

# Contents

Preface ✎ 357

INTRODUCTION ✎ 358

Danguolė Mikulėnienė, Anna Stafecka  
*Geolinguistic Research into the Lexicon  
of the Latvian and Lithuanian Languages* ✎ 359

Rolandas Kregždys  
*General Lexis of the Baltic Languages: Flora* ✎ 369

Edmundas Trumpa  
*Phonetic Transcription of Latvian Dialects* ✎ 393

Asta Leskauskaitė, Rima Bakšienė  
*Phonetic Transcription of Lithuanian Dialects* ✎ 395

COMMENTARIES AND MAPS ✎ 397

*Names of the Nettle* ✎ 398  
Commentary. Rima Bakšienė, Anna Stafecka, Saulius Ambrazas ✎ 399  
Maps. Laura Geržotaitė, Ilona Akmentiņa ✎ 405

*Names of the Dandelion* ✎ 407  
Commentary. Ilga Jansone, Violeta Meiliūnaitė, Saulius Ambrazas ✎ 408  
Maps. Laura Geržotaitė, Liene Markus-Narvila ✎ 413

*Names of the Cornflower* ✎ 415  
Commentary. Asta Leskauskaitė, Anna Stafecka, Saulius Ambrazas ✎ 416  
Maps. Laura Geržotaitė, Ilona Akmentiņa ✎ 420

*Names of the Yarrow* ✎ 423  
Commentary. Ilga Jansone, Asta Leskauskaitė, Saulius Ambrazas ✎ 424  
Map. Laura Geržotaitė, Ilona Akmentiņa ✎ 433

*Names of the Plantain* ✎ 434  
Commentary. Ilga Jansone, Rima Bakšienė, Saulius Ambrazas ✎ 435  
Maps. Laura Geržotaitė, Liene Markus-Narvila ✎ 443

*Names of the Juniper* ✎ 445  
Commentary. Rima Bakšienė, Ilga Jansone, Anna Stafecka,  
Saulius Ambrazas ✎ 446  
Map. Edmundas Trumpa, Laura Geržotaitė ✎ 449

*Names of the Cone* ✎ 450  
Commentary. Asta Leskauskaitė, Anna Stafecka, Saulius Ambrazas,  
(footnotes) Rolandas Kregždys ✎ 451  
Maps. Laura Geržotaitė, Ilona Akmentiņa ✎ 460

*Names of the Blackberry* ✎ 462  
Commentary. Ilga Jansone, Asta Leskauskaitė, Saulius Ambrazas,  
(footnotes) Rolandas Kregždys ✎ 463

Maps. Laura Geržotaitė, Liene Markus-Narvila ✎ 466

*Names of the Onion* ✎ 468  
Commentary. Ilga Jansone, Violeta Meiliūnaitė, Saulius Ambrazas ✎ 469  
Maps. Laura Geržotaitė, Ilona Akmentiņa ✎ 472

*Names of the Potato* ✎ 475  
Commentary. Rima Bakšienė, Anna Stafecka, Saulius Ambrazas ✎ 476  
Maps. Laura Geržotaitė, Ilona Akmentiņa ✎ 482

*Names of the Swedish Turnip* ✎ 484  
Commentary. Rima Bakšienė, Ilga Jansone, Anna Stafecka,  
Saulius Ambrazas ✎ 485  
Maps. Edmundas Trumpa, Laura Geržotaitė ✎ 487

*Names of the Crops* ✎ 489  
Commentary. Rima Bakšienė, Anna Stafecka, Saulius Ambrazas ✎ 490  
Maps. Laura Geržotaitė, Liene Markus-Narvila ✎ 494

*Names of the Winter Wheat* ✎ 496  
Commentary. Asta Leskauskaitė, Ilga Jansone, Anna Stafecka,  
Saulius Ambrazas ✎ 497  
Map. Edmundas Trumpa, Laura Geržotaitė ✎ 499

*Names of the Hazel Tree* ✎ 500  
Commentary. Anna Stafecka, Rima Bakšienė, Saulius Ambrazas ✎ 501  
Maps. Laura Geržotaitė, Ilona Akmentiņa ✎ 505

*Names of the Pear* ✎ 507  
Commentary. Asta Leskauskaitė, Anna Stafecka, Saulius Ambrazas ✎ 508  
Maps. Laura Geržotaitė, Liene Markus-Narvila ✎ 511

*Names of the Top* ✎ 514  
Commentary. Rima Bakšienė, Ilga Jansone, Anna Stafecka,  
Saulius Ambrazas ✎ 515  
Map. Edmundas Trumpa, Laura Geržotaitė ✎ 517

SUPPLEMENTS ✎ 518

*LVDA Dialect List* ✎ 519

*LKA Items List* ✎ 522

*References* ✎ 530

*Abbreviations* ✎ 540

## Preface

The idea of publishing *Baltu valodu atlants / Baltų kalbų atlasas / Atlas of the Baltic Languages*<sup>1</sup> was welcomed internationally.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, the scholars of the Institute of the Latvian Language of the University of Latvia and the Institute of the Lithuanian Language continue the project following the same research and methodical principles of work.

This time, the first part of the Lexicon, Flora, that introduces the part of the lexis characteristic of the Baltic languages on a wider scale is presented to the academic establishment. In this CD it is introduced with a comprehensive introductory article, sixteen linguistic lexical maps and comments as well as fifteen smaller maps on which the name of one or another plant is shown in the area of prevalence only in one of the languages in Latvia or Lithuania. The readers also get acquainted with the history of the geolinguistic research conducted by the scholars of the two countries in the second half of the 19th and 20th centuries.

As the prospectus of the Baltic languages atlas is not readily available for the readers some maps, its commentaries and other texts are reprinted in this CD without which the information presented here would be incomplete or more difficult to understand. Some of them have been edited and expanded by the authors or editors of this publication.

The publication *Atlas of the Baltic Languages. Lexis 1: Flora* has been discussed at the Department of the History of Language and Dialectology of the Institute of the Lithuanian Language and the Institute's Board as well as at a meeting of the Scientific Board of the Institute of the Latvian Language of the University of Latvia. The working group expresses its sincere gratitude to all who provided valuable suggestions during discussions: Habil. Dr. Prof. Algirdas Sabaliauskas, Habil. Dr. Prof. Vytautas Ambrazas, Habil. Dr. Ojārs Bušs, etc.

Special thanks go to our young colleagues Veronika Adamonytė, Pauls Balodis, Daiva Kardelytė-Grinevičienė and Ilona Akmentiņa for the quality translations from Latvian to Lithuanian and vice versa as well as to Aldona Matulaitytė and Zuzana Šiušaitė, who translated and edited the English texts.

We also thank the artist of the atlas, Alfonsas Žvilius, and Laurynas Liberis, the CD programmer and designer, as well as the head of the Institute of the Lithuanian Language Publishers Audronė Bielevičienė, and the layout designer Saulius Juozapaitis.

We express our gratitude to the Lithuanian Science Board for financial support and hope it will support our future projects.

1 *Baltu valodu atlants. Prospekts / Baltų kalbų atlasas. Prospektas / Atlas of the Baltic Languages. Prospect.* Ed. A. Stafecka, D. Mikulėnienė, Rīga–Vilnius, 2009, 180 p. ISBN 978-9984-742-49-6.

2 Zigmās Zinkevičius. [Rec.] *Baltu valodu atlants–Baltų kalbų atlasas–Atlas of the Baltic Languages.* Rīga: Latvijas universitātes Latviešu valodas institūts. Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos institutas, 2009, 180 p. – *Gimtoji kalba* 1, 2010, 25; Jožica Škofic. [Rec.] Anna Stafecka & Danguolė Mikulėnienė, ed. *Baltu valodu atlants–Baltų kalbų atlasas–Atlas of the Baltic Languages.* Rīga / Vilnius: University of Latvia, 2009. 184 p. – *Dialectologia et geolinguistica* 19, 2011, 119–121; Dorota Kristina Rembiševska. Par Baltu valodu atlantu. – *Latvijas Zinātņu Akadēmijas Vēstis.* A daļa, 2011, 65. sēj., 1./2. nr., 100–102; Dorota Rembiszewska. [Rec.:] *Baltu valodu atlants. Prospekts (Baltų kalbų atlasas. Atlas of the Baltic Languages),* Rīga–Vilnius, 2009, ss. 183. – *Acta Baltico-Slavica* 34, 2010, 301–304; [Inform.] *Baltu valodu atlants. – Latvijas Zinātņu Akadēmijas Vēstis.* A daļa, 2010, 64. sēj., 3./4. nr., 139.



## INTRODUCTION

# Geolinguistic Research into the Lexicon of the Latvian and Lithuanian Languages

Danguolė Mikulėnienė, Anna Stafecka

Thus far the descriptive method of describing dialectal material collected by individual researchers has prevailed in the history of both Latvian and Lithuanian linguistics. It is quite often that different aims and methods of analysis applied by the authors impede synthesis of the data, do not allow a clearer picture of the whole to

be seen. On the contrary, properly compared facts help us understand the development of the Baltic linguistics better and assess it within a broader European context (cf. Dini 2000). Then parallels of geolinguistic research in Latvia and Lithuania become clearly distinct; see Table 1.<sup>1</sup>

PERIOD	LATVIA	LITHUANIA
End of the 19th century	1892. E. Volters et al. <i>Programma tautas gara mantu krājejiem</i> (Jelgava)	1886. Э. Вольтеръ. <i>Программа для указания особенностей говоров Литвы и Жмуди</i> (Санкт-Петербургъ)
	1886–1905. <i>Dienas Lapa's</i> supplements <i>Etnogrāfiskas ziņas par latviešiem</i>	1890–1898. K. Jaunius' description of dialects in the calendar <i>Памятная книжка Ковенской губернии</i>
First half of the 20th century	1923. P. Šmits. <i>Programma tautas tradīciju krājejiem</i>	1924. K. Būga. <i>Klausīņu lapas</i> (questionnaires No. 1, No. 2 and No. 3) published as a supplement to the newspaper <i>Lietuva</i> , 23–25 July 1924
	1940.V. Rūķe. <i>Programma izlokšņu aprakstiem</i>	1940 (1941?). A. Salys. <i>Apklausas 1</i> (Questionnaire 1)
Second half of the 20th century <sup>2</sup>	1954. <i>Latviešu valodas dialektu atlanta materiālu vākšanas programma</i>	1951. <i>Lietuvių kalbos atlaso medžiagos rinkimo programa</i> (Programme for Data Collection for the Atlas of the Lithuanian Language) (authors J. Balčikonis, B. Larinas, J. Senkus; 2nd edition, 1956)
	1963–1992. <i>Palīgs apvidu vārdu vācējiem</i> (16 questionnaires, see the text)	
	1967–1976. <i>Apvidvārdu aptaujas</i> (7 questionnaires, see the text)	
	since 1976. <i>Atlas linguarum Europae</i> (36 points)	since 1976. <i>Atlas linguarum Europae</i> (42 points)
	1999. <i>Latviešu valodas dialektu atlants. Leksika</i> (102 maps, vad. B. Laumane)	1977. <i>Lietuvių kalbos atlasas 1. Leksika</i> (Atlas of the Lithuanian Language 1. The Lexicon) (120 maps, managing editor K. Morkūnas)
		1983. <i>Lietuvių kalbos faktų rinkimo programa</i> (Programme for Collecting Facts of the Lithuanian Language) (5 questionnaires are devoted to the lexicon)
21st century		1995. <i>Lietuvių kalbos tarmių ir jų sąveikos tyrimo programa</i> (Programme for Lithuanian Dialects and Research into of their Interaction)
	2009 m. <i>Baltu valodu atlants. Prospekts / Baltų kalbų atlasas. Prospektas / Atlas of the Baltic languages. A Prospect</i> . Sastādītājas un ievada autores / Sudarytojos ir įvado autorės / Editing and introduction by: A. Stafecka, D. Mikulėnienė, Rīga: Latvijas Universitātes Latviešu valodas institūts, Vilnius: Lietuvių kalbos institutas	

Table 1. Geolinguistic research into the lexicon of the Latvian and Lithuanian dialects

- 1 Perhaps the report “‘Baltu valodu atlants’: latviešu un lietuviešu paralēles” (Mikulėnienė, Stafecka 2010: 118f.) delivered by Danguolė Mikulėnienė and Anna Stafecka at the 11th International Congress of Balticists “Past, Present and Future of the Baltic Languages” (Riga, 27–30 September 2010) should be considered the first attempt to present a synthetic picture of research into the Latvian and Lithuanian dialects. The first part of the report on the beginning of research into the Latvian and Lithuanian dialects was published separately (Mikulėnienė, Stafecka 2011: 123–133).
- 2 It should be noted that in the 1960s outstanding scholarly works on dialectology were published in Latvia and Lithuania: Marta Rudzīte's *Latviešu dialektoloģija* (Latvian Dialectology) (1964) and Zigmās Zinkevičius' *Lietuvių dialektologija* (Lithuanian Dialectology) (with 75 maps, 1966), which laid a sound foundation for future studies of dialectology in both countries.

Geolinguistic research into the Lithuanian and Latvian lexicon is to be related to the first questionnaires. The beginning of this research is the second half of the 19th century when collection of data on folklore, ethnography and the language was started in the north-western part of the Russian Empire, in the current territory of Lithuanian and Latvia, on a broad scale. With this aim in view, the first programmes of collecting the material were prepared.

### *The first questionnaires and questions about the lexis. Eduards Volters' programmes*

The first questionnaires of the cultural and linguistic heritage of the Lithuanian and Latvian nations are to be related to the name of Volters, a privat-docent at the University of St Petersburg. It is true, they were quite dissimilar and of unequal value: the first one (Программа 1886) was of a narrower character and intended for collecting exclusively linguistic facts of Lithuanian dialects, whereas the second one (Programma 1892) was much broader and encompasses the entire ethnographic and spiritual heritage of the Latvian nation (more about it see Mikulėnienė, Stafecka 2011: 123ff.).

GENERAL FEATURES OF THE PROGRAMMES. The 1886 program developed on Volters' initiative is to be regarded as the first questionnaire of research into the Lithuanian dialects. This is a small format thin book (12 pp) containing more than 50 questions attributed to different levels of the language (Mikulėnienė, Stafecka 2011: 124). Under Volters' guidance the second *Programma tautas gara mantu krājējiem* (Programme for the Collectors of the Spiritual Heritage of the Nation; Jelgava, 1892) drawn up by several Latvian students<sup>3</sup> and published by the Jelgava Latvian Society Department of Literature. This programme was much larger (80 pp.) than the first one: it consisted of about 950 questions divided into sections. Questions that were related to the language directly or indirectly were found in all sections of this programme.

The programme devoted to the Lithuanian language had no detailed introductory part. Information that the Imperial Russian Geographical Society asks answers to and comments on the presented questions to be sent only to the specified address is given in the first sentences.<sup>4</sup> At the end of the book it is requested that a dialectal text (a song, a fairy-tale or a legend) written down as exactly as possible should be added to the answers without fail, as well as folk stories about the language, dialects and nicknames of other localities. To

take down a dialectal text exactly it was advised to make use of two alphabets presented at the end of the book: Russian-Lithuanian and Latin-Lithuanian.<sup>5</sup> The collection of songs compiled by Jonas Juška (*Литовскія Народныя Пьсьни*, 1867) was indicated as an example of applying the Cyrillic script to the Lithuanian language to be followed. Though the Lithuanian texts could be written down in the Cyrillic script, the accent of a word was asked to be marked with the grave and acute accent symbols, and it was recommended to mark the length of vowels with a bar (Программа 1886: 12).

The detailed introduction of the Latvian programme also specified that folklore material had to be written down in the way it was presented by the informants, nothing could be corrected or added. Folklore material and all answers, for example, to the questions presented in Section 8 "Dievu un mānu ticība" (Belief in Gods and Ghosts) had to be taken down in the semi-dialect of the informant following the instructions given to the collectors of dialectal material by the Jelgava Latvian Society Department of Literature.<sup>6</sup> Dialecticisms had to be explained.<sup>7</sup>

All sources were listed in the introduction to the Latvian programme (Programma 1892: 9). They were as follows: 1) *Программа для собиранія этнографическихъ сведеній* (1887) issued by the Society of Amateurs of Natural Science, Anthropology and Ethnography at Moscow University, 2) *Программа для собиранія народныхъ юридическихъ обычаевъ* (1887)<sup>8</sup> published by the Ethnographic Division of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, 3) on the issues published by the Society of Latvian Friends (Bīlenšteins, Auniņš, Volters 1888), 4) material on Latvian mythology collected by Volters (Programma 1892: 9).<sup>9</sup>

The two latter sources can be regarded as the first questionnaires though of a very small volume. The questionnaire of the Society of Latvian Friends consisted of 80 questions devoted to ethnography and mythology (only one of them "Kā vēl citādi sauc varavīksni?" [What are other names of the rainbow?] was related to the language), and the questionnaire of Volters (Volders 1892) about St John's Day published in the supplements *Etnogrāfiskas ziņas par latviešiem* (Ethnographic knowledge about the Latvians) to the newspaper *Dienas lapa* consisted of 151 questions, and some of them were related to the language: about the names of dishes on St John's Day (VI, 70), the names of grasses (IV, 5, 34; X, 27), place names containing Jānis and the refrain Līgo (X, 65).

The introduction to the Latvian programme ends with the wish: "Follow your own road for the first time, our creation, make new

3 According to Pēteris Šmits (1923), the author of the exhaustive introduction to this programme, the then student of law and later the lawyer Jānis Ansberģis made the greatest contribution to this programme. At the end of the Introduction all people who contributed to the creation of the programme were mentioned: first and foremost, gratitude was expressed to the Assoc. Prof. E. Volters, and the co-workers of the Jelgava Latvian Society Department of Literature Kalācis, Stoķets, Berģs, Kalniņš, Brēdenfelds.

4 *Императорское Русское Географическое Общество, желая собрать подробныя свѣдѣнія о литовскомъ языкѣ и племени, покорнѣйше проситъ любителей и знатоковъ литовскаго языка и народности сообщать указанія и замѣтки по прилагаемымъ вопросамъ. Общество съ благодарностью приметъ всѣ такія замѣтки, которыя могутъ быть высланы въ С.-Петербургъ, въ Императорское Русское Географическое Общество, у Чернышева моста, въ домъ 6-й гимназiи* (Программа 1886: 1).

5 "Русско-литовская азбука" (Программа 1886: 11), "Латинско-литовская азбука" (Программа 1886: 12).

6 The instructions "Jelgavas Latviešu biedrības Rakstniecības nodaļas lūgums tautas garamantu krājējiem" were published in the magazine *Austrums* (1890, 2, 907–909 col.).

7 The first section of the Latvian programme also contained a comment that when writing down words it is necessary to take into consideration the dialectal peculiarities, the broken, acute, durative accents and other details of the language (Programma 1892: 12).

8 At the request of the chairman of the peace jury meeting of Aizpute and Gruobinia this programme was translated into the Latvian language (*Programma tautas juridisku ierašu krāšanai*) and published in Liepaja in 1892.

9 Most probably the questions refer to St John's Day; see Volters 1892.

friends and lovers of spiritual creation of the nation; help the flames of love for the legacy of the forefathers to be fanned in the hearts of the younger generation because only by knowing it shall we understand better what we were, what we are, what we have, and what else should be received”<sup>10</sup> (Programma 1892: 10). However, from the last sentence of the Introduction “Due to some circumstances some numbers had to be removed”<sup>11</sup> the conclusion can be drawn that the censorship crossed out some of the questions. This is seen from the missing numbering of the questions (for example, Question 104 follows Question 102, and Question 110 is presented straight after Question 108 etc.).

STRUCTURE OF THE PROGRAMMES. The majority of the questions devoted to Lithuanian dialects were arranged in ascending numerical order (1–41), later questions were marked with letters (A–L). The questions were divided neither into smaller levels of the languages nor in any other manner, however, each of them was presented with certain explanations, which had to help the collectors of the material orient themselves in a variety of Lithuanian dialects. The programme devoted to the Lithuanian dialects shows that the compilers were well acquainted with both dialects and their descriptions published at that time. It is quite obvious that the programmes were based on the grammars of August Schleicher (1856), Jonas Juška (1861), and Friedrich Kurschat (1876).

The programme began with the questions about phonetics and their detailed comments. The first questions (1–18) were devoted to vowels and their dialectal variants (for example, the first question is as follows: “1) How is the stressed *a* pronounced? It is pronounced as *o* in the dialects of eastern Highlanders, residents of Anykščiai and others. When it is unstressed *a* is preserved. For example, *króštas* ‘edge’, the instrumental case is *kraštù*; *gołas* ‘end’, the instrumental case is *gałù*; *oítvaras* ‘kite’<sup>12</sup> (Программа 1886: 1), two questions (19–20) were devoted to consonants, the analysis of the phenomena of the Dzūkian pronunciation. Twenty other questions (21–41) were devoted to describing various morphological forms (for example, Question 34 was devoted to the subjunctive mood of the verb: “What does the first person of the subjunctive (optative) mood end in: *but’au*, *but’eu*, *but’o*, *buč’au*, *buč’a* or *buče*?”<sup>13</sup> (Программа 1886: 8). The remaining eleven questions were devoted to the lexicon.

Compilers of the Latvian programme divided almost a thousand questions into ten thematic sections. These were questions related to the following: 1) geography and history (I, 1–33), 2) anthropology (II, 1–23), 3) buildings and their parts (III, 1–35), 4) garments (IV, 1–21), 5) human food – dishes and beverages (V, 1–33), 6) man’s lifestyle and occupations (VI, 1–67), 7) the family and customs (VII, 1–275), 8) faith

(VIII, 1–783), 9) the Latvian language and writings (IX, 1–61), 10) common law (X, 1–132).

The Latvian programme also presented several possible variants of the answers, for example, the following answers were possible to Question 7 “What material is used for roofing?”<sup>14</sup> presented in Section 3: “E.g., with straw, shingle, tiles, lath and others”<sup>15</sup> (Programma 1892: 15). Sometimes the question itself contained a possible answer – for example, Question 12: “What is every building called in the informant’s place (a dwelling house, e.g., *ērbeģis*, *istaba*, *kalns* and others”<sup>16</sup> (Programma 1892: 15).

QUESTIONS ABOUT AND RELATED TO THE LEXIS. Volters related questions and answers of the Lexis to the ethnography of the Lithuanian nation (*для этнографіи литовскаго племени*) (Программа 1886: 9), therefore he numbered them separately by letters (A–L). These questions could be related to some semantic groups of words. Some of them were common to both the programme of the Lithuanian dialects and the Latvian programme therefore they are to be discussed in more detail. Three common groups of semantic questions are to be distinguished.

First of all, they are the names of the Lithuanian (and Lowlanders) and Latvian nations being researched, as well as the names of their neighbouring nations (Belarusians, Russians, Curonians) (questions A–C, see Программа 1886: 9). It is specified in the comments that in some places a Lithuanian (*Lėtuwis*) does not call himself like that, he calls himself only a Lowlander (*Жемайтисъ*), that a Belarusian is also referred to as *gudas* (*Гудасъ*), a Russian (*великоруссъ*) as *burl(i) okas* (*бурлокас*), *maskolius* (*масколиус*), *starovieras* (*старовieras*). These questions coincide with the questions in the first section of the Latvian programme “Jautājumi iz ģeogrāfijas un vēstures” (Questions from geography and history): what the Latvians call themselves, their land, and their neighbours, what the neighbouring nations call the Latvians (for example, it is specified that the Latvians of Vitebsk Gubernia are referred to as *igauņi* (i. e. Estonians) (*около Риги живут чухонцы*). There are also questions about the nations residing among the Latvians – *krievini*<sup>17</sup> near Bauska, Iršu colonists in Liepkalne Parish<sup>18</sup>, the Estonians in Laicene, Mazsalaca (Programma 1892: 12). In the opinion of the compilers of the programme the answers to some of the questions would explain semantics of some words, for example, whether the name *krievi* was used to name the Russian nationality or service in the army (*viņš aizgāja krievos*) (Programma 1892: 11).

Essentially the questions about the names of the places of residence (*kaimas*, *kiemas*, *ulyčia*) (D) and the names of a dwelling and a homestead (E) in the programme devoted to the Lithuanian dialects coincided. However, these names were asked to be defined in more detail

10 *Uzņem tad, mūsu lolojum, pirmo reiz savu ceļu, iemanto pie līdzšinējiem, tautas gara mantu draugiem un cienītājiem jaunus klāt; palīdzī jaunās paaudzes sirdīs iedēstīt mīlestību uz senču mantojumu, jo, viņu pazīdami, mēs visdrīzāki atzīsim, kas mēs bijām, kas mēs esam, kas mums ir un kas mums vēl jāiegūst.*

11 *Trūkstošie numuri bija apstākļu dēļ jāizlaiž.*

12 1) Какъ произносится а ударяемое? Въ говорахъ восточнолитовскихъ, оникшитскомъ и другихъ оно переходитъ въ о. Когда на немъ нѣтъ ударенія, то остается а. Напр. *króštas* (край), тв. надежь *kraštù*; *gołas* (конецъ), тв. пад. *gałù*; *oítvaras* (хлѣбной ужъ).

13 34) Какъ оканчивается первое лицо желательнаго наклоненія (оптатива): *but’au*, *but’eu*, *but’o*, *bučau*, *buč’a* или *buče*?

14 *Ar kādu materiālu arjumj jumtus?*

15 *Piem., ar salmiem, lubām, dakstiņiem, skaidām utt.*

16 *Kā ziņotāja apgabalā nosauc katru ēku (dzīvojamu, piem., par ērbeģi, istabu, kalnu utt.).*

17 Cf. Latv. *krievīņi*. This is what people of Votes (called Vod) were called. In the 15th century they were brought as war prisoners and settled in the environs of Bauska.

18 In the 18th century a colony of German farmers was established in the area where the Irši lived with the aim of forming model farms. During World War 1 the colonists were moved to Central Russia (they returned in 1918). In 1939 the Germans returned to the homeland, and only several German families stayed behind.



in the Latvian programme. The collectors were encouraged to write down legends about the origin of the names, surnames, houses, estates, small rural districts, parishes, to explain whether there was any link between the names of homesteads and the names, whether the names of homesteads were used in the singular or plural, etc. This section also contained a recommendation about adding a list of names and homesteads that were more commonly used, urged microtoponyms (names of swamps, ditches, meadows, etc.) to be recorded.

Some questions about the lifestyle of the Latvians (whether they lived in a farmstead or villages) of the third section *Par ēkām un to piederumiem* (About buildings and their parts) of the Latvian programme were attributable here too. The questions about the parts of a dwelling house, the names of a dwelling house and outbuildings, etc. were related to the following question of the programme devoted to the Lithuanian dialects (E): “What is the Lithuanian for a house and a peasant’s farmstead? What are the names of the parts of a house? Does not a house built in an old way have a different name from a newly built one?”<sup>19</sup> (Программа 1886: 9).

The programme of the Lithuanian dialects contained questions about the names of a rainbow, a shadow, a grass snake and a snake, a stork and a crane. Thus six questions could be attributed to mythology (F-H, L). Questions about folk traditions and mythology could be found almost in every section of the Latvian programme, and the exhaustive Section Eight was devoted separately to this theme (Belief in Gods and Ghosts), which consisted of 783 questions.

Among the initial questions in the Latvian programme, there was a question about the names of a rainbow: “Is there no place where the rainbow is called in a different way?”<sup>20</sup> (Programma 1892: 35). Possible variants of answers were presented: *laimes josta*, *garvērde*, *dzelverde*, *gardadze*, *dardadzis*, *garvēle*, *garvelce*, *Dieva josta*, *Dieva kopis* [most probably *kopls* (*kuoplis*) ‘a bow’ – A. S.], *driksna* and *darva*<sup>21</sup>. The programme of Lithuanian dialects presented only some names of the rainbow – *orārykštė*, *drīgsn’ā*, *cmokas* [it should be *smokas* – D. M.] (*смакъ*) (Программа 1886: 9).

More names of a grass snake and a snake were presented and they were described in more detail: “In Prussian, the grass snake is called *angis*, in the Suvalkai Gubernia *анге* (*angē*); in the parish of Mēmelis [present day Klaipėda] the name of a poisonous snake: *kirmens* (*червь*). In the Vilnius Gubernia it corresponds to *giwate*. Besides, in fairy tales *žaltis*, *želektis*, *žalktis* = змѣй ‘gyvatė’ (snake) are used”<sup>22</sup> (Программа 1886: 9). In the Latvian programme the question about the grass snake (VIII, 552) is linked to domestic animals: “Is *žaltys* (grass snake) connected with livestock in any way (grass snake – the spirit of the barn?)”<sup>23</sup> (Programma 1892: 58).

On the whole, many questions in the Latvian programme were devoted to different mythological creatures (home, forest and water spirits, devils, brownies, witches, werewolves, their relationships with

man, etc.). A very detailed calendar of both holidays and memorable days were presented there (VIII, 474–783): old holidays (St John’s Day, Shrovetide, All Souls’ Day, etc.) and religious ones (Three Kings’ Day, the Virgin Mary’s Birthday, Ash Wednesday, Good Friday, etc.) (Programma 1892: 54–67).

This section of the Latvian programme contained several interesting questions about the language: for example, what place names and names reminded us of ancient Latvian gods and other mythological creatures (175); how the language originated (198), what taught people to speak (200); what language the first people used to communicate among themselves, with God and animals (201).

Since the authors of the Latvian programme were more interested in the world view and the attitude that the nation adopted, the programme contained comparatively few questions devoted to nature (e.g., the landscape, seasons, and different natural phenomena), plants or animals. The programme of Lithuanian dialects contained only one question about the names of the earth’s relief (valley) (I) and the names of horned cattle (including an ox, a bull, a calf) (K) (more about it see Программа 1886: 9–10).

Section 9 about language and writing (*Valoda un rakstniecība*) of the Latvian programme is of great significance to the history of research into the Latvian dialects. The collectors are urged to record words for the Latvian dictionary, they are recommended they should draw up lists of words on related themes – about natural phenomena, plants, animals, residential and other premises, farm implements, clothes, etc.<sup>24</sup> Informants are urged to collect phraseological units, figurative expressions, similes, to specify when they are used (for example, when eating, playing cards, etc.), loanwords from the Russian and German languages. They were recommended they make lists of christening names, names of houses and locations, pay special attention to the words and constructions that were found in folk songs but that were not common in spoken language. Synonyms were to be collected too providing a sentence underlying its meaning next to each word. The collectors were asked to pay attention to folk etymologies, taboo words: the names of the living or mythological creatures (devil, a wolf, a snake, etc.) that were avoided to be used and to indicate what they were replaced with.

The questions of the programme were aimed at elucidating whether, for example, the dialect was preserved for a long time after the dialect speaker had moved to live permanently in the area of another dialect (IX, 18), what attitude the Latvians took towards the people belonging to another nation who spoke Latvian (IX, 18)<sup>25</sup>, etc. (Programma 1892: 69). Thus it is obvious that though this programme was not specially devoted to collecting facts of the language, answers to the questions of ethnography had, without doubt, to hide treasures of the lexis of the dialects (and quite often those of phonetics and morphology too).

19 Какъ называется по литовски домъ и крестьянскій дворъ? Какія названія существуютъ для отдѣльныхъ частей этого дома? Домъ старинной постройки не имѣетъ ли другаго названія, нежели новомодный домъ?

20 Vai kādā argabalā varavīksni citādi nesauc un kā īpaši?

21 These words (with the exception of *darva*) were recorded in the dialects of Latvian Highlanders in the 20th century, mainly in Latgale and presented in Map 84 of the LVDA (192–195).

22 Въ Пруссіи ужъ называется *angis*, въ Сувалкск. губ. *анге* (*angē*); въ Мемельскомъ приходѣ названіе ядовитой змѣи: *kirmens* (*червь*). Въ Виленской губерніи соотвѣтствуетъ ему *giwate*. Кромѣ того, въ сказкахъ употребляется слово *žaltis*, *želektis*, *žalktis* = змѣй.

23 Vai un kāda nozīme *zaltim priekš lopiem* (*zaltis* – *kūts gars*?).

24 Reference to the newspaper *Dienas Lapa* No. 61, 1891 where the instruction to the collectors of the material was published is presented here.

25 The same issue 18 is presented next to two questions of the Programme.



SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROGRAMMES. As has already been mentioned, both programmes were prepared for different purposes: the linguistic programme was aimed at gathering material on the Lithuanian dialects, and the Latvian programme focused about ethnography.

The Latvian programme was remade and published once again by Pēteris Šmits (1923). In the introduction to the programme he underlined that the old programme prepared under the supervision of Volters had become outdated, it was a bibliographic rarity; besides, it had to be remade, as it had not stood the test of time.

The section on mythology constituted almost half the remade programme because Šmits himself, who had greatly contributed to preparing this section before, supplemented it with new questions and made the old questions more exact. For example, the calendar part contained more ancient Latvian and Christian holidays and the afore-mentioned days, for example, Day of St Agatha, St Job, St Vitas, Seven Brothers, St Barbara and others. The sections about dishes, beverages, and family customs were supplemented with the questions about mythology. Other sections contained additional questions whether people remembered the names of ancient tribes, what names of parts of small rural districts and ancient parishes were, etc.

Šmits crossed out the second section of anthropology altogether. Only the last section about common law was left unchanged. The language of the earlier programme was amended significantly; some terms or words of dialects or the spoken language were replaced with the words belonging to Standard language (for example, *kartupeļi* 'potatoes' was written instead of *tupeņi*, the word *kārtība* 'order' was written in place of *vīze*, etc.). Instead of the word *uzvārds* 'surname' used by Volters, Šmits used the word *pavārds*.

The section about the language, which carried the title *Valoda un tautas dzeja* (Language and poetry of the nation) in Šmits' questionnaire, as compared with Volters' questionnaire, was abridged by as much as half. According to the author, the questions related to the language were also outdated because "study of the language and collection of songs have progressed so far that there is no need to repeat such elementary questions again"<sup>26</sup>. It no longer contained questions, which would relate to collecting words for the purpose of a dictionary, compiling a list of thematic words, loanwords and phraseology.

Hence, Volters' Latvian Programme, amended and renewed, went on existing. This cannot be said about the questionnaire devoted to the Lithuanian dialects published in the Russian language. Though the questions and their comments were formulated comparatively accurately and reflected the level of research into the Lithuanian dialects, Volters remained isolated in Lithuanian geolinguistics and had no followers. Due to this reason, his programme has not been discussed in more detail in the history of Lithuanian linguistics thus far either.

