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COLOR TERMS IN ENGLISH: ONOMASIOLOGICAL AND SEMASIOLOGICAL ASPECTS

Abstract

The following article is a master's thesis on color terms in English language history. Within Berlin and Kay's eleven basic color categories, and various non-basic, secondary, or specialized expressions are analyzed regarding their origin and underlying motives of formation: Inherited terms are described from an onomasiological point of view, thus starting from the respective concept or image, whereas loanwords are dealt with separately as their motivations are often unclear to the speaker. As the color systems of Old and Modern English are encoded differently, it is investigated how transitional stages and nuances of color are represented in the respective periods. Finally, interesting semasiological aspects are given as well.
The study shows that, resulting from a huge need of new color names due to economical and cultural changes, many color terms were borrowed from French and Latin, but even more are a product of metonymical extensions of entity senses. By means of this, all kinds of images and concepts (e.g. plants, animals, food etc.) can be utilized to designate color. However, they are often restricted, remain unknown to the layperson, and can disappear very quickly (e.g. fashion and car color terms).

ABBREVIATIONS[1]

AN	Anglo-Norman
BCT	Basic Color Term
Da	Danish
Du	Dutch
EDD	*The English Dialect Dictionary*
F	French
FEW	*Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*
G	German
Gmc	Germanic
Goth	Gothic
IE	Indo-European
IEW	*Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*
It	Italian
L	Latin
Lith	Lithuanian
LL	Late Latin
ME	Middle English
MED	*Middle English Dictionary*
MIr	Medieval Irish
ML	Medieval Latin
ModE	Modern English
ODEE	*The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*
OE	Old English
OEC	*Dictionary of Old English Corpus*
OED	*The Oxford English Dictionary*
OF	Old French
OFris	Old Frisian
OHG	Old High German
OI	Old Icelandic
OIr	Old Irish

[1]For full bibliographic details of published titles, see the Bibliography.

ON	Old Norse
ONhb	Old Northumbrian
OS	Old Saxon
Pg	Portuguese
Skr	Sanskrit
SED	*Survey of English Dialects*
Sp	Spanish
Sw	Swedish
TOE	*A Thesaurus of Old English*

1. Preliminary Remarks

1.1 Color Terms

> "Begriffe für Farbnamen, Schattierungen und Kontraste von Farben sind ein wichtiger Bestandteil im Grundwortschatz jeder Sprache. Mit anderen Worten gehören Farbbezeichnungen zu den allgemeinen Eigenschaften und Merkmalen (= Universalien) von natürlichen Sprachen, da Farben zu den wichtigsten Informationsträgern für den Menschen zählen."[2]

The world we live in is a world of color. Everything our eyes can perceive, the environment we are confronted with and surrounded by, the diversity of objects, be it natural or man-made, and even human beings themselves are more or less marked by the appearance of color. The human eye is assumed to be so sensitive that it can distinguish between up to ten million different nuances (Methuen [3]1978: 7, Hope/Walch 1990: 286). However, most English people go through life with a basic color vocabulary of just eleven words. As Wyler (1992: 91) points out, the general tendency to subsume and classify color in everyday speech with a small, readily available set of terms (cf. Gipper's "sprachliche Farbordnung" (1955: 138)) may be due to the usefulness of basic terms which cover a wide area of shades, the fact that speakers do not require a finer distinction of shades, tints, and tones to identify objects or to form comprehensible oppositions, and, finally, that in people's early education colors are "learned" in such a way that a few names help children to recognize and name objects in their colorful surrounding.

"The purpose of a colour name is to communicate the appearance of a given colour or to enable us to 'think in colour'. Thus the colour name must be so characteristic of the colour's appearance that it is readily understood by others. Since our environment is the source of colours, it is here that we must look for objects of typical colours, objects for which we already have names and which can be used to designate a characteristic appearance."[3] Aside from the best illustration of a color sensation, additional factors such as the transfer of connotations and emotions are often important as well.

Much of the color vocabulary of a particular language is to a considerable degree the product of culture (McNeill 1972: 24, Lyons 1999: 55). Not only does the mother tongue determine how we see, observe, notice, and classify colors, but also the state of technology, industry, and economic growth influences the size of a color system as well as its function in practical life. As the nomenclature of color is extremely rich, particularly in the domain of art and fashion, the field is a remarkably complex one, featuring components which belong to poetic

[2] Welsch/Liebmann 2003: 13.
[3] Methuen [3]1978: 138.

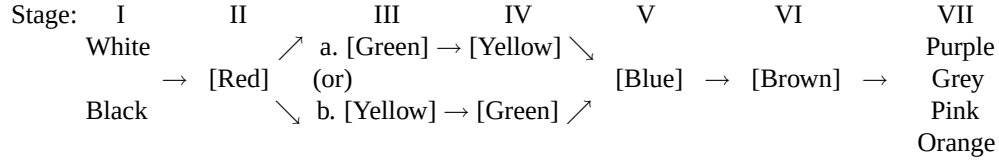
diction, the jargon of dyers, painters, or interior decorators, various kinds of contextual and collocational restrictions, and, furthermore, symbolic associations. But additionally, people's knowledge of, and interest in, color and color terms can vary enormously (e.g. depending on the culture they live in, their education, profession, experience, conventions, the availability of materials etc.) as well as the way in which they structure the field. The fact, however, that the number of readily available color terms is generally rather small and simple does not make color simple to understand. The best examples, or foci, of color concepts mostly are clear, whereas their boundaries or transitional stages between two concepts are indefinite and fuzzy. Color is a physical, psychological, and linguistic phenomenon, which, moreover, has to be observed from a diachronic perspective, since the color system can change over the centuries. Color terms are therefore impossible to investigate without reference to many other spheres such as colorimetry, anthropology, philosophy, psychology, semiotics, literary criticism, etymology, ethnology, art history, physics, chemistry, and cognitive science.[4]

1.2 History of the Study of Color Terms

The study of color terms is an old and exciting field in which several academic disciplines overlap. In the 20^{th} century the prevailing view in anthropology, linguistics, and psycholinguistics with regard to the subject of color terminology changed from an originally evolutionary perception (following Gladstone and Geiger), through a relativistic view based on the Saphir-Whorf theory, back to an evolutionary and culturally universal perspective provided by Berlin and Kay's *Basic Color Terms* (1969). The latter view color categories as organized around best examples (i.e. foci) by means of which people classify the color space.[5] Although their theory has been intensively debated, revised, and refined several times in the

[4] It is of course not easy to distinguish between the linguistic, physical, and psychological factors when speaking of *primary* and *secondary* (and *tertiary*) colors. A more useful differentiation that is made is between *chromatic*, thus spectral colors (red, orange, yellow, green, blue, indigo, violet), *non-chromatic* colors (brown, magenta, pink), and *achromatic* colors (black, gray, white). A further distinction within the chromatic set of colors is that, typically, *red, orange*, and *yellow* are considered 'warm' colors and *blue, green*, and, to a lesser extent, *violet* are the 'cold' colors. The former are more salient, stand out better and will, furthermore, appear to be larger if they are in a shape of the same size (Sahlins 1976: 5). Moreover, all colors have three distinct, fundamental parameters that account for their appearance: hue, value, and saturation. Hue is the aspect of color we refer to by the name (e.g. *red*), value signifies the admixture of white and black with a hue, thus its relative lightness or darkness (e.g. *dark, pale*), and saturation refers to the admixture of gray with a hue, thus its relative purity (e.g. *vivid, dull*). Possible differences in these parts are so numerous that they could not all be named separately. However, scientific knowledge of chromatology and wave lengths as well as color circles and color charts may be helpful in the investigation of the meaning of a color term, but they cannot automatically show its meaning (cf. Wierzbicka 1990).

[5] Four major criteria should ideally suffice to characterize a basic color term (BCT): 1) it is monolexemic, 2) its signification is not included in that of any other term (as that of *scarlet* is included in the meaning of *red*), 3) its application is not restricted to a narrow class of objects (as with *blond*), 4) must be "psychologically salient" for speakers - which would imply, for instance, that it tends to occur at the beginning of lists of elicited terms, occurs in the ideolect of all informants, and enjoys stability of reference and of use (Berlin/Kay 1969: 6). In doubtful cases the authors avoid recent foreign loans, names of objects, morphologically complex items, and terms with distributions similar to already established basic color terms (e.g. derivations in *-ish*). They found up to eleven basic color categories, *white, black, red, yellow, green, blue, brown, grey, purple, pink, orange*, of which they hypothesized that they evolve in more or less the same order in all languages, thus feature the same chronological and evolutionary sequence (p. 4), as it is conditioned by neurophysiological factors. The sequence ranges from Stage I languages which have only two color categories, 'white' and 'black', to Stage VII languages, which have a complete set of 11 BCT.



past 40 years (e.g. Witkowski and Brown (1977), Kay and McDaniel (1978), Wierzbicka (1990), Dedrick (1998) etc.) and the over-all trend appears to be towards a generalization of theories, their work has had a great impact on the study of color terminology in general, as almost all recent research has been devoted to the basic terms and less to the non-basic, secondary, or, as Steinvall (2000: 403) calls them, 'elaborate color terms'.[6]

As far as English color terms are concerned, there have been surprisingly few studies. Many of the older works lack established methods, are often based on unreliable corpora, and, furthermore, merely present a collection of occurrences, sometimes even without paying attention to the contexts. They were often done from a hue-based color perception, which is not adequate enough to understand and analyze the Old English brightness terminology. Lerner (1951) was the first one to mention that the Old English color vocabulary was encoded differently from Modern English and Barley (1974) put emphasize on the fact that our hue-oriented system is not comparable with the brightness-focused Anglo-Saxon color vocabulary. Moreover, many of them did not avail themselves of results of other disciplines, thus were seldom interdisciplinary. A detailed review of the research done on Old English color terminology (e.g. Mead 1899, Willms 1902, Lerner 1951, König 1957, Barley 1974, Krieg 1976, Bragg 1982, Wyler 1984) is given by Biggam (1997: 40-78) and Kerttula (2002: 45-69). Biggam's own thorough analyses, *Blue in Old English* (1997) and *Grey in Old English* (1998), are 'interdisciplinary semantic' as they take different factors (e.g. meaning relations, comparative literature, sociohistorical evidence, scientific evidence, and contextual evidence) into account. Based on collocations and referents, translations, contrasts and comparisons, cognates, related citations, sources represented, and categories of text she extracts and records several, albeit rare and contextually restricted, expressions and, furthermore, reconstructs a diachronic order of the development of Old English basic color terms. Studies concerning the Middle English period were even fewer and mainly written soon after the introduction of Berlin and Kay's theory (e.g. Barnickel 1975, Burnley 1976, Krieg 1976). The first two studies are reviewed by Kerttula in greater detail (2002: 69-79). Her dissertation, *English Colour Terms* (2002), is the most recent study. On the basis of the British National Corpus, various dictionaries, and the Historical Thesaurus of English, she gives historical and etymological data on 100 English color terms and 50 additional marginal and obsolete expressions, and lists them in chronological order and by different categories. Her aim is to clarify linguistic change, i.e. the different segmentation and naming of colors due to cultural influences (Norman Conquest, invention of printing, colonialization, industrialization, fashion, media), and to measure the relative basicness of terms by means of primacy, frequency, application, and derivational development. Her study supports the view that the development of a color terminology is conditioned by both cultural influences and universal tendencies.

1.3 Aims of this Study

The approach of the study at hand is mainly onomasiological as it tries to describe English color terms, starting from the respective concept or image.[7] The study will attempt to take as many terms as possible into account. However, as there exist up to 50.000 different ex-

[6] According to him, elaborate color terms are subordinates and hyponyms of the basic terms, and, as a rule, they are derived through a metonymical process from objects (cf. Casson (1994)). Furthermore, they do not include adjectival derivations in *-ish* or compound terms (e.g. *olive green*) as secondary color terms usually do.

[7] As Wierzbicka (1990: 99) says, "[t]he link between the neural representation of color and the linguistic representation of color can only be indirect. The way leads via concepts. Sense data are "private" (even if they are rooted in pan-human neural responses), whereas concepts can be shared. To be able to talk with others about one's private sense data one must be able to translate them first into communicable concepts."

pressions, only the most frequent and most interesting terms out of the number of color adjectives will be treated. Derivations of the *-ish*-type or expressions with intensifiers such as *deep, dark* will not be included. The following sections will deal with the standard expressions for colors in English, which are listed and commented on in Buck (cf. 1075f.), as well as with various lexical items given in *The Collins Thesaurus* (1995) and Maerz and Paul's *A Dictionary of Color* ([2]1950), and, wherever possible, dialectal terms. The latter will be analyzed according to their geographical extension, meaning, and possible survivors of older forms. The order chosen will first cover the spectral colors (red, orange, yellow, green, blue, purple), followed by the achromatic colors (white, gray, black), and finally the non-chromatic colors (brown, pink). The eleven categories coincide with the names of the eleven basic color terms.
After a short introduction to the respective color concept, the terms will be analyzed regarding their origin and underlying motivations of formation, or iconyms[8] as Alinei (1995, 1996) has called them, as far as etymological and dialect dictionaries help to make them transparent. Especially the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* and the *Middle English Dictionary (MED)* will be examined to discover the first records of occurrences and different applications of the terms. Inherited terms and loanwords will be described separately as the motivation of borrowed terms is often unclear to the speaker. Special emphasis will be put on the elaboration whether foreign elements were already loaned as color terms or whether they turned from entity terms to colors terms on account of a phenomenon called metonymy. As the color systems of Old and Modern English are encoded differently, it will be investigated how transitional stages and nuances of color are represented in the respective periods. Furthermore, interesting semasiological aspects will be given as well. Finally, it will be summarized what kind of iconyms or motives of a coinage have been, were or are dominant and how they have changed in the course of English language history.

2. Onomasiological and Semasiological Aspects of the Basic Color Concepts

2.1 RED

2.1.1 Cultural Background

Already in prehistoric times, man was accustomed to the color concept RED and used it as a magic and protecting color against disasters not only on their bodies but also in cave paintings (Rottmann 1967: 38). It was one of the first dyestuffs, obtained from earth pigments, minerals, or animal and plant sources. As red is often the color of small but important objects such as flowers, fruits, or animals (e.g. crabs, lobster, red ant etc.) contrasting with the background, it was, and still is, easy to be recognized and distinguished. Sometimes being regarded as "the color par excellence"[9], its prototypical referent is the life-giving blood. In many cultures, however, fire is both visually more salient and culturally more important (Wierzbicka 1990: 126). Furthermore, it is attributed to the facial complexion, lips, to natural phenomena such as sunrise and sunset, and other natural objects such as cherries, roses, certain red gems etc. Due to its striking recognizability, the color is nowadays popular in advertisements and alarm symbols (e.g. traffic-lights, stop-signs, fire engine). Depending on culture and time, it can exhibit different symbolic meanings: it has a positive notion if linked to love or vigor and strength. The highest gods were therefore formerly thought of as being

[8] As Grzega (2002: 1039, endnote 6) points out, the term *iconym* must not be mixed up with *etymon*. The latter refers to the original form of the word, whereas the former is the original content, or reference, of a word.
[9] Wood 1905: 227.

clad in red. On the contrary, red can also carry negative aspects, if associated with rage, fury, or violence (cf. the color of Mars, the Greek god of war, communism, revolution etc.). In the Middle Ages red hair was equated with witchcraft and evilness, but, at the same time, red represented the color of royalty and aristocracy, and, furthermore, was the symbol of love (Hope/Walch 1990: 62).

2.1.2 Names

1. Iconym: **"red"**

   - OE *rēad* [10], ME *red, reed*, ModE *red*

     Motivation of formation: The form goes back to the underlying IE color term **reudh-* 'red', which is widely reflected in the Germanic languages. The expression is used in several derivations and compounds and with various premodifiers (e.g. OE *healf rēad* 'reddish', ME *inred* 'very red'), and is especially applied if no creative use or specific nuance of the concept is needed, but the basic denotation is to be expressed. The RED basic color term is, furthermore, part of many fixed idioms (e.g. *a red carpet*) and can also function as a metaphor (e.g. *red tape*). The fact that in Old English the term, as pointed out by Mead (1899: 195), only occurs in religious poems and riddles, but neither in *Beowulf* nor any other heroic poems nor the lyrics, seems to be worth mentioning. This might be attributed to the fact that the concept does not appear as such in these works or that terms with explicit and illustrative reference (e.g. *blōdig*) were used instead. Denying that the expression has the status of a basic color term due to that seems a bit far-fetched. Beside its hue sense, which could be attributed to a variety of objects, it also conveyed a notion of reflectivity and luminosity in reference to fire and lightning, dawn and sunset, gold, and weapons in Old and Middle English (Burnley 1976: 41; cf. Schwentner 1915).
     Aside from 'red' OE *rēad* could also denote colors such as 'red-brown', 'orange', 'purple', and 'gold'. This goes back to the fact that the color continuum of Old English was segmented very differently compared to the Modern English one. Colors were not as carefully and sharply distinguished, they had fuzzier boundaries and could cover a variety of shades. Of minor surprise is the usage of the term for reddish-brown and brownish-red sensations, because they cannot even be clearly differentiated in modern times (cf. *russet*). The color sensations nowadays represented by *orange* and *purple* were still considered to be hues of the concept RED in Old English and, therefore, named accordingly. As far as 'gold' is concerned, the phenomenon can be explained by the fact that the mineral in medieval times appeared redder than the modern one due to its high copper content (Barley 1974: 18). According to Anderson (2003: 137p.), OE *rēad* has two focal points - the color of fresh blood and the color of earthen, mineral, or metallic phenomena like ocher. For him, the latter is the reason why the modification 'red gold' is used more often than 'yellow gold', especially as OE *geolo* focuses on colors of vegetation, and resembles OE *grēne* in this respect.
     The focus and semantic range of the word changed due to the introduction of shellfish or plant-based dyes and advances in medical and metallurgical technologies. Furthermore, the transformation from a brilliance-based to a hue-based color vocabulary and the emergence of countless color terms in the course of the

[10] TOE 146, Holthausen 1974: 255, IEW 872

English language resulted in a more detailed, thus less applicable usage of the term.

- OE *rēod* [11], ME *reod* [12] 'red, ruddy, flushed'

  Motivation of formation: The expression represents a different grade of the underlying IE color term **reudh-* 'red', which is also represented by ON *rjōðr* 'red'. First recorded around 800 glossing *flāvum* or *fulfum* 'yellow, yellow-brown' in the Erfurt Glossary, it was also applied to the face and the sea, and employed in a simile with a draught of wine (cf. OED, OEC). It seems to have had fewer referents than the aforementioned term.

- OE *rudig* [13], ME *rudi*, ModE *ruddy* 'reddish'

  Motivation of formation: The adjectival derivation of the OE noun *rudu* 'red color' by the suffix *-ig* refers to the healthy facial complexion, especially in the context of female beauty. It is also an epithet of light or fire, of the heavenly bodies, clouds, and the sky during sunrise and sunset (Barnickel 1975: 51). The expression, which is cognate with *red*, carries a notion of brightness and shininess as well.

2. Iconym: **"shining"**

- OE *brūn* [14] 'dark red'

  Motivation of formation: Mostly denoting 'brown' or 'shiny' in connection with metal, the term can also indicate a dark red. This, as stated above, results from the fuzzy boundaries of the transitional stages between two concepts (cf. ModE *russet*). The expression can be traced back to the Germanic form *brūnaz* and ultimately to the IE base **bher-* 'shining, light brown'.

- OE *basu, baso* [15] 'crimson, scarlet, purple'

  Motivation of formation: This rich and striking red is a specialized dye-term and probably goes back to an IE root **bhā, bhō, bhə-* 'gleaming, glittering, shining'. According to Barley (1974: 25), the expression was an Old English coinage representing a secondary formation from *baso* 'berry', since crushed blackberries were used to dye fabrics.
  As Schwentner (1915: 54) points out, the term is often found in Old English glosses in reference to cloth, but occurs only three times in poetry - as a description of the tail of the Phoenix, topaz, and letters written in that color -, and was probably, in the course of the English language, gradually ousted by *purple*.

3. Iconym: **"red or a different color" + "red"**

- OE *brūnbasu*[16] 'dark red'
- OE *rēadbasu*[17] 'red, deep crimson, purple'

  Motivation of formation: Here we are concerned with two copulative compounds which consist of two color terms juxtaposed to indicate that the whole term does not exactly refer to one but rather to a mixture of them. It is not clear which

[11]TOE 146, Holthausen 1974: 257, IEW 872.
[12]MED X 464.
[13]TOE 146, Holthausen 1974: 264.
[14]Biggam 1999: 118, IEW 136.
[15]TOE 146, Holthausen 1974: 16, Biggam 1999: 118, IEW 105.
[16]TOE 146, Pollington 1993: 155, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 129. Others translate it as and list it under PURPLE.
[17]TOE 146.

of the elements is the grammatical head. The motive can be ascribed to the need of expressing variations of the respective colors. They are most frequently employed in the context of dyeing and clothing, as the former often glosses L *purpureus* and the latter is found in collocation with the Old English word for 'garment' (cf. OEC).

4. Iconym: **"animal" + "red"**

   - OE *weolcenrēad, weolocrēad* [18], ME *welk red* 'red, scarlet, purple'
   - OE *weol(o)cbasu* [19] 'scarlet, vermilion',

     Motivation of formation: The determinant of both compounds refers to the animal, a whelk, from which a red pigment is obtained. The expressions are, therefore, restricted to the field of dyeing and clothing.
     Bosworth/Toller (1898: 1190) are the only ones to list OE *wioloc, weoloc* as simply denoting 'scarlet, purple', a fact which would then belong to the preceding iconym that combines 'red or a different color' and 'red'.
   - OE *wyrmbasu* [20] 'bright red, scarlet'
   - OE *wurmrēad* [21] 'bright red, scarlet'

     Motivation of formation: Being confined to the context of fabrics and clothes, the terms exhibit a determinant 'worm', which refers to the kermes insect or shell-fish from which the pigment or dye was generally taken.

5. Iconym: **"madder" + "red"**

   - OE *wrætrēad* [22] 'bright red, scarlet'
   - OE *wrætbasu* [23] 'bright red, scarlet'

     Motivation of formation: The ease of combining color terms with a substantive referent, to yield a highly specific word, must have often led to such spontaneous one-time usages. Both color terms are again chiefly employed in reference to the coloring process, as the determinant turns out to be the Old English term *wræt* 'madder'.

6. Iconym: **"foreign" + "red"**

   - OE *wealhbaso* [24] 'vermilion'

     Motivation of formation: In my opinion, the determinant *wealh* 'foreign' refers to the fact that a particular process of dyeing was taken over from other cultures. The expression glosses L *vermiculo* 'vermilion, scarlet' (Wülcker I ^{2}1968: 491) and thus refers to the cochineal insect that produces red color. The Romans spread this way of color production all over the continent. However, it depends on the context whether the expression carries a positive notion, thus points to it as something prestigious, or whether it is considered foreign and strange.

[18]TOE 146, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 1190, 1191.
[19]TOE 146, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 1191.
[20]TOE 146, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 1288.
[21]TOE 146, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 1285.
[22]TOE 146, Kerttula 2002: 63.
[23]TOE 146, Kerttula 2002: 63.
[24]TOE 146, Pollington 1993: 156, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 1173.

Combinations with other color terms do not exist, probably because the English were able to produce these hues by means of indigenous material and thus did not have to import them.

7. Iconym: **"cloth imbued with a red dye"**

- ME *scarlat, scarlet* [25], ModE *scarlet* 'bright red'

  Motivation of formation: As Casson (1997: 234) points out, this was the first color term in English to develop from a former object (or entity) sense, here 'cloth of a rich, often red, color'. The motivation originates in metonymy, the figurative semantic relationship in which the resemblance between the literal primary referent 'red cloth' and the figurative secondary referent is based on contiguity, thus the characteristic or associated color. On the basis of the metonym stated as "entity stands for entity's color", colors are perceived as properties of objects and metonymically conceptualized as physical entities (cf. Casson 1994).
  The name of the cloth was loaned into Middle English from OF *(e)scarlate, (e)scarlete*, ML *scarlatum, -letum*. Whereas the ODEE (795) excludes an ultimate Oriental source, others (e.g. OED s.v. *scarlet*) mention that OF *escarlate* might be an alteration of Persian *saqalāt, siqalāt, suqlāt* 'a kind of rich cloth dyed with kermes'. The independent adjective, first attested in 1386, is still connected with fabrics and dyes and is a popular term in fashion and cosmetics. Moreover, it is used to qualify other color terms, e.g. *scarlet-crimson, -red, -vermilion*. Depending on the context the term bears several associations, ranging from a signal of good mood, to sin or to dignity (Steinvall 2002: 414).

- ME *cremesin, crim(e)sin* [26], ModE *crimson* 'deep red'

  Motivation of formation: This expression historically refers to a valuable piece of fabric, which was usually dyed with a red pigment obtained from the kermes insect, in connection with which this shade of red was first distinguished. Being one of the various hyponyms of *red*, the term strengthens the importance of that specific color for the fashion of the time. The name of the dyed cloth was loaned from Sp *cremesin*, ML *cremesīnus*, a metathetic variation of *kermesīnus, carmesīnus*, deriving from Arabic *quermazi, qirmazī*, from *quirmiz* 'kermes insect'. Kerttula (2002: 131) traces it back even to Old Indian **krmija* 'produced by a worm'. André (1949) and Kristol (1978) do not mention a color sense for Spanish or Latin.
  Since its first occurrence in 1440, the English color adjective is especially employed in the context of fashion, flowers, and literature, but also attributed to blood and sunset. Moreover, it functions as a qualifier of other colors, expressing blended shades such as *crimson-carmine, crimson-violet* etc.

8. Iconym: **"blood"**

- OE *blōdrēad* [27], ME *blōd-rēd*, ModE *blood-red* 'deep red'
- OE *blōdig* [28], ME *blōdī*, ModE *bloody* 'blood-red, deep red'

  Motivation of formation: As blood is the prototypical representative of the concept RED, both expressions refer to the object with its salient color. Whereas the

[25] MED X 173.
[26] MED II 719.
[27] TOE 146, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 112.
[28] TOE 146, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 112.

former is a determinative compound consisting of the object and the basic color term, the latter is an adjectival formation from the noun by means of the suffix *-ig*. As Mead (1899: 195) points out, the Old English terms imply redness but their color sense is only secondary. It was Shakespeare who first used the word as a color term, though rather figuratively (Turmann 1934: 25).

