

A contrastive study of colour terms in French and German causal constructions

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1. Introduction

One of the strengths of Cognitive Linguistics is that it sees language as closely linked to cognition (Dirven and Ruiz de Mendoza Ibanez 2010), it « approaches language as an integrated part of human cognition which operates in interaction with and on the basis of the same principles as other cognitive faculties » (Dirven 2004: 1). Because of this strong link it is only too natural that language should be explored in relation with its speakers and with the cognitive processes that these undergo when using language. This pertains to the conceptualization of colour terms which builds the central issue of this contrastive study. The study of colour terms has attracted the interest of many linguists and psycholinguists. Here we can quote Berlin and Kay's seminal study on colour terms (1969) but also among others Brusatin (2009), Derrig (1978), Pastoreau (2002), Plümacher & Holz (2007), Van Leeuwen (2010) and Wierzbicka (1990). Berlin and Kay (1969) define eleven basic colour categories which they claim to be universal (1969: 2) in spite of a possible variable number of colour terms in different speech communities. Their claim is sustained by some properties for the determination of the basic colour terms. A few decades later Wierzbicka (1990: 103) proposes a contrastive study of colour terms in English, Russian, Polish and Hungarian which allows her to reject the universality principle advocated by Berlin and Kay:

Color perception is, by and large, the same for all human groupings [...]. But color conceptualization is different in different cultures, although there are also some striking similarities. Extreme universalism in the study of language and cognition is just as unfounded and just as dangerous as extreme cultural relativism.

As a representative of the linguistic relativity hypothesis she shows that Berlin and Kay fail to investigate the 'meaning' of colour terms and that they rather concentrate on the colors' foci, leaving out the boundaries of colours. In line with Wierzbicka, Roberson et al. (2005: 380) bring some further evidence for the linguistic relativity hypothesis :

While the physiological basis of color vision is the same for all humans with normal trichromatic color vision (Jordan & Mollon, 1997), there is considerable

diversity in the way that different languages segment the continuum of visible colors.

Following the representatives of the linguistic relativity hypothesis, the present contrastive study will also explore the conceptualization of colours in different speech communities, i.e. French and German, and more specifically as they are realized in causal constructions of the type (1) *Je suis rouge de colère* (lit. 'I am red of rage' = 'I am red with rage'), (2) *Il est bleu de linguistique* (lit. 'He is blue of linguistics' = 'He is crazy about/loves linguistics'), (3) *Er ist grün vor Neid* (lit. 'He is green of jealousy' = 'He is green with jealousy'). Based on examples from the corpora of the Sketchengine for French and the corpora of the Digitales Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache (DWDS) for German the first part of the chapter (Section 2) will describe such causal constructions with colour terms in the framework of Goldberg's model of Construction Grammar (1995 and 2006) and with reference to the concepts of metaphor and metonymy (Niemeier 1998 and 2007). It is interesting to realize that colour terms are associated with positive or negative values when used in the particular causal construction under discussion. Section 3 of the chapter will describe related constructions, i.e. causal constructions with a non-colour adjective, e.g. (4) *Il est fou d'amour*, lit. 'He is crazy of love', but also non-causal constructions with the same syntactic elements, e.g. (5) *Elle est belle de visage*, lit. 'She is pretty of the face' (= 'She has a pretty face') (compare Frei 1939, Léard/Marengo 2005 and Salles 1998). It is one of the claims of Construction Grammar that constructions as such can be polysemous, i.e. that the same syntactic structure can convey different meanings.

A quick test allows to realize that associations related to colour terms can be very different dependent on the speech community. The colour term *blue* is positive in the French construction quoted above (see example (2)), whereas it is rather negative in a German example, e.g. *Er ist blau vor Kälte* (lit. 'He is blue of the cold'). Moreover, it seems that French uses lots of colour terms in the causal construction, whereas German uses them more scarcely. Section 4 will compare the use of colour terms in such constructions in the Romance language French and the Germanic language German and will show which associations and underlying conceptualizations are related to the colour terms in particular speech communities (see also Danesi 2008). The study is based on some empirical tests conducted with French and German native speakers. It aims at showing the different conceptualizations underlying the constructions with colour terms, the different associations related to colour terms and the possible overlappings between different languages. It will also allow to explain why foreign language learners may have difficulties when learning foreign colour expressions (see Danesi 2008): the associations related to a particular colour and the particular use of colour terms in specific constructions, e.g. the causal construction, seem to be language-specific.