Nonetheless, common semantic groups of the lexis can be already distinguished in the first Latvian and Lithuanian programmes. A detailed analysis of these programmes created conditions for further searches for parallels in the research into the Latvian and Lithuanian dialects.

## *Lexical questionnaires of the dialects of the first half of the 20th century in Latvia and Lithuania*

The first four decades of the 20th century (until the end of the Second World War) are to be regarded as the second period of preparing programmes of the lexis of the dialects in Latvia and Lithuania. In the history of Latvian linguistics, it is related to the names of Jānis Endzelīns and Velta Rūke, and in Lithuania with the activities of Kazimieras Būga and Antanas Salys.

Since special attention was devoted to the lexis rather than to phonetics and morphology in the first programme of collecting Latvian dialects and their description, which was prepared and published in the magazine *Druva* by Endzelīns in 1912 and 1913, and in the descriptions of dialects prepared according to a general system and published in the journal *Filologu biedrības raksti* which came out from 1920 to 1940, the first lexical questionnaire of the Baltic dialects in the history of lexical questionnaires of the Baltic dialects was undoubtedly that of Būga.

BŪGA'S *KLAUSIMŲ LAPAI* (QUESTIONNAIRES, No. 1, No. 2, No. 3). The new period of questionnaires of the Lithuanian language started with the rebirth of national science at the beginning of the 20th century in independent Lithuania.<sup>27</sup> Būga who delivered lectures on Lithuanian dialectology at the Faculty of the Humanities of Vytautas Magnus University did everything to encourage his students and scientists to study the dialects, to collect data on the dialects and prepared four *Klausimų lapų* questionnaires for this purpose (Pupkis 2010: 315). It is true, only three of them (No. 1, No. 2, No. 3) were published as supplements to the newspaper *Lietuva* in 1924. The structure and questions of the questionnaire show that Būga did not base himself on Volters' programme.

The questionnaire, which is referred to as "geographies of phonetics and words" by Būga himself started with methodological instructions *Kalbos tyrimo reikalai* (On the issue of research into the language). It is recommended that material be collected from "typical" representatives of the location of the dialect, the people between the ages of 30 and 50. People are questioned in approximately two-three places in a single small rural district. If the difference between dialects is noticed people may be questioned in more than two or three places.

STRUCTURE OF THE QUESTIONNAIRES. The structure of all the questionnaires prepared by Būga is the same. At the top of the questionnaire, on the left side of the page, the name and Prof. Būga's address are given (Kaunas, Vilniaus g-vė 2). On the right side of the questionnaire the surname, name, the place of residence and the occupation (profession) of the interviewer, the place (i.e. the village, the small rural district, the district) in which "the questionnaire was answered" were to be indicated. Also, it was asked to write down the surname, name, age and occupation of the person who answered

26 *valodas pētīšana un dziesmu krāšana jau ir gājusi tik tālu uz priekšu, ka atkārtot gluži elementārus jautājumus vairs nav vajadzīgs.*

27 It should be underlined that the linguist Nikolai Sokolov, a pupil of Filip Fortunatov, was the first to emphasize the significance of the research into Lithuanian dialects at the general meeting of the Lithuanian Scientific Society in 1912 (for more information about it see Palionis 1975: 47ff.; Sabaliauskas 1979: 131ff.; Mikulėnienė 2009: 40).

the questionnaire. The page of the questionnaire was divided vertically in half: numbered questions were presented on the left and some space for answers was left on the right.

Questionnaire No. 1 consisted of 106 questions, to be more exact, of 106 lines of words, which showed that, first and foremost, Būga was interested in the phonetics of the dialects: how one or another sound was pronounced in different positions of the word: for example, the stressed and unstressed vowel [i] at the beginning of the word *yla* (awl), *ylelē* (little awl) (17), the stressed and unstressed vowel [i] at the end of the word *šj* (this), *akj* (eye) (16), a stressed rising accent (and circumflex) [i] *dygti* (to sprout), *dyvai* (great surprise) (18). Only several cases were devoted to consonants, mainly, this was a possible different pronunciation of the affricates: *jaučiai* (oxen), *žodžiai* (words), *stačias* (standing), *gaidžio* (of a rooster), *mačiau* (I saw), *vedžiau* (I led) (89), *čia* (here), *čiaudėti* (to sneeze) (103), assimilation of consonants: *džiaugsmas* (joy) (102) or the pronunciation of a combination of non-Lithuanian consonants: *ščiūrys* (peninsula) (104). There were questions devoted to morphonology, for example, to variants of prefixes that were possible in dialects: *ant* (on), *andėti* (put on) (96), *ažėiti* (call at; drop in; overcome), *ažlipti* (to get on), *užėiti* (*ušeiti*) (call at; drop in; overcome), *užlipti* (*ušlipti*) (to get on) (99), *apnešti*, *apineša* (carry round; cover) (100).

QUESTIONS ABOUT THE LEXIS. Questionnaire No. 2 and Questionnaire No. 3 devoted to the lexis of the dialects had the same structure. In the first questionnaire the questions were grouped into eleven different groups: 1) Buildings; 2) Trees and bushes; 3) Vegetables; 4) Animals; 5) Fish; 6) Reptiles; 7) Insects; 8) Weather; 9) Birds; 10) Seasons; 11) Varia. Hence, it can be said that they encompassed semantic groups of man's dwelling (1), nature and its phenomena (8, 10), plants (2, 3) and animals (4, 5, 6, 7, 9).

Questions are numbered with letters inside each group – for example, the section Vegetables: a) potatoes, b) carrots, c) beets, d) Swedish turnips, turnips etc. The interviewers had to write dialectal names of the adequate vegetables on the right side of the page.

It should be noted that groups of questions differed in volume in Questionnaire No. 2: for example, the group of trees and bushes contained as many as 14 names (*a–o* cases), whereas the section Vegetables had only four names. Both domestic (sheep, cat, dog, bitch) and wild animals (hare, hedgehog, mole, ferret, otter) were included in the group of animals. Questions related to mythology, faith, customs were put in the section Varia: for example, c) smallpox, d) freckles, h) dusk, i) kite, k) devil, p) church. Over a hundred questions were included in Questionnaire No. 2.

Questionnaire No. 3 as though supplemented the first questionnaire. As many as 58 questions arranged in ascending order were presented there, two of which were divided into smaller ones. They were names of fingers: a) thumb, b) index finger, c) middle finger, d) ring finger, e) little finger (1), and words defining the colour of hair: a) auburn, b) blond, c) dark, d) brown, e) grey, f) white (2). Additionally, it was asked to specify the names of animal hair mainly that of horses, cattle, cats. Other questions were related to a human being, for example, blind (6), squinting (7), parts of his body: eyelid

(3), eyebrow (4), eyelash (5) or actions performed by an individual: to yawn (8), to spit (10), to sneeze (11), to stammer (14)... Names of implements, for example, a pitchfork (26), a hoe (27), a saw (28), parts of a cart (hub of a wheel (23), spoke (24), iron rim of a wheel (25) and others) were included additionally. Questionnaire No. 2 was supplemented with several more questions: for example, a weasel (31), a squirrel (30) supplemented the section Animals, a flea (32), a bug (33), a louse (34) supplemented the section Insects (?) and the names of the months (55) supplemented the section Seasons.

Būga left more space to the questions of the third questionnaire because he asked to put down the following: the names of the village (the environs), rivers, lakes, marshes, mountains, forests, etc. (56), the surnames of the people who lived in the village (in the environs) (57) and the names of the dogs (58). From this point of view the questionnaire prepared by Būga did not differ from the above-discussed Latvian questionnaires.

VELTA RŪĶE'S PROGRAMME. In the 1930s, Endzelīns put forward the idea of the atlas of the isoglosses of the Latvian language. Encouraged by him, the society Ramave of the students of the Faculty of Philology and Philosophy of the University of Latvia prepared a project of the atlas of the isoglosses, which was never carried out (Rūķe 1947: 63). Cf.: "After the dialects have been thoroughly studied it will be possible and necessary to draw isogloss (i.e., boundaries) of separate subdialects and to group the subdialects. The isogloss of not only grammatical but also lexical peculiarities must be drawn because words found in subdialects differ. In this way dialectology of the Latvian language could be created and a linguistic atlas could appear. Following A. Bielenstein's example, at the same time material about the forms of material culture (e.g. about different forms of courtyards and fences), which separate one area from another should be collected. These data could help draw the boundaries of the ancient tribes"<sup>28</sup> (Endzelīns 1980 [1933]: 105).

In 1940 *Programma izlokšņu aprakstiem* (The programme of describing dialects) drawn up by Rūķe appeared, which in fact was a preparatory work of compiling the atlas of the dialects of the Latvian language. Questions whose answers had to reflect the peculiarities characteristic of that dialect alone were devoted to each dialect. Phonetics and morphology were given special attention in that programme, and somewhat more than one page out of 110 pages was devoted to the lexis (91 questions).

In 1941, under Rūķe's supervision, preparatory work for The Atlas of the Dialects of the Latvian Language was begun in the archives of the Latvian language (*Latviešu valodas krātuve*): in 1941 a questionnaire consisting of 500 questions about the lexis was compiled (Rūķe 1947: 95–98), and by 1944 about 200 experimental maps had been drawn.

QUESTIONS ABOUT THE LEXIS. Questions about the lexis were not divided into thematic groups in this programme, however, the following semantic groups of the lexis could be distinguished on the basis of the contents: 1) objects of nature and natural phenomena (*akmens* 'stone', *auksts* 'cold', *lietus* 'rain', *pērkuons* 'thunder', *tumšs* 'dark', *varavīksne* 'rainbow' and so on); 2) plants and the lexis

28 *Pēc tam, kad izlokšnes būs pamatīgi izpētītas, varēs un vajadzēs nospraust izoglosas (i.e., robežas atsevišķām izlokšņu īpatnībām) un grupēt izlokšnes. Tādas izoglosas pie tam jānosprauž ne tikai gramatikas, bet arī leksikas īpatnībām, jo, kā zināms, ne visi vārdi ir sastopami visās izlokšnēs. Rezultātā mums tad radīsies latviešu valodas dialektoloģija un lingvistisks atlants. Sekojot A. Bielensteina paraugam, derētu reizē ievākt ziņas par materiālās kultūras formām (piem., par dažādajām sētu vai žogu formām), kas atšķir apgabalus citu no cita. Šādi dati tad varētu noderēt arī seno cilšu robežu nosprašanai.*

related to them: wild plants and trees (*alksnis* 'alder', *avene* 'raspberry', *bērzs* 'birch', *kļava* 'maple', *liepa* 'lime tree', *paeglis* 'juniper', *pīlādzis* 'rowan tree', etc.), including cultivated plants (*ābuoliņš* 'clover', *ērķšķogas* 'gooseberries', *kālis* 'turnip', *kaņepe* 'hemp', *kvieši* 'wheat' and others); 3) animals – insects, slugs, reptiles (*ķirzaka* 'lizard', *muša* 'fly', *varde* 'frog', *zalktis* 'grass snake'), birds (*stārķis* 'stork'), beasts of prey (*lapsa* 'fox'), rodents (*žurka* 'rat'), domesticated animals (*aita* 'sheep'); 4) a human being and the lexis related to him (*azuote* 'bosom', *bārda* 'beard', *delna* 'palm', *kreilis* 'left-handed', *sauja* 'cupped hand', *pierast* 'to get used to', *seja* 'face', *uzvārds* 'surname') are attributed to this group; the names related to a place of residence of an individual are also attributed to this group: *ciems* 'village', *pilsēta* 'town', *kaimiņš* 'neighbour', etc.; 5) the lexis related to material culture: this group consisted of fieldwork (*rudzu stati* 'rye shock', *linus plūc* 'pull flax', *sienu grābj* 'rake hay'), working tools, implements (*rati* 'cart'), household articles (*karuote* 'spoon', *pulkstenis* 'clock'), buildings and their parts (*aruods* 'corn bin', *istaba* 'room', *pagalms* 'courtyard', *kluons* 'dirt floor, barn, hay barn'), fences, buildings for animals (*aizgalds* 'enclosure'), food and making it (*aizdars* 'seasoning', *kartupelis* 'potato', *paniņas* 'butter-milk', *pienu kāst* 'to strain milk', *putraimi* 'groats', *rausis* 'bun', *salds* 'sweet' and others), clothes (*lakats* 'kerchief', *piedurkne* 'sleeve' etc.).

It is easy to notice that the names of some realities differed only phonetically, for example, *alksnis*, *elksnis* 'alder' (LVDA Map 8) or morphologically, for example, *kļava*, *kļavs* 'maple' (LVDA Map 4A), *liepa*, *lieps* 'lime tree' (LVDA Map 4B etc.).

ANTANAS SALYS' APKLAUSAS 1 (QUESTIONNAIRE 1). Because of Būga's death (in 1924) the collection of material about the Lithuanian dialects was not organised on a massive scale in Lithuania. It was only in the 1930s that Salys, upon his return to Lithuania after his studies in philology in Leipzig, strongly encouraged by Georg Gerullis, started to collect material about the Lithuanian dialects systematically once again.

Probably it was a collective idea: the recently discovered source of the linguist Mindaugas Šinkūnas allows the supposition to be made that Lithuanian linguists of that time intended to publish the thus far unheard of *Lietuvių kalbos tarmynas* (A Series of Lithuanian Dialects) (Schrijnen 1933: 77).<sup>29</sup>

The lexical Questionnaire 1 published by Salys might have been a part of this plan though no more data on the intent to publish the Series has been available thus far. Since the questionnaire is marked with number one, it can be thought that there were more such questionnaires or it was planned to have more of them. The purpose of the questionnaire was indicated "for the geography of words". Judging from the book of registration of the answers that has survived at the Institute of the Lithuanian Language all data were collected during the war, through a comparatively short period of time – between 1942 and 1943.<sup>30</sup>

Methodological instructions to this questionnaire ("Explanations to the respondents of the questionnaire") were presented on a separate sheet where the aim of this work was specified ("the geography of the word is established on the basis [...] of the area where the name is used"<sup>31</sup>). Education workers and school youth, teachers of the Lithuanian language and natural sciences together with the pupils of higher forms of high schools and lower high schools, teachers of primary schools and students of higher educational institutions were invited to be questioners. It was recommended that "a typical" representative of the dialect should be chosen, only one person rather than several people at a time should be interviewed so that different subdialects should not become confused. Hence, "only those who know their dialect answer the questionnaire".<sup>32</sup> The following is to be described when asking and answering the questions of the questionnaire: 1) to elucidate the conceptions of the questions themselves, therefore equivalents in other languages were given next to the questions, e.g., *gegutė* 'a cuckoo' (Lat. *Cuculus canorus*, Germ. *der Kuckuck*, Russ. *кукушка*, Pol. *kukulka*); 2) to draw attention to the fact that one and the same name could have different meanings in dialects; 3) several plants or living creatures could be called by the same name. Hence, the same name could be written in several sections of the answers to the questionnaire.

The answers were asked to be written in the following way: 1) dialectally in the letters of the written language (in case of need it was recommended that (*Tautosakos rinkėjo vadovas*; 2nd edition, Kaunas, 1940; Manual of the Folklore Collector) be used; 2) not to turn the dialectal genders into Standard Language; 3) to stress the words (if the accent is unclear to underline the stressed syllable).<sup>33</sup>

STRUCTURE OF SALYS' QUESTIONNAIRE 1. The questionnaire consisted of 12 pages bound in a single book, as many as 92 questions, and with additional 97 questions were presented in 11 of them (Geržotaitė 2011: 13f.). The questions were published on one side of the page only (the other side and page 12 were left blank for remarks). At the top of the questionnaire, the following was specified: LMA<sup>34</sup>, the Institute of the Lithuanian Language, the Section of Dialectology.

The respondent's surname, name, occupation and the location of the dialect (the village, the small rural district, the region) were asked to be written, the address and the date of filling in the questionnaire to be indicated under the title of the questionnaire. In addition the data of the person who checked the questionnaire (the name and surname, occupation and the address) were to be specified.

As in Būga's questionnaire, pages of Questionnaire 1 were vertically divided in half: the numbered questions were presented on the left side and some space for answers was left on the right side.

LEXICAL QUESTIONS. All questions were divided into eight large groups: 1) Animals (1–7); 2) Birds (8–25); 3) Reptiles (26–29); 4) Amphibians (30–31); 5) Fish (32–41); 6) Invertebrates (42–58);

29 The authors express sincere thanks to Dr. Šinkūnas who shared this important information with them and to Dr. Habil. Jolanta Gelumbeckaitė for the source found in the libraries in Germany.

30 This conclusion can be drawn on the basis of the date of publishing Questionnaire 1: the following is written at the bottom of the first page in small letters: Švyturys Publishing House, Vilnius – 1942.

31 *Žodžio geografija nustatoma iš [...] vardo vartojamojo ploto.*

32 *apklausus atsako tik mokantieji savo tarmę.*

33 Three cases were to be indicated to determine the stress paradigm: the singular accusative case, the singular possessive case, the plural accusative case, e.g. *griežlė*, *griežlės*, *griežles*.

34 The Lithuanian Academy of Sciences.



7) Plants (59–83); 8) Mushrooms (84–92). Hence, Questionnaire 1 covered only two semantic groups – plants and animals. From this point of view Salys' questionnaire was narrower than the questionnaire compiled by Būga, however, it was obvious that other books of the Questionnaire had to be prepared for other semantic groups.

Here, as in Būga's questionnaire, groups of questions differed in volume: only two questions devoted to the names of the tadpole (30) and the toad (31) constituted the Amphibians group, four questions about the names of the lizard (26), snake (27), blind-worm (28), grass snake (29) made up the group of Reptiles. In his questionnaire, Salys dissociated himself completely from a mythological treatment of the names of these living creatures and limited himself to the aspect of the geography of the words.

The groups, which contained more questions did not differ from the small groups: instead of being grouped additionally inside a group the questions were presented in alphabetical order, for example, the sequence of the questions in the group of Plants was as follows: the names of *asiūklis* 'horsetail' (59), *qžuolas* 'oak tree' (60), *bulvė* 'potato' (61), *burokas* 'beet-root' (62), *dilgėlė* 'nettle' (63), *durnaropė* 'thorn apple' (64) and others. If the species of a living creature or a plant is asked to be indicated additionally (for example, *burokas* 'beet root': *cukrinis* 'sugar beet', *cviklas*, *barštinis* 'red beet', *pašarinis* 'mangel wurzel', *sviklas*...), the additional answer was asked to be given at the same question without numbering it separately. It should be noted that in Salys' Questionnaire, as in Rūķe's programme, all possible phonetic (*cviklas*, *sviklas*...) or morphological (*zuikis*, *zuikys*...) variants of the answers were recorded alongside the lexis.

Since the dialectal data of Salys' Questionnaire 1 collected during World War II have just been started to be researched (Pranskūnaitė 1993, 1994, 1997; Geržotaitė 2011), at the present time it is difficult to objectively assess Antanas Salys' contribution to Lithuanian geolinguistics. However, one thing is quite obvious: the compilers of the Atlas of the Lithuanian Language (*Lietuvių kalbos atlasas*) and the researchers made use of the network of dialectal points created by Salys and his supporters on the basis of the pre-war administrative-territorial division of Lithuania (Mikulėnienė 2012).

### *Geolinguistic research into the lexis of dialects in Latvia and Lithuania in the second half of the 20th century*

Since the 1940s geolinguistic research into the lexis in Latvia and Lithuania have in essence been related to the preparation of atlases of national dialects. The preparatory period in both former Soviet republics lasted more than two decades (in Lithuania from 1951 to 1977, in Latvia from 1954 to 1999).

*LIETUVIŲ KALBOS ATLASAS* (ATLAS OF THE LITHUANIAN LANGUAGE). In 1950, *Lietuvių kalbos atlaso medžiagos rinkimo pro-*

*grama* (Programme for Data Collection for the Atlas of the Lithuanian Language) was prepared (1st edition in 1951, 2nd edition in 1956; authors: Juozas Balčikonis, Borisas Larinas, Juozas Senkus). In 1954 the supplement to the programme *Lietuvių kalbos atlaso medžiagos rinkimo instrukcija* (Instruction on How to Collect Data for the Atlas of the Lithuanian Language) (LKA MRI; 2nd edition in 1958) was issued, for more information about it see Mikulėnienė 2009: 41<sup>35</sup>. By 1970 all material had been collected and started to be transferred onto the maps following *Atlaso rengimo prospektas ir instrukcija* (Instructions and Prospectus of Preparing the Atlas) (authors: Elena Grinaveckienė, Aldona Jonaitytė, Kazys Morkūnas, Aloyzas Vidugiris)<sup>36</sup> that was finally approved in 1968.

The volume of the Lexicon, like all others, consisted of a collection of maps (120) and the book of commentaries on the maps (1977, authors: Grinaveckienė, Jonaitytė, Jonina Lipskienė, Morkūnas, Marija Razmukaitė, Birutė Vanagienė, Vidugiris, editor Morkūnas).<sup>37</sup> As many as 114 questions (98 basic and 16 additional) were devoted to the lexis of the Lithuanian dialects in Programme for Data Collection for the Atlas of the Lithuanian Language. When answering the questions on the lexis it was recommended to become acquainted with the things and made use of the drawings of the Instruction in the place of investigation, in case of need the researchers were recommended to make drawings by themselves, to specify the size of a thing or parts thereof, etc.; to present at least brief explanations of manufacture and use of the things and, first and foremost, to write down the word (the term) in a sentence, which would show its meaning. If several words were used to name the same thing, it was asked to specify a degree of their prevalence (LKA MRI 71–72).

The wording about all first questions of the lexis was similar, for example: *Kaip vadinasi pas jus* 'What is the following called in your place': 1. *Gyvenami namai* 'dwelling houses'. 2. *Gyvenamųjų namų dalys* 'parts of dwelling houses': a) *stogas* 'roof', b) *pamatas* 'foundation', c) *lubos* 'ceiling', d) *grindys (lentų)* 'floor; made of boards', *asla (molio)* 'dirt floor; made of clay', e) *priesienis (priemenė, prieangis)* 'porch; entryway', f) *priebutis (gonkas)* 'porch'? (Programa 1951: 12).

The questions of the lexis were not divided into separate semantic groups though they were arranged in a certain consecutive order, for example, a dwelling house and its parts, other buildings and their parts (1–20); household appliances, tools and their parts (21, 23–34); names of dishes (22); names of clothes (35–36) etc. The largest number of questions was devoted to animals (19), somewhat fewer to plants (15), natural phenomena (5), etc. The researchers were asked to write down what different animals were called or how they were urged (92–93), for example, a) horses (*kòš-kòš, kùzi-kùzi*), b) cows (*tprùke-tprùke, prù-prù*), c) sheep (*buř-buř, bùre-bùre, bàs-bàs, bàse-bàse*)..., i) dogs (*ciù-ciù, ciùce-ciùce, na-na*), j) cats (*kàc-kàc, kìc-kìc*).

The second part of the questionnaire about the lexis of the Atlas was related to the prevalence of rarer words: *Ar žinomi šie žodžiai ir ką jie reiškia?* ('Are the following words known and what do they mean?')

35 Material on dialects was collected for fifteen years according to the plan drawn up in advance from more than 800 places of residence (officially as many as 704 settlements in the territory of Lithuania were planned to be researched). In the course of collecting material more than 30 000-meter long audio tapes were recorded; and more than 15 000 pages of manuscripts of other material were collected. More than 600 persons collected material for the Atlas.

36 On the basis of the material collected *Lietuvių kalbos tarmės. Chrestomatija* (Sampler of Lithuanian Dialects) was compiled (1970) and three volumes of *Lietuvių kalbos atlasas* (Atlas of the Lithuanian Language) were published *Leksika* (The Lexicon), 1977; *Fonetika* (Phonetics), 1982; *Morfologija* (Morphology), 1991).

37 The Lithuanian linguists drew and explained a total of 376 maps for the Atlas. They reflect as many as 560 different phenomena of the Lithuanian language. If we add to them what was written in the commentaries, it would make more than two thousand different data about the language. The main authors and compilers were awarded the Science Prize of the Republic of Lithuania for this significant work of linguistics (1994).

99. *Geinys* 'sort of rope ladder to climb trees to gather honey'. 100. *Drevē* 'hollow'... 114. *Bičūlis* 'pal'. Terms related to family connections were asked most often (101. *Avynas* 'mother's brother'. 102. *Anyta* 'mother-in-law'. 103. *Šēšuras* 'father-in-law' 104. *Moša* 'sister-in-law'. 105. *Dieveris* 'brother-in-law'. 108. *Marti* 'daughter-in-law').

The same order of presentation was followed in the Atlas – both in presenting the maps and their commentaries. As many as 119 maps of the lexis were presented in the first volume of the Atlas. From the point of view of the contents almost half of them (58) had the same theme, i.e. reflected one thing, others had two or more themes. Overall, there were names of 190 realities, even more of them were discussed in the commentaries because not all the names had been transferred onto the maps (LKA I 13).

From the thematic point of view maps of the lexis of the Atlas of the Lithuanian Language mainly showed the geography of the words with the same meaning, i.e. synonyms, and were absolute, representing variation of the names throughout the whole area of the Lithuanian language. The differential or partial maps presented only a dialectal name used in certain places, and the names that coincided with the norm of Standard Language were usually not transferred onto the maps (LKA I 13). Dialectal words were presented transcribed into Standard Language both in the comments and in the legends of the maps.

Maps of the lexis differed from the graphical point of view too: prevalence of names was marked by different figures, dashes, separate lines – isoglosses or were mixed (when several earlier specified ways of marking were used). Symbols, dashes, lines of isoglosses had a strictly established sequence and distinctness (LKA I 13). The names that were marked with shaded marks and that coincided with the norms of Standard Language, when unshaded were used to represent dialectal phenomena. The borrowed lexis – loanwords and hybrids – also had their own conventional symbols (LKA I 13). In essence this traditional classification on maps was taken as a basis in preparing prospect Atlas of the Baltic Languages though full-colour printing offered even more possibilities (more about it see Mikulėnienė, Stafecka 2009: 46).

All comments on the questions about the lexis were written following the general principles of writing therefore their structure was the same: the theme of the map was presented, the reality was defined narrowly and the most significant knowledge of ethnography was presented, Latin names of plants and small animals were specified in the introductory part of the comments; the special part of the comments was devoted to the linguistic material (if necessary ethnographic material too), which was discussed according to the order of the map legend. A list of the most important bibliographic references was presented at the end of the commentaries.

Apart from the lexical maps and comments on them, the first volume of the Atlas also contained a map of the Lithuanian dialects, a list of places of residence and legends of the lexical maps, as well as the register of the words of the Lithuanian language mentioned in the comments. The contents of the publication were presented in three languages – Lithuanian, Russian and German.

*LATVIEŠU VALODAS DIALEKTS ATLANTS (ATLAS OF THE DIALECTS OF THE LATVIAN LANGUAGE)*.<sup>38</sup> Endzelīns was the first to put forward the idea of an atlas of the Latvian language. In

1946, under his supervision, an atlas of the dialects of the Latvian language was started to be prepared at the Institute of Language and Literature. Practical work was mainly done by Elfrīda Šmite. In 1947, the *Leksikas aptauja* (Lexis Questionnaire), which consisted of 254 questions, appeared, and in 1954 *Latviešu valodas dialektu atlanta materiālu vākšanas programma* (Programme for Data Collection for the Atlas of the Dialects of the Latvian Language) based on the questions prepared by Šmite was issued (Programma 1954). At first Šmite and Milda Graudiņa worked on the atlas. In 1962 Benita Laumane joined in this work and in 1977 she began to supervise this work. Brigita Bušmane, Laumane, and Anna Stafecka prepared the final wording of the lexical part of the Atlas.

As many as 300 questions (371–670) were devoted to the *Latviešu valodas dialektu atlanta materiālu vākšanas programma* (Programme for Data Collection for the Atlas of the Dialects of the Latvian Language). Unlike the Atlas of the Lithuanian Language all questions of the Latvian lexical programme were formulated in the same way and formed on the principle of the *conception and its definition*. A respective name of the concept or a thing in the Standard Latvian language was presented in a semi-dark print in the programme. Several dialectal variants were given next to that too, for example, Question 402: *pelašķi, peļaste, aitašķi...* 'yarrow'; Question 416: *kālis, grieznis, sprūte...* 'Swedish turnip'; one could find somewhat additional questions and explanations, for example, Question 396: *ābuoliņš, dābuols, amuols...* 'clover' (*pļavā aug ābuoliņš* 'clover grows in a field'); Question 470: *putēt, kūpēt...* 'to become dusty' (*ceļš put* 'road gets dusty').

The lexical part consisted of 102 maps, with 100 of them being devoted to the lexis. As many as 118 questions out of 300 lexical ones were about the maps with comments. Only one name of a conception or reality was presented in the largest part of the maps, material of two questions was represented in 19 maps and the material of three questions was presented in one map. Three maps were devoted to the name of the rowan tree (5–7). All maps of the Lexis were coloured. Language phenomena were represented in areas of different colours and special marks therein. Isoglosses were also marked in the maps.

Separate lexical semantic groups were not separated in the Programme of Data Collection for the Atlas, however, the questions were arranged on the basis of an associative link – at the same time names of the conceptions and realia of different thematic groups were presented. Several lexical semantic groups were distinguished on the maps: 1) natural phenomena (*atkala* 'freezing rain, glazed frost' (Map 86), *kalva* 'island' (Map 31B), *timss* 'dark' (Map 83A), *salts* 'cold' (Map 83), *varavīksne* 'rainbow' (Map 84) and others); 2) plants and the lexis related to them (it consisted of wild plants, berries, fruit trees, cultured plants, and others); 3) animals (insects, worms, reptilians, birds, fish, beasts of pray, rodents, domestic animals); 4) the lexis related to a human being: this groups consisted of the questions in which a human being was characterised as a physical creature (*kreilis* 'left-handed' (Map 91), *kūds* 'weak' (Map 87B), *plaušas* 'lungs' (Map 90), *smaganas* 'gums' (Map 88), *zods* 'chin' (Map 87) and others) and as a communal being *vuicīt* 'to teach' (Map 87A), *slinks* 'lazy' (Map 93A), *pierast* 'to get used to smth.' (Map 97A), *iet raudzībās* 'visiting an infant' (Map 95) and others); 5) the lexis related to material culture that formed the largest groups of questions. These were work and household tools and other instruments used in the activi-

38 More about the course of writing the Atlas of Dialects of the Latvian Language see Laumane 1999.



ties: (*abra* 'dough kneading tub' (Map 77B), *atspole* 'shuttle' (Map 82), *grābeklis* 'rake' (Map 65A), *spīlarkls* 'wooden plough' (Map 64), *stelles* 'loom' (Map 81), *malku zāgēt* 'to saw wood' (Map 98) etc.); field work and the lexis related to it (*darbu dzīvot* 'to work' (Map 97B), *grūds* 'grain' (Map 56B), *papuve* 'fallow' (Map 62), *stirpa* 'stack' (Map 69), *linus plūkt* 'to pull flax' (Map 79A) etc.); buildings, buildings to keep animals and the lexis related to that (*apcirknis* 'cornbin' (Map 56A), *akas grodi* 'curb' (Map 61), *klons* 'dirt floor' (Map 59), *ķieģelis* 'brick' (Map 60), *tvans* 'toxic fumes' (Map 76) etc.); food and making food (*biezpiens* 'curd' (Map 71), *dradži* 'cracklings' (Map 73), *jaunpiens* 'first milk' (Map 70), *sviestu taisīt* 'make butter' (Map 72)); only names of skirts were mentioned among the clothes (Map 94).

The structure of the comments was similar to that in the Atlas of Lithuanian Language. General remarks about prevalence of a respective word, references to its etymology, its recording in old writings and other remarks were presented therein. Contrary to the Atlas of the Lithuanian Language, the whole material presented in the map, which, taking into consideration the accent was divided according to the title words, was specified further. Numbers of subdialects were given next to the latter, sometimes illustrative material of the subdialects was presented in brackets, which gave some information about the use of the word in different dialects now and earlier, ethnographic data or belief of the nation was reflected. Dialectal words in the title words of the commentaries and map explanations (legends) were transcribed into Standard Language.

Two additional maps were presented in the volume of the lexis: prevalence of the dialects and accents of the Latvian language. References to the dialects and the words presented in the commentaries, a list of collectors and informants of the material were presented in the book of commentaries on the lexis.

Abstracts of the introduction of the Atlas and the commentaries were presented in the English and Russian languages.

OTHER LEXICAL PROGRAMMES. In the second half of the 20th century, in Latvia (1963–1992), 16 questionnaires *Palīgi apvidu vārdu vācējie* (Aid for the Collectors of Dialectisms) or methodological instructions with more precise questions about different lexical thematic groups of dialects were prepared for collecting material for the dictionary of functional words being planned to be compiled: *Lopkopība* (Cattle breeding, comp. S. Raže, 1963); *Zemkopība* (Agriculture, comp. E. Kagaine, 1964); *Zvejniecība* (Fisheries, comp. B. Laumane, 1964); *Vērpšana un aušana* (Spinning and weaving, comp. E. Kagaine, 1965); *Noskaidrojamie vārdi* (Explanatory words, 1–5, comp. D. Zemzare, 1966); *Apģērbs, tekstīlijas, apavi* (Garments, fabrics, footwear, comp. E. Kagaine, S. Raže, 1966); *Apgaismošana* (Lighting, comp. B. Bušmane, 1968); *Ēdieni* (Food, 1–2, comp. B. Bušmane, 1969); *Izsauksmes vārdi* (Interjections, comp. D. Zemzare, 1971); *Skaņu vārdi* (Onomatopoeic words, comp. D. Zemzare, 1971); *Daba. Cilvēks* (Nature. Man, comp. B. Bušmane, 1984); *Apdzīvotās vietas. Iedzīvotāju ģimenes un sabiedriskā dzīve* (Places of residence. Family and social life, comp. B. Bušmane, 1992).

In 1967–1976, seven more questionnaires were issued: *Apvidvārdu aptaujas* (Questionnaire of dialectisms): *Sēnes* (Mushrooms, comp. D. Zemzare, 1967); *Zivis* (Fish, comp. B. Laumane, 1967), *Noskaidrojamie augu nosaukumi* (Explanatory plant names, comp. I. Ēdelmane, 1969), *Aizguvumi no Baltijas somu valodām* (Loanwords from the Bal-

tic Finn languages, comp. S. Raže, 1969); *Zemkopības darbarīki* (Agricultural tools, comp. Dz. Liepiņa, 1970); *Putni* (Birds, comp. L. Smagare, 1971); *Aizguvumi no ģermāņu valodām* (Loanwords from the Germanic languages, comp. O. Bušs, 1976). Many questions were included in the questionnaires, however, thematic groups were reflected fragmentally in them, e.g., craftsmanship, the lexis related to holidays and traditions etc.

