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THE LEXIS OF LATVIAN-SPEAKING COMMUNITIES ON THE BALTIC SEA COAST IN LATVIA AND LITHUANIA: DENOMINATIONS FOR HOUSES

Abstract

This article aims to examine designations for the traditional house, their diversity, origins and distribution in the Latvian-speaking community in the Baltic Sea coastal area in Latvia and Lithuania. This choice was determined not only by the language interaction motivated by historical circumstances (the Latvian-speaking diaspora in the present-day territory of Lithuania), but also by the similar way of life related to fishing. The analysis is based on Latvian material from various written sources (21 in total), by using descriptive, partly historical and mapping methods. Designations for the traditional house (*nams, istaba, māja*) and their meaning have changed along with the development of the object itself. Although economic, social and cultural contacts between Lithuanian and Latvian-speaking communities were important, Lithuanian lexemes such as *butas* and *troba* were not always adopted by Latvian-speaking communities.

KEY WORDS: house, Latvian, lexis, semantics, language contacts.

Anotacija

Šio straipsnio tikslas – išanalizuoti tradicinių gyvenamųjų pastatų pavadinimus, jų įvairovę, kilmę ir paplitimą latvių kalbos plote Lietuvos ir Latvijos pajūrio teritorijoje. Šį pasirinkimą lėmė ne tik istorinės kalbų sąveikos (latviškai kalbančios diasporos dab. Lietuvos teritorijoje) veiksnys, bet ir panašus gyvenimo būdas, susijęs su žvejyba. Tyrime taikyti aprašomasis, iš dalies istorinis ir kartografinis metodai. Analizuojama latviška medžiaga iš įvairių rašytinių šaltinių (iš viso 21). Gyvenamojo namo pavadinimai (*nams, istaba, māja*) ir jų reikšmės keitėsi kartu su paties objekto raida. Nors dalyje tiriamos teritorijos ekonominiai, socialiniai ir kultūriniai kontaktai tarp lietuviškai ir latviškai kalbančių bendruomenių buvo svarbūs, ne visais atvejais lietuvių kalbos leksika perimta latviškai kalbančios bendruomenės (nebuvo perimti tokie gyvenamojo namo pavadinimai kaip *butas* ir *troba*).

PAGRINDINIAI ŽODŽIAI: gyvenamasis namas, latvių kalba, leksika, semantika, kalbų kontaktai.

Introduction

The systematic study of the vocabulary of the Latvian language has been particularly relevant in various respects since the second half of the 20th century,¹ when it was promoted by the targeted and systematic collection of new material and studies by linguists.² The thematic diversity of Latvian dialect lexicology studies and analysed vocabulary groups covers a relatively wide range: natural phenomena, clothing, food, farm tools, household objects, folk customs and terms for natural remedies, fishing sites and sea-related concepts, etc. Although several artisanal vocabulary groups are also examined, such as the vocabulary of mills, forges, baking and other crafts, they have been studied fragmentarily and do not cover the dialects and language variations of all the Latvian regions. The Latvian linguists Brigita Bušmane and Elga Kagaine (Bušmane, Kagaine 2003) pointed out that there is insufficient research into crafts vocabulary putting this problem in a wider context, namely that territorially and thematically evenly encompassing studies of the vocabulary were an essential part of the creation of a combined dictionary of Latvian dialects.

The present article observes one of the elements of traditional material culture on the Baltic coast in Latvia and Lithuania: the dwelling or house of peasants as a social class.³ The names for this realia as part of craft (construction) vocabulary in the Latvian dialect vocabulary have so far been studied relatively

¹ The origins of geolinguistic studies in Latvian and Lithuanian dialect vocabulary can be found in the second half of the 19th century, with the first surveys about language dialects and the ethnographic and spiritual heritage (see BVA 12–18).

² Their diversity in the thematic and territorial aspect is great. Researchers such as Antoņina Reķēna, Beatrise Reidzāne, Ilga Jansone, Anna Stafecka, Elga Kagaine, Silvija Raģe, Eduards Ādamsons and many others have focused on studying individual dialects or groups of them. In Kurzeme, which is included in the area under research presented in this article, Liene Markus-Narvila has studied the etymological diversity of the vocabulary of Rucava, focusing on compiling a dialect dictionary (Markus-Narvila 2011). Daiga Straupeniece has studied the Latvian language in the Lithuanian border area, observing etymological and thematic aspects of vocabulary in Šventoji and Būtingė (Straupeniece 2018). Brigita Bušmane (NIVE) continues to compile and systematise dialect vocabulary in the dictionary of dialects. Benita Laumane has studied the vocabulary of sea-related vocabulary (fishing sites, fishing gear, words for the wind and storms, etc.) along the coast of the Baltic Sea and the Gulf of Riga.

³ The motivation for investigating the denominations for a house was also determined by the fact that homestead architecture similar to that of Latvian peasants, including coastal residents, was common in a relatively large area on the east shore of the Baltic Sea (in the west of Latvia, in the west of Lithuania (around Klaipėda and in the west of Žemaitija), and also in Prussia (Kundziņš 1974, 300–302), which in terms of territory matches the area populated by the Kurshi). This coastal region is also characterised by one fundamental type of construction of house, where one building combines nams (dwelling and cook-house) where meals were prepared and istaba (dwelling-house) with an oven (ibid. 186–187); but over time each nation, when developing this type, created a house that meets its traditions and folk specifics.

little, and the names of this realia in the dialect vocabulary of the Baltic coast have not been specifically studied. Although the first thematic issues of Latvian language programmes also include those related to buildings and parts of them (BVA 16, 20–21), they have been collected mainly for the interpretation of folklore and also in the materials published in the middle and the second half of the 20th century; realia or notions related to buildings and their parts do not provide a comprehensive linguistic picture of the main structural elements of a homestead as a complex area for living. For example, in the programme for the collection of materials for an atlas of Latvian language dialects (LVDA jaut.), out of 670 questions, 300 are devoted to vocabulary, 24 of which are devoted to names relating to the furnishings of homesteads and their construction (including three types of building: barn, stable and cowshed). On the other hand, in the atlas of Latvian dialects (LVDA-L), out of 100 vocabulary cards, only nine reflect separately the names of realia relating to the construction of homesteads (of buildings, only barn and cowshed), and therefore the unpublished dialect vocabulary material (LVDA mater., LVI Apv., etc) is considered to be particularly valuable for explaining the prevalence, origins and cross-lingual attitudes of lexemes related to construction.⁴

The *purpose* of this study is to provide an insight into the names of houses typical of traditional construction in the area under research, based on data available from written sources and the lessons of ethnography. The *area under research* covers the coastal areas of Latvia and Lithuania formerly populated by Kurši, thus including the regional variation of Latvian spoken in Šventoji and Būtingė and on the Curonian Spit. Using a descriptive, partly historical and mapping *method*, the study analyses the variety, distribution and semantics of names, and provides explanations for possible language contact directions. The *object* of the study is the vocabulary of the Latvian language from a thematic point of view, namely the names for a house. Research into crafts vocabulary relating to traditional construction can provide an in-depth insight into dialectic vocabulary in a given area of the Baltic coast of the thematic group, which has been little analysed so far. The findings may be important not only for the identification of the terminology of traditional construction in a given area and for

