

Zbigniew RUSEK

Kraków, Polska

THE NAMES FOR THE COLOUR RED IN THE BULGARIAN DIALECTS

Названия за червен цвят в българските диалекти

В статията се разглеждат откъм произход, словообразователен строеж, семантика, фонетично вариране в българските народни говори и териториално разпространение на названията на различните варианти на червения цвят (*червен, ален, кръвен, брожден, винен, руен, огнен, багрен, кърмъзен, пембен* и мн. др.) върху материал от Архива за български идеологичен речник при Катедрата за български език на в СУ „Св. Климент Охридски“.

Ключови думи: словообразователен вариант, фонетичен вариант, семантична промяна.

Colour differentiation is one of the features characterising the human eyesight; the colour-blind are regarded as suffering from a serious disability, and debarred from working in some professions. However, we don't all perceive colour in the same way, as reflected by the great diversity of names for colours in different languages. The names for the colours in many cases originate from the names of things (substances) which are characterised by the specific colour, like Polish *bordo* 'maroon' (the colour of Bordeaux, the red wine), *popielaty* '(ash)grey' (adjective, derived from the noun *popiół* 'ash'); Bulgarian *кафяв* 'brown' (literally: the colour of coffee), a calque from Turkish *kahverengi* < *kahve* 'coffee' + *rengi* 'colour,' and many others. The subject of this paper are the names for the colour red and shades of red in the dialects of Bulgarian. My paper is based on material from the Archive of the ideographic dictionary of Bulgarian, in the Chair of Bulgarian at the University of St. Kliment Ohridsky in Sofia.

Normally, the Bulgarian standard language uses the name *червен* 'red,' which is a common Slavonic word, cf. Polish *czerwony*, Czech *červený*, Serbo-Croatian *crven*, *crvljen*, Ukrainian *червеній*, *червоній*. From the grammatical point of view, this name is an adjective (originally the past participle of the verb **сървити*, **сървлѣ*) 'to dye with kermes (obtained from the kermes ilices insect),' thus the original meaning is 'dyed with kermes.'¹ This name, and its phonetic variants *чървен*, *чарвен*, *чирвен*, is the most widespread in the Bulgarian dialects. It is known in the following places:

1. Variant *червен*: Лозен (region of Sofia), Чука желегозие (Костурско – Greek Macedonia), Вишовград, Тръстеник (Плевенско), Ихтиманско, Кочово (Преславско), Смоляновци (Монтанско), Върбина (Смолянско), Русенско, Дерманци (Ловешко), Драганово (Горнооряховско), Съчанли (Гюмюрджинско – South Thrace – on the territory of Greece);

2. Variant *чървен*: Мечка (Никополско), Момина баня (Карловско), Враца, Гол. Шивачево (Сливенско), Русокастро (Бургаско), Черна гора (Чирпанско), Црънча (Пазарджишко), Росен (Бургаско), Синитово (Пазарджишко), Голинци (Ломско), Асеново (Плевенско), Ново село (Троянско), Голец (Ловешко), Костурско (South Macedonia – on the territory of Greece), Смоляновци (Монтанско), Стрезимировци (Трънско), Станчево, Курило (Софийско), Хърсово (Мелнишко), Корница (Благоевградско), Дупнишко, Завой (Ямболско), Исперихово (Пазарджишко), Василовци (Ломско), Дряново, Карнобат;

3. Variant *чарвен*: Момково (Свиленградско), Чакали (Еленско), Крислово (Пловдивско);

4. Variant *чарвен*: Драганово (Сливенско), Ново село (Русенско), Шишковци (Еленско);

5. Variant *чирвен*: Момково (Свиленградско), Виноград (Великотърновско), Преславен (Старозагорско), Извор (Разградско);

6. Variant *чрен*: Гранитово (Белоградчишко).

This name also occurs in modified phonetic forms like *чоан*, which is observed in the following places: Малорад (Оряховско), Стубел (Монтанско), Миланово, Голямо Бабино (suburbs of Sofia), Хайредин (Врачанско).

