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GOLD, SILVER AND COPPER IN ESTONIAN COLOUR NAMES

The names of such metals as gold, silver and copper share stems, respectively, in all Finnic languages, and even in some more distant cognate languages.

Words on the *vask*-stem are believed to have existed in Proto-Uralic even earlier than the fourth millennium B.C. (**veška* ~ **veska*) (Rätsep 1983 : 541). In the Finnic languages the *vask*-stem denotes mainly the concrete reddish metal *Cuprum* (Estonian *vask*, Finnish *vaski*, Olonets Karelian *vaski*, *vaški*, Lude Karelian *vašk*, *vašk(i)*, Veps *vašk*, Votic *vaht'si*). In other Finno-Ugric languages it may mean either metal in general or some other concrete metal, e.g. Mari *baž* 'pig-iron, metal', Erzya Mordvinian *ušk'*, *úšä*, Moksha Mordvinian *uške* 'wire', Udmurt-*veš*: *az-veš* 'silver', *uz-veš* 'tin', Komi-*žs*: *ez-žs* 'silver', *oz-žs* 'tin', Mansi *wes*: *ātwes* 'tin', Hanti *waz*, *oz* 'metal, iron, money', Hungarian *vas* 'iron', etc. (A close metal name from the Indo-European languages is, for example, the Tokhar word *wäs* for gold) (SKES 1666).

The word *hõbe*, alongside with the Finnic stems, has a cognate counterpart in Lapp, which suggests a predecessor of the word to have existed in Early Proto-Finnic, i.e. more than 3000 years ago. The original meaning of the word is believed to have been 'soft' (Rätsep 1983 : 543). This meaning is known from the southern Veps *hobed* and the northern Lapp *suohpē*, *suopēs* 'pliable', Kildin Lapp *subpes*, *sūwpes*, Turja Lapp *sīpi(s)*. The Estonian *hõbe*, Finnish *hopea*, northern Veps and central Veps *hobed*, Votic *õpõa* and Livonian *õ'bde*, *õ'bdi*, *i'bdi*, *ü'bdi* denote silver (*Argentum*) (SKES 81).

The Finnic term for gold (*Aurum*) is a Germanic loan: the Estonian *kuld*, Finnish and Votic *kulta*, Karelian and Livonian *kulda*, and Olonets Karelian *kuldu* can all be traced back to the Germanic **gulda* which, in turn, derives from the ancient Indo-Germanic root **ghlto-* with an original meaning of 'yellow metal' (SKES 235).

Thus, these are all words used long before Estonian became a literary language. The present study sets out to discuss colour words derived from the names of those metals and used in modern literary Estonian and in Estonian dialects. Most of the material used is available in the files of literary Estonian and in the dialect archives kept at the Institute of the Estonian Language. The dialect examples follow the transcription system and the conventional abbreviations used in the Dictionary of Estonian Dialects (EMS 23—25, 34 ff.).

The Estonian nouns *kuld* 'gold', *hõbe* 'silver' and *vask* 'copper' denote primarily metals, coins or other objects made of them. The rest of their meanings

are motivated by certain properties of those metals, such as outward appearance, high value, or desirability. E.g.: Ans *kenad abud olid, kullad pandi seie lappide peele ka veel* 'the blouses were beautiful, golden ribbons were also put here on the shoulderpiece'; Ran *juustel om hõbedat sehen* 'lit. the hair has some silver in it'; literary Estonian *sügislehtede kuld* 'the gold of the autumn leaves'; *ikka raskemaks muutus pilvede vask* 'the copper of the clouds was growing heavier'; *rääkimine hõbe, vaikimine kuld* 'talking is silver, silence is gold' (prov.); Jjn *kui oli selge lina, siis oli põld nagu kuld* 'with the flax clear [of weeds] the field was like gold'.

The same semantic division applies to the respective derived adjectives ending in *-ne*: *kuldne, kullane* — 1) 'made of gold, auriferous, or gilt', 2) 'of golden colour or glittering like gold', 3) '(of person) very fine, kind and helpful' (EKS II 565–566); *hõbedane* — 1) 'made of silver; coated with silver', 2) 'like silver in colour or lustre', 3) '(of sound) high, resounding, pure' (EKS I 502); *vaskne* — 1) 'made of copper, containing copper or coated with copper', 2) '(of voice, sound, lustre, colour, etc.) reminding one of copper' (EKS MS).

An important part of the semantic field of the three words is associated with colour and lustre as the visually perceived attribute of the subject of comparison. In a folklore study by T. Roll they have been treated as colour words proper, as in the analysed material they associate mainly with concrete shades of colour (Roll 1985 : 34–58).

