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CONNOTATIVE MEANINGS OF THE SERBIAN BASIC COLOUR TERMS *SIVA* (GREY) AND *RUŽIČASTA* OR *ROZE/A* (PINK) FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF INTRA-COLOUR ANTONYMY

Following Almalech (2014: 748), colours are semiotic signs. As such, colours display intra-colour antonymy, that is, they can have opposite meanings. It also applies to different extents to the *basic colour categories* (BCCs), and their corresponding names or *basic colour terms* (BCTs), first defined so by Berlin and Kay in 1969. The aim of this study is, therefore, to conduct analysis of the intra-colour antonymy in the Serbian language, as it is exemplified by the Serbian colour adjectives *siva*; grey, and *ružičasta* or *roze/roza*; pink, both of which are also BCTs. Databases used for analysis consisted of the information obtained by a colour association test, as well as those retrieved from *The Serbian Dictionary of Associations* (2005), *The Serbian National Corpus*, and the articles from the Serbian periodicals, newspapers, literary and electronic sources, all of which mention the given colour adjectives and their collocates. Generally speaking, in the Serbian cultural and linguistic setting *siva* is the colour with predominantly negative connotative meanings. Opposed to this, *ružičasta* or *roze/roza* have predominantly positive connotation. Nevertheless, *siva* has also some positive connotative meanings, and a number of negative connotations are attributed to *ružičasta* or *roze/roza*. This invalidates the either-or semantics of the Serbian BCTs (the most obvious examples of such a classification being the colours *bela*; white, which is typically associated with purity, innocence, goodness, heaven, brilliance, etc., and *crna*; black, which is commonly attributed the meaning of death, evil, fear, aggression, etc.).

Key words: basic colour terms, Serbian language, *siva* (grey), *ružičasta* or *roze/roza* (pink), intra-colour antonymy, semantics

1. INTRODUCTION

Complementing the Hypothesis of Linguistic Relativity Theory which claims that categories of thought, colour categories alike, are created arbitrarily, Berlin and Kay (1969) provided evidence in favour of ‘linguistic universals’ in the

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colour domain. The BK theory argues for a restricted number of “basic” colour words, or more precisely eleven ‘basic colour categories’ (BCCs), and their respective labels, i.e. eleven ‘basic colour terms’ (BCTs). The given BCCs are ‘black’, ‘white’, ‘red’, ‘green’, ‘yellow’, ‘blue’, ‘brown’, ‘purple’, ‘pink’, ‘orange’, and ‘grey’. Following Almalech (2014: 748), colours serve as semiotic signs, and they display the intra-colour antonymy. In other words, colours in general, and BCCs alike, can, to different extents, have opposite meanings regarding their key cognitive elements.

1.1. BCTs in the Serbian language and the Scope of the Research

Siva; grey and *ružičasta* or *roze/roza*; pink, are the BCTs in Serbian,¹ while *sinj*; bluish/purplish grey, *sur*; dark grey, as well as *ciklama*; dark purplish-pink, and *pink*; hot pink² – to name just a few – are specific shades of the given colours, respectively. The basic terms are commonly used in general descriptions, e.g. *sivo nebo*; the grey sky, and *ružičasto cveće*; pink flowers, etc. The more specific terms, however, are employed when the precise shade has to be named, e.g. *sinji galeb*; the Grey Gull, *suri orao*; the Golden Eagle, lit. the grey eagle, *sede vlasi*; grey hair, *srebrna lisica*; the Silver Fox, *olovno nebo*; the grey sky, lit. the lead-grey sky, and *ciklama torbica*; dark purplish-pink purse, *pink nokti*; hot pink nails, *haljina boje jagode*; a reddish-pink dress, lit. strawberry (coloured) dress, *zidovi boje breskve*; pale orangish-pink walls, lit. peach (coloured) walls, etc.

This paper sheds light on semantic ambivalence displayed by the Serbian BCTs *siva* and *ružičasta* or *roze/roza*. While *siva* has a predominantly negative character, the nature of *ružičasta* or *roze/roza* is predominantly positive. The given ambivalences mirror the dichotomies between ‘white’ and ‘black’, on the one hand – namely, the practice of the western world to attribute positive and negative

¹ Following Krimer-Gaborović (2019b: 115–116, 118–119, 145), Serbian lexeme *roze* and its variant *roza* have German origins (Germ. *rosa*), whilst the adjective *ružičasta*, seldom *ružičav* (Lazarević 2013: 54), is a descriptive colour name. All in all, then, *ružičasta* is both a loan translation for the German adjective *rosen* and a motivated linguistic derivation from the noun *ruža* and the adjectival suffix *-ičast(a)* (cf. Klajn, 2003: 274; Brbora, 2005: 113). Nowadays, both *ružičasta* and *roze/roza* are the generic colour terms (BCTs), which refer to the BCC ‘pink’.

² Serbian *pink* and English *pink* are false friends, i.e. Serbian *pink* is a hyponym of the BCT *ružičasta* or *roze/roza*, whereas English *pink* is the BCT.

meanings to the colours ‘white’ and ‘black’, respectively (cf. Hrnjak, 2002; Krimer-Gaborović, 2009; 2016; Vlajković & Stamenković, 2013; Kardoš, 2016; Asimopoulos, 2017; Mandić, 2017), and between ‘white’ and ‘red’, on the other hand. Indeed, lighter shades of both achromatic ‘grey’ and chromatic ‘pink’ are reminiscent of the colour ‘white’, whilst dark ‘grey’ resembles ‘black’, e.g. a charcoal ‘grey’, even though it lacks the extreme negativity of the colour ‘black’ (cf. Bourn, 2010). Moreover, saturated ‘pink’ activates associations with the energetic and passionate ‘red’ colour and/or the mysterious ‘purple’ colour (neither ‘red’ nor ‘purple’ have soft and gentle appearance). Cf. (1) *korice knjige [...] golubije-sive boje*; Pigeon-grey book cover, versus (2) *sivi dim iz dizel motora*; grey (exhaust) smoke from a diesel engine (here the smoke is the darkest grey colour), and (3) *bebi roze zavese*; baby pink curtains, versus (4) [...] *jarka ciklama [...] je [...] boj[a] kojom je teško postići sofisticiran izgled* (Blic žena: 1–7/7/2017); strong fuchsia is not the colour to be used for sophisticated looks. Nevertheless, neither all dark shades of ‘grey’ nor all shades of powerful ‘pink’ are inevitably deemed negative, e.g. (5) *elegantna odela grafitne boje*; elegant graphite grey suits, and (6) *Jarkopink [...] usne, nikoga ne ostavljaju ravnodušnim* (Cica: 6/5/2015); Hot pink lips will leave no one indifferent.

