

Color Terms

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The entry covers the topic of color names in Slavic languages from the point of view of cognitive linguistics and outlines the etymology of Slavic basic color terms in a diachronic cross-section. The comparative method yields their reconstructed forms from the preliterate era, from the word-formation process, and also takes into account the original meaning of the words in question

Cognition of the world and description of reality are carried out distinctly in different language communities. Connotations attached to color terms show variability and arbitrariness across Slavic cultures. To illustrate, generally, in Slavic culture, the color white is a symbol of happiness, but in some parts of the Slavic world, it has a negative connotation and may be associated with death. According to Isaeva (2006: 199), white funeral clothes are known in the Russian north (dressing dead girls in white accompanies funeral-wedding ceremonies, and death is imagined as a white-clad woman).

A range of views may be found on the relative determinism of color terms in languages. For example, Kovačev (1997: 30) states that

[l]inguistic/cultural communities differ greatly in their attitude towards colors and in determining their relative credibility in learning about and assessing concrete reality. Color is strongly associated with man's spiritual and social life, so the symbolism of colors plays an important role in all forms of his cultural activity. Colors have a very strong influence on people as psychophysical beings, but their rich semantic implications are formed definitively only through their articulation within certain spatial-temporal dimensions. But regardless of the specific socio-cultural environment of various magical, religious, and other areas of human cultural activity, the symbolism of colors can be understood as an expression of a kind of universal sense of the universe. (Kovačev 1997: 30)

Fabričić and Bernjak (2014: 63), in contrast, argue that color is a natural phenomenon dissociated from any semantic structures in language; its meaning comes about either through comparison (allusive semantic relationship) or by agreement (conventional semantic relationship).

Berlin and Kay have identified a set of 11 basic color names according to the following criteria (1969: 6–7):

- 1 the term is monolexemic; its meaning is not predictable from the meaning of its parts;
- 2 the term's signification is not included in that of any other color terms;
- 3 the term's applicability must not be restricted to a narrow class of objects;
- 4 the term must be psychologically salient for informants.; indices of psychological salience include (a) a tendency to occur at the beginning of elicited lists of color terms,

(b) stability of reference across informants and across occasions of use, and (c) occurrence in the idiolects of all informants.

Differences in color names across Slavic languages are largely due to differences in associations and abstractions, hence the variety, especially when it comes to names for red, blue, and brown. Differences are also manifest in the use of certain adjectives. To illustrate, PSI **žbltǝ* ‘yellow’ has been preserved in all Slavic languages except modern [Slovene](#), where it has been supplanted in the standard language by the adjective *ruměn* ‘reddish’ and appears as Sn dial. *žut/žolt* ‘yellow’. Also, in some languages, e.g., [Russian](#), to distinguish shades of blue, new names were derived from existing (inherited) words: cf. *golubój* ‘light blue’ as opposed to *sinij* ‘dark(er) blue’. Thus, modern Russian has 12 denominations in its basic color spectrum. Slavic color names are in most cases associated with basic, prototypical phenomena such as blood, fire, nature, snow, soot, water, sky, and sun, while in some terms, the etymology is unclear (red, blue, and brown); in others, it is still evident (violet/purple, pink, and celestial).

Etymology of color terms in Slavic languages

Red

Red is a primary color that symbolizes prototypical entities such as fire and blood, but it is also metaphorically associated with abstract notions, such as the labor movement, revolution, and war. Slavic languages abound in denominations for this color. The following words are inherited from [Indo-European](#).

PSI **črmenǝ* – or its doublets **črvenǝ*, **črvjenǝ* – is the most basic and widespread term for ‘red’: compare OCS *čȓvъ(j)enъ*, Sn dial. *črmļēn*, *črljēn* ‘reddish’, BCMS *cȓven*, Mk *cȓven*, Bg *červén*, *čȓvenǝ*, Ru arch. *čermnyj*, *červónnyj*, *červljěnyj*, Uk *červónnyj*, Br *čyrvóny*, Cz and Sk *červený*, US *čerwjeny*, LS *cerwjeny*, Po *czerwony*, Ka *czerwóny*, Pb *carveně*, Pm *červoni*, *čeȓvoni*. PSI **črmenǝ*, **črvenǝ* are derivatives of **čȓvǝ* or **čȓmǝ* ‘worm’, going back to IE **k^wȓ-mi-* ‘worm’ (Snoj 2016: 121; Pokorny 1959: 649; Sławski 1979: 269), as red dye was obtained from certain worms (larvae) (Miklosich 1886: 33; Bezlaj 1976: 89). In Russian, toward the 17th century, the word *červlěnyj* was used primarily to denote the color of clothing in phrases such as *červlenye rīzy*, *červlenye odeždy* ‘red clothes’, as well as for describing natural objects (stones, plants, animals, etc.); *čermnyj* was used in connection with the human body, denoting, e.g., skin or hair color; *červčatyj* was used exclusively to denote precious stones, i.e., *jaxont červčatyj* ‘red ruby’. All these adjectives were subsequently displaced by *krásnyj* ‘red’ (Baxilina 1975: 134–160). Some Slavs preserved the older term in the [month name](#) for ‘June’, for example in Ru arch., Uk *červen’*, Br *červen’*, Cz *červen*, and Po *czerwiec* (Randić 2009: 139), after the period of the collection of larvae/worms for dye production.

