǔn wánquán zì **biǎo** yǒugòu hǎoxiào de*

'It's really ridiculous that you shot yourself in the foot because of your double standards.'
<div align="right">(<i>HATE</i> 156)</div>

b. 然後現在又發這種**自婊(VC)**報導， 討拍拍不成反被鄉民打臉…

*ránhòu xiànzài yòu fā zhèzhǒng zì **biǎo** bàodǎo tǎo pāipāi bùchéng fǎn bèi xiāngmín dǎliǎn*

'Then (he) release this kind of reports which shot himself in the foot. It turned out that he was slapped in the face rather than being supported by the netizens.'
<div align="right">(<i>HATE</i> 322)</div>

Examples (24a-b) illustrate 婊 V6 **The TROUBLING Sense**, from which we can see that it is conceptually elaborated by unexpected, embarrassing, and sometimes unfavorable results, as the Chinese definition of 害 *hài* 'cause trouble to' indicates. As illustrated in (24a), which describes the embarrassing situation when the netizen mistyped 經驗 *jīng yàn* 'experience' as 精液 *jīng yè* 'semen' while chatting with friends. In (24b), the netizen accidentally framed her mother-in-law, which results in an awkward situation.

(24) 婊 V6: **The TROUBLING Sense**

害：由特定事件造成或引發後述預期之外或不好的結果

<div align="right">(Definition from Chinese Wordnet)</div>

hài: yóu tèdìng shìjiàn zàochéng huò yǐnfā hòushù yùqī zhīwài huò bù hǎo de jiéguǒ

'some event occurs and causes unexpected, bad or unfavorable results'

<div align="center">45</div>

a. 手機輸入法**婊(VC)**我…

*shǒujī shūrùfǎ **biǎo** wǒ*

…

你跟哪個星座曾有什麼精液就是這樣…

nǐ gēn nǎgè xīngzuò céng yǒu shénme jīngyè jiùshì zhèyàng…

我真的只是想打「經驗」啊…

wǒ zhēnde zhīshì xiǎng dǎ jīngyàn ā

'My phone hates me! I did just want to type experience... but it turns out to be Have you ever had any semen with people of different Zodiac signs?'　　(*STUPID* 59)

b. 婆婆我不是故意要**婊(VC)**妳的啊(遮臉)

*pópó wǒ bùshì gùyì yào **biǎo** nǐ de ā (zhēliǎn)*

昨天回到婆婆家準備過年，晚間電話響了，

zuótiān huídào pópójiā zhǔnbèi guò nián wǎnjiān diànhuà xiǎng le

來電顯示是一位有點煩人的親戚，婆婆不想接就叫我接

láidiànxiǎnshì shì yīwèi yǒudiǎn fánrén de qīnqī pópó bùxiǎng jiē jiù jiào wǒ jiē

我: 喂

wǒ: wèi

對方: XX 在嗎

duìfāng : XX zài ma

我: 媽媽她有事出去了喔!

wǒ : māmā tā yǒu shì chūqù le ō

此時剛好有位客人要拿東西，

cǐshí gānghǎo yǒuwèi kèrén yào nádōngxī

我就非常白痴的往屋內喊 [媽，有客人!]

wǒ jiù fēicháng báichī de wǎng wūnèi hǎn [mā yǒu kèrén]

那位親戚應該臉都綠了(遮臉)

nàwèi qīnqī yīnggāi liǎn dōu lǜ le (zhēliǎn)

'Mother (-in-law), I didn't mean to set you up! Yesterday, we went back to mother-in-law's home to prepare for the Chinese New Year. In the evening, an annonying relative called us but Mother didn't want to answer it herself. Therefore, she asked me to answer the phone.

Me: Hello?

The relative: Is your mother at home?

Me: No, she just went out.

Yet, at this moment, a guest went in to buy things, so I called out "Mom, there's a guest!" That relative must be very awkward!'　　(*STUPID* 44)

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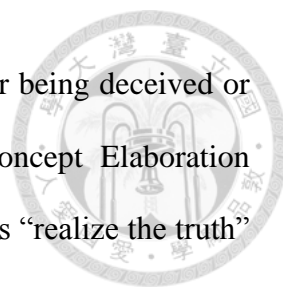
婊 v7 **The TRICKING Sense**, which describes the speakers either being deceived or tricked by others, as (25a-b) show. This sense caters to the Concept Elaboration Criterion in that it is always ended with descriptions that the speakers "realize the truth" or "the fact that they are tricked." In (25b), for instance, the netizen's father played a trick on him/her by misleading him/her to have a wrong answer.

(25) 婊 v7: **The TRICKING Sense**

耍：捉弄欺騙後述對象。 (Definition from Chinese Wordnet)

shuǎ: zhuōnòng qīpiàn hòushù duìxiàng

'to trick on or deceive someone'

a. 滿心歡喜以為自己湊到 4000 元打 9 折，結果收到商品才發現只打 95 折…

mǎnxīn huānxǐ yǐwéi zìjǐ còu dào 4000 yuán dǎ jiǔ zhé jiéguǒ shōu dào shāngpǐn cái fāxiàn zhī dǎ jiǔwǔ zhé

在最後被**婊(VC)**…那種不爽感，你鳥嗎?

*zài zuìhòu bèi **biǎo** nàzhǒng bùshuǎnggǎn nǐ niǎo ma*

'I was happy in that I thought I can get ten percent off for 4000 purchase but it turned out that it's only five percent off. Do you know the terrible feeling after you found out that you were deceived?'

(*HATE* 118)

b. 我被我爸**婊(VC)**了。不知道在聊什麼，聊到聰明與愚蠢。

*wǒ bèi wǒ bà **biǎo** le bùzhīdào zài liáo shénme liáodào cōngmíng yǔ yúchǔn*

爸：聰明 跟愚蠢 只有一線之差 (眼神誠懇

bà: cōngmíng gēn yúchǔn zhīyǒu yīxiànzhīchà (yǎnshén chéngkěn

我：摁摁 (也很誠真的看著他

wǒ: èn èn (yě hěn chéngzhēn de kàn zhe tā

爸：白吃 跟笨蛋 (吞口水

bà: báichī gēn bèndàn (tūnkǒushuǐ

我：(等不到他講 自己接) 只有一線之隔

wǒ: (děng bùdào tā jiǎng zìjǐ jiē) zhǐyǒu yīxiànzhīgé

爸：錯！！ 是一樣的

bà: cuò shì yīyàng de

我：哪尼！? 為什麼！！！？？？? (驚恐貌

wǒ: nǎní wéishénme (jīngkǒngmào

爸：白吃跟笨蛋 本來就一樣啊 (姚明臉

bà: báichī gēn bèndàn běnlái jiù yīyàng ā (yáomíngliǎn

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ㄍㄋㄇㄅ 我居然中箭了…
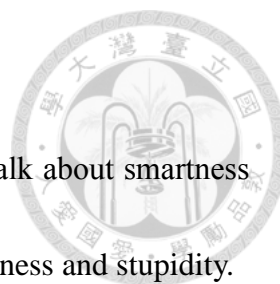
ㄍㄋㄇㄅ wǒ jūrán zhōngjiàn le

'My dad tricked on me. We were chatting and then started to talk about smartness and stupidity.

Dad: (Said with sincerity) There's just a fine line between smartness and stupidity.

Me: Yes? (also with sincerity)

Dad: Idiocy and stupidity...(swallowing)

Me: (can't wait for his answer) there's a fine line between them as well!

Dad: You're wrong! They are the same.

Me: What? Why?

Dad: There's no reason. They are just the same. Damn it! I was tricked!'

(*STUPID* 58)

Finally, 婊 v8 denotes **The DISCLOSING Sense**. In (26), the netizen talked to his audience about his embarrassing experiences. Namely, this sense caters to the Concept Elaboration Criterion since it is always followed by a description of an event, which is the theme being disclosed. This sense is widely used in *Stupid Clown* bulletin board, where people usually share their own funny and interesting stories with their audience and therefore co-occurs highly with 自 *zì* 'self'.

(26) 婊 v8: **The DISCLOSING Sense**

揭露糗事 (Definition from ODMOE)

jiēlù qiǔshì

'to disclose one's bad or embarrassing things'

我承認這是**自婊(VC)**… 雖然很丟臉，

*wǒ chéngrèn zhèshì **zì biǎo** suīrán hěn diūliǎn*

身為笨版的鄉民還是把它 PO 上來~

shēnwéi bènbǎn de xiāngmín háishì bǎ tā po shànglái

--------------故事開始-------------------

或說昨天下午 6 點多我在巡邏當中，

huòshuō zuótiān xiàwǔ liùdiǎnduō wǒ zài xúnluó dāngzhōng

接獲勤務中心說有 A2 交通事故(有人受傷的交通事故)

jiēhuò qínwùzhōngxīn shuō yǒu A2 jiāotōngshìgù (yǒu rén shòushāng de

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jiāotōngshìgù）

在某某地點，約 5 分鐘許我到達現場之後...!

zài mǒumǒu dìdiǎn yuē wǔfēnzhōngxǔ wǒ dàodá xiànchǎng zhīhòu

街道上是有車沒錯，可是...沒有任何當事人在現場

jiēdàoshàng shì yǒu chē méicuò kěshì méiyǒu rènhé dāngshìrén zài xiànchǎng

也無任何發生事故的跡象!

yě wú rènhé fāshēng shìgù de jìxiàng

OS：難道是國王的 A2 交通事故?

OS：nándào shì guówáng de A2 jiāotōngshìgù

後來經聯繫中心..

hòulái jīng liánjì zhōngxīn

原來雙方都受傷然後被消防單位送去醫院了!

yuánlái shuāngfāng dōu shòushāng ránhòu bèi xiāofángdānwèi sòng qù yīyuàn le

接著我和同事到醫院去找當事人~

jiēzhe wǒ hé tóngshì dào yīyuàn qù zhǎo dāngshìrén

在急診室的門口我看見我的前閃光和她的新閃光共撐著一把小傘

zài jízhěnshì de ménkǒu wǒ kànjiàn wǒde qiánshǎnguāng hé tāde xīnshǎnguāng gòngchēngzhe yībǎ xiǎosǎn

綻放著耀眼的閃光..

zhànfàngzhe yàoyǎnde shǎnguāng ..

此時..我和前閃光的眼神有了接觸

cǐshí wǒ hé qiánshǎnguāng de yǎnshén yǒu le jiēchù

心裡酸酸的，可是工作還是要做!

xīnlǐ suānsuān de kěshì gōngzuò háishì yào zuò

為了避免尷尬…我快步衝進急診室~(其實是我想逃離現場 ＝＝")

wéile bìmiǎn gāngà wǒ kuàibù chōngjìn jízhěnshì (qíshí shì wǒ xiǎng táolí xiànchǎng)

就在這個摩門特.... 匡~~好大一個撞擊聲

jiùzài zhègè móméntè kuāng hǎodà yīgè zhuàngjīshēng

沒錯...我撞上了急診室尚未完全開啟的自動門

méicuò wǒ zhuàngshàng le jízhěnshì shàngwèi wánquán kāiqǐ de zìdòngmén

'I admit that it is a self-disclosure. Although it is embarrassing, as a netizen member of this Stupid Clown board, I still want to share it to you.

The story begins.

Last night about six o'clock when I was on patrol, the Duty Command Center called me said there's an A2 traffic accident and someone's gotten injured.

Five minutes later, when I reached the accident scene, I found no one but crashed cars. I called the center and was informed that both parties were injured and were sent to the hospital. Therefore, my colleagues and I went to the hospital to meet

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both parties. When we got the hospital, I bumped into my ex-girlfriend and her new boyfriend who were acting lovey-dovey, which made me very awkward and sad. But, I still had to do my work albeit the sadness.

The moment when my ex and I had an eye contact, I tried to dodge the embarrassing situation and rushed away. At this moment, I accidentally bump my head against the half-open auto door, which made a loud noise.'

(*STUPID* 37)

4.1.2.2 婊 *biǎo* as a State Verb

We have found three senses for 婊 *biǎo* as a state verb, listed as 婊 v9 to 婊 v11. 婊 *biǎo* in bold in each example appears in constructions that describe excessiveness, with degree adverbs such as 有夠 *yǒugòu* 'very', 超 *chāo* 'very', 太 *tài* 'too much' , all of which modifies state verbs. However, we can still distinguish their different senses. First of all, 婊 v9 denotes **The DESPICABLE Sense**. In (27), the netizen called someone a bitch and used this word to describe that person's personality (which is the same as the characteristic of a bitch). It caters to the Concept Elaboration Criterion in that 婊 v9 co-occurs highly with words referring to human beings such as pronouns 他 *tā* 'he' and 她 *tā* 'she', or personality traits and manners that are similar to those of a bitch.

(27) 婊 v9: **The DESPICABLE Sense**
下賤的 (Definition from ODMOE)
xiàjiàn de
'being despicable'
婊子不愧是婊子。有夠**婊(VH)**…
*biǎozi bùkuì shì biǎozi yǒu gòu **biǎo***
'A bitch is indeed a bitch. How despicable!'   (*HATE* 88)

Secondly, from the example (28), we can see that 婊 v10 denotes **The ANNOYED Sense** since the netizen used this word to describe his/her state of being annoyed or extremely unhappy after he/she was infected with cold because of his/her colleague .

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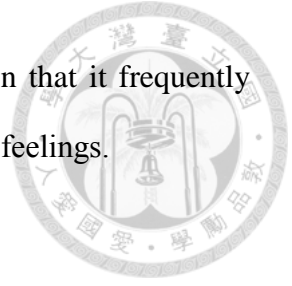
The **ANNOYED Sense** caters to the Concept Elaboration Criterion in that it frequently co-occurs with 覺得 *juédé* 'feel', which indicates the speakers' own feelings.

(28) 婊 v10: **The ANNOYED Sense**
　　極度不高興的 (Definition from ODMOE)
　　jídù bùgāoxìng de
　　'being extremely annoyed and unhappy'
　　真心覺得超幹超**婊(VH)**!!!
　　zhēnxīn juédé chāo gàn chāo biǎo
　　一直叫隔壁同事感冒咳嗽要戴上口罩
　　yīzhí jiào gébì tóngshì gǎnmào késòu yào dài shàng kǒuzhào
　　馬的在那邊給我嘻皮笑臉對著我咳
　　mǎde zài nàbiān gěi wǒ xīpíxiàoliǎn duì zhe wǒ ké
　　果不其然我被傳染了
　　guǒbùqírán wǒ bèi chuánrǎn le
　　'I'm fuckin' annoyed!!! I asked my colleague sitting next to me to wear the mask since he's sick and kept coughing, but damn it! He coughed at me and I was infected!' 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(*HATE* 27)

Finally, 婊 v11 denotes **The IRONIC Sense**. From (29), we can see that it is used to describe the characteristic of a film, which is similar to a revue in which the director integrated the currently popular news to satirize celebrities.

(29) 婊 v11: **The IRONIC Sense**
　　諷刺的 (Definition from ODMOE)
　　fěngcì de
　　'being ironic'
　　這影片太**婊(VH)**了!
　　zhè yǐngpiàn tài biǎo le
　　(胖 x 人 監聽 還有王 x 平嫁女兒時被趁機衝康都在裡面)
　　(Pàng-x-rén jiāntīng háiyǒu Wáng-x-píng jiànǚér shí bèi chènjī chōngkāng dōu zài lǐmiàn)
　　'What an ironic film it is! The story tackles some hot news such as the Pang-x-ren food scandal, illegal wiretap, and the unexpected trouble while Wang-x-ping was attending his daughter's wedding.' 　　　　　　　　　　　　(*JOKE* 60)

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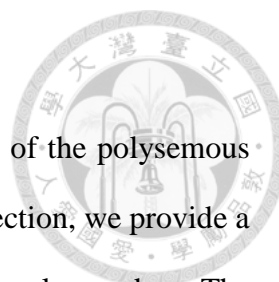
4.2　Mechanisms for the Semantic Change of Modern 婊 *biǎo*
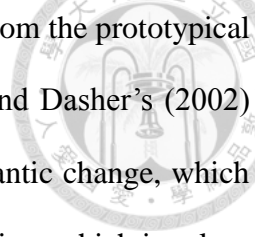
In the last section, we have provided our analysis of the senses of the polysemous 婊 *biǎo*, which is not limited in one syntactic category now. In this section, we provide a detailed analysis of how the word 婊 *biǎo*, originally and commonly used as The PROSTITUTE Sense and The BITCH Sense, goes through semantic change and develops its polysemy.

