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顏色詞「黑/烏」與「白」在台灣華語、台灣客語以及台灣閩南語
語意延伸之比較
Semantic Extensions of the Color Terms, *Black* and *White*,
in Taiwanese Mandarin, Taiwanese Hakka and Taiwanese Southern Min

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BY

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論文提要內容：（共一冊，三萬一千六百六十八字，分五章）

　　本論文探討顏色詞「黑/烏」與「白」在台灣華語、台灣客語以及台灣閩南語中語意延伸之比較。黑與白是自然界中最原始的顏色，而在 Berlin and Kay (1969) 的顏色發展歷程中處於第一階段。本文觀察顏色詞黑與白背後的認知機制，並藉此將語料分成原始意義、轉喻延伸、隱喻延伸和特殊例子這些類別來詳述。本研究發現有些隱喻延伸普遍地存在三個語言當中，有些則是某個語言特有的，而這些語言特定的顏色詞通常蘊含文化根源、發展成構式或從外語借用而來。

　　本文還運用 Kövecses (2005) 隱喻中的文化因素來審視顏色詞黑與白。研究發現就跨語言層面而言，台灣華語發展出最多的隱喻延伸，台灣閩南語次之，而台灣客語最少。這顯示了台灣華語顏色詞的蓬勃發展跟該語言的文化、經濟或科技等活躍發展密切相關。此外，本文發現顏色詞黑大多為負面意義，而顏色詞白則多為非負面意義。顏色詞黑與白也發展出許多語意延伸的對立，例如神秘與明確、惡與善、違法與合法。

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the similarities and differences regarding color terms of *black* and *white* among TM, TH and TSM. Black and white are the two most fundamental colors in the natural world as designated at stage one in Berlin and Kay's (1969) evolutionary sequence. We classify data into cognitive categories of prototypical meaning, metonymic extensions, metaphorical extensions and idiosyncratic examples, observe their corresponding lexicalization types (Packard 2000) and use Kövecses' (2005) cultural factors in metaphor to examine them.

The three languages all contain abundant data of prototypical meanings which refer to the physiologically visual color, black and white, the representative colors of human conceptual universals about night and day (Wierzbicka 1996, Goddard 1998). Via different ICM mechanisms (Kövecses and Radden 1998), the three languages develop diverse metonymic extensions. Besides, through the general metaphor ABSTRACT QUALITY IS PHYSICAL QUALITY (Goatly 2011), numerous attributes are conceptualized through the visual color black or white in metaphorical extensions. Some metaphorical extensions are universal across the three languages; some are language-specific because of cultural roots, fixed constructions or language borrowing. Idiosyncratic examples include arbitrary items and proverbial expressions.

We also use Kövecses' (2005) cultural factors in metaphor to observe the cross-cultural and within-culture dimensions. For the cross-cultural dimension, in terms of the source domain of color black or white among the three languages, TM develops the most prolific metaphorical extensions of color terms, TH has the least versatile generations, and the development of TSM color terms is in between. The complexity of TM color terms is closely related to the vivacity of cultural, economic or technological developments in that language.

From the most primitive opposite of darkness and brightness, color terms of *black* and *white* also distinctively contrast with each other. The negative meanings of color terms *black* are proportionally dominant whereas the meanings of color terms *white* are mostly non-negative. Furthermore, color terms *black* and *white* reveal some evident oppositions in the metaphorical extensions such as mystery and clarity, viciousness and innocence and illegality and legality.

CHAPTER Ⅰ

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Motivation and Purpose

Our living environment is surrounded by a wide variety of colors which we can all perceive whether we are conscious of them or not. Human beings speaking miscellaneous languages have developed their own color terms to sketch this world. The studies of color terms have been prosperous in various fields like linguistics (e.g., Kay 1975, Cheng 1991), psychology (e.g., Sowden et al. 2011), neurophysiology (e.g., Abramov 1977, Wuerger and Purkes 2011) or anthropology (e.g., Zegura 1997, Bramwell 2011). The earlier representative work from a linguistic perspective can be attributed to Berlin and Kay's (1969) investigation of 98 languages. They find that all languages seem to share similarity regarding the foci of basic color terms and they delineate the evolutionary stages of basic color terms. In addition, some typological studies such as Williams et al. (1970) or Derrig (1978) indicate the cross-cultural generality in the extensional meanings of basic color terms. Kay and McDaniel (1978) offer evidence of the existence of biologically based semantic universals.

Wierzbicka (1996) contends that we should resort to verbal explications and understand the 'conceptual prototypes' of color terms instead of explicating color universals in terms of neurophysiology of vision. Take the English color words *black* and *white* for example. Wierzbicka (1996: 303) suggests that "their semantic structure would reflect both their status of basic color terms learnt by ostension and their association with the concepts 'dark' and 'light'."

Studies regarding color terms in Mandarin Chinese have been abundant in the past two decades. First, Berlin and Kay (1969) determine that Mandarin Chinese is at stage five and the basic color terms are *hēi* (黑) 'black', *bái* (白) 'white', *hóng* (紅) 'red', *lǜ* (綠) 'green', *lán* (藍) 'blue' and *huáng* (黃) 'yellow'. Conducting a diachronic research of Chinese color terms through classical literature and history books, Cheng (1991, 2002) delineates evolutionary stages of color terms from Hàn Dynasty to the present. Some studies like Chen (1994), Liu (2001) or Wu (2007) explicate cognitive mechanisms operating behind the basic color terms. With respect to color terms in Taiwanese Hakka (TH) or in Taiwanese Southern Min (TSM),[1] most related studies (e.g., Huang 2003, Liu 2002) present illustration of data with descriptive adequacy.

Studies of color terms in TH and TSM have received little attention in

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[1] We use the abbreviation TM for Taiwanese Mandarin, TH for Taiwanese Hakka, and TSM for Taiwanese Southern Min in this thesis.

comparison with the abundant research of color terms in Taiwanese Mandarin (TM).

Also, most of the studies only present the dialect data without offering analytic

accounts. Therefore, more research about this field should be worthwhile.

Black and white are the only two colors at stage one in Berlin and Kay's (1969)

sequence of color evolution. They are the most essential colors and seem to constitute

the most evident oppositions in the natural world. Since the colors black and white are

universally perceptible to all mankind, speakers of TM, TH and TSM are no exception

in that they share some similarities in the usages of color terms. However, despite the

fact that the three languages are so contiguous geographically, there are some

variations among usages of color terms. Some extensional meanings of color terms

about *black* or *white*[2] are only existent in one language but not in the others. For

example, in TM, we have *gǔshìkāihēipán* (股市開黑盤) 'The bonus of the stock is

low' and *xiǎobáiliǎn* (小白臉) 'a little white face; a man who depends on a woman'.

Vuˊ mien ced (烏面賊) 'objects of questionable origin; events of dubious

background' and *ceuˇ zauˊ miˋ pag* (樵燥米白) 'dry woods and rice; an affluent life'

can only be seen in TH. In TSM, there are *oo-káu-hiann* (烏狗兄) 'fashionable man'

and *kóng-pe̍h-tsha̍t* (講白賊) 'tell lies'. Notice that the three languages have different

characters for the color black, namely, *hēi* (黑) in TM, *vu* (烏) in TH and *oo* (烏) in

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[2] We use the italicized *black* and *white* to refer to their color terms in different languages such as *hēi* and *bái* in TM. The non-italicized black and white refer to the visual colors.

TSM. We will address the variations later on.

Black and white are the most fundamental colors in our living environment but variations about their usages still exist in TM, TH and TSM, which are closely-related languages in Taiwan. Therefore, we aim to concentrate on investigating color terms about *black* and *white* in TM, TH and TSM. Our research questions are proposed in the following:

(1) What are the similarities and variations in the extensional meanings of color terms *black* or *white* among the three languages?

(2) What cultural factors can account for these different usages of color terms in the three languages?

In Chapter Two, we will review some past studies about color terms, including studies of color universals and works of color terms in TM, TH and TSM. Furthermore, we pay particular attention to those relevant studies about the color terms, *black* and *white*.

1.2 Conventions of Data

The TM data in this thesis are collected from *MOE Revised Mandarin Chinese Dictionary* (教育部重編國語辭典修訂本), *Academia Sinica Balanced Corpus of Mandarin Chinese* (中研院平衡語料庫) and *The NCCU Corpus of Spoken Chinese*

(國立政治大學口語語料庫). The TM data are transcribed into Hànyǔ Pīnyīn

Phonetic Symbols (漢語拼音).

For all TM data, we use Taiwan Google Search Engine to check whether data

from the Chinese dictionary belong to Taiwanese Mandarin. In our data collection, we

exclude proper names including those names about animals (e.g., *hēimiànpílù* (黑面

琵鷺) 'black-faced spoonbill'), plants (e.g., *báimùěr* (白木耳) 'tremella fuciformis'),

geology (e.g., *hēilóngjiāng* (黑龍江) 'a river name in China'), mineral (e.g., *hēiyúnmǔ*

(黑雲母) 'biotite'), people's name (e.g., *libai* (李白) 'a Chinese poet in ancient

times'), books (e.g., *hēinúyùtiānlù* (黑奴籲天錄) 'Uncle Tom's Cabin') or disease

(e.g., *báixiěbìng* (白血病) 'leukemia'), to name just a few. These proper names will

not be included in our analysis. Finally, there are 209 tokens of *hēi* color terms and

361 tokens of *bái* color terms in our TM data.

The TH data is gathered from *MOE Taiwanese Hakka Dictionary of Common

Words* (教育部臺灣客家語常用詞辭典), *Min and Hakka Language Archives* (中研

院閩客語典藏), *The NCCU Corpus of Spoken Taiwanese Hakka* (國立政治大學客語

口語語料庫), *Taiwanese Hakka Proverbial Expressions Dictionary* (台灣客家俚諺

語語典), *Hakka Dictionary of Taiwan* (臺灣客家話辭典), *Sìxiàn Hakka Dictionary*

(四縣客音字典), *A Chinese-English Dictionary Hakka-Dialect*, *Taiwanese Hakka

Origins of Lexicon, Legend, Proverbs Anthology* (台灣客家詞彙‧傳說‧俗諺由來文

集), *Hakka Proverbs the Second Hundred—the Latest One Hundred Hakka Proverbs*

(客諺第二百首—收錄最新一百首客諺) and *Interesting 1500 Hakka Proverbs* (聽算

無窮漢—有趣的客話俚諺 1500 則). The transcription of TH data are based on

Taiwanese Hakka Pīnyīn Program (臺灣客家語拼音方案) designated by National

Language Committee (國語推行委員會) in 2009. For all TH data, we use the tone

diacritics of Sìxiàn (四縣) dialect.[3]

   With regard to the TH data, we also exclude some proper names such as

vuˇ liau (烏鶖) 'crested myna; a kind of bird', *iongˇ sii` vuˇ* (羊屎烏) 'common

elaeocarpus; a kind of plant', *bauˇ ximˇ pag* (包心白) 'Chinese cabbage', or *pag teuˇ*

gungˇ e` (白頭公仔) 'Formosan Chinese bulbul', etc. In total, there are 89 items of *vu*

(烏) color terms and 114 items of *pag* (白)[4] color terms in our TH data.

   The source of the TSM data is from *MOE Taiwanese Southern Min Dictionary of*

Common Words (教育部閩南語常用詞辭典), *Taiwanese Concordancer* (台語文語詞

檢索), *Taiwanese Southern Min Lexicon Dictionary* (台語語彙辭典), *Tōngyòng*

Taiwanese Southern Min Dictionary (通用台語字典), *Min and Hakka Language*

Archives (中研院閩客語典藏), *Táoyuán Taiwanese Southern Min Proverbs and*

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[3] The tone diacritics of Sìxiàn dialect is displayed in the following chart:

Tone Type	yīnpíng		yángpíng	shǎngshēng	qùshēng	yīnrù	yángrù
Tone Diacritics	�’	+	ˇ	`		d`	d
Example	v �’ (夫)	v + (夫)	v ˇ (扶)	v ` (府)	v (富)	vd ` (福)	vd (服)

[4] There are differences regarding the pronunciation of the color term *white* in Hakka. *Pag* (白) is a colloquial usage; *ped* (白) is used for rhetorical terms.

Riddles (1) (桃園市閩南語諺語謎語(一)), *Táinán Taiwanese Southern Min Proverbs*

Collection (臺南縣閩南語諺語集), *Taiwanese Southern Min Proverbs Dictionary* (台

灣俗語辭典), *Origin of Taiwanese Southern Min Expressions* (新編台語溯源),

Learning Taiwanese Southern Min Together (逗陣學臺語), *The Wisdom of Taiwanese*

Southern Min (臺灣話ㄟ智慧) and *Taiwanese Southern Min Proverbs* (臺灣俗諺語

典). For TSM data, the transcription and tone diacritics are based on Taiwanese

Southern Min Rome Pīnyīn Program (臺灣閩南語羅馬字拼音方案) issued by

National Language Committee in 2008.[5]

Concerning our TSM data, proper names are also not included in our analysis

such as *oo-tshuì-pit-á* (烏喙筆仔) 'spotted munia', *oo-tinn-á-tshài* (烏甜仔菜) 'black

nightshade', *thài-pik-tshenn* (太白星) 'Venus' and *peh-lāi-tsiàng* (白內障) 'cataract;

an eye disease', to name just a few. There are 168 tokens of *oo* (烏) color terms and

130 tokens of *peh* (白)[6] color terms in TSM data.

For all TM, TH, TSM data, we will classify them into certain categories and

conduct analysis in Chapter Ⅳ, where we will select a few items of data out of each

category to analyze and illustrate. The complete display of all data is attached in

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[5] The tone diacritics of TSM data in the thesis are illustrated below:

Tone type	yīnpíng	yīnshàng	yīnqù	yīnrù	yángpíng	yángqù	yángrù
Diacritics	tong	tóng	tòng	tok	tông	tōng	tȯk
Example	東	黨	棟	督	同	洞	毒

[6] In TSM, there are differences about the pronunciation of color term *white*. *Peh* (白) is a colloquial usage; *pik* (白) is used for rhetorical terms.

appendix.

1.3 Organization of Thesis

After introducing our motivation and research purpose in this study, we will

review previous studies on color terms in Chapter Ⅱ. Chapter Ⅲ will present

theoretical background, including theories of metaphor and metonymy, cultural

factors in metaphor (Kövecses 2005) and lexicalization (Packard 2000). Afterwards,

in Chapter Ⅳ we will display the analysis of the present study. Finally, Chapter Ⅴ

concludes the results and suggests further research in the future.
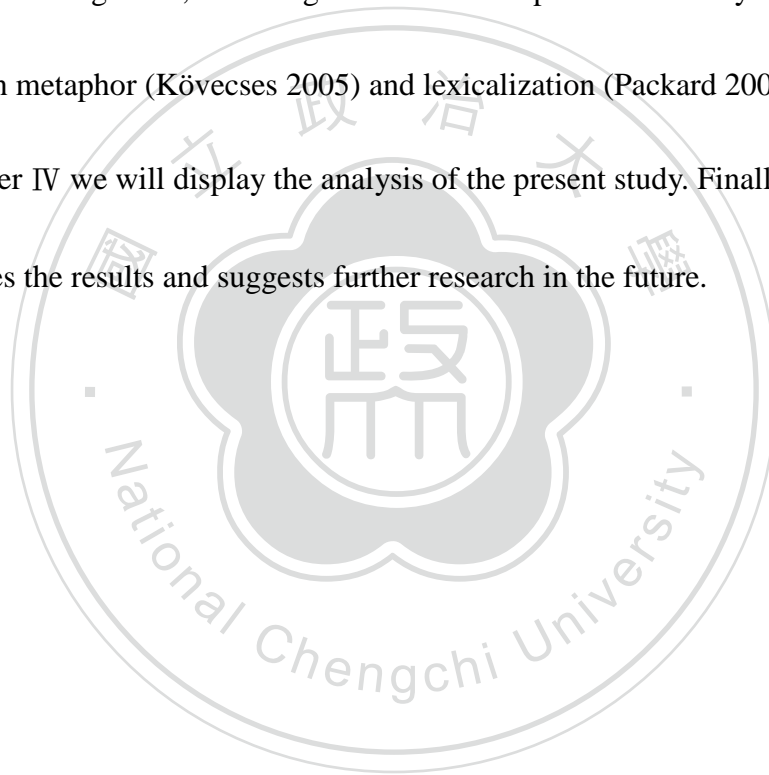
CHAPTER Ⅱ

PREVIOUS STUDIES ON COLOR TERMS

Usages of color terms are widespread and indispensable in our languages. In this chapter, we will review some previous studies on color terms. Studies of color universals will be presented in Section 2.1 including representative work by Berlin and Kay (1969), studies of semantic universals in the domain of color vocabulary (Williams et el. 1970, Derrig 1978, Kay and McDaniel 1978), standpoints of using environmental reference in studying color terms (Wierzbicka 1996, Goddard 1998, Lucy 1997). In Section 2.2 we will display research of color terms in Taiwanese Mandarin such as diachronic studies (Cheng 1991, 2002, Wu 2011), examination of cognitive mechanisms behind color terms (Chen 1994, Liu 2001, Lin 2009) and traditional viewpoints of colors (Zeng 2002, Huang 2003, Liang 2005, Xie 2011). Afterwards, research of color terms in Taiwanese Hakka and Taiwanese Southern Min is also mentioned in Section 2.3 (e.g., Cheng 2002, Liang 2005, Liu 2002). Finally, we will make some remarks on these previous studies and draw connections with our forthcoming research.

2.1 Studies of Color Universals

The doctrine of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis emphasizes the relativity of semantic structures instead of the role of linguistic universals. Nevertheless, studies of color terms (Berlin and Kay 1969, McDaniel 1972, 1974) hold the belief that "all languages share a universal system of basic color categorization" and that "these universals are inherent in the human perception of color" as in Kay and McDaniel (1978: 610). Kay and McDaniel (1978) present the lexical categorization of color as a paradigmatic example of the existence of biologically based semantic universals.

The representative work by Berlin and Kay (1969) investigates 98 languages via the use of standardized color chips. They find that color categorizations are not random and that all languages seem to share similarity regarding the foci of basic color terms. The eight criteria that Berlin and Kay (1969: 5-6) stipulate for defining the concept of basic color terms are listed below. The first four criteria are the most essential whereas the last four subsidiary criteria are for handling a few doubtful cases:

1. It is *monolexemic*; that is, its meaning is not predictable from the meaning of its parts. This criterion eliminates [bluish, lemon-colored, salmon-colored, and the color of the rust on my aunt's old Chevrolet] and perhaps also [blue-green].

   Its signification is not included in that of any other color term. This criterion

eliminates [crimson] and [scarlet], which are both kinds of red for most speakers

of English.

2.   Its application must not be restricted to a narrow class of objects. This criterion

     eliminates [blond] which may be predicated only of hair, complexion, and

     furniture.

3.   It must be psychologically salient for informants.

4.   The doubtful form should have the same distributional potential as the previously

     established basic terms. For example, in English, allowing the suffix –*ish*, for

     example, *reddish*, *whitish*, and *greenish* are English words, but *anguaish* and

     chartreuse(e)ish are not.

5.   Color terms that are also the name of an object characteristically having that

     color are suspect, for example, *gold*, *silver*, and *ash*.

6.   Recent foreign loanwords may be suspect.

7.   In cases where lexemic status is difficult to assess, morphological complexity is

     given some weight as a secondary criterion. The English term *blue-green* might

     be eliminated by this criterion.

Berlin and Kay (1969: 4) contend that "the referents for the basic color terms of all

languages appear to be drawn from a set of eleven universal perceptual categories,

and these categories become encoded in the history of a given language in a partially

fixed order." They delineate the evolutionary stages of basic color terms as displayed

in the following:

```
┌─────────┐       ┌─────────┐   ┌─────────┐   ┌─────────┐   ┌─────────┐   ┌─────────┐
│  White  │──→  ┌─red─┐ ↗ │  Green  │──→│ Yellow  │↗→│  Blue   │──→│  Brown  │──→│ Purple  │
│  Black  │     └─────┘ ↘ └─────────┘   └─────────┘  └─────────┘   └─────────┘   │  Pink   │
└─────────┘       ┌─────────┐   ┌─────────┐ ↗                                     │  Orange │
                  │ Yellow  │──→│  Green  │                                       │  Grey   │
                  └─────────┘   └─────────┘                                       └─────────┘
```

Stage 1   Stage 2   Stage 3   Stage 4   Stage 5   Stage 6   Stage 7
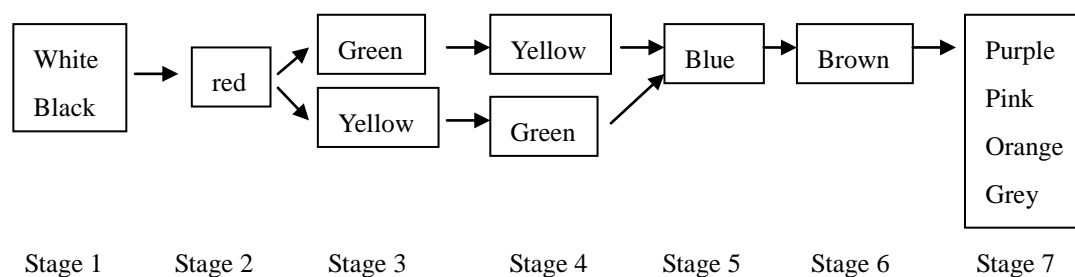
Figure 1. Berlin and Kay (1969: 4): Order of Color Evolution

Furthermore, from their investigation of a wide variety of languages, Berlin and

Kay (1969: 104) discover that "[c]olor lexicons with few terms tend to occur in

association with relatively simple cultures and simple technologies, while color

lexicons with many terms tend to occur in association with complex cultures and

complex technologies." Namely, the number of color lexicons is in direct proportion

to the complexity of culture development and technology evolution.

Berlin and Kay (1969) discover that in some languages colors are divided into

two categories, 'brilliant' such as white, most red and yellow and 'dull' like black and

most greens. In their evolutionary stages of colors sequence, there are nine languages

belonging to stage one[7] and containing only two basic color terms, *black* and *white*,

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[7] The nine languages containing only two basic color terms are Dugum Dani (New Guinea), Lower
Valley Hitigima (New Guinea), Jalé (New Guinea), Murry Island (New Guinea), Ngombe (Congo),
Paliyan (South India), Pyramid-Wodo (New Guinea), Upper Pyramid (New Guinea) and Torres Straits
Tribes (New Guinea) (Berlin and Kay 1969: 46).

which include the concepts of other associated colors or objects. Also, in revising the basic color category encoding sequence, Witkowsky and Brown (1978) define the stage one as 'macro-white' and 'macro-black'. For these very aboriginal languages, it seems that their worldview is simply divided into a clear-cut *black* and *white*.

In addition to Berlin and Kay (1969), a lot of researches indicate that semantic universals exist in the domain of color vocabulary. For instance, Williams et al. (1970) support the hypothesis of cross-cultural generality in the connotative meanings of basic color terms through the semantic differential ratings of six languages of college students, American Caucasians, American Negroes, Germans, Danes, Hong Kong Chinese and Asiatic Indians. They conduct the rank-order displacement of ten English color terms along the Evaluation, Potency and Activity dimension. *White* is generally viewed as positive, weak and less active while *black* is usually considered to be negative, strong and passive. Also, they find that all groups rank *white* as the most favorable and *brown* and *black* as the least favorable. These colors are often used to designate major racial groups. For example, Caucasians are white and Negroes are black. Nevertheless, although color names retain evaluative connotations of racial groups, the authors discourage such inadequate usages because these terms fail to manifest mutual respect and cooperative harmony among miscellaneous races.

Derrig (1978: 89) examines color terms of four "typologically, genetically,

ecologically and areally diverse languages"—Chinese, Mongolian, Yucatecan Maya, and Zulu. She finds that the extensional senses of color terms share "the continuum of cross-cultural salience". Moreover, through presenting evidence of the existence of biologically based semantic universals, Kay and McDaniel (1978: 610) verify the claim that "these universals are inherent in the human perception of color".

Despite the fact that some studies support color universals on the basis of neurophysiological evidence, some researchers hold another point of view. For example, Wierzbicka (1996) questions Berlin and Kay's (1996) theory of evolutionary sequence. She maintains that the use of color charts or Munsell's color chips are not suitable for showing the meaning of color terms. Wierzbicka (1996: 334) maintains that "[h]uman conceptualization of colour, which is reflected in language, may be constrained by the neurophysiology of vision, but it can be neither described nor explained in terms of neurophysiology. To describe it, we need to take recourse to human conceptual universals." She proposes that we can associate our visual categories with certain easily accessible models such as fire, the sun, vegetation and the sky. It is these 'shared concepts' of fire, sun or sky that can function as cognitive anchors for color naming because only cognitive concepts rather than neurophysiological perceptions are intelligible and communicable to others.

Goddard (1998) also holds the same standpoints as Wierzbicka (1996). He

contends that meanings are communicable, color words are signs, but neural

responses are not communicable and are not signs. Also, since speakers do not know

the facts about neurophysiology and therefore we cannot use these scientific facts to

measure the semantic competence of speakers. Goddard (1998) claims that we should

use visual and environmental things as common reference points in the study of color

meanings. Take black and white for example. The most obvious distinction in all

colors is the light vs. dark distinction. The most significant environmental prototypes

of this distinction are the night and day because "the cycle of day and night is a

recurrent and universal (or near-universal) human experience" as claimed by Goddard

(1998: 126). The representative colors for day and night are white and black,

respectively.

Similar to the standpoints of Wierzbicka (1996) and Goddard (1998), Lucy (1997)

also recognizes that adequate knowledge of color terms cannot be restricted within

color chips and color labeling and that color exists in human beings' interpretation of

light. Lucy (1997: 341) contends that "the communicatively relevant encodings of

visual experience do not lie 'in there' in the biology but out in socially anchored

linguistic systems." Therefore, when studying semantic universals of color terms, we

should take their corresponding reference into consideration.

2.2 Research of Color Terms in Taiwanese Mandarin

The pioneer study of color terms in Mandarin Chinese is done by Berlin and Kay
(1969) and they determine that Chinese is at stage five and the basic color terms are
hēi (黑) 'black', *bái* (白) 'white', *hóng* (紅) 'red', *lǜ* (綠) 'green', *lán* (藍) 'blue' and
huáng (黃) 'yellow'.

Cheng (1991, 2002) examines Chinese color terms through the diachronic
research of *ÈrShíWǔShǐ* (二十五史) 'twenty-five books of Chinese history'. She
traces the origin of basic color terms, outlines evolutionary stages from the ancient
times to the present and verifies the universal tendency proposed by Berlin and Kay
(1969) with Chinese data. Besides, she compares the semantic structure of color terms
of different periods in Chinese history and sketches a profile of the chronology of
color terms as displayed in the following figure 2:
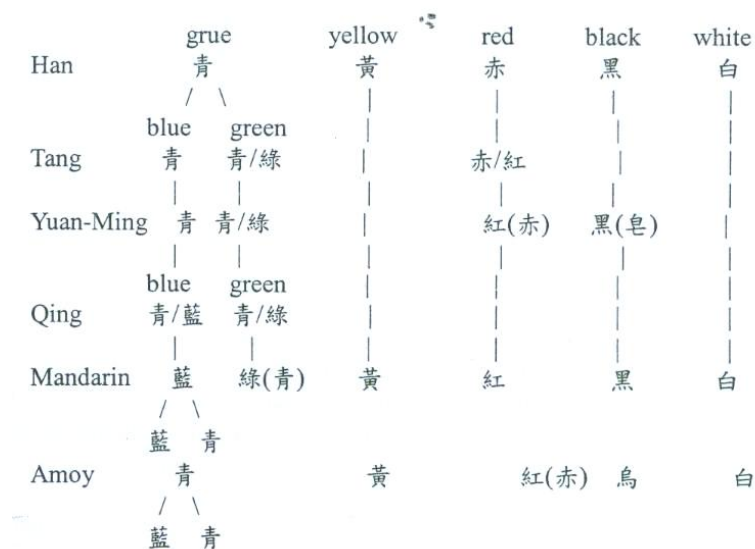
Figure 2. Cheng (2002: 325): A Profile of the Chronology of Color Terms

Like Cheng (1991, 2002), Wu (2011) also investigates the evolution of Chinese

basic color terms over the past 4000 years through counting word frequency based on

works of Chinese literature. He discusses what stages or periods of color terms in

history should be categorized under Berlin and Kay's (1969) work and divides the

evolution into five phases and eight periods.

Cheng (1991: 67) points out that *ShuōWénJiěZì* (說文解字) offers the origins of

the Chinese characters *hēi*, *wū* (烏) and *bái* as in the following:

Table 1. Origins of Chinese Characters *hēi*, *wū* and *bái*

Character	Explanation in *ShuōWénJiěZì*	Cheng (1991)
白 bái	西方色也，陰用事，物色白，從入，合二，二陰數。	a phonetic loan character
黑 hēi	北方色也，火所熏支色也從炎，上出囧。	associative compound
烏 wū	孝鳥也。	a pictographic character

We see that in Mandarin Chinese *wū* does not refer to the color black but stands

for a kind of bird, *wūyā* (烏鴉) 'crow'. It is the character *hēi* that represents the color

black in Mandarin. Cheng (1991: 63) finds that the terms for black are slightly

different in Chinese dialects. Most dialects use the character *hēi* as the color black.

However, NánChāng (南昌) is a transitional area where both *hēi* and *wū* are used. In

some southern regions, people only use the character *wū* to denote the color black.

These areas are MéiXiàn (梅縣), XiàMén (廈門), CháoZhōu (潮州) and FúZhōu (福

州), where people speak Hakka or Southern Min. This may be the reason why *wū*

serves as the color black instead of *hēi* in TH and TSM. In addition, Huang (2003)

finds that *hēi* is only used for rhetoric purposes or proper names in DōngShì (東勢)

Hakka such as Hed ˋLiung ˇGong ˊ(黑龍江). He and Zeng (2006) hold the same

viewpoints in their study of color terms in SìXiàn Hakka. From the above-mentioned

studies, we can tentatively conclude that the terms *vu* (烏) and *oo* (烏) represent the

color black in TH and TSM, respectively.

Chen (1994) investigates the linguistic universals and linguistic relativities of

color-word metaphors in Mandarin Chinese and in English. He proposes a model

which is based on Danesi's (1993) idea and Fearing's (1954) process of

conceptualization. He hypothesizes that those lowly-abstracted color-word metaphors

incline to be linguistic universals. On the other hand, if color-word metaphors are

highly-abstracted, they are more prone to linguistic relativities.[8]

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[8] Chen (1994) divides color terms into five types: Perception-based Type (感知類), Prototype (典型
類), Sensational Type (情緒類), Symbols or signals (符號類) and Slang and idioms (俚語類).
However, we consider Chen's (1994) model to be erroneous because the five types are not classified in
the same dimension or according to the same criteria.

Some studies (e.g., Liu 2001, Lin 2009, Wu 2007) examine cognitive

mechanisms of color terms. To begin with, Liu (2001) investigates the six color terms

in Mandarin and proposes a model for the semantic extensions of the six basic color

words as in the following Table 2. She divides color terms into Concrete/

Perception-based Type, Metonymic Extension, Metaphorical Extension and Arbitrary

Extension.

Table 2. Liu's (2001) Categorization of Mandarin Six Basic Color Words

Category	Some Examples
1. Concrete/ Perception-based type	*hēifǎ* (黑髮) 'black hair'、*báilà* (白蠟) 'white wax'、*hóngdòu* (紅豆) 'red beans'、lántiān (藍天) 'bluesky'
2. Abstract/ Conceptualization type	
2a. Metonymic Extension	*bànhēiliǎn* (扮黑臉) 'to wear a black face; serious'、*báishǒu* (白首) 'white hair; old'、*miànhóngěrchì* (面紅耳赤) 'the face and ears turning red; angry'
2b. Metaphorical Extension	*hēidào* (黑道) 'the underground'、*qīngbái* (清白) 'innocent'、*hóngrén* (紅人) 'famous people'
2c. Arbitrary Extension	*hóngchén* (紅塵) 'the mundane world'、*huángniú* (黃牛) 'a yellow ox; a scalper of tickets'

Lin (2009) adopts the same division of data analysis as Liu's (2001) and

compares six basic color terms in Mandarin and in English, *black*, *white*, *red*, *yellow*,

green and *blue*. One interesting observation she draws is the corresponding three

models between the two languages as presented in Table 3.

Table 3. Lin (2009): Corresponding Models Between English and Chinese

Model	Explanation	Data Example: Chinese-English
1. Associative Coincidence	The same color words The same associative meanings	*hēimíngdān* (黑名單) — black list *jǔbáiqí* (舉白旗) — show the white flag
2. Associative Correspondence	Different color words Same associative meanings	*yǎnhóng* (眼紅) 'showing jealousy'— green eyes *huángsèxiàohuà* (黃色笑話) 'pornographic jokes' — blue joke
3. Associative Conflict	Same color words Different associative meanings	*yǎnhóng* (眼紅) 'showing jealousy' — see red 'angry' *qīngyǎn* (青眼) 'with black eye; to look with favor' — a black eye 'disgraced'

Wu (2007) specifically focuses on the Chinese color term *hēi*. She divides the meaning of the color term *hēi* into two main types: the prototypical meaning such as *hēifǎ* (黑髮) 'black hair' and the non-prototypical extended meaning. The non-prototypical extended meaning includes schematic-related extension like *hēiyè* (黑夜) 'night', metaphorical extension such as *hēidào* (黑道) 'the underground, gangsters', metonymic extension like *hēiliǎn* (黑臉) 'black face; strict person' and history-based and borrowed-translation extension like *hēiànshídài* (黑暗時代) 'Dark Ages'.