The root IE **(h₁)rewd^h-* is preserved to a considerable extent across Slavic languages. PSI **rūdǝ* was used to indicate different shades of red, such as Sn *rūd* ‘red, brown’, BCMS *rūd* ‘reddish’, Mk *rud* ‘reddish’ (with reference to a lamb), Bg *rud* ‘epithet for a sheep with red hair’, Ru dial. *rúdyj*, *rudój* ‘brownish red’, Uk *rudýj* ‘red’ (e.g., of hair), Br *rudýj* ‘idem’ or

‘brownish red’, Cz *rudý*, arch. *rudný* ‘reddish’, US *rudny*, Po *rudý* ‘brownish red, reddish’, Ka *rudí* ‘reddish’.

PSl **rūd̥z* is cognate to Li *raūdas*, Lt *raūds* ‘brownish, reddish (of a horse)’, Skt *lohá-* ‘red, reddish’, ‘red metal, copper’, Go *raups* ‘red’, Ge *rot* ‘red’, La dial. *rūfus* ‘reddish, red-haired’, all from IE **(h₁)rowdʰo-* ‘red’ (Janyšková et al. 2006: 781; Furlan in Bezlaĵ 1995: 204). The same root, IE **(h₁)rudʰo-*, zero grade, also yielded Ru *rědryj*, Sn *rděč*, an adjectivized form of the active participle PSl **rōdę̃*, **rōdę̃ti f* > **rōdę̃ti* ‘to be, become red’ (Miklosich 1886: 284; Furlan in Bezlaĵ 1995: 161) and PSl **rōdǣvz* ‘reddish-brown’, which in Sn *rjāv* is the basic denomination for brown. In other Slavic languages, however, it is used to denote reddish-yellow shades. From the lengthened grade **(h₁)rūdʰ-* is Ru *ryžij*, Cz *ryzí*, Po *rydzy* ‘redhead’, from the zero-grade **(h₁)rudʰ-* is Ru *rědryj* (cf. Gr *erythrós*; Vasmer 1987: 527).

In this context, the adjective PSl **rūs̥z* is also worth mentioning. It is usually used to for hair/fur color: see, for example, CS *rus̥z* ‘red’, Sn *rūs* ‘red’, ‘brownish red’, BCMS *rūs* ‘yellowish’, Mk *rus* ‘light yellow (of hair and animal hair)’, Bg *rus* ‘light yellow’, Ru *rúsyj* ‘light brown with a grayish or yellowish shade’, Uk *rúsyj* ‘idem’, Cz *rusý* ‘light yellow’, Po dial. *rusy* ‘light brown’. PSl **rūs̥z* goes back to IE **(h₁)rowdʰso-* ‘red’, a derivative of the IE root with e-grade **(h₁)rewdʰ-* ‘red, brown, yellow’, related to Li *raūsvas* ‘reddish’, Lt *rūsis²* ‘(name for red-haired dogs)’ (Bezlaĵ 1995: 208; Snoj 2016: 657; Miklosich 1886: 283). The root IE **(h₁)rewdʰ-* also yields the action noun **(h₁)rowdʰ-mōn*, **(h₁)rowdʰ-men-m̥* (acc) ‘something red, reddish yellow’, attested in OCS *ruměnz* ‘yellow’, Sn *ruměn* ‘yellow’, BCMS *rùmen* ‘red, reddish’, Mk *rumen* ‘red (of face, apple, sunrise)’, Bg dial. *rúmen* ‘red (of face)’, Ru *rumjányj* ‘rosy, rubicund’, Uk *rum’jányj* ‘idem’, Br *rumjány*, Cz *ruměný*, Sk *rumenný* ‘red’, Po *rumiany* ‘red, pinkish brown (of face)’ (Furlan in Bezlaĵ 1995: 207). PSl **ruměnz*, **rumen̥z*, **rumęnz* ‘red, yellow-red’ is a derivative of PSl **rummy*, **rūmen̥* (acc), cognate to Li *raumuo* ‘muscle, udder’ (Snoj 2016: 656), Lt *raūmins* ‘smoked meat’ (Janyšková et al. 2006: 783), OIc *rodmi*, OHG *rotamo* ‘red, reddish’ (Smoczyński 2007: 1337).