The literary standard recognizing two adjective forms *kuldne* and *kullane*, the Estonian dialects display a much richer structural variety: the syncopic strong-grade stem S L Ris Juu Kei Jä Kad VJg Kod Plt KJn San *kuldne, kulne* (g. *kuldse, kultse*); Rõu *kuldnõ* g. *kuldsõ*; Khn. *kuldnõ* g. *kultsõ*; 2) the non-syncopic strong-grade stem R VJg Iis San *kuldane* g. *kuldase*; Trv *kuldene* g. *kuldese*; Muh Krk *kuldine* g. *kuldise*; 3) the weak-grade stem Krj Kod *kullane* g. *kullase*; Kse Trv Ran Puh Nõo Võn *kullane*, g. *kullatse*; Khn San V *kullanõ* g. *kulladsõ, kullatsõ*; 4) the non-syncopic strong-to-weak gradational stem Har *kuldandõ* g. *kulladsõ*; Lei *kuldand* g. *kullatsõ*. Similar stem structures characterize the interdialectal variation of the colour name *kollane* 'yellow' (Viires 1963 : 113, 115). The partial geographic difference in the distribution of the *kuldne/koldne*, resp. *kullane/kollane* types can be accounted for by the impact of the literary norm. The *-i* (pro *-a*) attached to the non-syncopic strong-grade stem is believed to be a trace of Livonian influence (Tanning 1958 : 113, 115).

The colour name *kuldne* 'golden' is associated with rye or wheat fields, grain, birch leaves in autumn, hair (curls, locks), the Moon, the Sun, stars, morning and evening twilight, letters on a book cover, etc. Often the word is used to denote a radiant or just bright yellow, e.g.: Phl *kultsed roosid* 'globeflowers, lit. golden roses'; JMd *kultsed juuksed* 'golden hair'; VJg *kuldane päike* 'the golden sun'; Krk *vaade meante kuldine liblik* 'look, what a golden butterfly'; Rõu *kuldnõ kullõrkukk* 'a golden globeflower'.

A cross-dialect synopsis of the *-ne*-suffixed derivative of the word *hõbe* 'silver' also demonstrates the different changes that have affected the stem sounds: 1) * δ has been preserved as *v*: Lüg Kse Saa Juu Kos JMd Tür Koe VJg Sim Kod Plt KJn Trv *õbedane* g. *õbedase*; Nõo *õbedane* g. *õbedatse*; Khk VII *õbedane*, Khn *õbõdane* g. *õbõdasõ*; Iis. *õbedaine*; VNg *obeda(i)ne*; 2) * $\delta > j$: Kuu *hobejane* g. *hobejase*; 3) * $\delta > h$: Lut *hõbõhanõ* g. *hõbõhadsõ*; Har Se *hõbõhõnõ* g. *hõbõhõtsõ*; 4) * δ has disappeared: Kse *õbene* g. *õbese*; Vig Trv Krk *õbene* g. *õbetse*; Jäm Khk Krj Emm *õbene* g. *õbese*; Vai *obene* g. *obese*; Lei *õbõin* g. *õbõidsõ*; 5) * δ has disappeared, while gemination has appeared: Puh *õpene* g. *õpetse*; Nõo Võn San

Krl õpõne, õpõnõ g. õpõtsõ, õpõdsõ; Rõu Plv Vas Se hõpõnõ g. hõpõdsõ, hõpõtsõ; Lei õpõn.

The word *hõbedane* 'silvery' is used to characterize the colour of various metallic objects, stars in the sky, the Moon, moonshine, fish, the scales of a fish, whitish grey herbs or leaves, hoarfrost, dewdrops, etc. Examples of the word being used as a colour name can be found in every dialect: Krj *vanasti naistel olid piiprellid mütside peal, mütmed karva olid, kullasi, õbesi ja musti, söuksed pitklikud peeniksed asjad* 'in olden times women had long beads sewn to their caps, there were several colours of them: golden, silvery and black'; Juu *puu-särgil jääres koa nist õbedast* (n. pl.) *karvad* 'the coffin had also such silvery ornaments around the edges'; Sim *vanadel on juuksed allid, ööldi õbedane pia* 'the old have grey hair, some used to say: a silvery head'; Kod *nagu erme terä lüüb õbedane tilk õtsa ku lahed pihuss nisuteräd kluasi vede ulka* 'a silvery drop like a pea will appear at the ends of the grains as you drop them into a glass of water'; Ote *latke om õbedase läikega* 'breams have a silvery lustre'; Lut *hõbõhadsõ kaara?, terä pienü?, vahanõ, kuorõkõnõ ohukõnõ* 'silvery oats have small grain, but when they are yellow, the husk is thin'.

The word *vaskne* 'coppery' has also retained a non-syncopic stem in a few dialects: Kuu VNg Lüg Vai Khk Hls Krk *vaskine* g. *vaskise*; Hää KuuK JMd Rak Iis Plt *vaske* g. *vaske*; parallely, esp. in western Estonia a syncopic form is used Sa Muh Rei *vaskne* g. *vaskse*; Mär Tor Hää Saa Ris JMd Koe Trm Hls Puh Vas *vaske* g. *vaske*. In the Tartu and Võru dialects one can find the weak-grade stem *vasine* ~ *vasinõ* g. *vasitse* ~ *vasitsõ*, while in Hargla and Leivu gradational words are used: Har *vaske* g. *vasidsõ*; Lei *vaskin, vastšin* g. *vasidse*.