In the 1990s Lithuanian dialectologists prepared *Kalbos faktų rinkimo programa* (Programme for Collecting Facts of the Language, KFRP; 1983, authors: Antanas Balašaitis, Aleksas Girdenis, Jonaitytė, Vitas Labutis, Adelė Laigonaitė, Vitalija Maciejauskienė, Morkūnas, Marija Razmukaitė, Adelė Valeckienė, Aleksandras Vanagas, Vidugiris, Vytautas Vitkauskas, Zigmas Zinkevičius). As many as five dialectological questionnaires containing about 900 questions were devoted to the lexis of dialects there: 1) Terms of relationship (it consisted of 121 questions); 2) Names of animals (87 questions); 3) Names of the parts of the body (219 questions); 4) Names of plants (173 questions); 5) Different questions of the lexis (300 questions), more about it see KFRP 57–128.

Questions in the second, third and fourth dialectological questionnaires were divided into sections – for example, Names of animals were divided into the questionnaire as follows: I. Mammals (1–17 questions); II. Birds (18–43 questions); III. Reptiles (44–47 questions); IV. Fish (48–57 questions); V. Invertebrates (58–87 questions) (more about it see KFRP 71–76). Questions about the names of plants were divided into even smaller sections, e.g. I. Cultured plants: a. Fruit trees and berry bushes; b. Vegetables; c. Fibre and feeding plants; d. Garden flowers and ornamental plants; e. Indoor plants and the like (KFRP 92–116).

The fifth dialectological questionnaire, which, according to the authors (KFRP 116), is designed according to the section of the lexis of the Programme for Data Collection for the Dialectological Atlas of the Latvian Language was to be discussed separately. The questionnaire containing three hundred questions testified to differences in collecting dialectal material for the atlases of not only the Lithuanian and Latvian languages but it also testified to the desire to work jointly in the future. The prospect of the Atlas of the Baltic Languages has realised that wish.

In 1990, after the independent Institute of the Lithuanian Language was re-established, *Lietuvių kalbos tarmių ir jų sąveikos tyrimo programa* (Programme for the Lithuanian Dialects and Research into their Interaction) devoted, first and foremost, to the peripheral and disappearing Lithuanian dialects was designed (authors: Morkūnas, Laima Grumadienė, Danguolė Mikulėnienė, Vidugiris, Valerijus Čekmonas, Bonifacas Stundžia). Parts of socio-linguistics, the lexis, accentuation and morphology were issued in separate books. This Programme created conditions for investigating the peripheral dialects as a continuation of the largest area of the Lithuanian language therefore the programme of the lexis (Programa 1995; comp. Vidugiris) was selective. In developing the Programme attempts were made not to repeat the questions of the previous programmes (they totalled 415). The questions were presented with possible answers, for example, 21 the country of the world towards the east: *rytai* 'the east', *žaros* 'glow', *saulėtekis* 'sunrise' and others (Programa 1995: 19).

The dialectal data of the latest Lithuanian programmes are being digitised and maps drawn.

# General Lexis of the Baltic Languages: Flora

Rolandas Kregždys

## BIOLOGICAL CORRELATION OF FLORA NOMENCLATURE.

The formation of phytonyms usually reflects structural features of plants (according to the internal and external morphology) and their biospheric localisation (according to toponymic or endemic, i.e. the geographical range of prevalence and synergetic one, i.e. grouping of plants according to their specific features). Both principles of this systematic analysis when dividing them into separate groups, are applied on the basis of methodology developed by the Swedish botanist Karl von Linné' (for more about it see: LE I 400; XVI 245f.), cf. a description of the canna (*Canna*), a plant belonging to the genus of perennial grass of the canna family (*Cannaceae*).

### CANNA

#### Indica

1. *Canna foliis ovatis utrinque acuminatis nervosis*. Roy. lugdb. 11.  
Fl. zeyl. 1. Hort. ups. 1.

*Canna spatulis bifloris*. Hort. cliff. 1.  
*Arundo indica latifolia*. Bauh. pin. 19.

Habitat inter tropicos Asiae, Africae, Americae. ♀ angustifol.

2. *Canna foliis lanceolatis petiolatis nervosis*.

*Canna foliis lanceolatis petiolatis*. Hort. cliff. 1.

*Arundo indica florida angustifolia*. Moris. hist. 3. p. 250. s. 8. t. 14. f. 6.  
Habitat inter tropicos Americae: Umbrosis spongiosis. ♀ glauca.

3. *Canna foliis lanceolatis petiolatis enervibus*. Roy. lugdb. 11.

*Canna foliis enervibus*. Virid. cliff. 104.

*Cannoides*. Hort. cliff. 488.

*Canna Acorus glaucophyllus, ampliore flore, iridis palustris facie*. Dill. elth. 69. t. 59. f. 69.

Habitat in Carolina ? ♀ (for more see Linnaeus 1753: 10).

LINGUISTIC STUDY OF PHYTONYMS. The analysis of the plant names is heterogenic because apart from the above-mentioned classification, it is based on a diverse system of lexical diversification. First of all the words of the Baltic languages are grouped according to a temporal attribution. This is: 1) the old Indo-European lexis; 2) the general lexis of the Baltic and Slavic languages; 3) the lexis characteristic exceptionally of the Baltic languages; 4) the lexis characteristic only of the Lithuanian (resp. Latvian, Prussian) language (-es).

The identification of ethnic dependence of words is another especially important way of differentiation of the lexis. On its basis lexemes are divided into two groups. They are as follows: 1) the inherited lexis (inheritances) and 2) the borrowed lexis (loanwords). The latter group is further divided according to the filiation of the loanword. This is: 1) loanwords from the Baltic Finns; 2) Slavisms; 3) Germanisms; 4) Lithuanianisms or Latvianisms; 5) loanwords from other languages.

In his fundamental work *Lietuvių kalbos leksika* (The Lexis of the Lithuanian Language) Algirdas Sabaliauskas (1990) presents separate groups of phytonyms divided according to the discussed system of classifying words of the Lithuanian language. *Baltų kalbų atlasas* (Atlas of the Baltic Languages; BKA) presents representatives of all the mentioned subgroups of the lexis, however, due to the unknown origin of some words their attribution to the listed systematic subclasses is highly complicated. Therefore, some of the lexemes, having carried out their detailed analysis, are attributed to a different subclass in this work, contrary to what was common to do in the past.

## The Old Indo-European Lexis

The words attributed to this stratum of the lexis by their origin are the oldest inherited words of the Baltic languages dating back to the period of the Indo-European parent language.<sup>1</sup> A chronological division of lexemes is based on the identity of the morphological (often also semantic) archetype of the words of the Indo-European languages. Most often lexemes of the underived or simple stem are attributed to the old Indo-European lexis but representatives of the primary stem whose suffixation is often dated back to a much later period than the main morpheme of the word – the root – are also found.

The comparison of lexical stems according to the grammatical class of words is possible only when reconstructing the protosememe rather than the base of the words attributed to the lexical layer. Therefore, the derivational status of the words belonging to this period must be correlative with respect to the morphological type of all

1 Due to the specificity of BKA the words attributed to this layer of the lexis are not divided into correlative subclasses of the Indo-European parent-language: 1) formation (i.e. etiological beginning); 2) stable usage; 3) the period of splitting into dialects. The abbreviation IE denotes the convergent conception of the period of the Indo-European parent language.

samples of different Indo-European languages being compared: nominal (*nomina substantiva / adjectiva / numeralia / pronominalia*), verbal (*nomina verbalia*), adverbial (*nomina adverbialia*) and others.

Table 1 presents the names of phytonyms attributed to the layer of the lexis of the period of the Indo-European parent language; some of them that have been traditionally interpreted as especially archaic thus far, on the basis of the latest etymological investigations are to be treated as later inherited words, therefore they are attributed to the representatives of the verbal heritage of a respective period in BKA (i.e., Latv. *riēksts*, dial. *riekša* (gen. sg.) // Lith. *riēšutas* 'nut', dial. *riēšutis*, *riēšas*, *riēšutys*, *ruošutys* as a segregate of the Baltic and Slavic languages [see Table 4 – as to their origin see

PKEŽ I 163f.], rather than the relic of the lexis of the Indo-European period [cf. Sabaliauskas 1990: 43]). It is true, Sabaliauskas (1990: 121) presented the description of this word twice, i.e., he attributed the lexemes meaning 'riešutas' ('nut') to both layers of the Indo-European period and the common lexis of the Baltic and Slavic languages.

No special problems arise as to the classification of phytonyms though the etymological development of some of them is quite clear (e.g., OIr. *lín* 'linas (*Linum usitatissimum*)' 'flax', OE *līn* 'ditto' are currently interpreted as cultural loanwords from the Latin language rather than words inherited from the Indo-European parent language; see Matasović 2009: 240).

EXAMPLES OF THE BALTIC LANGUAGES			EQUIVALENTS OF THE SLAVIC LANGUAGES	EQUIVALENTS OF THE GERMANIC LANGUAGES	EQUIVALENTS OF THE ITALIC LANGUAGES	EQUIVALENTS OF THE GREEK LANGUAGES	EQUIVALENTS OF THE INDIAN AND IRANIAN LANGUAGES	EQUIVALENTS OF OTHER INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES
LATVIAN	LITHUANIAN	PRUSSIAN						
1. <i>āļksnis</i> <sup>(2)</sup> , <i>āļksnis</i> <sup>2</sup> , <i>alksnis</i> , <i>alkšnis</i> , <i>alukšnis</i> , <i>elīksnis</i> <sup>(2)</sup> ; <i>elīksnis</i> , <i>elēksnis</i> , <i>elēksnis</i> <sup>2</sup> , <i>elēksnis</i> , <i>elksnis</i> <sup>(2)</sup> , <i>elksnis</i> <sup>2</sup> , <i>elksnis</i> , <i>elkšnis</i> <sup>2</sup> , <i>elksnis</i> , <i>elsnis</i> ; <i>ulksnis</i> ; <i>āļkškuōks</i> <sup>2</sup> , <i>āļkšņkuōks</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>alīksnis</i> (>), <i>alīksnis</i> , <i>alīksnys</i> ; <i>elīksnis</i> , <i>elīksnys</i>	<i>abskande</i> ↔ <i>*alīksnas</i>	(O)Russ. <i>ольха</i> , dial. <i>өлха</i> , Pol. <i>olcha / olsza</i> , Bulg. <i>елха</i> and others.	OHG <i>elira / erila</i> , NHG <i>Erle</i> , OIc. <i>qlr / alr</i>	Lat. <i>alnus</i>			Maced. <i>αλιζα</i>
2. <i>āuza</i>	<i>avižā</i>	<i>wyse</i> ↔ <i>*avizē</i> < <i>*avizā</i>	ORuss. <i>овѣць</i> , Russ. <i>овѣц</i> , Ukr. <i>овіс</i> , Pol. <i>owies</i> , Bulg. <i>овѣц</i> and others.		Lat. <i>avēna</i>			
3. <i>bēzrs</i> , <i>bēzra</i> , <i>bērze</i> , <i>bērže</i> , <i>bērzi</i>	<i>bērzas</i> , <i>bērže</i> , <i>beržys</i>	<i>berse</i> ↔ <i>*berzē</i>	Russ. <i>берѣза</i> , Pol. <i>brzoza</i> , Bulg. <i>брѣза</i> , Serb.-Cr. <i>br̄ez(a)</i> and others.	OHG <i>birihha</i> , OIc. <i>bjork</i>	Lat. <i>fraxinus</i>		Skr. <i>bhūrjāḥ</i> , Oset. <i>bærz</i> , <i>bærzæ</i>	Dac. Top. <i>Bers-ovia</i>
4. <i>apse</i> , <i>apsa</i>	<i>āpūšē</i> , <i>ēpušē</i> / <i>āpušis</i> , <i>ēpušis</i> , <i>apušys</i> , <i>lāpušē</i>	<i>abse</i> ↔ <i>*apsē</i>	ORuss. <i>осина</i> , Russ. <i>осина</i> , Bulg. <i>осіка</i> , Pol. <i>osa / aspa</i> , OLG <i>osina</i> , UpSo. <i>wosa / wosyna</i> , LoSo. <i>wósa</i> and others.	OHG, OS. <i>espe</i> , NHG <i>Wespe</i>				
5. <i>iēva</i>	<i>ievā</i>	<i>iuwis</i> ↔ <i>*ivas</i>	Russ., Bulg. <i>іва</i> , Pol. <i>iwa</i> , Srb. <i>іва</i> and others.	OHG <i>īwa</i> , MHG <i>īwe</i> , OIc. <i>ýr</i>		ῥα, οῖη		OIr. <i>eó</i> , MW <i>ywen</i> , MBret. <i>ivin</i> , Arm. <i>aygi</i>
6.	<i>jāvas</i> , (pl.) <i>javaī</i>					ζεά, ζειαί	Skr. <i>yávaḥ</i> , Av. <i>yava-</i> , Pers., Kurd. <i>jaw</i> , Os. <i>jæw</i> , dial. <i>xwar</i>	
7. <i>kļavs</i> , <i>kļava</i> , <i>kļavis</i> , <i>kļavs</i> , <i>kļeva</i>	<i>klēvas</i> , <i>kliāvas</i>		Russ. <i>клен</i> , Bulg. <i>клен</i> , Serb.-Cr. <i>клен</i> , Pol., UpSo. <i>klon</i> and others.	OIc. <i>hlynr</i>				Maced. <i>κλινότροχον</i> , OCo. <i>kelin</i> , Cymr. <i>Kelyn</i>
8. <i>kviesis</i> , (pl.) <i>kvieši</i>	<i>kvietis</i> , <i>kvietys</i> , (pl.) <i>kviečiai</i>			Goth. <i>hvaiteis</i> , OIc. <i>hveiti</i> , OHG <i>(h)weizi / weiz</i> , MHG <i>weiz(z)e / weiz</i> , Germ. <i>Weizen</i> , Engl. <i>wheat</i> and others.				
9. <i>lazds</i> / <i>lazda</i> , <i>lazdā</i> , <i>lazde</i> , <i>lagzds</i> / <i>lagzda</i> , <i>lagzde</i> , <i>lēgzds</i> , <i>lēgzda</i> , <i>lēzds</i> / <i>lēzda</i>		<i>laxde</i> ↔ <i>*lagzdē</i>	OSlav. <i>лѡза</i> , Bulg. <i>лоза</i> , Serb.-Cr. <i>lōza</i> , Sloven. <i>lōza</i> , Slovak. dial. <i>lodza</i> , (O.) Pol. <i>łozą</i> , CS, O.) Russ. <i>лоза</i> and others.					Alb. <i>lajthi</i> , <i>lakthi</i>

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LATVIAN	LITHUANIAN	PRUSSIAN						
10. <i>lins</i> , (pl.) <i>lini</i>	<i>linas</i> , (pl.) <i>linaĩ</i>	<i>lino</i> ↔ * <i>linā</i>	Bulg. <i>лен</i> , Serb.-Cr. <i>лѧн</i> , Pol. <i>len</i> , Russ. <i>лѧн</i> etc.	OHG <i>līn</i>	Lat. <i>linum</i>	λίνον		OIr. <i>lín</i>
11. <i>ābels</i> / <i>ābele</i> <sup>(2)</sup> , <i>ābēle</i> <sup>2</sup> , <i>ābele</i> , <i>ābēle</i> , <i>ābels</i> , <i>ābēls</i> , <i>ābēls</i> , <i>ābēls</i> <sup>2</sup> , <i>ābēls</i> <sup>2</sup> , <i>ābēla</i> , <i>ābuōls</i> / <i>ābuōlis</i> , <i>ābuole</i> , <i>ābuls</i> , <i>ābule</i> , <i>ābule</i> , <i>ābulis</i> , <i>ābulis</i> , <i>vābèle</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>obelis</i> / <i>obelē</i> , <i>óbalas</i> / <i>obalỹs</i> , <i>óbelas</i> / <i>obelỹs</i> , <i>vobelē</i> ; (gen. pl.) <i>obel(i)ũ</i> , <i>obil(i)ũ</i>	<i>wobalne</i> ↔ * <i>ābalnis</i>	Bulg. <i>аблѧн</i> / <i>яблѧн</i> , Serb.-Cr. <i>јаблан</i> , Sloven. <i>jablan</i> , ORuss. <i>яболонь</i> , Russ. <i>яблоня</i> and others.		Lat. <i>Abella</i> (town in Campania that was famous for its fruit)			OIr. <i>aball</i>
12. <i>papařde</i> , <i>papardis</i> , <i>pa-pařde</i> , <i>papařde</i> , <i>paperde</i> , <i>paparda</i> , <i>papards</i> , <i>pa-ports</i> , <i>paparnĩte</i> ; <i>paperkstĩte</i> , <i>parkstina</i> , <i>parkstena</i> , <i>parkšĩ</i> , <i>pararškis</i> , <i>papark(s)ts</i> , <i>paparkste</i> , <i>pa-pařksne</i>	<i>pāpārtis</i> / <i>pa-pārtis</i> , <i>partĩts</i> , <i>partĩts</i> , <i>partĩts</i> , <i>pāparnikas</i>	Top. <i>Pa-parthen</i> ↔ * <i>Papartjai</i>	Serb.-Cr. <i>paprat</i> , <i>pāprāti</i> , <i>prāprot</i> , Slovak. <i>paprad</i> , Cz. <i>paprad</i> / <i>kaprad</i> , Sloven. <i>paprad</i> (masc.), <i>-de</i> (fem.), Pol. <i>paproc</i> , Blr. <i>пáпapaць</i> , <i>пáпapaт-ник</i> and others.	OHG <i>farn</i>			Skr. <i>parṇám</i> , Av. <i>parəna</i>	OIr. <i>raith</i> , MBret. <i>raden</i>
13. <i>pūri</i> , <i>pūri</i> , <i>pūri</i>	<i>pūras</i> , (pl.) <i>pūrai</i> , <i>pūrai</i>	<i>pure</i> ↔ * <i>pūrē</i>	Russ. <i>пыре́й</i> , Pol. <i>perz</i> , Serb.-Cr. <i>пѧр</i> , Sloven. <i>pŕ</i> , Cz. <i>pŕ</i>	OE <i>fȳrs</i>		(σ)πυρός		
14.	<i>pušis</i> , <i>pušē</i> ; (dat. pl. dial.) <i>pušēm(s)</i> , <i>pušēm</i>	<i>peuse</i> ↔ * <i>pjausē</i>		OHG <i>fiuhta</i> / <i>fihta</i> , MHG <i>viehte</i> , OS <i>fiolta</i> / <i>fiuhtia</i>		πεύκη		
15. <i>rācenis</i> , <i>rācēnis</i> , <i>rācēnis</i> , <i>rācins</i> , <i>rācinis</i> , <i>rācinis</i> , <i>rācinis</i> , <i>rācinis</i> , <i>rācinis</i>	<i>rōpē</i>		Bulg. <i>рѧна</i> , (r.) CS <i>рѧна</i> , Russ. <i>рѧна</i> , Serb.-Cr. <i>рѧна</i> , Pol. <i>rzepa</i> and others.	OHG <i>rāba</i> , <i>ruoba</i>	Lat. <i>rāpum</i> , <i>rāpa</i>	ράπυς, ράφυς		
16. <i>rudzis</i> , (pl.) <i>rudzi</i>	<i>rūgis</i> , <i>rugỹs</i> , (pl.) <i>rugiai</i>	<i>ruggis</i> ↔ * <i>rugis</i>	Bulg. <i>рѧж</i> , ORuss. <i>рѧжь</i> , Russ. <i>рожь</i> , Pol. <i>reż</i> and others.	OIc. <i>rugr</i> , OE <i>ryze</i> , OS <i>roggo</i> , OHG <i>rocko</i>				Thr.-Maced. βοίζα
17.	<i>sėmuō</i> , (pl.) <i>sėmenys</i> , <i>sėmen(e)s</i> , <i>sėmenaĩ</i> , <i>sėminiaĩ</i> , <i>sėmenės</i>	<i>semen</i> ↔ * <i>sėmen</i>	OSlav. <b>сѣмѧ</b> , (gen. pl.) <b>сѣмѧнъ</b> , Bulg. <i>сѣме</i> , Serb.-Cr. <i>сѣме</i> and others.	OHG, OS <i>samo</i>	Lat. <i>sėmen</i>			
18. <i>uōsis</i>	<i>uōsis</i> , <i>vuosis</i>	<i>woasis</i> ↔ * <i>āsis</i>	Bulg. <i>јасен</i> , Serb.-Cr. <i>јасѧн</i> , Sloven. <i>jasen</i> , Russ. <i>ясень</i> and others.	OHG <i>asc</i> , OIc. <i>Askr</i>	Lat. <i>ornus</i>	ὄξύη, ἄχερ-ωίς		Alb. <i>ah</i> , Arm. <i>hac'i</i> , OCo. <i>onnen</i> , MĪr. <i>onn</i>
19. <i>vīksna</i> , <i>vīksna</i> <sup>2</sup> , <i>vīksna</i> , <i>vīksne</i> , <i>vīksne</i> <sup>2</sup> , <i>vīksnis</i> , <i>vīksņā</i> <sup>2</sup> , <i>vīksņis</i> <sup>2</sup> , <i>višne</i> / <i>višņa</i> , <i>višne</i> <sup>2</sup> / <i>višņa</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>vīkšnā</i> , <i>vīkšnas</i> , <i>vīkšnē</i> , <i>vīkšnis</i>	<i>wimino</i> ↔ * <i>vīkšnā</i>	ORuss. <i>вѧзъ</i> , Russ. <i>вѧз</i> , Serb.-Cr. <i>вѧз</i> , Sloven. <i>věz</i> and others.					Alb. <i>vidh</i> , (pl.) <i>vidha</i>
20. <i>ziřnis</i> , (pl.) <i>ziřni</i>	<i>žirnis</i> , (pl.) <i>žirniai</i>	<i>syrne</i> ↔ * <i>zirnē</i>	OSlav. <b>зѣрно</b> , Bulg. <i>зѣрно</i> , ORuss. <i>зѣрно</i> , Russ. <i>зерно</i> , Pol. <i>ziarno</i> and others.	Goth. <i>kaurn</i> , OHG <i>corn</i> / <i>kerno</i> , NHG <i>Korn</i> and others.	Lat. <i>grānum</i>			OIr. <i>grán</i> , MW <i>gronyn</i> , MBret. <i>greun</i>

Table 1. Phytonyms of the Baltic languages attributed to the stratum of the old Indo-European lexis



## Names of the Alder

A pragmatic (genetic) relationship between such words is most often motivated by the transparency of their origin determining the establishment of the words of the subgroup of segregate lexical units of the Indo-European languages of a certain period, e.g. names of the plant – the alder (*Alnus*) of the genus of trees and bushes of the spontaneous birch (*Betulaceae*) family of the Baltic languages (Latv. *alksnis* ‘alder’, Lith. *alksnis* ‘ditto’, Pruss. *abskande* ‘Erle’ E 602) two kinds of which are found in Latvia and Lithuania (*grey alder* [*A. incana* Mnch., Willd.], *black alder* [*A. glutinosa* Gaertn.]) are correlated with the equivalents of other Indo-European languages, first and foremost, on the principle of the identity of the morphological structure (see Table 1): WestBalt. *\*aliksna* ↔ EastBalt. *\*aliksna-* / *\*eliksna-* // *\*aliksniā-* / *\*eliksniā-* < Balt. *\*e(a)liksna-* // *\*e(a)liksniā-* < Balt. *\*e(a)lisna* // *\*e(a)liksniā-* (with epenthetic *-k-* and suff. *\*-nō-*) < Balt. *\*e(a)lisa-* // *\*e(a)lisīa-* ↔ Slav. *\*e(a)lisā* (> ProtoSlav. *\*jelbxa* / *\*olbxa*) // *\*e(a)lisīā* (> ProtoSlav. *jelbša* / *olbša*) ↔ OHG *elira* (< *\*alizō*) (for more about it see PKEŽ I 46).

The usage of the phytonym in the dialects of the Latvian language has been described in detail (see LVDA 45f.): the most common is Latv. *alksnis* which is not only the word of the Standard Latvian language (Llvv I 160) but also the most common name of this plant found in subdialects (other phonetic words for this phytonym are represented in Table 2).

In the area of the Lithuanian language, as in that of the Latvian language, phytonyms of a double initial element of this plant are used: 1) Lith. *alksnis* 2 K, Krtn; SD 225, *alksnys* 4 Būga (Dv, Lz [ME I 68; Būga Aist. Stud. I 51 – LKŽK]) ‘tree of the birch family (*Alnus*)’ J, LBŽ, Dkš, Tt, S. Dauk, LTR (Vlkj), Žg, Sr (e-LKŽ); 2) Lith. *elksnis* 2 ‘tree of the birch family (*Alnus*)’ K, Nm, Jrb; C I 553, R, Erž, Gs (e-LKŽ). It is thought that the origin of these two forms is highly archaic, i.e. a qualitative pophony of two kinds of IE *\*ēl-* / *\*ōl-* (PKEŽ I 47) are reconstructed.

The forms of an especially old morphological structure have been used in the eastern Baltic languages thus far: Lith. *aliksniš* 2 ‘tree of the birch family (*Alnus*)’ An, Km, Brž, Ut, Kp, Rk, Pn (e-LKŽ); Aln, Pnm, Ds, Jž, Slm (LKŽK), Žl<sup>2</sup>, Latv. dial. *eliksniš* ‘ditto’ 427, 479, *eliksniš* 491, 501-2, -5, -11 (LVDA 46) (also see Tables 1 and 2), also the reconstructed Pruss. *\*aliskande* / *\*aliskands* (↔ Pruss. *abskande* ‘alder’) ↔ Pruss. *\*aliskans* < Pruss. *\*aliksna* (PKEŽ I 44f.), determines the WestBalt. *\*aliksna-* ‘alder’, EastBalt. *\*e/aliksni(i)a-* ‘ditto’ (< Balt. *\*e/aliksni(i)a-* ‘ditto’ < Balt. *\*e/alisi(i)a-* ‘ditto’ < Balt. *\*e/alisi(i)a-*

‘ditto’ < Balt.-Slav. *\*e/alisi(i)ā-* ‘ditto’ < IE dial. *\*e/alisi(i)ā-* ‘ditto’ > Gallic Top. *Alisia*, NHG *Elsenz*; OHG *elira* and others. [IEW 302; PKEŽ ibd.]).

The following *\*-ā* derivatives of a collective formant deserve separate mention: Lith. *alksna* 1 Gk, *alksnà* 4 K. Būg, Š ‘place overgrown with alders, alder grove’ Skd, Smln, J, Als, Vdk, VŠR, Grg; ‘puddle, a dale, a valley’ Mžk, BB 1 Mak 9,45 (e-LKŽ) ↔ Latv. *alksna* 337 / *alksne* / *alkšņa* 410 ‘place overgrown with alders, alder grove’, *alksna*<sup>2</sup>, *aluksna* ‘swamp, marshland, especially in the fields’ written lang. (ME I 67) and a large group of derivatives with a common root: 1) adj. Lith. *aliksniš* 1 Ktk; SD1 113 ‘of an alder tree’ Ds, An, BM 209; ‘of such kind (about apple trees)’ Ds (e-LKŽ), *aliksniš*, *-ė* 2 Jnšk, *alksninis* 1 Ut ‘of an alder tree’ OG 174, Kp, Grž, J; ‘of this kind (about apple-trees)’ Rm (e-LKŽ) (*aliksniš* ‘ditto’ K, Tvr, M, Ds [LKŽK]) ↔ Latv. *alkšņainis* ‘overgrown with alders’ (ME I 68); *elksniš*, *-ė* 2 R ‘of alder’ K I 366, Gs; ‘growing in an alder grove’ Gs, *alksnalīngas*, *-a* 1 ‘overgrown with alders’ P (e-LKŽ); 2) subst. Lith. dial. *aliksniōkas* 2 ‘small, stunted alder’ Ds, *aliksniņė* J. Jabl, *alksniš* 2 ‘small, medium-sized alder’ SD 225, Grg, *alksniš*, *-ė* 2 Rdm ‘black-and-brown man’ Tvr, Ig (e-LKŽ) ↔ Latv. *alksnene* / *alksnīte* / *alksnītis*, *elksnene* written lang. / *elksnēne*<sup>2</sup> / *elksnēne*<sup>2</sup> 337, 397 / *elksnīne*<sup>2</sup> 426 ‘rufous milkcap (*Lactarius rufus*)’ written lang., ‘mallow’ written lang. (ME I 68, 567; EH I 368); *alksnynas* 1 Brsl, 3 Š, SD 225 ‘alder forest’ Mrs, Grg (e-LKŽ) / *alksnynas* ‘ditto’ K (LKŽK) / *elksnynas* 1 ‘ditto’ K; R, Skr (e-LKŽ) ↔ Latv. *alksniens* BW 19488,2, 19877,11 (~ Latv. dial. *alksniens*<sup>2</sup> 43, written lang. [EH I 68]), *alksnājs* (~ la. *elksnājs* BW 18911 [EH I 364]) / *alksnāja* written lang. / *alksnaīne* written lang., *alksnene*, *elksnaīne* 337, *elksniens* / *elksnaīne* / *elksnājs* BW 11623 ‘ditto’ (ME I 68, 567) ~ Latv. *alksneņiņš* BW 19488,2 (EH I 68); *aliksniņė* 2 ‘place overgrown with alders’ Užp, *alksniņė* 2 J ‘place overgrown with alders’ Kp (e-LKŽ), ‘place abounding in alders’ Kp, Dovydenai, Grž (LKŽK), *alksnītė* 1 Šd, Rgv, Rs, *alksnītė* 2 Š, K. Būg ‘alder bushes, alder grove’ Klov, Pg, J. Jabl, J (e-LKŽ), Rm, Ssk, Iš, Kp (LKŽK) ↔ Latv. *alksnīte*, *alksnīte*<sup>2</sup> 64 ‘alder forest’ (EH I 68) ~ Latv. *alksnīši* / *alksnesīši* BW 25950, *elksņūši*<sup>2</sup> 465 ‘small alders’ (ME I 68, 567); *alksnōtas* 1 ‘alder wood’ J I 96<sup>b</sup> (e-LKŽ), Rs (LKŽK) ↔ adj. Latv. *elksņūōts* ‘overgrown with alders’ written lang. (ME I 567); *alksnēniš*, *-ė* 2 Alk ‘from Alksnēnai’ Gs, *alksninūkas* 2 T. Ivan ‘(zool.) bird of the finch family (*Carduelis spinus*)’ Bd (e-LKŽ), ‘small bird’ Bd, Db, ‘black-and-brown man’ Ig (LKŽK), *alksnaitė* ‘wood of small bushes’ Pšl, J, *alksnalingas* ‘place where alders grow’ P 427, *alksninālis*, *-ėlis* Grg, Yl, *alksnālė* Grg (LKŽK).

DIALECT OF CENTRAL LATVIA			LIVIAN DIALECT				HIGH LATVIAN DIALECT				
Z	SC	V	KDLS	KPLS	VLS	SAFLD	DLS	PLS	DSS	PSS	SAFHL
<i>alksnis</i> 40,- 5-8, 53- 7,-9, 99- 101,-3,-5- 18,-32-3,- 5-7,-9,-45- 50,-3-8,- 61-67	<i>alksnis</i> 15-39, 41-44,- 49-53,- 8-60, 88-98, 102,-4,- 23	<i>alksnis</i> 124-31,-4,-8,- 40-4,-51-2,-9-60,-8- 9,-86,-92-3,-6-7,-9- 200,-3-6,-8-14,-19,- 22-38,-40-44,-47-8,- 56-9,-61-97,-99- 302,-4-6,-9-10,-12- 17,-19-21,-31,-8,-74- 81,-96	<i>alksnis</i> 1-7, 62- 7,-9	<i>alksnis</i> 8-13, 68, 70-87, 90, 119-121;	<i>alksnis</i> 170-1,-3- 185,-7- 191,4-5,-8, 249-255, 260	<i>alksnis</i> 14, 192-3,-6, 222-3,-7, 344,-52	<i>alksnis</i> 384- 391,-3,-5, 401, 462-9,- 71	<i>alksnis</i> 382-3,- 92,-7, 400,-10	<i>alksnis</i> 359-60, 371, 460, 509	<i>alksnis</i> 318,- 24,-6,-33-4,- 40-1,-7-8,-52,- 57-8, 403,-9,- 14,-16,-24,-9- 30	<i>alksnis</i> 222,-7,-31 -2,-40- 1,-7, 331,-8
							<i>alkšnis</i> 483, 502,-7				
			<i>alkškuoks</i> 63								

2 Personal information from Dr. Ritutė Petrokienė, researcher at the Centre of Lexicography of the Institute of the Lithuanian Language.





