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現在我們是親戚了：

臺灣華語中親屬稱謂泛化現象的認知語言學研究

We Are Relatives Now:

A Cognitive Linguistic Study on the Generalization of

Kinship Terms of Taiwan Mandarin

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摘要

本研究旨在從認知語言學出發，探討臺灣華語的親屬稱謂泛化現象及其表現。漢語親屬系統以其相對複雜性而聞名於世，而漢語親屬系統的親屬稱謂有時可以被用於稱呼沒有親屬關係的人身上，例如稱呼年長的男性非親屬「爺爺」，或沒有親屬關係的女性為「姊姊」，這種現象被稱為「親屬稱謂的泛化」。

漢語親屬稱謂用語依地區不同而有所差異，因此研究中國親屬稱謂泛化的研究並不能完全適用於臺灣，而多數的相關研究多集中在親屬稱謂泛化的方言差異、分類、用法、功能以及形式等，不甚注重認知的研究角度。即使有部分偏向認知面的研究，對於發話者的心理運作層面，也未能多做著墨。因此，本研究期望從認知語言學的角度，闡釋臺灣華語中的親屬稱謂泛化現象，以及其運作表現。換句話說，本論文是以新的觀點探討存在已久的現象。文中我們提出三個問題：首先，是否所有親屬稱謂都能被泛化？如果不是，哪一些稱謂才是可以被泛化的？其次，在被泛化的親屬稱謂中，單音節親屬稱謂跟雙音節親屬稱謂彼此的相似、相異點為何？最後，在母語者的認知中，親屬稱謂的泛化跟泛化稱謂的不同結合形式，是如何運作的？

為了解答這些問題，我們以「教育部重編國語辭典修訂本」附錄中的親屬稱謂、林美容 (1982) 提到的核心的親屬稱謂詞素、四個臺灣華語母語者熟知的臺灣閩南語親屬稱謂 (阿公、阿媽、阿伯、阿姨，參採「教育部臺灣閩南語常用辭詞典」所收錄內容)，以及這些稱謂的變體與其他較為常見的稱謂用法，做為關鍵字，在「中央研究院漢語平衡語料庫」和「PTT 語料庫」搜尋，比對出屬於泛化親屬稱謂的用法。並進一步將這些擷取出的語料，依照形式及語意分為五類：無變化型、程度詞前綴型、前加姓名型、轉喻主題型、隱喻/慣用詞型；每類之下，再依親屬稱謂的音節分為雙音節類和單音節類。

在之後的語料分析中，我們主要運用概念整合理論 (Fauconnier and Turner 2002) 和構式語法 (Goldberg 1995, 2006) 作為理論的基礎，並納入有關語言觀點 (Sweetser 2012)、隱喻及轉喻 (Lakoff and Johnson 2003)、禮貌理論 (Brown and

Levinson 1987)、不禮貌行為 (Culpeper 2011) 等理論進行討論。透過分析，本研究提出「Head-Generalized kinship term」的構式。

在雙音節親屬稱謂中，長輩的親屬稱謂泛化數量最多，其中又以「阿姨」數量最大。在單音節親屬稱謂中，以平輩的親屬稱謂泛化數量最多：單從稱謂來看「妹」是數量最多的，不過若是把「兄」、「哥」這兩個指涉同一親屬的稱謂泛化數量加總，他們就會是平輩稱謂中，泛化情況最多的。

「阿姨」會成為泛化數量多的稱謂有可能因為她是小孩互動最多的親屬，因此這個稱謂容易被泛化。另外我們觀察到，「兄」跟「哥」其實在泛化表現上互有表現，甚至可以說他們處於「相互競爭」的階段，難以判斷哪一個稱謂在被泛化時更為強勢。

此外，就泛化的親屬稱謂用來稱呼說話者自己的情形，我們觀察到以下趨勢：1. 這種用法可以 (適度) 縮短對話人之間的距離；2. 發話者的意向是決定採用年長或年幼親屬稱謂的關鍵；3. 「兄」很少被用於自稱，可能是因為這個稱謂主要用於文字表達，而在口語上少見；4. 有部分發話者為了更尊敬聽者，會自稱為「魯蛇弟」或「魯蛇妹」。

再者，有一些長期以來已經固著的「Head-Generalized kinship term」構式，如「警察-泛化親屬稱謂」、「護士-泛化親屬稱謂」、「記者-泛化親屬稱謂」、「司機-泛化親屬稱謂」，在語序上後面都是接著雙音節的泛化親屬稱謂；而「Head-Generalized kinship term」構式的主題如果是「學生」、「學」、「師」的話，緊接其後的泛化稱謂，都是核心家庭的親屬稱謂。最後，本研究也藉由觀察語料中的兩個個案，探討「Head-Generalized kinship term」構式從單一指涉到任意指涉的語意變化。

總結來說，親屬稱謂的泛化主要是透過概念整合的機制進行，過程中涉及的關鍵因素涉及觀點的切換、顯影 (或側重)、隱喻、轉喻、禮貌與非禮貌的表達，反諷的態度也會有影響。「Head-Generalized kinship term」的組合扮演構式的角色：泛化的單音節親屬稱謂由於結構上容易組合，能產性高於雙音節親屬稱謂，這點在轉喻主題型的泛化親屬稱謂組合中，特別明顯。此外，只要在合適的情境下，「Head-Generalized kinship term」構式具有高度能產性，新的親屬稱謂泛化用法可以源源不絕。

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Abstract

This study focuses on the explanation of how kinship terms of Taiwan Mandarin generalized and their performance. The Chinese kinship system is a well-known relatively complex kinship system in all human communities around the world. Due to the richness of lexicons, kinship terms in Chinese kinship system might be used in a way much broader, such as to call an older non-relative male *yéyé* (爺爺) 'grandfather' or a non-relative female *jiějiě* (姊姊) 'elder sister', this is a phenomenon commonly mentioned as "the generalization of kinship terms" in Chinese-speaking areas.

Chinese kinship terms of separate regions are not all the same. Hence, research of the generalization phenomenon in China may not appropriately explain the generalized cases occurred in Taiwan. Moreover, most studies account for the generalization of kinship terms from the view of dialectal variance, categorization, usage, function, and form, instead of a cognitive perspective. Even studies that take a cognitive approach, they fail to give us more information about speakers' mental process. Thus, this thesis aims to elaborate how kinship terms of Taiwan Mandarin generalized and how they perform through cognitive linguistic approach, in other words, this study wants to see an old phenomenon with new eyes. We propose three questions at here: firstly, can all kinship terms of Taiwan Mandarin be generalized? If not, which terms are candidates for generalization? Secondly, what is the similarity/dissimilarity between generalized disyllabic kinship terms and monosyllabic kinship terms? Thirdly, how the generalization and its combination construed in native speakers' mind?

To answer these questions, we adopt kinship terms as keywords from the Appendix of the Revised Chinese Dictionary published in 2015 (Ministry of Education, MOE), the core morpheme of Chinese kinship terms proposed by Lin (1982), four well-known kinship terms of Taiwan Southern Min (viz., *āgōng* (阿公) 'father/mother's father', *āmà* (阿媽) 'father/mother's mother', *āpeh* (阿伯) 'father's elder brother', and *āyí* (阿姨) 'mother's elder/younger sister') by native speakers of Taiwan Mandarin (adopted from the Dictionary of Commonly Used Words in Taiwan Southern Min (MOE 2011)), as

well as some alternative and additional forms of kinship terms. Next, these keywords are searched in the Academia Sinica Balanced Corpus of Modern Chinese and the PTT Corpus. We extract target data from the two corpora and categorize them into five types by their forms and meanings, these types are 'bare form', 'degree modifier as prefix', 'modified by surname or name', 'metonymic theme preceded', and 'metaphorical/idiomatic usage'. Under each type, we further divide the data into two subtypes: the 'disyllabic kinship term' and the 'monosyllabic kinship term'.

Following the data collecting and categorizing procedure, this study analyzes these language materials by mainly adopting Conceptual Blending Theory (Fauconnier and Turner 2002) and Construction Grammar (Goldberg 1995, 2006); however, other theories such as viewpoint (Sweetser 2012), metaphor and metonymy (Lakoff and Johnson 2003), politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987) and impoliteness (Culpeper 2011) are also taken into discussion. Through the analysis, we propose there is "Head-Generalized kinship term" construction.

Generally speaking, the amount of generalized kinship terms of older generation is the most between all disyllabic terms, and *āyí* is the predominant one in them. Between generalized monosyllabic kinship terms, kinship terms of peer generation are dominators, and *mèi* (妹) is the one that with more combinations; however, if we take all the combinations of *xiōng* (兄) and *gē* (哥) into consideration (both of them refer to 'elder brother'), the sum of them occupies the most prominent part in peer generation.

The reason of *āyí* becomes dominant could be attributed to that it is the one that children interact most and feel closer to, thus this kinship term is very possible to be generalized. In addition, the author observes some usage differences between *xiōng* and *gē* and argues that they are competing against each other in the domain of generalized usage, to decide which one is more dominant is a challenging task.

Moreover, some tendencies of using generalized kinship terms that refer to oneself are found, including: 1. to shorten the mental distance between interlocutors (but not too close); 2. the speaker's intention determines an older/younger kinship term; 3. *xiōng* less appears in verbal communication due to its nature of written form; 4. some speakers

address themselves as younger siblings and 'loser' at the same time, in order to display more respect for addressees.

Furthermore, some early-established "Head-Generalized kinship term" combination such as "police-generalized kinship term", "nurse-generalized kinship term", "journalist-generalized kinship term", and "driver-generalized kinship term" persist their preference of preceding a disyllabic kinship term, and keep attracting adequate candidates to fit in the combination. Some recurred head parts of the "Head-Generalized kinship terms", such as *xué-shēng*, *xué*, and *shī* can be followed by a group that contains kinship terms of a nuclear family. At last, we explore the meaning change of the "Head-Generalized kinship term" combination from referential uniqueness to referential randomness by observing two distinct cases in the data.

To conclude, the generalization of kinship terms is mainly processed through conceptual blending, prominent effective factors are viewpoint shifting, profiling, metaphor, metonymy, politeness and impoliteness expression, and also ironical attitude, they collaborate in native speakers' concept and produce the output. The combination of "Head-Generalized kinship term" behaves as a construction: monosyllabic kinship terms are more productive than disyllabic terms owing to its easily-compatible structure, and this attribute makes monosyllabic kinship terms generalized in a significant amount, especially in the category of metonymic themes preceded. Also, the "Head-Generalized kinship term" construction is highly productive, as long as a suitable context exists, novel usages of generalized kinship terms will always be allowed to create.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

… Reached a milestone in my life today: I was referred to as an "uncle" by a mom telling her kids to let me pass.

— NORMAL life of a Taiwan Mandarin speaker

How do you address a male you only see once on the bus? What is your concern to evaluate whether the term of address is proper[1] or not— "shall I use a form with respect or a form of closeness?" In the case we mentioned above, the mother uses the kinship term *shúshú* (叔叔) 'father's younger brother' as a polite form of address to the narrator, though the addressee may be unwilling to accept it.

This research aims to elaborate on how kinship terms in Taiwan Mandarin[2] are generalized from the perspective of cognitive linguistics. A generalized kinship term, also known as fictitious kinship term, is a kinship term to be used in an extensional way in a specific context; its meaning deviates from the original sense to some degree and the subject addressed could be oneself or other people, animated or not. The extensional sense can be inferred, learned, and analogized by perceivers successfully with minimal efforts. In the first chapter, we introduce the background of this study (section 1.1), the research questions (section 1.2), data and analytic framework (section 1.3), and the organization of this thesis (section 1.4).

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[1] Notably, the linguistic instinct of using a 'proper' kinship term might be inconsistent between native speakers of Taiwan Mandarin; it depends on the knowledge and rules that native speakers acquired or experienced. For example, native speaker A thinks that to call a non-relative female *āyí* (阿姨) 'mother's elder/younger sister' is respectful to the addressee; however, native speaker B, with the same sex and age as speaker A, thinks the term *bómǔ* (伯母) 'wife of father's elder brother' is appropriate for the same addressee instead. But in most situations, the judgement of 'proper' or not we introduced in this research is commonly shared by native speakers.
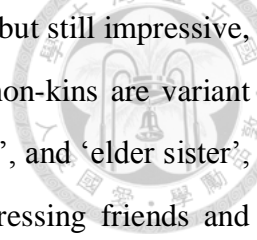
[2] With regard of 'Chinese' is a boarder concept that contains Mandarin (官話/華語) and dialects such as Jin (晉語), Wu (吳語), Hui (徽語), Cantonese (粵語), Southern Min (閩南語), etc., this study adopts the term 'Mandarin' instead of Chinese for discussion, to avoid possible confusion. 'Chinese' is mainly used in describing the kinship system.

1.1 Background

The Chinese kinship system is a well-known relatively complex kinship system in all human communities around the world for its distinction of lineal/collateral relatives, in-laws, patriline/matriline, age, sex, and generation. In this system, the relationship between relatives is presented by various kinship terms, for the purpose of distinguishing the degree of closeness, behavioral norms and emotional expectations (Wierzbicka 1987) of each other in a family. Due to the richness of lexicons, kinship terms in Chinese kinship system might be used in a way much broader, such as to call an older non-relative male *yéyé* (爺爺) 'grandfather' or a non-relative female *jiějiě* (姊姊) 'elder sister'. This is a phenomenon commonly mentioned as "the generalization of kinship terms (i.e., fictitious kinship term)" in Chinese-speaking areas.

Even though this is a common phenomenon in Chinese, to generalize kinship terms for extensional use is not the privilege of this language. Similar cases can be observed in English and Japanese. Ervin-Tripp (1972) describes that, in English, a priest can be called "Father-last name", and a nun can be called as "Sister-religious name". Tian (2009) mentioned that 'Mother' could be addressed to a superior nun; 'Brother' can be used to call a monk; the form of address is "Brother-religious name". Yuan and Fu (2008) also introduce the same situation of calling a priest 'Father'. Moreover, they mention that 'uncle', 'aunt', and 'granny' are often used for addressing older non-relatives by children in English. Within central United Kindom, some children of traditional families address their parents' friends as 'uncle' and 'aunt', such as 'Uncle John' and 'Aunt Mary'. Elderly males could call younger males 'son' or 'sonny' in some areas.

Geng (2015) found that some English kinship terms are candidates for generalization, including father, uncle, aunt, sister and son: "Uncle and aunt are used to address the close friends of one's parents, and often used in conjunction with the name... Father and sister are more often used in the Catholic Church or other religious groups". Elderly speakers use 'son' to show the intimate attitude, "without the slightest insult".

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In Japanese, the generalization cases are different from English but still impressive, according to Norbeck and Befu (1958), terms used in addressing non-kins are variant forms of 'grandfather', 'grandmother', 'uncle', 'aunt', 'elder brother', and 'elder sister', "essentially the same terms as are used for one's relatives". Addressing friends and acquaintances by kinship terms is common, "especially during one's youth, but it is not universal". Whether using kinship terms is closely associated with the degree of emotional intimacy.

'Elder brother' and 'elder sister' are used for addressees older than the speaker by "a few years to as much as 20 years". 'Uncle' and 'aunt' are for those whose age is from 15 to 30 years older than the speaker, in most situation, they must also fall within the "absolute chronological ages of approximately 30 to more than 50— judged by their appearances; 'grandfathers' and 'grandmothers' are for those who look like around 60-year-old even older. Marital status and relative age are crucial determinants of choosing kinship terms, two friends or acquaintances of the same age might thus be addressed as elder sister and aunt respectively if one is single and the other married. (Norbeck and Befu 1958).

Although Chinese kinship system works in both Taiwan and China, kinship terms of separate regions are not all the same. For example, the reduplicated form *yíyí* (姨姨) is an alternative for *yímā* (姨媽) 'mother's elder/younger sister', used in Beijing dialect, Beijing Mandarin (北京官話) (Guo 1995), but it is rarely heard in Taiwan. Hence, research of the generalization phenomenon in China may not appropriately explain the generalized cases occurring in Taiwan.

Moreover, in China, most studies account for the generalization of kinship terms from the view of dialectal variance, categorization, usage, function, and form, instead of a cognitive perspective. Some studies (Shi 2006, Wang 2011, Xu 2014) take a cognitive approach; however, those studies fail to give us more information about speakers' mental process. Thus, this study aims to provide an explanation of how kinship terms of Taiwan Mandarin generalized and how they perform in the real world— to see an old phenomenon with new eyes— mainly by Conceptual Blending Theory (Fauconnier and

Turner 2002) and Construction Grammar (Goldberg 1995, 2006). More related issues and theories are also discussed in chapter 2 and 5.

1.2 Research Questions

Aiming to investigate generalized kinship terms in Taiwan Mandarin is unavoidably related to various issues, and it is impossible to handle every topic in one study. We mainly focus on the following questions in current work:

1. Can all kinship terms of Taiwan Mandarin be generalized? If not, which terms are candidates for generalization?

2. What is the similarity/dissimilarity between generalized disyllabic kinship terms and monosyllabic kinship terms?

3. How the generalization and its combination construed in native speakers' mind?

Note that due to the scope and limited space of current study, following issues of kinship terms will not be explored:

1. Kinship term compounds such as *xiōngdì* (兄弟) 'elder brother and younger brother' and *jiěmèi* (姊妹) 'elder sister and younger sister' are beyond our research interest (viz., the individual kinship term), thus we skip the discussion about them. Kinship terms of spouse's family members, such as *yuèfù* (岳父) 'wife's father', *yuèmǔ* (岳母) 'wife's mother', *gōnggōng* (公公) 'husband's father', and *pópó* (婆婆) 'husband's mother' are excluded as well.

2. Kinship terms formed under the relationship connected by laws or sworn words, like *jìfù* (繼父) 'stepfather', *jìmǔ* (繼母) 'stepmother', *yǎngzǐ* (養子) 'adopted son', and *yǎngnǚ* (養女) 'adopted daughter', are excluded from our concern; the term *gāndiē* (乾爹) 'sworn father' and *gānmā* (乾媽) 'sworn mother' are also not taken into our consideration.

3. Due to the limited space of this thesis, we only deal with the kinship terms appear in the "Head-Generalized kinship term" combination (the combination is elaborated in chapter 5), such as *Lin Wang yéyé* (林旺爺爺) 'Grandfather Lin Wang' and *shè-qū māmā*（社區媽媽）'community mother'. For kinship terms that used for modification,

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such as *māmā-shǒu* (媽媽手) 'mother hands' (i.e., the De Quervain's disease), are excluded in this study.

4. The possible phonological changes of kinship terms, such as *bǎbá* (把拔) for *bàbà* (爸爸) 'father', *mǎmá* (馬麻) for *māmā* (媽媽) 'mother', *gěgé* (葛格) for *gēgē* (哥哥) 'elder brother', *dǐdí* (底迪) for *dìdì* (弟弟) 'younger brother', *jiějiē* (姊接) for *jiějiě*, and *měiméi* (美眉) for *mèimèi* (妹妹) 'younger sister', are beyond the research focus, so this topic is not discussed here.

5. Mistakenly used kinship terms, such as calling *shěnshěn* (嬸嬸) 'wife of father's younger brother' as *jiùmā* (舅媽) 'wife of mother's elder/younger brother' is not the case of generalization; hence they are not included in this research[3].

1.3 Data and Analytic Framework
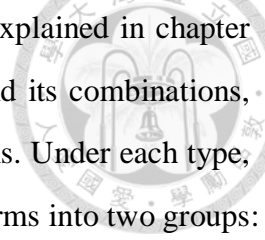
In order to explore the generalized usage of kinship terms, this research extracts linguistic data from two domestic corpora for investigation: the Academia Sinica Balanced Corpus of Modern Chinese[4] (hereafter the AS Corpus) and the PTT Corpus[5], both of them comprise a great amount of written and spoken materials. Besides, we also extract data from Taiwanese news reports as supplements to corpora resources.

Current work collects data by keywords searching in the corpora (i.e., employing kinship terms as keywords; see section 3.1 for the keywords list). Data of the AS Corpus is collected through the link of http://asbc.iis.sinica.edu.tw; data of the PTT Corpus is collected through the link of http://lopen.linguistics.ntu.edu.tw/pttcorp/, both posts and comments are included. The search results are analyzed one by one by comparing with the primary sense of individual kinship term, and those generalized usages are tagged

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[3] But the *gē* (哥) 'elder brother' of *tángdì gē* (堂弟哥) 'cousin (son of father's brother, younger than ego) brother' and *biǎodì gē* (表弟哥) 'cousin (son of father's sister or mother's brother/sister, younger than ego) brother' is categorized as generalized usages, because it is used purposely and suits the definition of generalization in this research.

[4] The Academia Sinica Balanced Corpus of Modern Chinese (version 4.0) (中央研究院現代漢語平衡語料庫第 4.0 版) contains data of Modern Chinese dated from 1981 to 2007. There are 19,247 articles, 1,396,133 sentences, 11,245,330 word tokens in this corpus. Six topics are included in this corpus, which are art, life, literature, philosophy, science, and society.

[5] PTT (批踢踢) is a bulletin board system (BBS) based in Taiwan, which consists of more than 20,000 discussion boards. More than 10,000 articles are posted every day. It contains a massive amount of linguistic data that reflects the local socio-cultural phenomena. The PTT Corpus comprises numerous linguistic contents of casual and informal speech register.

for further investigation (details of the data collecting process are explained in chapter 3). After confirming all the generalized usages of kinship terms and its combinations, we classified them into five types by their form-meaning associations. Under each type, the author further divides the combinations of generalized kinship terms into two groups: a disyllabic one and a monosyllabic one. Following that, we elaborate on how the generalization usages formed in speakers' mind mainly by the Conceptual Blending Theory (Fauconnier and Turner 2002) and Goldberg's (1995, 2006) Construction Grammar. Other related issues regarding viewpoint shifting, politeness and impoliteness, generalization preferences, and the meaning change of the combination of generalized kinship terms, and so on, are also included in the discussion.

1.4 Organization of the Thesis

The present thesis is organized as follows: chapter 2 reviews the previous studies on Chinese kinship system and kinship terms, Mandarin dialects, the generalization of kinship terms in China and Taiwan, and several issues of cognitive linguistics. Chapter 3 explains the methodology adopted in this study, including the standard for choosing kinship terms and the process of how the author searches the targets in corpora. In chapter 4, the data collected from corpora are analyzed and categorized into five types. Also, examples of each generalized kinship terms are listed with primary explanations for some phenomena. Chapter 5 elaborates on how the generalization mechanism formed in speakers' mind, and how the phenomenon of the distinct combination variety of some generalized kinship terms appears. Finally, in chapter 6, we furnish a conclusion of this research with its implications and contributions and suggest possible directions for future research.

Chapter 2   Literature Review

By treating Chinese kinship system as a specific lexicon inventory, a native speaker could economically use kinship terms in an extensional way— generalization— to achieve her/his purpose(s) of communication, with continuously practicing in their mind. To figure out the answers to our research questions about generalization, we have to follow the footprint of forerunners. In the first section of this chapter, this study briefly introduces the Chinese kinship system and kinship terms; next, in section 2.2, distinct kinship terms of three Mandarin dialects and their generalized usages are presented as examples of the richness of kinship terms under the single kinship system. Chinese studies of the generalization of kinship terms are discussed in section 2.3; linguistic issues of the generalized kinship terms such as viewpoint, profile, metaphor, metonymy, conceptual blending, construction, politeness and impoliteness, irony, etc., are included in 2.4.

2.1   Chinese Kinship System and Kinship Terms

The Chinese kinship system is a well-known complex system in the world. According to Ruey (1972), the ancient kinship system belongs to Lowie's bifurcate merging type (二分合併型), and the modern one is bifurcate collateral (二分旁系型). Many kinship terms appeared in Zhou dynasty or earlier, some of their original senses are distinct from the present (Ruey 1972, Feng 1989, Liang 1993, Yuan 1994, Wang 1998, Huang 2004, Wang 2006, Hong 2008, Han 2010, Huang 2011, Liu 2013, Yao 2016, Guo 2017, Wu 2017). Few kinship terms might adopt from neighboring language, such as *gē* (哥) 'elder brother' is a loan word from *Xianbei* (鮮卑) language (Huang 1999).

Due to the complexity of this system and plentiful kinship terms, studies on this issue are enormous. In Taiwan, Lin (1982) proposed that in the Chinese kinship system, marking is a cognitive principle which emphasizes certain categories of relationships that are biologically and socially close to the ego. Kinship terminology is an expression

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of psychology. She also mentioned the concept of 'core morpheme' of Chinese kinship terms (Lin 1982) as follows: *fù* (父) 'father', *mǔ* (母) 'mother', *fū* (夫) 'husband', *qī* (妻) 'wife', *zǐ* (子) 'son', *nǚ* (女) 'daughter', *xiōng* (兄) 'elder brother', *dì* (弟) 'younger brother', *jiě* (姐) 'elder sister', *mèi* (妹) 'younger sister', *sǎo* (嫂) 'wife of elder brother', *xù* (婿) 'son-in-law', *bó* (伯) 'father's elder brother', *gū* (姑) 'father's elder/younger sister', *shú* (叔) 'father's younger brother', *jiù* (舅) 'mother's elder/younger brother', *yí* (姨) 'mother's elder/younger sister', *sūn* (孫) 'grandson', *zhí* (姪) 'nephew', and *shēng* (甥) 'nephew'. In addition, she claimed that the meaning of Chinese kinship terms has a morphological basis, that is, every term is composed of morphemes of which each contributes to the whole meaning of the term (Lin, 1983).

Following Lin's research, Tsao (1993) proposed that the more syllables a kinship term has, the more marked it is. For two different kinship terms which have the equivalent number of syllables, the one that consists of duplicated forms is less marked. Kinship terms— especially the reduplicated forms— are set down from the perspective of children.

2.2 Different Kinship Terms and the Generalized Usages in Some Mandarin Dialects

The structure of Chinese kinship system is one, but a kinship term under this system is many: to some degree, the kinship terms evolved individually, region by region. Several studies on Mandarin Dialects have published (Guo 1996, Hu 2007, Yu 2009, Wang 2013, Zhao 2013, Duan 2014, Wang 2018), but the limited space makes it impossible to list all of them here. For a better understanding about how kinship terms and their generalized usages vary in Mandarin, three Mandarin dialects are introduced in this section, which are the Enshi dialect (恩施方言) of Southwestern Mandarin (西南官話), Guangshan dialect (光山方言) of Central Plains/Zhongyuan Mandarin (中原官話), and Tianjin dialect (天津方言) of Ji-Lu Mandarin (冀魯官話).

In the Enshi dialect, spoken in Enshi City of Hubei (湖北) province of China, a kinship term could refer to different senses of relative, such as *ia²¹* (爺) refers to 'father' and 'father's younger brother' as well; its reduplicated form refers to 'father's father'

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and older relatives in the same generation. *Diē* (爹) refers to either 'father' or 'father's sister'. Teknonymy is broadly practiced by native speakers in addressing relatives of older and peer generation, mainly in a non-face-to-face situation, including renaming a relative after a child, after one's wife, after one's husband, even after a grandchild. For example, a father calls his father $tia^{55}tia^0$ (爹爹) 'grandfather' after his child and calls his elder brother *bóbó* (伯伯) 'uncle' after his child (Liu 2014).

Moreover, kinship terms such as *bà* (爸) 'father', *diē*, *bóbó* are applicable to female relatives: father's mother can be called $tia^{55}tia^0$, mother can be called *bàbà* (爸爸) 'father', wife of father's elder brother can be called *bóbó*, and the term *sūnzǐ* (孫子) 'son's son' refers to both 'son's son' and 'son's daughter' (Liu 2014).

Guangshan dialect, used in Henan (河南) province of China, is without reduplicated kinship terms but only monosyllabic *yé* (爺) 'father's father', *nǎi* (奶) 'father's mother', *bà* (爸) 'father', *mā* (媽) 'mother', *jiù* (舅) 'mother's brother', *gū* (姑) 'father's elder/younger sister', *yí* (姨) 'mother's elder/younger sister', *gē* (哥) 'elder brother', *jiě* (姐) 'elder sister', *xiōng* (兄) 'elder brother', *mèi-erization* (妹兒) 'younger sister' (Zhang 2014). Traditionally, in a non-face-to-face situation, father is called *dà-erization* (大兒), mother is called *niáng* (娘); father's elder/younger brother is called *X* [te^{55}] (X 爹)[6], *lǎo-erization* (佬兒), or *X lǎo-erization* (X 佬兒); wife of father's elder/younger brother is called *X niáng* (X 娘)'. Kinship terms of father's elder and younger sister are distinct: father's elder sister is *gūmā* (姑媽) or *X gūmā* (X 姑媽); father's younger sister is *gū* (姑) or *X gū* (X 姑). This phenomenon also discovered in maternal kinship terms: mother's elder sister is *yímā* (姨媽) or *X yímā* (X 姨媽); mother's younger sister is *yí* (姨) or *X yí* (X 姨) (Zhang 2017).

Native speakers of Guangshan dialect address non-relative acquaintances with paternal kinship terms if they have the same last name. For addressees who do not have a formal title, and the last name is distinct from the addresser's, native speakers always call them with cousinly kinship terms (Zhang 2017).

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[6] In this research, the author did not elaborate the meaning of 'X'.

According to Zhou (1997), in Tianjin dialect of Ji-Lu Mandarin, to use teknonymy or not depends on whether the children are present: in a face-to-face situation, if the children are absent, the spouse calls her/his partner's elder brother 'brother' and elder sister 'sister', and calls names to partner's younger brother/sister. However, if the children are present, parents call their sisters 'aunt' and brothers 'uncle' in order that the children can learn a proper term of address to older family members.

In this dialect, young children address their mother's older friends or colleagues *lǎolǎo* (姥姥) '(maternal) grandmother'or *lǎoyé* (姥爺) '(maternal) grandfather', and it also happens while they are addressing neighbors, friends, or colleagues of their mother's parents; but they address their father's older friends or colleagues *nǎinǎi* (奶奶) '(paternal) grandmother' or *yéyé* (爺爺) '(paternal) grandfather, and used these two terms for neighbors, friends, or colleagues of their father's parents. Elders call *dà-sǎozǐ* (大嫂子) 'big-sister-in-law (elder brother's wife)' to the son's wife of their neighbors, friends, or colleagues. A female addresses herself as *sǎozǐ* (嫂子) 'sister-in-law (elder brother's wife)' to her neighbors of the same generation that younger than her husband, and addresses herself as *dìmèi* (弟妹) 'sister-in-law (younger brother's wife)' to her neighbors of the same generation that older than her husband (Zhou 1997).

2.3 Research of Generalized Usages of Kinship Terms in China

Apart from the research of Mandarin Dialects, researchers in China have also focused on the generalized usages of kinship terms for a long time. Tian (1998) divided generalized usages of kinship terms (a.k.a. 'fictitious kinship terms' in his work) into two groups by the principle of taking generation and age into consideration or not. He also noticed that the phenomenon of 'teknonymy' is not a kind of generalized usages of kinship terms. Ma and Chang (1998) proposed a model of the face-to-face appellation of kinship terms, as well as some materials of generalization. However, they did not give readers more detailed explanations about the causes of the generalization of kinship terms.

As one of the main contributors in this research area, Pan (1998) proposed a generally-used group of generalized kinship terms in the study: *yé* (爺) 'father's father',

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nǎinǎi (奶奶) 'father's mother', *bó*, *shú*, *bómǔ* (伯母) 'wife of father's elder brother', *mā* (媽) 'mother', *niáng* (娘) 'mother', *shěn'ér* (嬸兒) 'wife of father's younger brother', *yí*, *gē/xiōng*, *sǎo*, *jiě*, *xiōngdì* (兄弟) 'elder brother and younger brother', *dì*, *mèi*, and *gūniáng* (姑娘) 'father's elder/younger sister'. In Pan's idea, generalizing or not depends on the principle of respect and the principle of closeness.

Shi (2006) experimented on 3-7-year-old children to see their cognition of age and gender of others. Results show that though 3-year-old children can identify their own sex and age, they cannot tell others' sex stably and precisely until around five years old. The criterion of gender judgment is the hair length or with/out pig-tail, and judging others' age is more difficult for them. Children under seven years old confuse the age and height. She argued that among the kinship terms extensively used by Chinese children, kinship terms in the paternal side are more often used than those in the maternal side, which shows the characteristics of paternal society.

In Shi's (2006) study, children generalized the term *bàbà* (爸爸) 'father', *māmā* (媽媽) 'mother' for strangers in the photos first, then they turned to use *shúshú* (叔叔) 'father's younger brother' and *āyí* (阿姨) 'mother's elder/younger sister' after the tester informed them the person in the photo is not their father/mother. Also, *shúshú* and *āyí* are more frequently used than *gēgē* (哥哥) 'elder brother' and *jiějiě* (姐姐) 'elder sister'. These results reveal that the ability of generalized kinship terms is learned from one's early age, and this ability can be modified immediately. The judgmental criteria do not have to be complicated. Also, Wang (2011) concluded several types of how generalized kinship terms combined, such as name-kinship term combination, animal-kinship term combination, and event-kinship term combination, etc.

Li (1990) observed that *shúshú* and *āyí* become generalized terms for teenagers to address those who are one generation older than them. Qi and Zhu (2001) found a similar case that *shúshú* and *āyí* are often generalized for addressing people of different professions by students of elementary and senior high schools. Liu (2011) found that students from elementary schools and high schools call non-relative women *āyí* by comparing their appearance with students' mothers'. Moreover, college students call

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familiar non-relative women '[last name]-*āyí*' or '[last name]-*yí*' more often than merely *āyí*. Whether being familiar or not, age is only the judgmental criterion. Zhang (2011) mentioned that the concept of old/young becomes vague due to the longer average life. Also, she predicted that *shúshú* may be the widely-adopted kinship term for generalization for addressing males of middle to young age, as the role *āyí* plays for addressing females in the aspect of generalized usage.

In Liu's (2012) study, she claimed that the primary function of generalization of Mandarin kinship terms is to get close to non-relative people and to set up the relationship between speakers and hearers. Language users follow some rules: the principle of closeness, the principle of the occasion, the principle of social status, and the principle of politeness. Zheng (2010) proposed a similar viewpoint that the generalization of kinship terms is affected by social status, occasion, culture, sex, and age. The generalization has three pragmatic functions: to index the role and emotion of a speaker, to unify the interlocutors, and to mark the sociocultural attributes.

Kang (2007) categorized generalized kinship terms into two types: the subjectively recognized type and the formally borrowed type. The former is formed by sworn words, such as *gān'érzǐ* (乾兒子) 'sworn son' or *gānnǚér* (乾女兒) 'sworn daugther'; the latter is formed by the consideration of generation and age between the speaker and the hearer. Also, under the formally borrowed type, two generalized usages are divided by the standard of with/out the limitation of generation. Kang further claimed that the generalization of kinship terms results from the patriarchal clan system, Confucianism, economics, marriage system, social and psychological factors, etc. Similarly, Du (2017) categorized generalized kinship terms into two types; the difference between them is whether to distinguish age and generation. She also has a resemblant conclusion that the generalization of kinship terms results from the patriarchal clan system, Confucianism, politeness, personal interaction, and the influence of the internet.

Besides, the research results of Cheng (2014) revealed that students call a senior teacher's husband *xiānshēng* (先生) 'mister' or *lǎoshī* (老師) 'teacher'; they call a familiar teacher's husband *shúshú*. If the relationship is closer between students and the

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teacher, students may call the teacher's husband *jiěfū* (姊夫) 'elder sister's husband' or *gē*/*xiōng* or *dì*.

The inspiration of the research of Gao and Ren (2017) is the idea of a three-stage generalization of kinship terms: the initial stage is from kinship term to pseudo kinship term, followed by the second stage of from pseudo kinship term to social appellation, the final stage is from social appellation to modern appellation. However, the authors did not explain the definition of each stage and the reason for classifying these different stages. Furthermore, to differentiate distinct stages merely helps readers to understand what the factors of generalization are.

For research related to cognitive linguistics, Wang (2011) proposed five mechanisms of the generalization of *gē* and *jiě*: integration, abbreviation, analogy, borrowing, and morphemization. Her work provides a vast amount of data collection and morphological analyses, giving readers some hints of cognitive aspect; however, she does not mention much about the cognitive operation of how and why the generalization happened. Xu (2014) analyzed the terms *Zhōngguó dà-mā* (中國大媽) 'Chinese *dama*' and "*Zhōngguó shì* (中國式)-*X*" 'Chinese style-X'. She adopted the idea of conceptual blending and argued that the veiled sociocultural characteristics of 'China' is mapping onto *dà-mā*. That is to say, *Zhōngguó dà-mā* has a new concept. Moreover, Xu claimed that "*Zhōngguó shì* (中國式)-*X*" is a linguistic meme.

To conclude, in China, most studies of generalization of kinship terms concentrated on the aspects of categorization, usage, function, and form; only a small number of studies (Shi 2006, Wang 2011, Xu 2014) suggested the cognitive process of generalization.

2.4 Research of Generalization of Kinship Terms of Taiwan Mandarin

In Taiwan, few researchers worked on the field of generalization of kinship terms, three forerunners are Tsao (1993), Huang (1997), and Chen (1999). Tsao mentioned some generalized cases of kinship terms in the article and claimed that the reduplicated form communicates the intimacy between the interlocutors. Huang mainly explored using corpus-based methodology on anthropological linguistic study of Chinese kinship

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terminology, she noticed there are some generalized usages of Chinese kinship terms; Chen investigated how Taiwanese students address non-kins by Chinese kinship terms.

Huang (1997) observed that some kinship terms could follow names of non-relatives, such as *Mei jiě* (梅姐) 'Sister Mei'; some kinship terms could appear right after nouns, such as *shī fù* (師父) 'master'[7]. In her data, a code-mixing phenomenon of Taiwanese kinship terms applied in Mandarin sentences is found, as shown in (1):

(1) 一早起來，就看見許多**阿公**、阿婆在人行道打太極拳… (Huang 1997)

Yī zǎo qǐ-lái, jiù kàn-jiàn xǔ-duō **āgōng 'father/mother's father'**, *āpó zài rén-xíng-dào dǎ tài-jí-quán ...*
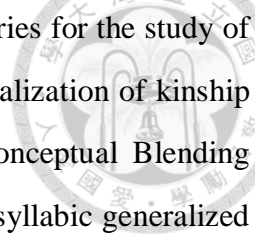
'Getting up early in the morning, you can see many **grandfather** and elderly women practicing Taiji at the sidewalk…'

According to Huang (1997), this code-mixing usage shows the speaker's intimate and friendly intention, also, she pointed out that Taiwan Southern Min is one of the main languages in Taiwan, so the code-mixing phenomenon might be a reflection of the status of Taiwan Southern Min.

Chen (1999) found that only young children use kinship terms all the time; sex and age differences influence the choice of terms of address; *bàbà* and *māmā* are two new kinship terms for generalization. Also, females use more intimate kinship terms *shúshú* and *āyí*, and they use *māmā* to replace *bómǔ*. This could result from females who may focus on intimacy more than males do.

Besides, Chen claimed that *dà-shěn* (大嬸) 'the wife of father's younger brother' is seldom used nowadays, and *āyí* is widely used instead. This phenomenon is due to *dà-shěn* refers to a married woman, while *āyí* refers to a woman either married and unmarried. To call a female addressee *āyí* is a better choice if a speaker is not sure about the addressee's marital status.

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[7] Huang's (1997) translation of *shī fù* is different from the translation the author use in current study. In this study, *shī fù* is translated into 'teacher father' for the consistency of discussing kinship terms.

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As cognitive linguistics develops, there are more adequate theories for the study of generalization of kinship terms. Chang (2017) categorized the generalization of kinship terms into two types and elaborated this phenomenon through Conceptual Blending Theory (Fauconnier and Turner 2002); however, the usage of monosyllabic generalized kinship terms is not discussed in his study. Therefore, whether the Conceptual Blending Theory suffices to explain generalized monosyllabic kinship terms is still uncertain and needs to be proved.

In order to further explore the generalization of kinship terms of Taiwan Mandarin from the perspective of cognitive linguistics, related topics such as viewpoint, profile, metaphor, metonymy, conceptual blending, construction, personification should be reviewed in this study; other issues that are in connection with generalized kinship terms such as degree modifiers, politeness, impoliteness, and irony are also worthy of notice. Hence, we introduce related theories and research of these issues in following parts of this chapter (section 2.4.1 to 2.4.9).

2.4.1 Viewpoint

Viewpoint, according to Sweetser (2012), "permeates human cognition and communication… we never have experience of the world except as a viewpoint-equipped, embodied self among other viewpointed, embodied selves" (2012: 1). Viewpoint is also related to our shared early experience and the human neural system as well, such as the primary scenes "link humans' experience of visual viewpoint with locational proprioception, and with spatiomotor strategies for access and reaching objects". People unavoidably aware the human bodily affordances of their own and others— what s/he can see, what s/he can reach, and so forth— while other humans are present (2012: 2).

Besides, humans "build viewpointed, sensory simulations in response to linguistic stimuli… not just simulations of actions described, but of the situations involved and multimodally" (2012: 3). To take embodied cognition seriously, "all hearers and readers

are imagined hearers/readers" (2012: 6). These findings mean that humans can stand on others' position, and this ability is essential to using generalized kinship terms.

2.4.2 Profile

In Langacker's (2008) idea, an expression selects a certain body of conceptual content (its conceptual base). "An expression's conceptual base is identified as its maximal scope in all domains of its matrix (or all domains accessed on a given occasion)". To be more accurately, "its base is identified as the immediate scope in active domains— that is, the portion put "onstage" and foregrounded as the general locus of viewing attention". Within this onstage region, attention is directed to a particular substructure— the 'profile'. Therefore, an expression's profile "stands out as the specific focus of attention within its immediate scope" (2008: 66).

Taking 'elbow' for example (Fig. 2.1. (a)), its maximal scope is the overall shape of the human body. Within the maximal scope, the conception of an arm is put onstage as the immediate scope (the general locus of attention); and within the immediate scope, the expression singles out a particular substructure as its profile. In the case of 'hand' as diagramed in Fig. 2.1 (b), 'hand' has the same maximal and immediate scopes as elbow, but the profile is different.

An expression can profile either a thing or a relationship: things do not have to be physical objects; a relationship does not necessarily involve multiple participants. "Profiling figures crucially in the pervasive phenomenon known as metonymy. In a narrow sense, we can characterize metonymy as a shift in profile".
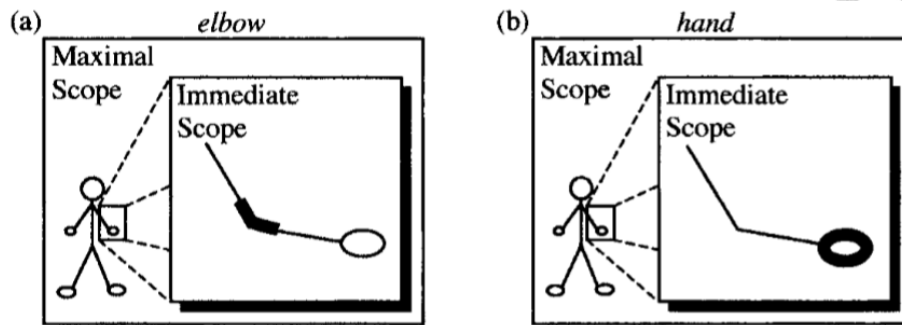
Fig. 2.1. Example of Profiling (cited from Langacker 2008: 64)

2.4.3 Metaphor and Metonymy

According to Lakoff and Johnson (2003), metaphor means 'metaphorical concept', allowing humans "to understand one domain of experience in terms of another". The understanding "takes place in terms of entire domains of experience and not in terms of isolated concepts". Also, "concepts are not defined solely in terms of inherent properties; instead, they are defined primarily in terms of interactional properties" (2003: 205). Such as the metaphor "argument is war", there is no physical battle in an argument, but there is a verbal battle. The structure of an argument— attack, defense, counterattack, etc. — reflects the concept of 'war' (2003: 20).

'Metonymy' is defined as to use one entity to refer to another that is related to it. According to Lakoff and Johnson (2003), there are several types of metonymic relationship: the part for the whole, producer for product, object used for user, controller for controlled, institution for people responsible, the place for the institution, and the place for the event. For example, when "we think of a Picasso, we are not just thinking of a work of art alone, in and of itself. We think of it in terms of its relation to the artist, that is, his conception of art, his technique, his role in art history, etc" (2003: 70).

Metonymic concepts are as systematic as metaphor, and like metaphoric concepts, metonymic concepts are grounded in humans' experience. They are reflected not only in our language but also in our thoughts, attitudes, and actions— they exist in mankind's culture. Since metonymic concepts usually involve direct physical or causal associations, the grounding of it is, in general, more evident than metaphoric concepts.

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2.4.4 Degree Modifiers

There are three words— *lǎo* (老) 'old', *dà* (大) 'big', and *xiǎo* (小) 'little'— which often convey the sense of degree, and are related to the study of kinship terms.

In Lakoff and Johnson (1999), they mentioned several metaphors: "Important is Big" and "More is Up". They are fundamental metaphors about age and size related to degree words. Ren (2004) claimed that *dà* and *xiǎo* are learned in the early stage of childhood, and they are always used to describe abstract terms because of their attribute. Generally speaking, the size of the human body increases with one's age: an older age implies a bigger body size and also a higher ranking. Hence, body size has a connection with age and ranking.

Researchers in China, such as Tian (1998), had already observed that standard of adding *lǎo* or *xiǎo* before the last name of addressees for expressing the mental distance between addressers and addressees is a challenging task: some people prefer to be called with *lǎo*, but others prefer *xiǎo*. Sometimes the choice of *lǎo* or *xiǎo* brings a respectful feeling to the addressee, but sometimes the feeling is of closeness, or even of unpleasantness.

Chen and Qu (2006) argued that although *lǎo* is frequently used for showing one's respect, such as *lǎo-yéyé* (老爺爺) 'old-father's father' or *lǎo-nǎinǎi* (老奶奶) 'old-father's mother', there are some exceptional usages of *lǎo* in their data. That is, a speaker with higher status uses *lǎo* before the last name of a hearer with lower status to show her/his closeness; a speaker with lower status uses *lǎo* before the last name of a hearer with higher status to show her/his casualness.

Cheng (2014) investigated the pragmatic function of the combination "*xiǎo*-last name". She claimed that *xiǎo* means closeness and used for people of the same generation and they are not quite apart in age, people of younger generation, or subordinates. The disdainful sense of *xiǎo* is used by superiors and people of higher social status, to their subordinates and people of lower social status, respectively. Sometimes, people use *xiǎo* to despise those of the same social status, showing their subjectively cognized superior status.

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According to Cheng (2014), the usage of "*dà*-last name" is limited and can be considered as a complement of "*lǎo/xiǎo*-last name". Speakers use *dà* for middle-aged people who subordinate than her/himself or people at the same status and older than her/himself. Usually, addressees of this usage are males.

In their study, Wang and Ying (2005) mentioned that *xiǎo* has the following functions when preceding the last name: to show a neutral emotion, to be familiar with someone, to be favorite, to praise someone, to despise someone, to detest someone, to scold someone, and to be humble. *Xiǎo* is usually used in the situation in which a speaker wants to be familiar with the hearer.

2.4.5 Conceptual Blending Theory

Proposed by Fauconnier and Turner (2002), Conceptual Blending Theory describes how human cognition works. In this theory, Fauconnier and Turner claimed that conceptual blending is a very general cognitive operation which partially matches two (or more) input mental spaces and selectively projects from the matched spaces to create a blended mental space with an emergent structure (as diagramed in Fig. 2.2).

In their model of conceptual blending, mental spaces are "small conceptual packets constructed as we think and talk, for purposes of local understanding and action" They are "connected to long-term schematic knowledge called "frames" ... and to long-term specific knowledge". Mental spaces are "very partial". They "contain elements and are typically structured by frames". Besides, they are interconnected and "can be modified as thought and discourse unfold" (2002: 40).

In Fig 2.2, mental spaces are represented by circles; elements, by points (or icons) in the circles; and lines refer to the connections between elements in different spaces, represent conceptual projections and mappings (solid line for the corresponding mapping between the inputs; dotted line for connections between inputs and either generic/blended spaces). The square inside the blend mental space represents the emergent structure. The frame structure recruited to the mental space is "represented as either outside in a rectangle or iconically inside the circle". To be more specific, the two

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input spaces are mental spaces containing their elements. Elements of separate spaces need not be all the same exactly; the partial cross-space mapping means a counterpart's connection in the input mental spaces. The generic space is a mental space that maps onto each of the inputs and contains the elements in common of the inputs; the blend space is the mental space that develops emergent structure which is not copied directly from any input spaces.
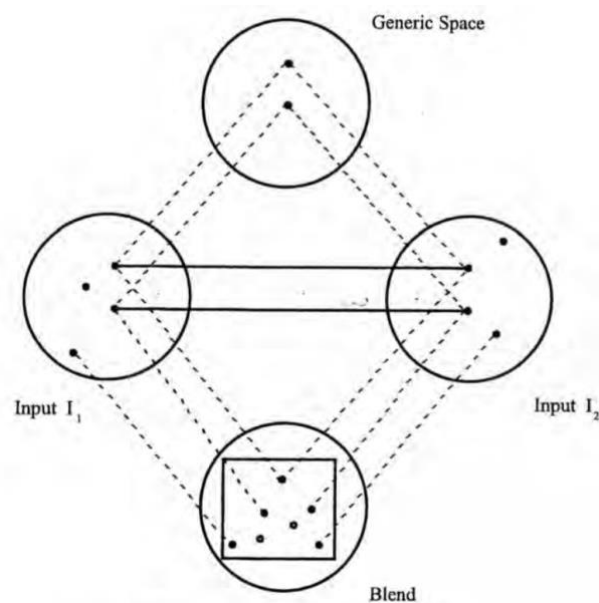
Fig. 2.2. The Basic Diagram of Conceptual Blending Theory (cited from Fauconnier and Turner 2002: 46)

In the blend space, the emergent structure is generated in three ways: firstly, "*composition* of elements from the inputs makes relations available in the blend that do not exist in the separate inputs", in other words, this kind of projection is referred as "fusion". Secondly, "*completion* brings additional structure to the blend". Blends recruit great ranges of background meaning and pattern completion is the most basic kind of the recruitment: humans see some parts of a familiar frame of meaning, and much more of the frame is employed covertly but effectively to the blend. Through the process of completion, a minimal composition in the blend is often interpreted as a richer pattern automatically. Finally, the "familiar structure is recruited into the blended space", the blend is integrated at this point— it is "an instance of a particular familiar frame". This "running of the blend" is named *elaboration*. Some principles for running the blend are

brought to the blend by completion. There are always many distinct possible lines of elaboration, and it can go on indefinitely. This creativity of blending comes from the open-ended nature of completion and elaboration, and blending operates "over the entire richness of our physical and mental worlds" (2002: 110).

Under the process of blending, the links to the inputs are maintained continuously, all the "sameness" connections across spaces seem to "pop out automatically, yielding a flash of comprehension" (Fauconnier and Turner 2002: 44). Fauconnier and Turner claim that anything fused in the blend projects back to counterparts in the input spaces, but the "geometric" knowledge of correlations in the different spaces is entirely unconscious, even the counterpart links change dynamically across four mental spaces. What comes into consciousness is "the flash of comprehension". So, it seems can be proved by the evidence that the elaborate imaginative work is all unconscious.

There are some crucial aspects of conceptual blending, pointed out by Fauconnier and Turner (2002: 47-49):

1. The conceptual integration network is a minimal network. These networks can have several input spaces and even multiple blended spaces.

2. The counterpart connections of partial matching between input spaces in conceptual integration are of various kinds, such as connections between frames and roles in frames; connections of identity or transformation or representation; analogical connections; metaphorical connections; and more generally, "vital relations" mappings.

3. An element in the generic space maps onto paired counterparts in the two input spaces.

4. The blended space contains not only generic structure captured in the generic space but also more specific structure, even the structure that is impossible for the inputs.

5. Not every element and relation from the inputs are projected to the blend; the projection is selective: sometimes two counterparts are both projected; sometimes only one; sometimes none. Also, sometimes counterparts in the input spaces are

fused in the blend, but often not. Moreover, sometimes an element in one input without a counterpart in the other gets projected to the blend.

6. Any mental space can be modified at any moment in the construction of the integration network.

7. The blend spaces are often novel and generated on the fly; however, they recruit entrenched mappings and frames. Blends themselves can also become entrenched.

Fauconnier and Turner (2002) explained how a network works in the case of "The debate with Kant" — a modern philosopher debates with the deceased philosopher Kant (see Fig. 2.3): there are two input spaces, one contains the elements of modern philosopher, making claims; another has the elements of Kant, thinking and writing, neither input space is there a debate. The blended space has both people. Moreover, the "frame of debate has been recruited to frame Kant and the modern philosopher as engaged in simultaneous debate, mutually aware, using a single language to treat a recognized topic". The frame of debate "comes up easily in the blend through pattern completion, since so much of its structure is already in place in the composition of the two inputs", and this frame brings with it conventional expressions, available for our use in picking out the structure in the blend directly.

In this network, the emergent structure through composition is: "two people talking in the same place at the same time"; the emergent structure through completion is: "two people talking in the same place at the same time evoke the cultural frame of a conversation, a debate, or an argument". For this case, the *debate* frame is chosen to structure the blend when they disagree; the emergent structure through elaboration is: "running the *debate* frame by elaborating questions and answers, retorts and concessions, with corresponding emotions like defensiveness, aggression, and elation".

GENERIC

thinker
claims & musings
mode of expression
language
issue
purpose
time

INPUT 1

Kant [k₁]
claims
& musings
writing
German
reason
search for truth
1784

INPUT 2

me [m₂]
claims & musings

speaking
English
cognitive processes
search for truth
1995

Kant [k₂]
k₂ dead
k₂ never aware of m₂
m₂ aware of k₂

BLEND

k
m
claims, counterclaims,
questions, answers, ...
speaking
English (same language)
cognition
search for truth
same time t
m, k alive
m aware of k
k aware of m
...

Debate FRAME

rhetorical actions:
agrees, retorts, challenges,
anticipates, concurs, reinforces,
questions and answers, ...

argumentation connectives,
affirmation and negation:
but, however, therefore, on the
contrary, exactly, true enough,
not so fast, ...
yes, no, yes and no, ...

Fig. 2.3. The Debate with Kant Network (cited from Fauconnier and Turner 2002: 62)

2.4.6 Construction

According to Goldberg (2006: 5), "any linguistic pattern is recognized as a construction as long as some aspect of its form or function is not strictly predictable from its component parts or from other constructions recognized to exist". Furthermore,

patterns are "stored as constructions even if they are fully predictable as long as they occur with sufficient frequency". Examples of construction are listed in Table 2.1.
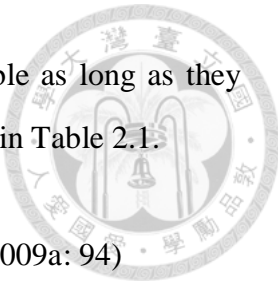
Table 2.1 Examples of constructions (cited from Goldberg 2009a: 94)

Word	e.g., *tentacle, gangster, the*
Word (partially filled)	e.g., *post-N, V-ing*
Complex word	e.g., *textbook, drive-in*
Idiom (filled)	e.g., *like a bat out of hell*
Idiom (partially filled)	e.g., *believe ⟨one's⟩ ears/eyes*
Covariational Conditional	The Xer the Yer (e.g., *The more you watch the less you know*)
Ditransitive	Subj V Obj1 Obj2 (e.g., *She gave him a kiss; He fixed her some fish tacos.*)
Passive	Subj aux VPpp (PP$_{by}$) (e.g., *The cell phone tower was struck by lightening.*)

Five factors affect how argument structure constructions are learned, which is summarized in Goldberg's (2006) work: 'statistical cues' that provide a powerful means by which initial language learning can begin. 'Linking rules', the correlation between form and meaning or the semantics associated with various lexical templates based on the input. 'Skewed input' that enables learners (both children and adults) can extend what they have learned to new utterances. 'Prototype', a strong correlation between the frequency with which a token occurs. 'Conservative learning', the initial production of argument structure patterns in that children stick closely to the forms they have heard.

Moreover, Goldberg (2009 a, b) mentioned the phenomenon of constructional priming— "producing or hearing instances of one grammatical pattern primes speakers to produce other instances of the same". A novel construction— a pairing of novel form and novel meaning— can be generalized after only three minutes of exposure.

2.4.7 Politeness and Impoliteness

Politeness correlates the concept of 'face'. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), 'face' is individuals' self-esteem and face as wants: "every member knows every other member desires, and which in general it is in the interests of every member to partially satisfy". There are two kinds of 'face': the 'negative face' and the 'positive

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face'. The former is "the want of every 'competent adult member' that his actions be unimpeded by others"; the latter is "the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others". 'Face' is universal, but "which in any particular society, we would expect to be the subject of much cultural elaboration" (1987: 13).

'Face' could be threatened (Brown and Levinson, 1987). The face-threatening acts (FTAs) need not be realized in sentence-like units, the "use of address terms and other status-marked identifications in initial encounters" could be an FTA: a speaker may misidentify the hearer "in an offensive or embarrassing way, intentionally or accidentally" (1987: 67).

Therefore, considering about 'politeness', a speaker must be aware of the strategies of positive politeness and negative politeness and to adopt different strategies under a specific situation in order to avoid FTAs. Strategies of positive politeness comprise to claim common ground, to convey that speaker and hearer are cooperators, and to fulfill hearer's want for some X (such as goods, sympathy, understanding, cooperation, etc.). Strategies of negative politeness include being direct, do not presume/assume, do not coerce the hearer, to communicate speaker's want to not impinge on the hearer, and to redress other wants of hearer's.

Traditionally, being politeness is recognized as a key factor of using generalized kinship term to address non-relatives in the research of the generalization of Chinese kinship terms (such as the studies of Pan 1998, Kang 2007, Zheng 2010, Liu 2012, among others); however, the aspect of impoliteness of generalized kinship term is rarely explored. In some generalized cases of kinship term of Taiwan Mandarin, impoliteness does play a role in the generalization process (examples are introduced and explained in chapter 4 and 5), it is worth taking impoliteness into our consideration for this study.

Impoliteness, according to Culpeper (2011: 254), is a "negative attitude towards specific behaviours occurring in specific contexts". Situated behaviors are considered 'impolite' when they conflict with others' expectation, wants, and/or thoughts; these behaviors always result in (or presumed to result in) emotional consequences (i.e., the offence) for at least one participant. The process of how an impoliteness expression

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formed is assumed that some expressions occur in impoliteness contexts and have their effects more stably than others, and as time passes, these expressions begin to acquire conventional associations of the impoliteness contexts they often occur and become conventionalized (2011: 127).
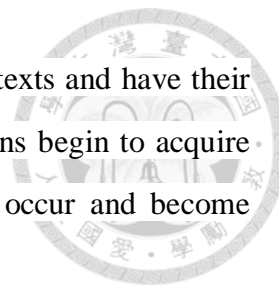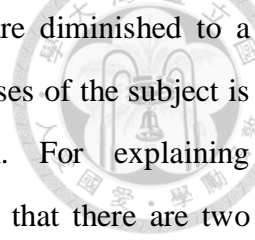
Culpeper (2011: 256) proposed some conventionalised impoliteness strategies and formulae that related to any type of face:

1. Strategies: including insults and pointed criticism/complaint, both of them produce or perceive a demonstration of low values for some targets.

2. Formulae: including insults (personalized negative vocatives/assertions/references and personalized third-person negative references recognized by the hearer), pointed criticisms/complaints, negative expressives (such as curses or ill-wishes), and unpalatable questions and/or presuppositions.

He also mentioned that "impoliteness formulae are much less frequent than politeness formulae". People acquire a knowledge of impoliteness formulae not only from their direct experience that associated with contexts, but also draw upon indirect experience (2011: 130-131). However, the effect of conventionalized impoliteness expression can be eliminated by a contextual feature, thus a conventionalized impoliteness expression is not certainly equal to an interpretation of impoliteness; and an impoliteness expression can be fulfilled in other ways (2011: 129).

The tools of exacerbating the offensiveness of an impoliteness formula is various, adding modifiers, taboo words, particular prosodies, non-verbal features, and so forth, are equally useful. Using these tools to intensify an impoliteness formula makes it less ambiguous and hence secures the impoliteness is taken, "especially in the context of insults (compare: 'you're stupid' with 'you're so stupid')" (Culpeper 2011: 139-141). In addition, the words used as intensifiers are not only limited to nouns and adjectives (2011: 144).

2.4.8　Personification

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In our data, the features of some generalized kinship terms are diminished to a considerable extent, and this phenomenon usually happens in the cases of the subject is non-human. It relates to the aspect of anthropomorphism. For explaining anthropomorphism, Epley, Schroeder, and Waytz (2013) proposed that there are two basic motivations: first, the motivation to explain and predict others' actions; and second, the motivation to connect socially with others. When present, these motivational forces can lead people to attribute minds to almost any agent.

However, not all the cases could be elaborated by motivations described above. For example, the kinship term *gē* is used to describe a cockroach in a room. Perhaps the narrator wants to predict the action of a cockroach, but we are confident that the narrator does not have any connection with the cockroach. So, this study has to turn the direction to find the answer, and it is found that it makes sense if we discuss similar cases in the field of irony.

2.4.9 Irony

This research mainly adopts Attardo's (2000) idea of irony. In his argument, the irony is "entirely inferential and abductive: it is totally indirect, no aspect of the meaning is given in the text, except the presumption of relevance". Also, the irony is "essentially an inappropriate utterance which is nonetheless relevant to the context".

Regarding the functions of irony, Giora (1998) summarized six functions as follows: to project an attitude of dissociation; to remind listeners of the inconsistency between what is expected and what is presented; to adopt a politeness strategy; to protect speakers; being surprising; being friendly and playfully humorous.

2.5 Interim Summary

In this chapter, we briefly review research of Chinese kinship system and kinship terms, introduce Enshi dialect (恩施方言) of Southwestern Mandarin (西南官話), Guangshan dialect (光山方言) of Central Plains/Zhongyuan Mandarin (中原官話), and Tianjin dialect (天津方言) of Ji-Lu Mandarin (冀魯官話) to see the various evidence of

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how kinship terms vary in distinct areas, even there is only one kinship system. Following that, research of the generalization of kinship terms in China is reviewed, it is found that most studies concentrate on the aspect of categorization, usage, function, and form, only a few studies related to the cognitive approach. Finally, several issues of cognitive linguistics such as viewpoint, profile, metaphor, metonymy, conceptual blending, construction, and personification are reviewed in this chapter; and other topics connect to generalized kinship terms, such as degree modifiers, politeness, impoliteness, and irony, are also introduced.

Chapter 3　Methodology

As introduced in chapter 1, a generalized kinship term is an extensionally used kinship term in a specific context, and its sense deviates from the original meaning to some degree; the subject addressed could be oneself or other people, animated or not. Moreover, this extensional sense can be successfully inferred, learned, and analogized by perceivers with minimal efforts. In order to examine how many kinship terms in Taiwan Mandarin kinship system could be generalized and to further analyze their performance, we have to investigate how all kinship terms are used in Taiwan Mandarin. The investigation involves two fundamental issues: firstly, what are the 'standard' kinship terms we are going to investigate? Secondly, how is the investigation proceeded? For the discussion of the former issue, the 'standard' kinship terms the current work chose can be categorized in two distinct types: disyllabic kinship terms and monosyllabic kinship terms, which is elaborated in section 3.1. For the discussion of the latter issue, we extract language materials from two domestic corpora and news reports of several local news media, among which both literal and verbal materials for decades are included, to investigate the usage of 'standard' kinship terms and to see if there is any generalization pattern (section 3.2 to 3.4).

3.1　Generally-Accepted Kinship Terms
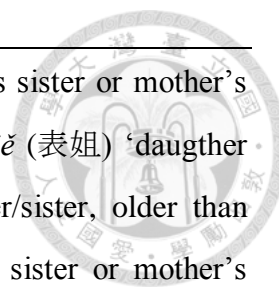
Mandarin kinship terms are not all the same in every Mandarin-speaking region, as we mentioned in the previous chapter. Therefore, to adopt a set of "standard" kinship terms for this work is essential. However, what is the referent of "standard" we discussed here? The answer would be the "generally-accepted kinship terms" in Taiwan. The concept of "generally-accepted" means 'it is acceptable for most native Taiwan Mandarin speakers'. For example, $liaŋ^{11}$ $liaŋ$ (孃孃) is a term refers to 'father's elder/younger sister' in Jiang-Huai Mandarin (江淮官話) spoken in Yangzhou City (Jiangsu Province, China) (Wang 2013) but never be used in Taiwan, since it is impossible for a native speaker of Taiwan Mandarin to understand what this term means,

the speaker would not be likely to say it in an ordinary way, even in a generalized way. Hence, this term is far from "generally-accepted".

The standard kinship system we adopt in this study is taken from the Appendix of the Revised Chinese Dictionary published in 2015 (Ministry of Education, MOE), due to its widespreadness and generally-accepted status. This appendix of the Revised Chinese Dictionary lists all kinship terms of five generations, i.e., one peer generation, two generations for older relatives, and two generations for younger relatives, as shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 The List of Kinship Terms of Taiwan Mandarin (extracted from Appendix of Revised Chinese Dictionary, 2015)

Generations	Kinship Terms
Older Generation- II	*zǔfù* (祖父) 'father's father', *zǔmǔ* (祖母) 'father's mother', *wàizǔfù* (外祖父) 'mother's father', *wàizǔmǔ* (外祖母) 'mother's mother'
Older Generation- I	*bófù* (伯父) 'father's elder brother', *bómǔ* (伯母) 'wife of father's elder brother', *fùqīn* (父親) 'father', *mǔqīn* (母親) 'mother', *gūmā* (姑媽) 'father's elder/younger sister', *gūzhàng* (姑丈) 'husband of father's elder/younger sister', *shúfù* (叔父) 'father's younger brother', *shěnshěn* (嬸嬸) 'wife of father's younger brother', *yímā* (姨媽) 'mother's elder/younger sister', *yízhàng* (姨丈) 'husband of mother's elder/younger sister', *jiùjiù* (舅舅) 'mother's elder/younger brother', *jiùmā* (舅媽) 'wife of mother's elder/younger brother'
Peer Generation	*gēgē* (哥哥) 'elder brother', *sǎosǎo* (嫂嫂) 'wife of elder brother', *jiějiě* (姊姊) 'elder sister', *jiěfū* (姊夫) 'husband of elder sister', *dìdì* (弟弟) 'younger brother', *dìxí* (弟媳) 'wife of younger brother', *mèimèi* (妹妹) 'younger sister', *mèixù* (妹婿) 'husband of younger

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	sister', *biǎogē* (表哥) 'son of father's sister or mother's brother/sister, older than ego', *biǎojiě* (表姐) 'daugther of father's sister or mother's brother/sister, older than ego', *biǎodì* (表弟) 'son of father's sister or mother's brother/sister, younger than ego', *biǎomèi* (表妹) 'daugther of father's sister or mother's brother/sister, younger than ego', *tánggē* (堂哥) 'son of father's brother, older than ego', *tángjiě* (堂姊) 'daugther of father's brother, older than ego', *tángdì* (堂弟) 'son of father's brother, younger than ego', *tángmèi* (堂妹) 'daugther of father's brother, younger than ego', *fū* (夫) 'husband', *qī* (妻) 'wife'
Younger Generation- I	*érzǐ* (兒子) 'son', *xífù* (媳婦) 'son's wife', *nǚér* (女兒) 'daughter', *nǚxù* (女婿) 'daughter's husband', *zhízǐ* (姪子) 'brother's son', *zhínǚ* (姪女) 'brother's daugther', *wàishēng* (外甥) 'sister's son', *wàishēngnǚ* (外甥女) 'sister's daugther'
Younger Generation- II	*sūnzǐ* (孫子) 'son's son', *sūnnǚ* (孫女) 'son's daughter', *wàisūn* (外孫) 'daughter's son', *wàisūnnǚ* (外孫女) 'daughter's daughter'

Notably, there are several alternative terms of address for some kinship terms, such as *yéyé* (爺爺) for *zǔfù*, *nǎinǎi* (奶奶) for *zǔmǔ*, *wàigōng* (外公) for *wàizǔfù*, *wàipó* (外婆) for *wàizǔmǔ*, *bóbó* (伯伯) for *bófù*, *bàbà* (爸爸) for *fùqīn*, *māmā* (媽媽) for *mǔqīn*, *gūgū* (姑姑) for *gūmā*, *shúshú* (叔叔) for *shúfù*, *zhízǐ* (侄子) for *zhízǐ* (姪子), and *zhínǚ* (侄女) for *zhínǚ* (姪女). *Jiějiě* (姐姐) is another term of address for 'elder sister'[8], it

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[8] Meanings of *jiě* (姊) and *jiě* (姐) are not the same but their senses are equivalent while both of them refer to the older female sibling. This principle is suitable for their reduplicated forms of *jiějiě* (姊姊) and *jiějiě* (姐姐); either term refer to the older female sibling. Basically, *jiě* (姊) and *jiě* (姐) are discussed together in following chapters, the group of *jiějiě* (姊姊) and *jiějiě* (姐姐) is dealt with in the same manner.

should also be taken into consideration. These alternative forms are also frequently used by native speakers, and we also categorize them in the generally-accepted kinship terms of Taiwan Mandarin in this study.