The very idea that different connotative meanings of a specific colour term can trigger off contrasting associations (positive, negative, and neutral) is the main motivation behind the topic of this paper, as well as the accompanying discussion and the conclusions presented hereafter. Admittedly, the subject matter has been researched relatively scarcely by Serbian linguists (e.g. Ivić, 2001; Popović, 2012; Vlajković & Stamenković, 2013). The topic has been relatively unaddressed by the foreign scholars, too (e.g. Philip, 2003; 2006; 2011; Kaya & Epps, 2004; Steinvall, 2007; Mohammad, 2011; Almalech, 2014; Stanulewicz–Komorowska, & Pawłowski, 2014).

Interestingly, the BCTs *siva* and *ružičasta* or *roze/roza* often do not only indicate hue. Instead, it is the general appearance of an entity discussed, involving a mixture of visible features in which hue cannot be separated from shininess (gloss, gleam, or brilliance). This tendency is most obvious in the folklore texts (cf. Popović, 2008: 112–120). In general, brilliant colours are regarded as nice and lovely, whereas the absence of gloss in a colour relates to its dull, and possibly unpleasant appearance; e.g. (1) *sivo nebo*; the grey sky (as it may be on a hazy, rainy or winter day), as opposed to (2) *sive oči*; grey eyes (cf. *Latink[a...] sivih očiju* (Selimović, 94); a grey-eyed Latin girl), and (3) *ružičasti osip*; a pink skin rash, which likewise lacks brilliance, as opposed to (4) *ružičasta torta*; a pink cake,

i.e. the fondant icing, where the gloss-quality is rather prominent. Cf. also *roze vespa*; a pink Vespa (Scooter), and *antracit sive pločice*; anthracite grey tiles (both are references to the entities with a high-gloss shine).

To conclude this section, let us mention that in other cultures and languages as well, the BCTs ‘grey’ and ‘pink’ are associated with predominantly negative and positive concepts respectively. Thus, for example, Mohammad (2011: 101–102, 104) speaks of the colour terms in British English, and he points out that “some colours tend to, more often than not, have strong positive associations (*white, green, pink, and orange*), whereas other have strong negative as sociations (*black, red, brown and grey*). [... At the same time,] frequencies of colour associations follow the same order in which colour terms occur in different languages (Berlin & Kay 1969).” In short, this is the explanation of a far lesser number of associations with the BCTs *grey* and *siva*, as well as *pink* and *ružičasta* or *roze/roza*, in comparison to the sheer number of associations triggered off by the primary-basic colour terms.³

1.2. Research Method

The corpora were retrieved from the following sources: (1) data retrieved from a colour association test which was conducted with 103 informants (66 grammar-school students, and 37 adults), all of whom are native speakers of Serbian. The participants were presented with 20 colour words, embracing 11 Serbian BCTs, among which also the terms *siva*, *ružičasta* and *roze/roza*, and then they were asked to correlate a specific colour word to as many stimulus-response associations as possible. The time slot to accomplish the task was about 6–9 seconds per each term. On average, 1–2 associations were elicited with each word. Here as elsewhere (Piper–Dragičević, & Stefanović, 2005: 95–98), the technique of “free associations” was employed as the most effective way to reveal the spectrum of possible associations to the given colour label. In terms of demographics, the participants ranged in age from 17 to 75 ($M = 28$). The test was conducted with grammar-school students in their classrooms, whereas the adults were tested at their workplaces or in their homes (in this sense it was not a context-free survey); (2) *The Serbian Dictionary of Associations* (Asocijativni rečnik srpskoga jezika, or, ARSJ)

³ Primary BCTs (black, white, red, yellow, green and blue) have a higher level of basicness than secondary BCTs (brown, purple, pink, orange and grey) (Corbett & Davies, 1997: 197). The latter group of BCTs are commonly perceived to be labels for composite colours or, rather, intersections of the primary categories (Wierzbicka, 1996: 327).

by Piper et al. (2005), which sheds light on semantics of all the primary BCTs – namely *beo*; white, *crn*; black, *crveni/crvenog*; red, *žut*; yellow, *zelen*; green, and *plav*; blue, as well as three secondary BCTs, that is, *siv*; grey, *braon*; brown; and *narandžast*; orange. In ARSJ there are no secondary BCTs *ljubičast*; purple, and *ružičast*, *roze/roza*, yet there is the non-basic colour term *pink*; hot pink. As already stated, Serbian *pink*, which was borrowed from the English language, is the hyponym of *ružičasta* or *roze/roza*, and it names a slightly darker, vibrant shade of ‘pink’ (Krimmer-Gaborović, 2019b: 143); (3) *The Serbian National Corpus* (Korpus savremenog srpskog jezika, or, KSSJ), which is the only large, balanced corpus of contemporary Serbian. This online database was searched specifically for the BCTs *siva*, *ružičasta*, and *roze/roza*, as well as their collocates, with the purpose of verifying the conclusions drawn from a research carried out on the hereinabove mentioned corpora; and (4) the articles from the Serbian periodicals, newspapers, literary and electronic sources mentioning the lexemes *siva*, *ružičasta*, and *roze/roza* (cf. Sources). These were likewise researched in order to confirm that *siva* and *ružičasta* or *roze/roza* display a variety of connotative meanings dealt with in the paper, many of them illustrating the intra-colour antonymy.

