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ESTONIAN ADJECTIVES DENOTING THE DARKNESS OF COLOURS*

In Estonian the degree of lightness or darkness as one of the basic characteristics of colours is usually expressed by a compound word or a phrase introduced by a lightness/darkness adjective (see also Oja 1996). The following discussion addresses the literary and dialect Estonian adjectives meaning 'dark'. The material analysed comes from the Database of Estonian Colour Terms (see Oja 1998), as well as the Dialect Archives and the lexical files of literary Estonian kept at the Institute of the Estonian Language (IEL). The dialect examples are presented in the simplified transcription developed for the Dictionary of Estonian Dialects (see EMS 29—32). The abbreviations of dialect and subdialect names are listed at the end of the article.

Most literary Estonian terms for dark hues contain the adjective *tume* 'dark'. Adjectives of the same stem are also used in all dialects: eP M T *tume* (Käi *tome*); Khn Ote Krl Har Vas *tumõ*; Har Rõu Vas Se *tum-mõ*; S g *tume* (Käi *-o-*, Khn *-õ*); Kõp M g *tume*; R L K I T g *-da*; Kuu g *-ja*; Vai g *tumme*; V g *tummõ*. Beside the regular forms there is a single case of *tummlpunane* 'dark red' recorded in the village of Ungla (LNg)¹. Standing alone, perhaps, the record should not be considered very reliable as it may easily be a case of casual usage, or a lapse of the tongue, or an inaccurate recording, etc.

The adjective 'dark' is a rather general characteristic of a colour, contrasting the colour either to a lighter hue of its own or to another, relatively lighter colour. A lower grade of darkness is expressed either by the adjectival derivative *tumekas* with its diminutive suffix, or by such compounds as *tumedavõitu* 'darkish', *tumedapoolne* 'to the darkish side', etc.

For a concrete shade of colour a compound or a phrase is used, consisting of the word *tume* 'dark' (~ *tumekas* 'darkish') and a colour adjective, e.g. *tume(kas)hall* 'dark(ish) grey', *tume(kas)kollane* 'dark(ish) yellow', *tumekõrb* 'dark bay', *tumelilla* 'dark purple', *tumepruun* 'dark brown',

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¹ In the Estonian Ideological Dictionary by A. Saareste this word is erroneously with VNg instead of LNg (Saareste 1963 : 85), whence the error has spread to several other publications (e.g. SKES 1397; EEW 3409, 3354).

tumepunane 'dark red', *tumeroheline* 'dark green', *tumeruske* 'dark russet', *tumesinine* 'dark blue', *tumeverev* 'dark red'. Such compound colour terms can be associated with objects of any kind, animate or inanimate. E.g. IisR *tumekõrb*, *sie on tumedan punane* 'dark bay it's a darker sort of red'; Jäm *remlipaju* [---] *tumerohelised lehed* 'the dark green leaves of a willow (*Salix caprea* L.)'; Emm *koltсед naadresed* [---] *üsna tume koltсед* 'yellow ants [---] quite a dark yellow'; Kse *panksinine oo tume sinine riide värm* 'Oxford blue is a dark blue dye'; Kad *tume rusked luamad kõik, kirjud mitte üht* 'all dark russet cattle, not a single piebald one'; Ote *mõnel lätsivä õkva tumõ pruuniss nyu tedretähe* 'some people got their freckles quite dark brown'; Har *pruudil oll tummõ verrev pruunts ümbrel* 'the bride had a dark red skirt on'. It may also happen that the final component of the compound carries a diminutive suffix, e.g. Har *lepä kyyrige sai tumõ kõllakasõ* 'alder dark gave [the wool] a dark yellowish colour'.

In South-Estonian dialects we find, in parallel with the back-voweled *tume*, the front-voweled forms Trv Pst Hel Ran Puh Kam *tüme*, Hel Rõu Plv Röp Se *tümme*, and Kam *tümekaäs*. Both their semantic and pragmatic aspects coincide with those of *tume*. Analogous alternation of back and front vowels occurs in the northern Finnic languages, e.g. the Finnish *tumea* ~ *tymeä* (SKES 1395, 1451).

According to the Dialect Archives of the IEL, compound colour terms with *tüme* as their first component are characteristic of the Mulgi and Tartu dialects, but not of the Võru dialect. E.g. Kam *tüme ahkjass* 'dark grey', *tüme ahkjass ja val'ss ahkjass* 'dark grey and light grey'; Hel *tümekõllane* 'dark yellow', *kadajest tuleb түmekõllane*, 'siande pruunjas-kõllane' 'juniper yields a dark yellow, such a brownish yellow'; *tümepruuñ* 'dark brown', *tammekoortege tuleb түmepruuñ värm* 'oak bark yields a dark brown colour'; Trv *tumepunane* 'dark red', *tüme punatse karvaga lehm* 'a dark red cow'; Hel *tümesinine* 'dark blue', *ilus түmesinine tuleb kui muste villu manu pannass* 'you get a beautiful dark blue if you add some black wool'. In the Hargla subdialect the phrase *tümjass pruun* (cf. *tümb-*) has been recorded in the sense of 'dark brown'.

