

The Folklore of the Ladybird



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(Chapter 9: Europe)

Chapter 9: Europe

A. The article by Mooijman

Eventually the data of the individual countries of Europe were worked out in a great map of Europe in the *Atlas Linguarum Europae*, published under direction of Mario Alinei and A. Weijnen. There are three maps devoted to the ladybird (I.42-44), made by Manuele Barros Ferreira and Mario Alinei. The commentary (issued in 1990) was preceded by an article in 1987 by E. Mooijman, entitled ‘The ladybird in the Germanic languages. A contribution to the research for denomination motivations of *Coccinella septempunctata*.¹ In this article Mooijman studies the denominations of the ladybird in the Germanic languages and dialects. Strangely, she starts with the rhyme:

<i>Onze lieve heertje,</i>	Ladybird (Our dear little lord),
<i>Morgen mooi weertje!</i>	Tomorrow nice weather!

And then she states: ‘Who doesn’t know this little verse, recited while the ladybird is tossed up, after it has landed on your hand?’ This kind of generalities can easily be falsified. I have done some research and came to the conclusion that in fact nobody knows this, while the verse itself is known as a child’s prayer in the form:

<i>Ons lief heertje,</i>	Our Dear (little) Lord,
<i>Geef mooi weertje!</i>	Give nice weather!

But we have seen in the collection Boekenoogen (ch. 1) a similar but longer rhyme (*Onze Lieve Heertje, Geef mooi weertje, Geef mooi dag, Dat het zonnetje schijnen mag*), from which we can deduce that also the rhyme of Mooijman belongs to the ladybird. So the ladybird is ascribed a certain power over the weather and also it might bring luck.

The first denomination Mooijman discusses is the Dutch (*onze*) *lieveheersbeestje*, a name referring to the Christian imagination, which is the case in a great part of the Germanic ladybird denominations. Often we see the element ‘God’ or a description of this concept in the ladybird denominations: German: *gotteskäfer*, Tyrol: *liebgotrösslein*, Lower German: (*dem*) *lieben gott sein mädchen*, West Frisian: *jaiwegadshone*, Lower Frisian: *lewwergotshen’k, goodshân, gotteshen’k*, East Frisian *godshan’ke* (God’s hen); Swedish: *gudsko, gudfaderko, kon gud, vårherreko* (our Lord cow), *kon-hans-vårherre* (God’s cow); German: *Herrgottskäfer(l), ~tierchen, ~vögelchen, ~vöglein, ~schühlein, ~öchschen, ~piüppchen*; Lower German: *hergodshäunken* (-little cricket), Alsace: *lieberherrgottsvögele, ~tierle*; Dutch: (*onze*) *lieveherebeestje, lievevadershoentje*, W. Frisian: *lyvesearhönne*, Danish: *vorherreshøne, vor herre sit hønneken, vorherreskylling, vorherresputte, vorherresdyr*; Dutch (Gron.) *meneertiekje, herenhoentje* (Nijberkoop), *herebeestje* (N. Veluwe)

Also to Maria, the Mother of God, many denominations are devoted: German: *Mariakäfer, Marienkäfer(l)*, L. German *marienworm*, Danish: *mariehøne, ~putte*, Norse: *marihøne, mariagullhøne, mariafly-fly*, Icel. *Máriyhæna*, Fer. *mariuhøna*, Swedish: *maria kåpa*.

Also in other compounds we recognize Maria: Lower German *fliegmariechen*, Scottish *sunny mary*, Norse *gullmarifly*. The Virgin we see in German: *jungfraukäfer(l)*, Norse: *jomfru maria*, Swedish: *jungfru maria*, English *virgin mary*, (our dear) lady in English: *ladybird, lady-cow, cow-lady*, Scottish: *ladylander*, German: *frauenkäfer(l), frauentierlein, frauenschühlein*, Danish: *fruenshøne*, (South) Dutch: (*onze*) *lievevrouwebeestje*, German: *muttergotteskäfer(l)*.

¹ E. Mooijman, ‘Het Lieveheersbeestje in de Germaanse talen. Een bijdrage tot het onderzoek naar benoemingsmotieven van *Coccinella septempunctata*’, in: *Taal en tongval* 39, 1987, 21-53.

A more general religious reference is to ‘heaven’ in denominations like the German: *himmelstierchen*, ~*mötschl*, ~*wurm*, *himmelschäfchen*, ~*kühchen*, ~*pferdlein*, ~*güegli*, Dutch (Panningen): *hemelmuske*, ~*lammetje* (Meerlo).

Mooijman discusses also the often raised idea that the Christian elements in the denominations embody transformed pagan views. She mentions the Old Norse denomination *Freyjuhama*, as well as *Freyavugle* and also the German *Friekehlichen* (which is supposed to mean ‘Freya’s little cow’), and then discusses the etymology of the word *vrouw* and sees a relation with the Norse *freyja* (‘domina’, Dutch: *vrouwe* = lady). This relationship does not exist in the English (*lady* = ‘dough-kneading woman’²), so that here the denominations *ladybird* can not refer to a pagan predecessor. Mooijman though sees a way out by the fact that England was much earlier christianised than the Scandinavian, Frisian and Saxon people who were reluctant to let go of the pagan practices.

The denominations referring to heaven are a problem to Mooijman. In the nursery-rhyme the ladybird is often requested to fly to heaven:

<i>Himmelskindken, fleig op,</i>	Ladybird (‘heaven’s little child’), fly up,
<i>Fleig tom haugen heamel rup.</i>	Fly up to the high heaven.

The Danish *paradishøne* can so be explained, namely that the ladybird is mediator between the divinity and the mortal to assure the last one of a place in paradise, like in the French:

<i>Barbelote, barbelote, monte au ciel,</i>	Ladybird (2x), climb up to heaven,
<i>Garde-moi une place auprès du bon Dieu.</i>	Save me a place near God.

Or:

<i>Vache de Dieu, je vous prie,</i>	Ladybird, I pray to you,
<i>Passez-moi par dessus la barrière,</i>	Bring me over the barrier,
<i>Emportez-moi au Paradis,</i>	Carry me to Paradise,
<i>Je vous supplie jour et nuit.</i>	I pray you day and night.

The Dutch *engeltje* (WFr. *Ingeltsje*) can be explained by the fact that angels are also mediators. Then Mooijman cites Kapteyn (ch. 5), who points out that in East Frisian the ladybird is known as *erdmantje*, cf. Lower German *undereerdske*, Frisian *ierdmanke*, on the Frisian islands Amruin and Fohr as *onnarbeankes* (under the earth banished [ones]), Lower German-Jutlandish *puke*, *puge*, on Terschelling *puikje*. But his assertion, that England means ‘meadow-land’, she cannot accept, although she does see something in the idea that England is the land of the dead and the ladybird a ‘soul’. She refers to Roukens (ch. 5), who lists some rhymes:

<i>Engeltje, engeltje, blief bij mien,</i>	Ladybird (2x), stay with me,
<i>Duvelke, duvelke, goat van mien.</i>	Ladybird (2x), go [away] from me.

And the ‘messenger’-motive can clearly be seen in:

<i>Herelempke, woar sie geej van</i>	Ladybird, where are you from,
<i>Sieje van den ingel of van de duvel?</i>	Are you from the angel or from the devil?
<i>Wen ge van den duvel ziet,</i>	When you are from the devil,
<i>Dan moj je van meej goan vliege.</i>	Then you must fly away from me.
<i>Wen geej van den ingel ziet,</i>	When you are from the angel,
<i>Dan mooj je beej meej blieve.</i>	Then you must stay with me.

The messenger motive Mooijman also sees in denominations with the element ‘sun’: German: *sonnenkäfer(l)*, ~*wurm*, ~*vogel*, ~*tierchen*, ~*scheiner*, ~*schäner*, ~*tek*, ~*tīk*, ~*kūken*, ~*kind*, ~*ähnel*, ~*güegi*, Dutch (Denekamp): *zonnekuikentje*.

² Cf. Skeat, *Dictionary of English Etymology*, 1993, 254: A.S. *hláfdige* from *hláf* (‘loaf’) + a word related to the Got. *digan* = knead (cf. Dutch *deeg*, Engl. *dough*). Skeat remarks that *Lady* was especially used for the Virgin, from where *lady-bird*, *lady’s-slipper*, &c.

Several rhymes are devoted to bringing nice weather, as we saw in the rhyme at the beginning of this chapter. In Lower German we see:

<i>Sünnenworm, fleeg aewer min hus</i>	Ladybird, fly over my house.
<i>Bring mi morgen good weder to hus.</i>	Bring me tomorrow good weather home.

or:

<i>Sunnেকেken, fluech up,</i>	Ladybird (sun-chick), fly up,
<i>Up alle häogen boeme</i>	Above all high trees
<i>Un säch di va un moeme</i>	And tell your father and mother
<i>Dat't muan geot wir weert.</i>	That tomorrow there will be good weather.

Also a form of messenger is the ladybird as bringer of gifts. In the Scandinavian the denomination of the ladybird often contains the element 'gold': Norse: *gullsméd* (smith), *~ku* (cow), *~tippa* (hen), *~konge* (king), *~høne* (hen), Swedish: *gullsméd*, *~ko*, *~typpa*, *~tupp*, *~höna* (hen), *~böna* (bean), *~kudda* (little cow), *~gubbe* (little man), *~pytta* (little thing), *~gris* (pig), *~piga* (girl), *pipa*, *~bagge* (ram), *~sigrid* (Sigrid), German *goldhämnelchen* (golden little wether), Aleman. *Goldgüegi* (worm). The bringing of gifts we see in rhymes like (see ch. 1.2):

<i>Herrgottsmoggela flieg auf,</i>	Ladybird, fly up
<i>Flieg mir in den himmel nauf,</i>	Fly for me up into heaven,
<i>Bring a goldis schüssela runder</i>	Bring a golden saucer down
<i>Und a goldis wickelkindla drunder.</i>	And a little golden diaper-child underneath.

The gold though can according to Mooijman also be explained differently, for the little animal emits, when it feels itself threatened, a greasy substance, a golden oil, called *smout* (grease, fat) in Limburg, which is the reason for denominations as *smoutbeestje* and *smoutwormpje*. Mooijman involves in this also the Scottish denomination *creamie* and the Finn-Swedish *kärnpiga* (butter-girl) as well as the Norse *smørhøne* (butter-hen), the Finn-Swedish *smörgås* (butter-bread+goose) and *smörgumma* (butter+old woman). In the Swedish dialect in Ångermanland still exists the rhyme: '*Gullmarikåpa, ge mig lite såpa* (Ladybird, give me a little soap)', or in other rhymes: '*... ge mig lite gull* (give me a little gold).³ The Norse and Swedish denomination *gullsméd* can be linked to this. Also in France we see the denomination 'smith' (*marechal*), which has to do with the flapping of the wings in comparison to the operating of the bellows by the smith, according to Mooijman the lifting of the sledgehammer. Another explanation for 'gold' can be found in the colour, which brings Mooijman to the denomination *Coccinella*, derived from *coccinus* 'scarlet-coloured'. The great spread of the *gull*-denominations in the Scandinavian countries would have to do with the fact that the word *gull* in dialects is the most often used as pet-name, especially for children and pet-animals.

A natural motivation is, according to Mooijman, present in compounds with 'summer', 'June' and 'May', as in German *sommerkäfer*, *~würml*, *~vöglein*, *~puttel*, *~mötschl*, *~küken*, *junikäfer(l)*, *maikäfer*, *maischühchen*. These denominations refer to the time of appearance of the ladybird. To these Mooijman also reckons the denominations with Saint John, whose feast is on June 24: German: *johannesmännchen*, *-bübchen* (little man, little boy). That day is also the day of the solstice, which can be seen in denominations as the German *sonnwendkäfer*. In England they celebrate on this day the feast of Bishop Barnaby, from which came in Norfolk the denomination *bushy barnabee* with the rhyme:

Bishop, Bishop Barnabee
Tell me when your wedding be,
If te (sic) be to morrow day

³ Mooijman 1989, ... after Geijer 1936, 43.

*Take your wings and fly away.*⁴

This rhyme brings us to the function of the ladybird as love-oracle. Mooijman points to the Norse *brudehest* (bride-horse) and the Finn-Swedish *brudvisar* (bride-pointer). Girls ready for marriage put the little animal on the hand and the direction in which it flies shows from where the bridegroom (for men the bride) will come. A Norse rhyme is:

<i>Gullhøne, gullhøne,</i>	Ladybird (gold-hen) (2x),
<i>Flyg mot ost,</i>	fly to the east,
<i>Flyg mot vest,</i>	Fly to the west,
<i>Flyg dit som kjæresten min er best.</i>	Fly to where my darling is the best. ⁵

The Swedish rhyme about *Jungfru Marie Nickelpie* we have already seen (ch. 2) as well as the Scottish nursery-rhyme about *King Golloway* (ch. 1). And in Westphalia the boys sang:

<i>Hiärrguotshäunken, flüch op,</i>	Ladybird, fly up,
<i>Tüh den hogen hiemel op,</i>	Fly up to the high heaven,
<i>Flüch vor mînes nâbers hûs,</i>	Fly to the house of my neighbour
<i>Locke mi de brût herût.</i>	Lure for me the bride outside. ⁶

Closely related is the category of denominations indicating that the ladybird brings luck, as in German *glückskäfer*, Lower Frisian *glikskeäfer*. It is forbidden to kill it, and whoever harms it, will have bad luck.

Harder to explain denominations are the German (Thüringen) *kornkäfer*, cf. *hopfenmuggeli* (Middle Franconia), but in the rhymes the ladybird is often requested to bring bread. In Norway and Sweden the denominations *åkerhøne*, *åkerhöna* ('partridge') appear. Even the Dutch (Zealand) *pampoenbeest* Mooijman wants to connect, for the ladybird seeks underneath pumpkin leaves for lice.

Also hard to explain Mooijman finds the Swedish *gullsigrid*, because Sigrid is a woman's name, derived from a Swedish saint. Other saints have also given their name to the ladybird, for instance Saint Catharine, Saint Margaret, Saint Agatha. Also there could be a relation with *gullgris*, which appears in Jämtland, while *gullsigrid* can be seen in nearby Västerbotten en Ångermanland.

The 'smith' is not the only profession appearing in the denominations of the ladybird. In Austria exists the denomination *schusterä(h)nel* 'forefather/mother of the shoemaker', in the Alemannic *schueh-mächerli* (little shoemaker). Two Swedish denominations expressing an occupation are *färpiga* (sheep-girl) and *gätare* (goat-shepherdess)

The 'shoe'-element appears also in other denominations, like Alem. *frauenschühlein*, German *maischühchen* and Pfalz/Alsace *Herrgottsschickel*, in the Italian *scarpa de la Madona* and *scarpitta della Madona*, which Mooijman connects to the form of the little animal.

Another hard to explain element is the 'key' in the Swedish *nyckelpiga*, which also appears in *maria nyckelpiga* and *jungfru maria nyckelpiga*. A *nyckelpiga* is the house-keeper, the servant girl who controls the keys. For an explanation Mooijman takes a dive into pagan mythology, where Freya had a key to 'unlock' the birth. She also sees a possible connection with the 'key-flower' (primula, supra) and the unlocking of the love-season. She discusses the study of Backman (ch. 2) who connects the seven dots of the ladybird with the holy number seven, which is connected with Maria. Maria has the keys of paradise and is called *piga* = virgin; so she is the true *nyckelpiga*, of whom the ladybird is the symbol.

⁴ Mooijman after EDD, 1.275. The question should of course be about one's own wedding (see ch. 1, n. 18).

⁵ Mooijman after Borg 1980, 20.

⁶ Mooijman after Aebi 1932, 80; Sloet 1887, 398.

Then there are also forms that were originally pet-names for other animals like Lower German *puttjehöneken* for the hen, German *mötschekälbchen*, *motschekalb*, *mühhälbchen* for the calf, *motschekühchen* and Austrian *muhkuhslerl* for a cow. In Dutch we see butterfly-names like *pimpampoentje*, *piepauw*, *kapelleke*. Play-forms, originated from the children's language, are Lower German *flimmflämmke(n)* and Finn-Swedish *vibba-vabba* (*vibbär-vabba*, *vippa-vappa*). Until now we have mainly looked at the determinants, so it is now time to focus on the determinata, consisting mainly of names of (domestic) animals. The animal most frequently referred to is the chicken (hen, cock) and her little one, the chick. Examples are: Danish: *mariehøne*, *fruenshøne*, *vorherreshøne*, *vor herre sit hønneken*, *vorherreskylling*, *paradishøne*, Icel. *máríuhæna*, Fer. *mariuhøna*, Danish/Norse *mariehøne*, Norse *mari(a) gullhøne*, *gullhøne*, *åkerhøne*, Swedish *gullhöna*, *åkerhöna*, OFri *Lyvesearhönne*, *godshan'ke*, NFri *goodshån*, *lewwergotshen'k*, WFri *jaiwegodshone*, Dutch *Herenhoentje*, *lievevadershoentje*, *zonnekuikentje*, Lower German *puttjehöneken*, and as pet-name for the chicken in Danish *marieputte*, *vorherresputte*, Norse *gulltippe*, Swedish *gulltyppa*, *gulltupp*, German *flieghinkelchen*. A second group is formed by denominations with 'cow', like English *lady-cow*, *cow-lady*, Swedish *gudfaderko*, *gudsko*, *gullko*, *gullkudda*, *kon gud*, *vårherreko*, *kon-hans-vårherre*, Norse *gullku*, German *himmelkühchen*, *herrgottsöchschen*, or pet-names for the cow or the calf: German *himmelmötschl*, *sommerputtel*, *sommermötschl*, *mötschekälbchen*, *motschekalb*, *mühhälbchen*, *hopfenmuggeli*, LGe. *motschekühchen*, Austrian *muhkuhslerl*. As a third also not unimportant group we see denominations with 'sheep', German: *himmelschäfchen*, *goldhämmlchen*, Dutch *hemellammetje*, Swedish *gullbagge*. Further we encounter denominations with 'horse' in Tyrol *liebgotrösslein*, Norse *brudehest* and dialect German [h'indəf'ədərɫə], which is possibly German *himmelpferdlein*. The swine we only see in Swedish *gullgris*. Besides these there are more general names: a) '(little) beetle', in German *marienkäfer*, *jungfraukäfer*, *muttergotteskäfer*, *frauenkäfer*, *herrgottskäfer(le)*, *gotteskäfer*, *sonnenkäfer*, *sommerekäfer*, *sonnwendkäfer*, *junikäfer*, *maikäfer*, *gluckskäfer*, *kornkäfer*, *käfer*, Alsace *herrgottsboben*, *herrgottsböbel*; b) '(little) bird', in English *ladybird*; German *herrgottsvögelchen/herrgottsvögele*, *sonnenvogel*, *sommervöglein*; Alsace *lieberherrgottsvögele*; Dutch *hemelmuske*; c) '(little) worm', LGe. *marienworm*; German *himmelswurm*, *sonnenwurm*, *sommerwürml*; Alem. *himmelgüegli*, *sonnegüegi*, *goldgüegi*; Dutch *smoutwormpje*; d) '(little) animal', in (*onze*)*lieveheersbeestje*, (*onze*)*lievrouwebeestje*, *smoutbeestje*; Danish *vorherresdyr*; German *frauentierlein*, *herrgottstierchen*, *himmelstierchen*, *sonnentierchen*; Alsace *lieberherrgottstierle*; e) 'fly, tick, cricket', in Norse *gullmarifly*, *maria fly-fly*; Dutch *meneertiekje*;⁷ LGe. *sonnentik*; German *Hergodshäunken*. Next to these denominations referring to animals there are a few determinata left, that are just like the denominations referring to animals, according to Mooijman, 'quite likely hypocoristic [= from pet-names] by nature'. Amongst them are to be reckoned LGe. *sonnenkind*, the German *johannesmännchen*, *johannesbübchen*, Swedish *gullgubbe*, as well as for 'girl' *karnpiga*, *nyckelpiga*, *gullpiga*, *farpiga*, German *herrgottspüppchen*, and LGe. (*dem*) *lieben gott sien mädchen*. Also the concept 'parent' (aunt, forefather, -mother, etc.) belongs here, as in Austrian *sonnenähnel* and *schusterähnel*, as well as 'personal names' in Norse *jomfru maria*, Swedish *jungfru maria* and *gullsigrid*, English *virgin mary* and *bushy barnaby*, Scottish *sunny mary* and Lower German *fliegmariechen*.