Russian stands out among Slavic languages by having *krásnyj* ‘red’ as the main designation for red. The word is a [Proto-Slavic](#) innovation, as other [Indo-European](#) languages lack it. PSl **krasъnz*, which originally probably meant **‘red, fiery’* is attested in OCS *krasъnz* ‘beautiful’, BCMS *krāsan*, Mk *krasen*, Bg *krāsen*, Uk *krásnyj*, Br *krásnyj* ‘beautiful’, Br *krásny* ‘beautiful’, dial. ‘red’, Cz *krásný* ‘beautiful’, OCz *krásný* ‘red’, Sk *krasný*, US *krasny*, LS *kšasny*, Po *krasny*, Pb *krosān* ‘beautiful’, derived from PSl **krasǣ* ‘light, beauty, fiery color’, which is thought to go back to the root IE **ker(H)-* (or **kʷer/H/-*) ‘burn, smolder’ (Snoj 2016: 344; Trubačev et al. 1985: 95). In Slavic languages, the adjective meaning ‘beautiful’ is metaphorical, and the semantic development was as follows: **‘red, fiery’* > *‘bright, vibrant or rich’* > *‘colorful’* > *‘outstanding’* > *‘splendid’* > *‘beautiful’*. The reason why the meaning of ‘red, fiery color’ evolved into ‘beautiful, splendid’ may be related to the perception that a person with red cheeks and/or face is healthy, full of life, strong, hence good looking. According to Isaeva (2006: 202), in the native rituals of the Slavs, the red color was a symbol of life and health. The newborn’s umbilical cord was tied with a red thread. It was also believed that the red color of the newborn’s skin indicated that the baby was destined to live a long life.

Green, yellow

Unlike many denominations for colors, such as red and blue, there is only one denomination for green in Slavic languages, namely PSI **zelenъ*. Its root is present in the names of many green plants, e.g., **zělbje*, **zěltka* ‘cabbage’. PSI **zelenъ* is attested in OCS *zelenъ*, ChS *zelenъ*, Sn *zelěn* ‘green’, ‘pale’, BCMS *zèlen* ‘green’, Ča *zèlen* ‘green’, Mk *zelen* ‘green’ (and ‘inexperienced’), Bg *zelén*, Ru *zelënyj*, Uk *zelényj*, Br *zjalëny* ‘green’, Cz, Sk *zelený*, US, LS *zeleny*, Po *zielony* ‘green’, Ka *zelony* from the passive participle IE **ǵʰelh₃eno-* of the verb preserved in Li *žėlti*, Lt *zelt* ‘to become green’, derived from the root **ǵʰelh₃-* ‘to shine’ and ‘gold, yellow, green’, which is preserved also in Li *žėlvas*, *žalvas* ‘green’, Gr *khlōrós* ‘green’, La *helvus* ‘dark yellow’, (*h*)*olus*, arch. *helus* ‘vegetable/greens, cabbage’ (Snoj 2016: 875; Pokorny 1959: 875). From the root IE **ǵʰelh₃-* with the suffix **-to-* also stems the adjective **ǵʰl-to-* ‘yellow’, PSI **žěltъ*, attested in all Slavic languages: OCS *žltъ* ‘yellow’, Sn arch. *žōlt*, BCMS *žūt*, Mk *žolt*, Bg *žalt*, Ru *želtyj* ‘yellow, red’, Uk *žóvtyj*, Br *žóuty*, Cz *žlutý*, Sk *žltý*, US, LS *žotty*, Po *zótty*, Ka *zótti* ‘yellow’. PSI **žěltъ* is cognate to Li *geltas*, Lt *džėlts*, OPr *gelatynan* ‘yellow’ (Pokorny 1959: 430). PSI **žěltъ* is related to **zōltъ* ‘golden’, attested in OCS *zlatъ*, Sn *zlāt*, Ru *zolatój*, Uk *zolatýj*, Br *zalatý*, Cz, Sk *zlatý*, US, LS *zloty*, Po *zloty*, Ka *zloti*; also with the suffix **-nъ*: BCMS *zlátan*, Mk *zlaten*, and Bg *zláten*. It is also related with Li *želtas* ‘golden’, Lt *žėlts* ‘gold’ (Fraenkel 1950: 35), OHG *gold*, Ge *Gold*, En *gold*, Go *gulþ*, ONc *goll*, *gull*, Oic *gull* ‘gold’, and, with another suffix in Skt *híraṇya-*, Av *zaranya*, OPe *daranyu-* (Snoj in Bezlaž 2005: 413; Smoczyński 2007: 2094).

