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ON THE ORIGIN OF POL. DIAL. *KAUTEK* ‘DWARF’, G DIAL. (EPR.) *KAUTKE* ‘DITTO’

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1. The characteristics of the Polish and Kashubian mythologeme *dwarf*

It has been stated that the cult of dwarves was typical of West Slavs (see SD II: 470; also see Černý 1890: 20–35; Brückner 1902: 94–95, 1980: 208). It is also found in the area of East Slavs (see Šamâkina 2008: 229). The belief in elves was widespread in the land of Kashubia. Furthermore, stories of dwarves can be found in Masuria, Kuyavia, Mazovia, Silesia and in the Western Poland, also in Bukovina – in the region, divided between Romania and Ukraine, which is located on the northern slopes of the central Eastern Carpathians, where a Polish diasporic community still exists (see KKLJ: 209; Kolberg XL: 60–68; also see Greń, Krasowska 2008: 7).

Lexemes in the shape of inherited words (I.1–12) and three types of borrowings (II.1–6 / III.1–2 / IV) are used to name these mythological beings:

- (I) inherited Slavic forms –
- (I.1) Pol. dial. (pl.) *białeludzie* / *zimneludzie* ‘dwarves who cause adverse effects on human health’ (Toeppen 1894: 29–30, 32);
- (I.2) Pol. dial. (sg.) *bożatko*, *bożátko*, (pl.) *bożęta*, *bodzieta* ‘a household deity, a dwarf; kindly spirits; dwarves’ (SGP IP: 408, 409; Dźwigoł 2004: 13–14);

- (I.3) Kash. (masc., sg.) *dremnè* / (fem., sg.) *dremnô* ‘a dwarf / a female dwarf’ ↔ (masc., sg.) *dromnè* / (fem., sg.) *dromnâ* ↔ (pl.) *drebnê, drobne* ‘soulless, short-statured human-shaped beings whose height is 1 feet; mortal creatures who extend the healthy lifespan to a thousand years; they use to act like humans: they dance, listen to music, get married, baptise their offspring, call each other by name; they wear red clothes and caps of the same colour; these little beings live in old graves, piles of stones, under the trees or in dough-troughs, in a stable or in a human house near the hearth; they use dishes made of gold and silver; dwarves have a king who wears a crown (see KKLJ: 103; SW I: 558; SEK II: 62, 64, 72; Dźwigoł 2004: 22);
- (I.4) Pol. dial. *garbusik* ‘a dwarf – an underworld guardian of treasures’ (SKarł II: 54–55);
- (I.5) MPol. (dial.) *koltek* (see Hartknoch 1679: 141; Manlius 1719: 235; SWOKarł: 292), Pol. dial. *kaltek* ‘a dwarf; a fiery flying dragon (i.e. a brownie) who brings goods to some people’ (see SW II: 413; SWil I: 460; SWOKarł: 292) ↔ Pol. dial. *kautek* ‘a dwarf in a red cap who reveals himself coming out from the soil or from the crib in the stable’ (SGOWM III: 159; see subsection 2);
- (I.6) Kash. (sg.) *krâśnq* ‘a small human-shaped being who dwells under tree stumps (and especially under apple-trees or elder trees, etc.), under the floor, or behind the stove in a human house’ ↔ (pl.) *krâśnqta* (*kraśnięta* / *krôsnięta*) ‘dwarves who take care of horses, braid horse’s mane’ ↔ (dim. sg.) *krâśnqtko* ‘a midget’ ↔ (pl.) *krasńqci* / *krasńiçi* ‘dwarves’ ↔ (sg.) *krâśnâk* ‘a dwarf’ ↔ (masc., sg.) *krâśnik* / (fem., sg.) †*krâśnica* ‘ditto’ (see SGK II: 236–238; KKLJ: 103; also see Sychta 1957: 29; Kolberg XXXIX: 264);

Pol. dial. *krasnoludek* / *krusnalek* ‘a dwarfish man of a size of a fly or a bee who lives in a mousehole; a red round intestine worm which accesses to human body, potentially increasing his chances of becoming ill’ (Moraczewski 1842: 509; Toeppen 1894: 28–29) ↔ *krasnyludek*, *kraśnoludek* / *kraśnyludek* ‘a small human-shaped being who wears pointy red hat, dwells in the earth, in pits, ruins and all kinds of holes; helpful to humans when they are in need’ ↔ (sg.) *krosnalek*, (pl.) *krosnalki* ‘a dwarf of a size of an insect who lives in a mousehole and gets out from there to spree in the night of the full moon; harmless to humans, but in the moment of fright it becomes a giant’ (see Kolberg III: 104, XXXIX: 263; SW II: 530, 562);

- (I.7) Kash. *křqslâk* ‘a dwarf’ (SGK II: 269; SKarł II: 494);
- (I.8) Kash. *kurpel* ‘a dwarf’ (SGK II: 306; Dźwigoł 2004: 24)¹;
- (I.9) Kash. †*malëčk* ‘a dwarf’ (SGK III: 42; Dźwigoł 2004: 22);

1 The origin of the mythologeme Kash. *kurpel* can evidently be related to Kash. *kurdëpel* ‘a dwarfish man’ (SGK II: 304), i.e. the absorption of the structural elements *-dë-* is reflected, cf. Kash. *kur-dëpel* *‘a dwarf’ → *kurpel* ‘ditto’ (also see SESł III: 398–399).