⁷ In the Saxon dialects *tiek* can be used for beetles and other insects that more or less look alike; see WNT XVI, 1835-36, and Kluge-Mitzka 1975, 338 (*käfer*).

A final group of determinata consists of 'smith', as in Norse and Swedish *gullsméd*, 'king', as in Norse *gullkong* and 'little shoe' as in Alem. *Frauenschühlein*, German *maischühchen*, Alsace and Pfalz *herrgottsschickel*.

In her closing paragraph Mooijman poses that the 'so-called' Christian motives predominate in the denominations of the ladybird. But also pagan motives can in her opinion be found everywhere, whereby she considers Maria as a substitute for the pagan goddess Freya. Also the denominations referring to the solstice may go back to pagan, i.e., pre-Christian views. Also in the denominations with 'sun' may be hidden a pagan belief. Further there is the influence of children's language on the denominations of the ladybird, and the diminutives, that appear frequently, are indications of an affectionate attitude of humans towards this little animal, which is considered by Mooijman as a *liminal* or *anomal* (= deviating from the rule)⁸ animal, because it doesn't behave shy like other insects. The little animal is seen as messenger and mediator with the supernatural, as a key that can unlock good weather and bring gifts or deliver a sweetheart.

B. The commentary on the *Atlas Linguarum Europae*

The commentary at maps I.42-44 of the *Atlas Linguarum Europae* (ALE), written by Manuela Barros Ferreira of the Centro de Linguística of the University of Lisbon and Mario Alinei, connected to the University of Utrecht, appeared in 1990 and is very extensive (100 pages), but consists for a large part of a list of denominations (33 pages).

In the introduction an overview is given of the most important positions since Mannhardt in 1858 brought the subject of the ladybird under the attention by pointing out that the denominations of the ladybird contain references to old myths and that behind the Christian names the names of pagan gods are hidden. Since then the subject has been studied by many linguists, the most important of whom are: Dora Aebi (1932) for the Romance languages, Riegler (1932-33) for the German and Romance languages, Maija Juvas and Kusta Vilkuna (1937) for some Finnish languages, J.M.N. Kapteyn (1939) for the Frisian and Saxon dialects of the Netherlands, Backman (1947) for the Swedish, Utešený (1977) for the Slavic languages, which are all discussed, concluding with an article by Xavier Ravier (1984) about the structure of the nursery-rhymes devoted to the ladybird.

Dora Aebi (1932) established that the majority of the denominations of the ladybird were elucidated when brought in connection with the nursery-rhymes and the superstitions concerning the ladybird. The denominations show an almost unlimited multitude of forms, while in contrast the nursery-rhymes of different countries show great agreement. Aebi accompanied her study with a large collection of nursery-rhymes in the Gallo-Romance, Italian, German and English. Besides she describes a number of superstitions connected with the insect and compares them with those of other insects. Just like Grimm and Mannhardt, Aebi makes mention of the substitution of the goddess Freya by Maria in the Germanic denominations, while the god Freyr has been replaced by God, Jesus or St. John. Despite her starting-points Aebi doesn't succeed in deepening the connection between the rhymes and the denominations of the ladybird. These last are grouped as a) derivations of the Latin *coccum*, b) Dear Lord's little animal, c) 'Fly!', d) personal names, e) names of professions, f) animal names, g) onomatopoeic words, h) names of children's games, i) names derived from the external appearance, j) names influenced by the superstitions, k) remaining, l) unclear.

⁸ Both words don't exist in English. *Liminal* is 'on the border'.

In that same time also Riegler established the relation between the nursery-rhymes and the superstitions concerning the ladybird and the denominations. The grouping of the denominations proposed by him is based on the magical character, from where they are derived and that can explain them: a) names in common with other animals, b) clues about the future in the hereafter; c) the ladybird consecrated to the Mother of God; d) donator of gifts; e) bringer of children; f) protector; g) warning for danger (without examples of names); h) shining of the sun; i) oracular animal; j) love oracle; k) sign of luck; l) the ladybird and the cow; m) sign of death; n) folk-medicine.

The principal conclusions of his research were: 'The ladybird, in its quality to be as elves, allows the bond between the humans and the other world, from where it brings gifts and children. It is especially esteemed for its predicting faculties and the fact that it is often consulted in love-affairs. Christianity has inherited that from paganism and has accentuated the importance of the ladybird by placing it under the protection of God and of Maria, who represents in this case probably a pagan goddess. As far as the little animal is consecrated to God, it is assured of the greatest possible protection.'

In the 1930s the ladybird was object of research in the Finn, Estonian, Livonian and Karelian languages. Maija Juvas occupied herself with nursery-rhymes and Kustaa Vilkuna explained, by giving the etymology of many of the denominations of the ladybird in the mentioned languages, the superstitions and historical facts attached to it. Without drawing conclusions these researchers connected the ladybird with myths relating to cattle and herding. The division Vilkuna made in his material was: a) denomination inspired by the colour; b) by other animals (birds, domestic animals); c) by certain activities (bringer of gifts, oracular animal, love-oracle, shepherd or breeder); d) by hagiographic names (the saints, appearing in the denominations, are patron-saints of the cattle in the related areas); e) God; f) double forms (play-forms).

Kapteyn (1939) supplies in his study a series of etymological, mythological and ethnographical data, necessary for the understanding of numerous forms and formulas, connected with the ladybird. These denominations can be reduced to a limited body of sensations and collective representations. So in the Frisian and Saxon dialects (of the Dutch) there are denominations based on the shape (globular, round) of the ladybird, the colour, the habitat (in houses, in hay, on plants), the behaviour (flying direction up or down, the sudden appearance and disappearance), the influence of synonyms and homonyms. In all these groupings Kapteyn discovers basic forms, that bring him to consider the ladybird as an insect that is very much connected with the subterranean mythological beings like dwarfs, elves and kobolds.

The study of Backman (1947) is a fervent argumentation for the Christian, better Catholic origin of numerous denominations of the ladybird. He assumes a complete identification of the ladybird with the Virgin Maria, based on the mystical symbolism of the colour red and the number seven. In religious songs and biblical psalms he finds images that return in the nursery-rhymes and in the denominations of the ladybird. When a child asks the little animal to fly up to heaven, it is as if it is asking the Virgin herself.

More recent is the investigation of S. Utešený (1977), who analysed the material of the *Slavic Linguistic Atlas* (OLA) starting from a manuscript of V. Vazný about Czech and Slovak denominations of the ladybird. Utešený not only noticed the enormous variability of the denominations but also the agreement of their meanings in the different languages. Vazný divided the denominations in five groups: a) realistic denominations based on external appearance and the season of appearance of the ladybird; b) mythological denominations: the sun, the time, the fate, the future after death, bringer of luck, reincarnation of the soul, divine essence, Maria's little beetle, animal of other saints, the child-bringer, the bringer of gifts; c) denominations belonging

to the children's games with songs; d) influence from other languages; e) unclear denominations. Utešený retained a, c, d and e, but replaced group b by a dozen 'lexical and basic semantic groups', i.e., a mix of groups according to basic form with groups according to semantic motivations.

Finally there is a study by Xavier Ravier (1984) about the rhymes devoted to the ladybird in the Languedoc. He noticed the dominance of themes like love and marriage in the Atlantic Languedoc opposed to the theme journey to heaven in the Mediterranean Languedoc. Two maps show the distribution of the following structures, found in the nursery-rhymes from the Languedoc: a) interdiction as result of a command; b) interdiction with promise of a reward; c) interdiction with announcement of punishment; d) interdiction with interchangeable reward and punishment.

Now a summary follows of the general views considered by the authors as acquired data:

- a) the enormous variety of denominations of the ladybird, a thing noticed by all authors;
- b) the parallelism existing between the denominations of the ladybird and those of other insects (Mannhardt, Wossidlo, Aebi, Riegler, Kapteyn)
- c) the connection existing between the denominations of the ladybird and the superstitions with which it is surrounded (Mannhardt, Sébillot, Riegler, Juvas-Vilkuna, Kapteyn, Dalen)
- d) the mythical character of the denominations of some insects (Grimm, Mannhardt, Sloet, Wossidlo, Riegler, Kapteyn)
- e) the congruency of mythical traits in regions far away from each other (Riegler)
- f) the Christian denominations continue by substitution old pagan denominations (Grimm, Mannhardt, Kieser, Grootaers-Pauwels, Aebi, Riegler, Utešený)
- g) the existence of geographically limited structures in the nursery-rhymes (Ravier).

To illustrate the structural connection existing between the nursery-rhymes (*formulettes infantines*) and the denominations of the ladybird it is sufficient to report that one of their most common motives is: the invitation to fly, that is present in most of the rhymes and which is also frequent in the denominations of the ladybird. For instance in the Portuguese the denominations *avoa*, *avoa-avoa* and *avoinha* originate from the quatrain:

<i>Joaninha avoa-avoa</i>	Ladybird ('Jeannie, fly, fly'),
<i>Que o teu pai está em Lisboa</i>	Your father is in Lisbon
<i>Com um rabo de sardinha</i>	With a sardine tail
<i>Para dar à joaninha.</i>	To give to Jeannie.

Also in the Italian we see denominations like *Maria vola via*, *vulina* and *volandrina* that can be brought into relation with rhymes (ch. 5: AIS 470, 427, etc.). In the French we see *papivole* that is part of the nursery-rhyme:

<i>Papivole, vole</i>	Ladybird, fly,
<i>s'il fait chaud vole en haut</i>	if it becomes warm, fly high,
<i>s'il fait frouet va te cacher.</i>	if it becomes cold, go hide yourself.

In the Occitan *bolo Paoulo* ('fly-Paul') appears in the context:

<i>Bolo, bolo Paoulo</i>	Fly, ladybird,
<i>te donnerai uno raoubo.</i>	I will give you a dress. ⁹

Comparable connections can be found in non-Romance languages. It has become obvious that a large number of denominations of the ladybird can only be explained from a certain linguistic

⁹ Ferreira/Alinei 105 after Rolland 1881, 352, 356.

context, i.e., the formulas inviting to fly, all over Europe directed by the children to the little animal. When these contexts are investigated from nearby, one finds returning motives that possibly help better to understand the parameters with which the enormous variety of denominations of the insect can be framed. The invitation to fly is only one of the many motives present in the rhymes; so is for instance the destination of the flight a motive, almost automatically arising from the previous one. The ladybird is invited to fly and it is told whither it should go. It usually concerns a faraway and unreachable place, like in the rhyme from Westphalia:

*Himmelskindken, fleig op,
fleig tom haugen heamel rup.*

Ladybird (heaven's baby), fly up,
fly up to the high heaven.¹⁰

At Bergen (Slavic):

*Sloncko, sloncko, lec
lec do njebes;
hdzez te letsa polecis,
tam ja kletu pocahnu*

Ladybird (little sun), ladybird, fly,
fly to heaven;
there where you fly this year,
thither I shall go next year.¹¹

In Romance Breton it is:

*Bête à bon Dieu, monte au ciel,
et apporte-moi du miel;
si tu vas en enfer,
tu m'apporteras de la bière;
si tu vas au purgatoire
tu m'apporteras des poires.*

Ladybird, fly to heaven,
and bring me honey;
if you go to hell,
you must bring me beer;
if you go to purgatory,
you must bring me pears.

The Finnish example, wherein the ladybird must fly near a big stone to arrive at the wedding-ball in a large fairytale-castle, we have already seen (ch. 2).

Often this faraway place is inhabited by someone, whom the ladybird has to visit; that can be a shepherd as we have seen in Spain:

*Sola, sola taña, vete à la montaña
dile al pastor que traiga buen sol
para hoy, y mañana
y toda la semana, a Dios.*

Ladybird, go to the mountain,
tell the shepherd that he brings good sun
for today, for tomorrow
and the whole week, goodbye.

or God himself:

*Bête du bon Dieu, envole-toi,
envole-toi vers le grand bon Dieu.
Surtout dépêche-toi,
tu te reposeras à midi,
petit dormidi.*

Ladybird, fly up,
fly to the great good God.
Above all hurry up,
you will rest at noon,
ladybird (little noon-sleeper).¹²

Also can it be sent out to meet kings, princes, saints, wood-spirits ('in the great castle Tapios', see ch. 2), deceased or still living parents. The ultimate reason for this long journey is the obtaining of a gift or to perform a task. The first we saw above, where the ladybird has to bring honey, beer or pears from the other world, or meal as in the next Portuguese example:

*Romaninha, romaninha
vai ao céu buscar farinha.*

Ladybird (2x),
go to heaven to seek meal.¹³

¹⁰ Ferreira/Alinei 106 after Riegler 1932/1933, 1692.

¹¹ Ferreira/Alinei 106 after Kieser 1928, 259. CH: An oracle for the future workplace or residence.

¹² Ferreira/Alinei 106 after Rolland 1881, 352.

¹³ Ferreira/Alinei 107 after Vasconcelos 1931, 603.

The second case we saw in the example above, wherein the ladybird has to ask the ('undoubtedly heavenly') shepherd to send the sun. Of both cases there are numerous examples. The gift can take all kinds of forms, like information about the time, about the future. Even when the spoken words do not contain the request to fly and the destination, the fact that the ladybird flies up is interpreted by the child as a positive sign, a sign of luck, of love, etc., i.e., it announces the fulfilment of the expressed wish. The rewards the child promises the ladybird can also be interpreted as gifts.

These often appearing motives in the nursery-rhymes correspond with tale-functions as defined by Propp (1970). The ladybird acts as a helping animal that has to perform difficult tasks, as is the case with helping animals in fairytales. When the analysis of the motives, that keep reappearing in the nursery-rhymes, allows us to find a tale-structure as in fairytales, then the hero of this tale can be no one else than the child that recites the formula. It is the child that makes the ladybird its helping animal, that asks it to make a journey to a faraway kingdom, in another world, to a donator, from where it will return with the desired object. As Propp (1983) has demonstrated concerning fairytales, we have before us in the rhymes directed to the ladybird probably fossils of rites. The game-situation itself shows us an 'officiant', who performs certain gestures, always the same, accompanied by sung formulas in order to obtain a certain behaviour of an animal. The fact that this officiant (performer) is a child, seems to be the result of a system of transferral that has worked through the centuries and has made the formulas childish.

The majority of the denominations of the ladybird can be analysed as being the result of the lexicalisation of elements that have functions and important roles in the ritual recitation. We have already seen examples of denominations based on the invitation to fly. Like that we can illustrate the destiny of the flight with all the denominations containing names of places (heaven, paradise, cities, temples, etc.), and also the gift the child wishes can be seen in the denominations, as in the Estonian *kalatooja*, from *kala* 'fish' and *tooja* 'bringer'. So also the authors assume that the denomination *petite chaussure d'or* has not originated because the ladybird looks like a golden shoe, but because it was imagined that the other world overflows with wealth and that everything there is of gold.¹⁴ This effect on the denominations of the ladybird is taken up on the third map (I.44) of the ALE. On the second map (I.43) the anthropomorphisms have been registered, the shepherds, kings, divinities, parents, that can be found in the denominations of the ladybird and that the authors consider to be the result of the lexicalisation of the donator to whom the ladybird is sent (sometimes there is mention of an intermediary). Other anthropomorphisms should not be considered as donators but as gifts, as in the case with the babies the ladybird is asked to bring. On the first map (I.42) the numerous zoomorphic denominations of the ladybird are represented, that underline his role as helping animal (or magical helper). When the existence of denominations like *colombe* ('dove') can be explained by a simple generalisation (ladybird = flying animal; whatever flying animal can serve as denomination for the ladybird), this becomes a lot harder with the identification with a cow or a sheep. But we see this not only with the denominations of the ladybird but also in those of a large number of other insects. These aspects, shown on the three maps to make an easy reading of all these data possible, appear in words that are for the most part compounds. The French *bête du bon Dieu*, which evokes the idea of a helping animal, is a combination of 'animal + donator'. Following this road the enormous variety of denominations of this little animal can be reduced to at most thirty attested combinations.

¹⁴ As in the well-known story of 'Jack and the bean-stalk', in which Jack steals golden things from the giant.

Map I.42: zoomorphic motivations

The map of the zoomorphic denominations of the ladybird answers to the need to show in a very detailed way the aspects that by the building of a semantic coherent field can be isolated from the totality of denominations. The first group consists of the flying animals, the second of domestic animals, especially cattle. As said these denominations are harder to explain than bird-denominations; it can be that these were seen as gifts, but the *cheval de la fiancée* is without doubt a messenger of the same type as a bird, a helper for the journey of the wedded girl. The authors consider all animals as helping animals, as magic helpers, whether it is for the journey or for the procurement, protection or making of the desired gift. The magical side is moreover revealed by the determinant commonly accompanying the animal-name (see map I.43). A third group is formed by insect-denominations.