Blue

PSl dial. **modrъ* is attested in the [South](#) and [West Slavic](#) languages, namely in OCS *modrъ*, Sn *móder*, BCMS *mōdar*, Mk *modar* ‘blue (about bruises)’, Bg *módār*, Cz, Sk *modrý* ‘blue, turquoise, bright’, US *módry* ‘light blue’, LS *modry* ‘idem’, Po *módry*, Ka *mōdri* ‘skyblue’. There are two plausible etymologies: PSI **modrъ* ‘blue’ < **modʰ-ro-*, from root IE **modʰ-* ‘blue’ (Pokorny 1959: 747), which is supposedly cognate with Li *mādaras* ‘liquid mud’, La *madēre* ‘to be moist’, *madidus* ‘wet, moist’, Gr *madáo* ‘to get wet, to melt’ (Waniakowa 2012: 165). If this is correct, **modrъ* must have originally meant ‘watery (of color)’ (Snoj 2016: 435). A different approach to etymology, by Berneker, emphasizes the etymological relation of the adjective **modrъ* to plant names in Germanic languages: ONc **maðrō*, OGe *mad(a)rō*, OEn *mædere*, En *madder* ‘rose madder (bot. *Rubia tinctorum*)’ (Berneker 1913: 67).

PSl **polvъ* is attested in OCS *plavъ* ‘white, yellowish’, Sn *plāv* ‘light yellow’ and ‘blue’, BCMS *plāv* ‘blond’ and ‘blue’, Mk *plav* ‘blue’, Bg dial. *plav* ‘pale, yellowish’, Ru *polóvyj*, *polovój*, Uk *polóvyj*, *polovýj*, Cz, Sk *plavý* ‘pale, light yellow’, US, LS, Po *plowy* ‘yellowish with a gray shade’. PSI **polvъ* from IE **polwo-* ‘pale, gray’ is cognate to Li *paľvas* ‘yellow, pale yellow, gray’, OHG *falo* ‘yellow’ (Snoj 2016: 547; Vasmer 1987: 313), Oic *fōlr* ‘pale’, deriving from the root IE **pel-*, which originally meant ‘pale, gray’, also present in Skt *palitá-* ‘gray’, La *pallidus* ‘pale’ (Smoczyński 2007: 1131). It should be emphasized that Slovene and BCMS have two homonymous terms. One is described above, and the other is a Bavarian loanword, *plau*, lit. Ge *blau* < OHG *blāo* ‘blue’, which is cognate with La *flāvus* ‘gold yellow, blond’, all from IE **bʰlah₂wo-*, used to denote light colors (Pokorny 1959: 160). The German word originally meant ‘light blue’ (Snoj 2016: 547). In Slovene, it was an original German loanword with a short vowel, joined in the 19th century by a loanword with the meaning ‘blond’. In BCMS,

the circumflected adjective with the meaning 'yellow' is the original, and that meaning was later attached to Ge *blau*, hence the latter is also circumflected.

It is worth pointing out that the adjective *plāv* began to be used in South Slavic, more specifically in the BCMS area, for taboo reasons. The word *sinji* was used to designate things that have negative properties. For example, the villagers from Krivi Vir (Serbia) use the word *sinjica* for the skin of slaughtered animals, and in the village of Jablanica (Serbia), the word *sinjac* indicates the name of a disease in sheep, manifested by the udder turning blue and falling off (Ivić 1995: 69). The adjective *mōdar*, however, began to be used for the color of murder, frostbite, bruises, death pallor, and similar things, and its use narrowed (Ivić 1995: 71). PS1 **polvъ* with the original meaning 'pale, gray, with light blue and yellowish hues' developed the secondary meaning of 'blue' in BCMS, as it filled the empty notional space to denote blue.

Standard Russian knows two names for the blue color, namely *golubój* 'skyblue, light blue', a name associated with the color of the sky, and *sinij* '(dark) blue', associated for example with the color of the sea. The adjective *sinij* was used in the *Slovar' russkogo jazyka* XI–XVII vv. (Bogatova 2000: 150) with the meaning 'black' when applied to the devil.

Already in Old Russian, the distinction between light blue and dark blue was shown in meaning, because according to Baxilina (1975: 35), the adjective *sinij* in ancient Russian texts meant 'dark', even 'black'. Ru *golubój* is in the *Slovar' russkogo jazyka* XI–XVII vv. (Barxudarov 1977: 70) with a different meaning, namely 'ash gray (of animal hair)'. In Old Russian texts, it was used to denote the color of fabrics, clothing, and precious stones. In modern Russian, it is also used to denote the color of eyes, veins, etc. (Baxilina 1975: 194–199). Ru *golubój* usually has positive connotations, probably due to association with the sky: *golubája mečtā* 'sweet (unrealistic) dream' (often ironic), *golubóe nastroénie* 'optimistic mood', Ru *golubój cvetók* as the symbol of romantic longing for eternity, *golubýe gorodá* 'castles in the air' (Kul'pina 2001: 44, 50).

