

KLAIPĒDA UNIVERSITY

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**VOCABULARY OF THE LATVIAN-SPEAKING COMMUNITIES  
FROM A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE:  
FOLK ARCHITECTURE ON THE BALTIC SEA COAST  
OF LITHUANIA AND LATVIA**

Doctoral Dissertation

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LYGINAMUOJU ASPEKTU: LIAUDIES ARCHITEKTŪRA  
LIETUVOS IR LATVIJOS PAJŪRYJE**

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## Abbreviations and symbols

(O)	lost or missing word ending
/	separator for variants of a lexeme
[..]	represent an omission from a direct quotation
	separator for names or lexemes of a concept
<	developed from, derives from
>	developed into, becomes
→	change of meaning
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
B	Būtingē
Belarus.	Belarusian
BG	Baltic German
BV	the suburb of Klaipēda <i>Bommels-Vitte</i>
CS	the Curonian Spit
dial.	dialectism
Est.	Estonian
f.	feminine
Fin.	Finnish
Gen.	Genitiv
Germ.	German
K	Kurzeme
Lat.	Latin
Latv.	Latvian
LG	Low German
Lith.	Lithuanian
LLV	the standard Latvian language
M	Melnragē
m.	masculine
MD	Middle Dutch
MHG	Middle High German
MLG	Middle Low German
OR	Old Russian (Old East Slavic)
pl.	plural

Pol.	Polish
Pr.	Old Prussian
Rus.	Russian
Š	Šventoji
sg.	singular
subst.	substantive
Tam.	Tamian
Ukr.	Ukrainian
var.	variant or variants



# I.

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## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. GENERAL RESEARCH SETTINGS

The preservation of folk culture becomes increasingly relevant in an era marked by the convergence of different global spheres. The desire to highlight both tangible and intangible cultural elements specific to a region or ethnic group stems from the need to express and maintain identity. Language, whether standard or dialectal, is an integral part of culture. It serves as a key medium through which the material and spiritual life of an ethnos is expressed and understood, as well as how such knowledge is encoded within the language itself (Vulāne 2018). Vocabulary, in particular, serves as a unique cultural repository that preserves a culture's collective memory, symbolic systems, conceptual frameworks, and mythological layers, including those shaped by interaction with neighboring languages. To better reflect the development of a society, language changes tend to occur in close connection with broader changes in other spheres of life.

From a cultural-historical perspective, insights drawn from ethnography, folklore, and subdialects can reveal the trajectory of a particular ethnos and its tangible and intangible culture. These disciplines offer valuable insights even when ethnic

groups lack ancient written sources and records or have developed in close proximity to other ethnicities, cultures, and languages. One of the key approaches in Latvian dialectology, particularly in the study of subdialects, is the analysis of thematic lexical groups. Studies of Latvian dialectal lexicology are characterized by both thematic variety and regional diversity.

Studies of Latvian dialectal lexicology from a thematic perspective encompass a wide range of topics, including natural phenomena, clothing, food, agricultural and fishing tools, household items, terms related to folk customs and folk medicine, among others. Folk architecture names represent one of the most significant thematic groups within the vocabulary of material culture. Concepts related to folk architecture reflect a broad spectrum of elements in an ethnos' material culture, capturing both historical development and the specific characteristics of local economies and crafts. Within this domain, several thematic subgroups can be identified, including building types, spatial layouts, structural components of buildings, construction materials, tools, heating devices, occupational names, and more. Although several groups of craft-related or artisanal vocabulary, such as those related to mills, blacksmithing, baking, and other artisanal practices, have received some attention, they have been studied fragmentarily and do not cover the dialects and language variations of all Latvian regions. Latvian linguists Brigita Bušmane and Elga Kagaine (Bušmane, Kagaine 2003) have highlighted the lack of sufficient research on artisanal vocabulary, situating this issue within a broader context. Specifically, they argue that comprehensive studies of vocabulary, both territorially and thematically, are essential for the development of a combined, unified dictionary of Latvian dialects. Bušmane (Bušmane 2004) also emphasizes the importance of ongoing documentation, systematization, and analysis of regional subdialect vocabulary, as such work can offer valuable insights into the traces of older languages and language contacts in a particular area. Furthermore, Bušmane highlights the importance of analyzing vocabulary from a semantic perspective, as this can contribute to the study of language contact and offer insights relevant to other academic disciplines (Bušmane 2004: 303–304).

The origins of geolinguistic studies in Latvian dialectal vocabulary can be traced back to the second half of the 19th century, beginning with the first surveys of dialects and ethnographic and spiritual heritage (BVA 12–18). Previous research indicates that the dialectal vocabulary related to folk architecture along the Baltic Sea coast has not been specifically studied. Although early thematic surveys in Latvian

language programmes also included questions concerning buildings and their parts (BVA 16, 20–21), this material was primarily collected for the interpretation of folklore. Even in the middle and second halves of the 20th century, the Atlas of Latvian Dialects (LVDA-L) devoted limited attention to the vocabulary of homestead architecture: out of 100 vocabulary cards, only 9 specifically address names for realia related to homestead construction. Similarly, of the 300 vocabulary-related questions in the survey programme for collecting materials for an Atlas of Latvian language dialects (LVDA jaut.), only 24 are related to homestead furnishings and construction.

Research on the vocabulary at the cross-linguistic level in each cultural-historical region focuses on different research directions, determined by ethnic and historical circumstances. From a territorial perspective, research on the vocabulary of folk architecture has so far remained relatively limited. Despite the ongoing interest in Latvian dialect studies, particularly within geolinguistics and thematic aspects, specific linguistic research focusing on the traditional living environment within the broader context of the Balts' material culture is scarce. One notable exception is the work of Latvian linguist Antoņina Reķēna (1975), who examined the vocabulary of craftsmanship in some South Latgale subdialects and its relations with corresponding names in Slavic languages. Latvian linguist Ineta Kurzemniece (2002, 2008) has also studied fence-related names from geolinguistic, etymological, and semantic perspectives, including an analysis of the distribution and nomination of specific fence types throughout Latvia (Kurzemniece 2008: 171–188). However, in the context of analysis of the folk architecture vocabulary, other historical regions of Latvia, including Kurzeme, have not been thoroughly examined.

From a territorial perspective, Latvian dialect studies should also consider the common or distinctive linguistic features of particular ethnolinguistic groups. For instance, Reķēna (1975) highlights the economic and cultural contacts with Slavs, Poles, Lithuanians, Russians, and Belarusians, which likely contributed to the presence of numerous loanwords in the craftsmanship vocabulary. In Kurzeme, for example, particular attention must be given to identifying the shared lexis among Latvians, Lithuanians, and Curonians. Problems of borrowing in this region highlight the influence of German and Russian languages, especially in various thematic groups, including artisanal vocabulary, due to historical circumstances.

It is now well established that vocabulary related to material culture, particularly in the thematic area of folk architecture, has received relatively little scholarly attention. In Latvian lexicology, previous research on names of traditional homesteads

is both thematically and territorially incomplete. Moreover, there appears to be a context in which findings of relations between Latvian-speaking communities, ethnic or social groups, and cross-cultural contacts, as a part of the cultural identity of Baltic Sea coastal inhabitants, may help to fill the gap and offer valuable insights for Baltic linguistics. Thus, the lack of such studies, combined with the gradual disappearance of folk architecture names as ethnographic objects vanish from the living environment, highlights both the **research problem and topicality** of this research.

Several factors determine the research area and focus. The clear gap in studies addressing the vocabulary of Latvian folk architecture is a key driver, supplemented by the researcher's professional background and a personal connection to seaside culture.

Secondly, fishing has been a traditional practice among Baltic Sea coastal communities for centuries. It is an essential source of survival, providing food, occupation, and employment, and shapes the way of life for the ethnic groups residing along the Baltic Sea coast. The sea has been the most important element of coastal inhabitants' identity and has created the cultural life of fishing communities (Lau-  
mane 2013: 8). The cultural and historical differences between the seaside area and inland regions have been largely shaped by the presence of the sea, which is reflected in the living and working environments of the coastal ethnic groups, as well as in their distinct language compared to other regions. For instance, the Latvian-speaking communities along the coast, once inhabited by Curonians, should be considered within a broader context. Proportionally, the largest part of the seaside area in present-day Latvia and Lithuania was historically inhabited by Curonians, unlike the Livs, who inhabited North Kurzeme and were eventually assimilated. Therefore, the territory defined by the Curonian language substrate sets the territorial boundaries of this research. For further details on the **research area**, see Chapter 1.2.

Thirdly, while fishing has long been regarded as an honourable occupation, the lifestyle of fishers, particularly their living conditions, was primarily shaped by utilitarian needs and climatic conditions. Given the demanding nature of daily life and the limited construction skills of fishers themselves, artisans were often invited to help in building their homesteads (Kundziņš 1974: 85–88). The motivation for examining the names of dwelling houses was also influenced by the fact that homestead architecture, similar to that of Latvian peasants, including coastal residents, was typical of a relatively broad region along the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea. For instance, similar architectural forms are found in western Latvia, western Lithuania

(around Klaipėda and western Žemaitia), and even parts of Prussia (Kundziņš 1974: 300–302), territories historically inhabited by Curonians. Historical sources show that this region underwent intensive migration, as well as economic and linguistic interactions, which facilitated the transfer of artisanal skills, construction-related concepts, and their corresponding terminology across various areas. For further details on the socio-historical and linguistic background, see Chapters 1.3 and 1.4.

Therefore, this **research aims** to examine and compare the lexical-semantic groups related to folk architecture within Latvian-speaking communities in the defined research area and to determine the influence of ethnographic factors and language contacts on differences in vocabulary.

The **object** of this research is the lexical items denoting concepts related to the structure and architecture of traditionally built homesteads in seaside villages, viewed as part of ethnic culture from the late 17th century to the early 20th century.

According to the research aim, the **objectives** are as follows:

1. To define the theoretical framework and methodology of the research, as well as to provide socio-historical and ethnographic background on folk architecture in the research area.
2. To identify, collect, and select thematic lexical items related to folk architecture concepts from written sources dating from the late 17th to the early 20th century.
3. To examine the influence of language contacts on folk architecture vocabulary by exploring etymology, semantics, and territorial distribution, with particular attention to how such contacts have shaped both the thematic group as a whole and its distinctive features within each linguistic community.
4. To compile a glossary of analyzed folk architecture concepts and their corresponding names within the defined research area.

This research does not cover all artisanal vocabulary related to folk architecture. Instead, it focuses on developing an ethnolinguistic portrayal of (fisher's or farmer-fisher's) homesteads in a specific coastal region. Thus, specific subgroups are defined to encompass concepts related to tangible elements. These elements include the homestead itself and other structural or decorative elements that directly and functionally relate to the homestead's buildings. Six thematic subgroups are defined: the homestead and its courtyard, building types, room types, construction materials and products, constructions, and heating and lighting appliances.

This research is primarily based on comparative-historical, descriptive and geolinguistic **methods** of analysis.

The **significance** of this research lies in its interdisciplinary and comparative approach. Notably, the research reveals distinctive lexical-semantic features of folk architecture within Latvian-speaking seaside communities, clarifying regional differences and the influence of language contact. This study also represents the first attempt to present the Latvian thematic vocabulary related to the folk architecture of seaside homesteads in both Lithuania and Latvia, drawing on published and unpublished sources of Latvian lexis. Findings demonstrate that vocabulary differences highlight the interplay of sociolinguistic factors and historical contact processes. This is particularly important for relatively small countries like the Baltic states, where language is one of the most crucial elements in shaping, expressing, and preserving the identity of ethnic groups. Findings on thematic vocabulary and its development, alongside other dialectal studies, can contribute to broader research on language contact and the Baltic languages.

The **practical value and results** of this research lie in its comprehensive linguistic portrayal of homesteads along the eastern Baltic Sea coast (in present-day Lithuania and Latvia), as well as in its documentation of Latvian vocabulary related to defined concepts and their lexical items. The research findings can be used in Latvian dialectology and geolinguistics courses and may also serve to illustrate particular sociolinguistic or ethnolinguistic phenomena. Beyond academic contexts, the findings can be applied in educational settings and cultural institutions to illustrate the processes behind the creation and evolution of tangible culture. This topic may also be of interest to those studying terminology, particularly in relation to definitions of architecture or folk architecture-related words that could be revived as national alternatives to international terms. Some findings can provide insight into the characteristics of Latvian as a minority language (in Šventoji and Būtingė) and as a geoelect (in the Curonian Spit), informing language policy discussions.

Given the explained problem and based on the findings of previous studies, this research proposes the following **defensive statements**:

1. The differences in the concepts of folk architecture are influenced more by the sociolinguistic characteristics of the ethnic communities studied than by the differences in the lifestyles and households of fishers and farmers.

2. All three ethnic communities in the research area share a common Latvian linguistic heritage and a Curonian substrate, which together relate to the overall development of Balts' material culture.
3. From an etymological and word-formation perspective, the differences in the folk architecture vocabulary among the Latvian-speaking communities studied are determined by distinct linguistic interactions shaped by different sociopolitical conditions.
4. Semantic differences in the folk architecture vocabulary of the Latvian-speaking communities studied are determined by both architectural differences and by social necessity to name objects using words from other languages.
5. The prevalence of concepts reflects the broad distribution of folk architecture objects, materials, and phenomena originating from similar functional needs; however, their names reflect different sociolinguistic conditions and Latvian-speaking community relations during different time periods, resulting in diverse folk architecture names. The preceding statements are confirmed by the geographical distribution of the most representative lexemes of the thematic concepts.

The doctoral thesis **consists of the following parts**. It begins with a list of abbreviations. The opening Chapter introduces the overall context of the research, the research area, and clarifies its boundaries. This is followed by a socio-historical and linguistic overview of the research area, which is subsequently provided, along with an examination of the conditions that influenced the formation and development of homesteads in the area. Chapter 2 provides an analysis of the relevant literature and theoretical framework, reviewing previous studies and sources related to the selected topic. Chapter 3 covers all aspects of the research methodology, including data selection criteria, methods of data identification and collection, challenges in data comparison, and approaches to data analysis from different perspectives. Chapter 4 presents an overview of all the analyzed folk architecture concepts and their corresponding names, organized by thematic subgroups. Chapter 5 offers a detailed comparative analysis of the thematic vocabulary from thematic, semantic, and geolinguistic perspectives. The thesis concludes with a list of findings, a bibliography of 115 sources, a list of tables and figures, and 1 appendix.

**The research findings have been approbated** at several scientific conferences and in publications. Findings related to the research topic were presented at 4 international scientific conferences:

1. 18.11.2021. *Lexis of the Baltic Sea Coastal Fishers in Lithuania and Latvia: Denominations of Dwelling Houses*. The 6th International Interdisciplinary Scientific Conference “The Interaction of Tradition and Modernity”, Klaipėda, Lithuania (online presentation).
2. 25.11.2021. *Jumta un to daļu nosaukumi Latvijas un Lietuvas Baltijas jūras piekrastes leksikā*. 26. starptautiskā zinātniskā konference “Vārds un tā pētīšanas aspekti”, Liepāja, Latvija (online presentation).
3. 20.05.2022. *Latvian vocabulary on the Baltic Sea Coast in Latvia and Lithuania: Designations of the Object Kitchen*. The 11th International Interdisciplinary Scientific Conference “The Region: history, culture, language”, Šiauliai, Lithuania (online presentation).
4. 28.11.2024. *Tautas celtniecības leksika Baltijas jūras piekrastes latviešu valodā Latvijā un Lietuvā*. 29. starptautiskā zinātniskā konference “Vārds un tā pētīšanas aspekti”, Liepāja, Latvija.

Several **articles** have been written about the issues of the thesis. The results of the research were compiled and published in 3 scientific articles:

1. *The Lexis of Latvian-speaking communities on the Baltic Sea Coast in Latvia and Lithuania: Denominations for Houses*. Res Humanitariae XXX, 2022, 231–252 p.
2. *Latviešu valodas amatniecības leksika Baltijas jūras piekrastē Latvijā un Lietuvā: reālās jumts, skurstenis, jumtgale, kore, vējadēlis, āži un tupelītes nosaukumi*. Vārds un tā pētīšanas aspekti 26, 2022, 124–134 p.
3. *Lexis of Latvian-speaking Communities at the Baltic Sea Coast in Latvia and Lithuania: Denominations of the object KITCHEN*. Acta humanitaria academiae Saulensis, T30, 2023, 103–116 p.

## 1.2. RESEARCH AREA AND ITS BOUNDARIES

Several factors have determined the research area and its boundaries, limiting the geographical scope of this research. The foundational territorial layer corresponds to the historical region once inhabited by the now-extinct Baltic tribe known as the Curonians. This area lies along the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea. This historical region also helps define two external borders of the research area (see Figure 1). The northern border generally follows the northern part of Kurzeme, historically inhabited by the Livonians, and the river Venta. To the south, the border is less precise but



generally aligns with the present-day border between the Republic of Lithuania and Russia on the Curonian Spit. Thus, the delimitation of the research area is grounded in both historical and present geographic realities.

The primary objective of this research is to examine the vocabulary of the Latvian language as used along the Baltic Sea coast. The study specifically investigates linguistic variations within Latvian and the differing lifestyles of coastal-speaking communities, thereby highlighting the connection between geography, language, and society in the defined research area.

Firstly, in Kurzeme, Latvian features two regional dialects: the Middle dialect, spoken in the central and southern coast, and the Livonian (Livonianized) dialect in northern Kurzeme. Their distribution reflects the historical settlement by Baltic and Finnic-speaking Livonians, who differed from the Balts in terms of culture, organization, dwellings, and language (Šulcs 1960). Significant distinctions exist between the western coastal region, once inhabited by the Curonians, and the inland areas settled by the Semigallians, Selonians, and Latgallians, both in material culture and in ancient Latvian languages. The Curonian language was once spoken in present-day northwestern Lithuania, reaching as far as Klaipėda, until the 15th–16th centuries, and in Kurzeme until the 16th century (NEe – kurši). Traces likely remain in the Zhemaitian dialect of Lithuanian and the Curonian subdialects of Latvian. Thus, linguistically, the research area aligns with the extent of the Curonian language substratum.

Secondly, if the research area is considered as a series of overlapping layers, the eastern border is defined by a zone separating the homesteads of fishers and farmers. This boundary is not only geographic but also social and cultural. Fishing differs from farming primarily due to natural conditions and environmental factors. The rhythm of fishing is determined by weather, wind direction and speed, the risk of drowning, and extended periods working at sea. In contrast, farming is seasonal and depends mainly on the sun's cycle and soil fertility. Therefore, fishers and their families are characterised by distinct everyday realities, objects, and work patterns compared to farmers. As a result, fishers form a specific social group whose members construct their own worldview and their own local culture, shaped by their occupation, knowledge, skills, values, and traditions passed down through generations, along with their unique fishers' language as a sociolect. This social distinctness further solidifies the boundaries of the research area.



**Figure 1.** Map of research area.

Moreover, the physical environment gives fishing communities a strong sense of belonging to a particular place, which becomes an integral part of their unique local identity. Typically, the most characteristic place for a fisher and his family was their homestead, where both individual ethnic traits and the impact of global changes are visible through traditional material culture. The fishers' homestead served as both a home and a workplace, reinforcing their cultural identity. Differences exist not only between fishers' and farmers' homesteads, but also within the coastal area of Kurzeme and the Curonian Spit, where homesteads' layouts reflect both local needs and environmental pressures. For instance, in Kurzeme, units are arranged around a courtyard with separate buildings for each function, while on the Curonian Spit, layouts are narrow with multifunctional buildings providing direct access to the lagoon shore. At the same time, these considerations raise the question of whether lifestyle and homestead differences are reflected in vocabulary, and if so, how these differences manifest linguistically.

For this reason, the research area is defined as a coastal strip along the Baltic Sea, approximately 20 km wide, which also makes it visible that it spans two present-day states.

### **1.3. SOCIO-HISTORICAL AND LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND**

From the perspective of this research focus, the research area is not homogeneous in terms of administrative-territorial divisions, socio-historical developments, or linguistic characteristics. Within this complex landscape, three Latvian-speaking communities, shaped by distinct historical and sociolinguistic conditions, can be identified within the research area: the Latvians of Kurzeme, the Latvian-speaking community of Palanga, and those of the Curonian Spit (Kapenieks 2013; Straupe-niece 2018: 10–35; Kiseliūnaitė 2021).

The first of these, the Latvian-speaking community, which was historically connected to the Duchy of Kurzeme and Semigallia and later the Governorate of Kurzeme, was divided into two groups after the establishment of the border between Lithuania and Latvia in 1921. Consequently, it is possible to distinguish between Latvians who spoke their mother tongue and contributed to the development of the standard Latvian language, and Latvian speakers in the vicinity of Palanga—a separate ethnolinguistic group who have preserved the spoken Latvian language in

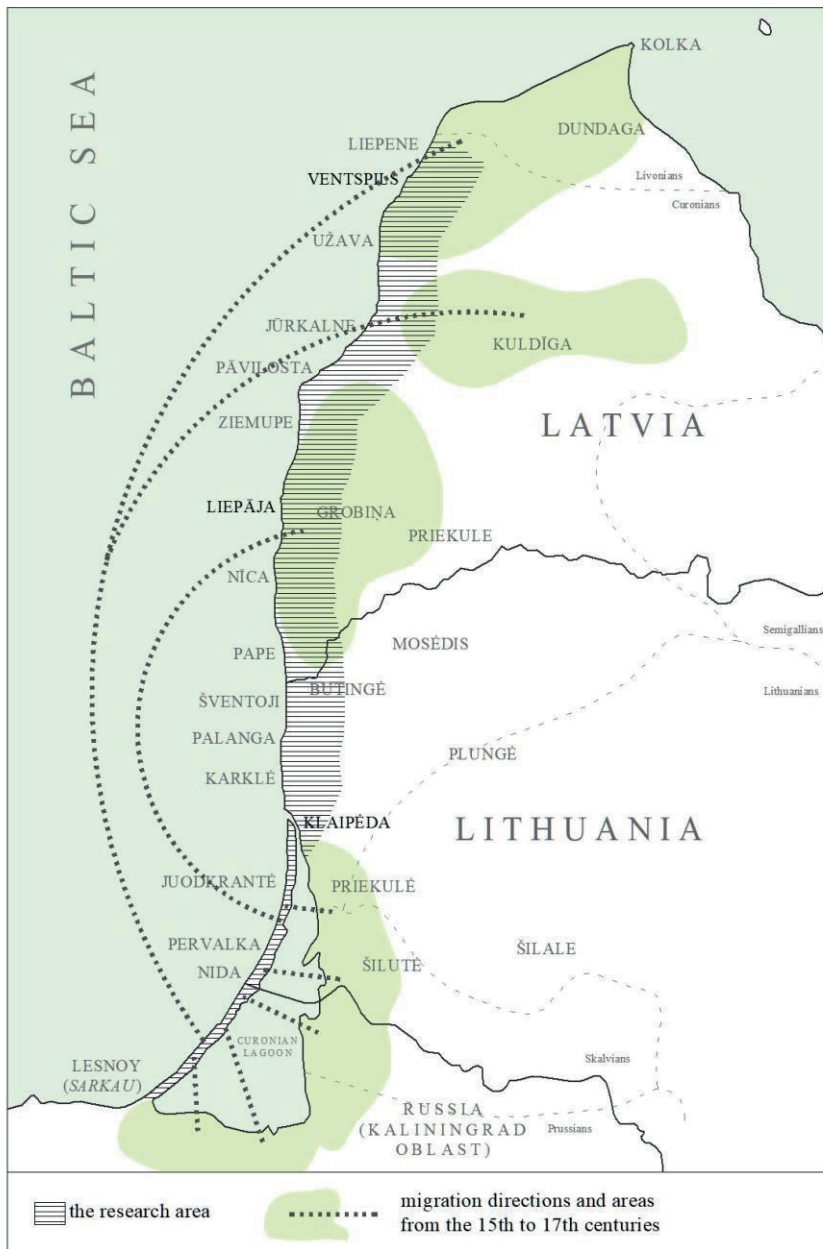
Lithuania to this day. Specifically, the language of this latter group, spoken in Šven-toji and Būtingė, is associated with the area of the Middle dialect of the Curonian subdialect. It should be regarded as a continuation of the southwestern dialects of Kurzeme, featuring both archaic elements and innovations typical of peripheral diaspora dialects influenced by bilingualism (Kiseliūnaite 2021: 56–57). Meanwhile, the Latvian language on the Kurzeme coast within the research area belongs to several subdialects of the Middle dialect, as well as the Livonian dialect, in part.

In contrast to the aforementioned communities, a unique Latvian-speaking community was formed in the Klaipėda region of the former Prussia by colonists from Kurzeme who arrived in several waves between the 14th and 18th centuries (BezzS 271; Forstreuter 1981: 286; Kapenieks 2013: 34). This community was not homogeneous in any sense, including linguistically (see Figure 2, which is based on the map by Lithuanian linguist Dalia Kiseliūnaitė in her latest work (Kiseliūnaitė 2025: 13)). The language spoken along the coast from north of Klaipėda to Palanga was closer to the Latvian written language than that of the ethnos inhabiting the Curonian Spit, also known as the New Curonians (Ivanickaja 2018: 115). Evidence for this comes from language material gathered by German philologist Adalbert Bezzenberger (BezzS 133) from speakers who had emigrated to Karklė from the former territory of Kursa. As a result, in the southern part of this area, Latvian was spoken, while in the northern part, Lithuanian prevailed, except during fishing, when Latvian was also used in Nemirseta (Ivanickaja 2018: 117). In the Curonian Spit, where most colonists settled, the New Curonian language remained the primary and dominant language in the region until the mid-19th century<sup>1</sup>, particularly among local fishers.

To further clarify, the language of the Curonian Spit warrants a brief explanation. For some time, there has been debate<sup>2</sup> on whether New Curonian is an independent

<sup>1</sup> The first wave of newcomers from Kurzeme began in the 15th and continued during the 16th century (BezzS 271), during which Latvian-speaking settlers from Kurzeme settled on the Curonian Spit and gradually became the dominant group. However, other studies suggest that the first wave of newcomers settled down even earlier, as early as the 13th and 14th centuries (Forstreuter 1981: 286). Factors such as escaping plague and famine, as well as the availability of abundant fishing grounds in nearby Prussia and around Klaipėda, encouraged migration from Kurzeme to the Klaipėda region and the Curonian Spit, a process that continued until the 18th century. Other ethnic groups primarily originated from the mainland, including colonizers from German lands and Lithuanians from the Klaipėda area, although most were Germanized Prussians (Bezzenberger 1889: 101–102, 112; Kapenieks 2013: 34; Kiseliūnaitė 2016). These historical circumstances shaped a multi-ethnic community united by a specific natural setting.

<sup>2</sup> Vanags (1999) lists several factors that define the language spoken on the Curonian Spit as an independent Baltic language: the strong influence of German and Lithuanian, the lack of a



**Figure 2.** Possible areas from which people migrated to the Curonian Spit.

Baltic language or a dialect of Latvian, specifically regarding the status of New Curonian (Vanags 1999; Kiseliūnaitė 1995; Kursīte 2007: 21, 23). Although this issue is closely related to definitions of language, dialect, or subdialect, and will not be discussed in detail in this research, it is also connected to various sociolinguistic, historical, and self-identity issues among speaking or ethnic communities. Latvian linguist Pēteris Vanags (1999) presented compelling arguments for both sides of the debate, concluding that New Curonian is an independent Baltic language, though not solely from a linguistic perspective. Supporting this argument, Lithuanian linguist Kiseliūnaitė, in her comprehensive research (2003; 2008; 2010; 2016; 2018, 2022; Kiseliūnaitė, Jakulytė: 2017, etc.), emphasizes that the distinctive features of this spoken language extend beyond territorial, political, and social boundaries<sup>3</sup>, reflecting an ethnic dimension that sets it apart as a distinct Baltic language. However, although the New Curonians did not become an ethnos or a nation in the 20th century and eventually disappeared due to external circumstances, the characteristics of an ethnic group (Kapenieks 2013: 43–44), alongside the separation of the New Curonian language from its parent language, support the notion that New Curonian can be considered the independent language of an ethnic group. Given the multidimensional nature of the New Curonian language, its classification largely depends on the research focus. For this research, particularly in comparison with the thematic vocabulary of other Latvian-speaking communities in the research area, it will be considered as a territorial variety of the Latvian language. For clarity, the term New Curonian language will be used (also known as the Kursenieku language of the Curonian Spit in academic literature).

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cultural lexicon shared with Latvian, and the German or Lithuanian words found in place of the missing ones, as well as such equally important extra-linguistic aspects as the identity of New Curonians (Latvian language and belonging to the Latvians are not part of the culture of the Latvian-speaking community on the Curonian Spit) and the geographical and political distinction from other Latvian settlements. In contrast, the opposing view is supported by several factors: the source of the language from Latvian dialects in the southwestern region of Kurzeme, the relatively minor differences in morphology, phonetics, and basic vocabulary, and the ability of the New Curonians to communicate effectively with Latvian speakers without requiring an intermediary language.

<sup>3</sup> Kiseliūnaitė holds the view that the status of New Curonian is based on various criteria, and therefore it is either a separate Baltic language, a dialect of the Latvian language, a geolect spoken on the territory of the Lithuanian state, a language of the Prussian national minority, a sociolect of the fishing community on the Curonian Spit, or an ethnolect of the community that developed in Kurzeme and formed an independent ethnic group (see more Kiseliūnaitė 2022: 25–38).

Despite their differences, all local areas inhabited by speakers of Latvian regional varieties share common characteristics, such as close economic ties with neighboring ethnolinguistic communities, patterns of migration involving artisans, and similar coastal fishing lifestyles. Notably, changes in the sociolinguistic landscape or periods of intensive language contact have been the primary factors influencing the vocabulary of these Latvian-speaking communities. For example, in Šventoji and Būtingė, changes in the Latvian language reflect the increased role of Lithuanian in education and religion, alongside a decline in the functional use of Latvian in other sociolinguistic contexts since the 20th century (Straupeniece 2018: 15–23, 25–29). By comparison, in the case of the New Curonians, the influence of Lithuanian and, more significantly, German, on the language resulted from sustained economic and linguistic interactions with neighboring groups. Here, Lithuanian reached the New Curonian community mainly through education, religion, and family, with the western dialect of East Prussia Lithuanian serving as the everyday language in ethnically mixed families (Kiseliūnaitė 2016: 74). In regional marketplaces, such as Klaipėda (*Memel*), Šilutė (*Heydekrug*), Kintai (*Kinten*), and other villages along the Nemunas river up to Tilžė (*Tilsit*) or Ragainė (*Ragnit*), New Curonians used spoken Lithuanian, German, and New Curonian to communicate while selling fish (Strakauskaitė 2004: 112–113). Nevertheless, the impact of German, driven by historical and political factors, was even more significant. After Germany unified in 1871, German became the sole official language in the Prussian parts, further solidifying its dominance along the Curonian Spit. This process of Germanization advanced rapidly, especially in the southern region, whereas in the north, New Curonian families did not use German until the mid-19th century (Kiseliūnaitė, Jakulytė 2017: 150). Following 1923 and administrative changes, the region saw New Curonian, German (including standard and Low German dialects), and Lithuanian (both standard and Klaipėda Lithuanian varieties) spoken concurrently (Strakauskaitė 2004: 81–82; Kiseliūnaitė 2008: 75; Kapenieks 2013: 101).

The New Curonian language evolved into a diaspora variety, remaining distinct from the processes that shaped Latvian national identity and the development of the standard Latvian language (Kiseliūnaitė 2016). Although there was some interest among Latvians in the early 20th century to support the New Curonian community by providing Latvian literature, broader interaction—including language contact—between Latvians in Latvia and those on the Curonian Spit was limited and, from a present-day perspective, rather insufficient to ensure the language's continued presence under

challenging circumstances. In historical retrospect, changes within the New Curonian language—including its vocabulary—along with its survival and eventual decline, were directly shaped by multiple factors in a bilingual or trilingual environment. These factors included, but were not limited to, the limited use of New Curonian in only a few domains (mainly fishing and family life), the absence of a written language, and the lower prestige and status of New Curonian in relation to the dominant languages.

Similarly, until the start of the 20th century, the other two Latvian-speaking communities—in Kurzeme and along the border (Šventoji and Būtingė)<sup>4</sup>, largely formed a single language community. In the case of the territorial variety of Šventoji and Būtingė, after the Latvian-Lithuanian border convention, several pastors served in the church, and until 1958, Latvian was actively used in congregational life. Even in later years, when the congregation no longer had a permanent pastor, religious rituals and services continued in Latvian until the 1980s (Straupeniece 2018: 25–29). This continuity highlights the role of the Būtingė church<sup>5</sup> in maintaining and preserving the Latvian language in the area despite declines in other sociolinguistic functions. Indeed, linguist Daiga Straupeniece has shown that changes in the modern linguistic situation began with the unsuccessful implementation of Lithuanian state education policy and the inadequate addressing of issues related to Latvian schools<sup>6</sup> (Straupeniece 2018: 15–17). Additional factors—such as shifts in the local ethnic structure, migration, and an ageing population—further reduced the use of Latvian, weakened the local sense of belonging, and lessened ties with Latvia.

<sup>4</sup> At the beginning of the 20th century, both Šventoji and Būtingė were predominantly ethnic Latvian villages (Mežs 2007: 169).

<sup>5</sup> Latvians in this area belonged to the Būtingė Lutheran church, which was initially built in 1824. Before the First World War, the church in Būtingė functioned as a branch of the Rucava congregation; thus, services were held in Latvian. In the early years following the war, services continued to be held in Latvian, led by a pastor from Rucava. Later, however, services in Būtingė and Palanga churches were held irregularly in German and Lithuanian by a pastor from Kretinga (Krasnais 1938: 69).

<sup>6</sup> Indeed, the Lithuanian state held back to protect and restore the functioning of Latvian schools. For instance, soon after the Latvian-Lithuanian border convention, lessons, held in Latvian, were stopped both in Šventoji and Būtingė. From the 1920s until the 1940s, local Latvians made efforts to restore Latvian schools in Šventoji and Būtingė, or at the very least, to reintroduce education in the Latvian language. Although Latvian children primarily attended these schools, a shortage of teachers led to the appointment of Lithuanian Catholic priests instead. Thus, lessons were conducted in Lithuanian (see Straupeniece 2018: 18–23 for more information). Lutheranism was also excluded from the school curriculum (Krasnais 1938: 70). The exclusive use of the Lithuanian language in education until the Second World War contributed to gradual changes in Latvian identity, including cultural and linguistic ones.



Although the three Latvian-speaking communities evolved under the influence of bilingualism and, in some cases, trilingualism (in its broader sense), the specific circumstances of language contact differed for each community, reflecting their distinct historical, social, and linguistic backgrounds, as well as the particular directions of language contact. Not only the occurrence of economic and linguistic contacts over different periods but also their intensity influenced changes in the thematic vocabulary.

## 1.4. FORMATION CONDITIONS OF HOMESTEADS

To begin with, the location of fishers' homesteads on the coast was mainly determined by proximity to the sea and various geographical conditions. The coastal areas of Kurzeme are relatively flat and lack any distinctive natural formations, which facilitated the linear layout of both settlements and individual homesteads along the coast. Although Kurzeme settlements and their buildings are documented in earlier documents, such as drawings and descriptions by Johann Rudolf Storn, Johann Christoph Brotze (Broce 2002; 2007), Paul Einhorn, August Bielenstein (Bīlenšteins 2001), and other authors (Jaunzems 1943; Kundziņš 1974; Cimermanis 2020, etc.), this research focuses on homesteads that were created and developed between the 18th and 20th centuries. These homesteads were based on earlier vernacular building traditions and are supported by more reliable information. A detailed description of the homesteads will not be given here; instead, an explanation will be given along with the thematic vocabulary analyzed further in this research (see Chapter 4).

In contrast to Kurzeme, the location and layout of fishing villages<sup>7</sup> in the Curonian Spit are largely determined by their position on a narrow strip of land<sup>8</sup> between

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<sup>7</sup> Several sources state that the existence of the villages on the Curonian Spit has been under threat since ancient times. However, at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries, intensive deforestation accelerated dune movement, resulting in the burial of the oldest settlements on the spit (Bezenberger 1889; Gudelis 1998; Kursīte 2007: 8; ČESE). Over the course of two centuries (from the beginning of the 17th century to the mid-19th century), forest cover on the spit declined from 75% to just 10%. This deforestation facilitated the migration of New Curonians between villages and the establishment of new settlements. For example, the village of Pervelka was founded, and Nida experienced significant expansion during this period (FKN 26, 50). This is particularly significant for studying the New Curonian language in different villages because population movements may have contributed to the spread of linguistic features.

<sup>8</sup> The Curonian Spit is a narrow strip of shifting sand dunes, approximately 98 km long and 0,4–3,8 km wide, separating the Curonian Lagoon from the Baltic Sea. Archaeological research indicates that the Curonian Spit has been inhabited since the early Neolithic period, between the 4th and 3rd millennia BC, suggesting that its fish-rich waters served as an important source of

the Baltic Sea and the Curonian Lagoon. A road, aligned roughly parallel to the lagoon, serves as a central element of the spatial structure of these villages (Butkevičius 1958: 174)<sup>9</sup>. Thus, when comparing homesteads in the Curonian Spit and Kurzeme, those in the Curonian Spit were typically arranged on narrow, elongated plots with (mainly) direct access to the Curonian Lagoon (Purvinas 2008). In contrast, homesteads in Kurzeme were situated further inland and consisted of more buildings, often organized around a rectangular central yard (Kundziņš 1974: 156). The traditional fisher's homesteads of the Curonian Spit took shape between the late 18th and the mid-19th centuries<sup>10</sup> and coexist harmoniously with the natural features of the spit, such as sand dunes and forests. Subsequently, all of them underwent significant changes due to improved living conditions and broader socio-economic transformations.

The histories of the three local research areas are closely related, and the ethnographic features of the coastal fishers' homesteads and their buildings share notable similarities. However, a range of factors has shaped not only the physical aspects but also the ethnolinguistic image of the homesteads in these Latvian-speaking communities.

Firstly, the material culture of the region, including the homesteads and their elements, undoubtedly evolved from that of the region's ancient inhabitants. On the Kurzeme coast, for example, these groups include the Curonians and Livs. However, it is widely acknowledged that the cultural influences of neighboring ethnic groups and their languages have greatly influenced the region's tangible and intangible culture. For example, throughout Kurzeme, there is clear evidence of a strong close relationship between the native culture of Kurzeme and those of the Lithuanians, Baltic Finns, and Germanic groups along the Baltic Sea coast (Cimermanis 1978: 40). These conditions have also led to the development of distinct local areas with their own peculiarities. While the culture of Northern Kurzeme is largely influenced by elements of Baltic Finn culture, Southern Kurzeme is more closely connected to

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subsistence during that time (Kursīte 2007: 10–13). The Curonian Spit has been mentioned in written sources since the 14th century (KKF 3).

<sup>9</sup> Due to the harsh conditions of the open Baltic Sea, fishers primarily operated in the lagoon (KKF 3), which explains the location of settlements along the coast of the Curonian Lagoon rather than on the seaside.

<sup>10</sup> Until then, fishers originally lived in huts situated in safer areas to protect them from the shifting dunes. These huts were built from various pieces of timber salvaged from shipwrecks or boats. At the beginning of the 19th century, efforts to plant forests and stabilize the dunes reduced their movement. This eventually enabled the New Curonians to build more permanent structures and adapt their lifestyle to the natural environment.

the south, specifically to Žemaitia, East Prussia, and the material culture of Central European and southern Swedish peasantry (*ibid.*). Other sources on folk architecture also highlight the connections between Latvian vernacular building traditions and those of other ethnic groups, as well as the widespread presence of similar homesteads and construction techniques across the broader Baltic Sea region. It has been documented that notably similar homesteads can be found in northwestern Lithuania, particularly in the regions of Žemaitia and the Klaipėda district, as well as in East and West Prussia and even in parts of Germany, such as Lower Saxony and Westphalia (Kundziņš 1974: 300–301). This geographic distribution corresponds to the historical territory inhabited by the Curonians. Decorative building elements, such as animal-shaped board ends on roof gables, which held ancient symbolic meaning, are found even more widely distributed along the southern shores of the Baltic Sea and the North Sea (Kundziņš 1974: 304–305). Studies of folk architecture on the Curonian Spit also show various influences. The fishers' homesteads combine features of traditional German and Žemaitian architecture: construction techniques are largely borrowed from German traditions, while aspects of the layout, roof design, and decorative elements reflect influences from the Žemaitia region (Butkevičius 1958: 175). This suggests the plausible hypothesis that, from a linguistic perspective, examining the thematic vocabulary of the entire region may reveal both older lexical items and those introduced through economic interactions and language contact with neighboring communities.

Secondly, it is evident that artisans played a significant role in introducing foreign linguistic elements into the vocabulary of the Latvian-speaking communities studied. Around the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries<sup>11</sup>, Central European building techniques were introduced to Latvia by craftsmen accompanying German feudal lords and knights, who, driven by the Catholic faith, aimed to conquer the region; by the 17th to 19th centuries, the wooden architecture of peasant homesteads clearly reflected these influences in their design, construction methods, and decorative details (Cimermanis 2020: 23). Similarly, the architectural similarities between

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<sup>11</sup> In fact, the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries marked the beginning of a period during which the territory of present-day Latvia came under the control of neighboring powers and their political structures for the next seven hundred years. During this time, the local population was bound to particular places, namely, manors, and lived as lawless peasants or serfs with severely limited rights, lacking legal autonomy and freedom of movement. It was not until the 19th century, with the collapse of the serfdom system, that peasants gained the ability to purchase land and establish their own independent households.

buildings on both sides of the Curonian Lagoon can be explained by the fact that craftsmen constructed houses for fishers in the villages of the Nemunas Delta as well as on the Curonian Spit. However, fishers' houses on the Curonian Spit were generally simpler and more old-fashioned, yet still adorned with carved architectural elements, such as gable ends or crossed horse heads, which were primarily believed to offer magical protection (Detlefzenas 1995: 28; Butkevičius 1958: 80).

Third, innovations in house-building techniques and solutions did not come solely from itinerant craftsmen. Rather, they were largely adopted by peasants from the manors, where such practices were often established as standards to follow. Many of these innovations related directly to the building's heating centre<sup>12</sup> and fire safety, such as chimneys, vaulted chimneys, and tile stoves. Such innovations, previously unknown to the peasants, also introduced new names into their vocabulary.

Another important aspect to consider is the variation in homestead elements across different local areas, as well as the corresponding words used for these objects within each Latvian-speaking community. Fishers' homesteads in Kurzeme differ from those on the Curonian Spit in several ways, including the number of buildings, their arrangement on the plot, and the internal layout of individual buildings. Whereas in Kurzeme, each function typically had its own separate building, or at least distinct functions, such as pigsties or cattle sheds, were housed under separate roofs, homesteads on the Curonian Spit were more compact, with multiple functions often accommodated within a single building. On the spit, a stable for a horse or a few cows and a room for the storage of goods or nets were all components of an outbuilding, while the drying of nets was typically carried out in the attic of the dwelling house. In contrast to the farmer's homestead, a granary or barn as a separate building was not a typical feature of the fishers' homestead on the spit. This suggests that the placement of buildings was influenced not only by practical necessity but also by the limited availability of construction materials, particularly wood<sup>13</sup>, on the Curonian Spit, as well as by the level of wealth of New Curonians (Kursīte 2007: 57). It can

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<sup>12</sup> Fire-safe solutions, including mantle-vault-like chimneys, were promoted by local administrative authorities to improve the fire safety of peasant dwelling houses. Beginning in the 17th century, this knowledge was adopted in Latvia from German pastors and manor administrations (Bilenšteins 2001: 73; Cimermanis 2020: 361). Such chimneys, based on the example typical in Germany, became widespread in Kurzeme and Zemgale during the 18th and 19th centuries, but were rarely found in Vidzeme (Cimermanis 1969: 32).

<sup>13</sup> Building materials, such as logs and reeds, were transported from areas outside the Curonian Spit, for example, from the Kinten region.

therefore be assumed that, from a linguistic perspective, different types of buildings may have borne distinct names. A similar assumption could be made for buildings such as barns or stables, dwelling houses occupied by individuals of different social classes and economic statuses, namely, landless peasants or smallholders, as well as structures like smokehouses, cellars, and ice cellars, which were specific to the Curonian Spit. The absence of certain building names in the spit can also be illustrated by the examples of the bathhouse and the toilet. New Curonians typically bathed on Sundays and, during the warmer seasons, swam in the bay on other days. Since bathing and laundry were primarily carried out in the kitchen, no separate rooms or buildings were allocated for these activities (MogN: 224–229).

In the Curonian Spit, the middle and the second half of the 19th century<sup>14</sup> marked a turning point in the way of life and primary occupations of the local inhabitants. The emergence of resort culture and the growth of tourism played a major role in encouraging changes to the representation of New Curonian folk culture, including language. The landscape of the Curonian Spit began to change with the introduction of a new type of building: resorts or villas. Such buildings began to appear in Jodkrantė, Nida, and other settlements. Alongside fishing-related activities, local inhabitants increasingly began to cater to tourists, referred to in the New Curonian as *peldu viesi* (literally, bathing guests) (KuV: 3; Endzelīns 1931: 573; Demereckas 2011: 31). Over time, tourism became a major source of income<sup>15</sup> for the local population. The New Curonians heard and spoke German and learned about life in Germany, a process also described as propaganda (Kursīte 2007: 57). However,

<sup>14</sup> From the mid-19th century onward, the number of tourists—including artists, writers, and even students from the Königsberg Art Academy—increased steadily. Visitors came from Eastern Prussia and, after 1871, from Germany. The widely known designation of the village of Nida as “the Prussian Sahara” accurately captured the impression promoted by prominent figures of the time, including Wilhelm von Humboldt and Ludwig Passarge (Peleikis 2006: 102–103). Artists were fascinated by the landscape and atmosphere of the fishing villages, the local inhabitants, fishers and peasants, their traditional cultural practices, folk costumes, and everyday objects – everything they perceived as untouched by modern progress (Albert 2002: 42–43; Peleikis 2006: 103). As anthropologist Anja Peleikis notes (Peleikis 2006: 103), “this population, with its past as a Baltic ethnic group, with their own Curonian language and their distinct cultural traditions, appealed to the artists and caught their imagination”.

<sup>15</sup> During the summer, local inhabitants rented out rooms in their dwellings, or even the entire dwelling, to guests. They themselves moved into subsidiary buildings, such as sheds, or sometimes slept outdoors (FKN 88). In addition to providing accommodation, they sold fish and milk, guided guests into the forest to observe elk, or offered boat tours on the Curonian Lagoon and the Baltic Sea. Knowledge of the German language was necessary for providing such activities for guests.

a contradictory phenomenon was observed: German guests were eager to observe the New Curonians in their folk costumes and to take photographs, thereby seemingly emphasizing a particular aspect of their culture, yet they prohibited the use of the New Curonian language in their presence (Endzelins 1931: 573; KKF 4). Consequently, the lowered prestige of the New Curonian language was a direct result of the prevailing socioeconomic conditions of the time. As a result of efforts to preserve and continue New Curonian culture and ethnography, the local German intelligentsia founded the Society of Ethnography in Nida (Germ. *Trachtenverein Nidden* or *Niddener Trachtenverein*) in the autumn of 1926, also called the *Niddener association of traditional costumes* (Peleikis 2006: 104; Kapenieks 2013: 119). This society was established and managed by members of the local German intelligentsia, who sought to preserve the culture of the local fishers, specifically the New Curonian ethnic culture and its more visible elements, such as folk costumes, living environments, and sailboats, but did so in a misrepresented manner. Three brothers from the Sakuth family, who were born in Nida and later migrated to Sweden, confirmed that the appearance of homesteads in Nida was regulated by the Society of Ethnography in Nida. For instance, their requirement was that all houses be painted red, while the window frames and windboards of the gable ends were to be painted white and blue (ISBt). Brothers also noted that gentlemen, including the painter Ernst Mollenhauer and his associates in the society, determined the overall “approach to preserving” the built environment of the New Curonians. However, their own houses or buildings differed in the choice of materials and colors; for example, instead of reed roofs, the houses of the so-called representatives of the German intelligentsia had tile roofs<sup>16</sup>. Nevertheless, the architecture of the homesteads was significantly influenced by this approach. Developments in the living spaces of fishers’ homesteads, such as the addition of verandas, tiled roofs, wooden board facades, and carved wooden elements, not only introduced new architectural features but also brought new lexical items into the language, corresponding to the presence of new objects and materials.

<sup>16</sup> “Herbert: Mūsu vīse name, mes juk turija.m... bija viene, kur saucas Trachtenverein. Tie bij sacij: vīse name Nida tur būt serkān. Un ģevil tur būt blāve ir balte. Tie luogi ar būt blāve un balte. Tie ir balti, blāve ir serkāni. Un tie kur bij, tie ponaič, Molenhauers un tie, kur bij is tuo, kur sacij, kā mes turam daret, tie paši turij cita.des ferves, ir vīpi turij serka.nes stāges ar stigiles. Jā. stigiļ stāg. Aļ tie zveji, tie būt turijuši turēt truše (..) Herbert: Salme. Truše stāge. Un tādieļ tas bije, tas nibij rikting. Also, vīpi paši turij modern, citas ferves, viskuo, un ties zveji, tie turij blos turet serka.n.” (ISBt).

Finally, a brief observation, or rather a linguistic illustration, by the Latvian linguist and ethnographer Pēteris Šmits is worth mentioning. He noted similarities between Latvian and New Curonian dwelling houses. According to him, “the Kuršenieki have maintained some ethnographical peculiarities [...] fishermen’s dwelling houses built yet 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). This suggests that such similarities may also have been preserved in the language of various Latvian-speaking communities.





## II.

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### LANGUAGE CONTACTS AND VOCABULARY

This chapter outlines the research's theoretical framework by combining theoretical and empirical literature. It is divided into three sections. The first section explores the role of language contact and related vocabulary changes. It also covers key concepts and phenomena relevant to vocabulary development in the studied region, particularly those related to language contact. The second section provides a brief review of the historical contact between Latvian and other languages in the research area. The final section evaluates existing research, focusing on identifying and assessing literature to place this research in a wider academic context.

#### 2.1. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

##### 2.1.1. Definition of language contacts

Interaction between languages or language varieties has been present throughout history. The concept of *language contact* is both a linguistic and social phenomenon. It is therefore central to several subfields of linguistics, including sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, and second language acquisition; however, as the primary phe-

nomenon under study, it belongs to contact linguistics. The following discussion will focus on the key terms related to language contact as a linguistic phenomenon, its processes and outcomes, with particular emphasis on vocabulary as the primary object of research.

Although language contact studies have roots dating back to the end of the 19th century (Appel, Muysken 2005: 6–7), the field of contact linguistics emerged in the mid-20th century through key publications that shaped its development (Weinreich 1953<sup>17</sup>; Haugen 1953<sup>18</sup>). It is Uriel Weinreich who defines bilingualism<sup>19</sup> as “the practice of alternately using two languages” (Weinreich 1953: 1) and introduces the term of *interference* phenomena. It involves bilinguals who know at least two languages (or their dialects or varieties), a speech act between them, and deviations from the norms of either language that occur as a result of contact (ibid.).

The meaning of the term *language contact* has varied and evolved over time. While historical linguists have studied lexical or structural development from the position that language contact is *a source* of language change and variation (diachronic perspective), sociolinguists have focused on variation as *a process* involving contact within a particular period of time (synchronic perspective) (Thomason 2020: 33). The simplest view is to consider that language contact an act of positioning two speakers or two texts of different languages side by side. Language contact can be loosely defined as “the use of more than one language in the same place at the same time” (Thomason 2001: 1). However, language contact is a complex phenomenon that involves various factors, such as user, place, direction, and process, regardless of the linguistic approach; therefore, such a simple explanation is insufficient.

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<sup>17</sup> It is a comprehensive study of bilingualism, or of two (or more) grammars in contact, primarily analyzing linguistic, sociolinguistic, and psycholinguistic aspects. In its broader sense, the term *bilingualism* refers to the presence of at least two languages in contact.

<sup>18</sup> Einar Haugen’s monograph is grounded in specific linguistic material. However, it also includes specialized theoretical side studies conducted alongside the development of the main theme, based on long-term observations of bilinguals and the interactions between languages under conditions of bilingualism.

<sup>19</sup> In the geographical context of this research, bilingualism is observed in the border areas of Lithuania, such as Šventoji and Būtingė, while both bilingualism and multilingualism have been documented within the Latvian-speaking community residing on the Curonian Spit. Bilingualism is also linked to the contact between language communities of different ethnic origins associated with ruling powers. Although Kurzeme does not commonly exhibit widespread bilingualism, the presence of another language in various linguistic functions is dominant, impacting vocabulary. Indeed, bilingualism and multilingualism, or bi- and multilingual environments, are among the most crucial conditions that facilitate language contact.

In the literature, the term *language contact* is distinguished from trivial contact situations because it requires not only the presence of influence from one language on another but also the resultant effects of this influence. The term *interference* has been used to refer to the integration of features or elements from one language into another (Meeuwis, Östman 2022: 327). Following publications in the second half of the 20th century, it became widely accepted that cross-linguistic interference occurs *in two different directions* and can thus be broadly divided into two types. Firstly, elements or features of the second, third, or other foreign languages are transferred to the habitual or dominant language, and, secondly, the opposite direction of transfer also occurs (Meeuwis, Östman 2022: 327–330; Weinreich 1953: 47). It can be assumed that any change in language resulting from contact can affect all levels of the language system in both directions. However, there is no universal definition of interference in the literature. The term may be understood narrowly or broadly, depending on the level of impact and the types of contact involved. Regarding the principle of ‘from one language to another’, it should be noted that this process involves more than just two distinct languages (Weinreich 1953: 1). Features or items can be exchanged and adapted not only between two languages but also between dialects of the same language or between a language and a dialect of a different language.

In Latvian linguistics, *language contact* is defined as “linguistic contact between speakers of different languages determined by geographical, historical, economic, and social conditions. The consequences of language contact can be the mutual influence of languages”<sup>20</sup> (VPSV: 426). In simple terms, *language contact* refers to the use of more than one language or language variety in specific contact situations and must involve more than one individual speaker; that is, this can include a few speakers or even several groups, provided that the contact has influenced the languages involved. Since the definition of *language contact* varies among researchers, it is important to clarify how the term is used in this research, specifically in its broader sense.

### 2.1.2. Language contact-induced change in vocabulary

Research consistently shows that language contact serves as a direct catalyst for changes in vocabulary – this is the central argument of this study. In the context of language contact, the literature distinguishes between variation and changes influenced

<sup>20</sup> “Ģeogrāfisku, vēsturisku, ekonomisku un sociālu apstākļu noteikta valodiskā saskarsme starp dažādu valodu runātājiem. Valodu kontaktu sekas var būt valodu savstarpējā ietekmēšanās” (VPSV 426).

by internal conditions and those resulting from contact, namely *contact-induced change* (Thomason 2020: 34). Briefly, these are changes in language, including vocabulary, that occur only in the presence of language contact, without which such changes would not take place. Up to now, previous studies have concluded that several factors affect contact-induced change, including the learning ability of a group (whether imperfect learning is present or absent) and the intensity of contact, which includes both the duration of contact and the level of bilingualism within the receiving-language speech community (Thomason 2020: 37). According to the literature, structural features are more likely to be transferred alongside lexical items when the contact period is extended and the level of bilingualism is greater. Mutual influence between languages, especially in bilingual or multilingual environments, results in a huge number of loanwords.

Weinreich's work reflects a unanimous view that the reasons for lexical borrowing can be both external, primarily sociolinguistic factors such as the prestige of the foreign language or the cultural and political influence of the dominant language, and internal, including the need to name newly invented objects and concepts or to resolve issues of homonymy (Weinreich 1953: 56–61). As long as it is not a matter of loan words for new objects, Weinreich states that foreign words can affect existing vocabulary, including native words, in three ways: through confusion between the content of the new and old word; through disappearance of the old word; or through “survival of both the new and old word, with a specialization in content” (Weinreich 1953: 54–56). This applies to both simple and compound lexical elements; however, the most common method involves borrowing simple items, which typically undergo phonetic and semantic modification during the borrowing process (ibid.: 47–53).

Language contact affects various levels of a language: phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical, semantic, and word-formation. One of the main ways contact languages exert influence is through the borrowing of linguistic units. Lexical borrowing is the most common type (Thomason 2001: 10) and is considered a central domain of interference.

### 2.1.3. Borrowing in vocabulary

Vocabulary can be viewed from the perspective of dynamic development, as it changes over time and develops dynamically. The most important signs of language contact include borrowing, crossing<sup>21</sup>, and the formation of mixed languages.

<sup>21</sup> In cases of long-term direct language contact between related languages, one language typically remains dominant but gradually acquires features influenced by the neighbouring

Such changes happen gradually but are most noticeable in vocabulary. In other words, vocabulary is typically the first area where borrowing occurs. In certain domains, semantic change, i.e., changes in word meaning, is directly related to cultural background. Depending on historical circumstances, borrowing not only enriches the vocabulary but also expands the linguistic context in which the corresponding words are used.

Two types of borrowing can be distinguished: *direct and indirect borrowing* (Mou-min 2010: 17). Borrowings occur through direct contact, which, depending on the historical and cultural background of a particular region, may result from close relations between neighbouring ethnic groups or from foreign invasions; thus, the language of the invaders affects the language of the indigenous people, or vice versa (Laua 1981: 105). The direct mutual influence of languages can also be observed in the close economic, political, and cultural relations among speakers of different languages (tribes, peoples, nations). In cases of direct borrowing, such close contact is a prerequisite for a relatively extensive influx of words from other languages. Over the course of their historical development, Latvians have come into contact with Finnic, Slavic, and Germanic groups, leading to borrowings in Latvian vocabulary from Finno-Ugric, Slavic, Germanic, and Baltic languages (Lithuanian).

When examining thematic vocabulary in the context of borrowing, it is essential to determine whether the vocabulary was borrowed directly from a source language or indirectly through an intermediary language. This distinction becomes relevant in areas characterized by the contact of two separate languages, such as the frontier area between Latvia and Lithuania or the Curonian Spit, which was historically part of the eastern Prussia region known as Lithuania Minor (Prussian Lithuania) and maintained contact with Lithuania Major (*Didžioji Lietuva* or Ethnic Lithuania). In the border dialects of Latvia, for example, Lithuanian has often played a significant role in the introduction of loan words, often serving as an intermediary language for borrowings originating from Slavic or Germanic languages (Brence 1965: 55). This is a two-way process, as lexemes of foreign origin may also enter Lithuanian through Latvian. Therefore, when analysing the occurrence of loanwords in Latvian, the role of the intermediary language is an important factor (Kagaine 2000: 31). The

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language. This process often results in assimilation, which can take the form of substrate influence (from a socially less dominant language), superstrate influence (from a socially dominant language, often the language of colonizers or ruling powers), or adstrate influence (mutual influence between languages of equal status) (VPSV).

geographical distribution of a word, also known as the *areal criterion*, is crucial for identifying borrowings, as such lexical items are most commonly found in regions where different languages come into contact. It must be noted that several factors are closely related to other criteria used in evaluating lexemes and their entry into the vocabulary of a language or a speaking community; these should be considered alongside *morphological*, *phonetic*, and *semantic* criteria. Considering the role of intermediary languages, Latvian linguist Alīse Laua points out that “borrowed vocabulary is the vocabulary that has been adopted directly from another language or through an intermediary language, as a result of geographical, political, or cultural contact”<sup>22</sup> (Laua 1981: 99). Generally, Laua provides the definition in its broader sense. However, it is essential to emphasize a specific aspect related to the classification of the lexemes analyzed in the context of this research. When identifying the directions and ways of language contact within the Latvian-speaking community in a specific area, it is advisable to consider the intermediary language as the main source of borrowing, particularly in cases where ethnographic, historical, or other information does not confirm direct contact with the language of the lexeme’s origin.

Words express concepts that objectively exist and are reflected in thought. Borrowings can occur under *the influence of material and non-material cultural development*; thus, borrowings mostly enter a language alongside new objects<sup>23</sup>, which have not previously existed within the local culture (Weinreich 1953: 56; Trask 1999: 117). However, borrowings may also name existing realia, objects, or phenomena, thereby replacing or duplicating native words or previously borrowed words of foreign origin (Laua 1981: 105). For example, Weinreich, in his monograph, states that “the most concrete loanwords, such as designations for newly invented or imported objects, can be thought of as mere additions to the vocabulary” (Weinreich 1953: 53). This process is also one of the reasons for the emergence of new borrowed words in the Latvian-speaking communities studied in this research.

<sup>22</sup> “Par aizgūto leksiku uzskata to leksiku, kas ir tieši vai ar starpniecību pārņemta no kādas citas valodas ģeogrāfisku, politisku vai kultūras sakaru rezultātā” (Laua 1981: 99).

<sup>23</sup> In Latvian, the word *reālija* means “a thing, an object that materially exists; also an element of material culture” (Tez).

## 2.2. HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

### Contacts with Germanic languages

The presence of Germanic words in the first monuments and dictionaries of the Latvian language (Zemzare 1961) shows the long-standing and widespread influence of the German language on the Baltic tribes and their descendants. Both the German language and material culture have significantly influenced various thematic lexical groups, including those related to folk architecture, reflecting the dominant language of contact. This influence has been the subject of study by several scholars focusing on Germanic loanwords in the Latvian language. Notably, Jānis Zēvers (Sehwers 1818, 1953) and Sabine Jordan (Jordan 1995) have conducted significant studies focusing on the identification and extent of Germanic borrowings, as well as the possible ways through which these words entered the Latvian language. Zēvers grouped Germanic loanwords not only thematically but also chronologically, thereby distinguishing between older and more recent layers of Germanic borrowings in Latvian (Sehwers 1953: 167–217). Due to historical circumstances, most borrowings from Germanic languages come directly from German. It has been established that the earliest borrowings from German entered the Latvian language around the 12th century, with the most intense and widespread influx occurring at the end of the 14th century, when Middle Low German began to appear in written sources (Laua 1981: 110). The most recent layers of borrowings consist of words adopted from New High German around the 16th century (the source also refers to this as High German to denote the more recent layer) (ibid.: 110–111).

Latvian linguist Ojārs Bušs also points out that the Latvian language contains a considerable number of loanwords from the German language (Bušs 1976: 3; Bušs 1977: 55) and highlights that Zēvers' contribution to the study of lexical Germanisms in the Latvian language remains the most significant (ibid.). The authors previously mentioned, such as Zēvers, Jordan, Laua, Daina Zemzare, Bušs, Arturs Ozols (1968; 2008), and Kagaine (1972), are among the most prominent in the study of German loanwords and their usage in Latvian. However, it is Bušs who emphasizes the importance of not only examining Germanisms but also identifying their specific sources, particularly those originating from the colloquial language of the Baltic Germans (Bušs 1977: 56). This draws attention to a view that a borrowed word does not always originate from a specific German dialect. In the case of the Baltic Germans and their influence on the Latvian vocabulary, borrowings may originate from colloquial speech, which may

contain elements from both older layers of the German language as well as other local languages. When examining the names of objects related to the material culture of the Baltic German nobility, such as kitchen equipment, smoke exhaust methods, and types of stoves, it is essential to consider this aspect. Around the middle of the 18th century, the High German literary language replaced the Low German colloquial language in both Latvia and Estonia, leading to the rise of the Baltic German colloquial language. This form was observed until the early 20th century, when it was replaced by the deliberate development of the Latvian literary language (ibid.: 56–57).

To conclude, the sources of Germanic borrowings in Latvian are diverse and include: 1) Middle Low German, 2) Low German, 3) (New) High German, 4) the Baltic German colloquial language, 5) the German literary language, and 6) other Germanic languages such as Middle Dutch. Although it is unnecessary to focus on individual examples of material culture loans, existing research clearly shows that German has been the primary contributor of loanwords, especially in domains related to domestic life and crafts, including traditional folk architecture (Laua 1981: 111; Ozols 1968: 28–32). Some of these borrowings correspond to newly introduced objects and phenomena, while others have replaced native Latvian vocabulary.

### **Contacts with Slavic languages**

Although the exact number of Russian loanwords in Latvian is not precisely known, it is evident that these borrowings occurred in Latvian at various historical periods. The earliest lexical layer of Russian influence can be traced to the 9th–12th centuries, during which the territories of present-day Latvia were under the political control of the East Slavic state or Kievan Rus (ancient Russian state), and Baltic tribes maintained contact with Russian merchants (Laua 1981: 108–109). During this period, various names were borrowed to denote concepts related to both spiritual life and material culture. These included names related to household and craft techniques of the particular time, such as *pagrabs* ‘cellar’, *krāsa* ‘paint’, *stikls* ‘glass’, among others (ibid.: 109). The later layer of Russian borrowings is usually linked to the 18th–19th centuries, during which the territory of present-day Latvia became a part of the Russian Empire (ibid.: 109). During this period, under the influence of the Russian language, certain Russianisms became widespread, mainly replacing existing Germanic names for various concepts, such as *pērve* – *krāsa* ‘paint’, *glāzs/ glāze* – *stikls* ‘glass’, *ķēķe* – *kukņa* ‘kitchen’ (LEV 418, 458–459, 931; MEe II 301).



## Contacts with Finno-Ugric languages

Contacts between Latvians and Finno-Ugric groups have long been documented and are reflected in the Latvian language. The study of Finno-Ugric lexical borrowings in Latvian has been conducted by several linguists, including Valdis Juris Zeps, Silvija Raģe, Kagine, Bušs, Laimute Balode, Marta Rudzīte, and Jānis Endzelīns, among others (see Bušs 2019: 168–176), covering a range of linguistic research areas. And yet it must be stressed that these words can be categorized based on the reliability of their Finno-Ugric origin: borrowings with a very reliable etymology, those with a possible Finno-Ugric origin, and words that are unlikely to derive from Finno-Ugric sources. Furthermore, borrowing can occur not only from Finno-Ugric languages into Latvian but also in the opposite direction. In this regard, it is also important to consider names related to folk architecture.

The recognized Finno-Ugric loanwords primarily originate from Livonian and Estonian, and they refer to maritime phenomena, items, and activities related to the sea and fishing. Around 600 borrowed lexical items (Bušs 2019: 171), such as *liedags* ‘seashore; beach’, *loms* ‘catch’, *valgums* ‘bay; place on the coast where fishers gather their boats and dry their nets’, also *māja* ‘house, building’, *muiža* ‘manor’, *sēne* ‘mushroom’ and many others, belong to the older layer of borrowed vocabulary.

## Some notes on inherited vocabulary

Inherited words usually form the core of a language’s vocabulary or that of its varieties. As noted by the Latvian linguist Laua, no language has an etymologically homogeneous lexical stock. Inherited vocabulary is not only related to the historical origins of a language but also reflects linguistic kinship among related languages, while borrowed words are a sign of geographical, political, and cultural contact (Laua 1981: 99). Although this research mainly focuses on vocabulary introduced into the territorial varieties of three Latvian-speaking communities through language contact, a portion of the analyzed thematic vocabulary consists of inherited words or words derived from them.

An examination of the inherited names recorded in the excerpted material reveals two lexical groups: 1) older inherited lexemes, belonging to the Indo-European or Baltic lexical group, and 2) a relatively recent group of lexemes inherited from the Curonian language. Without addressing the issue of the oldest inherited lexemes, it is worth noting that the debate concerning the Curonian language remains relevant today, as scholars

continue to hold differing views on its classification within the Baltic language family<sup>24</sup>, as well as on the origin and interpretation of Curonisms. Latvian linguist Liene Markus-Narvila (Markus-Narvila 2011: 87–95; Ozola, Markus-Narvila 2021: 468–482) has focused on this topic, arguing that the combination of multiple methods makes it possible to formulate opinions about certain Curonisms and to distinguish them from Lithuanianisms. This issue is particularly important given the research area (see Chapter 1.2.).

## 2.3. RESEARCH REVIEW

The professional literature on the Latvian language within the defined research area is extensive and diverse, focusing on many linguistic levels, including vocabulary. Much of the existing literature does not thematically fit into the framework of this research. However, most existing studies explore vocabulary as part of broader themes, such as seaside life or fishing culture (Laumane 1973, 1987, 2013, 2015, 2019), or address the territorial varieties relevant to this research area (KuV; Schmid 1989–1995; NI; Kiseliūnaitė 2008, 2010, 2016; Kiseliūnaitė, Jakulytė 2017; Markus-Narvila 2011; Markus-Narvila, Ozola 2021; Straupeniece 2018; Ivanickaja 2017, 2018). Research directly targeting folk architecture vocabulary still remains limited. Thus, this review will focus on identifying existing literature that directly informs and contextualizes the study of folk architecture vocabulary.

First, this research addresses and brings attention to an underexplored area within the broader field of lexical studies, namely, the vocabulary of folk architecture. Although several groups of artisanal vocabulary have been examined (e.g., mills, forges, baking, farming tools, household objects, etc.), Latvian linguists Bušmane and Kagaine have pointed out the insufficient research of crafts vocabulary (Bušmane, Kagaine 2003), setting this problem in a wider context – the need for territorially and thematically evenly encompassing lexical research as a foundational component for creating a dictionary of Latvian dialects. Although systematic studies of Latvian vocabulary have been particularly relevant in various aspects since the second half of the 20th century, when they were promoted by the targeted and systematic collection of new materials and studies by linguists, research on folk architecture vocabulary in the territorial varieties of Latvian remains incomplete.

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<sup>24</sup> The status of the Curonian language within the Baltic language family, specifically, whether it belongs to the Eastern or Western Baltic branch, has been a subject of scholarly debate, particularly since the 1920s (Dini 2000: 239).

The relevant survey of the Dialectal Atlas of Latvian (1954, LVDA jaut.) contains 300 questions (371–670) focusing on lexis, out of a total of 670 (BVA 26), with only 24 of them specifically addressing homestead architecture, construction, and related structural elements or materials. The vocabulary part of the Dialectal Atlas of Latvian (1999, LVDA-L) included and mapped the concepts and names of numerous lexical semantic groups, with the largest group being related to material culture. Yet, it only includes 9 concepts related to the traditional homestead in general, and even fewer that directly concern folk architecture and construction, as well as their respective names (Latv. *aploks* ‘pasture enclosure; daytime enclosure’, (*govju*) *kūts* ‘cow-house, cow-shed’, *šķūnis* ‘barn, shed’, *apcirknis* ‘corn-bin’, *pelūde* ‘chaff-store’, *piedarbs* ‘threshing-floor’, *klons* ‘clay floor’, *ķieģelis* ‘brick’, (*akas*) *grods* ‘well-curb’). In contrast, the vocabulary part of the Atlas of the Lithuanian language (1977, LKA-L) presents over 40 concepts related to folk architecture. It combines distribution maps and accompanying commentaries, and covers names for dwelling and subsidiary buildings in traditional peasant homesteads, parts of buildings such as the foundation, roof, and ceiling, various types of fences and stoves, and numerous other elements characteristic of the traditional household. This illustration highlights the limited scope of the architectural vocabulary addressed in the Latvian atlas, thereby drawing attention to the need for further thematic research in this domain.

Only a few individual linguistic studies (Reķēna 1975; Kurzemniece 2008; Rudzāte 2019<sup>25</sup>) contribute significantly to the research field by collecting, analyzing, and identifying vocabulary related to vernacular construction. Although they deal with the vocabulary of areas of Latvia that are not territorially related to this study (Reķēna 1975) or only with thematically specific names, such as fence names throughout Latvia (Kurzemniece 2008), these studies both explain the diversity, origins, and semantics of folk architecture names and highlight the lack of thematically and territorially complete research on folk architecture vocabulary within the various territorial varieties of Latvian.

Some studies of subdialects that include vocabulary also feature lexical items related to folk construction or architecture, but these have primarily been assessed in terms of etymological diversity or word formation, thus providing insights into subdialectal lexis as part of characterizing the subdialect itself. The names of folk architecture in Latvian are revealed through direct explanations of the objects themselves. Ethnographic studies contribute significantly by not only describing the

<sup>25</sup> This work is a master’s thesis conducted by the author of this research.

construction of these objects (Bilenšteins 2001–2007 (1901)) and their mythological aspects (Kursīte 2009, 2014), but also by documenting and attempting to reveal folk architecture-related names and their possible sources of origin.

With respect to the Baltic languages and the scope of this study in relation to other Baltic languages, it should be noted that Prussian material is not included in this research. However, it would be valuable to briefly address this issue. The search for the lexical substratum of the Old Prussian language in the material from the research period is connected to the heritage of the Western Baltic languages. One of the earliest sources of folk architecture vocabulary is the Old Prussian Elbing Vocabulary, a linguistic monument dating from the 13th to 14th centuries. This vocabulary not only records lexemes belonging to this semantic field but is also structured according to the principle of semantic nesting. This tradition likely emerged in response to the practical needs of merchants or traders who acquired the language (see Lemeškin 2018 for further details). The source includes 43 lexemes related to the theme of houses and homesteads (Lemeškin 2018: 13), of which at least 32 can be associated with folk architecture (for instance, *sparis* ‘rafter’, *stogis* ‘roof’, *warto* ‘door’, *lanxto* ‘window’, *seydis* ‘wall’, *stubo* ‘dwelling house’, *perstlanstan* ‘shutter’, among many others). Although the inclusion of Prussian material in this study is not the primary focus of this work, due to its period and territorial specificity, it should be mentioned as a possible direction for further research in linguistics and ethnography.

Unfortunately, in recent years, there has been no increasing scholarly interest in thematic vocabulary groups related to crafts or folk architecture. The reasons for this can only be speculated. Firstly, there is a lack of scholarly interest in the lexicon of such names, as technical possibilities, household changes, and former objects, as well as their names, disappear, and the disappearance of former objects and their names reduces opportunities for study. Secondly, there are few or no systematically collected sources on these object names, which presumably prevents a comprehensive assessment of folk architecture vocabulary. Nevertheless, this situation allows for identifying the potential directions for future research, such as analyzing particular concepts related to vernacular construction or broader craft-related concepts.

Although folk architecture-related names are more commonly represented and mapped in the Lithuanian Language Atlas (LKA-L) than in the Latvian Language Atlas, research on Lithuanian folk vocabulary has been somewhat irregular. Nevertheless, studies from a terminological perspective have made a significant contribution to the understanding of Lithuanian folk vocabulary (Stunžinas 2009, 2011a,

2011b, 2012, 2013), aiming to justify the significance of folk vocabulary as a source for construction science terminology. Until recently, no other comprehensive study of diverse folk architecture-related concepts had been conducted. Asta Leskauskaitė (2024) has provided a notable contribution by analyzing folk construction vocabulary in the Aukštaitian dialect, identifying both common and unique names, exploring their meanings, and addressing phenomena such as synonymy and polysemy, and the influence of contact languages introducing names of foreign origin. Although the author does not have information on the overall progress of this research, it can be regarded as one of the most recent contributions to the study of folk architecture vocabulary in the Baltic languages.

Second, this research combines and tests approaches developed in earlier studies. Whether the research focus is on a specific thematic group of vocabulary or on a subdialect that includes vocabulary, it is possible to identify certain methods of data analysis. Studies that focus on vocabulary, either wholly or in part, tend to adopt a descriptive and mapping method more frequently. For instance, a notable example is the extensive research on sea-related vocabulary by Latvian linguist Benita Laumane (1973, 1987, 1996, 2013, 2015, 2019), mentioned before. In her studies, Laumane not only examined the vocabulary thematically, but also studied language contact with genetically and geographically close languages (including other Baltic, Slavic, Germanic, and Finno-Ugric languages), evaluated semantic changes in light of developments in material culture and language, and explored the underlying causes of those changes. Laumane also highlighted the issue of the need for systematic research into fishing vocabulary across a broader Baltic Sea region, which would stimulate the study of Baltic-Finnish-Germanic contacts and deepen the understanding and knowledge of Curonian language elements in western Kurzeme and Lithuania (Laumane, Непокупный 1968). A key methodological feature of Laumane's research is her structured analytical approach. Namely, to show the impact of language contact on vocabulary, she examined words in terms of their structural features, etymology, and semantics (see, for example, Laumane 1987, 1996). From a geolinguistic perspective, she also frequently mapped the distribution of lexical items, visually representing their geographical spread on display maps (see more Laumane 1996: 23, 176; Laumane 2015: 303, 323). Given the frequent use of this technique, it is an effective way for the territorial documentation of lexical items. Her comprehensive approach to analysis is particularly well-suited for examining other thematic vocabulary groups, such as those related to folk architecture.

Without exploring the earlier history of geolinguistic research in general, it is essential to note that in Latvia, geolinguistic studies have been conducted across various thematic groups of vocabulary. For example, Bušmane has studied food-related names, Dzintra Paegle focused on agricultural tool names, while Laumane studied vocabulary associated with fish, fishing, and, more broadly, material culture and natural elements related to the seaside. Kurzemniece (2008) conducted a comprehensive study on fence names across Latvia (see more on thematic groups in Bušmane, Kagaine 2003). Geolinguistic methods have also been employed in the study of specific subdialects, such as Nīca (NI), and in research examining various aspects of language contact. Such studies help trace not only the distribution of lexical items and their possible sources of borrowing but also broader patterns of movement among Latvian-speaking communities. This aspect is particularly noteworthy when analysing the paths of inherited vocabulary carried from Kurzeme to the Curonian Spit.

In Latvian linguistics, *dialectology* is defined as a “sub-field of linguistics that studies dialects and subdialects and has close contact with all language levels”<sup>26</sup> (VPSV 89). The methodology of dialectology shares similarities with other branches of linguistics, as its primary principle is to establish an empirical basis for drawing conclusions about linguistic variations in a particular area. The main methods can be distinguished: 1) the use of direct or indirect questionnaires, and 2) the creation of display or interpretive linguistic maps, highlighting the importance of informant selection, thereby raising the importance of the social and cultural aspects (Chambers, Trudgill 1998: 24–33). Given the nature and focus of this research, namely working with data selected from written sources, the second method is briefly discussed, given the specifics of the work.

A display map typically depicts an item from a geographical perspective, i.e., the answers according to the territorial criterion are directly reflected on the map. A type of map that shows the specific names of objects or phenomena is also found in Latvian geolinguistics, for example, in *the Dialectal Atlas of Latvian. Vocabulary* (LVDA–L) or in *the Atlas of the Baltic Languages. Lexis 1: Flora* (BVA). A map of this kind can accurately depict the distribution of obtained data and identify areas where a particular concept or lexeme is missing. On the other hand, an interpretive linguistic map is related to the more general representation of linguistic variation, namely, showing the most common or predominant variants from one region to another.

<sup>26</sup> “Valodniecības apakšnozare, kura pēta dialektus un izloksnes un kurai ir cieša saskare ar visiem valodas līmeņiem” (VPSV 89).

In most cases, other additional methods are needed because the mapping method alone does not provide a comprehensive explanation of the linguistic phenomenon, especially diachronically.

Latvian linguist Anna Stafecka has stated that “geolinguistic research, along with historical, archaeological and ethnographic information, often helps to clarify various issues in ethnic history, since dialects reflect local history, ethnic migration and contacts more extensively than the standard language does” (Stafecka 2014: 134). Indeed, geolinguistic research, regardless of the specific method applied, is considered especially productive when used in parallel with other information. Therefore, in this research, the use of display maps, combined with ethnographic information and additional methods, is a valid approach for assessing possible language contacts and their directions within the analyzed thematic vocabulary of Latvian.

Overall, these studies highlight the need for a combined approach to analyzing excerpted linguistic material (folk architecture vocabulary) by using descriptive, comparative-historical, and geolinguistic (mapping) methods.

Finally, the research functions as an archive for folk architecture names in the studied area. A reasonably significant body of literature combines linguistic or ethnographic studies with transcription of native speakers or dictionaries. Such sources are common both in works describing the language of Kurzeme (NI; NIV-e; SA; RtP; Laumane 2004) and the Curonian Spit (VLK; BezzS; KuV; FKN; KKF; MogN; Kursīte 2007; Bušmane 2010). Therefore, by highlighting the need to systematically collect and present folk architecture names, this research positions much of the existing professional literature not only as a repository of historical and technical explanations or cultural development but also as an important source of linguistic data.





# III.

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## METHODOLOGY

This chapter outlines the research design and methodology employed in conducting the research. It is organized into three sections to explain and describe the selected data sources and data itself, including problems related to data quality and limitations, the process of data collection and analysis, and other relevant methodological aspects.

### 3.1. INTRODUCTION AND RESEARCH DESIGN

This research adopted a mixed-methods design to examine the thematic group of folk architecture vocabulary in the context of mutual contact influences among three Latvian-speaking communities located along the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea, as well as the impact of neighbouring contact languages. While the quantitative method was undoubtedly useful for assessing the volume of data and measuring specific aspects, such as the number of inherited versus borrowed names or the proportion of synonyms across thematic subgroups, qualitative methods provided a more nuanced and context-aware analysis. These methods enabled the interpretation of data within broader historical, architectural, ethnographic, sociolinguistic, and ethnolinguistic

contexts. A deductive research approach was chosen to address the defensive statements through systematic data collection and analysis.

## **3.2. DATA COLLECTION**

### **3.2.1. Data collection and accumulation**

Initially, the data collection process involved not only extracting relevant data but also creating a structured dataset (corpus) that could be systematically accumulated and processed later. The data corpus was created using Microsoft Excel, which enabled the semi-automated organization, systematization, and selection of data and related information. To facilitate data entry during the selection process, a corpus template was developed containing specific fields, including: subject group, word class, concept name in Latvian and English, lexeme, an example of the lexeme in context (if available), location, country, number, gender, source abbreviation, page number in the source, century, and equivalents in Lithuanian and German (when available). Additional comments were also included when relevant.

Before selecting the data sources and, consequently, the data itself, a preliminary list of concepts was created for each thematic group. This list was revised and updated several times during the research process. Once the data sources were identified (discussed in detail below), the relevant data were selected and entered into the prepared corpus template. The process of selecting and entering data was both time-consuming and challenging, largely due to inconsistencies in diacritical marks across sources. However, once this step was completed, it became possible to begin organizing and sorting the selected data according to the defined thematic subgroups. It should be noted that the initial number of thematic subgroups was larger; however, due to the scope, aims, and limitations of this research, some of the collected data remained in the corpus but were not included in the final analysis. The excluded items included names for construction-related tools, indoor furnishings (such as furniture), certain generic terms, craftsmen's occupational names, and verbs denoting construction activities. For the purposes of this research, all selected data were systematized and categorized into six thematic subgroups: Homestead and its courtyard, Building types, Room types, Construction materials and products, Constructions, and Heating and lighting appliances. See Chapter 3.2.3. for a detailed explanation

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
1	a	a	i	ā	ā	ā	ī	ī	ī	ā	ā	ā	ā	ī	ī	ī	
2	a	a	i	ā	ā	ā	ī	ī	ī	ā	ā	ā	ā	ī	ī	ī	
3	a	e	e	ā	ā	ā	ī	ī	ī	ā	ā	ā	e	e	ī	ī	
4	a	e	i	ā	ā	ā	ī	ī	ī	ā	ā	ā	e	ī	ī	ī	
5	a	e	i	ū	ē	ē	ī	ī	ī	ā	ā	ā	e	ī	ī	ī	
6	a	e	i	ū	ē	ē	ī	ī	ī	ā	ā	ā	e	ī	ī	ī	
7	a	e	i	ū	ē	ē	ī	ī	ī	ā	ā	ā	e	ī	ī	ī	
8	a	e	i	ū	ē	ē	ī	ī	ī	ā	ā	ā	e	ī	ī	ī	
9	a	e	i	ū	ē	ē	ī	ī	ī	ā	ā	ā	e	ī	ī	ī	
10	speech h / word	group	term (in English)	term (in Latvian)	location (parish, region)	country	no mb et	ext ref m	coo ord ref m	designation	example / excerpt	source	page	century	in Lithuanian	in German	comments
143	e																Rimševiča, M. Roce
144	subst.	indiscip	(discip.) well	aka	Nīca	LV	zg	Nom	aka	aka i tautoties uz šķērti, mūķis nekad ne-izlīdāt	Nīcas ielaukums viedības (A-I), Nīca	12	late 20th, (1970s, 1980s)				<a href="http://www.indiel.lv/media/upload/vini/Bilce/B.Bu%C5%A1manu%20N%C4%A3Bac%20diskursu%20%20C4%A3B1dab%C4%A3Bac%20A%20%C4%A3B0%202017).pdf">http://www.indiel.lv/media/upload/vini/Bilce/B.Bu%C5%A1manu%20N%C4%A3Bac%20diskursu%20%20C4%A3B1dab%C4%A3Bac%20A%20%C4%A3B0%202017).pdf</a>
145	subst.	indiscip	(discip.) well	aka	Nīca	LV	zg	Nom	aka	aka rokādot, ātrāka iedzīti šķērti, un aka pāgāda pāli ai iedzīti	Nīcas ielaukums viedības (A-I), Nīca	12	late 20th, (1970s, 1980s)				<a href="http://www.indiel.lv/media/upload/vini/Bilce/B.Bu%C5%A1manu%20N%C4%A3Bac%20diskursu%20%20C4%A3B1dab%C4%A3Bac%20A%20%C4%A3B0%202017).pdf">http://www.indiel.lv/media/upload/vini/Bilce/B.Bu%C5%A1manu%20N%C4%A3Bac%20diskursu%20%20C4%A3B1dab%C4%A3Bac%20A%20%C4%A3B0%202017).pdf</a>
146	subst.	indiscip	(discip.) well	aka	Nīca	LV	zg	Gen	akaz	akaz pēdēis – kod iedzīti māt	Nīcas ielaukums viedības (A-I), Nīca	9	late 20th, (1970s, 1980s)				<a href="http://www.indiel.lv/media/upload/vini/Bilce/B.Bu%C5%A1manu%20N%C4%A3Bac%20diskursu%20%20C4%A3B1dab%C4%A3Bac%20A%20%C4%A3B0%202017).pdf">http://www.indiel.lv/media/upload/vini/Bilce/B.Bu%C5%A1manu%20N%C4%A3Bac%20diskursu%20%20C4%A3B1dab%C4%A3Bac%20A%20%C4%A3B0%202017).pdf</a>
147	subst.	indiscip	(discip.) well	aka	Nīca	LV	pl	Acc	akaz	akaz grīb rak, za meklā, ka ī īdēli šķērti	Nīcas ielaukums viedības (A-I), Nīca	12	late 20th, (1970s, 1980s)				<a href="http://www.indiel.lv/media/upload/vini/Bilce/B.Bu%C5%A1manu%20N%C4%A3Bac%20diskursu%20%20C4%A3B1dab%C4%A3Bac%20A%20%C4%A3B0%202017).pdf">http://www.indiel.lv/media/upload/vini/Bilce/B.Bu%C5%A1manu%20N%C4%A3Bac%20diskursu%20%20C4%A3B1dab%C4%A3Bac%20A%20%C4%A3B0%202017).pdf</a>

**Figure 3.** Screenshot of the data corpus file during the data collection process.

of how the lexical items were categorized into thematic groups for the purpose of explaining all concepts in this research.

### 3.2.2. Data sources and their selection criteria

Initial research showed that vocabulary related to the chosen topic matter was limited across various sources. Therefore, the acquisition of data relevant to the defined period and thematic focus of this study was not restricted to a single type of data source. The data sources for the analysis were selected according to the following criteria, listed in order of priority:

1. *Geographical relevance* – sources had to be related to the specific regions inhabited by the three Latvian-speaking communities under study.
2. *Subject relevance* – sources were required to include folk architecture vocabulary or, at a minimum, contain language material thematically related to contexts involving folk architecture or the traditional living environment, which could potentially yield relevant lexical items.
3. *Chronological relevance* – sources had to fit the period that reflected the historical period relevant to the research. The chosen time period is based on information from studies of the wooden architecture typical of the peasants.

The geographical criterion established the (folk architecture-related) lexical items' link to a specific region, namely, the area historically inhabited by the Curonians

(see Chapter 1.2. on the research area), and, where possible, its relation to a particular local language variety or a related subdialect cluster, as shown by the source or its data. The subject criterion defined the scope of the research to support the identification and further selection of relevant vocabulary related to folk architecture. Finally, the chronological criterion guided the selection of data relevant to the historical period examined in this research. Assuming that such an approach enables the comparison of units in further analysis, both synchronically and diachronically, it becomes possible to study the diversity and evolution of concept names and their variants, as well as to examine linguistic phenomena in relation to broader cultural and historical contexts.

Given that folk architecture-related vocabulary has not been systematically or continuously surveyed, and that relevant lexical items (as well as useful information on related topics) may be dispersed across various lexical sources, the research data were drawn from the written sources listed below:

#### 1) Dictionaries:

- a) General dictionaries compiled using scientific methods and reflecting cultural heritage as historical testimony (e.g., Milenbahs' and Endzelīns' Latvian Dictionary with annexes (MEe, EHe)<sup>27</sup>).
- b) The cultural and ethnographic worldview of different regions and their inhabitants is best reflected in dialect dictionaries that help to "reconstruct non-material as well as a material expression of the traditional culture" (Markus-Narvila 2012: 107). Initially, the selection of data sources is not limited by either territorial or chronological range, that is, data may be collected and selected from both monodialectal (describing one dialect or subdialect) and multidialectal (describing subdialect group or several dialects) dictionaries, as well as from both synchronic (describing the particular period) and diachronic (describing a development period of several different subdialects) dictionaries.
- c) Bilingual dictionaries that include the dialectal lexis of the original language (e.g. the Latvian-German dictionary, compiled by Johannes Langius (1685) (JLV)) or explain the influence of one language on another (e.g. Zēvers'

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<sup>27</sup> This source (MEe, EHe) also incorporates material from one of the data sources (JLV) that was used to collect data for this research. The author of JLV (1685), the Baltic German pastor and linguist Johannes Langius, is recognized as the lexicographer who created the first Latvian-German dictionary in the Nīca and Bārta subdialects of Latvian.

*Sprachlich-kulturhistorische Untersuchungen vornehmlich über den deutschen Einfluß im Lettischen. Reprint der Auflage von 1935 (Sehwers 1953)).*

2) Collections of humanities institutes and linguists:

a) Published collections of dialectal lexis (e.g., *Lietuvių kalbos atlasas. I. Leksika.* (1977) (LKA-L) and *Latviešu valodas dialektu atlants. Leksika.* (1999) (LVDA-L), which includes some crafts-related vocabulary in different subdialects).

b) Unpublished collections of dialectal lexis (e.g., relevant survey (LVDA matter.) materials of the Latvian Language Institute of the University of Latvia and the index of Latvian regional words (LVI Apv)).

c) A few individual names of elements belonging to the group that is the subject matter are mentioned in the descriptions of some coastal language varieties, such as those included in the anthologies of the Latvian Philologists' Society (FBR).

d) Published and unpublished phonetic transcription of native speakers, for example, texts in subdialects from the Western coast of Kurzeme, transcribed by dialectology students of the Kurzeme Institute of Humanities of Liepāja University during fieldwork (SA).

3) Sources unrelated to linguistics, which may serve either as data sources or, more commonly, as contextual references for explaining the meaning and usage of particular lexical items:

a) Museum materials, for example, materials found in the archives and libraries of history and ethnographic museums (e.g. scientific materials of the Ethnographic Open-Air Museum of Latvia that describe the furnishings and construction of farmers' and fishers' homesteads, as well as experts' survey reports and hand-drawn sketches that include some designations and short descriptions of the buildings and parts of buildings based on the owners' or inhabitants' remarks).

b) Local history studies of libraries, including essays and annotated photographs.

c) Other published sources that include descriptions or images of folk architecture, such as farmers' and fishers' homestead buildings and furnishings, characterized with the aid of non-material cultural sources, including folk songs or language (e.g. books on Latvian wooden architecture and household objects by Bīlenšteins (2001), Pauls Kundziņš (1974), and others).

d) Information on folk architecture-related concepts and various objects or their uses in households was available solely through illustrations and narrations (transcriptions of storytellers or native speakers). Therefore, as relevant data were identified and selected from the sources, corresponding images or photographs illustrating the selected object were also collected.

The language material, i.e., the data for this research, was selected from 23 sources (see Bibliography). The information, including data from various sources, was gathered from publicly accessible or partially accessible sources and collections (e.g., LVDA mater., LVI Apv.), as well as private archives (e.g., MB), with the latter stored in the author's personal archive. To conclude, the data sources are diverse in type and were selected primarily because they met the criteria listed previously and enabled the collection of extensive data from a wide range of locations within the research area. However, to achieve a more comprehensive understanding of the lexemes within the thematic group analyzed in this research, it remains necessary to continue the process of identifying, collecting, and critically evaluating relevant concepts and their names. This remains a task for future research.

### 3.2.3. Data identification, selection, and categorization

The language material, specifically the folk architecture-related lexical items (research data) that describe coastal homesteads, is relatively diverse. A list of realia was formulated to guide the systematic data selection process, based on architectural history and ethnographic information about peasant homesteads. The purpose of this initial list was to identify *concepts*<sup>28</sup> that reveal comprehensive information about coastal homesteads. Concurrently, it functioned as a preliminary attempt to define the scope of the folk architecture-related lexical group in relation to the aims and objectives of this research. Guided by the initial list of identified concepts, data sources were thoroughly examined to select lexical items that most accurately describe coastal homesteads and their courtyards, as well as related architectural, construction, and craft-related objects. The goal was to compile a vocabulary that includes words from different lexical categories. However, given the scope and focus of the research, priority was given to defining and analyzing spatial and material concepts, that is, objects and their related phenomena or outcomes, and, accordingly, to a detailed examination of nouns in particular. Throughout the research, the list of

<sup>28</sup> In this research, the term *concept* is used to refer to an object with a material, physical existence, that is, an element of material culture.

concepts was expanded and revised based on a review of relevant literature and data sources, as well as the selected names related to the thematic group under study.

The categorization of data, both by thematic subgroups and in its presentation within the research itself (see Chapter 4), is an important aspect. The concepts included in the list were organized into thematic groups based on common traits or characteristics. These thematic groups are sets of lexemes classified according to the nature of the objects or phenomena they represent. This classification system was adapted from Reḵēna's (1975) monograph because it is well-suited to the research's aim and objectives, and it allows the systematic categorization of a relatively diverse range of concepts and their names. The lexemes are grouped thematically according to an external criterion rather than lexical-semantic relations. In other words, each group contains names, including simple, derived, or composite names, that describe notions of essentially common kind (Reḵēna 1975: 19). However, modifications have been made to accommodate the specific selection of lexical items. In accordance with the research objectives, the scope and diversity of the analyzed lexical material, and, in certain cases, the author's subjective evaluation or choice, the lexemes are categorized into six thematic subgroups: Homestead and its courtyard, Building types, Room types, Construction materials and products, Constructions, and Heating and lighting appliances.

This principle is also reflected in Chapter 4, where the concepts and names within the research area are explained from etymological, semantic, and geolinguistical perspectives. Although there are various ways to classify concepts depending on the intended aim of the research, for example, by organizing them from the smallest unit to the largest (e.g., material → structures → parts of buildings → buildings → homestead), or in reverse order; by thematic grouping based on shared features (e.g., all materials or all building types); or by a common element to which the concepts relate (e.g., all items associated with a specific building part, for instance, a wall—wood, logs, etc.), this study adopts a top-down approach. Concepts related to the homestead are described from the largest to the smallest, with groupings based on common traits or characteristics, providing a comprehensive view of their diversity. Given the language of this research, the concepts within each subgroup in Chapter 4 are presented in alphabetical order according to their English names. This research concludes with a glossary listing the names of these concepts in alphabetical order, without division into subgroups.

To conclude, after identifying and compiling the data, a set of lexical items related to folk architecture-related concepts was selected for in-depth analysis and comparison. The primary criteria for selection were both the number of lexical items and the availability of authentic language material accompanied by ethnographic descriptions of the specific concept.

#### **3.2.4. Issues identified in the collected data**

The use of a relatively wide range and diversity of data sources, including dictionaries, transcriptions of native speaker audio recordings or interviews, and both published and unpublished linguistic collections in phonetic transcription, was essential to ensure sufficient volume and diversity of data across the coastal region within the research area. However, during the initial stages of data identification and collection, several issues were identified regarding the language material selected for analysis.

First, the types of data records vary across sources, as there are no consistent orthographic principles corresponding to the time of data collection, compilation, or publication. Furthermore, it was necessary to compare data gathered and recorded by linguists with data collected (e.g., in dictionaries by Richard Pietsch or Paul Kwauka (KW, DKW)) or documented, such as interviews or folk narrator transcriptions (e.g., ISBt, HD), by native speakers without formal linguistic training. For example, ethnographic or folk descriptions of buildings lack diacritical marks, making it impossible to draw conclusions about phonetic features. In contrast, records compiled by linguists (e.g., Juris Plāķis, Adalbert Bezenberger) typically indicate prosodic features such as intonation type (e.g., broken or rising tone). Lithuanian linguist Arina Ivanickaja has noted in her research on New Curonian texts that no standardized orthographic system exists for this variety (Ivanickaja 2018). In such cases, when comparing data to determine a word's basic form, the general principles of comparative Baltic linguistics must be applied. Throughout this research, examples are presented in the form in which they originally appear.

An important note must be made regarding the sources, KW and DKW. Both dictionaries are important monuments of the New Curonian language and serve as valuable sources of lexemes denoting various aspects of New Curonian material and non-material culture. However, it is essential to consider the author's bilingual background and the fact that he was not a professional linguist. The words in both



dictionaries are presented in an untraditional manner, using Latvian and Lithuanian orthographic signs supplemented with additional diacritical marks. However, there are differences between the two sources, particularly in the way words are written according to the German semantic model and the problematic determination of grammatical categories, such as gender, number, and case, due to the reduction of word endings. For instance, Kursen. *luoage lādes f.* ‘shutter’ (DKW: 117) vs. *luoagelāds m.* ‘shutter’ (KW: 48) or Kursen. *stāgs m.* ‘roof’ (DKW: 81) vs. *stāg f.* ‘roof’ (KW: 73), among many other such discrepancies. This issue is discussed by Lithuanian linguist Vincas Urbutis in his reviews of KW and DKW. He notes that grammatical gender is often assigned not according to the grammatical system of the New Curonian language, but based on the gender of the German semantic equivalent (Urbutis 1979: 153; Urbutis 1993: 114). For instance, if the German equivalent is masculine, the corresponding New Curonian word is also marked as masculine, and similarly for feminine equivalents. However, in cases where the German word is accompanied by an indefinite article, the New Curonian word is typically marked as masculine (Urbutis 1993: 111). Although the reduction of word endings is primarily a phonomorphological feature, it also highlights the problem of determining grammatical categories and whether this is an internal development of the New Curonian language or the result of external influence, as noted by several linguists (BezzS; KuV; Ivanickaja, Kiseliūnaitė 2015: 210–211). While these sources are valuable for analyzing New Curonian lexis, particularly for assessing its semantic diversity and potential changes over time, they must be examined critically.

Second, differences in the transcribers’ knowledge of the language, along with irregular speech patterns during recording, have also been noted. For example, *Fischerleben auf der Kurischen Nehrung*, a publication in the New Curonian language by Pietsch (FKN), is more useful for ethnographers and sociolinguists, as the texts are noticeably closer to German and show signs of Germanisation (Bušs, Dambe 1985). FKN is considered not only an ethnographic source but also a monument of the New Curonian language, primarily due to its valuable and abundant lexis. However, from a linguistic perspective, this source should be read critically. It has also been pointed out by Latvian linguists Bušs and Valija Dambe, who have drawn attention to several aspects. Firstly, besides New Curonian Pietsch also spoke German, which may partly explain the Germanised character of the texts. Secondly, the texts contain a large number of distinctive lexical items, primarily borrowings, most notably Lithuanianisms and Germanisms, but also some Slavisms (mainly from Polish and,

less frequently, Russian). These borrowings are mediated through the Lithuanian language, particularly its colloquial speech or subdialects (Bušs, Dambe 1985: 98). While Germanisms reflect both the Low German dialect and High German literary language, borrowings of Low German origin are generally considered as authentic elements of the New Curonian language, rather than features of the author's individual, German-influenced language (ibid.). Finally, the texts are written in an inconsistent manner, with irregular forms and a strong German influence on the written language, evident in literal (word-for-word) translations and the unnecessary use of definite and indefinite articles (Bušs, Dambe 1985: 100-101).

Third, in many cases, it is impossible to identify the territorial origin of the texts or data across all sources. For example, Plāķis (KuV) collected New Curonian material while living in Nida (Lithuania), but provided no detailed information about the origins of specific lexical items. In contrast, Bezzenberger (BezzS), in a passage on word variants, identified both the informants (of different generations) and their places of birth or residence, such as *Nidden*, *Perwalk*, *Preila*, and *Sarkau*, often using their initials to indicate the place. This lack of consistent territorial attribution restricts or limits the ability to determine the territorial differentiation of words and complicates the task of distinguishing whether a word's distribution within a certain area reflects a single meaning or multiple meanings used in different locations.

Fourth, in dictionaries, particularly bilingual ones that also provide translations into German, a word presented without sufficient context is often difficult to explain and classify unambiguously. To illustrate this, here are a few examples of New Curonian dictionaries (KW, DKW), e.g. the German word *der Stall* may mean either a 'barn' or a 'stable', while *der Hof* can mean 'courtyard', 'farmhouse', 'homestead', or even a 'standalone farm'; in the case of compound forms, like *der Gasthof*, it may also mean 'inn'. In such cases, visual materials, such as the illustrations included in Pietsch's publication (FKN), along with photographs and ethnographic data, were particularly helpful for clarifying the meaning.

Fifth, lexical-semantic variants of polysemous lexemes arose during data selection and analysis. In other words, words with the same phonetic and morphological structure but different meanings, often secondary meanings derived from a primary one, were classified into one or multiple thematic subgroups. In such cases, conclusions were drawn using the external criterion mentioned earlier, grouping words into thematic subgroups based on the common content of the identifiable notions.

Additionally, national specificities, including the influence of contact and neighboring languages, were taken into account when comparing words. This is important because relations between words in two languages can vary, for example, derived meanings may differ even when the base meanings match, or lexical-semantic variants may correspond despite differing base meanings (Laua 1969 (1981): 40–43). Despite the challenges identified in the collected data, the analysis proceeded to achieve the research aim and verify the defensive statements.

### 3.3. APPROACH TO DATA ANALYSIS

Given the focus of this research, the data analysis approach was adapted based on a review of the literature related to similar research. Primarily, these methods stem from dialectological and geolinguistic studies that analyze the vocabulary of a dialect or a specific thematic topic. Three main methods were used:

1. The mapping method, widely used in various atlases and geolinguistic studies (e.g., LVDA-L; LKA-L; Laumane 1996, 2015; Kurzemniece 2008, etc.), was used to assess the distribution of concepts and their names. The identified lexemes are shown on display maps in Chapter 4 alongside the descriptions of the concepts; however, due to research limitations, only the most representative maps, as selected by the author, are included, rather than distribution maps for all concept names. It was a valuable tool for identifying the distribution of concepts and their names, as well as for determining the etymological diversity of lexemes within each of the three Latvian-speaking communities.
2. The descriptive method was used to identify and explain the origins and meanings of the lexemes. This resulted in a kind of dictionary, which served as the basis for discussing the data. The lexemes were analyzed etymologically, ethnographically, and geographically, with consideration of the vocabulary of other Latvian subdialects as well as neighboring and contact languages. This method was chosen based on Reķēna's (1975) monograph, in which the thematic vocabulary of several Latgalian subdialects was effectively analyzed using a similar approach.
3. The comparative-historical method, along with the descriptive one, was used to explore the impact of language contact on the thematic vocabulary, examining the data in the context of history, ethnography, and partially sociolinguistics. It has been proven that mapping lexical items or interpreting their

meanings in isolation, without considering the historical context, does not give a comprehensive understanding of the vocabulary in question.

