

# The Folklore of the Ladybird



Cor Hendriks

(Second draft 2015-02-08)  
(Chapter 8: East Europe)

## Chapter 8: East Europe

### A. Czechoslovakia

The Czech data originate from volume 2 of the *Český Jazykový Atlas* by Jan Balhar, Pavel Jančák e.a. The 'scientific name' is *sluněčko sedmítečné* (*Cocc. sept.*), derived of the most common name *sluníčko*, *sluníčko* (1), *sluňáčko* (2), *sluněčko* (3), *slunečko* (4), *slunečko brneňko* (5), *slunečko patrnečko* (6), *pámбіčkovо sluníčko* (7); *sluníčko víčko* (8).<sup>1</sup> This denomination dominates a big part of West Czechoslovakia and has in the east a border-area with *bedrunka*, *beruška*, *baruška*, *berunka* and *medrunka*, which appear in many shapes: *berunka* (1), *barunka* (2), *beberunka* (3); *bedruňka* (4), *bedrúnka* (5), *bjedrunka* (6), *b'edrunka* (7), *bedruňička* (8), *bedronečka* (9), *bedrňička* (10), *bedruna* (11), *bedruška* (12); *medrúnka* (13), *medruňička* (14), *medrňčka* (15), *medrňička* (16).<sup>2</sup> Along the southern border we see from west to east areas with *pinkalinka*, *bábrlinka*, *popelinka*, *mandelinka*, *maidalenka*, *helenka*, *halinka*, *poulinka*, *verunka* and *majdalenka*. These denominations also have a great number of variants: *verunka* (1), *veruňka* (2), *veronka* (3), *veverunka* (4), *pámбіčková verunka* (5); *verunka kunka*, *v. korunka* (6), *v. runka* (7); *marunka* (8), *merunka* (9), *meruňka* (10); *menurka*, *menurečka* (11).<sup>3</sup>

Besides these larger and smaller areas there are also a large number of dispersed appearing denominations: *petrunka* (1), *petrunelka* (2); *korunka*, *kokorunka* (3), *kokorúnka* (4), *okorunka* (5), *korunka runka* (6); *linka*, *línka* (7), *plínka* (8), *linka pinka* (9), *malinka* (10); *pinkalinka* (11), *plínkalinka* (12); *bábrlinka*, *bábulinka* (13), *babulinka* (14), *bábrlička* (15), *bapkulinka* (16); *boubelinka* (17), *bobelička* (18); *popelinka popelinka linka* (19); *pólinka*; *mandelinka*, *mandelínka* (20), *mandalinka* (21), *mandolinka* (22), *malka* (23); *halinka*, *halina* (24), *halenka* (25), *hálinka*, *hélonka* (26), *hélička* (27); *hólinka*, *holinka* (28); *helenka*; *majdalenka*, *-linka* (29), *majdelinka* (30), *majdalénka* (31), *máří majdalénka* (32), *majdalena* (33), *majolenka* (34), *malena* (35); *pámбіčková kravička* (36), *pámboškova k.* (37), *bóži k.* (38), *kravička* (39); *pámбіčková ovečka* (40); *pámбіčkovо slepička* (41), *pámбúčkovо s.* (42); *křepelička* (43), *křepelka* (44); *pelesťička* (45), *bedlesa* (46); *panenka* (47), *panenečka marylječka* (48); *sedmítečka* (49); *marinenkéfr* (50), *maryenkevr* (51).<sup>4</sup>

This list is followed by another series of denominations: *ankalinka* (1), *bálinka* (2), *bapka* (3), *blabuňka* (4), *blénka* (5), *brablenáček* (6), *hajdalinka* (7), *kankališka* (8), *konvalinka* (9), *majka* (10), *mařinka* (11), *pámovička* (12), *pámpovička* (13), *polesná* (14), *ponebička lička* (15), *skálinka* (16), *turek* (17).<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 1. 103, 131, 160, 621, 628; 2. 316, 320; 3. 441, 515, 673, 721; 4. 650, 665, 669, 671, 673, 65, 818, 831; 5. 802, 803; 6. 81; 7. 503; 8. 202, 328, 337.

<sup>2</sup> 1. 117; 2. 220, 245, 757; 3. 682, 75; 4. 102, 103, 108, 111, 113, 121, 122, 134; 5. 723, 724, 739, 750; 6. 826; 7. 832-836; 8. 813; 9. 821; 10. 740; 11. 654, 12. 112, 11; 13. 750; 14. 706, 750; 15. 725; 16. 751.

<sup>3</sup> 1. též 150, 162, 214, 217, 623, 634, 747, 72, též 158 nedubl.; 2. 639, 3. 738; 4. 716; 5. 718; 6. 685, 708, 711, 727; 7. 733; 8. 814, 817, též 807; 9. 747, 806, 807, 81; 10. 245, 722; 11. 811.

<sup>4</sup> 1. 702; 2. 819; 3. 75; 4. 732; 5. 735; 6. 736; 7-8. 301; 9. 435; 10. 460; 11. též 44; 12. 302; 13. 432, 448, 41; 14. 448; 15. 215; 16. 307; 17. 261, 414, 421; 18. 152; 19. 422; 20. 453, 27; 21. 456, 461; 22. 45; 23. 460; 24. 517, 601, též 604; 25. 626; 26-27. 611; 28. 625; 29. 235, 456, 462; 30. 440, 519; 31. 742, 744, 754; 32. 741; 33. 218, 754; 34. 430; 35. 430; 36. 222, 502, 618, 755, 757; 37. 655; 38. 504; 39. 503, 504, 513, 515, 624; 40. 746, 753; 41. 322, 323; 42. 322, 332; 43. 139, 151; 44. 151; 45. 139, 152; 46. 140; 47. 813; 48. 820; 49. 102, 624, 66; 50. 118; 51. 801.

<sup>5</sup> 1. 431; 2. 619 nedubl.; 3. 312; 4. 153 nedubl.; 5. 752 nedubl.; 6. 650; 7. 520; 8. 52; 9. 412 nedubl.; 10. 152; 11. 516; 12. 307; 13. 307; 14. 154 nedubl.; 15. 318 nedubl.; 16. 607 nedubl.; 17. 737 nedubl.

Finally there remains one denomination, *sluněčko sedmítečné* (1), the dictionary-name.<sup>6</sup> [We may compare the following note (34) by Alenka Šivic-Dular (infra): Enako S. Utěšený 428, op. 9, ki tako razlaga ne samo sln. *pikapolonica*, ampak tudi številne češke tvorjenke za 'Coccinella' na arealu češke besede *pinkalinka*, ki naj bi vse nastale iz *apolinka* z glasovnimi transformacijami v smeri *apolinka* → *popolinka*, *popelinka*, *populinka*, *papulinka*, *pápulinka*, *pampelinka*, *pampelička*) in dalje s spremembami (nosilnega) soglasnika (→ *babulinka*, *babolinka*, *babrlinka*, *bábrdlinka*, *babkalinka* *bobkulinka*, *boubelinka*, *bumbalinka*, *babylonka* (!), *fabulinka*); mutacijsko izhodišče ima smer *mandelinka* → *mandolinka*, *majdalinka*, *majdalénka*, *majdolenka*, *majolenka*. Mutacije k pinka: *ankalinka*, *angalinka*, *kankalinka*, *kankalička*, *kankališka*, *kompalenka*, *konvalinka*, *karolinka*, *zlatolinka*. And (n. 36): *apolinka*, *popolinka*, *popelinka*, *populinka*, *papulinka*, *pápulinka*, *pampelinka*, *babulinka*, *babolinka*, *babrlinka*, *babrdlinka*, *babkalinka* *bobkulinka*, *boubelinka*, *bumbalinka*, *fabulinka* *mandolinka*, *majdalinka*, *ankalinka*, *angalinka*, *kankalinka*, *konvalinka*, *karolinka*, *zlatolinka*.]

## B. Poland

Also provided with a map is the *Atlas Językowy Śląska* by Alfred Zaręba, of which volume 4 appeared in 1974.<sup>7</sup> The common Polish name is *biedronka*, which in this form does not appear in the researched area (Silesia, between Oder and Warta around Opole). The legend has the following denominations: *bedrunka*, *pańinka*, *pańenka*, *śūonecko*, *śūūnecko*, *śūunecko*, *śūnecko*, *sunecko*, *sōnečník*, *ślujńcko*, *patrūnka*, *patrunka*, *petrūnelka*, *petrunelka*, *petruska*.

The forms are located close together and in the limited commentary there are some more denominations: *petruńka*, *maryjosek*, *sunecusko*, *iągnyska*, *meśoncko*, *patrónelka*, *pedrūnka*, *śauobapka*, *p'ambůškowa kr'owicka*, *maruńka* and *ślunecko*.

As for Poland I found the following notation in *Słownik Języka Polskiego* by J. Karłowicza e.a.: *Biedronka*, *Biedrzonka*, [krówka Matki Boskiej] *Bożá krowka*, [Biedrażka, Trusla, Mateczka, Babinka, Babka, Patronka, Katanka, Jedronka, Jedrzonka] *zool. (Coccinella) drobný chrzasec trójcztonkowy* <Zap. na wzór Czes. *bedruńka*, zamiast *berunka* = *baranek*, bo inaczej owad nazywa się *Panny Marie беруška*><sup>8</sup>

There has also appeared a linguistic atlas of the Sorbian language area, in the east of Germany on the border with Poland along the Neißę, the *Sorbischer Sprachatlas* by Faßke, Jentsch and Michalk.<sup>9</sup> The denominations are:

1. a) *śūincko*, *śūyjncko*, *slyjncko*, *slójncko*, *śūónčko*, *śūónčatkō*, *slójncō*, *ślujńkō*  
b) *śūińjaško*, *śūyńjaško*, *slyńjaško*  
c) *boža śūónčko*, *boğoŭe śūincko*
2. a) *mařianka*  
b) *beža mařianka*, *boğoŭa mařika*
3. *boğoŭa ŭacka*
4. *s'jatej mařine kuřjatkō*, *s'jatej marcynę kuřjatkā*, *s'jatej marcynę kabōrčķi*

The most distributed forms are those mentioned under 1 (suffixal derivations of \**s/nbce* 'sun'). In the south around Bautzen dominates the complex expression *boža śūónčko*, all other denominations are simple except for the sporadic *boğoŭe śūincko*. In Schmogrow, Fehrow,

<sup>6</sup> 1. 27, 51, 52, 72, 81, 83, 93, 95.