¹ See: Franciszek Sławski, *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*, Vol. I, Kraków, 1952-56, p. 119-120.

Nevertheless, the most widespread adjective for the colour 'red' is a form characterised by Serbian phonetics: *цървен*. Since it occurs on almost the entire territory of Bulgaria (especially in the western part of the country, but also in the east, for instance in the district of Targovište), its detailed localisation will be neither discussed nor mapped in this article.

The prefixal formation *възчервен* meaning 'pale red' has been observed in the following places: Айдемир (Силистренско), Паскалевец (Павликенско). The same adjective, but meaning 'dark red' is documented for Тръстеник (Плевенско), Чакали (Еленско). The latter has been recorded in the Archive as *въсчарвѐн*.

The name (adjective) *червеникаф* (which in the standard Bulgarian means 'russet-red' and is written *червеникав*) is found in the district of Kostur (Southern Macedonia, on the territory of Greece), in the districts of Ichtiman, Vraca, Troyan and in the following places: Якоруда (Разложко), Брезник, Тръстеник (Плевенско), Искрец (Софийско). This name is observed in Тихомирово (Старозагорско) in the phonetic form *чървеникъф*, and in Конци (Старозагорско) in the form *цървеникъф*. *Червеникав* is a derivative from *червен*, created by the suffix *-икав*, which derives adjectives from another adjectives and enriches the deep structure of the derivative by a semantic component meaning 'minor intensity'².

The name *чирвиникъор*, observed only in Робово (Ямболско) is not a typical formation, formed by the suffix *-икъор* which is unknown in standard Bulgarian (this suffix is not recorded by the Authors of Граматика на българския език).

The names *червенак* and *цръвл'иф* occur in isolated points: the former in Черногорово (Пазардж.), the latter in Гюешево (Кюстендилско). As regards the derivational structure of the word *червенак*, it is the derivative from the basic adjective *червен*, created by the suffix *-ак*. Normally in Bulgarian, this suffix gives rise to nouns (from the adjectival, numeral, verbal and nominal stems), but not adjectives, thus from the morphological point of view this formation is a noun (but functions as an adjective).

The adjective *цръвл'иф* is formed by the productive suffix *-лив*, which creates adjectives from verbal and nominal stems in standard Bulgarian. It is

² See. Граматика на българския книжовен език, т. II Морфология, София 1983, p. 152.

clear that the derivational base of this name is *црѣв* ‘worm’, and the phonetic form (presence of the syllabic *r* and the consonant *c*) indicates the Serbian origin of the derivational base, which is not a surprise in view of the location (western Bulgaria, near the border with Serbia).

Alongside the names for ‘red’ described above, the Bulgarian dialects are characterised by a variety of names for this colour created from other derivational bases. The most frequent are the names for ‘red’ derived from the noun *крѣв* ‘blood’ by association with the colour of blood. This adjective is noticed in the following phonetic variants:

1. *крѣвен* in: the districts of Sofia and in the following places: Врабево (Ловешко), Ясна поляна (Бургаско), Бракница (Поповско), Елена, Кошуш, Брестовица (the last two places are in the district of Plovdiv);
2. *кревен* Стубел (Монтанско);
3. *карвен*: the Rhodopes;
4. *кравѣн* (Оряховско);
5. *кравен*: Калугерово (Пазарджишко).

A shortened name *крѣн* has been recorded in the industrial town Kremikovci (near Sofia).

The names *брожден* in the district of Strandŭ a and *брождав* in Момино (Варненско) are semantically connected with ‘blood’, but it is a distant relationship. These adjectives has been derived from the noun *брожд* ‘the madder plant’ (*Rubia tinctoria*) by the suffixes *-ен* // *-ав*. This name has equivalents in other Slavonic languages, cf. Serbo-Croatian *broć*, Ukrainian *бріч* ‘to dye red’ and the Polish verb *broczyć* ‘to bleed, to flow (of blood)’. This name (according to BER) does not have a well-defined etymology³. In the western part of Bulgaria in Гърляно (Кюстендилско) this name has been observed in the phonetic form *брок* used with the preposition: *у брок* ‘very dark red’. This phonetic form indicates the influence of Macedonian, where the Common Slavic *tj* develops into *ќ* (in Bulgarian *ц*).