⁴ Major studies of Latvian dialectology analysing crafts vocabulary, including words for realia or concepts associated with the traditional building, include the monograph by Antoņina Reķēna on crafts vocabulary in certain dialects of south Latgale (Reķēna 1975), viewed in the context of the inter-lingual, ethnic and ethnographic conditions of the lexeme, and the promotional work of Ineta Kurzemiece on the words for fences throughout Latvia (Kurzemiece 2002). Architects and ethnographers such as Augusts Bilenšteins, Pēteris Šmits, Jānis Jaunzems, Pauls Kundziņš, Saulvedis Cimermanis and others, have taken part indirectly in the research of building vocabulary, too.

the clarification of ethno-linguistic peculiarities, but may also complement the cultural history and material cultural heritage of the Baltic Sea region identified so far. The thematic analysis of the vocabulary is ongoing, since dialect lexicology is an important part of diachronic linguistics.

Further research directions could include: 1) the exploration of other names for realia, phenomena or concepts relating to traditional construction in a given cultural and historical area, explanations of their distribution, origins, semantics and motivation of denominations; 2) the comparative analysis of such names in different coastal areas, such as dialects in the Baltic coastal areas of Kurzeme and the Gulf of Riga, or dialect variations of the Liv language in northern Kurzeme and Vidzeme, explaining the mutual influences of languages and problems, and directions of mainly borrowed vocabulary; 3) a comparative analysis of such names in a wider area of Baltic culture, for example, by analysing Latvian and Lithuanian language dialects, and possibly also the crafts (construction) vocabulary of the Prussian language.

The main words for a house (*nams*, *istaba*, *māja*) are described below, including a brief description of the two Lithuanian lexemes (*butas* || *buts*, *troba* || *trobalė*), explaining the context of the Latvian and Lithuanian or Kursenieki and Lithuanian language borrowings. All of the following examples from written sources, a total of 21, are given in their original writing.

1. *NAMS*

In modern Latvian, the noun *nams* is a literary and polysemantic noun,⁵ since it has also maintained its original and ethnographic meaning of ‘a building, including a room which contains, usually, an open fireplace, also a kitchen, also a hallway, a mud room’ (LLVVe). The origins of the word *nams*, along with the Lithuanian *namas*, can be found in the Indo-European **domos/-us* ‘house’ (LKEŽe, Sabaliauskas 1970, 47; LEV, 617).

The Latvian *nams* is common in dialects throughout Latvia, and also in the southeast of Latvia, but with a nuance in its meaning (MEe II 692–693). In the south of Kurzeme (Grobiņa) and in the central part (Īvande, Kandava), the word *nams* denominates ‘a place in a house where the oven, the kitchen was located’, while *nams* in the meaning of ‘a hallway’ has been found both in the south of Kurzeme (Dunika) and in the south of Latgale (Kaldabruņa, Skaista) (EHe II 4).

⁵ The Latvian *nams* ‘residential (usually large, multi-storey) house (usually urban)’ or, in conjunction with an adjective, ‘a relatively large building, including a part of the building which has, usually, administrative, social, cultural, commercial functions. Also the institution, undertaking concerned’ (LLVVe).

The Lithuanian word *namas*, like the Latvian *nams*, is semantically saturated, and, depending on its importance, found in various regions of Lithuania, for instance, in the first meaning of ‘residential or other building’, it is found in the south, southeast (around Merkinė and Paberžė), and also in the northeast (around Grūžiai); while in the eastern part (around Švenčionys and Musninkai) and south and southwest (around Geistarai) the word has been observed in its second meaning of ‘a family farmstead, homestead’ (LKŽe). The Lithuanian word *namas* was also used sporadically in the meaning of ‘a cowshed under the same roof as a house’, in northern and southern parts of Lithuania (Pakruojis, Žeimiai), while the derived word *namelis* is ‘a small building for animals’ in the central part (Šlapaberžė) (LKA-L, 49, Map 13).

The Lithuanian *numas* and *noms*, which are etymologically and semantically related to the Lithuanian *namas* ‘house’ (LKŽe), should also be mentioned, and are typical of the Žemaitijan dialect area where around the 16th or 17th century the Lithuanian Žemaitijan *num-* and *nom-* (LKEŽe, Skardžius 1959, 439) have been recorded. The oldest meaning of the Lithuanian word *numas* is attributed to ‘the house’ (*pirmasis jų (lietuvių) trobesys tose girėse vadinos numas, arba numas, numaitis*, LKŽe) and prevailed in the northwest of Lithuania (around Kretinga and Salantai) and the western part (around Švėkšna and Kvėdarna) (LKŽe). This is confirmed by studies in the ethnography and history of architecture, where the oldest type of residential building of poor Žemaitijans⁶ was called *nams* || *noms* || *numas* (Bomblauskas, Burinskaitė, Žumbakienė 5, 10) up to the 19th century.⁷ Around Klaipėda (Plikiai, Priekulė and Dvilai) and Rusnė at the mouth of the Nemunas, where the river enters the Curonian Lagoon, the Lithuanian *numas* || *prynumis* has also been used to describe ‘a large, crosswise entryway in the oldest residential building, a mudroom’ (LKŽe; LKA-L, 39, Map 5). Over time, the meaning of *numas* has changed together with the realia contained in it.

⁶ Such houses of poor Žemaitijan peasants were shared by families of peasants and their animals, and household objects, grain and other belongings were stored there as well. The buildings were small and low, they formed a rectangle, the room had no ceiling, there was a hearth or a fireplace in one corner, and there were three small windows for releasing smoke from the room (Bomblauskas, Burinskaitė, Žumbakienė, 5, 10).

⁷ Although fishermen of different nationalities and religious confessions lived on the coast during the 15th to the 20th century, on the coast the development of homesteads and traditional architecture was most influenced by the culture of Kurši fishermen, but a marked difference in the pace of development and in the adoption of innovation has been observed in areas controlled by Prussia and Russia, namely, the political administration also influenced cultural features. For example, fishermen living in Prussia took over the innovations seen in Klaipėda (in design, interior, facade) more quickly, while in the Russian-controlled area up to the 20th century there were still thatched roofs rather than tile roofs, simple stoves rather than tile stoves, and wooden walls rather than walled bricks (Bomblauskas, Burinskaitė, Žumbakienė, 8–9).