In addition to the disyllabic kinship terms we have just mentioned, there is a group of monosyllabic kinship terms that are inherited from older Mandarin and still being used every day; however, they are not included in Appendix of the Revised Chinese Dictionary. Due to their generally-used attribute, members of monosyllabic kinship system should be taken into consideration for our research purpose. We adopt the system of core morpheme of Chinese kinship terms proposed by Lin (1982), these kinship terms are: *fù* (父) 'father', *mǔ* (母) 'mother', *fū* (夫) 'husband', *qī* (妻) 'wife', *zǐ* (子) 'son', *nǔ* (女) 'daughter', *xiōng* (兄) 'elder brother', *dì* (弟) 'younger brother', *jiě* (姐) 'elder sister', *mèi* (妹) 'younger sister', *sǎo* (嫂) 'wife of elder brother', *xù* (婿) 'daugther's husband', *bó* (伯) 'father's elder brother', *gū* (姑) 'father's elder/younger sister', *shú* (叔) 'father's younger brother', *jiù* (舅) 'mother's elder/younger brother', *yí* (姨) 'mother's elder/younger sister', *sūn* (孫) 'son' son', *zhí* (姪) 'brother's son', and *shēng* (甥) 'sister's son'.

Also, there are several additional monosyllabic morphemes should be contained in this study for a comprehensive result, which are: *yé* (爺) 'father's father', *nǎi* (奶) 'father's mother', *bà* (爸) 'father', *mā* (媽) 'mother', *shěn* (嬸) 'wife of father's younger brother', *zhí* (侄) 'brother's son', *ér* (兒) 'son', *xí* (媳) 'son's wife', *gē* (哥)[9] 'elder brother', *jiě* (姊) 'elder sister'.

Moreover, the influence of Taiwan Southern Min on using generalized kinship terms in Taiwan Mandarin should also be noticed. In the research of Huang (1997), she had observed the code-mixing phenomenon of generalized Taiwanese kinship terms applied in Mandarin sentences. This phenomenon reveals that using generalized kinship terms of Taiwan Southern Min in Taiwan Mandarin might not be uncommon, and to research how generalized kinship terms of Taiwan Southern Min perform in Mandarin

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[9] The referent of *xiōng* is the same with *gē*. It is more often used in written language. Unlike the group of *jiě* (姊) and *jiě* (姐), *xiōng* and *gē* pronounced differently and only *gē* has a reduplicated form: *gēgē*. In the following discussion, *xiōng* and *gē* are categorized in the same group but differentiated if necessary.

context is worth our attention. With this consideration, we choose *āgōng* (阿公) 'father/mother's father', *āmà* (阿媽/阿嬤) 'father/mother's mother' (*āmà* (阿嬤) is a variation of *āmà* (阿媽)), *āpeh* (阿伯) 'father's elder brother', and *āyí* (阿姨) 'mother's elder/younger sister'[10], four well-known kinship terms of Taiwan Southern Min by native speakers of Taiwan Mandarin, as the targets for exploration (these kinship terms are adopted from the Dictionary of Commonly Used Words in Taiwan Southern Min (MOE 2011), slightly modified for the pinyin consistency in this study). All kinship terms we attempt to investigate are listed in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2 The Keywords List of Kinship Terms

Generations	Disyllabic Kinship Terms	Monosyllabic Kinship Terms
Older Generation- II	*zǔfù* (祖父), *yéyé* (爺爺), *zǔmǔ* (祖母), *nǎinǎi* (奶奶), *wàizǔfù* (外祖父), *wàigōng* (外公), *wàizǔmǔ* (外祖母), *wàipó* (外婆), *āgōng* (阿公), *āmà* (阿媽), *āmà* (阿嬤)	*yé* (爺), *nǎi* (奶)
Older Generation- I	*bófù* (伯父), *bóbó* (伯伯), *āpeh* (阿伯), *bómǔ* (伯母), *fùqīn* (父親), *bàbà* (爸爸), *mǔqīn* (母親), *māmā* (媽媽), *gūmā* (姑媽), *gūgū* (姑姑), *gūzhàng* (姑丈), *shúfù* (叔父), *shúshú* (叔叔), *shěnshěn* (嬸嬸), *yímā* (姨媽), *āyí* (阿姨), *yízhàng* (姨丈), *jiùjiù* (舅舅), *jiùmā* (舅媽)	*bó* (伯), *fù* (父), *bà* (爸), *mǔ* (母), *mā* (媽), *gū* (姑), *shú* (叔), *shěn* (嬸), *yí* (姨), *jiù* (舅)
Peer Generation	*gēgē* (哥哥), *sǎosǎo* (嫂嫂), *jiějiě* (姊姊), *jiějiě* (姐姐), *jiěfū* (姊夫), *dìdì* (弟弟), *dìxí* (弟媳), *mèimèi* (妹	*xiōng* (兄), *gē* (哥), *sǎo* (嫂), *jiě* (姊), *jiě* (姐), *dì* (弟), *mèi* (妹), *fū* (夫), *qī* (妻),

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[10] In this study, *yímā* and *āyí* are categorized in the same group but be differentiated if necessary. Both of Peng (2003) and Wei (2003) agree that in Han dynasty, *ā* (阿) has been used as a preceded part of some kinship terms.

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	妹), *mèixù* (妹婿), *biǎogē* (表哥), *biǎojiě* (表姐), *biǎodì* (表弟), *biǎomèi* (表妹), *tánggē* (堂哥), *tángjiě* (堂姊), *tángdì* (堂弟), *tángmèi* (堂妹)	
Younger Generation- I	*érzǐ* (兒子), *xífù* (媳婦), *nǔér* (女兒), *nǔxù* (女婿), *zhízǐ* (姪子), *zhízǐ* (侄子), *zhínǔ* (姪女), *zhínǔ* (侄女), *wàishēng* (外甥), *wàishēngnǔ* (外甥女)	*zǐ* (子), *ér* (兒), *xí* (媳), *nǔ* (女), *xù* (婿), *zhí* (姪), *zhí* (侄), *shēng* (甥)
Younger Generation- II	*sūnzǐ* (孫子), *sūnnǔ* (孫女), *wàisūn* (外孫), *wàisūnnǔ* (外孫女)	*sūn* (孫)

We have decided the generally-accepted kinship terms— both disyllabic and monosyllabic— and the next step is to collect language materials for further investigation and analyzation by extracting materials from corpora and news media.

3.2 Corpora

This work extracts linguistic expressions of kinship terms from two domestic corpora: the Academia Sinica Balanced Corpus of Modern Chinese (AS Corpus) and the PTT Corpus (established by the Graduate Institute of Linguistics, National Taiwan University). Each corpus consists of written (e.g, texts or news reports) and spoken (e.g., lectures) materials, and the AS Corpus contains more written materials than the PTT Corpus has; on the contrary, a large portion of the PTT Corpus consists of spoken-like materials.

3.2.1 The Academia Sinica Balanced Corpus of Modern Chinese

The texts of Academia Sinica Balanced Corpus of Modern Chinese (version 4.0) are collected from different areas, dated from 1981 to 2007, and classified according to

five criteria: genre, style, mode, topic, and source. There are 19,247 articles, 1,396,133 sentences, 11,245,330 word tokens in this corpus. The six topics of this corpus are art, life, literature, philosophy, science, and society, as shown in Table 3.3.
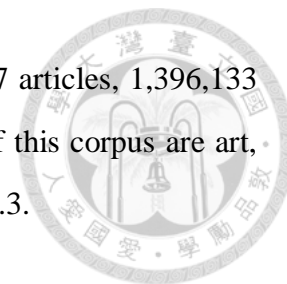
Table 3.3 The Topics of Academia Sinica Balanced Corpus of Modern Chinese

Topics	Articles	Percentage
Art	935	5%
Life	5,461	28%
Literature	2,525	13%
Philosophy	1,378	8%
Science	1,482	8%
Society	7,466	38%
Total	19,247	100%

3.2.2 The PTT Corpus

Established in 1995, the PTT (批踢踢) is a bulletin board system (BBS) based in Taiwan, which consists of more than 20,000 discussion boards, and over 1.5 million registered users. More than 10,000 articles are posted every day. It contains a massive amount of linguistic data that reflects the local socio-cultural phenomena. Compared with the AS Corpus, PTT Corpus comprises much more linguistic contents of casual and informal speech register. In this research, the data of kinship terms are extracted from 22 discussion boards: AllTogether, Beauty, Boy-Girl, ChungLi, FengYuan, Food, Gossiping, Hsinchu, I-Lan, iPhone, Joke, Kaohsiung, Keelung, Movie, Nantou, NBA, PH-sea, StupidClown, TaichungBun, Tainan, Taoyuan, and WomenTalk.

3.3 Media Materials

In addition to the corpora resources, we extract some language materials from news reports of Taiwanese news media as supplements, in case that some latest usages of kinship terms are not contained in the corpora, or that some corpus data is too brief

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and vague to interpret the usage of a specifiec kinship term. In such case, the context and details could be found in the original news reports. This kind of enhanced data collected from the following news media: Appledaily (蘋果日報), Chinatimes (中國時報), Ctitv (中天電視), ETtoday (ETtoday 新聞雲), Next Digital (壹傳媒), Next TV (壹電視), SETN (三立新聞網), The Liberty Times (自由時報), The News Lens (關鍵評論網), TVBS News (TVBS 新聞網), Udn TV (聯合影音網).

3.4 The Procedure of Data Collection

The procedure of data collection of this work is as follows. Firstly, searching a kinship term of the keywords list (Table 3.2) in each corpus, both in disyllabic and monosyllabic forms. The data of the AS Corpus is collected through the link of http://asbc.iis.sinica.edu.tw; the data of the PTT Corpus, including posts and comments, is collected through the link of http://lopen.linguistics.ntu.edu.tw/pttcorp/. For the limit of time and space, the search output for each term is limited to a maximum of 2,000 hits. The search window span of every piece of materials is maximum (that is, 25 words to the left and 25 words to the right for the AS Corpus; 20 words to the left and 20 words to the right for the PTT Corpus). Secondly, the results are analyzed one by one and retrieved if the usage of the kinship term is judged as a generalized usage in the context by comparing with its primary sense. Thirdly, if the kinship term in question is difficult to be classified as a generalized or a typical usage, we look for evidence from news media or other resources. The kinship term without any firm support of being a generalized usage will be excluded in the following analysis. The searching period for all keywords of the AS Corpus is from 1981 to 2007 and of the PTT Corpus is from 2008 to 2017 (1st January, 2008 to 31st December, 2017).

3.5 Interim Summary

This research adopts terms of the kinship system of the Appendix of the Revised Chinese Dictionary (MOE, 2015) and the core morpheme of Chinese kinship terms proposed by Lin (1982) for the generally-accepted disyllabic and monosyllabic kinship terms respectively, some alternative or additional forms and four kinship terms of

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Taiwan Southern Min are also included. By employing these kinship terms as keywords, we search them in the AS Corpus and PTT Corpus, to find out the written and spoken generalized usages of kinship terms in Taiwan Mandarin and Taiwan Southern Min, retrieving them for further analysis. If the contexts of the search results in the corpora are not clear enough, the data of news reports will be consulted.

In next two chapters, this thesis deals with the description, categorization, analysis, and discussion of collected data. Data description and categorization are handled in chapter 4, some primary analyses and discussions are also included; chapter 5 consists of the generalization process of kinship terms and its performance, including the elaboration of how the generalization works, the preference of usage of generalized kinship terms, and the cases of meaning change of generalized kinship term combination.

Chapter 4 Data Description and Categorization
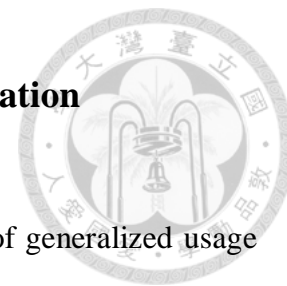
Through the procedure introduced in chapter 3, the raw data of generalized usage of kinship terms are collected. In this chapter, we proceed to analyze the data for further elaboration of the mechanism of the formation and application of generalized kinship terms in chapter 5. Following the dichotomy of syllabic numbers, the current work analyzes disyllabic kinship terms first and then the monosyllabic terms in section 4.1. The result shows that the performance of both kinds of kinship terms varies, even for those two kinship terms which refer to the identical meaning but belong to the separate syllabic group. In section 4.2, we further categorize five types of generalized kinship terms by their forms and meanings under each syllabic group, with some preliminary explanation.

4.1 The Distribution of Generalizable Kinship Terms

After comparing all the disyllabic kinship terms and monosyllabic kinship terms in our data, the patterns of generalizable disyllabic and monosyllabic kinship terms are diagramed in Figures 4.1 and 4.2; the corresponding descriptions for their distribution are provided in sections 4.1.1 and 4.1.2, respectively. We briefly introduce the generalizable kinship terms in section 4.1 for giving a sketch to readers, examples and explanations are arranged in section 4.2 and next chapter.

4.1.1 Disyllabic Kinship Terms

In the group of disyllabic kinship terms, *yéyé* (爺爺) 'father's father', *āgōng* (阿公) 'father/mother's father', *nǎinǎi* (奶奶) 'father's mother', *āmà* (阿媽) 'father/mother's mother', *āmà* (阿嬤) 'father/mother's mother', *bàbà* (爸爸) 'father', *māmā* (媽媽) 'mother', *bófù* (伯父) 'father's elder brother', *bóbó* (伯伯) 'father's elder brother', *āpeh* (阿伯) 'father's elder brother', *bómǔ* (伯母) 'wife of father's elder brother', *shúshú* (叔叔) 'father's younger brother', *yímā* (姨媽) 'mother's elder/younger sister', *āyí* (阿姨) 'mother's elder/younger sister', *gēgē* (哥哥) 'elder brother', *dìdì* (弟弟) 'younger

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brother', *jiějiě* (姊姊) 'elder sister', *jiějiě* (姐姐) 'elder sister', *mèimèi* (妹妹) 'younger sister', and *érzǐ* (兒子) 'son' can be generalized, which is a small portion of the whole disyllabic kinship terms. In other words, for native speakers of Taiwan Mandarin, most kinship terms are not chosen for generalization. The asymmetry of generalized kinship terms is shown in Fig. 4.1.

Fig. 4.1. The Distribution of Disyllabic Kinship Terms That Can Be Generalized

In Fig. 4.1, the capsule-shaped symbol stands for a spouse relationship. For example, *yéyé* is the male spouse of *nǎinǎi*, hence they are contained in a cylindrical symbol together; the dotted line between *yéyé* and *nǎinǎi* stands for the spousal relationship. The straight line stands for the kinship relation, and the white point means it is a node of kinship relation but is not generalized. Differing from *yéyé* and *nǎinǎi* which belong to the paternal side, *āgōng* and *āmà* in Taiwan Southern Min refer to

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'father/mother's father' and 'father/mother's mother' respectively, hence they are put on the position crossing the paternal/maternal boundary. Terms of the younger generation are without generalizability except for the term *érzǐ*. In our data, the only generalized case of *bófù* is used for a young man begs for money from a male stranger, the man is addressed as *bófù*: "有一個二十多歲的年輕人跑來攀談爸爸… 乾脆跟我爸爸要錢說：伯父… 我已經餓了好幾天沒錢吃飯了，可以給我一點錢嗎？ 'A young man in his twenties came and talked to my father…he simply asked my father to give him some money, "**Uncle**… I have nothing to buy any food and I am starving for several days, could you give some money?"' (Source: PTT)" Generally speaking, a kinship term is generalized to establish a closer relationship between the non-relative interlocutors. However, the use of *bófù* implies a farther mental distance than *bóbó*, that is, the rarely used form of address represents the speaker's attitude of showing his respect more than his closeness towards the hearer, even he already adopted a generalized kinship term in the conversation. His word selection might occur due to the begging behavior, which is shameful towards himself, and the result of his begging is dependent on the addressee's will. So, to behave respectfully is the best strategy for the younger man. The generalization of *yímā* is a metaphorical/idiomatic usage which is discussed in section 4.2, and thus is a specific situation of generalization.

Another important finding is that the generalized kinship terms of the older generation are more than the peer and younger generation. If we put *bàbà* and *māmā* aside, people tend to call non-relative men with paternal kinship terms of the older generation; but do not always address non-relative women with paternal kinship terms. There are three choices for addressing non-relative women: *nǎinǎi*, *bómǔ*, and *āyí* (*yímā* appears only once in the case of *dà-yímā* (大姨媽) 'big-mother's elder/younger sister' for the metaphorical/idiomatic usage, it is skipped here). The previous two terms are of the paternal side; the last one is of maternal. The number of their usages are also distinct: *āyí* is more predominant than the other two terms do. The unequal usage preferences of generalized kinship terms are further discussed in section 5.2.
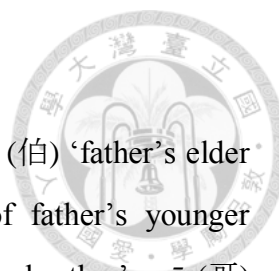
4.1.2 Monosyllabic Kinship Terms

In the group of monosyllabic kinship terms, *fù* (父) 'father', *bó* (伯) 'father's elder brother', *shú* (叔) 'father's younger brother', *shěn* (嬸) 'wife of father's younger brother', *yí* (姨) 'mother's elder/younger sister', *xiōng* (兄) 'elder brother', *gē* (哥) 'elder brother', *sǎo* (嫂) 'wife of elder brother', *dì* (弟) 'younger brother', *jiě* (姊) 'elder sister', *jiě* (姐) 'elder sister', and *mèi* (妹) 'younger sister' are candidates for generalization. All kinship terms of the younger generation cannot be generalized; still, non-generalized kinship terms are more than those that can be generalized. The asymmetry of generalization of kinship terms is shown in Fig. 4.2.
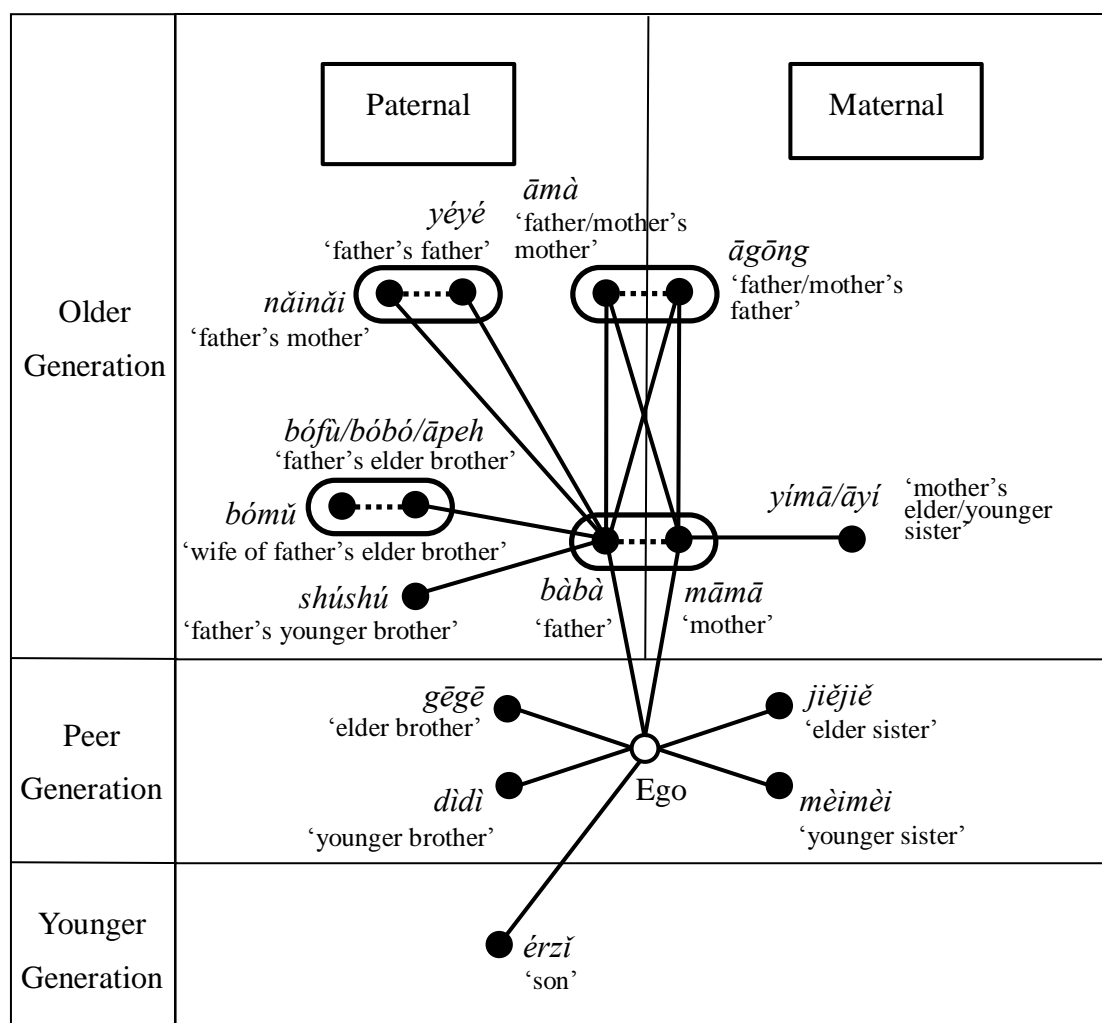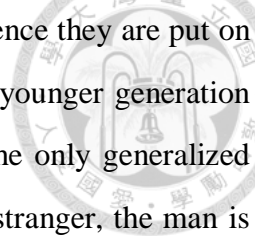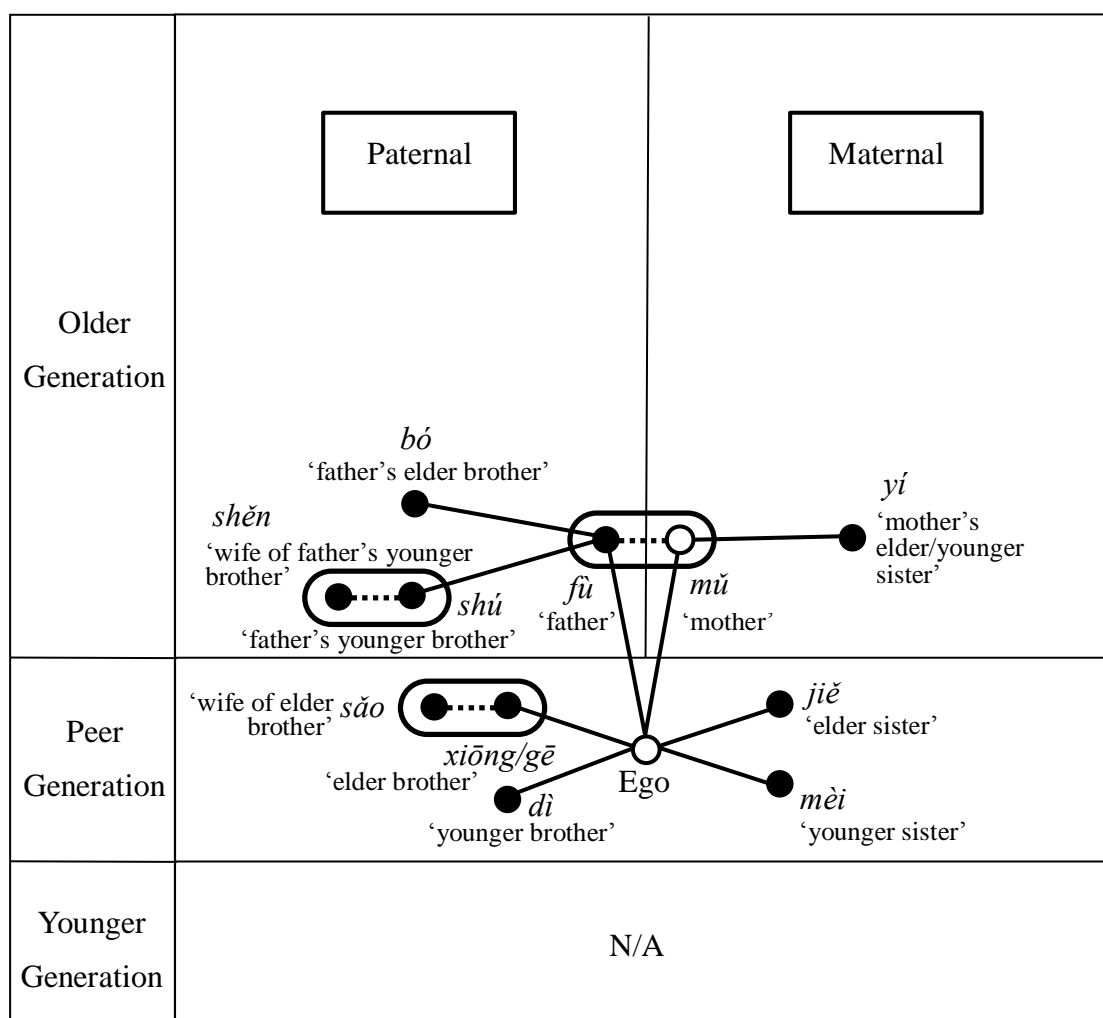

Fig. 4.2. The Distribution of Monosyllabic Kinship Terms That Can Be Generalized

The capsule-shaped symbol in Fig. 4.2 stands for a spouse relationship and the dotted line in the capsule stands for the spousal relationship. Moreover, the straight line

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stands for the kinship relation, and the white point means it is a node of kinship relation but not generalized, as we explained in section 4.1.1. The distributional differences between generalized disyllabic and monosyllabic kinship terms are that terms refer to father's parents, mother, and son are not generalized in monosyllabic group; kinship terms refer to wife of father's younger brother and wife of elder brother cannot be generalized in disyllabic, but become candidates of generalization in monosyllabic group. Meanwhile, the kinship term refers to wife of father's elder brother and the kinship terms of Taiwan Southern Min have no monosyllabic forms, let alone to be generalized in monosyllabic group. The number of the generalized disyllabic kinship terms (18 terms) is bigger than that of generalized monosyllabic kinship terms (11 terms).

The propositional meanings of *xiōng* and *gē* are the same for native speakers of Taiwan Mandarin, despite their distinct pronunciations, forms, and genres. Hence, they are discussed together in this study. *Jiě* (姊) and *jiě* (姐), though their senses are not all the same, they are interchangeable when both of them refer to the meaning of 'elder sister' (even more, they have the same pronunciation), so they are dealt with in the same way like *xiōng* and *gē*.

The number of generalized kinship terms of peer generation is dominant in the monosyllabic group; this phenomenon is distinct from the result of the disyllabic group. The mother's elder/younger sister is not the 'ruler' in the monosyllabic group anymore. Further discussion on their usage preferences is in section 5.2, Although Figures 4.1 and 4.2 show the overall patterns of generalization, the current study attempts to observe and analyze all data of generalized kinship terms from another perspective— their form-meaning pairings.

4.2 Categories of Generalized Kinship Terms

If we only discuss the distribution of generalized kinship terms, the knowledge we can get about them is still restricted. In these enormous generalized kinship terms, not every case is used in the same way. For example, *Lin Wang yéyé* (林旺爺爺) 'Grandfather Lin Wang' is an elephant instead of an old man like one's *yéyé*

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'grandfather'; *Fǎlālì jiějiě* (法拉利姐姐) 'Ferrari sister' may not be older than the speaker even if she is called *jiějiě* 'elder sister'. Therefore, it is necessary to deliberately classify generalized kinship terms in a more specific group to see through the mechanism of them. Firstly, we categorize generalized kinship terms by their forms into three groups: 'bare form' type, 'degree modifier as prefix' type, and 'modified by surname/name' type. Under each type there are two sub-groups. One is of disyllabic kinship terms, and the other is of monosyllabic. Complete examples of generalized kinship term are listed in Tables 4.1 to 4.6. Note that because of the limited space, only one example is selected for elaboration in each sub-group even though there is more than one generalized usage of the same kinship term. More real data of every generalized usage could be found in the appendix.

4.2.1 Bare Form

The bare form of generalized kinship terms refers to kinship terms used in an extensional way, but their forms do not change. That is, the terms of address are not used to call their relatives and these terms are without any preceded element at the same time. The disyllabic bare form is listed in Table 4.1. Examples of them are listed from (2) to (20).

Table 4.1 The Generalized Disyllabic Kinship Terms— Bare Form

Kinship Term	Bare Form
yéyé (爺爺) 'father's father'	*yéyé* (爺爺)
āgōng (阿公) 'father/mother's father'	*āgōng* (阿公)
nǎinǎi (奶奶) 'father's mother'	*nǎinǎi* (奶奶)
āmà (阿媽) 'father/mother's mother'	*āmà* (阿媽)
āmà (阿嬤) 'father/mother's mother'	*āmà* (阿嬤)
bàbà (爸爸) 'father'	N/A
māmā (媽媽) 'mother'	N/A
bófù (伯父) 'father's elder brother'	*bófù* (伯父)

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bóbó (伯伯) 'father's elder brother'	*bóbó* (伯伯)
āpeh (阿伯) 'father's elder brother'	*āpeh* (阿伯)
bómǔ (伯母) 'wife of father's elder brother'	*bómǔ* (伯母)
shúshú (叔叔) 'father's younger brother'	*shúshú* (叔叔)
yímā (姨媽) 'mother's elder/younger sister'	N/A
āyí (阿姨) 'mother's elder/younger sister'	*āyí* (阿姨)
gēgē (哥哥) 'elder brother'	*gēgē* (哥哥)
dìdì (弟弟) 'younger brother'	*dìdì* (弟弟)
jiějiě (姊姊) 'elder sister'	*jiějiě* (姊姊)
jiějiě (姐姐) 'elder sister'	*jiějiě* (姐姐)
mèimèi (妹妹) 'younger sister'	*mèimèi* (妹妹)
érzǐ (兒子) 'son'	N/A

(2) 在現場訪談過程中，附近年紀較大的**爺爺**奶奶，大都認為圓環有存在的必要…
(Source: AS)

*Zài xiàn-chǎng fǎng-tán guò-chéng zhōng, fù-jìn nián-jì jiào dà de **yéyé 'father's***
***father'** nǎinǎi, dà-dōu rèn-wéi yuán-huán yǒu cún-zài de bì-yào… (Source: AS)*

'During the on-site interview, many elderly **grandfathers** and grandmothers
nearby believe the necessity of traffic circle in road system…' (Source: AS)

(3) [安老]所內的老人也都很期待這些演出… 有些**阿公**阿媽還會呼朋引伴，四處嚷
嚷「來去看表演喔！」(Source: AS)

*[Ān-lǎo-]suǒ nèi de lǎo-rén yě dōu hěn qí-dài zhè xiē yěn-chū… yǒu xiē **āgōng***
***'father/mother's father'** āmā hái-huì hū-péng-yǐn-bàn, sì-chù-rǎng-rǎng "lái qù*
kàn biǎo-yěn wō!" (Source: AS)

'The elderly in the retirement home expect to see these shows with eagerness too;
some **grandfathers** and grandmothers even call up their associates and yell around
"Let's see the shows!"' (Source: AS)

(4) …李奶奶、王爺爺繼續每天在經營管理，沒有因為那一位爺爺**奶奶**的老去而改
變丁奶奶花園所展現的美麗與活力。(Source: AS)

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*...Li nǎinǎi, Wang yéyé jì-xù měi-tiān zài jīng-yíng guǎn-lǐ, méi-yǒu yīn-wéi nà yī wèi yéyé **nǎinǎi 'father's mother'** de lǎo-qù ér gǎi-biàn Ding nǎinǎi huā-yuán suǒ zhǎn-xiàn de měi-lì yǔ huó-lì. (Source: AS)*

'…Grandmother Li and Grandfather Wang continue to manage the business everyday, that aging of these grandfathers and **grandmothers** does not change the beauty and vitality of Grandmother Ting's garden'. (Source: AS)

(5) 日亞航為協助阿公**阿媽**及攜帶嬰幼兒的旅客辦理登機手續，特別設立「家屬服務」… (Source: AS)

*Rì-yà-háng wèi xié-zhù āgōng **āmà 'father/mother's mother'** jí xī-dài yīng-yòu-ér de lǚ-kè bàn-lǐ dēng-jī shǒu-xù, tè-bié shè-lì "jiā-shǔ fú-wù" ... (Source: AS)*

'In order to help grandfathers, **grandmothers**, and passengers who bring babies or young children with them to check in, the Japan Asia Airways provides the "Family Service" …' (Source: AS)

(6) 中信機構員工稱之為「**阿嬤**」的辜顏碧霞，和李登輝總統夫婦私交甚篤… (Source: AS)

*Zhōng-xìn jī-gòu yuán-gōng chēng zhī wéi "**āmà 'father/mother's mother'**" de Gu-Yen Bi-Xia, hé Lee Teng-Hui zǒng-tǒng fū-fù sī-jiāo-shèn-dǔ... (Source: AS)*

'Gu-Yen Bi-Xia, who is called "**grandmother**" by employees of the CTBC Group, has an amicable personal friendship with President Lee Teng-Hui and first lady…' (Source: AS)

(7) 有一個二十多歲的年輕人跑來攀談爸爸… 乾脆跟我爸爸要錢說：**伯父**… 我已經餓了好幾天沒錢吃飯了，可以給我一點錢嗎？(Source: PTT)

*Yǒu yī gè èr-shí duō suì de nián-qīng-rén pǎo lái pān-tán bàbà … gān-cuì gēn wǒ bàbà yào-qián shuō: **bófù 'father's elder brother'**… wǒ yǐ-jīng è le hǎo jǐ tiān méi qián chī-fàn le, kě-yǐ gěi wǒ yī diǎn qián ma? (Source: PTT)*

'A young man in his twenties came and talked to my father…he simply asked my father to give him some money, "**Uncle**… I have nothing to buy any food and I am starving for several days, could you give some money?"' (Source: PTT)

(8) 國會裡頭真熱鬧，叔叔**伯伯**練功夫，你一拳，我一腳… (Source: AS)
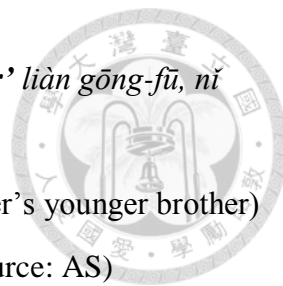
*Guó-huì lǐ-tóu zhēn rè-nào, shúshú **bóbó 'father's elder brother'** liàn gōng-fū, nǐ*

yī quán, wǒ yī jiǎo… (Source: AS)

'The Congress constantly shows live performance, uncles (father's younger brother)

and **uncles (father's elder brother)** fight the issues out…' (Source: AS)

(uncles refer to the members of parliament)

(9) 在玉春園內負責售票達七年之久的一位**阿伯**說，店裡經營的情況是一張票賣三
百元… (Source: AS)

*Zài Yu-Chun-Yuan nèi fù-zé shòu-piào dá qī nián zhī jiǔ de yī wèi **āpeh 'father's***
***elder brother'** shuō, diàn lǐ jīng-yíng de qíng-kuàng shì yī zhāng piào mài sān-bǎi*

yuán … (Source: AS)

'An **uncle** who sells tickets in Yu-Chun-Yuan for seven years says that the price of

a ticket is three hundred dollars…' (Source: AS)

(10) 河水既清澈又冰涼，河面上有好幾塊大石頭，是一些**伯母**們用來洗衣服的地
方。 (Source: AS)

Hé-shuǐ jì qīng-chè yòu bīng-liáng, hé-miàn shàng yǒu hǎo jǐ kuài dà shí-tóu, shì

*yī-xiē **bómǔ 'wife of father's elder brother'** men yòng-lái xǐ yī-fú de dì-fāng.*
(Source: AS)

'The river is clear and cold, with several large stones in it, which are used by some

aunts to wash clothes'. (Source: AS)

(11) …在小小生命裡，有許多不認識的**叔叔**、阿姨們，正默默的關懷著他們…
(Source: AS)

*… zài xiǎo-xiǎo shēng-mìng lǐ, yǒu xǔ-duō bù rèn-shí de **shúshú 'father's younger***
***brother'**, āyí men, zhèng mò-mò de guān-huái zhe tā-men… (Source: AS)*

'… For these fragile little lives, many nonacquaintance **uncles** and aunts will care

for them in low profile…' (Source: AS)

(12) 他常常以自己作為警惕，並且跟他們說：要好好唸書啊，不然像**叔叔**一樣，
變成魯蛇叔叔，就糟糕了。(稱呼自己) (Source: PTT)

Tā cháng-cháng yǐ zì-jǐ zuò-wéi jǐng-tì, bìng-qiě gēn tā-men shuō: yào hǎo-hǎo

*niàn-shū ā, bù-rán xiàng **shúshú 'father's younger brother'** yī-yàng, biàn-chéng*
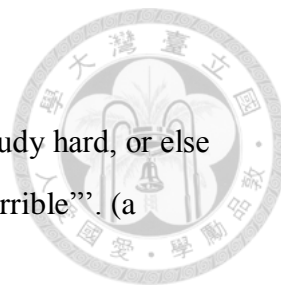
lǔ-shé shúshú, jiù zāo-gāo le. (Source: PTT)

'He often uses himself as an example to tell them, "You must study hard, or else you will become like **uncle** me, a loser uncle, and that will be terrible"'. (a self-addressing term) (Source: PTT)

(*lǔ-shé* is the pronunciation in Chinese for 'loser')

(13) 欸，我是你媽媽的好朋友啊！！你們應該叫我**阿姨**才對呀！！你們忘了？？ (Source: AS)

*Ě, wǒ shì nǐ māmā de hǎo péng-yǒu ā! Nǐ men yīng-gāi jiào wǒ **āyí 'mother's elder/younger sister'** cái duì ya! Nǐ men wàng le? (Source: AS)*

'Hey, I am your mother's good friend! You should call me **aunt**! Did you forget??' (Source: AS)

(14) 過了一會兒，大會又開始了，我看到來自新加坡的**哥哥**、姊姊們都唱得不錯。 (Source: AS)

*Guò le yī-huì-ér, dà-huì yòu kāi-shǐ le, wǒ kàn-dào lái zì xīn-jiā-pō de **gēgē 'elder brother'**, jiějiě men dōu chàng dé bù-cuò. (Source: AS)*

'In just a moment, the general assembly continues the process [of the activity] and I think **brothers** and sisters from Singapore are really good at singing'. (Source: AS)

(15) 早餐店阿姨叫我**弟弟**，[我] 都 30 歲了。(Source: PTT)

*Zǎo-cān-diàn āyí jiào wǒ **dìdì 'younger brother'**, [wǒ] dōu 30-suì le. (Source: PTT)*

'The woman in the breakfast shop calls me **little brother**, even though I am already 30 years old'. (Source: PTT)

(16) 謝佩霓和吳思遙兩位**姊姊**都蠻好看的… (Source: PTT)

*Xie Pei-Ni hé Wu Si-Yao liǎng wèi **jiějiě 'elder sister'** dōu mán hǎo-kàn de… (Source: PTT)*

'Both **sisters**, Xie Pei-Ni and Wu Si-Yao, are truly beautiful…' (Source: PTT)

(17) 女人訝異地看了我一眼，隨即笑了一下：「弟弟，我勸你還是不要插手喔，**姊姊**可是很危險的。」(稱呼自己) (Source: PTT)

*Nǚ-rén yà-yì-dì kàn le wǒ yī yǎn, suí-jí xiào le yī xià: "dìdì, wǒ quàn nǐ hái-shì bù-yào chā-shǒu wō, **jiějiě 'elder sister'** kě-shì hěn wēi-xiǎn de". (Source: PTT)*

'The woman surprisingly looks at me and smiles, "brother, I must suggest you not to get involved, because **sister** is a dangerous person"'. (a self-addressing term) (Source: PTT)

(18) 昨天下班前烏雲密布，快下雨了。兩位辦公室的**姐姐**在關心外面的天氣。 (Source: PTT)

*Zuó-tiān xià-bān qián wū-yún mì-bù, kuài xià-yǔ le. Liǎng wèi bàn-gōng-shì de **jiějiě 'elder sister'** zài guān-xīn wài-miàn de tiān-qì. (Source: PTT)*

'Before going off-work yesterday, it was clouded and going to rain. The two **sisters** in the office cared about the weather outside'. (Source: PTT)

(19) 有個女性朋友，在百貨公司看到一媽媽帶著很可愛的小女孩… 用手輕摸小女孩臉頰，並說：「**妹妹**，妳好可愛哦！」(Source: AS)

*Yǒu gè nǚ-xìng péng-yǒu, zài bǎi-huò gōng-sī kàn-dào yī māmā dài zhe hěn kě-ài de xiǎo nǚ-hái… yòng shǒu qīng mō xiǎo nǚ-hái liǎn-jiá, bìng shuō: "**mèimèi 'younger sister'**, nǎi hǎo kě-ài ò!" (Source: AS)*

'A female friend sees a mother with a cute daughter... and [she] touches the little girl's cheek gently, saying that, "**Little sister**, you are so cute!"' (Source: AS)

(20) 緊緊拉著哥哥的手，汪汪淚水扑瀝瀝地流。只恨**妹妹**我不能跟你一起走… (Source: AS)

*Jǐn-jǐn lā zhe gēgē de shǒu, wāng-wāng lèi-shuǐ pū-lì-lì-dì liú. Zhī hèn **mèimèi 'younger sister'** wǒ bù-néng gēn nǐ yī-qǐ zǒu... (Source: AS)*

'Tightly pulling on the brother's hand and tears are gently falling. It is such a regret that **sister**, I, cannot go with you...' (Source: AS)

Here we can observe that a kinship term could be generalized and used on other people and oneself, as the *shúshú* used in (11) and (12), the former is to address others 'uncle', the latter is to tag the speaker himself. The pair of (16) and (17) (the case of *jiějiě*) and the pair of (19) and (20) (the case of *mèimèi*) shows the same pattern.

Sometimes, a pronoun is closely followed a generalized kinship term and performs as an apposition. Such as in the case of the sentence (20), the speaker addresses herself *mèimèi* and emphasizes *wǒ* (我) 'I' right after that kinship term. From this evidence, we can tell that the generalization of kinship terms could be "bi-directional", that is, kinship terms can be generalized for referring to either oneself and someone else, a marker of self-referring action is attached occasionally. Although this issue is intriguing, at this moment we will not dive in-depth on this topic of the self-referring marker in this thesis.

Besides, there is a hint of the standard of choosing an appropriate kinship term for generalization: in example (15), the woman of breakfast shop calls the narrator *dìdì*, but the narrator thinks he himself is already 30 years old. In fact, we cannot be sure whether the woman is older than the addressee or not in the material, but for the person concerned, *dìdì* is not the best term for a 30-year-old male in the context. In other words, regardless of the age of the addresser, *dìdì* is not a suitable kinship term for generalization for a male of 30 years old, at least for some native speakers.

The monosyllabic bare form is listed in Table 4.2. Examples are listed from (21) to (29).

Table 4.2 The Generalized Monosyllabic Kinship Terms— Bare Form

Kinship Term	Bare Form
fù (父) 'father'	N/A
bó (伯) 'father's elder brother'	N/A
shú (叔) 'father's younger brother'	N/A
shěn (嬸) 'wife of father's younger brother'	N/A
yí (姨) 'mother's elder/younger sister'	N/A
xiōng (兄) 'elder brother'	*xiōng* (兄)
gē (哥) 'elder brother'	*gē* (哥)
sǎo (嫂) 'wife of elder brother'	N/A
dì (弟) 'younger brother'	*dì* (弟)

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jiě (姊) 'elder sister'	*jiě* (姊)
jiě (姐) 'elder sister'	*jiě* (姐)
mèi (妹) 'younger sister'	*mèi* (妹)
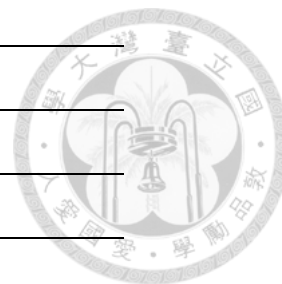
(21) 各方同志均紛紛集合，共赴國難，**兄**雖未奉電召，弟意宜自動回國…
(Source: AS)

*Gè-fāng tóng-zhì jūn fēn-fēn jí-hé, gòng fù guó-nán, **xiōng 'elder brother'** suī wèi fèng diàn-zhào, dì yì yí zì-dòng huí-guó… (Source: AS)*

'Comrades from all places have gathered together to deal with the national problem. Although **brother (elder)** is not summoned, brother (younger) (i.e., I) suggests [you] return to the country voluntarily...' (Source: AS)

(22) …也有人怒留言「**哥**，你有事嗎」、「好幼稚」… (Source: PTT)

*…yě yǒu rén nù liú-yán "**gē 'elder brother'**, nǐ yǒu shì ma", "hǎo yòu-zhì"… (Source: PTT)*

'… there are angry comments, "**Brother**, is there something wrong with you?", "That is so childish..."' (Source: PTT)

(23) …5. 經濟：高出平常人一點點，**哥**自認良好。6. 工作：出沒在龜山… (稱呼自己) (Source: PTT)

*… 5. jīng-jì: gāo chū píng-cháng-rén yī-diǎn-diǎn, **gē 'elder brother'** zì-rèn liáng-hǎo. 6. gong-zuò: chū-mò zài Guīshān… (Source: PTT)*

'… 5. Financial Status: better than average, **brother** (i.e., I) thinks it's good enough. 6. Job: [I] appear in Guishan…' (a self-addressing term) (Source: PTT)

(24) …大家午安，**弟**剛去理髮，來了個妹子幫我剪… (Source: PTT)

*… dà-jiā wǔ-ān, **dì 'younger brother'** gāng qù lǐ-fǎ, lái le gè mèi-zǐ bāng wǒ jiǎn… (Source: PTT)*

'… Good afternoon, everyone. **Brother** (i.e., I) just had my hair cut by a girl at a barbershop…' (Source: PTT)

(25) …我們都稱呼洪副院長為「**姊**」… (Source: PTT)

*…wǒ-men dōu chēng-hū Hong fù-yuàn-zhǎng wéi **jiě 'elder sister'**… (Source:*

'… We generally call the deputy president Hong "**sister**" …' (Source: PTT)

(26) …有意願想要一輩子走下去的人才寄信, **姊**現在沒有更多玻璃心再碎幾次了…

(稱呼自己) (Source: PTT)

…yǒu yì-yuàn xiǎng-yào yī-bèi-zǐ zǒu xià-qù de rén cái jì-xìn, ***jiě 'elder sister'***

xiàn-zài méi-yǒu gèng duō bō-lí-xīn zài suì jǐ cì le… (Source: PTT)

'… only the person with will to be together for life will send a letter, **sister** (i.e., I)
cannot suffer heart-breaking moments anymore...' (a self-addressing term) (Source:
PTT)

(27) …(翻攝自 Hebe 臉書) 網友搞笑認為「**姐**就算這樣也很美」… (Source: PTT)

*… (fān-shè zì Hebe liǎn-shū) wǎng-yǒu gǎo-xiào rèn-wéi "**jiě 'elder sister'***

jiù-suàn zhè-yàng yě hěn měi"… (Source: PTT)

'… (extracted from Hebe's Facebook) Netizens joke that "**sister** is even beautiful
like this" ...' (Source: PTT)

(28) …聊聊生活際遇，或是旅遊，**姐**非常熱愛旅遊，但只去過日本… (稱呼
自己) (Source: PTT)

…liáo-liáo shēng-huó jì-yù, huò-shì lǚ-yóu, ***jiě 'elder sister'*** *fēi-cháng rè-ài lǚ-yóu,*

dàn zhī qù guò Rìběn… (Source: PTT)

'… chat about life experiences, or travel things, **sister** (i.e., I) loves traveling, but [I]
have only been to Japan…' (a self-addressing term) (Source: PTT)

(29) …這家店進去可以認識到很多**妹**？(Source: PTT)

…zhè jiā diàn jìn-qù kě-yǐ rèn-shì dào hěn duō ***mèi 'younger sister'***? *(Source:*

PTT)

'… [will I] meet many **sisters** in this store?' (Source: PTT)

The bi-directional usage of generalized kinship term is also confirmed in the
monosyllabic group. For example, in (21) and (22), the speakers call the addressees
xiōng and *gē* respectively, but in example (23), *gē* is used for the narrator to address
himself. The pair of (25) and (26) and the pair of (27) and (28) are also similar cases of

bi-directional generalization. There is a tendency that the addresser could call her/himself *gē*, *jiě* (姊/姐), or *dì*, but s/he would not use the term *dì* for the addressee.
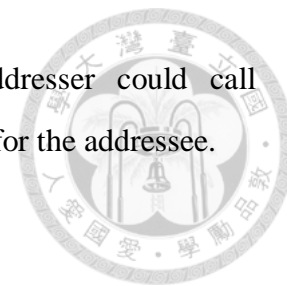
4.2.2   Degree Modifier as Prefix

The degree modifier prefix of generalized kinship terms refers to the generalized kinship terms that seamlessly follow three kinds of degree modifier: *lǎo* (老) 'old', *dà* (大) 'big', and *xiǎo* (小) 'little'. In some cases, an element (a name, a theme, etc.) can be added before this kind of structure and form a unit, such as *Ting xiǎo-dìdì* (丁小弟弟) 'little-younger brother Ting' and *tú-shū-guǎn dà-jiějiě* (圖書館大姊姊) 'library big-elder sister'. *Lǎo* is a word that describes biological status and generally used on older people; *dà* and *xiǎo* are originated from the meaning of depicting an object's size, and metaphorically used in the field of age (generally speaking, adults have bigger body size than children; older children have bigger body size than younger children, so *dà* is used for 'older' and *xiǎo* is used for 'younger') (Lakoff and Johnson 2003).

Meanwhile, in the domain of knowledge, *lǎo*, *dà*, and *xiǎo* also infer 'experienced', 'grand', and 'naïve', respectively. 'Big' also implies 'important' and an older age implies 'better', as the metaphor of 'important is big' and 'more is up' revealed (Lakoff and Johnson 1999); on the contrary, 'small' implies 'unimportant' or 'trivial'. By combining with generalized kinship terms, these modifiers usually used for showing respect, closeness, casualness (Ren 2004, Chen and Qu 2006, Cheng 2014), and sometimes contempt[11] (Wang and Ying 2005).

One may wonder since one's respect, closeness, politeness, etc. can be shown by simply addressing a generalized kinship term of the bare form, why a speaker needs to attach the degree modifier as a prefix? These prefixes seem redundant. We argue that the degree modifiers attached to the generalized kinship term act as meaning enhancements (i.e., to show more respect, closeness, casualness, or contempt) for the type of the bare form. For instance, the usage of generalized *lǎo-yéyé* (老爺爺) 'old-father's father' shows more respect than the usage of generalized *yéyé*. The usage

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[11] The interpretation of showing respect, closeness, casualness, or contempt depends on the context.

of generalized *xiǎo-mèimèi* (小妹妹) 'little-younger sister' shows more closeness than the usage of generalized *mèimèi*.

Although there are five exceptions of *lǎo-bó* (老伯) 'big-father's elder brother', *dà-shú* (大叔) 'big-father's younger brother', *dà-shěn* (大嬸) 'big-wife of father's younger brother', *lǎo-sǎo* (老嫂) 'old-wife of elder brother', and *dà-sǎo* (大嫂) 'big-wife of elder brother' that do not have corresponding kinship term of the bare form (which are *bó*, *shú*, *shěn*, and *sǎo* respectively), this assumption still works for most cases.

The disyllabic kinship terms of this type are listed in Table 4.3. Examples are listed from (30) to (44). There is a term *dà-yímā* only used for a metaphorical/idiomatic usage, which is discussed in 4.2.5 and skipped here. Both *xiǎo-dìdì* (小弟弟) 'little-younger brother' and *xiǎo-mèimèi* have other meanings for metaphorical/idiomatic usage; these meanings are also discussed in section 4.2.5.

Table 4.3 The Generalized Disyllabic Kinship Terms— Degree Modifier as Prefix

Kinship Term	Degree Modifier-Kinship Terms
yéyé (爺爺) 'father's father'	*lǎo-yéyé* (老爺爺)
āgōng (阿公) 'father/mother's father'	*lǎo-āgōng* (老阿公)
nǎinǎi (奶奶) 'father's mother'	*lǎo-nǎinǎi* (老奶奶)
āmà (阿媽) 'father/mother's mother'	*lǎo-āmà* (老阿媽)
āmà (阿嬤) 'father/mother's mother'	*lǎo-āmà* (老阿嬤)
bàbà (爸爸) 'father'	N/A
māmā (媽媽) 'mother'	N/A
bófù (伯父) 'father's elder brother'	N/A
bóbó (伯伯) 'father's elder brother'	*lǎo-bóbó* (老伯伯)
āpeh (阿伯) 'father's elder brother'	*lǎo-āpeh* (老阿伯)
bómǔ (伯母) 'wife of father's elder brother'	N/A
shúshú (叔叔) 'father's younger brother'	N/A
yímā (姨媽) 'mother's elder/younger sister'	N/A

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āyí (阿姨) 'mother's elder/younger sister'	N/A
gēgē (哥哥) 'elder brother'	*lǎo-gēgē* (老哥哥), *dà-gēgē* (大哥哥)
dìdì (弟弟) 'younger brother'	*xiǎo-dìdì* (小弟弟)
jiějiě (姊姊) 'elder sister'	*dà-jiějiě* (大姊姊)
jiějiě (姐姐) 'elder sister'	*dà-jiějiě* (大姐姐)
mèimèi (妹妹) 'younger sister'	*xiǎo-mèimèi* (小妹妹)
érzǐ (兒子) 'son'	N/A

(30) … 漸漸地他們成了忘年之交，但是到了秋天，**老爺爺**卻真的離開了他們。
(Source: AS)

… jiàn-jiàn-dì tā-men chéng le wàng-nián-zhī-jiāo, dàn-shì dào le qiū-tiān,

lǎo-yéyé 'old-father's father' *què zhēn-de lí-kāi le tā-men. (Source: AS)*

'… Gradually, they have become friends beyond age barriers, but the
old-grandfather really left them in the fall'. (Source: AS)

(31) [火]車上永遠會有昏昏欲睡的老婦人或**老阿公**，或者有形成強烈對比大聲嚷嚷
聊天的中年婦女們… (Source: AS)

*[Huǒ] chē shàng yǒng-yuǎn huì yǒu hūn-hūn-yù-shuè de lǎo fù-rén huò **lǎo-āgōng***

'old-father/mother's father', *huò-zhě yǒu xíng-chéng qiáng-liè duì-bǐ*

dà-shēng-rǎng-rǎng liáo-tiān de zhōng-nián fù-nǚ men… (Source: AS)

'On the train, there are always sleepy old women and **old-grandfathers**, or
middle-aged women with shouts, who contrast with those sleepy people sharply…'
(Source: AS)

(32) **老奶奶**很生氣的說：「馬上放了牠們，否則牠們如果找不到媽媽會...」(Source:
PTT)

Lǎo-nǎinǎi 'old-father's mother' *hěn shēng-qì de shuō: "mǎ-shàng fàng le tā-men,*

fǒu-zé tā-men rú-guǒ zhǎo bù dào māmā huì..". (Source: PTT)

'The **old-grandmother** was very angry and said, "Let them go immediately.
Otherwise, they cannot find their mother..."' (Source: PTT)

(33) **老阿媽**的看法是，好端端的，幹麼去「自找麻煩」？(Source: AS)

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Lǎo-āmà *'old-father/mother's mother' de kàn-fǎ shì, hǎo-duān-duān de, gàn me*

qù "zì-zhǎo-má-fán"? (Source: AS)

'The **old-grandmother** does not think that someone should invite troubles when

everything is all right'. (Source: AS)

(34) … 在外打拼的部落民眾看到**老阿嬤**的照片，都感到相當親切… (Source: AS)

*… zài-wài dǎ-pīn de bù-luò mín-zhòng kàn-dào **lǎo-āmà** 'old-father/mother's*

mother' *de zhào-piàn, dōu gǎn-dào xiāng-dāng qīn-qiē... (Source: AS)*

'… whlie seeing the photo of the **old-grandmother**, members who work ouside

the tribe all feel familiar…' (Source: AS)

(35) 有一位**老伯伯**說：連這麼小的孩子，都懂得愛國。我們的國家一定強。 (Source:

AS)

*Yǒu yī wèi **lǎo-bóbó** 'old-father's elder brother' shuō: "lián zhè-me xiǎo de hái-zǐ,*

dōu dǒng-dé ài-guó. Wǒ-men de guó-jiā yī-dìng qiáng". (Source: AS)

'An **old-uncle** said, "[Even] kids so young know to love our country, our country

will definitely be a strong nation"'. (Source: AS)

(36) … 以前這附近有一個**老阿伯**到石獅山上去撿柴火，一去不回… (Source: AS)

*… yǐ-qián zhè fù-jìn yǒu yī gè **lǎo-āpeh** 'old-father's elder brother' dào*

shí-shī-shān shàng qù jiǎn chái-huǒ, yī qù bù huí... (Source: AS)

'… in the past, there was an **old-uncle** lives nearby, he went to the Stone Lion

Mountain for collecting firewood but never came back…' (Source: AS)

(37) … 拍拍他肩膀，只要他認他這**老哥哥**，他郭新沂一定盡力：你還不要小看我…

(稱呼自己) (Source: AS)

*… pāi-pāi tā jiān-bǎng, zhī-yào tā rèn tā zhè **lǎo-gēgē** 'old-elder brother', tā Guo*

Xin-Yí yī-dìng jìn-lì: "nǐ hái bù-yào xiǎo-kàn wǒ…" (Source: AS)

'… [he] pats on his shoulder, as long as he recognizes him as **old-brother**, he, Guo

Xin-Yí, will try his best, "You must not underestimate me..."' (a self-addressing

term) (Source: AS)

(38) 回想起來，他總是像個**大哥哥**一樣聽她說許多的傻話，從來不急著去指正她…
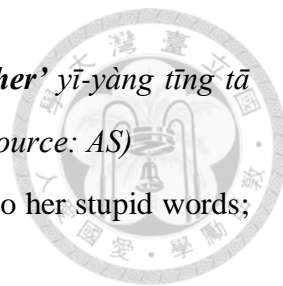
(Source: AS)

*Huí-xiǎng qǐ-lái, tā zǒng-shì xiàng gè **dà-gēgē 'big-elder brother'** yī-yàng tīng tā shuō xǔ-duō de shǎ-huà, cóng-lái bù jí-zhe qù zhǐ-zhèng tā... (Source: AS)*

'When I think back, he is always like a **big-brother**, listening to her stupid words; yet, never rush to correct her...' (Source: AS)

(39) … 看到那一群群剛入學不久的**小弟弟**、小妹妹們稚氣未脫的樣子，可愛、天真的小臉旦… (Source: AS)

*… kàn dào nà yī-qún-qún gāng rù-xué bù-jiǔ de **xiǎo-dìdì 'little-younger brother'**, xiǎo-mèimèi men zhì-qì-wèi-tuō de yàng-zǐ, kě-ài, tiān-zhēn de xiǎo liǎn-dàn... (Source: AS)*

'… looking at those **little-brothers** and little-sisters who just start their school life, their childish look, and the cute and naive faces...' (Source: AS)

(40) 敝人在下**小弟弟**我看不懂… (Source: PTT)

*Bì-rén zài-xià **xiǎo-dìdì 'little-younger brother'** wǒ kàn bù-dǒng... (Source: PTT)*

'Humble me, the **little-brother**, I do not understand it...' (Source: PTT)

(41) 我們看到學校裡的**大姊姊**、大哥哥們，在烈陽下排練舞蹈… (Source: AS)

*Wǒ-men kàn dào xué-xiào lǐ de **dà-jiějiě 'big-elder sister'**, dà-gēgē men, zài liè-yáng xià pái-liàn wǔ-dǎo… (Source: AS)*

'We saw those **big-sisters** and big-brothers rehearsing the dance under intense sun in the school...' (Source: AS)

(42) … 這首甜蜜之旅是厲曼婷跟黃儀所合作的，一個是**大姐姐**，一個是小弟弟。 (Source: AS)

*… zhè shǒu tián-mì zhī lǚ shì Li Man-Ting gēn Huang, Yi suǒ hé-zuò de, yī gè shì **dà-jiějiě 'big-elder sister'**, yī gè shì xiǎo-dìdì (Source: AS)*

'... this song, "Sweet Journey", is composed by Li Man-Ting and Huang, Yi; for one is a **big-sister** and the other a little-brother'. (Source: AS)

(43) 像剛剛第一位**小妹妹**很可愛，她講的話也蠻有道理… (Source: AS)

*Xiàng gāng-gāng dì yī wèi **xiǎo-mèimèi 'little-younger sister'** hěn kě-ài, tā jiǎng de huà yě mán yǒu dào-lǐ... (Source: AS)*

'The first **little-sister** is very cute, what she said is quite reasonable, too…'

(Source: AS)

(44) … 那首民歌也就響起在許多村口、路邊：哥哥你走西口，**小妹妹**我實在難留。

(Source: AS)

… nà shǒu mín-gē yě jiù xiǎng-qǐ zài xǔ-duō cūn-kǒu, lù-biān: "gēgē nǐ zǒu xī-kǒu,
xiǎo-mèimèi 'little-younger sister' *wǒ shí-zài nán liú". (Source: AS)*

'... the folk song can be heard everywhere like at the entrance of many villages and
roadsides: "Brother, as you go West, the **little-sister**, I, can hardly make you stay"'.

(Source: AS)

The bi-directional usage still can be found in this type of generalized kinship terms,
and the self-referring pronoun *wǒ* is also observed in example (44).

This type of monosyllabic terms is listed in Table 4.4. Examples are listed from (45)
to (59).

Table 4.4 The Generalized Monosyllabic Kinship Terms— Degree Modifier as Prefix

Kinship Term	Degree Modifier-Kinship Terms
fù (父) 'father'	N/A
bó (伯) 'father's elder brother'	*lǎo-bó* (老伯)
shú (叔) 'father's younger brother'	*dà-shú* (大叔)
shěn (嬸) 'wife of father's younger brother'	*dà-shěn* (大嬸)
yí (姨) 'mother's elder/younger sister'	N/A
xiōng (兄) 'elder brother'	*lǎo-xiōng* (老兄)
gē (哥) 'elder brother'	*lǎo-gē* (老哥), *dà-gē* (大哥)
sǎo (嫂) 'wife of elder brother'	*lǎo-sǎo* (老嫂), *dà-sǎo* (大嫂)
dì (弟) 'younger brother'	*lǎo-dì* (老弟), *xiǎo-dì* (小弟)
jiě (姊) 'elder sister'	*dà-jiě* (大姊)
jiě (姐) 'elder sister'	*dà-jiě* (大姐)
mèi (妹) 'younger sister'	*xiǎo-mèi* (小妹)

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(45) … 他車行至山區，遇到一位佝僂著背的老農，他下車與這位**老伯**親切的攀談… (Source: AS)

*… tā chē xíng zhì shān-qū, yù-dào yī wèi kòu-lóu zhe bèi de lǎo-nóng, tā xià chē yǔ zhè wèi **lǎo-bó** 'old-father's elder brother' qīn-qiē de pān-tán… (Source: AS)*

'... as he drove in the mountains, he met an elderly farmer with abnormal shape of his back, and he got off the car to have a friendly chat with this **old-uncle**...' (Source: AS)

(46) 小弟在超商打工的時候，有一位住附近的**大叔**，約 30 歲，平常都買七星的菸… (Source: PTT)

*Xiǎo-dì zài chāo-shāng dǎ-gōng de shí-hòu, yǒu yī wèi zhù fù-jìn de **dà-shú** 'big-father's younger brother', yuē 30 suì, píng-cháng dōu mǎi qī-xīng de yān… (Source: PTT)*

'When little-brother (i.e., I) works at the convenient store, there is a **big-uncle** lives nearby who is around 30 years old, always buys cigarettes of brand "Seven Stars" ...' (Source: PTT)

(47) 今天心血來潮買個烤香腸，等待的同時，一位**大嬸**湊了過來。大嬸：老闆，3 根[香腸]100[元]可以嗎… (Source: PTT)

*Jīn-tiān xīn-xuè-lái-cháo mǎi gè kǎo-xiāng-cháng, děng-dài de tóng-shí, yī wèi **dà-shěn** 'big-wife of father's younger brother' còu le guò-lái. **Dà-shěn** 'big-wife of father's younger brother': lǎo-pǎn, 3 gēn [xiāng cháng]100 [yuán] kě-yǐ ma… (Source: PTT)*

'Today, I bought a grilled sausage on a whim, and while waiting, a **big-aunt** came over. **Big-aunt**: "Boss, will you sell three sausages for 100 dollars…"' (Source: PTT)

(48) … 全場為巴塞慶祝、歡呼，這位**老兄**卻發生樂極生悲的慘案… (Source: PTT)

*... quán-chǎng wéi bā-sāi qìng-zhù, huān-hū, zhè wèi **lǎo-xiōng** 'old-elder brother' què fā-shēng lè-jí-shēng-bēi de cǎn-àn... (Source: PTT)*

'… everyone celebrates and cheers for Futbol Club Barcelona; yet, this **old-brother**, with great joy, begets sorrow…' (Source: PTT)

(49) … 老闆似乎感覺到我很有興趣, 便問了我…: **老哥**, 你女朋友喜歡那個顏色… (Source: PTT)

*… lǎo-pǎn sì-hū gǎn-jué dào wǒ hěn yǒuxìng-qù, biàn wèn le wǒ…: **lǎo-gē 'old-elder brother'**, nǐ nǚ-péng-yǒu xǐ-huān nà gè yán-sè… (Source: PTT)*

'… the boss seems to notice my interest in it and asks me…, "**Old-brother**, which color does your girlfriend like…"' (Source: PTT)

(50) … 雖然窮困不堪, 一身襤褸, 那些人還都很信服他, 尊他為**大哥**。 (Source: AS)

*… suī-rán qióng-kùn bù-kān, yī-shēn lán-lǚ, nà xiē rén hái dōu hěn xìn-fú tā, zūn tā wéi **dà-gē 'big-elder brother'**. (Source: AS)*

'... although poor to have barely clothing to cover, those people still believe in him and respect him as **big-brother**'. (Source: AS)

(51) … 因拒絕日兵乘車被刺, **老嫂**幼女遭日軍槍殺的新聞… (Source: AS)

*… yīn jù-jué rì-bīng chéng-chē bèi cì, **lǎo-sǎo 'old-wife of elder brother'** yòu-nǚ zāo rì-jūn qiāng-shā de xīn-wén… (Source: AS)*

'... the news of [people] killed by Japanese soldiers because [they] refused soldiers to get on the vehicle; and of the **old-sister-in-law** and the young daughter were shot by Japanese soldiers...' (Source: AS)

(52) 有位一起練氣功的**大嫂**告知假楊梅子可治失眠症, 問我知不知道什麼叫做假楊梅子… (Source: AS)

*Yǒu wèi yī-qǐ liàn qì-gōng de **dà-sǎo 'big-wife of elder brother'** gào-zhī jiǎ-yáng-méi-zǐ kě zhì shī-mián zhèng, wèn wǒ zhī-bù-zhī-dào shé-me jiào zuò jiǎ-yáng-méi-zǐ… (Source: AS)*

'A **big-sister-in-law** who practices Qigong together told me that paper mulberry can treat insomnia, and [she] asks me whether I know what is paper mulberry...' (Source: AS)

(53) … 忽然有一個陌生的年輕人來到船上。老許招呼他說∶… 貴姓？**老弟**, 你不住在本鄉吧？ (Source: AS)
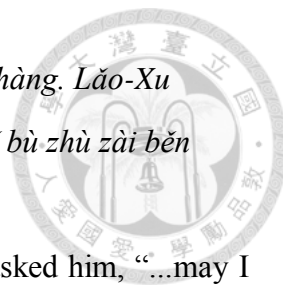
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*... hū-rán yǒu yī gè mò-shēng de nián-qīng-rén lái-dào chuán-shàng. Lǎo-Xu zhāo-hū tā shuō: ... Guì xìng? **Lǎo-dì 'old-younger brother'**, nǐ bù zhù zài běn xiāng ba? (Source: AS)*

'... suddenly, a young stranger came aboard the boat. Mr. Xu asked him, "...may I have your name? **Old-brother**, you are not from this township, right?' (Source: AS)

(54) … 完成偽卡製作後，再交由俗稱「車手」的**小弟**，前往各縣市特約商家盜刷消費… (Source: AS)

*… wán-chéng wěi-kǎ zhì-zuò hòu, zài jiāo yóu sú-chēng "chē-shǒu" de **xiǎo-dì 'little-younger brother'**, qián-wǎng gè xiàn-shì tè-yuē shāng-jiā dào-shuā xiāo-fèi… (Source: AS)*

'... after making fake cards, they are given to **little-brother**, known as "cash mule", to commit fraud in various local stores...' (Source: AS)

(55) **小弟**在這跟大家介紹這味祖傳的好藥百草丸。(稱呼自己) (Source: AS)

***Xiǎo-dì 'little-younger brother'** zài zhè gēn dà-jiā jiè-shào zhè wèi zǔ-chuán de hǎo-yào bǎi-cǎo-wán. (Source: AS)*

'**Little-brother** (i.e., I) would like to introduce this good medicine that has been passed down for generations to everyone- the Hundred-herbs pill'. (a self-addressing term) (Source: AS)

(56) 日本松下公司也有一種大哥、**大姊**制度，對於新進的男女作業員，公司找了一些資深的組長… (Source: AS)

*Rìběn sōng-xià gōng-sī yě yǒu yī-zhǒng dà-gē, **dà-jiě 'big-elder sister'** zhì-dù, duì-yú xīn-jìn de nán-nǚ zuò-yè-yuán, gōng-sī zhǎo le yī-xiē zī-shēn de zǔ-zhǎng… (Source: AS)*

'The Japanese company- Panasonic- has also a system of big-brother and **big-sister** for new male and female operators, senior group leaders are assigned to...' (Source: AS)

(57) … 麻煩請有錄到的大哥**大姐**幫忙備份一下，再與我們聯絡… (Source: PTT)

*… má-fán qǐng yǒu lù dào de dà-gē **dà-jiě 'big-elder sister'** bāng-máng bèi-fèn*

yī-xià, zài yǔ wǒ-men lián-luò… (Source: PTT)

'... for big-brothers and **big-sisters** who have recorded it, please back it up and contact us...' (Source: PTT)

(58) … 在其他路線上義務發書的**小妹**之一是李元晶，她想必和我一樣挫折… (Source: AS)

*… zài qí-tā lù-xiàn shàng yì-wù fā shū de **xiǎo-mèi 'little-younger sister'** zhī-yī shì Li Yuan-Jīng, tā xiǎng-bì hé wǒ yī-yàng cuò zhé… (Source: AS)*

'… Li Yuan-Jīng is one of the **little-sisters** who are obliged to distribute books on other routes, I think she must be as frustrated as I am…' (Source: AS)

(59) … //你要買票啊！！//不好意思喔！**小妹**家境貧寒… (稱呼自己) (Source: AS)

*… //Nǐ yào mǎi piào ā !!//Bù-hǎo-yì-sī wō! **Xiǎo-mèi 'little-younger sister'** jiā-jìng pín-hán… (Source: AS)*

'… //You must buy the ticket!!// Sorry! **Little-sister** (i.e., I) is very poor…' (a self-addressing term) (Source: AS)

The bi-directional usage is also observed in the monosyllabic group of degree word precedes type. Again, the criterion of deciding an appropriate kinship term for generalization appears in example (46), the narrator says there is a *dà-shú* who is around 30 years old. Comparing the inappropriate (implied by the addressee) use of *dìdì* in example (15), *dà-shú* seems to be an acceptable kinship term for a male of around 30.