The name *винен* ‘red, the color of red wine’ has been recorded only for one place: Плоча (Босилеградско – in Serbia). This name originates from noun *вино* ‘wine’. Another name of the ‘red’ used only in the context of wine is *руен*, observed in Русаля (Великотърновско). This name (in the phonetic variant

³ See my paper: Названията за кафяв цвят в българските говори [in:] Български език, год. XLVIII/1999/2000, кн. 4-5, с. 144.

руин) also occurs in Elena (near Veliko Tarnovo). In standard Bulgarian this name is used only in the phrase *руйно вино* 'good, clear red wine'. Nevertheless, the adjective *руен* is observed in Български етимологичен речник with the following meanings: 1. 'yellow-red', 2. 'ripening' (of a ripening broad bean). The word comes from Common Slavic **rujny* and this one from **rujъ* 'Royal Purple' (the smoketree, *Rhus cotinus*, a plant the leaves of which are added to wine to improve the red colour), thus *руйно вино* is 'a good red wine'⁴.

Another adjective meaning 'red' (more exactly, the dark red colour of wine) based on the name of French Bordeaux, is *буродово* 'Bordeaux red, claret,' occurs in Манастирище (Оряховско).

Another name for 'red,' based on similarity to its designate, is *пипераф*, observed in Кономлади (Благоевградско). This adjective is derived from the noun *пипер* 'red pepper' by the adjective-forming suffix *-ав*. Thus, the meaning is 'the colour of red pepper'.

The name *аракосан*, observed in Българене (Ловешко) is also based on the color of its designate, the aromatic alcoholic drink arrack (the name is also observed in the phonetic variant *ъръкосън* in Кръвеник [Севлиево]). The derivative structure of this adjective is difficult. The suffix *-осан* is not listed in Граматика на българския книжовен език (т. II Морфология, София 1983), hence this adjective should be treated as the past participle from the verb *аракоса* 'to saturate with arrack' thus the meaning of the formation is 'arrack-coloured'. Actually, arrack is not red, but a russet-gold colour, which may indicate that the primitive peoples inhabiting the Balkan peninsula, were not very accurate about colour discrimination.

The name *бозен* 'red' (only on the colour of wool), observed in Светлен (Поповско) may be another vestige of the Proto-Bulgarians' not very accurate colour differentiation. It is the adjective, created from the noun *боза* 'a millet drink' by the productive suffix *-ен*. Nevertheless, this drink is not red, but has a beige colour (something between the colour of cocoa and coffee with milk), thus the presence of this formation in the files of names of 'red' is surprising.

Another name, based on the colour of its designate is *жужер* 'deep red', occurring in: Черногорско (Разложко), Панагюрско. This name is in a noun form (though usually adjectives are used as the names of colours), which in

⁴ See: Български етимологичен речник, ред. Мария Рачева, Тодор Тодоров, София 2002, т. 6, s. 337, 340 (further BER).

dialects means ‘cicada, cicada orni’ (in standard Bulgarian the word for the cicada is *жътвар*). As I am not a biologist, I cannot confirm the colour of this designate, which is represented by a black-and white diagram in the Polish encyclopaedia *Wielka encyklopedia powszechna*. This name is also observed in the phonetic form *жужен* from the name of the same insect if form *жужел* (with the same suffix).

The name *суровен*, recorded for the area around Пещера (Радомирско) is also based on similarity to the colour of its designate – raw meat (especially beef), which is red. This adjective is derived from another adjective *суров* ‘raw’.

