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YELLOW IN POLISH AND RUSSIAN: ASSOCIATIONS, PROTOTYPICAL REFERENCES, AND VALUATION*

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Abstract: In this paper, we analyze associations with yellow provided by 50 Polish and 50 Russian speakers. Our survey study demonstrates that the dominant associations include the sun and related phenomena. These associations point to the sun as the prototypical reference of the Polish and Russian words for yellow. Despite the negative symbolism of yellow, which is reflected in fixed expressions found in both languages, it is evaluated positively by a majority of the respondents.

Key words: associations, colour vocabulary, yellow, Polish, Russian, prototypical references, valuation.

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to present partial results of a survey study of colour associations provided by Polish and Russian speakers.¹ In the present study, we concentrate on the associations with yellow.

We pose the following research questions:

- What are the prototypical references of the words for yellow in view of the provided associations?
- What motivates associations with yellow? Is it culture (colour symbolism), language (fixed expressions) or nature observations?
- How do the associations relate to dictionary definitions of the words for yellow?

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– How is yellow evaluated?

Before we concentrate on Polish and Russian words for yellow, we should point out that investigating colour vocabulary requires an interdisciplinary approach. As Panasenko and Korcová (2011: 124) remark – analyzing colours from various perspectives – they are around us and influence our lives. Even if researchers decide to investigate colour lexicons only from the linguistic point of view, it will soon appear that they will need to attend to other disciplines, including psychology, anthropology, philosophy as well as literary and cultural studies. For instance, as Panasenko observes in her analysis of colour terms used in sudden (flash) fiction,²

"If we treat colours in a different way, we will see that their functions go far beyond specific colour naming. They may be considered as signals, symbols, codes, have figurative meaning, and serve as means of creating specific images or atmosphere, especially when it concerns literary texts" (2019: 131).

Analyzing colour terms from the semantic perspective, the researchers take into consideration denotation and connotation, associations, synonymy, polysemy, semantic fields, prototypes, and imagery as well as metaphor, metonymy, and symbolism. In this study, we are particularly interested in figurative language, prototypes (prototypical references), and associations (see, e.g., Stanulewicz 2009: 20-29).

Colour terms are frequently used figuratively, i.e., in metaphorical and metonymic expressions. Following Lakoff and Johnson (1980), Kövecses (2002: 4) claims that metaphor is "understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain". According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), metaphor should be treated not only as a figure of speech employed in poetry because metaphorical expressions are also used in "ordinary" spoken and written texts, including, among others, everyday conversations, advertisements, and political speeches. Furthermore, Lakoff and Johnson (ibid., 6) state that "metaphor is not just a matter of language", and "human thought processes are largely metaphorical". The English phrases *white magic* and *black magic* as well as their Polish equivalents, *biała magia* and *czarna magia*, may serve as examples of metaphorical expressions in which 'white' stands for 'good and harmless', whereas 'black' means 'evil and harmful'. Undoubtedly, such expressions reflect colour symbolism. The other phenomenon, metonymy, is defined as a "figure of speech in which the name of an attribute of an entity is used in place of the entity itself" (Crystal [1992] 1994: 250). Colour terms are used in expressions referring to emotions or illnesses, e.g., words for red meaning 'angry' or words for yellow meaning 'sick'. In this case, the type of metonymy is SYMPTOM FOR EMOTION / ILLNESS.

Numerous scholars investigate associations with colours (see, among others, Dmitrieva, *s.a.*; Gatkowska 2020; Gierczyńska-Kolas 2016; Gonigroszek 2013; Mozolewska 2010; Pietrzyk 2008; Stanulewicz et al. 2014; Teodorowicz-Hellman 1998). Leech (1974: 26) and Tokarski (2006: 209-210), as well as many other linguists, claim that associations and connotations³ ought to be treated as part of the meaning of a lexical item. Colour associations, most notably the universal and concrete ones (i.e., natural objects and phenomena), indicate prototypes (which are called models, prototypical references or reference points as well) of the word that names this colour (see, among others, Komorowska 2010a; 2017; Stanulewicz 2009; Tokarski [1995] 2004; Waszakowa 2000; Wierzbicka 1996). As Wierzbicka notes,

"Colour vision cannot be put into words. None the less, it can be talked about, because we can link our visual categories with certain easily accessible models. I suggest that these models include fire, the sun, vegetation, and the sky (as well as day and night), and that these models constitute basic points of reference in human "colour talk" (1996: 332).