There are two usages of *lǎo-mèi* (老妹) 'old-younger sister' in 'metonymic theme preceded' type and 'metaphorical/idiomatic usage' tpye respectively, the metaphorical/idiomatic usage of *lǎo-mèi* is discussed in section 4.2.5.

4.2.3   Modified by Surname/Name

The third type of generalized kinship terms is the 'modified by surname or name' type: the kinship term always follows a name, no matter it is a full name, a given name, a family name, a family name of male spouse, a translated name, a syllable of name, an account name used on the internet, or the abbreviation of a name. The disyllabic kinship

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terms of this type are listed in Table 4.5. Examples are listed from (60) to (77).

Table 4.5 The Generalized Disyllabic Kinship Terms— Modified by Surname/Name

Kinship Term	Surname/Name-Kinship Terms
yéyé (爺爺) 'father's father'	*Wang yéyé*（王爺爺），*Wu yéyé*（吳爺爺），*Mao yéyé*（毛爺爺），*Li yéyé*（李爺爺），*Zhang yéyé*（張爺爺），*Xu yéyé*（徐爺爺），*Ji yéyé*（計爺爺），*Jin yéyé*（金爺爺），*Lien yéyé*（連爺爺），*Wu Jin-Huai yéyé*（吳晉淮爺爺），*Fei'erbaha yéyé*（費爾巴哈爺爺），*Wang, Pu-Chen*（王蒲臣老爺爺）
āgōng (阿公) 'father/mother's father'	*Gao āgōng*（高阿公），*Wang Pu-Chen āgōng*（王蒲臣阿公）
nǎinǎi (奶奶) 'father's mother'	*Ting nǎinǎi*（丁奶奶），*Zhang nǎinǎi*（張奶奶），*Li nǎinǎi*（李奶奶），*Wang nǎinǎi*（王奶奶），*Lai nǎinǎi*（賴奶奶），*Zhou nǎinǎi*（周奶奶），*Lien nǎinǎi*（連奶奶），*Bing-Xin nǎinǎi*（冰心奶奶）
āmà (阿媽) 'father/mother's mother'	*Chun-Cui āmà*（純粹阿媽），*Xue-Zhu āmà*（雪珠阿媽），*Yang Rui-Zhong āmà*（楊瑞鐘阿媽）
āmà (阿嬤) 'father/mother's mother'	*Zhu āmà*（朱阿嬤），*Zhu Feng-Min āmà*（朱馮敏阿嬤），*Qiu You-Lian lǎo-āmà*（邱有蓮老阿嬤）
bàbà (爸爸) 'father'	*Zhou bàbà*（周爸爸），*Huang bàbà*（黃爸爸），*Liu bàbà*（柳爸爸），*Hu bàbà*（胡爸爸），*Jian bàbà*（簡爸爸），*Zeng bàbà*（曾爸爸），*Gao bàbà*（高爸爸），*Sun bàbà*（孫爸爸），*Sang bàbà*（桑爸爸），*Zhang bàbà*（張爸爸），*Shao bàbà*（邵爸爸），*Wang bàbà*（王爸爸），*Chiang bàbà*（蔣爸爸），*He bàbà*（賀爸爸），*Zhu bàbà*（朱爸爸），*Gu bàbà*（古爸爸）

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māmā (媽媽) 'mother'	*He māmā*（何媽媽）, *Yen māmā*（顏媽媽）, *You māmā*（游媽媽）, *Wang māmā*（王媽媽）, *Ge māmā*（葛媽媽）, *Zhong māmā*（鍾媽媽）, *Huang māmā*（黃媽媽）, *Tang māmā*（唐媽媽）, *Wu māmā*（武媽媽）, *Zhang māmā*（張媽媽）, *Jiang māmā*（姜媽媽）, *Li māmā*（李媽媽）, *Su māmā*（蘇媽媽）, *Yi māmā*（易媽媽）, *Lin māmā*（林媽媽）, *Liao māmā*（廖媽媽）, *Gao māmā*（高媽媽）, *Guo māmā*（郭媽媽）, *Hong māmā*（洪媽媽）, *Duan māmā*（段媽媽）, *Pang māmā*（龐媽媽）, *Ke māmā*（柯媽媽）, *Ma māmā*（馬媽媽）, *Lu māmā*（呂媽媽）, *Yuan māmā*（袁媽媽）, *Fan māmā*（范媽媽）, *Han māmā*（韓媽媽）, *Chen māmā*（陳媽媽）, *Ji māmā*（紀媽媽）, *Dou māmā*（竇媽媽）, *Liu māmā*（劉媽媽）, *Xu māmā*（許媽媽）
bófù (伯父) 'father's elder brother'	N/A
bóbó (伯伯) 'father's elder brother'	*Qian bóbó*（錢伯伯）, *Wang bóbó*（王伯伯）, *Gao bóbó*（高伯伯）, *Zhang bóbó*（張伯伯）, *Li bóbó*（李伯伯）, *Lin bóbó*（林伯伯）, *Ting bóbó*（丁伯伯）, *Zhu bóbó*（朱伯伯）, *Xu bóbó*（徐伯伯）, *Hua bóbó*（華伯伯）, *Hu bóbó*（胡伯伯）, *Jiang bóbó*（蔣伯伯）, *Huang bóbó*（黃伯伯）, *Yen bóbó*（嚴伯伯）, *Su bóbó*（蘇伯伯）, *Zhao bóbó*（趙伯伯）, *Zheng bóbó*（鄭伯伯）, *Huang An bóbó*（黃安伯伯）, *Suluke bóbó*（蘇魯克伯伯）, *Liu Ming-Qi bóbó*（劉鳴岐伯伯）, *Gao Zhi-Ping*（高治平伯伯）
āpeh (阿伯) 'father's elder brother'	*Ko Wen-Je āpeh* (柯文哲阿伯)
bómǔ (伯母) 'wife of father's elder brother'	*Chen bómǔ*（陳伯母）, *Yuan bómǔ*（袁伯母）, *Zhang bómǔ*（張伯母）, *Wu bómǔ*（吳伯母）, *Gao bómǔ*（高伯

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	母）
shúshú (叔叔) 'father's younger brother'	*Zhang shúshú*（張叔叔），*Huang shúshú*（黃叔叔），*Zhao shúshú*（趙叔叔），*Wang shúshú*（王叔叔），*Chen shúshú*（陳叔叔），*Xie shúshú*（謝叔叔），*He shúshú*（賀叔叔），*Li shúshú*（李叔叔），*Zheng shúshú*（鄭叔叔），*Xu shúshú*（許叔叔），*Xu Bing-Xuan shúshú*（許炳泫叔叔），*Liu shúshú*（劉叔叔），*Liu Yen-Ming shúshú*（劉燕明叔叔），*Sun Yueh shúshú*（孫越叔叔），*Ching-Kuo shúshú*（經國叔叔）
yímā (姨媽) 'mother's elder/younger sister'	N/A
āyí (阿姨) 'mother's elder/younger sister'	*Hu āyí*（胡阿姨），*Su āyí*（蘇阿姨），*Feng āyí*（馮阿姨），*Li āyí*（李阿姨），*Xie āyí*（解阿姨），*Xu āyí*（許阿姨），*Lei āyí*（雷阿姨），*Wen āyí*（溫阿姨），*Chen āyí*（陳阿姨），*Wang āyí*（王阿姨），*Zhong āyí*（鍾阿姨），*Zhou āyí*（周阿姨），*Jiang āyí*（江阿姨），*Huang āyí*（黃阿姨），*Huang Mei-Lian āyí*（黃美廉阿姨），*Chen Mei-Ru āyí*（陳美儒阿姨），*Pai Bing-Bing āyí*（白冰冰阿姨），*Wen Ying āyí*（文英阿姨），*Dong Yang-Zi āyí*（董陽孜阿姨）
gēgē (哥哥) 'elder brother'	*Biao gēgē*（標哥哥），*Lan gēgē*（藍哥哥），*Li gēgē*（李哥哥），*Huang gēgē*（黃哥哥），*Wang gēgē*（王哥哥），*Jing gēgē*（靖哥哥），*Kang-Lin gēgē*（康林哥哥），*Zhong-Mou*（忠謀哥哥），*Yuan-Ming gēgē*（淵明哥哥）
dìdì (弟弟) 'younger brother'	*Ting xiǎo-dìdì*（丁小弟弟），*Huang Yi xiǎo-dìdì*（黃儀小弟弟）
jiějiě (姊姊) 'elder sister'	*Zheng jiějiě*（鄭姊姊），*Hong jiějiě*（洪姊姊），*Huang jiějiě*（黃姊姊），*Bao jiějiě*（寶姊姊），*Ai jiějiě*（艾姊姊），*Hua jiějiě*（花姊姊），*Chi-Ling jiějiě*（志玲姊姊），

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	Ai Jing jiějiě（艾敬姊姊），*Ai Jing dà-jiějiě*（艾敬大姊姊）
jiějiě (姊姊) 'elder sister'	*Zheng jiějiě*（鄭姐姐），*Wu jiějiě*（吳姐姐），*Cui jiějiě*（崔姐姐），*Chan jiějiě*（詹姐姐），*Chi-Ling jiějiě*（志玲姐姐），*Li Man-Ting jiějiě*（厲曼婷姐姐）
mèimèi (妹妹) 'younger sister'	*Hu mèimèi*（胡妹妹），*Ji mèimèi*（季妹妹），*Yi mèimèi*（伊妹妹），*Lin mèimèi*（林妹妹），*Luo mèimèi*（羅妹妹），*Mei xiǎo-mèimèi*（梅小妹妹），*Jian xiǎo-mèimèi*（簡小妹妹），*Jian Ting-En xiǎo-mèimèi*（簡廷恩小妹妹），*Cai xiǎo-mèimèi*（蔡小妹妹）
érzǐ (兒子) 'son'	N/A

(60) 用**費爾巴哈爺爺**的話來說，神是人造出來的呀… (Source: AS)

*Yòng **Fèi'ěrbāhā yéyé 'father's father'** de huà lái shuō, shén shì rén zào chū lái de ya… (Source: AS)*

'In **Grandfather Feuerbach**'s words, God is artificially created...' (Source: AS)

(61) … 在家人的陪同下，歡喜來到農禪寺… 其中年齡最長的「老菩薩」為一百零一歲的**王蒲臣阿公**… (Source: AS)

*… zài jiā-rén de péi-tóng xià, huān-xǐ lái-dào nóng chán-sì... qí-zhōng nián-líng zuè zhǎng de "lǎo pú-sà" wéi yī-bǎi-líng-yī suì de **Wang Pu-Chen āgōng 'father/mother's father'**… (Source: AS)*

'… accompanied by family members, [they] came to the Nung Chan Monastery with joy… the oldest one among them is the "elderly Bodhisattva" **Grandfather Wang Pu-Chen**, who is 101 years old…' (Source: AS)

(62) **丁奶奶**第一個報名加入義務園丁的行列。她認為，園藝最適合退休的老人… (Source: AS)

***Ting nǎinǎi 'father's mother'** dì yī gè bào-míng jiā-rù yì-wù yuan-dīng de hang-liè. Tā rèn-wéi, yuan-yì zuì shì-hé tuì-xiū de lǎo-rén… (Source: AS)*

'**Grandmother Ting** became the first volunteer who signed up to join the group of

compulsory gardeners. She thought gardening is good for retired older people…'
(Source: AS)

(63) **純粹阿媽**和**雪珠阿媽**從小一同長大，一起當花僮、做伴娘，甚至穿同款的衣服… (Source: AS)

Chun-Cui āmà 'father/mother's mother' hé Xue-Zhu āmà 'father/mother's mother' cóng xiǎo yī-tóng zhǎng-dà, yī-qǐ dāng huā-tóng, zuò bàn-niáng, shèn-zhì chuān tóng-kuǎn de yī-fú… (Source: AS)

'**Grandmother Chun-Cui** and **Grandmother Xue-Zhu** grew up together, being flower girls and bridesmaids together, they even wore clothes in the same style…'
(Source: AS)

(64) 高齡九十二歲的**邱有蓮老阿嬤**卻不幸… 去世。拿著來不及給老阿嬤看到的海報，陳利人感到十分遺憾… (Source: AS)

Gāo-líng jiǔ-shí-èr suè de Qiu You-Lian lǎo-āmà 'old-father/mother's mother' què bù-xìng… qù-shì. Ná-zhe lái-bù-jí gěi lǎo-āmā kàn-dào de hǎi-bào, Chen Li-Ren gǎn-dào shí-fēn yí-hàn… (Source: AS)

'Unfortunately, the 92-year-old **old-grandmother Qiu You-Lian** has passed away. Chen Li-Ren feels very sorry for not bring the poster to the old-grandmother in time…' (Source: AS)

(65) … 經過我去打聽之後，發現說**王爸爸**和我爸爸，小時候還是同班同學… (Source: AS)

… jīng-guò wǒ qù dǎ-tīng zhī-hòu, fā-xiàn shuō Wang bàbà 'father' hé wǒ bàbà, xiǎo-shí-hòu hái-shì tóng-bān tóng-xué… (Source: AS)

'... after inquiry, I found that **Father Wang** and my father were classmates when they were young...' (Source: AS)

(66) … 有興趣者請與研究院路二段七巷四九號一樓**劉媽媽**聯繫… (Source: AS)

... yǒu xìng-qù zhě qǐng yǔ yán-jiū-yuàn lù èr duàn qī xiàng sì jiǔ hào yī lóu Liu māmā 'mother' lián-xì... (Source: AS)

'... for interested people, please contact **Mother Liu** at the first floor of No. 49, Lane 7, Sec. 2, Academia Road...' (Source: AS)
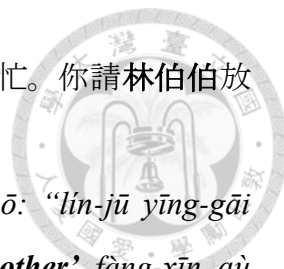
(67) 江靜美… 把這件事告訴爸爸。她爸爸說：鄰居應該互相幫忙。你請**林伯伯**放心去度假好了，我們可以幫他們看家。(Source: AS)

*Jiang Jing-Mei… bǎ zhè jiàn shì gào-sù bàbà. Tā bàbà shuō: "lín-jū yīng-gāi hù-xiàng bāng-máng". Nǐ qǐng **Lin bóbó 'father's elder brother'** fàng-xīn qù dù-jiǎ hǎo le, wǒ-men kě-yǐ bāng tā-men kàn-jiā. (Source: AS)*

'Jiang Jing-Mei... told her father about this. Her father said, "Neighbor should help each other. Tell **Uncle Lin** to go on holiday, as we can help them look after the house"'. (Source: AS)

(68) 讓我們歡迎 2020 總統！**柯文哲阿伯** (Source: PTT)

*Ràng wǒ-men huān-yíng 2020 zǒng-tǒng! **Ko Wen-Je āpeh 'father's elder brother'** (Source: PTT)*

'Let us welcome the president of 2020! **Uncle Ko Wen-Je**' (Source: PTT)

(69) 劉國強看了，就跟**吳伯母**說：這是我向吳文華借的書。我帶回家去看。(Source: AS)

*Liu Guo-Qiang kàn le, jiù gēn **Wu bómǔ 'wife of father's elder brother'** shuō: "zhè shì wǒ xiàng Wu Wen-Hua jiè de shū. Wǒ dài huí jiā qù kàn. (Source: AS)*

'Liu Guo-Qiang looked at it and said to **Aunt Wu**, "This is the book I borrowed from Wu Wen-Hua. I will bring it home to read"'. (Source: AS)

(70) **孫越叔叔**曾經說過：好東西要和好朋友分享！(Source: AS)

Sun Yueh shúshú 'father's younger brother' céng-jīng shuō guò: "hǎo dōng-xī yào hé hǎo péng-yǒu fèn-xiǎng!" (Source: AS)

'**Uncle Sun Yueh** once said, "good things must be shared with good friends!"' (Source: AS)

(71) … 過了一會兒，媽媽和爸爸先跟王叔叔和**王阿姨**來個夫妻雙打。(Source: AS)

*… guò le yī-huì-ér, māmā hé bàbà xiān gēn Wang shúshú hé **Wang āyí 'mother's elder/younger sister'** lái gè fū-qī shuāng-dǎ. (Source: AS)*

'... after a while, my parents will play with Uncle Wang and **Aunt Wang** in double tennis'. (Source: AS)

(72) 今天**藍哥哥**要帶大家搭著 737 客機飛越中央山脈… (Source: AS)

Jīn-tiān **Lan gēgē 'elder brother'** *yào dài dà-jiā dā zhe 737 kè-jī fēi-yuè zhōng-yāng shān-mài... (Source: AS)*

'Today, **Brother Lan** will take everyone to fly over the Central Mountain by a 737 plane...' (Source: AS)

(73) 今年十一歲的**丁小弟弟**身高一五四公分，原本重達七一. 四五公斤… (Source: AS)

Jīn-nián shí-yī suì de **Ting xiǎo-dìdì 'little-younger brother'** *shēn-gāo yī-wǔ-sì gōng-fèn, yuán-běn zhòng dá qī-yī. sì-wǔ gōng-jīn... (Source: AS)*

'**Brother Ting** is 11 years old this year, he has a height of 154 cm and an original weight of 71.45 kilograms...' (Source: AS)

(74) 我們的**艾敬姊姊**選擇是第一， 和大家都不一樣，想當超人。(Source: AS)

Wǒ-men de **Ai Jing jiějiě 'elder sister'** *xuǎn-zé shì dì-yī, hé dà-jiā dōu bù-yī-yàng, xiǎng dāng chāo-rén. (Source: AS)*

'Our **Sister Ai Jing**'s choice is the first one, unlike everyone else, [she] wants to be a superwoman'. (Source: AS)

(75) 好， **艾敬大姊姊**， 給他們說話… (Source: AS)

Hǎo, **Ai Jing dà-jiějiě 'big-elder sister'**, *gěi tā-men shuō-huà... (Source: AS)*

'Fine, **big-sister Ai Jing**, give them some words...' (Source: AS)

(76) 我們小朋友為**鄭姐姐**鼓掌好不好？他說的很有道理。(Source: AS)

Wǒ-men xiǎo-péng-yǒu wéi **Zheng jiějiě 'elder sister'** *gǔ-zhǎng hǎo-bù-hǎo? Tā shuō de hěn yǒu dào-lǐ. (Source: AS)*

'Children, let us applaud for **Sister Zheng**, ok? Her words are very convincing'. (Source: AS)

(77) 眾所周知**羅妹妹**視錢如命， 但她卻願意為陳文茜免費助選… (Source: AS)

Zhòng-suǒ-zhōu-zhī **Luo mèimèi 'younger sister'** *shì-qián-rú-mìng, dàn tā què yuàn-yì wéi Chen Wen-Hsien miǎn-fèi zhù-xuǎn... (Source: AS)*

'Everyone knows that **Sister Luo** is a penny-pincher; however, she is willing to assist Chen Wen-hsien in campaigning for free...' (Source: AS)

As mentioned earlier, a translated name is allowed to fit in this generalization type, therefore, one could quote Ludwig Andreas von Feuerbach, the German philosopher who lived in the 19th century, and called him *Fei'erbaha yéyé* (費爾巴哈爺爺) "Grandfather Feuerbach" which is the Chinese translation of Feuerbach as we observed in (60). It reveals that the nationality and alive status of a figure is not main concerns for the generalization of native speakers of Taiwan Mandarin.

In (67), the material of *Jiang Jing-Mei*'s father tells her "… just tell Uncle Lin to enjoy their vacation…" uncovers a critical phenomenon, i.e., the viewpoint shifting (Sweetser 2012): the speaker chooses a generalized kinship term from the viewpoint of someone else. In this case, *Jiang Jing-Me*i's father is certainly of the same generation as Mr. Lin, and there is no need for him to call Mr. Lin "uncle"; however, he says "Uncle Lin" to *Jiang Jing-Mei* with *Jing-Mei*'s viewpoint. This addressing form keeps the subject of their conversation coherent and spends less effort for them to understand each other. Other instances of viewpoint shifting in this type are of the sentences (74), (75), and (76): the host calls the persons in question *jiějiě* and *dà-jiějiě* respectively in (74) and (75), and asks children to give applause for *Zheng jiějiě* 'Sister Zheng' in (76). All the addressing terms are chosen from the children's viewpoint.

Another compelling case of choosing generalized kinship terms comes from example (71). The narrator tells that her/his mother and father were competing with another couple called *Wang shúshú* (王叔叔) 'Uncle (father's elder brother) Wang' and *Wang āyí* (王阿姨) 'Aunt (mother's elder/younger sister) Wang'. Why does the narrator use *āyí* instead of *shěnshěn* (嬸嬸) 'wife of father's younger brother' for the female spouse of *shúshú*? This usage may result from the custom of "calling older females *āyí*; calling older males *shúshú*[12]" acquired by some native speakers of Taiwan Mandarin. This custom matches Chen's (1999) finding.

Why do the speakers adopt the term *āyí* for addressing a non-relative female to replace the term *dà-shěn*? Chen explains that it is to avoid mistakenly estimating the marital status of the subject. Interestingly, in example (71), the narrator knows *Wang*

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[12] Source: PTT Corpus.

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āyí is the spouse of *Wang shúshú*, but the kinship term *dà-shěn*, which marks a spouse relationship, is not used. It means the spouse relationship may not the main concern for addressing non-kins.

　　Next is the result of monosyllabic terms listed in Table 4.6. Some representative examples are provided in (78) to (88).

Table 4.6 The Generalized Monosyllabic Kinship Terms— Modified by Surname/Name

Kinship Term	Surname/Name-Kinship Terms
fù (父) 'father'	N/A
bó (伯) 'father's elder brother'	*A-Hui bó*（阿輝伯）
shú (叔) 'father's younger brother'	*Yoyo shú* (yoyo 叔)，*Li dà-shú*（李大叔），*Kang dà-shú*（康大叔），*Ma dà-shú*（馬大叔），*Tāngmǔ dà-shú*（湯姆大叔），*Pico dà-shú*（Pico 大叔）
shěn (嬸) 'wife of father's younger brother'	*Li dà-shěn*（李大嬸）
yí (姨) 'mother's elder/younger sister'	*Yue-Xia yí*（月霞姨）
xiōng (兄) 'elder brother'	*Chen xiōng*（陳兄），*Zhang xiōng*（張兄），*Tuō xiōng*（托兄），*Rui-Geng xiōng*（瑞庚兄），*Can-Nan xiōng*（燦南兄），*Yong-Zheng xiōng*（永正兄），*Jian-Guo xiōng*（建國兄），*Fei-Fan xiōng*（非凡兄），*Yi-Hsiung xiōng*（義雄兄），*Wen-Shan xiōng*（文山兄），*A-Ming xiōng*（阿明兄），*Huang Jian-Ye xiōng*（黃建業兄），*Zhou Wen-Zhong xiōng*（周文中兄），*Zhou Lu-Qiang xiōng*（周履鏘兄），*Wu Meng-Ming xiōng*（吳孟明兄），*Jiang Wen-Zheng xiōng*（蔣文正兄），*Zhuang Ling xiōng*（莊靈兄），*Yang Ze xiōng*（楊澤兄），*Zhao Shun xiōng*（趙舜兄），*Zhao Ning xiōng*（趙寧兄），*Li*

	An xiōng（李安兄）, *Xiang Yang xiōng*（向陽兄）, *Vico xiōng*（Vico 兄）, *sona xiōng*（sona 兄）, *capita xiōng*（capita 兄）, *DJ xiōng*（DJ 兄）, *liuqin xiōng*（liuqin 兄）, *Bertchi xiōng*（Bertchi 兄）, *Erwin xiōng*（Erwin 兄）, *care xiōng*（care 兄）, *marco79811 xiōng*（marco79811 兄）, *mysmalllab xiōng*（mysmalllab 兄）, *aloba xiōng*（aloba 兄）, *VL xiōng*（VL 兄）, *d xiōng*（d 兄）, *T xiōng*（T 兄）, *honda xiōng*（honda 兄）, *hatebox xiōng*（hatebox 兄）, *Jotarun xiōng*（Jotarun 兄）, *bri xiōng*（bri 兄）, *juby xiōng*（juby 兄）, *Camby xiōng*（Camby 兄）, *Ascend xiōng*（Ascend 兄）, *Mei-Meng xiōng*（美夢兄）, *Kǎijí xiōng*（凱吉兄）, *Wǔdí xiōng*（伍迪兄）, *Jǐngshàng xiōng*（井上兄）
gē（哥）'elder brother'	*Zhao gē*（趙哥）, *Lun gē*（倫哥）, *Lun gē*（綸哥）, *Jie gē*（潔哥）, *Ding-Yi gē*（定一哥）, *Xue-You gē*（學友哥）, *Chien-Ming gē*（建民哥）, *Xiao-Qí gē*（小齊哥）, *Da-Dong gē*（大東哥）, *Guang-Yu gē*（光禹哥）, *Shaw-Kong gē*（少康哥）, *Lee-Hom gē*（力宏哥）, *Tshiong-Tso gē*（昶佐哥）, *Rui-De gē*（瑞德哥）, *Da-Ren gē*（大仁哥）, *Han Xin gē*（韓信哥）, *Huang An gē*（黃安哥）, *Wu Zong-Xian gē*（吳宗憲哥）, *Jin Cheng Wu gē*（金城武哥）, *Kai-Xi gē*（凱西哥）, *G gē*（G 哥）, *M gē*（M 哥）, *J gē*（J 哥）, *Kid gē*（kid 哥）, *Ken gē*（ken 哥）, *Eason gē*（Eason 哥）, *Kǎijí gē*（凱吉哥）, *Bèikěn gē*（貝肯哥）, *Tāngmǔ gē*（湯姆哥）, *Dānzuǒ gē*（丹佐哥）, *Nápòlún gē*（拿破崙哥）, *Jī gē*（基哥）, *Kobe gē*（Kobe 哥）, *Zhao dà-gē*（趙大哥）,

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	Tian dà-gē（田大哥）, *Yang dà-gē*（楊大哥）, *Hei dà-gē*（黑大哥）, *Pan dà-gē*（潘大哥）, *Weng dà-gē*（翁大哥）, *Xu dà-gē*（許大哥）, *Yuan dà-gē*（袁大哥）, *Lin dà-gē*（林大哥）, *Mo dà-gē*（莫大哥）, *Sheng dà-gē*（盛大哥）, *Yen dà-gē*（顏大哥）, *Zhao Ning dà-gē*（趙寧大哥）, *Cheng Long dà-gē*（成龍大哥）, *Chiu Yi dà-gē*（邱毅大哥）, *Cao Xi-Ping dà-gē*（曹西平大哥）, *Maoli lǎo-gē*（毛利老哥）
sǎo（嫂）'wife of elder brother'	*Ma dà-sǎo*（馬大嫂）, *Xue dà-sǎo*（薛大嫂）, *Wang dà-sǎo*（王大嫂）
dì（弟）'younger brother'	*Chen xiǎo-dì*（陳小弟）, *Chang xiǎo-dì*（常小弟）, *Luo xiǎo-dì*（羅小弟）, *Ting xiǎo-dì*（丁小弟）, *Ting Xiao-Long xiǎo-dì*（丁小龍小弟）, *Máolì lǎo-dì*（毛利老弟）
jiě（姊）'elder sister'	*Wu jiě*（吳姊）, *Hui-Zhen jiě*（慧真姊）, *Fei-Fei jiě*（菲菲姊）, *Mei-Mei jiě*（美美姊）, *Bing-Bing jiě*（冰冰姊）, *Ching-Ying jiě*（晶瑩姊）, *Mei-Hsiu jiě*（美秀姊）, *Tang Qi jiě*（唐琪姊）, *mo jiě*（mo 姊）, *Coco jiě*（Coco 姊）, *Kou jiě*（蔻姊）, *Powe dà-jiě*（Powe 大姊）
jiě（姐）'elder sister'	*Xu jiě*（徐姐）, *Lan jiě*（藍姐）, *Xin-Mei jiě*（心湄姐）, *Kou jiě*（蔻姐）, *Yi-Xián jiě*（譯賢姐）, *Tzu-Yung jiě*（慈庸姐）, *Zi-Yun jiě*（紫雲姐）, *Tien Niu jiě*（恬妞姐）, *Chu-Chu jiě*（柱柱姐）, *Bing-Bing jiě*（冰冰姐）, *Ing-Wen jiě*（英文姐）, *Měixuě jiě*（美雪姐）, *Lico jiě*（Lico 姐）, *Li dà-jiě*（李大姐）
mèi（妹）'younger sister'	*Cao mèi*（曹妹）, *Yang xiǎo-mèi*（楊小妹）

(78) …到底**阿輝伯**是不是眾人口中的老番癲… (Source: PTT)

*…dào-dǐ **A-Hui bó 'father's elder brother'** shì-bù-shì zhòng-rén kǒu zhōng de lǎo-fān-diān… (Source: PTT)*

'… is **Uncle A-Hui** really a dotard, as everyone recognized...' (Source: PTT)

(79) **Yoyo 叔**握有破解 RAR 的技術 (Source: PTT)

***Yoyo shú 'father's younger brother'** wò yǒu pò-jiě RAR de jì-shù. (Source: PTT)*

'**Uncle Yoyo** has the technology to break RAR'. (Source: PTT)

(RAR is a software for compressing computer files)

(80) …**李大嬸:**永忠啊,你們家裡邊兒在做什麼啊?這樣敲敲打打的… (Source: AS)

*…**Li dà-shěn 'big-wife of father's younger brother'**: "Yong-Zhong ā, nǐ-men jiā-lǐ-biān-ér zài zuò shé-me ā? Zhè-yàng qiāo-qiāo-dǎ-dǎ de… (Source: AS)*

'… **Aunt Li** said, "Yong-Zhong, what are you doing inside your house? There are knocking and beating [noises]...' (Source: AS)

(81) 回想起走過的這一生,**月霞姨**說自己命運就像台灣的歌仔戲團。(Source: AS)

*Huí-xiǎng qǐ zǒu-guò de zhè yī-shēng, **Yue-Xia yí 'mother's elder/younger sister'** shuō zì-jǐ mìng-yùn jiù xiàng Táiwān de gē-zǎi-xì tuán. (Source: AS)*

'Recalling the entire life, **Aunt Yue-Xia** said that her life is just like the Ke-Tse opera troupe in Taiwan'. (Source: AS)

(82) 如果 **d 兄**仍有指教建議,我會虛心學習… (Source: PTT)

*Rú-guǒ **d xiōng 'elder brother'** réng yǒu zhǐ-jiāo jiàn-yì, wǒ huì xū-xīn xué-xí… (Source: PTT)*

'… if **Brother D** still has some advice [for me], I will humbly accept it...' (Source: PTT)

(83) 知名網路實況主**潔哥** (李秉潔) 11 日在臉書直播... (Source: PTT)

*Zhī-míng wǎng-lù shí-kuàng-zhǔ **Jie gē 'elder brother'** (Li Bing-Jie) 11 rì zài liǎn-shū zhí-bō… (Source: PTT)*

'The famous streamer **Brother Jie** (Li Bing-Jie) was on Facebook Live on 11th…' (Source: PTT)

(84) 跟您打聽王丞相的女兒王寶釧，也就是**薛大嫂**。(Source: AS)

*Gēn nín dǎ-tīng Wang chéng-xiàng de nǔér Wang Bao-Chuan, yě jiù-shì **Xue***

dà-sǎo 'big-wife of elder brother'. *(Source: AS)*

'[I] would like to ask you about Cheng-xiang Wang's daughter, Wang Bao-Chuan,

who is also known as **big-sister-in-law Xue**'. (Source: AS)

(Cheng-xiang is the title for the highest administrative officer in ancient China)

(85) **丁小弟**並不氣餒，他說，自己還不算很滿意… (Source: AS)

Ting xiǎo-dì 'little-younger brother' *bìng bù qì-něi, tā shuō, zì-jǐ hái bù suàn hěn*

mǎn-yì… (Source: AS)

'Little-brother Ting was not discouraged, and he said he was not very satisfied…'
(Source: AS)

(86) 原來「**mo 姊**」 是 Monica 的簡稱。(Source: PTT)

*Yuán-lái **"mo jiě 'elder sister'"** shì Monica de jiǎn-chēng. (Source: PTT)*

'Oh, I see, "**Sister Mo**" is the abbreviation of Monica'. (Source: PTT)

(87) … 法院在近四年後還**英文姐**一個公道，剛好四年後，**英文姐**還要選一次總
統… (Source: PTT)

*… fǎ-yuàn zài jìn sì nián hòu hái **Ing-Wen jiě 'elder sister'** yī gè gōng-dào,*
*gāng-hǎo sì nián hòu, **Ing-Wen jiě 'elder sister'** hái-yào xuǎn yī cì zǒng-tǒng…*
(Source: PTT)

'... the court has shown **Sister Ing-Wen** the justice after almost four years, it fits

perfectly that four years later, **Sister Ing-Wen** will run for the president again...'
(Source: PTT)

(88) 最近幾年，那位機長碰到她還說：「**曹妹**，過去的事就過去了，妳不要放在心
上。」(Source: AS)

*Zuì-jìn jǐ nián, nà wèi jī-zhǎng pèng-dào tā hái shuō: "**Cao mèi 'younger sister'**,*
guò-qù de shì jiù guò-qù le, nǐ bù-yào fàng zài xīn shàng". (Source: AS)

'While running into her in recent years, the captain told her, "**Sister Cao**, let the

past passed, do not keep it in your mind"'. (Source: AS)

The case catches most attention in the monosyllabic group is the example (83), the female streamer *Li Bing-Jie* nicknamed herself as *Jie gē* (潔哥) 'Brother Jie'. The subject's biological feature is opposite to the generalized kinship term she calls herself. This phenomenon leads to an interesting concept that a generalized kinship term is not necessarily employed to the objective same sexual feature. The details of this phenomenon are discussed in sections 5.1 and 5.2.

In previous sections, we introduce three kinds of generalized kinship terms: 'bare form' type, 'degree modifiers as prefix' type, and 'modified by surname/name' type, they are categorized purely by their structural features. Nevertheless, there is a great number of generalized kinship terms that have not been included in these three types because of their meanings are distinct with those of these three types (though basically, most of their forms also exhibit differently). For comprehensive research, it is necessary to differentiate two more types of generalized kinship terms by considering both their forms and meanings, that is, a type with preceding metonymic themes and another type for metaphorical/idiomatic usage.

4.2.4   Metonymic Theme Preceded

The metonymic theme preceded type of generalized kinship terms comprises two parts, the preceding part is a metonymic theme that behaves like a modifier in most situations. The metonymic theme is the focus of a speaker's profiling process (Langacker 2008), conveying the information of the appearance, belonging, behavior, location, nationality, occupation, personality, physical characteristic, status, etc. of a specific subject; hence it is a metonymic feature. The parts of speech of the metonymic part could be a noun, a verb, an adjective, an adverb, or a phrase. Fundamentally, generalized kinship terms of this type refer to human being: most of them describe humans in the real world, such as *róng-mín yéyé* (榮民爺爺) 'veteran grandfather', *yì-gōng bàbà* (義工爸爸) 'volunteer father', *guài shúshú* (怪叔叔) 'strange uncle', *kǒu-jiāo yí* (口交姨) 'oral sex aunt', *píng-shé-me jiě* (憑什麼姊) 'Who-do-you-think-you-are sister'; some of them are employed on virtual humans in a

"created" world. For instance, *Guìgé shúshú* (桂格叔叔) 'Uncle Quaker' is to name a logo of Quaker man on cereal products, and *yǎn-jìng xiōng* (眼鏡兄) 'glasses brother' is used on a character of a Japanese comic 'Slam Dunk[13]'.

The disyllabic kinship terms of this metonymic type are listed in Table 4.7. Examples are provided in (89) to (103).

Table 4.7 The Generalized Disyllabic Kinship Terms— Metonymic Theme Preceded[14]

Kinship Term	Metonymic Theme-Kinship Terms
yéyé (爺爺) 'father's father'	N-N type: *róng-mín yéyé*（榮民爺爺）, *jǐng-chá yéyé*（警察爺爺）, *Kěndéjī yéyé*（肯德基爺爺）
āgōng (阿公) 'father/mother's father'	N/A
nǎinǎi (奶奶) 'father's mother'	N-N type: *zǔ-shī nǎinǎi*（祖師奶奶）
āmà (阿媽) 'father/mother's mother'	N-N type: *wèi-ān-fù āmà*（慰安婦阿媽）
āmà (阿嬤) 'father/mother's mother'	N-N type: *wǎng-kā āmà*（網咖阿嬤）, *wén-miàn āmà*（紋面阿嬤）, *Dànshuǐ āmà*（淡水阿嬤）, *qíng-qù āmà*（情趣阿嬤）, *Dàpǔ āmà*（大埔阿嬤）, *kōng-jiě āmà*（空姐阿嬤）, *jiā-zhèng-bān āmà*（家政班阿嬤）, *wèi-ān-fù āmà*（慰安婦阿嬤）, *shí-kuàng-zhǔ āmà*（實況主阿嬤）, *yuán-zhù-mín lǎo-āmà*（原住民老阿嬤）

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[13] This character is nicknamed 'Megane Kun (メガネ君, Mandarin: 眼鏡君)' in the Japanese version; its meaning is more or less like 'Mr. Glasses' but used in a closer relationship than other formal forms of address. So, the 'brother' sense of this term is attached by native speakers of Taiwan Mandarin, not from the translation directly.

[14] The 'X' of 'X-N' type refers to syntactic category: N stands for noun, V stands for verb, A stands for adjective, Adv stands for adverb, and Ph stands for phrase.

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	V-N type: *cǎi-chá āmà* （採茶阿嬤）, *gàn-qiáo āmà* （幹譙阿嬤）
bàbà (爸爸) 'father'	N-N type: *yì-gōng bàbà* （義工爸爸）, *yì-dé bàbà* （懿德爸爸）, *dōng-wú bàbà* （東吳爸爸）
	A-N type: *jī-pó bàbà* （雞婆爸爸）
māmā (媽媽) 'mother'	N-N type: *yì-gōng māmā* （義工媽媽）, *zhì-gōng māmā* （志工媽媽）, *ài-xīn māmā* （愛心媽媽）, *huán-bǎo māmā* （環保媽媽）, *bǎo-jiàn māmā* （保健媽媽）, *gōng-chāng māmā* （公娼媽媽）, *shè-qū māmā* （社區媽媽）, *cí-jì māmā* （慈濟媽媽）, *Dàxī māmā* （大溪媽媽）
	V-N type: *diǎn-míng māmā* （點名媽媽）
bófù (伯父) 'father's elder brother'	N/A
bóbó (伯伯) 'father's elder brother'	N-N type: *róng-mín bóbó* （榮民伯伯）, *jǐng-chá bóbó* （警察伯伯）, *xiào-zhǎng bóbó* （校長伯伯）, *xiào-gōng bóbó* （校工伯伯）, *gōng-yǒu bóbó* （工友伯伯）, *yī-shēng bóbó* （醫生伯伯）, *guǎn-lǐ bóbó* （管理伯伯）, *mài-yá-táng bóbó* （麥芽糖伯伯）, *hā-sà-kè bóbó* （哈薩克伯伯）, *KMT bóbó* （KMT 伯伯）
āpeh (阿伯) 'father's elder brother'	N-N type: *jī-ròu āpeh* （肌肉阿伯）, *wǔ-gùn āpeh* （舞棍阿伯）, *shuě-diàn-gōng āpeh* （水電工阿伯）
	A-N type: *cí-xiáng āpeh* （慈祥阿伯）
bómǔ (伯母) 'wife of father's	N/A

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elder brother'	
shúshú (叔叔) 'father's younger brother'	N-N type: *dà-hú-zǐ shúshú*（大鬍子叔叔）, *yuàn-zhǎng shúshú*（院長叔叔）, *shuǐ-bīng shúshú*（水兵叔叔）, *lǐng-duì shúshú*（領隊叔叔）, *huì-yuán shúshú*（會員叔叔）, *jǐng-chá shúshú*（警察叔叔）, *sī-jī shúshú*（司機叔叔）, *gōng-rén shúshú*（工人叔叔）, *yóu-chāi shúshú*（郵差叔叔）, *yá-yī shúshú*（牙醫叔叔）, *xī-zhuāng shúshú*（西裝叔叔）, *lǔ-shé shúshú*（魯蛇叔叔）, *Guìgé shúshú*（桂格叔叔）, *zàng-yí-shè shúshú*（葬儀社叔叔）, *Màidāngláo shúshú*（麥當勞叔叔）
	A-N type: *guài shúshú*（怪叔叔）, *mò-shēng shúshú*（陌生叔叔）
	V-N type: *shí-huāng shúshú*（拾荒叔叔）
yímā (姨媽) 'mother's elder/younger sister'	N/A
āyí (阿姨) 'mother's elder/younger sister'	N-N type: *měi-nǚ āyí*（美女阿姨）, *huì-yuán āyí*（會員阿姨）, *hù-shì āyí*（護士阿姨）, *gōng-chāng āyí*（公娼阿姨）, *sù-shè āyí*（宿舍阿姨）, *shè-gōng āyí*（社工阿姨）, *biān-jí āyí*（編輯阿姨）, *sī-jī āyí*（司機阿姨）, *gōng-qīng āyí*（公清阿姨）, *diàn-yuán āyí*（店員阿姨）, *mén-shì āyí*（門市阿姨）, *guì-tái āyí*（櫃台阿姨）, *lù-rén āyí*（路人阿姨）, *fáng-dōng āyí*（房東阿姨）, *chú-fáng*

	āyí（廚房阿姨），*rè-shí-bù āyí*（熱食部阿姨），*hé-zuò-shè āyí*（合作社阿姨），*zǎo-cān-diàn āyí*（早餐店阿姨），*biàn-dāng-diàn āyí*（便當店阿姨），*bǎo-jiàn-shì āyí*（保健室阿姨），*jī-wāi-liǎn āyí*（機歪臉阿姨），*yuán-zhù-mín āyí*（原住民阿姨） A-N type: *měi-lì āyí*（美麗阿姨），*wài-jí āyí*（外籍阿姨） V-N type: *zhí-bān āyí*（值班阿姨），*dǎ-sǎo āyí*（打掃阿姨），*qīng-sǎo āyí*（清掃阿姨），*qīng-jié āyí*（清潔阿姨），*xǐ-wǎn āyí*（洗碗阿姨），*jiǎn-fà āyí*（剪髮阿姨），*suàn-mìng āyí*（算命阿姨）
gēgē（哥哥）'elder brother'	N-N type: *jǐng-chá gēgē*（警察哥哥），*xué-shēng gēgē*（學生哥哥），*guāng-tóu gēgē*（光頭哥哥）
dìdì（弟弟）'younger brother'	N-N type: *píng-tóu dìdì*（平頭弟弟），*dà-xué-shēng dìdì*（大學生弟弟）
jiějiě（姊姊）'elder sister'	N-N type: *Chi-Ling jiějiě*（志玲姊姊），*xué-shēng jiějiě*（學生姊姊），*rén-yāo jiějiě*（人妖姊姊），*hù-shì jiějiě*（護士姊姊），*fù sù jiějiě*（副宿姊姊），*hù-lǐ-shī jiějiě*（護理師姊姊），*Màidāngláo jiějiě*（麥當勞姊姊），*tú-shū-guǎn dà-jiějiě*（圖書館大姊姊） A-N type: *piāo-liàng jiějiě*（漂亮姊姊），*lín-jiā dà-jiějiě*（鄰家大姊姊）

jiějiě (姐姐) 'elder sister'	N-N type: *shào-fǔ jiějiě*（少輔姐姐）, *jì-zhě jiějiě*（記者姐姐）, *Gāoxióng jiějiě*（高雄姐姐）, *Màidāngláo jiějiě*（麥當勞姐姐）, *Fǎlālì jiějiě*（法拉利姐姐）
	A-N type: *là jiějiě*（辣姐姐）
mèimèi (妹妹) 'younger sister'	N-N type: *guó-zhōng mèimèi*（國中妹妹）, *gāo-zhōng mèimèi*（高中妹妹）, *cháng-tuǐ mèimèi*（長腿妹妹）, *diàn-yuán mèimèi*（店員妹妹）, *zhí-yuán mèimèi*（職員妹妹）, *jì-zhě mèimèi*（記者妹妹）, *hù-shì mèimè*（護士妹妹）, *zhōng-wén-xì mèimèi*（中文系妹妹）, *Éluósī mèimèi*（俄羅斯妹妹）
	A-N type: *piāo-liàng mèimèi*（漂亮妹妹）, *qīng-chún mèimèi*（清純妹妹）, *nián-qīng mèimèi*（年輕妹妹）
	Adv-N type: *chāo-chéng-shí xiǎo-mèimèi*（超誠實小妹妹）
érzǐ (兒子) 'son'	N/A

(89) 挪威**警察爺爺**超帥… (Source: PTT)

*Nuó-wēi **jǐng-chá yéyé 'father's father'** chāo shuài... (Source: PTT)*

'The Norwegian **police grandfather** is so handsome...' (Source: PTT)

(90) 更有作者懵懂開筆，寫來寫去，才赫然發覺竟與「**祖師奶奶**」靈犀一點相通。 (Source: AS)

*Gèng yǒu zuò-zhě měng-dǒng kāi-bǐ, xiě-lái-xiě-qù, cái hè-rán-fā-jué jìng yǔ **"zǔ-shī nǎinǎi 'father's mother'"** líng-xī yī diǎn xiàng-tōng. (Source: AS)*
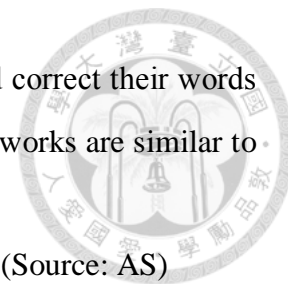
'There are some authors who write naively in the begining and correct their words continuously, but at last, [they will] suddenly realize that their works are similar to "**master grandmother**"'s pieces'. (Source: AS)

(91)　被傳統價值觀禁箇了數十年的**慰安婦阿媽**們，血淚斑斑… (Source: AS)

*Bèi chuán-tǒng jià-zhí-guān jìn-gè le shù shí nián de **wèi-ān-fù āmà***

'father/mother's mother' men, xiě-lèi-bān-bān… (Source: AS)

'**Comfort women grandmothers** are in the abyss of untold sufferings for that they are imprisoned by the traditional values for several decades…' (Source: AS)

(92)　… 安排不老溫泉鄉村旅遊假期時，可一併… 參觀「**採茶阿嬤**」採茶菁… (Source: AS)

… ān-pái bù-lǎo wēn-quán xiāng-cūn lǚ-yóu jià-qī shí, kě yī-bìng... cān-guān

*"**cǎi-chá āmà 'father/mother's mother'**" cǎi chá-jīng... (Source: AS)*

'… while arranging the travel route in the Bulao hot spring village for your holidays, [you] can pay a visit to see the "**tea plucking grandmothers**" harvesting the tea …' (Source: AS)

(93)　東吳大學合唱團學生並演唱章孝慈生前最喜歡的歌曲… 表達對這位「**東吳爸爸**」的追思。(Source: AS)

*Dōng-wú dà-xué hé-chàng-tuán xué-shēng bìng yǎn-chàng Chang Hsiao-Tzu shēng-qián zuì xǐ-huān de gē-qǔ... biǎo-dá duì zhè-wèi "**dōng-wú bàbà 'father'**" de zhuī-sī. (Source: AS)*

'The students of Soochow University Choir also sang Chang Hsiao-Tzu's favorite song... in order to memorialize this "**Dong-Wu Father**"'. (Source: AS)

("Dong-Wu" is the characters of the Chinese name of Soochow University)

(94)　再來是由**社區媽媽**精心製作的營養午餐，有雞腿、豬肉… (Source: AS)

*Zài lái shì yóu **shè-qū māmā 'mother'** jīng-xīn zhì-zuò de yíng-yǎng wǔ-cān, yǒu jī-tuǐ, zhū-ròu... (Source: AS)*

'What comes next is the choicely lunch made by **community mother**. There are chicken leg and pork inside…' (Source: AS)

(95)　這位**哈薩克伯伯**，以為漢人都是強盜壞人。(Source: AS)

*Zhè wèi **hā-sà-kè bóbó 'father's elder brother'**, yǐ-wéi hàn-rén dōu-shì qiáng-dào huài-rén. (Source: AS)*

'This **Kazakh uncle** thinks that all Han people are robbers and bad guys'. (Source: AS)

(96) 人家**肌肉阿伯**勸架不理就算了，還打人家，自討苦吃… (Source: PTT)

*Rén-jiā **jī-ròu āpeh 'father's elder brother'** quàn-jià bù-lǐ jiù suàn le, hái dǎ rén-jiā, zì-tǎo-kǔ-chī... (Source: PTT)*

'It is fine you do not take the persuasion of the **muscle uncle**, but to fight with him instead is shoot yourself in the foot…' (Source: PTT)

(97) 那**工人叔叔**身上很髒，要多唸書才不會[跟他一樣]… (Source: PTT)

*Nà **gōng-rén shúshú 'father's younger brother'** shēn-shàng hěn zāng, yào duō niàn-shū cái bù-huì [gēn tā yī-yàng]... (Source: PTT)*

'The **worker uncle** looks so dirty and [you] must study hard to avoid [becoming like him] ...' (Source: PTT)

(98) 朋友自以為好玩… 有次讓**原住民阿姨**覺得在諷刺她… (Source: PTT)

*Péng-yǒu zì-yǐ-wéi hǎo-wán... yǒu-cì ràng **yuán-zhù-mín āyí 'mother's elder/younger sister'** jué-dé zài fěng-cì tā... (Source: PTT)*

'[My] friend thought it is funny... but for once, an **aborigine aunt** felt she was mocked...' (Source: PTT)

(99) 警員蔡明儒… 將警帽戴在女童頭上說，「… 如果被欺負就說你有一個**警察哥哥**。」 (Source: Chinatimes)

*Jǐng-yuán Cai Ming-Ru... jiāng jǐng-mào dài zài nǔ-tóng tóu-shàng shuō, "... rú-guǒ bèi qī-fù jiù shuō nǐ yǒu yī-gè **jǐng-chá gēgē 'elder brother'"**. (Source: Chinatimes)*

'The police officer Cai Ming-Ru... put a police cap on the girl's head and said, "... if anyone bullies you, tell that person you have a **police brother**'. (Source: Chinatimes)

(100) 這幾天到單獨到 (原文如此) 花蓮旅行，在背包客棧遇到一個花蓮當地大學的**大學生弟弟**… (Source: PTT)

*Zhè jǐ-tiān dān-dú dào huā-lián lǔ-xíng, zài bèi-bāo kè-zhàn yù-dào yī-gè huā-lián dāng-dì dà-xué de **dà-xué-shēng dìdì 'younger brother'**... (Source: PTT)*

'While traveling alone in Hualien in these few days, [I] met a **university brother** from local university at the backpacker hostel...' (Source: PTT)

(101) … 管他來者老少胖瘦美醜，他一律叫**漂亮姊姊**或是美麗阿姨，所以他總有拿不完的餅乾糖果零食… (Source: AS)

*… guǎn-tā lái-zhě lǎo-shǎo pang-shòu měi-chǒu, tā yī-lǜ jiào **piāo-liàng jiějiě 'elder sister'** huò-shì měi-lì āyí, suǒ-yǐ tā zǒng-yǒu ná bù-wán de bǐng-gān táng-guǒ líng-shí... (Source: AS)*

'... he always calls the hearers pretty sisters or **beautiful aunts** no matter whether they are old or young, fat or slim, beautiful or ugly, so he always gets a lot of cookies, candy, and snacks...' (Source: AS)

(102) … 我朋友… 錄了一段向**法拉利姐姐**致敬的 cover 影片… (Source: PTT)

*... wǒ péng-yǒu… lù le yī-duàn xiàng **fǎ-lā-lì jiějiě 'elder sister'** zhì-jìng de cover yǐng-piàn… (Source: PTT)*

'... my friend... filmed a cover video clip to pay tribute to the **Ferrari sister**...' (Source: PTT)

(Ferrari sister is the female who said a nice car of a beauty should not be scratched after her Ferrari was scratched by someone)

(103) … 警報鈴就在**超誠實小妹妹**頭上，但真的很不顯眼… (Source: PTT)

*... jǐng-bào-líng jiù-zài **chāo-chéng-shí xiǎo-mèimèi 'little-younger sister'** tóu-shàng, dàn zhēn-de hěn bù xiǎn-yǎn… (Source: PTT)*

'... the alarm bell is right above the **super honest little-sister**, but it is really inconspicuous...' (Source: PTT)

In the disyllabic group, *āmà* (阿嬤) has more opportunities to combine with various metonymic themes than *nǎinǎi*, which implies *āmà* (阿嬤) is more often used than *nǎinǎi* between native speakers while referring to an elderly female, even though it is a kinship term of Taiwan Southern Min. The data of (89) is said by a speaker who saw

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a photo of a Norwegian policeman with grey hair, standing beside a horse. The kinship term *yéyé* chosen for this policeman is possibly due to his appearance. The *hā-sà-kè bóbó* (哈薩克伯伯) 'Kazakhstan uncle' in example (95) is a combination of nationality and a generalized kinship term. Generalized kinship terms used in (97) and (99) are related to viewpoint shifting as we introduced in section 4.2.3: the parent terms the worker *"gōng-rén shúshú* (工人叔叔) 'worker uncle'" from the viewpoint of her/his child in (97); the police officer tells the little girl, "just say you have a *jǐng-chá gēgē* (警察哥哥) 'police officer brother' while you are bullied" in the way of referring to himself as a brother of that girl in (99).

In sentence (101), the standard of choosing a proper kinship term shows up again, but this time the baseline is much blurrier because there is no age for distinction. Instead, the speaker uses the term *piāo-liàng jiějiě* (漂亮姊姊) 'pretty sister' or *měi-lì āyí* (美麗阿姨) 'beautiful aunt' no matter "the addressees are old or young, thin or fat, beautiful or not". From this perspective, we could catch an implicature of *jiějiě* and *āyí* that they are much more neutral options than other female kinship terms if a speaker faces an onerous task of selecting an appropriate kinship term.

Next, this type of monosyllabic terms is listed in Table 4.8. Examples are listed from (104) to (115).

Table 4.8 The Generalized Monosyllabic Kinship Terms— Metonymic Theme Preceded

Kinship Term	Metonymic Theme-Kinship Terms
fù (父) 'father'	N-N type: *shī fù*（師父）
bó (伯) 'father's elder brother'	N-N type: *shī bó*（詩伯）, *dù-qí bó*（肚臍伯）, *Dàbǎn lǎo-bó*（大阪老伯）, *Rìběn lǎo-bó*（日本老伯）
	A-N type: *gōng-dào bó*（公道伯）
shú (叔) 'father's younger brother'	N-N type: *zhōng-nián dà-shú*（中年大叔）, *Yīngguó dà-shú*（英國大叔）, *Fēnlán dà-shú*（芬蘭大叔）, *yè-yā-jī dà-shú*（液壓機大叔）,

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	jiàn-zhù-gōng dà-shú（建築工大叔）， *gōng-chéng-shī dà-shú*（工程師大叔） A-N type: *wēn-hé dà-shú*（溫和大叔） Adv-N type: *wéi-pàng dà-shú*（微胖大叔）
shěn (嬸) 'wife of father's younger brother'	N-N type: *Xiānggǎng dà-shěn*（香港大嬸），*lù-rén dà-shěn*（路人大嬸） V-N type: *kǒu-jiāo shěn*（口交嬸），*lǐ-fà dà-shěn*（理髮大嬸）
yí (姨) 'mother's elder/younger sister'	V-N type: *kǒu-jiāo yí*（口交姨）
xiōng (兄) 'elder brother'	N-N type: *30 gōng-fēn xiōng*（30 公分兄），*shī xiōng*（師兄），*shā-shǒu xiōng*（殺手兄），*Táoyuán xiōng*（桃園兄），*shào-nián xiōng*（少年兄），*Tái-kè xiōng*（台客兄），*shuǐ-tǒng xiōng*（水桶兄），*cǎi-quàn xiōng*（彩券兄），*kǒu-jí xiōng*（口吃兄），*yěn-jìng xiōng*（眼鏡兄），*guāng-tóu xiōng*（光頭兄），*lù-rén xiōng*（路人兄），*shàng-wèi xiōng*（上尉兄），*guō-lú xiōng*（鍋爐兄），*chūn-fēng lǎo-nián xiōng*（春風老年兄），*sī-jī lǎo-xiōng*（司機老兄），*Tǔěrqí lǎo-xiōng*（土耳其老兄） A-N type: *hóu-jí xiōng*（猴急兄） V-N type: *shōu-wǎng xiōng*（收網兄），*mí xiōng*（迷兄）
gē (哥) 'elder brother'	N-N type: *xiǎo-mèi gē*（小妹哥），*jiàn-zhōng gē*（建中哥），*zhèng-yì gē*（正義哥），*gōng-zǐ gē*（公子哥），*Kāinán gē*（開南哥），*zhái-pèi gē*（宅配哥），*zhuāng-bèi gē*（裝備哥），*shùn-fēng gē*（順風哥），*zhǐ-huī gē*（指揮哥），*30 cm gē*（30cm 哥），*zuàn-shí gē*（鑽石哥），*Xīnzhú*

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shǒu-dōu gē（新竹首都哥），*guàn-zǐ gē*（罐子哥），*guāng-tóu gē*（光頭哥），*kòng-zhì gē*（控制哥），*kǒu-yì gē*（口譯哥），*qiú-gān gē*（球桿哥），*zhōng-dōng gē*（中東哥），*páng-bái gē*（旁白哥），*wài-mài gē*（外賣哥），*Da-Ren gē*（大仁哥），*fù-jiā-gē*（富家哥），*qué-tuǐ gē*（瘸腿哥），*tì-dài-yì gē*（替代役哥），*zhàn-dòu gē*（戰鬥哥），*ā-bīng gē*（阿兵哥），*hú-dié gē*（蝴蝶哥），*dà-jú gē*（大局哥），*Xībānyá gē*（西班牙哥），*bí-kǒng gē*（鼻孔哥），*man gē*（man 哥），*tái-dà zhōng-zhǐ gē*（台大中指哥），*huà-liáo gē*（化療哥），*fǎn-pài gē*（反派哥），*guǎi-zhàng gē*（拐杖哥），*zhàn-shù gē*（戰術哥），*gā-jiǒng gē*（嘎囧哥），*dà-B gē*（大 B 哥），*yěn-jìng gē*（眼鏡哥），*zhú-gān gē*（竹竿哥），*kǒu-xiāng-táng gē*（口香糖哥），*Běijīng gē*（北京哥），*wēn-ná gē*（溫拿哥），*lǜ-kǎ gē*（綠卡哥），*yī-kǒu gē*（一口哥），*shà-chē gē*（煞車哥），*lǔ gē*（魯哥），*yì-qì dà-gē*（義氣大哥），*qián-bèi dà-gē*（前輩大哥），*shè-huì dà-gē*（社會大哥），*hēi-dào dà-gē*（黑道大哥），*hēi-bāng dà-gē*（黑幫大哥），*jiāng-hú dà-gē*（江湖大哥），*bāng-pài dà-gē*（幫派大哥），*jiǎo-tóu dà-gē*（角頭大哥），*guàn-fàn dà-gē*（慣犯大哥），*běi-lián-bāng dà-gē*（北聯幫大哥），*zhú-lián-bāng dà-gē*（竹聯幫大哥），*běn-tǔ-bāng dà-gē*（本土幫大哥），*chuán dà-gē*（船大哥），*shè-yǐng dà-gē*（攝影大

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	哥), *jǐng-chá dà-gē*（警察大哥), *xiāo-fáng dà-gē*（消防大哥), *sī-jī dà-gē*（司機大哥), *háng-yuán dà-gē*（行員大哥), *gōng-tóu dà-gē*（工頭大哥), *gōng-wù dà-gē*（工務大哥), *Shànghǎi-tān dà-gē*（上海灘大哥), *yuán-zhù-mín dà-gē*（原住民大哥） A-N type: *pàng gē*（胖哥), *kù gē*（酷哥), *shuài gē*（帥哥), *gōng-dào gē*（公道哥), *zhōng-kěn gē*（中肯哥), *zhōng-lì gē*（中立哥） V-N type: *dā-shàn gē*（搭訕哥), *yáo-yáo gē*（搖搖哥), *qián-shuǐ gē*（潛水哥), *páo-xiāo gē*（咆哮哥), *fàn-zhōu gē*（泛舟哥), *jiào-mài gē*（叫賣哥), *bēng-kuì gē*（崩潰哥), *lǐng-dǎo gē*（領導哥), *piāo gē*（飄哥), *bào-nù gē*（暴怒哥), *liàn-wǔ gē*（練舞哥), *xī-dú dà-gē*（吸毒大哥）
sǎo（嫂）'wife of elder brother'	A-N type: *kù-kù sǎo*（酷酷嫂） V-N type: *yǎng-zhū sǎo*（養豬嫂）
dì（弟）'younger brother'	N-N type: *lǔ-shé dì*（魯蛇弟), *xiǎo-mèi dì*（小妹弟), *tú dì*（徒弟), *xiān-cǎo dì*（仙草弟), *shào-nián dì*（少年弟), *xué-shēng dì*（學生弟), *shī dì*（師弟), *gāo-zhōng dì*（高中弟), *xī-cān dì*（西餐弟), *xiǎo-xiān-ròu dì*（小鮮肉弟), *guàn-zǐ dì*（罐子弟), *Běijīng dì*（北京弟), *yěn-jìng xiǎo-dì*（眼鏡小弟), *zǒng-jī xiǎo-dì*（總機小弟), *dǔ-chǎng xiǎo-dì*（賭場小弟), *jù-lè-bù xiǎo-dì*（俱樂部小弟), *Jiānádà xiǎo-dì*（加拿大小弟） A-N type: *nèn dì*（嫩弟), *xiǎo pàng dì*（小胖弟),

	jiān-áo dì（煎熬弟）, *pàng xiǎo-dì*（胖小弟）, *nián-qīng xiǎo-dì*（年輕小弟）
	V-N type: *xué dì*（學弟）, *pǎo-tuǐ dì*（跑腿弟）, *wài-sòng dì*（外送弟）, *xiū-chē xiǎo-dì*（修車小弟）, *xǐ-tóu xiǎo-dì*（洗頭小弟）, *shōu-yīn xiǎo-dì*（收音小弟）, *bó-chē xiǎo-dì*（泊車小弟）
jiě（姊）'elder sister'	N-N type: *hā-wèi jiě*（哈味姊）, *Fǎlālì jiě*（法拉利姊）, *E cup jiě*（E cup 姊）, *zhèng-yì jiě*（正義姊）, *wàn jiě*（卍姊）, *zhuō-jiǎo jiě*（桌角姊）, *hóng-sè xiōng-yī jiě*（紅色胸衣姊）, *F zhào-bēi jiě*（F 罩杯姊）, *H zhào-bēi jiě*（H 罩杯姊）, *biàn-dāng jiě*（便當姊）, *shī jiě*（師姊）, *míng-pái jiě*（明牌姊）, *bà-qì jiě*（霸氣姊）, *lín-tóu jiě*（林投姊）, *diàn-huà jiě*（電話姊）, *Kōng-jūn-yī-hào jiě*（空軍一號姊）, *Āpàqì jiě*（阿帕契姊）, *lì-qīng jiě*（瀝青姊）, *jiǔ-diàn jiě*（酒店姊）, *měi-fǎ jiě*（美髮姊）, *shī-hǒu jiě*（獅吼姊）, *kǒng-lóng jiě*（恐龍姊）, *bái-chī jiě*（白吃姊）, *yěn-jìng jiě*（眼鏡姊）, *wēn-ná jiě*（溫拿姊）, *gàn-gàn jiě*（幹幹姊）, *fáng-zhòng jiě*（房仲姊）, *Yuènán jiě*（越南姊）, *Běijīng jiě*（北京姊）, *man jiě*（man 姊）, *bà-wáng jiě*（霸王姊）, *nóng-zhuāng jiě*（濃妝姊）, *Model jiě*（Model 姊）
	A-N type: *jī-dòng jiě*（激動姊）, *yōu-yù jiě*（憂鬱姊）, *rè-xuě jiě*（熱血姊）, *gōng-dào jiě*（公道姊）, *dà zhèng jiě*（大正姊）, *fù-zé jiě*（負責姊）, *xī-lì jiě*（犀利姊）

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	V-N type: *bào-zǒu jiě*（爆走姊）, *bào-nù jiě*（暴怒姊）, *xǐ-tóu jiě*（洗頭姊）, *zhù-pǎo jiě*（助跑姊）, *dào-tuè jiě*（倒退姊）, *dào-chē jiě*（倒車姊）, *chā-duè jiě*（插隊姊）, *pēi jiě*（呸姊）, *jiào-mài jiě*（叫賣姊）, *tiào-zhēn jiě*（跳針姊）, *Hold jiě*（Hold 姊）, *xué jiě*（學姊）, *chēng-sǎn jiě*（撐傘姊）
	Ph-N type: *píng shé-me jiě*（憑什麼姊）
jiě（姐）'elder sister'	N-N type: *shī jiě*（師姐）, *zhèng-yì jiě*（正義姐）, *lín-tóu jiě*（林投姐）, *jù-diǎn jiě*（句點姐）, *Fǎlālì jiě*（法拉利姐）, *āmítuófó jiě*（阿彌陀佛姐）, *wàn jiě*（卍姐）, *Ānlì jiě*（安麗姐）, *bīng-shān jiě*（冰山姐）, *LP jiě*（LP 姐）, *Da-Ren jiě*（大仁姐）, *wēn-ná jiě*（溫拿姐）, *jié-yùn jiě*（捷運姐）, *gāo-tiě jiě*（高鐵姐）, *lì-qīng jiě*（瀝青姐）, *gōng-fū jiě*（功夫姐）, *nèi-yī jiě*（內衣姐）, *lǜ-kǎ jiě*（綠卡姐）, *yī-kǒu jiě*（一口姐）, *léi-dá jiě*（雷達姐）, *duǎn-fǎ jiě*（短髮姐）, *háo-qì dà-jiě*（豪氣大姐）, *guì-tái dà-jiě*（櫃臺大姐）
	A-N type: *dà zhèng jiě*（大正姐）, *chǔn jiě*（蠢姐）, *shǎ dà-jiě*（傻大姐）
	V-N type: *xué jiě*（學姐）, *shī-kòng jiě*（失控姐）, *pēi jiě*（呸姐）, *bào-nù jiě*（暴怒姐）, *pū-lù jiě*（鋪路姐）, *chā-duì jiě*（插隊姐）, *piāo jiě*（飄姐）, *bào-zǒu jiě*（暴走姐）, *zhù-pǎo jiě*（助跑姐）
mèi（妹）'younger sister'	N-N type: *lǔ-shé mèi*（魯蛇妹）, *xiǎo-dì mèi*（小弟妹）, *dà-lù mèi*（大陸妹）, *dà-nǎi mèi*（大奶妹）,

jù-rǔ mèi（巨乳妹），*rǔ-gōu mèi*（乳溝妹），*dà xiōng-pú mèi*（大胸脯妹），*zhì-fú mèi*（制服妹），*shī mèi*（師妹），*tài mèi*（太妹），*jī-pái mèi*（雞排妹），*chuán-bō mèi*（傳播妹），*T mèi*（T 妹），*bǐjīní mèi*（比基尼妹），*Sìchuān mèi*（四川妹），*bīn-láng mèi*（檳榔妹），*Hánguó mèi*（韓國妹），*xué-shēng mèi*（學生妹），*Rìběn mèi*（日本妹），*Chìh-Píng mèi*（治平妹），*yuán-jiāo mèi*（援交妹），*Yuènán mèi*（越南妹），*běi-yuè mèi*（北越妹），*Kèjiā mèi*（客家妹），*Fēilùbīn mèi*（菲律賓妹），*Zhōngguó mèi*（中國妹），*dòu-huā mèi*（豆花妹），*guó-zhōng mèi*（國中妹），*gōng-jù mèi*（工具妹），*gāo-zhōng mèi*（高中妹），*cháng-tuǐ mèi*（長腿妹），*měi-tuǐ mèi*（美腿妹），*rè-kù mèi*（熱褲妹），*páng-kè mèi*（龐克妹），*gāo-zhí mèi*（高職妹），*Fàguó mèi*（法國妹），*Yīng-huā mèi*（櫻花妹），*biàn-zǐ mèi*（辮子妹），*mǎ-wěi mèi*（馬尾妹），*duǎn-fǎ mèi*（短髮妹），*nóng-zhuāng mèi*（濃妝妹），*yùn-dòng mèi*（運動妹），*tào-zhuāng mèi*（套裝妹），*Éluósī mèi*（俄羅斯妹），*zhí-xiāo mèi*（直銷妹），*qì-zhì mèi*（氣質妹），*Táiwān mèi*（臺灣妹），*tái mèi*（臺妹），*Xiānggǎng mèi*（香港妹），*gǎng mèi*（港妹），*Lādīng Měizhōu mèi*（拉丁美洲妹），*Lādīng mèi*（拉丁妹），*duǎn-qún mèi*（短裙妹），*yěn-jìng mèi*（眼鏡妹），*Shànghǎi mèi*（上海妹），*què-bān mèi*（雀斑妹），*yǐn-liào mèi*（飲

