

Ida Raffaelli, Daniela Katunar, Barbara Kerovec (eds.) (2019)
Lexicalization patterns in color naming. A cross-linguistic perspective.
John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam/Philadelphia.
429 pages.

The editors of this extensive scholarly endeavor are Professor Ida Raffaelli, Daniela Katunar, postdoctoral researcher, and Assistant Professor Barbara Kerovec (Raffaelli and Katunar from the Linguistics Department, Kerovec from the Department of Oriental, Turkish and Hungarian Studies, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb). This edited volume comprises three thematic sections: "Part I. Lexicalization patterns in and over time", "Part II. Color terms in a genealogical and typological perspective", and "Part III. Languages in culture and languages in contact". The titles of the sections highlight the wide range of topics covered in the sixteen contributions to this volume as well as the overall dynamic and multi-faceted nature of the notion of color. From the very physical properties of color to the use of hues in Victorian painting – to use a random range of color-related topics in general – understanding what all color is requires a major multi-disciplinary pursuit. This volume provides a systematic, multi-layered linguistic perspective – and a fresh one at that, as the editors state that "most of the previous studies regarding color terms have dealt with the categorization and, specifically, the perceptual salience of focal colors" (pp. 5–6). The objective behind this volume was to provide insight into the structural layers involved in expressing color terms and color relations: lexicalization itself as a structural process, inter- and intra-language structural variation, expressing focal and non-focal colors, and reflections of culture and contact in the structure of color terms. Language families represented in this book are Indo-European (Slavic, Germanic, Romance, Indo-Aryan, Iranian), Turkic, Koreanic, Uralic, Afro-Asiatic, Niger-Kongo, Nilo-Saharan, Khoisan, and isolated (Basque).

In their introductory chapter (pp. 1–19) the editors inform us about the background of this volume, introduce the fundamental terminology, and provide summaries of the chapters in order to present the coherent linguistic framework presented throughout the studies included. As many volumes do, this one also arises from a combination of previous research projects and developing new interests and perspectives. The fundamental motivation lies in the research conducted within the project *Evolution of Semantic Systems* (EoS), from 2011 to 2014, in cooperation with the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, with Ida Raffaelli as the leader of the Croatian team. The project focused on variation and changes in meaning over space and time, and the project collected data from 50 IE languages. One of the tasks in the project was related with color research with the aim of obtaining a large quantity of data from IE languages in order to then enable larger studies about color terms. The specific task of color elicitation was used in order to gather data on color

terms in relation to the partition of the color spectrum. The task did yield relevant data that was primarily used in demarcating the color domain. However, the empirically based results provided insight into lexicalization patterns used by speakers and this was the beginning of the comprehensive investigation into the lexicalization patterns in color naming. The editors presented their dataset at a workshop on Balto-Slavic languages in Lyon in 2014, and then were further motivated to set up themselves a workshop on lexicalization patterns, which they did in Vienna in February 2016 at the 17th International Morphology Meeting (Ida Raffaelli was the convenor of the thematic workshop). The name of the Vienna workshop was "Lexicalization patterns in color naming: a cross-linguistic perspective" – the very title of this volume. The workshop gathered 11 speakers, not all from the EoSS project and not all on IE languages, which further broadened the viewpoints in color linguistics. This is why I used 'extensive scholarly endeavor' in the first sentence of this review, as the volume really does have a consistently dynamic and productive history. The volume reflects a whole series of efforts made and seen through by the editors as well as their confidence and belief in the topic and the collaborating authors in the workshop and the volume.

As stated on page 5 in the introductory chapter, there are four major research questions in the volume that "emphasize the novel viewpoints in the field of study of color terms", and the questions are as follows: "the focus on language structure per se in the study of lexicalization data", "a typological perspective on color terms, especially in terms of inter- and intra-language structural variation", "focus on both focal and non-focal color terms", and "culture and language contact as being reflected in language structure".