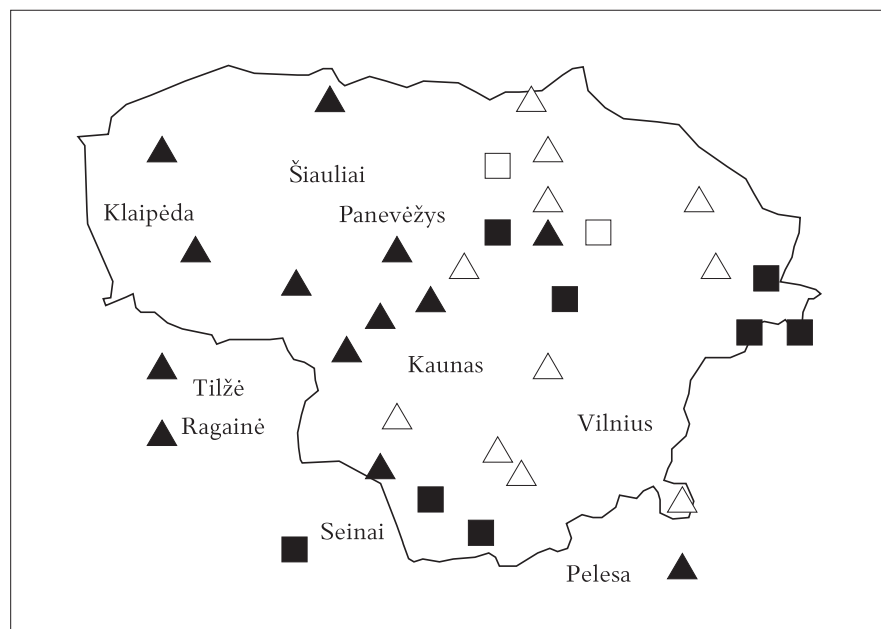


Fig. 1. Prevalence of Lith. *papartis* and other stressed forms in dialects (symbol  $\triangle$  denotes form *papartis*,  $\blacktriangle$  – *papartis*,  $\square$  – *pāpartis*,  $\blacksquare$  – areas where *papartys* is used)

DIALECT SUBDIALECTS	ACUTE ROOT	CIRCUMFLEX ROOT
Highlanders:		
Western: of Kaunas area	+	+
Šiauliai district	+	
Eastern:		
of Panevėžys area		+
Kupiškis area		+
Anykščiai area	+	+
Utena area		+
Vilnius area		+
Southern		+
Lowlanders:		
of the northern Kretinga area	+	
Southern: of Varniai area	+	
of Raseiniai	+	
Periferial subdialects:		
Pelesa	+	
Tilžė, Ragainė	+	

Table 3. Usage of Lith. *papartis* / *papartis* in dialects

(also see Znž II 330; Klž 201), Lith. *papartis* 'ditto' of the first accentual paradigm is presented as the second word form mentioned by Frydričas Kuršaitis and Antanas Juška in the writings of a later period, also used in Lithuanian dialects too (Gs, Tlž, Kv, Klk, Erž, Vl). The third wordform is indicated to be *papartys*, *-čio* of the 3<sup>b</sup> stress paradigm used in the areas of dialects of western and eastern Highlanders (Prgn, Dglš, Tv [*paparčis* – Otrębski 1934: 226], Klvr).<sup>5</sup>

On the basis of the LKŽK data, it can be stated that this form is used in a much broader area: [RAU] Ds, Smlv, Lln, [RAK] Kp, Alz,

[RAV] Gvk, Dv. Perhaps this model of accentuation could come from the area of eastern Highlanders of Vilnius district and became common in the subdialects of southern Highlanders, and later in other dialectal areas, with the exception of the subdialects of Lowlanders: *papartys*, *pāparčio* (3<sup>b</sup>) Kbl, Mrk, and from them in periferial subdialects too – *papartys*, *-čio* Sn and in the area of Kaunas (Nvn).

LKŽ also mentions that cases of the use of the forms of feminine gender are also found in dialects. The latter, Lith. dial *papartė* (fem.) 'ditto' attributed to the same lexical type is presented unstressed. This form is used only in Giedraičiai (LKŽ IX 349). It should be mentioned that Pabrėža indicated the form *Papārčiai* 'Felices' (Bot 17th century), and from the unspecified sources the word *papartis* (fem.) (LKŽK [LKŽ (IX 349) does not indicate where this form is used or in what old writings or writings of a later period it is mentioned]), *Papārtis* (masc.), cf. *Papārtey* 'Filix' (Pž II 19) and *papartis/popartis* (MLLG II 137) should also be mentioned.

The formation and origin of the first two examples have not been elucidated thus far. The reconstruction of the accentual archetype of the names of the fern is under discussion too. On the basis of the material presented in LKŽ it could be stated that the circumflex form is used more frequently than the acute one. George Gerullis (1922: 237) and Trautmann (1923: 206) who indicated the acute derivation only were of different opinion. Būga (I 342, 473) who regarded Lith. *papartis* (II 412) as metatonic one, behaved in a similar way. Pranas Skardžius (I 23f.) also forgot to mention the circumflex form.

First of all the boundaries of the areas where these variants are used should be defined more exactly (the data are taken from LKŽK, LKŽKP). Only the acute form *papartis* is found in the area of the dialects of Lowlanders. It is used by northern Lowlanders of Kretinga area (Slnt), southern Lowlanders of Varniai (Kv; also cf. Dūnž 238) and Raseiniai (Erž). Western Highlanders stress the word in accentual paradigms 2 and 1: [VAK] *papartis* Dkš, *papartis* Ddv, Vl; [VAŠ] *papartis* Jnš, Bsg, Jsv. Eastern Highlanders use both forms (in some subdialects cases of a parallel use are found): people in Utena district use only the form of the second stress paradigm: *papartis*, *paparčius*, *paparčiams* (2) Sld, Ds, and people in Anykščiai area stress this word in three different ways: *papartis* (2) Sb, *papartis* (1) Sb, *pāpartis*<sup>6</sup> Sb (LKŽKP). People of Kupiškis like those in Anykščiai, use the form of the second accentual paradigm *papartis* (2) Kzl and that of the first accentual paradigm – *pāpartis* Alz. People of Panevėžys and Vilnius areas use the form of the second stress paradigm *papartis* (2) Slč, Dv. There is a tendency in some areas of southern Highlanders to stress this word in the second stress paradigm: Pv, Ppr, cf. *papartis*, *-čiu* 'nickname of a drunkard' Dvrč.

Only the acute form of the first stress paradigm *papartis* (1) – Pls, Tlž, Rgn is found in peripheral subdialects. The word *pāparnikas* 'a fern' Lz that is also used there is clearly of Slavic origin ~ Bel. *напараць* 'a plant of the fern family', *напаратник* 'ditto' (ЭСБМ VIII 154). A similar use was found in Pasvalys and Jurotiškės: *pāparninkas*, *pāparninko* 'fern' (LKŽK).

On the basis of the data presented in Table 3 and Fig. 1 it can be stated that the form of the mobile paradigm of the circumflex root is used by western and southern, and especially often by eastern

5 According to Zigmantas Zinkevičius (1966: 217), this form is found in the environs of Seinai, Leipalingis, Subačius, Svėdasai, Dusetos, Dotenėnai, Adutiškis, and Tverėčius.

6 The following correction *pāpartis* → *papartis* has been specified by the workers of the LKI in the card where this form is characterised. According to Petrokienė, this might be the incorrectly recorded form of Lith. dial. *papartys* (personal information).

Highlanders. The form of the acute root of the first stress paradigm prevails in the subdialects of Lowlanders, in peripheral dialects of Lithuania Minor; this form is also used in Pelesa. Sporadically this form is found in the subdialects of Kaunas and Anykščiai areas. The word *pāpartis* of the first stress paradigm is still used in Anykščiai and Kupiškis, and the word *papartys* is found in the subdialects of southern and eastern Highlanders, as well as in the peripheral subdialect of Seinai. It is believed that the relationship between the two latter forms is derivational, i.e., the accusative of the form *papartys* could form a basis for Lith. dial. *pāpartis* of the barytone stress paradigm to appear though it might be that namely this form is the most archaic one (see further about the prefix accentuation).

When studying the forms of Lith. *papařtis* and *papartis* of different accentuation, first of all, the phenomenon of metatony is to be discussed. It was applied by Būga (II 412) to interpret these examples, only it is not clear which of the forms is metatonic.

On the basis of the regularity established by Bonifacas Stundžia (1981: 61–62) – “... circumflex metatony of derivative nouns in the subdialects of eastern Highlanders of Utena district reflects an older situation than the analogous phenomenon of western Highlanders or Lowlanders”<sup>7</sup> – it is known that Lowlanders and western Highlanders are apt to generalise the variant with circumflex: this is related to the paradigm of the base words, which most often (second components of compound words) was accentual paradigms 2, 3, 4. Therefore in determining the old accentual paradigm of the lexeme under investigation, first of all, the names of “the fern” used in the subdialect of eastern Highlanders in Utena are to be reviewed. To determine the old model, the data of southern Highlanders are also of great significance (Mikulėnienė 1994: 126, 1998: 59).

It has already been mentioned that eastern Highlanders of Utena use the form of the second paradigm *papařtis*, *papařčius*, *papařčiams* (2) Ds, Sld. The form of the *ið* stem *papartys*, *-čio* is used in Dusetos too. Zigmąs Zinkevičius (1966: 217) wrote about the peculiarities of accentuating the latter form as follows: its accentuation and the choice of inflections in dialects are quite confused. Būga (I 437) stated that this is the oldest form dating back to the period of the IE parent language.

It should be underlined that no acute forms have been found in the areas of eastern Highlanders in Utena and Vilnius and the areas of southern Highlanders (this statement is made on the basis of the LKŹK data because the Archive of Dialects contains no investigation material about the use of the word in different areas). Danguolė Mikulėnienė, when establishing a temporal relationship between the acute and circumflex forms of compound words – “compound words which differ in circumflex metatony are not so old”; “... compound words that differ in circumflex metatony are quite late and remade from the words of the mobile paradigm ...”<sup>8</sup> (1998: 59f.), based her-

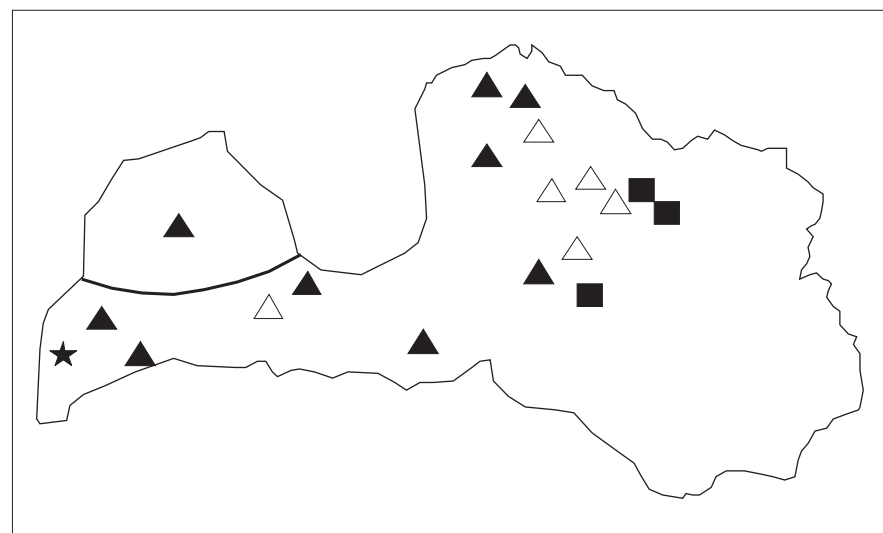


Fig. 2. Prevalence of accent forms of the Latv. *papařde* and others in dialects (symbol  $\Delta$  marks prevalence of the form *papařde* in subdialects of three accents;  $\blacktriangle$  – in dialects of two accents where falling and broken accents coincide,  $\star$  – *papařde*,  $\blacksquare$  – *papařde* in subdialects where the rising accent coincides with the falling one)

self on the cases of metatony in the dialects of Lowlanders and western Highlanders (1997: 99).

Therefore, it is important to determine whether the above-mentioned presumption about the origin of Lith. *papartis* of acute syllable accent is in line with the regularities of accentuation of the derivatives of the Lithuanian language with the prefix *pa-* (see further about the prefix *pa-*).

Mikulėnienė (1994: 118), having analysed accentuation of the derivatives with the prefix *pa-* states that a mobile stress is characteristic of such compound words though examples of the barytone paradigm can also be found – earlier the compound words belonged to the barytone paradigm in all cases. She supposes that accentuation of the prefix in such compound words is most probably related to the mobile stress of the base word. Kuršaitis stresses the derivatives that are derived from the nouns with a circumflex or short root in this way (Mikulėnienė 1994: 122). On the basis of the hypothesis put forward by Mikulėnienė (1994: 126) genesis of the circumflex form could be related to the shift of the stress to the right: *pāpartis* > *papařtis* > *papartys*. Therefore, this form would be secondary instead of the older acute one *papartis*.

This explanation would be really acceptable if the verb under investigation were in line with the area of circumflex metatony and were semantically transparent; however, this is not the case (see Fig. 1). To solve the problem examples from the Latvian language are made use of which most often are stressed in a broken accent: *papařde*<sup>9</sup> (from the zone of three accents): Cirgaļi, Drusti, Jaunpiebalga, Rauna, Valmiera, Vecpiebalga (ME III 80)<sup>10</sup>, Drusti, Rauna (Būga II 412), and the origin of the broken accent is related to the recessive stress from the shortened inflection to the acute stress in the words

7 ... rytų aukštaičių uteniškių šnektose išvestinių daiktavardžių cirkumfleksinė metonija atspindi senesnę padėtį, negu analogiškas vakarų aukštaičių ar žemaičių reiškinys. On the whole, circumflex metatony is more characteristic of the dialects of western Highlanders and Lowlanders (Lyberis 1972: 43ff.).

8 Cirkumfleksinė metonija besiskiriantys dūriniai ne tokie seni"; “[...] cirkumfleksinė metonija besiskiriantys dūriniai yra gana vėlyvi ir perdirbti iš kilnojamosios paradigmos žodžių [...]”.

9 Konstantīns Ķarulis (LEV II 18) indicates the form *papařde* from the zone of two accents; however, he does not specify the area of use of this form. This example can reflect the peculiarity of Latvian dialects to move the stress on the first component of the tautosyllabic syllables – in the Letgalian subdialect this regularity distinguishes itself in that it makes the latter component longer, cf. Latv. dial. *bārda* ‘beard’ though there is no common agreement on its pronunciation (Braidaks 1972: 96f.).

10 Attention is to be paid to the fact that Latv. *papařde*, is defined by ME as a representative of the zone of three accents because the indicator of the coincidence of accents is not specified (cf. tāmieki *papařde*<sup>2</sup> – ME III 80), actually it is from the area where the rising accent has coincided with the falling one (Sausnēja, Lizums, Galgauska) or the falling accent has coincided with the broken one (Nītaure).



of the mobile paradigm (Endzelīns 1971: 126ff., 200ff.; Stundžia 1981: 62). On the other hand, this Latvian accent does not necessarily have to reflect the acute syllable – it can be secondary instead of the old falling one in those subdialects where broken and falling accents coincide (Endzelīns 1974: 152): *papaŕde*<sup>2</sup> – Rūjiena, Mazsalaca, Limbaži, Aizpute, Nīgrande, Dzirciems, Bauska; *papaŕde*<sup>2</sup> – in the Tamnieki subdialect (ME III 80). Būga (II 412) also presents an example of a rising accent: Latv. *papaŕde*.

There are, however, certain dialectal peculiarities, which are necessary to be discussed in more detail. It would be worth starting with a review of the material on Latvian dialects. When elucidating the reasons of the origin of the Latvian broken accent in this word, it is accentuated that Drusti subdialect is near the point of intersection of Selonian and Latgalian subdialects (see the map Rudzīte 1993: 369; LVDA first map). It is known that a level accent in the High Latvian dialectal area is replaced with the falling one and vice versa. Features of Latgalian dialects are characteristic of the Drusti subdialect, though formally it is attributed to the Middle dialectal zone, therefore Latv. dial. *papaŕde* can reflect the form *\*papārde* due to the accentual change common in the High Latvian dialectal zone (in non-Selonian subdialects): the falling accent is replaced with the broken one, respectively  $\backslash \rightarrow \wedge$  (Андронов 1996: 203).

Rick Derksen (1996: 50) compares examples of the Baltic languages and attributes them to the forms of circumflex metatony. On the basis of the material collected by Būga he presents examples from the Drusti subdialect (I. Cīrulis. *Par drustēniašu izluāksni – Rakstu krājums* XV 51–103), examples collected by Prof. Peter Schmidt (from Rauna) – Latv. dial. *papaŕde*, from volume two of August Bilenštein (Bielenstein 1863–1864; further BGr) – Latv. dial. *papaŕde*. It is true, when discussing Latv. *papaŕde* as a reflection of the old accentual paradigm, Derksen (1996: 263) contradicts himself, because he states that the examples with the rising accent provided by Bilenstein coincide with the examples of the central subdialect of Latvia with the falling accent, cf. Latv. *ruōta* (BGr): *rūota*. Thus, the arguments on the basis of which Derksen presupposed the old barytonic archetype testified to the existence of the weak root rather than the opposite.

Another problem to be solved is finding out the causes that could have determined the origin of double forms of stressing in the eastern Baltic languages. One can only guess that the name of the fern under study earlier was of a quite different morphological structure and ended in another affix that determined the model of the accentual paradigm of the word, cf. OLatv. *paparda*<sup>11</sup> ‘fern’ BW 32984, 32399 (ME III 80), with which the origin of the form of the aforementioned  $\bar{e}$  stem of the Latvian language is likely to be related, i.e. EastBalt. *\*papar(d)tā* > 1) Latv. *papardā* → Latv. *papardē* (due to Latv.  $\bar{a} > \bar{e}$  cf. Latv. *padēga* > *padeģe* ‘a burned out place in a forest’ [ME III 16]); 2) Lith. *\*papartā* → Lith. *\*papartē* > Lith. dial. *papartē*, cf. OLith. *drauga* → Lith. *draūgė* (Skardžius I 36), OLith. *garbà* → Lith. *garbė*, Lith. *tamsà* → Lith. dial. *tamsė*, Lith. *dainà* → Lith. dial. *dainė* (for more examples see Ambrazas 1993: 33f.). The

possibility cannot be rejected that the appearance of forms with the  $\bar{e}$  stem was determined by the word’s attribution to the derivatives with the prefix *pa-*: Lith. *vaŕtai*, Latv. *vàrti* ~ Lith. *pavartė*, Latv. *pavārte* (Ambrazas ibd.).

The supposition is made that a difference in accents between these words can be explained by a different formation of the forms of male and female genders though their archetype is the same (see further about it).

When solving this problem it is worth basing oneself on the features of the use of the lexeme by southern Lowlanders in the area of Raseiniai – in Eržvilkas (LKŽK) where acute and circumflex forms are used, and the noun differs in the category of gender (fem./masc.): *papártis* (fem.) (1) / *papaŕtis*, *-čio* (masc.), which (g. fem.) is obviously an archaism. This pair of derivatives should be considered as an old lexical variant due to the following causes: the use of the examples of the same formation in the languages of neighbouring Slavs: Serb.-Cr. *paprat* masc./fem. (Stulićev), *pàprāti* (fem.) (RHS IX 630); Serb.-Cr. *pràprot* (Vodice, Istra); toponyms with the suffix *-j*: *Paprac* (masc.), *Pàpraća* (fem.) (Skok II 602), the latter form can be said to be originated from the *nomen collectivum* form *\*papartiā* (Proto-Slav. *\*tj* > Serb.-Cr. *ć* [Вейк ван 1957: 109]); the meaning of both pairs coincides in the Baltic and Slavic languages.

Based on these examples the supposition can be made that derivatives of all three genders existed in the Baltic and Slavic parent language whose meaning, most probably, was the same, i.e. ‘the fern’. This supposition can be substantiated by the neutral gender form which is reflected by the toponyms of the Serbo-Croatian area: *Papprata* (fem.) (a field near the Istra); *Pàprata*, gen. *Pàprati*; *Papprata* (neutr. pl.) (village on the island of Krka).

This material is of great significance because it enables the supposition to be made that there was a stem of two kinds of the lexeme under discussion: Slav. *\*papart-* (masc., neutr.), *\*paparta* (fem.) (< *\*papartā* (collect.)) → *\*paparti-* (fem.), *\*papartiō-* > *\*papartiā-* (for more about *iō* stem → *iā* stem see PKEŽ II 264).

It is obvious that formation of the nouns of different genders differs in the ending of the stem only. This allows the supposition to be made that at least in the Slavic parent language there existed a collective noun *\*‘paparčiai’* → top. *\*‘a place that abounds in ferns’*. A similar derivative most likely existed in the Baltic languages too: Lith. *Paparčią* (!) river Kėdainiai district < Proto-Lith. *\*papartiā* (fem. < n. collect.) (Trautmann gives a different explanation [1923: 206]), whose origin related to the form with the  $\bar{i}$  stem *\*paparti-* (for more about the existence of such a model in the Baltic languages see Szeemerényi 1970: 531), i.e. an inflected formant  $\bar{a}$  determined appearance of the metatonic form Lith. dial. *papártis* (that originated from the archetype of female gender – LKŽ indicates that it is the examples of the acute form that are of the female gender).

Alongside *\*paparti-* (fem.) there existed the form of the  $\bar{o}$  stem *\*papartiō-* (masc.), which due to the stem change was started to be stressed in the circumflex accent because the root of the word his-

11 Būga (I 440, II 247f.) drew attention to the fact that the formant  $\bar{a}$  (it is true, he speaks about appearance of variants of g. masc./fem. apophonic derivatives) can turn the circumflex root into the acute one, i.e., determined acute metatony: the  $\bar{a}$  stem form is most often stressed with acute though the  $\bar{o}$  stem form is stressed with the circumflex accent, cf. Lith. *vaŕnas* – *várna* (Būga II 395f.). Though Būga did not explain the causes of this change of the accent it can be supposed that it was the collective formant  $\bar{a}$  (< *\*aH* [Дегтярев 1994: 30ff.]), which in the long run coincided with the g. fem. inflected formant  $\bar{a}$ , that could determine the origin of metatonic forms, i.e. the weak stem could turn into the strong one. After the laryngeals had disappeared these formants came even closer and in the long run coincided but their derivational-semantic motivation could be still distinguished for some time. After analogous forms from the point of view of their formation formed – when *nomina collectiva* was no longer a derivative form – forms of g. fem. and coll. coincided due to morphological neutralisation but only when the meanings of the words were not defined by specific (differentiating) integral features (cf. Mikulėnienė 2005: 15, 19, 34, 38, 80, especially 155–156, 160, 197, 203).

torically was the weak stem (cf. examples of Serbian and Croatian languages), cf. top. *Papařčiai* ~ river *Papařčius* Kėdainiai district, which Aleksandras Vanagas (1981: 244) cautiously related to Lith. *papařtis*; top. *Papařčiai* village; Vdž, Bb, Užl, Brs, *Papařčiai* Kš (LATŽ 225), also cf. Pruss. *Paparten* 1450 (in the lands of Sembs) (cf. Gerullis 1922: 237; PKEŽ III 221f.; also see Blažienė 2005: 310f.).

Hence, the acute forms used in the Lithuanian and Latvian languages (broken, i.e. mobile paradigms in the Latvian language) can also be secondary whose appearance was determined by the collective formant \*-ā. Thus the acute form, specified by Būga as primary<sup>12</sup>, actually is a very old reflection of other than the IE archetype. It is supposed that the latter reflected the weak stem. Hence, the accent of the masculine gender could be even more archaic. This is also confirmed by the use of the examples of the second acute paradigm only by people living in the eastern areas of Utena.

Among the inadequacies of phonetic Baltic examples, first of all the problem of the origin of the root Latv. -d- (Latv. *papař-d-e*, dial. *papar-d-is* 'ditto', *papar-d-a*, *papar-d-s* [ME III 80]) alongside Lith. -t- (Lith. *papařt-is*) is to be discussed. Due to the phonetic similarity of the Latvian examples with the -d- root to the Slavic equivalents (based on the principles of phonetic homonymy), the Baltic origin of Latv. *papař(âr)de* was doubted (Brückner 1877: 43) but Jānis Endzelīns (1971: 89f.) disapproved of that. Thus far Brückner's supposition has been given approval in the works of Polish linguists. The latest etymological dictionary of the Polish language states that Lith. *papařtis* has been borrowed from the Slavs (Bańkowski II 496). To solve the problem of usage of the inherited or borrowed names of the fern a morphological analysis of the lexeme is to be detailed.<sup>13</sup>

Vytautas Mažiulis (PKEŽ III 221), describing the etymology of the lexeme supposed that there had to be a certain taboo seeking to separate the referent of 'a fern blossom (*Farnblüte*)' from the common name of the object 'the fern', cf. Latv. *paparnīte* (with the insert -nī-).<sup>14</sup> However, he does not explain why the form with -d- had become prevalent, and the form with -t- disappeared<sup>15</sup>, and is not reflected even in toponymics (cf. Blažienė 2005: 310).

Karulis (LEV II 18) also tried to solve this problem – he tried to substantiate the variation of -t-/-d- in the eastern Baltic languages by dissimilation but this supposition is not grounded on the examples of a similar change therefore it is difficult to believe this explanation.

This discrepancy can be accounted for as a dialectal feature of the Latvian language in a certain area, which later became frequent in other subdialects too if we have in mind a rather significant interchange of consonants in the Latvian language following the split of the eastern Baltic parent language, however, a much broader linguistic area of the spread of this phenomenon (it is characteristic not only of the phytonyms of 'the fern' of the Baltic languages) determines the invalidity of this hypothesis: Slov. *paprad* 'the fern', Cz. *Paprad* / *kaprad* 'ditto' (Brückner 1957: 395; Eckert 1971: 15), Sloven. *paprad* (masc.), -de (fem.) 'ditto' (SSJ III 24). Vaclav Machek (1957: 192; 1971: 241), seeking to substantiate this interchange in the Czech language tried to reconstruct the forms of both consonant variants but he noted that their further division and origin were unclear: Cz. *kapradi*, OCz. *kapratie*, Sloven. *paprad* < \**porđ/t/n*. The form with the root -d- is used in the Serbian and Croatian dialects: *paprad* (Madžari), whose -d Petar Skok derived from -t without presenting any arguments, only specifying Cz. *kapradi* (Skok II 602).

It is difficult to believe that it would be possible to explain such an obvious discrepancy in root consonantism by assimilation or taboo. Attention is also to be drawn to the acute Serb.-Cr. dial. *paprad*<sup>16</sup>, whose recessive acute determines the isolated status of the form alongside other forms of the weak root used in the same area: Serb.-Cr. *paprati* (fem.), Pol. *paproć* (fem.); Serb.-Cr. *paprat* masc./fem. (Stulićev); top. *Paprat* (masc.; a settlement in Dalmatia), *Paprati* (pl.; a village in Montenegro) (RHS IX 630)<sup>17</sup>. This dialectism is easy to be interpreted according to certain neutralisation of the accent in some Serbian dialects in which the old circumflex is replaced with neoacute (Ивић 1994: 28). Thus, the acute of this form can be secondary.

It should be mentioned<sup>15</sup> that the turning of -t- into -d- in other IE lexemes, which mean 'fern' has been determined by phonetic

12 Latv. *papařde* (pl. *papařši*), Lith. *papařtis* < \**po-porařtis* (Būga's card LKŽK; Būga I 473).

13 Būga thought that borrowing of the Lithuanian word from the Proto-Russ. \**paporb* could be proved only if the use of the form Lith. \**pōpartis* had been recorded (Būga's card LKŽK), though actually this form is known: *popartis* (MLLG II 137 [LKŽK]).

14 Though Mažiulis stated with confidence that there was the suffix and a part of the stem, Būga was not so sure about the derivative forms: Latv. *paparkstīte*, *paparks-tina*; *paparkštena*, *paparkši*, *papar-škis* (LD 17634), *papar-kste* < \**papar-ste* or \**papar-sk-tē* (LKŽK). It can be cautiously supposed that Latv. dial. *paparksne* 'the fern' is to be treated as an absorptive form derived from Latv. dial. *paparks-ti-ņa* 'ditto', cf. Latv. dial. *papařšiņa* 'ditto' ← Latv. dial. *papař-k-šiņa* 'ditto' (about prevalence of the dialectal forms of these Latvian phytonyms see Ēdelmane, Ozola 2003: 259f.; registry of morphological variants see Ēdelmane, Ozola 2007: 114f.). The appearance of the root -k- of this form most likely related to the contamination factor determined by morphology of the leaves of the plant under discussion, respectively the factor of folk etymology (cf. deriving the meaning of Pol. *paproć* 'fern' from the syntagma Pol. *poprute lišce* 'torn leaves' [see further]), i.e. Latv. *papařde* (pl. *papařši*) ↔ subst. Latv. *šķiřana* 'plucking, gathering in, tearing (down) leaves; (wood-) cutting area, harvesting (of crop)', *šķinums* 'ditto' ← verb. Latv. *šķiř* 'plucking, tear down, tear off' (ME IV 50). Hence, Latv. (pl.) *papařši* + Latv. *šķiřana* → (parity composite-contaminant) \**papař(š)-šķiř-ša-na* > 1. Latv. dial. *papařški* / *papařški*; 2. (with -šk- > -kš- because of metathesis) Latv. dial. *papařkiřna* → Latv. dial. *papařšiņa* and others. Hence, it can be supposed that Latv. dial. *paparnīte* reflects the absorptive form: Latv. dial. *paparksne* + suff. (dimin.) -it- > \**papar-ks-nīte* → 1. Latv. dial. *paparnīte*; 2. Latv. dial. *paparkste* (< \**paparks-nī-te*) rather than the insert -nī-, as Mažiulis stated. The existence of absorptive forms can also be reasoned by Latv. \**paparsnis* 'papartis' (↔ Latv. [dimin.; pl. acc.] *paparsniřus* [EH II 162]) < \**papar-k-snis* 'ditto' (← \**paparkstinis*, cf. Latv. dial. *paparkstiņa* 'ditto'), cf. Latv. dial. *paparksne* 'ditto'.

15 The example of the Latvian language with the root -t- was recorded on Būga's card (LKŽK): east. Latv. *paports* 'fern', though Adalbert Bezzenberger (1885: 403) was inclined to derive the latter from the suffixed derivative Latv. *paparkts*.

16 The consonant r is moved to another syllable: *paprot* (Montenegro, Istra) = *páprut* (masc.) (Jabrešić), with suff. formant *paprutan* = *praputan*, top. *Praputnik* (with -ik-), *prèput* (Krašić, Chak.). Sloven. *prapot* ~ *praport*, the syllable -pra- formed under the influence of liquid metathesis, cf. Pol. *paproć* (SJP IV 48f.: Pol. *papařć*, *papařć*, *papařć*) and ORuss. *paporotъ*. Serb.-Cr. *praprot* (Vodice, Istra) reflect the innovative first syllable. According to P. Skok, two C r-r in the Proto-Slav. parent language were dissimilated therefore it is not an old thing. \**prapratъ* > Serb.-Cr. *paprat*. p-p > k-p (dissimilation): *kapradi* < \**papradi* (Skok II 602): \**paprat-* > \**praprat-*, cf. Bulg. *nánpm*, Serb.-Cr. *nānpam*, Sloven. *praprot* < \**paprat*, Cz. *kaprad* < \**paprat*, Slov. *paprad*, UpSo. *paproř* : *papruř* (also see Преображенский II 15f.; Фасмер III 202; Черных II 4; ЕСУМ IV 285).

17 Toponyms of this root can be found in many Slavic lands, cf. Pol. Top. *Paprotna* (14 a.) < *pa-portъ* (fem.) < \**po-por-ti* 'papartis', Top. *Parpartno* (12-14 a.) with the added -r- instead of *Papartno* < \**paporbno* (Bańkowski II 496); Serb.-Cr. Top. *Papratni*, *Prapatno*, *Prapatnica*, *Papařć* (masc.), *Papraća* (fem.), *Prapařnica* (řn < řn), *Papařćani* (Skok II 602).



changes characteristic of those languages only: Bret. *raden* (-*d*- < \*-*t*-) (Matasović 2009: 139), i.e. this -*d*- is not etymological. It should be underlined that no formative analysis of a single lexeme meaning 'the fern' in an IE language related to Lith. *papařtis* 'filix', has been carried out to the end. Unfortunately, in the latest works on the formation of words of the Lithuanian language this word on the whole has not been analysed (cf. Ambrazas 1993, 2000, 2011). Therefore the use of different accent models of the Baltic languages only one of which corresponds to the derivative of the circumflex root used in Slavonic languages is difficult to explain. Causes of different root consonantism are unclear either. The semantic evolution of these nouns is absolutely unknown either, cf. deriving the origin of the meaning of Pol. *paproc* 'the fern' from *poprute liřce* attributed to folk etymologisation (Bańkowski II 496), i.e. 'leaves that are torn up or ripped to pieces'.

At the beginning of the research it was mentioned that the origin of the beginning of the noun *pa*- was explained by reduplication (cf. Endzelynas 1957: 62; Skardžius I 23f.): Lith. *papartis* / *papařtis* resp. Latv. *papařde* / *papařde* was compared with Lith. *kakarinė* 'the throat, Schlund' (Būga I 342), i.e. onomatopoeic reduplication was supposed (Lith. *kakarinė* ← sounds imitating crowing of a rooster), however, a great inadequacy between the chronological and semantic factors of the lexemes being compared make us doubt the validity of this comparison.

Furthermore, on the basis of the reduplication hypothesis it would be difficult to explain the quality resp. quantity of the vowels of the reduplicant and the part being reduplicated in Slavic languages. First of all, vowels differ in their quality: *pa*- < \**pō*-, -*prat* < \**pōr*- (more about this syllable change see Чекмонас 1988: 158; this contradicts the principle of reduplication that the vowel of a repeated syllable is short [more about it see ИЯ 219ff.; Smoczyński 2001: 336]): OCS *páporotъ* 'fern', Serb.-Cr. *pàprôt* 'ditto', Pol. *paproc* 'ditto' (with -*or*- > -*ro* ← Proto-Slav. \**paportъ* [Būga I 473]). There is no reason to doubt the acute beginning of a word in the Serbian and Croatian language, cf. Serb.-Cr. dial. *páprut* (masc.) (Jabrešić) (Skok II 602). This length could be related to Srb. *nānpāđ*, thus determining the barytone type because of the long root vowel -*ā*- which, on the basis of this logic, should also be acute. Nevertheless it would be necessary to explain the root circumflex accent of Serb.-Cr. *pàprôt*, which should also reflect itself in the reduplicant. It is possible to deny this supposition on the basis of Serb.-Cr. *pàprāti* (fem.), which has the circumflex in the root (!). It might be that this form is much more archaic than it can seem at first glance. It should be remembered that alongside the name of the feminine gender of fern the equivalent of the masculine gender is also used in the Slavic languages:

Sloven. *paprad* (masc.), -*de* (fem.) 'fern' (SSJ III 24) < \**pōr*[*d/t/n*] (Machek 1957: 192).