9. Iconym: **"rosen"**

   - OE *rōsen* [29], ME *rōsen(e)*, ModE *rosen* 'rose-red, pink'

     Motivation of formation: The adjectival derivation on the basis off the Old English noun-stem *rōs-* 'rose' with the sense 'rose-colored, rosy, roseate' is employed by Ælfric as early as 1000. "From the most ancient times, the rose, by the marvelous beauty of its form, fragrance, and its colors, has so impressed mankind as to become, since ancient days, one of his leading symbols."[30] Due to its high prestige, the name was borrowed into Old English from L *rosa* 'rose' and was probably reinforced by F *rose* later on.

   - ME *rōsī* [31], ModE *rosy* 'rose-red, pink'

     Motivation of formation: Being a further adjectival derivation of the noun, the term denotes a certain nuance of red. However, it also conveys associations such as sweetness, happiness, and good health.

   The extreme productivity of this motivation can be seen in several other adjectival derivations[32] such as ME *rōsin(e)* 'rose-colored, rosy' or ME *rōseate* 'roseate, rosy', and in determinative compounds like OE *rōsrēad* (ME *rōse-red*, ModE *rose-red*) and ME *rōse-colour, rōse-hewed*, which all are motivated by the salient color of a rose.

   ModE *rose* was, however, created very late in Modern English and will be dealt with in a more detailed way in the PINK section (see 2.11).

10. Iconym: **"cherry"**

    - ME *cherī* [33], ModE *cherry*

      Motivation of formation: The motivator, an object or phenomenon of a typical coloring (cf. Peprník 1983, 1985), is the sweet fruit, whose name was loaned into Middle English from AN *cherise* 'cherry', which was mistaken as a plural form in *-s*, whereupon a secondary singular was created. It goes back to Vulgar Latin *ceresia*, from Classical Latin *cerasum*, from Greek ´ 'cherry', which possibly is, according to Kerttula (2002: 134), a derivation from Akkadian *karshu* 'stone fruit'. The color sense in English is first recorded in 1447, whereas the respective French word exhibited its color designation much later (FEW II 598). From this one-lexemic color term, some determinative compounds were formed (e.g. *cherry-red, cherry-coloured*). All of these expressions, which were originally rather figurative, are now especially applied to the human face, particularly to the lips, and are therefore popular terms in cosmetics.

[29] TOE 146, Kerttula 2002: 63.
[30] Maerz/Paul [2]1950: 177.
[31] MED IX 818.
[32] cf. MED IX 816ff.
[33] MED II 216, Collins 1995: 796.

11. Other Expressions:[34]

From the area of plants:

- ModE *damask* 'dark crimson'
  Motivation of formation: The term, which was first employed by Shakespeare around 1600, refers to the salient color resembling that of the damask rose flower, a species or variety, supposed to have been originally brought from Damascus. The popular cosmetic term is especially applied to the face of women, which, in my opinion, might be to emphasize their beauty by attributing the salient characteristic of "the queen of flowers".
- ModE *henna*
  Motivation of formation: The 20^{th} century expression was created on the name of the tropical reddish plant, which was loaned from Arabic *ḥinnā*. The red pigment obtained from its leaves thus gave rise to the color term that is especially used in connection with hair, nowadays also tattoos, adornments on the skin.

From locations:

- ME *tuly, toli* [35] 'deep red'
  Motivation of formation: The nowadays obsolete name, which was first attested in 1398, was especially attributed to silk and tapestry. It may have originated in fabrics imported from Toulouse, the center of the fashion industry of those days.
- ModE *magenta*
  Motivation of formation: The color received its name by a metaphorical transfer: in 1859, the Austrian army was defeated by the French and Sardinians at Magenta in northern Italy. The discovery of a brilliant crimson synthetic dye soon after caused the latter to be termed as *magenta*, probably due to its similarity with the bloody (i.e. "red") battle. Even if it is a fundamental part in the printing industry, it is of minor importance in colloquial language or poetry (cf. Welsch/Liebmann 2003: 84).

From liquids, especially wine:

- ModE *wine* 'dark red'
  Motivation of formation: The determinative compounds *wine-yellow* (1805), *wine-red* (1838), and *wine-black* (1863) were clearly motivated by a basic color category. The form without basic color term, first recorded in 1895 and especially employed with textiles, either represents a clipping of *wine-red* (cf. G *weinrot*) or a metonymic extension of the name of the alcoholic beverage. Its usage in the sense 'dark red' might be ascribed to the fact that this sort of wine is the most prototypical. The whole expression, however, appears to be somewhat unclear and unnecessary, as there exists a great number of wines of totally different colors. In order to avoid confusion about certain color concepts, more specific names have been used as color terms (e.g *Champagne, Port, Burgundy*) that provide better and more appropriate names for specific color sensations.

[34] The selected items are taken from the list of color terms in Maerz/Paul (^{2}1950: 188ff.) unless otherwise stated.
[35] Biggam 1993: 53, Stratmann 1974: 613.

- ModE *claret* 'dark purplish red'

  Motivation of formation: As the ODEE (179) and the OED (s.v.) point out, the term refers to the name originally given to wines of yellowish or light red color in order to distinguish them from 'red wines' and 'white wines'. After 1600 it was apparently used for red wines in general, and is now only applied to the red wines imported from Bordeaux. The product's name is formed after OF *(vin) claret* 'clear wine', the diminutive of *clair* 'clear, light, bright', from ML *clārātum* 'clarified wine'. The French term is not used as a color term (FEW II 740). The English color adjective, however, can be employed with clothes, balloons, interior decorations as well as with dusk.

- ModE *burgundy* 'dark purplish red'

- ModE *bordeaux* 'dark purplish red'

  Motivation of formation: Here, we are concerned with two terms, in which the respective producing areas and merchandising centers - two provinces of France - have transferred their names to the beverage. Whereas Kristol (1978) and Kerttula (2002) do not mention a color sense for French, the English expressions were metonymically extended to describe other objects exhibiting the same semantic feature as early as 1881 respectively 1904. Both are very popular in fashion, cosmetics, and interior decoration.

From pigments:

- ME *vermilion, vermelyon* [36], ModE *vermilion* 'bright red'

  Motivation of formation: The term represents a metonymical extension of the name of the pigment, which was loaned into Middle English from OF *vermeillon, vermillon* 'cinnabar', itself from L *vermiculus*, the diminutive of *vermis* 'worm', which refers to the cochineal insect that produces red color. In contrast to the French expression, which did not exhibit a color sense before 1530 (FEW XIV 290), the English term denoted a shade of red already around 1400-1450, a process which might have been influenced by ME *vermeil(e)*, the loan of OF *vermeil* 'bright red'. According to Barnickel (1975: 51), the term is, in addition to fashion and art, also widely applied in literature. It often qualifies other colors as well, e.g. *vermilion-crimson, -red, -scarlet, -tawny*.

- ModE *carmine* [37] 'deep red'

  Motivation of formation: This expression is created on the beautiful red or crimson pigment obtained from cochineal, a fact that explains its restricted use to painting and dyeing. The name of the dyestuff was loaned from French *carmin* or Spanish *carmín*, itself from ML *carmīnus*, the contracted from of *carmesīnus*, which ultimately goes back to the aforementioned Arabic origin. The ODEE (147) assumes it to be a conflation of L *carmesīnum* 'kermes' and *minium* 'cinnabar'. Its connection with *crimson* might have accelerated its usage as a color term.

- ModE *cinnabar* 'vermillion'

  Motivation of formation: The motivator is "the brightest of red pigments known in the ancient world"[38], whose name was borrowed into Middle English from OF *cinabre* or L *cinnabaris*, from Greek ´ , which is of oriental origin

[36] Stratmann 1974: 659.
[37] Collins 1995: 796.
[38] Hope/Walch 1990: 61.

(OED s.v.). It is said to go back to Arabic *zinjafr*, Persian *zinjifrah*, *shangraf*, and possibly Sanskrit *chinnavari* 'Chinese red' (Methuen [3]1978: 155).

From metals/minerals:

- ME *rubī*[39], ModE *ruby* 'deep red'

  Motivation of formation: The metonymic extension of the very rare and valuable precious stone, whose name was borrowed from OF *rubi*, which represents the Romanic stem *rubin-* and is related to L *rubeus, ruber* 'red', was used in its color sense in heraldry to describe the colors of coats of arms as early as 1508. It is a very popular term in cosmetics, as it also conveys a notion of luxury and value. The determinative compound ME *rubī red* [40] 'ruby red' was formed at a later date (1591).

- ModE *garnet* 'deep red'

  Motivation of formation: The name of the mineral was loaned into Middle English from OF *grenat, gernat*, an adoption of ML *grānātus*, whose origin, as the OED (s.v. *garnet*) points out, is somewhat unclear: some consider it a metaphorical transfer of L *grānātum* 'pomegranate', as the stone shows similarities with the pulp of the fruit. Others see it as a derivative of ML *granum, grana* 'grain, cochineal, red dye'. From the 18^{th} century on, it was metonymically extended to describe other objects, especially clothes and valuable things with the same semantic feature.

Miscellaneous:

- ModE *hepatic* [41] 'brownish red'

  Motivation of formation: The expression was motivated by the color of the liver, whose name was loaned from Latin *hēpaticus*, ultimately Greek, 'of or belonging to the liver'. Being closely associated with biology, it seems to be very rare and of minor importance.

- ModE *blush* 'rosy red'

  Motivation of formation: Going back to the verb *to blush*, from OE *blyscan* 'to glow red' which glosses L *rutilāre*, the extremely figurative term refers to the reddening of the face caused by shame, anger, or other emotions. The independent color adjective is attested as early as 1633.

- ModE *terra cotta* 'brownish red'

  Motivation of formation: The Italian loan *terra cotta*, literally 'baked earth', which denotes unglazed pottery of fine quality, was metonymically extended in the 19^{th} century. Now it does not only refer to the brownish red hue of the original products such as tiles, bricks, or statues, but is also attributed to the skin, clothes, interior decorations, and the horizon.

12. Loanwords:

    As the motivation of words that were borrowed from another language is often not known to the speaker, the following items have to be listed without referring to specific iconyms.

[39] MED IX 868.
[40] MED IX 868.
[41] Kerttula 2002: 75.

- ME *sangwin(e), sanguin(e)* [42], ModE *sanguine* 'blood-red'

  The loan of the Old French color term *sanguin(e),* which was adopted from L *sanguineus* 'blood-red, crimson', is applied as early as 1382, most often to clothes and the face. In Modern English, however, it is more of a literary term and collocationally restricted to complexion (Barnickel 1975: 106). Apart from that, it is found in natural history, chiefly in specific names of animals and plants, in which it usually represents a translation of the Latin term. Moreover, Hope/Walch (1990: 162) list it as a minor hue in heraldry denoting a reddish purple. Kerttula (2002: 238), however, counts it as nearly obsolete in its color sense, as it increasingly refers to character or mood.
  Based on the fact that it is a typical feature of the English language to integrate loanwords so well and fast, we, soon after the borrowing, come across ME *red sanguine* [43] 'blood-red, deep red, crimson', which consists of a loaned and an inherited element.

- ME *vermeil(e)* [44], ModE *vermeil* 'bright red, scarlet'

  This chiefly poetic term was borrowed around 1400 from AN and OF *vermeil* 'bright red', deriving from L *vermiculus* 'little worm', the diminutive of *vermis* 'worm', and thus refers to the kermes insect that produces red color. It is frequently used of countenance and lips, and also functions as a qualifier of other colors (e.g. *vermeil red, vermeil white*).

- ME *murrei* [45], ModE *murrey* 'dark red, purple red'

  The archaic expression, which is collocationally restricted to fashion and cloth, also refers to the name of a fabric dyed with the specific color. These names were later extended to cloth of other colors, but of the same weight, quality, or weave as the original fabric (Krieg 1976: 25). The expression represents a borrowing of OF *moré*, an adoption of ML *mōrātum* 'dark red or purple-red color, mulberry colored cloth', from L *mōrum* 'mulberry'. Whereas the English adjective is not mentioned before 1403, the French color adjective is recorded as early as 1280 (FEW XI,2 153). Hope/Walch (1990: 162) mention that it is used as a minor tincture in heraldry.

- ME *rūfus* [46], ModE *rufous* 'red, reddish'

  The color term is directly borrowed from L *rūfus* 'red, red-haired', which is a dialect cognate of *ruber* - according to Kerttula (2002: 144) Osco-Umbrian. Its present-day form exhibits the English spelling of a Latin word, and it is almost exclusively applied to birds, since it is used in scientific Latin names of animals (e.g. *rufous fly-catcher, rufous bee*).

- ME *ruffine* [47] 'reddish'

  Krieg (1976: 73), following the MED, mentions that this represents the loan of OF *rufin* 'red, reddish' and AL *rūfīnus*, whereby the Middle English spelling with *-ff-* is seen as a variation, as ML *ruffus* is one of *rūfus*.

[42] MED X 80.
[43] MED IX 266.
[44] Collins 1995: 796, Kerttula 2002: 75.
[45] MED VI 802, Barnickel 1975: 106.
[46] MED IX 876.
[47] MED IX 877.

- ME and ModE *russet* [48] 'brownish red'

  The name was loaned into Middle English from AN *russet* 'reddish' as a variation of OF *rousset, rosset*, the diminutive of *rous* 'red', which derived from L *russus* 'red'. As it goes back to IE **rudh-so-s* 'red', it is cognate with *red* as well. In its early usage it especially referred to a coarse homespun woolen cloth of reddish color which was formerly used as dress by peasants and country-folk.

- ME *phēniceus, phoeniceous* [49] 'scarlet'

  The term can be traced back to L *phoeniceus*, the Greek adjective *í* , from a base 'brilliant red, crimson', which further corroborates the former importance of cloth dyed in Tyrian purple.

- ME *rubicunde* [50], ModE *rubicund* 'red'

  Either loaned from F *rubicond* or directly from L *rubicundus* 'red' in the 16^{th} century, the expression is collocationally restricted to the complexion. It denotes the red color of the face due to good living.

- ME *sinŏple, sinoper* [51] 'red'

  The Old French heraldic term *sinople* 'red, the tincture red' and its variation *sinopre*, which were borrowed into Middle English in the first half of the 15^{th} century, go back to L *Sinōpis*, which itself is of Greek origin and denotes a red pigment found near Sinope, a colony in Paphlagonia. This color concept might also have been partly influenced by the confusion with *cinnabar*, a color of some shade of red. Its other meaning 'green' is dealt with in the respective section (see 2.4.2).

- ME *gules* [52] 'red, the tincture red'

  The term is loaned from OF *goles, gueules* 'the tincture red', which is, like ML *gulae* (pl.), applied to red-dyed pieces of fur used as neck-ornaments. The ultimate etymology is, however, disputed, as the word coincides in form with the plural of the OF and ML word for 'throat'. The allusion to red color of the open mouth of a heraldic beast is very improbable, as the heraldic sense is only secondary. The FEW (IV 321) and, in particular, Gamillscheg (1969: 506) mention that OF *gole* is a back formation of *engolé* 'adorned with red-dyed pieces of fur', which itself is a derivation of *gueule* 'throat', referring to the fact that these pieces were taken from the fur around the throat. The OED (s.v. *gules*) also states that it seems more likely that the heraldic use is transferred from the sense 'red ermine', in which case the word may represent some oriental name. The OED, however, refuses Wyler's assumption (1992: 61) that it is possibly derived from, or related to, Arabic *gule* 'a red rose'. Wyler also takes Hebrew *gulude* 'a piece of red cloth' into consideration.

  Originally it only denoted the heraldic color 'red'. This system with its own terminology, called *blazon*[53], was an adaption and imitation of the French courtly habit regarded as prestigious in the Middle Ages. In order to copy the ideal, the terminology had to be borrowed as well. As far as the color symbols are concerned, the notions of heraldry still apply for national emblems. Later on,

[48] MED IX 889. The OED (s.v. *russet*) and ODEE (778), however, list it as 'reddish brown'.
[49] Biggam 1993: 53, Maerz/Paul [2]1950: 208. The MED does not list is as a color term.
[50] MED IX 868.
[51] MED X 942.
[52] MED IV 269, Collins 1995: 796.
[53] Hope/Walch 1990: 162.

the term was used poetically and rhetorically to denote red in general. In most instances, it follows the word it qualifies.

- ME *coccin* [54] 'scarlet'
- ModE *coccineous* [55] 'scarlet'

  The loan of L *coccinus* 'scarlet' and its adjectival derivation *coccineus* 'scarlet-dyed' go back to Greek ´ , from ´ 'kermes', and refer to the specific color obtained from the insect. As the Latin term is always used in connection with fabrics and clothes (André 1949: 117), the learned term may be confined to the field of clothing and dyeing as well.

- ModE *cerise* [56] 'light clear red'

  Although the concept had already been borrowed from Old French during Middle English times and had very well been integrated into the language, the adjectival use of F *cerise* 'cherry' (ODEE 158) was loaned again in the context of fashion. In my opinion, it came about probably in order to increase sales with the help of the seemingly more glamorous French color term. Since 1858, it has often been associated with both red and pink and is most often applied to clothes, the face, and flowers.

- ModE *cardinal* [57] 'scarlet'

  According to Kerttula (2002: 240), the color sense was probably taken over from French *cardinal*, which is an adoption of L *cardinālis* 'pertaining to a hinge, principal, chief' and an independent color term since 1779. The English expression, which is not attested before 1879, refers to the red wardrobe of the cardinal and thus carries prestige value. The fact that it is also widely used in its sense of 'major, main' somehow weakens the application of the color term. But Harder (1999: 246) states its reinforcement by the name of the bird that also features a plumage of the respective color.

- ModE *maroon* 'brownish crimson'

  The term was borrowed from the quasi-adjectival use of F *(coleur) marron* 'a particular kind of brownish-crimson or claret color' in 1791. It refers to the color resembling that of the sweet large Spanish chestnut, whereas the color of the smaller variety of this nut is referred to as *chestnut* (Maerz/Paul [2]1950: 166). The expression shows wide application and is very popular in the textile and painting industry.

- ModE *ponceau* 'brilliant red'
- ModE *coquelicot* 'brilliant red'

  Both terms refer to the color resembling that of the poppy flower and were taken over from French, probably in connection with the prestigious *haute coûture*. The former represents F *ponceau* 'corn-poppy, the color of corn-poppy', which is used to describe clothes and flowers from 1835 onwards. The latter, first recorded in 1795, is the loan of F *coquelicot* 'red poppy', which itself originates in a metaphorical extension, as it was named due to the similarity of the flower with the cock's red comb.

[54] MED II 362.
[55] Maerz/Paul [2]1950: 192.
[56] Maerz/Paul [2]1950: 152p.
[57] Collins 1995: 796, Maerz/Paul [2]1950: 191.

- OE *purpuren* [58], ME *purpure* 'deep red, crimson, purple'

  The term, which will be dealt with in more detail further down below (see 2.6.2), was used for the distinguishing color of the garments of emperors and kings. It represents the loan of L *purpura*, from Greek ´ 'shellfish that yielded the Tyrian purple dye, dye itself, cloth dyed therewith'. Both terms already featured a secondary color sense (André 1949: 90). Variations of the term are ME *purpl* [59], which may possibly be the heraldic term for 'red' (Krieg 1976: 66), and ME *purpurat(e)*[60]. That the expressions' early concept differed from ModE *purple* is emphasized by the term *royal purple*, which denotes a shade of red (cf. Lyons 1999: 68).

2.2 ORANGE

2.2.1 Cultural Background

Orange, which occupies the region between red and yellow in the spectrum, is still often described as a hyponym of either of the two in dictionaries. The notion of color is still closely connected with that of the prototypical referent, the fruit orange, but aside from it we find other things of the same color: carrots, flowers, and the color sensations of fire, sunrise and sunset. It is the salient characteristic of the inhabitants of the Netherlands, who made the wearing of orange ribbons, scarfs, or orange-lilies a symbol of attachment to William III, and of the Orangemen, the members of the ultra-Protestant party in Ireland, whose secret association was formed in 1795. Due to its luminosity, thus easy recognizability, the energetic color is especially used as a warning and safety color, as with equipments in road construction (trucks, coats etc.).

2.2.2 Names

1. Iconym: **"apple" + "yellow"**

   - OE *æppelfealu* [61] 'orange, apple fallow'

     Motivation of formation: As the color vocabulary in Old English was largely based on brightness senses, this term was regarded as a hyponym of *yellow* before the semantic shift to almost exclusively hue senses occurred. As long as the research of Old English color categories does not include a thorough study of its brightness terms as well, it cannot unequivocally be decided whether this mainly poetic term is a genuine determinative compound denoting a distinct nuance of a certain hue, namely 'the reddish-yellow color of apples', or if it is just a variation of a seemingly unimaginative and simple expression which, however, is not applied very strictly to objects of the respective color.
     Barnes (1960: 510) contradicts the then prevailing assumption by saying that the expression, which only appears in *Beowulf*, denotes a horse color to be translated 'dappled dun', suggesting that its first element refers to the shape of the spots rather than to the hue or brightness of the color.

[58] Biggam 1993: 46.
[59] MED VII 1484, Kerttula 2002: 63.
[60] MED VII 1491.
[61] Pollington 1993: 156, Bosworth/Toller 17.

2. Iconym: **"yellow" + "red"**

   - OE *geolurēad* [62]

     Motivation of formation: Here, we are concerned with a copulative compound consisting of the two neighboring colors of the spectrum, which are juxtaposed to indicate that the desired reference lies between the two. It appears that a need is felt for a more specific lexical representation in the borderline area between red and yellow. In the course of the English language, this lexical gap was filled by the basic color term *orange*. The expression glosses L *flavum rubeum* 'yellow-red' (cf. OEC) and L *croceus* 'saffron, saffron-colored' (Bosworth/Toller 1898: 425), which emphasizes the fact that a basic color term was insufficient to translate the Latin terms precisely.

3. Iconym: **"citrus fruit (obtained from a certain location)"**

   - ModE *tangerine* [63] 'deep orange'

     Motivation of formation: The form is an adjectival derivation of the name of a seaport in Morocco, *Tanger* (now *Tangier*), by the suffix *-ine*. It refers to the small variety of oranges originally received from that city. The term of both the object and the color, is, however, infrequently used and appears to be gradually supplanted as new terms such as *mandarin(e), mango*, obtained from the name of citrus fruits as well, come to the market. This not only exemplifies the steady alteration but also the open-endedness of the color vocabulary.

4. Iconym: **"carrot"**

   - ModE *carrot*

     Motivation of formation: The term is a metonymical extension of the vegetable, whose name was loaned from F *carotte*, regularly deriving from L *carōta*, an adoption of Greek ´ 'carrot'. Aside from its application in the field of fashion, it is a descriptive term of hair coloration, originally used rather humorously and derisively. The adjectival derivation *carroty* 'like a carrot in color, red, red-haired' was recorded only shortly after, in 1696 (OED s.v.).

5. Iconym: **"marmalade"**

   - ModE *marmalade* [64] 'deep orange'

     Motivation of formation: As pointed out by Kerttula (2002), this expression, which is presently especially applied to cats, will be one of the important representatives of the color concept ORANGE in the future. Evidently, the most prototypical variety of marmalade - the one made of oranges - gave rise to the development of the new orange-related color term. In my view it might, in the particular reference to the animal, even convey an allusion to sweetness as exhibited by both the food and a beloved pet.

[62] Pollington 1993: 156. However, the TOE (146) and Kerttula (2002: 148) list it as 'reddish yellow' and Bosworth/Toller (1898: 425) as 'yellow-red'.
[63] Methuen [3]1978: 187, Kerttula 2002: 226.
[64] Kerttula 2002: 228.

6. Loanword

- ModE *orange*

  The term refers to the peel of the fruit from which in both color and name it was originally derived. Until the 17^{th} century, the term was associated only with the citrus fruit, which had first been imported from India by the Arabs via Moorish Spain in the tenth century (Hope/Walch 1990: 225). ME *orenge, orange* is loaned from OF *orenge, orange*, deriving from Arabic *nāranj*, Persian *nārang, nāring* 'orange'. The initial *n-* of the Arabic word was possibly dropped in French due to a coalescence with the preceding indefinite article, *une narange* becoming *une arange*. The initial *o-* may be ascribed to folk-etymology, an attempt to secondarily motivate an unmotivated sign in order to make non-analyzable words transparent again. The meaning of a foreign word is therefore reinterpreted and reformed on the basis of a similar sounding word with a similar meaning (cf. Bussmann 1996: 168). Here, two different processes of folk-etymology can be taken into account. Firstly, as the Middle Latin forms *arangia, arantia* 'orange' were associated with *aurum* 'gold', whence *aurantia*, the same process could have taken place in Old French as well: *arange* becoming *orenge*, after *or* 'gold'. The other popular process might have been due to the strong association with the name of the town of Orange in south-eastern France (FEW XIX 139), which is still a center of trade. The latter assumption is further corroborated by the fact that the fruit was called *pomme d'orange* for many centuries.
  The color use in French is first recorded in the 16^{th} century (FEW XIX 138), whereas the English color adjective is mentioned not before 1620 (OED s.v.). It was probably borrowed as a fashion term. Even if the reference to the entity sense is still transparent, the color term is applied to all sorts of objects, hereby establishing its status as a basic color term.

- ModE *apricot* [65] 'yellowish orange'

  The term refers to the color resembling that of the ripe stone-fruit. It was originally borrowed from Pg *albricoque* or Sp *albaricoque*, going back to Arabic *al-burqūq, -birqūq*, in which *al* is the definite article and *burqūq* the fruit. The English word was subsequently assimilated to the French cognate *abricot*, probably because the terminology of fashion, to which this term is more or less restricted, has often been influenced by, and borrowed from the prestigious *haute coûture* of France. The alteration from *abr-* to *apr-* in English was conjectured to have arisen due to folk-etymology, on the basis of L *aprīcus* 'sunny', as seen in the now obsolete spelling ModE *abricoct*, which refers to the fruit riped in a sunny place (OED s.v. *apricot*). This explanation, however, seems a bit far-fetched as the majority of the English speaking community was certainly not familiar with the proposed Latin term.

- ModE *tenné* [66] 'orange'

  This expression is a borrowing of F *tenné*, a variant of *tanné* 'tawny' (see 2.10.2). The minor hue in heraldic is, however, relatively rare and variously described as 'orange-brown' or 'bright chestnut'.

[65] Hope/Walch 1990: 15. However, the OED and Methuen (^{3}1978: 146) list it as 'pinkish yellow'.
[66] Hope/Walch 1990: 162.