The present study looks essentially at the Latvian word **nams** in the meaning of a residential building in the fisherman's homestead, but not distinguishing the denomination, which can, in terms of meaning, include the various stages of development of a house. In the area under research and in written sources, the word **nams** 'house' is found in the southern and central part of the Kurzeme coast,⁸ in the Lithuanian and Latvian border area (Šventoji, MB), and also on the Curonian Spit⁹ (see Map 1). The prevalence of the denomination is relatively high on the Curonian Spit, as it has been recorded in several fishing villages (Preila, Nida, Sarkau) according to the sources analysed.

In the area under research, the denomination **nams** has several meanings, and was found to have been used in parallel in some cases, such as 'house' and 'room (entryway)' (*muše weza nama ir widui wēns diž nams*. HD; AI, 26; **nams** [German *das Haus*] and **nams** [German *der Flur*], FKN, 72). A total of four meanings of **nams** can be distinguished from the extracted material, and they are:

1. 'Hearth, kitchen with a fireplace chimney' (**nams** *ar adare šurnštine like kukna*. FKN, 122; **namā** *gatavoja ēdienu*. MB, Šventoji).
2. 'Entryway' (**nama** *aizduvê salika sluôtas, cirus, lâpstas*. NIVe-A, 27, Nīca).
3. 'Hallway, corridor' (**nams** *m*. DKW, 189, German *der Korridor*; *nu name iete dures pic kukines, kambur un diža istuba*, HD, 27, Nida, LT).
4. 'House' (*muše wezaiš nams stave klate jau pi mares; tas wezaiš nams tur truše stage be niwēne šurnštine*, HD; AI, 24; **nams be šurštin** 'house without a chimney' FKN, 49, German *das Haus ohne Schornstein*).

The examples analysed do not identify meanings of the denomination **nams** such as 'summer kitchen' or 'hut (made of upright poles)' (MEe II 692–693; EHe II 4) which could indicate a type of dwelling that was typical in the early periods. As a result of the change of meaning, the original meaning of **nams** may have been lost.

From a semantics point of view, it is worth looking at the Kursenieki word **priešnam** *f.* built with the prefix *priekš-* and denominating 'a house facing the street, foreyard' (KW, 65, German *das Vorderhouse*): the word for the house formed by indicating, in the first component, the location of the building in the fisherman's homestead, which is typical in fishing villages on the Curonian Spit. This word has not been identified elsewhere. It is semantically different to the Latvian prefix derivative **priekšnams** meaning 'a room in a house that contains

⁸ Examples: sg. Gen. *piē nama durēm liēls pluņcis, kā aiščurâc*. NIVe-A, 24, Nīca; *ceļš piē namū duōreņ, ta kādam jāisiēt*. LVDA mater., Ulmale; sg. Acc. *çēlt : būvēt nam*, LVDA mater., Jūrkalne.

⁹ Examples: sg. Nom. *tas nams pats tap tumse-brune strikate*. FKN, 76; **nāms** LF. BezzS, 30, 54; pl. Nom. *tie nams* *us kurse kâpe*. FKN, 70.

the main entrance door and entrances to other rooms' (*priekšnamā skaitījās tāda aizduŕve. tuŗ bi t das rikt gas naglas sadz tas, ku kabin ja kaŗu kus, ku meŗ  bra ca*. NIVe-A, 27, N ca; *priekŗnams*. MB, Ŗventoji).¹⁰ The extracted material also shows several stable collocations or compounds with the component *nams*¹¹ and diminutive forms derived from *nams*.¹²

The word *nams* is prevalent throughout the area under research, and its meaning has changed: 'hearth' → 'room (shelter, housing)' → 'residential house' → 'building in general'. The word is also used in modern Latvian and Lithuanian literary language, but in Latvian it names a residential or non-residential, physically large or socially important edifice, for example, *kult ras nams* (culture club); the meanings of the lexemes *nams* and *namas* are not identical in Latvian and Lithuanian literary language. The original meaning of *nams* in Latvian has been partly preserved in the vocabulary of dialects, including in the vocabulary of the area under research, most commonly used in ethnographic writing.

Both in coastal areas of Kurzeme and on the Curonian Spit in Lithuania, *nams* reflects a common layer of Baltic vocabulary (typical of the Kursa area).

¹⁰ Lithuanian *priebutis* || *prybutis*, also *piebutis* and *pybutis* characteristic of Ŗemaitijans (Priekul , surroundings of Klaip da) have been recorded meaning: 1. 'entryway, porch'; 2 'annex with a roof at the entrance of a building, veranda' (LKŖe). The Lithuanian *priebutis* was recorded near Klaip da (Birbin iai) and, along with other variations, in a small area to the east and southeast of Ŗilut  (Rukai, Vainutas, Pag giai, Vilkyŗkiai, Sokai iai, Stragut , etc) (LKA-L, 39, Map 5).

¹¹ Together with the component *nams* or its variations, stable collocations indicating the material or possession of the dwelling, such as *m la nams* 'house built in clay, house' (*te bije m la nams aŗ ar truŗe st gs*. ISBt, 16, Nida, LT), Kohka Nams 'wooden house, house' (JLV, 176 (89a), N ca, B rta), *l ve nams* 'father's house, father's home' (DKW, 311, Nida, LT). In the Kursenieki language, there is also a compound *namsapakŗs* meaning the 'building foundation plan' (FKN, 72, German *der Grundri *).

¹² It was also found that there were diminutive forms derived from *nams*, such as *namelis* (sg. Acc. *ja viŗ [v rietis] apprec j s, ta viŗ mekl ja k du nameli uŗ g ja di nas aŗg s*. NIVe-D, 436, N ca; MB, Ŗventoji), *namele* (*m s" namel  te ne-a d" . LVI Apv.; kas te blak"s namel  [dz vo], t  nu  leiŗi m*. LVI Apv., P rkone), *namil ns* and *namil* (Curonian Spit), and also *naminŗŗ* (*Namings*. JLV, 176 (89a), N ca, B rta), for small residential buildings. The word 'small-farmer farm', which includes a house with auxiliary buildings and a garden and is built on the land of wealthier owner-occupiers (EHe II 4, Dunika), should be distinguished from *nams* in the meaning of 'a house'; it should be viewed separately in an ethnographic context. The word *naminŗŗ* in ethnography also denominates a hut made of poles put upright like a tent, in the centre of which there was an open fire for cooking. In Latvia, such structures were common up to the 20th century. Similar tent-like peasant houses have also been found in Lithuania (see Kundziŗŗ 1974, 181–184). By way of comparison, in the northeast of Lithuania, the Lithuanian *namelis* || *nameliokas* 'entryway' (around Anykŗŗiai, Utena, Zarasai) (LKŖe; LKA-L, 39, Map 5), and also *namelis*, *namelelis*, *nameliokas* and *nameliukas* 'entryway' (around Rokiŗkis, Utena, Zarasai) (LKA-L, 58, Map 17), but in the west of Lithuania, *numelis* (Knabikai on the border with Latvia), alongside *numukas* (Budriai) 'frame (bee) hive box' made of planks (LKA-L, 174, Map 100; LKŖe).