<sup>7</sup> Alfred Zaręba, *Atlas Językowy Śląska*, Tom IV, Warszawa/Kraków 1974, część 2: wykazy i komentarze do map 501-750, 27: Mapa 602: Biedronka/Coccinella (orthographic approximation).

<sup>8</sup> J. Karłowicza e.a., *Słownik Języka Polskiego*, Warszawa 1900, Tom I, 148.

<sup>9</sup> H. Faßke, H. Jentsch und S. Michalk, *Sorbischer Sprachatlas*, III, Bautzen 1970, 184 n°73.

Horno and Suschow the denominations *mařjanŕka*, *beřa mařjanŕka*, *boĝoŭa mařika* are usual. In the Spreewald the denomination *marika* is known. Also *marijanka* is locally very limited (twice in the NW). In Schönhöhe and Drewitz *boĝoŭa ŭacka* was notated, from *wa(c)ka* Lower Sorbian ‘beetle’ (Upper Sorbian ‘worm’). In the dialect of Wittichenau (between Kamenz and Hoyerswerda) the complex expressions *s'jatej mařine kuřjatko* (1), *s'jatej marcyně kuřjatka* (2; *kuřjatko* of *kurjo* ‘chick’) and *s'jatej marcyně kaborčŕki* (2; *kaborčŕki* dim. of *kabor* ‘beetle’) are in use.<sup>10</sup> In the Sorbian dictionaries perused by the authors these expressions cannot be found, only *sloncŕko* ‘the speckled solar-beetle’; *slyńcko* ‘ladybird’; *slyńco*, *slyńcko* ‘sun-dial’; *slynco* also ‘ladybird’; *boře slónčko* ‘ladybird’. Even the relatively often appearing denominations *sŭńŕjaško*, *slyńjaško*, *sŭńŕjaško* are nowhere rendered as ‘ladybird’; *slyńjaško* is only known as ‘the sun, the little sun, the dear beautiful sun.’

## C. Slovene

I could not find maps of the Slovene, but several dictionaries provided: (*pika*)*polónica*,<sup>11</sup> in which *pika* = ‘point, dot’; also we find *ljubica*, which also means ‘beloved, sweetheart’.<sup>12</sup> The Slovene denominations of the ladybird are discussed in an article by Alenka Šivic-Dular, entitled: ‘On the Trail of Archaic Notions and Beliefs: the Slovene Terms for Coccinella Septempunctata.’<sup>13</sup> The introduction states: ‘The article reviews from an etymological point of view the Slovene names for the “Coccinella”, which prove, as in other languages, that this small insect was associated with a number of archaic notions, in Slovenia mostly in connection with Midsummer Eve. The author also draws attention to the significance of the addresses to the ladybird, which have yet to be thematically and typologically studied.’ The English summary at the end of the article states: ‘The author lists more than 40 Slovene terms for the “Coccinella”; according to their motive they are classified into several thematic groups, some of which have already been presented in (linguistic and etymological) scientific literature. Included are their habitat and an etymological analysis. In addition to this the author also treats addresses to the “Coccinella” as literary texts, in which terms can be created, preserved and revamped. An etymological analysis of the terms shows without any doubt that the lady-bird must have had a prominent role in archaic mythical notions, which could be researched in greater depth both through a systematic analysis of the motives, elements and combinations in Slovene addresses and an analysis of preserved beliefs.’

These ‘more than 40’ Slovene denominations are: -(1) *LIK*, 339: *marijin keber*, *marijin kefar*, *bogcova kravca*, *bořja kravca*, *mivrc* in *mavrc*, *marinca*, *cinca-marinca*, *kresnica*, (*ř*)*princa*, *řtanca*, *marolja*, *maronca*, *monřtranca*, *bořji volej*, -(2) *OLA* navaja 11 različnih *bořčawa krávida* (1: Solbica/ Stolvizza, Rezija) *povénčica* (3: Sv. Kriř/S. Croce); *pulónca puviéŭka* (5: Komen, obč. Seřana), *pikapaluónca* (6: Cerčno, obč. Idrija), *pikapalônca* (8: Horjul, obč. Ljubljana-Vič), *pikapolônca* (9: Valburga, obč. Ljubljana-Šiška), *řúřa* (10: Luče, obč. Mozirje), *pikapadavôikica* (11: Pomjan, obč. Koper), *puólca ruólca* (12: Hruřica, obč. Ilirska Bistrica), *paŭóŕka* (13: Babno polje, obč. Cerknica), *pikapolûonca* (14: Ribnica), *bôři vólak* (15: Dragatuř, obč. Črnomelj), *b'òři ŭolk* (16: Bučka, obč. Sevnica), *bôřji volik* (17: Mostec, obč. Breřice), *bŭři vúlek* (18:

<sup>10</sup> 1. 98, 103, 105, 106; 2. 99.

<sup>11</sup> Anton Grad, *Francosko-slovenski slovar*, Ljubljana 1975, 131.

<sup>12</sup> Ruřena Škerlj, *Angleřko-Slovenski slovar*, Ljubljana 1957, 326; France Tomřić, *Slovensko-nemřki slovar*, 418, 236, 384.

<sup>13</sup> Alenka Šivic-Dular, ‘Na sledi (arhaičnih) predstav in uver (na slovenskih poimenovanjih za: ‘Coccinella septempunctata’), *TRADITIONES* 26 - Zbornik Inřtituta za slovensko narodopisje, 1997, 63-76.

Šmarje), *b'òžji uólek* (19: Spodnja Ložnica, obč. Slovenska Bistrica), *božja íčika* (20: Videm ob Ščavnici, obč. Gornja Radgona), *margêitica* (21: Gomilice, obč. Lendava); -(3) *šprinca marinca*, nareč. *špri:nca mari:nca* (Obirsko: Karničar, 245) and *plévica*, nareč. *plé:wca* -□ (Korte: Karničar, 210 *à šprinca marinca*), ki jo kot *plévka* navaja tudi Plet. (II, 60); -(4) *pevójka* (Manžan, Istra, J. Keber (II, 174); -(5) *bivojkica* (Nova vas, Rožana Koštiál); -(6) s posredovanjem g. Alferije Bržan, roj. Kavrečič: *vojkica* and *pivojkica* (Marežige), *tipijolka*, (Korte), *peperinka* (Gažon), *ljubica* (Kubed), *mijolčica* (Pobegi, Čezarji); -(7) A. Bartel (434, s.v. Marienkäfer): *polónica*, *božja krávica*, *povélka*, *rožina* (besedo *rožina* navaja po Erjavcu iz Krna tudi Plet. II, 441); -(8) I. Vuk, Božji volek (*Naš dom* II, 1902, št. 24,1-3; 20. november): *sedmeropikec*, *Marijin hrošček*, *solnčni hrošček*, *božji icek* (prim. tudi Plet. I, 290: *ícek -cka*: 'junges, männliches Kalb', vzh.štaj. »(tudi nežno) = volek«); -(9) *Vrtec* (61, 1930-31, št. 1/2, 15-16) navaja *božja mimica*, *božja poslanka*; -(10) *pikapolonica*, *božji volek* in otroško tudi *pikapoka* (Bled in okolica, inform. Liza Benedik, študentka slavistike); -(11) *božja/rdeča minca* (Lida Krevel Bezlaj).

Also some Slovene rhymes are documented: – *Pikapolonca, zlet v nebu, dargač le ubijem* (Janez Dular, Vavta vas); – *Vrazej, vrazej, vrazi, / Kan se bôn ženu!* (Ziljska); – *Šibrica, mavrica, / Pokaži mi v naböse pot.* (Borovlje, Podkrnos: Štrekelj IV, št. 7983); – *Pikapolonca, zlet v nebo, prinesi mi zlato kolo* (Brezje na Gorenjskem); – *Pikapolonca, zleti v nebesa in mi prinesi zlata kolesa* (Leonora Nardoni Grah, Čirče pri Kranju; Polona Kostanjevec, Črnuče pri Ljubljani); – *Polonca, polonca, / Zlet na Šmarno goro, / Prnes nam dnarja, Ino povhno mošnó* (Torovo: Štrekelj IV, št. 7984); – *Pikapolonca, zleti v nebo, prinesi nam denarja!* (Minka Cvetek, (Bohinj); – *Pikapolonca, pokaž, kje je domek tvoj* (Joži Kode, roj. Jereb, Vrhnika); – *Božji volčk, božji volk / Pokaž nam toj domčk, / Če ne bom tebe m tojo mater ubov!* (Torovo: Štrekelj IV, št. 7985); – *Bòži vòlk, kê ti je mláda?* (Kamor odleti, tam mu je mlada = nevesta; Dragatuš: Štrekelj IV, št. 7986); – (našedši jo, jo nagovarjajo:) "*Povej, povej, povelčica, kje je moja ljubica!*" (Plet. II, 95); – *Roža, rožina! pokaž' svoj' ga možina* ("otroci jo tako nagovarjajo in kamor odleti, ondi jej živi mož", Krn-Erj.Torb., Plet. II, 441); – *Pléwca, plé:w, plé:w, puqá:ž, qe:j j ud mó:jha mó:ža xlé:w* (Karničar, 210); – *Pikapolonca, povej, kje je mojga ljubga hlev* (Katarina Šivic, Dobro Polje).

## D. Several Slavic languages

In the Slovakian the general denomination of the ladybird is *pánbožkova kravička* (zoological *lienka sedmobodá*), in which *pán* means 'lord', *božsky* = 'divine'; *pánboh* = 'lord god'; *krava* = 'cow', so 'little cow of the Lord God'.<sup>14</sup>

In the Serbian dictionary the usual denomination is *bubamára p(j)ègavá*.<sup>15</sup>

In the Croatian dictionary is said at **bubamára** ž kukac (beetle; vrsta) tv(r)dokrilac crvene ili žute boje s crnim pjegama (*Coccinella septempunctata*), vjesnik vjenčanja, pisma; božja ovčica.<sup>16</sup> And also: **bube** ž mn zool. *Insecta, Hexapoda* -> buba mara pegava (*Cocc. Septentrionalis*) – božja ovčica, božji volak.<sup>17</sup>

The etymological dictionary of Alemko Gluhak refers for *bubamára* to *búba* and Maria and compares the German *Marienkäfer(chen)*, *Marienwürmchen*. Other denominations are *božja kravica* and *božja ovčica*.