Zeng (2002) analyzes the relationship between five fundamental colors (五正色) and *YīnYángWǔXíng* (陰陽五行) 'Yin Yang Five Elements'. He finds that Yin Yang Five Elements deeply influence the development and interpretation of the five

fundamental colors, *hēi*, *bái*, *chì* (赤) 'red', *qīng* (青) 'green or blue', and *huáng*.

Zeng (2002) discovers that the symbolic meanings of color terms are more prominent

than the needs of visual aesthetics for Chinese people in early historical periods.

These extensional meanings of color terms also reflect people's philosophy of life

about the natural world and the life cycle.

From the traditional viewpoints (Huang 2003, Liang 2005, Zeng 2002, Xie 2011),

in Yin Yang Five Elements, the color black in Chinese is situated in the north and

belongs to winter, during which creatures become dormant, plants wither, and people

easily have negative emotions. Therefore, *hēi* has always been regarded as

inauspicious, disastrous, evil and negative in the Chinese community. The color white

in Chinese is located in the north-east which is the position of death in Chinese

FēngShuǐ (風水). Consequently *bái* has been connected with Chinese funerals and the

funeral clothes are white.

2.3 Research of Color Terms in Taiwanese Hakka and Taiwanese Southern Min

The research of color terms in TH (Huang 2003, Liang 2005, Cheng 1991, 2002,

He and Zeng 2006) and in TSM (Cheng 1991, 2002, Liu 2002) has always been

relatively little in comparison with those abundant studies of Chinese color terms.

Cheng (1991, 2002) determines that the color category of TH or TSM is similar to

that of *ShuōWénJiěZì* (說文解字) in Hàn period. There are five basic color terms. For

TH, they are *vu* (烏) 'black', *pag* (白) 'white', *fung* (紅) 'red', *vong* (黃) 'yellow' and

qiang (青) 'grue category of blue and green'. For TSM, these basic color terms are *oo*

(烏) 'black', *pėh* (白) 'white', *âng* (紅) 'red', *n̂g* (黃)[9] 'yellow' and *tshenn* (青) 'grue

category of blue and green'. Cheng (1991) believes that studies of synchronic

variation in dialects can contribute to our understanding of the development of

Chinese basic color terms.

Liang (2005) makes a simple comparison of basic color terms in TM, TH and

English and thereby observes economic activities and unique culture in Hakka groups.

He and Zeng (2006) investigate TH of SìXiàn (四縣) dialects and find that the

surroundings are often embedded in color terms or color-related proverbs. They

believe that we can perceive the racial characteristics and customs of Hakka people

through the color rhetoric in SìXiàn Hakka.

Liu (2002) discusses color terms of ABB form in TSM such as *oo-sim-sim* (烏

BB) and analyzes the different meanings of ABB through prototype theory, semantic

fields and semantic extensions. For example, *pėh-phau-phau* (白 BB) is used to

describe the fair skin while *pėh-bông-bông* (白 BB) illustrates the scenery of natural

beauty. In addition, Liu (2002) contends that the development of semantic extensions

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[9] Notice that in TSM *n̂g* (黃) 'yellow' is for colloquial usages and *hông* (黃) 'yellow' is for rhetorical usages.

is unidirectional from the concrete to the abstract. For instance, *oo-ma-ma* (烏 BB)

describes the lack of lights, which derives from the concrete color of *oo* to the abstract

notions of dirtiness and the lack of lights. Also, *peh-siak-siak* (白 BB) illustrates the

luster of objects, which originates from the concrete color of *peh* to the abstract

notions of cleanliness and the luster of objects.

2.4 Remarks

In investigating the four diverse languages, Derrig (1978) does not address so

much on the cross-linguistic similarities among the extensional senses of color words.

Nevertheless, in reviewing Derrig's (1978) work, Cheng (1991, 2002) deduces one

conclusion. Namely, the earlier stages (black, white, red) in the implicational order are

more productive in creating metaphorical uses than those at the later stages (yellow,

green, blue). In the study of basic color terms in Mandarin Chinese, Cheng (1991,

2002) and Liu (2001) both mention that their studies agree with this conclusion. We

want to observe whether the color terms at the earlier stages, namely, *black* and *white*,

in TH and TSM also contain abundant metaphorical usages.

Liu (2001) proposes a model for the semantic extensions of the six basic color

words in Chinese and classifies the meaning extensions into concrete

perception-based type, metonymic extension, metaphorical extension and arbitrary

extensions. Some studies like Wu (2007) or Lin (2009) adopt her model to analyze

color terms in Chinese and in English. However, we have some doubts about their

explanations of metonymic extension and metaphorical extension.

First of all, we take some examples from Liu's (2001) category of 'metaphorical

extension' for illustration. For the phrases *hēidào* (黑道) 'the underground', *hēijīn* (黑

金) 'underhand payment' and *hēishì* (黑市) 'black market', Liu (2001: 36) gives the

following explanation: "Therefore, *hēi* in *hēidào*, *hēijīn* and *hēishì* indicates such an

'illegal' property." For the phrase *báikāishuǐ* (白開水) 'plain water', Liu (2001: 46)

explains in the following: "As for example (42) *báikāishuǐ*, *bái* indicates 'plain'

because plain water does not contain any flavor." From Liu's (2001) ambiguous

explanations, it seems to us that she refers to the color terms themselves, i.e., *hēi* or

bái, as the metaphorical extension. Maybe Liu (2001) does not clarify her explanation

clearly. However, we would like to clarify and contend that it is the whole chunks or

compounds, e.g., *hēidào*, *hēijīn*, *hēishì* and *báikāishuǐ*, that are the manifestations of

metaphor. Only when the color character collocates with its partner in the whole

compound can the metaphorical extension be derived (e.g., *hēi* with *dào*, *bái* with

kāishuǐ). Likewise, this clarification also applies to the category of metonymic

extension. For example, the whole phrase *jǔbáiqí* (舉白旗) 'hold a white flag' refers

to the act of surrender through the metonymy ACTION FOR RESULT.[10] The color

character, *bái*, in this phrase still refers to the perception color, white, without

denoting any metonymic meaning extension.

In addition, we think Wu (2007) makes the same obscure explanation as Liu

(2001) does with regard to the categories of metonymic extension and metaphorical

extension as displayed in the following: "The second category is 'Metaphorical

Extension' in which the concept of *Hēi* 'black' represents some abstract concepts in

virtue of mapping properties across two different domains." and "The third category

is 'Metonymic Extension' which means that *Hēi* 'black' here has its primary extension

with the metonymic extension of linguistic expression" (Wu 2007: 38). Wu (2007)

seemingly thinks of the color term *hēi* itself as the realization of metaphorical or

metonymic extension. Therefore, we should reiterate our contention. From our

viewpoints, it is the whole compounds that are the manifestations of metaphorical or

metonymic extension instead of the color terms *hēi* and *bái* themselves.

All in all, at this moment we conclude that metonymic extension or metaphorical

extension for color words happen only when they collocate with their modified

components. We surmise that there are only two types for the meanings of the color

terms. One type refers to the meaning of the physiologically visual color. The other

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[10] We consider *jǔbáiqí* (舉白旗) to be the metonymy ACTION FOR RESULT (cf. Kövecses and Radden 1998). Specific data analysis will be presented in Chapter IV later on.

type refers to those extended meanings of the whole compounds. The extended

meanings can be further classified into groups of metaphorical extension or

metonymic extension. The color characters can denote the extended meaning only

when they collocate with particular words in the whole compound.

A lot of efforts have been devoted to the research of color terms in Chinese

whether they are diachronic study (Cheng 1991, 2002), synchronic studies examining

cognitive mechanisms (Chen 1994, Liu 2001, Wu 2007, Lin 2009) or experimental

studies (Zhang 1998, Fei 1999, Liu and Zeng 2009). In comparison, studies of color

terms in TH or TSM have received relatively little attention. We find that except for

Liu's (2002) study, other studies seem to merely present the data without offering

linguistic accounts. We wonder whether TH or TSM contains abundant extended

usages like TM. Since the research of color terms in dialects has been scanty, more

studies are necessary and worthwhile.

Furthermore, although color universals seem to be pervasive among all

languages, there are color terms that are language-specific. Cheng (2002: 330) points

out that "color itself is the reflection of neurophysiology, which exists objectively in

the outer world, but the attitude, emotion evoked by a color or things which color

symbolizes might be subjective or determined by a culture." Huang (2003) holds the

same viewpoint in that distinctive characteristics of culture among different racial

groups can be uncovered through usages of color terms. In brief, it is maintained that

studying color terms of different languages or dialects may open a window to the

different facets of their lives (Cheng 2002, Huang 2003, Liang 2005, He and Zeng

2006, Zeng 2002 and Xie 2011). Therefore, we intend to compare color terms in TM,

TH and TSM, which are the major languages in Taiwan, and observe the

characteristics of different language groups.

From the angle of science, the Greek philosopher Aristotle maintains that black

and white are the fundamental components of the light and that all colors are

generated through various combinations of black and white. Aristotle's viewpoints

remain persistent until the English scientist Newton discovers that the spectrum

consists of seven essential colors, red, orange, yellow, green, blue, indigo and violet.

In the field of optics, Netwon's pioneer experiment is regarded as the first scientific

research of colors (Liang 2005). Irrespective of whether these arguments are

scientifically valid or not, the colors black and white seem to constitute the two pillars

in all colors and are thought of as the evident opposition in the natural world.

Black and white are the two most fundamental and essential colors in the natural

world as stipulated at stage one in Berlin and Kay's (1969) evolutionary sequence.

Wierzbicka (1996) and Goddard (1998) all contend that we should resort to visual and

environmental things in the study of color terms. The most salient environmental

prototypes of the colors black and white are the night and day, whose presence is

considered universal human experience. Because the two colors, black and white, are

universally perceivable to all mankind, speakers of TM, TH and TSM also possess

some commonality in the usages of the color terms. However, as mentioned before,

we do observe some variations about the two color terms *black* or *white* among so

geographically contiguous languages. Therefore, we are curious about why there are

variations of extensional usages about the most fundamental colors among TM, TH

and TSM. In what follows, theories of metaphor and metonymy will be displayed in

order to understand the cognitive mechanisms lying behind color terms. In addition,

frameworks of Kövecses (2005) are provided in order to better account for

universality and variations regarding usages of color terms. Also, Packard's (2000)

categorization of lexicalization enables us to observe color terms from another

perspective.

CHAPTER Ⅲ

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In Chapter Ⅲ we will lay out our theoretical framework. To begin with, theories

of metaphor and metonymy will be introduced. Cultural factors in metaphor

(Kövecses 2005) will be presented later on and include cross-cultural variations and

within-culture variations. Furthermore, we will display Packard's (2000)

categorization of lexicalization.

3.1 Metaphor and Metonymy

3.1.1 Metaphor

In classical theories of language, metaphor is regarded as a matter of language

instead of thought and the word metaphor is confined to the definition of a novel or

poetic linguistic expression. However, in contemporary theory of cognitive linguistics

(e.g., Lakoff and Johnson 1980), metaphor is considered to be a conceptual and

inherent part of our thoughts and languages instead of merely being a rhetorical

device. This viewpoint originates from Michael Reddy's (1979) stipulation of

metaphor: "The locus of metaphor is thought, not language, that metaphor is a major and indispensable part of our ordinary, conventional way of conceptualizing the world, and that our everyday behavior reflects our metaphorical understanding of experience" (Lakoff 1993: 204).

Lakoff (1993) also clarifies some traditional false assumptions. He contends that metaphor structures our everyday conceptual system, in which most abstract concepts are included and that metaphor lies behind our everyday language. The metaphor is not just a matter of language but of thought and reason. Ungerer and Schmid (2006) also consider metaphor to be a way of thinking and a powerful cognitive tool for the conceptualization of the world.

Conceptual metaphor can be understood as a mapping from a source domain to a target domain. For example, in the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY, the source domain is JOURNEY and is mapped onto the target domain, LOVE. The mapping is strictly structured and there are ontological correspondences. The entities in the domain of love such as lovers, the love relationship or the lovers' common goals correspond to those in the domain of a journey such as travelers, the vehicle and their common destinations on the journey. The English expressions of this conceptual metaphor are like these sentences: Look *how far we've come*. We'll just have to *go our separate ways*. This relationship is a *dead-end street*. (Lakoff and Johnson 1980)

Croft and Cruse (2004: 198) summarize Lakoff's conceptual theory of metaphor

as listed in the following:

(i) It is a theory of recurrently conventionalized expressions in everyday language in which literal and metaphorical elements are intimately combined grammatically.

(ii) The conventional metaphorical expressions are not a purely linguistic phenomenon, but the manifestation of a conceptual mapping between two semantic domains; hence, the mapping is general and productive (and assumed to be characteristic of the human mind).

(iii) The metaphorical mapping is asymmetrical: the expression is about a situation in one domain (the target domain) using concepts mapped over from another domain (the source domain).

(iv) The metaphorical mapping can be used for metaphorical reasoning about concepts in the target domain.

In addition to source domain and target domain, Ungerer and Schmid (2006)

emphasize that another key element in metaphor is mapping scope. The mapping

scope can be understood as "a set of constraints regulating which correspondences are

eligible for mapping from a source concept onto a chosen target concept" (Ungerer

and Schmid 2006: 119). Most importantly, the mapping scope is culturally constrained

and deeply entrenched in the minds of speakers in a certain culture. Ungerer and

Schmid (2006: 120) state that "the entrenchment of the mapping scope may vary

widely, and this is reflected from a sociopragmatic angle in the degree of

conventionalization (or social sanctioning) a metaphor has achieved in a speech

community". Take the metaphor TIME IS MONEY for example. The following are its

metaphorical expressions: You're *wasting* my time. We are *running out of* time. Can you *give* me a few minutes? Is that *worth* your while? These metaphorical expressions all revolve around an evaluation that the mapping scope incorporates, that is, *money is a valuable commodity*. Other attributes about money such as *money is evil* is thus not involved in this mapping scope. Here we know how intimately metaphor is constrained and corresponded with cultural evaluations.

In a metaphor, the source domain is usually concrete whereas the target domain is invariably abstract. Abstract target concepts are usually grounded in more concrete source concepts. Take these metaphors in English for example: LIFE IS A JOURNEY. ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL. UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING. The abstract target domain, LIFE, ANGER or UNDERSTANDING is conceptualized through the concrete source domain, JOURNEY, DANGEROUS ANIMAL or SEEING. Goatly (2011) mentions a more general metaphor: ABSTRACT QUALITY IS PHYSICAL [QUALITY]. There are some color-related metaphors that can be deemed as sub-metaphors of this general metaphor: BAD IS DARK. CLEVERNESS IN UNDERSTANDING/OBTAINING KNOWLEDGE IS BRIGHTNESS. INABILITY TO UNDERSTAND IS DARKNESS.

3.1.2 Metonymy

Metonymy is different from metaphor. Lakoff and Turner (1989) state that

metaphor is defined as the conceptual mapping from source domain to target domain

and both domains must belong to different superordinate domains. On the contrary,

metonymy involves mapping within one superordinate domain. Lakoff and Johnson

(1980: 36) clarify the distinction between metaphor and metonymy as below:

"Metaphor is principally a way of conceiving one thing in terms of another, and its
primary function is understanding. Metonymy, on the other hand, has primarily a
referential function, that is, it allows us to use one entity to stand for another."

The traditional view regards a metonymy as a stand-for relationship between

entities and the nature of the relationship as contiguity or proximity. Kövecses and

Radden (1998) present a comprehensive cognitive-linguistic account of metonymy.

They define metonymy as the following (Kövecses and Radden 1998: 39):

"Metonymy is a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle,
provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same
domain, or ICM."

ICMs (Idealized Cognitive Models) refer to a network of entities within one

ontological realm and these entities are related to each other by specific conceptual

relationships (Kövecses and Radden 1998: 48). The authors categorize

metonymy-producing relationships into two major types: Whole ICM and its parts

and Parts of an ICM. Specific classifications of the two conceptual configurations are

summarized in the following:

A. Whole ICM and its parts

1. Thing-and-part ICM

    a. Whole thing for a part of the thing

    b. Part of a thing for the whole thing

2. Scale ICM

3. Constitution ICM

    a. Object for material constituting that object

    b. The material constituting an object for the object

4. Complex event ICM

    a. Successive subevents for complex event

    b. Co-present subevents for complex event

5. Category-and-member ICM

    a. A category for a member of the category

    b. A member of a category for the category

6. Category-and-property ICM

    a. Category for defining property

    b. Defining property for category

B. Parts of an ICM

1. Action ICM:

Agent for action, Action for agent, Object involved in an action for the action, Action for object involved in the action, Result for action, Action for result, Instrument for action, Means for action, Manner of action for the action, Time period of action for the action, Destination for motion, and Time of motion for an entity involved in the motion

2. Perception ICM:

Instrument/organ for perception for the perception, Manner of perception for the perception, Perception for thing perceived and Thing perceived for the perception

3. Causation ICM:

Cause for effect

Effect for cause：(1) State/event for the thing/person/state that caused it.

(2) Emotion for cause of emotion.

(3) Mental state for object/person causing it.

(4) Physiological/behavioral effect for emotion.

(5) Sound caused for the event that caused it.

4. Production ICM:

Producer for product, Author for his work and Place for product made there

5. Control ICM:

Controller for controlled, Controlled for controller and The object for the user of the object

6. Possession ICM:

Possessor for possessed and Possessed for possessor

7. Containment ICM:

Container for contained, Contained for container and Place for inhabitants

8. ICMs involving indeterminate relationships

9. Sign and reference ICMs

For example, when we call somebody *a jerk*, we actually refer to his stupidity.

This is the metonymy CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY. Also, in the

example *We are reading Shakespeare*, *Shakespeare* stands for Shakespeare's work.

This is an example of the metonymy AUTHOR FOR HIS WORK.

Furthermore, Ungerer and Schmid (2006) claim that a community of speakers

share and accept certain encyclopedic knowledge, which serves as the mapping scope

for a metonymy. For example, in the sentence *All hands are on deck*, *hands* refer to

workers on the deck. Here the context of shipping denoted by the word *deck* is

"socially sanctioned and situationally relevant" (Ungerer and Schmid 2006: 128).

'Shipping' offers a mapping scope for the part-whole link between HAND and

BODY/PERSON. Also, in the sentence *The university needs more clever heads*, *heads*

refer to intelligent people because the mapping scope 'university' also provides a link

between HEAD and BODY/PERSON.

Instead of discretely separating metaphor and metonymy, Radden (2000) holds

the viewpoint that there is a metonymy-metaphor continuum with fuzzy cases in between. Metaphor and metonymy can be regarded as two prototypical categories at the two endpoints of this continuum. Metonymy-based metaphors are the fuzzy middle range of the continuum. Radden (2000: 93) defines metaphor, metonymy and metonymy-based metaphor as in the following: '*Metonymy* is a mapping within the same conceptual domain. *Metaphor* is a mapping of one conceptual domain onto another. *Metonymy-based metaphor* is a mapping involving two conceptual domains which are grounded in, or can be traced back to, one conceptual domain.'

Ruiz de Mendoza (2000) contends there are two types of metonymic mappings. One is the source-in-target metonymy, in which the source is a subdomain of the target. Another is the target-in-source metonymy, in which the target is a subdomain of the source. She then identifies three possibilities regarding the interaction between metaphor and metonymy: source-in-target metonymy within the metaphoric source, source-in-target metonymy within the metaphoric target and target-in-source metonymy within the metaphoric target. For example, the sentence *He got up on his hind legs to defend his views.* is the manifestation of the source-in-target metonymy within the metaphoric source (Ruiz de Mendoza 2000: 122). First, the scene of an animal rearing up represents its intention to attack out of fear (source-in-target metonymy). Then this metonymy serves as the metaphoric source in which a person

energetically stands up on his two legs to prepare to argue in public. Finally, this

metaphoric source is mapped onto the metaphoric target in which a person defends his

views in public with vigor without actually standing up.

3.2 Cultural Factors in Metaphor

3.2.1 Universality and Variation in Metaphor

The question of how metaphor is related to culture is addressed by Kövecses

(2005). Kövecses (2005:1) regards culture as "a set of shared understandings that

characterize smaller or larger groups of people." We often use metaphors to

understand intangible things such as time, inner life, emotions or moral values and

these metaphors are essential in the ways we experience these intangible things in

cultures. Therefore, Kövecses (2005: 2) contends that "metaphor may be an inherent

part of culture." Primary metaphors may be universal, but the combinations of

primary metaphors are likely to be language-specific. Kövecses (2005: 4) further

claims that "cultures greatly influence what complex conceptual metaphors emerge

from the primary metaphors."[11]

Metaphors can be universal or non-universal. On the one hand, universal bodily

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[11] Boers (2003: 235) also holds the same viewpoints: "[V]ariations in metaphor usage could also be studied with a view to finding (indirect) evidence of linguistic relativity, in the sense that a community's figurative language could be considered as a reflection of that community's conventional patterns of thought or world views."

experience may generate universal primary metaphor. Kövecses (2005) presents some

case studies of metaphors in some sufficiently diverse languages in order to

demonstrate that metaphors can be universal or near-universal. For example, some

metaphors about happiness all occur in English, Chinese and Hungarian such as

HAPPINESS IS UP, HAPPINESS IS LIGHT and HAPPINESS IS A FLUID IN A

CONTAINER. The anger metaphor THE ANGRY PERSON IS A PRESSURIZED

CONTAINER is also widely found in English, Chinese, Japanese, Hungarian, Polish

and Zulu. Kövecses (2005:42) concludes that the actual physiological process may be

universal. The universality of physiological mechanisms leads to the similarities in

conceptualized physiological reactions (the conceptual metonymies), giving rise to the

similarity in the metaphorical conceptualization.

There are two major dimensions that metaphor variation is most likely to occur,

the cross-cultural and within-culture dimensions. We will introduce the two

dimensions in the following. Furthermore, Kövecses (2005) mentions that the

cognitive linguistic view of metaphors is composed of several components, which are

regarded as aspects of metaphor. These aspects of metaphor include source domain,

target domain, experiential basis, neural structures corresponding to source domain

and target domain in the brain, relationships between the source and the target,

metaphorical linguistic expressions, mappings, entailments, blends, nonlinguistic

realizations and cultural models.

3.2.2 Cross-Cultural Variation

Kövecses (2005) stipulates four types of cross-cultural variation in conceptual

metaphors, that is, congruent metaphors, alternative metaphors, preferential

conceptualization of metaphors and unique metaphors.

(1) Congruent Metaphors

Kövecses (2005:68) displays his explanation of congruent metaphors in the

following: "The metaphor constitutes a generic schema that is filled out by each

culture that has the metaphor. The metaphors that are filled out in congruence with the

generic schema are called *congruent metaphors*. When the generic schema is filled

out, it receives unique cultural content at a specific level. In other words, a

generic-level conceptual metaphor is instantiated in culture-specific ways at a specific

level. This is one kind of cross-cultural variation." For example, different cultures

have different concepts about the same anger-related metaphor, THE ANGRY

PERSON IS A PRESSURED CONTAINER. In Japanese, a lot of anger-related

expressions revolve around the Japanese concept of *hara* (literally, 'belly'). The

Chinese anger metaphors center around $q\grave{i}$ (氣) 'gas', which traces its roots in the

history of Chinese history and medicine. Unlike Chinese and English, Zulu has anger

metaphors involving the heart, namely, ANGER IS (UNDERSTOOD AS BEING) IN

THE HEART. The three languages differ in the specific contents that they give to the

same conceptual metaphor.

(2) Alternative Metaphors

Kövecses (2005) classifies alternative metaphors into three types, the range of

the target, the scope of the source and large-scale alternative conceptualization. First,

the range of target refers to the available source domains that languages and cultures

have for the conceptualization of a particular target domain. For example, for the

same target domain HAPPINESS, Chinese and English share the same source domain,

UP, LIGHT and FLUID IN A CONTAINER. Nevertheless, Chinese exclusively has

the metaphor HAPPINESS IS FLOWERS IN THE HEART whereas English

possesses the metaphor BEING HAPPY IS BEING OFF THE GROUND. This

reflects the introverted character of Chinese and extroverted temperament of English.

The scope of source refers to the set of target domains that a particular source

domain can correspond to. For example, English, Japanese, Arabic and Portuguese

have different target domains applying to the same source domain 'buildings'. In

English, there are THEORIES ARE BUILDINGS, RELATIONSHIPS ARE

BUILDINGS, A CAREER IS A BUILDING or A COMPANY IS A BUILDING.

Kövecses (2005) uses spatial relation to illustrate large-scale alternative conceptualization. Different language speakers use their own bodies and relationships to the surrounding environments to conceptualize spatial relations. For example, Koller (2003) deduces three basic schemata after studying expressions of spatial relations in different languages: the body-only schemata, the body and environment schema and the extended body schema.[12]

(3) Preferential Conceptualization

Speakers of different languages may share some metaphors for a target domain but they might prefer to use a certain set of metaphors for this target domain. Take the same target domain LIFE for illustration. English and Hungarian share the same source domains, GAME, JOURNEY, COMPROMISE and WAR. However, in terms of preference proportion, Americans prefer the source domains of PRECIOUS POSSESSION and GAME whereas Hungarians tend to regard life as a STRUGGLE or WAR and as a COMPROMISE. Kövecses (2005:85) suggests that "Americans and Hungarians have *different concepts* of life and that the differences arise as a result of the different preferences in the use of largely overlapping source domains."

(4) Unique Metaphors

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[12] Koller's (2003) three basic schemata are described here (Kövecses 2005: 80-81). In the body-only schema, people derive spatial relations from the human body. For example, the 'head' is used to mean UP, and the 'foot/leg' means DOWN. In the body and environment schema, it is environmental landmarks that are used for understanding spatial relations. Thus, 'sky/cloud' means UP and 'earth' means DOWN. In the extended body schema, words referring to human habitat like 'home', or 'house' can contribute to the meaning of words like AT, TO, WITH or UP.

Kövecses (2005:86) defines unique metaphors as in the following: "A culturally

unique conceptual metaphor is one that has *both* a culturally unique source domain

and a culturally unique target domain." He takes one historic event for example.

During the beginning of 19th century, many slaves escaped from the North to the

South in the United States. They conceived of their secret train ride as the

Underground Railroad. For this metaphor, the source domain is the ride on the

Underground Railroad and the target domain is the clandestine escape of slaves. Both

the source domain and the target domain are culturally unique.

3.2.3 Within-Culture Variation

Kövecses (2005) suggests that there are eight dimensions regarding

within-culture variation in metaphor. They are the social dimension, the ethnic

dimension, the regional dimension, the style dimension, the subculture dimension, the

diachronic dimension, the developmental dimension and the individual dimension.

Some metaphors can include several dimensions at the same time. We will give a brief

introduction to these dimensions in the following.

(1) The Social Dimension

The social dimension is related to the differentiation of society such as men and

women, young and old, and middle-class and working-class. For example, in Japanese,

women are metaphorically described as commodities (WOMEN ARE A

COMMODITY) but such conceptualization is not seen in men. Kövecses (2005:91)

contends that "[a] language community may employ differential metaphorical

conceptualization along a social division that is relevant in that society." The more

different these metaphorical conceptualizations are, the more entrenched or more

important the division is.

(2) The Ethnic Dimension

Different ethnic groups may have different but congruent source domains for a

target domain in a metaphor. For example, for the same conceptual metaphor,

IMPORTANT IS CENTRAL, Black American English has the expression *nitty-gritty*

while White people has *bottom line* for the target domain of importance.

(3) The Regional Dimension

The physical environment where various dialects of a language are used has an

influence on metaphor variation. Kövecses (2010:219-220) further stipulates that

"[G]iven a certain kind of habitat, speakers living there will be attuned (most

subconsciously) to things and phenomena that are characteristic of that habitat; and

they will make use of these things and phenomena for the metaphorical

comprehension and creation of their conceptual universe." For example, in

comparison with the nature metaphor of common stock Dutch and its derivative

language Afrikaans Dutch (spoken in South Africa), the common stock Dutch never

has nature metaphors based on animals. This reflects the calm and serene natural

atmosphere in European countries. In contrast, Afrikaans Dutch has metaphors based

on various kinds of animals and forceful images of nature. This may be attributed to

the hilly landscapes in some Africa where Afrikaans Dutch is used.

(4) The Style Dimension

The style dimension refers to linguistic variation according to the communicative

setting, subject matter, medium, audience, to name just a few. Take subject matter or

topic for example. Headlines of American newspapers use different metaphors to

describe football games according to the names of football teams. Also, take

audience-related variation for instance. About this dimension, metaphors change

along with level of formality, formal, neutral (colloquial), informal and slang usage.

(5) The Subculture Dimension

The separateness of subculture gives rise to unique metaphorical

conceptualization of important concepts. Subculture includes religious groups,

literature and psychotherapeutic discourse. Sometimes people within a certain

subculture use qualitatively different metaphors that distinguish them from the others.

Take religious groups for illustration. Religious groups form a tight cohesion among

themselves and they hold core values that some particular conceptual metaphors are

based on. For example, pilgrims in Conyers use more non-visual metaphors than visual metaphors for two purposes. One is to display themselves as people undergoing a religious transformation. The other is to show that they have authentic religious knowledge and this differentiates them from others who are not pilgrims.

(6) The Diachronic Dimension

The diachronic dimension refers to the fact that metaphors may change through time. For instance, Caroline and Gevaert (2001a, 2001b) show that the conceptualization of anger changed greatly from Old English to Middle English (Kövecses 2005:104). 'Heat' is not a constant feature in the conceptualization of anger but can fluctuate along with the development of English.

(7) The Development Dimension

The development dimension is relevant to the dimension of age or language acquisition. Johnson (1997) identifies three stages in the emergence of patterns of metaphorical thoughts. Take the primary metaphor KNOWING IS SEEING for example. The first stage is the strictly literal sense and the verb *see* is viewed as physical vision as in 'I *see* the dog'. The second stage is the conflation of literal sense and metaphorical sense as when a young child says, 'I want to *see* what's in the box'. The third stage is the strictly metaphorical sense as in 'I *see* what you mean', where *see* is regarded as knowing.

(8) The Individual Dimension

Metaphorical usages can vary considerably from person to person whether they

are celebrities or ordinary people. For example, politicians use different sports

metaphors in their election campaign according to their individual backgrounds about

sports.

Kövecses (2005) stipulates several perspectives about cross-cultural and

within-culture variations of metaphors. In Chapter Ⅳ, we will utilize his frameworks

to examine the two color terms, *black* and *white*, in TM, TH and TSM.

3.3 Lexicalization

Lexicalization is an essential concept in Chinese because it provides explanation

for the variable nature of the relationship between a word and its components.

Packard (2000: 216) defines the term lexicalization as "cases in which material

develops into or is recruited to form lexical items." Lexicalization possesses a

gradient property so there are weakly lexicalized words and strongly lexicalized

words. Packard's (2000: 217) explanations of the two types are repeated here: "A

word is weakly lexicalized if its components remain semantically and grammatically

transparent and available to the grammar at large." and "A word is strongly

lexicalized if the components become semantically and grammatically unavailable or

opaque." For example, in Chinese, *chīfàn* (吃飯) [eat-rice] 'to eat a meal' is weakly

lexicalized and *yāgēn* (壓根) [pressure-root] 'completely, totally' is strongly

lexicalized.

Packard (2000: 217) maintains that "the more strongly lexicalized a word is, the

weaker the connection is between the properties of the gestalt word and the properties

of its constituents." Namely, the degree of lexicalization within a word increases

along with the loss of word component morpheme characteristics, including semantic

reduction and grammatical reduction. Packard (2000) classifies five categories of

lexicalization as illustrated below.

(1) Conventional Lexicalization

In conventional lexicalization, the meanings of individual word components and

the grammatical relationships among them are completely retained. *Huángdòu* (黃豆)

[yellow-bean] 'soybean' is such an example. Conventional lexicalization undergoes

the lowest degree of lexicalization.

(2) Metaphorical Lexicalization

There are two types of metaphorical lexicalization, component metaphorical

lexicalization (at the component level) and word metaphorical lexicalization (at the

level of gestalt word). In component metaphorical lexicalization, one or both of the

word components possess a metaphorical meaning (grammatical relationships still

remain) and the overall meaning of the word is the compositional sum of its

metaphorical parts such as the term *tàshí* (踏實) [step-reality] 'to be realistic' (no

'stepping' take place).

On the other hand, in word metaphorical lexicalization, the meaning at the level

of the gestalt word is metaphorical whereas the meanings of the individual

morphemes are non-metaphorical. The manifestation of figuration is at the level of the

gestalt words such as *pàoyǐng* (泡影) [bubble-shadow] 'visionary hope'.

(3) Asemantic Lexicalization

In asemantic lexicalization, the meanings of individual morphemes are lost but

the grammatical relationship between word components still exists. *Wènshì* (問世)

[ask-word] '(said of a new book) to be published' is such an instance.

(4) Agrammatical Lexicalization

In agrammatical lexicalization, the semantic relationship between the individual

components and the meaning of the gestalt word is evident. There is no obvious

grammatical relationship between the word components. *Zhǔbǐ* (主筆) [primary-pen]

'editor-in-chief' is one example.

(5) Complete Lexicalization

Packard (2000: 222) calls complete lexicalization the most lexicalized type

because "both the internal structure of the word and the original meanings of the

components are completely opaque." Examples include *huāshēng* (花生) [flower-born]

'peanut' or phonetic loanwords like *shāfā* (沙發) 'sofa' or *jítā* (吉他) 'guitar'. This

type experiences the highest degree of lexicalization.

In brief, the highest degree of lexicalization is considered complete lexicalization,

which possesses opaque word component meaning and absent grammatical identity or

relations. The lowest degree of lexicalization is considered conventional lexicalization

whose semantic and grammatical reductions do not take place. Agrammatical,

asemantic and metaphorical lexicalizations are three types whose degrees of

lexicalization fall between the highest and the lowest ones[13]. In Chapter Ⅳ, we will

utilize Packard's (2000) lexicalization types to complement our discussion about the

two color terms, *black* and *white*, in TM, TH and TSM.