The principal characteristic of the helper-messenger is his capacity to cover fast great distances, whatever its animal shape. The order to fly is given to the ladybird in such a repeating manner, that it finally became part of its denomination. In this way there came a *Paris* and *Maries* that fly. The simple words we see mainly in the Romance languages, like the derivations from the Latin *volare*: Italian *volina*, *volandrin*, etc.; the Catalan *poriol* and *boriol* are probably of the same origin; the Portuguese *aboinha*, often appearing as butterfly denomination. The compounds are much more numerous and we encounter them in the Romance as well as Germanic languages (where the flight more often serves as the name of insects, for instance *fly*, *butterfly* [Dutch: *vlieg*, *vlinder*¹⁵] and *gad-fly*). In the Romance languages the order to fly has not only been taken up with animal-names but also with personal names (*Guiraut*, *Vidal*), cities (*Paris-vole* = à Paris, *vole*) and adjectives like ‘beautiful’, ‘high’. In the non-Romance languages we see in the German *fliegen* (*fliegmarielchen*) and the Norse *fly* (in *maria fly-fly*), the Servo-Croatian *letjeti* (*polet mara*), several Finnish compounds with *lento* (fly), appearing in combination with woman’s names, the Karbalk *uts* (fly!) appears in the denomination *utstaket* (fly, go!), in the Udmurt the verb *lob* (to fly) is part of some telling denominations (*zorod-ki-lobod-ki*, *zorod-a-lobod-a* and *zorono-ke-lobono*) representing the ladybird as ‘something that either flies or lets it rain’. Denominations like *kever* (beetle) are valid for all kinds of insects known under the name *Coleopterae*, shield-winged, better known in Dutch as *tor* (pl. *torren*). Among these insects also the Egyptian scarab is counted, of which the mythical connections can be traced back all the way to Ancient Egypt. Just like the scarab the ladybird is connected to the sun, heaven, the hereafter, to holy beings. In the European material we see the following forms: German *käfer*, in combination with personal names, gifts and the time of the gifts; Castilian *escarabajo*; the Portuguese *carochinha*; the Welsh *chwilen* (‘little red one’ in the compound *chwilen coch fach*); the Hungarian *bogár*, combined with personal names, as well as the element *buba-* of the Servo-Croat *bubamara*; the Rumanian *gărgărița*; the Mordvm. *unža* (/mañi ‘nice weather’-) and *indža* (/rož ‘rye’-); the Ukrainian *žučok*; in a Nakho-Daghestanian language in the Caucasus *pepe* (/survan ~); finally the Nog. *Kongiz* (/šemiške ~ ‘sun’-).

A second form is *coccinelle*, probably derived from Linnaeus, who in the 17th c. coined this word, proceeding from the Latin *coccinus* ‘scarlet’, in turn based on the Greek *κόκκος* (pomegranate seed) from which the scarlet-colour was made. The third form is ‘butterfly’, as in the Portuguese *peneirinha* ‘little sieve’, which is more often used for the butterfly than for the ladybird. The

¹⁵ Meaning ‘flutter’; cf. Vries 1971, 793: *fladder*; he also considers *vlo* (flea) from *vlien* (Old Dutch for *fly*) a possibility. Skeat 153a refers for *flea* to *fly*, ID., 156a: Flea, ME *flee*. AS *flea*, *fléo*. Dutch *vlooc*, Icel. *Fló*, G. *Floha*, Russian *blocha*. *Flutter* though is allied to *float* (which has the same radical as *fly*: √PLU).

authors point to the Greek word *ψυχή* (*psyche*) which means both ‘soul’ and ‘butterfly’.¹⁶ In the Spanish we find *borborita* and *mariposa*, the Occitan *parpaj’ola*, the Dutch *kapelleke*, the Greek *papar’una*, the Mordverz. *memil’av* (from *ñemil* ‘heaven’), the Russian *babočka*, which can be associated with God, *bož’ja*), the Mari *ləpə*, with the sun (*lajar* ~); the Mordvm. *mil’avnä*, with the earth (*/moda* ~). The Komzyr *bobe* (butterfly, darling) combines with the fore-parents ‘grandfather’ (*/pel’e* ~) and ‘grandmother’ (*/peće* ~).

A fourth form is ‘fly’, Russian dialect *bogova kosjāvka* ‘little fly of God’, in Moldavia *moskal’aS*. Also ‘bee’, at least according to Salvioni the Italian *viola* is derived from the Latin *apis* ‘bee’, but more likely the derivation is from *vola* ‘to fly’ with *via* ‘(a)way’.

The name ‘bird’ is ready at hand for an airborne creature, forming a bond between earth and heaven, between life and death. On pictures the bird appears frequently as a soul-figure and as such it appears often as helping animal in fairytales. On the European map we see two compact zones: Great Britain and Finland. Outside these areas it appears isolated in Germany, Italy, Spain and some languages of the Ural; looking more closely: in the Udmurt the bird (*papa*) is connected with the grandmother from mother’s side (*čuzānāj*) and with bread and butter (*vej nān*); in the English a *bird* is connected with a *lady*; in Italy a *uccello* with Saint Mary; in Estonia *lind* with Elizabeth (*Lees*); in German *vogel* with God (*Herrgott*), the sun (*sonne*) and the summer (*sommer*); the Sardinian *bbidzōni* associates with Saint John (*Juani*); it can be a red bird as in the Finnish and Estonian (*leppälintu* and *lepalind*) or a vary-coloured bird in Estonian *kirilind*; or a very small bird as in Spanish *pajareta* and the Mordverz. *narmuška* (dim. of *narmuñ*). Also special bird-names are given to the ladybird or taken up in the denomination, like a) the crow, appearing once in North Italian Stènico (*gróla*); b) the cuckoo we see in Estonia, where *käo* and *lind* build a word, literally meaning ‘cuckoo-bird’, and in Ukraine where *zozul’a* usually means ‘cuckoo’. The ‘cow of the cuckoo’ we will consider further on. Other Esthonian denominations with ‘cuckoo’ are *käokirjass* and *käokirjat* (coloured cuckoo); c) partridge: twice we see this denomination *perdigolo* in the Occitan, but also in the Norse *akerhøne* and the Danish (*vorherres*) *agerhøne* we see names of the partridge (= Dutch: *akkerhoen*); d) the sparrow we see in Dutch *muske*; e) the lark we see probably in Volga-Mari *tur’i* (*turij* = lark); f) the dove we see in Spanish and Italian dialects, derived from Latin *palumba*; g) the (sea)swallow in the Italian *rondinella*, in the Finn *leppätiira* and in the Estonian *tiiru-taar*; h) the goose: the French denomination *pir vole* appears in an area, where *pire* = goose¹⁷; i) the duck we see in Portuguese *patassol*, from *pata* ‘duck’ + *sol* ‘sun’, but it may also be a distortion of *papassol* ‘eat sun’, found in Galicia; j) in Rumanian there is *bibițe*, in Moldavia *pikir’itse*, varieties of pearl-hen.

We now come to other animals, first of all the cattle, where the ‘cow’ stands out. The English *cow-lady* can be explained as ‘lady of the cows’, but in most cases it concerns cows that belong to or are sent by an inhabitant of heaven, like God, although little numerous in the Romance languages: in the Friul.lad. *v’ak’s d’al sini’uar* (‘vache dal sinjeur’), the French *petite vache du bon Dieu*, the Rumanian *vaca lui Dumnezeu* and *vaca Domnului*; the French is probably a ‘translation’ of the (nearby) Breton *beuhig an uotrou doue*; and also the Rumanian and the Friul.lad. are possible translations of (nearby) Slavic denominations, where it teems with compounds of ‘God’ (*Bog*, *Pambog*) + gen.sg. + ‘cow’ (*karov* or *korov*) + dim. In Russia the majority can be found. An unrelated form is the Karelian *ukonlehmäni*, in which the name of a

¹⁶ This claim is not supported by the Greek dictionary! But in Vollmer’s *Wörterbuch der Mythologie* (1978 = 1874, 393) we read that Psyche, the beloved of Amor (Eros), is usually represented with butterfly-wings and with a butterfly on the hand, because also the butterfly is called in Greek *psyche*.

¹⁷ But Aebi explains *pir* as ‘turning around’, as in *pirouette*.

pagan god (Ukko, lord of heaven and earth¹⁸) is linked with the cow. The area, containing the combination '(a) god + cow', is enormous, from the Breton, the Lithuanian *diėvo karvėlis* till the Avar *allag'asul giaka*.

Special forms are a) the previously mentioned 'cow of the cuckoo' (better: cuckoo-cow): Est. *käolehm*; b) 'bull': the Mordverz. *buka* (Б Russ. *Byk*), the Servo-Croat and Slovenian *volek* as well as the Czam. *musa* are combined with 'god' (*Paz, Bog, Allah*) or with Mordverz. *pakša* 'field'. A 'little ox' we see in Ad. *cvə cīykū*; c) 'sea-ox': in the Est. *merihärg* and *merehärg* we have a combination of *meri* 'sea' and *härg* 'ox' with the remark, that *mere* also can refer to Maria; d) 'calf': here the remark that many denominations of the ladybird are diminutives. In the German we see *motschekälb* and in the Komzyr *jen kukej* 'calf of God'; German *muhkälbchen*, *muhkuhser* (where *muh* is the lowing of a cow).

A second farm animal the ladybird is connected with is the sheep, in Spanish *corderita* (*cordera* 'lamb') and Italian *pecorella*, etc. ('little sheep'); the Servo-Croat *božja ovčica* 'God's little sheep' is derived from *ovca*, which is related to the Latin *ovis* (sheep); German *Schaf*, Dutch *lam*, Karelian *lammas*; all are connected to saint Anthony, the Virgin Maria, to God (*Bog*), to Ukko and to heaven. The Tziganes of Yugoslavia speak of *bakror'o* (without further information). Besides the sheep and lamb we also see the ram (wether), German *hämmel* and Swedish *bagge*, both connected with 'gold'; or the goat in rare cases: Sp. *Cabrilla*, White Russ. *kozul'ka* and Ukrainian *kozjavočka* (all dim.).

Another farm animal is the horse. In Norway the ladybird transports brides as *brudehest*. In N. Italy and Tessin (Ital. Swiss), in a quite compact area, it is simply *cavalit*, or a mare: *cavallina*, but it can also be God's: German *liebgottrösslein*,¹⁹ N-It./Frisian. *cavallino del signore (Dio)*, in Dutch N. Brabant *onzelieveheerepe[e]rtje*.²⁰ In Sardinia it belongs to saint Gavino (*su y'ad e š'antu a'indzu*).

The pig, often in combination with Saint Anthony or God, we see mainly in the Italian (*porcello* or *porcino*) and sporadic in Central Europe, in Sorabe (*sw'intsko*). In Sweden it is of gold: *gullgris*. The Spanish, Italian and Portuguese 'pig of Saint Anthony' may also be used for the sow-bug [sic!]. The 'sow' we see in the rare Swedish *gullsuga* and the South Spanish *cochinica*. Now we come to the domesticated birds, in the first place the 'chicken' (hen, chick, etc.). The use of the words makes it difficult to distinguish between the chicken and the chick (as in the English!). The chicken cannot fly, because its wings are clipped by the farmer. Still we find 'flying chicken', as in the German *flieghinkelchen*. Often the chicken is seen as a symbol of wealth, 'golden chicken', comparable with the 'chicken with the golden eggs', we meet in Italy as *galineta d'oro*, in Norway as *gulltippe* and *gullhøne*, and in Sweden as *gulltypa*, *gulltupa*, *gullpyta*, *gullhöna*. The other chicken-denominations belong to supernatural beings: God under

¹⁸ Vollmer, *WdM*, 439. Among emigrants from the old Finland of the Southeast the denomination *ukonlehmä* for Kivennapa, and Karelian *ukonlehmäni* for Suojärvi have been attested.

¹⁹ In the article misspelled as 'liebgottrösslein', but in the list (p. 169) phonetic correct [l'ipg□trøslj].

²⁰ That mistakes are easily made in this multi-lingual 'tour de force' can be seen in this last word, where not only the last double e as such is not indicated but also the plural has been taken over unrecognised. (See also on p. 130: *Deim Vater ist im Krieg*, after Sloet, who spells *Dein*.) In a note is indicated that this denomination was communicated by A. Weijnen, who is of course Dutch and responsible for the contribution of the Dutch and Frisian denomination (as indicated in note 1 (p. 99). In standard Dutch a horse is *paard*, which in Brabant becomes *peerd*, which can be written phonetically as *pērt*, but it is not written phonetically (unfortunately it is not taken up in the list), and with the addition of just the [e], it is not a little horse, but a little pear (used as denomination of the light-bulb). So it really has to be *onzelieveherepeerdje* (in a present-day spelling of the dialect). See for the denomination ch. 5 (p. 45 of the PDF) in J. Swanenberg, *Woordenboek van de Brabantse dialecten III Algemene woordenschat sectie 4: De wereld tegenover de mens. Fauna Aflevering 2: overige dieren*, Gorkum 2001, 168-171 (nr. 24).

his many names, Saint Peter, the Madonna, Maria, Elizabeth, but also the devil: in Italy a *gallinella del diavolo* seems to cast a shadow over the general ‘devotion’, surrounding the little animal, but the dialectics of the oppositions, also perceived at many other zoonyms confirms for the authors the magic-religious homogeneity of the referent. A special form is the ‘blind chicken’, appearing in Catalonia (*gallineta ciega*) as well as in Italy on the coast of Yugoslavia (*gal’ejnA w’orbula*). A Catalan nursery-rhyme is:

<i>gallineta cega</i>	Ladybird (little blind chicken),
<i>puja-te’n al cel</i>	jump to heaven,
<i>veuràs sant Miquel</i>	you will see Saint Michael.

A remark concerning the *gallineta ciega*, which in Catalonia is also the name of the game of blind man’s buff: also the denomination *patassol*, we saw above, refers in the female form *patassola* to another game, wherein one of the players is blindfolded. The game contains the dialogue: ‘*Cucut!*’ – *Què mana?* – *D’on véns?* – *De Roma.* – *Què portes?* – *Corona.* – *Què busques?* – *Muller.* – *Fes tres salts i busca-la bé*. The ‘blind chicken’ says he comes from Rome, wears a crown, and is looking for a fiancée. The children tell him to jump three times and to look carefully. Also the name of Saint Lucia is used for the game as well as for the ladybird. Another form is the ‘cock’, appearing only in the Frisian, in the [presumed] translations German *liebergottshahn* and Dutch *lieveheershaan*.

Other domestic animals appearing in the ladybird-denominations, are the dog, in the Spanish *perrin de Dios* and the Dargh. *allag’la hai*, but also in the Frisian (according to Kapteyn), and the cat in the German *mötsch*, which combines with *himmel* and *sommer*.

Another large group of denominations are general names and those of other small animals, in the first place of course ‘(little) beast’, embracing a large part of central and western Europe, derived from the Latin *bestia*, we see in the Cast., Oïl (N-France), Occ., Frpr. and also in the Dutch and variants of the German *tier* in Denmark, Alsace, Luxemburg, West and East Germany. Regarding ‘insect’ we must be aware that the line between insect, little beast, little beetle, and bug is not always easy to draw. So the Welsh *chwilien* is understood as shield-winged, scarab or beetle. Another common meaning is that of ‘child-scare’ and ‘parent’. These confluence of meanings we see in several languages. It is present in the Spanish *cuca*, Frpr. *boia*, Servo-Croat *baia*, the Sardinian *babbayola* and all the Occ., Oïl, It., Rhaeto-Romance denominations beginning with or derived from *barb-*, *bab-*, *bau-* and *bob-*, the English *bug*, the Corsican *mum’u*. Not on the map represented cases are the Spanish *papa*, the Norse *troll*, which create an image of a connection to the world of the dead.

Other small animals are a) ‘louse’, in Lapland (*ae(d)nâ(m)* = earth + *dik’ke* ‘louse’), in Russian *vša* ‘louse’. Also in Brabant (Belgium) the name of the louse (*picon*, *pecon*) is given to the ladybird in the nursery-rhyme:

<i>picon, vole au lon,</i>	Ladybird, fly to faraway,
<i>jesque’l pwate de Tirlémont.</i>	till the [gate?] of Tirlémont.
<i>One eûre, deûs-eûres, etc.</i>	One hour, two hour, etc.

b) the Mordverz. *pakša* ‘field’ + *tarakan* ‘cockroach’. The Rumanian *chichirița* has to do with parasite insects on sheep and other animals; c) the Catalanian *xinxeta borda* is a kind of bedbug; d) the ant in the Polish *mrówka* is hard to explain; in contrast the Macedonian *kravajče mravajče* can be seen as ‘round pastry + little ant’; e) the Spanish *escarbat de la patata* ‘potato beetle’ is strange, because this little animal only came in 1917 in Europe with an American ship with potatoes; f) the cricket we see in the German *herrgottheimchen* ‘Lord God’s cricket’ and isolated in the White Russian *čyrkun*; g) the German *herrgottpüppchen* contains *puppe* ‘doll, pupa’, which has the double meaning (as also Dutch ‘pop’) of ‘larva’ and ‘playing doll’ (cf. puppet); h) ‘worm’

is quite strongly represented, in Germanic countries with *wurm*, *worm* + dim.; in Swiss *güegli*, in Spanish *gusanico* and in the Tartar *gArt*. Almost everywhere this name appears with the usual determinants: food, paradise, sun, summer, Maria. A special form we see in the Mar. *traj maksəm* (snail with horns), while in some Mar. dialects the term *traj maksəm* = ladybird is used for the snail. Both little animals are weather-prophets: the snail by sticking out its horns and the ladybird by its flight. Finally there is also the Hungarian *büdösbogár*, literally ‘stinking beetle’ (probably a reference to the foul smelling liquid it emits when in stress).

Map I.43: anthropomorphic motivations

On map I.43 the denominations of the ladybird are brought together that contain anthropomorphic elements. They are distributed over the whole of Europe. We start with what the authors consider to be the oldest forms, those referring to the ancestors.

First there is the grandmother, also ‘little old one’, often in simple forms, like in the Greek *mam’itsa*, Servo-Croat *baka*, Polijš *babka*, Slavic *baba* (which we see in Lithuania, Latvia, Mordvm., Mordverz.), Komzyr *pečil’ej*. There is a relation with the ‘gifts’, the ladybird has to bring, as can be deduced from the (twice appearing) Swedish *smörgumma*, from *smör* ‘butter’ + *gumma* ‘old woman’, while in Mordverz. *doro baba* means ‘sword + old woman’. Other old women combine with animal names, like Udmurt *čužanaj + papa* = ‘grandmother on mother’s side + bird’; Komzyr *peće + gag* = ‘grandmother + beetle’ or *bobe* ‘butterfly’; Mordverz. *korova baba* = ‘cow + old woman’. In the Tartar the denominations are compounds with *aebi’i* ‘old woman’ and *taet’i* ‘grandmother’. The Bulgarian *baba mara* ‘old woman Maria’ looks like the Servo-Croat *babajela* ‘old woman Helena’, which reminds of fairytales where Helena quite often appears as the ‘beauty of the world’ [= Helen of Troy].

As second there is the ‘mother’, like in Rumanian *mămărută*, which can be considered as a combination of *mamă + Maria + dim.*, as in the Sardinian *mammarióla = mamma + Mariola*. The White Russian *matrunka*, the Bachk. and the Tartar *kamká* all mean ‘(little) mother’, the Russian *korovka-matuška* is the ‘mother-cow’ according to the authors, but in my opinion ‘little cow + little mother’. The Livonian *mōmalikki* means literally ‘little bird of the mother’ (mother[‘s] little bird), which agrees with *mōmalijkki*, investigated by Vilkuna (ch. 2).

