

Cattle colours with a dendrological component as an ethnolinguistic phenomenon

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Abstract: In Slavic languages, a large number of colour designations are derived from the names of trees; these designations are not only formed morphologically, but also in a lexico-semantic way. This mainly concerns the name of the birch tree, which is noticeable primarily in numerous Polish derivatives, some of which can be built up into Proto-Slavic prototypes. However, a similar phenomenon can be observed in other languages around the world. Generally speaking, these coloratives are of both narrow linguistic (etymological) and ethnolinguistic interest. They reflect the view of the Slavic peoples on the importance of dendroflora in material and spiritual life and help shed light on the worldview of the ancient Slavs.

Key words: colorative, dendronym, Slavic languages

Before turning to such an exceptional phenomenon as dendronymy as the basis for forming colour words, it is necessary to touch directly on the colour perception itself among the Slavic peoples.

For the folk culture of the Slavs, the white–black–red triad is primarily relevant, where white, representing the heavenly, sacred, pure, is contrasted with dark colours, which are associated with the earthly, chthonic, unclean.

This colour symbolism has a particular reflection in the traditional life of the Slavs in that it relates to the colours of animals' coats.

As regards the white–black opposition, there are, for example, beliefs that meeting a white sheep, horse or cow when first entering a village brings happiness, as opposed to the opposite for a black one (Tolstoy 1995a: 151–152). The idea of white celestial cattle led by drowned or hanged men stands apart and can be contrasted with black terrestrial cattle (Tolstoy 1995b: 504).

In turn, white and red are opposed in another way, for example, sick cows are said to have “white” coats, while healthy cows have “red” coats in one Belarusian magic spell from the Mogilev region (Tolstoy 1995a: 153).

The explanation for this is that white animals have an ambivalent interpretation among the Slavs since such animals are both related to death or evil spirits and considered opponents of the latter. At the same time, white has a sacred meaning and is associated with the other world. This applies, for example, to the fabulous image of a white horse, which is the most archaic in world mythological systems (Levkievskaja 2004: 201; Propp 2000: 147–148).

Animals with black coats are invariably associated with evil spirits, disease, and death (Levkievskaja 2004: 201). At the same time, black was considered a talisman. So, for example in the Smolensk region, they believed that a black shirt in which a newborn lamb was wrapped protected it from the evil eye. The Macedonian belief that a black dot painted on the forehead or face protects a person from the evil eye, is also significant in this sense (Belova 2012: 516–517).

Red animals are also characterised as having a duality in the minds of the Slavs (Levkievskaya 2004: 201), who believed that red brought happiness, for example, a red cow at the front of a herd was a harbinger of clear weather (Belova 1999: 650). One can also see a close connection between a red horse (for example, St George's horse) and fire, which is explained by their functional similarity as conductors between the two worlds (Propp 2000: 148), although sometimes with this correlation red can symbolise danger and anxiety (Levkievskaja 2004: 201).

Mottled animals are associated with evil spirits (Levkievskaya 2004: 201). It is noteworthy that black animals, including those with white spots, were used by Belarusians in black magic (Švied 2009: 18). To clarify the semantics of mottling, it is also important to correlate the horse with the night sky, something that relates to the mediation of the horse between heaven and earth, or

the secondary nature of this image as compared to the daytime horse of the Sun (Propp 2000: 151).

Here it is worth paying attention to the fact that the image of a white or golden horse was the most ancient one among the Slavs (Ivanov-Toporov 1974: 187). In the beliefs of the Baltic Slavs, who preserved paganism longer than others, the white colour of the horse that belonged to the main god Sventovit (the white colour corresponds to the concepts of 'day' and 'one's own') was contrasted with the black dirt on the horse after his nocturnal trips, while the black horse owned by the supreme god Triglav was associated with divination (Gamkrelidze-Ivanov 1984: 555; Ivanov-Toporov 1965: 32–33, 35).

Summarising the above, one should emphasise that in different parts of Slavia, white animals with dark spots and darker animals with white spots were considered either protected from the effects of evil spirits, or under their influence. It is also likely that initially, in earlier times, animals' coat colours had specific semantics, but as a result of the evolution of mythological beliefs, the colours acquired new meanings. However, it is also interesting that a coat colour similar to that of the owner's hair or a coat colour similar to that of the dog protecting the livestock, was considered auspicious on the farm (Levki-evskaja 2004: 199).

