

**Areal Typology, Standard Average European, and Verbal
Expressions of Gratitude in European Languages**

A RESEARCH PAPER

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

FOR THE DEGREE

MASTER OF THE ARTS

BY

JOEL ERICKSON

DR. ELIZABETH RIDDLE – ADVISOR

BALL STATE UNIVERSITY

MUNCIE, INDIANA

JULY 2016

ABSTRACT

RESEARCH PAPER: Areal Typology, Standard Average European, and Verbal Expressions of Gratitude in European Languages

STUDENT: Joel Erickson

DEGREE: Master of Arts

COLLEGE: Sciences and Humanities

DATE: July 2016

PAGES: 60

This research paper presents an argument that the current direction of research into the Standard Average European does not accurately portray the language contact situation in Europe. The evidence for such an argument is derived from how gratitude is expressed in the different languages and regions of Europe. The patterns evident in the data indicate that there are numerous contact situations in Europe that are not recognized in the current interpretation of the Standard Average European hypothesis. These contact situations all possess the same degree of validity as those described in the current interpretation of the Standard Average European hypothesis. The conclusion of this research is that the field of contact linguistics would be better served by reframing the Standard Average European hypothesis as a language union composed of numerous overlapping micro language unions rather than one macro language union with concentric “circles” of membership that decrease as distance increases.

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	6
2. Methodology, Research, and Limitations	8
3. SAE Literature Review and the State of the Field	10
4. SAEH^β VEGs	12
4.1 Verbal Expressions of Gratitude in Germanic	13
4.2 Verbal Expressions of Gratitude in Baltic and Slavic	16
4.3 Verbal Expressions of Gratitude in Romance	23
5. Non-SAEH Indo-European VEGs	25
5.1 The Greek Verbal Expressions of Gratitude	26
5.2 Armenian VEGS and the Languages of the Caucasus	26
5.3 Celtic Verbal Expressions of Gratitude	29
6. Non-Indo-European VEGs	33
6.1 Immediately Neighboring Languages and Shared Features	33
6.1.1 Basque	34
6.1.2 Estonian	34
6.1.3 Finnish	35
6.1.4 Hungarian	35
6.1.5 Maltese	36
6.1.6 Turkish	36
6.2 Distant Languages and Shared Features	37

Table of Contents

7. SAEH^β VEG Responses	37
7.1 Germanic VEG Responses	38
7.2 Baltic and Slavic VEG Responses	40
7.3 Romance VEG Responses	42
8. Non-SAEH^β VEG Responses	42
8.1 Armenian VEGRs	42
8.2 Greek VEGRs	45
8.3 Albanian VEGR	45
8.4 Farsi VEGRs	46
8.5 Celtic VEGRs	47
8.6 Non-SAEH Non-IE VEGRs	47
9. Contact situation and VEG Lexeme Borrowing	48
9.1 The Germano-Slavic Contact Situation and VEG Lexical Borrowing	46
9.2 The Greco-Slavic Contact Situation and VEG Lexical Borrowing	49
9.3 The Greco-Armenian Contact Situation and VEG Lexical Borrowing	52
10. Conclusion	52
11. References	56

Abbreviations

Alb.	Albanian	Mlt.	Maltese
Arm.	Armenian	Nlt.	Northern Italian
Blg.	Bulgarian	Nnts.	Nenets
Brt.	Breton	Nor.	Norwegian
Bsq.	Basque	OCS.	Old Church Slavonic
Cz.	Czech	Pol.	Polish
Dut.	Dutch	Prt.	Portuguese
DVEG	Denominal Verbal Expression of Gratitude	PVEG	Phrasal Verbal Expression of Gratitude
Eng.	English	Rus.	Russian
Est.	Estonian	Rom.	Romanian
Fin.	Finnish	SCr.	Serbo-Croatian
Fr.	French	Sln.	Slovenian
Ger.	German	Spn.	Spanish
Grg.	Georgian	Srd.	Sardinian
Grk.	Greek	Swd.	Swedish
Hng.	Hungarian	Tat.	Tatar
Ice.	Icelandic	Udm.	Udmurt
Ir.	Irish	Ukr.	Ukrainian
It.	Italian	VEG	Verbal Expression of Gratitude
Kom.	Komi	VEGR	Verbal Expression of Gratitude Response
Kan.	Kannada		
Lit.	Lithuanian		
Ltv.	Latvian	Wel.	Welsh
Lzg.	Lezgian	WG.	West Germanic

1. Introduction

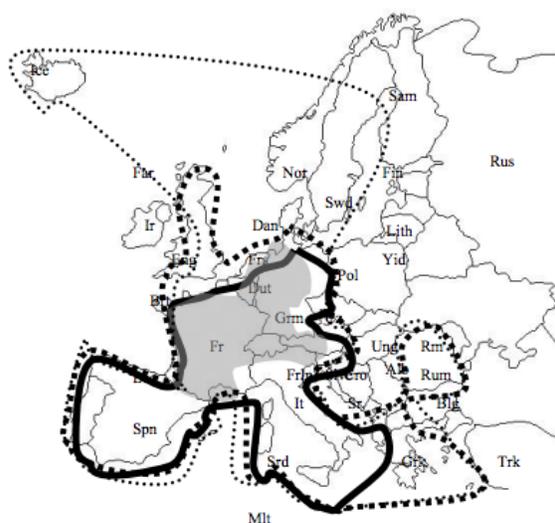
The subject of this research paper concerns a problem in applying the Standard Average European Hypothesis (SAEH) to linguistic areal typology in Europe. It states that the majority of the modern languages of Europe share features developed through mutual contact rather than through a common Indo-European origin [alone] (Haspelmath 1998).

Therefore, the general intent of this paper is to argue that the SAEH proposals found in Haspelmath 1998 and 2001 and van der Auwera 1998 insufficiently define a Standard Average European sprachbund. This paper argues that the evidence provided by existing work on the SAEH is only evidence of a grammatical West European sprachbund, and that there is lexical evidence of other language areas in Europe that do not fit this typology. I will argue for this by means of using expressions of gratitude in the European languages. These expressions of gratitude form socio-linguistic areas that generally support sprachbund theory applied to Europe, but either break the SAEH rules listed in Haspelmath 1998 and 2001 or simply do not conform. I will do so by showing instances of relevant non-genetic, lexical, semantic, and syntactic borrowing in the selected expressions of gratitude, all of which are necessary in making a viable contact situation argument. And as a result, I will argue in favor of modifying the general interpretation of the SAEH towards a generalized “European Continental Language Macro Union” composed of smaller “Regional Language Micro Unions.”

The SAEH has its origins in a brief observation by Whorf (1939) and continues to be developed similar to the recognition of the Balkan Sprachbund as a linguistic area. The SAEH as it appears in Haspelmath 1998 and 2001, subcategorizes these languages across the continent as Core, Nucleus, and Periphery, based on the degree to which a language possesses an SAEH

grammatical feature or “Europeanism” in the terminology of Haspelmath 1998. A map of the SAEH can be found in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1. Haspelmath’s Standard Average European Nucleus, Core, and Periphery



Map 5. SAE Map (Haspelmath 2001: 1505): 9 features (shading), 8 features (—), 7 features (---), 6 features (.....).

(Van der Auwera 2006)

I agree with the premise of the SAEH, but I argue that lexical factors, not just grammatical factors, should be considered in determining the membership of the SAE Core, Nucleus, and Periphery. This graded typological system is similar to the “Balkanization factor” system of Lindstedt 2000, although applied on a scale 10-15 times larger. If one examines lexical borrowing in Europe, as this paper attempts to do, several micro language unions that have some evidence of cultural contact become apparent.

Therefore, I suggest that defining the SAEH in terms of a graded typological system based on select features alone over such a large area is too relativistic and as a result does not accurately describe the linguistic situation in Europe. I will argue that the SAEH would be better defined as a macro level/continental aggregate of micro level regional European typological areas.

This is not to argue that the concentric nature of Haspelmath's SAE sprachbund is entirely incorrect, but rather that it is fundamentally relativistic and should be reduced in scope to smaller Language Micro Unions. The SAE Core languages are languages of current and former economic powerhouses, such as French, German, and Dutch. The nations in which these languages were spoken held spheres of influence on the surrounding peoples and nations. However, there are other regional patterns that do not absolutely reflect Haspelmath's Core, Nucleus, and Periphery layout for the SAEH sprachbund, yet still show the naturalness of European inter-language contact.

2. Methodology, Research, and Limitations

I will use the comparative and historical linguistic method to analyze the lexical tokens throughout this paper. In order to maintain equivalence in comparison, the tokens are arbitrarily chosen expressions of gratitude, taken from the verb forms of expressions of gratitude in the modern standard form of each language (e.g. Eng. I *thank* you.)

This object of research will be referred to as the *verbal expression of gratitude*; henceforth VEG. Examples of a VEG are the English "I *thank* you," and the Dutch "Zij *bedankt* hem," '*she thanked him.*' The intent of using VEGs alone is that it will narrow down the field of

study to a specific grammatical unit comparable across the SAE languages with the intended result of producing a focused rather than broad analysis. It should be noted that the meanings of the VEGs alone are not the evidence of the sprachbunde but the morphologic representation and etymologies.

In general, the SAEH sprachbund is composed of European IE languages but the languages featured in this paper include representatives from most branches of the larger IE family. These include the Romance languages French, Italian, and Spanish; the Germanic languages English, Frisian, German, and Icelandic; and the Slavic languages Bulgarian, Polish and Russian, all of which will be used to show shared features that argue for regional sprachbunde.

This paper also features data from non-SAE Core, Nucleus, and Periphery IE languages such as Celtic, Armenian, and the Indo-Iranian languages to show that the shared VEG features are not found in all IE languages. In all, this research incorporates 60 different languages in order to demonstrate patterns that conform to sprachbund theory. These 60 languages vary between SAE Core, Nucleus, and Periphery language such as French and German, as found in Haspelmath 1998 and 2001, and Swahili and Arabic, as well as Central Asian languages such as Uygur and Kyrgyz.

Transliteration shown between slashes as follows, /subject word/, is provided for those of the 60 languages that do not use a Roman alphabet. Transliteration generally follows the Americanist Phonetic transliteration style, although palatal consonants are marked with a superscript letter j, i.e. ^j, immediately following the palatalized consonant. Idiomatic translation appears between single apostrophes as follows, ‘subject word.’ Non-idiomatic, literal translations

appear between brackets as follows [subject word.] Non-English words appearing independently will appear in italics as follows *subject word*.

The nature and appropriateness of each expression has been verified by native speakers, where available. All data has been further verified with dictionaries and etymological dictionaries to the greatest extent possible, providing the earliest attestations of words when possible. I have used the non-traditional resources Jennifer's Language Page, Omniglot, and different language forums online due to the amount and diversity of data collected therein. I have first-hand experience with many of the key languages in this paper, having spent approximately one year in Bulgaria and the greater Eastern Europe conducting research on the topic of this paper and two and a half months in Turkey in an intensive Turkish language program. Given the non-academic nature of these resources, secondary verification of the data was sought where available. This has been possible for the world's larger and better-documented languages, although the less documented languages are not verified. Academic and non-academic sources for some of the world's minor and less well-documented languages, such as Khanty spoken in Siberia, have been difficult to locate and thus secondary verification has been out of reach at times, although it may be possible in future research.

