

Supplementary Materials

Supplement S1: MacLaury's 4-stage scheme of the evolutionary dynamics of BCCs

Supplement S2: MacLaury's trajectory of BCC evolution in computer simulations

Supplement S3. History of the colour term *buryj* (Bakhilina 1975:227–228)

Supplement S4: Semantic cluster of most frequent terms for 'brown' in modern Russian

Supplement S5: Historical details of the introduction of cinnamon in Russia and *koričnevij* entrenching

Supplement Table S1

Supplement Figures S1–S3

Supplementary Examples (SE) of *buryj*- and *koričnevij*-collocations

Supplement S1: MacLaury's 4-stage scheme of the evolutionary dynamics of BCCs

MacLaury (1997, 2007) offered a 4-stage scheme of decomposing the brightness-based “proto-category” (illustrated in pictorial terms by Vejdemo 2018: Figure 1). At stage 1, in relation to the old term, an incipient term originally manifests synonymy. At stage 2, this slowly transforms into co-extension: the two terms retain denotative (near-)synonymity, but their ‘best examples’ diverge, the process stipulated by the speaker’s vantage (dominant or recessive), i.e. pragmatic and semantic context, whereby the two vantages are named separately. At stage 3, an inclusion relationship follows, with the incipient term carving a certain denotative sub-range around its ‘best example’ abutting the shrunken range of the old term. Finally, at stage 4, complementation signifies full denotative divorce of the two terms, whereby the now denotatively circumscribed and linguistically unambiguously labelled new term expands and entrenches at the expense of the old term, whose denotative range shrinks.

Of note, MacLaury (1991:57-58) singled out the rare case of the Tzotzil language, an exception that “stands sharply apart from the usual process” and reveals just a fragment of the full four-stage model that comprises solely its two last stages. In particular, in relation to the archaic term, the “new” colour term starts not as a synonym but as a restricted hyponym of the superordinate term (stage 3); due to social convention, the archaic term is maintained at a very low salience, whereas the incipient term becomes highly salient and fully-fledged in its own right (stage 4).

In an attempt to tackle the problem of the linguistic establishment of a novel CT, Vejdemo (2018) offers a semasiological approach to analysing corpora by further elaborating MacLaury’s (1997) 4-stage scheme. Of particular relevance in the present context – of the old Russian term for the ‘brown’ CC having been supplanted by the new one – is her observation of two instances of lexical replacement in Swedish names of BCCs recorded intergenerationally: in the PINK colour space area, the older generations’ *skär* is being supplanted by the younger generations’ *rosa*; similarly, in the PURPLE colour space area, *violett* and *gredelin* are being replaced by *lila*. In both cases, lexical replacement is accompanied by a denotative shift of semantic material to lighter shades.

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Supplement S2: MacLaury's trajectory of BCC evolution in computer simulations

Using evolutionary language games with artificial agents in computer simulations, Steels (2011) demonstrated the plausibility of the MacLaury alternative trajectory, as well as novelty and innovation as the driving force for achieving communication efficiency. In the same vein, in their discrimination–similarity game simulating the evolutionary dynamics of colour categorisation in the WCS, Komarova et al. (2007:359) conclude that BCC evolution “is a combination of a minimal perceptual psychology of discrimination, simple pragmatic constraints involving communication, and simple learning rules”. The authors demonstrated the essential role of exogenous pragmatic influences – colour “hot spots” in the speakers’ environment specific to the language/culture – that affect partitioning of the original composite category. The “hot spots” serve as semantically shifted “anchors” in the formation of the incipient colour category, stipulating its high naming consensus in the population and elevating it to basic status. Conversely, in this “handicapped partitioning”, the areas of low intra-population consensus within the composite category shrink and fall out of basicness (Gooyabadi et al. 2019:169). The computer-simulation findings are in accord with MacLaury’s (2007:145) observations in the Mesoamerican Color Survey: “Many desaturated-complex categories are curtailed in range by addition to them of emphasis on either light or dark or on hue ... they are replaced by a simpler alternative that comes complete with a new name ... [of] the simpler construct.”