As far as the terminology is considered, there is a brief discussion (pp. 2–4) in the introductory chapter of the terms 'lexicalization patterns' and 'lexicalization strategies'. The common focus of the research collected in this volume is on the formation of both focal and non-focal color terms, which then reflects in these individual studies focusing on lexicalization patterns as language structures that the speakers use to name colors. The volume "adopts Talmy's basic notion of lexicalization patterns" (relation between meaning and surface expressions [...] which semantic elements are expressed by which surface elements; p. 2–3), but it expands this notion by observing and analyzing similar and diverse grammatical mechanisms among genetically and typologically close and distant languages. The editors recognize that linguists often use 'patterns' and 'strategies' interchangeably, but in this book the two terms are seen as different. They consider 'lexicalization strategies' a broader term than 'lexicalization patterns', with focus on diverse processes that speakers use when naming a certain concept (p. 3). 'Lexicalization patterns' are structural units, more or less conventionalized parts of a language system (p. 3).

Part I. Lexicalization patterns over time comprises six chapters (pp. 23–156). This section brings forth the synchronic and the diachronic perspectives into the structural stability and dynamics of lexicalization patterns – how these con-

ventionalized structural units prevail or are replaced over time. The first chapter "Rethinking the category of 'basic color term': Evidence from Hungarian lexicalization patterns" is authored by Réka Benczes and Erzsébet Tóth–Czifra. Benczes and Tóth–Czifra offer examples from Hungarian (the Hungarian Gigaword Corpus was used) that challenge Berlin and Kay's (1969) definition of 'basic color terms'. Berlin and Kay's BCT are based on a rather strict set of criteria – BCT is monolexic, applies to a large set of objects, is widely known and frequently used, and refers to one color. The authors challenge these formal criteria by analyzing three variables, etymological data, individual occurrence of color term, and the productivity of lexicalization patterns. They successfully show that BCT in Hungarian "is not a rigid set of equal-status members" and readily propose "a more flexible – radial – category structure" as well as a necessary "differentiation between primary BCTs (more typical and central to the category) and secondary BCTs (less typical and more peripheral members)".

The second chapter "Lexicalization patterns in Slovak color naming" is authored by Katarina Dudová. The patterns presented and analyzed in this chapter are based on empirical data from the EoS project mentioned earlier in this review. In Slovak there are two basic lexicalization patterns, derivation and compounding, the former involved in 40.8 % of color terms and the latter in 58.3 %. However, compounding seems to be the preferred pattern in communication as it enables speakers to be more precise in expressing color terms. Significant differences were found in the productivity of semantic categories. Lexicalization patterns in contemporary Slovak have their developmental and cultural background, e.g. the adverbial components *tmavo-*/ *temno-* 'dark', *svetlo-* 'light', and *bledo* 'pale' have been documented in Slovak since the 12th century. The third chapter "Compound color terms in Italian" is authored by Maria Grossmann and Paolo D'Achille. This overview of compound color terms in Italian features both the synchronic and the diachronic perspective. In contemporary Italian, compounding is the most frequently used device in developing the inventory of color terms. Coordinate compounds and attributive compounds are identified as the most productive patterns. In relation to the morphosyntactic characteristics of compounds, these constructions lie between compounding proper and asyndetic coordination. Some examples of semantically opaque compounds were found as well, e.g. *giallo tradimento* 'betrayal yellow'. Diachronic data point to syntactic strategies as the more frequent device in color naming. This study very clearly points out the dynamic nature of the color system in a language. The fourth chapter "'Brightness' in color linguistics: New light from Danish visual semantics" is authored by Carsten Levisen. Drawing on insights from visual semantics and linguistic anthropology this study questions the universal applicability of 'brightness'. The chapter aims to discuss and introduce a new focus on the category of brightness by highlighting how this category is problematic in cross-linguistic studies "because of its status as an 'Anglo' and hard-to-translate term." (p. 104). Furthermore, the author draws attention to emic concepts as key elements in positing any ethnotheory of