3. SAE Literature Review and the State of the Field

Whorf coined the term "SAE" in the 1939 paper "The Relation of Habitual Thought and Behavior to Language," which was published posthumously in 1941 and reprinted in 1956. The term "Standard Average European" is not emphasized in that work. It first appears at the end of Whorf's argument seen below:

“The work began to assume the character of a comparison between Hopi and western European languages. It also became evident that even the grammar of Hopi bore a relation to Hopi culture, and the grammar of European tongues to our own "Western" or "European" culture. And it appeared that the interrelation brought in those large subsummations of experience by language, such as our own terms "time," "space," "substance," and "matter." Since, with respect to the traits compared, there is little difference between English, French, German, or other European languages with the POSSIBLE (but doubtful) exception of Balto-Slavic and non-Indo-European, I have lumped these languages into one group called SAE, or "Standard Average European.” (Whorf 1956: 138)

Whorf did not define the traits of SAE, and he did not go into any other detail on the “SAE languages,” except that SAE existed “with the *possible* (but doubtful) exception of Balto-Slavic and non-Indo-European” (Whorf 1956: 138) This exception has been dropped from the modern definition as Haspelmath includes “Balto-Slavic” and the non-Indo-European “Finno-Ugrian” languages in the present definition of the sprachbund’s languages. (Haspelmath 2001: 1492) Further SAEH research was not immediately conducted. Little research was done through the 20th century, with the exception of Garvin (1949), Haarmann (1976), Dahl (1990), and few others.

In the late 20th century, Martin Haspelmath and Johan Van Der Auwera led the development of a more elaborate view of SAE. According to van der Auwera (2011), “Until recently, ‘Standard Average European’ (or ‘SAE’) was not a standard term, more particularly, there was no awareness, let alone a consensus, about the hypothesis that Western Europe could be the home of a Sprachbund.” (Haspelmath 2001: 1442) argues the same point:

“...it is easy to understand why linguists have been slow to appreciate the significance of the similarities among the core European languages: Since most comparative linguists know these languages particularly well, they have tended to see non-European languages as special and unusual, and the similarities among the European languages have not seemed surprising. Thus, it was only toward the end of the 20th century, as more and more had become known about the grammatical properties of the languages of the rest of the world, that linguists realized how peculiar the core European languages are in some ways when seen in the world-wide context.”

Both authors have contributed significantly toward the development of the SAEH as a viable areal typology topic. However, both also acknowledge the tenuousness of the SAEH in their work. Haspelmath 2001 and van der Auwera 2011 both describes the essential arbitrariness of the use of “cluster maps,” which draws rings around areas with a greater number of commonly shared features. On page 1505 Haspelmath says, “such cluster maps are thus a fairly direct representation of degrees of membership in a linguistic area. But of course, the cluster map directly reflects this choice of features that are combined, and this choice is always somewhat arbitrary.” Thus, the SAEH, and a sprachbund in general, is a function of its analyzed features when defined in such terms. More critically, (Haspelmath 2001:1505) further concedes 1505:

“It is perfectly possible that we will some day discover another *Sprachbund*, based on a different set of features, that has Russian at its core and extends all the way to western Siberia in the east and central Asia in the south, but within Europe comprises only the Slavic, Balkan, and Scandinavian languages. This area would overlap with SAE, but it would not contradict it. Thus a language may in principle belong to different linguistic areas, and different linguistic areas may coexist “on top of” each other. Since areal typology is only in its infancy, we do not know how common such situations are, but nothing in the logic of a *Sprachbund*

implies that the world should be exhaustively divisible into non-overlapping *Sprachbünde*.”

4. SAEH^β VEGs

The SAEH is still evolving, as more research is carried out, the hypothesis will undoubtedly be refined. For the remainder of the paper I will generally employ the term SAEH in the sense of a European continental Language Macro Union or language set in which smaller Regional Language Micro Unions are subsets. For this revised meaning the abbreviation SAEH^β is used. SAEH^α represents the traditional definition found in Haspelmath (2001).

Section 4 contains an analysis of the IE SAEH^β VEGs broken down into subsections by language family. Section 4.1 analyzes the Germanic expressions. Section 4.2 analyzes the Balto-Slavic expressions. Section 4.3 analyzes the Romance expressions. Section 4.4 analyzes the Hellenic expressions. Finally, Section 4.5 analyzes the expressions in Albanian.

4.1 Verbal Expressions of Gratitude in Germanic

The data in this section comes from the living branches of the Germanic family, i.e. North and West Germanic. Gothic and the other East Germanic languages, Burgundian and Vandalic, spread across Europe but eventually were assimilated and are no longer spoken (Robinson 1992). As Gothic is not a modern language, and has no daughter languages, it naturally will not be considered for SAEH membership.

Of the three Germanic language branches, the North and West Germanic branches have survived through to the modern day generally intact. In SAEH^α, German is given precedence as a member of the SAE Core with the most SAE features. SAEH^β considers German a coequal

member of the European language community while acknowledging that German has had an influence on the non-Germanic language VEGs of the Baltic and neighboring southern regions.

This influence is effectively restricted to the Baltic region and is not present elsewhere in Europe. This regionally contained VEG borrowing provides the first argument for a sprachbund that does not fit precisely into the SAE Core, Nucleus, and Periphery sprachbund designations.

Table 1 below shows that the Germanic VEGs differ little from one another morphosemantically, that is, the forms and the meanings are similar. Comparatively, the Germanic VEGs are morphosemantically more uniform than either the Romance languages or Slavic languages. The data shows that the Germanic languages tend towards VEGs that are derived from a prototypical form. This prototypical form is likely derived from an earlier IE stem that has been proposed as **teng-* and **tong-*, to think or feel, (Pokorny 1959) although there is no concrete evidence of this reconstructed form.

Table 1
Germanic Verbal Expressions of Gratitude

<i>Language</i>	<i>VEG</i>	<i>Translation</i>
Afrikaans	bedank	to thank
Danish	at takke	to thank
Dutch	(be)danken	to thank
English	to thank	-
Frisian	denken	to thank
German	zu danken	to thank
Icelandic	að þakka	to thank
Norwegian	å takke	to thank
Swedish	att tacka	to thank

This is further corroborated by the American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language, which reconstructs the history of *thank* in the following manner, “Thank, from Old

English *thanc*, ‘thought, good will,’ and *thancian*, “to thank,” from Germanic **thankaz*, ‘thought, gratitude,’ and **thankon*, ‘to think of, thank.’” Likewise the other German languages likely followed the same trajectory through the period of common Germanic and their independent development afterward.

Therefore the sense of the Germanic VEGs developed out of this PG word meaning of ‘think,’ toward the idea of a kindly thought. The pattern of evolution would then be something like ‘think of someone’ > ‘think well of someone’ > ‘thank someone.’ This is evident for English in the Bosworth-Toller Anglo Saxon Dictionary wherein the entry for *þanc* “thank” gives *thought* as the primary meaning, *kindly thought* as the secondary meaning, *agreeableness*, *pleasure*, and *satisfaction*, as tertiary meanings, and finally *thanks* as the fourth meaning, with phrasal expressions in *secgan, to say*, and *dôn, to do*.

The use of the verb ‘think’ appears to be specific to the Germanic family. The other languages of Europe express *favor/grace* or *praise*, such as Latin, Greek, and the western South Slavic sub-family, but no other non-Germanic European language natively expresses gratitude with a word that also means *think*. Moreover, none of the non-Indo-European languages follow this pattern of expressing gratitude as “thought.”

Taken as a whole, the Germanic VEGs on their own do not provide evidence for a sprachbund, as they are all genetically related words and they come from a common prototype. On the other hand, looking at northern Europe as a whole, an argument for regionally defined language contact can be made. For descendents of the WG VEG are found in Belarus, Lithuania, Poland, and the Ukraine, and to a much lesser extent, in Russia. Given that similar forms are absent in Old Church Slavonic, the South Slavic, I argue that they provide evidence of inter-

language lexical borrowing in the region. In the following section I will describe the Baltic and Slavic VEGs and build the case for inter-language lexical exchange.

4.2 Verbal Expressions of Gratitude in Baltic and Slavic

The three sub-branches of Slavic - East, West, and South - show evidence of influence from other SAE languages on their verbal expressions of gratitude. Whereas the Germanic and Romance languages have relatively monolithic VEGs, i.e. “thought” in Germanic and “grace/favor” in Romance, there is no such monolithic VEG in the Slavic languages. The South Slavic VEGs are split between the inflected Slavic languages of the former Yugoslavia - Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin, Serbian, and Slovenian - and the uninflected South Slavic languages to the east, Bulgarian, and Macedonian, which is regarded as a language separate from Bulgarian by some, but not without controversy.

There is also a split in the East Slavic languages between Russian and Ukrainian and Belarusian. The Ukrainian and Belarusian VEGs use etymologically non-Slavic VEGs of Northwestern European origin while Russian uses etymologically non-Slavic VEGs of Southeastern European origin. The West Slavic languages use similarly derived non-Slavic VEGs of Northwestern European origin, adopted from the Germanic languages. Lastly, the Baltic language Lithuanian uses a VEG of Northwestern European origin, as in the case of its neighboring Slavic languages. However, the Slavic language Latvian uses an morphologically similar, but etymologically different VEG, native to Latvian. A summary of the major Balto-Slavic VEGs is found in Table 2 below with a discussion of these forms in the following sections.

Table 2
Balto-Slavic Verbal Expressions of Gratitude

<i>Language</i>	<i>Infinitive</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>	<i>Translation</i>
Belarussian	Дзякаваць	/dz ^j akavats/	to thank
	Дзенкавац	/dz ^j enkavats/	
Bulgarian	да Благодаря	/da blagodar ^j a/	to thank
Croatian	zahvaliti	-	to thank
Czech	poděkovat	-	to thank
Macedonian	да се заблагодарам	/da se zablagodaram/	to thank
Latvian	pateikties	-	to thank
Lithuanian	dėkoti	-	to thank
Polish	dziękować	-	to thank
Russian	благодарить	/blagodarit ^j /	to thank
	Дяковать	/d ^j akovat'/	to thank
Serbian	да се захвалим	/da se zahvalim/	to thank
Slovakian	pod'akovat'	-	to thank
Slovenian	se zahvaliti	-	to thank
Ukrainian	дякувати	/d ^j akuvati/	to thank

4.2.1 The West Slavic and Baltic VEGs

I argue that the Lithuanian VEGs and the West Slavic VEGs are adopted forms that are derived from the Middle High German word *danc*. This is partially corroborated in regard to the West Slavic languages (i.e. Polish) by Gardner 1965. According to Gardner, the WG VEGs first appears in the West Slavic languages as the MHGer. *danc* (noun form of *danken*) derivative *dziękować* in Polish.