It is worth noting that coloratives with a dendrological component in Slavic languages are designations not only of the animals' coat colour, but also of animals' nicknames, as well as the colours of various objects, as discussed below.

Morphological coloratives

Since Slavic languages have a highly developed affixation, there are a number of derivational models for designating objects of reality, whose derivational stem is the names of other, outwardly similar, objects. In addition to colour, similarity of form is also implied here, with both expressible by one affix.

Most of the adjective affixes presented below are characteristic of the Proto-Slavic language, although it is impossible to talk about the formation of coloratives with their help, since these affixes characterise a generalised connection with the object called a generating word.

With the help of the affix *-ast-* the Proto-Slavic words ***berzastъ(jb)* (Proto-Slavic **berza* 'birch'), ***dъbъastъ(jb)* (Proto-Slavic **dъbъ* 'oak') and ***lipinъastъ(jb)*

(Proto-Slavic **lipa* ‘linden’) are formed (transcription used when recording Proto-Slavic vocabulary; reconstructions with two asterisks are the author’s).

The continuants of the first word are the Polish dialectal *brzeziasty* ‘about the colour of cattle: red-white or black-white with a light stripe along the back’ (Reichan 1986: 604), Serbo-Croatian *br̂žacm* ‘similar (in colour) to a birch tree: with red spots (about calves), with white or black spots on the head (about goats and sheep)’ (Stevanović 1962: 143). The reflexes of the second word include Polish *dębiasty* ‘similar to oak; similar to the colour of oak leaves’ (Karłowicz 1900b: 452) and probably Russian dialectal *дыбácm* ‘plant’ (Filin 1972: 234). The third word is reflected only in Old Polish *lipiniasty* ‘?’ (ESJP XVII–XVIII). With the help of the same suffix, Slovak *jablčastý* ‘(about a horse) which has darker round spots on its light coat’, is formed (Jarošová 2011: 425) (Slovak *jablko* ‘apple’).

The affix *-at-* (*-ovat-*) forms such Proto-Slavic lexemes as ***berzatǫjъ* and ***berzovatǫjъ*, their continuants being observed only in Polish.

The first word was reflected in Polish *brzeziaty* ‘bay, mottled, red and white’ (Karłowicz 1900b: 219), Polish dialectal *brzozaty* ‘mottled, especially about a sheep with mottled wool on its muzzle’ (Reichan 1986: 618) and Polish dialectal *brzeziaty* ‘about the colour of cattle: red-white or black and white with a light stripe along the back (about the colour of cattle)’ (Reichan 1986: 604). These continuants differ in both the root vocalism and the hard or soft character of the derivational stem. The first difference lies in the presence or absence of the results of the Lechite rearrangement (**berza* > **breza* > *brzoza* and **berza* > **breza* > *brzeza*), which took place in the history of Polish in the 9th and 10th centuries (Podlaska 2003: 37). As for the nature of the stems, this distinction existed even in the Proto-Slavic language (derivatives **berza* and ***berza*, respectively).

The second reconstruction is an extended version of the first (extension *-ov-*). It is reflected in Polish dialectal *brzozowaty* ‘like a birch tree’ (Karłowicz 1900: 618), Czech *březovatý* ‘like a birch’ (Jungmann 1835: 182), and Upper-Sorbian *brězowaty* ‘like a birch’ (Pful 1866: 46). The same affix forms the Polish *jabłkowaty* ‘about the horse, most often grey, less often brown and bay colour’ (Doroszewski 1961: 292–293) and Lower-Sorbian *jabłuškaty* ‘dappled, apple-shaped’ (Muka 2008: 519).

The antiquity of the affix *-at-* (*-ovat-*) is evidenced by Proto-Slavic lexemes formed according to the same word formation model, such as, for exam-

ple, ***gruševatŏ(jb)/**kruševatŏ(jb)* (Proto-Slavic **gruša/kruša* ‘pear’) and ***dǫbovatŏ(jb)*, although their continuants do not denote any colours or shades.