The Setu subdialect has yielded the adjective *tümm* 'swarthy' on an *ä*-stem (pl *tümmä?*) and a participial form *tümmätedü musta?* 'of a swarthy complexion [like a gipsy]'. A non-geminate stem appears in the old word Se *tümä* (p *tümmä*) for 'ink' and in the participle Vas *tümätetü, tümetet*, Se *tümätetü?* 'dirty'.

Although the primary meaning of the word *tume/tüme* is colour-associated, the adjectives are also used to characterise a dim or murky light, poor eyesight or visibility, a dull, muffled or hollow sound, a dull mind (a stupid person), etc.

In addition to the above forms, the southern area of the Võru dialect displays stem variants on the consonant cluster *-mb-*: Rõu Lut *tümbe*; Vas Se *tümbjäne*; Krl Har *tümbäss*.² Those occur either as separate words or as components of compound colour terms. E.g. Lut *tümbe hopõn* 'dark horse'; *tümbe lammass* 'dark sheep'; *tümbe ahk lammass um* 'it's a dark

² For an unexplained reason there is an analogous *-mb-* cluster in another word in Hargla. Where the literary usage has *kuum* 'hot' some South-Estonian subdialects (Kam Krl Rõu Lut) have *kumm*, g *kumma* and in Hargla we find *kumb*, g *kumma* 'hot; heat' (comparative *kummemb*, pl g, p *kumbi*; *kumma hädä* 'fever').

grey sheep'; *tümbe kõrbi hobõssit um pallo, säänest karva mõni sall ei?* 'there are many dark bay horses, some people don't like them this colour'; *tümbeverrev lihm um pümmeverrev, olõ i valss* 'a dark red cow, not light'; *tümbeverrev, pümmeverrev iks üt's* 'tümbeverrev and pümmeverrev are the same'; *tümbeverevä? bul'ba?* 'dark red potatoes'; *Vas sääntse? tümbjätse? pilve? umma? haha? pilve?* 'such darkish clouds are grey clouds'; *Se tümbjäne hal'ass ~ must'janõ hal'ass* 'dark green'; *tümbjäne sinine ~ must'janõ sinine* 'dark blue'; *Krl tümbässaha rööva* 'dark grey clothes'; *Har tümbäss verrev kutsutass kõrb* 'a dark red [horse] is called bay'; *Lut tyu musta tümbä lihm* 'that blackish cow'; *röövass ka musta tümbä iks om, söss ei olõ? koguni must, ku enämb om musta ku ahka; musta tümbä pruum* 'There is a piece of blackish cloth, of course, it is not quite black as there is more of black than of grey; blackish brown'. (Note the *ä*-stem in the Karula and Hargla examples.)

The composition of the phrase *Har musta tümbä* (~ *tümpä*) 'blackish, dark (but not quite black)' looks unusual. Normally, a partitive colour adjective takes an uninflected word *värvi*, *karva* 'of the colour' that has the form of a partitive noun and is called a parameter word. This holds for both the standard literary Estonian and the dialects (cf. *sinist värvi* 'of a blue colour', *halli karva* 'of a grey colour', *musta juhti* 'blackish' etc.) (see Oja 1997 : 15). The above case, however, assumes a noun **tümb* ~ *tümp* denoting a dark hue, a swarthy complexion, etc. True, throughout the Võru dialect there is a close-sounding noun *tümp*, *g tümbä* meaning 'blunt, edgeless'.

In Finnish dialects there are, for example, similarly constructed phrases such as *mustanlympyrä*, *-tumpura*, *-tympee* known in the sense of a 'dark or vague, not pure but a mixed black' (Koski 1983 : 317). For further comparison let it be mentioned that the Finnish equivalents of the Estonian partitive phrases such as *sinist värvi* 'of a blue colour' have the genitive case (*sinisenvärinen*). The words for dark and light are, as a rule, the first components in the Finnish terms as well, e.g. *tummanpunainen* 'dark red', *vaaleansininen* 'light blue'.

According to SKES the above words for 'dark' are Finnic descriptive words represented in Finnish by the following four main stem words: *tumea* (Est. *tume*), *tumma* (Est. *tõmmu*), *tymeä* (Est. *tüme*, *tümme*, *tümjas*) and *tympeä* (no Estonian example is given). The Finnish *tump*-words are explained as a result of the contamination of the word *tumma* and an adjective on a *tymp*-stem (SKES 1451—1452). The etymology is inspired by the vowel alternation in the first syllable. At the same time, it is not impossible that both the Finnish *tumma* and the Estonian *tume*, *tümme*, *tümbe* and *tuhm*, as well as *tõmmu* are Baltic loans (e.g. Thomsen 1931 : 394), probably originating in the Baltic **tum-* and/or *dum-*, which in the process of borrowing have in most cases been accommodated with adjectives on *eda-*.

In parallel with the word *tume* the whole Estonian area is characterised by a sporadic occurrence of the German loanword *t u n k e l* (< *dunkel* — EEW 3360): *Kse Nis Kei Jür Iis tunkel (tunkel)*; *Kuu g tunkla*; *IisR Lai g tunkla* (~ *tungla*); *Lüg Jõh IisR Vai Jäm Han VJg Nõo Kam g tunkli*; *Rei Mär Tor Rap Juu KuuK JMd Pee Kod Plt KJn Trv Hls Ran g tunkle*; *Krl Har Röp tunkõl* ~ *-l*, *g tunklõ*; *VNg tungel*, *g tungli*; *Vai tungel*, *g tungeli*; *Plv tungõl* (~ *tungõl*), *g tunklõ*; *Rõu Vas tunkli-*.

