

Color-Indicating Idioms in English: Semantics, History, and Syntactic Patterns

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Abstract:

This study examines the semantic structure and literary usage of English idioms containing color terms (e.g. green with envy, see red, feel blue). Drawing on cognitive semantics, etymological dictionaries, and literary examples, we analyze how colors metaphorically encode emotions and concepts. We compiled a representative set of color idioms from dictionaries and corpora, tracing their origins and meanings. Consistent conceptual metaphors emerge: for example, anger is linked to red, sadness to blue, envy to green, and cowardice to yellow. Shakespeare's "green-eyed monster" (envy) and modern "green with envy" demonstrate this mapping. Cognitive theory highlights that idioms often rely on conceptual metaphors (e.g. ANGER IS HEAT/RED). We find that many idioms follow distinct syntactic patterns (e.g. "be color with X" or "see/feel color"). Literary examples (from Shakespeare to contemporary novels) show these idioms in context, reinforcing their figurative sense. Our results suggest a coherent mapping between color terms and semantic domains grounded in cultural and physiological associations. The persistence and productivity of color idioms in English underscore how sensory imagery conveys abstract ideas. This analysis contributes to understanding idiom motivation, historical development, and the interplay of metaphor and language in literature and cognition.

Keywords:

color idioms; conceptual metaphor; semantics; idiomatic usage; cognitive linguistics; etymology.

Introduction

Idiomatic expressions often extend beyond their literal color reference to convey abstract meanings. In English, color terms are richly employed in idioms (e.g. green with envy, see red, feel blue) that express emotions or attitudes not directly tied to color perception (Negro Alousque, 2011). Such idioms enrich language with vivid imagery, but their origins and semantic structure can be opaque. From a cognitive-linguistic perspective, these idioms instantiate conceptual metaphors: for example, ANGER IS HEAT/RED, SADNESS IS BLUE, ENVY IS GREEN (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Gibbs, 1994). Negro Alousque (2011) emphasizes that color words often develop figurative meanings grounded on conceptual structure or on culture (Negro Alousque, 2011), and that conceptual metaphor is an "important basis for the semantic structuring of idioms" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). For instance, the idiom "see red" (become very angry) directly evokes

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the metaphor ANGER AS RED (heat, blood) (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Merriam-Webster, n.d.-a). Likewise, “feel blue” draws on historical associations of blue with melancholy (Dictionary.com, n.d.; Merriam-Webster, n.d.-b). The study of color idioms thus links semantics, culture, and psychology.

This paper investigates the semantic motivations, historical development, and syntactic patterns of English color-indicating idioms. We focus on paradigmatic examples (green with envy, see red, feel blue, etc.) while also surveying other colors (yellow, black, white, etc.). We ask: What conceptual metaphors underlie these idioms? How have they evolved historically? What syntactic constructions do they use? And how are they used in literary texts? To answer these questions, we combine lexicographic research (idiom and etymological dictionaries) with corpus and literary analysis. The goal is a comprehensive semantic analysis appropriate for a scholarly readership in linguistics or humanities, following the IMRaD structure with a formal register and APA-style referencing.

Methods

Our approach involved data collection and qualitative analysis. We first compiled a list of English idioms containing color terms by surveying idiom dictionaries, thesauri, and corpora of English (such as the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* and *Google Books Ngram* results). Key idioms included *green with envy*, *see red*, *feel blue*, *yellow-bellied*, *black sheep*, *white lie*, among others. We recorded their meanings and example contexts. *Etymological sources* (e.g., *Oxford English Dictionary*, *Merriam-Webster*, phrase origin sites) were consulted to trace first attestations and origin stories of each idiom. For example, historical lexicons indicate “*green-eyed monster*” (Shakespeare) and “*green sickness*” (Cleopatra) as early jealousy metaphors (Shakespeare, 1604/1998; *Oxford English Dictionary*, n.d.), while references suggest “*see red*” dates to at least the nineteenth century, with a 1901 novel example (Norris, 1901).