To sum up, this research used a combination of descriptive, comparative-historical, and mapping methods to provide a comprehensive linguistic portrayal of a (fisher's or farmer-fisher's) homestead across various Latvian-speaking communities.

This research, however, has some limitations, mainly due to the nature and size of the selected dataset. The limited size of the data corpus and, consequently, the constraints on its analysis, are factors that have influenced the findings. By limited data corpus is meant an incomplete set of lexemes for the concepts across different regions and time periods under research. In some cases, where it was possible to identify it clearly, only a single lexeme was found in the data sources from a single location. This limited the ability to fully assess, for instance, the distribution of a concept, to trace semantic changes associated with its names, or to state with certainty whether such a concept was common within the particular speaking community. This also affected the data analysis process, particularly when assigning a meaning to a lexical item that lacks broader context or explanation, especially in cases where the lexeme is polysemous. Where data are missing due to the absence of systematically collected language material for a particular thematic subgroup, the analysis can provide an indication, but not a comprehensive picture, whether from a semantic or geolinguistic perspective. The same applies to diachronic analysis, which becomes challenging or impossible when a concept is supported by only a single name in a single location within the available sources.

The process of translating concepts, lexemes, and meanings also had some challenges, particularly in the case of polysemous lexemes. Some precision may have been lost in translation, for example, when a Latvian lexeme was explained using a German word with multiple possible meanings, and no usage example was provided in the Latvian text. This issue was further problematic when translating these names into English. Although the translation process utilized publicly available electronic resources to translate such words, it also directly translated from German to English and back again<sup>29</sup> to cross-check meanings. Nevertheless, a native speaker might still identify inaccuracies.

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<sup>29</sup> This translation was done using publicly available electronic dictionaries, including: 1) *Letonika.lv* ([www.letonika.lv](http://www.letonika.lv)), 2) *DWDS – Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* ([www.dwds.de](http://www.dwds.de)), 3) *LEO's dictionaries* ([www.leo.org/german-english/](http://www.leo.org/german-english/)), and 4) *Cambridge German–English Dictionary* ([dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/german-english/](http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/german-english/)).

To conclude, a mixed-methods design was employed to achieve the research's aim, combining both quantitative and qualitative methods. Based on the findings of the literature review, several methods were chosen for data analysis, mainly descriptive, comparative-historical, and mapping methods. Although this research has some limitations, the methodological approach employed allowed for a comprehensive analysis of the collected data, supporting the testing of defensive statements and the achievement of the research objectives.



# IV.

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## FOLK ARCHITECTURE CONCEPTS AND THEIR NAMES IN THE DATA

Given the theoretical basis and historical context, this chapter lists and discusses the key concepts of folk architecture and their names found in the selected sources. The aim is to give a full overview of their diversity. All concepts are organized into six thematic subgroups (see Section 3.2.3. for details). Within each subgroup, concepts are listed in alphabetical order by their English names. A total of 138 concepts and 401 names are included.

### 4.1. HOMESTEAD AND ITS COURTYARD

This group consists of 16 concepts and 63 names related to homestead layout and its courtyard. The subgroup includes concepts referring to specific man-made objects, such as wells, gates, fences, posts, and others. The names for the courtyard itself are also examined. To provide a complete linguistic description of homesteads, concepts naming particular functional areas, such as gardens and stockyards, which are characteristic of some of the homesteads analysed in this research, are also included, as they represent important components of the homestead layout. However, this analysis excludes certain concepts integral to homestead layouts, such as hedges,

flower beds, trees and their types, among many others, as these belong to the flora thematic group and are not discussed in this research. See Chapter 5.3.1. for a comprehensive overview of this thematic group.

#### 4.1.1. Courtyard

Five names for a courtyard are recorded in the excerpt (see Figure 4.1.): 1) *hove/hove* f. is found only in CS (*winš meklīj man šūra ir apšīrauzijas wišur us hove*. HD; HD-AI: 61) and is created on the basis of its semantic equivalent in German *der Hof* ‘courtyard; (individual) farmstead’, 2) *pagalms* m.<sup>30</sup> is recorded in Pape (SA: 72), and 3) *sēta* f. in the southern seaside of Kurzeme (*jāatšķūrē tā sēta – piēdzīta piļla aņ sniēgu*. NIV-A: 214, Nīca; *es iēskrēju sētā*. SA: 100, Jūrmalciems) and in Šventoji–Būtingė (MB; *skatās, kad es staigāju pa sētu*. SA: 37). Latv. *sēta* is polysemous<sup>31</sup> and from the meaning ‘fence’ it is also applied to the fenced area (‘fence’→‘fenced area, courtyard’→‘fenced complex of buildings, homestead’) (LEV 809). In this meaning, the lexeme *sēta* is most likely used in the wider Kurzeme seaside area; however, it is not found in the sources examined. See also 4.1.3. FENCE and 4.1.9. HOMESTEAD, 4) dial. *sētiens* m./*sētiēna* f. (a derivative of the Latv. *sēta* with the same meaning)<sup>32</sup> is recorded in the southern Kurzeme (*dižaiš sētiēns, maģaiš sētiēns*. SA: 72, Pape; *tuōš ziņgus palaīd paganīt tepat sētiēnā!*. NIVe-A: 32, Nīca), and 5) the composite name *sēt(s)vid(u)s* m.<sup>33</sup> ‘courtyard’ is recorded only in Jūrkalne (*sē:t : sē:cvic*. LVDA mater.).

<sup>30</sup> In MEe, *pagalms* is registered with several meanings: 1) ‘a court, yard, courtyard’ (Germ. *der Hof, Hofraum*), 2) ‘a forecourt, a front court’ (Germ. *das Vorhof*), and 3) ‘a homestead’ (Germ. *das Gehöft*) (MEe III 27). The Latv. *pagalms*, also archaism *pagalme*, is a derivative of an extinct word \**galms* ‘hill; mountain top, highest point’, which shares its origin with the word *gals* ‘end, end-point; top, peak; finish’ (LEV 283, 641, cf. Lith. *galas*).

<sup>31</sup> The Latv. *sēta* means ‘a fence; a courtyard; a country house, a homestead; dial. a stockyard; dial. divisions of the plant stem’. In LLV, the primary meaning of the lexeme *sēta* is ‘a vertical structure, usually of boards, cards, wires for marking a boundary, also for protection’ (LLVVe). In MEe, *sēta* is registered with the meaning: 1) ‘a fence’ (Germ. *der Zaun*), 2) ‘a farmhouse’ (Germ. *das Bauernhaus*), 3) ‘a court’ (Germ. *der Hof*) in the central part of Kurzeme (including Īvande, Degole, Matkule), as well as in Aizviķi, Grobiņa, Kalēti, Nīca, Nīkrāce, Ēdole, Saka, Ulmale, Jūrkalne, Stende, Strazde, Tume, Džūkste, Jaunpils, Ārlava, Irlava, etc., and 4) ‘a mi-driff’ (Germ. *das Zwerchfell*) (MEe III 833; EHe II 483).

<sup>32</sup> In Latvian, the obsolete word *sētiēna*, meaning ‘a courtyard; a part of the courtyard between the barn and the stockyard or livestock shed’, is recorded in Rucava, with the var. *sētiēns* in Nīca, Dunika, and Bārta (MEe III 834; EHe II 484; LEV 809; LLVVe).

<sup>33</sup> In LLV, *sētšvidus* means ‘the middle part of a yard; also yard’ (LLVV); *sētšvidus* is registered in Liezēre, Madliena, Valgunde, Zemīte, Mēmele, Bukaiši, Bēne, Nereta, and also in Kurzeme, for instance in Saldus, Džūkste, Dundaga (MEe III 834; EHe II 484).



From the semantic point of view, in Kurzeme, a specific type of courtyard is denoted by a group of words. The independent component is the Latv. *sēta* ‘courtyard’ or its derivative *sētiens* with the same meaning, while the dependent component indicates the type of courtyard. For example, the dependent word adj. *liels* ‘big’ or the dial. *dižs* ‘big, great’<sup>34</sup> refers to the main or clean, representative courtyard, whereas adj. *mazs* ‘small’ or the dial. *maģs* ‘small’<sup>35</sup> refers to the utility or dirty courtyard (*iļ liēlaīs pagāļms, uñ es sak:u – dižāis sētiēns, maģāis sētiēns*. SA: 72; *muñs a māsū vaižē nuōslaūcīt [pirms] Liēldiēnañ aļ sluōtu liēla sēta*. SA: 72, Pape). The adjective can denote either the courtyard’s physical size or area, or its significance or importance as the representative homestead courtyard, in contrast to the utility courtyard.

#### 4.1.2. Enclosure

Two names are registered for enclosure or to specify a fence around something, particularly around an area with a specific function or an object (see Figure 4.2.): 1) *apžogojums* m. ‘fence (around something)’<sup>36</sup> is found in Bārta (*uñ tāt apžūōguōjums ta ka mana vērañda*. AVN: 108). This example in the southern coastal area of Kurzeme shows that the word is used to designate a fencing on the basis of its visual similarity to a part of a building, and 2) *dārzs* m.<sup>37</sup> ‘enclosure; fenced garden; fence around a garden’ is recorded in CS (DKW: 304, Germ. *die Umzäunung* ‘fencing; enclosure; fence’). See also 4.1.7. GARDEN and 4.1.10. STOCKYARD, *dārzs*. This concept is defined by a single example without any broader context and is explained using German word; it is challenging to fully evaluate its nuances semantically. Kursen. *dārzs* most likely refers to the functional

<sup>34</sup> The first component, namely, the dial. *dižs* ‘big, great’, is widely used in Kurzeme (Saldus, Grobiņa, Ivande, Pampāļi, Priekule, Zentene, Stende, etc.) (LLVVe; MEe I 475; EHe I 324, cf. Lith. *didis*).

<sup>35</sup> The first component, namely, the dial. *maģs* ‘small’, is used in Sarkanmuiža (EHe I 777), also *maģš* ‘small’ in Bārta, diminutive *maģiņš* ‘small’ in Alsunga, pl. *maģie* ‘small’ in Dunika (LLVVe; MEe II 548).

<sup>36</sup> In MEe, *apžogojums* is registered under the verb *apžūoguōt* with the meaning ‘enclosure, fenced place’ (MEe I 139); it is recorded as a derivative of the verb *apžogot* ‘to fence in’ (MLVVe).

<sup>37</sup> The Latv. *dārzs* has several meanings: 1) ‘a garden’, 2) ‘a park, common, green; also park’, 3) as an adjective in the Gen. form *dārza*, and 4) ‘a stockyard’ (LLVVe), as well as other meanings not related to fencing or gardens (MEe I 448–449). The origin of the word is the same as that for the Latv. word *zārds*, and the change in its original meaning can be represented as ‘fence’ → ‘fenced area’ → ‘area for certain crops’ (LEV 202–203, 1183). Cf. Lith. *daržas*, and its meanings: 1) ‘a plot of land next to a farmstead for vegetables; vegetables on that plot’, and 2) *darželis* with the meaning ‘a plot of land next to the dwelling house for flowers; flowers or flower garden on that plot’ (LKŽe).

area of the fishers' homestead – a garden that usually is next to the dwelling house and is surrounded or enclosed by a fence. The composite name *darzesēts* m. 'fence around the garden, garden fence' is also registered in CS (KW: 29, Germ. *der Gartenzaun* 'garden fence') and it is created on the basis of its sematic equivalent in German, 3) the word group *laidera*<sup>38</sup>/*laidara žogs* m. 'fence around the pasture' is found in Nīca (*ka actutēs tuō laidera žuōgu, ta nekritīs apkārt, varēs laist guōves iēkšā*. NIV-A: 211) and in Šventoji–Būtingē (*vārti bija [...] attaisami ar uz sānu paraunamamis kartemis. iespejams, ka tādi vārti bijuši laidara žogā*. MB). See also 4.1.10. STOCKYARD, *laidars*.

#### 4.1.3. Fence

In the excerpt, two names denote a fence (see Figure 4.3.): 1) *sēta* f. and variants are registered in Kurzeme (*sēta*. LVI Apv., Alsunga) and in CS (*jēta*. BezzS: 2; *sēta*. KuV: 80; *sē:tā* f. I. MogN: 253; *sēts* m. DKW: 339, Germ. *der Zaun*; *sēt*. FKN: 49; *nu tas dienes es stawiju lauke pi βetes ir gaidiju us mane Tantes*. HD, HD-AI: 8, etc.). Although *sēta* is polysemous<sup>39</sup> in Latvian, in New Curonian it is found only in this meaning, and 2) *žogs* m. and variants is prevalent along the seaside of Kurzeme (for instance, *nuōsaūkuṃs cēliēs nuō sklañdām, agrāk tā saūca žuōgu*. SA: 103, Pērkone; *žuōks bij caūrs, mēs pa žuogu izbēgām caūri*. SA: 134, Ziemupe; *muṃs jaū viss žuōks bij a viņiē nuōaūdizim*. NIV-A: 227, Nīca; LVDA mater., Užava, Venta (Ventspils), etc.) and in Šventoji–Būtingē (*jurmālnieki esot taisījuši žogus gar ežu, kādreiz arī druvu, malamis lai apsargātu tās no smilšu, kuras vejš nese no kāpu, žogs bija zems ap 0,5m aukstuma, pits no gulus gulditu berželu, alkšnu*. MB). Although its origin is unclear<sup>40</sup>, other lexical items have been created in which *žog-* is used either as a root of a word or as a component of a composite name. The diminutive form of the word *žogs* in the same meaning is formed with the suffix *-iņ-* in Venta (Ventspils) (*žuōgs. kâ žuōžiņ*. LVI Apv.). Latv. compound (word) *žogmale* f. with the meaning 'an edge of the fence; the nearest area by the fence'<sup>41</sup> is also registered (*žuōgmālē sàaūdizis liēls čemuṃs*

<sup>38</sup> The first component is the dial. *laidēris* 'a cattle-shed' (EHe I 711–712).

<sup>39</sup> In Kurzeme, *sēta* is registered in its primary meaning 'a fence' (MEe III 833; EHe II 483; LLVVe). In CS, the meaning of *sēta* and its morphological var. *sēts* can be distinguished according to the context in which the lexeme occurs and the corresponding German word (mainly Germ. *der Zaun* 'fence, fencing; enclosure' or *die Umzäunung* 'fencing in; enclosure; fence, fencing'), which indicates a fence rather than the entire building complex or courtyard.

<sup>40</sup> Lithuanian linguist Kazimieras Būga points out that the word is of Curonian and Selonian origin; however, the origin of the word is unclear (LEV 1214).

<sup>41</sup> The Latv. *mala* is registered in MEE, where it is noted that the word often appears as the component in compound nouns (for instance, Latv. *jūrmala* 'seaside', *mežmala* 'fringe/edge/border

*nâtres*. NIVe-Č 393, Nīca). The two main lexemes referring to a fence (*žogs* and *sēta*) have a general semantic meaning without specifying the type or material, therefore, they are considered semantically equivalent.

To name a certain type of fence according to its function or the material used, mainly word groups are formed (with the second component *sēta* or *žogs*): 1) *dēlu/dēlišu žogs* ‘picket fence’ in Venta (Ventspils) (*dēļ žuōks*. LVDA mater.), in Nīca (*tag jaû aŗ tâ viēns uōtrs tâ smuki apnaglâ dēlišu žuōgu*. NIVe-D: 427), *kārš(u) žogs* ‘split rail fence from wooden poles’ in Venta (Ventspils) (*kārš žuōks*. LVDA mater.), *kriteņu žogs* or *kritināts žogs* ‘fence made of crosspieces that rest in the grooves of the posts’ in Nīca (*gaŗ druvâm bi kriteņu žuōgi, sklaņdu žuōgi. kriteņu žuōgu taīsa iēkš viēna staba., bi tâdi kritināti žuōgi – rēsni stabi, izdzina a tâdu platu ēveli tâdu riēvu uņ ta tik tâ kritināja iēkšâ. pa kriteņu žuōgu saūca*. NIVe:J: 149, cf. *kritinis*, *kritiņu žuogs*), *lakt(u) žogs*<sup>42</sup> ‘wattle fence’ in Užava (*lakt žuōks*. LVDA mater.), *pīts žogs*<sup>43</sup> ‘wattle fence’ in Ventspils (*pīc žuōks*. LVDA mater.), *riķu žogs* ‘wattle fence’ in Nīca (*riķu žuōks bī tâc ciēš izpīc*. NIVe-C 363), in Bārta (*riķu žuōgu pina nuô zariēm .. lika trī sklaņdas uņ caūri pina zarus*. LVI Apv.) or *spriķ(u) žogs* ‘wattle fence’ in Užava (*spriķ žuōks*. LVDA mater.), and 2) in CS *kārtesēts* m. ‘split rail fence from wooden poles’ (KW: 42, Germ. *der Stangenzaun* ‘split rail fence from wooden poles, wooden pole fence’), *latesēts/late sēts* m. ‘lath fence’ (KW: 47; DKW: 196, Germ. *der Lattenzaun* ‘lath fence’), *lēntesēds* m./*seta* f. ‘picket fence’ (KW: 47; *feta* m. ‘picket fence’. VLS: 28, Germ. *der Bretterzaun* ‘picket fence’), *priedesēts* ‘fence made of pine-tree’ (KW: 65, Germ. *Kiefernzaun* ‘fence made of pine-tree’). The composite names for a particular fence type are created on the basis of their semantic equivalent in German.

The name *kritenis* m. for a ‘fence of horizontal wooden beams’ or for a ‘horizontal beam’ in such a fence is recorded in Nīca (*kritenis i žuōks – sataīšic gulēniski nuô sklaņdâm, vidû stabi, stabâ katrâ pusē gruōpe. atstârpē nuô viēnas sklaņas lidz uōtraī iēliēk akmeni va klucīti. uņ tâ uz aūkšu piēcas sklaņas. uņ ta isnāk kritenis*. NIVe:J: 149), and it is a derivative of the Latv. verb *krist* (MEe II 281–282; Kurzemniece

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of a forest’, etc.) (MEe II 555–556). The compound *žuogmala* is registered, for example, in Nīgrande with the meaning ‘a space next to or in front of a fence’, while the var. *žuōgmāle* is recorded in Skrunda (MEe IV 838–839; EHe II 823).

<sup>42</sup> In MEE, the dial. *lakta* means ‘a lath’ (Germ. *die Latte*, MEE II 417). All three – *lakta*, *lata*, *late* – are synonyms, and the letter *k* in this lexeme is taken from *lakta* with the meaning ‘a (chicken) roost’ through folk etymology (MEe II 417; Sehwers 1953: 68). In Grobiņa, *laktu žuogs* means ‘a wattle fence’ (EHe I 717).

<sup>43</sup> The first component of the word group indicates how the fence is made, namely, by weaving thin branches between upright stakes or horizontal wooden sticks to form a woven lattice.

2002: 64–65). It is related to the composite names such as *kriteņu žogs* or *kritināts žogs* ‘fence made of crosspieces that rest in the grooves of the posts’.

The name *sklanda* f. ‘split rail fence from wooden poles’ is recorded in Nīca, Bārta (*Sklanda*. JLV: 262 (132a), Germ. *ein Zäunchen, von Strauch oder Holz von einen Garten gemacht*), and it is considered a Curonianism (MEe III 881–882; LEW 733–734). The name and meaning of a particular type of fence are also recorded in pl. form *sklandas* in a wide area of Kurzeme (MEe III 881–882). The Livs borrowed the word *sklanda*, meaning a pole, from the Latvians (Kurzemniece 2002: 94). See also 4.4.13. POLE, *sklanda*.

#### 4.1.4. Fence post/stake

Several names are identified with a vertical wooden pole used to build fences or its parts, namely, a fence post or stake (see Figure 4.4.): 1) *kuols* m. (< Lith. *kuolas* in its 1st meaning ‘a stake, a stake that is hammered or driven into something (for building a fence)’ (LKŽe)) is registered only in CS (KuV: 64) 2) similarly the composite name *sēts’kuols* m. (DKW: 339, Germ. *der Zaunpfahl* ‘pole/stake for the fence’) is recorded only in CS. This lexeme is formed of the inherited component *sēta* ‘fence’ and the borrowed component, mentioned before, *kuols* ‘pole’, but is actually created on the basis of its semantic equivalent in German *der Zaunpfahl* ‘pole/stake for the fence’. See also 4.1.3. FENCE, *sēta*, 3) *miets* m.<sup>44</sup> is recorded in Nīca (*žuôgām iēdzina miētus. tiē bi eglu, uôzuôla miēti*. NIVe-I: 629), 4) *stabs* m.<sup>45</sup> is found in the southern Kurzeme (*[žoga] stabam bi caūruŋs iskaīc, un tuŋ iššāva caūri tuō sklaŋdu, kuŋ iēpiŋ tuō riķi*. NI 289; *žuôgu ka taīsa, ta nuo stabu us stabu liēk sklaŋdas*. NI 293) and in Šventoji–Būtingė (*redzēti pie māju palikuši tāda žoga stabi*. MB), and 5) *stakle/staklit*<sup>e</sup> f. ‘post (for the fence or gate)’<sup>46</sup> is recorded in Alsunga (*stakle. jaiēžēn pārs*

<sup>44</sup> The Latv. *miets* means ‘a thin, long, rod-shaped piece of a wood, usually with a pointed end’ (LLVVe), and it is related to the Latv. verb *miet* ‘to drive, to strike (something) into the ground’ (LEV 592–593; MEE II 656, cf. Lith. *miētas*).

<sup>45</sup> The Latv. *stabs*, primarily meaning ‘a log or similar structure fixed vertically in a base’ (LLVVe) or ‘a pole, picket, column, post’ (MEe III 1036), and its origin is based on ide. \**steb(h)*- ‘post, trunk; to support, to pound, to tread’ (LEV 915, cf. Lith. *stabas*).

<sup>46</sup> The Latv. *stakle*, meaning ‘a vertical element of a fence, wooden pole’, is an archaism (LLVVe; Tez), and its origin is based on ide. \**stā-* ‘to stand (?), to place’ (LEV 918, cf. Lith. *stāklė*, referring to a 4) ‘vertical support’. LKŽe). In the southern part of Kurzeme (Rucava, Dunika), the pl. *stakles* ‘loom’ (Germ. *der Webstuhl* ‘loom’) (MEe III 1041). However, the pl. m. *stakli* is used to denote vertical poles into which round or sawn logs are placed horizontally to form a gate (Bilenšteins 2001: 168, picture No. 118).

*jaûns staklit<sup>cs</sup> zeme*. LVI Apv.). Although both last lexemes, *stabs* and *stakle*, reflect a common layer of the Indo-European vocabulary and are also found in modern Latvian literary language, only the word *stabs* has preserved this meaning as its primary meaning. The second name is not clearly equivalent to the first. The Latv. archaism *stakle* can typically refer to an object, usually made of wood, with a branched part; in this particular example, it is used to denote a pole-shaped support inserted into the ground. However, in ethnographic sources, this word in the plural form has a different meaning, referring to vertical posts in a gate that keep horizontal elements together. To accurately determine the meaning of this polysemous word, it has to be examined in context.

#### 4.1.5. Fence board

The name *lubīņa* f. ‘narrow fence board’ in Nīca ([žogam] tās *lubīņas* tã kuõpã – ciêti cita piê citas. NIV-Ce: 365) is formed of the Latv. *luba* ‘wooden shingle’ with the derivational suffix *-iņ-*. See also 4.4.15. ROOFING BOARD OR SHINGLE, *luba*. The Latv. *lubīņa* itself does not reveal what type of fence this element is intended for. However, considering the meanings of this lexeme as recorded in the MEe dictionary (MEe II 509), this example reveals Latv. *lubīņa* with the meaning of ‘a narrow board’ or ‘a narrow piece of sawn timber’. In Kurzeme, such narrow boards were horizontally woven between an odd number of thin, vertical logs, for example, in gates in Džūkste (Bilenšteins 2001: 168).

#### 4.1.6. Fence stick

The name *riķis* m. ‘wooden stick, a tree branch of which a fence is made’ is recorded to refer to a fence stick<sup>47</sup>. The name of this concept has been found in the southern part of the Kurzeme seaside (*riķu žuõgi [bija]. nuõ egļu zaru viņus taīsa. pus uõtras ases garumã, colļu caũrmẽrã tas riķis* i. NIV-C 344, Nīca; AVN 131, Rucava;) and in Šventoji–Būtingē (*riķu žogu darija apkãrt darželi [..] rikius taisija no jaunu*

<sup>47</sup> The dial. *riķis* is synonymous with the Latvian literary word *zedenis*, which means a short, thin wooden stick, usually used for fencing or building (hay) rickstands (Tez; LLVVe). The dial. sg. *riķis*, and pl. *riķi*, indicates the material of the fence and are common in Nīgrande, Talsi, Stende, Vãne, Lutriņi, Dunika, Ezere, Līvberze (Germ. *die Zaunspricken*, MEe III 525, 526), also in Asīte, Grobiņa (*riķu dãrzs [..] = dãrzs ar riķu žuogu*), Bãrta, Rucava (Germ. *Ein Zaunstecken; eine Holzstange*, EHe II 371). In LLV, the name pl. *riķi* is used to denote the wooden element from which a fence is made; however, the dial. sg. *riķis* can refer both to the wooden stick or branch itself and to the fence built from such wooden sticks or branches.

*karklu, berzu, alkšnu, un žalus, kamar nav sakaltuši, islocija karču starpas*. MB). Latv. *rikis* (Germ. *die Zaunspricken*)<sup>48</sup>, also Lith. *rikė* (Germ. *die Zaunstange*) is a Germanism (< MLG dialect word *rick* ‘long, thin pole’ (Germ. *lange, dünne Stange*, MEe II 525–526; LKŽe)), which appears in written sources dating back to the 19th century. The word is commonly used in Kurzeme and West Zemgale as part of a word group that has the second component, the Latv. *žogs* ‘fence’ (Kurzemniece 2002: 81–82).

#### 4.1.7. Garden

Although the size and location of gardens vary across the research area, they are found on all homesteads and form a significant functional area of the homestead (see Figure 4.5.). See also 4.1.2. ENCLOSURE, *dārzs*. In all three Latvian-speaking communities, the name *dārzs* m. for a garden is registered (for instance, *mañs vęcaistęvs tuō [kāpu] iř racis, dārzu iękuōpis. nu tad es tuř paņęmu tālāk – es tuř siļtūmnicu iękuōpu*. NIVe-I: 648, Nīca; *dārzā aūg ābeles, ķiřši, buņbiēres, plūmju kuōki, uōgu krūmi*. LVDA mater., Medze; *mān guōv nu°ēd vis dārz*. LVDA mater., Užava; *darefes LF.*, *dārs SrI*. BezzS; 26, 27, Sarkau; *dārzas*. KuV: 53; *dārzās~dārzās m. I ~dārzīs~dārzīs m. III*. MogN: 240, Germ. *der Garten*; *darzs m*. KW: 29, Germ. *der Garten*; *apžogojā dārzu, laidaru, puķu darzeli*. MB, etc.). Names with suffixes, for instance, *-iņ-*, dial. *-īn-*, *-el-*, are also recorded in the southern Kurzeme to denote the same concept with the same meaning, but in diminutive form (*dārzinā aūdzēja gūrkus, sīpuōlus uñ kāpuōstus, būrkānus, sprūtes, sārkanās biētes* [...] *ta jaū liēli dārzi nebi*. NIVe-D: 417, Nīca; *ābelišu dārzinā uōtrā traūkā uz kuōka krusta uzliēk kuōcīnus uñ saļmus*. AVN: 118, Bārta; *piē katras mājas jaū bi savs dārželis*. NIV-D: 418, Nīca). in CS, the typical suffixes *-en-*, *-il-* or both are used to form names like *darzēn f*. (KW: 29, Germ. *das Gärtchen, der Gemuuse-garten*) and *dāržilāns m. I* (MogN: 240, Germ. *das Gärtchen*) with the meaning of a ‘little garden; vegetable garden’. Only here is the name *darzēns preš name f*. with the meaning ‘front garden’ (DKW: 322, Germ. *Vorgarten*) is recorded, and it is created on the basis of its semantic equivalent in German.

<sup>48</sup> The Germ. *der Sprickenzaun*, from which the Latvian word *spriķis* was borrowed, is what the Baltic Germans call a fence with three horizontal poles interwoven vertically with spruce branches. In region formerly inhabited by the Livs, such as northern Kurzeme, the word *rikis* is used without the letter s under Fin. influence (Bilenšteins 2001: 166–167).

#### 4.1.8. Gate

Several names for the concept of a gate are identified in the excerpted material (see Figure 4.6.): 1) *duoars* m. ‘gate’ is recorded only in one example in CS (*duoars*, *varsts* m. DKW: 293, Germ. *das Tor* ‘gate’), which is related to the original meaning of the word *vārti* ‘gate’ – a hole or opening made in the fence with a construction (plate) hanged in the hinge for closing it, and this name is also used generically to any gate. See also 4.5.9. DOOR, *durvis*, 2) *vārsteles* f. ‘gate’ in CS (*vārsteles* LF. BezzS: 26, Germ. *die Pforte*, Sarkau). The name *vārsteles*<sup>49</sup> indicates using a smaller component to refer to the whole. The gate opening was originally closed with a spindle (Latv. *vārstulis*), which was later replaced by a wooden structure (Latv. *durvis*), eventually becoming known as a Latv. *vārti* (LEV 1126–1127; Bīlenšteins 2001: 168–170). See also 4.1.16. WICKET, and 3) *vārti* pl. m. with the meaning of a ‘fence’ in general is registered in all three Latvian-speaking communities (for instance, *žuôgâ acstâja caūrumu, kuî iêlikt vārtus*. NIVe-C: 346, Nīca; *mañt i dārza pa labi ruôki zem âbels, piê vārtiñ*. SA: 156, Ulmale; *vārti. atšķiru vārtu cilvekamis un lopamis nebija*. MB, Šventoji; in CS, *vārti*. KuV: 89; *varts* f. KW: 82, Germ. *das Tor* ‘gate’; *duoars*, *varsts* m. DKW: 293, Germ. *das Tor* ‘gate’). Kursen. *varts* f. ‘gate’ indicates a category problem, i.e. writing plurals in the singular and the assignment of grammatical gender according to the corresponding word in German and its article (see more in Chapter 3.2.2.). In Latv. dial. *vārts* in singular form is registered (EH II 765), however, there is no evidence of its widespread use in the areas of the Latvian language in Kurzeme, from where it could have been introduced into the New Curonian language. Regarding the name *varsts* m. ‘gate’ – such an example is found in only one source (DKW: 293); however, there is the Latv. dial. *varsts* ‘the wooden door or gate latch’ in Vērgale (ME IV 480). There is also the Lith. lexeme *varstis*, which in its 2nd meaning is a ‘device for opening doors or windows, a hinge’ (LKŽe). Probably this word, like Latv. *vārsteles*, may name the whole

<sup>49</sup> The dial. pl. m. *vārstali* is recorded with the meaning ‘moveable wooden poles used instead of fence gates’, also sg. f. *vārstaļa* ‘a gate made of 3–4 removable round wooden poles’, and pl. f. *vārstaļas* ‘gates made of removable horizontal poles’ (Tez). With the meaning of ‘poles to be taken out instead of a gate’, the dial. sg. m. *vārstulis* is registered in Saldus (also meaning ‘a door hing’ and ‘a talkative person’), *vārstulis* in Ivande, Kabile, Stende, also sg. f. *vārstele* ‘wicket’ in Zvārde, sg. m. *vārstulis* ‘a wicket in the fence (used only by humans)’ in Kanda-va, Stende, Vandzene, and pl. m. *vārsteli* (in the same meaning) in Dunika, as well as sg. m. *vārstelis* ‘a wicket or smaller gates near the wider ones’ (MEe IV 509). The Latv. *vārstulis* and its morphological var. is a derivative of the Latv. verb *vārstīt* ‘to (keep) open and shut’, which shares its origin with the Latv. verb *vērt* ‘to open’ (LEV 1125, 1146).



object by naming it after one of its elements, regardless of which name it originated from. In Kurzeme, when specifying the purpose of the gates, the word group *gatuves vārti* m. ‘livestock gate’ is found that denotes a gate meant for the movement of cattle (*tiē gatuves vārti bi aīscēlti ai miētina, lai cūkas negrūž vaļāz*. NIVe–A: 22). Although the origin of the first component of this word group is uncertain<sup>50</sup>, semantically it refers to a fenced path through which cattle enter a pasture via a gate. With the same meaning, a derivative *pavārtiņš* m. is recorded in Bārta (*pavārtiņu atcēlām, ēit, guōsniņas, laiđari*. LVI APv.), probably referring to the livestock gate, which is smaller in size.

#### 4.1.9. Homestead

In the excerpt, two lexemes are found that refer to the concept of homestead (*mājas* and *sēta*) (see Figure 4.7.), and both are polysemous, therefore, their meaning can only be determined in context or with a precise explanation: 1) *mājas*<sup>51</sup> f. ‘homestead’ (< the Finno-Ugric \**mā* ‘land’ (LEV 561)) is recorded in Kurzeme (for instance, *liēlākā luōpu kūc (=ts) iř tajās mājās*. LVDA mater., Medze) and in Šventoji–Būtingē (*mājas*., *zvejnieka mājas*. MB), and 2) *sēta* f. ‘homestead’ also registered in Kurzeme (*māj*, *sēt*. LVDA mater., Užava; *agrāk bi katram sav<sup>a</sup> sēta, sav<sup>a</sup> saīmniēcība, sav<sup>i</sup> luōpiņi*. AVN: 120, Rucava) and in Šventoji–Būtingē (*sēta*., *saimnieka sēta*. MB).

The meaning of the name *sēta* has been broadened, and the lexeme is recorded in Kurzeme in all its meanings, but not in the Curonian Spit. There, *sēta* is used only to refer to a fence, and *mājas* in the plural form was rather used in an adverbial meaning of ‘at home’ (*mājās E, N, LF, māj E*, Germ. *nach Hause, zu Hause*. BezzS, 59, Nida, LT, Preila, Lesnoy (*Sarkau*)), as evidenced by the German translation. In the Latvian language of Šventoji–Būtingē, both names are inherited and used as the second component of word groups that indicate ownership of the homestead or the occupation of the dweller. For example, *saimnieka mājas* ‘master’s homestead’ or *zvejnieka sēta* ‘fisher’s homestead’. Here, the lexeme *sēta* can refer to a homestead, a courtyard, or a fence, but pl. *mājas* can refer to a homestead and sg. *māja* – to a

<sup>50</sup> The origin of the Latv. *gatve* (also the dial. *gatva, gatuve, gatava*, cf. Lith. *gatvė*) is controversial: 1) according to the traditional view, it is borrowed from Germanic languages, as in Gothic *gatwō* ‘road, street’, 2) an alternative view, however, associates the word with Baltic (specifically Curonian) roots (LEV 294–295; LKŽe). The dial. *gatuve*, meaning a ‘path fenced on both sides, cattle path’, is registered in southern Kurzeme (Dunika, Saldus, Grobiņa) (MEe I 609; EHe I 387).

<sup>51</sup> In LLV, the sg. form *māja* has three meanings: 1) ‘a building intended for dwelling, also for public or economic use’, 2) ‘a rural homestead, farm’, usually in the pl. form *mājas*, and 3) ‘a residence, human housing’, used in both the pl. and sg. forms (LLVVe).



dwelling house. Both names, with the meaning of a homestead, are still used in the Latvian literary language.

#### 4.1.10. Stockyard

Although fishing is commonly associated with the primary occupation of coastal communities, there are also families or households that raise livestock for personal use, engaging in both fishing and farming. This type of household had animal enclosures in close proximity to the homestead-yard. The names recorded in the excerpt vary depending on the location where the enclosure is built, and they are (see Figure 4.8.): 1) *aploks* m. ‘stockyard; pasture-ground’<sup>52</sup> is recorded in Kurzeme (*apluōks*. LVDA mater., Venta; *abluōks*. LVDA mater., Užava, etc.), derived from the Latv. verb *aplocīt* ‘to fold’ (MEe I 103). The compound (word) *cūkaploks* m. ‘stockyard for pigs by the cattle-shed’ is found in Ulmale (*apluōks (laūkâ), cūkapluōks klât piê kūtiņš*. LVDA mater.), 2) *dārzs* m. ‘stockyard; pasture-ground’<sup>53</sup> is registered in Nīca (*vakarâ jâlaiž dârzâ piēganît tās guōves. ta būs vaîrâk piēna., bi liēli dârzi, ku iēlaiž [lopus]*. NIVe-D:418, Nīca). See also 4.1.2. ENCLOSURE and 4.1.7. GARDEN, 3) *laidars/laidaris* m. ‘stockyard by the cattle-shed’<sup>54</sup> mainly in the southern Kurzeme (*ku piê staļļa, tuō sauc lāideri*. LVDA-L 125, Nīca), derived from the Latv. verb *laist* ‘to let, release’ (LEV 485–486, 492–493; MEE II 402). The compound (word) *lauklaidars*<sup>55</sup> m. ‘stockyard by the cattle-shed’ is found in Saka, Grobiņa (LVDA-L 126, Map

<sup>52</sup> The Latv. *aploks* with the meaning ‘a fenced area (usually for livestock, including poultry, to graze or live in the open)’ is common in Kurzeme, Zemgale, and Vidzeme. However, in both dialectal and literary usage, the word may refer to either a fenced pasture or a fenced cattle yard located next to a cattle shed (LVDA-L 123–126; LLVVe).

<sup>53</sup> In LLV, the fourth meaning of the Latv. *dārzs* is ‘a stockyard’ (LLVVe). In MEE, *dārzs* is also recorded with the secondary meaning ‘a place surrounded by a fence for domestic animals to rest, stockyard’ (MEe I 448–449), although not in the research area – mainly in Vidzeme (Jaunroze, Mālupe, Saikava) and in Sēlija (Sūnākste) (EHe I 312). By contrast, the Lith. *daržas* in its fifth meaning, refers to ‘a fenced place for livestock’, also the Lith. *bandodaržis* ‘stockyard’ (literally translated as ‘cattle garden’) denotes a fenced enclosure adjacent to the house, designed to keep livestock out during the summer, and it is recorded in the Plungė, Kelmė, Šilalė, and Mažeikiai regions (LKŽe).

<sup>54</sup> The Latv. *laidars* has several meanings: 1) ‘a stockyard next to or near a cattle-shed; also a pasture-ground’, referring to an enclosed area, 2) the dial. meaning ‘(usually a large) cattle-shed’ (LLVVe). In MEE, *laidars* is registered with the meaning ‘a stockyard next to a cattle-shed’ in Blidene, Dunika, Kalēti, Bārta, Stende, Vandzene, Dundaga, etc., also the word group *lauka laidars* in Džūkste. With the meaning ‘a cattle-shed’, the word is registered in Dunika, Džūkste, Kandava (EHe I 711). From the Latv. *laidars*, the Lith. *laidaris*, dial. *laidaris*, *laidarys*, *laidaris*, meaning ‘stockyards, pasture-ground’, have developed (LKŽe; LEV 485).

<sup>55</sup> In Kurzeme, the names used to denote a stockyard are *ārlaidars* or *āra laidars* and *lauklaidars* or *lauku laidars* (LVAD-L 124–126, Map 53). The first components of these composite

53), 4) the word group *lop(u) sēt(a)* f. ‘stockyard (for livestock)’ is recorded only in Užava (LVDA mater.). See also 4.1.1. COURTYARD, *sēta*, and 5) *rosgartens* m. ‘stockyard; pasture-ground (for horses)’ is recorded only in CS (KuV: 77) and created on the basis of its semantic equivalent in German (*der Rossgarten* ‘enclosed yard, pasture-ground for horses’). The compact nature of the homesteads in the Curonian Spit, the limited number of animals kept, and the fact that large courtyards were not characteristic, explain why there is found only one compound (word) for this concept. If a certain object is uncommon in the fisher’s homesteads situated on the Curonian Spit, then it is reasonable to assume that the names of such objects have not been used by New Curonians and thus do not appear in the written materials.

#### 4.1.11. Well

In all three Latvian-speaking communities, the name *aka* f. for a well is recorded (VLS: 5; BezzS: 56; KuV: 47; LVDA mater.; SA: 29; MB, etc.). Historically, *aka* is a morphological var. of the word *acs* ‘eye’, and in earlier usage, prior to the 17th century, it denoted the water reservoir of the well rather than its current meaning (LEV 62). Today, the word *aka* is mostly used to denote the entire set of structural elements. Specific well names indicating different materials or construction types have not been found. Isolated examples (Kursen. *aks* m. and *ake* f.) illustrate a category problem, i.e., the assignment of grammatical gender according to the corresponding word in German and its article.

#### 4.1.12. Well hook

The name *kāsis* m. for well hook is polysemous<sup>56</sup>, and is found only in two locations: in Nīca (*laī nebūtu nuô akas jāvēlk ūdeņa spaņni aī kāsī, tad iērīktēja viñdu*. NIVe-I: 673) and in Šventoji-Būtingē (*vecos laikos ūdini no akas smēle ar kāsī, pēc kara pie betona aku sāka taisīt ruļļus ar kedemis., stabs, kārtē, kāsīs, vienā kārtes galā akminis, kāša apakšas galā knābis*. MB). This suggests that the word, in its ethnographic meaning, is also preserved in the

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names – *ārs* ‘out of doors, outside’ or *lauks* ‘field’ (cf. adv. *laukā* ‘out of doors, outside’), – indicate that the cattle pasture area is open and not covered. In ethnography, the word group *lauka laidars* means a stockyard, located at a distance from the utility buildings (Tez), and not necessarily directly adjacent to the cattle-shed.

<sup>56</sup> In LLV, the primary meaning of the word is an ‘object, tool – a pole with a hooked end for hooking’ (LLVVe). In MEe, its ethnographic definition is recorded as 3) ‘a pole with a forked branch at the end, used to hang the bailer when drawing water from a well’ without any note about its distribution; *kāsis* can also refer to 4) ‘wooden hooks that are used to hang doors’ or 5) ‘a wooden rafter hook’ in a particular type of roofing construction material, namely, Latv. *lubu jumts* (MEe II 203–204).

Latvian language of Šventoji-Būtingē. The origin of the word is unclear (LEV 388). The name is motivated by the visual similarity of the object, or part of the object, to the hook.

#### 4.1.13. Well lining ring

Several names for well lining rings can be found all over the Kurzeme seaside area (see Figure 4.9.) and refer to the construction of a typical well made of wooden logs<sup>57</sup>: 1) the word group *akas vīers* f. ‘well lining ring’ is recorded in Ulmale ((*akas*) *viērs* (*ā-celms*), *par grodiem nesauc*. LVDA mater.). From a semantical point of view, the word group primarily refers to the visible above-ground part of the well, rather than the entire structure that extends to depth, but semantically it denotes the same concept as the other names, 2) *gro-di*<sup>58</sup> / *akas grodi* m. (*gruōd*. Venta, Užava, *ake gruōd iēgruvuš*. Jūrkalne, Ulmale, *gruōdi, tiē tādi dēliši ak:as iēkšpuse, un pabūvē vēl tādu aukstāku, lai iznāk viŗspusē*. Saka, Ziemupe, *akaī iŗ gruōdi*. Medze, Grobiņa, Pērkone, LVDA mater.), also Nom. pl. *gruoti* in Pērkone (LVDA-L Map 61). The origin of this primary name is as to the word *grīda* ‘floor’, from the original meaning (singular form) ‘log, thick board’ has taken on the meaning of (plural form) ‘logs or boards for well fencing’ (LEV 318, 314), 3) *koki/akas koki*<sup>59</sup> m. ‘well lining ring’ is found in Užava (*akakuoki/akas kuoki* and var. LVDA-L Map 61). Only the word group *akas koki* directly indicates the material used for lining rings, and 4) *rentiņi* m. ‘well lining ring’ in the southern Kurzeme (*rentiņi*. MEe III: 512, Rucava, Dunika; *rentiņi, rentīni*. LVDA-L Map 61, Pērkone, Nīca, Rucava; *renštīni*. LVDA-L 139, Pērkone). The word is likely related to the lexis of the Curonians (MEe III 512), but is now obsolete and no longer used in this meaning. Cf. Lith. *rentinys* in its secondary meaning ‘well walls, edges’ in Pläteliai, Salantai, Priekulė, Mosėdis, Tauragė, etc. (LKŽe). All of these names are lexical parallelisms with different motivations (material or visible part of the structure). The earliest of these is *rentiņi*, which eventually gave way to the more widely known *grodi*. The specific name for the well lining rings was not found in the excerpted material from the Curonian Spit.

<sup>57</sup> Water well walls in traditional homesteads were constructed with rectangular log crowns. However, in the 1930s, for instance, in Kurzeme, walls made of round cement pipes became more common.

<sup>58</sup> In LLV, *grods* in pl. form *grodi* is registered with the meaning of a ‘framework of a well’, however, it also has a submeaning of a ‘quadrangular placed logs forming foundations and walls of buildings’ and ‘logs supporting the floor of a bridge’; its 2) meaning is a ‘horizontal beam supporting the ceiling’ (LLVVe). With the meaning of this concept, the word is registered in Saldus (*gruōdi*), Dunika (*gruōdi*), and Vidzeme (MEe I 671; EHe I 413). The singular form of this lexeme has registered meanings unrelated to this concept.

<sup>59</sup> The Latv. *koks*, in its pl. form, is used to mean 3.2) ‘an object, structure made of wood, timber’ (LLVVe). This meaning is also registered in the sources MEe and EHe, for example, as *tiltu koki, gultas koki, trepju koki*, etc. (MEe II 342–343; EHe I 686).

#### 4.1.14. Well pole

In the excerpted material, the lexeme *žāklis* with the meaning ‘well (y-type) pole’ is found only in one location (*piē akas ir tâc zemē iērakc žāklis, un tur iēkša viņde, kas tuõ spaīni vēlk aūkšarh*. LVDA mater., Saka). However, this lexeme, in its primary meaning<sup>60</sup>, from which the word most likely is assigned to the particular element of the well, has also been recorded in several places in southern Kurzeme and Zemgale. This demonstrates the widespread adoption of both the concept and its name throughout the broader region. The name is motivated by the appearance or shape of the element: the end of a vertical wooden pole, naturally or artificially formed with a Y-shaped notch at the top, holds a horizontal pole or sweep, which is heavier at one end.

#### 4.1.15. Well-sweep

A well-sweep is usually a hand-made device used to bring water up from a wooden well. It was constructed from a vertical wooden pole, often with a Y notch at the top, that held a horizontal pole or sweep, which was heavier at one end. If the horizontal pole (sweep) was balanced correctly, it was easier to raise the pole, thus bringing mostly a metal bucket filled with water. Two names for a well-sweep are found (see Figure 4.10.): 1) Latv. dial. *svirsts* m. or a word group *akas svirsts* m. is recorded only in CS (KuV: 47, 83), and it indicates that this name most probably is inherited in New Curonian from the Latvian language of northern Kurzeme<sup>61</sup>. This phenomenon suggests that the word *svirsts* or other related variation was used, at least in northern Kurzeme and its surrounding seaside areas, at the time when Curonians from this region migrated to the Curonian Spit. Eventually, it was replaced by the word of foreign origin (*vinda*), which could be explained by the influence of the nobility on the life of the peasants, and 2) *vinda* f. and variants (< MLG *winde* ‘twisted, furled; a device for winding’ (LEV 1167, cf.

<sup>60</sup> The Latv. f. *žākle*, also m. *žāklis* means ‘(a part) of a branching point (usually on trees and branches); a bifurcated branch, a trunk; also a wooden object shaped like this’ (LLVVe). In MEe, the polysemous *žākle* is registered with the primary meaning ‘a fork of a tree, the place where an upward-pointing branch forms an acute angle with the tree trunk’; its morphologic var. *žāklis* is also recorded in Vidzeme (Bērzaune, Aizupe), Kurzeme (Saldus, Lutriņi, Skrun-da, Stende), and Zemgale (Šķibe, Dobeles area, Džūkste) (MEe IV 795).

<sup>61</sup> The dial. *svirsts*, meaning ‘a well-sweep’, is recorded in Susēja (MEe III 1161–1162) and registered in MEe as a synonym of the Latv. *sviris* ‘a well-sweep’. Bilenšteins notes that the north of the Abava River, such a well-sweep is called by various names, including *svira*, *sviris*, *sveiris*, etc. (MEe III 1161–1162; Bilenšteins 2001: 154; Tez). The origin of the name is related to the verb *svērt* ‘to weigh’, also subst. *svira* ‘a lever’ (LEV 969, 973), cf. Lith. *sverti* ‘to weigh (out); to press, to pull down’ and *svirtis* ‘well-sweep’.

Germ. *die Winde* ‘creeper; winch’; (Sehwer 1953: 158, Germ. *ein Werkzeug zum Winden*)<sup>62</sup> are recorded only in Kurzeme<sup>63</sup>. Bīlenšteins notes the Germanic origin of the name, stating that such wells are common in northern Germany and were introduced to the Baltic by Germans, which explains the non-Latvian name (Bīlenšteins 2001: 153–154). With the introduction of other types of wells in homesteads, this type of object gradually disappeared and was replaced by other water lifting mechanisms. Well-sweeps were common but were replaced by pulleys and cranks around the 20th century. As a result, the name of this object also began to disappear from the active vocabulary.

#### 4.1.16. Wicket

In the excerpt, two names denote a wicket or wicket-gate: 1) *darzedur* f. ‘wicket-gate’ is recorded only in CS (KW: 29, Germ. *die Türchen im Gartenzaun* ‘wicket-gate’), and similarly to other concept names, for example, *darzesēts* ‘fence around the garden, garden fence’, it is created on the basis of its semantic equivalent in German. See also 4.1.7. GARDEN and 4.5.9. DOOR, and 2) *varsteli* m. and variants *varstil* m./*varstilēn* f.<sup>64</sup> are found in CS (for instance, *maģi – varsteli, bet dižs ir duors*. KKF: 19, Preila; *pušķaj istubes, dures un varstile*. FKN: 300, etc.) and in Šventoji-Būtingė (*magus, darželu vārtus sauce pa varstelemis*. MB). The word *varsteli* and its variants are particularly noteworthy, as Kursen. pl. *varsteli* ‘wicket’ could have been inherited from the Latvian subdialectal lexis of the southern region of Kurzeme (pl. m. *vārsteli* ‘wicket’ in Dunika. MEe IV 509)<sup>65</sup>. This name was likely not originally used to refer to a gate, which is now commonly understood as a door-like structure, but rather to multiple horizontal and removable barriers made from wooden poles. See also 4.1.8. GATE, *vārsteles*.

<sup>62</sup> The origin of the word *vinda* is unclear, however, there are several explanations: 1) in Latvian it may be borrowed from the Pr. *winda*, meaning ‘a towable, movable device’, which in turn comes from MLG *winde* ‘twisted, furled; a device for winding’ (LEV 1167, cf. Germ. *die Winde* ‘creeper; winch’), and 2) it may have been borrowed directly from MLG (LEV 1167; Sehwer 1953: 158).

<sup>63</sup> In KuV, *vinda* is explained using the Latv. word *svārpsts*, meaning: 1) ‘a hand tool for drilling holes’, 2) ‘a hand mill component – a lever for lifting a millstone’ (KuV: 90; Tez).

<sup>64</sup> The Kursen. *varstil* is formed with the derivational (diminutive) suffix *-il-*, and Kursen. *varstilēn* with two derivational (diminutive) suffixes *-il-* and *-ēn-* that is rarer than the regular case in New Curonian (MogN: 202). Both names can cause difficulties in assigning the correct grammatical gender due to the reduction of word endings. Both diminutive suffixes are typical in New Curonian (KuV: 19–20).

<sup>65</sup> With regard to the lexemes of the Latvian written language and Lithuanian loanwords, the following pattern applies: when a consonant group beginning with *r* follows a root vowel, the short *a* and *e* in the root are typical of *Preil* (Preila), *Nidden* (Nida (LT)), and *Schwarzort* (Jodkrantė), while the long *ā* and *ē* are typical of *Pillkoppen* (Pilkopa), *Sarkau*, and *Karkelbeck* (Karklė) (BezzS: 26).



**Figure 4.1.** *Distribution of COURTYARD names.*



**Figure 4.2.** Distribution of ENCLOSURE names.





Figure 4.3. Distribution of FENCE names.





**Figure 4.4.** *Distribution of FENCE POST names.*

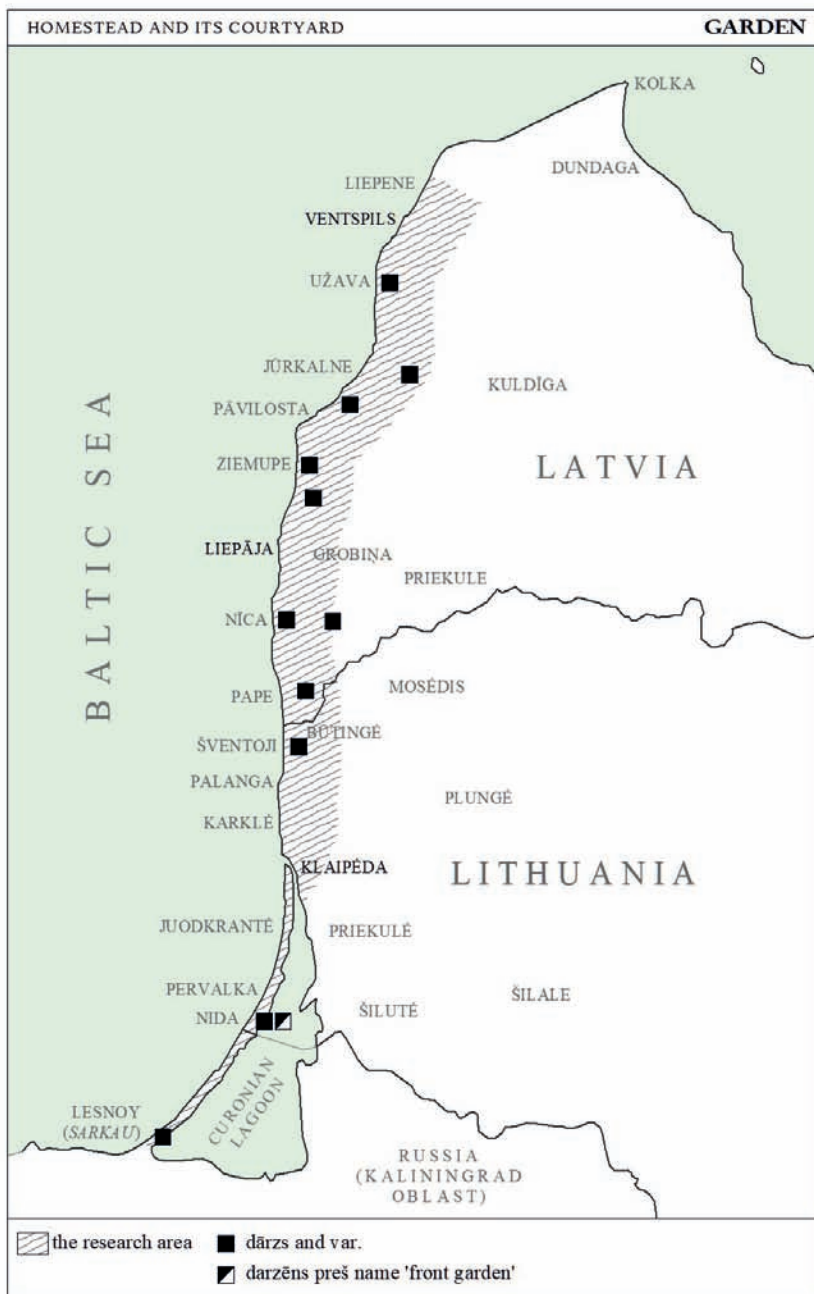


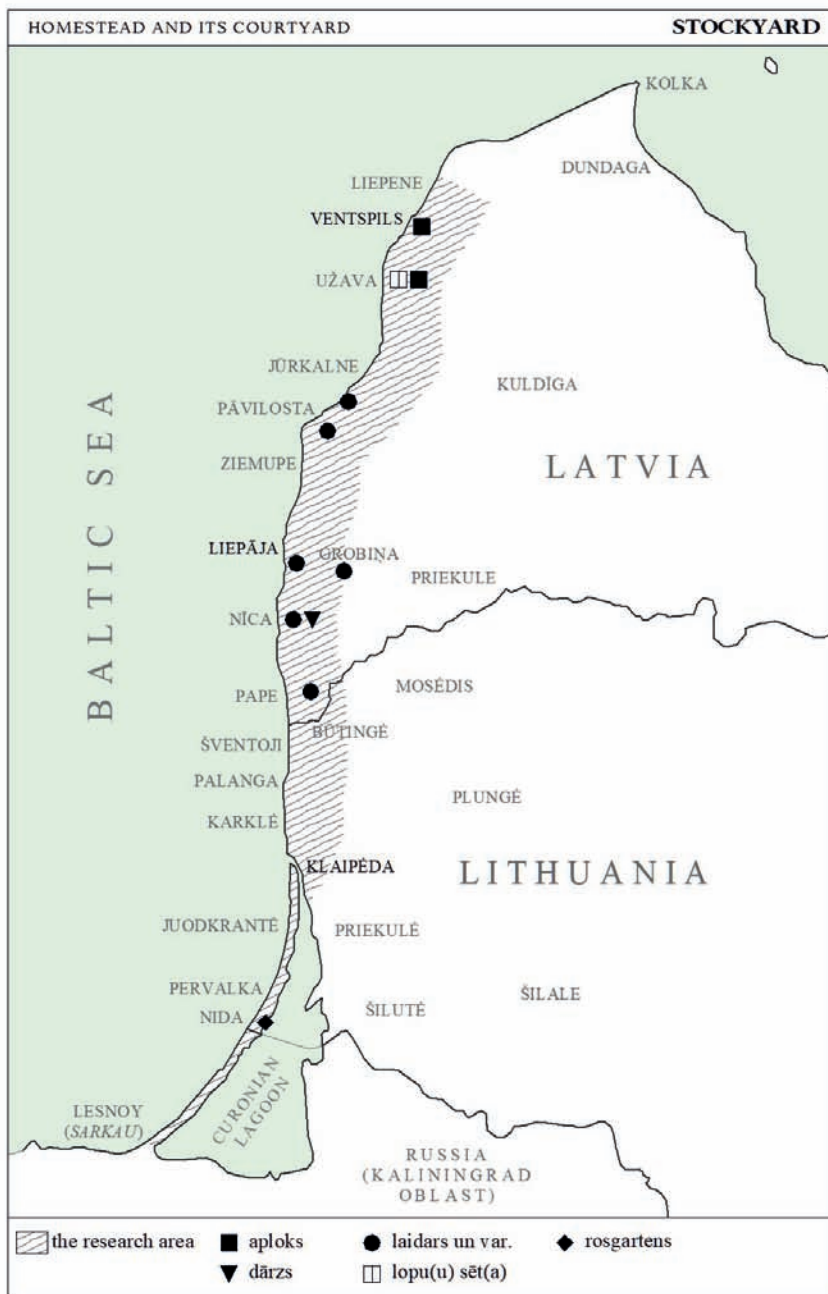
Figure 4.5. Distribution of GARDEN names.



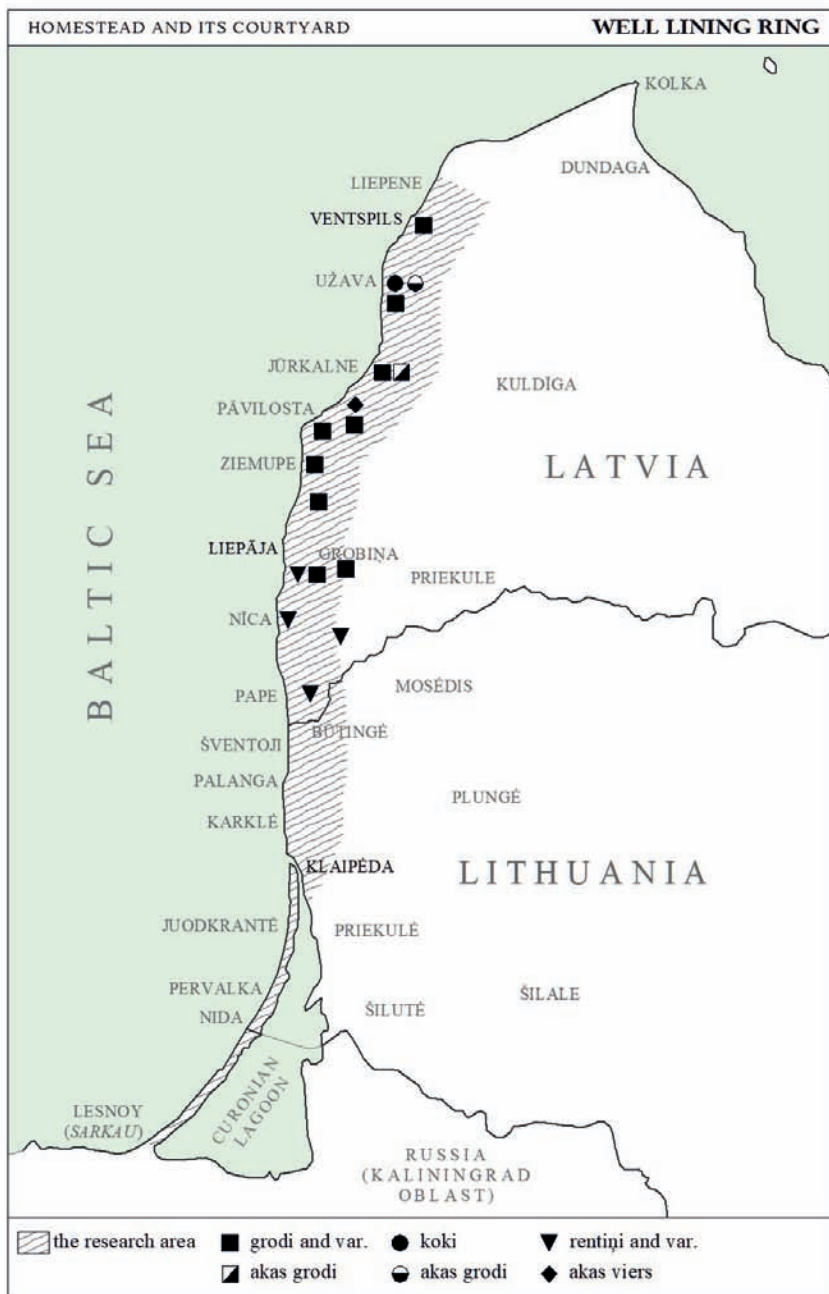
Figure 4.6. Distribution of GATE names.



**Figure 4.7.** Distribution of *HOMESTEAD* names.



**Figure 4.8.** Distribution of *STOCKYARD* names.



**Figure 4.9.** Distribution of WELL LINING RING names.

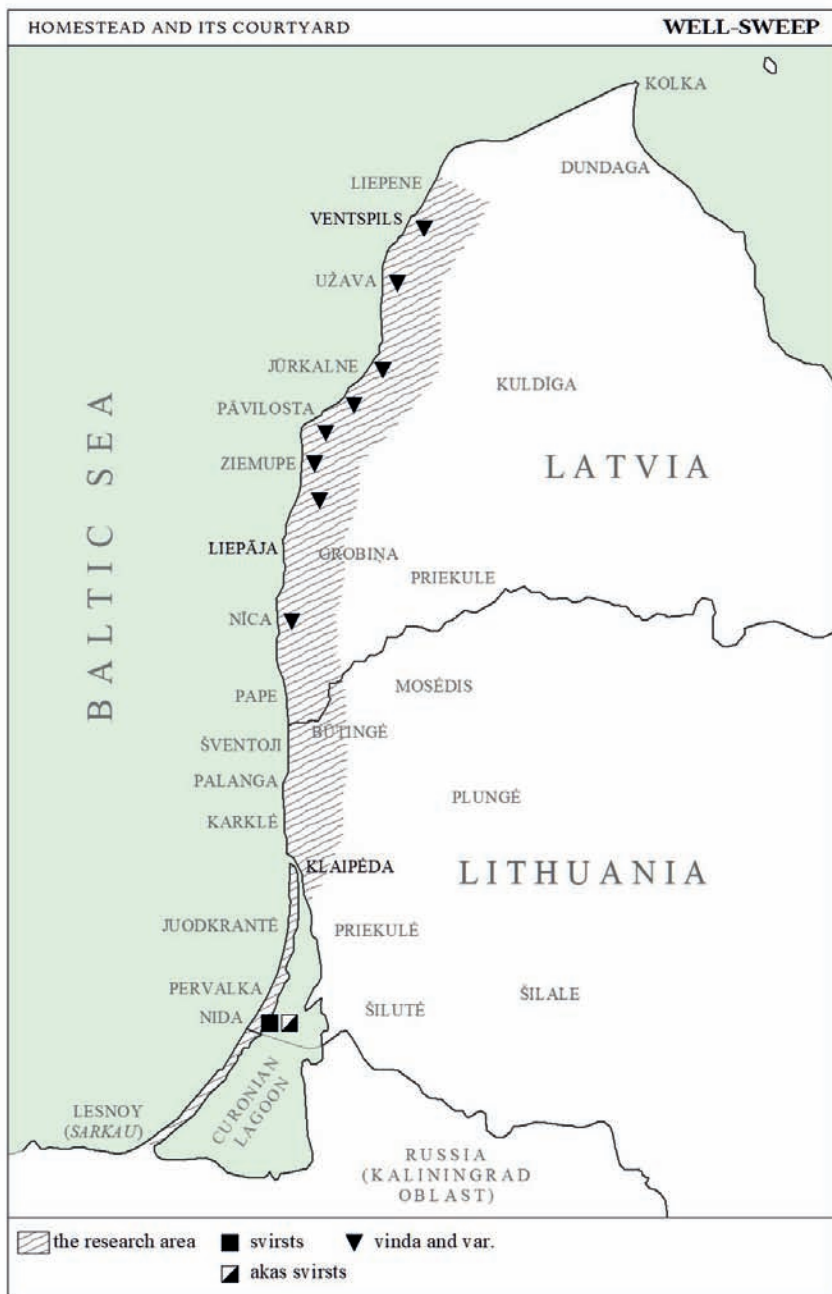


Figure 4.10. Distribution of WELL-SWEEP names.



## 4.2. BUILDING TYPES

The group consists of 20 concepts and 72 lexemes, covering almost all the structures found in a traditional homestead in ethnographic sources, for instance, the dwelling house, stables, shed, (ice) cellar, smoke-house, and others. This group also includes general names for buildings as well as names for extensions such as porches and verandas. From the initial concept list, no building names denoting workshops were found in the sources. To demonstrate the more recent trends in homestead development, although not typical of traditional homesteads, the concept of a greenhouse is also included. See Chapter 5.3.2. for a comprehensive overview of this thematic group.

### 4.2.1. Bathhouse

In the excerpt, two names for a bathhouse are found in Kurzeme seaside and in Šventoji–Būtingė: 1) *baņa* f. ( Rus. *ба́ня* ‘bath, bathing place’<sup>66</sup>) is recorded in Medze (*baņa tak ir pirte, kur mazgâjâs*. LVI Apv.). This name belongs to the most recent layer of borrowings, because it was found in a source recorded in the second half of the 20th century. Under the direct influence of the Russian language, existing names of concepts were replaced by Russian words or used in parallel to explain the particular object, and 2) *pirts* m./*pirte* f.<sup>67</sup> is found in Kurzeme and in Šventoji–Būtingė (for instance, *nuô sâkuma piê mâjas bij pîfte*. AVN: 113, Bārta; *pirte. pirtes bija, vismaz, kas otrā sētā. kas pirtes neturēja, ta pērties gāja pie kaimiņu*. MB). No names of a bathhouse in the Curonian Spit were found. This can be explained by the lack

<sup>66</sup> In MEe, the dial. *baņa* is recorded as 1) ‘a puddle, a manure pit’, 2) ‘a big winter hat’ that is probably formed on the basis of the borrowed word *banīte* ‘a hat’ (< MLG *bonit*) (MEe I 263). Therefore, Latv. *baņa* < Rus. *ба́ня* ‘bath, bathing place’ with the meaning of a bathhouse.

<sup>67</sup> Some linguists (Šmits, Būga) argue that the word *pirts* is an ancient Baltic word that also entered Slavic languages (cf. OR *нѣрть*) via Finnic. Latv. *pirts* ‘a bath, a bathhouse’, also verb *pērt* ‘to flog, to birch’ are kindred to the Lith. *pirtis*, also verb *pėfti*. Another, less plausible, view is that the word is a borrowing from Finno-Ugric languages (LEV 690; MEe III 228; LEW 578, 599). Ethnographic studies suggest that the Latvian bath, which involves bathing and steaming and flapping oneself with birch branches, is an integral part of Latvian and Lithuanian as well as Finnish and Slavic bath cultures and practices. However, it is highly likely that the name and the practice itself were borrowed from the Latvians rather than the other way around (Bīlenšteins 2001: 108). Semantically, in Latvian, the lexeme *pirts* can denote a ‘bathhouse’ and a ‘bath, sweat bath’ (MEe III 228, Germ. *die Badstube* and *das Bad, Schwitzbad*).



of written sources in the Curonian Spit and mainly by the absence of this concept in the area at the time when the lexemes were recorded. Fishers' homesteads were poor; there were few buildings, and several utilitarian functions were usually carried out in one room. Usually, a kitchen was where bathing and doing laundry took place (MogN: 228).

#### 4.2.2. Building

The Latvian language of the Kurzeme seaside and the Curonian Spit has etymologically and morphologically different names that refer to the concept of a building (see Figure 5.1.), and they are: 1) *budavāns*<sup>68</sup> m. 'building, structure' (< Lith. *budavōnė* 'structure, construction; building' < Pol. *budowanie* 'building, structure' (LKŽe)) is found only in CS (DKW: 45, 59, 133; KW: 27; *tāds budavāns stāvij dar 1942*. FKN: 74), 2) *būve* f. 'building, structure' (< MLG *būw(e)* (MEe I 360) in the late 17th century (LEV 159)) is recorded in Nīca and Bārta (NIVE-A: 210; NIVE-J: 149; *tuļ jaū parasti bij daūdz tuō būvuju*. AVN: 121), 3) *celtne* f. 'building' is recorded in Nīca (*vēš tuō liēluō cēltņi abgrāva*. NIVE-C: 351), 4) *ēka*<sup>69</sup> f. 'building, edifice' is found in Nīca, Bārta, Ziemepe (*būmeīstaŗš tik bi piē ēku taīšīšanas*. NIVE-E: 510; AVN: 120; *jaūnas ēkas uzbūvēja pīcdesmit devītā gadā*. SA: 139) and in Šventoji–Būtingē (*tās nebija lielas ēkas, tik tādas būdas, kadreiz pietaisītas nolaidās blakus zirgu stallim*. MB), 5) *māja* f. 'building' is recorded in Pāvilosta (*māja piē Pāviluōstas pagriēziēna*. SA: 140). As Latv. *māja* is polysemous; its meaning can be distinguished according to the context of the lexeme. The example illustrates the use of the word *māja* to refer to a building supposedly without specifying its purpose. See also 4.1.9. HOMESTEAD, *mājas* and 4.2.8. DWELLING HOUSE, *māja*, 6) *nams* m. 'building' in Jūrkalne (*cēlt : būvēt nām*. LVDA mater.). See also 4.2.8. DWELLING HOUSE, *nams*, 7) *taisījums* m. 'building, structure' (?) (FKN: 70) and *uoastaisētums* m. 'building, structure' in

<sup>68</sup> In Latvian, the verb *budavāt* 'to build (a house)' is registered in Kaldabruņa, which is not related to the research area, and originated from Polish possibly via Lithuanian (EHe I 249). However, a noun with such a root, meaning 'a building', is not documented.

<sup>69</sup> The formation of the form of the word *ēka* is unclear; however, it originates from an ide. root that means 'to bend' or 'to wattle' (Latv. *liekt*, *pīt*), referring to the earliest type of dwelling made of wickerwork, wattlework. The name was preserved for subsequent buildings, regardless of the technology or function of their construction (LEV 262–263). In EHe, *ēka* is registered with the meaning of 1) '(an old, dilapidated) building', 'a building with heating devices' in Ungurmuiža, also 2) 'a cool building for storing various products' in Birži near Jēkabpils (EHe I 372; Tez). In LLV, *ēka* has retained its general meaning, namely, 'a building usually used for living, economic, industrial, or public purposes' (LLVve).

CS (DKW: 45, Germ. *der Aufbau* ‘building, construction, erection’), both found in CS and are considered a derivative (of the verb *taīṣēti* ‘to build’ (KuV: 85; MogN: 255; cf. *taisat*. KW: 78, Germ. *machen, tun*) or the verb *uōztaīṣēti* ‘to build’ (KuV: 88)) with the productive suffix *-um-*, which has been transformed into *-tum-* with an insertion of a sound t), 8) similarly *uoazbudevatum* m. ‘building, structure’ is recorded only in CS (KW: 81, Germ. *der Aufbau (Haus)* ‘building, construction, erection; building, house’), which is considered a derivative (of the verb *uozbudevāt* ‘to build’ (*budevāt* ‘to build’ (Germ. *bauen*). KW: 27; *budavat* ‘to build’ (Germ. *bauen*). DKW: 59) with the productive suffix *-um-*). See also 4.2.9. EXTENSION, *piebudavatums*. The prevalence of the names *budavāns*, *taisijume*, *uoastaisētums*, and *uoazbudevatum* in the sources is relatively small and recorded only in the Curonian Spit. From a word-formation perspective, they are all derivatives created by the same author. Therefore, the Kursen. name *budavāns*, borrowed from the Lithuanian language as an intermediary language, is more likely an authentic name of Slavic origin to denote a building. The other words are formed after the same model, namely, the corresponding German word, but using etymologically different verbs (Kursen. *budevāt* ‘to build’ < Lith. *budavóti* < Pol. *budować* and Kursen. *taīṣēti* ‘to build’ < Latv. *taisīt*, cf. Lith. *taisýti*). Semantically, both *budavāns* and *taisijume* clearly refer to the building, while *uoastaisētums* and *uoazbudevatum* might also be referred to the structure, regarding the corresponding German word.

There are several names for an old building, and they are: 1) *bauka* f. ‘old, half-collapsed building’ (*meža iēluôkā var rēžēt bauku*. LVI Apv., Grobiņa), 2) *būcenis* m. ‘old building’<sup>70</sup> in Alsunga (*būcenis, būcēns*. LVI Apv.), 3) *diengalis* m./*diengale* f. ‘old building, object’ in Nīca (*diēngale i kaū kas vēc. tā pīrte jaū vēca diēngale*. NIVe-D: 439), and 4) *grausts* m. ‘old building, no longer suitable for use’<sup>71</sup> in Nīca (*tā māja vel i kârtīga, naū nekâc graūsc, nesakuôpta*. NIVe-G: 577).

<sup>70</sup> Both *bauka/bauga* ‘old, half-collapsed building’ and *būcenis* ‘(small) old building’ are related to the Latv. *paugurs* ‘a hill, rising ground’ (LEV 114,660–661).

<sup>71</sup> The Latv. *grausts* means ‘an old building, no longer suitable for use’ is a derivative from the Latv. *graust* ‘to crumble, to crush, to grate’ (LEV 320–321).

### 4.2.3. Cattle-shed

In the excerpted material, all registered names for the concept of a cattle-shed are polysemous, and they are: 1) *laidars* m. ‘cattle-shed’<sup>72</sup> is recorded in Kurzeme (*staļš*||*laīdaŗš* – *tuŗ tura guōus*, *kādaŗ biŗ īpaŗi ziērgiŗ*. LVDA mater., Ulmale; Už-ava; *staļ:s* : *laīdaŗš*. LVDA mater., Jūrkalne; (*guōvu*) *laīdaŗš* – *ir liēlsaĩmniek<sup>a</sup> kūc*. LVDA mater., Saka) and in CS (*kuts*, *laidars* m. DKW: 278, Germ. *Stall* (*kleiner Stall*) ‘cattle-shed or stables (small cattle-shed or stables)’ without an example in the text. In Kursen. *laidars* is an inherited word from Latvian subdialects with the meaning ‘barn’ with the nuance of the meaning, namely, ‘small animal barn’. See also 4.1.10. STOCKYARD, *laidars*, 2) *kūts* f. and variants ‘cattle-shed’<sup>73</sup> are found in Kurzeme and in CS (*kūt* m. KW: 46, Germ. *kleiner Stall* ‘small cattle-shed or stables’; also *kuts*, *laidars* m. DKW: 278, Germ. *Stall* (*kleiner Stall*) ‘cattle-shed or stables (small cattle-shed or stables)’ without an example in the text, and 3) *stallis* m. and variants ‘cattle-shed’<sup>74</sup> (< MLG *stal(-ll-)* (MEe III 1042; Sehwers 1953: 118)) are registered in all three analysed regions, however, it is adapted differently in each region. In the subdialects of Kurzeme seaside, *stallis* and variants like *stalle*, *stells*, *stals* (LVDA mater.) are registered, similarly in the Latvian language of Šventoji–Būtingė – Latv. *stallis* or its diminutive *stallelis* (MB), formed with the productive suffix *-el-*, is found to denote a cattle-shed or a small shed used for keeping cattle or other domestic animals. The situation is different in the Curonian Spit. Several sources (KuV: 82, MogN: 253) show the authentic word *stallis*, which is considered to be inherited from the Latvian language in Kurzeme. Besides, there is a word of

<sup>72</sup> In Latv. dialects *laidars*, also *laidēris* ‘a big cow-shed’ in southern Vidzeme (Sausnēja, Bērzaune) (LVDA-L 126–127, Map 53), *laidars* ‘a stockyard next to the barn’ in Kurzeme (Dunika, Kalēti, Stende, Blidene, etc.), also in Zemgale (Džūkste) and Vidzeme (Ērgeme) (LVDA-L 123–126, Map 52).

<sup>73</sup> The Latv. *kūts* is registered mainly in Vidzeme and Zemgale and already used in the 17th century. However, it is considered a relatively new name for a cattle-shed. Exists a conjecture that *kūts* might be a Germanism (< MHG *küte* ‘pit’) (LEV 452). In Latv. subdialects, *kūte* is registered in Kurzeme (Kazdanga, Grobiņa, Priekule, Usma, Stende, etc.), also *kūte*, *kūts*, *kūts* (LVDA-L 126–127, Map 53). Cf. Lith. *kūtis*, *kūtė* ‘cattle-shed’ (LKŽe), also in subdialects (Lith. *arklių kūtė* ‘stables’, Lith. *tvārtas* ‘cattle-shed’). In Kursen. most likely inherited from the Latv. *kūts* with the meaning ‘cattle-shed’.

<sup>74</sup> In MEe, *stallis* is registered with the meaning ‘a farm building for housing livestock, but mainly horses’ (Germ. *der Stall*, *vorzugsweise der Pferd stall*, MEe III 1042), *stells* with the same meaning in northern Kurzeme (Ugāle, Zlēkas, with *-ll-* in Zūras) (MEe III 1060), also *stale* (EHe II 569).

Germanic origin that was borrowed via Lithuanian as an intermediary language, forming the name *staldis*<sup>75</sup>. It is registered in the oldest source from the Curonian Spit examined (VLS: 30), and therefore indicates the influence of the Lithuanian-speaking community<sup>76</sup> on borrowing the name of this concept, despite the fact that the word *stallis*, inherited from Latvian, also more likely already existed. See also 4.2.18. STABLES, *stallis*. From the semantic point of view, in Kurzeme, *stallis* is a larger cattle-shed compared to *laidars*, on the contrary, in the Curonian Spit *laidars* means a smaller cattle-shed, where also other domestic animals can live. In Kurzeme, *stallis* and its variants mainly refer to horse stables, but in the southern subdialects of Kurzeme seaside and in the Curonian Spit, it is used to denominate a building intended for keeping animals (cows, horses, pigs, chicken, and other animals, if there were any).

#### 4.2.4. Cellar

The names for a cellar have different origins (see Figure 5.2.), and they are: 1) *kel-**leris* m./*kelirs* m./*kelderis* m. and other variants ‘cellar’ (< LG *kelder* ‘cellar’ (Sehwers 1953: 63)) are recorded only in CS. The variant *kelderis* (VLS: 14) is probably borrowed through Lithuanian as an intermediary language; Lith. *kelderis* ‘cellar’ (< Germ. *der Keller* ‘cellar’) is registered in the Klaipėda area (Priekulė) (LKŽe), 2) *pagrabs* m. ‘cellar’ (< OR (Belarus.) *нозробъ* ‘pit with a covered top; cellar’, in Latvian borrowed before the 13th century (LEV 643; MEe III 30)) is found in the southern Kurzeme and in Šventoji–Būtingė (MB), 3) *rūse*<sup>77</sup> f. ‘cellar, a pit in the ground for potato storage’ (< Lith. *rūsỹs* ‘a pit (in the ground) for potato and vegetable storage’<sup>78</sup>) in CS,

<sup>75</sup> The Lith. *staldis*, also *staldas* means ‘a livestock shed, barn’ (< Germ. dial. *stall*) (LKŽe).

<sup>76</sup> In the Curonian Spit, Kursen. *staldis* ‘a cattle-shed’ < Lith. *staldis* ‘cattle-shed, livestock shed’, also Lith. *staldas*, which in turn comes from the Germ. dial. *stall*, is registered in Šilutė district (Kaltinėnai, Kvėdarnė, Žemaičių Naumiestis, Rusnė, Švėkšna, Saugos), Plungė (Rietavas) and Klaipėda district (Gargždai) and its var. *staldis* with the same meaning in Klaipėda district (Dovilai) and Nida (Neringa) (LKŽe; LEW 894). Lith. *staldas* with *-ld-* from *-ll-* like in Pr. *staldis* (ibid.).

<sup>77</sup> In Latvia, *rūsa* with the meaning ‘a potato heap in the field covered with earth or straw, also a shallow potato pit’ is registered in Naukšēni, Lielzere, Bauska, Naudīte, Bukaiši, Šķibe, *rūsa* in Kursiši, Gaiķi, also *rūsīs* in Lielzere, Skrunda, Svītene, *rūsīs* in Mēmele (MEe III 572).

<sup>78</sup> The Lith. *rūsỹs* is registered in the northwestern part of Lithuania (Skuodas district (Mosėdis), Kretinga district (Salantaĩ), Mažeikiai district (Tirkšliaĩ)) and elsewhere, but with the meaning 1.1) ‘a room under the house; also 1.2) a special building for vegetable storage’ in Šilutė district (Vyžiai), etc., 2) ‘a pit (in the ground) for potato and vegetable storage’ in Kretinga dis-

and 4) *īskelīrs* m. ‘ice cellar’ also recorded only in CS (DKW: 103, Germ. *der Eiskeller* ‘ice cellar’; *īskelīrs ziemīlsāne* name. FKN: 240), and it is based on its semantic equivalent in German. Semantically, all names, except for the Kursen. *īskelīrs*, which denotes an ice cellar, refers to a pit in the ground used for storing various products. The excerpted material also reveals ethnographic information on the different cellar types, used in the Curonian Spit; therefore, the word *rūse* indicates contacts with Lithuanian speakers from Plungė and Klaipėda area, possibly also from Kretinga area, which is also confirmed by the historical studies.

#### 4.2.5. Coach-house

In the excerpt, the name for a coach-house *vāgūzis* m.<sup>79</sup> (also dial. *vāgūze* < LG *wāghūs* ‘coach-house, wheel-house’ (Sehwers 1953: 152; MEe IV 493)) is registered only in the Latvian language on the coast of Kurzeme (for instance, *vāgūzis – ku ziŕg<sup>a</sup> liēt<sup>s</sup> nuôlik<sup>a</sup>*. LVI Apv., Pērkone) and it reflects the impact of German. The lack of names for this concept in the Curonian Spit can be explained by the absence of such an object in traditional fishers’ homesteads.

#### 4.2.6. Doghouse

The name for a doghouse *būda* f. ‘doghouse’ is recorded in Nīca (NIVe-E: 514), Šventoji–Būtingē (*suņū bija daudz, gandrīz katrā sētā. suņus siet pie ķēdes un taisīt viņamīs būdas sāka jaunajos laikos*. MB), but the composite name *sune būde* f. is found in CS (DKW: 171, Germ. *die Hundehütte* ‘doghouse’), and it is based on its semantic equivalent in German. The names of this concept are not widely found in the sources, because it is likely that not every homestead where a dog lived had a sleeping place specially built for this domestic animal. See also 4.2.13. HUT.

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trict (Kartena), Plungė district and Klaipėda district (Priekulė), etc., 3) ‘an excavated place of the earth, a pit’ including in Šilutė district (Kintai) (LKŽe), also *rūsas* in the second meaning of *rūsīs*.

<sup>79</sup> The Latv. archaic word *vāgūzis* with the meaning of a ‘coach-house’ in Kurzeme (Aizpute), in Vidzeme (Valmiera), etc., uncharacteristic in Dunika (Kurzeme), Mēmele (Zemgale), Zvirgzdēne (Latgale) (MEe IV 493, Germ. *das Wagenhaus, die Wagenremise*; EHe II 761). In LLV, the word *vāgūzis* is obsolete (LLVVe).

#### 4.2.7. Drying-house

The territorial prevalence of this name for a drying-house or a threshing barn *rija* f. (also dial. *rija* < Est. dial. *riih* or *rühi*, *rühe* ‘threshing-barn’ (Fin. *riihi*) (LEV 755), or Est. *riha* and Liv *rī* (MEe III 523)) indicates the spread of this building type in the seaside area under research. This type of building is characteristic of Latvian and Lithuanian coastal homesteads, where fishing is usually not the main occupation. In the Latvian language of Šventoji–Būtingē, the examples found clearly demonstrate how the name is used to refer to a free-standing building for threshing cereals (*rija bija atševiška ēka, kamar graudus kūle ar sprigulis un kamar rijās mina linus., ka labību sāka mašinēt, lielu riju nevaidzēja, rijās sāka taisīt blakus stallu, zem viena jumta*. MB). With a change in the object itself, the meaning of the name has narrowed, namely, from a building to a room for this particular purpose. While both objects are present, the name is also used in parallel to refer to both a building and a room. In contrast, the word is not registered in the language of New Curonians because a separate building for grain drying is not characteristic of typical fishers’ homesteads. Therefore, there are no names in the New Curonian area denoting the drying house.

#### 4.2.8. Dwelling house

The names denoting a dwelling house are registered in all three main areas under research (see Figure 5.3.), and they are: 1) *buts* m., also *butelis* m. ‘dwelling house’ (< Lith. *butas* ‘residential building, (peasant’s) dwelling house, room’<sup>80</sup>) is recorded in Rucava (*jâiēt uz butu., pirms kara te bija daudz buteļu gar kāpmali*. Markus-Narvila 2011: 129) and in Šventoji–Būtingē (*butinieka māja, but.* MB). Semantically, in Rucava the word *buts* is registered with the meaning of a ‘dwelling house’ and its derivative *butelis*<sup>81</sup> (which is formed with the productive suffix *-el-*) with the nuance of

<sup>80</sup> In modern Lithuanian, the noun *bùtas* is polysemous and has at least five meanings, where the first is ‘a residential building, a (peasant’s) dwelling house, a room’ and the second is ‘any building, house’ (LKŽe). The Lith. *bùtas* similar to Pr. *buttan*, *butten* ‘a house, a building’ is related to other ide. equivalents and is associated with the Lith. verb *būti* ‘to be, to exist’ (Latv. *būt*, Pr. *būton*, *boūt* (on), etc., see LEW 68). In the research area, Lith. *bùtas*, meaning a ‘dwelling house’, is not widespread, but the name is registered in the vicinity of Klaipėda (Plikiai, Kalotė, Birbinčiai, Gargždai), the eastern coast of the Curonian Lagoon (Ventė, Saugos), and on the right coast of the Nemuna River (Rukai, Timsriai, Pagėgiai), also in Nida, the Curonian Spit (LKA-L, Map 2).

<sup>81</sup> Semantically, it is not related to the Lith. *butelis* with one of its meanings ‘manor workers’ and servants’ house’ (LKŽe).

a meaning, namely, ‘a small dwelling house’ (EHe I 256, Germ. *ein kleines Wohnhouse*). In Šventoji–Būtingė, the word *buts* is registered with the meaning of a ‘dwelling house of a landless peasant’. The meaning suggests that the occupant of the house is a peasant of limited means, living in a modest dwelling, most likely a small house, 2) *dzievuokils* m. ‘dwelling house; homestead’ is found in CS (*nams*, *dzievuokils* m. DKW: 336, Germ. *das Wohngebäude* ‘dwelling house’; KW: 32, Germ. *das Anwesen* ‘property, estate’, also *das Haus* ‘house’). This name refers to a building with a residential function or a dwelling house. The word group with three components *viene saime dzievuokils* m. (DKW: 96, Germ. *das Einfamilienhaus* ‘family house, private house’) similar to names of other concepts in this source is based on its semantic equivalent in German; it also denotes a building intended for a single family to dwell in. However, the more reliable source indicates that the name *dzievuklis*, in pl. *dzievukli* corresponds to what is meant by *dzīvoklis* in Latvian (KuV: 55). Semantically, it 1) is a different type of residence, i.e. denotes a group of rooms rather than an entire building, whereas 2) has a broader meaning, typically referring to a place of residence<sup>82</sup>, 3) *ēberģis*<sup>83</sup> m. ‘dwelling house’ (< MLG *herberge* (MEe I 574; Sehwers 1953: 33–34, Germ. *die Herberge, das Nebengebäude, das Wohnhaus*)) is found in Nīca (NIVe-Ē: 506) and in CS (*herberģis ērbe(r)ģis*, KuV: 58), likely with the same meaning. In the example from Nīca the Latv. dial. *ēberģis* is used with the meaning of a ‘dwelling house near the main building on a property’. However, the example from the Curonian Spit, lacking context in the text, might denote both a ‘dwelling house’ and ‘accommodation; an inn’. See also 4.2.9. EXTENSION, *ēberģis*, 4) *istaba/istuba*

<sup>82</sup> The Latv. *dzīvoklis* with the meaning ‘a dwelling, a place of residence’ is registered in Bārta (MEe I 560, Germ. *die Wohnung, der Wohnort*). In LLV, *dzīvoklis* means ‘a group of several rooms (rooms, kitchen, utility rooms) in a building intended for living’ (LLVVe). Latv. *dzīvoklis* is a derivative of the Latv. verb *dzīvot* ‘to be alive, to exist’. In Baltic and Slavic languages, the meaning of this verb has broadened to the parallel meaning ‘to dwell’, from which also the derivative *dzīvoklis* is formed (LEV 260, cf. Lith. *gyvas*, Pr. *gijwans, geiwans*, etc.). In Kuršen. *dzīvuoti* ‘to exist, to dwell, to work’ (KuV: 55), *dzievuot* (DKW: 336, Germ. *wohnen*), *dzievuot* (KW: 32, Germ. *wohnen, arbeiten, schalten im Hause* ‘to operate, manage a house, household’).

<sup>83</sup> In Latvian, *ērbēģis* and its var. are polysemous and can denote: 1) *ērbēģis* ‘a house for servants’ in Ivande (EHe I 372, Germ. *das Wohnhaus für Knechte*), also *ēbēģis* (= *ērbēģis*) in Dunika (EHe I 371; MEE I 574), 2.1) *ērbēģis* ‘a dwelling house’ in Vidzeme (Ungurmuiža, Vecpiebalga) or 2.2) ‘a dwelling house near the main building on a property’ in Džūkste (EHe I 372, Germ. *ein Wohnhaus in der Nähe des Hauptgebäudes auf einem Gut*). In LLV, the dial. *ērbēģis* means ‘a dwelling house’ (LLVVe).

f. 'dwelling house'<sup>84</sup> (< OR *ucm̃ba* 'dwelling house', borrowed in the Latvian language already before the 13th century, mentioned in dictionaries of the 17th century alongside *ustaba*, *ustuba* (MEe I 711; LEV 346)) is found in the southern Kurzeme (for instance, *taī mājā žīvuô, taī istabâ*. SA: 100, Jūrmalciems; *tas taks nuô istubas uz klēti tâc šaūrīns*. NI: 270, Nīca). From the word *istaba* with a dial. suffix *-in-* a denomination *istabīna* 'dwelling house' (NI: 270, Nīca) is also derived. The territorial prevalence of the *istaba* or its variants, meaning 'dwelling house', in the sources is relatively small and recorded only in separate villages on the southern coast of Kurzeme (Nīca, Ziemepe) in the middle to the 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* with the meaning of 'dwelling house' has become less and less common until it has disappeared altogether; the lexeme more likely points to a residential building without any signs of its degree of development (building of two or three parts)<sup>85</sup>, 5) *istubas ēka* f. 'dwelling house' is found in Nīca (*istubas ēkaī nam̃s bi caūrstaīgājam̃s*. Nīve-C, 345). The word group consists of two components, of which the first, Latv. dial. *istuba*, refers to the residential function, and the second, Latv. *ēka*, to the building as such without an indication of its function thus, from the context it can be understood, that this is a dwelling house consisting of three parts, where a *pretistaba* 'counter-room' has been added to the *nam̃s* 'a ceiling-less dwelling-cooking portion with a hearth from where the smoke escaped through the roof-ends' and *istaba* 'living-quarters, which usually had a ceiling and a stove', 6) *māja* f. 'dwelling house' is recorded in three areas under research (for instance, *māja skait̃s tik, ku i istabas. visi kuôpâ i ēkas – staļļi, rija, piŃte, skūna, pagraps*. Nīve-E, 510, Nīca). On the south coast of Kurzeme (Nīca), a word group *dzīvojamā māja* has been found (*ga tuô dzīvuôjamuô māju vairāk nuô viēnas puses bi dārzi tâ apstādīti*. Nīve-D, 417, Nīca), in

<sup>84</sup> The Latv. *istaba* means 'an enclosed living space (in a house, apartment); suitable for indoors; arch. a dwelling house (in the countryside)' (LLVVe). However, the lexeme *istaba* and its var. are common in many locations, but the dial. *istuba* has been identified in southern Kurzeme (Dunika). The lexeme can describe both 'a room' and its ethnographic meaning 'a smoke room', which means both the place of the hearth, the kitchen, or the entryway, and 'a threshing house with drying kiln' and 'a dwelling house' (MEe I 711). In the context of this study, the name *istaba* has been recorded in the central part of Kurzeme (Īvande), the Zemgale–Kurzeme border area (Džūkste), and in Vidzeme (Ungurmuiža), but *istuba* in Grobiņa (EHe I 431).

<sup>85</sup> Today *istaba* with the meaning 'a dwelling house' is used only in an ethnographic context, denoting traditional building sites of the form and functional planning concerned, namely a primitive single-plane dwelling house with a stacked stone oven or smoke room or any of the next development types of the dwelling house, not only in the coastal area of the building, but also elsewhere.



which the first component points directly to the residential function of the building, while another example shows that, in a later period (~ mid-20th century), the word *māja* is used to distinguish between the dwelling house and other buildings of the homestead with a different function not intended for dwelling. Also, *mazmāja* f. ‘a small, also humbe, poor dwelling house’ (NIVe-J: 151, Nīca). In Šventoji–Būtingė, the word group *butnieka māja* (MB), which is used in the same meaning as previously mentioned *buts* ‘dwelling house (of a landless peasant)’ consist of the *butnieks* ‘small farmer’ (EHe I 256, Latv. *mazsaimnieks*, Germ. *der Besitzer eines but* in Rucava) and Latv. *mājas* in pl. form. Similarly, the first element in the other two word groups (*nameļnieka māja*, *kalpa māja*. MB) denotes the wealth and social status of the resident, namely, *kalps* ‘servant’ or *nameļnieks* ‘small farmer; owner of a small (usually old, wooden) house’ (Tez), also *namelnieks* in Dunika (MEe II 692, EH II 4, Germ. *der Häusler*). In the vicinity of the Curonian Lagoon (in the suburb of Klaipėda *Bommels-Vitte* and in Melnragė), the lexeme *māja* has been recorded sporadically in only one source (BezzS: 50) in the second half of the 19th century, where the author points to the formation of a Locative with prefixes *is* (*ifch*, *īfch*, *is*, *is*, *isch*), thus, only one example with the Locative form *iksch mājū M* would be considered to have been with the meaning of a ‘house, dwelling house’. See also 4.1.9. HOMESTEAD, *mājas* and 4.2.2. BUILDING, *māja*. Alongside with *māja* ‘small-farmer’s dwelling house’ two derivatives with suffixes *-el-* or *-ēn-* have been registered, referring to the small size and modest appearance of the small-farmer’s dwelling house (*mājele*, *mājēna*. MB), 7) *nams* m. ‘dwelling house’<sup>86</sup> is found in the southern and central part of the Kurzeme coast (for example, *Kohka Nams* ‘wooden house, dwelling house’. JLV, 176 (89a), Nīca, Bārta), in the Lithuanian and Latvian border area (Šventoji–Būtingė, MB), also in the Curonian Spit (for instance, *namms* ‘dom’. P-AI: 32; *muße weza nama ir widui wēns diž nams*. HD; AI: 26; *nams be šurštīn* ‘house without a chimney’. FKN, 49, Germ. *das Haus ohne Schornstein*). The prevalence of the denomination is relatively high in the Curonian Spit, as it has been recorded in several fishing villages according to the sources analysed: Preila, Nida, Lesnoy (*Sarkau*). Latv. *nams* is

<sup>86</sup> The Lith. *nāmas* similarly to the Latv. *nams* is semantically saturated and, depending on its importance, found in various regions of Lithuania, for instance, with the first meaning ‘a residential or other building’, it is found in the south, south-east (around Merkinė, Paberžė), also in the north-east (around Grūžiai), while in the eastern part (around Švenčionys, Musninkai) and south, south-west (around Geistarai) the word has been observed in its second meaning ‘a family farmstead, a homestead’ (LKŽe).

polysemous and common in dialects throughout Latvia (MEe II 692–693)<sup>87</sup>. Also, Kursen. *priešnam* f. ‘dwelling house facing the street, foreyard’ (KW: 65, Germ. *das Vorderhouse*) is based on its semantic equivalent in German. This name refers to a type of house found in fishing villages in the Curonian Spit, where the location of the building within the homestead is indicated in the first component of the name, and it has not been identified elsewhere, and 8) *namelis* m. ‘small-farmer’s dwelling house’<sup>88</sup> in Šventoji–Būtingė (MB).

#### 4.2.9. Extension

Names denoting the concept of an extension are recorded sporadically, and they are: 1) *ēberģis* m. ‘extension’, registered only in Nīca (*ēberģis i piēbūve. senāk ēberģis bi isnuōmāc akmeņu laūzējiēm*. NIVe–E: 506). See also 4.2.8. DWELLING HOUSE, *ēberģis*, 2) *piebudevats*, also *piebudavatums* m. ‘extension’, found only in one source in CS (KW: 62, Germ. *der Anbau*; DKW: 38), which is based on its semantic equivalent in German, and 3) *piebūve* m. ‘extension’, recorded in Nīca (NIVe–E: 506). See also 4.2.2. BUILDING, *būve*. From the semantic point of view, these names could be used to denote any extension<sup>89</sup> added to the main building.

<sup>87</sup> In LLV, *namš* 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). Latv. *namš* is common in dialects throughout Latvia (MEe II 692–693). In the southern Kurzeme (Grobiņa) and in the central part (Īvande, Kandava), the word *namš* denotes ‘a place in a dwelling house where the oven, the kitchen was located’, while *namš* with 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).

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Lith. *namelis*, also *nameliokas* (around Anykščiai, Utenos, Zarasai) (LKŽe; LKA–L 39, Map 5), also *namēlis*, *namelēlis*, *nameliokas*, and *nameliukas* (around Rokiškio, Utenos, Zarasai) (LKA–L 58, Map 17) is registered with the meaning of an ‘entryway’.

<sup>89</sup> In the Curonian Spit, for example, one common architectural feature was the addition of ornamentally decorated verandas (Demereckas 2011: 156). These enhancements were often accompanied by improvements to the building’s exterior, including the addition of timber cladding to make the accommodation more attractive to summer guests. These Kursen. names may also denote a two-storey extension at the end of a building (Demereckas 2011: 66, 67), intended to expand the living space available for seasonal guest rentals. Such additions to fishers’ houses on the Curonian Spit are typical of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

#### 4.2.10. Free standing or lean-to shed

Only one name, referring to a free standing or lean-to shed, *nojume*<sup>90</sup> f. is found in the excerpt. The example (*kârtîks saîmniēks savas liētas glabâ* [...] *nuōjumē*. NIVE-E: 514, Nīca) does not clarify whether the structure is free-standing or attached to an existing outbuilding, but the name refers to a pole-supported, roofed structure.

#### 4.2.11. Granary

The name for a granary, namely, the primary word *klēts* and its variant *klēte*<sup>91</sup>, is registered in all three analyzed areas (see Figure 5.4.). In the Latvian language of Šventoji–Būtingė, it is important to distinguish between the primary word *klēte* and the derivative *klētele*, as there is a nuance in meaning. The word *klēte* denotes a granary of a wealthier master of a homestead, whereas a granary, named *klētele*, is a granary in the homestead of a landless peasant. In Kurzeme (LVDA mater., Ziemeļi), however, the motivation of the word *klētele* is an appearance of the building. It can indicate a small and modest granary building. In the Curonian Spit, only one example has been found that names a granary *klēts* (*klehts*. VLS: 14, Germ. *der Vorrathshäuschen* ‘a small building for storage (of various items)’). The explanation of the name in the German language makes this clear and allows one to distinguish it from the name for a storeroom. This suggests that the New Curonians knew and more likely inherited the name, which has the meaning of a granary. However, due to the peculiarities of fisher’s homestead in the Curonian Spit and the lack of a special building for the storage of grain, the name *klēte* was applied to a room used for the storage of grain, clothes, and other household items in the shed. See also 4.3.18. STOREROOM, *klēte*.

<sup>90</sup> In MEe, *nojume* is explained as ‘a canopy (rooflike projection)’ or ‘a shed’ (Germ. *das Schutzdach, Abdach, der Abschauer, Schuppen*); *nuōjumis* in Nīgrande, Dunika, and Valgale, but *nuōjums* with the meaning ‘a granary’ (Germ. *die Getreidescheune*) in Alsunga, also *nuōjumis* with the meaning ‘an extension’ to an auxiliary building like threshing-barn in Īvande. An example from central Kurzeme (Kuldīga) shows that in the past shed was called *nojums* (“šēnāk saukuši šķūni par nuojuumu”. MEe II 792; EHe II 50). In Vidzeme, *nuōjume* also refers to an extension of a building (EHe II 50).

<sup>91</sup> In Latvian, *klēts*, meaning ‘a granary, a barn’, is inherited (cf. Lith. *klėtis, klėtė*, Pr. *clenan*, Rus. *клеть* (OR. *klěť*), Belarus. *кляць*, Ukr. *кліть*, Pol. *kleć*, etc.). Probably, it is derived from the verb *celt* ‘to raise’. However, the origin of the Latv. *klēts* (also the dial. *klēte*) is controversial. One direction of borrowing might be Baltic languages < Slavic \**klěť* (which is doubted by ME, MEe II 225), the other suggests that Rus. *клеть* and other Slavic words < Lithuanian, and the latter view links the origin of the word to the ide. (LEV 403).