The dialect counterparts of *vaskne* are mostly used to describe objects made of copper. The few examples of the word being used as a colour name come from South-Eastern Estonia: Vas *vasinõ värvi pada* 'a coppery cauldron'; Röp *vasklik, tyu om nii vasinõ kui üts vasõ pulk* 'the blindworm, it looks so coppery as a copper stick'; Se *tsusaõs kepikõsõ sinnä? kivi ala, tull vasinõ immis vällä, ne vasidsõ? pujaki takah* 'then he thrust a stick under that boulder and out came a copper-coloured sow and coppery piglets came too'. Here literary Estonian provides more examples: *siin kasvavad vasksete tüvedega mastimännid* 'here grow tall pines with coppery trunks'; *naise juuste vaskne helk* 'the coppery gloss of her hair'; *päike põletas keha ja näo vaskseiks* 'the sun burnt the body and face coppery'; *seal on järvelgi kahvatu vaskine kuma* 'even the lake has a pale coppery glow there'; *loojuv päike muutis väikese maja aknad vaskseiks* 'the setting sun lent the windows of the house a coppery colour'.

The same meanings as are expressed by the *ne*-adjectives are also carried by the respective attributive components *kuld-*, *hõbe-*, *vask-* of compound words. Their function of a colour name appears, for example, in a multitude of botanical and zoological terms.

The looks of gold are called to mind by such words as *kuldfaasan* 'golden pheasant (*Chrysolophus*)'; *kuldjuur* 'lit. golden root (*Rhodiola*)'; *kuldkala* 'goldfish (*Cerassius auratus auratus*)'; *kuldkann* 'rockrose (*Helianthemum*)'; *kuldilakk* 'wallflower, lit. goldmane (*Cheiranthus cheiri*)'; *kuldlill* 'Cape marigold, lit. goldflower (*Dimorphotheca*)'; *kuldmakrell* 'lit. gold mackerel (*Coryphaena*)'; *kuld-mampel* (*Phaeolopiota aurea*); *kuldnokk* 'starling, lit. goldbeak (*Sturnus vulgaris*)'; *kuldnöreti* 'lit. dripping gold'; *kuldpeapõialpoiss* 'goldcrest, lit. golden-headed dwarf (*Regulus regulus*)'; *kuldrenett* (a variety of apple trees); *kuldristik* 'golden clover (*Trifolium strepens*)'; *kuldsõstar* 'yellow Buffalo currant, lit. golden cur-

rant (*Ribes aureum*); *kuldsäinas* 'lit. golden ide (*Leuciscus idus orfus*)'; *kuldtatik* 'lit. golden boletus (*Suillus grevillei*)'; *kuldtulik* 'goldilocks (*Ranunculus auricomus*)'; *kuldtäht* 'yellow star-of-Bethlehem, lit. gold star (*Gagea*)' (Jäm *kuldtähed*, 'koltseed ödremed, kevade üsna `aegsasti 'yellow stars-of-Bethlehem — yellow blossoms, appear quite early in spring'); *kuldvihm* 'lit. rain of gold (*Laburnum*)'; *kuldviis* 'goldenrod (*Solidago*)'. Dialect files supply two additional words: Trv Plv *kuld`kärblane* 'lit. golden fly'; and Vll Mar IisK *kuldsitikas* 'rose chafer, lit. goldbeetle': Vll *kuldsitikas on`kangest kena, tal on`seuke tal teine värü, erk kulla`karva* 'a rose chafer looks very beautiful, it's of such a special colour, bright gold'; Mar *ühüd oo`neuksed vase`karva, need oo kuldsitikal, mõni üiab neid kuld`kukred* 'some are such copper-coloured ones, those are rose chafers, some people call them goldbeetles'; IisK *kuldsitikas on nõnna eleda`karva, rohakas,`läikivad* 'a rose chafer is of a bright colour, greenish and shining'. One of the euphemistic names for an adder used in a snake spell from Rapla is *kuldpeä* lit. 'goldenhead'.