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料妹）, *quán-jiā mèi*（全家妹）, *jiǔ-diàn mèi*（酒店妹）, *diàn-yuán mèi*（店員妹）, *nèn-bǎn jī-pái mèi*（嫩版雞排妹）, *Tàiguó mèi*（泰國妹）, *tài mèi*（泰妹）, *Táidōng mèi*（台東妹）, *tái-dà mèi*（台大妹）, *gāo-ěr-fū-qiú mèi*（高爾夫球妹）, *kǒu-zhào mèi*（口罩妹）, *jīn-fǎ mèi*（金髮妹）, *Yìnní mèi*（印尼妹）, *wǎng-kā mèi*（網咖妹）, *pào-cài mèi*（泡菜妹）, *Dōngnányǎ mèi*（東南亞妹）, *bǎo-xiǎn mè*（保險妹）, *hù-xiào mèi*（護校妹）, *Wénhuá mèi*（文華妹）, *zhōng-nǔ-zhōng mèi*（中女中妹）, *Qiūtián mèi*（秋田妹）, *Fúgāng mèi*（福岡妹）, *Xióngběn mèi*（熊本妹）, *Jīngdū mèi*（京都妹）, *niào-bù mèi*（尿布妹）, *là-zhú mèi*（蠟燭妹）, *shuǐ-guǒ mèi*（水果妹）, *fèng-shān shuǐ-guǒ mèi*（鳳山水果妹）, *yè-diàn mèi*（夜店妹）, *wài-pāi mèi*（外拍妹）, *yè-wù mèi*（業務妹）, *yín-háng mèi*（銀行妹）, *nán-bù mèi*（南部妹）, *yù-shān mèi*（玉山妹）, *jiǔ-ba mèi*（酒吧妹）, *dǎ-gōng mèi*（打工妹）, *Běijīng mèi*（北京妹）, *dōng-běi mèi*（東北妹）, *sī-xiào mèi*（私校妹）, *cháng-fǎ mèi*（長髮妹）, *dōng-ōu mèi*（東歐妹）, *hù-zhuān mèi*（護專妹）, *běi-ōu mèi*（北歐妹）, *wài-guó mèi*（外國妹）, *Húnán mèi*（湖南妹）, *shì-shāng mèi*（士商妹）, *Dànjiāng mèi*（淡江妹）, *zhèng-dà mèi*（政大妹）, *wài-jí mèi*（外籍妹）, *Běihán mèi*（北韓妹）, *tiān-lóng mèi*（天龍妹）, *Tàiguó dòu-huā mèi*（泰國豆花

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妹），*xǐ-wǎn mèi*（洗碗妹），*Xīnjiāpō mèi*（新加坡妹），*xī-cān mèi*（西餐妹），*táo-x-wū yuán-gōng mèi*（陶X屋員工妹），*Táizhōng mèi*（台中妹），*diào-chá-yuán mèi*（調查員妹），*àn-mó mèi*（按摩妹），*Niǔyuē mèi*（紐約妹），*Zhèjiāng mèi*（浙江妹），*quán-lián mèi*（全聯妹），*lán yǔ-yī mèi*（藍雨衣妹），*guó èr mèi*（國二妹），*Sègǔ 109 mèi*（澀谷 109 妹），*Shù-Dé mèi*（樹德妹），*Gāoxióng mèi*（高雄妹），*wù-kōng mèi*（悟空妹），*qǔ-jīng mèi*（取經妹），*mǐ-fěn mèi*（米粉妹），*gāo-lì-cài mèi*（高麗菜妹），*lóng mèi*（龍妹），*jié-yùn mèi*（捷運妹），*jiàn-pán xiǎo-mèi*（鍵盤洨妹），*kuài-dì xiǎo-mèi*（快遞小妹）

A-N type: *nèn mèi*（嫩妹），*pàng mèi*（胖妹），*zhèng mèi*（正妹），*wāi mè*（歪妹），*pǔ mèi*（普妹），*qīng-chún mèi*（清純妹），*lǎo mèi*（老妹），*piāo-liàng mèi*（漂亮妹），*nián-qīng mèi*（年輕妹），*là mèi*（辣妹），*nián-qīng xiǎo-mèi*（年輕小妹），*cōng-míng xiǎo-mèi*（聰明小妹）

V-N type: *mí mèi*（迷妹），*yīng-zhào mèi*（應召妹），*xǐ-tóu mèi*（洗頭妹），*diǎn-cài mèi*（點菜妹），*fā-pái mèi*（發牌妹），*xué mèi*（學妹）

(104) …老師也稱「**師父**」（亦師亦父），師生都已經「擬親人」了。(Source: AS)

*…lǎo-shī yě chēng "**shī fù 'father'**" (yì shī yì fù), shī-shēng dōu yǐ-jīng "nǐ qīn-rén" le. (Source: AS)*

'... teacher is also referred to the **teacher father** (a father-like teacher), which

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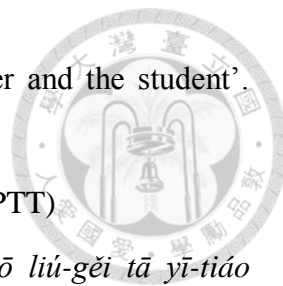
defines the relationship of pseudo-relative between the teacher and the student'. (Source: AS)

(105) 肚臍伯已經夠 QQ 了，拜託留給他一條生路吧。(Source: PTT)

Dù-qí bó 'father's elder brother' yǐ-jīng gòu QQ le, bài-tuō liú-gěi tā yī-tiáo shēng-lù ba. (Source: PTT)

'The **navel uncle** has already suffered enough, please give him a break'. (Source: PTT)

(The navel uncle refers to *Chen Yen-Bo*, a councilor of Taipei City Council, who asked the mayor of Taipei City how to say "navel" in English)

(106) 55 歲的柳田穿著自備的白色科學家袍，一派溫和大叔的模樣… (Source: PTT)

*55 suì de Liǔtián chuān-zhe zì-bèi de bái-sè kē-xué-jiā páo, yī-pài **wēn-hé dà-shú 'big-father's younger brother'** de mó-yàng… (Source: PTT)*

'The 55-year-old Yanagita wears the laboratory coat he prepared for himself, he looks like a **gentle big-uncle**...' (Source: PTT)

(107) 有夠髒的… 這篇文章有口交嬸的畫面。(Source: PTT)

*Yǒu-gòu zāng de… zhè-piān wén-zhāng yǒu **kǒu-jiāo shěn 'wife of father's younger brother'** de huà-miàn. (Source: PTT)*

'It is really disgusting... this article contains the image of the **oral sex aunt**'. (Source: PTT)

(108) 1 名反同婚女子以模擬口交的手勢挑釁挺同陣營，被網友封為「口交姨」。 (Source: The Liberty Times)

*1 míng fǎn-tóng-hūn nǚ-zǐ yǐ mó-nǐ kǒu-jiāo de shǒu-shì tiāo-xìn tǐng-tóng zhèn-yíng, bèi wǎng-yǒu fēng wéi "**kǒu-jiāo yí 'mother's elder/younger sister'**". (Source: The Liberty Times)*

'A woman who is against homosexual marriage imitated the gesture of blow job for aggravating the homosexual advocates, she has been granted the title of **oral sex aunt**'. (Source: The Liberty Times)

(109) ... 各位 **30 公分兄**，H 罩杯姊，遇到這情況… (Source: PTT)
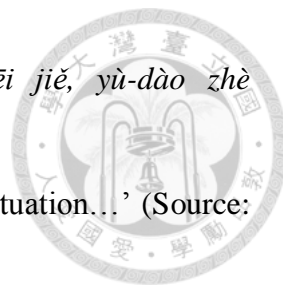
*... gè-wèi **30 gōng-fēn xiōng 'elder brother'**, H zhào-bēi jiě, yù-dào zhè qíng-kuàng... (Source: PTT)*

'... Every **30-cm brother** and H-cup sister, if you are in this situation…' (Source: PTT)

(30-cm brother refers to a male who has a 30-cm-long penis)

(110) 小妹其實很好奇，會自稱**小妹哥**的人到底是裝小妹的肥宅，還是自稱哥的小妹啊，好有想像空間… (Source: PTT)

*Xiǎo mèi qí-shí hěn hǎo-qí, huì zì-chēng **xiǎo-mèi gē 'elder brother'** de rén dào-dǐ shì zhuāng xiǎo-mèi de féi-zhái, hái-shì zì-chēng gē de xiǎo-mèi ā, hǎo yǒu xiǎng-xiàng kōng-jiān... (Source: PTT)*

'Little-sister (i.e., I) am very curious about that for someone who uses the term **little-sister brother** for self, is this person a fat nerd who pretends to be a little-sister, or this person is a little-sister who refers to herself brother? There is full of various imagination...' (Source: PTT)

(111) 愛之深，責之切？**酷酷嫂**請別再酸馬英九了！ (Source: TVBS News)

*Ài zhī shēn, zé zhī qiē? **Kù-kù sǎo 'wife of elder brother'** qǐng bié zài suān Ma Ying-Jeou le! (Source: TVBS News)*

'Love well, whip well? **Cool-cool aunt**, please do not ridicule Ma Ying-Jeou anymore!' (Source: TVBS News)

(112) [他的]位子旁邊總是放很多罐子，所以叫罐子哥，D 同學則是因為長相神似罐子哥，就叫他**罐子弟**… (Source: PTT)

*Wèi-zǐ páng-biān zǒng-shì fàng hěn-duō guàn-zǐ, suǒ-yǐ jiào guàn-zǐ gē, D tóng-xué zé-shì yīn-wèi zhǎng-xiàng shén-sì guàn-zǐ gē, jiù jiào tā **guàn-zǐ dì 'younger brother'**... (Source: PTT)*

'There are always so many cans next to [his] seat, so he is called can brother (elder); while student D is called **can brother (younger)** because his appearance looks like can brother (elder)...' (Source: PTT)

(113) 嚐出哈密瓜有一種哈味的...「**哈味姊**」… 在高鐵被民眾捕獲… (Source: PTT)

*Cháng-chū hā-mì-guā yǒu yī-zhǒng hā wèi de... "**hā-wèi jiě 'elder sister'**"... zài*
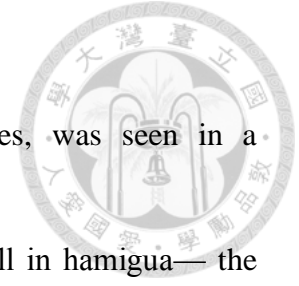
gāo-tiě bèi mín-zhòng bǔ-huò... (Source: PTT)

'Ha-smell sister, who found the 'ha' smell in cantaloupes, was seen in a high-speed rail station…' (Source: PTT)

(Ha-smell sister is the female who thinks there is a 'ha' smell in hamigua— the word 'cantaloupes' in Chinese)

(114) 最近台視為製播**林投姐**[的]連續劇，特別商借慈雲寶塔作為道士捉鬼的場景。(Source: AS)

*Zuì-jìn tái-shì wèi zhì-bō **lín-tóu jiě 'elder sister'** [de] lián-xù-jù, tè-bié shāng-jiè cí-yún-bǎo-tǎ zuò-wéi dào-shì zhuō-guǐ de chǎng-jǐng. (Source: AS)*

'Recently, for filming the TV series of **screw pine sister**, the Taiwan Television (TTV) rented the Tzu-Yun Pagoda for the scene of ghostbusting by the Taoist priest'. (Source: AS)

(The screw pine sister refers to the female who was cheated by a man and lost her money as well as chasteness, she hanged herself in the screw pine grove and became a ghost that haunted in the grove. This female comes from a folk story of Tainan, Taiwan in late Qing dynasty)

(115) … 經過成大總覺得妹很龍，跟一些私校妹水準差好多，是**龍妹**大部分很會念書？(Source: PTT)

*… jīng-guò chéng-dà zǒng jué-dé mèi hěn lóng, gēn yī-xiē sī-xiào mèi shuǐ-zhǔn chà hǎo-duō, shì **lóng mèi 'younger sister'** dà-bù-fèn hěn-huì niàn-shū? (Source: PTT)*

'... [I] always consider that the sisters (i.e., female students) of NCKU (i.e., the Natinoal Cheng Kung University) are very "dino" every time I pass by [the university], they are far from some private school sisters, does it mean that most **dino sisters** are quite good at studying?' (Source: PTT)

(Dino is the abbreviation of "dinosaur", it refers to the female who is with big size, unattractive appearance, and fierce personality)

The speaker in (104) reveals how the generalized kinship term *shī fù* (師父) 'teacher father' formed in her/his cognition, that is, as the teacher, as the father. Example (106) uncovers another clue for the judgment of using *dà-shú* for a non-relative male. A man is considered as a *dà-shú* even at the age of 55. To compare the example of (106) with the example of (46), we can conclude that the age span of *dà-shú* is around 30 to 55 years old.

Another interesting finding in (109) is that the physical features of a 30-cm male genital organ and a breast of H-cup are all imaged, regardless of the biological measurements in a real situation. Therefore, a metonymic theme of this type (both disyllabic and monosyllabic group) could be created or fictitious, as long as the language user intends to profile it.

The narrator of (110) points out a phenomenon that a person calls her/himself *xiǎo-mèi gē* (小妹哥) 'little-sister brother' and thus blurs her/his gender attribute, resulting in weakening the reliability of gender indication of a kinship term.

In (115), *lóng mèi* is used to describe the female students of the Natinoal Cheng Kung University look like "dinosaurs", demonstating an example of impoliteness expression of generalized usage of kinship terms. This impoliteness usage will be further discussed in chapter 5.

4.2.5 Metaphorical/Idiomatic Usage: Refer to Non-Human Being

The last type of generalized kinship terms is the metaphorical/idiomatic usage— a type generally refers to non-human beings. In this type, the head of a combination dominates the meaning of whole structure, and the part of kinship term mainly provides a pragmatic function. Features that distinguish each kinship term from each other diminished in a considerable degree. For example, *dǎng māmā* (黨媽媽) 'party mother' refers to the Communist Party of China. Siri *jiějiě* (Siri 姊姊) 'Sister Siri' refers to the virtual assistant Siri, and *zhāng-láng gē* (蟑螂哥) 'cockroach brother' refers to a cockroach. However, there are few exceptions with different forms, such as *Lin Wang yéyé* refers to an elephant, but its form looks similar to the examples we present in the

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modified by a surname type; the form of *nǎinǎi* is the same as the bare kinship term, but it actually refers to the breast; *tángdì gē* (堂弟哥) 'cousin (son of father's brother, younger than ego) brother' and *biǎodì gē* (表弟哥) 'cousin (son of father's sister or mother's brother/sister, younger than ego) brother' all refer to speaker's relatives, but the feature of kinship term *gē* is greatly diminished. Each term under this category should be elaborated in context, respectively, due to the metaphorical or idiomatic nature.

The disyllabic kinship terms of this type are listed in Table 4.9. Examples are listed from (116) to (126).

Table 4.9 The Generalized Disyllabic Kinship Terms— Metaphorical/Idiomatic Usage

Kinship Term	Metaphorical/Idiomatic Usage
yéyé (爺爺) 'father's father'	N-N type: *Lin Wang yéyé*（林旺爺爺），*Qì-é yéyé*（企鵝爺爺），*tǔ-dì-gōng yéyé*（土地公爺爺）
āgōng (阿公) 'father/mother's father'	N/A
nǎinǎi (奶奶) 'father's mother'	*nǎinǎi*（奶奶）
āmà (阿媽) 'father/mother's mother'	N/A
āmà (阿嬤) 'father/mother's mother'	N/A
bàbà (爸爸) 'father'	N-N type: *Éluósī bàbà*（俄羅斯爸爸），*Měiguó bàbà*（美國爸爸），*Zhōngguó bàbà*（中國爸爸）
māmā (媽媽) 'mother'	N-N type: *dǎng māmā*（黨媽媽）
bófù (伯父) 'father's elder brother'	N/A
bóbó (伯伯) 'father's elder	N-N type: *Lin Wang bóbó*（林旺伯伯）

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brother'	
āpeh (阿伯) 'father's elder brother'	N/A
bómǔ (伯母) 'wife of father's elder brother'	N/A
shúshú (叔叔) 'father's younger brother'	N/A
yímā (姨媽) 'mother's elder/younger sister'	*dà-yímā*（大姨媽）
āyí (阿姨) 'mother's elder/younger sister'	N/A
gēgē (哥哥) 'elder brother'	N-N type: *fēng gēgē*（風哥哥）
dìdì (弟弟) 'younger brother'	*dìdì*（弟弟） N-N type: *yún dìdì*（雲弟弟）, *shuǐ-lù dìdì*（水鹿弟弟）, *xiǎo-dìdì*（小弟弟）
jiějiě (姊姊) 'elder sister'	N-N type: *Siri jiějiě*（Siri 姊姊）
jiějiě (姐姐) 'elder sister'	N/A
mèimèi (妹妹) 'younger sister'	*xiǎo-mèimèi*（小妹妹）
érzǐ (兒子) 'son'	N-N type: *māo érzǐ*（貓兒子）, *Zhōngguó érzǐ*（中國兒子）

(116) 國寶大象**林旺爺爺**於二月廿六日凌晨逝世，死於心肺衰竭。(Source: AS)

*Guó-bǎo dà-xiàng **Lin Wang yéyé 'father's father'** yú èr yuè èr-shí-liù rì líng-chén shì-shì, sǐ yú xīn-fèi shuāi-jié. (Source: AS)*

'Grandfather Lin Wang, the elephant of our national treasure, died on 26th February due to cardiopulmonary failure'. (Source: AS)

(117) … [它]是胸墊不是**奶奶**… (Source: PTT)

*… [tā] shì xiōng-diàn bù-shì **nǎinǎi 'father's mother'**… (Source: PTT)*

'… [it] is a bust pad, not **grandmother (i. e., the breast)**…' (Source: PTT)

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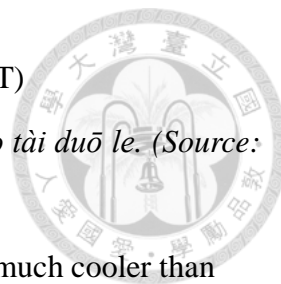
(118) 說戰就戰，**俄羅斯爸爸**比中國兒子屌太多了。(Source: PTT)

*Shuō zhàn jiù zhàn, **Éluósī bàbà 'father'** bǐ Zhōngguó érzǐ diǎo tài duō le. (Source: PTT)*

'[They] will fight if they commit to do so, the **Russia father** is much cooler than the China son'. (Source: PTT)

(The Russia father refers to Russia; the China son refers to China)

(119) …**黨媽媽**一聲令下你就要改姓黨了懂嗎？(Source: PTT)

*…**dǎng māmā 'mother'** yī-shēng-lìng-xià nǐ jiù-yào gǎi xìng dǎng le dǒng ma? (Source: PTT)*

'... when the **party mother** orders so, you will have to change the surname as the name of party, got it?' (Source: PTT)

(The meaning of this example is that one should obey the orders of the party)

(120) … 終於到達了… 木柵動物園… 我們首先去探望**林旺伯伯** 再去看有如椰子樹般的長頸鹿，威猛的老虎、獅子… (Source: AS)

*… zhōng-yú dào-dá le… Mù'zhà dòng-wù-yuán… wǒ-men shǒu-xiān qù tàn-wàng **Lin Wang bóbó 'father's elder brother'**, zài qù kàn yǒu rú yē-zǐ-shù bān de chǎng-jǐng-lù, wēi-měng de lǎo-hǔ, shī-zǐ… (Source: AS)*

'... finally, [we] arrived at... the Taipei Zoo... we visited **Uncle Lin Wang** first and saw the coconut tree-like giraffes, as well as mighty tigers and lions...' (Source: AS)

(Uncle Lin Wang refers to the elephant Lin Wang)

(121) … 說完突然覺得肚子好痛，我可能是**大姨媽**來了… (Source: AS)

*… shuō wán tū-rán jué-dé dù-zǐ hǎo tòng, wǒ kě-néng shì **dà-yímā 'big-mother's elder/younger sister'** lái le… (Source: AS)*

'... suddenly, [I] feel an abdominal pain, it is possibly [my] **big-aunt** comes...' (Source: AS)

(Big-aunt refers to the menstruation)

(122) … 是誰，把哥哥的搖控飛機吹走了？哦！！原來是愛開玩笑的**風哥哥**！！(Source: AS)

*... shì shuí, bǎ gēgē de yáo-kòng fēi-jī chuī-zǒu le? ò!! Yuán-lái shì ài kāi-wán-xiào de **fēng gēgē 'elder brother'**!! (Source: AS)*

'... who dares to blow [my] brother's drone away? Oh! It is the **wind brother**, who loves to amuse!' (Source: AS)

(123) … 鞋子尺寸和陰莖大小並無關連… 事實上， 沒有任何身體部位能預測「**弟弟**」大小。(Source: PTT)

*… xié-zǐ chǐ-cùn hé yīn-jīng dà-xiǎo bìng wú guān-lián… shì-shí-shàng, méi-yǒu rèn-hé shēn-tǐ bù-wèi néng yù-cè "**dìdì 'younger brother'**" dà-xiǎo. (Source: PTT)*

'... the shoe size has nothing to do with the penis size... actually, there is no such body part that can be inferred the size of **brother**'. (Source: PTT)

(Brother refers to the penis)

(124) 今天… 想買蘋果的充電線， 就問了 Siri， 結果好兇喔 **Siri 姊姊**。(Source: PTT)

*Jīn-tiān… xiǎng mǎi píng-guǒ de chōng-diàn-xiàn, jiù wèn le Siri, jié-guǒ hǎo xiōng wō **Siri jiějiě 'elder sister'**. (Source: PTT)*

'Today... [I] want to buy Apple's charger and ask the Siri [about this], I cannot believe the **Sister Siri** replies to me in a very fierce attitude'. (Source: PTT)

(Sister Siri refers to the virtual assistant Siri)

(125) 每隔一陣子，「**小妹妹**」就會冒出一顆顆水泡…可能是「生殖器皰疹」作祟！ (Source: TVBS News)

*Měi gé yī-zhèn-zǐ, 「**xiǎo-mèimèi 'little-younger sister'**」 jiù-huì mào-chū yī-kē-kē shuǐ-pào… kě-néng shì 「shēng-zhí-qì pào-zhěn」 zuò-suì! (Source: TVBS News)*

'The **little-sister** gets blisters at intervals... that is possibly caused by the "genital herpes"!' (Source: TVBS News)

(126) 沒人可以聊天， 只好跟**貓兒子**聊。(Source: PTT)

*Méi rén kě-yǐ liáo-tiān, zhī-hǎo gēn **māo érzǐ 'son'** liáo. (Source: PTT)*

'There is no one [I can] talk to, so [I] can only chat with **cat son**'. (Source: PTT)

(Cat son refers to a cat)

The reason why *nǎinǎi* in (117) refers to the breast may be influenced by Taiwan

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Southern Min. In Taiwan Southern Min, despite the pronunciations are different from Mandarin[15], this word is often written as the Chinese character *năi* (奶); its reduplicated form *năinăi*, with the same meaing, is acquired and frequently used by babies and young children. Due to the written form of the 'breast' in Taiwan Southern Min is the same as the 'grandmother' in Mandarin, native speakers conceptually link the form of 'grandmother' in Mandarin and the meaning of 'breast' in Taiwan Southern Min together. In other words, the meaning of 'breast' is coded into *năinăi*; this kinship term becomes an idiomatic usage while referring to the 'breast'[16].

The only example of generalized *dà-yímā* (i.e., the menstruation) in our study is shown in (121). The most possible and convincing source of this usage is adopted from Cantonese. Details of its concept forming elaborated in section 5.1.1. In example (123), *dìdì* refers to the male genital organ is an outcome of part-whole metonymy (male organ-male body); the same mechanism applied to the case of *xiăo-mèimèi* in (125), referring to the female genital organ. Among this group, none of the kinship terms of Taiwan Southern Min can be generalized.

Similarly, the type of monosyllabic terms is listed in Table 4.10. Examples are listed from (127) to (132).

Table 4.10 The Generalized Monosyllabic Kinship Terms— Metaphorical/Idiomatic Usage

Kinship Term	Metaphorical/Idiomatic Usage
fù (父) 'father'	N/A
bó (伯) 'father's elder brother'	N/A
shú (叔) 'father's younger brother'	N/A
shĕn (嬸) 'wife of father's younger brother'	N/A

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[15] According to the Dictionary of Commonly Used Words in Taiwan Southern Min (Ministry of Education, 2011), there are four pronunciations for 'breast' in Taiwan Southern Min: *ling*, *lin*, *ni*, and *ne*.
[16] Alothough in Mandarin, one sense of *năi* (奶) also refers to the breast, its reduplicated form *năinăi* does not have the same meaing. Thus, there is no evidence shows *năinăi* is directly generalized as the 'breast' in Mandarin.

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yí (姨) 'mother's elder/younger sister'	N/A
xiōng (兄) 'elder brother'	N-N type: *biān-fú xiōng*（蝙蝠兄）, *Google xiōng*（Google 兄）, *hēi-gǒu xiōng*（黑狗兄）, *fāng-kuài xiōng*（方塊兄）, *ā-gǒu xiōng*（阿狗兄）, *rè-diǎn xiōng*（熱點兄）, *gǒu-shǐ xiōng*（狗屎兄）, *diāo xiōng*（鵰兄）, *dù-qí xiōng*（肚臍兄）, *zhāng-láng xiōng*（蟑螂兄）, *ā-qiáng xiōng*（阿強兄）, *xiǎo-qiáng xiōng*（小強兄）, *bì-hǔ xiōng*（壁虎兄）, *kǒng-fāng xiōng*（方孔兄, i.e., 孔方兄）, *tuō-bǎ xiōng*（拖把兄）, *hé-tún xiōng*（河豚兄）, *wén-zǐ xiōng*（蚊子兄）, *tù-zǐ xiōng*（兔子兄）, *hú-dié xiōng*（蝴蝶兄）
gē (哥) 'elder brother'	N-N type: *tángdì gē*（堂弟哥）, *biǎodì gē*（表弟哥）, *dàn-huáng gē*（蛋黃哥）, *dào-jù gē*（道具哥）, *zhāng-yú gē*（章魚哥）, *xuǎn-zhàn zhāng-yú gē*（選戰章魚哥）, *zhāng-láng gē*（蟑螂哥）, *mǎ-tǒng gē*（馬桶哥）
sǎo (嫂) 'wife of elder brother'	N/A
dì (弟) 'younger brother'	N-N type: *gǒu dì*（狗弟）, *fāng-kuài dì*（方塊弟）
jiě (姊) 'elder sister'	N-N type: *fāng-kuài jiě*（方塊姊）, *Google jiě*（Google 姊）, *zhāng-yú jiě*（章魚姊）
jiě (姐) 'elder sister'	N-N type: *twitch yǔ-yīn jiě*（twi[t]ch 語音姐）,

	Google jiě（Google 姐），tái-fēng dùjuān jiě（颱風杜鵑姐），Siri jiě（Siri 姐）
mèi (妹) 'younger sister'	N-N type: dà-lù mèi（大陸妹），xiǎo-hēi mèi（小黑妹），fāng-kuài mèi（方塊妹） A-N type: lǎo-mèi（老妹）

(127) ... 狗或大型狗，我自己是想到**黑狗兄**，然後有些狗會咬人，喜歡兇人。貓要是… (Source: PTT)

*... gǒu huò dà-xíng gǒu, wǒ zì-jǐ shì xiǎng-dào **hēi-gǒu xiōng 'elder brother'**, rán-hòu yǒu-xiē gǒu huì yǎo-rén, xǐ-huān xiōng-rén. Māo yào-shì... (Source: PTT)*

'... [talking about] dogs or big dog breeds, I will think of the **black dog brother**, some dogs bite people and being aggressive. If cats …' (Source: PTT)

(128) ... 正式宣告放棄抵抗... **蟑螂哥**也消失在這四坪不到的小房間裡。 (Source: PTT)

*... zhèng-shì xuān-gào fàng-qì dǐ-kàng... **zhāng-láng gē 'elder brother'** yě xiāo-shī zài zhè sì píng bù dào de xiǎo fáng-jiān lǐ. (Source: PTT)*

'… [I] stop resisting… the **cockroach brother** disappeared in this really small room'. (Source: PTT)

(129) 樂透說明：比較 ▂方塊妹與 ▆**方塊弟**的下注數量… █方塊兄純贊助用。彩券每張 100 元… (Source: PTT)

*Lè-tòu shuō-míng: bǐ-jiào ▂fāng-kuài mèi yǔ ▆**fāng-kuài dì 'younger brother'** de xià-zhù shù-liàng... █fāng-kuài xiōng chún zàn-zhù yòng. Cǎi-quàn měi zhāng 100 yuán... (Source: PTT)*

'The rule of lottery [game]: comparing the bets of ▂square sister (younger) with bets of ▆**square brother (younger)**… The █square brother (elder) is only provided for the purpose of sponsoring. Every lottery ticket costs 100 dollars…' (Source: PTT)

(The square brother (younger) refers to a square)

(130) … 剛剛隨便打了一個字，請 **Google 姊**翻譯… (Source: PTT)

… *gāng-gāng suí-biàn dǎ le yī-gè zì, qǐng **Google jiě 'elder sister'** fān-yì... (Source: PTT)*

'… [I] just typed a word randomly and asked **Sister Google** to translate it...' (Source: PTT)

(131) … 好像對東部影響劇烈，請問有**颱風杜鵑姐**[-]杜姐的八卦 … (Source: PTT)

… *hǎo-xiàng duì dōng-bù yǐng-xiǎng jù-liè, qǐng-wèn yǒu **tái-fēng dù-juān jiě 'elder sister'** [-] dù jiě de bā-guà... (Source: PTT)*

'… it looks like it will bring a severe damage to Eastern Taiwan, is there any rumor of **the typhoon Dujuan sister** [-] Sister Du…' (Source: PTT)

(132) … 不過夏普是個百年**老妹**了，又愛敗家… (Source: PTT)

… *bù-guò Xiàpǔ shì gè bǎi-nián **lǎo-mèi 'old-younger sister'** le, yòu ài bài-jiā... (Source: PTT)*

'... however, Sharp is an **old-sister** of a century and loves to waste money...' (Source: PTT)
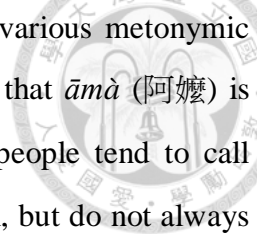
(Sharp refers to the Sharp Corporation)

Lǎo-mèi in (132) is also an exception for its form is similar to the members of metonymic theme preceded type. However, this term refers to the old Japanese company 'Sharp', which was established a century ago.

4.3 Interim Summary

In this chapter, we have analyzed the data retrieved from the AS Corpus, the PTT Corpus, and some news reports, and then categorized them into five types— 'bare form' type, 'degree modifier as prefix' type, 'modified by surname/name' type, 'metonymic theme preceded' type, and 'metaphorical/idiomatic usage' type— by their forms and meanings. Each type is divided into a disyllabic subtype and a monosyllabic subtype for detailed observation.

We find that no matter in disyllabic or monosyllabic group, generalized kinship terms only take a small portion among all kinship terms. The kinship term *āmà* (阿嬤)

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in Taiwan Southern Min has more opportunities to combine with various metonymic themes than *nǎinǎi*, a kinship term in Taiwan Mandarin, implying that *āmà* (阿嬤) is more often used while referring to elderly females. In addition, people tend to call non-relative men with paternal kinship terms of the older generation, but do not always address non-relative women with paternal kinship terms. There are three choices for non-relative women: *nǎinǎi*, *bómǔ*, and *āyí*, among which *āyí* is the most predominant one. The amount of generalized disyllabic kinship terms (18 terms) are more than generalized monosyllabic kinship terms (11 terms).

By observing enormous combinations of generalized kinship terms in five categories, phenomena such as bi-directional generalization, the standard of choosing proper kinship term, viewpoint shifting, and generalization that without consideration for nationality, alive status, or matched gender feature of the subject, are concisely explained. Further discussion of these (and other) issues will be elaborated in the next chapter.

Chapter 5　Generalization Process of Kinship Terms and Its Performance

Following the categorization of the combination of generalized kinship terms in chapter 4, this chapter aims to explain the process of how the generalization is triggered and formed in speakers' mind. Moreover, the phenomenon of the distinct combination variety of some generalized kinship terms observed in the categories is further discussed in this chapter. This study adopts the Conceptual Blending Theory (Fauconnier and Turner 2002) and Goldberg's (1995, 2006) idea of Construction to elaborate the formation process of a generalized usage. This part is arranged in section 5.1. Also, section 5.1 deals with issues relating to viewpoint shifting, politeness, factors of generalization, and other mechanisms. The core of section 5.2 is to figure out why some generalization preferences exist. Finally, we propose an argument on semantic change of the combination of generalized kinship terms in section 5.3 through the observation on two traceable cases in the collected data.

5.1　How the Generalization Works

Observing the various generalized usages of kinship terms in chapter 4, one may wonder: how is this possible for a native speaker to manipulate these kinship terms in extensional uses so fluently like this way? Native speakers use and create these novel usages quite naturally, smoothly, and immediately. In section 5.1, we introduce how an extensional usage of kinship terms is created with the aid of Conceptual Blending Theory (section 5.1.1); next, we further explain how these extensional usages are produced in section 5.1.2.

5.1.1　Concept Creation

The way a speaker generalizes the kinship terms is a mental operation. For a better understanding of how generalized kinship terms are created conceptually, we take some examples and elaborate them with the model of Conceptual Blending Theory

(Fauconnier and Turner 2002), following the order of the 'bare form' type, 'degree modifier as prefix' type, 'modified by surname or name' type, 'metonymic theme preceded' type, and 'metaphorical/idiomatic usage' type. The distinction of disyllabic and monosyllabic group is also taken into consideration. Examples are shown below:

1. Bare form

a. Disyllabic Kinship Term (see Fig. 5.1)

(7) 有一個二十多歲的年輕人跑來攀談爸爸… 乾脆跟我爸爸要錢說：**伯父**… 我已經餓了好幾天沒錢吃飯了，可以給我一點錢嗎？(Source: PTT)

Yǒu yī gè èr-shí duō suì de nián-qīng-rén pǎo lái pān-tán bàbà … gān-cuì gēn wǒ bàbà yào-qián shuō: ***bófù 'father's elder brother'****… wǒ yǐ-jīng è le hǎo jǐ tiān méi qián chī-fàn le, kě-yǐ gěi wǒ yī diǎn qián ma? (Source: PTT)*

'A young man in his twenties came and talked to my father…he simply asked my father to give him some money, "**Uncle**… I have nothing to buy any food and I am starving for several days, could you give some money?"' (Source: PTT)
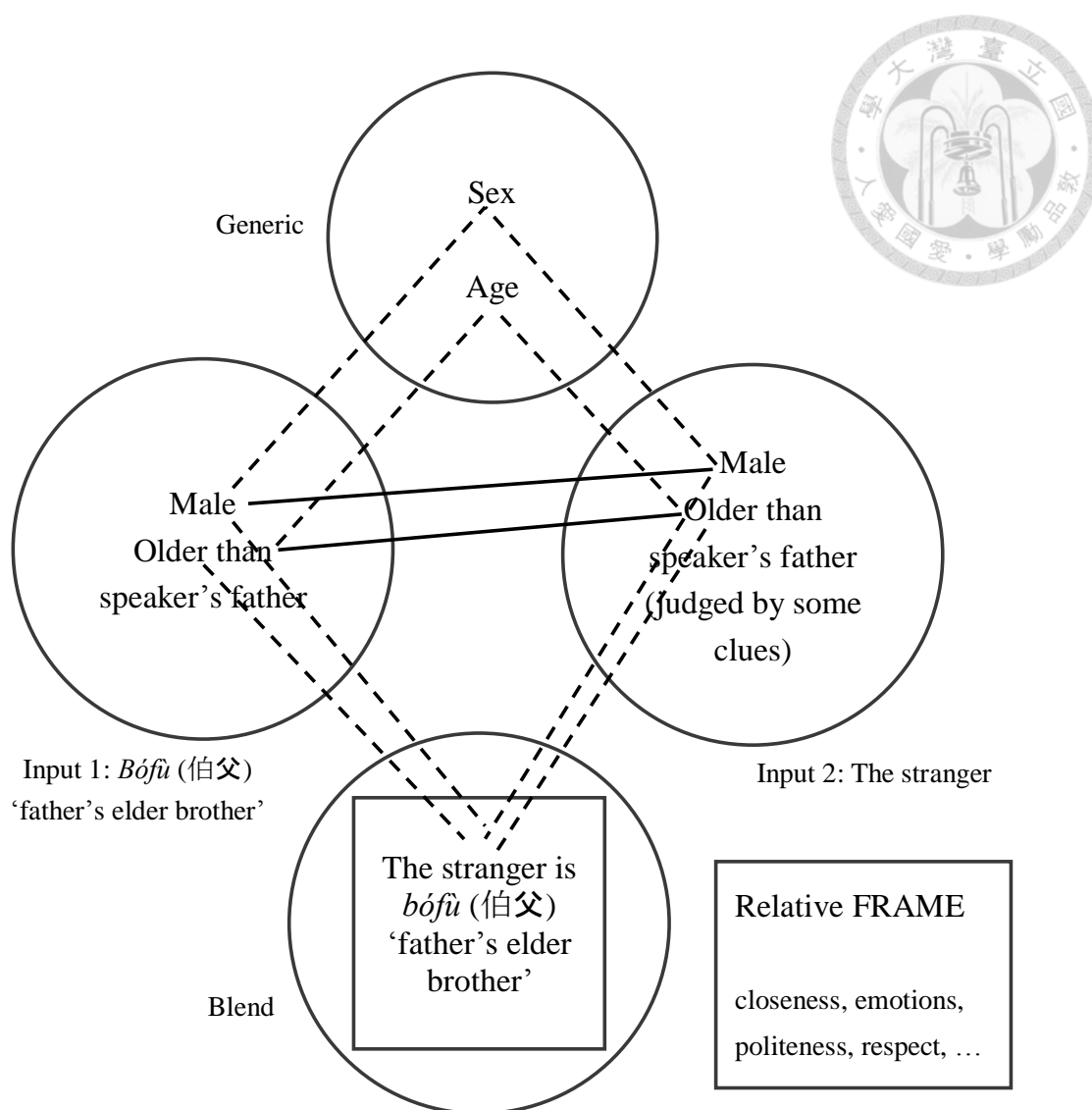
Fig. 5.1. The Conceptual Blending of *Bófù* (伯父) 'father's elder brother'

The case of a young man calls the narrator's father 'uncle' in sentence (7) can be analyzed as follows: there are two input spaces. Input space 1 contains the elements of gender and age of *bófù* and input space 2 contains the elements of the addressee's gender and some clues of age[17]. The elements in common of different input spaces are mapped onto the generic space. In this case, they are sex and age, through the connection by lines. The emergent structure through composition is: "the stranger is called "uncle" by the speaker"; the emergent structure through completion is: the term "uncle" called by the young man evokes the *relative* frame. The emergent structure through elaboration is: "running the *relative* frame by being closeness, showing respect,

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[17] The clues might be the addressee's face, voice, hair, or other attributes.

performing politeness, and so forth[18]". Hence, the young man conceptually categorizes the non-relative male addressee as *bófù* and useds this generalized kinship term on the stranger.
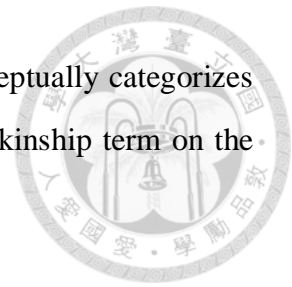
b. Monosyllabic Kinship Term (see Fig. 5.2)

(24) …大家午安，弟剛去理髮，來了個妹子幫我剪… (Source: PTT)

*… dà-jiā wǔ-ān, **dì 'younger brother'** gāng qù lǐ-fǎ, lái le gè mèi-zǐ bāng wǒ jiǎn…* *(Source: PTT)*

'… Good afternoon, everyone. **Brother** (i.e., I) just had my hair cut by a girl at a barbershop…' (Source: PTT)

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[18] For the limited space, explanations of conceptual blending of following examples are simplified.
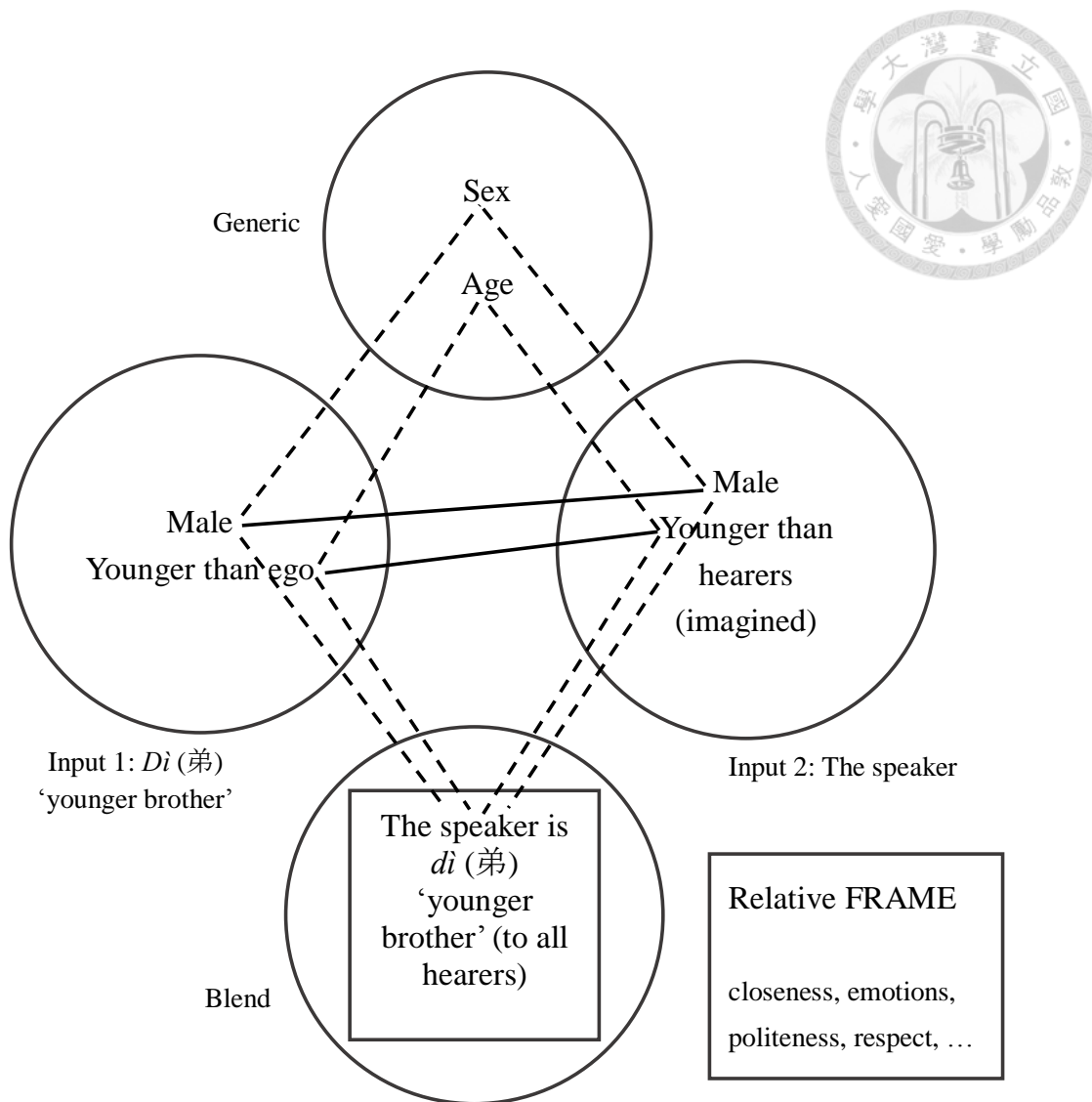
Fig. 5.2. The Conceptual Blending of *Dì* (弟) 'younger brother'

In sentence (24), the speaker blends the feature of gender and age of relative *dì* (input space 1) with his gender and age attribute (input space 2) together under the effects of the *relative* frame (being close to one's relatives, showing one's politeness or respect, etc.) By this way, the speaker categorizes himself as a younger brother of all hearers in his concept, and calls himself with the generalized *dì*. Remarkably, since the speaker's age may not be younger than every hearer, the attribute of younger age in input 2 must be an imagined one produced by the speaker himself.

2. Degree Modifier as Prefix

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Fundamentally, the conceptual blending of this type is the same as the type of bare form, both in disyllabic and monosyllabic forms. The degree modifiers attached to the generalized kinship term act as meaning enhancements (e.g., to show more respect or closeness) for the type of bare form, as we elaborate in section 4.2.2. Hence, the blending process is skipped here.

3. Modified by Surname/Name

　　a. Disyllabic Kinship Term (see Fig. 5.3)

　　(60) 用**費爾巴哈爺爺**的話來說，神是人造出來的呀… (Source: AS)

　　*Yòng **Fei'erbaha yéyé 'father's father'** de huà lái shuō, shén shì rén zào chū lái de ya… (Source: AS)*

　　'In **Grandfather Feuerbach**'s words, God is artificially created...' (Source: AS)

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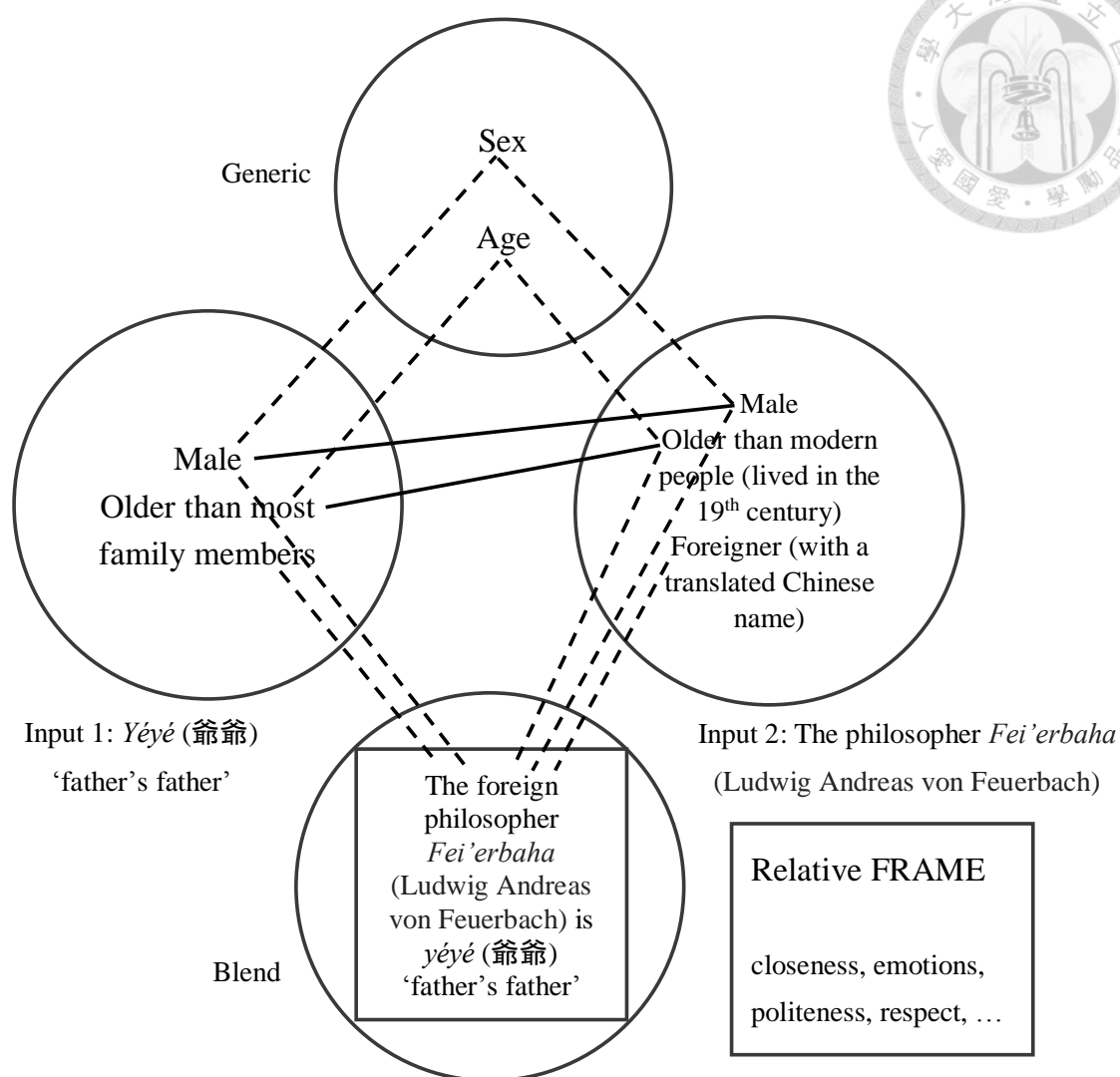
Fig. 5.3. The Conceptual Blending of *Fei'erbaha yéyé* (費爾巴哈爺爺) 'Grandfather Feuerbach'

In sentence (60), the speaker blends the feature of gender and age of the relative *yéyé* (input space 1) with the feature of gender, age (lived in the 19th century) of the German philosopher Ludwig Andreas von Feuerbach, as well as his attribute of being a foreigner (input space 2) together, under the effects of the *relative* frame (being close to one's relatives, showing one's politeness or respect, etc.) (the blended feature of a foreigner reveals that native speakers of Taiwan Mandarin could generalize kinship terms on addressees of different language, nation, and culture) and called him *Fei'erbaha yéyé*, regardless the nationality and alive status of this philosopher.

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b. Monosyllabic Kinship Term (see Fig. 5.4)

(83) 知名網路實況主**潔哥** (李秉潔) 11 日在臉書直播... (Source: PTT)

*Zhī-míng wǎng-lù shí-kuàng-zhǔ **Jie gē 'elder brother'** (Li Bing-Jie) 11 rì zài liǎn-shū zhí-bō... (Source: PTT)*

'The famous streamer **Brother Jie** (Li Bing-Jie) was on Facebook Live on 11th …'
(Source: PTT)

Generic

Age

Attribute

Male
Older than ego
Masculine

Female
31 years old
Voice and behavior like a man

Input 1: *Gē* (哥) 'elder brother'

Input 2: The streamer *Li Bing-Jie*

The female streamer *Li Bing-Jie* is gē (哥) 'elder brother'

Blend

Relative FRAME

closeness, emotions, politeness, respect, …
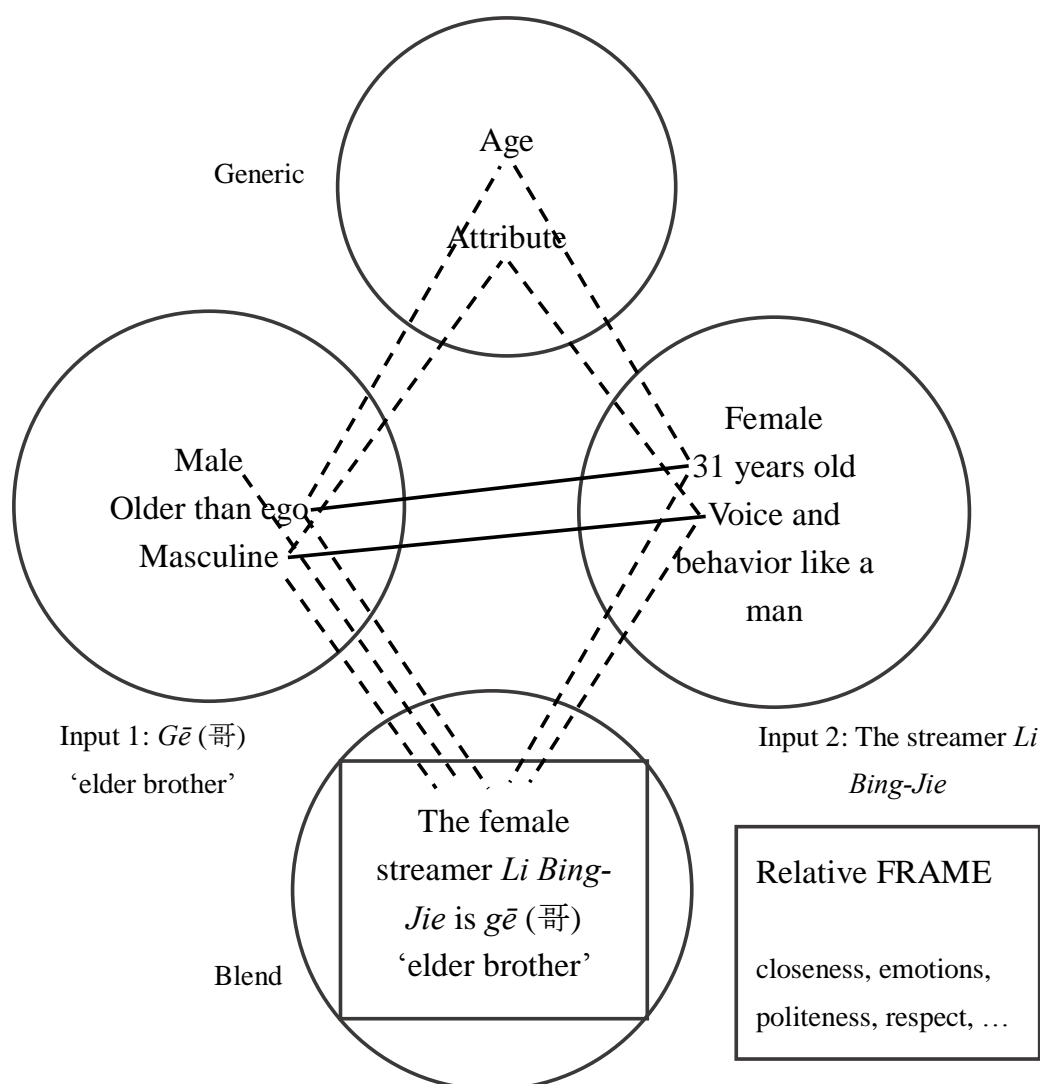
Fig. 5.4. The Conceptual Blending of *Jie gē* (潔哥) 'Brother Jie'

In sentence (83), the narrator blends the feature of gender, age, and masculinity of relative *gē* (input space 1) with the attribute of age and masculinity (input space 2) of the female streamer together under the *relative* frame (being close to one's relatives, showing one's politeness or respect, etc.) After the blending, the female streamer *Li*

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Bing-Jie is conceptualized as *Jie gē*, the generalized kinship term *gē* is used on the subject of the opposite gender. In other words, the feature of sex does not to be complied with while generalizing a kinship term.
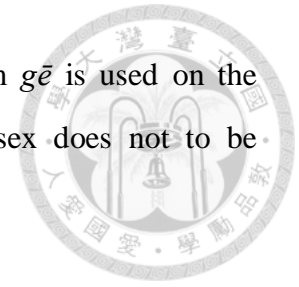
4. Metonymic Theme Preceded

a. Disyllabic Kinship Term (see Fig. 5.5 and 5.6)

(94) 再來是由**社區媽媽**精心製作的營養午餐，有雞腿、豬肉… (Source: AS)

*Zài lái shì yóu **shè-qū māmā 'mother'** jīng-xīn zhì-zuò de yíng-yǎng wǔ-cān, yǒu jī-tuǐ, zhū-ròu… (Source: AS)*

'What comes next is the choicely lunch made by **community mother**. There are chicken leg and pork inside…' (Source: AS)

114
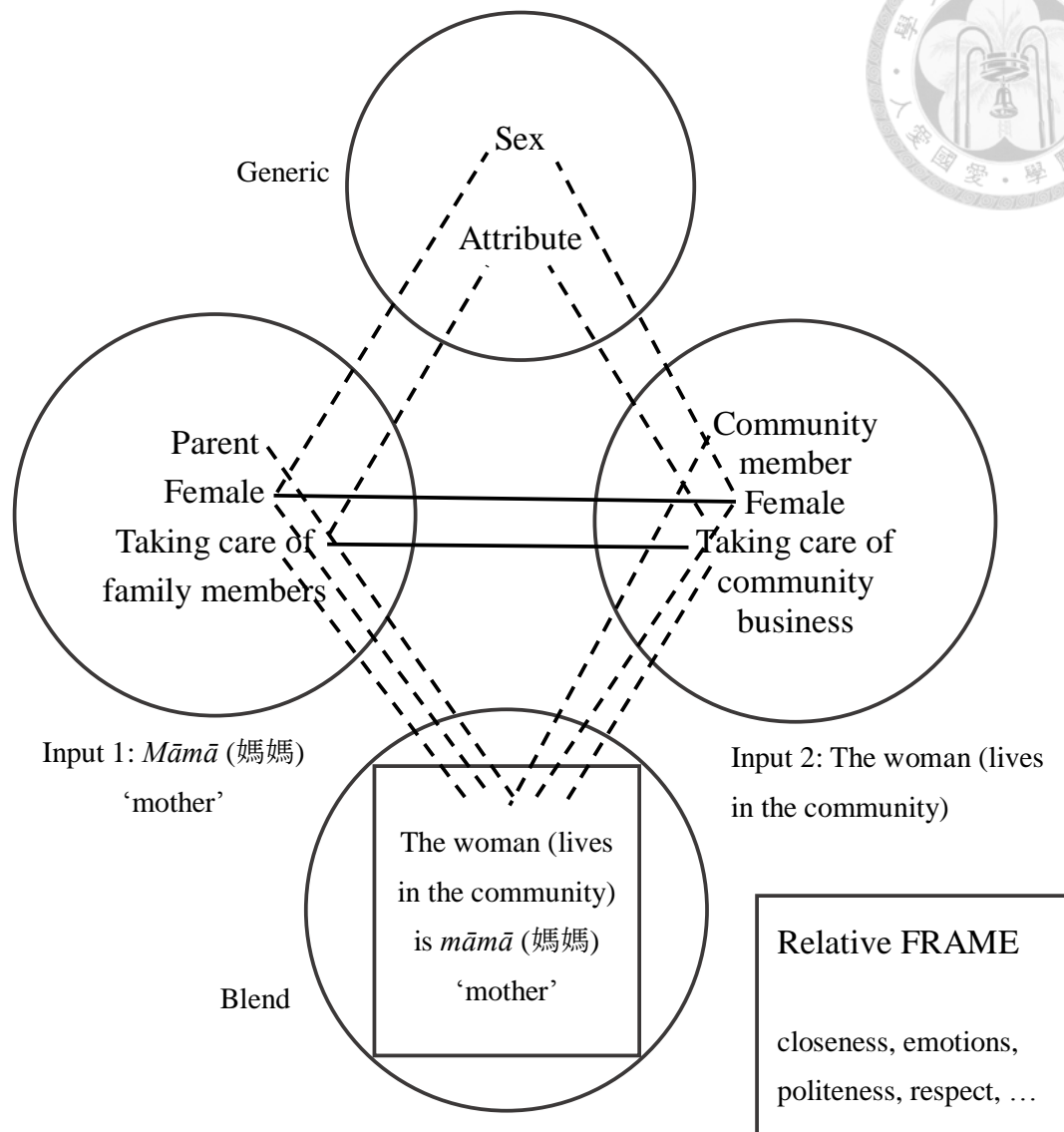
Fig. 5.5. The Conceptual Blending of *Shè-qū māmā* (社區媽媽) 'community mother'

The speaker of sentence (94) blends the feature of parent, gender, and the attribute of behavior of relative *māmā* (input space 1) with the attribute of behavior, gender, and community member (input space 2) together under the *relative* frame (being close to one's relatives, showing one's politeness or respect, etc.) Finally, the blend space shows the speaker's novel concept of categorizing the non-relative female community member as *māmā*.

(98) 朋友自以為好玩... 有次讓**原住民阿姨**覺得在諷刺她... (Source: PTT)

Péng-yǒu zì-yǐ-wéi hǎo-wán… yǒu-cì ràng **yuán-zhù-mín āyí 'mother's elder/younger sister'** *jué-dé zài fěng-cì tā…* *(Source: PTT)*

'[My] friend thought it is funny... but for once, an **aborigine aunt** felt she was mocked...' (Source: PTT)
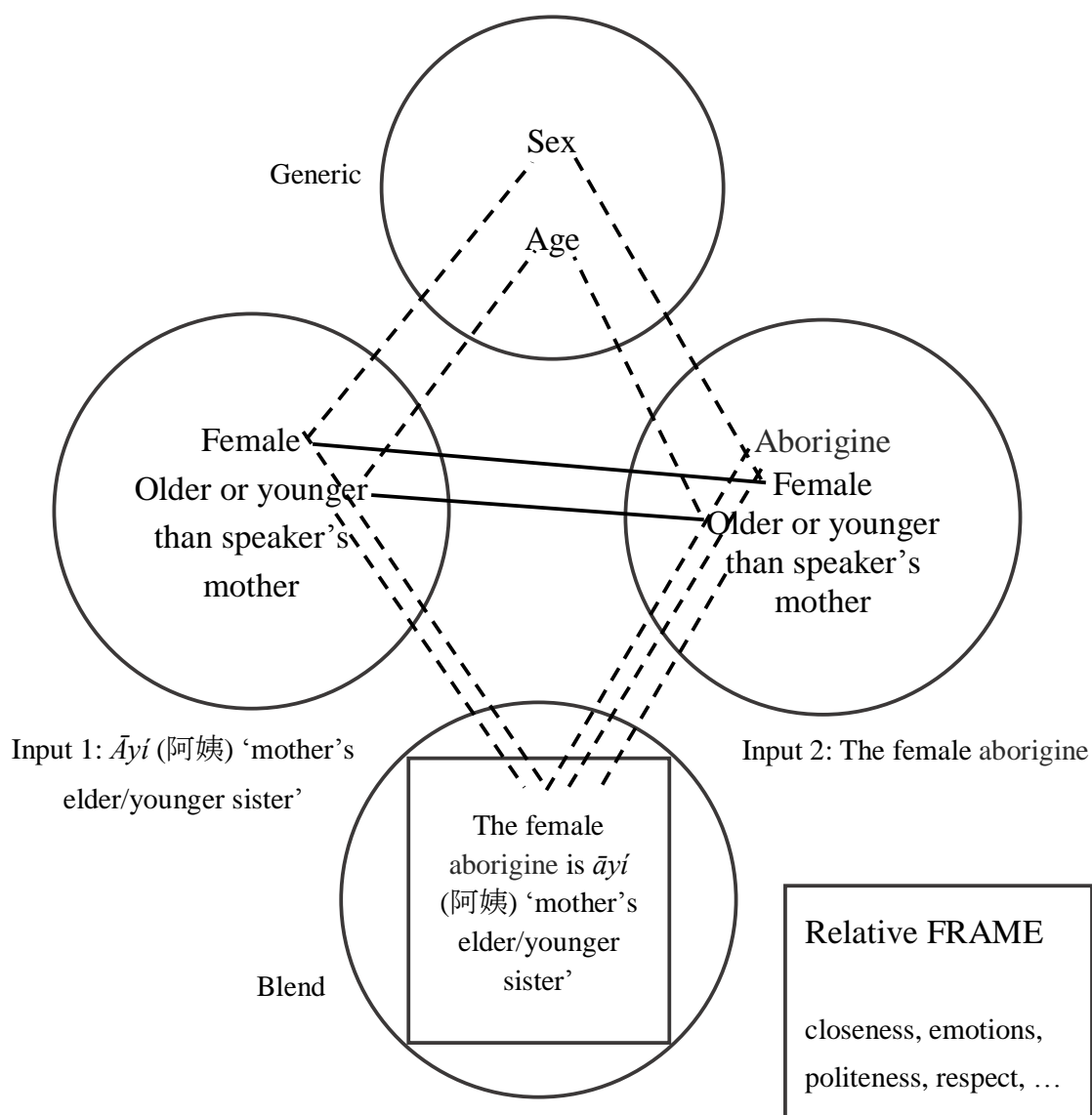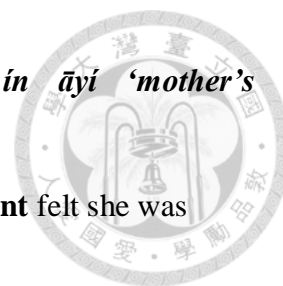
Fig. 5.6. The Conceptual Blending of *Yuán-zhù-mín āyí* (原住民阿姨) 'aborigine aunt'

The speaker of sentence (98) blends the feature of gender and age of relative *āyí* (input space 1) with the attribute of gender, age, and aborigine (input space 2) together under the *relative* frame (being close to one's relatives, showing one's politeness or

respect, etc.), and forms a novel concept that categorizes the non-relative female aborigine as *āyí*.

b. Monosyllabic Kinship Term (see Fig. 5.7 to 5.9)

(114) 最近台視為製播**林投姐**[19][的]連續劇，特別商借慈雲寶塔作為道士捉鬼的場景。(Source: AS)

*Zuì-jìn tái-shì wèi zhì-bō **lín-tóu jiě 'elder sister'** [de] lián-xù-jù, tè-bié shāng-jiè cí-yún-bǎo-tǎ zuò-wéi dào-shì zhuō-guǐ de chǎng-jǐng. (Source: AS)*

'Recently, for filming the TV series of **screw pine sister**, the Taiwan Television (TTV) rented the Tzu-Yun Pagoda for the scene of ghostbusting by the Taoist priest'. (Source: AS)

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[19] To know more about the background of the screw pine sister, please see the note under example (114).