Variants of both genders found in the Slavic languages allow the supposition about the adjectival origin of these nouns to be made (see further). Hence, one should look for the causes of existence of different root variants in the formation of adjectives. It is known that adjectives of both genders are often united into a single morphologically identical form in Serbian dialects (Serb.-Cr. *paprat* masc./fem. (Stulićev) [RHS IX 630]), which retain the phonological status of the root structure: Serb.-Cr. *mlāđ*, *mlāđa*, *mladō* (Ивић 1994: 28). Therefore it is supposed that appearance of the weak stem of the name of the fern in the Serbian language has originated according to this model, i.e. Serb.-Cr. -*prôt*- (masc.), -*prāt*- (fem.). The accent of both of these forms is the same – circumflex because the strong stem of the feminine gender is of secondary length due to Proto-Slav. \*-*ōr*- > \*-*rā*- (cf. Хабурраев 1974: 131): *pàprôt* (Vodice, Istra), Serb.-Cr. *pàprāti* (fem.). Hence, the length of the root is not a reliable argument to determine the acute prefix (!), cf. attempts to reconstruct Proto-Slav., archetype: Balt.-Slav. \**paparti*- ↔ Proto-Slav., \**paporti*- / *papordi*- (Горячева 1989: 154; Eckert 1971: 15) < \**pratъ*- 'fern', determining the acute root (Proto-Slav. -*or*- > *ra* [acute] – Вейк ван 1957: 85), however, examples of the Slavs fail to confirm that, because Slov. *paprad* 'fern', Cz. *paprad* / *kaprad* 'ditto' -*ra*- can also be circumflex -*ro*- (cf. Вейк ван 1957: 88), i.e. circumflex \**protъ*, cf. Serb.-Cr. *pà-prôt*. is to be reconstructed.

Thus, due to the acute at the beginning of the word Serb.-Cr. *pàprôt* 'the fern' the hypothesis of reduplication is hardly possible if the already mentioned morphological regularity is taken as the basis: the reduplicant corresponds to the part of the word being reduplicated without changing the phonological status of the latter (Бенвенист 1955: 44), i.e. the circumflex root cannot reflect the acute reduplicant. It is a well-known fact that neoacute in place of the old circumflex (a change in the same position) is not characteristic of the Slavic languages, i.e. it does not determine acute metatony (Stang 1966a: 21), unless the beginning of the word *pa*- is regarded to be a prefix rather than a reduplicant – it is only in this way that we could explain the existence of the acute component alongside the circumflex root (cf. Булатова 1975: 12), but then problems would arise in explaining the semantic evolution of this derivative. In the Lithuanian language the prefix *pa*- can have a similar meaning as the preposition *po* – *po kuo* 'under what'. Most often this connotation is characteristic of the verbs meaning movement, and when the semantic structure of a sentence consists of the predicate and tree actants – the agent, the patient and the directive, the verbs with that prefix mean weak (or strong) intensity (Sakalauskienė 1995: 123)<sup>18</sup>.

18 Cf. LKŽ (IX 1): I. derivatives of the verbs with it denote the following: 1) the direction of an action: *po kuo nors pakiřti* 'to stuck under smth.'; 2) the end of an action: *padaryti* 'to do'; 3) an action that lasts for a certain (short) time: *pakalbėti* 'to talk for some time'; 4) shortness of an action: *padirbėti* 'do some work for some time'; 5) ability to do smth.: *paėiti* 'be able to walk'; 6) a poor performance of an action: *pailginti* 'to make smth longer'; 7) an action of an individual significance: *pagauti*, *pakakti* 'to catch, to suffice'; II. Derivatives of nouns with it denote: 1) a place under smth or next to smth: *palovis*, *pastogė* 'under the bed, the attic'; 2) a thing that is under smth. or next to smth: *pakojis* 'treadle', *pagalvis* 'pillow'; 3) approximate time: *pavakarys*, *parytys* 'time towards the evening, towards the morning'; III. In the derivatives of the nouns that originated from verbs: *padėtis*, *pamatas*, *pačiūžos*, *pasėlis* 'position, foundation, skates, crop'; IV. In the derivatives of adjectives: *parankus* 'handy'; V. In the derivatives of adjectives that originated from nouns: *palengva* 'slowly'.

Also cf. the semantic extension of the prefix Lith. *pō* (LKŽ X 382ff.): I. To denote relationship between a place and direction: 1) with the instr. when showing the position or an action below, under smth: *po suolu* 'under a bench'; 2) with the instr. next to, at, by: *po langu* 'under the window'; 3) with the instr. *pāskui* 'after, under': *Vinciukas kviečius pjauna*, o *Levutė po dalge ima* 'Vinciukas reaps the wheat, while Levutė removes it from the scythe' Pc; 4) with the acc. when indicating the place of prevalence of an action: *Nebėginėk po kiemą* 'Do not run in the yard' Grž; 5) with the instr. to express direction: *Atsisėdai man ne po ta ranka* 'You have sat down on the wrong side of me' Ds; 6) (dial.) with the dat. 'iki' 'up to': *Žolė po juostai* 'Grass is up to the waist' Sv; 7) (dial.) with the gen. 'ant' 'on': *Nestovėk mun po tako* 'Don't stand in my way' Sd; 8) with the gen. 'be, išskyrus' 'without, except': *Po tavęs man niekas ne(be)miela* 'After you no one is dear to me' Ndž; II. to express relations of time; III. to express relations of sequence: *pāskui*; IV. to express quantitative, manner, causal relations.

This is believed to be related to attributing the above-mentioned lexeme to the derivational model of the prefixed derivatives. This supposition can be reasoned by the facts of the Lithuanian language: *popartis* (MLLG II 137), cf. Lith. *povydas* ‘envy’ (Lith. *po-* ~ Proto-Slav. *pa-* < *pō-* < IE *\*pō* [Skok II 583]). Hence, the issue can be easily solved with the help of the regularities of accent changes of the prefix *pa-* < Slav. *\*po-* reflected in the dialectal zone of the Serbian and Croatian languages in which adv. Serb.-Cr. *pâ* ‘again, anew; further; after that; untill’ are used ~ prefix *pâ* can be of another phonological status – Cr. *pâ* (Skok II 541). It is not by chance that prefixes of different quality of vowels are related because it is known that Slavic prefix *pa-* changed into *po-*, as Pol. *paproć*, Russ. *paprotъ* (Skok II 602).

Hence, despite the origin of the accent of the prefix (on the basis of the theory of the origin of the prefix *pa-* rather than reduplication) different accentuation of the components of the noun proves it to be made of separate independent components. Examples of similar formation but of other lexical semantic groups abound in the Slavic languages (Kregždys 2006: 137): Proto-Slav. *\*podъgъrdlica*, *-ača* ‘the bottom part of the yoke’ [? < *\*a* ‘a tool fastened at the bottom of the neck’ – R. K.] > Serb.-Cr. *пòдгърлѧча*, *пòдгърлау*; Proto-Slav. *\*po(dъ)lazъnikъ*, *\*po(dъ)lazъ* ‘the first guest (at Christmas or the New Year) [? the first who stepped on the floor – R. K.]; Christmas of the New Year rituals; a ritual object (a branch of a fir tree, a cake)’ > Serb.-Cr. *пòлазник*, *пòлажѧј* (Гиндин, Калужская 1991: 31) < (?) *\*pōd-* + *ložit-* ‘what is placed on the floor in the house’; Proto-Slav. *\*po(dъ)prōgъ* (Bulg. *попрѧг*, Sloven. *podprōg* (!!!) ‘belly-band’, Cz. *popruh*, Pol. *poprąg*; Proto-Slav. *\*podvolka* and others [Варбот 1984: 96]; Srб. *pòdbradak* (gen. *-tka*) ‘the bottom of the chin’ < *\*podъbrada* and lots of other compound words with Proto-Slav. *podъ* [Skok I 195]).<sup>19</sup>

Therefore Lith. dial. *pāpartis*<sup>20</sup> can be hypothetically treated as an atematic composite of two lexemes.<sup>21</sup>

Balt.-Slav. *\*pād-* ‘foundation; what is under one’s feet (soil ↔ earth)’ (< IE *\*pōd-* ‘a foot; the sole of a foot; the foundation’ → Lith. *pādas* ‘threshing floor’ Žž (LKA I 53); ‘earth’ Guostagalis (LKA I 43)

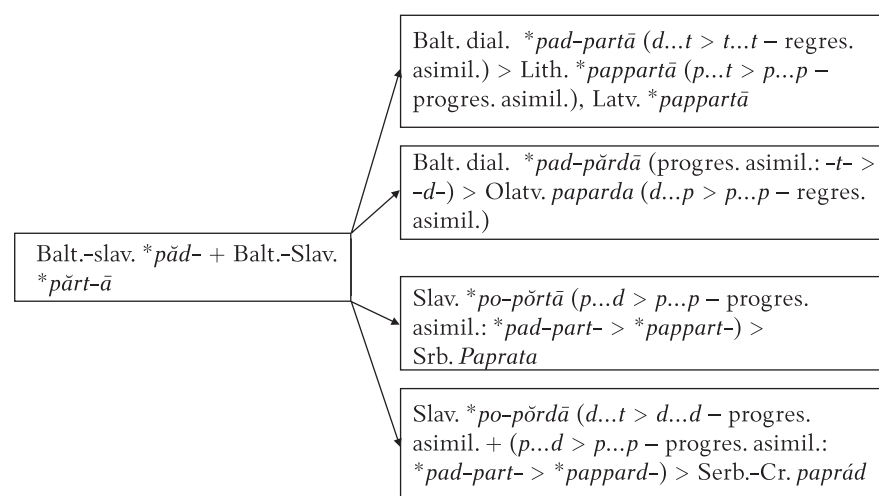


Diagram 1. Reconstruction of the phytonym ‘fern’

‘sutrypta ganykla’ ‘trampled pasture’ Ds, Dgl (LKŽK [Petras Vileišis presents a similar meaning too: *padas* ‘soil of a field’ – *Trys pam. gasp.* 1894: 50 (LKŽK)] and others; Latv. *pads* ‘threshing floor’<sup>22</sup>, Latv. dial. *pads* ~ *poc* ‘earthen floor’ and in almost all Latgallian and in some Selonian subdialects (Reķēna 1975: 146, 578; for more see LVDA 138); OSlav. *pōdъ* (= Lith. *pādas*) and OSlav. *pod*; *podā* (→ Serb.-Cr. (Chak.) *pòd*, *podā* ‘floor (of a room); storey’, Russ. dial. *nòd* [Дыбо, Илич-Свитыч 1963: 75, 79], Serb.-Cr. *pòd*, *pòda* [Илич-Свитыч 1963: 124f.], UpSo. *póda* ‘soil, foundation’, Russ. *nod* ‘earthen floor; hearthstone; foundation; floor; bottom’, Bel. *nod* ‘bottom part; the foot of a hill’ ~ OSlav. *podъ* ‘soil’ [Meйe 1951: 399]<sup>23</sup> + Balt.-Slav. *\*pārt-ā* ‘wings, feathers’<sup>24</sup>). The origin of the root of this form is most probably to be related to Balt.-Slav. *\*(s)per-* ‘move, penetrate, flap one’s wings, fly’<sup>25</sup> < verb. IE *\*(s)p(h)er-* ‘ditto’) (cf. PKEŽ III 221f.), cf. Slav. *\*papordъ* being reconstructed by Rainer Eckert (1971: 15).

Balt.-Slav. *\*pārt-ā* root *-t-* should not necessarily be derived from the verbal Balt.-Slav. formant *\*-ti-* < *\*-tj-* (see Footnote 24) but it can be related to the morphological changes in the archetype IE *\*pteróm* ‘feather; wing’ > Gk. *πτερόν* ‘feather, wing’ (Илич-Свитыч

19 Vaclav Machek (1966: 93ff.), on the basis of the method of a diachronic analysis, studied derivatives with Lith. *pa-* but he did not discuss these examples.

20 Bonifacas Stundžia (1995: 109; *ibid.* see references) noted that in Standard Lithuanian the words having a direct or rarely figurative metaphoric meaning, almost exclusively nouns, are apt to receive the barytone stress of the first component and the mobile stress of the second component (accentual paradigm 2) is characteristic of the compound words of a figurative metonymic meaning.

21 Recently more and more works have appeared in which the periodisation of determinative or endocentric (= Skr. *tatpuruṣa*) compound words is critically assessed and the existence of these derivatives in the IE parent language is doubted because they have been *hardly* found in the Greek language of the Mycenae period, and relict examples found in other IE languages ‘can often be referred to as simple juxtaposition of two words’ (Clackson 2002: 166; also see references; for a similar opinion about compound words of old Slavic languages see Хабыраев 1974: 206f.; Meйe 1951: 300ff.).

One report delivered at the conference devoted to the problems of noun composites held at Cambridge University in 1999 was devoted to the theme of compound words in the Baltic languages (see Larsson 2002). The conference underlined once again the importance of the analysis of compound words to establish phonological changes in the Indo-European languages – this problem is reviewed in detail in the report by Jens E. Rasmussen (2002: 331ff.). In her later works, Helena Larsson (2003) analysed structural peculiarities of compound words of the Prussian languages; these study was further carried out in Lithuania (see Lašinytė 2007).

22 The following are also attributed to this family of words: Latv. *pada* ‘a low place in the middle of a field where it is impossible to plough’, Latv. *pade* ‘place overgrown with grass in a forest [= ‘opening’ – R. K.]; pasture separating forests; small pond; ploughed field covered with water’ (ME III 16), which are groundlessly attributed to loanwords, cf. Fin. *padu* ‘low place; lowland’ (Raģe 1986: 62) – an obvious derivational and semantic link with the examples of the Slavic languages makes us doubt the existence of the loanwords in the Latvian rather than in the Finnish language.

23 The loanword from the Slavic languages is used in the Romanian language: *pod* ‘bridge; earth, soil; floor’ ~ Lith. *pādas* ‘foot’ < IE *\*ped-* / *pod-* ‘foot’ (Skok II 693).

24 It should be mentioned that Hitt. *pār-ta-(a)u-wa-ar* ‘nest’ (nom.-acc. sg. neutr.) (< IE *\*per-* ‘fly’) related to Lith. *papařtis* has, most probably, the same verbal formant *-t-* (< *\*-ti-*) whose origin is explained in different ways: a) as a later verbal infix by analogy with the verb. Hitt. *partaizzi* ‘ruffle wool; be unravelled, pulled out’ (Kronasser 1966–1987: 283); b) the form is restored with *-ā-*: *partā(e)-* (*partaizzi*) ‘fly’, *partāwwar* (instr. *partāuni-*) ‘nest, swinging’ (Sturtevant 1936: 119), though this *-ta-* can be interpreted as suffix, which is highly efficient in Vedas (cf. Елизаренкова 1987: 138); cf. also Toch. A *spartu* ‘top’ < *\*spartw* (Schulze 1931: 2), attributable most probably to this family of words (see also Footnote 25).

25 A different interpretation of the origin of the word is presented by Mažiulis (PKEŽ III 221): Balt. *\*paparti-* (< Balt.-Slav. *\*papārti-*) < verb. Balt.-Slav. *\*(s)per-* ‘move, penetrate, flutter one’s wings, fly’ + suff. *\*-ti-* (for more about it see Барроу 1976: 156) ~ Russ. *nap* ‘steam’ = *\*what rises up, i.e. can fly*, cf. verb. Russ. *napumb* ‘fly, glide’, Russ. *nepo* ‘feather’ ← *\*what can fly, what flies in the air (nomen abstract.)*. Unfortunately, forms of the Latvian *ā* stem and Serbian and Croatian forms of the circumflex root are left aside. If this hypothesis were right the form Latv. *\*paparža* (about Latv. *dj* > *ž* see Endzelynas 1957: 38f.) rather than the recorded form Latv. *paparda* > *paparde* would exist.

1963: 121)<sup>26</sup>, i.e. one can guess that metathesis had taken place and to reconstruct *\*pert-óm* (traces of this change most likely are reflected by Toch. A *spartu* ‘top’ < *\*spartw*). In the long run this *-t-* was absorbed (cf. Gk. [Cyprus, Arcadia, Cretes, Thessalia] *πόλις* ‘town’ and Lith. *pilis*, Gk. *πόλεμος* [Cyprus, Crete (rarely) – Buck 1928: 57]) (for more about absorption changes in the Baltic languages see Kregždys 2009: 281) and the form *\*peróm* ‘feather’ was made (> Proto-Slav. *\*peró*) (cf. Иллич-Свитыч 1963: 121). Thus, it can be supposed that the morphological evolution of ‘the fern’ archetype has taken place (cf. Kregždys 2006: 138–139; 2010a: 225): IE *\*pteróm* ‘feather; wing’ > Balt.-Slav. *\*pteróm* ‘ditto’ > *\*pertóm* + Balt.-Slav. *\*pād* → Balt.-Slav. *\*pād-pert-óm*<sup>27</sup> → *\*pād-pārt-óm* (*a...e* > *a...a* – progressive assimilation) ‘feather, a wing on the ground’ → *\*pād-pārt-ā* (n. collect.) ‘feathers, wings on the ground’<sup>28</sup> > *pād-pārt-īā* (the appearance of *ī* most likely can be accounted for by transition of the word from the *ā* stem to the *ī* stem, and later to the derivational groups of *īo* stems) > Lith. *Paparčià*, Srb. *Pāpraća*; Latv. *papardis* BW 32412, 4311 (ME III 80).

When examining the causes of the origin of different stems of the lexeme under discussion Mažiulis (PKEŽ III 221) did not mention the *ā* stem from Latv. *paparda*, and interpreted Latv. *papardis* as a dialectal form; it is found in a folk song (see ME III 80) whose specific dialectal area was not indicated. This kind of treatment of linguistic facts might be a cause for doubting etymology because Latv. *paparda* cannot be derived from the form of the *ī* stem (fem.), and determining the masculine gender of Latv. *papardis* (ME does not indicate the gender of this form) is Mažiulis’ hypothetical statement rather than the fact based on linguistic data. This form can be interpreted as the *ī* stem form of feminine gender (cf. EastLatv. *paports* ‘the fern’ [*ī* stem. fem.] recorded by Būga – LKŽK), because it is known that the inflexional *-i-* in nom. sg. form is sometimes retained in the old Latvian texts and in some dialects, i. e. the vocal element was not eliminated when contraction of the inflexion occurred (Endzelynas 1957: 21, 118). It is true, Endzelins (1951: 78, 84) stated that all *ī* stem three-syllable words underwent inflexion reduction.

This statement determines absolutely different regularities of the formation of the stems of lexemes: Proto-Balt. *\*papart(d)ā* (n. collect.) ‘wings, feathers on the ground’ > 1) Proto-Latv. *\*papardā* ‘fern’ > OLatv. *paparda* (*ā* stem fem.) → *papardis* (*ī* stem fem.) → *paparde* (*ē* stem fem.) (for more about *ī* stem > *ē* stem see Endzelins 1951: 425);

2) Proto-Lith. *\*papartis* (*ī* stem fem.) (> Lowland. *papārtis* [*ī* stem fem.] → *\*papartīō-* (*īō* stem masc.) (for more about *ī* stem fem. > *īō* stem masc. see Būga II 58). Thus, the conclusion can be drawn that masculine forms have never existed in the Latvian language.

In the long run, after phonetic changes had taken place resp. after formal distinguishing features of structural elements had changed, this word began to be perceived as a prefixed derivative rather than a compound word. It is known that it is very difficult to establish the semantic connotation of determinative compound words because denotations of both components form independent semantic units the second of which can acquire a denotation function (Brugmann 1903: 303). The initial position of the subordinate component is characteristic of compound words of Old Indian (Vedas) *tatpuruṣa* type, whereas the position of the dominant one is final (Елизаренкова 1982: 180). This structural system is reflected in the formation of compound words of this type of classical Sanskrit: the first component of the compound word (having a specific meaning) cannot semantically be referred to as denotative because the second component can function in the meaning of the composite even without the first component (Кочергина 1990: 147). Therefore, recently it has been stated that the referent of determinative compound words is expressed by the second component (Beekes 1995: 172).

The following sememes found in Slavic dialects and old writings correspond to the semantic archetype ‘wing ↔ feather on the ground (foundation)’: ORuss. *нанороток* ‘the second joint of a bird’s wing’ (СРЯ XIV 148), *наноротъ* ‘bones of a bird’s wing between the shoulder and the claw; webbed feet of water birds’ (СЦРЯ III 330; also cf. Даль III 12). One can suppose that the feet (their form) of water birds could have been perceived by Old Slavs as ‘wings that are on the ground’<sup>29</sup> because spread webbed feet resemble small wings.

All these hypotheses are of great significance to reconstructing the Indo-European archetype because due to an unclear status of accents the root of the strong stem was started to be reconstructed in the names of the fern: Derksen (1996: 79), on the basis of Peter Schrijver’s (1995: 382) new etymology MĪr. *raith* ‘fern’ < *\*prHti* (that thus far has been derived from *\*prati-*, cf. Pedersen ibd.; also see Matasović 2009: 139), reconstructs the root with the laryngeal, i.e. (due to the Latvian broken accent too) gives priority to Lith. *papārtis*. Julius Pokorny (IEW 850) presents a highly doubtful reconstruction: Lith. *papārtis* < IE *\*po-port-īō-* (of a weak stem – R. K.).

26 Opinions differ as to the reconstruction of IE *\*pteróm* and the origin of the initial element of Gk. *περόν* Johannes Schmidt (1889: 174), Trautmann (1923: 216) and Vladislav Illich-Svitych (1963: 121) state that it has been inherited, others see the influence of analogy (due to Gk. *πέρυξ* ‘feather’) (IEW 826, 850; Mayrhofer II 204). There are also scholars who are apt to support the substantivation of the verbal suffix *\*-er-* (ИЯ 218, 226), however, this hypothesis is doubtful because of some examples thereby it is sought to substantiate it – Lat. *penna* ‘feather’ (ИЯ 537) < Proto-It. *\*pet-nā-* (~ verb. *peto*) (Baldi 1999: 276; Vaan de 2008: 458).

27 It might be that the relic of this archetype is Latv. *paperde* BW 7243, Nt (312) (ME III 80), because Mažiulis (PKEŽ II 262ff.), when considering the name of blood did not support the secondary root *-e-* in Latv. dial. *kreve* ‘clotted blood, scab’ because of the inflexion *-e*, but treated it as an especially big archaism. This form is found in K. Firekers’ dictionary (data from www.ailab.lv): Fuer 1650: 70, 24: *Paperdes, farrenkraut alij Paparschi*.

28 Mayrhofer (II 225) states that Lith. *papārtis* should be related to Skr. *pārpaṭaḥ* ‘a certain herb’, *parpaṭī* (fem.) ‘red oldenlandia’, *parpaṭakaḥ* (masc.), *-ī* (fem.) < *\*par-pr-ta* though metathesis can be seen in the formation of these examples: *pārpaṭaḥ* < *\*papartaḥ*. Therefore they can actually be treated as related. The form of the gen. sg./pl. case of the first component is characteristic of the compound words of Old Indian *tatpuruṣa* type (Барроу 1976: 199). It is thought that such a construction can reflect the initial syntagmic sequence of the attributive structure of the IE parent language (Бенвенист 1974: 241ff.; ИЯ 351).

For more about the comparison of Lith. *papārtis* with Skr. *parṇām* ‘feather’, Av. *parəna* ‘feather, wing’ see Kregždys 2010a: 202.

29 Bernd Gliwa’s (2009: 82) guess that the ‘fern’ protosememe *\*‘eagle’s wing’* that should be reconstructed is most likely to be treated as a joke or a result of the investigator’s vivid imagination as it is motivated by a highly unsuccessful mythological analysis of etymological equivalents of this plant, which is also invented by and clear only to Gliwa himself, cf. “[...] lit. *spirti* ist nicht auf ‘mit dem Fuß stoßen’ beschränkt, sondern kommt im Zusammenhang mit dem Blitzschlag *Perkūnas spirė* vor, und wäre auch auf den Flügelschlag zu beziehen” and “Anzumerken ist, dass lit. *spaīnas* leicht aus *\*spāīnas* entstanden sein könnte und damit nicht als Beleg für den Aniṭ-Charakter der Wurzel taugt”. It can be stated that Lith. *\*reconstruction of \*spāīnas* is impossible because of *\*-ə-* phonologisation tendencies of *svarabhakti* type and a lack of genetic link of Lith. *spaīnas* ‘flying organ of birds, insects’ and verb. Lith. *spirti* ‘strike, hit with foot’ (for more about it see Kregždys 2010a: 202, 208).



The existence of the examples of names of a similar morphological structure of the plant is of great significance to the substantiation of the hypothesis of the origin of *papartis* 'the fern'. This derivational model is characteristic of the names of the Slavic languages of 'the sunflower': Russ. *подсолнух*, *-ха* 'the sunflower (*Helianthus annuus*)' (Даль III 205), determining the designation 'the sun on the ground (foundation)': Slav. *\*pǫd-* 'soil' + *\*sulnuko-* 'the sun'. Therefore it is possible to draw the conclusion that once there was a derivational model of determinative composites:

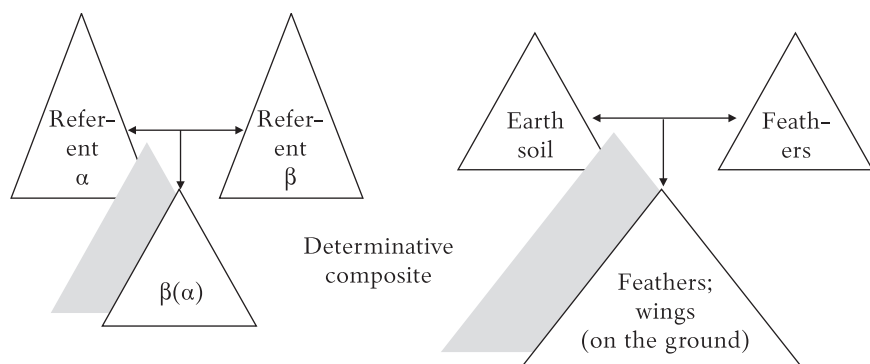


Diagram 2. Balt-Slav. *\*pǫd-* + Balt-Slav. *\*pǫrt-ā* model of determinative composite

In the long run, with the formal morphological boundaries between the components of the composites disappearing (assimilation processes and others – see further) the word was attributed to prefixed derivatives.

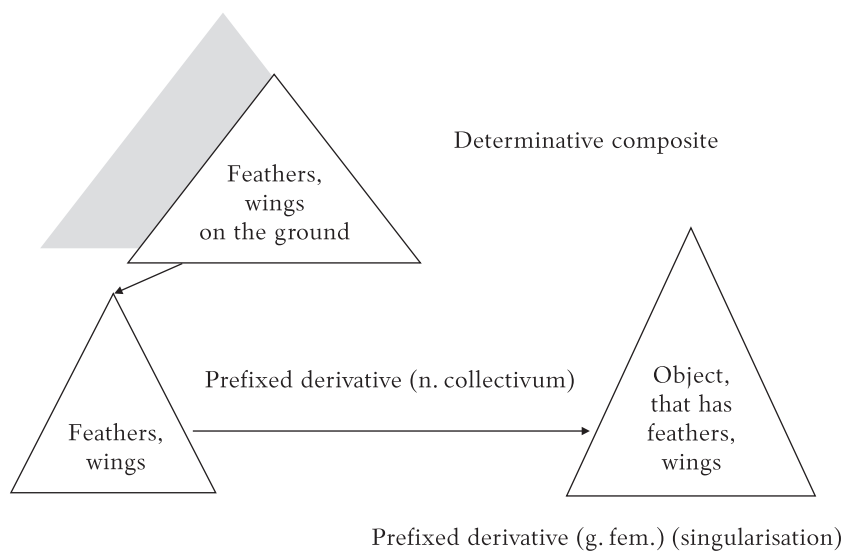


Diagram 3. Balt-Slav. *\*pǫd-* + Balt-Slav. *\*pǫrt-ā* composite derivative singularisation

The accentual paradigm of the compound word of the Slavic languages is a (cf. Ukr. *nápopomʹ* 'the fern' [Trautmann 1923: 206]). Its origin is discussed in more detail<sup>30</sup>: *-prôt* < *\*prôt'* < *\*prôtĭâ* (*\*-â* < *\*-ā* a change in acute [a change in the inflexion format is characteristic of Serb.-Cr. language]) < Proto-Slav. *\*pǫrtĭā* (cf. Дыбо 2000: 34) related to Serb.-Cr. (in old writings) *pèriti*, *pèrim* 'fly, run about' ~ Serb.-Cr.

*nèpo*, *nèpa* and Serb.-Cr. (dial., in old writings) *però*, (pl.) *pèrā*, *però*, (pl.) *pèra*, (gen. pl.) *pēr* (barytone accentual paradigm) (for more about it see Булатова 1975: 92). This model of accentual paradigm could be determined by the recessive stress from the shortened inflection to the root characteristic of this language (cf. Russ. *травá* 'grass' ↔ Serb.-Cr. *tráva* 'ditto' [an example of neoacute]) (Stang 1966a: 40) due to the afore-mentioned structural change in the semantic lexeme determined by the disappearance of clear morphological boundaries of the compound word. It is supposed that this could also be influenced by the factor of analogy, cf. prefix Slav. *\*pā-* (PKEŽ III 221).

The same accentual type should exist in the Lithuanian language too. Therefore it can be said that Lith. dial. *pāpartis* is an archaic form.

A detailed analysis of the derivatives with the confix prefix *pa-* and inflection *-i(y)s* (Lith. *papartis* was early perceived as a derivative of the mentioned confix rather than a compound word) carried out by Vladimir Dybo showed that only Lith. *papartys* (3<sup>b</sup> accent [Būga II 412]; 4 accent [DrskŽ 224], also cf. Lith. top. *Paparčiai* [Būga I 229]), determining only belonging to a mobile accentual paradigm (attributable to the class of compound circumflex [mobile accentual paradigm] root derivatives [Дыбо 1981: 77] can be attributed to them). Non-belonging of the discussed Lith. *papartis* to a group of these derivatives can be motivated by the accentual type (2) of the lexeme that is atypical of such derivatives and the first prabalt. accentual paradigm of the root derivatives of this structure (according to Derksen [R + S]) a change in the accentual paradigm is not typical on the whole and the mentioned lexemes should be treated as belonging to accentual type 1 (Дыбо 1981: 75f.).

Based on this etymology of Lith. *papartis* it is possible to re-interpret the explanation of the semantic evolution of the word presented by Mažiulis (cf. PKEŽ III 221f.): Balt.-Slav. *\*paparti-* 'the fern' ← *\*'what moves by fluttering (similarly to wings)'* to *\*'feathers, wings on the ground (foundation)'*.<sup>31</sup>

At the beginning of the investigation it was mentioned that LKŽ defined Lith. *papartis* monosemically. It should be underlined that the denotation of the lexeme under study coincides with the connotation 'plant'. However, to detail the connotational value of the word, derivatives with a common root, which are not numerous either, are to be discussed: Lith. dial. *papartėnas*, *-ė* 'resident of Paparčiai' Ppr, *papartynas*, *-no*, *-nāi* 'a place where ferns grow in abundance' Lš. Derivatives of the Latvian language whose number is larger than that of Lithuanian ones are defined in a similar way: Latv. *paparkstīte*, *paparkstina*, *paparkstēna*, *paparkši*, *paparškis* 'the fern' and others. (Būga's card [LKŽK]; Ēdelmane, Ozola 2007: 114f.). On the basis of the structure of a semantic extension of these examples it is possible to support the statement that the name of the fern in the Baltic zone is monosemic. The referent is the name of a plant.

This statement is also substantiated by the examples of current usage collected in VDU Corpus,<sup>32</sup> which confirm and make more exact the connotational value of the sememe 'a cryptogamous plant with large toothed leaves (*Dryopteris*)' presented in LKŽ: *Kelminis*

30 Compound words of the Old Indian (Vedas) *tatpuruṣ* a type most often are stressed in the second component (Елизаренкова 1982: 180, 1987: 149), and compound words of *bahuvrīhi* type area always stressed in the first component (Баппоу 1976: 202).

31 The semantic link of 'the word for the part of the body' and 'fern' of a referent was established by T. Goriacheva (Горячева 1989: 153), cf. Russ. *nanopomʹ* 'the fern', *nápopomok* 'ditto', *nanopomku* 'ditto (*plurale tantum*)', which can mean the following in the dialects of the Russian language: 'the small wing = the second part of a wing; a small elbow, two bones between the shoulder and the claw; web between the fingers of water birds'; in the dialectal zone of Yaroslavl the subst. *nanopomku* 'armpits (*plurale tantum*)'.

32 See <http://donelaitis.vdu.lt>.

*papartis* – *daugiametis, papartinių šeimos augalas, turintis trumpą, storą šakniastiebį, sporinis augalas; ... papartis, kuris augdamas gamtoje užaugina beveik metro ilgio plačius šviesios žalios spalvos lapus su tamsia gysla per vidurį*. ‘Common male fern is a perennial plant of the fern family, which has a short, thick rhizoid, a cryptogamous plant; [...] a fern that when growing in nature grows almost one-meter long broad light green leaves with a dark fibre in the middle.’

This sememe fully corresponds with the meaning specified in LKŽ: *Papartis – ypač populiarius kambarinis augalas*. ‘The fern is an especially popular indoor plant.’ This is not a new meaning because ferns have been grown indoors since olden times but this meaning is not specified LKŽ.

The fact of the use of the anthroponym is not distinguished in LKŽ: *Mokyklos direktorius Stasys Papartis įsitikinęs, kad šiuolaikiniam mokytojui yra būtina mokėti dirbti kompiuteriu ir mokėti nors vieną užsienio kalbą; Rezultatą sušvelnino Robertas Papartis*. ‘The headmaster Stasys Papartis is convinced that a contemporary teacher should be computer literate and should be able to speak at least one foreign language; Robertas Papartis changed the result.’

The name of the ritual plant is not distinguished in LKŽ either: *„Pagal padavimą papartis pražysta Joninių naktį lygiai dvyliktą valandą“; Paparčio žiedas siejasi ir su požemio pasaulio jėgomis. Atkreiptinas dėmesys į tai, jog papartis pražysta lygiai vidurnaktį, kada suaktyvėja ano pasaulio jėgos; ... papartis žydi „tik ten, kur žmogaus niekad nėra būta, taigi jį ir surasti, ir paimti labai sunku, nes jį saugojančios nelabos dvasios“*. ‘Legend has it that the fern bursts into blossom at midnight on St John’s night’; ‘the blossom of the fern is related to the forces of the underground world. Attention should be paid to the fact that the fern bursts onto blossom at midnight sharp when forces of the beyond world become active; ... the fern blossoms “only in places man has never visited so it is very difficult both to find and take it because evil forces guard it.”’

In conclusion, it can be stated that the semantic extensionale of ‘the fern’ of the Lithuanian language consists of the following sememes: 1) a cryptogamous plant of the fern family; 2) a popular indoor plant; 3) a mythological plant that bursts into blossom on St John’s night.

Thus, the integral sememe of the conception ‘the fern’ used in the Lithuanian language can be defined as ‘a cryptogamous plant grown indoors too’.