2.3 YELLOW

2.3.1 Cultural Background

Yellow is the most brilliant and shining of the primary colors and between green and orange in the spectrum. It belongs to the oldest color sensations known and used of mankind, if one considers natural objects such as the sun, various fruits and flowers, and dyestuffs or pigments like ocher or saffron. It is also the color of ripeness and harvest represented by ripe corn or leaves. The concept is, furthermore, attributed to wax, gold, and hair in the context of female beauty. It can, however, also convey a negative notion when referring to discolored paper, age and disease.[67] The prototypical association with this concept is the sun (Wierzbicka 1990: 125) - not only due to its global presence and good perceptibility, but also due to its importance and positive influence on human beings for thousands of years (e.g. its light makes plants and creatures grow).
As far as the figurative usage of the color concept is concerned, it seems very interesting that although *yellow* and *golden* are almost synonymous in their color sense, their symbolic meaning is rather different. Aside from its fairly positive color designation, *yellow* carries quite negative associations such as jealousy, suspicion, and cowardice. *Golden*, on the contrary, denotes happiness, richness, and perfection, as it represents the color of the highest dignitary.

2.3.2 Names

1. Iconym: **"gleaming, glimmering, shining, bright"**

   - OE *geolo, geolu* [68], ME *yelou, yelwe*, ModE *yellow*

     Motivation of formation: The expression derives, together with its cognates in other Germanic languages, from WGmc **gelwa*, IE **ghelwo-*, and ultimatively from **ĝhel-, ĝhlē, ĝhlō, ĝhlə-* 'to gleam, glimmer'. As a color adjective, the latter could denote different hues, especially 'yellow, green, gray, or blue', a fact which can be seen in related terms such as L *helvus* 'honey yellow', Greek ´ 'pallid, greenish-yellow', and Lith *želvas* 'green'. The motivation of the expression is therefore the reference to something bright and shining, thus a salient substance in man's environment.

     The term does not occur very often in Old English and Middle English texts (cf. Mead 1899, Barnickel 1975), as it is merely applied to yolk, butter, and wax, thus things that are rarely mentioned in written documents. Sometimes it is also attributed to female hair and the color of gold. It is especially employed whenever no creative use or specific shade of the concept but the basic denotation is to be expressed. The YELLOW basic color term shows relatively developed derivation and it is used with various premodifiers and determinants (e.g. ModE *lemon-yellow, red-yellow*). It is, furthermore, part of idioms and is used metaphorically (e.g. *the yellow press*).

[67] As pointed out by Wyler (1992: 75), *yellow* does not appear as a color term for cosmetics. In my view a reason for this phenomenon may be that this branch of business is aware of the people's strong association of the hue with a person's yellow complexion during illness.

[68] TOE 146, Holthausen 1974: 127, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 424, IEW 430.

2. Iconym: **"yellow" + "shining/white"**

   - OE *geoloblāc* [69] 'pale yellow'
   - OE *geolohwīt* [70] 'pale yellow'

     Motivation of formation: Both expressions are copulative compounds, consisting of an element 'yellow' and an element 'shining/white', thus expressing that the desired reference is a mixture of, or lies between the two hues. The motivation of the last term, recorded as glossing L *gilvus* 'pale yellow, honey-yellow' (cf. OEC), is seen in the need of translating the Latin terms more precisely.

3. Iconym: **"golden"**

   - OE *gylden* [71], ME *golden* [72], ModE *golden*

     Motivation of formation: The adjectival derivation of the OE noun *gold* very well attests the reference to the brilliant and bright color of the metal and mineral. The expression's strong association with YELLOW - often used as a synonym for *yellow* - is an ancient habit that can easily be explained by the fact that both go back to the same origin, *gold* being 'the yellow, shining metal'. Conveying a message of prestige and luxury, this formation might have represented the ideal, thus salient form of the concept YELLOW when referring to objects in their color sense. However, the material itself was modified by 'red'[73] and not by 'yellow' until later medieval times. As mentioned before (see 2.1.2), Anderson (2003: 137p.) ascribes it to the fact that in Old English a second focal point of 'red' were "earth tones", whereas 'yellow' rather focused on the colors of vegetation. The Old English form with i-umlaut was superseded by the form *golden* in around 1300.

4. Iconym: **"gold(en)" + "color, hue, complexion"**

   - OE *gold-bleoh* [74] 'golden yellow'
   - OE *gylden-hiew(e)* [75] 'golden yellow'

     Motivation of formation: These very rare terms are compositions consisting of a first element 'gold' or 'of gold' and a second element 'color, hue, complexion', thus referring to the color of the metal, a yellow hue with metallic reflection.

5. Iconym: **"citron, lemon"**

   - ModE *citron* 'pale yellow, greenish yellow'

     Motivation of formation: This descriptive term refers to the object's color, its most striking particularity, which was metonymically extended to describe other objects exhibiting the same semantic feature as early as 1610. The name of the fruit or plant was loaned from F *citron* 'citron, lemon', deriving from L *citrus* 'citron-tree'.

[69] Bosworth/Toller 1898: 424.
[70] TOE 146, Kerttula 2002: 148.
[71] TOE 146, Holthausen 1974: 140.
[72] ODEE 405, MED IV 226, 228.
[73] The expression OE *rēad gold* is found up to twenty times in the DOE.
[74] TOE 146, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 484.
[75] TOE 146, Kerttula 2002: 65.

- ModE *lemon* 'pale yellow'

  Motivation of formation: The elliptical form of *lemon-coloured*, whose color sense is first recorded in 1796, is motivated by the color of the ripe fruit of the lemon-tree. The name of the plant is borrowed into Middle English, *lymon*, from OF *limon* and ultimately goes back to Arabic *līmaḥ*, collective *līm* 'fruits of the citron kind' (ODEE 523).
  Of the same origin is ModE *lime*, another loanword from French, which, however, denotes a green hue. As Kerttula (2002: 158) points out, the first term can be traced back to Middle French *limon*, Turkish *limon*, and Persian *līmūn* 'lemon, citron', whereas the latter has come into the English language via Arabic and Provençal. Kristol (1978) and Greimas ([2]2001) do not mention a color sense for the French term. Beside its color designation, which can be applied to various objects, the term also carries associations of a sour taste and smell.

6. Iconym: **"saffron"**

- OE *crōged, crōced* [76] 'yellow'

  Motivation of formation: Literally meaning 'saffroned', the term is formed on the basis of the Old English noun *croh*, which itself is a loan from L *crocus* 'saffron'. As the expression is collocationally restricted to the context of dyeing and clothing, the motive can be seen in the need to designate a specific color which originated in the production of clothes by the usage of these pigments.

- ME *saffroun* [77], ModE *saffron* 'orange yellow'

  Motivation of formation: The color term is created on the name of the dye obtained from a species of crocus used to color and flavor foods since ancient times. The name of food or spice itself is a loanword of OF *safran*, which derives from Arabic *za[c]farān*, whose origin is unknown (OED s.v.). The underlying concept refers to the color resembling that of the salient yellow pigment of the stigmas of the plant. Whereas the independent color adjective in English is mentioned as early as 1567, the French term does not exhibit a color sense before 1587 (Kerttula 2002: 153).

7. Iconym: **"sun, sunny"**

- ME *sonnish, sonnyssh* [78] 'resembling the sun in color or brightness, bright yellow or golden'
- ModE *sunny* [79] 'resembling the sun in color or brightness, bright yellow or golden'
- ModE *sunshine-yellow* [80]

  Motivation of formation: All three expressions are motivated by the bright yellow color of the sun, which might be the prototypical association with the color concept YELLOW. The first expression is poetically applied to bright golden hair by Chaucer as early as 1374, and the second one is first attested with its color sense by Shakespeare in 1596. Whereas both are adjectival derivations of the designated object itself, the third term represents a determinative compound.

[76] TOE 146, Hall [4]1960: 75, Holthausen 1974: 61, Biggam 1999: 118.
[77] MED X 31.
[78] MED XI 203.
[79] OED s.v. *sunny*.
[80] OED s.v. *sunshine-yellow*

The twentieth-century composition consists of a determinant referring to the natural phenomenon exhibiting the characteristic color and a determinate, the basic color term.

8. Iconym: **"dressed up, cheerful"**

   - OE *fæger* [81] 'blond(e)'
     Motivation of formation: The expression is of common Germanic origin **fagra-* and probably goes back to an IE root *pōk̂* 'to dress up, be cheerful'. As the then catalog of beauty only regarded women with blond hair as beautiful, the equation of the two characteristics caused, in my view, a shift of the term's meaning to denote the special feature 'blond'.

9. Iconym: **"honey"**

   - ModE *honey* 'golden yellow'
     Motivation of formation: First mentioned in its color sense in 1814, the term refers to the color resembling that of the natural product, which is often applied to skin and hair. However, it primarily carries the connotation 'sweetness'.

10. Iconym: **"gray, fallow, dirty"**

    - OE *fealu, fealwe, falu* [82], ME *falow, falwe* [83], ModE *fallow* 'reddish yellow'
      Motivation of formation: The term can be traced back to Gmc **falwa-*, IE **polu̯o-*, and ultimately IE **pel-*, an expression for colors such as 'gray, fallow'. Whereas the Old English term primarily features a brightness sense apart from its hue sense, which ranges from pale yellow to reddish brown, the Middle English word had a somewhat narrower meaning omitting the former luminosity aspect. In Modern English the term, which is now used in few collocations (*fallow deer, fallow buck*), only denotes the reddish-yellow coat of an animal.
    - ME *salu* [84], ModE *sallow* 'sickly yellow, brownish yellow'
      Motivation of formation: The term stems from Gmc **salwaz* and ultimately from the suffixed form **salu̯o-* of the IE root *sal-* 'dirty, gray'. In the course of English language history, it underwent a shift of meaning from OE 'dark, blackish, discolored, dirty' (see 2.9.2) via ME 'discolored, sickly yellow or brownish-yellow' to ModE 'sickly yellow or brownish-yellow' and has therefore experienced a restriction in usage. Already in Middle English, the term especially refers to the unhealthy color of the human complexion affected by diseases or age. This shift might have occurred, because the face did not exhibit the deep pink color of a healthy person but rather a pale, thus discolored shade with a yellow tinge.

[81] Pollington 1993: 156. However, the majority of etymologists and researchers only mention its sense of beauty and 'light' in comparison to 'dark'.
[82] TOE 146, Holthausen 1974: 99, IEW 270.
[83] MED III 395. However, Barnickel (1975: 92) lists the word under the concept BROWN and stresses the fact that the term not only refers to a specific hue, but also comprises a notion of withering and fading. This aspect leads him to conclude that its use might be confined to nature, especially to the fur of animals or to untilled land.
[84] MED XI 57.

11. Iconym: **"weld"**

    - ME *gaudī, gaudē*[85] 'yellowish'

      Motivation of formation: The attributive use of the loan of OF *gaude* 'weld', the herbaceous plant, which derives from Gmc **walda* and is cognate with the English word *weld*, refers to the color of plant's vegetable dyestuff. However, according to the OED, this term only appears in combinations, e.g. *gaudy green* 'yellowish green'.

12. Other expressions[86]

    From various yellow plants:

    - ModE *maize* 'pale yellow'

      Motivation of formation: The name of the plant came into the English language from a Caribbean dialect, probably Haitian *mahiz,* via Spanish *maiz,* (formerly also *mahiz, mahis, mayz*). In 1838 the term was adopted as the name of one of the coal-tar colors, a pale yellow resembling that of maize, and has since then frequently been applied to cloth or dress-material.

    - ModE *flaxen* 'bright, whitish yellow'

      Motivation of formation: The adjectival derivative of the noun *flax,* the mature plant of yellow color, serves to differentiate nuances in greater detail and thus to enrich and enlarge the field of hair-dressers and hair-stylists. Interesting to note is the one-time occurrence of the term in 1603, in which it meant 'blue, azure', a phenomenon which was due to the association with the blue color of the flax-flower (OED s.v.).

    - ModE *straw* 'pale brownish yellow'

      Motivation of formation: This ellipsis of *straw-coloured* refers to the salient characteristic of the stalks of certain cereals, presenting a picture of yellow-gleaming fields full of dried and threshed hay. The term is especially found in the context of hair coloration.

    - ModE *ginger* [87] 'reddish yellow'

      Motivation of formation: Referring to the color resembling that of ginger, the term serves to denote a detailed nuance of human hair. It is, furthermore, employed to describe cats.

    From animals/animal products:

    - ModE *canary* 'bright yellow'

      Motivation of formation: The metonymical extension of the name of the canary-bird, which refers to its salient yellow color, is first mentioned in 1854. The minor term is chiefly found in connection with cloth and liquids.

    - ModE *buff* 'dull yellow'

      Motivation of formation: Referring to the light brownish yellow of buff-skin, the term, which is first recorded in 1762, represents the metonymic extension of the

[85] MED III 48.

[86] Unless otherwise stated, these items are taken from Maerz/Paul ([2]1950: 188ff.).

[87] The term is listed as a synonym of *yellow* in Collins (1995: 127) and Biggam (2002: 159), but is also defined under BROWN and ORANGE in other dictionaries.

animal's color. As pointed out by the OED (s.v.), the early quotations might rather denote the material, leather, which was used for making soldier uniforms in those days. The name of the animal is an adoption of F *buffle*, a common Romance word deriving from Vulgar Latin **bufalus*, a variant of Latin *būbalus*, and, ultimately, from Greek ´ , the common Old World ox. Kristol (1978) does not mention a color use in French.

From metals/minerals:

- ModE *amber* 'amber-colored, brownish yellow'

  Motivation of formation: The form, which is attested as early as 1500, goes back to ME *amber*, a loan from OF *ambre*, which is adopted from Arabic *anbar* 'ambergris', a wax-like ashy-colored substance. It was, through some confusion of the substances, afterwards extended to the gem, the fossil resin 'amber'. Kertulla (2002: 192) points out that the color sense in French did not come into existence before the 17^{th} century. The motive can again be seen in the metonymic extension of the gem's characteristic color.

- ModE *topaz* 'dark yellow'

  Motivation of formation: The term refers to the color resembling that of the jewel, whose name was borrowed into Middle English from OF *topace, topaze, topase*, which derives from L *topazus* and Greek ´ 'topaz'. The highly valued precious stone, which is often of yellow color, is, according to Pliny, named after an island in the Red or Arabian Sea, where it abounded. Others connect it with Sanskrit *tapas* 'heat, fire' (OED s.v.). The expression's first occurrence is recorded as early as 1782 in reference to the brilliant colors of a hummingbird, but a wider application, e.g. to eyes, cosmetics, clothes, does not appear before the beginning of the 20^{th} century. The French term acquired its color sense in 1895 (Kertulla 2002: 157).

Miscellaneous:

- ModE *blake* [88] 'yellow, of a golden color'

  Motivation of formation: The direct descendant of OE *blāc* 'shining, white' is now obsolete - except in parts of northern England, e.g. Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, where it is still applied to butter and cheese (EDD I 287). In my opinion, the latter could be a result of a transfer from an original object exhibiting a rather white color with a tinge of yellow (e.g. sheep cheese) to the prototypical variety of it, butter or cheese with their striking yellow color.

  The confusion of the term with the expression denoting 'black' will be dealt with in the WHITE section (see 2.7.2).

- ModE *sand* 'of the color of sand'

  Motivation of formation: This transparent term is a metonymic extension of the earlier entity sense and serves to denote a fashion shade from the 1920s on. The color term *sandy*, which is already attested in the 16^{th} century, means 'yellowish-red' in collocation with hair (OED s.v. *sand*).

[88] OED s.v. *blake*, EDD I 287.

- ME and ModE *vitelline* 'yolk-colored, deep yellow'

  Motivation of formation: First mentioned in 1412, the term is based on the similarity with the color of a yolk. The primarily biological term was, its early use, specifically applied to the bile (OED s.v.). The object's name itself is loaned from ML *vitellīnus*, from *vitellus* 'yolk of an egg', of which André (1949) does not record a color sense.

- ModE *Champagne* 'straw-pale'

  The term, very popular with textiles, originates in the loan of the exquisite drink which was produced and merchandised in the province of France which transferred its name to it. In French, however, the term does not feature a color designation (cf. Kristol 1978).

13. Loanwords:

- ME *jaune* [89] 'yellow'

  This term is a borrowing of the Old French color term *jalne* 'yellow', which derives from L *galbinum* 'greenish yellow'. Having the same origin as the English word *yellow*, this term was certainly borrowed during a time when French was considered the prestigious language that had to be imitated. The regularly developed form has become obsolete in Modern English, but the term was reborrowed from F *jaune* 'yellow', which is noticeable from its pronunciation.

- ME *gul* [90] 'yellow, pale'

  This color term was loaned from ON *gulr, golr* 'yellow' in the 14^{th} century. As a result of the close contact between the Anglo-Saxons and the Scandinavians in the Dane Law, even simple everyday terms were borrowed. A Modern English survivor of the term, which has not been referred to in studies hitherto, might be *gool* 'yellow', hence *gule-fittit* 'yellow footed, having legs of a yellow color', an adjective applied to fowl and the like, which is only found in Scotland (EDD II 684).

- ME *dorrē, dōrī* [91] 'golden or reddish-yellow'

  The expression, which is first recorded in 1398, represents a borrowing of OF *doré* 'golden, gilded', the past participle of *dorer*, which derives from L *dē-aurāre* 'to gild'. It once again corroborates the importance and salience of the precious material that features a yellow color with metallic reflection.

- ME *citrīn* [92], ModE *citrine* 'lemon-colored'

  The expression is a borrowing of OF *citrīn*, from L *citrīnus* 'lemon-colored'. A slightly different view is held by Turmann (1934: 33), who considers the form to be of Italian origin, possibly brought from there by Chaucer, as he was the one who first applied it in 1386. According to Barnickel (1975: 98), the usage is confined to the context of science, and the term's concept in Modern English rather denotes ORANGE.[93] However, even if the term's meaning is not correct from a painter's or dyer's point of view, in my opinion, it might still be regarded as a yellow hue since there is a strong association with the name of the fruit.

[89] MED V 376.
[90] MED IV 416.
[91] MED II 1242.
[92] MED II 285.
[93] Maerz/Paul (^{2}1950: 154) explain that this change in the concept's designation has come about due to the influence of George Fields, the author of *Chromatography*, who used the term for a mixture of orange and green, and was followed in that use by all succeeding writers.

- ME *auburn(e), auborn(e)* [94] 'blond, yellowish white, brownish white'

  Already loaned as a color term from OF *auborne, alborne* 'blond', itself from ML *alburnus* 'nearly white, whitish', this term is collocationally restricted to hair color. In the course of the English language, however, it underwent a shift of meaning from 'blond' to 'golden-brown, ruddy-brown'. This change probably occurred in the 16^{th} or 17^{th} century, when the term was often written *abron, abrune, abroun*, and thus thought to be a kind of *brown*. The motivation is therefore based on folk-etymology.

- ME *blayk(e), bleik(e), bleyke* [95] 'pale, yellow'

  The expression was loaned from ON *bleikr* 'shining, white, pale', which corresponds to OE *blāc* and can be traced back to the IE root **bhlĕiĝ* 'to shine'. The minor term was only applied to a sickly complexion and flowers, and it glossed L *pallidus* 'pallid' and *flāvus* 'yellow, yellow-brown' (OED s.v. *blayk(e)*).

- ME *mēlin(e)* [96] 'quince-yellow'

  This rare and now obsolete term is a 14^{th} borrowing of L *mēlinus*, from Greek ´ 'of apples, quinces', from ˜ 'apple, quince' (OED s.v.). Krieg's explanation (1976: 60) that the Latin name meant 'honey-colored' might be due to a confusion with L *mellinus* 'of honey'.

- ModE *ochre, ocher* 'pale brownish yellow'

  The expression refers to the yellowish native earth, one of the oldest pigments known, which could, as ingredient in a painter's or dyer's coloring process, readily and naturally stand for its highly characteristic associated color. The name of the object is loaned into Late Middle English from F *ocre*, an adoption of L *ōcra*, Greek ´ 'yellow ochre' from ´ 'pale, pale yellow'.

- ModE *blond(e)* 'light yellow, reddish yellow'

  The color term is a loan of OF *blond, blonde* 'yellow-haired', from ML *blondus, blundus* 'yellow', and is ultimately of Germanic origin. In the 17^{th} century, it was reintroduced from French and is still primarily used in connection with hair color. It can also be applied to beer, instruments, and furniture.

14. Unclear Name:

- ModE *bisque* [97]

  Motivation of formation: The etymology of this term, which is first recorded in 1922 in collocation with 'dress', is not clear. According to Kerttula (2002: 240), it represents a loan of F *bisque*, a word of which she only says it does not exhibit a color sense. In my opinion it could be the French term for 'crayfish soup', thus denoting the specific reddish-yellow color of this meal. Contrarily, the OED (s.v. *bisque* 2) refers to it as 'light brown' due to its connection with biscuits.

[94] MED I 512.
[95] MED I 961, ODEE 99.
[96] OED s.v. *meline* a1
[97] Collins 1995: 171.

2.4 GREEN

2.4.1 Cultural Background

Green - the intermediate between blue and yellow in the color spectrum - is, neurophysiologically determined, not as eye-catching as other hues, thus less salient and more of a background color. As the color of vegetation, it has always confronted mankind with various shades appearing in leaves, herbs, plants, or vegetables. Not surprisingly, the notion of the concept is closely connected with its prototypical object, grass and other "things growing out of the ground" (Wierzbicka 1990: 117), but it is also attributed to certain gems such as the emerald or jasper and sometimes used in reference to water. In the fields of painting and fashion, it plays a minor role.
As far as its symbolical meaning is concerned, it exhibits an ambivalent character. On the one hand, it conveys a notion of vigorous growth and renewal, thus immortality, on the other hand, it exhibits the idea of inexperience, an immature state so to speak, ranging from unripe corn to persons. In the realm of Christianity it is associated with mercy and hope.

2.4.2 Names

Compared to the number of terms representing other color concepts, the green-related expressions are rather few, which is explained by the fact that warm colors (red, yellow) are segmented and named more easily than cool colors (blue, green) (cf. MacLaury 1992).

1. Iconym **"grow"**

   - OE *grēne* [98], ME *green*, ModE *green*
     Motivation of formation: The term and its cognates in other Germanic languages go back to IE **grōnjaz-*, from the root **ghrō-, ghrə* 'to grow, to green'. From this base derive OE *grōwan* 'to grow' and *gærs, græs* 'grass' as well.
     The GREEN basic color term can denote every shade of the concept and can be attributed to several fields of objects. From it various derivations and compounds came into existence. Furthermore, it is used metaphorically (e.g. *green with envy, to be green at a job*). However, as Mead (1899: 200) points out, it does not occur in *Beowulf* or other heroic poems, but is nearly exclusively used in religious poems. This does not restrict its status as a basic color term since the concept is probably not found very often in these kinds of literature. In Middle English, the term was also used, for the first time by Chaucer, as an emphatic term for the pale face of a sick person (Barnickel 1975: 84).

2. Iconym **"gleaming, glittering, shining"**

   - OE *grǣg* [99] 'dull green, gray-green'
     Motivation of formation: Even if the predominant semantic feature of this term is 'gray', it could also denote dull or grayish hues in general, thus 'gray-green'. The expression derives from Gmc **grǣwaz,* itself from IE **ĝhrēg-u̯i̯wo-s,* and ultimately from the root **ĝher-, ĝhrē-, ĝherə-* 'to gleam, glimmer, shine'. Consequently, as both terms can be traced back to the same origin, a considerable group of the words for 'green' are cognate with words for 'yellow'.

[98] TOE 146, Holthausen 1974: 138, IEW 454.
[99] Holthausen 1974: 135, IEW 441.

3. Iconym **"blue, (gray)" + "green"**

   - OE *hǣwengrēne* [100] 'bluish green, grayish green'
     Motivation of formation: The copulative composition, which consists of the two neighboring colors 'blue, (gray)' and 'green', serves to indicate that the desired reference lies between the two concepts. It is not clear which of the elements is the grammatical head, especially as there exists a modification of the term, OE *grēnhǣwen*. Both forms seem to occur only once glossing L *caeruleus* 'dark blue, dark green' (Biggam 1997: 244).

4. Other Expressions:[101]

   Most of the following expressions are determinative compounds, in which the first element determines the second one; they denote a special kind or shade of green. Several fields of "borrowing" or "object-relation" can be differentiated.

   From the area of plants:

   - OE *græs-grēne, gærs-grēne* [102], ME *gras-grēne*, ModE *grass green*
     Motivation of formation: As the phenomenon of plant growth can be regarded as the origin of the concept GREEN, the term, which is "[o]ne of the oldest colour names"[103], emphasizes the reference to the herbage by repeating the "color-bearer" 'grass'. The latter of the Old English expressions exhibits metathesis. Whereas in Old English, the term was primarily used in glosses and glossaries, in Modern English, it can be attributed to all objects in both spoken and written language. Of the same motivational sort is *moss green*, but it refers to a different kind of vegetation.
   - ModE *forest-green*
     Motivation of formation: Referring to the salient color of the natural object 'forest', this term's concept was transferred when it was said to be the special costume of Robin Hood and his men in Scott's ballads (OED s.v.). Probably originating in this idea, it is used as the commercial name of a shade of green in dress-materials.
     The motive of alluding to the salient characteristics (e.g. foliage, leaves etc.) of other trees or plants is also found in expressions such as *sage-green, myrtle green, beech-green*, or *pine green*.
   - ModE *sap green*
     Motivation of formation: The original color term with its reference to the juiciness of plants is, according to the OED (s.v.), obsolete. The contemporary concept of the independent adjective, which is first mentioned in 1658, derives from the green pigment prepared from the juice of buckthorn berries and is probably shaped after Dutch *sapgroen*. Consequently, its usage is primarily found in arts and fashion.
   - ModE *spring-green*
     Motivation of formation: In this case, the determinant exhibits an abstract idea: the association with an atmosphere or feeling and through that with the color

[100] TOE 146, Bosworth/Toller 1921: 501.
[101] The selected items are taken from the list of color terms in Maerz/Paul (^{2}1950: 188ff.) unless otherwise stated.
[102] TOE 146, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 357.
[103] Methuen ^{3}1978: 164.

of something typical of it - the greenness and freshness of growing vegetation during the first season of the year. As many other terms, the expression, which is first recorded in 1891, is very figurative.