<sup>14</sup> Vaverková e.a., *Nemecko-slovensky a Slovensko-nemecký slovník*, Bratislava 1984, 203f; see also: Victor Smolej, *Slovensko-slovaški slovar*, DZS 1983, 311.

<sup>15</sup> S. Škerlj e.a., *Slovenačko-srpskohrvatski rečnik*, Ljubljana 1964/1974.

<sup>16</sup> Vladimir Anić, *Rječnik Hrvatskoga Jezika*, Zagreb 1998, 90.

<sup>17</sup> Vladimir Brodnjak, *Razlikovni Rječnik Srpskog i Hrvatskog Jezika*, Zagreb 1992, 48.

Equivalents in other Slavic languages are given: Polish: \**božbja korv-* (-*ьka*, -*ica*), *bōža kràvica*, Slovak: *pàn božková kravička*, p. *Boža krówka*, r. *bóž'ja korówka*, bjr. *bóžaja kavóůka*.

Romanian *Vaca domnului*, German *Gotteskühein*, *Herrgottskühein*, Finn *jumalanlehmä* (*jumal* 'God' (*bog*), *lehmä* 'cow' (*krava*)). Another denomination is *božji volek*, Romanian *boul domnuli* (usp. *boul popei* 'popol vol' (*vol* 'ox', *pope* 'priest')). Another derivation is \**divbja* / \**divaja* *korvьka*, \**divь(jь) vjerojatno sadrži ie. \*deiw-* i.e., 'božji' ('godly', see *divalj*). The term *božja ovčica* is compared with the German *Herrgott(s)schäffchen*, *Gottesschäffchen* and the Czech *beruška*, *berunka*.

The Czech *Panny Marie beruška* is translated with 'gospe Marije ovčica', cf. dialect *Matki Boskiej krówka* (Dosl. 'kravica Majke Božje'); Albanian *pule Shën Mëris* into French *poulette à Dieu* (Dosl. 'božja kokica'). Finally the denominations with 'sun' are referred to: Hš. *Sūnčević*, Gluž. *bože slónčko*, Ukr. *Sónečko*, Bjr. *sonejka*, *solnyška*, etc.

In the Russian Lithuanian dictionary we find *borūžė*, *diėvo karvýtė*, also *diėvo karvýtė* (*karvēlė*, *karvūtė*), *boružė*.<sup>18</sup>

In the Bulgarian the usual denomination is *божа кравица*, *божа кравица* (*kràva* 'cow'), (dim. of I.1. snowball-tree; 2. rowan, mountain-ash; II.1. unmarried younger sister of the husband; 2. ladybird; 3. (corn-)poppy; 4. pomegranate; 5. bridal maiden).<sup>19</sup>

Horace Lunt, in an article entitled 'Old Church Slavonic *bedrъno*',<sup>20</sup> touches also on what the Americans call the ladybug: Pol. *biedronka*, *biedrunka*, *biedronka*, *biedrązka*; Cz. *bedruňka*; BR *bedrúnka*; Ukr. dial. *bédryk*.<sup>21</sup> Brückner cites only Polish, and associates the words with *biedzieniec* 'pimpinella' and with his hypothetical adjective \**biedry* < *bьdr-*. Only Sławski, in his current new work, gives *biedronka* as a separate entry. He follows Lehr-Splawiński, citing Cz. *bedruňka* and interpreting it as an alternate form of *berunka*, *beruška*, diminutives of *beran* 'ram', sometimes applied to the ladybug.<sup>22</sup> There is no mention of any parallel forms in Polish to

<sup>18</sup> Ch. Lemchenas, *Rusų-Lietuvių kalbų žodynas I*, Vilnius 1982, 113; J. Kruopas (red.), *Lietuvių kalbos žodynas*, Vilnius 1969, 517.

<sup>19</sup> T. Athanassova e.a., *English-Bulgarian Dictionary*, 3<sup>e</sup> ed. Vol. II, Sofia 1985, 41; I. Atanassov e.a., *Bulgarian-English Dictionary*, Sofia 1975, 54; L. Stephanova e.a., *Dictionnaire bulgare-français*, Sofia 1964, 49; M. Pavlova, A. Garnefski, *Nederlands-Bulgaars Woordenboek*, Sofia 2002, 257; P. Petkov, e.a., *Bulgarisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, Sofia 2001, 414. It is remarked that *божа кравица* has the secondary meaning of a shy or soft person, a hypocrite, etc. (sage comme un image); Atanassov speaks of a 'goody-goody; a harmless individual'; с'ѣщинска *божа кравица* he looks as if butter wouldn't melt in his mouth; he can't say boo to a goose. Stephanova: *bonne bête*; той е *божа кравица*: c'est une bonne bête; правеше се на *божа кравица*: il prenait un air de Sainte Nitouche (Sainte Nitouche: loc. fam. personne hypocrite, douceuse, affectant la simplicité et l'innocence. Etym. Saint N'y touche).

<sup>20</sup> Horace G. Lunt, II, 'Old Church Slavonic *bedrъno*', in: *Language*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (Apr.-Jun., 1953), pp. 128-133, here 131-133. Abstract: OCS \**bedrъnъ* 'rich' is attested only once, in the form *bedrъno*. It has no relation to *bьdrъ* 'vigilant' and *bьděti* 'be awake'. It is cognate with Sanskrit *bhadraḥ* 'good fortune, auspicious', and establishes an IE \**bhed-r-* rather than the *bhād-* posited by earlier investigators. From the same base are formed Slavic names for the herb burnet saxifrage and the ladybug, both of which are associated in Slavic belief with good luck and prosperity.

<sup>21</sup> Note 16: Cf. Karłowicz; Nosovič; Żelechowski; also B. Hrinčenko, *Slovar' ukrains'koi movy* (Berlin, 1924).

<sup>22</sup> Note 17: F. Sławski, *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego* (Cracow, 1952); cf. T. Lehr-Splawiński, *Słownik języka polskiego s.v. biedr[z]onka* (1939). Holub and Kopečný (*Etym. slovník*) list *berunka*, *beruška* as modern forms of an original *bedruňka*, allegedly an 'expressive modification' of *brouček* (itself a diminutive of *brouk*) 'beetle', and give *beroušek*, hypocoristic of *beránek* (dim. of *beran*), as a parallel. The relation of the presumable old root *bręk-/bręk-* to *bedr-* > *ber-* is not further explained. It is a fault of the Holub-Kopečný dictionary that odd forms, which more cautious scholars would frankly label 'unclear', are frequently classed without qualification as 'expressive' forms. Vague semantic relationships are too often preferred to phonetic facts.

support this Czech shift, and no explanation of the exceptional change *-r- > -dr-*. But the aim is to make a recognizable animal of the word, parallel to the SC *božja ovčica* ‘god’s little sheep’, for then the term fits into the astonishing range of names used for this bright-colored little beetle: Eng. *ladybird*, *-cow*, *-fly*; Ger. *Gotteskühhchen*, *Mariekenperd*, *Herrgottschäfchen*; R *bóž’ja koróvka*, Slovene *božji vólak*, Fr. *bête à [bon] dieu*, and many more.<sup>23</sup>

Throughout Europe this insect is well known, and everywhere it has some significance. A list of the headings discussed in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* is sufficient, for our purposes, to show the range of the meanings: from the other world; devoted to the Virgin Mary; bringer of gifts; bringer of children; protection; sunshine; weather oracle and oracle in general; love oracle; bringer of luck; often connected with cow; occasionally used in folk medicine. The connection with divine forces is clearly not only Christian, for it is found also in the Sanskrit term *indragopa* ‘protected by Indra’, the Yiddish *moise rabeinu’s kihele* ‘Moses’ little cow’, and Finnish *ukoinlehmä* ‘cow of the god Ukko’.<sup>24</sup>

As ‘god’s animal’, the coccinella is a bringer or harbinger of good fortune, often expressed specifically as sunshine and good weather and therefore good crops. Again the proposed IE *\*bhedr-* fits the form and meaning of the Slavic words, and the developments are regular. In the whole South Slavic area, the Christian terminology seems to have replaced the names for the ladybug based on *\*bedr-*: SC *b□ba mára*, Bg. *božá* [132] *krávica*, *litmára*, etc. In the central area of Slavic the old forms are often replaced by diminutives of ‘sun’, e.g. Cz. *sluníčko*, Sorbian *bože slónčko*, *slyňaško*, Ukr. *sónečko*.<sup>25</sup> Both types of substitute show only that the meaning of the word was not vivid enough to express the still living association of the ladybug with divine protection and good weather. Another series of variants can be explained on the basis of an original *\*bedr-*. Old Czech *vedrunka* is considered by Gebauer and Flajšhans to be the primary form, since it is glossed by *estula*, *estiva*. As the ‘summer insect’, Flajšhans associates it with Cz. *vedro* ‘heat, hot weather’.<sup>26</sup> There are, to be sure, some cases of *v > b* in Czech, but they are exceptional.<sup>27</sup> The survival of only the form with *b*, plus the analogues in other languages, argues strongly that it is the change *bedr- > vedr-* which needs explanation. Here it is not Czech but general Slavic which gives a more likely guide, for the original meaning of *vedrъ*, *vedro* is certainly ‘clear, fine weather’, as it still is in Russian. Precisely this concept is associated with the ladybug: desirable weather, not the unpleasant heat denoted by Cz. *vedro*. This might serve also to explain the loss of *vedrunka* in Czech; the term does not seem apt, and is replaced by completely new names. The Polish substitution of *jedronka* for *biedronka* seems to be simply a distortion which adds no semantic elements and results in a name as arbitrary as the old one.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Note 18: *Handwörterbuch d. dt. Aberggl.* 5.1691 ff. gives literature and résumés treating Germany in detail and western Europe in general terms, with some references to other areas. See also *Stand. dict. of folklore* 599, and the excellent and exhaustive monograph *Über die kinderreime vom marienkäfer und dessen benennungen im finnischen und estnischen*, by M. Juvas and K. Vilkuna, in *Finnish-ugrische Forschungen* 24.154-231.