2. The causal construction with a colour adjective

The units of Construction Grammar (Goldberg 1995 and 2006) are called ‘constructions’. These are characterized by non-compositionality, i.e. that they have to be described as whole entities and not as the simple sum of single elements:

Any linguistic pattern is recognized as a construction as long as some aspect of its form or function is not strictly predictable from its component parts or from other constructions recognized to exist. In addition, patterns are stored as constructions even if they are fully predictable as long as they occur with sufficient frequency. (Goldberg 2006: 5)

To consider constructions as the basic units of language allows to explain how some single elements in a construction can be used differently from their lexical definition and further why some additional senses can emerge from the use of these single elements in constructions. Here we can refer to the well-known example of *Peter sneezing the napkin off the table*, a caused motion construction in which a non-transitive verb becomes transitive thanks to its use in the construction. In the same way the intransitive verb *smile* becomes transitive in the resultative construction, e.g. *Michael Schumacher lächelt alle Zweifel weg* (Berliner Morgenpost, 27.12.2009), ‘Michael Schumacher smiles all doubt away’.

The principle of non-compositionality also characterizes the examples under investigation in this chapter, i.e. causal constructions with a colour adjective as illustrated in the following examples :

- (1) *Je suis rouge de colère* (lit. ‘I am red of rage’ = ‘I am red with rage’)
- (2) *Il est bleu de linguistique* (lit. ‘He is blue of linguistics’ = ‘He is crazy about/loves linguistics’)
- (3) *Er ist grün vor Neid* (lit. ‘He is green of jealousy’ = ‘He is green with jealousy’).

They consist of a copula verb followed by a colour adjective which is itself accompanied by a nominal group expressing the cause for the colour: [*être* ‘to be’ + colour adjective + *de* ‘of/from’ + noun]. Here are some more French and German examples from the « Sketchengine » corpora (<http://the.sketchengine.co.uk>) and some additional German examples from the corpora of the Digitales Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache (DWDS):

- (6) *Lecoq était devenu vert de colère* (03997).
Lit. ‘Lecoq had become green of rage’.

- (7) *Elle est verte de peur, morte de trouille!* (10573).
Lit. 'She is green of fear, dead of fear'.
- (8) *J'étais rouge de honte et baissai la tête...* (01348).
Lit. 'I was red of shame and dropped the head ...'
- (9) *Ein Lehrer, den Kopf rot vor Aufregung, wünscht sich einen Arbeitsplatz, der näher an seiner Heimat liegt.* (Die Zeit, 19.06.2009, Nr. 24)
Lit. 'A teacher, his head red of excitement, wishes a job which is closer to his home town.'
- (10) *Die Sportler sind rot, die Blaser blau vor Kälte.* (Die Zeit, 04.02.1983, Nr. 6)
Lit. 'The sportsmen are red, the brass players blue of the cold'.

Let us look at the different elements of this construction in detail.

2.1. The copula verb

The copula verb does not have to be the verb 'to be' but can be another copula, e.g. *to become*, *to remain*, as illustrated in example (6). The subject of the copula verb often designates a figure which can be a human being who undergoes a colour change in the face, or an animal, e.g.

- (11) *Der Hund war blass vor Erschöpfung.*
Lit. 'The dog was pale of exhaustion'

In few cases a non-animate figure is also possible in the causal construction:

- (12) *Dehors sous le ciel gris de rage contenue,...*(957627)
Lit. 'Outside under the sky, grey of contained rage,...'

2.2. The colour adjective

Most of the time the colour adjective corresponds to a basic colour (compare Berlin and Kay's (1969) definition of eleven basic colour terms): black, white, red, blue, green, or yellow. These colours correspond to « concepts anchored in certain 'universals of human experience' » as « we project them onto something in our shared environment » (Wierzbicka 1990: 99). « These universals can be identified, roughly speaking, as day and night, fire, the sun, vegetation, the sky, and the ground. » (ibid). In the examples under investigation they depict the colour of a body-part – mostly of the face – as the spot for emotion expression: shame, rage, anger, jealousy, envy,... In these

cases the colour term is the metonymical expression of a particular physical state caused by the feeling or the emotion depicted in the following nominal group. « In metonymy, we conceive of a whole scene but mention just one aspect of it, usually one that is particularly salient or highlighted » (Niemeier 2007: 6). The underlying metonymy is COLOUR OF THE FACE for PHYSICAL STATE. Niemeier (1998 : 126) claims that « Colours are certainly a very productive metonymic field ». The colour term in the constructions under study can also be used to express a physical state due to external influences, e.g. a low temperature in example (10).