The adjective is also present in Uk *holubýj* 'light blue' and Br dial. *halubý* 'light blue'. PS1 **gōlqbъ* 'skyblue' is a denominal adjective derived from PS1 **gōlqbъ* 'dove' (Derksen 2008: 175; Furlan 2013: 251).

The adjective PS1 **sīnъ*, preserved in nearly all Slavic languages, denotes a wide range of color shades (from dark to light blue or grayish blue): OCS *sīnъ* 'blue, black', Sn *sinji* 'gray, bluish', BCMS *sinji*, Ča *sīni* 'blue, grayish', Mk *sin*, Bg *sin* 'blue', Ru *sinij* '(dark) blue', Uk *synij*, Br *sini*, Cz, Sk *siný*, Po *siný* 'blue'. The adjective **sīnъ* with the original meaning 'the color of a bright sky' is from **sīnъ*, and the latter is derived from **skih₂* - or **skeyh₂* - 'shine, gleam, twinkle' with the suffix **-ni-* (Snoj 2016: 678).

Polish has several names for blue: Po *błękitny* 'light blue' (borrowed into Br *blakítny*, Uk *blakítnyj*), adapted from OHG **blankhit* 'clarity' (Boryś 2005: 32); Po *niebieski* 'blue' < PS1 **nebesъkъ* '[color] of the sky', also attested in BCMS *nebèski*, Mk *nebeski* 'light blue', Cz *nebeský*, Po *niebeski* 'blue' (borrowed as Br *njabéski* 'light blue'), Ka *niebiesczy* 'blue', derived from PS1 **nebo* (gen **nebesē* 'sky, heaven'), which gradually displaced PS1 **modrъ*, which now appears in collocations, e.g., Po *modre oczy* 'blue eyes'.

Brown

Slavic languages have various names for brown, both inherited and borrowed. The adjective **smědъ*, **smědъb* functions as the basic term in BCMS *směd*, and it is also attested in OCS *smědъ*, OSn *smēd*, Mk *smeg* ‘brown (of hair)’, Bg *smjádov*, Cz *smědý*, *snědý*, Cz *snedý*, Po *śniady* ‘brown’ (dial. *śmiady*). PSI **smědъ* and the version **snědъ* are said to be from **snětъ*, which is the noun from **snětiti* besides **gnětiti* ‘to burn’ (Miklosich 1886: 312; Machek 1968: 564). Boryś (2005: 619) has a different opinion, saying that the form with **sm-* first appeared in Slavic languages, which indicates a mismatch between the adjective **smědъ* and the verb **snětiti*. PSI **smědъ* or **snědъ* originally meant ‘something burned, smoked’. A different etymology is given by Pokorný (1959: 966–967), according to which the adjective from IE **smoy-do-* ‘dirty’ is from the root **smeyd-* ‘smear’. The adjective **gnědъ* ‘brown (of animal hair)’, confirmed in Slovene dial. substantivized *gněd* ‘a variety of grape with brownish-red berries’ (Pleteršnik 2013), BCMS *gn(j)ěd*, Ru *gnedój*, Uk *gnidýj*, Po *gniady* ‘brown’, and Cz *hnědý* and Sk *hnedý*, has no reliable etymology. Perhaps the adjective **gnědъ* goes back to IE **gnoy-do-* and contains the same suffix as **smědъ*, **blědъ*, **sědъ*, added to the root **gnoy-* (cf. PSI **gniti* ‘to decay, rot’ and **gnōjъ* ‘manure’).

The loanword Uk *brónzovyj*, Br *brónzavy*, Cz, Sk *bronzový*, and Po *brązowy* (the basic name for brown in Polish), is a derivative from Uk, Br *brónza*, Cz, Sk *bronz*, Po *brązy*, Sn *brónza* from Ge *Bronze* (and Fr *bronze*) from It *bronzo* ‘bronze’, supposed (among other etymologies) to have been borrowed from Pe *birinj* ‘copper’ (Cortelazzo & Zolli 1978–85: 170 in Snoj 2016: 90). [Lower and Upper Sorbian](#) and [Kashubian](#) use the adjective *bruny* to denote the brown color, from OMG *brūn* ‘dark, brown’, possibly from the root IE **b^herH-* ‘brown’. East South Slavic languages, i.e., [Macedonian](#) and [Bulgarian](#), derive the name for the brown color from the word Mk *kafē*, Bg *kafē*, BCMS *kàva*, *kâfa*, Sn *káva* ‘coffee’: Mk *kafeav*, *kafen*, Bg *kaffáv*. The word *kafē* is borrowed from Tu *kahve*, from Arb *qahva* ‘coffee (drink)’, which originally meant ‘wine’ (Snoj 2016: 292). In East Slavic, we find Ru *koríčnevyyj*, Uk *korýčnevyyj*, Br *karyčnevyyj*, derived from ORu *korica* (Ru *korica*, Uk *korýcja*, Br *karyca*) ‘cinnamon’ (originally a diminutive of OSI **[s]korá* ‘bark’).