As to the *hõbe*-component it is no less popular in nature terms than *kuld*. E.g.: *hõbeangerjas* 'silver eel' (Kh *õböangörjas rändangerjes, kui minemä`akkavad,`uhkõd`muõdi* 'silver eel is a migratory eel, when they start out, they look just fine'); *hõbehaab* 'silver poplar'; *hõbehaigur* 'egret (*Egretta alba*)'; *hõbehala-puu* 'white willow, golden willow, lit. silver weeping willow' (Rõu *üt's um periss halapuu, tõõ hõpõhalapuu. üt el um lehe?`hal'ja?, tõsõl haha?, hõpõ hal'li?* 'one is ordinary willow, the other is white willow, one has green leaves, the other has grey ones, silvery grey'); *hõbekajakas* 'herring gull (*Larus argentatus*)'; *hõbekoger* (*Carassius auratus*); *hõbekuusk* 'lit. silver spruce (*Picea pungens*)' (Vig *Poltsi männikus oo küll õbe`kuuska* 'there are some silver spruces all right in the Poltsi pine grove'); *hõbeküülik* 'a silvery grey rabbit'; *hõbelehisus* 'a plant disease, lit. silvery leaves'; *hõbelõhe* 'silver salmon' (Vai *obelõhe on`alja`suomusega* 'a silver salmon has lustrous scales'); *hõbeman* 'silverweed (*Potentilla argentea*)'; *hõbemerhuus* (*Merluccius bilinearis*); *hõbepaju* 'white willow, lit. silver willow' (Lüg *valge õbe`karva`kuorega`onvad õbe pajod* 'those with a white silvery bark are white willows'); *hõbepappel* 'silver poplar, white poplar (*Populus alba*)'; *hõbepuu* 'silver oleaster, lit. silver tree (*Elaeagnus*)'; *hõberebane* 'silver fox' (Lüg *õberebane, neid pidi`kasvatatamma`kuskil, nied nahad on`kallid* 'a silver fox ... they're said to be grown somewhere, those furs are expensive'); *hõberemmelgas* 'white willow, golden willow (*Salix alba*)'; *hõbevaher* 'sugar maple (*Acer saccharinum*)'. A euphemistic name for an adder (*Vipera berus*) is Trv *hõberihm* 'lit. silver belt', and for lice (*Pediculus capitis*) — VNg *hõbenina* 'lit. silver nose'.

The only common literary name for an animal, containing the *vask*-component is *vaskuss* 'blindworm, lit. copper worm (*Anguis fragilis*)', in dialects also known as *vasksiug*, *vaskmadu* ja *vaskuisk* 'copper snake'. E.g.: IisR *vaskuss on punase vase`karva, kahel puol`mustad`veiksed`tripsed* 'a blindworm is the colour of red copper, with little black spots on either side'; Krk *kõllakas ku vana vašk om vašk-uisk* 'a blindworm is yellowish like old copper'. In the Võru dialect and some areas of the Tartu dialect the same animal may also be called by the derivative names *vašklane*, *vašklanõ* and *vašklik*. Some popular names for the cockroach (*Blattoptera*) are *vaskkampsunimees*, *vaskkasukamees*, *vaskkuu-mees*, *vaskmundrimees* 'lit. the man in a copper cardigan/fur coat/jacket/uniform' and *kuldkuuemees* 'the man in a golden coat'.

The same attributive components serve to specify the colour of a great variety of objects like paper, buttons, thread, ribbon, pattern, stars, hair, light,

glitter, etc. The fact that the meaning is colour, not the metal as material appears from the context. Examples of such compounds have been noted down from every dialect area: Jõe *keiksema enne olite viel korged mütsid* — *nie olite kuld tohvi kannast* 'first there were high caps — those were made of golden brocade'; Mar *öbelõngad ja kuldlõngad ja need toodi poodist, nisoksed suured viint vändilesed olid, tehti poistele tubaka kot'ta* 'silver yarns and gold yarns were bought at the shop, those were thick and winding, tobacco pouches for lads were made of them'; Kul *küüdüd seelikud, õbe tressid olid all* 'the skirts were striped, with silver galloons at the lower edge'; Hag *õbe pärled, need on klaasist, läigib ku õbe* 'silver beads, those are made of glass, but glitter like silver'; *õbe pärled olid niisamma moodi nagu elmed* 'silver beads were the same as glass beads'; Amb *kuldkarra müts oli minu vanaemal* 'my granny had a cap with gold tinsel'; Kod *isa õli vana müis valge abemega, kutsuti õbe-pard* 'father was an old man with a white beard, people said: silver beard'; *kuldõng juakseb venne taga, testässe vasess* 'a golden fish-hook is floating behind the boat, this is made of copper'; Ran *sälgä kirju priistre mantle, serände õl'st ilma küüsidä, olge pääl kuld langa* 'a coloured priest's coat was put on, such a sleeveless gown, with golden threads on the shoulderpiece'.

The separate words *kuld*, *hõbe* and *vask* are, as was mentioned above, treated as nouns, one meaning of which may also be the name of the corresponding colour. E.g.: *sügislehtede kuld* 'the gold of autumn leaves'; *haabadesse ilmus punast vaskke* 'in aspen-trees red copper was beginning to show'; Kam *vastsel a eal proomiti seement nü, lasti klaasi sisse, kos selge vesi, kümme vai viis terrä ja kes väikse mulli üless võtse, õbe kibenä, kel nyu kibenä küllen, idasiva. ilma õbedada olliva nõrga* 'in recent times seeds were tested like this: ten or five grains were dropped into a glass of clear water and those which attracted a tiny bubble, a drop of silver, well, those which had those bubbles attached to them, those were going to sprout, while those without the silver were weak'.