Another female ancestor appearing in denominations is the ‘aunt’, usually little, as in the Italian *dzillaróla*, while in Austria the combination with the ‘sun’ appears in *sonnenähnel* (= *Sonne + Ahne + dim.*) or with grease (‘smout’) in *zm’oits’ā-l*; also mention is made of a *z’ujzdor’ā-l* (*schusterähnel*), ‘the aunt of a shoemaker’. The authors remark that the German *ähnel* can also be interpreted as ‘grandmother’, pointing to the rhyme:

<i>Maikäfer, flieg in meiner Ahne Haus,</i>	May-chafer, fly into my granny’s house,
<i>Bring mir Aepfel und Bire.</i>	Bring me apples and pears. ²¹

A second group of ancestors are the male ones, starting with the ‘uncle’ we meet in the Albanian *buba ε dajēs* ‘worm of the uncle’, whereby the uncle (*dajēs*) is the brother of the mother. The grandfather, also often ‘old man’, appears rarely, as in Komzyr *pel’e + bobe* ‘grandfather + butterfly/darling’ and in the Swedish *gullgubbe* ‘golden grandfather’ and in a loan from the Maltese to the Sicilian *nannacola*, from *nannai* ‘granddad’ + Nicholas, whereby we should think of the well-known child-lover, who on December 5 distributes presents. The Udmurt *zor babaj* ‘rain + grandfather’ explains itself from the capacity of the ladybird as weather-prophet.

²¹ Ferreira/Alinei 127 nt. 50 after Wossidlo 1897-1906, 421 n° 1445. The authors thank E. Mooijman for her suggestion, to translate *ähnel* with ‘aunt’.

Other relations, not by blood, are a) the stepmother, as in Komzyr *vežan' gag* 'beetle of the stepmother'; b) godmother, mother-in-law, the first in the Gypsy-Bulgarian *kum'ari* (French *commère*), the second in Bulgarian *kalimanka*; c) the wife, fiancée, bride we see in the Finn-Swedish *brudvis* 'point out the bride' (or: bride-pointer) which originates from a rhyme; the wife we see in the Polish *malzonka*, the Italian *la ts'eta* and the Albanian *nuse*, in the south extended to *nuse paska* 'easter-wife' and in Macedonia to the fairytale-like *careva nevestica* 'the new wife of the Tsar'. In the Turkish we see *gelin böcegi* 'fiancée + beetle'.²² About non-European denominations the authors remark that the Berbers in the south of Morocco call the ladybird *merim tigran* 'Maria of the fields' and that youngsters take it on the morning of the Islamic feast of Aid el Kebir on their finger and say to it:

<i>A Mrim tigran mel</i>	Ladybird (Mary of the fields) show me
<i>Iyi manigrad tähleg</i>	whither I will go to marry!

d) the 'sister-in-law', i.e., the youngest sister of the (future) husband we see in the Bulgarian *kalinka* and probably in the Czech *hálinka*.

Other family-members are descendants, the children, as in German *sonnenkind*; the Serbian (from Hungarian) *ciròka mazòka* is a pet-name mothers use while hugging their little one. Kapteyn also gives examples of denominations that children and the ladybird have in common. A rhyme is:

<i>Hiärguotshäuneken flüch op</i>	Ladybird, fly up
<i>Tüh den hogen hiemel rop</i>	Up to the high heaven
<i>Brenk ne güllne kie met</i>	Bring a golden child with. ²³

The authors point to a remark by Kapteyn about the superstition that the number of dots of the ladybird indicates the number of children to be expected in a marriage.

In the Ossetic and in the Karata (a Nakho-Daghestan language) the ladybird is 'a boy more a girl': *kizgce - bič êeu* and *w'asin j'asin p?'arit]?a*.

In the Swedish we find besides golden girls (*gullpiga, gullböna*²⁴) girls controlling the keys (*nyckelpiga*) or churning butter (*kärnpiga*). The Turkish *kizignesi* = 'girl' (*kiz*) + 'needle' approaches the 'seamstress' discussed below. In the Béjita, a Nakho-Daghestan language, there is found *khidi øzod* 'girl + insect'. That we are dealing with girls from heaven can be seen in the German *lieben Gott sein Mädchen* 'little girl of the dear God' and in Swedish *Jungfru Marie nyckelpyga* 'Virgin Mary[']s] key-maiden'.

Finally there is the Polish *sierotka* 'little orphan [girl]'. Here the authors point to rhymes, in which the children, to make the ladybird fly, tell it that its parents are about to die in a burning house [in many variants the parents are already dead].

Next to the related persons we see as second main group the occupations, in first instance male ones, as the 'shepherd', Swedish *gätare*, Est. *lambrik* and *lambrine*; the 'shoemaker', whom we already saw, next to which the Greek *paputs'is* as well as the Spanish *zapatero*; the 'smith', as in Norse and Swedish *gullsmid*; the 'soldier', as in the Russian loan *soldatenka* in the Mordverz. In some German rhymes the father of the ladybird takes part in the war (*Flieg, Käfer, flieg / Dein Vater ist im Krieg...*²⁵), in other cases 'enemies' (Turks, Tartars, farmers, etc.) attack its house, and it has to go protect its little ones; the 'gardener', as in the French *banwart, banward* 'field or

²² According to the Pons-dictionary *gelin* means 'bride' (on the wedding-day) or 'daughter-in-law'.

²³ Ferreira/Alinei 129 after Sloet 1887, 409.

²⁴ Misspelled as 'gullbona'; the commentary in the footnote says that *böna* means 'bean' as well as 'girl', which is confirmed by the dictionary, while *bona* = wax (cf. Dutch: *boenen* = wax[ing]); so the denomination should be *gullböna* (as in the list, p. 173;

²⁵ Ferreira/Alinei 130 after Sloet 1887, 411.

forest guard²⁶, in Francophone Switzerland we see *bāv'e*; the 'beggar' in the Mordvm. *pižaməñ anaj* (*pižam* 'rain' + *anaj* 'beggar'); 'merchant' in the Bulgarian loan from Turkish *bežerg'en* (Turkish *beziğân*) 'salesman'.

The female occupations contain: 'shepherdess', as in Swedish *gätare*, *gäterska* and also *färpiga* 'sheep-girl', in Polish *patuszka*, in Spain *pastorcita*, in Italy *la bovarina*. A rhyme is quoted:

<i>Ene dene Bohneblatt,</i>	Ene, dene, bean-leaf,
<i>Unsre Küh sind alle satt.</i>	Our cows are all filled.
<i>Mädel hast gemolken?</i>	Girl, did you milk?
<i>Sieben Geiss und eine Kuh.</i>	Seven goats and one cow.
<i>Peter schliess die Tür zu,</i>	Peter, close the door,
<i>Wirf den Schlüssel über den Rhein,</i>	Throw the key over the Rhine,
<i>Morgen solls gut Wetter sein.</i>	Tomorrow must be nice weather.

This rhyme from the Swiss Aargau appears also in Tyrol, in Thüringen, near Darmstadt, in the Alsace and in Westphalia, where the first line is different, the third not questioning and the fifth and sixth not commanding.²⁷ Peter is Saint Peter, who guards the keys of the gate of heaven. In a Spanish ladybird-rhyme the ladybird has to fly up the mountain to ask the shepherd for nice weather, and the authors point to the Estonian denomination *taevataadi* (heaven-father) + *karjane* 'shepherd'.

A second female occupation is that of 'seamstress', and a Wallonian child explained that this is because the ladybird has buttons on its coat. There are though more insects with that name and Pinon explains the denomination from the movement of the forelegs. But the authors point to the nursery-rhymes, in which the ladybird is requested to bring cloths. In Galicia it is *costureira*, in Wallonia *kostr'i* and in France *couturière* (in Portugal they know an *alfaiate* 'men's taylor'). Only once a female baker is mentioned despite the many rhymes with pleadings for bread. Next to that we see a female miller in the Portuguese *moleirinha*, actually a butterfly denomination. In Wallonia they have the rhyme:

<i>Pépin-Maurtin, vole au vint,</i>	Ladybird, fly in the wind,
<i>mousse-mu li tch'min do molin.</i>	show me the way to the mill. ²⁸

In Spain they have:

<i>Ranchin, ranchin,</i>	Ladybird (2x) (from <i>rancho</i> ?)
<i>abre as alas pral molin.</i>	spread the wings for the mill [?]. ²⁹

The last female occupation is that of 'housekeeper', Italian *na kazAr'øl*, for which we are again referred to the nursery-rhymes, in which the house of the ladybird is mentioned, from which it has become a 'little housekeeper'.

We come now to the group of 'lords', in the first place the king, who is completely of gold in Norway (*gullkonge*)³⁰, but also on the north-coast of Spain (*rei-rei*), on Crete and in Greece (*Vasil''as*). Next there is the 'bojar', in the Mordverz. the name of the richest and most powerful man in the Russian feudal system, which is linked to the ox in *bojar buka* 'ox of the bojar' [or:

²⁶ I would not call him a 'gardener'; he is more a village-policeman (= Dutch: *veldwachter* lit. 'field-guard').

²⁷ After Sloet 1887, 402 (after Rochholz), who also gives a variant, in which the girl is not mentioned. The verse is a weather-rhyme without connection to the ladybird.

²⁸ Ferreira/Alinei 132 without reference (after Pinon 1972, ± 100?).

²⁹ Ferreira/Alinei 132 after Bouza-Brey 1950, 25 without translation (*abre as alas* 'open the wings').

³⁰ A *gullsméd* is not of gold, so why would a *gullkonge* be of gold? This is a problem with motivations: a gold-beetle is not 'of gold' but only has a golden colour, but the goldsmith has no golden colour, he works with gold. So how about the gold-king? He has a lot of gold, or as Midas (also a king) turns everything into gold. The denomination 'little king' is given in Dutch to the wren, called *winterkoninkje*, in German *Zaunkönig*, 'hedge-king', the hero in two Grimm tales, *KHM* 171 (AT 221) and 102 (AT 222).

bojar-ox]. Also female rulers appear, like the ‘queen’, that we see in the south of Portugal (*rainha*) and in one place in Italy (*regina*). In Portugal the denomination takes on in one place the form of a well-known prayer to Maria: *salve-rainha*. Another female title is that of ‘lady’ in the English (*ladybird*, *lady-cow*, *cow-lady*) and *Frau* in the German, usually accompanied by an animal name. In Turkey a frequently appearing denomination is *hanım böcegi* ‘lady-beetle’. In the Bask the children call the ladybird *anddère kota gorria* ‘the little lady in the red mantel’. In Austria we meet the form *junkfraukäfer*, in Denmark *fruens hone*, both referring to the Holy Virgin. Another female title is ‘(little) patroness’, as in the Polish *patronka* and maybe in the Greek-Italian *patrun’eda*.

We now arrive at the category ‘pagan donators’, starting with the male beings, like Ukko, the Finnish thunder and main god, to whom several ladybird-denominations are devoted, like Karelian *ukonlammas* and *ukonlehmäni*, Swedish-Finn *ukonlehmä*, from which might be concluded that ‘certain Christian denominations of the ladybird are the result of the christianisation of primitive names of divinities’, so Juvas and Vilkuna. Secondly, there is the Frisian *p’øke*, Dutch *Puken*, a kind of kobold (dwarf). Sometimes the ladybird is called *pykie-brea* (‘children’s food’, actually ‘porridge’) and considered a ‘house-god’ (= kobold). Also the Italian *monachello di fiori* ‘little flower-monk’ is thought to be dwarfish. Another mythological figure is *lemminkäinen*, a hero from the Finnish epic Kalevala and other folk-stories.

The female beings contain a) the Rumanian *păpărugă*, a young woman [often a young girl] who, in times of drought, wraps her naked body in green leaves to sing and to dance in the streets, while the farmers sprinkle her with water, a ritual that took place on the third Tuesday after Easter. There are two nursery-rhymes:

*păpărudă, rudă
vino de ne udă
să inceapă ploaie
să curga șiroie.*

Ladybird, [blood-relative],
come make us wet
so that the rain begins
to fall with buckets.

And:

*Păpălugă!
Ie din a ta glugă
Suie-n sus la rugă
secita să fugă.*

Ladybird!
Come out from under your ‘chasuble’
Rise up under the prayer
So that the drought goes away.

Also during the ritual described above a song is sung by adults, who perform the ritual. The *păpărude* sing:

*Rugă, păpărugă
Ia iej dă ne udă
c-o găleată de apă
Prăstă lumea toată.*

Pray, *păpărugă*!³¹
Come here, make us wet,
with a bucket of water
to preserve the whole world.

b) the ‘fortune-teller’ or ‘witch’: the first we see in the Italian *indovinella* (dim. of *indovina* ‘seeress, prophethess’). The Occ. *debinairogo*, based on the verb *debinare* (= divine), means ‘witch’ though, as well as the Ukrainian *vorožka* and the Moldavian *vreziț’ogare*; c) an *ond’ina* ‘undine (mermaid)’ we find some place in North Italy; d) the Greek *m’ira* ‘moira’ (fate), originated from the classics, links the ladybird to everyone’s fate.

After the pagan mythological beings now follow the Christian and Islamic mythological beings, in the first place ‘God’, ‘Our [Dear] Lord’, ‘[Our] Father (in heaven)’. First of all there are the continuations of the Latin *deus*, which in itself is derived from a word meaning ‘heaven’, as in

³¹ Here spelled *păpăruda*, which is of course very confusing, or is this the same as the *păpărugă*? And is there in the ritual question of one or more girls wrapped in plants?

Spanish *Dios*, French (*Bon*) *Dieu*, Frpr. *djy*, *dy*, Occ. *d'io*, *dz'ø*, Lith. *d"iEvo*, Breton *doue*. The Germanic **guda* continues in the German *Gott* (with variants in Alsace-Lorraine, Austria and Switzerland), Dutch and Frisian *God*, Swedish *Gud*. The Russian provides for a compact area with *Bog*, which can be found in lesser degree in other Slavic languages. Also the Mordverz. *Paz* (from Avesta *bagas*) belongs to this. In the Polish there is 'Lord God' *Pambog*, cf. Breton *aotrou doue*, North Italian *Signore*, Friul.lad. *sinj'uAr*, Rh-rom. *s'e:rAr*, Dutch *lieve Heer*, *Onzelieveheer*, *mijn heer*, Danish *vorherre*. The 'heaven-father' we see in SW German *Himmelvaterlein*.³² In the Dutch we see a *lievevader*.³³ Besides the Indo-European languages there are a great number of denominations of God in the non-Indo-European languages: Finn-Karelian *Jumala*, Hungarian *Isten*, Komperm. *jen*. The Mordvm. *škaj* comes from the verb *škams* 'giving birth, bear'. Also the Caucasian languages have some variants of words, indicating God: And. *ḳ^ha;nitlah^hi*, Tsach. *miz'eren*, Lak *zw'annal*. Here it concerns the Muslim-God, who more often appears under the name most known in the West *Allah*, like in the Avar and Nakho-Daghestan languages *Bagvala*, *Tsèze*, *Tchéthè*, *Tindi*, *Guinoukh en Darghien*. 'Christ' we only see in the Italian *gallinella di Christo*. 'Saint Peter' we only see in the Spanish *sampedrito* and with a little chicken in the Italian *gallina di San Pietro*. 'Saint John' appears in the Catalanian *cuca de Sant Joan*, N-It. *i [en]dwan'ej*, Portuguese *São João*, Sardinian *lu bidz'Oni de s'antu ju'añi* and next to that we see forms in S-Italy and Friul.lad., where he appears alone or with a chicken.

The authors remark, that Saint John is often ascribed as motivation that his feast in the summer is a time of appearance of the ladybird, but that doesn't explain the choice for autumn and winter saints like Saint Martin, Saint Nicholas, Saint Catherine and Saint Anthony. Another explanation is, that we are dealing with saints, all known as donators. So Saint John, as feast of the summer solstice, gives great fertility.³⁴

Another saint is 'Saint Paul', whom we meet in Italy. 'Saint Martin' we see in Galicia, the French and Italian. 'Saint Nicholas' is summoned by the Sicilian children to fly away: *vola vola san Nicola*, and on Malta the ladybird is called 'grandfather Nicholas', while in North Italy there is a 'little shoe of Saint Nicholas' (*la pap'ùtsa de s'anta nək'āla*). 'Saint Anthony', known as protector of the cattle, especially the pig, we see in Portugal and also Italy and the ladybird is a pig, sheep or pigeon of Saint Anthony in South Italy; as himself in Spain and Portugal and as 'fire of Saint Anthony' in Italy. 'Saint Michael' we see in Italy north of Piemont. 'Saint Guy' we see in the same area (*b'oje t s'an gwin'ij*). 'Saint Gavin' we see in the Sardinian denomination 'horse of Saint Gavin' (*su y'a du e s'antu a'indzu*). 'Bishop Barnaby', whose feast is associated with the summer solstice, can be seen in the English *bushy Barnaby*, *bushy bandy bee*, *Bishop Barnaby*. 'Angels', 'paradise angels' and 'angels of the good God' we find in France and North Italy. In the Dutch and Frisian we see diminutive forms of *engel*, brought by Kapteyn in connection with on the one hand *engeland*, interpreted as 'land of angels', and on the other *ellendans*, *elfendans*, 'grass where elves have danced' [i.e. 'rings', circles in the grass]. Kapteyn sees in *engel* a Germanic word, synonymous with 'elf', both with a connection to the underworld. The authors though point to the Greek meaning of *angelos* as 'messenger'.

The denomination 'soul', also connected to the world of the dead, we see in the South-French-Catalonian as *animeta* and in N-Italy as *anima de la Madonna*. Also connected with the underworld is the 'devil', seen in the Italian *gallinella del diavolo*, which according to Garbini concerns a black variety of the ladybird. The authors make a link to a Wallonian children's game,

³² I assume this is a misspelling for *Himmelväterlein* (but cannot verify this in the material).

³³ Corrected from *liev-vader*, which can moreover also be *liev-vader* or *lie-vader*.

³⁴ The link with the summer solstice does not belong to Saint John's repute (is a quite modern invention).

recorded by Pinon, concerning the dung-beetle, that is put in the middle of a cross drawn on the ground; when it moves along the horizontal line, it is a *bête à bon Dieu*, when it goes along the vertical line, it is a *bête au diable* and has to die. Also the ladybird is sometimes sent to hell when it refuses to give oil.

A 'monk' or 'priest' we see in derivations of Latin *frater* in the Spanish *flAjr'en*, dim. of *fraile*, Occ. *fraire*. The Greek *papad'ura*, derived from *pap'as*: 'pope'. But the Italian *monachello di fiori* 'little flower-monk' is according to the folk-interpretation a 'flower-dwarf' and belongs to the subterranean folk.³⁵

As to female heavenly beings there is in the first place 'Our [dear] Lady', 'the Virgin Mary', 'Saint Maria', 'the Mother of God', or 'God's sister', names we encounter independent or connected with an animal. 'Our Lady' we encounter in Rhaeto-Romance **bau + nosa d'una*, Italian ('chicken', 'pigeon', 'sheep') + *madonna, madonnella* [= My Lady]; Sardinian *i matonnedda*, Dutch *onzelievevrouw* (+ *beestje* 'little animal'). 'Saint Maria': Occ. *s'ento mar'io*, It. *s'anda mar'ija* (+ 'bird'). 'Virgin Mary': Eng. *virgin Mary*, Norse *jomfru Maria*, Swedish *jungfru Maria*. 'Mother of God': Swiss, Austrian-German *muttergott* (+ 'chafer'), Bulgarian *Buʒə m'Ajtʃitsə* and Lap *j'im'm'el'im*, probably from *ibmel* 'God' (cf. Finn *jumala*) + **aebme* 'mother'. The 'sister of God' appears in Lith. *dievo sesute*.