In the Tartu and Võru dialects, however, the word seems to be less domesticated. There the expected nominative form could be *tunkli* (~ -e, ~ -õ). A contamination with the word *tungel* (-õl) 'ergot' (+ the compounds *tungellpea*, -tera) is possible. The general meaning of the adjective *tunkel* refers to a neutral dark, without any additional nuances. The sphere of its use is not limited: The (relative) darkness of all kinds of objects can be referred to by *tunkel*. E.g. Kuu `servis oli `jälle `tunklamb triip [---] `tunklama sinisegä vai `pruuni vai rohelisegä säditüd 'towards the edge there was a darker stripe — done in a darker blue or brown or green'; Mär riie oo nõukse `tunkle värviga värvitud, nõuke `tunkel karb 'the cloth has been dyed with such a dark dye, such a dark colour'; Rap Et karv klantsiks ja läheks tunklemaks, sööda hoost linaseemneveega 'if you want the horse's hair to be glossy and darken, you feed him some linseed soaking water'; Pee `tunkle verega mees 'a swarthy man'; Lai tume ja `tunkel on üks 'tume and tunkel are the same'; Kam tu muld om `musta `tunklit `värvi 'that soil is black'.

The compound or the phrase *tunkel* + a colour adjective identifies the colour as belonging to the semantic fields of both of its components. Most dialect examples represent the compound *tunkelsinine* 'dark blue', but other colours can also be met: *tunkelhall* 'dark grey', *tunkelkollane* 'dark yellow', *tunkellpruun* (-pruum) 'dark brown', *tunkelroheline* (-rohilane) 'dark green'.

A lower grade of darkness is expressed by the derivative *tunklikas*. Of derivatives there are two other examples in the IEL Dialect Archives: a compound word *tunklusshakk* 'dark grey' has been reported from Hargla. At Otepää a certain red potato variety has been described as being `tunklasemb 'darker' than another. If regular, the comparative form `tunklasemb could have been derived from a *ne*-final adjective **tunklane*.

According to F. J. Wiedemann the word *tunkel* is mostly used in western Estonia and Pärnumaa (Wiedemann 1923 : 1222). In the lexical files of the IEL Dialect Archives, however, the word is relatively scarce in western Estonia, whereas central and eastern Estonia are represented much better. This seems suggestive of the eastern occurrence being, perhaps, of a more recent origin. Yet, some informants have dated the use of *tunkel* as older than that of *tume*, e.g. Jür Vanasti oli `tunkel väga moes, nüüd `ütlevad tume 'formerly *tunkel* was used quite frequently, but now they say *tume*; Ran ennembide üteldi alati `tunkel [---] perän nakati `rohkemb tumedat `ütleva 'formerly it was always *tunkel* — later *tume* came to be used more frequently'.

The primary function of the adjective *p i m e* in literary Estonian is to denote absence of light. In dialects, however, the word has also been used for a dark colour. Notably, all such reports come from the areas close to the borders of the country. The phonetic shapes are regular and the morphological paradigm is that of a typical *eða*-adjective: Jõe *pime*; Kuu *pime*, *g pimejä*; Jäm *pime*, *g pime*; Kaa n, *g püme*; Har Vas Se Lut n, *g pümme* (Lut *g pümehä*). The adjective has been used not only to describe dark clouds (they really shade off light), but also some other objects such as animals, plants and things. E.g. Kuu Nii *pimejä*d `pilved on tänä `taevas, küll siit sadu `taidab `tulla 'the clouds are so dark today, it looks like rain'; Jäm *mustad* `tuhlid, *pisised* `tuhlid, [---] `eetasse ka *pimed* `tuhlid

'black potatoes, small potatoes — it's also said "dark" potatoes'; Se *pümme põllõ?*, *nuu?* *naka* *i* *vällä nägümä* 'dark aprons [photograph] badly'; Lut *pümme hopõn*, *hiirik karv sääne*, *olõ* *i* *sassi-mmhiir*, *iibä jo pümme*, *hiirik* 'a dark horse, such a dunnish colour, not quite dun, a bit dark, dunnish'; *suurõ* *kaara?* [---] *teräl üt's ots um pümehhüp* 'big oats [---] one end of the grain is darker'. At the Lutsi enclave we also find a moderating derivative *pümehälik* 'darkish': *tümbe lammass* [---] *sääne üt'skui pümme*, *pümehälik*; *pümme lihm*, *sääne olõ* *i* *must*, *olõ* *i* *valgõ*, *sääne um pümehälik lihm* 'a dark sheep [---] sort of dark, darkish; a dark cow, well, not black, not white, that's a darkish cow'.

The compound terms with *pime* available in the files represent a more limited colour spectrum than the compounds with *tume* or *tunkel*: *pimekõrb* 'dark bay', *pimemust* 'black', *pimepruun* 'dark brown', *pimesinine* 'dark blue', *pimeverev* 'dark red'. Possibly, the semantic field of the adjective *pime* for 'dark' in colour is narrower than that of *tume*, the former meaning rather 'very dark', but the material is too scarce to enable us to draw a definite conclusion.

Other meanings of the adjective *pime* are, e.g. 'dark (skies, ages), dim (light or star), gloomy or murky (weather), obscure; blind, sightless; poorly visible; foolish; dull'.