OPol. *malyldzye* 'dwarves, i.e. *daemone sparvuli, quos Poloni domos incolere credebant*' (SStp IV: 153; SEBr: 497), Pol. dial. (pl.) *małoludy* 'dwarves' (Dźwigoł 2004: 22);

- (I.10) Kash. *omerečk* 'a dwarf etc.' (SGK III: 320; Dźwigoł 2004: 11)²;
- (I.11) Pol. dial. *pasiecznik* 'a dwarf who cares for bees' (Dźwigoł 2004: 12);
- (I.12) Pol. dial. *podziemek, podziomek* 'a good-looking, small dwarf, helpful to humans, who lives underground' (see SKarł IV: 205; SW IV: 445; Dźwigoł 2004: 12);
- (II) Germanisms –
- (II.1) Pol. dial. *chobołd, kołbuk* (↔ Pol. dial. *kołbóg, kołbug*) etc., Pol. *kobold, kobolt* 'a mountain dwarf – a guardian of gems, crystals, and precious metals' < G *Kobold* 'a household deity / mountain spirit; a dwarf etc.' (see Toeppen 1894: 20, 22–28, 30; KKLJ: 103; Kolberg XL: 54–58; also see SKarł II: 387; SW I: 287, II: 383, 408; DWG V: 1548–1552; Dźwigoł 2004: 25–26; Kluge 2011: 510);
- (II.2) Pol. dial. *cwerg, cwigiel* 'a dwarf etc.' < G *Zwerg* 'a very small mythological being; a very powerful supernatural creature; a dwarfish man etc.' (see SGP IV: 560; also see Dźwigoł 2004: 25; Simek 1984: 475–477; Ström 1975: 170–171; DWG XVI: 1095–1099);
- (II.3) Pol. (dial.) *karzeł* 'a dwarf etc.', Pol. (dial./dim.; masc.) *karlik*, (fem.) *karlica* 'a very small supernatural being' etc. < MHG *kleiner karl(e)* 'a slim man' (see Dźwigoł 2004: 22–23; SESł II: 91; SEBor: 223–224; MLex I: 1520);
- (II.4) OPol. (dial.) *krzat* 1466, (dial.) *skrzat, skrzatek* 1500 etc. 'dwarves, *daemones parvuli, quos Poloni domos incolere credebant* etc.' < EHG *schrat* 'a dwarf' (see SStp VIII: 259–260; SW VI: 184; Götze 1920: 194; also see Brückner 1980: 303; Dźwigoł 2004: 24–25; cf. SEBr: 497; SEBor: 554);
- (I.5) Pol. *skarbnik* 'a dwarf – an underworld guardian of treasures' (SW VI: 132), Pol. dial. *skarbownik* 'a dwarf in a red hat – an underworld guardian of treasures in Czech' (SKarł V: 140) ↔ (O/M)Pol. *skarb* 'treasure, fortune; the Treasury' ← OHG *scarbôn, skarbôn* 'to chase, to carve' ↔ *'inscribed surface of a coin' (see SW VI: 131; SStp VIII: 216–217; Kluge 2011: 801; Kregždys 2016a: 576–577);
- (II.6) Kash. (masc. sg.) *ùndärèrčk*, (fem. sg.) *ùndärèrčka*, (pl.) *undererczki, underèrczkji* 'dwarves' < G *Untererdshchen, Unterirdschchen*, LG *Underer-*

2 The origin of the lexeme has not been elucidated (see SEK III: 365). Therefore, the hypothesis can be put forward that Kash. *omerečk* 'a dwarf etc.' presupposes the remake of Kash. *mora* 'a nightmare, a spook who rides a horse to death, braids horse's mane, etc.' (SGK III: 102–106; Toeppen 1894: 36; SEK III: 256), as the Kashubians believed that mainly dwarves took care of horses. Kash. *mora* 'a nightmare' + suff. Kash. (n. deminutiva; masc.) *-äčk / -ečk* (see Lorentz 1925: 108) → **morečk* 'a little nightmare' → a dwarf' → (because of **taboo**) *om-e-r-ečk* 'a dwarf' (with metathesis of the root consonant **mo-* to *om-* and added parenthetic resp. non-etymological *-e*).