One needs to remark that the empirical World Color Survey and Mesoamerican Color Survey studies, as well as their computer simulations investigated the evolutionary dynamics of BCCs/BCTs using a cross-language analysis, so can be considered only as a proxy of diachronic analysis of an individual language. The failure of the optimality principle of the colour gamut’s lexical refinement in languages with complex colour inventories assumed in those studies (Jraissati & Douven 2017) points to other factors, such as interaction between cultural needs and environmental factors, intercultural exchange, or historical heritage that are important for understanding the evolution of colour concepts in a diachronic perspective (Decock 2021; Zaslavsky et al. 2022).

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Supplement S3. History of the colour term *buryj* (Bakhilina 1975:227–228)

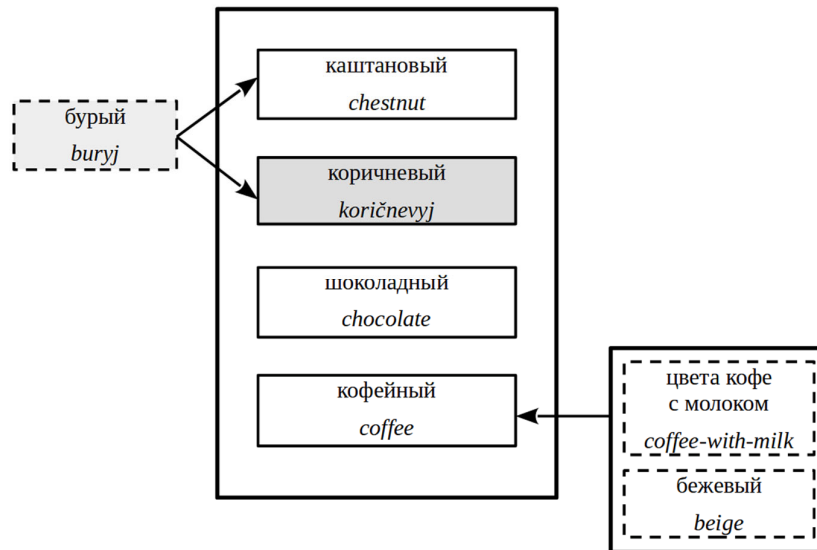
“The history of the adjective *buryj* as a colour term conceivably unfolded as follows. The adjective *buryj* was borrowed in old times, was broadly used for a very long time, and seemingly already in old times had been a colour term with almost unconstrained combinability. It is this term that in the folk language had always been used for denoting shades of the colour brown. At the same time, as a colour term, it seems to have been rather imprecise, and named very different shades of brown. With time, the scope of word use had not narrowed but during some historical periods, and within some usage contexts, the word acquired an element of emotional-expressive appraisal. This is an undefined, “not right” and unpleasant colour. It may be that the emotional-expressive connotation hampered the word from becoming a neutral denotation of the brown colour. It is quite probable that its fate had been affected by the emergence in the language of the word *koričnevyy*, whose neutral meaning gave it greater potential to become an abstract colour term.” (Translation of the original Russian text by one of the authors, GVP.)

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Supplement 4: Semantic cluster of most frequent terms for 'brown' in modern Russian

In modern Russian, *buryj* is semantically peripheral to the 'brown'-cluster derived from a psycholinguistic analysis (based on free-sorting of Munsell chips), the cluster dominated by *koričnevuj* (Frumkina 1984:68).



The structure of the cluster of Russian 'brown' colour terms. Adapted from Frumkina (1984:68).