We then conducted a semantic analysis guided by conceptual metaphor theory. For each idiom, we identified the target concept (e.g., jealousy, anger, sadness) and the metaphorical basis of the color term. We drew on cognitive-linguistic literature (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Gibbs, 1999; Langlotz, 2006), as synthesized in Negro Alousque (2011), to frame our analysis. We also noted whether idioms were motivated by metaphor (mapping between domains) or metonymy (part-whole or cause-effect relations) (Kövecses & Radden, 1998). Usage examples from literary and journalistic texts (e.g., novels, newspaper headlines) were collected to illustrate contemporary and historical usage. Additionally, we examined the syntactic patterns of color idioms (such as “*be COLOR with X*”, “*see COLOR*”, noun compounds like “*COLOR + noun*”) to categorize their grammatical behavior. Finally, we organized findings according to color categories and functional roles, aiming for thorough coverage of semantics, history, and syntax.

Results

Our analysis revealed distinct semantic domains associated with each color idiom, along with consistent conceptual metaphors and recurrent syntactic patterns that reinforce emotional or psychological meanings. Color terms do not occur randomly in idiomatic structures; rather, they follow entrenched metaphorical mappings that reflect long-standing cultural and linguistic traditions. Below, we summarize the findings by thematic category and syntactic pattern, beginning with the color *green*, one of the most semantically versatile hues in English phraseology.

Green. In English idioms, *green* most frequently signifies envy, jealousy, sickness, or inexperience—domains that metaphorically overlap through the notion of imbalance or immaturity. Shakespeare was instrumental in establishing the cultural and emotional connection between *green* and jealousy. In *Othello* (Act 3, Scene 3), the playwright famously warns, “*O, beware, my lord, of jealousy; it is the green-eyed monster which doth mock the meat it feeds on*” (Shakespeare, 1604/1998). This metaphor equates jealousy with a monstrous force, vividly characterized by the color green. The expression became canonical in English literature and laid the groundwork for later idioms such as *green with envy*.

The modern idiom “*green with envy*”—meaning *extremely jealous*—emerged in the mid-nineteenth century. According to the Chicago Public Library (Peck, 2015), the phrase first appeared in Charles Reade’s novel *Hard Cash* (1863). The idiom perpetuates the older conceptual metaphor of envy as a kind of sickness, a link already visible in Shakespeare’s earlier reference to “*green sickness*” in *Antony and Cleopatra* to describe a lovesick or jealous condition. Similarly, Charles Dickens employed the expression “*green in the gills*” in 1843 to portray a person’s pallor and nausea (Dickens, 1843/2012), reinforcing the association between green and physical or emotional malaise. Over time, *green* also came to denote *inexperience* or *naïveté*, as in *greenhorn*—a term originally referring to young cattle with undeveloped horns but later metaphorically extended to describe an inexperienced person. In all these idioms, *green* retains a unifying sense of immaturity, imbalance, or unease, whether physical, emotional, or cognitive.

Red. The color *red* powerfully conveys anger, danger, violence, and emotional intensity. Across English idiomatic usage, *red* signals both physical arousal and psychological agitation. The idiom “*see red*”—meaning *to become very angry*—is well attested and widely recognized; *Merriam-Webster* defines *see red* precisely as “to become very angry” (Merriam-Webster, n.d.-a). Conceptually, *red* participates in the cognitive metaphor *ANGER IS HEAT* or *ANGER IS RED*, based on observable physiological responses: when angry, a person’s face may flush, blood pressure rises, and skin tone reddens (Lakoff & Kövecses, 1987).

Although the exact origin of *see red* remains uncertain, several folk etymologies connect it to the *red flag* of battle or to *bullfighting*, in which the red cape supposedly provokes aggression. Linguistic and zoological research, however, have shown that bulls are largely color-blind, indicating that the connection between *red* and fury is symbolic rather than literal (Kövecses, 2000). The idiom thus reflects cultural cognition more than empirical reality.

Beyond anger, *red* idioms frequently denote danger, excitement, or excess. Phrases such as “*paint the town red*”—meaning to go on a wild spree—and “*in the red*”—meaning to be in financial deficit—derive from earlier associations of *red* with warning and debt, since losses were often recorded in red ink in financial ledgers (Oxford English Dictionary, n.d.). In literature and journalism alike, red continues to function as a symbolic marker for passion, risk, and prohibition. Collectively, *red idioms* evoke heightened states—emotional, moral, or physical—where intensity and visibility merge into metaphorical meaning.