4.2.1 The Semantic Change of Nominal 婊 *biǎo*

Previously, we have pointed out that 婊 *biǎo* has two more new senses. Integrating the senses together, we therefore propose a semantic network for nominal 婊 *biǎo*. The white circle stands for a cluster (Evans, 2003; Evans and Green, 2006), which in the present paper refers to a mutual conceptual structure of senses. As we can see in **Figure 4.1** below, there are totally four senses for the nominal 婊 *biǎo*, including two conventional senses and two new senses.
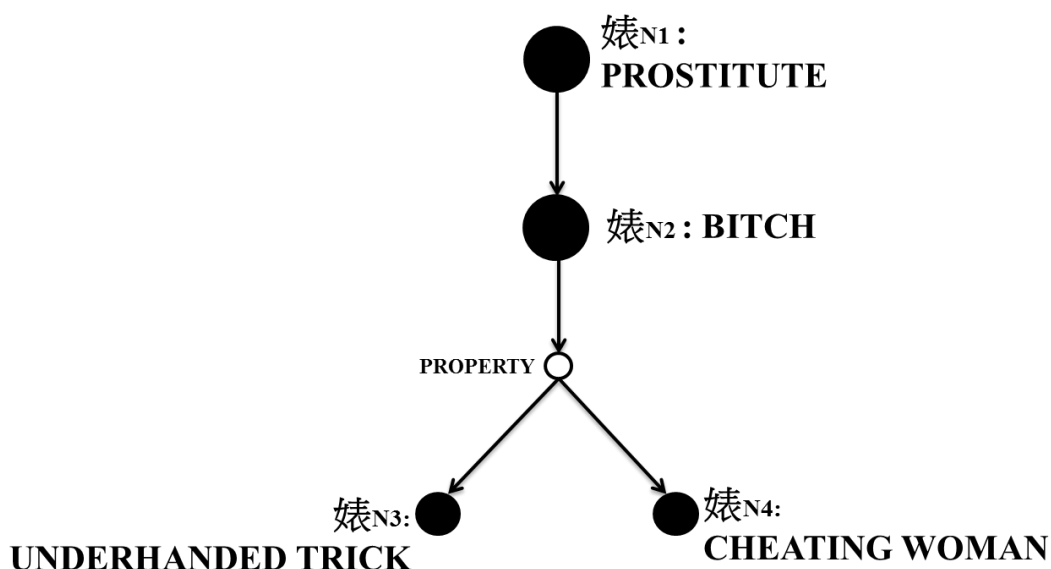
Figure 4.1 Semantic Network for Nominal 婊 *biǎo*

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From **Figure 4.1**, we can see that 婊 N3 and 婊 N4 are derived from the prototypical sense (i.e., **The BITCH Sense**) of 婊 *biǎo*. According to Traugott and Dasher's (2002) proposal, we know that there are two possible mechanisms for semantic change, which are metaphorization and metonymization. It seems that metonymization, which involves the notion of contiguity (Koch, 2012), is a plausible explanation for the semantic change of the nominal 婊 *biǎo*. To understand the usage of the expletive 婊 N2, people should have an ICM (i.e., a relatively complex structured system of knowledge), which consists of, for instance, cultural or social backgrounds. This ICM also consists of various elements or other ICMs such as Action ICMs that probably include the agents who curse and the targets being cursed, and Causation ICM which may include the cause of the cursing (e.g., the target does something wrong) and the result of cursing (i.e., the emotion of the participants), and so on.

In the case of 婊 N3, we will focus on the elements related to **The BITCH Sense** and **The UNDERHANDED TRICK Sense**. We suggest that **The BITCH Sense** extends to **The UNDERHANDED TRICK Sense** through the metonymy CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY. The metonymization is shown in **Figure 4.2** below. The basics of the diagram follows Langacker (2008) mentioned in Section 2.1.6. As we have mentioned previously that metonymy is regarded as a "figure-ground effect." Therefore, at the first phase, when people use the word 婊 *biǎo* as The BITCH Sense, what is profiled and highlighted is "the person who is called 'a bitch'," who has many properties (i.e., Px), and one of them is "underhanded tricks (i.e., T)." In the second phase, due to the contiguity of the category and its properties—the bitch and her underhanded tricks—people tend to use 婊 *biǎo* to refer to "underhanded tricks." Namely, what is profiled after the metonymization is the property of a bitch, the underhanded tricks. The trick is underhanded since a bitch is despised by common people due to her sexual attraction

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and immorality, which threatens the traditional Chinese value that females should be moral, pure, and loyal.

B for "bitch"
T for "underhanded tricks"
P for "properties"

——contiguity
••••••▶metonymization
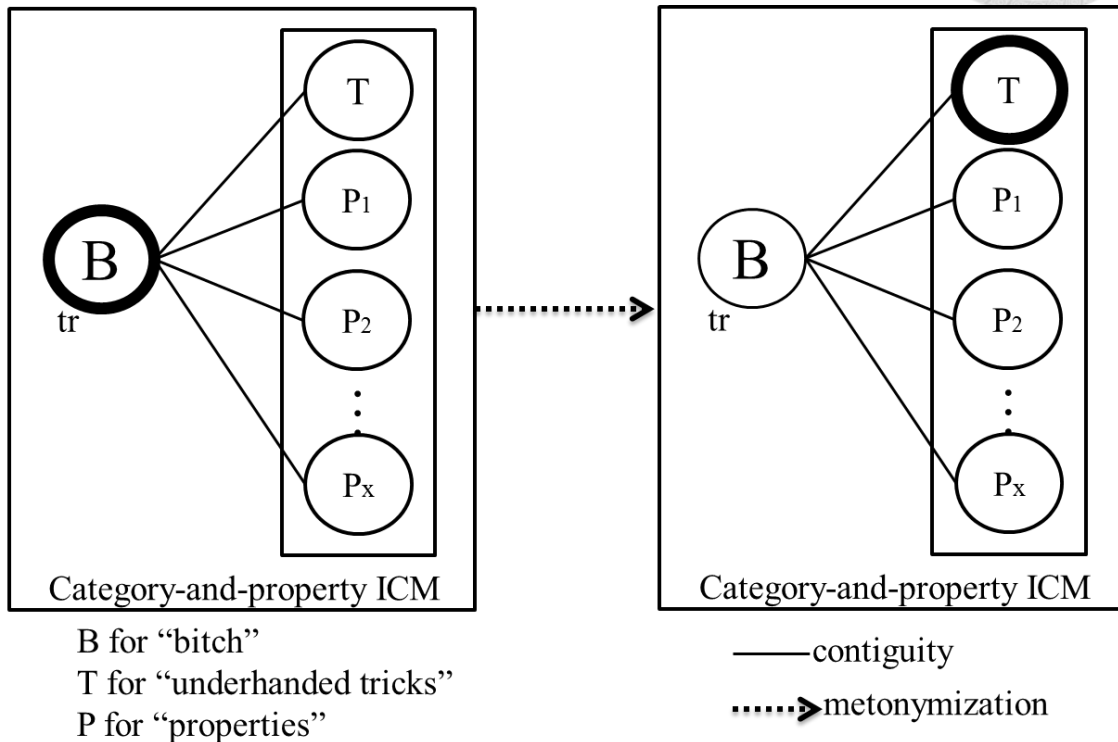
Figure 4.2 The Metonymization for The UNDERHANDED TRICK Sense

Likewise, **The BITCH Sense** extends to **The CHEATING WOMAN Sense** through the CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY within a Category-and-property ICM but involves different defining property, shown in **Figure 4.3**. First of all, the profiled element is B, a bitch having various properties. Secondly, through metonymization, the profiling is shifted from the category "bitch" to the property "cheating on others." In the second phase, the trajector is any female who does C (i.e., the action of cheating), illustrated by the solid-lined arrow), and this action has an effect on others (illustrated by the double-lined arrow).

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B for "bitch"   P for "properties"
C for "cheating on others"   V for "victim"

— contiguity   ·········· correspondence
⟹ causation   ▪▪▪▪▶ metonymization
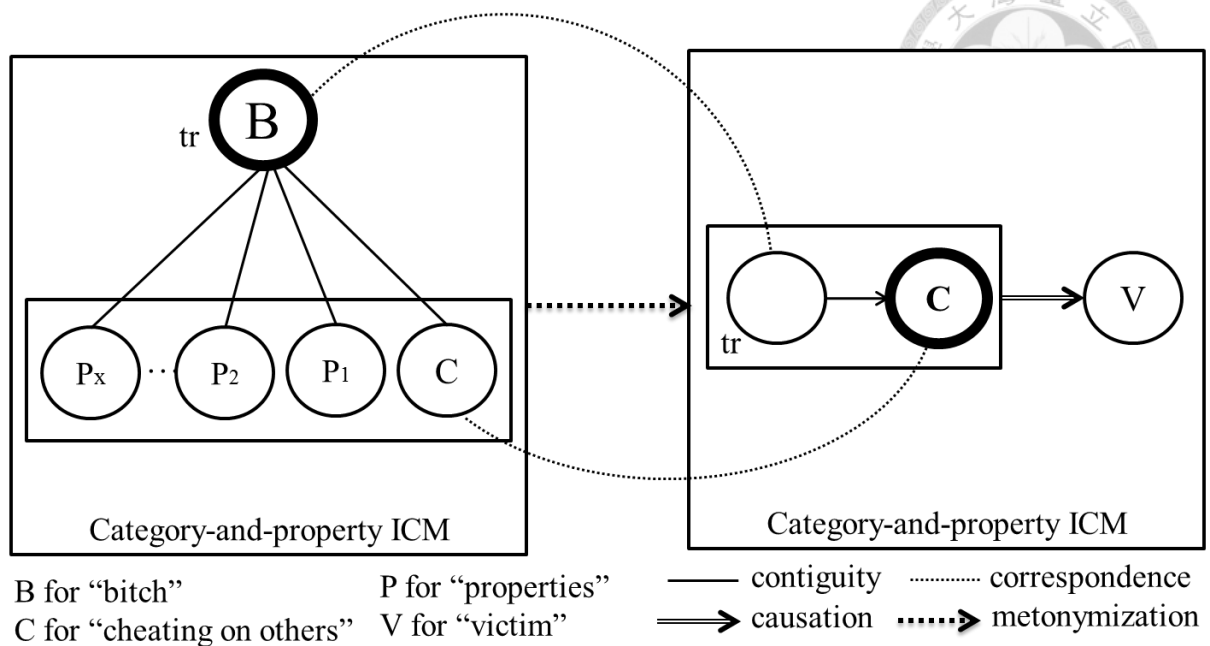
Figure 4.3 The Metonymization for The CHEATING WOMAN Sense

4.2.2 The Semantic change of Verbal 婊 *biǎo*

In this section, we also separate the analysis into two parts, respectively for 婊 *biǎo* as an activity verb and a state verb.

4.2.2.1 The Semantic Change of 婊 *biǎo* as an Activity Verb

Integrating the senses of the activity verb 婊 *biǎo*, we provide a semantic network as shown in **Figure 4.4** below. In this semantic network, we can see that senses are extended from **The BITCH Sense**, the prototypical sense of nominal 婊 *biǎo*. The white circles represent meaning clusters, which indicate mutual concepts between senses. The cluster EXPRESSING DISSATISFACTION, including 婊 v_1 to 婊 v_5. The cluster FRAMING UP consists of **The TROUBLING Sense** and **The TRICKING Sense**. In addition, this semantic network illustrates that the semantic change of 婊 *biǎo* involves the concept of conversion. Clark and Clark (1979), who study conversion verbs, state that the usage of denominal verbs is regulated by a convention:

"…when a speaker utters such a verb, he intends his listener to see that the verb picks

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out a readily computable and unique kind of state, event, or process…on the basis of the verb itself, the linguistic context, and other mutual knowledge" (Clark and Clark, 1979).

Taking into consideration the above idea, we examine the unique connotation as well as the underlying background knowledge that gives rise to the conversion of 婊 *biǎo*.

婊N2 : **BITCH**

EXPRESSING DISSATISFACTION

FRAMING UP

婊V1: **INSULTING**

婊V2: **CRITICIZING**

婊V3: **SATIRIZING**

婊V4: **TEASING**

婊V6: **TROUBLING**

婊V7: **TRICKING**

婊V8: **DISCLOSING**

婊V5: **SLAPPING IN THE FACE**
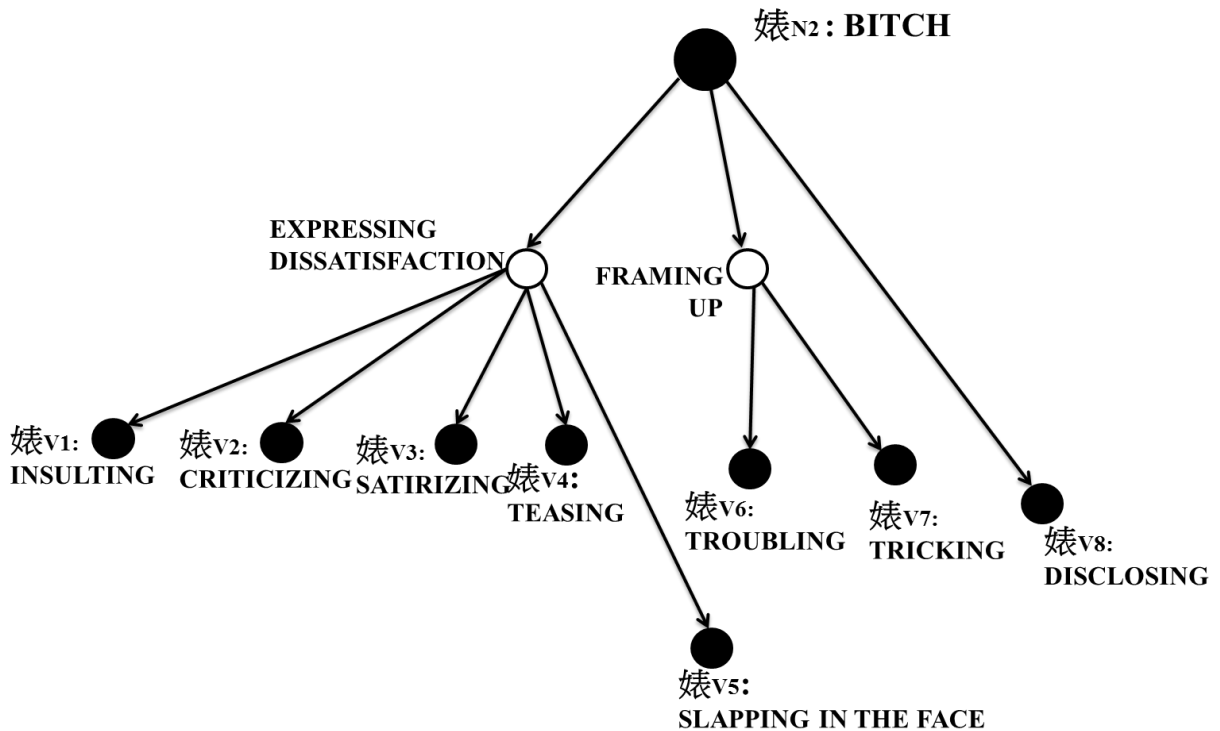
Figure 4.4   Semantic Network for Activity Verb 婊 *biǎo*

Following the idea of Clark and Clark (1979) as well as Martsa's (2013) classification of conversion verbs, we assume that nominal 婊 *biǎo* converts to verbal 婊 *biǎo* through, for instance, the metonymy RESULT FOR THE ACTION THAT BRINGS ABOUT THAT RESULT, which enables 婊 *biǎo* to develop the senses related to EXPRESSING DISSATISFACTION. Here we choose **The INSULTING Sense** as an illustration. The process of the semantic change from **The BITCH Sense** to **The INSULTING Sense** is shown in the following **Figure 4.5**.