In some examples the colour term is not used metonymically to express a physical state change as it is indeed the colour which is meant. Compare the following examples :

- (13) *Les étiquettes étaient brunes de poussière* (17335)
Lit. 'The labels were brown from the dust'
- (14) *Hoffmann, son nez était noir de tabac* (09713)
Lit. 'Hoffmann, his nose was black from the tobacco'.

The change of colour in the face being restricted to a few basic colours, e.g. red, blue, yellow, green or white, the other basic colours defined by Berlin and Kay (1969), i.e. grey, black, brown, pink, orange or purple, will appear more rarely in the French or German causal construction. Still, here are a few examples with these infrequent colour terms:

- (15) *L'homme est devenu violet de rire* (1077266752)
Lit. 'The man became purple of laugh'.

The following example does not concern the change of colour in the face but in the sky which explains the use of *grey*:

- (12) *Dehors sous le ciel gris de rage contenue,...*(957627)
Lit. 'Outside under the sky, grey of contained rage,...'

Contrary to Berlin and Kay's (1969) claim that the basic colour terms are universal we will rather follow Wierzbicka (1990) who shows with similar examples from English, Polish, Russian and Hungarian that the meaning of one and the same colour term can be very different. Every colour term will be associated with a particular positive or negative value (see also Niemeier 1998 and 2007), this association is very much dependent on the cultural background and the speech community, e.g. 'blue' is rather positive in the French example

- (2) *Il est bleu de linguistique*
Lit. 'He is blue of linguistics' = 'He is crazy about/loves

linguistics’

but negative in the German illustrations

- (10) *Die Sportler sind rot, die Blaser blau vor Kälte.* (Die Zeit, 04.02.1983, Nr. 6)
Lit. ‘The sportsmen were red, the brass players blue of (the) cold’.
- (16) *Ich dagegen bin blau vor Kälte* (DWDS-Korpus)
Lit. ‘I on the contrary am blue of (the) cold’.

Most colour adjectives used in the causal construction under discussion are associated with a negative value triggered by the nominal group following the colour adjective. This illustrates at best the non-compositional principle advocated by Construction Grammar as the colour adjective gets its full meaning by its use in the particular causal construction. As such colour adjectives, e.g. *red* or *green*, do not express a negative meaning or value, it is only because they are used in the causal construction that they can convey such a value. To put it with Bochnakowa (1990: 10) «Les émotions telles que la peur, la colère, la jalousie provoquent des symptômes psychosomatiques qui, décrits d’une façon plus ou moins métaphorique, peuvent renvoyer aux couleurs.» In a few isolated cases the colour adjective can convey a positive value, e.g. French *rose* ‘pink’ in

- (17) *Je suis rose de bonheur*
Lit. ‘I am pink of happiness’
(<http://www.gazette-besancon.fr/2010/02/23/jean-louis-fousseret-je-suis-rose-de-bonheur/>)

We will look at the associations in more detail in Section 4.

2.3. The nominal group

The nominal group following the colour term is introduced by a preposition expressing the cause. In French it is the preposition *de*, German has several prepositions dependent on the meaning it is supposed to convey: *aus*, *vor*, *von*. The French preposition *de* is polysemous, in German – like in English – the polysemy is neutralized by the use of different prepositions: In causal examples where the colour adjective is used metonymically to express a change of state it is the preposition *vor* which is selected. If the colour adjective is not used metonymically as in the translated examples (13’) and (14’) the preposition *von* will appear in the construction, e.g.

(13') *Die Etiketten waren braun vom Staub*

(14') *Hoffmann, seine Nase war schwarz vom Tabak.*

The German preposition *aus* would express an intentional change of state. There were no examples of the causal constructions with this preposition in the corpora.