- ME *gaudī greene* [104], ModE *gaudy green* 'yellowish green'
  Motivation of formation: The first element is a derivation of the ME noun *gaudē*, loaned from OF *gaude* 'weld' (see 2.3.2), by the adjectival suffix *-i(g)*. Barnickel (1975: 106) accentuates its meaning 'green dyed with weld' and thus its restriction to the field of fashion.
- ModE *evergreen*
  Motivation of formation: In this case, the compound is determined by the adverb 'ever, always'. This refers to the fact that there are plants, such as conifers, whose most salient feature is that they never change their leaves, thus are 'evergreen'. The expression is listed in the SED (I,2 557) as a Yorkshire variant for the color of reels of thread.

From the field of vegetables and fruits:

Next to names such as ModE *pea green, spinach-green*, and *leek green* with rather clear motivation, as all refer to the green color of the designated objects, we find:

- ModE *apple green*
  Motivation of formation: Whereas usually, the association of an apple is with its ripeness, thus yellow, orange, or red color, we are here concerned with a different specimen, e.g. the color of 'Granny Smith' apples. The term is first attested in 1648 and is a popular name in the fashion industry.
- ModE *olive* 'yellowish green or yellowish brown'
  Motivation of formation: The expression refers to the color resembling that of the fruit of the olive-tree, whose name was loaned into Middle English from OF *olive*, L *olīva*, from Greek *í* 'olive, olive tree'. Kertulla (2002: 169) points out that the color sense in French did not come into existence before 1699, whereas the English expression is first recorded in 1657. The OED (s.v.) lists various meanings depending on the object to be designated:
  a) 'a dull somewhat yellowish green' (of the color of the unripe fruit)
  b) 'yellowish brown, brownish yellow' (of the complexion)
  c) 'dull ashy green with silvery sheen' (of the color of the olive's foliage).
  It is especially applied to skin, cloth, hats, boots, and foliage. However, if it does not refer to the skin, it mostly requires the basic color term, e.g. *olive-green clothes*.
- ModE *lime* 'bright green'
  Motivation of formation: The elliptical form of *lime-green*, which is chiefly applied to clothes, interior decorations, and leaves of various plants, is not mentioned before 1923. It is created on the green fruit of a citrus tree, whose name was borrowed into Modern English from French *lime*, going back to Provençal *limo*, and ultimately to Arabic *līmaḥ* 'citrus fruit'. The term is etymologically related to *lemon*, which however, came into the English language via Middle French and Turkish (see 2.3.2).

[104] MED IV 48.

From metals and minerals:

- ModE *emerald* 'bright green'

  Motivation of formation: The term refers to the color resembling that of the precious stone, whose name was borrowed into ME *emeraude* from OF *e(s)meraude*, a derivate of common Romanic **smaralda, *smaraldo*, which represents L *smaragdus* from Greek ´ 'smaragdus, emerald'. The English spelling with *-ld* may be due to the influence of Spanish *esmeralda*. The French term did not acquire a color sense before the 18^{th} century, whereas the English word was used in heraldry as early as 1572 to designate 'green' (ordinarily called *vert*) if it occurred in the arms of nobility (OED s.v.). The term can be attributed to various referents, often conveying a notion of value and preciousness. Its good qualities also emphasize positive feelings, since something bright is usually linked to sunlight and, by metaphorical extension, to warm feelings (Steinvall 2000: 416). It is popular in painting as well, as it also represents a pigment of vivid light-green color.

Miscellaneous:

- OE *hǣwen* [105] 'pale green'

  Motivation of formation: Mostly denoting 'blue', the term can also indicate a pale green. It can ultimately be traced back to IE **k̂ei-(ro)* 'dark, gray, brown' and will be explained in more detail in the BLUE section (see 2.5.2).

- ModE *bottle green*

  Motivation of formation: The expression now refers to the color resembling that of glass bottles used for mineral water and beer, whereas it historically denoted a pale, bluish tint, dating from the ancient Egyptians and Romans, who perfected the art of glass-making (Hope/Walch 1990: 46). The object's name was borrowed into Middle English from OF *bouteille, botel*, from L *butīcula*, the diminutive of LL *butis, buttis* 'vessel'.

- ModE *chartreuse* 'yellow green'

  Motivation of formation: The expression, which is first recorded in 1884, was motivated by the color of the liqueur of the same name, made by French Carthusian monks near Grenoble. The French female form of *chartreux* 'Carthusian', however, does not exhibit a color sense (cf. Kristol 1978).

- ModE *gosling-green* 'pale yellowish green'

  Motivation of formation: The term, which is first attested in 1756 and especially used in the context of textiles, features the determinant 'little goose'. Figuratively, the association of a little immature animal was transferred to a foolish, inexperienced person, one who is young and 'green'.

- ModE *Kendal green*

  Motivation of formation: This rather minor color term refers to the green color of woolen clothes produced in Kendal, Cumbria (formerly Westmorland). The fact that it is, furthermore, attributed to the plant Dyer's Greenweed, with which textiles were dyed, corroborates the expression's collocational restriction to dyeing and clothing.

[105] Holthausen 1974: 147, IEW 541.

- ModE *sea green*

  Motivation of formation: The term is formed around 1600 and denotes the pale bluish-green color resembling that of the ocean.

- ModE *Nile (green)*

  Motivation of formation: The 19^{th} century name was created in analogy to the already existing expression *Nile blue*, itself an imitation of French *bleu de Nile*, in order to refer to a different shade of the water of the river. It is often found in connection with textiles and interior decorations.

5. Loanwords:

- ME *verd, vert* [106] 'green'

  The loan of OF *verd, vert*, the regular development of L *viridis* 'green', is more or less confined to heraldry. In poetry, it is sometimes employed to denote the color green.

- ModE *verdigris* [107] 'bluish green'

  This expression was already borrowed as a color term from OF *verte grez, vert de grice, vert-de-gris*, literally 'green of Greece', as ML *viridis graecus*. As the whole expression at an early date was no longer transparent, it underwent various changes in spelling and pronunciation on account of folk-etymology. The loan was due to the usage of the substance as a pigment in dyeing, the arts, and medicine, fields to which it is still collocationally restricted.

- ME and ModE *verdure* [108] 'green'

  The term is a borrowing of OF *verdure* 'fresh green color', thus especially means 'rich or abounding in verdure, flourishing thick and green'.

- ModE *verdant* [109] 'green'

  The term, which is first recorded in 1581 and primarily applied when referring to vegetation and landscapes, is of obscure origin. It perhaps represents a loan of OF *verdeant*, the present participle of *verdoier*, derived from L *viridiāre* 'to become green', which is related to *viridis* 'green'. According to Kerttula (2002: 168), it is a blend of L *viridans*, the present participle of *viridiāre*, and F *verdoyant*, the present participle of *verdoyer* 'to become green'. It might also be a pseudo-loan coined from *verd-* (as in *verdure*) and a suffix *-ant*, the ending of the present participle in French.

- ME *sinŏple, sinoper* [110] 'green'

  The usage of this term in heraldry was prominent in Old French and therefore borrowed as highly prestigious. How this term came to denote 'green', however, is unclear. The FEW (XI 650) records it in this color sense from the first half of the 14^{th} century on and assumes that the colors might have been mixed up in a coat of arms. In English, it is first attested in 1489, but has become obsolete in the 18^{th} and 19^{th} century. Its different meaning 'red' has already been explained above (see 2.1.2).

[106] ODEE 977.
[107] Maerz/Paul [2]1950: 185.
[108] Stratmann 1974: 659, Collins 1995: 428.
[109] Collins 1995: 428.
[110] MED XI 942, OED s.v. *sinople, sinoper*.

- ME *enker-grene* [111] 'very green, vivid green'
  The OED (s.v. *enker*) lists the adverb *enker* as a loan of OF *encré*, literally 'inked', and the Middle English expression *enkergrene*, which is only found twice in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, as an imitation of OF *vert encré* 'dark green'. Differently, the MED (s.v.) compares it with OI *einkar-fagr* 'very fair'.
- ModE *jade*
  Motivation of formation: The term is borrowed from F *le jade*, earlier *l'éjade*, which was an adoption of Sp *(piedra de la) ijada*, literally 'colic stone', 'a stone for the cure of pains in the side', which goes back to L *īlia* 'the flanks'. As pointed out by Kerttula (2002: 173), the French term was first used in a color sense in 1907, thus slightly earlier than the English one (1921), a fact which lets her conclude that it was probably taken over as a color term. As the gem exhibits a wide range of hues, the color term, which is often applied to paints and textiles, is rather fuzzy and alludes more to the preciousness and worthiness of an object than to its specific hue. In literature it is often found in connection with the sea, the sky, or the rainbow.
- ModE *reseda* 'pale green'
  Already borrowed as the scientific term of the flower, L *resēda*, the expression was influenced by the French color term *réséda*, which is especially found in connection with clothes (Kristol 1978: 283). The name for the flower's best known species, the mignonette, was also borrowed from French and came to be a color term as well (cf. OED s.v. *reseda*). Both 19^{th}-century color terms became popular through fashion and advertising, but are more or less limited to these fields.

6. Unclear Cases:

- OE *walden*[112] 'greenish or hazel eyes'
  Motivation of formation: The term is only listed as a rare and highly specialized term by Biggam (1999: 118). In my opinion it might be related to OE *weald* 'forest' and its prominent color.

2.5 BLUE

2.5.1 Cultural Background

Despite its preponderance in the environment, especially in the sky and the sea, BLUE is not common in nature as far as mammals, land, or trees are concerned, but occurs in flowers and birds (e.g. peacock) and plays a considerable role in the description of textiles, dyes, and gems. Since natural pigments and dyestuffs of this color were scarce in the early days of mankind, they had to be imported and were, therefore, rather rare and expensive. It consequently represented only the color of kings, rich people, and high priests. In the course of time, on account of the invention of synthetic production, the color became more salient to the common people. "It is the sine qua non color of Western twentieth-century cultures, of their flags, of their conservative political parties, and even of the uniform of their youth, blue jeans."[113] On the basis of the most prototypical association with the concept, sky (Wierzbicka

[111] MED III 159.
[112] Biggam 1999: 118.
[113] Hope/Walch 1990: 283.

1990: 119), it has most commonly been associated with depth and endlessness, but also tranquility, constancy and coolness. In the realm of Christian religion, where it represents the color of the Virgin Mary, it conveys a notion of spirituality, truth, heavenly love, and harmony. It exhibits, however, an ambivalent character, as it is also a sign of melancholy (e.g. *the blues*) and can be used to designate unskilled laborers, as in *blue-collar workers* (cf. Jacobs/Jacobs 1958).
As the color system of Old English was brilliance-orientated and segmented very differently in contrast to the Modern English one, the color sensations that are nowadays represented by *violet* or *purple* were still considered to be shades of the concept BLUE or RED and, therefore, named accordingly. Even in Middle English, some of the blue-related terms (e.g. *inde*) could also denote a purple shade. The transformation to a hue-based color vocabulary and the emergence of countless color terms in the course of English language history resulted in a more detailed and definite application of the terms.

2.5.2 Names

The prevailing view that blue was practically non-existent in Old English color terminology (cf. Mead 1899, Wyler 1984) is vitiated by Biggam (1995, 1997). Based on thorough study of collocations and referents, translations, contrasts and comparisons, cognates, related citations, sources represented, and categories of text, she lists various expressions regarding the concept. However, these proved largely unacceptable in Middle English, which resulted in various loans of words. It is the only category dominated by French terms (Biggam 1993: 43), as will be noticeable throughout this section. And as Anderson (2003: 180) puts it: "The lexicalization of blue in English is a linguistic by-product of the "discovery" of blue as a culturally significant color in art and design during the Middle Ages, beginning in France in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and spreading to England and elsewhere in Europe by the thirteenth century."[114]

1. Iconym **"dark, gray, brown"**

   - OE *hǣwen* [115] 'blue, livid'
     Motivation of formation: The most frequent of the blue-related terms seems to be an Old-English innovation, as it does not have any equivalents in other Germanic languages. Being related to OE *hār* 'white, gray, old' and OE *hiew, hi(o)w* 'appearance, species, color', it can be traced back to **haiwina-* and ultimately to IE **k̂ei-*, which is used in various adjectives of color, especially dark shades such as 'dark, gray, brown'. According to Biggam (1997: 213), it "evolved from a Germanic word meaning 'downy/hairy', until it came to indicate a pale appearance in cool colors, just as downy leaves appear pale green, rather than vivid green, because of their downy covering. [...] It is further suggested that *hæwen*, which had probably once covered the field of pale grey/pale blue/pale green, came gradually to specialise in pale blue, in the face of the establishment of *grene* as the green BCT, and the rise of *græg*. Finally, *hæwen* came to denote all types of blue as it evolved towards the status of blue BCT." It was not collocationally

[114] The author summarizes Michel Pastoreau's *Bleu: Histoire d'une couleur* (2000), who states that the standard European canon of colors expanded from three (black, white, red) to six colors (the former plus yellow, green, and blue) in the twelfth century. Blue itself became very popular in painting, stained glass windows, clothing and heraldry, and was often associated with the Virgin Mary.
[115] TOE 147, Holthausen 1974: 147, IEW 541.

restricted and used with a variety of referents such as woad dye, clothes, sapphire, indigo, dill, hyacinths, and blue-black cinders. Its wide application can also be seen from the fact that it glosses Latin terms for different nuances of blue (e.g. *hyacinthinus, caeruleus, glaucus, viridis* etc.) (cf. OEC). However, Biggam states elsewhere (1995) that *hǣwen* is not considered a full basic color term, as it was only known and used by a minority - craftsmen, monks, and educated people - and represented exclusively learned usage, and thus did not meet the fourth criterion of Berlin and Kay (see 1.2, footnote 4). She tries to back her case by stressing that the term was not well enough established to resist its replacement by the French loanword *bleu* in Middle English. However, in my opinion, there is no firm evidence that *hǣwen* was only used by a small social group. The originally specialized application could have been extended into popular usage as it not only referred to dyes and gems but denoted everyday objects such as flowers, water, birds, textiles as well. Various hyponyms (e.g. *blǣhǣwen, swearthǣwen, wannhǣwen*) also point to a relatively established status.

- OE *hǣwe* [116], ME *haue, hawe* [117] 'blue, gray'

  Motivation of formation: The variation of the term just analyzed is confined to glosses and glossaries. The term has become obsolete in its color sense and only survives in Scottish *haw* 'discolored, livid' (EDD III 96). According to Biggam (1995: 63, footnote 36), it might have survived in the Northumbrian dialect, which considerably contributed to Scots.

2. Iconym **"woad-dyed"**

- OE *wǣden* [118] 'blue'

  Motivation of formation: The term originally means 'woad-dyed', as it represents the adjectival derivation of OE *wād* 'a (blue) woad dye', a material which is an ancient source of strong and permanent blue (McNeill 1972: 28). As the rare expression glosses L *hyacinthinus, hyacinthus* 'blue, violet' and *indicus* 'blue dye' (cf. OEC) and is applied only to a tunic and the dye from the woad plant, it is assumed to be restricted to dyes and textiles (Barley 1974: 25). An exception to this is the one-time referent 'poison', which Biggam (1997: 276) tries to explain by the fact that woad dye is poisonous.

- OE *blǣwen* [119] 'dark blue'

  Motivation of formation: The rare expression represents an adjectival formation of OE *blāw* 'woad dye'. Together with its cognates, OI *blār* 'blue, livid, black', OFris *blau* 'blue', OS *blao* 'blue, pale', OHG *blāo* 'blue, dark', it ultimately goes back to IE **blē-u̯o-s*, which is used of pale colors such as 'blue, yellow, blond'. It is cognate with L *flāvus* 'yellow, 'yellow, yellow-brown' as well.
  Since the term glosses L *perseus* 'dark blue' in Ælfric's *Nomina Colorum* (Wülcker [2]1968: 163), which is usually employed in connection with cloth, and as it is also found in collocation with 'gown', it is suggested that it is part of a specialized vocabulary restricted to dyes and textiles (Biggam 1997: 99). In the course of English language history, the noun as well as the adjective were repressed and replaced by the adoption of ON *blā* 'livid' and of F *bleu* 'deep blue, dark blue'.

[116] TOE 147, Pollington 1993: 155, Buck 1949: 1058.
[117] MED IV 524.
[118] Holthausen 1974: 379.
[119] Holthausen 1974: 26, IEW 160.

3. Iconym: **"glass-colored"**

   - OE *glæsen* [120] 'shiny pale blue'

     Motivation of formation: The adjectival derivation of OE *glæs* 'glass' literally means 'made of glass' and is cited only once in its color sense, in rendering L *glaucus...oculus* 'bluish/greenish-gray eye' into OE *glæseneage*. The technical term is probably contextually restricted to eyes, referring also to their glassy and glazed appearance (Biggam 1997: 111). In contrast to the present-day material, cheap glass of the Middle Ages exhibited a different shade of color, often green-blue, a fact that easily explains its motivation.

4. Iconym **"color" + "blue"**

   - OE *blǣhǣwen* [121] 'dark blue'
   - OE *swearthǣwen* [122] 'dark blue'
   - OE *wannhǣwen* [123] 'dark blue'

     Motivation of formation: All three compound terms are hyponyms of *hǣwen* and employed to express nuances of the concept BLUE, especially to indicate darkness. They occur or originate in translations or glosses to Latin texts and appear to have been coined to cope with a perceived difference between the semantic of the Latin lexeme and the nearest Anglo-Saxon term (Biggam 1997: 292).
     The first one, which glosses L *hyacinthinus* 'blue, violet', is especially found in connection with dyes and textiles, as it is applied to a costly garment, (woad) dye, and to the feathers of a peacock. The two others gloss L *caerulus* 'dark blue' (cf. OEC). Their one-time collocation with 'snake' might be explained by the fact that both terms rather refer to a dark tone than to a specific hue (Biggam 1997: 249, 253).

5. Iconym **"precious stones of blue color"**

   - ME *saphīr(e)* [124], ModE *sapphire* [125] 'bright blue'

     Motivation of formation: Here we are concerned with a term, whose formation was caused by the respective gem. Its name was loaned into Middle English from OF *safir, saphir*, which was adopted from L *sappīrus, saphīrus*, itself from Greek ´ 'lapis lazuli', which is probably a Semitic form. As pointed out by the OED (s.v.), the word, however, does not appear to be ultimately of Semitic origin, because Hebrew *sappīr* may represent an earlier **sampīr* (cf. Jewish Aramaic *sampīrīnā*), whose source may be Skr *çanipriya*, literally 'dear to the planet Saturn', the name of some dark gem, perhaps sapphire or emerald. The metonymic extension is first recorded in 1433, whereas the French term did not exhibit its color sense before the 16^{th} century (Kerttula 2002: 180). There is also no record of a color use in Latin (cf. André 1949). The expression denotes the tincture blue or azure in heraldry and is otherwise especially applied to the sky, the sea, and the eyes.

[120] Bosworth/Toller 1898: 479.
[121] Bosworth/Toller 1898: 107, Biggam 1995: 57.
[122] Bosworth/Toller 1898: 945, Biggam 1995: 57.
[123] Bosworth/Toller 1898: 1167, Biggam 1995: 57.
[124] MED X 83.
[125] Collins 1995: 109.

- ModE *turquoise* 'greenish blue'

  Motivation of formation: The expression refers to the shade of blue resembling that of the mineral whose name was loaned into Middle English from OF *turqueise, turquoise*, the feminine form of *turqueis, turquois* 'Turkish', as in *pierre turquoise* 'Turkish stone'. The precious stone obtained its name, because it was first brought from Turkestan where it was first found or conveyed through the Turkish dominions (OED s.v.). The English color adjective began to be replaced through the adoption of the French spelling *turquoise* before 1600. The French term, however, did not exhibit a color use before 1867 (FEW XIX 190). It is especially applied to the sea and to the eyes, and is a popular fashion term.

6. Iconym **"sky-colored, sky-blue"**

   - ModE *sky-coloured* [126]
   - ModE *sky-tinctured* [127]
   - ModE *sky-blue*

     Motivation of formation: All of these determinative compounds emphasize the reference to the sky, which might be the prototypical association with the color concept BLUE. As the sky can feature a variety of hues, these are more likely literary terms and do not denote a specific shade.
   - ModE *heaven-hued* [128]
   - ModE *horizon-blue*

     Motivation of formation: Both rather literary expressions stem from the same motive as well. The former was first employed by Shakespeare in 1597 and the latter is probably formed in analogy to F *bleu horizon*, which was the color of the French Army's uniform during and after World War I (Maerz/Paul ^{2}1950: 181).

7. Other Expressions:[129]

   - ModE *cornflower* 'blue as a cornflower'

     Motivation of formation: This term is a metonymic extension of the earlier entity sense and serves to denote a fashion shade resembling that of the flower, from 1907 on.
   - ModE *navy* 'dark blue'

     Motivation of formation: The elliptic form of *navy blue*, which was first recorded in 1884, refers to the color of the British naval uniform. The name of the object was loaned into Middle English from OF *navie* 'ship, fleet', which regularly derives from Vulgar Latin *nāvia* 'ship, boat', a colloquial formation on L *nāvis* 'ship'.
   - ModE *ultramarine* 'deep blue'

     Motivation of formation: The expression, which is very popular in painting, is created on the name of the pigment originally obtained from the mineral lapis lazuli and named with reference to the foreign origin of this, 'beyond the sea', from ML *ultrāmarīnus*. Casson (1994: 16), however, points to a borrowing from Spanish *ultramarino* with both its pigment and hue senses in 1598.

[126] Pratt 1898: 112, Collins 1995: 109.
[127] Turmann 1934: 35.
[128] Pratt 1898: 112.
[129] All items are taken, unless otherwise mentioned, from Maerz/Paul (^{2}1950: 188ff.).

- ModE *aqua* 'greenish blue'

  Motivation of formation: First mentioned in 1936, the word represents either a metonymical extension of the object's name, which was loaned from L *aqua* 'water', or the abbreviation of *aquamarine* 'bluish-green, sea-colored', which is a 19^{th}-century adoption of L *aqua marīna* 'sea-water'. André (1949: 61-62) does not record a color sense of the two Latin terms, but lists *aquilus*, a derivative of *aqua*, which, however, seems to have hardly influenced the modern color use of the term.

8. Loanwords:

- ME *bleu, blu(e), blou(e)* [130], ModE *blue*

  The term is a borrowing of OF *bleu, blo* 'blue, fallow, pale, faded', which goes back to Frankish **blāo* 'blue, leaden', and ultimately to Gmc **blǣwaz*. It is therefore related to the Old English terms *blāw, blǣw* and *blǣwen* 'blue', which did, however, not survive into Middle English (cf. MED, EDD), probably because they were contextually restricted to the field of textiles. Nevertheless it has to be stated that the Old English terms would have yielded ME <blew>, a form which is in fact attested, but always given as a spelling variation of the French borrowing (ODEE 102, OED s.v.). In my view the latter might possibly be on account of the fact that it then rhymed with *hewe* 'hue, appearance', a characteristic of colors. Furthermore, the loan, which is first recorded around 1300, is applied to firmament/heaven and water in its early occurrences and therefore differs from the confined Old English term. Its present spelling *blue* became common only after 1700. It covers hues from pale blue to leaden (e.g. the color of the skin or complexion affected by a blow or severe cold), and thus combines the sense of L *caeruleus* with that of *lividus*. It has a variety of referents (e.g. sky, deep sea, flowers, pigment, dye, enamel, cloth) and is not collocationally restricted (Barnickel 1975: 84). It ultimately became the BLUE basic color term, presumably because the specialized Old English terms had never played such a role in the language of the Anglo-Saxon population as a whole (Biggam 1995: 63). Its importance as such is corroborated by the fact that already in Middle English it is the hyperonym to ME *asur, inde, perse* and *murrei*, that it shows an exceptionally developed word-formation, and that it mostly occurs on its own without any modifier or qualifier. Only if a particular shade is to be expressed, it is prefixed by words such as *dark, deep, azure, ultramarine, royal*, or *navy*. It is part of many idioms (e.g. *once in a blue moon*) and is used metaphorically in the sense 'sad'.

- ME *blō* [131] 'blackish blue, livid, leaden-colored'

  The Middle English loan of ON *blā* 'livid' around 1250 chiefly collocates with face and sea-water. It means 'dark, discolored, black-and-blue, livid', when applied to bodies, and 'bluish gray, lead- or ash-colored', when it is used with other objects. Moreover, it conveys a negative notion, as it usually is a sign of something repellent and ugly, almost hostile. The expression, however, died out in literary England during the 16^{th} or 17^{th} century due to the lexical replacement by *bleu*, which became more and more frequent in the specific collocations of *blō*, e.g. when denoting the sickly appearance of the human body or in the comparison *bleu as led* (Barnickel 1975: 263, endnote 56, Burnley 1976: 41).

[130] MED I 972.
[131] MED I 984.

The northern form of the word, ME *bla(a)*, is still preserved in Scotland, Ireland, and northern England - in parts of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Lincoln, and Northampton, as *blae, blea* 'of a blueish tinge, lead-colored, livid' (EDD I 285) and as *bloa* in Yorkshire (EDD I 303).

- ME *pers* [132] 'blue, purplish'

  The archaic expression was borrowed as a color term from OF *pers(e)* 'blue', which derives from LL *persus* 'Persian'. According to Barnickel (1975: 96), it was brought into English along with the *Romance of the Rose* and is only found in the works of Chaucer and Lydgate. In early writers it denotes the pale blue color of the sky, whereas later it was often taken, after Italian, as a dark obscure blue or purplish black. The combination ME *persebleu* [133] 'purplish blue', which was mentioned in 1490, stresses that fact that the term is only a hyponym of the generic term *blue*.

- ME *asūr, azur(e)* [134], ModE *azure*

  The term goes back to OF *asur, azur*, ML *azura*, and ultimately to Arabic *(al-)lāzward* and Persian *lāzhward* 'lapis lazuli, blue'. The initial *l-* was dropped in the European languages, because it was mistaken as part of the Arabic definite article *al*. As the French term already exhibited a color sense at the time of the borrowing (FEW XIX 107), the name of the stone as well as the color term are likely to have been taken over simultaneously.
  In Middle English, it referred to the color of the stone, to glamorous clothing, and interior decorations, and was thus connected to fabrics and dyes. It furthermore represents the heraldic term for 'blue' from the 15^{th} century on.
  In Modern English, it is chiefly a literary term (e.g. the stereotypical phrase *azure eyes*). "Because of the very frequent application of the term, in literature and poetry, to indicate the sky or its color, there seems to be an inclination by some people to believe that Azure means "Sky Blue," sometimes qualified as a deep tone, as in the zenith; but such a supposition is, unfortunately, erroneous."[135] The fact that we find the combination ME *asur bleu*, ModE *azure-blue* shows that it is only a hyponym of *blue*.

