

Basic colour terms in Old Japanese revisited

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2. Literature review – Stanlaw (2010)

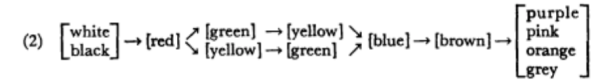
- ❖ Possible evolutionary sequence for Japanese CTs
 - ❖ 紫 *murasaki* ‘purple’ plays an important role in the early Japanese colour lexicon
 - ❖ “became the important national colour, synonymous with the imperial court” (Stanlaw 2010: 207)
 - ❖ Examples of *murasaki* in Old Japanese (*Man’yōshū*)

- (1) あかねさす紫野行き 標行き 野守は見ずや 君が袖振る
akane sasu murasaki-no yuki shime-no yuki nomori wa mizu ya kimi ga sode furu
 As you, my love, stand in front of the red setting sun and wave to me in the purple field, the guard is watching us
- (2) 紫のほへる妹を 憎くあらば 人妻ゆゑに 我恋ひめやも
murasaki no noeru imo o nikuku araba hitozuma yue ni ware koimeya mo
 Though you are now another's wife, could I keep from being in love with you – you as beautiful as this purple grass – if I blamed you?

(Stanlaw 2010: 206)

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1. Introduction

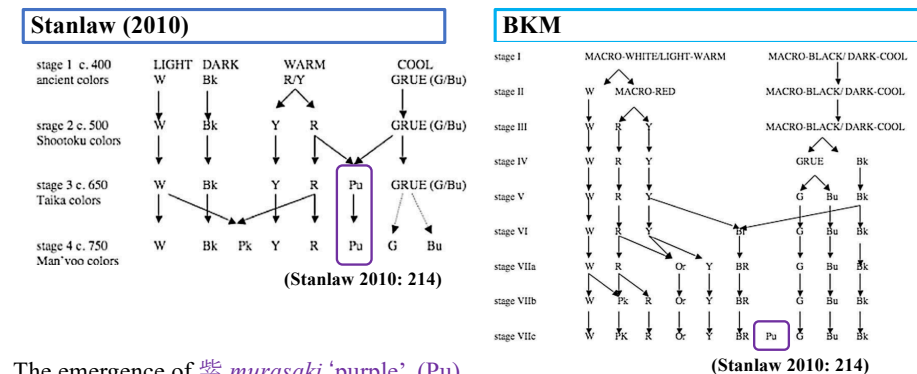


(Berlin & Kay 1969: 4)

- ❖ Colour naming
 - ❖ Expect to demonstrate universal trends across languages
- ❖ Basic color terms (Berlin & Kay 1969)
 - ❖ Universal theory of colour terms: Berlin & Kay model (BKM)
 - ❖ 11 basic colour terms (BCTs) ‘evolve’ in a predictable order in any language
- ❖ Purposes of this study
 - ❖ To investigate Japanese colour terms used in *Man’yōshū*
 - ❖ To assess whether Japanese language conforms to BKM
 - ❖ To revise Stanlaw’s (2010) proposal

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The 紫 *murasaki* case runs counter to BKM



The emergence of 紫 *murasaki* ‘purple’ (Pu)

- ❖ BKM: Pu emerges in the last stage (Stage VIIc)
- ❖ Stanlaw (2010): Pu may have derived earlier than blue (Bu) (Stage 3)

W: White, Bk: Black, Pk: Pink, Y: Yellow, R: Red, Pu: Purple, G: Green, Bu: Blue (see also Ohtsuki et.al 2019: 118-119)

Problem with Stanlaw's proposal

- ❖ Stanlaw's (2010) argument
 - ❖ based on misinterpretation
- ❖ Crucial factors
 - ❖ Did not use any criteria to identify BCTs.
 - ❖ Collect phrases containing the Chinese character 紫
 - ❖ Consequence: misinterpretation of 紫 as 'purple'
 - ❖ 紫野 (*Murasaki-no*): place name
 - ❖ 紫 (*Murasaki* 'gromwell'): plant name