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Supplement S5: Historical details of the introduction of cinnamon in Russia and *koričnevij* entrenching

The term *korica* is first recorded in 1472 in the book *Voyage Beyond Three Seas 1466–1472* by Afanasy *Nikitin*, a Russian merchant and one of the first Europeans to travel to Persia and India. The Russian term for ‘cinnamon’, *korica*, appears to be a neologism created by Nikitin as a diminutive of Russian *кора / kora* ‘bark’. Originally, to ensure comprehension, he accompanied the term *korica* by the Cyrillic transliteration of *cinamomum*, the Indian name for the Ceylon cinnamon tree.¹

Before Nikitin’s voyage, cinnamon for centuries had been of considerable trading importance in Asia (e.g. Suriyagoda et al. 2021). It was listed among the trade “marvels” – as a precious spice used in cooking and, also, highly valued for its medicinal bioactive properties and health benefits against common diseases and disorders.

Cinnamon rapidly acquired socio-cultural significance in Russia: in the 16th and 17th centuries, there are records of deliveries of significant amounts of cinnamon to Russia (by Persian merchants) since “it was very much liked by Russians” (Spassky 1910:49). As an essential ingredient of the Russian traditional *sbiten’* (a hot mead drink), cinnamon is mentioned in *Domostroy*, the 16th-century Russian management manual that contained a fundamental set of household rules, instructions and advice. In the 16th- and 17th-century texts there are also abundant recipes for dishes (poultry, meat), food products (vodka, butter) and medicines (including aphrodisiacs) containing cinnamon (Slovari 11–17 vekov 1975–:314).

From a diachronic perspective, an emerging CT enters Russian as a denominal adjective *X-yj* and is established gradually. Along with (a) the “colour” meaning, it may also possess the meanings such as (b) “made of X/containing X” or (c) “related to X” (Rakhilina 2007). In the 16th–18th century dictionaries, one finds various adjectival forms of *korica* that develop either individual meanings (a-c) or combinations of these. With the meaning ‘colour of *korica*’, the term *koričnevij* (also spelled *korišnevij*, *korišnyj*, *korišnevij* or *koričnyj*) is recorded for the first time in 17th-century texts denoting the brown colour of textiles (Bakhilina 1975:228). In comparison, the form *koričnyj/ korišnyj* collocates with ‘vodka’ and ‘butter’, indicating products made of cinnamon, i.e. the meaning (b). Finally, in relation to

¹ <https://www.nki.ru/archive/articles/13293/>

the bark of the cinnamon tree (c), several adjectival forms are recorded: *koričnevij*, *korišnevij*, *korišnyj* and *koričij* (Slovar' Akademii Rossijskoj 1789–1794, vol. 3:821; Slovare 11–17 vekov 1975–:358).

The socio-cultural (“culinary”) circumstances – fondness of cinnamon – made Russian vocabulary conducive to the lexical refinement of the BROWN category by following the cross-language pattern of colour-name metonymy (Murjanov 1978; Biggam 2012): the term for the object “which instantiates the best example of colour also represents that colour” (Steinvall 2002:143). In other languages, similar ‘referent object’ cases of ‘brown’ lexicalisation are exemplified by Maltese *kannella* (from Italian *cannella* ‘cinnamon’; Borg 2011); *marron* in French (Forbes 1979) and *marrón* in Castilian Spanish (Lillo et al. 2018); or *café* in Mexican Spanish (Lillo et al. 2018) and *kāfēi* in modern Taiwanese Mandarin Chinese (Hsieh et al. 2020). Notably, Russian lexicalisation of the new ‘brown’ term took on an alternative way of coining, as pointed out by Kerttula (2002): if the meaning of the borrowed term is unknown to speakers of the receiving language, it is often the term’s translation which is adopted.

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Table S1. Dynamics of the derivational productivity of *buryj* and *koričnevij*: Comparison of derivational forms reported by Corbett and Morgan (1988:38) and recorded in the present study. Novel recorded forms are in red: Russian subcorpus of Google Books Ngram (1800–2019) in bold; occurrences on the Internet and recent dictionaries are in plain font.