#### 4.2.12. Greenhouse

Although this concept cannot be considered as part of a traditional homestead, it clearly shows that new types of buildings, including greenhouses, appeared in seaside homesteads during later periods, alongside the general development of the homestead. The name *siltumnica* f. ‘greenhouse’ is recorded in Nīca (*maņš vęcaīstęvs tuō [kāpu] iŗ racis, dārsu iēkuōpis. nu tad es tuŗpaņēmu tālāk – es tuŗ sīltuņnicu iēkuōpu.* NIVe-I: 648). In MEe, it is marked as a neologism (Germ. *das Treibhaus* ‘greenhouse’), a newly invented word by Juris Alunāns (LEV 817; MEe III 840).

#### 4.2.13. Hut

In the excerpt, there are two names for a hut, and they both are recorded in CS: 1) *būda* f. and variants ‘hut, a small building built for a special purpose’<sup>92</sup>; however, in the southern part of Kurzeme seaside (Nīca), a derivative of the word *būda* with the suffix *-el-* is found (*tāds būdēls bi. vīri tuŗ spēlāja kārtes uņ dzēra braņdavu.* NIVe-D: 434). In Latvian, the lexeme *būda* is polysemous and primarily refers to a small, otherwise modest building used as a dwelling; however, it can also name both residential and non-residential buildings (Tez). Semantically, the word *būda*, meaning a ‘hut’, is registered in reliable sources (KuV: 51; MogN: 239), which could indicate that the word is inherited from the place where the ancestors of New Curonians migrated to the spit. However, there is also a variant of this word *būde*, which has a correspondence in German (Germ. *die Bude* or *die Hütte (kleines Haus)*) and likely is a result of direct contacts with the German-speaking community, namely, summer guests in the Curonian Spit. Both *būda* and *būde* name a small, crude, simple building with a residential function or shelter; nevertheless, in other contexts the name may also be used to denote a non-residential building, such as a small or modest auxiliary building. The word group *skuje būde* (DKW) indicates the material used to construct or rather cover the crude shelter, namely, softwood or parts of coniferous tree like branches, and 2) *šūre* f. ‘hut’ without an example in the text (DKW: 79, Germ. *die Bude*). See 4.2.16. SHED, *šūre*.

<sup>92</sup> Latv. *būda* < Rus. or Belarus. *бóдa*, which in one’s turn comes through Pol. from Germ. (MLG *bōde* ‘small building, market hut’) (LEV 151), next to Lith. *būdā* < Rus. *бóда* ‘building’ (MEe I 357), c.f. Lith. *būdā* < Belarus. *бóда*, Pol. *buda* (LKŽe), while its variant Kursen. *būde* more likely is borrowed directly from Germ. *die Bude* with the same meaning.

#### 4.2.14. Hut for drying fishing nets

Only one example, referring to a hut for drying fishing nets, has been found in the sources in Šventoji–Būtingė (*būdā varēja sakraut sausus tīklus un ūdas. blakus valgumu būdu ir bijis diezgan daudz.* MB). The meaning ‘hut for drying fishing nets’ of the word *būda* can only be recognized in context, as it typically refers to a small building built for a special purpose, usually a small and simple dwelling. See also 4.2.13. HUT and 4.2.6. DOGHOUSE.

#### 4.2.15. Porch

The name *lievenis* m. ‘porch’ (< MLG *love(ne)* (MEe II 508, Germ. *die Laube, bedeckte Halle*)) is recorded in Nīca, Bārta (*Leewenis*. JLV: 139 (71), Germ. *eine Laubhütte, it: ein Ercker, ein Ort aus einem Gebäu heraus, da mann ausslehnend stehen v. sich umbsehen kann; lievenis i, ka valējs verañc. tuř ta kâ tiľtaľ mařgas – tuř i leľteri.* NIVe-L: 73). The example shows a significant difference from a veranda, i.e. it is a covered and open or closed extension (at the entrance of the building).

#### 4.2.16. Shed

The names denoting a shed are registered in all three main areas under research (see Figure 5.5.), and they are: 1) *šķūnis* m./*skūns* m. and other variants (< MLG *schune* ‘shed’ (MEe IV 56, Germ. *die Scheune*) or LG *schüne* (Sehwers 1953: 134)) are recorded in all three Latvian-speaking communities. While variants such as *šķūnis/šķūns* m./*skūne* f. ‘shed’<sup>93</sup> are found in the central and southern seaside of Kurzeme and only one example is found in CS (*schkuhnis (šķūnis)*. VLS: 27), var. like *skūns* m./*skūna/skūne/skūn* f. ‘shed’<sup>94</sup> are equally common in CS (DKW: 253, Germ. *der Schauer*; KW: 72; DKW: 254, Germ. *die Scheune*), Kurzeme (for instance, *mātes mājā bija skūna*. SA: 100, Jūrmalciems) and in Šventoji–Būtingė (*skūna., malkas krāve [..] skūnu pažobelēs.* MB),

<sup>93</sup> The Latv. *šķūnis* with the meaning of ‘a shed for storing hay or straw’ is widespread in Latvia (LVDA-L 129, Map 55), and in LLV, *šķūnis* means ‘a household building, also room, usually for storage of cereals, fodder, firewood, tools’ (LIVVe).

<sup>94</sup> The dial. *skūna*, also its morphological var. *skūnis*, is registered with the meaning of ‘a shed’ (Tez). In Kurzeme, sporadically is registered *skūna* (Grobiņa, Pērkone, Dunika. MEe III 908; EHe I 517; also in Krote, Nīca, Bārta, and Ziemeļe. LVDA-L 129–131, Map 55), *skūns, šķūna*, and *šķūns* (Bārta, *ibid.*), *skūnis, šķūna* (Nīca), but *skūnis* in Vidzeme (Jaunroze) (MEe III 908; LVDA-L 129–131, Map 55). Both Latv. *skūna* and Lith. *skūnia, skūnė* is registered in the western region (LVDA-L 129; LKŽe; LKA-L, Map 14).

2) *stāģene*<sup>95</sup> f. ‘shed’ (< Lith. *stoginė*<sup>96</sup> with the meaning of a ‘(hay) shed’ (Lith. *daržinė*), found in Lithuanian subdialects (MEe III 1050)) is registered in the southern Kurzeme (*stāģene – tas tik tâc šķūnēl’s*. LVDA mater., Saka; *Stahģins*. Germ. *eine Scheune*, JLV: 263 (133), Nīca, Bārta), 3) *šūre* f./ *šūrs* m. ‘shed’ (< MLG *schūr(e)* (MEe IV 56) or LG *schūr* ‘shed’ (Germ. *der Schauer*) (Sehwers 1953: 134)) is found only in CS, and 4) *vāģūzis* m. with the meaning of a ‘shed, woodshed’ is recorded in Medze (*vāģūzis ir vēc malkas šķūnis, vāi arī cita vēcā kūoka ģka*. LVI Apv.) and in Šventoji–Būtingē (*malkas krāve vāģūzē*. MB). Semantically, the primary meaning of the Latv. archaic word *vāģūzis* is a ‘coach-house’, however, the example in Medze shows that, firstly, it denotes a building with another auxiliary function, e.g. for storage of firewood, and probably also for the storage of other household items or tools in one place, secondly, the word may also denote an old wooden building without specifying its function. See also 4.2.5. COACH-HOUSE, *vāģūzis*.

While *skūns/šķūnis* and their variants, as well as *vāģūzis*, are of German origin, the words *stāģene* and *stāģins* are borrowed from Lith. *stoginė* in the primary meaning of a ‘building for stacking hay or straw’. In the Curonian Spit, the name *skūne* is registered in parallel to *šūre*, which is more likely taken from Lith. *šiūrė* as an intermediary language; however, it is possible that *skūne* is an independently formed word of Germanic origin, not inherited from the Latvian subdialectal vocabulary (*skūna*, which is common in Kurzeme).

#### 4.2.17. Smokery

From a territorial point of view, the names denoting a fish smokery are recorded along the central and southern part of the Kurzeme seaside, in Šventoji–Būtingē, and in the Curonian Spit (see Figure 5.6.), and they are: 1) *bedre*<sup>97</sup> and its diminutive

<sup>95</sup> The dial. *stāģene* with the meaning of ‘a small shed (extension of it) by the cattle-sheds, where the hay, straw etc. are stored’ is registered in southern Kurzeme (Aizpute, Grobiņa, Priekule, Purmsāti, Gramzda, Bunka) and on the Lithuanian frontier in Zemgale (Reņģe), also *stāģe* with the same meaning in southern Kurzeme (Grobiņa, Priekule, Vecpils), also *stāģis* (MEe III 1050; EHe II 572). The third meaning of the dial. *stāģene* is ‘a half-ruined wooden building’ which is registered on the Lithuanian frontier in Kurzeme (Nigrande) (MEe III 1050).

<sup>96</sup> The Lith. *stoginė* with the primary meaning of ‘a building for stacking hay or straw’ is registered in Darbėnai, Budriai, and Salantai (Kretinga district), Lenkimai (Skuodo district), etc., but in the secondary meaning of ‘a (lean-to) shed for storing inventory or firewood’ in Pumpėnai (Pasvalio district), Ylakai (Skuodo district) (LKŽe).

<sup>97</sup> The Latv. *bedre* derived from the Latv. obsolete verb *best* ‘to dig’ (LLVVe; LEV 95–96, 118, cf. Lith. *bedrė*).

form *bedrīte* f. ‘smokery, a pit in the ground’ is recorded in the southern Kurzeme (for instance, *ciīi [žāvēšanai] iēliēk gaļu bedrītē, gružus sabēf malā uñ laiž dūmus uz bedri*. LVI Apv., Bārta). The name’s semantic motivation is based on the object’s external features, 2) *kūpinātava* f. ‘smokery, a pit in the ground’ (a derivative of the Latv. verb *kūpināt* ‘to smoke, to cure (in smoke)’<sup>98</sup> (MEe II 337; LEV 445)) is found in Jūrmalciems (*a ciēkuōžiem vislabākā zivu kūpinātava; tā viēnkārš<sup>1</sup> – kūpinātava*. SA: 85, 86), 3) *rukūžs* m. ‘smokery, a pit in the ground’ (< Germ. dial. *Rauchhūs* ‘smokery hut’ (LKŽe, cf. Lith. *rūkužė* ‘smoke-house, smokery’<sup>99</sup>)) is registered only in CS (for instance, *bij nu tie zuves labe sause, nāce vingē is paštaisate rukūže*. FKN: 124), but adapted differently *rūkūzis/rūkuzis* m. ‘smokery’<sup>100</sup> in Rucava, Jūrmalciems (AVN: 133; SA: 85, 86) and in Šventoji–Būtingė (*rūkužos rūcināja zuves žīdamis, kuri tās vede pārdot uz Leišis., rūkuzi ar karamis zuvi džavēt pirms rūcinašanas taisīja tālāk no ēku, jūrmalnieki – pakāpē*. MB), 4) *rukūže muce* f. ‘barrel-type smokery’ also is recorded only in CS (*rukūže muce*. FKN: 123). Semantically, the word group, unlike the primary name *rukūžs*, refers to a different type of structure in which fish is smoked, namely a ready-made wooden barrel adapted for only this function, and 5) *žāvētava* f. ‘smokery’ (a derivative of the Latv. verb *žāvēt* ‘to smoke, to cure (in smoke)’<sup>101</sup> (LEV 1209–1211)) is recorded in Jūrkalne, Alsunga and Bārta (*žāvētave iscep, kalītē ar butis uñ mēñcs. žāvētava*. LVI Apv.).

Although the names for this concept have not been found elsewhere in the sources, this does not necessarily imply that such an object did not exist along the seaside. Semantically, the found examples show that Latv. *bedre*, *kūpinātava* and *žāvētava* and Kursen. *rukūžs* are used to refer to a smokery, which is made by digging a pit in the

<sup>98</sup> It is a causative of the Latv. verb *kūpēt* ‘to smoke, to fume; to cure (in smoke)’ (MEe II 337; LEV 445).

<sup>99</sup> The Lith. *rūkužė* is registered with the meaning: 1) ‘a curing factory; a smoke-house; a smokery’ (in Palanga and Priekulė, Klaipėda district), and 2) ethnographically ‘a smoke-room’ (in Palanga) (LKŽe).

<sup>100</sup> The Latv. *rūkūzis* is registered in Rucava with the meaning ‘a hut for smoking fish’ (Germ. *eine Hütte zum Räuchern von Fischen* ‘ibid.’) (EHe II 394), in that very place *rūktūzis* ‘an equipment for fish drying, a pit in the ground with a kindling at the bottom’ (Kursīte 2009).

<sup>101</sup> It is an iterative verb from the Latv. *žūt* ‘to dry, to get dry’ with a nuance of meaning, and is used now instead of causative verb from the Latv. *žūt*, namely, Latv. *žaut* ‘to hang out, to let dry’ (LEV 1209–1211, cf. Lith. *džiauti*). The Latv. *žāvēt* (Germ. *trocknen*) is registered in Kurzeme (Dunika, Īvande, Snēpele, Stende, Vandzene), also in Vidzeme (Rūjiena, Vecpiebalga, Drusti, Valmiera etc.), and other locations (MEe IV 798). The Latv. *žāvētava* is registered in MEE with the meaning of ‘a smokery’ (Germ. *die Räucherei* ‘smokehouse’) and ‘a kiln’ (Germ. *die Darre* ‘drying kiln’) (MEe IV 798).

ground and covering it with a wet cloth or, more often, wooden cover. The Latvian name *rūkūzis* or *rūkuzis* in Šventoji–Būtingė, on the other hand, refers to a building specially constructed for this function. Due to its poor fire safety, the smokery building<sup>102</sup> was constructed at a considerable distance from the other buildings of the homestead, for example, on the seaside or in the dunes with its own access road.

#### 4.2.18. Stable

Examples found in Kurzeme and in Šventoji–Būtingė show that without additional information or reference to the relation to horses (for example, *stal̃:s.*, *ziērks i stal̃:e*. LVDA mater., Jūrkalne), it is not possible to distinguish the meaning ‘cattle-shed’ from ‘stable’ of the lexeme *stallis* and its variants<sup>103</sup>. See also 4.2.3. CATTLE-SHED. The meaning is clear in the composite names like *zīrgstalle* (for instance, *stal̃l̃||zīrgstal̃le*. LVDA mater., Ulmale) or the collocation *zīrgu stallis* (*zīrgu stallis, govju bija mag, tās sēja zīrgu stallē*. MB). The fact that such names in this meaning are not found in the Curonian Spit indicates the peculiarity of the homesteads, namely, there were fewer buildings in the fishers’ homestead, and several functions were combined under the same roof. Cows, sheep, or some domestic birds and usually one horse lived in the same building – a barn (cattle-shed).

#### 4.2.19. Toilet

Five different names for a toilet/privy are registered: 1) *ateja* f. ‘toilet’ (a derivative of the Latv. verb *atiet* ‘to step aside; to leave, to depart; to retreat, to withdraw’ (MEE I 157, Germ. *der Abtritt* ‘privy’, Germ. *heimliches Gemach* ‘secret chamber, room’)) is recorded only in Bārta (LVI Apv.), Nīca (*maņ i verañdâ iēbūvēta ateja. tâ jau atejas parasti taisīja aīs klētes*. NIVe-I: 621) and Ēdole (*atej i pi° stal̃l̃*. LVI Apv.). The latter example demonstrates that the name refers to a location outside the dwelling. It is not a room in the dwelling house; it is rather another functional area or even a building in a homestead, 2) *kembriķens*<sup>104</sup> m. ‘toilet’ (< Germ. *das Kämmerchen* (*der*

<sup>102</sup> The evidence of the existence of such smokery buildings in the Latvian fishing villages of the southern Kurzeme seaside, for example, in Nida, Pape, Papes Ķoņi, and elsewhere, is confirmed by ethnographic materials (Cimermanis 1998). These smokery buildings were built by Jews from Lithuanian cities and towns, such as Darbėnai, Kretinga, Palanga, Skuodas, and others – in exchange for fish from Latvian fishers, which was then smoked and sold in Central and Western Lithuania (Cimermanis 1998: 208–209).

<sup>103</sup> In LLV, *stallis* means ‘a farm building for housing horses’ (LLVVe).

<sup>104</sup> The dial. *kembriķens* is registered in Stende (EHe II 694).



*Abtritt*) ‘small room; (little) chamber; toilet, lavatory (?)’ (EHe II 694)) in Alsunga (*jāismel ķem̃briķens*. LVI Apv.) and *ķem̃berķins*, *ķem̃briķins*, *ķem̃merķins* in Nīca (NIVE-J: 206), 3) *porūzis*<sup>105</sup> m. ‘toilet’ (< MLG *vōrhūs* (Sehwers 1953: 97)) is recorded in Bārta (*puōrūzis* – *ateja bij duōmāta*. LVI Apv.). See also 4.2.20. VERANDA and 4.3.18. STOREROOM, 4) the composite name *mazmājiņa* f. ‘toilet’<sup>106</sup> is found in Alsunga (*cits teic mazmājiņ, cits ķem̃briķens*. LVI Apv.) or *maza mājiņa* f./*mājiņa* f./*mazmāja* f. in Nīca (*tag saūc mazā mājiņa, pa jāunañ tualete i*. NIVE-L: 123, 148). The motivation of the name is based on a small building, usually placed separately from other buildings, with a special function for meeting natural needs, 5) *šitūžs* m. ‘toilet’ (similarly to the Latv. *šķītūžis* (Germ. *das heimliche Gemach* ‘secret room’, Latv. *netīra vieta* ‘dirty place’. MEe IV 50) < LG *schīthūs* ‘toilet’ (Germ. ‘Abort’) (Sehwers 1953: 134)), which is recorded only in CS (DKW: 185, 195, 203), corresponds to the Germ. conversational obsolete word *der Lokus* ‘toilet’, *die Latrine* ‘toilet, cesspool’, *das Klosett* ‘water-closet, toilet’. In German, *das Scheißhaus* is a vulgarity for Germ. *das Klosett* ‘toilet’ (DWDSe). The name is created by the example of other words with the suffix -ūž-, e.g. Kursen. *rukūžs* ‘smokery’, and 6) *nužņiks* m. ‘toilet’ is recorded only in Nīca (*vēcūōs laiķūōs saūca nužņiku, taga teic mazuō mājiņu uñ ateja, [arī] ķem̃meķiñc*. NIVE-L: 123), which is likely related to the Rus. *нужда* ‘necessity’ or verb *нужно* ‘(to) need’, in other words, its semantic motivation refers to the necessity for an individual to meet the biological needs.

From the etymological diversity, this concept is named mainly by Germanisms, which can indicate both inherited Germanisms and the direct influence of the German language. A few examples show that one name of the concept is explained by other, like *mazmājiņ(a)* – *ķem̃briķens* or *ateja* – *porūzis*, which demonstrates, firstly, that both pairs are semantically equivalent, regardless of the object’s stage of development, and, secondly, that they have been used concurrently during a certain period of time. This period could refer to the middle of the 20th century or the second half of the century when the names were recorded. Only two words (*ateja* and *mazmājiņa* ‘toilet’) have retained their meaning in the change of object itself, and they have become established in the Latvian literary language (LLVVe).

<sup>105</sup> The Latv. *puōrūzis* with the meaning ‘an anteroom, an entrance hall, a vestibule’ (Germ. *das Vorhaus* ‘ibid.’, from MLG *varhūs*) is registered in Vidzeme (Rauna, Mazsalaca, Valmiera) (MEe III 457), an area not related to the research area.

<sup>106</sup> The Latv. *mazmāja*, also *mazmājiņa*, in its second meaning ‘a privy’ (Germ. *der Abtritt* ‘privy’), is registered in Riga (EHe I 788).

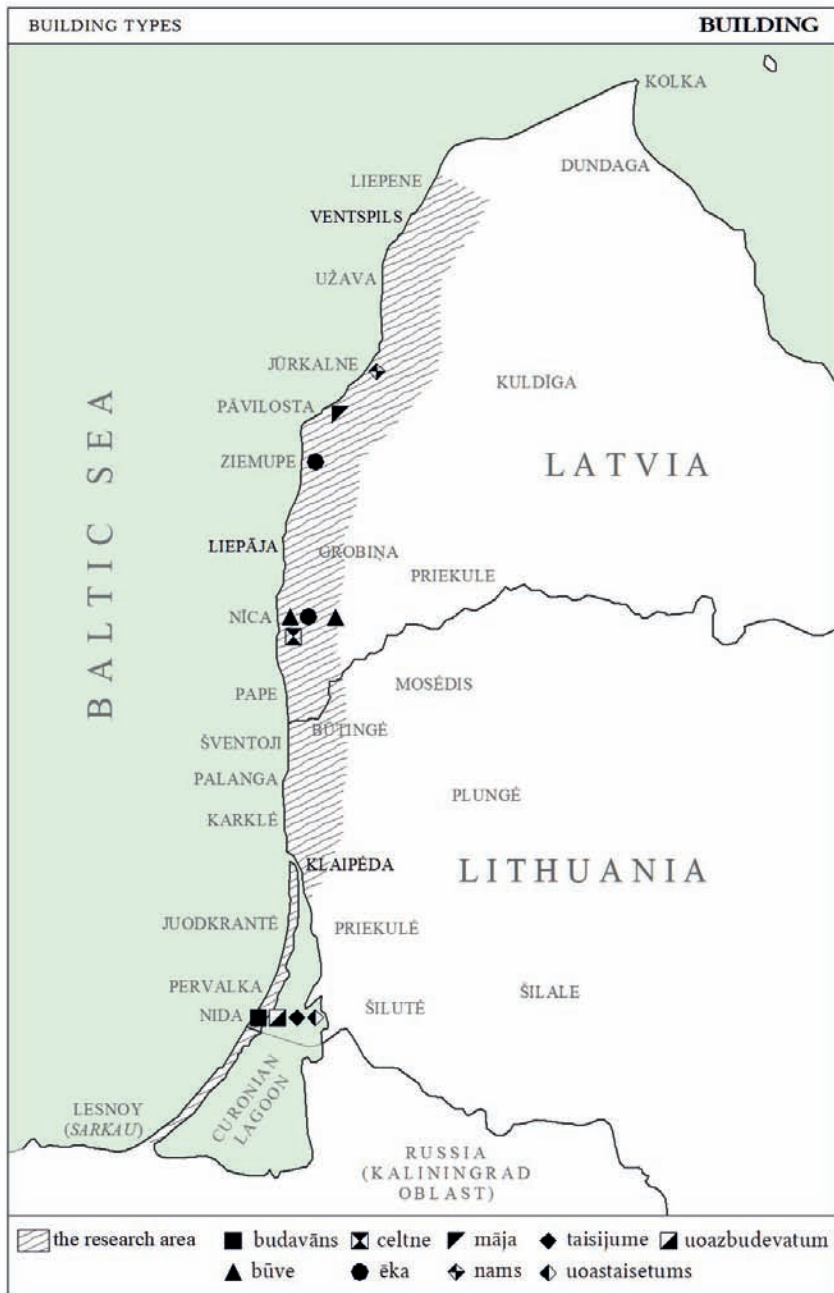
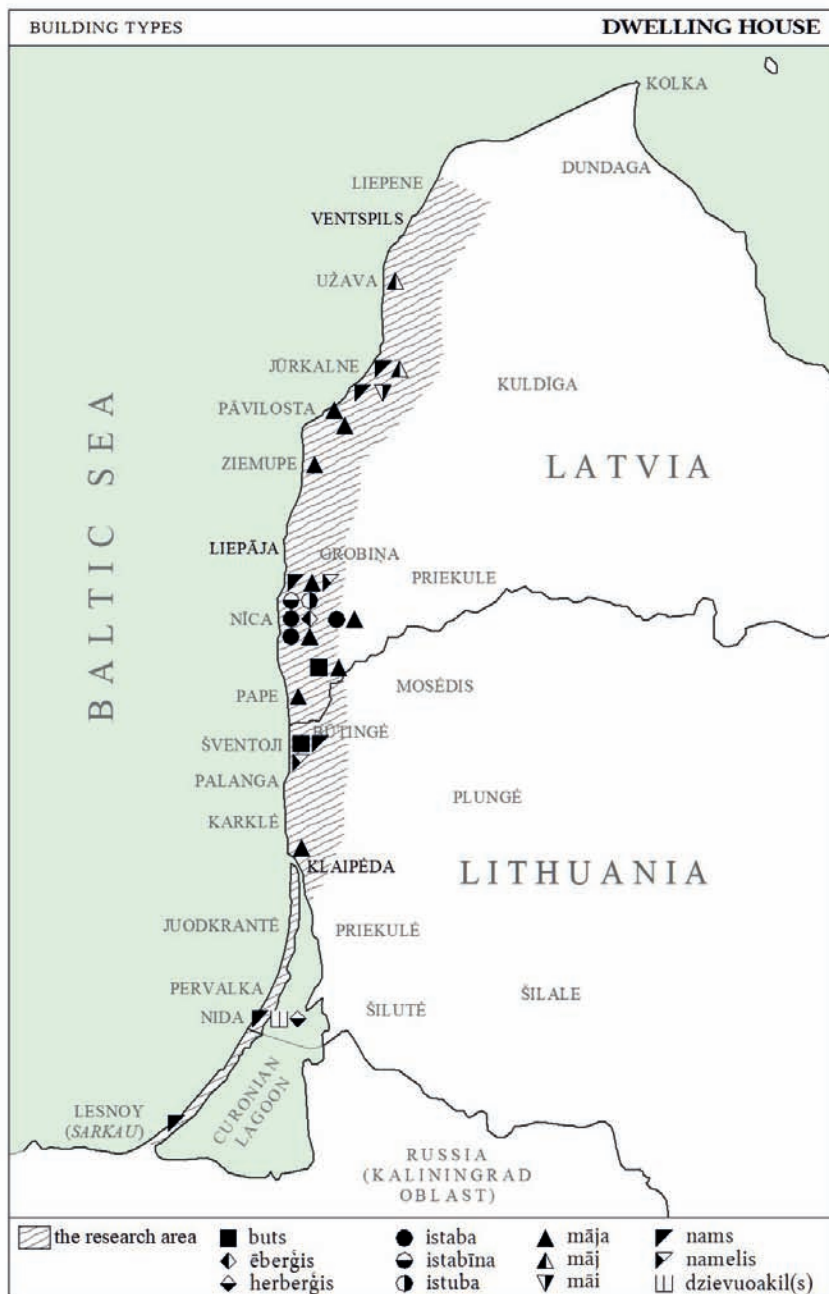


Figure 5.1. Distribution of BUILDING names.



Figure 5.2. Distribution of CELLAR names.



**Figure 5.3.** Distribution of DWELLING HOUSE names.



Figure 5.4. Distribution of GRANARY names.

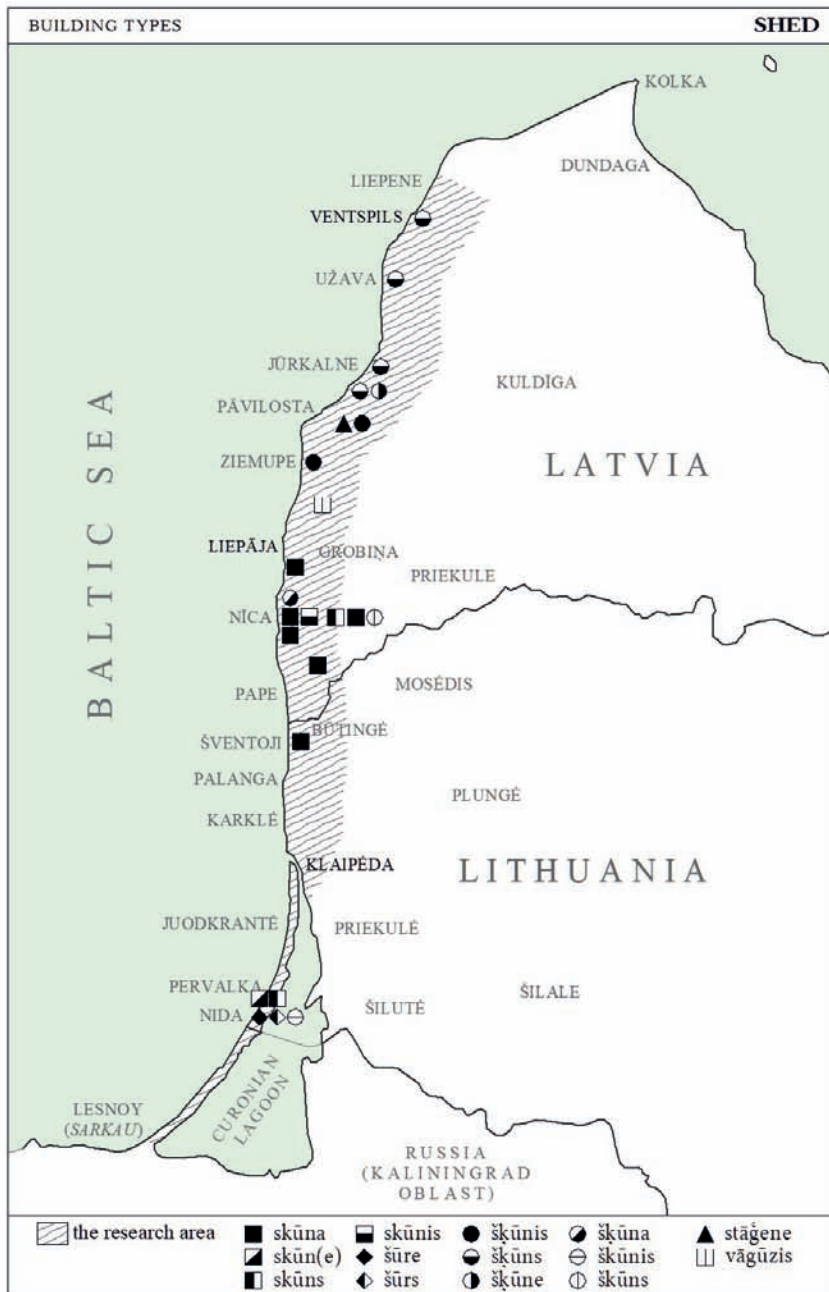


Figure 5.5. Distribution of SHED names.

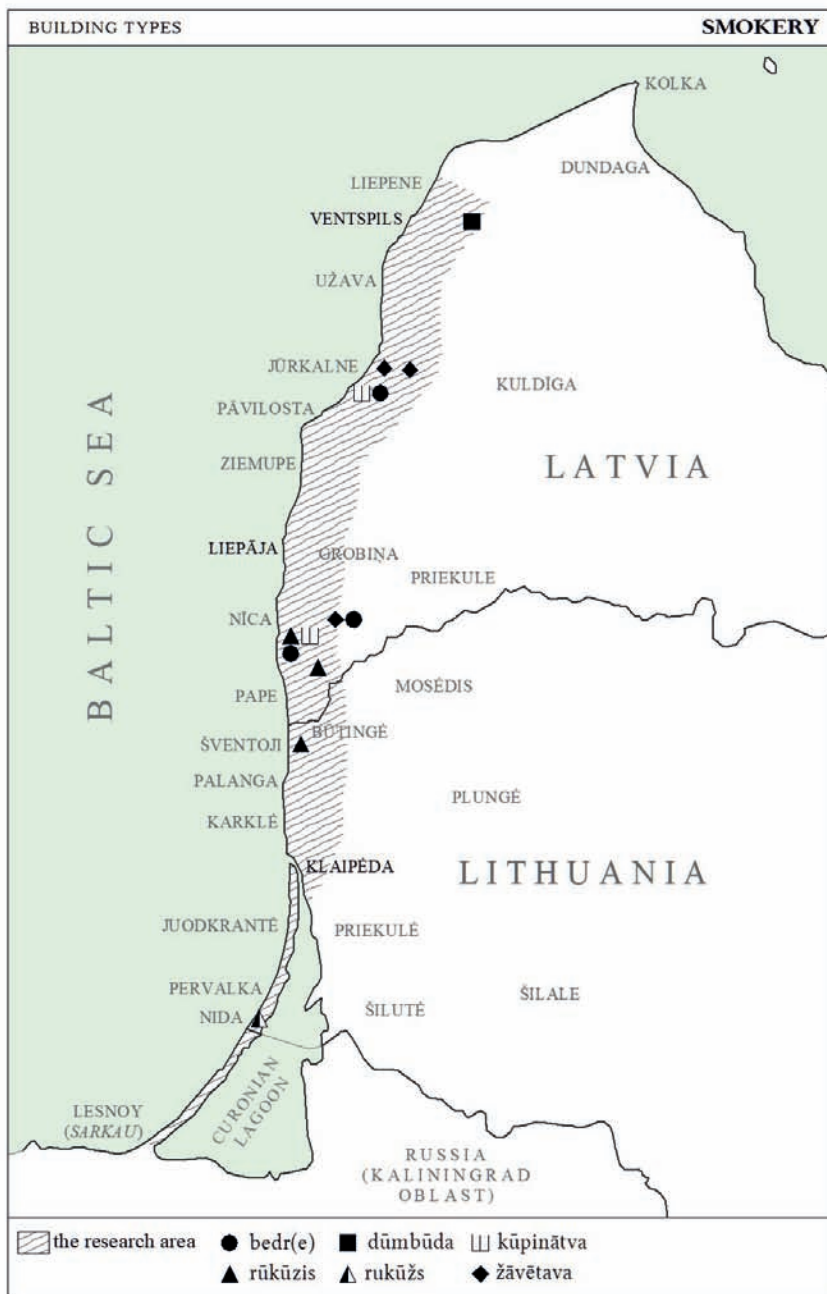


Figure 5.6. Distribution of SMOKERY names.



One final note – unless otherwise stated, these lexemes may refer to a room specifically designed for that function. Because such spaces are a relatively recent addition to residential buildings, and do not appear in the original dwelling houses studied, all of these names are classified as building types, not room types.

#### 4.2.20. Veranda

The names for veranda, despite their motivation, can be considered relatively new, since such an object appears in homesteads only around the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, and they are: 1) *porūzis* m. ‘veranda’ is registered in Rucava (*puôrūzis/puôrūzis*. Markus-Narvila 2011: 80, 158). See also 4.2.19. TOILET/PRI-VY, *porūzis* and 4.3.18. STOREROOM, 2) *prang(O)* f. ‘veranda’ is found only in CS (KW: 64, Germ. *die Veranda* ‘veranda; also porch’). The name is likely created in the process of nominalization, where Germ. verb *prangen* ‘to be proud of; to shine; to adorn oneself’ is taken as a basis, and it, in turn, semantically includes an indication of the magnificent shape of this part of the structure. Probably this is created by source’s author and was not widely used, 3) *priekšas nams* m. ‘veranda’ is registered in Būtingē (*priekšas namu tuō saūca*. SA: 43), which indicates the location of this part of the building in relation to the dwelling house, that is, in the main facade of the building. See also 4.3.7. ENTRYWAY, *priekšnams*, and 4) *veranda/varand(O)* f. (< Germ. *die Veranda*) is recorded both in the southern Kurzeme and in CS.

### 4.3. ROOM TYPES

The group consists of 18 concepts and 63 lexemes, and it contains concepts that name a room or part of a room in a building, whether a dwelling house or an auxiliary building, for instance, kitchen, corridor, storeroom, attic, and attic room, as well as the place or space behind the door. The group also includes names used specifically to denote the concept of a room itself. See Chapter 5.3.3. for a comprehensive overview of this thematic group.

#### 4.3.1. Anteroom of a bath

Two names for the anteroom of a bath are recorded, both formed with the prefix *pie-* or dial. *pī-*, and both found in Rucava: 1) *piēdarbs* m.<sup>107</sup> (FBR 8: 141, Latv. *pirts*

<sup>107</sup> The Latv. *piēdarbs* is polysemous, but its second meaning, ‘an anteroom of a bathhouse’, is the dial. in Nīca and related to the Latv. verb *piedarīt* (MEe III 242).



*priekšīņa*; MEe III 242, Nīca), and 2) *pīpīrte* f. (FBR 8: 141). See also 4.2.1. BAT-HOUSE, *pirts*.

#### 4.3.2. Attic

In the excerpt, several names denote an attic in general: 1) *augstiene* f. and variants (KuV: 49; *augstenes*. VLS: 6, Germ. *die Lucht* ‘attic’, *der Boden* ‘attic’; *us aukstēne pa stage ir daug tykle pakybate*. HD: AI: 25, etc.) are recorded in CS; they are found locally and not registered in LVDA mater. (Bušmane 2010: 12). 2) *augša* f.<sup>108</sup> in Kurzeme (NIVe-A: 225, Nīca; LVI Apv., Bārta), cf. Lith. *aūkštas* ‘attic’ (LKŽe). The composite names, formed of the previously mentioned name, like *istabaugša/istabas aukša* f. ‘attic in the dwelling’ and variants (LVI Apv., Bārta; LVDA mater., Ulmale; NIVe-A: 225, Nīca) and *stallaugša* ‘attic in the barn’ f. (*siēnu glabâjam uz stallāūkšs* (= -g-). LVDA mater., Medze), indicates the location of an attic in a particular building, such as a dwelling or barn, 3) *augšiene* f.<sup>109</sup> in Kurzeme (*tuŗ aūkšienē kaŗ kuŗ nuŗlika – kaŗuŗkus pa vasaru, liŗluŗs zâbaku*. NIVe-A: 227, Nīca), 4) *bēniņi* m. and variants (< MLG *böninge* (Germ. *Decke eines Stockwerks*, MEe I 289-290; Sehwers 1953: 11)) are recorded mainly in the central part of Kurzeme seaside (Uŗava, Ulmale, Saka, Medze, Bārta, etc.), also differently adapted *bēniņģe* f./*bēniņģis* m. ‘attic’<sup>110</sup> (Jūrkalne, Ēdole, Saka), 5) the compound, formed of the name mentioned before and the (phonetic) variant of the Latv. *virsa* ‘top’, *bēniņviers* in Kurzeme (LVDA mater., Uŗava, Venta), 6) similarly to the Latv. *istabaugša*, the name *istabviers* m. (LVDA mater., Uŗava) names the space above the (living) room or the whole dwelling house, and is not registered in ME. See also 4.2.8. DWELLING HOUSE and 4.3.9. LIVING ROOM. The majority of the names are semantically motivated by the location of the attic, indicating that it is situated above another space, for instance, a living area. However, these names are created by different means. The names of Germanic origin (*bēniņi*, *bēniņģe*) are borrowed but adopted differently, recorded

<sup>108</sup> In LLV, *augša* is also registered with the meaning ‘a room, floor located just under the roof, also attic’ (LLVVe), and similarly as ‘attic of a building’ (Germ. *der Boden eines Gebäudes*), for example, Latv. *istabas augša*, *klēts augša* or *ŗķu augšas* (MEe I 218).

<sup>109</sup> The Latv. *auŗģene*, *auŗģiene* is registered with its second meaning ‘an upper place; the room just under the roof, attic’ (MEe I 219), or ‘an attic of a small building’ (Germ. *der Bodenraum eines kleineren Gebäudes*) in Kurzeme (Dŗūkste) (EHe I 185). In LLV, the now obsolete word *augšiene* is recorded with the meaning ‘the top, upper part’ (Latv. *augša*) (LLVVe).

<sup>110</sup> The Latv. archaic word *bēniņģis* m. also denotes an ‘attic’ (Tez). In MEe, *bēniņģis* with the meaning ‘an attic’ (Germ. *der Bodenraum, der Boden*) is registered in central Kurzeme (Aizupe, Ivande) and southern Kurzeme (Dunika) (MEe I 289-290).

only in Kurzeme. In some cases, the borrowed item is used as a component of other (composite) names for attic.

#### 4.3.3. Attic room

Four names are also found that refer to a specific room in the attic, rather than the attic as a whole. These names are: 1) *augstiene kambure* f. (DKW: 76, Germ. *die Bodenkammer* ‘attic, garret(-room)’); etimologically, the word group is based on its semantic equivalent in German, 2) *âugštavējis istubas* f. (KuV: 49, Latv. *istabas augša*), 3) *iztubēns* m. (DKW: 226, Germ. *die Oberstübchen* ‘attic, garret(-room)’); likely also is based on its semantic equivalent in German, namely, the diminutive form of the German word *die Stube* ‘room’ – *die Stübchen* ‘small room’, and 4) *pažobilis/pažobils* m.<sup>111</sup> (KuV: 72; DKW: 81, 226, Germ. *die Dachkammer* ‘attic, garret(-room)’). All of them are recorded in CS. The names of this concept are reasonably found in the Curonian Spit, where local fishers were known to rent out their houses to guests in the summer, during that time, fishers moved into the outbuildings. This kind of phenomenon wasn’t common in Kurzeme, at least not during the oldest periods.

#### 4.3.4. Chamber

The name 1) *nama danga* f. (Kundziņš 1974: 190, Nīca) denotes a separate room used for household purposes; it is formed from the Latv. *nams* ‘corridor, hallway’ and *danga* ‘corner; small room’<sup>112</sup>. Such a room was typically located in a corner of a corridor, adjacent to or behind the central heating and food preparation area (a room, called Latv. *skursteņa nams*, *rovis*, or *apvalkdūmenis*, which functioned as a kitchen). See also 4.3.5. CORRIDOR, *nams*, and 2) *sānkambaris* m. ‘(side) chamber’ is also recorded in Nīca (*sānkaṁbarī piē griēstiēm turēja sīpuôlus, laî nedabū aūkstumu*. NIVe-A: 229). Without a broader context, this name could also refer to an opposite room, a storeroom or antechamber, used for storing various items. See also 4.3.14. ROOM and 4.3.18. STOREROOM.

<sup>111</sup> The Latv. *pažobeļe* is polysemous, and in its second meaning, it refers to a typically small and narrow space or room in an attic that serves as a dwelling (Tez).

<sup>112</sup> In MEe, the dial. *danga*, in its sixth meaning, is recorded as a ‘small room’ (Germ. *ein Zimmerchen*), including a ‘narrow room between the kitchen space and the external wall where firewood and brushwood for the kitchen are kept’ (MEe I 437).

#### 4.3.5. Corridor

Depending on the stage of development of the building, the space near the central heating and cooking area could be walk-through. A room of this type features doors on both ends, that is to say, they are located at opposing longitudinal facades of the building. In this research, the concept of a corridor is used for this specific space. Four different names are recorded (see Figure 6.1.): 1) *caūrdure* ‘corridor’ f. in the southern Kurzeme (*caūrdure i ķkas gaņģis, kaņ abuôs galuôs dures*. NIVe-C: 343, Nīca). The example of Nīca illustrates that the name is a result of a semantic transfer (the lockable doors → a room with such doors)<sup>113</sup>, 2) *gaņģis* ‘corridor’ m.<sup>114</sup> (< Germ. *der Gang* (MEe I 601)) in Šventoji–Būtingė (MB), 3) *nams* ‘corridor’ m. in Kurzeme (*namâ i trepes uz bēniņiem. viš i caūrstaīgājams. duris iēt us priekšnamu uņ uz istubu*. NIVe-C: 345, Nīca), probably also in CS (*nams* m. DKW, 189, Germ. *der Korridor*; Germ. *der Flur*, FKN: 72), however, it depends on the particular example where the context or visual material is provided. See also 4.3.7. ENTRYWAY and 4.2.2. BUILDING, 4.2.8. DWELLING HOUSE, and 4.1) *garais nams* m. (*aiz garâ nama bi pretistuba preti priekšnamam uņ maizes kaņbaris blakum*. NIVe-L: 121, Nīca) or 4.2) *vēja nams* m. (Cimermanis 2020: 372).

#### 4.3.6. Cote

Several names are registered for a cote, an enclosure for keeping farm animals either in a barn or outdoors : 1) only in CS a composite name (*cūke*) *abirs* m. with the meaning of a ‘cote, pig-pen’ is recorded (DKW: 187, Germ. *der Koben* ‘pig-pen’), 2) *aizgalds* m./dial. *āzgalde* f. ‘cote’ in found Kurzeme (*āzgalde aves*. LVDA mater., Ziemepe; *cūkām bī gaņģis uņ slīpi aizgaldi us tuō gaņģu pusi*. [...] *senāk teica āzgalde*. NIVe-A: 28, Nīca). Latv. *aizgalds*<sup>115</sup> is polysemous, and is registered also with the Latv. suffix *-iņ-*, namely, *aizgaldiņš* m. with

<sup>113</sup> In MEE, *caurduru*, meaning ‘a key with a locking part mounted in the door’ (Germ. *das Einle-geschloss*), is recorded in northern Kurzeme (Sasmaka) (MEe I 365), while *caūrdure*, in its second meaning, denotes ‘a keyhole’ (Germ. *das Schlüsselloch*) (EHe I 261). In LLV, the archaic word *caurduru* (Gen.) is registered as ‘a one that can be locked from both sides (referring to keys)’, for example, *caurslēdzama atslēga* (LLVVe).

<sup>114</sup> In MEE, *gaņģis* is recorded with nine meanings, the first of which is ‘a pass; passage, corridor’ (Germ. *der Gang, Weg*) (MEe I 601). In LLV, *gaņģis* is marked as an obsolete word (LLVVe).

<sup>115</sup> The Latv. *aizgalds/aizgalde/aizgalda* has three meanings: 1) ‘a boarded enclosure for feeding or fattening livestock, such as pigs, calves, sheep, poultry; also a cote in general’, 2) ‘the nearest room behind the table’, and 3) dial. ‘a board on the side of the carriage’ (MEe I 26). In LLV, *aizgalds/aizgalde* is recorded with the meaning ‘a compartment (in the barn), usually for pigs, sheep, calves’ (LLVVe).

the meaning of a ‘cote in the open air’, not in the cattle-shed (*laūka cūkas turēja laūkâ. bi aizgaldinš ustaīšc.* NIVe-A: 28, Nīca). See also 4.3.12. PLACE BEHIND THE TABLE, 3) *gards* m./*gārda* f.<sup>116</sup> ‘cote’ (< Lith. *gārdas* ‘an enclosed part of a barn’<sup>117</sup>) is recorded in the southern Kurzeme (*gards.* LVI Apv., Dunika; *gārda.* LVI Apv., Tadaikī, Pērkone, NIVe-A: 28, Nīca), 4) *aizgārda*/*aizgarāda*/*aizgārde* ‘cote’ f.<sup>118</sup>, formed with the prefix *aiz-* ‘behind’, is found only in Nīca (NIVe-A: 29). The diminutive form of the word *aizgārda* in the same meaning is formed with the suffix *-in-* (*stālī tā aizgārdaņa jāpāršālē us pusi, lai tuō raībuō tēlēnu vař piēsiēt.* NIVe-A: 29, Nīca), and 5) *gūrba* f.<sup>119</sup> ‘cote’ (< Lith. *gūrbas* ‘compartment in the barn for smaller animals’<sup>120</sup>) is recorded in Bārta (AVN: 133).

#### 4.3.7. Entryway

The concept of an entryway refers to a room, typically in a dwelling house, that is accessed via the main entrance door and also provides access to other rooms, including the central heating and cooking area. In the earliest stages of the house’s development, the dwelling-cooking portion (Latv. *nams*) had an open hearth; later, the central heating and cooking area was enclosed by masonry walls on three or four sides, forming the Latv. *rovis*, *apvalkdūmenis*, *skursteņa nams*, or *kukņa*<sup>121</sup>. The entryway transformed from a room, specifically the dwelling-cooking portion and the heating and cooking area, into an independent unit within the building’s plan. In the excerpt, therefore, the composite names *priekšnams*/*priekšas nams* m.<sup>122</sup> are registered in Kurzeme, in Šventoji (*priekšnams.* MB)

<sup>116</sup> In Latvian, the dial. *gārdas* with the meaning ‘a pen for fattening cattle, especially pigs’ is registered in the southern part of Kurzeme (Nīgrande, Nīca), while *gārda* is found in Kurzeme (Grobiņa) and Vidzeme (Lazdona), and *gārdas* in Rucava (MEe I 618). The dial. *gards* (Germ. *ein Verschlag am oder im Stalle*) is recorded without any indication of its distribution (EHe I 383–384).

<sup>117</sup> In Lithuanian, the lexeme *gārdas* has five meanings, the first of which is ‘an enclosed part of a barn’ (around Skuodas) (LKŽe).

<sup>118</sup> In MEE, the dial. *aizgārdas* is recorded with the meaning ‘a compartment in the barn’ (MEe I 26); *aizgārda* is registered in Kurzeme (Bārta, Rucava), but *aizgārde* in Dunika (EHe I 24).

<sup>119</sup> In Latvian, the dial. *gūrba*/*gurbas* is registered with four meanings in Kurzeme, the third of which is ‘a compartment in the barn’ (Kalēti, Nīca) (MEe I 683).

<sup>120</sup> In Lithuanian, *gūrbas* has a total of twelve meanings; the sixth denotes ‘a compartment in the barn for smaller animals (sheep, piglets, calves)’, mainly in the central part of Lithuania. However, the ninth meaning, ‘cages for animals; a cage for birds’, is registered in East Prussia and near Klaipėda (Priekulė) (LKŽe).

<sup>121</sup> The name changes with each dwelling house and stage of development. This is because the meaning of the name depends on the layout of the space, the type and presence of chimneys, and other improvements.

<sup>122</sup> In MEE, *priekšnams* is registered as a ploysemous lexeme (Germ. *das Vorhaus, der Vorraum; das Atrium*, MEE III 396).

and Būtingē (*priekšas namā. iēpriekš bi tāda ka vēraņda*. SA: 43). In some cases, only the second component (*nams*) is used with the same meaning.

#### 4.3.8. Kitchen (cooking area)

In the excerpt, the lexemes examined denominate both (A) the separate, enclosed room (*kēķis/kēķe, kukņa/kukne/kukine, plītsistaba, virtuve*) and (B) the part of the room used for food preparation and cooking (*nams, virte viete*) (see Figure 6.2.).

A.1) *kēķis* m./*kēķe* f. and variants (<LG *kōke* ‘kitchen’ (Sehwers 1953: 64) or *kāke* (LEV 458–459)<sup>123</sup>) are recorded mainly in the southern Kurzeme (for instance, *pavārds – tas ir ar kēķis, pavārdā iēkūrt uguni*. LVI Apv., Bārta; *mūsu mājā bija viena istaba un kēķis*. LVI Apv., Rucava, etc.) and in Šventoji–Būtingē (*kēķe*. MB). The word was borrowed into Latvian at the beginning of the 18th century; however, it did not come into active use until the 19th century, because at that time, especially in North Vidzeme, Latv. *kēķis* denoted a German kitchen with a chimney (LEV 458–459)<sup>124</sup>. Semantically, some examples recorded in Nīca allow deducing the development level of a dwelling house’s cooking and heating centre<sup>125</sup> or whether a chimney was constructed to remove smoke from the inside<sup>126</sup>. Thus, Latv. *kēķis* was used to denote ‘a room equipped for preparing meals’ regardless of the development level of a dwelling house. Also, the word group *mellais kēķis/kēķe* with the meaning of a ‘black kitchen’ is recorded in Rucava (*aūkšā mellai kēķē*. AVN: 102) and Nīca (*tuō kēķi, kuī luōpiēm ēdienu vārija, saūca par mēlluō kēķi*. NIVe–K: 205), A.2) *kukņa/kukne/kukine* f. and va-

<sup>123</sup> Latvian linguist Bušs, in his article (1977), highlights the issue of the entry of Low German loanwords in Latvian in terms of time. That is, their entry after the 16th century is impossible in a direct way. Therefore, Low German loanwords must be distinguished from Baltic German everyday speech, in which elements, including lexical items, of the Low German language could be found. Bušs notes that Latv. *kēķis* and *kēķša* ‘cook’, referring to Latvian linguist Zēvers and his stated time of particular borrowing, is borrowed from the local Low German everyday speech, in Germanic studies also known as “deutsche Mundart Altivlands” (Bušs 1977: 58).

<sup>124</sup> This name referred to the food preparation and cooking room, which was formed by the walls of a mantle-vault-like chimney (Latv. *apvalkdūmenis* or *manetīskurstenis*). Such chimneys, based on the example typical in Germany, were widely distributed in the 18th and 19th centuries in Kurzeme and Zemgale, but rarely in Vidzeme (Cimermanis 1969: 32). Fire-safe solutions, including mantle-vault-like chimneys, were encouraged by the authorities of the administrative area to improve the fire safety of peasant dwelling houses. From the 17th century in Latvia, this knowledge was borrowed from German pastors and manor administrations (Bilenšteins 2001: 73; Cimermanis 2020: 361).

<sup>125</sup> *uguņš un dūmi gā uz lielu krāsni, tad pa krāsni aūkšu apakaļ us kēķa pusi*. NIVe–I: 700, Nīca.

<sup>126</sup> *kēķi nebījis skuīstīna, dūmi gājuši pa visu māju*. NIVe–I: 700, Nīca; *ka izbēdza dārbus kēķi, ta aizlaida skūrsteņa caūrumu ciēt. un kēķis bi silc*. NIVe–C: 364, Nīca

riants are recorded in the central and southern coastal area of Kurzeme and in CS. However, given the meanings and areas of prevalence of the word Latv. *kukņa* and its var., *kukne*/*kukine*<sup>127</sup>, have been differently adapted by the Latvian-speaking community in Kurzeme and the Curonian Spit into their language. In Latvian *kukņa*<sup>128</sup>, along with the variants *kukne*, *kuknis* is a borrowing (<Rus. *кухня* ‘kitchen’<sup>129</sup>) introduced parallelly to the Latv. *ķēķis*. Whereas in Lithuanian, the borrowed word *kuknia* ‘1) kitchen; 2) kitchen oven, stove’ is found (<Belar. *кухня* (LKŽe) or rather Pol. *kuchnia* ‘kitchen’ (LKŽe; LEW 306; Brückner 1927, 279))<sup>130</sup>. Therefore, the *kukņa* recorded in the coastal area of Kurzeme indicates direct contact with Slavs to denominate a kitchen, already before most of the technical improvements were introduced in the second half of the 19th century. On the contrary, close contacts with Lithuanians on the eastern shore of the Curonian Lagoon, especially in Klaipėda as an important centre of economic contact in the broader region, indicates that its variant *kukne* in the New Curonian language is Slavism, borrowed through the Lithuanian language (cf. the form *kuknė* recorded in Samogitia and south of Klaipėda). Semantically, the Latvian *kukņa* and its variants *kukne*, *kuknis* share the same primary meaning of a ‘room for food preparation and cooking’ or a ‘kitchen’. However, some examples from Nīca allow distinguishing kitchen names that denote a kitchen in the dwelling house of a homestead (*kukņa tik kuņģi teīca. pa sētām* [tas ir, lauku mājās] *tik teīca ķēķi*. NIVe-K: 164) or even a separate building – a hut used as a summer kitchen (*ta kukņa i, ku ârâ vâra vasarâ. tâ tâda būdiņa tikaî. maz jaû viņas bi*. NIVe-K: 165). Also, the word group *mêle kukine* ‘(black)

<sup>127</sup> In the Latvian dialects of the 20th century, such insertion of the vowel is found in the speech of Latvians in North Kurzeme, particularly, in the Livonian subdialects of Kurzeme, which becomes more regular as it moves northward from Kandava. See more on this phenomenon in the language of New Curonians in the article (Kiseliūnaitė 2005).

<sup>128</sup> The word *kukņa* with the meaning ‘kitchen’ was more widely used in Kurzeme in the 19th century; Latv. dial. *kukne* is recorded in South Kurzeme (Kalēti) (MEe II 301; EHe I 668; LEW 458–459). In LLV, the word *kukņa* ‘kitchen’ is an archaism (LLVVe).

<sup>129</sup> There is another opinion that the Latv. *kukņa*, since it is common in Kurzeme, is brought into Latvian through Lithuanian *kuknia* or directly from Polish *kuchnia*, but not from Russian (LEW 306). In Russian, the word *кухня* ‘kitchen’ is recorded at the beginning of the 18th century, and it was brought to Russian from Czech *kuchyně* through Polish *kuchnia* (Фасмер 1986: 436). In Slavic languages, this word is most likely a Germanism, for instance, in Polish from Germ. *kuchīna*, and later *kuchīn*, *küche(n)*, which, in turn, from Lat. *coquina*, *cocīna* (Brückner 1927: 279).

<sup>130</sup> Also, in the first meaning Lith. *kuknė* ‘kitchen’ is recorded in various regions of Lithuania, for instance, in the central part (around Raseiniai), in the north, on the border with Latvia (around Žagarė, Joniškis district), and in the west, the word has been observed in Priekulė, south of Klaipėda (LKŽe). Both words (Lith. *kuknia* and *kuknė*) have been fully incorporated into the dialects of the Lithuanian language.

kitchen'<sup>131</sup>, formed after its semantic equivalent in German (FKN: 72, 122, Germ. *die schwarze Küche*. ), is recorded without an example in the text, A.3) *plītsistaba* f. is recorded in one source (*suôc jaû a pa plīcistab*. LVI *Apv.*, Alsunga). The name directly refers to a room where the cooking stove is placed. Therefore, the semantic motivation of this name is the furnishing of the room with a specific cooking device, a cooking stove. Secondly, both components are borrowed in the Latvian language (Latv. *plīts*, dial. *plīte* < BG *die Pliete* 'cooking stove' < Rus. *плита*<sup>132</sup> (MEe III 349; LEV 702; Bušs 1977: 61) and Latv. *istaba* < ORus. *уѣзда* 'house, bathhouse' (MEe I 711; EHe I 431; LEV 346)) but at different times, A.4) *virtuve* f. is recorded in the central and southern coastal area of Kurzeme (SA: 135, Ziemeupe; SA: 72, Pape). The Latvian word *virtuve*, meaning a 'specially furnished room for cooking', was formed<sup>133</sup> after the example of the Lithuanian word Lith. *virtuvė*<sup>134</sup> and took root in the standard Latvian language in the 1920s (LEV 1173). Therefore, compared to the other analysed lexemes, it is considered a relatively new name for a kitchen.

B.1) *nams* m. is recorded in CS (*nams ar adare šurnštine like kukna*. FKN: 122)<sup>135</sup> and in Šventoji–Būtingė (*namā gatavoja ēdienu*. MB), while Latv. *namīns* is registered in the southern coastal area of Kurzeme (*namīns bi kukņa || ķēķis*. LVI *Apv.*, Bārta). Semantically, both names must be distinguished. The example recorded in the Curonian Spit and complemented with the picture shows that a dwelling house's cooking and heating centre was located in the middle of the *nams* 'hallway'. This part of the room was surrounded by the wall above which a mantle-vault-like chimney was built. Also, the example recorded in

<sup>131</sup> The first component of the collocation is Kursen. *mells* 'black' (KuV: 67), also recorded as *mēls* (KW: 50, Germ. *schwarz*) or *mēls* (DKW: 265) by Pietsch.

<sup>132</sup> Latvian linguist Bušs points out that although borrowing such a word through Baltic German everyday speech is plausible, it must be borne in mind that the strengthening of words of such origin in the Latvian language was also influenced by the direct impact of the Russian language. It also highlights the problem of classifying this type of borrowing. Therefore, Bušs recommends using terms such as Russo-Germanisms or German-Russianisms (Bušs 1977: 61).

<sup>133</sup> The Latv. derived words *virtuve* 'kitchen' and *virējs* 'cook' were proposed by Latvian writer and linguist Alunāns (LEV 1173; Sokols 1963: 61), one of the intellectuals of the First Latvian National Awakening at the end of the 19th century. Neo-Latvians attempted to eliminate words borrowed from German and to invent and create new words that denoted new concepts (Ibid., 58–62, 346–349).

<sup>134</sup> The Lith. *virtuvė*, depending on its meaning, is common in different regions of Lithuania; however, the word Lith. *virtuvė* in its primary meaning 'a room with special equipment (oven, stove, etc.) for cooking' has been found in Plungė and Kuliai (Plungė district), Kartena (Kretinga district), Seda and Leckava (Mažeikiai district), Judrėnai (Klaipėda district), Griškabūdis (Šakiai district), Skudutiškis (Molėtai district) and other places (LKŽe). The Lith. word *virtuvė* is also recorded with the meaning 2) 'a stove for cooking food', 3) 'food', and 4) 'cuisine' (LKŽe).

<sup>135</sup> In German, "Haus mit offenem Schornstein bis in die Küche" (FKN 122).



Šventoji–Būtingė reveals that the room, named as *nams*, was multifunctional, and cooking was just one of its functions. Therefore, the Latv. *nams* with the meaning ‘hearth, a part of the room with the fireplace’ can be distinguished from the excerpted material. However, the example recorded in Bārta, namely, Latv. *namīns*, is a derivative that does not imply an object’s real smallness or emotionally subjective evaluation. This example can be explained in two ways. First, it is a variant of the Latvian word *namīns*<sup>136</sup>, meaning ‘middle room of a dwelling house, divided by a wall in the kitchen and hallway’ or ‘kitchen’, formed with a subdialect-specific suffix. Second, this word refers to an outdoor kitchen – a separate building for a specific function (cooking) rather than a room in a dwelling house. Although both explanations are plausible, without a broader context of the use of the word it is impossible to evaluate them thoroughly, B.2) also *pavards* m. ‘cooking area, kitchen’ in Bārta (*pavārdš – tas ir ār ķēķis, pavārdā iekūrt uguni*. LVI Apv.). See also 4.6.4. HEARTH, B.3) *virte viete* f. ‘(kitchen or) cooking place’ is found only in CS (FKN: 74). The name denotes a place of a hearth in the *nams* of a dwelling house, not the entire room. This name is not found in other sources; therefore, it is more likely to be considered an individual creation and created on the basis of its semantic equivalent in German, *der Kochstelle*.

#### 4.3.9. Living room

With the meaning of a living (or sleeping) room, several names are recorded: 1) *istaba/istuba/istube* f. ‘living room’ is recorded in Kurzeme (*istaba*. LVDA mater., Saka, Ziemepe; *istuba*. AVN: 110, Bārta; *vairāk jāu nebi kā viēna istuba*. LVI Apv., Bārta; LVI Apv., Dunika; AVN: 110, Rucava; *istab*. LVDA mater., Venta (Ventspils), Jūrkalne, Ulmale; *šālējuot istubās siēnas, būmeistars naglādams aizdimdināja visu sētu*. NIVE-A: 26, Nica; *mūsu mājā ir vairāk<sup>3</sup> istab<sup>3</sup>*. LVDA mater., Medze; *vis:as malas ispušķuoja ar meijām, ispušķuoja istabas*. SA: 137, Ziemepe), in Šventoji–Būtingė (*istubās*. MB) and CS (*iftubba*. VLS: 12; *is tuo oaše istub, kur mes esam dzimuš*. ISBt: 1, Germ. *das Zimmer; istuba E, LF, NS, N, SII, SRI*. BezzS: 35, Germ. *die Stube*, Preila, Sarkau, Nida (LT); *es itu ikschā istubā SII*. BezzS: 50, Schwarzort (Juodkrantė); *istuba*. KuV: 58; *istubā f. I*. MogN: 242; *istube, is tuo tuoap ir gulēte*. FKN: 122; *gulte istube f*. DKW: 256, Germ. *die Schlafstube; istube f*. DKW: 336, Germ. *die Wohnstube; magaistub f*. KW: 49, Germ. *kleine Stube; ienes biš rūž ustubā*., *maiz cept, silts istubs*. KKF: 20, Preila). See also 4.2.8.

<sup>136</sup> The word *namīns* in ethnography also denotes 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 (Kundziņš 1974: 181–184).



DWELLING HOUSE, *istaba* and 4.3.14. ROOM, *istaba*. A diminutive form of the name with the suffix *-iņ-* and *-el-* has also been found (*istubina*. AVN: 110, Bārta; *vairāk jaū nebi kâ viēna istuba. viēna pate istabina bī*. LVI Apv., Bārta; *lāb, viņ iērād istabiņ*. SA: 155, Ulmale; *kas diṁdē, kas aīdē gar istubinu?*. FBR 8: 141, Rucava; *istubele, ištubele*. MB, Šventoji-Būtingē). The word group *īfbilderata istuba* f. ‘room decorated with wall-paper’ is recorded in CS (*īfbilderata istuba* E. BezzS: 148, Germ. *tapezierte Stube*, Preila), and it is based on its semantic equivalent in German. The word group refers to the interior decoration of a room, with the adjective as the first component, cf. Kursen. *bīlderis* ‘picture, painting’ (KuV: 50). Therefore, it is most likely to be a living room rather than any other room. However, the compound name *pusistaba* f. ‘half (of a) room’ is recorded in Kurzeme (*pusistaba*. LVI Apv., Bārta), and it might also denote a room, most likely a living room, which was created from the original one-room structure, divided with a longitudinal partition to provide more space for the growing demands of the household (see Kundziņš 1974: 191–192), 2) *istabas kamaris/istabas kamaris* f. ‘living room’ (NIVe-I: 729, Nīca), and 3) *dižā istaba* f. ‘main living room’ is recorded in Šventoji-Būtingē (*dižā istuba. maģā istuba*. MB) and in CS (*nu name iete dures pic kukines, kambur un diža istuba*. HD: 27) or 4) *lielā istaba* with the same meaning in Nīca (*priekšnamā tā ēšana bi. ziēmu jaū lielā istabā ēda*. NIVe-E: 521, Nīca), but 5) *diž(O) kambare* with the same meaning in Alsunga (*iēs diže kaṁbare!*. LVI Apv.).

In New Curonian, the names containing the component *istuba/istube/istub* unambiguously refer to 1) a room, not a building type, and 2) the type of room or the activities carried out in that particular room. The specific function of a room is often clarified through its German translation. For example, *istube* f. ‘living room’ corresponds to Germ. *die Wohnstube* (DKW: 336), or Germ. *Stube, in der auch geschlafen wird* (FKN: 122). In general, if the reference includes Latv. *liels* or Latv. dial. *dižs* (both meaning ‘big’), it specifically denotes the main (living) room of a dwelling house. Conversely, if it includes Latv. dial. *maģs* ‘small’ or its variants, it most likely refers to a side room adjacent to the main living room or to the opposite living room in the dwelling house. Without a textual example, the lexeme *istaba* or its variants may refer to: 1) ‘a dwelling house’, 2) ‘a room’, or 3) ‘a room with a specific function’.

#### 4.3.10. Opposite (living) room

The Latv. *pretistuba* f. with the meaning of an opposite room is recorded in southern Kurzeme (*labi vēlāk katrai mājai bi pretistub<sup>a</sup>, kuō būvē<sup>a</sup>. tā pretistub<sup>a</sup> bi atsevišķ<sup>1</sup>, tā jaū skaītījās*

*meit<sup>u</sup> istab<sup>a</sup>, ku puiši nāc<sup>e</sup>*. LVI Apv., Bārta; Nīca). In LLV, *pretistaba* is registered with the meaning ‘a separate, usually unheated, room (for storing food and household items) at one end of a dwelling house’ (LLVVe; MEe III 388). However, ethnographic information suggests that the opposite room may have had other functions, such as a pantry or a grinding room, since it was originally unheated and did not require heating (Kundziņš 1974: 189)<sup>137</sup>. When the opposite room was later divided into two parts, one half served as a utility room or storage, the other allocated for the household’s sleeping quarters (ibid.: 191–192). In the latter case, another name for such an opposite room is recorded in southern Kurzeme, namely, the compound *meitistuba* f. ‘room for farmhands’ (*blakus bi pretistuba jeb meitistuba. tuŗ bi meitas – paŗu uŗ kaŗpu aŗ.*, *pretistubaŗ pretŗ bi tŗc nuŗliŗkamaŗs kaŗbaris*. NIVe-L: 158, 338, Nīca). See also 4.3.18. STOREROOM, *antkamburs*.

#### 4.3.11. Place/room behind the door

Two names are recorded for a place behind the door: 1) *aizdurve* f. and variants in southern Kurzeme (*priŗkŗnamŗ skaŗtijŗs tŗda aŗzduŗve. tuŗ bi tŗdas riktŗgas naglas sadzŗtas, ku kabinŗja kaŗuŗkus, ku meŗŗ braŗca.*, *sluŗtu, kad pabeŗdz sluŗcŗt namu, vaŗg aŗssliŗt aŗzduŗŗ, aŗzduŗŗ.*, *nama aŗzduŗvŗ salika sluŗtas, cirus, lŗpstas*. NIVe-A: 27, Nīca). The name is formed with the prefix *aiz-* or dial. *ŗz-* (both ‘behind’) and the Latv. dial. *durve* or *dure* ‘door’, and 2) the compound, *duŗrdaŗņg* f., found in central Kurzeme (*duŗrdaŗņg i aŗzduŗv*. LVI Apv., Alsunga), which is formed of the Latv. dial. *duŗre* and dial. *danga*<sup>138</sup> in its third meaning ‘corner’ (Tez).

#### 4.3.12. Place behind the table

The name *aizgalde* f. is recorded in Kurzeme (*aŗzgaldŗ uz beŗŗķi ustaŗsija, taŗŗ ŷŗdamŗ ku gulŗt*. NIVe-A: 28, Nīca) with the meaning ‘place behind the table’, and it refers to a spot between a table and the outer wall, where someone can sleep on long wooden benches. In Latvian, the dial. *aizgalde* f. usually denotes a cote. See also 4.3.6. COTE.

<sup>137</sup> The name, formed of the Latv. *pret* (indicating the location of an object or place that is opposite) and the dial. *istuba* ‘room’, therefore, refers to a more developed type of dwelling house, the three-part building.

<sup>138</sup> The Latv. *danga* means ‘a pot-hole, roughness’ (cf. Lith. *dangŗ* ‘blanket’, *dangus* ‘sky’, Pr. *dan-gus* ‘idem.’) (LEV 199). In MEe, *daŗņa* with the meaning ‘a corner’ (Germ. *die Ecke* ‘corner’) is recorded in northern Kurzeme (Dundaga), and in the same location with the meaning ‘the middle of the room’ (MEe I 437; EHe I 307).

#### 4.3.13. Place/room behind the stove

The name *aizkrāsne* f.<sup>139</sup> and its variants with the meaning ‘place (or room) behind the stove’, are recorded in southern Kurzeme (Bārta, Nīca, Rucava), in Karklē, and in CS. It is difficult to determine the exact meaning without additional context; however, it may denote both a gap between a stove and a wall or a room adjacent to the stove for storing various household items. See also 4.6.13. STOVE.

#### 4.3.14. Room

Several names are identified with a room in general: 1) *hale* f. ‘(large) room’ (more likely < Germ. *das Halle* with the meaning of a ‘room’) is recorded in CS (DKW: 151, Germ. *das Halle* ‘hall; room’); however, it is possible that this name for a room is used to describe rather a large room in hotels for summer guests (Latv. *zāle*) than, for instance, a living room in a traditional dwelling house, 2) *istaba* ‘room’ f. in Kurzeme (*nuô daŕvâkšļiēm varēja saplêst ari biēzâkus skalus. tuôs pina priēkš māju ruôrēšanas –piēsita pinumu piē siēnas uņ kaļķu, mālu uņ graņtu jâvu piēmūrija. tuô saūca pa ismēstu istubu. tas bi iēkšpusē. tā bi sīlta*. NIVe-I: 808, Nīca), but *istuba/istube* in CS (*istub* f. KW: 37, Germ. *das Zimmer* ‘room’, *die Stube* ‘living room’; *es turiju istubes abwakte*. HD: 43). See also 4.2.8. DWELLING HOUSE, *istaba*, 3) *kambaris/kamburis* ‘room’ m. in southern Kurzeme (EHe I 581, Dunika, Latv. *sānu vai gala istaba; istub<sup>a</sup> bi uz pusi pārtaīsīt<sup>a</sup>.. tā magâ puse bi tas kambur<sup>1</sup>s*. LVI Apv., Pērkone) and in CS (*kambura stawe wēne plate, diže gulte*. HD: 28; *kambure; turp tuoap ir gulēte*. FKN: 72). Ethnographically, such a room was often adjacent to the main living room, serving either as a bedroom for the owners or as an opposite room for other members of the household. See also 4.3.18. STOREROOM, *kambaris*, 4) *rūme/rūmā* f. ‘room; space’ (< MLG *rūm* ‘telpa’, cf. Germ. *der Raum* ‘room; place’ (MEe II 570; LEV 1019; Sehwers 1953: 104)) in CS (*dauge zvejes turij is saue name vises rūmes tiems švēšams parsamdēte*. FKN: 90; also *rūms* m. DKW: 240, Germ. *der Raum*), and 5) *telpa* f. ‘room’ in Kurzeme (*braņtmūris ačķiŗ viēnu tēlpu nuô uōtras*. NIVe-A: 213, Nīca; *tā tēlpa nepiēmŗuōta*. SA: 155, Ulmale). In the second half of the 19th century, Atis Kronvalds introduced the word *telpa* into the Latvian literary language in place of the previously common word of

<sup>139</sup> In LLV, *aizkrāsne/aizkrāsns* means ‘a gap between the stove and the wall’, with the meaning derived from the basic meaning ‘a small room behind the stove’ (LLVVe). Several variants of Latv. *aizkrāsne* and *aizkrāsns*, meaning ‘a place behind the stove’, are registered in Kurzeme (*azkrāsne* in Skrunda (EHe I 191), *āzkrāsne* in Kabile (EHe I 196)), also as *aizkrāsīs* in northern Kurzeme (Dundaga, Vandzene) and Vidzeme (Mazsalaca) (MEe I 33).

Germanic origin, namely, *rūme*; the Lith. word *patelpa* or *patalpa* was very likely his inspiration (LEV 1019–1020), cf. Lith. *patalpa* ‘room’ (LKŽe).

#### 4.3.15. Room in the threshing barn

Two names are recorded for a room located between the shed and the threshing-floor or in a threshing barn: 1) *iekšrija* f.<sup>140</sup> is recorded in Kurzeme (*viēnā galā bij nuōjums, ta iekšrija*, SA: 126, Ziemepe; *iekšrija pa nakt n<sup>o</sup>okaļtš grō<sup>u</sup>d ka akmeņ*, LVI Apv., Venta; also LVDA mater., Ulmale). See also 4.2.7. DRYING-HOUSE, and 2) *istabiņa/istabīna* f. is recorded in southern Kurzeme ((*rijas*) *istubīna*, also *istabīna*, *istabiņa*, NIVe-I: 730, Nīca; *rija kâ jaû rija. tur bija istabiņa, piēdârps [un spīķerīši (?)], kuŗ saveda labību iekšâ*, LVI Apv., Grobiņa). The Latv. *istabiņa* and variants are formed with the suffix *-iņ-* or dial. *-īn-*. See also 4.2.8. DWELLING HOUSE, *istaba* and 4.3.9. LIVING ROOM, *istaba*.

#### 4.3.16. Space under the granary

The name *paklēte* f.<sup>141</sup> for a space under the granary is recorded in Bārta (LVI Apv.). The word is a derivative formed with the prefix *pa-*, indicating a position under something, which can be attributed to the structural features of the granary. Granaries were usually elevated above ground level to allow air to flow underneath and ventilate the building. See also 4.2.11. GRANARY, *klēts*.

#### 4.3.17. Space under the spark guard in the kitchen

The name *parove* f. for the space or room under the vaulted covering over an open hearth or a spark guard (see 4.6.12. SPARK GUARD, *rovis*), and is recorded in Nīca (for instance, *kad bija, tad jaû paruoṽē arī kâdu meņcu nuōrūcinâja., nu divas nedēļas [aitas gaļu] turēja sâlijumâ uņ ta lika paruoṽē žâvēt*, NIVe-L: 366). In Latvian, the lexeme *paruoṽis* has several meanings, namely, ‘a kitchen’ or ‘an old chimney in the kitchen’ (typically referring to an old type mantle-vault-like chimney with an open top, see 4.5.5. CHIMNEY) (MEe III 93), but *paruoṽē* ‘a place next to the bread oven where food is cooked’ (EHe II 169). Since the object *rovis* may appear in various stages of development and solutions, based on the examples, the name *parove*

<sup>140</sup> In Latvian, *iekšrija*, meaning ‘a room between a shed and a threshing-floor’ (Latv. *telpa starp nojumu un pīedarbu, kur žāvē labību*), is considered obsolete (Tež).

<sup>141</sup> In MEE, *paklēte* is registered with the meaning ‘a space under the granary supported on posts’ (MEe III 46).

most likely refers to the chimney. Mantle-vault-like chimneys usually had upwardly sloping walls with a horizontal bar on which meat and fish were hung to dry.

#### 4.3.18. Storeroom

There are several names for storerooms with various purposes, usually for storing food, textiles, and other household items (see Figure 6.3.): 1) *antkam̃buřs* m. ‘(opposite) storeroom’ is recorded in Kurzeme (LVDA mater., Ulmale). Although *antkambaris* is a jargon word in Latvian (Tez), it is formed with the Lith. prefix *ant-* meaning ‘on’, indicating the opposite room or chamber; etymologically, the name is a hybrid, 2) *fuõrũzis* m. ‘small storeroom’ is recorded only in a single location in Kurzeme (NIVe-F: 528, Nĩca), and it is a variant of *porũzis*, meaning ‘entryway’ (Tez; MEe III 457). See also 4.2.19. TOILET and 4.2.20. VERANDA, 3) *ganĩĩtis* m. ‘small storeroom’, also recorded in Nĩca. See also 4.3.5. CORRIDOR, *ganĩĩs*, 4) *klẽte* f. ‘storeroom’ is recorded in CS (*klẽte* f. DKW: 323, Germ. *die Vorratskammer*; *tas miegs tape is diřes kistes klẽta ieberte*. FKN: 118, Germ. *in einem Vorratsraum*). See also 4.2.11. GRANARY, 5) *kambaris* m. and variants (< MLG *kamer* (MEe II 149; Sehwers 1953: 45)) are recorded in the wider area of Kurzeme seaside (for instance, *istub<sup>a</sup> bi uz pusi pãrtãisĩt<sup>a</sup> .. tã maĩĩ puse bi tas kaĩĩbuřs*. LVI Apv., Pẽrkone; *tad bi kaĩĩbaris ùĩ tuř, ku gulẽja. kaĩĩbaris – piẽliẽkamaĩs*. LVI Apv., Bãrta; *kaĩĩbuřs*. LVDA mater., Jũrkalne, Ulmale, etc.), but *kamburis* in řventoji–Bũtingẽ (MB) and in CS (VLS: 13; KuV: 61). There are also examples of *kammars/kammers* m. ‘storeroom’ in the northern part of the research area (LVDA mater., Venta, Uřava), cf. Germ. *die Kammer* ‘chamber; storeroom’. This component is also used in the name *maĩĩzkammers* m. (LVDA mater., Uřava), denoting a chamber for storing bread (or other household items), also *maĩĩzes kambaris* m. (*istabas galã bi maĩĩzes kaĩĩbaris. tuř stãvẽja maĩĩze uĩ ari dziřnas – ruõkas dziřnas*. NIVe-L: 121, Nĩca), 6) *piẽliẽkamais* m. ‘storeroom’<sup>142</sup> is recorded in Kurzeme (AVN: 133, Rucava; LVI Apv., Bãrta), or *piẽliẽkamais* in řventoji–Bũtingẽ (MB), and 7) the name, formed of two previously mentioned components, *piẽliẽkamais kambaris* m. and var. (*piẽliẽkamais kamburis/kamburs*) is recorded mainly in the central part of Kurzeme seaside (LVDA mater., Saka, Ulmale, Medze; LVI Apv., Alsunga). Semantically, this name refers to a pantry for storing food.

<sup>142</sup> In Latvian, the dial. *piẽliẽkamais* is registered with the meaning ‘a pantry, storeroom, a place to store, put things away’ (Germ. *die Vorratskammer, Handkammer, ein Ort zum Aufbewahren, Abstellen*), and also as the word group *piẽliẽkamais kambaris* (MEe III 268). The name *piẽliẽkamais*, meaning ‘a storeroom’, is derived from the participle *piẽliẽkams* (LLVVe), which 1) in turn originates from the verb *piẽliẽkt* ‘to move towards, to bring closer, to place (next or close to something)’ (LLVVe), and 2) is also recorded with the meaning ‘a small, cool room for storing food’ (LLVVe).



Figure 6.1. Distribution of CORRIDOR names.

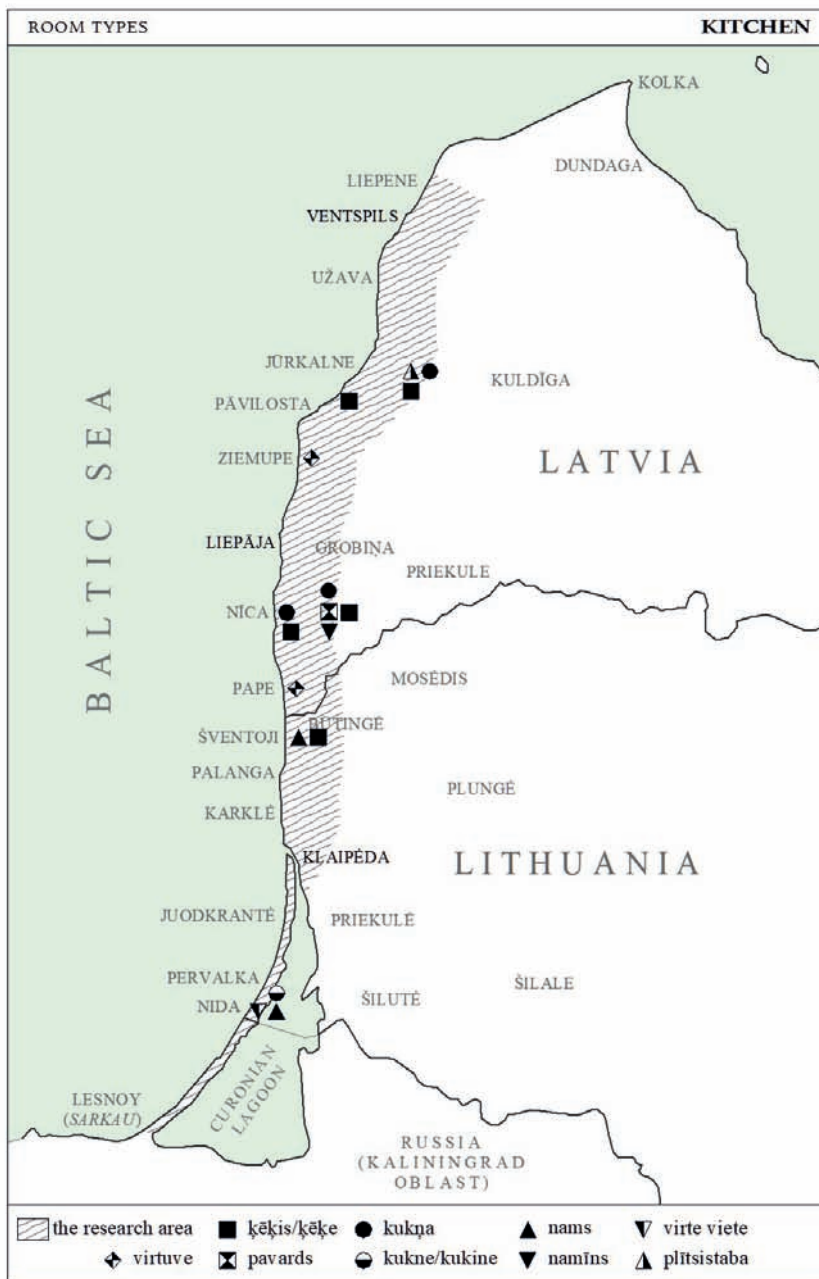


Figure 6.2. Distribution of KITCHEN names.





Figure 6.3. Distribution of STOREROOM names.



## 4.4. CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS AND PRODUCTS

This group includes 23 concepts and 44 lexemes related to materials and products used in the construction of buildings and other structures on homesteads. It contains both naturally occurring substances, such as clay, moss, rocks, wood, wooden poles, and others, as well as man-made or processed construction products, for example, boards, bricks, glass, glue, paint, and tiles, intended for use in construction. It should be noted that all of them refer to elements that, on their own, do not serve a structural, covering, or decorative function. See Chapter 5.3.4. for a comprehensive overview of this thematic group.

### 4.4.1. Board

In the excerpt, several names are identified for sawn timber obtained by sawing logs lengthwise slabs a few centimeters thick. The names for boards (see Figure 7.1.) indicate either their thickness (*dēlis/dēle* ‘board’; *lente/lenta* ‘board’; *planka* ‘plank’) or their intended use in construction (*grid* ‘floorboards’). While the latter name is recorded only once in CS (KW: 34, Germ. *die Dielenbretter*), without a more detailed example in the text, the other names have a wider distribution area. Latv. *dēlis*, along with the dial. *dēle*<sup>143</sup> (< MLG *dēle* (Sehwers 1953: 26), MLG, EF *dele* or MD *deel* ‘(thick) board, floor’ (LEV 207, cf. Germ. *die Diele* ‘floor’)), is common in Kurzeme. The name *lente/lenta*, with the meaning of ‘a board’ (<Lith. *lentà* in the primary meaning ‘a board’<sup>144</sup> (MEe II 451)), is registered in several sources in CS, and its distribution suggests direct contact with Lithuanian-speaking community; *lente* and its var. *lēnta* in Rucava, in the same meaning (Germ. *ein Brett*), is considered an obsolete word (MEe II 451)<sup>145</sup>. The compound (word) like *priedelēnt* ‘pine timber board’ (KW: 65, Germ. *das Kiefern Brett*), indicating the material of the board, is based on its semantic equivalent in German.

<sup>143</sup> In the 18th century, the two forms had related but different meanings: *dēle* meant ‘floor’, while *dēlis* denoted a ‘a long board, as if it had just been sawn’, whereas *galds* meant ‘any board’ and ‘a table’. This lexical borrowing eventually replaced the Latv. word *galds* with the same meaning; the latter acquiring a narrower meaning (LEV 207). The dial. *dēle*, meaning ‘a board’, is registered in southern Kurzeme (Nigrande, Ķerkliņi (near Saldus), Kandava) (MEe I 462).

<sup>144</sup> The Lith. *lentà*, in its primary meaning ‘a longish, thin panel cut from wood’, is relatively widespread, for instance, around Panevėžys, Skuodas, Plungė, Raseiniai, Kelmė, and Varėna, also in Klaipėda district (Priekulė) and elsewhere (LKŽe).

<sup>145</sup> MEE suggests that it is possibly a Curonism or a borrowing from Lithuanian (MEe II 451). In LLV, the word *lente/lenta* is recorded with a meaning unrelated to this concept.

#### 4.4.2. Brick

The name of 1) German origin for brick is widely registered across the entire research area (see Figure 7.2.), however, it is adopted differently: *kieģel(i)s/stieģelis* m. ‘brick’ and their var. are mainly recorded in the wider area of Kurzeme seaside (for instance, *kieģelus mēs vedām uz Veņcpili*. SA: 143, Pāvilosta; *tādi sārkanī ūn bālti stieģeli*. LVI Apv., Dunika; *kieģeli* (‘*kieģeli*’) *iēaūguši*. SA: 70, Pape, etc.), and in Būtingē (*krāsne bi pamūrīta nuō kieģelēm*. SA: 41), while *stīģile* m. in CS (KuV: 82; *nams ir kukinē ir gryste ar βerkan stīģilam*, *istubē ar kuoke grydes*. HD; AI: 27, etc.). Latv. *kieģelis* and its var.<sup>146</sup> < MLG, MD *tēgel* ‘brick’ (Germ. *der Ziegel*) from Lat. *tēgula* ‘roof tile’ (Latv. ‘jumta kārniņš’), MLG *tēgel* with the added letter s before t (Sehwers 1953: 122), and 2) the second name of Slavic origin for ‘clay brick’, *burlaks/būrlaks* m., is recorded in southern Kurzeme (Rucava, Bārta). While the semantic motivation for the word is unclear, its origin may be related to seasonal workers involved in brickmaking in brick kilns during the mid-20th century and later (< Rus. *бурлак* ‘boat puller; wild, rude man; tramp’ (MEe I 354)).

#### 4.4.3. Caulker’s oakum

Only two names are recorded with the meaning ‘caulker’s oakum’, namely, *drīve*<sup>147</sup> and pl. *pakulas* (a derivative of the Latv. verb (*pa-*)*kult*<sup>148</sup> ‘to thresh’ (LEV 646; MEE III 50)). While the semantic motivation of the second name relates to the process of making the material (*tās siēnas vaīdzēja iēdrūvāt a pakulām*, *laī nenāk aūkstuṃs*., *luōgu šķīrbās iēdrūvāja pakulš*, *laī vēš nepūš*. NIVE-I: 625, Nīca), the motivation of the

<sup>146</sup> In Latvian, this word appears in dictionaries as early as the 17th century, with var. such as *tēģelis*, from which *tieģelis* and *stieģelis*, also *stīģelis* in Rucava (LEV 471). The var. *stieģelis* and *stīģelis* are widespread in Kurzeme and western Zemgale (NI 296), their distribution extends into the (Latvian-Lithuanian) border area, reaching as far as Medze and Kazdanga. In Grobiņa and Dunika, alongside the LLV *kieģelis*, the var. *kieģelis* is also recorded (LVDA-L: 138, 139, Map 60). In MEE, several var. such as *kieģelis*, *stieģelis*, *tiēģelis*, and the diminutive form *kieģelītiņš*, are recorded, indicating that *kieģelis* is fully assimilated from the var. *tieģelis*.

<sup>147</sup> In Kurzeme, the verb *drīvāt* is registered in Dunika, Grobiņa, Kalēti, Nīca, Bārta, and Rucava; also the subst. *drīva* in Grobiņa (EHe I 335). The Latv. verb *drīvēt* < MLG *driven* (Germ. *treiben*) or MD, EF *driven*, MLG *driven* (Sehwers 1953: 28); the word first appeared in dictionaries in the 18th century. It was initially introduced into the vocabulary of sailors and sea fishermen in Kurzeme. The meaning later shifted from ‘to drive’ to ‘tightly seal the gaps (to caulk)’, not only in Latvian but also in Estonian and Swedish. Therefore, it is likely that this meaning was borrowed from Dutch shipbuilders (LEV 230–232; MEE I 501).

<sup>148</sup> Cf. Lith. *kūlti* in its first meaning ‘to thresh’, Lith. *pakulos* with the same meaning.

first is based on the process of filling the gaps in the wall logs to keep out the wind and cold. Both names in the excerpt are registered only in the southern seaside of Kurzeme (Dunika, Nīca).

#### 4.4.4. Cement

The name *cements* ‘cement’ (< Germ. *der Zement* (MLVVe)) and var. *cimeņts* m./*cimeņte* f. are recorded in Kurzeme (Ulmale, Nīca). Cement became more widely available to peasants during the last quarter of the 19th century and started to replace more basic floor construction materials, mainly in living rooms, kitchens (with open hearth or without chimney (Latv. *rovjos*)), or rooms under the mantle vault-like chimneys (Latv. *apvalkdūmeņos*) of dwelling houses (Cimermanis 2020: 344).

#### 4.4.5. Clay

The name *māls* for clay, used not only for brick production but also for installing floors and plastering walls, is recorded both in Kurzeme and in CS (*mahls*. VLS: 18; *māls* m. KuV: 67, etc.). Another example illustrates its use in stove construction (*krāsne pate visa bi nuô stiēģeliēm – nuô dēdzinātiēm ķiēģeliēm un māliēm*. NIVe-J: 133, Nīca).

#### 4.4.6. Glass

Two names are recorded for (window) glass: 1) *glāze* (< MLG or MD *glas* ‘glass (material and vessel)’ (LEV 299; MEe I 624), MLG *glas*, pl. *glāse* (Sehwers 1953: 36)) and its var. are found in southern Kurzeme (*issita luôgam̃ glāzu, jāiēglāzâ citu*. NIVe-I: 631, Nīca) and in CS (*glase*. KuV: 57; *glas* f. KW: 33, Germ. *das Glas*; *glass* m. DKW: 144). In Latvian dictionaries, *glāze* is recorded as early as the 17th century and is used in both meanings (material and drinking vessel) until the 19th century (LEV 299), and 2) *stikls* (< OR *стъкло* ‘glass (material)’ (cf. Rus. *стекло*) (LEV931)), recorded in southern Kurzeme (*žīc atveda stiklus luôgus iēglāzât*. NIVe-I: 631, Nīca). While the Germanic word *glāze* was more widespread, this name of Slavic origin was borrowed into Latvian before the 14th century; however, it gained more widespread use only in the 19th century (LEV 931). The example from Nīca illustrates the name of this object changing over time, when it is replaced by a name of different origin.

#### 4.4.7. Glue

Two names, namely, 1) *klēister(s)/klistirs* m. (Latv. *klīsteris* < LG *klīster* (MEe II 231, Germ. *der Kleister*; Sehwers 1953: 51)) and 2) *līms* m. (Latv. *līme* and variants *līma*, *līms* < MLG *līm* or MD *lijm*; borrowed in Latvian until the 17th century (LEV 537; MEE II 488), MLG *līm* (Sehwers 1953: 73)) are recorded for ‘glue’ or ‘adhesive’. Both are found in CS, although this material was also present in a wider area. The dial. *līma*, also *līms*, is registered in Dunika (EHe I 750) and was probably brought from there to CS.

#### 4.4.8. Lath

There are two names for a long, narrow and relatively thin piece of wood, used mainly in roofing or construction of fences: 1) *lata* f. ‘lath’ and variants (< Germ. *die Latte* (?) (MEe II 424; Sehwers 1953: 68)) are recorded in CS ((*lata*, *late*. KuV: 65, *lat* f. KW: 47, Germ. *die Latte*, *die Stakete*, etc.) and *lakta*/rarely also *lakte* ‘a narrow, long, wooden pole attached to the rafters of a roof; lath’ in the southern Kurzeme (*apsit laktām jumtu, ta vīrsū sit šķiņdeļus., lakta i šaūrs dēlis. a laktām apsita jaunu žuôgu*. NIVe-L: 25, Nīca)<sup>149</sup>, and 2) *līste* f. ‘lath, ledge’ (< MLG *liste* (MEe II 490–491) or LG *liste* (Sehwers 1953: 73)<sup>150</sup>) recorded in CS (*tuoa malke par sienes iegrieze puse ta resine, lēntes un līstes ta ka brūkaj*. FKN: 70); see also 4.5.36. SKIRTING BOARD, *fuslīste*.

#### 4.4.9. Lime

The name *kalkis* m. for lime, whitewash (?) (< MLG or MD *kalk* (Sehwers 1953: 45)) is polysemous<sup>151</sup>, and it is recorded both in the southern Kurzeme (*nuo ārpuses guļbūves sienas apšālēja ar dēļiem, iekšpuses izmeta ar kalku javu*. NIVe-I: 808, Nīca) and in CS (*kalkis*. KuV: 61; *kalkis m. III*. MogN: 244; *kalks m.* DKW: 178, Germ. *der*

<sup>149</sup> The *k* in *lakta* is a folk etymological borrowing from *lakta* with the meaning ‘a chicken rod’ (Sehwers 1953: 68).

<sup>150</sup> Cf. Lith *līstė* (< Germ. *die Leiste*) is polysemous, with its primary meaning being ‘a thin plank, lath, plank’ (LKŽe).

<sup>151</sup> The Latv. *kalkis* has four meanings, but the 1) ‘a clay pipe’ or Latv. *kalķītis* (LLVVe), and 2) ‘a material obtained by calcining limestone or by quenching the calcined limestone with water’ (Tez); whereas in LLV, the pl. form *kalķi* may denote the material or a mixture of substances containing calcium compounds, namely, whitewash used for whitening rooms (LLVVe). The word appeared in dictionaries as early as the 17th century (LEV 373).

*Kalk*; KW: 41; also the word group Kursen. *kāļku radze* ‘lime, rock or a piece thereof’. KuV: 61).

#### 4.4.10. Log

In all three local research areas, the name *balķis* m. (< MLG *balke* (Sehwers 1953: 8; MEe I 261, cf. Germ. *der Balken*) or EF *balke* or MD *balc* (LEV 105–106)) and its various variants (in Kurzeme pl. *balķi* or in CS *bālķis*, *bālks*, *balks*, and *baleks*) for a timber log are recorded. Latv. dial. *bālķs*, recorded in the southern Kurzeme (Dunika, Grobiņa, Īvande, Skrunda) (EHe I 200; MEe I 261) suggests that it may have been brought to the CS from this particular area. This name, *balķis* and its variants, refer to the material (wood, timber) of the floor and ceiling rather than a building product with a specific place and function in the structural system of the building. See also 4.5.1. BEAM and 4.5.4. CEILING (CROSS)BEAM, *balķis*.

#### 4.4.11. Moss

The name *ķimines* f./*ķimins* m. for moss, usually used for sealing gaps between horizontal wall logs, is recorded in southern Kurzeme (*ķimini*. MEe II 381, Germ. *das Moos*, Rucava) and in CS (*ķimines*. KuV: 62; *ķimins* m. I, Germ. *das Moos*, MogN: 245). In Latvian, the sg. *ķimene* denotes a herb, namely, caraway (*Carum*), but the pl. *ķimenes* usually refers to caraway or cumin seeds (Tez). However, considering the meaning of the word fixed in the Curonian Spit, and the fact that this name is not distributed more widely, it is likely not inherited from the Latvian language but borrowed from Lithuanian (< Lith. *kiminas* ‘moss’<sup>152</sup>) in both Latvian-speaking communities.

#### 4.4.12. Paint

In the excerpt, two names are recorded to name a paint used for different purposes in building: 1) *krāsa* f. ‘paint’ (< OR *kraca* ‘beauty, splendour’ (LEV 418)<sup>153</sup>)

<sup>152</sup> The Lith. *kiminas* has two meanings: 1) ‘moss’ (*Bryophyta*), registered in Šatės (Skuodo district), and 2) ‘white sphagnum moss or peat moss’ (*Sphagnum*), registered in Telšiai, Laukuva (Šilalės district), Barstyčiai (Skuodo district), Tauragė, Betygala (Raseiniu district), Akmenė, Papilė and Kruopiai (Akmenės district), Šiauliai (LKŽe).

<sup>153</sup> The name was borrowed into Latvian by the 13th century and used mainly in the eastern region, becoming more widespread only since the 18th century. However, in the 19th century, the word *krāsa* referred to an object’s natural color, influenced by the Rus. word *krácka* (LEV 418).

in Nīca (NIVe-C: 364), and 2) *pērvē* f. and variants, for instance, in Kurzeme *pērvē* is recorded (in Rucava, Nīca, Ēdole) and *verve* (in Nīca, Bārta, JLV: 342 (172a)), but in CS *fěrvs* (KuV: 56; *fěrv* f. KW: 32, Germ. *der Farbe*; *viņi paši turij modern, citas ferves, viskuo, un ties zveji, tie turij blos turet serka.n.* ISBt: 15, Nida, LT) and *vērvē* (*vērvē* f. DKW: 115, Germ. *der Farbe*; *va ir brūne vērvē*. FKN: 76). While in Latvian *verve* is considered an archaism and *pērvē* is a dial. form from *pērvē*, all of them *pērvē*/*perve*/*verve*/*vērvē* < MLG *verwe* ‘paint’ (MEe III 202; LEV 418; Sehwers 1953: 87, 154, 156; while Latv. *varve* ‘paint’ < MLG *varwe* ‘paint’, Sehwers 1953: 152), cf. LG *farwe* ‘paint’.

#### 4.4.13. Pole

Several names for a pole are recorded (see Figure 7.3.), and they vary according to the function of the pole or its location in the object’s structure. A distinction can be made between names which apply to all poles (A), including those belonging to different types of fencing, or those which are related particularly to roofing (B).

A.1) *kārts/kārte* (a derivative of the Latv. verb *kārt* ‘to hang’ (LEV: 386, 387)) and variants are recorded in all three local areas of the research area, mainly in CS (*kārte*. KuV: 61; *kārtē* f. II. MogN: 244; *kārt* f. KW: 42, Germ. *die Stange*; *karte* LF. BezzS: 65, Sarkau; *kārte* NP., *kareļ* N. BezzS: 65, Nida (LT)), etc.). Two examples in CS show a diminutive form with *-āna*, namely, *kārtāna* E. (BezzS: 27, 44, Germ. *die kleine Stange*, Preila), and with *-il(e)* or *-el-*, namely, *kārtīl* f. (KW: 42, Germ. *die kleine Stange*), also in Šventoji–Būtingė (*spilas klāja uz kārtēlemis*. MB), and A.2) Latv. dial. *sklanda* f. ‘pole’ in the excerpt is registered in the southern Kurzeme (Rucava, Dunika, Nīca, Bārta). It is polysemous and mainly is registered in a wider area of Kurzeme<sup>154</sup> with meanings related to this concept; *sklanda* in its primary meaning is ‘a thin, long log; pole’ (LLVVe).

B.1) dial. *kņutele* f. (< MLG *knutel* (?), which is explained with the Germ. *der Knüttel* ‘cudgel’ (MEe II 250)) with the meaning of a ‘thin pole for fixing reed when roofing’ is recorded only in Kurzeme (Pērkone, Nīca). The name is based on the

<sup>154</sup> Latv. *sklanda* is registered with the meaning: 1) ‘a pole’ (Germ. *eine Stange*) in Kurzeme (Kursiši, Saldus, Kalēti, Grobiņa, Dunika, also Nīkrāce, Ivande, Lutriņi, Pērkone, with *-aņ-* in Rucava), also ‘a fence pole’ in Grobiņa, Saka, 2) ‘a fence made of poles’ (Germ. *ein Stangenzaun*) in Kurzeme (Dundaga, Zūras, Zlēkas) and Vidzeme (Matiši), also in pl. *sklaņas* in Kurzeme (Nīgrande, Vandzene, Dundaga, Roja, Kuldīga, Saldus, Lutriņi, Kursiši, Tukums, Dunika, Grobiņa, Kalēti, Nīca, Bārta, with *-aņ-* in Vēgāļi (Vērgale?)) and Zemgale (Ezere, Dobeļe), usually denote a fence of shrub or wood for garden, 3) ‘a man of long stature’ (MEe II 881–882; EHe II 504).

action of knotting (to knot, to tie or make a knot). There are several variants registered in Latvian, namely, *knute*, *knutele*, *knuta*, *knute*<sup>155</sup>, *knutele* (MEe II 253), but *knuta* in the southern Kurzeme (Kalvene), *knutele* in Latgale (Bērzgale, Germ. *die Strohdachstange*) (EHe I 637), and B.2) *šalmene* f. ‘to the rafters attached pole on the thatched roof’ (< Lith. *šalma* or *šelmuo* (MEe IV 3, Germ. ‘*langer Balken*’<sup>156</sup>), pl. Nom. *šélmenys* (LKŽe)) is registered only in the southern Kurzeme (*piřmâk lik<sup>a</sup> špâr<sup>cs</sup>, ta šálmen<sup>cs</sup>, ta tuõ juřntu lik<sup>a</sup>*. LVI Apv., Pērkone). Latv. *šalmene* is explained with the word *knute* ‘thin pole for fixing straw when roofing’, and it is registered in Vidzeme (Vidridži, Lazdona) and Kurzeme (Grobiņa, Nīca); in Nīca it is registered as *šalmine* with the meaning of a ‘rafters’ pole’ (Latv. ‘spāru lakta’, where Latv. dial. *lakta* is with the meaning of a ‘pole’) (MEe IV 3).