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3. Method

- ❖ Purposes of this paper:
 - ❖ To revise Stanlaw's analysis
 - ❖ To correct mistranslation
 - ❖ To systematically apply
 - ❖ BKM's universal criteria
 - ❖ Shibata's (1988) language-specific criteria
- ❖ Target CTs: 白 *shiro* 'white', 黒 *kuro* 'black', 赤 *aka* 'red', 青 *awo* 'blue', 緑 *midori* 'green', 黄 *ki* 'yellow', 紫 *murasaki* 'purple', 桃 *momo* 'pink'
 - ❖ All assumed to be BCTs in the Man'yō stage in Stanlaw (2010)
 - ❖ Investigate kanji characters of these colour terms as the target CTs

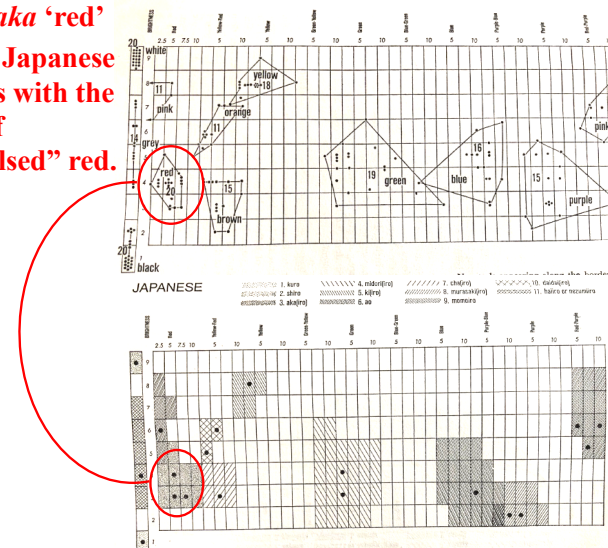
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Criteria

(see also Ohtsuki et.al 2019: 115-118)

A: Monolexic	e.g. 赤 <i>aka</i> 'red' is appropriate. 緑みの黄 <i>midorimi-no-ki</i> 'yellowish-green' is not basic.
B: Not an object name	e.g. 赤 <i>aka</i> 'red' is appropriate. オレンジ <i>orenji</i> 'orange' is not basic.
C: Morphological regularity	e.g. 赤-い <i>aka-i</i> 'be red' is appropriate. *緑-い <i>midori-i</i> 'be green' is not basic.
D: Reduplication	e.g. 赤赤 <i>aka-aka</i> 'red-red' is appropriate. *黄黄 <i>ki-ki</i> 'yellow-yellow' is not basic.
E: Not a hyponym	e.g. 赤 <i>aka</i> 'red' is appropriate. 緋色 <i>hi-iro</i> 'deep red' is not basic.
F: Focal hues	e.g. 赤 <i>aka</i> 'red' is psychologically salient because the range encompassed by the colour term overlaps with an area that indicates "normalised" focal colour red.

The 赤 *aka* 'red' area in Japanese overlaps with the range of "normalised" red.



Focal Hues:
example

The diagram of normalised focal hues (top) and the Japanese case (bottom) (Berlin & Kay 1969: 9-13)

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4. Results

❖ Among the target terms:

❖ Basic: 白 *shiro* 'white', 黒 *kuro* 'black', 赤 *aka* 'red', 青 *awo* 'blue'

❖ fulfil all or most of the criteria

❖ Not Basic: the other 4 colors

❖ Constitute a place name or flower name

❖ e.g., 桃花 (*tōka*): peach blossom

❖ Used as a substitute character or conventional epithet

❖ e.g., 緑児 (*Midori-ko*): an infant at around 2 or 3 years old

❖ e.g., 紫の (*Murasaki-no*): 枕詞 (*makura kotoba*, conventional descriptive phrase)

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Results – Data (Examples)

紫 *murasaki* 'purple'

❖ Does not fulfil Criterion B: no single instance of the term unambiguously refer to the colour **PURPLE**

❖ 紫野 (*Murasaki-no*): place name

❖ 紫 (*Murasaki* 'gromwell'): plant name

❖ Does not fulfil Criterion C

❖ *紫(色)-い (*Murasaki(iro)-i*), *紫(色)-さ (*Murasaki(iro)-sa*)
cf. 赤い (*Aka-i*), 赤さ (*Aka-sa*)