In this chapter, we have reviewed cognitive theories of metaphor and metonymy.

We have also introduced Kövecses' (2005) cultural factors in metaphor, in which

several perspectives about cross-cultural and within-culture variations in metaphors

are addressed. Moreover, we have displayed Packard's (2000) contentions of

lexicalization, which offer explanations for the variable nature of the relationship

between a word and its components. In the upcoming Chapter Ⅳ, we will categorize

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[13] Packard (2000: 225) addresses the connection between degree of lexicalization and lexical stratum and further ranks the degree of lexicalization among the three types, agrammatical lexicalization the highest, metaphorical lexicalization the lowest and asemantic lexicalization is in between. However, we find that the three types of criteria for the degree of lexicalization is not unproblematic. Also, Packard (2000: 225) states the ranking serves "as a working hypothesis rather than a rigorous computational formalism". Therefore, we will not adopt the ranking of lexicalization degree among the three types of lexicalization for our analysis.

color terms, *black* and *white*, in TM, TH and TSM according to their different

cognitive mechanisms. Kövecses' (2005) cultural factors will also be used to discuss

universality and variations about color terms in the three languages. Furthermore, we

will briefly use Packard's (2000) lexicalization types to complement our discussion

with regard to the relationships between the color terms and their collocating

components.

CHAPTER Ⅳ

ANALYSIS

After reviewing related literature and theoretical frameworks, in this chapter we will conduct our data analysis. In total, we have 209 tokens of *hēi* color terms and 361 tokens of *bai* color terms in TM data, 89 items of *vu* color terms and 114 items of *pag* color terms in TH data and 168 tokens of *oo* color terms and 130 tokens of *pėh* color terms in TSM data. We will classify the data into categories of prototypical meaning, metonymic extensions, metaphorical extensions and idiosyncratic examples. Nevertheless, given the tremendous amount of data we have, we will only select a few items out of each category to explicate and the complete storage of data is attached in Appendix. In addition, corresponding lexicalization types will be complemented to the illustration of each category. In Section 4.1, we will present analysis of the color terms *black* in TM, TH and TSM. Section 4.2 will display analysis of the color terms *white* in the three languages. Finally, we will discuss cultural factors in Section 4.3.

4.1 Analysis of the Color Terms *Black* in TM, TH and TSM

In this section, we will analyze the color term *hēi* in TM, *vu* in TH and *oo* in TSM according to different cognitive mechanisms. We categorize the data into groups of prototypical meaning, metonymic extensions, metaphoric extensions and idiosyncratic examples. The prototypical meaning of the color term *black* refers to the physiologically visual color, black. About metonymic extensions, in this group color terms represent conceptual entities which derive from the source domain of the visual color black within the same ICM. With regard to metaphoric extensions, color terms undergo a conceptual mapping from a source domain of the visual color to a target domain and both domains belong to different superordinate domains. Idiosyncratic examples refer to proverbial expressions or color terms whose meanings are arbitrary, originating from historical roots or other resources. In what follows, we will examine these categories and present detailed illustrations.

4.1.1 Prototypical Meaning

The prototypical meaning of the color term *hēi* in TM, *vu* in TH and *oo* in TSM refer to the visual color black or darkness. Here the connection between the color term *black* and its collocating components is apparent since *black* directly depicts the color of its components. There are 97 tokens of TM data, 50 tokens of TH data and 86

tokens of TSM data. Some examples are listed in the following.

(1) Prototypical meaning of *hēi* color terms in TM:
a. *hēifǎ* (黑髮) [black-hair] 'black hair'
b. *hēitàn* (黑炭) [black-coal] 'black coal'
c. *hēiyè* (黑夜) [black-night] 'dark night'
d. *hēiyǐng* (黑影) [black-shadow] 'black shadow'
e. *hēiyáng* (黑羊) [black-goat] 'black goat'

(2) Prototypical meaning of *vu* color terms in TH:
a. *vuˇtongˇ* (烏糖) [black-sugar] 'black sugar'
b. *vuˇbanˇ* (烏斑) [black-spot] 'black spot'
c. *vuˇiunˇ* (烏雲) [black-cloud] 'dark cloud'
d. *vuˇimˇtienˇ* (烏陰天) [black-dark-day] 'dark, cloudy weather'
e. *vuˇsoˇdid dab* (烏疏滴滺) 'very dark'

(3) Prototypical meaning of *oo* color terms in TSM:
a. *oo-tāu* (烏豆) [black-bean] 'black bean'
b. *oo-lîn* (烏仁) [black-pupil] 'black pupil'
c. *oo-ian-thû*n (烏煙黗) [black-smoke-dust] 'coal dusts or soots on pots or chimneys'
d. *oo-thinn-àm-tē* (烏天暗地) [black-sky-dark-ground] 'dark, cloudy weather'
e. *oo-sìm-sìm* (烏黗黗) 'describing dark and shiny hair'

Since black is the representative color of human conceptual universal about night

(Wierzbicka 1996, Goddard 1998), it is reasonable that TM, TH and TSM all possess

abundant data of prototypical meaning. *Black* describes the color of the collocating

objects like *hēifǎ* (黑髮) or *hēitàn* (黑炭) in TM, *vuˇtongˇ* (烏糖) or *vuˇbanˇ* (烏斑)

in TH and *oo-tāu* (烏豆) or *oo-lîn* (烏仁) in TSM. *Black* also depicts the darkness of

the night or weather condition such as *hēiyè* (黑夜) in TM, *vuˇimˇtienˇ* (烏陰天) in

TH or *oo-thinn-àm-tē* (烏天暗地) in TSM. From the perspective of lexicalization type

(Packard 2000), color terms of prototypical meaning belong to conventional

lexicalization, undergoing the lowest degree of lexicalization. The meanings of

individual word components such as *hēi* and *fǎ* as in *hēifǎ* (黑髮) are completely

retained and there is no grammatical reduction.

4.1.2 Metonymic Extensions

In the group of metonymic extensions, the source domain of black provides

mental access to another conceptual entity in the target domain and both domains are

within the same ICM (Kövecses and Radden 1998). Through different metonymic

mechanisms, color terms of *black* in the three languages have various extensions.

There are 25 items of TM data, two items of TH data and 17 items of TSM data in this

category. We will enumerate some data in the following to explain. Examples of TM

are listed in (4), TH data are in (5) and TSM examples can be seen in (6).

(4) Metonymic extensions of color terms *hēi* in TM:
a. *hēishǒu* (黑手) [black-hand] 'a mechanic'
b. *bànhēiliǎn* (扮黑臉) [wear-black-face] 'to be serious or strict to people'
c. *bēihēiguō* (背黑鍋) [carry-black-pot] 'to be responsible for others' misdeeds'
d. *Kàn tā zhèmo húnào,wǒ liǎn dōu hēi le.* (看他這麼胡鬧，我臉都黑了。)
   [see-he-so-act recklessly, my-face-all-black]
   'Seeing that he acts so recklessly, I was very astonished and furious.'
e. *hēiliǎndǒngzuǐ* (黑臉董嘴) [black-face-tense-mouth]
   'expressionless, unemotional, cruel'

In example (4a), *hēishǒu* (黑手) is a case of the metonymy PART FOR WHOLE.

Mechanics' hands are constantly stained and therefore we use their distinguishing

black hands (PART) to stand for their occupation (WHOLE).

Examples (4b) and (4c) are the manifestation of Action ICM. The origin of

bànhēiliǎn (扮黑臉) comes from the traditional Chinese opera. An actor who wears a

black face plays the role of a severe and cruel person, so consequently people use

bànhēiliǎn (扮黑臉) to indicate the act of being strict to others. This is through the

metonymy MANNER OF ACTION FOR ACTION. Similarly, *bēihēiguō* (背黑鍋) is

also the realization of the same metonymy.[14] In Chinese culture, people used to

utilize traditional stoves to cook and gradually there would be layers of stains or soot

beneath the pot. If you carry the black pot on your back, your back will become

stained and dirty. As a result, *hēiguō* (黑鍋) 'black pot' is compared to people's

crimes or misdeeds and *bēihēiguō* (背黑鍋) represents the act of shouldering

responsibility for others' wrong doings.

Examples (4d) and (4e) are the demonstration of the metonymy

PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS FOR EMOTION. In (4d), when we are in a bad mood,

in astonishment or in fury, our faces look dark, gloomy and unpleasant.

Wǒliǎndōuhēile (我臉都黑了) 'my face becomes dark' is such an expression[15] used

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[14] Specifically, *bànhēiliǎn* (扮黑臉) and *bēihēiguō* (背黑鍋) are metonymy-based metaphors (Ruiz de Mendoza 2000). First, through the metonymy MANNER OF ACTION FOR ACTION, *bànhēiliǎn* stands for the role of a severe and cruel person in the traditional Chinese opera; *bēihēiguō* stands for carrying an unpleasant object on one's back. Then the metonymy serves as the metaphoric source which is further mapped onto the metaphoric target. Consequently, the concrete actions metaphorically imply some abstract notions. *Bànhēiliǎn* thus indicates the act of being strict to others; *bēihēiguō* refers to the act of shouldering responsibility for others' wrong doings. (We thank Dr. Hsueh-o Lin and Miao-hsia Chang for indicating that some color terms are metonymy-based metaphors.)

[15] Notice that this is a context-based metonymy. The whole sentence constitutes the realization of this metonymy. Another similar expression in TM to describe the dark face is *wǒtiěqīngzheliǎn* (我鐵青著臉) 'My face is dark green'.

to describe the look of face when we are astonished or furious. The dark face

(PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS) stands for our astonishment or anger (EMOTION).

Likewise, *hēiliǎndǒngzuǐ* (黑臉董嘴) refers to the look of a dark face and tense lips, a

typical appearance of an unemotional and cruel person. Therefore, we use

hēiliǎndǒngzuǐ (黑臉董嘴) (PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS) to indicate such an

emotional state (EMOTION).

Notice that it is the whole gestalt word that is the manifestation of metonymic

extension such as *hēishǒu* (黑手) or *bànhēiliǎn* (扮黑臉). The character *hēi* itself

cannot generate the metonymic extension. In the following we will illustrate the

metonymic extension of TH data as in (5).

(5) Metonymic extensions of color terms *vu* in TH:
a. *vuˊ nginˇ* (烏人) [black-people] 'the black race, Negro'
b. *vuˊ liuˇ vanˋ* (烏鰡鯇)
 'snail carp (a kind of fish); an event-spoiler, a trouble-maker'

(5a) and (5b) are instances of Category-and-property ICM. *Vuˊ nginˇ* (烏人)

functions through the metonymy DEFINING PROPERTY FOR CATEGORY. The

skin color of Negro is black and thus we use their skin color (DEFINING

PROPERTY) to refer to the black race (CATEGORY). Conversely, *vuˊ liuˇ vanˋ*

(烏鰡鯇) belongs to the metonymy CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY.

Vuˊ liuˇ vanˋ (烏鰡鯇) feeds on clams and they are clever enough to open the shells

of snails or conches of clams in order to grab a bite of their meat. They are also said to

be energetic, slippery and hard to fish for people who go fishing. Therefore, we use

the attributes of *vu˘ liu˘ vanˋ* (烏鰡鯇) to metonymically refer to event-spoilers or

trouble-makers. Now we are going to discuss metonymic extensions of TSM as listed

in (6).

(6) Metonymic extensions of color terms *oo* in TSM:
a. *oo-tshiu kàu peh-tshiu* (烏鬚到白鬚)
   [black-beard-to-white-beard] 'from youth to old age'
b. *oo-áu* (烏漚) [black-stale] '(animals, plants) not fresh, stale, rotten;
                     (people) half dead, near demise, dying, more dead than alive'
c. *o-tau* (烏頭) [black-head] / *o-tau-sai-gong* (烏頭司公) [black-head-priest]
   'Taoist priest'
d. *oo-bak tuì peh-bak* (烏目坻白目) [black-eye-to-white-eye]
   'my black pupils looking at your white eyeballs; an expression of indifferent and
     unfamiliar relationship between two people'

Example (6a) belongs to Causation ICM. Youngsters' beards are black whereas

the elder's beards are white. Beards of different colors represent different age periods

and thus *oo-tshiu kàu peh-tshiu* (烏鬚到白鬚) is from youth to old age. It is the

substantiation of the metonymy APPEARANCE FOR THE STATE THAT CAUSED

IT. Example (6b) also belongs to the same metonymy. The expression *oo-áu* (烏漚)

describes rotten animals or vegetables as in *Tshài í-king oo-áu--khì-ah* (青菜已經脫

水變色了) 'The vegetables have become stale'. *Oo-áu* (烏漚) can also describe

people who are half dead as in *Jip hóo âu, m̄ sí iā oo-áu.* (入虎喉，毋死也烏漚)

'Caught in the throat of a tiger, people are half-dead'. The physical appearance of

objects or humans indicates their inner states, staleness or near-demise. Example (6c)

originates from Taoism in Chinese culture. When performing Taoism rituals or funeral

ceremonies, Taoist priests invariably wear a black hat. This is the reason why they

obtain the name *o-tau* (烏頭) or *o-tau-sai-gong* (烏頭司公). This is due to the Control

ICM, specifically the metonymy of THE OBJECT FOR THE USER OF THE OBECT.

As for example (6d), *oo-bȧk tuì pe̍h-bȧk* (烏目坻白目) derives from the metonymy

PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS FOR EMOTION. When two people are indifferent and

on bad terms, they would not give greetings to each other. Even when they meet

together, they just stare at each other with their black pupils and white eyeballs

without saying anything. Therefore, we use *oo-bȧk tuì pe̍h-bȧk* (烏目坻白目)

(PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS) to point out their indifferent and unfamiliar

relationship (EMOTION).

From our discussion, we see that metonymic extensions of color terms *hēi* in TM,

vu in TH and *oo* in TSM are abundant and diverse. In terms of lexicalization type,

color terms of metonymic extensions all fall under the category of metaphorical

lexicalization at the level of gestalt word. The meanings of the gestalt words such as

bēihēiguō (背黑鍋) (example 4c) , *vuˊnginˇ* (烏人) (example 5a) and *o-tau* (烏頭)

(example 6c) are metonymical whereas the meanings of the individual components,

hēi,*vu* and *o*, are not. This corresponds to our previous clarification that it is the whole

chunk that is the manifestation of metonymic extension. The color morpheme itself

cannot develop any metonymic extension.

4.1.3 Metaphorical Extensions

In the group of metaphorical extensions, the source domain of the visual color

black is mapped onto the target domain and both domains belong to different

superordinate domains. Here a lot of abstract attributes are conceptualized through the

physiologically visible color black and this can be ascribed to one general metaphor,

ABSTRACT QUALITY IS PHYSICAL QUALITY (Goatly 2011). The color terms

black in the three languages also display rich and diverse metaphorical extensions. As

we have mentioned before, only when the color characters (*hēi* in TM, *vu* in TH and

oo in TSM) collocate with their components can the metaphorical extensions be

realized. The color characters themselves cannot produce the metaphorical extensions.

In what follows, we will discuss metaphorical extensions of color terms *black*

according to their different abstract attributes, which will be illustrated from the more

concrete to the more abstract. In light of our significant amount of data, we will only

pick some items out of each category to explain.

A. Metaphorical Extension 'Secret, Mysterious'

(7) TM data
a. *mùhòuhēishǒu* (幕後黑手) [curtain-behind-black-hand]

'a mysterious backstage manipulator'

b. *hēixiāngzuòyè* (黑箱作業) [black-box-operation] 'a secret, unknown operation'

c. *hēihán* (黑函) [black-letter] 'an anonymous letter'

d. *hēihuà* (黑話) [black-words]

  'a secret idiolect only known in a certain organization or among groups of people'

(8) TH data

a. *vuˊsuˋ* (烏手) [black-hand] 'a mysterious backstage manipulator'

b. *vuˊmien ced* (烏面賊) [black-face-thief]

          'objects from unknown resources, mysterious matters'

(9) TSM data

a. *oo-tshiú* (烏手) [black-hand] 'a mysterious backstage manipulator'

b. *oo-phue* (烏批) [black-letter] 'an anonymous letter'

c. *oo-uē* (烏話) [black-words]

  'a secret idiolect only known in a certain organization or among groups of people'

In this metaphorical extension, there are 11 items of TM data, two items of TH

data and three items of TSM data. When the surface of an object is covered, it looks

seemingly black from outside and we cannot see what is inside in that object.

Therefore, its interior contents remain mysterious and unknown to us. This induction

is reasonable and universal and thus some color terms in the three languages denote

the meaning of secret and mystery through the color black. For example, *hēihán* (黑

函) in TM and *oo-phue* (烏批) in TSM refer to anonymous letters. What's inside in a

black box is unseen to people and thus *hēixiāngzuòyè* (黑箱作業) in TM refers to

some unknown operations. Objects with black sources give us the notion that they

come from unknown resources such as the color term *vuˊmien ced* (烏面賊) in TH.

Mùhòuhēishǒu (幕後黑手) in TM, *vuˊsuˋ* (烏手) in TH and *oo-tshiú* (烏手) in TSM

all refer to backstage manipulators[16] hidden in clandestine areas. *Hēihuà* (黑話) in

TM and *oo-uē* (烏話) in TSM mean some secret idiolects only known in a certain

organization or among specific groups of people.

B. Metaphorical Extension 'Evil, Vicious'

(10) TM data
a. *hēixīn* (黑心) [black-heart] 'a vicious heart, an evil mind'
b. *hēixīncháng* (黑心腸) [black-heart-intestine] 'a vicious heart, an evil mind'
c. *hēimówáng* (黑魔王) [black-devil-king] 'evil devil'
d. *hēibáifēnmíng* (黑白分明) [black-white-distinguish-clear]
'clear distinction between viciousness and benevolence and between right and wrong'

(11) TH data
a. *vu˘ xim˘ cong˘* (烏心腸) [black-heart-intestine] 'a vicious heart, an evil mind'
b. *vu˘ xim˘ gon˘* (烏心肝) [black-heart-liver] 'a vicious heart, an evil mind'

(12) TSM data
a. *oo-sim-kuann* (烏心肝) [black-heart-liver] 'a vicious heart, an evil mind'
b. *oo-lok-tōo* (烏漉肚) [black-shake-belly] 'a vicious heart, an evil mind'
c. *oo-sim to̍k-hîng* (烏心毒行) [black-heart-poisonous-behavior]
'evil mind and cruel conducts'

There are 17 tokens of TM data, two tokens of TH data and seven tokens of TSM

data. In this group of metaphorical extension, the color term *black* often collocates

with body organs like our heart, intestine, liver or belly as can be seen in *hēixīn* (黑

心), *hēixīncháng* (黑心腸) in TM, *vu˘ xim˘ cong˘* (烏心腸), *vu˘ xim˘ gon˘* (烏心肝)

in TH and *oo-sim-kuann* (烏心肝), *oo-lok-tōo* (烏漉肚) in TSM. In Chinese culture,

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[16] Specifically *mùhòuhēishǒu* (幕後黑手) in TM, *vu˘ su˘* (烏手) in TH and *oo-tshiú* (烏手) in TSM are metonymy-based metaphors. First, via the metonymy PART FOR WHOLE, the hand (PART) represents the manipulator (WHOLE). The metonymy serves as the metaphoric source. Then through the metaphoric mapping a person in darkness delineates the notion of a mysterious manipulator.

our body organs, especially our heart, are said to be the controller of our minds and

deeds. The color black implies something secret and negative. Consequently, the

darkness of these body organs denotes the evil state of mind and vicious behavior.

This is the reason why this metaphorical extension is also widespread across three

languages and can be employed in some neologisms such as *hēimówáng* (黑魔王)[17]

in TM. Furthermore, in TM *hēibáifēnmíng* (黑白分明) refers to the obvious

distinction between viciousness and benevolence, injustice and justice and wrong and

right. Since black and white are the most evident opposition in the natural world,

hēibáifēnmíng (黑白分明) implies such a clear-cut differentiation between the

negative and positive side concerning human minds.[18]

C. Metaphorical extension 'Illegal, Underground'

(13) TM data
a. *hēidào* (黑道) [black-road] 'gangsters, underworld society'
b. *hēidiàn* (黑店) [black-store]
   'a store extorting an extra large sum of money from customers'
c. *hēishì* (黑市) [black-market] 'a black market'
d. *hēijīnzhèngzhì* (黑金政治) [black-gold-politics]
   'politics colluded with gangsters or financial syndicates'
e. *hēiguān* (黑官) [black-official] 'illegitimate government employees'
f. *sǎohēi* (掃黑) [sweep-black] 'to crack down on crimes'

(14) TH data: *vuˋ diam* (烏店) [black-store]
                'a store extorting an extra large sum of money from customers'

(15) TSM data

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[17] This item *hēimówáng* (黑魔王) is from Sinica Corpus.
[18] In Section 4.2, we will discuss more the metaphorical extensions of color terms *white*.

a. *oo-tō* (烏道) [black-road] 'gangsters, underworld society'

b. *oo-tiàm* (烏店) [black-store]

   'a store extorting an extra large sum of money from customers'

c. *oo-tshī* (烏市) [black-market] 'a black market'

d. *oo-kim* (烏金) [black-gold] 'illegal sources of money controlled by gangsters'

In this category, there are 16 TM color terms, two TH color terms and ten TSM color terms. Illegal activities or underground crimes usually take place in darkness or in secret places and they are definitely not positive. Naturally the metaphorical extension of illegality is associated with and conceptualized through the color black. For instance, with regard to commerce, *hēishì* (黑市)[19] in TM refers to the black market where illegal trades not conforming to government-designated regulations take place. TSM also has the same color terms as in (15c). Besides, in example (13b), *hēidiàn* (黑店) in contemporary usage means those stores whose owners sell goods in an unreasonably high price or extort an extra large sum of money from their customers. The same expression can also be seen in TH and TSM as in (14) and (15b). This saying dates back to Chinese ancient times when a *hēidiàn* (黑店) refers to a dwelling place for travelers and the owner of that *hēidiàn* (黑店) could actually rob the travelers of their money at night and kill them afterwards.

As in (13a) and (15a), people who commit illegal crimes are also related to the color term *black* such as *hēidào* (黑道) and *oo-tō* (烏道), both of which refer to gangsters or underworld society. What's more, *oo-kim* (烏金) in TSM means

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[19] In English, the equivalent expression is also called 'black market'. Nevertheless, we are not sure whether *hēishì* (黑市) is a loanword from English.

illegitimate sources of money which is under the control of gangsters. Politics

colluded with gangsters who obtain illegal sources of money is thereby called

hēijīnzhèngzhì (黑金政治) in TM. In addition, in TM, government employees who

achieve their job positions through illegitimate means are called *hēiguān* (黑官) and

the action of cracking down on crimes is termed *sǎohēi* (掃黑) as in (13f). In

summary, evolving from darkness and negativity, illegality is developed

metaphorically. More profound meanings are associated with color terms among the

three languages especially in TM.

D. Metaphorical Extension 'Disgraceful, Dishonorable'

(16) a. TM: *hēimíngdān* (黑名單) [black-name-list] 'a black list'
b. TM: *mǒhēi* (抹黑) [plaster-black] 'smear people's reputation'
c. TM: *Tā zài shāngyèjiè hēidiào le.* (他在商業界黑掉了)
     [he-at-commerce-field-black-fall]
     'His reputation is damaged in the field of commerce.'
d. TSM: *oo-miâ-tuann* (烏名單) [black-name-list] 'a black list'

There are five tokens of TM data and one toke of TSM data. This metaphorical

extension is related to human's reputation. When a tangible object is spotted and

blackened, it becomes bad. Similarly, when one's name is blackened, his reputation is

smeared and damaged. The abstract attribute, disgrace, is conceptualized through the

visible color black. (16a) and (16d) are such examples. *Hēimíngdān* (黑名單) in TM

or *oo-miâ-tuann* (烏名單) in TSM refers to a black list[20] which records the names of

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[20] In English, there is an equivalent phrase 'a black list'. Also, we are not certain whether *hēimíngdān* (黑名單) in TM is a loanword from English.

certain people who are to be scolded and punished. Also, the visible act of plastering the color black can be compared to the abstract notion of smearing one's reputation such as *mǒhēi* (抹黑) in (16b). Example (16c) is a colloquial expression used nowadays. *Hēidiào* (黑掉) vividly depicts the concept that people's reputation is injured and damaged; it is such a well-embedded expression that we often hear and use it in our daily conversation.

E. Metaphorical Extension 'Depressed, Frustrated, Gloomy, Hopeless, Negative'

(17) TM data
a. *xīnzhōng yīpiàn qīhēi* (心中一片漆黑) [heart-center-one-side-paint-black]
　 'feeling gloomy in one's heart'
b. *Duìyú wèilái, tā zǒng juéde qīhēiyītuán, jǐhū háowú xīwàng.*
　 (對於未來，他總覺得漆黑一團，幾乎毫無希望。)
　 [about-future-he-feel-black-a-group-almost-no-hope]
　 'He feels hopeless about the future. There is almost no hope.'
c. *shèhuì de hēiànmiàn* (社會的黑暗面) [society-dark-side] 'the seamy side of life'

　　There are five TM color terms in this category. The visible darkness in the ontological world can be compared to the darkness lying in our heart or hidden in all aspects of our lives. (17a) and (17b) are such examples.[21] *Qīhēi* (漆黑) and *qīhēiyītuán* (漆黑一團) illustrate the depressing, hopeless and gloomy state of our mind. In example (17c), *hēiànmiàn* (黑暗面) refers to the seamy side of life in a society. In this group of metaphorical extension, again abstract quality is substantiated through the source domain of concrete quality, that is, the color black.

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[21] Notice that in (17) this metaphorical extension is context-based.

F. Metaphorical Extension 'Keeping a low profile, being humble and modest'

(18) TM: *zhībáishǒuhēi* (知白守黑) [know-white-keep-black]

   'keeping a low profile, being humble and modest'

 In this category, there is only one color term. Example (18) is a proverbial

expression in TM. When people are in a dark place, they are not clearly seen by the

others. Thus they do not get attention from the general public since they are not under

the spotlight. *Zhībáishǒuhēi* (知白守黑) refers to humble people's philosophy of life.

Even though they know the glory of getting public's attention, they still prefer to keep

a low profile and not to show off. The metaphorical extension of modesty is derived

from the concrete source domain.

G. Metaphorical Extension 'Unexpectedly excellent, Profoundly remarkable'

(19) TM: *hēimǎ* (黑馬) [black-horse]

   'an unexpected winner, unexpectedly excellent people'

 In this category, there is only color term. *Hēimǎ* (黑馬) in TM is a loanword

from the English phrase, dark horse, whose first usage dates back to the year of 1831.

The earliest celebrated use of this phrase was in the novel *The Young Duke* written by

Benjamin Disraeli. In this novel, the protagonist attended a horse race which ended

with a surprising result. A dark horse which seemed ordinary and insignificant rushed

past the finish line and won the triumph in the race. Later on, people use dark horse to

refer to an unexpected winner and TM also borrows this English usage. Hence, when

people have unexpectedly excellent performance in activities involving competitions

such as race, exams or works, we call them *hēimǎ* (黑馬). Although this metaphorical

extension is a loan-translation usage from English, it does not seem bizarre in TM.

This shows that the metaphorical extension of profound excellence deriving from

color black is quite natural and spontaneous in both TM and English.

H. Metaphorical Extension 'Sarcastic, Biting, Cynical'

(20) TM data
a. *hēisèyōumò* (黑色幽默) [black-humor] 'black humor'
b. *hēisèxǐjù* (黑色喜劇) [black-happy-drama] 'black comedy'

In this category, there are two color terms. *Hēisèyōumò* (黑色幽默) and *hēisèxǐjù*

(黑色喜劇) in TM are also loanwords from English phrases, black humor and black

comedy, respectively. These two phrases were originally created by the surrealist

theoretician André Breton in 1935 when he designated a genre of comedy and satire.

In drama, topics that are considered to be taboos especially those related to death are

tackled in an unusually satirical and humorous way but still maintain their seriousness.

When watching such a black comedy, audience often feels uncomfortable but laughs

loudly at the same time. In black humor, laughter often originates from skepticism and

cynicism. This is how the metaphorical extension of sarcasm and cynicism arise from

the color term *black*. Similar to the example (19) *hēimǎ* (黑馬), although this

metaphorical extension is a loan-translation from English, it seems quite natural in

TM.

I. Metaphorical Extension 'Inauspicious, Unfortunate'

(21) TM data

a. *hēidàorì* (黑道日) [black-road-day] 'an inauspicious day'

b. *huángdàohēidào* (黃道黑道) [yellow-road-black-road]

'auspicious days and inauspicious days'

c. *zǒuhēiyùn* (走黑運) [walk-black-destiny] 'being unlucky, unfortunate'

d. *hēisèxīngqíwǔ* (黑色星期五) [black-Friday] 'black Friday'

There are four TM color terms in this metaphorical extension. Examples (21a)

and (21b) belong to terminologies of magical calculations in traditional Chinese

culture. *Hēidào* (黑道) refers to an inauspicious day[22] and *zǒuhēiyùn* (走黑運) in

(21c) means having bad luck and being unfortunate. This seems natural and deducible

because the color black is constantly associated with negative and insidious side of

events. Example (21d) is a loanword from English, black Friday, which denotes

similar conceptualizations. This usage is traced back to the religious faith of

Christianity and Western superstition. In Western culture, the number thirteen is

viewed as unlucky and normally westerners dislike this number. Also, from the

viewpoints of Christianity, Jesus was crucified on Friday the thirteenth and

consequently people regard any Friday on the thirteenth as extremely inauspicious

and forbidden. Nowadays whenever a black Friday comes, people often suspect that

something unfortunate might happen on that day.

J. Metaphorical Extension 'Low, Sluggish, Not prosperous'

(22) TM data

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[22] Notice that *hēidào* (黑道) here is different from the meaning of gangsters in example (13a).

a. *gǔshì kāihēipán* (股市開黑盤) [stock market-open-black-plate]

'The stock market is sluggish.'

b. *gǔshì chánghēi* (股市長黑) [stock market-long-black]

'The stock price is tumbling.'

There are two TM color terms here. Examples (22a) and (22b) illustrate culturally specific usage in TM. *Kāihēipán* (開黑盤) and *chánghēi* (長黑) both describe the sluggish stock market and the tumbling stock price. In the Chinese stock market, prosperity is symbolized through the color red whereas recession is conceptualized via the color black or green.[23]

K. Metaphorical Extension 'Fooling around, Hooliganism'

(23) TH: *vuˋgoˊlûgoˊ* (烏哥流哥) [black-brother-flow-brother]

'hooligans, loafers'

There is one TH color term here. The metaphorical extension is culturally specific in TH. *Vuˋgoˊlûgoˊ* (烏哥流哥) refers to some hooligans who fool around on the street, idle away their time, doing nothing proper and important. We find no origin about how this phrase comes from in Hakka culture. Nevertheless, the connection between the image of hooliganism and darkness is presumable since the conducts of loafers are negative and inappropriate.

L. Metaphorical Extension 'Fashionable, Handsome, Beautiful'

(24) TSM data[24]

a. *oo-káu* (烏狗) [black-dog] 'a fashionable, handsome man'

b. *oo-niau* (烏貓) [black-cat] 'a fashionable, beautiful woman'

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[23] The situation is just the opposite for English. In English, gaining profits is *in the black* while having deficits is *in the red*.

[24] (24a) can also be called *oo-káu-hiann* (烏狗兄) and (24b) is also termed *oo-niau-tsí-á* (烏貓姐仔). They are of the same meaning.

In this category, there are four TSM color terms. This metaphorical extension exclusively exists in TSM such as those in (24). *Oo-káu* (烏狗) and *oo-niau* (烏貓) refer to youngsters who dress fashionably and act daringly (but not immorally). These usages originate from Taiwan aboriginal culture because aborigines call unmarried girl *māonǔ* (貓女) 'cat girl'. During aboriginal festivals, unmarried males dance and sing with these *māonǔ* (貓女) in pursuit of their love. Consequently, TSM is affected and develops the expressions *oo-káu* (烏狗) and *oo-niau* (烏貓) to describe fashionable males and females.

There is another saying about the origins of *oo-káu* (烏狗) and *oo-niau* (烏貓). In Taiwanese culture, the literal meaning of *oo-káu* (烏狗) refers to indigenous male dogs with strong body and shiny black fur. Later on, people use *oo-káu* (烏狗) to call some handsome young men who like to dress fashionably and thereby pursue young ladies. Correspondingly, initially *oo-niau* (烏貓) refers to female cats with shiny black hair and slim bodies and therefore people use *oo-niau* (烏貓) to describe those young females who always dress up, display their charming beauty and are open to males.

Besides, there are some sayings about the avant-garde clothes of those *oo-káu* (烏狗) and *oo-niau* (烏貓) from the viewpoints of Taiwanese people in earlier times. *Oo-káu, thua-kiâm-hî*(烏狗拖鹹魚) 'A black dog drags away a salt fish.' is one

saying. Back to the period when Japan colonized Taiwan, there were a lot of stands

selling salt fish in the market. At that time, people could often see a black dog

attracted by the strong smell of salt fish, crawling before the fish stand and suddenly

dragging away a salt fish. Then people would shout out, "The black dog drags salt

fish away!" Gradually people used this saying to laugh at those fashionable

youngsters who wore wide and long pants. Because their pants were so long and

hanging down onto the ground, they seemed to drag their pants when walking just like

the black dog dragging a salt fish. Another related sarcastic saying is *Oo-niau*

tshīng-kûn bô- tshīng- khòo, oo-káu tshīng- khòo kik thua- thóo (烏貓穿裙無穿褲，烏

狗穿褲激拖土) 'Young women wear skirts instead of pants, young men drag their

long pants when walking.' in which the dressing style of female and male youngsters

are mocked. All in all, this metaphorical extension of fashion is deeply embedded in

Taiwanese culture.