<sup>24</sup> Note 19: I wish to thank Morris Halle for calling the Yiddish form to my attention. Ukko was the old Finnish thunder-god and supreme deity; cf. Vilkuna, *Finn.-ugr. Forsch.* 24.226.

<sup>25</sup> Note 20: Cf. Moszyński, *Kult. lud. słow.* 2-1.570; E. Muka, *Słownik dolnoserboskeje rěcy* s.v. *slyňaško*.

<sup>26</sup> Note 21: Jan Gebauer, *Slovník staročeský* (Prague, 1903), lists ‘*bedrunka* v. *vedrunka*’, but the dictionary does not reach the letter *v*. One can only assume that he reasoned like V. Flajšhans, *Klaret a jeho družina* 2.494 (Prague, 1928). It is worth mentioning that Vilkuna concludes that the primary significance of the ladybug in the Finnish area is as a weather oracle, *Finn.-ugr. Forsch.* 24.228.

<sup>27</sup> Note 22: Gebauer, *Historická mluvnice jazyka českého* 1.423, cites various interchanges of *b* and *v*. To illustrate *b > v*, he quotes *vedrník* (14th century) for *bedrník*, without explanation. F. Trávníček, *Hist. mluvn. jaz. česk.* 141 (Prague, 1935), gives no new information for the words in question. It might be noted here that Brückner cites Old Pol. *wiedrzeniec* as an obsolete variant of *biedrzeniec*, offering no explanation for the consonant alternation.

It is interesting to note that in Ukrainian there is, beside the dialectal *bédryk*, also *ščédryk* ‘ladybug’.<sup>29</sup> In some of the New Year's songs called *ščedrivyky* there is an opening formula *ščédryk-védryk*, with the variant *ščédryk-bédryk*.<sup>30</sup> Here there seems to be no present-day association with the ladybug, and indeed the second element of the formula is meaningless. The first part is clearly related to *ščedryj* ‘generous’, and to the widespread Slavic terminology concerning the festivities of Christmas and the New Year. The songs we are concerned with are sung by poor children asking for gifts. The exact relationship between an older *\*bedrikъ* meaning ‘giver, source of good things’ and the ladybug and the midwinter customs is not clear, and deserves special study. But again the base *bedr-* is demonstrated to mean something like ‘prosperity, good fortune’.

Polish dialects have a number of names for cows, usually signifying the coloring: *biedrona*, *biedrawa*, *biedrula*, *biedrun*, *biedroń* ‘spotted, dappled; red; with a white back’. Ślawnski cites them s.v. *biedronka* ‘ladybug’, offering no explicit etymology, while Brückner, noting only *biedroń*, derives it from his hypothetical *\*biedry*. The terms sometimes seem to denote ‘having large haunches’; but since the basic meanings appear to be color, the suggestion that they originally derive from *bedro* ‘thigh’ is not convincing. Can *\*bedr-* have some connection with the notion ‘cow’ so frequently associated with the ladybug? Can it have been perhaps the epithet of a cattle-god, a giver of prosperity? If so, we may suppose that the words derived from it tended, after the loss of the old religious concept, to become confused with derivatives from *bedro*. More information about the sphere of usage and the exact meaning of all these words is necessary before this can be anything but a tentative hypothesis. At any rate, an IE *\*bhedr-* seems secure. A few remaining Slavic botanical names can be assigned to the group, even though there is no specific semantic information. Such are SC *bèdrika* ‘type of apple’, R dial. *bedrjána* ‘a tree (*Cydonia vulgaris*)’, Ukr. *bedrýnec* ‘peucedanum cervaria’, Slovene *bedrînac* ‘a grass; trinia’. As a parallel, one can point to the large number of botanical and zoological terms using *bhadra-* in Sanskrit.

To sum up, OCS *bedrъno* seems to be the only attested form of an adjective *\*bedrъnъ*, ‘rich’, not found in any modern dialect. The base *\*bedr-* served also for words like *\*bedrъnъcbъ*, and *\*bedrъnikъ* meaning ‘fortune-bringing plant’, applied to the burnet saxifrage, and *\*bedronьka* and *\*bedrikъ* ‘luck-bringing insect’, applied to the ladybug, and perhaps for certain other plant and animal names as well. There is no connection with the root *bъd-* ‘be awake’, and thus this group of words is NOT evidence for the supposed change of *ъ > b* in Old Church Slavonic or other languages.

## E. Toporov

Pomerania (Pommerland; see chapter 5) is at the present West Poland and a map of the same area, originating from the *Atlas Językowy Kaszubszczyzny i dialektów sąsiednich* (map 159), is taken up in an article in Russian by Vladimir N. Toporov, who also wrote the article ‘Ladybird (*Coccinella septempunctata* L.) in the Baltic and Slavic Traditions in Connection with the

<sup>28</sup> Note 23: Karłowicz s.v. *biedronka*. *Jedronka* is found in one of the typical verses (in the north Mazovian dialect) asking the ladybug to show, by the direction of her flight, the dwelling of the speaker's future bride; see *Prace filologiczne* 4.823. Other examples of this type of verse in K. J. Erben, *Prostonárodní české písně a říkadla* 89; M. Federowski, *Lud białoruski na Rusi litewskiej* 1.261 (Cracow, 1897).

<sup>29</sup> Note 24: Cf. Zelechowski; Z. Kuzela and J. Rudnyćkyj, *Ukrainisch-deutsches Wörterbuch* s.v. *ščedryj* (Leipzig, 1943). George Shevelov tells me that these forms are doubtless from the western Ukraine.

<sup>30</sup> Note 25: See Hrinčenko; Kuzela-Rudnyćkyj. I am grateful to George Shevelov for calling my attention to this fact.



Reconstruction of Some Motives of the Principal Myth', published in *Humanitas religiosa: Festschrift für Haralds Biezais zu seinem 70. Geburtstag, dargebracht von Freunden und Kollegen*, which appeared in 1979 in Uppsala. On the map large areas are indicated next to dispersed appearing denominations. The large areas are filled with amongst others the denomination *biedronka*, which takes up the largest area, from the south around Bydgoszcz up along the Wisła. Along the borders of this area there are several smaller areas with *panienka*, *panieneczka*, as well as at the north in between two of those smaller areas an area with *panna marya*, *panna marianna*, *panka marianka*. North of this (in the south of the province of Gdansk) lies a small area with *marianna*, *marianka*, *marinka*. Next to this lie several dispersed small areas with *godzinka*, *godzineczka*. Finally up to the Baltic Sea lie two larger areas with *kropielniczka*, *kropelniczka*. The more dispersed denominations are *kruska* in the north around Wejherowa, interchanged with *kruska muska*, as well as *matuszka kruska* and *matka kruska*. To the south, around Kartuzi, we see *makówka* and *litewka*. Still more to the south, between Bytów and Kościerzyna, are *morówka* and *borowiczka*, *boroweczka*, *boróweczka*, *borówka*, that share one sign. Also we see here *matynka*, *matyneczka*, *matyniczka* with one sign, as well as *borowa matka*, *borowa matynka*, *borowa matyneczka*, *borowa matuszka*. Further there are *borowa ciotuszka*, *krówka*, *boża krówka*, *borowa krówka*, *patronka*, *patroneczka* and *katrynka*. Finally there is also a sign on the map to indicate sporadic denominations, which have been taken up in the for me not accessible Polish commentary: *krupy*, *kr'epmunczka*, *kr'Apniczka*, *kr'epniczka*, etc.<sup>31</sup>

In his article Toporov discusses what he calls the 'principal' myth and starts for that with denominations for 'deer' in old Polish dictionaries: *dajvā korvo*, literally 'wild cow', or *Deiwa Korwō*, *Deiwa korwo*, *Deiwakurwa*, *Deiwa Korwō*, *deiwa Korwō*. These denominations show a great similarity with the Lithuanian ladybird denomination *diēvo karvỹte*, literally 'God's little cow', and Toporov supposes – in my opinion with reason – that this was the original meaning, so not 'wild', but 'of God' (East Baltic *diev-*, Prussian *dei-*, old Indian *dev-*, Avestian *daev-*). He then points to the Russian *bōžbja koróvka*, Polish *boża krówka*, Bulgarian *bōža kràvica* [*kràvička*], etc., where one word for 'God' has been replaced by another. In the same way one piece of cattle can be replaced by another and he mentions *olenb*, *konb*, *božbja ptica*, *pčela*, *ovca*, SCr. *bōžja òvčica*, Czech *bedruňka*, *berunka*, *beruška*, Polish *biedronka*, *biedrunka*,<sup>32</sup> German *Herrgottschäpfchen*, Czech *Panny Marie beruška* (where 'God' – one member of heaven by another – has been replaced by Maria).

The cows of God (Romanian *vaca domnului*) or sheep or even birds (French *poulette à Dieu*, Italian *palomilla*) are elsewhere connected with the sun: Ukrainian *sónečko*, Czech *Sluničko sedmítečné*, Upper Sorbian *bože slónčko*, German *Sonnenkäfer*, *Sonnenkälbchen*.<sup>33</sup>

These specify in many important respects the semantic motivation of the ladybird as a sun (a flying insect of a protuberant round form, being usually red or yellow), and the place of the principal myth with which the image of the sun-ladybird is connected. Toporov wants to be make this more concrete: the topic of the celestial wedding is meant which is well preserved exactly in

<sup>31</sup> *Atlas Językowy Kaszubszczyzny i dialektów sąsiednich*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1967, IV, II, 68-75 (Mapa 159: Biedronka). On p. 74 are more denominations, that are hard to reproduce.

<sup>32</sup> Note 4: A modern scientist compares forms like Byelor. *bedryk*, *bedarka*, Ukr. *bédrak*, *bédrix*, etc. with the names of the ladybird like Byelor. *petryk*, *pjatrok*, *-uk*, *pjatrusb*, and even *petra-paũla* (cf. Šatalowa 166ff), here belongs also Lith. *petrėlė*. Nevertheless these names may be explained in a different way too...