- ME *glauk, glawke* [136] 'blue, gray'

  The term was adopted from L *glaucus*, which derives from Greek ´ 'bluish-green, gray', but has meanwhile become obsolete. Of the same origin, but loaned in the 17^{th} century, is ModE *glaucous*, which is chiefly used in natural history, especially in botanics, and denotes a 'dull or pale green color passing into grayish blue'.

- ME *inde* [137] 'having a deep blue or indigo color'

  The term represents a borrowing from OF *inde* 'very dark purplish blue, indigo dye', which derives from L **indium* for *indicum*, literally 'Indian', which goes back to Greek ´ 'the blue Indian dye', literally 'the Indian (substance)', which represents the substantival use of ´ 'Indian'. The Latin word carried a hue sense and was especially applied in painting (André 1949: 292). The French form has been used as a color term since 1175 (Greimas [2]2001: 317),

[132] MED VIII 840.
[133] MED VII 840.
[134] MED I 475.
[135] Maerz/Paul [2]1950: 149.
[136] MED IV 152, Kerttula 2002: 77.
[137] MED V 157.

whereas the English color adjective is not mentioned before 1359/60. Barnickel (1975: 96) points out that the popular term in fashion and painting is a hyponym of ME *bleu*, as we come across the combination *inde bleu*. It is, however, not as restricted as *asur* and even extends to purple areas. The latter results from the fact that natural indigo - in contrast to synthetic one - can also produces a mixture of blue and red (Grierson 1986: 212). In the 16^{th} century the term was replaced by *indebaudias* 'indigo dye', which was in turn soon replaced by ModE *indigo* (OED s.v. *inde*).

- ModE *indigo* 'purple-blue'

  The term was loaned with its blue Indian dyestuff and hue sense into Early Modern English. The usual form in the 16^{th} and 17^{th} century was *indico*, which was borrowed from Spanish, whereas *indigo*, which came into general use only after the middle of the 17^{th} century, is Portuguese. Both Romanic expressions go back to L *indicum* as well. The independent color adjective is first recorded in 1856 and has originally denoted a lighter and brighter color (Green-Armytage 1980: 169).

- ME *venet* [138] 'water color, grayish-blue'

  The rare and obsolete expression was loaned from L *venetus* 'Venice Blue' and is mentioned as the color of the sails of a spy-ship, serving for camouflage purposes (Maerz/Paul [2]1950: 185).

- ModE *ceruleous* [139] 'deep blue'

  The expression is a borrowing of the Latin color term *caeruleus* 'dark blue, dark green', from *caelum* 'sky', which was especially applied to the sky and the sea, but occasionally also to leaves and fields (André 1949: 162-171). The name, which again puts emphasis on the prototypical referent of the color concept, was replaced by *cerulean*, which is chiefly poetical and means 'deep blue'. Another poetical equivalent is *cerule*, which goes back to L *caerulus*, a variation of *caeruleus*, and was first applied by Spenser in 1591.

- ModE *cyan* 'greenish blue'

  The elliptic form of *cyan-blue* represents a combined form of Greek ´ 'dark blue (mineral) and ´ 'dark blue'. First applied in 1879, it is especially used in the designations of certain bluish salts and minerals. Nowadays, it plays an important role in the printing industry, as it represents one of the shades in four-color printing. Of an earlier date, namely 1688, is ModE *cyaneous* 'dark blue, azure', which was directly borrowed from L *cyaneus* 'dark blue'.

9. Unclear cases:

- ME *wa(t)chet*, *waget* [140] 'sort of blue cloth'

  Motivation of formation: The archaic expression refers to the name of a fabric dyed with the specific color that was borrowed from AN *wachet* 'watchet, blue cloth' (AND 886). However, as the OED (s.v. *watchet*) points out, it is not clear whether the term denotes a particular fabric or a color. Its first application by Chaucer in 1386 can denote both a light blue color or a garment of this particular shade. An independent adjective meaning 'light blue, sky-blue' that can also function as a qualifier if prefixed to blue is attested in 1496.

[138] Krieg 1976: 80, OED s.v. *venet*
[139] Collins 1995: 109.
[140] Stratmann 1974: 662.

2.6 PURPLE

2.6.1 Cultural Background

The color was already known as a dye in the Bronze Age (around 1250 BC), before it became an important part in the textile trade of the Phoenicians and the imperial color in Rome (Hope/Walch 1990: 211). It was the first dye to be produced synthetically and, especially under the Victorians, turned into a color of aristocracy and snobbishness. It is also used as a mourning color for royalty and in religion. In daily life, it occurs in various flowers and fruits such as lavender, plums, and grapes. It carries a favorable connotation in the sense that a highly elaborate piece of prose is described as *purple* in English. However, as Clough (1930: 608) points out, the concept itself is not very common anywhere in literature.

2.6.2 Names

As far as this color concept is concerned, we come across various tints and a certain fuzziness regarding the exact definitions of the various expressions (cf. Kottinger (1979: 152): "Farbunschärfe des Purpurs"). "Americans fairly consistently use the term *purple* to designate the end of the spectrum that continues into *ultra-violet*, and which is generally known as *violet* on this side of the Atlantic."[141] It is, however, clear that their areas overlap and that in common language it is often not important to exactly differentiate the names in order to communicate.

1. Iconym: **"gleaming, glittering, shining"**

   - OE *basu, baso* [142] 'crimson, scarlet, purple'
     Motivation of formation: As mentioned earlier, the specialized dye-term probably stems from an IE root **bhā, bhō, bhə-* 'gleaming, glittering, shining'. In the course of English language history, it was gradually replaced by *purple*.

2. Iconym: **"purple/red-dyed cloth"**

   - OE *pællen, pellen* [143], ME *pallen* 'made of valuable fabric, purple'
     Motivation of formation: The expression represents the adjectival derivation of OE *pæl, pell* 'costly cloak or robe, pall, covering', which is adopted from L *pallium* 'pall, coverlet, curtain, cloak'. It is especially applied to fine and rich material, especially as used for the robes of persons of high rank, which were often clad in purple or red. It was, therefore, a specialized term to denote the purple color of luxury garments (Biggam 1999: 118). In the course of time, however, it began to lose the specific sense of 'purple cloth' and came to be used in the more general sense of 'rich clothing'.

3. Iconym: **"red or a different color" + "red"**

   - OE *brūnbasu* [144] 'dark purple'

[141] Spence 1989: 472, footnote 2.
[142] TOE 146, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 68. However, as Krieg (1979: 431) points out, it is likely to have denoted not 'violet' but 'imperial purple', a shade which is now considered 'red'.
[143] TOE 146, Holthausen 1974: 245.
[144] TOE 146, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 129.

- OE *rēad-basu* [145] 'reddish-purple'
  Motivation of formation: Here, as mentioned before, we are concerned with copulative compounds. The motive can be ascribed to the need of expressing a hue that lacked a basic color term in Old English.

4. Iconym: **"blue" + "red"**

   - OE *blēo-rēad* [146] 'blue-red, purple'
     Motivation of formation: The term also represents a copulative compound and consists of the two colors 'blue' and 'red', which are juxtaposed to indicate that the desired reference lies between the two. It appears that a need is felt for a more specific lexical representation in this borderline area. In the course of the English language, this lexical gap was filled by the basic color term *purple*.

5. Iconym: **"red" + "blue"**

   - OE *basu hǣwen* [147] 'of purple color or hue'
     The item glosses L *indicum* 'blue, blue pigment' (cf. OEC), which can be explained by the fact that, as mentioned before, natural indigo could produce a blend of blue and red as well. However, Biggam (1997: 83) points out that in the underlying Latin manuscript *rubeaque* 'and red, madder dye' occurs next to *indicum*, and *basu*, which may originally have glossed the former, might mistakenly have been transferred to a glossary as a translation of *indicum*.

6. Iconym: **"whelk" + "purple/red"**

   - OE *weolucbasu* [148] 'purple'
   - OE *weolocen-rēad* 'scarlet, purple'
   - OE *weoloc-rēad, wi(o)loc-rēad*, ME *welk red* 'scarlet, purple'
     Motivation of formation: As stated earlier, the determinant of these three compounds refers to the shell-fish, from which a red or purple pigment is obtained. The expressions are likely to be restricted to the field of dyeing and clothing.

7. Other Expressions:[149]

   - ModE *amethyst* 'purple violet'
     Motivation of formation: The term refers to the color resembling that of the stone whose name was loaned into Middle English from OF *ametiste, amatiste*, which was adopted from L *amethystus*, itself from Greek ´ 'remedy against intoxication', from ´ 'wine', as the stone was thought to prevent drunkenness. In the 16^{th} century the spelling was refashioned after Latin. According to the FEW (XXIV 436), the French term did not acquire its color sense before 1817. The English term, however, was used as early as 1572 to describe the heraldic color of the amethyst, 'purple violet', and became an independent color adjective in 1601 (OED s.v.).

[145] TOE 146, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 787.
[146] TOE 146, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 109. However, the entry *blēo* 'blue' is only to be found in Bosworth/Toller (1898: 109), whereas all other dictionaries display it as 'color, shape, appearance, form'.
[147] TOE 146, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 68.
[148] TOE 146, Pollington 1993: 156.
[149] Unless otherwise stated, the items are again taken from the list in Maerz/Paul (^{2}1950: 188ff.).

- ModE *hyacinth* 'blue or purple'

  Motivation of formation: The earliest forms in English, *jacincte, jacynct, jacynth*, were adopted from OF *jacincte*. In the 16^{th} century, however, the term was reintroduced, in the more classical form, from F *hyacinthe*, itself from L *hyacinthus* 'hyacinth', which stems from Greek ´ 'purple or dark-red flower', 'precious stone', a word of pre-Hellenic, unclear origin. Neither Kristol (1978) nor Greimas (^{2}2001) record a color sense for the French term.
  The metonymical extension, which is first mentioned in 1891, refers to the purplish blue color resembling that of a common variety of the flower. It is chiefly used as a poetic or rhetorical epithet of hair, after the Homerian model 'locks like the hyacinthine flower' (André 1949: 197). The development might have been influenced by *hyacinthine*, which was borrowed as a color term from L *hyacinthinus* 'of the color of a hyacinth' only a few years earlier.

- ModE *modena* [150] 'intense purple'

  Motivation of formation: The term, which was first applied in 1822, refers to the name of an Italian city. It was a prominent color in Seljuk and Ottoman mural ceramics (Hope/Walch 1990: 271).

- ModE *plum* 'dark reddish purple'

  Motivation of formation: The name of the fruit, which had been borrowed into Old English from ML *prūna*, for L *prūnum* 'plum', and did not exhibit a color sense (cf. André 1949), was metonymically extended to describe other objects with the same semantic feature from 1872 on. It is often found in the context of clothes and cosmetics.

- ModE *damson* 'dark purple'

  Motivation of formation: The expression also refers to the color resembling that of the fruit whose name is loaned into Middle English from L *Damascēnum*, short for *prūnum Damascēnum* 'plum of Damascus', a variety of the fruit that was introduced earlier into Greece and Italy from Syria. The color adjective is first mentioned in 1661 and is especially applied to clothes.

8. Loanwords:

- OE *purpuren* [151] 'purple', ME *purpre, purper, purpur*, ModE *purpure*

  As stated earlier, the term represents the adjectival derivation of the Old English noun *purpure* 'red/purple cloth', which was loaned into the English language from L *purpura*, itself from Greek ´ 'shellfish that yielded the Tyrian purple dye, dye itself, cloth dyed therewith'. As pointed out by André (1949: 90), the Latin and Greek terms had a color sense.
  In its earliest use, around 900, OE *purpure* was only used as a noun referring to garments and to denote the distinguishing color of emperors' and kings' dresses, especially in the context of high status and wealth. The adjectival or attributive use was expressed by its oblique case *purpuran* 'of purple', or later by the derivational adjective *purpuren*. The loss of the final syllable of either of these gave the 12^{th}-century term *purpre*, which coincided with OF *purpre*. According to Casson (1997: 231), the term was restricted to the clothing of royalty until late Middle English. In 1562 *purpure* was employed in heraldry, a field in which it survives

[150] Hope/Walch 1990: 205.
[151] TOE 146, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 779.

to the present day.
Various derivations that go back to L *purpureus* 'purple' are found as well, e.g. *purpureous*, *purpureal*, and *purpurean*, and furthermore *purpurate*, which is loaned from L *purpurātus* 'clad in purple'.

- ONhb *purple* [152] 'purple, dark crimson', EME *purpel, purpul*, ModE *purple* 'color obtained by mixing red and blue'

  The expression is a dissimilated form of either OE *purpuren* or *purpuran* and appeared first in adjectival or attributive use. In Middle English times, the term is still vaguely applied to various shades of red and is thus a hyponym of *red*. However, a development towards independence is already noticeable, as the compound *purple-hewed*, which is recorded in 1475, is applied in a collocation other than with textiles (Barnickel 1975: 95). Nowadays it denotes a mixture of red and blue in various proportions (OED s.v.). The PURPLE basic color term is used with a variety of referents, features various derivations and compounds (e.g. *purpled, empurple, pansy-purple*), and is also used metaphorically, as in *purple passion*.

- ME and ModE *violet* 'bluish-purple'

  The expression was already taken over as a color term from OF *violet* 'violet', the diminutive of *viole*, the flower, whose name derives from L *viola*. André (1949: 197) mentions a color use of the Latin term and Greimas (^{2}2001: 621) records the first color sense in French for 1200. The independent English adjective is not listed before 1370, which was, in its early use, collocationally restricted to woven fabrics of this color (OED s.v.). According to Barnickel (1975: 97), it is first applied in Wyclif's 1380 Bible Translation, in which it translates L *hyacinthus* and presents itself as a hyponym of *bleu*. It is used in reference to veins and cloth only sporadically, since *purple* was still the dominating and more salient expression (Turmann 1934: 22). In the course of time it has become more prominent, in common language and especially in the field of fashion, as it can be applied to various objects and function as a qualifier of other colors (e.g. *violet blue, violet black*).

- ModE *lilac* 'pale purple'

  The color, which is "slightly more intense than lavender, but less reddened than violet"[153] refers to the color of the blossom of the hardy shrub. Its name was borrowed into English from F *lilac*, Sp *lilac*, loaned from Arabic *līlāk*, which is adopted from Persian *līlak*, a variation of *nīlak* 'bluish', ultimately going back to Sanskrit *nīlah* 'of a dark color, dyed with indigo'. The French term was used as a color adjective as early as 1763 (FEW XIX 108), whereas the English adjective is not mentioned before 1801. The borrowed color use might further be strengthened by the fashion-related first occurrences (Barnickel 1975: 51), a field in which it is still chiefly applied.

  The dialectal form ME *lelacke*, ModE *laylock* 'the color lilac', which appears in various spellings in some parts of England, chiefly Northumberland, Yorkshire, Cumberland, Lincoln, and Wiltshire, as well as in America (EDD III 546), is of the same origin, but came into the language via Turkish *leilaq*.

- ModE *lavender* 'pale purple'

[152] OED s. v. *purple*
[153] Hope/Walch 1990: 194.

The expression refers to the name of the flower, which was loaned into Middle English from AN *lavendre*, for **lavendle*, deriving from ML *lavendula*, which is of obscure origin. According to the OED (s.v.), some connect it with It *lavanda* 'washing' from L *lavāre* 'lave, wash', the assumption being that the name refers to the use of the plant either for perfuming baths or as laid among freshly washed linen. Others see its variation, *livendula*, in connection with L *līvēre* 'to be livid or bluish'.

The independent color adjective in the sense 'of the color of lavender-flowers' is first recorded in 1882, whereas the French term acquired its color sense already around 1600 (FEW V 219).

- ModE *mauve* 'reddish purple'

  The term was loaned as a color term from French *mauve* 'mallow, mallow-color', which derives from L *malva* 'mallow', in the second half of the 19^{th} century. It also refers to the color of a bright but delicate purple dye obtained from coal-tar aniline and is very popular in the field of textiles and interior decorations.

- ModE *Tyrian (Purple)* 'purple, crimson'

  The expression is especially used in reference or allusion to the purple or crimson dye anciently made from certain mollusks at Tyre, an ancient Phoenician city of the Mediterranean (in present-day Lebanon), which used to be the center of extensive commerce. It is loaned from L *Tyrius* 'of or belonging to, native of, or made in Tyre', the adjectival derivation of *Tyrus* 'Tyre', which already carries a color sense (André 1949: 103).

2.7 WHITE

2.7.1 Cultural Background

White, an achromatic color, reflects all light without absorption and is thus devoid of any distinctive hue. The antonym of black is the color of many natural phenomena such as snow, clouds, various flowers, and milk, as well as of man-made products like paper, refined sugar, spotless white linen etc. It mostly bears a positive connotation, an association of something good, pure, innocent, and clean. In application to hair it is equated with being old and wise. The white dove of peace is a symbol of transmutation. White dresses at celebrations such as communion or marriage are also the sign of a new beginning, as are the white mourning clothes in Japan (Hope/Walch 1990: 104). However, white can also refer to aggression, e.g. when one thinks of *Moby Dick*, white sharks, or the Ku-Klux Klan.

2.7.2 Names

As the color system in Old English was based on brightness and not on hue, it knew a vast amount of expressions for light and brightness (e.g. *bēorht, lēoht, scīr, torht, sunne*), which are twice as numerous as those for darkness. It would, however, be impossible to take all of them into account, but, as Mead (1899: 175) states, it is difficult to decide where to draw the line of exclusion.

1. Iconym: **"shining"**

   - OE *hwīt* [154], ME *whit*, ModE *white*

[154] TOE 145, Holthausen 1974: 182; IEW 629.

Motivation of formation: The term and its cognates OFris, OS *hwīt*, OHG *(h)wîz*, ON *hvítr*, Goth *hweits* go back to Gmc *χwītaz* and ultimately to IE **k̂ueid-* 'shining, bright, white', an extension of IE **k̂uei-*, which itself is probably an extension of **k̂eu-* 'shining, bright'. In Old English, the expression was used for white objects such as snow, hair, and feathers, but mostly suggested luminosity or reflectivity, e.g. when applied to light, roofs, helmets, gems, silver, and angels. The Middle English term already had a primary hue sense, but still conveyed a notion of brightness and brilliance (Casson 1994: 227). The major white-related term was used to describe pure white objects and was applied to white animal hair and bird plumage, several flowers (e.g. lilies, daisies), and marble as well. In connection with human beings it could refer to health, thus symbolically to holiness, as well as to blond hair or hair whitened by old age. It was, however, as Barnickel (1975: 85) points out, not used to express the paleness of the human face as it is the case in Modern English.

Nowadays it can denote whiteness, paleness, and brightness and is again especially applied whenever the basic denotation is desired, which is one explanation for why it has become the basic color term. It is, furthermore, part of many fixed idioms and is used metaphorically (e.g. *a white lie*). The term exhibits exceptionally extensive derivation and it is used with various premodifiers and determinants, many of which have already been created in the Old English period, e.g. OE *eallhwīt, mærehwīt, þurhhwīt* 'pure white', *snaw hwīt* 'snow-white', *meolchwīt* 'milk-white', ME *lilīe-whīt*, ModE *pearl-white, dead-white, off-white*.

- OE *blāc* [155] 'shining, white'

  Motivation of formation: The underlying IE term **bhlĕiĝ-*, *bhlīĝ-* 'shining', an extension of **bhlĕiĝ-* and *bhel-* 'shining, white', is widely reflected in the Germanic languages. The expression is, according to Mead (1899: 177), merely an ablaut form of OE *blīcan* 'to shine' and with some probability hardly means white at all, but emphasizes brightness as it is applied to fire, fire-light, flame, lightning, or starlight. It is, however, also used to describe the dull color of the moon or the paleness of the skin in disturbed states of mind such as anxiety, shock, and fear.

  The southern development of OE *blāc*, ME *blōk* 'pale, wan, pallid', originally denoted a pale shade implying deficiency or loss of color, most frequently of the ruddy hue of health or of the full green of vegetation. It was almost collocationally restricted to complexion, a fact which probably caused its supplement by *pale*, which could be applied to a variety of things. However, soon it was transferred to its meaning 'black' maybe because both sensations are characterized by a loss or deficiency of color. As the terms for 'black' and 'white, pale' are homonymous in southern texts, it is, however, not always easy to differentiate which one is meant in a given context.

  ME *blake* [156] 'pale, wan, pallid' represents the northern descendant of OE *blāc* and is now obsolete except in parts of Northern England in its meaning 'yellow, of a golden color' (see 2.3.2).

- OE *blæc(e)* [157], ME *blēche* 'pale, pallid, of fair complexion'

  Motivation of formation: The minor expression is probably a variant form of OE *blāc* 'shining, white' and is collocationally restricted to complexion.

[155] Holthausen 1974: 25, IEW 156 .
[156] EDD I 287.
[157] Holthausen 1974: 25.

The regularly developed form ModE *bleach* was displaced by ModE *bleak*, which is not recorded before the 16^{th} century. The latter was synonymous with *bleche, bleike/blaike, blake, bloke* in earlier use, but its etymology cannot easily be determined. *Bleke* 'bleak' may have been the northern form of *bleche* 'bleach', a variation quite frequent in other Modern English words (cf. *church* vs. *kirk*). It is also possible that it was a 16^{th} century spelling of ON *bleike, blaike*, or even of the northern dialectal form *blake*. It could have resulted from a blending of *bleach*, with *bleike* or *blake* as well (cf. OED s.v.). It is, however, obsolete in the sense 'pale, pallid, wan' except in parts of Lincoln, Leicester, Northampton, Warwick, Bedford, and Huntingdon (EDD I 295).

- OE *blanc* [158] 'blank, white, gray'

  Motivation of formation: Deriving from IE **bheleg*, an extension of **bhel-* 'shining', Gmc **blanka-* 'shining white' occurs as OS *blanc*, OHG *blanch*, and OE *blanc*, which are almost exclusively used of horses. The corresponding noun is OE *blanca*, which denotes a steed that shines in the sun (Mead 1899: 177) and thus refers to the salient color of the animal. ME *blank(e)* no longer functions as a color adjective but is only employed as a noun meaning 'horse, steed', thus exhibiting a shift of meaning from 'a horse or steed of white color' to a 'horse or steed in general'.

2. Iconym **"light, pale, colorless"**

   - OE *blāt* [159] 'livid, pale, ghastly'

     Motivation of formation: The term and its cognate OHG *bleizza* 'paleness' go back to IE **bhlәido-s* 'light, pale'. It is used to describe a lack of color and brightness when applied to the face and wounds, but it is also attributed to tears and fire (cf. König 1957).

3. Iconym **"dark, gray, brown"**

   - OE *hār* [160], ME *hoor, hor*, ModE *hoar* 'white, grayish white, gray'

     Motivation of formation: The expression and its cognates OS, OHG *hēr* 'old' and ON *hārr* 'hoary, old' can be traced back to Gmc **χairaz*, from the root **χai*, and ultimately to IE **k̂ei-ro* 'dark, gray, brown', from the root **k̂ei-*, which is particularly used in color terms to denote dark hues. In Old English, it is especially applied to hair and beards which are gray or white from age, but also to frost, withered trees, and mold-covered food. In the course of English language history it has become - in its color sense - collocationally restricted to hair.[161] It was gradually supplanted by ModE *hoary*, a derivation of *hoar* by the suffix *-y* first recorded in 1530 (OED s.v.).

[158] Bosworth/Toller 1898: 108, IEW 125.
[159] Holthausen 1974: 26, IEW 160.
[160] Holthausen 1974: 149, IEW 541.
[161] Barnickel 1975: 94. As Biggam (1993: 42) states, "Chaucer's restricted usage presaged the very narrow and archaic occurrences of *hoary* in Modern English. It may well be headed for extinction." However, the term survives in the natural phenomenon *hoar-frost* and in the plant *hoarhound/horehound*, which are fixed expressions, though, and do not refer to a specific color.

4. Iconym **"a certain white object" + "white"**

   - OE *snāw-hwīt* [162], ME *snou-whīt*, ModE *snow-white*

     Motivation of formation: The determinative compound was motivated by the prototypical white object snow and denotes 'pure white'. It is attested as early as 1000 and is, aside from literature, found in specific fish or bird names (e.g. *snow-white salmon*). The adjectival derivative ModE *snowy* [163] 'snow-white' came into existence in 1590 and is not only applied to cloth, birds, or clouds, but functions as a qualifier of *white* or *whiteness* as well.

   - OE *meolchwīt* [164], ME *milk-whīt*, ModE *milk-white*

     Motivation of formation: The expression, which was used in literature as early as 1000, refers to the salient color of milk. ME *milkī*, [165] ModE *milky* 'milk-white', the adjectival derivation from the noun, is mentioned at the end of the 14^{th} century. Whereas in poetical use both expressions denote a pure white color, in prose and botanical descriptions they rather refer to white resembling the shade of milk diffused through water (OED s.v.). They are especially attributed to the body and show a parallel to the Latin term *lacteus*, which is used especially in reference to the body as well.

   - ME *lilīe-whīt* [166], ModE *lily-white*

     Motivation of formation: The determinative compound was a part of the stock description of the beautiful lady in Middle English, as the lily was often regarded the prototypical or "standard exemplum of whiteness."[167] Pale beauty was therefore a sign of purity and innocence. The metonymical extension of the flower, ModE *lily* 'lily-white', is recorded as an independent color term at the beginning of the 16^{th} century and was primarily applied to the face, skin, and body of the lady-love. It is, however, of minor importance nowadays.

5. Iconym: **"silver"**

   - ME and ModE *silver* [168]

     Motivation of formation: The color adjective is motivated by the lustrous white color of the metal and is first recorded in 1386. It is chiefly poetical and applied to white hair or skin in order to emphasize the brilliance of the respective object. It always bears a pleasing effect (Clough 1930: 609).