The suffix *-av-* is typical only for Proto-Slavic **berzavŏ(jb)*, which is reflected in Polish *brzezawy* ‘bay, mottled, red and white’, *brzezawa* ‘mottled cow’ (Karłowicz 1900b: 219), Polish dialectal *brzezawa* ‘a cow with a white back and belly’, ‘a black cow with a white stripe on the back’ (Karłowicz 1900a: 127–128), ‘a black or red cow with white spots, with a light stripe along the back’ (Reichan 1986: 604), *brzeziawy* ‘about the colour of cattle: red-white with a light stripe along the back’ (Reichan 1986: 604), as well as Czech *březavá (kráva)* ‘a cow whose back and belly are white, and the rest is red or black’, Slovak *brezavý* ‘white and mottled (for example about oxen, about a cow)’, and Serbo-Croatian *brèzava* ‘mottled (about a cow)’ (Trubachjov 1974: 203–204). As in the case of ***berzatŏ(jb)*, Polish continuants are distinguished by the absence of the influence of the Lechite rearrangement (transition **ě > *o*) and have a different nature of the derivational stem; the latter feature, again, can go back to the Proto-Slavic era.

The affix *-ist-* (*-ovist-*) is used to form Polish *jablkowy* ‘about the horse, most often grey, less often brown and bay colour’ (Doroszewski 1961: 293) and Slovak *jablčistý* ‘(about a horse) that has darker round spots on its light coat’ (Jarošová 2011: 425). The suffix *-ist-* is characteristic of adjectives in all Slavic languages, however, it is found only in the Western Slavic area as a part of colouratives. This suffix is secondary to *-it-*, and both originate from the common Indo-European suffix of superlative adjectives (Vaillant 1974: 469).

The suffix *-it-* forms Polish *jablkowy* ‘about the horse, most often grey, less often brown and bay colour’ (Doroszewski 1961: 293). This suffix is characteristic exclusively of dialectal vocabulary and, together with the suffixes *-ast-*, *-at-*, *-ist-* characterises the similarity of the designated object with the object called the derivational stem (Bąk 1984: 233–234).

The affix *-ul-*, which forms substantives, is characteristic exclusively of Proto-Slavic ***berzula*. The latter is implemented in Polish dialectal *brzezula* ‘a black or red cow with white spots, with a light stripe along the back; nickname’ (Reichan 1986: 607), *briezula* ‘a black cow or sheep with a white head’ (Krasowska 2006: 199), Serbo-Croatian *brèzulya* ‘a cow with mottled fur and the nickname of such a cow’ (Stevanović 1962: 144), Czech dialectal *brezula* ‘the one who talks in vain’ (SNČJ), Slovak and Slovak dialectal *berzula* ‘birch bark paint’ (Ripka 1994: 162). An indirect indication of the Proto-Slavic antiquity

of the named model may be in Lithuanian *Beržulė* ‘tributary of the Šušvė River (Šiauliai county)’ (Kolupaila 1935: 12) and Latvian *bērzulis* ‘reduced form from *bērzis*’ (Mīlenbahs 1923–1925: 292).

Another substantive colour designation is formed with the help of the suffix *-āk-*: Czech *jablečnák* ‘a white horse with round dark spots’ (Hujer 1935–1937: 1155). In Czech, this suffix softens the previous consonant. It forms the names of people, animals and plants, and their meanings usually have an expressive connotation (Dokulil 1986: 264). Since in the Proto-Slavic language the affix *-āk-* acquired the softness of the previous consonant when forming verbal words (Vondrák 1906: 458), then probably the same process began to take place later, when words were derived from nominal stems.

Morphological coloratives are also formed by word composition: Slovak *jablkovozelený* ‘who has the colour of green apples’ (Jarošová 2011: 426) (Slovak *zelený* ‘green’). The structure of the word indicates that previously it had the meaning ‘apple-green, green with a hint of green apples’.