visuality. The fifth chapter "Lexicalization patterns in color naming in Korean" is authored by Seongha Rhee. As mentioned earlier, the term 'lexicalization patterns' mostly relies on morphological and syntactic mechanisms. However, this chapter introduces phonological features as operative elements in color naming, and by doing so it further extends the notion of lexicalization patterns in this volume. Korean uses vowel polarity, consonant tensing and aspiration, and suffix reduplication to form or modify meanings of color terms (intensity, luminosity, saturation, constancy, solidity, pleasurability). What's more, the author also introduces synesthesia in relation to color lexicalization – color perception borders with other perceptual domains (auditory perception, distance perception, etc.). The sixth chapter "Lexicalization patterns in color naming in Gbaya, a Ubanguian language of CAR" is authored by Paulette Roulon-Doko. The author first presents the lexical terms and grammatical devices used for color naming in Gbaya (five categories are relevant for color terminology: verbs, nouns, and three categories of adjectives, adjectives, verbal adjectives and adjective–adverbs). After this descriptive overview, the author expands on how Gbaya speakers use these color terms. She draws from an extensive collection of data gathered through years of fieldwork. Interestingly, Gbaya has a generic term for 'pattern' (*dàp*), but not one for 'color'. The use of color in Gbaya suggests such conceptualization of the visual aspect in which color is one element among others. This chapter does not adhere to Berlin and Kay, but rather shifts towards the critical arguments of Lucy (1997), Wierzbicka (2008) and others.

Part II. Color terms in a genealogical and typological perspective includes six chapters (pp. 159–330). The first chapter "Innovations in Semitic color term systems" is authored by Maria Bulakh and presents a large-scale study which explores the origins of Semitic color terms for yellow, green, and blue. These color categories are missing from the reconstructed proto-Semitic basic color term system. However, their designations were added into basic color term systems of many daughter languages. Etymological sources of derivation for 'yellow' include wax and names of yellow dyes, saffron and turmeric. Diachronic referents for 'green' are various types of vegetation. 'Blue' in Semitic can be derived from designations of sky, kohl, indigo and indigo-colored objects. Examples of new basic color categories and/or of non-basic terms that may become basic color terms are discussed. The second chapter "Lexicalization patterns in color naming: The case of Modern Hindi" is authored by Andrea Drocco and Orsola Risato. The chapter explores several types of lexicalization patterns in Modern Hindi: 'metonymy-type', 'approximation-type', and a third type/pattern formed by color adjective reduplication. The latter is analyzed in detail and four semantic categories are proposed: emphasized color, softened color, situational color, and moving/changing color. It is important to mention here the fine-grained contextual cues in basic color variation with respect to reduplication. What also emerges in these patterns is the need of the speakers to lexicalize 'shades' that cannot be expressed in 'softened' or 'emphasized' versions of the color. The third chapter "Complex color denomination in French and Occitan"

is authored by Xavier Bach, Anetta Kopecka and Benjamin Fagard. This is another chapter that uses data obtained in the EoSS project. The authors show that there is a great overlap between the two languages in terms of various color naming strategies used (simple color naming, compounding, modification, derivation, etc.), with difference in the frequency of use of each of the strategies. However, the expected contrast between ‘Analytic French’ and ‘Synthetic Occitan’ was not as clear. The contrast proved to be more complex than expected – e.g. structurally complex strategies seem to be more frequent in Occitan; some derivation was expected in French and more so in Occitan, but the results showed some derivation in Occitan and none in French. A clear contrast was observed between the more prolific descriptions in Occitan and the straightforward descriptions in French. The interpretation for the latter relies on the sociolinguistics of the two languages and not that much on the respective language structures. The fourth chapter “Color terms in Basque: Lexicalization and categorization” is authored by Iraide Ibarretxe-Anuñano. The first part of the chapter provides an overview of the color system in Basque. Eighteen main lexicalization patterns were proposed. The second part focuses on how Basque speakers categorize color. Basic color names include both ancient and recent labels. An interesting (socio)linguistic insight from this chapter is that it seems that the romanized model/color system has gained ground which is visible, for example, in the use of Romance left-headed compounds as opposed to Basque right-headed compounds. The fifth chapter “Lexicalization patterns in color naming in Croatian, Czech, and Polish” is authored by Ida Raffaelli, Jan Chromý and Anetta Kopecka. This study presents the results of the color naming task from the EoSS project and identifies the main lexicalization patterns of color terms in the three languages. For example, the [Adj [o] Adj] pattern is frequently used in all three languages, but is less productive in Polish; the [Adv + Adj] pattern is frequent in Croatian and Czech, but is not found in Polish; the [Adj + Adj] pattern is frequent in Polish, less frequent in Czech, and not found in Croatian. The authors show how the three languages differ with respect to (the degree of) conventionalization of the grammatical mechanisms involved in the lexicalization process. The sixth chapter “Color naming in Africa” is authored by Guillaume Segerer and Martine Vanhove. The study presented in this chapter is the first large-scale typological survey of the lexical means in African languages that are used to express color-related meanings. Data was gathered from 350 languages, mostly from the RefLex online lexical database. One of the main findings in this study is that not much can be considered specifically African in the strategies in color naming, but some local patterns do emerge from the data, such as borrowing ‘blue’ from European languages, cases of borrowing ‘green’ from neighboring languages, etc. There are some patterns of lexicalization that are more specific to some of the language groups, but no pattern is particular or exclusive to one group and patterns can be found across language groups.

