THE ATLAS LINGUARUM EUROPAE

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(*Résumé*)

L'article donne une vue d'ensemble sur des domaines eurolinguistiques dont on peut profiter en consultant l'Atlas Linguarum Europae: la recherche des mots d'emprunt, la recherche étymologique, la recherche concernant des motivations pour les dénominations et, dans une mesure restreinte, la recherche typologique.

Key-words: Typological research, loanword research, etymological research, motivational research.

Mots-clés : recherche typologique, recherche des mots d'emprunt, recherche étymologique, recherche des motivations.

1.0 Introductory Remarks

After World War 2 Mario Alinei had the plan to analyse Indo-European phonemes on a European scale, whereas Antonius A. Weijnen was the first to envisage an interlingual, comparative map and then an interlingual, comparative atlas. Weijnen was thus the founder of the Atlas Linguarum Europae (ALE) in 1970 whose first president he was.

The ALE map "Carte de distribution des familles et des groupes linguistiques" gives an accurate description of Europe's linguistic situation. It can easily be consulted in the project's publications, whose latest fascicle, fascicle 7, appeared seven years ago (Viereck 2007 [2008]). Fascicle 8 will be published in 2014, no longer with Poligrafico in Rome, but with the University of Bucharest Publishing House. The ALE map distinguishes between six language families: Altaic, Basque, Caucasian, Indo-European,

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Semitic and Uralic. In these language families, 22 language groups in total can be counted, namely

Altaic (2): Mongolian and Turk languages;

Basque (1);

Caucasian (2): Abkhazo-Adyge and Nakho-Dagestanian;

Indo-European (10): Albanian, Armenian, Baltic, Germanic, Greek, Iranian, Celtic, Romance, Romany and Slavic;

Semitic (1): Arabic (Maltese);

Uralic (6): Finnish, Lappish, Permic, Samoyed, Ugric and Volgaic.

These, in turn, consist of many individual languages. It thus becomes apparent that the demands on scholars to interpret the heterogeneous data collected in 2,631 localities from Iceland to the Ural mountains are very high indeed.

The ALE can be called a linguistic atlas of the fourth generation, being preceded by regional and national atlases as well as by atlases of language groups. Atlases of the fifth type, i.e. on entire language families such as Indo-European, or of the final type, namely a world linguistic atlas, do not exist as yet, although interesting work has fairly recently been made available with *The World Atlas of Language Structures* (Dryer et al. 2005). The ALE is the first continental linguistic atlas. Its frontiers are neither political nor linguistic but simply geographic. The choice of the continent has nothing to do with Eurocentrism but only follows from the present state of research. Unfortunately, the ALE net is not uniform. Different countries collected materials in different ways, using new fieldwork, published sources, such as existing national linguistic atlases or dictionaries and unpublished archives. While this is perhaps the only way in which such a large-scale project could have been carried out in practice, one must lament the loss of synchrony due to the chronological discrepancies involved in such a procedure.

It is always the oldest vernacular words that are looked for in the various languages. These are, then, put on symbol maps and interpreted either synchronically or diachronically as the cases require.

Until now commentaries of 72 notions and 94 computer-produced multi-colour maps have been published, large-format productions (74 cm x 60 cm), each with an accompanying sheet of equal dimension explaining the various symbols employed. The objective here has been to create a symbology indicating conceptual congruity across language(-family) boundaries.

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2.0 Typological research

The ALE is, primarily, an interpretative word atlas. Typological maps are few in number. They deal with the presence vs. absence of the definite article, the position of the adjective with regard to the noun or with the obligatory vs. free use of subject pronouns.

As to the definite article, Europe is divided roughly into two areas: The western area shows the article and the eastern area does not. More specifically, the whole Slavic area with the exception of Bulgarian and Macedonian, the whole Uralic area except for Hungarian and the Altaic and Caucasian areas do not have the definite article. Within the area where the article does appear, there is an additional opposition between pre- and postposition of the definite article. Basque differs from the surrounding prepositive Romance areas; but within the Indo-European area itself not only the Scandinavian area (Danish [with the exception of the Danish dialects of West and South Jutland that use a prepositive definite article], Norwegian, Swedish, Faroese and Icelandic), but also a compact area formed by Albanian, Romanian (the only Romance area with postposition), Bulgarian and Macedonian (the only Slavic areas with the definite article) have postposition. The picture is thus contradictory: for, on the one hand, postposition of the definite article isolates the Scandinavian area from its common Germanic ancestry; on the other hand, it contributes to unifying, despite their different origin, all Balcanic groups: Romanian of Romance origin, Bulgarian and Macedonian of Slavic origin, and Albanian of Illyric origin. This feature is one of the many on the basis of which the Balcan linguistic area forms a *Sprachbund*. The distributional area shows that the formation of the definite article is more recent than that of genetic branchings (Alinei 1997: 33).