One of the lexical peculiarities of the Võru dialect is the adjective *t i n n õ* 'dark': V n, g *tinnõ*; Lut g *tinõhla*; Se g *-õ*; Kan p *tinned*; Se p *-t*; Kan Urv Plv p *tinõ,õt*; Har Rõu p pl *tinõjid*; Krl p pl *tinõ, id*. This word may also be used to characterise colour, as well as light. Unlike *pime tinnõ* does not mean a total absence of light, but rather a dim light. A *tinnõ* colour is 'dull, an obscure tone, not a pure one'. Often the adjective has been applied to a swarthier than usual complexion of a dark-haired and brown-eyed person. In Lutsi it has also been used about a pale colourless face. A few examples: Kan *üts lat's ol' tinõjet nahka* 'one of the children was swarthyish'; Urv *ta* *m tinnõ verega?*, *ñaost sääne tinnõ* 'she is dark, with a dusky face'; Krl *tinõjid prõntse om veidü* 'there aren't many dark skirts around'; Har *ku värms* *mitmõst värmist kokku*, *tinnõ näoge sai* 'several dyes together yielded an obscure dark colour'; Plv *tinõ,õpa ñaoga* *tä kül?* *ol' ku sa?* 'she was sure darker than you are'; Rõp *om üt's tinnõ röövass*, *meil om nüüt tunkõl* 'there's a dark piece of clothing, today we say *tunkel*'; Se *mustaverelisõl inemisel omma?* *sil'mä?* *ka säändse?* *tinnõ?* 'a brunette has dark eyes too'; Lut *tinnõ um*, *olõ* *i?* *sääne vallus*. *ineminigi sääne um*, *ei valgõ ei must*, *sääne tinnõ* 'it's dark-coloured, not light or bright. A person may also be like that — neither white nor black, just dark'. The records also contain the only compound Plv *tinnõverev* 'dark red'.

Beside a dark colour and a dim light (or source of light) the adjective *tinnõ* has been used to characterise a low dull sound, a dull mind or a person.

The adjective *tinnõ* has been considered a *ne*-suffixed derivative of the noun *tina* 'tin' (Mägiste 1982 : 3176). Phonetically it resembles the Livonian *ti'nni*, *ti'nnõ* 'tinny, made of tin' (Kettunen 1938 : 422). The metal name *tina* is also known in other Finnic languages: Finnish, Livonian, Vote, Veps *tina*; Karelian, Veps *tina*; Veps *t'in* ~ *tin* < Middle German **tina* (SKES 1305). In the Võru dialect the adjective meaning 'tinny, made of tin' occurs

in the forms Kan Rõu Plv Vas *tinane*, -nõ, g -dse, -tsõ; Har *tinnanõ*, g *tinadse*; Krl *tinäni*, g -dse.

The abundance of the examples collected throughout the Võru area shows that *tinnõ* is unmistakably genuine to the dialect. The semantic variety may be explained by the absence of a precise literary equivalent. Antonymously, it may be described as 'not bright or light'. The closest literary equivalent is, perhaps, *tuhm* 'dull', which can similarly be applied to colour, light and sound.

A colour described as *t u h m* in standard literary Estonian is either 1) mat, dull, lustreless, or 2) with low intensity, not vivid, with a grey tinge. In dialects we find two variants of stem consonant cluster: *tuhm-* and *tuhn-*, explained by J. Mägiste as a typical alternation of *-hm-* ~ *-hn-* in descriptive words (Mägiste 1982 : 3325).

The use of *tuhm* (g. *tuhmi*) with colours is typical mainly of North-Estonian dialects. Hence the regular diminutive derivatives *tuhmikas* and *tuhmjas*. Beside the meanings of *tuhm* in literary Estonian, dialect usage reveals the element of darkness, e.g. Khk *tume* `tuhmjas, tükkis `selge `näuga pole mette änd 'dark, dullish, not of a clear, pure colour'; Jür `Tuhmjas on natuke `valgem kui päris tuhm 'tuhmjas is a little lighter than quite *tuhm*'; Lai *tuhm*, see on `tunkla `võitu, nagu mustemad `kirja. riie võib `olla tuhm, kui ta on pruun ehk all, ehk `pruuni `alli `kirja 'tuhm — it's darkish, a cloth with a darker sort of pattern can be *tuhm*, if it's brown or grey, or brown and grey'.

A concrete dark colour is described by such compounds as *tuhmroheline* 'dark green' and *tuhmkollane* 'dark yellow' (e.g. Juu *ta pole ilus egä ele mitte, ta on tuhm, kas tuhm rohelene ehk tuhm kollane* 'it's not bright and beautiful, it's dark, either dark green or dark yellow') and *tuhmjas punane* (e.g. Lüg `tuhmjas punane on tume punane, `riide `kõhta `üellasse 'dark red, used of a cloth').

The same root has yielded the forms `tuhmalgas, g -ka 'an unpleasant nondescript colour' recorded on the coast of Kuusalu, and the parallel forms *tuhmane* ~ *tühmäne* with their front and back vowel variation used in Kodavere. E.g. Kod *all õli kua sinakas õrn all, ei õle tühmäne all* 'the grey was a tender bluish grey, not a dark grey'; *tumeda `näoga, õige `niske tuhmane all* 'of a dark colour, such a rather dark grey'.