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In terms of word formation, adjectival models with the affixes *-ast-*, *-at-* (*-ovat-*), *-av-*, *-ist-* (*-ovist-*) and *-it-* are derived from suffix-less adjectives (by the way, the origin of the suffix *-ast-* is associated with a modification of the suffix *-as-*, also used in the derivation of coloratives (Vondrák 1906: 446–448)). The first three suffixes formed the corresponding Proto-Slavic words.

Coloratives with non-dendrological components can also be formed with the help of the affixes *-as-*, *-es-*, which is why a primary diminutive value can be supposed for derivatives from **berzъ(jъ)*, the only ancient colorative with a dendrological component. Similarly, coloratives with other components were formed, for example, Proto-Slavic **bělasъ(jъ)*, **bělavъ(jъ)*, **bělesъjъ* (using the example of **běvl(jъ)*) (Trubachjov 1975: 62–63).

The only Proto-Slavic substantive model with the affix *-ul-*, presented in Proto-Slavic ***berzula* probably represents derivatives from the corresponding adjectives, since formations from nouns are diminutive or affectionate names of the corresponding phenomena for example Proto-Slavic **bobŭla* < **boba* ‘something round, especially a berry’ (Sławski 1974: 110). Therefore, Proto-Slavic **berzъ(jъ)* ‘birch colours, with white spots or stripes’ must be considered the derivational stem (Sławski 1974: 212).

Lexico-semantic coloratives

There are a number of coloratives with a dendrological component, whose meanings are the result of rethinking previous meanings, which implies a lexico-semantic method of word formation. Such colour names generally refer to adjectival formations.

The coloratives with the component 'birch' include words that go back to the Proto-Slavic **berzovъ(jъ)* and **berzъ(jъ)*. The first word is associated with the Belarusian dialectal *берэзавы* 'grey (horse) coat' (Kryvicki 1982: 55). Attention is drawn to the uniqueness of this word (one of the rare Belarusian coloratives with a dendrological component), in particular, from the point of view of distribution (Polesie periphery of the Slavic language world). The colour designation of the second word, which, as mentioned above, is almost the only Proto-Slavic colorative with a dendrological component, is more widespread, for example the Polish dialectal *Brzeza* 'a cow's name' (Sławski 1974: 212). It is interesting that the Czech *březí* and the Slovak *brezí* 'pregnant (usually about pets)' (Trubachjov 1974: 188; Králik 2015: 81) may be the result of the influence of the model mentioned above (Králik 2015: 81). The reasons for this influence lies in the belief that cattle having a certain colour contributes to its fertility (Levkievskaja 2004: 199). The model itself, according to which the second word is formed, belongs to the prefix-free models that are the most ancient among models of Proto-Slavic adjectives.

In addition, in Slavic languages there are adjectives denoting colour that are formed in a lexico-semantic way, with the following components: 1) 'pear', Slovak *hruškový* 'associated with pear wood, made of pear wood, similar in colour and structure to pear wood; shaped like a pear, resembling a pear, pear-like' (Jarošová 2011: 199) (Slovak *hruška* 'pear'); 2) 'oak', Old-Polish *dębny* 'about the colour of leather tanned with oak bark; pale yellow', Polish 'the colours of oak or oak leaves; well tanned' (Sławski 1981: 191) (Polish *dąb* 'oak'); 3) 'viburnum', Polish *kalinowy* 'the colour of viburnum fruit', which is an occasionalism (Doroszewski 1961: 479) (Polish *kalina* 'viburnum'); 4) 'aspen', Old-Russian *осинный, осиновый* 'the colour of aspen bark' (Avanesov 1987: 90) (Russian *осина* 'aspen'); 5) 'pine', Polish *sosenkowy* 'colour' (Linde 1812: 333) (Polish *sosna* 'pine'); 6) 'apple', Polish *jabłkowy* 'about the horse, most often grey, less often brown and bay' (Doroszewski 1961: 293) (Polish *jabłko* 'apple').

The following names belong to the substantive coloratives: Belarusian dialectal *ліліна* ‘white’, ‘bloodless’ (Jankoŭski 1970: 59) (Belarusian *ліна* ‘linden’) and Polish *sosenka* ‘a pattern of fabric threads similar to the arrangement of pine needles; a raincoat or clothes with such a pattern’ (Doroszewski 1966: 503-504).