dschkes ‘ditto’ (for more details see KKLJ: 68, 103; Pohl 1943: 192, 286; Hinze 1965: 503–504; Dźwigoł 2004: 11; DWG XI: 1499);

(III) borrowings from Romance languages –

(III.1) Pol. dial. *inkluz, ankluz* ‘a dwarf’³ (see Dźwigoł 2004: 16–17);

(III.2) Pol. dial. (pl.) *petiki* ‘dwarves’ (Greń, Krasowska 2008: 162) ← Rm. *pitic* ‘a dwarf’ (Cioranescu 1966: 631–632);

(IV) Graecismes –

Pol. *gnom* ‘a diminutive creature, a guard of terrestrial treasure’ (SW I: 860; SWil I: 356) ← G *Gnom* ‘an haughty dwarf, a terrestrial spirit’ (↔ Fr. *gnome* / It. *gnòmo* ‘ditto’) ← (Paracelsian Neologism) Gk. *γηνομος ‘a terrestrial being’ (see DWG IV: 651–655; Kluge 2011: 366; ESBM III: 99; Clédat 1914: 280; Pianigiani I: 625).

The Kashubians believed that dwarves were kindly beings: they used to play tricks, took care of animals (and especially of horses). These supernatural beings were generous to those who pleased them, e.g., they used to give gold or silver coins (or horse manure turned into gold) in return for donated milk or clothes. They could also move to malice if someone offended them or spied upon them (for more details see KKLJ: 68, 103–104, 208). People used to blame dwarves for most misfortunes (Toeppen 1894: 28).

The tradition of a dwarf and a dragon of treasure (i.e. brownie), who brings stolen goods to his master, is of German origin (see SD II: 470; Dźwigoł 2004: 10; Ivanova-Bučatskaâ 2006: 17; also see Brückner 1980: 208, 301–303) or, to quote Jonas Balys, “[...] whether the Germans themselves got it from Scandinavia and the British Islands” (JBR II: 317). Such an assumption can also be confirmed by the existence of a type of female dwarves, which presupposes the result of degradation of the old system of Western Germans’ religion, i.e. goddesses OHG *Holda* ↔ *Holla* (↔ G *Frau Holle*), OHG *Werra*, MHG *Bërhte*, *Stempe* were demonised and, in the long run, they became related to wives of dwarves (for more details see Grimm 1844: 467; Wackernagel 1878: 138, 379; MLex I: 191, II: 1174; also see Kolberg VII: 205; Gimbutas 2001: 195; Goos 2019: 246).

The functions, ascribed to dwarves, e.g., taking care of horses, helping people (giving money, goods and services), are also of German origin (see Grimm 1844: 476–480; Kolberg VII: 246).

3 Jan Karłowicz (SWOKarl: 224) related the origin of the mythologeme with It. *inclusa* ‘an appendage – something added or attached to an entity of greater importance or size’ ← adj. Lat. *inclūsus* ‘closed; pent-up’ (also see Pianigiani I: 864; ESUM II: 305).

2. The origin and peculiarities of the usage of the mythologemes Pol. dial. *kautek*, G dial. (EPr.) *Kautke*

The authors of the dictionary *Słownik gwar Ostródzkiego, Warmii i Mazur* (hereinafter SGOWM) did not indicate an area of the usage of the singular form of Pol. dial. *kautek* 'a dwarf' (SGOWM III: 159). Given the geographical range of SGOWM, prevalence of the form could be formally defined by the area of several subdialects of Warmia-Masuria Province in northeastern Poland⁴:

- (α) rural district of Ostróda city (G *Osterode in Ostpreußen*);
- (β) Olsztyn Voivodeship (G *Allenstein*);
- (γ) rural district of Nidzica city (G *Neidenburg*).

Oskar Kolberg (XL: 67–68; also see SGOWM III: 145) presented the mythologeme in the plural form, i.e. Pol. dial. *kautki* 'dwarves in red caps who reveal themselves coming out from the soil or from the crib in the stable'. The lexeme was recorded in the North-Masurian subdialect of the Węgorzewo city (G *Angerburg*). The scholar was the first who decided to relate Pol. dial. *kautki* to G *Waldleute* 'woodmen resp. *silvestres homines*'. Due to the difference of the appearance (α), location (β) and functions (γ) of the mythonyms, such an attempt raises the following doubts:

(α–β) *kautki* are dwarfish men / dwarves of a few inches in height (resp. "kilku-calowe" (Kolberg XL: 67), i.e. ~ 5–10 cm) who wear pointy red hats, dwell in the earth and stables ≠ *Waldleute* – foresters whose height is more than 1 cubit (resp. 45–56 cm); they are shaggy and greyish, covered with moss; these supernatural beings live in the backwoods; they used to wear green clothes with red flaps and black tricorne hats⁵;

(γ) *kautki* take care of horses, braid horse's mane ≠ *Waldleute* help women in the kitchen and do the laundry, they also participate in hunting and work together with millers⁶.