❖ Does not fulfil Criterion D

❖ *紫紫 (*Murasaki-murasaki*) cf. 赤赤 (*Aka-aka*)

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Summary

	A. Monolexic	B. Not an object name	C. Morphological regularity	D. Reduplication	E. Not a hyponym	F. Focal hues	Basic?
白 <i>shiro</i> 'white'	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	YES
黒 <i>kuro</i> 'black'	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	YES
赤 <i>aka</i> 'red'	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	YES
青 <i>awo</i> 'blue'	✓	✓	✓	✓	?	?	YES
緑 <i>midori</i> 'green'	✓	*	?	*	?	✓	NO
黄 <i>ki</i> 'yellow'	✓	*(N/A)	?	*	✓	✓	NO
紫 <i>murasaki</i> 'purple'	✓	*	*	*	✓	*	NO
桃 <i>momo</i> 'peach'	✓	*	*	*	*	✓	NO

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桃 *momo* 'pink'

❖ Does not fulfil Criterion B

❖ The term 桃花 *tōka* means 'peach blossom', not the colour PINK

(3) 桃花染めの浅らの衣 浅らかに 思ひて妹に 逢はぬものかも
tōka zome no asara no koromo softly colored pink,
asaraka ni like that of the crested ibis,
omoite imo ni I wonder if
awanu monokamo I might meet the girl.

(Stanlaw 2010: 207)

❖ Does not fulfil Criterion C

❖ *桃(色)-い (*momo(iro)-i*), *桃(色)-さ (*momo(iro)-sa*)

❖ Does not fulfil Criterion D

❖ *桃桃 (*momo-momo*)

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青 *awo* 'blue'

- ❖ Criterion B: The signification of the term in early Japan was more extensive than it is now: 青 *awo* 'blue' signified a broader range of colours than the present term 'blue'
 - ❖ i.e. 青 'awo' refers to the colour 灰 'hai' (grey).
 - ❖ e.g.1) 青雲 'awokumo, seiun' refers to the bluish or greyish cloud
 - ❖ e.g.2) 青駒/青馬 'Awo-koma' refers to the greyish horse
- ❖ Criterion C: 青い (*awo-i*), 青さ (*awo-sa*)
- ❖ Criterion D: 青青 / 青々 (*awo-awo*)

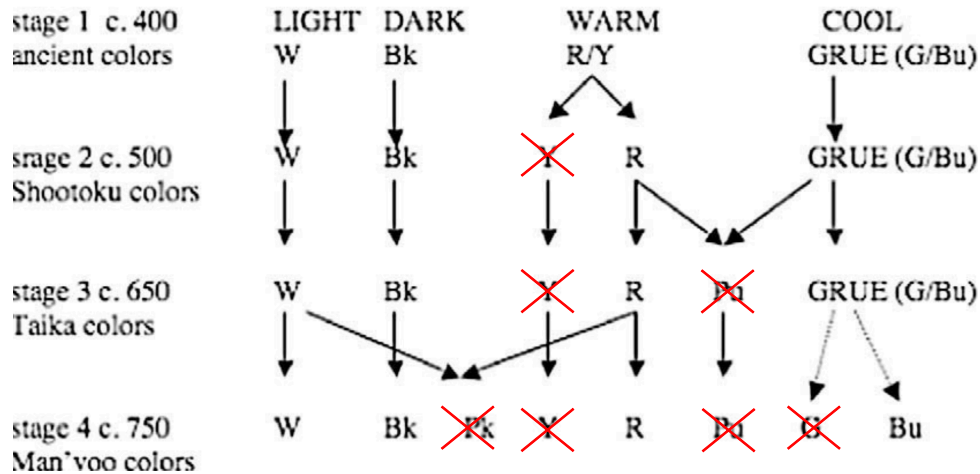
※The examples of “青駒” in the website
Interactive Searching of Japanese Texts:
<http://jti.lib.virginia.edu/japanese/manyoshu/A-noMany.html>