According to Henn Saari the name of a thing, creature or phenomenon will remain a mere noun only as long as it has not been included in a sentence in the function of an adjective, motivated by a certain property of its denotatum (Saari 1993 : 96). This argument is born out well by the history of the Finnic colour names. According to Mauno Koski the emergence and naturalization of a new colour adjective can be regarded as consisting of three basic stages: 1) noun, 2) the use of the noun in an attributive function in the position of an adjective, or as a predicative adverb, 3) normal predicative use of the word (Koski 1983 : 245). As long as a word is still on its way to a full adjective, dictionaries usually present it as a noun. In the intermediate stage of development, in which the attributive colour name is not yet grammatically governed by the base word, it is regarded as a nominal attributive part of a compound word (cf. the nature terms listed above).

As in some dialects (Dialect of islands, Mulgi, Võru) the NomSg and GenSg forms coincide, the government of this particular word is not always unambiguous, e.g.: *Jaa olga lõng vöi riie mis õbe värviga tehtud* '... be it yarn or cloth made with silver dye'. The following dialect examples, however, seem to prove the adjectival essence of the colour names in question: VMr *vašk üss on, noh tema on niesukene ele vašk. ta on ele kui, särab kui vašk kohe* 'the blindworm is, well, it is of such bright copper colour, it's so bright, shining just like copper'; Kod *värviti ärä sij vanger ilosass, vase värviga rummud ja pruuni värvigä vanger* 'the carriage was painted beautiful: the hubs the colour of copper and the carriage brown'; Krk. *kuldsõrmuse pähä osti, ku ma vägeve lipege pesu mõssi, siss*

läit's kullass 'when buying I took it for a gold ring, but when I did the washing with a strong lye, it turned yellow'; *Kam peris all vai õpõ pää* 'quite grey or silvery hair'.

The semantics of the words ending on *-kas* also seems to be eloquent of an adjectival base of derivation. Notably, the adjective-based *kas*-adjectives indicate a relatively lesser presence of the property denoted by the stem of the word, whereas the noun-based *kas*-adjectives generally mark an enlarged or enhanced presence of the stem-denotatum (Vare 1984 : 14–18). In Estonian dialects moderating *kas*-derivatives of all three stems are used: JMd *vasekas* 'copper-like, of copper colour'; Kod *plekk sõlg*, *kastab õbe vette, nagu õbe piält, õbekas piält. peräss nüistib piält ärä, lähäb sinisess* 'an iron brooch — when it's dropped into silver water, it will look like silver on the outside, silvery, later when it's rubbed off, it will turn blue'; *kullakas kett*, *kulla karva* 'a golden scale, of golden colour'; *nahksepp võtt vikati kätte ja ae ketad, mes kullakas one, maha* 'the tanner — removed the scale which was golden'. The Defining Dictionary of Literary Estonian includes only the word *kullakas* '(of colour) tending to golden, having a lustre or gloss like gold'; *kullakas värvus, läige, helk* 'a golden colour, lustre, sheen'; *kullakas õhtutaevas*. 'the golden evening sky'; *kullakad juuksed* 'golden hair' (EKS II 570). In the files of literary Estonian one will also find material on the word *hõbekas* 'silvery': *veepinna lähedal ringlesid hõbekad kalad* 'near the surface silvery fish were circling'.

In the literary standard preference seems to be given to the modifying *-jas*-suffix: *paks kuldjas mesi* 'thick and golden honey' *kuldjad juuksed, patsid* 'golden hair, plaits'; *päikesepaistel olid mänmitüved kuldjad* 'in the sunshine the pine trunks looked golden'; *vaskjas maak* 'copper-like, copper-coloured ore'; *naha vaskjas läige* 'the coppery glow of the skin'; *vaskja helgiga juuksed* 'hair shining like copper'; *valgus on vaskjaks tõmbunud* 'the light has turned copper'; *hõbejas veepind, hämarus, valgus* 'a silvery surface, dusk, light'; *kogu maapind oli kaetud hõbejate samblikega* 'the whole ground was covered with silvery lichen'; *hõbejate kulmude alt vaatased nukrad silmad* 'under the silvery eyebrows were sad eyes'. Another derivative in parallel use is *hõbejane*: *hõbejane valgus* 'silvery light'; *hõbejased kalad, kivid* 'silvery fish, stones'.