4 It should be noted that the mythologeme is not recorded in the *Atlas of Masovia* (AGM). It is also not mentioned in the *Atlas Minor of Polish Dialects* (MAGP I–XIII).

5 Cf. "[...] die als ein zusammen hausendes zwergartiges volk betrachtet werden, obgleich sie auch einzeln auftreten und dann zumal die weiblichen sich jenen höheren wesen anschliessen [...]" (Grimm 1844: 451); "Sie sind klein von gestalt, doch etwas grösser als elle, grau und ältlich, haarig und in moos gekleidet; oft werden blossholzweibel, seltener die männer genannt, diese sollen nicht so gutartig sein und tiefer in den wäldern wohnen, grüne kleider mit rothemaufschlag und dreieckige schwarze hüte tragen" (ibid.).

6 Cf. "zuweilen helfen sie den menschen in der küchenarbeit und beim waschen, äussern aber immer grosse furcht vor dem wilden jäger der sie verfolge" (ibid.: 452); "Waldmännchen, die in einer mühle dienste gethan und lange geholfen hatten, wurden dadurch verscheucht, dass ihnen die müllersleutekleider und schuhe hinlegten" (ibid. 453).

The authors of SGOWM related the origin of the mythologeme to G dial. *Kautke*, i.e. Pol. dial. *kautek* was attributed to Germanisms (see SGOWM III: 159; also see Dźwigoł 2004: 25). Such a decision was made on the basis of the information presented in the above-mentioned O. Kolberg's work.

Unfortunately, the decision of the compilers of the dictionary cannot be right because G dial. (EPr.) *der Kautke* 'a dwarf; a household deity / mountain spirit' is not an inherited German word, but a lexeme of West Slavic origin⁷. This statement is to be supported by the category of gender of the lexeme resp. by its masculine form, cf. *der Kautke* (see PrWb III: 168; also see Grannas 1943: 32). If the word was the inheritance of the Western Germans, the diminutive suffix G dial. *-ke* (↔ dim. suff. G *-chen* / LG *-ken* / *-kin*) (see Schröder II: 68; DM: 474; König 2004: 148, 186; Young, Gloning 2004: 126; Polenz 2009: 97, 124; Schümann 2010: 70–71; Elsen 2011: 81–83; Casemir, Fischer 2013: 90) should be obligatorily implied in the form of neuter (see Schümann 2010: 71; DM 391), cf. G dial. (EPr.) *das Klënnutschke* 'a dwarf' (see Fr I: 375), cf. also G *der Matz* 'a bird' → G dial. *das Mätzken* = G *das Mätzchen* 'a little bird', G *die Magd* 'a girl' → *das Mädchen* 'a little girl → a girl' (also see Young, Gloning 2004: 258; Kluge 2011: 591, 608). Walther Ziesemer (1924) did not mention any example of a non-systemic gender change of the lexemes used in the East Prussian dialect.

Suff. G dial. *-ke* was also used to form diminutives of *n. agentia* type, cf. n. p. G *Hartke* ← n. p. G *Hartmut*, *Henneke* ← *Hans* (see König 2004: 124; also see Pott 1859: 157, 229). It should be noted that suff. G *-chen* / G dial. *-ke* also presuppose the connotation 'helpful to humans' of the words which belong to the same type of formation, i.e. *n. agentia* (see Schümann 2010: 71; DM 471).

7 Hence, the etymology of G dial. (EPr.) *der Kautke* which is specified further is impossible:

EHG *kaute* '(grave) pit; a grave; ground pit to store vegetables, fertilizers etc.; a clay pit; a moat; a bog etc.' (DW: 692; DWG V: 364–365; Götze 1920: 132; FHNDWe; also see Kluge 2011: 483), cf. – (I) mythologeme G *Donnerkaute* 'Thunder's pit':

"[...] auf dem hessischen Knüllgebirge findet sich eine *Donnerkaute* [...]" (Grimm 1844: 155), i.e. [...] *there is a Thunder's pit on the Knüllgebirge* [i.e. Twisted Hill] *in Hessen* [...],

cf. also top. G *Donnerkaute* (see DWG II: 1239), that in East Prussia were believed to emerge a pit in the place where Thunder, in chase of a brownie, grasped the ground (see JBR I: 191);

(II) cf. the belief of the Kashubians, who took over the Germanic mythologeme *dwarves*, that these supernatural beings dwell in old **graves** and communicate with the **dead** (for more details see KKLJ: 103–104, 208)

+ dim. suff. G dial. *-ke*, which formally presupposes sememe *'a small grave → (**antonomasia**) grave spirit (resp. a shorty who lives in a grave (cf. Elsen 2011: 4, 81) – a dwarf', cf. also G dial. (EPr.) *Klënnutschke* 'a dwarf' ← G dial. (EPr.) *Kleinnutsch* 'bagatelle' (Fr I: 375).