To sum up, the results obtained from the colour association test carried out with grammar school students and adult informants served as the initial database of our research. The acquired data were then combined with the data retrieved from ARSJ, KSSJ, and other sources. Such an approach was adopted in order to gain a deeper understanding of the semantics, and in particular connotative meanings of the Serbian BCTs *siva* and *ružičasta* or *roze/roza*. Admittedly, unlike explicit or literal meaning of a colour word (denotation), its connotation is a cultural or emotional association, hence it is much more subjective, personal, and contextual. As such, connotative meanings that any given word carries, often cannot be found in a dictionary. Thus, for example, in *The Serbo-Croatian Dictionary of Literary Language* (Rečnik srpskohrvatskoga književnog jezika, or, RMS 1973, V: 750–751) there are quite a many examples with the lexeme *siv*, *-a*, *-o*, which implicate the adjective is both neutrally and negatively connoted; i.e. ‘(fig.) unnoticeable, inconspicuous, colourless, undetermined, blank’,⁴ and ‘(of weather) grim and gloomy’,⁵ respectively. As for the doublets or etymological twins *roze* and *roza* (RMS, V: 558), they are used to describe the pink colour of the clothing

⁴ “koji se ničim ne ističe, ne primećuje, siromašan sadržinom, bezbojan, neodređen, bezizražajan”.

⁵ “mutan, tmuran, natušten (o vremenu)”.

garments (a neutral meaning) – *roza haljina*; a pink dress, and *roze šlafrok*; a pink house dress. There are not too many sentence examples with the colour adjective *ružičast*, *-a*, *-o*, either (RMS, V: 574). Nevertheless, the available definition with *ružičast*, *-a*, *-o* do suggests this BCT is positively connoted; i.e. ‘(fig.) full of hope, optimism, idyllic, happy’,⁶ e.g. *gledati na (kroz) ružičaste naočare*; to look at/see something through rose-coloured/rose-tinted glasses (the meaning here is ‘to be optimistic’).

2. NATURE OF THE SERBIAN BCCS ‘SIVA’; GREY AND ‘ROZE/ROZA’; PINK

Following Berlin and Kay (1969: 45) ‘grey’ could be immune to the constraints governing the lexical partitioning of hue. As argued by Casson (1997), brightness is evolutionarily precedent to hue as the basis for colour terms. It applies to the Serbian language, too (Popović, 2012). The practice echoes in the definition of the adjectival lexeme *siv*, *-a*, *-o*, in RMS (1973, V: 750) where the suggested associative meaning of *siv*, *-a*, *-o*, is: *bled*; pale.

As mentioned earlier, both ‘grey’ and ‘pink’ are secondary BCTs, alongside ‘brown’, ‘purple’, and ‘orange’ (Corbett & Davies, 1997: 198). In line with BK hypothesis, the secondary colours follow the primaries (‘black’, ‘white’, ‘red’, ‘green’, ‘yellow’, and ‘blue’), since the secondary BCTs are obtained from mixing two primaries together (Philip, 2003: 11). Accordingly, linguistic conceptualisation of the secondary BCTs is more complex than that of the primary BCTs (Hrnjak, 2009: 82). As for ‘brown’, it is a tertiary colour – namely, ‘brown’ is made from the combination of a primary and secondary, or two secondary colours (cf. Philip, 2003: 11). As argued by Krimer-Gaborović (2019b: 138–139), in contemporary Serbian the BCC ‘siva’; grey, precedes both ‘braon’; brown, (taking tenth position), and ‘roze’; pink (taking eleventh position), which can be named by the generic terms *ružičasta* or *roze/roza*.

From a colour psychology perspective, ‘grey’ is the colour of compromise – being neither ‘black’ nor ‘white’, it is the transition between two non-colours, that is, between war and peace, or the utmost restlessness and the absolute tranquility (cf. Trstenjak, 1978: 105; Vitgenštajn, 2008: 17). The closer ‘grey’ gets to ‘black’, the more dramatic and mysterious it becomes; the better ‘grey’ resembles ‘silver’ or ‘white’, the more illuminating and lively it is. In fact, such a classification stems

⁶ “pun nade, optimizma, idiličan, srećan”.

from a psychological colour evaluation, i.e. a human positive attitude towards light colours, and a negative attitude towards dark colours (Ivić, 1995: 62). ‘Grey’ can, furthermore, have both cool or warm undertone; and it is the former when ‘grey’ gets mixed with the colours ‘green’, ‘blue’ and ‘purple’, and the latter when ‘red’, ‘orange’ and ‘yellow’ are added to the colour ‘grey’. As it would be expected, the colour ‘grey’ having warm undertone is typically considered more pleasing than when its undertone is cool.

The colour ‘pink’ is an intermediate between ‘red’ and ‘white’. ‘Pink’ is predominantly a delicate, feminine and romantic colour. It means sweet, nice, playful, cute, charming, and tenderness, and it is typically associated with babies, little girls, rosy complexion, flowers, bubble gum, cotton candy, and sweetness (cf. Krimer-Gaborović, 2019b: 134–136). ‘Pink’ is also one of the colours that the sun makes at twilight and in the dawns (Pink Quotes, 2020).

There are examples in our corpora which summarise the given semantic dichotomy between the colours ‘grey’ and ‘pink’: (1) *Beograd ima sivilo koje ga prati [...], ali nekada [...u]me to da se pretvori i u neku ružičastu [...]* (Nin: 26/4/2016); Belgrade has this constant grey image, yet sometimes this greyness can turn into the pink colour, (2) *živahn[a] roze [...] razbija[...] zimsko sivilo* (Lisa: 12/2016); Vivid pink beats winter greyness, and (3) *TV Pink [...] kroz “ružičastu sliku sivog” prikri[va] sveopštu krizu značenja* (Rodić 2004); The Pink television broadcasts a pink picture of the gloomy images (lit. greyness). The idea is to cover up an overall crisis of the meaningful life.