For the Kursenieki word **nams** it is difficult to localise a connection to a specific place in Latvia, which corresponds to the LLV **nams**, and so far these areas can only be vaguely noted. However, given the meanings and areas of prevalence of the Lithuanian **namas**, as well as data on the contacts of Kursenieki with the Lithuanians, it rather confirms the statements about the origins of the Kursenieki ethnos (Endzelīns 1931), when, with their arrival on the Curonian Spit, the migrants brought along and preserved their inherited vocabulary.¹³ For example, the form of **nams** ‘house’ with *isch* (*oder iš?*) **namu** (BezzS, 48) in Preila (between Nida and Juodkrantē) was used by a fisherman who had moved there from Rucava, an area where dialects of Zemgale are found. Similarly, it could be explained that the Kursenieki word **nams** in the meaning of ‘entryway’ might have come to the Curonian Spit from Kandava, and that is to say from an area that is part of Kurzeme non-profound Liv dialects (MEe II 692–693). But such variations of **nams** as **noms** || **nums** prevalent around Klaipėda and Rusnē at the mouth of the Nemunas where it enters the Curonian Lagoon, despite the close contacts of the Kursenieki with the Lithuanian people and the Lithuanian language at school, church, etc (see Bezenberger 1889; Endzelīns 1931; Strakauskaitė 2001; Kapenieks 2013, 58–76, 106–121; Kiseliūnaitė 2016), have not been borrowed and embedded in the vocabulary of the Kursenieki. Also, to describe the room (the entryway or hallway, corridor running through the house), the Kursenieki used the original word **nams** rather than the Lithuanian **numas** || **prynumis**. The fact that the Lithuanian language has not affected the use of the lexeme **nams** in the meaning of ‘a house’ is also noted by the Lithuanian word **butas** ‘(peasant) house, room’ and the Lithuanian **troba** meaning ‘(peasant) house, room’ in the vocabulary of Lithuanians living on the other side of the Curonian Lagoon: the Kursenieki have not borrowed these words in their vocabulary either. Below are sections on the Lithuanian words **butas** and **troba**.

2. Lithuanian **BUTAS**

In modern Lithuanian, the noun **butas** is polysemantic and has at least five meanings, where the first meaning is ‘a residential building, (peasant) house, room’ and the second meaning is ‘any building, house’ (LKŽe). The word **butas** is similar to the Prussian **buttan**, **butten** ‘house, building’, is related to other Indo-European equivalents, and is associated with the Lithuanian **būti** (Latvian **būt**, Prussian **būton**, **boūt** (*on*), etc, see LEW, 68).

¹³ Jānis Endzelīns notes that the nucleus of Kursenieki in Melnragē (*Mellneraggen*), Karklē, Sarkau, Pilkopa (*Pillkoppen*) came from regions of the real Kursā, to Sarkau from the northwest of Kursā (the region of Tāminieki), whereas from Nida to Juodkrantē (*Schwarzort*) most newcomers were from Nīca and Bārta, where Zemgalian dialects are common.

In the area studied, the Lithuanian *butas* meaning ‘a house’ is not widespread, but the word is recorded in the Klaipėda area (Plikiai, Kalotė, Birbinčiai, Gargždai), the east shore of the Curonian Lagoon (Ventė, Saugos), the right bank of the River Nemunas (Rukai, Timsriai, Pagėgiai), and also in Nida on the Curonian Spit (LKA-L, Map 2). In the Klaipėda area, *butas* is also recorded with a second and third meaning of ‘rural house; homestead; residence’ (*pri būto neturėti šunies – paskutinis daiktas*, LKŽe). In LKA-L the word *butas* and its diminutive form *butalis*, in the meaning of ‘entryway’, have been recorded in a relatively large area of the east shore of the Curonian Lagoon (LKA-L, 39, Map 5).

By way of comparison, the Latvian dialect word *butš*, which should be associated with the Lithuanian *butas*, has been recorded in Rucava, on the border with Lithuania (EHe I 256), and is regarded as a Lithuanianism. The Latvian *butš* is also recorded in Šventoji with the meaning ‘house of a landless peasant’ (MB).

Although the word is considered to be representative of the Lithuanian language in the western part of Lithuania and in the Lithuanian part of Prussia, it should be concluded that, given the variety of data sources and the variety of names identified in them, it is an atypical word for a house among Kursenieki living on the Curonian Spit, where it would have been possible for it to take root in a multicultural environment. Although historical studies point to the close contacts of the Kursenieki with the Lithuanians, as well as taking wives from the east shore of the Curonian Lagoon, which, as a result of the formation of ethnically mixed families, could also have contributed to adapting or borrowing vocabulary, for example by replacing existing denominations with foreign names, this study has not found proof of this assumption. A borrowing derived from the Lithuanian *butas* ‘house’ has not been found on the Curonian Spit denoting a house in the Kursenieki language.

3. Lithuanian *TROBA*, *TROBOS*

In Lithuanian, the lexeme *troba* is polysemantic: its first meaning is ‘a house, (peasant) house, room’ (*gyvenamoji troba*, LKŽe); the second is ‘space in a building, room’ (*o trobà dūmų pilna, pičpilnitelė*, LKŽe); and the third with the prefix *ant* (Latvian *uz*, English *on*) ‘attic’ (*antlipusys ant tróbai i klumpius medinius nurinkau i sukūrinau*, LKŽe). The origin of the word *troba* is associated with the Indo-European **trāb-*, and is related to other Indo-European words, such as Greek *τέραμα* ‘house, building, country house, homestead’, and Latvian *trab(ē)s* ‘beam, nave, tree trunk, roof, house’, etc. (LEW, 1127–1128). In ethnography and studies of the history of architecture in Žemaitija, this word was used

to denominate a house which appeared in the 16th century, alongside the Lithuanian *numo* (a house with an open fire, a hearth), and in the following period was considered to be a traditional house on a Žemaitijan homestead.¹⁴

The Lithuanian word *troba*, in its primary meaning, has been recorded in a very large area in west Lithuania, including the coastal area from the Lithuanian-Latvian border to the border with Russia on the east shore of the Curonian Lagoon, but excluding the immediate surroundings of Klaipėda (LKA-L, Map 2). The Lithuanian *troba*, in the meaning of ‘a house’, has been identified on the east shore of the Curonian Lagoon (Ventė). The word is also recorded in a number of Lithuanian dialects in the northwest of Lithuania, in the same meaning or with a nuance of meaning: the Lithuanian *trobos* (Žibininkai, Grūšlaukė, Skirpsčiai), also in parallel with *troba* (Salantai), in parallel with *trobelė* ‘small house’ and *trobalė* ‘small and simple house’ (Alsėdžiai), and in parallel with *trobalė* ‘simple house’ (Kretinga) (LKA-L, 34, Map 2).