Saint Catherine, well-known for her iconographic attribute the wheel, gives her name to the Portuguese (*scatrina*), French and Italian ladybird denominations. Sloet has some songs and brings the wheel of Catherine in connection with the ritual to roll down a burning wheel from a slope in the summer [at the solstice]. With approval the authors quote the rhyme:

<i>Sinte Katelijne</i>	Saint Catherine,
<i>Laet het zonneken schijnen</i>	Let the little sun shine,
<i>Laet den regen overgaen</i>	Let the rain pass away,
<i>Dat mijn kinderkens schole gaen.</i>	That my little children go to school. ³⁶

In northern Europe the cult of this saint is connected with the protection of the cattle. Kustaa Viikuna reproduces the words with which she is brought offerings:

<i>Karina hyvä emäntä</i>	Karina, good housewife
<i>Hyvä rouva roukkuselkä</i>	good woman with a crooked back
<i>Käy kujat kuuruksissa</i>	go bent over the roads
<i>Läävät länkämöisilläsi,</i>	step with bowed head in the stables
<i>Tuo mulle vasikka-lykky</i>	give good luck to my calves
<i>Härkälykky häilähytä</i>	let the luck of my oxen increase
<i>Tuhat karvan kantajata</i>	Thousand animals having fur
<i>Sata majon antajata</i>	Hundred animals giving milk. ³⁷

It is Catherine's role as 'protector of the cattle', that has led to the connecting of her name with the ladybird.

³⁵ This concerns AIS P. 761: *u monakéllu de yúri* (Cosenza: Mangone). All around the bay of Naples the belief in the *Monaciello* or 'Little Monk' still existed at the end of the 19th c. He is described as broad, sturdy, and dwarfish, wearing a monk's dress, but a broad brimmed hat. He is mischievous and tricky, sometimes spiteful; often alluded to in the *Pentamerone*. In one of the tales, 'Vardiello', a house is mentioned that had been deserted on account of the annoyances associated by the Monaciello. (*Folk Lore Journal* 4, 401)

³⁶ Ferreira & Alinei, 140 after Sloet 1887, 404. We are not at all dealing here with a ladybird-rhyme, but with a mother's prayer directed to Saint Catherine; this is followed though by a rhyme directed to the ladybird: '*Sonne, Sonne Kathrine, Lât den rägen öwergân! Lât de kinner nâ schôle gân.*' There is no conceptual difference.

³⁷ Ferreira & Alinei 140 after Juvas-Viikuna 210. We are dealing here with a magic spell from Saarijärvi and not the cult-words from Tyrö which are: *Hyvä Katrina, kaunis Katrina / Syö voita kiisselii; / Elä tapa lehmojaain* (Good Catherine, beautiful Catherine / eat butter and kissel, / don't kill my cow).

Other female saints are Saint Lucia in North Italy, who sometimes takes on the role of Santa Claus, and Saint Anna (= the mother of Maria), who in Spain appears in the denomination *santanica*. Here we also see the denomination *santita* ‘little female saint’. A ‘nun’ we see once in Italy (*la munaŕ’ēda*) and a ‘pilgrim’ can be seen in the Portuguese *romeirinha* ‘woman going to Rome’.

Common names like Pete, Martin, Mary, etc. are derivations from Christian saints like Saint Peter, Saint Martin, the Virgin Maria, etc. These short names we meet in the denominations of the ladybird: a) ‘Peter’ we see as *peter* (+ dim.) in the Hungarian, White Russian, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, and the Italian and Spanish forms, in which the word ‘saint’ is expressed, probably mean that in the Orthodox cult they don’t say ‘Saint Peter’, but only ‘Peter’; b) ‘John’ we see once in the Russian *Ivan*. In the German we see *Johannesmännchen* and *Johannesbübchen*, ‘the little man or boy of John’, and it is clear from the form that the saint is meant. The ‘little man’ or ‘little boy’ is almost certainly a midget (goblin, elf, etc.); c) in Belgium we see a *petit Martin*, maybe also a midget (but also a bird-denomination can play a part [the so-called ‘Saint Martin’s bird’]); d) ‘Nick’ we meet on Sicily as *u k’ōla k’ōla* and on Malta as *nanna cola* ‘granddad Nicholas’; e) according to Aebi, the ladybird denomination *b’olo gir’aut* ‘fly Giraut’ derives from Saint Giraud = Gérald, bishop of Béziers (†1123); f) behind the Occ. *b’uloe bid’au* would hide Saint Vidal; g) about the White Russian *Andreika* and h) the Ukrainian *sydorko* (from S. Isidor, according to Utešený) the authors have nothing to report; i) in the Italian we see also ‘Tony’ (*al tunj’ini*), Saint Anthony, who has given his name to various insects, like *tonchio* ‘worm’, in Occ. *toni* ‘chestnut-worm’.

Woman’s names are a) Maria, which we meet even more frequently as element in ladybird denominations than God. Often it is accompanied with a diminutive and the summons ‘Fly!’ in the Spanish, Port., French, Occ., Sard., It., Servo-Croat, Mac., Gr., Bulg., Rum., Ukr. and Latvian, or accompanied with animals: It., G., Dan., Norse, Swedish and Ossetic; a special case is the Estonian denominations *merihärg* and *merehärg* ‘sea-ox’, in which the *meri*-element agrees with Maria. In the Bask we find ‘red Mary’s’ (*maringongorriya*, *Mari gorri(a)*, *Mari gorringoa*, *Mari gorringo*) and in Finland (*punamaija*) and Macedonian (*kAr’AmArA*), a mysterious ‘black Mary’. Border cases are Bulgarian *baba Mara* (‘old Mary’) and Macedonian *putmara* (Mary’s vulva), which are possibly not of Christian origin. Maria can also be accompanied by God, as in Lith. *diêvo maryte*, by the sun, as in Scottish *sunny Mary*, and by a cloak, as in Swedish *maria kâpa*. The special Maria-prayer *ave Maria* we find in the Swiss-Italian. In the French there are the still unexplained words *marif’o* and *marif’o[’ou]*, which are thought to be derivations of *maréchal* ‘marshal = farrier, shoeing-smith’, appearing in a ladybird nursery-rhyme from Remiremont (see ch. 5). The authors propose also the derivation of Maria as a possibility. Also special is the NE Italian denomination *maritine di Sam Vit* ‘little Maria of God of Saint Vitus’. In Rumania we see *mariîta popii* ‘little Mary of the pope [= Orthodox priest]’, while in Greece there is the ‘wife of the pope’ (*papadj’a*, *papad’itsa*). Maria is the most frequent appearing girl’s name, much more banal as Catherine, whom we meet in Portugal, Spain, France, Belgium, Italy, Slovakia and Hungary. ‘Red Catherine’ we meet in Bask *Kattalín gorri* and Estonian *lepatriinu* and variants, and Finnish *leppätiira*. The Hungarian *Katica* is accompanied by ‘beetles’. *Lucía* and *lucióla* we see in Central Italy, close to an area with *Santa Lucía*. ‘Anna’ we see in the Servo-Croat *Ančica*, dim. of *Anca* = Anna. Other rarely appearing names are female forms of Peter: Lith. *petronele* (near male forms *petras*, *petrelis*, *petrukas*), or of Saint John in Port. *joaninha*, *são joão*, Gall. *Xoaniña*, Cat. *cuca de Sant Joan* and Occ. *z’ano mar’io*, or of Paul in It. *paolina*, Occ. *bolo Paulo* (= fly, Paula), while the French denominations *Nicole* and *Martine* can be connected to respectively Saint Nicholas and Saint Martin. Possibly the Portuguese denomination

romanita is connected to S. Romão, who also has given his name to a hamlet in that region. Solely in Finland we see the names *Kerttu* (Gertrud) and *Pirkko* (Birgit), Elizabeth we see in the Estonian *leeskana*, *leeslind*, but also in the Portuguese *Isabelinha*, although a totally different saint can be meant or not even a saint at all, because the authors point to the Finnish *Liispettö*, whose name appears in old songs, where she is called ‘the good wife of God’ or ‘daughter of Ukko’. The name ‘Margaret’ we see in Spain, France, Belgium, Italy as *Margarita*, *Marguerite*, *Margheritina*, in Latvian *m'ar:griētina*, *gr'ietina*. The Occ. *Marguerite du bon Dieu* should remind us that no special Margaret is meant.³⁸ ‘Miss Theodore’ is a well-known personage as saint and wise woman in East Europe. As ladybird-denomination we see in Greece *Thodor'ula* and White Russian *Hvedarko* from *Hveder* = Theodora. ‘Helen’ we see in the Hungarian *ilona* + *bogár* and in the Russian *alonka*. The authors think of Saint Helen, the mother of Constantine, who figures in popular prayers, and wonder if there is a connection with the ‘old Helen’, hidden in the Servo-Croat *babajela*. ‘Magdalena’ we see in the country of her popular veneration, the Pays d’Oc, as *madel'eno*, in Czech-Slovakia as *m'ajdaleňka* and in Hungary as *Mangalinka*. An ‘Apollonia’ is hidden in the Czech *pl'ijka* and the Slovenian *pikApolonitsa*; ‘Louise’ hides in the once mentioned (Port.) *luisinha boa-boa* ‘Little-Louise-fly-fly’; ‘Fatima’, the daughter of the prophet Mohammed, we see in the Turkish *Fatmacik* (dim. *-cik*); ‘Sigrid’ we see in the Swedish *gull-sigrid* and it concerns a supernatural personage of the Swedish folklore.

Now follow the conclusions drawn by the authors from this list of denominations. The ladybird is part of a mythical surrounding, known to us from the ancient history of the scarab and the bee. Invisible in the winter, it appears suddenly in the spring, attracts humans by its beauty, is easily caught, secretes a medicinal oil and shows the magic number seven on the red or golden wings. So there is plenty of reasons for man to venerate it. Its denominations follow the cultural way of mankind. On this way the first natural protectors are the parents. Here the authors see a possibility to apply to the ladybird the scheme, Alinei developed for the denominations of non-domesticated animals. According to this scheme we see in first instance an identification with the parents, dead or alive, who guard over the necessities for their tribe, which they provide with food and descendants; in this group belong also the ‘uncles’ and ‘aunts’, etc. A next step is that these forebears are projected into heaven, become father-gods, controllers of heaven, gods and goddesses of the cattle, of the reproduction of the species, of the weather. In this context appears the ladybird as the messenger of those gods. Somewhere in history the pagan gods have been superseded by Christian and Islamic gods, saints, lords and ladies, a transformation which is situated by the authors in the 13th to 15th century, because in those days the vitae of saints were for a large part spread through the printing press. The loss of the attribute ‘saint’ is the result of a process of secularisation, whereby previously sacred things become normal (an example is the name Maria in Spain, which till a certain time in history was reserved for noble women). With this we have come full circle, because in the sphere of the normal we are back again at the parents.

Map I.44: Other reasons: gifts, place and time of the gift, rituals, physical characteristics.

On the third map are in the first place the denominations represented that connect the ladybird with the gifts and other things the children ask from the little animal. Connected with this is the

³⁸ In Dutch *Griet* (well-known from Bruegel’s painting), short for ‘Margriet’, the Dutch form of Margaret, is a common word for ‘girl’, then written as *griet* (spoken as ‘greet’).

destination from where the ladybird has to bring the desired gifts. Also the time of it is expressed in the denominations. On the map are also denominations represented, connected with games, in which traces of old rituals might be hidden. Finally are pictured on the map those denominations that are connected with the external appearance of the ladybird: the colour, shape, seven dots. The gifts consist of a) gifts or information for the inquirer, b) gifts for the ladybird, or c) gifts for the donator. This last we see in the Italian *chedda ca porte lu oghiu a Cristo* (that which brings the oil to Christ). This is very rarely the case though; the majority concerns the first, the begging for gifts. The sun is in the agrarian society, in which both denominations as rhymes function, of principal importance. The Galician denomination *papasol* ‘sun-eater’ (from *papar* ‘to eat’), shows the image of an animal that is capable of eating the sun; where is the borderline with the scarab who carries the sun between its legs? Maybe that’s why it is called in Lower Germany *sonnenschiner*, i.e., ‘who makes the sun shine’. Often it is a person: *sonne + ähnel* ‘aunt’, in Austria *sonne(n) + kind*. But most frequently it concerns an animal, as in German *sonnentierchen*, *-tik*, *sonnevogel*, and in the Dutch *zon + kuikentje* (little chick) and German *sonne + kuken*, in the Portuguese *pata + sol* (duck + sun), in the Latvian *saulguosnina* ‘Little sun-cow’, German *sonnenwurm*, and Swiss *sonnegüegli*. In Czech-Slovakia, White Russia and the Ukraine an identification with the sun takes place: Czech *sluničko*, W-Russ. *sonejko*, Ukr. *soněčko*. The *ajarlapə*, ‘butterfly of the sun or of the nice weather’, found in the Mari language near the Volga, where the word *ajar* ‘sunlight’, ‘nice weather’ is a loan from the Czuwash *ujar* ‘nice weather’, ‘ladybird’, agrees according to the authors completely with the belief that the ladybird predicts the weather or brings good weather. In Scotland (*sunny mary*) and Poland (*ślonko*, *śloneczuszka*) the sun is seen as an expression of affection.

Nearby is the question, asked in Mordvm-Moksha: ‘rain or nice weather?’ (*pižəm al’i mañi*). So besides bringing the sun the ladybird is also capable of bringing rain, as is apparent from denominations, in which a question is asked like ‘will it rain or won’t it rain?’ In the Udmurt we see *zorod-l’ e-ud-l’ e papa*, where *papa* = ‘bird’, with the nickname ‘will you let it rain or won’t you let it rain?’ Like that there are more denominations that can be interpreted as ‘once you let it rain, once you don’t let it rain, bird’, ‘do you let it rain or are you going to fly?’ In the Urmurt *zor papa* (rain-bird), *zoron’o pap’a* (rainmaker-bird), *zor kibj* and *zorono kibj* ‘rain’ + ‘very little animal’ and also *zor babaj* ‘rain’ + ‘grandfather’. On the Dutch Frisian islands they speak of *onweersbeestje* ‘thunderstorm’ + ‘little animal’, which according to Kapteyn entails that a thunderstorm will arise when you kill it, a punishment for cultivators who trespass the taboo on killing it.

Sometimes the ladybird looks like a little flame, dancing in the air, a *flimmflämmke* in Lower German, or a little candle³⁹ as in Spanish *candelilla*. Fire can be seen in Central Italy, where the denomination of the ladybird is: *lo f’oko sand and’ oño* (‘the fire of Saint Anthony’). The authors link this to the rhymes of the ‘burning house’, which is connected by Kapteyn to spring-fires that not only chase away demons but also parasites. But the authors see in this the well-known method of the hero (= inquirer) to obtain his goal: the sending on its way of the ‘helper’.

The primary desire of man goes out to food, and in the agrarian world, in which the ladybird functions, affluence is represented by ‘bread and butter’. In the Udmurt the ladybird is considered as a ‘[bringer-of]-butter-and-bread-bird’ (*vej n’an’ papa*).

Bread can be seen in all kinds of shapes in the denominations of the ladybird, exclusively in combination with insect-names, like German *kornkäfer*, Mordvm. *rož indža* (rye-chafer) and Mac. *kravajče mravajče* ‘little round pastry’ + ‘little ant’. The Rumanian *pituța* ‘little bun’ should

³⁹ Ferreira & Alinei 149f translate with ‘lanterne’, but *candelilla* is dim. of *candela* ‘candle’. A *flimmflämmke* is the little flame burning in a *godslampke*, i.e. the eternal burning oil-lamp in every Catholic church.

help us understand the Galician *paparrubia* as built from *papa* (= Dutch: ‘pap’ = porridge, polenta, meal-dish) + *rubia* ‘red’. In the Kabard a word, meaning ‘millet’ (*mes*), is linked to an unknown element. The authors point to the making of offerings to undomesticated animals and the quid-pro-quo-principle to end up with the Frisian denomination *pykje-brea* ‘baby-porridge’. ‘Oil’ or ‘grease’ is also often part of denominations and is usually explained as related to the secretion of the little animal, sometimes pointing to medicinal application. The authors are of the opinion though that the reference relates rather to the magical character of the ladybird as donator, and they cite some rhymes from the research of Roukens (see ch. 5), in which the children ask the little animal with emphasis to procure for them this oil-salve.

<i>Liev(e)raike gef maë zallef</i>	Ladybird, give me salve
<i>og ik dun a moeder en a vaëder doeët</i>	or I’ll kill your mother and your father
<i>en a der baë</i>	and you with them,
<i>da sän er draë.</i>	then there are three.

As well as:

<i>Lieve vrouwke als ge mij smout geeft,</i>	Ladybird, if you give me grease,
<i>gooi ik u in den hemel</i>	I will throw you in heaven;
<i>als ge mij geen smout geeft,</i>	if you don’t give me grease,
<i>gooi ik u in de hel.</i>	I will throw you in hell.

The denominations, related to this, are in Dutch *smoutwormpje*, from *smout* ‘grease’, and in Austria *schmalz* ‘grease’ + *ähnel* ‘little aunt’, but also Udmurt *vej kibj* ‘oil/butter’ + ‘insect’.⁴⁰ Between milk and butter there is a large area of dairy-products, like ‘curdled milk’, in Finland combined with the personal name Pirkko (from Birgit) in *piimäpirkko* and variants. In the Swedish *kärnpiga* is built from the verb *kärna* ‘churn’ and *piga* ‘girl’, which is connected to the ladybird-denominations *smörgås* and *smörgumma*, that associate the ladybird, transformed respectively into a goose and an old woman, with butter. In Norway we see a *smørhøne* ‘butter-hen’.

The red colour and small shape may have influenced the gift-denominations, as the Bulgarian *kalina malina* ‘beautiful raspberry’, the Corsican *rawaneto* ‘little radish’ and the Albanian ‘*mola kuce*’ ‘red apple’. Also the Portuguese *romanita* might be added, because it is the dim. of *romana*, the pomegranate.⁴¹

The denomination ‘(little) apple-tree’, we meet in Polish *jablonka* (*jabłoń*), is not to be deduced from the colour, but from the capacity of the apple-tree as donator of gifts.