3. SEMANTICS OF THE BCT *SIVA*

The colour adjective *siv*, *-a*, *-o*, is defined in RMS (V: 750) in the following way: *which is the colour of ash, of the colour obtained by mixing ‘black’ and ‘white’*.⁷ Cf. also frozen similies *siv kao pepeo* ash grey, lit. grey as ash, *siv kao olovo* lead-grey, lit. grey as lead, and *siv kao miš*; lit. grey as a (house) mouse. Frozen or dead similes can be most useful in attempts to define the prototypical conception of a particular colour category (Krimer-Gaborović, 2019a: 213–214). On this view, the prototypical conceptions of the BCC ‘siva’; grey, are *pepeo*; ash, *olovo*; lead, and *miš*; a (house) mouse. Cf. also *pepeljastosiva*; ash-grey, *olovno siva*; lead-grey, and *mišje siva*; mouse-grey, i.e. roughly the colour of ash, lead, an ordinary house mouse, respectively.

⁷ “koji je boje pepela, boje koja se dobija mešanjem crne i bele”.

Echoing Popović (2008: 106), Rosch's prototype (1978: 36), that is, the clearest case (best example) of category membership, is most commonly a stereotype, whilst Langacker (1990: 3) points out that the meaning of a lexical item cannot be reduced to its prototype and "not every lexical item has a single, clearly determined prototype".⁸ True, unlike the primary BCCs, both 'grey' and 'pink' are found in the region where two other colours overlap. On this view, then, both *siva* and *ružičasta* or *roze/a* name the BCCs which lack a single, clearly determined prototype. Instead, there is a compound or composite prototype consisting of a number of cognitive reference points, i.e. mentally prominent items taking part in identification of the specific colours (cf. Tribushinina, 2008: 394–395; Pakula, 2010: 1372–1389).

As opposed to the denotation of the BCT *siva*, that is, its real world meaning (cf. McCarthy, 1994: 16), the connotation of *siva* is the emotional and cultural content the particular colour-lexeme is associated with. Accordingly, the examples with *siva* listed hereinafter concern its connotative meanings, all of which mirror achromatic grayscale shades, which lie between 'white' and 'black'. In other words, various degrees of scaling between the given opposites are inherent to semantic structure of the BCT *siva*.

It is to be emphasized, furthermore, that the meanings of *siva* portrayed below have not been classified relying on any theoretically derived and empirically tested instrument which is commonly used to acquire quantitative and/or qualitative data on the informants' emotional reactions to a particular colour, e.g. The Geneva Emotion Wheel (GEW), Plutchik's Wheel of Emotions (cf. Scherer–Shuman–Fontaine, & Soriano, 2013; Karimova, 2020), the classification model which was developed by Kosanović (2016: 114–130), etc., although Kosanović's approach to the adjectives denoting emotions in English and Serbian was helpful from the perspective of her ways of identifying positive, negative, and two-dimensional valence emotions.⁹ The lack of a theoretical-classification-method

⁸ Thus, for example, 'red' has blood as its clear-cut prototypical core (the colour of blood coincides with the focal colour 'red' - namely, blood is a prototypical natural referent for 'red' (Wierzbicka, 1996: 314)).

⁹ In her doctoral dissertation, Kosanović distinguishes between (1) pleasant emotions (e.g. tranquility, interest, attractiveness, desire, courage, hope, persistence, love, pride, happiness, etc.), and (2) unpleasant emotions (e.g. fear, boredom, disgust, contempt, anger, hatred, envy, jealousy, shame, guilt, sorrowfulness, etc.), as well as (3) two-dimensional valence emotions, that is, emotions which can be judged as both positive and

approach has to do with a relatively modest database of connotative, and especially metaphorical meanings of the BCTs *siva*, *ružičasta*, and *roze/roza*, as they were retrieved from the colour association test (for this reason, the initial database had to be complemented with the data from other source). In general, the analysis in the paper is limited to the non-neutral connotations, that is, the focus is put on positively and negatively connoted meanings which are inherent in the intra-colour antonymy of the BCTs *siva* and *ružičasta* or *roze/roza*.

At this point, it needs to be stated that the available connotative meanings of *siva* are negative for the most part. Their overview much resembles the overview established by other Serbian researchers (e.g. Škorc, 2019: 49–50):

- (1) GLOOMY WEATHER: e.g. *sivi oblak*; a grey cloud (typically the rain cloud), *sivo nebo*; the grey sky (brings persistent rain, drizzle, or even snow), *sivo vreme*; rainy/snowy weather, lit. grey weather, *zimsko sivilo*; cold and dull winter, lit. winter greyness;
- (2) DIFFICULT OR UNPLEASANT (LACKING CHEER OR BRIGHTNESS IN MOOD, OUTLOOK, STYLE, OR FLAVOUR): e.g. *siv(i) dan(i)*; day(s) filled with immense sadness and melancholy, lit. grey days, *gradsko sivilo*; the city's ugliness and monotony, lit. the city's greyness, *Političari su sve sivlji, [...] gluplji i dosadniji* (Nedeljnik: 6/8/2020); Politicians are becoming increasingly grey, unintelligent and dull, *Pokrali su [...] sve, a ostavili samo sivilo* (Blic: 14/7/2006); They stole everything and left nothing but desolation (lit. greyness), *siv[a...] i beskrajno ružn[a...] fontan[a]*; the incredibly ugly, grey fountain (Nedeljnik: 4/4/2019), *sivi pejzaž šiban vetrom*; the gloomy and wind-beaten landscape, lit. the grey and... (Lepota i zdravlje: 10/2019);
- (3) DIRTINESS, POOR HYGIENE; POVERTY; A WORN-OUT CONDITION; UGLINESS: e.g. *posivela odeća*; clothes which turned grey (as of giving them too many washings), *sivo, staro lice*; tired, grey face, *meso [...] neprivlačn[e] siv[e] boj[e]* (Porodični magazin: 25/1–7/2/2019); Meat of the ugly grey colour, *nekada sive, a sada sve koloritnije građevine [...]* (Vojvođanski magazin: 5/2019); Once grey, and now increasingly colourful buildings, *sive fleke od*

negative (e.g. surprise, confusion, excitement). This is accompanied by a review of different systems by which given emotions can be classified. Coupled with it, Kosanović (p. 103) argues that so far no agreement has been reached to a psychologically unique system for classification of emotions, which altogether makes it somewhat difficult for methodical linguistic research to be carried out.