I argue that *danken/danc* appears elsewhere in West Slavic as *děkovat* in Czech and *d'akovat'* in Slovak, and that *danken/danc* appears in the Baltic VEGs as the Lithuanian VEG *dėkoti*. Although I have been unable to secure reliable etymological data regarding this argument, the morphological similarities between the Slavic languages are evident. The Polish *dziękować*, Czech *děkovat* and Slovak *d'akovat'* all exhibit the same palatalization of the initial

dental, the addition of the pan-Slavic verbalizing suffix -(o)va-, and the Balto-Slavic infinitive suffix -t’-/ti-. Lithuanian appears to compound the stem *dêk-* and the Balto-Slavic infinitive suffix *-ti*, in a formulation similar to the Slavic VEGs. It is possible that the *o* in *dêkoti* is either epenthetic or a contraction of *-ov-*.

The VEG of the other surviving Baltic language, Latvian, appears to be unrelated. Ultimately, I have found no peer-reviewed etymological literature on the origin of the Latvian *pateikties*, however, the late historical linguist Sergei Starostin’s STARLING project offers an etymology. STARLING derives *pateikties* from the PIE stem **deik’e-* meaning ‘to say, show.’ (cf. Old Lat. *deicere* → Lat. *dicere*, *to show, tell*; Greek *deiknumi*, *I show*) More specifically *pateikties* is a reflexive form of the verb *pateikt*, which is derived from *teikt* “say, tell.” Additionally, STARLING offers no etymology for Lithuanian *dêkoti*, or the stem *dêk-*, which I argue is further evidence of its Germanic origin.

The East Slavic languages possess VEGs derived from **danc* as well, although the use of a *danc* origin VEG in Russian is extremely archaic and subordinate to a Greco-Slavic form. Just as in the West Slavic VEGs, the East Slavic VEGs all tend towards the formula of **’danc’ + (o)va + t’/ti*. All West and East Slavic VEGs rooted in **danc* follow this pattern, though with phonemic differences in the treatment of the root initial consonant, infinitive suffixes, and vowels, as can be seen in Table 2 above.

4.2.2 East Slavic VEGs

The Eastern branch of the Slavic languages shows two distinct DVEG patterns. The first VEG is the aforementioned West Slavic VEG. This does appear in Russian as дяковать */dʲakovatʲ/*, though it is archaic and not commonly used. In Belorussian it appears as дзякавац

/dz^jakavats/, while in Ukrainian it is дякувати /d^jakuvati/. According to Gardner (1965) /d^jakuvati/ is derived from MHG *danc* and entered into the East Slavic branch in the 14th century through the Polish word *dzięnkować* ‘to thank,’ which was derived from the Polish words *dzięnk*, *dzięka*, ‘thank, thanks.’ Leonid Hrabovsky’s Ukrainian-English dictionary lists /d^jakuvati/ as the primary entry for expressing gratitude in Ukrainian, although it appears as /d^jakuju/ which is a first person singular form of /d^jakuvati/. The West Slavic VEGs appear in Belorussian as /dz^jakovats/ and /dz^jenkovats^j/, both forms found in Ivan Nosovich’ *Dictionary of [the]Belorussian Dialect*. These sources are corroborated by the modern, though less academic, sources such as Omniglot and the *Peace Corps Language Survival Guide*. These data imply to me that the Germanic VEGs, through the West Slavic languages, have influenced Ukrainian and Belorussian VEGs.

In other lexical regards, such as the names of the months, expression of necessity, thanking terms, Ukrainian and Belorussian align more closely with the West Slavic languages than the East Slavic branch of which they are members. And there has been sufficient intercultural contact for this to be the expected situation, as Fortson 2004 states “from the 15th to the 17th century Byelorussia belonged to the Lithuanian and Polish cultural and political world...” and that “Belarusian forms a sort of bridge between Russian and the third East Slavic language, Ukrainian.” It should be noted that Lithuanian and Polish political and cultural hegemony extended throughout Ukraine during this same time as well. (Helbig et al. 2009) However, Polish-Lithuanian influence did not have the same impact on Russia and Russian and Russian retains its own VEG as a result.

This second VEG is a calque of the Greek ευχαριστειν /efkharistein/ which appears in the Russian as Благодарить /blagodaritʲ/ ‘to thank.’ /Blagodaritʲ/ is constructed of two Slavic stems. The first stem is /blago/ ‘good, well.’ Vasmer (1956) describes /blago/ as the default Slavic translation for Greek /eu/. /daritʲ/ is a perfective form of the verb /davati/ ‘to give.’ Thus this is proposed to be a loose calque of the Medieval Greek /efkharistin/, as the Greek roots are /ef/, from /eu/ ‘well,’ and /kharistin/ ‘to feel joy.’

This form is found in Old Church Slavic and is a result of cultural influence from the Byzantine Empire through the missionary work of the Eastern Orthodox Church. As an informal alternative of /blagodaritʲ/, Russian favors the use in every day speech of a PVEG that has contracted into a single word ‘spasʲiba.’ ‘Spasʲiba’ is a contraction of OCS /supasʲi bog/ ‘God save’ rendered /spasʲiba/ in modern Russian.

4.2.3 South Slavic VEGs

The South Slavic languages are divided into an eastern group and a western (former Yugoslavian) group. The VEGs are similarly divided between the east South Slavic and the west South Slavic languages. The VEGs of the South Slavic languages can be found in Table 3 below.

Table 3
Verbal expressions of Gratitude in South Slavic

<i>Language</i>	<i>Verbal Expression</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
Bulgarian	да благодаря	/da blagodarʲa/	to thank
Croatian	zahvaliti		to thank
Macedonian	да благодарам	/da blagodaram/	to thank
Serbian	Захваљити	/zahvaljiti/	to thank
Slovenian	zahvaliti		to thank

The DVEG of the east group, composed of Bulgarian and Macedonian, is the Greek calque, /blagodar-/, which only appears elsewhere in Russian. /blagodar-/ has two slightly different forms in the eastern group as a result of the different verb terminations between the two languages. The calque functions identically in both Bulgarian and Macedonian.

The DVEG of the western South Slavic group has a unique semantic meaning that does not appear in the VEGs of any other modern European language. The DVEG, /hvaliti/, like many of the other VEGs does not mean ‘thank’ primarily. According to R.M. Tseytlin’s Old Slavonic Dictionary (from the Manuscripts of the 10-11 Centuries), /hvaliti/ dates back to Old Church Slavic in which the primary meaning of /hvaliti/ was ‘praise, honor.’ This meaning generally remains the same in the modern Slavic language, as can be seen in Table 4 below.

Table 4
The root -hval- in the Slavic Languages

<i>Language</i>	<i>Verbal expression</i>	<i>Transliteration</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
Bulgarian	хваля	/hvalja/	praise
	похвалям	/pohvalam/	
Croatian	Hvaliti		praise
Czech	Chválit		praise
Macedonian	Фалат (п.)	/falat/	praise
Polish	chwalić		praise
	pochwalić		
Russian	хвалить	/hvalit/	praise
	похвалить	/pohvalit’/	
Serbian	хвалити	/hvaliti/	praise
Slovak	Chváli		praise
Slovenian	Hvalim		praise
Ukrainian	хвалити	/hvaliti/	praise
	похвалити	/pohvaliti/	

In OCS, /hvaliti/ served as a parallel construction to /blagodariti/. It is interesting to note that this reflects a minor Greek VEG pattern. The earliest form of gratitude recorded in any European language is a PVEG which uses /kharin/ as the object of a noun. This stem would eventually give rise to /efkharisto/. However, there was an additional Greek word /epaino/, meaning ‘I praise,’ which was also used at times to express gratitude. It is possible that ‘praise’ was a pre-Slavic expression of gratitude in the Balkans, though this cannot be definitely known.

The non-Slavic language Albanian offers additional data that may be related to the form /hvaliti/. Albanian’s VEG is outwardly similar to the VEGs found in the languages of the former Yugoslavia. The standard expression of gratitude in Albanian is the interjection *faleminderit*. This word means “I bow to your honor,” which is conceptually near to the act of ‘praise.’ This expression of gratitude is similar to the neighboring Macedonian noun фалат /falat/ ‘praise,’ and the South Slavic ‘hvaliti.’

However, according to Orel’s *Concise Historical Grammar of the Albanian Language*, the root *fal* which means ‘forgive, give as a present, pray/am respectful, salute/greet’ and comes from the proto-Albanian word *spala. Perhaps there is distant a relationship between the proto-Albanian *spala and the proto-Slavic *hvala (*Orel’s Concise Historical Grammar of the Albanian Language 2000*). The tertiary meaning ‘pray/am respectful’ especially seems to suggest the conceptual connection with ‘praise,’ but a more definite connection remains to be determined.

4.3 Verbal Expressions of Gratitude in Romance

The VEGs of the Romance family all come from a common source and are, as a result, very similar to one another. The earliest recorded expressions of gratitude in the Romance family occur in Classical Latin. In Classical Latin, the manner by means of which one expresses gratitude is a PVEG comprised of a conjugated form of the verb *agere* and the DO *gratias*. (*Cassell's New Latin Dictionary: 850*) In the phrase *gratias agere*, 'to do thanks,' *gratias* is a grammatically feminine plural accusative variant of the noun *grates* 'kindness, favor' and *agere* is an infinitive which means to do or act. Lewis and Short 1878 notes the interesting distinction that *gratias* refers to "thanks rendered" to humans while *grates* are "thanks rendered" especially to gods, which is especially interesting given the sometime religious nature of expressing gratitude. Table 5 below lists the Romance languages and their VEGs. The majority of the Romance languages feature two different VEG paradigm. The first paradigm, in the second column, features verbs that I argue are largely derived from nouns, and the second paradigm, in the third column, shows the VEGs in which the gratitude maintains status as a noun, and object of the verb *give*. This paradigm is only evident elsewhere in English.

Table 5
Romance Verbal Expressions of Gratitude

<i>Language</i>	<i>Denominal VEG</i>	<i>Phrasal VEG</i>
Catalan	agrair	donar les gràcies
French	remercier	donner grâce rendre grâce
Italian	ingraziare	dare grazie rendere grazie
Spanish	agradecer	dar las gracias
Portuguese	agradecer	
Romanian	mulțumi	aduce mulțumiri

The modern Romance languages generally lack a direct descendant of the combination of *agere* and *gratias*. However, some languages, such as French and Italian, employ variants of *reddere* and *gratias*. These forms are typically formal, and not used in everyday speech. These PVEGs are derived from the CL alternatives, and appear in the language together with DVEGs. Other languages like Spanish possess DVEGs, such as *agradecer*, meaning to thank or be grateful for, alongside PVEGs such as *dar las gracias*, ‘to give thanks.’ This form, which is the most common phrasal form in the Romance languages, is a PVEG parallel to *gratias agere*. The Latin equivalent of *dar las gracias* – *dare illas gratias* - does not appear as a CL PVEG on its own, though *dare* does appear as the *dare* derivative *reddere*.