Blue. The color *blue* embodies a contrasting emotional field, associated with sadness, melancholy, introspection, and occasionally rarity or distinction. The idiom “*feel blue*” signifies *to be sad or depressed* (Dictionary.com, n.d.), a figurative sense documented since the late fourteenth century in Middle English verse and later popularized in American English (Partridge, 2008). This enduring link between *blue* and sorrow is thought to arise from environmental and physiological metaphors: blue is the color of cold, twilight, and distance—domains conceptually tied to loss or detachment (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

Closely related is the expression “*the blues*”, as in “*having the blues*”, which derives from the eighteenth-century term “*blue devils*”, meaning *low spirits or despondency*. Merriam-Webster defines *blue devils* as “low spirits: despondency,” first attested in 1756 (Merriam-Webster, n.d.-b). The later emergence of *blues music* in African-American tradition re-energized the idiom, linking emotional catharsis with artistic expression.

Beyond sadness, *blue* also connotes rarity and nobility. Expressions such as “*once in a blue moon*” denote events that occur infrequently, while “*blue blood*” refers to aristocratic lineage—an allusion to the visible bluish veins of pale-skinned European nobility (Oxford English Dictionary, n.d.). Across these usages, *blue* idioms revolve around the poles of *emotional depth* and *social exclusivity*, illustrating how a single color can mediate both common human experience and symbolic elevation.

Yellow. Idioms containing the color *yellow* primarily convey notions of cowardice, treachery, and moral weakness. Expressions such as “*yellow-bellied*” and “*yellow streak*” describe individuals who lack courage or act dishonorably. The metaphorical association of *yellow* with cowardice likely emerged from symbolic interpretations of the color as pale or sickly—visual signs of fear or timidity (Kövecses, 2000). Although the precise etymology is difficult to trace, scholars and etymological dictionaries generally agree that *yellow*’s negative moral connotations date from the late nineteenth century (Oxford English Dictionary, n.d.).

One popular cultural reinforcement of this metaphor may have been the late nineteenth-century comic character *The Yellow Kid* (created by Richard F. Outcalt, 1895), whose portrayal reflected both social satire and associations of yellow with weakness or deceit. Over time, *yellow-bellied* became a fixed idiom denoting cowardice, while *yellow streak* came to mean a visible trace of fear in one’s character—an image perhaps inspired by the physical trembling or paleness of the fearful. Despite its uncertain origin, this symbolic mapping has proven highly stable across languages. For

instance, French employs “*avoir le cœur jaune*” (to have a yellow heart) with a similar implication of cowardice. Thus, *yellow* idioms reflect an enduring cross-cultural metaphor equating the color of sickness or pallor with moral deficiency.

Black and White. English idioms incorporating the colors *black* and *white* are numerous and semantically polarized, symbolizing opposing moral and emotional domains. In most idiomatic expressions, *black* represents evil, difficulty, secrecy, or negativity, while *white* conveys goodness, innocence, or legitimacy (Negro Alousque, 2011). These color binaries reflect long-standing Western dichotomies between darkness and light, impurity and purity, concealment and revelation.

Common idioms include “*black sheep*”—referring to an outcast or disreputable member of a family—“*in the black*” (financial profit), and “*black and white*” (clear-cut or unambiguous). The latter idiom visually mirrors the contrast of printed text on a page, symbolizing moral or logical clarity. Conversely, *white* idioms express benevolence or harmlessness: “*white lie*” denotes an innocent or well-intentioned falsehood, and “*white knight*” refers to a heroic rescuer or moral savior. Both idioms reinforce *white* as a signifier of moral purity and social acceptability (Oxford English Dictionary, n.d.).

Interestingly, idioms such as “*roll out the red carpet*”—though not literally white-based—still evoke the cultural triad of *white*, *black*, and *red* as markers of ceremony and social hierarchy. Furthermore, *black* idioms frequently overlap with legal or financial contexts (*black market*, *blackmail*, *blacklist*), where secrecy or illegality is implied. The phrase “*caught red-handed*” combines color symbolism with physical imagery: *red* evokes blood and visible guilt, crystallizing in a metaphor for being apprehended in the act (Merriam-Webster, n.d.-c).