#### 4.4.14. Reed

Four different names are recorded for reeds (see Figure 7.4.), usually used for roofing: 1) *bieže* f. ‘reeds, reed thicket’ is recorded only in CS (*bieže* f. DKW: 73, Germ. *die Binse*). The origin of this name is uncertain. Most likely, the name *bieže* is semantically motivated, rather than a borrowing. In CS, reed roofs were thick, with the reed stalks often arranged close together, thus the word *bieže*<sup>157</sup> could refer to a relatively thick layer or volume of roofing material, namely reed stalks, 2) *niedre/niedra* f. ‘reed’ is found only in Kurzeme, mainly around Pērkone, Rucava, Nida (LV), where there are lakes and an ecosystem suitable for reed growth and less wooded areas. Both *niedre* and *niedra* are common in different regions of Latvia<sup>158</sup>. Latv. *niedre/*

<sup>155</sup> The Latv. *knute*, also *maikste* is defined as a thin pole that was tied with pins to the roofing pole and then covered with the next layer of straw (Kundziņš 1974: 408, see more on this topic ibid.: 279–280).

<sup>156</sup> The Lith. *šalmà* (< Germ. dial. *Schalm*) refers to a long beam (LKŽe; < “ostpr. *šalm* ‘Schalmbaum, Grenzzeichnen, gew. ein Baum’ entlehnt” LEW 960).

<sup>157</sup> The name is probably based on the Latv. dial. *bieze* ‘thicket’ (Latv. *biežājs*, *biezoknis*), e.g. stalk thicket (Latv. *stiebru bieze*, *biežājs*) or dense reeds (Germ. *dichtes Röhricht*, Latv. *blīvs niedrājs*) (EHe I 224), the phonetic var. of which is *bieže*. The name could also be derived from the Latv. adv. *biezs* ‘thick’ or its morphological var. *biežs* ‘frequent’, which is derived from the Latv. adv. *bieži* ‘often, frequently’. The adj. Latv. *biežs* is used in subdialects with the same meaning as Latv. *biezs* (the differentiation of the meanings has only occurred since the 1860s) (LEV 125, 126, 139).

<sup>158</sup> The Latv. *niēdre* with its first meaning ‘a reed’ (Germ. *das Rohr*, *das Schilf* (*phragmites communis*)) is widely recorded throughout Latvia: in Kurzeme and Zemgale (Nīgrande, Blīdene, Penkule, Džūkste, Jaunpils, Eleja, Lielezere, Matkule, Smārde, Stende, Pope, etc.) and in Vidzeme (Valmiera, Rauna, Drusti, Skujene, Rūjiena, Cesvaine, etc.), also *niēdra* in Kurzeme

*niedra* and Lith. *nendrė/nendra* is a common lexeme of the Baltic parent language (LEV 626), 3) similarly *spīla/spīle* f. ‘reed’<sup>159</sup> is recorded in the southern Kurzeme (for instance, *Papes ežerā tās spīlas ir, tās niēdras*. AVN: 114, 130, Rucava; *spīlas! tas niēdras mēs saūcām pa spīlām*. RtP: 406: Nida (LV), etc.) and in Šventoji–Būtingė (*spīlas*. MB). According to the source (ME) the word may be a borrowing (< MHG *spīl* (Germ. ‘Speerspitze’) or MLG *spīle* (Germ. ‘Spiess’) or ON *spīla* (Germ. ‘dünnes und schmales Holzstück’ (MEe III 1003–1004)); however, considering its distribution and meaning, the word more likely is borrowed in Latvian through Lithuanian as intermediary language (< Lith. *spyla* ‘1. reed (*Phragmites communis*)’ < Germ. vernacularism *spīl*, registered around Klaipėda (LKŽe)), and 4) *trušs* m./*truše* f. ‘reed’ is recorded solely in CS (for instance, *truschi E*, Germ. *die Binfen*. BezzS: 163, Preila; *truše f*. DKW: 255, Germ. *das Schilf*; DKW: 73, Germ. *die Binse*; *trušs m*. DKW: 245, Germ. *das Rohr*; *tas wezaiš nams tur truše stage be niwēne šurnštine*. HD; AI: 24, Nida, LT, etc.). In Latvian, dial. *truši* is registered with the meaning of a ‘goose-foot’ (Latv. *balanda*, „Chenopodium“); horse-tail (Latv. *upes kosa*, „Equisetum fluviatile“’) (Ēdelmane, Ozola 2003); sg. Nom. *trusis* and pl. Nom. *truši* ‘culbrush’ in Zūras (EHe II 699) and ‘horse-tail’ in the Curonian Spit, Dundaga, Jaundziras (*Neu-Dsirren - Dzire*) (Germ. *der Schachtelhalm*, MEE IV: 248). However, considering the meaning and the distribution of the word specifically in the Curonian Spit it is more likely borrowed from Lithuanian (< the 2nd meaning of Lith. *trušas*, Lith. *triūšis* ‘reed’<sup>160</sup>).

#### 4.4.15. Roofing board or shingle

While some names for this particular concept in the excerpt might be confusing regarding their use in the text or, on the contrary, the lack of an example, which would help to explain their semantics, several names will be explained together under this one concept (see Figure 7.5.). The primary distinction among these products

(Saka, Užava) and Vidzeme (Dzērbene, Mārsnēni, Palsmane, Gatarta, Veclaicene, etc.) (MEe II 749; EHe II 27).

<sup>159</sup> In Latvian, *spīla/spīle* is a dial. with the meaning of a ‘reed’ (“*Phragmites*”, Tez). The Latv. *spīla*, also its var. *spīle* is registered in MEE with several meanings, however, with the meaning ‘a reed’ *spīla* is registered in Dunika, but *spīle* in Rucava, Nīca (MEe III 1003–1004).

<sup>160</sup> The Lith. dial. and archaic word *trušis* m., its variant *trušis* f. is registered in the Šilutė district (around Rusnė, Kintai, Ramučiai), in Pagėgiai district (Vilkyškiai), Klaipėda district (Kretingalė, Priekulė), also in the former area of Eastern Prussia (LKŽe; MEE IV 248). Cf. Lith. *mėldas* ‘culbrush, rush’, *nendrė* ‘reed’, *vikšris* ‘rush’.



is in their manufacturing process, with additional differences relating to thickness, size, and overall appearance.

First, Latv. *luba* (a derivative of the Latv. verb *lobīt* ‘to peel’) is polysemous<sup>161</sup> and in general might mean also a ‘splint’, however, it might be recorded with the meaning of a ‘wooden board for roofing’ (*Lubbas, Nams ar Lubbams jumts*. JLV:147 (75), Germ. *Bretter zu Dächern gerissen*, Nīca, Bārta), which is supported by the Germ. translation *ein Bretter Dach* for *Lubbo=jumbts* (JLV: 97 (50), Nīca, Bārta)<sup>162</sup>. Some sources indicate that the *lubu jumts* is the oldest type of roofs (Bīlenšteins 2001: 31), assuming that it became more widespread in the 17th and 18th centuries (Kundziņš 1934: 476), usually found in wooded regions. It is therefore a wooden plank/board as a roofing material.

Secondly, the following example clearly illustrates the distinction between planed and sawn timber roofing materials (*nuô šķiņdeļiņ i šēvelē uņ ušit uz jumtiņ. jumc nuô skaīdām. dēliš i citādāk, tiē i zāgāt, bet šķiņdeļs, skaīds ēvelē a ēvėl i vēcūôs laikuôs plēs a ruōkam, tad a ziřgiņ*. LVDA mater., Ulmale), however, in some places they are used as lexical parallelisms (*šķiņdeļ // skaīds, dēliš*. LVDA mater., Ulmale). Therefore, three names are found with the meaning of a ‘roofing shingle’: 1) *skaida* f. is recorded in Kurzeme and in Šventoji–Būtingē (*skaīd*. LVDA mater. Venta (Ventspils), etc.), and 2) *šķindelis* m. and variants (< MLG *schindele* (MEe IV 41; Sehwers 1953: 133) are recorded in Kurzeme (*šķiņ:deļ ē:velē*. LVDA mater., Jūrkalne; *šķiņdelišus lika, taga ār šiperi*. LVDA mater., Ziemepe; *šķiņdeles [ir] nuô kuōka sazāgāt’s tād(a)s dēlīt’s*. LVI Apv., Pērkone; *skūnām parasti liek šķiņdeļu juntu*. Markus–Narvila 2011: 164, Ruca-va, etc.) and in CS (*šindil* f. KW: 75, Germ. *die Schindel*), also 3) *dēlītis* (a derivative of the Latv. *dēlis* ‘board’) found in Ulmale (LVDA mater.). See also 4.4.1. BOARD.

#### 4.4.16. Roofing tile

There are three names for a roofing tile (see Figure 7.6.), all of which are of Germanic origin: 1) *dakpans* m. and variants (MogN: 239; *dakpaņņe*. KuV: 53; *dakpane* f. DKW: 81; *dakpan* f. KW: 29; *pan* f. KW: 57, Germ. *die Pfanne (braten), die Pfanne (Dach)*), recorded only in CS (< Germ. *die Dachpfanne* ‘roofing tile’ or the second

<sup>161</sup> In Latvian, the dial. *luba*: 1) ‘bark of linder or spruce tree’, 2) ‘a wooden board for roofing (Latv. *jumstiņš*)’, 3) ‘a wall shelf’, 4) ‘a useless thing’, and 5) ‘the remains of sediment and plants, as if a layer of bark covered water’ (Tez).

<sup>162</sup> Bīlenšteins points out that the Latv. *luba* refers to both ‘peeled bark’ (from the word *lobīt* ‘to peel’) and ‘planks/boards of spruce wood’, which were used in the construction of roofs (Bīlenšteins 2001: 31–32).

component of the Germ. compound (word) mentioned before, namely, *die Pfanne*), 2) *dakstiņš* m. (< MLG *dackstēn* (MEe I 433; Sehwers 1953: 25)) and variants is found only in the Kurzeme seaside (Venta (Ventspils), Užava, Jūrkalne, Ulmale, Medze, Bārta, etc.), and 3) *stigils* m. (KW: 73; DKW: 341, Germ. *der Ziegel*), probably also *teegelis* m. (VLS: 31) in the same meaning, recorded only in CS (*ir viņi turij serkanes stāges ar stigiles*. ISBt: 15, Nida (LT)). In Latvian, *tieģelis* with the meaning, explained by the Germ. *der Ziegel* ‘brick; roofing tile’ has the same origin as the Latv. word for a brick, namely, *ķieģelis/stieģelis* earliest variant *tieģelis* (MEe IV 209). Both objects, a brick and a roofing tile, were made of clay, which likely led to the shared name of Germanic origin and the multiple meanings it carries. See also 4.4.2. BRICK.

#### 4.4.17. Tar

The name of a pitch/tar *darva* f. and variants are recorded only in Kurzeme (*a dārv juņts dāre*. LVDA mater., Užava; *juņtus nuôdārouô ar dārvu*. LVDA mater., Medze; *a dārvu smērē mājās juņtus, stabus*. LVI Apv., Bārta, etc.). In the Liv dialect of Kurzeme, *darva* becomes Tam. *dār(a)* (MEe I 441–442; *dār*. LVDA mater., Venta, Užava; *dā:r (ā-celms)*. LVDA mater., Jūrkalne).

#### 4.4.18. Stone

Latv. *akmens* and variant dial. *akmins* are registered as a name for a stone both in Kurzeme and in CS (see Figure 7.7.). While in Kurzeme *akmens* both in sg. and pl. forms are recorded, in CS *akmins* in the same meaning is common (VLS: 5; KuV: 47; MogN: 236; KW: 19; DKW: 280). The variant *akmins* is registered in Zemgale (Džūkste), Vidzeme (Mazsalaca), but rarely in Kurzeme; *akminis* is recorded in Latgale (Zvirgzdene), an area not related to the research area (EHe I 66). In the excerpt, the name of a stone is used to describe both big stones, which are used as a foundation in the corners of a building and as part of a built-in stone foundation; it can also name any stone.

#### 4.4.19. Straw

Latv. pl. *salmi*, as a roofing material name (see Figure 7.8.), is registered both in CS (*salme* f., DKW: 285; *salm* f. KW: 69, Germ. *das Stroh*) and all along the Kurzeme

coast<sup>163</sup> (*ta tuõ šīper<sup>i</sup> nevarēja dabūt. salīmu juṁti bi – gaṛsalīmu. gaṛsalīmi.* LVI Apv., Pērkone; *iṛ dakstiņu juṁti, salīmu juṁti – tiē gaṇ iṛ tādām vēcām mājām. vēl iṛ šķiņdeļu juṁti – tiē sasis<sup>i</sup> nuõ tādām plakanām dēlītēm.* LVDA mater., Medze; *salīmu juṁtus juma tã: gaṛus salīmus lika, gaṛas bērza kãrtes.* idem., Ziemupe, etc.). In CS, the name *truše* with the same meaning is recorded (*tie names uz kurse kãpe bij like 1900 is malke taisate un ar truše apklate.* FKN: 70, Germ. *das Stroh*). However, as it is found only in one source and likely misused, it belongs to a different concept (see also 4.4.14. REED).

#### 4.4.20. Thin, elastic branch

The name of a thin, elastic branch for roofing *vice* f. is recorded in the southern Kurzeme (Nīca, Bārta), which is explained by the *klūga* ‘rod, twig’ (JLV: 350 (176a)). In Latvian, *vice*, also dial. *vice* in its primary meaning denotes a ‘thin, elastic branch of a tree or shrub, usually without leaves’ (Tez, LLVVe). However, with the meaning of a ‘rod for roofing’ *vice* is recorded in Saldus, Vecpiebalga, Sērmūkši (EHe II 780). There are two opinions regarding the origin of this name *vice*: 1) according to J. Endzelīns, it is borrowed from the Rus. dial. *óuya* ‘elastic branch, rod; pole; rope braided from twigs’ (LEV 1152). The word *vice* is also classified with other Slavic words when examining borrowed words in the dictionary by Langius (JLV) (Zemzare 1961: 89, cf. Lith. *vicė, vica, vicas, vycas*<sup>164</sup>). However, 2) another opinion suggests that it is based on the ide. root \**uei-* ‘to bend’ (Latv. ‘griēzt, liekt’) (LEV 1152).

#### 4.4.21. Tile

The name of a tile *podš* m., used in the construction of tile stoves, is recorded in CS (*pūods*. KuV: 75; *puoade* f. DKW: 177, Germ. *die Kachel*; *puoad*. KW: 66, Germ. *das Gefäß* ‘vessel’, *die Kachel* ‘tile’, *der Krug* ‘jug, pitcher’). Latv. *podš* is polysemous, but is registered with the meaning of a 2) ‘tile’ (Germ. *die Ofenkachel*) (MEe III 454;

<sup>163</sup> In Kurzeme, ethnographic studies confirm that straw roofs were widely used in areas where other materials, such as reed, were scarce, and the use of wood for roofing was prohibited.

<sup>164</sup> The Lith. *vicė* refers to an outgrowth or shoot of willow, osier, or sallow, and it is registered in various locations such as Klykoliai (Akmenė district), Mosėdis (Skuoda district), Žemaičių Naumiestis (Šilutė district), Klaipėda, Darbėnai (Kretinga district), Plateliai (Plungė district), and Priekulė (Klaipėda district), *vica* in Kvėdarna (Šilalė district), *vicās* in Klaipėda, also its variant dial. *vycas*, but *vycė* with the meaning of a ‘twig of a braided cradle’ (Latv. ‘pīta šūpuļa viksts’) (LKŽe; LEV 1152). The Lith. *vycas* (*vicė*) is borrowed from the Rus. word *буяа*, but most likely from the Pol. *wiś* (LKŽe; LEW 1237).

Tez). The name, including its diminutive form *podīņš*<sup>165</sup>, can refer to tiles used for both stoves and ovens, and as a primary word *podis* in this meaning is used rarely. The product's name originates from its initial form, which consisted of a hollowed-out bowl shape, and later evolved into a flat profile (Kundziņš 1974: 411).

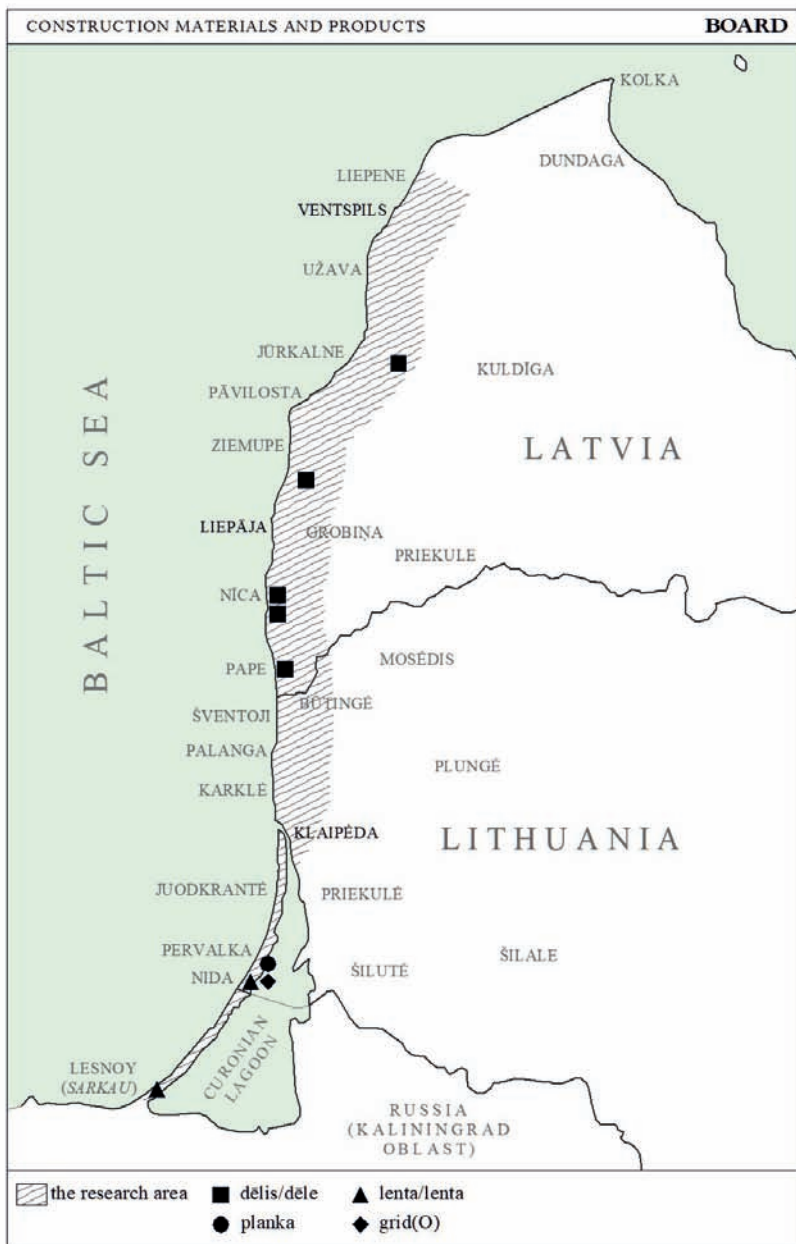
#### 4.4.22. Whit(en)ing

Latv. *krīts* m. (< MLG *krīte* (LEV 427; Sehwers 1953: 59)) with the meaning of a 'whit(en)ing' is recorded in Kurzeme and in CS. While in the first local area *krīts* and variant *krīte* is recorded, in CS *krīts* (KuV: 63), which is considered an authentic name, and *krīd*/*krīde* f. (KW: 45; DKW: 190) are found. The latter is probably adopted from Germ. *die Kreide*, not borrowed from MLG. In Latvian, the form *krīts* appears in the 18th century; until then, *krīte* was used (MEe II 283).

#### 4.4.23. Wood

Two different names for wood or timber are found, namely, the polysemous *koks* 'tree; wood' and *malķa* 'wood; firewood'. Since these two lexemes are polysemous, their use, especially in CS, requires some explanation. The first name is widely used in Kurzeme with the meaning of 'wood' as a material (for instance, *Kohķa Nāms*. JLV: 176 (89a), Nīca, Bārta). In New Curonian, the lexeme *koks* is used to denote: 1) the material, namely, wood or timber (*istubę ar kuoke grydes*. HD; AI:27; *tas kuoke dangus ir puikę ar cakam un buktam iszagets*. HD; AI:30) and 2) any tree (*viens vīrs staviļ augšume us kuoke*. FKN: 70; *winš gribij majas parneste tuo kuoke*. HD; AI: 15) or 3) a particular type of tree in a compound or word group (*priede kuoks* f. 'pine-tree'. DKW: 120; *krjauschu-kohks* 'peartree'. VLS: 15, etc.). Similarly, the lexeme *malķa* in CS is used to denote both 1) the material (*tas malķs tap ar viene gare diže suoabe zāģe četire kampe zagate*. FKN: 87; or the compound *budevatemalk* f. 'timber'. KW: 27) and 2) the firewood (*pi mašines stawe wis diž kuoze pile malķes*. HD; AI: 30; *uoaskrāve vise sakapate malķe tarpe pavarde un krāsine*. FKN: 296; or the compound *kūrenatemalk*. KW: 46).

<sup>165</sup> In LLV, *podīņš* in its second meaning is a 'ceramic product for creating an external wall (usually of an oven, stove, fireplace)' (LLVVe), and this word is fully incorporated into the Latvian language system and found in the standard Latvian language.



**Figure 7.1.** *Distribution of BOARD names.*

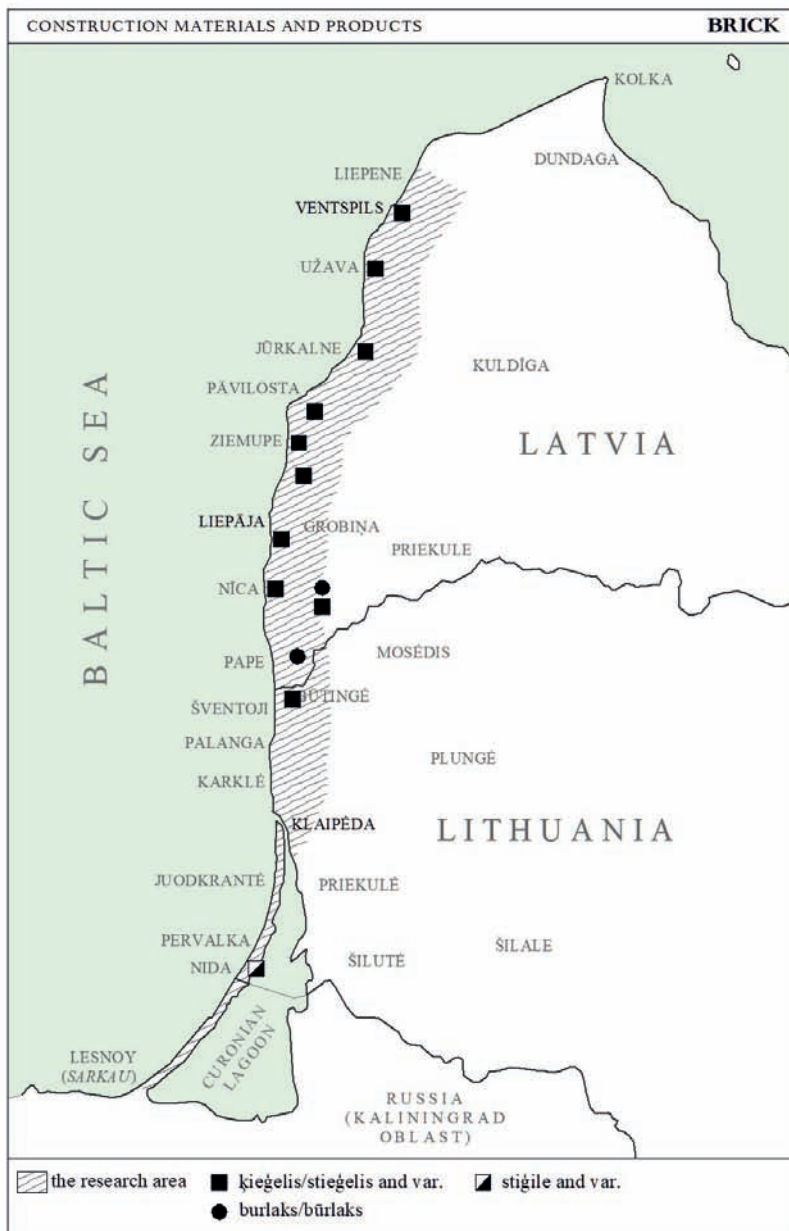


Figure 7.2. Distribution of BRICK names.

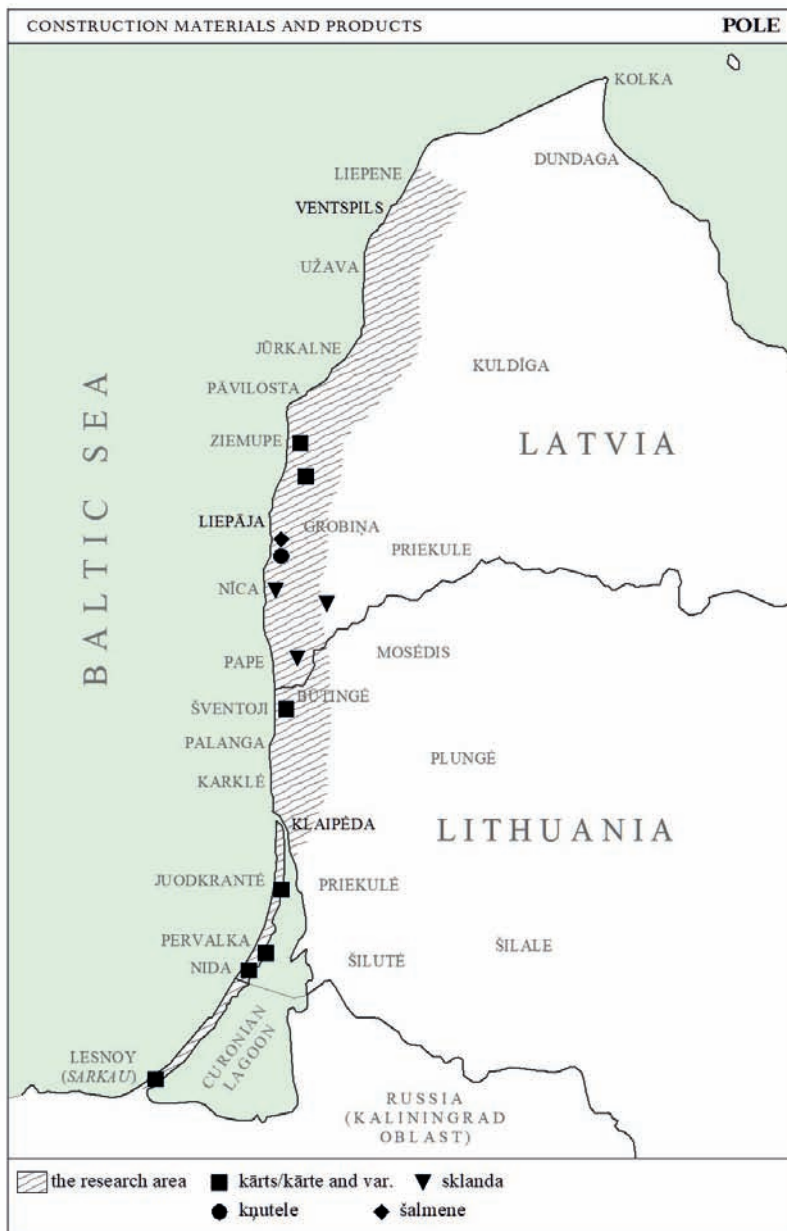
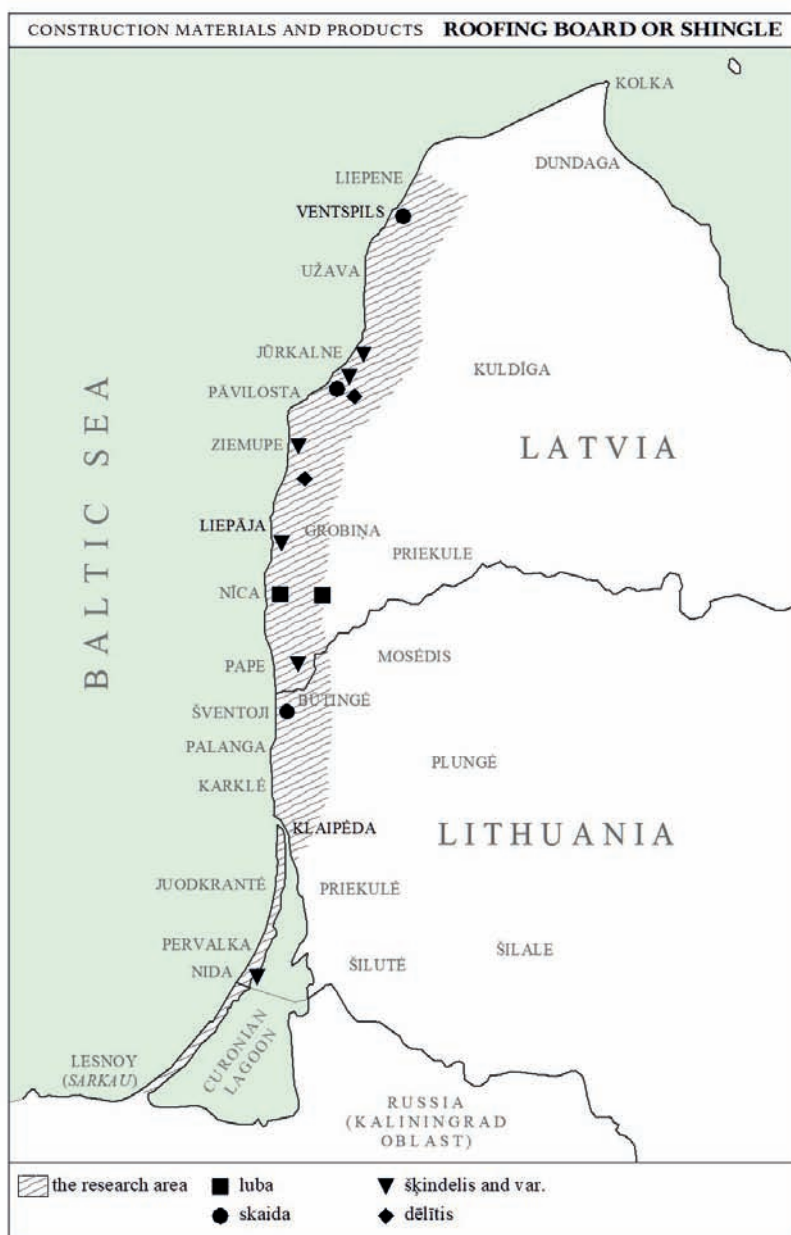


Figure 7.3. Distribution of POLE names.



**Figure 7.4.** *Distribution of REED names.*

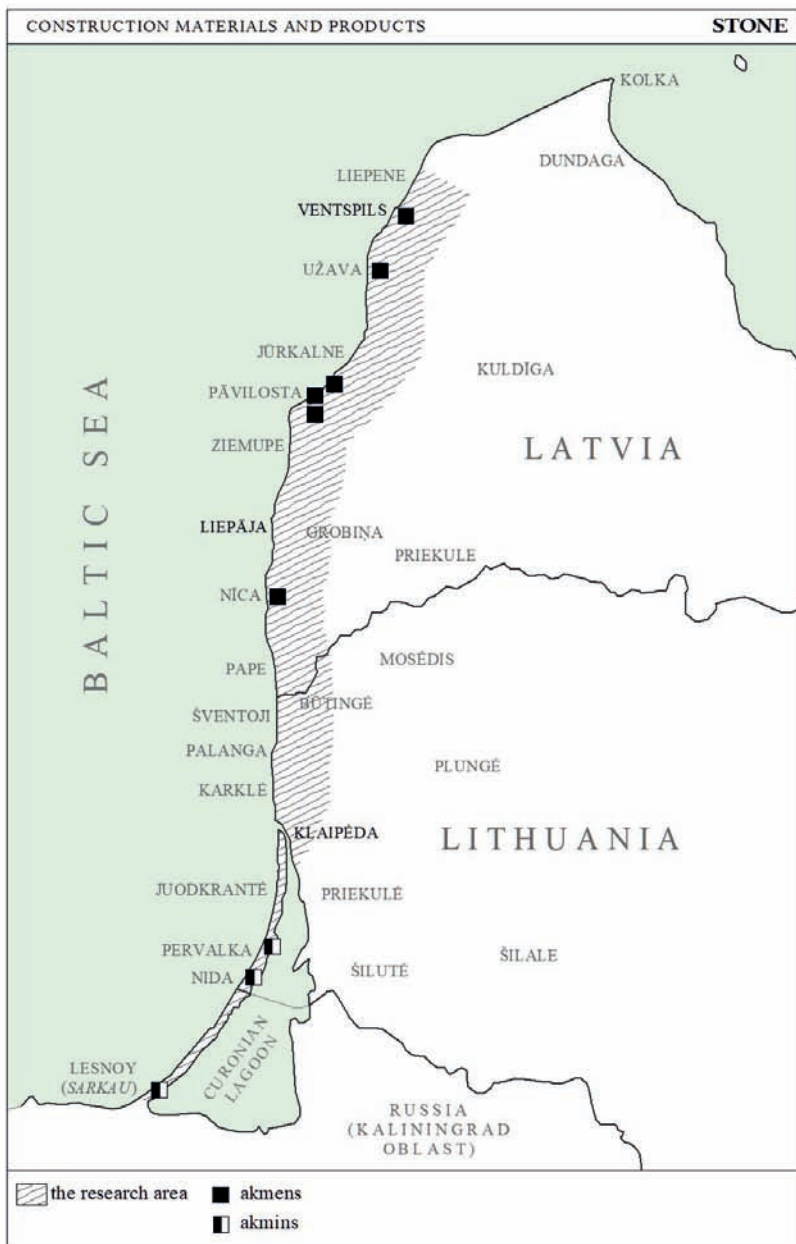




**Figure 7.5.** *Distribution of ROOFING BOARD OR SHINGLE names.*



Figure 7.6. Distribution of ROOFING TILE names.



**Figure 7.7.** *Distribution of STONE names.*

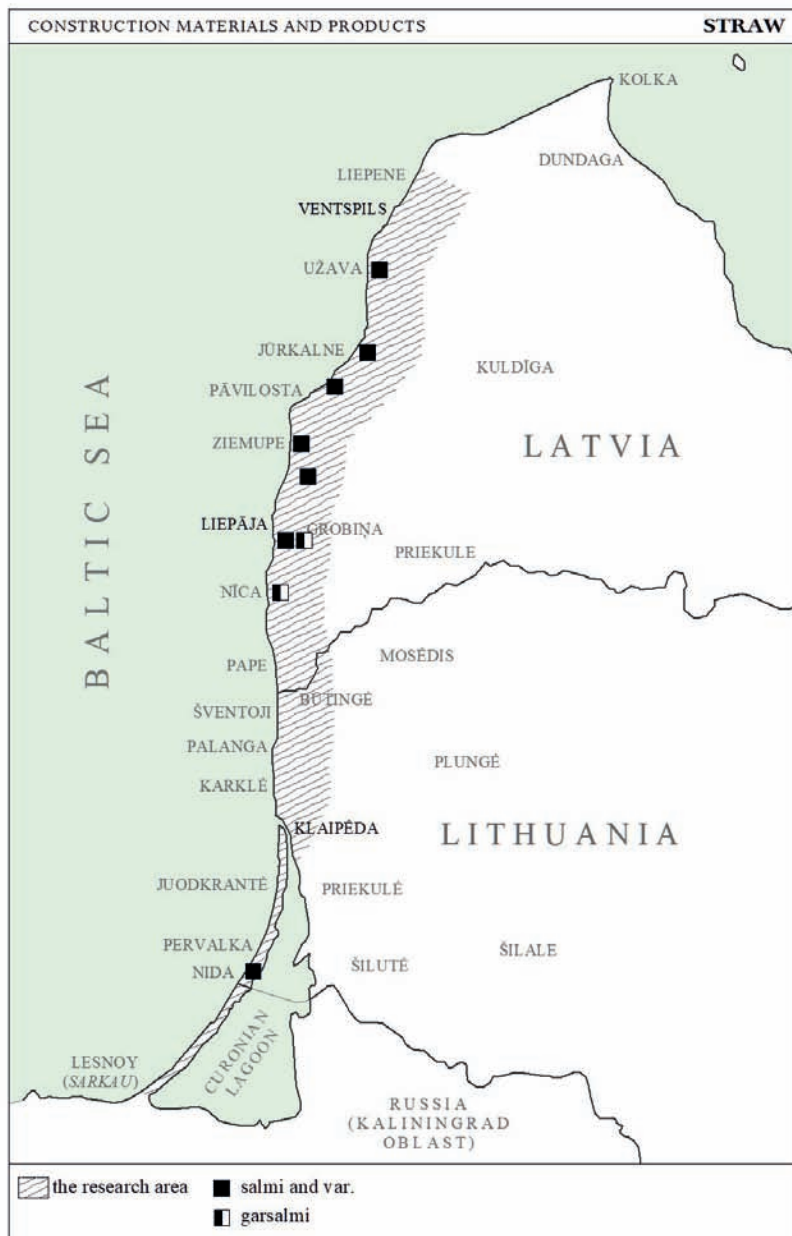


Figure 7.8. Distribution of STRAW names.

## 4.5. CONSTRUCTIONS

The group consists of 47 concepts and 131 lexemes related to the parts and structures of a building, such as elements that have a specific place and function within the building structure. This refers to all parts of the building, such as the foundations, walls, roofs, doors, windows, and other elements, as well as all the components that make them function. For example, when referring to windows, it is also important to identify the names of the window's hinges, sills, lintels, shutters, and other related components. For a comprehensive description of this thematic group, see Chapter 5.3.5.

### 4.5.1. Beam

A long piece of squared timber, used in construction, or a beam has several names in the excerpt: 1) *brusa* f. 'timber beam'<sup>166</sup> (< most likely Rus. *брус* with the same meaning; cf. Lith. *brusas* which in its primary meaning 'rectangular log' < Pol. *brus* or Belar. *брус* (LKŽe)) is recorded in Nīca (for instance, [...] *brusēti baļķi. bet tās jaū nav brusas*. NIVe-B: 317; *ku mīlžīgas būves. holaņžu brusas bi*. NIVe-H: 615<sup>167</sup>), 2) *bruste* f./*brusts* m. 'timber beam' also found in Nīca (*bruste gaŗaka, slīperis irād īsāks., brustes i tādās spāres, kuō sasiēn. bañtes i lejāk*. NIVe-B: 317), and 3) *šlīpīrs* m. 'timber beam' is found only in CS (*tie šlīpīres par ziede- und pamate malke turij viene resine nu 50cm*. FKN: 70, Germ. *das Vierkantholz*; DKW: 58, Germ. *der Balken*; KW: 76, Germ. *das Kantholz*; also *priedešlīpir* f. 'pine (timber) beam'. KW: 65, Germ. *das Kiefernkantholz*) and *slīperis* m. 'timber beam'<sup>168</sup> in Nīca (*daļu [koku] sastrādāja slīpēniēki brustēs, slīperuōs*. NIVe-B: 317). The Kursen. word *šlīpir(s)* rather is a borrowing < Lith. *šlīparas* 'broad-blade axe; crossbar under the railway tracks, also sleeper', also *šlīperis* (LKŽe), which in turn < Germ. *der Sleeper* (*Vierkant behauener Baumstamm*) meaning a 'square hewed wood (tree trunk)' or borrowed directly from German. The name *šlīpīrs*, with the meaning of a beam, refers to both the type

<sup>166</sup> In LLV, *brusa* means 'timber that has been sawn, rarely also hewed, on several sides and whose thickness and width are greater than 100 millimeters' (LLVVe).

<sup>167</sup> The word group "holaņžu brusas" refers to rectangular or square logs used for shipbuilding (specifically for Dutch shipyards) that were produced in Latvia until the end of the 18th century (NEe – kokapstrāde). The use of this particular type of material in the construction of buildings may have influenced the naming of them in the same way. However, it is unlikely that the name was originally used to refer to beams in peasant buildings.

<sup>168</sup> In Latvian, the archaic word *slīperis*, also dial., is registered with the meaning of a 'sleeper – assortment of sawn timber; a wooden pad to which the railway rails are attached' (Tez; MEe III 936).

of treatment and the location and function within the building's structural system. Regarding the floor beams specifically, the name may indicate their position, as they are located in the first row of logs. All these names, unlike Latv. *baļķis* and its variants (4.4.10. LOG), refer to the building product with a specific location and function within the structural system of the building.

#### 4.5.2. Carved, crossed ends of (gable) bargeboards

Buildings with thatched roofs had their ridges reinforced with cross-braced wooden elements<sup>169</sup> to reduce damage from wind and rain. Ethnographic studies have revealed several names for this element Latv. *āži, gaili, ragi, dzērviķes, tupeles*, and at the same time, they have a nuance of meaning. Semantically, a distinction should be made between names that refer to cross-arranged wooden elements on the roof ridge (See 4.5.7. CROSS-ARRANGED WOODEN ELEMENTS) and names that refer to ornamentally carved shapes of crossed windboards at the roof ends and vertical wooden elements, usually stylising animal forms like heads, horns, birds, etc. These elements are an inherited part of the Baltic material culture.

The latter applies to this concept and has several names: 1.1) *āži* m. pl. 'crossed ends of (gable) bargeboards (carved in the shape of the he-goat head)' is recorded in Nīca (for instance, *tā skaītijās tā īpašuma zīme – tie āži; tie gala kļāmbari bi tie āži [jumtam]; jumtiēm lika tuos āžus. tie tā krustām sasisti. gaīsā ir tā kâ tâdi ragi*. NIVE-A: 236, Nīca). This name refers to both crossed ends of (gable) bargeboards (carved usually in the shape of an animal head) and such a decorative element that is like a frame around a small, triangular window for ventilation at the top of the roof. In Latvian, the pl. form *āži* is used to name this object (Tez), possibly because the object consists of two animal heads (resembling those of a he-goat), unlike carved gable finial, a single, vertical wooden element. Latv. *āzis*<sup>170</sup> (cf. Liet. *ožys*) in a lot of place-names, including the stem of this word *Āz-* or *Āž-* shows the importance of

<sup>169</sup> Such cross-braced wooden elements in the roof ridge appeared no later than the 17th century (Cimermanis 2020: 334). In western Kurzeme, the wooden elements are connected by cutting a hole in one of them and sliding the other one through it, rather than being fastened with a pin (Bīlenšteins 2001: 28).

<sup>170</sup> In MEe, the dial. *āzis* in its 5th meaning 'a cross-arranged wooden element in the roof ridge, also the lowest, supported row of straw bales in the thatched roof' (MEe I 246. Germ. *die Dachreiter*). In LLV, *āzis* means: 1) 'a he-goat', 2) 'a gymnastic apparatus with four legs for jumping exercises (also Latv. *buks* 'buck')', 3) 'a specially made trestle to place or support something (trestle, sawbuck)' (LLVVe), none of which is related to this concept.

this animal in the life of Latvians (LEV 94), 1.2) *zīrgs*<sup>171</sup> m. 'crossed ends of (gable) bargeboards (carved in the shape of the horse head)' in CS (*visi mūse nami tuij aukšum kuo nārnt, bija zīrgs*. ISBt: 15, Nida (LT)). This name shows the importance of horses in the life of New Curonians, which is why horse heads were presented at the ends of (gable) bargeboards, and therefore the word for horse Latv. *zīrgs* is used to denote the object. In Latv. neither *zīrgs* nor diminutive *zirdziņš* is registered with the meaning of 'crossed ends of (gable) bargeboards (carved in the shape of the horse head)'. However, Lith. *žirgėlis* is registered with the meaning a 'decoration of the roof gable (crossed horse heads)' (*dovynių kulto ypatybės atsispindi ir lietuviškuose stogų žirgeluose, tiksliai atitinkančiuose latviškuosius Kurše, kur jie turi žirgų galvų pavidalą*. LKŽe), cf. Lith. *žirgas* 'colt; horse', 1.3) the composite name *zīrge gal's* 'crossed ends of (gable) bargeboards (carved in the shape of the horse head)' also found in CS (*ja, bij zīrge gal's par krust ta*. ISBt: 15, Nida (LT)). The second component shows that this horse shape is present at the end of the windboards, and 1.3) *lēkis* m. 'carved, crossed ends of (gable) bargeboards' (< Lith. *lėkis*, and this word refers to any of three types of decorative carved wooden elements fastened to each top of the gable (vertical, crossed ends of (gable) bargeboards or combination of both previous)<sup>172</sup>) is found in Šventoji–Būtingė (*spīlu jumti izpuškoti ar tupelemis un lēkis, skaidu juntu galos bija izcelti pīki*. MB), and an element that differs in form and position 2) *pīkis*<sup>173</sup> m. 'carved gable finial' (< German (MEe III 231), BG *pīk* 'spear' (cf. Germ. *die Pike* 'spear') (LEV 682)), also found only in Šventoji–Būtingė (MB). This designation is derived from the visual resemblance of the spear – a vertical element with a pointed, upward-facing top.

<sup>171</sup> There are several views on the origin of the word Latv. *zīrgs*, but most likely this word is associated with the adj. *žirgts* 'lively, vivacious' (LEV 1198), which derived from the verb *žirgt* 'to get well, to recover' (Latv. 'spirgt') (LEV 1213).

<sup>172</sup> The Lith. *lėkis*, meaning 'two wooden poles folded together and crossed on the roof to protect the roof of possible damage by the wind, *žirglys, žirgelis*', is registered in a relatively large area in the north-west of Žemaitija: the vicinity of Kretinga (*pačiame stogo čiukure yra lėkiai mediniai*. Darbėnai; *prisikalom plačius lėkius, kad vėjša įs stogo nenudraskytų*. Kartena), Skuoda (Ša-tės) and Plungė (Alsėdžiai) (LKŽe). The name originates from its association with the flight of a bird (Lith. *lėkti* '1) to fly' (LKŽe)), and over time, its meaning has become more general in literary language. In Lithuanian folklore, such an element on the roof of a house was thought to protect it from evil.

<sup>173</sup> In LLV, *pīkis* in its 2nd meaning is a 'long, pointed element, detail (in a mechanism, device, etc.)' (LLVve). Cf. Lith. *pykis* meaning: 1) 'anger, hatred', 2) 'a spear, pike' (LKŽe).

### 4.5.3. Ceiling

The ceiling structure was exposed; timber beams were exposed, over which staggered boards or halved round timber were laid. The sources clearly show the following ceiling names, despite the construction of a floor slab between a room and an attic or between two floors of the building ((see Figure 8.1.): 1) *griēsti* m. pl. ‘ceiling’<sup>174</sup> is registered in Kurzeme (for example, *mañs tēs mēṣa darīt, ka ēda siļķi. ka pārļauža siļķi, ta isņēma gaīsa pūslīti un sviēda pret griēstīm*: “laī siļķes ceļās, laī liēn tīkluōs.” *viš tuō darij tīri nuōpiētni: pļēsc piē griēstim*. LVDA mater., Ziemeupe; *nuō aūkšiēnes [ēkai] aka ūzliēk tādus gaŗus baļķus vīrsūm uñ nuōstipriñ. uñ ta liēk griēstus vīrsūm*. NIVe-A: 227, Nīca) and in CS (*grehfti*. VLS: 11, Germ. *die Stubendecke*; KuV: 57, etc.), 2) *istube deķe*<sup>175</sup> f. ‘ceiling’ is found only in CS (*nu istube deķe nuoakāre viene nu egile zalume nuoapite kruoane ap vietes nu brūte pāre*. FKN: 314), and it is based on its semantic equivalent in German *die Stubendecke* with the same meaning ‘ceiling’, 3) *istube ziede* f. ‘ceiling’ is found also only in CS (*istube grīde, ziede* f. DKW: 341, Germ. *die Zimmerdecke*), and it is based on its semantic equivalent in German. The second component of this Kursen. composite name is the Kursen. *ziēds* ‘joist, ceiling beam’ (KuV: 91), and it demonstrates semantic transfer from an element to the whole set of elements, specifically, a ceiling with beams. See also 4.5.4. CEILING (CROSS)BEAM, *dzieds*.

### 4.5.4. Ceiling (cross)beam

Several names for ceiling beams have been found in sources (see Figure 8.2.). The differentiation between these names is determined by the type of building and the semantic motivation behind them, and the nuances of the meaning can be understood through the word used in the text. They are: 1) *baļķis* m. ‘joist, (ceiling) beam’ in Nīca (*nuō aūkšiēnes [ēkai] aka ūzliēk tādus gaŗus baļķus vīrsūm uñ nuōstipriñ. uñ ta liēk griēstus vīrsūm*. NIVe-A: 227). See also 4.4.10. LOG, *baļķis*, 2) *dzieds/dziedrs/zieds* m. ‘joist, ceiling beam’<sup>176</sup> in Kurzeme (for example, *dziēds* ‘crossbeam’. FBR 8: 140,

<sup>174</sup> The origin of the Latv. *griēsti* is based on ide. \**ghrendh-* ‘log’ (LEV 314). Semantically, it is related to the verb *griest*, which has the same meaning as the dial. *grīst* ‘to make a floor or bridge of planks or logs, or to cover with planks or logs’. The past passive participle of this verb gives the meaning ‘a covering of logs or boards’ of the substantive (LEV 314).

<sup>175</sup> The second component is the Latv. *deķis* ‘blanket; cover’ (*deķis*. KuV: 53), which in Latvian < MLG *decke* (Sehwers 1953: 26).

<sup>176</sup> In Kurzeme, the dial. *ziēds, ziēdi, ziēdrs* with the meaning of a ‘beam’ is registered in Rucava, Pape, *ziēc, ziēdi* in Nīca, Durbe, *ziēc* in Užava, Zlēkas, *ziēc* in Jūrkalne, *dziēds* in Durbe, Ēdole (LVDA mater.), also in Aizpute, Rucava, Nīca (MEe I 562), also with (ī) in Asīte, Dunika,



Germ. *das Querbalken*, Rucava; *žīē:c.*, *pinekiļs karajās staļ:e piē žīē:d.* LVDA mater., Jūrkalne; *žīē(?)di: vērbaļķi. žīēdi ir liēli rēsni kuōki, liēk [māju būvējot] nuō viēnas siēnas uz uōtru.* LVDA mater., Saka, etc.) and in CS (*leedi*. VLS: 28, Germ. *der Querbalken, der Sparren*; *ziēds*<sup>177</sup>. KuV: 91; *zieds*. DKW: 286, Germ. *der Stubenbalken*). The source (LEV) notes that the word *dziedrs*<sup>178</sup>, meaning ‘crossbeam’, was replaced by the borrowed word *baļķis*, while *dziedrs* was retained in a narrower, specialized meaning (LEV 251). In the Curonian Spit, the variant *ziēds* of the Latv. *dziedrs* is an inherited dialect word with the same meaning ‘ceiling (cross)beam’, likely originating from the vicinity of Rucava, Pape, Nīca or Durbe, 3) *krustebalks* m. ‘ceiling (cross)beam’ only in CS (KW: 45, Germ. *der Querbalken*), and it is based on its semantic equivalent in German (Latv. *šķērssija*). See also 4.4.10. LOG, *baļķis*, 4) *krustemalk* f. ‘joist, crossbeam’ also is found only in CS (KW: 45, Germ. *das Querholz*), and it is based on its semantic equivalent in German. See also 4.4.23. WOOD, *malka*. The name probably appeared as a synonym for the word *krustebalks* to name a crossbeam – a horizontal beam that spans across a room in a dwelling house or other building., 5) *sija* f. ‘joist, (ceiling) beam’<sup>179</sup> in Medze (*sijas ir istabas griēstuōs. vērbaļķi ir šķūņu aūķšā (= -g-).* LVDA mater.). See also 4.5.16. FLOOR BEAM, *sija*. In vernacular construction, Latv. *sija*<sup>180</sup> is typically a horizontally braced timber beam or log, 6) *vērbaļķis* m. ‘ceiling beam’<sup>181</sup> (< Germ. *der Querbalken* ‘crossbeam, transverse beam’ (Sehwers 1953: 155; MEe IV 560)) in Kurzeme (for instance, *žīē(?)di: vērbaļķi*. LVDA mater., Saka;

Gramzda, Grobiņa, Venta (EHe I 365), *dziēdris* in Nīgrande, Vandzene, Aizpute (MEe I 562), but *dziēdris* with the meaning ‘the protruding end of rafters or crossbeams’ (in “*Ulmann Lettisch-deutsches Woerterbuch 1872*”, MEe I 562).

<sup>177</sup> In New Curonian, at the beginning of a word, s and z are sometimes replaced by c and dz, or vice versa, for example, in Latvian, it is *dziedrs*, but in New Curonian, it is *zieds* (KuV: 17).

<sup>178</sup> Latv. *dziedrs* (< \**gendras*) ‘tree with pruned branches’ → ‘log’ (LEV 251).

<sup>179</sup> In Latvian, *sija* refers to a linear structural element made of any material, commonly used in building or mechanical engineering. In MEe, Latv. *sija* refers to several structural elements: 1) ‘a beam under the bridge’ (Germ. *ein Balken unter der Brücke*) or ‘a crossbeam under the bridge’ (Germ. *der Querbalken unter einer Brücke*), 2) ‘a ground beam’ (Germ. *der Grundbalken*), 3) ‘a tension field beam (?)’ (Germ. *der Streckbalken*), 4) ‘a crossbeam under the floor (boards)’ (Germ. *unter der Diele*), 5) ‘a beam underneath the (natural shingle) roof, namely, a rafter (?)’ (Germ. *der untere Balken des Lubbendaches*), and 6) ‘an upper row of logs’ (Germ. *die Oberlage*), but the pl. Nom. *sijas* refers to the ceiling (“= *griesti*” in Vidzeme) (MEe III 836), thus, without a broader context, the meaning of the word is not clear.

<sup>180</sup> The origin of the Latv. *sija* is based on the ide. \**sē(i)-* ‘to tie (up)’, from which also the Latv. verb *siet* ‘to tie (up)’ (LEV 813; MEe III 836).

<sup>181</sup> With the meaning of a ‘ceiling beam’ the Latv. *vērbaļķis* variant *vērbaļķis* is registered in Džūkste and *vērbaļķis* in Īvande (EHe II 776). In LLV, *vērbaļķis* means ‘a ceiling beam’ (LLVVe).

žīēc (=ds) griēstuôš, gruôd – grīds baļķ. stallīn sak vērbalk. LVDA mater., Ulmale), and 7) *ziedemalke* f. ‘joist, ceiling beam’ is found only in CS (FKN: 70), and it is based on its semantic equivalent in German (*das Balkenholz*), which refers to squared timber rather than a beam with a specific function. However, considering the meaning of the Kursen. words *ziede* ‘joist, ceiling beam’ and *malka* ‘wood as a material for building products’, the composite name *ziedemalke* denotes a ceiling beam, not any other rectangular or square log. See also 4.4.23. WOOD, *malka* and 4.5.4. CEILING (CROSS)BEAM, *dzieds*.

#### 4.5.5. Chimney

In the excerpt, a structure that allows the smoke to escape to the air or a chimney has a name of Germanic origin, but they are differently adapted. 1.1) The name *skurstenis* m. and its phonetic and morphological variants (< MLG *schorstēn* or MD *schoorsteen* (LEV 845–846, cf. Germ. *der Schornstein*)) are found across a relatively large area along the Kurzeme coast (from Ventspils to Nīca), in Šventoji–Būtingė, and outside the Curonian Spit in the Klaipėda suburb. The names for the chimney *skurstenis*<sup>182</sup> and its var. in the Kurzeme coastal dialects appear to be used without nuances of meaning, without differentiating its material and type, or it as an indicator of the development of the building. It seems that these features can be detected by the use of the particular name in the text, which suggests that it is used to refer both to the mantle-vault-like chimney or part of the chimney within the building and to the part of the chimney that is visible above the roof (for instance, [*iekšrijā*] *krāšns bes skuōrsten, bes kuō*. Apv., Venta; *señāk bi skūrsteņš, ta saliek pīll<sup>u</sup> (žāvēšanai)*. LVDA mater., Ulmale; *līdz griēstiēm skūrsteņš bi četrkaņtīks. us septiņdesmit ceņtmētru viš bi ārpusē, vaīrāk viš nebi*. NIVe-C, 355, Nīca). In Šventoji–Būtingė, the usage of the term within the text indicates that the building (dwelling house) may have been equipped with multiple chimneys, each serving a distinct heating or firing system (*skurstiens ar šiberi [...] skurstiens pie krāšnes [...] dižais skurstiens*. MB, Sventāja). The phonetic variant (*skūrsti'ns (skūrstins)* (BezzS: 31)), recorded outside the Curonian Spit and only in one source, shows partial similarity to words found in the southern Kurzeme subdialects (*skuṛstins* in Grobiņa, Pērkone, Gramzda, Kalēti, *skurstīns* in Kalēti, Bārta (MEe III 906; EHe II 516)). This finding indicates that the Prussian Latvians likely arrived in the north of Klaipėda later than in the Curonian Spit,

<sup>182</sup> The name *skurstenis* is mentioned in dictionaries as early as the 17th century (LEV 845–846).

suggesting an arrival in the 17th century or later, and 1.2) while in New Curonian, the name šurnštīne f. ‘chimney’ and var. are registered; it probably came from Germ. dial. lexis (Germ. *der Schörnstein* ‘chimney’), retaining the *n* which is characteristic to the first part of the stem in MHG *schurn* ‘to poke, to burn’. Cf. Lith. dial. šiūrštynas ‘chimney’ (in the Lithuanian dialects of the Klaipėda district), which is taken from Germ. dial. lexis (< Pr. *šoršten*, *šorštēn* (LKŽe) and with the insertion of the *k*, namely, šūrķštynė (LEW 995)).

There are also several names for a mantle-vault-like chimney<sup>183</sup>. Typically, it refers to a specific type of chimney characterized by its walls, which surrounded the food preparation and cooking room, and its pyramidal form, which extends upwards above the roof in a square shape, and the names are: 2.1) in Kurzeme, the composite name of Germanic origin manteliskurstenis m.<sup>184</sup> and var. are found (*Kuôciņam bija sēnais mantelīskuŕstenis, kurā kūpināja gaļu, dē:as. SA, 146, Pāvilosta; uz tri:kāi vārīj arī iēķš mantelī skuōrstēnā. trikāi bi sēnāk. LVDA mater., Ulmale; ķēķis bi citādāks. bi tāt mantelīskuŕstenis. tāi mantelīskuōrstēnī gaļ<sup>u</sup> varēja žāvēt. Apv., Pērkone*), and 2.2) the composite name, semantically motivated by an external feature (size), thus the first component of which is an adj. *plats* ‘wide’, *liels* ‘large’, also dial. *dižš* ‘large’, characteristic in Kurzeme, and *īpašīgs* ‘peculiar’ (*gòļ žāve skuōrstene, kaņ līeles skuōrstēns, tas skuōrstne, kaņ i tāt:ds būdiņš, tas aka taj būdiņē nožuōd. LVDA mater., Užava; sēnāk jaū tātā plīte nebi, lielaīs, plataīs skūrstiēns, ku dūmi gāja aūķšā. Apv., Bārta; sakaļ skūrstiēnā: šķiņķus, dēsas – visu gaļu. bij tātī īpašīgi skūrstiēni, ku nebī plītes. Apv., Bārta; dižajos skurstienos uz kartemis džāvēja gaļu. MB, Šventoji*), but in the Curonian Spit 2.3) the composite name, an etymological hybrid, adare šurnštīne. The first

<sup>183</sup> Such mantle-vault-like chimneys (Latv. *apvalkdūmenis* or *manetīskurstenis*), based on the example typical in Germany, were widely distributed in the 18th and 19th centuries in Kurzeme and Zemgale, but rarely in Vidzeme (Cimermanis 1969: 32). The mantle-cault-like chimney appeared in Latvian peasant homesteads most frequently in the 19th century, when, replacing wooden spark catchers (Latv. *rovīs*), the hearth was bounded by brick walls on three and later also four sides and the smoke was discharged through a masonry chimney rather than through the roof and through specially made openings in the roof ends (Bilenšteins 2001: 69). Fire-safe solutions, including mantle-vault-like chimneys, were encouraged by the authorities of the administrative area to improve the fire safety of peasant dwelling houses. From the 17th century in Latvia, this knowledge was borrowed from German pastors and manor administrations (Bilenšteins 2001: 73; Cimermanis 2020: 361). Bilenšteins suggests that Latvian peasants borrowed this type of chimney from Baltic German houses because “the owners of the manor houses encouraged or forced the Latvians to build masonry chimneys” (Bilenšteins 2001: 69).

<sup>184</sup> In LLV, *apvalkdūmenis* means ‘a chimney with an enlarged lower part in which is placed an open hearth, a furnace hearth’ (LLVVe). The first component < Germ. *der Mantel* < Lat. *mantellum* ‘blanket, cover, covering’ (Bilenšteins 2001: 71). Cf. Latv. *meñtelis* < Germ. dial. *mentel* (MEe II 601) or LG *mentel* (Sehwers 1953: 79).

component is the Kursen. *atdars* ‘open’ (KuV: 48; Germ. *offen* EHe I 138), the second, *šurnštine*, the name of a chimney, recorded only in the Curonian Spit. The first component is not recorded in other Latvian subdialects (MEe). Therefore, it can be concluded that through contact with Lithuanians, it may have been borrowed from the Lith. *atdaras* ‘open’ (EHe I, 138; LKŽe). Therefore, the name is semantically motivated by the shape of the chimney and its open end.

#### 4.5.6. Clamp

This concept is related to securing a window or door in the open or closed position using a metal hook, one end of which goes into such an element, and there are two names for a clamp: 1) *ceṁme* f. ‘clamp’ is recorded in Nīca (for instance, *ceṁme i līks, salīēkc dzēlzis iēdzīc. tā tā ceṁme, ku iēkubina*. NIVe-C: 354). There are two views on the origin of the name *ceṁme* (also dial. *cembe*)<sup>185</sup>, and 2) *ceṁba* f. ‘clamp’ is registered in Užava (LVI Apv.). The Latv. dial. *cembe* is related to the Latv. *ceṁme*; with the meaning of a ‘clamp’, the word is registered in Kurzeme (Īvande) (EHe I 265).

#### 4.5.7. Cross-arranged wooden elements

The following names for cross-arranged wooden elements have been registered in relation to the introductory paragraph, mentioned in the concept 4.5.2. CARVED, CROSSED ENDS OF (GABLE) BARGEBOARDS, and they are: 1) *klambari* m. pl. ‘cross-arranged wooden elements on the roof ridge’<sup>186</sup> (< MHG *klam(m)er, klamere*, MLG *klāmer, klammer* (MEe II 211–212; Sehwers 1953: 48)) in Nīca (for instance, *mājām bi klambari us čukuru*. NIVe-Č: 400, Nīca), and 2) *tupele/tupelite* f. ‘cross-arranged wooden element on the roof ridge’<sup>187</sup> (< MLG *tuffel* (MEe IV 266; Sehwers

<sup>185</sup> 1) According to Endzelīns, it is a lexical borrowing, because forms are similar to the Liv *ceṁ* or *tseṁp*; 2) Liv forms are borrowed from Latvian (LEV 164; MEE I 372, Germ. ‘*Krampe am Schloss*’). The Baltic words – Latv. *ceṁme*, Latv. dial. *cembe*, Lith. dial. *kembė* (Latv. ‘vadzis’) – are likely inherited words. In LLV, *ceṁme* means ‘clamp’ (Latv. ‘dzintele’, LLVVe). Latv. *dzintele/zintele* with the same meaning < MLG *sintel* (Sehwers 1953: 31).

<sup>186</sup> In Latvian, the dial. *klambars* in its primary meaning ‘a clamp; wooden cross on the roof ridge’ (MEe II 211–212). With the same meaning it is registered as *klambaris* in southern Kurzeme (Dunika, Gramzda), *klambars* in central Kurzeme (Kuldīga) and Vidzeme (Piebalga) (EHe I 609).

<sup>187</sup> The Latv. *tupele* and its diminutive form *tupelite* are polysemous; however, the latter, namely, dial. *tupelite* in its 4th meaning is a ‘cross-arranged wooden element on the roof ridge’ (Tez). The simple word in the pl. form *tupeles*, with the same meaning (*jumta klambari*), is registered in southern Kurzeme (Rucava, Nica) (MEe IV 266).

1953: 146)) is recorded in the southern Kurzeme (Markus-Narvila 2011: 167, Ruca-va) and Šventoji-Būtingė (MB).

#### 4.5.8. Crossbeam

The name for a crossbeam is: 1) *bankste* f. ‘crossbeam, tie beam’ is recorded in Kurzeme (*bañkste gatavuôta nuo laba kuôka*. LVI Apv., Grobiņa). The Latv. dial. *bankste*<sup>188</sup> with the meaning ‘a cross-beam that connects and keeps together two opposite rafters of a building’ (Tez) is registered in southern Kurzeme (Aizpute) (MEe I 263; EHe I 205), and 2) *bante* f. ‘crossbeam, tie beam’ is found in Nīca (*ka ģka bi platāka, ta krustus piēnaglāja šķērsu kuoku – pa bañti saūca*. NIVe-B: 257). The semantic motivation of the name Latv. *bante* (< MLG *bant* (Sehwers 1953: 8, Germ. *die Band* ‘band; belt; tie’) is related to the joining or tying together of several elements.

#### 4.5.9. Door

The name *durois* f. pl. and variants are recorded in all three areas under research: in Kurzeme (for instance, *duôrs*, *duô:rs* (*ā-celms*). LVDA mater., Jūrkalne; *duô:r*. LVDA mater., Jūrkalne; *dūrwis* NBI. BezzS: 116, 1, Nīca; *dures*/*duris*. LVI Apv., Bārta, etc.) and in CS (for example, *durres* ‘*дверь*’. P-AI: 31; *durris*. VLS: 10; *dure*. KuV: 54; *duras* SrIII. BezzS: 39, 57, 64, Sarkau; *dōras*. BezzS: 111, Nidden, Schwarzort, etc.; also *duril* f. ‘small door’ (KW: 31, Germ. *das Türchen*). Latv. *durois*, dial. *duris* and other variants, Lith. *durys* belongs to the inherited lexical layer. The word originally referred not to the door itself, but to the opening through which one entered and exited; the plural form suggests that the door may have been two-part (LEV 243).

To name a certain type of door according to its function or the material used, mainly word groups are formed (with the second component *durois*, but more often dial.): 1) *ārdures* ‘entrance door’ f. in Bārta (LVI Apv.), or *iegājedur* f. ‘entrance door’ in CS (KW: 38, Germ. *die Eingangtür*), which is based on its semantic equivalent in German, or *laūka dures*/*laūka duris* f. ‘entrance door’ in Kurzeme (LVI Apv., Bārta; [*senāk*] *bi ari pārdures gaŗā namā laūka durīm*. NIVe-A: 229, Nīca), 2) *filunga duris* m. ‘panel door’ in Nīca (*filuņga duris – tās jaū labākas, apkārt rāmi, vidū filuņks*. NIVe-F: 525); the first component of the word group *filungs* most probably < the Germ.

<sup>188</sup> The Lith. *bankstas*, also *bangstas* is recorded with the meaning of ‘bog’ (LKŽe), however, it does not seem to be semantically related to the lexeme in Latvian.

*das Füllung* ‘panel, panelling’, 3) *pārdures* f. ‘half door, half hung door’<sup>189</sup> is found in the southern Kurzeme (*agrâk bij uz pusi atveřamas [durvis], apakšâ ciêt, tās saũca pārdures*. LVI Apv., Bārta; *[senāk] bi ari pārdures gařâ namâ laũka durĩm. varēj attaisĩt tik pusi. ja gribēj parunât ař kâdu, ta nevaĩdzēj visu taisĩt, lai nenāk aũkstuĩs*. NIVe-A: 229, Nĩca). It is difficult to determine whether a word was formed by referring to the pair of halves of the door, or to the part of the half of the door that is above the other (lower) part. It is more likely that the name is given because of the position of the active, upper part of the door, and 4) *pusdures* f. ‘half door, half hung door’<sup>190</sup> in Nĩca (*pusdures bi, pārdures. tās bi tâ us pusi veřamas. [duruju] aũkšu ģpaši atvēra*. NIVe-A: 218). The name suggests that the door is divided horizontally, allowing the top or bottom half to be opened independently. This name is synonymous with the word *pārdures*, mentioned previously. The semantic motivation for both names is the visual and technical solution – a divided door leaf.

#### 4.5.10. Door handle

In the excerpt, there are several names for a door handle: 1) *driķeris* m. (< LG *drücker* (Sehwers 1953: 28)) is found in the southern Kurzeme (Markus-Narvĩla 2011: 148, Rucava; NIVe-A: 219, Nĩca) and its variant *driķerts* in CS (*driķerts*. VLS: 9, Germ. *Drücker an der Thür*). The composite name *duredriķerts* m. with the same meaning is also recorded in CS (KW: 31, Germ. *der Türdrücker*), and it is based on its semantic equivalent in German, 2) Latv. dial. *kliņģis* m. (< Germ. dial. *klinge* (MEe II 229)) is found in Alsunga (LVI apv.), 3) *klinķis* m. and variants (< MLG *klinke* (Sehwers 1953: 51)) is recorded in CS (for instance, (*klinķjĩs*. VLS: 14; KuV: 63; KW: 44, Germ. *Klinke*; DKW: 296, Germ. *Türklinke*), 4) *rankĩns* m. ‘door handle’ (< Lith. *rankena*) in CS (KW: 11, 66, Germ. *der Handgriff*, Germ. *Griff*; *Hebel zur Drehung der Welle im Windschlitten*; DKW: 147, Germ. *der Griff*, etc.), 5) *rokturis* m. ‘door handle’ in Nĩca (*laũka pusē [durvĩm] i tas ruõkturis, uĩ iēķsas pusē i tã klabata*. NIVe-I: 646), and 6) *skritēlis* m. ‘rotatable wooden door handle’<sup>191</sup> (MEe III 894, cf.

<sup>189</sup> In MEE, the dial. *pārdurve* with the meaning of ‘the upper part of a half door’ is registered in northern Kurzeme (Matkule) (MEe III 154), also in central and southern Kurzeme (Ivande, Saldus) (EHe XIII 198).

<sup>190</sup> In LLV, *pusdurvis* means ‘a door with the upper part of which can be opened separately’ (LLVVe).

<sup>191</sup> The dial. *skritēlis* is also registered with the meaning of a ‘wooden door bolt’ in Nĩca (EHe II 510).

Lith. *skritulys*) is recorded in Nīca (*vaī tu cūku staļļa duŗvīm aīzgriēzi skritēli, lai cūkas nēisnāk nuō staļļa?., tās dures aīzgriēza a skritēli*. NIVe-A: 30).

#### 4.5.11. Door latch

The name for a device for securing closed doors or gates *klabata* f. ‘wooden door latch’ is found in the southern Kurzeme (*maņ, āre, durīm i klabata – duru aīstaīsāmaīs, kâ senāk bija*. LVI Apv., Bārta; *ka tās dures piēvēlķ ciēti, ta tā klabata nuōkrīt us tuō āķi*. NIVe-C: 364, Nīca; *Slenges (Klabats)*. JLV: 267 (135), Germ. *die Thürleiste, Thürgericht, oder Riegel*, Nīca, Bārta). Latv. *klabata* (a derivative likely of the Latv. verb *klabēt* ‘to rumble, to rattle, to clatter’ (MEe III 858; LEV 811-812)) is polysemous, but it is registered with the meaning of a ‘door handle’ (Germ. *die Türklinke*) in Kurzeme (Liepāja, Rucava, Nīca, Aizvīķi), also in Vidzeme (Lazdona) and a ‘bolt, latch, bar’ (Germ. *der Riegel*)<sup>192</sup> in Grobiņa (MEe II 206–207). As for the word *slenges* (Latv. *slengis/slenģi/slenģes* < MLG *slenge* ‘border, skirting, edging’ (MEe III 926, Germ. *die Einfassung*)), it is likely polysemous, given its German explanation, but because of its parallel name, it is classified under this concept.

#### 4.5.12. Door lock

There are two composite names for a door lock, and they are: 1) *caūrduru acslēga* f. ‘door lock’ is recorded in Nīca (*klētīm i caūrduru acslēga. iēķšpusē tas bloks uņ durīs caūruņs*. NIVe-C: 343). The word group consists of the Latv. obsolete word *caurduru* ‘one that is lockable from both sides’ and *atslēga* with the meaning of a ‘lock’<sup>193</sup>, all together meaning a ‘through-lock, box lock’ (Latv. *klucīsslēdzene*, Germ. *das Kastenschloß* or *ausgeschlagenes Schloß*), and 2) *caūrslēdzamās acslēgs* m./*caūrslēdzamas aclēgas* f. ‘door lock’ also is found in Nīca (*caūrslēdzamās acslēgs uņ tâc bluciņš – tâc apaļš. tâc kraīpīc i, uņ a acslēgu piēslēdz*. NIVe-C: 345; *klētīm caūrslēdzamas aclēgas. istabām nebi aclēgu*. NIVe-C: 345). The word group consists of the Latv. adj. *caurslēdzams*

<sup>192</sup> “Klabata – ietaise durvu aiztaisīšanai: durvu iekšpusē piestiprināts stiprs, ap 1 1\2 pēdas garš kuoks, kuŗš iekrīt durvu stenderī iedzītas kuoka naglas ruobā; ap šuo kuoku – klabatu – apsieta ar vienu galu šņorīte, kuŗas uotrs gals izvērts caur durvīs ieurbtu caurumiņu durvu uotrā pusē; šņorīte nu nuo šīs puses raujuot, klabata iz ruoba paceļas uz augšu, un durvīs atveramas Grob. n. Etn. III, 66” (MEe II 206–207).

<sup>193</sup> In Latvian, *atslēga* is registered with the meaning of a ‘lock’ (Germ. *das Schloss*) and a ‘key’ (Germ. *der Schlüssel*) (MEe I 193). The Latv. *atslēga* is a derivative of the Latv. verb *atslēgt* ‘to unlock’. In LLV, *atslēga* in its second meaning is ‘a built-in device, mechanism (in a door, drawer, etc.) for locking’ (LLVVe).



‘one that is lockable from both sides’ and the Latv. pl. *atslēgas* ‘lock’, its variant *at-slēgs* m. ‘idem.’. Both names *caurduru atslēga* and *caurslēdzama atslēgs/-as* refer to a type of door lock that is built into or through the door leaf. While the construction, material, and positioning of this type of lock may vary (Bilenšteins 2001: 49–56), these names generally indicate the main principle of securing the door leaf of a storehouse or a granary.

#### 4.5.13. Door post

Only one name for a door post *steñderis*<sup>194</sup>/*stēndirs* m. (< MLG *stender*, MD *stender* ‘post, door-post’ (MEe IV 1061; Sehwers 1953: 121)) is recorded both in Kurzeme (for instance, *aseņi tig gaŗ steñderiņi*. SA:156, Ulmale) and in CS (*stēndirs* m. DKW: 296, Germ. *Türpfosten*; KW: 73, Germ. *der Ständer*). The word *stenderis/stēndirs* refers to the posts placed in the corners of the building, as well as the posts that create door and window openings. All these posts have grooves for inserting and securing (horizontal) logs. The designation of this object in German refers to the meaning of a door frame or posts that form the sides of the doorway. However, these door posts serve not only to create an opening and form the height of the floor, but also to provide overall structural stability to the building, together with other elements (foundation, first row of logs, walls, crossbeams, etc.).

#### 4.5.14. Eaves

The concept of eaves refers to the overhang at the lower edge of a roof, and there are three names for it, all found in CS: 1) *ģezims* m. ‘eaves’ (KW: 33, Germ. *das Gesims*), 2) *ģēvils* m. ‘eaves’ (DKW: 142, Germ. *das Gesims*). This name may refer to a set of elements rather than a specific part of it. See also 4.5.19. GABLE, *ģēvele* and 4.5.32. RIDGE, *ģēvils*, and 3) *pažuoabils* ‘eaves’ m. in CS (*pažuoabils* m., Germ. *der Sims*. DKW: 271). While Latv. *pažobeļe* is a ‘space under the roof’, Kursen. *pažuoabils* denotes rather the outer part of the roof construction, not the room under the roof overhang. See also 4.3.3. ATTIC ROOM, *pažobilis*.

<sup>194</sup> In MEe, the dial. *stenderis*, also with (*eñ*), is registered in Kurzeme (Dunika, Stende), in Dzirciems (Rīga?), Vidzeme (Mazsalaca) (MEe IV 1061; EHe II 577). Cf. Lith. *steñderis* (< Germ. dial. *ständer*), also var. *stenderys* ‘post; structure, building’ (LKŽe).



#### 4.5.15. Floor

Although floor types have changed over time, several names can be distinguished to describe the floors of different buildings within a homestead: 1) *grīda*/*grīde* f.<sup>195</sup> is recorded in Kurzeme (for instance, *grīde*. FBR: 8, AVN: 112, Rucava; *senâk nemâlēja grīdas*. NI: 278, Nīca; *senâk jaû bi mālā grīdas, kiēģelu grīdas. te bi kuōka grīdas, bet cituî mālā grīdas*. NIVe-G: 583, Nīca; *cimentes grīde* ‘cement floor’. LVI Apv., Bārta) and in CS (for example, *gryde* ‘nor’. P-AI: 40; *grihds*. VLS: 11; *grīde*. KuV: 57; *luoage rāmes, luoaģes, grīdes, ziedes dures un cites darbes partaisij tišlirs*. FKN: 74, Germ. *die Dielen*), 2) a derivative *grīdīna* f. ‘plank/board floor in veranda’ in Nīca (*namīnā va vērāndā bi grīdīna*. NIVe-G: 583), 3) *klons* m. ‘clay floor’ is recorded in Kurzeme (*kluōns*. LVDA mater., Venta (Ventspils), Jūrkalne; AVN: 133, Bārta; *uz mālā kluōnu līka labību*. LVDA mater., Medze; *mālā grīdu [rijās, dzīvojamās mājās] muîs saûc par kluōnu – nuô sastaîpāta mālā*. LVDA mater., Saka) and CS (*kluoane* f. DKW: 85, Germ. *die Diele, die Diele aus festgestampftem Lehm*; DKW: 291, Germ. *die Tenne; kluoan* f. KW: 44, Germ. *die Tenne*), 4) *plāns* m. ‘floor’<sup>196</sup> in Kurzeme (for example, *ķēķē bi cemeînt plāns iēliēts [..] nu jaiēt a basâm kājâm pa cemeînt plān. akaî dabuî slimib*. LVDA mater., Ulmale; *kluōns ir šķūnî, rijâ, bet plāns ir istabâ. mālā plāns*. LVDA mater., Saka; *istubâ kuōka plāns, teîca jaû grīda aî*. NIVe-G: 583, Nīca) and in CS (*plāns*. KuV: 74; *plāns* Ml. BezzS: 156, Germ. *die Tenne*), and 5) the word group *māle zems* m. ‘clay floor’ in CS (DKW: 198, Germ. *der Lehm Boden*). The floor of a particular material is denoted by a word group, and its second component is both *grīda* and *plāns* with the meaning of a ‘floor’.

#### 4.5.16. Floor beam

There are two names for a beam that functions as a load-bearing structure for a floor: 1) *gruōd(s)* m. ‘floor beam’ is recorded in Ulmale (*ģiēc (=ds) griēstuōs, gruōd – grīds baļķ. staļlīm sak vērbaļķ*. LVDA mater.). See also 4.1.13. WELL LINING RING, *grods*, and 2) *sija* f. ‘floor beam’ is found in Kurzeme (*sījs*. LVDA mater., Venta (Ventspils); *ģiēdi – pa griēstiîm, grīdâ – sijas*. LVDA mater., Ziemepe). See also 4.5.4. CEILING (CROSS)BEAM, *sija*.

<sup>195</sup> The Latv. *grīda* ‘floor’, archaic word *grīds*, also dial. *grīde* (MEe I 656; LEV 314). The dial. *grīde* with the same meaning is registered in southwestern Kurzeme (Rucava, Pērkone) (EHe I 406).

<sup>196</sup> In LLV, dial. *plāns* in its third meaning ‘clay floor; floor’ (LLVVe; MEE III 330), mainly registered in Kurzeme and Zemgale (LVDA-L 136-138, Map 59; MEE III 330).

#### 4.5.17. Foundation (of a building)

Foundation of any building within homestead has several names (see Figure 8.3.): 1) pamats m.<sup>197</sup> ‘foundation’ (for example, (*es mudīgi [paslēpos] kaū kuŗ apakš pamatu*. SA: 100, Jūrmalciems) and in CS (pamats. KuV: 71; *akmines par pamate tap nu zeme sāne parbēgte*. FKN: 70; pamate f. DKW: 129, Germ. *das Fundament*; DKW: 148, Germ. *die Grundmauer* ‘foundation wall’; pamat f. KW: 57, Germ. *das Fundament, die Schwelle*). See also 4.5.18. FOUNDATION ROW OF LOGS, pamat, 2) pamate akmins f. ‘stone foundation; foundation-stone’, and 3) puđramente f. ‘foundation’ (< Germ. *das Fundament*)<sup>198</sup> is recorded in Nīca (*stallīn puđrameņte bi izdrupusi. sataīsa cimeņti a graņti uņ tā nuōlīdzina*. NIVE-I: 752).

#### 4.5.18. Foundation row of logs

Four names are recorded for a foundation row of logs, and all of them are recorded in CS (see Figure 8.4.): 1) pamat f. ‘foundation row of logs’ (KW: 57, Germ. *das Fundament, die Schwelle*). See also 4.5.17. FOUNDATION, pamats, 2) the word group pamate malke f. ‘foundation row of logs’ (*us akmines nāc ta pamate malke ar tuoas caurumes*. FKN: 74; *tie šlipires par ziede- und pamate malke turij viene resine nu 50cm*. FKN: 70), and it is based on its semantic equivalent in German *das Schwellenholz* ‘sleeper log, sleeper block, sleeper wood’ to denominate the first row of logs that at the same time functioned as a threshold, and 3) slēksnis f. ‘foundation row of log; threshold’ m., also slieksne (?)<sup>199</sup> (BezzS: 41, Sarkau, Germ. *die Schwelle*). There are two explanations of a word slieksnis (LEV 858), however, semantic motivation could

<sup>197</sup> In MEe, pamats is registered with two meanings: 1) ‘foundation’ (Germ. *der Grund, das Fundament*), and 2) ‘a ground beam’ (Germ. *die Grundbalken*, MEe III 67). The Latv. pamats is a derived word of the verb *mest* with the prefix *pa-* (‘under’) and vowel change in the root (LEV 648). Cf. Lith. pamatas is polysemous, but 1) meaning is ‘the lower part of the structure on which the whole building rests; foundation’, and 2) ‘the first row of logs, placed on the foundation’ (LKŽe).

<sup>198</sup> The dial. puđramente or fundamente (Tez), most probably Latv. puđramente is also borrowed from Germ. *das Fundament*. Latvian linguist Bušs notes that there are often found borrowing pairs between Latvian and German or Baltic German, where the letter p interchanges with f, for example, puđramente / fudamente ‘foundation’ (Bušs 1977: 60). In this example the insertion, namely, the letter r, is also found, however this kind of variant is not registered in other sources.

<sup>199</sup> In LLV, slieksnis mens ‘bottom piece of a doorway (usually raised)’ (LLVVe). The dial. slēksnis ‘slieksnis (?)’, also slēksne in Saikava (EHe II 524), slieksne, sliegsnis, sliegsne (LEV 858). Cf. Lith. slėnksstis ‘threshold’ (LKŽe), the dial. slėngstis, slėnksnis ‘idem.’.

be more plausible, namely, over the threshold of ancient dwelling houses people had to decline one's head because doors were low. See also 4.5.41. THRESHOLD, *sliksnis*, and 4) *apakšsliksnis* m. 'foundation row of logs' is recorded in Nīca, Bārta (*Appaksch Sleeksnis*. JLV: 267 (135), Germ. *die Unterschwelle*), which most likely denotes a foundational wooden element placed at the base of a structure, not a threshold.

#### 4.5.19. Gable

In the excerpt, there are two names to name a gable: 1) *ġēvele* f./*ġēvelis* m.<sup>200</sup> 'gable' (< MLG *gēvel* (Sehwers 1953: 39; Germ. *der Giebel*, MEe I 698)) is found in Kurzeme and in CS (for instance, *ġēvele i mājas galuôs. tas nuô dēļiēm naglâc kaû kâ klât*. NIVe-G: 612, Nīca; in CS, *jeewelis* E. BezzS: 36, Preila; *ġēvele*. KuV: 57; *ġēvils* m. KW: 33, Germ. *der First (Dach)*, *der Gibel*; DKW: 144, Germ. *der Giebel*). In New Curonian the name is used ambiguously, without distinguishing between different parts of the building or their constructions (such as gable, eaves, boards of the ridge), therefore without a broader context in the text or the correspondence in German (*der Giebel* 'gable'), these meanings are difficult to distinguish. Some examples are considered authentic, such as *ġēvele* or *ġēvil*, but variants with Lithuanian graphemes, for instance, *ġēvils*, are rather a peculiarity of the author's way of transcribing than the influence of the Lithuanian language, and 2) *ġibelis* m. 'gable' (< Germ. *der Giebel*) is found in Šventoji–Būtingė (*leišu laika bija atnācis nosaukums ġibelis*. MB).

#### 4.5.20. (Gabled) dormer window

There is a name for a probably gabled dormer window, namely, *frankšpīžs* m., recorded in CS (DKW: 81, Germ. *der Dacherker*; KW: 32); however, its origin is unclear.

#### 4.5.21. Hinge

The name for a hinge, whether it's for a door or a window, *enġe* f.<sup>201</sup> (< MLG, MD or EF *henge* 'hinge', cf. Germ. *die Hänge* 'hinge'; the borrowing in Latv. has men-

<sup>200</sup> In LLV, *zelminis* 'gable', also an archaic word *ġēvele* (LLVVe). The dial. pl. *ġēveles* appears in dictionaries in the 17th century (LEV 331). Cf. Lith. *gēvelis*, also *gēvelys*, comes from Germ. dial. (?) *Gevel* or Germ. *der Giebel*, and in its primary meaning 'steep roof end, vault' it is registered in Upyna (Šilalės distr.) (LKŽe).

<sup>201</sup> In LLV, the archaic word *enġe* means 'a movable joint to which, for example, door, window-frame or lid is fixed on so it can open' (LLVVe), also Latv. *vīra* 'a hinge'.

tioned in dictionaries in the 17th century (LEV 268) or LG *hāng, hānge* ‘hooks on which the doors are hung’ (Sehwers 1953: 32)) is recorded both in Kurzeme (for instance, [duvōim] tās *eņģes* bi tādās iētaīsītas – nevis tādās kâ taga *eņģes*. tādās kalējkaļtas *eņģes* bi, kas uz abi pusi taīsāmas. viņas bi taī duru vidū., [loga] viēna puse attaišāma vaļā – uz *eņģēm*. NIVe-E: 516, Nīca) and in CS (for example, *eņģe*. KuV: 55; *engjis*, *engjes*. VLS: 11, Germ. *Bänder am Fenster, Thürhänge*).

#### 4.5.22. Hook

The door or window was secured using a hook fastener, typically in the closed position, and this concept has two names: 1) *krampis* m. ‘window or door hook’ (< LG *krampe* (Sehwers 1953: 57) or BG *krampen*, which in turn comes from MLG *krampe* (cf. Germ. *die Krampe*); the first time mentioned in Latvian was in dictionaries in the 17th century (LEV 417)) is registered in Nīca (for instance, *cūku staļļa duvōim iēlika jaūnu krampi*. NIVe-J: 130) and in CS (*kramps* m. DKW: 258, Germ. *Schließhaken* (am Fenster); DKW: 296, Germ. *der Türhaken*). A diminutive form of the name with the suffix *-īt-* and *-el-* has also been found (*luôgaṁ vakaruôs aīskraṁpē tuō kraṁpeli.*, *kraṁpīc i luôgaṁ, šķūna durīm. tuō kraṁpīti iēliēk ceṁmē*. NIVe-J: 130, Nīca), and 2) *taps* m.<sup>202</sup> ‘window hook’ (< MLG *tappe* with the same meaning (Sehwers 1953: 141)), found in CS (DKW: 117, Germ. *der Fensterhaken*; VLS: 31).

#### 4.5.23. Ladder

Four names are used to describe objects like steps, which consist of two parallel members connected by rungs, or a ladder (see Figure 8.5.); it was used not only to access the attic, but also to harvest, for example, apples or cherries: 1) *trepes/trepe* f. ‘ladder’ in Nīca (for example, *tuōs rudzus sanese aūkšām pa trepēm us klētes griēstiēm sabērt apcīrkni*. NIVe-A: 225) and in CS (*trepe*. DKW: 199, Germ. *die Leiter*; KW: 79, Germ. *die Leiter, die Stufe, die Treppe*, etc.). See also 4.5.37. STAIRS, *trepes*, 2) the composite name *augstienetrepes* f. ‘ladder to attic’ is recorded in CS (KW: 24, Germ. *die Bodentreppe*), and is based on its semantic equivalent in German, 3) *litirs* m. ‘ladder’ is found only in CS (DKW: 199, Germ. *die Leiter*), and 4) *redel(e)* f.

<sup>202</sup> In MEe, *taps* with a meaning unrelated to this concept (Germ. *der Zapfen* ‘plug; peg’) is registered in southern Kurzeme (Dunika), cf. Lith. dial. *tāpas* ‘protrusion of an object, leg (stem), joint’ < Germ. dial. *tappe* (LKŽe; MEe IV 131). The Latv. dial. *taps* is a morphological var. of the LLV word *tapu* ‘plug, peg’ (LLVVe; MEe IV 131).

‘ladder’<sup>203</sup> is recorded only in Kurzeme (for instance, *paduô redel*, *la es var tapt aûgše*. LVDA mater., Alsunga). There are two views on the origin of the name pl. *redeles*<sup>204</sup>.

#### 4.5.24. Lintel

The name for a horizontal beam used as a piece over a door or window, namely, *paloda* f. with the meaning of a ‘lintel’<sup>205</sup> is recorded in Alsunga (LVI Apv.). There are two views on the origin of the name *paloda*<sup>206</sup>.

#### 4.5.25. Masonry

The polysemous Latv. lexeme *mūris*<sup>207</sup> and variants < MLG *müre* or MD *muur*, which in turn < Lat. *mūrus*; this name has been used since the 16th century in surnames, and in dictionaries this name appears in modern form since the 17th century (LEV 609; Sehwers 1953: 82). The name for masonry *müre/mūr* f. is recorded in CS (DKW: 208, Germ. *die Mauer*; KW: 51). See also 4.6.5. HEATING WALL/MASONRY HEATER, *mūris*.

<sup>203</sup> In MEe, the polysemous lexeme *redele* is registered with the meaning ‘a ladder’ (Germ. *die Leiter*) in southern Kurzeme (Kursīši, Nīkrāce, Dunika, Rucava), central Kurzeme (Īvande), and in Vidzeme (Lazdona) (MEe III 501–502; EHe II 362).

<sup>204</sup> 1) < MLG *reddel* < *ledger* (MD *leder*) (LEV 745), cf. Germ. *die Leiter* ‘ladder’ or LG *Reddel* (MEe III 501–502), 2) the Est. *redel* with the same meaning is of Finno-Ugric origin, therefore the Latv. *redeles* might be a borrowing from Estonian (LEV 745; EHe II 362). The word first appeared in dictionaries in the 17th century, where it was noted that in Kurzeme it meant ‘stairs, a ladder’, while in Zemgale it meant ‘a crib, a feed bunk for animals’ (LEV 745).

<sup>205</sup> The Latv. *paloda* with the meaning of a ‘lintel’ (Germ. *die Oberschwelle der Tür [oder des Fensters]*) is registered in Vidzeme (*paluōda* in Sausnēja, *paluōde* in Drusti) (MEe III 64). In LLV, *paloda* means: 1) ‘a horizontal beam over a door or window opening’, and 2) ‘a window sill’ (LLVVe).

<sup>206</sup> 1) It is a derivative of the Latv. verb *lodāt* [uō] ‘to crawl’ (cf. Lith. *landýti*), which is of the same origin as the Latv. verb *līst* ‘to crawl, to creep’ (LEV 539, 542, 648); there is an assumption that the word’s semantic motivation comes from the act of people entering and exiting a door with a high threshold and a low door, causing them to bend their backs (Bilenšteins 2001: 41–42), and 2) it is a borrowing from Estonian (<*pajalaud* ‘board by (?) the sliding window’, Latv. ‘dēlis pie bīdāma loga’) (LEV 648).

<sup>207</sup> In Latvian, *mūris*, also *mūrs*, is widespread in a wide area (MEe II 678–679; EHe I 839). In LLV, *mūris* means ‘a part of a building, a part of a building element, also a separate object made of natural or artificial materials’ (LLVVe).

#### 4.5.26. Masonry joint

The name *fūga* f. ‘brick masonry (bed or head) joint, masonry joint’ (< Germ. *die Fuge* ‘joint, junction’) is recorded in Nica (for instance, *tās visas, tās ķieģeļu stārpas, tās sauc fūgas*. NIVe-F: 527). In Latvian, the polysemous lexeme in the pl. form *fūgas* is a slang (jargon) word, and in its second meaning it refers to a ‘joint (in carpentry, construction)’ (Tez).

#### 4.5.27. Opening in the wall (for light or heat flow)

A window’s primary function is to let light into a room, but there’s also a concept of an opening hole in the roof or wall to let smoke out of a room. There are two names that differ slightly in meaning: 1) *dūmlogs* m. ‘opening in the wall (for heat flow)’ is found in Nica (*dūmluōks bi pīrtē. tuō aīzbāza a klucīti, ka vaīdzēja sāt mazgātīs., rijas istubīnā aī bi dūmluōdzīns. ka kurināja, ta atrāva, uī ta tuī gāja dūmi laūkā*. NIVe-D: 473), and it is used to refer to an opening in the wall of a bathhouse or threshing barn for heat or smoke flow (EHe I 347, Germ. *eine Rauchluke*; Tez). From the dial. *dūmlogs* with a subdialectal suffix *-īn-* a diminutive form *dūmlodzīns* with the same meaning is also derived. See also 4.5.44. WINDOW, *logs*, and 2) *ruōps* m. ‘opening in the wall (for light or heat flow)’ is also recorded in Nica (*[rijā] actāc bi viēnuōs sānuōs izzāgēc ruōps. ka piētiēkuōši bi nuōkurināc, ta aīzbāza viņu ciēt, lai siltuīms nēisplūstu vaīs*. NIVe-C: 364). The semantic motivation for this name is based on the visual similarity to the empty space between the logs of a wall or the recess in a wall. The origin of the Latvian word *robs*<sup>208</sup> has several explanations (LEV 761).

#### 4.5.28. Padlock

To name a padlock, two names are recorded in the excerpt: 1) *spīns* m./*spīna* f.<sup>209</sup> ‘(door) padlock’ (< Lith. *spynà* with the meaning of a ‘padlock’ (LEW 870, Germ. ‘Vorhängeschloß, Vorlegeschloß’, in general ‘Türschloß’; LKŽe)) in Kurzeme (*spīna*. AVN: 131, Rucava) and in CS (*spīns* m., Germ. *das Türschloß*. DKW: 296). In New Curonian, the morphological variant *spīns* m. highlights a category problem. The

<sup>208</sup> To name an opening in the wall, the lexeme *robs* is used in its 1) meaning ‘a recess, usually relatively small on the surface (of something)’ and 1.1) ‘an empty space between components, elements (of set of something)’ (LLVVe).

<sup>209</sup> The dial. *spīne* is registered in southern Kurzeme (Dunika) (Germ. *ein Vorhängeschloß* ‘padlock’, MEe III 1004).

grammatical gender is given to a word, based on the corresponding word in German, and 2) the composite name *durespins* f. ‘(door) padlock’ is found in CS (KW: 31, German *das Türschloß*), which is based on its semantic equivalent in German, forming an etymological hybrid.

#### 4.5.29. Prop

Although a support for fixing a fence cannot be considered a structural element of the fence itself, the excerpt provides a name for such an element: *stute*/*štute* f. ‘prop, wooden support’ (< MLG *stute* (MEe III 1108, Germ. *die Stütze*), MLG *stutte* (Sehwers 1953: 127)) is recorded in Kurzeme (for instance, *stute*. LVI Apv., Ēdole, Dunika; *te būs štute* [žogam]. NI: 297, Nīca). Examples show that Latv. *stute*<sup>210</sup>, its variant *štute* is used to denote a support placed under or against something to prevent it from shaking or falling.

#### 4.5.30. Rafter

The name for a rafter, which is one of the sloped structural members designed to support the roof, is recorded in all three areas: 1) *spāre* f. ‘rafter’ is found in Kurzeme and Šventoji–Būtingē (for example, *nu kas tur – spāres uņ latas*. RtP: 409, Nīda (LV); *spāres jaūnāi ēkaī – sacēl spāres*. NIVe-I: 712, Nīca; *vecā spīlu jumtis spāres bija apaļas*. MB), its var. *sparē* f. with the same meaning is registered in CS (DKW: 275, Germ. *die Sparre*), while var. *špāre* f.<sup>211</sup> – in Kurzeme (for instance, *špāres i uz jumtu, aīz griēstiēm i špāres*. LVI Apv., Pērkone). In Latvian, the lexeme *spāre* is polysemous; however, with the meaning of a ‘rafter’, the Latv. *spāre* < MLG *sparē* (LEV 891; MEE III 987), MLG *spāre* (Sehwers 1953: 114), and 2) the composite name *stāge spars* m. ‘(roof) rafter’ is found only in CS (DKW: 81, Germ. *der Dachsparren, der Dachbalken* ‘roof beam’), and it is based on its semantic equivalent in German, forming an etymological hybrid. See also 4.5.33. ROOF, *stāgs*.

<sup>210</sup> In LLV, *stute* denotes both an object or a structure used as a support or to keep something in position (LLVVe).

<sup>211</sup> In MEE, *špāre* is registered in eastern Vidzeme (Liepna) (EHe II 654).

### 4.5.31. Railing

The name for a stair railing *lenterē* f., also *lenteris* m. (< Germ. *das Geländer* ‘handrail, railing’ (MEe II 452), *lendere*, *lenderis* “*Geländer*” (Sehwers 1953: 70)) is recorded in Nīca (*leñterus liēk trepēm, ku piētūrētiēs, kâpjuôt aūkšâ*. NIVe-L: 49), which most likely refers to a handrail, not the entire railing structure.

### 4.5.32. Ridge

Despite the different shapes of the roof as a whole, the highest point of the roof, where slopes meet and form a horizontal line, is a ridge. There are several names for this concept in the excerpt: 1) *čore* m. ‘ridge’<sup>212</sup> is found in Alsunga (*juñt čuōre žīvâ putniņ*. LVI Apv.), 2) *čukurs/čukurīns* m. ‘ridge’<sup>213</sup> in the southern Kurzeme (*pac tas slīpuñs i čukuŗs, ku [jumts] sanāk nuô viēnas puses uñ uōtras puses kuōpâ., čukuŗs i juñta nuôbeiguñs. bezdeliņgas tāisa lizdus juñta čukurâ, iēkšpusē*. NIVe-C: 399-400, Nīca; also *čukurīns*. LVI Apv., Bārta, formed with the dial. suffix *-īn-* (Latv. *-iņ-*)). Latv. *čukurs*, Lith. *čiùkuras*<sup>214</sup>, also *čiukurys* is based on sound imitation (LEW 76), 3) *gēvils* m. ‘ridge’ found only in CS (DKW: 120; KW: 33, Germ. *der First*) without an example in the text. See also 4.5.19. GABLE, *gēvele*.

### 4.5.33. Roof

In the excerpt, there are two names and their variants which denote a roof: 1) *jumts* m. and variants ‘roof’<sup>215</sup> is recorded in all three areas under research (see Figure 8.6.). The territorial distribution shows that in Kurzeme *jumts* was used mainly in the dialects of the central and southern part of the coast (for instance, *laî uzjuñtu*

<sup>212</sup> The dial. *čuoŗe* is registered with several meanings: 1) ‘a ridge’, 2) ‘a vault over the hearth’ (Germ. *das Gewölbe über dem Herde, der Rauchfang*), and 3) ‘a triangular hole at the roof ends of buildings for ventilation or smoke extraction’ (Latv. *brodiņš*) (MEe I 427).

<sup>213</sup> In LLV, *čukurs* is used with the same meaning as the Latv. *kore* ‘ridge’ (LLVVe). In MEE, Latv. *čukurs* is recorded as polysemous, and its 3rd meaning is ‘ridge’ (Germ. *der Dachfst*, MEE I 419) in Dunika, Ivande, Džūkste, also Zasa, Mazsalaca, Ranka, Kaldabruņa (EHe I 294-295). Other meanings related to the construction vocabulary are, for instance, 4) ‘gable’ in Vidzeme (Vecgulbene, Ļaudona) (Germ. *die Giebel*, MEE I 419), also ‘a hole in the roof ends of buildings for ventilation or smoke extraction’ (Latv. *brodiņš*) in Ungurmuiža (EHe I 294-295), however, these lexemes are not registered in the research area.

<sup>214</sup> The Lith. *čiùkuras* means: 1) ‘a roof top, ridge’, 2) ‘a hole in the steep roof ends, a hole for smoke extraction’ (with this meaning also Lith. *čiukurinis*), etc. (LKŽe).

<sup>215</sup> The polysemous Latv. lexeme *jumts* is a substantiated verbal adjective from the Latv. verb *jumt* with the original meaning ‘tied, bound, connected’ (LEV 361; MEE II 119).



*jumtu* vaīdzēja daūdz [niedres]. [...] vaīdzēja daūdz spīlu. RtP: 406, Nida (LV); *nuô saľmīem taīšīja jumt<sup>u</sup>s*. LVDA mater., Medze; ), also in Šventoji–Būtingė (*labāki jumti pirmā rindā bija klājami uz māju*. MB; *maņ uz jumtu ira divi maģi mīlulīši*. SA: 36); in Nīca, Barta it was recorded already in the 17th century dictionary (*jumbts*. JLV: 97 (50)). The sporadic record of Kursten. *jumts* (BezzS: 111) in Sarkau, in the southern part of the Curonian Spit, suggests that the name most likely arrived there with the ancestors of its users from Kurzeme, probably earlier than in other parts of the Curonian Spit (BezzS: 110–113; Endzelīns 1979: 577). Given the closer contacts of the fishing village inhabitants southwards (with Prussia) rather than northwards (with the Klaipėda region), and thus the larger Germanic language and smaller Lithuanian impact, it has allowed a more archaic lexical layer to be preserved, and 2) *stāgs*<sup>216</sup> m. and variants ‘roof’ (< Lith. *stogas* m. ‘roof, upper part of a building, cover’ (MEe III 1050; LKŽe)) is recorded only in CS. The prevalence of the name *stāgs* throughout the Curonian Spit, as opposed to the name *jumts* in the southern part of the spit (Sarkau), indicates the intensity of language contact and the influence of Lithuanian on the craft vocabulary.

There are word groups where their first component indicates a type of roof material or shape<sup>217</sup> (with the second component *jumts* or *stāgs*): 1.1) *jumti ar lauztis galis* m. pl. ‘half-hip roof’ in Šventoji–Būtingė (*jumti ar nolaistis galis bija prastāki nekā jumti ar lauztis galis un, pēc tam, jumti ar stāvis galis bija labāki nekā jumti ar lauztis galis*. MB), which names a roof type where the upper part of the gable has a small

<sup>216</sup> In Lithuanian dialects, the Lith. word *stogas* ‘roof’ can be found in a very wide area, including the entire area of the Samogitian dialect in Western Lithuania (LKŽe, Palanga, Rusne, etc.). The word is also used on both sides of the Curonian Spit in this form and meaning, including in Nida, Jodkrante, and on the eastern shore of the bay in the vicinity of Šilutė, Klaipėda (LKA-L 34–35, Map 3). However, the distribution of the name *stāgs* in the territory of Latvia is not recorded.