Generally speaking, the areal distribution of typological features does not seem to correspond to that of genetic features within the framework of language families or language groups.

The interpretation of word maps follows different lines. Three aspects are important in this connection: loanword research, etymological research going back to prehistoric times and the study of motivations in designating certain objects.

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3.0 Loanword research

Loanwords usually belong to the historical period, as they are connected with technology, culture and commerce. The ALE has important contributions to its credit in this area. Generally speaking, there are no problems with etymology. One such example is the expressions provided for the notion *ink*. A commentary on *ink* has not yet been published within the ALE framework. In ancient times black ink was mostly produced with lampblack. In the 3rd century A.D., a mixture of soluble iron salt with tannic acid, often extracted from oak bark, came into use. This type of ink spread among the tribes of Europe. Therefore the word for 'ink' in present-day Germanic languages is identical with 'black ink', cf. German *schwarz wie Tinte* ('black as ink') or *schwarz auf weiß* ('black on white [paper]') or English *atramentous* 'black as ink'. The same is true of the most widely diffused expressions for 'ink' in the Slavic area, such as Russian *černila*, Polish *czernidło*, Czech *černidlo* and Sorbian *čornidło*. They all go back to a Proto-Slavic root **čьrnidlo* meaning 'black colour, ink'. The words for ink in Finnish, Ingrian, Votic, Karelian, Mordvin, Lappish, Permic and Samoyed *tšernila* are all loans from Russian *černila*. Also Irish *dubh* goes back to Old Irish *dub* `black'. In addition to this most widespread colour, there were and there are also inks of different colours.

In the southern Germanic area and in the British Isles, the use of ink goes back to the contact with the Romans during the first centuries A.D. Ink came to Scandinavia from the British Isles with the introduction of Christianity. Attestations written with ink in the Runic alphabet have come down to us from the 13th and 14th centuries.

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1989[2]) black is „a word of difficult history". Frings (1966: 158) assumes that Old English *blæc*, *blac* was a translation of Latin *atramentum* 'ink', derived from Latin *ater* `black'. Old English *blæc*, *blac* came to Scandinavia from the British Isles with the introduction of Christianity. Whereas *black* meaning 'ink' is obsolete in English today (cf. *Oxford English Dictionary* 1989[2], s.v. `black', sb. 2a), all the Scandinavian languages have retained it with this meaning (cf. Swedish *bläck*, Icelandic *blek*, Danish *blæc*, Norwegian and Faroese *blekk*). Finnish *(b)läkki* is a loan from Swedish and Lappish *blækka* is a loan from Swedish/Norwegian.

The loans from Latin *atramentum* (*librarium*) are, of course, not restricted to the west and north Germanic area. They appear in direct form in Belorussian, Ukrainian, Czech, Slovak, Polish *atrament* and Lithuanian *(a)tramentas*. The loan process started from Polish.

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In the German-speaking area *Tinte* (with variants) dominates, going back to Latin *tincta* (*aqua*) 'coloured (water)'. The word must have been borrowed after the second or High German consonant shift. *Tinte* predominated over the words going back to Latin *atramentum* as well as to Latin *encaustum*. From German, *Tinte* spread to a number of languages such as Polish (*tint[a]*), Lithuanian (*tinta*), Latvian (*tinte*), Estonian (*tint*), Livonian (*tint*) and Slovene (*tinta*). The Ukrainian form *tinta* could also have been borrowed from Hungarian *tinta*. This is a direct loan from Latin, as is the case with Spanish and Catalan, Portuguese and Italian *tinta*.