<sup>33</sup> He mentions (as images of the sun) also the Bulgarian riddle: *Edna boža kravica vsičkija svat napòlnila* and *Sl̨nceto*, or Kljuev's [...] *I pojdem v sinb i gatb*, / *Solnce-božbju korovku* / *Allilujem vstrečatb* [...].

the Baltic mythological folklore<sup>34</sup>, but also known from scattered evidences of other traditions. Toporov wants to stress two facts singling out the Baltic version of this topic in some characteristic aspects: 1. The participation in it of the Thunder-God (*Perkūnas*, *Pērkons*), or God, or God's son (Latvian *Dievs*, *Dieva dēls*), whose correspondence is sometimes not the Sun (*Sāulē*, *Saule*) itself, but the Sun's daughter (or daughters, cf. Latvian *Saules meita*, Lith. *Saulės dukterys*, with the Vedic image of *Duhitā Sūryasya* 'Daughter of the Sun' semantically and etymologically similar to it); the instrument of punishment of the traitor who has broken the conjugal union being usually the Thunder-God himself. 2. The marriage is broken by a *male* personage – the moon (cf. *Mēnuo*, *Mēness*, Russ. *Mesjac*), and not by a female one, as it is characteristic of the most part of traditions (partly, by the way, by the Baltic as well). Nevertheless, the female personage (the Sun, the Sun's daughter) and its 'entomological' recording (*sónečko*, *božbja korovka*, *bože slónčji* and other denominations of the ladybird) being associated with the positive principle (the ladybird is connected with God, brings children, helps to find the herd, warns about danger, foretells rich or poor harvest to a person, one's life-span, protects the lovers, etc.) retain to a certain degree traces of those transformations which have taken place in the myth concerning the negative female personage, who had been unfaithful to her husband, the Thunder-God. Cf. the motive (usually represented in an implicit form in the myth) of the transformation of the consort of the Thunder-God, the Sun, into a sun-like insect (ladybird), a similar motive being present in other traditions as well, where a guilty wife is transformed into a harmful insect or gives birth to them (gnats, mosquitoes, flies, etc.) and they are taken for her children.<sup>35</sup> The motive of the ladybird being singed having a narrow escape from the celestial fire<sup>36</sup> should be treated in the same context (cf. in the Russian tradition a popular address: *Božbja korovka, uleti na nebo prinesi nam xleba, černogo i belogo, toľko ne gorelogo* [God's little cow, fly to heaven, bring us bread, black or white, but not burned<sup>37</sup>]), the usual motive being the infliction with lightning-fire of the wife of the Thunder-God.<sup>38</sup> The theme of punishment with fire is even more obvious in a number of folklore texts (those of children in particular), which are built according to the following principle: *Božbja korovka, leti domoj, tvoj dom v ogne, tvoi deti gorjat* [...; ~, fly home; your house is on fire, your children (are hot, have a fever?)] (cf. a characteristic parallel in connection with the theme of the ladybird and the house of the sun – a Sorbian formula *slónčko w boži domčk dže*, about the setting sun, the name of the ladybird in this tradition being *bože slónčko*, i.e., 'the sun of the God' [better: God's little sun]. The motive of the children burning because of their mother's sin ('not ones own' children) or of the violation of an interdiction is well known in a number of versions of the principal myth. In a note Toporov here refers to 'the typical formula of the Lithuanian folklore texts':

<i>Petrėli, bėk, bėk,</i>	Lady-bird, hurry-hurry,
<i>tavo vaikų rėk, rėk,</i>	your children are crying-crying,
<i>šaukštai, bliūdai nemazgoti,</i>	the plates and saucers are not washed,

<sup>34</sup> He refers to the work of H. Biezais, *Die himmlische Götterfamilie der alten Letten*, Uppsala 1972, 494ff (where no ladybirds are mentioned).

<sup>35</sup> The ladybird, though, does not belong to this group of harmful insects, that are usually created as punishment of mankind! So here is a flaw in the reasoning.

<sup>36</sup> The Icarus-motive, see chapter 1.

<sup>37</sup> The rhyme is printed also in the *Mother Goose Rhymes*, Moscow 1988, 605 at n°281 (without translation). See also Toporov 1981, 283, where also the equivalent: *Božbja karouka, naljaci na neba, prynjasi nam chleba; čornaga i belaga, molbki negarėlaga*.

<sup>38</sup> Note 8: [T]he Thunder-God's wife has often a 'fiery' name: Russ. *Malanja* (from *molnija* [молния] 'lightning'), *Ognennaja Marija* (from *ogony* 'fire') [Огненный 'fiery, flaming'].

*po suolelio pakavoti!*<sup>39</sup>

hidden under the bench!

In folklore and mythological texts this motive is anyhow co-ordinated with the future transformations of the Thunder-God's wife as well (cf. Rumanian *Sf. Vineri* 'Holy Friday', etc.). Even if one proceeds from the limited number of examples given above, at this stage one should inevitably come to the conclusion that the ladybird is nothing else than the 'transformed' Thunder-God's wife bearing on her body traces of the fire punishment. This conclusion is backed by many other facts. It would be reasonable to limit oneself to the female denominations of the ladybird like Latvian *mārītē* (while in the image of Māra both the features of the Thunder-God's wife and those of Our Lady, Virgin Mary, are combined), Lith. *marýtė* cf. particularly *diėvo marýtė*, lit. 'God's little Mary' [dim.] as a denomination of the ladybird), *katrýtė*, lit. 'little Catherine' [dim.] etc., while there are similar names of serpents (e.g., in charms), addressed to the wife of the Thunder-God<sup>40</sup>[;] as parallels may be compared German *Marienkäfer*, English *ladybird*, *ladybug*, It. *bestia della Vergine*, Albanian *pul'e Shën Mëris*, and other examples, where the ladybird is represented as a result of Christian re-coding in co-ordination with Our Lady (*implicit* the wife of God). It is only natural that there arises also the theme of the children of the punished wife of the God which is developing in two directions. In the first of them the image of the children of the Sun is actualised (: the ladybird, the God's wife), they being incarnated as the days of the week (or correlated to them). The seventh of them is marked as the day of the sun (English *Sunday*), while Thursday in a number of traditions is nominated as the day of the Thunder-God<sup>41</sup> and Friday as that of the Thunder-God's wife (Holy Friday – Sv. *Pjatinica*, etc.). According to the motive that only the last of the seven children saved himself, *rose from the dead*, a number of deaths and births were brought into play (cf. the nomination of the days of the week according to the account [= counting] principle: the first, second, third, [...] seventh, as well as a similar denomination of the fingers, which are also correlated to the images of the children of the Thunder-God, e.g. Russ. *Mal'čik-s-pal'čik*, *mizinec* as the last, the smallest son of the God.<sup>42</sup> The *second* direction implies the stressing of the motive of fire punishment of the ladybird's children (or of the wife of the God). They are seven (as well as the days of the week) according to the number of the spots on the ladybird's back (cf. such names of it as the German *Siebenpunkt*, Lith. *borūžė septyntaškė*, Latin *Coccinella septempunctata*, etc.) – with the motive of the *seven* spots, dots<sup>43</sup>, cf. the strict interdiction to kill ladybirds. Both these directions are naturally correlated to the data known about the Thunder-God's children from the 'paternal' versions of the myth and to the settled ideas based on them, being completely out of touch with their sources. Toporov refers to the 'Seven Perkūnas': 'The first Perkūnas is not strong [...], and the seventh Perkūnas is very strong, being the eldest and strongest.' There are good reasons to

<sup>39</sup> See also Toporov 1981, 284 n. 29, with Russian translation.

<sup>40</sup> Note 10: Cf. the other 'denominative' names of the lady-bird – Lith. *petronėlė*, *petrėlė*, *petrėlis* (from *Petras* 'Peter'); cf. also *borūžė*, *barbūtė*. Further material in Backman 1947.

<sup>41</sup> Note 11: Sometimes a female personage corresponds to Thursday – cf. Rumanian *Joimărița* (*Joi-mari* 'Great Thursday') 'She-Thursday'.

<sup>42</sup> In a note Toporov remarks that the fingers have special names, cf. Latvian *garā Marīte* 'long little Mary'. This kind of naming is known all over Europe, in nursery-rhymes, in English: 'Thumb he, Wizbee, Long Man, Cherry Tree, Little Jack-a-Dandy' or 'Tom Thumbkin, Willy Wilkin, Long Daniel, Betty Bodkin, And Little Dick', 'Tommy Tibble, Harry Wibule, Tommy Tizzle, Harry Whistle, Little Wee-wee-wee', or the other way around: 'Little Pig, Pillimore, Grimithistle, Pennywhistle, Great big Thumbo, father of them all' and 'Toe Tipe, Pennywipe, Tommy Thistle, Billy Whistle, Tripping-go' (*MGR* 237f n°530-1, 533-5).

<sup>43</sup> In a long note Toporov connects the punishment motive with the defeat of the sons of Nioba, seven in the version of Euripides, by Apollo's arrows. But here the last son is not saved; instead it is the story of the children of Saturn: seven, of which the youngest, Zeus, killed the father, and brought all the other children back to life; which is very much the story of the wolf and the seven little goats, the youngest of which hid in the clock, etc.

think that it is the seventh son who is marked: being the youngest and sometimes characterized by ugliness, he is the only one who can stand the ordeal by *fire* and *water*; he is well versed in these elements (cf. the traditional question to the ladybird, whether it will be raining or the weather will be good<sup>44</sup>), and turns to be the Thunder-God's 'own' son. It is with him that the idea of eternal recurrence, resurrection, richness, the direct line of succession to the Sun is connected. Turning back to the Baltic tradition it should be stressed the 'entomological' code gives us also a negative personage correlated by the structure of its name to *diēvo karvýtė* or *diēvo marýtė*, that is the 'dragon-fly', cf. Lith. *laūmžirgis*, *laūmės žirgas*, lit. 'Laume's horse', *Laumė* being one of the variants of the Thunder-God's wife, cf. also *vėlnio žirgas* 'the devil's horse', *ragánžirgis* 'the horse of the Ragana-witch', being different [de]nominations of the dragon-fly in contradistinction to *diēvo žirgėlis*, lit. 'God's little horse'. At the same time, the mutual relation *diēvo karvýtė* – *laūmės žirgas* is determined by the opposition female (but connected with male, cf. *diēvas*), divine, positive – male (but connected with female, cf. *laūmė*), diabolic, negative, or in terms of the principal myth, connected with the Thunder-God. [Toporov refers in a note to Old Indian *indragopa* 'ladybird', lit. 'having Indra (the Thunder-God) as a herdsman', as well as the theme of the God's cattle in *devasya gauḥ*, *deva-gava*, etc., cf. Latvian *dieva gov.*.] Toporov's conclusion, in a word, is: the linguistic analysis of the names of the ladybird in Baltic and Slavic, as well as the investigation of the folklore and mythological texts connected with this image, give the possibility to reconstruct an important fragment of the principal myth by means of its reflections, preserved in the messages of the 'entomological' code.