The word *tuhn* (g *tuhni*) in the sense of 'dark, dull, not vivid or bright' has been reported from three North-Estonian subdialects (in parallel with *tuhm*) and the Tartu dialect. E.g. Vig *mool o ergumad, ilosamad, tääl alligad ja neoksed tuhnid* 'mine are brighter and more beautiful, hers are greyish and darkish'; Sim `valgevereline oli linalakk, tumedavereline oli tuhn 'the fair one was flaxen-haired, the dark one was brunette'; Lai *kanad olid na tuhnid, üks oli `valge* 'the hens were dark, one was white'; Puh *teil om `väega tuhni `rõiva, ei ole eledä* 'your clothes are so dark, not light at all'. The diminutive form has the suffix *-jas*: *tuhnjäs* (Plt Puh `tuhnjäs, Sim Lai `tuhnjäs).

The South-Estonian *tuhnane* is an analogous derivative like *tuhmane* ~ *tühmäne* used in the Kodavere subdialect.

Tuhn ~ *tuhm* are, in addition, known to mean 'murky (weather); dim (light or star); half-blind or poorly visible; foolish; dull; blunt'.

The phonetically closest Finnish equivalents to the Estonian words *tuhm* ~ *tuhn* are the East-Finnish *tuhma*; Vote *tuhm*, *tuhmõ*; Veps *tuhm*, g -an,

-un; Karelian Olonec *tuhma*, -u; Lude *tuhm* (SKES 1376). The origin of the stem is likely to be Germanic (< Proto-Germanic **dusma*-) (SKES 1377; Hofstra 1985 : 340–341). Etymologically the word has also been associated with *tume*, *tümme*, *tümbe* ja *tõmmu* (see p. 195).

According to SKES, the Estonian word phonetically corresponding to the Finnish *tumma* 'dark' is the adjective *tõmmu* (SKES 1397). The word *tõmmu* and its derivatives are used in literary Estonian, North-Estonian dialects and the Mulgi dialect. Single reports from the Tartu dialect are also available. The phonetic variants are as follows: K I Muh, sporadically L *tõmmu* (Mar -o); Jäm Khk VII Jaa Emm Käi *tõmmu*; Lüg Jõh IisR Khn Hls Hel *tõmu*; Rei *tõmu*; Kuu *tomu*; VNg *tomu* (-mm-); Käi *temmo*. Both in the literary language and the dialects the word applies to the dark skin of humans or animals. In dialect usage the word is associated with other objects as well: e.g. Kuu *Tie suveks ka üks ehv kleit, tõised sul kaik tomud* 'you'd better make at least one bright dress for the summer, those you have are all dark'; Muh *sellel nii tõmmu vammus* 'that one has so dark a jacket'; Tõs *vana riie o nii tõmmus läin ~ tõmmus leekin* 'the old garment was so faded'; Juu *ohr lähäb tõmmuks ju, soab val'mis* 'barley's darkening, it's getting ripe'. The *ne*-suffixed adjective *tõmmune* (g -se) 'dark, sunburnt' has been registered at Jämaja.

Like the adjective *tõmmu*, its moderating derivatives apply, first and foremost, to the darkish skin of an animal or person, but parallelly also to the darkness of other objects. Of the diminutives the most widespread one is *tõmmukas*: Muh Lä Kse PJg Tor Jür HJn KuuK JMd Koe VJg I Hel Võn *tõmmukas*; Krk San -ss; Mar KJn *tõmmokas*; Jäm Khk *tõmmukas*; Lüg *tõmmukas*; Saa *tõmmugas*; VNg *tõmmulkas*, -gas; IisR Plt *tõmukas*; Rei *tõmugas*; Kuu *tomugas*.

Whether the compound suffix *-jas* is attached to a consonant stem or to a vowel stem depends on the phonetic shape of the derivation base. The geminated base occurring in some dialects yields *tõmjäs*: Muh Vig Kse Juu Jür Koe Kod *tõmjäs*; Kod Krk -ss; Jür *tõmbjas* (the *-b-* appearing between the consonants can be considered a glide). The stem containing a single nasal is the source of such diminutives as Hls *tõmujas*, Krk Ran -ss and Khn *tõmajas*, meaning exactly the same ('darkish'). Another way of expressing a lower degree of darkness lies through the compounds *tõmmupoolne*, *tõmmuvõitu* 'darkish', etc.

It became evident from the material collected that *tõmmu* does not mean exactly the same as *tume*. As pointed out above, *tume* 'dark' alone is not sufficient to express colour, whereas *tõmmu* is, at least when speaking of an animal. Throughout Estonia some dark (reddish-brown) cattle are called *Tõmmik* or *Tõmmu* (Palmeos 1955 : 101). In the case of black, however, *tõmmu* can even be an opposite to 'dark'. E.g. Jaa *See värü pole ekka east riide peale akand mette, ät riie nii tõmmuks jäänd oo. niid tä pole must äga all, niid ta muidu ühe sõhukse leekind tõmmu näoga* 'this dye has evidently not stuck well, that's why the cloth is so dusky. Now it's neither black nor grey, just a kind of a faded dusky colour'; Muh *must kooldub koa tõmmumaks* 'black may also fade into a dusky tone'; Vig *must lammäs, tä ike neoke tõmmukas, ike värmitässe ää* 'a black sheep (the wool) is sort of dusky, has got to be dyed anyway'. Most likely the semantic field of *tõmmu* includes such components as 'dark', 'grey' and 'brown'.