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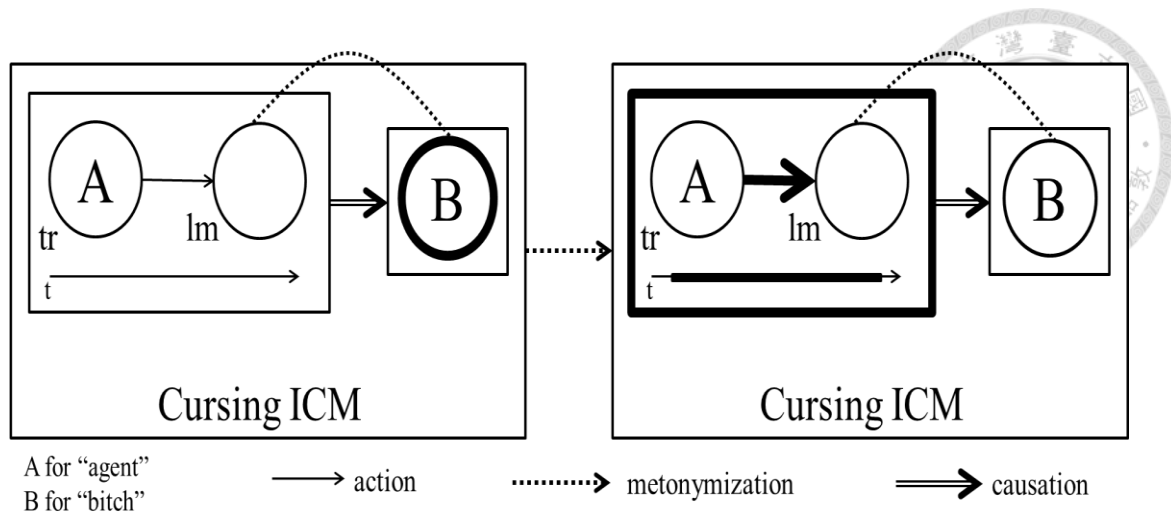
Figure 4.5 The metonymiztion of senses related to EXPRESSING DISSATISFACTION

First of all, to understand 婊 *biǎo* as **The BITCH Sense**, people should have the
background knowledge that it is usually used in a cursing event, and therefore in a
Cursing ICM. In this image schema, A stands for "the agent" of the action of cursing,
and B represents the term "bitch." In the first phase where **The BITCH Sense** is used, A
(i.e., the trajector) curses somebody (i.e., the landmark) and consequently results in the
term 婊 *biǎo* 'bitch', which is, therefore, the foregrounded element in the cursing event.
That is, the original 婊 *biǎo* as an expletive is the result of the cursing event. Secondly,
the result of the event is metonymically used to stand for the whole cursing event,
following the metonymy RESULT FOR THE ACTION THAT BRING ABOUT THAT RESULT
(Martsa 2013).

The semantic extension of the senses related to the concept FRAMING UP can be
seen from two different perspectives, which are shown respectively in **Figure 4.6** and
Figure 4.7. For **The TROUBLING Sense** shown in **Figure 4.6**, which denotes "to cause
unexpected, bad or unfavorable results" as previously mentioned, we suggest that
semantic extension is through the metonymy CAUSER FOR THE ACTION within a
Causation ICM. In this figure, B stands for "bitch," who is the causer of an event, which
is regarded as a harmful one to others (e.g., seduction, audultery). On the other hand, V

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stands for "victim" that is influenced by R, the result of the event. In the beginning, when people use **The BITCH Sense**, what is profiled is the causer B. In the second phase, through metonymization, the profile shifts from the causer B to the whole event, which consequently results in extension of **The TROUBLING Sense**. Please note that R is also profiled in that it is a part of an action, and is emphasized in **The TROUBLING Sense**.
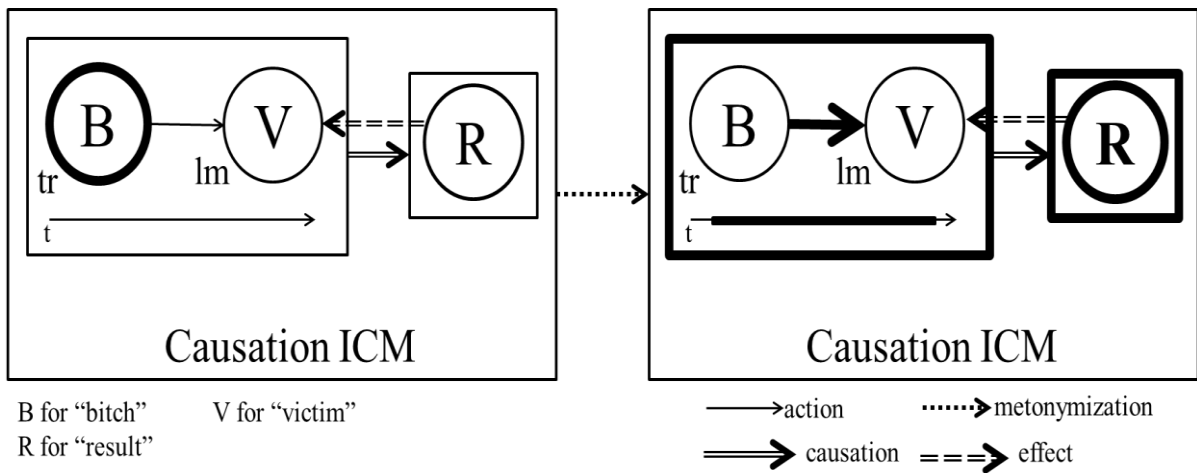
Figure 4.6 The Metonymization of The TROUBLING Sense

For **The TRICKING Sense**, please refer to **Figure 4.7** below. We suggest that it derives from **The BITCH Sense** through the metonymy AGENT FOR THE ACTION within a Tricking ICM.
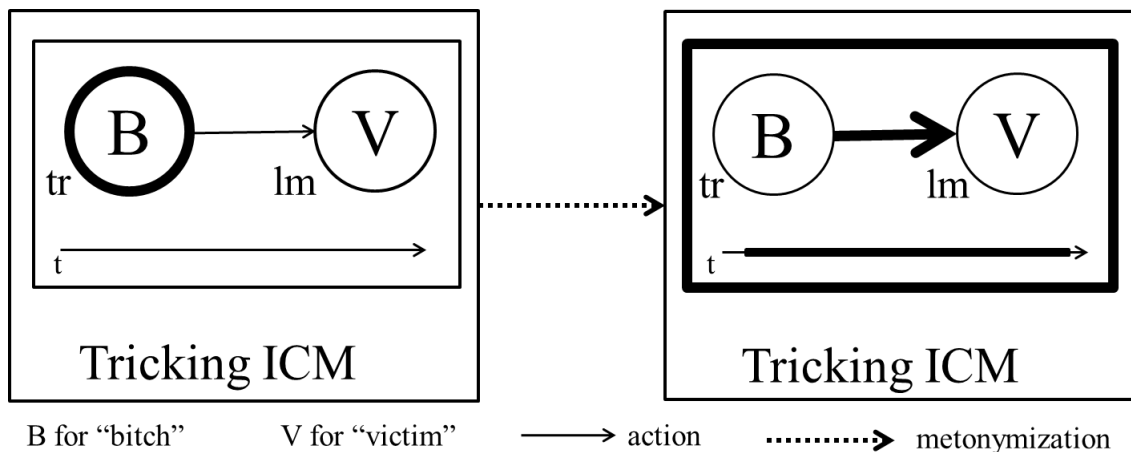
Figure 4.7 The metonymization of The TRICKING Sense

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In this ICM, there are two contiguous elements—B for "bitch" as the agent of the action of tricking, and V for "victim" of the action of tricking. Originally, the element profiled is B in that 婊 *biǎo* denotes **The ʙɪᴛᴄʜ Sense**. Through metonymization, the profile shifts from B to the action. Namely, the agent is metonymically used to stand for the whole action of tricking, which consequently results in **The ᴛʀɪᴄᴋɪɴɢ Sense**.

Finally, we suggest that **The ᴅɪsᴄʟᴏsɪɴɢ Sense** extends from **The ʙɪᴛᴄʜ Sense** through the metonymy ɢᴏᴀʟ ᴏғ ᴛʜᴇ ᴀᴄᴛɪᴏɴ ғᴏʀ ᴛʜᴇ ᴀᴄᴛɪᴏɴ within a Disclosing ICM, which is illustrated in **Figure 4.8** below.
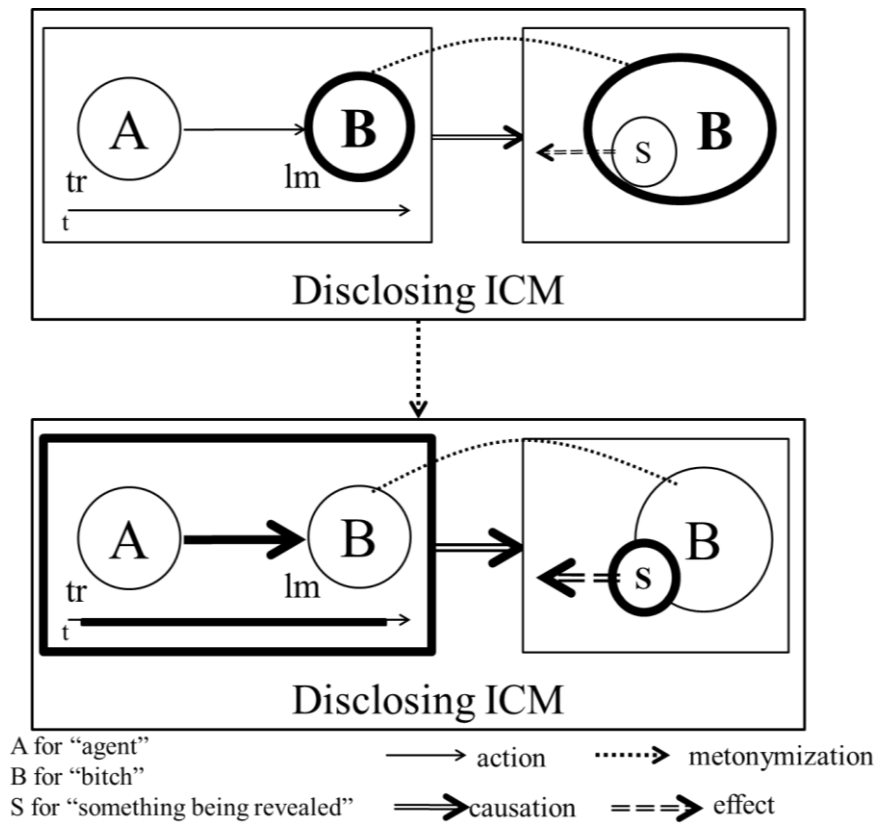
Figure 4.8 The Metonymization of The ᴅɪsᴄʟᴏsɪɴɢ Sense

In ancient time, people call a female a bitch because she is either immoral or filthy. In other words, calling someone a bitch is equivalent to "disclosing" the person's negative traits. When people call a female a bitch, they tend to disclose, for instance, the negative

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properties of a female or some immoral things (such as adultery) done by the female. In this case, a person as A (i.e., the agent of the action) does the action of disclosing to B (i.e., the bitch as the goal of the action), which causes the reveal of S (i.e., contemptible secret represented by the white circle with the arrow indicating effect) from B.The left image schema illustrates that originally, B is grounded element when 婊 *biǎo* denotes **The BITCH Sense**. Then, through metonymization, the profile shifts to the action of disclosing, including also the result of the reveal, a secret.

4.2.2.2 The Semantic Change of 婊 *biǎo* as a State Verb

As a state verb, the senses is connected to a meaning cluster related to static entities "attribute" rather than an action such as "framing up" in Figure 4.4. The senses constitute a semantic network, as shown in **Figure 4.9** below.
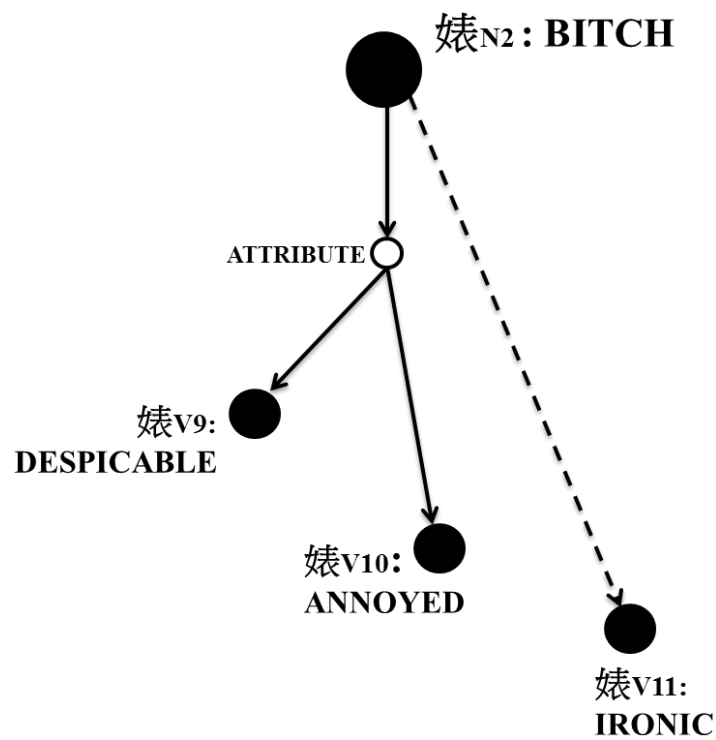
Figure 4.9 The Semantic Network for State Verb 婊 *biǎo*

In this semantic network, we can see that **The DESPICABLE Sense** and **The ANNOYED Sense** is categorized into the meaning cluster ATTRIBUTE. On the other hand, note that **The IRONIC Sense** should be separated from the other two senses since, according to our data, we suggest that **The IRONIC Sense** is derived from **The SATIRIZING Sense** of the activity verb 婊 *biǎo*, which we will elaborate in detail in later section. Therefore, here we use the dotted line to represent its relation with the prototypical sense **The BITCH Sense**.

The semantic change of state verb 婊 *biǎo* involves also the N > V conversion. For the extension from **The BITCH Sense** to **The DESPICABLE Sense**, we suggest that the semantic change is triggered by the metonymy CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY within the Category-and-property ICM, which is shown in **Figure 4.10**.

B for "bitch"
D for "being despicable"   P for "properties"
..........▸ metonymization
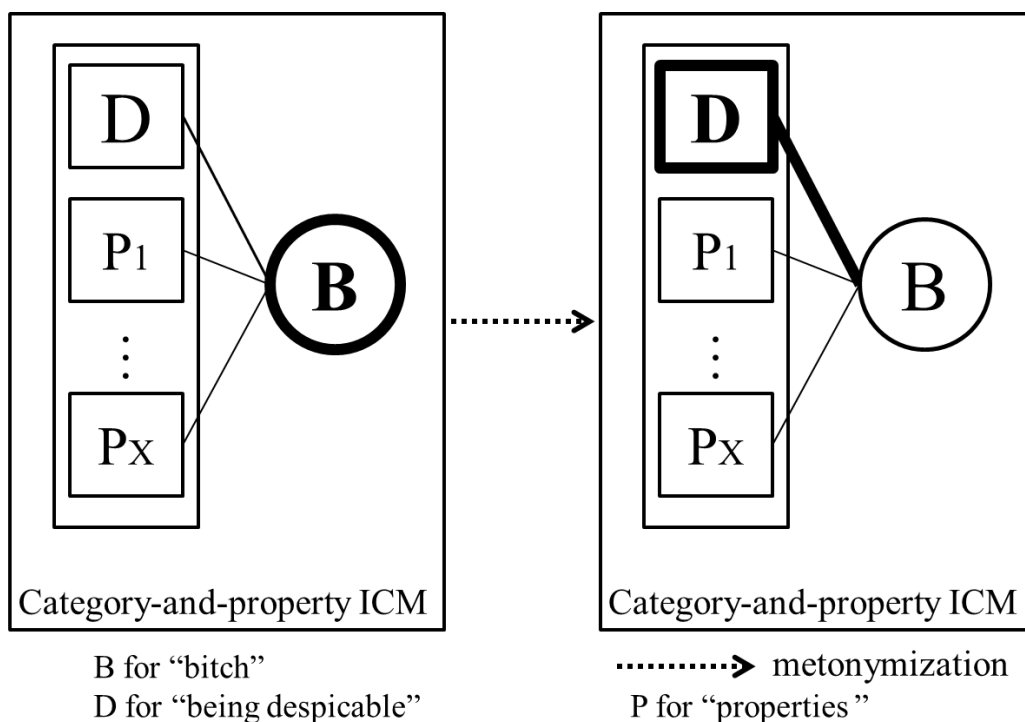
Figure 4.10 The Metonymization of The DESPICABLE Sense
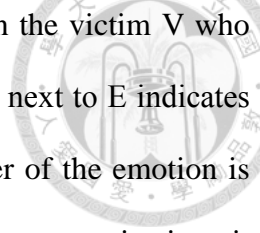
According to Hu (2016), the word 婊 *biǎo* with **The BITCH Sense** frequently co-occurs with words such as 賤 *jiàn* 'despicable', 臭 *chòu* 'foul', 不要臉 *bùyà liǎn* 'shameless'

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and so on, all of which indicates the properties of the category *bitch*. Therefore, within

the Category-and-property ICM, there are two elements—one is the properties of a bitch,

and the other one is the category *bitch*. Through metonymization, the profiling shifts

from B to the property D (i.e., being despicable), which therefore results in the semantic

change of 婊 *biǎo*.