The noun after the preposition expresses the cause for the physical change. Most of the time it is an emotion, a feeling, but it can also be an external cause like a low or high temperature, e.g. in examples (10) or (16). But in any case it has to be the expression of an excessive cause to trigger the change of state in the figure. A somewhat particular example is (2) *Il est bleu de linguistique* ('He is blue of linguistics' = 'He is crazy about/loves linguistics') as it does not refer to a face colour and where 'linguistics' is seen as the cause for the physical change. Like other colour terms, 'blue' is used metonymically to designate a change of the face colour, but additionally it is a metaphor for a state of passion: 'TO BE CRAZY/PASSIONATE ABOUT SOMETHING IS TO BE BLUE'. In this sense example (2) is different from example (16) *Ich dagegen bin blau vor Kälte* with the same colour adjective *blue* but in which the face looks as if it were indeed blue.¹ This example is very close to related causal constructions with a non-colour adjective, e.g. *fou d'amour* 'crazy about love', *mort de soif* 'dead of thirst',... in which the adjectives do not express a literal state of craziness, death, but rather metaphorically a heavy physical state. This brings us to the next section.

3. Related constructions

Construction Grammar postulates a strong link between syntax and the lexicon, or more precisely between the syntactic structure or form of a particular construction and the meaning this construction can convey. Lexicon and syntax build a continuum characterized by the principle of non-modularity. Like single words constructions can be polysemous which means that one and the same syntactic structure can convey different (related) senses. This also pertains to the construction under discussion [*être* + adjective + *de* + noun]. The following section aims at describing the various senses.

3.1. Causal constructions with a non-colour adjective

In the same construction a non-colour adjective can be used, e.g.

(4) *Il est fou d'amour,*

Lit. 'He is crazy of love',

(18) *Il est mort de trouille* (00749)

- Lit. 'He is dead of fear'
- (19) *Cette ville est malade, m'écrit Durito, malade de solitude et de peur* (02953)
 Lit. 'This town is ill, Durito writes to me, ill of solitude and fear'.
- (20) *Fous de jalousie, Marc et les filles décident de monter un plan de bataille* (00804)
 Lit. 'Crazy of jealousy, Marc and the girls decide to put up a battle plan'.

Just like with colour adjectives these constructions express a causal meaning, i.e. an excessive physical state or state of mind triggered by the emotion or feeling expressed by the following noun. But such examples differ from the constructions with a colour adjective in that the non-colour adjective is used metaphorically to express the exaggeration: the figure is not literally crazy (example (4) or (20)), dead (example (18)) or ill (example (19)).

3.2. Non-causal constructions with the same syntactic structure

The same syntactic structure can convey a non-causal meaning. The question is how it is possible to distinguish the causal construction from these non-causal constructions. Let us first look at a few examples :

- (21) *Pierre était sûr de sa soeur*
 Lit. 'Peter was sure of his sister' = 'Peter could rely on his sister'
- (22) *Patricia est fière de son diplôme*
 Lit. 'Patricia is proud of her degree'
- (23) *Marie est certaine de son coup*
 Lit. 'Mary is certain of her action' = 'Mary is confident that she will reach her aim'
- (24) *Elle est très belle de visage* (Salles 1998: 122)
 Lit. 'She is very pretty of the face' = 'She has a pretty face'
- (25) *Léa est douce de caractère* (Léard and Marengo 2005: 395)
 Lit. 'Léa is gentle of temper' = 'Léa has a gentle temper'.

In their typological study of the complements to adjectives Léard and Marengo (2005) make a distinction between these different examples. There are so-called 'real arguments' to the adjective, e.g. (21)-(23), which are characterized by the following criteria (Léard and Marengo 2005: 391): (i) the prepositional group after the adjective can be pronominalized by *en/lui/y*; (ii) a partial interrogation is possible; (iii) often the adjective + the prepositional group can be replaced by an alternative verbal expression. If we apply these criteria to e.g. our example (22) we get the following structures:

- (22i) *Patricia en est fière*
- (22ii) *De quoi Patricia est-elle fière ?*
- (22iii) *Patricia se réjouit de son diplôme.*