M. Metaphorical Extension 'Reckless, Capricious, Careless'

(25) TSM data
a. *oo-pe̍h-lâi* (烏白來) [black-white-come] 'reckless, careless, foolish'
b. *oo-kóng pe̍h-kóng* (烏講白講) [black-say-white-say] 'talking nonsense'
c. *oo-tshòng pe̍h-tshòng* (烏創白創) [black-do-white-do] 'act recklessly'

In this metaphorical extension, there are nine tokens of TSM data. The color

term *black* is associated with the attribute of negativity and here the source domain

schematizes the target domain of reckless action. The opposite of *black* is the color

term *white* which denotes the concept of positivity and may imply reasonable action here. In TSM, *black* often collocates with *white* to illustrate one's reckless and capricious actions like example (25a) *oo-pe̍h-lâi* (烏白來). In addition, in this metaphorical extension, the coexistence of *black* and *white* develops as a fixed construction pattern, *black* plus a verb followed by *white* plus the same verb as in (25b) and (25c). *Oo-kóng pe̍h-kóng* (烏講白講) means talking nonsense without any careful consideration and *oo-tshòng pe̍h-tshòng* (烏創白創) means acting recklessly.

N. Metaphorical Extension 'Disappearing, Becoming nothing, Empty'

(26) TSM: *oo-iú* (烏有) [black-have] 'disappearing, nothing, empty'

There is one color terms here. In TSM, *oo-iú* (烏有) is a fixed chunk and means that something is disappearing and becoming completely empty such as in this sentence *I ê sim-hiat lóng* <u>*oo-iú*</u>*--khì--ah.* (他的心血都付諸流水了) 'All his efforts are empty, becoming nothing.' We are not certain whether this TSM color term *oo-iú* (烏有) is influenced by the Chinese phrase *zǐxūwūyǒu* (子虛烏有) 'nothing, non-existence'. *Zǐxū* (子虛) and *wūyǒu* (烏有) are the names of two fictional characters in a classical article *Zǐxūfù* (子虛賦) in ancient Chinese. Later on, this term *zǐxūwūyǒu* (子虛烏有) is utilized to refer to non-existent and void entities.[25] There is no definite answer as to whether *oo-iú* (烏有) in TSM is a borrowed term from Chinese or whether it develops inherently in TSM culture on its own.

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[25] There are other Chinese phrases containing the term *wūyǒu* (烏有) such as *fùzhīwūyǒu* (付之烏有) 'disappearing, nothing left' or *huàwéiwūyǒu* (化為烏有) 'completely disappearing'.

Among TM, TH and TSM, we observe that numerous abstract attributes derive

from the visual color black through the general metaphor ABSTRACT QUALITY IS

PHYSICAL QUALITY. From the angle of lexicalization types, color terms of

metaphorical extensions all belong to the category of metaphorical lexicalization at

the level of gestalt word. The meanings of the gestalt words such as *hēihán* (黑函)

(example 7c), *vuˊ ximˊ congˇ* (烏心腸) (example 11a) or *oo-tō* (烏道) (example 15a)

are metaphorical but the independent components *hēi*, *vu* or *oo* can never evolve any

metaphorical extensions.

4.1.4 Idiosyncratic Examples

In this section, we will discuss idiosyncratic examples of color terms. These refer

to proverbial expressions or arbitrary color terms, both of whose meanings are

arbitrary and whose origins may trace back to historical roots, cultural heritages or

other resources. We classify idiosyncratic color terms into two groups, arbitrary items

and proverbial expressions. In the following, we will exemplify some data to

illustrate.

A. Arbitrary Items

(27) TM data
a. *hēibǎn* (黑板) [black-board] 'blackboard'
b. *hēitiánxiāng* (黑甜鄉) [black-sweet-country] 'dreamland'

(28) TSM data

a. *oo-pang* (烏枋) [black-board] 'blackboard'

b. *oo-se* (烏紗) 'bribery'

There are eight items of TM data and three items of TM data. Examples (27a)

and (28a) refer to a blackboard which is commonly used in a classroom for a school

teacher to write words on. A blackboard is a piece of board but its color is not

necessarily black despite the fact that it collocates with the color term *black* as in

hēibǎn (黑板) or *oo-pang* (烏枋). Therefore, we regard this term as an arbitrary item.

Example (27b) comes from a line in an ancient drama script[26], *Xiào tā mǎncháo*

zhūzǐguì, zěn rú wǒ yìzhěn hēitiánxiāng. (笑他滿朝朱紫貴，怎如我一枕黑甜鄉) 'I

laugh at those high-status officials. How can their lives be better than my sound sleep

and my wonderful dreamland'. Originally, from this line, *hēi* serves as a poetic device

to be the contrastive color with the word *zhū* (朱) 'red' as in the phrase *zhūzǐguì* (朱紫

貴). Therefore, initially *hēi* appears before *tiánxiāng* (甜鄉) only because of the

contrastive function in this drama context. Nevertheless, later on *hēitiánxiāng* (黑甜

鄉) gradually becomes a fixed chunk and thus arbitrarily stands for the dreamland. As

for example (28b), *oo-se* (烏紗) in TSM is a phonetic loanword from a Japanese

phrase, *oseibo*, which means year-end gifts. Its use dates back to Japan colonial period

in Taiwan. At that time, Taiwanese people must give gifts to Japanese officials at the

end of each year as a means of bribery. Subsequently, TSM develops the term *oo-se*

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[26] This line is from the script *Chénbógāowò* (陳搏高臥) written by *Mǎzhìyuǎn* (馬致遠) in Yuán Dynasty (元朝).

(烏紗) to refer to the act of bribery as in this sentence, *I tiānn-tiānn kā lâng <u>oo-se</u>.* (他

常常向人<u>行賄</u>) 'He often bribes people'. *Oo-se* (烏紗) is thus deemed as an arbitrary

item.

From the angle of lexicalization type, color terms of this arbitrary category

belong to complete lexicalization. They have opaque word component meanings and

their word-internal grammatical relations are absent. This corresponds to our

designation of idiosyncratic examples whose meanings are arbitrary and derive from

certain origins. Because these color terms are really idiosyncratic, their degree of

lexicalization is the highest. In what follows, we will look at some proverbial

expressions among the three languages.

B. Proverbial Expressions

(29) TM Proverbial Expressions
a. *Tiānxià wūyā yìbān hēi.* (天下烏鴉一般黑) [the world-crow-the same-black]
   'People of the same type possess some common characteristics.'
b. *Jìn zhū zhě chì, jìn mò zhě hēi.* (近朱者赤，近墨者黑)
   [near-red-people-red, near-black-people-black]
   'People are easily influenced by the environment.'

There are 15 TM proverbial expressions. Example (29a) describes the fact that

all crows under the sun look black. This proverb implies that people of the same type

or objects belonging to the same category all share some common characteristics.[27]

This proverb is often used in a sarcastic way to laugh at the negative attributes of

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[27] There is an English proverbial expression similar to example (29a). That is, "Birds of a feather flock together".

people within the same group. Example (29b) denotes the influence of surrounding

environment on people. Objects immersed in red sand are painted red while they

would become black steeping in the black ink. Similarly, what kind of environment

that people are in will naturally affect their deeds and words. In this proverb, the

contrast of the color characters *hēi* and *chì*(赤) 'red' hence denotes the different

influences brought to people in different environments.

(30) TH Proverbial Expressions

a. *Vuˇ ximˇ loˇ ped hoˇ mien piˇ*. (烏心蘿蔔好面皮)
   [black-heart-white radish-good-appearance]
   'People with vicious and insidious mind look good from outer appearance.'
b. *Kiungˇ nginˇ moˇ liug`qinˊ，ceu gieu`doˊ vuˊ inˇ*.
   (窮人無六親，瘦狗多烏蠅) [poor-people-no-relative, thin-dog-many-flies]
   'Poor people have no relatives to help; stray dogs attract many flies around them.'

There are 30 TH proverbial expressions. Example (30a) refers to white radishes

which have black and rotten interior contents but have good outer peels. This proverb

is used to symbolize those people who have adorable appearances but hide vicious

and insidious minds. The white peels of the white radish and its black interior

contents revealed through the color term *vuˇ* thus constitute a sharp contrast in this

proverb. Example (30b) compares the miserable conditions of humans to dogs. When

a dog is abandoned on the street, it becomes skinny and ill, attracting many flies

around it all the time. Likewise, impoverished people have difficulties in sustaining

their lives. When poor people ask their relatives for help, those relatives are

indifferent to them like strangers. In terms of hardship, this proverb illustrates that

poor people are as miserable as stray dogs.

(31) TSM Proverbial Expressions

a. *Oo-kan-á té tāu-iû, bô-tit-khàn* (烏矸仔貯豆油，無得看)
   [black-bottle-put-soybean sauce, cannot-see]
   'People who have abilities and advantages may be so humble as to look ordinary;
     don't judge a person by his appearance.'
b. *Kiàn-oo tō tak，kiàn-tsuí tō bak* (見烏就觸，見水就沐)
   [see-black-just-bump, see-water-just-bath]
   'People act impulsively without second thoughts and considerations;
     look before you leap.'

There are 27 TSM proverbial expressions. In proverb (31a), when the soybean

sauce is put in a black bottle, the sauce can hardly be observable because of the black

bottle. The connotation of this TSM proverb is that some people who have

extraordinary abilities may be so humble as to look ordinary. Given their insignificant

appearance, people rarely detect their real talents. Example (31b) is a vivid

description of Taiwan water buffalo. Whenever they see something black, they would

use their horns to bump the black thing. Also, when they see a pool of water, they

would just jump into the water without firstly testing the depth or temperature. People

use this proverb to refer to those people who act impulsively without careful

considerations and thus this kind of people easily experience dangers and failure.

In this section, we observe that proverbial expressions containing the color term

black in TM, TH, and TSM all store diverse connotations and valuable wisdom.

Lakoff and Turner (1989: 182) also contend that "proverbs exhort us to exert

voluntary control with respect to the behavior described metaphorically by the

proverb." These proverbial expressions communicate some social morals and offer us

inspiring lessons. They are priceless cultural heritages which people need to preserve

and to pass on.

4.1.5 General Discussion

In this section, we will hold a general discussion about the color terms *black* in

TM, TH and TSM. Table 4 in what follows concisely summarizes the different

categories and simply lists some data that we have explained previously. These

categories include prototypical meanings, metonymic extensions, various

metaphorical extensions and idiosyncratic examples.

Table 4. Categories of Color Terms _Black_ in TM, TH, and TSM

Categories	TM	TH	TSM
1. **Prototypical Meaning** 'black, darkness'	_hēifǎ_	_vuˊ iunˇ_	_oo-tāu_
2. **Metonymic Extensions**	_bànhēiliǎn_	_vuˊ nginˇ_	_oo-tshiu kàu pèh-tshiu_
Metaphorical Extensions (3-16)			
3. 'secret, mysterious'	_mùhòuhēishǒu_	_vuˊ mien ced_	_oo-phue_
4. 'evil, vicious'	_hēixīn_	_vuˊ ximˊ congˇ_	_oo-lok-tōo_
5. 'illegal, underground'	_hēidào_	_vuˊ diam_	_oo-tshī_
6. 'disgraceful, dishonorable'	_mǒhēi_		_oo-miâ-tuann_
7. 'depressed, hopeless'	_hēiànmiàn_		
8. 'keeping a low profile'	_zhībáishǒuhēi_		
9. 'unexpectedly excellent'	_hēimǎ_		
10. 'sarcastic, biting'	_hēisèyōumò_		
11. 'inauspicious, unfortunate'	_zǒuhēiyùn_		
12. 'low, sluggish'	_gǔshì kāihēipán_		
13. 'fooling around, hooligan'		_vuˊ goˊ lûu goˊ_	
14. 'fashionable'			_oo-káu_
15. 'reckless, capricious'			_oo-pèh-lâi_
16. 'disappearing, nothing'			_oo-iú_
Idiosyncratic Examples (17-18)			
17. Arbitrary Items	_hēitiánxiāng_		_oo-se_
18. Proverbial Expressions	_Jìn zhū zhě chì, jìn mò zhě hēi._	_Vuˊ ximˊ loˇ ped ho`mien piˇ._	_Oo-kan-á té tāu-iû, bô-tit-khàn_

First of all, the three languages all have the prototypical meaning of color term

black, which means the physiological visible color black or darkness such as _hēifǎ_ (黑

髮) in TM, _vuˊ iunˇ_ (烏雲) in TH and _oo-tāu_ (烏豆) in TSM. They also develop

metonymic extensions through different ICM mechanisms such as _bànhēiliǎn_ (扮黑

臉) in TM, _vuˊ nginˇ_ (烏人) in TH and _oo-tshiu kàu pèh-tshiu_ (烏鬚到白鬚) in TSM.

The metaphorical extensions in the three languages are robust and diverse because numerous abstract attributes in the target domain can be conceptualized through the color black in the source domain. This can be generalized as one metaphor, ABSTRACT QUALITY IS PHYSICAL QUALITY. Some metaphorical extensions are universal across the three languages. To begin with, when something is hidden and unseen in darkness, it is regarded as secret and mysterious. *Mùhòuhēishǒu* (幕後黑手) in TM, *vuˇ mien ced* (烏面賊) in TH and *oo-phue* (烏批) in TSM carry such an implication. Furthermore, the attribute of mystery which is usually considered to be negative extends to the notion of viciousness regarding people's inner temperaments and the notion of illegality concerning people's outer conducts. *Hēixīn* (黑心) in TM, *vuˇ ximˇ congˇ* (烏心腸) in TH and *oo-lok-tōo* (烏漉肚) in TSM all refer to people's evil heart. *Hēidào* (黑道) in TM, *vuˇ diam* (烏店) in TH and *oo-tshī* (烏市) in TSM are related to illegal and underground behavior and activities. What's more, reputations being blackened can be manifested through the color term *black* such as *mǒhēi* (抹黑) in TM and *oo-miâ-tuann* (烏名單) in TSM, both of which denote disgrace and dishonor.

On the other hand, some metaphorical extensions exclusively exist in one language. Some of these language-specific usages originate from culture heritages or historical roots. For example, *oo-káu* (烏狗) in TSM contains the extensional meaning

'fashionable and handsome'. The notion of keeping a low profile is revealed through

the TM color term, *zhībáishǒuhēi* (知白守黑), a line of a classical drama. *Zǒuhēiyùn*

(走黑運) in TM, which derives from terminologies of magical calculations in Chinese

culture, implies inauspiciousness and unluckiness. *Gǔshì kāihēipán* (股市開黑盤) in

TM particularly describes the sluggish phenomena in the stock market via the

conceptualization of the color black. Besides, other language-unique metaphorical

expressions emerge not because they originate from cultural roots but because they

have become fixed construction patterns in that language such as *oo-pėh-lâi* (烏白來)

and *oo-iú* (烏有) in TSM. Still other exclusive metaphorical extensions are influenced

by English such as *hēimǎ* (黑馬) and *hēisèyōumò* (黑色幽默) in TM. Last but not the

least, there are some idiosyncratic color terms, including arbitrary items such as

hēitiánxiāng (黑甜鄉) in TM and proverbial expressions like *Oo-kan-á té tāu-iû,*

bô-tit-khàn. (烏矸仔貯豆油，無得看) in TSM.

    Now let's take a look at the positive and negative meanings in the metaphorical

extensions regarding color terms *black*. Among the 14 metaphorical extensions, three

of them are positive whereas 11 of them are negative. Positive meanings are

categories of 'keeping a low profile', 'unexpectedly excellent' and 'fashionable,

handsome, beautiful'. Negative meanings include categories of 'secret, mysterious',

'evil, vicious', 'illegal, underground', 'disgraceful, dishonorable', 'depressed,

hopeless', 'sarcastic, biting', 'inauspicious, unfortunate', 'low, sluggish', 'fooling

around, hooligan', 'reckless, capricious' and 'disappearing, becoming nothing'. The

negative meanings of color terms *black* account for a dominant proportion in the

metaphorical extensions in TM, TH and TSM. This tendency is natural since the

human conceptual universal about the color term *black* (Wierzbicka 1996, Goddard

1998 and Lucy 1997) is the dark night, which somehow gives people the notion of

mystery and ominousness. This tendency also corresponds to the traditional

viewpoints of the color black in Chinese community (Huang 2003, Liang 2005, Zeng

2002). In *Yin Yang Five Elements*, the color black belongs to winter, when all the

natural world and human activities are during a recession period. These may plausibly

explain why the color term *black* develops so many negative metaphorical extensions.

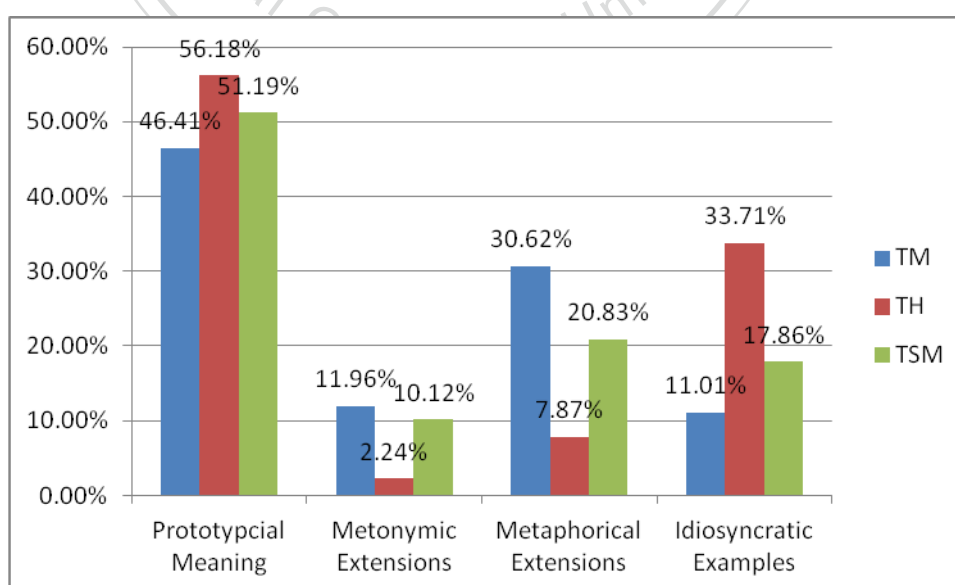The following Figure 3 presents category proportions of color terms *black*.

Figure 3. Category Proportions of Color Terms *Black* in TM, TH and TSM

From Figure 3, we see that the prototypical meaning of color terms *black* accounts for

a dominant proportion whether in TM, TH or TSM (46.41%, 56.18% and 51.19%

respectively). TM and TSM also have a great proportion of metaphorical extensions

(30.62% and 20.83%, respectively); in contrast, TH has comparatively less fertile

metaphorical extensions (7.87%). Also, TH has significant proportion of idiosyncratic

examples (33.71%).

Figure 4 displays distributions of metaphorical extensions about color terms
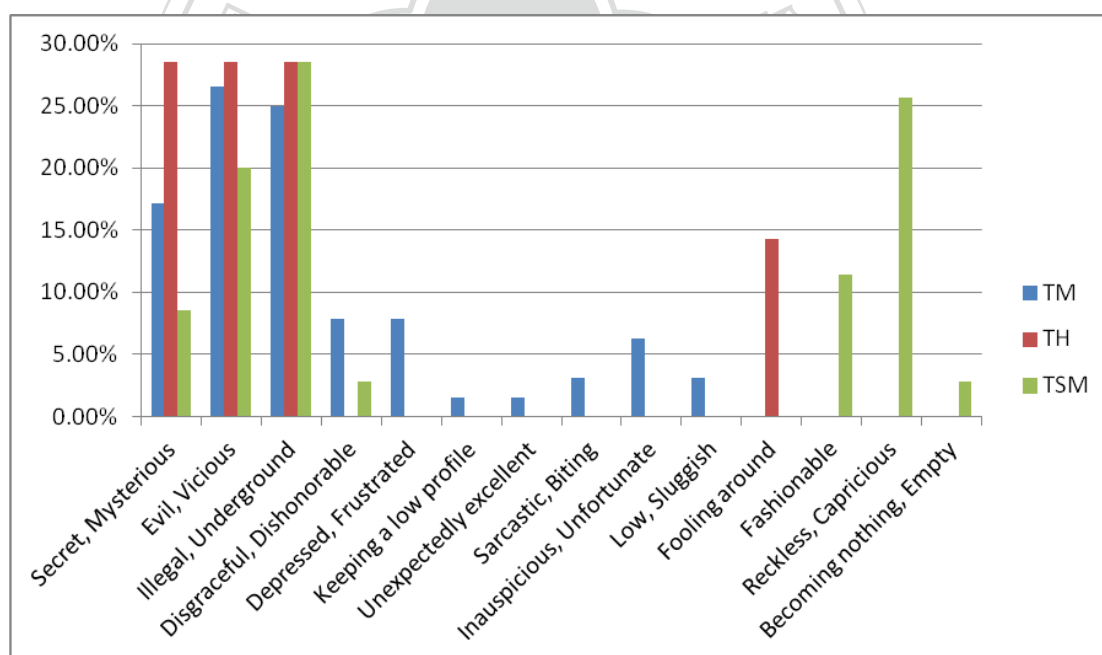
black in the three languages.[28]

Figure 4. Distributions of Metaphorical Extensions in Color Terms *Black*
in TM, TH and TSM

For TM, the three most dominant metaphorical extensions in color terms *black* are

'secret, mysterious' (17.19%), 'evil, vicious' (26.56%) and 'illegal, underground'

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[28] The specific proportion statistics for each category can be seen in Appendix.

(25%). For TH, the three most dominant metaphorical extensions are the same as TM

with equal proportions of 28.57% for each extension. For TSM, in addition to the

metaphorical extensions 'evil, vicious' (20%) and 'illegal, underground' (28.57%),

TSM has large proportions of the extension 'reckless, capricious' (25.71%). On the

whole, the metaphorical extensions 'secret, mysterious', 'evil, vicious' and 'illegal,

underground' are prevalent and dominant with regard to color terms *black* in TM, TH

and TSM.

In summary, from the prototypical meaning of black and darkness, the color term

black in TM, TH and TSM develops various metonymic extensions, metaphoric

extensions and idiosyncratic examples. Figure 5 in what follows concisely displays

the radial category of the color term *black* in the three languages. In the center, the

ellipsoid stands for the prototypical meaning of color term *black*. The hexagon

represents metonymic extensions and the pentagon stands for idiosyncratic examples.

Those rectangles represent the diverse metaphorical extensions. Relationships

between the categories are signaled via the straight lines. Here we can get a better

overview of how the color black extends to different categories of color terms.[29]

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[29] We are thankful to Dr. Hsueh-o Lin who suggests that we can draw some general deductions from our data-driven observations.
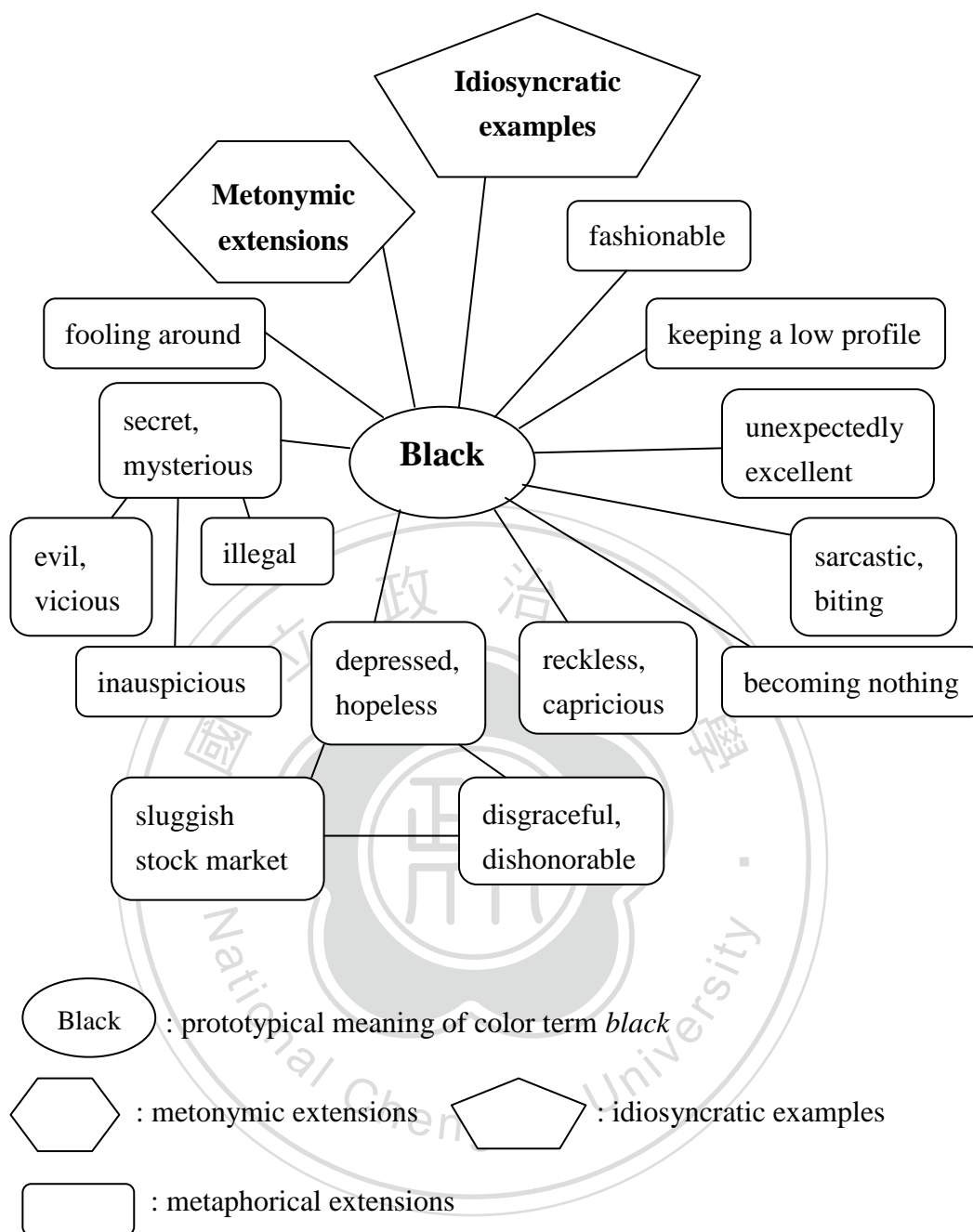
Figure 5. Radial Categories of Color Terms *Black* in TM, TH and TSM

From our data-driven observation, it is deducible that the color black carries the

notion of mystery and secret, which further implies attributes of viciousness and

illegality and concept of inauspiciousness. Also, the color black denotes many

negative concepts such as the depressed state of mind, the sluggish stock market or

people's disgrace and dishonor. Other metaphorical extensions seem to be more

culturally-rooted and not so directly deducible from the color black. Nevertheless,

they still more or less relate to and develop from this fundamental color.

4.2 Analysis of the Color Terms *White* in TM, TH and TSM

In this section, we will examine the color terms *bái* in TM, *pag* in TH and

pẻh in TSM according to different cognitive mechanisms. Just as what we have done

for the color term *black*, we also classify data into groups of prototypical meaning,

metonymic extensions, metaphorical extensions and idiosyncratic examples. The

prototypical meaning of the color term *white* refers to the physiologically visual color

white or the concept of brightness. About metonymic extensions, the source domain

of the color white provides mental access to the conceptual entity of the target domain

within the same ICM. Concerning metaphoric extensions, the conceptual mapping

takes place from the source domain of the visual color to the target domain and both

domains belong to different superordinate domains. Idiosyncratic examples include

proverbial expressions or color terms whose meanings are arbitrary. In the following,

we will enumerate some examples from each category to illustrate.

4.2.1 Prototypical Meaning

The prototypical meaning of the color terms *bái* in TM, *pag* in TH and *pe̍h* in

TSM all refers to the physiologically visual color white or the concept of brightness.

In this group, the relation between the color character *white* and its collocating

components is obvious because *white* simply depicts the color of its components.

There are 110 items of TM data, 45 items of TH data and 62 items of TSM data. A

few items are listed in the following.

(32) Prototypical meaning of *bái* color terms in TM:
a. *báixuě* (白雪) [white-snow] 'snow'
b. *báimǐfàn* (白米飯) [white-rice] 'white cooked rice'
c. *báilàng* (白浪) [white-waves] 'waves'
d. *báitiān* (白天) [white-day] 'daytime'
e. *báiyíngyíng* (白瑩瑩) [white-bright-bright] 'describing bright and shiny objects'

(33) Prototypical meaning of *pag* color terms in TH:
a. *pag mi ˋ* (白米) [white-rice] 'white rice'
b. *pag ngo ˇ* (白鵝) [white-goose] 'white goose'
c. *pag tong ˇ* (白糖) [white-sugar] 'white sugar'
d. *pag zu* (白晝) [white-day] 'daytime'
e. *pag xied ˋxied ˋ* (白雪雪) [white-snow-snow] 'bright'

(34) Prototypical meaning of *pe̍h* color terms in TSM:
a. *pe̍h-tsuá* (白紙) [white-paper] 'white paper'
b. *pe̍h-hûn* (白雲) [white-cloud] 'white clouds'
c. *pe̍h-bah-té* (白肉底) [white-meat-bottom] 'born with white skin'
d. *tng-thâu-pe̍h-ji̍t* (當頭白日) [to-head-white-day] 'bright daytime'

White is the representative color of human conceptual universal about day

(Wierzbicka 1996, Goddard 1998). TM, TH and TSM all possess plentiful data of

color terms *white* with prototypical meaning. White describes the color of objects or

animals such as *báimǐfàn* (白米飯) in TM, *pag ngoˇ* (白鵝) in TH or *pe̍h-tsuá* (白紙) in TSM. White also depicts the color of natural scenery like *báixuě* (白雪) in TM or *pe̍h-hûn* (白雲) in TSM or the color of human skin like *pe̍h-bah-té* (白肉底) in TSM. Besides, some color terms refer to daytime such as *báitiān* (白天) in TM, *pag zu* (白晝) in TH and *tng-thâu-pe̍h-ji̍t* (當頭白日) in TSM. Since it is always shiny and bright during daytime, the color term *white* can further denote the concept of brightness. For example, *báiyíngyíng* (白瑩瑩) in TM and *pag xiedˋxiedˋ* (白雪雪) in TH are used to describe bright objects. From the angle of lexicalizations, color terms of prototypical meaning all belong to conventional lexicalization and experience the lowest degree of lexicalization. Take (32a) for instance. The meanings of separate components *bái* and *xuě* (雪) are wholly retained and the grammatical identities are transparent and present (*bái* as an adjective modifying the noun *xuě* (雪)).

4.2.2 Metonymic Extensions

In metonymic extensions, the conceptual entities in the target domain derive from the source domain of the visual color white and both domains are within the same ICM (Kövecses and Radden 1998). Color terms *white* across the three languages have abundant metonymic extensions. There are 53 tokens of TM data, 9 tokens of TH data and 20 tokens of TSM data. Some of the data will be enumerated in the

following to explain their metonymic mechanisms. TM data are listed in (35),

followed by TH tokens in (36) and TSM examples can be seen in (37).

(35) Metonymic extensions of color terms *bái* in TM:
a. *bànbáiliǎn* (扮白臉) [play-white-face] 'to be kind and friendly to others'
b. *jǔbáiqí* (舉白旗) [raise-white-flag] 'holding the white flag; an action of surrender'
c. *báiyī* (白衣) [white-clothes] 'mourning garments in a funeral'
d. *báishǒu* (白首) [white-head] 'the elderly, old people'
e. *báiyǎn* (白眼) [white-eye] 'showing white eyeballs; a cold stare, a disdainful look'
f. *miànsèfābái* (面色發白) [face-turn-white]
   'face turns white because of terror or discomfort'
g. *báidīng* (白丁) [white-people] 'commoners, illiterate people'
h. *báimín* (白民) [white-people] 'commoners, illiterate people'

   To begin with, in example (35a), *bànbáiliǎn* (扮白臉) also originates from

traditional Chinese opera, in which a character wearing a white face plays the role of a

cunning person dealing with everything tactfully. Nowadays the negative connotation

of *báiliǎn* (白臉) disappears and changes to a positive notion of being kind and

friendly to others. *Bànbáiliǎn* (扮白臉)[30] is the opposite of *bànhēiliǎn* (扮黑臉) and

functions through the metonymy MANNER OF ACTION FOR ACTION. Example

(35b) refers to a military custom during a war. Raising a white flag represents the

action of surrendering to the rivals. *Jǔbáiqí* (舉白旗) is the manifestation of the

metonymy ACTION FOR RESULT because the ACTION (raising a white flag) stands

for the RESULT (surrendering).

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[30] Specifically *bànbáiliǎn* (扮白臉) is a metonymy-based metaphor. First, through the metonymy MANNER OF ACTION FOR ACTION, *bànbáiliǎn* stands for the role of a cunning and tactful person in the traditional Chinese opera. Then the metonymy serves as the metaphorical source and the abstract notion of being kind to others is metaphorically implied.

Báiyī (白衣) refers to those mourning garments in a funeral. From the traditional viewpoints in *Yin Yang Five Elements* (Huang 2003, Liang 2005, Zeng 2002, Xie 2011), the color white is located at the position of death in Chinese FengShui (風水). As a consequence, *bái* has been the representative color of Chinese funerals and *báiyī* (白衣) refers to mourning garments. *Báiyī* (白衣) is an example of the Constitution ICM, specifically the metonymy APPEARANCE FOR THE OBJECT.

As for example (35d), the elders usually have white hair on their heads, which is quite a symbolic feature of their age. Therefore, *báishǒu* (白首) refers to old people through the metonymy PART FOR WHOLE in which the PART (white hair) represents the WHOLE (the elders).