Some denominations agree with those of medicinal plants (poppy, Dutch: papaver), like the Catalanian *poriol*, the Ukrainian *polyn’muska*, the Greek *paparuna*, and the Wallonian *pawer*. Some denominations are related to food-preparation. The Portuguese *peneirinha* ‘little sieve’ is usually given to butterflies. Complicated is the Sardinian *predipisk’edō* ‘Peter’ + ‘plate’ + ‘raven’, in which Garbini saw *Pietro piccino*, a ‘very tiny Peter’ [in Dutch they speak of *pietepeuterig* (‘Peter’ + ‘little child’) for something very tiny]. The plate, the authors see in this denomination, is waiting for the ladybird in heaven, as we see in the Norse nursery-rhyme from the author Marie Heggen:

⁴⁰ Ferreira & Alinei 151 make mention in a footnote of the folk-belief, signalled by Pinon (1972, 116f) concerning the dung-beetle (*bousier*), whose oil is called *sang* (‘blood’) in Belgium and *sang de Notre Seigneur* in France. To obtain it the children spit on the insect, concluding some kind of pact with it with the words: *Bêti dé la sën Jan / Donà mé ton san roj / Donéré lo minn blan!* (Little animal of St John, give me your red blood, I will give you my white).

⁴¹ This is wrong: *romana* = Roman balance; pomegranate = *romã*. Elsewhere in this study *romanita* is explained as ‘a little female pilgrim to Rome’ (see p. 28), or as connected to S. Romão (p. 23).

*Jomfru, jomfru Marija, flug til Gud
så får du mat på et lite perlefat.
A jomfru, jomfru Marija.*

Ladybird, fly to God,
then you'll get meat on a little pearl-plate.
O, ladybird.

The cloths, so often asked for in the rhymes, we see in the 'mantel', connected with Maria, in the Swedish *maria kåpa*, a 'red mantel', covering a young lady in the Bask *anddère kota gorri*, through the 'needle of the girl' in the Turkish *k'izînesi*. Garbini reports *vistedda di lu Signuri*, 'little mantel of the Lord'. And the authors point to the religious aspect, found in certain rhymes, like: *Herrgottskäferl, fliag af d'Hoed* (heath) / *Und bring unsen Herrgott a schênes Kload* (a beautiful dress). Shoes we encounter in denominations like the Lower German *herrgottsschühlein* and the Swiss-German *Frauenschühlein* (remember the seamstress and the shoemaker of the occupational denominations).

All kinds of riches are naturally desired and 'gold' symbolizes that the best. But also the Lap *ruow'dě-gob'ba* 'iron' + 'insect' may represent the same value. The Finn *kultakännä* 'gold-beetle', the Norse *gullmaryfly* and the Greek *xriso m'amuno* and variants are all 'gold-bugs'. Also connected with gold are animals, the cow in Swedish *gullkudda*, *gullko*, Norse *gullku*, the wether in West German *goldhämnelchen*, the sheep in Swedish *gullbagg*, the chicken in Norse *gulltippe*, Swedish *gulltippa*, *-typa*, *-tuppa*, *gullpytta*, in Norse *gullhøne*, *maria gullhøne*, Swedish *gulhöna*, It. *gallina d'oro*, the sow in Swedish *gullsugga*, *gullgris*, the worm in Swiss-German *goldgüegi*, or people in the possession of gold, an old man in Swedish *gullgubbe*, a smith in Norse and Swedish *gullsmid*, a king in Norse *gullkonge* or Sigrîd in Swedish *gull-sigrîd*, Maria in Servo-Croat dialect *zlatna mara*, a girl in Swedish *gullpiga*, an object like a flute (pipe) in Swedish *gullpipa*, and finally food as in Swedish *gullböna*.⁴² The Mordverz. compound *doro baba*, in which the *doro* 'sword' is an attribute of a *baba* 'old woman', remains unclear to the authors. Also all kinds of non-material gifts are desired like knowledge of future things. The ladybird is supposed to have that knowledge and is called 'fortune-teller' in the Italian *indovinello*. It can say the time, for which the child counts, as has been reported several times. The Polish denomination *godzinka* is the dim. of *godzin* 'hour', which we see in the formula *ora, ora ile godzin do wiczora*, which we might translate as 'see, see, how many hours till evening time' (*ora* is only there for the rhyme with *wiczora* 'evening'). When the ladybird can predict our fate after death, as imagined in the nursery-rhymes, then it can do that possibly also in this life. In the Greek we see a denomination agreeing with the classical Greek *moira*, which agrees with the It. *na fortuna* and more derived the Frisian and German *glückskäfer*. Love is present in Portuguese *amor*, and that is also one of the meanings of the Finn denominations *lemminkäinen* and *lenninkäinen*, because *Vilkuna* connects the first with *lempi* 'love', the second with *lentää* 'to fly', and the image of the ladybird, flying in the direction of the future beloved makes it into the Swedish *brudvisare* or *visbrud* (from *visa* 'point' and 'bride'), and Norse *brudhest* 'bride-horse' reminds of the transportation of the bride.

The Swedish expression *nyckelpiga*, from *nyckel* 'key' + *piga* 'girl', sometimes *nyckelpiika*, can be understood as 'the girl keeping the keys of the house'. More elaborated are the forms *jungfru marie nyckelpiga* and *maria nyckelpiga*, referring to a Christian atmosphere. The Virgin Maria keeps the key of birth and so determines the time of birth. The authors point to the Swiss rhyme, also found at Mannhardt and Mooijman about a saucer with a *goldis Wickelkinda* underneath. But they translate incorrect, because it doesn't say *goldis Schlüssela* 'clé d'or (gold key)', but *goldis Schüssela* 'little golden saucer', so there is here no connection at all. Moreover, also the translation 'un bébé emmailloté en or' for a *goldis Wickelkinda* is not quite fortunate, because it

⁴² Corrected from *gullbona* (see above n. 24). Also corrected *gulpyta* and *gul-sigrîd* (see list p. 173).

gives the impression that the diapers are of gold, while ‘a golden diaper-child’ means a golden baby: the wish is for a baby, ‘gold’, meaning ‘perfect’ = blond, with as heavenly sign the golden saucer, under which the child lies. The authors take over from Sloet the remark that the ‘key-flower’ (primula) has its name, because with its early appearance in the spring it unlocks the love-season. So also the ladybird, as servant of Maria (and Freya), has the keys of Maria under its care. Here appears the sent ‘key’ (but it was a saucer under which a baby) again, for the baby has to be born normally by parturition, to which Maria has the key, which takes us back to the study of Backman, who links the number seven, so intimately connected with Maria, with the seven dots of the ladybird and its red colour with the red mantel of Maria. The authors are convinced though, that the roots of the faith surrounding the ladybird reach back into paganism; an example is the number seven of which the magic goes further back than Christianity (think of the seven days of the week, which moreover have pagan names).

In the rhymes we saw that the ladybird was summoned to fly to heaven or to paradise and this can be found back in the denominations, as in the German *himmelväterlein*,⁴³ the Lower German (Luxemburg, Alsace, Lorraine) *himmeltierchen*, Dutch *hemelmuske*, *hemellampke*⁴⁴, Duits *himmelschäpfchen*, *-kühchen*, *himmelswurm*, *himmelmötschel*, Swiss *himmelgüegli*, Danish *paradishøne* and It. *gallina del paradiso* ‘paradise-hen’. The authors continue with a rhyme from the material of Kapteyn (see ch. 6):

<i>Lieve, lieve heersworm,</i>	Cher ver du [Cher] Seigneur,
<i>Vlieg op, vlieg op,</i>	vole, va-t'en
<i>Naar de hooge hemel op.</i>	au [haute] ciel.
<i>Je vader is al dood,</i>	Ton père est déjà mort
<i>Je moeder is al dood,</i>	Ta mère est morte déjà
<i>Je huisje staat in wroetenshoop.</i>	Ta [petit] maison est dans le trou de la taupe.

According to Kapteyn the ‘trous de la taupe’ (mole-holes) lead to the underworld. But it is a warning rhyme like the ‘burning house’-type and the standing in the ‘mole-hill’ (or is it a dung-hill) is a sign of decay, things going badly (like the death of the parents). This is often combined with an evocation of the image of the underworld, as in ‘standing on the edge of the abyss’, ‘it goes to hell,’ (in Dutch: to the moon, to the sharks, etc.).⁴⁵

In the Komzyr. and Komperm. the same word is used for ‘heaven’ and ‘God’ (as ultimately the French *Dieu*, Spanish *Dios*, through Latin *deus* and Greek *Zeus*, to Sanskrit *Dyaus* = heaven), namely *jen*, that we meet in the ladybird denominations *jen gag* ‘insect of God or of heaven’ and *jen kukej* ‘calf of God or heaven’.

Churches we meet in the Finnish rhymes (see ch. 2), but in the denominations it is a ‘mosque’, *mistan* in Tabaric, where the ladybird-denomination *mistan huni* means ‘cow of the mosque’. Names of big cities or of another country also appear: Paris, Rome, Pisa, Constantinople and even Lisbon (in the Portuguese denominations *lisboinha* and *lisboeta*). In France we see *paris-vole*, in Greece it is *vavun'ak'itis p'olis* ‘little insect of the city’, and with ‘city’ is meant in the Greece folk-tradition Constantinople. Rome we saw in the *romanella* and can also be seen in the compounds *pecorella di Roma* ‘little sheep⁴⁶ of Rome’ and *uccelluccia di Roma* ‘little female bird from Rome’, and in Portugal we see *romanita* and *romeirinha* ‘little female Rome-pilgrim’. In Italy there is a *pisanella* ‘a little woman from Pisa’, in Rumania *maria sîrbie* ‘Mary from Serbia’,

⁴³ Corrected from *himmelvaterlein*, see above.

⁴⁴ Both spelled wrong: *-müske* (elsewhere correct), *-lampkje* = either *lampke* or *lampje* (possibly *lampje*), also the translation as ‘agneau’ is wrong, for it is not a *lammeke* or *lammetje* (possibly *lammerke*), but a ‘little lamp’.

⁴⁵ See also the stork-song in ch. 6 n. 4: *prutsloot* = a muddy ditch (where the children are slowly drowning).

⁴⁶ Ferreira and Alinei translate with ‘shepherdess’, but *pecorella* is dim. of *pecora* ‘sheep’.

and in the Nakho-Daghestan *šurvan pepe* ‘beetle from Shirvan (a place⁴⁷)’. The authors want to add another denomination, namely *Heilandstierli*, where they understand *Heiland* as ‘Heilig Land (Holy Land)’, but this is not the meaning; instead it is a translation of the Greek *Soter* ‘Saviour, Heiland’, so a name of ‘Christ’ (= God). Another place is the ‘school’, we have frequently met in Italian rhymes and reverberates in the denomination, taken up in a Maltese rhyme:

<i>Nanna Kola mur l-iskola</i>	Grandpa Nicholas go to school
<i>a kbad siëèu u ibda oghla.</i>	take a chair and go jump.

In the Finnish rhymes the ladybird is ordered to fly over seven heavens or over seven seas. The sea symbolizes just like the heaven the unreachable distance and the element ‘sea’ we see in the Finnish names *merehärg* and *merihärg*, meaning ‘sea-ox’.

The denominations of the ladybird lead us through the spring into the summer, in the months May and June in German *maikäfer*, *junikäfer* and *maischühchen*; the time of Easter we see in Greek denominations, simple in divers diminutives of *paskal’'a* and of *lambr’i*, or in compounds of the type animal + Easter, *mamun’ak’itis lambr’is* and *mamun’ak’itis panaj’ias* ‘little Easter-insect’, or French *poule de Pâques* ‘Easter-hen’; the summer we see in German compounds with an animal: *sommerkäfer*, *-wurml*, *-vöglein*, *-puttel*, *-mötsch*, *-kükken*, but in Slavic languages it concerns simple words like *biedronka* and variants of **vedro* ‘summer’, as well as Czech *bedrunka* and variants, also *beruska* has this origin. Very precise is the Austrian denomination *Sonnwendkäfer*.

Rituals concerning the ladybird are amongst others the address with a pet-name, as in Komzyr. *bobe gag* ‘sweetheart’ + ‘beetle’. In the Italian we see the denomination *la bella* ‘the beauty’. In the Khvarch we find *bahārai* ‘beautiful’, derived from the Avar. In the Turkish *t’yymtym bōdzeg’i*, translated as ‘flower-insect’, the first element is the name of a flower and the whole a metaphor for ‘lovely little animal’. Also the Macedonian *kala bubala* is from the Greek *kalos* ‘beautiful’ + *buba* ‘beetle’. The It. *graziaviola* and *ave-maria* seem to fit in this group.

Another ritual is the game the children play with the ladybird. Thus the NW-Spanish denomination *cuentadedos* means ‘count the fingers’ and the Scottish *creamie* ‘little finger’. To this we should also count the Swedish *handsmärkare* ‘glove-marker’ and *handskmätare* ‘glove-measurer’; so the ladybird measures the size of the (bridal) glove, when it is creeping along the hand. An invitation to come down is enclosed in the Bulgarian *kaca mara*, for *kaca* means ‘wait, come down after having flown’. In the Castilian *mariposa*, usually given to the butterfly, is hidden an invitation to sit down (*posar*). Other games are hidden in the French *moulin à vent* and the Corsican *mulinella* and *dziri’ola*. The Catalanian ‘blind chicken’ (*gallineta ciega*) is the game of blind man’s buff. A Portuguese game is *patassola*. The Russian *korovka rjazennaja* ‘masked cow’ reminds of a Carnival-figure. The authors point out that the donators are often masked, disguised or changed of appearance.

Then there are denominations, evoked by the rhyme or rhythm. An example is the Scottish *ladylander*, originating from the rhyme:

Lady, lady landers,
take up your coats about your head
and fly away to Flanders.

We have seen that Backman (ch. 2) explained this denomination as ‘Our Lady the Laundress’. The Slovenian *polica rolica* is a transformation of *Apolonica*. The Dutch *pimpampontje* has nothing to do with a pumpkin (Dutch *pompoen*). A Portuguese count-out rhyme starts with the words *pimpampum / cada bola mata um / os cavalos a correr / as meninas a aprender*. The first

⁴⁷ Possibly *šurvan* = ‘Zervan/Zurvan akarana’, i. e. “God”.

word strongly resembles the Dutch *pimpampoen* and Sloet gives examples of nursery-rhymes concerning the ladybird like *Ene, dene, Bohneblatt...* and *Bim[m]-bam-Poland / Goht e Frau i's Holand...*⁴⁸ Garbini noticed the agreement between the ladybird denomination in Istria *pimpinela* and the formula of a children's game: *pimpinela una / pimpinela dó / pimpinela tre / pimpinela quátro / la bala de san Marco* (no further explanation). The authors consider the agreement with the count-off of the years before the marriage (cf. the counting of the hour) a sufficient explanation.

Of the external characteristics of the ladybird the colour red is the most striking. This is an ambivalent colour, connected both with life and death (blood = life; fire = danger). In the Estonian and Finn names of women (*Kerrtu, Pirkko, Triinu*) and birds (*lintu, tiira, lind*) are linked with *leppä*, Est. *lepa*, which is not the name of a colour (red), but of both 'blood' and the 'alder'. Also the name Maija (Maria) in the Finn compound *punamaija* means 'red'. More red we find in the Welsh denominations *chwilen coch fach* 'beetle' + 'red' + 'little' and *buwch fach gwta* which agrees with *buwch fach gogh gwta* 'little red cow of God'. The Galician *cascarrubia* is 'with a red bark' (cf. *paparrubia*).⁴⁹ The Albanian *basçuçe* 'red lip' comes from *buza* 'lip' and *kuce* 'red'. Just 'red' we see in the Rumanian *ruja*.

In the coloured cows, birds and cuckoos of the Est. *kirjantlehm, kirilind, kääokirjat* the element *kiri* means 'coloured'. And the formula-like *kirikari* is translated liberally by the authors with 'colori-colora'.

The colour 'brown' we meet only once on the map in the form of the Russian *buren'kaja korovka* 'little brown cow'. But in the list of double-contributions we find also *burenka* and *burenuška*. It concerns a loan from the Persian *bor* via the Turkish *bur* 'fox(-coloured)'. 'Black' only appears in the Macedonian rhyme-formula *karamara*, built from *kara* 'black' and *mara* 'Maria'.

The round and small form appears to be the background of numerous Albanian, Rumanian and Moldavian variants of *bubur* and *bumbur*.

In France also the denomination *coccinelle* appears, derived from the Latinism *Coccinella* coined by Linneus in the 18th c. The authors wonder whether with the motivations to take over the word also the idea of 'roundness' played a role. The seven dots are of course very distinct and loaded with magical allusions. In North Italy we see *la gal'enA di s'ed band'iAr* 'the chicken with the seven flags', and nearby *lum'ega dil sed bandi'Ar*.

In Scotland the spots are mentioned in *spotted golach* 'spotted insect', in Greece in *γζοτ'ο mam'uni*, 'spotted insect', in Poland in *kropielniczka* 'the one with spots', in Ukraine in *bedryk* of general Slavic *bedrŭ* 'with spots on the back'. A secondary motivation the authors see in the influence of *pinka* 'punctata' on the denomination *Apolonica* to build the Czech denomination *plinka*.

We now come to the conclusions of the authors, who are of the opinion to have shown that the majority of the denominations of the ladybird can be found in the structure of the nursery-

⁴⁸ This last example is wrong, i.e. not a ladybird-rhyme at all, because Sloet says at the beginning of his chapter on the ladybird that it is 'eene eigendommeljkheid, die in vele rijmpjes voorkomt, dat er zonder de minste oorzaak of reden vreemde landen en volken in opgenomen zijn (a peculiarity, appearing in many rhymes, that without any reason at all foreign countries and peoples are included).' He then gives an example from Rochholz's collection *Kinderlied und Kinderspiel* from the subdivision 'Haus und Hausgeräthe', where it is said of the *Wasserbütte* 'water-barrel' ... Then the rhyme follows and Sloet wonders what a Swiss woman, who goes for water, has to do with Poland and Holland. (For the first rhyme, see above.)

⁴⁹ The Spanish *rubia* means contra the expectation not 'red', but 'blond' and is associated with the colour of the sun (*el rubio*), which the Dutch associate with copper: the *koperen ploert* ('cad'). Still there is really the association with red, as appears from *rubor* 'blush'; *rubicundez* 'red colour', 'rosy'. Cf. the expressions *cascarrabias* 'hothead' of *cascar* (peel) + *rabia* (rabies, rage), and *paparrucha* 'small talk' (-*ruche* young ass).

rhymes, which in turn is situated in the general structure of the fairytales, discovered by Propp. All over Europe the rhyme is said *after* the little animal is caught (in contrast to the snail, etc.) and while it is held on the finger. So the flight of the ladybird can be seen as a result of the rhyme and as an expression of the power of the child-officiant. The structure of the game-rite is that of an initiation in the performance of a magic power.