The fact that *tõmmu* does not mean just 'dark' is also reflected in compound colour terms. Most of them (like compounds of two colour words) have a moderating derivative as their attributive component, e.g. *tõmmukaslmust* (~ *tõmjas-*) 'darkish black', *tõmmukaslpunane* (~ *tõmjas-*) 'darkish red', *tõmmukashall* 'darkish grey', *tõmmukasroheline* 'darkish green', *tõmmukassinine* 'darkish blue'. The only dialect example with *tõmmu-* as an attributive component is Juu *tõmmupunane* 'dark red': *meil on tõmmupunane veis* 'we have a dark red cow'.

As we know, light colours can be described by providing a colour word with an attributive adjective for white or a derivative of such an adjective (see Oja 1996). Similarly, dark colours may be described by a word associated with black. Most of the compound examples have *m u s t - j a s -* 'blackish' as the attributive component, e.g. *mustjashall*, *mustjashiir*, *mustjasurm* 'dark grey', *mustjaskollane* 'dark yellow', *mustjaskõrb* 'dark bay', *mustjaslilla* 'dark purple', *mustjaspruun* (~ *-pruum*) 'dark brown', *mustjaspunane*, *mustjasverev* 'dark red', *mustjasroheline* (~ *-rohiline*) 'dark green', *mustjassinine* (~ *-sinikas*) 'dark blue'. The fact that the occurrence of *m u s t a k a s -* as the attributive component of such compounds can be explained by its limited areal distribution, not by any limitations in its valency. The examples *mustakashall*, *mustakaslilla*, *mustakaspruun*, *mustakasapunane*, *mustakasroheline*, *mustakasroosakas*, *mustakassinine*, *mustakastuhk* in which grey, purple, brown, red, green, pinkish, blue and ashen indicate a formation pattern similar to that of *mustjas*. Here it is hard to draw a semantic demarcation line between the meanings 'dark' and 'blackish' possibly expressed by the first component of such phrases. The literary usage and part of the dialect material seem to suggest that *mustjas* 'blackish' occupies the close-to-black part of the semantic field of *tume* 'dark'. E.g. *Jaa änam mustaka karvaga kõrb on mustjas kõrb* 'a darker sort of bay is a blackish bay'; *Lai must pruun on pia aegu must, siiski natukene pruuni* 'a blackish brown is almost black, with still a little brown in it'. In the literary language one would say: *Mustjaspruunid silmad, hästi tumedad peaaegu mustad* 'blackish brown eyes — quite dark, almost black'. *Tahtsin tumerohelist, aga värvi sai palju, tuli niisugune mustjasroheline* 'I wanted a dark green, but adding too much of the dye I got such a blackish green'. *Nüüd, õhtul paistab mustjas, aga päevavalges on ilus tumesinine* 'Now, in the evening it looks black, but in the daylight it is a beautiful dark blue'.

Just darkness (not so much blackishness) of a colour seems to be conveyed by the South-East Estonian attributive components *mustjane-*: Se *tümbjäne hal'ass* ~ *mustjanõ hal'ass* 'dark green'; Se *mustjanõ mara* 'naolinõ' 'purple, lit. dark pink' [*marä* 'naolinõ' 'pink']; Plv *tsiavabõrna?* [---] *niä umma säändse mustjadse-verevä* 'brambles — these are such dark red'.

Separately used diminutive derivatives of the stem *must* denote a dark grey or just a dark colour close to black.

Although the normal meaning of the adjective *m u s t* is just an extreme end of the achromatic scale, i.e. absolutely dark or black, the word has also been used for a relative darkness of certain objects, e.g. *Jõh Aige inimese kõhta üaldi näust must* 'a sick person was said to be dark in the face'; *Hää Sij mis si kiudlene pikk must on, sij on taluliha* 'that stringy and long dark part is called lean'; *Pee nüid ei taha saiaagi süia kui mus-*

ta jahust on 'now even whitebread doesn't taste well, if it's made of darker flour'; *Ran tumedad ehk mustat* [silmad], *tuu käib ütte* 'dark or black [eyes], that's the same'; *Se `rikka mehe rat'til omma valusaba tähe?*, *`vaese mehe rat'til mustõba* 'Ursa Major (lit. 'rich man's cart') has brighter stars, Ursa Minor (lit. 'poor man's cart') has darker ones'. A dark-skinned, brunette person may also be characterised as being *mustavereline* (~ *-verine*), *musta verd*, *musta juhti*, *musta vuhti*.

On the one hand, the situation is indicative of an abstraction typical of many languages in which the opposition of the darker versus lighter colours is expressed by means of the terms black and white (see Koski 1997 : 108—109). On the other hand, *must* 'black' as the adjective denoting the maximum darkness on the achromatic scale enables the user to emphasise the intensity of the dark quality of a colour, while this can be done in the absolute sense of 'very dark', as well as in the relative sense of 'considerably darker than usual'.

To sum up, all adjectives discussed above can be divided into three semantic groups: 1) words used to describe only (or mainly) the darkness of colours (*tume*, *tunkel*, *pime*); 2) words expressing the absence of brightness, accompanying the dark quality of a colour (*tinnõ*, *tuhm*); 3) words occurring both as separate colour terms and as attributes denoting darkness (*tõmmu*, *must*).