Derivational forms	Source	Suffixed	Achromatic modifiers					Compound	Verbs			Noun
		-ovatyj '-ish'	tëmno- 'dark'	svetlo- 'light'	jarko- 'bright'	bledno- 'pale'	blëklo- 'pallid'	sero- 'grey'	∅~et' '-en'	po~et' 'become ~'	za~et' 'to acquire ~ shade'	-izna '-ness'
buryj 'dust/greyish brown'	Corbett & Morgan (1988)	√	√					√	√	√	√	
	Present study	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
koričnevij 'brown'	Corbett & Morgan (1988)	√		√								
	Present study	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√

Corbett and Morgan's (1988) data were collated based on the report of Worth et al. (1970) who, in turn, relied upon Ozhegov and Shapiro (1959), then the most comprehensive dictionary of Russian. The latter had been prepared over several years preceding its publication and based on early dictionary materials; therefore, it cannot fully reflect the state of the Russian language post-1956, when the Russian language orthographic reform was introduced.

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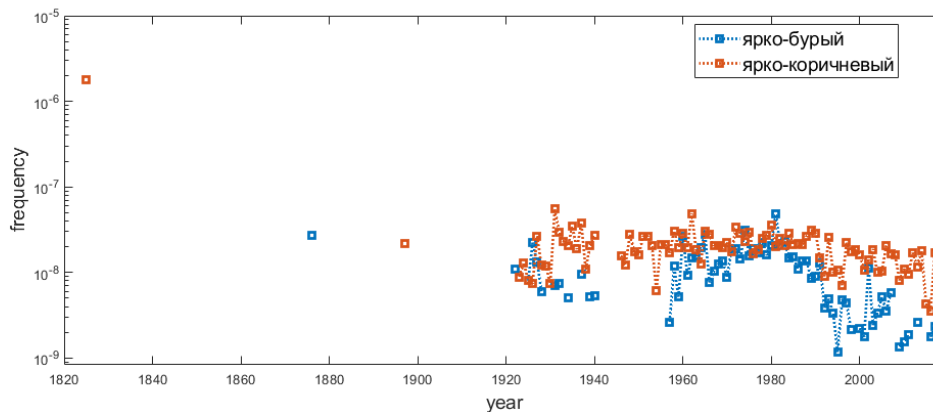


Figure S1. Diachronic dynamics of the two “Russian browns” with the modifier *jarko-* ‘bright’: *ярко-бурый* ‘bright *buryj*’ (—) and *ярко-коричневый* ‘bright *korichnevij*’ (—).

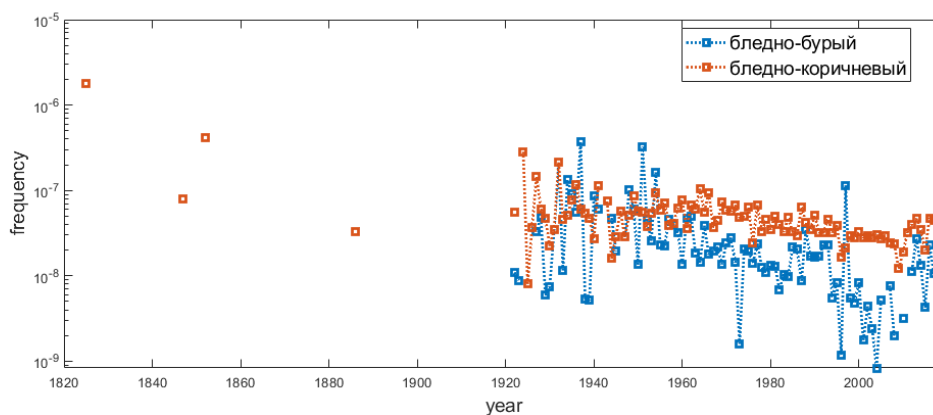


Figure S2. Diachronic dynamics of the two “Russian browns” with modifier *bledno-* ‘pale’: *bledно-бурый* ‘pale *buryj*’ (—) and *bledно-коричневый* ‘pale *korichnevij*’ (—).