The name *огнен* ‘deep red’, observed in Величково (Пазарджишко) arose by association with the colour of a phenomenon. It comes from the noun *огън* ‘fire’ (the colour of fire is close to red), and it is from the Common Slavic **огънь* and has equivalents in Indo-European languages, for instance; Latin *ignis*, Sanscr. *agni-*, Germanic: Old High German *ovan*, German *ofen*, English, Dutch *oven*, Old Islandish, Norwegian *ogn*, Swedish *ugn*⁵.

In particular places there are occurrences of names for ‘red’ or shades of red like *румяно* (in: Дебелец [Великотърновско]), which comes from *<*ruměнь*⁶ ← **rudь* (the latter word has a Germanic origin, comp: German *rot*, Swedish *röd*, English *red*).

There are records for two places, Ормутажко and Ботевград, of the Common Slavonic name *риж* ← **rudь* ← Ie. **rudios*⁷.

The adjective *индинен*, recorded in Червена вода is quite unexpected as the name for ‘red’. It comes from the Greek *ινδικον* ‘indigo’ a bluish-purple colour. The reason for the change of meaning in this local dialect is unknown.

Another name meaning ‘dark red’, recorded for the town Котел, is *багър*. This name comes from Old Church-Slavonic *вѣръръ* ‘red, purple colour’. This adjective is unknown in standard Bulgarian, but there is a noun *багра* ‘colour, pigment (especially red)’ and a verb *багря* ‘to dye, to paint red’ (other meanings occur in regional dialects). It comes from Ie. **bhógh-ro* ‘to soak, to wet’⁸ (the later development of the meaning: ‘to soak in pigment, to dye’). In the standard

⁵ See: A. Bańkowski, *Etymologiczny słownik języka polskiego*, vol. 2, Warszawa 2000, and Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, 23. Auflage, 1999, p. 597.

⁶ The word *rumiany* ‘red’ also occurs in Polish.

⁷ See: BER, vol. 6, p. 252.

⁸ See: BER, red. В. Георгиев, vol. 1, София 1971, p. 24 - 25.

Bulgarian there is an adjective *багрен* 'red, dark red, purple' (in the form of the past participle of the verb *багря*).

The name *шарен* means 'colourful, gaudy' in standard Bulgarian. At Неделино (Маданско) in the Rodopes this name has been recorded meaning 'bright-red'. Thus, it is regarded as a modification of the meaning, from 'colourful, gaudy' to the name for a specific colour, 'bright-red'. Red (especially bright red) is one of the brightest colours hence the meaning 'colourful' and 'red' may be expressed by the same word.

Another word recorded in the Archive of the ideographic dictionary for the same place is *шѐлѐн*, the origin of which is not certain. It is probably a loan from Turkish, from Tur. *şelēl* 'stain', and the shift of meaning from 'pied, spotted, gaudy' to 'red' effected in the same way as for *шарен*. The word *шарлах* has been recorded for 'red' in Гърляно (Кюстендилско). It comes from *шар* 'colour, paint, stain', however the suffix *-лах* is unknown in standard Bulgarian. In some places, like Черна гора (Чирпанско), Яворово (Старозагорско), Пазарджишко, Сърница (Доспатско), Малко Търново, Зелениково (Пловдивско) this name is observed in the form *шалаф* (*шалѐф*), without the consonant *r*.

The adjective *ален* 'red', recorded for Якоруда, Лява река (Старозагорско), Инзово (Ямболско), Диканя (Радомирско) comes from Turkish *al*, but is created by the productive Bulgarian (or more generally Slavonic) suffix *-ен*. There is a record for the district of Pernik and for Зелениград (Трънско) of the name *алав*, derived from the same root by the productive suffix *-ав*. The adjective *алданов*, the origin of which is difficult to explain, has been recorded for Шишковци (Кюстендилско).