Although the 1981-article is not accessible to me, it still is possible to take some information from it. In note 33 two Lithuanian addresses to the ladybird are communicated: *Diēvo marýtė bėga man per ranka* and *Maryt, maryt, skrisk pas dievą!* Another one (p. 287) is: *Maryt, katryt, kada bus pagada?* A Latvian (287 n. 42) is: *Marele, Katrele, pasakyk, kada bus lietus?* On p. 289 two almost identical Russian rhymes are reproduced: *Božaja karoúka, / Dèe maja svjakroúka? / Ci ú levym baku, / Ci ú praym baku, / Ci ú žoútym pjasku?* And: *Pjatrú, Pjatrú, / Pjatrúšačka, / A dèe maja dušačka? / Ci ú levym baku, / Ci ú praym baku, / Ci ú žoútym pjasku?* Other ones are hard to reproduce and are also without translation.

## F. A Thread on the Internet

On the internet I found the following "thread" which is related to Toporov and the 'Principal Myth'. The thread was started by Mratinjak with a translation with minor abbreviations of an article by O.A. Ternovskaja from 1995.<sup>45</sup>

Ladybug (Lat. *Coccinella septempunctata*) is an insect that plays the role of a "bride" and divinator in the myth of the "Sun's wedding". The mythological motif has been reconstructed on the base of several hundreds of names for "ladybug" and the texts of children's songs addressed to ladybug. Among these names of major importance are the ones derived from \**ьлнѣсо* and

<sup>44</sup> Note 15: Cf. Lith. *Petronėle, petronėle, kumet būs lytaus?* or *Maryt katryt, kada būs pagada?* etc. The Ukr. *bédrik* 'Coccinella' as well as the other words from the same root might be explained in this context. It should be reminded that *bédrik* is connected with God and Christmas Eve, that is with the joint of the Old and New Year (cf.: *Daj, Bože / na bedrik!* or *Ščedrik-bedrik! dajte varenik*, but *Ščedrij večir* [de]nominating the Eve of the New Year). The fact that the ladybird is timed to the main feast of the annual cycle is of great importance.

<sup>45</sup> Терновская, О. А. Божья коровка // Славянские древности: Этнолингвистический словарь / Под ред. Н. И. Толстого. М., 1995, т. 1, с. 221-222. Translated with minor abbreviations. By [Mratinjak](#), edited September 2013 (also the date of the thread).

\*vedro, \*(buba-)mara, \*ze(g)zulja, \*ivanъ, \*božbja korvъka, \*pi(nъ)kalinъka, derivations from terms of kinship etc.

Terms for ladybug and incantations addressed to her are related with the rites of spring-summer ritual complex: East Slav. "Kupala", West Slav. "Marena", Rus. "Baptism and Funeral of the Cuckoo", Bulg. "Enjo's Bride", East Pol. "Oxen and Horse Weddings" and some others.

The ritual of Midsummer is the key one – Bulg. *Enjova bulja*, in which the role of the Sun's bride and consort is taken by a chosen real girl (her name in the ritual songs is usually derived from the archaic root \*mar-, associated with the Christian name Maria), dressed in red wedding scarf; as a divinator she answers questions about marriages, life and death, crops and household.

The "bride"-ladybug is addressed by a variety of terms, each of them putting an accent on various characteristics and functions of the character: "mara" (Serb.-Cr. *marā, babamara, bubamara*, Mac. *put-mara, kut-mara, lit-mara* etc.), "maiden" (Pol. *panna, panienka*, Ukr. *divon'ka*), "orphan" and "shepherdess" (East Pol. *sirotka, pastuszka*), "bride" (Mac. *nevesta, careva nevesta, caranestica, nevestica, nevestulka*), "wife, woman" (East Pol. *malzionka*, sporadically and mostly amongst East and South Slavs *baba, babka, babočka* etc.), "little mother" (Pol. *matinka, matineczka* etc.), "oracle/sorceress/witch" (Kaikavian Cr. *povernčica*, West Ukr. *vorozka*). The mythological groom is addressed by names such as "Sun", (Lus., Czech, Pol., Bel., Ukr.) and "Ivan" (South Rus. *Ivančik, Ivaška, Ivašečka, Vanja-Little groom*) etc. There are also derivatives of the Sun's epithet related to the cliché "solnyško-vedryško", of the \*ve(d)ronъka/\*vedrko type. In Bulgarian, Polish, Belarusian and Slovakian dialects the terms for ladybug are usually traditional epithets of a bride (or sometimes young wife), which are derived from terms for "wedding tree" and other botanical symbols of wedding: \*kalinъka, \*malinъka, \*kalinъka-malinъka (Bulg., Bel., Slovak), \*abolnъka, \*makovъka (Pol.) etc.

A group of terms with the meaning "box, locker" (Rus. *korobka, korobočka*, Cz. *krinka*, Slovak. *skrinka-marinka*, Chakavian Cr. *gospa-škrinica*) represent the motif of the wedding box for items used in divination. The "cuckoo" names are related with the motif of mythical bride's soul ("the soul of Marjuška", as the name used in the Russian rituals of cuckoo's baptism and funeral goes), and in the areal of the names of \*ze(g)zulja type there are other "avian" terms for ladybug:

\*kukuška, \*kukulъka (Ukr., Bel.), \*elbedъ, \*elbedikъ, \*skovornuškъ (Pol.), \*čižikъ (Ukr.), \*kukumara (Mac.).

Among West Slavs, as well as in Belarus, Ukraine and Slovenia names of Christian martyrs ("brides of Christ") are used to denote a ladybug, if they are phonetically similar to the initial names (e.g. West Slavic \*katarinъka is similar to the original \*kalinъka). These are mostly variations of the names Katerina, Elena, Apolonia, Magdalina, Veronica, Ulyana. In the Belarusian-Polish area male names derived from canonical Andrey, Peter, Isidor/Sidor, Theodor, Nikolay are common; they are variation of the "groom Ivan" theme.

Divinations about one's fate – mostly marriage, but life and death also –, addressed to the ladybug, are wide spread among South Slavs (especially in Serbo-Croatian tradition) as well as among Belarusians, Ukrainians and Poles: "Кажу, маро, откуда ће сватови доћи?" 'Tell me, ladybug, from where will the wedding guests come?' (Serb.); "Заулинько, дівонько, покажи мені, в котору я буду сторони. Чи тудя? Чи тудя? Чи тудя? Чи я буду жити? Чи я буду гнити?" 'Ladybug, maiden, show me to which side I'll go. There, there or there? Will I live or will I rot?' (West Ukr.).

Weather incantations of the Sun, containing the motif of the Sun's house, are used to address the ladybug: "Śluńcko, śluńcko, lěškaj domoj. Twoja budka se pali. Žišetka su ognju." 'Little sun, little sun, go home. Your house is burning, your children are on fire.' (Lus.); and new (original)

weather incantations evolve: "*Калада, калода, ці будзе нагода?*" (Bel.)<sup>46</sup>, "*Biedronko, biedronko, pójdź do Pana Jesusa po słońko.*" 'Ladybug, ladybug, go to Lord Jesus for some Sun' (Pol.), "*Korunko, verunko, pověř mi, bude-li svítit slunecko. Lestí mi nepovíš, tož te hodím mezi hady, mezi ščary, mezi mlsné kocúry*" 'Ladybug, trusted one, tell me if the Sun will shine. If you don't tell me, I'll send you to snakes and lizards, and filthy tomcats' (Cz.), etc.

Terms with meanings like "cow" (Rus. *божья коровка* 'God's cow'), spread mostly amongst East Slavs (but also in other areas of the Slavic world, especially among Bulgarians and Slovaks), and the analogous names such as Serb.-Cr. (Kaikavian) "God's sheep" and even "God's wolf" (related to the wolf cult), are also metaphorical denotements of the bride (compare Smolensk Rus.

*korovka* 'bride'). In the East of the North Slavic areal there are "cattle herding" incantations that correspond to the "bovine" terms for ladybug. Names of the "bovine" type give rise to beliefs that the ladybug is Virgin Mary's cow (West Slavic, predominantly Polish).

Bulgarians, Kaszubians and Western Ukrainians seek help from the ladybug in case they get lost in the woods. In Polesia, there is a divination by ladybugs: if the red ones show first, there will be abundance of honey, if it is the yellow ones, abundance of milk. Ladybug is associated primarily with positive forces, see Bulgarian *божа кравичка* as a designation of humble, light-hearted person.

An answer came from **Štajerc**: In Slovenia it is usual, if you see a pikapolonica (ladybug), to let her crawl on your finger. Then you raise the finger/hand in the air and say something like "show me the way to the sky" and if she flies up, in the sky, it means luck, but if she goes straight down it's not so good ...

To this **Mratinjak** wrote: When I was a kid, in my village we used to do the same, only the divination was aimed at marriage (you ask the ladybug "*Kalinke-malinke, kăde šte se oženja*" – only in my dialect the last part sounds more like "*kăde ž'sa užena*").

**Collowrath** wrote: Here [?], when someone sees a ladybug in his house, it's believed that guests are about to come sometime soon. Not wedding guests, just regular visitors, but this belief might have originated from the aforementioned wedding motive.

**Slavyanka** contributed: Божья коровка, улети на небко, там твои детки кушают конфетки, всем по одной, а тебе ни одной! / *Bozja korovka, uleti na nebko, tam tvoi detki kushayut konfetki, vsem po odnoj, a tebe ni odnoj*. Always were saying that in our childhood.

**Mratinjak** responded: Ah, a modernised one, with candies! But still very similar to the old model. Haven't heard of it before.