Every direct contact with the animal world has immediate consequences on the linguistic level. The speaker and the object are in direct relation: me-you: therefore the denominations of the ladybird function also as summons of the address-formulas, as personal names, as vocatives. The situation of 'the exercise of a power' over the animal requires that these summons are effective, persuasive: the pet-names [among which the diminutives] pile up. Because every initiation is a transferral of a knowledge, the mnemonic design of it is important to assure this transferral. This way the rhyming, which contributes to the keeping alive of the memory of the rite, becomes one of the two necessities of this rite (i.e., speech and gesture). But if the rhyme helps fixing the rite, then the rite also helps shaping the denominations. And we have seen that these sometimes reveal a mnemonic structure. An analysis of the denomination material along lines suggested by Propp brings the authors to 20 points: 1. helper; 2. invitation to the journey + helper; 3. helper + donator; 4. helper + location of the donator; 5. helper + time of the donator; 6. helper + performing a task/the bringing of a gift; 7. donator; 8. donator + donator (= mediator); 9. invitation to the journey + accomplishing the task; 12. location of the donator; 13. time (of the gift of the donator); 14. invitation to the journey; 15. invitation to the journey + location of the donator; 16. invitation to the journey + the task to be accomplished; 17. desired gift; 18. task to be accomplished + desired gift; 19. desired gift + donator; 20. desired gift + time of the donator. To these structures, arising from the linguistic context of the nursery-rhymes, still others can be added that go back to the game-ritual and to the specific linguistic context: 21. name of the children's game; 22. gesture elements and game-rhythms; 23. words suggested by the rhyme. This way we see that the multitude of denominations can be reduced to around twenty formal structures. It is this structural and as result of that cultural unity, which to the authors seems to be the most astonishing result of their investigation. For to be able to explain it, it is necessary to assume the existence of universal ideological development laws, as Propp has developed. The fact that one proceeds that way from fairytales to children's games and from there to the pan-European dialectical semantic history appears to the authors to heighten the general value and the explanatory capacity of the theory they have used.

C. Beccaria, Alinei, Benozzo, and Goudi

Gian Luigi Beccaria devoted much attention to the ladybird in his *I nomi del mondo. Santi, demoni e le parole perdute*, which appeared in Turin in 1995. We are already in chapter 5: The Devil in the popular zoonymy, and speaking about the meaning of the colours black and red in connection with the devil, which brings him to the very gracious and generally sanctified red ladybird with its seven black dots. Garbini has two unattested names: *galineta del diáolo* (Ratti, in the province of Verona) and *gallinella del diáolo* in Pitigliano, prov. Grosseto), and in a footnote Beccaria remarks that in Sardinia the yellow liquid the ladybird emits when in danger is called *merda del diavolo* (Devil's shit), opposed to one of the ladybird-denominations on the island *abbasanta* 'holy water'. According to Beccaria the type *gallinella del diavolo* is connected with black ladybirds, something which is hard to prove because the dictionaries and linguistic atlases don't differentiate between the Ladybird-species. Anyway there are attested

denominations like the Sicilian *porta-ogghiu-ô-Signuri* at Termini Imerese for the red ladybird, while the black variety is called *porta-ogghiu-ô-diávulu* in the same place, at Marsala *gaddinedda di lu diávulu*. The infernal anyway doesn't appear in denominations outside the norm. Opposed to the black one there is the more usual red one which, according to a widely dispersed tradition, is an animal from heaven and has several powers like predicting the future, bringing of luck (also nowadays a common tie-amulet): see the type *indovinella*, recorded in Centro-Meridional Italy, *indovinello* in provinces Pisa and Siena (ALI 4735), *fortuna* at Modenese, *porta-fortuna* at Trento, and at Camogli. A formula collected in the province of Bologna testifies that the ladybird can predict the life-span:

*‘Viola violanda dalle gambe sottili
quanto mi concedi ancora prima di morire*

(~ of the thin legs / how much do you allow me before dying)?' Indicative is the modern Greek denomination *mira*, from the classical *moira* 'fate'.⁵⁰ The ladybird, like all animistic animals, has the ability to bring good predictions, it can be asked questions, as is done for instance with the cuckoo, or with other animals. It is a *demone-folletto* ('kobold'); indicative is the denomination *monachello dei fiori*, attested in Middle Italy.

The cuckoo in the previous paragraph is provided with an extensive note. The cuckoo is asked about the number of years to live or the arrival of a spouse. In Val d'Aosta the types are

*“cucú dalla barba grigia
quanti anni prima che mi mariti?
Cucú dalla barba mora
quanti anni prima che io muoia?”,
“cucú cucú dalla barba blu
quanti anni mi concedi di vita?”,
“cucú bel cucú,
quanti anni prima di sposarmi?”*

etc.; in Biellese

*“cucú bello,
quando mi porterai l'anello?”,
“cucú dalla barba grigia,
quanti anni dovrò attendere per poter stirare una camicia?”,
“cucú dalla barba bruna,
quanti anni senza la cuna?”,
“cucú barbiere,
quanti anni potrò ancora campare?”,
“cucú dalla giacca bianca,
quanti anni vuoi ch'io campi?” (Sella, *Bestiario*, p. 117);*

in Emilia (Ferraro, *Tradizioni*, p. 277ff)

*“Cucco bel cucco
da la penna bisa
da la penna vara,
quant'ani m'dat
nanzi che m'amala?” etc.;*

in Portogallo

“cuco da giesteira,

⁵⁰ In modern Greek still μοίρα (part, fate).

*quantos anos me dás de solteira?
 cuco da carvalhada,
 quantos anos me dás de casada?
 cuco da Carraspuda,
 quantos anos me dás de viúva?”;*

in France

*“coucou
 boloutou
 regaide su ton grand livre
 combien i a d’énées è vivre”.*

So the cuckoo with the grey, black, blue or brown beard or white coat is asked: how many years before I will die, or I will live, or I will marry, wear a ring, iron a shirt, get a cradle, etc. In Germany the cuckoo is exchangeable with the devil in the expressions *weiss der Teufel* and *weiss der Kuckuck* as well as *geh zum Teufel* or *zum Kuckuck*.⁵¹ The practice of predicting with the help of the ‘language’ of birds is ancient; as to the cuckoo, already medieval preachers convicted the superstition that the cuckoo predicted the number of years to live.

But let us return to the ladybird with the magical number seven printed on its back. It has power of prediction, brings gifts to the children, maintains the ties between humans and the mystery of the supernatural. It is a messenger, communicating with the world above, when it brings desired gifts, and promises of the one who has held it between the fingers and summons it to fly. It is a sacred animal that like other animistic animals predicts atmospheric phenomena, makes the sun shine again (one of its denominations in Lower German is *Sonnenschiner*, and also *Sünnenworm*). According to a German belief, when a ladybird is killed, the sun will not appear the whole day, and on the Frisian islands (where it has the denomination *onweersbeestje* ‘thunderstorm little animal’) they say that it will unleash a storm. One of its Danish names is *donnerbeestje* which reminds of some demon-animal with power over the weather: the dragonfly is still called in Denmark ‘ghost-arrow’ or ‘thunder-head’ (*tongerskaed, tongerbout, donderbolk, donnerkop*).⁵² The ladybird has remained sacred everywhere, even in Islamic areas (compounds with the name of Allah or Mohammed’s daughter Fatima). The Christian layer is spread over the pagan layer: Alinei points to the denominations of the ladybird that mention the Ugro-Finnish divinity Ukko, god of the thunder, or the Romanian *păpărugă*, a folkloristic religious being that represents rain and fertility; in German areas the goddess Freya was substituted by Maria to name the insect, and the god Freyr by God, Jesus, St. John. Beccaria here points to similar names of the butterfly, called at Sassari *uccello di san Giovanni*, in Portogallo *galhina de Nossa Senhora*, in South Switzerland *gallina del Signore*, in several points in Europe ‘little bird of the Madonna’. Already in antiquity the butterfly was connected with the soul. In the Latin of the Middle Ages a denomination of the butterfly was *animula* and in Old-French *âme* (and Dante calls the soul *angelica farfalla*). Such symbolism still appears: in Russian dialect the butterfly is called ‘little soul’, in Triest one of the denominations is *anima*, in Friuli *aneme*, in Abruzzo *almë sandë* is the night-moth. The ladybird is called in the provinces of Belluno and Trento *ánima de la Madona*,

⁵¹ Also in Dutch the cuckoo (*koekoek*) is a euphemism for the devil in expressions like: *loop naar de koekoek; haal je de koekoek; dank je de koekoek*. Also in Dutch the rhyme is known: *Koekoek steven, hoe lang zal ik leven?*

⁵² In Dutch a *donderkop* is a tadpole, also called *donderpad* ‘thunder-toad’; *donderbolk, -boon, -kruid* is a herb also called ‘hemelsleutel’ (key of heaven) (*Sedum purpureum* or = Dutch: *sleutelbloem*: primula; cowslip, primrose); *donderbout*, is the same as ‘glazenmaker’ or ‘waterjuffer’ = dragonfly (lit. ‘glass-maker’, ‘water-missy’ = damselfly, adder-fly). (vDale 1984, 620f)

animela de san Pero, at Massa *anima del Paradiso*; *animeta del Signore* in province of Viterbo; *angioletto* both in Venice and in Liguria.

All over Europe formulas are addressed to the ladybird, inviting it to fly to bring a gift or to solve some problem; and the denomination is derived from the start of those nursery-rhymes: in French *marivole*, *voule-bébé*, Prov. *bolo-ben*, *bolo-paoulo*, Port. *avoa*, *avoa-avoa*, *avoinha*, *joaninha voa*, *luisinha boa-boa*, in Italian dialects *volavolante*, *volandrina*, *uccello vola vola*, *uccello va via*, *uccello volarello*, in Sardinia *(v)ola (v)ola*, *bola bola*, *maria vola*, *maria (v)ola (v)ola*, *maria bola bola*, *vola vola san nicola* in the province of Matera, *vola vola mariella* in South Italy, *maria vola* in Piemonte and Val d'Aosta, *mariola* in Trentino, Venice, Romagna, Marche, Sardinia, syncopate corruption of *maria vola*; note the series of Venice and Veneto-Alpine of the derivatives of *Maria*: *maria*, *maria maddalena*, *maria maria*, *ave maria*, the summons *maria mariola*, *mariavola*, *maria vola via*, *maroele*, *maribele*, *maria orba*, *maria órbola*. The ladybird will fly to predict the future, the weather, rain or sunshine:

*'gallina del Signore
gira l'orto
vagli a dire che piova forte
gira il gelso
vagli a dire che faccia sole*

(Ladybird, go to the garden, go tell that it rains hard, go to the mulberry-tree, go tell that there must be sun)' is recited in Astgiano; in Monferrato

*'galinen-a del Signor
prega Dio ch'al vena al sol*

(Ladybird, beg God that he makes the sun come)'; in France:

*'Maréchaut, chaut, chaut,
demain fera-t-il chaud?'*

It is requested in *formulettes* to ask for bread

*('maria, mariola,
porta el pan in tola'*, in tavola),

summoned to show the way, the way to go to school (in Lower Veronese exactly one of its denominations is *maria maria va a la scola*),⁵³ and it is invited to become a travelling-companion, one of its denominations (in Legnago, province of Verona) is exactly *segnastrade*. It points out the way to go to heaven, the road to paradise, or it is told to fly to paradise itself.⁵⁴ In the Italian dialects the types *vola in paradiso*, *maria vola in cielo* are good represented, and numerous are the rhymes:

*'boja boja sen Micél,
pija la scala e va 'nt el ciel' (Piemonte),
'animela, animela de san Pero,
enségname la strada d'andar in cielo' (Venice),*

in Spain:

⁵³ For the rhyme quoted from Garbini, 177, 516f, or registered as AIS 470, P. 330, and 331, 381, etc., Beccaria adds others from the map ALI 4735: '*Vola vola san Nicola, piglia il libro e vai a scuola*' (prov. Salerno), '*Mariola piglia il libro e vai a scuola*' (prov. Pisa; same formula in prov. of Ascoli Piceno); at Mantova '*Vola vola campagnöla / insegnem la strada d'ndá a scöla / röda röda campagnöla / quala piena e quala vöda*' (Trotter, p. 512); at Ancona '*mariola, mariola / prende el libro e va a la scola / ecc.*' (Spotti); in Romagna '*Lola, lola, insegnmi la strada par andé a la scola*', etc. (n. 58).

⁵⁴ Cfr. AIS, III, 470, P. 109, e 114, 139, 181 ecc.; Aebi, pp. 94, 206; Rossi, p. 593; Sella, *Bestiario*, p. 188.

Eccezionalmente, anche la lucciola: a Realdo (Imperia) *lüsseta d'ër cü grije, / mústrame 'r camí dër paraťje* (Villa, *Lucciola*, p. 136).

*'Anita, Anita de Dios
abre las alas y vete con Dios'* (Asturia), etc.

The girls make the ladybird walk to the tip of the finger, saying the *formulette* that must bring it to fly (*'maria mariola, zola via!'*), and by the direction it takes they deduce the spot where their own lover, the future husband, lives, the direction from where he will come, or it can indicate this in a more explicit fashion, even land on his hair; in France (Marseilles) when it flies to a young man it predicts a nearby marriage, if it flies to a church it means that the girl is going to wind up in a convent. In Sardinia a whole series of *formulettes*, collected by Wagner, invite the ladybird to bring the girl the wedding-ring. The pattern of the denominations most frequently appearing in Italy (and repeated in all of Europe) is *bestia, bestiolina* (little animal), and domestic animals like chicken, chick, pigeon, cow, calf, pig, horse, sheep, and also bird, snail, ant, firefly, worm, (dung)beetle, or also *piccola bovaia, cavaliere* (rider), *bambino* (child), *occhio* (eye), *viola, margheritina* (daisy), *scarpetta* (low shoe), *vestina, anima* (soul), *animetta* (little soul), *masca* (witch), *maschina, sorella* (sister), more as determinants heaven, paradise, the Lord, the good God, Christ, Jesus, and names of several saints (in Sardinia *gaddu 'e santu Aíngiu* 'horse of San Gavino', and in Gallura *caddu de santu Joanni*, in Campidano *caddu de santu Martinu*). A more frequent determinant in Italy as well as in the whole of Europe is Maria (or Ave Maria, santa Maria; and Madonna, Madonnina, Madonella, Madonetta, Our Lady). It is also sacred when, in South Italy, it takes on the name of *gallinella, colomba* or *porcellino* that 'brings the oil to the Lord', 'to Christ', 'to the Madonna'. The quoted name *diavolo* might refer to the black type; but if not one might think of a mechanical act of pure substitution by opposition, as Beccaria has suggested before with the maybug, which is often called *diavolo*, but also the *insetto di san Giovanni*; also the sow-bug, *porcellino di sant'Antonio*, which has as meaning-part *pig, piglet, worm, chicken* with names of several saints as determinants, is oftentimes (in Comasco) called a *diaulín* or *diavolín*.

Mario Alinei published after his publication for ALE numerous papers, some of which also refer to the ladybird. A short contribution was in 1997 in a publication, entitled 'Magico-religious Motivations in European Dialects: A Contribution to Archaeolinguistics'.⁵⁵

Beginning with the 'lady-bird', the most frequent, and almost pan-European motivation Manuela Barros Ferreira and Alinei found, was a compound word in which the name of a Christian or Islamic religious being or notion is associated with another animal, which is its attribute: e.g. 'God's bird', 'God's cow', 'Christ's little hen'. The religious figure or notion can be 'God, or 'good God' or 'Lord', or 'our dear lord', 'our father' and the like, in the whole gamut of traditional addresses to God, as well as 'Christ', Our Lady, the Virgin Mary, St Mary, God's Mother, God's sister, a variety of saints (the most frequent being St Peter, St Paul, St Martin, St Nicolas, St Anthony, St Michael, St Barnaby, St Catherine, St Lucy, St Ann), 'little saint', 'angel', 'soul', 'devil', 'priest', 'monk', 'nun', 'pope's wife', 'pilgrim', 'heaven', 'paradise', 'church'; in the Muslim area 'Allah', 'Fatima', 'mosque'. A representative list of the most frequent combinations would occupy several pages.

The pre-Christian, anthropomorphic level for the lady-bird can be illustrated with several motivations. In the Finnic area, the god who assists the [10] lady bird (as 'cow' or 'sheep') would be, of course, *Ukko*, the most powerful Finnic god. In Finnish the lady-bird can also be *lemminkainen*, a folk-character of the Kalevala. In Frisian, it takes the appearance of the North-West Germanic elf *Puken* (cf. Engl. *Puck*); in Southern Italy it is the elf *monachello*, while in

⁵⁵ Mario Alinei, 'Magico-religious Motivations in European Dialects: A Contribution to Archaeolinguistics', in: *Dialectologia et Geolinguistica*, 5, 1997, 3-30, here 9-10.

Northern Italy it is a 'nymph'. In Rumania it is associated with a famous mythological female being, *paparuga*, usually in the centre of farming fertility rituals; in Italian, Ukrainian and Rumanian it also appears as 'witch' or '(female) soothsayer'. In Greek it is associated with nothing less than the *Moira*.

In the same article Alinei remarks: "Even clearly non-Christian magico-religious beings have been re-named with a Christian name, as show the Italian *monachello* 'elf' (from 'monk')... All in all, hundreds of dialect names in Europe testify to a Christianization and Islamization of such classes of realia. Of course, Muslim names are much less frequent than the Christian, owing to the enormous difference in the areal scope of the two religions in Europe, but the process underlying the lexical innovation has followed exactly the same path, and satisfied the same need." And in a paragraph on kinship names: "For animal names, here above, I have already mentioned the kinship names given to the weasel, covering the whole Southern European area. Without leaving the ALE, also the 'lady bird' and the 'butterfly' show quite a few such names. The lady bird as a relative appears in an even wider area: as a 'grandmother' (sometimes 'old woman') in Greek, Serbo-Croatian, Polish, Russian, Mordvinan, Komi Zyrian, Finnish, Udmurtian; as a 'mother' in Rumanian, Sardinian, Belorussian, Bashkirian, Tatar, Russian, Livian; as an 'aunt' in Italian, German; as an 'uncle' in Albanian, as a grandfather in Komy Zyrian, Swedish, Maltese, Udmurtian, as 'godmother' in Komi Zyrian; as a 'bride' and 'spouse' in Polish, Italian, Albanian, Macedonian, Turkish; as a 'sister-in-law' in Bulgarian, etc."

Another article by Alinei was translated in Portuguese, and called 'The Prehistory of the Names of the Animals: the Ladybird and the Weasel'.⁵⁶ About the ladybird is said the following with some repetition of the previous paragraph:

The iconomasiologic map of Europe of the 'ladybird', Alinei made in co-operation with the Portuguese investigator Manuela Barros Ferreira, attests the presence of five categories of iconyms, listed below, each accompanied by one of the indications by the divers iconyms present, grouped as:⁵⁷

{Parents}

{granny}, {old woman}, {mother}, {aunt}, {uncle}, {old man}, {godmother}, {co-mother}, {fiancée}, {bride}, {sister-in-law}, {son}, {daughter}, {girl [hooker]}, {orphan-girl}.

{Pre-Christian Magico-Religious Beings}

Finnish {*Ukko* 'old man, god of heaven'}, Dutch {*Puken* 'sort of kobold'}, Finnish {*Lemminkäinen* 'personage of the Kalevala'}, Romanian {*Paparuga* 'naked woman covered with plants, of the agrarian spring-rituals'}, {*indovina* ['female soothsayer']} in several languages, {*ondina* ['undine'] in North Italy.