Secondly, **The ANNOYED Sense** extends from **The BITCH Sense** through the

metonymy CAUSE OF EMOTION FOR EMOTION within a Causation ICM, shown in

Figure 4.11 below.

B for "bitch" ⟶ action ┈┈⟶ metonymization
V for "victim" ⟹ causation
E for "emotion"
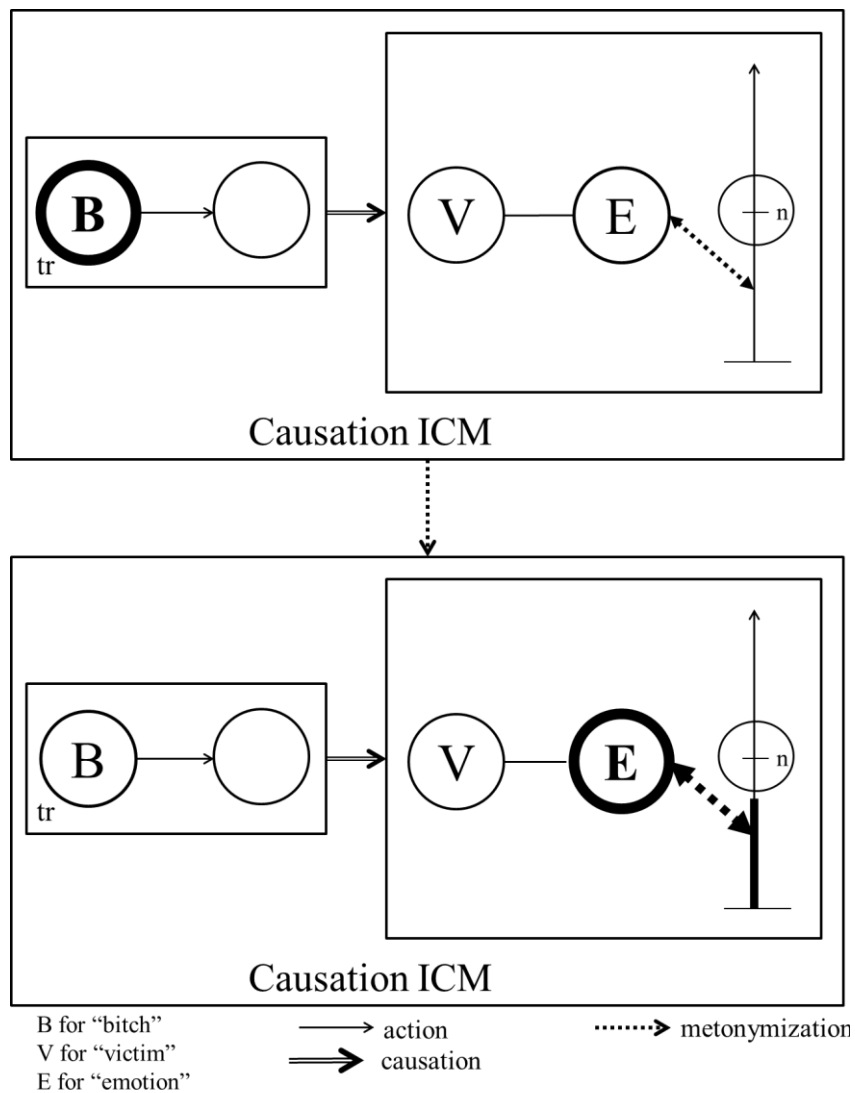
Figure 4.11 The Metonymization of The ANNOYED Sense

In this ICM, the bitch B does something, which has an influence on the victim V who feels certain emotion E. The scale (in which "n" represents "norm") next to E indicates whether E is positive or negative. In the first phase, B as the causer of the emotion is profiled when people use **The BITCH Sense**, and then through metonymization, it extends **The ANNOYED Sense**, in which the profiling shifts to E in negative polarity.

Finally, we suggest that **The IRONIC Sense** derives from **The SATIRIZING Sense**, which goes through a relatively complex process than other senses in that it derives from activity to state. Please take a look at **Figure 4.12** below. **The IRONIC Sense** derives from **The SATIRIZING Sense**, which consequently should be conceptualized within a Satirizing ICM. This ICM consists of the action of satirizing and the effect of the action (i.e., the final state of the aciton). In this ICM, the agent A satirizes the bitch B, which causes an effect E (a sense of irony, precisely).

In the beginning, B is the profiled element within the interpretation of **The BITCH Sense**. From the first to the second image schema, we can see that through the metonymy GOAL OF THE ACTION FOR THE ACTION within the Satirizing ICM, **The BITCH Sense** extends to **The SATIRIZING Sense**, in which the profiling shifts to the whole action of satirizing. The second shift of profiling results from the metonymization ACTION FOR THE EFFECT OF THE ACTION. In other words, in the usage of **The IRONIC Sense**, the profiled element shifts from the action of satirizing to the effect of satirizing E, with a scale indicating the polarity of the how ironic the action of satirizing is.
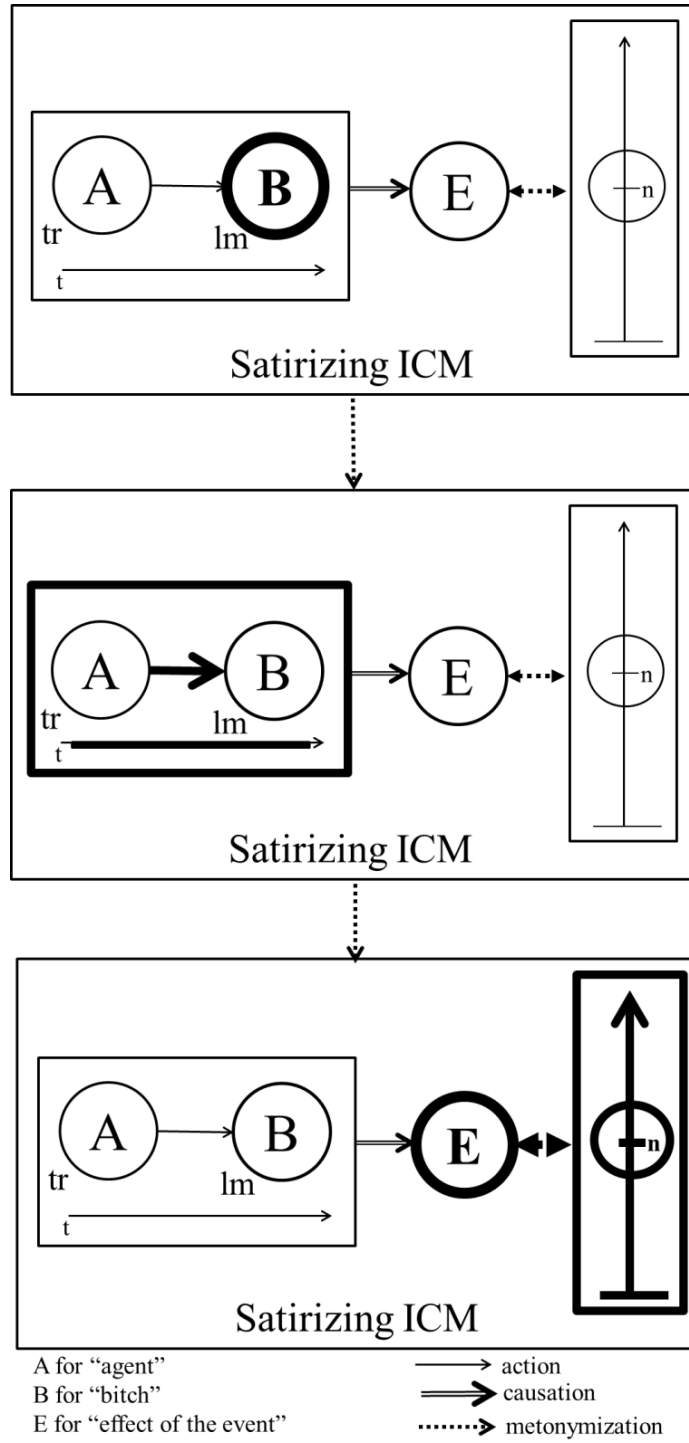
Figure 4.12 The Metonymization of The IRONIC Sense

4.3 Diachronic Analysis on 婊 *biǎo*

In the last section, we have discussed the semantic change and development of modern 婊 *biǎo*. In this section, we discuss the diachronic development of 婊 *biǎo*, starting from the etymology of the word.

In Chapter Two, we have mentioned that according to Hu (2016), the original form of 婊子 biǎozi is written as 表子 *biǎozi*, whose original sense is "a concubine or a secret lover," which is an antonym to 內子 nèizǐ 'legitimate wife '. If we look up the ODMOE, we can see that 表 biǎo is equivalent to 婊 biǎo that means "prostitutes" although the Prostitute Sense seems to be less common in today's use of 表 biǎo in that it is almost substituted by 婊 biǎo when it refers to a prostitute, as (30) shows. However, even though the ODMOE provides us with the definition of 表 biǎo, we can hardly infer from the definitions how and why the word 表 biǎo is used to refer to a concubine or a secret lover as well as the semantic change from 表子 biǎozi to 婊子 biǎozi.

(30) 泛　指　行為　　不　檢點　　的　婦女，　也　多
　　　fàn zhǐ xíngwéi bù jiǎndiǎn de fùnǔ　yě duō
　　　專指　　妓女。　通　「婊」　。
　　　zhuānzhǐ jìnǔ　　tōng　biǎo
　　　'Generally, it refers to immoral females, and always refers specifically to
　　　 prostitutes, and is equivalent to 婊 biǎo'　　　　　　　(from ODMOE)

Lakoff (1987) proposed that word senses form radial categories, which is a conceptual category with a range of concepts organized relative to "a central or prototypical concept." Scholars having explored regularity in semantic changes agree with the idea that to obtain greater explanatory power, the account should "go beyond

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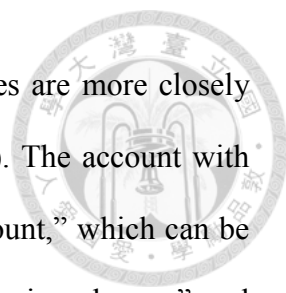
the linguist's intuition that two senses are related, or that two senses are more closely related to each other than either is to a third sense" (Shindo, 2009). The account with explanatory power is called by Sweetser (1990:3) "a motivated account," which can be obtained through "cross-linguistic (typological) examination of meaning change," and "historical (diachronic) observation of what earlier senses produce what later senses."

In addition, note that in Chapter Two, we have mentioned about the proposal of Principled Polysemy model, illustrated by the case study of *time*, indicates that at the synchronic level, a form has distinct lexical concepts or senses, which are derived in a principled way from "a historically earlier sense (or senses)." The derived senses are organized with respect to "a Sanctioning Sense," which is typically parallel with the diachronically earliest sense. Following the above ideas, therefore, to understand the semantic change from 表子 *biǎozi* to 婊子 *biǎozi*, we need to first determine the Sanctioning Sense of the word 表 *biǎo*.

4.3.1 From Entity-denoting 表 *biǎo* to Space-denoting 表 *biǎo*

Let us first take a look at the etymological evidence. According to Ji (2010) , the creation of the character 表 *biǎo* is based on the meaning "outer garments," as (31) shows and is exemplified by (32-33).

(31) 表 *biǎo*

上衣	也	從	衣	從	毛	古者	衣	裘
shàngyī	*yě*	*cóng*	*yī*	*cóng*	*máo*	*gǔzhě*	*yì*	*qiú*

以	毛	為	表
ǐ	*máo*	*wéi*	*biǎo*

釋義：	衣服	的	外表
shìyì:	*yīfú*	*de*	*wàibiǎo*

'*biǎo*, outer garments. Follows the two characters *yī* meaning *clothes* and *máo furs*. Inancient times, people wear fur coats, and the furs are on the outside of coats. Meaning: the outside of clothes'

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(32) 袍　　必　　有　　表，　…衣　必　　有　　裳，　謂
  páo　*bì*　*yǒu*　*biǎo*　*yī*　*bì*　*yǒu*　*shang*　*wèi*
  之　　一稱
  zhī　*yīchēng*

'The outer garment is needed when people wear the gown. …The upper garments and skirts should be a pair. These are called a complete set of cloth.'

(《禮記‧喪大記》第 22 章)

(33) 諸　　友　　白　　其　　內　　者　　皆　　去　　表。
  zhū　*yǒu*　*bó*　*qí*　*nèi*　*zhě*　*jiē*　*qù*　*biǎo*

'Friends wearing white upper clothes all took off their outer garments.'

(明/袁宏道〈雨後遊六橋記〉)

Following the theory of Principled Polysemy, we regard The OUTER GARMENT Sense as the central Sanctioning Sense since (i) it is historically earliest attested meaning, as mentioned above, and (ii) it has predictablility regarding other senses, which is elaborated as follows. The OUTER GARMENT Sense can be "the one from which the other senses would most naturally be derived" (Evans, 2005). Namely, it can extend to the Space-denoting sense of 表 *biǎo* (which we call The OUTER Sense henceforth), as (34) illustrates. In (34), the two words, 表 *biǎo* and 裏 *lǐ*, respectively, refer to "outside" and "inside" of a country.

(34) 表　　裏　　山　　河，　必　　無　　害　　也。
  biǎo　*lǐ*　*shān*　*hé*　*bì*　*wú*　*hài*　*yě*

'The country would be free from attack since it is protected by the mountains and the great river inside and outside the country.'