1. *tume*, *tunkel*, *pime*. Of those three, *tume* (eL ~ *tüme*, *tümme*, *tümbe*) 'dark' is the most widespread and the most frequent word, having the most universal sphere of application and the most neutral meaning. The adjective *tunkel* (Har *tunkluss*) is used less frequently, but it still occurs both in the literary language and in all dialects. According to some informants the word *tunkel* is semantically more limited, being the word for just a very dark colour or else for a vague, indistinct colour (e.g. *Jür Tunkel all on `ästi tumeda varjundiga*, *pia `aegu must* 'dark grey (called *tunkelhall*) has a quite dark hue, nearly black'). The adjective *pime* (V *pümme*), usually meaning absence of light, is known to mean 'dark' or 'very dark' just in a few sub-dialects spoken near the Estonian border.

2. *tinnõ*, *tuhm*. Wherever the Võru dialect is spoken the adjective *tinnõ* is used in the sense of 'a dull colour with a grey admixture'. In addition the word is used to characterise insufficient light and poor visibility, a dim sound and even a dull mind. The word *tuhm* (~ *tuhmane*) ~ *tuhn* (~ *tuh-nane*) used in the rest of dialects, as well as in the literary language, serves only as a partial equivalent of *tinnõ* its basic meaning being 'dim, lustreless', in dialects also 'dark'. In the Võru dialect, however, the word *tuhm* is rare and is never used of colours.

3. *tõmmu*, *must*. Unlike the above words, the adjective *tõmmu*, usually denoting darkness, can also occur separately as a colour term. Usually *tõmmu* refers to a darker than average (often brownish or greyish) colour of human or animal skin. The word occurs sporadically throughout Estonia except the Võru dialect. Diminutive suffixed derivatives *mustjas*, *mustakas* and *mustjane* of the word *must* 'black' are known everywhere. Here the meanings of 'blackish' and 'dark' are often hard to distinguish. The root word *must* in the sense of 'dark' is used either to emphasise a colour that is unusually dark for a certain object, or to point out that the object referred to represents the darker half of the light/dark opposition.

In parallel with the above adjectives their suffixed diminutive derivatives such as *tumekas*, *tümbjäne*, *tunklikas*, *pümehälik*, *tõmmukas*, etc. are used.

An especially dark colour is sometimes referred to either by a simultaneous use of several semantically close words (e.g. Krk *os₋ta seant`mustjasep`tunkel tullu* 'it would have turned out such a darker (lit. 'blackish dark') tone'; Kam *tu muld om`musta`tunklit`värvi* 'that soil is very dark'), or by adding an intensifying adverb (e.g. Lut *kõvastõ must* lit. 'strongly black'). A particular intensity of a black colour is emphasised by means of such compounds as Kaa *tumemust* or *pümemust*, Har Vas Lut *pümmemust* 'dark + black'.

In the function of an attributive component of a compound or phrasal colour term the adjectives denoting lightness or darkness usually occur in the nominative singular form. At that they need not always form a compound or a tightly bound phrasal unit, in which case they may be subject to government in case, number, and degree of comparison. E.g. Vai *konnad on`tungelid`pruunid* 'frogs are dark brown' (number); Aud *kamaratega värmiti, need`antsid`seokest tumedad rohelist`väl'la* 'heather was used in dyeing, that yielded such a dark green' (case); Kam *savikud, meerikidest`tunklemba verevämbä,`valge ihuga`savikud* [variety of potatoes] was a darker red than the *meerike* [variety of potatoes], and white under the skin' (comparison).

In many languages the darkness of a colour and the absence of light (like luminosity and lightness of colour) is expressed by one and the same word (see, e.g. Buck 1996 : 61 and 1052). Such correspondence also occurs in Estonian (see *pime*, *tinnõ*, *tuhm*). In cognate languages relationship appears even more clearly. In other Finnic languages the notion of 'dark without (sufficient) light', for example, is expressed by an adjective coming from the same root as the Estonian *pime* (e.g. the Finnish *pimeä*; Veps and Lude *pimed*; Karelian Olonec *pimie*, *pimiä*, *pimei*; Livonian *pi'mdõ*, *pi'm-di*). In addition the word is used to characterise dark colours in some Estonian dialects and in the Olonec dialect of Karelian (SKES 566—567). The Estonian word *tume* that primarily serves to characterise colours is also used to describe murkiness, cloudy weather and poor visibility. The Finnish and Olonec dialect words of the same stem (Finnish *tumea*; Karelian Olonec *tumie*, *tumei*) are used in the senses of 'murky, cloudy, dark' (SKES 1395). The Finnish *tymeä*, the phonetic equivalent of the South-Estonian *tüme*, is also used to characterise the darkness of colours and weather (SKES 1451).

From a comparison with the other meanings of the above adjectives we can say that, beside the absence of light (and poor vision or visibility), the same words are time and again used to refer to a dull, hollow sound; a dull, stupid or slow-witted person; a blunt or edgeless tool.