Violet/Purple

The terms for violet/purple are related to the words for the violet (specifically bot. *Viola odorata*): Ru *fiálka*, Sn *vijôlica*, Po *fiolatek*, etc., in one way or another going back to La *viola* ‘violet plant’ (cf. La *violāceus* ‘violet [color]/purple’), deemed a borrowing from a pre-Indo-European Mediterranean substrate, also appearing in Gr *ion* ‘violet (plant)’ (Kluge 1995: 853 in Snoj 2016: 844; Snoj in Bezlaž 2005: 315), thus, Sn *vijôličén*, Mk *violetov*, Bg *violétov*, Ru *fiolétovyyj*, Uk *fiolétovyyj*, Br *fijalétavy*, Cz *fialový*, *violetový*, Sk *fialový*, *violetový*, US *fijatkowy*, Po *fiolotovy*, Ka *fiolotowi*. In [BCMS](#), the adjective *ljubičast* ‘violet/purple’ is a derivative of *ljúbica* ‘violet (plant)’.

The following words denote bright or pale shades of purple: Mk *lilav*, Bg *liláv*, Ru *lilóvyyj*, Uk *lilóvyyj*, Br *lilóvy*, Cz, Sk *lilový*, Po *lilowy*, with another suffix also Sn *lilast*. It is a foreign word, taken over from the West European languages, that is, through Ge *lila* from Fr *lilas* ‘lilac’, which literally means ‘the colors of the lilac flower’. The word, which in OFr also meant

'lilac', is a borrowing from Arb *lajlak* 'lilac', from Pe *lilāj* 'indigo', derived from Pe *lilak*, *nilak* 'blue', borrowed from Skt *nīla*- 'dark blue' (Kluge 1989: 293, 443; Snoj 2016: 383).

LS *purpurowy* is the primary term for purple, derived from *purpur* 'purple', from the Ge *Purpur* < La *purpura* 'purple color', which is borrowed from Gr *porphýra* with the same meaning. The Greek word probably stems from some pre-Greek Mediterranean language (Frisk 1973: 581).

Pink

Proto-Slavic did not have a single term for pink. Instead, derivatives from IE **(h₁)rewd^h-* (see above) were used to denote shades of red. It was only later, with the development of the fashion industry, that Slavic languages adopted the concept from West European languages (French and German), producing loan translations based on rose (the flower): Sn *rôza* 'pink' (uninflected), archaic *rôžnat*, BCMS *růžičast*, Mk *rozov*, Bg *rózov*, Ru *rózovyj*, Uk *rožévyj*, Br *ružový*, Cz *růžový*, Sk *ružový*, US *róžowy*, LS *rožowy*, Po *rózowy*, Ka *rózewi*. The flower name ultimately comes from La *rosa* 'rose', borrowed, e.g., into OHG *rōsa*, MHG *rōse*, Ge *Rose*, probably from Gr *rhōdon* 'rose' (Aeolic *wrodon*), borrowed from OPe **wřda-* (> Pe *gul* 'rose'). The adjective *rose* originally meant 'pink, rosy, such as the blossom of a wild flower, rose hip' (Furlan in Bezljaj 1995: 202).

Orange

Sn *orânžen*, Ru *oránževyj*, Uk *oránževyj*, Br *aránžavy*, Cz, Sk *oranžový*, US, LS *oranžowy* 'orange' are borrowed from Ge *orange*, in turn borrowed from Fr *orange*, 'orange', by conversion from *orange* 'orange (fruit)', (via Sp *naranja*), borrowed from Arb *nāranj* 'orange (fruit)' < Pe *nārang* 'orange (fruit)'. Perhaps the final etymology is from Skt *nāraṅga* (Kluge 1999: 518). BCMS *nàrānčast* (*nàrāndžast*) is formed with the suffix *-ast* from the word *nàrānča* (*nàrāndža*), borrowed from Tu *narenç*, *narenc* 'orange (fruit and tree)', from Arb *nāranj*, from Pe *nārang*. Through It *arancia*, which literally means 'orange apple', the word orange is borrowed into Slavic languages, from which the adjective in Sn *pomarānčen*, Po *pomarańczowy*, Ka *pòmarańczowi* is formed (Bezljaj 1982: 215). Mk *portokalov* and Bg *portokálov* come from Ottoman Turkish **portoğal*, Tu *portakal* 'orange (fruit)' from Pe *burtughāl* 'orange (fruit)', denoting the name of the country of Portugal, where the oranges came from. The word *burtughāl* is said to denote a special type of oranges brought from Portugal to the Middle East (Kapović 2009: 164), where it was distinguished from an indigenous plant – the fruit called *nārang*.