Mostly the golden, silvery and coppery colours are expressed either by compound words or by phrases in which the first component is a genitive form of the corresponding metal name and the second component is either a denominative adjective (*-värviline, -karvaline*, in dialects also *-näoline*) or an adjectival adverb (*värvi, karva*). This is believed to have been just the typical Finnish way of forming colour adjectives (Koski 1983 : 326). As in other analogously structured Estonian colour names the most widely used base words are the most archaic words *-karva* and *-karvaline*, which applies to both literary and dialect usage (v. also Oja 1978 : 51), e.g.: VNg *vase karva korbi* 'a copper-coloured bay'; *emal oli jah, üöldi pries, ... obeda karva oli* 'mother had, indeed, a brooch it was called ... it was the colour of silver'; IisR *pildiraam on õbeda karva all* 'the frame of the picture is a silvery grey'; *Vai suomused on justku oppe karva* 'the scales are sort of a silvery colour'; Muh *vask madu oo vase karva úss* 'a blindworm is a copper-coloured snake'; Käi *roosid võivad kolla karva olla ...siis on ta kollasest tomem* 'some roses may be golden ... this means darker than yellow'; Vän *õbepajod on õbe karva lehtedega* 'white willows have silver-coloured leaves'; Kos *õbedakarvalised ehted* 'silver-coloured finery'; Koe *õige õhukene kulla karva paber* 'quite thin paper of the colour of gold'; Kod *kulla karva on särje-sapi müydu* 'golden means like gold foil'; Lai *kullerkuppu ööldi, et ta on*

kulla 'karva, aga ei ole, on pal'lu `val'kjam, aga kuld piaks punakas olema, ja kollaseid `juukseid `ööldi, et kulla `karva `juuksed, aga kui nad olid päris õiged kulla `karva, nii punakad, siis sõimati, et see on punapia 'of globeflower it was said that it was golden, but it isn't: it's much whiter, while gold should be reddish, and yellow hair was called golden, but if it really was the colour of gold, sort of reddish, the person was reviled as a redhead'; Krk *rinnapiim om magus ja vesine*, `siante õbe `karva vesine 'breast milk is sweet and watery, something like silver-coloured water'; Nõo *kullakarvaline siid*, pääld *kulla karvaline* 'golden silk, golden on the right side'; Krk *taevass o vase* `karva, punents 'the sky is copper-coloured, red'; Kan *ellävhõpõ om hõpõ* `karva 'quicksilver is of a silvery colour'; Rõu *savi* `karva, sääne vase `karva üldäss ollõv, `vasklik um tä nimi 'the colour of clay, or of copper it's said to be, blindworm is its name'; Vas *sibula koorist saa illos kullakarva värm* 'onion skins give a beautiful golden colour'; Se *vasõkarvalinõ* 'copper-coloured'; *teki* `langu värmõ hõpõkarval'itsõss 'I'm dyeing wool silvery for making a blanket'.

The Dialect of islands and the Võru dialect express the same idea by the aftercomponent -*näoline*: Jäm *õbe* `näulissi neid oli, õbe `näulissi `valgid ning... 'there were silver-coloured ones, silvery white ones and ...'; Ans *siis oli ju midad õbe* `pitsisi ning `sõukesi kulla `näulissi `pitsisid 'at that time there were all kinds of silver-coloured lace ribbons and golden lace ribbons'; Vas `vaskligu? omma `säaintse? *vasõ* `naolitse? 'blindworms are such copper-coloured ones'; Se *hõbõ* `naoline, *hõbõnõ karv ja hõbõnõ satol* 'a silver-colored [horse], with silvery hair and a silvery saddle'; *hõpõnaolitsõ? lina?* 'silvery flax'.

In the Setu subdialect the silvery colour has also been called *hõpõsitanõ*: *kaala* `helme omma *hõpõsitadsõ* `helme 'around the neck silvery beads are worn'; *hõpõ sitadsõ helme? säntse kandilidskõse? tiia* `i. `minkõst tett 'silvery beads, such little angular ones, I don't know what they're made of'.

The more recent words *värvi* and -*värviline* occur mostly in literary Estonian: *kangasse oli kootud hõbedavärvilisi lõngu* 'some silver-coloured threads had been woven into the cloth'; *tähed raamatukaantel olid kulla ja hõbedava värvi* 'the letters on the covers were golden and silvery'; *puult nõrgus kullavärvilist vaiku* 'golden resin was dripping from the tree'; *kullavärviline vein* 'golden wine'; *pea vase värvi punaseks tehtud* 'hair dyed coppery red'.

In Estonian, if a tone is perceived as a two-colour compound, it is expressed by a compound word in which the basic component denotes the dominating colour, while the attributive component is the stem of the word for the additional hue or a moderating derivative of it in the nominative case (Oja 1978 : 52). The metal-based colour names under discussion may occur in such compounds both in the primary and in the secondary position. The golden and coppery tones usually combine with yellowish and reddish hues, e.g.: *kuldkollane* 'golden yellow'. Põi *varsakabi kasub kevade vee sihes, moa* `aukudes roavides, `õitsed on nii kenad *kuldkoltset* 'the marsh marigold grows in water in spring, in soggy depressions, in ditches; the blossoms look so nice golden yellow'; Hel *kuldkõllatse* `juusse 'hair of golden yellow'; literary Estonian *kuldpruunid saiad* 'golden brown rolls'; *sügiseseid kuldpunased vahtralehed* 'the golden red maple leaves of autumn'; *kuldroheline põrnikas* 'a golden green beetle'; *kuldkõrb hobune* 'a golden sorrel'; *kuldblondid lokid* 'golden blond locks'; *loojaku kuldjaspunane valgus, kuma* 'the golden red light, glow of the sunset'; *kuldjasruuged juuksed* 'golden brown hair'; *punakuldne ~ punakaskuldne* 'reddish gold'; *vaskkollane lõng* 'coppery yellow yarn'; *riisika vaskpruun kübar* 'the coppery brown cap of a mushroom'; *suur vaskpunane päike* 'a gigantic coppery red sun'.