The integral meaning of the Latvian ‘fern’ is established with the help of folklore collections. The first conotational sememe, as in the Lithuanian language, is ‘a cryptogamous plant; Filix’ – it is designated by the term of the hyperonym, and its additional semantic association is ‘food product at the time of famine’ determining the meaning ‘edible = non-poisonous plant’: [fairytales] *No bada ļaudis dažreiz esot ēduši kaltētas papardes, sūnu, skostas, gobu mizas un citas līdzīgas lietas* ‘Famished people sometimes ate dried ferns, moss, horse-tail, the bark of elm trees and the like’ (J. Rubenis Ērgļos. *Laužu dzīve senos laikos*; People’s Lives in Olden Times).<sup>33</sup>

Appearance of another associative meaning is to be related to treatment (worming ascarids and tapeworms from the human body): [prejudice] 22259. *Jāņa naktī jārok papardes sakne, kuŗu lieto pret*

*cērmēm un īpaši pret bantes tārpu* ‘On the night of St John’s you have to dig up the root of the fern, which is later used for roundworms and especially for tapeworms’ (P. J., Jaunlaicene). It is related to the connotation of ‘black fern’ ‘medicine for snake poison’ (see further). This notional integrity is to be considered separately by ethnologists because the mythologem of a [poisonous] snake’s bite is related, most likely, to the action of the creatures of the chthonic world (attention is to be drawn to a non-accidental similarity in the appearance of worms and the snake) whose supernatural effect is determined by the power of “preparation of the blossoming fern” (the wing that is an attribute of Uranus, the deity of the sky; for more see Kregždys 2008: 99) (blossoms spreading light<sup>34</sup>) that provide man with wealth, riches and wisdom: [prejudice] 25131. *Jāņu nakti ap pašu pusnakti zied papardes ar spožiem zeltītiem ziediņiem ...* ‘On St. John’s night at midnight, the fern blooms with shiny little golden blossoms; [fairy tales]; ... *pašā Jāņu pusnaktī visas ceru papardes ziedējušas tādiem ziediem, kā uguns dzirksteles* ‘at exactly midnight on St. John’s night all fern bushes bloomed with blossoms that looked like fire sparks’ (Papardes, I. Maksims ar skolotāju J. Pelēko Āraišos ‘I. Maksims with his teacher J. Pelēkais from Āraiši’ LP, VII, I, 1275, 2. Augi).

The extra-linguistic (distant) sememe ‘hygiene product’ is to be mentioned separately: 22260. *No papardēm senāk esot ziepes vārījuši* ‘Earlier soap was made from ferns’ (K. Jansons, Vijciems).

Without doubt, the hyponymic sememe often used in folklore collections is ‘the fern blossoming on St John’s night’: [songs] *Vysas naktis skaistas naktis, | Jõņu nakte vysskaistoka: | Tad zidēja papardeite | Zelteitimi zidenimi* ‘All nights are beautiful, St John’s night is the most beautiful; then the little fern bloomed with little golden blossoms’ (14843); [prejudice]: 22253. *Jāņa vakarā vajaga iet uz mežu un iegulties papardēs. Pusnaktī papardes sāks ziedēt ar zelta ziediem un tūliņ arī parādīsies visādi zvēri* ‘In the evening on St John’s Day you have to go to the woods and lie down among ferns. At midnight the ferns will bloom with golden blossoms, and various animals will appear in no time’ (F. Brīvzemnieks, 1881. VI, 207).

On the basis of some examples of superstitions the connotation of ‘black fern’ can be determined, which corresponds to the meaning of ‘the blossoming fern’. This sememe can be one of the arguments for doubting the abovementioned Mažiulis’ taboo theory because the miracle-working plant is given a hyponymic differentiating feature ‘black’. In this way an ordinary fern is separated from the ritual one, which can be used in the meaning of taboo: [prejudice] 22254. *Teikas stāsta, ka pazīstamās krūmu jeb melnās papardes Jāņa naktī ziedot, bet tikai tās, kas esot jau vairāk gadu no vietas augšas [...]* ‘Legend has it that the widespread bushes black ferns blossom on St John’s night but only those which have been growing in that place for a long time ...’ (Mākonis, *Balss* 1893: 31).

The fern of this kind can be used as medicine against a snake bite: [prejudice] 22268. *Melnās papardes lieto pret čūskas kodumu* ‘Black fern is used for snake bites’ (J. Isters).

The semantic association of the black colour is reflected by the denotation ‘black silk’ of another semantic group: [prejudice] 22255. *Lai Jāņu naktī dabūtu redzēt papardes ziediņu, tad vajadzīgs apvilkt ar*

33 For explanations of the quoted bibliographic references to Latvian folklore and literary works, see [www.ailab.lv](http://www.ailab.lv).

34 All these three elements are interrelated, cf. [fairy tales] *Vietu, kur nauda ir aprakta, var atrast gan ar “melnās grāmatas”, gan ar papardes zieda, gan ar čūsku ķēniņa “kroņa” palīdzību* ‘The spot where treasure is buried is discovered either by saying magic words, with a fern blossom or the crown of the snake king’ (2. P. Šmits [has recorded] from P. Dank in Rauna. *Pērkonos nospē lietuvēnu*. Nauda. ‘Thunder strikes Lithuanian. Money.’)

dzelzs nūju trīs riņķus ap papardi un pašam nostāties šo riņķu vidū pie papardes. Pēc tam paparde jāpārklāj ar melnu zīda drēbi. Kad tuvojas pusnakts, tad ap papardi salasās velni, raganas, pūķi un taisa troksni, gribēdami tikt riņķi vidū un aizdzīt prom nelūgto viesi, lai neviens neda-būtu papardes ziedu. Tomēr uz tiem nav jāgriež vērība, bet cieši jāskatās uz papardi. Taisni plkst. 12 jānoņem drēbe, un skatoties uz papardi, jāmet velniem virsū. Tie nobijušies aizbēg, un tajā pašā laikā parādās brīnišķīgais zieds 'If you happen to see a little fern blossom on St John's night then you should draw three circles around the fern with a iron stick and stand in the centre of the circle by the bush. Then you have to cover the fern with a piece of black silk fabric. At the midnight, devils, witches and dragons gather around the fern and make noise as they want to get into the middle of the circle to drive away an unexpected guest so that no one gets then fern blossom. However, no attention should be paid to them; you have to look closely at the fern. Sharp at midnight the cloth has to be taken off and, looking at the fern, has to be thrown at the devils. They will get scared and run away, and then the magic blossom will appear' (Sal. diena. J. Miljons, st. Birze).

Additional conotational units of the lexeme Latv. *paparde* are 'golden blossoms', 'silver blossoms', 'ends of the leaves spangled with golden buttons': [songs] *Zied paparde Jāņu nakti | Deviņiem žuburiem; | Devītā žuburā | Zelta poga galiņā* 'the fern blooms on St John's night with nine blossoms, nine bright lights with golden buttons on the ends' (14865); [prejudice] 22256. *Paparde zied ar zelta ziediem, skatīties jāiet ar vīzēm. Ja ziedi iekrīt vīzēs, tad nekad netrūkst naudas* 'The fern has golden blossoms, you have to wear bast shoes when you go to look for them. If the blossoms fall into your shoes, then you will never be short of money' (Z. Lancmanis, Lejasciems); 22257. *Jāņa naktī pulkstin 12 zied paparde ar sidraba ziediem, bet tikai tādiem cilvēkiem laimējas tos redzēt, kas tai gadā precējas* 'On St John's night, at midnight, fern blooms with silver blossoms but only those who will get married that year manage to see them' (Z. Lancmanis, Lejasciems).

The latter sememes are to be related to the extra-linguistic meaning of 'benefit': [prejudice] 22258. *Ja kur Jāņu naktī redz papardi ziedot, tad tai vieta esot aprakta zelta nauda* 'at the place where you see the fern blooming on St John's night golden coins are buried' (V. Līce, Līgatne).

The meaning 'the broad-leaved fern' is to be treated as an integral feature of 'the blossoming fern' determining a differential semantic feature of the latter comparing it with 'ordinary fern': [songs] *Jānis kļiedza, Jānis brēca, | Jānim bērni pazuduši, | Jānim bērni pazuduši | Lielajāsi papardēsi* 'Janis screams, Janis cries, Janis' children have got lost, Janis' children have got lost among tall ferns' (15925); *Liela resna Jāņa māte | Vara stīpu sastīpota, | Ieraudzijse Jāņa bērņus, | Papardēs paslēpās* 'Janis' mother, tall and fat, with a brass rim round the waist hides in the ferns when seeing revellers on St John's night' (16368).

On the contrary, the sememe 'the small leaf fern' found in the collections of fairy tales often reflects a mythological connotation: *Arī tāds zinot apraktu naudu atrast, kas mazās papardes ziedu iemantojis. Mazās papardes aug pļavās, ganībās un ziedot tikai Jāņu naktī* 'And those could discover the hidden money who have found a little fern blossom. Small ferns grow in fields, pastures and bloom only on St John's night' (10. Emsiņu Gasiņš Susējā. Zin. Kom. kr. LP, VI, 229, 30, 22. *Dažādas teikas par naudu* 'Various stories about money').

Nonetheless, the functional purpose of these both sememes is the same – to isolate the common fern from the mythological one.

Most probably the superstition about judging about abundance of the crops and the seasons according to whether the fern gets frost-bitten in autumn or not is related to the conception of a mythological fern: [prejudice] 22267. *Kad pavasarī papardes un apiņi nosalst, tad būs bada gads: labība nosals* 'If in spring ferns and hops are damaged by frost there will be famine that year, the crops will be damaged by frost' (Atbalss k. 1892. J. Kriķis, Starti); 22261. *Ja pavasarī mežā apsalst papardes, tad rudenī agri būs salnas* 'If the ferns in the woods get damaged by frost in spring, then there will be early frosts in autumn' (Latvis, 1929, VII, 26); 22264 (L. Reiteris, Lubāna) and 22262 (E. Slavinskā, Cēsis) ~ 22263. *Ja pavasarī papardes apsalst, tad rudenī apsalst labība* 'If ferns get damaged by frost in spring, then the crops will be damaged in autumn' (Z. Lāce, Veclaicene); 22265 (P. Atspulgs, Rauna); 22266 (L. Berkholce, Vaive).

Hence, the semantic extension of the Latvian fern consists of the following meanings: 1) 'a cryptogamous plant; Filix'; 2) 'a mythological plant that blossoms with golden and silver blossoms'; 3) 'the black fern that saves one from the snake bite'; 4) 'foodstuff = an edible plant'; 5) 'medicine for worms (ascarids, tapeworms) and snake poison'; 6) 'hygiene product'.

Thus, on the basis of this semantic sequence it is possible to define the following referent of the fern in the Latvian language: 'a leaf cryptogamous edible medicinal plant; a hygiene product', which determines the integral sememe 'a cryptogamous plant'.

Also, it is possible to state that neither Lithuanian nor Latvian examples reflect any semantic relationship of *papartis* 'the fern' with the above-mentioned meaning of 'the wing'.

Equivalents of the Slavic languages are much more informative. They clearly reflect links with the denotation of 'the wing': Russ. *nanopomok* (masc.) 'the second joint of a bird's wing' ~ *nanopomty* (fem.) 'fernery; the fern' (СРЯ XIV 148); Russ. *nanopomty* (fem.) 'bones of a bird's wing between the shoulder and the claw; webbed feet of water birds'; *nanopomnyk* 'the fern' (СЦРЯ III 330; also cf. Даль III 12; also see footnote 30). These data are important not only to establishing connotations of words and the number of denotations but also to confirming a morphological link with Balt. *\*sparnō-* < ide. *\*(s)porno-* 'the wing' < verb. IE *\*per-* 'to fly' (IEW 850). Manfred Mayrhofer (II 225) doubts this relationship. Valentina Merkulova (Меркулова 1967: 118) proved that there was close semantic relationship between 'feather' and 'fern', cf. Russ. dial. *nánopomok* 'wing of a bird'.

In summing up it can be stated that historically Lith. *papaĩtis* can be treated as a determinative compound word: Balt.-Slav. *\*pād-* 'soil' + Balt.-Slav. *\*pārtā* 'wings, feathers' (therefore the protosememe 'feathers, wings on the ground [soil]' to be reconstructed), the accent evolution of which was influenced by the collective formant *-ā*. A different structure of the consonant root of the lexemes meaning 'the fern' was determined by the factor of progressive resp. regressive assimilation.

## Common Lexis of the Baltic and Slavonic Languages

As many as seven common phytonyms have been counted to exist in the Baltic and Slavic languages (see Sabaliauskas 1990: 120ff.). BKA also attributes the names of 'a nut' to the layer of the lexis of this period (for motivation see the chapter *Old Indo-European Lexis*):



EXAMPLES OF THE BALTIC LANGUAGES			EQUIVALENTS OF SLAVONIC LANGUAGES
LATVIAN	LITHUANIAN	PRUSSIAN	
1. <i>amuols, amulis, amuls, āmuļs, āmulis, āmāls; ģmuols</i>	<i>āmālas, emālas</i>	<i>emelno ↔ *emelnā</i>	Bulg. <i>имел(-а, -о), íмала, éмла</i> , Serb.-Cr. <i>мела, íмела, otela</i> , Sloven. <i>imēla, otēla, méla, melje</i> (collect.; g. neutr.), UpSo. (arch.) <i>jemlina</i> , UpSo. <i>jemjelina</i> , LoSo. <i>jemjol, jèmelica, jemelina</i> , Pol. <i>jemiola</i> , dial. <i>jemiel</i> , ORuss. <i>омела</i> , Russ. <i>омéла</i> , Ukr. <i>ямеліна</i> and others.
2. <i>egle, eglis</i>	<i>ēglė, āglė, ēglis, ēglis, églis, égl̆ys, ēglius, āglius</i> ; (abl. [loc.] pl., dial.) <i>ēglyse, ēglos(e), ēgliose, eglĩos</i>	<i>addle ↔ *adlė</i>	Bulg. <i>елá</i> , Serb.-Cr. <i>jéла, jèла</i> , Sloven. <i>jěla</i> , Pol. <i>jedła / jodła</i> , Russ. <i>ель</i> and others.
3. <i>krause<sup>2</sup>, kraūse, kraūsis<sup>2</sup>, kraūšis<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>kr(i)áušė, kráušia, kr(i)áušis</i>	<i>crausy, crausios ↔ *krausi, *kraušās</i>	Bulg. <i>кpyша</i> , Serb.-Cr. <i>кpyшкa</i> , Chak. <i>krùšva</i> , Pol. dial. <i>krusza</i> , Kashub. <i>kreša</i> , UpSo. <i>krušwa</i> , LoSo. <i>kruša, kšušā</i> , CS(Russ.) <i>кpyша</i> ; Pol. <i>grusza</i> , Russ. <i>зpyша</i> , Sloven. <i>grúška</i> and others.
4. <i>liēpa, liepa<sup>2</sup> / liēps, lieps<sup>2</sup>, liēpe</i>	<i>liēpa / liēpas, liēpė</i>	<i>lipe ↔ *lipė</i>	Bulg. <i>липá</i> , <i>липа</i> , Serb.-Cr. <i>лiпа</i> , Sloven. C. <i>lípa</i> , Pol., UpSo, LoSo. <i>lipa</i> , Polab. <i>leipó</i> , Russ. <i>липа</i> and others.
5. <i>cērmaūkša, cērmaukša<sup>2</sup>, cērmauška<sup>2</sup>, cērmaušķe<sup>2</sup>, cērmaušķis<sup>2</sup>, cērmaukšķis<sup>2</sup>, cē(r)mauksis, cērmauksis<sup>2</sup>, cērmuoksis, cērmuokslis, cērμūksis, cērμūkse<sup>2</sup>, cērμūkša, cērμūkša<sup>2</sup> / cērμukša<sup>2</sup>, cērμuokša<sup>2</sup> / cārμūkša, cērμūkška<sup>2</sup> / cērμukška<sup>2</sup>, cērμūkšķis<sup>2</sup>, cērμūkslis, cērμūkslis, cērμūkslis<sup>2</sup>, cērmaūkslis, cērmaukstis, cērμūška<sup>2</sup> / cārmyūška, cērμūška<sup>2</sup> / cērμukša<sup>2</sup>, cērμūška, cērμuōška<sup>2</sup> / cārμūška / cārμūške, cērμūša<sup>2</sup>, cērμūška<sup>2</sup>; cērmaūksis<sup>2</sup>, cērmaukste, cērmaukste<sup>2</sup>, cērmaūksā<sup>2</sup>, cērmaukša, cērmaukts, cērmaukša<sup>2</sup>, cērμūgžā / cārmyūgžā, cērμūksis<sup>2</sup>, cērμūkslis<sup>2</sup>, cērμūkssta<sup>2</sup>, cērμūksste, cērμūksste<sup>2</sup>, cērμukstis, cērμūksstis<sup>2</sup>, cērμūksā<sup>2</sup>, cērμūksķis, cērμūksķā<sup>2</sup>, cērμūksš<sup>2</sup>, cērμūksste, cērμuokša<sup>2</sup>, cērμuokša, cērμūška, cērμūška<sup>2</sup>, cērμūška<sup>2</sup>, cērμūks, cērμūks<sup>2</sup>, cērμūžā; ķērμūksste<sup>2</sup>, ķērμūksā<sup>2</sup>, ķērμūksis<sup>2</sup>, ķērμūkska<sup>2</sup>, ķērμūkska<sup>2</sup>; sērμuksis, sērμuksis, sērμuksis, sērmauksis, sērmaūklis / sērmaūklis, sērmauksis, sērmaūksis, sērmaūksis<sup>2</sup>, sērmauksis, sērmaūkslis<sup>(2)</sup>, sērmaūklis, sērmaūkslis<sup>2</sup>, sērmaukslis, sērmaūksā, sērmaukša<sup>2</sup>, sērmaukša, sērmaukša, sērmaukšā<sup>2</sup>, sērmaūksķis<sup>2</sup>, sērmaūksš, sērmaūksš<sup>2</sup>, sērmauslis<sup>2</sup>, sērmauška<sup>2</sup>, sērmaušķis<sup>2</sup> / sārmaūškš, sērμūklis, sērμūklis, sērμūklis<sup>2</sup>, sērμuklis, sēr(r)μūkslis<sup>(2)</sup>, sērμūkslis, sērμūkslis<sup>2</sup>, sērμukslis, sērμukslis, sērμukslis<sup>2</sup>, sērμukslis<sup>2</sup>, sērμūkslis, sērμukslis, (pl.) sērmaukši, sērμukši, sērmaušļi, sērμūksis<sup>(2)</sup>, sērμūksis, sērμūksis, sērμuksis, sērμuksis, sērmuoksnis, sērμūksnis, sērμūksš, sērμukša, sērμūksste<sup>2</sup>, sērμūksste, sērμūksstis, sērμūksā, sērμūksā, sērμūksā<sup>2</sup>, sērμūksā, sērμūksis, sērμūksš<sup>2</sup>, sērμūksš, sērμūksšis, sērμūksšis<sup>2</sup>, sērμūksšķe<sup>2</sup>, sērμūksšķe<sup>2</sup>, sērμūksšķis<sup>2</sup>, sērμūksšķis, sēr(r)μūksšķis / sērμukšķis, sērμukšķis<sup>2</sup>, sērμūksšlis<sup>2</sup> / sērμūksšlis<sup>2</sup>, sērμūksš, sērμūksš, sērμūksš<sup>2</sup>, sērμūksš, sērμūkte<sup>2</sup>, sērμulis, sērμulis<sup>2</sup> / sērμulis<sup>2</sup>, sērμuōksis, sērμuoksis, sērμuoklis, sēr(r)μuōklis, sērμuoklis<sup>2</sup> / sērμuoklis<sup>2</sup>, sērμuoklis, sērμuoksis, sērμuōksis, sērμuoksis<sup>2</sup>, sērμuokslē<sup>2</sup>, sērμuokslis, sērμuokslis / sērμuokslis, sērμūkslis, sērμuokslis, sērμuokslis<sup>2</sup>, sērμuokslis<sup>2</sup> / sērμuokslis<sup>2</sup>, sērμuokslis<sup>2</sup>, sērμuokslis<sup>2</sup>, sērμuoksnis<sup>2</sup>, sērμuoksnis, sērμuoksta, sērμuokste<sup>2</sup>, sērμuokša, sērμuōksā<sup>2</sup>, sērμuokša, sērμuokšis, sērμuōkska<sup>2</sup>, sērμuokšķis<sup>2</sup>, sērμuokšķis<sup>2</sup>, sērμuōlē<sup>2</sup>, sērμuōška<sup>2</sup>, sērμuōška<sup>2</sup> / sārμūška, sērμuošķis<sup>2</sup>, sērμūslis<sup>2</sup>, sērμūste, sērμūška<sup>2</sup>, sērμūška<sup>2</sup>, sērμūšks<sup>2</sup>, sērμūšķis<sup>2</sup> / sārμūškis, sērμūte, sērmutnējs<sup>2</sup>, sērμūška<sup>2</sup>, sērμūška<sup>2</sup>, sērμūška<sup>2</sup> / sārnyūška; šērμūkslē<sup>2</sup>, šērμūksis<sup>2</sup>, šērμuōkslē<sup>2</sup>, šērμuōkslis<sup>2</sup>, šērμūkslē<sup>2</sup>, šērμūška<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>šermūksis, šermūksnis, šermūksnė, šermūkslė, šermūkslis</i>	Sloven. <i>črēmha / črēmša</i> , OCz. <i>třēmcha</i> , Cz. <i>střemcha</i> , Pol. <i>trzemcha</i> , Russ. dial. <i>черēmха</i> , Russ. <i>черēmуха</i> , Ukr. <i>черēmуха</i> , <i>черēmха</i> and others.	
6. <i>uōga / uogs</i>	<i>úoga, úuoga, voga</i>		OSlav. <b>ꙗґо҃да</b> , Bulg. <i>яґода</i> , Serb.-Cr. <i>jāgođa</i> , Sloven. <i>jāgoda</i> , Cz., Slovak. <i>jahoda</i> , Pol. <i>jaboda</i> , UpSo. <i>jahoda</i> , LoSo. <i>jaboda</i> , Polab. (pl.) <i>jabōdōi</i> , ORuss. <i>яґода</i> , Russ. <i>яґода</i> and others.
7. <i>virzs, viŗzis, virza, virze, (pl.) virži, viŗži<sup>2</sup>, viŗži; virsis, virsis<sup>2</sup>, (pl.) vireži, irši, virši, virši<sup>2</sup>, viŗši, virši, viŗši<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>viŗžis, viŗžė, viŗžis, viŗžys, (pl.) viŗžiai</i>		OCS (East) <b>врѣсьнѣ</b> , Serb.-Cr. <i>vr̆ijec, vr̆ec</i> , Sloven. <i>vr̆es</i> , Cz. <i>vr̆es</i> , Pol. <i>wrzoz</i> , UpSo. <i>wrjos</i> , LoSo. <i>rjos</i> , Russ. <i>в́ерес</i> , <i>в́ереск</i> , Ukr. <i>в́ересень</i> , Blr. <i>в́ерес</i> and others.
8. <i>rieksts</i> , dial. <i>riekša</i> (gen.sg.)	<i>riēšutas, riēšutis, riēšas, riēšutys, ruošutys</i>	<i>buccareisis ↔ *bukareisīs (&lt; *-reisas)</i>	Bulg. <i>орéx</i> , ORuss., OCS <i>орѣхъ</i> , Russ. <i>орéx</i> , Serb.-Cr. <i>òрах</i> , Pol. <i>orzecz</i> and others.

Table 4. Phytonyms of the Baltic languages attributed to the layer of the common Baltic and Slavonic lexis

## Names of the Mistletoe

The origin of the phytonyms meaning ‘mistletoe’ generates the largest number of discussions among the words belonging to the layer of the common lexis of the Baltic and Slavic languages.

Lith. *āmalas* 3<sup>b</sup> ‘a parasite that grows over other trees and is highly branched, like a broom; a witches broom (*Viscum album*)’ R 257, K, MŽ 144, Kos 106, KzR, Vvr, Lp, Pn, J, Tl (LKŽ I<sup>2</sup> 115), Lith. *emalas* ‘*Viscum album*’ SD<sup>1</sup> 71, SD 77 (LKŽ II<sup>2</sup> 1127) and Latv. *amuols*, *amuls*, *āmulis*, *āmals* ‘mistletoe; clover; the English daisy (*Bel-lis perennis*)’ (ME I 71) (forms with the root *-uo-* and *-u-* due to contamination with Latv. *ābuōls* ‘an apple, clover’, Latv. *ābuls* ‘ditto’ [for more about it see ME I 72; PKEŽ I 252]); Latv. *ēmuols* ‘clover’ BW 21871,2 (ME I 569) and Pr *emelno* ‘mistletoe, aphid’ E 646 (< \**emelnā*, i.e. Pr \**emel-* + suff. \*-*nā* < \**emel-ā* [PKEŽ ibd.])<sup>35</sup> are reasonably attributed to the layer of the Baltic and Slavic lexis (Sabalaiuskas 1990: 120), because they are correlated only with the codified morphological semantic equivalents of the Slavic languages: Bulg. *имел(-а, -о), имала, емила* ‘parasitic plant *Viscum, Loranthus*’<sup>36</sup>, Serb.-Cr. *мела, имела, omela* ‘*Viscum album L.*’, Sloven. *imēla, omēla, mēla* ‘ditto’, *melje* (n. collect.; g. neutr.) ‘ditto’ and others, UpSo. (arch.) *jemlina*, UpSo. *jemjelina*, LoSo. *jemjol* ‘*Viscum album L.*’, *jemelica, jemelina*; Pol. *jemiola*, dial. *jemiel* ‘*Viscum*’, ORuss. *омела* ‘bait for birds’, Russ. *омела* ‘*Viscum album* = a whirlpool nest, bird glue, oak-tree berries’ (cf. Даль II 672), ‘evergreen parasitic plant having a form of a bush that grows on the trees’, Ukr. *ямеліна* and others < Proto-Slav. \**emela* / \**emelo* / \**emelъ* (ЭССЯ VI 26).

The origin of these lexemes has not been elucidated and aphoric thus far (PKEŽ I 253) due to the Brückner’s hypothesis. According to him, bird glue was made from the bark and berries of this plant, and the plant itself was called “as seizing, taking’ (cf. ЭССЯ VI 26; Brückner 1957: 206), therefore phytonyms denoting it are translated from Proto-Slav. \**em-* ‘imti’ + suff. \*-*el-*<sup>37</sup>. This supposition, of course, is casuistic because its author did not only take into consideration other meanings of this plant that are presented in lexicographic dictionaries but also failed to analyse the morphological development of the lexemes, for example, the following is specified in the 1419 Polish document: *Dambove gemyolo lignum sanctum* 1419 Rost No. 5173; *Dambo-wa yamyola viscus* 1437 No. 2837 (SS III 160)<sup>38</sup>. It is impossible to

believe the Brückner hypothesis not only because of its semantic non-motivation since the examples of the Slavic Languages do not determined the meaning of \*‘snatching, taking, grabbing’, cf. OCS *imō, jęti* ‘take’ (perf.), *jemlō, imati* (imperf.) ‘to have’ (< ide. \**em-*, \**m-* ‘take’) (cf. IEW 310f.), but also because of biological morphology – none of the structural elements of the mistletoe is sticky resp. determining the sememe of the snares of birds (birds feed on mistletoe berries rather than stick to them, cf. in 1472 Polish documents it is referred to as *jemielucha* [Brückner 1957: 206]). Furthermore, the sememe ‘bird glue’ is used only in the Slavic languages (Serbian and Croatian, Polish and Russian [and in old writings]) (also cf. Linde II 888; Skok I 718)<sup>39</sup>.

This supposition is also impossible due to a lack of Baltic and Slavic examples of morphological structural compounds of verb. IE \**em-*/\**m-* ‘to take’ with the root *a-/o-* grade because *guṇa* grade forms of the root *om-* are reflected only in Toch. A *yomār* ‘is achieved’ and others, and are explained as examples of late vowel gradation determined by the late changes in the language itself (for more about it see LIV 210), cf. Proto-Slav. \**jъmovitъ(jъ)*: Bulg. *имовитъ* adj. ‘wealthy’, Mac. *имовит* ‘ditto’, Serb.-Cr. *имовит* ‘ditto’, ORuss., OCS *имовитый* and others. (ЭССЯ VIII 228f.).

Mažiulis’ (PKEŽ I 252f.) attempt to reconstruct the morphologic sequence EastBalt. \**emela-* / \**amela-* // WestBalt. \**emelā* ↔ Slav. \**emelā* / \**amelā* / \**imelā* (apophonic forms) is unsuccessful either – structural boundaries of the lexemes, tendencies and regularities of the change in the initial element are absolutely unclear because the author failed to make a morphological analysis of Slavic examples, which is decisive seeking to reveal the origin of the phytonyms meaning ‘the mistletoe’ not only in these but also in the Baltic languages.

Thus far nobody has developed the Bezenberger hypothesis (see further) on the basis of which one may cautiously suppose that phytonyms of ‘the mistletoe’ used by western and eastern Slavs due to the peculiarities of their morphological structure are to be treated as compound words: UpSo. (arch.) *jemlina* (← ? \**jem-je-lina* [see absorption of *-je-*]), cf. UpSo. *jem-jel-ina* ‘*Viscum album L.*’, *jemelina*; Ukr. *ямеліна* (← ? \**jem-je-lina* [see above]) ← (1) *jem-* (with *o-* of the first component → (*j)e/i-* due to regressive assimilation, i.e. *o...e/i* > 1. (*j)e...e/i*; 2. *i...e* [see further]) + (2) Slav. \**edlina* (> Pol. *jedlina* ‘a fir; a silver fir; a branch of a conifer’<sup>40</sup>, Ukr. *яліна* ‘a fir’ [*Proto-Slav. \*edlъ* ‘a fir’ + suff. \*-*ina* (ЭССЯ VI 15)]; also cf. Russ. dial. *омельня* ‘mistle-

35 See further about the peculiarities of determining the semantic extensional of Lith. *āmalas*, i.e. 1) ‘aphid’ Ply, Rk, Lnk, Č, Ktk; 2) ‘sweet sticky substance on the leaves produced by aphids (parasites); honeydew’ Up, Vks, Kos 106; 3) ‘plant disease (rust), that supposedly appears after lightning without thunder’ Rk, Ppl, Vb, Jnšk, Ds; 4) ‘lightning without thunder’ Jnšk, Kp, Žml, Dkk; 5) ‘all kinds of gadflies, their buzzing; insect buzzing in the air’ Dglš, Viln (LKŽ I<sup>2</sup> 115), because LKŽ attributes homophones of different origin to a single lexical semantic family of words. Būga (Fraenkel also follows him – LEW 9) interprets both Lith. *āmalas* and *āmaras* as phonetic alternants, however, on the basis of the presented analysis of the word this explanation is to be doubted (see further).

36 Plinius the Elder (C.P. Secundus – HN XVI 31) asserts that the oak mistletoe, which Jacques André (1956: 332) termed *Loranthus Europaeus Joch.* (according to the Linnaean Classification – *Viscum album* ‘white mistletoe’ [for more about medicinal preparations made in antiquity, the Middle Ages and during later periods see Грошева 2009: 369ff.]) suited best for making medicine.

37 This supposition is highly doubtful because *verbum* + suff. IE \*-*el-* reflect an especially archaic way of formation in the existing IE languages that has almost disappeared resp. especially rare (for more about it see Бенвенист 1955: 68; Барроу 1976: 115).

38 The sacral meaning of the plant is specified in Samuil B. Linde’s dictionary: Pol. *jemiel, jemiola, jemiolka, \*jemiolo* ‘a parasitic plant that grows on the branches of different trees; the best mistletoe is that of an oak-tree; used to make glue; fruit and seeds are favourite feed of the thrush; it is also specified that the Druids used to make medicine for different diseases and preparations increasing animals’ desire to reproduce’ (the statement is based on the publication *Dykcyonarz powszechny Medyki, Chirurgii i t.d.* II, 1788; 668) (Linde II 888). Special importance of the plant in the rituals of Celtic prophets is discussed in the work by Victor Henn’s (1874: 528) book.

39 The use of this meaning in Serbian and Croatian languages should be doubted because actual material specified by Skok’s a word by word narration of Brückner’s supposition, cf. Serb.-Cr. *imela fem. = mēla* with the disappeared initial *i-*, like *mati* next to *imati* – Balt.-Slav., East-Slav. and Proto-Slav. ‘viscum’. Its bark has been used to catch birds since olden times (cf. “i jagody i kora służą od niepamiętnych czasów wyrabianiu lepu ptaszego (opis z r. 1584)”), though only berries of this plant contain sticky substances (!!! – see further). Apart from these forms the form *omelj* (Stulić) is used alongside which *omela*, as Sloven., Russ., and Pol. *jemiola*, whose *je-* < *jъ*, cf. also Serb.-Cr. *omelan* (Vrančić), denominatives: *omeljiti, -im* ‘coat with mistletoe’, *omeljivati, omelivati*, should be used.

40 The absence of the consonant *-d-* UpSo. *jemjelina*, LoSo. *jemjol* ‘*Viscum album L.*’, *jemelica, jemelina*; Pol. *jemiola*, dial. *jemiel* ‘*Viscum*’ is not an obstacle to relate these words to Pol. *jedlina* ‘fir tree; silver fir; branch of a conifer’ because in this linguistic area of western Slavs the change of *-dl-* and *-l-* occurs, cf. Pol. *jelca* ‘a handle’ ↔ *jedlca* ‘ditto’, *jelec* ‘such fish’ ↔ *jedlec* ‘ditto’, Pol. *nakowadlnia* ‘an anvil’ ↔ *nakowalnia* ‘ditto’ and others (see Brückner 1957: 205, 429; Linde III 225).

toe' (ПЯ Е–Н 26 – Vladimir Toporov heard this form used in the district of Vladimir; [⇐ Russ. *ом-* + Russ. dial. *эльня* 'a small coniferous bush (-s) that was left after a forest has been cut; a windfallen fir trees' (CPHG VIII 352f.)). The origin of the second component is quite clear, while the interpretation of the first one is complicated. Semantic motivation of this compound word is also quite clear because both a fir and mistletoe determine the already mentioned referent 'an evergreen plant' resp. vegetational connotation. Words of the Slavic languages of another morphological structure meaning mistletoe reflect the same referent of 'a fir': OPol. *yam-yol-a*, *gem-yol-o* (SS III 160), Bulg. *ймел* (-a, -o), *ймала*, *эмела* 'a parasitic plant *Viscum*, *Loranthus*', Serb.-Cr. *мела*, *ймела*, *омела* '*Viscum album* L.', Sloven. *imēla*, *omēla*, *mēla* 'ditto', *melje* (n. collect.; g. neutr.) 'ditto', LoSo. *jem-jol*, Pol. *jem-iol-a* and others ← (1) (*i-,o-*)*m-* + (2) Proto-Slav. *\*edla* > Bulg. *елá* 'a fir (*Abies excelsa*)', Serb.-Cr. *јела*, *јѐла* 'ditto', Sloven. *jēla* 'ditto', Pol. *jedła* / *jođła* 'ditto' and others; UpSo. *jémelica* ← (1) *jem-* + (2) Slav. *\*edlica* < Proto-Slav. *\*edlv* 'a fir' + suff. *\*-ica* (ЭССЯ VI 14).