Continuing the line of argument, Wierzbicka gives examples from English, Russian, and Welsh:

"Since raw sense data can be conceptualized in different ways, different languages embody different colour concepts, and for example, blue does not mean the same as goluboy, and green does not mean the same as gwyrdd. But the foci of these different semantic categories may be relatively stable across languages and cultures, not simply because our neural responses are the same but because we share our fundamental conceptual models, which we base on our common human experience." (ibid., 332-333).

As can be easily observed, according to Wierzbicka (ibid.) – and numerous other scholars – there are certain objects and phenomena that serve as universal prototypical references of the words for colours: day and night (white and black respectively), fire (red), the sun (yellow) and vegetation (green). As regards the names of mixed colours, such as grey, orange, and pink, scholars refer to other colours to explain their meanings, e.g., *grey* = black + white, *orange* = red and yellow, *pink* = red + white (ibid., 326). Such colour terms are claimed not to have stable prototypes (see, among others, Waszakowa 2000: 24), although this may be debatable when we consider words for the colour orange (e.g., in Polish and English) and their obvious prototype – the fruit called *orange* (Komorowska & Станулевич 2020a; Stanulewicz 2009: 307, 310-315).

Among other aspects, researchers investigate the distinction between basic and non-basic colour terms (Berlin & Kay 1969; Kay et al. 1997; Rosch 1972), fuzzy boundaries between colours (for a discussion, see, e.g., Lakoff 1987: 26-30), universal and language-specific features of colour lexicons (e.g., Stanulewicz 2010), the radial or hierarchical structure of the lexical field of colour (based on

Lakoff 1987), equivalence and translating colour terms (e.g., Obrączka 2011; Stanulewicz & Gierczyńska-Kolas 2021), etc.

The Polish and Russian names of yellow – *żółty* and *желтый* [*zheltyj*] respectively – belong to the group of basic colour terms – as understood by Berlin and Kay (1969). These terms include words for eleven colours: white, black, red, green, yellow, blue, brown, purple, pink, orange, and grey. In Polish, there are eleven basic colour terms (see, e.g., Komorowska & Stanulewicz 2018; Stanulewicz 2009; Tokarski [1995] 2004; Waszakowa 2000), whereas Russian speakers use twelve basic terms, with two psychologically salient words for blue, *синий* [*sinij*] 'dark blue', and *голубой* [*goluboj*] 'light blue' (see, among others, Komorowska 2010a; 2017; Komorowska & Stanulewicz 2018; Morgan & Corbett 1989; Paramei 2005; Wierzbicka 1996). The Polish and Russian basic colour terms are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Polish and Russian basic colour terms (Sources: Komorowska & Stanulewicz 2018; Morgan & Corbett 1989; Paramei 2005; Stanulewicz 2009; Tokarski 2004 [1995]; Waszakowa 2000)

Colour category	Polish	Russian
WHITE	<i>biały</i>	<i>белый</i> [<i>belyj</i>]
BLACK	<i>czarny</i>	<i>черный</i> [<i>chernyj</i>]
RED	<i>czzerwony</i>	<i>красный</i> [<i>krasnyj</i>]
GREEN	<i>zielony</i>	<i>зеленый</i> [<i>zelenyj</i>]
YELLOW	<i>żółty</i>	<i>желтый</i> [<i>zheltyj</i>]
BLUE	<i>niebieski</i>	<i>голубой</i> [<i>goluboj</i>] <i>синий</i> [<i>sinij</i>]
BROWN	<i>brązowy</i>	<i>коричневый</i> [<i>korichnevyyj</i>]
PURPLE	<i>fioletowy</i>	<i>фиолетовый</i> [<i>fioletovyyj</i>]
PINK	<i>różowy</i>	<i>розовый</i> [<i>rozovyyj</i>]
ORANGE	<i>pomarańczowy</i>	<i>оранжевый</i> [<i>oranzhevyyj</i>]
GREY	<i>szary</i>	<i>серый</i> [<i>seryj</i>]