{Christian and Muslim Magico-religious Beings}

{God}, {Our Lord}, {Father of Heaven}, {Allah}, {Christ}, {St Peter}, {St John}, {St Paul}, {St Martin}, {St Nicholas}, {St Anthony}, {St Michael}, {Bishop Barnaby}, {angel}, {soul}, {Devil}, {monk}, {priest}; {Our Lady}, {Virgin Mary}, {St Maria}, {Mother of God}, {sister of

⁵⁶ Mario Alinei, 'A pré-história dos nomes dos animais: a joaninha e a doninha', in: Mario Alinei & Francesco Benozzo, *Arqueologia Etimológica. Três Estudos acerca da Continuidade Linguístico-Cultural do Paleolítico*, Lisboa 2011, 15-24.

⁵⁷ 'I have replaced the much too ambiguous term *motivation* with the technical neologism *iconym*: *iconymy* being the linguistic phenomenon, *iconymic* the adjective and *iconomastic* the noun designating the new kind of linguistic record and the new level of linguistic investigation, *iconomasiology* motivational onomasiology.'

God}, {St Catherine}, {St Lucia}, {St Anna}, {little female saint}, {nun}, {female pilgrim to Rome}, {wife of the pope⁵⁸}, ‘little Marie of St Vitus}, { ‘mesquita’}, ‘Fatima’ }

{Laity}, which is:

{Professions}

{shepherd}, {shoemaker}, {goldsmith}, {soldier}, {guard}, {beggar}, {merchant}, {shepherdess}, {female tailor}, {baker}, {miller}, {housewife}

{Lords}

{king}, {boyar}, {queen}, {lady}, {mistress}

{Anthroponyms} (of probable sacred origin, but laicized):

{Peter}, {John}, {John(‘s favourite)}, {(little man of) Joan}, {Martin}, {Nicholas}, {Vital}, {Andreia}, {Isidor}, {Anthony}, {Maria}, {Catharine}, {Lucia}, {Anna}, {Joan}, {Pauline}, {Martina}, {Nicolina}, {Gertrud}, {Brigit}, {Elizabeth}, {Margaret}, {Theodora}, {Helena}, {Magdalene}, {Apollonia}, {Little Louise}.

Before all, how to explain the enormous quantity of denominations of the ladybird? In order to respond to that it is opportune to remember one thing, mainly how much are born and grow in an urban context: one of the most dispersed countryside traditions, both in Italy and in the rest of Europe (and probably also outside Europe), is based on the habit of the beliefs, when meeting a ladybird or, in many cases, when trying to let it go to its parents, to recite a rhyme, of course in local dialect. Quite frequently those traditions of local character, micro-geographic, are as giving origin to the name of the ladybird. Here are some examples which we translate (losing of course in rhyme and in rhythm). The only one in probably its original language is the Portuguese one:

*Joaninha voa, voa
que o teu pai está em Lisboa
com um rabo de sardinha
para dar à joaninha.*

The translation and the resulting loss of rhyme give us no count of a primary fact: lot of times, the name of the ladybird coincides with the first verse or forms a part of it. A typical Italian example is the name of the ladybird – dispersed in the Abruzzi and on Sicily – “fly, fly, S. Nicholas”, which coincides with the first words of the local song. Much more important, because it looks like the true nature of the names, is the following observation: in all those rhymes, independent of its provenience, the ladybird assumes a role in the ambience of a ritual, in which other fixed personages take part. And all those personages, including the ladybird, are the same as we meet no bigger and richer panorama of the world’s languages, which has for several decades, departing from the pioneer-studies by Propp, been the object of specialists’ studies, as of great historical cultural interest.

We have, above all, the ‘animal-assistant’, represented by the ladybird, and the hero, represented by the child itself. The hero request the animal-assistant to fly, this is, to effectuate a journey by transporting itself to a place that has a magic value, or [how?], by a faraway[?] kingdom/other world, or to arrive with someone who is a magic donor, where must complete his ‘difficult task’: like meet or bring someone or something which is desired. For that, the animal-assistant receives a premium, when it succeeds in its task, or a punishment when it fails.

Already Propp had seen, in the structure and in the meaning of the tale and in the role in this development of the animal-assistants, the transformation of a ritualism much more ancient, of tradition direct of the totemism, in which ambience the animal-totem concentrates in all the

⁵⁸ Here also wrongly seen as the pope (of Rome: Port. *papa*), while a *pope* in Orthodox religion is a priest, who are often married, so that the wife of a pope is not unusual, while of course the pope in Rome has no wife.

functions that, in the tale, appear separated: the hero, the donor, the traveller and the executor of the premiums and the punishments.

On the cover of *Aspects of Language. Studies in Honour of Mario Alinei* (Vol. II, Amsterdam 1987⁵⁹) a part of a schedule from Alinei's article 'Lexical Grammar and Sentence Grammar: A Two-Cycle Model' (*Q.d.S.* I, 1980) is represented. The left column of the schedule is headed with the word 'Referente' and beneath it the word 'animale'. In this column we see a number of animals from A – G: the *airone* (heron), *aselluccio* = *porcelino di S. Antonio* (sow-bug), *ballerina* (wagtail), *bofonchio* (bluebottle fly?), *bruco* (caterpillar), *cavalletta* (grasshopper), *cervo volante* (stag-beetle), *cetonia dorata* (gold-beetle), *chiocciola* (snail), *cimice* (bedbug), *cinciallegra* (great tit[mouse]), *civetta* (owl), *coccinella* (ladybird), *codirosso* (redstart), *damigella* (? = miss), *delphino* (dolphin), *donnola* (weasel), *farfalla* (butterfly), *fringuello* (finch), *germano reale* (? = *germano*: wild duck, mallard), *girino* (tadpole), *grillotalpa* (mole-cricket), *gufo* (eagle-owl, screech-owl). The other three columns have a common heading: 'Nomi (motivazioni)': the first of these is headed by 'essere cristiano', the second by 'essere pagano' and the third by 'parente'. Only *bruco*, *coccinella* and *farfalla* have representations in all three columns. They are also the only ones that occupy more than one line in the schedule: the *bruco* has two lines (3 Nomi parente), the *farfalla* has three lines (4 Nomi essere cristiano) and the *coccinella* has 10 lines (16 Nomi essere cristiano). These Christian names are: *Dio*, *Signore*, *Madonna*, *angelo*, *S. Antonio*, *S. Caterina*, *S. Giovanni*, *S. Lucia*, *S. Maria*, *S. Martino*, *S. Nicola*, *S. Paolo*, *S. Pietro*, *diavolo*, *prete*, *monaca*. Some of them are in common with other animals: *Signore* and *S. Antonio* with the *aselluccio*, *diavolo* with the *cervo volante*, *S. Martino* with the *cetonia dorata*, *monaca* with *chiocciola*, *cinciallegra* and *girino*, *S. Maria* with *codirosso*, and *S. Antonio* and *prete* with *ballerina*, and with *farfalla*, which has also *S. Nicola*. In the column Nomi essere pagano the *coccinella* has only *borda* (?), which it has in common with the *bruco*, the *donnola*, and the *grillotalpa*. Other nomi essere pagano are *strega* (witch) and *fata* (fairy). In the column parente the *coccinella* has *comare* ('godmother', also *donnola*), *lolo/lola* (?), *sposina* (little bride; cf. *aselluccio*: *sposo/sposa*, also *damigella*), and *zio/zia* (uncle/aunt, also *chiocciola*, and *zia* for *civetta*, *zio* for *gufo*). Other Nomi parente are *nonno/nonna* (grandfather/mother), *ronno/ronna* (?), *mamma*, *mammadonna*, *vecchia* (old woman), etc.

In 2007, Francesco Benozzo published as introduction to volume 2, about the life in the countryside: fauna, flora, and agriculture activity, of the *Dizionario del Dialetto di San Cesario sul Panaro*, an article, entitled 'The Flora, the Fauna, the Landscape: The Importance of Dialect Names for the Knowledge of the Prehistoric Past'.⁶⁰ Chapter I, on 'Dialect Names of Animals, Plants and Weather-Phenomena as Traces of Archaic Magic-Religious Concepts', starts with the paragraph 'La coccinella-zia' (Aunt Ladybird).

One of the two denominations used [at San Cesario sul Panaro] to refer to the ladybird is *ziàtta* (with the variant *zièina*). There is no doubt that the original meaning of the term is that of 'aunt', and it requires an explanation why this term is used to define the little insect. The connection between zoonyms and relationship-names is good attested in several European dialects: to stay with the Italian languages, for example, in North Italy is recorded: *barbagianni*, used as

⁵⁹ Nicoline van der Sijs (ed.), *Aspects of Language. Studies in Honour of Mario Alinei*, Vol. II, Amsterdam 1987.

⁶⁰ Francesco Benozzo, 'La flora, la fauna, il paesaggio: l'importanza dei nomi dialettali per la conoscenza del passato preistorico,' in: *Dizionario del Dialetto di San Cesario sul Panaro*, Vol. 2: *La vita nei campi: fauna, flora, attività agricole*, a cura di F. Benozzo, San Cesario sul Panaro 2007.

denomination of several birds, which means 'Aunt Jean', in Pisa *nonna*, also used for several birds, in Calabria *zia rosa* for the fox, in Middle Italy *mammaruga* for the caterpillar.

The linguist Mario Alinei, who has thoroughly studied the problem and the meaning of those denominations, has come to some considerations that also shed light on the case of the ladybird-aunt of San Cesario. Particularly he claims that

- 1) the relationship-names of animals belong to a vast class of names called *noa*, i.e. of substitute names given in the daily parlance to avoid mentioning the true name of the animal, protected by such a taboo, that is by an archaic form of respect and veneration;
- 2) until a few decades, in the more conservative rural part of Europe, there were rites to make certain animals as proper parents as a means to come into the grace and receive favours from the own family-member: this way those animals are often given relationship-names;
- 3) the fairytales and the nursery-rhymes conserve in a still recognisable way the traces of relationships with some animals (it is sufficient to point to the famous Mother Goose collection);
- 4) in the same area where this animal displays relationship-names appear also magico-religious denominations of the taboo-type (for instance 'unmentionable', 'little animal', 'without name') or of pagan origin (for instance '*folletto* (kobold)', '*strega* (witch)', '*fata* (fairy)', facts that confirm the sacred character of those animals and of their names;
- 5) in the so-called 'ethnographic' societies which we can recognise modes of living and conceptions of a pre-modern type (as in certain parts of Africa, of India, of Australia or of North America), whose relationship-names still have a totemic value. For instance, in Burma the female monkey is called *woi* 'granny', the swine *wa* 'dad'; the name of the biggest lemur of Madagascar whom no one dares to kill and who is considered as the forefather of the clan or the extended family, is *babakoto*, which means 'daddy koto'; in the Mansi-language (Vogul) the name of the bear is *ujańś* 'father', while the duck is called *ākar* 'uncle'; in the Estonian language (Urali), the wolf is called *metsa-onu* 'wood-uncle', while in Finland the bear is called *ukko* 'granddad'.

Well, totemism, understood as first form of attested 'religion', goes back to the Middle and Upper Palaeolithic, meaning a period of 10,000 to 130,000 years BC. According to the hypothesis of Alinei the dialect-trail of relationship-names really has to go back to that era. It does not have to surprise that relics of that type have survived, remaining 'frozen' in animal names: one should indeed think of the marginal position and cultural stagnation of the rural subalterns, whose language always shows itself more conservative, continuing also in neolithic times, after the discovery of agriculture and stock-breeding, and in final ground until a few decades ago.

The origin of the denomination of the ladybird in the dialect of San Cesario appears now more clearly: we have to look into ancient totemic conceptions, attributing to certain animals special powers and supernatural abilities. On a comparative plain, reminding that similar names for the ladybird are attested also in languages from faraway, Benozzo points out that such an extension is a usual symptom for the fact that such a type of relationship conception goes back to an archaic period, probably prehistoric, and is not the fruit of recent borrowing. We may consider the following names, all particularly used to define the ladybird: Lazial (= in Latium) *zia Maria*, Florentine (Modigliano) *lola* 'granny', German *schusterähnel* 'aunt of the shoemaker', Greek *mamitsa* 'grandma', Maltese *nannacola* 'granddad Nicholas', Albanian *buba e dajes* 'worm of the uncle on mother's side', Udmurt (Votyak, in Uralic) *čužanaj papa* 'grandmother on mother's side', Tartar (Altaic) *kamká* 'mother'. When we look hard at the other ladybird-denomination from San Cesario, *vióla*, one might think that it is also the legacy of some supernatural belief; it

seems indeed that might originally refer to the small insect, and not to the flower, the meaning of the following little song, attested in that countryside: ‘*vióla vióla campagnóla / ségnemm i òcc prèmma c a móra / se duvéssa murìr / fam andèr in Paradis* (viola, viola campagnola, show me the first eyes that will die / that will have to die / but that will go to paradise)’.⁶¹ Such a trait of a rhyme-formula finds its counter-piece in other areas where the ladybird is seen as a connection between the world of the dead and the world of the living: for instance, in Venice (where the rhyme *animèla animèla de san Piero / ensègname la strada d’andar en cielo* exists) or in Spain (where the rhyme *Anita, Anita de Dios / abre las alas y vete con Dios* is recorded).

In the journal *Géolinguistique* an article by Maria Goudi appeared entitled ‘Review of a motivational study of certain zoonyms in the languages of the island of Lesbos (Greece)’⁶², in which also the ladybird is treated. We are already in paragraph 5.3.2. Names of relationships. Another example that fits in this group of designations is that of the ladybird [p’aps] (Greek παππούς) ‘grandfather’. Forming often a motivational source for the denominations of the ladybird, the relationship-names seem to reflect the special character that is/was attributed to this insect.

The very high level of lexical variation and the strange similitude between the nursery-rhymes of several European linguistic domains have provided an argument of reflection for the specialists (Alinei 1997; Barros Ferreira & Alinei 1990, and the syntheses presented within the frame of the terrain of the *ALiR*). The motifs systematically found in the nursery-rhymes all over Europe are the following: the invitation to fly addressed to the ladybird; the destination of the journey: a spot faraway and often inaccessible, inhabited by an entity (magico-religious) that it has to find; the ultimate reason of the journey being to receive a gift or to accomplish a task. Reflecting on a possible relation between the rhymes and the names of the ladybird, it can be observed that the numerous denominations of the ladybird seem to find the source of a re-actualisation or of a re-motivation in the images evoked in these nursery-rhymes (Barros Ferreira & Alinei 1990: 164). Indeed, one could consider that there is a connection between the image of ‘grandfather’ that lies at the bottom of the designation [p’aps] and the rhyme recorded at the same point. It concerns a rhyme that follows the motif described above, and according to which the ladybird, named ‘grandfather’, is sent towards the ‘good’ to meet ‘God’ and to bring us ‘shoes’ and ‘dresses’. The magico-religious character connected with the insect allows us thus to see at the base of this denomination the image of the ‘grandfather – old man’, the protecting and beneficent personage of the totemic beliefs of the ancient societies.

We continue with paragraph 5.3.3. Human activities. In the totality of designations with an anthropomorphic character a group of terms is formed, connected with human activities and more specific with professions. The professions that can be found in the domain of the zoonymy are those that are generally used in the daily life in rural areas: *bouviers* (ox-drivers; certain dogs), harvesters, mowers, charcoal-burners, shoemakers and other personages are very well attested, for example, in the Romance varieties. At Lesbos, the image of the ‘shoemaker’ ([papt□’is]) is associated with the ladybird, that of the ‘carpenter’ ([marang’os]) with the spotted wood-pie, and that of the beekeeper ([mi□sur□’os]) with the wasp. The motivation connected with the professions is not always immediately transparent and leaves room for several possible

⁶¹ Italian: ~, segnami gli occhi prima che muoia, ma se dovessi morire fammi andare in Paradiso. Benozzo refers to the important study of M. Benozzo and G. Romani, *Al pan biàss. Essere contadini nelle nostro campagne*, San Cesario sul Panaro, 2003, 53f.

⁶² Maria Goudi, ‘Aperçu d’une étude motivationnelle de certains zoonymes dans les parlers de l’île de Lesbos (Grèce)’, in: *GÉOLINGUISTIQUE* 10, 71-91.

explications. Indeed the image of the ‘shoemaker’ that lies at the base of the term [papt□'is⁶³] designating the ladybird might be considered in the following way.

On the one hand one might associate this form with numerous cases of the Gallo-roman space where the ladybird as well as the maybug, the cricket, the grass-hopper, the scarab and the tic are seen metaphorically as ‘shoemakers’ or as ‘tailors’ because of damages (real or imagined) caused to the plants of the garden. In this case it is possible that the danger of the activity of the ladybird⁶⁴ in connection with the (plant) cultures constitutes the primary source for the metaphor that has caused the lexical creation in a rural environment like that of the island.

It is probable (nevertheless) that a motivation of this type is no longer perceptible today by our speakers who interpret [papt□'is] more along the line of that what is transmitted by the formulas: at Vafios: [p'etakse paputs'i na pas na mou f'ers pap'utsja] ‘Fly shoemaker, bring me shoes’, at Plomari: [p'a□i mamð'e□i m sti p'o□i f'ere papt's'e□a t□i kulupat'e□a] ‘Go into town my little animal, bring me little shoes and little (?⁶⁵)’, at Agiasos [p'ani p'api m stu kal'o ci çir'eta dun θi'o na mas f'ers pap'utsja t□i fust'a□a] ‘My grandfather, go to the “good” and greet God, bring us shoes and dresses’.

In these formulas the ladybird, like a shoemaker, is the one who has business with shoes and eventually brings them. According to this point of view it concerns rather a ‘regard mythifiant’ towards the ladybird that these formulas let transpire. The image of the ‘shoemaker’ should be thus the role of ‘donator’, of the one who ‘brings a present’: ‘shoes’ (the most frequent gift) or ‘dresses’.

The next paragraph (5.4) deals with ‘Motivations connected with the Christian religion’. A whole class of designations make allusion to the Christian religion. Referring evidently to the magico-religious motivations, these formations may contain the image of ‘God’, of ‘Christ’, of the ‘Madonna’ as is the case with the names of the praying mantis; the image of ‘monk’, on which is constructed the designation of the ‘tit(mouse)’ [kal'oçjirus] (Greek καλόγηρος ‘monk’); the image of ‘Easter’, that is at the base of a denomination of the ladybird [labr'uða], literally ‘little Easter’, etc.

⁶³ □ = some kind of ‘s’.

⁶⁴ Goudi specifies in a note: It concerns probably not the *Coccinella septempunctata* that is dangerous to the cultures of the farmers because it is entomophage (eats insects). Other insects of the family of the *coccinellides* that resemble it and that are a nuisance are probably at the origin of this image of the ladybird as ‘dangerous’.

⁶⁵ Goudi doesn’t know what is meant by ‘kulupat'e□a’; a shot in the dark: *koulou-* means ‘circle’, at least in *κουλούρα* ‘ring-shaped object, donut, zero, toilet-seat, etc.’, *κουλούρι* ‘donut’, etc. (□ = reversed y)