buđi (Blic žena 29/8–4/9/2020); grey mould stains, *sivi miš*; lit. a grey mouse (suggests the particular (fe)male is shy, unpretty, quiet, lives a boring life, and has no extraordinary abilities or anything at all to remember him/her by);

- (4) TRADITIONALIST CONSERVATISM; INCONSPICUOUSNESS, UNOBTRUSIVENESS: e.g. [...] *hipici* [...] *bil*[i...] *neka vrsta oslobođenja od sivila* (Nedeljnik: 11/4/2019); The hippies were a way to break loose from the traditionalist conservatism (lit. from the greyness), *društvo* [...] *sivo, skućeno, bez mašte i* [...] (Nedeljnik: 25/7–8/8/2019); The society which is grey, constrained, and prosaic;
- (5) OBFUSCATION AND UNCERTAINTY: *Kanađanin i Amerikanac ne bi preživeli na Balkanu. Oni razlikuju samo crno i belo, a kod nas je sve siva zona* [...] ¹⁰ (Lepota i zdravlje: 5/2017); Canadians and Americans would not survive in the Balkans. They only know white from black, and here it is all a grey zone;
- (6) UNAUTHORISED, UNLAWFUL, ILLEGAL: *Falsifikovanje i siva ekonomija predstavljaju stvarnu pretnju* ¹¹ (Nedeljnik: 15/10/2017); The real threat comes from falsifications and grey economy, [...] *siva eminencija, masoni koji svet drže u svojoj šaci* ¹² (Ras, 181); Éminences grises, masons who hold the world in their hands.

As perviously mentioned, the adjective *siva* can also be used to refer to a neutral, emotionless colour, e.g. *sive čizme*; grey boots, *sivi tepih*; a grey carpet, *siva prašina*; grey dust, *sivi kamen*; a grey stone, etc. The combination of equal amounts of ‘black’ and ‘white’, a basic neutral ‘grey’ is an unassuming colour, not attracting attention and allowing other colours to stand out more. On this view, Philip (2007: 77) deems ‘grey’ to be an indeterminate colour. In much the same way, Ilić (2011: 114) describes Serbian BCC ‘siva’ as an impersonal, blank, and

¹⁰ Serb. *siva zona*; a grey area, refers to a situation that is not clear or where the rules are not known.

¹¹ Serbian *siva ekonomija*; the grey market, lit. grey economy, is an unofficial market in goods that have not been obtained from an official supplier.

¹² Serb. *siva eminencija*; éminence grise, is a person who exercises power or influence in a certain sphere without holding an official position (s/he operates behind the scenes).

indefinite colour,¹³ whilst Škorc (2019: 49) points out ‘grey’ is the colour between light and darkness, hence it is a neutral zone psychologically speaking.

From the viewpoint of the intra-colour antonymy, however, it is to be pointed out there are also a few positive meanings associated with the term *siva*:

- (7) MATURITY, WISDOM, EXPERIENCE: e.g. *seđa glava*; a grey-haired person, lit. a grey head, connotes a person who is both old and wise, *sivobradi pop Alagić* (Pištalo, 24); the grey-bearded priest Alagić (the particular grey-beard relates to advanced age or long experience);
- (8) FORMAL, CONSERVATIVE, SOPHISTICATED (CLOTHING, VEHICLES, INTERIOR AND EXTERIOR DESIGN, ETC.): e.g. *klasično sivo odelo* (Gloria: 4/9/2017); a classic grey suit, *najfinij[i] siv[i] saten[...]* (Bravacasa: 3–4/2015); the finest grey satin, *srebrnkastosivi blindirani nemački štabni auto* (Newsweek: 11/2016); An armoured silver-grey German Staff Car.

The predominantly negative semantics of the BCC ‘grey’ was likewise established in the Polish language. According to Stanulewicz et. al (2014: 263), the Polish BCT *szary*; grey, altogether evoked 17% of positive associations, 25% of neutral associations, and 58% of negative associations. In a similar manner, the research with the U.S. informants on the relationship between colour and emotion, showed the colour ‘grey’ is mainly associated with negative emotions (89,8%), such as the feelings of sadness, depression, boredom, and confusion, as well as tiredness, loneliness, anger, and fear (Kaya & Epps, 2004: 400). The authors believe the explanation behind this is simple: in the U.S. culture the colour ‘grey’ typically refers to bad weather, rainy, cloudy or foggy days’. Obviously, it is pretty much the same for the people living in Serbia.

4. SEMANTICS OF THE BCT *RUŽIČASTA* OR *ROZE/ROZA*

The dictionary definition of the delicate *roze*, Germ. *roza*, is ‘ružičast(a)’ (RMS, V: 558), and according to the same source *ružičasta* is defined as ‘vermillion, bright red, vivid orangish red’¹⁴ (RMS, V: 574). Apparently, neither *ružičasta* nor *roze/roza* is a BCT according to RMS. Instead, the colour named by the specific lexemes is perceived as a ‘red’ shade. It was so until around the late

¹³ The Serbian words that Ilić uses to describe the BCT *siva* are: *bezličan*; impersonal, *bezizražajan*; blank, expressionless, and *neodređen*; indefinite, vague.

¹⁴ “rumen, rumenkast”. Cf. also “I like pink.” *Lucius sniffed*. “It’s just red’s sorry, weak cousin.” (Pink Quotes, 2020).