(《春秋左傳》僖公傳二十八年)

How does **The OUTER GARMENT Sense** extend to **The OUTER Sense**? We suggest that the semantic change results from metonymization and also what Traugott and

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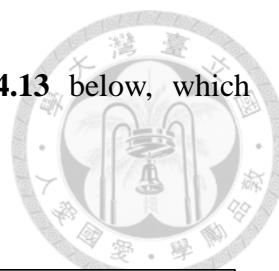
Dasher (2002) called metaphorization. Please refer to **Figure 4.13** below, which concludes the semantic development from (31) to (34).
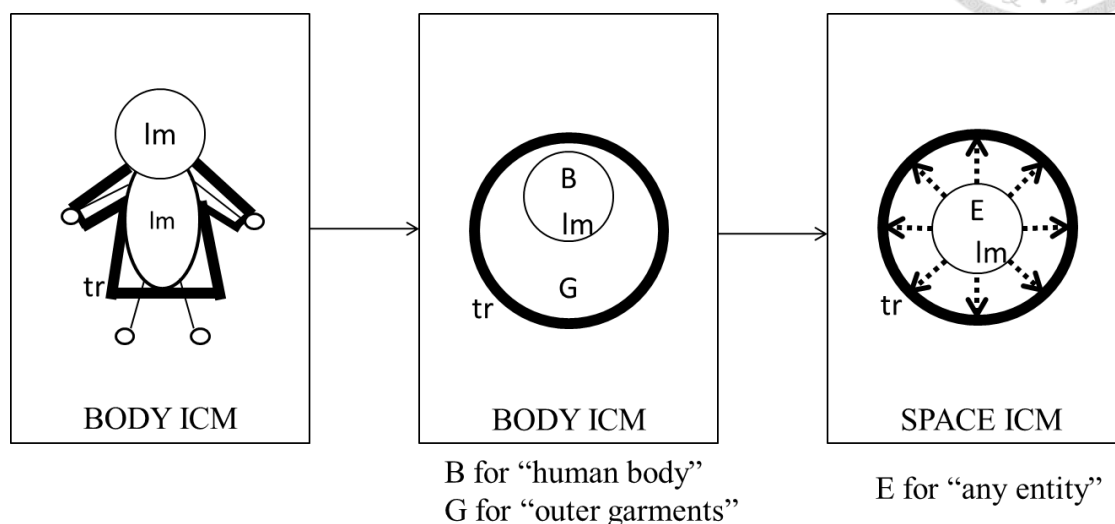
Figure 4.13 Semantic Change from The OUTER GARMENT Sense to The OUTER Sense

In this figure, we can see that people at the very beginning use the word 表 *biǎo* to refer to "outer garments," which is in a BODY ICM. In this ICM, human body is regarded as the landmark, and the outer garment the trajector, a salient element being profiled. The profiling can be schematized as the image schema in the middle, which indicates more obviously the spatial relation between B (i.e., human body) and G (i.e., outer garments). Note that the first two image schemas are within a BODY ICM that represents the basic human experience, in which metaphors are grounded (Geeraerts, 2010). Cruse (2011), in discussing the extensions of meaning, points out that language as well as many conceptual categories are essentially metaphorical, and "are extensions from basic experience, especially, but not exclusively spatial experience." From this point of view, we suggest that the spatial relation between B and G consequently extends to the Space-denoting sense, which is illustrated by the third image schema in Figure 4.13. In this phase, people conceptualize 表 *biǎo* within a SPACE ICM, in which the landmark

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is transformed from a human body to any entity, and that what is profiled is the whole space outside the entity. Namely, 表 *biǎo* develops **The OUTER Sense**, with which the Space-denoting part becomes salient through metonymization and metaphorization.
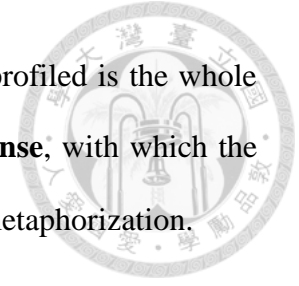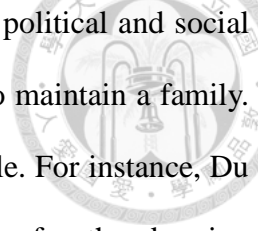
4.3.2 From Space-denoting 表 *biǎo* to Relationship-denoting 表 *biǎo*

In the previous section, we have analyzed how 表 *biǎo* develops The OUTER Sense from the Sanctioning Sense (i.e., **The OUTER GARMENT Sense**) through metonymy and metaphorization (Traugott and Dasher, 2002). Still, **The OUTER Sense** is insufficient for explaining the term 表子 *biǎozi*. Ancient people created the term 表子 *biǎozi* based on the title 內子 *nèizǐ* to refer to "a concubine or a secret lover" outside the marriage. Namely, the usage of **The OUTER Sense** is consequently extended to human relationships.

As we have mentioned in Chapter Two, we can see from spatial metaphors the cultural values and social norms in a culture (e.g., Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Levinson 2003; Kövecses 2003). In addition, spatial metaphors in human relationships are pervasive in Chinese culture, and are widely discussed by many scholars, especially Lu and Shao (2012). Nonetheless, in these studies, when it comes to metaphors that relate to the concepts *IN* and *OUT*, or "inner-outer metaphor" by Lu and Shao's (2012) term, scholars usually focus on the pair 內 *nèi* 'inside' and 外 *wài* 'outside'. Therefore, we suggest that there should be one more pair for the inner-outer metaphor, which is 內 *nèi* and 表 *biǎo*.

Since 表子 *biǎozi* 'a concubine or a secret lover' and 內子 *nèizǐ* 'a legitimate wife' are terms for a female, which indicates her identity in a family, we have to first understand the notion of "family" in Chinese culture and its influence. Xu (1992) points out that the origin of a family system is 家父長制家族 *jiāfùzhǎngzhì jiāzú* (i.e., the patriarchal system) in the primitive era, which is based on the union of individual

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families on the basis of marriage. A family is ragarded the basis of political and social power as well as a source of finance, and therefore it is important to maintain a family. In addition, it has a great influence on the daily life of Chinese people. For instance, Du (2005) points out that the notion of family serves as a criterion for the dressing etiquettes in family ceremonies such as a funeral.

If the notion of family and the patriarchal system is an important value of Chines culture, how to maintain these values is the utmost priority to Chinese people. Consequently, these values have an impact on kinship terms and titles in that it is necessary for each person to know his or her identity and role, which determines his or her job in a family. Furthermore, since marriage is the basis of a family, rules and conventions are gradually established to maintain the system, which therefore explains why people emphasize the identity of a person in a family. Li and Zhu also point out the significance of family value in Chinese culture by the following remark:

> 表示親屬關係的稱謂詞一般用以表述人際之間的血緣關係。雖然世界上各種文化都有稱謂詞，但其縝密程度是不同的。其中漢語最為豐富和獨特。受中國傳統的宗法血親關係和倫理道德影響，它體現了一種嚴密的家族關係。(Li and Zhu, 2011: 237)

> 'Kinship terms and titles are usually used to indicate not only the consanguinity but also interpersonal relationships. Every culture in the world has its own terms and titles for human relationships, yet with different degree of complexity. Among cultures, kinship terms and titles in Chinese are the richest and the most special since it presents the inseparability and closeness of memberships of a family, which is influenced significantly by traditional Chinese patriarchal system as well as the conventional ethics.' (Translation mine)

Last but not least, Tan and Xu (2018) indicates that the source domain of the inner-outer metaphor is 宗法制度 *zōngfǎ zhìdù* 'the Chinese patriarchal system'.

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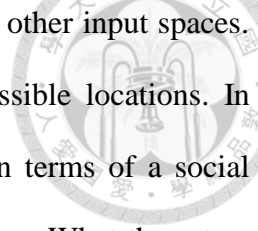
Integrating the value and notion of family and patriarchal system in Chinese culture mentioned above as well as the categorization of spatial metaphors, we suggest that the lexicalization of 表子 *biǎozi* 'a concubine or a secret lover' is triggered by the inner-outer spatial metaphor, as the case of 內 *nèi* 'inside' and 外 *wài* 'outside' illustrates. To have a more precise illustration, please refer to the blending model in **Figure 4.14** below.

Generic space

a: inner space
b: outer space
c: agent

A: inside of a container
B: outside of a container
C: An entity

A': inside of a group
B': outside of a group
C': An individual
D': Chinese patriarchal systems and rules
E': People threatening the family are unwelcome

Input 1
ICM 1: CONTAINER

Input 2
ICM 2: HUMAN RELATIONSHIP

Blended space

Emergent structure
An outsider of a group is an entity outside of a container. An insider of a group is an entity inside a container. In Chinese convention, people are bonded through either through consanguinity or marriage. People who do not follow the Chinese patriarchal systems and rules threaten the Chinese value and are therefore unaccepted by a family.

Figure 4.14 The Conceptual Integration Network for 內子 *nèizǐ* and 表子 *biǎozi*

In this model, each input space is a partial structure representing the different ICMs. The two titles 內子 *nèizǐ* 'a legitimate wife' and 表子 *biǎozi* 'a concubine or a secret lover' evoke the schema of a container as the first input due to their Space-denoting sense, and the ICM of HUMAN RELATIONSHIP as the second input owing to the

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Chinese value. Different elements in each input space correspond to other input spaces. In Input 1, we identify three elements—an entity and its two possible locations. In Input 2, the five elements are an individual and his/her position in terms of a social group, the Chinese value, and the possible result brought by this value. What these two inputs have in common is specified in the generic space—an agent and the two locations or positions.

Finally, the blending of the mental spaces triggers the emergent structure—in the frame of HUMAN RELATIONSHIP, if a person belongs to or is accepted by a social group, he or she is like an entity located inside of a container; on the other hand, a person being ostracized by a social group is like an entity located outside of a container. Furthermore, an outsider is so in that she threatens the Chinese value, and therefore is unwelcome by people. 表 *biǎo* is chosen for the term 表子 *biǎozi* to refer to a concubine or a secret lover since **The OUTER Sense** is used to map into the domain of human relationship, which indicates that the referred female does not follow the Chinese value of family, the patriarchal system as well as traditions of marriage, and is consequently an outsider of a family. Moreover, her existence "threatens the Chinese value," which is a cultural factor account for the pejoration of the term 表子 *biǎozi*. Therefore, from this blending model, we can see the cognitive mechanism and cultural contexts and factors of how and why people create the term 表子 *biǎozi*, which then went through pejoration and became the derogatory term 婊子 *biǎozi*.

To conclude this section briefly, we present a semantic network for the word 表 *biǎo*, which is shown in **Figure 4.15** below. Note that since 表 *biǎo* has many senses, the paper only discusses three relating to our topic. From this figure, we can see that 表₁ **The OUTER GARMENT Sense** is the Sanctioning Sense, which metaphorically extend to 表₂ **The OUTER Sense** that is also a commonly used sense of 表 *biǎo*. Other senses,

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including the metaphorical ones—**The KINSHIP Sense** such as 表姊 *biǎojiě* 'elder female cousin'and **The CONCUBINE Sense** 表子 *biǎozi*—are then derived from **The OUTER Sense**.
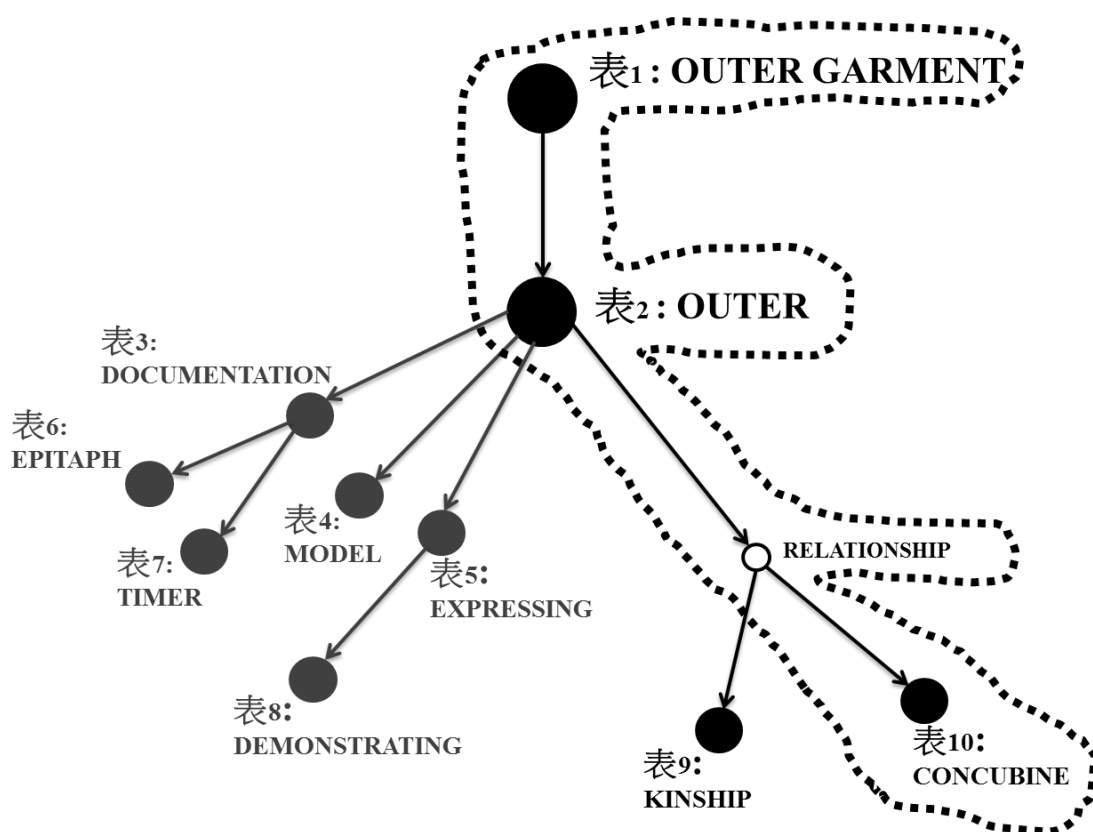
Figure 4.15 The Semantic Network for 表 *biǎo*

Since the focus of the present paper is the semantic development of 表子 *biǎozi*, we analyze more in detail the semantic change from the Sanctioning Sense to **The CONCUBINE Sense** (i.e., the circled part in the figure). Other senses in this semantic network are mainly from the Chinese Wordnet by Huang and Hsieh (2003), with an adaption according to the theory of Principle Polysemy, which we will not provide further explanations here.

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4.4　Interim Summary

In this chapter, first of all, we have provided a detailed analysis of the semantic change starting from the Entity-denoting 表 *biǎo* to the newly emerging polysemy 婊 *biǎo*. Following the criteria and Evan's model of Principled polysemy, we have illustrated the senses and the semantic networks for each syntactic category. In **Figure 4.16** below, we combine the semantic networks in each section and provide a holistic picture, which shows more clearly the diachronic and synchronic development from the Entity-denoting 表 *biǎo* to the newly emerging polysemy 婊 *biǎo*.

In addition, we have discussed the mechanisms for the semantic change. The Entity-denoting 表 *biǎo* develops its spatial sense through either metaphorization or metonymization. In the later period, the Space-denoting 表 *biǎo* is used in the expression 表子 *biǎozi* 'a concubine or a secret lover', and extends to a relationship-denoting sense through metaphorization, which is affected by the traditional Chinese value of family and patriarchal system. This process indicates the Humboldtian conception (which Cognitive Linguistics sticks with) of the relation between thought, language, and culture—as an inseparable unity (Dirven, Wolf, and Polzenhagen, 2007). On the other hand, the emergence of the polysemous 婊 *biǎo* involves mainly the mechanism of metonymization, where we can see how people utilize various ICMs for conceptualizing different conditions and contexts for the word, which results in rich senses of the polysemous 婊 *biǎo*.

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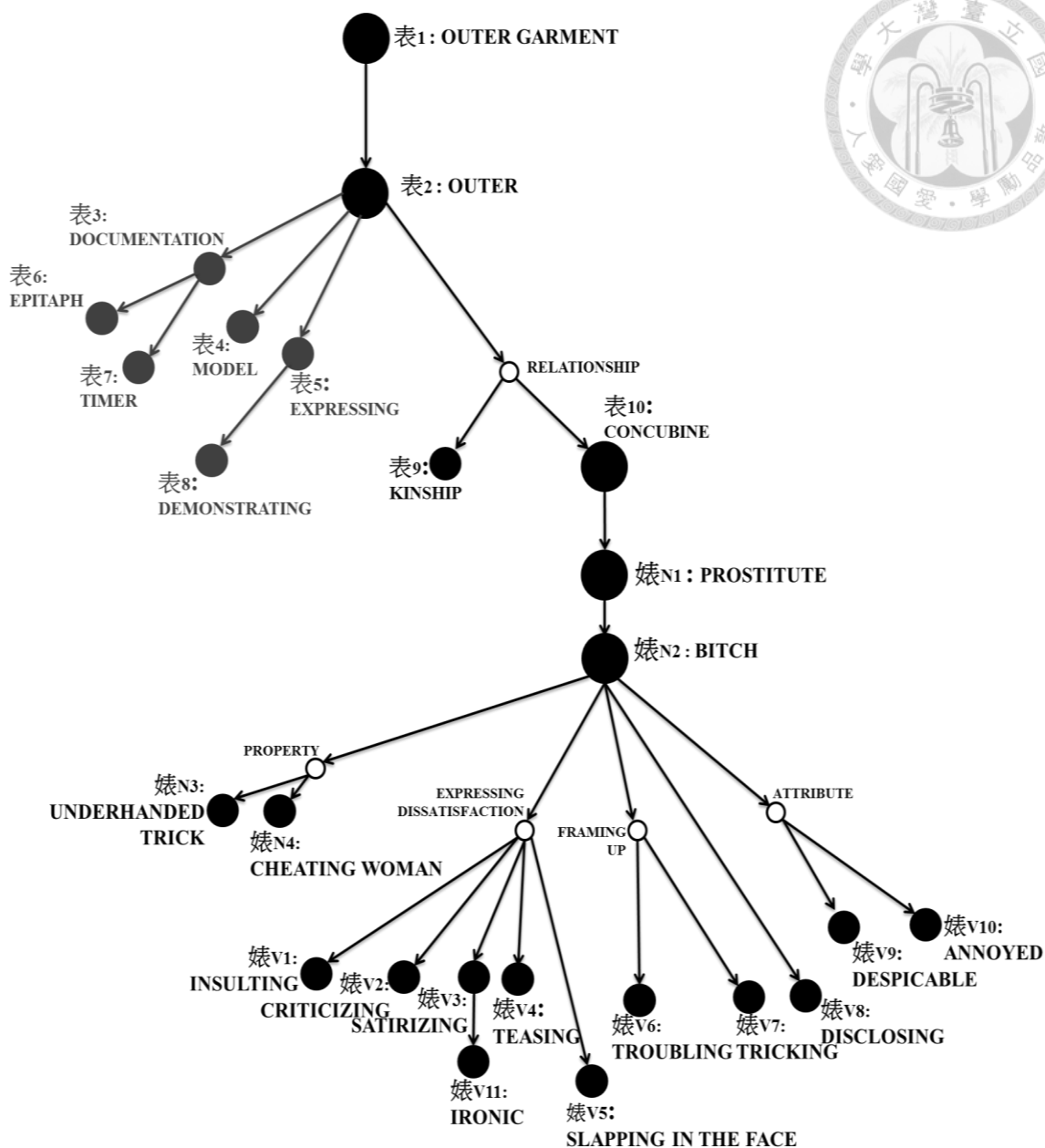
Figure 4.16 The semantic network for 表 *biǎo* and 婊 *biǎo*

Furthermore, from the above emerging network of semantic change, we can see what Traugott and Dasher (2002) have stated: how "invited inferences arising out of and being exploited in the flow of speech." In other words, the dynamic nature of language change is the process "SP/Ws and AD/Rs bring 'on-line' to the act of language use." Following their model of the IITSC that we have introduced in Chapter Two, we provide the model of IITSC for both 表 *biǎo* and 婊 *biǎo*, respectively shown in **Figure**

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4.17 and **Figure 4.18** below. For the semantic change of 表 *biǎo*, we choose how the phase of Space-denoting 表 *biǎo* > Relationship-denoting 表 *biǎo* for illustration.