<sup>217</sup> The roof entirely determined the architecture of the homestead’s buildings, mainly dwelling houses, and highlighted particular regional characteristics. The shape of the roof and the materials used for the roof were the primary defining aspects that allowed us to understand the peculiarities of the area. For instance, straw and reed thatched roofs were built as hip-roofs (three or four slopes) or board roofs – saddle-roofs (two slopes). The distribution of the latter roofs in Latvia is characteristic of North Kurzeme, a wooded area. On the contrary, roofs with four slopes are widespread in South Kurzeme, the territory where agricultural lands and lakes with reeds on the banks (Kundziņš 1974: 278–282). This phenomenon demonstrates that the construction technique and materials were initially determined by the specific area and the available natural resources. In the later period (around the second half of the 19th century), wealthier owners replaced the roofing with clay tiles (Latv. *dakstiņš*). The roof was constructed with rafters (Latv. *spāre*) tied at the ridge (Latv. *kore*).

hip, 1.2) *jumti ar nolaistis galis* m. pl. 'hip roof' in Šventoji–Būtingė (MB), which names a roof type where all sides slope downwards to the walls. In Latvian, the word *nolaists* is formed of the verb *nolaist* in its second meaning 'to point downwards (a vertical or inclined object, a part of it)' (Tez), therefore, the word group *nolaistis galis* is used with the meaning of a 'inclined plane', 1.3) *jumti ar stāvis galis* m. pl. 'gable roof' in Šventoji–Būtingė (MB), which names a roof type where two sloping roof planes meet at the top in a triangular shape, forming gables at the building ends, namely, a gable roof. In Latvian, the adverb *stāvs* 'vertical or nearly vertical' (Tez), 2.1.) *dakstiņu jumts* m. 'tile roof' in Kurzeme (for example, *dakstiņ juņc.* LVDA mater., Užava, Jūrkalne; *dakstiņu juņti senāk a' bi. taga, ku kuļķūš taša, tuô sauc šiperi.* LVDA mater., Ziemepe, etc.), but *stāgs ar stigiles* m. 'tile roof' in CS (*ir viņi turij serkanes stāges ar stigiles.* ISBt: 15, Nida (LT)). See also 4.4.16. ROOFING TILE, 2.2) *lubu jumts* m. 'wooden board (?) roof' in Nīca, Bārta (*Lubbo=jumbts.* JLV: 97 (50))<sup>218</sup>, but *skaidu jumts* m. 'wooden shingle roof' in Šventoji–Būtingė (*jaunākās mājas ar skaidu jumtis.* MB), *šķindeļu jumts* m. 'wooden shingle roof' in Medze (*vēl ir šķiņdeļu juņti – tiē sasist' nuô tâdâm plakanâm dēlîtēm.* LVDA mater.). See also 4.4.15. ROOFING BOARD OR SHINGLE, 2.3) *papes jumts*<sup>219</sup> m. 'tar-paper roof' in Ziemepe (*pāpes juņtus a' liēk.* LVDA mater.), 2.4) *salmu jumts* m. 'thatched roof' in Kurzeme (*Salmo jumbts* (JLV: 97 (50), Nīca, Bārta; *ta tuô šiper' nevarēja dabūt. salmu juņti bi – gařsalmu.* LVI Apv., Pērkone; *salmu juņti – tiē gaņ ir tâdâm vēcâm mājâm.* LVDA mater., Medze; *salmu juņtus juma tâ: gařus salmus lika, gařas bērsa kārtes [...].* LVDA mater., Ziemepe), but *salme stāgs* m. 'thatched roof' in CS (DKW: 285, Germ. *das Strohdach*), however, more likely it is used to name a reed roof. See also 4.4.19. STRAW, *salmi*, 2.5) *truše stāgs* m. 'reed roof' in CS (*un Thomas Mann nu ar tur truše stāge., te bije māla nams a' ar truše stāgs.* ISB: 16, Nida (LT)). See also 4.4.14. REED, *truše*, but *spīlu jumts* m. 'reed roof' in Kurzeme (for instance, *liēk uz juņtu, kaīsa mēsluôs. citreiz jaū spīlu juņti bi.* LVI Apv., Dunika; *tiē spīlu juņti gāi pa piēcdesmit seždesmit gadiēm.* LVI Apv., Pērkone) and in Šventoji–Būtingė (*spīlu juņti izpuškoti ar tupelemis un lekis.* MB). 4.4.14. REED, *spīla*.

<sup>218</sup> In Latvian, the dial. *luba* is explained with the name *jumstiņš* 'a specially formed wooden plank for roofing with a groove on one side and a pointed edge on the other side' (Tez; MEe II 509).

<sup>219</sup> Usually impregnated with tar to repel moisture.

#### 4.5.34. Roof chair

The Kursen. word group *stāge štuols* m. ‘roof chair structure’<sup>220</sup> is registered only in CS (DKW 81, *der Dachstuhl*), and it is based on its semantic equivalent in German, forming an etymological hybrid. Kursen. *štuols* m. ‘chair’ (KW: 77, Germ. *der Stuhl*). See also 4.5.33. ROOF, *stāgs*.

#### 4.5.35. Shutter

Shutters, which are exterior coverings used to cover windows and limit the amount of light entering rooms, are typically found on dwelling houses. The names for this concept are recorded (see Figure 8.7.): 1) *finsterlāde* f. ‘shutter’ (< Germ. *der Fensterladen* ‘shutter’) only in CS (KuV: 56; BezzS: 24, Preila), 2) *laņģinīčas* f. ‘shutter’ (< Liet. *langinė, lāginė* ‘shutter’ (LKŽe), (hibr.) *langinýčia*, also *langinyčia* ‘shutter; board above the top of window (lintel); sill; a place under the window’ (LKŽe)) only in CS (KuV: 65), 3) the composite name *luoage lāde* f./*luoagelāds* m. ‘shutter’ in CS (KW: 48; DKW: 117; Germ. *der Fensterladen*; FKN: 49), and it is based on its semantic equivalent in German, and 4) *slēģis* m. ‘shutter’ (< MLG *släge* ‘intended for closing, serves for locking’ (Germ. *zum Verschliessen, Sperren Dienendes*, MEe III 928) or BG *die Schläge* ‘shutter’ (Sehwers 1953: 110)) in Kurzeme (for instance, *kādreīz mājām bi slēģi – luōgiēm*. SA: 96, Jūrmalciems; *slēģi senāk maz bi. vis vaīrāk tuōs tāšij nuō 1905. gada. tiē bi tādi, ka nuō ārpuses nevarēj atvērt*. NIVe-A: 218, Nīca). Regardless of the names’ origin, their semantic motivation is rooted in the function of covering and closing an opening, namely, a window. Examples from the Curonian Spit demonstrate the influence of both Germanic and Lithuanian languages.

#### 4.5.36. Skirting board

There are two names for a skirting board<sup>221</sup>, and both are recorded in Nīca: 1) *kāj(u)dēle* f. ‘skirting board’ (*apakšā i fūslīstes – kājudēles – piē grīdas*. NIVe-F: 528, Nīca). See also 4.4.1. BOARD, *dēlis*, and 2) *fusliste* f. ‘skirting board’ (< Germ. *die Fußleiste* ‘skirting board’), and it is based on its semantic equivalent in German

<sup>220</sup> In LLV, *krēsls* means: 1) ‘a chair’, 2) ‘a structure that supports the loads of the roof deck covering’ (LLVVe), used in a word group like Latv. *jumta krēsls* ‘roof chair structure’ as a construction term.

<sup>221</sup> In LLV, *grīdliste* means ‘a skirting board’ (LLVVe).

(*ziņzēvele bi, ku fūslistes, taga kājdēles saūc, tāša*. NIVe-F: 528, Nīca). See also 4.4.8. LATH, *liste*.

#### 4.5.37. Stairs

The name *trepes* f. pl. and variants ‘stairs’<sup>222</sup> (< LG *treppe* ‘stairs; step’; this borrowing is mentioned in dictionaries in the 17th century (LEV 1059; Sehwers 1953: 144)) are recorded in the southern Kurzeme (for instance, *vis:u vādzēja nēst pa trepēm aūkšā*. AVN: 101, Bārta; *šij trepeī liēlāki kâpiēni*. NIVe-J: 59, Nīca, etc.) and in CS (*trepā f. I*. MogN: 255; KW: 79; DKW: 295, Germ. *die Treppe*). See also 4.5.23. LADDER, *trepes* and 4.5.39. STEP, *trepe*.

#### 4.5.38. Stave

There is a name *lītre šprucs* m. ‘stave’ for a horizontal crosspiece between the legs of a ladder, found only in CS (DKW: 199, Germ. *die Leitersprosse*), and it is based on its semantic equivalent in German.

#### 4.5.39. Step

While a ladder has horizontal crosspieces on which to place feet, stairs have steps for this purpose – a place to rest the foot while ascending or descending a stairway. There are two names for this concept in the excerpt: 1) *kâpiens* m. ‘step’<sup>223</sup> is recorded in Nīca (*trepēm i tiē kâpiēni*. NIVe-J: 59), and 2) *trepe/trep* f. ‘step’ is found only in CS (DKW: 286, Germ. *die Stufe*; KW: 79).

#### 4.5.40. Trapdoor

A trapdoor is a door set into a ceiling or floor which allow access between different levels of a building, both a dwelling house and a subsidiary building, and there is a name *lūka* f.<sup>224</sup> and variants ‘trapdoor’ (< BG *lūk, lūke* ‘lūka’ (borrowed in the 18th century) (LEV 547) or similar to Est. *lūk* < MLG *luke* (MEe II 518), cf. Lith. *liūkas* (LKŽe)) recorded in Nīca (*piŗtī atšāva tuō lūku, lai tiē dūmi iēt laiķā pa tuō*

<sup>222</sup> In Kurzeme, the dial. *trep, treps* ‘stairs, a ladder’ is registered in Alsunga, *trep’s* ‘idem.’ in Kandava, *treps, trepe* in Dundaga (LVDA mater.).

<sup>223</sup> In LLV, *pakâpiens* means ‘a part of the stairs, namely a horizontal and vertical structure on which the feet are placed when climbing’ (LLVVe).

<sup>224</sup> In LLV, *lūka* means ‘a lockable opening (usually on the floor, ceiling or wall of a building, room)’ (LLVVe).

*kuôka skuŗstĩnu., lũks i tâc caũrumŗs staļļa galâ aũkŗŗ. pa tuô bâza sienu uz griŗstiŗm., lũciŗa* ‘trapdoor in the wall, which allows chickens to enter the barn’ NIVE-L: 91) and in CS (for instance, *es turij wiŗ palaunage řŗene plũgte us augstŗn un par lũke meste zemui nama*. HD; AI: 60; KW: 48, Germ. *die Luke*; DKW: 204). In Kursen. probably borrowed from Germ. *die Luke* ‘trapdoor’ or Germ. dial. lexis.

#### 4.5.41. Threshold

Although this concept is related to the foundation row of logs, the names found in the excerpt are specifically for the threshold, and they all are found in the southern Kurzeme: 1) *lipinis* m. ‘threshold’ (AVN: 133, Rucava). In Latvian the word may be borrowed (< Lith. *lipinŗ*, which has several meanings, some of which are ‘step; in pl. also stairs (ladder)’ (LKŗŗe)) with the meaning that in older (especially residential) houses the threshold is raised or high enough (as a step) and must be crossed or stepped over. However, some sources have different meanings for this variant of the word: *lipine* ‘step’ (Latv. *pakāpiens*. Reidzāne 2022: 518, Rucava, Sventāja), also *lipine* ‘porch by the dwelling house and granary’ (MEe II 474, Rucava), 2) *pĩgrindis* m. ‘threshold’ (AVN: 133, Rucava) is created more likely < Lith. *grindis*<sup>225</sup> with the Latv. dial. prefix *pĩ-* (Latv. *pie-*), and 3) *slieksnis* m. ‘threshold’ (*manŗs vŗctŗŗa mājŗs vŗl istabai bi aũkŗstiŗ sliŗŗŗŗi, kad bŗrni nevarŗj pārkāpt*. NIVE-A: 224, Nŗca). See 4.5.18. FOUNDATION ROW OF LOGS.

#### 4.5.42. Wall

The name *siŗna* f. and variants ‘wall’ (a derivative of the Latv. verb *siet* ‘to tie, to bind’ (Latv. ‘pĩŗ’) (MEe III 858; LEV 811-812, cf. Lith. *sŗena*) are registered in all three areas under research (for instance, *vŗctŗŗs aĩzgāja us piŗti aĩzdrŗŗet spraũgas siŗnā*. NIVE-A: 26, Nŗca; *ka plŗsa tās tap:etes zemŗ, kad aĩs tās siŗnas salĩmŗti vis•adi bi*. SA: 29, řŗventoji; also in CS, *siŗna*. KuV: 80; MogN: 253; *lŗne auge tie siŗenes like istube ziedes*. FKN: 74, etc.). This primary name refers to the general construction of a wall without specifying the material or technique used<sup>226</sup>. This word is the second

<sup>225</sup> The Lith. *grindis* has several meanings, but: 1) ‘floorboards, planks of (dirt) floor; a bridge board (log)’, 2. ‘a wooden (dirt) floor’ (LKŗŗe), pl. *grĩĩdys* ‘floor’ (cf. Lith. *[lentinŗs] grindys* ‘plank floor’).

<sup>226</sup> The homestead buildings were constructed of untrimmed logs, but in Kurzeme, they were more often made of side-dressed logs. The shaping of the corner joints depended on various considerations. Usually, they were made to be tight-fitting and featured a cross corner. However, from the second half of the 19th century, there was also an even corner (Kundziņŗ 1974:

component in composite names to refer to different types of walls, for example, in CS: 1) *dubulte rēšine siene* f. 'double wall' (*ta dubulte rēšine siene, ca. 3 m augste, tap ar kimine vel ispildate un ieštampate*. FKN: 238, Germ. *die Doppelwand*), 2) *kukines siene* f. pl. 'kitchen wall' in CS (*tie kukines sienes tap lik šurnštīne virse šaure pits augšume taisate*. FKN: 76, Germ. *die Küchenwände*), 3) *pakala siene* f. 'back wall' in CS (*pakala siene* f., Germ. *die Rückwand*. DKW: 247), and in Nīca 4) *vidussiena* f. 'inner middle wall' (*vidussienas bēr a zāgu skaīdām pīlass, lai neiēt aūkstuņš*. NIVe-A: 229, cf. MEe IV 581, Germ. *die mittlere Wand*).

#### 4.5.43. Windboard

A windboard is a board attached to the edge of the roof that serves to safeguard the roof covering from damage caused by precipitation and wind (Kundziņš 1974: 415; Tez<sup>227</sup>). Often, ornamental notches and cut-outs are made on one side of the boards, creating an artistically elaborated appearance for the building, complemented by other decorative elements of the facade. In the excerpt, there is two composite names for this concept: 1) *gēvile lēntes* f. pl. 'windboards' is found only in CS (DKW: 81, Germ. *die Dachbretter*; FKN: 76, Germ. *die Giebelbretter*). The first component of the word group indicates that these windboards are placed right at the roof ends, but the German translation shows that Kursen. *gēvile(s)* in this word group may denote both the roof in general and the gable. See also 4.4.1. BOARD], *lente* and 4.5.19. GABLE, *gēvele*, and 2) *vējālēte* f. 'windboard' is recorded only in Šventoji–Būtingė (*leišu laikā atnāca nosaukums vējālētes*. MB), forming an etymological hybrid.

#### 4.5.44. Window

The name *logs* m.<sup>228</sup> 'window' is registered in all research areas: in Kurzeme (for instance, *glāznieks lika luôgam rutes*. NIVe-G: 567, Nīca; *kādreiz mājām bi slēgi –*

272–276). It also determined the interior of all rooms because the walls were originally left without decoration. Other types of interior decoration only appeared later.

<sup>227</sup> The Latv. *vējdeli* means 'boards attached to the ends of a gable roof, covering the upright, exposed edges of the roof (above the gable) to protect the roofing from wind damage and precipitation' (Tez).

<sup>228</sup> In MEe, *luôgs* is registered with the meaning of 1) 'an opening', for example, Latv. *dūmu luogs*, 2) 'a window' (MEe II 524). In the early stages of dwelling house development, windows were small openings, usually the same height as a log. Sliding wooden shutters, covered with a piece of the bladder, were built to close them (Kundziņš 1974: 284). The first glass windows (Latv. *logs*) replaced the simplest forms of windows, thus allowing daylight to enter the room. Windows with divisions had glass panes, usually divided into even parts, such as 2, 4, or 6.

*luôgiēm*. SA: 96, Jūrmalciems; ķēķiņ bij viens luôks. LVI Apv., Ēdole; *tā nuôkvēpuši tiē piŗtes luôģeli*. NIVe-L: 96, Nīca, *luôģelis* ‘small window’), in Šventoji–Būtingė (*logs*., *logēlis* ‘small window’., *Sventajā dzīvāva meistari, kas mācēja pataisīt logus, dures*. MB) and in CS (*lohgs*. VLS: 17; *lūogs*. KuV: 66; *tie luogi ar būt blāve un balte*. ISBt: 15, etc.), and 2) the composite name *priekšlogs* m. ‘front window; winter-frame’<sup>229</sup> is found in Pērkone (*dēls teīc, ka vēl pa ātrs likt priekšluôg”s*. LVI Apv.), probably also 3) *dubultais luôgs* m. ‘winter frame’ (*ka lika dubultuôs luôgus, ta tuŗ iēlika tās kaķpēdiņas tā smukumam*. NIVe-L: 96, Nīca). See also 4.5.45. WINDOW-FRAME.

#### 4.5.45. Window-frame

There are two names for a window-frame: 1) *luoagerāms* m. is recorded only in CS (KW: 48, Germ. *der Fensterrahmen*; *luoage rāmes*, *luoages* [..] *un cites darbes partaisij tišlirs*. FKN: 74), and it is based on its semantic equivalent in German, but *loga rām(i)s* m. in Nīca (*luôga rāmu nuôveda izgruôpēt piē būmeīstara*. NIVe-I: 765; *būmeīstaŗ luôgu rāmus pērvēja baltus – gribēja māju izdaiļināt*. NIVe-I: 746), 2) *rāmis* m. (< MLG *rame* ‘frame’ (LEV 737) or similar to the Est. *rām* from German (MEe III 496), Germ. *der Rahm* (Sehwers 1953: 98)<sup>230</sup>) is found in Kurzeme (*bēģelis [logam] apakšā; rāmis tas, ku stikli iēkšā*. NI: 258, Nīca), and probably also *bruste* f. ‘window-frame’, found in Nīca (*vēcuôs laiķuôs saūca pa brustiēm, tag saūc pa rīģeri, ku tuôs stiklus liēk iēkšā*. NIVe-B: 317).

#### 4.5.46. Window-pane

The name *rūte* f. (< MLG *rute* ‘quadrangle, window-pane’ (cf. Germ. *das Viereck* ‘quadrangle’, *die Fensterscheibe* ‘window-pane’, MEE III 574), LG *rūte* or EF *rūt* (LEV 774), LG *rūte* (Sehwers 1953: 104)) has been found for a window pane in Nīca (*luôgi bi aŗ sešām rūtēm, katras divas rūtes viēnā rāmī. divas bi blakām piē steīdera uņ uōtras divas bi aūkšām us tām. uņ apakšējām bi viēna puse attaišāma vaļā – uz eņģēm*. NIVe-L: 96) and in CS (DKW: 117, Germ. *die Fensterscheibe*). In Latvian, the word *rūte*, meaning a ‘glass window-pane’, was mentioned in the 18th century and was

<sup>229</sup> The Latv. *priekšluôgs* (Germ. *das Vorfenster, Vorsatzfenster*) is registered in central Kurzeme (Aizupe) (MEe III 396).

<sup>230</sup> In Latvian, *rāmis* was introduced relatively late, as it is mentioned in dictionaries from the 19th century (LEV 737). In LLV, *rāmis* means 1.2) ‘a wooden or metal construction in which (window, hotbed) panes are fixed’ (LLVVe).

used until the 1930s, when it was replaced by the standard Latvian word *rūts*<sup>231</sup> (LEV 774).

#### 4.5.47. Windowsill

In the excerpt, there are several names for a windowsill (see Figure 8.8.); however, only the context can determine whether it is an outer or inner sill. They are: 1) *bēģele* f./*bēģelis* m. ‘windowsill’ (< MLG *boge* ‘window-frame’ (cf. Germ. *das Fensterbrett* ‘windowsill’, MEe I 289) or probably LG *bögel* ‘bow (?)’, any semicircularly curved wood or metal’ (Sehwers 1953: 11)) in Kurzeme (*bēģelis*. AVN: 133, Rucava; LVI Apv., Ēdole; *līst – luôgañ bēģele slapja.*, *uzbēra uz luôga bēģeli maîzi, tūlīt radâs klât [putni]*. NI: 259, Nīca, ‘outer windowsill’; *Lavīz istube uz bēģel pulk puķ puôd sâlik*. LVI Apv., Ēdole, ‘inner windowsill’; [*senāk*] *bēģelis jaû nebî pērvēc*. NIVe-B: 265, Nīca, etc.), 2) *bristungs* m. ‘windowsill’ (< Germ. *die Fensterbrüstung* ‘windowsill’) in Nīca (*bēģelis muñs i, ku mēs taga saûcañ bristuñgu*. NIVe-B: 312), and 3) *palodze* f./*palogis* m. ‘windowsill’<sup>232</sup> in Alsunga (*paluôdze*. LVI Apv.) and in CS (*paluôgis*<sup>233</sup>. KuV: 71; *paluoage* f. DKW: 117, Germ. *die Fensterbank*; *paluoag* f. KW: 57, Germ. *die Fensterbank*).

<sup>231</sup> In LLV, *rūts* means ‘a plate of glass, enclosed in the frame for (usually window opening) closure’ (LLVVe). Latv. *rūts* ‘window-pane’, also the dial. *rūte* with the same meaning (Germ. *die Fensterraute* ‘(window rhomb) window-pane’) (MEe III 574; EHe II 390, cf. Lith. *rūtà* ‘window-pane’, LKŽe).

<sup>232</sup> In MEe, *palodze* is registered with four meanings: 1) ‘a part of the wall under the window’ in Vidzeme (Gaujiena, Zvārtava, Ļaudona), 2) ‘a windowsill’ (Germ. *das Fensterbrett, die Fensterbrüstung, die Fensterlehne*), 3) ‘a part of a room or space under the window’, and 4) ‘a small door or a kind of window, in the straw (hey?) barn’, also *paluôgs* (MEe III 64). Cf. Lith. *palángė* ‘a windowsill; a place under the window’, also *palángis, palangys* ‘idem.’ (LKŽe).

<sup>233</sup> In New Curonian, in some cases, the consonants *k* and *g*, when occurring before the vowel *i*, do not become *c* and *dz* as in Latvian, for instance, *daģis, palaunaģis*, and *palogis* (KuV: 18).





**Figure 8.1.** Distribution of *CEILING* names.



**Figure 8.2.** Distribution of CEILING (CROSS) BEAM names.



Figure 8.3. Distribution of FOUNDATION names.



Figure 8.4. Distribution of FOUNDATION ROW OF LOGS names.



Figure 8.5. Distribution of LADDER names.

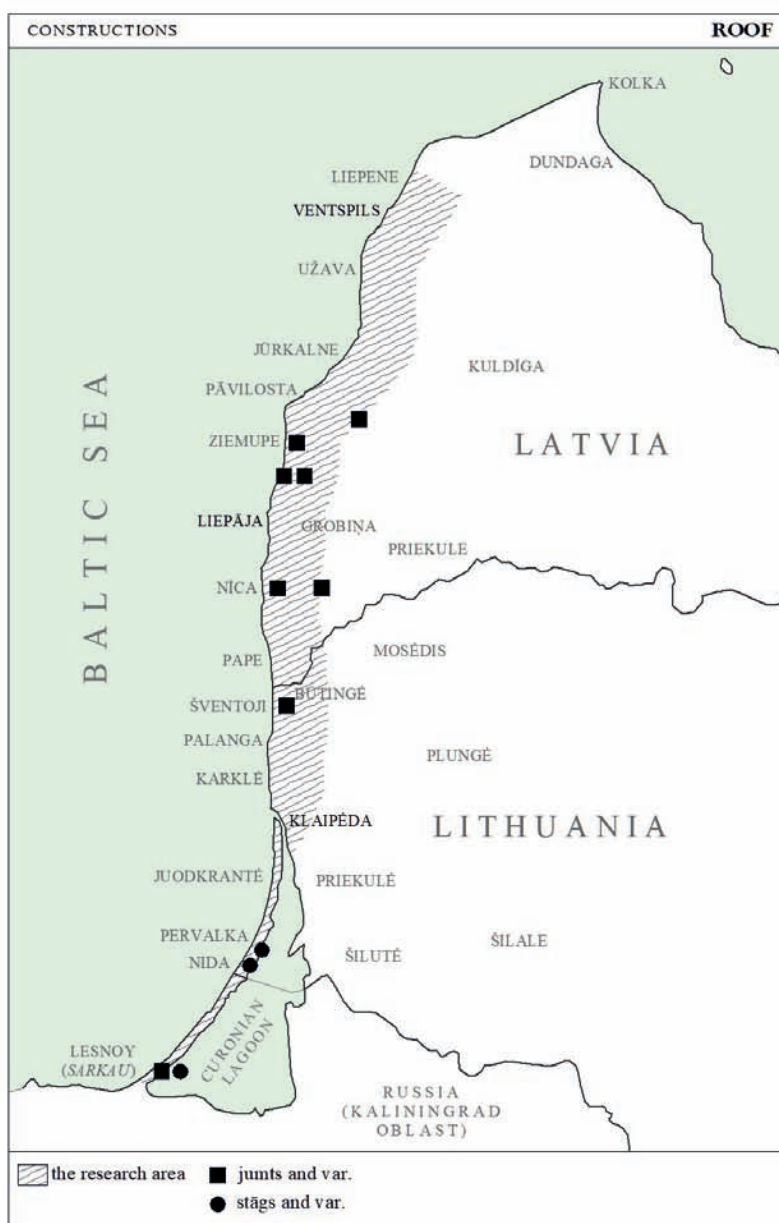
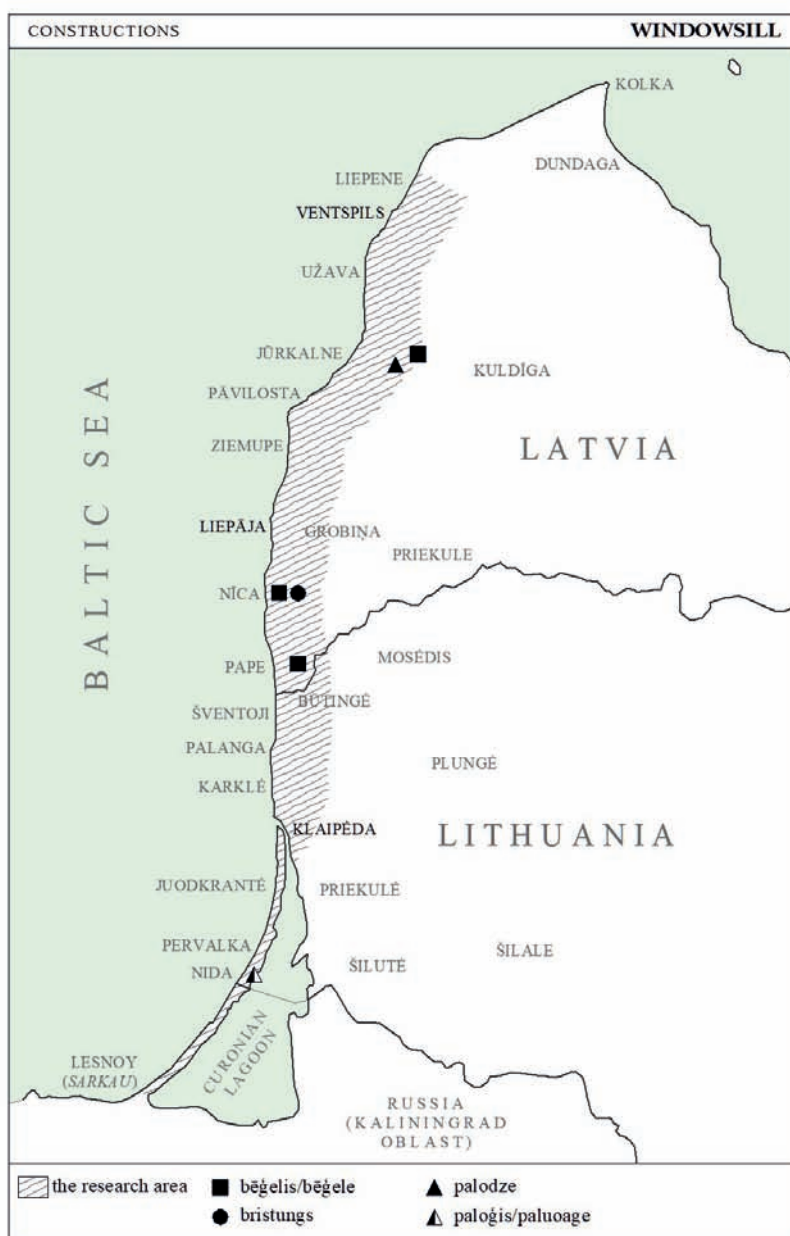


Figure 8.6. Distribution of ROOF names.



Figure 8.7. Distribution of SHUTTER names.



**Figure 8.8.** *Distribution of WINDOWSILL names.*



## 4.6. HEATING AND LIGHTING APPLIANCES

The group consists of 14 concepts and 28 lexemes. It includes concepts related to heating, lighting, and cooking appliances found in buildings on the homestead. These appliances are closely linked to the core of the building, which has evolved into more recent building types around which other rooms are arranged. The names describe both the appliances as a whole, such as ovens or stoves, and specific parts or elements, where such names have been recorded in the sources. See Chapter 5.3.6. for a comprehensive overview of this thematic group.

### 4.6.1. Cooking stove

In the excerpt, three names denote a cooking stove. In CS, 1) the primary word *mašīns* m./*mašīne* f. and 2) the compound word *kukinmašīns* m. are found (*mašīns* m. KW: 49, Germ. *der Küchenherd* (*gemauert*); *mašīne* f. DKW: 160, Germ. *der Kohlenherd*; FKN: 118, Germ. *der Herd*; *kukinmašīns* m. KW: 45, Germ. *der Küchenherd*)<sup>234</sup>. The primary word *mašīne* and its variant *mašīns*, indicating a gender category problem, is likely borrowed from the second component of its semantic equivalent in Germ., namely, the compound name *die Kochenmaschine* (DWDSe, cf. Germ. dial. *der Kochherd*)<sup>235</sup>, and it is used here with the meaning of a ‘kitchen stove, made of bricks’ (KW: 49). It seems that this name was created by the author of the source, based on his knowledge of Germ., rather than an authentic name for the concept. Whereas in the southern seaside of Kurzeme 3) the name *plīts*<sup>236</sup> (<BG *die Pliete*

<sup>234</sup> The German words found only in the Curonian Spit refer to different types of stoves: first, a brick stove; second, a stove heated by coals; third, a stove heated by firewood; and finally, a hearth with a device containing a stove, an oven, and a bread oven. The inclusion of the element *maschine* in these names indicates the complex structure of the appliance. Ethnographic materials and pictures of the heating and cooking area in the typical fisher’s dwelling suggest that the open fire, where the pot is placed in the middle of the fire or hangs on a chain above it, located in the ‘nams’ and separated by a masonry wall (Demereckas 2011: 53, 209), was replaced by a brick stove.

<sup>235</sup> In German, words like *der Herd*, *der Küchenherd*, or *der Kochherd* denote a domestic appliance for cooking, frying, and baking food; originally meaning the fire or cooking place of a residential building, usually also with a built-in oven (DWDSe). The German word *die Kochenmaschine* is explained by the German word *der Kochherd* ‘cooking stove’.

<sup>236</sup> The polysemous lexeme, also dial. *plīte* is registered with the meanings: 1) ‘an iron kitchen stove’ (Germ. *die Pliete*, *ein eiserner Küchenherd*), 2) ‘a brick’, and 3) ‘a piece of ice’ (MEe III 349). The word *plīts* is fully incorporated into the Latvian language system and found in standard Latvian with the meaning ‘an appliance (usually in the kitchen) for heating and cooking food and drink, heated by firewood’, meaning a cooking stove (LLVVe).

‘cooking stove’ < Rus. *плита*)<sup>237</sup> is registered in Šventoji–Būtingė in its var. *plīte* (MB). Latv. *plīts*, also its morphological var. *plīte*, is borrowed at the beginning of the 18th century, initially meaning ‘brick, flat stone, tile’ (MEe III 349; LEV 702; Bušs 1977: 61), while the meaning ‘kitchen (cooking) stove’ (Latv. *virtuves pavadis*)<sup>238</sup> only became established in the 19th century (LEV 702), coinciding with various technical innovations in the cooking and heating center of the dwelling house around the second half of the 19th century.

#### 4.6.2. Bread oven

Five distinct names for bread ovens are found (see Figure 9.1.): 1) the polysemous *ceplis* m.<sup>239</sup> (a derivative of the Latv. verb *cept* ‘to bake’ (LEV 166; Bīlenšteins 2001: 74)) or 2) the word group *maizes ceplis* m. (*maizes krāsns [jeb] maizes ceplis i ķēķī liēla krāsne, nuô apakšas kurināma., krāsne bi istabas pusē diēzgaņ liēla. tā bi maizes ceplis*. NIVe-C: 356, Nīca; *maizes ceplis* : *ceplis*. LVDA mater., Saka), found in the southern and central Kurzeme seaside, 3) the polysemous *krāsns/krāsne* f. or 4) the word group *maizes krāsns* f. (for instance, *katrā mājā bi maizes krāsne., tāda tā krāsne bij – seš<sup>us</sup> kukuļus varēja iēlikt*. AVN: 113, Bārta; *maīzi cep krāsnē*. LVDA mater., Medze; *maīskrās<sup>ns</sup>*. LVDA mater., Užava, etc.), found in the wider area of the Kurzeme seaside, and 5) the polysemous *spelte* f.<sup>240</sup>, found particularly in one place (LVI Apv., Alsunga). The meaning of the second component in the first two composite names can only be deduced from the context if it is used without the specifying word (Latv. *maize* ‘bread’). See also 4.6.13. STOVE and 4.6.7. OPENING IN THE STOVE FOR SMOKE TO ESCAPE.

<sup>237</sup> Latvian linguist Bušs points out that although borrowing such a word through Baltic German everyday speech is plausible, it must be noted that the strengthening of words of such origin in Latvian was also influenced directly by the Russian language. This also highlights the problem of classifying this type of borrowing. Therefore, Bušs recommends using terms such as Russo-Germanisms or German-Russianisms (Bušs 1977: 61).

<sup>238</sup> In LLV, *pavards* means ‘a device usually for cooking, heated by firewood’ (LLVVe).

<sup>239</sup> In LLV, the third meaning of the lexeme *ceplis* is ‘a large stove in peasant houses (for heating, baking bread, cooking, also for lighting)’; it is a dialect word and an obsolete word (Tez; LLVVe). Thus, depending on the heating centre of a dwelling house and its stage of development, this name can refer not only to an oven specifically designed for baking bread, but also to a multifunctional appliance for heating, lighting, and cooking, namely, a stove.

<sup>240</sup> The explanation states that *spelte* is used with the meaning of ‘a bread oven’ or ‘a flue, a chimney that is closed up with the brick when the oven has burned out’ (LVI Apv.).

#### 4.6.3. Flue

In the excerpt, three names are found to denote a flue (see Figure 9.2.): 1) the dial. *cuka/cuke* f.<sup>241</sup> with the meaning of a ‘chimney flue’, found in the southern and central seaside areas of Kurzeme (*pa cukâm nāk dūmi. tās cukas iēiēt skūrstinā. NIVe-C: 381, Nīca; cuke jaiēluōž dūm. LVI Apv., Alsunga*), also in Šventoji–Būtingė (*tā i cuk:a. [...] jâ, tuō es sapruōtu labi, tā i cuk:a, kuŗ vėl̃k dūmus aũkšām uņ iēt skur̃stiēnā, tāt. SA: 42*), 2) *dūmvads* m.<sup>242</sup>, found only in Nīca (*krāsneī i šiberis, ku aīzvēl̃k dūmvadu, ka izdeguse krāsne., [rijā] priēkš dūmiēm ne kâc dūmvac nebi. dūmi plūda kuōpâ a siltumu. NIVe-D: 474*), and 3) *krāsine ruoars* m., recorded only in CS (DKW: 226, Germ. *das Ofenrohr*). While the first name is considered a borrowing, likely from German<sup>243</sup>, the third is based on its semantic equivalent in German<sup>244</sup>. The second name’s semantic motivation is based on the process of smoke moving outwards through a duct or passage.

#### 4.6.4. Hearth

The name for a hearth, *pavards* m. (a derivative of the Latv. verb *\*virt* or *\*vert* ‘to burn’ (Latv. *degt*) (LEV 663)), is registered in CS (*pawards. lett. auch ugguns kurs, ugguns weeta [...] Feuerstätte – Herd. VLK: 21; us pawardu LF. BezzS: 46, Sarkau; pavārds (vēci lāuži turiņa pavārdus, mēs sakam kukņē). KuV: 72; pavards m. DKW: 160, Germ. Herd, Kohlenherd; vingē uoaskrāve vīse sakapate malke tarpe pavarde un krāsine, kur tas turp džāvinaj. FKN: 296, Germ. sie stapelten das kleingemachte Holz*

<sup>241</sup> In Latvian, the dial. *cuka* is polysemous, and its primary meaning is ‘a chimney flue; also a stove, an oven, masonry heater flues’ (Tez). However, in Modern Latvian, it denotes an ‘opening of a closed heating and cooking appliance for smoke extraction’ (MLVVe).

<sup>242</sup> The compound (word) consists of Latv. *dūmi* ‘smoke’ and Latv. *vads* ‘pipe’. In EHe, the compound *dūmvadis*, also *dūmvads*, is registered with the meaning ‘a flue’ (Germ. *der Rauchfang*) and also ‘a chimney’ (Germ. *der Schornstein*, EHe I 348). Technically, there are two distinct components: the pipe that connects the heating or cooking appliance to the chimney, and the chimney itself, which allows smoke to escape through the roof. Considering this, in these examples, the word *dūmvads* refers to the flue.

<sup>243</sup> Latvian literary scholar Janīna Kursīte-Pakule notes that the origin of the name *cuka* is presumably related to the German word *der Zug*, meaning ‘draught’ (Latv. *vilkme*) or ‘a flue’ (Germ. *Kanal, durch den Luft, Rauchgase abziehen*, DWDSe) (Kursīte 2014: 278).

<sup>244</sup> Its first component is the Kursen. *krāsine* ‘stove’ (DKW: 178, cf. *krāsne*. KuV: 63), and the second is the Kursen. *ruoare* f. ‘pipe’ (DKW: 245, Germ. *die Röhre*), *ruoar* f. (KW: 68), borrowed directly < from Germ. *das Rohr* or *die Röhre* ‘pipe’. In Latvian, the word *rore* is considered colloquial (Tez).

*zwischen Herd und Ofen auf, wo es trocknen sollte*). In MEe, *pavards* is recorded with the meaning ‘hotbed of fire’ (Germ. *der Feuerherd*, MEe III 133); in LLV, *pavards* means ‘heating appliance, usually for cooking’ (LLVVe), and it has several derived sub-meanings: 1.1) ‘a fireplace’, 1.2) ‘a place in the living space where the fire is lit’, 1.3) ‘a coal and ash pit in the front of the stove’, and 1.4) ‘a (cooking-)stove’ (Tez).

#### 4.6.5. Heating wall

Several names (*mūris*/*mūrītis*/*siltais mūris* m. and *siena* f.) are identified with the construction of the stove, usually typically referring to parts such as its outer wall or bottom that provide heat (see Figure 9.3.). The concept of a heating wall or masonry heater is denoted by the primary word *mūris* m., by its derivative *mūrītis* m. (formed of the Latv. *mūris* with the suffix *-īt*<sup>245</sup>), and by the word group *siltais mūris* m. (formed of the Latv. *silts* ‘warm’ and *mūris* ‘masonry’<sup>246</sup>). The primary word indicates that the object is made of stone or brick, most likely as a masonry wall; thus, the name’s semantic motivation is the object’s appearance and material. While these names are mainly found in southern Kurzeme (Ziemupe, Nīca, and Šventoji–Būtingē), in the excerpt, the name *siena* f. is registered with the meaning of a ‘heating wall’ only in Šventoji (MB). See also 4.5.25. MASONRY and 4.5.42. WALL.

#### 4.6.6. Mouth of a stove

The name for the mouth of a stove, *krāsns priekšā* f., is recorded in southern Kurzeme (*Krahsn=preekscha*. JLV: 120 (61a), Germ. *das Ofenloch*, Nīca, Bārta). The compound name is semantically motivated by the object’s location within the overall structure of the stove. In southern Kurzeme, the word group *krāsns mute* is found in the same meaning (*krāsns mute*, *kuŗ iēkuŗ uguni.*, *krāsns mute [sauca]*, *ku maīzi lika*. NIVe-J: 133, Nīca).

<sup>245</sup> In LLV, the second meaning of the diminutive form of *mūris*, namely *mūrītis*, is a ‘construction at the bottom of the outer wall of the stove for sitting or sleeping’ (LLVVe). Depending on the context, the derivative word *mūrītis* may refer not only to the wall connected to the heating device (stove or oven), but also to a bench-like formation on which a person can lie down and even sleep for a night (oven-couch or stove-couch).

<sup>246</sup> The first component of the word group *siltais mūris* is dependent and denotes a feature of the object (heat).

#### 4.6.7. Opening in a stove for smoke to escape

The Latv. *spelte* f. has several meanings<sup>247</sup>; however, with the meaning of an ‘opening in the stove for smoke to escape’, it is found only in one location in southern Kurzeme (*spēlte tika aizbīdīta ar ķieģeli, lai kārstuņš ne-isplūst ārā*. NIVe-A: 20, Nīca). Ethnographic material describes *spelte* as an opening situated above or to the side of the mouth of the stove, through which smoke escapes, and, in this context, a brick was used to cover the opening – an early form of what would later become the metal damper or slider (Latv. *šiberis*) (Bīlenšteins 2001: 74–75). According to the traditional view, Latv. *spelte*/*spelts*, along with Lith. *speltė*, is considered a borrowing (< BG *spelt(e)* ‘shutter of a stove; stove doors that can be propped (against); opening for smoke to escape’, which in turn < MLG, MD *spelte* ‘cut or cleaved off piece’ (Germ. *die Spalte* ‘chink, crack’, in dialect ‘slice’)). However, the meaning related to the furnace or stove opening is believed to have developed in Latvia and Lithuania. Some sources assume that the Baltic words are inherited, and that in the Baltic German word *spelt(e)*, Germanic and Baltic lexical elements likely converge (LEV 892–893; MEe III 988–989). See also 4.6.2. BREAD OVEN.

#### 4.6.8. Oven (for baking)

In the excerpt, two names denote a cooking stove. In CS, *bakōve* f./*bakōvs* m. ‘stove; oven (for baking)’ is registered only in one source (*tas bakōvs bij is istube krāsine pradiem līdzai ietaisate va ta mašīne bij ta diže, ka varij ir is vinges maize cēpte*. FKN: 118, Germ. *der Backofen*; FKN: 120, Germ. *im Ofen*). This name is literally adapted from the corresponding Germ. compound, probably through direct contact, and is used in parallel with the Kursen. *krāsne*/*krāsine* f. in the same meaning. Most likely, however, it was written down based on the author’s memory, which explains its strong Germanization and why it cannot be an authentic name, since such a name is found in only one source. In Kurzeme, the compound *cepeškrāsns*/*cepeškrāsne* f. ‘oven (for baking)’ is likely used in parallel to the second component (*krāsns*) in the same meaning (*uņ tad cepeškrāsnī jeb krāsnī, krāsnī gašigaki (!), ka iscep, nekā cepeškrāsnī*. SA: 49, 50, Nida (LV)). See also 4.6.13. STOVE.

<sup>247</sup> In LLV, *spelte* has two meanings: 1) ‘a furnace, a furnace opening, through which smoke escapes or a fire extinguisher (of a stove)’, and 2) ‘an intense heat, swelter’ (LLVVe). Regarding the context of the example, *spelte* here is used to denote a furnace opening.

#### 4.6.9. Recess in the wall for lighting a room

The Latv. *rūķis* is polysemous<sup>248</sup>; with the meaning of a ‘recess in the wall for mainly lighting the room, partially also for warmth’, usually located in *nams* (a ceiling-less dwelling-cooking portion with a hearth from where the smoke escaped through the roof-ends), it is recorded in southern Kurzeme (*bi cukmūris, un tuŗ tâc caŗruŗns, tuŗ saŗc<sup>a</sup> rūķi*. LVI Apv., Dunika; *laŗpas aŗ nebi [senāk]. rūķi dēdzināja*. NIVe-D: 422, Nīca; *rūķis bij siēnā tâda labi, labi paliēla iēduōbe. dūmi gāja krāsne, rūķis bij tâda iēduōbîte siēnā, ku skalus liēk iēkšā uŗ dedzina*. NIVe-I: 626, Nīca). It is considered a Lithuanianism, found in Dunika, Rucava (MEe III 570), and Grobiņa (EHe II 388); however, it is possible that it could be a Curonism (see Chapter 5.1.1.1.).

#### 4.6.10. Recess in the wall of a stove

The Latv. *ieris* m./*riere* f.<sup>249</sup> with the meaning of a ‘recess in the wall of a stove to dry something’ is registered only in Kurzeme (*krāsneŗ bija tâc caŗruŗns, kuō saŗca pa iēri. tuŗ uzglabāja, lai stāvētu silc ēdiēns. tuŗ žāvēja ciŗdus, vēcī vīri pat tabaku*. NIVe-I: 672, Nīca; *iēŗic iŗ iēduōbuŗns krāsniŗ*. LVI Apv., Alsunga; *riēre*. Markus-Narvila 2011: 159, Rucava). The Latv. *iere* is dissimilated from *rieris* (MEe II 57, cf. *riēre*, also *riēris*, EHe II 379) < Germ. *die Röhre* (MEe III 546; Sehwers 1953: 40, 101). The name *ieritis* m. is a derivative of the Latv. *ieris* with the diminutive suffix *-īt-*, used in the same meaning to specify the smaller size of the object.

<sup>248</sup> In LLV, *rūķis* in its second meaning denotes ‘a stationary, for example, hearth-type, lighting device’, and it is classified as an ethnographism (LLVVe). However, in southern Kurzeme (Rucava, Dunika) the name *rūķis* is also registered with the meanings of ‘a flue’ or ‘a chimney’, as well as ‘a recess in the wall’ where resinous, dry wood was burned on dark autumn evenings, which also served as a light source for evening chores (Germ. *der Rauchfang, Kamin, – eine Vertiefung in der Wandmauer, wo an dunklen Herbstabenden harziges, trockenes Holz gebrannt wurde, was zugleich auch als Beleuchtung bei der Verrichtung von abendlichen Hausarbeiten diente*). In this particular source, it is considered a Lithuanianism (MEe III 570).

<sup>249</sup> Latv. *ieris*, also its morphological var. *iere*, is polysemous, which is registered with the meanings: 1) ‘a pipe, a tube’ in northern Kurzeme (Dundaga) (Germ. *die Röhre*), 2) ‘a flue’ in Vidzeme (Alūksne, Gulbene) (*par ierēm sauc dūmu vadus*, Germ. *der Ofenzug*), and 3) ‘a stove bench’ (Germ. *die Ofenbank*) (MEe II 57). The lexeme has retained these meanings in the standard Latvian language, and they are: 1) ‘a recess in the wall of a stove for drying something’, 2) ‘a construction at the bottom of the outer wall of the stove for sitting or sleeping’ (Latv. *krāsns mūrītis*), and 3) ‘a flue (in the stove)’ (LLVVe).

#### 4.6.11. Slide

Only one name, the Latv. archaic word *šīberis* m. (< Germ. *der (Ofen)Schieber* ‘slide, damper’ (MEe IV 19; Sehwers 1953: 130)), is registered to denote a slide or damper, and its distribution covers the southern and central seaside areas in Kurzeme and Šventoji–Būtingē (*skurstiens ar šīberi*, MB). In MEE, Latv. *šīberis* is also registered in Vidzeme (Āraiši), also *šībere* (Valmiera), but *šībelis* in northern Kurzeme (Dundaga) (MEe IV 19).

#### 4.6.12. Spark catcher

With the meaning of a spark catcher or guard over an open hearth<sup>250</sup>, the name *rovīs* m. (< MLG *rōf* ‘rooflike projection over masonry walls’ (Sehwers 1953: 103; MEE III 585, Germ. *die Decke, der Rauchfang*)) is recorded only in Nīca and Bārta (*Rohwis*, LJV: 202 (112a), Germ. *ein Roff über der Feuer Heerde*). Latv. *rovīs* is polysemous<sup>251</sup>; therefore, its meaning may vary depending on the source.

#### 4.6.13. Stove

The name of a stove *krāsns* f.<sup>252</sup> (a derivative of the Latv. verb *krāt* ‘to pile up’ or its parallel form *krāst* (LEV 419–420)) and its variants *krāsne* or *krāsins* are found

<sup>250</sup> The technical design and appearance of *rovīs* vary at different stages of its development, but its purpose is to protect the wooden structure of the building and its thatched or wooden roof against fire hazards. Inflammable materials contributed to the improvement of the hearth in *nams*. A spark catcher (Latv. *dzirksteļu uztvērējs* or *rovīs*) or a hood was built above the hearth, eventually covering the entire room. The *rovīs* was usually shaped as a vault, made of woven twigs (usually spruce) and daubed with clay, which dried from the hearth fire, hardening and strengthening the vault. The entire structure rested on stone walls that were eventually sealed on all four sides, leaving only an entrance door (Bilenšteins 2001: 66–69; Cimermanis 2020: 359–365). Smoke from the hearth flowed into the attic and escaped through the openings left at the ends of the roof (Latv. *brodiņi*) (Cimermanis 2020, 360–362). Initially, the hearth was not separated from the *nams*, but over time it was enclosed by a masonry wall on one or all sides. Dwellings of this type were found until the beginning of the 20th century, for example, in Liepāja county’s parishes of Bārta, Dunika, Kalēti, Nīca, Pērkone, etc., and also in the 1880s–1890s in dwelling houses for retired soldiers of the Russian army built in the vicinity of Alsunga (Cimermanis 2020: 360).

<sup>251</sup> In Latvian, *rovīs* means: 1) ‘a vaulted covering to catch sparks over an open hearth’, 2) ‘a kitchen without chimney; a room with an open hearth’, 3) ‘a small recess in the stove wall (usually for storing warm food)’, and 4) dial. ‘a top of a stove in a threshing barn’ (Tez; MEE III 585; EHE II 393).

<sup>252</sup> In LLV, *krāsns* is polysemous, and its meaning is: 1) ‘a closed [heating or cooking – author] appliance’, 1.1) ‘an appliance for cooking (usually for baking within it)’, rarely 1.2) ‘an oven (for baking)’

throughout the entire research area (see Figure 9.4.). While in Kurzeme *krāsns* is more commonly registered (for instance, *Krahsnis*. LJV: 120 (61a), Germ. *der Ofen*; [iekšrijā] *krāsns* *bes skuōrsten, bes kuō*. LVI Apv., Venta; *iēkuŗ rijs krāsni*. SA: 153, Ulmale; *kas negribeja mātītiēs, iēt kurināt krāsni*. LVDA mater., Ziemepe; *kad krāsni kurin<sup>a</sup> aŗ uōglēm uŗ pa ātru aŗtaīs<sup>a</sup> ciēt, tad ruōd<sup>3</sup>s tvaŗs*. LVDA mater., Medze, etc.), the Latv. dial. *krāsne* is found in all three local areas of the research area (*tā krāsne jāziŗ iskurināt*. AVN: 113, Rucava; *krāsne bi pamūrīta nuō ķiēgelēm*. SA: 41, Šventoji–Būtingē; in CS, *krahfne*. VLS: 15; *krāsne*. KuV: 63; *krā:sin~krā:snē f. II*, Germ. *der Ofen*, MogN: 244; *krāsne M, LF*. BezzS: 65, Sarkau; *krāsins m.*, Germ. *der Backofen, der Ofen*, KW: 45; Germ. *der Ofen*, DKW: 227; *tas puoadenieks taisij krāsine*. FKN: 74; also outside the Curonian Spit, in the suburb of Klaipēda *Bommels-Vitte* and in Melnragē, *krāsne M, LF*. BezzS: 65, etc.).

The open hearth or fireplace, which was present in the oldest dwellings, was later replaced by simple stoves made of stone piles in one-room houses. The stoves mentioned in the examples were likely used in a type of peasant dwelling that combined dwelling-portion the *istaba*, heated by the stove, and the *nams*, a ceilingless cook-room with a hearth, or its later variations. The development of the stove is closely tied to the evolution of the dwelling itself. It is important to note that the stove, known as a *krāsns*, can be a technically and visually distinctive piece of heating and cooking equipment, varying by period and location. Only the dial. *krāsne* has retained its original meaning, while *krāsns* is now used to denote a heating appliance in a threshing barn or a dwelling house, as well as a simple stove or a complex heating and cooking appliance that forms the heating centre (the core of the building) of a peasant dwelling house. When the word *krāsns* or its variants are used in context, they may refer either to the entire structure or to its components, such as the oven (for baking).

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(LLVVe). However, *krāsns* is also registered with the meaning of a 'heap of stones' (Germ. *der Steinhaußen*) or 'a stone oven' (Germ. *der Steinofen*, MEe II 268), also *krāsne* (in Susēja, Zasa, Zvirgzdene, with -ā- in Lestene, also in Jaunpiebalga, Bauska, Cirgaļi) is found with the meanings: 1) 'a stove in the bathhouse' (Germ. *der Badstubenofen*) in Auleja, Kaldabruņa, Nautrēni, 2) 'a heap of stones' (Germ. *ein Steinhaußen*) (EHe I 645–646). These locations are outside the research area.



#### 4.6.14. Tile stove

Although tiled stoves were introduced to dwellings in a wider region of the research area, for instance, in Kurzeme around the middle of the 19th century, they were known in larger dwelling houses mainly because peasants were familiar with such stoves, as evidenced by their use in manor houses, where they were either present or constructed by peasants themselves (Cimermanis 2020: 390). The name *podu krāsne* f./*puoade krāsins* m. is registered only in CS. Both composite names, namely, the word group (*puōdu krāsne*. KuV: 75; *puoade krāsins* m., Germ. *der Kachelofen*, DKW: 177) and the compound (*puoadekrāsins* m., Germ. *der Kachelofen*, KW: 66), are based on their semantic equivalent in German and consist of *pûods* (KuV: 75) or *puoad* (Germ. *die Kachel*, KW: 66) and *krāsne* (KuV: 63) or *krāsins* m. (KW: 45; DKW: 226). See also 4.6.13. STOVE and 4.4.21. TILE.



**Figure 9.1.** *Distribution of BREAD OVEN names.*



Figure 9.2. Distribution of FLUE names.



**Figure 9.3.** *Distribution of HEATING WALL names.*

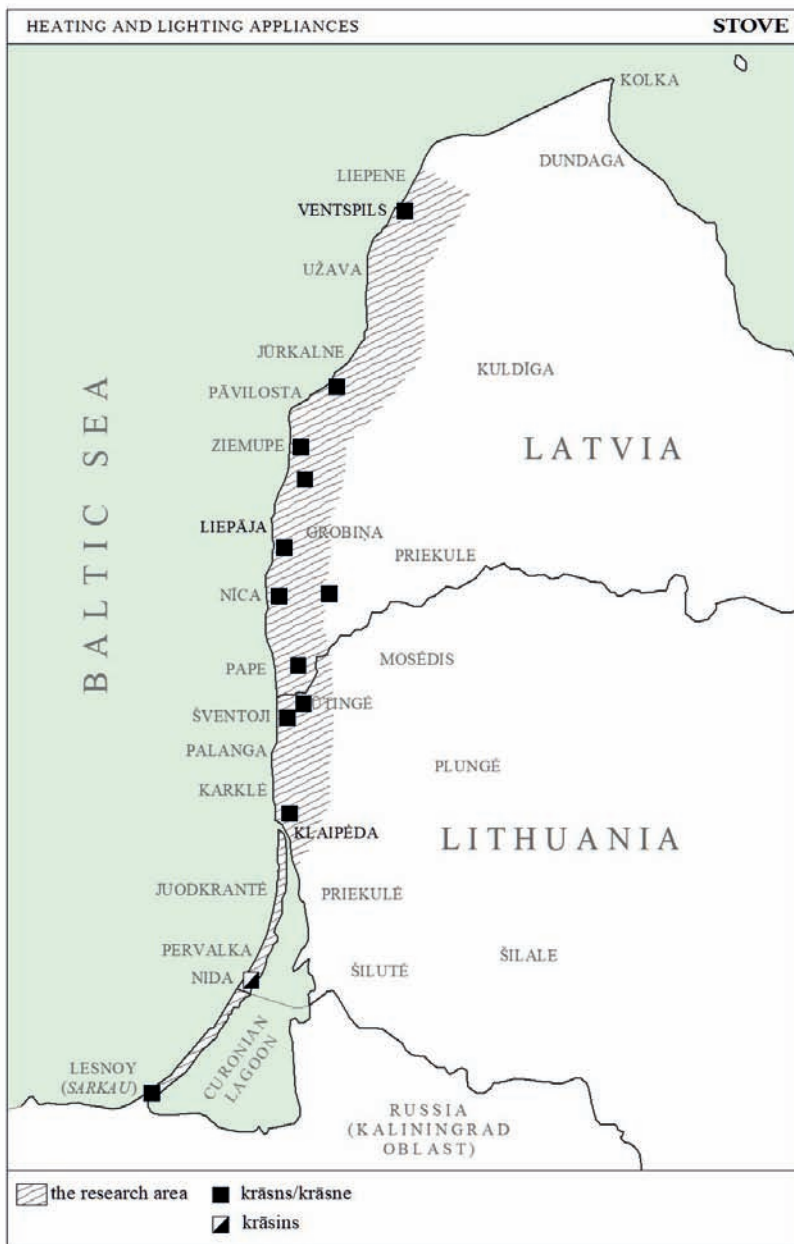


Figure 9.4. Distribution of STOVE names.



# V.

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## COMPARISON OF THEMATIC VOCABULARY

The concepts of folk architecture and their names discussed in the previous chapter vary in several ways, including their origins, meanings, and the number of names within subgroups. However, there are also common elements. Therefore, to understand the common features and differences among the identified concept names, this chapter examines them from multiple perspectives. The thematic vocabulary extracted from the data is systematically examined through the perspectives of etymology, word formation, semantics, and geolinguistics, with each thematic subgroup described to provide comprehensive insight.

### 5.1. ETYMOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

The thematic vocabulary studied in this research, like that of any language, varies in its origin. It consists of both inherited and borrowed lexical items. Regarding the research area and the historical context of the Latvian language and its territorial varieties in relation to other ethnic or social groups, several observations can be made.

Inherited lexical items in the Latvian used along the Baltic Sea coast of Kurzeme are those that originate from a common (Baltic) source. Whereas borrowed items are adopted

from other languages, either directly or indirectly, as a result of geographical proximity, political relations, and ruling power, or cultural contacts. Therefore, this research adopts one of the most widely recognised principles for classifying borrowings, recognised (Laua 1981: 105). Within the thematic vocabulary analysed here, for various reasons, the most frequent borrowings can be grouped by their source languages, including Germanisms, Lithuanianisms, Slavisms, and Finno-Ugrisms. However, examining inherited and borrowed lexical items in the Latvian language of the Šventoji–Būtingė area and the Curonian Spit requires a more nuanced approach. For instance, in the Latvian–Lithuanian border region, numerous borrowings from Lithuanian can be found in neighbouring Latvian subdialects such as those of Rucava, Nīca, Bārta, Dunika, Kalēti, and others. In this region like this, the issue of distinguishing between inherited and borrowed lexemes, in both directions from Latvian to Lithuanian and vice versa, comes to the forefront.

Similarly, words of foreign origin in the New Curonian language, particularly Germanisms, require a different kind of approach. When the ancestors of the New Curonians migrated from various regions of Kurzeme to the Curonian Spit (see Chapter 1.3. and Figure 2), Germanic-origin words had already been assimilated and established in Latvian, including vocabulary related to crafts. These words represent the oldest layer of Germanic borrowings, originating specifically from Lower or Middle Low German, between the 12th and 16th centuries, before being replaced by High German. Thematically, examples include *amats*, *baļķis*, *būvēt*, *dēlis*, *krīts*, *līme*, *stendere*, *stieģelis*, *šķūnis* (Laua 1981: 110–111), among others. For concepts and lexemes that can be localized in Latvia(n), specifically in the subdialects of Kurzeme and Zemgale, and that correspond to the historically identified New Curonian emigration areas, it is reasonable to argue that these were inherited from Kurzeme as lexemes of foreign origin, rather than borrowed directly from German or its dialects, although the latter remains a possibility. The following etymological analysis and accompanying tables should be seen in this context.

The origins of 3 words remain unclear; these include *kāsis* ‘well hook’, *bieže* ‘reed’, *frankšpīžs* ‘(gabled) dormer window’.

### 5.1.1. Inherited vocabulary

The inherited vocabulary is a significant part of the analyzed thematic vocabulary. Of the total 401 names examined, 111 belong to this inherited layer. Based on the arguments outlined in the theoretical part (see Chapter 2.1.5.), two groups of inherited lexis can be distinguished (see Tables 1 and 2).



### 5.1.1.1. Curonisms

In the excerpted material, only 7 names (6 lexemes)<sup>253</sup>, covering 5 thematic subgroups, can be identified as either certain or possible Curonisms (see Table 1)<sup>254</sup>. It is considered a relatively recent lexical layer within the inherited vocabulary. However, several problematic aspects should be noted first. One common challenge when analyzing inherited lexemes is determining whether an item is truly inherited or borrowed from Lithuanian. This is particularly characteristic of regions where two closely related languages, such as Latvian and Lithuanian, have historically coexisted, especially in border areas. For instance, the lexeme *danga* may be classified either as a Curonism or a Lithuanianism (MEe I 437). According to linguist Laumane (1987: 176), the lexeme *danga*, meaning ‘corner’ (Latv. *kakts*, *stūris*), is a Curonism. It was once widely recorded in Kurzeme, but the word with this meaning has now nearly disappeared.

While the identification of Curonisms based on phonetic, morphological, or semantic peculiarities of the Curonian language (Endzelīns 1975 [1912]: 454–465; Rudzīte 1995: 69–72; Dini 2000: 239–240) can partially help in determining their origin, such lexemes can also be analyzed from a territorial perspective. In this research, lexemes mainly found along the Lithuanian border, but not registered more broadly across Kurzeme or Latvia, are considered most likely to have been borrowed from Lithuanian. Consequently, due to their distribution in Latvia, names such as *lente/lenta* ‘board’ (cf. Lith. *lenta*) and *stāgs* ‘roof’ (cf. Lith. *stogas*, Pr. *stogis*) are classified in this research as Lithuanianisms rather than as part of the inherited lexical layer (Derksen 2015: 280, 429).

The names *rentiņi* ‘well lining ring’ (MEe III 512) and *dzieds* ‘joist, (ceiling) beam’ (Ābele 1929: 91–92) are also considered possible Curonisms. The name *žogs* ‘fence’, according to the Lithuanian linguist Būga, could be of Curonian or Selonian origin (LEV 1214); however, the origin of this word remains unclear (cf. Lith. dial. *džúogas*, in Zhemaitia *žúogas*). Latvian linguist Kurzemniece notes that *žogs* is the general literary word for this concept and is widely used as the main name with its variants throughout Kurzeme. Alongside the other name *sēta* ‘fence’, *žogs* also occurs in Zemgale and is likely spread in Vidzeme and several Latgalian dialects as

<sup>253</sup> Here and throughout the text, both the number of names and the number of lexemes identified for given concepts are provided to offer a quantitative assessment of the phenomena under consideration. In this context, a *name* refers to a lexical item or a combination of lexical items used to express a specific content, whereas a *lexeme* denotes a word in all its forms and meanings, reflecting the presence of polysemy within the analyzed thematic group.

<sup>254</sup> An asterisk (\*) is used in the Table 1 to mark lexemes identified as possible Curonisms.

a result of influence from the standard language (Kurzemniece 2002: 43). Another possible Curonism could be *rūkis* ‘recess in the wall for mainly lighting the room’, which is recorded in Dunika and Nīca. Although MEe classifies it as a Lithuania-nism (MEe III 570), the Lith. *rūkis* is recorded with the meaning ‘smoke rising from a flame’ (LKŽe), suggesting a potentially different semantic development. A certain Curonism is the lexeme *sklanda*, referring to a ‘pole’ or a ‘split rail fence from wooden poles’, which covers two of the thematic subgroups analyzed in this research (MEe II 881–882). No Curonisms were found within the thematic subgroup *Building Types*.

Geographically, these certain and possible Curonisms are documented mainly in Lower Kurzeme, specifically in Rucava, Dunika, Nīca, and Pērkone, with only a single example recorded in Švenoji-Būtingē and the Curonian Spit. Overall, the presence of the Curonian substrate in the analyzed folk architecture vocabulary is insignificant.

**Table 1.** List of lexemes identified as possible and certain Curonisms in the data.

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Area	Example
1. HOMESTEAD AND ITS COURTYARD				
1	FENCE	* <u>žogs</u>	K	<u>žūoks</u> bij caūrs, mēs pa žūogu izbēgām caūri. SA: 134, Ziemepe; viš [apinis] ne maz naū ne jāstāda, ne jāšē (...) mušs jaū viss <u>žūōks</u> bij a viņiē nuōaūdzis. NIVe-A: 227, Nīca; LVDA mater., Užava, Venta (Ventspils); <u>žūōgs</u> . kā žūōžīņ. LVI Apv., Venta (Ventspils); <u>žūōg</u> . LVDA mater., Užava, Venta (Ventspils); <u>ērķšķruōzes</u> te aūg piē sētas <u>žūōga</u> uū ziēd visu vasaru. NIV-E: 517, Nīca; nuōsaūkušs cēliēs nuō sklañdām, agrāk tā saūca <u>žūōgu</u> . SA: 103, Pērkone
			Š-B	<u>žogs</u> ., jurmalnieki esot taisījuši <u>žogus</u> gar ežu, kādreiz arī druvu, malamis lai apsargātu tās no smilšu, kuras vejš nese no kāpu, žogs bija zems ap 0,5m aukstuma, pīts no gulus gulditu berželu, alkšnu. MB
2		<u>sklanda</u> ‘split rail fence from wooden poles’	K	<u>Sklanda</u> . JLV: 262 (132a), Germ. ein Zäunchen, von Strauch oder Holz von einen Garten gemacht, Nīca, Bārta
3	WELL LINING RING	* <u>rentīni</u> / <u>rentīni</u> / <u>renštīni</u>	K	<u>rentīni</u> . ME III: 512, Rucava, Dunika; <u>rentīni</u> , <u>rentīni</u> . LVDA-L Map 61, Pērkone, Nīca, Rucava; <u>renštīni</u> . LVDA-L 139, Pērkone

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Area	Example
3. ROOM TYPES				
4	CHAMBER	* <u>danga</u>	K	nama <u>danga</u> . Kundziņš 1974: 190, Nīca; MEe I 437
4. MATERIALS				
5	POLE	<u>sklanda</u>	K	<u>sklanda</u> . AVN: 131, Ruvaca; LVI Apv., Dunika; [salmu] jumtiem ūssita tādās garas kārtēs – šālmenes saūca, tādās egļu garas <u>sklaņdas</u> . NI: 292, Nīca; mūsu meitene aŗ tieŗa, tieŗa – kŗ caŗŗ ŗuŗga <u>sklaņdŗm</u> izraŗŗta. NIVe-C: 342, Nīca
5. CONSTRUCTIONS				
6	JOIST, (CEILING) BEAM	* <u>dzieds/ zieds</u>	K	<u>dziēds</u> . MEe I 562, Bārta, Nīca, Rucava; <u>dziēds</u> ‘crossbeam’, Germ. <i>das Querbalken</i> . FBR 8: 140, Rucava; <u>ŗiŗ:c.</u> , <i>pinekiŗ karajŗs stŗ:e piŗ ŗiŗ:d</i> . LVDA mater., Jŗŗkalne; <u>ŗiŗc (=ds)</u> griŗstuŗs, gruŗd – grŗds baŗķ. stŗliŗ sak vŗŗbaŗķ. LVDA mater., Ulmale; stŗliŗ jŗliŗk stipri <u>ŗiŗdi</u> . LVI Apv., Ēdole; pl. Nom. <u>ŗiŗd</u> . LVDA mater., Venta; pl. Nom. <u>ŗiŗd</u> . LVDA mater., Saka; <u>ŗiŗ(?)di</u> : vŗŗbaŗķi. <u>ŗiŗdi</u> ir liŗli rŗŗni kuŗki, liŗk [mŗju bŗŗŗjot] nuŗ viŗnas siŗnas uz uŗŗru. LVDA mater., Saka; <u>ŗiŗdi</u> – pa griŗstiŗ, grŗdŗ – sijas. LVDA mater., Ziemupe; ka bi paŗŗsara laŗks, ta spraŗda bŗŗ’ zus gaŗ griŗstiŗm aŗŗ <u>dziŗdiŗm</u> . NIVe-A: 17, Nīca
			CS	<u>feedi</u> . Germ. <i>der Querbalken, der Sparren</i> . VLS: 28; <u>ziēds</u> . KuV: 91; <u>zieds</u> , Germ. <i>der Stubenbalken</i> . DKW: 286; bŗŗnes piesesŗj viene dzij ap zuoabe (..) piesŗj tuoŗ dzij pa <u>ziede</u> un nuoŗŗce pits zeme. FKN: 108
6. HEATING AND LIGHTING APPLIANCES				
7	RECESS IN THE WALL FOR MAINLY LIGHTING THE ROOM	* <u>rŗķis</u>	K	bi cukmŗŗis, un tuŗ tŗc caŗŗuŗŗs, tuŗ saŗc <sup>a</sup> <u>rŗķi</u> . LVI Apv., Dunika; laŗŗpas aŗ nebi [ŗenŗk]. <u>rŗķi</u> dŗdzinŗŗa. NIVe-D: 422, Nīca; <u>rŗķis</u> bij siŗnŗ tŗda labi, labi paliŗla iŗduŗbe. dŗŗi gŗŗa krŗŗsnŗ., <u>rŗķis</u> bij tŗda iŗduŗbŗte siŗnŗ, ku skalus liŗk iŗķŗŗ uŗ dedzina. NIVe-I: 626, Nīca

### 5.1.1.2. Other inherited lexemes

As shown in Table 2, the excerpted material includes 104 names that cover all 6 thematic subgroups and represent older, inherited vocabulary common to the Baltic languages, as well as derivatives formed from these inherited items. Given that the focus of this research is to clarify the characteristics of thematic vocabulary in the context of language contact, specifically, whether it consists of native or foreign elements, derivatives of inherited items are also classified as inherited lexemes.

Inherited lexemes and their derivatives are more or less evenly distributed across five of the six thematic subgroups: 25 names representing 15 concepts within the subgroup *Homestead and its courtyard*, 23 names representing 10 concepts within the subgroup *Building types*, 15 names representing 11 concepts within the subgroup *Room types*, 12 names representing 10 concepts within the subgroup *Construction materials and products*, and 24 names representing 19 concepts within the subgroup *Constructions*. The lowest number is found in the *Heating and lighting appliances* subgroup, with only 5 names corresponding to 4 lexemes that represent 4 concepts. This scarcity can be explained by the fact that major innovations in heating technology emerged alongside new objects or phenomena, often introduced through manor houses. This leads to the conclusion that folk architecture terms referring to well-known objects that were commonly available or frequently used in various homestead structures have been inherited and preserved within the territorial varieties of Latvian in the research area.

These inherited names are distributed relatively evenly between Kurzeme (100 names) and the Curonian Spit (81 names), with only 18 names documented in Šventoji-Būtingē, 2 names (*duris* ‘door’. BezzS: 39; and *krásne* ‘stove’. BezzS: 65) in the suburb of Klaipėda *Bommels-Vitte* and *Melnragė*, and 1 name (*áskrásnis* ‘place behind the stove’. BezzS: 32) in Karklė.

Table 2. List of other inherited lexemes.

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Area	Example
1. HOMESTEAD AND ITS COURTYARD				
1	COURTYARD	<i>pagalms</i>	K	<i>ir lielaīs pagalms, un es sak:u – dižais sētiens, māgaīs sētiens. SA: 72, Pape</i>
2		<i>sēta</i>	K	<i>jāatšķirē tā sēta – piēdzīta pīlla ar sniēgu. NIV-A: 214, Nica; es iēskrēju sētā. SA: 100, Jūrmalciems</i>
3		<i>sētiēna</i>	Š-B	<i>skatās, kad es staigāju pa sētu. SA: 37; MB</i>
4	ENCLOSURE	<i>apžogojums</i>	K	<i>dižais sētiens, māgaīs sētiens. SA: 72, Pape; tuoš zirgus palaīd paganīt terpat sētiēnā!. NIVe-A: 32, Nica</i>
5		<i>dārzs</i> 'enclosure; fenced garden; fence around a garden'	CS	<i>un tāt apžūgujuūns ta ka mana vēraīda. AVN: 108, Bārta</i> <i>darzs m. DKW: 304, Germ. die Umzäunung</i>
6	FENCE	<i>sēta</i>	K	<i>sēta. LV1 Apv., Alsunga</i>
7		<i>kritenis</i> 'fence of horizontal wooden beams'	CS	<i>feta. BezzS: 2; sēta. KuV: 80; sē:tā f. I. MogN: 253; sēls m. DKW: 339, Germ. der Zaun; sēt. FKN: 49; nu tas dienes es stawiju lauke pi βetes ir gaidiju us mane Tantes. HD, HD-AI</i>
8	FENCE BOARD	<i>lubina</i> 'narrow fence board'	K	<i>kritenis i žuōks – sataisic gulēniski nuō sklāndām, vidū stabi, stabā katrā pusē grupē. atstārpē nuō viēnas sklāndas līdz uōtrai iēlēk akmeni va klucīti. un tā uz aūkšu piēcas sklāndas. un ta isnāk kritenis. NIVe-J: 149, Nica</i>
9	FENCE POST	<i>miēts</i>	K	<i>[žogam] tās lubinas tā kuōpā – ciēti cita piē citas. NIV-Ce: 365, Nica</i> <i>žūōgam iēdzina miētus. tiē bi egļu, uōzuōla miēti. NIVe-I: 629, Nica</i>

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Area	Example
10		<u>stabs</u>	K	[žoga] <u>staba</u> m bi caūrumš iskaļc, un tuŗ iššāva caūri tuō sklaīdu, kuŗ iēpiņ tuō riķi. NI 289, Nīca; žuōgu ka taīsa, ta nuo <u>staba</u> us stabu liēk sklaīdas. NI 293, Nīca
11			Š-B	redzēti pie māju palikuši tāda žoga <u>stabi</u> . MB
		<u>stakle</u> 'post (for the fence or gate)'	K	<u>stakle</u> . jaičēņ pārs jaiņš <u>staklit</u> š zeme. LVI Apv., Alsunga
12	GARDEN	<u>dārzs</u>	K	maņš vēcāstēvs tuō [kāpu] iŗ racis, <u>dārzu</u> iēkuōpis. nu tad es tuŗ paņēmu tālāk – es tuŗ silūmnicu iēkuōpu. NIVe-I: 648, Nīca; <u>dār-</u> zā aūg ābeles, ķiŗši, buņbiēres, plūmju kuōki, uōgu krūmi. LVDA mater., Medze; mān guōv nu vēd vis <u>dārz</u> . LVDA mater., Užava
			Š-B	apžogojā <u>dārzu</u> , laidaru, puķu darzēli. MB
			CS	<u>darēšes</u> LF., <u>dārs</u> Srl. BezzS; 26, 27, Sarkau; <u>daržas</u> . KuV: 53; <u>dāržās</u> ~ <u>dāržās</u> m. I~ <u>dāržīs</u> ~ <u>dāržīs</u> m. III. MogN: 240, Germ. <i>der Garten</i> ; <u>darzs</u> m. KW: 29, Germ. <i>der Garten</i>
13	GATE	<u>duoars</u>	CS	<u>duoars</u> , <u>varsts</u> m. DKW: 293, Germ. <i>das Tor</i>
14		<u>vārti</u>	K	<u>vārtus</u> aīscēla aīz miētiņa. ja nē, ta luōpi attaišs. NIVe-A: 22, Nīca; pa <u>vārtiēm</u> braūcuōt, vaŗ aīskabināt a riteņiēm stabu. NIV-A: 34, Nīca; žuōgā acstāja caūrumu, kuŗ iēlikt <u>vārtus</u> . NIVe-C: 346, Nīca; maīt i dārza pa labi ruōki zem ābeļs, piē <u>vārtiņ</u> . SA: 156, Ulmale
			Š-B	<u>vārti</u> . atšķiru <u>vārtu</u> cilbekamis un lopamis nebija. MB
			CS	<u>vārti</u> . KuV: 89; <u>varts</u> f., Germ. <i>das Tor</i> 'gate'. KW: 82; <u>duoars</u> , <u>varsts</u> m., Germ. <i>das Tor</i> 'gate'. DKW: 293
15		<u>vārsteles</u>	CS	<u>vārsteles</u> LF. BezzS: 26, Germ. <i>die Pforte</i> , Sarkau
16	HOMESTEAD	<u>sēta</u>	K	māj, <u>sēt</u> . LVDA mater., Užava; agrāk bi katraņ sav <sup>a</sup> <u>sēta</u> , sav <sup>a</sup> saīmniēcība, sav <sup>i</sup> luōpiņi. AVN: 120, Rucava
			Š-B	<u>sēta</u> , <u>saimnieka sēta</u> . MB

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Area	Example
17	STOCKYARD	<i>aploks</i> 'stockyard; pasture-ground'	K	<i>apluōks</i> . LVDA mater., Venta; <i>abluōks</i> . LVDA mater., Užava
18		<i>dārzs</i> 'stockyard; pasture-ground'	K	<i>vakarā jālaiž dārzā piēganīt tās guoēs. ta būs vairāk piēna., bi lieli dārzi, ku iēlaiž [lopus]</i> . NIVe-D: 418, Nīca
19		<i>laidars</i> / <i>laideris</i> 'stockyard by the cattle-shed'	K	<i>ku piē staiļa, tuō saūc laideri</i> . LVDA-L 125, Nīca
20	WELL	<i>aka</i> 'well'	K	<i>akaī iŕ gruōdi</i> . LVDA mater., Medze; <i>ka akas grib rakt, ta meklē, ku iŕ ūdens ādere</i> . NIVe-A: 12, Nīca
			Š-B	<i>kas juīns žūrka ak:ā [iekrita]?</i> . SA: 29; <i>visu vecas aku sienas bija no stavu karču</i> . MB
			CS	<i>akka</i> . VLS: 5; <i>ake</i> . Germ. <i>der Ziehbrunnen</i> 'well with a sweep', FKN: 100; <i>aks</i> m. KW: 19, Germ. <i>der Brunnen</i> ( <i>Ziehbrunnen</i> ) 'well (well with a sweep)', DKW: 79; <i>aka</i> . KuV: 47; <i>akā</i> f. I. MogN: 236; <i>ūdin nu akas ēneste ar spāne</i> . HD, HD-AI: 43; <i>tuoa mēnke marguogaine, tuoa tie zvejes paše rāve, tape ar udine is ake pazurgate</i> . FKN: 90; pl. Dat. <i>akams</i> LF, <i>akam</i> LF. BezzS: 56, Sarkau
21	WELL HOOK	<i>kāsis</i>	K	<i>lai nebūtu nuō akas jāvēļk ūdeņa spaīni aŕ kāsi, tad tēriktēja viindu</i> . NIVe-I: 673, Nīca
			Š-B	<i>vecos laikos ūdini no akas smēle ar kāsi, pēc kara pie betona aku sāka taisīt ruļļus ar kedemis., stabs, kārtē, kāsīs, vienā kārtēs galā akeminis, kāsā apakšas galā knābis</i> . MB
22	WELL LINING RING	<i>grods/-i</i>	K	<i>gruōd</i> . Venta, Užava, <i>ake gruōd iēgruovūš</i> . Jūrkalne, Ulmale, <i>gruōdi, tie tādi dēļši ak:as iēkšpuse, un pabūvē vēļ tādu aukstāku, lai iznāk viŕspusē</i> . Saka, Ziemeupe, <i>akaī iŕ gruōdi</i> . LVDA mater., Medze, Grobiņa, Pērkone

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Area	Example
23	WELL POLE	<u>žāklis</u>	K	<i>piē akas ir tās zemē ierakc žāklis, un tur iekša viiņde, kas tuō spaiņi veļķ aukšam. LVDA mater., Saka</i>
24	WELL-SWEEP	<u>svirsts</u>	CS	<i>svirsts, akas svirsts. KuV: 47, 83</i>
25	WICKET	<u>varsteli/ varstile</u>	Š-B	<i>magus, daržļu vartus sauce pa varstēlemis. MB</i>
			CS	<i>varstil m. KW: 82, Germ. die Gartentür 'wicket-gate'; vakarā dzen luopus mājā, bullis atiet pa varsteli iekšā. KKF: 18, Preila; maģi – varsteli, bet dižs ir duors. KKF: 19, Preila; dauge bērzes zalumes puškaj istubes, dures un varstile. FKN: 300, Germ. die Eingangspforte 'wicket'; varstilēn f. KW: 82, Germ. die Pfortchen 'wicket'</i>
2. BUILDING TYPES				
26	BATHHOUSE	<u>pirts/ pirte</u>	K	<i>nuō sākuma piē mājas bij pīrte. AVN: 113, Bārta</i>
			Š-B	<i>pirte. pirtes bija, vismaz, kas otrā sētā. kas pirtes neturēja, ta pērties gāja pie kaimiņū. MB</i>
27	BUILDING	<u>celtne</u>	K	<i>vēš tuō liēluō cēltni abgrāva. NIVe-C: 351, Nīca</i>
28		<u>ēķa</u>	K	<i>būmeištars tik bi piē ēķu taiššanas. NIVe-E: 510, Nīca; AVN: 120; jaūnas ēķas uzbūvēja pīcdesmit devītā gadā. SA: 139, Ziemeupe</i>
29		<u>nams</u>	K	<i>cēlt : būvēt nām. LVDA mater., Jūrkalne</i>
30		<u>taisījume</u>	CS	<i>par taisījume nu viene name pase zurgaj tie zvejes tuoa rēkuoate malke juoa dauge is kāpe meže. FKN: 70</i>
31		<u>uoazbudevatum(O)</u>	CS	<i>uoazbudevatum. KW: 81, Germ. der Aufbau (Haus)</i>
32		<u>uoastaišetums</u>	CS	<i>uoastaišetums. DKW: 45, Germ. der Aufbau</i>
33	CATTLE-SHED	<u>laidars</u>		<i>stāls  laidars – tuf tura guōus, kādam bij ipaš' ziērgim. LVDA mater., Ulmale; Užava; stāl's : laidars. LVDA mater., Jūrkalne; (guōu) laidars – ir liēlsaimniek' kūc. LVDA mater., Saka</i>
34	DWELLING HOUSE	<u>bauka</u> 'old, half-col-lapsed building'	K	<i>meža iēluokā var rēžēt bauku. LVI Apv., Grobiņa</i>



No.	Concept	Name of concept	Area	Example
35		<i>būcenis</i> 'old building'	K	<i>būcenis</i> , <i>būcēns</i> . LVI Apv., Alsunga
36		<i>dziēvuokāils</i> 'dwelling house; homestead'	CS	<i>nams</i> , <i>dziēvuokāils</i> m. DKW: 336, Germ. <i>das Wohngebäude</i> ; KW: 32, Germ. <i>das Anwesen</i>
37		<i>graušts</i> 'old building, no longer suitable for use'	K	<i>tā māja vēl i kārtīga, naū nekāc graūsc. nesakuōpta</i> . NIVe-G: 577, Nīca
38		<i>nams</i>	K	<i>Kohlka Nams</i> 'wooden house, dwelling house'. JLV, 176 (89a), Nīca, Bārta
			Š-B	<i>nams</i> . MB
39		<i>namelis</i> 'small-farmer's dwelling house'	CS	<i>nammis</i> 'dom'. P-AI: 32; <i>muße weza nama ir widui wēns diž nams</i> . HD; AI: 26; <i>nams be šuršīn</i> 'house without a chimney'. FKN, 49, Germ. <i>das Haus ohne Schornstein</i>
			Š-B	<i>namelis</i> . MB
40	EXTENSION	<i>piebūve</i>	K	<i>ēberģis i piebūve. senāk ēberģis bi isnuōmāc akmeņu laizējiēm</i> . NIVe-E: 506, Nīca
41		<i>piebudavatums</i>	CS	<i>piebudavatums</i> m. DKW: 38, Germ. <i>der Anbau</i> 'extension'; <i>piebudevats</i> m. KW: 62, Germ. <i>der Anbau</i>
42	FREE STANDING OR LEAN-TO SHED	<i>nojume</i>	K	<i>kārīks saīnniēks savas liētas glabā [...] nuōjumē</i> . NIVe-E: 514, Nīca
43	GRANARY	<i>klēts/klēte</i>	K	<i>klēte</i> . LVI Apv., Bārta; AVN: 112, Rucava; <i>tuļ tā vecā klēte., tad jaū, ja klēte, tūlītās klēti veda uñ bēra</i> . AVN: 113, Bārta; <i>bi sataišti klēti apciņķi</i> . AVN: 113, Rucava; <i>tas taks nuō istubas uz klēti tāt šaurīns</i> . NI: 270, Nīca; <i>viēns (zaglis) nuōzaģ's riēkst's klēti</i> . LVDA mater., Ulmale; <i>naū kaū kuļ tā saspīesc, reģ, klēc, tuļ kūc uñ vis:</i> . SA: 71, Pape; <i>labību bēr klēte apciņķuōs</i> . LVDA mater., Saka
			Š-B	<i>saiminieka sētā [...] klēte</i> . MB; AVN: 111

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Area	Example
			CS	<i>klehts</i> . Germ. <i>der Vorrathshäuschen</i> 'a small building for storage (of various items)'; VLS: 14
44	GREENHOUSE	<i>siltumnīca</i>	K	<i>maīs vēcātstēs tuō [kāpu] iŗ racis, dārzu iēkuōpis. nu tad es tuŗpaņēmu tālāk – es tuŗ siltumnīcu iēkuōpu</i> . NIVe-I: 648, Nīca
45	SMOKERY	<i>bedre</i>    <i>bedrite</i> 'smokery, a pit in the ground'	K	<i>cīti [žāvēšanai] iēliēk gaļu bedritē, gružus sabēļ malā uņ laiž dūmus uz bedri</i> . LVI Apv., Bārta
46		<i>kūpinātava</i> 'smokery, a pit in the ground'	K	<i>a ciēkuōžēm vislabākā zivu kūpinātava; tā viēnkārš – kūpinātava</i> . SA: 85, 86, Jūrmaliems; <i>maņ bi bēdļ, kūpinātau, māt bi speciālist</i> . SA: 151, Ulmale
47		<i>žāvētava</i>	K	<i>žāvētave iscep, kalņēj ār butis uņ mēncis. žāvētava</i> . LVI Apv., Jūrkalne, Alsunga; <i>sakaļ skuŗstienā: šķiņķus, dēsas – visu gaļu. ... taga žāvē laiķa žāvētavā</i> . LVI Apv., Bārta
48	TOILET	<i>ateja</i>	K	LVI Apv., Bārta; <i>maņ i veraņdā iēbūvēta ateja. tā jaū atējas parasti taisija aīs klētes</i> . NIVe-I: 621, Nīca
3. ROOM TYPES				
49	ANTEROOM OF A	<i>piedarbs</i>	K	FBR 8: 141, Rucava, Latv. <i>pirts priekšīņa</i>
50	BATH	<i>pīpīte</i>	K	FBR 8: 141, Rucava, Latv. <i>pirts priekšīņa</i>
51	ATTIC	<i>augša</i>	K	<i>augša</i> . NIVe-A: 225, Nīca; LVI Apv., Bārta; <i>uzgājis liētus. gribeši uzmukt us staļļa atēķšu paslēptēs</i> . NIVe-A: 225, Nīca
52		<i>augšiene</i>	K	<i>tuŗ atēķšienē kaū kuō nuōlika – kažuōkus pa vasaru, liēluōs zābaku</i> . NIVe-A: 227, Nīca

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Area	Example
53		<u>augstiene</u>    <u>augstenes</u>	CS	<u>âugsftēne</u> . KuV: 49; <u>âuksftēns m. I</u> ~ <u>âuksftēnē f. II</u> . MogN: 238; <u>augstiens m.</u> , Germ. <i>der Bodenraum (Haus)</i> . DKW: 163, KW: 24; <u>augstiens ap mēle kukine adare</u> . Germ. <i>Hausboden</i> , FKN: 72; <u>augstēnes</u> . VLS: 6, Germ. <i>die Lucht 'attic', der Boden 'attic'</i> ; <u>us- auksēne pa stage ir daug tykle pakybate</u> . HD: AI: 25; <u>es turij wiß palaunage βēne plūgte us augstēn</u> . HD: AI: 60
54	CORRIDOR	<u>nams</u>	K	<u>namā i trespes uz bēniņiem</u> . <u>viš i caūrstaigājams</u> . <u>duris iēt us priekšnamu un uz istubu</u> . NIVe-C: 345, Nīca
			CS	<u>nams m.</u> DKW: 189, Germ. <i>der Korridor</i> ; FKN: 72, Germ. <i>der Flur</i>
55	COTE	<u>aizgalds</u> / <u>aizgalde</u>	K	<u>āzgaldē aoes</u> . LVDA <i>mater., Ziemeupe; cūkām bi gaņģis un slipi aizgaldi us tuō gaņģu pusi</i> . [...] <i>senāk teica āzgalde</i> . NIVe-A: 28, Nīca
56	KITCHEN	<u>nams</u> 'part of the room used for food prepara- tion and cooking'	CS	<u>nams ar adare šurnštine like kukna</u> . FKN: 122
			Š-B	<u>namā gatavoja ēdienu</u> . MB
57		<u>namins</u>	K	<u>namins bi kukņa</u>    <u>kēķis</u> . LV1 Apv., Bārta
58	PLACE BEHIND THE DOOR	<u>aizdurve</u>	K	<u>priekšnamā skaitījās tāda aizdurve</u> . <u>tu bū tādas rikūgas naglas sad- zītas, ku kabināja kažuokus, ku mežā braūca., sluotu, kad pabēdz slaičūt namu, vaig aīssliēt aizdurē, āzdurē., nama aizdurvē salika sluotas, cirus, lāpstas</u> . NIVe-A: 27, Nīca
59	PLACE BEHIND THE TABLE	<u>aizgalde</u>	K	<u>aizgaldē uz beņķi ustaīsija, tam žīdam ku gulēt</u> . NIVe-A: 28, Nīca
60	PLACE (OR ROOM) BEHIND THE STOVE	<u>aizkrāsne</u>	K	<u>āzkrāsne</u> . LV1 Apv., Bārta; NIVe-A: 236, Nīca; <u>aizkrāsne</u> . <i>ibid.</i> ; <u>āskrāsne</u> . AVN: 109, Bārta; <u>āskrāsne R.III</u> . BezzS: 117, Rucava
			Karklē	<u>āskrāsnis K</u> . BezzS: 32; <u>āspute=āskrāsnis (āf-)</u> K. BezzS: 142

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Area	Example
			CS	<u>ā:skrā:sin~ā:skrā:snē</u> f. II. MogN: 235; <u>ā[krāsne</u> Srl. BezzS: 32, Sarkau
61	ROOM	<u>telpa</u>	K	<i>braņtmūris ačķiŗ viēnu tēļpu nuō uōtras</i> . NIVe-A: 213, Nīca; <i>tā tēļpa nepiēmēnuōta</i> . SA: 155, Ulmale
62	SPACE UNDER THE GRANARY	<u>paklēte</u>	K	<u>paklēte</u> . LVI Apv., Bārta
63	STOREROOM	<u>klēte</u>	CS	<u>klēte</u> f. DKW: 323, Germ. <i>die Vorratskammer</i> ; <i>tas miegs tape is dižes kistes klēta ieberte</i> . FKN: 118, Germ. <i>in einem Vorratsraum</i>
4. MATERIALS				
64	CAULKER'S OAK KUM	<u>pakulas</u>	K	<i>tās siēnas vaižzēja iēdrīvāt a pakulām, lai nenāk aukstums., luōgu šķiŗbās iēdrīvāja pakulš, lai vēš nepūš</i> . NIVe-I: 625, Nīca
65	CLAY	<u>māls</u>	K	<i>krāsne pate visa bi nuō stiēģeliēm – nuō dēdzinātiēm ķiēģeliēm un māliēm</i> . NIVe-J: 133, Nīca
			CS	<u>mahls</u> . VLS: 18; <u>māls</u> m. KuV: 67
66	POLE	<u>kārts/kārte</u>	CS	<i>kārte</i> . KuV: 61; <i>kārtē</i> f. II. MogN: 244; <i>kārt</i> f. KW: 42, Germ. <i>die Stange</i> ; <i>karte</i> LF. BezzS: 65, Sarkau; <i>kārte</i> NP., <i>kareļ</i> N. BezzS: 65, Nida (LT))
67	REED	<u>niēdre</u> 'reed, cane'	K	<i>niēdre</i> . LVI Apv., Pērkone; <i>niēdra</i> . AVN: 128, Rucava; <i>kadrēz plāva niēdrš, ku juņtiēm lik<sup>a</sup>    spīlas. tiē spēlu juņti gāi pa piēdesmit seždesmit gadiēm</i> . LVI Apv., Pērkone; <i>Papes ežerā tās spīlas iŗ, tās niēdras</i> . AVN: 114, Rucava; <i>muņš i citādāka tā runa bišķit. muņš naū niēdras, muņš i spīlas</i> . Rtp: 406, Nida (LV)
68	ROOFING SHINGLE	<u>luba</u> 'bast, plank, shelf'	CS	<i>luba</i> . VLS: 17, Germ. <i>die Borke</i> ; <i>luba</i> . KuV: 66; <i>lub</i> f. KW: 48, Germ. <i>die Borke</i> , <i>Rinde</i> , <i>Pelle</i> ; <i>lube</i> f. DKW: 76, Germ. <i>die Borke</i> ( <i>Baumrinde</i> ); <i>lubā</i> f. I. MogN: 246, Germ. <i>die Rinde</i> *probably, used only in its primary meaning of a '(tree) bark', not <i>luba</i> 'wooden (roofing) shingle'

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Area	Example
69		<u>skaida</u> (Lith. skieda)	K	<u>skaid.</u> LVDA mater., Venta (Ventspils)
70	STRAW	<u>salmi</u>	K	<u>salm.</u> LVDA mater., Jūrkalne; <u>salm.</u> ibid., Ulmale, Užava; <u>salmi.</u> ibid., Medze, Ziemeupe; <u>salmi.</u> ibid., Venta; <i>ta tuõ šiper<sup>1</sup> nevarēja dabūt. <u>salmu</u> juṁti bi - gaṁsalmu. gaṁsalmi.</i> LVI Apv., Pērkone; <i>nuõ <u>salmiem</u> taišija juṁt<sup>2</sup>s, iṁ dakstiņu juṁti, <u>salmu</u> juṁti - tie gaṁ iṁ tādām vēcām mājām. vėl iṁ šķiņdeļu juṁti - tie sasiṣ<sup>1</sup> nuõ tādām plakanām dēļtēm.</i> LVDA mater., Medze; <u>salmu</u> juṁtus juma tã: gaṁus <u>salmus</u> lika, gaṁas bērza kãrtes. ibid., Ziemeupe
			CS	<u>salmē f.</u> , Germ. <i>das Stroh</i> , DKW: 285; <u>salm f.</u> KW: 69; <u>salmē.</u> <i>trušē stãge. un tãdiel tas bijē, tas nibij rikting.</i> ISBt: 15, Nida (LT)
71	STONE	<u>akmens</u> / <u>akmins</u>	K	<u>akmeiṁs.</u> LVDA mater., Saka, Ulmale, Užava, Venta; <i>juõ apakšã ṣsuot salikti <u>akmeṁi.</u></i> SA: 140, Pãvilosta; <i>ka mūrija staļlus ar <u>akmeṁiēm</u>, ta tuṁ iēspiēda pa suķiṁ. ta liētus tik ātri nēistecināja tuõs mālus.</i> NIVe-I: 867, Nica
			CS	<u>akmins</u> , VLS: 5; KuV: 47; MogN: 236; KW: 19; DKW: 280; <i>ar <u>akminiis LF.</u> BezzS: 106, Sarkau; tuoa apakš nu taisate name tap ar <u>akmines</u> uoazdalēte., us <u>akmines</u> nãc ta pamate malke ar tuoas caurumes.</i> FKN: 74
72	TAR	<u>darva</u>	K	<u>dãrva.</u> LVDA mater., Medze, Saka, Ziemeupe; <i>juṁtus nuõdãrvoõ ar <u>dãrvo.</u> ibid., Medze; <u>dãrv.</u><sup>2</sup> ibid., Saka; <u>dãrv.</u>, a <u>dãrv</u> juṁts dãre. ibid., Užava; <u>dãr.</u> ibid., Venta, Užava; <u>dã:r</u> (<u>ã-celms</u>). ibid., Jūrkalne; a <u>dãrvo</u> smērē mãjas juṁtus, stabus. LVI Apv., Bãrta</i>
73	TILE	<u>pods</u>	CS	<u>pĩods.</u> KuV: 75; <u>puoade f.</u> DKW: 177, Germ. <i>die Kachel</i> ; <u>puoad.</u> KW: 66, Germ. <i>das Gefäß, die Kachel, der Krug</i>
74	WOOD	<u>koks</u> 'wood; firewood'	K	<u>Kohka</u> Nam̃s, JLV: 176 (89a), Nica, Bãrta

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Area	Example
75		<i>malika</i> 'wood; firewood'	CS	<i>istubę ar kuoke grydes</i> . HD; AI:27; <i>tas kuoke dangus ir puikę ar cakam un buktam iszagets</i> . HD; AI:30 <i>tas malks tap ar viene gare diže suodbe zāge četire kampe zagate</i> . FKN: 87; or the compound <i>budevatemalk</i> f. 'timber'. KW: 27
5. CONSTRUCTIONS				
76	CEILING	<i>griesti</i>	K	<i>maņš tēs mēža darīt, ka ēda siļķi. ka pārļauza siļķi, ta isnēma gaiša pūsļti un soiēda pret griestiņ: "lāt siļķes celās, lāt liēn tīkluos."</i> <i>viš tuō darij tīri nuōpiētni: plēksn piē griēstim</i> . LVDA mater., Zie-mupe; <i>nuō aukšienes [ēkai] aka ūzliēk tādus gaŗus baiļkus vīrsūm uā nuōstipriņ. uā ta liēk griēstus vīrsūm</i> . NIVE-A: 227, Nīca
77	CEILING (CROSS) BEAM	<i>siļa</i> 'joist, (ceiling) beam'	CS	<i>grehļti</i> . VLS: 11, Germ. <i>die Stubendecke</i> ; <i>griesti</i> . KuV: 57; <i>nebijā dār gatauu ni duru, ni griestu</i> . FKN: 10 <i>siļas iŗ istabas griēstuōs. vērbaļķi iŗ šķūnu aukšā (= -g-)</i> . LVDA mater., Medze
78	CLAMP <sup>255</sup>	<i>cemba</i>	K	LV1 Apv., Užava
79		<i>cemme</i>	K	<i>ceņme</i> i līks, <i>saliēkc dzēlzis iēdzāc. tā tā ceņme, ku iēkubina</i> . NIVE-C: 354, Nīca
80	CROSSED ENDS OF (GABLE) BARGEBOARDS	<i>āzi</i> 'crossed ends of (gable) bargeboards (carved in the shape of the he-goat head)'	K	<i>tā skaitiņās tā iŗašuma zīme – tiē āzi; tiē gāla kļambari bi tiē āzi [jumtam]: jumtiēm lika tuōs āzus. tiē tā krustām sasisti. gaiša iŗ ta kā tādī ragi</i> . NIVE-A: 236, Nīca
81		<i>ziņgs</i> 'crossed ends of (gable) bargeboards (carved in the shape of the horse head)'	CS	<i>visi mūse nami tuij aukšum kuo nārnt, bija ziņgs</i> . ISBt: 15, Nida (LT)

<sup>255</sup> There are several possible explanations for the origin of the names *cemba* and *cemme*, including the hypothesis that they both may belong to the group of Finno-Ugrisms. However, in this research, they are classified as inherited lexemes (see Chapter 4.5. and 4.5.6. CLAMP).