The silvery colour associates with cool tones such as white, grey and blue. The most popular of the corresponding compounds, both in the literary standard and in the dialects is *hõbehall*, most often used to characterize the colour of hair, but also of fur, woollen yarn, cloth, metal objects, etc. An informant from Hargla has specified the tone as follows: *õbö all — `valgõst allist `raaskõsõ tumõmb* 'silvery grey — a little darker than white grey'.

Silvery white has been described as *hõbevalge* (e.g. *Khk õbe `valge värü* 'a silvery white colour'), *hõbejasvalge* (e.g. *hõbejasvalge okkaga karusnahk* 'a silvery white fur'), *hõbekasvalge* (e.g. *hõbekasvalge härmatis* 'silvery white rime'). Silver and blue are combined in *hõbesinine* 'silvery blue' (of dawn, light, Moon), *hõbekassinine* (of the surface of the sea) and *hõbesinakas* (of a stone).

Compound colour names in which the attributive component is not a derivative with an adjectival suffix, may be interpreted in two ways: 1) noun + adjective = a comparison-based colour name in which the base word is a colour adjective and the attributive component is a nominal comparator (Rannut 1966 : 481—486). E.g.: *kuld + kollane = kuldkollane* 'yellow like gold', *kirsspunane* 'red like cherry'. Here the attributive word in the nominative case should serve to emphasize the intensity of the base word colour; 2) a compound of two adjectives the first of which has been truncated in the process of compounding so that only the stem has been preserved (Koski 1983 : 270—275). E.g.: *kuldne + kollane = kuldkollane* 'golden yellow', like *sinine + hall = sinihall* 'bluish grey' or *hall valge* 'greyish white'. Such a compound emphasizes the presence of two colour components in the tone referred to. Even if we regard the attributive component as a fixed root (*kuld-*, *sini-*), not an adjectival stem that has lost its suffix, from the semantic point of view it will remain the carrier of a property, i.e. colour.

The analyzed material permits to conclude that *kuld* 'gold', *hõbe* 'silver' and *vask* 'copper' may all function both as colour nouns (e.g. *kuld, hõbe, sina, vees kõik läbisegi* 'gold, silver, the blue — all seem mixed in the water') and as adjectives for describing the corresponding colours. In that case the stem is mostly complemented by the adjectival suffix *-ne* (*kuldne, kollane* 'golden', *hõbedane* 'silvery', *vaskne* 'coppery').

Like in all colour names, moderating derivatives are produced by attaching the suffixes *-kas* or *-jas* to the stems (cf. *kullakas* 'golden', *kollakas* 'yellowish'; *hõbekas* 'silvery', *rohakas* 'greenish'; *kuldjas* 'golden', *mustjas* 'blackish'; *vaskjas* 'coppery', *hahkjas* 'greyish').

Like other colour names, the words under discussion may fulfil a colour-denoting function appearing as the initial component in denominal compound adjectives (cf. *kuldjuukseline* 'with golden hair', *punapõskne* 'red-cheeked'; *hõbelokiline* 'with silvery locks', *sinisilmne* 'blue-eyed').

In compound adjectives the metal names function in nearly the same way as colour names do (cf. *kuldpunane, kuldjaspunane* 'golden red', *punakuldne, punakas-kuldne* 'of reddish gold' and *pruunjaspunane, pruunikaspunane* 'brownish red', *punapruun, punakaspruun* 'reddish brown').

The nominal names of the metals have been preserved in combination with the adverbs *karva, värvi* ja *nägu* and with the adjectives *-karvaline, -värviline* and *-näoline* derived from those adverbs. A colour name is formed by adding one of the above adverbs to the comparator noun that appears in the genitive case (e.g. *vasekarvaline* 'coppery', *kulla nägu* 'golden', *hõbedavärvi[liline]*, *Se hõpõ-näoline* 'silvery').

Colour adjectives usually also appear together with the same adverbs. In

this case the adjective is in the partitive case and is not part of a fixed word combination (cf. *kullakarva* 'golden' and *kirsikarva* 'red like cherry', but *kollast karva* 'yellow' — *kollane* Part + *karva*, as well as *kuldset karva* — *kuldne* Part + *karva*).