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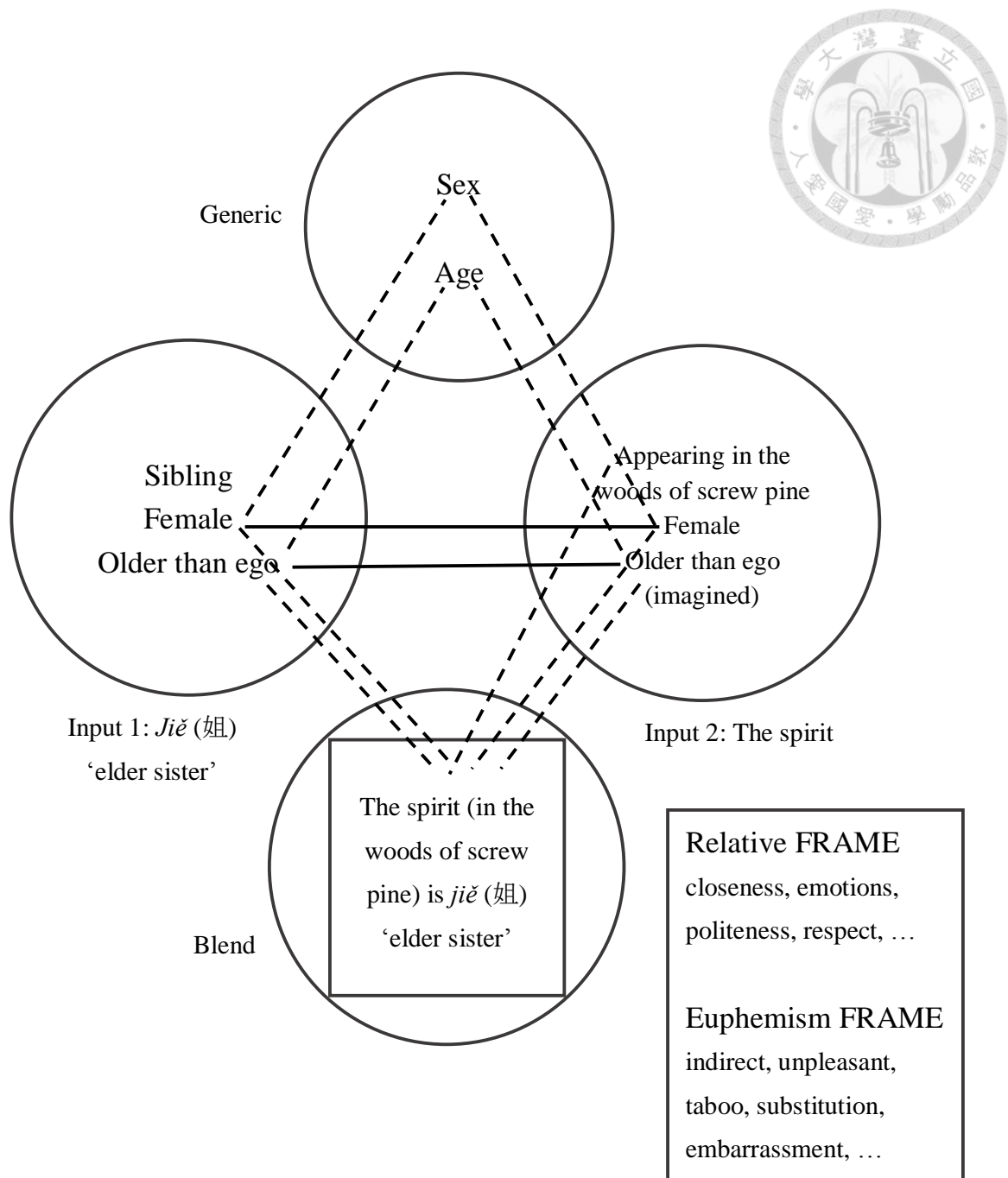
Fig. 5.7. The Conceptual Blending of *Lín-tóu jiě* (林投姐) 'screw pine sister'

The blending process of example (114) is slightly different from the previous cases. The conceptualizer blends the feature of gender and age of the relative *jiě* (input space 1) with the attribute of gender, (imagined) age, and the location that the spirit appears (input space 2) together under both the *relative* frame (being close to one's relatives, showing one's politeness or respect, etc.) and the *euphemism* frame (to avoid unpleasant thing, taboo, embarrassment; to use a substitution; etc.). Hence, the conceptualizer

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avoids calling the female spirit a "ghost" in case of offending it on the one hand, and uses a generalized kinship term to call the spirit for being closer to it and looking for safety on the other hand.
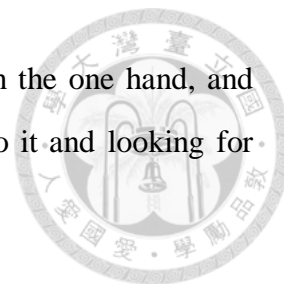
(115) … 經過成大總覺得妹很龍，跟一些私校妹水準差好多，是**龍妹**大部分很會念書？(Source: PTT)

*… jīng-guò chéng-dà zǒng jué-dé mèi hěn lóng, gēn yī-xiē sī-xiào mèi shuǐ-zhǔn chà hǎo-duō, shì **lóng mèi 'younger sister'** dà-bù-fèn hěn-huì niàn-shū? (Source: PTT)*

'... [I] always consider that the sisters (i.e., female students) of NCKU (i.e., the Natinoal Cheng Kung University) are very "dino" every time I pass by [the university], they are far from some private school sisters, does it mean that most **dino sisters** are quite good at studying?' (Source: PTT)
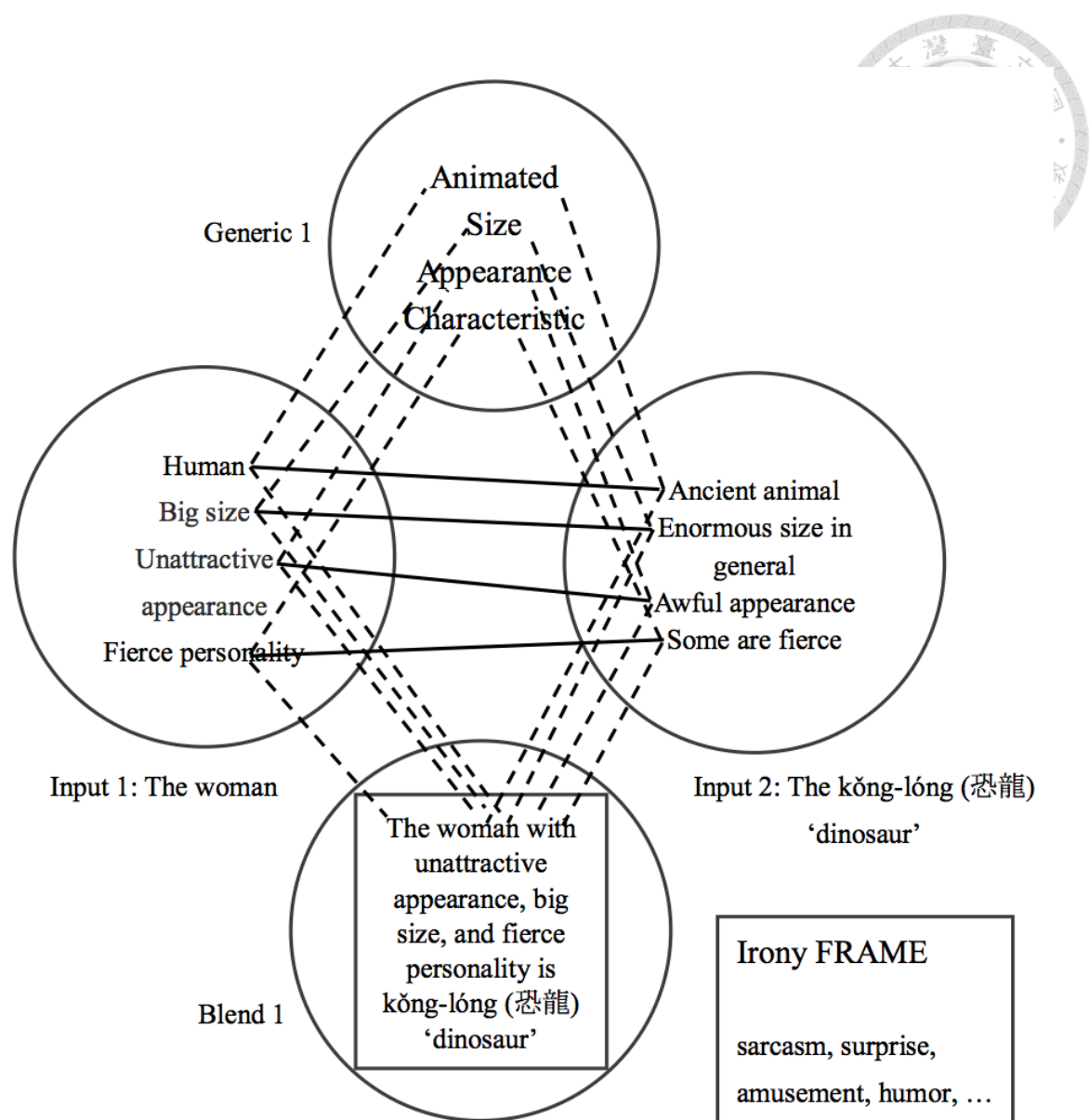
Fig. 5.8. The First Step of Conceptual Blending of *Lóng mèi* (龍妹) 'dino sister'

The blending of example (115) is a two-stage process. In the first step, the conceptualizer blends the feature of human, size, unattractive appearance, and fierce personality of a woman (input space 1) with the feature of the ancient animal, size, appearance, and fierce behavior of the dinosaur (input space 2) together under the *irony* frame (being sarcastic, humorous, etc.). S/he conceptually creates an image of dinosaur for the woman who is with the big size, unattractive appearance, and fierce personality, as shown in Fig. 5.8. Generally speaking, to describe a woman who is with the attributes of big size, unattractive appearance, and fierce personality directly is an insult behavior;

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and according to Culpeper's (2011) definition, this behavior is an impoliteness expression. With the attempt of mitigating the degree of impoliteness, the addresser adopts the term "dinosaur" to illustrate a woman who has those unpopular features; and the inappropriateness of this lexical choice triggers an ironical effect in this case.
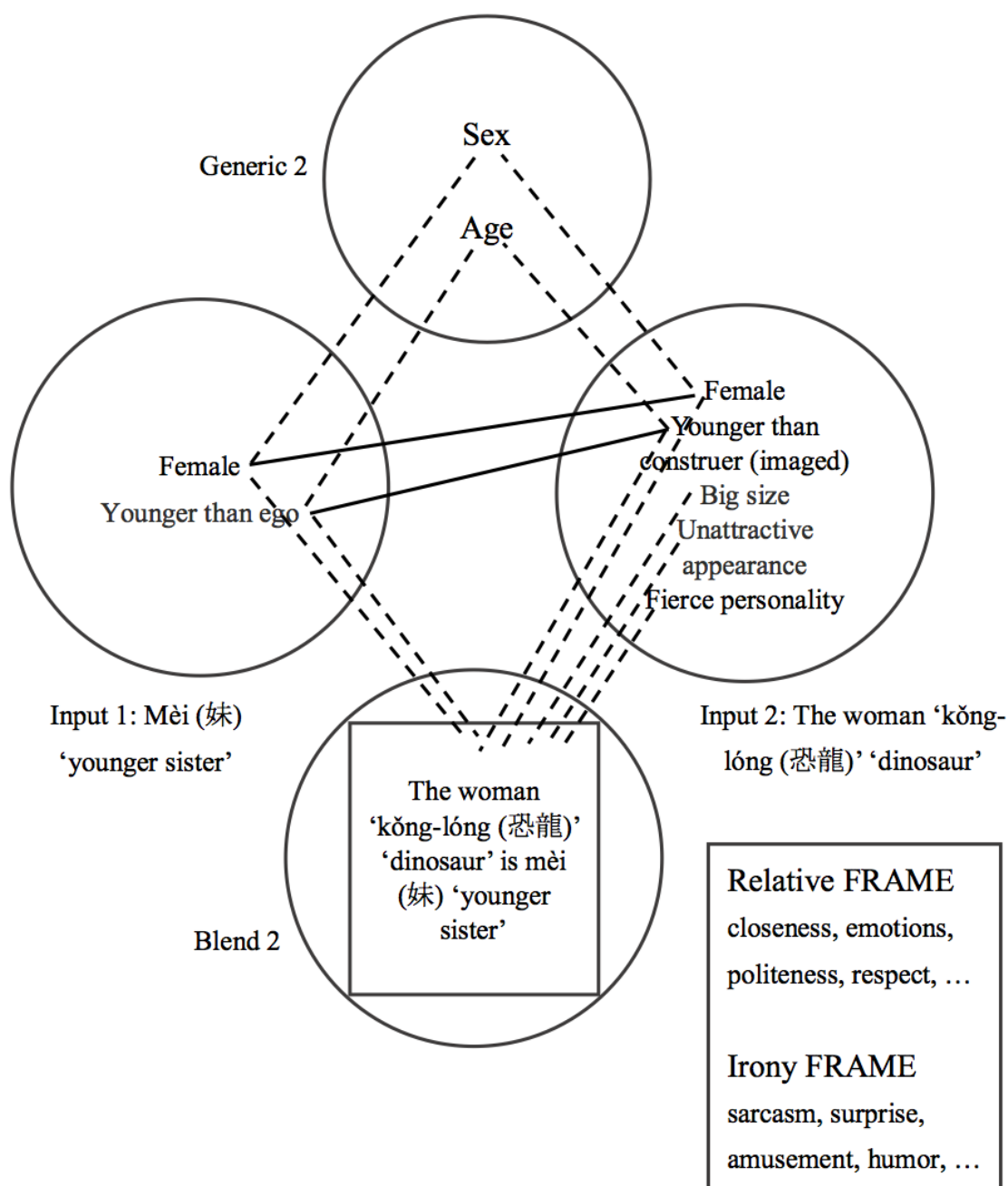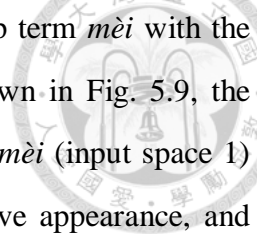
Fig. 5.9. The Second Step of Conceptual Blending of *Lóng mèi* (龍妹) 'dino sister'

The second step of the blending process is to blend the kinship term *mèi* with the *kǒng-lóng* to refer to a woman (blended in the first step). As shown in Fig. 5.9, the conceptualizer blends the feature of gender and age of the relative *mèi* (input space 1) with the feature of the gender, (imagined) age, big size, unattractive appearance, and fierce personality of *kǒng-lóng* (input space 2) together under both the *relative* frame (being close to one's relatives, showing one's politeness or respect, etc.) and the *irony* frame (being sarcastic, humorous, etc.). The conceptualizer produced a concept of *kǒng-lóng mèi* (恐龍妹) 'dinosaur sister', which is a usage of generalized kinship term. Lastly, the first syllable of *kǒng-lóng mèi* (i.e., *kǒng*) is omitted; hence we got the term *lóng mèi*.

Although in this stage the conceptualizer blends the ironical impoliteness expression *kǒng-lóng* with the kinship term *mèi* might trigger the sense of closeness and younger age to some extent, this blended result is still an impoliteness usage intrinsically.

5. Metaphorical/Idiomatic Usage

a. Disyllabic Kinship Term (see Fig. 5.10 to 5.13)

(116) 國寶大象**林旺爺爺**於二月廿六日凌晨逝世，死於心肺衰竭。(Source: AS)

Guó-bǎo dà-xiàng **Lin Wang yéyé 'father's father'** *yú èr yuè èr-shí-liù rì líng-chén shì-shì, sǐ yú xīn-fèi shuāi-jié. (Source: AS)*

'Grandfather Lin Wang, the elephant of our national treasure, died on 26th February due to cardiopulmonary failure'. (Source: AS)

122
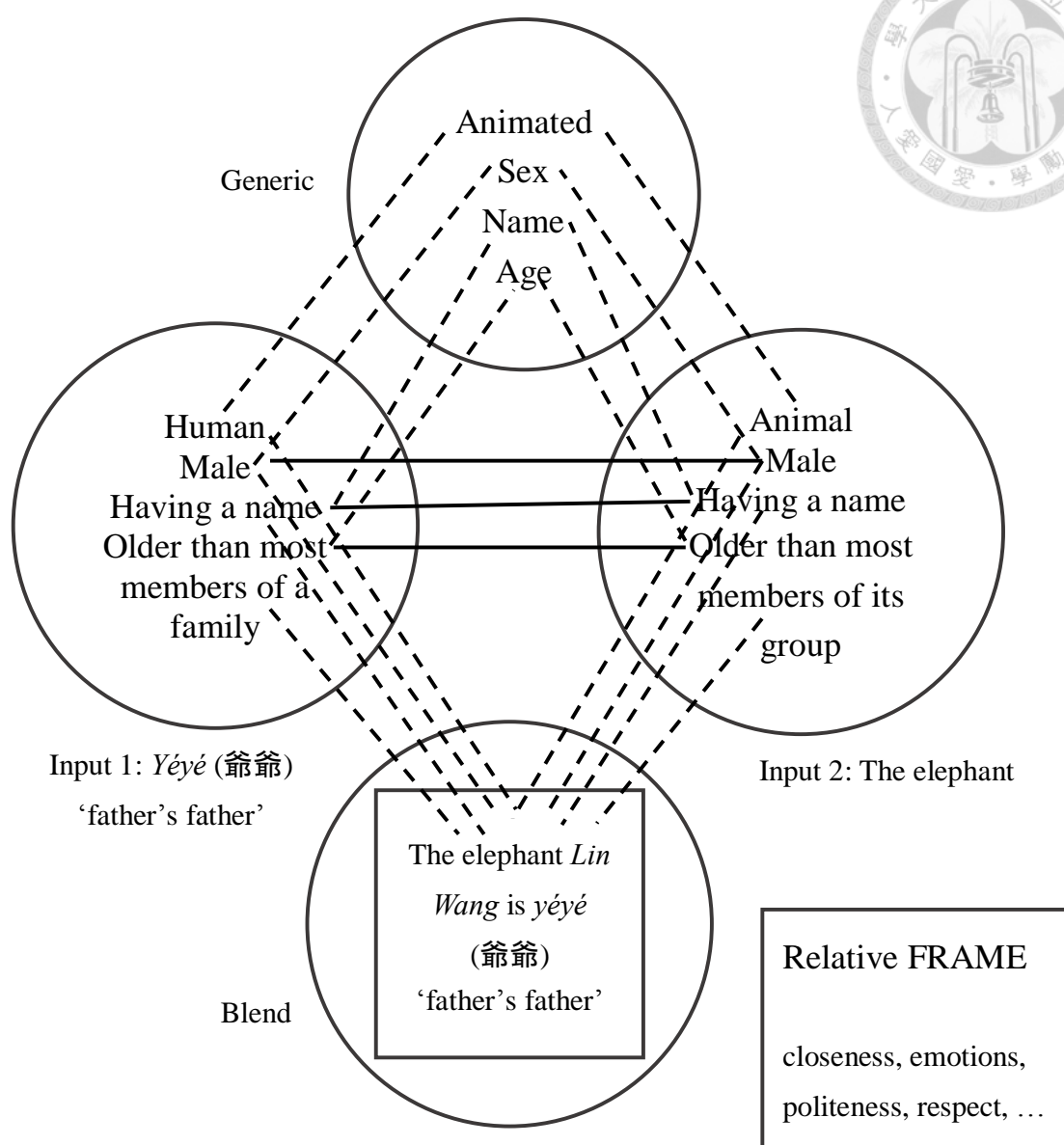
Fig. 5.10. The Conceptual Blending of *Lin Wang yéyé* (林旺爺爺) 'Grandfather Lin Wang'

Blending process of example (116) is to blend the attribute of human, sex, having a name, and age of relative *yéyé* (input space 1) with the attribute of the animal, sex, having a name, and age of the elephant (input space 2) together under the *relative* frame (being close to one's relatives, showing one's politeness or respect, etc.). The conceptualizer hence interpreted the elephant as *Lin Wang yéyé*.

(121) … 說完突然覺得肚子好痛，我可能是**大姨媽**來了… (Source: AS)

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*... shuō wán tū-rán jué-dé dù-zǐ hǎo tòng, wǒ kě-néng shì **dà-yímā 'big-mother's elder/younger sister'** lái le... (Source: AS)*

'... suddenly, [I] feel an abdominal pain, it is possibly [my] **big-aunt** comes...'
(Source: AS)
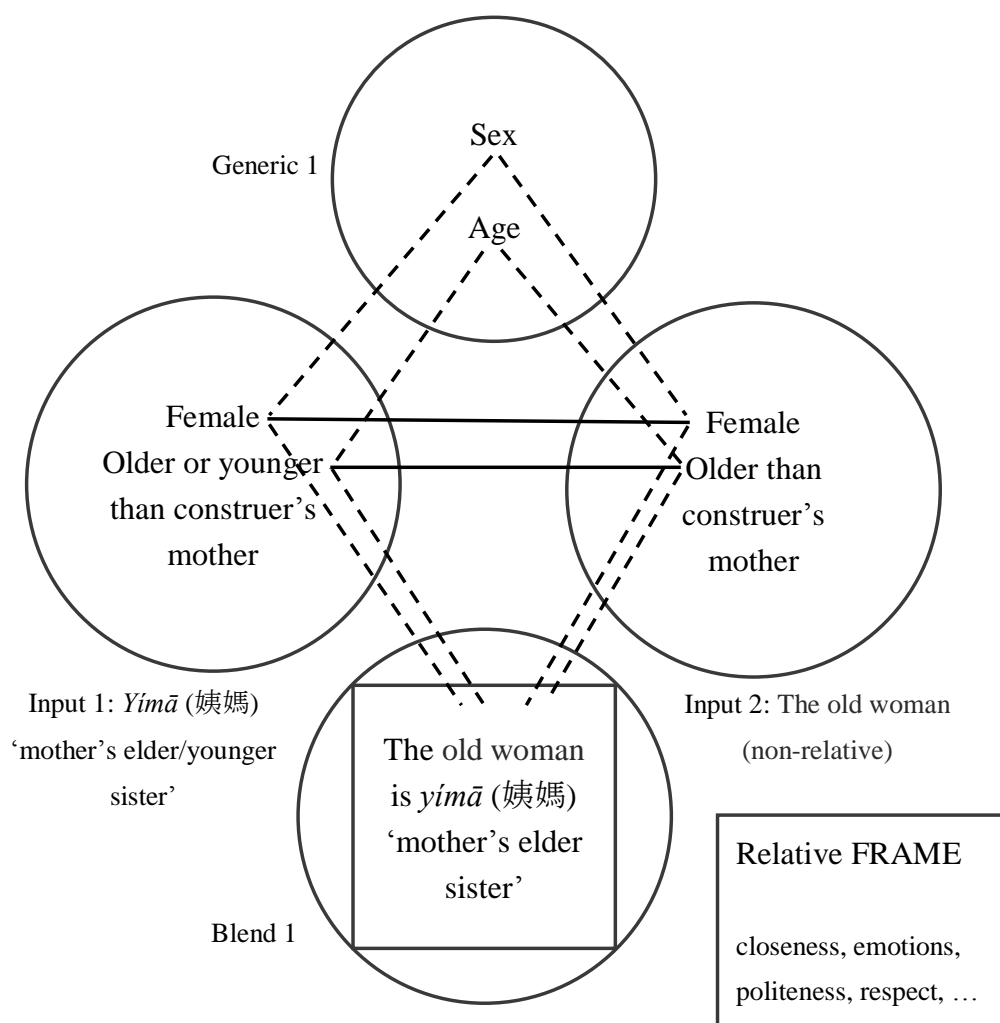
Fig. 5.11. The First Step of Conceptual Blending of *Yímā* (姨媽) 'the menstruation'

As mentioned in section 4.2.5, the generalized *dà-yímā* (大姨媽) 'big-mother's elder/younger sister', which means the menstruation, is possibly adopted from Cantonese. According to Ceng (2008), women always need an old lady to take care of them during their periods or after the giving birth in the past, and the old lady is called *yímā*. Because the menstruation is a taboo in Chinese culture, women use the kinship term *yímā* to euphemize the menstruation while they are in periods, as if they are visited by the *dà-yímā* who is a close relative.

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Therefore, the blending of example (121) is also a two-stage process. In the first step, the conceptualizer blends the feature of the sex and age of the relative *yímā* (input space 1) with the feature of sex and age of the non-relative old woman (input space 2) together under the *relative* frame (being close to one's relatives, showing one's politeness or respect, etc.), as shown in Fig. 5.11.
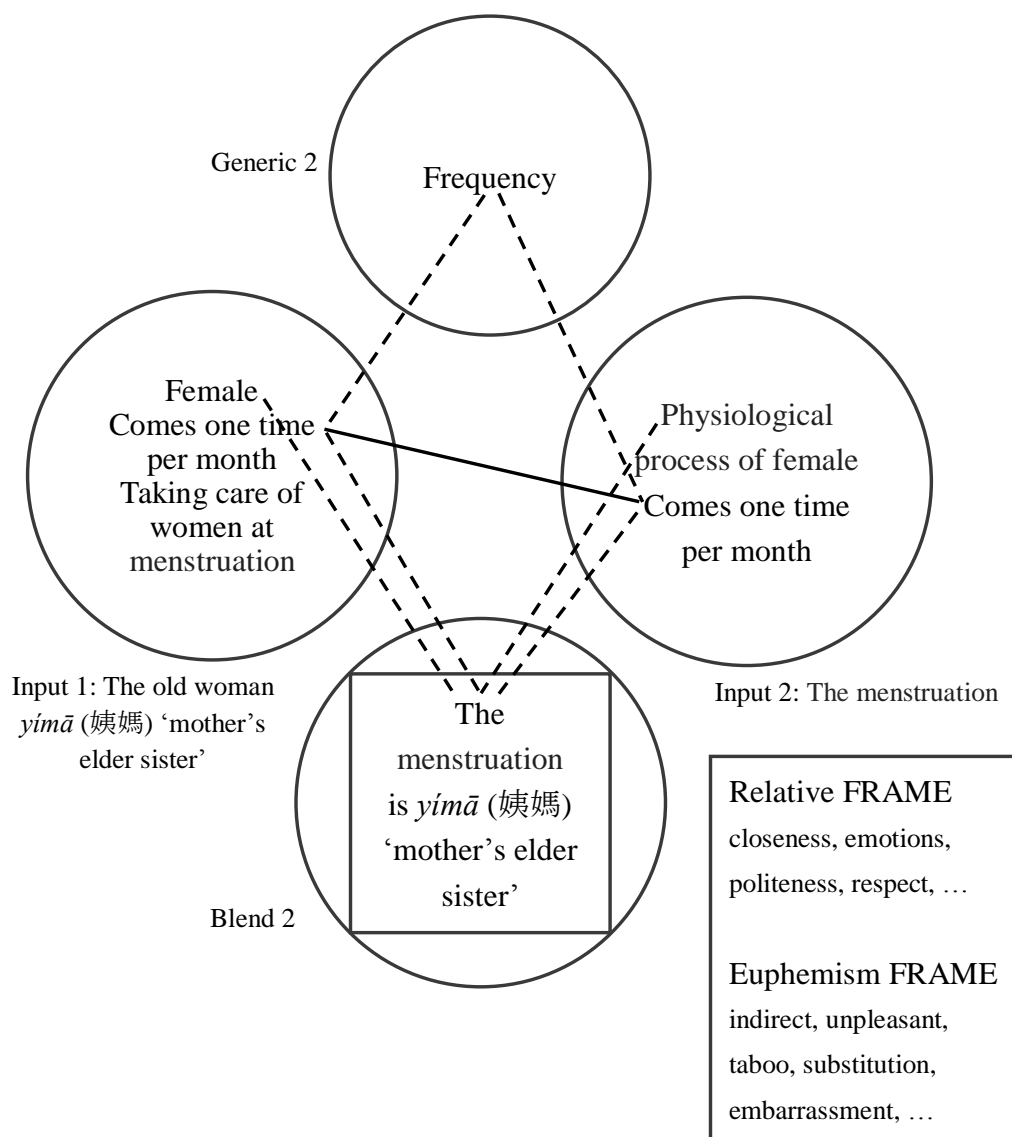
Fig. 5.12. The Second Step of Conceptual Blending of *Yímā* (姨媽) 'the menstruation'

The second step then goes to blend the old woman *yímā* that is generalized in stage one with some attributes of menstruation. As we can see in Fig. 5.12, the conceptualizer blends the feature of sex and visit frequency of the *yima* (input space 1) with the feature

of physiological phenomenon and its visit frequency of the menstruation (input space 2) together under both the *relative* frame (being close to one's relatives, showing one's politeness or respect, etc.) and the *euphemism* frame (to avoid unpleasant thing, taboo, embarrassment; to use a substitution; etc.). Through this process, the conceptualizer mentally established a link of *yímā* and menstruation. Finally, the degree modifier *dà* (大) 'big' is attached to *yímā* to form the term *dà-yímā*.

(123) … 鞋子尺寸和陰莖大小並無關連… 事實上，沒有任何身體部位能預測「弟弟」大小。 (Source: PTT)

*… xié-zǐ chǐ-cùn hé yīn-jīng dà-xiǎo bìng wú guān-lián… shì-shí-shàng, méi-yǒu rèn-hé shēn-tǐ bù-wèi néng yù-cè "**dìdì 'younger brother'**" dà-xiǎo. (Source: PTT)*

'... the shoe size has nothing to do with the penis size... actually, there is no such body part that can be inferred the size of **brother**'. (Source: PTT)
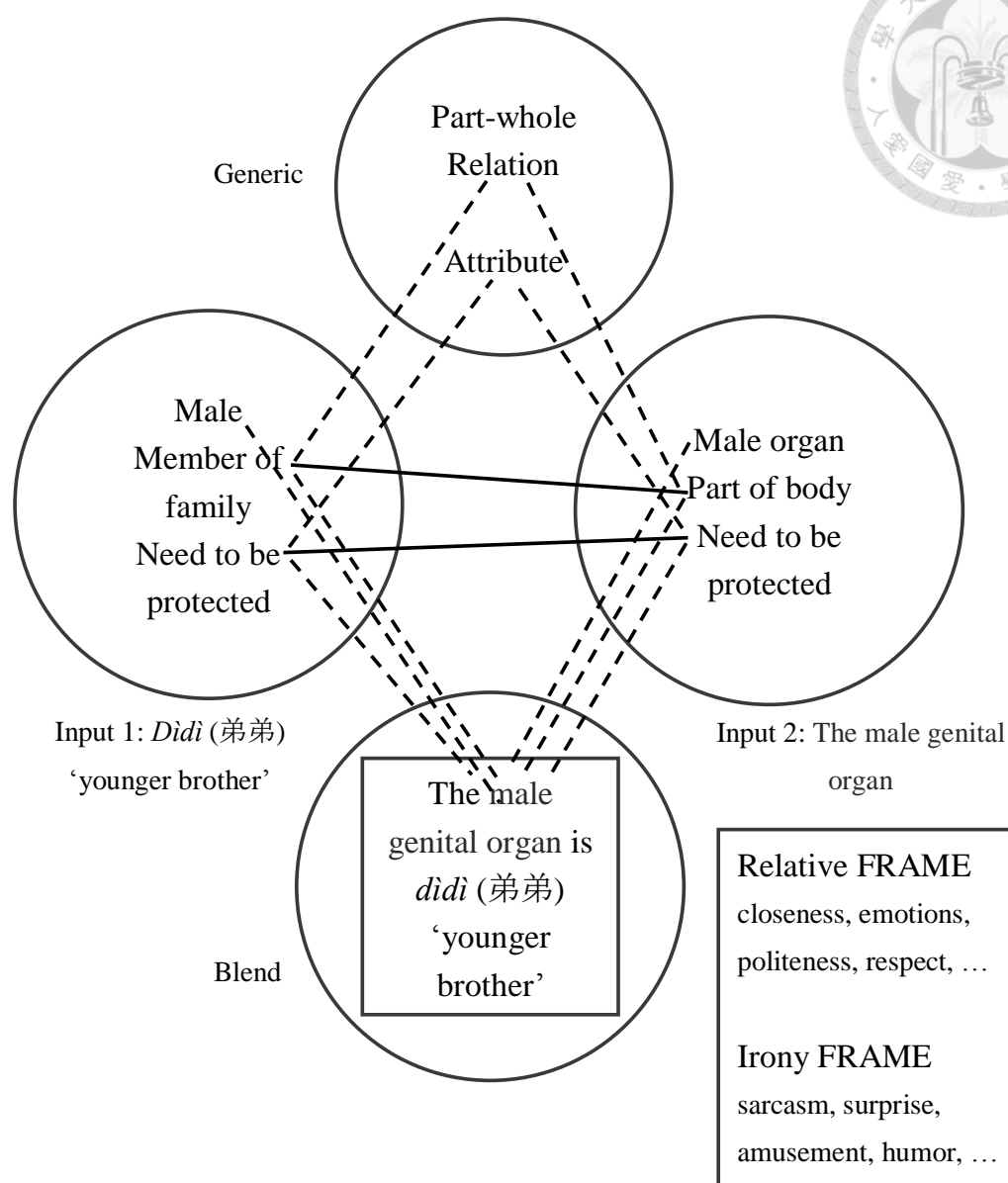
Fig. 5.13. The Conceptual Blending of *Dìdì* (弟弟) 'the male genital organ'

The blending process of example (123) is to blend the attribute of sex, family member, and need to be protected of the relative *dìdì* (input space 1) with the attribute of the male organ, body part, and need to be protected of the male genital organ (input space 2) together under the *relative* frame (being close to one's relatives, showing one's politeness or respect, etc.) and the *irony* frame (being sarcastic, humorous, etc.). The blended output is the generalized kinship term *dìdì* that refers to the male genital organ.

b. Monosyllabic Kinship Term (see Fig. 5.14 to 5.15)

(128) ... 正式宣告放棄抵抗...**蟑螂哥**也消失在這四坪不到的小房間裡. (Source: PTT)

*...zhèng-shì xuān-gào fàng-qì dǐ-kàng ...**zhāng-láng gē 'elder brother'** yě xiāo-shī zài zhè sì píng bù dào de xiǎo fáng-jiān lǐ. (Source: PTT)*

'…[I] stop resisting…the **cockroach brother** disappeared in this really small room'. (Source: PTT)
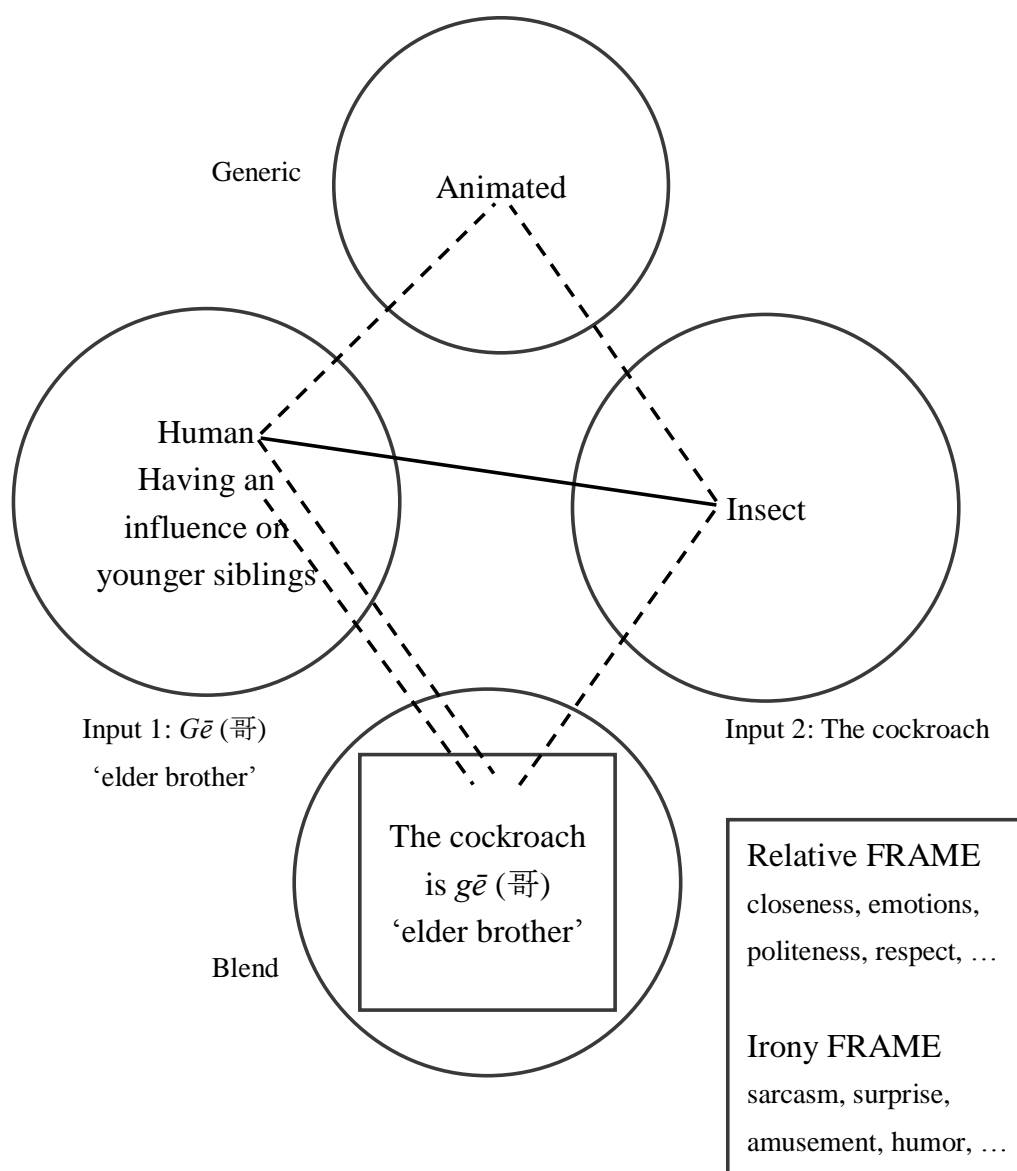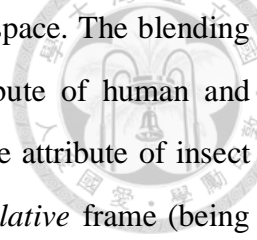
Fig. 5.14. The Conceptual Blending of *Zhāng-láng gē* (蟑螂哥) 'cockroach brother'

Although calling a cockroach with a kinship term sounds unusual, this

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phenomenon is found in our data, and it is workable in our mental space. The blending process of example (128) is shown in Fig. 5.14, where the attribute of human and influence (to younger siblings) of relative *gē* (input space 1) and the attribute of insect of the cockroach (input space 2) are blended together under the *relative* frame (being close to one's relatives, showing one's politeness or respect, etc.) and the *irony* frame (being sarcastic, humorous, etc.). In this way of conceptualizing cockroach as *gē*, the speaker communicates her/his cognition towards that insect in the context. To our general knowledge, the cockroack is a subject people would not like to talk or think about, let alone call it *gē*, as the way people usually raise others' status in conversation. Hence, the narrator uses *gē* to describe the cockroach is apparently inappropriate in the context. According to Attardo (2000), we can tell that it is an ironical usage. The narrator could try to be humorous, even though s/he is frightened by the cockroach brother at the same time.

(130) … 剛剛隨便打了一個字，請 **Google** 姊翻譯… (Source: PTT)

*… gāng-gāng suí-biàn dǎ le yī-gè zì, qǐng **Google jiě 'elder sister'** fān-yì… (Source: PTT)*

'… [I] just typed a word randomly and asked **Sister Google** to translate it...' (Source: PTT)
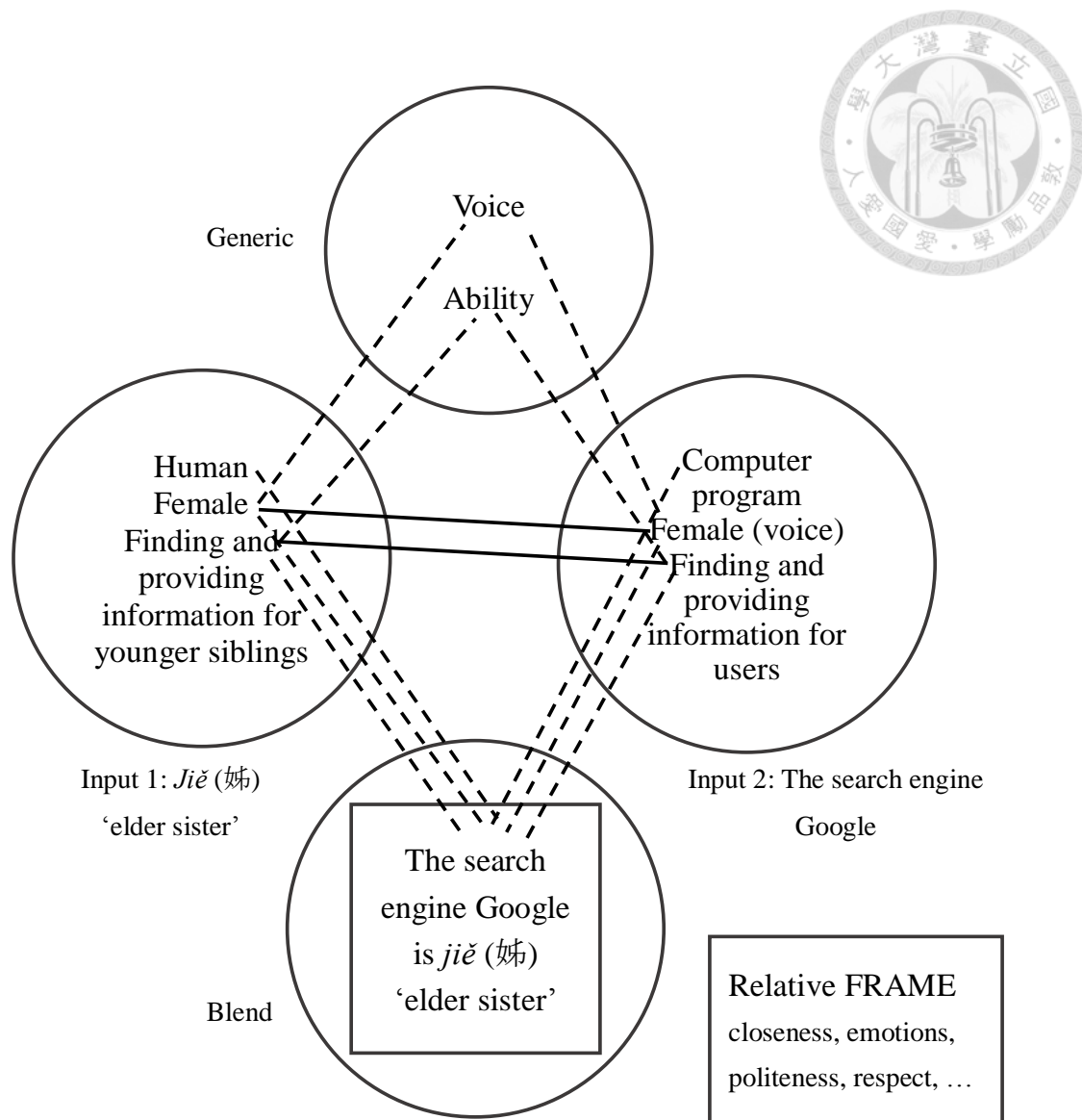
Fig. 5.15. The Conceptual Blending of *Google jiě* (Google 姊) 'Sister Google'

Another compelling case is the Google *jiě*: a speaker calls the search engine Google "sister", as shown in Fig. 5.15. The blending process of example (130) is to blend the attribute of the human, sex, and providing information (to younger siblings) of the relative *jiě* (input space 1) and the attribute of the computer program, female voice, and providing information of Google (input space 2) together under the *relative* frame (being close to one's relatives, showing one's politeness or respect, etc.). By blending in this way, the conceptualizer assigned a closer relationship between s/he and Google. This study has explained how a concept in each category is created in a user's mind. In

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the next section, we further discuss why a kinship term could be generalized in various ways.

5.1.2 Construction Effect

According to Goldberg (2006: 5), "any linguistic pattern is recognized as a construction as long as some aspect of its form or function is not strictly predictable from its component parts or from other constructions recognized to exist". Furthermore, patterns are stored as constructions even if they are fully predictable as long as they occur with sufficient frequency. The construction could be a word, a partially filled word, a complex word, a filled idiom, a partially filled idiom, a covariational conditional expression, a ditransitive expression, or a passive expression (Goldberg 2009a: 94). In the following subsections, this research further explains several critical aspects of the combination of generalized kinship terms.

5.1.2.1 The "Head-Generalized Kinship Term" Construction

We have seen that a generalized kinship term is potential to combine with names, degree words, and enormous themes; except for the type of bare form, the generalized kinship terms in our data all appear in the final part of a combination, preceded by a noun, a verb, an adjective, an adverb, or a phrase. The form or function of a combination formed by a head and a generalized kinship term is not strictly predictable from its components (sometimes it refers to a specific person; sometimes it refers to an unpredictable subject; sometimes it refers to an animal or even an artificial object). Considering these attributes of a "Head-Generalized kinship term" combination, we argue that it is a construction (the head part of the type of bare form could be regarded as null).

It is necessary to go into detail about the two component parts of "Head-Generalized kinship term" construction since they are core elements of the current study. In order to discuss the head part, Langacker's (2008) idea of "profile" is
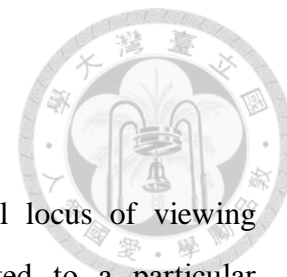
131

reviewed here:

> The portion put "onstage" and foregrounded as the general locus of viewing attention… Within this onstage region, attention is directed to a particular substructure, called the profile… An expression's profile stands out as the specific focus of attention within its immediate scope. (Langacker 2008: 66)

Moreover, "an expression can profile either a thing or a relationship". For the head part of the type of metonymic theme preceded, each theme is the focus of an expression related to the target that the kinship term refers to, such as its appearance, belonging, behavior, location, nationality, occupation, personality, physical characteristic, status, etc.; thus, these themes vary to a large degree. In other words, the head part of a construction is decided by the "profiling intention" of the language user in the type of metonymic theme preceded.

5.1.2.2 Referential Uniqueness

The second part of construction— the generalized kinship term— has several issues to be elaborated. Firstly, it is observed that there is a phenomenon named "referential uniqueness": the fixed correspondence of a "Head-Generalized kinship term" construction and its referent. In most situations, a "Head-Generalized kinship term" construction does not conceptually link with a specific subject. For example, the bare form *bófù* does not refer to any specific older male (cf. example (7)); the *shè-qū māmā* of the type of metonymic theme preceded only refers to some women who take care of the community affairs or work for the community center, but there is no clue to judge who she is/they are (cf. example (94)). Let alone the term *zhāng-láng gē* of metaphorical/idiomatic usage— usually no one would specify a cockroach and tag it. In short, referents of most "Head-Generalized kinship term" are context-dependent.

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However, some "Head-Generalized kinship term" constructions do refer to a unique object, such as *kù-kù sǎo* (酷酷嫂) 'Cool-cool sister-in-law' only refers to *Chow Mei-Ching* (周美青), the ex-first lady in Taiwan; *Fǎlālì jiě* (法拉利姊) 'Ferrari sister' only refers to *Zhang Ting-Ting* (張婷婷); and *Apache jiě* (阿帕契姊) 'Apache sister' only refers to *Lee Chien-Rong* (李蒨蓉)[20].

If a similar object (such as a person with similar appearance or behavior) occurs and competes with the existed referent of the combination, a similar but distinct combination will be assigned to that object. For example, *Ke Yi-Rou* (柯以柔) is called *shuǐ-guǒ mèi* (水果妹) 'fruit sister' because she sells fruit in the fruit shop run by her parents. Many years later, there is an older woman who sells her hand-squeezed orange juice in Fongshan district, Kaohsiung City. This woman is called *fèng-shān shuǐ-guǒ mèi* (鳳山水果妹) 'fruit sister of Fongshan', in order to distinguish her from the *shuǐ-guǒ mèi*. The same situation took place in the case of *Tsai Huang-Ju* (蔡黃汝), the *dòu-huā mèi* (豆花妹) 'soybean pudding sister'. This combination results from that she sells soybean pudding in a shop and her beauty and elegance impressed the customers. Since this exclusive combination *dòu-huā mèi* is well-known, the Thailand singer *Newwy Patitta*, who has a similar appearance as *Tsai*, can only be named "soybean pudding sister of Thailand" in Taiwan.

Then, how is the part of generalized kinship term of a construction decided? Which kinship term is the best choice? Could someone use the term *Fǎlālì mèi* (法拉利妹) 'Ferrari (younger) sister' to refer to *Zhang Ting-Ting* if she is much younger than the speaker? Because of the principle of the referential uniqueness, the answer would be not

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[20] There are three pairs of exception: the group of *Lin Wang yéyé* (林旺爺爺) 'Grandfather Lin Wang' and *Lin Wang bóbó* (林旺伯伯) 'Uncle Lin Wang', both of them refer to the elephant *Lin Wang* (林旺) although the kinship terms differ; the group of *Zhōngguó érzǐ* (中國兒子) 'China son' and *Zhōngguó bàbà* (中國爸爸) 'China father', both of them refer to the country 'China (中國)' although the kinship terms differ; and the group of *kǒu-jiāo yí* (口交姨) 'oral sex aunt (mother's elder/younger sister)' and *kǒu-jiāo shěn* (口交嬸) 'oral sex aunt (wife of father's younger brother)', both of them refer to a woman who gestured oral sex motion although the kinship terms differ. The first two groups of exception result from that the kinship terms of their combination are metaphorical/idiomatic usage whose features are diminished in a noticeable degree, but head parts of *Lin Wang yéyé* and *Lin Wang bóbó* are proper nouns refer to the same object, hence is referential uniqueness; so is the case of *Zhōngguó érzǐ* and *Zhōngguó bàbà*. The last exception group happens because of the data source (news media) did not strictly settle down the generalized kinship term for the refent, on the other side, detailed information of the referent is vague and language users have chances to manipulate the kinship term of the combination.

likely. At the beginning of the formation of the referential uniqueness, the kinship term is selectable for sure. It depends on the intention and concept creation of the inventor of the construction (or the nickname), the inventor may be the journalist, the translator, the discover, etc. For instance, if the inventor wants to demote her/himself compared with the target, calling the target *gē* or *jiě* (姊/姐) is more appropriate. On the contrary, if s/he tends to be ironical (or for other purposes), s/he could choose a proper kinship term for that context.

Alternatively, the inventor uses a kinship term solely judging by her/his attribute of sex and age. Once the construction is created and widely spreaded, the part of the generalized kinship term will be fixed and conventionalized. However, for those constructions of referential randomness, the choice of the generalized kinship term is more flexible for a language user. In the following sections, this study further explains the way how one chooses a kinship term.

5.1.2.3 Viewpoint Shifting

The way native speakers manipulating kinship terms involves the mechanism of viewpoint shifting. Viewpoint, according to Sweetser (2012: 2), "permeates human cognition and communication… we never have experience of the world except as a viewpoint-equipped, embodied self among other viewpointed, embodied selves". Moreover, it is "built on shared early experience" and related to the human neural system, "when another human is present, we are also unavoidably aware not only of our own human bodily affordances, but of (his or) hers as well". In short, humans have the ability to stand on others' position. Manifested in language, it means one can express ideas from others's viewpoint. This corresponds to examples (67), (74), (75), (76), (97), and (99) in this thesis. Below is another example of the author's personal experience:

(133) A mother told her two children to call me "**brother**".

"We are about the same age, it's better to call me "**uncle**"". I said to the mother.

The mother: "Okay then, [children,] call him '**uncle**'".

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Children: "Hi, **uncle**".

Either the mother asks her children to call the author 'brother' or 'uncle', she adopts the viewpoint of her children at all times; on the other side, her children could understand what their mother refers to without any obstacle. Apparently, these children have learned the ability of viewpoint shifting— they know their mother is shifting her viewpoint to their viewpoint (for children's communication).

Since language users master the shifting of viewpoint, it is quite natural for an older speaker to generalize kinship terms for younger non-relatives. The best choice for them is a kinship term younger than ego such as the peer kinship terms (i.e., *dìdì*, *dì* (弟) 'younger brother', *mèimèi* (妹妹) 'younger sister', and *mèi*), due to the only candidate for generalization in younger generation is *érzǐ* (兒子) 'son', which is inadequate for this situation. By this means, the elders show their closeness and politeness to the younger properly.

Viewpoint could also be shifted between separate sexes, such as the description in example (134):

(134) …女神越來越多後，反而是開始有女生自稱是**哥**了。好像聽起來比較豪邁，可以跟男粉絲拉近… (Source: PTT)

…*nǚ-shén yuè lái yuè duō hòu, fǎn-ér shì kāi-shǐ yǒu nǚ-shēng zì-chēng shì* **gē** **'elder brother'** *le. Hǎo-xiàng tīng qǐ-lái bǐ-jiào háo-mài, kě-yǐ gēn nán fěn-sī lā-jìn ...* (Source: PTT)

'… after the so-called "Goddesses" are produced endlessly, there are more and more young women call themselves "**brother".** That [makes] them sound bolder, and be closer to male fans…' (Source: PTT)

(In general, the "goddess" refers to a young and beautiful model, singer, actress, or idol)

In fact, the topics such as teknonymy and reverse teknonymy reviewed in chapter 2 are phenomena that results from viewpoint shifting (also see Chao 1956). This ability to

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stand on others' position does play an essential role on the generalization of kinship terms[21] while language users face the situation that needs s/he to choose an appropriate term for addressing or for the communicational economy.

5.1.2.4 Politeness and Impoliteness Expression

There is another issue for native speakers to select an 'adequate' kinship term for a combination, it is not only the concern of politeness, but also the impoliteness expression. For the aspect of politeness, as a language user addresses non-relatives with generalized kinship terms, s/he has to pay attention to two main tacit and generally-accepted agreements: to respect others and to be close to others[22]— if one sees these principles as two poles, choosing a proper kinship term is like to dangle between them[23]. The mechanism behind the action is about 'face' (Brown and Levinson 1987).

'Face' is individuals' self-esteem and there are two kinds of face— negative face and positive face. The negative face is "the want of every 'competent adult member' that his actions be unimpeded by others"; the positive face is "the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others" (Brown and Levinson 1987: 13). While the face is threatened, the face threatening acts (FTAs) need not be realized in sentence-like units, it can be the use of "address terms and other status-marked identifications in initial encounters".

Hence, a misused kinship term could be an FTA to the hearer, no matter it shows respect to someone excessively or it shortens the distance between interlocutors too fast. The concern of using the generalization of kinship terms on non-relatives is to perform positive politeness and avoid the positive FTAs simultaneously. Example (135) shows

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[21] It is essential to recognize that some cases are related to viewpoint shifting but have nothing to do with generalization of kinship terms. For example, if a father says: "The elder brother does not…". to his wife for their little boy, it is not the case of "generalization of kinship term" defined in current research. Because all of these people are family members, the basic sense of 'brother' does not changed even it is said by the father. This is just a situation the father shifts his viewpoint.
[22] Conversely, a hearer also has wants of being respected and being close to others.
[23] Due to the scope of this study, ironical usage will not be discussed here.

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us a case of positive FTA, which is to adopt a closer[24] kinship term for addressing, but the addressee feels threatened:

(135) … 但中文被叫 OO 哥或 XX 姐，即使只差幾歲也覺得不喜歡… (Source: PTT)

*… dàn zhōng-wén bèi jiào OO **gē 'elder brother'** huò XX **jiě 'elder sister'**, jí-shǐ zhī chà jǐ suì yě jué-dé bù xǐ-huān … (Source: PTT)*

'… don't like to be called **Brother** OO or **Sister** XX in Mandarin, even the age gap [between us] is so small…' (Source: PTT)

The speaker shows her/his attitude towards *gē* and *jiě* in Mandarin. She does not reveal the reason, but it could be inferred that because generalized *gē* and *jiě* are broadly used (discussed in section 5.2), even between people who are quite apart in age. Therefore, in the speaker's cognition, *gē* and *jiě* are not appropriate terms for addressing, whether the actual age gap between s/he and the addresser is quite small. Otherwise, s/he might be possibly recognized as older than s/he actually is.

There are some applicable strategies for positive politeness, such as to use in-group identity markers, like some address forms, and to give gifts to the hearer. However, the gift-giving not only means to give tangible gifts, but also human-relations: the wants to be liked, admired, cared about, understood, listened to, and so on (Brown and Levinson 1987).

For the current work, it is challenging to discuss the enormous generalized data under the topic of politeness; thus, we would merely introduce two more examples here, from the perspective of performing positive politeness:

(136) … 不會叫他們工友，都叫他們 XX 姐 XX 哥，或是 X 大姐 X 大哥… (Source: PTT)

*… bù-huì jiào tā-men gōng-yǒu, dōu jiào tā-men XX **jiě 'elder sister'** XX **gē 'elder brother'**, huò-shì X **dà-jiě 'big-elder sister'** X **dà-gē 'big-elder brother'**… (Source: PTT)*

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[24] The 'closer' sense is from the perspective of ego. For instance, *gē* and *jiě* are closer to ego than *bó* (伯) 'father's elder brother' because the relative distance to ego of *bó* in the kinship system is longer.

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'… [we] don't call them maintenance workers, [we] call them **Sister** XX, **Brother** XX or **big-sister** X, **big-brother** X instead'. (Source: PTT)
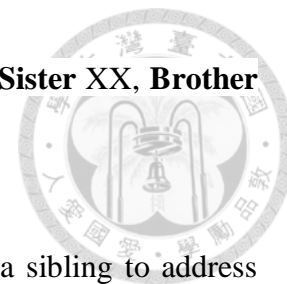
In this example, the speaker uses the generalized kinship term of a sibling to address maintenance workers in order to avoid triggering the conventionalized negative imagination of maintenance workers and tries to show his/her friendship and respect to the workers. *Dà-jiě* (大姐) 'big-elder sister' and *dà-gē* (大哥) 'big-elder brother' mentioned here confirm our argument about degree words in section 4.2.2— *lǎo* (老) 'old', *dà*, and *xiǎo* (小) 'little' can enhance the degree of respect or closeness of an expression.

The speaker of example (137) uses the 'big-little' (i.e., important vs. unimportant) contradiction to demote himself and promote the hearer simultaneously:

(137) **魯哥**您好，浚 (i.e., **小**) 弟我看完之後，有點想法跟你分享。**大哥**你…

(Source: PTT)

Lǔ gē 'elder brother' nín hǎo, xiáo-dì 'little-younger brother' wǒ kàn wán zhī-hòu, yǒu diǎn xiǎng-fǎ gēn nǐ fēn-xiǎng. Dà-gē 'big-elder brother' nǐ… *(Source: PTT)*

'Dear **lu** (i.e., loser) **brother**, I, the **little-brother**, have some idea and want to share with you. **Big-brother** you…' (Source: PTT)

The context is, in the original post, a male wrote down his personal experiences of life and called himself as a *lǔ-shé* (魯蛇) 'loser'. Another male who replied this post (i.e., the addresser of (137)) attempted to shorten the mental distance between him and the poster by replacing the self-demoted term used by the poster with a generalized kinship term of an older sibling, and called himself as a younger sibling of the poster. Firstly, the addresser substitutes *shé* (蛇) of *lǔ-shé* (魯蛇) for *gē* and calls the poster *lǔ gē*, this act partially eliminates the degree of self-demotion of the addressee because the addresser calls the addressee 'elder brother' and breaks the word structure of *lǔ-shé* 'loser', blurring the sense it transmitted originally. Secondly, the addresser calls himself 'younger brother' to the addressee and thus stays in the lower position, relatively

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promoting the status of the addressee. Finally, the addresser further shifts the term of address from *lǔ gē* to *dà-gē* (big-elder brother). By adopting the degree modifier *dà*, the addresser shows more respect to the addressee. Through serial manipulation of generalized kinship terms, the addresser cleverly avoids the FTA (calling the addressee 'loser') and performs the strategy of positive politeness (using *dà* to respect the addressee) at the same time.

Also, as we discussed in the previous section, for an old speaker to generalize kinship terms for younger non-relatives, the best choice is *dìdì*, *dì*, *mèimèi*, and *mèi*, because the only candidate for generalization in the younger generation is *érzǐ*, which is inadequate for social interaction. By choosing these terms, the elderly could adequately display their closeness and positive politeness to younger addressees.

As mentioned in chapter 2, sometimes the generalized usage of kinship terms is connected with impoliteness expression, such as the case of *lóng mèi* we explained in section 5.1.1. However, not every case of impoliteness usage behaves the same. The following example is slightly different from *lóng mèi* and worthy of attention:

(138) … 因該組副組長余一隆在門口與一群人打架，**俱樂部小弟**莊春銀見狀，即進入店內告知林文卿此事… (Source: PTT)

*… yīn gāi zǔ fù-zǔ-zhǎng Yu Yi-Long zài mén-kǒu yǔ yī qún rén dǎ-jià, **jù-lè-bù xiǎo-dì 'little-younger brother'** Zhuang Chun-Yin jiàn-zhuàng, jí jìn-rù diàn nèi gào-zhī Lin Wen-Qing cǐ shì… (Source: PTT)*

... the deputy director, Yu Yi-Long, got into fight with a group of people at the doorway. Zhuang Chun-Yin, the **club little-brother**, saw the incident and immediately went inside the club to inform Lin Wen-Qing about what is happend... (Source: PTT)

In this case, the *jù-lè-bù xiǎo-dì* is considered an impoliteness expression. Firstly, some *jù-lè-bùs* 'clubs' in Taiwan are seen as rough places which related to violence, sex, illegal drugs, and so on, thus a negative attribute is coded in *jù-lè-bù*. In other words,

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jù-lè-bù is a contextual factor in (139). The data of 'there is a fight happened at the doorway of the club' happens to be the evidence supports our point.

Secondly, *xiǎo-dì* is an intentional choice of impoliteness expression in this case. Generally speaking, a generalized *dì* can convey the meaning of closeness, and the prefix *xiǎo* can enhance the closeness sense of the generalized *dì*; hence, a speaker can show her/his closeness by calling a non-relative male *xiǎo-dì*. However, in (139), *dì* is used for lowering the status of Zhuang Chun-Yin and the prefix *xiǎo*, with the contempt sense, behaves as an intensifier of impoliteness (cf. Culpeper 2011). Combine the negative attribute of *jù-lè-bù* with the intensified impoliteness expression of *xiǎo-dì*, the whole combination of *jù-lè-bù xiǎo-dì* become a representative of impoliteness usage in this study.

5.1.2.5 Factors of Generalization

Five factors that affect how argument structure constructions are learned can be summarized in Goldberg's (2006) work: 'statistical cues' that provide a powerful means by which initial language learning can begin. 'Linking rules', the correlation between form and meaning or the semantics associated with various lexical templates based on the input. 'Skewed input' that enables learners (both children and adults) can extend what they have learned to new utterances. 'Prototype', a strong correlation between the frequency with which a token occurs (about the frequency, Chao (1956) mentioned: "High-frequency hearing of a term of address makes it easier not only to use it when it can be used, but also to generalize or enlarge its scope of application to cases for which at first it could not be"). Moreover, the 'conservative learning' is the initial production of argument structure patterns in that children stick closely to the forms they have heard.

Examining our data with these factors, it can be confirmed that the "Head-Generalized kinship term" construction does match these criteria, thus can be mentally constructed between native speakers and be productive. However, this research

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would propose one more criterion of 'impact', which refers to the force of construction, if a novel combination is related to a big issue or important event, it could be accepted and generalized without effort.

Actually, not every kinship term is generalized in the same frequency. The representative example is the generalized kinship term *mèi*. Combinations of this kinship term occupy the most significant portion of all combinations. Inside its group, the structure of 'region-*mèi*' is most productive (29.46%, 38 out of 129 N-N type). The different generalizability of individual kinship term is explored in section 5.2.

To conclude, the "Head-Generalized kinship term" combination is a construction. The "head" part could be a null value (the 'bare form' type), a degree modifier (the 'degree modifier as prefix' type), a name (the 'modified by surname/name' type), a profiled metonymic theme (the 'metonymic theme preceded' type), or a metaphorical/idiomatic usage (the 'metaphorical/idiomatic usage' type). The "generalized kinship term" part is selected by the addresser after considering the position s/he wants to stand, the politeness or impoliteness attitude s/he wants to express, the intention of whether personifying an inanimate object or not, as well as the use of straight or ironical wording; and the consideration filters out inadequat kinship terms for generalization. Through the process of blending the 'head' part with the "generalized kinship term" part, the addresser intergrate a noval construction in her/his cognition. Meanwhile, the effects of 'statistical cues', 'linking rules', 'skewed input', 'prototype', and 'conservative learning' also influence the learning of a construction. All these phenomena are mutually influenced.

5.2 Usage Preference of Generalized Kinship Terms

As introduced in section 4.1, there are eighteen generalizable disyllabic kinship terms and eleven generalizable monosyllabic kinship terms. In general, the number of generalized kinship terms of older generation is the most between all disyllabic terms, and *āyí* is the predominant one in the older generation. In the group of generalized monosyllabic kinship terms, kinship terms of peer generation are dominators. Between peer kinship terms, *mèi* is the one that with more combinations; however, if we count all

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the combinations of *xiōng* (兄) and *gē* together for that both of them refer to the identical sense of elder brother, the sum of them occupies the most prominent part in the peer generation. In section 5.2.1 to 5.2.4, we elaborately disucss the usage preference of generalized kinship terms from the perspective of distinct generations, the combinations with degree modifiers, self-referring situation, and the combinations with recurring head parts.

5.2.1   Preferences Between Kinship Terms of Separate Generations

In this section, we discuss the usage preferences of kinship terms of older generation and peer generation. In the older generation, four kinship terms of Taiwan Southern Min, namely, *āgōng* (阿公) 'father/mother's father', *āmà* (阿媽/阿嬤) 'father/mother's mother', *āpeh* (阿伯) 'father's elder brother', and *āyí* (阿姨) 'mother's elder/younger sister', are included. Because *āgōng* and *āmà* refer to 'father/mother's father' and 'father/mother's mother' respectively, they are not discussed by the dichotomy of paternal/maternal side. By observing our data, *āmà* (阿嬤) is found having more opportunities to combine with various metonymic themes than *nǎinǎi*, this phenomenon implies *āmà* (阿嬤) is more often used between native speakers while referring to an older female. On the contrary, the comparison of *āgōng* and *yéyé* does not show us any significant difference.

Under the dichotomy of paternal/maternal side, the paternal kinship is thought as a closer relationship in Chinese culture; therefore, speakers who use generalized kinship terms of older generation tend to access paternal terms first for showing higher intimacy to the target. This strategy works well towards non-relative males. However, paternal kinship terms generalized for non-relative females are diverse: 1) *nǎinǎi* (奶奶) 'father's mother' is generalized for ladies in their old age; 2) *bómǔ* (伯母) 'wife of father's elder brother' cannot be used alone unless the speaker had already established a fictitious relationship with her male spouse, namely, *bófù* or *bóbó* (伯伯) 'father's elder brother'. In the older generation, a generalization of paternal kinship term for younger women is presumed to be *gūmā* (姑媽)/*gūgū* (姑姑) 'father's elder/younger sister', but

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this is not the case— as shown by our data, *gūmā* and *gūgū* cannot be generalized[25]. Instead, the maternal kinship term *āyí*, at the same level of *gūmā*/*gūgū* in the kinship system, is chosen to be the candidate for generalization[26].

There is an additional explanation for why *yímā* (姨媽) 'mother's elder/younger sister' is only generalized in one case of our data, but *āyí*— the equivalent term of *yímā*— is more prevalent between native speakers of Mandarin in Taiwan. It might result from that the term *yímā* establishes an image similar to the speaker's mother, and rises the feeling of 'older' to the hearer, which is just what a modern female wants to avoid; on the contrary, the term *āyí* is more acceptable to female hearers due to its flexible 'older or younger' attribute.

The dominant status of *āyí* between members of the disyllabic group could be elaborated by the inspiration stimulated from Tsao's (1993) claim, which says, in the modern society, many married women have to work and and temporarily live in their original family with her husband and children (1993: 321). It is reasonable to infer that the maternal family members, especially mother's sisters, might take the responsibility of caretakers. Hence, *āyí* is the person the children interact most, and this kinship term is possible to be generalized.

In the monosyllabic group, the vartiety of the combinations of *bó* (伯) 'father's elder brother' are lesser than *shú* (叔) 'father's younger brother', and there is no equivalent monosyllabic kinship term for *bómŭ*. However, the kinship term *shĕn* (嬸), the female spouse of father's younger brother is adopted for generalization in monosyllabic group. The *shú* and *shĕn* are to form a couple of generalized monosyllabic

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[25] However, the mother who asked her children to call me 'uncle' (example (133)) says that her husband (a native speaker of Taiwan Mandarin) asks their children to call non-relative felames *gūgū*. Apparently, it is different from the trend of our data. This case shows the evidence that to there is no absolute rule(s) about choosing a kinship terms for generalization, exception always exist, it is the nature of language. Also, this case corresponds the description of Duan's (2014) research we introduced in chapter 2— *gūgū* can be generalized for addressing non-relative females.

[26] Vietnamese, used in a paternal society with cultural similarity as Chinese, has a resemblant phenomenon. A Vietnamese native speaker told me that in northern Vietnam, people call non-relative females *cô* (姑) 'father's younger sister'; however, in southern Vietnam, people call non-relative females *dì* (姨) 'mother's younger sister'. To a native speaker of Vietnamese, the mental distance of the former term of address is farther than the latter— the kinship term *dì* resembles a closer relationship between interlocutors.

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kinship terms in the group of older generation. In most situations, *shú* and *shěn* follow the degree word *dà* and form the terms of *dà-shú* (大叔) and *dà-shěn* (嬸).

So far, this study deals with *xiōng* and *gē* as they are the same kinship term, because both of them refer to elder brother. However, there are some usage differences between *xiōng* and *gē* that we should clarify: first of all, *xiōng* can only be affixed by the degree modifier *lǎo,* and *gē* can be modified by two degree prefixes— *lǎo* and *dà*. Since distinct degree modifiers enhance different senses for a generalized kinship term, *gē* has more chances to be adopted than *xiōng* for that it could combine with more degree modifiers (the preferences of degree modifier are discussed in section 5.2.2). Seconsdly, both *xiōng* and *gē* can be generalized for self-referring, but the latter is more often observed (the usage preferences of self-referring kinship terms are discussed in section 5.2.3). Thirdly, among the combinations of metonymic theme preceded type, *gē* has more variants than *xiōng* (88 pieces against 20 pieces), which means *gē* is more productive in the metonymic theme preceded type. Nevertheless, the variants of *xiōng* outnumber the variants of *gē* 19 to 8 among the metaphorical/idiomatic usage. This phenomenon reflects the higher productivity of *xiōng*.

Following above evidence, it is difficult to strongly claim which one of generalized *xiōng* and *gē* is more dominant. The position we would take is that, by analyzing our data, *xiōng* and *gē* are competing against each other in the domain of generalized usage.

5.2.2   Preferences of Degree Modifiers

In section 4.2.2, we argue that *lǎo*, *dà*, and *xiǎo* are preceded degree words that enhance the degree of respect, closeness, casualness, or contempt (in few cases) of generalized kinship terms. The reason for this function is rooted in the metaphorical meaning and our embodied experience.

Between disyllabic generalized kinship terms, *lǎo* could be attached to *yéyé*, *āgōng* (阿公) 'father/mother's father', *nǎinǎi*, *āmà* (阿媽) 'father/mother's mother', *āmà* (阿嬤) 'father/mother's mother', *bóbó*, *āpeh* (阿伯) 'father's elder brother'and *gēgē* (哥哥) 'elder brother'. Except for *gēgē*, other kinship terms are of the older generation, and

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their correlation with *lǎo* is rational. On the other way, *gēgē* is the older sibling between people of peer generation, he is "relatively old" in the group. To be affixed by *lǎo* is also natural to some extent. Combination of *lǎo* and these kinship terms represent the attitude of respect, closeness, or casualness to the subjects.

The term *dà* usually precede *gēgē*, *jiějiě* (姊姊/姐姐) 'elder sister', and *yímā*. The *dà-yímā* is discerned as a conventionalized usage and we can look over it; other terms are older siblings between people of peer generation, so attaching *dà* to *gēgē* and *jiějiě* for enhancement balances the expression of showing respect and reminding the older age. Noticeably, *gēgē* could combine with *lǎo* and *dà*, this phenomenon hints *gēgē* is adopted in a broader range than other disyllabic terms.