Additionally, according to Ernout & Meillet’s *Dictionnaire Etymologique de la Langue Latine*, there were two other forms in Latin that occurred sporadically. One was a poetic and archaic form *grator*, which had no nonverbal derivatives other than *gratanter*, ‘with joy,’ and *gratatorius*, ‘joyous,’ neither of which were further derived into VEGs. *Grator* was maintained until the Classical Latin era as *gratulor*, which primarily meant to manifest one’s joy (Lewis & Short 1886), although it held a secondary definition of to give thanks, to render thanks, and to thank, with an emphasis on thanking a deity. (Lewis & Short 1886) Ernout & Meillet 1932 also posit the meaning of *gratulor* as *render graces aux dieux*, or to thank the gods, along with *remercier*, meaning ‘thank,’ *féliciter* and *congratuler*, meaning ‘congratulate.’ Regardless, this former is not attested outside of poetry, and *gratias agere* is typically taken as the standard.

In the daughter languages of Latin, this phrasal aspect of the Classical Latin PVEGs has been maintained and now coexists with an array of DVEGs. French and Romanian possess two differently and independently derived DVEGs, while Catalan, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish

all possess the similar /grat-/ derived DVEGs *agrair*, *ingraziare*, *agradeçer*, and *agradecer* respectively. What follows is my analysis of the Romance VEGs. I propose the Iberian Romance languages display VEGs of the following construction: the root /grat-/ with the directional prefix *a-*, and the Romance infinitive suffix in –(V)r. Italian varies slightly as it is prefixed by *in-*, but it is equivalent in meaning.

French and Romanian diverge from the pattern of DVEGs rooted in the stem /grat-/ through their respective verbs *remercier* ‘thank’ and *mulțumi* ‘thank.’ According to the Centre National de Ressources Textuelles et Lexicales, the French DVEG *remercier* is derived from the noun/interjection *merci*, which is itself derived from the Latin *merces*. The meaning of *merces* was a financial sum for work performed, i.e. salary or compensation (cf. Eng *commerce*) but its derivative in French has since come to be synonymous with ‘grace.’ This etymology is unique among the European languages.

Mulțumi /multsumi/ is the VEG found in Romanian. The meaning of *mulțumi* glosses as the English ‘satisfy, gratify,’ when transitive and used with an accusative complement, but glosses as ‘thank’ as an intransitive verb with a dative complement. Romanian developed a DVEG from a previously existing phrase /la multi ani/, (*Dictionar Universal al Limbei Romane 1896*) meaning ‘to (your) many years.’ This phrase has contracted into the single verb *mulțumi*.

5. Non-SAEH Indo-European VEGs

In this section I will examine other IE languages to show that the VEG developments in the SAEH languages are not native PIE features and are not found in most other non-European

IE languages. I will also consider non-IE languages from more and less distant regions of the world to show that the patterns in the SAEH languages are characteristic of Europe in particular.

5.1 The Greek Verbal Expressions of Gratitude

The Greek verb *ευχαριστειν* /efkharistin/ appears to be one of the earliest attested verbal expressions of gratitude in the European languages, but not the oldest. I propose that, like the other DVEGs, /efkharistin/ developed from an object noun used to express gratitude. This object noun, /kharis/ is likely (part of) the oldest European VEGs as it dates back to Homeric Greek, which is the earliest attested European language. Moreover, Autenrieth's Homeric Dictionary does not include an entry for /efkharistin/. Therefore, I propose that /kharin/ predates /efkharistin/ and is the parent term. Autenrieth's Homeric Dictionary includes a number of PVEG entries using /kharis/ with the verbs *φερειν* /ferein/ 'bear,' *ειδειν* /eidein/ 'to seem,' *δουναι* /dounai/ 'give,' *ιδμεναι* /idmenai/ 'to seem.'

5.2 Armenian VEGs and the Languages of the Caucasus

I suggest that Greek may have had a significant impact on the VEGs of the languages of the Caucasus through the early Christian church. I argue that the Armenian VEG is derived from the Armenian word for 'grace,' and thus parallels the Greek construction. The fact that an eastern Indo-European language shares a European feature is problematic for the argument that the VEGs reflect specific European patterns. It directly contradicts the Haspelmath (2001: 1493) rule stating "that eastern Indo-European languages [must] lack [a feature], (Armenian, Iranian, Indic)" for a feature to be considered as a Europeanism. In contrast, I suggest that the connection

between grace and gratitude in Armenian is the result of a shared cultural origin rather than common genetic origin, which complies with sprachbund theory.

5.2.1 The Armenian Verbal Expression of Gratitude

Armenian has two PVEG constructions that are formed from the Armenian word շնորհ /shnorh/ ‘grace,’ as evident on in Paschal Aucher’s *A Dictionary of English and Armenian* (558, 716). However, I suggest that /shnorh/ is not a native Armenian word, but rather that /shnorh/ was adopted from the IE Iranian sub-branch. The form ‘shnôhr’ appears as far back as the Middle Persian dialect Pahlavi in which Mackenzie glosses ‘shnôhr’ as both ‘contentment’ and ‘gratitude.’ In modern Armenian, /shnorh/ retains the meaning ‘grace’ when isolated as a noun, although it is an expression of gratitude in specific phrasal constructions. (Aucher 1968)

The two primary Armenian VEGs, verified by a native speaker, are the PVEGs Շնորհակալ եմ /shnorhakal yem/ ‘grateful I am’ and շնորհակալութուն հայտնել /shnorhakalutun haytnel/ lit. ‘gratefulness to inform’ Kouyoumdjian’s *A Comprehensive Dictionary Armenian-English* glosses շնորհակալ /shnorhakal/ as an adjective of the word շնորհ /shnorh/ ‘grace.’ When շնորհ /shnorh/ is paired with the Armenian word եմ /yem/ glossed as “I,” it suggests that it should be taken as a stative PVEG meaning ‘I am grateful.’ The second VEG շնորհակալութուն հայտնել /shnorhakalutun haytnel/ is a transitive construction comprised of an abstract noun glossed as ‘gratefulness’ and a verb glossed as ‘tell, inform.’

Like Armenian, Georgian, a non-IE Kartvelian language expresses gratitude with phrases rooted in ‘grace.’ (Cf. Georgian მადლობა /madloba/ ‘thank,’ and Georgian მადლი /madli/

‘grace’) Other languages of the region, such as Azeri and Farsi do not share in this pattern. Therefore I suggest that the influx of Christianity into this region imported an etymological connection between grace and expressing gratitude. This connection exists in the languages of the early European churches and can be seen in Table 6 below.

Table 6

Gratitude vs. grace in early church languages and their descendants

<i>Language</i>	<i>Word for Gratitude</i>	<i>Word for Grace</i>
Latin (parent)	gratias	gratia
Greek (n/a)	/efkharistein/	/kharis/
Old Church Slavic (parent)	/blagodarstv/	/blagodati/
Armenian (n/a)	/shnorgal/	/shnorh/
Georgian (n/a)	/gmadloba/	/madli/

Armenia and Georgia are home to two of the earliest Christian churches on record outside of Europe, although they were divided from the European Christian churches soon after formation. Until the development of the Armenian alphabet and its advent in the Armenian Orthodox Church, Greek was the language of the Armenian Orthodox Church.

I suggest that the etymological connection between grace and expressing gratitude in Greek was brought to the Caucasus through the adoption of Greek oriented Christianity in the region in the early centuries of the Common Era. Therefore, the connection between grace and expressing gratitude in Armenian would not be a linguistic feature from PIE that must comply with factor (iii), but a shared linguistic feature influenced by a shared cultural institution. The surrounding regions adopted Islam in the centuries of and after the Muslim conquest. An interesting topic for further research would be to explore the history of writing in the region to the North, East, and South of the Caucasus, to see what effect the advent of different forms of

writing might have had on local culture. Nevertheless, the prevalence of religions other than Christianity resulted in diminished European influence in the other eastern IE language regions. These same regions use VEGs that are not derived from or related to grace, as the data shows in Armenian and Georgian. I suggest the cultural impact of Greek and Orthodox Christianity as an explanation for why this grace-gratitude connection is not found in the other eastern IE languages as it is in Armenian and Georgian.

5.3 Celtic Verbal Expressions of Gratitude

The modern Celtic language VEGs do not show intense external influence nor do they show many internal patterns across the family. The Celtic VEGs form an array of expressions ranging from well wishing such as Irish ‘*go raibh maith agat*’ ‘good things for you’ to Breton *trugarez* ‘mercy.’ The patterns in Breton and Welsh show the most external influence. Table 7, shown below, gives examples of the Celtic languages’ expressions of gratitude, found on Jennifer’s Language Page.

Breton stands out from the other Celtic languages as it primarily an idiom paralleled only by French to express gratitude instead of a phrase. This noun, *trugarez*, is contextually equivalent to *thanks* in English but the original meaning of *trugarez* is *mercy* (cf. Scot. *tròcair* – ‘pity, compassion,’ Welsh *drugaredd* – ‘mercy’) just as the primary meaning of *merci* was in an earlier period of French. Just as in modern French, *trugarez* means ‘thank you’ in present usage. The last form given in table 7, *mersi dit*, is a partial French loan. These data imply French influence on Breton, as one can likely rule out Breton influence on French due to the absence of *mercy* as gratitude in the other Celtic languages.

Romano-French influence appears elsewhere in Celtic in Cornish in which the verb *grassa* appears to be a loan of ‘grace,’ though it likely arrived in Cornish through English. Cornish also features the words *gwramassi* and *gromerci*, both of which appear to be loans of the English *gramercy*, which is an Anglicization of the French phrase *grand merci* ‘great mercy.’

Table 7
Celtic expressions of gratitude

Language	Expression of Gratitude	Gloss
Breton	Trugarez	*mercy, pardon, grace
	Trugarez deoc'h	*mercy to you
	Trugarez dit	*mercy to you
	Mersi dit	*mercy to you
	Ho trugarekaat	*remercier vous
Cornish	grassa	grace (v)
	godhvos gras dhe	knowledge and grace to you
	merastawhy	*great virtue to you
	meur ras	great virtue
	meur ras dhis	great virtue to you
	meurastaji	great virtue to you
	gromerci dhis	*great mercy to you
	duw re dallo dhywgh-why	may God reward you
	durdaladhehweil	contraction of above
	durdala dywy	contraction of above
durdaladawhy	contraction of above	
gwra'massi	*great mercy	
Irish	Go raibh maith agat/agaibh	Good things for you
	Go raibh míle maith agat/agaibh	Many good things for you
Manx	Gura mie eu	Good things for you
	Gura mie mooar ayd	Great things for you
Scots Gaelic	Tapadh leat	smart of you
	Tapadh leibh	smart of you
	Taing mhór	great thanks
	Móran taing	great thanks
Welsh	Diolch	thanks
	Diolch yn fawr	thanks a lot
	Diolch yn fawr iawn	thank you very much
	Diolch o gal(l)on	lit. cordial/heartly thanks

I have not been able to trace an etymology for the Welsh VEG *diolch*. However, in the course of research it occurred to me that *diolch* may not be a verb (in origin) at all, but a verbalized prepositional VEG meaning “to you,” as in the English “here’s to you.” Moreover, it would then be the same as, or similar to, the forms found in the second half of many of the Celtic expressions of gratitude.