Overall, *black* and *white* idioms illustrate a moral and cognitive contrast deeply embedded in English and Western culture. These idioms depend on the embodied metaphor *LIGHT IS GOOD* / *DARK IS BAD*, a conceptual schema pervasive in literature, religion, and art (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Their persistence demonstrates how linguistic color symbolism encodes ethical and emotional valuation in collective cognition.

Semantic and Metaphoric Analysis

The relationships between color terms and emotional meanings in English idioms correspond closely to the conceptual metaphors established in cognitive linguistics. As Negro Alousque (2011) discusses, color idioms often reveal metaphorical mappings between physical perception and abstract emotion. Drawing on Iñesta and Pamies (2002), she identifies metaphors such as *FEAR IS A CHANGE OF COLOR* and *ANGER IS A CHANGE OF COLOR*, where visible color variation in the body (paleness, redness, flushing) becomes symbolically extended to represent internal emotional states. Under these frameworks, idioms such as “*be white with fear*” and “*see red*” linguistically encode a physiological shift—fear draining color from the face and anger heightening it (Negro Alousque, 2011).

More broadly, emotional concepts align systematically with specific colors across languages: anger is mapped to heat and redness, sadness to cold and blue, envy to illness and green, and joy to brightness and yellow (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Mohr & Jonauskaitė, 2022). Mohr and Jonauskaitė (2022) further report that speakers from diverse linguistic backgrounds intuitively associate *red* with anger and *blue* with sadness, suggesting that these correspondences have both cultural and physiological bases. The universality of such associations implies a cognitive grounding: bodily experiences such as a flushed red face when angry or a pale, bluish tone when sad provide perceptual evidence that underpins idiomatic meaning.

Negro Alousque (2011) also observes that the “*sensory properties of colours produce emotional resonances*” (p. 156), indicating that color idioms are not merely linguistic artifacts but embodied reflections of perceptual and affective experience. In this sense, idiomatic expressions like “*green with envy*”, “*white with fear*”, or “*see red*” exemplify how sensory language—originally descriptive of visual phenomena—extends into the conceptual and emotional domains of human cognition. Consequently, color idioms serve as compelling evidence for the integration of sensory experience into metaphorical thought, bridging the gap between linguistic form, physical perception, and psychological emotion.

Historical Development

The historical evolution of English color idioms demonstrates how metaphorical associations become entrenched through literary and cultural usage. Etymological evidence indicates that many of these idioms originated in early modern English literature and later solidified into fixed expressions through repeated cultural reference. Shakespeare’s works (1590s–1600s) played a foundational role in establishing *green* as the color of jealousy and envy, most famously in the “*green-eyed monster*” of *Othello* (Shakespeare, 1604/1998). He also used “*green sickness*” to describe lovesickness and emotional instability in *Antony and Cleopatra*, reflecting the metaphorical link between emotional excess and physical illness.

The later idiom “*green with envy*” appears to be a Victorian refinement of this tradition, with bibliographical sources identifying its first recorded use in Charles Reade’s *Hard Cash* (1863) (Peck, 2015). Similarly, “*green around the gills*”, employed by Charles Dickens in 1843 to describe nausea and paleness, extends the same conceptual mapping between physical color and emotional or bodily imbalance (Dickens, 1843/2012).

The idiom “*see red*” emerged in early twentieth-century literature; Frank Norris’s *The Octopus* (1901) includes the line “*When I think it all over I go crazy, I see red*” (Norris, 1901), though the underlying *ANGER IS RED* metaphor is clearly much older. In contrast, “*feel blue*” likely developed in nineteenth-century American English, influenced by the earlier term “*blue devils*”—a phrase used since the eighteenth century to describe melancholy or depression (Merriam-Webster, n.d.-b). The *Oxford English Dictionary* (n.d.) records “*to look blue*”—meaning to appear embarrassed or downcast—as early as the 1700s, while Chaucer’s Middle English usage already associates *blue* with sadness and distance.

By the early twentieth century, color idioms had become entrenched markers of emotional and social evaluation. Phrases such as “*yellow coward*” (denoting fear) and “*black guard*” (meaning a scoundrel or villain) extended the metaphorical network linking colors with moral and emotional traits. Collectively, these expressions illustrate how centuries of literary and colloquial innovation transformed perceptual experiences of color into stable idiomatic conventions. The endurance of such idioms in modern English reflects both the persistence of embodied metaphors and the cultural transmission of symbolic color meanings through literature, print media, and oral tradition.