In the western Germanic area, in parts of the Romance and the Slavic areas, words succeeded that go back to Late Latin *encau(s)tum* which, in turn, derives from Greek *εγχανστόν*. Originally this term meant 'purple ink' used by the Roman emperors for signing documents. From there the general meaning 'ink' developed as we find it today in French *encre*, Italian *inchiostro*, Friulian *ingiustri*, Polish *inkaust*, Czech *inkoust*, English *ink*, Dutch *inkt* and Rheno-Westphalian dialectal forms. According to De Vries (1971) Latin *encautum* was adopted in the Rhineland when Roman emperors resided in Trier (Augusta Treverorum), the oldest city in Germany. From there it spread into Old Dutch, Old Low German and northern Old French, attested there as *enque* (11th century). *Enque* became Middle English *enke* (first attested in 1250) and Modern English *ink*. In the Old French form, the Greek accent was retained in this Latin loan, while Italian *inchiostro* and Old Occitan *encaut* follow the Latin stress pattern.

4.0 Etymological research

Insights into the ethnolinguistic origins of Europe are also expected from the ALE. This is a most lively and controversially debated field at present. In the area of Indo-European scholarship, scholars developed three theories during the last decades, the oldest being the Invasion Theory according to which there was a gigantic invasion at the beginning of the Metal Age that brought Proto-Indo-European to Europe. Archaeology and genetic research proved a little later, however, that there was irrefutable evidence for cultural continuity from the Paleolithic to the Bronze Age in Europe. These insights led to the so-called Neolithic Dispersal Theory, which assumes that Neolithic farmers coming from the Middle East introduced Proto-Indo-European into Europe, and the Paleolithic Continuity Theory, which assumes that there were no invasions from non-European peoples. With the following example I want to

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show that it is not without speculation to deal with aspects going so far back in time. Alinei, a strong supporter of the Paleolithic Continuity Theory, asks „Why has Indo-European a common word for 'dying', but not for 'burying' and 'grave'?" (2008: 15) and concludes that only the Paleolithic Continuity Theory can account for this. He places his common word for `dying' (Proto-Indo-European **mer*- attested, according to him, in Celtic, Germanic, Italic, Greek and Balto-Slavic) to Middle Paleolithic, which must therefore be regarded as belonging to Common Indo-European, while the notions of `burying' and `grave' belong, respectively, to Upper Paleolithic and Mesolithic, when they were already expressed by different Indo-European words. In order to do this Alinei had to manipulate the data. In addition to **mer*- which, contrary to Alinei's belief, is not attested in Celtic, nor in Albanian or Tocharian, the following verbal roots are listed in Mallory & Adams 1997: 150, s.v. `death', with the meaning 'die, perish': **nek*-, **ųel*- and **dheu*-. They were as equally widespread as was **mer*-, and, consequently, of the same age. In contrast, the distributions of **dhgwhei* 'perish', attested only in Greek and Sanscrit, and **(s)ter*- 'kill', attested only in Germanic and Old Irish, suggest late isoglosses in Indo-European. Thus, judging from the distributions of the verbal roots in Proto-Indo-European we can postulate least a relative temporal difference between the two groups without pinpointing it to a specific period. If we are faithful to the data, as, of course, we should be, Alinei's example does not prove what he says it proves. All too often scholars are so proud of their theory that they disregard the data when they do not fit the theory. This led Raven I. McDavid, Jr. who , as a dialectologist, had always been faithful to the data to the remark that "for many linguists, *data* has become the most obscene of all four-letter words" (1972: 192). Due to restrictions of space detailed etymological and semantic considerations had to be left out here.

5.0 Motivational research

Motivational mapping is an innovative manner of interpreting geolexical data. It goes beyond an interest in etymology and asks for the causes or the motives in designating certain objects. Only in a large-scale project such as the ALE can this approach be successfully pursued. In national, let alone regional linguistic atlases, the area is usually too small for the approach to be very productive. This may be one reason why it has aroused so little interest prior to the ALE. Another may be seen in de Saussure's dominance in modern

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linguistics. The arbitrariness of the linguistic sign, important as it is for the functional aspect of language, left hardly any room for the genetic aspect of language, i.e. for the serious study of motivation. Seen more narrowly, however, the motivation of a linguistic sign is not in opposition to its arbitrariness, as the choice of a certain motive itself is not obligatory. The motives for naming an object, of course, vary enormously.