Compound words of another morphological structure and semantic expression (from the point of view of diachronic analysis) (?) are found in Eastern Baltic languages (it has been stated up till now that there was only the contamination process – see ME I 71; PKEŽ I 252), as well as words formed of two components: (1) (*e-, a-*)*m-* + (2) East-Balt. *\*ābel-* / *\*ābal-* / *\*ābla-* 'an apple' → *\*am-āb-e(a)l-* → 1) Lith. *\*amal-* / *\*amel-* (with the absorption of the second component *āb-*) > *āmalas*, *emalas* '*Viscum album*' (< *\*amelas* [*a...e* > *e...a* metathesis rather than archaism, cf. Skardžius I 174] ~ Lith. dial. *óbalas* / *obalys* ↔ *óbelas* / *obelys* 'an apple'); 2) Latv. *\*amal-* / *\*amel-* (with the absorption of the second component *āb-*) > *amuols*, *emuols* (< *\*āmelas* [*ā...e* > *e...ā* metathesis; with the secondary *ā-*, cf. Latv. dial. *āmulis*, *āmulis* 'mistletoe; clover; English daisy (*Bellis perennis*)' (ME I 70)] contaminating with Latv. *\*ābuo,la-* 'apple'; due to the same reason Latv. *\*amals* / *\*emals* turned into *amuols*, *emuols* with *-uo-* [see PKEŽ I 252] ~ Latv. *ābuōlis* / *ābuōlis* 'an apple'), most probably reflecting the protosememe *\*a* 'a plant fertility / vitality (fruit)' (cf. the Slavonic symbolic connotation of fertility, richness of the soil, love, marital relations, healthy offsprings of this fruit and plant [see CM 497], which is identical to symbolics of the mistletoe '*Viscum album*' [see. CM 344f.; CD III 548]) resp. the usual connotation.

Reconstruction of the compound word can be substantiated not only by the secondary (resp. non-etymological) short initial element Latv. dial. *abuls* 'clover' BW 21871, *abuliņš* Valmiera (ME I 6), (?) reflecting the phonological quality of the component (1) (*e-, a-*)*m-* (cf. ME I 235), Latv. dial. *āmulis* '1. mistletoe; 2. clover; 3. perennial daisy (*Bellis perennis*)', polysemism (the first and third sememes are associative according to the form of leaves of these plants – on the contrary it is egg-shaped resp. spade-shaped [LTE X 54; Грошева 2009: 369], the second etymological differential reflecting the hyponymic localized reference ['plant of an apple-tree' – see further]), but also by biological localisation – the mistletoe often grows on apple trees, pear trees and other fruit trees (see Грошева 2009: 369).

Bezenberger (1897: 297) was the first to perceive the structural system of the composites of these lexemes. He saw their genetic (resp. of derivational type) links with Gk. *ἄμα-μηλίσ* 'a plant of the genus of bushes and trees of the Rosaceae family, the medlar (*Mespilus* L.); rowan tree' (LS 71) / *ῥμο-μηλίσ* (LS 1051) ↔ Gk. *μηλον* 'an apple;

a fruit-tree' (LS 960) – the origin of the first component is unclear though Hjalmar Frisk (I 85) reconstructed *\*ἄμα-μηλος*, i.e. the sememe *\*together with an apple-tree* resp. what is characteristic of an apple-tree' ~ Gk. *ἐπι-μηλίσ* 'a medlar; a pear' (LS 544) ↔ Gk. *ἐπί* 'on; expression of a link and others' is determined, cf. Gk. *αμ-, ομ-* ↔ Lat. *simul*, OHG *sama* and others (LS 71) – both a mistletoe and a medlar are an evergreen shrub (tree) (LTE X 611), as Proto-Slav. *\*edlv* 'evergreen coniferous tree of the pine family' (ЭССЯ VI 15), cf. an especially exact definition of etiology of the mistletoe by Publius V. Maro: *quale solet silvis brumali frigore viscum / fronde verere nova, quod non sua seminat arbos* (V.A. VI 205–206), i.e. 'so during the winter solstice the mistletoe is lush with its fresh greenness, and it is not from its seeds that a tree grows it'.

If this hypothesis of the origin of the names of the mistletoe is correct due to the initial element and the root *e-e-* and the semantic value (resp. the phytonym rather than the localisation of the plants in the Latvian language, which is not mentioned by Toporov [ПЯ Е–Н 27; see further]) Pruss. *emelno* could be explained not as a compound word of the western Balts (cf. PKEŽ I 252f.) but as a loanword from the Slavic languages (it might have been taken over from the western Slavs, cf. UpSo. *jémelina* '*Viscum album* L.', i.e. WestSlav. *\*jemelina* '*Viscum album*' → WestBalt. *\*emelina* 'ditto' (> Pruss. *\*emelnā* perhaps with a possibly orthographic mistake – the missed suffixed *-i-*, cf. Pruss. *melne* 'bruise' E 161 ↔ *\*mēlinē* 'ditto' [Mažiulis (PKEŽ III 123) stated that *-i-* in this lexeme had disappeared] because it was inserted rather than syncopated in the loanwords, cf. Pruss. *medinice* 'brass bowl' E 357 ← Pol. *miednica* 'ditto' [Levin 1974: 34, 66; PKEŽ III 121] because in the eastern Baltic languages derivatives of this phytonym with *\*-nā* are not used, cf. Latv. dial. *āmulene* 'clover meadow' [ME I 239] determine localisational [resp. toponymic; for more see Endzelīns 1951: 299], rather than referential phytonymic connotation though such is possible if the referent is a plant, mushroom or berry [Endzelīns 1951: 298], and Latv. *amoliņš* [Llv I 167] diminutive, resp. late).

Hence, it can be supposed that all these forms are associative compound words that reflect highly archaic sacral<sup>41</sup> and usual sememes, which determine the primary meaning 'a plant that lends force, power' † *\*power of a fir* ↔ *\*power of an apple / apple tree*' (see further).

This supposition can be based on the analysis of the origin of the first component. The noun *āmas* used in the Lithuanian language is defined in LKŽ as having the following meanings: 1) 'the power of speech, voice' Š, V. Kudirka, M. Šalčius, Mrj, Gs, Vrb, Brš, Šn, Ss, Bd; 2) 'a dog' (usually in baby talk) Gršk, B, M. Slančiauskas (Trp) (LKŽ I 96; I<sup>2</sup> 117; also cf. ZnŽ I 34), though LKŽK and LKŽKP, apart from already mentioned meanings, give not only more various sememes but also a wider area of the use of the word: 1) 'spirits, mood' Gršk, Vinkšnupiai (small rural district of Jankai); 'feeling (of elation), enthusiasm; character, relation; suggestion' Jž; 2) 'force, power' (P. Andr. RR I 92 [he came from the village of Gaidžiai, small rural district of Tauragnai]; eg. see Kregždys 2003: 270).

Georg H. F. Nesselmann and Frydrichas Kuršaitis present an example of the use of the word that is unknown to them from Jokūbas Brodovski's dictionary who most probably mentioned that word for the first time: [*amas* ? : *amas ama, o pati ama wifī βūnes loja*] (N 5; K I 8; also cf. LT V 287).

41 It is thought that in some nations of Europe (Celts in particular) gathering mistletoe was sacralised and related to the festival of the summer equinox when fires were burned and special rituals were performed (NEB VIII 191), i.e. this plant was as significant to the Celts as the fern was to the Balts.



Būga (III 433) divided sentences containing the word concerned into three semantic families of words one of which, most likely, was clear to him therefore he specified its meaning – ‘speech, consciousness, the power of speech’ Š, Kdl, Dkš, Rmš (corresponds to the first meaning in LKŽ). He compares the example given by Nesselmann and Kuršaitis with the one presented by Matas Slančiauskas but he does not specify the meaning (it is defined by the sememe ‘dog’ in LKŽ [Lallwort]).

Aleksandras Kuršaitis defined the third meaning that was not specified by Būga by the sememe ‘cursing; abuse; quarrel’ (KŽ I 34). The compilers of LKŽ, most probably, doubting this meaning presented it next to the first one, i.e. ‘the power of speech, voice’, which in essence coincides with the first sememe distinguished by KŽ ‘the power of speech; the ability to speak; speech’. Hence, both LKŽ and KŽ distinguish two meanings of the Lithuanian word *āmas*: the first one is defined in the same way (or very similarly) whereas the second one differs (it is ‘dog’ in LKŽ and KŽ defines it as ‘cursing; abuse; quarrel’). The word concerned is presented in the meaning of ‘the power of speech, voice’ in all editions of *Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos žodynas* (the Dictionary of Modern Lithuanian) though the characterisation of the use of the word in the first edition differs from that in the later editions: according to DLKŽ<sup>1</sup> this is a word of the spoken language, and DLKŽ<sup>2-4</sup> characterises it as used in the area of western Highlanders, i.e. as a dialectism.

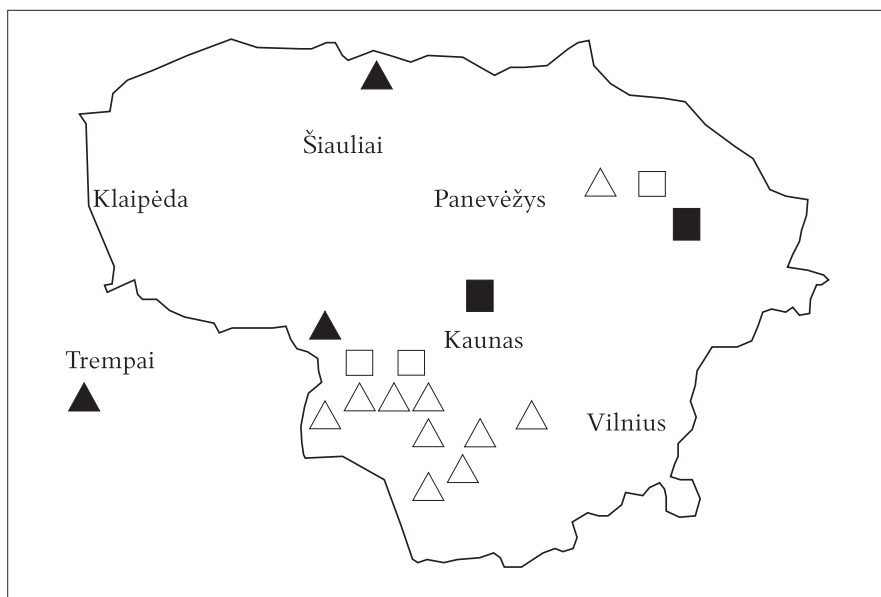


Fig. 3. Area of prevalence of Lith. *āmas* (symbol Δ denotes the area of the use of the sememe ‘the power of speech, voice’, ▲ – that of ‘dog’, □ – that of ‘mood’ and ■ – ‘force, power’)

It should be stated that LKŽ and DLKŽ do not present all meanings of Lith. *āmas*, cf. the material of the Corpus of the Lithuanian Language of the Computer Linguistics Centre of Vytautas Magnus

University (<http://donelaitis.vdu.lt>) determining the already mentioned sememes that were not included in these publications: ‘consciousness (physical ability to think; to be perceived)’, ‘force, power’<sup>42</sup> (see examples in Kregždys 2003: 270f.).

The formation and origin of Lith. *āmas* has not been investigated in more detail thus far<sup>43</sup> – Fraenkel did not even mention this word (LEW 8f.). Būga (III 433) tried to relate it to the verb Lith. *āmalioti* ‘to chat; to drivel’ resp. *āmelėti* ‘to approve lovingly, to speak to smb. pleasantly’ Užp, ‘to domesticate, to train to’ Vžns (Būga III 436; also cf. LKŽ I<sup>2</sup> 119), though he did not study the origin of the latter in more detail (cf. Būga III 432). It is obvious that such a supposition is more likely due to both the semantic conformity and the geography of the use of the word – verb Lith. *āmalioti*, *amalioti*, *āmalioti* ‘to talk rubbish not knowing for sure, doubting; to drivel’, Lith. dial. *āmaliuoti* ‘to chatter’ the eastern part of the Pavandenė rural district (Telšiai and Kelmė districts), Užv (DūnŽ 25) are used together with Lith. *āmas* in the area of both southern, western and eastern Highlanders though the noun being studied is known neither to the Lowlanders not to the western Highlanders in the area around Šiauliai – Slnt, Plt, Gs, J, Kair, Lith. *išāmalioti* ‘to blab out’ Slnt, Lith. *āmalis* ‘he who talks rubbish’ Brs (LKŽ I<sup>2</sup> 116), also cf. Lith. *āmalioti* ‘to chatter’ J, VI, Pšl, Slnt (Būga III 432).

One of the feasible possibilities for relating these words is their common origin, i.e. substantival verbs denominatives if Lith. *āmas* in the meaning of ‘dog (Lallwort)’ were treated as a word of onomatopoeic origin, cf. the indeclinable noun of nanny talk *ām* (LKŽ I<sup>2</sup> 115) that originated from the interjection *ām / aīn* ‘to define the sound of a dog’s barking’, i.e. a dog’s yelping is put on the same footing with the speech of people that is worth nothing: ‘a dog’s yelping’ > ‘a dog’ > ‘speaking similar to the yelping of a dog’ (→ Lith. *āmalioti*) > ‘a quarrel’, enabling the origin of the sememes ‘voice, language, speaking’ to be explained.

It is true, quite a different origin of the verb Lith. *āmalioti* ‘to talk rubbish; to chatter’ can be presented. Jan Otrębski specifies that Lith. *āmanas* ‘a talk, noise’ used in Tverečius subdialect is to be compared with Bel. *гoман*, Russ. dial. *гомон*: Lith. *pakélé āmanū* ‘started to make noise’, *amanūic* ‘to speak in a loud voice’, Bel. *гаманіць* (inf.), Russ. *гомонить*, i.e. he treats these Lithuanian words as loanwords from the Slavic languages (Otrębski 1932: 5), also cf. Russ. dial. *гаметь/гаметь* ‘to shout, to speak in a loud voice, to bark (about a dog), to wobble (about birds), to chatter’ (СРНГ VI 130), Russ. dial. *гамкать, гамнуть* ‘to curse, to speak impolitely’ (Немченко, Саница, Мурникова 1963: 64).

The sememes ‘to speak rubbish; to chatter’ / ‘to approve lovingly, to talk to smb. pleasantly’ ↔ ‘to domesticate, to train to’ could be of Slavic origin<sup>44</sup>. Therefore, one can make a supposition that the

42 One can quite often hear and use the phraseologisms in the meaning of *ūpas* ‘spirit’ ↔ the ability (power) (Kaunas): *turėti amą* ‘to be able, capable, have the strength; to be agile, rested, strong, powerful; to be quick-witted’, *būti be amo* ‘to be emaciated, tired, weak, etc.’. These combinations of words are not given in the dictionary of phraseologisms (FrŽ 60).

43 For a short review of this word and possibilities of related it with the equivalents in other IE languages see Kregždys 2003: 269ff.

44 Mention is to be made here of Jonas Klimavičius’ (1970: 189f.) linking the mentioned verbs with the old derivatives of the Lithuanian language – Lith. *omuō* ‘memory; understanding, perception’, *omenis* ‘mind, intellect, consciousness; memory’ and others, which is to be discussed due to a notional incompatibility, cf. Lith. *omuō* ‘understanding, perception’ Krs, ‘memory’ Krš, Krs (LKŽ VIII 1004) ~ Lith. *aumuo* ‘grief, chagrin’ Kos 41, ‘understanding, perception’ Rš, ‘intellect’ FT (LKŽ I<sup>2</sup> 499); Lith. *omē* ‘instinct’ K. Jaun (Kv, Rt), K. Būg, Vaižg, Vd, FT (LKŽ VIII 1002f.); Lith. *omena* ‘the ability to think; mind, intellect’ Lz, M. Valanč, Lith. *omenas* ‘power of recollection, memory’ S. Dauk; Lith. *omenė* ‘power of recollection, memory’ S. Dauk, Žem, J. Biliūn, Blv, Plng, Vd, Ms, ‘instinct’ Vaižg, *omenis* ‘power of recollection, memory’ K. Būg, BsMt I 17, BsV 16, prš, Sb, A 1884, 148, Rd, Gl, Gs, I. Simon, BsMt I 22, BsV 29, ‘the ability to think; mind, intellect’ BsP IV 244; *ōmynė, ōminė* ‘power of recollection, memory’ K. Būg, Brs, Slnt, J, K. Jaun, Žem, ‘omė’ Kv, Rt, K. Jaun, Vd, ‘the ability to think; mind, intellect’ Vaižg; adj. Lith. *omingas* ‘having an instinct, instinct’ FT (LKŽ VIII 1003f.) does not determine the integral sense of ‘speaking’, but ‘thinking’ (for more about the origin of these words see LEW 26).

The phonetic analysis of the words presented by Klimavičius (1970: 190) is to be reviewed separately. Stating that there is a sufficient possibility to treat the form *āmelėti* as *žadininkai* form, it should be restored in the literary language as *ōmelėti* the author of the hypothesis does not present any semantic analysis of the words.

verbs compared with Lith. *āmas* are of onomatopoeic origin or are adapted loanwords from the Slavic languages, which determined appearance of the meanings ‘a dog’ and ‘a language, the power of speech’. Thus this sememe should be distinguished as foreign and should not be confused with the old derivative Lith. *āmas* ‘consciousness (physical ability to think, to be quick-witted [the latter meaning is indicated by Būga but it is not distinguished as specific, is not related to the process of speaking]); force, power’, whose meanings are not characteristic of the Slavic languages.

Hence, due to phonetic homonymy<sup>45</sup> words of a completely different origin are put in one lexical family of words in LKŽ other above-mentioned dictionaries, that is, onomatopoeic or Slavism Lith. *āmas* ‘speech, the power of speech; a dog’ with Lith. *āmas* ‘the power of speech, power, force, the ability, etc.’ attributed to the lexical layer of the Indo-European parent language, which can be related to Ved. *āma-* ‘force, power; action; difficulty; compulsion’, Skr. *āmaḥ* (masc.) ‘pressure; onrush; attack, attacking force; fear’ (Monier-Williams 1872: 74), Av. adj. *ama-* (*°mā-* [fem.]) ‘strong, firm’, subst. *ama-* (masc.) ‘power; male’s sexual potency’ (Y. 8.14); ‘attacking force, impulse of attack’ (Y. 9.17, 27; Yt. 14.45); ‘deity of power (potency)’ (Yt. 14.44) (Reichelt 1909: 420), further with Skr. *āmīti* ‘to oppress; to bore; to make smb. do smth.’ < Skr. *am-* ‘to harm, to damage; to hurt’ (see Macdonell 1910: 319f., 437), Lat. *amāre* ‘to fall in love, to make love; to feel attracted to (smb./smth.); to be favourable to, grateful; to be content; to be related; to be inclined (to do smth.), etc.’ (Lewis, Short 1958: 107; OLD 119), whose etymological development has not been fully elucidated yet: it is usual to attribute it to Lalworts, i.e. it is related to Lat. *\*ama* ‘a child’s affectionate word to address mother’ (Walde 1910: 36, 1938: 40f.; Ernout, Meillet 2001: 28; IEW 36) and it is even related to adv. Skr. *amā* ‘at home’, *amāt* ‘from home; from here’, subst. *amātya-* ‘an adviser, minister’ (Walde 1910: 36, 1938: 40f.)<sup>46</sup>, though recently attempts have been made to compare it with OIr. *nāmae* ‘an enemy’ (see about it Matasović 2009: 283), Skr. (Prakrt.) *amīṣi*, *amānti* ‘to take; to swear an oath’ and others (Vaas de 2008: 39). It is obvious that due to a semantic incompatibility of these words (cf. an especially doubtful explanation of the

notional development: ‘to move the hands off’ > ‘value as a friend’ [Vaas de 2008: 39]) such etymology is not reliable. On the basis of a semantic differentiation of the compared lexemes the hypothesis can be put forwards that it is related to OIc. *ama* ‘to torture, to bore’ and perhaps Toch. A, B *art/ārt* ‘to love, to praise, to glorify’ (Schulze 1931: 422) < (?) *\*am-rt* (regressive assimilation; *ā* – due to compensational lengthening) < ide. *\*h<sub>3</sub>em(ə)-* ‘to be able; to be firm, to be capable, to manage’, rather than IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>emh<sub>3</sub>-* ‘to touch; to undertake (smth.); to seize, to snatch’ → ‘to swear an oath, to take an oath; to undertake’ (LIV 237)<sup>47</sup>, since Lat. *amō* ‘I love’ < *\*amā-ō* < *\*amāō* (the first of the two inherited long vowels shortened – Baldi 1999: 232f., 258) determines n. collect. Lat. *\*ām-ā* ‘what makes man powerful (capable)’ (< IE *\*-eh<sub>2</sub>*), alongside which n. abstract. IE *\*āmā-* ‘force, power’, cf. Skr. (Ved.) *āma-* ‘ditto’, gAv. *āma-*, Av. (late) *ama-* ‘force of attack; male’s force’ < ProtoIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>em-* ‘to act energetically’ (about abundant derivatives of this root see Расторгуева, Эдельман I 152) had to exist. Most probably it is not expedient to reconstruct the form with the laryngeal (IEW 778; PKEŽ I 75), on the basis of Lith. *āmžia* ‘age’ (LKŽ I<sup>2</sup> 123), whose acute can be secondary due to the inflexional *-ia* (cf. Stundžia 1995: 94).

Most probably it would be more reliable to suppose that Lat. *amō*, *āre* ‘to love’ is to be treated as a homonym to OLat. *am(m)a* ‘an owl’ (according to Georg S. Keller, this meaning originated from a derisive address of grandmother [Walde 1910: 35]) < Lalwort IE *\*am(m)a*, *amī* ‘mother’ (IEW 36), from which the terms of family relations Lat. *\*amma* ‘ditto’, Lat. *amita* ‘father’s sister’ and others that were compared with Lat. *amāre* being considered are derived.

The absence of genetic relationship between the above-mentioned Lalwort and Lat. *amāre* can be accounted for by the peculiarities of the use of this Latin verb, e.g. by the examples from poetry of Catullus<sup>48</sup> in which the sememe of ‘carnal love’ resp. ‘sexual potency, power’ is used to express the antagonistic conception of ‘platonic love’<sup>49</sup>: 72 [...] *amare magis* (1), *sed bene velle* (2) *minus* (see Hamburger 1973: 50f.), i.e. ‘values carnal lust (1) more than spiritual relationship (2)’, 75 *ut iam nec bene velle* (2) *queat tibi, si optuma fias*, || *nec desistere amare* (1), *omnia si facias*, i.e. ‘you can no longer feel

Substantive equivalents presented by him fail to determine the seemed ‘language, speaking’, which is the integral of the verbs under study because none of them means ‘to think, to consider’. Therefore, such an explanation of the origin of the verbs is doubtful due to putting the words of absolutely different origin in one lexical semantic family of words. Therefore, Būga’s supposition is more acceptable, and *o-* at the beginning of the word determines the only possible conclusion – this can be a reflection of the dialectal variant of the loanword (or the word of onomatopoeic origin) *āmalioti*.

- 45 Similar parallels when homonyms are related to synonyms can be seen in Indian-Iranian language group: Proto-Iran. *\*ama-* ‘power’ < Indian-Iranian *\*ama-* [→ Skr. *āmaḥ* ‘pressure, onrush; drive, height, passion’, Av. *amō* ‘power, force’ (Mayrhofer I 43)] are derived from Indian-Iran. verb *\*am-* ‘act (energetically)’. According to Vera Rastorgujeva and Joy Edelman (Расторгуева, Эдельман I 151), the latter root, due to homophony, could be related to Proto-Iran. *\*am-* ‘to seize, to grab’ < Indian-Iran. *\*am-* ‘ditto’ (→ Skr. *am-* ‘to seize’ ~ Skr. *āmāy-* ‘to hurt, to make ill, to suffer pains’ < IE *\*omə-* ‘to act energetically, to press’ → ‘to fasten’ → ‘to demand; to give an oath’ > Gk. ὄμνυμι ‘to swear, to undertake’) < IE *\*om-* : *\*mē* ‘ditto’ (IEW 35) or *\*em-* : *\*m-* ‘to take’ (→ Lat. *ēmō*, Lith. *iimti* ‘to take, to seize’, Proto-Slav. *\*ęti*, *\*jьmъ*) (IEW 310; ЭССЯ VI 71), also cf. Skr. *āmīti* ‘to oppress; to bore; to lead (to)’ < Skr. *am-* ‘to do harm, to damage; to offend’ (see Macdonell 1910: 319f., 437), OIc. *ama* ‘to torture, to bore’ < IE *\*h<sub>2</sub>emh<sub>3</sub>-* ‘to touch; to undertake (to do smth.); to catch hold of smth/smb; to seize’ → ‘to swear, to give an oath; to undertake’ (LIV 237).
- 46 Attempts are made to relate Lat. *amāre* even to Lat. *amoenus* ‘nice, pleasant’. Alois Walde (1910: 36) approves of Karl Brugmann’s statement that the mentioned Latin adjective was borrowed from the Greek language, cf. Gk. ἀμείνων ‘better’ (< *\*āmēinos*).
- 47 It is stated that Gk. ὄμνυμι ‘to take an oath, to undertake’, ὄμοσ(σ)α ‘an oath’ are derived from this IE archetype. The fact that /o/ after /m/ is short is absolutely disregarded, cf. Lat. *-ā*; it is stated that assimilation *\*amo-* > *omo-* (LIV 237) took place but *ω* = *ō*, rather than *ā*. These words most likely belong to another lexical family of words and are to be related to Lat. *ōmen*, *-inis* ‘a sign, feature, fate, a solemn oath’.
- 48 Investigators into Catullus’ poetry state that this poet is important to Roman poetry not because he loved his Lesbia and with spontaneous sincerity glorified his passions by means of poems but because he was the first to think about his love and began to look for new exact words to name it: he started writing about love itself rather than about the woman he loved (Гаспаров 1986: 201f.). Mikhail Gasparov states it was difficult to find new words because the Latin word *amāre* means ‘to crave for passion’, and it was necessary to create new saying to describe platonic love. Catullus presents such verbal combinations in poems 72, 73, 75, 76, 87, 109, which can be found in the works by Cicero too, for example, Lat. *benevolentia* ‘benevolence’. According to Gasparov, Lat. *Benevolentia* that is to be related to Lat. *beneficia* ‘benefaction’ meant much nobler and more important feelings than Lat. *amor* and *amāre* – it symbolised spiritual relationship between two lovers.
- 49 In modern Italian language the word *amare*, *-ai* means ‘to love = a feeling when one person seeks for another’s attention, liking’ (Wagner 1960: 77) ~ It. *amare* ‘feel and express especially deep feelings to somebody’ (Cortelazzo, Zolli 1999: 91).

spiritual relationship (2) no matter how chaste you are, || and you cannot control your glust (1) whatever you try to do’.

Catullus strictly dissociated platonic love from carnal love expressed by Lat. *amāre* – *bene velle* ‘wohlgesinnt sein’; ‘to be well-wishing, kindly disposed’ (Hamburger 1973: 34), i.e. Lat. *bene velle* is artificially contrasted with Lat. *amāre*: “bene velle seems to cover emphatically unsexual affection; so we may assume *amare* covers strongly sexual love; passion. In short antithesis helps to confine the general and vague term *amare* to a specific function” (Lyne 1996: 28)<sup>50</sup>.

Apart from these hypothetical equivalents the noun of the Lithuanian language perhaps could be compared with some examples in the Anatolian languages: Hitt. *ḫašša-* ‘offspring, heir/ess’; *ḫašša-hanzašša-* ‘offspring; (great) grandchild’; nom. sg. *ha-as-sa-as* (cf. Puhvel III 224) ← verb. Anatol. *has(s)-* ‘start to live; give birth’, cf. Proto-Anat. *\*hamsa-* < *\*h<sub>2</sub>omso-* ‘offspring’ ~ Luv. *ham[ma]sa-* ‘grandchild’ < *\*am-s* or *\*ans* (*\*ons* or *\*ns* > *hassu-*, *assu-*, *dassu-*, *haski-* < *\*h<sub>2</sub>mské-* [Puhvel III 227; Melchert 1994: 163]). Incidentally, other investigators present highly doubtful etymological explanations of the mentioned Hittite words, for example, Johann Tischler (1983: 195) related Hitt. *ḫašša-* to Gk. Ἐσθήνη (pl. Ἐσθηνας) ‘Artemis’ prophet in Ephesus; ruler (queen = μέλισσα ‘Artemis’ prophetess’) (LS 587), which most likely had nothing in common with the examples from the Anatolian languages (for more about the origin of Gk. Ἐσθήνη see Крегждис 2011a: 282ff.).

The practical function of the mistletoe that is often underlined in etymological descriptions – the production of bird glue from the berries of this plant, which was a means to catch wild birds (branches of trees were covered with sticky preparation to which birds; plant pests [e.g. vineyard caterpillars] got stuck) was known as far back as antiquity: *tum laqueis captare feras et fallere visco inventum* (V.G. 1. 139; also cf. C.Agr. 95. 2), i.e. ‘then [a means] of catching a prey by loops and cheat with “bird glue” was invented’. According to Antonina Grosheva (Грошева 2009: 371), both of this means were used together. Besides, she adds that Plautus in his *Bacchides* compared viscosity resp. cajolery with Lat. *viscum: viscus merus vostra (e)st blanditia* (Pl.Bac. 50), i.e. ‘undiluted mistletoe (g. neutr. → g. masc.) resp. bird glue is cajolery’. Later glue that was made not only from the berries of the mistletoe but also from other plants, glue made in another way was referred to as mistletoe (cf. Грошева 2009: 372f.). This means for catching birds was surely used by the Slavs.

Due to an obscure etymological and semantic development of this word a description of this lexeme presented in LKŽ most probably should be corrected. In this lexicographical registry dictionary the lexeme Lith. *āmalas* is presented twice. In this way presence of oppositional notional referents is determined: 1) subst. Lith. *āmalas* ‘(bot.) a parasite growing on trees that is abundantly branched out, like a broom, the European mistletoe (*Viscum album*)’ K, R 257, Vvr, KzR, MŽ 144, Kos 106, Lp, Pn, An, J; ‘luxuriantly’ Tl; 2) subst. Lith. *āmalas* ‘(zool.) such parasites of plants, greenflies (*Aphis*)’ Plv, Rk, Lnk, Č, Ktk, Plv; ‘sweet viscose substance on the leaves produced by aphids (parasites), melliferous dew’ Š, Up, Vkš, Kos 106; ‘plant disease (rust) that supposedly appears after lightning without thunder’ Rk, Ppl, Vb, Jnšk, Ds; ‘lightning without thunder’ Jnšk, Kp, Žml, Dkk; ‘all kinds of gadflies, their buzzing, buzzing of insects in the air’ Dglš, Viln (e-LKŽ).

It should be underlined that semantemes of the second lexical semantic family of words, which have not been singled out thus far on the whole are attributed to the first lexical semantic family of words, cf. *Visas qžuolo liemu amalaš apaugęs, iš tolo atrodo, kad žievė pilka* ‘The entire trunk of an oak tree is overgrown with aphids; it seems from afar that the bark is grey’ Pn (the sentence is attributed to the illustrative examples of the extentionale of Lith. *āmalas* ‘(bot.) a parasite growing over trees that is abundantly branched out, like a broom, the European mistletoe (*Viscum album*)’ [!!!]). Unfortunately, the decision of the compilers of the dictionary cannot be right because aphids do not grow on the trunk of a tree but only on its branches (for more about it see Грошева 2009: 369), and their colour is green rather than grey (throughout the entire year). It is obvious that groups of words of sonic expression that are of different origin but sound homophonically are confused here, i.e., thus far the sememe ‘moss’ or ‘lichens’ that is used metonymically has not been distinguished (most often they grow on the trunks of old trees, and lichens are of grey colour [!!!]), which are to be related to the meanings of Lith. *āmalas* attributed to the second lexical semantic family of words in LKŽ ‘plant disease (rust)’ ↔ subst. Lith. *āmaras* ‘parasitic fungus of the *Erysiphaceae* family’ R (LEW 9; for more about this pest see LE XVIII 480) (unfortunately this meaning is not given in LKŽ).

It is important to underline that referents of these semantemes determine the pejorative connotation: subst. Lith. *sāmana* / *samanà* alongside the usual meaning of ‘a cryptogamous plant of wet places with root hair instead of roots (*Bryophyta*)’ Azr, SD 297, Pb, LKT 388 (Kpč), Šlčn, Ktk, Jrb and others, it can also mean ‘discord, quarrels and the like.’ – *Nėra namų, kad nebūt samanų (nėra namų be dūmų)* ‘There is no home without moss (there is no home without smoke)’ LKT 210 (Dkš); ‘a bumpkin, a namby-pamby’ Brt; ‘a poor, worthless, contemptible thing’ B.Sruog; also cf. phraseologisms: *sāmanomis apauginti širdį* ‘to become insensitive’ P.Vaič; *sāmanomis apaugti (apžėlti)* ‘to grow slovenly, to become old, to fall into decay’ Arm, BM 137 (Klov), A.Gric; subst. Lith. *kėrpė* alongside the sememe ‘(bot.) small fine plant grows on rocks, trees, roofs, etc.’ P, Mt, LBŽ, Mit II 141, F, P, R, Lex 60, J and others also have pejorative meanings: ‘a core of a fruit (apple, pear)’ Š, Ds; ‘buttocks of the human body’ Pl; ‘a thin, scraggy, old man or animal’ Trš, Žeml, Sd (e-LKŽ).