The hypothesis can be supported by the belief of the Germans that "Die Bergmännchen weisen, ganz wie die Erdmännchen und Kobolde, auf Vorstellungen von **Totengeistern** hin [...]" (Vries I: 285), i.e. *Mountain spirits, as well as dwarves and household deities, are identified with the spirits of the dead.*

The loan status or West Slavic character of G dial. (EPr.) *Kautke* is also presupposed by the change of suff. Pol. *ek* to suff. G dial. *-ke*⁸, i.e. Pol. dial. *kautek* 'a dwarf in a red cap who reveals itself coming out from the soil or from the crib in the stable' → G dial. (EPr.) *Kautke* 'a dwarf; a household deity / a mountain spirit' (see Scheme).

The origin of Pol. dial. *kautek* 'a dwarf' can be justified by the statement of Franciszek Sławski (see SESŁ II: 375) that USrb. *kołtk*⁹ 'ditto' might have been ascribed to the derivatives of the suff. WSl. **-unъ* (n. *agentis*). Hence, it can be supposed that both mythologemes reflect absorption of the structural elements *-un-*:

WSl. dial. **kołtun* 'a supernatural being' (→ USrb. *koltun* 'a tree demon' (SWOKarł: 292))

(↔ (M)Pol. (dial.) *kołtun* 'a mat of hair (*trichoma* / *plica incuborum*); tangled hair; a tangle of branches; problem; townie; nickname; (pl.) a type of potatoes; rheumatism'

< OUkr. *ковтунъ* 1584 (→ Ukr. *ковтун* 'a mat of hair, wool or fur; skin disease (*Plica polonica*)' < PSl. **k^oltunъ* 'a mat of hair' (see SL II: 1053; SPXVI X: 492; SW II: 413–414; SKarł II: 409; SWil I: 512; Kucala 1957: 186; SEBr: 248; SESŁ II: 375–376; SEBor: 246; SEBań I: 763; SEMań: 86; SUM XVI–XVII st. XIV: 199; ESUM II: 487; ESBM IV: 311–312; ESSJ XIII: 191))

+ suff. *-ek* (n. deminutiva / n. qualitatis; n. actionis; n. agentis; n. instrumenti (for more details see Grzegorzczkowska 1979: 6–7, 15, 22, 26, 33, 40, 43, 45, 53–54; GWJPM: 397, 400, 408, 420, 426, 444))

→ MPol. **kołtunek*, Pol. dial. **kałtunek* / USrb. **kołtunek* 'a small mat of hair; a dwarf'¹⁰

→ (with an absorption of *-un-*)¹¹ MPol. *kołtek* 'a mat of hair; earring' (SPXVI X: 491; SW II: 413) ↔ MPol. (dial.) *kołtek*, Pol. dial. *kałtek* 'a dwarf; an igneous brownie which brings treasure', USrb. *kołtk* 'a dwarf'

→ Pol. dial. *kautek* 'a dwarf' with the root structural element *-au-*, which is of identical etymological value with Pol. dial. *-ał-* (due the vocalization of the lateral consonant *ł*) (for more details see Dejna 1973: 114–115; Schaarschmidt 1997: 142; see also Kregżdys 2016b: 61, 2020: 104).

8 Cf. G dial. *Poschundek* 'order' ← Pol. *porządek* 'ditto', G dial. *Roschke* 'croissant, roll' ← Pol. *rożek* 'ditto' etc. (for more details see Nyenhuis 2013: 150–153).