5.1 Cultural History and Religion

The latter aspects point to the past and it comes as no surprise that insights into the ethnolinguistic origins of Europe are also expected from the ALE. This is a most lively and controversially debated field at present. As regards the ALE, insights into Europe's cultural past follow less from loanwords and from reconstructed roots, although the project also has important contributions to its credit in these two areas. Loanwords usually belong to the historical period and are thus too young, while reconstructed roots involve very early periods but are usually motivationally opaque and thus not very revealing for a cultural analysis. Insights into Europe's cultural past rather follow from motivations in so far as they are transparent. This is an important point, as formal differences between languages can thus be eliminated and the focus is solely on semantic parallelisms. In what follows I will draw mainly on ALE data and the published commentaries, but also on my own research in illustrating Europe's cultural history.

As religion is the basis of every culture, the frame of reference here is the history of religions. As any class of realia, such as plants, animals and natural phenomena including the planets, is magic, they thus have a magico-religious character whose earliest form manifests itself in totemism, in totemic relationships with various classes of realia. In so-called primitive societies this is still observable today. This relationship assumes different manifestations, as will be shown later. The geolexical data show that the cultural history of Europe is not made up of random elements and events but follows a unified, well-structured pattern where three separate layers can be distinguished, namely a historical layer, i.e. a Christian/Muslim layer, and two prehistorical layers, i.e. an anthropomorphic layer going back to the Metal Age and an even earlier zoomorphic layer that also includes kinship representations. They are connected with more primitive societies of the Stone Age (cf. Alinei 1997: 27). Cultural morphologists had already described the basics of the two prehistorical layers in the 1920s and 1930s (see, e.g.,

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Frobenius 1929). In view of the atlas results the third, historical, layer followed automatically. Unlike vertical dead archaeological stratigraphies, linguistic stratigraphies as presented on ALE motivational maps are horizontal and all the above layers are still alive. Generally speaking, the results are not surprising. Responses to the oldest layer are, of course, lowest in number. They are mainly to be found in the periphery of Europe, namely in Russia and parts of the Balkan. Answers that refer to the anthropomorphic layer are about twice as frequent as those of the zoomorphic layer. In one locality in Lithuania five anthropomorphic answers were attested. The layer that can be recognised and dated most easily belongs to history, namely to Christianity and Islam. Within this layer Christian motivations appear much more often than Muslim ones, thus mirroring the difference in the areal spread of the two religions in Europe. In the pre-historical period two levels can be distinguished, one characterised by 'supernatural', 'superhuman' pagan figures and, leaving anthropomorphism, the other by still earlier zoomorphic and kinship representations (Frobenius 1929). The basic structure has remained the same from pre-historical to historical times. While dating the first-mentioned layer is unproblematic, anthropomorphic representations of reality are connected with socially stratified societies, typical of the Metal Age, while zoomorphic and kinship representations are The two pre-historical layers were recognised already, above all, by the cultural morphologists in the 1920s and 1930s.

Generally speaking, the results are not surprising. Responses to the oldest layer are, of course, lowest in number. They are mainly to be found in the periphery of Europe, namely in Russia and parts of the Balkan. Answers that refer to the anthropomorphic layer are about twice as frequent as those of the zoomorphic layer. With the exception of Germany, the Netherlands and some regions in southeastern Europe (Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria) they are distributed fairly evenly over Europe, however with clear differences in frequency. Most of the anthropomorphic responses are, again, to be found in the periphery with Portugal in the West, Norway in the North, Sicily in the South and the Baltic states, Poland, Belorussia, the Ukraine and Russia in the East. In one locality in Lithuania five anthropomorphic answers were attested! Lithuania is in some repects a special case. This was the last European country that became christianised and that only in the late 14th century. Therefore pagan rituals are still very much alive there. The old pagan religion is known in Lithuania today as "Romuva". Among its three main gods, Perkūnas, the god of thunder, is the most important one. His name often occurred in responses given by Lithuanian ALE informants. (For more