At the same time, the presence of a dendrological component is doubtful in relation to the Belarusian dialectal *лілнскі* ‘red (about the scarf)’ (Jankova 1982: 179), although etymologically it is ascribed to the name of the linden tree (Trubachjov 1988: 136–137). Probably, the origin of this word should be associated with the Polish *Lipsk* ‘Leipzig’.

Lexical and semantic coloratives, in contrast to morphological ones, do not indicate the colour of animals.

Phraseologisation

The colour designations formed from dendrological vocabulary also include some stable expressions, such as the Belarusian *у яблыкі, у яблыках* ‘with dark round spots on the coat (about the horse)’ (Liepiešaŭ 1993: 591) (Belarusian *яблык* ‘apple’), Ukrainian *у яблука, у яблуках* ‘dappled (about the colour of the horses)’ (Piūtarak–Skapnienka 2006: 719), Russian *в яблоках* ‘with dark round spots on the coat (about horse hair)’ (Fjodorov 2008: 766) and Polish *w jabłka* ‘darker spots of a roundish shape are most often in the grey, less often in the brown and bay colours of the horse’ (Doroszewski 1961: 292). Not only is the East Slavic-Polish area of expression noted here interesting, but so also are the models ‘в + Acc. pl.’ and ‘в + Prep. pl.’.

Parallels in the languages of the world

In addition, in various Indo-European languages, coloratives (or names whose meanings have a sememe that characterises the colour) are formed from dendrological names according to separate derivational models: Latvian *ābolainis, ābolains* ‘dappled horse, piebald horse’ (*ābols* ‘apple’) (Beitiņa 1981: 18, 19), English *oak* ‘dark brown oak wood colour’ (CED), *oak-wood* ‘oak bark colour, a shade of brown’ (Mahonina–Sternina 2005), *dappled, dapple grey* ‘dappled horse’ (perhaps historically related to the English *apple*) (Mjuller 2009, 114; OED), German *apfelschimmel* ‘dappled grey horse’, *geapfelt* ‘dappled (about the

horse's coat)' (*apfel* 'apple') (Leping–Strahova 1976, 68, 334), Dutch *geappeld* 'dappled (about a horse)' (*appel* 'apple') (Mironov 1987, 63, 231), Norwegian *apalgrå* 'dappled grey (about a horse)' (*åpal* 'apple tree' and *grå* 'grey'), *eikemale* 'to paint under oak' (*eik* 'oak' and *male* 'to paint') (Arakin 2000: 43, 200, 328, 522), French *pommelé* 'dappled grey (about the colour of the horse)' (*pomme* 'apple') (Ganshina 1977: 653), Spanish *manzanil* 'resembling an apple in colour or shape' (*manzana* 'apple') (DLE) and Italian *pomato*, *pomellato* 'dappled (about the horse's coat)' (*pomo* 'apple') (Zor'ko 2002: 664).

As the examples above show, coloratives that are mainly adjectives are formed primarily in a morphological way. Thus, the suffix *-ain-* in Latvian is productive and characterises relative adjectives (Staltmane 2006: 187; Grabis 1966: 477), therefore, it should be assumed that the original meaning of 'apple' has narrowed and developed into the meaning of 'a dappled horse or piebald horse'. The suffix *-el-* in French and *-il-* in Spanish also form relative adjectives (Referovskaja 2001: 236; Arutjunova 2007), which also allows us to observe a narrowing of the meaning. Lexemes in German and Dutch are formed by circumfixation, (the circumfixes *ge- -t* and *ge- -d*, respectively). The word structure is typical for German and Norwegian (*åpal* 'apple tree' and *grå* 'grey'; *eik* 'oak' and *male* 'to paint'). In the case of the English word, we should speak about lexical and semantic word formation, specifically the metonymic transfers of '(something) oak' → 'bark' → 'bark colour'.