In Latvian language variations, a link with the Lithuanian *troba* is found in the Latvian dialect word *trāba*, the main meaning of which is ‘an old (dilapidated) house, building’ (MEe IV 227; EHe II 692); this lexeme is found in this meaning, or with a nuance of meaning, in Sēlija (Sunākste, Kaldabruņa, Sauka) and Vidzeme (Dzērbene), but in Kurzeme it has not been recorded. The object called *troba* in Lithuanian in a vast area of Žemaitija has spatial forms and planning similarities with the word *nams* in the Kursenieki language, but given the area of lexeme prevalence in Lithuanian language dialects in the studied area in the territory of Lithuania and Latvian language dialects in Latvia, it is concluded that neither in the Kursenieki language nor in the Latvian language variation spoken in Šventoji, has such a word denominating a residential building been borrowed from the Lithuanian language.

4. ISTABA

In Latvian, the word *istaba* is literary and polysemantic, but the meaning of the denomination and its use have also changed with the development of the respective realia. The Latvian *istaba* means ‘an enclosed living space (in a house,

¹⁴ These houses are characterised by relatively long (15–30 metre) and wide (8–10 metre) volumes, low walls often covered with vertical wooden boards on the outside, and overall, an impressive height (7–8 metres), due to the shapes of the roofs covered in straw, and less commonly reeds, but later wooden shingles. A typical layout with an open hearth in the central part, consisting of a fireplace chimney, and one or two parts of the building, divided into more prosperous and advanced building types by a corridor across the building, creating a total of five to 15 rooms. The layout and volume of houses inhabited by quite wealthy peasants was similar, but with smaller rooms; but the houses of less well-off peasants were simple, and usually consisted of three rooms. The open fireplace chimneys were reconstructed around the 20th century, but the spatial plan was maintained (Bomblauskas, Burinskaitė, Zumbakienė, 15–17).

apartment); suitable for indoors; arch. house (in the countryside)' (LLVVe), and it is a Slavicism (Old East Slavonic *уцмѣба* 'house'), borrowed by the Latvian language before the 13th century, and mentioned in dictionaries from the 17th century alongside *ustaba*, *ustuba* (MEe I 711; LEV, 346).

The word **istaba** and its variations are common in many places, but the Kurzeme dialect word **istuba** has been identified in the south of Kurzeme (Dunika). The word can denote both 'a room' and its ethnographic meaning 'smoke room', which means the place of the hearth, the kitchen, or the entryway,¹⁵ and 'a threshing house with drying kiln' and 'a house' (MEe I 711). In the context of this study, the name **istaba** has been recorded both in the central part of Kurzeme (Īvande) and in the Zemgale/Kurzeme border area (Džūkste) and in Vidzeme (Ungurmuiža), but **istuba** in Grobiņa (EHe I 431). There is also a dialect word in Latvian **ustuba** 'house; room' (Tez), but mainly in the Latgale region (EHe II 716).

The Lithuanian word **stuba** (compare with the Prussian **stubo**), depending on its meaning, is common in different regions of Lithuania. The Lithuanian **stuba** has been found in a relatively large area in the southwest of Lithuania (starting around Kučiūnai, Meteliai along the Nemunas up to Girkalnis and Katyčiai), or in parallel in the plural form **stubos** || **stuba** (around Kudirkos Naumiestis, Žalioji, Vilkaviškis, Igliauka, etc.), in the meaning of 'a house'. However, in separate dialects near Klaipėda (Plikiai, Dercekļiai), on the east shore of the Curonian Lagoon to the north of Šilutė (Saugos), and on the right of the River Nemunas (Plaškiai, Rukai, and also Bitėnai, Sokaičiai, Viešvilė), the word **stuba** was used in the meaning of 'a room' ('one room of a house') (LKA-L, 34, Map 2; LKŽe). There are also the variations **stuba** || **istuba** (compared to the Latvian **istaba**, vern. **istuba**) (ibid.) in the vicinity of Klaipėda (Birbinčiai).

In the extracted material, the denomination **istaba** and its variation **istuba** have been recorded with the meaning 'a house' on the southern coast of Kurzeme (*te uscēla jaūnu istabu piņms kara*. NI, 270; *tas taks nuō istubas uz klēti tāt šaūrīns*. NI, 270, Nīca) and to the north of Liepāja (*teīca taišīs jaūn" istabu, jaūn" šķūni*, LVDA mater., Ziemepe) (see Map 1), clearly distinguishing its meaning, which denominates first the residential function, and second the

¹⁵ *Dūmistaba* or *dūmenīca* (smoke room), a single-chamber house of a peasant with a hearth without a chimney (Kundziņš 1974, 185, 405). Such single-chamber smoke rooms have already been identified in western Latvia in the seventh to the 13th century, and existed at least until the end of the 17th century or even longer, when *nams* and *istaba* started to merge, simultaneously improving the fire safety of heating equipment (ibid. 185–186).

whole building, not a room.¹⁶ Regarding the variation *istuba* (NI, 270) found in Nīca, the Latvian linguist B. Bušmane points out that the difference in the quality of non-stressed syllables in the word *istuba* as compared to the literary language word *istaba* is mainly observed among the older generation (NI, 41, 270; Bušmane 2010, 7).

The denomination *istabīna* ‘a house’ (*tā nebija skuju būda, tā nīcnieku istabīna*. NI, 270, Nīca) with the suffix *-īn-* is also derived from the word *istaba*. There is a collocation made of two components, the first of which refers to the residential function, and the second (lexeme *ēka*, in English *building*) to the building as such without an indication of its function (*istubas ēkaī naīms bi caūrstaīgājamīs*. NIVe-C, 345, Nīca); thus, from the context, it can be understood that this is a house consisting of three parts, where a *pretistaba* (counter-room) has been added to the *nams* and *istaba*.¹⁷

The word *istuba* (BezzS, 35; KuV, 58; HD, 43) is common in the Kursenieki language, which corresponds in this form to the Latvian *istaba* ‘a room’ mainly in the southwest of Kurzeme (e.g. Dunika, Grobiņa, Rucava, Kalēti) (EHe I 431; Tez; NI; 41, 270; Bušmane 2010, 7). In written sources, the use of the word *istaba* || *istuba* in the meaning of ‘a house’ has not been found on the Curonian Spit. These words have usually been found in the meaning of ‘living area; room’ (in the Kursenieki language sg. Nom. variations *istubā f. I* [MogN, 242], *istub f.* [KW, 37], *istubs* [*maiz cept, silts istubs*. KKF, 20, Preila], *istube* [DKW, 286] and other forms).¹⁸ Adalbert Bezenberger pointed out that the Kursenieki language

¹⁶ It is possible that in the examples from Nīca the words *istaba* || *istuba* ‘house’ do not designate the primitive one-piece peasant’s house, or *dūmenīca*, *dūmistaba* (a smoke room), but any of the two-room type (combining *nams* and *istaba*) or of the three-room type (adding a cross-chamber or a cold chamber).