As opposed to these examples Léard and Marengo describe another type of examples with so-called ‘non-arguments’ to the adjective (2005: 395) which is illustrated in the above examples (24) and (25) and which has been described in great detail by Salles (1998) and already partially by Frei (1939). The above criteria for real arguments to the adjective developed by Léard and Marengo are not applicable to this other type of examples. «The complement represents a narrow replica, an inherent aspect of the subject, so that both are nominal and in a relation of part-whole, which includes the inherent properties» (2005: 396) [my translation from French]. Consequently, they add, it is possible to omit the prepositional group without losing much information. E.g. to say (25) *Léa est douce de caractère* is almost the same as saying *Léa est douce*. Following Frei (1939) Salles (1998) speaks of ‘converse construction’ to designate such examples. A sentence e.g. *Oscar est blanc de peau* (Salles 1998: 123), Lit. ‘Oscar is white of skin’, can be paraphrased by *Oscar a une peau blanche* ‘Oscar has a white skin’ which according to Frei implies a ‘short-circuit’ or a crossing of the adjective and the following noun (Salles 1998: 123). Salles further proposes a pattern which allows to check whether the examples under discussion are indeed converse constructions: ‘En ce qui concerne PARTIE DU CORPS, X est ADJECTIF’, ‘As far as BODY-PART is concerned, X is ADJECTIVE’ [my translation]. Applied to our examples this would lead to the following interpretations:

- (24’) En ce qui concerne le visage, elle est très belle
- (25’) En ce qui concerne le caractère, Léa est douce.

3.3. Summary

One and the same syntactic structure [*être* + adjective + *de* + noun] can convey different meanings. In Cognitive Linguistics and Construction Grammar it has been shown that the inventory of constructions is motivated by inheritance links: «It is argued that constructions form a network and are linked by inheritance relations which motivate many of the properties of particular constructions.» (Goldberg 1995: 67) Like for Goldberg’s description of the ditransitive syntactic pattern (1995: 75) it seems that the constructions under discussion in this chapter constitute a family of related senses rather than one single abstract sense. For further details about these related senses see De Knop (fc. 2012).

4. Contrastive study of causal constructions in French and German

The starting point for this study is built by the observation that there are some intercultural differences in the expressions of colours in different speech communities. Not only do languages differ from one another by the number of colour categories and terms, but as pinpointed by Wierzbicka (1990: 104) the boundaries and meaning of colour terms are not the same in different languages. Among the examples here above it became obvious that e.g. *blue* is not used in the same way in French or German. But additionally the same colour term can be meaningful in a construction in a specific language and meaningless in the same construction in a different language. Here we can quote the colour term ‘pink’ in the French example (17) *Je suis rose de bonheur*. Its literal translation into German, e.g. ‘Ich bin rosa vor Glück,’ does not refer to a well-known concept.

In her study of metonymy in colour terms Niemeier (1998: 126) refers to Lucy (1992) who «laments that the pragmatic use of these colour terms, i.e. the cultural differences in their usage, has never been analysed, which might have led to a considerable amount of blurring of the differences between languages ». As a response to this critique the present study aims at describing the use of colour terms in causal constructions and at comparing their use in different languages, i.e. in the Romance language French and the Germanic language German². Already Niemeier (1998: 141) stresses that «analysing colour terms and their meaning extensions is a challenging endeavour indeed since such a lot of extra-linguistic knowledge comes to the surface.» This claim would imply that colour terms and their use in particular expressions have to be studied with reference to the speakers of a particular language. This study will highlight differences of frequency, meaning and use possibilities of colour terms in both languages.

4.1. Differences in frequency

The frequency in the use of the causal construction in French and German was calculated thanks to a comparison of the corpora of the Sketch Engine (<http://the.sketchengine.co.uk>): examples from the French corpus frWaC which contains 1,628,667,738 tokens and 1,279,937,839 words was compared with examples from the German corpus deTenTen with 2,844,839,761 tokens and 2,338,036,362 words. As a general observation it seems that French speakers use colour terms more often than German speakers. As a first step the following basic colour terms ‘white’, ‘black’, ‘red’, ‘green’, ‘blue’ and ‘yellow’ were looked for in both corpora independently of the construction in which they appear. The following Table 1 summarizes the results:

Colour term	Number of hits in German corpus	Frequency per million	Number of hits in French corpus	Frequency per million
white	901 683	317.0	251 230	154.3
black	301 424	106.0	222 122	136.4
red	294 935	103.7	172 734	106.1
green	219 397	77.1	179 844	110.4
blue	143 606	50.5	120 977	74.3
yellow	87 928	30.9	65 648	40.3