Utterance-type meaning
Conventionalizing of the Concubine Sense as GIINs

SP/W-AD/R constraints on weighting of
IINs表 in 表子 should not be interpreted by the
Outer / Outside Sense

Utterance-token meaning
表子 for "a concubine or a secret lover"

Stage I *Coded meaning*　　　>　　　Stage II *New coded meaning*
(semanticization)

表 → **Outer**　　　　　　　　表 → *Outer*/*Outside* + *Concubine*

SPACE　　　　　　　　**SPACE**　　**HUMAN**
RELATIONSHIP

Figure 4.17 Model of the IITSC for 表 *biǎo*

In **Figure 4.17**, we can see that in the beginning, 表 *biǎo* has a coded meaning **The OUTER Sense** with the conceptual structure SPACE. Secondly, SP/Ws "innovate" the linguistic usage of 表 *biǎo*, which results in **The CONCUBINE Sense** in creating the expression 表子 *biǎozi*, an innovation which is then "replicated" by AD/Rs also in the role of SP/Ws. Finally, this innovation in the linguistic system "spread or propagated through the community," which results in the semanticization of **The CONCUBINE Sense.**

Likewise, the emergence of polysemy 婊 *biǎo* can be illustrated by the model of

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IITSC, as **Figure 4.18** shows. Here we select **The UNDERHANDED TRICK Sense** as an example. First of all, 婊 *biǎo* is used as **The BITCH Sense** (which is the only coded meaning) with IMMORAL FEMALE as the conceptual structure. Secondly, SP/Ws innovate the linguistic usage of 婊 *biǎo* as **The UNDERHANDED TRICK Sense** by creating the expression 耍婊 *shuǎbiǎo* 'playing underhanded tricks'.

Utterance-type meaning
Conventionalizing of the Underhanded Tricks Sense as GIINs
(and also other new senses of 婊*biǎo*)

SP/W-AD/R constraints on weighting of IINs
婊 in 耍婊 should not be interpreted by the Bitch Sense

Utterance-token meaning
耍婊 for "playing underhanded tricks"
(i.e. 婊 for "underhanded tricks")

Stage I *Coded meaning*   >   Stage II *New coded meaning*
                                                        (semanticization)

婊 → Bitch   婊 → Bitch   + **Underhanded tricks** + …
↕   ↕   ↕
IMMORAL   **IMMORAL**   **PROPERTY**
FEMALE   **FEMALE**

Figure 4.18 Model of the IITSC for 婊 *biǎo*

In the later stage, AD/Rs, from language perceivers to language producers, replicate the innovation. Consequently, the innovative meaning of 婊 *biǎo* spread through and is accepted by the whole speech community, which gives rise to the semanticization of The UNDERHANDED TRICK Sense and other new senses as well.

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Chapter 5 The Semantic Prosody of 婊 *biǎo*

In Chapter Two, we have introduced the definitions and several functions of semantic prosody, such as serving an indication for polysemous words. Following the aforementioned concepts, the present paper examines the semantic prosody of different syntactic categories of the word 婊 *biǎo*, which can serve as a piece of evidence that it has developed as a polysemy, and which simultaneously enables us to understand the different connotation and usage of different syntactic categories. Despite the floating feature of PTT data that has been mentioned in Chapter Three, the statistics we provide in this section indicate "a potential but representative tendency" of the word 婊 *biǎo*.

5.1 Synchronic Perspective

5.1.1 Collocates of Different Syntactic Categories

Collocation serves as an indicator of semantic prosody, as scholars such as Louw (2000: 57) states that "semantic prosody refers to a form of meaning which is established through the proximity of a consistent series of collocates." Therefore, in this section, we examine the collocates and semantic preference of each syntactic category and analyze their semantic prosody. For the collocates of nominal 婊 *biǎo*, please refer to **Table 5.1** below.

Table 5.1 Top Twenty-five Collocates of the Nominal 婊 *biǎo*
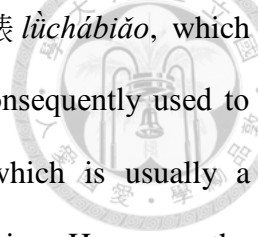
Rank	Frequency	Freq (L)	Freq (R)	Stat[10]	Collocate
1.	210	105	105	1346.775	婊 'bitch'
2.	35	32	3	227.6692	臭 'filthy'
3.	24	23	1	155.9912	賤 'despicable'
4.	22	2	20	143.3571	子 'zi'

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[10] The abbreviation Stat. here refers to the value measures how related the search term and the collocate are, which is an outcome from the built-in algorithm of AntConc.

5.	17	12	5	119.3778	綠茶 'green tea'
6.	24	13	11	114.0151	幹 'fuck'
7.	14	0	14	81.30327	兄弟 'brother'
8.	12	11	1	80.28305	死 'dead'
9.	6	0	6	51.13701	外表 'appearance'
10.	7	5	2	38.34049	媽的 'mother's'
11.	6	5	1	32.30113	馬的 'mother's'
12.	4	4	0	30.84762	好意思 'how dare you'
13.	4	0	4	30.84762	可愛 'cute'
14.	4	0	4	30.84762	乖乖 'well-behaved'
15.	7	5	2	30.21682	男友 'boyfriend'
16.	3	0	3	25.56851	當事人 'the person involved'
17.	4	3	1	25.30244	罵 'rebuke'
18.	4	4	0	25.30244	破 'filthy'
19.	6	5	1	21.8527	你媽 'your mother'
20.	3	1	2	21.40962	稱呼 'title'
21.	3	3	0	21.40962	留言 'leave a message'
22.	3	1	2	21.40962	奇怪 'weird'
23.	4	3	1	20.38663	幹你娘 'fuck your mother'
24.	4	0	4	20.38663	他媽 'his mother'
25.	3	3	0	18.97683	賤女人 'despicable woman'

We can infer from this table that the nominal 婊 *biǎo* carries a negative and unpleasant sematic prosody since it frequently co-occurs with negative words which include (i) cursing words such as 死 *sǐ* 'dead'; (ii) words denoting negative personality traits such as 臭 *chòu* 'filthy', 賤 *jiàn* 'despicable', and 破 *pò* 'foul', 奇怪 *qíguài* 'strange'; (iii) 罵 *mà* 'to curse or to insult', which indicates that a bitch is a scolded target, and (iv) other expletives such as 幹 *gàn* 'fuck', 媽的 *māde* 'your mother's', 馬的 *mǎde* 'your mother's', 你媽 *nǐmā* 'your mother', 幹你娘 *gànnǐniáng* 'fuck your mother', and 他媽 *tāmā* 'his mother'. Some words such as 綠茶 *lǜchá* 'green tea', 好意思 *hǎoyìsī* 'how dare you', 可愛 *kěài* 'cute', 乖乖 *guāiguāi* 'well-behaved', which do not seem to be negative words at first sight, in effect are used in rather unfavorable

contexts. 綠茶 *lǜchá* 'green tea' is a modifier in the term 綠茶婊 *lǜchábiǎo*, which refers to a beautiful but cunning girl. 綠茶 *lǜchá* 'green tea' is consequently used to describe the appearance and good temperament of someone (which is usually a disguise), which should have been regarded as a word for praise. However, the following expletive 婊 *biǎo* (an opposite of praise) abruptly negates the complimentary effect of 綠茶 *lǜchá* and consequently causes an effect of irony, as Lucariello (1994) points out, that unexpectedness is a central property of ironic events. Irony, by some scholars such as Brown and Levinson (1978), is an art of speech that does not express any other meaning but a more specific opposite, or as Haverkate (1990) argues, may focus on the negation of a word or of a proposition. The expression 綠茶婊 *lǜchábiǎo* exemplifies the above statements. In addition, 好意思 *hǎoyìsī* 'how dare you' is an expression usually used in the context of questioning others, with the following example "都丟給別人做很好意思喔？死婊… *dōu diūgěi biérén zuò hěn hǎoyìsī ō sǐbiǎo* 'Aren't you ashamed of shirking responsibility? You goddamn bitch…'" Likewise, 可愛 *kěài* 'cute' and 乖乖 *guāiguāi* 'well-behaved' are used for irony or a cue for negative comment, exemplified by "臭婊…外表可愛乖乖的，其實都假爆了！ *chòubiǎo wàibiǎo kěài guāiguāi de, qíshí dōu jiǎ bào le* 'She is a hypocrite even though she looks cute and well-behaved.'" Therefore, we can see from the collocates that nominal 婊 *biǎo* carries a negative semantic prosody.

The semantic prosody of the verbal 婊 *biǎo* is worthy of discussion since the semantic prosody of 婊 *biǎo* as an activity verb and a state verb is significantly different from each other. The collocates are shown respectively in **Table 5.2** and **Table 5.3**. Let us first take a look at **Table 5.2**. The most frequent collocate is 被 *bèi* 'be V-pp.', which indicates that the activity verb 婊 *biǎo* is usually used in the *bèi*-construction, a construction that indicates passives in Mandarin Chinese (Li and Thompson, 1989;

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Xiong and Wang, 2002). Although Li and Thompson (1989) propose that the *bèi* passive carries a sense of adversity, which is stated by Li (2004) as a default semantic property, the *bèi*-construction can also result in positive semantic prosody. For instance, we have found the following data (35-36), in which the netizen expresses either a sense of humor or good mood in that the emoji "[ⅩD]" is used to express the speakers' feeling of happiness or fun. The second high collocate is the word 自 *zì* 'self', usually in the expression 自婊 *zìbiǎo* 'teasing at oneself', an expression used in both positive and negative contexts. Furthermore, except for some negative words such as 幹 *gàn* 'fuck', 大哭 *dàkū* 'cry badly', 不爽 *bùshuǎng* 'annoyed', other collocates are relatively neutral, compared to those of nominal 婊 *biǎo*.

Table 5.2 Top Twenty-five Collocates of the Activity verb 婊 *biǎo*

Rank	Frequency	Freq (L)	Freq (R)	Stat	Collocate
1.	144	129	15	811.6837	被 'be V-pp.'
2.	75	70	5	563.391	自 'self'
3.	146	53	93	426.3205	我 'I; me'
4.	25	25	0	167.2601	偷 'secretly'
5.	47	24	23	162.0348	你 'you (male form)'
6.	37	6	31	158.2053	自己 'self'
7.	22	10	12	151.4663	別人 'other'
8.	31	11	20	138.1801	幹 'fuck'
9.	23	5	18	94.97606	妳 'you (female form)'
10.	18	18	0	90.90282	大哭 'cry badly'
11.	22	12	10	83.78958	知道 'know'
12.	10	7	3	61.85872	不爽 'annoyed'
13.	8	1	7	58.0497	八卦 'gossip'
14.	6	3	3	48.40286	社會 'society'
15.	8	6	2	48.15124	廣告 'advertisement'
16.	12	10	2	47.68865	無言 'speechless'
17.	6	6	0	45.72513	狂 'crazy'
18.	6	6	0	43.53728	鍵盤 'keyboard'
19.	8	5	3	42.99254	愛 'love'

20.	5	1	4	41.38932	國家 'country'
21.	7	3	4	41.36813	你媽 'your mother'
22.	10	5	5	40.73128	覺得 'feel; think'
23.	5	4	1	38.5125	輸入法 'input method editor'
24.	20	8	12	38.06477	說 'say'
25.	8	6	2	37.70557	喜歡 'like'

(35) [X D]　　李宗瑞　　又　　　被　　　婊　　　了
　　　 emoji　　 *Lǐ-zōnguì*　 *yòu*　　 *Bèi*　　 *biǎo*　　 *le*
　　　 '[XD] (It's funny that) Lǐ-zōnguì was teased at again.'

(36) [X D]　　九把刀　　最　　　強　　　自　　　婊
　　　 emoji　　 *Jiǔ-bǎ- dāo*　 *zuì*　　 *qiáng*　　 *zì*　　 *biǎo*
　　　 '[XD] Jiǔ-bǎ- dāo is really good at slapping in his own face.'

Finally, let us take a look at the collocation of the state verb 婊 *biǎo*, as shown in **Table 5.3** below. First of all, we can see that expletives such as 幹 *gàn* 'fuck', 婊子 *biǎozi* 'bitch', and the negative word 賤 *jiàn* 'despicable' rank the top three words of high frequency. Also, there are other negative words as well such as 幹你娘 *gànnǐniáng*, 'fuck your mother', 靠背 *kàobèi* 'damn you father'[11], and 檢討 *jiǎntǎo* 'reflect upon somthing'. In addition, we can see that words indicating "excessiveness" such as 有夠 *yǒugòu* 'quite', 超 *chāo* 'super', 最 *zuì* 'the most', and so on, are in high frequency, from which we may suggest that the state verb 婊 *biǎo* is usually used to express the speakers' negative emotions and thoughts to the maximum. Last but not least, expressions such as 不輸人 *bùshūrén* 'surpass others' and 一個樣 *yīgèyàng* also 'being the same (followed by negative characteristics)' connotes unfavorable feelings, as (37-38) illustrate. Therefore, from the statistics, we may conclude that 婊 *biǎo* as a state verb, similar to the nominal one, carries a rather negative connotation.

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[11] This is an expletive from Taiwanese Southern Min.

Table 5.3 Top Twenty-five Collocates of the State Verb 婊 *biǎo*

Rank	Frequency	Freq (L)	Freq (R)	Stat	Collocate
1.	8	4	4	40.78622	幹 'fuck'
2.	7	4	3	37.38	婊子 'itch'
3.	4	1	3	29.01857	賤 'despicable'
4.	6	6	0	28.85476	這麼 'such'
5.	4	4	0	26.71712	有夠 'quite'
6.	3	2	1	22.47063	超 'super'
7.	3	2	1	22.47063	最 'the most'
8.	3	3	0	22.47063	太 'too'
9.	3	1	2	20.03784	更 'very'
10.	3	3	0	20.03784	夠 'very'
11.	2	2	0	16.13115	靠背 'damn your father'
12.	2	1	1	16.13115	不輸人 'surpass others'
13.	2	2	0	16.13115	綠茶 'green tea'
14.	2	1	1	16.13115	真是 'very'
15.	2	1	1	16.13115	檢討 'introspect'
16.	2	0	2	16.13115	弄過 'messed around'
17.	2	1	1	16.13115	幹你娘 'fuck your mother'
18.	2	2	0	16.13115	一個樣 'the same (negative)'
19.	4	3	1	15.93308	自己 'self'
20.	3	3	0	15.61464	他媽 'his mother'
21.	3	1	2	13.45868	死 'dead'
22.	2	2	0	13.35856	神 'extremely'[12]
23.	2	1	1	13.35856	喜歡 'like'
24.	2	1	1	13.35856	哥哥 'elder brother'
25.	2	0	2	13.35856	八卦 'gossip'

(37) 比　　婊　　似乎　　你　　也　　不　　輸人
　　　bǐ　　*biǎo*　　*sìhū*　　*nǐ*　　*yě*　　*bù*　　*shūrén*
　　　'You bow to nobody in being despicable.'