The adjective *кърмъзен* recorded for Памукчии (Старозагорско, Шуменско), Свиленград (Хасковско), Голинци (Ломско), Драгоево (Преславско), Каспичан (Новопазарско), Габрово (in variant *къмъзен* in Марково (Шуменско), Драгоево (Преславско) also has a Turkish provenience. It comes from Turkish *kırmızı* 'carmine red' and is derived by the suffix *-ен*. *Кърмъзов*, originating from the same stem but derived by the suffix *-ов*, is recorded for Калофер (Central Bulgaria, in the Central Balkan Dialect) for 'red'. An adjective derived from this stem *кармазунowy* is also known in Polish. Another name with a Turkish provenience is *бакърлив*, recorded for the district of Samokov. It is derived from the Turkish *bakır* 'copper', by the productive Bulgarian suffix *-лив*.

Another Oriental word, which often occurs in Bulgarian local dialects is *нембян* (and its phonetic variants). It has been observed in the following places:

1. In its basic form – *нембян*: Върбица (Преславско), Аврен (Варненско), Винаца и Градина (Пловдивско), Пешачници (Трънско), Войнежа (Великотърновско), Левски (Варненско), Милославци (Трънско), Мерицлери (Хасковско), Калипетрово (Силистренско), Разград, Българене (Ловешко).

2. In the following phonetic variants:

a): *нимбян*: Енина (Казанлъшко),

b): *нимбяну*: Гешаново (Добричко),

c): *нембân*: Кривня (Разградско), Перник,

d): *немпян*: Райковска м. (Троянско),

e): *пѐмбѐн*: Смолян,

f): *бимбен*: Воден (Елховско), district of Sofia, Скобелево (Сливенско), Калиманица (Берковско),

g): *бембен*: Малорад (Оряховско), Калиманица (Берковско),

h): *бимбян*: Асеново (Великотърновско).

This name comes from uninflected adjectival form *нембѐ* (also functioning as a noun) ‘deep pink, pale red’, ‘the wild columbine plant *Thalictrum aquilegiae*’, which is a loan from Turkish *pembe* (the same meaning), from Turkish *penbe* ‘cotton’ and the Turkish word from Persian *pānbā* ‘cotton’⁹ (Škaljić explains the meaning of Turkish *pembe* as ‘pink’). The phonetic variants concerning sonorosity // sonorousness can be explained by the assimilation in Bulgarian of $p - b > b - b$ and $p - b > b - b$.

The formation *бимбилен*, created with the suffix *-илен* has been observed in Яково (Костурско – in Greek Macedonia), and another record for the same place is the compound-word *зултембиен* which consist of *зул* ‘rose’ (borrowed from Turkish *gül* ‘rose’ which comes from Persian *gul* ‘rose’) + *нембен*. In Васил Левски (Пловдивско) this name occurs with the suffix *-ав* (*нимпяв*). There is a record for the Хърсово area of the name *нембелѐен*, and *бембел ѝан* for Стубел (Монганско).

⁹ This word is also noticed in Serbo-Croatian: *pēnbe*, *penbelija*, rum. *pembe*, *penbeu*, Romanian *pembé*, and it may be acknowledged as lexical Balkanism (see: BER, vol. 5, Sofia 1999, p. 145.).

The name *гюнгейлен* meaning ‘russet-red’ undoubtedly has a Turkish provenience, but it is difficult to establish the word-source. The etymological dictionary of Bulgarian (BER) does not have an entry for this word. It originates probably from the Turkish compound word *gün* ‘sun’ + *gel-* ‘go, come, follow’, and therefore the meaning can be explained as ‘the colour of the rising sun’¹⁰. This name has been observed in Елешница (Разложко) and in the phonetic variant *гунгелиен* in Поляновци (Панагюрско) where the meaning is precisely ‘red’.

Another Oriental name for ‘red’, *турунцев* has been recorded in Расово (Ломско). This word comes from Turkish *turunçu* ‘orange (colour)’, which in turn comes from *turunç*, *-cu* ‘a type of bitter orange’ (and is created in Bulgarian by the suffix *-ев*). In this case there is a modification of meaning – the shift of sense to another colour, because ‘orange’ and ‘red’ are different colours (though some orange varieties have deep red pulp). The name *турунчан* ‘dark red’, differing from *турунцев* by the suffix *-ан* (instead of *-ев*) and by the sonorousness of the vowel, has been recorded for the area of Неделино (Царибродско) beyond the borders of Bulgaria (in Serbia).