**Slavyanka**: The old model was with bread, if I am not mistaken?

**Mratinjak**: Yep. *Божья коровка, полети на небо, принеси нам хлеба, черного и белого, только не горелого*. There are also some that mention the children, but I can't remember any right now.

**Collowrath** had a question: Why is the name *бубамапа* ['bubamara'] derived from the name *Мапа* (*Маруја*)? Has it something to do with Virgin Mary, like that Polish belief that ladybug is Virgin Mary's cow? Or is because it has become most common female name around, given only to highlight the femininity of the insect?

**Mratinjak** responded: The idea is as follows: there was a highly revered female mythical being – maybe a goddess – with a name derived from the root \**Mar-* (compare West Slavic *Marzanna*, *Marena*, *Marmuriena* etc). After the christianisation, her name was associated with the name of Virgin Mary, and because of that folklore characters and ritual figures that seem to have inherited

<sup>46</sup> Note Mratinjak: I couldn't translate that one in English, I'm confused about *калода*, I'm not sure if it's addressed to the insect or it simply means "log". Maybe Sviatogor will help. But basically, they're asking the ladybug whether there will be (good) weather or not.

the functions of that being/deity, bear names such as Mara, Maria, Marja, Marjuška. Analyzing the folklore narratives and ritual practices involving characters with names of that type, several scholars have concluded that this \**Mar*- deity probably was a participant in a proposed myth dealing with the Sun's wedding; according to that hypothesis, she was likely the bride of the Sun, or, on a more archaic stage of development of Slavic religion, when the Sun was probably considered a female deity, she was the Sun goddess herself and consort of either Perun or the Moon god. Eventually she and her children were punished by the thunder-god for unfaithfulness, and she was turned into a chthonic deity (hence the association with death that aforementioned West Slavic folklore figures have, as well as the motif of the burning house and children in trouble). The hypothesis stems from Ivanov and Toporov's "basic myth" theory (it's a "sidekick myth" of the main story about the struggle of Perun and Veles, so to speak), and has a rather different premise in Katičić and Belaj's continuation of it, but the basics are as described above. The ladybug, as well as rites and beliefs related to it, has an important role in it as a zoomorphic substitute of the hypothetical deity in question and bearer of her functions. Needless to speak the whole thing is highly hypothetical and based on a lot of speculation, comparison with Baltic folklore and incomplete reconstructions.

A response by **tqr** was: Funny, Germanic names also came from the name of Mary (*ladybug/bird*, *Marienkäfer* (Ger), *maríubjalla* (Ic), *marifly* (Nor), *mariehøne* (Den), etc). Dutch in turn have *lieveheersbeestje* – Lord's animal. To make things even stranger, Spanish have *mariquita*! (and Latvians have *mārīte*, but that can be described as foreign influences). When I was a child, I often talked to a ladybug when allowing it to take off from my arm hold up: "*Biedroneczko, leć do nieba, przynieś mi kawalek chleba*" (Ladybug, fly to heaven/sky, bring me a piece of bread). Anyway, what's the etymology of *biedronka*?

**Prelja** responded: The basis of this term was former \**bedrǫ*, adjective meaning 'having stains on hips', and later 'speckled, spotted, piebald, dappled'. It derives from the ancient Slavic noun '*bedro*' (*hip*).<sup>47</sup>

**Mratinjak** confesses: I hold a lot of scepticism for that whole "goddess Mara" stuff, to tell you the truth (I mean all her reconstructed functions etc., not the assumption that the \**mara* lexeme as a designation of some mythological being is pre-Christian, which is sort of obvious), but we have what we have in terms of theories. *Biedronka* is either derived from what Prelja said, or a result of contamination between it and the older \**vedronьka* from \**vedro* 'clear weather'. Both seem plausible to me, the first one is simpler and therefore preferable, but there are also cognates of the \**vedronьka* type in other slavic idioms.

**Prelja** responded: We also call ladybird '*boża krówka*' (Goddess's cow) or '*krówka Matki Bożej*' (cow of Mother of the God). These notions are considered to be pre-Christian.

**Mratinjak** responded: The latter clearly refers to Virgin Mary though. But the "*boża krówka*" type of names is most likely older than the christianisation indeed.

**Prelja** responded: My primary intention is not to argue. If you think so, I respect it. Lechitic tribes knew the notion 'Mother of God' before Christianisation, but as I said, I don't want to dispute.

**Collowrath** added: I thought of a possible association between Virgin Mary and goddess Morana, but I rejected it, since they represent two opposite concepts. In simple words, one is associated with life, the other one with death. On second thought however, the cyclic perception of life characteristic for many Indo-European cultures often bridges those two seemingly

<sup>47</sup> <http://czachorowski.blox.pl/2012/04/Czy-biedronka-ma-biodro-czy-biedrzeniec-jest.html>



contradictory terms. The end of winter associated with Morana<sup>48</sup>, marks the beginning of spring and a new life cycle, just as Virgin Mary gives birth to Jesus (Who later resurrects) to start a new cycle. Plus there is a parallel to the wedding motive too: Jesus Christ is fathered by God himself, and the sun was always considered for some sort of deity.

**Mratinjak** responded: Contemporary Slavic studies generally dismiss the romanticist idea of Mara/Morana/Marena as a goddess of death and winter, and most scholars deny the existence of this deity in Slavic mythology and religion; those who don't deny her envision her as a deity of marriage, fertility and divination with additional "dark", chthonic functions; roughly speaking, she was more of a "Slavic Freya" than "Slavic Hel" according to that point of view.

**Collowrath**: Well, I guess this would make the connection even more likely.

**Sviatogor** added: I didn't know some scholars dismiss the existence of Mara in Slavic mythology. I read something similar about Lada<sup>49</sup> being a fictional deity created by ethnologists. Latvians have *Māra* in their mythology which is a high-ranking deity similar to Mother Earth or Mokosh in Slavic mythology : [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mara\\_\(goddess\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mara_(goddess)). Ladybug is common in Latvian stories and fairy-tales. Interestingly, they call Ladybug *Mārīte* which is derived from *Māra*.

**Mratinjak** responded: To be more clear: it's not the ritual and possibly mythological figure with a name derived from \**Mar-* or maybe \**Mor-* that gets dismissed, but her status as a goddess, since she's not mentioned in any old sources and the folklore evidence is not sufficient to determine what level of the religious/ritual/mythological system she used to occupy. Other than that, the existence of such a figure is well attested in West Slavic spring rites and the analogous *South-Eastern Bulgarian ritual*, plus plenty of material from oral folklore of all the other Slavic traditions involving characters with phonologically similar (yet almost exclusively Christian) names can be added, – or not, depending on the level of one's scepticism about such things. Also, there are, of course, all the other figures subjected to "burning/drowning/funeral" rites mostly in East Slavic tradition, which bear different names, but are very close typologically and likely genetically; there is the personification of sleep paralysis which bears similar or identical name in most Slavic traditions; and there are the Baltic parallels you mentioned.

**Karpivna** joins in the discussion: Very interesting to learn about the Ladybug in Slavic culture. In America, we have the children's nursery rhyme, "Ladybug, Ladybug fly away home, your house is on fire and your children are gone!" I always understood this to originate from (possibly) Elizabethan England and the persecution of the Catholics, who were burned at the stake for not attending Protestant church services, as was the law under Elizabeth I. The English word ladybird is a derivative of the Catholic term "Our Lady". The tradition of calling this rhyme was believed to have been used as a warning cry to Catholic recusants, of which, the famous Guy Fawkes was one. Also, ladybug is called ladybird in England, as "bug (bugger)" is considered a deviant sexual act.<sup>50</sup>

---

<sup>48</sup> CH: Morana was the goddess of Death with the Bohemians. With soft, wistful voice she sings the humans into an eternal sleep; the soul flies away in the shape of a bird, lands on the nearest tree and can be recognised by the fact that no other bird comes near that tree. The image of Morana, a straw-puppet, was carried at the start of spring from the villages or towns into the nearest water under comic curses (Vollmer 1874, 340b).

<sup>49</sup> Lada (also Lado) was the goddess of beauty and love of the Russians, who was foremost venerated in Kiev. Lel (love), Did (counter-love), and Polel (marriage) were her sons; those who married brought her sacrifices, to assure her favour and by that a lucky marriage. There are still (end 19th c.) traces of this paganism in the yearly held feast of Lada and of Did which is held on Thursday before Pentecost (Whitsuntide). The girls gather at the river or lake (each village is built near water), bind bouquets of young birch-shoots, fasten a ribbon at it, and throw it in the water; the fate of the ribbon is interpreted as their future fate as housewives. (Vollmer 1874, 304a)



**Mratinjak** responds: The rhyme is way more ancient in origin, of course; there are similar ones amongst other Germanic peoples as well. Actually a lot of the Slavic beliefs, listed in the article have close analogues throughout Indo-European (and not only) cultures in general. Terms such as "God's cow" also have analogues (not cognates, but typologically similar terms with close or identical semantics, e.g. Lithuanian *dievo karvytė* 'God's cow', Romanian *vaca-Domnului* 'Lord's cow' (although this is used for firebug only, AFAIK), Sanskrit *indragopa* "pastured by Indra", etc.)

**Sviatogor** comes with a new contribution: There are many different names for Ladybug in Belarusian depending on the type and region in which it's found. From [a] Belarusian dictionary<sup>51</sup>:

кароўка божая	(karoŭka bozaja
богава кароўка	(bogava karoŭka
богава цялушка	(bogava cjaluška
муроўка	(muroŭka
кароўка-муроўка (мароўка)	(karoŭka-muroŭka/maroŭka
коўка-муроўка	(koŭka-muroŭka
багоўка	(baroŭka
кароўка-багоўка (бугоўка)	(karoŭka-bagoŭka/bygoŭka
божка-кароўка	(bozka-karoŭka
кароўка-буроўка	(karoŭka-buroŭka
кароўка-бурушка	(karoŭka-buruška
буркаўка-кароўка	(burkaŭka-karoŭka
кароўка	(karoŭka
бедрык	(bedr'ik
бядронка	(bjadronka
ведрык	(vedr'ik
вядронка ж., ведранец м.	(vjadronka f., vedranec m.
ядронка ж., ядранец м.	(jadronka f., jadraneć m.
ядронек м.	(jadroneć m.
ядранка ж.	(jadranka f.
едрайка ж.	(edrajka f.