(38) 吃　　屎　　吧　　每個　　都　　一個樣　　超婊
　　　chī　　*shǐ*　　*ba*　　*měige*　　*dōu*　　*yīgeyàng*　　*chaobiǎo*
　　　'Eat shit! All of you are alike! How despicable!'

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[12] This expression is used as an adjective form which describes someone is as omnipotent as a god. Here, it is used as a modifier meaning "extremely."
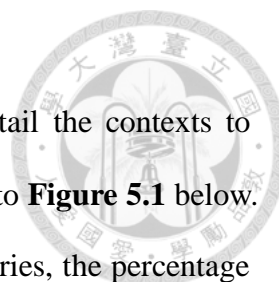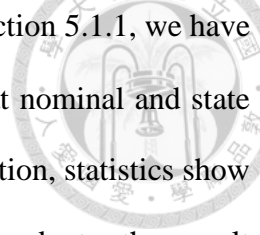
5.1.2 Context Tendency for Different Syntactic Categories

Apart from examining the collocates, we also examine in detail the contexts to decide the semantic prosody of each syntactic category. Please refer to **Figure 5.1** below. From this figure, we can see although, for the three syntactic categories, the percentage of negative context is higher than those of the other two, the difference does exist between each syntactic category. First of all, the nominal 婊 *biǎo* is used most frequently in a negative semantic environment in that the percentage of negative semantic prosody takes up ninety-seven percent. Similarly, the percentage of negativity of the state verb 婊 *biǎo* takes up eighty-six percent, which shows that this form is usually used in relatively negative semantic environments.

	Nominal	Activity Verb	State Verb
Negative	97%	61%	86%
Neutral	2%	3%	2%
Positive	1%	36%	12%
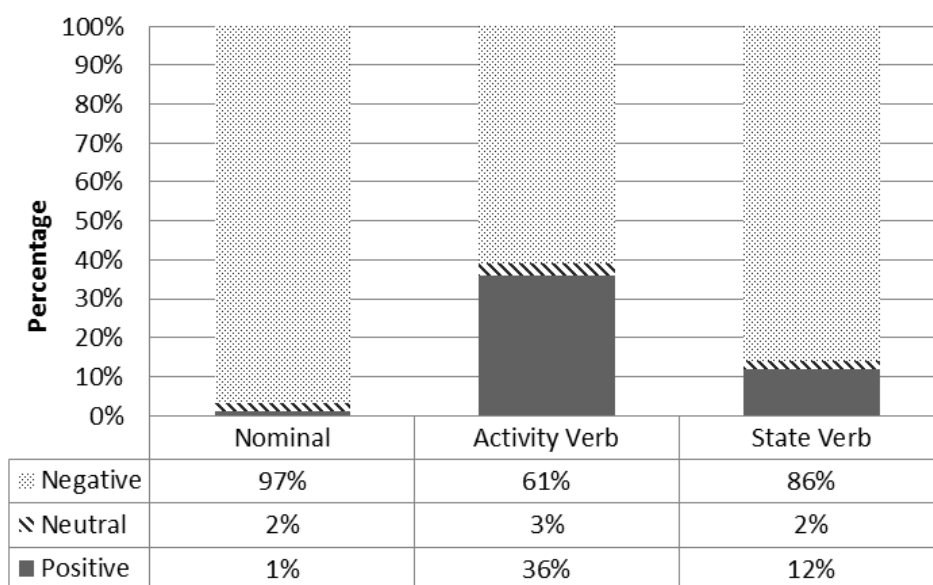
Figure 5.1 Context Tendency of each Syntactic Category

On the other hand, the percentage of negativity of the activity verb 婊 *biǎo* is not as high as that of the nominal and the state verb ones. In addition, its percentage of positivity is much higher than the other two categories. In other words, the ranking of semantic prosody of the syntactic categories, from positive to negative, should be

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nominal 婊 *biǎo* > state verb 婊 *biǎo* > activity verb 婊 *biǎo*. In Section 5.1.1, we have shown the collocation of each syntactic category and concluded that nominal and state verb 婊 *biǎo* are more negative than the activity verb one. In this section, statistics show more clearly the hierarchy of semantic prosody, which corresponds to the result indicated by the collocation.

We have compared the collocates and context tendency of each syntactic category of the modern polysemy 婊 *biǎo*. The result shows that the nominal and state verb 婊 *biǎo* are more negative than the activity verb 婊 *biǎo*. A reasonable explanation would be that first of all, nominal 婊 *biǎo* is originally an expletive for a female who is hated and degraded by the society so that its extended senses also denote negative properties of a bitch or unpleasant results caused by a bitch. Similarly, state verb 婊 *biǎo* denotes the negative properties of a bitch, and therefore usually carries negative semantic prosody. On the other hand, activity verb 婊 *biǎo*, although originally occurred in Cursing ICM, gradually develops senses such as **The TEASING Sense** and **The SATIRIZING Sense**, which can be used to express a speaker's sense of humor, as (21-22) in Section 4.1.2 illustrate. In addition, The TROUBLING Sense, which sounds negative, is actually be used in contexts showing netizen's interesting and fun experience, as (39) shows. This post is from a netizen, who wanted to describe herself as a beautiful actress but accidentally mistyped the character of the name 芬 *fēn* 'fragrance'as 糞 *fèn* 'shit', which caused an embarrassing but funny result. She joked that this accident was caused by the input method editor (henceforth IME). Due to the effect of humor, therefore, 婊 *biǎo* as an activity verb is relatively positive than the nominal and the state verb.

(39)

鍵盤婊我

jiànpán biǎo wǒ

好的事情就在剛剛

hǎode shìqíng jiù zài gānggāng

我在跟我的好朋友聊天

wǒ zài gēn wǒ de hǎopéngyǒu liáotiān

突然他就在那邊講自己是某某帥哥

tūrán tā jiù zài nàbiān jiǎng zìjǐ shì mǒumǒu shuàigē

我也不甘示弱比喻自己是某某美女

wǒ yě bùgānshìruò bǐyù zìjǐ shì mǒumǒu měinǚ

[當然只是比喻(菸)]

dāngrán zhǐshì bǐyù yān

然後悲劇就這麼發生了

ránhòu bēijù jiù zhème fāshēng le

(The image is the screenshot of the netizen and her friend's dialogue, with translation as follows)

'My keyboard made me embarrassing. I was chatting with my friend, who thought of himself as a hunk. I made no concession and told him that I am also a hottie. But then, the tragedy happened….'
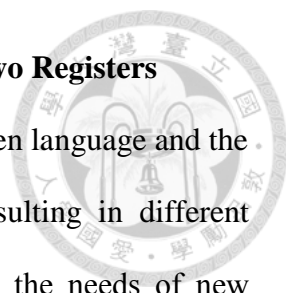
' Me: Kūn-líng

  My friend: Lǐ mǐn hào

  Me: Lǐ yù-fèn

      Fuck

      Hahahahahahahahahahahahaha

      It should be Lǐ yù-fen! Hahahahahaha'   (*STUPID* 56)

5.2 Comparison and Contrast of Semantic Prosody between Two Registers

Crystal (2006: 257), studying the interaction and relation between language and the Internet, states that with constant technological developments resulting in different arena of communication, people tend to "adapt language to meet the needs of new situations, which is at the heart of linguistic evolution…." PTT, as an online community, can also be regarded as one of the arena of communication that may have an influence on our linguistic system, which led us to the research question whether the usage of polysemous 婊 *biǎo* is a mere sub-cultural phenomenon that exists only on the Internet. Our finding is that although the newly emerging polysemous 婊 *biǎo* originates from and is widely used in PPT, its usage does spread to other fields—the newspapers, a linguistic register which is much more formal than PPT. However, differences do exist between the registers. Therefore, in this section, we compare and contrast the usage of 婊 *biǎo* in the two registers.

First of all, for the nominal 婊 *biǎo*, please refer to **Table 5.4** below. In both registers, unpleasant and fierce words or expletives such as 死 *sǐ* 'dead', 骯髒 *āngzāng* 'dirty', 幹你娘 *gànnǐniáng* 'fuck your mother, and so on co-occur highly with the nominal 婊 *biǎo*, which indicates its tendency to negative semantic environments.

Table 5.4 Collocates of Nominal 婊 *biǎo* in the Two Registers

Rank	PTT	Newspapers	Rank	PTT	Newspapers
1.	婊 'bitch'	子 'zi'	14.	乖乖 'well-behaved'	總統 'president'
2.	臭 'filthy'	養 'foster'	15.	男友 'boyfriend'	兒子 'son'
3.	賤 'despicable'	被 'be V-pp.'	16.	當事人 'The person involved'	美國 'The U.S.A.'
4.	子 'zi'	罵 'rubuke'	17.	罵 'rebuke'	無情 'emotionless'

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5.	綠茶	臭		18.	破	丹妮
	'green tea'	'filthy'			'filthy'	'Dannie'
6.	幹	辱罵		19.	你媽	林志玲
	'fuck'	'degrade'			'your mother'	'Lin Chi-ling'
7.	兄弟	歐巴馬		20.	稱呼	心機
	'brother'	'Obama'			'title'	'craft'
8.	死	姐		21.	留言	骯髒
	'dead'	'sister'			'leave a comment'	'dirty'
9.	外表	醜陋		22.	奇怪	蕩婦
	'appearance'	'ugly'			'weird'	'slut'
10.	媽的	網友		23.	幹你娘	玩過
	'mother's'	'netizen'			'fuck your mother'	'trick over'
11.	馬的	字眼		24.	他媽	無義
	'mother's'	'word'			'his mother'	'aloof'
12.	好意思	貞節牌坊		25.	賤女人	痛罵
	'how dare you'	'monyment of chastity'			'despicable woman'	'scold'
13.	可愛	綠茶		Proportion (N : O)	19 : 6	15 : 10
	'cute'	'green tea'				

The comparison of the semantic prosody indicates the same result. Since the nominal 婊 *biǎo* usually occurs in the negative semantic environment, it usually carries a negative semantic prosody, as **Figure 5.2** illustrates. In other words, there is no significant difference between the two registers in terms of the context tendency of the nominal 婊 *biǎo*.

	Negative	Neutral	Postive
▦ PTT	97%	2%	1%
⊿ Newspapers	97%	1%	2%
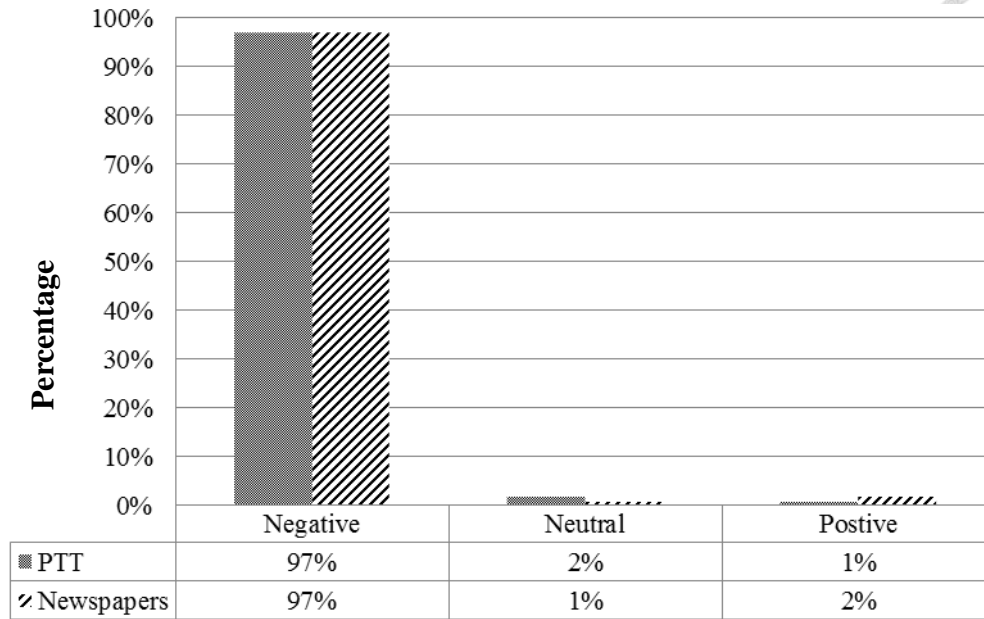
Figure 5.2 Context Tendency of Nominal 婊 *biǎo* in the Two Registers

For the activity verb 婊 *biǎo*, we can see from **Table 5.5** below. Although the proportion shows that in both registers, the activity verb 婊 *biǎo* is relatively positive, collocates in newspapers are much positive than those in PTT.

Table 5.5 Collocates of Activity Verb 婊 *biǎo* in the Two Registers

Rank	PTT	Newspapers	Rank	PTT	Newspapers
1.	被 'be V-pp.'	自 'self'	14.	社會 'society'	事件 'event'
2.	自 'self'	被 'be V-pp.'	15.	廣告 'advertisement'	媒體 'media'
3.	我 'I; me'	偷 'secretly'	16.	無言 'speechless'	馬英九 'Ma Ying- jiu'
4.	偷 'secretly'	網友 'netizen'	17.	狂 'crazy'	經典賽 'Classic'
5.	你 'you'	有 'have'	18.	鍵盤 'keyboard'	反省 'reflect'
6.	自己 'self'	暗 'secretly'	19.	愛 'love'	電影 'movie'
7.	別人	毅中	20.	國家	形容

	'others'	'Yi-chung'			'country'	'describe'
8.	幹	小 s	21.		你媽	泰勒絲
	'fuck'	'Little S'			'your mother'	'Taylor Swift'
9.	妳	留言	22.		覺得	農民
	'you'	'comment'			'feel; think'	'farmer'
10.	大哭	酒駕	23.		輸入法	笑稱
	'cry badly'	'drunk driving'			'IME'	'tease'
11.	知道	工作	24.		說	社會
	'know'	'job'			'say'	'society'
12.	不爽	姊姊	25.		喜歡	新聞
	'annoyed'	'sister'			'like'	'news'
13.	八卦	回應	Proportion (N : O)	8 : 16		4 : 21
	'gossip'	'response'				

Also, we can see from the comparison of context tendency shown in **Figure 5.3** below.