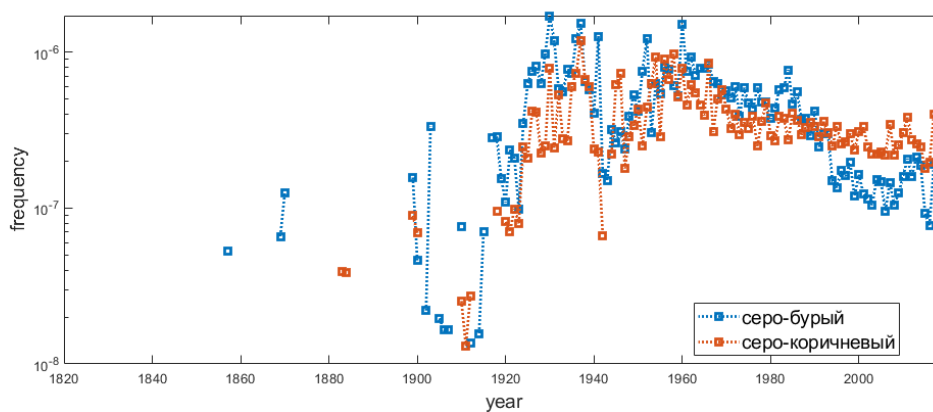


Figure S3. Diachronic dynamics of the two “Russian browns” with the compound *sero-* ‘grey’: *серо-бурый* ‘grey-*buryj*’ (—) and *серо-коричневый* ‘grey-*korichnevij*’ (—).

Supplementary Examples (SE) of *buryj*- and *koričnevuj*-collocations, and their verbal and noun derivatives in the Russian National Corpus (RNC) and Internet sources

SE1. Recent instances of *blëklo*- ‘pallid’ modifier with *buryj* and *koričnevuj*.

“... в эксперименте на расчищенной от травы площадке блëкло-бурого цвета.”

Сонин, Н., Агафонова, И., Захаров, В. (2014). Биология. Общие закономерности. 9 класс. 5-е изд. Москва: Дрофа.

“Мякоть блëкло-коричневая, тонкая, рассыпчатая, с пряным запахом.” Матанцев, А., Матанцева, С. (2017). Большая энциклопедия грибника. Москва: АСТ.

SE2. Instances of **inceptive prefixed verbal derivative** of *buryj* – *zaburet* ‘to become *buryj*’:

“Наступило самое жаркое время; начался покос, рожь **забурела**; знойный, удушливый ветер лениво бродил по озëрам, чуть-чуть нагибая верхи камышей.” Слепцов, В.А. (1865). Трудное время (cit. from the RNC).

“На некрасивом, суровом лице есаула Афанасия Перфильева **забурели** старые следы ослы.” Шишков, В.Я. (1934–1939). Емельян Пугачëв. Книга первая, Ч. 3. (cit. from the RNC).

Note also an additional novel semantics of *zaburet* ‘in younger generations’ vernacular, meaning ‘to become impudent, overestimate oneself’: see Зайковская, Т.В. (2005).

Проблемы культуры молодежной речи: пути пополнения словарного состава молодежного жаргона. Кишинев: Busines-Elita.

GBN records this verbal form in both meanings.

SE3. Recent Internet-only instances of **inceptive prefixed verbal derivatives** of *koričnevuj*:

zakoričnevet ‘to become *koričnevuj*’

“Растопить сливочное масло и дать ему слегка закоричневеть.”