Black and white

Linguistically, *white* and *black* refer to the prototype references 'night' and 'day', but "as an antonymous pair, they also appear in a more axiological perception of the world, symbolizing the evaluation of good and bad" (Tokarski 2004: 45). To illustrate, in Dalmatia, on the islands of Brač and Hvar, it was believed that the future of a child depended on the color of the caul in which the child was born: black meant that the child would be a sorcerer or witch, and white foreshadowed a happy life (Tokarski 2004: 152). Among the Slavs, the color of mourning could be white: white can be seen as a sign of death, based on the color of

a corpse's face and also that of dead foliage. In Polish, a "woman in white" could symbolize death: *ożenić się z Białą* lit. 'to marry the white woman', 'to die' (Hill 2008: 66).

The denominations of the darkest color are quite uniform in Slavic languages: OCS *čr̥nъ*, Sn *črn*, BCMS *c̆rn*, Mk *crn*, Bg *čeren*, Ru *černyj*, Uk *čornyj*, Br *čórny*, Cz *černý*, Sk *čierny*, US *čorny*, LS *carny*, Po *czarny*, Pb *corně*, Ka *čarni*. PSI **č̥rnъ* 'black' is further related to Skt *kṛṣṇá-* 'black, dark', Li dial. *kiṛsnas*, OPr *kirsnas* 'black'; it developed from IE **kṛsno-* 'black', without the suffix **-no-*; cf. Li *kéršas* 'black and white, multicolored, colorful' (Trubačev et al. 1977: 155; Snoj 2016: 121).

PSI **bělъ* with the original meaning 'shiny, clear (of snow, milk)' is attested in OCS *bělъ*, Sn *bél*, Bo, Cr *bijél*, Mo *bjêl*, Sb *běo*, Mk *bel*, Bg *bjal*, Ru *bélyj*, Uk *bílyj*, Br *bély*, Cz *bílý*, Sk *biely*, US, LS *běly*, Po *biały*, Ka *biôli*, Pb *b'olě*, Pm *b'ály* and related to Li *bālas*, *bálnas*, Lt *bāls*, *balts* 'white', OPr *ballo* 'forehead', Gr *phalós* 'clear', OEn *bael* 'fire', Arm *bal* 'paleness', Al *balë*, Skt *bhāla-* 'forehead', derived from root IE **b^hel(H)-* 'shiny, shining, white' (Havlová et al. 1989: 61; Sławski 1974: 238).

Gray

Proto-Slavic had several names for gray, namely **šědъ*, **sěrъ*, and **sivъ*. PSI **sivъ* is attested in OCS *sivъ*, Sn, BCMS *siv*, Mk *siv*, Bg *siv*, Ru *sivyy*, Uk *sývyy*, Br *sivý*, Cz, Sk *sivý*, US *sywy*, Po *siwy*, Pb *saivě*, Pm *sěvi*. PSI **sivъ* is cognate with Li *šývas* 'white, moldy gray', OPr *sywan* 'gray', all from IE **kih₁-wo-* / **kyeh₁-wo-*; cf. Skt *śyāvā* 'brown, blackish brown', Av **syāva-* in the anthroponym *Syāvaršan-* 'with a dark stallion', Skt *śyāmá-* 'black, dark', Li *šēmas* 'ash-, blue-, light gray (of animals)', ONc *hārr* 'gray, old', OEn *hār*, En *hoar* (Furlan in Bezlaž 1995: 239), all from root IE **key(h)-* 'dark, brown, gray' (Pokorny 1959: 540). PSI **xěrъ* is attested in OCS *sěrъ* 'blue-gray', Sn *sêr*, BCM *sijêr*, Sr *sêr* 'gray, yellowish, blue', Bg archaic *ser* 'gray', Ru *séryj* 'gray', Uk *sírýj* 'dark, gloomy, dim', Br dial. *séry*, Cz, Sk *šery* 'dark, gloomy', US *šěry*, LS *šery* 'gray', Po *szary* 'dark gray', Ka *szari*, substantivized 'rabbit', Pm *šari*. The adjective **xěrъ*, which developed from IE **ksoy-ro-*, is a synonym of PSI **šědъ*, attested in OCS *sědъ*, Sn archaic *sêd* (Pleteršnik 2014), BCM *sijêd*, Sr *sêd*, Mk *sed* 'gray (hair)', Ru *sedój*, Uk dial. *sidyj*, Cz, Sk *šedý*, Po *szady*, with the second derivation US *šědzíwy* and LS *šeziwy*, all meaning 'gray'. PSI **šědъ* probably originated secondarily under the influence of Slavic color adjectives with the suffix **-dъ*, such as, e.g., **blědъ* 'pale' (Janyšková et al. 2006: 803; Furlan in Bezlaž 1995: 222, 229).