Examples (35e) and (35f) are the realization of the metonymy, PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS FOR EMOTION. When a person looks at others with white eyeballs, this shows an indifferent and contemptuous attitude for them. In TM, *báiyǎn* (白眼) thus refers to a cold stare or a disdainful look. As for instance (35f), when people are terrified or feel uncomfortable, their faces become extremely pale. *Miànsèfābái* (面色發白) in TM thus refers to our terror or discomfort (EMOTION) through the PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS.

Finally, *báidīng* (白丁) and *báimín* (白民) are the results of the metonymy DEFINING PROPERTY FOR CATEGORY. These usages can be traced back to the

color of clothes system in ancient dynasties. It is said that an ancient emperor,

Suiyangdi (隋煬帝) set up the color of clothes system and designated that commoners

or people with no official ranks or academic titles should wear white clothes (Xie

2011). Gradually, the color white (DEFINING PROPERTY) refers to a certain group

of people, the commoners (CATEGORY).

(36) Metonymic extensions of color terms *pag* in TH:
a. *pag tiab`* (白帖) [white-letter] 'an invitation card for a funeral'
b. *cai`pag* (采白) [color-white]
   'things that are used in a wedding, or a funeral'
c. *xi´qiu voi den`pag* (鬚就會等白) [beard-will-wait-white]
   'becoming old because of waiting; sarcastically implying impatience of waiting'
d. *pag siin´* (白身) [white-body] 'commoners, illiterate people'

Example (36a) is related to traditional Chinese funeral, in which garments and

entities used are white. The color white hence becomes the symbolic color of Chinese

funerals and the white-enveloped letter refers to the invitation card for a funeral.

Pag tiab` (白帖) is the substantiation of the metonymy APPEARANCE FOR THE

OBJECT. Example (36b) *cai`pag* (采白) also belongs to the same metonymy. In

Hakka culture, *cai`* (采) means different colors or auspicious signs and usually it

stands for those objects in a wedding. *Pag* (白) symbolizes the white garments worn

in a traditional funeral. Consequently, *cai`pag* (采白) represents those indispensable

objects that are used in a wedding or a funeral. In earlier times, *cai`pag diam* (采白

店) stands for those stores majorly selling things for weddings or funerals.

Examples (36c) *xi´qiu voi den`pag* (鬚就會等白) belongs to the Causation

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ICM of the metonymy EFFECT FOR CAUSE. Beards becoming white stand for the

sign of getting old. When people use this color term, they sarcastically imply their

impatience of waiting.

Just like *báidīng* (白丁) and *báimín* (白民) in TM, *pag siinˊ* (白身) in TH refers

to commoners or illiterate people through the metonymy DEFINING PROPERTY

FOR CATEGORY. The white color of their clothes (DEFINING PROPERTY)

indicates their social status (CATEGROY).

(37) Metonymic extensions of color terms *peh* in TSM:
a. *peh-pau* (白包) [white-envelop]
  'the money presented to the bereaved family in place of offerings'
b. *píng-peh-kâinn* (反白睭) [flip-white-eye] 'showing white eyeballs;
   an indication of unsatisfying mood or dying condition'
c. *peh-kha-tê* (白跤蹄) [white-foot-hoof] 'any person who brings bad luck; a jinx'
d. *peh-ting* (白丁) [white-people] 'commoners, illiterate people'
e. *peh-sin* (白身) [white-body] 'commoners, illiterate people'
f. *peh-tshat-tshit-á* (白賊七仔) [white-thief-seven-person]
                'a person who likes to tell lies and play tricks on others'
g. *kóng-peh-tshat* (講白賊) [tell-white-thief] 'telling lies'
h. *peh-tshat-uē* (白賊話) [white-thief-words] 'lies'
i. *huàn-á-peh* (販仔白) [sell-person-white]
  'secret talks that businessmen use in commercial dealings'

Like examples (35c) *báiyī* (白衣) in TM and (36a) *pag tiabˋ* (白帖) in TH,

example (37a) *peh-pau* (白包) in TSM is also relevant to the Chinese funeral and

derives from the same metonymy APPEARANCE FOR THE OBJECT. *Peh-pau* (白

包), literally meaning the white envelop, refers to the money in the white envelop

which is presented to the bereaved family in place of offerings.

Example (37b) *píng-peh-kâinn* (反白睛) is through the metonymy

PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS FOR EMOTION. When people are unsatisfied or

dying, their pupils are flipped upward and their white eyeballs are shown completely.

Píng-peh-kâinn (反白睛) in TSM thus stands for such an unsatisfying mood or dying

condition.[31]

Example (37c) *peh-kha-tê* (白跤蹄) is a culturally particular color term in TSM.

It is believed that animals with white hoofs are destined to bring misfortune to their

owners. People thus use *peh-kha-tê* (白跤蹄) to refer to a jinx, any person who brings

bad luck. This color term is the manifestation of the metonymy DEFINING

PROPERTY FOR CATEGORY.

Finally, *peh-ting* (白丁) and *peh-sin* (白身) in TSM mean commoners just like

báidīng (白丁) and *báimín* (白民) in TM, and *pag siin* (白身) in TH. The white

garments (DEFINING PROPERTY) stands for their social status (CATEGORY).

Example (37f) *peh-tshat-tshit-á* (白賊七仔) actually originates from a folk story

prevalent in TSM culture. A legend goes that a person named *tshit-á* (七仔) liked to

tell lies and to play tricks on others and therefore people gave him a nickname,

peh-tshat (白賊), regarded as lies in TSM (Peng 1997). There are various versions of

folk stories about how mischievous *peh-tshat-tshit-á* (白賊七仔) was and how he

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[31] Notice that the same expression about showing white eyeballs in TM represents different emotions. Example (35e) *báiyǎn* (白眼) in TM refers to a cold stare or a disdainful look.

outrageously cheated others. Consequently, people use the term *pėh-tshȧt-tshit-á* (白

賊七仔) to refer to people who are fond of telling lies. Through the metonymy

CATEGORY FOR DEFINING PROPERTY, the term *pėh-tshȧt* (白賊)[32] stands for

lies as demonstrated in examples (37g) *kóng-pėh-tshȧt* (講白賊) and (37h)

pėh-tshȧt-uē (白賊話). Another example is *huàn-á-pėh* (販仔白) (example 37i) which

means those secret talks that businessmen use in commercial dealings.

From what has been discussed, the metonymic extensions of color terms *bái* in

TM, *pag* in TH and *pėh* in TSM are plentiful. From the perspective of lexicalization,

color terms of metonymic extensions all belong to the category of metaphorical

lexicalization at the level of gestalt word. The metonymic extension only takes place

at the whole chunk of the gestalt word such as *jŭbáiqí* (舉白旗) (example 35b),

cai`pag (采白) (example 36b) and *pėh-ting* (白丁) (example 37d) rather than at the

individual components *bái*, *pag* and *pėh*. The color morpheme independently cannot

generate any metonymic extension.

4.2.3 Metaphorical Extensions

In this section, we are going to examine metaphorical extensions of color terms

white in the three languages. The source domain of the color white is mapped onto the

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[32] Notice that there is a seemingly similar color term in English, *a white lie* but with different meanings.
In English people tell *a white lie* in order not to hurt others and they have no mean intention to deceive.

target domain and both domains are different superordinate domains. A lot of abstract

attributes derive from the physiologically visible color white and we ascribe these

metaphors into one general metaphor, ABSTRACT QUALITY IS PHYSICAL

QUALITY (Goatly 2011). Notice that the metaphorical extensions are substantiated

only when the color characters *bái* in TM, *pag* in TH and *pe̍h* in TSM collocate with

their components. We will observe metaphorical extensions of color terms *white* in

accordance to their different abstract attributes, which will be introduced from the

more concrete to the more abstract. Given our tremendous data, we will only choose

some tokens from each category to explicate.

A. Metaphorical Extension 'Clear, Transparent'

(38) TM data
a. *míngbái* (明白) [bright-white] 'clear, transparent'
b. *biǎobái* (表白) [express-white] 'to express or explain clearly'
c. *jiǎngbáiyīdiǎn* (講白一點) [say-white-one-point] 'to state more transparently'

(39) TH data
a. *minˇped* (明白) [bright-white] 'clear, transparent'
b. *daˋpag gongˋ* (打白講) [hit-white-say] 'frankly speaking, honestly speaking'

(40) TSM data
a. *bîng-pi̍k* (明白) [bright-white] 'clear, transparent'
b. *káng-kah-pe̍h-leh* (講較白咧) [say-more-white] 'to state more transparently'

In this category, there are 20 items of TM data, five items of TH data and five

items of TSM data. The color white is related to the idea of brightness. Under bright

circumstances, everything can be seen clearly. Some color terms delineate such clear and transparent notions like *míngbái* (明白) in TM and its equivalent counterparts in TH and TSM (example (39a) & (40a)).[33] Some color terms refer to speaking clearly and transparently such as *biǎobái* (表白) and *jiǎngbáiyīdiǎn* (講白一點) in TM, *da ˋ pag gong ˋ* (打白講) in TH and *káng-kah-peˇh-leh* (講較白咧) in TSM.

B. Metaphorical Extension 'Moral, Unimpeachable, Innocent'

(41) a. TM: *qīngbái* (清白) [clean-white] 'moral, innocent'
b. TM: *liánbái* (廉白) [moral-white] 'unimpeachable'
c. TH: *qin ˊ pag* (清白) [clean-white] 'moral, innocent'
d. TSM: *tshing-piⁿk* (清白) [clean-white] 'moral, innocent'

There are six items of TM data, one item of TH data and two items of TSM data here. Since the color white is without any hues, it gives us the impression that something is visually clean without any stains. In addition, previously we have discussed that the color white delineates clear and transparent notions. The notions of transparency and cleanness further extend to the stainless condition of our morals, namely, innocent and unimpeachable characters. Examples can be seen across the three languages such as *qīngbái* (清白) in TM and its equivalents in (41c) and (41d).[34]

C. Metaphorical Extension 'Legal'

(42) a. TM: *báidào* (白道) [white-road] 'legal organizations'
b. TM: *hēibáiliǎngdào* (黑白兩道) [black-white-two-road] 'illegal and legal societies'

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[33] Notice that example (39a) *min ˇ ped* (明白) in TH and example (40a) *bîng-pik* (明白) in TSM may be borrowed from *míngbái* (明白) in TM.

[34] We cannot make sure whether example (41c) *qin ˊ pag* (清白) in TH and example (41d) *tshing-pik* (清白) in TSM are direct loanwords from *qīngbái* (清白) in TM.

c. TSM: *pėh-tō* (白道) [white-road] 'legal organizations'[35]

There are 11 TM color terms and one TSM data here. Color terms *white*

metaphorically develop the notion of clearness and transparency. When something can

be seen clearly, it is overt, not hidden and considered to be positive. Naturally through

such a meaning extension the source domain of white color can be mapped onto the

target domain of legality. *Báidào* (白道) in TM and *pėh-tō* (白道) in TSM refer to

legal organizations and are the opposite of *hēidào* (黑道) (example (13a)).

Hēibáiliǎngdào (黑白兩道) thus refers to illegal and legal societies.

D. Metaphorical Extension 'Plain, Ordinary'

(43) TM data
a. *báikāishuǐ* (白開水) [white-open-water] 'plain boiled water'
b. *báihuàwén* (白話文) [white-word-article] 'articles written in vernacular language'
c. *kāichǎngbái* (開場白) [open-site-white]
  'opening speech or talks (usually at the beginning of a drama)'
d. *pángbái* (旁白) [side-white] 'speaking aside to the audience in a drama'
e. *dúbái* (獨白) [alone-white] 'monologue, soliloquy'

(44) TH data
a. *pag sui`* (白水) [white-water] 'plain water'
b. *pag zug`* (白粥) [white-congee] 'plain congee'
c. *pag fa* (白話) [white-word] 'colloquial languages'

(45) TSM data
a. *pėh-kún-tsuí* (白滾水) [white-open-water] 'plain boiled water'
b. *pėh-tsiánn-bô-bī* (白汫無味) [white-not salty-no-flavor]
                        'plain flavor, without seasoning'
c. *pėh-uē* (白話) [white-word] 'colloquial languages'

There are 17 items of TM data, five items of TH data and ten items of TSM data

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[35] Notice that we do not find this TSM color term *pėh-tō* (白道) in our data collection. Nevertheless, from our five TSM informants, there is such usage in TSM.

in this category. Since the color white is without any hue colors, this concept is

similar to the idea that foods are completely without any seasonings and condiments.

Thus the source domain of white color can be mapped onto the target domain of plain

flavor such as plain water as in examples (43a) *báikāishuĭ* (白開水) in TM , (44a) *pag*

suiˋ(白水) in TH and (45a) *pe̍h-kún-tsuí*(白滾水) in TSM or plain congee as in

example (44b) *pag zugˋ* (白粥) in TH.

Furthermore, the concept that the color white lacks hue colors can be compared

to the concept of articles or conversations without any rhetoric or modification. This

refers to vernacular literature such as *báihuàwén* (白話文) in TM and colloquial

languages like *pag fa* (白話) in TH and *pe̍h-uē* (白話) in TSM. In addition, within the

frames[36] (Fillmore and Atkins 1992) of dramas, movies or artistic performances, the

concept that the color white is without hue colors further extends to the concept of

plain sayings or speech without acting, use of props, plots or sound effects. For

instance, *kāichǎngbái* (開場白) (example 43c) refers to opening speech or talks

usually at the beginning of a drama. *Pángbái* (旁白) (example 43d) means a person

who is responsible for speaking aside to the audience in a drama. *Dúbái* (獨白)

(example 43e) means the monologue in a play or a movie.

In summary, because the white color is without any hue colors, it can extend to

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[36] Within a frame semantics (Fillmore and Atkins 1992), frame means a structured background of common experience, practices or beliefs.

the concept of plain food flavor, the idea of colloquial languages or the idea of plain

sayings without acting in a drama.

E. Metaphorical Extension 'Empty, With nothing; Without reasons, credit'

(46) TM data
a. *báishǒuqǐjiā* (白手起家) [white-hand-build-home]
                                            'building up fortune from scratch'
b. *píngbáiwúgù* (平白無故) [even-white-no-reason] 'without any reason or cause'
c. *báixiánzhe* (白閒著) [white-idle-state] 'idling away time and doing nothing'
d. *kōngshǒu shuō báihuà* (空手說白話) [empty-hand-say-white-word]
   'only saying or promising without any practical actions, saying without credit'

(47) TH data
a. *pag suˋzogˋngˇ* (白手捉魚) [white-hand-catch-fish]
                                            'building up fortune from scratch'
b. *pag suˋsiinˇgaˊ* (白手成家) [white-hand-build-home]
                                            'building up fortune from scratch'

(48) TSM data
a. *pi̍k-siú sîng-ka* (白手成家) [white-hand-build-home]
                                            'building up fortune from scratch'
b. *pe̍h-uē* (白話) [white-word] 'sayings or promises without credit'

In this metaphorical extension, there are 15 items of TM data, seven items of TH

data and three items of TSM data. The source domain of color white, which is without

any hues, can metaphorically denote emptiness or something with nothing such as

without reasons or credit. For instance, *báishǒuqǐjiā* (白手起家) in TM describes the

action of building up fortune from scratch without any assistance from others as well

as examples (47) in TH and (48a) in TSM. Also, example (46b) *píngbáiwúgù* (平白無

故) in TM refers to actions without any reason or cause and example (46c) *báixiánzhe*

(白閒著) means idling away time without doing anything. Moreover, *peʰ-uē* (白話) in

TSM refers to sayings or promises without credit and people cannot believe in such

unreliable words.[37] TM also has a similar expression, *kōngshǒu shuō báihuà* (空手說

白話), which refers to the behavior of merely saying without taking practical actions.

F. Metaphorical Extension 'In vain, Without results, Be futile'

(49) TM data
a. *báifèilìqì* (白費力氣) [white-waste-power] 'all efforts have been in vain'
b. *báiláiyìtang* (白來一趟) [white-come-one-journey]
                              'come without achieving purpose'
c. *báimángyìchǎng* (白忙一場) [white-busy-one-sit] 'all busy work becomes futile'
d. *báihùn* (白混) [white-do] 'without any results or achievements'
e. *rénshēngbáiguò* (人生白過) [people-birth-white-pass] 'Life passes without results.'

(50) TH data
a. *pag hang˘ idˋ zonˋ* (白行一轉) [white-walk-one-round]
                                 'come without achieving purpose'
b. *daˋ pag hang˘* (打白行) [hit-white-walk] 'come without achieving purpose'
c. *pag liau˘ gung˘* (白了工) [white-waste-work] 'all works are futile'

(51) TSM data
a. *peʰ-kóng* (白講) [white-speak] 'speaking in vain'
b. *peʰ-tsáu* (白走) [white-walk] 'all busy work becomes in vain'
c. *peʰ-liáu-kang* (白了工) [white-waste-work] 'all works are futile'
d. *tsò-peʰ-kang* (做白工) [do-white-work] 'doing works without reaching any goals'

    There are 31 TM color terms, four TH color terms and seven TSM color terms

here. In addition to the metaphorical extensions of something without reasons or

credit (as illustrated from examples (46), (47) and (48)), the source domain of color

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[37] There are two metaphorical extensions about *peʰ-uē* (白話) in TSM, *pag fa* (白話) in TH and *báihuà* (白話) in TM. In this metaphorical extension, they refer to sayings which have no credit. Unlike examples (43b), (44c) and (45c), they mean the metaphorical extensions of colloquial languages.

white can extend to the concept of doing something in vain and without any results.

TM has 31 tokens of this metaphorical extension. All of them follow the construction

of the character *bái* followed by a verb and *bái* serves as an adverb. Some tokens are

displayed in examples (49) such as *báihùn* (白混), *báifèilìqì*(白費力氣) or

báimángyìchǎng (白忙一場). TH and TSM also have the same constructions of this

metaphorical extension as in examples (50a) *pag hang˘ idˋ zonˋ* (白行一轉), (51a)

pe̍h-kóng (白講) and (51b) *pe̍h- tsáu* (白走). Besides, TH has other different

constructions as in example (50b), *daˋ pag hang˘* (打白行), which refers to coming

without achieving the goal. Also, in example (51d) *tsò-pe̍h-kang* (做白工) in TSM,

pe̍h seemingly serves as an adjective. All in all, the metaphorical extension of

vainness and futility is widespread across the three languages and the *white*

morpheme develops different grammatical functions along with different

constructions.

G. Metaphorical Extension 'For Free, Without Paying'

(52) TM data
a. *báizhù* (白住) [white-live] 'living in a house without payment'
b. *báichībáihē* (白吃白喝) [white-eat-white-drink] 'having foods and drinks for free'
c. *kànbáixì*(看白戲) [watch-white-play]
                  'watching a play for free without buying a ticket'

(53) TH data
a. *pag siid* (白食) [white-eat] 'having foods for free'
b. *pag jiam* (白佔) [white-take] 'taking or seizing without paying remuneration'
c. *pag pag ge en˘* (白白個恩) [white-white-classifier-grace]

'free grace; (God) bestows grace freely.'

(54) TSM: *pe̍h-tsia̍h pe̍h-lim* (白吃白喝) [white-eat-white-drink]

'having foods and drinks for free'

In this category, there are six items of TM data, five items of TH data and four items of TSM data. As what has been discussed before, the color white when collocating with certain components can denote the concept of doing nothing. In this group of metaphorical extension, the idea further extends to having something without paying. Some color terms follow the construction of the *white* character preceding a verb. For example, *báichībáihē* (白吃白喝) in TM means drinking or eating for free as well as *pag siid* (白食) in TH and *pe̍h-tsia̍h pe̍h-lim* (白吃白喝) in TSM. *Pag jiam* (白佔) in TH means taking or seizing something without paying remuneration. Nevertheless, in some color terms, the *white* character seems to be an adjective such as the TM color term *kànbáixì* (看白戲) which means watching a free play. *Pag pag ge enˊ* (白白個恩) in TH refers to God's free grace.

H. Metaphorical Extension

'Powerless, Helpless, Cannot do anything, Having no alternative'

(55) TM data
a. *báidèngzheyǎn* (白瞪著眼) [white-stare-state-eye]
                    'staring helplessly with eyes wide open'
b. *Nándào báibái dì kàn tāmen bèiqīfù?* (難道白白地看他們被欺負?)
   [is it-white white-watch-them-being bullied]
   'We cannot do anything but watch them being bullied?'

(56) TSM: *Lí beh pe̍h-pe̍h khuànn in siū-sí sī-bô?* (你欲白白看個受死是無？)

[you-want-white white-watch-them-die-yes not]

'Is it that you want to powerlessly watch them die without doing anything?'

 Here there are two TM color terms and one TSM data. The metaphorical

extension of nothingness deriving from the source domain of color white can further

evolve into the idea that people are so helpless and powerless that they cannot do

anything in the face of an event. For example, *báidèngzheyǎn* (白瞪著眼) in TM

describes a situation in which a person just stares helplessly with his eyes wide open.

In the sentence (55b), the construction of *báibái* (白白) in TM denotes such a helpless

mentality. The same powerless mentality can also be revealed in the construction of

pe̍h-pe̍h (白白) in TSM as presented in example (56).

I. Metaphorical Extension 'Wastefully, It's a pity that …'

(57) TM data
a. *búwènbáibúwèn* (不問白不問) [not-ask-white-not-ask]
      'It is a pity if you don't ask.'
b. *bùnábáibùná* (不拿白不拿) [not-take-white-not-take]
      'It is wasteful if you don't take it.'

 There are two TM color terms here. The source domain of white color can

further develop the meaning of a pity or a wasteful matter. This metaphorical

extension is culturally specific in TM and usually conforms to the fixed construction:

bú (不)-verb-*bái* (白)-*bú* (不)-verb, in which the two verbs are the same. For example,

example (57a) *búwènbáibúwèn* (不問白不問) carries the message: It is a pity if you

don't ask the question. Also, example (57b) *bùnábáibùná* (不拿白不拿) means that it

is wasteful if you don't take the thing. This fixed construction is a colloquial usage.

In brief, through the general metaphor ABSTRACT QUALITY IS PHYSICAL

QUALITY, a wide variety of abstract attributes are developed from the visual color

white across TM, TH and TSM. From the perspective of lexicalization, color terms of

metaphorical extensions are all categorized into the type of metaphorical

lexicalization at the level of the gestalt word. By no means can the separate color

morphemes, *bái*, *pag* or *pėh* carry any metaphorical extensions. Only the gestalt

words such as *mǐngbái* (明白) (example (38a)), *pag su`siin ˇga*ˊ (白手成家)

(example (47b)) or *pėha-tsiȧh pėh-lim* (白吃白喝) (example (54)) can denote

metaphorical meanings.

4.2.4 Idiosyncratic Examples

Idiosyncratic examples of color terms include proverbial expressions or arbitrary

terms. Their meanings are arbitrary and their origins can be traced back to historical

roots, cultural heritages or other resources. In what follows, we will discuss arbitrary

items and proverbial expressions respectively and will enumerate some data to

explicate.

A. Arbitrary Items

(58) TM data
a. *báiyúnxiāng* (白雲鄉) [white-cloud-country] 'the place where gods or deities live.'
b. *báijīnhūn* (白金婚) [white-gold-marriage] 'seventy-year marriage anniversary'
c. *báisèkǒngbù* (白色恐怖) [white-color-terror-terror] 'White Terror'

(59) TH data

a. *po ˇpag* (婆白) [grandmother-white] 'the appellation for grand grandmother'

b. *pag mug ´mi ˇ* (白目眉) [white-eye-eyebrow] 'brazen-faced and shameless people who go to others' houses, having foods for free without others' invitations'

(60) TSM: *tshenn-pōng-peˈh-pōng* (青磅白磅) [green-bomb-white-bomb]
  'out of sudden, unexpectedly coming or occurring'

There are ten items of TM data, two items of TH data and two items of TSM data here. Example (58a) *báiyúnxiāng* (白雲鄉) originates from one line of Chinese classical literature[38], *chéng bǐ báiyún, zhì yú dìxiāng.* (乘彼白雲，至於帝鄉) 'taking the ride of white clouds and you can reach the country of gods.' Consequently, the white clouds have been closely connected with gods' dwelling place and *báiyúnxiāng* (白雲鄉) refers to the place where gods or deities live as can be seen in the line of classical poem, *shī zài báiyúnxiāng, míng dēng shànfǎtáng* (師在白雲鄉，名登善法堂)[39] 'The monk lives in the dwelling place of deities and his reputation can be listed in the hall of preaching Buddhism.' Example (58b) *báijīnhūn* (白金婚) refers to seventy-year marriage anniversary but there is no origin about how the seventy-year anniversary is related to *báijīn* (白金) 'platinum'. Example (58c) *báisèkǒngbù* (白色恐怖) is a direct loanword from a political terminology in English, White Terror. During the 20th century, the term White Terror describes the acts of violence against real or suspected socialists and communists in many countries. In Taiwan, the term

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[38] This line is from *Zhuāngzi* (莊子) *Tiāndìpiān* (天地篇).

[39] This line is from the poem *sòng shēnfǎshī yóu nányuè* (送深法師遊南岳) by *Liúyǔxí* (劉禹錫) in Táng Dynasty (唐朝).

báisèkǒngbù (白色恐怖) refers to the suppression of political dissidents including

democrats, communists and Taiwan independence supporters during the marital law

period.[40] As for TH arbitrary color terms, *po˅pag* (婆白) is the appellation for grand

grandmother and *pag mugˊmi˅* (白目眉) refers to those brazen-faced and shameless

people who go to others' houses, having foods for free without others' invitations.

The TSM color term *tshenn-pōng-peh̍-pōng* (青磅白磅) arbitrarily illustrates that

something comes or happens out of sudden as in the sentence, *Líán-ne*

tshenn-pōng-peh̍-pōng tsáu--lâi, hāi guá m̄ tsai beh kóng siánn. (你按呢青磅白磅走

來，害我毋知欲講啥。) 'You just come suddenly and I just don't know what to say'.

In terms of lexicalization type, color terms of this arbitrary category belong to

complete lexicalization. The word component meanings are obscure and the

word-internal grammatical relations are hardly present. These idiosyncratic color

terms undergo the highest degree of lexicalization. In what follows, we will observe

some proverbial expressions in TM, TH and TSM, respectively.

B. Proverbial Expressions

(61) TM Proverbial Expressions
a. *Báibìwúxiá* (白璧無瑕) [white-jade-no-flaw] 'There is not a tiny flaw or a small
  stain on a piece of white jade; describing people's pure character and flawless deeds'
b. *Báizhǐhēizì* (白紙黑字) [white-paper-black-words] 'Black words are written on a
  piece of white paper, it's all in black and white; substantial and convincing evidence'

There are 78 TM proverbial expressions. Example (61a) *Báibìwúxiá* (白璧無瑕)

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[40] The martial law period in Taiwan is from May 19th, 1949 to July 15th, 1987.

delineates a piece of white jade on which there is not a tiny flaw or a small stain. The

contrast of defects and stains vividly manifests the purity of the white jade. This

proverb is thus compared to human's pure moral character and flawless deeds.

Example (61b) *Báizhǐhēizì* (白紙黑字) means that black words are written on a piece

of white paper and this is a connotation of substantial and convincing evidence. In this

proverb, the contrast of the color characters *bái* and *hēi* makes the substantiation of

proof more obvious.

(62) TH Proverbial Expressions

a. *Ceuˇzauˊ miˋpag* (樵燥米白) [woods-dry-rice-white]
   'There are dry woods and white rice at home; abundant and comfortable life'

b. *Pag pag ge bu ngiam do vuˇ* (白白的布染到烏)
   [white-white-possessive marker-textile-dye-to-black]
   'The pure white textile is dyed and contaminated with black stains;
    Innocent people are slandered and accused falsely.'

There are 31 TH proverbial expressions. Example (62a) illustrates that the house

stores dry woods and white rice, both of which symbolize abundant supply of

high-quality goods in daily life. Therefore, the proverb *ceuˇzauˊ miˋpag* (樵燥米白)

in TH implies abundant and comfortable life for a rich family. Example (62b)

describes the situation in which a piece of pure white textile is dyed and contaminated

with black stains. *Pag pag ge bu ngiam do vuˇ* (白白的布染到烏) then carries the

implication that innocent people are slandered and accused falsely. This proverb also

manifests the sharp contrast between the color white and the color black and this

further extends to the contrast between innocence and viciousness.

(63) TSM Proverbial Expressions

a. *Pe̍h-pe̍h-bí，tshī tuh-ku-ke* (白白米，飼盹咕雞)

 [white-white-rice, feed-doze off-chicken] 'using good-quality rice to feed a chicken which can only doze off; raising a stupid, cowardly, and good-for-nothing person'

b. *Pe̍h-līng-si pe̍h tō sī pe̍h，hue- khì。Ian-tsi-hāng tńg-lâi mā-sī pe̍h.*

 (白翎鷥白就是白，飛去。胭脂巷轉來麼是白)

 'An egret is just so white and will remain completely white even when flying into a lane full of rouge trees; A person who possesses pure characters will never be influenced by the negative environment.'

There are 13 TSM proverbial expressions. Example (63a) is a funny proverb in TSM. *Pe̍h-pe̍h-bí，tshī tuh-ku-ke* (白白米，飼盹咕雞) refers to the owner's mentality that it is useless to use good-quality rice to feed chickens which can only doze off and sleep. Later on, people use this saying to sigh that it is useless to raise a stupid, cowardly and good-for-nothing person or a worthless wretch. Example (63b) emphasizes the concept of purity evolving from the color white. This proverbial expression describes that an egret is inherently white. When the egret flies into a lane full of rouge trees, it will still remain completely white instead of being dyed red. This saying further denotes the kind-hearted people who possess pure characters will never be influenced by the negative environment and will not thus become bad.

From our observation in this section, proverbial expressions containing the color term *white* across TM, TH, and TSM possess a wide variety of implications. They teach us priceless lessons of wisdom and somehow carry some functions of social education. We also see how the color term *white* becomes deeply embedded with all aspects of life.

4.2.5 General Discussion

In this section, we will have a general discussion about the color terms

white in TM, TH and TSM. Table 5 briefly summarizes the different categories and

some representative data that we have illustrated before are listed. These categories

include prototypical meanings, metonymic extensions, various metaphorical

extensions and idiosyncratic examples.

Table 5. Categories of Color Terms *White* in TM, TH, and TSM

Categories	TM	TH	TSM
1. **Prototypical Meaning** 'white'	*báixuě*	*pag mi ˋ*	*pe̍h-tsuá*
2. **Metonymic Extensions**	*bànbáiliǎn*	*cai ˋ pag*	*pe̍h-ting*
Metaphorical Extensions (3-11)			
3. 'clear, transparent'	*míngbái*	*da ˋ pag gong ˋ*	*káng-kah-pe̍h-leh*
4. 'moral, innocent'	*qīngbái*	*qin ˊ pag*	*tshing-pik*
5. 'legal'	*báidào*		*pe̍h-tō*
6. 'plain, ordinary'	*báikāishuǐ*	*pag zug ˋ*	*pe̍h-kún-tsuí*
7. 'empty, with nothing; without reasons, credit, etc'	*píngbáiwúgù*	*pag su ˋ zog ˋ ng ˇ*	*pik-siú sîng-ka*
8. 'in vain, be futile'	*báifèilìqì*	*da ˋ pag hang ˇ*	*pe̍h-kóng*
9. 'for free, without paying'	*báichībáihē*	*pag siid*	*pe̍h-tsia̍h pe̍h-lim*
10. 'helpless, cannot do anything'	*Nándào báibái dì kàn tāmen bèiqīfù?*		*Lí beh pe̍h-pe̍h khuànn in siū-sí sī-bô?*
11. 'wastefully, it's a pity'	*bùnábáibùná*		
Idiosyncratic Examples (12-13)			
12. Arbitrary Items	*báiyúnxiāng*	*pag mug ˊ mi ˇ*	*tshenn-pōng-pe̍h-pōng*
13. Proverbs	*Báizhǐhēizì*	*Pag pag did ˊ bu ngiam do vu ˇ*	*Pe̍h-pe̍h-bí，tshī tuh-ka-ke*

First, the prototypical meaning of color term *white*, that is, the physiological

visible color white, can be seen across the three languages such as *báixuě* (白雪) in

TM, *pag mi ˋ* (白米) in TH and *pe̍h-tsuá* (白紙) in TSM. Through different ICM

mechanisms, they all develop metonymic extensions like *bànbáiliǎn* (扮白臉) in TM,

cai ˋpag (采白) in TH and *pe̍h-ting* (白丁) in TSM.

There is a wide diversity of metaphorical extensions in the three languages

and these can be generalized as one metaphor, ABSTRACT QUALITY IS

PHYSICAL QUALITY. The color black in the source domain can conceptualize

various abstract attributes in the target domain. Some metaphorical extensions are

universal and widespread across the three languages. To begin with, the concept of

brightness can further delineate clear and transparent notions like *míngbái* (明白) in

TM, *da ˋpag gong ˋ* (打白講) in TH and *káng-kah-pe̍h-leh* (講較白咧) in TSM. Also,

the metaphorical extension of clarity and transparency can further extend to human's

morality and innocence as implicated through *qīngbái* (清白) in TM and its equivalent

counterparts in TH and TSM. Besides, the notion of transparency can also denote

legality *báidào* (白道) in TM and its counterparts in TSM.