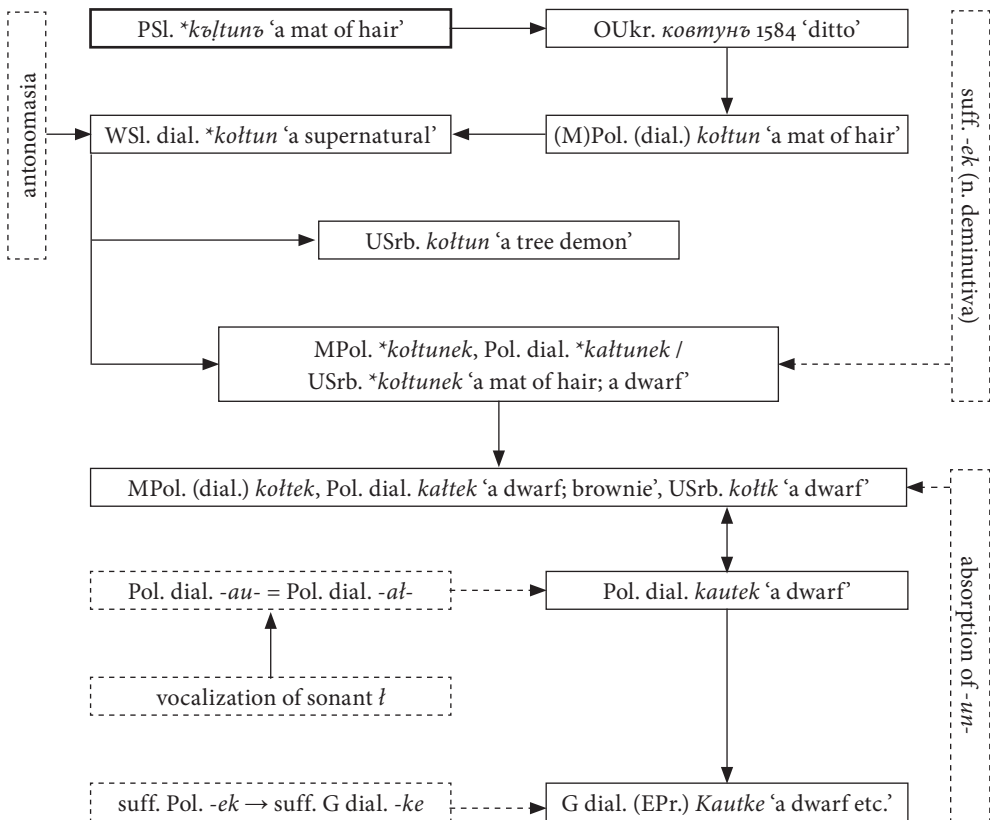
9 The lexeme was attributed to Germanisms by Renata Dźwigoł (2004: 25). The researcher rejected the Slavic origin of the word presented by Franciszek Sławski (see SESŁ II: 375) and interpreted it as it were a shortened form of USrb. *kobołtk*.

10 Cf. also Pol. dial. *kołtunnik* 'a herb used to cure *plica*; ground-ivy (*Glechoma hederacea*)' (SKarł II: 409).

11 Cf. variation of the Germanism Pol. *frasunek* 'concern, care' ↔ MPol. *fras* 'ditto' (SW I: 773; SPXVI VII: 123).

The semantic shift of the mythologeme *kautek* (i.e. ‘a dwarf’ ← ‘a supernatural being’ ← ‘a mat of hair’) was predetermined by antonomasia (i.e. *mythological subject* ← *an object with unsacred connotation* – see Scheme), cf. the origin of the West Slavic mythologeme *willow* ‘a devil’ ← ‘a dwelling of devil’ ← ‘willow tree’ (see SD I: 335), as it was thought that the dwarves used to felt mats of human hair:

“Sie sind die kleinen Wesen, die in Maßuren den Menschen das Haar verwirren, so daß man einen solchen Koltki, wie man das verwirrte Haar selbst dann auch wieder nennt, schwer entwirren kann. Es muß abgeschnitten werden” (Pohl 1943: 286), i.e. *The Masurian little creatures used to felt a mat of human hair to make Koltki, which can hardly be disentangled and must be cut off. The word Koltki is also used to name tangled hair.*



Scheme. The sequence of the origin of Pol. dial. *kautek*, G dial. (EPr.) *Kautke*

Unfortunately, in the latest works on the formation of words in the Prussian language, Pol. dial. *kautek* was interpreted as a cognate of OPr. *cawx* ‘a devil’ E 11 (see Biolik 2009: 59). It was evidently for that reason that some researchers attributed the mythonym Pol. dial. *kautek* to the layer of the lexis of the Baltic origin (see Nepo-

kupnyj 1976: 137; PrWb III: 168; Laučûte 1982: 47; Kiseliūnaitė, Kukure 2011: 193), but they did not specify the relationship between the above-mentioned mythologeme and the borrowing G dial. (EPr.) *der Kautke* 'a dwarf; a household deity / a mountain spirit'. It should be underlined that they did not present an etymological description of the structural element *-t-*, absent in OPr. *cawx*.

It is true that Anatoly Nepokupny (1976: 137) tried to solve the issue with the help of the diminutive Lith. *kaukutis* 'a soul of an unbaptised child' (LKŽe). Unfortunately, the explanation is fallacious. This statement would be really acceptable if Lith. *kaukutis* was an inherited word of the East Balts, but the root *kauk-* is a loan from the West Baltic area (see Smoczyński 1989: 309; also see Kregždys 2020: 81). The above-mentioned diminutive is a late derivate which started to be used only in Lithuanian¹².