Consequently the adjectives *kuldne* 'golden', *hõbedane* 'silvery' and *vaskne* 'coppery' and their derivatives fit into the Estonian system of colour names perfectly. The corresponding nouns *kuld* 'gold', *hõbe* 'silver' and *vask* 'copper' are used to denote not only the metals, but also the corresponding colouring substances and — in an adjectival position — colours.

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Abbreviations

Estonian dialects: **Ans** — Anseküla; **Amb** — Ambla; **Emm** — Emmaste; **Hag** — Hageri; **Har** — Hargla; **Hel** — Helme; **Hls** — Halliste; **Hää** — Häädemeeste; **Iis** — Iisaku; **IisK** — Iisaku (Central dialect); **IisR** — Iisaku (Costal dialect); **Jaa** — Jaani; **JJn** — Järva-Jaani; **JMd** — Järva-Madise; **Juu** — Juuru; **Jõe** — Jõelähtme; **Jä** — Järvamaa; **Jäm** — Jämaja; **Kad** — Kadrina; **Kam** — Kambja; **Kan** — Kanepi; **Kei** — Keila; **Khk** — Kihelkonna; **KhN** — Kihnu; **KJn** — Kolga-Jaani; **Kod** — Kodavere; **Koe** — Koeru; **Kos** — Kose; **Krj** — Karja; **Krk** — Karksi; **Krl** — Karula; **Kse** — Karuse; **Kul** — Kullamaa; **Kuu** — Kuusalu; **KuuK** — Kuusalu (Central dialect); **Käi** — Käina; **L** — Western dialect; **Lai** — Laiuse; **Lei** — Leivu; **Lut** — Lutsi; **Lüg** — Lügane; **M** — Mulgi dialect; **Mar** — Martna; **Muh** — Muhu; **Mär** — Märjamaa; **Nõo** — Nõo; **Ote** — Otepää; **Phl** — Pühalepa; **Plt** — Põltsamaa; **Plv** — Põlva; **Puh** — Puhja; **Pöi** — Pöide; **R** — Costal dialect; **Rak** — Rakvere; **Ran** — Rannu; **Rei** — Reigi; **Ris** — Risti; **Rõu** — Rõuge; **Räp** — Räpina; **S** — Dialect of islands; **Sa** — Saaremaa; **Saa** — Saarde; **San** — Sangaste; **Se** — Setu; **Sim** — Simuna; **Tor** — Tori; **Trm** — Torma; **Trv** — Tarvatu; **Tür** — Türi; **V** — Võru dialect; **Vai** — Vaivara; **Vas** — Vastseliina; **Vig** — Vigala; **VJg** — Viru-Jaagupi; **VII** — Valjala; **VMr** — Väike-Maarja; **VNg** — Viru-Nigula; **Võn** — Võnnu; **Vän** — Väandra.

EKS — Eesti kirjakeele seletussõnaraamat I–II, Tallinn 1988–1993; **EKS MS** — The manuscript of Eesti kirjakeele seletussõnaraamat; **EMS** — Eesti murrete sõnaraamat I, Tallinn 1991.

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ВИЛЬЯ ОЯ (Таллинн)

ЗОЛОТО, СЕРЕБРО И МЕДЬ В ЭСТОНСКИХ НАЗВАНИЯХ ЦВЕТА

Наименования металлов *kuld* 'золото', *hõbe* 'серебро' и *vask* 'медь' с теми же корнями известны во всех прибалтийско-финских языках.

Наряду с основным значением, эти слова в эстонском литературном языке и диалектах используются для обозначения цвета, окраски и красителей, занимая в предложении позицию как существительного, так и прилагательного (например: *sügislehtede kuld* 'золото осенних листьев', *hõrõ pää* 'серебристо-седая голова'). Встречается немало сложных существительных, в которых первый компонент — *kuld*, *hõbe* и *vask* — имеет функцию передачи свойства, т.е. обозначает окраску (например, такие природные термины, как *hõberaju* 'серебристая ива, ветла; *Salix alba*', *vaskuss* 'медянка; *Anguis fragilis*'; сложные названия цвета — *kuldkollane* 'золотисто-желтый', *hõbehall* 'серебристо-серый'; наименования иных предметов и свойств, такие как *hõberaber* 'фольга', *kuldjuukseline* 'златовласый').

Большей частью в качестве наименований цвета используются прилагательные с суффиксом *-ne* — *kuldne*, *kullane* 'золотистый', *hõbedane*, *hõbene* 'серебристый', *vaskne* 'медного цвета' — или образованные с помощью модифицирующих суффиксов производные *kullakas*, *kuldjas*, *hõbekas*, *hõbejas*, *vaskjas*, кроме того, и сочетания, первым компонентом которых служат наименования соответствующих металлов, а вторым компонентом — слова *karva* (~ *karvaline*), *värvi* (~ *värviline*), в диалектах также *nägu* (~ *näoline*) (например; *vasekarvaline* 'цвета меди', *kulla nägu* 'золотистый'). Способ образования таких прилагательных и словосочетаний полностью соответствует эстонской системе цветовых наименований.