Moreover, from another perspective, since the color white is without any

hues, it can delineate the notions of plainness and ordinariness such as the concept of

plain food flavor as in *báikāishuǐ* (白開水) in TM, *pag zug ˋ* (白粥) in TH and

pe̍h-kún-tsuí (白滾水) in TSM. Also, the color white which lacks hues can

metaphorically imply emptiness or something with nothing such as without reasons or credit as exemplified from *píngbáiwúgù* (平白無故) in TM, *pag suˋzogˋngˇ* (白手捉魚) in TH and *pi̍k-siú sîng-ka* (白手成家) in TSM. This metaphorical extension can further denote the concept of doing something in vain and being futile. *Báifèilìqì* (白費力氣) in TM, *daˋpag hangˇ* (打白行) in TH and *pe̍h-kóng* (白講) in TSM carry such implications. In addition, another extending metaphorical concept is having something without paying such as having foods or drinks for free as manifested in *báichībáihē* (白吃白喝) in TM, *pag siid* (白食) in TH and *pe̍h-tsia̍h pe̍h-lim* (白吃白喝) in TSM. Furthermore, the notion of nothingness can depict a situation in which people are so helpless that they cannot do anything in the face of an event. This extension is realized via the constructions of *báibái* (白白) in TM and *pe̍h-pe̍h* (白白) in TSM as in the respective sentences, *Nándào báibái dì kàn tāmen bèiqīfù?* (難道<u>白白</u>地看他們被欺負?) and *Líˊbeh pe̍h-pe̍h khuànn in siū-sıˊsī-bô?* (你欲<u>白白</u>看個受死是無？).

While so many prevalent metaphorical extensions regarding color terms *white* are common in the three languages, there a language-specific metaphor in TM. *Bùnábáibùná* (不拿白不拿) in TM indicates a pity or a wasteful matter. Last but not the least, idiosyncratic cases can also be seen across the three languages. These include arbitrary items such as *pag mugˊmiˇ* (白目眉) in TH and proverbial

expressions like *báizhǐhēizì* (白紙黑字) in TM.

Now we are going to look at the positive and negative meanings in the metaphorical extensions about color terms *white*. Among the nine metaphorical extensions, two of them are negative while seven of them are non-negative. Here we generalize positive and neutral meanings into the title of non-negative meanings.[41] Negative meanings are categories of 'in vain, be futile' and 'helpless, cannot do anything'. Non-negative meanings are 'clear, transparent', 'moral, unimpeachable, innocent', 'legal', 'plain, ordinary', 'empty, with nothing; without reasons, credit', 'for free, without paying' and 'wastefully, it's a pity'. The non-negative meanings take up a significant proportion in the metaphorical extensions in TM, TH and TSM. This inclination is natural because the human conceptual universal about the color *white* (Wierzbicka 1996, Goddard 1998 and Lucy 1997) is the day, which carries the notion of brightness and hopes. This tendency may have something to do with Chinese ancient people's observation of sunlight, which is white at the brightest moment (Xie 2011). These are plausible reasons why the color term *white* dominantly develops non-negative metaphorical extensions.

Figure 6 displays category proportions of color terms *white* in TM, TH and

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[41] We find some metaphorical extensions cannot be absolutely classified as positive or negative meanings. For example, in the metaphorical extension 'empty, with nothing', *píngbáiwúgù* (平白無故) in TM seems to be negative while *pik-siú sîng-ka* (白手成家) in TSM seems to be positive. Also, the TM color terms *báikāishuǐ* (白開水) as in the category of 'plain, ordinary' or *báizhù* (白住) as in the category of 'for free, without paying' can hardly be attributed to positivity or negativity. Therefore, we entitle these neutral meanings as well as positive ones the category of non-negative meanings.

TSM.
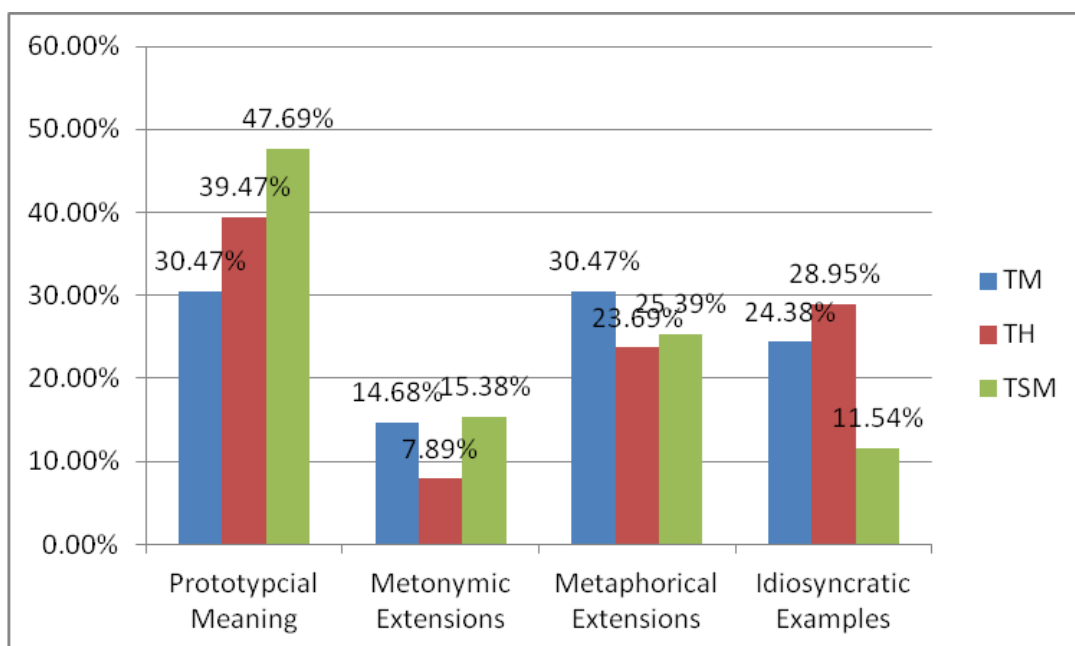
Figure 6. Category Proportions of Color Terms *White* in TM, TH and TSM

From Figure 6, in TM the prototypical meaning (30.47%) or the metaphorical

extension (30.47%) equally accounts for significant proportions in color terms *white*.

For TH, the prototypical meaning (39.47%) and idiosyncratic examples (28.95%) are

the two largest components. In TSM, the prototypical meaning (47.69%) and

metaphorical extensions (25.39%) take up large proportions in color terms *white*.

Figure 7 presents distributions of metaphorical extensions in color terms

white in TM, TH and TSM.[42]

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[42] The specific proportion statistics for each category can be seen in Appendix. In comparison with TH and TSM, TM has the largest tokens of color terms *white* in metaphorical extensions. There are 110 TM data, 27 TH data and 33 TSM data in the metaphorical extensions.

114
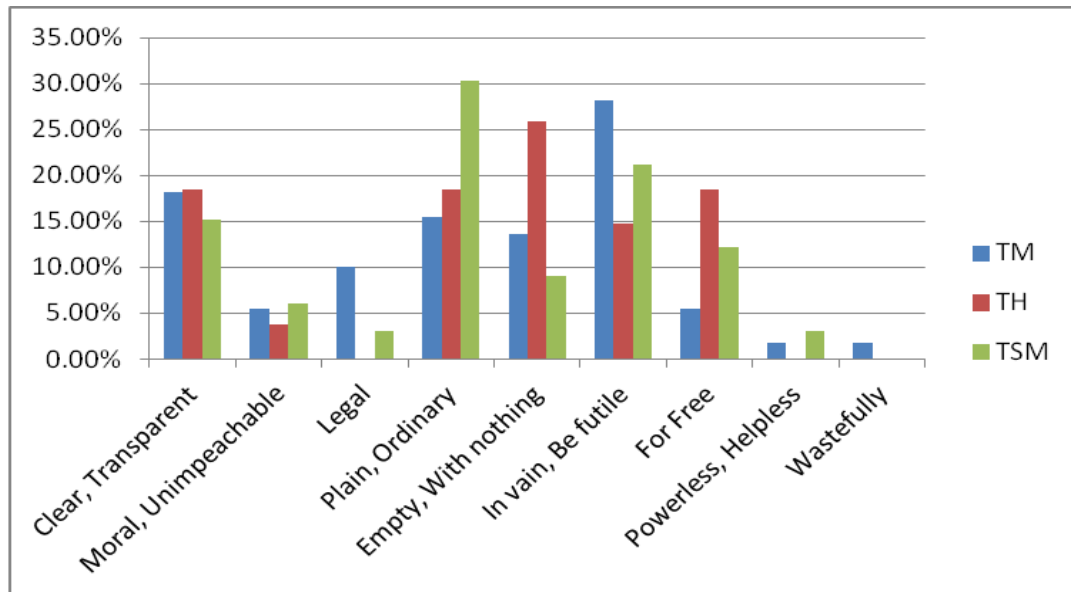
**Figure 7. Distributions of Metaphorical Extensions in Color Terms *White*
in TM, TH and TSM**

For TM, the three most dominant metaphorical extensions of color terms *white* are 'in
vain, be futile' (28.18%), 'clear, transparent' (18.18%) and 'plain, ordinary' (15.46%).
TSM has great proportion of the metaphorical extension 'plain, ordinary' (30.3%) as
well as 'in vain, be futile' (21.21%) and 'clear, transparent' (15.15%). In TH, the most
dominant metaphorical extension is 'empty, with nothing' (25.93%) and the
metaphorical extensions 'clear, transparent', 'plain, ordinary' or 'for free' takes up
equal proportion (18.52%) in color terms *white*. On the whole, the metaphorical
extensions 'clear, transparent', 'plain, ordinary' and 'in vain, be futile' are prevalent
across the three languages.

To sum up, the color term *white* in TM, TH and TSM evolves diverse
metonymic extensions, metaphoric extensions and idiosyncratic examples from the
prototypical meaning of white. Figure 8 presents the radial category of the color terms

white in the three languages. The ellipsoid in the center refers to the prototypical

meaning of color term *white*. The hexagon and the pentagon stand for metonymic

extensions and idiosyncratic examples, respectively. The various metaphorical

extensions are marked by the rectangles. The straight lines signal the relationships

between the categories. From this figure, we can get the panorama of how the color

white generates different categories of meanings.
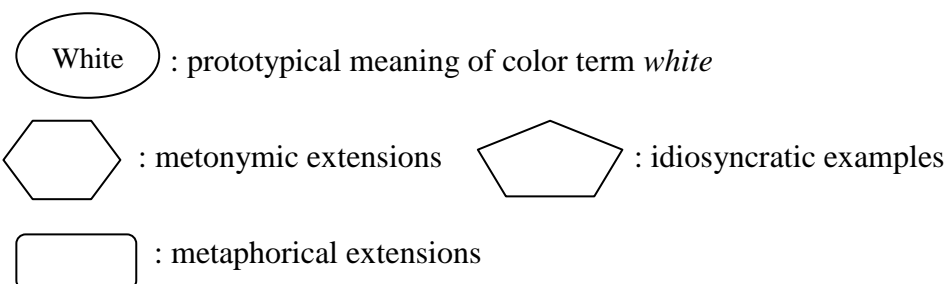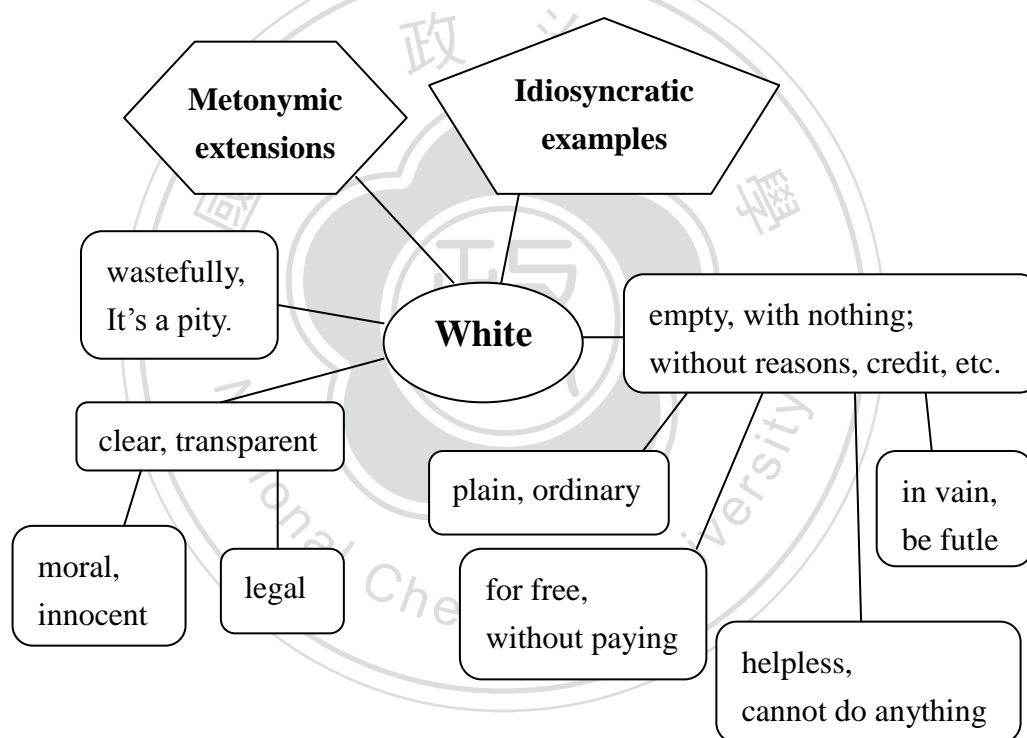
Figure 8. Radial Categories of Color Terms *White* in TM, TH and TSM

From our data-driven examination, it is deducible that the color white carries the

notion of clearness, which further denotes attributes of morality and legality. Besides,

from another perspective because the white color is without any hues, it

metaphorically implies emptiness or something with nothing. A lot of metaphorical

extensions thus originate from this implication such as the idea of plainness and

ordinariness, the concept of being in vain, the idea of having something for free and

the helpless state of mind.

4.3 Cultural Factors in Color Terms

Kövecses (2005) contends that metaphor variation occurs at two major

dimensions, the cross-cultural and within-culture dimensions. In what follows, we

will use Kövecses' (2005) cultural factors[43] to observe color terms *black* and *white* in

TM, TH, and TSM. Our generalization is driven by our data observation. Therefore,

particularly we will only examine one type of cross-cultural variations, the alternative

metaphor and some dimensions concerning within-culture variation.

4.3.1 Cross-Cultural Variation

In conceptual metaphor, one type of cross-cultural variation that Kövecses (2005)

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[43] Detailed introductions about Kövecses' (2005) culture factors in metaphor can be cross-referred to
Chapter Ⅲ.

stipulates is alternative metaphor. Among the three types of alternative metaphor[44], we find that the scope of the source is available for discussion with regard to color terms. The scope of source refers to the set of target domains that a particular source domain can correspond to. Here the source domain of the color black or white can correspond to various target domains in TM, TH and TSM. Table 6 summarizes the corresponding metaphorical extensions from the source domain of the color black across the three languages.

Table 6. Metaphorical Extensions of the Color Black in TM, TH and TSM

Categories of Metaphorical Extension	TM	TH	TSM
1. 'secret, mysterious'	◎	◎	◎
2. 'evil, vicious'	◎	◎	◎
3. 'illegal, underground'	◎	◎	◎
4. 'disgraceful, dishonorable'	◎		◎
5. 'depressed, hopeless'	◎		
6. 'keeping a low profile'	◎		
7. 'unexpectedly excellent'	◎		
8. 'sarcastic, biting'	◎		
9. 'inauspicious, unfortunate'	◎		
10. 'low, sluggish'	◎		
11. 'fooling around, hooligan'		◎	
12. 'fashionable, handsome, beautiful'			◎
13. 'reckless, capricious'			◎
14. 'disappearing, becoming nothing'			◎
Total Number of Categories	**10**	**4**	**7**

From Table 6, we see that TM has ten categories of metaphorical extensions, TH has four and TSM has seven categories. In terms of the source domain of color black,

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[44] As what has been introduced in Chapter Ⅲ, Kövecses (2005) classifies alternative metaphors into three types, the range of the target, the scope of the source and large-scale alternative conceptualization.

TM has the most corresponding target domains and TH has the least metaphorical

extensions. This indicates that TM has the widest scope of source, TH has the

narrowest and the source scope of TSM is in between with regard to color terms *black*.

Table 7 lists the metaphorical extensions from the source domain of the color white

among the three languages.

Table 7. Metaphorical Extensions of the Color White in TM, TH and TSM

Categories of Metaphorical Extension	TM	TH	TSM
1. 'clear, transparent'	◎	◎	◎
2. 'moral, innocent'	◎	◎	◎
3. 'legal'	◎		◎
4. 'plain, ordinary'	◎	◎	◎
5. 'empty, with nothing; without reasons, credit, etc'	◎	◎	◎
6. 'in vain, be futile'	◎	◎	◎
7. 'for free, without paying'	◎	◎	◎
8. 'helpless, cannot do anything'	◎		◎
9. 'wastefully, it's a pity'	◎		
Total Number of Categories	**9**	**6**	**8**

About metaphorical extensions of color white, TM has nine categories, which is

the most, TH has six categories, which is the least, and TSM has eight categories.

Similar to the situation of color terms *black*, TM has the largest scope of source and

TH has the smallest scope of source regarding color terms *white*. In brief, TM has the

most metaphorical extensions of color terms *black* and *white* while TH has the least

developments.

Berlin and Kay (1969) once address the relationship between color lexicons and

cultural and technological development as in the following: "Color lexicons with few

terms tend to occur in association with relatively simple cultures and simple

technologies, while color lexicons with many terms tend to occur in association with

complex cultures and complex technologies" (104). Namely, the number of color

lexicons proportionally indicates the complexity of cultural and technological

developments. From our data observation, among the three languages TM has the

most color terms of *black* and *white* (209 tokens of *hēi* color terms and 361 tokens of

bai color terms), TSM has the second most color terms (168 tokens of *oo* color terms

and 130 tokens of *pėh* color terms) and TH has the least color lexicons (89 items of *vu*

color terms and 114 items of *pag* color terms). Besides, as what has been presented,

TM evolves the most abundant metaphorical extensions of color terms *black* and

white whereas TH has the least versatile developments. This is probably because TM

is the official language dominantly used by residents in Taiwan in all aspects of lives

such as commerce, education, technology, culture, Internet, mass media, interpersonal

communication, to name just a few (Fan 2007).[45] In contrast, TSM and TH are not as

prevalent as TM. This might possibly be the reason why TM develops the most

prolific usages of color terms *black* and *white* and why TSM and TH possess

relatively fewer varieties of color terms. In addition, the fact that TSM develops more

metaphorical extensions than TH may probably be ascribed to the influence of

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[45] This may probably reflect the fact that the government founded National Language Committee (國語推行委員會) in 1945 and started to implement the National Language Policy (國語政策) in 1956.

characteristics of language speakers (Luo 2007 and Shi 2007).[46]

In summary, in terms of color terms *black* and *white* in TM, TH and TSM, the

wider the scope of source is, the more complex metaphorical extensions are generated.

The complexity of color terms is closely connected with the vivacity of cultural,

economic or technological developments in that language.

4.3.2 Within-Culture Variation

Kövecses (2005) suggests that there are eight dimensions about within-culture

variations in metaphor. From our data observation, some color terms reflect some

intra-cultural variations, including the style dimension and the subculture dimension.

In what follows, we will enumerate some examples.

A. The Style Dimension

The Style Dimension refers to linguistic variation along with levels of formality,

formal, colloquial (or called neutral), informal and slang usages[47]. Proverbial

expressions of color terms invariably carry some moral lessons or exhortation

functions (Lakoff and Turner 1989) such as *Jìn zhū zhě chì, jìn mò zhě hēi.* (近朱者

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[46] In Chapter Ⅴ we will have more detailed illustrations about this aspect and suggest possible directions for future studies.

[47] Kövecses (2005) does not give any definitions of formal and informal usages and we do not find color terms display the clear differentiation of formal and informal ones. Nevertheless, we do observe proverbial expressions contain some exhortations.

赤，近墨者黑) 'People are easily influenced by the environment' in TM, *Ceuˇ zauˊmiˋpag* (樵燥米白) 'abundant and comfortable life' or *Kiungˇnginˇmoˇliugˋ qinˊ，ceu gieuˋdoˊvuˊinˇ*. (窮人無六親，瘦狗多烏蠅) 'In terms of hardship, poor people are as miserable as stray dogs' in TH or *Kiàn-oo tō tak，kiàn-tsuí tō bak* (見烏就觸，見水就沐) 'look before you leap' in TSM.

Color terms of *black* and *white* develop quite versatile colloquial usages. For instance, in TM there are *hēidiào* (黑掉) as in the sentence *Tā zài shāngyèjiè <u>hēidiào</u> le.* (他在商業界<u>黑掉</u>了), *bùnábáibùná* (不拿白不拿), *jiǎngbáiyīdiǎn* (講白一點) or *báichībáihē* (白吃白喝). Examples of TH colloquial usages are *daˋpag gongˋ* (打白講), *pag liauˇgungˊ* (白了工) or *pag pag ge enˊ* (白白個恩). TSM also has abundant colloquial usages such as *oo-pe̍h-lâi* (烏白來), *oo-kóng pe̍h-kóng* (烏講白講) or *káng-kah-pe̍h-leh* (講較白咧). Colloquial usages of color terms are ubiquitous in our daily lives.

There are some slang usages of color terms such as *bànhēiliǎn* (扮黑臉) or *bēihēiguō* (背黑鍋) in TM, *vuˊgoˊlû goˊ* (烏哥流哥) or *pag mugˊmiˇ* (白目眉) in TH and *pe̍h-kha-tê* (白跤蹄) or *pe̍h-tsha̍t-tshit-á* (白賊七仔) in TSM. These slang usages may be traced back to historical or cultural roots and later on become deeply entrenched in the cognition of language speakers. All in all, color terms vary within TM, TH or TSM themselves due to different levels of formality.

B. The Subculture Dimension

The separateness of subculture would lead to unique metaphorical conceptualization of important concepts. For example, the extended meaning 'illegal, underground' is relevant to the subculture of judicial organizations, law officers and governmental bureau. In TM, there are related color terms like *hēiguān* (黑官), *hēijīnzhèngzhì* (黑金政治), *săohēi* (掃黑) or *hēichīhēi* (黑吃黑) 'using unjust means to get what others achieve illegally'. Take one practical usage for instance. Via Google Taiwan we search this sentence containing the term *hēiguān* (黑官):

kăoshìyuàn jué bù róngxŭ hēiguān jiè zŭzhīgǎizào piǎobái (考試院絕不容許黑官藉 組織改造漂白)[48] 'The Examination Yuan by no means will allow illegitimate civil servants to become legal officers by remodeling systems'. This subculture dimension also occurs in TH color term *vuˊ diam* (烏店) and in TSM color terms, *oo-tshī* (烏市) or *oo-kim* (烏金).

The metaphorical extension 'low, sluggish, not prosperous' in TM also displays another subculture dimension. In TM *kāihēipán* (開黑盤) and *chánghēi* (長黑) can only be seen in the stock market. Therefore, we have expressions like *gŭshì kāihēipán* (股市開黑盤) and *gŭshì chánghēi* (股市長黑).

According to traditional viewpoints of *Yin Yang Five Elements* and Chinese

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[48] Data from: http://www.libertytimes.com.tw/2011/new/jun/13/today-p2.htm
  (retrieved on 11/13, 2011)

customs, white has been the representative color of Chinese funerals. There are some

color terms about this subculture such as *báiyī* (白衣) or *báishì* (白事) 'funeral' in TM,

pag tiab`* (白帖) or *cai`pag (采白) in TH as well as *pe̍h-pau* (白包) in TSM.

Some color terms refer to certain types of people. In TM, *báidīng* (白丁) or

báimín (白民) refers to commoners or illiterate people. The equivalent terms *pag*

siinˊ (白身) in TH and *pe̍h-ting* (白丁) in TSM also reveal this subculture dimension.

Hēisèyōumò (黑色幽默) and *hēisèxǐjù* (黑色喜劇) in TM denote the

metaphorical extension 'sarcastic, biting, cynical'. They manifest another subculture

dimension, a genre of comedy, in which topics of taboos are presented in an unusually

satirical and humorous way.

The TSM color terms *oo-káu* (烏狗) and *oo-niau* (烏貓) manifest the subculture

of fashion. The two terms refer to fashionable young men and young women and the

notion of fashion delineated by the two terms is deeply embedded in TSM culture.

In this chapter, we have conducted analysis of color terms *black* and *white* in TM,

TH and TSM according to categories of prototypical meaning, metonymic extensions,

metaphorical extensions and idiosyncratic examples with complement of

corresponding lexicalization types (Packard 2000). We have also examined

cross-cultural and within-culture variations about these color terms. In Chapter Ⅴ, we

will offer some concluding remarks.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The present study explores the semantic distributions of color terms *black* and *white* in TM, TH and TSM. We have examined these color terms in detail according to different cognitive categories and present panoramic discussions. In this chapter, we will offer our concluding remarks, including summary of the thesis in section 5.1 and directions for future studies in section 5.2.

5.1 Summary of the Thesis

Black and white are the two most fundamental colors in the natural world as they are designated at stage one in Berlin and Kay's (1969) evolutionary sequence. Despite the fact that the two colors are universally perceptible to all mankind, there are some variations about color terms *black* or *white* among TM, TH and TSM, which are geographically contiguous in Taiwan. This thesis explores the similarities and differences regarding color terms of *black* and *white* among the three languages by classifying them into cognitive categories of prototypical meaning, metonymic

extensions, metaphorical extensions and idiosyncratic examples and we also observe

their corresponding lexicalization types (Packard 2000).

The prototypical meanings of the color terms refer to the physiologically visual

color, black and white, which are the representative colors of human conceptual

universals about night and day (Wierzbicka 1996, Goddard 1998). The three

languages all contain abundant data of prototypical meanings and these color terms

belong to conventional lexicalization whose degree of lexicalization is the lowest.

With regard to the group of metonymic extensions, the source domain of black or

white provides mental access to another conceptual entity in the target domain and

both domains are within the same ICM (Kövecses and Radden 1998). Through

different metonymic mechanism, color terms of *black* or *white* in the three languages

have diverse extensions. Color terms of metonymic extensions all belong to the

category of metaphorical lexicalization at the level of gestalt word.

In metaphorical extensions, the source domain of the visual color black or white

is mapped onto the target domain and both domains are within different superordinate

domains. Through the general metaphor ABSTRACT QUALITY IS PHYSICAL

QUALITY (Goatly 2011), numerous attributes are conceptualized through the visual

color black or white. Some metaphorical extensions are prevalent across the three

languages. For example, the color black can extend to the concept of secret and

mystery, the notion of viciousness regarding people's inner temperaments and the

notion of illegality concerning people's outer conducts. As for color terms *white*, the

visual color white can metaphorically extend to the concept of clarity and

transparency, the notion of morality, the notion of legality. Also, since the white color

is without any hues, it further denotes the concept of ordinariness, the idea of nothing,

the notion of futility and the metaphor of having something for free. These

metaphorical extensions are prevalently existent across TM, TH and TSM. In contrast,

some metaphorical extensions are language-specific and only exist in a certain

language. Some of these exclusive usages originate from cultural heritages or

historical roots. Other language-unique metaphorical expressions emerge because

they have become fixed construction patterns. Still other color terms are borrowed

from English. From the angle of lexicalization types, these robust metaphorical

extensions all belong to the category of metaphorical lexicalization at the level of

gestalt word.

Idiosyncratic examples refer to color terms whose meanings are arbitrary or

derive from certain historical or cultural roots. These include arbitrary items and

proverbial expressions. Color terms of arbitrary category belong to complete

lexicalization, undergoing the highest degree of lexicalization. Proverbial expressions

of color terms contain enlightening moral lessons and are valuable cultural heritages

that people need to pass on.

Kövecses' (2005) cultural factors in metaphor are utilized to observe two major

metaphor variations, the cross-cultural and within-culture dimensions. For the

cross-cultural dimension, in terms of the source domain of color black or white among

the three languages, TM develops the most prolific metaphorical extensions of color

terms *black* or *white*, TH has the least versatile generations, and the development of

TSM color terms is in between. The complexity of color terms is closely related to the

vivacity of cultural, economic or technological developments in that language (Berlin

and Kay 1969).

For the within-culture dimension, color terms of *black* and *white* also vary within

TM, TH or TSM themselves. For instance, the three languages differ along the style

dimension as color terms manifest levels of formality such as proverbial expressions,

colloquial usages or slangs. Besides, color terms can be the realization of different

subcultures in a language such as subcultures of judicial organizations, the stock

market, Chinese funerals, ranking of people, a genre of comedy or fashion.

Black and white are the two most contrasting colors in the natural world. Color

terms of *black* and *white* also distinctively contrast with each other concerning

positive and negative meanings. The negative meanings of color terms *black* take up a

magnificent proportion in the metaphorical extensions in TM, TH and TSM whereas

the non-negative meanings of color terms *white* account for a dominant proportion.

This tendency may have something to do with human conceptual universals about the

color terms *black* and *white* (Wierzbicka 1996, Goddard 1998 and Lucy 1997), which

are the dark night and bright day. The dark night implies notions of mystery and

ominousness while the day gives people hopes and brightness. This tendency also

corresponds to traditional viewpoints of *Yin Yang Five Elements* about the color black

which is considered a sign of recession and dormancy and ancient people's

observation of sunlight.

From the most primitive opposite of darkness and brightness, color terms of

black and *white* further develop other evident oppositions in the metaphorical

extensions. When collocating with certain components, the color black can extend to

the notion of mystery and secret while the color white often delineates concepts of

clarity and transparency. Color terms *black* may carry the implication of evil and

viciousness but color terms *white* denote morality and innocence. In addition, the

antithesis of illegality and legality is also manifested via color terms *black* and *white*.

These essential and extensional contrasts of color terms *black* and *white* are prevalent

across TM, TH and TSM.

5.2 Directions for Future Studies

The present study explores color terms of *black* and *white* in TM, TH and TSM. There are other basic color terms that need more holistic examinations across the three languages. In TM, they are *hóng* (紅) 'red', *lǜ* (綠) 'green', *lán* (藍) 'blue' and *huáng* (黃) 'yellow'.[49] In TH, rarely examined color terms are *fung* (紅) 'red', *vong* (黃) 'yellow' and *qiang* (青) 'grue category of blue and green'.[50] In TSM, color terms of *âng* (紅) 'red', *n̂g* (黃) 'yellow' and *tshenn* (青) 'grue category of blue and green' need more investigations.[51] Further studies can aim at comparing and contrasting color terms of *red*, *green*, *blue*, *yellow* and *grue category of blue and green* across the three languages and examine their similarities and differences.

This study finds that TM develops the most prolific and versatile color terms of *black* and *white* among the three languages, TH develops the least and the generation of TSM color terms is in between. Further studies may look into the causes behind the degree of prosperity about color terms development from the perspective of sociolinguistics or the sociology of language (Wardhaugh 2001).[52] For example,

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[49] Examples of these TM color terms are *hóngrén* (紅人) 'famous people', *míngrìhuánghuā* (明日黃花) 'out of fashion', *dàilǜmào* (戴綠帽) 'cuckoldry' and *lánběn* (藍本) 'a blueprint', to name just a few.

[50] Examples of TH color terms are *bunˊ fungˇ* (分紅) 'distributing profits', *vongˇ lab* (黃臘) 'look of sickness' and *qiangˊ cunˊ* (青春) 'youth', etc.

[51] Examples of TSM color terms are *âng-pau* (紅包) 'red envelops', *n̂g-tāu* (黃豆) 'yellow bean' and *tshenn-tshài* (青菜) 'vegetables', etc.

[52] Wardhaugh (2001: 12) says that "sociolinguistics is concerned with investigating the relationships between language and society with the goal being a better understanding of the structure of language and of how languages function in communication; the equivalent goal in the sociology of language is trying to discover how social structure can be better understood through the study of language, e.g., how certain linguistic features serve to characterize particular social arrangements."

language planning[53] might possibly be one reason for the robust development of TM

color terms.[54] In addition, the fact that TSM develops more metaphorical extensions

than TH may probably be ascribed to the influence of characteristics of language

speakers. Speakers of different languages hold different attitudes toward language

borrowing; some are more open while others are more discriminating (Wardhaugh

2001). Luo (2007) mentions that TH speakers tend to be more reserved and

perseverant while TSM speakers are more adventurous and open to variations. The

difference of their characters might possibly bring TSM into constant contacts with

other languages whereas TH is preserved intact rarely influenced by other languages

or cultures. Furthermore, Hakka people have always been regarded as *yǐnxíngrén* (隱

形人) 'invisible people' (Fan 2007, Shi 2007 and Yang 2007) and less often use TH

expressing their opinions in public in comparison with TSM speakers. TSM speakers'

explicit language behavior might likely give rise to their more active developments of

color terms. To sum up, the above-mentioned discussions are out of our initial

assumptions and more rigorous sociolinguistics research may be needed in order to

probe into this aspect of color terms across TM, TH and TSM.

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[53] Wardhaugh (2001: 352) mentions the definition of language planning from Weinstein (1980: 56) as in the following: "Language planning is a government authorized, longterm, sustained, and conscious effort to alter a language's function in a society for the purpose of solving communication problems."

[54] The implementation of National Language Policy (國語政策) in 1956 prohibited the use of mother languages and designated the use of Mandarin in educational institutes and public areas (Fan 2007). Since then, TM has become the official language prevalently used by Taiwan residents in various aspects of lives despite the fact that the strictly-enforced policy was annulled along with the ending of marital law period.