Similar coloratives are also recorded in the Finno-Ugric languages, for example Hungarian *almazöld* 'the colours of a green apple' (*alma* 'apple' and *zöld* 'green') (Gal'di 1987: 35) and Estonian *haabjas* 'greenish-grey (the colours of aspen bark)' (*haab* 'aspen') (Tamm 1977: 77). It is important to emphasise that the so-called subordinate stem-composition is often used to form the names of colours in Hungarian, for example *jéghideg* 'cold as ice', *tejfehér* 'white as milk' (Balashsha 1951: 168). In turn, the Estonian suffix *-jas-* is characteristic of adjectives denoting similarity with the object whose name is productive, for example *valkjás* 'whitish', *tuhkjás* 'ashen' (Kask 1966: 45). Therefore, these words are probably not the only names of colours derived from dendrological vocabulary.

Apart from Indo-European and Finno-Ugric languages, the same phenomenon is also observed in Turkic languages, for example Azerbaijani алмаянар 'red-cheeked' (*алма* 'apple', *янаг* 'cheek') (Gusejnov 1941: 14), Bashkir *алма сыбар* 'dappled grey' (*алма* 'apple', *сыбар* 'mottled') (Zajnullina 2002), Tatar

алмачуар ‘dappled grey’ (*алма* ‘apple’, *чуар* ‘mottled’) (Amirov 1966: 33), Turkmen *алмабаши* ‘rochard (*Aythya ferina*)’ (*алма* ‘apple’, *баши* ‘head’) (Baskakov 1968: 41), Chuvash *улма чӑнар* ‘dappled (about the colour of the horse)’ (*улма* ‘apple’, *чӑнар* ‘mottled’) (Andreev–Petrov 1971) and Yakut *сүһик хаан* ‘blood red’ (*сүһик* ‘alder’, *хаан* ‘bloody’) (Slepcev 1972: 327, 466). Thus, the presented Turkic coloratives are formed by the composition of pure stems, one of which is usually the name of an apple.

Conclusion

From the vocabulary presented here from Slavic languages, in quantitative terms the word that contains the components ‘birch’ and ‘apple’ stands out the most. It is formed by various methods of derivation (morphological, lexico-semantic, phraseologisation).

The component ‘birch’ appears in the colour designations of cattle coats (formed using the affixes *-ast-*, *-at-* (*-ovat-*), *-av-*, *-ul-* and by lexico-semantic transition) based on comparison with the colour of birch bark, which is directly related to the folk traditions of the Slavs, specifically the colour symbols of the Slavs in general and especially with their cattle magic. Taking into account the fact that cattle fertility was directly related to their colour, it must be said that the importance of birch as a talisman against evil spirits was especially emphasised by the Slavs, especially the Poles.

The component ‘apple’ is mainly characteristic of the names of the horse coat (formed using the affixes *-ist-* (*-ovist-*), *-it-*, *-’ak-*, by word composition, by lexico-semantic transition and phraseologisation). So, dark spots on a lighter coat are mainly called apples in Slavic languages. However, the apple and apple tree are not used in the pastoral magic of the Slavs and therefore it should be assumed that apple served as a designation of the coat solely because of the spots. It should be noted that these names are present in many languages of the world.

It is important to note that the presence of such names in Azerbaijani, Bashkir, Tatar, Turkmen, and Chuvash languages, which are in interaction with Russian, may be explained by the influence of the latter: for example, Turkish *baklakırı* ‘roan-piebald, dappled grey (about the colour of the horse)’ (*bakla* ‘beans’, *kır* ‘light grey, dirty white, grey’) (Baskakov 1977: 92, 540).

The emergence of a few coloratives with other dendrological components in Slavic languages mainly through lexico-semantic derivation is explained by the similarity of the colour of certain objects with the colour of the bark, leaves or fruits of the corresponding trees (in particular, the presence of words with the 'oak' component should be explained by the use of oak bark in leather).

As for the partial affiliation of coloratives with a dendrological component among the majority of adjectives, there are a small number of nouns that are nicknames for cattle based on colour, as well as names of objects based on the similarity of colour with parts of the corresponding tree.

It is especially important to emphasise that in the Slavic language material, coloratives have been preserved which in the derivational sense belong to the ancient layer of vocabulary, including **berzъ(jb)*, the name of the colour, apparently inherent in the Proto-Slavic era since it was formed according to a non-prefix model.

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