The Insular Celtic languages are well known to have prepositions inflected for person. The indirect object preposition ‘to’ in the Celtic languages is generally formed from a voiced dental stop (or interdental fricative) and a vowel. If one supposes that ‘to/for’ is inflected for the 2nd person plural which tends to inflect as a voiceless velar fricative /kh/ or voiceless palatal fricative /sh/, then the Welsh VEG *diolch* looks conspicuously similar to these forms. Compare the different forms in table 8 below.

Table 8
Diolch and ‘to/for you’ in the Celtic languages

Language	<i>diolch</i>	translation	prep.	prep. + 2 nd person	translation	pronunciation
Breton	*	to/for	da	deoc’h	to/for you	/de’okh/
Cornish	*	to/for	dhe	dhywgh	to/for you	/dhiwkh/
Irish Gaelic	*	to/for	do	daoibhse	to/for you	/divshe/
Manx	*	to/for	da	diuish	to/for you	/diwsh/
Scottish Gaelic	*	to/for	do	dhuibhse	to/for you	/ghuv/
Welsh		to/for	i	i chi, iwch, ichwi	to/for you	/i khi/ , /iwch/ /ichwi/
	<i>diolch</i>	thanks	*	*	*	/d ^h olkh/

5.4 Indo-Iranian Verbal Expressions of Gratitude

The IE languages of Asia and the manner in which they express gratitude generally appear to be involved in language areas of their own, with their own received patterns for expressing gratitude. Most of these patterns seem to be based in Arabic expressions, for which the Muslim conquest of central and south Asia in the seventh century c.e. is a likely explanation for the development of these forms. I think this also provides an interesting parallel to the religious influences that affected the SAE languages.

Tajik uses the Arabic loanword *rahmat* ‘mercy,’ while Farsi uses the Arabic *teshakkur*. Hindi and Urdu use a Sanskrit construction *dhanyavâd*, which comes from the words *dhanya* ‘blessed’ and *vâda* ‘word.’

Farsi and Tajik use the PVEG /teshekkur kardan/ ‘do thanking.’ The object of the verb /kardan/, /teshekkur/ is an Arabic verbal noun composed of the Arabic verbal noun marker /te-/ and the Arabic tri-consonantal root /sh-k-r/ which primarily means of ‘thanks, gratefulness.’

Table 9 below shows VEGs from 4 of the largely Indo-Iranian languages.

Table 9
Indo-Iranian VEGs

Language	VEG	Language of origin	Etymology
Farsi	teshekkur kardan	Arabic	“thanks, gratitude”
Hindi	dhanyavad	Sanskrit	“blessed word”
Tajik	teshekkur kardan	Arabic	“thanks, gratitude”
Urdu	dhanyavad	Sanskrit	“blessed word”

6. Non-Indo-European VEGs

In order to satisfy the constraints of individuality in sprachbund theory, the shared features found in the European VEGs must not be common among the languages of the world. Therefore an examination of unrelated neighboring and distantly located languages is necessary to support the thesis that the VEGs seen above are regional entities that imply shared areal typology. In many cases the languages of the world are quite different, but in other cases, distantly located languages show forms that have clearly been adopted from European languages. Often these languages are spoken in regions that have been colonized at some point in their history by speakers of European languages.

6.1 Immediately Neighboring Languages and Shared Features

Neighboring non-IE European languages, such as Finnish, Hungarian, and Maltese appear to have adopted aspects of neighboring VEGs. In all three situations there is demonstrable cultural contact that would give rise to shared linguistic features. Slavic missionary work may have contributed to the development of the Finnish VEG. Hungary is located in the heart of Central Europe, was a major part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and shares in the longtime religious and cultural patterns of Central Europe. Maltese has been in close SAE language contact due to Malta's proximity and ties to Sicily.

However, other non-IE language VEGs such as those in Basque and Estonian have unclear relationships or seem to be unrelated. In this section I will examine the neighboring languages of Europe and argue that language exchange has occurred, but that the languages of SAE are distinct from their neighbors.

6.1.1 Basque

Basque is an isolated language located in the Pyrenees mountain range of southwestern Europe. It is not genetically Indo-European, although it has adopted a number of words from neighboring IE languages (cf. Latin *laudem* ‘praise,’ Basque ‘*laudorio*.’) The expression of gratitude in Basque *eskerrak* does not seem to be clearly influenced by any of the SAEH languages. Semantically, it seems to be most closely related to ‘appreciate’ (cf. *eskerrak*, *eskerrona*, and *eskertzen* ‘thank,’ ‘gratitude,’ and ‘appreciate,’ respectively.)

6.1.2 Estonian

Estonian and Finnish are Finnic languages located along the Baltic Sea. Both languages have an unclear relationship in terms of areal typology and VEGs. There is a possible relationship between the VEGs in Finnish and Slavic, while Estonian appears to be less related.

Estonian has the VEG *tänada*. Based on the presence of an initial dental and medial nasal, *tänada* could be related to Ger. *danken*, as it seems that Estonian loans tend to drop voiced consonants in sources in favor of voiceless consonants in the initial position, (cp. Ger. *bild* > Est. *pilt* ‘picture,’ Ger. *bank* > Est. *pank* ‘bank.’) If this etymology is correct though, it remains unclear why the Estonian VEG would lack the nasal-velar cluster /nk/, as Estonian seems to be capable of preserving –nk- clusters in loans, as is evident in *pank*.

Moreover, derivation from the Baltic languages does not seem likely given the forms of the Baltic VEG derivatives of MHG *danc*. The Lithuanian VEG is not a likely source for the Estonian VEG. The Lithuanian VEG root has a voiced dental /d/ in the initial position, lacks a nasal /n/ in the medial position, and ends in voiceless velar /k/, (cf. Lith. *dekoti*). Likewise, the

Latvian VEG is too dissimilar to be the origin of the Estonian VEG. The Latvian VEG *pateikties* is derived from the stem *teikt*, which means ‘to say’ (cf. Lat. *dicere*, “to say, tell,” Grk. *deikhnunai* “to show,” Lith. *teigt* “assert.”)

The Scandinavian VEGs, Norwegian *Takk*, Swedish *tack*, and Danish *tak* are more similar to the Lithuanian VEGs than to the Estonian VEG and can be ruled out under the same argument as the Lithuanian VEGs. Given that the Old Norse expression of gratitude had already lost its nasal, it is equally unlikely that it was adopted from Scandinavian speakers, though it is possible that it was adopted in the middle ages and preserved the nasal –n- but lost the velar –k-. However, as the Russian and Finnish VEGs are wholly different, and unlikely candidates, this leaves the possibility of German. German is a likely source for the Estonian VEG, if it is adopted, as the German speaking Hanseatic League held influence along Estonia’s long Baltic coast.

6.1.3 Finnish

The Finnish VEG *kiittää* is unlike the VEGs in the neighbouring languages of the sibling Finnic language Estonian, the Balto-Slavic, and Germanic families. However, *kiittää* functions similarly to the west South Slavic VEGs. Both sets of VEGs are used to express gratitude but primarily mean ‘to praise.’

6.1.4 Hungarian

The non-IE language Hungarian does not show strong influence in the VEG forms. However, I suggest that the word for the concept of gratitude, *hála*, is an IE loan from the Slavic

root *hvala* /χvala/ ‘praise.’ The Hungarian VEG ‘köszönöm’ is a form unrelated to *hála* based in the root ‘köszön,’ which means ‘greet.’

6.1.5 Maltese

Maltese has the VEG ‘nirringrazzja,’ which seems to be a clear adoption of the Italian ‘ringraziare,’ *to thank*. Maltese is a case where a non-IE/non-SAEH language has adopted a good deal of IE/SAEH patterning due to proximity to SAEH over the last 1100 years. ‘Nirringrazzja’ is an adaptation of It. *Ringraziare*, combined with Maltese features described in (Spagnol 2011), i.e. a Maltese geminated (former initial) consonant /r/, a supplied initial vowel /i/, and the suffix –ja which appears to be a verb marker. There is also an initial /n/ that appears to be an imperfective marker (Spagnol 2011.)

6.1.6 Turkish

The PVEG *teşekkür etmek* glossed as ‘thanks to do’ is the default verbal expression of gratitude in Turkish. *Teşekkür etmek* is a phrasal verb composed of the Arabic loan *teşekkür* and the infinitive form of the verb *etmek*, which may then be marked for person, tense, and aspect. *Teşekkür* is a loan of the Arabic verbal noun *tashakur* ‘to be thankful for,’ *Teşekkür* also appears in Azeri, which is a close relative of Turkish, and Farsi, an Indo-Iranian language. These loans likely originate in the Ottoman adoption of Islam and aspects of Arabic culture.

6.2 Distant Languages and Shared Features

Other non-IE languages taken from distant regions show EG patterns that are different in origin and meaning from the European VEGs. *To thank* in Swahili is *shukuru* (Rajki 2005). This word can be reconstructed from the Arabic verb *shakara* and thus fits Swahili into the large number of languages that use Arabic origin expressions of gratitude. The root *sh-k-r* has no other meaning than the expression of gratitude, which makes it unlike any of the SAEH VEGs, which tend to be derived from words with primary meanings other than thanking. Another frequent Arabic origin EG is that of *rahmat*, which means mercy, compassion, and forgiveness. This is found in Kazakh */rahmet sizge/*, Kyrgyz */chong rakhmat/*, Tajik */rahmat/*, Uygur */rähmät sizgä/*, and Uzbek *rahmat*.

Mandarin Chinese uses a derived EG, 感謝, */gǎnxiè/*, which appears to be derived from a statement of feeling a sense of shame. Two common Japanese EGs are *arigato*, which originally meant something along the lines of “it is difficult,” and *sumimasen*, which means “I’m sorry.”

7. SAE VEG Responses

While there are many different VEGs in the European languages, there are two ubiquitous Verbal Expressions of Gratitude Responses, or VEGRs. The first VEGR is a negating interjection in the pattern of “for nothing,” “of nothing,” or “no matter.” The second VEGR is a propitiating verbal construction, as in the German *bitte* “please.” This appears in every major SAE family and in the majority of those languages therein, while the propitiating VEGR is less common, but still widely found. This propitiating VEGR is frequently translated as “I beg, plead, ask, pray, or entreat” in English and is apparent in the Slavic, Germanic, and Romance families,

as well as in Armenian. VEGRs of both types are found throughout the world and generally do not offer significant data in favor of the argument that VEGRs reflect specific areal typologies that suggest sprachbunds.

7.1 Germanic VEG Responses

I analyze the Germanic VEGRs as belonging to three general categories of response: *negation*, *propitiation*, and *minimization*, although there is a fourth category, *personal reception*, which occurs primarily in English. This category of reception, as in ‘you’re welcome’, historically means that someone’s coming is good, but is a recent development: the OED lists the first recorded use of ‘you’re welcome’ in 1907. I have not found a definitive VEGR before 1907 for the English language, but it is likely that phrases such as ‘it’s nothing’ and ‘please’ were used.