APPENDIX Ⅰ

Color Terms *Black* in TM, TH and TSM

Part Ⅰ. Color Terms *Black* in Taiwanese Mandarin

A. Prototypical Meaning 'Black, Darkness'

1. *hēifǎ* (黑髮)
2. *hēiàn* (黑暗)
3. *hēiyān* (黑煙)
4. *hēitàn* (黑炭)
5. *hēiyè* (黑夜)
6. *mōhēi* (摸黑)
7. *mámáhēi* (麻麻黑)
8. *bānghēiér* (傍黑兒)
9. *mòhēi* (墨黑)
10. *fāhēi* (發黑)
11. *dǎhēixiàn* (打黑線)
12. *tóuyūnyǎnhēi* (頭暈眼黑)
13. *tiānhūndìhēi* (天昏地黑)
14. *tànhēi* (碳黑)
15. *líhēi* (黎黑)
16. *hēibān* (黑斑)
17. *hēibùliūdiū* (黑不溜丟)
18. *hēiméi* (黑煤)
19. *hēiméijùn* (黑黴菌)
20. *hēimāo* (黑貓)
21. *hēimóu* (黑眸)
22. *hēimànmàn* (黑漫漫)
23. *hēimángmáng* (黑茫茫)
24. *hēidēngxiāhuǒ* (黑燈瞎火)
25. *hēidēngxiàhuǒ* (黑燈下火)
26. *hēidiāo* (黑貂)
27. *hēidiǎn* (黑點)
28. *hēidòngdòng* (黑洞洞)
29. *hēitáo* (黑陶)
30. *hēitang* (黑糖)
31. *hēitǐ* (黑體)
32. *hēitiān* (黑天)
33. *hēitǔ* (黑土)
34. *hēilǐ* (黑裡)
35. *hēilǐqiào* (黑裡俏)
36. *hēilǐnlǐn* (黑凜凜)
37. *hēilù* (黑路)
38. *hēigūlongdōng* (黑咕籠咚)
39. *hēihūhū* (黑忽忽)
40. *hēihúhú* (黑糊糊)
41. *hēijiāshǔ* (黑家鼠)
42. *hēijiābáirì* (黑家白日)
43. *hēijiàn* (黑鍵)
44. *hēijiàngyóu* (黑醬油)
45. *hēiqīqī* (黑漆漆)
46. *hēiqīyìtuán* (黑漆一團)
47. *hēixiázi* (黑匣子)
48. *hēixīngxīng* (黑猩猩)
49. *hēixióng* (黑熊)
50. *hēikuǐkuǐ* (黑魁魁)
51. *hēibīnbīn* (黑鬢鬢)
52. *hēizhǒng* (黑種)
53. *hēishā* (黑紗)
54. *hēishòu* (黑瘦)
55. *hēizi* (黑子)
56. *hēizǎo* (黑早)
57. *hēizǎo* (黑棗)
58. *hēicù* (黑醋)
59. *hēichénchén* (黑沉沉)
60. *hēisèhuǒyào* (黑色火藥)
61. *hēiyāyā* (黑壓壓)
62. *hēiyóuyóu* (黑油油)
63. *hēiyǒu* (黑黝)
64. *hēiyǒuyǒu* (黑黝黝)
65. *hēiyǎnquān* (黑眼圈)
66. *hēiyǎnzi* (黑黶子)
67. *hēiyǐng* (黑影)
68. *hēiyù* (黑玉)
69. *hēidòu* (黑豆)
70. *hūnhēi* (昏黑)
71. *huánggānhēishòu* (黃乾黑瘦)
72. *jìbáidānghēi* (計白當黑)
73. *jiāohēi* (焦黑)
74. *qǐzǎotānhēi* (起早貪黑)
75. *guǐhēi* (魖黑)
76. *xūnhēi* (曛黑)
77. *bìnhēi* (鬢黑)
78. *chènhēi* (趁黑)

79. *shàihēi* (晒黑)   80. *yīhēi* (黳黑)   81. *yǒuhēi* (黝黑)

82. *wūhēi* (烏黑)   83. *yuèhēifēnggāo* (月黑風高)   84. *yuèhēifēngjǐn* (月黑風緊)

85. *yuèhēitiān* (月黑天)   86. yuèhēitóu (月黑頭)   87. *hēibáidiànshì(jī)* 黑白電視(機)

88. *hēiyìn* (黑印)   89. *hēiyang* (黑羊)   90. *hēigǒu* (黑狗)

91. *jiěhēibiàn* (解黑便)   92. *hēitiāné* (黑天鵝)   93. *hēiméngméng* (黑濛濛)

94. *hēiwénzi* (黑蚊子)   95. *hēisǎn* (黑傘)   96. *hēitóufǎ* (黑頭髮)

97. *hēiméiwūzuǐ* (黑眉烏嘴)

B. Metonymic Extensions

1. *hēinú* (黑奴)   2. *hēishǒu* (黑手)   3. *hēidài* (黑帶)

4. *bànhēiliǎn* (扮黑臉)   5. *bēihēiguō* (背黑鍋)   6. *hēiguǐ* (黑鬼)

7. *hēirén* (黑人)   8. *hēiyān* (黑煙)   9. *hēizhēnzhū* (黑珍珠)

10. *méihēizi* (煤黑子)   11. *fěnbáidàihēi* (粉白黛黑)   12. *kòuhēiguō* (扣黑鍋)

13. *hēifangzǐ* (黑房子)   14. *hēitóu* (黑頭)   15. *hēitóuchóng* (黑頭蟲)

16. *hēiguǎfù* (黑寡婦)   17. *hēishū* (黑書)   18. *hēizìdǎobì* (黑字倒閉)

19. *hēiwūzi* (黑屋子)   20. *yáohēiér* (窯黑兒)   21. *wūtiānhēidi* (烏天黑地)

22. *hēiyī* (黑衣)   23. *hēiliǎndǒngzuǐ* (黑臉董嘴)   24. *chīhēizǎoér* (吃黑棗兒)

25. *kàn tā zhème húnào , <u>wǒ liǎn dōu hēi le</u>* .看他這麼胡鬧，<u>我臉都黑了</u>。

C-1. Metaphorical Extension 'Secret, Mysterious'

1. *hēiláo* (黑牢)   2. *mùhòuhēishǒu* (幕後黑手)   3. *hēimù* (黑幕)

4. *hēihézi* (黑盒子)   5. *hēixiāngzuòyè* (黑箱作業)   6. *hēihán* (黑函)

7. *hēixìn* (黑信)   8. *hēitiě* (黑帖)   9. *hēihuà* (黑話)

10. *hēiqiāng* (黑槍)   11. *hēichǔ* (黑杵)

C-2. Metaphorical Extension 'Evil, Vicious'

1. *hēixīn* (黑心)   2. *hēiyè* (黑業)   3. *hēibái* (黑白)

4. *xīnhēishǒulà* (心黑手辣)   5. *hēibáifēnmíng* (黑白分明)   6. *diāndǎohēibái* (顛倒黑白)

7. *hēibáibùfēn* (黑白不分)   8. *hēibáidiāndǎo* (黑白顛倒)   9. *hēixīncháng* (黑心腸)

10. *hēiànshìjiè* (黑暗世界)   11. *hùnzàohēibái* (混造黑白)   12. *zhǐhēiwéibái* (指黑為白)

13. *shìfēihēibái* (是非黑白)   14. *shuōhēidàobái* (說黑道白)   15. *yǐbáiwéihēi* (以白為黑)

16. *hēimówáng* (黑魔王)   17. *hēibáihǔnyáo* (黑白混淆)

C-3. Metaphorical Extension 'Illegal, Underground'

1. *hēidào* (黑道)   2. *hēijīn* (黑金)   3. *hēishì* (黑市)

4. *hēihuò* (黑貨)   5. *hēiqián* (黑錢)   6. *hēixīnshāngpǐn* (黑心商品)

7. *hēibāng* (黑幫)   8. *hēishèhuì* (黑社會)   9. *hēibáiliǎngdào* (黑白兩道)

10. *hēipáichē* (黑牌車)   11. *hēiguān* (黑官)   12. *hēijīnzhèngzhì* (黑金政治)
13. *hēiqiāng* (黑槍)   14. *hēichīhēi* (黑吃黑)   15. *sǎohēi* (掃黑)
16. *hēidiàn* (黑店)

C-4. Metaphorical Extension 'Disgraceful, Dishonorable'
1. *hēimíngdān* (黑名單)   2. *mǒhēi* (抹黑)   3. *biànhēi* (變黑)
4. *hēijìlù* (黑紀錄)   5. *Tā zài shāngyèjiè hēidiào le.* 他在商業界黑掉了。

C-5. Metaphorical Extension
   'Depessed, Frustrated, Gloomy, Hopeless, Negative'
1. *qīhēiyìtuán* (漆黑一團)   2. *hēiànmiàn* (黑暗面)   3. *hūntiānhēidi* (昏天黑地)
4. *hēiànshíqí* (黑暗時期)   5. *xīnzhōng yípiàn hēiàn* 心中一片漆黑

C-6. Metaphorical Extension 'Keeping a low profile, being humble and modest'
1. *zhīhēishǒubái* (知白守黑)

C-7. Metaphorical Extension 'Unexpectedly excellent, Profoundly remarkable'
1. *hēimǎ* (黑馬)

C-8. Metaphorical Extension 'Sarcastic, Biting, Cynical'
1. *hēisèyōumò* (黑色幽默)   2. *hēisèxìjù* (黑色喜劇)

C-9. Metaphorical Extension 'Inauspicious, Unfortunate'
1. *zǒuhēiyùn* (走黑運)   2. *hēidàorì* (黑道日)   3. *huángdàohēidào* (黃道黑道)
4. *hēisèxīngqíwǔ* (黑色星期五)

C-10. Metaphorical Extension 'Low, Sluggish, Not prosperous'
1. *gǔshìkāihēipán* (股市開黑盤)   2. *gǔshìzhǎnghēi* (股市長黑)

D-1. Idiosyncratic Examples: Arbitrary Items
1. *hēibǎn* (黑板)   2. *hēiànshídài* (黑暗時代)   3. *hēidì* (黑帝)
4. *hēitián* (黑甜)   5. *hēitiánxiāng* (黑甜鄉)   6. *hēilóulóu* (黑婁婁)
7. *hēiyǔ* (黑雨)   8. *hēiàndàlù* (黑暗大陸)

D-2. Idiosyncratic Examples: Proverbial Expressions
1. *Bāohēiliǎn duàn ànzi* (包黑臉斷案子)
2. *Tiānxià wūyā yìbān hēi* (天下烏鴉一般黑)

3. *Lùnhuángshùhēi* 論黃數黑

4. *Hēimǔguā yìwōér* 黑母鴰一窩兒

5. *Hēitóuchóngér bùkě jiù , jiù zhī jiùyào chī rénròu.*
(黑頭蟲兒不可救，救之就要吃人肉)

6. *Hēiniú shēng báidú* 黑牛生白犢

7. *Hēiqīpídēng* 黑漆皮燈

8. *Hēiqīpídēnglong* 黑漆皮燈籠

9. *Hēiyún yā chéng chéng yù cuī* 黑雲壓城城欲摧

10. *Huángmāohēiwěi* (黃貓黑尾)

11. *Jìnzhūzhěchì , jìnmòzhěhēi* 近朱者赤，近墨者黑

12. *Chīhēifàn , hùqīzhù* 吃黑飯，護漆柱

13. *Shī chù tóu ér hēi* 蝨處頭而黑

14. *Yìtiáodàoér zǒudào hēi* 一條道兒走到黑

15. *Hēihànbáiliú* 黑汗白流

Part Ⅱ. Color Terms *Black* in Taiwanese Hakka

A. Prototypical Meaning 'Black, Darkness'

1. *sii` vu´ in*  (屎烏蠅)    2. *tien´ vu` ti am* (天烏地暗)   3. *vu `a`* (烏鴉)

4. *vu´ ban´* (烏斑)   5. *vu´ gim´* (烏金)   6. *vu´ in* (烏蠅)

7. *vu´ iun* (烏雲)   8. *vu´ pag* (烏白)   9. *vu´ qiang´* (烏青)

10. *vu´ sam´* (烏衫)   11. *vu´ sed`* (烏色)   12. *vu´ teu* (烏豆)

13. *vu´ tong* (烏糖)   14. *vu´ zo`* (烏棗)   15. *vu´ am tien´* (烏暗天)

16. *vu´ im´ tien´* (烏陰天)   17. *vu` dab` dab` * (烏落落)   18. *vu´ du fung* (烏黗紅)

19. *vu´ du hied`* (烏黗血)    20. *vu `kad kad* (烏刻刻)   21. *vu´ liung´ ca´* (烏龍茶)

22. *vu´ so´ did dab* (烏疏滴落)   23. *vu´ sii* (烏字)   24. *vu´ in´ zii* (烏蠅紙)

25. *vu´ zii* (烏痣)   26. *vu´ gud` gie´* (烏骨雞)   27. *vu´ ien´* (烏煙)

28. *teu´ vu´ mien vu´*
(頭烏面烏)   29. *vu´ so´ so´* (烏疏疏)   30. *vu´ zii´ lai gon´*
(烏膣癩乾)

31. *vu´ ma´ e`* (烏麻仔)   32. *vu´ gui´* (烏龜)   33. *vu´ vun´* (烏渾)

34. *ton´ vu´* (斷烏)   35. *vu´ teu´* (烏頭)   36. *vu´ gim´* (烏金)

37. *vu´ tan* (烏炭)   38. *vu´ mug` zu´* (烏目珠)   39. *vu´ in´* (烏仁)

40. *vu´ gieu`* (烏狗)   41. *vu´ fud* (烏核)   42. *vu´ mien* (烏面)

43. *vu´ ki´ lin* (烏旗令)   44. *vu´ mug` giang* (烏目鏡)   45. *mia´ vu´* (摸烏)

46. *hiong´ vu´* (香烏)   47. *vu´ kiun´* (烏裙)   48. *vu´ siin´* (烏身)

49. *vu´ sag teu´* (烏石頭)   50. *vu´ log* (烏烙)

B. Metonymic Extensions

1. *vuˊ nginˇ* (烏人)   2. *vuˊ liuˇ vanˋ* (烏鰡鯇)

C-1. Metaphorical Extension 'Secret, Mysterious'

1. *vuˊ mien ced* (烏面賊)   2. *vuˊ suˋ* (烏手)

C-2. Metaphorical Extension 'Evil, Vicious'

1. *vuˊ ximˊ congˇ* (烏心腸)   2. *vuˊ ximˊ gonˊ* (烏心肝)

C-3. Metaphorical extension 'Illegal, Underground'

1. *vuˊ diam* (烏店)   2. *mun vuˊ pag* (問烏白)

C-4. Metaphorical Extension 'Fooling around, Hooliganism'

1. *vuˊ goˊ lûu goˊ* (烏哥流哥)

D-1. Idiosyncratic Examples: Proverbial Expressions

1. *aˊ xiagˋ gauˋ vuˊ liau，gauˋ do giogˋ tiau a tiau* (阿鵲教烏鵲，教到腳跳啊跳)
2. *cu ngiugˋ ngiaˊ vuˊ inˇ* (臭肉惹烏蠅)
3. *gangˊ tienˇ iu gangˊ puˊ，zo do liongˋ teuˇ vuˊ*
   (耕田又耕埔，做到兩頭烏)
4. *gieuˋ gab vuˊ inˇ* (狗呷烏蠅)
5. ma samˊ ngienˇ moˇ ban diamˋ vuˊ qiangˊ (罵三年無半點烏青)
6. *vuˊ inˇ kiamˇ vuˊ inˇ dugˋ* (烏蠅拑烏蠅啄)
7. *vuˊ ximˊ loˇ ped hoˋ mien piˋ* (烏心蘿蔔好面皮)
8. *vuˊ aˊ moˇ gagˋ ia lonˋ ——xin gibˋ* (烏鴉無隔夜卵——性急)
9. *vuˋ aˋ bien fung fongˇ，lienˇ cii giˋ dagˋ xiang du budˋ gi dedˋ leˋ*
   (烏鴉變鳳凰，連自己的姓都不記得了)
10. *gongˊ daiˋ ge sag teuˇ，jim giuˋ iaˊ voi vuˊ* (缸底个石頭，浸久也會烏)
11. *liungˇ ngienˋ hoˋ siid hogˋ anˋ vuˊ，liˋ ziiˊ hoˋ siid hogˋ anˋ cuˋ*
    (龍眼好食殼恁烏，荔枝好食殼恁粗)
12. *vuˋ aˋ songˊ suˋ，mˇ voi bien fung fongˇ* (烏鴉上樹，毋會變鳳凰)
13. *vuˊ liau e ˋ hog gongˋ fa，nginˇ idˋ giˊ taˊ idˊ gi*
    (烏鵲仔學講話，人一句他一句)
14. *vuˊ ziiˋ fa vuˊ fuˊ—moˇ iangˋ mo11 jiagˋ* (烏紙畫烏虎—無影無跡)
15. *vuˊ iunˇ lanˇ dungˊ，mˇ he iˋ qiu he fungˊ* (烏雲攔東，毋係雨就係風)
16. *vuˊ gieuˋ gamˊ meu siid siiˋ—kiongˇ ngin11 soˋ nanˇ*
    (烏狗甘貓食屎—強人所難)

17. *vu ́ gieu ̀ to ́*，*pag gieu ̀ pa ́* （烏狗拖，白狗扒）

18. *vu ́ gieu ̀ teu ́ siid*，*pag gieu ̀ su jid ̀ fad* （烏狗偷食，白狗受責罰）

19. *vu ́ mien zu ́ siid kiung ˇ ngin ˇ* （烏面豬食窮人）

20. *vu ́ iun ˇ jiab ̀ ngid ̀*，*tien ́ gong ́ im ́ i ̀ did ̀*；*vu ́ iun ˇ lan ˇ dung ́*，*iu ́ sui ̀ iu iu ́ fung ́* （烏雲接日，天光陰雨滴；烏雲攔東，有水又有風）

21. *vu ̀ a ̀ bi ́ m ˇ go* （烏鴉飛毋過）

22. *vu ̀ a ̀ seu zu ́ vu ̀* （烏鴉笑豬烏）

23. *vu ̀ gui ́ e ̀ ho ̀ miang vung ́*，*lo ̀ siid did ̀ lau iu ́ in gung ́* （烏龜仔好命翁，老實的落有應公）

24. *kiung ˇ ngin ˇ vu ˇ liug ̀ qin ́*，*ceu gieu ́ do ́ vu ́ in ˇ* （窮人無六親，瘦狗多烏蠅）

25. *dung ́ zii cag ̀*，*tien ˇ bid ̀ lag ̀*；*dung ́ zii vu ̀*，*vo ˇ song pu ́* （冬至赤，田必壢；冬至烏，禾上埔）

26. *vu ̀ meu pag du ̀*，*dad ded ̀ liong ́ qien ́ ng ̀*；*fan cii11 liong ́ mug ̀*，*dad ded ̀ liong ́ qien ́ liug ̀* （烏貓白肚，值得兩千五；飯匙兩目，值得兩千六）

27. *siib ngi ngied gie vu ̀ a ̀*，*zang ́ ngied gie fu ngin ˇ ga ́* （十二月介烏鴉，正月介婦人家）

28. *vu ́ gieu ̀ hiong ́*，*vong ˇ gieu ̀ tiam ˇ*；*vu ́ gie fa*，*fa ́ lab gieu ̀ ia vu ˇ hiam ˇ* （烏狗香，黃狗甜；無介話，花剌狗也無嫌）

29. *vu ̀ gui ́ mogd seu biedd ̀*，*kiung iong ni ˇ du ̀ hiedd ̀* （烏龜莫笑鱉，共樣泥肚歇）

30. *gugd ̀ i ̀ vu ́ im ̇ so ́ i ́ mong ˇ*，*gugd ̀ i ̀ ho ̀ tien ́ so ́ i ́ gua song qiong ˇ* （穀雨烏陰蓑衣忙，穀雨好天蓑衣掛上牆）

PartⅢ. Color Terms *Black* in Taiwanese Southern Min

A. Prototypical Meaning 'Black, Darkness'

1. *oo-a* (烏鴉)
2. *oo-àm* (烏暗)
3. *oo-àm-hîn* (烏暗眩)
4. *oo-bȧk* (烏墨)
5. *oo-bui* (烏蠓)
6. *oo-hî-tsí* (烏魚子)
7. *oo-hî* (烏魚)
8. *oo-hûn* (烏雲)
9. *oo-ian-thûn* (烏煙黗)
10. *oo-iánn* (烏影)
11. *oo-im* (烏陰)
12. *oo-im-thinn* (烏陰天)
13. *oo-thinn-àm-tē* (烏天暗地)
14. *oo-iû* (烏油)
15. *oo-jîn* (烏仁)
16. *oo-jîn-bȧk-kiànn* (烏仁目鏡)
17. *oo-keh-á* (烏格仔)
18. *oo-kì* (烏痣)
19. *oo-kim* (烏金)
20. *oo-ku* (烏龜)
21. *oo-kut-ke* (烏骨雞)
22. *oo-lái-hueh* (烏淬血)
23. *oo-liông-tê* (烏龍茶)
24. *oo-moo* (烏毛)
25. *oo-muê-á-tsiú* (烏梅仔酒)
26. *oo-pan* (烏斑)
27. *oo-pȧh* (烏白)
28. *oo-sìm-sìm* (烏黚黚)
29. *oo-sô-sô* (烏趖趖)
30. *oo-ta-sán* (烏焦瘦)

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31. *oo-tāu* (烏豆) 32. *oo-thâu-á-tshia* (烏頭仔車) 33. *oo-thn̂g* (烏糖)

34. *oo-tòo-âng* (烏黗紅) 35. *oo-tshenn* (烏青) 36. *oo-tshenn gîng-hueh* (烏青凝血)

37. *oo-tsó* (烏棗) 38. *oo-pe̍h-jí* (烏白子) 39. *oo-bīn* (烏面)

40. *oo-lik-sik* (烏瀝色) 41. *oo-bah-té* (烏肉底) 42. *oo-pe̍h-phìnn* (烏白片)

43. *oo-huî* (烏瓷) 44. *oo-hîm* (烏熊) 45. *oo-tiám* (烏點)

46. *oo-sô-sô* (烏趖趖) 47. *oo-mì-mà* (烏咪哗) 48. *oo-àm-thinn* (烏暗天)

49. *oo-suànn* (烏線) 50. *oo-mà-mà* (烏麻麻) 51. *oo-sann* (烏衫)

52. *oo-àm-mî* (烏暗暝) 53. *oo-khòo* (烏褲) 54. *oo-bō* (烏帽)

55. *oo-sok-ka* (烏塑膠) 56. *oo-liâm-liâm* (烏黏黏) 57. *oo-tsuí-kau* (烏水溝)

58. *oo-si-jiông* (烏絲絨) 59. *oo-thâu-mn̂g* (烏頭毛) 60. *oo-tshàu-tshàu* (烏臭臭)

61. *oo-phuê* (烏毛) 62. *oo-gû* (烏牛) 63. *oo-ba̍k* (烏目)

64. *oo-pòo* (烏布) 65. *oo-thinn* (烏天) 66. *oo-tsíng* (烏腫)

67. *oo-oo-ba̍t-ba̍t* (烏烏密密) 68. *oo-kin* (烏巾) 69. *oo-tiánn* (烏鼎)

70. *oo-tik-lîm* (烏竹林) 71. *oo-thong-thong* (烏通通) 72. *oo-tshiunn* (烏槍)

73. *oo-kuainn* (烏杆) 74. *oo-jiông-pòo* (烏絨布) 75. *oo-ba̍k-bâi* (烏目眉)

76. *oo-se-tsong* (烏西裝) 77. *oo-pat-kuà* (烏八卦) 78. *oo-pe̍h-tiān-sī* (烏白電視)

79. *oo-hue-á-sann* (烏花仔衫) 80. *oo-hàn* (烏漢) 81. *oo-sûn* (烏巡)

82. *oo-hueh* (烏血) 83. *oo-han-tsî* (烏蕃薯) 84. *oo-bue̍h* (烏襪)

85. *thin-oo-oo* (天烏烏) 86. *oo-tsng* (烏磚)

B. Metonymic Extensions

1. *oo-a-tshuì* (烏鴉喙) 2. *oo-ka-lé-á* (烏魁儡仔) 3. *oo-phuê-ti* (烏皮豬)

4. *oo-kui* (烏龜) 5. *oo-lâng* (烏人) 6. *oo-kuí* (烏鬼)

7. *oo-tshiú* (烏手) 8. *oo-tsin-tsu* (烏珍珠) 9. *oo-thâu* (烏頭)

10. *o-tau-sai-gong* (烏頭司公) 11. *oo-thôo* (烏塗) 12. *oo-se-bō* (烏紗帽)

13. *oo-tsut-á* (烏卒仔) 14. *oo-ba̍k tak pe̍h-ba̍k* (烏目瓧白目) 15. *oo-tshiu kàu pe̍h-tshiu* (烏鬚到白鬚)

16. *oo-áu* (烏漚) 17. *oo-lôo* (烏奴)

C-1. Metaphorical Extension 'Secret, Mysterious'

1. *oo-tshiú* (烏手) 2. *oo-phue* (烏批) 3. *oo-uē* (烏話)

C-2. Metaphorical Extension 'Evil, Vicious'

1. *oo-àm* (烏暗) 2. *oo-lok-tōo* (烏漉肚) 3. *oo-pe̍h* (烏白)

4. *oo-sim-kuann* (烏心肝) 5. *oo-sim to̍k-hîng* (烏心毒行) 6. *bīn-pik，sim-kuann-oo* (面白，心肝烏)

7. *oo-tn̂g-tōo* (烏腸肚)

C-3. Metaphorical Extension 'Illegal, Underground'

1. *oo-kim* (烏金)　　　2. *oo-kim tsìng-tī* (烏金政治)　3. *oo-tō* (烏道)

4. *oo-tshī* (烏市)　　　5. *oo-tsînn* (烏錢)　　　6. *oo-tiàm* (烏店)

7. *oo-pang* (烏幫)　　　8. *oo-huè* (烏貨)　　　9. *oo-siā-huē* (烏社會)

10. *oo-pâi-tō-iû* (烏牌導遊)

C-4. Metaphorical Extension 'Disgraceful, Dishonorable'

1. *oo-miâ-tuann* (烏名單)

C-5. Metaphorical Extension 'Fashionable, Handsome, Beautiful'

1. *oo-káun* (烏狗)　　　　　　2. *oo-niau* (烏貓)

3. *oo-káu-hiann* (烏狗兄)　　　　4. *oo-niau-tsí-á* (烏貓姊仔)

C-6. Metaphorical Extension 'Reckless, Capricious, Careless'

1. *oo-pėh-kóng* (烏白講)　　　2. *oo-pėh-lâi* (烏白來)

3. *oo-kóng-pėh-kóng* (烏講白講)　　4. *oo-tshòng-pėh-tshòng* (烏創白創)

5. *oo-pėh-tāng* (烏白動)　6. *oo-pėh-sióng* (烏白想)　7. *oo-pėh-tsiȧh* (烏白食)

8. *oo-pėh-tshì-iȯh* (烏白試藥)　9. *oo-pėh-thîng* (烏白停)

C-7. Metaphorical Extension 'Disappearing, Becoming nothing, Empty'

1. *oo-iú* (烏有)

D-1. Idiosyncratic Examples: Arbitrary Items

1. *oo-pang* (烏枋)　　2. *oo-pang-tshit-á* (烏枋拭仔)　3. *oo-se* (烏紗)

D-2. Idiosyncratic Examples: Proverbial Expressions

1. *oo-hûn tà guȯh* 　(烏雲罩月)

2. *oo-lóo-bȯk-tsè* 　(烏魯木齊)

3. *oo-kan-á té tāu-iû，bô-tit-khàn* 　(烏矸仔貯豆油　無得看)

4. *tsînn gîn-pėh，sim-kuann-oo* 　(錢銀白　心肝烏)

5. *kiàn- oo tō tak，kiàn- tsuí tō bak* 　(見烏就觸，見水就沐)

6. *oo- niau thau tsiȧh，pėh- káu siū-tsuē* 　(烏貓偷食，白狗受罪)

7. *pháinn-sim oo-lok-tōo，poh sí tō tuì tshoo-it，poh tshut tō tí tiȯh thàu-hong kiam lȯh-hōo* 　(歹心烏漉肚，卜死就對初一十五，卜出就抵著透風兼落雨)

8. *oo-a sǹg- lâi sī，kiat-hiong bī kàu sian iú tiāu*
(烏鴉算來是歹鳥，吉凶未到先有調)

9. *oo- gû tuā- iánn* 　(烏牛大影)

10. *kóng- khí-lâi，thinn tō oo it-phiàn* （講起來，天就烏一片）

11. *thâu-ke tsiàh-pn̄g phuè kiâm- kiunn，ku-lí tsiàh-pn̄g phuè oo-tshiunn*
    (頭家食飯配鹹薑，苦力食飯配烏鯧)

12. *oo-ku ké tuā- iâ* （烏龜假大爺）

13. *oo-ku tsiàh-kàu puî-leh-leh, pèh-ku gō kàu tshuì-khai-khai*
    (烏龜食到肥朒朒，白龜餓到嘴開開)

14. *oo-niau pèh-tōo，tàt gîn lióng-tshian-gōo* （烏貓白肚，值銀二千五）

15. *oo-tshiu khiâ tsuí-gû* （烏鶖騎水牛）

16. *oo-tsut-á iā-huē tsiàh kò-hô* （烏卒仔抑會食過河）

17. *sam-sip-káu jit oo-im，tí-tiòh tuā-jit-thâu* （三十九日烏陰，抵著大日頭）

18. *it-liàp-pn̄g，kòng-sí sam-tsiah oo-káu-hiann* （一粒飯，槓死三隻烏狗兄）

19. *oo-á-hî，put-kham-tit lô-tsuí kik* （烏仔魚，不堪得濁水激）

20. *oo-ke-bó，pèh-ke-nn̄g* (烏雞母，白雞卵)

21. *oo-a-tshuì，tshǹg káng tshǹg tuì tuì* （烏鴉嘴，串講串對對）

22. *bē mî-phuē，bé oo-hî* （賣棉被，買烏魚）

23. *oo-hûn-tsiap-jit，bîn-jit put-jû kin-jit* （烏雲接日，明日不如今日）

24. *oo-a-tshuì，kheh-tsiáu-sim* （烏鴉喙，客鳥心）

25. *oo-a-siann，tshiok-tsiáu-á-tánn* （烏鴉聲，雀鳥仔膽）

26. *oo-káu，thua-kiâm-hî*(烏狗，拖鹹魚)

27. *oo-niau tshīng-kûn bô- tshīng-khòo，oo-káu tshīng- khòo kik thua-thóo*
    (烏貓穿裙無穿褲，烏狗穿褲激拖土)

APPENDIX II

Color Terms *White* in TM, TH and TSM

Part Ⅰ. Color Terms *White* in Taiwanese Mandarin

A. Prototypical Meaning 'White, Light, Bright'

1. *báilà* (白蠟)
2. *báixuě* (白雪)
3. *báimǐfàn* (白米飯)
4. *báibáipàngpàng* (白白胖胖)
5. *báijìng* (白淨)
6. *báibàozhǐ* (白報紙)
7. *báibǎn* (白板)
8. *báibì* (白璧)
9. *báipéngpéng* (白蓬蓬)
10. *báimǎ* (白馬)
11. *báimǎwángzǐ* (白馬王子)
12. *báimǎyǐ* (白螞蟻)
13. *báimò* (白沫)
14. *báimò* (白墨)
15. *báiméi* (白眉)
16. *báiméi* (白煤)
17. *báiméi* (白黴)
18. *báiméisù* (白黴素)
19. *báimáofēng* (白毛風)
20. *báijīng* (白旌)
21. *báimángmáng* (白茫茫)
22. *báifǎ* (白髮)
23. *báifǎcāngcāng* (白髮蒼蒼)
24. *báifǎcāngyán* (白髮蒼顏)
25. *báifǎyínxū* (白髮銀鬚)
26. *báidefāliàng* (白得發亮)
27. *báitáo* (白陶)
28. *báitóulàng* (白頭浪)
29. *báilàng* (白浪)
30. *báilàngtāotāo* (白浪滔滔)
31. *báilàngxiāntiān* (白浪掀天)
32. *báitàn* (白炭)
33. *báitáng* (白糖)
34. *báitiáozhū* (白條豬)
35. *báixiǎn* (白癬)
36. *báitūfēng* (白禿風)
37. *báitù* (白兔)
38. *báiniǎo* (白鳥)
39. *báilà* (白蠟)
40. *báiláng* (白狼)
41. *báilù* (白鹿)
42. *báilùsī* (白鷺鷥)
43. *báiluóbo* (白蘿蔔)
44. *báigǔ* (白骨)
45. *báiguī* (白圭)
46. *báiyǎn* (白珩)
47. *báihè* (白鶴)
48. *báihú* (白狐)
49. *báigǔ* (白鵠)
50. *báijiāo* (白膠)
51. *báijiàn* (白鍵)
52. *báijū* (白駒)
53. *báizhù* (白紵)
54. *báishā* (白紗)
55. *báishé* (白蛇)
56. *báishǔ* (白鼠)
57. *báiròu* (白肉)
58. *báizi* (白子)
59. *báihuán* (白環)
60. *báixióng* (白熊)
61. *báicí* (白瓷)
62. *báicí* (白磁)
63. *báicù* (白醋)
64. *báisēnsēn* (白森森)
65. *báié* (白鵝)
66. *báiyǐ* (白蟻)
67. *báiyǎnzhū* (白眼珠)
68. *báiwū* (白屋)
69. *báiyǔ* (白羽)
70. *báiyuán* (白猿)
71. *bānbái* (斑白)
72. *piǎobái* (漂白)
73. *piǎobáifěn* (漂白粉)
74. *piǎobáijì* (漂白劑)
75. *miànhuángchúnbái* (面黃脣白)
76. *miànsècāngbái* (面色蒼白)
77. *fābái* (發白)
78. *fǎnbái* (反白)

79. *fěnbái* (粉白) | 80. *nièbái* (涅白) | 81. *hēibáidiànshìjī* (黑白電視機)

82. *hēibáiyǐngpiàn* (黑白影片) | 83. *hàobái* (皓白) | 84. *huībái* (灰白)

85. *jiébái* (潔白) | 86. *měibái* (美白) | 87. *chúnbái* (純白)

88. *rǔbáisè* (乳白色) | 89. *cuìbái* (粹白) | 90. *yúdùbái* (魚肚白)

91. *báiwù* (白霧) | 92. *yìbáizhēsānchǒu* (一白遮三醜)