For kinship terms *dìdì* and *mèimèi*, the only enhancement is *xiǎo*, which used for expressing the closeness, casualness, or contempt to the subjects. The distribution of degree modifiers and their preferred disyllabic kinship terms diagramed as Fig. 5.16.
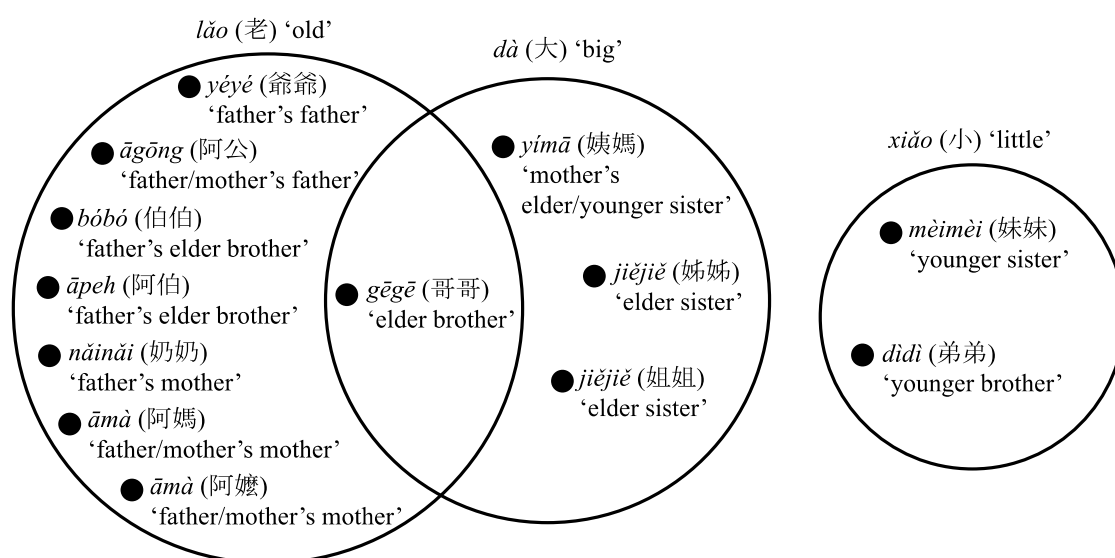
Fig. 5.16. The Distribution of Degree Word on Disyllabic Kinship Terms

Because the 'old' meaning of *lǎo* remains while being combined with generalized kinship terms, it enhances the sense of "oldness" to the addressee and threatens her/his positive face as well. *Lǎo* is not favored for some native speakers, and this might be the reason why the combination "*lǎo*-generalized kinship term" appears in written language more often than oral usage.

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In the monosyllabic group, *lǎo* could be attached to *bó*, *xiōng*, *gē*, and *sǎo* (嫂) 'wife of elder brother', as well as *dì* and *mèi*, which is quite different from the cases of disyllabic kinship term. Most of them are kinship terms of peer generation except *bó* is a term of older generation.

Dà could be attached to *shú*, *shěn*, *gē*, and *sǎo*, and *jiě* (姊/姐). Except for the couple of *shú* and *shěn*, most of these kinship terms refer to the older relatives of peer generation. Again, the term *gē* crosses the domains of *lǎo* and *dà*.

Being a distinct situation from the cases of disyllabic kinship term, *dì* and *mèi* could not only be enhanced by *xiǎo* but also can be modified by *lǎo* for the purpose of expressing the closeness, casualness, or contempt to the subjects. The distribution of degree modifiers and their preferred monosyllabic kinship terms diagramed as Fig. 5.17.
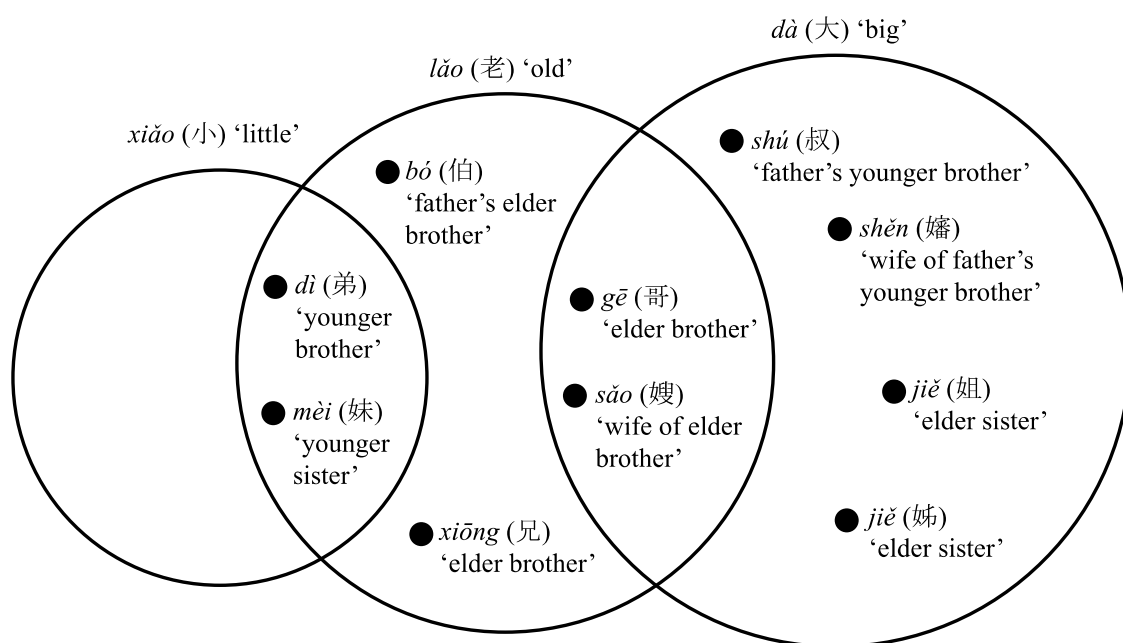
Fig. 5.17. The Distribution of Degree Word on Monosyllabic Kinship Terms

In previous parts, this study only discusses degree modifiers *lǎo*, *dà*, and *xiǎo* in the "Head-Generalized kinship term" construction individually and the author argues these words are meaning enhancements (showing more respect, closeness, casualness, or contempt) for generalized kinship terms. One may wonder if this explanation could apply to combinations with two seamlessly-combined degree words preceded by a

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generalized kinship term, such as *lǎo-dà-gē* (老大哥) 'old-big-elder brother' and *xiǎo-lǎo-dì* (小老弟) 'little-old-younger brother', which are shown in examples (139), (140), and (141)[27]:
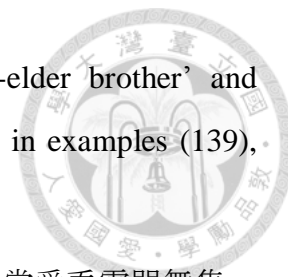
(139) 像團裡年紀最長的「老大哥」吳明，今年七十九歲，他平常愛看雲門舞集…
(Source: AS)

*Xiàng tuán lǐ nián-jì zuì zhǎng de 「**lǎo-dà-gē 'old-big-elder brother'**」 Wu Ming, jīn nián qī-shí-jiǔ suì, tā píng-cháng ài kàn yún-mén-wǔ-jí... (Source: AS)*

'Like Wu Ming, the oldest **old-big-brother** in the group, is 79 years old, he loves the plays of Cloud Gate…' (Source: AS)

(140) 談到新作「玻璃瓶」，成龍以老大哥的姿態，開玩笑數落舒淇老愛遲到…
(Source: AS)

*Tán dào xīn-zuò 「bō-lí píng」, Cheng Long yǐ **lǎo-dà-gē 'old-big-elder brother'** de zī-tài, kāi-wán-xiào shù-luò Shu Qi lǎo ài chí-dào... (Source: AS)*

'Talking about the new movie "Gorgeous", Cheng Long jokes about Shu Qi of her always being late in a manner of **old-big-brother**…' (Source: AS)

(141) … 當時在美國攻讀博士的邱義仁堅持返國 許信良擔心這位小老弟的安危…
(Source: AS)

*… dāng-shí zài Měiguó gōng-dú bó-shì de Chiou I-Jen jiān-chí fǎn-guó, Hsu Hsin-Liang dān-xīn zhè wèi **xiǎo-lǎo-dì 'little-old-younger brother'** de ān-wēi... (Source: AS)*

'Chiou I-Jen insisted that he have to come back when he was still in a doctoral program in America, Hsu Hsin-Liang worried about the personal safety of this **little-old-brother**…' (Source: AS)

In order to answer this question, we have to analyze these combinations by their hierarchical structures at first. Taking *lǎo-dà-gē* for example (see (139) and (140)), in the first stage, the kinship term *gē* is the base and *dà* is a prefix which affixed to *gē,* then

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[27] Both *lǎo-dà-gē* and *xiǎo-lǎo-dì* have their metaphorical/idiomatic usages, but current work does not deal with them for the research scope.

the term *dà-gē* is formed; we assume *dà* only enhances the respect sense on *gē*. Next, the prefix *lǎo* is affixed to the new base *dà-gē* and the combination *lǎo-dà-gē* is created. If we also assume *lǎo* only enhances the respect sense on *dà-gē*, the sense of *lǎo-dà* combination will become an "enhanced enhanced respect" meaning, this expression is not only unnatural but also lacks linguistic economy.

The best solution for above crumbled assumption comes from the redundancy restriction (Lieber 2004). According to this restriction, "affixes do not add semantic content that is already available within a base word (simplex or derived)" (Lieber 2004: 161); therefore, *lǎo* and *dà* are not possible to convey the same sense that enhances respect meaning on *gē* while they are seamlessly-combined as a word string. However, among *lǎo* and *dà*, which prefix plays the role of enhancement of respect? The redundancy restriction does not give us any hint, we have to deduce the appropriate answer by ourselves.

Actually, both *lǎo* and *dà* convey different senses, respect is one of them; however, we find only *lǎo* could enhance the 'closeness' sense to its base, according to the literature mentioned in chapter 2 and 4. Thus, it is plausible to recognize that in the *lǎo-dà-gē* combination, *dà* plays the role of enhancement of respect for *gē*; *lǎo* enhances the closeness sense on *dà-gē*.

Similarily, in the case of *xiǎo-lǎo-dì* (example (141)), the kinship term *dì* is the base and *lǎo* is a prefix that affixed to it, they form the term *lǎo-dì* at first. After that, the prefix *xiǎo* is affixed to the new base *lǎo-dì* and the combination *xiǎo-lǎo-dì* is produced. The redundancy restriction (Lieber 2004) is still worked on this case, so *xiǎo* and *lǎo* do not convey the same sense while they are seamlessly-combined. Since in (141), the context "… Hsu Hsin-Liang worried about the personal safety of this little-old-brother…" does not reveal any contempt or respect sense of Hsu Hsin-Liang to us, what *xiǎo* and *lǎo* enhance will be sense of closeness and casualness. Meanwhile, either *xiǎo* and *lǎo* can convey the sense of closeness and casualness, an appropriate explanation for *xiǎo-lǎo-dì* in (141) is that *lǎo* plays the role of enhancement of casualness for *dì,* and *xiǎo* enhances the closeness sense on *lǎo-dì*, and vice versa.

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Hence, the argument of *lǎo*, *dà*, and *xiǎo* are meaning enhancements is still workable in explaining the sense combination of two seamlessly-combined degree words. *Lǎo* and *dà* in the *lǎo-dà-gē* combination do not enhance the same meaning together at the same time as we add two numbers exactly the same. In speakers' cognition, meanings of separate degree words tend to alter on 'their own scale' in a seamlessly-combined word cluster, these meanings must not be the same simultaneously: on the one hand, the possible redundancy is avoided; on the other hand, more subtle attitudes or emotions could be conveyed by these words. This explanation is also suitable for *xiǎo* and *lǎo* in the *xiǎo-lǎo-dì* combination.

5.2.3 Preferences of Self-Referring Kinship Terms

The generalization work is bi-directional. For example, a speaker could call a hearer *xiōng* as well as call himself *gē*, as the following examples:

(109) ... 各位 **30 公分兄**，H 罩杯姊，遇到這情況… (Source: PTT)

... *gè-wèi* **30 gōng-fēn xiōng 'elder brother'**, *H zhào-bēi jiě, yù-dào zhè qíng-kuàng... (Source: PTT)*

'... Every **30-cm brother** and H-cup sister, if you are in this situation…' (Source: PTT)

(23) … 5. 經濟：高出平常人一點點，**哥**自認良好。6. 工作：出沒在龜山… (Source: PTT)

... *5. jīng-jì: gāo chū píng-cháng-rén yī-diǎn-diǎn,* **gē 'elder brother'** *zì-rèn liáng-hǎo. 6. gong-zuò: chū-mò zài Guīshān… (Source: PTT)*

'… 5. Financial Status: better than average, **brother** (i.e., I) thinks it's good enough. 6. Job: [I] appear in Guishan…' (Source: PTT)

Though most generalized usages of kinship terms in our data refer to other people, this study finds some tendencies of using generalized kinship terms that refer to oneself:

1. Whether in the disyllabic or monosyllabic group of generalized kinship terms, the terms of address basically center around the terms of peer generalization (disyllabic:

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gēgē, *jiějiě* (姊姊/姐姐), *dìdì*, and *mèimèi*; monosyllabic: *xiōng*, *gē*, *jiě* (姊/姐), *dì*, and *mèi*). By the means, language users shorten the mental distance between each other but not too close (The only exception is *shúshú* (叔叔) 'father's younger brother', which only appears once in the data, describes a speaker addressed himself in front of young children).

2. The precise age gap between the addresser and addressee(s) is not a concern for generalized usage. Choosing an older or younger kinship term depends on what the intention and position the speaker intend to take (Chen and Yang (2015) have a similar finding).

3. While addressing oneself with *gē* or *jiě* (姊/姐), the speaker promotes her/his status to a higher position imaginary, shows a dominant attitude to the addressees. This finding corresponds to Chen and Yang's (2015) research.

4. *Xiōng* is generalized in two examples: *Chen xiōng* (陳兄) 'Brother Chen' and *shōu-wǎng xiōng* (收網兄) 'haul-the-net brother', which is quite rare, it might result from that *xiōng* is much often used in written form and unnatural in verbal communication.

5. Some speakers tend to emphasize they are losers, as in the expressions of *lǔ-shé dì* (魯蛇弟) 'loser younger brother' and *lǔ-shé mèi* (魯蛇妹) 'loser younger sister'. Through this way, they addressed themselves as younger siblings for promoting addressee's status and further demoting their status by ironically consoling themselves with the tag 'loser' at the same time, in order to display more respect to the addressee.

Notably, in the case of a speaker calls himself *lǔ-shé shúshú* (魯蛇叔叔) 'loser uncle' (cf. sentence (12)), though the ironical tune of 'loser' does play a role of demoting the status of the speaker, the addresser becomes more intimate to addressees. This phenomenon is due to the use of 'loser' impairs the influence of superior position embedded in *shúshú*, a kinship term of older generation. We can claim that the head 'loser' demotes the position of following generalized kinship terms, and this ironical

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usage conveys a friendly or humorous attitude to some extent, making the relation between the speaker and the hearer becomes closer.

5.2.4 Preferences of Recurring Head Parts

If we analyze the recurred head part of "Head-Generalized kinship terms" construction, it is observed that specific combinations formed in very early stage, such as "police-generalized kinship term", "nurse-generalized kinship term", "journalist-generalized kinship terms", and "driver-generalized kinship terms", persist their preference of preceding a disyllabic kinship term, and keep attracting adequate candidates to fit in the combination, as we listed in Table 5.1[28]. A monosyllabic term cannot follow these heads unless it attaches a degree prefix and forms a disyllabic word, such as *jǐng-chá dà-gē* (警察大哥) 'police officer big-brother' and *sī-jī lǎo-xiōng* (司機老兄) 'driver old-brother'. Other recurring head parts are more tolerant of monosyllabic kinship terms, for example, *xué-shēng* (學生) 'student' can be followed by not only *gēgē* and *jiějiě*, such as *xué-shēng gēgē* (學生哥哥) 'student brother (elder)' and *xué-shēng jiějiě* (學生姊姊) 'student sister (elder)', but also *dì* and *mèi*, such as *xué-shēng dì* (學生弟) 'student brother (younger)' and *xué-shēng mèi* (學生妹) 'student sister (younger)'; *gōng-dào* (公道) 'fair' prefers to combine with monosyllabic kinship terms *bó*, *gē*, and *jiě*, such as *gōng-dào bó* (公道伯) 'fair uncle (father's elder brother)', *gōng-dào gē* (公道哥) 'fair brother (elder)', and *gōng-dào jiě* (公道姊) 'fair sister (elder)'.

Table 5.1 The Combinations of Generalized Kinship Term of Specific Professions

Professions	Combinations
jǐng-chá (警察) 'police officer'	*jǐng-chá yéyé* (警察爺爺) 'police officer grandfather', *jǐng-chá bóbó* (警察伯伯) 'police officer uncle (father's elder brother)', *jǐng-chá shúshú* (警察叔叔) 'police officer uncle (father's

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	younger brother)', *jǐng-chá gēgē* (警察哥哥) 'police officer brother', *jǐng-chá dà-gē* (警察大哥) 'police officer big-brother'
hù-shì (護士) 'nurse'	*hù-shì āyí* (護士阿姨) 'nurse aunt', *hù-shì jiějiě* (護士姊姊) 'nurse sister (elder)', *hù-shì mèimè* (護士妹妹) 'nurse sister (younger)'
jì-zhě (記者) 'journalist'	*jì-zhě jiějiě* (記者姐姐) 'journalist sister (elder)', *jì-zhě mèimèi* (記者妹妹) 'journalist sister (younger)'
sī-jī (司機) 'driver'	*sī-jī shúshú* (司機叔叔) 'driver uncle', *sī-jī āyí* (司機阿姨) 'driver aunt', *sī-jī lǎo-xiōng* (司機老兄) 'driver old-brother', *sī-jī dà-gē* (司機大哥) 'driver big-brother'

Some recurred head parts of the "Head-Generalized kinship terms" can be followed by a group that contains kinship terms of a nuclear family. For instance, in the case of *xué-shēng*, its followers are *gēgē, jiějiě, dì*, and *mèi*, which are all kinship terms of sibling. Similarly, in the case of *xué* (學) 'learn', the following kinship terms can be *jiě* (*xué jiě* (學姊) 'senior sister (in the school)'), *dì* (*xué dì* (學弟) 'junior brother (in the school)'), and *mèi* (*xué mèi* (學妹) 'junior sister (in the school)'). These phenomena reflect that, in general, students in school are not quite apart in age, and they interact with each other in most time, as the interaction between siblings in a family.

Furthermore, the *shī* (師) 'teacher' and its combinations *shī fù* (師父) 'teacher father', *shī xiōng* (師兄) 'teacher brother (elder)', *shī dì* (師弟) 'teacher brother (younger)', *shī jiě* (師姊) 'teacher sister (elder)', *shī jiě* (師姐) 'teacher sister (elder)', and *shī mèi* (師妹) 'teacher sister (younger)' present us with a frame of family[29] for that all the generalized kinship terms used here correspond to a member of a nuclear family. These combinations are construed by speakers under the influence of the tradition of treating the teacher as father (in ancient time, most teachers are males); therefore, all the

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[29] The term *shī mǔ* (師母) 'teacher mother' is not found in both the AS Corpus and the PTT Corpus; however, it is used by native speakers in few occations.

students taught by the same teacher seeing each other as her/his own family members. Which kinship term will be chosen for generalizing is considered by students' age and the time point they are taught by the teacher.

5.3 Meaning Change of the Combination of Generalized Kinship Terms

If we distinguish the combination of generalized kinship terms by the correspondence between a combination and its referent, there will be two kinds of them— referential uniqueness and referential randomness— as this work introduced in section 5.1.2. Since the generalization is a mechanism leads kinship terms to be so productive, is it possible for a combination of generalized kinship term of referential uniqueness alters to a term of referential randomness, due to the effect of generalization? Two cases listed below reveal a possible answer for us. The first case is the term of *Chi-Ling jiějiě* (志玲姊姊) 'Sister Chi-Ling'; case two is the term of *Da-Ren gē* (大仁哥) 'Brother Da-Ren'.

In case one, *Chi-Ling jiějiě* (志玲姊姊) 'Sister Chi-Ling' is categorized initially as a term of the modified by surname/name type because it only refers to the female model and actress *Lin Chi-Ling*, and thus is a referential uniqueness, as shown in example (142):

(142) 不知**志玲姊姊**是否願意代言充氣娃娃？(Source: PTT)

*Bù zhī **Chi-Ling jiějiě** 'elder sister' shì-fǒu yuan-yì dài-yán chōng-qì wá-wá? (Source: PTT)*

'[I] do not know whether **Sister Chi-Ling** would like to be the endorser of love doll?' (Source: PTT)

However, in another piece of material, *Chi-Ling jiějiě* seems to be converted to a type of metonymic theme preceded, applied to describe a woman who has some features like *Lin Chi-Ling*, the subject is unpredictable. For example, in (143):

(143) 小華...：「你堪稱是本公司的**志玲姊姊**！」女同事心花怒放：「我有這麼美嗎？」小華：「不是，我的意思是你嫁不出去了。」(Source: PTT)

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*Xiao-Hua…: "nǐ kān-chēng shì běn gōng-sī de **Chi-Ling jiějiě 'elder sister'**!"*

Nǚ-tóng-shì xīn-huā-nù-fàng: "wǒ yǒu zhè-me měi ma?" Xiao-Hua: "bù-shì, wǒ

de yì-sī shì nǐ jià bù chū-qù le". (Source: PTT)

'Xiao-Hua says (to a female colleague): "You are the **Sister Chi-Ling** of this

company". The female colleague replies happily: "Am I as beautiful as she is?"

Xiao-Hua: "No, I mean you will never get married"'. (Source: PTT)

By comparing the two *Chi-Ling jiějiě* in example (142) and (143), we can find the difference between them and infer that there is a meaning change of this generalized kinship term; moreover, the referential uniqueness converted to referential randomness. Meanwhile, the combination of *Chi-Ling jiějiě* becomes a metaphor that associates *Lin Chi-Ling* with an unmarried female whose age is relatively old[30], and used to describe a female who is in the same situation, as shown in (143).

However, only one case is not convincing enough, we need more materials to support the argument, and the second case— *Da-Ren gē* fits our requirement. At first, *Da-Ren gē* refers to a character who named *Li Da-Ren* of a drama released in 2011; hence *Da-Ren gē* is a typical combination of the modified by surname/name type and is referential uniqueness, as shown in example (144):

(144) 陳柏霖在偶像劇... 飾演溫暖、貼心的李大仁，究竟「**大仁哥**」魅力在哪？

(occurred in 2011)

Chen Bo-Lin zài ǒu-xiàng-jù... shì-yǎn wēn-nuǎn, tiē-xīn de Li Da-Ren, jiū-jìng

***"Da-Ren gē 'elder brother'"** mèi-lì zài nǎ?*

'Chen Bo-Lin took Li Da-Ren, a warm and thoughtful man, in an idol drama. Where the charisma of **Brother Da-Ren** come from?'

Almost at the same time, *Da-Ren gē* is used to refer to the actor *Chen Bo-Lin*, as the data in example (145). This combination converted to the type of metonymic theme

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[30] Finally, Lin Chi-Ling got married in June, 2019.

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preceded from the type of modified by surname/name, because *Da-Ren* is not the name of *Chen Bo-Lin*, but a role he took before. Certainly, the unique referent is challenged.

(145) 大仁哥陳柏霖　耶誕夜暗巷擁桂綸鎂 (occurred in 2011)

Da-Ren gē 'elder brother' Chen Bo-Lin yē-dàn yè àn-xiàng yōng Gwei Lun-Me

'The **Brother Da-Ren**, Chen Bo-Lin, hugged Gwei Lun-Me in a secret lane in Christmas Eve'.

This usage of *Da-Ren gē* continually existed for years. Until 2016, a distinct usage appeared, as revealed in next example. In (146), the speaker wishes himself could become someone's *Da-Ren gē*. There is no clue says this speaker is named *Da-Ren*, it is more reasonable to categorize the term *Da-Ren gē* mentioned in this sentence into the type of metonymic theme preceded, implies the addresser has some characteristics of *Da-Ren gē*. This piece of evidence proves the referential uniqueness converted to referential randomness again.

(146) ...但願有緣成為一個人的大仁哥... (occurred in 2016)

... dàn-yuàn yǒu-yuán chéng-wéi yī-gè-rén de ***Da-Ren gē 'elder brother'***...

'… wish [I] can become someone's **Brother Da-Ren**…'

Being similar to the case of *Chi-Ling jiějiě*, the combination of *Da-Ren gē* forms a metaphor in the end. This metaphor associates the character *Li Da-Ren* with a considerate male who always stays by your side, and it is used for illustrating a male that has the same attrbutes.

It is noteworthy that we also observed the occurrence of *Da-Ren jiě* (大仁姐) 'Sister Da-Ren' in our materials, as in example (147):

(147) … 分手後，跟我的前好友上演了大仁姐跟又青哥找到真愛的戲碼…

(occurred in 2015)

*… fèn-shǒu hòu, gēn wǒ de qián hǎo-yǒu shàng-yǎn le **Da-Ren jiě 'elder sister'** gēn You-Qing gē zhǎo-dào zhēn-ài de xì-mǎ...*

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'… after [I] broke up, [I] find [my] true love [, that is] my ex-best friend, it is just like the plot of **Sister Da-Ren** finds her true love- Brother You-Qing…'

(Actually, You-Qing is the name of the principal female character, who finds her true love— Li Da-Ren in the idol drama)
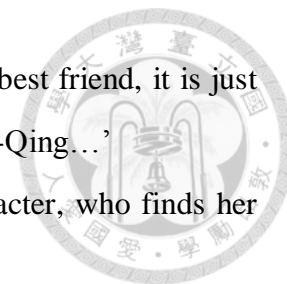
In this case, the generalized kinship term of the "*Da-Ren gē*" combination has been converted to *jiě* from *gē*, the gender is completely different. This combination supports our argument that the "Head-Generalized kinship term" combination is a construction: firstly, the head *Da-Ren* describes the attributes of caring, kind, helpful, and always stands by your side of *Li Da-Ren*. Secondly, the part of generalized kinship term could be replaced (i.e., partially filled). Moreover, the form or function of *Da-Ren jiě* is not strictly predictable from its component parts. Thus, we can conclude that "*Da-Ren*-generalized kinship term" is a construction. In addition, the "*Da-Ren jiě*" combination is also a metaphor in this case.

Through the observation on case one and two, the current work takes a position on that it is possible for a combination of generalized kinship term of referential uniqueness to convert to referential randomness. From the data of this research, it happens when the combination has a chance to convert from the type of modified by surname/name to the type of metonymic theme preceded[31].

The main factor of the meaning change of these cases might result from the degree of 'entrenchment' (Langacker 2008: 96): in case one, the marital status of *Lin Chi-Ling* is often discussed on news reports or variety shows, so the marital status becomes a focus of *Lin Chi-Ling* and hence profiled as a metonymic theme of the newly developed combination *Chi-Ling jiějiě*; this combination further becomes a metaphor that associates *Lin Chi-Ling* with an unmarried female whose age is relatively old. For the second case, the character *Li Da-Ren* is well-known and intensively occurred (i.e., used by speakers) after the idol drama becomes popular, this role was seen as a feature of the

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[31] Logically speaking, the conversion could happen inside a type of combination. For example, *Chi-Ling jiějiě* could be used for any female who has the same name. If this is the case, *Chi-Ling jiějiě* is still a usage of 'modified by surname/name' type; however, its referential uniqueness does not exist anymore. Similar case is not found in our data.

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actor *Chen Bo-Lin*. Finally, with the heated discussion on this character, the attributes of this character made *Da-Ren gē* independent from the character and *Chen Bo-Lin*, and becomes a metaphor which describes an unspecific person has those attributes.
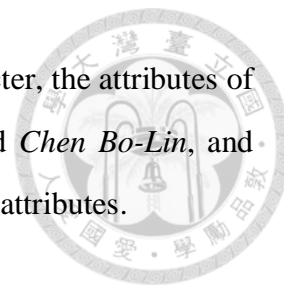
5.4 Interim Summary

In this chapter, we explain the process of how the generalization formed in speakers' mind by adopting the Conceptual Blending Theory and Construction Grammar and argue that there is a "Head-Generalized kinship term" construction. Besides, this study further discusses the phenomena such as referential uniqueness, viewpoint shifting, politeness and impoliteness, and factors of generalization; these phenomena are mutually influenced. Moreover, the usage preferences of generalized kinship terms are explored: firstly, *āmà* (阿嬤) may be more often used than *nǎinǎi* between native speakers while referring to an older female. Secondly, the dominant status of *āyí* between members of the disyllabic group could be attributed to the life of modern society, many married women have to work and temporarily live in their original family with husband and children (Tsao 1993), and mother's sisters might become the caretakers of children. Hence, *āyí* is the one that children interact most and feel closer to; it is very possible to be generalized. Thirdly, among monosyllabic kinship terms, there is only a couple of generalized kinship terms of "*dà-shú-dà-shěn* pair" in older generation. Lastly, there are some usage differences between *xiōng* and *gē,* but it is difficult to argue which one is more dominant. They are considered to compete against each other in the domain of generalized usage.

Moreover, we argue that in speakers' cognition, meanings of separate degree modifiers tend to alter on 'their own scale' in a seamlessly-combined word cluster (such as *lǎo* and *dà* in *lǎo-dà-gē*, and *xiǎo* and *lǎo* in *xiǎo-lǎo-dì*), rather than enhance the same meaning together at the same time. These meanings must not be the same simultaneously: on the one hand, the possible redundancy is avoided; on the other hand, subtler attitudes or emotions could be conveyed by these modifiers.

Also, this study finds some tendencies of using generalized kinship terms that refer to oneself and finds the syllable preference of some early-established combination.

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Some recurred head parts of the "Head-Generalized kinship terms", such as *xué-shēng*, *xué*, and *shī* can be followed by a group that contains kinship terms of a nuclear family. Finally, current work proposes an argument of the meaning change from referential uniqueness to referential randomness, through the observation on two different cases.

We can conclude that the monosyllabic kinship terms are more productive than disyllabic terms, owing to its easily-compatible structure. This attribute makes monosyllabic kinship terms generalized in a considerable amount, especially in the category of metonymic themes preceded.

Chapter 6   Conclusion
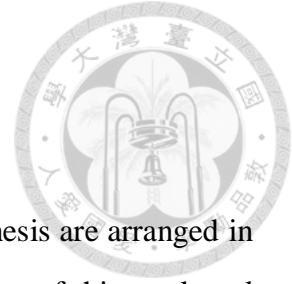
In the final chapter, the summary and important points of this thesis are arranged in section 6.1, following the recapitulation, we describe the contribution of this work and suggest possible research directions for passionate successors.

6.1   Recapitulation

This study focuses on the explanation of how kinship terms of Taiwan Mandarin generalized and their performance, three questions are proposed:

1. Can all kinship terms of Taiwan Mandarin be generalized? If not, which terms are candidates for generalization?

2. What is the similarity/dissimilarity between generalized disyllabic kinship terms and monosyllabic kinship terms?

3. How the generalization and its combination construed in native speakers' mind?

In order to find the answers, the current work employs generally-accepted kinship terms of Taiwan Mandarin (either disyllabic and monosyllabic) and Taiwan Southern Min (viz., *āgōng* (阿公) 'father/mother's father', *āmà* (阿媽/阿嬤) 'father/mother's mother', *āpeh* (阿伯) 'father's elder brother', and *āyí* (阿姨) 'mother's elder/younger sister') as keywords, searching them in the AS Corpus and the PTT Corpus and selecting the written and spoken generalized usages of each kinship term. Further, the data is retrieved for detailed analyzation. Besides, some generalized usages on news reports are also included.

After analyzing all qualified materials, we find that in the group of disyllabic kinship terms, *yéyé* (爺爺) 'father's father', *āgōng*, *nǎinǎi* (奶奶) 'father's mother', *āmà*, *bàbà* (爸爸) 'father', *māmā* (媽媽) 'mother', *bófù* (伯父) 'father's elder brother', *bóbó* (伯伯) 'father's elder brother', *āpeh*, *bómǔ* (伯母) 'wife of father's elder brother', *shúshú* (叔叔) 'father's younger brother', *yímā* (姨媽) 'mother's elder/younger sister', *āyí*, *gēgē* (哥哥) 'elder brother', *dìdì* (弟弟) 'younger brother', *jiějiě* (姊姊) 'elder

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sister', *jiějiě* (姐姐) 'elder sister', *mèimèi* (妹妹) 'younger sister', and *érzǐ* (兒子) 'son' can be generalized, which is a small portion of the whole disyllabic kinship terms.

In the group of monosyllabic kinship terms, *fù* (父) 'father', *bó* (伯) 'father's elder brother', *shú* (叔) 'father's younger brother', *shěn* (嬸) 'wife of father's younger brother', *yí* (姨) 'mother's elder/younger sister', *xiōng* (兄) 'elder brother', *gē* (哥) 'elder brother', *sǎo* (嫂) 'wife of elder brother', *dì* (弟) 'younger brother', *jiě* (姊) 'elder sister', *jiě* (姐) 'elder sister', and *mèi* (妹) 'younger sister' are candidates for generalization. All kinship terms of the younger generation cannot be generalized. In either group, non-generalized kinship terms are more than those that can be generalized.

There are eighteen generalizable disyllabic kinship terms and eleven generalizable monosyllabic kinship terms. Generally speaking, the amount of generalized kinship terms of older generation is the most between all disyllabic terms, and *āyí* is the predominant one in them. Between generalized monosyllabic kinship terms, kinship terms of peer generation are dominators, and *mèi* is the one that with more combinations; however, if we take all the combinations of *xiōng* and *gē* into consideration (both of them refer to 'elder brother'), the sum of them occupies the most prominent part in peer generation.

We further categorize generalized kinship term in our data into five types— bare form, degree modifier as prefix, modified by surname/name, metonymic theme preceded, and metaphorical/idiomatic usage— in terms of their forms and meanings. Each type is divided into a disyllabic subtype and a monosyllabic subtype for detailed observation.

This research explains the process of how the generalization formed in speakers' mind by adopting the Conceptual Blending Theory (Fauconnier and Turner 2002) and Construction Grammar (Goldberg 1995, 2006), arguing that there is a "Head-Generalized kinship term" construction. Also, this research further discusses the phenomena such as referential uniqueness, viewpoint shifting, politeness and impoliteness, and factors of generalization. It is found that the generalization process

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can omit the consideration of nationality, alive status, or matched gender feature of the subject.
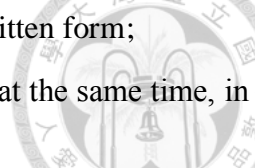
Moreover, the usage preferences of generalized kinship terms are explored: firstly, *āmà* (阿嬤) may be more often used than *nǎinǎi* between native speakers while referring to an older female. Secondly, speakers tend to address non-relative males with paternal kinship terms of the older generation, but do not always address non-relative females with paternal kinship terms. There are three choices for non-relative females: *nǎinǎi*, *bómǔ*, and *āyí*, and *āyí* is the predominant term. The reason of *āyí* becomes dominant could be attributed to the life of modern society, many married women have to work and temporarily live in their original family with husband and children (Tsao 1993), and mother's sisters might become the caretakers of children. Hence, *āyí* is the one that children interact most and feel closer to, and this kinship term is very possible to be generalized.

In addition, the author observes that among monosyllabic kinship terms, there is only a couple of generalized kinship terms of "*dà-shú-dà-shěn* pair" in older generation; also, there are some usage differences between *xiōng* and *gē*. The author argues that *xiōng* and *gē* are competing against each other in the domain of generalized usage, so to decide which one is more dominant is a challenging task at present.

Besides, it is found that in speakers' cognition, meanings of separate degree modifiers tend to alter on 'their own scale' in a seamlessly-combined word cluster (such as *lǎo* (老) 'old' and *dà* (大) 'big' in *lǎo-dà-gē* (老大哥) 'old-big-elder brother', and *xiǎo* (小) 'little' and *lǎo* in *xiǎo-lǎo-dì* (小老弟) 'little-old-younger brother'), rather than enhance the same meaning together at the same time. These meanings of degree modifiers must not be the same simultaneously, in order to avoid the possible redundancy and to convey subtler attitudes or emotions.

Also, some tendencies of using generalized kinship terms that refer to oneself are observed, including:

1. to shorten the mental distance between interlocutors (but not too close);

2. the speaker's intention determines an older/younger kinship term;

3. *xiōng* less appears in verbal communication due to its nature of written form;

4. some speakers address themselves as younger siblings and 'loser' at the same time, in order to display more respect to addressees.

Furthermore, the author explained the syllable preference of some early-established "Head-Generalized kinship term" combination, namely, "police-generalized kinship term", "nurse-generalized kinship term", "journalist-generalized kinship term", and "driver-generalized kinship term" persist their preference of preceding a disyllabic kinship term, and keep attracting adequate candidates to fit in the combination. Some recurred head parts of the "Head-Generalized kinship terms", such as *xué-shēng*, *xué*, and *shī* can be followed by a group that contains kinship terms of a nuclear family. In the final, we propose an argument of the meaning change from referential uniqueness to referential randomness by observing two distinct cases in the data.

This study concludes that the generalization of kinship terms is mainly processed through conceptual blending, prominent effective factors are viewpoint shifting, profiling, metaphor, metonymy, politeness and impoliteness expression, and also ironical attitude, they collaborate in native speakers' concept and produce the output. The combination of "Head-Generalized kinship term" behaves as a construction: monosyllabic kinship terms are more productive than disyllabic terms owing to its easily-compatible structure, and this attribute makes monosyllabic kinship terms generalized in a significant amount, especially in the category of metonymic themes preceded. Also, the "Head-Generalized kinship term" construction is highly productive, as long as a suitable context exists, novel usages of generalized kinship terms will always be allowed to create.

6.2   Contribution and Future Directions

The main contribution of this study is to provide a new and clear perspective of explaining how and why kinship terms are generalized in Taiwan Mandarin, with the perspective of cognitive linguistics. Many forerunners have long discussed the issue this study focuses, and fruitful results were presented. Our approach, however, suggests a remarkable direction of linguistic research for this issue.

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Meanwhile, due to the scope of this study, several topics did not explore in this work, and they are listed as follows for future researchers:

1. Experimental and quantitative research: the current thesis focuses on qualitative analyses of the collected data; this may not provide a holistic view of the generalized use of kinship terms. If experimental and quantitative methods (e.g., questionnaires about the usage of generalized kinship terms) could be performed, more interesting phenomena might be found and further answer the question regarding whether there is a prototypical kinship term. It is also possible to confirm the default generalized kinship term.

2. Research of sociolinguistic issues: current work did not deal with issues such as whether language users of different gender adopt distinct generalized kinship terms under the same context? Do native speakers of separate social class prefer different generalized kinship terms? Do people profile metonymic themes with viewpoints vary to a great degree, because of their gender, age, and social class? Instead, how do speakers of different gender, age, and social class address themselves/others with generalized kinship terms? Some patterns might be found by employing related research.

3. Research of ironical usage: another issue this study do not further elaborate is the ironical usage in generalizing kinship terms. It is observed some speakers tend to adopt generalized kinship terms to describe inanimate objects or objects that are not welcomed, and the attitude of speakers address 'loser' to themselves or others. Similar cases could be examined in the region of ironical research, we believe the results will be worthy of attention.

4. Cross-linguistic comparison: the analytic model of this thesis could apply to the studies of cross-linguistic comparison, such as comparison between Chinese dialects (e.g., Taiwan Southern Min and Taiwan Mandarin, Taiwan Southern Min and Hakka, Wu and Cantonese, and so on) or comparison between different languages (e.g., Mandarin and Vietnamese, Mandarin and Japanese, Mandarin and Korean, etc.) The results might contribute some inspirations to linguistic typology.

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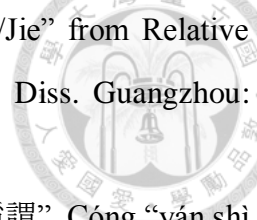
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Appendix

Due to the space constraint of the thesis, the real data for each generalized kinship term is limited to the maximum of five pieces. Data chosen here are representative materials of each generalized kinship term.

I. Language Materials of Generalized Disyllabic Kinship Terms (Bare Form)

Kinship Term	Bare Form
yéyé (爺爺) 'father's father'	在現場訪談過程中，附近年紀較大的**爺爺**奶奶，大都認為圓環有存在的必要… (Source: AS) *Zài xiàn-chǎng fǎng-tán guò-chéng zhōng, fù-jìn nián-jì jiào dà de **yéyé** 'father's father' nǎinǎi, dà-dōu rèn-wéi yuán-huán yǒu cún-zài de bì-yào… (Source: AS)* 'During the on-site interview, many elderly **grandfathers** and grandmothers nearby believe the necessity of traffic circle in road system…' (Source: AS)
āgōng (阿公) 'father/mother's father'	[安老]所內的老人也都很期待這些演出… 有些**阿公**阿媽還會呼朋引伴，四處嚷嚷「來去看表演喔！」(Source: AS) *[Ān-lǎo-]suǒ nèi de lǎo-rén yě dōu hěn qí-dài zhè xiē yěn-chū… yǒu xiē **āgōng** 'father/mother's father' āmā hái-huì hū-péng-yǐn-bàn, sì-chù-rǎng-rǎng "lái qù kàn biǎo-yěn wō!" (Source: AS)* 'The elderly in the retirement home expect to see these shows with eagerness too; some **grandfathers** and grandmothers even call up their associates and yell around "Let's see the shows!"' (Source: AS)
nǎinǎi (奶奶) 'father's mother'	… 李奶奶、王爺爺繼續每天在經營管理，沒有因為那一位爺爺**奶奶**的老去而改變了奶奶花園所展現的美麗與活力。(Source: AS) *…Li nǎinǎi, Wang yéyé jì-xù měi-tiān zài jīng-yíng guǎn-lǐ, méi-yǒu yīn-wéi nà yī wèi yéyé **nǎinǎi** 'father's mother' de lǎo-qù ér gǎi-biàn Ting nǎinǎi huā-yuán suǒ zhǎn-xiàn de měi-lì yǔ huó-lì. (Source: AS)* '… Grandmother Li and Grandfather Wang continue to manage the business everyday, that aging of these grandfathers and **grandmothers** does not change the beauty and vitality of Grandmother Ting's garden'. (Source: AS)
āmà (阿媽) 'father/mother's mother'	日亞航為協助阿公**阿媽**及攜帶嬰幼兒的旅客辦理登機手續，特別設立「家屬服務」… (Source: AS) *Rì-yà-háng wèi xié-zhù āgōng **āmà** 'father/mother's mother' jí xī-dài yīng-yòu-ér de lǚ-kè bàn-lǐ dēng-jī shǒu-xù, tè-bié shè-lì "jiā-shǔ*

	fú-wù" … (Source: AS) 'In order to help grandfathers, **grandmothers**, and passengers who bring babies or young children with them to check in, the Japan Asia Airways provides the "Family Service"'… (Source: AS)
āmà (阿嬤) 'father/mother's mother'	中信機構員工稱之為「**阿嬤**」的辜顏碧霞，和李登輝總統夫婦私交甚篤… (Source: AS) *Zhōng-xìn jī-gòu yuán-gōng chēng zhī wéi "**āmà 'father/mother's mother'**" de Gu-Yen Bi-Xia, hé Lee Teng-Hui zǒng-tǒng fū-fù sī-jiāo-shèn-dǔ… (Source: AS)* 'Gu-Yen Bi-Xia, who is called "**grandmother**" by employees of the CTBC Group, has an amicable personal friendship with President Lee Teng-Hui and first lady…' (Source: AS)
bàbà (爸爸) 'father'	N/A
māmā (媽媽) 'mother'	N/A
bófù (伯父) 'father's elder brother'	有一個二十多歲的年輕人跑來攀談爸爸… 乾脆跟我爸爸要錢說：**伯父**… 我已經餓了好幾天沒錢吃飯了，可以給我一點錢嗎？(Source: PTT) *Yǒu yī gè èr-shí duō suì de nián-qīng-rén pǎo lái pān-tán bàbà … gān-cuì gēn wǒ bàbà yào-qián shuō: **bófù 'father's elder brother'**… wǒ yǐ-jīng è le hǎo jǐ tiān méi qián chī-fàn le, kě-yǐ gěi wǒ yī diǎn qián ma? (Source: PTT)* 'A young man in his twenties came and talked to my father…he simply asked my father to give him some money, "**Uncle**… I have nothing to buy any food and I am starving for several days, could you give some money?"' (Source: PTT)
bóbó (伯伯) 'father's elder brother'	國會裡頭真熱鬧，叔叔**伯伯**練功夫，你一拳，我一腳… (Source: AS) *Guó-huì lǐ-tóu zhēn rè-nào, shúshú **bóbó 'father's elder brother'** liàn gōng-fū, nǐ yī quán, wǒ yī jiǎo… (Source: AS)* 'The Congress constantly shows live performance, uncles (father's younger brother) and **uncles (father's elder brother)** fight the issues out…' (Source: AS) (uncles refer to the members of parliament)
āpeh (阿伯) 'father's elder brother'	在玉春園內負責售票達七年之久的一位**阿伯**說，店裡經營的情況是一張票賣三百元… (Source: AS) *Zài Yu-Chun-Yuan nèi fù-zé shòu-piào dá qī nián zhī jiǔ de yī wèi **āpeh 'father's elder brother'** shuō, diàn lǐ jīng-yíng de qíng-kuàng shì yī zhāng*

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	piào mài sān-bǎi yuán ... (Source: AS) 'An **uncle** who sells tickets in Yu-Chun-Yuan for seven years says that the price of a ticket is three hundred dollars…' (Source: AS)
bómǔ (伯母) 'wife of father's elder brother'	河水既清澈又冰涼，河面上有好幾塊大石頭，是一些伯母們用來洗衣服的地方。(Source: AS) *Hé-shuǐ jì qīng-chè yòu bīng-liáng, hé-miàn shàng yǒu hǎo jǐ kuài dà shí-tóu, shì yī-xiē **bómǔ 'wife of father's elder brother'** men yòng-lái xǐ yī-fú de dì-fāng. (Source: AS)* 'The river is clear and cold, with several large stones in it, which are used by some **aunts** to wash clothes'. (Source: AS)
shúshú (叔叔) 'father's younger brother'	• … 在小小生命裡，有許多不認識的**叔叔**、阿姨們，正默默的關懷著他們… (Source: AS) *… zài xiǎo-xiǎo shēng-mìng lǐ, yǒu xǔ-duō bù rèn-shí de **shúshú 'father's younger brother'**, āyí men, zhèng mò-mò de guān-huái zhe tā-men… (Source: AS)* '… for these fragile little lives, many nonacquaintance **uncles** and aunts will care for them in low profile…' (Source: AS) • 他常常以自己作為警惕，並且跟他們說：要好好唸書啊，不然像**叔叔**一樣，變成魯蛇叔叔，就糟糕了。(稱呼自己) (Source: PTT) *Tā cháng-cháng yǐ zì-jǐ zuò-wéi jǐng-tì, bìng-qiě gēn tā-men shuō: yào hǎo-hǎo niàn-shū ā, bù-rán xiàng **shúshú 'father's younger brother'** yī-yàng, biàn-chéng lǔ-shé shúshú, jiù zāo-gāo le. (Source: PTT)* 'He often uses himself as an example to tell them, "You must study hard, or else you will become like **uncle** me, a loser uncle, and that will be terrible"'. (a self-addressing term) (Source: PTT) (*lǔ-shé* is the pronunciation in Mandarin for 'loser')
yímā (姨媽) 'mother's elder/younger sister'	N/A
āyí (阿姨) 'mother's elder/younger sister'	欸，我是你媽媽的好朋友啊！！你們應該叫我阿姨才對呀！！你們忘了？？ (Source: AS) *Ě, wǒ shì nǐ māmā de hǎo péng-yǒu ā! Nǐ men yīng-gāi jiào wǒ **āyí 'mother's elder/younger sister'** cái duì ya! Nǐ men wàng le? (Source: AS)* 'Hey, I am your mother's good friend! You should call me **aunt**! Did you forget??' (Source: AS)
gēgē (哥哥) 'elder brother'	過了一會兒，大會又開始了，我看到來自新加坡的**哥哥**、姊姊們都唱得不錯。(Source: AS)

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	Guò le yī-huì-ér, dà-huì yòu kāi-shǐ le, wǒ kàn-dào lái zì xīn-jiā-pō de **gēgē 'elder brother'**, *jiějiě men dōu chàng dé bù-cuò. (Source: AS)*
	'In just a moment, the general assembly continues the process [of the activity] and I think **brothers** and sisters from Singapore are really good at singing'. (Source: AS)
dìdì (弟弟) 'younger brother'	早餐店阿姨叫我**弟弟**，[我] 都 30 歲了。(Source: PTT) *Zǎo-cān-diàn āyí jiào wǒ **dìdì 'younger brother'**, [wǒ] dōu 30-suì le. (Source: PTT)* 'The woman in the breakfast shop calls me **little brother**, even though I am already 30 years old'. (Source: PTT)
jiějiě (姊姊) 'elder sister'	• 謝佩霓和吳思遙兩位**姊姊**都蠻好看的… (Source: PTT) *Xie Pei-Ni hé Wu Si-Yao liǎng wèi **jiějiě 'elder sister'** dōu mán hǎo-kàn de… (Source: PTT)* 'Both **sisters**, Xie Pei-Ni and Wu Si-Yao, are truly beautiful…' (Source: PTT) • 女人訝異地看了我一眼，隨即笑了一下：「弟弟，我勸你還是不要插手喔，**姊姊**可是很危險的。」(稱呼自己) (Source: PTT) *Nǚ-rén yà-yì-dì kàn le wǒ yī yǎn, suí-jí xiào le yī xià: "dìdì, wǒ quàn nǐ hái-shì bù-yào chā-shǒu wō, **jiějiě 'elder sister'** kě-shì hěn wēi-xiǎn de". (Source: PTT)* 'The woman surprisingly looks at me and smiles, "brother, I must suggest you not to get involved, because **sister** is a dangerous person"'. (a self-addressing term) (Source: PTT)
jiějiě (姐姐) 'elder sister'	• 昨天下班前烏雲密布，快下雨了。兩位辦公室的**姐姐**在關心外面的天氣。(Source: PTT) *Zuó-tiān xià-bān qián wū-yún mì-bù, kuài xià-yǔ le. Liǎng wèi bàn-gōng-shì de **jiějiě 'elder sister'** zài guān-xīn wài-miàn de tiān-qì. (Source: PTT)* 'Before going off-work yesterday, it was clouded and going to rain. The two **sisters** in the office cared about the weather outside'. (Source: PTT)
mèimèi (妹妹) 'younger sister'	• 有個女性朋友，在百貨公司看到一媽媽帶著很可愛的小女孩… 用手輕摸小女孩臉頰，並說：「**妹妹**，妳好可愛哦！」(Source: AS) *Yǒu gè nǚ-xìng péng-yǒu, zài bǎi-huò gōng-sī kàn-dào yī māmā dài zhe hěn kě-ài de xiǎo nǚ-hái… yòng shǒu qīng mō xiǎo nǚ-hái liǎn-jiá, bìng shuō: "**mèimèi 'younger sister'**, nǎi hǎo kě-ài ò!" (Source: AS)* 'A female friend sees a mother with a cute daughter... and [she] touches the little girl's cheek gently, saying that, "**Little sister**, you are so cute!"' (Source: AS)

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	• 這些餐會都喜歡找「**妹妹**」作陪，這些**妹妹**通常要看價碼的，不過通常十個中有五個是女明星。(Source: AS)
	*Zhè-xiē cān-huì dōu xǐ-huān zhǎo "**mèimèi 'younger sister'**" zuò-péi, zhè-xiē **mèimèi 'younger sister'** tōng-cháng yào kàn jià-mǎ de, bù-guò tōng-cháng shí gè zhōng yǒu wǔ gè shì nǚ-míng-xīng. (Source: AS)*
	'These dinner parties will generally have "**sisters**" accompanying, but they are priced, where typically five out of ten are female stars'. (Source: AS)
	• 緊緊拉著哥哥的手，汪汪淚水扑瀝瀝地流。只恨**妹妹**我不能跟你一起走… (Source: AS)
	*Jǐn-jǐn lā zhe gēgē de shǒu, wāng-wāng lèi-shuǐ pū-lì-lì-dì liú. Zhī hèn **mèimèi 'younger sister'** wǒ bù-néng gēn nǐ yī-qǐ zǒu… (Source: AS)*
	'Tightly pulling on the brother's hand and tears are gently falling. It is such a regret that **sister**, I, cannot go with you...' (Source: AS)
érzǐ (兒子) 'son'	N/A

II. Language Materials of Generalized Monosyllabic Kinship Terms (Bare Form)

Kinship Term	Bare Form
fù (父) 'father'	N/A
bó (伯) 'father's elder brother'	N/A
shū (叔) 'father's younger brother'	N/A
shěn (嬸) 'wife of father's younger brother'	N/A
yí (姨) 'mother's elder/younger sister'	N/A
xiōng (兄) 'elder brother'	各方同志均紛紛集合，共赴國難，**兄**雖未奉電召，弟意宜自動回國… (Source: AS) *Gè-fāng tóng-zhì jūn fēn-fēn jí-hé, gòng fù guó-nán,* ***xiōng 'elder brother'*** *suī wèi fèng diàn-zhào, dì yì yí zì-dòng huí-guó… (Source: AS)* 'Comrades from all places have gathered together to deal with the national problem. Although **brother (elder)** is not summoned, brother (younger) (i.e., I) suggests [you] return to the country voluntarily...' (Source: AS)

gē (哥)
'elder brother'
	• … 也有人怒留言「**哥**，你有事嗎」、「好幼稚」… (Source: PTT)
	  *… yě yǒu rén nù liú-yán "**gē 'elder brother'**, nǐ yǒu shì ma", "hǎo yòu-zhì"… (Source: PTT)*
	  '… there are angry comments, "**Brother**, is there something wrong with you?", "That is so childish..."' (Source: PTT)
	
	• … 5. 經濟：高出平常人一點點，**哥**自認良好。6. 工作：出沒在龜山… (稱呼自己) (Source: PTT)
	  … 5. jīng-jì: gāo chū píng-cháng-rén yī-diǎn-diǎn, ***gē 'elder brother'*** *zì-rèn liáng-hǎo. 6. gong-zuò: chū-mò zài Guīshān… (Source: PTT)*
	  '… 5. Financial Status: better than average, **brother** (i.e., I) thinks it's good enough. 6. Job: [I] appear in Guishan…' (a self-addressing term) (Source: PTT)

sǎo (嫂) 'wife of elder brother'	N/A

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dì (弟) 'younger brother'	… 大家午安，**弟**剛去理髮，來了個妹子幫我剪… (Source: PTT) *… dà-jiā wǔ-ān, **dì 'younger brother'** gāng qù lǐ-fǎ, lái le gè mèi-zǐ bāng wǒ jiǎn… (Source: PTT)* '… Good afternoon, everyone. **Brother** (i.e., I) just had my hair cut by a girl at a barbershop…' (Source: PTT)
jiě (姊) 'elder sister'	• … 我們都稱呼洪副院長為「**姊**」… (Source: PTT) *…wǒ-men dōu chēng-hū Hong fù-yuàn-zhǎng wéi **jiě 'elder sister'**… (Source: PTT)* '… We generally call the deputy president Hong "**sister**" …' (Source: PTT) • … 有意願想要一輩子走下去的人才寄信，**姊**現在沒有更多玻璃心再碎幾次了… (稱呼自己) (Source: PTT) *…yǒu yì-yuàn xiǎng-yào yī-bèi-zǐ zǒu xià-qù de rén cái jì-xìn, **jiě 'elder sister'** xiàn-zài méi-yǒu gèng duō bō-lí-xīn zài suì jǐ cì le… (Source: PTT)* '… only the person with will to be together for life will send a letter, **sister** (i.e., I) cannot suffer heart-breaking moments anymore...' (a self-addressing term) (Source: PTT)
jiě (姐) 'elder sister'	• … (翻攝自 Hebe 臉書) 網友搞笑認為「**姐**就算這樣也很美」… (Source: PTT) *… (fān-shè zì Hebe liǎn-shū) wǎng-yǒu gǎo-xiào rèn-wéi "**jiě 'elder sister'** jiù-suàn zhè-yàng yě hěn měi"… (Source: PTT)* '… (extracted from Hebe's Facebook) Netizens joke that "**sister** is even beautiful like this" ...' (Source: PTT) • … 聊聊生活際遇，或是旅遊，**姐**非常熱愛旅遊，但只去過日本… (稱呼自己) (Source: PTT) *…liáo-liáo shēng-huó jì-yù, huò-shì lǚ-yóu, **jiě 'elder sister'** fēi-cháng rè-ài lǚ-yóu, dàn zhī qù guò Rìběn… (Source: PTT)* '… chat about life experiences, or travel things, **sister** (i.e., I) loves traveling, but [I] have only been to Japan…' (a self-addressing term) (Source: PTT)
mèi (妹) 'younger sister'	… 這家店進去可以認識到很多**妹**？(Source: PTT) *… zhè jiā diàn jìn-qù kě-yǐ rèn-shì dào hěn duō **mèi 'younger sister'**? (Source: PTT)* '… [will I] meet many **sisters** in this store?' (Source: PTT)

III. Language Materials of Generalized Disyllabic Kinship Term (Degree Modifier as Prefix)

Kinship Term	Degree Modifier-Kinship Terms
yéyé (爺爺) 'father's father'	… 漸漸地他們成了忘年之交，但是到了秋天，**老爺爺**卻真的離開了他們。(Source: AS) *… jiàn-jiàn-dì tā-men chéng le wàng-nián-zhī-jiāo, dàn-shì dào le qiū-tiān, **lǎo-yéyé 'old-father's father'** què zhēn-de lí-kāi le tā-men. (Source: AS)* '... gradually, they have become friends beyond age barriers, but the **old-grandfather** really left them in the fall'. (Source: AS)
āgōng (阿公) 'father/mother's father'	[火]車上永遠會有昏昏欲睡的老婦人或**老阿公**，或者有形成強烈對比大聲嚷嚷聊天的中年婦女們… (Source: AS) *[Huǒ] chē shàng yǒng-yuǎn huì yǒu hūn-hūn-yù-shuè de lǎo fù-rén huò **lǎo-āgōng 'old-father/mother's father'**, huò-zhě yǒu xíng-chéng qiáng-liè duì-bǐ dà-shēng-rǎng-rǎng liáo-tiān de zhōng-nián fù-nǚ men… (Source: AS)* 'On the train, there are always sleepy old women and **old-grandfathers**, or middle-aged women with shouts, who contrast with those sleepy people sharply…' (Source: AS)
nǎinǎi (奶奶) 'father's mother'	**老奶奶**很生氣的說：「馬上放了牠們，否則牠們如果找不到媽媽會...」 (Source: PTT) ***Lǎo-nǎinǎi 'old-father's mother'** hěn shēng-qì de shuō: "mǎ-shàng fàng le tā-men, fǒu-zé tā-men rú-guǒ zhǎo bù dào māmā huì..." (Source: PTT)* 'The **old-grandmother** was very angry and said, "Let them go immediately. Otherwise, they cannot find their mother..."' (Source: PTT)
āmà (阿媽) 'father/mother's mother'	**老阿媽**的看法是，好端端的，幹麼去「自找麻煩」？(Source: AS) ***Lǎo-āmà 'old-father/mother's mother'** de kàn-fǎ shì, hǎo-duān-duān de, gàn me qù "zì-zhǎo-má-fán"? (Source: AS)* 'The **old-grandmother** does not think that someone should invite troubles when everything is all right'. (Source: AS)
āmà (阿嬤) 'father/mother's mother'	… 在外打拼的部落民眾看到**老阿嬤**的照片，都感到相當親切… (Source: AS) *… zài-wài dǎ-pīn de bù-luò mín-zhòng kàn-dào **lǎo-āmà 'old-father/mother's mother'** de zhào-piàn, dōu gǎn-dào xiāng-dāng qīn-qiē… (Source: AS)* '… whlie seeing the photo of the **old-grandmother**, members who work ouside the tribe all feel familiar…' (Source: AS)
bàbà (爸爸) 'father'	N/A

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māmā (媽媽) 'mother'	N/A
bófù (伯父) 'father's elder brother'	N/A
bóbó (伯伯) 'father's elder brother'	有一位**老伯伯**說：連這麼小的孩子，都懂得愛國。我們的國家一定強。(Source: AS) *Yǒu yī wèi **lǎo-bóbó 'old-father's elder brother'** shuō: "lián zhè-me xiǎo de hái-zǐ, dōu dǒng-dé ài-guó. Wǒ-men de guó-jiā yī-dìng qiáng". (Source: AS)* 'An **old-uncle** said, "[Even] kids so young know to love our country, our country will definitely be a strong nation"'. (Source: AS)
āpeh (阿伯) 'father's elder brother'	… 以前這附近有一個**老阿伯**到石獅山上去撿柴火，一去不回… (Source: AS) *… yǐ-qián zhè fù-jìn yǒu yī gè **lǎo-āpeh 'old-father's elder brother'** dào shí-shī-shān shàng qù jiǎn chái-huǒ, yī qù bù huí… (Source: AS)* '… in the past, there was an **old-uncle** lives nearby, he went to the Stone Lion Mountain for collecting firewood but never came back…' (Source: AS)
bómǔ (伯母) 'wife of father's elder brother'	N/A
shúshú (叔叔) 'father's younger brother'	N/A
yímā (姨媽) 'mother's elder/younger sister'	N/A
āyí (阿姨) 'mother's elder/younger sister'	N/A
gēgē (哥哥) 'elder brother'	• … 拍拍他肩膀，只要他認他這**老哥哥**，他郭新沂一定盡力：你還不要小看我… (稱呼自己) (Source: AS) *… pāi-pāi tā jiān-bǎng, zhī-yào tā rèn tā zhè **lǎo-gēgē 'old-elder brother'**, tā Guo Xin-Yí yī-dìng jìn-lì: "nǐ hái bù-yào xiǎo-kàn wǒ…" (Source: AS)* '… [he] pats on his shoulder, as long as he recognizes him as **old-brother**, he, Guo Xin-Yí, will try his best, "You must not

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	underestimate me...”' (a self-addressing term) (Source: AS)
	• 回想起來，他總是像個**大哥哥**一樣聽她說許多的傻話，從來不急著去指正她… (Source: AS)
	*Huí-xiǎng qǐ-lái, tā zǒng-shì xiàng gè **dà-gēgē 'big-elder brother'** yī-yàng tīng tā shuō xǔ-duō de shǎ-huà, cóng-lái bù jí-zhe qù zhǐ-zhèng tā... (Source: AS)*
	'When I think back, he is always like a **big-brother**, listening to her stupid words; yet, never rush to correct her...' (Source: AS)
dìdì (弟弟) 'younger brother'	• … 看到那一群群剛入學不久的**小弟弟**、小妹妹們稚氣未脫的樣子，可愛、天真的小臉旦… (Source: AS)
	*… kàn dào nà yī-qún-qún gāng rù-xué bù-jiǔ de **xiǎo-dìdì 'little-younger brother'**, xiǎo-mèimèi men zhì-qì-wèi-tuō de yàng-zǐ, kě-ài, tiān-zhēn de xiǎo liǎn-dàn… (Source: AS)*
	'… looking at those **little-brothers** and little-sisters who just start their school life, their childish look, and the cute and naive faces...' (Source: AS)
	• 敝人在下**小弟弟**我看不懂… (Source: PTT)
	*Bì-rén zài-xià **xiǎo-dìdì 'little-younger brother'** wǒ kàn bù-dǒng... (Source: PTT)*
	'Humble me, the **little-brother**, I do not understand it...' (Source: PTT)
jiějiě (姊姊) 'elder sister'	我們看到學校裡的**大姊姊**、大哥哥們，在烈陽下排練舞蹈… (Source: AS)
	*Wǒ-men kàn dào xué-xiào lǐ de **dà-jiějiě 'big-elder sister'**, dà-gēgē men, zài liè-yáng xià pái-liàn wǔ-dǎo... (Source: AS)*
	'We saw those **big-sisters** and big-brothers rehearsing the dance under intense sun in the school...' (Source: AS)
jiějiě (姐姐) 'elder sister'	… 這首甜蜜之旅是厲曼婷跟黃儀所合作的，一個是**大姐姐**，一個是小弟弟。(Source: AS)
	*… zhè shǒu tián-mì zhī lǚ shì Li Man-Ting gēn Huang Yi suǒ hé-zuò de, yī gè shì **dà-jiějiě 'big-elder sister'**, yī gè shì xiǎo-dìdì. (Source: AS)*
	'... this song, "Sweet Journey," is composed by Li Man-Ting and Huang Yi; for one is a **big-sister** and the other a little-brother'. (Source: AS)
mèimèi (妹妹) 'younger sister'	• 像剛剛第一位**小妹妹**很可愛，她講的話也蠻有道理… (Source: AS)
	*Xiàng gāng-gāng dì yī wèi **xiǎo-mèimèi 'little-younger sister'** hěn kě-ài, tā jiǎng de huà yě mán yǒu dào-lǐ... (Source: AS)*
	'The first **little-sister** is very cute, what she said is quite reasonable, too…' (Source: AS)
	• … 那首民歌也就響起在許多村口、路邊：哥哥你走西口，**小妹妹**我

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	實在難留。(Source: AS) *... nà shǒu mín-gē yě jiù xiǎng-qǐ zài xǔ-duō cūn-kǒu, lù-biān: "gēgē nǐ zǒu xī-kǒu, xiǎo-mèimèi 'little-younger sister' wǒ shí-zài nán liú".* *(Source: AS)* '... the folk song can be heard everywhere like at the entrance of many villages and roadsides: "Brother, as you go West, the **little-sister**, I, can hardly make you stay"'. (Source: AS)
érzǐ (兒子) 'son'	N/A

IV. Language Materials of Generalized Monosyllabic Kinship Term (Degree Modifier as Prefix)

Kinship Term	Degree Modifier-Kinship Terms
fù (父) 'father'	N/A
bó (伯) 'father's elder brother'	… 他車行至山區，遇到一位佝僂著背的老農，他下車與這位**老伯**親切的攀談… (Source: AS) *… tā chē xíng zhì shān-qū, yù-dào yī wèi kòu-lóu zhe bèi de lǎo-nóng, tā xià chē yǔ zhè wèi **lǎo-bó 'old-father's elder brother'** qīn-qiē de pān-tán… (Source: AS)* '... as he drove in the mountains, he met an elderly farmer with abnormal shape of his back, and he got off the car to have a friendly chat with this **old-uncle**...' (Source: AS)
shú (叔) 'father's younger brother'	小弟在超商打工的時候，有一位住附近的**大叔**，約 30 歲，平常都買七星的菸… (Source: PTT) *Xiǎo-dì zài chāo-shāng dǎ-gōng de shí-hòu, yǒu yī wèi zhù fù-jìn de **dà-shú 'big-father's younger brother'**, yuē 30 suì, píng-cháng dōu mǎi qī-xīng de yān… (Source: PTT)* 'When little-brother (i.e., I) works at the convenient store, there is a **big-uncle** lives nearby who is around 30 years old, always buys cigarettes of brand "Seven Stars" ...' (Source: PTT)
shěn (嬸) 'wife of father's younger brother'	今天心血來潮買個烤香腸，等待的同時，一位**大嬸**湊了過來。**大嬸**：老闆，3 根[香腸]100[元]可以嗎… (Source: PTT) *Jīn-tiān xīn-xuè-lái-cháo mǎi gè kǎo-xiāng-cháng, děng-dài de tóng-shí, yī wèi **dà-shěn 'big-wife of father's younger brother'** còu le guò-lái. **Dà-shěn 'big-wife of father's younger brother'**: lǎo-pǎn, 3 gēn [xiāng cháng]100 [yuán] kě-yǐ ma… (Source: PTT)* 'Today, I bought a grilled sausage on a whim, and while waiting, a **big-aunt** came over. **Big-aunt**: "Boss, will you sell three sausages for 100 dollars…"' (Source: PTT)
yí (姨) 'mother's elder/younger sister'	N/A
xiōng (兄) 'elder brother'	… 全場為巴塞慶祝、歡呼，這位**老兄**卻發生樂極生悲的慘案… (Source: PTT) *… quán-chǎng wéi bā-sāi qìng-zhù, huān-hū, zhè wèi **lǎo-xiōng 'old-elder brother'** què fā-shēng lè-jí-shēng-bēi de cǎn-àn… (Source: PTT)* '… everyone celebrates and cheers for Futbol Club Barcelona; yet, this

	old-brother, with great joy, begets sorrow…' (Source: PTT)
gē (哥) 'elder brother'	• … 老闆似乎感覺到我很有興趣，便問了我…：**老哥**，你女朋友喜歡那個顏色… (Source: PTT) … *lǎo-pǎn sì-hū gǎn-jué dào wǒ hěn yǒuxìng-qù, biàn wèn le wǒ…:* ***lǎo-gē 'old-elder brother'**, nǐ nǔ-péng-yǒu xǐ-huān nà gè yán-sè…* *(Source: PTT)* '… the boss seems to notice my interest in it and asks me..., "**Old-brother**, which color does your girlfriend like…"' (Source: PTT) • …雖然窮困不堪，一身襤褸，那些人還都很信服他，尊他為**大哥**。(Source: AS) … *suī-rán qióng-kùn bù-kān, yī-shēn lán-lǔ, nà xiē rén hái dōu hěn xìn-fú tā, zūn tā wéi **dà-gē 'big-elder brother'**. (Source: AS)* '... although poor to have barely clothing to cover, those people still believe in him and respect him as **big-brother**'. (Source: AS)
sǎo (嫂) 'wife of elder brother'	• … 因拒絕日兵乘車被刺，**老嫂**幼女遭日軍槍殺的新聞… (Source: AS) … *yīn jù-jué rì-bīng chéng-chē bèi cì, **lǎo-sǎo 'old-wife of elder brother'** yòu-nǔ zāo rì-jūn qiāng-shā de xīn-wén… (Source: AS)* '... the news of [people] killed by Japanese soldiers because [they] refused soldiers to get on the vehicle; and of the **old-sister-in-law** and the young daughter were shot by Japanese soldiers...' (Source: AS) • 有位一起練氣功的**大嫂**告知假楊梅子可治失眠症，問我知不知道什麼叫做假楊梅子… (Source: AS) *Yǒu wèi yī-qǐ liàn qì-gōng de **dà-sǎo 'big-wife of elder brother'** gào-zhī jiǎ-yáng-méi-zǐ kě zhì shī-mián zhèng, wèn wǒ zhī-bù-zhī-dào shé-me jiào zuò jiǎ-yáng-méi-zǐ… (Source: AS)* 'A **big-sister-in-law** who practices Qigong together told me that paper mulberry can treat insomnia, and [she] asks me whether I know what is paper mulberry...' (Source: AS)
dì (弟) 'younger brother'	• … 忽然有一個陌生的年輕人來到船上。老許招呼他說：… 貴姓？**老弟**，你不住在本鄉吧？(Source: AS) … *hū-rán yǒu yī gè mò-shēng de nián-qīng-rén lái-dào chuán-shàng. Lǎo-Xu zhāo-hū tā shuō: … Guì xìng? **Lǎo-dì 'old-younger brother,'** nǐ bù zhù zài běn xiāng ba? (Source: AS)* '... suddenly, a young stranger came aboard the boat. Mr. Xu asked him, "...may I have your name? **Old-brother**, you are not from this township, right?' (Source: AS) • … 完成偽卡製作後，再交由俗稱「車手」的**小弟**，前往各縣市特約