(<https://www.oede.ru/component/cockbook/dish/1613-dish.html>)

pokoričnevet ‘to gain *koričnevuj* taint’

“Их деревья когда-то были зелёными, но затем с ними произошло то же, что ежегодно происходит с реальными деревьями в лесу. Они пожелтели, **покоричневели**” .Цукерман, В. (1970). Все краски мира. Химия и жизнь. No. 6, с. 41–47.

“Чтобы слегка покоричневеть, нужно не покидать пляж с утра до вечера и так целый месяц.” (https://bookz.ru/authors/nadejda-volgina/vendetta_741/1-vendetta_741.html)

SE4. GBN and Internet instances of **nouns X-izna** ‘X-ness’ derived from *buryj* and *koričnevuj*.

“болъе слабомъ просвъчиваніи бурыхъ пятнышекъ замъчается пятнистая буризна; ...такихъ болъе крупныхъ бурыхъ пятенъ насчитывается шесть...” [Монголія и Камъ. Труды экспедиции Императорскаго Русскаго Географическаго общества. \(1908\). Том.7. вып. 1.](#)

“Из-за этих продуктов действительно возможна некая **буризна** и краснота.” 2018.
(<https://lapkins.ru/f/korm-dlya-belykh-sobak-163/>)

“У этой конктерной лошади заметная **коричневизна** на боку, у булано-саврасых такого не бывает.” (<http://raiter.flyboard.ru/topic17-945.html?view=print>)

Examples of atypical *koríčnevuj*-collocations with nouns denoting natural objects

Медведь *medved'* ‘bear’ / медвежонок *medvežonok* ‘bear cub’:

SE5. Descriptions in paintings: “Грузный **коричневый медведь** дерется с разъяренным быком, рядом, потехи ради, карлик, преследуемый кабаном.” [Каптерева, Т. \(2017\). Римская мозаика. Африка. Россия: ЛитРес, с. 32.](#)

SE6. References to toys (teddy bears) and souvenirs: “Они проходили мимо стрелкового тира, где на витрине красовался большой **коричневый медведь** с атласной красной ленточкой на шее.” [Лонго, С. \(2018\). Арабеска зеркал. Россия: ЛитРес.](#)

SE7. A character in Russian fairy-tales: “На пороге стоял **коричневый медвежонок** в зелёной пижаме”. [Танилина, Т. \(2017\). Мяуняш. Россия: ЛитРес.](#)

Russian translations by *koríčnevuj* of English *brown* in collocations with nouns denoting other animals (fiction):

SE8. (snake) “Откуда-то из-за кустов выползла **коричневая** змея, но Мэтт отогнал ее.” [Макинтош, Ф. \(2022\). Возвращение в Прованс. Россия: Эксмо.](#) (McIntosh, F. The French promise.)

SE9. (spider) “Когда я вернулась в свою хижину, то обнаружила, что забыла закрепить москитную сетку вокруг кровати, и в постель пробрался **коричневый паук** с толстыми, покрытыми наростами лапами.” [Филдинг, Х. \(2019\). Причина успеха. Россия: Амфора.](#) (Fielding, H. Cause celeb.)

Russian translations of English *brown* by *koríčnevuj* in zoological terms:

SE10. (snake) *Australian Eastern Brown snake* → австралийская восточная **коричневая** змея. [Ларин-Подольский, И. \(2017\). Юбилейные и памятные монеты мира. Иллюстрированная энциклопедия. Россия: ЛитРес, с. 233.](#)

SE11. (spider) *“В Соединенных Штатах есть три вида пауков, которые опасны для человека: **коричневый** паук-отшельник, американский бродячий паук и черная вдова.”* [Хаббард, Д. \(2017\). Первая помощь своими руками: Если скорая не спешит. \(n.p.\): Альпина Паблишер](#) (Hubbard, J. The survival doctor’s complete handbook: What to do when help is NOT on the way.)