¹⁷ The three-piece house solution is designed by redistributing the rooms in the longitudinal direction of the building, and increasing the number of rooms, thus creating a typical three-piece residential building with a hall and two rooms and a chamber with a counter-room at both ends of the building. This principle is common throughout the west of Latvia (Kundziņš 1974, 189–191). The development of buildings from a single-room to a three-part house took place during the 18th and 19th centuries throughout Latvia, but in Kurzeme (also Zemgale and Vidzeme), the single-room house disappeared much faster than in East Latvia (Cimermanis 2020, 522). Similar developments in the functional plan of the building have also been identified on the Curonian Spit: it was called either a full or part-ended plan, depending on the number of rooms at each end of the building (Butkevičius 1958, 176–177; Detlezenas 1995, 26–27).

¹⁸ According to Pēteris Šmits, ‘the Kursenieki maintained some ethnographical peculiarities [...] fishermen’s houses built still without chimneys [...] The house is divided into two parts, one of which is a spacious room, and the other consists of one or more chambers. There is a hearth in the spacious room next to the partition wall. Smoke from the hearth and the oven goes through the ceiling to the attic, where the nets are then covered in smoke, which makes them more durable. This facility of the building reminds pretty much of the Latvian old house, too’ (KKF, 5).

word **istuba** is a Germanism that came to the Curonian Spit through Lithuanian language dialects (Lithuanian *stubà*, north Lithuanian *èstuba*), rather than from the Latvian **istaba** (BezzS, 35).

A similar situation was also observed in the area of the Lithuanian and Latvian border (Šventoji), where in the Latvian dialect the lexeme **istuba** has been recorded with the meaning 'room (space)' (MB), and on the Kurzeme coast (**Iftaba (.uftuba.) eine Stube**. JLV, 95 [49], Nīca, Bārta; **istuba**. AVN, 110, Bārta, Rucava; **istaba**. LVDA mater., Saka, Ziemepe; **istab**. LVDA mater., Ulmale, Venta; **istab || istabe**. LVDA mater., Jūrkalne, etc.).

According to sources in the area under research, the word **istaba** has been recorded with two meanings: 1) the word is used with the meaning 'living area' throughout the area, and has been recorded in a written source from the 17th century; 2) however, the territorial prevalence in sources of the second meaning 'house' is relatively small and has been recorded only in separate villages on the south coast of Kurzeme (Nīca, Ziemepe) in the middle/second half of the 20th century. Such isolated cases show that, with the disappearance of the respective realia from the coastal living space, the use of **istaba** in the meaning of 'a house' became less and less common, until it disappeared altogether; in the above examples, the lexeme more likely points to a residential building without any signs of its degree of development (a building of two or three parts). Today **istaba** in the meaning of 'a house' is used only in an ethnographic context, denominating traditional building sites of the form and functional planning concerned, namely a primitive single-plane house with a stacked stone oven or smoke room, or any of the next development types of the house, not only in the coastal area of the building but also elsewhere. The disappearance of the realia, and consequently the respective meaning, can be explained by the need for the development of the living space and its equipment in the context of general development (fire protection in the vicinity of the hearth and the roof, the removal of smoke from the living area, the improvement of heating equipment, the lighting of the room, separate spaces for the family and the rest of the household, etc.), rather than being considered a local phenomenon.

This denomination is also used in the modern Latvian literary language, with its primary meaning of 'a living area'. The change in the primary meaning of the name **istaba** can be illustrated as follows: '(covered, enclosed) habitable space' → '(covered, enclosed) house' → 'living space'.

5. MĀJA

In the area under research, the denomination *māja* ‘house’ and its phonetic variations, *māj^a*, *māj*, *māī* (iā-stem), is recorded in a relatively wide area: on the coast of Kurzeme from Užava to Pape,¹⁹ in the Lithuanian-Latvian border area at Šventoji and Bomelsvitē (*Bommels-Vitte*), in the suburbs of Klaipēda, and in Melnragē (see Map 1).

The lexeme *māja* is a polysemantic word in the Latvian literary language with the meanings: 1) ‘a building intended for dwelling, also for public or economic needs’; 2) ‘a rural homestead, farm’; and 3) ‘a residence, human housing’ (LLVVe). The Latvian *māja* is a borrowing from the Finno-Ugric **mā* ‘land’, with a meaning in the Latvian language developing from ‘land (fields) next to a village or houses’ to ‘building’; but there are various explanations noting that the formation of the word *māja* involves several components (LEV, 561).

In ME Latvian *māja* has also been recorded with different meanings elsewhere in Latvia: in Vidzeme (around Ungurmuiža, Ranka, Lielsalaca), it has also been found in the meaning of ‘peasant servants, household’, and also in the meaning of ‘a farmer’s house’ (EHe I 789) in Kurzeme (Dundaga, Vandzene), Zemgale (Bauska, Lielzere) and Vidzeme (Valmiera, Rauna, Lizums, etc), and also in the meaning of ‘housing; house; home; fatherland’ (MEe II 577–578).

The extracted material shows that the word *māja* was originally used in a wider sense. In JLV the Latvian noun *māja* has been recorded with the meaning of ‘homeland’ (*Mahja, die Heimath*. JLV, 150 [76a]); the same source gives *māja* in an adverbial meaning ‘at home’ (*Ir kungs mahjā! Ift der HEr zu Hause!*. idem). Other examples from the coast of Kurzeme show that *māja* denominates a set of buildings or a homestead (*te ga tuō [ceļa] malu i mājās*, LVI Apv., Pērkone), and possibly also a building without defining its function (*toū māj plēsis nuōst*, LVDA mater., Užava). As a result of semantic change, *māja* has been used in parallel with other lexemes denominating a house in a homestead, or in a broader context, a building with a dwelling function. On the south coast of Kurzeme (Nīca), a collocation has been found in which the first component points directly to the residential function of the building (*ga tuō dzīvuōjamuō māju vairāk nuō viēnas puses bi dārzi tā apstādīti*. NIVe-D, 417, Nīca),²⁰ while

¹⁹ Examples: sg. Nom. *Lūlik māj a drīz sakriš, kas ta tūr i. bruōc skaļš soū māj*. LVDA mater., Užava; *stiēģeļ māj*. ibid., Jūrkalne; *māī (iā-stem)*. ibid., Ulmale; *tā bija balta, apmēsta māja*. SA, 146, Pāvilosta; *saīmniēkaī piēdeī māja*. LVDA mater., Saka; *māj^a*. ibid., Ziemepe; *te bi māja*. AVN, 120, Rucava; sg. Loc. *taī mājā žīvuō, taī istabā*. SA, 100, Jūrmalciems; sg. Gen. *baļķi mājas celtniēcībaī*. SA, 71, Pape, etc.