20th century. Today, however, ‘pink’ is the BCC in the Serbian language (cf. Krimer-Gaborović, 2019b). There is no specific frozen simile with *ružičasta*, although the adjective itself is a motivated lexical unit (< *ruža*; a rose + the suffix -*ičast(a)*).¹⁵ Still, the given etymology has been largely forgotten due to the abundance of multi-coloured hybrid roses. In our corpora the available simile is *ružičast/roze kao ruža*; pink as a rose. Other nominal vehicles are the following: *ruž (za usne)*; a lipstick, *beba*; a baby, *devojčica*; a little girl, *princeza*; a princess, *cvet*; a flower, *haljina*; a dress, etc.

As for the possible connotative meanings of *ružičasta* or *roze/roza*, they are positive for the most part:

- (1) FEMININITY (cf. Koller, 2008: 72): e.g. *Ženstveni ružičasti svet* (Lisa: 27/3/2015); A pink girly world, *ružičast[a...] ambijentu daj[e] ženstvenu crtu* (Moj stan: 5/2016); Pink shall create a feminine atmosphere, *Ovoliki broj kandidatura žena mediji su već nazvali “ružičastim talasom”* (Blic: 6/11/2018); Such a large number of female candidates have already been labelled “a pink wave” by media;
- (2) OPTIMISM, HAPPINESS, POSITIVITY AND CHEERFULNESS: e.g. „*Euforičan [osećaj], kao da lebdite na ružičastim oblacima*” (Blic: 8/8/2017); It’s a euphoric feeling. As if you are floating on a pink cloud, „[...] *sinovi [...mi za] rođendan[...] uvek biraju nežnoroze ruže [...] i sitne roze cvetiće.*” (Blic žena: 7–13/3/2020); My sons always choose light pink rose and small pink flowers for my birthday;
- (3) CHILDHOOD, INNOCENCE, TENDER (YOUNG) AGE: e.g. *matori [vas] drži onako toplu i ružičastu, u rukama* (Kapor, 242); your old man holds you all warm and pink in his arms, *Sve nijanse roze [...] asociraju na nežnost i mladost [...]* (Blic: 23–29/5/2020); All shades of pink are associated with a tender and youthful age;
- (4) BEAUTY, LOVELINESS, GRACE: e.g. *ružičast[a...] tel[a] sa platna* (Velmar-Janković, 35); Pink bodies in the painting;
- (5) ROMANTIC LOVE: e.g. *zagrliti [...] Mark[a] znači držati ceo taj raspevani, ružičasti svet u rukama* (Kuić, 136); To hug Marko is to hold in my arms that pink and soft world, *Barbara Kartland, ružičasta kraljica romanse [...]* (Blic žena: 3-/12/2016); Barbara Cartland, the pink Queen of Romance novels;

¹⁵ *Rosa canina*, commonly known as the *dog rose*, a wild rose species native to Europe, northwest Africa, and western Asia, has predominantly pale pink petals.

- (6) SOFTNESS AND TENDERNESS; FANTASY WORLD AND MAGICAL FEELINGS: e.g. *Vikendom mi je sve lepo, „roze i na cvetiće”*. *Tada sanjarim* (Blic žena: 29/11– 5/12/2014); On weekends everything seems nice, “pink and covered in flowers” to me. This is the time when I’m daydreaming;
- (7) PEACE, CALM, HARMONY: e.g. *prostor [...] pleni [...] smirujućim koloritom [...] ružičaste [...]* (Casaviva: 4/2017); The area captures the eye with its calming pink colour, [...] *ružičasta je idealna za uređenje spavaće sobe [...]* (Alo: 6/1/2019); Pink is an ideal colour for your bedroom;
- (8) SPRING (the reference is to pink flowering plants): e.g. *Roze miriše na proleće* (Blic magazin: 7/3/2021); Pink smells of spring;
- (9) SOUND HEALTH (the reference is to healthy skin and mucous membrane): e.g. [...] *zdrava, ružičasta koža [...]* (Bish: 3/11/2015); Healthy, rosy complexion, *Ne kupujte [...] ribu koja nema svetloružičaste škrge* (Cica: 7/6/2019); Only buy fish that has bright pink gills;
- (10) MINORITY GROUPS: e.g. [...] *gej [...] sa nekakvim roze mašnjama...* (Espresso: 28/6/2019); A gay man [...] wearing pink ribbons, *Izbori za nacionalne savete [...] na roze listićima* (Politika: 21/8/2018); Elections for the national councils and ballot papers in pink colour.

Although the lexemes *ružičasta* and *roze/roza* predominantly imply positive emotions and associations, they can also have neutral meanings e.g. *ružičasta sofa*; a pink sofa, *roze ruž*; a pink lipstick, *roza košulja*; a pink blouse, etc. Yet, the intra-colour antonymy of the BCTs *ružičasta* and *roze/roza* stems from a few negative connotations that the terms implicate. It most likely stems from that sugary, sappy nature of the colour ‘pink’. As argued by Koller (2008: 408), the concept has also to do with subrational prejudice against women who are commonly judged as shallow and dull, hence a feminist contempt for the colour ‘pink’.

The negative meanings of the colour words *ružičasta* and *roze/roza* are the following:

- (11) ARTIFICIALITY, VULGARITY, CRUDENESS: e.g. *Stan je od „od glave do pete” obojen roze bojom, [...]. Mnogi bi rekli da je prilično kičasto [...]* (Blic: 24/1/2018); The whole flat is painted in pink. Many would argue it is rather kitschy. As pointed out by Lazarević (2013: 92), in Serbian culture the negative meaning relates to the Pink television, which has become notorious for broadcasting cheap, vulgar material. Cf. *Ovaj svet nije ružičast kao televizija na kojoj radim* (Blic: 5/11/2010); This world is not as rose tinted as the television I work for;