Abbreviations

Estonian dialects: **Aud** — Audru; **eL** — South-Estonian dialects; **Emm** — Emmaste; **eP** — North-Estonian dialects; **Han** — Hanila; **Har** — Hargla; **Hel** — Helme; **Hjn** — Harju-Jaani; **Hls** — Halliste; **Hää** — Häädemeeste; **I** — Eastern dialect; **Iis** — Iisaku; **IisR** — Iisaku (Coastal dialect); **Jaa** — Jaani; **JMd** — Järva-Madise; **Juu** — Juuru; **Jõe** — Jõelähtme; **Jõh** — Jõhvi; **Jäm** — Jämaja; **Jür** — Jüri; **K** — Central dialect;

Kaa — Kaarma; **Kad** — Kadrina; **Kam** — Kambja; **Kan** — Kanepi; **Kei** — Keila; **Khk** — Kihelkonna; **Khn** — Kihnu; **KJn** — Kolga-Jaani; **Kod** — Kodavere; **Koe** — Koeru; **Krk** — Karksi; **Krl** — Karula; **Kse** — Karuse; **Kuu** — Kuusalu; **Kuuk** — Kuusalu (Central dialect); **Kõp** — Kõpu; **Käi** — Käina; **L** — Western dialect; **Lai** — Laiuse; **LNg** — Lääne-Nigula; **Lut** — Lutsi; **Lä** — Läänemaa; **Lüg** — Lüganuse; **M** — Mulgi dialect; **Mar** — Martna; **Muh** — Muhu; **Mär** — Märjamaa; **Nis** — Nissi; **Nõo** — Nõo; **Ote** — Otepää; **Pee** — Peetri; **PJg** — Pärnu-Jaagupi; **Plt** — Põltsamaa; **Plv** — Põlva; **Pst** — Paistu; **Puh** — Puhja; **R** — Coastal dialect; **Ran** — Rannu; **Rap** — Rapla; **Rei** — Reigi; **Rõu** — Rõuge; **Räp** — Räpina; **S** — Island dialect; **Saa** — Saarde; **San** — Sangaste; **Se** — Setu; **Sim** — Simuna; **T** — Tartu dialect; **Tor** — Tori; **Trv** — Tarvastu; **Tõs** — Tõstamaa; **Urv** — Urvaste; **V** — Võru dialect; **Vai** — Vaivara; **Vas** — Vastseliina; **Vig** — Vigala; **VJg** — Viru-Jaagupi; **VII** — Valjala; **VNg** — Viru-Nigula; **Võn** — Võnnu.

g — genitive; **n** — nominative; **p** — partitive; **pl** — plural.

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ВИЛЬЯ ОЯ (Таллинн)

ПРИЛАГАТЕЛЬНЫЕ СО ЗНАЧЕНИЕМ ТЕМНОТЫ ЦВЕТА В ЭСТОНСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ

Для передачи темного цвета как в эстонском литературном языке, так и в эстонских диалектах используются в основном сложные слова или словосочетания, первый компонент которых является прилагательным со значением 'темный'. В семантическом аспекте эти прилагательные можно разделить на три группы.

1. Слова, которые характеризуют только (или в основном) темноту цвета: *tume* 'темный', *tunkel* 'мрачный, темный', *pime* 'темный, слепой'. Среди них наиболее распространенное территориально и чаще других употребляемое, в то же время самое универсальное по сферам использования и наиболее нейтральное семан-

тически — это *tume* (эстЮ ~ *tüme, tümme, tümbe*). Прилагательное *tunkel* (в Харгла *tunkluss*) употребляется реже, но известно как в литературном языке, так и во всех диалектах. В повседневном языке обозначающее отсутствие света *pime* (в вырусском диалекте *pümme*) в значении 'темный или очень темный' употребляется лишь в некоторых говорах пограничных территорий Эстонии.

2. Слова, передающие отсутствие яркости цвета и одновременно темный его оттенок: *tinnõ, tuhm*. В вырусском диалекте повсеместно известно прилагательное *tinnõ* в значении 'темный, блеклый, сероватый'. Необходимо отметить, что в этом диалекте с помощью данного слова обозначаются такие понятия, как недостаток освещения и видимости, глухой звук и слабоумие. В других диалектах и литературном языке ему соответствует отчасти *tuhm* (~ *tuhmane*) ~ *tuhn* (~ *tuhnane*), основное значение которого 'тусклый, расплывчатый, мутный', в соседних с вырусским диалектах, кроме того, 'темный'. Слово *tuhm* в вырусском диалекте встречается редко и цвета не характеризует.

3. Слова, которые употребляются и как самостоятельное обозначение цвета, и в значении 'темный': *tõmmu* 'смуглый', *must* 'черный'. Прилагательное *tõmmu* sporadически фиксировалось по всей территории Эстонии, за исключением ареала вырусского диалекта. Особенно часто этим словом обозначается темнее обычного (часто коричневатый или сероватый) цвет кожи человека или животного. По всей языковой территории встречаются производные от обозначения цвета *must* с демуниативными суффиксами (*mustjas, mustakas, mustjane*). Значения 'черноватый' и 'темный' при этом часто трудно различить. Корневое слово *must* вместо *tume* подчеркивает гораздо более темную по сравнению с обычной окраску объекта или указывает, что в оппозиции 'темный—светлый' объект представляет более «темную сторону».

Параллельно с указанными прилагательными употребляются и такие их производные с демуниативными суффиксами, как *tumekas, tumbjäne, tunklikas, püme-hälik, tõmmukas* и т. д.