As regards the Polish and Russian words for yellow, it is worth recalling that researchers have approached these words from different perspectives. The meanings, uses, and prototypical references of Polish *żółty* and other words for yellow have been analyzed, among others, by Ampel-Rudolf (1994: 70-80); Komorowska (2010b); Tokarski ([1995] 2004: 93-113); Waszakowa (2003a); Zaręba (1954: 32-35). Russian *желтый* and its uses as well as prototypes have been investigated by Kustova and Rachilina (2003), Slezkina (Слезкина 2005), and many others. Comparative studies of words for yellow – their meanings, uses, etc. – have been carried out as well, including Polish-Russian: Chudyk (2011); Komorowska (2010a: 131-145; 2017: 127-138); Komorowska and Stanulewicz (2018: 92-96); Polish-Russian-Czech-Ukrainian: Bjelajeva (2003); Polish-Russian-Czech-Ukrainian-Swedish: Waszakowa (2003b); and Polish-English: Uberman (2011). The present study is an addition to all these studies, catering for the need to test the previous findings and hypotheses.

2. Definitions of the Polish and Russian words for yellow

The adjectives *żółty* and *желтый* are cognates, originating from the Proto-Indo-European root **ghel-* 'shine'. Explaining what the words for yellow mean, both Polish and Russian dictionaries refer most frequently to the colour of natural objects. Let us first present the selected definitions of *żółty* and *желтый* (see Table 2):

Table 2. Selected dictionary definitions of *żółty* and *желтый* (Source: Own processing)

<i>żółty</i>	<i>желтый</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – "mający barwę owocu cytryny, jaskrów, żółtka itp." [having the colour of the lemon fruit, buttercups, egg yolk, etc.] (Słownik języka polskiego PWN. Available at: https://sjp.pwn.pl/sjp/zolty;2548314.html) – "coś, co jest żółte, ma kolor cytryny lub żółtka jajek" [something that is yellow has the colour of a lemon or egg yolk] (Inny słownik języka polskiego 2000, vol. 2: 1416) – "jasny, ciepły kolor zbliżony do barwy żółtka, cytryny, jaskrów; w widmie słonecznym znajduje się między pomarańczowym a zielonym: <i>żółty jak cytryna</i>" [light, warm colour similar to the colour of egg yolk, the lemon, buttercups; in the visible spectrum it is located between orange and green: <i>as yellow as a lemon</i>] (Słownik współczesnego języka polskiego 1996: 1390) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – "Цвета песка, золота." [Of the colour of sand, of gold.] (Ожегов 1978: 176) – "Цвета яичного желтка. Желтые листья (осенние)." [Of the colour of egg yolk. Yellow leaves (autumn [leaves]).] (Ожегов & Шведова [1992] 1995. Available at: https://ozhegov.slovaronline.com/8125-ZHELTYIY) – "Имеющий окраску одного из основных цветов спектра – среднего между оранжевым и зелёным; цвета яичного желтка, золота." [Having the colour of one of the basic colours of the spectrum – between orange and green; of the colour of egg yolk, of gold.] – (Большой толковый словарь русского языка [1998] 2014. Available at: http://www.gramota.ru/slovari/dic/?word=%D0%B6%D0%B5%D0%BB%D1%82%D1%8B%D0%B9&all=x)

As can be seen, egg yolk happens to be the most popular reference point of the words for yellow provided by the selected Polish and Russian dictionaries. Moreover, the lexicographers provide the information about the position of yellow in the visible spectrum – between orange and green. Furthermore, the dictionaries refer to plants – Polish *żółty* is the colour of buttercups and lemons, whereas in one of the Russian dictionaries yellow autumn leaves are mentioned. Additionally, *желтый* is associated with the colour of gold.