Table 1: Frequency of colour terms in French and German corpora

Except for ‘white’ there are more examples of colour terms altogether in the French corpus than in the German one. To get a more differentiated picture we looked for colour terms in the causal construction [*est* + colour term + *de*] in French and [*ist* + colour term + *von/vor*] in German. Here are the results in Table 2:

Colour term	Number of hits in German corpus	Number of hits in French corpus
white	5	11
black	10	67
red	8	14
green	3	19
blue	0	0
yellow	0	3

Table 2: Frequency of colour terms in causal construction

The number of hits being very low the frequency per million for each category corresponds to 0.0. But a look at the figures in the table allows to realize that indeed French uses colour terms much more frequently than German in the causal construction under investigation. This claim is further sustained by translation tests; often the French examples cannot be translated into German.

4.2. Differences in meaning and use

In order to analyze the differences in meaning and use of colour terms in causal constructions in different speech communities some empirical tests were conducted with two groups of French and German speakers which will be described in the next subsections.

4.2.1. Participants and test design

Following Danesi (2008 : 237) who claims that « One technique for fleshing out the unconscious conceptual fluency of native speakers is to ask them to draw up meaning associations of specific concepts » two associative tests were conducted with native speakers of French and German. The two test groups consisted of 20 native adult participants each. The French participants were French-speaking Belgians living in Belgium, the German participants were natives living in Germany. In a first associative test the 2 test groups were asked what they associate with a specific colour. We opted for the list of eleven basic colours as defined by Berlin and Kay (1969). In the second associative test they were asked which emotion(s), e.g. happiness, jealousy, anger, rage, they associate with a specific colour. For this test they were allowed to give several combinations. Already in the examples quoted here above the same colour 'red' was e.g. associated with rage (example (1)) but also with shame (example (8)).

4.2.2. Results

The frequency figures and the associative tests with the two different groups allow to highlight the differences in frequency, meaning and perception of colour terms in the specific construction in different languages and speech communities. The following observations can be made:

- (1) French speakers use colour terms in the specific causal construction more frequently than German speakers.
- (2) The basic colours are not associated with the same concepts by French and German speakers. Whereas e.g. the colour 'yellow' will be associated by German speakers with jealousy, the same colour will rather stand for happiness, hope, or joy in the French-speaking community.
- (3) This means that a specific colour is associated with negative or positive emotions and consequently that this colour is also associated with a positive or negative value in a particular speech community. In the above example 'yellow' is rather seen as negative in German whereas it is associated with positive values in French.

5. Conclusions

Our intuition about differences in meaning, use and frequency between different languages has been confirmed.

- (1) There is no one-to-one overlapping in the use of colour terms in French and German; French examples cannot be translated as such into German.
- (2) Sometimes translation is possible but the colour term in the particular causal construction is meaningless. See for example the colour term 'pink' in (17).

Consequently, the universality principle advocated by Berlin and Kay (1969) has to be revisited.

The lower frequency of colour terms in the causal constructions in German may depend on different factors. With the discussion of the examples it became clear that the causal construction expresses a kind of 'exaggeration' or 'excessiveness' with the expression of a change of state due to a strong emotion/feeling/external temperature/... The colour adjective is used metonymically to express this change of state. German as a "synthetic language,, (Zimmer 1996: 37) favours a compact way of expression with compounds. This is particularly true for the expression of excessiveness: while French speakers will use a causal construction *Je suis mort de faim*, Germans will rather use a compound, e.g. *Ich habe einen Bärenhunger*; in a similar way Germans will speak of *Todesangst*, whereas French will say *mort de peur*. Compare the following examples in both languages:

- (26) Fr. *malade d'amour*/Germ. *liebeskrank*
'sick of love'
- (27) Fr. *fou d'amour*/Germ. *liebestoll*
'crazy of love'
- (28) Fr. *mort de fatigue*/Germ. *todmüde*
'dead of exhaustion'.

Consequently, the difference in the frequency of causal expressions with a colour term seems to also depend on the favoured ways of expression in French and in German and not only on the speakers themselves.

Notes

1. In the same way the adjective *blau* is used metonymically and metaphorically in the German example *Er ist blau vom Alkohol*, 'He is blue of the alcohol, which means that he is drunk.
2. A further comparative study is planned with the Romance languages Italian and Spanish.

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