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information on Baltic, especially Lithuanian pagan religion cf. Trinkunas 2002.) Another reason why Lithuania is a special case is provided by the great English philologist Joseph Wright who remarked: "From a linguistic point of view I love the Lithuanians more than any race under the sun" (Sladen 2010:20). In contrast to Sladen who calls this, strangely enough, a "perhaps perverse claim" (2010: 20), Wright, of course, knew that Lithuanian was then and is now the most archaic among all the Indo-European languages spoken in Europe, and as a result it is very useful, indeed, indispensible in the study of Indo-European linguistics. In Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Albania zoomorphic and anthropomorphic responses are in complementary distribution: frequent zoomorphic answers show hardly any anthropomorphic ones there. The most equal distribution of responses, however – surprisingly – not the most frequent occurrence, is shown by the youngest layer. Christian motivations occur mainly in Spain, central Europe, Hungary and the Baltic States.

In the following sections these three layers are illustrated with a number of examples.

5.2 The Christian/Muslim Layer

As to animals the butterfly is interesting. *The Oxford English Dictionary* (1989[2]) surprisingly notes "The reason of the name is unknown" (s.v. 'butterfly'). However, in the Germanic area the belief was widespread that witches in the appearance of butterflies stole butter, milk and cream. Compounds with *butter-* occur most often, see Dutch *botervlieg* 'butterfly', German *Butterfliege* 'butterfly' and English *butterfly*. Dutch *boterhex*, *boterwijf*, both 'butterwitch', clearly point to the belief in witches.

The butterfly is christianised in Europe also, as can be seen in Swiss *Mueter-gottesvogel* 'Mary's bird', Gaelic *eunan dé* 'God's bird', Basque *jinkollo* 'hen of the good God', French *glaîne Dieu* 'god's hen', Komi-Zyryan *jen čipan* 'God's hen', Finnish *pirkkulintu* 'Brigit's bird' and *lentipirkka* 'flying Brigit'. In Greek the butterfly is also called 'the pope's wife', i.e. the wife of a Greek Orthodox priest, or `little Easter'. The butterfly is repeatedly replaced by the heavenly messenger, the angel, see Spanish *angelico*, dialectal French *ange* and Breton *ealik* 'little angel', all meaning 'butterfly'. In a Low German rhyme the child promises to travel together with the butterfly to *Engelland*, i.e. the land of the angels, which means the other world.

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Also the lady-bird yields a rich harvest everywhere in Europe. Most commonly a Christian or Islamic religious being or notion is associated with another animal, such as a bird (cf. English *lady-bird*), a hen (Danish *marihøne*, German *Marienhuhn*, both 'Mary hen', French *poulette au bon Dieu* 'good God's young hen'), a cow (English *lady-cow* or *cow-lady*, Polish *boża krówka*, Russian *bozhia korovka*, French *vache à Dieu*, the last three 'God's cow', Italian *vacchetta de la Madònna* 'young cow of the Holy Virgin'), an ox (Spanish *buey de Dios* 'God's ox'), a beetle (German *Marienkäfer* 'Mary beetle', English *lady-bug*), a worm (German *Marienwürmchen*) or, more generally, a little animal (Dutch [*Onze*] *Lieveheersbeestje* 'Our Lord's little animal'). In the Muslim area we find 'Allah', 'mosque' and 'Fatimah', the name of Mohammed's daughter, for the lady-bird.

For plants the magico-religious motivations are more numerous. That the proof of 'language as a mirror of the history of religions' is possible so convincingly in botany is due to the founder of modern botany, the Swedish scholar Carl Linnaeus, also known after his ennoblement as Carl von Linné, whose 300th birthday was celebrated in 2007. He laid down the rules for naming plants and decided to keep all those names of plants that had been named after kings, gods or Christian saints. The pansy (Viola tricolor) may be called *Heiliges Dreifaltigkeitsblümchen* 'little Holy Trinity flower' in German and 'Anne's eyes' in Russian. The daffodil (Narcissus Pseudo-Narcissus) is *Saint Peter's bell* in Wales, and Saint Peter's herb is an expression for the cowslip (Primula veris) in parts of England. Among the plants named after Christian saints may also be noted Latin *herba sancti Johannis* 'Saint John's wort', German *Johanniskraut* 'John's wort', English *Saint John's wort* (Hypericum). The milk thistle (Silybum marianum) is *Lady's thistle*, *Marian thistle*, *Mary thistle* in English and *Mariendistel* 'Mary thistle' in German.