Let us now present Wierzbicka's explication of *yellow*:

"X is yellow. =
when one sees things like X one can think of the sun
at some times people can see many things
when one sees things like X one can think of this"
 (1996: 317)

Tokarski ([1995] 2004: 96-99, 106-110) entirely agrees with Wierzbicka about the sun being the reference point of the words for yellow, adding, however, another prototype, namely yellow autumn leaves.

3. Symbolism of yellow and its reflection in language

Taking into consideration symbolism, yellow is an ambivalent colour. According to Kopaliński ([1990] 2007: 512-513), this colour – because of its associations with light – symbolizes eternity, the gates of heaven, holiness and the divine power as well as intellect, knowledge, and spiritual maturity. Being the colour of gold, it is associated with wealth. Other positive connections include joy, goodness, and happiness, to name just a few. Perceived negatively, yellow serves as a symbol of arrogance, pursuit of scandal, hypocrisy, meanness, hostility, instability, cowardice, jealousy, disease, melancholy, and infidelity – suffice it to recall paintings depicting Judas dressed in yellow.

Both in Polish and Russian, the basic colour terms referring to yellow – *żółty* and *желтый* – are found to occur in expressions reflecting the negative symbolism of this colour (see, among others, Komorowska 2010a: 131-145; 2017: 132-139; Tokarski [1995] 2004: 110-113), e.g., see Table 3.

Table 3. Selected expressions with *żółty* and *желтый* reflecting the negative symbolism of yellow
(Source: Own processing)

Polish	Russian
– <i>żółty ze złości / wściekłości / zazdrości</i> 'yellow with anger / fury / envy'	– <i>желтый от злости / ревности</i> 'yellow with anger / envy'
– <i>żółta twarz / skóra</i> 'yellow face / skin' reflecting an illness or old age	– <i>желтый дом</i> 'psychiatric hospital, lunatic asylum', lit. yellow house, synonym of the present day expression <i>дом сумасшедших</i>
– <i>żółta flaga</i> 'yellow flag' on a ship as a signal of an infectious disease or quarantine	– <i>желтый билет</i> 'permission to work as a prostitute' up to 1917, lit. yellow ticket
– <i>mieć żółte papiery</i> 'to be insane', lit. to have yellow papers	– <i>желтая пресса</i> 'yellow press'

The expressions listed above illustrate the use of words for yellow connoting diseases (including mental illnesses), ageing, and negative emotions as well as prostitution and the gutter press. Furthermore, nouns related to the adjectives *żółty* and *желтый*, *żółć* and *желчь* respectively, meaning 'bile',⁴ figuratively refer to negative emotions, such as anger, fury, and irritation. Also, the words for jaundice, *żółtaczka* and *желтуха*, are related to the words for yellow.

In both languages, there are expressions, including collocations, containing *zólty* and *желтый*, which have positive or neutral connotations; however, in positively charged expressions another word for yellow, meaning 'golden', is usually employed: *złoty* (and its derivative *złocisty*) in Polish and *золотой* [*zolotoj*] in Russian (see also Komorowska 2010a: 131-145; 2017: 132-139; Tokarski [1995] 2004: 99-106), e.g., see Table 4.

Table 4. Selected expressions with *złoty* and *золотой* (Source: Own processing)

Polish	Russian
– <i>złote słońce</i> 'golden sun'	– <i>золотое солнце</i> 'golden sun'
– <i>złote promienie słońca</i> 'golden rays of the sun'	– <i>золотые солнечные лучи</i> 'golden rays of the sun'
– <i>złoty blask słońca</i> 'golden shine of the sun'	– <i>золотой солнечный блеск</i> 'golden shine of the sun'
– <i>złote lany zbóż</i> 'golden fields of grain'	– <i>золотые хлеба</i> 'golden grain'
– <i>złota jesień</i> 'golden autumn', warm early autumn	– <i>Отговорила роща золотая</i> 'The Golden Grove' (title of a poem by Sergei Yesenin)

Polish *złoty* and Russian *золотой* are cognates, coming from the Proto-Indo-European root **ghel-* 'shine' as well.