	商家盜刷消費… (Source: AS)
	… wán-chéng wěi-kǎ zhì-zuò hòu, zài jiāo yóu sú-chēng "chē-shǒu" de **xiǎo-dì 'little-younger brother'**, *qián-wǎng gè xiàn-shì tè-yuē shāng-jiā dào-shuā xiāo-fèi… (Source: AS)*
	'… after making fake cards, they are given to **little-brother**, known as "cash mule", to commit fraud in various local stores...' (Source: AS)
	• 小弟在這跟大家介紹這味祖傳的好藥百草丸。(稱呼自己) (Source: AS)
	Xiǎo-dì 'little-younger brother' *zài zhè gēn dà-jiā jiè-shào zhè wèi zǔ-chuán de hǎo-yào bǎi-cǎo-wán. (Source: AS)*
	'**Little-brother** (i.e., I) would like to introduce this good medicine that has been passed down for generations to everyone- the Hundred-herbs pill'. (a self-addressing term) (Source: AS)
jiě (姊) 'elder sister'	日本松下公司也有一種大哥、**大姊**制度，對於新進的男女作業員，公司找了一些資深的組長… (Source: AS)
	Rìběn sōng-xià gōng-sī yě yǒu yī-zhǒng dà-gē, **dà-jiě 'big-elder sister'** *zhì-dù, duì-yú xīn-jìn de nán-nǚ zuò-yè-yuán, gōng-sī zhǎo le yī-xiē zī-shēn de zǔ-zhǎng… (Source: AS)*
	'The Japanese company- Panasonic- has also a system of big-brother and **big-sister** for new male and female operators, senior group leaders are assigned to...' (Source: AS)
jiě (姐) 'elder sister'	… 麻煩請有錄到的大哥**大姐**幫忙備份一下，再與我們聯絡… (Source: PTT)
	… má-fán qǐng yǒu lù dào de dà-gē **dà-jiě 'big-elder sister'** *bāng-máng bèi-fèn yī-xià, zài yǔ wǒ-men lián-luò… (Source: PTT)*
	'… for big-brothers and **big-sisters** who have recorded it, please back it up and contact us...' (Source: PTT)
mèi (妹) 'younger sister'	• … 在其他路線上義務發書的**小妹**之一是李元晶，她想必和我一樣挫折… (Source: AS)
	… zài qí-tā lù-xiàn shàng yì-wù fā shū de **xiǎo-mèi 'little-younger sister'** *zhī-yī shì Li Yuan-Jīng, tā xiǎng-bì hé wǒ yī-yàng cuò zhé… (Source: AS)*
	'… Li Yuan-Jīng is one of the **little-sisters** who are obliged to distribute books on other routes, I think she must be as frustrated as I am…' (Source: AS)
	• … //你要買票啊！！//不好意思喔！**小妹**家境貧寒… (稱呼自己) (Source: AS)
	… //nǐ yào mǎi piào ā!!//bù-hǎo-yì-sī wō! **xiǎo-mèi 'little-younger sister'**

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jiā-jìng pín-hán… (Source: AS)

'… //You must buy the ticket!!// Sorry! **Little-sister** (i.e., I) is very

poor…' (a self-addressing term) (Source: AS)

V. Language Materials of Generalized Disyllabic Kinship Term (Modified by Surname/Name)

Kinship Term	Surname/Name-Kinship Terms
yéyé (爺爺) 'father's father'	• 王永慶首度和這些原住民學生面對面座談，在她們稱為「**王爺爺**」的大家長面前，原住民學生道出了許多心聲。(Source: AS) *Wang Yung-Ching shǒu-dù hé zhè-xiē yuán-zhù-mín xué-shēng miàn-duì-miàn zuò-tán, zài tā-men chēng-wéi "**Wang yéyé 'father's father'**" de dà-jiā-zhǎng miàn-qián, yuán-zhù-mín xué-shēng dào chū le xǔ-duō xīn-shēng. (Source: AS)* 'For the first time, Wang Yung-Ching had a face-to-face meeting with these aboriginal students, many students expressed their opinions to **Grandfather Wang**'. (Source: AS) • 如今被年輕一輩暱稱一聲「**毛爺爺**」的毛壽先，提到他在臺灣蛇研究方面的權威地位，倒也不自謙… (Source: AS) *Rú-jīn bèi nián-qīng yī bèi nì-chēng yī-shēng "**Mao yéyé 'father's father'**" de Mao Shou-Xian, tí-dào tā zài Taiwan shé yán-jiū fang-miàn de quán-wēi dì-wèi, dǎo yě bù zì-qiān… (Source: AS)* 'Mao Shou-Xian, who is now nicknamed "**Grandfather Mao**" by the younger generation, mentioned his authority in the study of snakes in Taiwan, without self-humility...' (Source: AS) • 隔壁的**李爺爺**送我兩隻斑鳩，我每天都按時餵牠們飼料和水。(Source: AS) *Gé-bì de **Li yéyé 'father's father'** sòng wǒ liǎng zhī bān-jiū, wǒ měi-tiān dōu àn-shí wèi tā-men sì-liào hé shuǐ. (Source: AS)* '**Grandfather Li** from the next door gave me two turtle doves, I feed them food and water on time everyday'. (Source: AS) • 用**費爾巴哈爺爺**的話來說，神是人造出來的呀… (Source: AS) *Yòng **Fei'erbaha yéyé 'father's father'** de huà lái shuō, shén shì rén zào chū lái de ya… (Source: AS)* 'In **Grandfather Feuerbach**'s words, God is artificially created...' (Source: AS) • 王蒲臣**老爺爺**說，他一出生就體弱多病… (Source: AS) *Wang Pu-Chen **lǎo-yéyé 'old-father's father'** shuō, tā yī chū-shēng jiù tǐ-ruò-duō-bìng… (Source: AS)* 'The **Grandfather Wang Pu-Chen** said that he was the weak one since birth...' (Source: AS)
āgōng (阿公) 'father/mother's	• … 本身也是… 召集人的楊長鎮，忍不住大聲維持秩序：「安靜！聽**高阿公**說故事！」(Source: AS)

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father'	*... běn-shēn yě shì... zhāo-jí-rén de Yang Chang-Zhen, rěn-bù-zhù dà-shēng wéi-chí zhì-xù: "ān-jìng! tīng* **Gao āgōng 'father/mother's father'** *shuō gù-shì!"* (Source: AS) '…as the coordinator, Yang Chang-Zhen cannot help but keeping [people] in order loudly, "Be quiet! Let's listen to **Grandfather Gao** telling us the story!"' (Source: AS) • … 在家人的陪同下，歡喜來到農禪寺… 其中年齡最長的「老菩薩」為一百零一歲的**王蒲臣阿公**… (Source: AS) *... zài jiā-rén de péi-tóng xià, huān-xǐ lái-dào nóng chán-sì... qí-zhōng nián-líng zuè zhǎng de "lǎo pú-sà" wéi yī-bǎi-líng-yī suì de* **Wang Pu-Chen āgōng 'father/mother's father'**... (Source: AS) '… accompanied by family members, [they] came to the Nung Chan Monastery with joy… the oldest one among them is the "elderly Bodhisattva" **Grandfather Wang Pu-Chen**, who is 101 years old…' (Source: AS)
năinăi (奶奶) 'father's mother'	• 丁**奶奶**第一個報名加入義務園丁的行列。她認為，園藝最適合退休的老人… (Source: AS) ***Ting năinăi 'father's mother'*** *dì yī gè bào-míng jiā-rù yì-wù yuan-dīng de hang-liè. Tā rèn-wéi, yuan-yì zuì shì-hé tuì-xiū de lǎo-rén...* (Source: AS) '**Grandmother Ting** became the first volunteer who signed up to join the group of compulsory gardeners. She thought gardening is good for retired older people…' (Source: AS) • … 有更多的**張奶奶、李奶奶**、王爺爺繼續每天在經營管理，沒有因為那一位爺爺奶奶的老去而改變… (Source: AS) *... yǒu gèng duō de* **Zhang năinăi 'father's mother,'** **Li năinăi 'father's mother,'** *Wang yéyé jì-xù měi-tiān zài jīng-yíng guǎn-lǐ, méi-yǒu yīn-wèi nà yī wèi yéyé năinăi de lǎo-qù ér gǎi-biàn...* (Source: AS) '… there are more **grandmother Zhang**s, **grandmother Li**s, and grandfather Wangs continue to manage the business everyday, the aging of these grandfathers and grandmothers does not change...' (Source: AS) • 對，但是**賴奶奶**，這個所謂的古板這兩個字，有時候古難道一定是不好嗎？(Source: AS) *Duì, dàn-shì* **Lai năinăi 'father's mother,'** *zhè-gè suǒ-wèi de gǔ-băn zhè liǎng gè zì, yǒu-shí-hòu gǔ nán-dào yī-dìng shì bù-hǎo ma? (Source: AS)*

'You are right, but **Grandmother Lai**, talking about the so-called "old-fashioned," is "old" a bad thing for sure?' (Source: AS)

- … 愛唱歌的「**連奶奶**」連方瑀悄悄打開演唱之路，近日甚至傳出將開小型演唱會… (Source: PTT)

  *… ài chàng-gē de 「**Lien năinăi 'father's mother'**」 Lien Fang-Yu qiāo-qiāo dă-kāi yăn-chàng zhī lù, jìn-rì shèn-zhì chuán-chū jiāng kāi xiăo xíng yăn-chàng-huì… (Source: PTT)*

  '... the singing-loving Lien Fang-Yu, also known as **Grandmother Lien**, has secretly walked on a path of singer, and there is a rumor of her organizing a small concert recently...' (Source: PTT)

- … 昨天北京傳媒、許多喊「**冰心奶奶**」各中小學校園悼念冰心的回響傳來… (Source: AS)

  *… zuó-tiān Beijing chuán-méi, xŭ-duō hăn 「**Bing-Xin năinăi 'father's mother'**」 gè zhōng-xiăo-xué xiào-yuán dào-niàn Bing-Xin de huí-xiăng chuán-lái… (Source: AS)*

  '... yesterday, media in Beijing reported that [people] in every elementary and middle schools mourned for **Grandmother Bing-Xin**...' (Source: AS)

āmà (阿媽) 'father/mother's mother'	• **純粹阿媽**和**雪珠阿媽**從小一同長大，一起當花僮、做伴娘，甚至穿同款的衣服… (Source: AS)

āmà (阿媽)
'father/mother's mother'

- **純粹阿媽**和**雪珠阿媽**從小一同長大，一起當花僮、做伴娘，甚至穿同款的衣服… (Source: AS)

  Chun-Cui āmà 'father/mother's mother' hé Xue-Zhu āmà 'father/mother's mother' cóng xiăo yī-tóng zhăng-dà, yī-qĭ dāng huā-tóng, zuò bàn-niáng, shèn-zhì chuān tóng-kuăn de yī-fú… (Source: AS)

  '**Grandmother Chun-Cui** and **Grandmother Xue-Zhu** grew up together, being flower girls and bridesmaids together, they even wore clothes in the same style…' (Source: AS)

- 一位住民**楊瑞鐘阿媽**則獨唱台灣民謠「望春風」… 住民及家屬都十分捧場… (Source: AS)

  *Yī wèi zhù-mín **Yang Rui-Zhong āmà 'father/mother's mother'** zé dú-chàng Taiwan mín-yáo "wàng chūn-fōng" … zhù-mín jí jiā-shŭ dōu shí-fēn pŏng-chăng… (Source: AS)*

  '**Grandmother Yang Rui-Zhong**, one of the residents, did a solo of the Taiwanese folk song "Craving for the Spring Wind" … all residents and their family members are very supportive…' (Source: AS)

āmà (阿嬤)
'father/mother's mother'

- 多個反對徵收農地的自救會… 拉起「朱阿嬤，我們將傳承您的勇氣」… 等布條。(Source: The Liberty Times)

  *Duō gè făn-duè zhēng-shōu nóng-dì de zì-jiù-huì… lā qĭ "**Zhu āmà***

'father/mother's mother', *wǒ-men jiāng chuán-chéng nín de*

yǒng-qì" ... děng bù-tiáo. (Source: The Liberty Times)

'Several self-rescued societies against the land expropriation… hold banners with words like "**Grandmother Zhu**, we will inherit your courage" and so on…' (Source: The Liberty Times)

- … 縣長劉政鴻對**朱馮敏阿嬤**自殺的不幸，已表達難過及不捨… (Source: The Liberty Times)

  *... xiàn-zhǎng Liu Cheng-Hung duì **Zhu Feng-Min āmà***

  ***'father/mother's mother'** zì-shā de bù-xìng, yǐ biǎo-dá nán-guò jí*

  bù-shě... (Source: The Liberty Times)

  '… Liu Cheng-Hung, the magistrate, has expressed his sadness and unbearable feeling about **Grandmother Zhu Feng-Min**'s suicide…' (Source: The Liberty Times)

- 高齡九十二歲的**邱有蓮老阿嬤**卻不幸… 去世。拿著來不及給老阿嬤看到的海報，陳利人感到十分遺憾… (Source: AS)

  *Gāo-líng jiǔ-shí-èr suè de **Qiu You-Lian lǎo-āmà** 'old-father/mother's*

  mother' què bù-xìng... qù-shì. Ná-zhe lái-bù-jí gěi lǎo-āmā kàn-dào de

  hǎi-bào, Chen Li-Ren gǎn-dào shí-fēn yí-hàn... (Source: AS)

  'Unfortunately, the 92-year-old **old-grandmother Qiu You-Lian** has passed away. Chen Li-Ren feels very sorry for not bring the poster to the old-grandmother in time…' (Source: AS)

bàbà (爸爸) 'father'	- … 至於女友阿寶在不在乎？佼佼說：「**曾爸爸**也是這樣，她不會介意的啦！」(Source: AS) *... zhì-yú nǚ-yǒu A-Bao zài-bù-zài-hū? Jiao-Jiao shuō:「**Zeng bàbà** 'father' yě-shì zhè yàng, tā bù-huì jiè-yì de lā!」(Source: AS)* '... as for A-Bao, his girlfriend, does she care? Jiao-Jiao said, "**Father Zeng** was like this, and she wouldn't mind!"' (Source: AS) - **孫爸爸**孫證擠入救護站，見到這個已瘦了一圈、滿臉灰土、全身被薰得烏黑的小男生… (Source: AS) ***Sun bàbà** 'father' Sun Zheng jǐ rù jiù-hù-zhàn, jiàn dào zhè gè yǐ shòu le yī quān, mǎn-liǎn huī-tǔ, quán-shēn bèi xūn dé wū-hēi de xiǎo nán-shēng... (Source: AS)* '**Father Sun** (Sun Zheng) forced his way in the medical station and saw the little boy, whose body was entirely smoked and face covered in dust, had also lost much of weight...' (Source: AS) - … 經過我去打聽之後，發現說**王爸爸**和我爸爸，小時候還是同班同學… (Source: AS) *... jīng-guò wǒ qù dǎ-tīng zhī-hòu, fā-xiàn shuō **Wang bàbà** 'father' hé*

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wǒ bàbà, xiǎo-shí-hòu hái-shì tóng-bān tóng-xué... (Source: AS)

'... after inquiry, I found that **Father Wang** and my father were classmates when they were young...' (Source: AS)

- … 而蔣洪彝卻是遠航員工口中的「<u>蔣爸爸</u>」。(Source: AS)

  *... ér Chiang Hung-Yi què shì yuǎn-háng yuán-gōng kǒu zhōng de "**Chiang bàbà 'father'**". (Source: AS)*

  '… and Chiang Hung-Yi was seen as **"Father Chiang"** by employees of Far East Airlines'. (Source: AS)

- 影片一出有超過四百萬人次都來朝聖<u>朱爸爸</u>的反應！(Source: PTT)

  *Yǐng-piàn yī chū yǒu chāo-guò sì bǎi wàn rén-cì dōu lái cháo-shèng **Zhu bàbà 'father'** de fǎn-yìng! (Source: PTT)*

  'The video has more than four million viewers to see **Father Zhu**'s reaction since its publication!' (Source: PTT)

māmā (媽媽) 'mother'	- 媽媽：「那怎麼可以！隔壁<u>王媽媽</u>的小孩老早就把注音符號念得滾瓜爛熟…」(Source: AS) *Māmā:「nà zěn-me kě-yǐ! Gé-bì **Wang māmā 'mother'** de xiǎo-hái lǎo-zǎo jiù bǎ zhù-yīn-fú-hào niàn dé gǔn-guā-làn-shú…」(Source: AS)* 'Mother: "How can that be! The child of neighboring **Mother Wang** has already memorized all the Mandarin Phonetic Symbols..."' (Source: AS) - … 原來是我室友的媽媽…「原來是<u>葛媽媽</u>啊！這麼晚了怎麼還在這裡？」(Source: PTT) *… yuán-lái shì wǒ shì-yǒu de māmā…「yuán-lái shì **Ge māmā 'mother'** ā! Zhè-me wǎn le zěn-me hái zài zhè lǐ?」(Source: PTT)* '… it is my roommate's mother… "Hi, **Mother Ge**! How are you still here at this late hour?"' (Source: PTT) - … 而<u>廖媽媽</u>則被大夥兒暱稱為「大溪媽媽」。(Source: AS) *… ér **Liao māmā 'mother'** zé bèi dà-huǒ-ér nì-chēng wéi「Daxi māmā」(Source: AS)* '... and **Mother Liao** has been nicknamed as "Mother Daxi" by everyone'. (Source: AS) - … 全體小團員齊赴總統府，見到副總統時高聲問候：「<u>呂媽媽</u>好！」… (Source: AS) *… quán-tǐ xiǎo tuán-yuán qí fù zǒng-tǒng-fǔ, jiàn-dào fù-zǒng-tǒng shí gāo-shēng wèn-hòu:「**Lu māmā 'mother'** hǎo!」… (Source: AS)* '... all team members went to the Presidential palace and greeted the vice president with a loud greeting: "**Mother Lu**, good day!" ...' (Source: AS)

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	• ... 有興趣者請與研究院路二段七巷四九號一樓**劉媽媽**聯繫... (Source: AS) ... *yǒu xìng-qù zhě qǐng yǔ yán-jiū-yuàn lù èr duàn qī xiàng sì jiǔ hào yī lóu **Liu māmā 'mother'** lián-xì... (Source: AS)* '... for interested people, please contact **Mother Liu** at the first floor of No. 49, Lane 7, Sec. 2, Academia Road...' (Source: AS)
bófù (伯父) 'father's elder brother'	N/A
bóbó (伯伯) 'father's elder brother'	• 江靜美... 把這件事告訴爸爸。她爸爸說：鄰居應該互相幫忙。你請**林伯伯**放心去度假好了，我們可以幫他們看家。(Source: AS) *Jiang Jing-Mei... bǎ zhè jiàn shì gào-sù bàbà. Tā bàbà shuō: "lín-jū yīng-gāi hù-xiàng bāng-máng." Nǐ qǐng **Lin bóbó 'father's elder brother'** fàng-xīn qù dù-jiǎ hǎo le, wǒ-men kě-yǐ bāng tā-men kàn-jiā. (Source: AS)* 'Jiang Jing-Mei... told her father about this. Her father said, "Neighbor should help each other. Tell **Uncle Lin** to go on holiday, as we can help them look after the house"'. (Source: AS) • 這群希望志工裡最高齡者是 82 歲的**蔣伯伯**，依然硬朗的身子與靈活的身段，讓現場民眾驚訝不已... (Source: AS) *Zhè qún xī-wàng zhì-gōng lǐ zuì gāo líng zhě shì 82 suì de **Jiang bóbó 'father's elder brother,'** yī-rán yìng-lǎng de shēn-zǐ yǔ líng-huó de shēn-duàn, ràng xiàn-chǎng mín-zhòng jīng-yà bù-yǐ... (Source: AS)* 'The oldest person in this group of hopeful volunteers is **Uncle Jiang**, who is 82 years old, and his tough physique and flexible body surprised everyone on the spot'. (Source: AS) • 那裡有位**蘇伯伯**是爸爸的老同學，他們家在這裡種了幾十年的茶... (Source: AS) *Nà lǐ yǒu wèi **Su bóbó 'father's elder brother'** shì bàbà de lǎo-tóng-xué, tā-men-jiā zài zhè lǐ zhǒng le jǐ shí nián de chá... (Source: AS)* 'Here is **Uncle Su**, who is my father's classmate many years ago, and his family has planted tea trees in this area for decades'. (Source: AS) • ... 伯伯、**趙伯伯**，你們要喝什麼，我去弄。(Source: AS) ... *bóbó, **Zhao bóbó 'father's elder brother,'** nǐ-men yào hē shé-me, wǒ qù nòng. (Source: AS)* '... uncle and **Uncle Zhao**, what would you like to drink? I will go preparing them'. (Source: AS)

	• 乖乖去唱新鴛鴦蝴蝶夢就好了吧，**黃安伯伯**。(Source: PTT) *Guāi-guāi qù chàng xīn yuān-yāng hú-dié mèng jiù hǎo le ba, **Huang An bóbó 'father's elder brother'**. (Source: PTT)* 'Just go singing your song "A new dream of an affectionate couple of butterflies" and do not do anything else, **Uncle Huang An**'. (Source: PTT)
āpeh (阿伯) 'father's elder brother'	讓我們歡迎 2020 總統！**柯文哲阿伯** (Source: PTT) *Ràng wǒ-men huān-yíng 2020 zǒng-tǒng! **Ko Wen-Je āpeh 'father's elder brother'** (Source: PTT)* 'Let us welcome the president of 2020! **Uncle Ko Wen-Je**' (Source: PTT)
bómǔ (伯母) 'wife of father's elder brother'	• 梅：**陳伯母**，您快說，究竟是怎麼一回事啊？(Source: AS) *Méi: **Chen bómǔ 'wife of father's elder brother,'** nín kuài shuō, jiū-jìng shì zěn-me yī-huí-shì ā? (Source: AS)* 'Mei: "**Aunt Chen**, can you please tell what is going on?"' (Source: AS) • 妹妹說：我聽**袁伯母**說，這是天狗吞月。爸爸笑著說：哪裡有什麼天狗！(Source: AS) *Mèimèi shuō: wǒ tīng **Yuan bómǔ 'wife of father's elder brother'** shuō, zhè shì tiān-gǒu tūn yuè. Bàbà xiào zhe shuō: nǎ lǐ yǒu shé-me tiān gǒu! (Source: AS)* 'Sister said, "I heard **Uncle Yuan** said that this is a sign of the heavenly dog swallows the moon." Father said with a smile, "There is no such thing as heavenly dog!"' (Source: AS) • … 希望你常常寫信給我。請替我問張伯伯、**張伯母**好。(Source: AS) *… xī-wàng nǐ cháng-cháng xiě xìn gěi wǒ. Qǐng tì wǒ wèn Zhang bóbó, **Zhang bómǔ 'wife of father's elder brother'** hǎo. (Source: AS)* '... hope you can write me often. Please say hello for me to Uncle Zhang and **Aunt Zhang**'. (Source: AS) • 劉國強看了，就跟**吳伯母**說：這是我向吳文華借的書。我帶回家去看。(Source: AS) *Liu Guo-Qiang kàn le, jiù gēn **Wu bómǔ 'wife of father's elder brother'** shuō: "zhè shì wǒ xiàng Wu Wen-Hua jiè de shū. Wǒ dài huí jiā qù kàn. (Source: AS)* 'Liu Guo-Qiang looked at it and said to **Aunt Wu**, "This is the book I borrowed from Wu Wen-Hua. I will bring it home to read"'. (Source: AS) • 首先我們來歡迎文友合唱團。// 歡迎！！… **高伯母**好，請坐請坐，歡迎歡迎，新年快樂！！(Source: AS)

	Shǒu-xiān wǒ-men lái huān-yíng Wén-Yǒu hé-chàng-tuán. ∥Huān-yíng!!… Gao bómǔ 'wife of father's elder brother' hǎo, qǐng-zuò qǐng-zuò, huān-yíng huān-yíng, xīn-nián kuài-lè!! (Source: AS) 'First, let us welcome the Wen-You Choir. ∥ Welcome!!… Good day, **Aunt Gao**, please have a seat and welcome; happy new year!!' (Source: AS)
shúshú (叔叔) 'father's younger brother'	• 張爺爺去世了！那天，**張叔叔**到家裡作客時，紅著眼睛告訴我們這個壞消息。(Source: AS) *Zhang yéyé qù-shì le! Nà tiān, **Zhang shúshú 'father's younger brother'** dào jiā-lǐ zuò-kè shí, hóng zhe yěn-jīng gào-sù wǒ-men zhè gè huài xiāo-xī. (Source: AS)* Grandfather Zhang has passed away! On that day, **Uncle 'Zhang** came to our house for a visit and told us such sad news with red eyes'. (Source: AS) • 走出機場，就有一位泰國的導遊，**黃叔叔**和一部中型巴士來接我們… (Source: AS) *Zǒu chū jī-chǎng, jiù yǒu yī wèi tài-guó de dǎo-yóu, **Huang shúshú 'father's younger brother'** hé yī bù zhōng xíng bā-shì lái jiē wǒ-men… (Source: AS)* 'Once outside the airport, a Thailand tour guide and **Uncle Huang**, came with a medium bus to pick us up...' (Source: AS) • … Mike 笑著對陳董說：「是啊！我要好好謝謝**陳叔叔**呢！我想和安琪聊聊你不會反對吧！」(Source: AS) *… Mike xiào zhe duì Chen dǒng shuō:「shì ā! Wǒ yào hǎo-hǎo xiè-xiè **Chen shúshú 'father's younger brother'** ne! Wǒ xiǎng hé An-Qi liáo-liáo nǐ bù-huì fǎn-duì ba!」(Source: AS)* '... Mike said to Chairman Chen with a smile, "Yes! I must pay my gratitude to **Uncle Chen**! You would not object if I want to talk to An-Qi!"' (Source: AS) • 高高瘦瘦的**謝叔叔**早一年來到賓夕法尼亞大學唸博士學位，和爸爸一見如故… (Source: AS) *Gāo-gāo shòu-shòu de **Xie shúshú 'father's younger brother'** zǎo yī nián lái-dào Pennsylvania dà-xué diàn bó-shì xué-wèi, hé bàbà yī-jiàn-rú-gù… (Source: AS)* 'The tall and skinny **Uncle Xie** has come to study the doctoral program at the University of Pennsylvania a year ago and became true friend with my father...' (Source: AS) • **孫越叔叔**曾經說過：好東西要和好朋友分享！(Source: AS)

	*Sun Yueh shúshú **'father's younger brother'** céng-jīng shuō guò: "hǎo dōng-xī yào hé hǎo péng-yǒu fèn-xiǎng!" (Source: AS)* '**Uncle Sun Yueh** once said, "good things must be shared with good friends!"' (Source: AS)
yímā (姨媽) 'mother's elder/younger sister'	N/A
āyí (阿姨) 'mother's elder/younger sister'	• 換了**蘇阿姨**掌廚之後，她的手藝更好… 讓我們吃得津津有味… (Source: AS) *Huàn le **Su āyí 'mother's elder/younger sister'** zhǎng-chú zhī-hòu, tā de shǒu-yì gèng hǎo… ràng wǒ-men chī dé jīn-jīn-yǒu-wèi… (Source: AS)* 'Since the change of chef to **Aunt Su**, who has better cuisinary skill, we enjoy it more...' (Source: AS) • … 過了一會兒，媽媽和爸爸先跟王叔叔和**王阿姨**來個夫妻雙打。 (Source: AS) *… guò le yī-huì-ér, māmā hé bàbà xiān gēn Wang shúshú hé **Wang āyí 'mother's elder/younger sister'** lái gè fū-qī shuāng-dǎ. (Source: AS)* '... after a while, my parents will play with Uncle Wang and **Aunt Wang** in double tennis'. (Source: AS) • **黃阿姨**走過的路，比任何人都艱辛。但**黃阿姨**並沒有怨天尤人… (Source: AS) ***Huang āyí 'mother's elder/younger sister'** zǒu guò de lù, bǐ rèn-hé rén dōu jiān-xīn. Dàn **Huang āyí 'mother's elder/younger sister'** bìng méi-yǒu yuàn-tiān-yóu-rén… (Source: AS)* '**Aunt Huang** experienced more difficulties in her life than anyone else. However, **Aunt Huang** does not resent others...' (Source: AS) • … 雖然不能言語，**黃美廉阿姨**要用畫作和大家溝通。 (Source: AS) *… suī-rán bù-néng yén-yǔ, **Huang Mei-Lian āyí 'mother's elder/younger sister'** yào yòng huà-zuò hé dà-jiā gōu-tōng. (Source: AS)* '... although unable to speak, **Aunt Huang Mei-Lian** will communicate with people through her paintings'. (Source: AS) • 我剪了一些下來，綁在牙籤上面，學書法家**董陽孜阿姨**，揮毫了… (Source: PTT) *Wǒ jiǎn le yī xiē xià lái, bǎng zài yá-qiān shàng-miàn, xué shū-fǎ-jiā **Dong Yang-Zi āyí 'mother's elder/younger sister,'** huī-háo le… (Source: PTT)*

	'I cut some and tie it to the toothpick, as I imitate the calligrapher, **Aunt Dong Yang-Zi**, to write the Chinese calligraphy...' (Source: PTT)
gēgē (哥哥) 'elder brother'	• 今天**藍哥哥**要帶大家搭著 737 客機飛越中央山脈... (Source: AS) *Jīn-tiān **Lan gēgē 'elder brother'** yào dài dà-jiā dā zhe 737 kè-jī fēi-yuè zhōng-yāng shān-mài... (Source: AS)* 'Today, **Brother Lan** will take everyone to fly over the Central Mountain by a 737 plane...' (Source: AS) • … 來，你幫**李哥哥**把這些毛巾先拿到洗澡間去。(Source: AS) *... lái, nǐ bāng **Li gēgē 'elder brother'** bǎ zhè xiē máo-jīn xiān ná dào xǐ-zǎo-jiān qù. (Source: AS)* '… Come, help **Brother Li** with these towels to the bathroom'. (Source: AS) • 神鵰俠侶裡，黃蓉都叫郭靖**靖哥哥**。(Source: PTT) *Shén-diāo xiá-lǚ lǐ, Huang Rong dōu jiào Guo Jing **Jing gēgē 'elder brother'**. (Source: PTT)* 'In the novel "The Return of the Condor Heroes," Huang Rong always calls Guo Jing **Brother Jing**'. (Source: PTT) • … 張淑芬真性情，**忠謀哥哥**一聽心驚肉跳。(Source: PTT) *... Zhang Shu-Fen zhēn-xìng-qíng, **Zhong-Mou gēgē 'elder brother'** yī tīng xīn-jīng-ròu-tiào. (Source: PTT)* '... Zhang Shu-Fen shows her true nature, and **Brother Zhong-Mou** feels a shudder with fear'. (Source: PTT) • 不管折腰彎腰下腰… 全聯米特販超低價… **淵明哥哥**，我們這就來！(Source: PTT) *Bù-guǎn zhé-yāo wān-yāo xià-yāo… quán-lián mǐ tè fàn chāo dī-jià… **Yuan-Ming gēgē 'elder brother,'** wǒ-men zhè jiù lái! (Source: PTT)* 'Regardless of whether bowing, bending or lowering [yourselves in surrender to reality] … rice in PX Mart is on sale... **Brother Yuan-Ming**, here we come!' (Source: PTT) (Brother Yuan-Ming refers to Tao Yuan-Ming (lived 365? - 427 CE), who is famous for his "not bowing like a servant in return for five bushels of grain (不為五斗米折腰)," an idiom means to swallow one's pride in exchange for a meager existence)
dìdì (弟弟) 'younger brother'	• 今年十一歲的**丁小弟弟**身高一五四公分，原本重達七一・四五公斤… (Source: AS) *Jīn-nián shí-yī suì de **Ting xiǎo-dìdì 'little-younger brother'** shēn-gāo yī-wǔ-sì gōng-fèn, yuán-běn zhòng dá qī-yī・sì-wǔ gōng-jīn… (Source: AS)*

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‘**Brother Ting** is 11 years old this year, he has a height of 154 cm and an original weight of 71.45 kilograms...’ (Source: AS)

- 黃儀小弟弟跟厲曼婷姐姐合作的歌曲…這首歌呢… (Source: AS)

  Huang Yi xiǎo-dìdì 'little-younger brother' gēn Li Man-Ting jiějiě hé-zuò de gē-qǔ... zhè shǒu gē ne... (Source: AS)

  ‘**Little-brother Huang Yi** and Sister Li Man-Ting worked on this song together... this song is...’ (Source: AS)

	- … 好，謝謝鄭姊姊的話，說得很好。 (Source: AS) *... hǎo, xiè-xiè **Zheng jiějiě 'elder sister'** de huà, shuō dé hěn hǎo. (Source: AS)* ‘... OK, thanks for **Sister Zheng**'s advice; it is very good'. (Source: AS) - 寶姊姊道出吃蟹的忌諱，應了中國「美食不可多得」的名言。(Source: AS) ***Bao jiějiě 'elder sister'** dào chū chī xiè de jì-huì, yīng le Zhongguo 「měi-shí bù kě duō dé」de míng-yén. (Source: AS)* ‘**Sister Bao** pointed out the noteworthy matter of eating crabs, which is exactly in match with the famous Chinese idiom of "Delicious foods should be enjoyed adequately"’. (Source: AS)
jiějiě (姊姊) ‘elder sister’	- 剛剛看新聞… 在說嘉義的小孩嫌縣長獎獎品不實用， 接著花姊姊就冒出這句：「像台南市根本沒有縣長獎的獎品。」(Source: PTT) *Gāng-gāng kàn xīn-wén… zài shuō Chiayi de xiǎo-hái xián xiàn-zhǎng jiǎng jiǎng-pǐn bù shí-yòng, jiē zhe **Hua jiějiě 'elder sister'** jiù mào-chū zhè jù:「xiàng Tái'nán shì gēn-běn méi-yǒu xiàn-zhǎng jiǎng de jiǎng-pǐn.」(Source: PTT)* ‘[I] just watched the news… children in Chiayi complained of impractical rewards of the County Magistrate award, then **Sister Hua** suddenly proclaimed, "There is no rewards for the County Magistrate award in Tainan at all"’. (Source: PTT) (Sister Hua refers to Chang Hua-Kuan, the Chiayi County Magistrate) - 我們的艾敬姊姊選擇是第一，和大家都不一樣，想當超人。(Source: AS) *Wǒ men de **Ai Jing jiějiě 'elder sister'** xuǎn-zé shì dì-yī, hé dà-jiā dōu bù-yī-yàng, xiǎng dāng chāo-rén. (Source: AS)* ‘Our **Sister Ai Jing**'s choice is the first one, unlike everyone else, [she] wants to be a superwoman'. (Source: AS) - 好，艾敬大姊姊，給他們說話… (Source: AS) *Hǎo, **Ai Jing dà jiějiě 'big-elder sister'**, gěi tā-men shuō-huà... (Source: AS)*

	'Fine, **big-sister Ai Jing**, give them some words...' (Source: AS)
	• 我們小朋友為**鄭姐姐**鼓掌好不好? 他說的很有道理。(Source: AS)
	*Wǒ-men xiǎo-péng-yǒu wéi **Zheng jiějiě 'elder sister'** gǔ-zhǎng hǎo-bù-hǎo? Tā shuō de hěn yǒu dào-lǐ. (Source: AS)*
	'Children, let us applaud for **Sister Zheng**, ok? Her words are very convincing'. (Source: AS)
	• … 在睡著之前,我的頭碰撞到一疊「**吳姐姐**講歷史故事」[的書]… (Source: AS)
	*… zài shuì zháo zhī-qián, wǒ de tóu pèng-zhuàng dào yī dié 「**Wu jiějiě 'elder sister'** jiǎng lì-shǐ gù-shì」[de shū] … (Source: AS)*
	'... before I fell asleep, my head bumped into a pile [of books] of "**Sister Wu**'s historical stories" ...' (Source: AS)
	• … 大年初三到**崔姐姐**家吃吃,每個人只要準備一天的飯菜… (Source: AS)
jiějiě (姐姐) 'elder sister'	*… dà nián chū sān dào **Cui jiějiě 'elder sister'** jiā chī-chī, měi gè rén zhī-yào zhǔn-bèi yī tiān de fàn-cài… (Source: AS)*
	'... on the third day of the Lunar New Year, [we] have a meal in **Sister Cui**'s house, [it is enough for] everyone to prepare meals for one day...' (Source: AS)
	• **詹姐**會放棄世大運金牌… 然後馬上轉戰美網… (Source: PTT)
	***Chan jiějiě 'elder sister'** huì fàng-qì shì-dà-yùn jīn-pái… rán-hòu mǎ-shàng zhuǎn-zhàn měi-wǎng… (Source: PTT)*
	'**Sister Chan** will quit winning the gold medal in Summer Universaide... and quickly moves to compete in US Open...' (Source: PTT)
	• … 據說**志玲姐姐**還有去探班… (Source: PTT)
	*… jù-shuō **Chi-Ling jiějiě 'elder sister'** hái-yǒu qù tàn-bān… (Source: PTT)*
	'... it is said that **Sister Chi-Ling** paid a visit...' (Source: PTT)
	• 且看《紅樓夢》中的**林妹妹**吧:「籠煙眉,含情目…」(Source: AS)
	*Qiě kàn《hóng-lóu-mèng》zhōng de **Lin mèimèi 'younger sister'** ba: 「lóng-yān méi, hán-qíng mù…」(Source: AS)*
	'**Sister Lin**, as described in "The Story of the Stone," is with "mist-wreathed brows, passionate eyes..."' (Source: AS)
mèimèi (妹妹) 'younger sister'	• 眾所周知**羅妹妹**視錢如命,但她卻願意為陳文茜免費助選… (Source: AS)
	*Zhòng-suǒ-zhōu-zhī **Luo mèimèi 'younger sister'** shì-qián-rú-mìng, dàn tā què yuàn-yì wéi Chen Wen-Hsien miǎn-fèi zhù-xuǎn… (Source: AS)*

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'Everyone knows that **Sister Luo** is a penny-pincher; however, she is willing to assist Chen Wen-hsien in campaigning for free...' (Source: AS)

- 蔡孟昆指出，現在**簡小妹妹**沒有排斥情況，腎功能很好… (Source: AS)

  *Cai Meng-Kun zhǐ-chū, xiàn-zài **Jian xiǎo-mèimèi 'little-younger sister'** méi-yǒu pái-chì qíng-kuàng, shèn-gōng-néng hěn hǎo... (Source: AS)*

  'Cai Meng-Kun thinks that **little-sister Jian** shows no sign of rejection and the kidney is functioning well...' (Source: AS)

- 二歲的**簡廷恩小妹妹**體重才九公斤半，去年得了腎臟病… (Source: AS)

  *Èr suì de **Jian Ting-En xiǎo-mèimèi 'little-younger sister'** tǐ-zhòng cái jiǔ gōng-jīn bàn, qù nián dé le shèn-zàng-bìng... (Source: AS)*

  '**Little-sister Jian Ting-En**, who is 2 years old and only 9 kilograms in weight, she was found to have renal disease last year...' (Source: AS)

- … 由於吃錯藥，十個月大的**蔡小妹妹**就此和父母天人永隔。(Source: AS)

  *... yóu-yú chī cuò yào, shí gè yuè dà de **Cai xiǎo-mèimèi 'little-younger sister'** jiù cǐ hé fù-mǔ tiān-rén-yǒng-gé. (Source: AS)*

  '... the 10-month-old **little-sister Cai** passed away due to taking wrong medication, she is forever separated from her parents'. (Source: AS)

érzǐ (兒子) 'son'	N/A

VI. Language Materials of Generalized Monosyllabic Kinship Term (Modified by Surname/Name)

Kinship Term	Surname/Name-Kinship Terms
fù (父) 'father'	N/A
bó (伯) 'father's elder brother'	…到底**阿輝伯**是不是眾人口中的老番癲… (Source: PTT) *…dào-dǐ **A-Hui bó 'father's elder brother'** shì-bù-shì zhòng-rén kǒu zhōng de lǎo-fān-diān… (Source: PTT)* '… is **Uncle A-Hui** really a dotard, as everyone recognized...' (Source: PTT)
shú (叔) 'father's younger brother'	• **Yoyo 叔**握有破解 RAR 的技術 (Source: PTT) *Yoyo **shú 'father's younger brother'** wǒ yǒu pò-jiě RAR de jì-shù. (Source: PTT)* '**Uncle Yoyo** has the technology to break RAR'. (Source: PTT) (RAR is a software for compressing computer files) • 花白鬍子一面說，一面走到**康大叔**面前，低聲下氣的問道，**康大叔**？聽說今天結果的一個犯人，便是夏家的孩子… (Source: AS) *Huā-bái hú-zǐ yī miàn shuō, yī miàn zǒu dào **Kang dà-shú 'big-father's younger brother'** miàn-qián, dī-shēng-xià-qì de wèn dào, **Kang dà-shū 'big-father's younger brother'**? Tīng-shuō jīn-tiān jié-guǒ de yī gè fàn-rén, biàn-shì Xià jiā de hái-zǐ… (Source: AS)* 'The white-beard [guy] talked as he approached **Uncle Kang**, he asked humbly, "**Uncle Kang**? [I] heard that a criminal executed today is the child of the Xia family…"' (Source: AS) • 她眼眶中充滿了淚水，問馬家駿道：「… **馬大叔**… 你既然知道他沒死，而且就在附近，為甚麼不立刻回中原去？」(Source: AS) *Tā yěn-kuàng zhōng chōng-mǎn le lèi-shuǐ, wèn Ma Jia-Jun dào: 「… **Ma dà-shú 'big-father's younger brother'**… nǐ jì-rán zhī-dào tā méi sǐ, ér-qiě jiù zài fù-jìn, wéi-shèn-me bù lì-kè huí zhōng-yuán qù?」(Source: AS)* 'Her eyes filled with tears, as she asked Ma Jia-Jun, "... **big-uncle Ma**... why did not you go back to the Central Plain, since you know he is not dead and in the neighboring area?"' (Source: AS) • 美國一對新人在紐約中央公園拍婚紗，剛好 遇上… 湯姆漢克斯 (Tom Hanks)。毫無架子的**湯姆大叔**不但主動打招呼，還跟新人玩起自拍… (Source: PTT) *Měiguó yī duì xīn-rén zài New York zhōng-yāng gōng-yuán pāi hūn-shā, gāng-hǎo yù-shàng… Tāngmǔhànkèsī (Tom Hanks). Háo wú*

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	jià-zǐ de **Tāngmǔ dà-shú 'big-father's younger brother'** *bù-dàn zhǔ-dòng dǎ-zhāo-hū, hái gēn xīn-rén wán qǐ zì-pāi… (Source: PTT)* 'A newly wed American couple is taking wedding pictures in the Central Park of New York City and happens to meet... Tom Hanks. The **big-uncle Tom** is easy of approach, he not only says hello [to the couple] but also takes selfies with them...' (Source: PTT) • 最近 PPAP 爆紅，很多人跟著模仿 **Pico 大叔**的舞步… (Source: PTT) *Zuì-jìn PPAP bào hóng, hěn duō rén gēn-zhe mó-fǎng **Pico dà-shú 'big-father's younger brother'** de wǔ-bù… (Source: PTT)* 'The [song of] PPAP is the bomb recently and many people imitate **Uncle Pico**'s dance moves...' (Source: PTT)
shěn (嬸) 'wife of father's younger brother'	…**李大嬸**：永忠啊，你們家裡邊兒在做什麼啊？這樣敲敲打打的… (Source: AS) …***Li dà-shěn 'big-wife of father's younger brother': "Yong-Zhong ā, nǐ-men jiā-lǐ-biān-ér zài zuò shé-me ā? Zhè-yàng qiāo-qiāo-dǎ-dǎ de…*** *(Source: AS)* '... **Aunt Li** said, "Yong-Zhong, what are you doing inside your house? There are knocking and beating [noises]...' (Source: AS)
yí (姨) 'mother's elder/younger sister'	回想起走過的這一生，**月霞姨**說自己命運就像台灣的歌仔戲團。 (Source: AS) *Huí-xiǎng qǐ zǒu-guò de zhè yī-shēng, **Yue-Xia yí 'mother's elder/younger sister'** shuō zì-jǐ mìng-yùn jiù xiàng Táiwān de gē-zǎi-xì tuán. (Source: AS)* 'Recalling the entire life, **Aunt Yue-Xia** said that her life is just like the Ke-Tse opera troupe in Taiwan'. (Source: AS)
xiōng (兄) 'elder brother'	• 一名自稱**陳兄**的面試官要他偷裝側錄器，可領新台幣 5000… (Source: PTT) *Yī míng zì-chēng **Chen xiōng 'elder brother'** de miàn-shì-guān yào tā tōu-zhuāng cè-lù-qì, kě lǐng xīn-tái-bì 5000… (Source: PTT)* 'An interviewer, who called himself **Brother Chen**, wanted him to install a surveillance recording device to get NT$ 5000...' (Source: PTT) • … 名作曲家**周文中兄**勸我先體會一下中國的美學… (Source: AS) *… míng zuò-qǔ-jiā **Zhou Wen-Zhong xiōng 'elder brother'** quàn wǒ xiān tǐ-huì yī-xià Zhongguo de měi-xué… (Source: AS)* '... the famous composer **Brother Zhou Wen-Zhong** suggested me to experience Chinese aesthetics first...' (Source: AS) • **capita 兄**，雖然我對你的說法全部予以反駁，不過我仍十分欣賞你
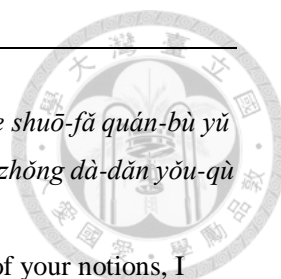
	這種大膽有趣的解讀。(Source: AS)
	*Capita **xiōng** 'elder brother,' suī-rán wǒ duì nǐ de shuō-fǎ quán-bù yǔ yǐ fǎn-bó, bù-guò wǒ réng shí-fēn xīn-shǎng nǐ zhè zhǒng dà-dǎn yǒu-qù de jiě-dú. (Source: AS)*
	'**Brother Capita**, although I rejected every point of your notions, I highly admire your bold and interesting interpretation'. (Source: AS)

- 如果 **d 兄**仍有指教建議，我會虛心學習… (Source: PTT)

  *Rú-guǒ **d xiōng** 'elder brother' réng yǒu zhǐ-jiāo jiàn-yì, wǒ huì xū-xīn xué-xí… (Source: PTT)*

  '... if **Brother D** still has some advice [for me], I will humbly accept it...' (Source: PTT)

- … 喜歡**凱吉兄** (Nicolas Cage) [的人]就可以很高興，他助手也很可愛… (Source: PTT)

  *... xǐ-huān **Kǎijí xiōng** 'elder brother' (Nicolas Cage) [de rén] jiù kě-yǐ hěn gāo-xìng, tā zhù-shǒu yě hěn kě-ài… (Source: PTT)*

  '... [people] who love **Brother Cage** (Nicolas Cage) will be very happy, [by the way,] his assistant is also very attractive...' (Source: PTT)

	- **趙哥**，絕對有很多人是編著謊的，沒有人說真話。(Source: AS) *Zhao **gē** 'elder brother,' jué-duì yǒu hěn duō rén shì biān zhe huǎng de, méi-yǒu rén shuō zhēn-huà. (Source: AS)* '**Brother Zhao**, it is absolutely that many people are lying and no one tells the truth'. (Source: AS)
	- 知名網路實況主**潔哥** (李秉潔) 11 日在臉書直播... (Source: PTT) *Zhī-míng wǎng-lù shí-kuàng-zhǔ **Jie gē** 'elder brother' (Li Bing-Jie) 11 rì zài liǎn-shū zhí-bō... (Source: PTT)* 'The famous streamer **Brother Jie** (Li Bing-Jie) was on Facebook Live on 11th …' (Source: PTT)
gē (哥) 'elder brother'	- **拿破崙哥**當時是靠什麼大敗神聖羅馬帝國的呢？(Source: PTT) *Nápòlún **gē** 'elder brother' dāng-shí shì kào shí-me dà bài shén-shèng luó-mǎ dì-guó de ne? (Source: PTT)* 'How did **Brother Napolean** defeat the Holy Roman Empire?' (Source: PTT)
	- … 今天是一個世代的告別，**Kobe 哥**宣布退休了。(Source: PTT) *... jīn-tiān shì yī gè shì-dài de gào-bié, **Kobe gē** 'elder brother' xuān-bù tuì-xiū le. (Source: PTT)* '... today signals the end of an era- **Brother Kobe** announces his retirement'. (Source: PTT)

	- 我們講就像**趙寧大哥**這樣子，溫文爾雅、溫柔體貼。(Source: AS) *Wǒ-men jiǎng jiù-xiàng **Zhao Ning dà-gē 'big-elder brother'** zhè yàng-zǐ, wēn-wén-ěr-yǎ, wēn-róu-tǐ-tiē. (Source: AS)* 'What we are talking about is like **Brother Zhao Ning**, a gentle and considerate [man]'. (Source: AS)
sǎo (嫂) 'wife of elder brother'	- …**馬大嫂**趨前兩步，拉開車門讓曉晴坐上去… (Source: AS) *... **Ma dà-sǎo 'big-wife of elder brother'** qū-qián liǎng bù, lā-kāi chē-mén ràng Xiao-Qing zuò shàng qù... (Source: AS)* '... **big-sister-in-law Ma** moves two steps forward and opens the car door for Xiao-Qing to get in...' (Source: AS) - 跟您打聽王丞相的女兒王寶釧，也就是**薛大嫂**。(Source: AS) *Gēn nín dǎ-tīng Wang chéng-xiàng de nǚ'ér Wang Bao-Chuan, yě jiù-shì **Xue dà-sǎo 'big-wife of elder brother'**. (Source: AS)* '[I] would like to ask you about Cheng-xiang Wang's daughter, Wang Bao-Chuan, who is also known as **big-sister-in-law Xue**'. (Source: AS) (Cheng-xiang is the title for the highest administrative officer in ancient China) - 春：… **王大嫂**在家嗎？？ 太：那一位啊？？ 春：是我啊，春桃啊！！(Source: AS) *Chun: ... **Wang dà-sǎo 'big-wife of elder brother'** zài-jiā ma?? Tài: nà yī wèi ā?? Chun: shì wǒ ā, Chun-Tao ā!! (Source: AS)* 'Chun asked, "... is **big-sister-in-law Wang** at home?" The wife replied, "Who is it?" Chun answered, "It's me, Chun-Tao!!"' (Source: AS)
dì (弟) 'younger brother'	- 一天，**常小弟**又生病了，由祖母揹著前往附近診所看醫生。(Source: AS) *Yī-tiān, **Chang xiǎo-dì 'little-younger brother'** yòu shēng-bìng le, yóu zǔmǔ bēi zhe qián-wǎng fù-jìn zhěn-suǒ kàn yī-shēng. (Source: AS)* 'One day, **Brother Chang** is sick again and his grandmother carries him to a nearby clinic to see a doctor'. (Source: AS) - 球場發現羅士凱的優異表現… **羅小弟**的進步，成了大家的驕傲… (Source: AS) *Qiú-chǎng fā-xiàn Luo Shi-Kai de yōu-yì biǎo-xiàn… **Luo xiǎo-dì 'little-younger brother'** de jìn-bù, chéng le dà-jiā de jiāo-ào… (Source: AS)* '[The owner of the golf] course found that Luo Shi-Kai showed a great performance... everyone was proud of **little-brother Luo**'s progress...'
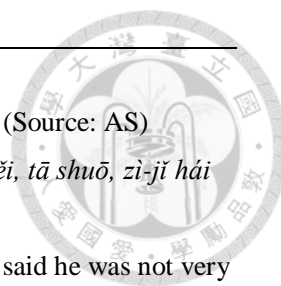
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- 丁小弟並不氣餒，他說，自己還不算很滿意… (Source: AS)

  Ting xiǎo-dì 'little-younger brother' bìng bù qì-něi, tā shuō, zì-jǐ hái bù suàn hěn mǎn-yì… (Source: AS)

  '**Little-brother Ting** was not discouraged, and he said he was not very satisfied…' (Source: AS)

- 今年得最佳孝行獎的丁小龍小弟，因為父親病死了，母親又有病在身… (Source: AS)

  *Jīn nián dé zuì-jiā xiào-xíng jiǎng de **Ting Xiao-Long xiǎo-dì** 'little-younger brother,' yīn-wèi fùqīn bìng sǐ le, mǔqīn yòu yǒu-bìng-zài-shēn… (Source: AS)*

  '**Little-brother Ting Xiao-Long**, the winner of the Filial Piety Award this year, whose father is passed away and his mother is suffering from a disease...' (Source: AS)

- 半年過去，毛利叔叔都要變毛利老弟了耶… (Source: PTT)

  *Bàn nián guò-qù, Máolì shúshú dōu yào biàn **Máolì lǎo-dì** 'old-younger brother' le yē… (Source: PTT)*

  'A half year has passed; the Uncle Mori is going to become the **Brother Mori**...' (Source: PTT)

jiě (姊) 'elder sister'	- 曾經在一次座談會中，一個媽媽問我：「吳姊，請問你是怎麼去發掘自己的能力？」(Source: AS) *Céng-jīng zài yī-cì zuò-tán-huì zhōng, yī gè māmā wèn wǒ:「**Wu jiě** 'elder sister,' qǐng-wèn nǐ shì zěn-me qù fā-jué zì-jǐ de néng-lì?」(Source: AS)* 'Once at a forum, a mother asked me, "**Sister Wu**, how do you discover your abilities?"' (Source: AS) - … 又會主持、又會搞笑的晶瑩姊，笑起來也 是頗正的… (Source: PTT) *… yòu huì zhǔ-chí, yòu huì gǎo-xiào de **Ching-Ying jiě** 'elder sister,' xiào qǐ-lái yě-shì pō zhèng de… (Source: PTT)* '... **Sister Ching-Ying** is good at being a hostess and entertaining others, also, her smile looks very beautiful...' (Source: PTT) - ... 相信大家都知道，做蛋糕非常好吃的唐琪，唐琪姊，歡迎你！！(Source: AS) *… xiāng-xìn dà-jiā dōu zhī-dào, zuò dàn-gāo fēi-cháng hǎo-chī de Tang, Qi, **Tang Qi jiě** 'elder sister,' huān-yíng nǐ!! (Source: AS)* '... [I] believe that everyone knows the cake master- Tang, Qi, **Sister Tang Qi**, welcome!!' (Source: AS)

	• 原來「**mo 姊**」 是 Monica 的簡稱。(Source: PTT) *Yuán-lái「**mo jiě 'elder sister'**」shì Monica de jiǎn-chēng. (Source: PTT)* 'Oh, I see, "**Sister Mo**" is the abbreviation of Monica'. (Source: PTT) • **Powe 大姊**兩個月前在交大資科 Society 版做了這個提問。(Source: AS) *Powe **dà-jiě 'big-elder sister'** liǎng gè yuè qián zài jiāo-dà zī-kē Society bǎn zuò le zhè gè tí-wèn. (Source: AS)* '**Big-sister Powe** raised this question on the Society board [of the BBS] of the Institute of Computer Science and Engineering, National Chiao Tung University two months ago'. (Source: AS)
jiě (姐) 'elder sister'	• **徐姐**在我們這裡一天，我們就與**徐姐**同甘共苦一天。(Source: AS) ***Xu jiě 'elder sister'** zài wǒ-men zhè-lǐ yī-tiān, wǒ-men jiù yǔ **Xu jiě 'elder sister'** tóng-gān-gòng-kǔ yī-tiān. (Source: AS)* 'As long as **Sister Xu** stays with us, we will share the hardship with **Sister Xu**'. (Source: AS) • … 法院在近四年後還**英文姐**一個公道，剛好四年後，**英文姐**還要選一次總統… (Source: PTT) *… fǎ-yuàn zài jìn sì nián hòu hái **Ing-Wen jiě 'elder sister'** yī gè gōng-dào, gāng-hǎo sì nián hòu, **Ing-Wen jiě 'elder sister'** hái-yào xuǎn yī cì zǒng-tǒng… (Source: PTT)* '... the court has shown **Sister Ing-Wen** the justice after almost four years, it fits perfectly that four years later, **Sister Ing-Wen** will run for the president again...' (Source: PTT) • … 中島美雪或美夢成真~ ~尤其是**美雪姐**的 歌，歌詞複雜、節奏又快… (Source: PTT) *… Zhōngdǎo Měixuě huò měi-mèng-chéng-zhēn ~ ~ yóu-qí shì **Měixuě jiě 'elder sister'** de gē, gē-cí fù-zá, jiē-zòu yòu kuài… (Source: PTT)* '... Nakajima Miyuki or Dreams Come True… especially the songs of **Sister Miyuki** are with complex lyrics and fast rhythm...' (Source: PTT) • … 接待我們的 **Lico 姐**非常的活潑、專業、貼心，有問必答… (Source: PTT) *… jiē-dài wǒ-men de **Lico jiě 'elder sister'** fēi-cháng de huó-pō, zhuān-yè, tiē-xīn, yǒu-wèn-bì-dá… (Source: PTT)* '... **Sister Lico**, who receives us, is very lively, professional, caring and she answers every question...' (Source: PTT) • **李大姐**夫婦臉上有點不快，也沒有說出來。(Source: AS)

	Li dà-jiě 'big-elder sister' *fū-fù liǎn shàng yǒu-diǎn bù-kuài, yě méi-yǒu shuō chū-lái. (Source: AS)* 'The couple of **big-sister Li** shows a bit of discontent on the face, but without wording it out'. (Source: AS)
mèi (妹) 'younger sister'	• 最近幾年，那位機長碰到她還說：「**曹妹**，過去的事就過去了，妳不要放在心上。」(Source: AS) *Zuì-jìn jǐ nián, nà wèi jī-zhǎng pèng-dào tā hái shuō:*「***Cao mèi 'younger sister,'*** *guò-qù de shì jiù guò-qù le, nǐ bù-yào fàng zài xīn shàng*」*. (Source: AS)* 'While running into her in recent years, the captain told her, "**Sister Cao**, let the past passed, do not keep it in your mind"'. (Source: AS) • 彰化縣長監護的 6 歲女童**楊小妹**，將出養瑞典… (Source: PTT) *Zhānghuà xiàn-zhǎng jiān-hù de 6 suì nǚ-tóng **Yang xiǎo-mèi 'little-younger sister,'** jiāng chū-yǎng Ruì'diǎn… (Source: PTT)* '**Little-sister Yang**, the 6-year-old girl who is under the guardianship of Changhua County Magistrate, will be adopted and raised in Sweden...' (Source: PTT)

VII. Language Materials of Generalized Disyllabic Kinship Term (Metonymic Theme Preceded)

Kinship Term	Metonymic Theme-Kinship Terms
yéyé (爺爺) 'father's father'	• 越南新娘那張，是我小時候隔壁**榮民爺爺**交給我的。(Source: PTT) *Yuè'nán xīn-niáng nà zhāng, shì wǒ xiǎo-shí-hòu gé-bì **róng-mín yéyé** 'father's father' jiāo gěi wǒ de. (Source: PTT)* 'That photo of a Vietnamese bride was given to me by the **veteran grandfather** next door when I was little'. (Source: PTT) • 挪威**警察爺爺**超帥… (Source: PTT) *Nuó'wēi **jǐng-chá yéyé** 'father's father' chāo shuài… (Source: PTT)* 'The Norwegian **police grandfather** is so handsome...' (Source: PTT) • **肯德基爺爺**其實不叫肯德基… (Source: The News Lens) ***Kěndéjī yéyé** 'father's father' qí-shí bù jiào Kěndéjī… (Source: The News Lens)* '**Grandfather Kentucky** is not in fact called Kentucky...' (Source: The News Lens)
āgōng (阿公) 'father/mother's father'	N/A
nǎinǎi (奶奶) 'father's mother'	更有作者懵懂開筆，寫來寫去，才赫然發覺竟與「**祖師奶奶**」靈犀一點相通。(Source: AS) *Gèng yǒu zuò-zhě měng-dǒng kāi-bǐ, xiě-lái-xiě-qù, cái hè-rán-fā-jué jìng yǔ "**zǔ-shī nǎinǎi** 'father's mother'" líng-xī yī diǎn xiàng-tōng. (Source: AS)* 'There are some authors who write naively in the begining and correct their words continuously, but at last, [they will] suddenly realize that their works are similar to "**master grandmother**"'s pieces'. (Source: AS)
āmà (阿媽) 'father/mother's mother'	被傳統價值觀禁錮了數十年的**慰安婦阿媽**們，血淚斑斑… (Source: AS) *Bèi chuán-tǒng jià-zhí-guān jìn-gè le shù shí nián de **wèi-ān-fù āmà** 'father/mother's mother' men, xiě-lèi-bān-bān… (Source: AS)* '**Comfort women grandmothers** are in the abyss of untold sufferings for that they are imprisoned by the traditional values for several decades…' (Source: AS)
āmà (阿嬤) 'father/mother's mother'	• 大家都叫宋羅原娣「**網咖阿嬤**」，她… 會去社區的網咖回收舊報紙、鋁罐、保特瓶等物品… (Source: AS) *Dà-jiā dōu jiào Song-Luo Yuan-Di "**wǎng-kā āmà** 'father/mother's mother'", tā … huì qù shè-qū de wǎng-kā hué-shōu jiù bào-zhǐ, lǚ-guàn, bǎo-tè-píng děng wù-pǐn… (Source: AS)*

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'Everyone calls Song-Luo Yuan-Di "**internet café grandmother**" because she collects bygone newspapers, cans, and PET bottles, etc. in the internet café of the community…' (Source: AS)

- 反對農地被強制徵收的苗栗**大埔阿嬤**朱馮敏，八月三日服農藥身亡… (Source: The Liberty Times)

  *Fǎn-duì nóng-dì bèi qiáng-zhì zhēng-shōu de Miáolì **Dàpǔ āmà 'father/mother's mother'** Zhu Feng-Min, bā yuè sān rì fú nóng-yào shēn-wáng… (Source: The Liberty Times)*

  '*Zhu* Feng-Min, the **Dapu grandmother** who was against the land expropriation in Miaoli, ended her own life by pesticide on 3rd Aug…' (Source: The Liberty Times)

- … 記得前陣子有個**空姐阿嬤**出來溫情喊話，結果現在不知道在哪裡… (Source: PTT)

  *… jì-dé qián-zhèn-zǐ yǒu gè **kōng-jiě āmà 'father/mother's mother'** chū-lái wēn-qíng hǎn-huà, jié-guǒ xiàn-zài bù-zhī-dào zài nǎ-lǐ… (Source: PTT)*

  '… [I] remember there was a **flight attendant grandmother** who said she would be a supporter for free a while ago, but no one knows where she is now…' (Source: PTT)

- … 安排不老溫泉鄉村旅遊假期時，可一併… 參觀「**採茶阿嬤**」採茶菁… (Source: AS)

  *… ān-pái bù-lǎo wēn-quán xiāng-cūn lǚ-yóu jià-qī shí, kě yī-bìng… cān-guān "**cǎi-chá āmà 'father/mother's mother'**" cǎi chá-jīng… (Source: AS)*

  '… while arranging the travel route in the Bulao hot spring village for your holidays, [you] can pay a visit to see the "**tea plucking grandmothers**" harvesting the tea …' (Source: AS)

- 警政署今年春安期間發送全國的預防犯罪宣導海報，內有一幅員警向**原住民老阿嬤**查戶口的照片。(Source: AS)

  *Jǐng-zhèng-shǔ jīn-nián chūn ān qī-jiān fā-sòng quán-guó de yù-fáng fàn-zuè xuān-dǎo hǎi-bào, nèi yǒu yī fú yuán-jǐng xiàng **yuán-zhù-mín lǎo-āmà 'old-father/mother's mother'** chá hù-kǒu de zhào-piàn. (Source: AS)*

  'During the Chun'an period this year, the National Police Agency sent a national crime-prevention propoganda poster, which contained a photo of the police officer visiting an **aborigine old-grandmother** for conducting census.' (Source: AS)

  (The Chun'an refers to the task for maintaining security during Chinese

	New Year)
	• …現在有三十六位義工協助學校，其中大約有十位是**義工爸爸**… (Source: AS) …*xiàn-zài yǒu sān-shí-liù wèi yì-gōng xié-zhù xué-xiào, qí-zhōng dà-yuē yǒu shí wèi shì **yì-gōng bàbà 'father'**… (Source: AS)* '… currently, there are 36 volunteers in the school, in which ten are **volunteer fathers**…' (Source: AS)
	• … 要感恩懿德母姊和**懿德爸爸**們，共同來關懷這些孩子… (Source: AS) … *yào gǎn-ēn yì-dé mǔ jiě hé **yì-dé bàbà 'father'** men, gòng-tóng lái guān-huái zhè-xiē hái-zǐ… (Source: AS)* '… [We] must thank the Yi-de mothers, Yi-de sisters, and the **Yi-de fathers** for taking caring of these children…' (Source: AS)
bàbà (爸爸) 'father'	• 東吳大學合唱團學生並演唱章孝慈生前最喜歡的歌曲… 表達對這位「**東吳爸爸**」的追思。(Source: AS) *Dōng-wú dà-xué hé-chàng-tuán xué-shēng bìng yǎn-chàng Chang Hsiao-Tzu shēng-qián zuì xǐ-huān de gē-qǔ… biǎo-dá duì zhè-wèi「**dōng-wú bàbà 'father'**」de zhuī-sī. (Source: AS)* 'The students of Soochow University Choir also sang Chang Hsiao-Tzu's favorite song… in order to memorialize this "**Dong-Wu Father**"'. (Source: AS) ("Dong-Wu" is the characters of the Chinese name of Soochow University)
	• 基金會昨天特別頒發象徵榮譽義工的「**雞婆爸爸**」領巾給馬英九… (Source: AS) *Jī-jīn-huì zuó-tiān tè-bié bān-fā xiàng-zhēng róng-yù yì-gōng de「**jī-pó bàbà 'father'**」lǐng-jīn gěi Ma Ying-Jeou… (Source: AS)* 'The foundation awarded the scarf of "**nosy father**," which symbolizes an honorary volunteer, to Ma Ying-Jeou specifically yesterday…' (Source: AS)
māmā (媽媽) 'mother'	• … 昨天醫院的**志工媽媽**們特別向小朋友講解如何服務病人。(Source: AS) … *zuó-tiān yī-yuàn de **zhì-gōng māmā 'mother'** men tè-bié xiàng xiǎo-péng-yǒu jiǎng-jiě rú-hé fú-wù bìng-rén. (Source: AS)* '… the **volunteer mothers** in the hospital explained how to serve patients to the children purposely yesterday'. (Source: AS)
	• … 有許多的娼妓，特別是台北市的**公娼媽媽**，在本身的產業裡面享有高度的自主跟選擇的權利。(Source: AS)

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	*... yǒu xǔ-duō de chāng-jì, tè-bié shì Táiběi shì de **gōng-chāng māmā** '**mother,'** zài běn-shēn de chǎn-yè lǐ-miàn xiǎng-yǒu gāo-dù de zì-zhǔ gēn xuǎn-zé de quán-lì. (Source: AS)*
	'... many prostitutes, especially the **licensed prostitute mothers** in Taipei City, have the high degree of autonomy and rights of selection in the industry'. (Source: AS)
	• 再來是由社區媽媽精心製作的營養午餐，有雞腿、豬肉… (Source: AS)
	*Zài lái shì yóu **shè-qū māmā** '**mother'** jīng-xīn zhì-zuò de yíng-yǎng wǔ-cān, yǒu jī-tuǐ, zhū-ròu... (Source: AS)*
	'What comes next is the choicely lunch made by **community mother**. There are chicken leg and pork inside…' (Source: AS)
	• 學生們都非常喜歡慈濟媽媽，因為她們了解這些學生要做些什麼，了解他們的心… (Source: AS)
	*Xué-shēng men dōu fēi-cháng xǐ-huān **cí-jì māmā** '**mother,'** yīn-wèi tā-men liǎo-jiě zhè-xiē xué-shēng yào zuò xiē shé-me, liǎo-jiě tā-men de xīn… (Source: AS)*
	'Students do like **Tzu-Chi mothers** very much because they understand the needs and feelings of these students...' (Source: AS)
	• 由於點名的人大都是中老年的女性教職員，所以學生都稱他們為「點名媽媽」。(Source: AS)
	*Yóu-yú diǎn-míng de rén dà-dōu-shì zhōng-lǎo-nián de nǚ-xìng jiāo-zhí-yuán, suǒ-yǐ xué-shēng dōu chēng tā-men wéi "**diǎn-míng māmā** '**mother'**". (Source: AS)*
	'Since most people do the roll call are middle-aged or senior female teachers and staffs, students always call them "**roll call mothers**"'. (Source: AS)
bófù (伯父) 'father's elder brother'	N/A
bóbó (伯伯) 'father's elder brother'	• 只要今年校長伯伯、院長叔叔們點點頭，八十五學年度起，就會有三年就畢業的大學生了。(Source: AS)
	*Zhī-yào jīn-nián **xiào-zhǎng bóbó** '**father's elder brother,'** yuàn-zhǎng shúshú men diǎn-diǎn-tóu, bā-shí-wǔ xué-nián dù qǐ, jiù huì yǒu sān nián jiù bì-yè de dà-xué-shēng le. (Source: AS)*
	'As long as the **principal uncle (father's elder brother)** and dean uncles (father's younger brother) agree, students will be able to graduate within three years from the academic year of 1996'. (Source: AS)