Conclusion

Research shows that Slavs have a unified system of color names with certain culturally specific deviations. Specifics are outlined in the denominations for red, blue, and brown. The most uniform naming system is shown in the denominations for yellow, green, pink, black, and white. In terms of origin, the vocabulary is inherited from words from Indo-European and Proto-Slavic (red, green, yellow, blue, white, black, gray), in some cases loanwords (pink, orange), and a combination of both domestic and foreign origin (brown, violet/purple). From the word-forming point of view, most of the analyzed adjectives are compound words, formed by derivation with suffixes from Indo-European roots or bases. The highest productivity of roots is shown in compounds from IE **(h₁)rewd^h*. From the

semantic point of view, natural phenomena such as bonfire (fire), nature, water, sky, plants, night (darkness), day (light, brightness), and animals appear as the original motivation in naming.

	red	green	yellow	blue	brown	violet / purple	pink	orange	black	white	gray
OCS	<i>črъ v(lj) enъ</i>	<i>zele nъ</i>	<i>žltъ</i>	<i>mod rъ</i>	<i>smě dъ</i>	/	/	/	<i>črъn ъ</i>	<i>bělъ</i>	<i>sivъ / sěrъ / sědъ</i>
Sn	<i>rděč</i>	<i>zelě n</i>	<i>rum ěn</i>	<i>mó der</i>	<i>rjāv</i>	<i>vijô ličen</i>	<i>rôza</i>	<i>orân žen</i>	<i>črn</i>	<i>běl</i>	<i>siv</i>
BC MS	<i>cъ ven</i>	<i>zèle n</i>	<i>žūt</i>	<i>plāv</i>	<i>smě đ</i>	<i>ljũ biča st</i>	<i>rũ žiča st</i>	<i>nārā nčas t</i>	<i>cъn</i>	<i>bỹl (bijê l)</i>	<i>siv</i>
Mk	<i>crve n</i>	<i>zele n</i>	<i>žolt</i>	<i>sin</i>	<i>kafē av/ kafē n</i>	<i>viole tov</i>	<i>rozo v</i>	<i>port okal ov</i>	<i>crn</i>	<i>dial. bǎo</i>	<i>siv</i>
Bg	<i>červ én</i>	<i>zelé n</i>	<i>žălt</i>	<i>sin</i>	<i>kaff áv</i>	<i>violé tov / liláv</i>	<i>ró zov</i>	<i>orán žev</i>	<i>čére n</i>	<i>bỹl (bijê l) / dial. bǎo /Ek běo</i>	<i>siv</i>
Ru	<i>krás nyj</i>	<i>zelě nyj</i>	<i>žělty j</i>	<i>sí nyj / golubóy</i>	<i>korí čnev yj</i>	<i>fiolé tovyj</i>	<i>ró zovy j</i>	<i>orán ževyj</i>	<i>čěrn yj</i>	<i>bel</i>	<i>séryj</i>
Uk	<i>červ ónyj</i>	<i>zelé nyj</i>	<i>žó vtyj</i>	<i>sý nij / holubýj</i>	<i>korý čnev yj</i>	<i>fiolé tovyj</i>	<i>rožé vyj</i>	<i>orán ževyj</i>	<i>čo rnyj</i>	<i>bjal</i>	<i>stýryj</i>

Br	čyrv óny	zjalě ny	žóů ty	síni	karý čnev y	fjálé tavy	rú žovy	arán žavy	čo rny	bélyj	šéry
Cz	červ ený	zele ný	žlutý	mod rý	hně dý	viole tový / fialo vý	růžo vý	oran žový	čern ý	bílýj	šedý
Sk	červ ený	zele ný	žltý	mod rý	hne dý	fialo vý	růžo vý	oran žový	čier ny	bély	sivý
US	čerw jeny	zele ny	žolty	mó dry	brun y	fijał kow y	ró żow y	oran żow y	čorn y	bílý	šéry
LS	cerw jeny	zele ny	žolty	mod ry	brun y	purp uro wy	rožo wy	oran żow y	carn y	biely	šery
Po	czer won y	zielo ny	żółty	niebi eski	brąz owy	fiole towy	ró żow y	pom arań czo wy	czar ny	běly	szar y
Ka	czer wò ny	zelo ny	žółti	mò dri	brun y	fiole towi	ró żewi	pò mar ań czo wi	čárn i	běly	szari
Pb	carv eně	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	corn ě	biał y	saiv ě
Pm	červ oni / čer voni	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	biôti / b'olě / b'áty	sěvi

Nonstandard abbreviations used in this article:

Čak Čakavian

Kaj Kajkavian

ONc Old Nordic

Arb Arabic

Pm Pomeranian

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