Moreover, the inherited West Germanic onyms (toponyms and proper names) of the identical morphological structure and semantic value presuppose the new status of OPr. *cawx*, i.e. a borrowing – a Germanism, but not an old inheritance, cf.:

(α₁) top. EHG / G *Kauxdorf* 'the country's capital city in the region of Brandenburg in Germany – some 112 km South of Berlin¹³ (NTSGW II: 318) with the variant of top. MHG *Kuckuckdorf*¹²¹⁷ 'cuckoo's / devil's village'¹⁴, the latter may be related to MHG / EHG *kukuk* 'cuckoo; devil; a fool' (see MLex I: 1765–1766; DWG V: 2521–2529; also see DW: 722; Kluge 2011: 546);

(α₂) p. n. EHG *Andreas Kauxdorf*¹⁵²² (Lingke 1769: 133; Beuche 2012: 27), EHG *Daniel Kauxdorf*^{1524, 1569, 1575}, *Daniel Kauxendorf*¹⁵²⁴ (Brüggemann, Brunken 1991: 1463) presupposed by top. EHG *Kauxdorf*;

(β) G dial. *Kaukengähl* 'saffron (*Crocus*); turmeric (*Curcuma Longae Rhizoma*)' (Reichling 2012: 203) most probably is related to G dial. **kauken* (pl.) ↔ G dial. (EPr.) *Kauken* 'dwarves' (Pohl 1943: 286).

12 Latvian mythologeme *Kuhķītis* 'a dwarf' has been recorded **only** in Kārlis Kristiāns Ulmanis' dictionary (see Ulmann 1872: 124). Later the same form was included in Kārlis Mūlenbachs' dictionary, i.e. Latv. *kūķītis* 'ditto' (ME II: 333). The mythonym was not recorded in the old writings and dialectal dictionaries. It is evidently for that reason it should be attributed to the group of learned words, i.e. to neologisms. Moreover, it should be noted that some researchers interpreted the lexeme as an old inheritance (see Kiseliūnaitė, Kukure 2011: 187–188). The statement is fallacious because if the mythonym was an inherited word, palatalized consonant Latv. *-ķ-* (before *-ī-*) would be changed to affricate *-c-* (see Endzelins 1951: 184–185). The absence of the above-mentioned phonological change presupposes Latv. *kūķītis* to be attributed to **borrowings** from Lithuanian (see Endzelynas 1957: 40–41), cf. **Slavonicism** Lith. dial. *kūkas* 'a devil' (LKŽe) ← MPol. *kuk* 'an evil spirit, a devil' (SPXVI XI: 540), Kash. *kuka* 'an evil spirit etc.' (SGK II: 289; SEK III: 113–114) **either** from Russian, cf. Ru. dial. *кыка* 'a wood spirit which dwells in a bath' (SRNG XVI: 30) **or** Bel. dial. *кыка* 'an imaginary evil spirit used to frighten children' (ESBM V: 149).

13 The highlanders' dialect is used in this region (see Schönfeld 1991: 182–183).

14 See <https://www.uebigau-wahrenbrueck.de/verzeichnis/objekt.php?mandat=18675>.

In the disclosure of the properties of the origin of top. EHG / G *Kauxdorf*, the hypothesis presented by Wojciech Smoczyński (1989: 309) is to be used, i.e. the place name is to be compared with MHG *helle-gouch* ‘a devil’ (MLex I: 1234). However, changed morphological structure of the first component of the toponym is to be explained on the basis of the partial contamination between the lexemes of Western Germans, but not of Western Balts:

MHG *der gouch* (sg.) / *die gäuch* (pl.) ‘a cuckoo; bastard; a fool’ (see MLex I: 1057–1058; also see Kluge 335)

↔ (partial contamination)¹⁵ MHG / EHG *kukuk* ‘a cuckoo; a devil; a fool’

→ MHG **kaux* ‘a cuckoo, a devil’.

Hence, the conclusion can be drawn that OPr. *cawx* presupposes a Germanism, but not an inherited mythologeme of Western Balts:

OPr. *cawx* ‘a devil’

← MHG **kaux* ‘a cuckoo, a devil’.

In summary, it can be stated that the alternation of undoubtedly West Germanic toponyms EHG / G *Kauxdorf* ↔ top. MHG *Kuckuckdorf* 1217 ‘devil’s / cuckoo’s village’¹⁶ presupposes the same etiological model (i.e. Germanic origin) of the place names which, contrary to what was common to do in the past, are to be attributed to the group of Germanisms, but not to inherited onyms of Western Balts, cf. top. OPr. *Kaukelawke* 1394, *Kaukenynen* 1400, *Kawkowagen* 1314 // top. OPr. *Chucunbrasth* 1254, *Cucenbrast* 1254, *Kuke* 1251, *Cukemedie* 1419 (Gerullis 1922: 58, 75; see also Kregždys 2012: 150). It is to be assumed that these toponyms reflect the referent ‘cuckoo / -’s ↔ devil / -’s place’. Therefore, all attempts to reconstruct apophonic morphological archetypes of the West Baltic origin are essentially fallacious, cf. OPr. **kaukas* ↔ OPr. **kūks* or OPr. **kukas* ‘a familiar’ (cf. Schall 1966: 20–21; PEŽ II: 295–296; SEK III: 114).