The Germanic VEGRs display several patterns. Pattern 1 is the set of negation in which some internal Germanic patterns can be observed as well as some external parallels. The internal Germanic patterns are shown in the German and Scandinavian VEGRs *keine ursache* ‘no cause’ and *ingen årsag/årsak/orsak*. ‘no cause.’ These specific VEGRs which mean “no cause” all share a common etymology. Dutch *geen dank* ‘thank not,’ German *nichts zu danken* ‘nothing to thank,’ Icelandic *ekkert að þakka* ‘nothing to thank,’ and Swedish *inget att tacka för* ‘nothing to thank for’ are also members of the negating set and share a similar pattern of saying there is *nothing to thank* as opposed to *no cause to thank*. *Nichts zu danken* draws interesting parallels to the forms found in the Romance and Slavic families. *Nichts* is a negative adverb constructed out of a MHG genitive singular word *nih(e)s* meaning ‘of nothing.’ This phrase ‘of nothing’ is

found throughout the Romance languages as in Fr. *de rien* and It. *di niente* and is similar in meaning to the Slavic ‘of nothing.’ (e.g. Russian /*nich’ivo*/) All four phrases convey the greater meaning of “there is nothing for which to thank,” in addition to the negating English phrases “no problem, don’t mention it.”

Pattern 2 is the set of propitiating phrases found in English, German, Norwegian and Swedish. Again there are two different patterns, one in which the same expression that is used to politely ask for something (cf. Eng. *please*, Ger. *bitte*) is used as a VEGR. This is done under specific circumstances in English but it is common in German. These forms are more common in the Romance languages and West Slavic languages.

The other subset of Pattern 2 is equivalent to another means in which one may politely ask for something in English, that is, *be so kind*. These Norwegian and Swedish VEGRs, *vær så god* ‘be so good’ and *var så god* ‘be so good,’ are also very similar to that which is found in Ukrainian, *Будь ласка* /*bud’ laska*/ ‘be kind.’

Pattern 3 is the set of minimizing VEGRs that occur in Danish, English, and Swedish. These two VEGRs, *det var så lidt* and *det var så lite* both mean ‘it was so small.’ I believe these two VEGRs are similar in meaning to ‘it’s nothing (too great),’ and serve as an alternate to negation. English has several minimizing VEGRS such as ‘it’s the least I could do’, ‘no problem’, and ‘my pleasure’, all of which show the gratitude exchange was not a hindrance.

The Germanic VEGRs are featured in Table 10 below.

Table 10
Germanic gratitude responses

Language	Expression of Gratitude	Gloss
Dutch	geen dank graag gedaan	“no thank” “gladly done”
English	(please,) it’s nothing (please,) it’s the least I could do you’re welcome it’s nothing no problem don’t mention it my pleasure	
German	bitte bitte sehr bitte schön nichts zu danken keine Ursach	“please” “please very” “please well” “nothing to thank” “no cause”
Icelandic	ekkert að þakka	“nothing to thank”
Danish	det var så lidt ingen årsag	“it was so little” “no cause”
Norwegian	ingen årsak vær så god	“no cause” “be so good”
Swedish	det var så lite inget att tacka för ingen orsak var så god	“it was so little” “nothing to thank for” “no cause” “be so good”

7.2 Baltic and Slavic VEG Responses

The Baltic and Slavic gratitude responses are uniform in that they involve either a propitiating response or a negating response. Similar to the VEGs, there are three patterns that are used in the propitiating VEGRs – a pattern that corresponds with the territory covered by the West Slavic/Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth regional pattern, South Slavic regional pattern, and the East Slavic region regional pattern.

Pattern 1 is found in the modern Slavic languages, most of which are located in the region of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. This VEGR is equivalent to the English “I ask.” This word does not have the secondary meaning of “I pray” that is seen in French, Italian, et al. although it is interesting to note that the Slavic and Lithuanian words in this pattern are derived from the reconstructed Indo-European stem **prek-* which means “to ask,” and from which the English ‘pray,’ French *prier*, and Italian *prego* are all ultimately derived.

Unlike the West Slavic languages, but similar to the Romance languages, the South Slavic languages tend to use a word */mol-/* that bears a relationship to “I pray.” In Serbo-Croatian, *‘moliti’* means ‘to ask for’ when in its transitive verb form and ‘to pray’ when in its reflexive verb form. However, in Bulgarian and Macedonian, it means primarily ‘to pray’, and not typically ‘to ask’.

Several Romance VEGRs maintain a similar relationship as both the Italian VEGR *prego* and the French *prier* are derived from the Latin verb *precari* meaning “to ask, beg, entreaty”. *Prier*, seen as a VEGR in the French phrase *je vous en prie*, maintains the usage of *prie* (from *prier*) meaning both to “to pray” and “to beg, beseech,” just as the Italian VEGR *prego* which variably means “to pray,” or “to beg.”

There is also the phrase *пожалуйста* /*pozhal'usta*/ which is found only in Russian, where it means 'please.'

The pattern 2 VEGR is the negating pattern is found across Europe. In the Slavic languages it appears in essentially similar forms. Those forms are either "there is nothing for it" or "not for it." The Slavic VEGRs are found in Table 11 below.

Table 11
Baltic & Slavic Gratitude Responses

Language	VEGR	Transliteration	Gloss
Belorussian	Няма за што	njama za shto	“there is no for what”
Bulgarian	Моля	molya	“I ask/pray”
	Няма за што	njama za shto	“there is no for what”
Croatian	нема на чему		“there is no for what”
Czech	Prosím, nemate zač		“I ask” “not at all”
Macedonian	молам, нема на што	Molam nema na shto	“I ask/pray” “there is no for what”
Polish	proszę, Proszę bardzo Nie ma za co		“I ask” “I ask well” “not for what”
Russian	Не за что, Пожалуйста	ne za shto pozhalujsta	“not for what” “please”
Serbian	Молим нема на чему	molim nema na chemu	“I pray” “not for what”
Slovak	nieť za čo prosím		“not for what” “I ask”
Slovenian	ni za kaj prosim		“not for what” “I ask”
Ukrainian	Прошу будь ласка	proshu bud’ laska	“I ask be so kind”
Lithuanian	Prašom Nėra už ką		“I ask” “there is no for what”
Latvian	Lūdzu		“I ask, beg, pray”

7.3 Romance VEG Responses

The set of Romance VEGRs varies around three patterns – negation in the majority of the Romance languages, expressions of pleasure in French and Romanian, and propitiation in French and Italian. The VEGRs are not as uniform in the Romance languages as they are in the Slavic languages, although, once more, negation is prominent.

Pattern 1 is the set of negating VEGRs. The Fr. *rien* and Cata. *res* both mean ‘nothing,’ although these modern meanings are not reflected in their origin. The origin of both words is the

Latin word *res*, meaning ‘thing.’ Similar to the English construction *nothing*, *rien* was preceded by *ne* as in *ne rien*, as in *no thing* in Old French. Both Lat. *res* and Eng. *thing* were associated with legal matters, assembly, and governance although they came to broadly mean a non-descript object. The proximity of Catalonia to France implies the possibility of areal exchange, although it is just as likely that this is evidence of a sub-Romance continuum. These words appear in the VEGRs *de res* and *de rien*, similar to the Spanish and Italian constructions *de nada* and *de niente*.

French, Galician, Portuguese, Romanian, and Spanish possess another form of negating VEGR that is very similar to that of the Slavic languages. In French, Galician, Portuguese, and Spanish it appears in the form of “there is not of what” rather than the “there is not for what” form found in the Slavic languages. In Romanian, 2nd person negative constructions *n-ai/aveti* ‘you do not have’ and a prepositional phrase *de ce* ‘of what’ or *pentru ce* ‘for what,’ are used rather than impersonal 3rd person constructions (cf. Span. *no hay de qué*, Port. *não há de quê*).

Pattern 2 is the set of the French and Romanian VEGRs that pose a comment on expressed gratitude. The French form *avec plaisir* and the Romanian form *cu plăcere* are similar to *with pleasure* in English. Pattern 3 of the Romance VEGRs are the French and Italian VEGRs *je t’/vous en prie* “I pray/beg/ask something of you” and *prego* “I pray/beg/ask respectively. These two forms share the same propitiating meaning of ‘I beg’ or ‘I pray.’ Table 12 below lists VEGRs for the Romance languages.

Table 12
Romance Gratitude Responses

	<i>Romance VEGR</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
Catalan	de res	“of nothing”
French	de rien	“of nothing”
	il n'y a pas de quoi	“there is not of what”
	je t'/vous en prie avec Plaisir	“I beg/pray you” “with pleasure”
Galician	de nada	“you're welcome”
	no hai de que	“there is not of what”
Italian	prego	“I pray”
	di niente	“of nothing”
Portuguese	não há de quê	“there is not of what”
Romanian	cu plăcere	“with pleasure”
	n-ai pentru ce	“you do not have for it”
	n-ai/aveti de ce	“you do not have of it”
Spanish	de nada	“of nothing”
	no hay de qué	“there is no of what”

8. Non-SAEH^β VEGRs

In this section, I will briefly examine gratitude responses in non-European languages that are Indo-European and Non-Indo-European. Sprachbund theory necessitates examining data outside of the area of focus to determine the status of a feature, but as stated earlier, the VEGRs do not provide unique evidence regarding areal typology in Europe the way VEGs do.

8.1 Armenian VEGRs

The Armenian VEGRs are similar to the SAEH VEGRs ‘to propitiate’ and ‘to negate.’ First, Armenian uses the VEGR խնդրեմ /*khntrem*/ ‘I plead,’ which Sakayan (2007) glosses խնդրեմ /*khntrem*/ as ‘to ask, implore, request, and entreat’ (cf. German *bitte*.) The second form չարժե /*charzi*/ ‘don’t mention it’ (Sakayan 2007) is not directly related to the Armenian word for ‘nothing’ as we see in Spanish or Italian VEGRs, but it does have the same negating effect.

As I have found no published etymological data for /*charzi*/, I propose the etymology of a contraction of the negative particle չ /*ch*/ ‘not’ and the 3rd person singular verb արժե /*arzhe*/ ‘cost, worth’ which gives it a negating meaning of ‘it doesn’t cost,’ similar to the European VEGs and VEGRs based on ‘owe’ (e.g. Eng. ‘you don’t owe me a thing.’)

8.2 Greek VEGRs

The Greek VEGR παρακαλώ /*parakalo*/ ‘I ask, beg, pray’ is very similar to the patterns seen elsewhere in the proposed SAEH languages in that it is a propitiating VEGR. There is a Greek PVEGR δεν κάνει τίποτα /*dhen kanei tipota*/ which means ‘it’s nothing,’ although, literally ‘it does nothing,’ the phrase is much closer to Armenian. The phrase is composed of a negative particle δεν /*dhen*/, a verb κάνει /*kanei*/ and a pronoun τίποτα /*tipota*/ meaning ‘something, anything, nothing.’ The verb κάνει /*kanei*/ primarily means ‘do, make’ however it also means ‘cost’ when paired with πόσο /*poso*/ ‘how much,’ in which case the phrase is nearly identical to the suggested etymology of the Armenian /*charzi*/ ‘it doesn’t cost.’