***Koričnevuj* characters in modern Russian fairy-tales:**

SE12. (spider) *“В самом центре восседал президент Пантелеймон – старый, волосатый, **светло-коричневый** паук с белым крестом на спине.”* [Трушкина, О. \(2018\). Странствия Игорца. Россия: ЛитРес.](#)

In Russian fiction, part of a metaphor alluding to an artefact taking a snake-like shape (e.g. a scarf):

SE13. *“...шарф, который, как шерстяная коричневая змея, притаился в изножье кровати.”* [Кёртин, Д. \(2018\). Добро пожаловать во Францию, Элис!. Россия: Эксмо.](#)

***Koričnevuj* in Russian (translations of) ‘brown’ characterising processed minerals:**

SE14. (marble): *“Полы в приемной были выложены **коричневым** мрамором, а ресепшен представлял собой архитектурное подобие площади какого-то античного города.”* [Фарутин, А. \(2019\). Карьерист. Трилогия. Россия: ЛитРес.](#)

SE15. (diamond) *“Хуан вспомнил **светло-коричневый** алмаз из серьги королевы и задумался.”* [Боуэн, М. \(2019\). Рыцарь Испании. Россия: ЛитРес.](#) (Bowen, M. A Knight of Spain.)

***Koričnevuj* as the Russian term relating to ‘sugar’ for English expression *brown sugar*:**

SE16. *“В жестянке вареный **коричневый** сахар, порубленный на кусочки, – конфеты домашнего приготовления, называемые вдовой «крем брюле».”* [Шагинян, М.С. \(1941\). Два романа. Россия: Сов. писатель.](#)

***Koričnevuj* as a part of metonymies implying concepts of evil**

SE17. (brown dope, spell) **коричневый дурман** (*“О злодеяниях немецко-фашистских оккупантов в Ставропольском крае”* и статье А.Н. Толстого *“Коричневый дурман”*) [Перхин, В. \(2018\). А.Н. Толстой и власть. Россия: ЛитРес.](#)

SE18. (brown scum) “Тем временем другая, прожорливая и кровожадная, **коричневая нечисть**, расплзаясь по Европе,” [Прасолов, В. \(2018\). Вангол. Россия: Центрпол.](#)

SE19. (brown army) “По **коричневой армии** пронесся лозунг «Третьей Империи», полный магического, едва ли не религиозного энтузиазма”. [Устрялов, Н. \(2017\). В круговороте фашистской свастики. Россия: Алгоритм.](#)

SE20. (brown plague) “Да, и красная, и **коричневая чума** в значительной степени исчезли с лица земли, но успели унести миллионы жизней!” [Эпштейн, М. \(2019\). Постмодернизм в России. Россия: Азбука-Аттикус.](#)

Instances of *buryj*-collocations with nouns for artefacts, in which a drab brown is implied to convey a negative connotation

SE21. (brown factory chimneys) “Две **бурые трубы** завода непрерывно источали копоть.” [Дмитриев, В., Богданов, Н. \(1929\). Александр и Александра. Смена. No. 123.](#)

SE22. [(bloodshot) brown neck; brown spots (stumps of fingers)] “...тесный воротник его старенькой толстовки, врезавшийся в **бурую**, туго налитую **шею**...”, “...на изуродованной правой руке Устина одиноко торчит указательный палец, а на месте остальных темнеют **бурые**, сморщенные **пятна**.” [Шолохов, М.А. \(1986\). Поднятая целина. Минск: Полымя.](#)

SE23. [(worn out) brown blouse] “Федя косился на свою **бурую блузу**, на рыжие , в трещинах и порезах , сапоги...” [Ляшко, Н.Н. \(1955\). Сочинения в трех томах. т. 2, Россия: Гос. изд-во худ. лит-ры, с. 398.](#)

SE24. [(arthritic) brown fingers] “Узловатые, **бурые пальцы** вытянутой вперед руки нервно изгибались дождевыми червями.” [Серебрякова, Г. \(1933\). Юность Маркса. Новый мир, No. 4, с. 155.](#)