Part III. Languages in culture and languages in contact comprises four chapters (pp. 333–426). The first chapter “Universals and variability of color naming in Icelandic, Icelandic Sign Language, and North American Icelandic” is authored by Þórhalla Guðmundsdóttir Beck and Matthew Whelpton. This chapter uses methodology similar to the one used in EoSS to compare color terms in Icelandic, Icelandic Sign Language (typologically unrelated, but in the same community) and North American Icelandic (heritage language in an English speaking environment). In addition to these, British English and North American English data are provided. The statistical analysis does not show much variation in naming patterns, but a more detailed analysis of color naming mechanisms (compounding, object–naming, opaque lexemes) shows abundant variation. This contrast in findings reflects methodological issues that arise from emphasizing transparent semantic heads and basic color terms. This chapter very much highlights the microvariation obscured by universal cognitive–perceptual constraints, which brings forth the importance of shifting focus towards cultural and linguistic factors in color naming studies. The second chapter “Symbolic and cultural meaning of colors in phraseology: A cross–linguistic and cross–cultural study of Russian and German phraseological units” is authored by Branka Barčot and Anita Hrnjak. The authors examine the phraseological subsystem of Russian and German and perform a comparative phraseological analysis. Their objective in this paper is to provide a systematic description of the main features of German and Russian color phraseology, to determine the amount of basic lexical meaning that color components bring into the formation of the phraseological meaning, and to interpret the influence of color symbolism on this formation. Eleven basic color terms in Russian and German are the basis for analyzing four structural types of phraseological units: collocational idioms, propositional idioms, lexical idioms, and similes. The chapter discusses the relativist perspective in color naming from a phraseological viewpoint. A great number of nation–specific phraseological units was identified, which require further research. The third chapter “From object to color and back: Seeing the world in color in Croatian, Turkish, and Arabic” is authored by Daniela Katunar, Barbara Kerovec and Nawar Ghanim Murad. This chapter deals with three typologically, culturally, and socially different languages. The authors examine how the three languages exploit the OBJECT FOR COLOR conceptualization strategy in naming colors, and how the three languages exploit the COLOR FOR OBJECT conceptualization strategy in lexicalizing different phenomena of experience. Language contact, or rather the degree of language contact is reflected in color naming in these languages, i.e. there are shared lexical and morphological items. Differences are shown between the languages in the productivity of lexicalization patterns (derivation, compounding, multi–word expressions). The fourth chapter “Ossetic

color terms system” is authored by Arseniy Vydrin. The author examines color terms in Iron Ossetic, mainly on the basis of the EoSS project methodology, while his material was gathered through fieldwork from native speakers in North Ossetia as well as from Ossetic written and oral corpora. Apart from examining and explaining the main patterns, morphological and lexical color modifiers, synonyms, and connotations, the chapter also offers additional interesting insights on the geography and history behind the Ossetic color terms system, in relation to borrowing as well as some specific elements in comparison with some other Iranian languages.

Of the 16 chapters presented, eight draw their datasets from the EoSS project (to different extent), and the rest use corpora or fieldwork data. All chapters provide extensive lists of references. Tables and figures are presented in color where necessary. What is especially commendable is the authors’ awareness of the multi-layered nature of their topics and research questions, which was evident in all chapters. No matter whether the focus of their chapter was directed towards the structural or the cultural, both were present as relevant points in the interpretation and discussion of previous as well as their own research.

In conclusion, this volume is a valuable contribution to the prolific field of research into color linguistics. The clearly outlined research questions and methodologies, substantial discussions, and frequently included further remarks show willingness to continue the investigations and will hopefully entice other researchers in linguistics to join the editors and the authors in further exploring this area.

Marina Grubišić