8.3 Albanian VEGR

The Albanian VEGRs behave in the same manner as Greek and the other languages so far examined. There is a polite propitiating phrase ‘*ju lutem*’ ‘I ask, pray, beg’ which is also used as the English ‘please’ and a negating phrase *asgjë* which means ‘nothing.’ This follows the established pattern for VEGRs in Europe. The Latvian form *ludzu* functions similarly to *lutem* and may in fact be a relative, given other similarities between Latvian and Albanian, I regard this as an intriguing possibility, though the Arabic *lutfen*, arriving through the Ottoman Turkish of

the Ottoman Empire may also be a possible etymological origin. However, I argue that this is a less likely origin do to its narrow range of meanings.

8.4 Farsi VEGRs

Farsi uses the minimizing VEGR *ک نم مي خواهش* /*man khashesh mikonam*/ ‘I reduce,’ which could be seen as an exception to the analysis above. Moreover, Hindi uses a negating VEGR ‘*koi baat nahin*’ glossed literally ‘something, it is not.’ This similarly indicates that there may be some underlying patterns in IE VEGRs, or morphosemantic patterns to which gratitude and response phrases are prone. The Farsi VEGR as well as other non-SAEH IE VEGRs are listed in Table 13 below.

Table 13
Non-SAEH IE VEGRs

<i>Language</i>	<i>Transliterated VEGR</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
Armenian	/khntrem/ /charzi/	“please < I ask, implore, request, entreat” “don’t mention it.”
Albanian	Lutem	“please < I ask, I pray
Breton	da netra	“of nothing”
Farsi	/khashesh kardan/	“I reduce”
Greek	/parakalo/ /dhen kanei tipota/	“please < I ask, implore” “not does nothing”
Hindi	/koi baat nahin/	“something, it is not”
Irish Gaelic	ná habair é	“don’t mention it”
Scots Gaelic	‘s e do bheatha	“it’s your life”
Welsh	ddim problem	“no problem”

8.5 Celtic VEGRs

The lack of unity in the Celtic VEGRs and the Breton and Welsh VEGRs make a strong case for the areal nature of European VEGs and VEGRs. The Breton and Welsh VEGRs show the influence of French and English VEGRs respectively. *Ddim problem* in Welsh correlates clearly to English ‘no problem,’ using the English *problem* in both phrases. The Breton VEGR *da netra* is unlike any of the other Celtic VEGRs but functions similarly to the French ‘de rien,’ likely due to the close contact that Breton and French have had. The Scots Gaelic ‘*s e do bheatha*’ VEGRs rather original and unlike any other VEGR seen in this paper, which accords with the generally unrelated position Celtic takes in the SAEH, although the Irish Gaelic VEGR *na habair e* ‘*don’t mention it*’ is less unique. The Celtic and non-SAEH IE VEGRs are listed in Table 13 above.

8.6 Non-SAEH Non-IE VEGRs

Modern Standard Turkish follows the proposed SAEH pattern. Common responses to gratitude in Turkish are *lütfen*, and *rica ederim*. Both *lütfen* ‘*be nice*’ and *rica ederim* ‘*I ask*’ are propitiating terms. *Lütfen* is used in both asking for something and in responding to gratitude. *Lütfen* is an Arabic loan that is derived from the Arabic *latafa*, “to be kind and friendly.” *Rica ederim* is semantically similar to the propitiating gratitude response verbs in SAE, that is, ‘ask, request, sue, plead, petition, and pray.’ Other Turkic languages such as Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Turkmen, and Uzbek use forms that are borrowed from the Arabic word *rahmat* instead of *rica ederim* (Rudelson 2008.) Turkish also has a negating expression *bir şey değil*, ‘it is not a thing,’ but this VEGR is less common than *lütfen* and *rica ederim*. Interestingly, while Azerbaijani

generally uses VEGRs similar to those found in Turkish, it also has another viable response to an expression of gratitude is *xoş gəldiniz*, which literally means ‘you come well’ as in English.

Hungarian uses a negative VEGR in the phrase *nincs mit* ‘it is nothing.’ A negating VEGR also exists in Estonian by means of the phrase *pole tänu väärt* or [not thanks worthy] but Estonian does not have a propitiating response.

Arabic, too, uses a negative VEGR */afwan/*, ‘it is nothing,’ although Arabic seems to lack a commonly used propitiating phrase. In the next section, I will examine the contact history of the SAE languages and their VEG parallels.

9. Contact situations and VEG Lexeme Borrowing

There are three regional patterns of VEG distribution in Europe. The Germanic VEGs are largely uninfluenced and homogeneous in the north. The Romance and Greek VEGs share a common root and are otherwise uninfluenced and homogeneous in their respective regions in the south. However, the Slavic VEGs are not homogeneous: I suggest that they are a composite of Germanic influence in the West Slavic and westernmost East Slavic and Greek influence in the easternmost south Slavic and East Slavic languages. There is a connection between these regions, their languages, and their religious institutions. There are further connections between the Greek VEG and Armenian and Georgian VEGs that reinforce the idea that the VEG patterns behave regionally due to the spread of religion.

In essence, the regions that adopted the western Roman Catholic Church tend to use western VEGs from either the Romance or Germanic languages. The regions that adopted the Eastern Orthodox Church, and similar orthodoxies, initially tend to use VEGs that I suggest are

derived from Greek. In this section, I will examine the contact situations that I suggest led to the development of these patterns.

9.1 The Germano-Slavic Contact Situation and VEG Lexical Borrowing

The West Slavic family comprises the Czech, Polish, Slovak, and Sorbian languages. A key difference between the West and East Slavic languages is the use of the Roman script in West Slavic and the Cyrillic script in the East Slavic languages. This division reflects the role of organized religion in the first two millennia of the Common Era and the relationship between religion and the different Slavic languages and cultures. This is best summarized in Migdalski (2006, 6):

“The contemporary division of Slavic languages has both historical and linguistic motivations. Historically, it is related to the influence of the Byzantium culture and the Orthodox religion on Bulgaria, Macedonia, Russia, Ukraine, and Byelorussia, and the Latin/Roman culture. The current states of Croatia, the Czech Republic, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, and the area of Lusatia in the eastern parts of Germany were influenced by the Catholic or the Protestant creed. In theological or culture studies the split is referred to as *Slavia Orthodoxa* versus *Slavia Romana* (cf. Dalewska-Greń 1997: 560), and in fact it cuts through the group of the South Slavic languages. For example, speakers of Slovene and Croatian belong to *Slavia Romana*, while speakers of Serbian, Bulgarian, and Macedonian belong to *Slavia Orthodoxa*. The division is also evident in the alphabetical systems that are used. The languages of *Slavia Orthodoxa* are codified in the Cyrillic script, whereas the languages of *Slavia Romana* use the Latin alphabet.”

According to Lunt (2001) *Old Church Slavonic Grammar*, western influence in the Slavic territories began when Prince Rostislav of Moravia petitioned the Byzantine Emperor

Michael III for missionaries to teach his people “the law” in Moravia’s “own language,” or what would have been a late stage of Common Slavic.¹ Michael III sent the missionaries Cyril and Methodius to serve as instructors of Orthodox law in the region. During this time, the brothers “elaborated an alphabet, translated the most important liturgical books, and started to train Moravians for the clergy.” (Lunt 2001, I)

Traditionally, Cyril and Methodius are credited with developing the Cyrillic alphabet and facilitating the spread of the Eastern Orthodox Church. However, the two brothers eventually went to Rome where the Pope received them favorably. Poulik (1978, 161) states:

“For Prince Rostislav, this political purpose had to be clearly seen, and he strove therefore for an independent church administration, even a bishopric, in Moravia. First of all, he tried to expel the Bavarian clerics, and then applied to Pope Nicholas I in Rome, requesting a bishop for his realm. The pope rejected his demand, having regard to the interests of the Frankish Kingdom. However, Rostislav did not abandon his scheme, and approached the Byzantine Emperor Michael III who then, with the Patriarch Photios, acceded to his request by sending a mission in 863 led by the learned priests Constantine, called the Philosopher, and his brother Methodius.”

Rostoslav was attempting to preserve Moravian interests from the west, but his attempts would have the opposite effect and assure greater influence from the west in the end. After the death of Cyril, who favored by the pope in Rome, and later Methodius, Frankish clergy, with the blessings of the Pope, moved into Moravia and expelled the remaining pro-Slavic Methodian faction, which ensured Frankish/Germanic influence in Moravia. From Moravia, the Germanic

¹ Rostoslav ruled Moravia at the end of the 9th century c.e. Common Slavic had begun to break up by this point. Migdalski (2006, 9)

and Roman Catholic clergy expanded into Poland. This led to the development of Slavia Romana in the west and two consequent developments: the adoption of Catholicism starting in the 10th century and the eventual development of a Slavic-appropriate Roman alphabet. However, the rest of Eastern Europe adopted the Cyrillic alphabet and Eastern Orthodoxy.

In the following centuries, the region of Slavia Romana called Greater Moravia grew to an extent that it encompassed parts of Austria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia and Ukraine. This development is critical to the argument that the verbal expressions of gratitude spread through areal contact. The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, which developed out of Greater Moravia and Slavia Romana, provides a viable vehicle for the spread of the derivatives of MHG *danc* into the languages of the Baltic and East Slavic regions. I would argue that this is a language union of its own development, no less valid than any of the SAEH regions. There are certain lexico-cultural patterns that are shared and unique to the region in addition to the VEGs such as a non-Roman calendar system, and a possible Germano-Slavic system of expressing necessity in words built around the consonant root *t-r-b*.

9.2 The Greco-Slavic Contact Situation and VEG Lexical Borrowing

The other borrowing pattern in the Slavic languages involves the adoption of a Greek calque in the eastern most South Slavic and East Slavic languages. The calque /*blagodarit*¹/ appears across the regions of Slavia Orthodoxa that were largely unaffected by the western missionary work (i.e. Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Russia.) The languages of the former Yugoslavia, however, use what is likely a native VEG, and do not exhibit Greek influence on their VEGs.

9.3 The Greco-Armenian Contact Situation and VEG Lexical Borrowing

The Armenian VEGs function in a manner identical to the Greco-Romance VEGs that associate gratitude with grace. Armenia was one of the first churches to adopt Christianity, the texts of which were commonly written in Greek. As in the case of the Slavic languages, the Armenian alphabet is said to have been based on the Greek alphabet, and created by a 6th century Armenian monk attempting to reach the Armenian people in their own language. Therefore, I suggest that the origin of the connection between grace and gratitude in Armenian is a preservation of the translation of early Christian materials into Armenian from Greek.

10. Conclusion

This research paper aimed to argue that there are multiple overlapping sprachbunds in Europe rather than one large SAE sprachbund. The existence of grounds for this argument is acknowledged by van der Auwera (2011). This paper provides evidence for his claim drawn from the patterns of VEGs across Europe and neighboring regions. For one, the pattern of the spread of VEGs appears to behave regionally in Eastern Europe rather than genetically. The spread patterns involve Germano-Slavic and Greco-Slavic contact. In both cases, the VEGs in question are derived from the languages of cultures that were involved in competing missionary work in Eastern Europe.