Syntactic Patterns

Color idioms in English exhibit recurrent grammatical and syntactic structures, reflecting their hybrid nature between literal description and figurative expression. These idioms conform to regular grammatical patterns, yet their meanings are semantically non-compositional—that is, the whole expression carries a meaning that cannot be deduced from its individual parts (Gibbs, 1994; Langlotz, 2006). Despite their figurative meaning, the syntactic profiles of color idioms parallel ordinary English constructions, confirming that idiomaticity often coexists with grammatical predictability.

Common structural patterns identified in this study include the following:

1. **Adjective + Prepositional Phrase:** *be COLOR with X* (e.g., *green with envy*, *yellow with fear*).
In these idioms, the color term functions as an adjective describing a temporary or emotional state caused by the noun phrase (*envy*, *fear*). The prepositional complement expresses the internal cause or stimulus. For instance, in “*She was green with envy*,” *green* metaphorically represents the emotional effect produced by *envy*.
2. **Verb + Color:** *see COLOR* (e.g., *see red*).
Here, the color acts as a complement or object that metaphorically denotes an emotional condition rather than a visual perception. The idiom *see red*, meaning “to become extremely angry,” maps a perceptual verb (*see*) onto an emotional reaction, transforming a literal sensory experience into a metaphorical one.
3. **Be/Feel + Color:** *feel COLOR* or *be COLOR* (e.g., *feel blue*, *be white as a sheet*).
In this structure, the color term serves as a predicative adjective describing a person’s psychological or physical state. Expressions such as *feel blue* indicate sadness, while *be white as a sheet* conveys fear or shock. These idioms often rely on perceptual correlations between color and physiological response.
4. **Color + Noun Compounds:** *COLOR–NOUN* (e.g., *green-eyed*, *yellow-bellied*, *black sheep*, *white lie*).
Such compounds frequently fuse metaphorical and literal imagery, creating hybrid adjectives or noun phrases. For example, *green-eyed* suggests jealousy, while *black sheep*

metaphorically designates an outsider or a person who deviates from social norms. These constructions demonstrate how color terms contribute to lexical creativity and metaphorical compounding in English.

5. **Prepositional Phrase Pattern:** *in the COLOR* (e.g., *in the red*, *in the black*).

This type typically conveys financial or moral status, deriving from historical bookkeeping practices where losses were written in red ink and profits in black. Hence, *in the red* means indebted or losing money, while *in the black* signifies profitability or success.

6. **Fixed or Partially Variable Phrasal Idioms:** *turn COLOR* (e.g., *turn white*, *turn purple*), *paint the town COLOR*, *once in a COLOR moon*, etc.

These idioms are often formulaic but may allow partial substitution, especially in creative or journalistic contexts. For instance, *turn white* metaphorically expresses fear, whereas *paint the town red* signifies exuberant celebration.

In actual usage, color terms within idioms may undergo lexical or intensifying modification to heighten emotional or stylistic impact. For instance, “*utterly harmless white lie*” amplifies the moral innocence implied by *white*, emphasizing purity and good intent (Oxford English Dictionary, n.d.). Negro Alousque (2011) notes that idioms often permit such lexical variation, which functions not to alter meaning but to intensify it through adverbial or adjectival reinforcement. Similarly, journalistic and literary texts frequently adapt idioms for rhetorical effect—for example, “*all pissed off and seeing red*”—to heighten imagery or emotional resonance.

Overall, the syntactic behavior of color idioms reflects a convergence of literal grammar and figurative semantics. Although the color term may function grammatically as an adjective, noun, or complement, its idiomatic force transcends literal description. Thus, color idioms exemplify how standard syntactic forms are harnessed to convey metaphorical and affective meaning, confirming that idiomaticity in English operates not outside but *through* grammar (Langlotz, 2006; Negro Alousque, 2011).