- (12) WEAKNESS, IMMATURITY, MELODRAMA: e.g. [...] *da je nekim čudom ostavite na pustom ostrvu ili usred Sahare, kroz nedelju dana bi na palmama visile njene roza zavesice od tila, [...]* (Kapor, 40–41); If she were left alone on a desert island or in the middle of the Sahara desert, her small pink tulle curtains would be hanging from palm trees in just one week’s time;
- (13) RESTLESNESS, UNPLEASANT EMOTIONS AND SENSATIONS: e.g. *roze natpis[...] svinjo debela u ružičastom dnevniku o anoreksiji [...]* (Bazar: 24/8/2018); In her anorexia diary book there was a pink notice which read: “You are a fat pig!”;
- (14) HEALTH AND AESTHETIC ISSUES: e.g. *Strije [...su] ružičaste nepravilne linije na koži [...]* (Blic žena: 26/4/2017); Stretch marks are irregular pink streaks that develop on the skin, *roze [...] osip[...]* (B92: 5/4/2018); pink skin rash;
- (15) A STRANGE, WEIRD APPEARANCE: e.g. *Nema mnogo stvari za kojima sam ikad žudela. [...] Dugo je to bio ružičasti „trabant” [...]* (Blic žena, 2–8/4/2016); There aren’t many things I have been craving for. For a quite some time I wanted a pink Trabi, *čuperak ružičaste boje* (Lepa i srećna: 7/2019); a pink forelock.

5. CONCLUSION

The BCC ‘grey’ is an intermediate colour between ‘black’ and ‘white’. The term *grey* initially referred to brightness and not to hue. It was so in the Serbian language, too (cf. RMS 1973, V: 747). Nowadays, however, native speakers of Serbian perceive achromatic ‘grey’ to be a cool, neutral, and balanced colour as well as the colour of a cloud-covered sky, of ash and of lead, and of coat colour in the house mice (these are the descriptive or denotative meanings).

The BCT *siva* has predominantly negative associative (connotative) meanings: (1) gloomy weather (e.g. *sivi oblak*; grey cloud); (2) difficult or unpleasant mood, outlook, style, or flavour (e.g. *sivi pejzaž*; a gloomy landscape); (3) dirtiness, poor hygiene; poverty; a worn-out condition (e.g. *siva fleka (od buđi)*; a grey mould stain); (4) traditionalist conservatism; inconspicuousness, unobtrusiveness (e.g. *sivo društvo*; a grey society); (5) obfuscation and uncertainty (e.g. *siva zona*; a grey area); and (6) someone/something that is unauthorised, unlawful, illegal (e.g. *siva ekonomija*; grey economy). Still, the BCT *siva* can also refer to two positively connoted meanings: (1) maturity, wisdom, experience (e.g.

sivobradi pop; the grey-bearded priest), and (2) formal, conservative, sophisticated (e.g. *sivi saten*; grey satin).

In the RMS *ružičasta* and *roze/roza* are defined as a 'red' shade. Indeed, historically 'pink' was seen as a paler shade of 'red', or rather as the sweet side of the colour 'red'. Nowadays, however, *ružičasta* or *roze/roza* are used to describe colour of pink roses (and other pink flowers), pink lipsticks and dresses. 'Pink' is, furthermore, the official colour for little girls and princess, and it represents spring, sugar and romantic love, peace, harmony, etc. The available connotative meanings of *ružičasta* or *roze/roza* are, therefore, positive for the most part: (1) femininity (e.g. *ženstveni ružičasti svet*; a pink girly world); (2) optimism, happiness, positivity, cheerfulness (e.g. *ružičasta situacija*; a pink situation); (3) childhood, innocence, tender age (e.g. *roze asocira na nežnost i mladost*; pink is associated with a tender and youthful state); (4) beauty, loveliness, grace (e.g. *ružičasta tela*; pink bodies); (5) romantic love (e.g. *ružičasta kraljica romanse*, the pink Queen of Romance); (6) softness and tenderness; fantasy world and magical feelings (e.g. „*roze i na cvetiće*”; pink and covered in flowers); (7) peace, calm, harmony (e.g. *smirujući kolorit ružičaste*; calming pink colour); (8) spring (e.g. *Roze miriše na proleće*; Pink smells of spring); (9) sound health (e.g. *svetloružičaste škrge*; bright pink gills); and (10) minority groups (e.g. *gej sa roze mašnama*; a gay man wearing pink ribbons).

Both *ružičasta* and *roze/roza*, however, have a number of negative meanings: (1) artificiality, vulgarity, crudeness (e.g. *kičasta devojačka soba prepuna roze plišanih igračaka*; a rather kitschy girl's bedroom full of pink plush toys); (2) weakness, immaturity, melodrama (e.g. *njene roza zavesice od tila*; her small pink tulle curtains); (3) restlessness, unpleasant emotions and sensations (e.g. *roze natpis svinjo debela*; a pink notice which read: "You are a fat pig!"); (4) health and aesthetic issues (e.g. *ružičaste strije*; pink stretch marks); and (5) a strange, weird appearance (e.g. *čuperak ružičaste boje*; a pink forelock).

In general, the more 'grey' is reminiscent of the typically negatively assessed 'black', the more negatively 'grey' is perceived. Similar to this, the more 'red' like 'pink' is, the more irritating 'pink' is believed to be.¹⁶ At the same time, the more both 'grey' and 'pink' resemble the colour 'white', which is predominantly attributed positive meanings by the western world, the more positively the two BCCs are assessed. Nevertheless, both darker shades of 'grey' and more 'red' like shades of 'pink' may be viewed favourably if they shine, that is,

¹⁶ The colour 'red' exudes a strong and powerful masculine energy.

if they have a gloss or brilliance (e.g. *prelepe sive oči*; beautiful grey eyes, *grafitne pločice*, graphite tiles, *ružičasta torta*, a pink cake; *roze Vespa*; a pink Vespa, etc.). Finally, soft ‘pink’ produces a feminine feel, while darker colours combined with ‘grey’ create a more masculine quality.