The conclusion is that Haspelmath's SAEH is a viable sprachbund on its own-- the evidence gathered by Haspelmath et al. is indicative of this conclusion. The flaw in SAE is in applying it to the European continent as a whole. I suggest that SAEH should be seen as a macro sprachbund for the European continent into which smaller regional sprachbunde fit. I argue that

the subordination system of the SAEH^a Core, Nucleus, Periphery does not accurately describe the contact situation in Europe, but rather that it serves to show the extent to which western European languages have interacted.

The data shows many regional patterns of intercultural language exchange, which are necessary to a sprachbund. Western Europe, and much of the territory of SAEH^a seems at first to be a homogenous mass of Romance genetic similarity. The majority of the territory of Western Europe was linguistically homogenized by the Roman Empire so of course we should expect a Romance linguistic bloc. However, the languages of this bloc's bordering regions show intense linguistic exchange regarding the VEGs. Celtic Breton and Germanic English have both borrowed VEGs from Romance French. Maltese in the far south of Europe clearly borrowed a Romance VEG, likely from Italic influence by way of the neighboring Sardinian.

To the north and east, the data show strong connections between Germanic and Balto-Slavic VEGs, particularly between Lithuanian, West Slavic, and West Germanic. This connection can be attributed to the influence of southeastern Germany and the Bohemia region. I suggest the post-Cyril and Methodius missionary work of the western Roman Catholic Church in Poland and the subsequent Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as the impetus for the development of Germanic VEGs into the Balto-Slavic languages. However, there are other factors such as the Hanseatic league, which influenced the economies across the Baltic Sea and which surely need to be considered.

To the southeast, the easternmost East and South Slavic, Bulgarian and Russian, languages tend to use Greco-Slavic VEGs. I suggest that this is a result of these regions adopting the Eastern Orthodoxy and its Greek elements in the 10th and 11th centuries. The westernmost

south Slavic languages are less influenced by outside sources in the matter of VEGs, as the form /hvaliti/ that is used appears to be a native Slavic root and to lack outside influence. This is very interesting, if true, as the western South Slavic languages are host to numerous cultural influences from ruling empires such as the Austro-Hungarian, Byzantine, and Ottoman empires to the majority religious influences of Roman Catholicism in Croatia, Islam in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Eastern Orthodoxy in Serbia and Montenegro. Despite these factors the languages of the former Yugoslavia tend to use their native VEGs, with the exception of Macedonian.

In the north, the Celtic languages show varying degrees of influence from French and English, whereas we would expect them to be necessarily different from anything SAE in SAEH^a. Non-IE languages within Europe, such as Hungarian, Maltese, and Turkish, share traits with their genetically unrelated neighbors, which is a definitive trait of a sprachbund. Yet distant world world, such as Arabic, Chinese, the Turkic family, and Swahili show different patterns.

This research paper thus shows that analysis of the verbal expressions of gratitude as a token of lexical, physical, and historical connections among the European languages leads to a different conclusion than the Western European hegemonic conclusion of the SAEH. Rather, I argue that it is a better analysis to consider each factor found in a region to be indicative of just that- a localized inter-language exchange.

In conclusion, I find that the data do not completely support Haspelmath (2001)'s definition of a sprachbund. Rather, in several aspects, such as shared non-genetic VEGs between Celtic and Romance and Greek and Armenian, they conflict. I argue that this conflict indicates several areas where Haspelmath's definition may be too stringent to acknowledge a valid cultural

and areal exchange in favor of a clear border for the sprachbund. Moreover, I think the idea of Europe as one large sprachbund may not be as valid as the idea of a region of many smaller, overlapping sprachbunde. While I still believe in the core concept of a European language union, I suggest that the SAEH^a would benefit from conceptually remapping itself from a central hub with less similar relatives on its periphery to a large composition of varied regional language unions.

11. References

- Campbell, L. (2004). *Historical linguistics: an introduction*. (2nd ed.) Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Campbell, L. (2006). Areal linguistics: a closer scrutiny. *Linguistic areas: convergence in historical and typological perspective*. Y. Matras, A. McMahon & N. Vincent eds. (pp. 1-31). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Fortson IV, B. (2004) *Indo-European language and culture: an introduction* (1st ed.) Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Gardner, S.C. (1965.) *German loanwords in Russian 1550-1690*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.
- Haspelmath M. (1998). How young is standard average European? *Language Sciences* 20(3). 271- 87.
- Haspelmath, M. (2001). The European Linguistic Area: Standard Average European. *Language Typology and Language Universals*. Vol. 2, M. Hapelmath et al. eds. (pp. 1492-1510). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Helbig, A., Buranbaeva, O., & Mladineo, V. (2009). *Culture and customs of Ukraine*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Hrabovsky, L. (2004). *Ukrainian-English, English-Ukrainian dictionary*. New York: Hippocrene Books.
- Lindstedt, J. (2000). Linguistic balkanization: contact-induced change by mutual reinforcement. *Languages in contact*, (pp. 231-246).
- Lunt, H. (1959) *Old church slavonic grammar* (2nd ed.) The Hague: Mouton & Co.
- Nasovichev, I. (1870) *Slovar'Byelorusskago Narechiya, "Dictionary of the Byelorussian" dialect* (1st edition) St. Peterburg: [Russian] Imperial Academy of Science.
- Pokorny, J. (1959). *Indogermanisches etymologisches woerterbuch*. (p. 478). Bern: A Francke.
- Poulik, J. (1978). The origins of Christianity in Slavonic countries north of the Middle Danube Basin. *World Archaeology*, 10(2), 158-171.
- Preobrazhensky, A.G. (1951). *Etymological dictionary of the Russian language*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Rajki, Andras. (2005) *Swahili Dictionary (with Etymologies)*. Publisher: Author.

Runner, J. (n.d.). "Thank you" in many languages. Retrieved January 23, 2016, from <http://users.elite.net/runner/jennifers/thankyou.htm>.

Starostin, G., & Starostin, S. (n.d.) The Tower of Babel Retrieved January 23, 2016, from <http://starling.rinet.ru/>.

van der Auwera, J. (2011) Standard average European. *The Languages and Linguistics of Europe: A Comprehensive Guide*. B. Kortmann & J. van der Auwera eds. (pp. 291-306). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Vasmer, M. (1955). *Russisches etymologisches woerterbuch*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.

Weekley E. (1921.) *An etymological dictionary of modern English*. London: J. Murray.

Winford, D. (2003.) *An introduction to contact linguistics*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.

The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology

Edited by T. F. Hoad, Publisher: Oxford University Press Print Publication Date: 1996
Print ISBN-13: 9780192830982 Published to Oxford Reference: 2003 Current
Online Version: 2012 eISBN: 9780191727153.

American heritage dictionary of the English language (5th ed.). (2015). S.L.: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.

Tseytlin, R. (1994). X. In *Staroslavjanskiy Slovar' (po rukopism X-XI vekov) "Old Slavonic Dictionary (from the Manuscripts of the 10th Centuries)*(1st ed., p. 760). Moscow: Institute of the Slavonic Studies and the Balkanistics of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

"thanks." *Wiktionary, The Free Dictionary*. Web. 23 Dec 2014
<<http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/thank>>.

"móran." *Am Faclair Beag*. Web. 23 Dec 2014.
<http://www.faclair.com/>

"taing." *Am Faclair Beag*. Web. 23 Dec 2014.
<http://www.faclair.com/>

"le." *Am Faclair Beag*. Web. 23 Dec 2014.
<http://www.faclair.com/>

“tapadh.” *Am Faclair Beag*. Web. 23 Dec 2014.
<http://www.faclair.com/>

“Diolch.” Geiriadur
<http://www.geiriadur.net/index.php?page=ateb&term=Diolch&direction=we&type=all&whichpart=exact>.

“o.” Geiriadur.
<http://www.geiriadur.net/index.php?page=ateb&term=Diolch&direction=we&type=all&whichpart=exact>.

“iawn.” *Wiktionary, The Free Dictionary*. Web. 23 Dec 2014
<http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/iawn>.

“Fawr.” *Wiktionary, The Free Dictionary*. Web. 23 Dec 2014
<http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/fawr>.

“yn.” *Wiktionary, The Free Dictionary*. Web. 23 Dec 2014
<http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/yn#Welsh>.

“go.” *Foclair* Web. 23 Dec 2014
<http://www.teanglann.ie/en/fgb/go>.

“ag.” *Wiktionary, The Free Dictionary*. Web. 23 Dec 2014
<http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/ag#Irish>.

“raibh.” *Wiktionary, The Free Dictionary*. Web. 23 Dec 2014
<http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/raibh>.

“maith.” *Wiktionary, The Free Dictionary*. Web. 23 Dec 2014
<http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/maith>.

“neur.” *Wiktionary, The Free Dictionary*. Web. 23 Dec 2014
<http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/neur#Cornish>.

“ras”
http://www.cornishdictionary.org.uk/browse?field_word_value=ras.

“trugarez.”
<https://en.glosbe.com/br/en/Trugarez>.

“deoc’h”
<https://en.glosbe.com/br/en/deoc'h>.

“dit.”

<https://en.glosbe.com/br/en/dit>.

“eu.” *Wiktionary, The Free Dictionary*. Web. 23 Dec 2014
<http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/eu#Manx>.

“ayd.” *Wiktionary, The Free Dictionary*. Web. 23 Dec 2014
<http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/ayd>.

“gura.” *Wiktionary, The Free Dictionary*. Web. 23 Dec 2014
<http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/gura>.

“mie.”
<http://www.mannin.info/Mannin/fockleyr/m2e.php>.

“gura.”
<http://www.mannin.info/Mannin/fockleyr/m2e.php>.

“hála.” *Wiktionary, The Free Dictionary*. Web. 23 Dec 2014
<http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/h%C3%A1la>.

“shukuru.”
<http://africanlanguages.com/swahili/>.

Ευχαριστω. (1876) *Liddell and Scott's Greek-English Lexicon* (p.291, Abridged Edition), Oxford University Press.

Grator. (1960) *Cassell's New Latin Dictionary* (p. 268, 1st edition) New York, Funk & Wagnalls.

Gratulor. (1960) *Cassell's New Latin Dictionary* (p. 268, 1st edition) New York, Funk & Wagnalls.

Grator. (1979) *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Latine* (p. 283, 11th edition) Paris Éditions Klincksieck.

Gratulor. (1979) *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Latine* (p. 283, 11th edition) Paris, Éditions Klincksieck.

Panc. (1954) *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (p. 1238, 1st edition lithograph), Oxford University Press.

Dôn (1954) *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (p. 209, 1st edition lithograph), Oxford University Press.

Secgan (1954) An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary (p. 855, 1st edition lithograph), Oxford University Press.

Teikt (1992, 2001), Karulis, K. Latviešu Etimoloģijas Vārdnīca, in 2 vols, Rīga: AVOTS.

Old Church Slavonic Online (: Base Form Dictionary)
<http://www.utexas.edu/cola/centers/lrc/eieol/ocsol-BF-X.html>.