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Area	Example
82	DOOR	<u>dūrois</u>	K	<i>dūrois</i> NBI. BezzS: 116, 1, <i>Niederbartau</i> /Nīca; [ <i>rijas</i> ] <i>dūrois</i> <i>pa lielākaļ daļai</i> <i>nebi atveramas, bet aizbīdāmas kā traņvajā</i> . NIVe-A: 20, Nīca; <i>tās dūres tāisīt nemaz nevaīdzēja. tu varēj iēēt, ta viņas atvērās, un ta pašas aka aīstaisjās ciēt</i> . NIVe-A: 219, Nīca; <i>dūris</i> , <i>dūres</i> LVI Apv., Bārta; <i>duōrs</i> , <i>duō:rs</i> ( <i>ā-celms</i> )., <i>duō:r</i> . LVDA <i>ma-ter.</i> , <i>jūrkalne</i> ; <i>duōr</i> . LVI Apv., Alsunga; <i>pārdūres</i> 'half door, half hung door'. LVI Apv., Bārta, NIVe-A: 225, Nīca
			BV, M	<i>dūris</i> K, M, SII, LF. BezzS: 39, 64, <i>Karkelbek, Bommel Vite and Mellneraggen, Schwarzort, Sarkau</i>
			CS	<i>dūres</i> 'ðæpə'. P-AI: 31; <i>dūris</i> . VLS: 10; <i>durg</i> . KuV: 54; <i>dure f</i> . DKW: 296; <i>dur f</i> , Germ. <i>die Tür</i> . KW: 31; <i>dūr</i> <i>ar krustgiestes lēntes aptaisat</i> . FKN: 49; <i>dūris</i> K, M, SII, LF. BezzS: 39, 64, <i>Kar-kelbek, Bommel Vite and Mellneraggen, Schwarzort, Sarkau</i> ; <i>dūris</i> LF. BezzS: 64, <i>Sarkau</i> ; <i>dūris</i> . BezzS: 117; <i>duras</i> SRII. BezzS: 39, 57, 64, <i>Sarkau</i> ; <i>dōras</i> . BezzS: 111, <i>Nidden, Schwarzort; dures E, NS</i> . BezzS: 39, 64, <i>Preila, Nida, LT</i> ; <i>pi dui pane ir dures</i> . HD; AI: 26; <i>nu name iete dures pic kukines, kambur un dīza istuba</i> . HD; AI: 27; <i>maģi – varsteli, bet dīzs ir duōrs</i> . KKF: 19, <i>Preila</i>
83	DOOR HANDLE	<u>skritēlis</u> 'rotatable wooden door handle'	K	<i>vaī tu cūku staļļa dūvūm aizgrīzi skritēli, lai cūkas nēisnāk nuō staļļa?</i> , <i>tās dures aizgrīza a skritēli</i> . NIVe-A: 30, Nīca
84	DOOR LATCH	<u>klabata</u> 'wooden door latch'	K	<i>mañ, āre, dūrūm i klabata – duru aīstaisāmais, kā senāk bija</i> . LVI Apv., Bārta; <i>ka tās dures piēvēlk ciēti, ta tā klabata nuōkrīt us tuō āļi</i> . NIVe-C: 364, Nīca
85	DOOR LOCK	<u>atslēga</u> / <u>atslēgs</u>	K	<i>caurslēdzamš acslēgs un tāc bluciņš – tāc apalš. tāc kraņpīc i, un a acslēgu piēslēdz</i> . NIVe-C: 345; <i>klētīm caurslēdzamas acslēgas. istabām nebi acslēgu</i> . NIVe-C: 345
86	FOUNDATION	<u>pamats</u>	K	<i>es mudīgi [paslēpos] kaū kuā apakš pamatu</i> . SA: 100, <i>jūrmalciems</i>

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Area	Example
			CS	<u>pamats</u> . KuV: 71; <i>akmines par pamate tap nu zeme sāne parbēgte</i> . FKN: 70; <u>pamate</u> f. DKW: 129, Germ. <i>das Fundament</i> ; DKW: 148, Germ. <i>die Grundmauer</i> 'foundation wall'; <u>pamat</u> f. KW: 57, Germ. <i>das Fundament, die Schwelle</i>
87	FLOOR	<u>grīda</u> 'floor, threshing-floor'	K	<u>grīde</u> . FBR: 8, AVN: 112, Rucava: [klēn] <i>apcīrkņis i taišc uz grīdas, kasc i kasc – cilājaņš</i> . NIVe-C: 369, Nīca; <i>izber uz grīdas un diēžē</i> . SA: 102, Pērkone; <i>senāk nemālēja grīdas</i> . NI: 278, Nīca; <i>cimentes grīde</i> 'cement floor'. LV1 Apv., Bārta
			CS	<u>gryde</u> 'noī'. P-AI: 40; <u>grīhds</u> . VLS: 11; <u>grīde</u> . KuV: 57; <u>grīde</u> f., Germ. <i>die Diele</i> . DKW: 85; <u>grīdes</u> m., Germ. <i>der Fußboden</i> . DKW: 130; <u>grīds</u> m., Germ. <i>der Fußboden</i> . KW: 34; <u>grīdes</u> , Germ. <i>Stufenfußboden</i> , DKW: 286; <i>luoage rāmes, luogages, grīdes, ziedes dures un cites darbes partaisij tišlirs</i> . Germ. <i>die Dielen</i> , FKN: 74; <i>te weza nama biju wēns zaurums is grydu</i> . HD; AI: 62; <u>grīdās</u> f. pl. I, Germ. <i>der Fußboden</i> . MogN: 241
88		<u>klons</u> 'clay floor'	K	<u>kluōns</u> . LVDA mater., Venta (Ventspils), Jūrkalne; <i>uz māla kluōnu liķa labību</i> . ibid., Medze; <i>māla grīdu [rijās, dzīvojamās mājās] muņš saūc par kluōnu</i> – <i>nuo sastāpāta māla</i> . ibid., Saka; <u>kluons</u> . AVN: 133, Bārta; <i>ķēķī aļ bi kluōns, mālu kluōns, bija arī cemeņta kluōns. NIVe-C: 377, Nīca</i>
			CS	<u>kluoane</u> f. DKW: 85, Germ. <i>die Diele, Diele aus festgestampftem Lehm</i> , DKW: 291, Germ. <i>die Tenne; kluoan</i> f. KW: 44, Germ. <i>die Tenne</i>
89		<u>plāns</u>	K	<i>ķēķē bi cemeņt plāns iēlētš</i> [...] <i>nu jaiēt a basām kājām pa cemeņt plān. akaļ dabuj slimib</i> . LVDA mater., Ulmale; <i>istubā kuōka plāns, teica jau grīda aļ</i> . NIVe-G: 583, Nīca
90	FLOOR BEAM	<u>grōd(s)</u>	K	Žiēc (=ds) <i>grīestuōs, grūōd – grīds baļķ. stālīm sak vērbāķ</i> . LVDA mater., Ulmale



No.	Concept	Name of concept	Area	Example
91	OPENING IN THE WALL (FOR LIGHT OR HEAT FLOW)	<u>robs</u>	K	[frija] actāc bi viēnuos sānuos izzāgēc ruōps. ka piētiēkuōši bi nuōkurināc, ta aizbāza viņu ciēt, lai sīlūms nēisplūstu vaīs. NIVe-C: 364
92	RIDGE	<u>čukurs</u>    <u>čukurins</u>	K	pac tas slīpušs i čukurs, ku [jums] sanāk nuō viēnas puses un uōtras puses kuōpā., čukurs i jumta nuōbeigušs. bezdeliņas taīsa lizdus jumta čukurā, iēkšpusē. NIVe-C: 399-400, Nīca; also <u>čukurins</u> . LVI Apv., Bārta
93		<u>čore</u>	K	jumt čūorē žīvā putniņ. LVI Apv., Alsunga
94	ROOF	<u>jumts</u>	K	<u>jumbts</u> . JLV: 97 (50), Nīca, Bārta; <u>jumtu</u> caurumus aizdrīoāja ('cieši aizpildīt') a linu spaļiem. NIVe-A: 26, Nīca; lai uzjumtu <u>jumtu</u> vaīdzēja daudz [niedres]. [...] vaīdzēja daudz spēlu. Rtp: 406, Nīda (LV); ka rītus isiēt, ja ciēlava īr uz jumta, ta lini aūg liēli. LVDA mater., Ziemeupe; nuō salmiem taīsja <u>jumt</u> s, LVDA mater., Medze; tuļ vēl kūc <u>jumtā</u> skatlis iēcīsc – 1928. gac. SA: 120, Saraiķi
			Š-B	labāki <u>jumti</u> pirmā rindā bija klājami uz māju. MB; mañ uz <u>jumtu</u> ira divi maģi mīlulīši. SA: 36, Būtiņģe; adbrauce ('atlidoja') uz <u>jumtu</u> . ibid.: 37, Būtiņģe
			CS	<u>jumts</u> . BezzS: 111, Sarkau
95	STEP	<u>kāpiens</u>	K	trepēm i tie kāpieni. NIVe-I: 5, Nīca
96	THRESHOLD	<u>sliekšnis</u>	K	manās vēctēva mājās vēl istabā bi aūkstiē <u>sliekšni</u> , kad bērni nevarēj pārkāpt. NIVe-A: 224, Nīca
97	WALL		K	uñ tad daūza piē siēnas vaļ piē luōga. SA: 96, Jūrmalciešs; vēctēvs aizgāja us pīti aizdrīvēt sprāugas siēnā. NIVe-A: 26, Nīca; [ar darvu] smērēja siēns [mājai] –iēkšpusi un ārpusi, lai ķīmji nēd. NIVe-I: 648, Nīca
			Š-B	siēna. MB; ka plēsa tās tap:etes zemē, kad aīs tās siēnas salīmēti visvādi bi. SA: 29

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Area	Example
			CS	<u>seena</u> , Germ. <i>die Wand</i> . VLS: 28; <u>siņā</u> f. I. MogN: 253; <u>siēna</u> . KuV: 80; <u>siēn</u> f. KW: 71; <u>siēne</u> f. DKW: 325; <u>lēne auge tie siēnes</u> like istube ziedes. FKN: 74; <u>ir winš nāze tēšum us stale, par tuo βene</u> , <u>kur es biju nuometes, braškinajas pits trepu</u> . HD; AI: 62
98	WINDOW	<u>logs</u>	K	<u>guōve pa staļļa luōgu sāk skatīties āre</u> . SA: 129, Ziemeupe; <u>taū nu gan i smuk gaŗdīn pi luōgim!</u> . LVI Apv., Alsunga; <u>kēķim bij viēns luōks</u> . LVI Apv., Ēdole; <u>luōgi viņiem [kēlēm] nebi</u> . citām bi dures tāt mas caīrumelis. tāda maza gaīsmiņa iētēt iēķšā kad-reiz. NIVe-C: 346, Nīca; <u>aŗ ķitu aīzblīvō luōgus, laī nepūš</u> . NIVe-A: 20, Nīca; <u>aīzdrīvā tuōš luōgus, laī nepūš oēš iēķšā!</u> . ibid.: 26; <u>pa luōgiēm grūzus bēra</u> . LVI Apv., Bārta; <u>kādreiz mājām bi slēgi – luōgiēm</u> . SA: 96, Jūrmalciems
			Š-B	<u>logs</u> ., <u>loģelis</u> 'small window', Sventājā dzīvāva meistari, <u>kas mācēja pataisit logus, dures</u> . MB
			CS	<u>lūogs</u> . KuV: 66; <u>lohgs</u> . VLS: 17; <u>lūōks</u> . <i>Ge. lūōgā m. I</i> , Germ. <i>das Fenster</i> . MogN: 246; <u>luoag f. KW: 48; luoags m. KW: 48; DKW: 117; atkrampije luoge nu ēķšes</u> . HD; AI: 53; <u>tie luogi ar būt blāve un balte</u> . ISBt: 15; <u>tie juoa ilge guleniekes jau turij pasezurgeiūs saues dures un luoages asslēkte</u> . FKN: 300
99	WINDOW'SILL	<u>palodze</u> / <u>palogis</u>	K	<u>paluōdze</u> . LVI Apv., Alsunga
			CS	<u>paluōgis</u> . KuV: 71; <u>paluoage f. DKW: 117</u> , Germ. <i>die Fensterbank</i> ; <u>paluoag f. KW: 57</u> , Germ. <i>die Fensterbank</i>
6. HEATING AND LIGHTING APPLIANCES				
100	BREAD OVEN	<u>ceplis</u>	K	<u>māizes krāsns [jeb] māizes ceplis i kēķī liēla krāsne, nuō apakšas kurināma</u> ., <u>krāsne bi istabas pusē diēzgaī liēla. tā bi māizes ceplis</u> . NIVe-C: 356, Nīca; <u>māizes ceplis : ceplis</u> . LVDA mater., Saka
101		<u>krāsns</u> / <u>krāsne</u>	K	<u>katrā mājā bi māizes krāsne</u> ., <u>tāda tā krāsne bij – seš<sup>u</sup>s kukuļus varēja iēlikt</u> . AVN: 113, Bārta; <u>māzi cep krāsne</u> . LVDA mater., Medze

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Area	Example
102	HEARTH	<u>pavards</u>	CS	<u>pavards</u> . lett. auch <u>ugguns kurs</u> , <u>ugguns weeta</u> [...] <u>Feuersstätte</u> – <u>Herd</u> . VLK: 21; us <u>pawardu</u> LF. BezzS: 46; Sarkau; <u>pavārdš</u> ( <u>vēci</u> <u>lāuži</u> <u>turija</u> <u>pavārdšus</u> , <u>mēs sakam</u> <u>kukne</u> ). KuV: 72; <u>pavards m</u> . DKW: 160, Germ. <u>Herd</u> . <u>Kohlenherd</u> ; <u>vinge uoaskrāve</u> <u>visē saka-</u> <u>pate malke tarpe</u> <u>pavarde</u> <u>un krāsine</u> , <u>kur tas turp džāvina</u> . FKN: 296, Germ. sie stapelten das kleingemachte Holz zwischen <u>Herd</u> und <u>Ofen</u> auf, wo es trocknen sollte
103	HEATING WALL	<u>siena</u>	Š-B	<u>siena</u> . MB
104	STOVE	<u>krāsns</u> / <u>krāsne</u> / <u>krāsins</u>	K	<u>Krahšnis</u> . LJV: 120 (61a), Germ. <u>der Ofen</u> ; [iekšrijā] <u>krāsns</u> <u>bes</u> <u>skuōrsten</u> , <u>bes kuō</u> . LVI Apv., Venta; <u>iēkuš rijs</u> <u>krāsni</u> . SA: 153, Ulmale; <u>kas negribeja mātītšs</u> , <u>iēt kurināt</u> <u>krāsni</u> . LVDA mater., Ziemeupe; <u>kad</u> <u>krāsni</u> <u>kurin</u> <sup>a</sup> <u>aš uōglēm</u> <u>uņ pa ātru aīztaiš</u> <sup>a</sup> <u>ciēt</u> , <u>tad</u> <u>ruōd</u> <sup>3</sup> <u>toaīš</u> . idem., Medze; <u>tā</u> <u>krāsne</u> <u>jāziņ</u> <u>iskurināt</u> . AVN: 113, Rucava
			Š-B	<u>krāsne</u> <u>bi pamūrīta</u> <u>nuō ķīēgelēm</u> . SA: 41, Būtingē/Šventoji
			CS	CS <u>krālfne</u> . VLS: 15; <u>krāsne</u> . KuV: 63; <u>krāsin~krāsnē f. II</u> , Germ. <u>der Ofen</u> , MogN: 244; <u>krāsne M</u> , LF. BezzS: 65, Sarkau; <u>krāsins m.</u> , Germ. <u>der Backofen</u> , <u>der Ofen</u> , KW: 45; Germ. <u>der Ofen</u> , DKW: 227; <u>tas puodenieks taisij</u> <u>krāsine</u> . FKN: 74
			BV, M	<u>krāsne M</u> , LF. BezzS: 65

### 5.1.2. Borrowed vocabulary

Vocabulary of foreign origin in the coastal Latvian varieties reflects historical language contact with other ethnic groups, shaped by socio-economic, geographic, and cultural factors. Within this context, folk architecture vocabulary, as part of broader craft-related vocabulary, shows the clearest evidence of such contact, resulting from migration, interaction with traders and craftsmen, and the adoption of new objects and practices. These borrowings arose through both external influences and internal causes.

Borrowed lexical items are classified below according to their origin and relative frequency within the dataset. Loanwords and loan translations (lexical calques) are grouped together, as both are similar in origin and nature<sup>256</sup>. The aim of this classification is to determine whether a lexical item is inherited or borrowed as a result of language contact, and, if borrowed, to identify the chronological period of its adoption. Among the borrowed vocabulary, Germanisms are the most numerous, followed by Lithuanianisms, Slavisms, and a relatively small number of Finno-Ugrisms. The next sections are structured in this order.

#### 5.1.2.1. Germanisms

The excerpted material shows that the speakers of the analyzed territorial varieties of the Latvian language had close cultural connections, notably within the sphere of material culture. The most significant part of the analyzed borrowed folk architecture vocabulary reflects language contact between Latvian and Germanic languages.

Germanisms (94 names) are present across all six thematic subgroups (see Table 3). The thematic subgroup *Constructions* contains the highest number of Germanic-origin names (35 names representing 28 concepts), followed by *Building Types* (20 names/16 concepts), *Construction materials and products* (18 names/14 concepts), *Room Types* (7 names/5 concepts), *Heating and lighting appliances* (10 names/9 concepts), and *Homestead and its courtyard* (4 names/4 concepts), each represented by varying numbers of lexemes and concepts. The high number of Germanisms across all subgroups can be attributed to the significant influx of artisans and close collabo-

<sup>256</sup> While loan translations are typically classified as borrowed elements, linguists recognize that, in terms of their origin, they have an intermediate position between inherited and borrowed linguistic elements (Laua 1981: 135–138). Although loanwords and loan translations differ in their form, both serve the same purpose of expanding vocabulary (Freimane 1993: 348). Loan translations, or lexical calques, are mainly substantives denoting specific objects and phenomena lacking direct or corresponding equivalents in the receptor language; in such cases, the meaning is borrowed together with the word.

ration, particularly in folk construction, between local Latvian-speaking inhabitants and craftsmen. Consequently, object names were initially adopted to designate items under discussion and those introduced by itinerant artisans, including the building techniques, materials, tools, and other related objects or phenomena they brought with them. Regarding the territorial distribution of Germanisms across the three Latvian-speaking communities studied, they are most widespread in Kurzeme and the Curonian Spit, while the fewest occurrences are recorded in Šventoji-Būtingė.

As noted earlier, it is essential to identify the sources when analyzing borrowed items. Within the dataset, borrowed items of Germanic origin may originate from several sources, and thus reflect various chronological periods of language contact:

1. The largest portion of this group consists of lexical items borrowed from German dialects<sup>257</sup>:
  - a. Mainly from Middle Low German (e.g., *būve* ‘building’, *rūme* ‘room; space’ *ģēvele* ‘gable’, *slēģis* ‘shutter’, *krīts* ‘whiting’, etc.).
  - b. From Low German (e.g., *šūre* ‘shed’, *vāgūzis* ‘woodshed’, *šītūžs* ‘toilet’, *driķeris* ‘door handle’, *trepes/trepe* ‘ladder’, etc.).
  - c. And a few from Middle High German (e.g., *bēniņi/bēniņģe* ‘attic’, *kūts* ‘cattle-shed’, *klambari* ‘cross-arranged wooden elements on the roof ridge’).
2. A smaller number of borrowed items originate from Modern German (e.g., Kursen. *late* ‘(roof) lath’, Kursen. *ģezims* ‘eaves’, Kursen. *glas/glass* ‘glass’, Kursen. *ķlēister(s)* ‘glue’, etc.).
3. Some names have been borrowed under the influence of the Baltic German language, such as *plīte* ‘cooking stove’, *spelte* ‘opening in the stove for smoke to escape’, also ‘bread oven’. These should be considered more recent borrowings. The highest number was found in the subgroup *Heating and lighting appliances*, which can be explained as follows. The improvements made to the homestead, such as the development of a heating center within the dwelling and the implementation of improved fire safety measures, are closely related to elements borrowed from manor architecture (e.g., chimneys, mantle-vault-like chimneys, tile stoves). When such new objects were introduced into peasant dwellings, their names were also borrowed and adapted into the vocabulary of the Latvian-speaking community. This is particularly characteristic of Kurzeme.

<sup>257</sup> When the origin of a word cannot be definitively established, it is assigned to the German language group based on phonetic and morphological criteria. If the word does not appear in contemporary German dictionaries, it is categorized as part of the German dialect vocabulary.

Table 3. List of identified Germanisms in the data.

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Origin	Area	Example
1. HOMESTEAD AND ITS COURTYARD					
1	COURT-YARD	<u>hove</u>	< Germ. <i>der Hof</i> < MHG <i>hof</i> (DWDSe)	CS	<i>lūke wel asdarījes, ka es paredziju us hove opa</i> . HD; HD-AI: 60; <i>winš meklīj man šūra ir apīrauzījas wišur us hove</i> . HD; HD-AI: 61
2	FENCE STICK	<u>riķis</u>	< MLG dial. <i>rick</i> 'long, thin pole' (MFe II 525–526)	K	<i>riķu žuōgi [bija]. nuō egļu zaru viņus taīša. pus' uōītras ases garumā, collu caūrmērā tas riķis i</i> . NIV-C 344, Nīca; AVN 131, Rucava; [žoga] <i>stabaņ bi caūruņs iškālc, un tuī iššāva caūri tuō sklaņdu, kuī iēpiņ tuō riķi</i> . NI 289, Nīca
				Š-B	<i>riķu žogu darija apkārt darželi [...] rikius taisīja no jaunu karklu, berzu, alksnu, un žalus, kamar nav sakalūši, islocīja karču starpas</i> . MB
3	STOCKYARD	<u>rosgartens</u>	< Germ. <i>der Rosgarten</i> 'enclosed yard, pasture-ground for horses'	CS	<i>rosgartens</i> . KuV: 77
4	WELL-SWEEP	<u>vin̄da</u>	(< Pr. <i>winda</i> 'towable, movable device') < MLG <i>winde</i> 'twisted, furled; a device for winding' (LEV 1167)	K	<i>kāsi, tuō kuōku a cēlmu, tuō visu saūc pa' viñdu</i> . NIVe-C: 349, Nīca; <i>kañ zemas akas, kañ nebi tās viñdas, a kāsi jaū a' smēla. a kāsi a' varēj ūdeni iēsmēl</i> . NIVe-I: 683, Nīca; <i>viñda., tuō garus stabu saūc pa' viñd.</i> <i>tuō krus' s kuōk' jaū a' citād' nesaūc, ku tas spaņnis klāt</i> . Ziemupe, LVDA mater.; <i>viñd</i> . Venta (Ventspils), Užava, idem.; <i>viš caūrmērā i viñds, citād nesaūc, ka pa viñd.</i> , <i>tuō saūc pa viñd</i> . Ulmale, idem.; <i>piē akas ir tāt zemē iērakc žāklis, un tur iēkša viñde, kas tuō spaņi vēļk aūkšāņ</i> . Saka, idem.; <i>ūdeni izvēļk a' viñdu vāi a' garu kārti – uz tās uzliēk spaņni</i> . Medze, idem.; <i>viñc (o-celms).</i> , <i>viñc</i> . Jūrkalne, idem.

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Origin	Area	Example
2. BUILDING TYPES					
5	BUILDING	<u>būve</u>	< MLG <i>būw(e)</i> (MEe I 360)	K	tāda strēve pie <u>būves</u> i, ku atstrēvē, ka spāres ceļ. tag sauc spēlle. NIVE-A: 210, Nīca; tuŗ jaŗ par- asti biŗ dardz tuŗ <u>būvju</u> . AVN: 121
6	CATTLE SHED	<u>kūts</u>	< MHG <i>kūte</i> (LEV 452)	K	tuŗ vēl <u>kūc</u> jumtā skāltis iēŗsc – 1928. gac. SA: 120, Saraŗķi; tuŗ guŗou stalŗi nuŗdardŗja – tas bi mŗŗŗķs tŗ tiēķ būŗēŗa tuŗi piē luŗpu <u>kūc</u> (=ts). LVDA mater., Medze; naŗ kaŗ kuŗ tŗ saspŗēc, rēŗ, klēc, tuŗ <u>kūc</u> uŗ vis.: SA: 71–72, Pape; LVDA mater., Saka;
7		<u>stallis</u>	< MLG <i>stal</i> (MEe III 1042)	CS	<u>kūit</u> m. KW: 46, Germ. <i>kleiner Stall</i> 'small cattle- shed or stables'; <u>kūits</u> , <i>laidars</i> m. DKW: 278, Germ. <i>Stall</i> ( <i>kleiner Stall</i> ) 'cattle-shed or stables (small cattle-shed or stables)'
				K	<u>stallis</u> . AVN: 133, Bārta; LVDA mater., Rucava; ( <i>guŗou</i> ) <u>stalŗis</u> . LVDA mater., Saka; <u>stalŗ</u> . LVDA mater., Venta, Ulmale; <i>guŗu stalŗ</i> suŗc pa laŗdŗ. <i>kas</i> <i>mazaks, tas stalŗis</i> ; mŗŗŗŗ bi laŗdŗ. LVDA mater., Uŗŗava; <u>stalŗis</u> : laŗdŗŗ. LVDA mater., Jŗrkalne; <i>man</i> <i>stalŗle jalabuŗ grŗd</i> . LVI Apv., Alsunga; LVDA ma- ter., Ulmale; viŗ [=sesks] iŗēŗt <u>stalŗle</u> , <i>sabездŗs, viŗ</i> <sup>ŗ</sup> <i>krŗt nuŗst nuŗ lak</i> <sup>ŗ</sup> s. LVI Apv., Pērkone
				ŗ-B	atseviŗķi viens cits turēŗja pataisitu <u>cūku stalŗi</u> , <u>avŗu stalŗi</u> . tŗss nebŗja lielas ēkas, tik tŗdas bŗdas, <i>kadŗeŗ pietaisitas nolaidŗs blakus zirgu stallim.</i> ; <i>namelnieka va butnieka sēŗa</i> [..] <u>stalŗis</u> va <u>stal-</u> <u>ŗelis</u> . MB
				CS	<u>staldis</u> . VLS: 30; <u>stallis</u> ( <i>ŗen, -ŗ</i> ). KuV: 82; <u>stalŗis</u> <i>m. III</i> . MogN: 253; <u>stalŗ</u> m. DKW: 278

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Origin	Area	Example
8	CELLAR	<u>kelleris</u> / <u>keldere</u>	< LG <i>kelder</i> 'cellar' (Sehwers 1953: 63)	CS	<u>kelerē</u> NP. BezS: 61, Nida (LT); <u>kelleris</u> . KuV: 62; <u>kēlirs</u> m. DKW: 181; <u>kēlirs</u> m. KW: 43
9	COACH-HOUSE	<u>vāgūzīs</u>	< LG <i>wāghūs</i> 'coach-house, wheel-house' (Sehwers 1953: 152; MEe IV 493)	K	<u>vāgūzīs</u> bi vaīrāk izbūvēc [nekā paškūne], a ciētū grīdu – a mālu nuostuīpāc. NIVe-I: 741, Nīca; tuō cūkstālī mēģināj taī vāgūzā galā taišīt klāt. NIVe-C: 384, Nīca; AVN: 133; <u>vāgūzīs</u> – ku ziņ <sup>a</sup> liet <sup>ā</sup> s nuōlik <sup>a</sup> . LVI Apv., Pērkone; <u>vāgūzīs</u> i šķūn gale piētaīsīc, ku iēbrauc ratus. LVI Apv., Apriķi, also in Dunika, Aizupe (MEe IV 493; EHe II 761)
10	DOG HOUSE	<u>būda</u>	(< Germ. <i>die Bude</i> ) < LG <i>bōd</i> or < Germ. <i>die Bude</i>	Š-B	suņu bija daudz, gandrīz katrā sētā. suņus siet pie ķēdes un taisīt vīnamis <u>būdas</u> sāka jaunajos laikos. MB
11	DWELLING HOUSE	<u>ēberģis</u>	< MLG <i>herberge</i> (MEe I 574)	K	<u>būda</u> . NIVe-E: 514, Nīca
		<u>herberģis</u>	<Germ. <i>die Herberge</i> 'hostel, inn; home, shelter' < MLG <i>herberge</i>	CS	<u>herberģis</u> ērbe(r)ģis, KuV: 58
12	EXTENSION	<u>ēberģis</u>	< MLG <i>herberge</i> (MEe I 574)	K	<u>ēberģis</u> i piēbūve. senāk ēberģis bi isnuōmāc akmeņu laūzējēm. NIVe-E: 506, Nīca
13	HUT	<u>būde</u>	(< Germ. <i>die Bude</i> ) < LG <i>bōd</i> or < Germ. <i>die Bude</i>	CS	<u>būda</u> . KuV: 51; <u>būdā</u> f. I. MogN: 239; <u>būde</u> f., skuje <u>būde</u> f. DKW: 79, Germ. <i>die Bude</i> , 172 <i>die Hütte</i> (kleines Haus); <u>būd</u> f. KW: 27, Germ. <i>die Hütte</i> , <i>die Bude</i>
	HUT FOR DRYING FISH NETS	<u>būda</u> 'hut for drying fishing nets'	< LG <i>bōd</i> (?)	Š-B	<u>būdā</u> varēja sakraut sausus tīklus un ūdas. <i>blakus valgumu būdu</i> ir bijis diezgan daudz. MB



No.	Concept	Name of concept	Origin	Area	Example
14	ICE CELLAR	<u>īškelīrs</u>	< Germ. <i>der Eiskeller</i>	CS	<u>īškelīrs</u> ziemlīšane name. FKN: 240
15	PORCH	<u>lievenis</u>	< MLG <i>love(ne)</i> (MEe II 508)	K	<u>Leevenis</u> . JLV: 139 (71), Germ. <i>eine Laubhütte, it: ein Ercher, ein Ort aus einem Gebäu heraus, da mann ausslehnend stehen v. sich umbsehen kann</i> , Nīca, Bārta; <u>lievenis</u> i, ka vaļējs veraīc. <u>tuŗ</u> ta kâ tīltarņ maŗgas – <u>tuŗ</u> i leīteri. NIVe-L: 73, Nīca
16	SHED	<u>skūns</u>	< MLG <i>schune</i> 'shed' (Germ. 'Scheune') (MEe III 908; MEe IV 56), LG <i>schūne</i> (Sehwers 1953: 134)	K	<i>mātes mājā bija skūnā</i> . SA: 100, Jūrmalcīems; AVN: 133, Rucava; <i>nuopēsa skūnī vis:u jumtu</i> . LVI Apv., Rucava; <i>kad pēļus atvērīja, iekāra skūnā durīs</i> . LVI Apv., Bārta; <i>tas vēš sašķiēbis vēcūō skūnu. vaļg acstutēt, ta vēļ nesagrūs</i> . NIVe-A: 211, Nīca; <i>ka skūnā piē dziēda puīši pakāra šūpāksnes, ta bērni nevarēja atšūpātīs viē</i> . NIVe-A: 215, Nīca; LVI Apv., Rucava
17		<u>skūnis</u>		Š-B	<u>skūnā</u> ., <i>malkas krāve</i> [...] <u>skūnu</u> pažobelēs. MB
				CS	<u>skūne</u> , <i>šūre f.</i> DKW: 254, Germ. <i>die Scheune</i> ; <u>skūns</u> , <i>šūrs m.</i> DKW: 253, Germ. <i>der Schauer</i> ; <u>skūn f. KW: 72, Germ. <i>die Scheune</i></u>
				K	<u>Schkuhnis</u> . JLV: 263 (133), Nīca, Bārta; <u>skūnis</u> : <i>siēna skūnis</i> : <i>labības skūnis</i> . LVDA mater., Saka; <u>skūnš</u> . LVDA mater., Ziemeupe; <u>skūns</u> . LVDA mater., Jūrkalne; <u>skūns</u> . LVDA mater., Venta, Užava, Ulmale; <u>skūne</u> . LVDA mater., Ulmale
				CS	<u>schkuhnis</u> . VLS: 27
				CS	<u>šūre f.</u> II. MogN: 254; <u>šūre f.</u> DKW: 254, Germ. <i>die Scheune</i> ; <u>šūrs m.</u> , Germ. <i>der Schauer</i> . DKW: 253; <i>winš meklj man šūra ir apširauzijas wiŗur us hove</i> . HD: 61

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Origin	Area	Example
18	STABLE	<u>stallis</u> / <u>stells</u> / <u>stals</u>	see above	K	zirgu <u>stallis</u> . LVDA mater., Saka; (zirgu) <u>stallis</u> . ibid., Medze; zirgu <u>stallis</u> . ibid., Ziemeupe; <u>stallī</u>   zirgu <u>stallē</u> . ibid., Ulmale; <u>stēlls</u> . ibid., Užava; <u>stāls</u> . ibid., Venta, Ulmale; <u>stāls</u> ., <u>ziērks</u> i <u>stālē</u> . ibid., Jūrkalne; nu kungs jo vairāk iepīcis lika to nolādīmu gaili oakarā zirgu <u>stalli</u> iedzīt. AVN: 107, Bārta; <u>stallē</u> sildīja [ūdeni], ibid.: 113, Bārta
19	WOODSHED	<u>vāgūzis</u>	< LG <u>wāghūs</u> 'coach-house' (Germ. 'Wagenhaus, Wagenremise') (MEe IV 493; EHe II 761	Š-B	zirgu <u>stallis</u> , goviu bija mag, tās sēja zirgu <u>stallē</u> . MB
20	TOILET	<u>kēmbrikens</u>	< Germ. <u>das Kämmerchen</u> 'small room; (little) chamber; toilet, lavatory (?)'	K	<u>vāgūzis</u> ir vēcs mālkas šķūnis, vāi arī cita vēca kūoka ēka. LVI Apv.
21		<u>porūzis</u>	< MLG <u>varhūs</u> or <u>vōrhūs</u> (MEe III 457; Sehwers 1953, 97)	Š-B	malkas krāve <u>vagūzē</u> , ja tādas nebija <u>stallū</u> , skūnu pažobelēs. MB
22		<u>šitūšs</u>	< LG <u>schithūs</u> 'toilet' (Germ. 'Abort') (Sehwers 1953, 134)	K	jāismel <u>kēmbrikens</u> . LVI Apv., Alsunga; <u>cits tēlc mazmājiņ</u> , <u>cits kēmbrikens</u> . ibid.
23	VERANDA	<u>porūzis</u>	< MLG <u>varhūs</u> or <u>vōrhūs</u> (MEe III 457; Sehwers 1953, 97)	CS	<u>puōrūzis</u> – <u>ateja</u> bij duōmāta. LVI Apv., Bārta
24		<u>veranda</u>	< Germ. <u>die Veranda</u> 'veranda; also porch'	K	<u>šitūšs</u> m. DKW: 185, 195, 203
				K	<u>puōrūzim</u> <u>stikls laukā</u> . Markus-Narvila 2011: 158, Rucava; <u>puōrūzis</u>    <u>puōrūzis</u> . ibid. 80
				K	<u>vēraņda</u> – <u>jūmtiņš</u> bij, <u>bet sāni bi valēji</u> . [nepabeigta]; <u>vēraņda</u> . <u>ciā</u> <u>viētā sāni bi valēji</u> . LVI Apv., Bārta; <u>uñ tāt apžūōguōjums ta ka mana vēraņda</u> . AVN: 108, Bārta; <u>vēraņda</u> – <u>tuñ tik iēt caūri</u> , <u>kaū kuō nuōlīēkas</u> . NIVe-I: 695, Nīca; <u>mañ af nāca liēt</u> "s iēkšā pa <u>vēraņdu</u> . LVI Apv., Pērkone, Priekule

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Origin	Area	Example
3. ROOM TYPES					
25	ATTIC	<u>bēniņi</u>	< MHG böninge (Germ. <i>Decke eines Stockwerks</i> , MEe I 289-290) OR <i>bēniņš, bēlīgis</i> < MLG böning (Sehwers 1953: 11)	CS	<i>juk tad viņi bija juo daug darba pasidarije del tuo, ir varande kur bije, te visi bij daug juo izzāgate visādi. ISBf: 16; varand f. KW: 82, Germ. die Veranda</i>
		<u>bēniņe/</u> <u>bēniņģis</u>		K	<i>tītīt zem juāta nāk bēniņi. LVDA mater., Saka; bēniņi, istubaikša ar tēc. LVI Apv., Bārta; LVI Apv., Apriķi; bēniņ_ LVDA mater., Ulmale; bēniš, LVDA mater., Užava; vėl vaig aīzbāst sprāugas ēkas bēniņuos. NIVe-A: 19, Nīca; bēniņuos vīsu kuō nuōliēk. LVDA mater., Medze</i>
				K	<i>bēniņ_ LVDA mater., Jūrkalne; Nom. bēniņģis. Loc. šuōdien vaig izžait veš bēniņge. LVI Apv., Ēdole; bēniņģs. LVDA mater., Saka; ruīes aīkš uz bēniņg. LVDA mater., Jūrkalne</i>
26	CORRIDOR	<u>gangis</u>	< Germ. <i>der Gang</i> (MEe I 601)	Š-B	<i>gangģis. MB</i>
27	KITCHEN	<u>kēķis/</u> <u>kēķe</u>	< MLG <i>koke</i> or LG <i>kōke</i> or <i>kāke</i> (LEV 458-459), LG <i>kōke</i> (Sehwers 1953: 64)	K	<i>kēķis. LVI Apv., Bārta; ibid., Ēdole; ka izbēdza dārbus kēķi, ta aīzlaida skūrsteņa caurumu cēt. un kēķis bi silc. NIVe-C: 364, Nīca; kēķs smiņd pēc zuverņ, vajag izlupīt (=izvadināt). LVI Apv., Ēdole; kēķim bij viens luoks. LVI Apv., Ēdole; kēķi mūra grāpis bi un ēdiēna grāpis iēķš viēna mūra. ēdiēna grāpis bi isceļams. mūra grāpī tuļ stāvēi ūdeņš, cūkām vārij. NI: 269, Nīca; putr žērsane stā kēķe. LVI Apv., Alsunga; kēķē bi cement plāns iēliēš [-.] nu jaiēt a basām kājām pa cement plān. akal dabuj slimib. LVDA mater., Ulmale</i>
				Š-B	<i>kēķe. MB</i>

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Origin	Area	Example
28	ROOM	<u>rūme</u> and var.	< MLG <u>rūm</u> (Schwers 1953: 104; MEe II 570; LEV 1019), cf. Germ. <i>der Raum</i>	CS	<u>rūme</u> . KuV: 77; <u>rūmā</u> f. I MogN: 252; <u>rūms</u> m. DKW: 240, Germ. <i>der Raum</i> ; <i>daugē zvejējs turij is saue name višes rūmes tiems švešams parsamdēte</i> . FKN: 90
29		<u>hale</u> '(large) room'	< Germ. <i>das Halle</i>	CS	<u>hale</u> f. DKW: 151, Germ. <i>das Halle</i> 'hall; room'
30	STORE-ROOM	<u>fuōrūzis</u> 'small storeroom'	< MLG <i>varhūs</i> or <i>vōrhūs</i> (MEe III 457; Schwes 1953, 97)	K	<u>fuōrūzis</u> i <i>tāda maza nuōlīktava</i> . NIVe-F: 528, Nica
31		<u>kambaris</u> / <u>kamburs</u> / kammars	< MLG <i>kamer</i> (MEe II 149) or MD <i>camer</i> '(living, sleeping, storage) room' (LEV 374–375), MLG <i>kamer</i> (Schwers 1953: 45)	K	<u>kam̃bur̃s</u> . LVDA mater., Jūrkalne, Ulmale; <u>kambaris</u> . LVI Apv., Dunika; <i>tad bi kam̃baris ūn tuī, ku gulēja. kam̃baris – piēlēkamaīs</i> . LVI Apv., Bārta; <u>kam̃bur̃s</u> . <i>vairāk tā teic</i> . LVDA mater., Ziemeupe; <i>istub<sup>a</sup> bi uz pusi pārtaišit<sup>a</sup> .. tā maģā puse bi tas kam̃bur̃s</i> . LVI Apv., Pērkone; <i>tuī mēs iekārtuojām kam̃bari – tuī tāt (=ds) vēs, saīle nespīd iekšā</i> . LVDA mater., Medze; <i>piēns i kam̃burē!</i> . LVDA mater., Jūrkalne; <i>tajā brīdī saīmiņēce neattapās, iēģāja kam̃barī. isnesa čigānān piēnu</i> . NIVe-A: 216, Nica
		<u>kamburis</u>		Š-B	<u>kamburis</u> ., ī (=uz) <u>kamburi</u> gāja caur durvīm no virtuves. MB
		<u>kambure</u> / <u>kamburs</u>		CS	<u>kambure</u> f. DKW: 178*; <u>kambure</u> par višes <i>daīles</i> . FKN: 72; <u>kamburs</u> . FKN: 122; <u>kamburs</u> m. (also <u>kambur</u> f.). KW: 42; <u>kahmburis</u> . VLS: 13; <u>kam̃buris</u> . KuV: 61

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Origin	Area	Example
4. MATERIALS					
32	BOARD	<u>dēlis</u> / <u>dēle</u>	< MLG <i>dēle</i> (Schwers 1953: 26; LEV 207)	K	uz <i>baļķa</i> uzliek <i>kuoķa dēli</i> , kur <i>kātrā dēles</i> galā uzliek <i>akmeni</i> , <i>tas tad ir bālists</i> . LVI Apv., Medze; <i>dēli</i> iēāguši. SA: 70, Pape; nuō <i>dēlēm</i> [taisām]. SA: 85, Jūrmalcietis; <i>mēistaŗs lika taŗņ zelliŗņ tām dēlēm aŗzēvēlēt</i> ('noēvēlēt') <i>līdzēnākas kaŗtes</i> . NIVe-A: 28, Nīca; [akas] <i>dubēnā bi kuoķa dēles</i> a caŗrumiēm, lai ūdeŗis varētu isnākt., [ēkai] <i>viŗšum naglāja dēles blakām uŗ treŗuō viŗsū</i> . NIVe-D: 427, Nīca; <i>dēle</i> . LVI Apv., Alsunga, Aizpute, Zūras
33		<i>planka</i> 'thick board or plank'	< Germ. <i>die Planke</i>	CS	pl. Nom. <i>plāņkas</i> 'planks; well lining rings'. KuV: 74; <i>plāņke f.</i> DKW: 233, Germ. <i>die Planke</i> ; <i>plank f.</i> KW: 63
34	BEAM	<u>sliperis</u>	< Germ. <i>der Sleeper (Vierkant behauener Baumstamm)</i> meaning a 'square hewed wood (tree trunk)'	K	<i>daļu [koku] saŗtrādāja sliperiŗķi brustēs, sliperuōs</i> . NIVe-B: 317, Nīca
		<u>šlipirs</u>		CS	<i>šlipirs m.</i> , Germ. <i>der Balken</i> . DKW: 58; <i>šlipir f.</i> , Germ. <i>das Kantholz</i> . KW: 76; <i>tie šlipires par ziede- und pamate malke turij viene resine nu 50cm</i> . Germ. <i>das Vierkantholz</i> , FKN: 70

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Origin	Area	Example
35	BRICK	<u>ķieģel(i)s</u> / <u>stieģelis</u>	< MLG <i>tiegel</i> with the added letter s before t (Sehwers 1953: 122)	K	<u>stieģelis</u> . LVI Apv., Apriķi; <u>stieģēls</u> . LVDA mater., Jūrkalne; <u>stieģels</u> . ibid., Ulmale; <u>stieģēls</u> . ibid., Užava; <u>stieģel</u> ( <i>e-celm.</i> ) ibid., Užava; <u>stieģelis</u> i nuo mālu istaisīc, sadēdzināc ugunī. NI: 296, Nīca; LVI Apv., Pērkone; LVDA mater., Saka; also a less common form in Medze, LVDA mater.; <u>stieģēls</u> . LVDA mater., Ziemepe; <u>stieģelis</u> . LVI Apv., Pērkone; LVDA mater., Medze; <u>ķieģelis</u> . LVDA mater., Saka, Medze; LVI Apv., Venta; <u>tādi sārķani un baltī stieģeli</u> . LVI Apv., Dunika; <u>nuogāja raudzīt tēs, va būtu atūesti tiē stieģeli</u> . <u>kuo mūrīt plīti ķēķi</u> . NIVE-A: 219, Nīca; <u>baltī stieģeli</u> . LVA Apv., Pērkone; <u>stieģeli  stieģeli</u> . LVDA mater., Užava; <u>stieģel mā.j.</u> LVDA mater., Jūrkalne; <u>ķieģeli</u> ('ķieģeli') iēaūguši. SA: 70, Pape; <u>stieģel ēks bij isturīgs</u> . LVI Apv., Edole; <u>māj's ceļ nuo ķieģeliēm</u> . LVDA mater., Medze; <u>krāsne pate visa bi nuo stieģeliēm</u> – <u>nuo dēdzinātēm ķieģeliēm</u> . NI: 296, Nīca; <u>ta bī [pirts] stūrī krāsne. tā bi nuo dēdzinātēm ķieģeliēm, metru aūksta</u> . NIVE-D: 423, Nīca; <u>aļ kuō salabuōs pagrabu, ja stieģelus tagad nevar dabūt</u> . LVI Apv., Apriķi; <u>ķieģelus mēs vedām uz Veņcpili</u> . SA: 143, Pāvilsta
				B	<u>krāsne bi pamūrīta nuo ķieģeliēm; tas vis:as bi nuo ķieģeleēm.</u> , <u>kad tu kūrinā, tad ķieģeles iēkārsa</u> . SA: 41

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Origin	Area	Example
				CS	<i>stīgilē</i> . KuV: 82; <i>stīgilē m. II</i> . MogN: 253, Germ. <i>der Backstein</i> ; <i>stīgils m.</i> DKW: 185, Germ. <i>der Klinker</i> ; <i>nams ir kukiņš ir gryste ar βerkan stīgī-lam</i> , <i>istubę ar kuoke grydes</i> . HD; AI: 27
36	CAULKER'S OAKUM	<i>drīve</i>	< MLG <i>drüben</i> (Sehwers 1953: 28)	K	<i>drīve</i> . IV1 Apv., Dunika
37	CEMENT	<i>cements</i>	< Germ. <i>der Zement</i> (MLVVe)	K	<i>ķēķē bi cemeņt plāns iēliēc</i> . SA: 153, Ulmale; <i>kad reiz pudamēites apmūrīja. tag jaū vīsu a cī-meņtu lej</i> . NIVE-C: 374, Nīca; <i>ķēķī aņ bi kluōns, mālu kluōns. bija arī cemeņta kluōns</i> . NIVE-C: 377, Nīca; <i>cimeņte</i> , also <i>cīmeņts, cemeņts</i> . NIVE-C: 372, Nīca
38	GLASS	<i>glāze/glāzs</i>	< MLG <i>glas</i> , pl. <i>glāse</i> (Sehwers 1953: 36)	K	<i>bēģelis, rāmi, ku tā glāze iēķšā</i> . NI: 268, Nīca; <i>issita luōgaņ glāzu, jāiēglāzā citu</i> . NIVE-I: 631, Nīca
		<i>glass/ glāse/glas</i>	< Germ. <i>das Glass</i>	CS	<i>glase</i> . KuV: 57; <i>glas f.</i> KW: 33, Germ. <i>das Glas</i> ; <i>glass m.</i> DKW: 144, Germ. <i>das Glas</i>
39	GLUE	<i>kleister(s)/ klistirs</i>	Latv. <i>klisters</i> < LG <i>klistar</i> (MEe II 231; Sehwers 1953: 51) or < Germ. <i>der Kleister</i>	CS	<i>kleister(s)</i> . KuV: 62; <i>klistirs m.</i> KW: 44, DKW: 185, Germ. <i>der Kleister</i> ; <i>kuīše milte ar ūdine samaisate deve tuoa ša pirkte klistire</i> . FKN: 76, Germ. <i>der Tapetenkleister</i>
40		<i>līms</i>	Latv. <i>līme, līma, līms</i> < MLG <i>lim</i> (Sehwers 1953: 73) or < Germ. <i>der Leim</i>	CS	<i>līms</i> . KuV: 66; KW: 48; DKW 199, Germ. <i>der Leim</i>
41	LATH	<i>lata/late</i> '(roof) lath'	< Germ. <i>die Latte</i>	CS	<i>lata. late</i> . KuV: 65; <i>lat f.</i> KW: 47, Germ. <i>die Latte, die Stakete</i> ; <i>late f.</i> DKW: 196, Germ. <i>die Latte</i>

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Origin	Area	Example
42		<u>liste</u> 'lath, ledge'	< Germ. <i>die Leiste</i> (Latv. <i>liste</i> , <i>lists</i> < LG <i>liste</i> (Schwers 1953: 73))	CS	<u>liste</u> f. DKW: 199, Germ. <i>die Leiste</i> ; <i>tuoa malke</i> par sienes iegrieze <i>puse ta resine</i> , lēntes un <u>listes</u> <i>ta ka brūkaj</i> . FKN: 70
43	LIME	<u>kalkis</u>	< MLG or MD <i>kalk</i> (Schwers 1953: 45)	K	no ārpuses gulbūves sienas apšālēja ar dēļiem, iekšpusē izmeta ar <u>kalku</u> <i>jauu</i> . NIVe-I: 808, Nīca
				CS	<u>kalkis</u> . KuV: 61; <u>kālkis</u> m. III. MogN: 244; <u>kalks</u> m. DKW: 178; KW: 41, Germ. <i>der Kalk</i>
44	LOG	<u>balkis</u> / <u>bālkis</u> / <u>balaks</u>	< MLG <i>balke</i> , cf. Germ. <i>der Balken</i> (Schwers 1953: 8; LKŽe; MEe I 261; or EF <i>balke</i> or MD <i>balc</i> . LEV 105–106)	K	<u>balki</u> mājas cēlniēcība. SA: 71, Pape
				Š-B	<i>bija redzamas nuo <u>balku</u> izgrieztas četrustūrainas spāres</i> . MB
				CS	<u>balaks</u> . KuV: 50; <u>bālkis</u> m. III. MogN: 238; <u>bālkis</u> m. DKW: 58, Germ. <i>der Balken</i> ; <u>balks</u> m., Germ. <i>der Balken</i> , KW: 25
		<u>bālkis</u> / <u>balks</u>		CS	<u>bālkis</u> m. DKW: 58, Germ. <i>der Balken</i> ; <u>balks</u> m. KW: 25
45	PAINT	<u>pērve</u> / <u>vērve</u> / <u>fēŗus</u>	< MLG <i>verwe</i> 'paint' (MEe III 202; LEV 418; Schwers 1953: 87)	K	<i>tuō pērvi luōgu slēģiem acsaiāzināja – uspērēja pa jātnu</i> . NIVe-A: 212, Nīca; <u>pērve</u> . LVI Apv., Ēdole; Rucava, Markus-Narvila 2011: 157
			( <i>fēŗos</i> < LG <i>farwe</i> (?))	CS	<u>fēŗus</u> . KuV: 56; <u>fēŗe</u> f. KW: 32, Germ. <i>der Farbe</i> ; <u>vērve</u> f. DKW, Germ. <i>der Farbe</i> : 115; <i>tuoa saru-late un is viene vērve iemērkte.</i> , <i>va ir brūne vērve</i> . FKN: 76; <i>also, viņi paši turij modern, citas fēŗes, viskuo, un ties zveji, tie turij blos turet serka.n.</i> ISBt: 15, Nīda, LT



No.	Concept	Name of concept	Origin	Area	Example
46	POLE	<i>kņutele</i> 'thin pole for fixing reed when roofing'	< MLG <i>knutel</i> (?), which is explained with the Germ. <i>der Knüttel</i> 'cudgel' (MEe II 250)	K	[ <i>jumtam uz niedrēm</i> ] ūzliēk viŗsū viŗnu sklaŗdu, kuŗ sālŗc pa <i>kņuteli</i> . a vicēm aizjŗm aŗ tās šālŗmŗnes uŗ gaŗ tuŗ <i>kņuteli</i> uŗ sasiŗn stipri, ta kŗ sālŗmi nebrŗk laŗkŗ. NIVe-A: 33, Nŗca; uz niŗdr "juŗtu    spŗlu juŗtu <i>kņutel</i> 's lik <sup>a</sup> . <i>kņutel</i> 's - tŗd's kŗrtel's, a kuŗ piesŗj <sup>a</sup> tŗs spŗles. LV1 Apv., Pŗrkone
47	ROOFING TILE	<i>dakpans</i> / <i>dakpanne</i>	< Germ. <i>die Dachpfanne</i>	CS	<i>dakpaŗņe</i> . KuV: 53; <i>dakpans m. I</i> . MogN: 239; <i>dakpane f.</i> DKW: 81, Germ. <i>die Dachpfanne</i> ; <i>dakpan f.</i> KW: 29; <i>pan f.</i> KW: 57, Germ. <i>die Pfanne (braten), die Pfanne (Dach)</i> ; nu 1900 <i>tap tie names ar panes apklate</i> . FKN: 76
48		dakstiŗŗ	< MLG <i>dackstēn</i> (MEe I 433; Sehwers 1953: 25)	K	<i>dakstiŗŗ</i> . LVDA mater., Medze, Saka; <i>dakstiŗŗ</i>    <i>dakstiŗ</i> . ibid., Ziemupe; <i>tad lik<sup>a</sup> dakstiŗŗ</i>    <i>dakstiŗ</i> . ibid., Ulmale; <i>dakstiŗ</i> . ibid., Jŗrkalne; <i>dakstiŗ</i> . ibid., Uŗava; <i>dakstiŗ</i> . ibid., Venta (Ventspils); <i>dakstinus</i> tŗsa nuŗ cimeŗta, mŗla. LV1 Apv., Bŗrtas; <i>ceplis bi, ku dakstinus tŗsa</i> . NIVe-C: 356, Nŗca
		<i>stigile</i> / <i>tegelis</i>	see above BRICK	CS	<i>ir viŗi turij serkanes stŗges ar stigiles</i> . ISBt: 15, Nŗda (LT); <i>stigils</i> . KW: 73; <i>tegelis</i> . VLS: 31
49	WHIT(EN) ING	<i>kŗŗis</i> / <i>kŗŗite</i>	< MLG <i>krīte</i> (LEV 427; Sehwers 1953: 59)	K	<i>kŗŗic bi priŗkŗŗ zŗmŗŗšanas us kuŗku. bŗmŗŗstariŗm bi kŗŗic, kŗŗite</i> . NIVe-I: 148-149, Nŗca; <i>izviŗtē istabu – sataŗsij balŗu kŗŗitu uŗ izbalŗsinŗj</i> . NIVe-I: 734, Nŗca
				CS	<i>kŗŗits</i> . KuV: 63; <i>kŗŗid f.</i> KW: 45, Germ. <i>die Kreide</i> ; <i>kŗŗide f.</i> DKW: 190

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Origin	Area	Example
5. CONSTRUCTIONS					
50	CHIMNEY	<u>skurstenis</u> / <u>skurstiens</u> / <u>skorsten(i)s</u>	< MLG <i>schorstēn</i> or MD <i>schoorsteen</i> (LEV 845–846, cf. Germ. <i>der Schornstein</i> )	K	[ <i>līeksrija</i> ] <i>krāsns bes skuōrstēn, bes kuō. Apv., Venta; sēnā bi skuōrstēns, ta saltiēk piļ<sup>u</sup> (žāvēšanai). LVDA mater., Ulmale; līdz griēstiēm skūrstēns bi četrkañtīks, us septiñdesmit ceñt-mētru viš bi ārpusē, vaiñrāk viš nebi. NIVe-C, 355, Nīca</i>
				Š-B	<i>skurstiens</i> ar šīberi [...] <i>skurstiens</i> <i>pie krāsnes</i> [...] <i>dižais skurstiens</i> . MB
				BV, M	<i>skūrsti'ns</i> ( <i>skūrstins</i> ). BezzS: 31
51	CROSS-ARRANGED ELEMENTS ON THE	<u>šurnštine</u>	< Germ. dial. <i>šorštēn</i> , šorštēn (?)	CS	<i>višē name jau šurnštine tur. HD: 24</i>
		<u>klambars</u>	< Germ. <i>die Klammer</i> 'clamp' (<MHG <i>klam(m)er, klamere</i> , MLG <i>klāmer, klammer</i> ) (MEe II 211–212; Sehwers 1953: 48)	K	<i>mājām bi klambari us čukuru. NIVe-Č: 400, Nīca</i>
52	ROOF RIDGE	<u>tupele</u>	< MLG <i>tuffel</i> (MEe IV 266; Sehwers 1953: 146)	K	<i>tupes liek, lai jumtu necilinātu vējš. Markus-Narvila 2011: 167, Rucava</i>
53	CROSSBEAM	<u>bante</u>	< MLG <i>bant</i> (Sehwers 1953: 8)	Š-B	<i>spīlu jumti izpuškoti ar tupelemis un lēķis. MB</i>
				K	<i>ka ēka bi platāka, ta krustus piēnoglāja šķērsu kuōku – pa bañti sauca. NIVe-B: 257, Nīca</i>
54	CEILING (CROSS) BEAM	<u>balķis</u>	< MLG <i>balke</i> , cf. Germ. <i>der Balken</i> (Sehwers 1953: 8; LKŽe; MEE I 261; or EF <i>balke</i> or MD <i>balc. LEV 105–106</i> )	K	<i>nuō aūlēšēns [ēkai] aka ūzliēk tādus garus balķus vīrsūm ūñ nuōstipriñ. ūñ ta liēk griēstus vīrsūm. NIVe-A: 227, Nīca</i>

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Origin	Area	Example
55	DOOR HAN-DLE	<i>drikeris/_ drikeris</i>	< LG <i>drücker</i> 'Türschloßdrücker' (Sehwers 1953: 28)	K	<i>lielā salā drikeris ir apsaldis</i> . Markus-Narvīla 2011: 148, Rucava; <i>drikeri nuospīž, ta duris atverās</i> . NIVe-A: 219, Nīca
56		<i>klīngis</i>	< Germ. dial. <i>klinge</i> (MEe II 229)	CS	<i>drikeris</i> . VLS: 9, Germ. <i>Drücker an der Thür</i>
57		<i>klīnkis</i>	< MLG <i>klinke</i> (Sehwers 1953: 51)	K	<i>duore klīng's sabēgc. ijo-celm. klīngis</i> . LVI apv., Alsunga
58	DOOR LATCH	<i>slenges/_ slēnges</i>	< MLG <i>slenge</i> (MEe III 926)	CS	<i>klīnkis</i> . VLS: 14; <i>klīnkis</i> . KuV: 63; <i>klīnk f.</i> , Germ. <i>Klinke</i> . KW: 44; <i>klīnke f.</i> , Germ. <i>Klinke</i> . DKW: 185, Germ. <i>Türklinke</i> . DKW: 296
59	DOOR-POST	<i>stēnderis/_ stēndirs</i>	< MLG, MD <i>stender</i> 'post, door-post' (LEV 927; MEE IV 1061)	K	<i>Slenges (Klabbats)</i> . JLV: 267 (135), Germ. <i>die Thürleiste, Thürgericht, oder Riegel</i> , Nīca, Bārta
				CS	<i>aseņ tig gaŗ stēnderim̃</i> . SA: 156, Ulmale; <i>tā tāda vēca istaba. stēnderis pā'vīsam̃ iskratīlējis ('iztrunējis'), biŗst ārā</i> . NI: 270, Nīca
60	EAVES	<i>ģezims ģēvils</i>	< Germ. <i>das Gesims</i> < MLG <i>gēvel</i> (Sehwers 1953: 39; Germ. <i>der Giebel</i> , MEE I 698)	CS	<i>stēndirs m.</i> DKW: 296, Germ. <i>Türpfosten</i> ; <i>stēndirs m.</i> KW: 73, Germ. <i>der Ständer</i> ; <i>is caurumes ielike pataisētes stēndires ta ka diŗe ta istube buse</i> . FKN: 74
61	FOUNDATION	<i>puđrameņte</i>	< Germ. (BG?) <i>das Fundament</i>	CS	<i>ģezims m.</i> KW: 33, Germ. <i>das Gesims</i>
62	GABLE	<i>ģēvele/ ģēvil(O)</i>	see above EAVES	CS	<i>ģēvils m.</i> DKW: 142, Germ. <i>das Gesims</i>
				K	<i>stālīm puđrameņte bi izdrupusi. sataisa cimeņti a graņti uņ tā nuļdzina</i> . NIVe-I: 752
				K	<i>ģēvele i mājas galuōs. tas nuō dēļēm naglāc kaū kâ klāt</i> . NIVe-G: 612, Nīca; Markus-Narvīla 2011: 150, Rucava; <i>nu ģēvelis tik senuōs laiķuōs [bijā]. ku vēclaiķu ēķas, ku vīs apkārt i jumc</i> . NIVe-G: 612, Nīca

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Origin	Area	Example
63	HINGE			CS	<i>jewelīs E. BezzS: 36, Preila; gēvele. KuV: 57; un gēvil tur būt blāve ir balte. ISB: 15, Nida (LT); gēvils m. KW: 33, Germ. der First (Dach), der Gibel, DKW: 144, Germ. der Giebel</i>
		<i>gībelis</i>	< Germ. <i>der Giebel</i>	Š-B	<i>gībelis, MB</i>
		<i>eņģe</i>	< MLG, MD or EF <i>henge</i> 'hinge' (LEV 268)	K	<i>ta bi tādas eņģes, ka dures bi uz abi pusi taisāmas., [durovim] tās eņģes bi tādas ietaisītas – nevis tādas kā taga eņģes. tādas kalēkaltas eņģes bi, kas uz abi pusi taisāmas. viņas bi tai duru vidū., [loga] viēna puse attaisāma vaļā – uz eņģēm. NIVE-E: 516, Nīca; duōr iskritas nuō eņģēm. LV1 Apv., Alsunga</i>
64	HOOK			CS	<i>engijs. engies. VLS: 11, Germ. die Bänder am Fenster, die Thürlhänge; eņģē. KuV: 55; eņģ f. KW: 32, Germ. die Türangel; eņģe f. DKW: 296, Germ. die Türangel</i>
		<i>kramps</i>	< LG <i>krampe</i> (Sehwers 1953: 57) or BG <i>krampen</i> which in turn from MLG <i>krampe</i> (cf. Germ. <i>die Krampe</i> ) (LEV 417)	CS	<i>kramps m. DKW: 258, Germ. Schließhaken (am Fenster); kramps m. DKW: 296, Germ. der Türhaken</i>
65		<i>taps</i>	< MLG <i>tappe</i> (Sehwers 9153: 141; MEe IV 131)	CS	<i>taps m. DKW: 117, Germ. der Fensterhaken; VLS: 31</i>
66	LADDER	<i>trepes/trepe</i>	< LG <i>trappe</i> 'stairs, step' (LEV 1059; Sehwers 1953: 144)	K	<i>tuōs rudzus sanese aīkšām pa trepēm us klētes grīstītiem sabērt apcīrkni. NIVE-A: 225, Nīca; dārza trepe aī bi. kā ciādi ābuōlus nuōuōks?. NIVE-C: 378, Nīca</i>

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Origin	Area	Example
				CS	<i>trepe</i> . DKW: 199, Germ. <i>die Leiter</i> ; <i>trep f.</i> KW: 79, Germ. <i>die Leiter, die Stufe, die Treppe</i> ; <i>winš nāze tēšum us stale, par tuo šene, kur es biju nuometes, braškinajas pits trepu</i> . HD; AI: 62
67		<i>litirs</i>	< Germ. <i>die Leiter</i>	CS	<i>litirs</i> . DKW: 199, Germ. <i>die Leiter</i>
68	MASONRY	<i>mūris</i>	< MLG <i>mūre</i> or MD <i>muur</i> which in turn < Lat. <i>mūrus</i> (LEV 609; Schwerts 1953: 82)	CS	<i>mūre f.</i> DKW: 208, Germ. <i>die Mauer</i> ; <i>mūr f.</i> KW: 51
69	MASONRY JOINT	<i>fuga</i>	< Germ. <i>die Fuge</i> 'joint, junction'	CS	<i>tās visas, tās ķieģļu stārpas, tās sauc fugas, mūra ķēķi spraugas nuofūguo va nu uz iekšpusi, va uz ārpusi. tās i fugas</i> . NIVe-F: 527, Nīca
70	PROP, SUP-PORT	<i>stute/štute</i>	< MLG <i>stute</i> (Germ. <i>die Stütze</i> , MEe III 1108), MLG <i>stutte</i> (Schwerts 1953: 127)	K	<i>te bās štute [žogam]</i> . NI: 297, Nīca; <i>te gāzās skušsīns apkārt, lika stuti</i> . NI: 287, Nīca; <i>stute</i> . LVI Apv., Ēdole, Dunika; <i>taņ žuogam jāpieliēk tik stute, ta vēl turēs kādu laiku</i> . NI: 297, Nīca
71	RAFTER	<i>spāre/špāre</i>	< MLG <i>spar</i> (LEV 891; MEe III 987), MLG <i>spāre</i> (Schwerts 1953: 114)	K	<i>špāres i uz jumtu, aļz griestiem i špāres</i> . LVI Apv., Pērkone; <i>nu kas tuļ - spāres uñ latas</i> . RtP: 409, Nīca (LV); <i>jumtaņ nuo spāres us spāri uznaglā šālmines</i> . NIVe-C: 380, Nīca; <i>ka tūscēļ māju, ta spāres galā ūzliēk kruonu - nuo brīkleņu mētrām, aka nuo ūzuoļlapām</i> . NIVe-E: 522, Nīca; <i>iēvaņaguo spāres jaīnai ķķai - sacēļ spāres</i> . NIVe-I: 712, Nīca
				Š-B	<i>vecās mājās ar spļu jumtis spāres bija apaļas, viņu apakšgali pažobelēs aptastīti no sānu un no apakšuvejas puses aptastīti burta „S” formā., jaunākās mājās ar skaidu jumtis bija redzamas nuo balku izgrieztas četrstūraines spāres</i> . MB

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Origin	Area	Example
72	RAILING	spare <u>lenterē/ lenteris</u>	< Germ. <i>die Spare</i> < Germ. <i>das Geländer</i> 'handrail, railing' (MEe II 452), <i>lendere, lendaris</i> "Geländer" (Sehwers 1953: 70) see above EAVES	CS K	<u>spare</u> f. DKW: 275, Germ. <i>die Sparre</i> <u>leñterus</u> liēk <u>trepēm</u> , <u>ku</u> piētūrētīs, <u>kāpuōt</u> aūksā. NIVE-L: 49, Nīca
73	RIDGE	<u>gēols</u>		CS	<u>gēols</u> m. DKW: 120; KW: 33, Germ. <i>der First</i>
74	SHUTTER	<u>slējis</u>	< MLG <i>slāge</i> 'intended for closing, serves for locking' (Germ. <i>zum Verschliessen, Sperren Dienendes</i> , MEe III 928) or BG <i>die Schlāge</i> 'shutter' (Sehwers 1953: 110)	K	<i>kādreiz</i> mājām bi <u>slēji</u> – <i>luōgiēm</i> . SA: 96, Jūrmalcims; <i>vēš</i> <i>atrāvis</i> <u>slēji</u> . <i>vaig</i> <i>aīskabināt</i> <i>cītāt</i> k. NIVE-A: 34, Nīca; <u>slēji</u> <i>senāk</i> <i>maz</i> bi. <i>vis</i> <i>vaīrāk</i> <i>tuōs</i> <i>tāisij</i> <i>nuō</i> 1905. <i>gada</i> . <i>tiē</i> bi <i>tādi</i> , <i>ka</i> <i>nuō</i> <i>ārpuses</i> <i>nevarēj</i> <i>atoērt</i> . <i>ibid.</i> : 218, Nīca; <i>visiņ</i> <i>luōgiņ</i> bi <u>slēg</u> . LVI Apv., Ēdole
75		<u>fnsterlāde</u>	< Germ. <i>die Fensterlāden</i>	CS	<u>fnsterlāde</u> . KuV: 56; pl. Nom. <u>fnsterlādes</u> <i>E</i> : Germ. <i>die Fensterlāden</i> . BezzS: 24, Preila
76	SKIRTING BOARD	<u>fusliste</u>	< Germ. <i>die Fußleiste</i> 'skirting board'	K	<i>ziņzēve</i> bi, <u>ku</u> <u>fūslistes</u> , <i>taga</i> <i>kājdēles</i> <i>saūc</i> , <i>tāisa</i> . NIVE-F: 528, Nīca
77	STAIRS	<u>trepes/ trep(O)</u>	see above LADDER	K	<i>vis:u</i> <i>vādzēja</i> <i>nēst</i> <i>pa</i> <i>trepēm</i> <i>aūksā</i> . AVN: 101, Bārta; <i>tā</i> <u>trep</u> i šlāubai. LVDA Apv., Ēdole
				CS	<u>trepā</u> f. I. Mogn: 255; <u>trepē</u> f. DKW: 295, Germ. <i>die Treppe</i> ; <u>trep</u> f. KW: 79
78	STAVE	<u>litire šprucs</u>	< Germ. <i>die Leitersprosse</i>	CS	<u>litire šprucs</u> . DKW: 199, Germ. <i>die Leitersprosse</i>
79	STEP	<u>trepē/ trep(O)</u>	see above LADDER	CS	<u>trepē</u> f. DKW: 286, Germ. <i>die Stufe</i> ; <u>trep</u> f. KW: 79
80	TRAPDOOR	<u>lūke/ lūke</u>	< MLG <i>luke</i> (MEe II 518) or < BG <i>lūk, lūke</i> 'trapdoor' (LEV 547)	CS	<i>es</i> <i>turij</i> <i>viš</i> <i>palaunage</i> <i>βēne</i> <i>plūgte</i> <i>us</i> <i>augstēn</i> <i>un</i> <i>par</i> <i>lūke</i> <i>meste</i> <i>zemui</i> <i>nama</i> . HD; AI: 60; <i>nu</i> <i>turpe</i> <i>par</i> <i>lūkes</i> <i>un</i> <i>caurumes</i> <i>pits</i> <i>lauke</i> . FKN: 74; <i>lūk</i> f. KW: 48, Germ. <i>die Luke</i> ; <i>lūke</i> f. DKW: 204, Germ. <i>die Luke</i> ; <i>lūks</i> . KuV: 66 (?)

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Origin	Area	Example
81	WINDOW-FRAME	<u>rāmis</u>	< MLG <i>rame</i> 'frame' (LEV 737) or < German (MEe III 496), Germ. <i>der Rahm</i> (Sehwers 1953: 98)	K	<i>bēgēlis</i> [logam] apakšā: <u>rāmis</u> tas, <i>ku</i> stikli iekšā. NI: 258, Nīca
82	WINDOW-PANE	<u>rūte</u>	< MLG <i>rute</i> 'quadrangle, window-pane' (cf. Germ. <i>das Viereck</i> 'quadrangle', <i>die Fensterscheibe</i> 'window-pane', MFe III 574) or LG <i>rūte</i> or EF <i>rūt</i> (LEV 774), LG <i>rūte</i> (Sehwers 1953: 104)	K CS	<i>bēni aņ netīriem pīrkstiem aizdzīvā luōgu rūtes, ta ka caūrī vaīs nevaņ redzēt.</i> NIVe-A: 27, Nīca <i>rūte</i> f., Germ. <i>Fensterscheibe</i> . DKW: 117
83	WINDOW-SILL	<u>bēģele/ bēģelis</u>	< MLG <i>boge</i> 'window-frame' (cf. Germ. <i>das Fensterbrett</i> 'windowsill', MFe I 289) or LG <i>bögel</i> 'bow' (?), any semicircularly curved wood or metal' (Sehwers 1953: 11)	K	<i>bēģelis</i> . AVN: 133, Rucava; LVI Apv., Ēdole; <i>bēģel</i> . AVN: 133, Rucava; <i>līst – luōgām bēģele</i> <i>slapia., uz bēra uz luōga bēģeli māizi, tūlīt radās klāt</i> [putni]. NI: 259, Nīca, 'outer windowsill'
84		<u>bristungs</u>	< Germ. <i>die Fensterbrüstung</i> 'windowsill'	K	<i>bēģelis</i> muņš i, <i>ku mēs taga saūcam bīstunģu.</i> NIVe-B: 312, Nīca
6. HEATING AND LIGHTING APPLIANCES					
85	COOKING STOVE	<u>plīts</u>	< BG <i>die Pliete</i> 'cooking stove' < Rus. <i>nūma</i> initially with the meaning 'brick, flat stone, tile' (MEe III 349; LEV 702; Bušs 1977: 61)	K	<i>nuōģāja raūdžīt tēs, va būtu atvēsti tiē stiģēli, kuō mūrīt plīti ķēķi.</i> NIVe-A: 219, Nīca
86		<u>mašīns/ mašīne</u>	< Germ. <i>die Kochenmaschine</i> (DWDSe, cf. Germ. dial. <i>der Kochherd</i> )	CS	<i>tas bakoūs bij is istube krāsīne pradiem līdza ietaisate va ta mašīne bij ta dižē, ka varij ir is vīnges maize cēpte.</i> FKN: 118, Germ. <i>der Herd</i> ; <i>mašīns</i> m. KW: 49, Germ. <i>der Küchenherd</i> ( <i>genauert</i> ); <i>mašīne</i> f. DKW: 160, Germ. <i>der Kohlenherd</i> ; <i>kukinmašīns</i> m. KW: 45, Germ. <i>der Küchenherd</i>

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Origin	Area	Example
87	BREAD OVEN	<u>spelte</u>	< BG <i>spelt(e)</i> 'shutter of a stove; stove doors that can be propped (against); opening for smoke to escape' which in turn < MLG, MD <i>spelte</i> 'cut or cleaved off piece' (Germ. <i>die Spalte</i> 'chink, crack', in dialect 'slice') (LEV 892-893; MEe III 988-989)	K	<u>spelte</u> . LVI Apv., Alsunga
88	FLUE	<u>cuka/cuke</u>	< Germ. <i>der Zug</i> with the meaning of a draught (Latv. <i>vilkme</i> ) or flue (Germ. <i>Kanal, durch den Luft, Rauchgase abziehen</i> , DWDSe) (Kursīte 2014: 278)	K	<i>pa cukām nāk dūmi. tās cukas iēēt skūrstinā.</i> NIVe-C: 381, Nīca; <u>cuke</u> <i>jaiēluož dūm.</i> LVI Apv., Alsunga
89	HEATING WALL/MASONRY HEATER	<u>mūris</u>	see above MASONRY	Š-B	<i>tā i cuk:a. [...] jā, tuõ es sapruõtu labi, tā i cuk:a, kuõ vėlķ dūmus aīķšām un iēt skūrstīnā, tā!.</i> SA: 42 <u>mūris</u> . MB
90	OPENING IN THE STOVE FOR SMOKE TO ESCAPE	<u>spelte</u>	see above BREAD OVEN	K	<u>spelte</u> <i>tika aizbidīta ar ķiēģeli, lai ķārstumis ne- isplūst ārā.</i> NIVe-A: 20, Nīca
91	OVEN (FOR BAKING)	<u>bakove</u>	< Germ. <i>der Backofen</i>	CS	<i>tas bakõus bij is istube krāsine pradiem līdza ietaisate va ta mašīne bij ta diže, ka varij ir is viņges maize cēpte.</i> FKN: 118, Germ. <i>der Backofen; bij dar dauge karstums bakõua, iesave ta sieve dare ķeles blēķes.</i> FKN: 120, Germ. <i>im Ofen</i>



No.	Concept	Name of concept	Origin	Area	Example
92	RECESS IN THE WALL OF A STOVE	<u>ieris</u> / <u>riere</u>	< Germ. <i>die Röhre</i> (MEe III 546; Sehwers 1953: 40, 101)	K	<i>krásnē bija tās caurums, kuō saūca pa iēri. tuļ uzglabāja, lai stāvētu silc ēdiēns. tuļ žāvēja ciēdus, vēcī vīri pat tabaku. NIVe-I: 672, Nīca; iēriē iļ iēduōbums krāsniļ. LVI Apv., Alsunga; riēre. Markus-Narvīla 2011: 159, Rucava</i>
93	SLIDE	<u>šiberis</u>	< Germ. <i>der (Ofen)Schieber</i> 'slide, damper' (MEe IV 19; Sehwers 1953: 130)	K	<i>šiberis. AVN: 133, Bārta, Rucava; LVI Apv., Pērkone, Tadaikī; kad aīstaīsa par ātru šiberi, tad nāk istaba tuaņs. LVDA mater., Saka; ka pulku uōglu krāsne, ta nevaļ vel šaūt šiberi ciēt. Nive-C: 363, Nīca; ej ātri istabe un piēšau šiberi. LVI Apv., Ēdole</i>
94	SPARK CATCHER	<u>rovīs</u>	< MLG <i>rōf</i> 'rooflike projection over masonry walls' (Sehwers 1953: 103; MEe III 585, Germ. <i>die Decke, der Rauchfang</i> )	K	<i>Rohwis. LVJ: 202 (112a), Germ. ein Roff über der Feuer Heerde, Nīca, Bārta</i>

### 5.1.2.2. Lithuanianisms

The excerpted material contains a relatively large number of lexical items borrowed from the Lithuanian language, making this the second-largest group of loanwords. Lithuanianisms appear in 5 thematic subgroups, with a total of 21 identified lexemes representing 19 concepts. The thematic subgroup *Constructions* contains the highest number of Lithuanianisms (6 lexemes representing 6 concepts), followed by *Building Types* (5 lexemes/5 concepts) and *Construction materials and products* (5 lexemes/5 concepts), *Room Types* (4 lexemes/2 concepts), and *Homestead and its courtyard* (with only 1 lexeme/1 concept). There are two concepts represented by two synonyms each, borrowed from the Lithuanian language (COTE: *gards/gārda* || *gūrba* and KITCHEN: *kukne/kukine* || *virtuve*).

From a territorial perspective, words from this group are found in the thematic vocabulary of the Latvian language recorded in the Curonian Spit (13 lexemes), in the southern coastal region of Kurzeme, including Nīca, Bārta, Rucava, Jūrmalciems, Pape, Dunika, Pērkone, and Ziemupe (10 lexemes), and in the Šventoji–Būtingė area (4 lexemes). The only Lithuanianism recorded in all three Latvian-speaking communities studied is the name for the concept SMOKERY: *rukūžs/rūkūzis*.

It is important to note that this group also contains some words borrowed from the Lithuanian language, where the Lithuanian words themselves originate from either Germanic or Slavic languages. Examples include Kursen. *kukne*, also *kukine* ‘kitchen’ < Lith. *kuknià* f. ‘kitchen’, *kuknà* f. < Belar. *кухня* ‘kitchen’ (LKŽe), Kursen. *budavāns* ‘building’ < Lith. *budavōnė* ‘structure, construction; building’ < Pol. *budowanie* ‘building, structure’, and possibly Latv. *spīla* ‘reed’ (< Lith. *spylà* ‘1. reed (Phragmites communis)’ < Germ. dial. *spil* ‘reed’ (LKŽe). These few Lithuanian lexemes of Polish origin are grouped here with Lithuanianisms, as they likely entered the New Curonian vocabulary via Lithuanian as an intermediary language. The Latvian-speaking community of the Curonian Spit, specifically New Curonians, had no direct contact with Slavic languages. This can be illustrated, for instance, by the Lithuanian word *budavōnė*, meaning ‘structure, construction; building’, which is registered in Pagėgiai (LKŽe), a town in southwestern Lithuania, Tauragė County, located in the historic region of Lithuania Minor (or Lithuanian East Prussia). The New Curonians had frequent economic and everyday contact with Lithuanian-speaking communities residing along the Nemunas River. This contact was likely one of the possible paths through which Lithuanian lexemes entered the Latvian language

as spoken in the Curonian Spit. Although the Latvian language has long been influenced by German, a similar pattern is observed with certain words that entered the territorial varieties of the Latvian language in Kurzeme via Lithuanian. For instance, the Lithuanian word *spylà* is registered in Klaipėda (LKŽe), a major regional centre of economic contact and trade, and was most likely borrowed into the subdialectal vocabulary of southern Kurzeme (Pape, Rucava, Dunika, Pērkone, Bārta) from here. In Šventoji–Būtingė, an area historically inhabited mostly by Latvians, the word *spīla* should be regarded as inherited rather than directly borrowed.

Some Lithuanian loanwords have not been adapted uniformly across the territorial varieties of the Latvian language. For instance, the name of the concept SMOKERY, mentioned earlier, illustrates this. In the Latvian language of the Curonian Spit, the name *rukūžs* ‘smokery’ < Lith. *rūkužė* ‘smokery’ < Germ. dial. *Rauchhûs* ‘smokery hut’ (LKŽe), whereas elsewhere in Latvian, this name may have been borrowed directly from the German dialectal vocabulary.

Although close language and economic contacts have not always led to borrowing or assimilation of lexemes, denoting folk architecture concepts, in the vocabulary of three Latvian-speaking communities studied, the influence of Lithuanian is evident in the border area between Latvia and Lithuania, including the territorial varieties of the Latvian language of Šventoji–Būtingė and the Curonian Spit. Lithuanian has been both a direct source language and an intermediary language in the borrowing of lexical items into the territorial varieties of Latvian examined.

**Table 4.** List of identified Lithuanianisms in the data.

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Origin	Area	Example
1. HOMESTEAD AND ITS COURTYARD					
1	FENCE POST, STAKE	<u>kuols</u>	< Lith. <i>kuolas</i> 'stake, stake that is hammered or driven into something (for building a fence)' (LKŽe)	CS	<u>kuols</u> m. KuV: 64; <u>sŕts'kuolds</u> m. DKW: 339, Germ. <i>der Zaunpfahl</i> 'pole/stake for the fence'
2. BUILDING TYPES					
2	BUILDING	budavāns	< Lith. <i>budaõnė</i> 'structure, construction; building' < Pol. <i>budowanie</i> 'building, structure' (LKŽe)	CS	budavāns. DKW: 45, 59, 133; KW: 27; <i>tāds</i> <u>budaõn̄s</u> stāvij dar 1942. FKN: 74
3	CELLAR	<u>rūse</u>	< Lith. <i>rūsys</i> 'a pit (in the ground) for potato and vegetable storage' (LKŽe)	CS	<u>rūse</u> , kur rūpučūs pakašā par žiemu. KuV: 78; <i>Is viene juoa augste viete iskas vinge viene ca. duie mētre dzile un duie mētre plate rūse</i> . FKN: 112
4	DWELLING HOUSE	<u>but̄s</u>	< Lith. <i>būtas</i> 'residential building, (peasant's) dwelling house, room' (LKŽe)	CS	<u>but̄s</u> . EHe I 256; <i>jāiēt uz butu.</i> , <i>nelaiķa kurpnieka sieva ar visu bērnu baru mītinājās nelielā butelī mežmalē</i> , <i>pirms kara te bija daudz butelū gar kāpmali</i> . Markus-Narvila 2011: 129
5	SHED	<u>stāģene</u>	(< Lith. <i>stoginė</i> with the meaning of a 'hay) shed' (MEe III 1050)	Š-B	<i>butinieka māja</i> , <u>but̄s</u> . MB
				K	<i>stāģene</i> – <i>tas tik tāt šķūnē's</i> . LVDA mater., Saka; <i>Stahģins</i> . Germ. <i>eine Scheune</i> , JLV: 263 (133), Nīca, Bārta

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Origin	Area	Example
6	SMOKERY	<u>rukūžs</u> 'smokery, a pit in the ground'	< Lith. <u>rūkūžė</u> < Germ. dial. <i>Rauchhūs</i> 'smokery hut' (LKŽe)	CS	<i>ķeles pares lēnites is garume nu ca. 2 x 1 m sane- gluodate, viene ca. 30 cm mages dzile caurume zema, viens mač uģines caurums pi gale nu iekšes dzilume un gataus bij tas <u>rukūžs</u>. FKN: 124; zuves pradiem slapij is <u>rukūžē</u> un dzavinaj vinges ap adare uģine; bij nu tie zuves labe sause, nāce vingē is paštaisate <u>rukūžē</u>. FKN: 124</i>
		K		<i><u>rūkūzīs</u>. AVN: 133, Rucava; kādreiz jāū bija priēķš aūkstiēm dūmiēm tāda aūkstāka būdele, tuō saūca pa <u>rūkūzi</u>. SA: 85, 86, Jūrmalciems; kūpināja lašus. ja kūpina, tad jāū <u>rūkūzī</u>. SA: 86, Jūrmalciems</i>	
		Š-B		<i><u>rūkūzīs</u>, <u>rūkūzi</u> ar karamis zuvi džavet pirms rūcināšanas taisīja talak no ēku, jūrmalnieki – pakape. <u>rūkūžos</u> rūcināja zuves žīdamis, kuri tas vede pardot uz <i>Leišis</i>. MB</i>	
3. ROOM TYPES					
7	COTE	<u>gards</u> / <u>gārda</u>	< Lith. <i>gar̃das</i> 1. 'enclosed part of a barn' (LKŽe)	K	<i><u>gards</u>. LVI Apv., Dunika; <u>gārda</u>. LVI Apv., Tadaikš; aiūtu <u>gārda</u>, cūku <u>gārda</u>. LVI Apv., Pērkone; <u>gārda</u> iī aizgālda. cūkām stalī aīstaīsa gārdu, aītām. citām ne kam tādās gārdas sevišķi netaīsa. NIVe-A: 28, Nīca; aīt's tuī [<i>stallī</i>]. <u>gārdā</u> bi. LVI Apv., Pērkone</i>
8		<u>gūrba</u>	< Lith. <i>gūr̃bas</i> 6. 'a compart- ment in the barn for smaller animals (sheep, piglets, calves)' (LKŽe)	K	<i><u>gūrba</u>. AVN: 133, Bārta</i>

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Origin	Area	Example
9	KITCHEN	<u>kukne</u> / <u>kukine</u>	< Lith. <i>kuknià</i> f. 'kitchen', <i>kuknà</i> f. < Belar. <i>кухня</i> 'kitchen' en' (LKŽe)	CS	<u>kukne</u> . KuV: 64; <u>kukin~kuknė</u> f. II. MogN: 245; <u>kukne</u> , <u>kukine</u> f. DKW: 192; <u>kukin</u> f. KW: 45; <i>is</i> <i>abzduies rėzes tap nu kukna kūrinatė</i> . FKN: 118; <i>Nu</i> <i>name iete dures pic kukines, kambur un diža istuba</i> . HD; AI: 27; <i>nivėne ni atrapij nama, ni kuknė, stalė ar</i> <i>nivėns zileks nibije redzet</i> . HD; AI: 66; <i>pirmo deenu</i> <i>palikka Ohglu nefėjich mahjās un wahrija kuknī</i> ( <i>Küche</i> ) <i>gaŭu</i> . BezzS: 18
10		<u>virtuoe</u>	< Lith. <i>virtuoė</i> 'a room with special equipment (oven, stove, etc.) for cooking' (LEV 1173; LKŽe)	K	<i>tà nu sanādk, ka es te vaĩrādk pa vùrtuoi – vāru</i> <i>pāmpāļus, vis:u kūo</i> . SA: 135, <i>Ziemupe; mūsu mājā</i> <i>vūftuoē žīvē naŭ bijis cīvois uŭ kluc:is!</i> . SA: 72, <i>Pape</i>
4. MATERIALS					
11	BOARD	<u>lenta</u> / <u>lente</u>	< Lith. <i>lentà</i> 'board' (MEe II 451; LKŽe)	CS	<u>lente</u> . VLS: 17; <u>leñta</u> . KuV: 65; <u>lenta</u> LF. BezzS: 152, Sarkau; <u>lėnt</u> f. KW: 47; <u>lėnte</u> f. DKW: 78; <i>dur ar</i> <i>krustgiestes lėntes aptaisat</i> . FKN: 49
12	CULBRUSH	<u>truše</u>	< Lith. dial. archaic word <i>trušis</i> m., its var. <i>trušis</i> f. (2nd mean- ing of the Lith. <i>trušas</i> , Lith. <i>trušis</i> 'reed') (LKŽe; MEe IV 248)	CS	<u>truschi</u> E, Germ. <i>die Binjen</i> . BezzS: 163, <i>Preila; truše</i> <i>f.</i> , Germ. <i>das Schilf</i> . DKW: 255; Germ. <i>die Binse</i> . DKW: 73; <u>trušs</u> m., Germ. <i>das Rohr</i> . DKW: 245; <i>tas wezaš nams tur truše stage be niwėne šurnštine</i> . HD; AI: 24, <i>Nida, LT; a! tie zoeji, tie būt turijuši turēt</i> <u>truše</u> . ISBT:15, <i>Nida, LT; un Thomas Mann nu ar</i> <i>tur truše stage</i> . ISBT: 16, <i>Nida, LT; mālė par puoad-</i> <i>enieke, truše par stagenieke un akmīnes par pamate</i> <i>tap nu zeme sāne parbėgte</i> . FKN: 70, Germ. <i>das Rohr</i>

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Origin	Area	Example
13	MOSS	<u>kīminies</u>	< Lith. <i>kīminai</i> 'moss' (MEe II 381)	CS	<u>kīminies</u> . KuV: 62; <u>kīmins m. I</u> , Germ. <i>das Moos</i> , MogN: 245; <u>tarp šlīpires tap kīmine likte</u> . FKN: 74; <u>ta dubulte rēšine siene, ca. 3 m augste, tap ar kīmine vel ispildate un ieštampate</u> . FKN: 238
14	(to the rafters attached) POLE	<u>kīmini</u>		K	<u>kīmini</u> . MEe II 381, Rucava, Germ. <i>das Moos</i>
15	REED	<u>šālmene</u>	< Lith. <i>šālma</i> or <i>šēlmuo</i> (MEe IV 3, Germ. ' <i>langer Balken</i> '), pl. Nom. <i>šēlmenys</i> (LKŽe)	K	<u>šālmene</u> . LV1 Apv., Pērkone; <u>piņmāk lik<sup>a</sup> špār<sup>s</sup>, ta šālmēn<sup>s</sup>, ta tuō juņmtu lik<sup>a</sup></u> . LV1 Apv., Pērkone
		<u>spīla/spīle</u>	< Lith. <i>spylā</i> '1. reed (Phragmites communis)' < Germ. dial. <i>spīl</i> 'reed' (LKŽe)	K	<i>Papes ežerā tās spīlas ir, tās niēdras</i> . AVN: 114, 130, Rucava; <u>spīlas!</u> <i>tas niēdras mēs saucām pa spīlām</i> . RtP: 406; Nida (LV): <i>spīlēnc – tuŗ spīlas aūg; liēk uz juŗtu, kaīsa mēsluōs. citreiz jaŗ spīlu juŗti bi</i> . LV1 Apv., Dunika; <i>kadreiz plāva niēdr<sup>s</sup>, ku juŗtiēm lik<sup>a</sup> spīlas. tiē spīlu juŗti gāi pa piēcdesmit seŗdesmit gadiēm</i> . LV1 Apv., Pērkone; AVN: 130, Bārta; <i>uz niēdr<sup>u</sup> juŗtu spīlu juŗtu kņutel<sup>s</sup> lik<sup>a</sup> kņutel<sup>s</sup> – tād<sup>s</sup> kārteļ<sup>s</sup>, a kuō piesēj<sup>a</sup> tās spīles</i> . LV1 Apv., Pērkone
				Š-B	<u>spīlas, māju ar lauŗtis galis un spīlu jumtis bija pali-</u> <u>cis diezgan daudz</u> . MB
5. CONSTRUCTIONS					
16	ROOF-END DECORATION	<u>lēkis</u>	< Lith. <i>lėkis</i> 'two wooden poles folded together and crossed on the roof to protect the roof of possible damage by the wind, žirglis, žirgelis' (LKŽe)	Š-B	<u>spīlu jumti izpuŗkoti ar tupelemis un lēkis, skaidu jumtu galos bija izcelti piķi</u> . MB

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Origin	Area	Example
17	DOOR HAN- DLE	<u>rankins</u>	< Lith. <i>rankinis</i> 'manual' (Latv. 'rokas-') (LKŽe)	CS	<u>rankins</u> m., Germ. <i>der Griff</i> . DKW: 147, Germ. <i>die Handkurbel</i> , <u>rankins</u> , <i>kāts</i> m., <i>der Handgriff</i> , DKW: 152; <u>rankins</u> m., Germ. <i>der Handgriff</i> , Germ. <i>Griff</i> ; <i>Hebel</i> zur <i>Drehung der Welle</i> im Windschlitten, KW: 11, 66
18	(DOOR) PAD- LOCK	<u>spīns</u> / <u>spīna</u>	< Lith. <i>spynà</i> 'padlock (lock)' (LKŽe)	CS K	<u>spīns</u> m., Germ. <i>das Türschloß</i> . DKW: 296 <u>spīna</u> . AVN: 131, Rucava
19	ROOF	<u>stāgs</u>	< Lith. <i>stogas</i> 'roof, upper part of a building, cover' (MEe III 1050; LKŽe)	CS	<u>stāgs</u> . KuV: 82; <i>stāks</i> , Ge. <i>stāgā</i> m. I. MogN: 253; <i>stāgs</i> m. DKW: 81; <i>stāg f</i> KW: 73; <i>stāks LF</i> , E. BezzS: 111, Sarkau, Preila; <i>jemat tuo služ [feit. šliuže, das Schwert am Kahn] ir pacēlat biški nu stāga [jūmta] un nu skrejat iekšā</i> . KKF: 7, Preila; <i>pa puse dienas runājuma viņi sasprieda uz stāgu uozlipt, dižu kuolu par stāgu parbāzt iz tuo veršili ir guovi nuosist</i> . KKF: 14, Perwalk; <i>us aukstēne pa stāge ir daug tykle pakybate</i> . HD: AI: 25, Nida (LT); <i>par gale aplāj vingē šitua lēde karte ar viene rēšine karte ķimine, un uozlike tua stāge us tuaa</i> . FKN: 242
21	SHUTTER	<u>langiničas</u>	< Lith. <i>langinė</i> , <i>langinė</i> 'shutter' (LKŽe), (hibr.) <i>langinyčia</i> , also <i>langinyčia</i> 'shutter; board above the top of window (lintel); sill; a place under the window' (LKŽe)	CS	<u>langiničas</u> . KuV: 65
22	THRESHOLD	<u>lipinis</u>	< Lith. <i>lipinė</i> 'step; in pl. also stairs (ladder)' (LKŽe)	K	<u>lipinis</u> . AVN: 133, Rucava



### 5.1.2.3. Slavisms

A small portion of the analysed thematic vocabulary shows contact with Slavic languages. Slavisms appear in 3 of the 6 thematic subgroups, with a total of 10 identified lexemes/11 names representing 11 concepts: *Building types* (5 lexemes/6 concepts), *Construction materials and products* (4 lexemes/4 concepts), and *Room types* (only 1 lexeme/1 concept). All identified Slavisms, except one (*būda* ‘hut’), were recorded in Kurzeme, with two of them (*pagrabs* ‘cellar’ and *būda* ‘doghouse’) also found in Šventoji–Būtingė.

Those words of Slavic origin, namely *kukne*, *kukine* ‘kitchen’, *budavāns* ‘building’, among others, that entered the territorial varieties of the Latvian language through an intermediary language, namely Lithuanian, are listed and discussed in the previous section (see Chapter 5.1.2.2.).

Most of the identified Slavic borrowings are taken and adapted from Old Russian or Russian. Russianisms, borrowed from Old Russian, such as *pagrabs* ‘cellar’, *stikls* ‘glass’, *krāsa* ‘paint’, and *istaba* ‘dwelling house’, are considered older loanwords, likely entering the Latvian vocabulary between the 9th and 12th centuries. The excerpted material also includes Slavic-origin words borrowed from Russian, such as *baņa* ‘bathhouse’, *būda* ‘hut’, *būrlaks/burlaks* ‘clay brick’, *kukņa* ‘kitchen’<sup>258</sup>, and *vica* ‘thin, elastic branch’. All of these are recorded in the territorial varieties of the Latvian language spoken along the Kurzeme seaside.

In the analyzed sources, the earliest references to words of Slavic origin appear in Langijs’ dictionary (JLV, 1685). The source lists the word *pirts* ‘bathhouse’ (*Pirts*. JLV: 185 (94)), *pagrabs* ‘cellar’ (*Pagrabbs*. LJV: 80 (41a)), and *vice* ‘thin, elastic branch’, also the verb *savicēt* ‘to fasten together with twigs (thin, elastic branches)’ (*Witzes* (*Klugas*). JLV: 350 (176a)), which is derived from the word *vica* (Zemzare 1961: 89). The latter is explained in the same source through a native Latvian equivalent *sa-klūgot* ‘to fasten together with twigs (thin, elastic branches)’, cf. *klūga* ‘twig’ (Tez). While it is difficult to determine the exact time of origin of *vice/vica*, the fact that the word appears in a late 17th century dictionary suggests that it was in use, or at least known, along the southern Kurzeme coast by the middle of the 17th century or

<sup>258</sup> The variant *kukne/kukine* ‘kitchen’ recorded in the Curonian Spit, is classified as a Lithuanianism because it did not enter the language directly (< Lith. *kuknià* f. ‘kitchen’, *kuknà* f. < Belar. *кухня* ‘kitchen’ (LKŽe)). In Kurzeme, however, contact with the Russian language was direct; therefore, the name *kukņa*, recorded in Kurzeme, is grouped under Slavisms rather than Lithuanianisms.

earlier. Regarding the word *pirts* ‘bathhouse’, this research supports the opinion that the word is of native origin rather than a Slavic loanword.

One word of Slavic origin stands out due to its unclear semantic motivation – *burlaks/būrlaks*, meaning ‘clay brick’ (< Rus. *бурлак* ‘boat puller; wild, rude man; tramp’ (MEe I 354)); the lexeme is recorded in southern Kurzeme (Rucava and Bārta). Periodicals from the mid-20th century onwards mention a brick kiln located in Rucava that employed seasonal workers<sup>259</sup>. The name for a clay brick may have been semantically motivated by the seasonal workers who were employed in local brick kilns for brick production.

This proposed explanation suggests that the word *burlaks/būrlaks* ‘clay brick’ belongs to the most recent layer of Slavisms identified in the excerpted material, likely dating to the middle or second half of the 20th century. The motivation behind this word is based on a metaphor, stemming from a semantic transfer of meaning that reflects the perceived resemblance between the workers and the objects they produce.

In conclusion, the analysis reveals that the influence of Slavic languages on the thematic vocabulary is minimal and geographically limited, primarily occurring in the Kurzeme region.

<sup>259</sup> “Liepājas rajona Sikšņu ciema l/a «Padomju Latvija» vajadzīgi sezonas strādnieki darbam ķieģeļu ceplī. Tuvākās ziņas pa tālruni Rucava 32” (Ieņina Ceļš (Liepājas raj.), No. 52 (05.05.1964)). Similar advertisements appeared in other periodicals of that time (1964.04.29 *Komunisti* (Liepāja), 1964.05.10 *Komunisti* (Liepāja), etc.). These periodicals provide information about the brick industry in Liepāja County, mentioning the presence of brick kilns in Nīca, Barta, Ezerē, and other clay factories in the region (*Komunisti* (Liepāja), No. 108 (10.05.1941)). All mentioned periodicals are accessible online at [www.periodika.lv](http://www.periodika.lv).

Table 5. List of identified Slavisms in the data.

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Origin	Area	Example
2. BUILDING TYPES					
1	BATHHOUSE	<u>bana</u>	< Rus. б́аня 'bathhouse'	K	<u>bana</u> tak ir pirtē, kur mazgājās. LVI Apv., Medze
2	CELLAR	<u>pagrabs</u>	< OR (Belarus.) погробъ 'pit with a covered top; cellar' (LEV 643; MEe III 30)	K	tuŗ tāt <u>pagrabs</u> bija. SA: 122, Saraiki; <u>Pagrabbs</u> ( <u>pagrabs</u> . LJV: 80 (41a), Nīca, Bārta; <i>muŗs tāt ābelīte bij āz pagraba</i> . LVI Apv., Bārta; <i>bēŗni priēcājas, ka vaŗ uskāpt čtūŗeniski [at-muguriski] us pagrabu</i> . NIVE-Č: 402, Nīca; <i>aŗ kuō salabuōs pagrabu, ja stiēģelus tagad nevar dabūt</i> . LVI Apv., Apriķi <i>ar velēnamis apklātus pagrabus sāka taisīt leiŗu laikā, tas ir I un II kara starpā</i> . MB
3	DOGHOUSE	<u>būda</u>	< Rus. or Belarus. б́уд, which in one's turn comes through Polish from German (MLG <i>bōde</i> 'small building, market hut') (LEV 151)	K	<i>pa nakti suŗi laiūkā bi – va nu viŗ iēlīda ku ēnā pagulēt, va būdā</i> . NIVE-E: 514 <i>suŗu bija daudz, gandrīz katrā sētā, suŗus siet pie ķēdes un taisīt vinamis būdas sāka jaunajos laikos</i> . MB
4	DWELLING HOUSE	<u>istaba</u>	< OR <i>устьба</i> 'dwelling house' (MEe I 711; LEV, 346)	K	<i>tēŗa taisīŗ jaŗn<sup>u</sup> istabu, jaŗn<sup>u</sup> ūŗņi</i> . LVDA mater., Ziemeŗe; <i>te uscēla jaŗnu istabu pirms kara., tas taks nuō istubas uz klēti tāt ūŗŗŗs</i> . NI: 270, Nīca; <i>manās vēŗtēŗa mājās vēŗ istabaŗ bi atīkstīē sīēķŗņi</i> . NIVE-A: 224, Nīca; <i>taŗ mājā ūŗuō, taŗ istaba</i> . SA: 100, Jūŗmalciems

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Origin	Area	Example
5	HUT	<u>būda</u>	< Rus. or Belarus. бѹдъ, which in one's turn comes through Polish from German (MLG <i>bōde</i> 'small building, market hut') (LEV 151) or < Lith. <u>būdā</u> < Belarus. буда, Pol. <i>buda</i> (LKŽe)), while its variant Kursen. <u>būde</u> more likely is borrowed directly from Germ. <i>die Bude</i> in the same meaning	CS	<u>būda</u> . KuV: 51; <u>bū:dā</u> f. I. MogN: 239; <u>būde</u> f., <i>skuje būde</i> f. Germ. <i>die Bude</i> , <i>die Hütte</i> (kleines Haus), DKW: 79, 172; <u>būd</u> f. Germ. <i>die Hütte</i> , <i>die Bude</i> , KW: 27
6	TOILET	<u>pužņiks</u>	related to the Rus. нужда 'necessity' or verb нужно '(to) need'	K	očuōs laīkuōs saīca <u>pužņiku</u> . <i>taga tēc mazuō mājinu uñ ateja</i> , [ar]ķēmmēļiñc. NIVe-L: 123, Nīca
3. ROOM TYPES					
7	KITCHEN	<u>kukna</u>	< Rus. кухня 'kitchen' (MEe II 301; LEV 458-459)	K	<u>kukna</u> – <i>senāk jaū tāda plīte nebi, liēlāis, platais skūrstiēns, ku dūmi gāja aīkšā</i> . LVI Apv., Bārta; <u>kukna</u> , rarely <u>kukne</u> , <u>kuknis</u> . NIVe-K 164–165, Nīca; <u>kukņ</u> , <u>kukna</u> , <u>kukniņ</u> . LVI Apv., Alsunga
5. MATERIALS					
8	BRICK	<u>burlaks</u> / <u>būrlaks</u> 'clay brick'	< Rus. бурлак 'boat puller; wild, rude man; tramp' (MEe I 354)	K	<u>burlaks</u> . AVN: 133, Rucava; <u>būrlaks</u> AVN: 133, Bārta; <u>ķiēģelis</u> . <i>nūo mālēm istaīsija tād<sup>us</sup>, ku saīca tuōs būrlak<sup>us</sup>, kā taga ķiēģelīši</i> . <i>nūo mālēm tiē bi</i> . LVDA mater., Bārta

No.	Concept	Name of concept	Origin	Area	Example
9	GLASS	<u>stikls</u>	< OR <i>стѣкло</i> 'glass (material)' (Rus. <i>стекло</i> ) and that in turn from Go. <i>stikls</i> 'goblet' (LEV 931)	K	<i>bēģelis</i> [logam] <i>apakšā</i> ; <i>rāmis tas, ku stiklī iekšā</i> . NI: 258, Nīca; <i>žīc atveda stiklus luōgus iēglāzāt</i> . NIVe-I: 631, Nīca
10	PAINT	<u>krāsa</u>	< OR <i>краса</i> 'beauty, splendour' (LEV 418)	K	<i>tā krāsa</i> [istabā] <i>vēl žūst, ciētē</i> . <i>nevar laist bērņus klāt</i> . NIVe-C: 364, Nīca
11	THIN, ELASTIC BRANCH	<u>vica</u>	< Rus. dial. <i>о́уѣа</i> 'elastic branch, rod; pole; rope braided from twigs', but another opinion is that it is based on ide. root * <i>uei-</i> 'to bend' (Latv. <i>griēzt</i> , <i>liekt</i> ) (LEV 1152)	K	<i>Wītzes</i> ( <i>Klugas</i> ). JLV: 350 (176a), Nīca, Bārta; <i>[jūmtam uz niedrēm] ūzliēk vīrsū viēnu sklaņdu, kuō sauc pa kņuteli. a vīcēm aīzjēm aīs tās šālmines ūn gaŗ tuō kņuteli ūn sasiēn stipri, ta kâ sālmi nebrūk laūkā</i> . NIVe-A: 33, Nīca; <i>taŗ jumiķiŗ us tuō juriŗu i kuō turēiŗs, a sālmu kļiŗiŗ, vīcēm. ja vēŗ sliktiŗks laiķs – suŗa dārps!</i> . NIVe-D: 413, Nīca

#### 5.1.2.4. Finno-Ugrisms

Finno-Ugric lexical borrowings form a small group within the analysed thematic vocabulary of Latvian. Only 6 concepts across the 3 thematic subgroups belong to this origin (see Table 6)<sup>260</sup>. All of these 4 lexemes are recorded in the Latvian language of the Kurzeme seaside, while only three cases appear in the territorial varieties of Latvian spoken in Lithuania.