²⁰ A collocation and its synonym have also been recorded, with the first component pointing to the height and number of floors of the building, and the second one is the Latvian word for a house, *māja* (*divtāžu māja, divstāvu māja*, NIVe-D, 452).

another example shows that in a later period (~ mid-20th century) the word *māja* is used to distinguish between the house and other buildings of a homestead with a different function not intended for living (sg. Nom. *māja skaitās tik, ku i istabas. visi kuōpā i ēkas – staļļi, rija, pište, skūna, pagraps*. NIVe-E, 510, Nīca). The type and level of development of the building is indicated by the use of the lexeme *māja* in the text (*labi vēlāk katrai mājai bi pretistub^a, kuō būvēj^a. tā pretistub^a bi atsevišķⁱ, tā jau skaitījās meit^u istab^a, ku puīši nāc^e*. LVI Apv., Bārta).

In Šventoji on the coast of Lithuania, both the plural form of *mājas* ‘homestead, farmer’s homestead’ (*zvejnieka mājas, mājas*. MB) and the singular *māja* ‘house’ (*māja, nameļnieka māja, butinieka māja, kalpa māja*. MB; *tai mājā nevarēja zīvuot, kūr tā ragana, tā būve tūr bi*. SA, 29) have been found; in parallel with these, with a differentiation of meaning, the lexemes *nams* and *namelis* meaning ‘a small farmer’s house’ (MB) have been observed.²¹

Around the Curonian Lagoon, the lexeme *māja* has been recorded sporadically in only one source (BezzS) in the second half of the 19th century, where the author points to the formation of a locative with the prefixes *is* (*ifch, ifch, is, is, isch*), thus only one example with the locative form *iksch māju M* would be considered to have been in the meaning of ‘a house, house’ (BezzS, 50). This example was recorded outside the Curonian Spit in Bomelsvitē, a suburb of Klaipēda, and in Melnragē (ibid.).²² On the Curonian Spit the word *māja* in the meaning of ‘a house’ has not been recorded in the Kursenieki language. This may be explained by the fact that at the time (16th or 17th century), when the Kursenieki left their ethnic place of origin, in dialects of Kurzeme, at least in the social class from which the Kursenieki originated, *māja* was not used in the meaning of ‘a house’. There, it was used in the plural form *mājas* in the adverbial meaning of ‘at home’ (*mājās E, N, LF, mā E*, German *nach Hause, zu Hause*. BezzS, 59, Nida, LT, Preila, Sarkau), as is evidenced by the German translation.

In the Latvian language of Šventoji, like the Latvian dialect recorded in the suburbs of Klaipēda, the word *māja* appeared later than the Latvian word *nams* (according to the source it was recorded in Bomelsvitē only in the second half of the 19th century, so it appeared around the turn of the 19th century or even later).

²¹ Alongside *māja* ‘a small farmer’s house’ two derivatives with suffixes *-el-* or *-ēn-* have been recorded (*mājele, mājēna*, MB), referring to the small size and modest appearance of the small farmer’s house.

²² The language of people living in the coastal part to the north from Klaipēda to Palanga was closer to the Latvian written language than the language of the ethnos, which lived in the Curonian Spit, or the Kursenieki (Ivanickaja 2018, 115). This is witnessed by the language material obtained by A. Bezenberger from storytellers who had migrated to Karklē from the former area of Kursā; therefore, Latvian was spoken in a small area of its southern part; but in the northern part the Lithuanian language was spoken (except during fishing, when Latvian was also spoken in Nemirseta) (ibid. 117).



Map 1. The prevalence of the lexemes *nams*, *istaba* and *māja* in the area under research

At present, we can only assume whether such an isolated case shows the migration of the population, which resulted in the word travelling outside Kurzeme dialects, or whether it is rather an individual case; but by looking at the spread of this lexeme in the wider area and comparing it with material found on the coast of Kurzeme, it can be concluded that people in Šventoji, when naming the

oldest types of house, like the Kursenieki, also used the Latvian word *nams*, and not *māja*.

Summarising the above, in dialects of the Latvian language on the coast of Kurzeme, the denomination with a foreign stem *māja* is considered to be a borrowing from the Finnish languages of the Baltic Sea (Finno-Ugric), which today has been fully incorporated into the Latvian language system, but elsewhere in the area under research in the vocabulary of the Latvian community it is considered to be an inherited lexeme from Kurzeme dialect vocabulary. The lexeme *māja*, with the meaning of ‘a building intended for dwelling’ in the context of traditional building is used in the collocation *dzīvojamā māja*, thus generally naming one of the three main types of housing for peasants as a social class (see Kundziņš 1974, 181–202; Cimermanis 2020, 518) without differentiating them. It can be seen throughout the area under research that, as a result of semantic change, ‘birthplace, homeland’ → ‘housing (general)’ → ‘building (housing)’, the word *māja* has been used in parallel with other lexemes with the meaning of ‘a house’. The narrowing of meaning points to the linguistic trend to be more specific when designating daily realia: elements of the material culture. The polysemantic name *māja* in the Latvian language is also used today in all its meanings, so without a wider context, the meaning or nuance of meaning of this lexeme cannot be clearly distinguished.

Conclusions

According to all the sources, the lexemes observed are polysemantic, and therefore it is not possible to identify the type of house and its degree of development without a wider context in a text, and so it is not possible to distinguish clearly between the meaning or the nuance of the meaning. The latter often appear in word compounds, where the first component points to the size, height, function or appearance, or another characteristic feature of a house.

Semantic change in the primary meaning of lexemes may be observed throughout the area under study, which also indicate the development of the object itself, namely the development of the dwelling space and its facilities in the context of general development.

As a result of semantic change, the original meaning of *nams* and *istaba* have remained in the vocabulary of Latvian dialects, and are most commonly used in the context of ethnography or traditional building, because the original meaning of these words in the modern Latvian literary language is different. Only *nams* has maintained its original meaning of ‘a hearth, a kitchen with a fireplace chimney’, once used in a wider area populated by the Kurshi, but has until now been

preserved and recorded in Kursenieki vocabulary. However, the word *māja* was used in parallel with other lexemes with the meaning ‘a house’, and it appeared in active use possibly only around the turn of the 19th century, or even later.

The territorial prevalence of these denominations in the area under research is not uniform. The words *nams*, *istaba*, *māja* and their variations were identified in coastal areas of Kurzeme. In the Latvian-Lithuanian border area (in the Latvian dialect of Šventoji), the words *nams* and *buts* have been recorded, while in the Kursenieki language in the Curonian Spit the word *nams* and its variations are found.

Both on the coast of Kurzeme and on the Curonian Spit in Lithuania, *nams* reflects a common layer of vocabulary of the Baltic languages (characteristic of the Kursa region). Today the Slavicism *istaba*, which has been fully integrated into the Latvian language system with the primary meaning of ‘enclosed living space’, in the meaning of ‘a house’, has been recorded only on the coast of Kurzeme (Ziemeupe and Nīca), but elsewhere in the area under study it has not been found in that meaning. However, the Finno-Ugric *māja*, which has been identified in Latvian language dialects on the coast of Kurzeme and has also been incorporated into the Latvian language system today, in other areas (in Šventoji and Bomelsvitē, a suburb of Klaipēda, and in Melnragē), is considered to be an inherited lexeme from the dialect vocabulary of Kurzeme.