4. Associations with yellow: Previous studies

Previous studies allow us to distinguish several sets of associations with yellow elicited from speakers of different languages: the sun and light, autumn leaves, sand, yellow flowers as well as lemons and grain (see Table 5).

Table 5. Associations with yellow: Previous studies (Source: Own processing)

Study	Language(s)	Dominant association(s)	Other relatively frequent associations
Russian dictionary of associations (Русский ассоциативный словарь. Available at: http://www.thesaurus.ru/dict/)	Russian	leaves light and sun	lemon chick
Teodorowicz-Hellman (1998)	Polish	sun	leaves
Stanulewicz (2009)	Polish	sun	yellow flowers sand
Stanulewicz and Berger (2018)	various languages	sun	gold grain

It needs to be stressed that in the three previous studies presented in Table 5, the associations with the sun turned out to be much more frequent than the other ones. For instance, in the study by Stanulewicz (2009: 295-296), 400 respondents inhabiting four regions of Poland provided 591 associations with yellow, including the sun (and related phenomena) – 297 occurrences (50.25 %),

yellow flowers – 51 occurrences (8.63 %), and sand – 25 occurrences (4.32 %).

5. Results of the survey

In this section, we analyze partial results of the survey study whose aim was to investigate colour associations delivered by Polish and Russian speakers. We concentrate only on the associations with yellow. The results of the survey conducted with the Polish-speaking participants come from Stanulewicz et al. (2014).

5.1 The questionnaire and participants

We asked 50 native speakers of Polish (living in Poland) and 50 native speakers of Russian (living in Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Moldova, some of them – mainly university students and teachers – temporarily staying in Poland) to provide positive, neutral, and negative associations with colours (see the appendix containing the questionnaire in two language versions). The numbers of female and male participants were equal in each group. We did not set any limit on the number of associations and instructed the respondents to leave the space blank if they had no associations with a particular colour.

5.2 Concrete associations – prototypical references

The Polish speakers provided more associations with yellow than the Russian-speaking respondents: 134 and 94, respectively (see Table 6).

Table 6. Associations with yellow provided by the Polish and Russian speaking respondents: Statistical data
(Sources: Own processing; Stanulewicz et al. 2014: 265)

Respondents	Total number of provided associations with yellow	Number of associations with yellow per 1 respondent
Polish speakers	134	2.68
Russian speakers	94	1.88

The Polish and Russian speaking respondents – like the participants in the earlier studies presented above – associated yellow predominantly with the sun (see Tables 7 and 8). Apart from the sun, the speakers of both languages mentioned yellow flowers, mainly daffodils and sunflowers. It is clear that what motivates the most frequent associations with yellow is observations of natural objects and phenomena.

Table 7. Associations with yellow given by the Polish-speaking respondents (Source: Stanulewicz et al. 2014: 268)

Associations	Number of associations	Percentage
sun, light, warmth	46	34.33
daffodils and other yellow flowers	18	13.43
other associations	70	52.23
Total	134	100.00

Table 8. Associations with yellow given by the Russian-speaking respondents (Source: Own processing)

Associations	Number of associations	Percentage
sun, light, warmth	35	37.23
daffodils and other yellow flowers	8	8.51
other associations	51	54.26
Total	94	100.00

If we compare the associations given by the respondents with the prototypical references provided in the dictionaries, we note that the latter fail to mention the sun. This is quite surprising because references to natural objects and phenomena (including astronomical) are found in definitions of other colour terms, e.g., the sky in the definitions of the words for blue. We could only speculate that in the eyes of the lexicographers, the sun and light are perhaps less tangible, less concrete phenomena than the sky or that in the case of the sun, we should talk about the intensity of light instead of the colour tone.