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	• … 兩人之間的空氣微妙的凝結了起來。連旁邊的**工友伯伯**都笑了。 (Source: PTT)
	*… liǎng rén zhī-jiān de kōng-qì wéi-miào de níng-jié le qǐ-lái. Lián páng-biān de **gōng-yǒu bóbó 'father's elder brother'** dōu xiào le.* (Source: PTT)
	'... the atmosphere between the two people is subtly condensed, makes the **janitor uncle** nearby laughs'. (Source: PTT)
	• 他來了，那熟悉且叫我癡等數夜難眠的**麥芽糖伯伯**緩緩走來。 (Source: AS)
	*Tā lái le, nà shú-xī qiě jiào wǒ chī-děng shù yè nán-mián de **mài-yá-táng bóbó 'father's elder brother'** huǎn-huǎn zǒu-lái. (Source: AS)*
	'He has finally come; such a familiar figure of **malt sugar uncle** that I have anguishly waited for nights, slowly walks towards me'. (Source: AS)
	• 這位**哈薩克伯伯**，以為漢人都是強盜壞人。(Source: AS)
	*Zhè wèi **hā-sà-kè bóbó 'father's elder brother,'** yǐ-wéi hàn-rén dōu-shì qiáng-dào huài-rén. (Source: AS)*
	'This **Kazakh uncle** thinks that all Han people are robbers and bad guys'. (Source: AS)
	• 好像有個 **KMT 伯伯**（正統藍）也很會玩臉書。(Source: PTT)
	*Hǎo-xiàng yǒu gè **KMT bóbó 'father's elder brother'** (zhèng-tǒng lán) yě hěn huì wán liǎn-shū. (Source: PTT)*
	'There seems to be a **KMT uncle** (pure blue), who is an expert of using Facebook'. (Source: PTT)
	(Pure blue refers to a kind of political stance towards the Kuomintang (KMT, aka the Chinese Nationalist Party))
āpeh (阿伯) 'father's elder brother'	• 人家**肌肉阿伯**勸架不理就算了，還打人家，自討苦吃… (Source: PTT)
	*Rén-jiā **jī-ròu āpeh 'father's elder brother'** quàn-jià bù-lǐ jiù suàn le, hái dǎ rén-jiā, zì-tǎo-kǔ-chī… (Source: PTT)*
	'*It* is fine you do not take the persuasion of the **muscle uncle**, but to fight with him instead is shoot yourself in the foot…' (Source: PTT)
	• **舞棍阿伯**跟 Carles Puyol 也很像！(Source: PTT)
	***Wǔ-gùn āpeh 'father's elder brother'** gēn Carles Puyol yě hěn xiàng! (Source: PTT)*
	'The **dancing king uncle** looks like Carles Puyol very much!' (Source: PTT)
	(Carles Puyol is a retired Spanish footballer)

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	• 住在租的房子一年後，發現房間另一個日光燈管不會亮，請**水電工阿伯**來修… (Source: PTT) *Zhù zài zū de fáng-zǐ yī nián hòu, fā-xiàn fáng-jiān lìng yī gè rì-guāng-dēng-guǎn bù huè liàng, qǐng **shuě-diàn-gōng āpeh 'father's elder brother'** lái xiū... (Source: PTT)* 'After living in the rented house for one year, [I] find that a daylight fluorescent lamtube in the room does not work, so [I] ask the **handyman uncle** to have a look at it…' (Source: PTT) • 這位外表看似肯德基上校的**慈祥阿伯**，玩德州撲克輸到脫褲，竟痛譙發牌的荷官！(Source: PTT) *Zhè wèi wài-biǎo kàn sì kěndéjī shàng-xiào de **cí-xiáng āpeh 'father's elder brother'**, wán Dézhōu pū-kè shū dào tuō-kù, jìng tòng-qiáo fā-pái de hé-guān! (Source: PTT)* 'This **kind uncle** who looks like Kentucky Colonel strongly blames the dealer for letting him be whitewashed in the Texas hold'em game!' (Source: PTT)
bómǔ (伯母) 'wife of father's elder brother'	N/A
shúshú (叔叔) 'father's younger brother'	• 為了讓大家能重視臺灣特有的野鳥，身材矮小的**大鬍子叔叔**劉燕明，幾乎踏遍了臺灣山林到處獵取鏡頭… (Source: AS) *Wèi-le ràng dà-jiā néng zhòng-shì Táiwān tè-yǒu de yě-niǎo, shēn-cái ǎi-xiǎo de **dà-hú-zǐ shúshú 'father's younger brother'** Liu Yen-Ming, jǐ-hū tà biàn le Táiwān shān-lín dào-chù liè-qǔ jìng-tóu... (Source: AS)* 'In order to have everyone pays attention to the endemic species of wild birds in Taiwan, Liu Yen-Ming, the **bearded uncle** who is short in statue, has almost traveled all over the mountains and forests in Taiwan to capture the images...' (Source: AS) • 那**工人叔叔**身上很髒，要多唸書才不會[跟他一樣]… (Source: PTT) *Nà **gōng-rén shúshú 'father's younger brother'** shēn-shàng hěn zāng, yào duō niàn-shū cái bù-huì [gēn tā yī-yàng]... (Source: PTT)* 'The **worker uncle** looks so dirty and [you] must study hard to avoid [becoming like him] ...' (Source: PTT) • 吃過量的甜食還是會蛀牙牙的，到時候去看牙醫會被**牙醫叔叔**罵罵… (Source: PTT) *Chī guò-liàng de tián-shí hái-shì huì zhù-yá-yá de, dào-shí-hòu qù kàn yá-yī huì bèi **yá-yī shúshú 'father's younger brother'** mà-mà... (Source: PTT)*

'Excessive indulgence of sweets will result in a tooth cavity, when [you] go to see the doctor, the **dentist uncle** will scold [you]...' (Source: PTT)

- ...通車族的小嫻，最怕在公車上遇到愛在她背後磨蹭的**怪叔叔**... (Source: AS)

  *...tōng-chē-zú de Xiao-Xian, zuì pà zài gōng-chē shàng yù-dào ài zài tā bèi-hòu mó-cèng de **guài shúshú 'father's younger brother'** ... (Source: AS)*

  '... being a commuter, Xiao-Xian is most frightened by the **strange uncle** on the bus, who likes to rub against her in the back...' (Source: AS)

- … 昨天下午恢復收廢紙，小朋友又可把囤積的廢紙賣給**拾荒叔叔**了。(Source: AS)

  *... zuó-tiān xià-wǔ huī-fù shōu fèi-zhǐ, xiǎo-péng-yǒu yòu kě bǎ tún-jī de fèi-zhǐ mài gěi **shí-huāng shúshú 'father's younger brother'** le. (Source: AS)*

  '... the collection work of used papers is restarted from yesterday afternoon, children can sell the accumulated used papers to the **scavenger uncle** again'. (Source: AS)

yímā (姨媽) 'mother's elder/younger sister'	N/A
	護士阿姨全天候的坐鎮在健康中心為我們服務… (Source: AS) *Hù-shì āyí 'mother's elder/younger sister'* quán-tiān-hòu de zuò-zhèn zài jiàn-kāng zhōng-xīn wèi wǒ-men fú-wù… (Source: AS) 'The **nurse aunt** is on duty continuously at the health center for taking care of us...' (Source: AS) - 晚上去一家旅行箱店，走進去之後，聽到一個目測大概五十多歲以上的**路人阿姨**跟店員的對話。(Source: PTT)
āyí (阿姨) 'mother's elder/younger sister'	*Wǎn-shàng qù yī jiā lǚ-xíng-xiāng-diàn, zǒu jìn-qù zhī-hòu, tīng-dào yī gè mù-cè dà-gài wǔ-shí duō suì yǐ-shàng de **lù-rén āyí 'mother's elder/younger sister'** gēn diàn-yuán de duì-huà. (Source: PTT)* 'After entering the suitcase store in the evening, [I] heard a conversation between the staff and a **passerby aunt**, whose age looks like more than 50 years old'. (Source: PTT) • 人如果長得難看，連**早餐店阿姨**都不肯叫你帥哥。(Source: PTT) *Rén rú-guǒ zhǎng dé nán-kàn, lián **zǎo-cān-diàn āyí 'mother's elder/younger sister'** dōu bù-kěn jiào nǐ shuài gē. (Source: PTT)* 'If you look ugly, even the **breakfast store aunt** would not call you

handsome brother'. (Source: PTT)

- 朋友自以為好玩… 有次讓**原住民阿姨**覺得在諷刺 她… (Source: PTT)

  *Péng-yǒu zì-yǐ-wéi hǎo-wán… yǒu-cì ràng **yuán-zhù-mín āyí 'mother's elder/younger sister'** jué-dé zài fěng-cì tā… (Source: PTT)*

  '[My] friend thought it is funny... but for once, an **aborigine aunt** felt she was mocked...' (Source: PTT)

- … 管他來者老少胖瘦美醜，他一律叫漂亮姊姊或是**美麗阿姨**，所以他總有拿不完的餅乾糖果零食… (Source: AS)

  *… guǎn-tā lái-zhě lǎo shào pàng shòu měi chǒu, tā yī-lǜ jiào piāo-liàng jiějiě huò-shì **měi-lì āyí 'mother's elder/younger sister,'** suǒ-yǐ tā zǒng yǒu ná bù wán de bǐng-gān táng-guǒ líng-shí… (Source: AS)*

  '... he always calls the hearers pretty sisters or **beautiful aunts** no matter whether they are old or young, fat or slim, beautiful or ugly, so he always gets a lot of cookies, candy, and snacks...' (Source: AS)

	- 警員蔡明儒… 將警帽戴在女童頭上說，「… 如果被欺負就說你有一個**警察哥哥**。」(Source: Chinatimes) *Jǐng-yuán Cai Ming-Ru… jiāng jǐng-mào dài zài nǚ-tóng tóu-shàng shuō,「… rú-guǒ bèi qī-fù jiù shuō nǐ yǒu yī gè **jǐng-chá gēgē 'elder brother'**」. (Source: Chinatimes)* 'The police officer Cai Ming-Ru... put a police cap on the girl's head and said, "... if anyone bullies you, tell that person you have a **police brother**'. (Source: Chinatimes)
gēgē (哥哥) 'elder brother'	- … 在今天的香港，要激發我們的**學生哥哥**、學生姊姊拿出慕道的精神，正襟危坐的去修練語文… (Source: AS) *… zài jīn-tiān de Xiānggǎng, yào jī-fā wǒ-men de **xué-shēng gēgē 'elder brother,'** xué-shēng jiějiě ná-chū mù-dào de jīng-shén, zhèng-jīn wéi-zuò de qù xiū-liàn yǔ-wén… (Source: AS)* '... in today's Hong Kong, it is necessary to inspire our **student brothers** and student sisters to practice language seriously, with the spirit of Catechesis...' (Source: AS)
	- **光頭哥哥**模仿 12 生肖叫聲… 真的快笑死… (Source: PTT) ***Guāng-tóu gēgē 'elder brother'** mó-fǎng 12 shēng-xiāo jiào-shēng… zhēn-de kuài xiào sǐ… (Source: PTT)* 'The **bald head brother** imitates the braying sounds of the Chinese Zodiac animals... that is hilarious...' (Source: PTT)
dìdì (弟弟) 'younger brother'	- 看了車上小胖的行為，其實小胖愛的是**平頭弟弟**吧？(Source: PTT) *Kàn le chē shàng xiǎo pàng de xíng-wéi, qí-shí xiǎo pàng ài de shì*

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píng-tóu dìdì 'younger brother' ba? (Source: PTT)

'Observing the chubby's behavior in the car; it seems that the chubby actually likes the **crew cut brother**'. (Source: PTT)

- 這幾天到（原文如此）單獨到花蓮旅行，在背包客棧遇到一個花蓮當地大學的**大學生弟弟**… (Source: PTT)

*Zhè jǐ-tiān dān-dú dào huā-lián lǚ-xíng, zài bèi-bāo kè-zhàn yù-dào yī-gè huā-lián dāng-dì dà-xué de **dà-xué-shēng dìdì 'younger brother'**… (Source: PTT)*

'While traveling alone in Hualien in these few days, [I] met a **university brother** from local university at the backpacker hostel...' (Source: PTT)

	- … 有時候還會遇到大辣辣地傳播妹，奶子比頭大的**人妖姊姊**… (Source: PTT) *… yǒu-shí-hòu hái-huì yù-dào dà-là-là-dì chuán-bō mèi, nǎi-zǐ bǐ tóu dà de **rén-yāo jiějiě 'elder sister'**… (Source: PTT)* '... sometimes [you] will meet **communication sister** with casual behavior and **shemale sister**, whose tits are bigger than her head...' (Source: PTT) - 誰最適合演**麥當勞姊姊**？(Source: PTT) *Shéi zuì shì-hé yěn **Màidāngláo jiějiě 'elder sister'**? (Source: PTT)* 'Who is the most suitable one for playing the **McDonald sister**?' (Source: PTT) - 開訓當天，除了簡介圖書館、認識**圖書館大姊姊**外，還進行猜謎及分組競賽。(Source: AS)
jiějiě (姊姊) 'elder sister'	*Kāi-xùn dāng-tiān, chú-le jiǎn-jiè tú-shū-guǎn, rèn-shì **tú-shū-guǎn dà-jiějiě 'big-elder sister'** wài, hái jìn-xíng cāi-mí jí fēn-zǔ jìng-sài. (Source: AS)* 'On the opening of training, not only the library and the **library big-sister** were introduced, some riddles and group games are also played'. (Source: AS) - … 管他來者老少胖瘦美醜，他一律叫**漂亮姊姊**或是美麗阿姨，所以他總有拿不完的餅乾糖果零食… (Source: AS) *… guǎn-tā lái-zhě lǎo-shǎo pang-shòu měi-chǒu, tā yī-lǜ jiào **piāo-liàng jiějiě 'elder sister'** huò-shì měi-lì āyí, suǒ-yǐ tā zǒng-yǒu ná bù-wán de bǐng-gān táng-guǒ líng-shí… (Source: AS)* '... he always calls the hearers pretty sisters or **beautiful aunts** no matter whether they are old or young, fat or slim, beautiful or ugly, so he always gets a lot of cookies, candy, and snacks...' (Source: AS) - … 陶晶瑩年輕[的時候]真的很正阿，就那種**鄰家大姊姊**的親切。

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… Tao Ching-Ying nián-qīng [de shí-hòu] zhēn-de hěn zhèng ā, jiù

*nà-zhǒng **lín-jiā dà-jiějiě 'big-elder sister'** de qīn-qiē. (Source: PTT)*

'... Tao Ching-Ying is really beautiful while she was young, and she

looks kind like a **neighbor big-sister**'. (Source: PTT)

	• … 少年遇到煩惱、困擾會主動找**少輔姐姐**討論… (Source: AS)
	*… shào-nián yù-dào fán-nǎo, kùn-rǎo huì zhǔ-dòng zhǎo **shào-fǔ jiějiě***
	***'elder sister'** tǎo-lùn… (Source: AS)*
	'... teenagers will discuss about their worry or confusion with **youth**
	counseling sister proactively...' (Source:　AS)
	• …這個**記者姐姐**我喜番 (i.e., 喜歡)。(Source: PTT)
	*…zhè gè **jì-zhě jiějiě 'elder sister'** wǒ xǐ-huān. (Source: PTT)*
	'... I like this **journalist sister**'. (Source: PTT)
	• 那天有個**高雄姐姐**帶兩個 15 歲孩子來看姐姐 (媽媽)，說他兒子覺
	得我很好笑，讓我好感動。(Source: PTT)
	*Nà tiān yǒu gè **Gāoxióng jiějiě 'elder sister'** dài liǎng gè 15 suì hái-zǐ*
	lái kàn jiějiě (māmā), shuō tā érzǐ jué-dé wǒ hěn hǎo-xiào, ràng wǒ hǎo
	gǎn-dòng. (Source: PTT)
jiějiě (姐姐)	'One day, a **Kaohsiung sister** came to visit the sister (i.e., my mother)
'elder sister'	with her two 15-year-old children, saying that her son thinks that I am
	very funny, this is so touching for me'. (Source: PTT)
	• … 我朋友… 錄了一段向**法拉利姐姐**致敬的 cover 影片… (Source:
	PTT)
	*… wǒ péng-yǒu… lù le yī-duàn xiàng **Fǎlālì jiějiě 'elder sister'** zhì-jìng*
	de cover yǐng-piàn… (Source: PTT)
	'... my friend... filmed a cover video clip to pay tribute to the **Ferrari**
	sister...' (Source: PTT)
	(Ferrari sister is the female who said a nice car of a beauty should not be
	scratched after her Ferrari was scratched by someone)
	• 北門路那間… 店員都是很正的**辣姐姐**，而且都不給殺價… (Source:
	PTT)
	*Běi-mén lù nà jiān… diàn-yuán dōu-shì hěn zhèng de **là jiějiě 'elder***
	***sister,'** ér-qiě dōu bù-gěi shā-jià… (Source: PTT)*
	'The store on Beimen Road... the staffs are all perfect **hot sisters**, and to
	bargain with them is impossible...' (Source: PTT)
mèimèi (妹妹)	• 我今天在 4 號公園聽到**高中妹妹**啦啦隊隊歌，居然是年輕不要留
'younger sister'	白… (Source: PTT)
	*Wǒ jīn-tiān zài 4 hào gōng-yuán tīng-dào **gāo-zhōng mèimèi 'younger***

sister' *lā-lā-duì duì-gē, jū-rán shì nián-qīng bù-yào liú-bái… (Source: PTT)*

'Today I heard a cheerleading song of **high school sisters** at the No. 4 park, to my surprise, that song is "Make the most of your youth"...' (Source: PTT)

- … 我買個一個禮拜[的東西]，**店員妹妹**就找我聊天了。(Source: PTT)

  … wǒ mǎi gè yī gè lǐ-bài [de dōng-xī], diàn-yuán mèimèi 'younger sister' jiù zhǎo wǒ liáo-tiān le. (Source: PTT)

  '... the **store staff sister** starts talking to me after I bought [things from the store] for a week'. (Source: PTT)

- 你要先確定那個**中文系妹妹**聽得懂。(Source: PTT)

  Nǐ yào xiān què-dìng nà gè zhōng-wén-xì mèimèi 'younger sister' tīng dé dǒng. (Source: PTT)

  'First, you have to make sure that the **Chinese Literature Department sister** understands what you say'. (Source: PTT)

- [俄國遠東地區]比北海道還冷，只能找**俄羅斯妹妹**取暖。(Source: PTT)

  [Éguó yuǎn-dōng dì-qū] bǐ Běihǎidào hái lěng, zhī-néng zhǎo Éluósī mèimèi 'younger sister' qǔ-nuǎn. (Source: PTT)

  '[The Russian Far East] is even colder than Hokkaido, and [I] can only look for **Russian sisters** to give [me] warmth'. (Source: PTT)

- … 警報鈴就在**超誠實小妹妹**頭上，但真的很不顯眼… (Source: PTT)

  … jǐng-bào-líng jiù-zài chāo-chéng-shí xiǎo-mèimèi 'little-younger sister' tóu-shàng, dàn zhēn-de hěn bù xiǎn-yǎn… (Source: PTT)

  '... the alarm bell is right above the **super honest little-sister**, but it is really inconspicuous...' (Source: PTT)

érzǐ (兒子) 'son'	N/A

VIII. Language Materials of Generalized Monosyllabic Kinship Term (Metonymic Theme Preceded)

Kinship Term	Metonymic Theme-Kinship Terms
fù (父) 'father'	…老師也稱「**師父**」（亦師亦父），師生都已經「擬親人」了。(Source: AS) *…lǎo-shī yě chēng "**shī fù 'father'**" (yì shī yì fù), shī-shēng dōu yǐ-jīng "nǐ qīn-rén" le. (Source: AS)* '... teacher is also referred to the **teacher father** (a father-like teacher), which defines the relationship of pseudo-relative between the teacher and the student'. (Source: AS)
bó (伯) 'father's elder brother'	• 他一來不畏懼社會上「敬老尊賢」的道德訓誡，直接攻擊那些… 熱中於「詩翁**詩伯**」頭銜的人… (Source: AS) *Tā yī lái bù wèi-jù shè-huì shàng ⌈jìng-lǎo-zūn-xián⌋ de dào-dé xùn-jiè, zhí-jiē gōng-jí nà xiē… rè-zhōng yú ⌈shī wēng **shī bó 'father's elder brother'**⌋ tóu-xián de rén… (Source: AS)* 'He does not care the moral admonition of "respecting old people and the sages" of the society and directly attacks those pursuing the title of poet elder or **poet uncle**...' (Source: AS) • **肚臍伯**已經夠 QQ 了，拜託留給他一條生路吧。(Source: PTT) ***Dù-qí bó 'father's elder brother'** yǐ-jīng gòu QQ le, bài-tuō liú gěi tā yī tiáo shēng-lù ba. (Source: PTT)* 'The **navel uncle** has already suffered enough, please give him a break'. (Source: PTT) (The navel uncle refers to *Chen Yen-Bo*, a councilor of Taipei City Council, who asked the mayor of Taipei City how to say "navel" in English) • … 那個**大阪老伯**講的話為什麼用卡通內容帶過？(Source: PTT) *… nà gè **Dàbǎn lǎo-bó 'father's elder brother'** jiǎng de huà wèi-shé-me yòng kǎ-tōng nèi-róng dài guò? (Source: PTT)* '... why are the words of that **Osaka old-uncle** presented as cartoon?' (Source: PTT) • 那位**日本老伯**的歌實在太洗腦… (Source: PTT) *Nà wèi **Rìběn lǎo-bó 'father's elder brother'** de gē shí zài tài xǐ-nǎo… (Source: PTT)* 'The song of that **Japan old-uncle** is simply too viral...' (Source: PTT) • 王金平自稱**公道伯**。(Source: PTT) *Wang Jin-Pyng zì-chēng **gōng-dào bó 'father's elder brother'**. (Source: PTT)*

	'Wang Jin-Ping calls himself the **moderate uncle**'. (Source: PTT)
shú (叔) 'father's younger brother'	• 今天去買手搖杯… 突然來了[個]**中年大叔**，一次買了 20 杯… (Source: PTT) *Jīn-tiān qù mǎi shǒu-yáo-bēi… tū-rán lái le [gè] **zhōng-nián dà-shú 'big-father's younger brother,'** yī-cì mǎi le 20 bēi… (Source: PTT)* 'Today, when I was buying a handmade drink... a **mid-aged big-uncle** suddenly came and bought 20 cups of drinks...' (Source: PTT) • 一個超會學小朋友講話的**英國大叔**… 常常打電話各種惡作劇… (Source: PTT) *Yī gè chāo huì xué xiǎo-péng-yǒu jiǎng-huà de **Yīngguó dà-shú 'big-father's younger brother'**… cháng-cháng dǎ diàn-huà gè-zhǒng è-zuò-jù… (Source: PTT)* 'A **British big-uncle** who is very good at imitating children speech… [he] often calls others for pranking...' (Source: PTT) • **液壓機大叔**的幽默台詞和濃厚芬蘭腔，受到廣大網友喜愛… (Source: PTT) *Yè-yā-jī dà-shú **'big-father's younger brother'** de yōu-mò tái-cí hé nóng-hòu Fēnlán qiāng, shòu-dào guǎng-dà wǎng-yǒu xǐ-ài… (Source: PTT)* 'The humorous words and Finnish accent of the **hydraulic press big-uncle** are popular with vast netizens...' (Source: PTT) • … 身為一個已過 30 的**工程師大叔**，做影片的時間越來越少哩… (Source: PTT) *… shēn-wéi yī gè yǐ guò 30 de **gōng-chéng-shī dà-shú 'big-father's younger brother,'** zuò yǐng-piàn de shí-jiān yuè-lái-yuè shǎo lǐ… (Source: PTT)* '... as an **engineer big-uncle** of more than 30 years old, the time for making videos is less and less [for me] ...' (Source: PTT) • 55 歲的柳田穿著自備的白色科學家袍，一派**溫和大叔**的模樣… (Source: PTT) *55 suì de Liǔtián chuān-zhe zì-bèi de bái-sè kē-xué-jiā páo, yī-pài **wēn-hé dà-shú 'big-father's younger brother'** de mó-yàng… (Source: PTT)* 'The 55-year-old Yanagita wears the laboratory coat he prepared for himself, he looks like a **gentle big-uncle**...' (Source: PTT)
shěn (嬸) 'wife of father's younger brother'	• 原來是… 香港團也在樓下等電梯… 看著**香港大嬸**一人手提 2、3 袋土產… (Source: PTT) *Yuán-lái shì… Xiānggǎng tuán yě zài lóu-xià děng diàn-tī… kàn zhe*

Xiānggǎng dà-shěn 'big-wife of father's younger brother' *yī-rén shǒu tí 2, 3 dài tǔ-chǎn… (Source: PTT)*

'So... a group of Hong Kong tourists is waiting for the elevator downstairs too... I see each **Hong Kong big-aunt** carries 2 to 3 bags of local speciality in her hands...' (Source: PTT)

- 事情就發生在剛剛。所有當事人都還在車上… 老阿嬤… **路人大嬸**、路人好心男，所有人互不認識… (Source: PTT)

*Shì-qíng jiù fā-shēng zài gāng-gāng. Suǒ-yǒu dāng-shì-rén dōu hái zài chē shàng… lǎo-āmà… **lù-rén dà-shěn 'big-wife of father's younger brother,'** lù-rén hǎo-xīn nán, suǒ-yǒu rén hù bù rèn-shì… (Source: PTT)*

'The incident has just happened. 'Everyone involved is still in the car... the old granny, the **passerby aunt**, and the kind male passerby, they do not know each other...' (Source: PTT)

- 有夠髒的… 這篇文章有**口交嬸**的畫面。(Source: PTT)

*Yǒu-gòu zāng de… zhè piān wén-zhāng yǒu **kǒu-jiāo shěn 'wife of father's younger brother'** de huà-miàn. (Source: PTT)*

'It is really disgusting... this article contains the image of the **oral sex aunt**'. (Source: PTT)

- **理髮大嬸**事不關己地掏著耳朵，用眼睛示意我可以滾了。(Source: PTT)

Lǐ-fà dà-shěn 'big-wife of father's younger brother' *shì-bù-guān-jǐ dì tāo zhe ěr-duō, yòng yěn-jīng shì-yì wǒ kě-yǐ gǔn le. (Source: PTT)*

'The **haircut aunt** picks her ears and disregards [my business], she implies that I should go now by her eye movement'. (Source: PTT)

yí (姨) 'mother's elder/younger sister'	1 名反同婚女子以模擬口交的手勢挑釁挺同陣營，被網友封為「口交姨」。(Source: The Liberty Times) *1 míng fǎn-tóng-hūn nǚ-zǐ yǐ mó-nǐ kǒu-jiāo de shǒu-shì tiāo-xìn tǐng-tóng zhèn-yíng, bèi wǎng-yǒu fēng wéi "**kǒu-jiāo yí 'mother's elder/younger sister'**". (Source: The Liberty Times)* 'A woman who is against homosexual marriage imitated the gesture of blow job for aggravating the homosexual advocates, she has been granted the title of **oral sex aunt**'. (Source: The Liberty Times)
xiōng (兄) 'elder brother'	- … 各位 **30 公分兄**，H 罩杯姊，遇到這情況… (Source: PTT) *… gè-wèi 30 gōng-fēn xiōng 'elder brother', H zhào-bēi jiě, yù-dào zhè qíng-kuàng… (Source: PTT)* '... Every **30-cm brother** and H-cup sister, if you are in this situation…' (Source: PTT) (30-cm brother refers to a male who has a 30-cm-long penis)

	• … 先說一個最經典的角色**殺手兄**小林，在龍騰四海這部電影裡面，他演一個… (Source: PTT) *… xiān shuō yī gè zuì jīng-diǎn de jiǎo-sè **shā-shǒu xiōng 'elder brother'** xiǎo-Lin, zài lóng-téng sì-hǎi zhè bù diàn-yǐng lǐ-miàn, tā yǎn yī gè... (Source: PTT)* '... let us talk about the most classic character- the **assassin brother** little-Lin first, in the movie "Gun n'Rose", who is a...' (Source: PTT) • … 好心的**鍋爐兄**則是幫我們送上熱呼呼的烤爐… (Source: PTT) *… hǎo-xīn de **guō-lú xiōng 'elder brother'** zé shì bāng wǒ-men sòng shàng rè-hū-hū de kǎo-lú... (Source: PTT)* '... the kind **boiler brother** delivers us a nice hot oven...' (Source: PTT) • **司機老兄**接著侃侃而談；他說他是義警，曾經兼負線民任務… (Source: AS) ***Sī-jī lǎo-xiōng 'old-elder brother'** jiē-zhe kǎn-kǎn-ér-tán; tā shuō tā shì yì-jǐng, céng-jīng jiān fù xiàn-mín rèn-wù... (Source: AS)* 'The **driver old-brother** continued [his talk], he said he was a volunteer police and even an informer...' (Source: AS) • ... 4990 的定價實在太高，我是**收網兄**，二手品 3000 就還能接受… (Source: PTT) *... 4990 de dìng-jià shí-zài tài gāo, wǒ shì **shōu-wǎng xiōng 'elder brother,'** èr-shǒu pǐn 3000 jiù hái néng jiē-shòu... (Source: PTT)* '... the price of 4990 is too expensive, I am a **haul-the-net brother** and [I think] a price of 3000 is acceptable for a used item...' (Source: PTT) (Haul-the-net brother refers to a person who collects things)
gē (哥) 'elder brother'	• 小妹其實很好奇，會自稱**小妹哥**的人到底是裝小妹的肥宅，還是自稱哥的小妹啊，好有想像空間… (Source: PTT) *Xiǎo-mèi qí-shí hěn hǎo-qí, huì zì-chēng **xiǎo-mèi gē 'elder brother'** de rén dào-dǐ shì zhuāng xiǎo-mèi de féi-zhái, hái-shì zì-chēng gē de xiǎo-mèi ā, hǎo yǒu xiǎng-xiàng kōng-jiān… (Source: PTT)* 'Little-sister (i.e., I) am very curious about that for someone who uses the term **little-sister brother** for self, is this person a fat nerd who pretends to be a little-sister, or this person is a little-sister who refers to herself brother? There is full of various imagination...' (Source: PTT) • 前幾天上課太無聊，跟一個**建中哥**聊到… 他們班上以前人人都愛的文字笑話… (Source: PTT) *Qián jǐ tiān shàng-kè tài wú-liáo, gēn yī gè **jiàn-zhōng gē 'elder brother'** liáo dào… tā-men bān shàng yǐ-qián rén-rén dōu ài de wén-zì xiào-huà… (Source: PTT)*

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'It was very boring in the class few days ago, so [I] talked to a **Jianguo High brother**... [he] mentioned there is a popular wordplay everyone loved before...' (Source: PTT)

(Jianguo High refers to the Taipei Municipal Jianguo High School)

- 臉書上近日瘋傳一段「**正義哥**糾正女子亂丟垃圾」影片… (Source: ETtoday)

  *Liǎn-shū shàng jìn-rì fēng-chuán yī duàn「**zhèng-yì gē** 'elder brother' jiū-zhèng nǔ-zǐ luàn-diū lē-sè」yǐng-piàn… (Source: ETtoday)*

  'Recently, there is a video of "the **justice brother** stops a female littering garbage casually" spread on Facebook...' (Source: ETtoday)

- … 在台灣的**幫派大哥**中，很少有像陳啟禮這樣受到注視和爭議的。 (Source: AS)

  *… zài Táiwān de **bāng-pài dà-gē** 'big-elder brother' zhōng, hěn shǎo yǒu xiàng Chen Chi-Li zhè-yàng shòu-dào zhù-shì hé zhēng-yì de. (Source: AS)*

  '... among the **gang brothers** in Taiwan, there are few [people] like Chen Chi-Li, who is paid attention so much and is accompanied with controversy'. (Source: AS)

- 逢甲商圈**搭訕哥**偷拍辣妹 po 網，毒舌批判對方男伴… (Source: PTT)

  *Féng-jiǎ shāng-quān **dā-shàn gē** 'elder brother' tōu-pāi là mèi po wǎng, dú-shé pī-pàn duì-fāng nán-bàn… (Source: PTT)*

  'The **accosting brother** in Fengjia shopping town took photos of hot girls secretly and posted on the web, he also ridiculed their male partners...' (Source: PTT)

sǎo (嫂) 'wife of elder brother'	- 愛之深，責之切？**酷酷嫂**請別再酸馬英九了！(Source: TVBS News) *Ài-zhī-shēn, zé-zhī-qiē? **Kù-kù sǎo** 'wife of elder brother' qǐng bié zài suān Ma Ying-Jeou le! (Source: TVBS News)* 'Love well, whip well? **Cool-cool aunt**, please do not ridicule Ma Ying-Jeou anymore!' (Source: TVBS News) …盡管不乏人說媒、介紹，迄今仍無法造就一個**養豬嫂**，阿郎仍是孤家寡人一個… (Source: AS) *…jìn-guǎn bù fá rén shuō-méi, jiè-shào, qì-jīn réng wú-fǎ zào-jiù yī gè **yǎng-zhū sǎo** 'wife of elder brother,' A-Lang réng shì gū-jiā-guǎ-rén yī gè… (Source: AS)* '... despite there is no shortage of matchmaking, it is still not succeed to marry a **hog-raising aunt**, A-Lang remains a bachelor...' (Source: AS)
dì (弟) 'younger brother'	… [我]看到一個學生妹跟一個**學生弟**穿著制服坐在店內交談。 (Source: PTT)

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... *[wǒ] kàn-dào yī gè xué-shēng mèi gēn yī gè **xué-shēng dì 'younger brother'** chuān-zhe zhì-fú zuò zài diàn nèi jiāo-tán. (Source: PTT)*

'... [I] saw a student sister and a **student brother** in uniform sat and talked to each other in the store'. (Source: PTT)

- [他的]位子旁邊總是放很多罐子，所以叫罐子哥，D 同學則是因為長相神似罐子哥， 就叫他**罐子弟**… (Source: PTT)

  *[Tā de] wèi-zǐ páng-biān zǒng-shì fàng hěn duō guàn-zǐ, suǒ-yǐ jiào guàn-zǐ gē, D tóng-xué zé-shì yīn-wèi zhǎng-xiàng shén-sì guàn-zǐ gē, jiù jiào tā **guàn-zǐ dì 'younger brother'**... (Source: PTT)*

  'There are always so many cans next to [his] seat, so he is called can brother (elder); while student D is called **can brother (younger)** because his appearance looks like can brother (elder)...' (Source: PTT)

- … 好像是記者因為一件事情訪問一個**眼鏡小弟**的看法… (Source: PTT)

  *… hǎo-xiàng shì jì-zhě yīn-wèi yī jiàn shì-qíng fǎng-wèn yī gè **yěn-jìng xiǎo-dì 'little-younger brother'** de kàn-fǎ... (Source: PTT)*

  '... it seems that the reporter interviewed the **glasses little-brother** for his opinion on a matter...' (Source: PTT)

- … 5 歲的**加拿大小弟** Jordan Bijan 要教大家怎樣在 30 秒內寫出嘻哈歌曲。(Source: PTT)

  *… 5 suì de **Jiānádà xiǎo-dì 'little-younger brother'** Jordan Bijan yào jiāo dà-jiā zěn-yàng zài 30 miǎo nèi xiě chū xī-hā gē-qǔ. (Source: PTT)*

  '... Jordan Bijan, the 5-year-old **Canada little-brother**, wants to teach everyone how to compose a hip-hop in 30 seconds'. (Source: PTT)

- … 在路邊等小黃來載她，等的過程[中]旅館**泊車小弟**上前跟她聊幾句… (Source: PTT)

  *… zài lù-biān děng xiǎo-huáng lái zǎi tā, děng de guò-chéng [zhōng] lǚ-guǎn **bó-chē xiǎo-dì 'little-younger brother'** shàng-qián gēn tā liáo jǐ jù… (Source: PTT)*

  '... while waiting for the cab on the roadside, the **valet brother** of the hotel walked towards her and chatted with her...' (Source: PTT)

jiě (姊) 'elder sister'	- 嚐出哈密瓜有一種哈味的...「**哈味姊**」… 在高鐵被民眾捕獲… (Source: PTT) *Cháng-chū hā-mì-guā yǒu yī-zhǒng hā wèi de... 「**hā-wèi jiě 'elder sister'**」… zài gāo-tiě bèi mín-zhòng bǔ-huò… (Source: PTT)* '**Ha-smell sister,** who found the 'ha' smell in cantaloupes, was seen in a high-speed train station…' (Source: PTT) (Ha-smell sister is the female who thinks there is a 'ha' smell in

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hamigua--- the word 'cantaloupes' in Chinese)

- 日前有手機廠商找泛舟哥與**法拉利姊**合作拍廣告… (Source: PTT)

  *Rì-qián yǒu shǒu-jī chǎng-shāng zhǎo fàn-zhōu gē yǔ **Fǎlālì jiě 'elder sister'** hé-zuò pāi guǎng-gào… (Source: PTT)*

  'Recently, there is a mobile phone company asked rafting brother and **Ferrari sister** to endorse [the product] together...' (Source: PTT)

  (Rafting brother is the man who said the only thing you should do under a typhoon-striking day is to go rafting. Ferrari sister is the female who said a nice car of a beauty should not be scratched after her Ferrari was scratched by someone)

- 這時，前方的「**倒車姊**」似乎才回神，下車和駕駛理論… (Source: PTT)

  *Zhè shí, qián-fāng de「**dào-chē jiě 'elder sister'**」sì-hū cái hué-shén, xià-chē hé jià-shǐ lǐ-lùn… (Source: PTT)*

  'At the moment, the **back-up sister** came out of her trance and got off the car to argue with the driver...' (Source: PTT)

- … **呸姊**台灣之光，後面舞者好國際… (Source: PTT)

  *… **pēi jiě 'elder sister'** Táiwān zhī guāng, hòu-miàn wǔ-zhě hǎo guó-jì… (Source: PTT)*

  '... the bah sister is the glory of Taiwan, there are international dancers behind her...' (Source: PTT)

  (The bah sister refers to the singer Tsai I-Lin, one of her albums titled pēi (呸) 'bah')

- … 就像之前很紅的「**憑什麼姊**」，奇怪他這麼囂張到底憑什麼？ (Source: PTT)

  *… jiù xiàng zhī-qián hěn hóng de「**píng shé-me jiě 'elder sister'**」, qí-guài tā zhè-me xiāo-zhāng dào-dǐ píng shé-me? (Source: PTT)*

  '... just like the **who-do-you-think-you-are sister**, who is very hot previously, it is strange how can she be so arrogant?' (Source: PTT)

	- 最近台視為製播**林投姐**[的]連續劇，特別商借慈雲寶塔作為道士捉鬼的場景。(Source: AS)
	*Zuì-jìn tái-shì wèi zhì-bō **lín-tóu jiě 'elder sister'** [de] lián-xù-jù, tè-bié shāng-jiè cí-yún-bǎo-tǎ zuò-wéi dào-shì zhuō-guǐ de chǎng-jǐng.*
jiě (姐)	*(Source: AS)*
'elder sister'	'Recently, for filming the TV series of **screw pine sister**, the Taiwan Television (TTV) rented the Tzu-Yun Pagoda for the scene of ghostbusting by the Taoist priest'. (Source: AS)
	(The screw pine sister refers to the female who was cheated by a man and lost her money as well as chasteness, she hanged herself in the screw

pine grove and became a ghost that haunted in the grove. This female comes from a folk story of Tainan, Taiwan in late Qing dynasty)

- 嗨，我是 **LP 姐**，我有 LP，所以就不要約了。(Source: PTT)

  *Hēi, wǒ shì **LP jiě 'elder sister,'** wǒ yǒu LP, suǒ-yǐ jiù bù-yào yuē le. (Source: PTT)*

  'Hi, I am **LP sister**, since I have LP, do not try to ask me out'. (Source: PTT)

  (LP is the abbreviation of lān-pha (羼丸) 'testicle' in Taiwan Southern Min)

- … 我是姐就算了，重點是我還是個**蠢姐**… (Source: PTT)

  *… wǒ shì jiě jiù suàn le, zhòng-diǎn shì wǒ hái shì gè **chǔn jiě 'elder sister'**… (Source: PTT)*

  '... it will be fine if I am just a sister, but the point is, I am a **stupid sister**...' (Source: PTT)

- … 票選最想娶回家的女明星，搞笑**傻大姐**形象的黃嘉千，竟勇奪第一名… (Source: AS)

  *… piào-xuǎn zuì xiǎng qǔ-huí-jiā de nǚ míng-xīng, gǎo-xiào **shǎ dà-jiě 'big-elder sister'** xíng-xiàng de Huang Chia-Chien, jìng yǒng-duó dì yī míng… (Source: AS)*

  '... voting of the female star that [one] wants to marry the most, it is surprising that Huang Chia-Chien, who shows the image of a funny **silly big-sister**, is ranked first...' (Source: AS)

- 「… 這是急件還是要抽號碼牌。」**插隊姐**不予理會… 照舊把資料推入窗口… (Source: PTT)

  *「… zhè-shì jí-jiàn hái-shì yào chōu hào-mǎ-pái.」**Chā-duì jiě 'elder sister'** bù-yǔ lǐ-huì… zhào-jiù bǎ zī-liào tuī-rù chuāng-kǒu… (Source: PTT)*

  '"... [you] have to get a numbered card even this is an urgent mail." [said by the staff.] The **cut-in sister** ignored [the reminder] ... and insisted on pushing the materials through the counter window...' (Source: PTT)

mèi (妹) 'younger sister'	- … 鄭家純 2012 年因代言雞排店宣傳影片，被網友封為「**雞排妹**」… (Source: PTT) *Zheng Jia-Chun 2012 nián yīn dài-yán jī-pái-diàn xuān-chuán yǐng-piàn, bèi wǎng-yǒu fēng wéi「**jī-pái mèi 'younger sister'**」… (Source: PTT)* '… Zheng Jia-Chun is named **chicken fillet sister** because she endorsed products of a chicken fillet stall in a promo video in 2012...' (Source: PTT) - … 跟朋友去 K 歌叫了幾個**傳播妹**喝酒、聊天。忽然，我隔壁的那

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個**傳播妹** … (Source: PTT)

*… gēn péng-yǒu qù K-gē jiào le jǐ gè **chuán-bō mèi 'younger sister'** hē-jiǔ, liáo-tiān. Hū-rán, wǒ gé-bì de nà-gè **chuán-bō mèi 'younger sister'**… (Source: PTT)*

'… [I] went to KTV with my friends and some **communication sister**, we talked and drank… suddenly, the **communication sister** who sat next to me...' (Source: PTT)

(Communication sister refers to a female who provides escort service)

- 台灣其實對於… **東南亞妹**還是有歧視的情形，尤其是老一輩… (Source: PTT)

*Táiwān qí-shí duì-yú… **Dōngnányǎ mèi 'younger sister'** hái-shì yǒu qí-shì de qíng-xíng, yóu-qí shì lǎo-yī-bèi… (Source: PTT)*

'Taiwanese are still... discriminating against **Southeastern Asia sister**, especially for the older generation [of Taiwanese] ...' (Source: PTT)

- … 經過成大總覺得妹很龍，跟一些私校妹水準差好多，是**龍妹**大部分很會念書？(Source: PTT)

*… jīng-guò chéng-dà zǒng jué-dé mèi hěn lóng, gēn yī-xiē sī-xiào mèi shuǐ-zhǔn chà hǎo-duō, shì **lóng mèi 'younger sister'** dà-bù-fèn hěn-huì niàn-shū? (Source: PTT)*

'... [I] always consider that the sisters (i.e., female students) of NCKU (i.e., the Natinoal Cheng Kung University) are very "dino" every time I pass by [the university], they are far from some private school sisters, does it mean that most **dino sisters** are quite good at studying?' (Source: PTT)

(Dino is the abbreviation of "dinosaur", it refers to the female who is with big size, unattractive appearance, and fierce personality)

- … 接著她準備要當歌迷們的**快遞小妹**，傳送歌迷的情書給他們心儀的對象… (Source: AS)

*… jiē-zhe tā zhǔn-bèi yào dāng gē-mí men de **kuài-dì xiǎo-mèi 'little-younger sister,'** chuán-sòng gē-mí de qíng-shū gěi tā-men xīn-yí de duè-xiàng… (Source: AS)*

'... then, she prepares to become the **express little-sister** for her fans, helping them send love letters to whom they love...' (Source: AS)

Kinship Term	Metaphorical/Idiomatic Usage
yéyé (爺爺) 'father's father'	• 國寶大象**林旺爺爺**於二月廿六日凌晨逝世，死於心肺衰竭。(Source: AS) *Guó-bǎo dà-xiàng **Lin Wang yéyé 'father's father'** yú èr yuè èr-shí-liù rì líng-chén shì-shì, sǐ yú xīn-fèi shuāi-jié. (Source: AS)* '**Grandfather Lin Wang**, the elephant of our national treasure, died on 26th February due to cardiopulmonary failure'. (Source: AS) • **企鵝爺爺**已經被園方隔離了… (Source: PTT) ***Qì-é yéyé 'father's father'** yǐ-jīng bèi yuán-fāng gé-lí le… (Source: PTT)* The **penguin grandfather** has already been quarantined... (Source: PTT) • … 學生林俊宏… 夢到穿紅衣老爺爺… 大家都驚呼「那不就是交大**土地公爺爺**嗎？」(Source: Chinatimes) *… xué-shēng Lin Jun-Hong… mèng dào chuān hóng-yī lǎo yéyé… dà-jiā dōu jīng-hū「nà bù-jiù-shì jiāo-dà **tǔ-dì-gōng yéyé 'father's father'** ma?」(Source: Chinatimes)* '... the student, Lin Jun-Hong... dreamt of an elderly grandfather in red... everyone exclaimed, "Isn't it the **Village Diety grandfather** of NCTU (i.e., the National Chiao Tung University)?"' (Source: Chinatimes)
āgōng (阿公) 'father/mother's father'	N/A
nǎinǎi (奶奶) 'father's mother'	…[它]是胸墊不是**奶奶**… (Source: PTT) *… [tā] shì xiōng-diàn bù-shì **nǎinǎi 'father's mother'**... (Source: PTT)* '… [it] is a bust pad, not **grandmother (i. e., the breast)**…' (Source: PTT) (One sense of 'nǎi (奶)' refers to 'breast' in Madarin)
āmà (阿媽) 'father/mother's mother'	N/A
āmà (阿嬤) 'father/mother's mother'	N/A
bàbà (爸爸) 'father'	• 說戰就戰，**俄羅斯爸爸**比中國兒子屌太多了。(Source: PTT) *Shuō zhàn jiù zhàn, **Éluósī bàbà 'father'** bǐ Zhōngguó érzǐ diǎo tài duō le. (Source: PTT)*

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	'[They] will fight if they commit to do so, the **Russia father** is much cooler than the China son'. (Source: PTT) (The Russia father refers to Russia; the China son refers to China) • … 一定要把過去 8 年**美國爸爸**不敢賣的，全部買好買滿！(Source: PTT) *… yī-dìng yào bǎ guò-qù 8 nián **Měiguó bàbà 'father'** bù-gǎn mài de, quán-bù mǎi hǎo mǎi mǎn! (Source: PTT)* '... be sure to buy everything that the **America father** dared not to sell in the past 8 years!' (Source: PTT) (The America father refers to the United States of America) • … 罵中國，出事又只能靠**中國爸爸**[的]八卦？(Source: PTT) *… mà Zhōngguó, chū-shì yòu zhǐ-néng kào **Zhōngguó bàbà 'father'** [de] bā-guà? (Source: PTT)* '... [is there any gossip of people] blame China, but rely on **China father** when bad things happen?' (Source: PTT) (The China father refers to China)
māmā (媽媽) 'mother'	…**黨媽媽**一聲令下你就要改姓黨了懂嗎？(Source: PTT) *…**dǎng māmā 'mother'** yī-shēng-lìng-xià nǐ jiù-yào gǎi xìng dǎng le dǒng ma? (Source: PTT)* '... when the **party mother** orders so, you will have to change the surname as the name of party, got it?' (Source: PTT) (The meaning of this example is that one should obey the orders of the party)
bófù (伯父) 'father's elder brother'	N/A
bóbó (伯伯) 'father's elder brother'	… 終於到達了… 木柵動物園… 我們首先去探望**林旺伯伯**，再去看有如椰子樹般的長頸鹿，威猛的老虎、獅子… (Source: AS) *… zhōng-yú dào-dá le… Mù'zhà dòng-wù-yuán… wǒ-men shǒu-xiān qù tàn-wàng **Lin Wang bóbó 'father's elder brother,'** zài qù kàn yǒu rú yē-zǐ-shù bān de cháng-jǐng-lù, wēi-měng de lǎo-hǔ, shī-zǐ… (Source: AS)* '... finally, [we] arrived at... the Taipei Zoo... we visited **Uncle Lin Wang** first and saw the coconut tree-like giraffes, as well as mighty tigers and lions...' (Source: AS) (Uncle Lin Wang refers to the elephant Lin Wang)
āpeh (阿伯) 'father's elder brother'	N/A

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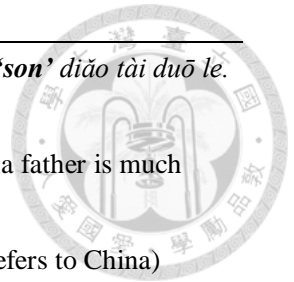|	
bómǔ (伯母) 'wife of father's elder brother'	N/A
shúshú (叔叔) 'father's younger brother'	N/A
yímā (姨媽) 'mother's elder/younger sister'	… 說完突然覺得肚子好痛，我可能是**大姨媽**來了… (Source: AS) *… shuō wán tū-rán jué-dé dù-zǐ hǎo tòng, wǒ kě-néng shì **dà-yímā** 'big-mother's elder/younger sister' lái le… (Source: AS)* '... suddenly, [I] feel an abdominal pain, it is possibly [my] **big-aunt** comes...' (Source: AS) (Big-aunt refers to the menstruation)
āyí (阿姨) 'mother's elder/younger sister'	N/A
gēgē (哥哥) 'elder brother'	… 是誰，把哥哥的搖控飛機吹走了？哦！！原來是愛開玩笑的**風哥哥**！！ (Source: AS) *… shì shéi, bǎ gēgē de yáo-kòng fēi-jī chuī-zǒu le? Ò!! Yuán-lái shì ài kāi-wán-xiào de **fēng gēgē** 'elder brother'!! (Source: AS)* '... who dares to blow [my] brother's drone away? Oh! It is the **wind brother**, who loves to amuse!' (Source: AS)
dìdì (弟弟) 'younger brother'	• … 鞋子尺寸和陰莖大小並無關連… 事實上，沒有任何身體部位能預測「**弟弟**」大小。(Source: PTT) *… xié-zǐ chǐ-cùn hé yīn-jīng dà-xiǎo bìng wú guān-lián… shì-shí-shàng, méi-yǒu rèn-hé shēn-tǐ bù-wèi néng yù-cè「**dìdì** 'younger brother'」dà-xiǎo. (Source: PTT)* '... the shoe size has nothing to do with the penis size... actually, there is no such body part that can be inferred the size of **brother**'. (Source: PTT) (Brother refers to the penis) • 我在山腳下，**雲弟弟**就在我頭上變幻成各種東西，搞得我昏頭轉向。(Source: AS) *Wǒ zài shān-jiǎo xià, **yún dìdì** 'younger brother' jiù zài wǒ tóu-shàng biàn-huàn chéng gè-zhǒng dōng-xī, gǎo dé wǒ hūn-tóu-zhuǎn-xiàng. (Source: AS)* 'I was at the foot of the mountain [and seeing] the **cloud brother** transformed [himself] into various shapes above my head, it really made

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me dizzy'. (Source: AS)

- 幼齡的**水鹿弟弟**，牠的角是不分枝的；當牠到了一歲大，就有成熟的樣子… (Source: AS)

  *Yòu-líng de **shuǐ-lù dìdì 'younger brother,'** tā de jiǎo shì bù fèn zhī de; dāng tā dào le yī suì dà, jiù yǒu chéng-shú de yàng-zǐ... (Source: AS)*

  'The young **Sambar brother**'s horn is not branched; it appearance will become mature at the age of one-year-old...' (Source: AS)

- …首先最重要的是「保持清潔」，**小弟弟**每天務必清洗，尤其是包皮過長男性… (Source: AS)

  *...shǒu-xiān zuì zhòng-yào de shì「bǎo-chí qīng-jié」, **xiǎo-dìdì 'little-younger brother'** měi-tiān wù-bì qīng-xǐ, yóu-qí shì bāo-pí guò chǎng nán-xìng... (Source: AS)*

  '... the most important thing of all is to "keep clean", the **little-brother** must be washed every day, especially for those males with long foreskin...' (Source: AS)

jiějiě (姊姊) 'elder sister'	- 今天… 想買蘋果的充電線，就問了 Siri，結果好兇喔 **Siri 姊姊**。(Source: PTT) *Jīn-tiān… xiǎng mǎi píng-guǒ de chōng-diàn-xiàn, jiù wèn le Siri, jié-guǒ hǎo xiōng wō **Siri jiějiě 'elder sister'**. (Source: PTT)* 'Today... [I] want to buy Apple's charger and ask the Siri [about this], I cannot believe the **Sister Siri** replies to me in a very fierce attitude'. (Source: PTT) (Sister Siri refers to the virtual assistant Siri)
jiějiě (姐姐) 'elder sister'	N/A
mèimèi (妹妹) 'younger sister'	每隔一陣子，「**小妹妹**」就會冒出一顆顆水泡…可能是「生殖器皰疹」作祟！(Source: TVBS News) *Měi gé yī-zhèn-zǐ,「**xiǎo-mèimèi 'little-younger sister'**」 jiù-huì mào-chū yī-kē-kē shuǐ-pào… kě-néng shì「shēng-zhí-qì pào-zhěn」zuò-suì! (Source: TVBS News)* 'The **little-sister** gets blisters at intervals... that is possibly caused by the "genital herpes"!' (Source: TVBS News)
érzǐ (兒子) 'son'	- 沒人可以聊天，只好跟**貓兒子**聊。(Source: PTT) *Méi rén kě-yǐ liáo-tiān, zhǐ-hǎo gēn **māo érzǐ 'son'** liáo. (Source: PTT)* 'There is no one [I can] talk to, so [I] can only chat with **cat son**'. (Source: PTT) (Cat son refers to a cat) - 說戰就戰，俄羅斯爸爸比**中國兒子**屌太多了。(Source: PTT)

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*Shuō zhàn jiù zhàn, Éluósī bàbà bǐ **Zhōngguó érzǐ 'son'** diǎo tài duō le.*

(Source: PTT)

'[They] will fight if they commit to do so, the Russia father is much cooler than the **China son**'. (Source: PTT)

(The Russia father refers to Russia; the China son refers to China)

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(Metaphorical/Idiomatic Usage)

Kinship Term	Metaphorical/Idiomatic Usage
fù (父) 'father'	N/A
bó (伯) 'father's elder brother'	N/A
shú (叔) 'father's younger brother'	N/A
shěn (嬸) 'wife of father's younger brother'	N/A
yí (姨) 'mother's elder/younger sister'	N/A
xiōng (兄) 'elder brother'	• ... 狗或大型狗，我自己是想到**黑狗兄**，然後有些狗會咬人，喜歡兇人。貓要是… (Source: PTT) *... gǒu huò dà-xíng gǒu, wǒ zì-jǐ shì xiǎng-dào **hēi-gǒu xiōng 'elder brother,'** rán-hòu yǒu-xiē gǒu huì yǎo-rén, xǐ-huān xiōng-rén. Māo yào-shì... (Source: PTT)* '... [talking about] dogs or big dog breeds, I will think of the **black dog brother**, some dogs bite people and being aggressive. If cats…' (Source: PTT) • … 開關了 50 次依舊找不到那可愛的**熱點兄**，於是我開始改用藍芽分享… (Source: PTT) *... kāi-guān le 50 cì yī-jiù zhǎo-bù-dào nà kě-ài de **rè-diǎn xiōng 'elder brother,'** yú-shì wǒ kāi-shǐ gǎi yòng lán-yá fēn-xiǎng... (Source: PTT)* '... after the 50 attempts, [I] still could not find the lovely **hotspot brother**; thus, I switched to the bluetooth for sharing...' (Source: PTT) • … 我低頭一看，果然**狗屎兄**又相遇了。現在我手裡拿著早餐，腳上… (Source: PTT) *... wǒ dī-tóu yī kàn, guǒ-rán **gǒu-shǐ xiōng 'elder brother'** yòu xiāng-yù le. Xiàn-zài wǒ shǒu-lǐ ná zhe zǎo-cān, jiǎo-shàng... (Source: PTT)* '... I look down and there it is, I meet the **dog shit brother** again.

Now, I carry the breakfast in my hands, and my foot is...' (Source: PTT)

(The dog shit brother refers to dog shit)

- … 真的沒事不要亂摳肚臍，**肚臍兄**比較喜歡被放置的感覺！ (Source: PTT)

  *… zhēn-de méi-shì bù-yào luàn kōu dù-qí, **dù-qí xiōng 'elder brother'** bǐ-jiào xǐ-huān bèi fàng-zhì de gǎn-jué! (Source: PTT)*

  '... seriously, do not dig the belly button, the **navel brother** prefers to be left untouched!' (Source: PTT)

  (The navel brother refers to the belly button)

- … 先前晚上去港口釣魚，全都是**河豚兄**… (Source: PTT)

  *… xiān-qián wǎn-shàng qù gǎng-kǒu diào-yú, quán dōu-shì **hé-tún xiōng 'elder brother'**... (Source: PTT)*

  '... previously, I went fishing at the port in the night, there were all **puff fish brothers**...' (Source: PTT)

|	
gē (哥) 'elder brother'	- 歐陽娜娜… 抱著人體模特兒… 未料一回頭才發現把手從模型身上扯了下來… 她也尷尬向模型道歉：「… 對不起… **道具哥**。」 (Source: PTT) *Ōuyáng Nà-Nà… bào zhe rén-tǐ mó-tè-ér… wèi-liào yī-huí-tóu cái fā-xiàn bǎ shǒu cóng mó-xíng shēn-shàng chě le xià-lái… tā yě gān-gà xiàng mó-xíng dào-qiàn: 「… duì-bù-qǐ... **dào-jù gē 'elder brother'**」. (Source: PTT)* 'Ouyang Na-Na... [was] holding a mannequin ... as she turned her head, the hand of the mannequin tore unexpectedly... she apologized to the mannequin with embarrassment, "... sorry... **prop brother**"'. (Source: PTT) - 在今年世界盃足球賽連續八場比賽猜中結果的神算「**章魚哥**」保羅，昨天在… 水族館過世… (Source: Appledaily) *Zài jīn-nián shì-jiè-bēi zú-qiú-sài lián-xù bā chǎng bǐ-sài cāi-zhōng jié-guǒ de shén-suàn 「**zhāng-yú gē 'elder brother'**」 Bǎoluó, zuó-tiān zài… shuǐ-zú-guǎn guò-shì… (Source: Appledaily)* 'Paul, the **octopus brother** with miraculous foresight, who successfully predicted the results of eight sequential matches of World Cup this year, has died in the aquarium yesterday...' (Source: Appledaily) - … 有「**選戰章魚哥**」之稱的新北市鶯歌區建德里，目前… (Source: PTT) *… yǒu 「**xuǎn-zhàn zhāng-yú gē 'elder brother'**」 zhī chēng de Xīnběi*

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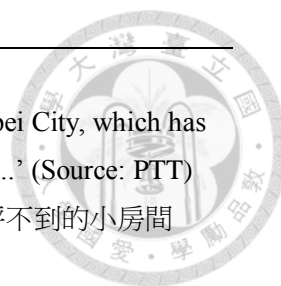
shì Yīnggē qū Jiàndé lǐ, mù-qián… (Source: PTT)

'... the Jiande Village of Yingge District, New Taipei City, which has the nickname of **election octopus brother**, is now...' (Source: PTT)

- ... 正式宣告放棄抵抗... **蟑螂哥**也消失在這四坪不到的小房間裡。(Source: PTT)

  ... zhèng-shì xuān-gào fàng-qì dǐ-kàng… zhāng-láng gē 'elder brother' yě xiāo-shī zài zhè sì píng bù dào de xiǎo fáng-jiān lǐ. (Source: PTT)

  '… [I] stop resisting… the **cockroach brother** disappeared in this really small room'. (Source: PTT)

- … 忽然一陣便意襲來，禁不住廁所裡**馬桶哥**的呼喚。(Source: PTT)

  … hū-rán yī-zhèn biàn-yì xí-lái, jìn-bù-zhù cè-suǒ lǐ mǎ-tǒng gē 'elder brother' de hū-huàn. (Source: PTT)

  '... suddenly, there is an urge of bowel movement, [I] can no longer resist the temptation of the **toilet brother** in the restroom'. (Source: PTT)

  (The toilet brother refers to the toilet)

|	
săo (嫂) 'wife of elder brother'	N/A
dì (弟) 'younger brother'	- … 買了一包[藥]回來，塗在後院**狗弟**碰不到但阿強兄很愛路過的地方。噹噹～～收屍。(Source: PTT) *… mǎi le yī bāo [yào] huí-lái, tú zài hòu-yuàn gǒu dì 'younger brother' pèng bù dào dàn ā-qiáng xiōng hěn ài lù-guò de dì-fāng. Dāng-dāng～～ shōu-shī. (Source: PTT)* '... [I] bought a bag [of drugs] and placed it at places where the **dog brother** cannot touch, but frequently visited by tough brothers. Yeah~~ all dead'. (Source: PTT) (The tough brothers refer to cockroaches, this usage evolves from movie lines) - 樂透說明：比較▃方塊妹與▃**方塊弟**的下注數量…▇方塊兄純贊助用。彩券每張 100 元… (Source: PTT) *Lè-tòu shuō-míng: bǐ-jiào▃ fāng-kuài mèi yǔ ▃fāng-kuài dì 'younger brother' de xià-zhù shù-liàng… ▇fāng-kuài xiōng chún zàn-zhù yòng. Cǎi-quàn měi zhāng 100 yuán… (Source: PTT)* 'The rule of lottery [game]: comparing the bets of ▃square sister (younger) with bets of ▃**square brother (younger)**… The ▇square brother (elder) is only provided for the purpose of sponsoring. Every

	lottery ticket costs 100 dollars…' (Source: PTT) (The square brother (younger) refers to a square)
jiě (姊) 'elder sister'	• 如果平手或▁方塊妹與▁方塊弟的差距/▁方塊妹與▁方塊弟的和 <0.2%，就開▇**方塊姊**。(Source: PTT) *Rú-guǒ píng-shǒu huò ▁fāng-kuài mèi yǔ ▇fāng-kuài dì de chà-jù / ▁fāng-kuài mèi yǔ ▇fāng-kuài dì de hé <0.2%, jiù kāi ▇fāng-kuài jiě 'elder sister'. (Source: PTT)* 'If there is a draw, or the difference between ▁square sister (younger) and ▇square brother (younger) divides by the sum of ▁square sister (younger) and ▇square brother (younger) is less than 0.2 percent, then [you will get] the [output] of ▇**square sister (elder)**'. (Source: PTT) (The square sister (elder) refers to a square) • … 剛剛隨便打了一個字，請 **Google 姊**翻譯… (Source: PTT) *… gāng-gāng suí-biàn dǎ le yī-gè zì, qǐng **Google jiě 'elder sister'** fān-yì… (Source: PTT)* '… [I] just typed a word randomly and asked **Sister Google** to translate it...' (Source: PTT) • 德國**章魚姊**首次報牌就過關。(Source: PTT) *Dé'guó **zhāng-yú jiě 'elder sister'** shǒu cì bào-pái jiù guò-guān. (Source: PTT)* 'German **octopus sister** predicted the outcome of match precisely at first time'. (Source: PTT) (Octopus sister refers to Regina, the octopus that can predict the outcome of the match of World Cup)
jiě (姐) 'elder sister'	• Google 只會乖乖照表操課，跟 **twi[t]ch 語音姐**一樣黃臉持家 … (Source: PTT) *Google zhī-huì guāi-guāi zhào-biǎo-cāo-kè, gēn **twi[t]ch yǔ-yīn jiě 'elder sister'** yī-yàng huáng-liǎn chí-jiā… (Source: PTT)* 'Google only does things what you ask it to do, just like a worn housewife as the **twitch-voice sister**...' (Source: PTT) • … 打開電腦、打開喇叭、寫好 **Google 姐**的台詞 ... 按下語音鍵 … (Source: PTT) *… dǎ-kāi diàn-nǎo, dǎ-kāi lǎ-bā, xiě hǎo **Google jiě 'elder sister'** de tái-cí... àn-xià yǔ-yīn-jiàn… (Source: PTT)* '… turned on the computer and the speaker, wrote lines for **Sister Google**… pressed the voice button...' (Source: PTT) • … 好像對東部影響劇烈，請問有**颱風杜鵑姐**[-]杜姐的八卦…
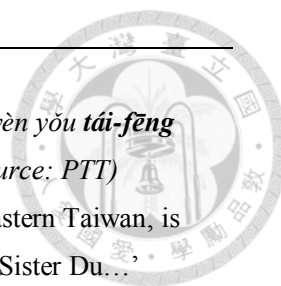
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*… hǎo-xiàng duì dōng-bù yǐng-xiǎng jù-liè, qǐng-wèn yǒu **tái-fēng dùjuān jiě 'elder sister'** [-] dù jiě de bā-guà… (Source: PTT)*

'… it looks like it will bring a severe damage to Eastern Taiwan, is there any rumor of **the typhoon Dujuan sister** [-] Sister Du…'

(Source: PTT)

- … 剛看到有人在跟 **siri 姐**聊天，我也想說來聊看看… (Source: PTT)

  *… gāng kàn-dào yǒu rén zài gēn **siri jiě 'elder sister'** liáo-tiān, wǒ yě xiǎng shuō lái liáo-kàn-kàn… (Source: PTT)*

  '... [I] just saw someone was chatting with **Sister Siri**, I thought that maybe I should also try this...' (Source: PTT)

  (Sister Siri refers to the virtual assistant Siri)

mèi (妹) 'younger sister'	- 台灣一直把一種蔬菜稱為「**大陸妹**」… 這樣的命名方式是否意味著對… 女性的不尊重？(Source: ETtoday) *Táiwān yī-zhí bǎ yī zhǒng shū-cài chēng-wéi 「**dà-lù mèi 'younger sister'**」… zhè-yàng de mìng-míng fāng-shì shì-fǒu yì-wèi zhe duì… nǚ-xìng de bù-zūn-zhòng? (Source: ETtoday)* 'Taiwanese has always named a kind of vegetable "**mainland sister**" ... does the naming mean the disrespect for women?' (Source: ETtoday) - … **小黑妹**是在新設營區被發現… 摸一下就翻肚肚… (Source: ETtoday) *… **Xiǎo-hēi mèi 'younger sister'** shì zài xīn-shè yíng-qū bèi fā-xiàn… mō yī-xià jiù fān-dù-dù… (Source: ETtoday)* '…**Sister Little-Black** was found in a new barracks area … [she] will turn over her body and show her belly if [someone] touches her…' (Source: ETtoday) (Sister Little-Black refers to a female black dog) - 樂透說明：比較 **方塊妹**與 方塊弟的下注數量… 方塊兄純贊助用。彩券每張 100 元… (Source: PTT) *Lè-tòu shuō-míng: bǐ-jiào **fāng-kuài mèi 'younger sister'** yǔ fāng-kuài dì de xià-zhù shù-liàng… fāng-kuài xiōng chún zàn-zhù yòng. Cǎi-quàn měi zhāng 100 yuán… (Source: PTT)* 'The rule of lottery [game]: comparing the bets of **square sister (younger)** with bets of square brother (younger)… The square brother (elder) is only provided for the purpose of sponsoring. Every lottery ticket costs 100 dollars…' (Source: PTT)

(The square sister (younger) refers to a square)

- … 不過夏普是個百年**老妹**了，又愛敗家… (Source: PTT)

    *… bù-guò Xiàpǔ shì gè bǎi-nián **lǎo-mèi 'old-younger sister'** le, yòu ài*

    bài-jiā… (Source: PTT)

    '... however, Sharp is an **old-sister** of a century and loves to waste

    money...' (Source: PTT)

    (Sharp refers to the Sharp Corporation)

- … 不過夏普是個百年**老妹**了，又愛敗家… (Source: PTT)