The impact of the Lithuanian language has been recorded in the Latvian-Lithuanian border area, namely, the Lithuanianism *buts* has been found in the Rucava dialect and the Latvian dialect of Šventoji. However, close linguistic and economic contacts have not always contributed to borrowing or the assimilation of denominations for a house in the Latvian language. The Lithuanian words *butas* ‘(peasant) house, room’ and *troba* ‘house (peasant) house, room’, as well as variations of the Lithuanian word *nams* – *noms* || *nums* common in the vocabulary of Lithuanians living on the east shore of the Curonian Lagoon, have not influenced the use of the Kursenieki word *nams* in the meaning of ‘a house’: the Kursenieki have not borrowed or assimilated these into their vocabulary.

Abbreviations

Acc. – accusative case, arch. – archaism, Gen. – genitive case, *ibid.* – in the same place (to refer to a source which has been mentioned in a previous reference), *idem.* – the same as something previously mentioned (a word or its meaning), Loc. – locative case, Nom. – nominative case, pl. – plural, sg. – singular, vern. – vernacularism

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Ilze Rudzāte

LATVIEŠU VALODAS KOPIENU LEKSIKA BALTIJAS JŪRAS PIEKRASTĒ LATVIJĀ UN LIETUVĀ: DZĪVOJAMĀS ĒKAS NOSAUKUMI

Kopsavilkums

Leksikas analīze tematiskā aspektā vienmēr saglabā aktualitāti, jo dialektālā leksikoloģija ir nozīmīga diahroniskās valodniecības sastāvdaļa. Latviešu dialektālās leksikoloģijas pētījumi aptver plašu loku (dabas parādības, apģērbs, ēdiens, zemkopības darbarīki, māsasaimniecības priekšmeti, amatniecība, tautas ieražu un tautas medicīnas termini, zvejvietu un ar jūru saistīti jēdzieni u.tml.), taču tās pētītas fragmentāri un neaplūko visu Latvijas novadu dialektus un izlokšnes. Ar tautas celtniecību saistītu reāliju nosaukumi kā amatniecības leksikas daļa latviešu valodas izlokšņu leksikā līdz šim pētīti salīdzinoši maz un fragmentāri (skat. Reķēna 1975; Kurzemiece 2002; Bušmane, Kagaine 2003; LVDA-L; LVDA jaut.).

Šajā rakstā aplūkots viens no tradicionālās materiālās kultūras elementiem – zemnieku kā sociālā slāņa mājoklis jeb dzīvojamā ēka – Baltijas jūras piekrastē Latvijā un Lietuvā (kuršu kādreiz apdzīvotajā areālā). Pētāmajā teritorijā izplatīta salīdzinoši lielam Baltijas jūras austrumu krasta reģionam (Latvijas un Lietuvas rietumiem, Prūsijai) raksturīga viensētas apbūve un dzīvojamās ēkas principiālais tips (apvienojot *namu* un *istabu*), no kura tālāk attīstīta katras tautas tradīcijām un īpatnībām atbilstoša dzīvojamā ēka. Piekrastē, kur līdz pat 20.gs. dzīvoja dažādu tautību un konfesiju pārstāvju iedzīvotāji, viensētu un tautas celtniecības attīstību visvairāk ietekmēja kuršu zvejnieku kultūra, taču izteiktu atšķirību attīstības tempā un jaunievedumu pieņemšanā noteica politiskā pārvalde, kas ietekmēja arī kultūras īpatnības. Tautas celtniecības reāliju nosaukumu analīze var parādīt šīs ietekmes apmērus valodā. Pētījumā apskatīta ne tikai Kurzemes piekrastes latviešu valodas izlokšņu leksika, bet arī ietverts latviešu valodas reģionālais paveids Sventājā un Būtiņģē, kā arī Kuršu kāpās.

Šī pētījuma mērķis ir sniegt ieskatu tautas celtniecībā raksturīgās dzīvojamās ēkas nosaukumos pētāmajā teritorijā, balstoties uz rakstu avotos (kopumā 21) pieejamiem datiem un etnogrāfijas atziņām. Pētījuma objekts ir latviešu valodas

dialektālā leksika tematiskā aspektā, proti, dzīvojamās ēkas nosaukumi. Izmantojot aprakstošo, vēsturiski salīdzināmo un kartēšanas metodi, analizēta nosaukumu daudzveidība, izplatība un semantika, kā arī skaidroti iespējamie valodu kontaktu virzieni. Pievienota leksēmu *nams*, *istaba*, *māja* teritoriālās izplatības karte.

Pētījuma rezultāti parāda, ka, pirmkārt, visas avotos apskatītās leksēmas, kas nosauc dzīvojamo ēku, ir daudznozīmīgas un, otrkārt, visā pētāmajā teritorijā var novērot leksēmu primārās nozīmes semantiskās pārmaiņas, kas uzskatāmi norāda arī uz paša objekta attīstību, proti, dzīves telpas un tās iekārtu pilnveidi vispārējās attīstības kontekstā. Semantisku pārmaiņu rezultātā *nams* un *istaba* sākotnējā nozīme latviešu valodā ir saglabājusies izlokšņu leksikā un visbiežāk tiek lietota etnogrāfijas vai tautas celtniecības kontekstā, jo mūsdienu latviešu literārajā valodā šo vārdu primārā nozīme ir cita. Savukārt vārds *māja* uzskatāms par salīdzinoši jaunu nosaukumu 'dzīvojamā ēka' nozīmē, un tā nozīmes izmaiņas norāda uz valodas tendenci ikdienas reālijas – materiālās kultūras elementus – nosaukt konkrētāk. Treškārt, nosaukumu teritoriālā izplatība pētāmajā teritorijā nav vienmērīga. Kurzemes piekrastes izloksnēs konstatēti nosaukumi *nams*, *istaba*, *māja* un to morfoloģiskie un fonētiskie varianti. Latvijas un Lietuvas pierobežā (Sventājas latviešu valodā) reģistrēti *nams* un *buts*, bet Kuršu kāpās kursenieku valodā sastopams *nams* un tā varianti. Valodu kontaktu ietekme leksikā vērojama Latvijas un Lietuvas pierobežas zonā – lituānisms *buts* konstatēts Rucavas izloksnē un Sventājas latviešu valodā. Tomēr ne vienmēr cieši valodas un saimnieciskie kontakti ir veicinājuši dzīvojamās ēkas nosaukumu aizgūšanu vai asimilēšanu latviešu valodā. Par to liecina Kuršu liča austrumu krastā dzīvojošo lietuviešu leksikā sastopamie lietuviešu *x*, *y*, arī *z* || *ž*, kas nav ietekmējuši *nams* lietojumu 'dzīvojamā ēka' nozīmē – tos kursenieki nav aizguvuši vai asimilējuši savā leksikā no lietuviešu valodas.