Within the analysed data, only two Finno-Ugric borrowings can be definitively identified: *rija* and *māja*/-as, both belonging to the thematic subgroup of *Building types*. The word *rija* ‘threshing barn, drying-house’ is found in Šventoji–Būtingė, where it is inherited from the Latvian subdialects of the border area; it is also recorded in Nica and Bārta.

The lexeme *māja* is notable for its role in naming three concepts: HOMESTEAD, BUILDING, and DWELLING HOUSE; therefore, it deserves closer examination. The polysemous lexeme *māja* is widespread throughout Latvian, including in Kurzeme, but it also appears, firstly, in the Latvian language of Šventoji–Būtingė, and, secondly, in the suburbs of Klaipėda *Bommels-Vitte* and Melnragė. In the vicinity of the Curonian Lagoon, the lexeme *māja* with the meaning of ‘dwelling house’ is recorded sporadically, appearing in only one source (BezzS 50) from the second half of the 19th century. The language material collected by Bezenberger from native speakers who had emigrated from the former territory of Kursa to Karklė shows that the language spoken by people living along the coast from Klaipėda to Palanga was closer to the Latvian written language than that of the ethnos residing in the Curonian Spit, or New Curonians (Ivanickaja 2018: 115–117). This suggests that the Finno-Ugrism *māja*, meaning ‘dwelling house’, was introduced or inherited in this region after the period when New Curonians left their places of ethnic origin, presumably in the 16th–17th centuries. The pl. form *mājas*, meaning ‘home’, was already known to the New Curonians prior to their migration. However, in the Curonian Spit, the sg. form *māja*, with the meaning ‘dwelling house’, is also recorded.

<sup>260</sup> An asterisk (\*) is used in the Table 6 to mark lexemes identified as Finno-Ugrisms; however, alternative hypotheses regarding their origin are also found in the literature.

Although alternative origins have also been proposed in the literature, two other lexemes, *redele* ‘ladder’<sup>261</sup> and *paloda* ‘lintel’<sup>262</sup>, are considered possible Finno-Ugrisms and are thus classified within this group in this research.

In the Latvian standard language, the Finnic borrowing *māja* ‘house’ is well-established (Stafecka 2014: 120). With the exception of *redele*, meaning ‘ladder’, all identified Finno-Ugric borrowings are recorded in the Latvian standard language (LLVVe).

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<sup>261</sup> Another hypothesis suggests that this name is a Germanism (< MLG *reddel* < *ledger* (MD *leder*) (LEV 745), cf. Germ. *die Leiter* ‘ladder’ or LG *Reddel* (MEe III 501–502), which is also plausible. However, based on its territorial distribution and semantic features, in this research, the name is classified as a Finno-Ugrism (see Chapter 4.5., 4.5.23. LADDER).

<sup>262</sup> Another hypothesis suggests that this name is a derivative of the Latv. verb *lodāt* [uō] ‘to crawl’ (cf. Lith. *landýti*), which shares the same origin as the Latv. verb *līst* (LEV 539, 542, 648). However, in this research, the name is classified as a Finno-Ugrism (see Chapter 4.5., 4.5.24. LINTEL).

Table 6. List of identified Finno-Ugrisms in the data.

No.	Concept	Name	Origin	Area	Example
1. HOMESTEAD AND ITS COURTYARD					
1	HOMESTEAD	<i>mājas</i>	< Finno-Ugric *mā 'land' (LEV 561)	K	<i>lielākā luõpu kūc (=ts) iŕ tajās mājās. ibid., Medze; zemīnieki meklēja iēpīket kādas mājas. lai varētu miērīgi dzīvot. NI: 267, Nīca; manās vēctēva mājas vēl istabaŕ bi aūkstiē sliekšņi. NIVe-A: 224, Nīca</i>
				Š-B	<i>mājas., zvejnieka mājas. MB</i>
2. BUILDING TYPES					
2	BUILDING	<i>māja</i>	< Finno-Ugric *mā 'land' (LEV 561)	K	<i>tā bija balta, apmēsta māja. SA, 146, Pāvilosta;</i>
3	DWELLING HOUSE			K	<i>Lūlik māja drīz sakrīs, kas ta tūr i. bruoc skatēs soj māj. LVDA mater., Užava; stiēģēļ māj. ibid., Jūrkalne; māi (jā-stem). ibid., Ulmale; māj<sup>a</sup> ibid., Ziemeupe; saīmniekaŕ piēdeŕ māja. LVDA mater., Saka; māja skaitās tik, ku i istabas. visi kuōpā i ēkas – stalji, rija, piŕte, skūna, pagraps. NIVe-E, 510, Nīca; ga tuō dzīvōjāmuō māju vairāk nuō viēnas puses bi dārzi tā apstādīti. NIVe-D, 417, Nīca; labi vēļāk katrai mājai bi pretistub<sup>a</sup>, kuō būv<sup>a</sup>. tā pretistub<sup>a</sup> bi atsevišķi, tā jaū skaitjās mēt<sup>u</sup> istab<sup>a</sup>, ku puīši nāc<sup>e</sup>. LV1 Apv., Bārta; te bi māja. AVN, 120, Rucava; baļķi mājas celīniecibaŕ. SA, 71, Pape; tāi māja Žīvuō, tāi istabā. SA, 100, Jūrmalciems</i>
				Š-B	<i>māju un saimniecības māju jumti bija vienādi., nameļnieka māja., kalpa māja., butinieka māja, butis. MB</i>
				BV, M	<i>īksch māju M. Bezs: 50</i>



No.	Concept	Name	Origin	Area	Example
4	DRYING- HOUSE	<i>rija</i>	< Est. dial. <i>riih</i> or <i>riihi</i> , <i>riihe</i> 'threshing-barn' (Fin. <i>riihi</i> ) (LEV 755), or Est. <i>riha</i> and Liv <i>ri</i> (MEe III 523)	K	<i>senuos laikuos tika būvētas rījas. [bija] viēnā galā šķūnis, kuŗ tika iēvēsta labība. NIVe-I: 715; cēlmi senāk vāidzēja kurināt rījas krāsni. NIVe-C: 349, Nīca; tā bij rījas krāsne. AVN; 113; uzslējām cūku stalīti, pārūvējām rīju, ņēmām kāļpus, LVI Apv., Bārta; iēkuŗ rījs krāsni. LVDA mater.; kraū rīje iēķš. LVDA mater., Ulmale</i>
				Š-B	<i>rīja bija atšēviška ēka, kamar graudus kūle ar sprigulis un kamar rījās mina linus., ka labību sāka mašinēt, lielu rīju nevaidzēja, rījas sāka taisīt blakus stalļu, zem viena jumta. MB</i>
5. CONSTRUCTIONS					
5	LADDER	* <i>redele</i>	< Est. <i>redel</i> 'ladder' (LEV 745; EHe II 362)	K	<i>tēs pakāpa pa redeli ūn pielika tuos pie mājas. Markus-Narvila 2011: 158, Rucava; paduō redel, la es var tapt aigše. LVDA mater., Alsunga; pi<sup>e</sup>ķiŗškuōķ piēlik dižuō redel. LVI Apv., Ēdole</i>
6	LINTEL	* <i>paloda</i>	< Est. <i>pajalaud</i> 'board by the sliding window' (LEV 539, 542, 648)	K	<i>paluōda. LVI Apv., Alsunga</i>

### 5.1.3. Hybrids

Another group in the analyzed folk architecture vocabulary consists of etymological hybrids. Hybrids, an etymologically mixed words, are words that combine genetically distinct elements from different languages (VPSV 141)<sup>263</sup>. The group of etymological hybrids includes two-language composite names, both compounds and word groups. Only one example of an etymological hybrid was found, in which the Latv. dial. prefix *pī-* (*pie-*) was combined with a word of Lith. origin to form the name, namely *pīgrindis* ‘threshold’ (in Rucava). As a result of the contact between Latvian-speaking communities and their main contact languages, three principal types of etymological hybrids can be distinguished based on the origins of their components:

The first component is inherited, while the second is borrowed. For instance, *sānkambaris* ‘side chamber’ – *sāns* ‘side’ + *kambaris* ‘chamber; storeroom’ < MLG *kamer* ‘(living, sleeping, storage) room’; *pieliekamais kambaris* ‘storeroom’ – *pieliekamais* ‘storeroom’ + *kambaris* ‘chamber; storeroom’ < MLG *kamer* ‘(living, sleeping, storage) room’; Kursen. *luoagerāms* ‘window-frame’ – *logs* ‘window’ + *rāmis* ‘frame’ (< Germ. *der Rahmen* ‘frame’) < MLG *rame* ‘frame’; Kursen. *sēt(a) skuols* ‘post or stake (for the fence)’ – *sēta* ‘fence; courtyard’ + Lith. *kuolas* ‘stake (that is hammered or driven into something (for building a fence))’; Kursen. *durespins* ‘(door) padlock’ – dial. *dure(s)* + Lith. *spyna* ‘padlock’; *pīgrindis* ‘threshold’ – Latv. dial. prefix *pī-* (*pie-*) + Lith. *grindis* ‘floorboards; wooden floor’.

The first component is borrowed, and the second is inherited. For example, Kursen. *mūre akmins* ‘building stone; brick’ – *mūris/mūre* ‘masonry’ < MLG *mūre* ‘masonry’ + dial. *akmins*; Kursen. *lēntesēts* ‘picket fence’ – *lenta/lente* ‘board’ < Lith. *lenta* ‘board’ + *sēta* ‘fence; courtyard’; *bēniņviers* ‘attic’ – *bēniņi* ‘attic’ < MLG *böning* ‘attic’ + *virsa* ‘upper part, top’.

Both components are borrowed, each from a different origin. For instance, Kursen. *stāge štuols* ‘roof chair structure’ – *stāgs* ‘roof’ < Lith. *stogas* ‘roof’ + *štuols* ‘chair’ < Germ. *der Stuhl* ‘chair’; Kursen. *stāge spars* ‘(roof) rafter’ – *stāgs* ‘roof’ < Lith. *stogas* ‘roof’ + *spāre/spars* ‘rafter’ < MLG *spare* ‘rafter; long pole’; Kursen. *gēvile lēnte* ‘windboard’ – *gēvele/gēvil* ‘gable’ < MLG *gēvel* ‘gable’ + *lenta/lente* ‘board’ < Lith. *lenta* ‘board’; Kursen. *kukinmašīns* ‘cooking stove’ – *kukne/kukine* ‘kitchen’ < Lith. *kukna, kuknia* ‘kitchen’ + *mašīns* ‘appliance’ < Germ. *die (Kochen)*

<sup>263</sup> “Hibrīdvārds – vārds, kas darināts no dažādu valodu cilmes sastāvdaļām” (VPSV 141).

*maschine* ‘cooking stove’; *antkamburs* ‘(opposite) storeroom’ – Lith. *ant* ‘on, upon, towards’ + *kambaris/kamburs* ‘storeroom’ < MLG *kamer* ‘(living, sleeping, storage) room’.

The foreign components of etymological hybrids, regardless of their type, mostly originate from Lithuanian and German. In the Latvian language of the Kurzeme seaside, such hybrids typically consist of one inherited and one borrowed component, in either order. However, in the Curonian Spit, all three types are observed. The composite names-hybrids, both compounds and word groups, recorded in the Curonian Spit generally follow their semantic equivalents in German. In many cases, direct German influence is evident through traditional loanwords or loan translations (see Chapter 5.1.2.1.).

## 5.2. WORD-FORMATION PERSPECTIVE

While the identified concept names are not solely inherited or borrowed items, this chapter briefly discusses the types and techniques of word formation used to create new names with new meanings<sup>264</sup>, as found in the excerpted material.

The formation of new words is essential for the open and constantly changing system of any language or dialect. Analyzing the characteristics of word formation is important, as it registers the creation of new words or forms, which may come from both inherited and borrowed stem lexemes. New words can be formed by combining borrowed stem lexemes, resulting in a variety of hybrid forms. These may include the use of foreign affixes, the combination of inherited and borrowed lexemes or roots, or the fusion of borrowed lexemes from different linguistic origins into a single name. For more information on etymological hybrids, please see Chapter 5.1.3.

<sup>264</sup> A word-formation process in which a new word is created by changing the word class of an existing word without adding derivational markers is known as conversion. In Latvian, one of the most common types of conversion is nominalization, where an adjective or a declinable participle functions as a noun (Vulāne 2015: 202, 207–209). Only one example of this process has been identified: *pieliekamais* ‘storeroom’ < participle *pieliekams* < *pielikt* ‘when putting to move up to, to bring closer, to place (next or close to something)’. It is recorded in southern Kurzeme (Rucava, Bārta) and in Šventoji–Būtingė. This name *pieliekamais* is also used as a component in other composite names. Such cases are not typical and do not form a distinct group of derivatives.

### 5.2.1. Suffixation

The first recognized affixal word-formation technique in the excerpted material is suffixation, which represents one of the three word-formation methods in Latvian (Skujiņa 2007: 432–433; Vulāne 2015: 200–201), specifically the morphological method. Suffixation requires special attention in the context of analysis.

When a name is formed using a suffix, especially one that forms a diminutive, such as *-iņ-*, *-īt-*, or *-el-*, it is necessary to distinguish between a word form and a lexeme that denotes another concept. Some illustrative pairs of such words include: *logs* – *lodziņš*, *vārti* – *vārtiņi*, *nams* – *namelis*, *istaba* – *istabiņa*, *mūris* – *mūrītis*, etc. To illustrate, the diminutive form of the word *logs* ‘window’, namely, *lodziņš*, is distinguishable from the name *lodziņš*, which means ‘an opening in a wall (to allow smoke to escape)’. Similarly, the name *vārtiņi* ‘wicket, wicket-gate’ denotes another object, that is, a gate with a different function (pedestrian only), usually differing in size and design, compared to *vārtiņi* as a diminutive form of the word *vārti* ‘gate’. In a similar way, the name *istabiņa* may be analyzed, which can be a diminutive form of the word *istaba*, meaning ‘dwelling house’ or ‘room’. However, in the sources, the word *istabiņa* can also be found with the meaning ‘room in the threshing barn for drying (flax, cereals)’, which is not identical to any of the meanings mentioned before.

Thus, to distinguish a name formed with a suffix as representing another concept, the semantics of both items are assessed to determine how their meanings differ. Based on the meaning of each word in a pair, items that are formed with suffixes to express diminutive or affectionate meanings are considered word forms. They are not considered names for other concepts. Derivatives formed with suffixes are analyzed as separate lexemes only if they denote different concepts. However, it should be noted that there are cases in which a particular name is given in the sources without an explanation of its meaning. In such cases, if possible, the name is compared with names for the same concept found in other sources and is then assigned to one concept or the other. In this context, it is necessary to pay particular attention to the following names. The table below (see Table 7) presents the primary suffixes that form several names to provide a general understanding of their diversity.

#### 5.2.1.1. *-el-*

In Latvian, the suffix *-el-* can express reduction in size, sweetness, or contempt, as well as a disdainful attitude (Vulāne 2015: 225). From the examples found, it can

be concluded that here it points to the small, compact size of the object, namely *māja* ‘building; dwelling house’ – *mājele* ‘small-farmer’s dwelling house’ and *nams* ‘dwelling house’ – *namelis* ‘small-farmer’s dwelling house’ (both recorded in Šventoji). On the other hand, in the Curonian Spit, a few examples show the use of the suffix *-el-* that is transformed into *-il-* (the suffix together with the ending *-elis*, *-ele* might be transformed also into *-īlis*, *-īļē*. KuV: 20). For instance, there are two examples formed of nouns (with reduction of the ending): *nams* ‘building; dwelling house’ – *namil(O)* ‘small house; hut’ and *var(s)ts* ‘gate’ – *varstile* ‘wicket, wicket-gate’, and only one formed from a verb (*vārstīt* ‘to (keep) open and shut’ – *vārsteles* ‘gate’). An example with two derivational (diminutive) suffixes (*-il-* + *-ēn-*. MogN: 202) and reduction of ending is recorded in the Curonian Spit, namely *varstīt* ‘to (keep) open and shut’ – *varstilēn(O)* ‘wicket, wicket-gate’.

#### 5.2.1.2. *-en-*

The suffix *-en-* is productive for creating various names and terms (Vulāne 2015: 225–226). Only three derivatives with the suffix *-en-* are found, such as *dūmo* ‘smoke’ – *dūmenis* ‘flue’ or ‘chimney’ in Kurzeme. Another example, found in Nīca, is *krist* ‘to fall’ (past tense *krita*) – *kritenis* ‘fence of horizontal wooden beams; horizontal beam’. This derivative name, formed from a verb, refers to an object based on the named action: this type of fence was constructed by placing horizontal wooden elements into the grooves of the posts or allowing wooden stakes to literally fall into them. In Alsunga, one more example is recorded, namely, *būka* ‘a fallen hut; a small, ugly building’ – *būčenis* ‘old building’.

#### 5.2.1.3. *-ēn-*

The suffix *-ēn-* is usually used to form terms related to kinship, mainly names for children, etc. (Vulāne 2015: 226–227). However, in the excerpt, this suffix is used to form derivatives that denote either a place by the object or an object with a specific function. There are only a few examples formed with the suffix *-ēn-*. The first, *māja* ‘building; dwelling house’ – *mājēna* ‘small-farmer’s dwelling house’, is recorded in Šventoji–Būtingė, and the second, *istuba* ‘room’ – *iztubēns m.* ‘attic; attic room’, in the Curonian Spit.

5.2.1.4. *-ien-*

The use of the suffix *-ien-* in Latvian is considered to be heterogeneous in function. The most productive type is verbs + *-iens*, which indicates the name of an action and includes the meaning of its consequence (Vulāne 2015: 231–232). However, in the excerpt, several derivatives are recoded for naming places (spaces or directions). These are found in southern Kurzeme, for example, *sēta* ‘homestead; fence’ – *sētiens* ‘(usually the main or clean) courtyard’ (in Pape, Nīca, Rucava), *kāpt* ‘to climb’ – *kāpiens* ‘step’ (in Nīca), *augša* ‘top’ – *augšiene* ‘attic’ (Nīca). There is also an example with an adjective as the base word, namely *augt* ‘to grow’ – *augsts* ‘high’ – *augstiene* ‘attic’, which is recorded in the Curonian Spit.

5.2.1.5. *-iņ-/ -īn-*

The suffix *-iņ-* is one of the most widely used means of forming diminutives in Latvian; however, it is also used in the formation of words that do not have a diminutive meaning. The named concept is usually smaller compared to the concept named by the motivating word, and these connections often are not visible (Vulāne 2015: 227–229). The dial. suffix *-īn-* is common in the southwestern subdialects of Kurzeme (Bārta, Pērkone, Rucava), including, the Nīca subdialect<sup>265</sup>. Here, it is used to create diminutive forms in parallel with concept names without emphasizing their smallness, for instance, *tikumīns* ‘virtue’ (NI: 127–130). Several derivatives containing the suffix *-iņ-* or its dial. *-īn-* have been identified, such as: *aizgalds* ‘cote’ – *aizgaldiņš* ‘cote in the open air’, *grīda* ‘(any) floor’ – *grīdīna* ‘board floor in veranda’, *istuba/istaba* ‘dwelling house; room’ – *istubīna/istabīna/istabiņa* ‘room in the threshing barn for drying (flax, cereals)’, *luba* ‘wooden shingle’ – *lubiņa* ‘narrow fence board’, *nams* ‘building; dwelling house’ – *namīns* ‘kitchen’, *pavārti* ‘place behind the gate’ – *pavārtiņš* ‘livestock gate’ and *podš* ‘vesel’ – *podīņš* ‘tile’, all of which are recorded in southern Kurzeme.

5.2.1.6. *-īt-*

In Latvian, the suffix *-īt-* serves a similar function to the suffix *-iņ-*, expressing reduction, attitude, or evaluation. It can be used with both feminine and masculine nouns (Vulāne 2015: 232–233). However, this group includes derivatives formed

<sup>265</sup> Bušmane states that by the end of the 19th century, the suffix *-īn-* was often replaced by the suffix *-iņ-* in the Nīca subdialect (NI: 128).

with this suffix that create differences in meaning. Both examples found in the excerpted material (*bedre* ‘pit, hole’ – *bedrīte* ‘smokery, a pit in the ground’ and *gaņģ-is* ‘corridor’ – *gaņģītis* ‘small storeroom’) are recorded in Kurzeme. These examples point not only to the small, compact size of the object but also to a different function of an object, namely, the suffix creates a new meaning.

#### 5.2.1.7. *-kl-*

The suffix *-kl-* is an old Baltic suffix used to form nouns from primary or secondary verbs, primarily in the infinitive, and is now considered nonproductive (Endzelīns 1951: 352; Vulāne 2015: 235–236). Derivatives with this suffix usually denote the tool, object, subject, result, or place of the action. The only example found in the excerpted material is *dzievuoat/dzîevûoti* ‘to exist, to dwell, to work’ – *dzievuoa-kils* ‘dwelling house; homestead’ (*dzîv-o-t* > *dzîv-o-kl-is*), which is registered in the Curonian Spit with the sound *i* insertion.

#### 5.2.1.8. *-l-*

The suffix *-l-* is used to form nouns from verbs, and these derivations are usually motivated by a primitive verb root. Today, however, new words are rarely formed with this suffix, as it is considered nonproductive (Vulāne 2015: 236). This suffix is used to create names for tools, objects, and the results of an action. In Kurzeme, one example is recorded *cept* ‘to bake’ – *ceplis* ‘bread oven’ (LVDA mater., Saka).

#### 5.2.1.9. *-nīc-*

The suffix *-nīc-* is related to the feminine ending and is now considered unproductive. Derived words with this suffix are usually motivated by nouns, less often by adjectives, to name a place or indicate the object’s purpose (Vulāne 2015: 222). Only one example, namely *siltums* ‘heat’ – *siltumnīca* ‘greenhouse’, is recorded in Nīca.

#### 5.2.1.10. *-sn-*

The nonproductive suffix *-sn-* is used to create derivative names for actions, processes, temporary actions, results, and specific objects, places, or people (Vulāne 2015: 240). In Kurzeme and the Curonian Spit, as well as outside the Curonian Spit, in the suburb of Klaipėda *Bommels-Vitte* and in Melnragė, the word *krāt* ‘to pile up’ – *krāsns/e* ‘bread oven’ is recorded.

5.2.1.11. *-t-*

There are several names that are formed with the suffix *-t-*, including, for instance, *jumts* ‘roof’ – *jumt* ‘to roof’, *kārts* ‘pole’ – *kārt* ‘to hang’, *miets* ‘fence pole/stack’ – *miet* ‘to drive, to strike (something) into the ground’, *svirsts* ‘well-sweep’ – *svērt* ‘to weight (out)’, and *grausts* ‘old building, no longer suitable for use’ – *graust* ‘to crumble, to crush, to grate’. All of these are recorded in Kurzeme, except for *jumts*, which are found in all three local research areas. One name, *celtne* ‘building’ – *celt* ‘to build’, is created with two suffixes *-t-* and *-n-*, and it is recorded in Nīca.

5.2.1.12. *-tav-*

The suffix *-tav-* is the most productive for naming a specific place. The derivatives express the action that can be carried out by the activity named by the motivating word (Vulāne 2015: 241). This can be illustrated by two examples found in Kurzeme (*kūpināt* ‘to smoke, to cure (in smoke)’ – *kūpinātava* ‘smokery, a pit in the ground’ and *žāvēt* ‘to dry; to smoke, to cure (in smoke)’ – *žāvētava* ‘smokery’). With this suffix, a particular type of building name is formed.

5.2.1.13. *-um-*

The suffix *-um-* is productive in Latvian and is used to create derivative names for the result of an action, an abstract concept, or a particular object resulting from a named action, using either primary or secondary verb stems (Vulāne 2015: 242–243). In Kurzeme, one recorded example is *apžogojā* ‘to fence in, to enclose’ (past tense) – *apžogojums* ‘fence (around something)’. In The Curonian Spit, a few examples, are recorded and they denote a building or an extension of it, *taisīja* (*taīšēti*) ‘to build’ – *taisījums* ‘building, structure’, but *piebudavāt* ‘to add to a building/house’ – *piebudavatums* ‘extension’ and *uōztaīšēti* ‘to build’ – *uoastaisētums* ‘building, structure’ with the sound *t* insertion before the suffix *-um-*.



Table 7. Derivational suffixes used in the word formation of thematic vocabulary.

No.	Suffix	Base word – Deriva- tive word class	Example	Area	Example
1	-el-	N-N	<i>māj-a</i> 'building; dwelling house' – <i>māj-el-e</i> 'small-farmer's dwelling house'	Š-B	<i>mājele</i> , <i>mājēna</i> . MB
			<i>nam-s</i> 'dwelling house' – <i>nam-el-is</i> 'small-farmer's dwelling house'	Š-B	see Table 2
	-il-	V-N	<i>vārst-ī-t</i> 'to (keep) open and shut' – <i>vārst-el-es</i> 'wicket'	Š-B	see Table 2
		N-N	<i>nam-s</i> 'building; dwelling house' – <i>nam-il-(O)</i> 'small house; hut'	CS	<i>namil f.</i> KW: 51, Germ. <i>das Häuschen</i>
	-il- + -ēn-	V-N	<i>var(s)l-s</i> 'gate' – <i>varst-il-e</i> 'wicket, wicket-gate'	CS	see Table 2
2	-en-		<i>varst-ī-t</i> 'to (keep) open and shut' – <i>varst-il-ēn-(O)</i> 'wicket, wicket-gate'	CS	see Table 2
		ADJ-N	<i>augsts</i> 'high' – <i>augst-en-e(s)</i> 'attic'	CS	see Table 2
		V-N	<i>dūm-o</i> 'smoke' (present tense) – <i>dūm-en-is</i> 'flue; chimney'	K	<i>dūmenis/apoalkdūmenis</i> 'mantle-vault-like chimney' (Tez)
			<i>krist</i> 'to fall' (past tense <i>krita</i> ) – <i>krit-en-is</i> 'fence of horizontal wooden beams; horizontal beam in such a fence'	K	see Table 2
	-ēn-	N-N	<i>māj-a</i> 'building; dwelling house' – <i>māj-ēn-a</i> 'small-farmer's dwelling house'	Š-B	<i>mājele</i> , <i>mājēna</i> . MB
3	-ien-		<i>istub-a</i> 'room' – <i>iztub-ēn-s</i> 'attic; attic room'	CS	<i>pažuoabils, iztubēns m.</i> , Germ. <i>die Oberstübchen</i> 'attic, garret(-room)'. DKW: 226
		ADJ-N	<i>augsts</i> 'high' – <i>augst-ien-e</i> 'attic'	CS	see Table 2
		N-N	<i>augš-a</i> 'top, upper part' > <i>augš-ien-e</i> 'attic'	K	see Table 2

No.	Suffix	Base word – Deriva- tive word class	Example	Area	Example
4	-iņ-	V-N	<i>kāp-t</i> 'to climb' – <i>kāp-ien-s</i> 'step'	K	see Table 2
		N-N	<i>aiz-gald-s</i> 'cote' – <i>aiz-gald-iņ-š</i> 'cote in the open air'	K	<i>lauka cūkas turēja laūkâ. bi aīzgaldīnš ustaīšc.</i> NIVe-A: 28, Nīca
			<i>lub-a</i> 'blast, plank; wooden shingle' – <i>lub-iņ-a</i> 'narrow fence board'	K	see Table 2
	dial. -iņ-		<i>pod-s</i> 'vesel' – <i>pod-iņ-š</i> 'tile'	K	see Table 2
5	-īt-	N-N	<i>grīd-a</i> '(any) floor' – <i>grīd-iņ-a</i> 'board floor in veranda'	K	<i>namīnâ va vēraīdâ bi grīdīna.</i> NIVe-G: 583, Nīca
			<i>istub-a/istab-a</i> 'dwelling house; room' – <i>istub-iņ-a/istab-iņ-a/istab-iņ-a</i> 'room in the threshing barn for drying (flax, cereals)'	K	( <i>rijas</i> ) <i>istubīna</i> , also <i>istabīna</i> , <i>istabīna</i> ., <i>vēcūôs laīkuôs bi piē rijas tādâ istubīna. tâ bi priēkš žāvēšanas. viēnâ galâ bi rija, uōtrâ šķīnis, tâ istubīna vidū.</i> NIVe-I: 730, Nīca; <i>rija kâ jaū rija. tuī bīja istabīna, piēdārps [un spīkerīši (?)], kuī saveda labību iēkšâ.</i> LVI Apv., Grobiņa; [ <i>labību rijas</i> ] <i>istabīnâ neš<sup>a</sup> iēkšâ.</i> ibid., Grobiņa
			<i>nam-s</i> 'building; dwelling house' – <i>nam-iņ-s</i> 'kitchen'	K	see Table 2
			<i>bedr-e</i> 'pit, hole' – <i>bedr-īt-e</i> 'smokery, a pit in the ground'	K	see Table 2
5	-īt-	N-N	<i>dēl-is</i> 'board' – <i>dēl-īt-e(-is)</i> 'wooden board for roofing'	K	<i>dēlītis.</i> LVDA mater., Ulmale
			<i>gaņģ-is</i> 'corridor' – <i>gaņģ-īt-is</i> 'small storeroom'	K	
			<i>stakl-e</i> 'fork' – <i>stakl-īt-e</i> 'post (for the fence or gate)'	K	see Table 2

No.	Suffix	Base word – Deriva- tive word class	Example	Area	Example
			<i>tupel-e</i> ‘shoe’ – <i>tupel-īt-e</i> ‘cross-arranged wooden element on the roof ridge’	K	<i>tupes liek, lai jumtu necilinātu</i> vējš. Markus-Narvila 2011: 167, Rucava; <i>tupelīte</i> . Tez
				Š-B	<i>spīļu jumti izpuškoti ar tupelemis un</i> <i>lēķis</i> . MB
6	-kl-	V-N	<i>dziēv-uoa-t/dziēv-ūo-t-i</i> ‘to exist, to dwell, to work’ – <i>dziēv-uoa-kil-s</i> ‘dwelling house; homestead’ (Latv. <i>dziū- o-t – dziū-o-kl-is</i> )	CS	see Table 2
7	-l-	V-N	<i>cept</i> ‘to bake’ – <i>cep-l-is</i> ‘bread oven’	K	see Table 2
8	-nīc-	N-N	<i>siltums</i> ‘heat’ – <i>siltum-nīc-a</i> ‘greenhouse’	K	see Table 2
9	-sn-	V-N	<i>krāt</i> ‘to pile up’ or its parallel form <i>krāst – krā-sn-s/e</i> ‘bread oven; stove’	K	see Table 2
				Š-B	see Table 2
				CS	see Table 2
				BV, M	see Table 2
10	-t-	V-N	<i>graus-t</i> ‘to crumble, to crush, to grate’ – <i>graus-t-s</i> ‘old building, no longer suitable for use’ <i>grīs-t</i> ‘cover with boards’ – <i>gries-t-i</i> ‘ceiling’ <i>jum-t</i> ‘to roof’ – <i>jum-t-s</i> ‘roof’ <i>kār-t</i> ‘to hang’ – <i>kār-t-s</i> ‘pole’ <i>mie-t</i> ‘to drive, to strike (something) into the ground’ – <i>mie-t-s</i> ‘fence pole/stack’ <i>svēr-t</i> ‘to weight (out)’ – <i>svirs-t-s</i> ‘well-sweep’ <i>cel-t</i> ‘to build’ – <i>cel-t-n-e</i> ‘building’	K	see Table 2
				K, CS	see Table 2
				K, Š-B, CS	see Table 2
				CS	see Table 2
				K	see Table 2
11	-t- + -n-	V-N		K	see Table 2
				K	see Table 2

No.	Suffix	Base word – Deriva- tive word class	Example	Area	Example
12	-tav-	V–N	<i>kūp-inā-t</i> ‘to smoke, to cure (in smoke)’ – <i>kūp-inā-tav-a</i> ‘smokery, a pit in the ground’	K	see Table 2
			<i>žāv-ē-t</i> ‘to dry; to smoke, to cure (in smoke)’ – <i>žāv-ē-tav-a</i> ‘smokery’	K	see Table 2
13	-um-	V–N	<i>ap-žog-o-j-a</i> ‘to fence in, to enclose’ (past tense) – <i>ap-žog-o-j-um-s</i> ‘fence (around something)’	K	see Table 2
	-(t)um-		<i>tais-i-j-a (taišeti)</i> ‘to build’ (past tense) – <i>tais-i-j-um-e</i> ‘building, structure’	CS	see Table 2
			<i>pie-budav-a(ā)-t</i> ‘to add to a building/house’ – <i>pie-budav-a-t-um-s</i> ‘extension’ with the sound <i>t</i> insertion before <i>-um-</i>	CS	see Table 2
			<i>uoaz-budev-a(ā)-t</i> ‘to build’ – <i>uoaz-budeva-t-um-(O)</i> ‘building, structure’ with the sound <i>t</i> insertion before <i>-um-</i>	CS	see Table 2
			<i>uōz-taiš-ē-t-i</i> ‘to build’ – <i>uoas-taiš-e-t-um-s</i> ‘building, structure’ with the sound <i>t</i> insertion before <i>-um-</i>	CS	see Table 2

The use of derivational suffixes in the formation of names is a common practice in this thematic group of vocabulary, both in the Latvian language of Kurzeme seaside and in the territorial varieties of the Latvian language outside Latvia (in the Curonian Spit and the Latvia-Lietuva frontier area). The names formed by this principal mean consist of a base word, noun (N) or verb (V), and a specific word-formation mean. These names are used in singular and plural forms and are motivated mainly by regular nouns, less often by non-prefixed or prefixed verbs.

The analyzed vocabulary of the Latvian language of the Kurzeme seaside contains the derivational suffixes: *-en-*, *-ien-*, *-iņ-/-īn-*, *-īt-*, *-kl-*, *-l-*, *-n-*, *-sn-*, *-um-*, *-t-*, *-tav-*. In the vocabulary of the territorial variety of the Latvian language in Šventoji-Būtingė, the derivational suffixes *-el-*, *-ēn-*, *-iņ-*, *-sn-*, and *-t-* are present; however, this word-formation technique cannot be considered productive. The number of derivational suffixes in the analyzed New Curonian vocabulary is relatively smaller than in Latvian. Moreover, some of them may not have existed in the New Curonian at all or disappeared, while others have been transformed (KuV: 19–20). In the territorial variety of the Latvian language on the Curonian Spit, several derivational suffixes are found in the sources: *-il-* (*-el-*), *-en-*, *-ēn-*, *-ien-*, *-kl-*, *-sn-*, *-t-*, *-(t)um-*. This makes it the second most significant area of research where derivative suffixes are actively used to create folk architecture names.

### 5.2.2. Prefixation

Theory offers two perspectives on the derivational function of prefixes: first, that prefixes act as prepositions forming compounds as their first component; second, that they are morphemes used to derive words, including nouns (Endzelīns 1951; Vulāne 2015: 212). In this research, prefix derivatives are discussed in this section rather than under compounds, as the second approach, grouping words based on their method of word formation, is adopted. The table below (see Table 8) presents the primary prefixes that form several names, providing a general understanding of their diversity within the folk architecture vocabulary.

In the excerpted material, prefixation is the second recognized affixal word-formation technique. This technique creates words of the same word class as the motivating word, known as the derivational base (Vulāne 2015: 200, 212–215). The formation of analyzed names with derivational prefixes is less common than word formation with derivational suffixes. Words and their variants formed with the pre-

fixes *aiz-* and dial. *āz-*, *no-*, *pa-*, *pār-*, *pie-* and dial. *pī-*, *pret-* have been found in the excerpt (see Table 8):

### 5.2.2.1. *aiz-/āz-*

In Latvian, the prefix *aiz-* is added to a primary or derived substantive, usually in the singular, rarely in the plural, nominative or genitive case, to name a place or are located behind the object denoted by the the motivating noun (Vulāne 2015: 215). In western Kurzeme subdialects, however, the prepositions *āz* and *az* are used instead of *aiz* ‘behind; over; beyond’. Certain subdialects have the prefix *āz-* and the preposition *āz*, the prefix *āz-* and the prepos. *az* or the prefix *az-* and the prepos. *az*<sup>266</sup> (Endzelīns 1981: 463). Bušmane also notes the use of the preposition *āz* and the prefix *āz-* in Lower Kurzeme, particularly in Nīca<sup>267</sup>. During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the prepositions *āz*, *az*, and the prefix *āz-* (less commonly *az-*) were prevalent in some Curonian and Semigallian subdialects; however, their use decreased in the second half of the 20th century (NI: 232–234). Similarly, prepositions *az*, *āz*, and the prefix *āz-* are recorded in the territorial variety of the Latvian language spoken in the Curonian Spit (NI: 232–234; KuV: 39).

In the excerpted material, words derived with the prefix *aiz-* or the dial. *āz-* are registered in the southern or central Kurzeme seaside and in the Curonian Spit, as well as in Karklē. These include: *aiz-krāsne/āz-krāsne* ‘space behind the stove (in a house)’ – *aiz/āz* ‘behind’ + *krāsns/krāsne* ‘stove, oven’, *aiz-durve* ‘space behind the door (in a house)’ – *aiz* ‘behind’ + *durvis/durve* ‘door’, *aiz-galds/āz-galde* ‘compartment in a barn or animal shed’ – *aiz/āz* ‘behind’ + *galds* ‘table’. Another example refers to a small place or shelter, made particularly for animals in the barn, *aiz-gārd-a/-e*, *aiz-gard-a* ‘compartment in a barn or animal shed’ – *aiz* ‘behind’ + *gārda* ‘compartment’. All of these names belong to the thematic subgroup of room types.

<sup>266</sup> The source suggests that the preposition *az* might be older than *āz* and *aiz*; the word *aizkrāsne* is mentioned to illustrate that the prefix *aiz-* is used to form nominal compounds, which derive from the joining of the preposition *aiz* with a dependent case (Endzelīns 1981: 463).

<sup>267</sup> Derivatives with the prefix *āz-* are mainly found in materials recorded at the end of the 19th century. Although the preposition *az* was replaced by *aiz*, its use was still observed in the Nica subdialect during the first half of the 20th century, as well as in other southwestern Kurzeme subdialects. The author also mentions that the preposition *āz* is more recent (NI: 232–234).

5.2.2.2. *no-*

The prefix *no-*, as in the example *nojume* ‘free standing or lean-to shed’ – *jums* ‘dome; covering, part of a roof’, found in Nīca, is considered typical. While its primary meaning is ‘away from something’, this meaning is hardly noticeable in prefixal derivatives. Instead, this prefix is commonly used to express the meaning of time or place, or to name another phenomenon (Vulāne 2015: 217).

5.2.2.3. *pa-*

The prefix *pa-*, as in the example *paklēte* or *parovis/-e*, is considered to be a productive prefix and, in the derivational system of nouns, is semantically related to the preposition *zem* ‘under’ (Vulāne 2015: 218). The preposition *pa* with the meaning ‘under’ (Latv. ‘apakš’) is recorded in several Lower Kurzeme subdialects, particularly in Nīca, Bārta, Durbe, Gavieze, Gramzda, etc. (NI: 237).

The Latvian word *paklēte* is recorded with the meaning ‘space under the granary supported on posts’ (MEe III 46). Although the example *paklēte* ‘space under the granary’ (LVI Apv., Bārta) – dial. *klēte* ‘granary’ is provided without a context; its meaning is likely identical with the one mentioned earlier. Similarly, *parovis*, meaning ‘space or room under the spark catcher’ (NIVe-L: 366), usually found in the cooking area or kitchen beneath a mantle-vault-like chimney – *rovīs* ‘spark catcher or guard’, and it is recorded in Nīca. Another example includes *palodze* ‘windowsill’ (in Alsunga), paralleled by *palogīs* ‘windowsill’ (in CS) – *logs* ‘window’.

5.2.2.4. *pār-*

The use of the prefix *pār-* in Latvian noun derivation is considered to be nonproductive or passive. Typically, this prefix has a spatial meaning and is often used to indicate or specify a location (Vulāne 2015: 218). In the Nīca subdialect, *pār-* became established during the second half of the 20th century, gradually replacing the previously more common prefix *par-* and the preposition *par* with the meaning ‘under’, which had been in wider use at the beginning of the 20th century (NI: 237–240).

Only one example was found in the excerpted material, belonging to the thematic sub-group of construction elements. It refers to a specific type of door: *pārdures* ‘half door, half hung door’ – dial. pl. *dures* ‘doors’. The name is registered in the territorial varieties of the Latvian language on the southern Kurzeme seaside (LVI Apv., Bārta; NIVe-A: 225, Nīca) and is synonymous with *pusedures* (also registered in Nīca, NIVe-A: 218).

5.2.2.5. *pie-/pī-*

In Latvian, the prefix *pie-* is generally considered a low-productivity morpheme in noun derivation (Vulāne 2015: 219). When used in derivatives, the prefix *pie-* is used to show location, similar to the preposition *pie* ‘at’ (it is used to show that something is located near or next to the thing named by the motivation word) (Vulāne 2015: 219; Endzelīns 1981: 473).

In the excerpted material, three examples of derivatives with the prefix *pie-* or its dialectal variant *pī-* are identified. All are recorded in the territorial varieties of the Latvian language spoken on the southern Kurzeme seaside. Examples of these are *piēdarbs* ‘anteroom of the bath’ (FBR 8: 141, Rucava, MEe III 242, Nīca) – *darbs* ‘work; action’, *pīpīrte* ‘anteroom of the bath’ (FBR 8: 141, Rucava) – dial. *pirte* ‘bathroom’ and *pīgrindis* ‘threshold’ (AVN: 133, Rucava) – Lith. *grindis* ‘1. floorboards, planks of (dirt) floor; bridge board (log); 2. wooden (dirt) floor’.

5.2.2.6. *pret-*

The prefix *pret-*, in general, is considered productive and, in derivation, it typically indicates that the named object is located opposite to the object named by the motivating (base) word (Vulāne 2015: 218). In the excerpted material, only one example is found: *pretistuba* ‘opposite (living) room, chamber’ – dial. *istuba* ‘room; dwelling house’. It is recorded in the territorial variety of the Latvian language spoken along the southern Kurzeme seaside (LVI Apv., Bārta).



Table 8. Derivational prefixes used in the word formation of thematic vocabulary.

No.	Prefix	Base word – Derivative word class	Derived word <Motivation word group	Area	Example
1	aiz- dial. āz-	N–N	<i>aiz-krāsne/āz-krāsne</i> 'space behind the stove (in a house)' – <i>aiz/āz</i> 'behind' + <i>krāsns/krāsne</i> 'stove; oven'	K	see Table 2
				Karklē	see Table 2
				CS	see Table 2
			<i>aiz-durve</i> 'space behind the door (in a house)' – <i>aiz</i> 'behind' + <i>durvis/durve</i> 'door'	K	see Table 2
			<i>aiz-galds/āz-galde</i> 'compartment in a barn or animal shed' – <i>aiz/āz</i> 'behind' + <i>galds</i> 'table'	K	see Table 2
2	no-	N–N	<i>aiz-galde</i> 'room (space) behind the table' – <i>aiz</i> 'behind' + <i>galds</i> 'table'	K	see Table 2
			<i>aiz-gārda/aiz-garda</i> 'compartment in a barn or animal shed' – <i>aiz</i> 'behind' <i>gārda/garda</i> 'compartment'	K	<i>aizgārda, aizgārda, aizgārde., aizgārda</i> <i>ir iēžuoguota viēta., cūkām sataisija</i> <i>stalīti aizgārdu., [jaunlopus] iēlika</i> <i>aizgārdā bapūtiēs.</i> NIVe–A: 29, Nīca see Table 2
3	pa-	N–N	<i>no-jume</i> 'free standing or lean-to shed' – <i>jums</i> 'dome; covering, part of a roof'	K	see Table 2
			<i>pa-klēte</i> 'space under the granary (supported on posts)' – <i>klēts/klēte</i> 'granary'	K	see Table 2
			<i>pa-lodze/-logis</i> 'windowsill' – <i>logs</i> 'window'	K	see Table 2
				CS	see Table 2
			<i>pa-rovis</i> 'space/room under the spark guard in the kitchen (under the mantle-vault-like chimney)' – <i>rovis</i> 'spark catcher or guard'	K	<i>kad bija, tad jau paruovē arī kādu</i> <i>mēncu nuortincināja., nu divas nedēļas</i> <i>[aitas galu] turēja sālijumā uņ ta lika</i> <i>paruovē žāvēt.</i> NIVe–L: 366, Nīca

No.	Prefix	Base word – Derivative word class	Derived word <Motivation word group	Area	Example
4	<i>pār-</i>	N–N	<i>pār-dures</i> ‘half door, half hung door’ – dial. pl. <i>dures</i> ‘doors’	K	see Table 2
5	<i>pie-</i>	N–N	<i>pie-būve</i> ‘extension’ – <i>būve</i> ‘building’	K	<i>ēberģis i piēbūve</i> . <i>senāk ēberģis bi isnuōmāc akmeņu laižējēm</i> . NIVe–E: 506, Nīca
			<i>pie-darbs</i> ‘anteroom of the bath’ – <i>darbs</i> ‘work; action’	K	see Table 2
	dial. <i>pī-</i>		<i>pī-pirte</i> ‘anteroom of the bath’ – dial. <i>pirte</i> ‘bath-house’	K	see Table 2
			<i>pī-grindis</i> ‘threshold’ – Lith. <i>grindis</i> ‘1. floor-boards, planks of (dirt) floor; bridge board (log); 2. wooden (dirt) floor’	K	<i>pīgrindis</i> . AVN: 133, Rucava
6	<i>pret-</i>	N–N	<i>pret-istuba</i> ‘opposite (living) room, chamber’ – dial. <i>istuba</i> ‘room; dwelling house’	K	<i>labi vēlāk katrai mājai bi pretistub<sup>a</sup>, kuō būvē<sup>a</sup>. tā pretistub<sup>a</sup> bi atsevišķ<sup>i</sup>, tā jaū skaitījās mēt<sup>u</sup> istab<sup>a</sup>, ku puiši nāc<sup>e</sup>. LVI Apv., Bārta</i>

### 5.2.3. Flectional word-formation

Another type of postfixes in Latvian word-formation is endings, occurring after a root or other suffixes, and are also called word-final affixes. Derivatives with endings such as *-a*, *-e*, *-s*, or *-is* can be motivated by a primary or secondary verb, i.e., using their infinitive, present, or past stems, or by primary or secondary adjectives, rarely by nouns or numerals (Vulāne 2015: 245–246). This group includes those folk construction names, specifically lexemes that acquire a new lexical meaning when formed with a word-final affix. In the excerpted material, these derivatives are created by adding the following derivational endings:

1. *-a*: *ateja* ‘toilet’ < *atiet* ‘to step aside; to leave, to depart; to retreat, to withdraw’, *atslēga* ‘(door) lock’ < *atslēgt* ‘to unlock’, *grīda* ‘floor’ < *grīdot*/*grīdīt* ‘to lay floor’, *luba* ‘peeled bark; small wooden board for roofing’ < *lobīt* ‘to peel’, *pakula* ‘caulker’s oakum’ < *pakult* ‘to thresh’, *siena* ‘wall’ < *siet* ‘to tie’ (present tense *sienu*).
2. *-e*: *drīve* ‘caulker’s oakum’ < *drīvēt* ‘to caulk’, *piebūve* ‘extension’ < *piebūvēt* ‘to add (to a building)’.
3. *-s*: *aploks* ‘stockyard’ < *aplocīt* ‘to wrap around, encircle’ (present tense *aploku*), *pavards* ‘hearth’ < (*pa*)*vīrt* ‘to cook (a little)’ (present tense *pavā(a)ru* with the insertion of sound *-d-* (?)), *pirts* ‘bathhouse’ < *pērties* ‘to steam and flap oneself (with birch-twigs)’, *svirīs* ‘well-sweep’ < *svērt* ‘to weigh (out)’.
4. *-is*: *rūķis* ‘stationary lighting equipment in the niche’ < verb dial. *rūkt* ‘to smoke’ or dial. *rūķināt* ‘to smoke, to fume’ (?).

### 5.2.4. Compounding

Given the relatively large proportion of composite names within the analyzed folk architecture vocabulary, it is important to differentiate between compounds and word group names. In spoken language or speech, compounds can be identified by phonetic features, such as the absence of a pause at the juncture of components or the presence of a single dominant stress at the beginning. Written language, however, requires one to be guided by the written form of the name. If the name is written as a compound in the source, it is usually classified as such. Whereas those composed of two or more separate words are classified as word group names. However, when analyzing names found particularly in the Curonian Spit, one thing is worth noting. Plāķis states that New Curonian has a limited number of compounds

of various word classes. Instead, names, which are two words that are not connected by a stress at the beginning of the word, are mostly used (KuV: 21), indicating that these have not fully developed into compounds. The influence of other languages, particularly Germanic, on data from several data sources (KW; DKW: FKN) into this region must also be acknowledged. It is essential to consider compound names versus word group names in this context.

In Latvian, compounding is considered one of the most productive ways of creating new words, with such composite words commonly found in both literary language and dialects. Compounds<sup>268</sup> are defined as “words formed by combining at least two independent words or their stems and that function as one lexical unit in the language” (VPSV 338)<sup>269</sup>, meaning it basically has the meaning and function of one word.

In the excerpt, names formed through compounding are also relatively common within certain thematic subgroups (Constructions, Room types, Courtyard, Building types). Compounds are mostly formed by adjoining a noun (N), usually in genitive + noun (N), rarely also an adjective (ADJ) + noun (N), or adverb (ADV) + noun (N).

The creation of compound names is observed relatively often, especially in the excerpted material of the New Curonian language. This can be explained by both the great influence of other languages through language contact and the direct influence of German(ic) languages on the naming of concepts, including through the borrowing of lexical items related to materials, construction methods of Germans, or Baltic-German material culture. Compounds often serve to express both a general concept and a more specific subordinate aspect, and they are often used in parallel with word group names. From a semantic perspective, compounds are formed similarly to word groups (see Chapter 5.2.6), that is, typically using a noun in the genitive case as the first component.

Several compound groups can be distinguished when considering the use of compound names alongside other word-formation techniques:

<sup>268</sup> In Latvian literary language, compounds are classified in two main ways: a) by the syntactic relations of components (the syntactic method); dividing compounds into two classes: 1) determinative compounds, which are based on phrases, and 2) copulative compounds, which are based on coordinate structures (Vulāne 2015: 249–252; Skujiņa 2007: 195) or b) by the word formation type (Kalme, Smiltņiece 2001: 52).

<sup>269</sup> “Vārds, kas darināts, apvienojot vismaz divus patstāvīgus vārdus vai to celmus un kas valodā funkcionē kā viena leksiska vienība” (VPSV 338).

1. Compounds used in parallel to word groups (for example, *latesēts* || *late sēts* ‘lath fence’, *lauklaidars* || *lauku laidars* ‘stockyard by the cattle-shed’, *budevatemalk* || *budavate malke* ‘timber (wood)’, *puoadekrāsins* || *podu krāsne* ‘tile stove’, *luoagelāds* || *luoage lādes* ‘shutter’, etc.).
2. Compounds in parallel to non-derivatived or derived words (*sētšvidus* || *sēta* ‘courtyard’, *sēt(a)skuoals* || *kuols* ‘post or stake (for the fence)’, *kukinmašīns* || *mašīne* ‘cooking stove’, *durespins* || *spīns* ‘(door) padlock’, *luoagerāms* || *rāmis* ‘window-frame’, etc.).
3. Compounds that do not have parallel names (*sānkambaris* ‘chamber’, *augstienetrepes* ‘ladder to attic’, *priekšlogs* ‘front window; winter-frame’, *igājēdur* ‘entrance door’).

Both components of the compound may be words found in subdialects or the literary language, for example, *duôrdang(a)* ‘place behind the door’ – dial. *duôre* ‘door’ + dial. *danga* ‘corner’. It is also possible for components to have different origins. For example, a borrowed item can be both the first and second component (Kursen. *augstienetrepes* ‘ladder to attic’ – Latv. dial. *augstiene* ‘attic; room ceiling’ + Kursen. *trepes* ‘stairs’ < Germ. *die Treppe* ‘stairs’ (Latv. *trepes* ‘stairs’ < LG *treppe* ‘stairs, step’)). Similarly, some compounds consist entirely of borrowed components, for instance, Kursen. *finsterlāde* ‘shutter’ – Germ. *das Fenster* ‘window’ + Germ. *der Lade* ‘chest, box; ark’ (for more information on the etymological diversity of words, see Chapter 5.1.).

In the sources documenting compound names in the Curonian Spit, particularly in the works by Pietsch, it is unclear whether the compounds recorded in written form were actually used as true compounds in spoken language or functioned as word groups. Lithuanian linguist Vincas Urbutis noted that many of these compounds often correspond to German language compounds (Urbutis 1993: 114). Differences in the formation of such names can be observed in the sources KW and DKW. Specifically, the latter source (DKW) has fewer mistakes and fewer artificially created compounds, for instance, *durespins* (Germ. *das Türschloß*. KW: 31) – *spīns* (DKW: 296), whereas *spīna* is found in Kurzeme (AVN: 131, Rucava).

**Table 9.** Formation and semantics of compound (words) in the data.

Source structure – Derivative word class	Example	Area
Ngen+N–N	<i>prieš-nam</i> ‘dwelling house facing the street, foreyard’ < <i>priekšas nams (nams priekšā)</i> ‘front house’	CS
	<i>dūm-vads</i> ‘flue’ < <i>dūmu vads</i> ‘smoke canal’	K (Nīca)
	<i>sēt-mala</i> ‘nearest surroundings of the fence’ < <i>sētas mala</i> ‘nearest surroundings of the fence; edge of fence’	CS
	<i>pus-istaba</i> ‘room (usually small)’ < <i>puse istabas</i> ‘half a room’	K (Bārta)
	<i>cuk-mūris</i> ‘a wall through which the flue go through’ < <i>cukas mūris</i> ‘flue masonry’	K (Dūnika)
ADJ+N–N	<i>maz-mājiņa</i> ‘toilet’ < <i>maza mājiņa</i> ‘tiny house’	K (Alsunga)
ADV+N–N	<i>caur-dure</i> ‘corridor’ < <i>cauri durvīm</i> ‘through the door’	K (Nīca)
	<i>pret-istuba</i> ‘opposite (living) room, chamber’ < <i>pretī istabai</i> ‘opposite the room; in front of the room’	K (Bārta)

### 5.2.5. Word groups

The use of word group names across various thematic subgroups is relatively common, and they are found in all subgroups. Typically, a word group consists of the general name of the object (for instance, Latv. *sēta* ‘courtyard’, *vārti* ‘gate’, *žogs* ‘fence’, *ķekis* ‘kitchen’, *durvis* ‘door’, etc.) and a dependent component that provides differentiation or specification. In most cases, the dependent element is placed before the general name.

Two-component word groups are prevalent in both Latvian and New Curonian folk architecture vocabulary, while words with three (Kursen. *darzēns preš name*) or five components (Kursen. *sēt ar citades apgraisates gales*) have been recorded solely in New Curonian. These multi-component word groups are found only in the sources compiled by a particular author (Pietsch), suggesting an individual approach to formation that is often modeled after the German semantic equivalent.

Depending on the nature of the dependent and differentiated components, word group names can be categorized into three groups:

1. Word groups with a substantive in the singular or plural genitive (for example, *akas koki* ‘well lining ring’, *istube deķe* ‘ceiling’, *zirge gal’s* ‘crossed ends of

(gable) boards (carved in the shape of the horse head)', *vēja nams* 'corridor', etc.).

2. Word groups with adjectives are relatively less common (for instance, Latv. *slīpās sklandas* || *slīpo sklandu žogs* (Jaunzems 1943: 21), *lielā sēta* 'main courtyard', *maģais sētiens* 'utility courtyard', *garais nams* 'corridor', *âugštavējis istubas* 'attic room', etc.).
3. Word groups with a participle (*pīts žogs* 'wattle fence', *kritināts žogs* 'fence made of crosspieces that rest in the grooves of the posts'), which are characteristic of names related to construction or craft.

As with compound names, the components of word groups may originate from both dialectal and standard (literary) Latvian (*laūka dures* || *laūka duris* 'entrance door' – Latv. *lauka* 'outer' + Latv. dial. *dures*, *duris* 'door') and can be etymologically distinct, for instance, *luoage lāde* 'shutter' (< Latv. *lūogs* 'window' + Germ. *die Lade* 'chest, box; ark').

In New Curonian, unlike the vocabulary found in the Latvian subdialects along the Kurzeme coast, a significant number of lexemes have been influenced by other languages, with German being the primary source of influence. Regarding word formation, most of the word groups found in the excerpted material from the Curonian Spit are modelled on German compounds, with some also reflecting German word group structures. See Table 10 for illustrative examples. In cases where a New Curonian word group corresponds semantically to a German compound name, its meaning is not provided separately.

Although these word groups are modelled after German compound words, they are more likely to have an independent stress on each word, indicating that they function as word groups rather than true compounds. One part of word groups identified is formed entirely from German words or Germanic elements, while others are hybrid constructions, in which inherited and borrowed words from other languages are grouped according to the (compound) words in German. See Chapter 5.1. for further information on the origin of the words used in the formation of these groups.

**Table 10.** *Formation and semantics of New Curonian word groups in relation to German equivalents.*

<i>Word group in New Curonian</i>	<i>Corresponding composite name in German</i>
Kursen. <i>viene saime dzievuokils</i>	Germ. compound (word) <i>das Einfamilienhaus</i> 'family house, private house'
Kursen. <i>darzēns preš name</i>	Germ. compound (word) <i>der Vorgarten</i> 'garden in front of the house'
Kursen. <i>litirē šprucs</i>	Germ. compound (word) <i>die Leitersprosse</i> 'stave'
Kursen. <i>pamate malke</i>	Germ. compound (word) <i>das Schwellenholz</i> 'sleeper log, sleeper block, sleeper wood'
Kursen. <i>late sēts</i>	Germ. compound (word) <i>der Lattenzaun</i> 'lath fence'
Kursen. <i>mēle kukine</i>	Germ. word group <i>die schwarze Küche</i> 'black kitchen'

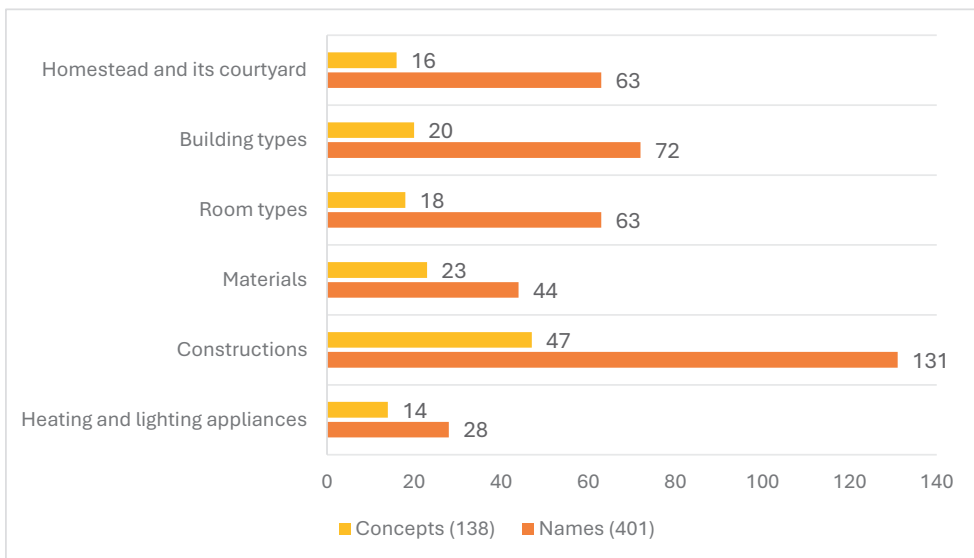
To sum up, affixal word formation is considered in the thematic vocabulary documented primarily along the Kurzeme seaside and the Curonian Spit. Suffixal derivation is more frequent than prefixal derivation, the latter being characteristic only of the Kurzeme seaside vocabulary. Here, New meanings are also created through typically productive diminutive suffixes. It is found that both commonly active suffixes, such as *-el-*, *-in-*, *-um-*, etc., which are frequently used to form new nouns, and less frequent consonantal suffixes like *-kl-* participate in suffixal word formation.

A significant portion of the lexemes studied consist of compounds and word groups. Regardless of the method of word formation, whether by merging two words or roots or combining several components into a word group, they share common features. Firstly, the components can belong to both dialectal and literary language. Secondly, these components can originate from different sources. Moreover, both the general name of the object and its dependent or differentiated component may vary in origin, combining inherited and borrowed elements in various ways (inherited + borrowed, borrowed + inherited, borrowed + borrowed). Composite names, formed from more than one stem or word, are particularly prominent in the excerpted material from the Curonian Spit. The majority of these composite names are modeled after German compounds, which serve as their semantic equivalents, reflecting the borrowing and adaptation of objects, their names, and meanings through language contact. Third, some concepts have primary names that coexist in parallel with compound or word group names, preserving the same meaning. In conclusion, composite names are the most prevalent type in the material examined. Across all discussed word formation groups, the base word may be either inherited or borrowed and adapted from contact languages, primarily German and Lithuanian.



### 5.3. CHARACTERISTICS OF THEMATIC SUBGROUPS

This chapter provides a comprehensive overview of the thematic vocabulary as organized by thematic subgroups, with the analyzed concepts and their names presented in Chapter 4. The subgroups are structured to highlight the characteristics of each subgroup from different perspectives. The largest subgroup is Constructions, due to the relatively high number of names for building parts and their components, while the smallest is related to heating and lighting elements (see Figure 10).



**Figure 10.** Proportions of concepts and lexemes within each thematic subgroup.

#### 5.3.1 Homestead and its courtyard

This group consists of 16 concepts and 63 names (see Chapter 4.1.). As a percentage, it is 12% of all concepts and 16% of all names.

From an etymological perspective, this subgroup includes an inherited lexical layer, including words such as *sēta* ‘courtyard; fence’, *stabs* ‘post (for the fence)’, *stakle* ‘post (for the fence or gate)’, *svirsts* ‘well-sweep, horizontal pole’, *žāklis* ‘well (y-type) pole’, as well as derivatives formed from these inherited items, for instance, *sētiena* ‘courtyard’, *lubiņa* ‘narrow fence board’, *apžogojums* ‘enclosure’, among

others (see Chapter 5.1.1). This subgroup contains the highest number of identified Curonisms, three in total, namely *žogs* ‘fence’, *sklanda* ‘split rail fence from wooden poles’, and pl. *rentiņi/rentīni/renštini* ‘well lining ring’. It is worth noting that the word *rentiņi* ‘well lining ring’, which is registered in southern Kurzeme, is now obsolete and no longer used in this meaning. The origin of the word *kāsis* ‘well hook’, recorded in Nīca and Šventoji-Būtingē, is unclear.

There are relatively few names of foreign origin in this subgroup. The group of Germanisms includes names such as *hove/howe* ‘courtyard’, *riķis* ‘wooden stick, a tree branch of which a fence is made’, *rosgartens* ‘stockyard; pasture-ground (for horses)’, and most likely also *vinda* ‘well-sweep’, borrowed directly from MLG *winde* (see Chapter 5.1.2.). Only one name related to the concept FENCE POST is of Lithuanian origin, namely *kuols* ‘fence post’, which is recorded in the Curonian Spit. The Finno-Ugric group is similarly represented by a single name – the polisemantic lexeme *mājas* ‘homestead’, which is recorded both in the Kurzeme seaside and in Šventoji-Būtingē. Although *mājas* ‘homestead’ is generally regarded as a Finno-Ugric borrowing in Latvian, within the Latvian-speaking community of Šventoji-Būtingē, it is considered to be an inherited name.

From a word formation perspective, this subgroup includes both primary lexemes and derivatives, with the latter primarily consisting of suffix derivatives (*sētiens /sētiēna* ‘courtyard’, *lubiņa* ‘narrow fence board’, *staklit* ‘post (for the fence or gate)’, *vars-teli/varstil/varstilēn* ‘wicket, wicket-gate’, *apžogojums* ‘fence (around something)’). Composite names, both compounds and word groups, are predominantly found in the Latvian language of the Kurzeme seaside (e.g., *sēt(s)vid(u)s* ‘courtyard’, *lielā sēta* || *dižais sētiens* ‘main courtyard’, *maģais sētiens* ‘utility courtyard’, *dēļu žogs/dēlišu žogs* ‘picket fence’, etc.), but is less common in the Curonian Spit (e.g., *latesêts/late sêts* ‘lath fence’).

Similar to concept names in other subgroups, compound words recorded in the Curonian Spit that consist of two distinct components of different origins are typically formed according to their semantic equivalents in German. For instance, *darzedur* ‘wicket-gate’ (Germ. *die Türchen im Gartenzaun*), *darzesêts* ‘fence around the garden, garden fence’ (Germ. *der Gartenzaun*), *kārtēsêts* ‘split rail fence from wooden poles’ (Germ. *der Stangenzaun*), *sêts’kuols* (Germ. *der Zaunpfahl*), etc. In contrast, in the Latvian-speaking community of the Kurzeme seaside, pairs of primary and compound names are often used in parallel with the same meaning (*laidars/laidēris* || *lauklaidars* ‘stockyard by the cattle-shed’) or to express a more specific nuance (for

instance, *aploks* ‘stockyard; pasture-ground’ : *cūkaploks* ‘stockyard for pigs by the cattle-shed’; *vārti* ‘gate’ : *gatuves vārti* ‘livestock gate’; *žogs* ‘fence’ : *žogmale* ‘edge of the fence; the nearest area by the fence’).

This group includes synonymous names that form pairs of a primary or derived name and a word group name, for example, *svirsts* || *akas svirsts* ‘well-sweep, horizontal pole’, *koki* || *akas koki* ‘well lining ring’, *grodi* || *akas grodi* ‘well lining ring’ in Kurzeme, but *lēntesēds* m. || *seta* f. ‘picket fence’ in the Curonian Spit.

### 5.3.2 Building types

The group consists of 20 concepts and 72 lexemes (see Chapter 4.2.). As a percentage, it is 14% of all concepts and 18% of all names.

From an etymological perspective, this subgroup contains both inherited and borrowed lexical items. The group of native origin includes inherited lexemes (e.g., *klēts/klēte* ‘granary’, *ēka* ‘building’, *namš* ‘building’, *pirts/pirte* ‘bathhouse’, *celtne* ‘building’, etc.) and derivatives formed from these inherited items (e.g., *nojume* ‘free standing or lean-to shed’, *bedrīte* ‘smokery, a pit in the ground’, *žāvētava* ‘smokery’, etc.), but no Curonisms were found within this subgroup.

However, borrowed names outnumber inherited ones, with the majority of lexical borrowings originating from Germanic languages. Most of these are adopted from German dialectal vocabulary, primarily Middle Low German (*būve* ‘building’, *stallis* ‘cattle shed; stables’, *ēbergis* ‘dwelling house; extension’, *šķūnis/skūns* ‘shed’, *porūzis* ‘toilet; veranda’); several items originate from Low German, such as *šūre* ‘shed’, *šītūžs* ‘toilet’, *vāgūzis* ‘coach-house’, *ķelleris/ķeldere* ‘cellar’, possibly also *būda* ‘hut for drying fishing nets’, and only one lexical item, *kūts* ‘cattle shed’, is of Middle High German origin. A few exceptions come from Modern German, including *veranda* ‘veranda’, *išķelirs* ‘ice cellar’, *ķembriķens* ‘toilet’, and possibly *prang* ‘veranda’, assuming nominalization. Lexemes of Germanic origin referring to buildings are more or less equally widespread along both the Kurzeme coast and the Curonian Spit (see Chapter 5.1.2.1 on Germanisms).

Contacts with the Lithuanian-speaking community are evident in the names of building types, which are particularly characteristic and common in the Curonian Spit. Examples include *budavāns* ‘building’, *rūse* ‘cellar’, *buts* ‘dwelling house’, *rukūžs* ‘smokery, a pit in the ground’. Some examples are also found in the Lithuanian border area of Latvia, namely in Šventoji-Būtingė (*buts* ‘dwelling house’) and

the southern part of the Kurzeme coast (*stāģene/stāģins* ‘shed’, *rūkūzis* ‘smokery, a pit in the ground’). Lexemes that entered the folk architecture vocabulary through Lithuanian as an intermediary language, but originated in another language, are classified as Lithuanianisms; in this subgroup, such examples include *budavāns* ‘building’ and *rukūžs/rūkūzis* ‘smokery, a pit in the ground’.

Foreign-origin names in this group also consist of Slavisms and Finno-Ugrisms. In this subgroup, among all the concepts, only four have names that belong to Slavisms (BATHHOUSE: *baņa*, CELLAR: *pagrabs*, DOGHOUSE: *būda*, HUT: *būda*). Most of these are recorded in Kurzeme, with only *būda* ‘hut’ recorded in the Curoonian Spit. It was likely brought from regions from which the New Curonians migrated to the Curonian Spit, although an alternative explanation is that it may have been borrowed directly through Low German, where it was widely used in Prussia. Similarly, only three names across three concepts belong to the group of Finno-Ugrisms (BUILDING: *māja*, DWELLING HOUSE: *māja*, DRYING-HOUSE: *rija*). The distribution of these terms primarily points to the central and southern parts of the Kurzeme coast as well as Šventoji-Būtingė. It is worth noting that the word *māja*, meaning ‘dwelling house’, is also recorded in the Latvian spoken in the suburb of Klaipēda *Bommels-Vitte* and Melnragė, but not in the Curonian Spit.

From a word formation perspective, although the number of derived names in this thematic group is modest, they can be categorized into three types: 1) prefix derivatives (*paklēte* ‘space under the granary’, *piedarbs* || *pīpirte* ‘anteroom of the bath’; *piebūve* ‘extension’), 2) suffix derivatives (*celtne* ‘building’, *mājele* || *mājēna* || *namelis* ‘small-farmer’s dwelling house’, *namil(O)* ‘small house; hut’, *dzievuokils* ‘dwelling house; homestead’ (Latv. *dzīvoklis*), *kūpinātava* ‘smokery, a pit in the ground’, etc.), and 3) words formed by attaching a derivational morpheme at the end (*pirts* ‘bath-house’, *ateja* ‘toilet’).

Composite names are not widespread in this subgroup; however, those found in the Curonian Spit, as in other groups, tend to follow the pattern of their German semantic equivalents (e.g., *īšķelirs* ‘ice cellar’ < Germ. *der Eiskeller*, *sune būde* ‘dog house’ < Germ. *die Hundehütte*, *viene saime dzievuokils* ‘family house, private house’ < Germ. *das Einfamilienhaus*, *priešnam* ‘dwelling house facing the street, foreyard’ < Germ. *das Vorderhouse*).

More than half of the concepts have synonyms, each with two or more names. These synonyms may originate from native or foreign sources (e.g., *pirts/pirte* || *baņa* ‘bathhouse’), reflect different foreign origins (e.g., *ķelderis/ķelleris* || *pagrabs* ‘cellar’),

or include derived forms alongside previously mentioned (e.g., *būve* || *celtne* || *ēka* || *māja* || *nams* || *budavāns* || *taisijume* || *uoastaisētums* || *uoazbudevatum* ‘building’ or *ēberģis* || *piebūve* || *piebudavatums* ‘extension’). A greater variety of synonyms within this subgroup is observed in both Kurzeme and the Curonian Spit (see Chapter 5.4.2.).

### 5.3.3 Room types

The group consists of 18 concepts and 63 lexemes (see Chapter 4.3.). As a percentage, it is 13% of all concepts and 16% of all names.

From an etymological perspective, this group includes both inherited and borrowed lexemes, with a slightly higher number of native-origin terms and their derivatives compared to borrowed items. The first group includes one Curonism (*danga* ‘chamber’) and other inherited names, such as *nams* ‘corridor’, *klēte* ‘storeroom’, *telpa* ‘room’, *augša* ‘attic’, among others. The group of borrowed names includes Germanisms, Lithuanianisms, and only one Slavism (*kukņa* ‘kitchen’, recorded in Kurzeme, is directly borrowed from Russian). Germanisms have been recorded for five concepts (ATTIC, CORRIDOR, KITCHEN, ROOM, and STOREROOM). Most of these names of Germanic origin are related to dialectal German vocabulary, particularly Middle Low German (*ķēķis/ķēķe* ‘kitchen’, *rūme* ‘room’, *forūzis* ‘small storeroom’, *kambaris/kamburs/kammars* ‘storeroom’) or Middle High German (*bēniņi* ‘attic’), and are therefore considered part of the oldest layer of German borrowings. However, there are a few exceptions originating from Modern German, such as *hale* ‘(large) room’ and *gaņģis* ‘corridor’.

A small number of names, five in total, representing three concepts, originate from the Lithuanian language. Three of these are recorded in the southern part of the Kurzeme seaside (*virtuve* ‘kitchen’, *gūrba* || *gards/gārda* ‘cote’), while two are found in the Curonian Spit. The first, *kukne/kukine* ‘kitchen’, likely entered via Lithuanian as an intermediary language. The second, *pažobilis* ‘room in the attic’, is possibly related to Lith. *pažiūoburis*, *pažobrė*, meaning ‘the inner corner of a roof’. However, considering the uncertainty surrounding the latter example, in this research, it is classified among the items of unclear origin.

In this subgroup, concept names that are etymological hybrids, i.e., composed of two distinct components of different origins, are recorded, for example, *stallaugša* ‘attic in the barn’ – *stallis* ‘cattle-shed; stable’ < MLG *stal*(or *-ll-*) + *augša* ‘top; upper part’; *bēniņviers* ‘attic’ – *bēniņi* ‘attic’ < MLG *böninge* + *virsa* ‘top’; *plīcistab*

‘kitchen’ – *plīts* (cookin-)stove < BG *die Pliete* + *istaba* ‘room’ or ‘dwelling house’ < OR *устѣба*; *pieliekamais kambaris* ‘storeroom’ – *pieliekamais* ‘storeroom’ + *kambaris* ‘room; storeroom’ < MLG *kamer*; *antkamburs* ‘(opposite) storeroom’ – Lith. *ant* ‘on, upon, towards’ + *kambaris/kamburs* ‘storeroom’ < MLG *kamer*, as well as those formed from borrowed lexical items and a Latvian derivational suffix, such as *iztubēns* ‘attic; attic room’; *istubīna/istabiņa* ‘room in the threshing barn for drying (flax, cereals)’; *gaņģītis* ‘small storeroom’.

From a word formation perspective, this subgroup includes various types of names. First, there are primary and derived words. Second, derived words are formed mainly with prefixes (e.g., *aizdurve* ‘space behind the door (in a house)’, *piedarbs* || *pīpirte* ‘anteroom of the bath’, *parovis/-e* ‘space/room under the spark guard in the kitchen (under the mantle-vault-like chimney)’, *pretistuba* ‘opposite (living) room, chamber’, etc.) and suffixes (e.g., *augstiene* ‘attic’, *aizgaldiņš* ‘cote in the open air’, *namīns* ‘kitchen’, etc.). Third, there are composite names, both compounds (for example, *pretistuba* || *meitistuba* ‘opposite (living) room’, *duôrdang(a)* ‘place/room behind the door’, *priekšnams* ‘entryway’) and word groups (for instance, *âugštavējis istubas* || *augstiene kambure* ‘attic room’, *dižā istaba* ‘main living room’, *garais nams* || *vēja nams* ‘corridor’), although these are relatively few.

This subgroup also includes synonym pairs or rows for various concepts, consisting of inherited, borrowed, derived, or composite names in any combination (see Chapter 5.4.2.). The vast majority of these synonym pairs or rows are semantically identical (for instance, *piedarbs* || *pīpirte* ‘anteroom of the bath’, *augstiene/augša/augšiene* || *bēniņi/bēniņģe* ‘attic’), though in some cases they exhibit nuances or more specific meanings (*aizgalds* ‘cote’ : *aizgaldiņš* ‘cote in the open air’, *kambaris/kamburs/kammars/kammers* ‘storeroom’ : *antkamburs* ‘(opposite) storeroom’ : *forūzis* ‘small storeroom’).

### 5.3.4 Construction materials and products

The group consists of 23 concepts and 44 lexemes (see Chapter 4.4.). As a percentage, it is 17% of all concepts and 11% of all names.

From an etymological perspective, this group includes both inherited and borrowed names. Inherited names are found for 10 of the concepts (for instance, *akmens/akmins* ‘stone’, *luba* ‘bast, plank, shelf’, *niedre* ‘reed, cane’, *salmi* ‘straw’, *māls* ‘clay’, etc. (see Chapter 5.1.1.). Among the inherited names, there is also one Curonism, *sklanda* ‘pole’, and it is recorded in southern Kurzeme (Bārt, Nīca).

In contrast, the majority of borrowed names are of Germanic origin, comprising 14 concepts. They are equally represented in both the Latvian varieties spoken along the Kurzeme seaside (e.g., *dēlis/dēle* ‘board’, *drīve* ‘caulker’s oakum’, *glāze/glāzs* ‘glass’, *kņute* ‘pole’) and in the Curonian Spit (e.g., *planka* ‘thick board, plank’, *glase/glass* ‘glass’, *klīstirs* || *līms* ‘glue’, *līste* ‘lath, ledge’, *bāļks/balks* ‘log’). The primary sources of these borrowings are German dialectal vocabularies—mainly Middle Low German, to a lesser extent Low German, and, in several cases, also Modern German (see Chapter 5.1.2.).

Following these are names borrowed from Lithuanian, including those borrowed from Lithuanian as an intermediary language. These names are mainly found in the territorial varieties of the Latvian language in southern Kurzeme (*ķimini* ‘moss’, *spīla* ‘reed’, *šālmene* ‘(to the rafters attached) pole’) and the Curonian Spit (*lenta* ‘board’, *truše* ‘reed’, *ķimines* ‘moss’). Of all the loanwords found in the excerpted material, those of Slavic origin are the least numerous within this subgroup. They are recorded only in Kurzeme (*burlaks/būrlaks* ‘clay brick’, *stikls* ‘glass’, *krāsa* ‘paint’, and *vica* ‘thin, elastic branch’).

From a word formation perspective, some are suffixal derivatives (e.g., *dēlīte(-is)* ‘wooden board for roofing’), while others are formed with the word-final affixes (e.g., *luba* ‘peeled bark; small wooden board for roofing’, *pakula* ‘caulker’s oakum’, *drīve* ‘caulker’s oakum’). Only one of the names is a compound (*priedelēnt(e)* ‘pine timber board’), which is formed following its semantic equivalent in German (Germ. *das Kiefern Brett*). Part of the primary words in the folk architecture thematic group appear as components in composite names for concepts within other thematic subgroups. For more information, proceed to the descriptions of the other thematic subgroups (Chapter 4).

Among all the 23 concepts, 13 have synonyms, which either have semantically identical meanings (for instance, *drīve* || *pakulas* ‘caulker’s oakum’, *glāze* || *stikls* ‘glass’, *pērve/vērve/fērvs* || *krāsa* ‘paint’), or meanings with nuances (for example, *dēlis/dēle* ‘board’ : *planka* ‘thick board or plank’, *kārts/kārte* ‘pole’ : *šālmene* ‘to the rafters attached pole on the thatched roof’, *ķieģelis/stieģelis* ‘brick’ : *burlaks/būrlaks* ‘clay brick’). These synonym pairs include both inherited–borrowed and borrowed–borrowed combinations. Some pairs consist of components from the same etymological group, such as Germanisms or Lithuanianisms (for example, the concept GLUE: *klisteris* ‘glue’ : *līms/līme* ‘glue’ or the concept REED: *spīla/spīle* ‘reed’ : *truše* ‘reed’). Other pairs combine borrowings from different origins (for instance, the concept BOARD: *dēlis/dēle* ‘board’ : *lenta/lente* ‘board’ or the concept GLASS: *glāze/glāzs* ‘glass’ : *stikls* ‘glass’).

### 5.3.5 Constructions

The group consists of 47 concepts and 131 lexemes (see Chapter 4.5.). As a percentage, it is 34% of all concepts and 33% of all names.

This group is not only the largest in terms of numbers, but also the most diverse in many ways. From an etymological perspective, inherited names are recorded for 19 concepts. The inherited lexical layer contains words, for instance, *atslēga/atslēgs* ‘door lock’, *logs* ‘window’, *griesti* ‘ceiling’, *siena/siene* ‘wall’, *pamats* ‘foundation’, *durvis* and var. ‘door’, *dzieds/dziedrs/zieds* ‘joist, ceiling beam’, *dzied /dziedrs/zieds* ‘joist, ceiling beam’, *sija* ‘joist, (ceiling) beam’, *āži* ‘crossed ends of (gable) bargeboards (carved in the shape of the he-goat head)’ and others, which are relatively as many in this subgroup as in others, comparing the proportion of concepts and lexemes.

The biggest group consists of loanwords or etymological hybrids. These loanwords reflect the strong influence of Germanic languages both in Kurzeme and the Curonian Spit. Most of the Germanisms in Kurzeme originate from dialectal German, primarily Middle Low German (e.g., *slēgis* ‘shutter’ (but probably < BG *die Schläge* ‘shutter’), *spāre* ‘rafter’, *mūris* ‘masonry’, *eņģe* ‘hinge’, *klambari* ‘cross-arranged wooden elements on the roof ridge’, etc.) or Modern German (e.g., *fusliste* ‘skirting board’, *fūga* ‘brick masonry (bed or head) joint, masonry joint’, *pudramente* ‘foundation’, etc.). Fewer examples are taken from Low German (e.g., *driķeris* ‘door handle’, *kramps* ‘hook’, probably also *rūte* ‘window-pane’). Similarly, in the Curonian Spit, many construction names are of Germanic origin (for instance, *lūke/lūk/luke* ‘trapdoor’, *trepe/trep* ‘step’, step’, *litirē šprucs* ‘stave’, *finsterlāde* ‘shutter’, *spare* ‘rafter’, *lītirs* ‘ladder’, *trepe||trep* ‘ladder’, or *taps* ‘window hook’).

There are also Lithuanianisms that entered the thematic vocabulary through direct contact, such as *lipinis* ‘threshold’, *spīna* ‘(door) padlock’ in Kurzeme, *pīķis* ‘carved gable finial’, *lēķis* ‘carved, crossed ends of (gable) bargeboards’ in Šventoji-Būtingė, while in the Curonian Spit, *laņģinīčas* ‘shutter’, *spīns* ‘(door) padlock’, *raņķins* ‘door handle’ (see Chapter 5.1.2.).

Etymological hybrids, names composed of two components, each of which may be either inherited or borrowed, are widespread in the Curonian Spit. This phenomenon can be attributed to the significant impact of the German language on the region’s architectural, economic, and linguistic environments. These hybrids are formed both as compounds and as word groups, based on their semantic equivalents in German. For instance, *luo-gerāms* m. ‘window-frame’ (Germ. *Fensterrahmen*) – *logs* ‘window’ + *rāmis* ‘frame’ < Germ.



*der Rahmen* < MLG *rame* ‘frame’ or Germ. *der Rahm*; *gèville lènte* ‘windboard’ (Germ. *die Giebelbretter*) – *gèville/gēvele* ‘gable’ < MLG *gēvel* + *lenta* ‘board’ < Lith. *lenta* ‘board; *stāge štuoals* ‘roof chair structure’ (Germ. *der Dachstuhl*) – *stāgs* ‘roof’ < Lith. *stogas* + *štuoals* ‘chair’ < Germ. *der Stuhl*; *salme stāgs* ‘thatched roof’ (Germ. *das Strohdach*) – *salmi* ‘straw’ + *stāgs* ‘roof’ < Lith. *stogas*; *durespins* f. ‘(door) padlock’ (Germ. *das Türschloß*) – dial. *dure* ‘door’ + *spīns/spīna* ‘(door) padlock’ < Lith. *spyna*, among others. It is also noteworthy that this type of naming is extensively documented in Pietsch’s works, reflecting his Germanized approach to naming concepts. A similar example can be found in Kurzeme, such as (*kāi(u)dēle* ‘skirting board’ – Germ. *die Fußleiste*), though it’s rather an exception than a common way of creating new names. The example *pīgrindis* ‘threshold’ from Rucava also illustrates an etymological hybrid, formed by the Latv. subdialectal prefix *pī-* (pie-) combined with the Lith. *grindis* ‘floorboard; wooden floor’.

In this subgroup, there are no Slavisms; however, as a possible Finno-Ugrism might be *paloda* ‘lintel’ and, probably also, *redele* ‘ladder’. The first example is registered near Alsunga, which lies close to a region in northern Kurzeme known for its historical contacts with Baltic Finns, particularly the Livs. Therefore, this etymological explanation may be plausible. As for the second example, *redele* is classified as a possible Finno-Ugrism in this research.

One lexeme has an unclear origin (*frankšpīžs* ‘(gabled) dormer window’), and it is only registered in one data source on the Curonian Spit.

The majority of concepts (30 out of 47) have synonymous names. These synonym pairs or groups consist of inherited, borrowed, or etymologically hybrid elements. They may include components from the same or different etymological sources and can represent both primary, derived, and composite names. For example, *rāmis/luoagerāms* m. ‘window-frame’, *spīns/durespins* ‘(door) padlock’, *spare/stāge spars* ‘rafter’ or *āži* || *zirgs/zirge gal’s* ‘crossed ends of (gable) bargeboards (carved in the shape of the horse head)’, *klambari* || *tupele/tupelīte* ‘cross-arranged wooden elements on the roof ridge’, *cemme* || *cemba* ‘clamp’, *driķeris/driķerts* || *kliņķis* || *kliņģis* || *ranķins* || *rokturis* ‘door handle’, *gēvele/gēvil* || *gībelis* ‘gable’, *trepes* || *lītirs* || *redele* ‘ladder’, *stāgs* || *jumts* ‘roof’, among others (see Chapter 5.4.2.). The large number and etymological diversity of synonyms within this subgroup suggest that these objects were widely known and commonly used. This also reflects the intensity of language contact, particularly in the borrowing and adaptation of lexical elements from other languages into Latvian, most notably in the naming of construction-related concepts, when compared to other thematic subgroups.

### 5.3.6 Heating and lighting appliances

The group consists of 14 concepts and 28 names (see Chapter 4.6.). As a percentage, it is 10% of all concepts and 6% of all names.

From an etymological perspective, this subgroup has a higher proportion of borrowed lexical items than names that are inherited or derived from inherited ones. The latter group includes lexemes such as *krāsns* ‘stove; bread oven’, *ceplis* ‘bread oven’, *siena* ‘heating wall’, and *pavards* ‘hearth’, representing 4 concepts. The borrowed names in this subgroup are Germanisms, and no other groups of borrowings have been identified. The Germanism group consists of 9 concepts and 10 names in total. One group of Germanisms belongs to the more recent layer of borrowings (e.g., *mašīns/mašīne* ‘cooking stove’, *cuka/cuke* ‘flue’, *bakōve* ‘oven (for baking)’, *ieris*, *ierītis*, *riere* ‘recess in the wall of a stove’, and *šiberis* ‘slide’). These names are recorded in Kurzeme, except for the names *bakōve* ‘oven (for baking)’ and *mašīns/mašīne* ‘cooking stove’, which are registered in the Curonian Spit. Another group of Germanisms is related to Baltic German (*plīts* ‘cooking stove’, *spelte* ‘opening in the stove for smoke to escape; bread oven’), and the names for these 3 concepts are recorded in the central and southern coastal regions of Kurzeme. Only two names originate from Middle Low German (*mūris* ‘heating wall’ in Šventoji–Būtingė and *rovis* ‘spark catcher’ in southern Kurzeme).

From a word formation perspective, there are also a few derived names, mainly formed by adding suffixes or derivational morphemes at the end, such as *ceplis* ‘bread oven’, *krāsne* ‘bread oven’, *rūķis* ‘stationary lighting equipment in the niche’, and *siena* ‘heating wall’. Notably, composite names, both compounds and word groups, recorded in the Curonian Spit are often formed following their semantic equivalents in German (*krāsine ruoars* ‘flue’ – Germ. *das Ofenrohr*, *podu krāsne/puodekrāsins* ‘tile stove’ – Germ. *der Kachelofen*, also *kukinmašīns* ‘cooking stove’ – Germ. *die Kochenmaschine*), two of which are etymological hybrids (*krāsne/krāsine ruoars* ‘flue’ and *kukinmašīns* ‘cooking stove’).

It is worth noting that within this subgroup, only three concepts have been documented in Šventoji–Būtingė: *cuka* ‘flue’, *krāsne* ‘stove’, and *mūris* || *siena* ‘heating wall’. All of these terms are also found in other territorial varieties of Latvian spoken along the Kurzeme seaside.

In total, 6 out of the 14 concepts have synonyms. Composite names are used alongside primary or derived words that express the same concept, such as *mašīns/mašīne* || *kukinmašīns* || *plīts* ‘cooking stove’, *maizes ceplis* || *ceplis* || *maizes krāsns* || *krāsne* || *spelte* ‘bread oven’, *cuka/cuke* || *dūmvads* || *krāsine ruoars* ‘flue’, *mūris* || *siltais mūris* ||

*mūrītis* || *siena* ‘heating wall’, *krāsn(s)priekša* || *krāsns mute* ‘mouth of a stove’, and *bakōve* ‘stove; oven (for baking)’ || *cepeškrāsns/cepeškrāsne* ‘oven (for baking)’.

## 5.4. SEMANTIC PERSPECTIVE

This chapter outlines key semantic tendencies found in the analyzed folk architecture vocabulary (see Chapter 4), highlighting differences, commonalities, and several aspects of phenomena such as polysemy, synonymy, and regional meanings. It aims to clarify factors behind these semantic phenomena and the richness and flexibility of folk architecture vocabulary.

### 5.4.1. Broadening, narrowing, and change of meaning

From a semantic perspective, the excerpted material reveals several phenomena that should be highlighted. These include changes in meaning, broadening and narrowing of meaning, semantic transfer, as well as variations in meaning across different research areas. A brief explanation of characteristic examples is provided below.

Despite the assumption that the meanings of polysemous lexemes are identical throughout the entire study area, research has shown this to be inaccurate. To illustrate, the lexeme *māja* is registered over a relatively wide area: the Kurzeme seaside from Užava to Pape, the Lithuanian-Latvian border area (Šventoji-Būtingė), and the suburbs of Klaipėda *Bommels-Vitte*, and Melnragė. The excerpted material shows that *māja* was originally used with a broader meaning. In Nīca, Bārta, it has been recorded with the meaning of ‘homeland’ and as an adverb meaning ‘at home’ (JLV: 150 (76a)). Along the Kurzeme coast, *māja* denotes a set of buildings or a homestead, possibly also a building without specifying its function (in Užava). As a result of semantic changes, *māja* has been used in parallel with other lexemes, denoting a dwelling house within a homestead or, more broadly, any building with a residential function (as in the case in Nīca). However, in Šventoji, both the plural form *mājas* ‘homestead, farmers’ homestead’ and the singular *māja* ‘dwelling house’ have been documented. In parallel with these lexemes, *namš* or *namelis*, meaning ‘small-farmer’s dwelling house’, have also been documented with a differentiated meaning. While in the Curonian Spit, particularly in New Curonian, *māja* with the meaning ‘dwelling house’ has not been recorded; it appears with this meaning in the vicinity of the Curonian Lagoon, in the Klaipėda suburbs of *Bommels-Vitte* and Melnragė, during the second half of the 19th century. Supposedly,

at the time when the New Curonians migrated from their place of origin (approximately the 16th–17th centuries), *māja* was not yet used with the meaning ‘dwelling house’ in the dialects of Kurzeme, particularly among the social group from which the New Curonians originated. Instead, it was rather used in the plural form *mājas* as an adverb meaning ‘at home’. Finally, throughout the research area, *māja* has come to be used alongside other lexemes with the meaning ‘dwelling house’ through the semantic change from ‘birthplace, homeland’ → ‘housing (general)’ → ‘building (housing)’. This semantic narrowing reflects a broader linguistic tendency toward greater specificity when naming everyday elements of material culture.

Another example is the lexeme *nams*, which is prevalent throughout the research area. Four meanings of the lexeme *nams* can be identified in the excerpted material: 1) ‘hearth, kitchen with a fireplace chimney’ in the Curonian Spit and Šventoji-Būtingė, 2) ‘entryway’ in Kurzeme, 3) ‘hallway, corridor’ in the Curonian Spit, and 4) ‘dwelling house’ in all three local areas. The meaning ‘dwelling house’ is identical across the Latvian-speaking communities, despite the fact that this name can refer to a dwelling house of any stage of its development. Across the entire research area, the meaning of *nams* has changed from ‘hearth’ → ‘room (shelter, housing)’ → ‘residential house’ → ‘building in general’, thus reflecting a semantic broadening (it has become more general). However, this change may have led to the loss of its original meanings, such as ‘summer kitchen’ or ‘hut (made of poles put upright)’, which likely described dwelling types common in earlier periods.

Also, the lexeme *sēta* refers not only to the area where buildings are grouped, the homestead itself, but to all the buildings and land that form the homestead. Thus, its meaning has broadened (‘fence’ → ‘fenced area, courtyard’ → ‘fenced complex of buildings, homestead’). Although *sēta* is polysemous in Latvian, in New Curonian the word *sēta* and its morphological variant *sēts* are found only with the meaning ‘fence’. In Kurzeme, however, the excerpted material shows both meanings ‘fence’ and ‘courtyard’. From a semantic perspective, in Kurzeme, a specific type of courtyard is denoted by a group of words. The independent component is *sēta* ‘courtyard’ or the derivative *sētiens* with the same meaning, while the dependent component specifies the type of courtyard. For example, the dependent adj. *liels* ‘big’ or the dial. *dižs* ‘big, great’ denotes the main courtyard, whereas *mazs* ‘small’ or the dial. *maģs* ‘small’ refers to the utility courtyard. These adjectives can indicate either the physical size of the courtyard or its significance or importance, with the main courtyard representing the homestead as opposed to the utility courtyard.

It is clear that such semantic changes are influenced by several factors. First, they are shaped by the speakers' own vocabulary, as people tend to use language that names objects and concepts close and familiar to them. Second, they are influenced by extra-linguistic circumstances. For example, when new objects require naming, foreign language lexical items are often adopted. This process can also affect existing names, with native lexemes being replaced by foreign ones that carry the same meaning, or one name of foreign origin being changed for another name or form, for instance, *krāsa* – *pērve/vērve* 'paint', *glāze* – *stikls* 'glass', *klīstirs* – *līms* 'glue', *ģēvele* – *ģībelis* 'gable', among others.

Examples of the transfer can be seen in the names *caurdure* 'corridor' in Nīca and (*cūke*) *abirs* 'cote, pig-pen' in the Curonian Spit. The archaic word *caurduru* (Gen.) is registered with the meaning 'a one or something that can be locked from both sides (referring to keys)', for example, *caurslēdzama atslēga* (LLVVe). Thus, the use of *caurdure* in Nīca to mean 'corridor' illustrates a semantic transfer from the original concept of lockable doors to a room associated with such doors (lockable doors → a room with such doors)<sup>270</sup>. Other objects, such as *āži* 'crossed ends of (gable) bargeboards (carved in the shape of the he-goat head)', *zirgs* || *zirge gal's* 'crossed ends of (gable) bargeboards (carved in the shape of the horse head)', *pīķis* 'carved gable finial', *tupele* / *tupelīte* 'cross-arranged wooden element on the roof ridge', *stāge štuovals* 'roof chair structure', are named based on visual similarity.

The varying meanings of lexical items across different locations come from the different functions or appearances of objects in a particular area. By far the best examples to illustrate this are the words *stallis*–*laidars* and *klēts*.

The excerpted material includes several names for the concept of a cattle-shed – *laidars*, *kūts*, *stallis*, and their variants, all of which are polysemous. The Germanic word, which denotes a cattle-shed, namely *stallis* and its variants, appears in the language of all three analyzed local areas. However, although originating from Middle Low German *stal*(-ll), the lexeme is adapted differently across these areas. In the subdialects of Kurzeme seaside, *stallis* and morphological variants like *stalle*, *stells*, *stals* are registered. Similarly, in the Latvian language of Šventoji-Būtingė, *stallis* and its diminutive *stallelis* (formed with the productive suffix -el-) is found to denote

<sup>270</sup> Similarly, in the excerpt, the word group (*cūke*) *abirs* 'cote, pig-pen' is formed from *cūka* 'pig' and the Kursen. word *abir* 'kneading dough' (MogN: 235, cf. *abra*. KuV: 47). The name's semantic motivation is based on the place where pigs were fed using an elongated, rather large bowl; thus, it reflects a semantic transfer (a feeding bowl → a place where pigs are kept for feeding).

a cattle-shed or a small shed used for keeping cattle or other domestic animals. The situation differs on the Curonian Spit. Several sources (KuV, MogN) show the authentic word *stallis*, which is considered to be inherited from the Latvian language in Kurzeme. A semantic comparison reveals that, in Kurzeme, *stallis* typically refers to a larger cattle-shed compared to *laidars*, whereas in the Curonian Spit, *laidars* denotes a smaller cattle-shed that may also house other domestic animals. In Kurzeme, *stallis* and its variants mainly refer to horse stables, but in the southern subdialects of Kurzeme seaside and on the Curonian Spit, the name is more generally used for buildings intended to keep various animals (cows, horses, pigs, chickens, and other animals, if there were any).

As for the example of the lexeme *klēts*, which refers to a granary as a building, the primary word *klēts* and its variant *klēte*, are registered in all three analyzed areas. In the Latvian language of central and southern Kurzeme seaside, the dialect word *klēte* is common, along with derivatives such as *klētele* ‘small and modest granary’ and *paklēte* ‘space under the granary’, though they do not carry the same meaning.

In the Latvian language of Šventoji–Būtingė, it is important to distinguish between the primary word *klēte* and the derivative *klētele*, as there is a semantic nuance. The word *klēte* denotes a granary belonging to a wealthier master of a homestead, while *klētele* refers to a granary in the homestead of a landless peasant. In the Curonian Spit, only one example has been found where *klēts* refers to a granary in the meaning of ‘a small building for storage (of various items)’ (VLS), making it rather an exception. The numerous examples of the name *klēte* clearly show that in the Curonian Spit it is used to denote a ‘storeroom’ (in German it is explained by *die Klete* (*Vorratskammer*), *die Klete* (*Kammer in der Scheune*), *die Klete* (*Raum im Stall*), or *die Vorratskammer*. In New Curonian, the word *klēte* is more likely an inherited word; however, in the excerpted material, the morphological variant *klēte*<sup>271</sup> with the meaning ‘storeroom’ does not appear in the subdialects of Latvian in the territory of Latvia. Therefore, according to the explanation given in German and its semantic use, it seems more likely that the meaning of *klēte* as ‘storeroom’ in the Curonian Spit is semantically influenced by Lithuanian or German, rather than Latvian.

<sup>271</sup> In New Curonian, i-stem words are moved to the ē-stem group, for example, *ave*, *sirde*, *gove*; therefore, they are also declined as ē-stem words (KuV: 21).

### 5.4.2. Synonyms

Relatively often, two or more lexemes for the same concept were found within the analyzed thematic vocabulary. This phenomenon can be observed in the lexical system of one territorial variety of the Latvian language, where there are lexical parallelisms or synonyms<sup>272</sup> for the same concept, for instance, *būve* || *ēka* ‘building’ in Kurzeme (Nīca, Bārta), *kūts* || *laidars* || *stallis* ‘cattle-shed’ in Kurzeme (Saka), *lipinis* || *pīgrindis* ‘threshold’ in Kurzeme (Rucava), or *nams* || *viene saime dzievuoklis* ‘dwelling house’ in the Curonian Spit. However, in most cases, synonyms for the same concept also exist within other analyzed territorial varieties of the Latvian language. Of all the concepts, 63 had synonyms, which were found in all thematic subgroups.

The list below presents the synonyms identified within each group, accompanied by an explanation of the possible contexts or factors contributing to their occurrence:

1. Within the thematic group of concepts related to the homestead and its courtyard, 10 concepts show synonyms. These synonymous names largely reflect regional variation and are based on the principle of lexical selection. This includes the derivation of primary words, the formation of compound names, or the use of word groups to create new lexical items (*hove* || *pagalms* || *sēta* || *sētšvidus* || *sētiens/sētiēna* ‘courtyard’, *lielā sēta* || *dīžais sētiens* ‘main courtyard’, *apžogojums* ‘enclosure’ || *darzs* ‘enclosure; fenced garden; fence around a garden’ || *laidera žogs* ‘fence around the pasture’, *sēta* || *žogs* || *žodziņš* ‘fence’, *lakt(u) žogs* || *pīts žogs* || *(sp)riķu žogs* ‘wattle fence’, *kuols* || *sēt(a)skuols* ‘fence post’, *duoars* || *vārsteles* || *vārti* ‘gate’, *gatuves vārti* || *pavārtiņš* ‘livestock gate’, *mājas* || *sēta* ‘homestead’, *laidars/laidēris* || *lauklaidars* || *darzs* || *ros-gartens* || *lop(u)sēt(a)* ‘stockyard by the cattle-shed’, *koki* || *akas koki* || *gro-di* || *akas grodi* || *rentiņi* || *akas vīers* ‘well lining ring’, *svirsts* || *akas svirsts* || *vinda/vinde* ‘well-sweep, horizontal pole’, *darzedur* || *varsteli* ‘wicket’. The names registered in the Curonian Spit, in particular, reveal the influence of bilingualism and the German language. In these cases, compound names

<sup>272</sup> In simple terms, a synonym is a set of two or more words that share the same or a similar meaning (VPSV). However, they are not necessarily mutually equivalent in all contexts. This is particularly evident when the words that denote the same concept carry additional time or place components. These words may have originated at different times or belong to different dialects or the literary language; therefore, they are not entirely synonymous. This topic is discussed by Latvian linguist Reķēna (1975: 596–608), who highlights the use of the term *lexical parallelisms* or *parallel names* instead of synonyms.

are formed using both inherited and borrowed components (the first item in each synonym row below is recorded in the Curonian Spit): *sēt(a)skuo-als* || *stabs* || *kuols* || *stakle/staklit*<sup>e</sup> ‘post or stake (for the fence)’, *rosgartens* || *aploks* || *dārzs* || *lop sēt* ‘stockyard; pasture-ground’, *darzedur* || *varsteli/vars-til/varstilēn* ‘wicket-gate’).