   - ModE *argent* [169] 'silvery white'

     Motivation of formation: The entity sense 'silver, money', which represents a loan of F *argent*, a derivation of L *argentum* 'silver', was metonymically extended to denote a silvery white color. Whereas the English color adjective is first attested in 1590, the French word did not have a color sense before 1678/1679 (Kerttula 2002: 121). The Latin color term *argenteus* 'silvery white' (André 1949: 41), might have influenced this development. However, the archaic and chiefly poetic expression has gradually been replaced by the inherited English

[162] TOE 145, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 891.
[163] Collins 1995: 1033.
[164] TOE 145, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 679.
[165] MED VI 474.
[166] MED V 1052.
[167] Biggam 1993: 48.
[168] MED X 894, Collins 1995: 1033.
[169] Pratt 1898: 112, IEW 64.

term *silver* and can only be found in heraldry denoting the silver or white color in armorial bearings.

6. Other Expressions:[170]

- OE *fām̄ig* [171] 'foamy'

  Motivation of formation: As Mead (1899: 176) points out, the term certainly suggests color, but is more often used in a literal sense. The same is true of OE *fām̄ig-heals* 'foamy-necked', which is applied to ships.

- OE *wederblāc* [172] 'bleached by exposure'

  Motivation of formation: The rather infrequent glossary term represents a combination of the determinant that refers to the natural phenomenon 'weather' and the determinate 'white' and thus indicates a specific nuance of 'white', namely a shade 'bleached by exposure to the weather'.

- ModE *ivory*

  Motivation of formation: The expression refers to the shade of white resembling that of the tusks of various animals (e.g. elephant, walrus), of which many very valuable ornaments and articles of use are made. The metonymical extension was first employed by Spenser in 1590 and is especially applied to denote the whiteness of the human skin. Only five years later *ivory-white* came into existence (OED s.v.). Aside from their color sense, both terms also convey a notion of value.
  The name of the material was borrowed into Middle English from OF *yvoire*, from L *eboreus*, the adjectival form of *ebu-, ebo-* 'ivory', which came into the language from Egyptian, probably through the Phoenicians. However, no color sense is attested for the Old French expression. According to Kerttula (2002: 119), it is possible that the Latin secondary derivations of 'ivory', *eburnus, eburneus* 'white as ivory', and the French comparison *blanc comme l'ivoire* 'white as ivory' (dating from 1165) stimulated the English color use.

- ModE *alabaster*

  Motivation of formation: The independent color adjective, which is especially used to describe the excellent beauty of the body, is first mentioned in 1580. Before that, it was used attributively to denote the whiteness resembling that of the stone whose name was loaned from OF *alabastre*, deriving from L *alabaster, -trum* and Greek ´ ´, which probably originated in an ancient Egyptian village (OED s.v.). Neither André (1949) nor the FEW record a color sense for Latin or Old French.

- ModE *cream* 'yellowish-white'

  Motivation of formation: The elliptic form of *cream colour* is not recorded before 1861, although the color sense was already known to Shakespeare. It is particularly applied to the fur of animals such as horses and rabbits, and has become a popular textile term. The name of the substance was loaned into Middle English from OF *cresme*, which is a blend of LL *crām̄a*, itself probably of Gaulish origin, and Ecclesiastical L *chrisma* 'chrism'. The FEW does not mention a color use for Old French.

[170] The items are again taken from the list in Maerz/Paul ([2]1950: 188ff.) unless otherwise stated.
[171] Bosworth/Toller 1898: 270.
[172] TOE 145, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 1182.

7. Loanwords:

- ME *blaunk, bla(u)nche* [173] 'white'

  The expression was loaned as a color term from OF *blanc, blaunche* 'white, gray or white (horses)', which itself is from Frankish **blank* 'shining, bright' and ultimately from IE *bhleg-* 'shining, gleaming'. It is therefore cognate with the inherited English term OE *blanc*, which is collocationally restricted to horses. In Modern English, the expression is obsolete in the sense 'white', except in specific uses such as *blank plumb* 'white lead', *blank falcon* a 'white hawk', i.e. one in its third year (OED s.v. *blank*). The female form, which was only used in specific contexts (e.g. *blanch fever, blanch powder, blanch sauce*), only survives in heraldry and in historic forms such as *blanch farm, blench ferme, blanch duty* or *blanch holding*.

- ME *pāle* [174] 'pale, whitish, yellowish'

  The loan of OF *pale*, deriving from L *pallidus* 'pale', from *pallēre* 'to be pale', is mentioned as early as 1300 (OED s.v.) and has since then rapidly displaced inherited terms (e.g. ME *blok*) in the field of expressing the unhealthy state of the human face and body as affected by death, sickness, or passion. The Latin term might have been supportive as can be seen in various scientific texts (Barnickel 1975: 265, endnote 82). Whereas the term is still somehow confined to complexion in Middle English, it has become an important modifier and qualifier of other color terms in Modern English (e.g. *pale blue*). Several derivations point to its fast integration (e.g. *pale-faced, paling, straw-pale*).

  The direct loan of L *pallidus* 'pale, pallid' is not recorded before 1590 and is, except in botany, chiefly poetical before 1800 (OED s.v.). We find derivations from the Latin term as well (e.g. *pallor, impallid*).

- ME *bleik, blaik* [175] 'pale, pallid, sallow, white'

  ON *bleik* 'shining, pale', which is cognate with OE *blāc* 'shining, white', was loaned into the English language in 1300. Chiefly referring to the face in a state of fear, illness, or envy, it has always borne negative connotations, which might have influenced its restricted usage and subsequent displacement by the word of French origin.

- ModE *albescent* [176] 'growing or becoming white, shading or passing into white'

  The expression is loaned from the Latin color term *albescens, albescentem*, the present participle of *albescere* 'to grow white', from *albus* 'white'. As stated by André (1949: 228), the Latin word was used only in poetry. It is of minor importance in English as well.

- ModE *marmorean* [177] 'of the color of marble'

  Adopted in the 17^{th} century, the term goes back to L *marmoreus*, from *marmor* 'marble', which was used especially with reference to the body. Beside its color designation it also conveys a notion of hardness and value.

[173] MED I 959.
[174] MED VII 567, Collins 1995: 1033.
[175] MED I 961.
[176] Kerttula 2002: 239.
[177] Kerttula 2002: 239.

2.8 GRAY

2.8.1 Cultural Background

Gray, the achromatic color between white and black, which is also a mixture of both, is the color of the hair of elderly people and of animal skin and fur (e.g. mouse, wolf, hound, goose, horse, falcon), often serving as protective mimicry. Ash, rocks and stones, lead, and iron are gray natural materials, whereas plants or flowers of this shade hardly ever occur. It is also attributed to fog and rainy weather, in which it conveys a notion of desolation, monotony, and misery. It can, however, also carry more positive connotations, e.g. if one thinks of the wisdom and dignity of age.

2.8.2 Names

As far as Old English is concerned, the color concept GRAY was thoroughly studied by Biggam (1998). As she points out, it is a salient color in *Beowulf*, especially applied to elderly men, rocks and stones, weapons and mail-coats. However, specialized vocabulary and compound color terms are rare due to the lack of this color sensation in crafts of dyeing or cloth-production and art of painting.

1. Iconym **"gleam, glimmer, shine"**

   - OE *grǣ̄g, grē̄g* [178], ME *grei*, ModE *grey, gray* [179]

     Motivation of formation: The expression and its cognates ON *grā̄r*, OFris *grē̄*, OHG *grā̄o* 'gray' derive from Gmc **grǣ̄waz*, itself from IE **ĝhrē̄g-u̯i̯o-s*, and stems ultimately from the root IE **ĝher-, ĝhrē̄-, ĝherə-* 'to gleam, glimmer, shine'.

     In Old English, the term is applied to human hair, animal furs or feathers (e.g. geese, wolves, swans, horses), and stones. Aside from its hue sense, it also conveyed a reflective and luminous sense if used with reference to water, wave, iron, sword, spearhead, mail-coat, hoar-frost (Mead 1899: 189-199, Barley 1974). Biggam (1998: 83), however, denies that shininess was an essential semantic feature of the word and suggests that it expresses a dull rather than a shiny shade, as at an earlier date it denoted 'dirty colored' or 'dull colored' of any hue.[180]
     Compounds are found as well, but they are rather infrequent and contextually restricted (e.g. *flodgrǣ̄g, flintgrǣ̄g* 'dark gray' as a picturesque description of the sea, *deorcegrǣ̄g, dungrǣ̄g* 'dark gray', *æscgrǣ̄g* 'ashy gray', *isengrǣ̄g* 'iron gray')[181]. The Middle English term exhibits a primary hue sense, but may also

[178] TOE 147, Holthausen 1974: 135, IEW 441.

[179] Despite the fact that some people used to consider differences between the two graphic forms, e.g. that *grey* denoted a more delicate or a lighter tint than *gray*, that *gray* was a 'warmer' color, or that it had a mixture of red or brown, the words are both etymologically and phonetically one, thus exhibit the same signification. In the twentieth century, *grey* has become the established spelling in the United Kingdom, whilst *gray* is standard in the United States (cf. OED).

[180] According to her, there is no firm evidence that the term meant 'shiny' in these collocations, as they all could refer to objects which can be gray in color as well. She follows Wood's argumentation (1902: 52, 74-75) that *grǣ̄g* could also go back to an IE base **gher-* 'cut, scratched, marked (with a contrasting color)', which is represented in the sense 'colored, dyed' by Greek í 'color, dye, tint' and in the sense 'grease, smear, stain' by Welsh *gori* 'suppurate', OE *gor* 'dirt, dung', ON *gormr* 'filth', and Lith *greī̄mas* 'slimy sediment'. All these expressions rather refer to an unsaturated, dull hue.

[181] All expressions are listed in the TOE (147).

describe glossy grayness, especially when it refers to marble (Barnickel 1975: 87). In analogy to the *splendor armorum* the term is also used for the *splendor oculorum*, the brightness of the eyes.[182] In Modern English, the GRAY basic color term can denote all the nuances from a dirty white to black and can be applied to various objects. It is, furthermore, a qualifier of other color terms (*gray-black, -brown, -green*) and is also used metaphorically (e.g. *gray eminence, gray market*).

2. Iconym **"dark, gray, brown"**

- OE *hār* [183], ME *hoor, hor*, ModE *hoar(y)* 'gray, white'
  Motivation of formation: As stated above the term ultimately goes back to IE **ḱei-ro* 'dark, gray, brown', from the root **ḱei-*, which is mostly used to indicate dark color. In Old English, it is especially employed with reference to hair, beard, stones, and iron. When applied to wolves, it also carries a notion of dreadfulness. And the mail-coat as a gray covering for warriors can be seen as a metaphor for the gray coat of the feared wolf (Biggam 1998: 223). Its popular occurrences with boundary markers also convey the semantic feature 'ancientness'. In its color sense it has become collocationally restricted to hair and was replaced by the adjectival derivation ModE *hoary*.
- OE *hǣwen* [184] 'gray'
  Motivation of formation: Even if its predominant meaning is 'blue', it can also denote 'gray'. As mentioned earlier in the text, the term can ultimately be traced back to IE **ḱei-* as well.

3. Iconym: **"gray"**

- OE *hasu* [185] 'gray, gray-brown'
  Motivation of formation: Together with its cognates OI *hoss* 'grey', OS *hasu* 'grey', OHG *hasan* 'shiny' the term goes back to the IE root *ḱas-* 'gray'. According to Biggam (1995: 58), it is mostly found in poetry and riddles and is applied to birds such as the pigeon or the eagle, and to smoke. The small number of occurrences seems to point to the fact that it is confined to that genre and that it was not used in everyday spoken or written language.

4. Iconym **"wolf"**

- OE *wylfen*[186] 'gray'
  Motivation of formation: The expression, especially applied to human hair, literally means 'wolf-colored' and refers to the salient color of the animal which was, up to the middle of the 16^{th} century, called 'the gray animal' (Biggam 1998: 79).

[182] As Ostheeren (1971: 33) points out, the "Epitheton *par excellence* für die Bezeichnung des Glanzes der Augen im Schönheitskatalog" and the comparison of the eyes with a falcon (e.g. in *Romance of the Rose*, 'Hir yen grey as is a faucoun') is a reference to Arabic poetry where the bird is compared to the shining stars (p. 30, footnote 84).
[183] Holthausen 1974: 149, IEW 541.
[184] Holthausen 1974: 147, IEW 541.
[185] TOE 147, Holthausen 1974: 149, IEW 533.
[186] Biggam 1998: 312.

5. Iconym: **"glass"**

   - OE *glæsen* [187] 'pale shiny gray'

     Motivation of formation: As mentioned before, this glossary entry, which represents an adjectival derivation of OE *glæs* 'glass', refers to the glassy appearance of eyes.

6. Iconym **"gray or blue" + "blue or gray"**

   - OE *græghæwe* [188] 'gray'

     Motivation of formation: The fact that the compound color term occurs only once in a collocation with iron and once in a translation of L *glaucus* 'gray' leads Biggam (1998: 89) to conclude that its exact denotation is 'gray', since both the elements can denote 'gray'. The expression represents a copulative compound as it is not clear which of the elements is the grammatical head.

   - OE *blæhæwen* [189] 'dark gray'

     Motivation of formation: Beside its dominant meaning 'dark blue', the compound color term can also denote 'dark gray'. As mentioned above, the essential idea is that it refers to a dark notion, whereas the chromatic value is secondary.

7. Iconym **"ash"**

   - ME *asshen* [190], ModE *ashen* 'ash-coloured, whitish-gray'
   - ME *asshī* [191], ModE *ashy* 'ash-coloured'

     Motivation of formation: Both terms are adjectival derivations of ME *asshe* 'ash' and are especially used with hair and facial coloring (Casson 1997: 233). The reference to the color resembling that of the powdery residue is also exhibited in the determinative compounds OE *æscgræg* and *æsc-fealu* 'ashy-gray', which consist of the determinant 'ash' and a color term as determinate.

8. Other Expressions:[192]

   - OE *gamolfeax* [193] 'old-haired, gray-haired'

     Motivation of formation: The determinative compound consists of an element 'old, aged, advanced in age' and an element 'hair' and represents a metonymy, since elderly people usually have gray hair.

   - OE *blonden-feax* [194] 'having mixed or grizzly hair, gray-haired, old'

     Motivation of formation: The combination of *blondan* 'mix, mingle, blend' and the Anglo-Saxon word for 'hair' originally is no specific color word (cf. Mead 1899: 192), but is often used in the same meaning as OE *hār* 'gray, white'.

[187] Bosworth/Toller 1898: 479.
[188] Biggam 1998: 89.
[189] Bosworth/Toller 1898: 107.
[190] MED I 452.
[191] MED I 452.
[192] Unless otherwise stated, these terms are taken from Maerz/Paul (^{2}1950: 188ff.).
[193] Bosworth/Toller 1898: 360.
[194] Bosworth/Toller 1898: 112.

- ME *lēden, leaden* [195], ModE *leaden* 'dull gray'

  Motivation of formation: Referring to the color resembling that of lead, the adjectival derivation of the metal was used by Chaucer as early as 1386. It is applied to the sea, the sky, and clouds, and can also carry a notion of heaviness.

- ME *haue, hā* [196] 'bluish or gray'

  Motivation of formation: As stated before, the obsolete term goes back to OE *hǣwe, hāwi* and only survives in Scottish *haw* 'discolored, livid' (EDD III 96).

- ModE *slate* 'bluish-gray'

  Motivation of formation: The expression is motivated by the shade of gray resembling that of the stone whose name was loaned into Middle English from OF *esclate*, the feminine form of *esclat* 'splinter, fragment', which goes back to Frankish **slaitan* 'to rend, split' (FEW XVII 141). The metonymical extension is first recorded in 1813 and is especially applied to eyes, clothes, and the sea. Furthermore, it functions as a brightness and saturation qualifier (e.g. *slate-blue, -brown, -gray*) in order to denote a dull grayish tone of the respective color.

- ModE *puke*

  Motivation of formation: The name of an excellent kind of woolen cloth was borrowed into Late ME *peuke, puke* from Middle Dutch *puuc, puyck* (MED VII 885). Whereas its cognates Du *puik* 'excellent', Low German *pük*, as in *püke ware* 'ware of superior quality, as cloth or linen', still refer to fabrics, only the English term has developed into a color designation. Turmann (1934: 41) lists it under GRAY and mentions that it is variously described. Schneider (1978: 428) supposes it to be more of an inky color. However, in my opinion, it certainly is not a very popular term, as it is homonymous with the verb denoting 'to vomit', thus evoking relatively negative associations.

9. Loanwords:

   From the field of hair or fur color:

   - ME *grīs, grize* [197] 'gray'

     The color term is taken over from OF *gris*, which stems from Frankish **grîs* 'gray', which is related to OS *grîs* 'gray'. The term is nowadays obsolete in English, as it was gradually repressed by the following:

   - ME *grīsel, griselle, gresel* [198], ModE *grizzle* 'gray'

     A further specialized color term, chiefly applied to animal fur and human hair, is the loan of OF *grisel, grisle*, a variation of *gris* 'gray'. ModE *grizzly* and *grizzled*, which are now almost exclusively used of hair, are adjectival derivations of the term.

   - ME *liard, lyard* [199] 'gray, spotted with white or silver gray'

     The expression was borrowed as a specialized horse color term in the 14^{th} century from OF *liart* 'gray, spotted gray', which itself was possibly loaned from MIr *liath* 'gray' from the sphere of courtly poetry (Gamillscheg s.v. *liard*). The institution of chivalry and its emphasis on horses brought with it an elaborate set

[195] MED V 752.
[196] MED IV 524.
[197] MED IV 379.
[198] MED IV 380.
[199] MED V 958.

of words and names distinguishing different kinds of horses according to their coloration (Krieg 1976: 25). If used with reference to a horse, it means 'spotted with white or silver gray' and as an application of hair it simply means 'gray, silvery gray approaching white'.

- ME *ferra(u)nt, farant, forant* [200] 'iron-gray'
  As early as 1300 the term was loaned from OF *ferrant* 'iron gray', from *fer*, which regularly derived from L *ferrum* 'iron'. In line with the French term, it was a popular epithet of horses and human hair.

From the field of textiles:

- ME *cendrē* [201] 'ash-colored, gray',
  OF *cendré* 'ash-coloured', from *cendre* 'cinder, ash', which goes back to L *cinis, cinerem* 'cinder, ash', was taken over into the English language.
- ModE *beige* [202] 'yellowish gray'
- ModE *ecru* 'the color of unbleached linen'
  "With little idea of what the words mean, most people believe that they refer to different colors."[203] However, both terms were taken over as technical dye-house terms from French in the 19^{th} century, and originally meant 'raw, unbleached' and referred to the color of undyed and unbleached wool, thus a natural yellowish-gray color. After 1910 *ecru*, which goes back to F *écru* 'raw, unbleached', from *cru*, deriving from L *crūdus* 'raw', has almost become obsolete as a modish term, whereas *beige* enjoys a greater popularity and is used for hosiery, shoes, and leather goods. It derives from OF *bege*, which goes back to L *baeticus*, a reference to the popular wool of the Province *Baetica* (Gamillscheg s.v. *beige*).

Miscellaneous:

- ME *columbine* [204] 'dove-colored',
  In the 15^{th} century, the expression was created on the loan of OF *colombīne* 'gentle or innocent as a dove, meek, demure', which derives from L *colombīnus* 'pertaining to a dove or pigeon, dove-colored'. The French word did not have a color sense (Greimas ^{2}2001), but the English term was inspired by the Latin color sense (André 1949: 73). The minor term, which was merely used among painters or biologists, has become obsolete in its color sense, probably because it was replaced by other terms of the concept, which were gradually invented and seemed to fit better to certain purposes.
- ME *bīs, bice, byse, bize* [205] 'dark, gray'
  The Old French color term *bis, bise* 'dark-gray' is of unknown origin, was adopted into the English language in 1330, and became popular in fashion. Nowadays, however, it is obsolete in its sense 'gray', because ModE *bice* was erroneously transferred to indicate blue or green pigments (and the shades they yield) on account of the combinations *blewe bis* 'dark blue' and *green bis* 'dark green'.

[200] MED III 514.
[201] MED II 116.
[202] Collins 1995: 171.
[203] Maerz/Paul ^{2}1950: 119.
[204] Kerttula 2002: 238.
[205] MED I 887, Barnickel 1975: 106.

- ME *bleu* [206] 'bluish-gray, lead- or ash-colored'

  Apart from its primary meaning 'blue', the term also denotes a bluish gray and lead- or ash-color. As stated above, it is loaned from OF *bleu, blo* 'blue, pale, fallow, faded', which goes back to Frankish *blāo* 'blue, lead-colored'.

- ModE *plumbeous* 'lead-colored'
- ModE *plumbean* 'lead-colored'

  Here we are concerned with two 17^{th}-century terms going back to L *plumbeus* 'leaden', from *plumbum* 'lead'. The former is chiefly used in zoology, whereas the latter has meanwhile become obsolete. Of the same origin is ModE *plumbate*, which is especially applied to lead-colored pottery made in pre-Columbian Central America (OED s.v.).

- ModE *cinereous* [207] 'ash-gray'

  The expression is directly borrowed from L *cinereus* 'ash-colored' and since 1661 primarily applied to birds having ash-coloured feathers, e.g. *cinereous crow, cinereous eagle*.

- ModE *taupe* [208] 'brownish gray'

  As Kerttula (2002: 216) points out, the term was borrowed as a special term in advertisement from French *taupe*, which derives from L *talpa* 'mole' and refers to the brownish shade of gray resembling the color of moleskin. The minor term is applied to cosmetic, clothes, and walls.

- ModE *livid* [209] 'bluish gray'

  The term is an adoption of F *livide*, from L *līvidus* 'bluish, livid' and is employed with eyes, face, skin, as well as with scars, trees, and bricks. It is also used as a qualifier of other adjectives or substantives of color (e.g. *livid white, livid blue*). As far as the botanical use is concerned, the form *livido-* has been employed in compound designations of color such as *livido-castaneous, -fuscous, -virescent* (OED s.v.).

2.9 BLACK

2.9.1 Cultural Background

Black, an achromatic color, is the darkest possible hue, absorbing all light. It is the color of soot, coal, pitch, ink, and various animals, especially birds such as the raven or the crow. As it passes into meanings that suggest darkness, it is also attributed to night and depth, chiefly conveying a notion of ominousness and the unknown dark.
It is used of the human appearance (e.g. hair, beard), of other natural phenomena (e.g. smoke, clouds), and of textiles. In western cultures black is often the color of mourning, thus referring to death, but it also stands for the dignity of the clergy and nobility, and to the social code of solemnity and elegance. Its widespread use as a means of communicating religious and political aims dates even back to the Middle Ages (Schneider 1978: 413). Black features an ambivalent symbolism as it often implies something negative or bad, fearful and terrible - whence it is often an epithet of the devil - but it can also show positive aspects and signs of strength, e.g. *to be in the black* or *black gold*.

[206] MED I 972.
[207] Pratt 1898: 112, Kerttula 2002: 239.
[208] Kerttula 2002: 216.
[209] Kerttula 2002: 216.

A phenomenon called "simplification" or, in its extended form, "radicalization", is pointed out by Bennett (1982: 18-21). Especially *black* and its opposite, *white*, are often - although inappropriately - employed to refer to colors rather than to their lexical denotations. *Black coffee* and *white coffee*, for instance, are in fact dark brown and light brown. The exchange of the potential color adjective serves to indicate that the color of the noun's referent is darker or lighter than the average color of an abstract "typical" version of it as it were. Thus, it simplifies the linguistic effort. A combination with a chromatic color can be found as well, e.g. *black:green mint*, which both denote different shades of green, and *white:red wine* or *white:red meat*, which merely refer to the variety of the alcoholic beverage or food than its exact color.

2.9.2 Names

Old English with its brightness-based color vocabulary features a striking profusion of terms, which, however, cannot really be distinguished from expressions for dark, dull, and dingy (e.g. *niht, sceadu, scuwa, þēostre, heolstor*) . It would be impossible even to roughly list all the expressions. What Mead (1899: 175) said about the terms denoting light and brightness holds true for expressions indicating darkness as well.

1. Iconym **"black, dirt-colored"**

   - OE *sweart* [210], ME *swart*, ModE *swart* 'swarthy, black'
     Motivation of formation: Together with its cognates OS, OFris *swart*, OHG *swarz*, ON *svartr*, Goth *swarts* 'dark-colored, black' the term can be traced back to Gmc **swartaz*, ultimately IE **sṵordo-s* 'black, dirt-colored'. It is cognate with L *sordēs* 'filth, uncleanness' and *sordidus* 'dirty'. While surviving as the regular color-word in the continental languages (Du *zwart*, G *schwarz*, Sw *svart*, Da *sort* etc.), it has been superseded in ordinary usage in English by *black*.
     "The most characteristic word [for 'black'] in Old English"[211] was applied to a variety of deep black objects (e.g. raven, ink, pitch, soot) and natural phenomena like shadows, thunder-clouds, and night, hereby conveying an eerie atmosphere, but it was often transferred to dark objects such as blood and water as well. In religious poems, it was often used figuratively and symbolically as an epithet of the devil, hell, black souls, and evil spirits to denote their badness and lack of morality (cf. Mead 1899, Schwentner 1915). As the term was not hue-orientated, but shaded into different degrees of darkness, it was in need of premodifers (e.g. OE *eallsweart*, ME *forswarted*) and determinants (OE *cōlsweart, hræfnsweart, fȳrsweart*)[212] to express intense blackness. In my opinion, this might be one reason why it was so easily displaced by *black* when the color vocabulary changed from a brightness-based to a hue-based system. As Kerttula (2002: 62) points out, "[i]t seems probable that when *blæc* had become the word denoting ultimate blackness, *sweart* was left to compete with *deorc* in expressing darkness. If this happened *sweart* must have lost the contest because it also conveyed blackness

[210] TOE 145, Holthausen 1974: 334, IEW 1052.

[211] Mead 1899: 182.

[212] All items are mentioned by Kerttula (2002: 61). The use of OE *cōlsweart* 'black as coal' and *hræfnsweart* 'black as a raven' as a simile is self-explanatory. Only OE *fȳrsweart*, literally 'black as fire', seems quite surprising, as fire is usually associated with 'red'. The motivation of the expression, which is infrequently used in poetry, lies in the transference of the color of the rising smoke close to the fire (cf. Schwentner 1915) or burned objects, which turn black.

(e.g. *hræfnsweart*)". Its decreasing role is also corroborated by the fact that in Middle English, *swart* displays a collocational restriction to the face and other body parts, often bearing a negative connotation, as it certainly was not the color of the then beauty ideal. In the 16/17th century *swart*, which is nowadays only used rhetorically or poetically, gave way to *swarthy* (Barnickel 1975: 263, endnote 61).