Natural phenomena as well as planets also testify to a Christianisation and Islamisation in Europe. The classic example of the ALE is the rainbow – and not only for the most recent level but for the whole geolexical stratigraphy. Everywhere in Europe we find compounds with, for example, 'belt', 'bow', 'bridge', 'ribbon', 'ring' plus a religious motivation such as 'God's belt', 'Noah's bow', 'St. Barnaby's crown' or 'Allah's bow'. An example from Latvian (*dieva juosta* 'God's belt') must suffice here. Once the basic structure of the classificatory system had been worked out, it became clear that the rainbow had been considered sacred by European peoples and that with the advent of the new religions lexical innovations were coined expressing the same relationship that had existed earlier. Even Christmas

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belongs to the natural phenomena as the pre-Christian winter solstice underlies the Christian feast. Not unsurprisingly, therefore, only a few names for Christmas have a Christian motivation, such as 'Christ's mass', 'Christ's birth', 'Christ's day', attested in German, English, Dutch, Spanish, Basque, Sardinian, Greek, Albanian and Polish *Boże Narodzenie* 'God's birth'. Apart from the names that refer to God and Christ themselves, 'Easter' is also of Christian origin, mostly attested as 'Little Easter' in southern Europe. Here the pre-Christian influence becomes noticeable, as in pagan times there were two important feasts in the course of the year. To call Christmas 'Little Easter' shows that the more important of the two was that in spring and summer, the real Easter.

5.3 The Prehistoric Layers

Within the prehistoric period two levels can be distinguished, one characterised by 'supernatural', 'superhuman' pagan figures and, leaving anthropomorphism, the other by still earlier zoomorphic and kinship representations. The basic structure has remained the same from prehistoric to historic times. It is quite natural that present-day evidence for the two prehistoric layers, especially for the zoomorphic layer, is less overwhelming.

5.3.1 The Anthropomorphic Layer

This middle layer is characterised by anthropomorphic representations. The same notions that provided examples for the other layers can be drawn upon here.

Animals provide quite a number of magico-religious names. The motivations for the smallest pig of the litter in Ireland is 'little fairy' (*sióg*) and 'fairly elf' (*siabhra*). For the weasel there is 'fairy' in English, 'witch' in French, 'Diana' in Sardinian, 'demoiselle' in German and 'domestic genius' in Russian. Taboo motivations also belong here, as Albanian *bukël(z)* (< *bukur* 'beautiful, pretty'), Serbian/Croatian and Macedonian *lascia*, Russian *laska* 'dear, darling', Italian [*bella*] *donnola* '[beautiful] little woman' or French *belette* 'little beautiful woman', all names for the weasel. They were coined to flatter the dangerous animal and to win its favour. The lady-bird is associated with the Finno-Ugrian god *Ukko* ('the Old Man'), in Frisian with the elf *Puken* ('puck'), in southern Italy with the elf *Monachello*, in Romanian with *Paparuga* and 'witch' and in Greek with the *Moira*. The butterfly appears in Austria as 'the forest elf' and in Dutch as *boterwijf* and *boterhex* 'butter witch'. Fairy names for the butterfly are also attested in Italian *farfarello* and French

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farfadet, both closely connected with *farfalla* ‘butterfly’. The grasshopper may be ‘pregnant mother’ and ‘lady’ in Italian and ‘demoiselle, dame’ in French. According to Alinei, these names point to an earlier no longer recognisable sacred female being.

As for plants, the motivation ‘fairy’ occurs in England for the Primula veris (*fairy cups*), witch in English dialects for the Pyrus Aucuparia, Leontodon Taraxacum and Digitalis purpurea. Furthermore, *Wrights English Dialect Dictionary* (1898-1905) notes ‘Jupiter’ for the Sempervivum tectorum.

For the supernatural powers such as the corn spirit we also encounter anthropomorphic motivations such as, in Ireland, *carlin*, *seanbhean* (both meaning ‘old woman’), *old maid*, (*old*) *hag*, *cailleach* (‘old hag’ also meaning ‘witch’). A mythical ‘old man’ (*der Alte*, *der Kornalte*) was widespread in Germany, as was a mythical ‘old woman’ (*die Alte*, *altes Weib*) (cf. Beitl 1933/2000).