3. Conclusions

1. Pol. dial. *kautek* ‘a dwarf’ presupposes a derivative composed of WSl. dial. **koltun* ‘supernatural being’ (> USrb. *koltun* ‘a tree demon’ ↔ (M)Pol. (dial.) *koltun* ‘a mat of hair etc.’) and dim. suff. *-ek*, i.e. Pol. dial. **kaltunek* ‘a small supernatural being who felts a mat of human hair ↔ a dwarf’ is to be reconstructed.

¹⁵ Cf. an alternation of verb G dial. *kaukeln* ↔ *gaukeln* ‘to play with fire’ (see Schröder II: 68).

¹⁶ Cf. place names of the Hannover district, i.e. top. G *Kuckuckshorn* ‘devil’s horn’, *Kuckucks-Mühle* ‘devil’s mill’ (see Müller 1825: 104).

2. G dial. (EPr.) *der Kautke* 'a dwarf; a household deity / mountain spirit' should be attributed to the loanwords from the Polish language reflecting the change of the suff. Pol. dial. *-ek* to suff. G dial. *-ke*.
3. OPr. *cawx* 'a devil' E 11 is not related to the origin of Pol. dial. *kautek* 'a dwarf'.

Abbreviations

Bel. – Belarusian; EHG – Early New High German; EPr. – East Prussian (a combination of Early High New German and Middle Low German); Fr. – French; G – German (New High German); Gk. – Greek; It. – Italian; Kash. – Kashubian; Lat. – Latin; Latv. – Latvian; LG – Low German; Lith. – Lithuanian; MHG – Middle High German; MPol. – Middle Polish; OPol. – Old Polish; OPr. – Old Prussian; OUkr. – Old Ukrainian; Pol. – Polish; PSl. – Proto-Slavic; Rm. – Romanian; Ru. – Russian; Ukr. – Ukrainian; USrb. – Upper Sorbian; WSl. – West Slavic (proto)form

Abbreviations of Grammatical Terms, etc.

adj. – adjective; dial. – dialectal form; dim. – diminutive; E – Elbing Vocabulary; pl. – plural; p. n. – personal name; sg. – singular; suff. – suffix; top. – toponym

Symbols

- * reconstructed form
- < developed from reconstructed form
- ← developed from an existing form
- ↔ lexical interference
- ≠ semantic discrepancy

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On the Origin of Mythonyms (Pol. dial. *kautek*, (G dial) (wschprus.) *Kautke*)

Abstract

Referring to etymological analysis, the author of this article presents a new hypothesis concerning the origin of the Polish mythological name *kautek* and the East Prussian word *Kautke*. The analysis refers to the description of derivatives and semantic development of those mythonyms. While summing up the research results, one may conclude that mythological names such as Pol. dial. *kautek*, G dial. (EPr.) *Kautke* belong to lexemes of the West Slavic origin. More precisely, those mythonyms are derived from Pol. dial. **kaltunek* ‘a mythological being who makes human hair tangled’ ↔ ‘a dwarf’ ← WSl. **kottun* ‘a mythological being’ (> USrb. *kołtun* ‘wił – a demon living in a tree’ ↔ (M)Pol. (dial.) *kołtun* ‘hair allegedly tangled because of a disease called *trichoma*’ < PSl. **k^oltunǔ* ‘curled hair’) + dem. suff. Pol. *-ek*.

East Prussian mythologeme *Kautke* belongs to Polonisms used in the past in the Duchy of Prussia.

**O pochodzeniu mitonimów pol. dial. *kautek*, niem. dial. (wschprus.) *Kautke*
Abstrakt**

W niniejszym artykule, poprzez odwołanie do analizy etymologicznej, została zaproponowana nowa hipoteza o pochodzeniu polskiej nazwy mitologicznej *kautek* oraz wschodniopruskiego *Kautke*. Przedstawiona analiza dotyczy opisu derywacji i rozwoju semantycznego tych mitonimów. Podsumowując wyniki badań, można stwierdzić, że nazwy mitologiczne pol. dial. *kautek*, niem. dial. (wschprus.) *Kautke* należą do leksemów pochodzenia zachodniosłowiańskiego. Dokładniej rzecz ujmując: te mitonimy wywodzą się z pol. dial. **kaltunek* ‘istota mitologiczna, która sprawia, że włosy człowieka kołtunieją’ ↔ ‘krasnoludek’ ← zachsł. **kołtun* ‘istota mitologiczna’ (> łż. *kołtun* ‘wił – demon prze-mieszkujący w drzewie’ ↔ (sr.)p. (dial. *kołtun* ‘włosy skręcone rzekomo wskutek choroby *trichoma*’ < psł. **k^oltunъ* ‘skręcone włosy’) + dem. suff. p. *-ek*.

Mitologem wschodniopruski *Kautke* należy do polonizmów, dawniej używanych na terenie Prus Książęcych.