The name *римизан* ‘red, russet-red, crimson’, observed in many places, viz. Троян, Брабево (Ловешко), Градница (Севлиевско), Абланица (Ловешко), Сенник, Кръвеник (Севлиевско), Българене (Ловешко), has also an Oriental origin. This word has also been entered in Stefan Ilchev’s dictionary of rare, archaic and dialectal words¹¹. This dictionary cites the following forms: *хримис* and *хримизен* in the following meanings: ‘purple’, ‘orange-red’. It points out that this adjective also exists in Serbo-Croatian (in the forms *grimiz*, *grimizan*). According to P. Skok, this word derives from Turkish *kırmızı* ‘crimson red’, which in turn comes from Arabic *qermasi* (occurring in Serbo-Croatian in the 18th century as *kr̃mizan*)¹². The loss of the initial consonant shows that originally it must have been the consonant *ch*, which disappears in many of the Bulgarian dialects (and – obviously – in Macedonian, and often in Serbian).

Another name for ‘red,’ found in Начево (Царибродско – beyond the borders of Bulgaria) is *дуз*. This word is difficult to explain. It seems to have a

¹⁰ Explained by the author of this article.

¹¹ Речник на редки, остарели и диалектни думи в литературата ни од XIX и XX век, София 1974, p. 549.

¹² See: P. Skok, Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili sprskoga jezika, vol. I, Zagreb 1971, p. 618.

Turkish equivalent *düz*, but it is impossible to be sure that this Bulgarian dialectal name originally stems from this Turkish word, because of the considerable semantic distance. Namely, this adjective means ‘homogeneous’, ‘monochromatic’. In his monograph A. Škaljić lists the word *düz* ‘homogenous, moderated’, but he also has the Turkish derivative *düzen* ‘lipstick (and other ladies’ cosmetics)’, which may be evidence that this Bulgarian dialectal word originally came from Turkish, as lipstick is usually a homogeneous shade of red.

Another word for ‘red’ included in the Archive of the ideographic dictionary is *допиецт*, which is encountered in the district of Tran (there is a remark that it concerns only the colour of a horse). Probably it concerns a sorrel horse (in Polish *cisawy*) – a pale red, but not quite red. This word (in the uninflected form *допия*) also has an entry in the dictionary of rare, archaic and dialectal words¹³, which says that this word comes from Turkish *doru* ‘dark red (of a horse)’¹⁴.

The adjective *тендерис* ‘red’, found in Драганово (Горнооряховско) according to the Archive of the ideographic dictionary, is also an Oriental loan, from Turkish *tencere* ‘copper pot’. In Standard Bulgarian the usual for this is the noun *тенджеря* ‘pot’ (pots traditionally were made of copper), hence the name of ‘red’ is based on similarity to the colour of copper, which is close to red (russet red).

The presence of the adjective *пои* ‘red’ in the district of Kostur (Greek-Macedonia, the southernmost Macedonian dialect) is a little surprise for me. This name has been borrowed from Romanian *roșu* ‘red’, which is not listed in BER, but Greek Macedonia has not border with Romania. The Aromanian dialects (Southern Macedonia) may be a source of this name.

It is well-known in Slavonic linguistics that Bulgarian has borrowed a large part of its vocabulary from Russian, but it applies only to standard (literary) Bulgarian. Nevertheless, the adjective *красен* appears in one regional dialect (Селановци [Врачанско]), borrowed directly from Russian *красный* (adjectives in Bulgarian occur in a simple, short form, but in a compound, long form in Russian).

Some names of ‘red’ are encountered on such a small area that they are present only in part of just one town, for example *еребат*, which occurs only in

¹³ Речник на редки, остарели и диалектни думи в литературата ни от XIX и XX век, София 1974, p. 113.