Among natural phenomena and planets, the rainbow has anthropomorphic representations everywhere in Europe. In the Turkic area they are associatewd with Tängri, in the Uralic area with Ukko and Tiermes, in the Indo-European area with Laume (in the Baltic region), Iris ‘old woman’ (in the Romance region), often together with ’bow’, ‘bell’ or ‘ribbon’. For thunder as well as for lightning one encounters Germanic Thorr, Lithuanian Perkūnas and the Finno-Ugric Ukko. Names for clound can be motivated by ‘old man’, as in Swedish. For the moon we find ‘old man’ in the Nenets area and ‘hoary old man’ in Ostiac and for the sun there is the sun-god Yarilo in Russian and Ukrainian.

5.3.2 The Zoomorphic Layer

In the most archaic layer that can be distinguished, i.e. the zoomorphic and totemic layer characteristic of egalitarian societies, the realia investigated appear in the form of either an animal or a kinship name. As this is the oldest layer, the evidence is, quite naturally, less overwhelming than for the two younger layers.

Starting with supernatural magico-religious beings, an appropriate example would be the last corn sheaf cut at harvesting into which the vegetation demon, it was believed, retreated. In Ireland we find granny ‘grandmother’ and in Germany Mutter ‘mother’, also in the compounds *Erntemutter* ‘harvest mother’, *Kornmutter* ‘corn mother’, moreover *Kind* ‘child’, also as *Erntekind* ‘harvest child’, *Braut* ‘bride’ and *Große Mutter* ‘grandmother’ as designations for this notion.The last corn sheaf was also named after those animals in the

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appearance of which this demon was imagined, namely *Bär* 'bear', *Bock* 'buck', *Hase* 'hare', *Rind* 'ox', *Kuh* 'cow', *Geiß* 'goat', *Hahn* 'cock', *Wolf* 'wolf' and *Kater* 'cat' in German. We find the same picture in the neighbouring Slavic area.

Coming to animals, Riegler (1937/2000) had already interpreted wild animals and insects as relics of a totemistic view of the universe in which they would be our closest relatives. This relationship, similar to kinship, is consequently expressed by kinship terms. Propp (1946) noted that the totem animal in its original form is embodied by the 'mother' and by matrilinear kins. This is indeed what we most often find in European dialects. Many kinship names were recorded for the lady-bird: 'grandmother' in, for example, Polish, Russian, Serbo-Croatian (now for many Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian), Mordvinian, Udmurtian, Finnish and Komi-Zyrian, 'mother' in, for example, Rumanian, Belorussian, Tatar, Bashkirian and Livian, 'aunt' in German and Italian, 'bride and spouse' in, for example, Turkish, Albanian, Macedonian, Italian, 'sister-in-law' in Bulgarian. 'Grandfather' occurs in Swedish, Komi-Zyrian and Maltese and 'uncle' in Albanian for the same notion lady-bird. In Lithuanian grasshopper may be called 'grandfather'.

Relics of totemism are still to be found in connection with butterflies. In Samoa butterflies are worshipped as a god and names of butterflies also point to totemism. In Rhaeto-Romance and Basque the butterfly is called `grandmother'; it is called `mother' in Austrian German and Sardinian and `(grand)father' occasionally in Tat and Udmurt. From a glottogenetic point of view, kinship names used for family relations would obviously exist already before magico-religious thinking began (some time in Middle and Upper Paleolithic, when the first forms of burial appear). Then we would need to know something about totemism, in the Upper Paleolithic, to allow the attribution of kinship names to animals.

Many more examples of this type can be cited. Thus the bear is called 'mother', 'father' and 'grandfather' by Turkic and Tartar peoples and 'dear grandfather' by the Swedes. The Hungarians call it 'godfather' and the Lapps 'clever father'. The wolf appears as 'little brother' in Ukrainian and Russian and the fox as 'godfather' in German (both in Low German as *vaddermann voss* 'Mr. godfather fox' or in High German as *Herr gevatter* 'Mr. godfather'), as 'little sister' in Ukrainian and Russian and as mon cousin 'my cousin' in French.