- ModE *swarthy* 'dark, black, dusky'

  The obscure variant of *swarty*, the adjectival derivative of *swart*, is probably a dialect form. It is contextually restricted to complexion and mostly applied to male persons.

2. Iconym **"ink"**

- OE *blæc*, *blac* [213], ME *blak*, ModE *black*

  Motivation of formation: Among OE *blæc* and its cognates OS *blak* and OHG *blah*, which meant 'ink', *blæc* was the only one to become a color term. Its etymology is disputed, though. The assumption that it goes back to Gmc **blakaz* 'burned' from IE **bhleg-* 'to shine, flash, burn' is widely accepted. Schwentner (1915: 17), however, does not accept the connection between 'dark liquid' and 'shining' and assumes the Germanic term to be related to **mlago-*, from IE **mel-*, *melə-*, which is particularly used to denote dark and dirty hues and is represented by Greek ´ ¯ 'black', Skr *maliná* 'dirty, black', and Lith *mēlinas* 'blue'. As the Old English form often appears with a long vowel, occurring in numerous meters (OED s.v. *black*), it is confused with *blāc* 'shining, white'. In some Middle English forms, both are often distinguishable only from their context, and sometimes not even that. In the course of language history it has gradually surpassed the original color-word *swart*, which has been retained in the other Germanic languages (e.g. G *schwarz*, Du *zwart*, Sw *svart*, Da *sort*).

  The term is used comparatively seldom in Old English, as it is only attributed to sea-roads, raven, adders, and evil spirits (Mead 1899: 181-182). Exhibiting a brightness and a hue sense 'burnt, scorched', which was carried over from Germanic, the expression could be attributed to shining (cf. L *niger* 'shining black') and dull (cf. L *āter* 'dull black') objects. On the one hand, it could therefore imply beauty when describing objects such as the gem jet, whereas on the other hand, it denoted the exact opposite, e.g. when referring to the ugly look of human, especially female complexion. From the latter, the figurative meaning 'dark being a symbol of sin' could easily arise. Gradually losing its luminous sense, the Middle English term has a primary hue sense and is employed with all sorts of objects (night, clouds, soot, coal, pitch, ink, hair, complexion, pupil, mourning garb), certain animals (raven, crow), and plants (sloe-berry) (cf. OED, MED). According to Barnickel (1975: 86), the Middle English term represents the darker nuance of the bad, unhealthy complexion - a sign of lacking brilliance. In the course of time it ousted the original expression for the color concept and became the BLACK basic color term. This might have been influenced by the fact that *swart* was limited in its application to face and body parts, often conveyed negative associations, and was more and more employed to indicate darkness. At the same time, *black* gradually became more prominent as it could express ultimate blackness without qualifiers, and could be attributed to a variety of referents. Moreover, the

[213] TOE 145, Holthausen 1974: 25, IEW 125.

expression exhibits extensive derivation and is used with various premodifiers and determinants (e.g. ME *fore-blak*, ModE *night-black, sloe-black, blue-black*), particularly in order to convey the idea of absolute blackness (Bennett 1982: 20). It is especially applied whenever a basic denotation is to be expressed. The term is, furthermore, part of many idioms (e.g. ME *blak and blo* 'black and blue') and is also used in various metaphors (e.g. *black-hearted*) in which it usually bears a negative notion. It seems interesting, however, that it does not qualify other colors.

- ModE *inky* [214] 'black as ink'
  Motivation of formation: Here, we are concerned with a term in which the color of the respective object, the black fluid used in writing with pens, caused the formation of an adjectival derivative. First recorded as an independent color adjective in 1593, it can be attributed to various things and can qualify other color terms (e.g. *inky-black, inky-purple*).

3. Iconym **"dark-red, brownish"**

   - OE *earp, eorp* [215] 'dark, swarthy'
     Motivation of formation: The term goes back to Gmc **erpa-* and ultimately to the IE root *ĕreb(h)-* in words for dark-red, brownish color terms, and is cognate with ON *jarpr* 'brown', OHG *erpf* 'fuscous, dark-colored'. It is chiefly used in connection with hair color, but is also applied to the dark complexion of Egyptians and to dark clouds (Schwentner 1915: 59-60).

4. Iconym **"dark"**

   - OE *wann, wonn* [216] 'black; dark, pallid'
     Motivation of formation: The Anglo-Saxon creation is not found in any other Germanic language. Its original sense appears to have been 'dark in hue', as it primarily refers not to hue but to dull colors (Lerner 1951: 248). In Old English, it is applied to a variety of objects (e.g. clouds, water, night, shadow, armor, raven), most frequently to things evoking gloomy, unpleasant associations. Sometimes it is also used for the sake of alliteration (e.g. *wann wealas* 'dark-haired slaves'). In the course of time, it underwent a shift of meaning from OE 'dark, black' to ModE 'pale', which is chiefly applied to the unusually or unhealthily pale human face, probably due to the association that the semantic feature 'lack of color' can be attributed to 'black' as well as to 'pale'.
     As mentioned by Kerttula (2002: 49), Andrew Breeze suggests in an article that it was borrowed from Middle Welsh *gwann* 'weak, sad, gloomy'.
   - OE *deorc* [217], ME *derk*, ModE *dark*
     Motivation of formation: Going back to IE **dherg-*, from **dher-, dherə-*, which was used to denotate dark, dull hues, the term is cognate with MIr *derg* 'red' and OHG *tarchannen, terchinen* 'to conceal, hide'. It is applied to objects that approach black in hue, that are not illuminated, or are devoid of or deficient in light. It is furthermore found in various derivations and compounds, often qualifying other color terms (e.g. OE *deorcegrǣg* 'dark gray', ModE *darksome, dark blue*).

[214] Collins 1995: 104.
[215] Holthausen 1974: 93, IEW 334.
[216] Pollington 1993: 155, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 1167.
[217] Holthausen 1974: 72, IEW 252.

5. Iconym **"dirty, gray"**

   - OE *salo, salu* [218] 'dark, blackish, discolored, dirty'

     Motivation of formation: As mentioned above, the expression derives ultimately from the IE root *sal-* 'dirty, gray' and underwent a shift of meaning from OE 'black, dark, discolored, dirty' to ModE 'sickly yellow or brownish-yellow'. The Old English word is often applied to ravens, once to an eagle and a starling, and, if used with other objects, chiefly denotes a dirty color. A few derivations and compounds such as OE *salwed* 'blackened with pitch', *salowigpād* 'dark-coated', and *salu-brūn* 'dull brown' can be found as well.

6. Iconym **"lower world"**

   - ModE *hell-black* [219]
   - ModE *stygian* [220] 'black'

     Motivation of formation: In my opinion, both terms originate in a metaphorical process since the region of the lower world is referred to as a dark place. The former is a determinative compound consisting of an element 'hell', denoting the place or state of punishment of the wicked after death, and of the basic color term. The latter is an adjectival derivation of *Styx*, the black river of the Hades, over which the shades of the deceased were ferried by Charon.

7. Other Expressions:[221]

   - ME *cōl-blak* [222], ModE *coal-black*

     Motivation of formation: The simile *swa sweart swa cōl* 'as black as coal', which refers to the shade of black resembling that of the coal, is already mentioned in Old English times (around 1000), but the first independent color adjective, ME *cōl-blak*, is not attested before 1250. It appears, however, that it originally was associated with a piece of burnt wood, whereas nowadays one usually thinks of the solid mineral found in seams or strata in the earth, which is largely used as fuel (OED s.v.).
   - ModE *sooty* [223] 'dusky or brownish black'

     Motivation of formation: Being used in its color sense as early as 1593, the adjectival derivation refers to the shade of black resembling that of the soot. As a brightness qualifier of other colors (e.g. *sooty brown, sooty red*), it alludes to their dark, dusky, blackish, or dirty tinge.
   - ModE *jet* [224] 'the color of jet, glossy black'

     Motivation of formation: The expression is motivated by the shade of black resembling that of the mineral whose name was loaned into Middle English from OF *jaiet, jayet*, the regular development of L *gagātes*, which was borrowed from Greek ´ , literally 'stone of Gagas', a town and river in Lycia, Asia Minor.

[218] Holthausen 1974: 269, IEW 879.
[219] Pratt 1898: 112.
[220] Collins 1995: 104.
[221] The selected items are taken from the list of color terms in Maerz/Paul ([2]1950: 188ff.) unless otherwise stated.
[222] MED II 379, Kerttula 2002: 73.
[223] Pratt 1898: 112.
[224] Collins 1995: 104.

The metonymical extension of the object is not mentioned before 1716. However, in the 20^{th} and 21^{st} century it has gradually lost its role as a color term as it was displaced by other, probably more suitable and prominent expressions, maybe because it is homonymous with *jet* 'airplane', which is, in my opinion, more often associated with the word nowadays. The latter is more salient, because people are more in contact with that means of transportation than with the mineral. The French word did not become a color term before the end of the 19^{th} century (Kerttula 2002: 105).
However, earlier in time, we find the independent color adjective *jet-black* 'black as jet, absolutely black, glossy black', first recorded in 1475, and *jetty-black*[225] 'black as jet', attested only two years later. Marlowe employed *jetty* in 1586 for the first time without the generic color term.

- ModE *raven* 'glossy black'

  Motivation of formation: Whereas OE *hrœfnsweart* and Shakespeare's *Rauen blacke* 'as black as a raven' are used as similes and still require the generic color term, Milton was the first one to apply the independent color adjective *raven* 'of the color of a raven, glossy black, intensely dark or gloomy' in 1634. The term is still collocationally restricted to hair color.

- ModE *pitch-black*

- ModE *pitchy* [226] 'brownish-black'

  Motivation of formation: Both terms refer to the color resembling that of pitch. The first one is, however, almost entirely used in the vernacular or in literature to express an emphatic indication of complete blackness or absence of light (Maerz/Paul [2]1950: 174). The second expression is used in natural history and denotes the real nuance of the object, namely a brownish-black.

- ModE *ebon, ebony* 'Of the color of ebony, black, dark, sombre'

  Motivation of formation: The mainly poetic and rhetoric expression is created on the name of the hard wood of a tree. Its name was loaned into English from OF *eban*, ML *ebanus*, a variation of L *(h)ebenus*, from Greek 'ebony tree', which goes back to a Semitic origin as it can be compared with Egyptian *hbnj* and Hebrew *hobnīm* (ODEE 299). Kerttula (2002: 103) mentions that the Greek word is loaned from Egyptian and is probably of non-Semitic origin. The original form of the noun was superseded by *ebony*, perhaps in analogy to *ivory*. The color adjective, which is first recorded in 1607, denotes a type of intense blackness, whereas the French and Latin precursors do not exhibit a color sense. It is most frequently used in connection with the human appearance (e.g. *ebony complexion/skin/hair*), but also applied to furnishings.

- ModE *obsidian* [227]

  Motivation of formation: The specialized color term, which is chiefly used in the field of natural history, is a metonymical extension of the name of a mineral. It was loaned from Latin *obsidiānus*, an erroneous form of *obsiānus* in Pliny's *Natural History*, and was so called because of its resemblance to a stone found in Ethiopia by a certain *Obsius*. André (1949) does not record it as a color term in Latin.

[225] Kerttula 2002: 74.
[226] Collins 1995: 104.
[227] Kerttula 2002: 239, OED s.v.

8. Loanwords:

- ME *sāble* [228], ModE *sable* 'black'

  The term was borrowed as the heraldic color term from Middle French *sable* 'black' and is commonly assumed to be identical with the color of the animal, although its fur, as now known, is not black but brown. This might have been due to the customary process to dye sable-fur black (as is now often done with seal-skin), probably to increase its contrast with ermine, with which it was often worn in combination (OED s.v.). The name of the animal goes back to OF *sable* 'the sable, sable fur', ML *sabelum, sabellum* 'sable, sable fur', which is ultimately of Balto-Slavonic origin (cf.
  Russian *sóbol'*, Lith *sàbalas* 'sable'). Kerttula (2002: 98) states that the latter is probably a loan from an East-Asiatic language. The color term, originally confined to heraldry, has become a general, albeit poetical or rhetorical, term for the concept BLACK.

- ME *morel, morrel* [229] 'dark, dusky'

  The borrowing of a specialized horse color term from OF *morel* 'dark brown, black' has meanwhile become obsolete (Krieg 1976: 61). Some trace it back to L *mōrum* 'mulberry-colored', whereas others suggest an origin ML *Mōrus* 'dark', from L *Maurus*, from Late Greek ˆ 'black'.

- ME *blae* [230] 'dark, black'

  The loan of ON *blā* 'dark blue, livid' is only found in the sense 'dark, black' in early combinations such as *blamon, bloman* 'a blackamoor', which were influenced by ON *blāmaðr* (Swaen 1936: 3).

- ME *negre* [231] 'black'

- ME *nere* [232] 'black'

  Both minor and meanwhile obsolete terms were borrowed from Old French - the former from *negre, nigre*, the latter from *ner, neir*, variations of *noir* -, which go back to L *niger, nigrum* 'black'. Of the same origin is *negro*, which came into the English language via Spanish or Portuguese. First employed in 1594, it refers to the black skin of colored people. On account of political correctness, however, it is practically no longer used.

- ModE *noir* [233] 'black'

  The color term, which sometimes also represents 'black' in heraldry, was introduced into the English language together with the typically French games of *Roulette* or *Rouge-et-noir*, in which the term denotes the black numbers or marks.

- ModE *piceous* [234] 'pitch-black; brownish or reddish black'

  The expression is directly borrowed from L *piceus* 'pitchy, black' and again emphasizes the salient color of the material.

[228] MED X 4.
[229] MED VI 683.
[230] Biggam 1993: 53.
[231] Biggam 1993: 53, Maerz/Paul [2]1950: 199. The MED (VI 986) only lists *nigrum* '?shiny gray or brown; dark'
[232] Biggam 1993: 53, Kerttula 2002: 74, OED s.v.
[233] OED s.v.
[234] OED s.v.

2.10 BROWN

2.10.1 Cultural Background

"Brown is an indefinite color, which may shade through various degrees of duskiness into black or red."[235] As there are many nuances of the hue, the concept exhibits various expressions in order to allow speakers to specify certain shades in a more detailed way. A prototypical association with the concept might be the earth or ground (Wierzbicka 1990: 137), but it is also applied to hair, eyebrows, and complexion, to animal skin and leather. It is furthermore attributed to coffee, chocolate, wood etc. A chiefly positive connotation of the concept might be that people with tanned skin are often supposed to be extremely healthy and successful. However, in the context of history it carries negative associations since the Nazi uniforms during the Third Reich used to be brown.

2.10.2 Names

1. Iconym: **"shining, brown"**

   - OE *brūn* [236] 'dark brown, shining', ME *broun*, ModE *brown*

     Motivation of formation: The expression, together with its cognates in other Germanic languages, derives from Gmc **brūnaz* and ultimately goes back to the IE root **bher-* 'shining, brown'. In Middle English, it was reinforced by OF *brun* 'brown'.

     As several researchers (cf. Schwentner 1914, Lerner 1951, Barley 1974, Barnickel 1975) have pointed out, the Old and Middle English term had, on the one hand, a hue sense denoting brown and dark colors, chiefly in connection with animals (especially horses), clothes, and the human complexion (e.g. of an Ethiopian). On the other hand, it featured a sense of reflectivity, 'shining, flashing in the sunlight', which was particularly employed with metallic objects like helmets, sword-edges, bronzed weapons, but also applied to water. In the course of English language history, it lost its shining notion, maybe due to the influence of the French term, which only exhibited the hue denotation. However, Tremaine (1969: 145-150) denies the fact that the Old English term ever meant 'shiny, gleaming' as it is only due to unwarranted inferences from Middle High German evidence. He suggests that the collocations with polishable weapons go back to the technique of "browning", an artificial way to retard rust, which resulted in a brown and shiny appearance.
     Whereas in Middle English, it was somehow confined to the dark range of the hue (e.g. used of roasted meat, dark ale, and antithetically to 'bright'), and often modified other color terms in composites not only with respect to hue but also to the degree of brightness, the Modern English form is neutral, can denote the entire range of the concept BROWN, and is not collocationally restricted (Barnickel 1975: 83). This might be a reason why it has become the basic color term. Several derivations and compounds (e.g. *browny, reddish-brown, orange-brown, toffee-brown*) further distinguish specific nuances.
     Kutzelnigg (1983: 210-216) contradicts the prevailing assumption that the name of the bear or beaver evolved from the color term. According to him, color terms

[235] Mead 1899: 193.
[236] Holthausen 1974: 36, IEW 136.

were developed from the animal names when people started to designate the color characteristic of the animal by a word resembling the animal name.

2. Iconym: **"to rise in a cloud, as dust, vapor, or smoke"**

   - OE *dun(n)* [237], ME *don*, ModE *dun* 'dull brown'

     Motivation of formation: The term can be traced back to the IE root **dheu-* 'to rise in a cloud, as dust, vapor, or smoke' with the suffix *-no*, which was used to denote dusky shades. Gmc **dunna-* occurs as OE *dunn* and OS *dun* 'nut-brown', which are probably related to OS *dosan*, OE *dosen* 'chestnut-brown' and OHG *dosan, tusin* 'pale yellow', all forms which are firmly associated with horses or other animals such as mice, cows, game, or donkeys. It is furthermore cognate with MIr *donn* 'dark', Irish and Gaelic *donn* 'brown, dark', and Welsh *dwn* 'brownish'. The ODEE (294) rejects the assumption that it is a Celtic loanword, whereas others suggest that. Ann Lazar-Meyn (as said by Kertulla 2002: 49) assumes that it was borrowed into Old English from Old Irish *donn* 'unsaturated brown through gray'.
     In Old and Middle English, the term was collocationally restricted to animal furs and the plumage of birds and had both a hue and a darkness sense, thus indicating a lack of illumination. It also modified other color adjectives to describe a lack of brightness in a particular hue (Burnley 1976: 44). In Modern English, however, it has lost its senses in the systems of saturation and luminosity. Its relatively high potential regarding word formation can be seen in various compounds such as OE *assedun, dunfealu* 'dull brown', *dungræg* 'dark gray' and ME *mous-don* 'mouse-colored'.

3. Iconym: **"gray, fallow, dusky"**

   - OE *fealo, fealu, falu* [238] 'pale brown, dull brown', ME *falow, falwe*

     Motivation of formation: The term goes back to Gmc **falwa-*, ultimately IE **polu̯o-*, from **pel-*, a root used for fuzzy colors such as 'gray, fallow'. In its full Germanic context - being cognate with OS *falu*, OHG *falo*, ON *fǫlr* - it was originally especially applied to horses (cf. Barley's "horse set" (1974: 22)), and is thus a specialized term for communicating fine distinctions in that field of interest. In Old English, it featured also a brightness sense beside its hue sense and was therefore attributed to weapons and in particular to water (Mead 1899: 198). The Middle English term had a somewhat narrower application, as the former luminosity aspect had been omitted. Barley (1974: 25) also mentions that it is increasingly used as the opposite of 'green', referring to brown leaves and dying vegetation. This notion of withering and fading leads Barnickel (1975: 92) to conclude that its usage might be restricted to nature, especially to the fur of animals and untilled land. ModE *fallow*, which only occurs in few collocations (e.g. *fallow deer, fallow buck*), exhibits further narrowing of meaning to 'reddish-yellow'.

4. Iconym: **"red"**

   - OE *rēad* [239] 'red-brown'

[237] TOE 147, Pollington 1993: 155, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 218, IEW 270.
[238] Holthausen 1974: 99, Pollington 1993: 156, IEW 805.
[239] Holthausen 1974: 255.

Motivation of formation: Mostly denoting 'red', the term can also indicate the reddish part of the neighboring color sensation BROWN in the context of horses (Biggam 1998: 60). This not only emphasizes the fact that the color continuum of Old English was segmented in a different way and colors were not as sharply distinguished, but also that some sensations were perceived differently with certain objects and collocations (cf. simplification/radicalization than today (see 2.9.1)). As mentioned above, the expression can be traced back to the IE color term **reudh-* 'red'.

5. Iconym: **"gray"**

- OE *hasu* [240] 'gray-brown'

  Motivation of formation: As stated earlier in the text, the term goes back to the IE root *ḱas-* 'gray'. It is often found in poetry and riddles, showing a significant connection with birds (Barley 1974: 27, Biggam 1995: 58).

6. Iconym: **"a kind of animal" + "brown"**

- OE *assedun* [241] 'dull brown'
- OE *mūsfealu* [242] 'grayish brown'
- ME *mous-don* [243], ModE *mouse-dun* 'mouse-colored'
- ModE *donkey-brown*[244]

  Motivation of formation: Here we are concerned with determinative compounds, which consist of the determinant 'a certain brown animal' and a determinate 'brown'. The motive can be ascribed to literary and stylistic reasons rather than to the need of expressing a distinct nuance of brown, because all of these animals can exhibit various shades of hues. However, they occur very rarely. OE *mūsfealu* once glosses L *myrteus* 'myrtle-colored, chestnut brown' (cf. OEC) and ME *mous-don* is recorded translating L *murinus* 'mouse-colored' (OED s.v. *mouse-dun*).

7. Iconym: **"a color" + "a color"**

- OE *brūn-wann* [245] 'dark brown, dusky'
- OE *salu-brūn* [246] 'dark brown'
- OE *dun-fealu* [247] 'dull brown'

  Motivation of formation: The combination of two color adjectives is a popular method to enrich the English color vocabulary. These expressions, however, are applied very infrequently.

[240] Holthausen 1974: 149, IEW 533.
[241] TOE 147, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 55.
[242] TOE 147, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 702.
[243] MED VI 758.
[244] Collins 1995: 127.
[245] Bosworth/Toller 1898: 129.
[246] Bosworth/Toller 1898: 813.
[247] TOE 147, Bosworth/Toller 1898: 218.

8. Iconym: **"burnt"**

   - ME *brend* [248] 'brindled, brown color'
   - ME *brinded* [249] 'tawny, brownish color, marked with bars or streaks of different hues'

     Motivation of formation: Both expressions refer to the brown color resulting from burning. The former is the past participle of ME *brennen* 'to burn', the latter a variation of *brended* 'burnt', which is, according to the OED (s.v. *brinded*), possibly a secondary verb derived of *brand* 'burning, brand'.
   - ME *sonne-brent* [250], ModE *sunburnt* 'brown'

     Motivation of formation: The determinative compound, which specifies the "agent" of the burning process, denotes a special shade of brown color, namely as if sunburned.

9. Iconym: **"bronze"**

   - ModE *bronze(d)* [251]
   - ModE *brazen* [252]

     Motivation of formation: Both terms refer to the specific color resembling that of the alloy of copper and tin. The former is created on the basis of the noun loaned from F *bronze*, itself from It *bronzo* 'brass or bell-metal', and ultimately from Persian *birinj*, *pirinj* 'copper', which was introduced for the material of ancient works of art. The color sense in English existed earlier than in French (Kerttula 2002: 200). The latter goes back to the inherited term OE *brǽsen* 'made of brass', which was transferred and figuratively used to signify 'resembling brass in color' as early as 1596 (OED s.v. *brazen*).

10. Other Expressions:[253]

    From the field of nature:

    - ME *note-broun* [254], ModE *nut-brown*

      Motivation of formation: The determinative compound, which consists of the determinant 'nut' and the basic color term, is first mentioned around 1300. As there exist various kinds of nuts, the term is rather indefinite and fuzzy, and is more of a literary term, especially attributed to hair, complexion, animals, and ale. In order to denote the distinct hues of different nuts, their respective names are used as color terms as well.
    - ModE *walnut*

      Motivation of formation: Whereas the OED (s.v.) lists the first record of the expression for 1865, where it alludes to the brown color produced by the application of walnut-juice to the skin, Maerz/Paul (^{2}1950: 186) state that it was used with reference to the color of the shell of the nut since at least 1654. Furthermore, it

[248] MED I 1141.
[249] Krieg 1976: 39.
[250] MED X 198.
[251] Collins 1995: 127.
[252] Pratt 1898: 111, Turmann 1934: 31.
[253] The items are again taken from the list in Maerz/Paul (^{2}1950: 188ff.).
[254] MED VI 1096.

is said that its assignment to the color of the wood should be considered a highly specialized use, applicable only in the paint industry and for this special purpose.

- ModE *hazel*

  Motivation of formation: The color sense of the word was first recorded in Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliette* and has, since then, especially been employed with the eyes (Turmann 1934: 331, OED s.v.). However, "when one speaks of *hazel eyes* [...], one generally does not intend to specify the actual shade of color. These elements are clichés, or ready-made expressions, in which the two elements merge into one global classificatory notion."[255] When attributed to other objects, it refers to the color of the shell of the ripe hazelnut.

From the field of animals:

- ME *bēveren* [256], ModE *beaver* 'beaver-colored, reddish-brown'

  Motivation of formation: Being employed in its color designation as early as the 14^{th} century, the term refers to the shade of brown resembling that of a beaver's fur. The fashion term is more often found in expression such as *beaver-brown, beaver-coloured, beaver-hued*.

Other color terms based on the reference to the special hue of the fur, pelt, or skin of designated animals are ModE *fawn* and *seal*, two terms often applied to textiles and interior decoration.

From pigments/dyes:

- ModE *umber* [257]

  Motivation of formation: The pigment whose name was loaned either from F *ombre* or It *ombra* 'shadow', as in *terre d'ombre, terra di ombra*, literally 'shadow earth', serves as the basis for the English color term. Kristol (1978) does not record a color sense in French or Italian.

- ModE *sepia* 'rich brown'

  Motivation of formation: This term originates in the rich brown pigment obtained from the cuttle-fish, which is primarily used in painting. Its name was loaned, probably via Italian *seppia*, from L *sēpia* and Greek *í* . The Latin term did not have a color sense (cf. André 1949).

From mineral/metals:

- ModE *copper*

  Motivation of formation: The color term refers to the shade of brown resembling that of the metal whose name was loaned into OE from LL *cuper*, from L *cuprum* 'copper', earlier *cyprum*, which comes from *aes Cyprium* 'copper from Cyprus'. André (1949) does not mention a color sense in Latin.

From the field of nourishment:

- ModE *cinnamon*

[255] Polubichenko 1985: 57.
[256] MED I 781.
[257] Collins 1995: 127.

- ModE *chocolate*

  Motivation of formation: Both terms are metonymic extensions of the name of the respective objects, which were introduced as innovations a long time ago. The former was loaned from Latin, itself from Greek, goes back to Hebrew *ginnāmōn* 'cinnamon', and is, according to Methuen (^{3}1978: 156), ultimately of Malayan origin. The latter came into the English language from Nahuatl *chocolatl* via Spanish, and did not exhibit a color sense (cf. Kristol 1978).