2. The synonyms within the subgroup *Building Types* often reflect borrowings from various languages introduced at different historical periods. Bilingualism and multilingualism have also led to the emergence of synonyms alongside those of inherited origin; however, contact with other ethnic groups stands out as the most influential factor. It is natural for the names of identical concepts to vary in the context of regular contact and communication, particularly in everyday language use. The most significant influence on synonyms and their components within this subgroup comes from Germanic languages. In the Curonian Spit, there is also evidence of Lithuanian influence, arising from direct contact with Lithuanian-speaking communities. This subgroup includes synonyms for 12 concepts: *pirts/pirte* || *baņa* ‘bathhouse’, *būve* || *celtne* || *ēka* || *māja* || *nams* || *budavāns* || *taisijume* || *uoastaisetums* || *uoazbudevatum* ‘building’, *laidars* || *kūts* || *stallis/staldis* ‘cattle-shed’, *ķelderis/ķēlleris* || *pagrabs* ‘cellar’, *būda* || *sune būde* ‘doghouse’, *buts* || *viene saime dzievuokils* || *ēberģis* || *istaba/istuba/istabīna* || *istubas ēka* || *māja* || *nams* ‘dwelling house’, *ēberģis* || *piebudavatums* || *piebūve* ‘extension’, *būda/būde/būd* || *šūre* ‘hut’, *skūns* || *stāģene* || *šķūnis* || *šūre /šūrs* || *vāgūzis* ‘shed’, *kūpinātava* || *bedre* || *bedrīte* || *rukūžs* || *žāvētava* ‘smokery, a pit in the ground’ || *rukūže muce* ‘barrel-type smokery’, *ateja* || *ķembriķens* || *porūzis* || *mazmājiņa* || *šītūžs* ‘toilet’, *porūzis* || *prang(O)* || *priekšas nams* || *veranda/varand* ‘veranda’.
3. Within the *Room Types* thematic subgroup, the identified synonyms are composite names, derivatives, and primary names of various origins. Composite name synonyms often include both inherited and borrowed components. As observed in the previously discussed subgroup, German has had a significant influence on these lexical formations, both through sustained language contact and the effects of bilingualism, particularly in the Curonian Spit. This subgroup contains synonyms for 12 concepts: *piedarbs* || *pīpirtē* ‘anteroom of the bath’, *augstiene* || *augša* || *augšiene* || *bēniņi/bēniņģe* || *istabaugša/istabas aukša* || *istabviens* ‘attic’, *augstiene kambure* || *āugštavējis istubas* || *iztubēns* || *pažobilis* ‘room in the attic’, *caurdure* || *gaņģis* || *nams* || *garais nams* || *vēja nams* ‘corri-



dor', *aizgalds* || *gards* / *gārda* || *aizgārda* / *aizgārda* || *gūrba* 'cote', *nams* || *priekš-nams* / *priekšas nams* 'entryway', *kukne* / *kukine* / *kukņa* / *kukniņ* || *ķēķis* || *namīns* || *pavards* || *pļicistab* || *virte viete* || *virtuve* 'kitchen', *istaba* || *istabas kambaris* || *kambaris* || *dižā istaba* || *lielā istaba* || *diž(O) kambare* 'living room', *pretistuba* 'opposite (living) room; storeroom' || *meitistuba* 'opposite (living) room', *aizdurve* || *duōrdaņģ* 'place behind the door', *istaba* || *rūme* || *telpa* 'room' || *hale* '(large) room', *iekšrija* || (*rijas*) *istubīna* 'room between the shed and the threshing-floor', *antkamburs* || *forūzis* || *gaņģītis* || *kambaris* / *kammars* || *klēte* || *pieliekamais* || *pieliekamais kambaris* 'storeroom'.

4. More than half of the concepts (13) in the subgroup *Construction materials and products* have synonyms, and they are mainly primary or derived words, many of which are of both native and of foreign origin: *drīve* || *pakulas* 'caulker's oakum', *glāze* || *stikls* 'glass', *pērve* / *vērve* / *fērvs* || *krāsa* 'paint', *ķieģelis* / *stieģelis* || *burlaks* 'brick', *dēlis* || *lenta* || *planka* || *grid* 'board', *ķlēister(s)* / *klīstirs* || *līms* 'glue', *lata* / *late* || *līste* 'lath', *kārts* || *sklanda* 'pole', *bieže* || *donis* || *niedre* || *spīla* / *spīle* || *truše* 'reeds', *luba* || *skaida* || *šķindelis* / *šindil* || *dēlītis* 'roofing shingle', *dakstiņš* || *dakpans* || *pan(O)* || *stigils* / *tiegelis* 'roofing tile', *garsalmi* || *salme* 'straw', *koks* || *malka* 'wood'. These parallel names indicate different time periods during which contact with various languages occurred. This is particularly noticeable when synonyms reflect the influence of German in two different periods, or when they reflect the influence of Slavic languages, which replaced names of Germanic origin.
5. Within the subgroup of *Constructions*, 30 concepts with identified synonyms have been documented. These synonym pairs are based on various combinations of inherited and borrowed components. They include borrowings from the same language represented by different lexemes (like *kramps* || *taps* 'window hook'), differences in semantic motivation (*gēville lēnte* || *vējalente* 'windboard'), as well as the influence of German compounds on the formation of etymological hybrids serving as synonymous terms (*finsterlāde* || *laņģinīčas* || *luoage lāde* || *slēģis* 'shutter'). And they are: *brusa* || *bruste* / *brusts* || *šlīpīrs* / *slīperis* 'beam', *āži* || *lēķis* || *pīķis* || *zirgs* || *zirge gal's* '(crossed ends of gable) bargeboards', *griesti* || *istube deķe* || *istube ziede* 'ceiling', *baļķis* || *dzieds* / *dziedrs* / *ziedskrustebalks* || *krustemalk* || *sija* || *vērbaļķis* || *ziedemalke* 'joist, ceiling beam', *skurstenis* / *skurstiens* / *šurnštīne* 'chimney' || *manteliskurstenis* || *dižais skurstiens* || *adare šurnštīne* 'mantle-vault-like chimney', *cemme* || *cemba*

‘clamp’, *klambari* || *tupele* || *tupelīte* ‘cross-arranged wooden elements on the roof ridge’, *bankste* || *bante* ‘crossbeam’, *pārdures* || *pusdures* ‘half door, half hung door’, *driķeris* || *duredrikerts* || *kliņģis* || *kliņķis* || *ranķins* || *rokturis* || *skritēlis* ‘door handle’, *atslēga* || *caūrduru acslēga* || *caūrslēdzamas acslēgas* ‘(door) lock’, *ģezims* || *ģēvils* || *pažuoabils* ‘eaves’, *grīda/grīde* || *plāns* || *klons* || *māle zems* ‘floor’, *gruōd(s)* || *sija* ‘floor beam’, *pamats* || *puđramente* ‘foundation’ || *pamate akmins* ‘stone foundation; foundation-stone’, *pamat* || *pamate malke* || *slēksnis* || *apkašļieksnis* ‘foundation row of logs’, *ģēvele/ģēvil* || *ģībelis* ‘gable’, *krampis/kramps* || *taps* ‘hook’, *trepes/trepe* || *litirs* || *redel(e)* ‘ladder’, *ruōps* || *dūmlogs* ‘opening in the wall (for light or heat flow)’, *spīns/spīna* || *durespins* ‘(door) padlock’, *spāre/špāre/spare* || *stāge spars* ‘rafter’, *čore* || *čukurs/čukurīns* || *ģēvils* ‘ridge’, *stāgs* || *jumts* ‘roof’, *finsterlāde* || *laņģinīčas* || *luoage lāde* || *slēģis* ‘shutter’, *kāj(u)dēle* || *fuslīste* ‘skirting board’, *kāpiens* || *trepe* ‘step’, *lipinis* || *pīgrindis* || *slieksnis* ‘threshold’, *ģēvile lēnte* || *vējāle* ‘windboard’, *bēģelis* || *rāmis* || *luoagerāms* ‘window-frame’, *bēģele* || *palodze/paluoage/palogis* ‘windowsill’.

6. In the subgroup *Heating and lighting appliances*, there are only 6 concepts with synonyms, such as *mašīns/mašīne/kukinmašīns* || *plīts* ‘cooking stove’, *maizes ceplis/ceplis* || *maizes krāsns/krāsne* || *spelte* ‘bread oven’, *cuka/cuke* || *dūmvads* || *krāsine ruoars* ‘flue’, *mūris/siltais mūris/mūrītis* || *siena* ‘heating wall’, *krāsns(s) priekša* || *krāsns mute* ‘mouth of a stove’, and *bakōve* ‘stove; oven (for baking)’ || *cepeškrāsns/cepeškrāsne* ‘oven (for baking)’. Some examples clearly show German influence. For instance, in Kurzeme, the words *plīts* and *spelte* are related to Baltic German and are believed to have entered the Latvian language alongside the objects they denote. In contrast, in the Curonian Spit, names such as *kukinmašīns*, *krāsine ruoars*, and *bakōve* were formed based on their semantic equivalents in German. In the latter case, it is essential to note that the creation of these names largely depends on the individual author (Pietsch).

To summarize, the number, diversity, and causes of synonyms can be linked to contact with both neighbouring subdialects and other ethnic groups. This is shown by inherited or derived synonyms (*sēta* || *žogs* || *žodziņš* || *apžogojums* ‘fence’ in Kurzeme) and inherited lexemes alongside foreign-origin names (*mūris* || *siena* ‘heating wall’ in Šventoji). The influence of neighbouring regions can be seen, for example, in the vocabulary of the border area and in the vocabulary of the Kurzeme seaside.

This is also the example of the Curonian Spit, where contact with the Lithuanian-speaking community has had an influence on naming certain concepts (*bieže* || *truše/trušs* ‘reed’, but *niedre/niedra* || *spīla/spīle* || *donis* in Kurzeme), but not on the whole thematic group of vocabulary related to folk architecture.

It is, on the one hand, a sociocultural environment, including culture, language, religion, education, and attitudes towards ongoing social processes, which has led to a bilingual or even multilingual environment, and, on the other hand, the question of an individual’s choice. In the territorial varieties of the Latvian language on the Kurzeme coast, synonyms mainly emerge through derivation and composite names, whereas in the Curonian Spit, the prestige of Germanic-origin names also plays a significant role. The vocabulary of itinerant craftsmen, especially in the Curonian Spit, had the strongest impact on the thematic vocabulary analyzed. Thus, Germanic-origin synonyms emerged for central elements they helped build, such as buildings, rooms, and constructions. Sometimes, Germanic words appeared alongside native terms for appliances related to the building core and heating center. On the Kurzeme coast, noble manors inspired and encouraged these borrowings, leading to similar improvements (and names) in peasant houses.

Bilingualism, understood in a broad sense, significantly contributes to the formation of synonyms of differing origins. However, since the examined synonyms are primarily found in written sources, it is challenging to determine the extent to which these names were actively used within Latvian-speaking communities. This is particularly the case for the directly translated names in the Curonian Spit, where German compound names served as semantic models but are not otherwise found in other sources.

As other studies have shown (for instance, see Reķēna 1975 or Straupeniece 2018), it is possible to find synonyms in the vocabulary of different generations; however, this cannot be confirmed by the data from the excerpted material. Moreover, it is difficult to determine whether some of the more recent synonyms were influenced by literary language (particularly in Kurzeme). Synonyms that have not been influenced by the literary language (as in the case of the Curonian Spit, where there was no written New Curonian language), but have been created in other ways, persist longer in territorial varieties of language. Nevertheless, several of the synonyms documented in the sources have become established in the Latvian literary language and are used to name particular concepts in modern construction.

Examining synonymy from a territorial perspective reveals that a total of 71 concepts with synonyms in the vocabulary of two or three of the Latvian-speaking communities have been documented (see Table 11). While the number of concepts may increase as additional sources are identified, it is estimated that the current number represents approximately half of all the concepts covered in this research. The presence of more synonyms in Kurzeme and the Curonian Spit raises the question of the reasons behind synonymy in these areas in general. In the Curonian Spit, names representing concepts or their elements are often of foreign origin. To illustrate, for instance, OPPOSITE (LIVING) ROOM: *istuba* || *kambure*, SHED: *būda* || *šūre*, DOOR HANDLE: *raņķins* || *kliņķis* || also hybrid *duredrikerts*, SHUTTER: *fins-terlāde* || *langinīčas* || also hybrid *luoage lāde*. There are, of course, also cases where names of native and foreign origin are synonyms, for example, BOARD: *lenta* || plank and grid(a), or where two names of own language (primitive or derived word), for instance, DWELLING HOUSE: *nams* || *dzīvoklis*, but those are not the majority of cases. In Kurzeme, on the contrary, the synonyms can be of native, foreign, or hybrid origin, as well as derivatives or composite names in various combinations. For instance, CATTLE-SHED: *laidars* || and *kūts* || *stallis*, ATTIC: *augša* || *augšiene* || and *bēniņi* || also hybrid *istabaugša*, *staļļaugša*, or CORRIDOR: *nams* || *garais nams* || *vēja nams* || *caurdure*, COURTYARD: *sēta* || *sētiena* || *pagalms* || *sēt(s)vid(u)s* or FENCE: *sēta* || *žogs* || *žodziņš* || *apžogojums*, etc.

This leads to the conclusion that synonymy is richer in Kurzeme for two main reasons. First, the Latvian dialects spoken in Kurzeme exhibit a greater variety of derivatives, influenced by both the literary language and other Latvian dialects. This reflects the internal interaction of Latvian language varieties. Second, external linguistic influences are more diverse in this region than in the other two areas: there is a direct influence of Slavic languages, several layers of German, and, along the border with Lithuania, the influence of Lithuanian dialects. These findings are supported by the analysis of distribution. In the diasporas, synonymy is less varied in terms of etymology and word formation: the synonyms found in the Šventoji–Būtingė area are the result of interaction with the Latvian literary language and Lithuanian dialects, whereas in the Curonian Spit, they result from contact with other Lithuanian dialects and multiple layers of German influence.

Table 11. Synonyms found in two or all three of the analyzed local areas.

No.	Concept	Name of concept		
		Kurzeme	Šventoji, Būtingė	the Curonian Spit
1. HOMESTEAD AND ITS COURTYARD				
1	COURTYARD	pagalms, sēta, sētiens, sēt(s)vid(u)s	sēta	hove/howe
2	ENCLOSURE	apžogojums, laidera žogs ‘fence around the pasture’	laidara žogs ‘fence around the pasture’	darzs, darzesēts ‘fence around the garden’
3	FENCE	sēta, žogs, žodziņš, apžogojums	žogs	sēta/sēts
		kārš(u) žogs ‘split rail fence from wooden poles’	–	kārtesēts ‘split rail fence from wooden poles’
		dēļu/dēlīšu žogs ‘picket fence’	–	lēntesēds, sēta ‘picket fence’
		žogmale ‘edge of the fence; the nearest area by the fence’	–	sētmala ‘nearest surroundings of the fence’
4	FENCE POST/ STAKE	stabs, stakle, staklit <sup>e</sup> , miets	stabs	kuols, sēt(a)skuols
5	GATE	vārti	vārti	duoars, vārti, vārsteles
6	HOMESTEAD	sēta, mājas	sēta, mājas	–
7	STOCKYARD	aploks, dārzs, laidars/laidieris, lop(u) sēt(a)	–	rosgartens ‘stockyard; pasture-ground (for horses)’
8	WELL-SWEEP	vinda/vinde	–	svirsts, akas svirsts
9	WICKET	vārsteļi	varsteles	darzedur, varsteli/varstil, varstilēn
2. BUILDING TYPES				
10	BATHHOUSE	pirts/pirte, baņa	pirte	–
11	BUILDING	būve, celtnē, ēka, māja, nams	ēka	budavāns, taisijume, uoastaisētums, uoazbudevatum(O)

No.	Concept	Name of concept		
		Kurzeme	Šventoji, Būtingė	the Curonian Spit
12	CATTLE-SHED	<i>laidars, kūts, stallis</i>	( <i>cūku, avju</i> ) <i>stallis, stallelis</i>	<i>kūt/kuts</i> and <i>laidars</i> 'cattle-shed or stables (small cattle-shed or stables)', <i>stallis/staldis</i>
13	CELLAR	<i>pagrabs</i>	<i>pagrabs</i>	<i>ķelderis/ķelleris, rūse</i> 'cellar, a pit in the ground for potato storage', <i>isķelirs</i> 'ice cellar'
14	DOG HOUSE	<i>būda</i>	<i>būda</i>	<i>sune būde</i>
15	DWELLING HOUSE	<i>buts, ēbergis, istaba/istuba/istabina, istabas ēka, māja, nams</i>	<i>buts, māja, nams</i>	<i>nams, (viene saime) dzīvuodkils</i>
16	EXTENSION	<i>ēbergis, piebūve</i>	–	<i>piebudevats, piebudavatums</i>
17	GRANARY	<i>klēte</i>	<i>klēte</i> 'granary of a wealthier homestead master', <i>klētele</i> 'granary in the homestead of a landless peasant'	<i>klēts</i>
18	HUT	<i>būdele</i>	–	<i>būda/būde, šūre</i>
19	SHED	<i>skūna/šķūnis, slāģene, vāģūzis</i> 'shed, woodshed'	<i>skūna</i>	<i>skūns/skūne/šķūnis, šūre /šūrs</i>
20	SMOKERY	<i>kūpinātava, bedre, bedrīte, rūkūzis, žāvētava</i>	<i>rūkūzis</i>	<i>rūkūšs, rūkūžē muce</i> 'barrel-type smokery'
21	STABLE	<i>stallis/stals</i>	<i>zirgu stallis</i>	–
22	TOILET	<i>ateja, ķembriķens, porūzis, mazmāja, maza mājiņa, mājiņa, mazmāja, nužņiks</i>	–	<i>šitūšs</i>
23	VERANDA	<i>porūzis, priekšas nams, veranda</i>	–	<i>prang, varand(O)</i>

No.	Concept	Name of concept		
		Kurzeme	Šventoji, Būtingė	the Curonian Spit
3. ROOM TYPES				
24	ATTIC	augša, augšiene, bēniņi, bēniņģe, istabaugša ‘attic of the dwelling’, istaboiers ‘attic of the dwelling’, stallļaugša ‘attic of the barn’	–	augstiene/ augstenes
25	CORRIDOR	caurdure, nams, garais nams, vēja nams	gaņģis	nams
26	COTE	aizgalds, gards /gārda, aizgārda/ aizgārduņa, gūrba, aizgaldiņš in the meaning of a ‘cote in the open air’	–	(cūke) abirs ‘cote, pig-pen’
27	ENTRYWAY	nams, priekšnams	priekšas nams	–
28	KITCHEN	kukņa/ kukniņ, ķēķis, namīns, pavaris, plīcistab, virte viete, virtuve, also mellais ķēķis, ķēķe ‘kitchen, where the fodder for the animals was cooked’, pavaris	ķēķe	kukne/ kukine, virte viete, also mēle kukine ‘(black) kitchen’
29	LIVING ROOM	istaba/ istuba, istabas/ istabas kambaris, lielā istaba	istuba, dižā istuba, maģā istuba	istuba/ istube, dižā istuba
30	PLACE BEHIND THE STOVE	aizkāsne/ āskrāsne/ āzkrāsne	in Karklė (āskrāsnis, āspute=āskrāsnis (āf-))	āzkrāsn(O)/ āzkrāsne
31	ROOM	istaba, kambaris, telpa	–	rūma/ rūme, istuba, also hale ‘(large) room’

No.	Concept	Name of concept		
		Kurzeme	Šventoji, Būtingė	the Curonian Spit
32	STOREROOM	kambaris/kammars, pieliekamais, pieliekamais kambaris antkamburs '(opposite) storeroom', fuūrūzīs 'small storeroom', gaņģītīs	kamburis, pieliekamais	kambure, klēte
4. CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS AND PRODUCTS				
33	BOARD	dēlis/dēle, lente	—	lenta, plankā 'plank', grid 'floorboards'
34	BRICK	ķieģelis/stieģelis, burlaks/būrlaks 'clay brick'	ķieģele	stīģile/stīgils
35	GLASS	glāze, stikls	—	glase/glass
36	GLUE	līma/līms	—	ķleister(s)/klīstirs, līms
37	LATH	lakta	—	lata, līste 'lath, ledge'
38	PAINT	pērve, krāsa	—	feros/vērve
39	POLE	kārts, sklanda, kņutele 'thin pole for fixing reed when roofing', šālmene 'to the rafters attached pole on the thatched roof',	—	kārte/kārtīl
40	REED	niedre/niedra, spīla/spīle, donis	spīla	bieže, truše/trušs
41	ROOFING SHINGLE	luba, skaida, šķindelis, dēlītis	skaida	šindil
42	ROOFING TILE	dakstiņš	—	dakpans, pan, stīgils/tieģelis
43	STRAW	garsalīni	—	salne
44	WOOD	ķoks	—	malka
5. CONSTRUCTIONS				



No.	Concept	Name of concept		
		Kurzeme	Šventoji, Būtingė	the Curonian Spit
45	BEAM	<i>brusa, bruste/brusts, sliperis</i>	–	<i>šlipirs</i>
46	CARVED, CROSSED ENDS OF (GABLE) BARGEBOARDS	<i>āži, zirgs, zirge gal'is</i>	<i>lēķis, pīķis</i>	–
47	CEILING	<i>griesti</i>	–	<i>griesti, istube deķe, istube ziede</i>
48	CEILING (CROSS)BEAM	<i>balķis</i> 'joist, (ceiling) beam', <i>dzieds/dziedrs/zieds, sija, vērbaļķis</i>	–	<i>zieds, krustemalk, krustebalk, ziedemalke</i>
49	CHIMNEY	<i>skurstenis, manteliskurstenis</i> 'matle-vault-like chimney'	<i>skurstiens, dižais skurstiens</i> 'matle-vault-like chimney'	<i>šurnšīne, adare šurnšīne</i> 'matle-vault-like chimney'
50	CROSS-ARRANGED WOODEN ELEMENTS	<i>klaīmbari, tupeles/tupelites</i>	<i>tupeles</i>	–
51	DOOR	<i>ārdures, lauka dures/lauka duris</i> 'entrance door'	–	<i>iegājējdur(O)</i> 'entrance door'
52	DOOR HANDLE	<i>driķeris, klišģis, rokturis, skritēlis</i> 'rotatable wooden door handle'	–	<i>duredrikerts, ranķins, klišģis</i>
53	FLOOR	<i>grīda/grīde, plāns, klons, grīdina</i> 'wooden plank floor in a veranda'	–	<i>grīds/grīde, klons, plāns, māle zems</i>
54	FOUNDATION	<i>pamats, pudramente</i>	–	<i>pamats</i> , also <i>pamate akmins</i> 'stone foundation; foundation-stone'
55	FOUNDATION ROW OF LOGS	<i>apakšsliekšnis</i>	–	<i>pamat, pamate malke, sliekšne</i>

No.	Concept	Name of concept		
		Kurzeme	Šventoji, Būtingė	the Curonian Spit
56	GABLE	<i>gēvele</i>	<i>gībelis</i>	<i>gēvele/gēvil(s)</i>
57	HOOK	<i>krampis</i>	–	<i>kramps, taps</i>
58	LADDER	<i>trepes/trepe, redel(e)</i>	–	<i>trepe, lītirs</i>
59	PADLOCK	<i>spīna</i>	–	<i>spīns, durespīns</i>
60	RAFTER	<i>spāre/špāre</i>	<i>spāres</i>	<i>spare, stāge spars</i>
61	RIDGE	<i>čore, čukurs, čukurīns</i>	–	<i>gēvils</i>
62	ROOF	<i>jumts</i>	<i>jumts</i>	<i>stāgs, jumts</i>
63	SHUTTER	<i>slēģis</i>	–	<i>fīsterlāde, langiničās, luoaģe lāde</i>
64	STEP	<i>kāpiens</i>	–	<i>trepe</i>
65	WINDBOARD	–	<i>vējā lente</i>	<i>gēvile lēnte</i>
66	WINDOW-FRAME	<i>bruste, loga rāmis, rāmis</i>	–	<i>luoaģerāms</i>
67	WINDOW SILL	<i>bēģele, palodze</i>	–	<i>palogis/palodge</i>
6. HEATING AND LIGHTING APPLIANCES				
68	COOKING STOVE	<i>plīts</i>	<i>plīte</i>	<i>mašīns/mašīne/kukinmašīns</i>
69	FLUE	<i>cuka/cuke, dūmvaids</i>	<i>cuka</i>	<i>krāsīne ruoars</i>
70	HEATING WALL	<i>sītais mūris/mūrītis</i>	<i>mūris, siena</i>	–
71	OVEN FOR BAKING	<i>cepeškrāsns/cepeškrāsne 'oven (for baking)'</i>	–	<i>bakōve 'stove; oven (for baking)'</i>

## 5.5. GEOLINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE

This chapter explores the geolinguistic perspective on folk architecture vocabulary, focusing on how concepts and their names are distributed across different regions. Through an analysis of how key concepts and their names are distributed and vary across different regions, this chapter highlights the ways in which regional, historical, and cultural influences shape the thematic vocabulary in the research area.

### 5.5.1. Territorial distribution of concepts and their lexemes

After analyzing the distribution of concepts in the research area, three groups were distinguished based on their occurrence in some or all areas: 1) concepts found in all three local zones, and thus also in all three Latvian-speaking communities, 2) concepts present in two of the zones, and 3) concepts that appear only in one of the zones.

The first group clearly demonstrates a broad distribution of certain concepts and their corresponding names. It is a matter of debate whether the prevalence of a concept is a sign of widespread political, economic, and thus also language contact, or rather if it reflects the inheritance of material culture objects characteristic of a broader region with similar geographical, natural, and living conditions typical of coastal fishing communities. A comparison of the lexemes associated with such concepts reveals both inherited lexemes and foreign and linguistic influences. For example, the concept COURTYARD: *pagalms* || *sēta* ‘courtyard’ in Kurzeme, *sēta* in Šventoji-Būtingė, and *hove/howe* in the Curonian Spit (see Figure 4.1.).

The concept VERANDA: *porūzis* || *veranda* in Kurzeme, *priekšas nams* in Būtingė, and *prang* in the Curonian Spit demonstrates that although the object itself is relatively new, it was introduced into homesteads through different ways and is therefore defined by different necessities and motivations. In Būtingė, the name indicates the object’s location in relation to the house and is formed using the means of its own language, whereas in the Curonian Spit, the name is motivated by the object’s external appearance and is created using elements of a foreign language.

This group also includes concepts with semantically identical lexemes across all the areas and Latvian-speaking communities, such as ROOM: *istaba/istuba*, LOG: *balķis/balks*, STONE: *akmens/akmins*, WINDOW: *logs*, WELL: *aka*, DOGHOUSE: *būda/(sune) būde*, and others. These are typically primary words for concepts that are universal, commonly known, widely available, or have evolved due to similar functional needs.

There are also concepts found across all zones where two of them share identical names, for instance, the example of the concept FENCE POST: *kuols/sēt(a)skuoals* ‘post or stake (for the fence)’ in the Curonian Spit, while *stabs* in southern Kurzeme and Šventoji–Būtingė (see Figure 4.4.). This shows that in the Curonian Spit, the name for this particular object has likely been borrowed and adapted through contact with the Lithuanian-speaking community.

The third group initially suggests that some concepts, and the objects they represent, are unique to a specific area or so distinctive that they are not found in the other local areas analyzed. However, it would be inaccurate to assume that the absence of a concept in certain areas necessarily means that such an object did not exist there. While that may be true in some cases, it is possible that the absence of concepts, or rather their names, indicates a limited source material and purposefully collected linguistic material on this particular topic. The example, the concept HUT FOR DRYING FISHING NETS: *būda* in Šventoji–Būtingė, clearly shows that such huts were common along the wider coast of Kurzeme, even though no names for them were found in the sources from that region. Similarly, the concept LINTEL: *paloda* in Kurzeme, which likely suggests that such an object was present in all regions, but no other names for it were found in the sources. These examples highlight the need for further research, particularly by expanding the search for data in other sources.

Some concepts are found in only one area, but the lexemes clearly show different influences or indicate the period of time when the names were introduced into the Latvian-speaking community, for instance, CHAMBER: *nama danga* || *sānkambaris* ‘(side) chamber’ in Kurzeme, GLUE: *klīstirs* || *līms* in the Curonian Spit, EAVES: *gezims/ģēvils/pažuoabils* in the Curonian Spit, and others.

The same is true of concepts in the second group, which are found in only two of the zones, e.g., WELL HOOK: *kāsis* in Kurzeme and Šventoji–Būtingė, or WELL-SWEEP: *svirsts/akas svirsts* in the Curonian Spit and *vinda* in Kurzeme (see Figure 4.10.). Ethnographic literature shows that both well-sweeps and well hooks were also common in the third local area. However, some concepts are absent from certain zones because the corresponding objects were not typical there. For example, the concept BATHHOUSE, is found only in Kurzeme and Šventoji–Būtingė, or the concept CELLAR: *īšķelirs* ‘ice ‘cellar’ is found only in the Curonian Spit (see Figure 5.2.). Similarly, DRYING-HOUSE: *rija* appears in Kurzeme and Šventoji–Būtingė but not in the Curonian Spit. Fishing was the main occupation there, and due to the harsh environment and barren soil, there were no additional outbuildings related

to agriculture. See Chapter 4, where distribution maps and descriptions of concepts and their names are given.

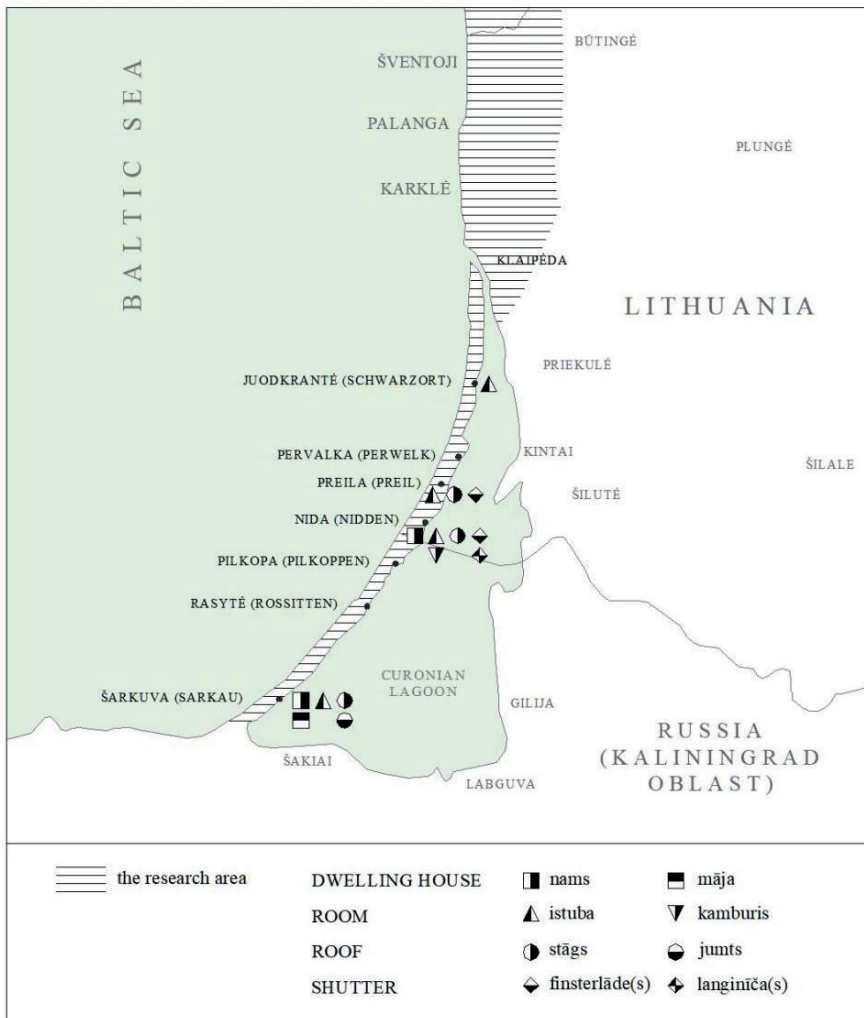
### 5.5.2. Vocabulary common to different villages in the Curonian Spit

Within the analyzed thematic vocabulary, it is possible to identify concept names that appear in several Curonian Spit villages<sup>273</sup> (see Figure 11). Although the number of folk architecture-related concept names shared by two or more villages is relatively limited, with only 16 out of all the concepts examined falling into this category, a few examples are worth highlighting. The table below (see Table 12) lists only those lexemes that can be clearly traced to several locations on the Curonian Spit. Concepts are listed in alphabetical order within each thematic subgroup.

The comparison of concept names reveals a lexical layer that was inherited and preserved in villages farther from the Klaipėda area, likely due to various circumstances (e.g., isolation, less frequent contact with Lithuanians, and probably a stronger self-identity related to the origin of the ancestors). Over time, however, some of these names were replaced by others due to economic and linguistic contact, particularly with Lithuanian speakers. One example of this phenomenon is the New Curonian word *jūmts* ‘roof’ found in Sarkau, which was later replaced by *stāks* (cf. Lith. *stogas*) in the same meaning as a result of various contacts with Lithuanians. Another example worth mentioning is *māja* ‘dwelling house’ in Sarkau, which is recorded in parallel to the *nams* with the same meaning in Sarkau (*nāms LF. BezzS*: 30, 54). In contrast to the previous example, this reflects not a replacement but rather the preservation of inherited vocabulary, possibly used with slight semantic nuances, rather than the influence of another language. Elsewhere on the Curonian Spit, no such name for the concept DWELLING HOUSE is recorded in the analyzed sources.

The absence of names in Table 12 does not mean that the names were never used in the particular location. Rather, it indicates that no available material has yet been found to document them. Rather, it indicates that no material has yet been collected to document the missing names.

<sup>273</sup> The relation of the lexemes found in the sources to a particular territory can be traced by looking at the authors’ notes on where the material was collected. For example, Plāķis compiled the dictionary of New Curonian lexis while living in Nida (Lithuania). He verified and supplemented the material recorded there through conversations with fishers from *Preila* and *Perwelk* (KuV: 5–6); Plāķis also included references in the text. Similarly, Bezzenberger (BezzS) indicated the speakers and/or their place of residence throughout his text.



**Figure 11.** Distribution of names for DWELLING HOUSE, ROOM, ROOF, and SHUTTER in the Curonian Spit.

**Table 12.** Concept names and their variants in the villages of the Curonian Spit.

No.	Concept/ Village	Juodkrantė (Schwarzort)	Pervalka (Perwelk)	Preila (Preil)	Nida (Nidden)	Pilkopa (Pilkopen)	Šarkuva (Sarkau)
1. HOMESTEAD AND ITS COURTYARD							
1	GARDEN	dārĕs / dārs	–	–	dařzas	–	dareĕs
2	GATE	warstelis	–	–	vařti	–	wårsteles
2. BUILDING TYPES							
3	CELLAR	–	–	kelderis	ķelleris / ķēldere / kelere	–	–
4	DWELLING HOUSE	–	–	–	nams	–	māja    nāms
3. ROOM TYPES							
5	KITCHEN	–	kukņē	–	kukņē / kukin	–	–
6	PLACE BE- HIND THE STOVE	–	–	–	ā:skrā:sin~ ā:skrā:snē	–	āĕkrāsne
7	ROOM	istuba	–	istubs / istuba	istuba    kaņburis	–	istuba
4. MATERIALS							
8	POLE	–	–	kārt'	kāřte / kar' / kar' / kārt' / kārte / karet'	kārte	kārt'
9	STONE	–	–	pa schī akmina	akmins	–	ar akminis
5. CONSTRUCTIONS							
10	CHIMNEY	–	–	schur- schteinis	šuršins / šurnštine	–	–
11	DOOR	duris / dōras	–	dures	dure / dures / dōras	–	duris / du- ras / duris
12	GABLE	geewile	–	jeewelis	ģēvele	–	–
13	ROOF	–	–	stāks	stāgs	–	jūmts, uĕ jūmtu    stāks
14	SHUTTER	–	–	fñster- lādes	fñsterlāde    laņģinīčas	–	–
15	THRESHOLD	–	slieksne	–	–	–	slēksnis
6. HEATING AND LIGHTING APPLIANCES							
16	STOVE	–	–	krāsns	krāsne	–	krāsne

### 5.5.3. Overview of thematic vocabulary from a territorial perspective

An analysis of the distribution and proportion of inherited and borrowed lexical items reveals several tendencies. A comparison of the proportions of inherited and borrowed names in each region reveals that they are more or less equal in Kurzeme (100/103), and a similar trend is also observed in Šventoji–Būtingė (21/27). However, in the Curonian Spit, the number of borrowed and etymological hybrids exceeds that of inherited words (81/41). A general conclusion can be established that the highest number of foreign elements in the thematic vocabulary is observed in the spit (within the thematic subgroup *Constructions* (34)), while the highest number of inherited, preserved ones is in Kurzeme (also within the thematic subgroup *Constructions* (27)). With regard to the distribution of the Curonian layer, all 6 certain and possible Curo-nisms are recorded in Kurzeme, with only one of them registered in Šventoji–Būtingė (*žogs* ‘fence’) and one in the Curonian Spit (*zieds* ‘joist, (ceiling) beam’).

The presence of inherited names such as *dārzs* ‘garden’, *vārti* ‘gate’, *nams* ‘dwelling house’, *klēts* ‘granary’, *kārts/kārte* ‘pole’, *durvis* ‘door’, *grīda/grīde* ‘floor’, *jumts* ‘roof’, *siena* ‘wall’, *krāsns* ‘stove’, as well as borrowed names such as *stallis* ‘cattle-shed’, *māja* ‘dwelling house’, *šķūnis/skūns* ‘shed’, *ķieģelis/(s)tieģelis* ‘brick’, *balķis* ‘log’, *skurstenis* ‘chimney’, *mūris* ‘masonry’, *spāre* ‘rafter’, has been documented in all three regions; however, this does not imply the absence of names representing other concepts throughout the study area. It is important to note that the current data set is insufficient for assessing name diversity or prevalence across all three regions for several concepts. This is also true of the previously mentioned proportion of inherited and borrowed lexical items in the regions; however, it accurately reflects the general trend.

From a word formation perspective, it is evident that word group names (78 names; the highest number of names is found in the subgroup *Constructions* (34), and the lowest, i.e. no names, is found in the subgroup *Materials*) and derivative names (76 names; the highest number of derivative names is found in the subgroup *Room types* (20), and the lowest (5) is found in the subgroup *Materials*) represent the most prevalent category. A smaller group is compound names (49 names; the majority was found in the subgroup *Constructions* (19), while the smallest number, i.e., no names, was found in the subgroup *Materials*). When analyzing these groups in terms of their territorial distribution, there is a tendency for the names in each of the previously mentioned groups to only occur within a specific region of the study



area, rather than in the entire seaside region. With regard to distribution, the word group names are present in Kurzeme (41), the Curonian Spit (30), and Šventoji–Būtingė (11) in descending order. The same tendency applies to compound names (27/17/2). A comparison of the proportion of word group names in Kurzeme and in the Curonian Spit reveals that the most names were recorded in the thematic subgroup *Constructions* (14/16) in both regions. However, no names were found in the thematic subgroup *Materials*. A similar phenomenon can be observed in the group of compound names, with the highest proportion of such names in the thematic subgroup *Constructions* (10 in Kurzeme, but 9 in the Curonian Spit). However, on the Curonian Spit, no compound names were found in the thematic subgroups *Room types* and *Materials*.

It is observed that the most prevalent derived names are those formed with suffixes or ending derivatives. The research area shows a prevalence of names formed with a suffix, particularly in the Kurzeme region, which exhibits the highest number of such names (27). Another region where this type of derivative name is common (15) is the Curonian Spit. A total of two derivative names, namely, *krāsns* ‘stove’ and *jumts* ‘roof’, are recorded in all three Latvian-speaking communities studied.

Thirdly, from a semantic perspective, the thematic subgroup *Constructions* has the highest proportion of concepts for which synonyms have been recorded (30 concepts), while the thematic subgroup *Heating and lighting appliances* has the lowest (6 concepts). The distribution of these concepts territorially indicates that the highest concentration of synonyms is present in Kurzeme (45 concepts; the mean number of synonyms per concept ranges from 2 to 4 and the maximum number of synonyms for a particular concept is 8, and the concept is DWELLING HOUSE, see Figure 5.3.), followed by the Curonian Spit (37 concepts; the mean number of synonyms per concept ranges from 2 to 3 and the maximum number of synonyms for a particular concept is 4, and the concept is BUILDING (see Figure 5.1.), also CEILING (CROSS)BEAM), and the lowest in Šventoji–Būtingė (8 concepts; the maximum number of synonyms for a particular concept is 3, and the concept is DWELLING HOUSE). This phenomenon can be partially explained by the quantity of data present within a specific region. Nevertheless, the array of synonyms is further shaped by the influence of multiple contact languages and several word formation techniques, which are used to create folk architecture names.



# VI.

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## CONCLUSIONS

This comparative research of folk architecture concepts examines the language material of three Latvian-speaking seaside communities, documented in written sources from the 17th to the early 20th century. A thematic dictionary of 138 concepts and their corresponding names in folk architecture has been compiled. This research is organized into five analytical chapters, the findings of which lead to the following conclusions:

1. The comparison of the folk architecture vocabulary on the Baltic Sea coast in Lithuania and Latvia reveals that ethnographic and social conditions have not significantly influenced differences in the folk architecture vocabulary among most of the analyzed Latvian-speaking communities. It has been observed that there are no significant differences in the names given to concepts in fishers' homesteads or fishers-farmers' homesteads, suggesting that the specific lifestyle of the coastal ethnic communities is not the key factor influencing the choice or creation of names for folk architecture concepts. In the context of the research area, however, fishers' homesteads in the Curonian Spit are an exception. The vocabulary in this area lacks several concepts typical of Kurzeme Latvians. This phenomenon, attributed to the more compact layout

of homesteads, has emerged from a combination of natural and economic conditions.

2. The research also demonstrates that, within the studied Latvian-speaking communities, the folk architecture vocabulary reflects the following common etymological characteristics:
  - 2.1. A notable number of the folk architecture names (111) are widespread throughout the research area, reflecting names belonging to the Balts' material culture. The initial assumption that the vocabulary of folk architecture in the research area contains a Curonian substrate has been partially confirmed. However, the number of identified Curonisms (6) is insignificant to those found in other etymological groups (suggesting that alternative methods are required for their identification).
  - 2.2. Due to long-term bilingualism and socio-cultural contacts, the influence of Lithuanian dialects (Northern and Western Samogitian) and multiple chronological layers of German is evident. Moreover, in Kurzeme, the influence of Slavic languages can be added to the first two. The relatively high number of borrowed names (146), composite hybrid names (45), and derived names containing foreign-origin components (10), reflects this phenomenon.
  - 2.3. The techniques used to create new names for folk architecture concepts, primarily affixal derivatives and composite names, are similar across all areas, though their productivity differs; however, they share common traits, such as components drawn from both dialectal and literary language, and composite names often combine elements of different origins.
3. The analysis of folk architecture vocabulary demonstrates not only the general commonalities in the interactions among the studied Latvian-speaking communities, but also the tendencies of differences, which are largely influenced by varying sociopolitical conditions:
  - 3.1. In Kurzeme, socio-cultural contacts were related to other Latvian dialects, the standard language, and the Lithuanian dialects from peripheral regions; bilingualism was not a contributing factor. Therefore, the Latvian-speaking community in Kurzeme has preserved the largest inherited lexical layer (100 names); elements of this layer are used to create new names for new folk architecture concepts. All of the Curonisms documented are identified in this Latvian-speaking community

(7 names). The folk architecture vocabulary of this Latvian-speaking community reflects language contacts between Latvian and Germanic, Slavic, Lithuanian, and Finno-Ugric languages, a phenomenon that has not been observed elsewhere in the research area. The large number of synonyms reflects the influence of the ruling power and its language, namely, the German language during different periods, or the influence of Slavic languages that replaced names of Germanic origin. As elsewhere in Latvia, the development of homesteads was influenced by the example set by manor houses. Consequently, object names were often borrowed from Baltic German, along with the objects themselves.

- 3.2. The folk architecture vocabulary in the territorial variety of the Latvian language in Šventoji-Būtingė consists mainly of inherited (21) and borrowed names (27). The first group shows that this geolect is a continuation of the southwestern Kurzeme dialects, while the second group highlights the emergence of new names in the thematic vocabulary. The majority of names of Germanic origin have been inherited from neighboring Latvian and Lithuanian subdialects, while those adapted from Lithuanian became established due to extensive cultural contacts with the Lithuanian-speaking community and the gradual development of bilingualism within the diaspora. From a word-formation perspective, the vocabulary of Šventoji-Būtingė demonstrates the use of derivational suffixes; however, this word-formation technique cannot be considered productive in comparison to Kurzeme. In this region, word group names prevail over affixal derivatives.
- 3.3. In the Curonian Spit, the thematic vocabulary demonstrates a notable layer of Germanisms and hybrids containing elements of German origin (55). These can be broadly categorized into two types: through the Lithuanian language, and due to the long-standing official bilingualism in the Prussian state. Another layer of borrowings consists of Lithuanianisms, including Slavisms introduced through Lithuanian, and hybrids containing elements of this origin (15), resulting from long-standing economic contacts and family ties on both sides of the Curonian Lagoon. Due to linguistic isolation, the creation of new lexical items by means of the mother tongue was unproductive, as evidenced by numerous hybrid forms and direct translations, especially from German. Folk architecture names entered the New Curo-

nian mainly through itinerant craftsmen. It has been observed that a layer of inherited vocabulary, no longer preserved in the northern part of the spit, has been registered in villages further away from Klaipėda. From a word-formation perspective, it is notable that composite names, compound names (17), and word group names (30), in the Curonian Spit are particularly prominent. This tendency is primarily related to direct translations from German and, to a lesser extent and more specifically, the specific nature of a few of the data sources compiled by Pietsch.

4. The polysemy of different lexemes across the research area is due to the various functions or appearances of objects within a given area. This is most evident when comparing the vocabulary of Kurzeme and the Curonian Spit. In contrast, synonymy appears to be driven more by the social need to name or rename objects in foreign languages, rather than by architectural peculiarities. In Kurzeme, synonymy is common due to the internal interaction of Latvian language varieties and the broader influence of contact with other languages, both of which have generally enriched the region's vocabulary. In contrast, on the Curonian Spit, synonymy results from the coexistence of different languages, often leading to the displacement of native lexical elements or their replacement with foreign equivalents, indicating a generally negative trend in terms of language preservation.
5. The territorial distribution of the most representative concepts supports earlier statements: first, that the highest number of foreign elements in the thematic vocabulary is observed in the Curonian Spit, whereas the highest number of inherited, preserved ones is in Kurzeme; second, that word group names and derivative names represent the most prevalent category, with the word group names present in Kurzeme, the Curonian Spit, and Šventoji-Būtingė in descending order, and the most prevalent derived names being those formed with suffixes, particularly in the Kurzeme region; and lastly, the highest concentration of synonyms is present in Kurzeme, followed by the Curonian Spit.

The main limitation of this research is that not all concepts and their corresponding names were present across all locations within the research area. Further research should uncover names for missing concepts by exploring additional sources. One possible area for future research could be a comparison of the folk architecture vocabulary of Latvian-speaking communities in the Kurzeme and Vidzeme seaside areas, as well as a comparison between Latvian- and Lithuanian-speaking seaside communities.

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## APPENDIX

## GLOSSARY OF FOLK ARCHITECTURE NAMES IN THE RESEARCH AREA

A, Ā

*adare šurnštine* f. 'mantle-vault-like chimney'

*aizdure/aizdure/āzdure* f. 'place behind the door'

*aizgalde* f. 'room (space) behind the table'

*aizgaldinš* m. 'cote in the open air'

*aizgārda* f. 'cote'

*aizgārda* f. 'cote in the open air'

*aizkrāsne/āzkrāsne* f. 'place behind the stove'

*aka* f. 'well'

*akas viers* f. 'well lining ring'

*akmens/akmins* m. 'stone'

*akmine grīdes* m. 'stone foundation'

*antkamburs* m. '(opposite) storeroom'

*aploks* m. 'stockyard; pasture-ground'

*apžogojums* m. 'fence (around something)'

*ateja* f. 'toilet'

*atslēga* f. 'lock'

*augstiene kambure* f. 'room in the attic'

*augstiene/augstenes* f./*augstiens* m. 'attic'

*augstienetrepes* f. 'ladder to attic'

*augša* f. 'attic'

*augšiene* f. 'attic'

*ārdures* f. 'exterior door'

*āugštavējis istubas* f. 'room in the attic'

*āzgalde* f./*aizgalds* m. 'cote'

*āži* m. pl. 'crossed ends of (gable) bar-geboards (carved in the shape of the he-goat head)'

B

*bakōve* f./*bakōvs* m. 'stove; oven (for baking)'

*balkis/baleks/balks* m. 1) 'log, timber log', 2) 'joist, (ceiling) beam'

*bankste* f. 'cross-beam, cross tie'

*bante* f. 'crossbeam, tie beam'

*baņa* f. 'bathhouse'

*bauka* f. 'old, half-collapsed building'

*bedre/bedrīte* f. 'smokery, a pit in the ground'

*bēģele* f./*bēģelis* m. 'windowsill'

*bēniņi/bēniņģe* f. 'attic'

*bēniņviers* m. 'attic'

*bieže* f. 'reeds, reed thicket'

*bristungs* m. 'windowsill'

*brusa* f. 'timber beam'

*bruste* f./*brusts* m. 'timber beam'

*budavāns* m. 'building, structure'

*burlaks/būrlaks* m. 'clay brick'

*butinieka māja* f. 'dwelling house of a landless peasant'

*buts/butelis* m. 1.1) 'dwelling house', 1.2) 'dwelling house of a landless peasant'

*būcenis* m. 'old building'

*būda* f. 1) 'hut', 2) 'hut for drying fishing nets', 3) 'doghouse'

*būve* f. 'building, structure'

C, Č

*caurdure* f. 'corridor'

*caurduru atslēga* f. 'door lock'

*caurslēdzamas atslēgas* f. 'door lock'

*celtne* f. 'building'

*cemba* f. 'clamp'

*cements/ciments* m. 'cement'

*cemme* f. 'clamp'

*cepeškrāsns/cepeškrāsne* f. ‘oven (for baking)’  
*ceplis* m. ‘bread oven’  
*cuka/cuke* f. ‘flue’  
*cukmūris* m. ‘a wall through which the flue go through’  
*cūke abirs* m. ‘cote, pig-pen’  
*čore* m. ‘ridge’  
*čukurs/čukurīns* m. ‘ridge’

## D

*dakpans* m./*dakpan(n)e* ‘roofing tile’  
*dakstiņš* m. ‘roofing tile’  
*danga* f. ‘side chamber’  
*darva* f. ‘tar, pitch’  
*darzedur* f. ‘wicket-gate’  
*darzesēts* m. ‘fence around the garden, garden fence’  
*darzēns preš name* f. ‘front garden’  
*dārzs* m. 1) ‘stockyard; pasture-ground’, 2) ‘enclosure; fenced garden; fence around a garden’  
*dēlis/dēle* m. ‘board’  
*dēlītis* m. ‘small wooden board for roofing’  
*dēļu/dēlišu žogs* m. ‘picket fence’  
*diengalis* m./*diengale* f. ‘old building, object’  
*dižais sētiens* m. ‘main or clean, representative courtyard’  
*dižais skurstiens* m. ‘mantle-vault-like chimney’  
*dižā istaba* f. ‘main living room’  
*donis/dons* m. ‘rush’  
*driķeris/driķerts/duredriķerts* m. ‘door handle’  
*driķe* f. ‘caulker’s oakum’  
*dubultais logs* m. ‘winter frame’  
*dubulte rēšine siene* f. ‘double wall’  
*duoars* m. ‘gate’

*duôrdang(O)* f. ‘place behind the door’  
*durespins* f. ‘(door) padlock’  
*durvois/dures/duors* f. pl. ‘door’  
*dūmlogs/dūmlodzīns* m. ‘opening in the wall (for heat flow)’  
*dūmvads* m. ‘flue’  
*dzieds/dziedrs/zieds* m. ‘joist, ceiling beam’  
*dzievuoakils* m. ‘dwelling house; homes-tead’

## E, Ē

*enģe* f. ‘hinge’  
*ēberģis* m. 1) ‘dwelling house’, 2) ‘extension’  
*ēka* f. ‘building, edifice’

F

*filunga duris* m. pl. ‘panel door’  
*finsterlāde* f. ‘shutter’  
*forūzis* m. ‘small storeroom’  
*frankšpižs* m. ‘(gabled) dormer window’  
*fusliste* f. ‘skirting board’  
*fūga* f. ‘brick masonry (bed or head) joint, masonry joint’

## G, Ģ

*gaņģis* m. ‘corridor’  
*gaņģītis* m. ‘(small) storeroom’  
*garais nams* m. ‘corridor’  
*gards* m./*gārda* f. ‘cote’  
*garsalmi* m. pl. ‘straw for roofing’  
*gatuves vārti* m. pl. ‘livestock gate’  
*gēvile lēnte* f. ‘windboard’  
*gezims* f. ‘eaves’  
*ģibelis* m. ‘gable’  
*glāze/glase* f./*glāzs* m. ‘glass’  
*grausts* m. ‘old building, no longer suitable for use’  
*griesti* m. pl. ‘ceiling’

*grīda* f. 'floor, threshing-floor', but *grid*  
f. 'floorboards'

*grīdīna* f. 'plank/board floor in veranda'

*grod(s)* m. 'floor beam'

*grodi/akas grodi* m. pl 'well lining ring'

*gūrba* f. 'cote'

*ģēvils* m. 1) 'eaves', 2) 'ridge'

*ģēvele/ģēvil(O)* f./*ģēvelis* m. 'gable'

## H

*hale* f. '(large) room'

*hove/howe* f. 'courtyard'

## I, Ī

*Iegājedur(O)* f. 'entrance door'

*iekšrīja* f. 'room between the shed and  
the threshing-floor'

*ieris/ierītis* m./*riere* f. 'recess in the wall  
of a stove to dry something'

*istaba/istuba* f. 1) 'room', 2) 'living  
room', 3) 'dwelling house'

*istabas kambaris/istabas kambaris* f.  
'living room'

*istabaugša/istabas aukša/istabas aukša*  
m. 'attic'

*istabīna/istabiņa/(rijas) istubīna* f. 'room  
in the threshing barn for drying  
(flax, cereals)'

*istabviers* m. 'attic'

*istabas ēka* f. 'dwelling house'

*istube deķe* f. 'ceiling'

*istube ziede* f. 'ceiling'

*istubele/ištubele/istubiņa/istabiņa* f.  
'living room'

*ifbilderata istuba* f. 'room decorated with  
wallpaper'

*iztubēns* m. 'room in the attic'

*īšķelirs* m. 'ice cellar'

## J

*jumti ar lauztis galis* m. 'half-hip roof'

*jumti ar nolaistis galis* m. 'hip roof'

*jumti ar stāvis galis* m. 'gable roof'

*jumts* m. 'roof'

## K, Ķ

*kalkis* m. 'lime, whitewash (?)'

*kambaris* m./*kambure* f. 1) 'room',

2) '(opposite) living room',

3) 'storeroom'

*kāj(u)dēle* f. 'skirting board'

*kāpiens* m. 'step'

*kārš(u) žogs* m. 'split rail fence from  
wooden poles'

*kārtesēts* m. 'split rail fence from woo-  
den poles'

*kārts/kārte* f. 'pole'

*kāsis* m. 'well hook'

*klabata* f. 'wooden door latch'

*klambari* m. 'cross-arranged wooden  
elements on the roof ridge'

*klētele* f. 'granary in the homestead of a  
landless peasant'

*klēts/klēte* f. 1) 'granary', 2) 'storeroom'

*kliņģis* m. 'door handle'

*kliņķis* m./*klinķe/klink* f. 'door handle'

*klīstirs/klēister(s)* m. 'glue'

*kņutele* f. 'thin pole for fixing reed when  
roofing'

*koki/akas koki* f. pl. 'well lining ring'

*koks* m. 'tree; wood'

*kramps* m. 'window or door hook'

*krāsa* f. 'paint'

*krāsine ruoars* m. 'flue'

*krās(s)priekša* f. 'mouth of a stove'

*krāsns mute* f. 'mouth of a stove'

*krāsns/krāsne* f./*krāsins* m. 1) 'stove',  
2) 'oven (for baking)', 3) 'bread oven'



*kritenis* m. 'fence of horizontal wooden beams; horizontal beam in such a fence'

*kriteņu žogs/kritināts žogs* m. 'fence made of crosspieces that rest in the grooves of the posts'

*krīts/krīde* m. 'whiting'

*krustebalks* m. 'ceiling (cross)beam'

*krustemalk(O)* f. 'joist, crossbeam'

*kukinmašīns* m. 'cooking stove'

*kukņa/kukne/kukine* f. 'kitchen'

*kuols* m. 'fence post/stake'

*kūpinātava* f. 'smokery, a pit in the ground'

*kūts* f. 'cattle-shed'

*ķelleris/ķelirs/ķelderis* m. 'cellar'

*ķembriķens* m. 'toilet'

*ķēķis/ķēķs* m./*ķēķe* f. 'kitchen'

*ķieģel(i)s/stieģelis* m. 'brick'

*ķimines* f./*ķimins* m. 'moss'

L, Ļ

*laidara žogs* m. 'fence around the pasture'

*laidars/laidēris* m. 1) 'stockyard by the cattle-shed', 2) *-ars* m. 'cattle-shed'

*lakt(u) žogs* m. 'wattle fence'

*langiničas* f. 'shutter'

*lata/late* f. '(roof) lath'

*latesēts/late sēts* m. 'lath fence'

*lauka dures/lauka duris* f. 'exterior door'

*lauklaidars* m. 'stockyard by the cattle-shed'

*lenta/lente/lēnt(O)* f. 'board'

*lenteris* m./*lenterē* f. 'railing; handrail'

*lēķis* m. 'carved, crossed ends of (gable) bargeboards'

*lēntesēds* m./*seta* f. 'picket fence'

*lielā sēta* f. main or clean, representative courtyard

*lievenis* m. 'porch'

*lipinis* m. 'threshold'

*līms* m. 'glue'

*līste* f. 'lath, ledge'

*lītīre šprucs* m. 'stave'

*lītirs* m. 'ladder'

*logs* m. 'window'

*lop(u)sēt(a)* f. 'stockyard (for livestock)'

*luba* f. 'small wooden board for roofing'

*lubīņa* f. 'narrow fence board'

*luoage lāde* f./*luoagelāds* m. 'shutter'

*lūke/luke* f. 'trapdoor'

M

*maģais sētiens* m. 'utility or dirty courtyard'

*maizes ceplis* m. 'bread oven'

*maizes krāsns* f. 'bread oven'

*maizkammers* m. 'chamber for bread storing'

*malka/ mālke/ malke* f. 'wood; firewood'

*manteļskurstenis* m. 'mantle-vault-like chimney'

*mašīne* f./*mašīns* m. 'cooking stove'

*mazmāja* f. 'a small, also humble, poor dwelling house'

*mazmājiņa/maza mājiņa/mazmāja* f. 'toilet'

*māja* f. 1) 'building', 2) 'dwelling house'

*mājas* f. pl. 'homestead'

*mājiņa* f. 'toilet'

*māls* m. 'clay'

*meitistuba* f. 'farmhands' room'

*mellais ķēķis* m./*ķēķe* f. 'kitchen, where the fodder for the animals was cooked'

*mēle kukine* f. '(black) kitchen'

*miets* m. 'fence post/stake'

*mūre* f. 'masonry'

*mūris/mūrītis* m. 'heating wall'

N, N

*nama danga* f. 'side chamber'  
*namelis* m. 'small-farmer's dwelling house'  
*namīns* m. 'kitchen'  
*nams* m. 1) 'hearth, kitchen with a fireplace chimney', 2) 'entryway', 3) 'corridor', 4) 'dwelling house', 5) 'building'  
*niedre/niedra* f. 'reed'  
*nojume* f. 'free standing or lean-to shed'  
*nužniks* m. 'toilet'

P

*pagalms* m. 'courtyard'  
*pagrabs* m. 'cellar'  
*pakala siene* f. 'back wall'  
*paklēte* f. 'space under the granary'  
*pakulas* f. 'caulker's oakum'  
*paloda* f. 'lintel'  
*palodze f./palogis* m. 'windowsill'  
*pamat/pamate malke* f. 'foundation row of logs'  
*pamate akmins* f. 'stone foundation; foundation-stone'  
*pamats/pl. pamati m./pamate* f. 'foundation'  
*pan(e)* f. 'roofing tile'  
*parove* f. 'space or room under the vaulted covering over the open hearth or a spark guard'  
*pavards* m. 1) 'hearth', 2) 'cooking area, kitchen'  
*pavārtiņš* m. 'livestock gate'  
*pažobilis/pažobils* m. 1) 'room in the attic', 2) 'eaves', but *pažuoabils* m. 'eaves'  
*pārdures* f. 'half door, half hung door'  
*pērve/vērve f./fervs* m. 'paint'  
*piebudavatums* m. 'extension'  
*piebūve* m. 'extension'  
*piedarbs* m. 'anteroom of the bath'  
*pieliekamais kambars/-uris/-urs* m. 'storeroom'  
*pieliekamais/pieliekamaiš* m. 'storeroom'  
*pirts* f. 'bathhouse'  
*pīgrindis* m. 'threshold'  
*pīķis* m. 'carved gable finial'  
*pīpirte* f. 'anteroom of the bath'  
*pīts žogs* m. 'wattle fence'  
*planka* f. 'plank'  
*platais skurstiens* m. 'mantle-vault-like chimney'  
*plāns* m. '(clay) floor'  
*plīcistab(O)* f. 'kitchen'  
*plīts f./puoade f./podinš* m. 'tile'  
*podu krāsne f./puoade krāsins* m. 'tile stove'  
*porūzis* m. 1) 'toilet', 2) 'veranda'  
*prang(O)* f. 'veranda'  
*pretistuba* f. 'opposite (living) room (or storeroom)'  
*priedelēnt(O)* f. 'pine timber board'  
*priedesēts* 'fence made of pine-tree'  
*priedeslīpir(O)* f. 'pine (timber) beam'  
*priekšas nams* m. 1) 'veranda', 2) 'entryway'  
*priekšlogs* m. 'front window; winter-frame'  
*priekšnams* m. 'entryway', but *priešnam* f. 'dwelling house facing the street, foreyard'  
*puđramente* f. 'foundation'  
*pusdures* f. 'half door, half hung door'  
*pusistaba* f. 'half (of a) room'

R

*rankins* m. 'door handle'  
*rāmis/luoagerāms* m. 'window-frame'

*redel(e)* f. 'ladder'  
*rentiņi/rentīni/renštīni* m. pl. 'well lining ring'  
*rija* f. 'threshing barn, drying-house'  
*riķis* m. 'wooden stick, a tree branch of which a fence is made'  
*riķu žogs* m. 'wattle fence'  
*robs* m. 'opening in the wall (for light or heat flow)'  
*rokturis* m. 'door handle'  
*rosgartens* m. 'stockyard; pasture-ground (for horses)'  
*rovis* m. 'spark catcher'  
*rukūže muce* f. 'smokery (in a barrel)'  
*rūkūzis/rūkuzis/rukūžs* m. 'smokery'  
*rūķis* m. 'stationary lighting equipment in the niche'  
*rūme/rūma* f./*rūms* m. 'room; space'  
*rūse* f. 'cellar, a pit in the ground for potato storage'  
*rūte* f. 'window-pane'

## S, Š

*saimnieka mājas* f. 'master's homestead'  
*salmi/salme* f. 'straw'  
*sānkambaris* m. 'side chamber'  
*sēt(a)skuoals* m. 'fence post/stake'  
*sēt(s)vid(u)s* m. 'courtyard'  
*sēta* f. 1) 'fence', 2) 'courtyard', 3) 'homestead'  
*sētiens* m./*sētiens* f. 'courtyard'  
*siena* f. 1) 'wall', 2) 'heating wall'  
*sija* f. 1) 'floor beam', 2) 'joist, (ceiling) beam'  
*siltais mūris* m. 'heating wall'  
*siltumnīca* f. 'greenhouse'  
*skaida* f. 'roofing shingle'  
*sklanda* f. 1. 'pole', 2. 'garden fence'  
*skritēlis* m. 'rotatable wooden door handle'

*skurstenis* m./*šurnštīne* f. 'chimney'  
*slēģis* m. 'shutter'  
*slēksnis* m./*slieksne* (?) f. 'foundation row of log; threshold'  
*slieksnis* m. 'threshold'  
*slīperis/slīpīrs* m. 'timber beam'  
*spāre/špāre/spare* f. 'rafter'  
*spelte* f. 1) 'bread oven', 2) 'opening in the stove for smoke to escape'  
*spīla/spīle* f. 'reed'  
*spīns* m./*spīna* f. '(door) padlock'  
*stabs* m. 'fence post/stake'  
*stakle/staklit<sup>e</sup>* f. 'post (for the fence or gate)'  
*stallis* m. 1) 'cattle shed', 2) 'stable'  
*stallaugša* f. 'attic in the barn'  
*stāge spars* m. '(roof) rafter'  
*stāge štuoals* m. 'roof chair structure'  
*stāgs* m. 'roof'  
*stāģene* f./*stāģins* m. 'shed'  
*stenderis/stēndirs* m. 'door-post'  
*stigile* f. 'roofing tile'  
*stikls* f. 'glass'  
*stute/štute* f. 'prop'  
*sune būde* f. 'doghouse'  
*svirsts/akas svirsts* m. 'well-sweep'  
*šalmene* f. 'to the rafters attached pole on the thatched roof'  
*šiberis* m. 'slide, damper'  
*šitūžs* m. 'toilet'  
*šķindelis* m. 1) 'small wooden board for roofing', 2) 'roofing shingle'  
*šķūnis/skūns* m./*šķūne/skūna* f. 'shed' m.  
*šūre* f. 1) 'hut', 2) 'shed'

## T

*taisījums* m. 'building, structure'  
*taps* m. 'window hook'  
*telpa* f. 'room'

*trepes/trep/trepe/trepa* f. 1) ‘stairs’,

2) ‘ladder’, *-e* f. 3) ‘step’

*truše* f./*trušs* m. ‘reed; culbrush’

*tupele/tupelite* f. ‘cross-arranged wooden element on the roof ridge’

U, Ū

*uoastaisetums* m. ‘building, structure’

*uoazbudevatum(s)* m. ‘building, structure’

V

*varsteli* m. ‘wicket-gate’

*vāgūzis* m. 1) ‘coach-house’, 2) ‘shed, woodshed’

*vārsteles* f. ‘gate’

*vārti* m. pl. ‘gate’

*veranda/varand(O)* f. ‘veranda’

*vēja nams* m. ‘corridor’

*vējalente* f. ‘windboard’

*vērbalkis* m. ‘ceiling beam’

*vice* f. ‘thin, elastic branch for roofing’

*vidussiena* f. ‘inner middle wall’

*vinda* f. ‘well-sweep’

*virte viete* f. ‘(kitchen or) cooking place’

*virtuve* f. ‘kitchen’

Z, Ž

*ziedemalke* f. ‘joist, ceiling beam’

*zirgs/zirge gal's* m. ‘crossed ends of (gable) bargeboards (carved in the shape of the horse head)’

*zvejnieka sēta* f. ‘fisher’s homestead’

*žāklis* m. ‘well (y-type) pole’

*žāvētava* f. ‘smokery’

*žogmale* f. with the meaning ‘an edge of the fence; the nearest area by the fence’

*žogs* m. ‘fence’

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## SUMMARY / SANTRAUKA

### ĮVADAS

**Tyrimo problema.** Leksikos tyrimų, apimančių kalbines bendruomenes abipus Lietuvos ir Latvijos sienos, baltistikos moksle trūksta. Su materialine kultūra teminiu aspektu (liaudies architektūra) susijęs žodynas ir lietuvių, ir latvių kalbotyroje buvo tyrinėjamas palyginti mažai, tradicinių sodybų pavadinimų tyrimai yra temos ir teritoriniu požiūriu neišsamūs. Išvados apie ryšius tarp latviškai kalbančių bendruomenių, etninių ar socialinių grupių, apie jų tarpkultūrinius kontaktus kaip gyventojų kultūrinio tapatumo dalį galėtų užpildyti spragą ir būti vertingos ne tik lingvistikos, bet ir kitų mokslų kontekste. Nykstant patiems etnografiniams objektams, o kartu ir juos įvardijantys leksikai, liaudies architektūros pavadinimų fiksavimas ir ištyrimas lemia šio darbo problemą ir aktualumą.

**Tyrimo objektas** – leksikos elementai, žymintys sąvokas, susijusias su pajūrio kaimų tradicinių sodybų struktūra ir architektūra kaip etninės kultūros dalimi (XVII a. pabaiga – XX a. pradžia).

**Tyrimo tikslas** – ištirti ir palyginti leksinę semantinę liaudies architektūros konceptus realizuojančią grupę latviškai kalbančiose bendruomenėse tiriamoje teritorijoje ir nustatyti etnografijos bei kalbinių kontaktų įtaką žodyno skirtumams.

### **Tyrimo uždaviniai:**

1. apibrėžti tyrimo teorines nuostatas ir metodologiją, įvertinti susijusią su tyrimo kryptimi socialinę-istorinę ir etnografinę informaciją apie liaudies architektūrą;
2. nustatyti, surinkti ir atrinkti tyrimui liaudies architektūros sąvokų leksikos vietus, užfiksuotus rašytiniuose šaltiniuose nuo XVII a. iki XX a. pradžios;
3. nustatyti kalbų sąveikos įtaką liaudies architektūros pavadinimams, ištiriant juos etimologijos, semantikos ir teritorinio paplitimo požiūriu, ypač akcentuojant klausimą, kokią vaidmenį ši sąveika atlieka visos grupės raidai; nustatyti išskirtinius tiriamos leksinės grupės bruožus kiekvienoje kalbinėje bendruomenėje;
4. sudaryti analizuojamų liaudies architektūros sąvokų ir jų pavadinimų teminių žodyną apibrėžtoje teritorijoje.

**Tyrimo aktualumas ir naujumas.** Tai pirmas bandymas pristatyti latvių kalbos tarminį teminį žodyną, apibūdinantį pajūrio liaudies architektūros tradiciją Lietuvoje ir Latvijoje, naudojant publikuotus ir nepublikuotus rašytinius latvių dialektologijos šaltinius. Latvių kalbotyroje amatų leksikos grupės yra ištirtos fragmentiškai ir neapima visų Latvijos regionų tarmių ir kalbos variantų. Atsiliepiant į latvių kalbininkų Brigitos Bušmanės ir Elgos Kagainės (Bušmane, Kagaine 2003) nuostatą, kad tolygūs ir išsamūs teritoriniai ir teminiai žodyno tyrimai yra būtini kuriant jungtinį Latvijos tarmių žodyną, šiuo darbu siekiama prisidėti prie minėto uždavinio sprendimo. Tyrimas aktualus ir dėl medžiagos atrankos geografiniu požiūriu: dar trūksta lyginamųjų leksikos tyrimų iš istoriškai senų latvių diasporų, tokių kaip Šventoji–Būtingė ir Kuršių nerija. Disertacija novatoriška tuo, kad jos medžiaga apima didelę dalį istorinių kuršių žemių, kurios po Ordino karų buvo padalintos ir administruojamos kelių skirtingų valstybių. Pasirinkta istorinio vientisumo ir skaidumo koncepcija leidžia pamatyti ne tik bendrą archajinį senųjų baltų kalbų sluoksnį, bet ir istoriškai susiformavusias skirtybes. Semantinė regioninės leksikos analizė gali suteikti įrodymų kalbų kontaktų tyrimams ir būti naudinga kitoms mokslo šakoms, tokioms kaip etnografija, istorija, liaudies meno istorija ir pan. Novatoriška ir tai, kad pasirinktoji leksinė semantinė grupė leidžia įvertinti etnografinį aspektą – čia tiriama kalba bendruomenių, kurių pagrindinis verslas buvo žvejyba ir su ja susijusi gyvensena. Taigi, šis tyrimas yra ir tarpdisciplininis, nes jame naudojamos istorijos, architektūros ir etnografijos tyrimų duomenimis, vartojamos atitinkamos sąvokos ir įvertinamas šių sričių mokslinis kontekstas. Tyrimo rezultatai apie tarmių leksiką gali būti naudojami bendruose baltų kalbų tyrimuose.



**Tyrimo medžiaga ir tiriamo kalbinio ploto aprėptis.** Tyrimui medžiaga rinkta iš 22 šaltinių, ji remiasi (ir apsiriboja) rašytiniais šaltiniais iš įvairių laikotarpių trijų latvių kalbos patarmių: Latvijos Kuržemės pajūrio (į pietus nuo Liepojos iki Latvijos ir Lietuvos sienos), Lietuvos pajūrio latvių diasporos, dar vadinamos Šventosios–Būtingės latviais, ir Kuršių nerijos bendruomenės, dar vadinamos kuršininkais. Medžiagos šaltiniai yra įvairių laikotarpių tarminiai žodynai, latvių kalbos tezaurus (MEe, EHe), istoriniai dvikalbiai žodynai (JLV), lietuvių kalbos atlasas (LKA-L), latvių kalbos tarmių atlasas (LVDA-L), nepublikuoti rinkiniai, tokie kaip latvių kalbos atlaso kartoteka (LVDA mater.), Latvijos universiteto Latvių kalbos instituto Latvijos regioninių žodžių kartoteka (LVI Apv.), publikuoti ir nepublikuoti transkribuotų tarminių tekstų rinkiniai, sudaryti Liepojos universiteto Kuržemės humanitarinių mokslų instituto tyrėjų; be to, trūkstama informacija autorės surinkta apklausos būdu (pateikėjas MB iš Šventosios).

**Medžiagos atranka.** Kalbinę medžiagą sudaro su amatais susijusios leksemos (tyrimų duomenys), apibūdinančios pajūrio sodybas, ir atskiras jų dalis. Remiantis žvejų sodybų architektūros istorija ir etnografinė informacija, sudarytas realių sąrašas, kurio tikslas – išskirti sąvokas, kurios atskleidžia išsamią informaciją apie pakrantės sodybas. Juo remiantis buvo ieškoma leksikos duomenų siekiant sudaryti žodyną. Į sąrašą įtrauktos realijos suskirstytos į temines grupes. Teminių grupių klasifikacija su tam tikrais pakeitimais perimta iš Reķēnos (1975) monografijos; ji leidžia rūšiuoti gana įvairias realijas. Atsižvelgiant į tyrimo tikslą, analizuojamos leksinės medžiagos apimtį ir įvairovę, žodžiai suskirstyti į šias temines grupes: sodyba ir jos kiemas, pastatų tipai, kambarių tipai, statybinės medžiagos ir gaminiai, konstrukcijos, šildymo ir apšvietimo prietaisai.

Išsamiai analizei ir lyginimui buvo pasirinktas leksemų, reiškiančių su amatais susijusias realijas, rinkinys, siekiant maksimalios jų įvairovės, liudijančios autentiškus kalbos faktus kartu su etnografiniu konkrečių realių aprašymu.

**Tyrimo metodai.** Siekiant pateikti išsamų skirtingų latvių kalba kalbančių bendruomenių žvejų sodybos lingvistinį portretą, pasirinkti keli metodai: aprašomasis, istorinis-lyginamasis ir kartografinis. Konceptų ir jų pavadinimų paplitimui įvertinti buvo naudojamas žemėlapių sudarymo metodas. Leksemų paplitimas demonstruojamas ne visų, o tik reprezentatyviausių konceptų žemėlapiais.

Aprašomuoju ir lyginamuoju metodu nustatyta ir aiškinama leksemų kilmė ir aprašomos jų reikšmės. Rezultatai apibendrinami žodyne, kuriame leksemos analizuojamos etimologijos, etnografijos ir paplitimo aspektais. Šis metodas pasirinktas remiantis Reķēnos (1975) darbu, kuriame tokiu būdu buvo efektyviai analizuojamas latgališkų patarmių teminis žodynas. Lyginamasis-istorinis ir aprašomasis metodai

padeda ištirti ir kalbų sąveikos poveikį teminei leksikai istorijos, etnografijos ir sociolingvistikos kontekste.

**Ginamieji teiginiai.** Gynimui pristatomi šie teiginiai:

1. Liaudies architektūros konceptų skirtumus labiau lemia tiriamų etninių bendruomenių sociolingvistinė specifika nei žvejų ir ūkininkų gyvenimo būdo ar ūkiniai skirtumai.

2. Visos trys tyrimui pasirinktos etninės bendruomenės turi bendrą latvių kalbinį paveldą ir kuršišką substratą, kuris yra susijęs su bendra baltų materialinės kultūros raida.

3. Etimologijos ir žodžių darybos požiūriu tirtųjų bendruomenių liaudies architektūros žodyno skirtumus lėmė skirtinga kalbinės sąveikos specifika, kurią lėmė socialinės ir politinės sąlygos.

4. Tirtųjų latviškai kalbančių bendruomenių liaudies architektūros žodyno semantinius skirtumus lemia ir architektūros skirtumai, ir socialinė būtinybė objektus pavadinti kitų kalbų žodžiais.

5. Sąvokų paplitimas rodo platų liaudies architektūros objektų, medžiagų ir reiškinių, kilusių dėl panašių funkcinių poreikių, paplitimą, tačiau jų įvardijimų įvairovė atspindi skirtingas sociolingvistines sąlygas ir latviškai kalbančių bendruomenių santykius skirtingais laikotarpiais. Ankstesnių teiginių pagrįstumą patvirtina teminių sąvokų reprezentatyviausių leksemų geografinis pasiskirstymas.

## DARBO STRUKTŪRA

Daktaro disertaciją sudaro šios dalys: 1. Įvadas. 2. „Kalbų sąveika ir žodynas“, 3. „Metodologija“, 4. „Liaudies architektūros konceptai ir jų įvardijimas tiriamajame regione“, 5. „Teminės leksikos lyginimas“. Darbo pabaigoje pateikiamos išvados, bibliografija ir du priedai, kuriuose pateikiami konceptų sąvadai ir liaudies architektūros žodynas.

Po įvado antrojoje darbo dalyje pristatomi su darbo tema susiję ankstesni moksliniai tyrinėjimai ir jo teorinis pagrindas, daugiausia dėmesio skiriant svarbiausiems tyrimo aspektams: kalbų sąveikos apibrėžimui ir jos lingvistiniam įvertinimui, ypač leksikos srityje, istorinėms kalbų sąveikos ištakoms. Trečiojoje dalyje aptariami tyrimo metodologijos aspektai, įskaitant darbo medžiagą ir jos atrankos kriterijus, duomenų lyginimo problemas ir duomenų analizės pateikimo būdus skirtingais aspektais. Šioje dalyje nurodomi medžiagos atrankos ir klasifikavimo kriterijai. Tyrimo medžiaga atrenkama pagal regioninį ir teminį kriterijus, įskaitant morfologinius leksemų variantus. Atrinktieji konceptai pagal bendriausią reikšmę (pvz., *sodyba* ir jos

*kiemas, pastatų tipai* ir t.t.), toliau kiekviena grupės skirstoma į pogrupius; toks skirstymas paremtas pirmiausia etnografiniu kriterijum, realijos funkcija, pvz., „pastatai laikyti gyvuliams“, „gyvenamojo namo dalys“ ir kt. Šioje darbo dalyje pristatomi ir probleminiai klausimai. Vienas iš jų – netolygus medžiagos kiekis. Pavyzdžiui, gyvybingos Kuržemės tarmės gana išsamiai aprašytos ir tiriamos, o trūkstantis duomenis galima papildyti, Būtingės–Šventosios latvių tarmė laikoma nykstančia, o Kuršių nerijos kuršininkų žodynas tiriamąja tema ribotas ir medžiagos iš šio regiono papildyti nebėra galimybių. Kitas probleminis klausimas yra šaltinių patikimumas. Šiuo požiūriu sudėtingiausia yra Kuršių nerijos medžiaga, nes ji užfiksuota tik keliuose šaltiniuose, iš kurių tik Plakio (KuV) ir Bezenbergerio (BezzS) yra profesionalių kalbininkų darbai, kitų šaltinių autoriai – mėgėjai, kurie leksiką užfiksavo labai įvairuojančia rašyba ir ne visada patikimai paliudytomis formomis. Ypač sudėtinga nustatyti leksemos giminės formą, nes Kwaukos ir Pietcho darbuose kuršininkų kalbos žodžio giminės forma dažnai nurodoma pagal jo vokišką atitikmenį arba net įvairuoja to paties autoriaus darbuose (pvz., *stāgs m.* ‘stogas’ (DKW) ir *stāg f.* ‘t. p.’ (KW) Medžiaga skiriasi ir leksemų semantikos aprašo išsamumu ir tikslumu, dėl to vienos ar kitos leksemos priskyrimas atitinkamam konceptui neretai būna problemiškas.

Ketvirtojoje dalyje pateikiama visų analizuotų liaudies architektūros konceptų ir juos reiškiančių leksemų apžvalga, suskirstyta į 6 teminius skyrius: sodyba ir kiemas, pastatų tipai, kambarių tipai, statybinės medžiagos ir produktai, konstrukcijos, šildymo ir apšvietimo priemonės. Kiekviename skyriuje pristatoma visa medžiagoje rastų leksemų įvairovė, nurodomi šaltiniai ir įvertinami regioniniai skirtumai konceptualizacijos požiūriu. Pvz., sodybos pavadinimai skiriasi ne tik savo kilme (*mājas* ir *sēta*), bet ir paties koncepto turiniu, jo apimtimi – abu yra daugiareikšmiai, tačiau pirmasis didžiojoje tiriamojo arealo dalyje vartojamas sodybos reikšme, išskyrus Kuršių neriją, kur jo lokatyvas vartojamas tik suprieveiksmėjęs (‘namie, namo’), o antrasis ten pažįstamas tik reikšme ‘tvora’. Atitinkamai pirties pavadinimų rasta visoje Kuržemės pakrantėje ir Šventojoje, tačiau jokios šią sąvoką reiškiančios leksemos nei etnografų, nei kalbos duomenų šaltiniuose neužfiksuota Kuršių nerijoje, priešingai, iš aprašų matyti, kad Kuršių nerijoje pirties funkciją atliekančio pastato ar jo dalies nebuvo. Gana didelė įvairovė leksemų, reiškiančių statybinės konstrukcijos elementus, todėl šiame skyriuje yra nemažai poskyrių (pvz., *durys*, *durų stakta*, *durų rankena*, *durų spyna*). Kaip specifinė žvejo sodybos dalis išskirtina žuvų rūkymo erdvė. Ši realija fiksuojama visame regione, tačiau reiškiami skirtingais žodžiais – leksemos savo kilme ir daryba įvardija konceptą pagal funkciją (džiovinimas, rūkymas), tačiau ne visada

nurodo, kad tai pastatas, ir tik etnografinis aprašas padeda nustatyti, kuriose tiriamo ploto dalyse ji reiškia pastatą.

Penktojoje darbo dalyje pateikiama išsami lyginamoji liaudies architektūros sąvokų ir jas reiškiančių leksemų analizė etimologiniu, semantiniu ir geolingvistiniu aspektais, atitinkamai sudaryti šios dalies skyriai. Pirmajame išskiriami trys poskyriai: paveldėta (baltiška) leksika, arba veldiniai, skoliniai ir hibridai. Veldinių poskyryje atskiras dėmesys skiriamas potencialiems kuronizams, t. y. bendrai leksikai, kuri pagal savo fonomorfologinę struktūrą, geografinį paplitimą ir specifinę, tik regionui būdingą reikšmę galėtų būti laikoma senosios kuršių kalbos paveldu (*rentinė, sklanda, danga, dzieds, rūkis*), tačiau jų skaičius nėra žymus. Apskritai, šios teminės grupės baltiškos kilmės leksikos visame tiriamajame regione svoris nedidelis palyginus su didele gausa skolinių, ypač germanizmų. Pastarųjų paplitimą lemia istorinės ir socialinės priežastys: vokiškos kultūros įtaka nuo viduramžių užkariautose baltų žemėse, gausus kolonistų antplūdis ir ypač ilgalaikė jų įtaka amatininkystei. Kita būdinga šios teminės grupės tiriamajame regione ypatybė – palyginti nemažas lituanizmų sluoksnis. Jo atsiradimą lėmė paribio bendruomenių tarpusavio sąveika ir ilgalaikis gyvenimas diasporoje (Šventosios–Būtingės ir Kuršių nerijos atveju). Slavizmų kilmė atskirose kalbėtojų bendruomenėse yra skirtinga: Kuržemėje, iš dalies ir Šventojoje didesnioji jų dalis atėjo iš tiesioginių kontaktų su slavų kalbomis per socialinius-administracinius santykius, o Kuršių nerijoje slavizmų sluoksnis yra antrinis – jie atėjo per lietuvių tarmes, nes tiesioginio kontakto su slavų kalbomis čia nebuvo. Skolinių adaptacijos regiono kalboje lygis nevienodas, ryškiausiai jį rodo gana gausus hibridų sluoksnis, pvz. *sānkambaris* ‘šoninis kambarys’, *pīgrindis* ‘slenkstis’, *luoagerāms* ‘lango rėmas’; tačiau šios grupės išskyrimą sunkina tai, kad dažnai šaltinių rašyba neleidžia nustatyti, ar sąvoka laikytina vienu žodžiu, ar žodžių junginiu, tokių atvejų daugiausia pasitaikė Kuršių nerijos šaltiniuose. Žodžių darybos skyriuje baltiškos kilmės išvestiniai žodžiai aprašomi pagal darybos būdą: priešdėlių, priesagų, galūnių vediniai, dūriniai ir žodžių junginiai. Priesagų vediniai sudaryti su 12 priesaginių afiksų, iš jų atskirai minėtini deminutyvinių priesagų vediniai – kartais iš aprašo sunku nustatyti, ar toks vedinys laikytinas atskiru konceptu, ar žodis reiškia tik mažą tos pačios rūšies daiktą. Pvz., žodžio *logs* ‘langas’ forma *lodziņš* ‘langelis’ reiškia ne šiaip ‘mažas langas’, bet ‘anga dūmams išeiti’. Todėl šiame skyriuje tokių priesagų vediniais laikomos tik tos leksemos, kurios reiškia skirtingas realijas. Priešdėlių vedinius sudaro penkių prefiksų vediniai, kuriems būdinga galūnės kaita, tačiau ji ne visada formaliai pastebima dėl to, kad *i* kamieno žodžiai didelėje Kuržemės tarmių dalyje yra perėję į *ē* kamieną, pvz., *aiz/āzkrāsne* ‘užkrosnis’ < *aiz* + tarm. *krāsne* (kitur tarmėse *krāsns*). Nedidelį poskyrį sudaro keturių tipų galūnių vediniai, visi kilę iš veiks-

mažodžių (*atslēga* ‘raktas’ < *atslēgt* ‘atidaryti’, *ateja* ‘tualetas’ < *atiet* ‘nueiti’ ir kt.). Dūriniai (kompozitai) sudaro didelę vedinių dalį. Šis žodžių darybos būdas būdingas latvių kalbai. Didelis kompozitų skaičius iš dalies nulemtas pačių realiųjų, daiktų, konstrukcijų, sudėtų iš kelių dalių, specifika. Tačiau ir čia išsiskiria Kuršių nerijos medžiaga, kurią darybos požiūriu sudėtinga interpretuoti dėl skirtingų užrašymų, ypač žodynuose, dėl greta parašyto vokiško semantinio ekvivalento įtakos: vokiškai sąvoka reiškia kompozitu, tačiau kuršininkų kalboje tai galėjo būti žodžių junginys. Tai leidžia spėti ir skirtingi užrašymai to paties autoriaus darbuose *luoagelāds* || *luoage lādes* ‘langinė’. Kita vertus, esant tokiai stipriai vokiečių kalbos įtakai, kuri į Prūsijos kalbas skverbėsi ne tik per mokyklas, bet ir iš visos aplinkos, šiame regione galima tikėtis ir realiai kalboje vartotų kompozitų gausumo. Žodžių junginių poskyrį sudaro ne tik minėtieji problemiški atvejai iš Kuršių nerijos, bet ir Kuržemės medžiaga. Žodžių junginiai kaip konceptas taip pat teoriškai sunkiai klasifikuojami dėl savo semantinio skaidumo, tačiau prie junginių priskiriami dėl vartojimo dažnumo pvz., *pīts žogs* ‘pinta, pynučių tvora’ ir pan. Antrasis šios dalies skyrius apibūdina temines grupes pagal konceptų ir juos reiškiančių leksemų sąsajas, atsižvelgiant į jų kilmės ir darybos tendencijas, atskiras dėmesys skiriamas leksinėms paralelėms. Taip apibendrinus anksčiau aprašytas pjūviais išanalizuotą informaciją, išryškinami atskirų teminių grupių kalbiniai savitumai. Semantinės apžvalgos skyrius sudarytas iš dviejų poskyrių: 1) reikšmės išplėtimas, siaurėjimas ir pakeitimas, 2) sinonimija. Pirmojoje dalyje analizuojami atvejai, kai tam tikruose tiriamosios teritorijos dialektuose leksemos reikšmė gali būti siauresnė arba platesnė. Be jau minėtojo *māja* ir *mājas* atvejo, minėtini ir kiti: pvz., *nams* ‘namas’, ‘namo dalis, prieškambaris’, ‘koridorius’, ‘ugniakuro vieta’. Šios leksemos semantikos raida visame tirtame plote rodo, kad jos reikšmė kito: ‘židinyš’ → ‘kambarys (pastogė, būstas)’ → ‘gyvenamasis namas’ → ‘pastatas’, taigi ji tapo platesnė ir bendresnė. Tačiau dėl reikšmės pasikeitimo galėjo būti prarasta pirminė žodžio *nams* reikšmė, pavyzdžiui, ‘trobelė (iš stačiai pastatytų stulpų)’, kuri galėjo reikšti ankstyvaisiais laikotarpiais būdingą būsto tipą. Panašiai keitėsi ir kitų žodžių reikšmių ribos (*sēta*, *kambaris* ir kt.). Kitame poskyryje apžvelgiama teminės grupės sinonimija. Daugelis konceptų reiškiami ne viena leksema, ypač dažnai sinonimiją lemia tos pačios reikšmės keleriopos kilmės ekvivalentai, pvz.: *laidars* || *kūts* || *stallis* / *staldis* ‘gyvulių tvartas’, *ķelderis* / *ķelleris* || *pagrabs* ‘rūsysis’ ir pan. Be to, sinonimiją dažnai suponuoja ir siekimas tiksliau apibrėžti sąvoką: *būde* / *sune būde* ‘šuns būda’ ir pan. Neretai leksinius paralelizmus sudaro tos pačios kilmės, bet darybiškai besiskiriantys žodžiai, pvz. *augstiene* || *augša* || *augšiene* || *istabaugša* / *istabas aukša* || *augstiene kambure* || *âugštavējis istubas* ‘palėpės kambarys’. Dvikalbystė prisideda prie skirtingos kilmės paralelizmų įsigalėjimo. Kadangi tyrimas apsiriboja rašytiniais šaltiniais, sunku

nustatyti, kiek tokie leksiniai variantai buvo vartojami bendruomenėse ir kurie jų laikytini kalbos faktais, o kurie sukurti žodynų sudarytojų. Tai ypač pasakytina apie Kuršių nerijos žodynų medžiagą, kur vokiški sudurtiniai žodžiai ir jų samplaikos tarnauja kaip semantinis modelis ir nėra randami jokiuose kituose šaltiniuose.

Paskutinis skyrius skirtas geolingvistiniam aspektui: žodžių paplitimo analizei. Analizuojant konceptų pasiskirstymą tiriamoje teritorijoje, galima išskirti tris grupes pagal jų paplitimą atskiruose arba visuose plotuose: 1) sąvokos, kurios aptinkamos visose trijose išskirtose teritorijose, taigi ir visose trijose latvių kalba kalbančiose bendruomenėse, 2) sąvokos, kurios aptinkamos dviejose iš teritorijų, 3) sąvokos, kurios aptinkamos tik vienoje iš tiriamųjų teritorijų. Išnagrinėjus įvairių konceptų leksemų paplitimą Latvijos tarmėse, galima daryti išvadą, kad didesnė jų dalis apima gana plačią teritoriją skirtingose Latvijos dalyse. Pagal apimtį ir nuotolį nuo tyrimo centro skiriamos penkios teritorinės grupės. Plačiausiai paplitusios leksemos laikytinos bendru latvių kalbos paveldu, siauriausiai – regioninės kalbos faktais. Teritoriniu požiūriu atskiros paminėjimo vertas Kuršių nerijos kuršininkų kalbos leksemų santykis su latvių tarmių žodynu. Teminiame liaudies architektūros žodyne nemažai leksemų yra bendros su latvių bendrine kalba arba turi etimologinių atitikmenų latvių tarmėse. Nors sugretinimas su latvių tarmių žodžiais gali rodyti šių žodžių ir kalbėtojų kilmės vietovę, vis dėlto pabrėžtina, kad tai, jog kuršininkų kalboje egzistuoja sąvokos pavadinimas, identiškas žodžiui ar jo variantui Kuržemės latvių tarmėse, nebūtinai visada reiškia, kad leksema buvo paveldėta iš Kuržemės. Tai gali būti ir vėliau pagal egzistuojantį modelį sukurtas žodis. Akivaizdu, kad lietuvių kalba turėjo tiesioginės įtakos Latvijos pasienio tarmėms ir kuršininkų kalbai atskirai, kitaip tariant, skoliniai į šias patarmes atėjo iš skirtingų lietuvių patarmių. Panašiai ir germanizmai dažnai liudija tiesioginį kontaktą su vokiškai kalbančia bendruomene ar mokykloje arba iš valdžios institucijų išmoktą žodį, o ne iš latvių kalbos paveldėtą svetimos kilmės vardą.

Atskirame poskyryje atkreipiamas dėmesys į leksikos sluoksnį, kuris dėl įvairių aplinkybių (izoliacijos, retesnių kontaktų su lietuviais) buvo paveldėtas ir išsaugotas Kuršių nerijoje toliau nuo Klaipėdos esančiuose kaimuose, tačiau vėliau dėl ekonominių ir kalbinių kontaktų vienas kitas paveldėtas žodis buvo pakeistas kitos kilmės pavadinimu: pvz., Šarkuvoje (Sarkau) užfiksuotas *jūmts* 'stogas', kurį vėliau pakeitė tos pačios reikšmės lituanizmas *stāgs* (plg. liet. *stogas*). Kitas pavyzdys yra ten pat užfiksuotas žodis *māja* 'gyvenamasis namas' greta *nams* (BezzS). Priešingai nei ankstesniame pavyzdyje, čia pastebimas gebėjimas išsaugoti paveldėtą žodyną ir tam tikrose situacijose vartoti jį išskiriant reikšmės niuansus. Šie pastebėjimai iš dalies patvirtina Bezenbergio hipotezę, kad Kuršių nerijoje būta teritorinio pasiskirstymo pagal gyventojų kilmę iš skirtingų Kuršo tarminių plotų.

## IŠVADOS

Atliktas lyginamasis liaudies architektūros sąvokų tyrimas apima trijų latviškai kalbančių pajūrio bendruomenių medžiagą, užfiksuotą rašytiniuose šaltiniuose nuo XVII a. iki XX a. pradžios. Sudarytas teminis analizuojamų liaudies architektūros sąvokų ir jų pavadinimų žodynas (138 sąvokos). Darbe pasirinkti penki analizės pjūviai, kurių rezultatai leidžia daryti šias išvadas:

1. Liaudies architektūros leksikos Lietuvos ir Latvijos pajūryje lyginimas rodo, kad etnografinės ir socialinės sąlygos nepadarė reikšmingos įtakos liaudies architektūros žodyno skirtumams didžiojoje tiriamos teritorijos dalyje. Liaudies statybos terminologijoje nėra reikšmingo skirtumo tarp žvejų sodybų ir žvejų-ūkininkų sodybų. Tai rodo, kad pakrantės etninių bendruomenių gyvenimo būdo specifika nėra pagrindinis veiksnys renkantis ar kuriant liaudies architektūros sąvokas reprezentuojančią leksiką. Tačiau tiriamosios teritorijos kontekste Kuršių nerijos žvejų sodybos yra išimtis: šio regiono leksikoje trūksta nemažos dalies sąvokų, kurios būdingos Kuržemės pajūrio latviams. Taip yra dėl kompaktiškesnio sodybų išplanavimo, nulemta gamtos ir verslo sąlygų.
2. Tyrimas taip pat parodė, kad tirtose latviškai kalbančiose bendruomenėse liaudies architektūros sąvokas reiškiančios leksemos atspindi šias bendras etimologijos tendencijas:
  - 2.1. didelė liaudies statybos terminų dalis yra bendra tiriamame regione (110 pavadinimų), įskaitant sąvokas, kurios yra baltų materialinės kultūros dalis. Iš dalies pasitvirtino prielaida, kad tiriamojoje teritorijoje liaudies architektūros žodyne esama senosios kuršių kalbos substrato (6 leksemos, 7 pavadinimai). Tačiau kuronizmų skaičius nėra reikšmingas (arba jo identifikavimui reikalingi papildomi metodai) palyginus su kitų etimologinių grupių leksika;
  - 2.2. galima konstatuoti didelę lietuvių tarmių (šiaurės ir vakarų žemaičių) ir kelių chronologinių sluoksnių vokiečių kalbos įtaką, atsiradusią dėl ilgalaikės dvikalbystės ir socialinių-kultūrinių kontaktų (Kuržemėje prie pirmųjų dviejų dar priskirtina slavų kalbų įtaka). Tai atspindi santykinai didelis skolinių (133), sudėtinių hibridinių pavadinimų (29) ir vedinių su svetimos kilmės komponentais (10).
  - 2.3. Naujų liaudies architektūros sąvokas reiškiančių pavadinimų kūrimo būdai – daugiausia afiksinė ir sudurtinių žodžių daryba – yra panašūs visose tiriamosiose teritorijose, nors jų produktyvumas skiriasi; vis dėlto juos sieja bendri

- bruožai, tokie kaip tiek iš tarmių, tiek iš bendrinės kalbos kildintini komponentai, o sudurtiniai pavadinimai dažnai jungia skirtingos kilmės elementus.
3. Liaudies architektūros žodyno analizė parodė ne tik bendruosius tirtųjų teritorinių bendruomenių kalbų sąveikos ypatumus, bet ir nutolimo tendencijas, kurioms didelę įtaką darė skirtingos socialinės ir politinės sąlygos:
    - 3.1. Kuržemėje latvių bendruomenės socialiniai– kultūriniai kontaktai siejo ją su kitomis latvių tarmėmis, bendrine kalba ir paribio lietuvių tarmėmis, tačiau nebuvo pereita į dvikalbystę. Todėl ji išsaugojo didžiausią paveldėtą leksikos sluoksnį (100 pavadinimų); šio sluoksnio elementai naudojami kuriant naujus žodžius naujiems conceptams. Visi kuronizmai (7 pavadinimai) yra nustatyti būtent šioje kalbos ploto dalyje. Šios bendruomenės teminis žodynas atspindi kalbų sąveiką tarp latvių germanų, slavų, lietuvių ir finougrų kalbų. Kitoje tiriamos teritorijos dalyje tokio plataus spektro nepastebėta. Didelis sinonimų skaičius atspindi administracinės valdžios ir jos kalbos (vokiečių) įtaką keliais laikotarpiais, atitinkamai vėliau – slavų kalbų, kurių žodžiai pakeitė germanų kilmės žodžius. Kaip ir visoje Latvijos teritorijoje, čia sodybos buvo tobulinamos pagal dvarų pavyzdžius, todėl objektų pavadinimai dažnai buvo perimami iš Baltijos vokiečių kalbos.
    - 3.2. Būtingės–Šventosios liaudies architektūros žodyną sudaro paveldėti (21) ir pasiskolinti (26) pavadinimai. Pirmoji grupė liudija, kad ši tarmė yra pietvakarių Kuržemės tarmių tęsinys, o antroji grupė išryškina naujus žodžius teminiame žodyne. Daugiausia germaniškos kilmės vardų buvo paveldėta iš gretimų latvių ir lietuvių tarmių, o lietuviška leksika įsitvirtino dėl intensyvių kultūrinių kontaktų su lietuviškai kalbančia bendruomene ir laipsniškos dvikalbystės. Žodžių darybos požiūriu Šventosios–Būtingės leksikai būdingi priesaginiai dariniai, tačiau ši žodžių darybos priemonė, lyginant su Kuržeme, nėra produktyviausia, nes čia vyrauja žodžių junginiai.
    - 3.3. Kuršių nerijos kuršininkų kalboje itin ryškus germanizmų sluoksnis (55). Jie yra dvejojo pobūdžio: per lietuvių kalbas ir dėl ilgalaikės oficialios dvikalbystės Prūsijos valstybėje. Kitą skolinių sluoksnį sudaro lituanizmai (įskaitant per lietuvių kalbą atėjusius slavizmus) (15), atsiradę dėl ilgalaikių ūkinių kontaktų ir giminystės ryšių abipus Kuršių marių. Naujų leksikos vienetų kūrimas gimtosios kalbos priemonėmis buvo neproduktyvus dėl kalbinės izoliacijos – tai liudija gausios hibridinės formos ir pažodiniai vertiniai, ypač iš vokiečių kalbos. Liaudies



architektūros pavadinimai į Kuršių nerijos kalbą pateko daugiausia per keliaujančius amatininkus. Pastebėta, kad toliau nuo Klaipėdos buvusiuose kaimuose užfiksuotas tas paveldėtos leksikos sluoksnis, kurio neišliko šiaurinėje nerijos dalyje. Žodžių darybos požiūriu būtent Kuršių nerijai ypač būdinga sudurtinių (17) ir sudėtinių (30) sąvokų gausa. Ši tendencija sietina su pažodiniu vertimu iš vokiečių kalbos, be to, tai iš dalies nulemta ir vieno iš šaltinių (Pietscho žodynų) specifikos.

4. Skirtingos leksemų reikšmės (polisemija) atskiruose plotuose susidaro dėl skirtingų objektų funkcijų ar išvaizdos konkrečioje vietovėje. Tai labiausiai akivaizdu lyginant leksemas Kuržemėje ir Kuršių nerijoje. Sinonimiją labiau negu architektūros specifika nulemia socialinis poreikis objektus pavadinti arba pervadinti svetimų kalbų žodžiais.
5. Geografinis reprezentatyviausių konceptų pasiskirstymas paremia ankstesnius teiginius: pirma, daugiausia skolinių teminėje leksikoje užfiksuota Kuršių nerijoje, o daugiausia paveldėtos leksikos – Kuržemėje; antra, gausiausią darybinę grupę sudaro žodžių junginiai ir derivatai (mažėjančia tvarka Kuržemėje, Kuršių nerijoje ir Šventosios–Būtingės areale), iš derivatų produktyviausi yra priesagų vediniai, ypač Kuržemėje; trečia, didžiausia sinonimų koncentracija nustatyta Kuržemėje, po jos – Kuršių nerijoje.

Šį tyrimą riboja tai, kad ne visos sąvokos ir jas reiškiančios leksemos reprezentuojamos visoje tirtoje teritorijoje. Tolesniame darbe reikėtų ieškoti naujų šaltinių ir duomenų apie trūkstamą atitinkamų sąvokų leksiką. Viena iš galimų būsimų tyrimo krypčių galėtų būti liaudies architektūros žodyno lyginimas Kuržemės ir Vidžemės pajūrio regionuose, kita – latviškai ir lietuviškai kalbančių pajūrio bendruomenių atitinkamos teminės leksikos lyginimas.

## LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

### Scientific articles on the dissertation topic:

1. Rudzāte I. *The Lexis of Latvian-speaking communities on the Baltic Sea Coast in Latvia and Lithuania: Denominations for Houses*. Res Humanitariae XXX, 2022, 231–252 p.
2. Rudzāte I. *Latviešu valodas amatniecības leksika Baltijas jūras piekrastē Latvijā un Lietuvā: reālijas jumts, skurstenis, jumtgale, kore, vējadēlis, āži un tupelītes nosaukumi*. Vārds un tā pētīšanas aspekti 26, 2022, 124–134 p.
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*Doctoral Dissertation*

LATVIŠKAI KALBANČIŲ BENDRUOMENIŲ LEKSIKA LYGINAMUOJU ASPEKTU:  
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