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[題詞]
[原文]奈我波伴尔 己良例安波由久 安乎久毛能 伊豆来和依母兒 安必見而由可武
[訓読]汝が母に嗔られ我は行く 青雲の出で来我妹子相見て行かむ
[仮名]ながははに、こられあはゆく、あをくもの、いでこわざも、こあひみてゆかむ

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[題詞] (柿本朝臣人麻呂使石見國別妻上来時歌二首[并短歌]) 反歌二首
[原文]青之 足膝乎速 雲居曾 妹之當乎 通而米計類 [-云 當者隨米計類]
[訓読]青脚が足膝きを速み雲居にぞ妹があたりを過ぎて来にける [-云 あたりは歸り来にける]
[仮名]あをこまがあがきをはやみ、くもにぞ、いもがあたりを、すぎて来にける[あたりは、かくりきにける]



Revisions of the Stanlaw's proposal

(Stanlaw 2010: 214)

5. Conclusion

❖ Revisions

- ❖ The 'basic' colour terms proposed by Stanlaw (2010) were NOT yet basic as the Man'yō colours (stage 4)
 - ❖ 緑 *midori* 'green', 黄 *ki* 'yellow', 紫 *mursaki* 'purple', 桃 *momo* 'pink'
- ❖ These terms have not derived earlier than stage 4
 - ❖ They might be emerged in the later stage (see next slide)

• Implication

1. GRUE(G/Bu) still existed in stage 4
2. 黄 *ki* 'yellow', have not yet derived from 赤 *aka* 'red'
 - ❖ Red-Yellow division: can take place after the GRUE-Black division

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Additional evidences:

Revised Model

- ❖ R(ed)-Y(ellow) division can take place after Grue-B(lac)k division

❖ Reason: 黄 *ki* 'yellow', have not yet derived from 赤 *aka* 'red' in stage 4, as well as stage 2 and 3

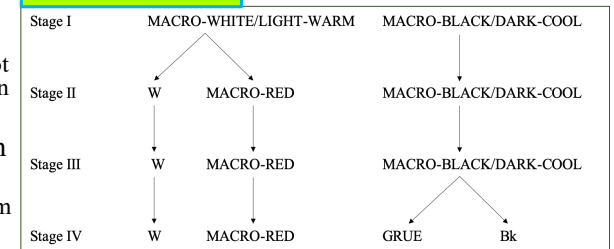
- ❖ MACRO-RED status of *aka* in *Man'yōshū*

❖ Receives additional support from *momiji* 'autumn leaves'

- ❖ Three Orthographies for *momiji* 'autumn leaves'

- ❖ 紅葉 'crimson-leaf'
- ❖ 赤葉 'red-leaf'
- ❖ 黄葉 'yellow-leaf'

Revised Model



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Three Orthographies for *momiji* ‘autumn leaves’ in *Man’yōshū*

❖ 紅葉 ‘crimson-leaf’

[題詞] (詠黄葉)

[原文] 妹許跡 馬鞍置而 射駒山 擊越來者 紅葉散筒

2201 ※The examples of *Momiji* ‘Autumn leaves’ in the website *Interactive Searching of Japanese Texts*:
<http://jti.lib.virginia.edu/japanese/manyoshu/AnoMany.html>

❖ 赤葉 ‘red-leaf’

[題詞]

[原文] 露瀼之日香天之九月乃<鍾>礼乃落者 隔音文 未来鳴 甘南備乃 清三田屋乃 垣津田乃 池之堤<之> 百不足 <五十> 楓枝丹 水枝指 秋赤葉
真朝持 小鈴<文>由良尔 手弱女尔 吾者有友 引攀而 峯文十遠仁 到手折 吾者持而往 公之頭刺荷

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In *Man’yōshū*, most of the term *momiji* is expressed as 黄葉 ‘yellow-leaf’: a few of them use 紅葉 ‘crimson-leaf’ or 赤葉 ‘red-leaf’ (Ohno 2011: 1233)

❖ 黄葉 ‘yellow-leaf’

[題詞] (見歸隔歌二首)

[原文] 春設而 如此歸等母 秋風尔 黄葉山乎 不<超>来有米也 [一云 春去者 歸此隔]

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References

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