¹⁴ It is explanation by *Türkçe-bulgarca sözlük* (Турско-български речник), София 1982, p. 112.

one quarter of the city of Lom (according to the Archive). In standard Bulgarian this word applies only to hens and mean ‘spotty hen’ (a dark grey hen with white spots). This name goes back to Common Slavic **erębь*, **erębь* ‘hazel hen’ (cf. Polish *jarząbek*), and is derived by the suffix *-am*.

The name *ригест* occurs in Гостиля (Плевенско), but is not entered in BER. This word probably comes from the name of the plant (herb) ‘Origanum vulgare (oregano) – Bulgarian *риган* (*риген*, *рига*), which in turn comes from modern Greek ρίγανη (oregano).

The presence of the adjective *плав* as a name for ‘red’ (occurring in: Ярославци [Пернишко], Конска [Брезнишко], Градница [Севлиевско], Абланица [Ловешко], Богданово (Сливенско), Радуй [Пернишко]) is very surprising. Normally, this word means quite another colour, namely ‘beige’ or ‘fawn’. This adjective occurs in other Slavonic languages, cf. Serbo-Croatian *plāv*, Slovenian *plav*, Czech *plavý*, Polish *ptowy*, Upper Sorbian *ptowy*, Ukrainian *половий*, Russian *половий*. It comes from Common Slavic **palvь*. In the languages listed above this adjective means ‘fawn, beige, pale yellow’, which is quite different from red¹⁵.

The name *гара* encountered in Thrace (Тракийско), usually in the form *гар*, means another colour, ‘grey’, ‘ash-grey’. However, it derives from the root **gar-*, **gor-*, which is present in words like: **goręti* ‘to burn’, **goriti* ‘to (make something) burn’ (a causative verb) or **ner-*, comp. Polish *gorzeć* ‘to burn’, *żar* ‘glow’¹⁶. Hence, this name may be interpreted as the ‘colour of fire, glow’ and also as the ‘colour of ash’, thus it can have the meaning both of ‘red’ and ‘(ash)-grey’.

Another name for ‘red’ which the Archive registers for Щипско (Варненско) is *кн’яс*. The phonetic notation shows that it should be *княз* (from Russian *князь*), which in standard Bulgarian means ‘duke, prince’. Nevertheless, the use of this word (noun) as a name of ‘red’ is quite unexpected and it may be explained only by its metaphorical resemblance to the traditional red (purple) colour of royal appare¹⁷.

¹⁵ See: Z. Rusek, op. cit., p. 143.

¹⁶ See: Andrzej Bańkowski, *Etymologiczny słownik języka polskiego*, vol. 1, Warszawa 2000, p. 458 and Z. Rusek, op. cit. p. 144.

¹⁷ Like in Polish *kolor biskupi* ‘violet-red, purple’ (but it is an adjective).

As I collected my material from the Archive of the ideographic dictionary of Bulgarian, I became convinced that there are more names for 'red' in the regional dialects of Bulgarian the origins of which I found difficult to explain. This applies to the following lexemes: *финдийъ* (recorded for the districts of Haskovo and Asenovgrad), *вакъл* (for the district of Veliko Tŕrnovo), *смрадликъф* (for Станчево [Силистренско]), *валяк* (for Гоце Делчев and Илинден [Гоцеделчевско]), *избрундън* (Опан, Коларово [Старозагорско]), *цълуграшки* (Сухиндол [Павликенско]), *скута* (occurring in Старозагорско).

Zbigniew Rusek. Autor is a slavist-linguist. I graduated in 1991 year, and in 1996 obtained the scientific degree of doctor. From the 1st of January to the 30th of November I was a researcher in the Polish Academy of Sciences (Institute of Slavic Philology) and now I am unemployed. I have published approx. 30 articles and 2 books, and 3 books are waiting for publications.