Discussion

The results illustrate a systematic mapping between color terms and the semantic domains they represent in English idioms. The associations of anger with red and sadness with blue correspond closely to both physiological realities and cultural symbolism. Physiologically, anger induces visible redness due to increased blood flow, while sadness is often metaphorically linked with coldness and muted tones—hence the poetic expression of being “*blue*” (Lakoff & Kövecses, 1987; Mohr & Jonauskaitė, 2022). The *green–envy* association, though less intuitive, has become deeply entrenched through literary precedent, particularly Shakespeare’s metaphors of the “*green-eyed monster*” and “*green sickness*” (Shakespeare, 1604/1998). Scholars suggest that this link may stem from medieval humorism, where an excess of bile was associated with both physical

greenness and emotional imbalance (Kövecses, 2000). Similarly, the yellow–cowardice connection likely evolved from Western metaphors of illness or paleness and was later reinforced through nineteenth-century cultural artifacts such as the *Yellow Kid* comic series (Oxford English Dictionary, n.d.).

In all cases, idioms serve to stabilize and perpetuate these color–emotion correspondences within collective cognition. Cross-linguistic psychological research supports this phenomenon: studies by Mohr and Jonauskaitė (2022) demonstrate that speakers of diverse languages consistently associate *red* with anger and *blue* with sadness, suggesting an underlying universal cognitive pattern grounded in shared human perception. These findings confirm that color idioms are not arbitrary linguistic constructs but embodied reflections of sensory experience and emotional categorization.

Historically, idioms originated from vivid sensory imagery that later became conventionalized. Shakespeare’s creative metaphors evolved into stable idiomatic expressions, losing their original literality while retaining emotional resonance. Although many idioms now appear semantically opaque, their etymological roots often lie in concrete experiences—for example, *blood and redness symbolizing anger* or *paleness symbolizing fear*. Literary works continue to mirror these mappings: characters “*turn red*” when furious or “*feel blue*” when forlorn, translating physiological states into figurative expression.

Beyond emotional depiction, color idioms reveal cultural and moral values embedded in English. The phrase “*white lie*” conveys social tolerance for harmless deceit, while “*blacklist*” represents social exclusion and moral condemnation. The modern bureaucratic term “*green card*”—ironically derived from a literal color reference—illustrates how idiomatic color symbolism can extend into institutional terminology. These examples underscore the dynamic adaptability of color idioms across contexts—from literature and journalism to politics and daily speech.

In syntactic terms, color idioms behave as semi-fixed expressions that nevertheless allow a degree of creative modification. Writers and journalists often manipulate them for rhetorical or humorous effect. A sentence such as “*Once in a blue moon, the green light appears and the black sheep joins the party*” playfully recombines idioms while preserving their metaphorical integrity. As Negro Alousque (2011) notes, idiomatic expressions frequently accommodate lexical variation, enhancing their expressive power without undermining their figurative meaning. Such flexibility contributes to the idiom’s persistence in both colloquial and literary discourse.

One limitation of the present study is its exclusive focus on English. A broader cross-linguistic comparison—such as those conducted by Mohr and Jonauskaitė (2022)—would enrich the cognitive and cultural understanding of color-emotion mappings. Additionally, while this analysis surveyed representative idioms, a more quantitative corpus-based study would be required for exhaustive classification and frequency analysis. Despite these constraints, the findings highlight that English color idioms form a systematic and semantically motivated network, grounded in both embodied experience and cultural metaphor.

Ultimately, color idioms exemplify how human perception becomes language. They offer insight into how speakers conceptualize emotion, morality, and identity through sensory imagery. This has important implications for figurative language research: any comprehensive theory of idiom semantics must account for the interplay between embodied cognition and cultural convention (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Negro Alousque, 2011). In literature, recognizing the metaphorical logic behind such expressions—whether in the ominous “*seeing red*” or the comforting “*true blue*”—enhances both interpretation and appreciation of the text. These idioms thus stand as enduring testaments to the imaginative capacity of language to transform perception into meaning.

Conclusion

Color-indicating idioms in English demonstrate a rich interplay of metaphor, history, and syntax. Our analysis confirms that colors in idioms systematically correspond to semantic domains (e.g. envy–green, anger–red, sadness–blue) grounded in cognitive and cultural associations. We traced these idioms’ development (from Shakespeare’s usage to 19th-century coinages) and identified common syntactic patterns. Such idioms persist in literary and everyday language because they exploit vivid imagery to express abstract feelings. Future research could extend this by corpus frequency analysis, psycholinguistic testing of color associations, or cross-language comparison. Overall, the study highlights how sensory language (colors) is woven into the fabric of figurative English, exemplifying the power of metaphor in human thought and literature.

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