Sanja Krimer Gaborović

KONOTATIVNA ZNAČENJA SRPSKIH OSNOVNIH NAZIVA ZA BOJE *SIVA* I *RUŽIČASTA* ILI *ROZE/A* IZ UGLA INTRAKOLORITNE ANTONIMIJE

Rezime

Kako to obrazlaže Almalech (2014: 748), određeni broj osnovnih naziva za boje (engl. *basic colour terms*, ili, kraće BCTs) ispoljava intrakoloritnu antonimiju očitovanu u njihovim suprotstavljenim značenjima. Shodno tome, rad govori o semantičkim aspektima dva od ukupno 11 srpskih BCT, koje su u engleskom i drugim jezicima prvi definisali Berlin i Kay 1969. godine. Konkretnije, reč je o srpskim leksemama *siva* i *ružičasta* ili *roze/roza*. Konceptualne kategorije ‘siva’ i ‘roze’, u svojstvu osnovnih kategorija boja (engl. *basic colour categories*, ili, kraće BCCs), koje u srpskom jeziku imenuju upravo napred naznačeni generički nazivi za boje, mešavine su ahromatskih kolorita ‘bela’ + ‘crna’ s jedne strane, i s druge strane ahromatskog i hromatskog tona tj. ‘bela’ + ‘crvena’. Ukratko, *siva* i *ružičasta* ili *roze/roza* generičke su leksičke oznake za sekundarno-osnovne kategorije boja, budući da oba kolorita nastaju mešanjem po dve primarno-osnovne boje.

U srpskom jeziku i kulturi *siva* imenuje boju čija su izvedena značenja predominantno negativno konotirana: (1) sumorno, kišovito i hladno vreme (*sivo nebo*), (2) koji je težak, neprijatan, mučan, npr. raspoloženje, stav, stil, ukus (*sivi grad*), (3) prljavština, siromaštvo, istrošenost, ružnoća (*sive fleke (od buđi)*), (4) nešto što je tradicionalno, konzervativno; neugledno, neupadljivo (*sivo društvo*), (5) koji je mutan, neproziran (*siva mrena*) i (6) koji je nezvaničan, nelegalan, nezakonit (*siva ekonomija*).

Za razliku od toga, značenja *ružičasta* ili *roze/roza* preovlađujuće su pozitivno konotirana: (1) ženskost, ženstvenost („*ružičasti talas*” (ženske kandidature)), (2) optimizam, sreća (*ružičasta situacija*), (3) detinjstvo, mladost, nevinost (*topla i ružičasta* (beba, mala devojčica)), (4) lepota, ljupkost, gracioznost (*ružičaste kupačice*), (5) romantična ljubav (*ružičasta kraljica romanse*), (6) nežnost; bajkovitost, magična osećanja („*roze i na cvetiće*” vikendi), (7) mir, harmonija, spokoj (*ružičaste spavaće sobe*), (8) proleće (*roze miriše na proleće*) i (9) dobro zdravlje (*svetloružičaste škrge*).

Istovremeno, *siva* ima i manji broj pozitivno konotiranih značenja, dok se kod *ružičasta* ili *roze/roza* uočava nekoliko negativnih značenja. Pozitivna značenja BCT *siva* su: (1) zrelost, mudrost, iskustvo (*sivobradi pop*) i (2) koji je zvaničan, tradicionalan, prefinjen (obuća, vozila, elementi u enterijeru i eksterijeru i dr.) (*sivi saten*). S druge strane negativna

značenja *ružičasta* ili *roze/roza* su: (1) izveštačenost, kič, primitivizam (*TV Pink*), (2) nezrelost, slabost, sladunjavost (posebno osećanja) (*roza zavesice*), (3) nemir, neprijatno osećanje (*ružičasti dnevnik o anoreksiji*), (4) zdravstvene i estetske tegobe (*ružičaste strije*) i (5) čudan, neobičan izgled (*ružičasti čuperak*).

U svetlu svega do sada navedenog, očigledno treba odbaciti polarizovano poimanje semantičke dimenzije srpskih BCT. Dihotomija takvog pristupa ogleda se u uobičajenom percipiranju BCT *bela* i *crna*, u smislu da *bela* tipično priziva mentalne asocijacije na čistoću, nevinost, naivnost, dobrotu, nebesa, sigurnost, sjaj i sl., dok su za pridev *crna* tipične asocijacije na smrt, zlo, strah, agresiju, itd. Uopšte uzev, što je boja sličnija ‘beloj’ njeno percipiranje je pozitivnije. Stoga sve svetlije nijanse ‘sive’ i ‘roze’ imaju pozitivno značenje, npr. *golubijesiva*, *puderastoružičasta*, *nežnoroze*. Istovremeno, što je boja sličnija ‘crnoj’, ima negativnije značenje, recimo *tamnosiva* (boja dima). Kod ‘roze’ to je utoliko drugačije što su njena negativna vezana za veći procentualni udeo energične ‘crvene’. Dakle, što je nijansa ‘roze’ drečavija, to će biti smatrana za napadniju i iritantniju, npr. *napadne ružičaste tapete*.

Pozitivan odn. negativan lik određene boje, ovde ‘siva’ i ‘roze’, temelji se na prisustvu odn. odsustvu komponente sjaja (presijavanja, svetlućanja) (up. Popović, 2008: 112–120). Tako, recimo, sintagme *sive oči*, *grafitne pločice*, *ružičasta torta* i *roze Vespa* ilustruju pozitivnu determinaciju vanjezičkih entiteta po boji, dok su *sivo lice*, *sivi dim*, *ružičasti osip* i *roze stračara* primeri negativne determinacije po boji. Ukratko, ‘siva’ može biti zagasitija, a ‘roze’ može imati naglašeno ‘crveni’ podton, no ukoliko se entitet čije kolorističko obeležje date boje predstavljaju odlikuje još komponentom sjaja (presijavanja, svetlućanja), takva boja će vrlo verovatno ipak biti percipirana kao pozitivno konotirana.

Ključne reči: srpski jezik, osnovni naziv za boju, siva, ružičasta, roze/roza, semantika, intrakoloritna antonimija

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