Interestingly enough, the references given by the dictionaries presented above – egg yolk, autumn leaves, lemons, and sand – were rarely provided by the respondents in both groups. The results of the survey confirm the claim made by Wierzbicka (1996) and other scholars that it is the sun which should be considered the prototypical reference of the Polish and Russian words for yellow. Our study indicates that other, less stable prototypes (or candidates for prototypes) are flowers with yellow petals, such as daffodils and sunflowers, but rather not buttercups, which were not mentioned by the respondents.

5.3 Valuation

Despite the fact that numerous Polish and Russian fixed expressions containing the basic colour words for yellow are charged negatively, the speakers of both languages placed the majority of their associations – almost 60 per cent – in the "positive" category (see Tables 9 and 10). As could be expected, the sun and yellow flowers were predominantly evaluated positively.

Table 9. Positive, neutral, and negative associations with yellow provided by the Polish-speaking respondents: Statistical data (Source: Stanulewicz et al. 2014: 265)

Associations	Number of associations	Number of associations per participant	Percentage
positive	78	1.56	58.21
neutral	29	0.58	21.64
negative	27	0.54	20.15
Total	134	2.68	100.00

Table 10. Positive, neutral, and negative associations with yellow provided by the Russian-speaking respondents: Statistical data (Source: Own processing)

Associations	Number of associations	Number of associations per participant	Percentage
positive	55	1.10	58.51
neutral	22	0.44	23.40
negative	17	0.34	18.09
Total	94	1.88	100.00

As the data in Table 11 demonstrate, the differences between the Polish and Russian speaking participants in the distribution of the associations are subtle, ranging from 0.30 to 2.06 percentage points.

Table 11. Differences in the distribution of associations: A comparison (Source: Own processing)

Associations	Polish speakers (%)	Russian speakers (%)	Difference
positive	58.21	58.51	0.30
neutral	21.64	23.40	1.76
negative	20.15	18.09	2.06

One more discrepancy draws our attention. An examination of colour preferences, in which 200 Polish speakers participated, showed that only three of them (1.5 %) declared that yellow was their favourite colour (Stanulewicz 2009: 264-265). The relatively big number of the positive associations and the relatively small number of the negative ones fail to correlate with the finding that yellow does not belong to the preferred colours.

6. Conclusions

The results of our study demonstrate that Polish and Russian speakers perceive yellow in a similar way. Firstly, the associations point to the sun as the prototypical reference of the Polish and Russian words for this colour. Strangely enough, the selected authoritative dictionaries offer other explanations of the meanings of *żółty* and *желтый*, ignoring reference to the sun. Secondly, almost 60 % of associations provided by the respondents in both groups were positive despite the negative symbolism of yellow reflected in the fixed expressions. The overall positive valuation of yellow

apparently resulted from the positive valuation of the most frequent association, the sun. The associations with the sun, warmth, and light – linked with gold – presumably suppressed thoughts about a cooler shade of yellow, which is considered less pleasant, as well as about the negative symbolism and fixed expressions with negative connotations. Curiously, associating yellow with the sun (and light), the respondents unconsciously referred to the meaning of the Proto-Indo-European root **ghel-* 'shine'. Recapitulating, we have found no differences in the associations most frequently provided by the speakers of the two languages and the resulting prototypical reference of the words for yellow. The contrasts we have observed include the differences between the associations and the reference points in the dictionary definitions and the discrepancy between the negative symbolism of yellow reflected in Polish and Russian fixed expressions and a positive valuation of this colour by the respondents. As regards the prospects for further research, apart from continuing the survey (also taking into consideration speakers of other languages), we plan to concentrate on collocations with *żółty* and *желтый*, investigating their uses in the texts of the National Corpus of Polish (Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego, available at: <http://nkjp.pl/>) and the Russian National Corpus (Национальный корпус русского языка [Natsionalnyj korpus russkogo yazyka], available at: <https://ruscorpora.ru/new/>). A sentiment analysis will allow us to answer the question, which connotations of the words for yellow – positive, negative or neutral – happen to be the most frequent ones in the texts found in the corpora.