93. *báitiān* (白天) | 94. *báirì* (白日) | 95. *báirèn* (白刃)

96. *báirìmèng* (白日夢) | 97. *báiguāng* (白光) | 98. *báihuāhuā* (白花花)

99. *báihuāhuā* (白嘩嘩) | 100. *báihuànghuàng* (白晃晃) | 101. *báichì* (白熾)

102. *báiáiái* (白皚皚) | 103. *báiyíngyíng* (白瑩瑩) | 104. *jiǎobáijuàn* (繳白卷)

105. *bǔbái* (補白) | 106. *bùbái* (布白) | 107. *fēnhángbùbái* (分行布白)

108. *liúbái* (留白) | 109. *kòngbái* (空白) | 110. *jìbáidānghēi* (計白當黑)

B. Metonymic Extensions

1. *báirén* (白人) | 2. *báishì* (白事) | 3. *báibāo* (白包)

4. *báiyī* (白衣) | 5. *báilǐngjiējí* (白領階級) | 6. *báiyītiānshǐ* (白衣天使)

7. *xiàdeliǎnsèfābái* (嚇得臉色發白) | 8. *(zhāo)báiyǎn* (招)白眼 | 9. *fānbáiyǎn* (翻白眼)

10. *tābáilewǒyìyǎn* (她白了我一眼) | 11. *báishǒu* (白首) | 12. *xiǎobáiliǎn* (小白臉)

13. *bànbáiliǎn* (扮白臉) | 14. *jǔbáiqí* (舉白旗) | 15. *báipíshū* (白皮書)

16. *báigōng* (白宮) | 17. *báirèhuà* (白熱化) | 18. *báihuò* (白禍)

19. *báimiàn* (白面) | 20. *báimiànshūshēng* (白面書生) | 21. *báihóng* (白虹)

22. *báifān* (白幡) | 23. *báizéiqī* (白賊七) | 24. *báisǒu* (白叟)

25. *báisǒuhuángtóng* (白叟黃童) | 26. *báiyǎnpínjiā* (白眼頻加) | 27. *báiwūhánmén* (白屋寒門)

28. *báiwūrénjiā* (白屋人家) | 29. *miànsèfābái* (面色發白) | 30. *fěnbáimòhēi* (粉白墨黑)

31. *lángēnbáizhǐ* (蘭根白芷) | 32. *liǎnshàng yízhènhóng yízhènbái* (臉上一陣紅一陣白) | 33. *liǎngyǎnfānbái* (兩眼翻白)

34. *huángbáizhīwù* (黃白之物) | 35. *hóngbáishì* (紅白事) | 36. *jíchìbáiliǎn* (急赤白臉)

37. *jiēbáiqí* (揭白旗) | 38. *jiānwòbáimén* (堅臥白門) | 39. *qīngbáiyǎn* (青白眼)

40. *qīngtiānbáirìmǎndìhóng* (青天白日滿地紅) | 41. *xiàobái* (孝白) | 42. *chǐbáichúnhóng* (齒白脣紅)

43. *chǐluòfābái* (齒落髮白) | 44. *shǎobáitóu* (少白頭) | 45. *sùchēbáimǎ* (素車白馬)

46. *yízhènqīngyízhènbái* (一陣青一陣白) | 47. *yíngqīngliáobái* (縈青繚白) | 48. *báichén* (白塵)

49. *báitóu* (白頭) | 50. *báidīng* (白丁) | 51. *báimín* (白民)

52. *báishēn* (白身) | 53. *báidīngsúkè* (白丁俗客)

C-1. Metaphorical Extension 'Clear, Transparent'

1. *míngbái* (明白)
2. *dùlĭmíngbái* (肚裡明白)
3. *dòngxīmíngbái* (洞悉明白)
4. *tănbái* (坦白)
5. *biăobái* (表白)
6. *biànbái* (辨白)
7. *báicì* (白刺)
8. *zìbái* (自白)
9. *zìbáishū* (自白書)
10. *jiăngbáiyìdiăn* (講白一點)
11. *shuōqīngdàobái* (說清道白)
12. *shuōbáile* (說白了)
13. *chényuānmòbái* (沉冤莫白)
14. *bùbáizhīyuān* (不白之冤)
15. *bùmíngbùbái* (不明不白)
16. *pŏbái* (剖白)
17. *(zhēnxiàng)dàbái* (真相)大白
18. *lòubái* (露白)
19. *gàobái* (告白)
20. *qiánbúlòubái* (錢不露白)

C-2. Metaphorical Extension 'Moral, Unimpeachable, Innocent'

1. *qīngbái* (清白)
2. *bùqīngbùbái* (不清不白)
3. *pingbáiwúgū* (平白無辜)
4. *liánbái* (廉白)
5. *yìqīngèrbái* (一清二白)
6. *báiyè* (白業)

C-3. Metaphorical Extension 'Legal'

1. *báidào* (白道)
2. *báihēi* (白黑)
3. *báihēibùfēn* (白黑不分)
4. *báihēifēnmíng* (白黑分明)
5. *diāndăohēibái* (顛倒黑白)
6. *hēibáiliăngdào* (黑白兩道)
7. *hēibáihŭnyáo* (黑白混淆)
8. *zhĭhēiwéibái* (指黑為白)
9. *shìfēihēibái* (是非黑白)
10. *săobái* (掃白)
11. *yĭbáiwéihēi* (以白為黑)

C-4. Metaphorical Extension 'Plain, Ordinary'

1. *báikāishuĭ* (白開水)
2. *báizhŭdàn* (白煮蛋)
3. *báiqiēròu* (白切肉)
4. *báizhāi* (白齋)
5. *báiròu* (白肉)
6. *báihuàwén* (白話文)
7. *báiwén* (白文)
8. *kŏubái* (口白)
9. *bīnbái* (賓白)
10. *pángbái* (旁白)
11. *dúbái* (獨白)
12. *duìbái* (對白)
13. *kēbái* (科白)
14. *kāichăngbái* (開場白)
15. *shuōbái* (說白)
16. *jīngbái* (京白)
17. *yùnbái* (韻白)

C-5. Metaphorical Extension 'Empty, With nothing; Without reasons, credit'

1. *báishŏuqĭjiā* (白手起家)
2. *báimiáo* (白描)
3. *píngbái* (平白)
4. *píngbáiwúgù* (平白無故)
5. *báipíngwúgù* (白憑無故)
6. *píngbáiwúduān* (平白無端)
7. *pingbáiwúshì* (平白無事)
8. *báibái* (白白)
9. *báiniánzéi* (白拈賊)
10. *báilài* (白賴)
11. *báixiánzhe* (白閒著)
12. *báishòu* (白受)
13. *kōngshŏushuōbáihuà* (空口說白話)
14. *báikŏuzŭzhòu* (白口詛咒)
15. *báiqì* (白契)

C-6. Metaphorical Extension 'In vain, Without results, Be futile'

1. *báimáng* (白忙)
2. *báifèilìqì* (白費力氣)
3. *báipăoyìtang* (白忙一場)

4. *báibái* (白白)   5. *báipǎo* (白跑)   6. *báifèi* (白費)

7. *báifèigōngfū* (白費功夫)   8. *báifèixīnxiě* (白費心血)   9. *báifèixīnxiě* (白費心思)

10. *báidǎ* (白打)   11. *báifang* (白放)   12. *báilái* (白來)

13. *báiliàn* (白練)   14. *báigěi* (白給)   15. *báihuā* (白花)

16. *báihùn* (白混)   17. *báishuō* (白說)   18. *báizāotà* (白糟蹋)

19. *báizuò* (白做)   20. *báiguò* (白過)   21. *báishēngqì* (白生氣)

22. *báigài* (白蓋)   23. *báigǎo* (白搞)   24. *báiná* (白拿)

25. *báiténg* (白疼)   26. *báipiào* (白票)   27. *báikǎo* (白考)

28. *báijiǎng* (白講)   29. *báiwèn* (白問)

30. *báijiǎo le bǔxífèi* 白繳了補習費   31. *báizǒu zhè yítànglù* (白走這一趟路)

C-7. Metaphorical Extension 'For Free, Without Paying'

1. *báichībáihē* (白吃白喝)   2. *báigěi* (白給)   3. *báizhù* (白住)

4. *báichībáizhù* (白吃白住)   5. *kànbáixì* (看白戲)   6. *báichīfàn* (白吃飯)

C-8. Metaphorical Extension

'Powerless, Helpless, Cannot do anything, Having no alternative'

1. *báibái* (白白)   2. *báidèngzheyǎn* (白瞪著眼)

C-9. Metaphorical Extension 'Wastefully, It's a pity that …'

1. *búwènbáibúwèn* (不問白不問)   2. *bùnábáibùná* (不拿白不拿)

D-1. Idiosyncratic Examples: Arbitrary Items

1. *báifěi* (白匪)   2. *báiniǎnzéi* (白捻賊)   3. *báilǎohǔ* (白老虎)

4. *báipíshū* (白皮書)   5. *báifěn* (白粉)   6. *báisèkǒngbù* (白色恐怖)

7. *báiháo* (白毫)   8. *báijīnhūn* (白金婚)   9. *báiyúnxiāng* (白雲鄉)

10. *màoyìbáipíshū* (貿易白皮書)

D-2. Idiosyncratic Examples: Proverbial Expressions

1. *Báiyúncānggǒu* (白雲蒼狗)

2. *Báitóuxiélǎo* (白頭偕老)

3. *Báizhǐhēizì* (白紙黑字)

4. *Báijūguòxì* (白駒過隙)

5. *Báibǎndāndiào* (白板單吊)

6. *Báifǎqīngshān* (白髮青衫)

7. *Báifǎxiāngshǒu* (白髮相守)

8. *Báifǎrúxīn* (白髮如新)

9. *Báifànqīngchú* (白飯青蒭)

10. *Báidāozijìnqù , hóngdāozichūlái* 白刀子進去，紅刀子出來

11. *Báitóuzhītàn* (白頭之歎)

12. *Báitiān búzuò kuīxīnshì , bànyè búpà guǐqiāomén*
    (白天不做虧心事，半夜不怕鬼敲門)

13. *Báitùchìwū* (白兔赤烏)

14. *Báilàmíngjīng* (白蠟明經)

15. *Báibìqīngyíng* (白璧青蠅)

16. *Báibìzhīxiá* (白璧之瑕)

17. *Báibìwúxiá* (白璧無瑕)

18. *Báifǎhóngyán* (白髮紅顏)

19. *Báifǎqíméi* (白髮齊眉)

20. *Báifǎcāngcāng* (白髮蒼蒼)

21. *Báifǎcāngyán* (白髮蒼顏)

22. *Báifǎyínxū* (白髮銀鬚)

23. *Báilóngyúfú* (白龍魚服)

24. *Báiguīzhīdiàn* (白圭之玷)

25. *Báiháozhīcì* (白毫之賜)

26. *Báihóngguànrì* (白虹貫日)

27. *Báijūkōnggǔ* (白駒空谷)

28. *Báixuěhuángyá* (白雪黃芽)

29. *Báishǒubělmiàn* (白首北面)

30. *Báishǒutóngguī* (白首同歸)

31. *Báishǒukōngguī* (白首空歸)

32. *Báishǒuqióngjīng* (白首窮經)

33. *Báishǒuxiàngzhī* (白首相知)

34. *Báirìshēngtiān* (白日昇天)

35. *Báijīnghuángxū* (白旌黃鉞)

36. *Báicíniànfù* (白詞念賦)

37. *Báiyúrùzhōu* (白魚入舟)

38. *Báiyúngūfēi* (白雲孤飛)

39. *Bùfēnqīnghóngzàobái* (不分青紅皁白)

40. *Bùfēnzàobái* (不分皁白)

41. *Pānānbáifǎ* (潘安白髮)

42. *Pángméibáifǎ* (龐眉白髮)

43. *Pīhóngpànbái* (批紅判白)

44. *Mǎjiǎowūbái* (馬角烏白)

45. *Màobáishénqīng* (貌白神清)

46. *Mèngtǔbáifèng* (夢吐白鳳)

47. *Dǎoguǐdiàobái* (搗鬼弔白)

48. *Tiāngōngwúzàobái* (天公無皂白)

49. *Tiānxià méiyǒu báichī de wǔcān* (天下沒有白吃的午餐)

50. *Tuōbáihuànlǜ* (脫白換綠)

51. *Lángqiánbáifǎ* (郎潛白髮)

52. *Liǎngtóubáimiàn* (兩頭白面)

53. *Lùnhuángshùbái* (論黃數白)

54. *Hēiniúshēngbáidú* (黑牛生白犢)

55. *Hēihànbáiliú* (黑汗白流)

56. *Huángbáizhīshù* (黃白之術)

57. *Jīngguanbáirì* (精貫白日)

58. *Qiānyìzhīqiú , fēiyìhúzhībái* 千鎰之裘，非一狐之白

59. *Qīngyíngrǎnbái* (青蠅染白)

60. *Qǔqīngpìbái* (取青媲白)

61. *Xīnguanbáirì* (心貫白日)

62. *Xūshìshēngbái* (虛室生白)

63. *Zhōngguanbáirì* (忠貫白日)

64. *Chìkǒubáishé* (赤口白舌)

65. *Chěhuǎngliāobái* (扯謊撩白)

66. *Chōuhuángduìbái* (抽黃對白)

67. *Chōuqīngpèibái* (抽青配白)

68. *Chànghóngbáiliǎn* (唱紅白臉)

69. *Shuōbáidàohēi* (說白道黑)

70. *Sǐbiāobáichán* 死鰾白纏

71. *Sānfùbáiguī* (三復白圭)

72. *Yādǎoyuánbái* (壓倒元白)

73. *Wūbáimǎjiǎo* (烏白馬角)

74. *Wūgǒuchīshí , báigǒudāngzāi* 烏狗吃食，白狗當災

75. *Yuèbáifēngqīng* (月白風清)

76. *Yúnzhōngbáihè* (雲中白鶴)

77. *Yìqióngèrbái* (一窮二白)

78. *Báibìwéixiá* (白璧微瑕)

Part Ⅱ. Color Terms *White* in Taiwanese Hakka

A. Prototypical Meaning 'White, Light, Bright'

1. *pag ngiug`* (白肉)  2. *pag `ciang⁺* (白淨) 3. *lon`pag* (卵白)
4. *pag mi`* (白米)  5. *pag ngie* (白蟻)  6. *pag hog e`* (白鶴仔)
7. *peu`pag* (漂白) 8. *pung pag* (鋒白) 9. *vu´pag* (烏白)
10. *pag coi* (白菜) 11. *pag tong˅* (白糖) 12. *pag zii`* (白紙)
13. *pag tied`* (白鐵) 14. *pag samˊ* (白衫) 15. *song pag* (上白)
16. *pag fu˅zeuˊ* (白胡椒) 17. *pag fu`* (白虎)  18. *pag gab`* (白鴿)
19. *pag cii* (白醋) 20. *pag maˊ* (白馬) 21. *pag ni˅* (白泥)
22. *pag ngo˅* (白鵝) 23. *pag ngiugd* (白玉) 24. *pag iung˅* (白熊)
25. *pag zu* (白晝) 26. *pag xied`xied`* (白雪雪)
27. *pag long toˊtienˊ* (白浪滔天)
28. *pag fanˊsu˅* (白番薯) 29. *xied`pag* (雪白) 30. *pag moˊ* (白毛)
31. *pag iun˅* (白雲) 32. *pag banˊ* (白斑) 33. *pag nen sui`* (白乳水)
34. *pag fud* (白核) 35. *pag saˊ* (白紗) 36. *pag bu* (白布)
37. *pag cu˅* (白綢) 38. *pag su`lab`e`* (白手套)
39. *gied` pag* (潔白)  40. *kungˊpag* (空白)  41. *pag fun`* (白粉)
42. *pag qiong˅* (白牆) 43. *pag ngid`* (白日) 44. *pag iung˅iung˅* (白絨絨)
45. *pag cug* (白濁)

B. Metonymic Extensions

1. *pag bu fanˊ* (白布幡) 2. *cai`pag* (采白) 3. *xiˊpag pag* (鬚白白)
4. *pag tiab`* (白帖)  5. *pag zung`ngin˅* (白種人) 6. *pag mien suˊsenˊ* (白面書生)
7. *pag siinˊ* (白身) 8. *xiˊqiu voi den`pag* (鬚就會等白)
9. *pag iˊ* (白衣)

C-1. Metaphorical Extension 'Clear, Transparent, Plain, Ordinary'

1. *beu`pag* (表白)  2. *da`pag gong`* (打白講) 3. *min˅ped* (明白)
4. *tan`pag* (坦白)  5. *gong`ka`pag* (講卡白)

C-2. Metaphorical Extension 'Moral, Unimpeachable, Innocent'

1. *qinˊpag* (清白)

C-3. Metaphorical Extension 'Plain, Ordinary'

1. *pag zugd`* (白粥)  2. *pag sui`* (白水) 3. *pag fa* (白話)

4. *pag fa bo* (白話報)　　　5. *pag vun*ˇ (白文)

C-4. Metaphorical extension 'Empty, With nothing; Without reasons, credit'

1. *pag fa* (白話)　　　　2. *pag pag* (白白)　　　　3. *pag kie* (白契)

4. *pag su*ˋ*zog*ˋ*ng*ˇ (白手捉魚)　　　5. *pag su*ˋ*siin*ˇ*ga*ˊ (白手成家)

6. *pin*ˇ *pag* (平白)　　　7. *han*ˇ*pag* (閒白)

C-5. Metaphorical Extension 'In vain, Without results, Be futile'

1. *da*ˋ*pag hang*ˇ (打白行)　2. *pag le*ˋ*gung*ˊ (白了工)　3. *pag da*ˋ (白打)

4. *pag hang*ˇ*id*ˋ*zon*ˋ (白行一轉)

C-6. Metaphorical Extension 'For Free, Without Paying'

1. *pag siid* (白食)　　　　2. *pag jiam* (白佔)　　　　3. *pag pag ge en*ˊ (白白個恩)

4. *pag pag ded*ˋ (白白得)　　5. *pag sung ngin*ˇ*du m*ˇ*oi* (白送人都毋愛)

D-1. Idiosyncratic Examples: Arbitrary Items

1. *po*ˇ*pag* (婆白)　　　　2. *pag mugd*ˋ*mi*ˇ (白目眉)

D-2. Idiosyncratic Examples: Proverbial Expressions

1. *ceu*ˇ*zau*ˊ*mi*ˋ*pag*　(樵燥米白)

2. *kiung*ˇ*ngin*ˇ*m*ˇ*sii*ˋ*do*ˊ，*liong*ˋ*siin*ˊ *pag mi*ˋ *voi cong go*ˊ
(窮人毋使多，兩升白米會唱歌)

3. *lim*ˇ*lo*ˋ*hog coi*ˊ*tag*，*coi*ˊ*do xi*ˊ*pag pag*　(臨老學吹笛，吹到鬚白白)

4. *lo*ˋ*e*ˋ*hog coi*ˊ*tag*，*hog e*ˋ*voi loi*ˇ*xi*ˊ*qiu pag*　(老欸學吹笛，學欸會來鬚就白)

5. *liug*ˋ*ngied ngiu*ˇ*ngien*ˋ －－*pag fud*　(六月牛眼－－白囫)

6. *sag foi*ˊ*iam lu* －－*da*ˋ*pag hang*ˇ　(石灰掞路－－打白行)

7. *ngin*ˇ*miang*ˇ*vu*ˇ*pag sui*ˋ　(人名無白水)

8. *pag pag did*ˋ*bu ngiam do vu*ˇ　(白白的布染到烏)

9. *pag zii*ˋ*dabd*ˋ*pag biag*ˋ -- *dad*ˋ*song*　(白紙貼白壁—打喪)

10. *iam*ˊ*gie*ˊ*e*ˋ*a*ˊ*pag sii*ˋ，*voi xi*ˋ*voi xi*ˋ　(閹雞仔痾白屎，會死會死)

11. *pag zii*ˋ*fa pag fu*ˋ -- *qion*ˇ*kon m*ˇ*cud*ˋ*loi*ˇ　(白紙畫白虎—全看毋出來)

12. *pag zii*ˋ*dab*ˋ*cung*ˊ -- *vu*ˇ*ge sii*　(白紙貼窗—無個字)

13. *pag zii*ˋ*xia*ˋ*vu*ˇ*sii*　(白紙寫烏字)

14. *pag sa*ˇ*jin*ˊ*siid hiung*ˇ*vong*ˇ*jiu*ˊ　(白蛇精食雄黃酒—現出原形)

15. *pag teu*ˇ*diau*ˊ*gied*ˋ*kiun*ˇ，*voi iu*ˊ*hon*ˇ*liu*ˇ*bun*ˊ
(白頭鳥結群，會有寒流奔)

16. *pag ngie cud*ˋ*kung*ˋ，*tai i*ˊ*qiu sung*　(白蟻出孔，大雨就送)

17. *pag lu iuˊiˋ，bagdˋngidˋiˋsongˊ* (白露有雨，百日有霜)

18. *pag lu iuˊiˋ，honˇlu iˋfungˊ* (白露有雨，寒露有風)

19. *pag lu limˇvoˇ，diuˊpiˇlogd hoˇ* (白露淋禾，丟肥落河)

20. *pag giogdˋzeuˋcudˋloiˇ* (白腳走出來)

21. *pag lu qiuˊfunˊ，ngidˋia piangˇfunˊ* (白露秋分，日夜平分)

22. *pag mugdˋiˊsiinˇtienˇloˇdangˊ* (白目醫成田螺釘)

23. *pag ngidˋsiinˊtienˊ* (白日昇天)

24. *pag ngiugd vuˇhaˇ* (白玉無瑕)

25. *vongˇlienˇsuiˊfuˋnenˇcii piang，mongˇfaˊsuiˊpag nanˇpiongˋsa*
    (黃連雖苦能治病，芒花雖白難紡紗)

26. *cunˊgui dungˊfungˊiˋlienˇlienˇ，ha gui dungˊfungˊsuiˋtonˊngienˇ，*
    qiuˊgui dungˊfungˊvoˇpag con，dungˊ gui dungˊfungˊsongˊmanˊtienˊ
    (春季東風雨連連，夏季東風水斷源；秋季東風禾白串，冬季東風霜滿天)

27. *vuˇgidˋvuˇseuˇ，siid do pag teuˇ* (無激無愁，食到白頭)

28. *laiˇdungˊsai pag，gugˋzenˊidˋsagd* (犁冬曬白，穀增一石)

29. *pag lu sunˋ，zagdˋloiˇzo loˋbunˋ* (白露筍，摘來做老本)

30. *congˇngienˇvuˇsiid lugdˋ，zeuˊzeuˊcogd pag bugdˋ*
    (長年無食祿，朝朝著白腹)

31. *pag teuˇhaiˇloˋ* (白頭偕老)

PartⅢ. Color Terms *White* in Taiwanese Southern Min

A. Prototypical Meaning 'White, Light, Bright'

1. *kha-pe̍h-sún* (茭白筍)	2. *oo-pe̍h* (烏白)	3. *pe̍h-pn̄g* (白飯)
4. *kńg-sim-pe̍h* (捲心白)	5. *pe̍h-bah* (白肉)	6. *pe̍h-bah-té* (白肉底)
7. *pe̍h-hiā* (白蟻)	8. *pe̍h-ho̍h* (白鶴)	9. *pe̍h-iū* (白柚)
10. *pe̍h-jîn* (白仁)	11. *pe̍h-kú-tshài* (白韭菜)	12. *pe̍h-līng-si* (白翎鷥)
13. *pe̍h-muâ* (白麻)	14. *pe̍h-muâ-iû* (白麻油)	15. *pe̍h-pan* (白斑)
16. *pe̍h-siak-siak* (白鑠鑠)	17. *pe̍h-thn̂g* (白糖)	18. *pe̍h-tshài* (白菜)
19. *pe̍h-tshang-tshang* (白蔥蔥)	20. *pe̍h-tshòo* (白醋)	21. *phiò-pe̍h* (漂白)
22. *phiò-pe̍h-hún* (漂白粉)	23. *thài-pe̍h-hún* (太白粉)	24. *pe̍h-tsuá* (白紙)
25. *pe̍h-ba̍k* (白墨)	26. *pe̍h-ka* (白膠)	27. *pe̍h-thóo* (白土)
28. *pe̍h-sua* (白沙)	29. *pe̍h-hûn* (白雲)	30. *pe̍h-jîn* (白仁)
31. *tàn-pe̍h* (蛋白)	32. *tsiú-píng-pe̍h* (酒反白)	33. *pe̍h-tshong-tshong* (白蒼蒼)
34. *pe̍h-sí-sat* (白死殺)	35. *pe̍h-phau-phau* (白泡泡)	36. *pe̍h-lí* (白裏)
37. *tng-thâu-pe̍h-ji̍t* (當頭白日)	38. *pe̍h-bâng-bâng* (白茫茫)	39. *pe̍h-hái-huānn* (白海岸)

40. *peh-seh* (白雪)　41. *peh-tshiú-kin* (白手巾)　42. *tshing-thian-peh-jit* (青天白日)

43. *peh-hue-iû* (白花油)　44. *peh-thâu-mn̂g* (白頭毛)　45. *peh-tsuâ* (白蛇)

46. *peh-tn̂g-kûn* (白長裙)　47. *peh-phû-tô-tsiú* (白葡萄酒)　48. *peh-bé* (白馬)

49. *peh-hm̂* (白茅)　50. *peh-sann* (白衫)　51. *peh-pòo* (白布)

52. *peh-bū* (白霧)　53. *peh-tshn̂g-kin* (白床巾)　54. *peh-hôo-lî* (白狐狸)

55. *peh-phuê-ê* (白皮鞋)　56. *peh-muî-kuì* (白玫瑰)　57. *peh-gîn* (白銀)

58. *peh-tshiûnn* (白牆)　59. *peh-tshuì-tshiu* (白嘴鬚)　60. *peh-se-tsong* (白西裝)

61. *peh-bí* (白米)　62. peh-khùn-sann (白睏衫)

B. Metonymic Extensions

1. *peh-kha-tê* (白跤蹄)　2. *peh-pau* (白包)　3. *peh-thiap-á* (白帖仔)

4. *peh-liân* (白聯)　5. *píng-peh-kâinn* (反白睚)　6. *puànn-tsiann-peh* (半精白)

7. *peh-bīn-á* (白面仔)　8. *tshuì-peh* (喙白)　9. *peh-bak* (白目)

10. *peh-thâu-khak-á*　11. *peh-bīn-su-sing*　12. *peh-bah-iû* (白肉油)
　(白頭殼仔)　　(白面書生)

13. *huàn-á-peh* (販仔白)　14. *peh-tshat-tshit-á*　15. *kóng-peh-tshat*
　　　(白賊七仔)　　(講白賊)

16. *peh-tshat* (白賊)　17. *peh-tshat-uē* (白賊話)　18. *peh-ting* (白丁)

19. *peh-sin* (白身)　20. *peh-tshia* (白車)

C-1. Metaphorical Extension 'Clear, Transparent, Plain, Ordinary'

1. *bîng-pik* (明白)　2. *tsū-pik* (自白)　3. *thán-pik* (坦白)

4. *káng-kah-peh-leh* (講較白咧)　　5. *kò-peh* (告白)

C-2. Metaphorical Extension 'Moral, Unimpeachable, Innocent'

1. *tshing-pik* (清白)　2. *oo-peh* (烏白)

C-3. Metaphorical Extension 'Legal'

1. *peh-tō* (白道)

C-4. Metaphorical Extension 'Plain, Ordinary'

1. *peh-kún-tsuí* (白滾水)　2. *peh-tê* (白茶)　3. *peh-sah* (白煠)

4. *peh-sah-bah* (白煠肉)　5. *peh-tsiánn-bô-bī* (白汫無味)

6. *peh-bûn* (白文)　7. *peh-uē* (白話)　8. *kháu-peh* (口白)

9. *tok-peh* (獨白)　10. *tuì-peh* (對白)

C-5. Metaphorical Extension 'Empty, With nothing; Without reasons, credit'

1. *pèh-pèh* (白白)　　　2. *pèh-uē* (白話)　　　3. *pik-siú sîng-ka* (白手成家)

C-6. Metaphorical Extension 'In vain, Without results, Be futile'

1. *pèh-liáu-kang* (白了工)　2. *tsò-pèh-kang* (做白工)　3. *pèh-kóng* (白講)

4. *pèh-pèh* (白白)　　　5. *pèh-tsáu* (白走)　　　6. *pèh-kiann* (白驚)

7. *pèh-bé* (白買)

C-7. Metaphorical Extension 'For Free, Without Paying'

1. *pèh-tsiàh* (白食)　　　　　2. *pèh-tsiàh pèh-lim* (白食白喝)

3. *pèh-pèh-siúnn-sù* (白白賞賜)　4. *pèh-pèh-ê-in-huī* (白白的恩惠)

C-8. Metaphorical Extension
　　'Powerless, Helpless, Cannot do anything, Having no alternative'

1. *pèh-pèh* (白白)

D-1. Idiosyncratic Examples: Arbitrary Items

1. *tshenn-pōng-pèh-pōng* (青磅白磅)　　2. *pèh-sik-khióng-pòo* (白色恐怖)

D-2. Idiosyncratic Examples: Proverbial Expressions

1. *pèh-tsuá siá oo-jī*　(白紙寫黑字)

2. *pèh-pèh-bí，tshī tuh-ka-ke*　(白白米，飼盹咕雞)

3. *pèh-līng-si，hui-lòh-lâm，sìp-jìt-káu-jìt-tâm*　(白翎鷥，飛落南，十日九日讁)

4. *pèh-pèh-pòo nî-kàu-oo*　(白白布染到烏)

5. *pèh-līng-si pèh tō sī pèh，hue- khì。ian-tsi-hāng tńg-lâi mā-sī pèh*
　(白翎鷥白就是白，飛去。胭脂巷轉來麼是白)

6. *pèh-tshàt-tshit-á sái káu-lê*　(白賊七仔駛狗螺)

7. *gû-sán bô-làt，jîn-sán pèh-tshàt*　(牛瘦無力，人瘦白賊)

8. *ài bóo tsuí，kāng bóo tann-tsuí；ài bóo pèh，kāng bóo sé kioh-pèh*
　(愛某水，共某擔水；愛某白，共某洗腳帛)

9. *jîn sueh tsuî bô huân-ló，hong lâi lōng iā pèh-thâu*
　(人道誰無煩惱，風來浪也白頭)

10. *pèh-thâu-khak iàu tsiàh-bí，bô tsiàh-tshik*　(白頭殼要食米，拇食粟)

11. *pèh-lōo lâm，tsàp-káu- jìt tâm*　(白露南，十九日霑)

12. *pèh-lōo hōo，hân-lōo hong，khah sing-kuè Sam-kài-kong*
　(白露雨，寒露風，卡勝過三界公)

13. *pèh-lōo íng- khai，khah tuā thinn-tíng*　(白露湧開，卡大天頂)

APPENDIX III

Statistics[55] of Figure 3, Figure 4, Figure 6 and Figure 7

A. Statistics of Figure 3.

Category Proportions of Color Terms *Black* in TM, TH and TSM

Category	TM	TH	TSM
Prototypical Meaning	46.41% (97)	56.18% (50)	51.19% (86)
Metonymic Extensions	11.96% (25)	2.24% (2)	10.12% (17)
Metaphorical Extensions	30.62% (64)	7.87% (7)	20.83% (35)
Idiosyncratic Examples	11.01% (23)	33.71% (30)	17.86% (30)
Total	100% (209)	100% (89)	100% (168)

B. Statistics of Figure 4. Distributions of Metaphorical Extensions
in Color Terms *Black* in TM, TH and TSM

Category	TM	TH	TSM
Secret, Mysterious	17.19% (11)	28.57% (2)	8.57% (3)
Evil, Vicious	26.56% (17)	28.57% (2)	20% (7)
Illegal, Underground	25% (16)	28.57% (2)	28.57% (10)
Disgraceful, Dishonorable	7.81% (5)		2.86% (1)
Depressed, Frustrated	7.81% (5)		
Keeping a low profile	1.56% (1)		
Unexpectedly excellent	1.56% (1)		
Sarcastic, Biting	3.13% (2)		
Inauspicious, Unfortunate	6.25% (4)		
Low, Sluggish	3.13% (2)		
Fooling around		14.29% (1)	
Fashionable			11.43% (4)
Reckless, Capricious			25.71% (9)
Becoming nothing, Empty			2.86% (1)
Total	100% (64)	100% (7)	100% (35)

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[55] For each category, we display its percentage and number of tokens.

C. Statistics of Figure 6.

Category Proportions of Color Terms *White* in TM, TH and TSM

Category	TM	TH	TSM
Prototypical Meaning	30.47% (110)	39.47% (45)	47.69% (62)
Metonymic Extensions	14.68% (53)	7.89% (9)	15.38% (20)
Metaphorical Extensions	30.47% (100)	23.69% (27)	25.39% (33)
Idiosyncratic Examples	24.38% (88)	28.95% (33)	11.54% (15)
Total	100% (361)	100% (114)	100% (130)

D. Statistics of Figure 7. Distributions of Metaphorical Extensions

in Color Terms *White* in TM, TH and TSM

Category	TM	TH	TSM
Clear, Transparent	18.18% (20)	18.52% (5)	15.15% (5)
Moral, Unimpeachable	5.45% (6)	3.70% (1)	6.06% (2)
Legal	10.00% (11)		3.03% (1)
Plain, Ordinary	15.46% (17)	18.52% (5)	30.30% (10)
Empty, With nothing	13.64% (15)	25.93% (7)	9.10% (3)
In vain, Be futile	28.18% (31)	14.81% (4)	21.21% (7)
For Free	5.45% (6)	18.52% (5)	12.12% (4)
Powerless, Helpless	1.82% (2)		3.03% (1)
Wastefully	1.82% (2)		
Total	100% (110)	100% (27)	100% (33)

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