- ModE *coffee*

  Motivation of formation: Here, we are concerned with a term whose usage was motivated by the respective beverage. The expression came into the English language from Arabic *qahwah* via Turkish *kahveh* 'coffee' and is applied to textiles and skin color.

Miscellaneous:

- ModE *drab* 'dull light brown or yellowish-brown'

  Motivation of formation: The name of a kind of cloth was loaned into Middle English from OF *drap*, LL *drappus*, and, as Kerttula (2002: 199) points out, ultimately from Gaulish **drappo-*. The fact that the term was often applied to a hempen, linen, or woolen cloth of the natural undyed color resulted in its attributive use in *drap/drab color*, i.e. the color of this cloth. *Drab* has gradually become an independent adjective of color, employed with clothes, interior decorations, and various objects.

- ModE *toast(ed)* [258] 'light brown'

  Motivation of formation: The color term, which is especially used for textiles, refers to the shade of brown resembling that of objects such as bread and cheese, after being exposed to the heat of a fire or a toaster.

11. Loanwords:

From the field of textiles:

- ME and ModE *russet* 'reddish-brown'

  The term, which was especially used of cloth in the 15^{th} and 16^{th} century, has already been dealt with in the RED sections (see 2.1.2).

- ModE *khaki* [259] 'yellowish-brown, drab'

  The color term is borrowed from Urdū (Persian) *khākī* 'dusty, dust-colored', from *khāk* 'dust', and was used for military uniforms. Worn by armies around the world, the fabrics had to be adapted for camouflage purposes to the green environment of more temperate climates. Therefore the term *khaki* underwent a shift of meaning to the exact opposite of 'dust-like', to a shade of 'olive-green'.

From the field of animal colors:

- ME *bai, bay(e)d* [260], ModE *bay* 'reddish brown'

  The term was borrowed as a specialized horse color term from OF *bai*, going back to L *badius* 'reddish brown, chestnut-color'. The Latin term, which is cognate

[258] Collins 1995: 127.
[259] Maerz/Paul ^{2}1950: 163.
[260] MED I 606.

with Old Irish *buide* 'yellow', was also used as a horse color term (André 1949: 119).

- ME *baiard, bayard* [261], ModE *bayard* 'bay coloured'

  OF *baiard, bayard* 'bay-coloured', another specialized horse color term and a derivation of the one just mentioned, was loaned into Middle English as well.

- ME *sor(e)* [262] 'reddish-brown'

  The specialized color term was borrowed from OF *sor, sore* 'of a golden blond or yellowish brown', from Frankish **saur* 'dry', and is particularly used of horse hide, but also applied to the skin, teeth, and hair of other animals or the feathers of young birds of prey.

  Of the same origin is OF *sorel* 'golden yellow (of horses), chestnut-color', which was also loaned into English: ME *sorel, soreld* [263], ModE *sorrel* 'light reddish-brown, chestnut color'.

From the field of hair color:

- ModE *auburn* [264] 'golden brown, ruddy brown'

  As explained in a more detailed way above (see 2.3.2), the term, which was loaned from OF *alborne, auborne* 'blond' and features collocational restriction to hair color, underwent a shift of meaning from 'blond' to 'brown' due to folk-etymology.

- ModE *chestnut* [265] 'reddish brown'

  The term is a reduction of earlier *chesten nut*, from ME *chesteine, chasteine*, which was borrowed from OF *chastaigne, -aine*, the regular development of L *castanea*, from Greek ´ 'chestnut'. Whereas the French word already acquired a color sense in the 12^{th} or 13^{th} century (FEW II,1 465), the color sense in English is first recorded in 1600, as a descriptive name for human hair in Shakespeare's *As You Like It* (OED s.v.). It can be further attributed to horses of the same color.

- ME *burnĕt* [266] 'brown'

  The meanwhile obsolete term was loaned from OF *burnete*, a diminutive of *brun* 'brown', which was especially attributed to clothes and garments.

- ModE *brunet, brunette* [267] 'of dark complexion, brown-haired, nut-brown'

  The loans of both, the French masculine and feminine noun, denoting a person of dark complexion and brown hair, are contextually restricted to complexion and hair color.

Miscellaneous:

- ModE *fuscous* [268] 'dusky, dull brown'

[261] Krieg 1976: 31. According to the MED (I 606), it is only used as a substantive in the sense of 'a bay-colored horse', 'a horse named Bayard'.
[262] MED X 215.
[263] MED X 226.
[264] Collins 1995: 127.
[265] Collins 1995: 127, Hope/Walch 1990: 57.
[266] MED I 1228.
[267] Collins 1995: 127.
[268] Collins 1995: 127.

Denoting a dark or sombre hue, the term, which is chiefly used in natural history, is loaned from L *fuscus* 'dark, dusky'.

- ME *tauni, tawne* [269], ModE *tawny* [270] 'brown with a preponderance of yellow or orange'

  The term can be traced back to AN *tauné*, OF *tanné* 'of a color resembling that of oak bark, red brown, brownish'. According to Kerttula (2002: 152), it goes back to ML *tannare*, from *tannum*, which is of Celtic origin and related to Breton *tann* 'oak tree', thus exhibiting reference to a specific color. As an important pigment in dyeing, it was chiefly attributed to leather and clothes, but also used as a heraldic color variously described as 'orange-brown' or 'bright chestnut' (OED s.v. *tawny*). In Turmann's opinion (1934: 31), it was not confined to specific contexts and could denote a range of colors, anything from light brown to red brown, and black brown nuances, particularly in reference to the color of the earth.

- ModE *tan* [271]

  The borrowing of F *tan* 'the color of tan' derives from ML *tannum*, which is of Celtic origin and related to Breton *tann* 'oak tree', thus adverting a specific color. It is still often used with leather, shoes, boots as well as with skin exposed to the sun or the weather.

- ModE *puce* [272] 'purple brown'

  The elliptic form of *puce colour* goes back to F *coleur puce* 'flea-color', from L *pūlex* 'flea', and is most frequently used to describe complexion.

- ME *blae* [273] 'yellowish brown, tawny'

  In its sense 'tawny', which is first recorded in 1400 glossing L *fulvus* 'yellow, yellow-brown', the term is obsolete (OED s.v. *blae*). How the loan of ON *blā* 'dark blue, livid' came to denote 'yellowish-brown, tawny' is unclear, though. In my view, it may be connected to the association of a livid, colorless landscape, which implies deficiency or loss of color, a color sensation changing from the full green of vegetation to a withering, thus yellowish-brown shade.

- ModE *feuille morte* 'yellowish brown'

  The color, which has been "one of the most popular, if not the most popular, colors and names in the history of fashion"[274] was loaned from F *feuillemorte*, literally 'dead leaf'. It was, however, more commonly used in anglicized and corrupted forms such as *Philamort* or *filemot*.

- ME *bīs* [275] 'brown'

  The Old French color term *bis, bise* 'gray-brown' was adopted into the English language, but is obsolete as a color adjective, as *bice* was erroneously transferred to blue or green pigments as mentioned before.

[269] Stratmann 1974: 602.
[270] Collins 1995: 127. However, Kerttula (2002: 152) lists it as 'brownish yellow, tan-colored'.
[271] Collins 1995: 127.
[272] Kerttula 2002: 200.
[273] Kerttula 2002: 78.
[274] Maerz/Paul [2]1950: 157.
[275] Biggam 1993: 53. However, in the MED (I 887) it denotes 'dark, gray'.

12. Unclear cases

- ModE *mahogany* 'reddish brown'

  The name of the tropical tree with reddish-brown wood, which was written *mohogeney* in 1671, is of unknown origin. It is therefore not clear, whether the color sense was already taken over or whether it is due to metonymic extension of the tree's name in English. In my opinion, the latter seems more plausible as the expression only denoted the wood of the tree for nearly 70 years before it exhibited a color sense in the 18^{th} century. It is used of furniture, textiles as well as hair coloration, eyes, and complexion.

- OE *walden* [276] 'greenish or hazel eyes'

  Motivation of formation: As mentioned before, the rare and highly specialized term might probably be related to OE *weald* 'forest' and thus refer to the color of it.

2.11 PINK

2.11.1 Cultural Background

Pink - representing a mixture of white and red - was long considered a certain nuance of the color concept RED and is still often listed as a hyponym of *red*. As there is no real prototype of the concept, it might be applied to various things such as the comic figure Pink Panther, to certain roses, swines, flamingos as well as to the human face. The latter association might have enforced the idiom *to be in the pink*, thus referring to a healthy appearance and condition.

2.11.2 Names

1. Iconym: **"rose"**

- ModE *rose* [277]

  Motivation of formation: The independent color adjective, first recorded in 1812, is based on the metonymical extension of the flower of the genus *Rosa*, referring to its pink color. The name of the plant was loaned into Old English from L *rosa*, which is related to Greek ´ , and, as mentioned by Kerttula (2002: 218), ultimately goes back to Old Iranian **wrda-*, which represents the IE root **wrdho-* 'thorn, bramble'. The influence of OF *rose* 'rose' and the Latin color term *roseus* 'rosy' might have stimulated the color usage in English.
  As stated earlier in the paper, the motive of the prototypical flower often served to create new color terms (*rosy, roseate, rosied* 'rose red, pink'). The fact that the flower exists in varying colors and often refers to its other salient characteristics such as its odor or thorniness somehow accounts for why this old expression has not become the basic color term of that concept.

[276] Biggam 1999: 118.
[277] Collins 1995: 720.

2. Iconym: **"pink"**

   - ModE *pink*

     Motivation of formation: The color term goes back to the general name of the species of the *Dianthus* plant with its varicolored flowers, which came into the English language by 1573, but is of obscure origin. It was originally used attributively before it became a basic color term around 1720, most frequently applied to textiles and complexion. Although the term was and is used for various compounds and derivations (e.g. *rose-pink, flesh-pink, poppy-pink, pinky, pinkish, to pink*) and can be assigned to all sorts of objects, it is still often defined under the color concept RED in some dictionaries.

3. Iconym: **"flesh"**

   - ModE *flesh* [278] 'yellowish pink'

     Motivation of formation: The elliptic form of *flesh-coloured* is based on the reference to the color resembling that of the flesh of a human being of Caucasian race. The term is, however, of minor importance probably because it carries a somewhat negative notion.

   - ModE *carnation* [279] 'pink, light red'

     Motivation of formation: Of the same motivation - alluding to the color of flesh - is the metonymical extension of the name, which was originally loaned from L *carnātiō(n-)* 'fleshiness, corpulence', from *carn-em* 'flesh'. As pointed out by Maerz/Paul ([2]1950: 152), it is obsolete in this sense, but was transferred to and used for the flower, which formerly was called *coronation*.

4. Iconym: **"peach"**

   - ModE *peach* [280] 'yellowish pink'

     Motivation of formation: The term refers to the color resembling that of the stone-fruit whose name was borrowed into Middle English from OF *peche, pesche*, deriving from ML *pessica*, for Classical Latin *persicum*, elliptical for *Persicum mālum*, literally 'Persian apple'.

     The name of the sweet and soft fruit motivated several other formations[281]: ModE *peach-colour(ed), peach blossom, peach bloom*, all denoting 'delicate rose, pink' and referring to the color of the ripe peach or its blossom. Whereas these compounds are restricted to the areas of textile, clothing, and cosmetics, another composite term, ModE *peach-blow*, is characteristic of the porcelain industry producing purplish pink glazes.

5. Other Expressions:[282]

   From the field of flowers and fruits:

   - ModE *apple blossom*

[278] Collins 1995: 720, Hope/Walch 1990: 132.
[279] ODEE 147.
[280] Collins 1995: 171. However, Hope/Walch (1990: 241) list it as 'a light, pinkish yellow'.
[281] All items are listed in Maerz/Paul [2]1950: 200.
[282] All expression are again taken from the list in Maerz/Paul ([2]1950: 188ff.) unless otherwise stated.

- ModE *watermelon*

  Motivation of formation: Both are color terms popular for textiles. Always in search of fancy expressions that should inspire customers to buy the products, the fashion industry came up with two metonymical extensions of the respective entity senses, alluding to the pinkish flower of the apple blossom and to the pink inside of the fruit. The former is also attributed to complexion as early as 1824.

From animals:

- ME *coral* [283], ModE *coral* 'deep orangy pink'

  Motivation of formation: The name of the object, the skeletal structure of small sea animals, is a loan of OF *coral*, regularly deriving from L *corallum, coralium*, which is an adoption of Greek ´ 'red coral', which, as suggested by Kerttula (2002: 136), is probably a diminutive formation of Hebrew *goral* 'lot', originally in the sense 'a small stone for casting lots'. In earlier literature and folklore, the term denoted the red coral - thus it is still often listed as a synonym for *red* -, which was used for ornaments and often classed among precious stones. It is nowadays applied to things of bright pink or red color, e.g. blood, lips, cloth.

- ModE *prawn*
- ModE *shrimp*
- ModE *crevette*

  Motivation of formation: All three terms refer to the color resembling that of a cooked shrimp, a bright shade of pink, and are merely employed with clothes and textiles. *Crevette* represents the loan of the French term for 'shrimp', for which Kristol (1978) does not record a color sense, the other two are the inherited names. Whether there is any difference (size etc.) between the two species is not of importance here, for both exhibit the same color after being cooked. "The real truth concerning these names is that "prawn" is generally used in England, and is hardly known in America, where "shrimp" is the customary word."[284]

- ModE *flamingo* 'deep pink'

  Motivation of formation: The expression was motivated by the salient color of the bird. Since its first occurrence in 1897 it is most frequently used in the fashion industry.

Miscellaneous:

- ModE *flushed* [285]
- ModE *reddish* [286]

  Motivation of formation: Given as synonyms of 'pink', both terms denote the light nuances of 'red'. The former term is motivated by the reddening of the face caused by shame, modesty, or other emotions and is first employed in 1594. The latter is an adjectival derivation of the basic color term in *-ish*.

[283] MED II 596.
[284] Maerz/Paul [2]1950: 179p.
[285] Collins 1995: 720.
[286] Collins 1995: 720.

6. Loanword:

   - ModE *salmon* [287] 'orange pink'

     Kerttula (2002: 223) points out that this was already borrowed as a color term, as a word exhibiting a color sense existed in French as early as 1564. The majority of researchers, however, still regard it as an elliptic term of *salmon-coloured*, which refers to the color resembling that of the fish's meat. Its name was loaned into Middle English from AN *samoun, saumoun, salmun*, which derives from L *salmōnem, salmō*. The latter is assumed to be connected with L *salīre* 'to leap, jump', thus meaning 'a leaping fish'. The Modern English spelling is due to the influence of the Latin form. The expression, which is applied to clothes, houses, rocks, and blossoms, seems to be vague, because even though boiled salmon is pink, raw salmon has a tinge of orange, and smoked salmon is orange.

3. Conclusions

3.1 Iconyms

An iconym is a motive or conceptual component of a certain designation, thus motivation has an important role in the naming process. It should meet the basic requirement of referring to a concept in a way that can be understood by everybody. In the course of cultural and language history, however, motives as well as concepts can change and become opaque.

Several Old English expressions for lighter colors (e.g. *geolu, blāc, grǣg, hwīt, blǣce, blanc, basu, brūn*) can be traced back to an Indo-European root 'gleaming, glittering, shining'. The names of darker colors are motivated by Indo-European bases such as 'gray, fallow, dirty' (e.g. *fealu, salu, hasu*), 'dark, brown' (e.g. *hǣwe(n), hār, earp, wann, deorc*), or 'black, dirt-colored' (e.g. *sweart*). A reason for this might be that, in earlier days, only the two opposite states lightness and darkness were differentiated (cf. elementary dualism of Stage 1 in Berlin and Kay's evolutionary sequence (see 1.2). Aside from these numerous terms, which often carried both a brightness and a minor hue sense, we find expressions created on evident images such as 'ink' and 'grow'. These iconyms are based on prototypical referents in the world which have the specific feature of the desired concept. We also find many less well-defined concepts such as 'dress up' or 'to rise in a cloud'. ***Rēad* is the only basic color category that goes back to an underlying Indo-European color term.**

Intermediate colors and specific nuances are represented by various compounds and adjectival derivations. We come across various copulative compounds (e.g. *geolurēad, rēadbasu, geolohwīt, grēnhǣwen*) which mostly consist of two, often neighboring colors of the spectrum which are juxtaposed to indicate that the desired reference lies between the two hues. It appears that a need is felt for a more specific lexical representation in the borderline area between them. It is often not clear which of the elements is regarded as the grammatical head and it depends on the context which of them is to be stressed. The majority of the composite terms are determinative compounds whose second element is usually a generic color term. Their determinants can comprise the name of an object which is a prototypical or popular representative of the respective color (e.g. blood, grass, snow, milk, sky, coal, nut). Compositions with an animal name as the first element can serve for poetic purposes (e.g. *assedun, hrǣfnsweart*), but can also refer to the dyeing process, especially to the fact that cloth is

[287] Collins 1995: 720.

made from the pigment of certain animals (e.g. *weolocrēad, wurmrēad*). A reference to the dyeing production can also be seen in *wrætrēad* and *wrætbasu*. Adjectival derivations in *-ig* and *-en* are very popular, most frequently formations on familiar concepts such as 'blood', 'rose', 'gold', 'wolf' etc. Furthermore, specialized textile terms such as the names of dyes and clothes (e.g. *wād, blāw, pæl*) serve as bases, as does the Anglo-Saxon word for 'saffron'.

In contrast to the large amount of brightness concepts in Old English, further language history is marked by a gradual alignment towards hues and by an increasing discrimination of certain shades and nuances. The transformation is particularly evident in Middle English, where inherited brightness-focused terms were still noticeable, while hue-based terms steadily entered the language. After the Norman Conquest, natives of English gradually and unconsciously absorbed the French way of analyzing and seeing color. Apart from borrowing color terms, they created their own vocabulary by deriving color terms from names of objects or phenomena, which chiefly serve to encode numerous finely differentiated hues. Very important are the names of metals and minerals (e.g. *golden, silver, ruby, sapphire*), all concepts which featured brightness, a characteristic the English people were probably used to dealing with. Beside the names of clothes imbued with a certain color (e.g. *scarlet, crimson*), and of pigments and dyes (e.g. *vermilion*) that had already been used to refer to color in Old English, several other "spheres of borrowing" can be noticed after French influence. The names of animals (e.g. *mous-don, bēveren*), of plants and fruits (e.g. *rosī, gaudī, lilīe-whīt, note-broun*), and of natural phenomena (e.g. *sonnish, asshen, asshī, lēden, cōl-blak*) are employed, most of which, however, occur as compound terms or adjectival derivations. Very popular concepts are 'cherry' and 'burnt'. The introduction of the printing press in 1476 led to a standardized and widespread use of the various terms.

Modern English color terminology is characterized by countless metonymical extensions of entity senses. A color is typically named after an object, substance, or phenomenon that possesses the color quality in question. Particularly in the 16^{th} and 17^{th} century we find many expressions concerning colors from minerals and metal (e.g. *amber, emerald, amethyst, argent, alabaster, turquoise, copper*). The names of fruits, vegetables, and plants are often used as well (e.g. *orange, hazel, peach, citron, olive, walnut, carrot, damson, saffron, flaxen, damask, ebony*). However, the concepts of textiles and pigments decrease and lose their importance, probably because they disappear from everyday context due to the industrial production on the basis of artificial dyestuffs. **The productivity of metonymy peaks in the 19^{th} century, which is a result of industrialization, colonialization, and the expansion of articles and advertisements in newspapers and magazines, the first mass media.** With the invention and import of new objects (e.g. *chocolate*) arises the demand of new color designations to identify with these new concepts, whereupon a wide variety of color names emerges. Aside from the already popular images of plants and fruits (e.g. *maize, straw, ginger, hyacinth, plum, tangerine*), the concepts of liquids, especially wine (e.g. *wine, claret, burgundy, chartreuse, coffee, champagne*), as well as food and spices such as *honey, toast, cream, shrimp, prawn* etc. give rise to new color terms. Many of these entity senses are of French origin, as the French *cuisine* is regarded as highly prestigious. Animal names and products are also often extended to refer to colors (e.g. *canary, flamingo, buff*). Other favored iconyms are the names of locations (e.g. *magenta, modena*), or natural phenomena such as 'sun' or 'sky/heaven/horizon'. The proliferation of color terms goes on in the 20^{th} century, accelerated by the rapid development in technology and industry as well as by the quick changes in fashion. New color terms are required and all kinds of images and concepts can be utilized to designate color - there are virtually no limits to the productivity of metonymy.

3.2 Loanwords

Borrowed expressions do not only serve to fill in "lexical gaps" (e.g. *orange*), but also function to imitate the ideal, the terminology of a prestigious language. Furthermore, they allow people to communicate certain aspects of important innovations and imported products, for instance in the domain of fashion. Together with already existing terms, this can sometimes result in etymological doublets (e.g. OE *blāc* : ME *bleik* and ModE *cherry* : *cerise*).

The majority of color terms borrowed into English was taken over from French and Latin, both prestigious languages with a rich color terminology. After the Norman Conquest, the import of French customs and manners led to an increased use of French color terminology, both via literature and daily life. Reaching a climax in the 14^{th} century, the English particularly loaned an elaborate set of terms to distinguish horses by their coloration (e.g. *grīs, lyard, sore, sorel, grizzly, bay*) as well as specialized names for communicating fine distinctions in the field of clothing (e.g. *sanguine, murrey, cendrē*). Several textile expressions were taken over from Anglo-Norman (e.g. *vermeil, russet, wachet, lavendre, tauni*). The loan of many blue-related terms (e.g. *blue, azure, pers, inde*) is noticeable as well. Furthermore, the terminology of the courtly habit, heraldry, was adapted during the Middle Ages (e.g. *gules, azure, sinople, sable, argent, tenné* etc.). However, the amount of borrowings has very much decreased in the Modern English period. But French was still an important source in the 19^{th} century, most frequently in the context of *haute coûture*, advertisement, and art, probably to increase sales with the help of the seemingly more glamorous French terms (e.g. *cerise, maroon, beige, ecru, taupe*).

The influence of Latin color nomenclature on English is greater than it seems at first glance, as many of the French color terms ultimately go back to the Latin terminology. Direct loans of Latin color terms became popular during the 17^{th} century. Various specialized Latin color terms (e.g. *marmorean, cinereous, plumbeous, rufous, glaucous, albescent*) were borrowed, which, however, were often confined to specific scientific contexts such as natural history or zoology, and are meanwhile of minor importance or have become obsolete.

During late Old English times, Old Norse also contributed to enrich the lexicon (e.g. *gul, bleik, blō, blae*). Other, albeit minor but relatively recent sources have been Spanish and Portuguese (e.g. *indigo*), Greek (e.g. *cyan*), and Urdū (e.g. *khaki*).

Despite their co-existence, Celtic languages left hardly any traces in the English language and *dun* and *wan* might be the only color terms directly borrowed from Old Irish and Middle Welsh respectively.

3.3 Collocational Restrictions

Collocational restriction refers to limits on the way words can be combined. They do not arise from differences in the basic meaning of each word, but rather from arbitrary idioms that have developed over time.

'Hair', 'animal fur', and 'complexion' are the three major collocations to which some of the color terms have been restricted in the course of English language history. OE *blanc* was exclusively used in connection with horses and OE *dun(n)* was collocationally restricted to animal furs and the plumage of birds. Many of the specialized horse color terms borrowed from Old French into Middle English also took over the collocational confinement to horses

(e.g. *grīsel, bay, bayard, mor(r)el, sore, sorel, liard*). *Blond* and *auburn* were only applied in the context of hair coloration and *sanguine* and *rubicunde* exhibited a restriction to complexion. As far as Modern English is concerned, *grizzly* and *hoary* are restricted to hair and animal fur, and *fallow* is only used with 'deer, buck'. Regarding human appearance, *raven* exclusively collocates with 'hair', *hazel* is employed with eyes, and *swarthy* mostly denotes the complexion of a male person.

Several inherited terms, among them *sallow, wan, fallow* and *swart,* undergo a shift of meaning from Old English to Modern English that is often accompanied by a restriction in usage. Already in Middle English, many of these terms no longer designate a distinct hue, but are characterized by a loss or lack of color, most frequently of the ruddy hue of health or of the full green of vegetation. This deficiency of color causes them to no longer exhibit brilliance, which often results in emotionally negative associations. In Modern English, they are even more restricted or have disappeared entirely (e.g. ME *bloke, blake*).

Literature, glosses and glossaries as well as the fields of dyeing and clothing, heraldry, and science furthermore exhibit specialized vocabulary which might be somehow contextually confined to the respective domains.

4. Final Remarks

Present-day English contains one of the most complex color terminologies in the world. Aside from the eleven basic color terms, which comprise nuances of the respective concepts, are used with a variety of referents by many speakers, and seem to be more stable, countless non-basic, elaborate, secondary, or specialized terms are employed, be it for poetic reasons or to denote distinct shades of a certain color. However, they are often restricted, remain unknown to the layperson, and can disappear after one season (most frequently fashion and car color terms). Fixed expressions, such as *hazel eyes*, may exist for a longer period of time.

The immense color vocabulary is due to intra-linguistic reasons (e.g. the morpho-syntactic change) and various extra-linguistic factors, among them major economic and cultural changes. The terminology evolved from a vast amount of brightness concepts in the Old English period, which were gradually ousted by hue-orientated concepts in Middle English. The accentuation of colors and the increasing discrimination of their nuances demanded more and more expressions. Apart from borrowing color terms, the speakers of English have been able to create their own vocabulary by deriving color terms from names of objects or phenomena that exhibit a good and distinct color quality and, if possible, do not carry different associations. In order to find the best illustration of a color, the images of textiles and dyestuffs were first used. Soon metonymical extensions of the domains of minerals, plants, animals, food, and manufactured goods were employed as well. Many of them were of foreign, especially of French origin. Countless terms were coined in the course of industrialization, through the expansion of newspapers and magazines, and the rapid change in technology and fashion. The possibilities for the formation of new names are almost unlimited. However, being the new *lingua franca* of the sciences, English has become a donor language that now influences other languages and cultures. The Internet has its share in disseminating these new expressions. How the development of color terms will turn out to be in the 21^{st} century is still to be seen, but one is for sure: as history and cultures are not static but dynamic, also color vocabularies are subject to change.

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