<sup>50</sup> In a thread by Keith930Follow (zie ch. 1): Interestingly, one of the first widely known and most famous transsexuals in France was a man by the name of Jacques Dufresnoy, born in 1931, who became an actress and acclaimed cabaret singer, performing under the name of ... Coccinelle. He toured Israel, and his stage name became a widely used slang in that country for a transsexual or, more broadly, a homosexual. In Israel, the term was pretty clearly used as a pejorative. But in parts of Latin America, oddly enough, the local word used for ladybug is somewhat similar. *Maricon* is used among some in Mexico, for example, to refer to a ladybug. It is derived from *Maricon*, or homosexual, and from those I know it refers to the difficulty in telling the male from the females in the species. *Mariquita*, the more common term, is most often attributed to Mary, but it is also a term commonly used in parts of Latin America to refer to either lesbians, gays or effeminate men. Who knew? // Also elsewhere: The tradition of calling this rhyme (*Ladybird, ladybird fly away home*) was believed to have been used as a seemingly innocent warning cry to Catholic (recusants) who refused to attend Protestant services as required by the Act of Uniformity (1559 & 1662). This law forbade priests to say Mass and forbade communicants to attend it. Consequently Mass was held secretly in the open fields. Laymen were subject to jail and heavy fines and priests to execution. Many priests were executed by the terrible death of being burnt alive at the stake or, even worse, being hung, drawn and quartered. The most famous English recusants were Guy Fawkes and the Gunpowder Plot Conspirators. But also: There has been some speculation that this Nursery Rhyme originates from the time of the Great Fire of London in 1666.

<sup>51</sup> <http://slounik.org/160356.html>.

едрына ж.	(edryna f.
ядзерка ж.	(jadzerka f.
ядзерка-падзерка	(jadzerka-padzerka
петрык м., пятро м.	(petr'ik m., pjatro m.
пятрушка м.	(pjatruška m.
петрачок м.	(petračok m.
петра-паўла	(petra-paŭla
педрык м.	(pedr'ik m.
петранка ж.	(petranka m.
пятрушачка-душачка	(pjatrušačka-dyšačka
пятрук-пятрук	(pjatruk-pjatruk
хведар м.	(chvedar m.
хведарка м.	(chvedarka m.
хадорка ж.	(chadorka f.
пендарка м.	(pendarka m.
андрэйка м.	(andrèjka m.
андрушок м.	(andrušok m.
андрэйка-братка	(andrèjka-bratka
вялікая божая кароўка з чорнымі кропкамі	
андрэйка-купарэйка	(andrèjka-kuparèjka
андрэйка-салавейка	(andrèjka-salavejka
андрэйка-бажок	(andrèjka-bazok
божжа андрэйка	(bozza andrèjka
іванька ж.	(ivan'ka f.
сідарка м.	(sidarka m.
кандрацька м.	(kandrac'ka m.
братка-кандратка	(bratka-kandratka
пагодка-ягодка	(pagodka-jagodka
матрунка ж.	(matrunka f.
матруна-калода	(matrunka-kaloda
хадорка ж.	(chadorka f.
сонейка н.	(sonejka n.
сэрданька н.	(sèrdan'ka n.
зазулька (зоўзулька) ж.	(zazul'ka/zoŭzul'ka f.
зазуля-кавуля	(zazulja-kavulja
калода ж., калодачка ж.	(kaloda f., kalodačka f.
калода-багода	(kaloda-bagoda
бабачка-каробачка	(babačka-karobačka
канарэйка-божачка	(kanarèjka-bozačka
мурашка-пумпашка	(muraška-pumpaška
пумпарушка-рыбушка	(pumparuška-rybuška
бабушка-рабушка	(babušku-rabuška
педурка-седурка	(pedurka-sedurka
сэндарка-пендарка	(sèndarka-pendarka
шчодрык м.	(ščodryk m.
жук-пятрук	(zuk-pjatruk
прошка-рабошка	(proška-paboška

нагодачка-пагодачка	(nagodačka-pagodačka
полік м.	(polik m.
бобрык м.	(bobryk m.
барбуха ж.	(barbucha f.
карбачок м.	(karbačok m.
ляпошачка ж.	(ljapošačka f.
ляпошка ж.	(ljapoška f.
казулька ж.	(kazul'ka f.
малотка ж.	(malotka f.
чыбрушка ж.	(čybruška f.
рачышнік м.	(račyšnik m.
маскалік м.	(maskalik m.
анцюн-паланцюн	(ancjun-palancjun
страказа ж.	(strakaza f.
барабуха ж.	(barabucha f.
пацерка ж.	(pacerka f.
чэчар м.	(čėčar m.
Дзянчак	(Dzjančak
пава ж.	(pava f.
карагода ж.	(karagoda f.
клемка ж.	(klemka f.
дранчык м.	(drančyk m.
палетка ж.	(paletka f.

Belarusian rhymes. (The first two rhymes are for weather prediction.)

Božaja karoŭka, Što zaŭtra budzie Doždž ci pahoda, Peń ci kaloda? Pahoda – liaci, Doždž – siadzi.	Ladybug, What tomorrow will be Rain or [good] weather Stump or a log? Weather - fly Rain - sit
Božaja karoŭka, na sonca liaci, a na doždž siadzi	Ladybug, fly for sun, sit for rain.
Božaja karoŭka, Paliaci na niebka. Pryniasi nam chliebka, Čornaha i bielaha, Tołki nieharelaha.	Ladybug, Fly to the sky Bring us some bread Black [rye bread] and white [wheat bread] Only not burnt bread
Božaja karoŭka Paliaci na nieba: Tam tvaje dzietački Jaduć cukierački. Sama pajasi I nam pryniasi!	Ladybug, Fly to the sky: There're your children Eating candies eat them yourself And bring some to us.

**Lišiak** contributed: Slovak. *skrinka-marinka*. Never heard this. Here we use "God's cow" - *pánbožkova kravička*. But more used is the official name *lienka* (*lienka sedembodková*). We have something similar about weather forecast like Sviatogor mentioned. You take a ladybug on your finger, then you raise it and say: "*Lienka, lienka, aké bude zajtra počasie* (Ladybug, ladybug, what weather will be tomorrow)?" If she flies away, it will be sunny, if not, it will rain. A friend of mine, who lives in village only 20 km away, uses "God's cow" for firebug, not ladybug. As far as I know, the most of the people call firebug as *električka* – "tram" here.

**Sviatogor** responded: Eastern Slavs also call it God's Cow (*Božaja karoŭka* in Belarusian). There are numerous other names in Belarusian (possibly in Russian and Ukrainian) which I didn't know until I looked in the dictionary. I knew *Božaja karoŭka* & *bahoŭka*, though.

**Sviatogor** also came with a new contribution: I found different names under which Ladybug is known in several Slavic languages in case you are interested to know. This is from the dictionary of etymology of Slavic languages and dialects 35 volumes. Chief editor Trubachev (Vol. I, p. 180 [in fact 182 about \*bedrŭce]):

с другой стороны, проводится необоснованная попытка отграничить варианты *бабр*-, *бобр*- от *бедр*-, без сонения связанные генетически (см. выше). Специально о варианте блр., укр. *бедрик* см. Р. В. Кравчук «Беларуская лексікалогія і этымалогія» (Мінск, 1968) 85. Этимологию укр. *бедрик*, *бедрик* < *бедро* 'ясная) погода' см. Г. Ф. Шило. Названия божьей коровки в украинских говорах. – «Совещание по общеславянскому лингвистическому атласу (Одесса, 4–7 июня 1969 г.)» М., 1969. 37.

**Mratinjak** responds: Aha, this one has been brought up some time earlier in the thread; I haven't checked it in ЭССЯ though, and I didn't know about the proposed "наколотый" etymology. Thanks.

Finally there is a late contribution by **Štajerc**: I don't think we mentioned that and it's quite and old topic but anyway, let's dig it up ... I didn't know this, never heard of this before, perhaps Povhec knows something more about it. I've come across two old Slovenian names for the ladybug, which was, aside from *pikapolonica* also called *božji volek* (similar to other Slavic names) and *kresnica* in connection with god Kresnik. Interesting, *kresnica* or *kresnička* is otherwise the name of that glowing-ass bug, the firefly.

Elsewhere I found another reference to the theory of Toporov: According to the writer the denominations with cow (very common in Russian areas) are connected with the motive of kidnapping of the God's cows by his adversary, while the denominations with Sun (as Gluž. *bože slónčko* [the writer spells: Luzhian *боже стонёко*]) are connected with the motive of "Heavenly marriage". Ladybug is a connection between the people and the Heaven: it helps in passing the requests to the Heaven, it brings children to our world, helps in searching the lost herd, alerts, etc. Next motive, motive of sinned wife[,] is expressed in the following names: Latvian *mārite* (Mara unites features of the Blessed Virgine and wife of the Thunderer). Lithuanian *dievo marýtė* (God's Mary), German *Marienkäfer*, English *ladybird*, *ladybug* (*lady* = Our Lady). Another motive is shown in Czech *bedruňka*, Ukrainian *бедрик* (*bedrik*). Бедрик means eve of New year or Eve, i.e. our bug symbolize a transfer from the old to the new, following the motive of a younger son of the Thunderer.<sup>52</sup>

As for the Bulgarian denomination *калинка*, it may ascend to another motive, described above – motive of Sun. We may interpret *калинка* as *каленный жук*, i.e. "a bug roasted in the sun". *Калинка* is the diminutive for *Калина*, which is an old Bulgar feminine name. A legend says that

<sup>52</sup> Maroseika, 13 jan 2007

Калина was the sister of Khan Asparuh, who is credited with the establishment of the First Bulgarian Empire. I don't really know why this bug got this name, but my best guess is that this is an allusion to something beautiful and fragile. In Russian калинка is associated with the warm, heat, etc. For example - калина (Viburnum - arrowwood, snowball) is named for its red color, калить - to bake, to calcinate, etc. But its etymology is still rather obsolete. Is there anything like that in Bulgarian, I mean connection between калинка and a heat? If so, I guess female name Калина must mean more or less the same and калинка - ladybird is like in other Slavonic languages.<sup>53</sup>

---

<sup>53</sup> Kriviq, 20 jan 2007