Notes

1. So far, we have published the results of the survey study concerning the associations Polish and Russian speakers provided with the following colours: red (Коморовска & Станулевич 2020b), orange (Коморовска & Станулевич 2020a), and pink (Stanulewicz et al. 2021). We have also presented the results for purple at a conference (Stanulewicz & Komorowska 2020).
2. Numerous researchers analyze the use of colour terms in literature, see, e.g., Kaptur (2017), Obrączka (2011), Panasenko (2020), Tokarski ([1995] 2004).
3. Crystal ([1992] 1994: 329) provides the following definition of *connotation*: "The personal or emotional associations which are suggested by words, and which thus form part of their meaning for individual speakers".
4. The Polish word *żółć* is also a colour noun referring to the colour yellow. Its Russian equivalent is *желть*.

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Résumé

In this paper, we analyze associations with yellow provided by 50 Polish and 50 Russian speakers. The research questions we ask concern (1) the prototypical references of the words for yellow in view of the provided associations, (2) motivation of the associations, and (3) valuation of this colour by the speakers of both languages. Our survey study demonstrates that the dominant associations include the sun and related phenomena, such as light. This points to the sun as a prototypical reference of Polish and Russian words for yellow, *żółty* and *желтый* respectively. The study also indicates that other, less stable prototypes (or candidates for prototypes) are yellow flowers, such as daffodils and sunflowers. The most frequent associations are then motivated by observations of nature. Curiously enough, the analyzed definitions of the words for yellow, coming from authoritative Polish and Russian dictionaries, ignore the sun, offering other explanations of the meanings of *żółty* and *желтый*: references to egg yolk, gold, and buttercups. In both languages, the negative symbolism of yellow is reflected in fixed expressions containing the words for yellow, which connote diseases (including mental illnesses), ageing, and negative emotions as well as prostitution and the gutter press. Despite these negative connotations, yellow is evaluated positively by the respondents, which may be attributed to the positive valuation of the most frequent association, the sun. Associating yellow with the sun, the respondents unconsciously refer to the meaning of the Proto-Indo-European root **ghel-* 'shine', from which *żółty* and *желтый* originate.

Key words: associations, colour vocabulary, yellow, golden, Polish, Russian, fixed expressions, colour symbolism, prototypical reference, valuation.

Appendix

POZYTYWNE, NEUTRALNE I NEGATYWNE SKOJARZENIA Z BARWAMI

Data Płeć Wiek

Wykształcenie Zawód / specjalność

Miejsce pochodzenia Miejsce zamieszkania

Z czym pozytywnym, neutralnym i negatywnym kojarzą się Państwu następujące kolory? Mogą Państwo podać jedno lub więcej skojarzeń, albo zostawić puste miejsce, jeżeli nic się Państwu nie kojarzy z daną barwą.

Kolor	Skojarzenia		
	pozytywne	neutralne	negatywne
BIAŁY			
CZARNY			
CZERWONY			
ZIELONY			
ŻÓŁTY			
NIEBIESKI			
BŁĘKITNY			
BRAŹOWY			
FIOLETOWY			
RÓŻOWY			
POMARAŃCZOWY			
SZARY			

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Образование Специальность/профессия
Место происхождения Место жительства
Ваш родной язык

Пожалуйста, напишите свои позитивные, нейтральные и негативные ассоциации, связанные с предложенными цветами. Если нет ассоциаций с каким-либо цветом, поставьте прочерк.

Цвет	Ассоциации		
	позитивные	нейтральные	негативные
БЕЛЫЙ			
ЧЕРНЫЙ			
КРАСНЫЙ			
ЗЕЛЕНый			
ЖЕЛТЫЙ			
СИНИЙ			
ГОЛУБОЙ			
КОРИЧНЕВЫЙ			
ФИОЛЕТОВЫЙ			
РОЗОВЫЙ			
ОРАНЖЕВЫЙ			
СЕРЫЙ			

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