Explanation of signs:

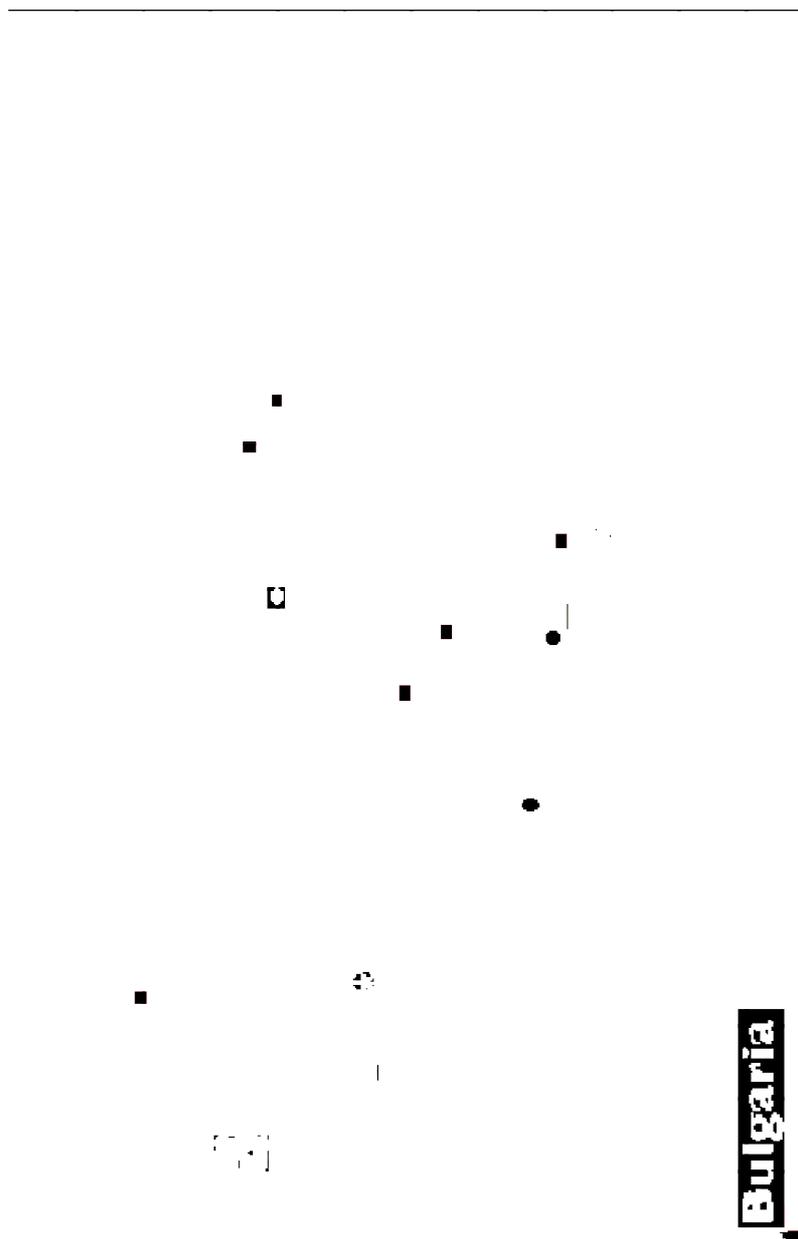
Map 1:

| | | | | | |
|--|--|---|--|--|---|
|  княс |  ригест |  красен |  дориест |  римизан |  турунцев |
|  гара |  еребат |  тендерис |  дуз |  турунчан |  гунгелиен |
|  ален |  рош |  шарен |  шелен |  шарлах |  шалаф |
|  багър |  риж |  румяно |  огнен |  суровен |  бозен |
|  аракосан |  пипераф |  руен |  буродово |  винен |  финдийъ |
|  вакъл |  скута |  валяк |  скрадликъф | | |
|  брожден, брождав, брок |  кърмъзен (with var.) |  жужер (with var.) | | | |
|  пембян (with variants) |  кръвен (with var.) |  избрундън | | | |
|  цълуграшки | | | | | |

Map 2:

| | | | | |
|--|--|---|--|--|
|  червен |  чървен |  чарвен |  чървен |  чирвен |
|  чрен |  чоан |  възчервен |  червеникав | |
|  червеникър |  червенак |  чръвл`иф | | |

Map 1



Map 2