It must be interpreted as a sign of prehistoric totemism when tribes or their leaders were given names of animals. The leaders of the Jutes *Hengist* ('stallion') and *Horsa* ('horse') or the leader of the Goths *Berige* ('bear') are

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cases in point, as are the Germanic *Wylfingas* ('wolf), the Italic *Hirpi* (from Latin *hirpus* 'wolf) and the *Piceni* (from Latin *picus* 'woodpecker').

Compared with animals, plants do not seem to play the same role in totemism. Some plants are given kinship names, others are associated with animals. The pansy (Viola tricolor) is called *Stiefmütterchen* 'little step mother' and *Stiefkind* 'step child' in German. In Ukrainian the pansy has both kinship and animal names: 'brothers', 'brother and sister', 'orphan' and 'cuckoo birds'. *Dziad* 'grandfather' occurs in Polish for *blackberry* (Rubus fruticosus).

As to natural phenomena and planets, the moon is called 'grandfather' in Nenets and thunder is called 'father' and 'grandfather' in the Finno-Ugric area. These relationships are clearly totemic. In this class of realia animals occur rather often. For the rainbow we have 'dragon', 'snake', 'ox', 'cow', 'fox', 'drinking animal' in many European languages and dialects. Other zoomorphic representations appear with thunder, namely 'dragon' and 'serpent' and with lightning ('whale' and 'dolphin').

Also designations for bread (cf. Viereck 2000), names of diseases (cf. W.Viereck, K. Viereck 1999) and children's rhymes (cf. Viereck 2003) follow the same pattern. Unfortunately, the ALE has no notions in any of these areas.

6.0 Conclusion

In the process of the cultural development of Europe we thus find recurrent structural patterns: the same reality was first given kinship and zoomorphic names to be followed by anthropomorphic names and finally by Christian and Islamic names – and this across all language and dialectal borders.

The three periods mentioned, of course, do not end and begin abruptly. Archaeological finds show that there were fluid transitions also between the Stone Age on the one hand and the Metal Age on the other and that anthropomorphic representations were known also in the Neolithic period (cf. Müller-Karpe 1998). Also Riegler noted: "Remarkable are the many transition phases that led from the theriomorphic to the anthropomorphic apperception" (1937/2000: 826f.; translated from German). That the transitions between the pagan and the Christian layer can be better documented are to be explained with the greater temporal proximity to us. Up to the early 4th century the early Christian church had been an underground church and it took many centuries until the Christian faith had penetrated the whole of Europe. In Scandinavia heathendom and Christianity had co-existed down to the 11th century (cf. Capelle 2005, who calls his book characteristically "heathen Christians") and Lithuania became christianised only in the late 14th century.

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Just as earlier pagan places of worship had turned into Christian places of prayer, so Christian churches turned later into mosques. The best-known example of such a transformation is no doubt the Hagia Sophia in Istanbul. Also Jewish synagogues were consecrated as Christian churches. A good example of where the change was even kept in the name is the Sinagoga Santa María la Blanca in Toledo, which had become a Christian church already in 1405 long before the Jews were expelled from Spain in 1492.

With new religious beliefs a wave of new designations followed, yet the old conceptions often remained the same. To take just one example out of many:

When Christianity came to Britain, the bright yellow flowers of the plants in the Hypericum family that had been associated with the golden brightness of Baldur the sun-god came to be called St. John's wort, as Baldur's Day became St. John's Day. The plant continued to be thought a cure for wounds and on St. John's Eve good Christians wore a sprig of it to ward off evil spirits and especially to protect themselves against the stray thunderbolts of the gods (Ashley 1974: 116).

Saint John's Day is the Christian equivalent of the summer solstice, one the most important events in prehistoric times. In the early Christian period, pagan thought was alive and well. However, examples of this can easily be found today. The initials of Caspar/Kaspar+Melchior+ Balthasar+the year are still written on the entrance doors of people's houses in Catholic areas in Germany, in Italy and in Poland on Epiphany, January 6, to protect the people from evil of any kind and small pictures of St. Christopher are hung up by car drivers as a protection in many countries, such as the Ukraine and Germany. Apparently, Enlightenment has had no effect on people's piety.

The ALE relies, of course, on European dialects and languages. The motivational procedure unearthed some important elements in the mosaic of the cultural development of Europe. Unquestionably their consequences transcend the frontiers of the European continent. In the light of the complementarity of world cultures it would be highly desirable to complement the presented picture with insights into other cultures.

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