	Negative	Neutral	Postive
PTT	61%	3%	36%
Newspapers	43%	12%	45%
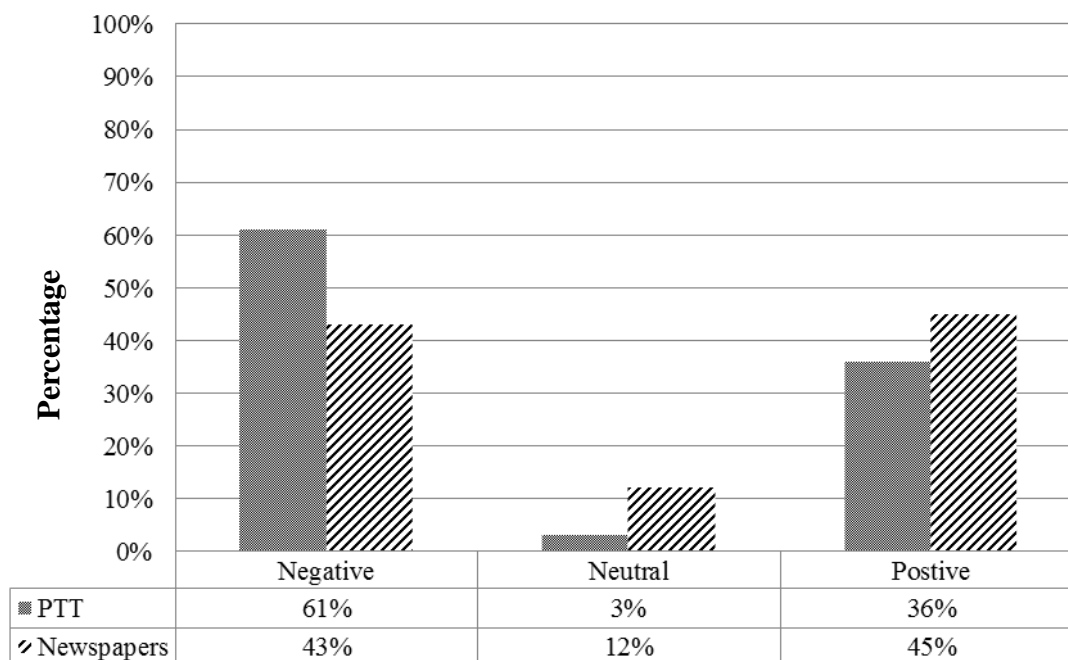
Figure 5.3 Context Tendency of Activity Verb 婊 *biǎo* in the Two Registers

Indeed, the percentage of negative semantic prosody of the activity verb 婊 *biǎo* in PTT

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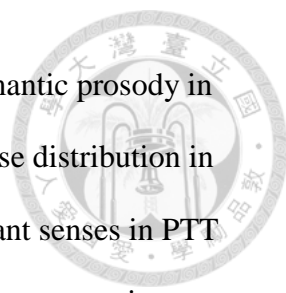
is higher than that in newspapers. On the other hand, the positive semantic prosody in newspapers is higher than that in PTT. This may be related to the sense distribution in the two registers. Please take a look at **Figure 5.4.** One of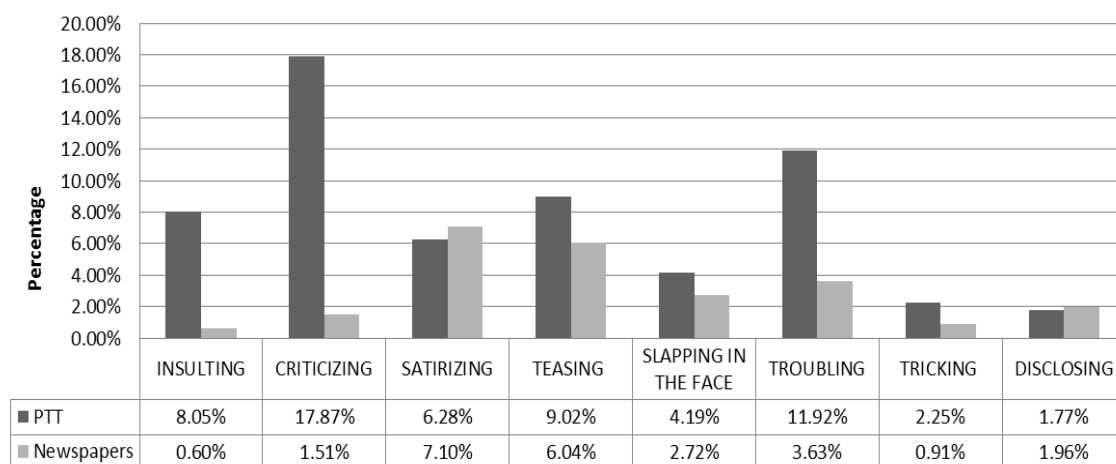 the dominant senses in PTT includes **The CRITICIZING Sense**, which results in a relatively negative semantic prosody, while **The SATIRIZING Sense** and **The TEASING Sense** are dominant in newspapers, which may result in an effect of humor, and therefore more positive semantic prosody.

	INSULTING	CRITICIZING	SATIRIZING	TEASING	SLAPPING IN THE FACE	TROUBLING	TRICKING	DISCLOSING
■ PTT	8.05%	17.87%	6.28%	9.02%	4.19%	11.92%	2.25%	1.77%
■ Newspapers	0.60%	1.51%	7.10%	6.04%	2.72%	3.63%	0.91%	1.96%

Figure 5.4 Sense Distribution of Activity Verb 婊 *biǎo* in the Two Registers

Finally, we are moving on to the analysis of the state verb 婊 *biǎo*. From **Table 5.6** below, we can see that there is a significant difference between the two registers. Collocates of the state verb 婊 *biǎo* in PTT is far more negative than those in newspapers. Furthermore, there are words for praise such as 讚 *zàn* 'praise', 神 *shén* 'extremely', and 神梗 *shéngěng* 'extremely funny meme'.

Table 5.6 Comparison of Collocates of the State Verb 婊 *biǎo* in the Two Registers

Rank	PTT	Newspapers	Rank	PTT	Newspapers
1.	幹	直呼	14.	真是	讚
	'fuck'	'exclaim'		'really'	'praise'

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#			#		
2.	婊子 'bitch'	太 'too'	15.	檢討 'reflect'	說法 'statement'
3.	賤 'despicable'	夠 'very'	16.	弄過 'mess up'	許多 'many'
4.	這麼 'such'	哈哈 'Haha'	17.	幹你娘 'fuck your mother'	蜂擁 'swarm'
5.	有夠 'quite'	網友 'netizen'	18.	一個樣 'the same'	致敬 'revere'
6.	超 'super'	超 'super'	19.	自己 'self'	臉書 'FB'
7.	最 'the most'	影片 'film'	20.	他媽 'his mother'	老大 'boss'
8.	太 'too'	很 'very'	21.	死 'dead'	終於 'finally'
9.	更 'very'	選 'vote for'	22.	神 'extremely'	簡直 'really'
10.	夠 'very'	連勝文 'Lien Sheng-wen'	23.	喜歡 'like'	節約 'conserve'
11.	靠背 'damn your father'	逆襲 'counterattack'	24.	哥哥 'brother'	神梗 'extremely funny meme'
12.	不輸人 'surpass others'	踞 'haughty'	25.	八卦 'gossip'	神 'extremely'
13.	綠茶 'green tea'	超越 'surpass'	Proportion (N : O)	13 : 12	0 : 25

The distinction is more obvious if we take a look at **Figure 5.5** below. In PTT, the percentage of negative semantic reaches up to 86 percent, whereas there is no record for negative semantic prosody in newspapers. On the other hand, the percentage of positive semantic prosody in newspapers is far higher than that in PTT. This result corresponds to the result shown by the collocation.

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	Negative	Neutral	Postive
■ PTT	86%	2%	12%
⧄ Newspapers	0%	8%	92%
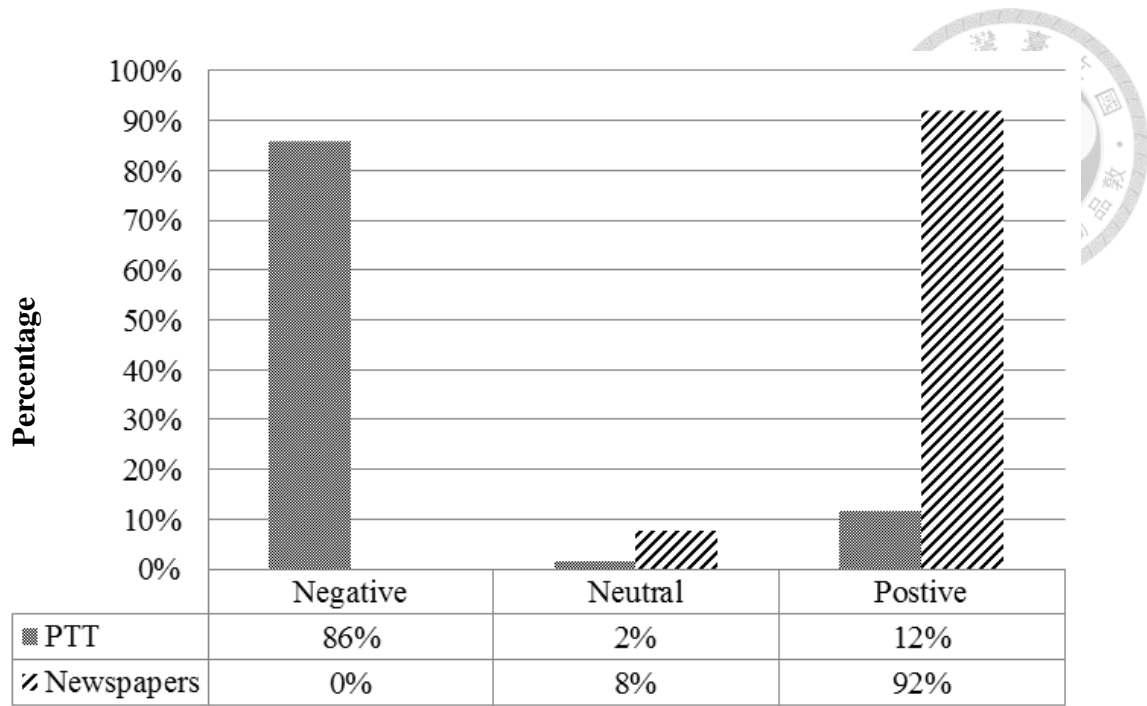
Figure 5.5 Context Tendency of State Verb 婊 *biǎo* in the Two Registers
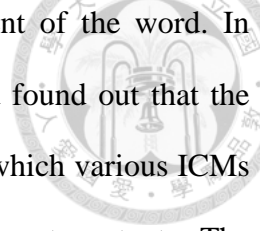
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Chapter 6 Conclusion

6.1 Summary of the study

In this paper, we have provided both diachronic and synchronic analysis of the semantic change of the expletive 婊 *biǎo*, which has become a newly emerging polysemous word in the modern era. This expletive originates from the word 表 *biǎo*, which is used to create the expression 表子 *biǎozi* 'a concubine or a secret lover'. The semantic change from 表 *biǎo* to 婊 *biǎo* involves (i) the Chinese value of family and patriarchal system; (ii) various different ICMs for conceptualization that results in rich senses of the polysemous 婊 *biǎo*; (iii) metaphorization and metonymization; (iv) subjectification.

The word 表 *biǎo*, originally denoting **The OUTER GARMENT Sense**, metaphorically extends to **The OUTER Sense**, which goes through semantic change again and metaphorically extends to **The CONCUBINE Sense** in the expression 表子 *biǎozi*. In Chinese culture, people treasure the traditional family value as well as the patriarchal system, and therefore, they create 表子 *biǎozi* to refer to a person as "an outsider that threatens a harmonious family." The spatial term 表 *biǎo* 'outer' thus reflects the culture-specific value of human relations in Chinese since people emphasize highly on a person's identity to the social group "family." As time goes by, **The CONCUBINE Sense** has gone through pejoration and developed its expletive sense, finally results in 婊 biǎo denoting **The BITCH Sense** for degrading females.

In the modern era, the word 婊 *biǎo* has developed a great number of senses. Following the theory of Principled Polysemy, we have found out various senses for the polysemy of 婊 *biǎo* such as **The UNDERHANDED TRICK Sense**, **The CRITICIZING Sense**, **The DESPICABLE Sense**, and many others. Moreover, we integrate these senses
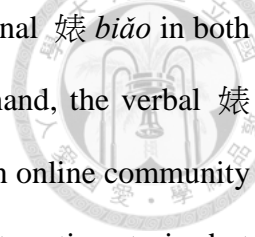
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into a semantic network that illustrates the diachronic development of the word. In addition, we analyzed the underlying mechanism of the senses and found out that the semantic change of 婊 *biǎo* is mainly through metonymization, by which various ICMs are used for conceptualization and inference for the word in different contexts. The process illustrates the vitality of language as well. Language changes due to "expressivity" and "efficiency" (Geeraerts, 1997: 93)—the former indicates the condition "when people want to express something for which they have no adequate means of expression," and the latter "execution of the communicative acts." Also, we see how the invited inferences arising out of and being what Traugott and Dasher (2002: 9) have stated— "the dynamic nature of language change are the processes SP/Ws and AD/Rs bring 'on-line' to the act of language use."

For the connotative meaning of 婊 *biǎo*, we examined its semantic prosody, which includes both the notion of collocation and semantic preference. We have found that in PTT, the nominal 婊 *biǎo* and state verb 婊 *biǎo* is relatively negative, while the activity verb 婊 *biǎo* is more positive since the former two forms denote the expletive and the negative properties and attributes of a bitch. On the other hand, activity verb 婊 *biǎo* tends to occur in contexts where speakers share their funny experiences or where they satirize others, which usually results in a sense of humor.

In addition, we examine the usage of 婊 *biǎo* in newspapers (a formal register), which shows that the various usage of 婊 *biǎo* is not a mere sub-cultural phenomenon. The spreading of the usage might suggest a transformation of the sub-culture to the mainstream culture in the future. Still, differences exist in the two registers. First of all, only certain senses are used in newspapers. For instance, the percentage of The SATIRIZING Sense in newspapers is higher than that in PTT, probably because the news is usually about the public figures and celebrities, whom the reporters try to satirize. In

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terms of semantic prosody of different syntactic categories, the nominal 婊 *biǎo* in both

registers usually carries negative semantic prosody. On the other hand, the verbal 婊

biǎo in PTT is more negative than that in newspapers since PTT is an online community

where people can speak whatever they want—they not only share interesting stories but

also complain about bad things or people, and sometimes even express their hostility

toward others. However, in such a formal register as newspapers, certain kind of speech

(especially negative one) is not allowed in that its target audience is the whole society.

Finally, there is a significant difference in the use of state verb 婊 *biǎo* between two

registers—it is more negative in PTT, but relatively positive in newspapers.

6.2 Implications and Future study

In this thesis, we have applied the methodologies and theories of Cognitive

Linguistics to illustrate the interpretation of lexical meanings, the creation of linguistic

expressions, as well as how they change due to both linguistic and non-linguistic factors.

There are several implications of the present study.

First of all, the study complements the research gap in the studies of the Chinese

word 婊 *biǎo*. In English, we have found studies on both the etymology as well as the

modern usages of the word *bitch*, which has changed from an expletive to a word for

self-identity. In Chinese, on the other hand, we have found Hu's (2016) study on the

expression 婊子 *biǎozi*, but few studies on the etymology of the word 婊 *biǎo* and

neither its diachronic and synchronic semantic change. Therefore, with the present study,

we can have a wholistic view on the semantic development of the word 婊 *biǎo*, which

should not be regarded as a mere expletive. In addition, the analysis of senses of 婊

biǎo complements not only the definitions in dictionaries but also the semantic network

of this word in Chinese Wordnet since the new senses of the word have not been

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included in both lexicographical fields.

Secondly, in terms of cultural studies, the thesis sheds light on the interaction between languages and cultural models as well as how different cultural models in English and Chinese cause different paths of language change. The word *bitch* goes through semantic change which involves the Christian value of "morality." In contrast, although the word 婊 *biǎo* as an expletive is now commonly used to degrade females in terms of their sexuality-related properties, its origin is in effect from the value of family and traditional patriarchal system, which is a Chinese-specific cultural model.
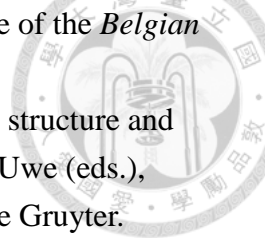
Thirdly, we have shown how the theories of Cognitive Linguistics are applied. For instance, by applying a corpus-assisted and usage-based approach, we elucidate the importance of collocational and frequency analysis to our understanding of how a word comes into existence and is used in the natural language. Moreover, we have illustrated the importance of "semantic prosody," which indicates connotative meanings of words that should be taken into consideration in language use. Last but not least, the model of Principle Polysemy, though originally for studying English preposition, is applicable to analysis of nouns in Chinese.

For future study, first of all, we can collect more data from other bulletin boards, which might show more diverse usages of the word 婊 *biǎo*. In addition, Wajnryb (2005), in her book *Expletive deleted: a good look at bad language*, points out that in English, it is commonplace to hear expletives such as f-word in casual conversation. Therefore, we can enrich the study by taking into consideration if expletives in Chinese other than 婊 *biǎo* also show a tendency to amelioration, probe into the reason (e.g., social factors) why expletives bleach, and extend the study to a sociolinguistic one.

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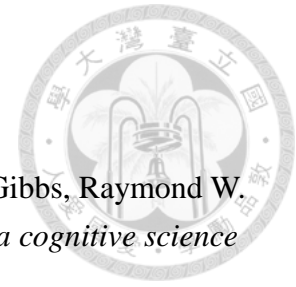
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