Another example to be interpreted that was attributed to the illustrative examples of the semantic extensionale by the compilers of LKŽ is Lith. *āmalas* (European mistletoe) ‘(bot.) *Viscum album*’ is *Berže yra amalo, reikia nugėnt* ‘There is some mistletoe in the birch, it is necessary to trim it off’ KzR. From all the sememes Lith. *āmalas* attributed to the first lexical family of words this is the only one that reflects the pejorative connotation, i.e. a plant that does harm to a tree therefore it is necessary to remove it from the tree. On the basis of the ritual tradition of the Balts and other Indo-European nations to glorify this plant that has been sacralised since olden times (for more about it see LM II 194; MP I 221 [also see 643], III 109 [= BRMŠ III 111, 231]; BTB XII 624, XIV 124; Frazer 1925: 160, 537, 608f., 659ff., 700ff.; JBR II 163), it can be stated that the mentioned meaning is to be treated as innovative resp. secondary because its appearance is related to scientific discoveries resp. new ethnographic motives. On the basis of mythological descriptions of this plant by Indo-European nations and etymology of the lexeme, the conclusion

50 I thank Assoc. Prof. Dr. Skirmantė Šarkauskienė (VU) for the reference.



can be drawn that the oldest resp. authentic semanteme of this lexeme was positive and positivistic rather than pejorative reflected by the example of the first lexical semantic Lith. *āmalas* '(bot.) a parasite growing on trees that is abundantly branched out, like a broom, the European mistletoe (*Viscum album*)'. There are no doubts whatsoever that in olden times people did not know that there existed plant parasites. That plant was sacralised. Hence, the link between these two lexemes is artificial and absolutely unsuccessful – the mistletoe (*Viscum album*) plant does not determine the pejorative connotation, and the meaning 'amalas (lightning without thunder)' determines distant flashes of lightning without rain resp. without thunder. Absence of rain resp. water was the main reason that determined appearance of connotation sememes of "burning" blossoms of fruit trees and other misfortunes determined by fire falling from above and linking them with lightning because when there is both lightning and thunder, it most often rains. Hence, the pejorative sememe 'lightning without thunder' is not old.

As to the origin and semantic development of Lith. *āmalas* '(zool.) such plant parasites, greenflies (*Aphis*)' Plv, Rk, Lnk, Č, Ktk, Plv; 'sweet viscose substance on the leaves produced by aphids (parasites), melliferous dew' Š: *Šiomet kelis kartus āmalas krito* (an identical motive is indicated in the description of Lith. *āmaras* [see LKŽ l.c. *āmaras* 1]), *todėl bitės daug medaus prinešė* 'This year aphids fell several times therefore bees gathered plenty of honey' Up, Vks, Kos 106; 'plant disease (rust) that supposedly appears after lightning without thunder' Rk, Ppl, Vb, Jnšk, Ds; 'lightning without thunder' Jnšk, Kp, Žml, Dkk; 'all kinds of gadflies, their buzzing, buzzing of insects in the air' Dglš, Viln (e-LKŽ) the following has to be accentuated: 1) all meanings of this word are pejorative connotations; 2) none of the sememes determines the name of the plant Lith. *āmalas* '(bot.) *Viscum album*' – therefore compilers of LKŽ singled out several lexical semantic families of homophones; 3) some meanings of this lexeme are extralinguistic, i.e. not related to the origin of the word but also to the semantic development: 3a) the meaning 'all kinds of gadflies, their buzzing, buzzing of insects in the air' resulted from partial phonetic homonymy – relating the initial element *a-* (!!!) and the ending of the stem *-las-*, which determined the formal (phonetic) identity with (Slavism) Lith. *ā-las-as* (← Pol. *halas*, Bel. *голас* [!!!] [see Būga III 387]) 'voice' JD 606, MŽ, Mrs,

K. Donel, JV 180, TŽ I 213; 'noise, shout, hubbub' Ar, Vdžg, Mžk, Pn, LTR (Grk); also cf. the phraseologism *ālasq palēsti* 'to sing in a loud voice, to start shouting' Gs (e-LKŽ); 3b) 'plant disease (rust) that appears supposedly after lightning without thunder' reflect contamination with Lith. *āmaras* '(zool.) such plant parasites, greenflies (*Aphis*)', which is metonymically used in the meaning of parasitic fungi instead of the name of an insect that has absolutely nothing in common with the first lexical semantic family of words Lith. *āmalas* '(bot.) *Viscum album*' except partitive homophony; 4) the appearance of the sememe 'lightning without thunder' is related to mythological motivation – this meaning is late and according to the denoted object is secondary due to a connotational link with a mythological significant of Lith. *āmalas* '*Viscum album*' of the first lexical semantic family of words – Perkūnas – because on the basis of ethnographic material of the neighbouring Slavs etiology of the mentioned plant is related namely to this mythologema (this is one of the cultural archetypical motives of IE tribes, cf. Greek [birth of Adonis] and northern Germans [Baldrus myth] etiological equivalents of this plant), cf. Russ. *омела* '*Viscum album*; a whirlwind's nest<sup>51</sup>, bird glue, oak tree berries' (Даль II 672) ↔ Russ. dial. *омельня* 'mistletoe' (also see Footnote 51); 5) the current morphophonetic structure of the word is secondary; it appeared due to contamination with the member of the first lexical semantic family of words Lith. *āmalas* '(bot.) *Viscum album*' due to already mentioned partitive homophony. This supposition can be reasoned by the etiology of the sememe 'all kinds of gadflies, their buzzing, buzzing of insects in the air' (see above), i.e. subst. Lith. *āmalas* '(zool.) such plant parasites, greenflies (*Aphis*)' ↔ subst. Lith. *āmaras* 'ditto' (with *-r-* > *-l-*)<sup>52</sup>, and the latter is a reflection of dispersive contamination (resp. motivated only by random correlation of sounds [partitive homophony]) with Lith. *māras* 'highly infectious epidemic disease (*pestis*)' (see further), cf. semantic motivation of subst. Lith. dial. *amariūkas* 'lungwort (*Pulmonaria*)' Všk, Grž whose etiology is presented by Aurelija Gritėnienė (2006: 76f.). On the basis of a faulty semasiological analysis of Lith. *āmalas* carried out by Daiva Vaitkevičienė (2001: 81f.)<sup>53</sup> this researcher specifies several doubtful ways of ethymologisation of the phytonym of the perennial grass genus of the borage (*Boraginaceae*) family: 1) the morphological semantic structure of the word is determined by the link with Lith. *āmaras* 'a great number', as though the

51 For more about relationship between a whirlwind and Thunder of the Slavs, the Prussian deity of storm see Крегждис 2010: 225. In the long run, due to the influence of promoters of Christianity this deity was identified with devil resp. the chthonical world and started to be imagined as one of reincarnations of Russ. *дьявол* (rather than *Велес* resp. *Волос* [!!!] of the pagan period; for more about it see Власова 2008: 86ff.). The same change in the mythological connotation of the referent was found in the Baltic lands when after Thunder had been identified with devil, secondary *de sexu* mythological characters appeared – witches (female devils), and links with them determined the appearance of the sememe 'broom, witch's broom'.

52 Wojciech Smoczyński (2007: 13) also sees this link though he does not specify it concretely because he (like earlier researchers into the origin of this word) finds the lexeme "pochdzenie nejasne" 'origin not clear'.

53 This researcher interprets LKŽ material in her own way, i.e. creates meanings that are not contained in this lexicographical work. When discussing the importance of *bees' feeding on honeydew*, Vaitkevičienė (2001: 81f.) for some reason treats it as mythological though she does not present any arguments to support her statement. Making use of the folklore material collected by Ambraziejus Pranciškus Kašarauskis (he himself signed Kossarzewski – for more see LE XI 144) from Lowland where phonetic contamination is reflected most clearly (*amalas* ↔ *amaras*), relates this fact to some especially sacral use for bees though Kašarauskis himself mentions directly only the 'food of bees', and any beekeeper would deny such considerations – honeydew honey is the poorest honey of the lowest nutritional and healing value. LKŽ does not give the sememe Lith. *āmalas* 'dew of honey' either but gives Lith. *āmaras* '(zool.) such plant parasites, greenflies (*Aphis*)' On, Mrs, Lp, J, J. Jabl; 'sweet sticky substance on the leaves produced by aphids (parasites), honeydew' MŽ, K: *Amaro ar medaus ramos* 'the dew of the aphid or of honey' S. Dauk, Brs, J; 'a great number' Vlkv, Skr, V. Krėv, Plv, Ds (e-LKŽ), which Vaitkevičienė calls nectar collected and produced from pollen. On the contrary, *Lietuvių enciklopedija* (Lithuanian Encyclopaedia [LE I 137]) states that amphis excrement contains 50% of sugar (dew of honey). Thus, Vaitkevičienė, as though discussing the semantic development of the lexeme Lith. *āmalas* considers in fact the notional spread of Lith. *āmaras* without understanding it herself and, unfortunately, makes mistakes that can be referred to as queer: 1) she states that honey is confectionery transformation of the aphid though referents of either the plant '*Viscum album*' or those of Lith. *āmaras* '(zool.) such plant parasites, greenflies (*Aphis*)' on the whole are in no way related to honey – this, of course is determined by objective and well-known reasons: this plant is neither covered with honeydew nor is it sweet, nor it is frequented by bees (its blossoms are small greenish and dioecious [cf. LE I 137]); 2) wishing to relate the medicinal function of the amphis to the object of honey by all means, she interprets Latvian superstitions in the wrong way: the following translation of *Slimam cilvēkam, kam ir liels karstums, nevar dot medu, jo medus karsē* is presented: 'A sick person who is running a high temperature must not be given honey because honey heats.' It is impossible to agree to this interpretation of the sentence because Latv. *mēdus* does not mean only 'honey – the product of bees' but also Latv.

plant blossoms especially abundantly though this is not the case (see the picture of the plant LTE IX 48); 2) the lexeme reflects the connotation of Lith. *āmalas* ‘sweet sticky substance on the leaves produced by aphids (parasites), honeydew’ because according to Gritėnienė (2006: 77) ‘the lungwort is especially highly melliferous’. The second hypothesis presented by Gritėnienė is not sufficiently argued due to a lack of the analysis of the hyperonymic identification of the lungwort resp. practical usage connotation (i.e. therapeutically) connotation. It should be underlined that this plant is melliferous only in nectar of its blossoms (БСЭ XV 586), rather than in sticky surface substance of the leaves called honeydew (!!!), cf. the polygenismic structure of the indicated Slavic genotypic equivalent Russ. *медуніца* – this phytonym (as well as its phonetic variants Russ. dial. *медуніка*, *медуніха*) is used to refer to not only *Pulmonaria mollissima* but also to grasses of quite different genera: *Trifolium pratense* L., *Trifolium repens* L., *Spiraea ulmaria* L., *Mentha agrestis* Soll., *Melilotus officinalis* L. and others (for more about it see СФПГ XVIII 73). Hence, Lith. dial. *amariūkas* cannot be related to Lith. *āmaras* as a semantic equivalent because ‘honeydew’ is not ‘nectar of blossoms’ but an associative of pejorative connotation (see further).

One can make a supposition that Lith. dial. *amariūkas* ‘lungwort (*Pulmonaria*)’ reflects practical usage connotation resp. the name of the disease against which preparations of this plant were used. It is known that *Pulmonaria officinalis* L. grass was used to treat not only lung diseases (⇒ Lith. ‘lungwort (*Pulmonaria*)’ (cf. LE XXIII 115) but also scrophulosis (Анненковъ 1878: 279) whose symptoms are identical to those of plague: the face and lymph nodes of the neck become swollen; the skin has all kinds of rashes; pus oozes from the fistula of the neck lymph nodes; the skin scars over (for more about it see LE XVII 271, XXVIII 96). Hence, it can be supposed that this phytonym is to be treated as an associative due to the pejorative dominant of Lith. *āmaras* and the derivational semantic partitive identity of Lith. *māras* 4 ‘highly infectious epidemic disease (*pestis*)’ SD 285, R, K, I, Kp, Tv and others; ‘epidemics of this disease’ J, Dkš, Žem, LTR (Jnš); ‘death, dying’ N, J, JD 368, 1081, SP II 168, Tl, Grg (e-LKŽ), cf. Lith. dial. *toks maras apipuolė medžius – lytaus nēr, lapai susukti* ‘the trees are suffering from such plague – there is no rain, the leaves are curled’ Kl (see e-LKŽ l.c. *māras*; also cf. the syntagma *augalų utėlės – amaras* ‘plant lice – aphid’ [LE I 401]).

A change in the hyperonym and hyponym, i.e. the identity of the name of the disease and a means to combat it is characteristic not only of Lith. dial. *amariūkas* but also of a semantic distribution of other phytonyms, cf. Lith. dial. *gėltžolė* 1 ‘(bot.) ašariukė, mėlynukė, miegažolė, neužmiršuoalė, rasutė (‘forget-me-not’) (*Myosotis*)’ K, Š (LKŽ III 227), *gėltžolė* 1 ‘ditto’ K (LKŽ III 231) ↔ Lith. *geltà* 4 ‘yellowness, turning yellow’ K, Alk, Klvrž, Gs, Lš, Ds, Skr; ‘yellow

jaundice’ SD 458, K, Ds, Tršk, BP I 112, J, Rod; ‘perennial herb of the *Serratula* genus (*Serratula*)’ P, Slk; ‘yellow paint’ Lš; ‘yellow threads’ Rdm, J (e-LKŽ); Lith. *landonės* LBŽ 227 (LKŽ VII 120), *landonės žolė* LBŽ 227 (i.e. Lith. *landonė* [= *landuonė*] ‘(bot.) nemiršėlė (‘forget-me-not’) (*Myosotis*)’ LBŽ [e-LKŽ]) ↔ Lith. *landonis* 3<sup>b</sup> K, LsB 394 ‘(med.) a boil at the tip of a finger (under the nail), whitlow, caries (*Panaritium*)’ R 231, MŽ 309, LTR; ‘(zool.) a white round intestine worm of a size of a pinworm, pinworm (*Enterobius vermicularis*)’ written lang. (e-LKŽ; also see Gritėnienė 2006: 101).

It has already been mentioned that both of these forms were explained by Fraenkel (LEW 9) as genetic alternants. Without correcting this especially big mistake Mažiulis (PKEŽ I 252) created new meanings of Pruss. *emelno* ‘mistletoe, greenfly’ E 646 though CGL *mispel* (resp. Germ. *Mispel*)<sup>54</sup> ‘amaras (mistletoe)’ does not determine the sememe ‘amaras (‘aphid’)’ i.e. ‘Blattlaus’ (!!!). Furthermore, very important formal linguistic drawbacks of this hypothesis are not taken into consideration because if the subst. Lith. *āmalas* and subst. Lith. *āmaras* were genetically related resp. derived from the single archetype, then Lith. *āmaras* would mean the plant ‘*Viscum album*’, but this is not the case. Lith. *amaras* ‘(bot.) common barberry (*Berberis vulgaris*)’ Mt, LBŽ (e-LKŽ) cannot be related to the mythological plant under discussion because it is determined by lexical metonymy when due to a semantic link with black rust of crops (*Pucciniaceae*), i.e. parasitic fungi causing rust diseases in herbaceous and woody plants (for more about it see LE XXVI 63f.), the name of the plant Lith. *raugerškis*, common barberry ‘*Berberis vulgaris*’ – ‘an intermediate host of black rust of the crops’ (!!!) (LTE IX 343) – was replaced with Lith. *āmaras* ‘such plant parasites, greenflies (*Aphis*)’ that had an identical semantic value. Lith. *raugerškis*, common barberry ‘*Berberis vulgaris*’ and Lith. *amaras* ‘ditto’ the practical usage connotational identity could have influenced this comparison of the plants, i.e. *Berberis vulgaris* was used to produce dye (Анненковъ 1878: 63), i.e. the colour connotation characteristic of both Lith. *āmaras* ‘greenflies, rūdas (*Aphis*)’ ↔ subst. Lith. *rūdyš* ‘brown metal oxidation substance; (biol.) a plant disease caused by different fungi whose brown spores spread in damaged places’ is to be determined (DLKŽ<sup>55</sup>).

## The Lexis Characteristic Exclusively of the Baltic Languages

Those names of phytonyms are attributed to the lexical layer characteristic of the Baltic languages only which derivationally and semantically are correlated with the equivalents of western and eastern Baltic languages only resp. do not determine morphological semantic parallels with other IE languages. The number of such lexemes totals 28:

*mėdalus* ‘mead (alcoholic beverage)’ and Latv. *miēstiņš* ‘mash resp. home-brewed beer; mead’ (for more about it see ME III 590f.; KIV I 747). Hence, Vaitkevičienė, disregarding the temporal factor and polysemy of the lexeme erroneously relates the meanings of ‘mead’ or ‘(strong) home-brewed beer’ to the sememe of ‘honey – the product of bees’ (during the late period honey might not have been put in the mentioned beverages). Hence, this Latvian superstition should be translated as follows: *Sergančiam ir labai karščiuojančiam žmogui nevalia duoti misos (resp. naminio alaus), mat ji kaitina* ‘A sick person who is running a fever must not be given mash (resp. home-brewed beer) because it heats.’

54 It is worth analysing the sememe ‘Mispel’ singled out in Elbing vocabulary (see Mažiulis 1981: 39) because Germ. *Mispel* means ‘dogwood – *Mespilus* L.’ rather than ‘aphis – *Viscum album*’, i.e. an entirely different plant from which, as from the aphis, ‘bird glue’ (!!!) was made (for more see Грошева 2009: 376).

Hence, the supposition can be made that Peter Holczwesch, who copied this especially significant Prussian lexicographical source, did not know the Prussian language at all (for more see LE V 439), in place of CGL *mistel* ‘*Viscum album*’ (Lex<sup>29</sup>1959: 142) he presented CGL *mispel* ‘dogwood – *Mespilus* L.’ (cf. Lex<sup>29</sup>1959: 141) (with-sp- ← CGL *wispel* ‘dogwood’ [Грошева 2009: 376]). Attention should be drawn to the fact that in preparing the second volume of *Prūsų kalbos paminklai* (Monuments of the Prussian Language) Mažiulis (1981: 39) did not specify the sememe ‘amaras (‘aphis’)’ (!!!). It was presented in the etymological dictionary of this language that was published later. This, most likely, was determined by Fraenkel’s casuistic description of Lith. *āmalas* (‘mistletoe’).

EXAMPLES OF THE BALTIC LANGUAGES

LATVIAN	LITHUANIAN	PRUSSIAN
1. <i>apenis, apeins, apeinis, apins, apīns, apinis, apīnis<sup>2</sup>, apīnis<sup>2</sup>, apīnis, apīnis, appīnis, appiņa, apiens, apienis, apvīnis, (pl.) apeni, apeņi, apēņi, apīņi<sup>(2)</sup>, apiņi, apeņi, ap(v)īņi, appiņi</i>	<i>apynys, apvynys, (pl.) ap(v)yniai</i>	
2. <i>atals, atala, atāls, atāls<sup>2</sup>, atāls<sup>2</sup>, atāla, otūls, attals, attāls</i>	<i>atolas, atolis</i>	<i>attolis ↔ *atālas</i>
3. <i>avieksne, (pl.) avietes, aviētes, aviētes, aviētes<sup>2</sup>, avietes<sup>2</sup>, avieses, avie(k)šas, avieši, avieši, avieši<sup>2</sup>, aviekšes, aviekši, avēkšas, avītes, aviečas, aviečas<sup>2</sup>, aviečes, avenes, aviēžas, avīši, avītes ir kt.</i>	<i>aviētė, avėtė, aviečià, (pl.) aviētės, aviēčios, aviečiai</i>	
4. <i>uōzuōls, uōzuols<sup>(2)</sup>, uōzuōls<sup>2</sup>, uōzuolis<sup>2</sup>, uōzals, uōzuls, uozuls, uozulus</i>	<i>qžuolas, áizuolas, áuzuolas, árzuolas, (pl.) qžuolai</i>	<i>ansonis ↔ *anzōn's</i>
5. <i>baluoda, baluōda, baluode, baluōdene, baluodene<sup>2</sup>, baluōdne, baluodne<sup>2</sup>, balañda, baludne, bala, balata, baluotne</i>	<i>bālándà, balañdē, balándra, balandrė, balandris</i>	
6. <i>brūkle, brūklene, brūklene, brūklīne<sup>2</sup>, brūklīne<sup>2</sup>, brūklīne<sup>2</sup>, brukline, brūklīne, brūklīne<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>brūknė, bruknià</i>	
7. <i>dadzis, dadzs, (pl.) dadži, dadzi</i>	<i>dagys, dāgis, dāgis</i>	<i>wobilis ↔ *vābil's</i>
8. <i>dābuols<sup>(2)</sup>, dābuls, dabūls, dābūls, ābuōls, ābuls</i>	<i>dóbilas, dóbelas</i>	
9. <i>dziņa, dzire, dzire</i>	<i>girià, gire</i>	<i>garian ↔ *gařan</i>
10.	<i>gluosna, gluosnė, gluosnis, gluosnys, gluosis, gluosnis, gluoksnys, glunsnis; bluosnis, bluoksnys, bluosnis</i>	<i>glossis ↔ *glōsis</i>
11. <i>kārklis, kārklis, kārklis</i>	<i>kařklas</i>	
12. <i>krūms, (?) krūma, krūms</i>	<i>krūmas</i>	
13. <i>kūls, kūla, kūla, kūla<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>kūlē, kūlē</i>	
14. <i>laiska</i>	<i>laiřkas, laiřkas, laiřka</i>	<i>laisken ↔ *lāiskan</i>
15. <i>laksts, (pl.) laksti, lakši, lakšņi</i>	<i>lākřtas, lākřtas</i>	
16. <i>lapa</i>	<i>lāpas</i>	
17. <i>mežs</i>	<i>mėdis, mėdžias, mėdė, medys</i>	<i>median ↔ *međan</i>
18. <i>mēlda<sup>2</sup>, melde, mēldi, mēldri, mēldri, mēldri<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>mėldas, mėlda, meldà, maĩdas, maldà, máudas, maĩdas</i>	
19. <i>miezis, mīezis<sup>2</sup>, mīezis, (pl.) mīeži, mīeži<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>miėžis, miėzis, miežys, (pl.) miežiai</i>	<i>moasis ↔ *māzis</i>
20. <i>niedrs, niēdra, niēdra, niedra, niēdre<sup>(2)</sup>, niedris, niēdra, niēdra, niēdre<sup>(2)</sup>, niēdre</i>	<i>nėndrė, nindrė, mėndrė, mindrė, lėndrė, ėndrė, jėndrė</i>	
21. <i>piene<sup>2</sup>, piēne, piene, pienis, (pl.) piēnes, pienes<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>piėnė</i>	
22. <i>pupa, (pl.) pupas</i>	<i>pupà, (pl.) pūpos</i>	<i>Top. Pupkaym, Pupekaymen, Pupayn</i>
23.	<i>skirpsta, skirpstus, skirpstė, skirpsta, skirpsta, skirptas</i>	<i>skerptus ↔ *skirptus</i>
24. <i>skābars, skabarda, skabarde, skābarde, skābards, skābardis, skābardis, skābardze, skābardzis, skābārzde<sup>2</sup>, skābārzde</i>	<i>skrōblas, skroblà, skrobl(i)us, skruoblas</i>	<i>stoberwis ↔ *skābervīs</i>
25. <i>sakns, sakne, sakņa, saknis, (pl.) saknes</i>	<i>řaknis, řaknė</i>	<i>sagnis ↔ *saknis</i>
26. <i>vārps<sup>2</sup>, vārpa, vārpis</i>	<i>vārpa, vārpis</i>	
27. <i>zievis</i>	<i>žievė, žiebė</i>	
28. <i>zāle</i>	<i>žolė</i>	<i>soalis ↔ *zālis</i>

Table 5. Phytonyms of the Baltic languages attributed to the layer of the lexis characteristic exclusively of the Baltic languages

Phytonyms characteristic exclusively of the Lithuanian (resp. Latvian, Prussian) language (-s) are not reviewed separately due to BKA specificity and the subject being considered (for more about them see Sabaliauskas 1990: 201ff.). The names of plants belonging to the group of loanwords (they are divided on the basis of their ethnic belonging) are most often of differential etiology (sometimes there are exceptions, e.g. Lith. *aguona* ('poppy') 'Papaver', dial. *māguonė / maguona*, Latv. *maguōne / maguona* 'poppy', Pruss. *moke* 'ditto' (↔ \**mākē*), Slav. \**makv* 'ditto', OHG *mago*, OE *magosāmo*

and others, however, the origin of all of them is unclear [see PKEŽ III 147; Kluge <sup>24</sup>2002: 627]) therefore they are mentioned fragmentally discussing separate phytonyms (for more about the loanwords of the Baltic languages from Finnish see Sabaliauskas 1990: 226f.; about the loanwords of the Lithuanian language from the Slavic languages see Sabaliauskas 1990: 237ff.; from the Germanic languages, Sabaliauskas 1990: 261f.; from the Latvian language, Sabaliauskas 1990: 271; from other [IE and not IE] languages, Sabaliauskas 1990: 278f.).



# Phonetic Transcription of Latvian Dialects

Edmundas Trumpa<sup>1</sup>

## Stress and syllable accents

The main principle of phonetic transcription is to write as it is heard (for more see Rudzīte 1964: 47). If phonetic transcription is not clear a morphologic written form is given in brackets, e.g., *gac* (-ds).

The stress in the Latvian language, which is usually on the first syllable is not marked. If the stress falls on another syllable, it is marked as a dot [·] before the stressed syllable at the level of a small letter, e.g. *nemaz*.

The accents are marked in long syllables (when there is a long vowel, diphthong or a combination of diphthongs).

The level (*stieptā*) accent is represented by the tilde (~), placed above the long vowel, and the bar marking the length of the vowel above the long vowel is omitted, e.g. *pūce*; in diphthongs the tilde is placed above the second component, e.g. *saūle*, *liēpa*, *puņpurs*.

The falling (*krītošā*) accent is represented by the grave symbol [˘] above the long vowel (the bar signalling a long vowel is omitted), e.g. *kāzas*, *mēle*; in diphthongs the grave symbol is placed above the first component, e.g. *māize*, *gāls*. If a long vowel with a falling accent is followed in the same syllable by a liquid or a nasal sound, the vowel has both the syllable accent and the vowel length marked above it, e.g. *dārzi*, *lēns*.

The grave symbol is also used to mark the acute (*grūstā*) accent, which is a variety of a falling accent before voiceless consonants; the accent is used in the Selonian subdialects, e.g. *mūksa*.

The broken (*lauztā*) accent is represented by an upward pointing wedge [^] above a long vowel (the symbol of length is omitted), e.g. *ābele*, *dēle*; in diphthongs it is usually placed above the second component, e.g. *meīta*, *varde*. When the second component of the diphthong is weak the broken accent is placed above the first component e.g. *tō<sup>u</sup>t* 'nation' in Livonian subdialects. Sometimes in Latgalian subdialects and in combinations of diphthongs the upward pointing wedge is placed above the first component, e.g. *dōrps* (-bs) Nirza, *ūob'ēls* 'apple' Pilda.

The rising (*kāpjošā*) accent is represented by an acute accent symbol [´] placed above a long vowel (the symbol of length is omitted), e.g. *ābele*, *dēle*; in diphthongs it is usually placed above the second component, e.g. *meīta*, *varde*. The accent is used in Selonian subdialects.

The falling-rising (*kāpjoši krītošās*) accent is represented by a downward facing parenthesis [∩], which is placed above a long vowel or the second component of a diphthong. The downward facing parenthesis is used to mark the falling-rising intonation of vowels of secondary length in dialects of Tāmnieki, e.g. *kāz*, *dāb* and to mark a modified falling accent before voiced consonants in the Selonian subdialects, e.g. *pīlnc*.

## Vowels

The vowels *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, *o*, *ō*, *u*, *ū* are used to mark the sounds of Standard Latvian.

The pronunciation of slender vowels is marked by a dot under the respective vowel (*e*, *ē*), a broader realisation is signalled by a horizontal or vertical bar under or after the vowel (*e*, *ē/ē*, *ē*). Open vowels *e*, *ē* are marked by a comma after the letter: *e*, *ē*.

A dot above the vowel signals a closer pronunciation of the vowel (*â*, *ā*, *ê*).

A non-syllabic vowel is marked by a semi-circle under the letter, e.g. *saus*, *sēj*.

The length of vowels is marked by the diacritic [ː] placed after a respective vowel, e.g. *so:ka*.

Sometimes long vowels have a bar above them, e.g. *lapā* (loc.).

A reduced vowel is a vowel in weak position or an element of a diphthong, a vowel of anaptyxis or epenthesis is marked by a small vowel in superscript, e.g. *māt<sup>e</sup>*, *v<sup>i</sup>enc*, *zī<sup>a</sup>ņi*.

If the quality of the reduced sound is not identified, it is marked by an apostrophe, e.g. *zir'ks*.

*â*, *ā* – Bilabialized *a*, *ā* mostly used in the subdialects of Livonian and High Latvian, e.g. *gābana*.

<sup>1</sup> The version is supplemented and edited by A. Stafecka; for the first version see ABLP 50–51.

- ä, ā – Fronted *a*, *ā*, its pronunciation is similar to the pronunciation of the broad *e*, *ē*, e.g. *nāsā*.
- ɛ, ē – Broad *e*, *ē*, e.g. *bērn*s.
- e, ē or ɛ, ē – Half-broad *e*, *ē*, e.g. *pēldēt* or *pēldēt*.
- e, ē – Usual slender *e*, *ē*, e.g. *dēle*.
- e, ē – More slender than *e*, *ē*; used in Selonian subdialects, e.g. *paņēm*.
- y, ū – Velar *i*, *ī*, used in the High Latvian dialect, particularly in the Latgallian subdialects, e.g. *cylvāks*.
- o, ō – A sound used in international words and loanwords of Standard Latvian; also used in some subdialects (particularly in High Latvian) and in some old words, e.g. *kopona*, *lopa*.
- ö, ō – Fronted *o*, *ō*; used mainly in Selonian subdialects.
- ü, ū – Fronted *u*, *ū*; used mainly in Selonian subdialects, e.g. *čūpiņa*, rarer in the Latgallian subdialects in Latgale, e.g. *šūnc*, *čūks* ‘bundle’.
- ə – Central tense mid vowel; used in subdialects of High Latvian, e.g. *lāts*.

## Diphthongs

- uo – Diphthong *uo*, e.g. *kūoks*, *sluōta*, *uōla*.
- üo – Diphthong with front *üo*, e.g. *čūoļš* is mostly used in the High Latvian dialect.
- āu, ou – Bilabialised *au*: *lāūks*, *loūks*, *āūnc*.

## Consonants

The letters *b*, *c*, *č*, *d*, *f*, *g*, *ġ*, *h*, *j*, *k*, *ķ*, *l*, *ļ*, *m*, *n*, *ņ*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *š*, *t*, *v*, *z* are used to mark the same consonants as in Standard Language.

Voiced affricates *dz*, *dž* are marked as *z*, *ž*.

The palatalised *r* is marked as *r̄*.

Velar *l* and *n* are marked as *l̄* and *ŋ*.

Palatalised vowels are marked by an acute symbol placed above smaller signs and on the larger signs' right side, e.g. *ř́*, *ń́*, *ǃ́*, *đ́*, *ť́*.

The length of consonants is usually marked by a bar above the letter, e.g. *lap̄*. If the consonants occur at the syllable junction, long consonants are marked by double letters, e.g. *akka*, *uppe*.

A very long consonant is marked by the symbol of length above a consonant and the colon after it e.g. *siř́*: ‘sita’.

## Other symbols

In dialectal texts, ordinary punctuation is used.

In comments, the following additional symbols are used:

> – turned into.

< – originated from.

: or // – a parallel form.

Explanations and additions to the text are given in square brackets e.g. *neviēna lazda* [nav] *nevienas lazdas*’.

The meaning of the word is given in single inverted commas, e.g. *dzelzene* ‘nātre’.

# Phonetic Transcription of Lithuanian Dialects

Asta Leskauskaitė, Rima Bakšienė

Sources of samples of dialects have been recorded at different periods; therefore, some phonetic features are represented differently.

## Transcription symbols

VOWELS. Vowels are transcribed using the following symbols: *a*, *e*, *i*, *u*, *o*, *é*. Their quality is marked by special signs:

ã – A labialized retracted open variant of the vowel *a*, e.g. *lãuk'in'u*, *rãudõno.s*.

α – A weak reduced variant of the vowel *a* (fronted and slightly closer), e.g. *taí*, *bĩrα*.

æ – An open front variant of *e*, e.g. *bãñdra*, *næpastĩps*.

ι – A slightly retracted variant of the front vowel *i*, e.g. *rũpuži*, *ranzi*.

vi – A very retracted variant of the front vowel *i*, e.g. *rviĩj.kc*.

ĩ – A non-syllabic *i*, e.g. *gañdruĩ*, *tvĩ*.

ε – A retracted variant of the vowel *e*, e.g. *žëbrai*.

ε – A very retracted variant of the vowel *e* after hard (velar) consonants, e.g. *kunod'êlε*, *d'ĩrg'êlεs*.

ε̄ – A tense front mid vowel, e.g. *turékit*, *acitové ræ*.

ε̇ – Not very tense, front mid vowel, e.g. *n'ε̇.rà*, *klaĩp'ε̇.do.s\**.

The notation is also used to mark a broader variant of the Lowlanders' short vowel *i* and a shortened *e*, e.g. *şõsepĩles*, *cĩrõlĩêlê*.

ε̇ ε̇ – A retracted variant of the mid vowel *ε̇* after hard (velar) consonants and in the word beginning, e.g. *rũpu.žë.s*, *ê'gl'o*.

o – Not very tense, a closer variant of *o*, e.g. *kõjo.s*. The notation is also used to mark a broader variant of the Lowlanders' vowel *u*, e.g. *cõršk*.

o – A slightly labialized, fairly open back mid vowel *o*, e.g. *a'ruo-dõ*, *bũ.võ*.

ĩ u – Vowels more open than *i*, *u*, e.g. *şãũ.kĩ*, *krũpe*.

u – A non-syllabic *u*, e.g. *stõu*.

<sup>a i u o</sup> – The superscripts mark a quantitative reduction of vowels and consonants and diphthongs, e.g. *sàk<sup>a</sup>*, *pêlĩk<sup>u</sup>*, *křũp's*.

· – A long vowel or a component of a diphthong, e.g. *padã ri*, *kũgĩ*. In some sentences, the length of the vowel is marked with a dash above the letter, e.g. *kãp\_pãşõtoşes*.

· – A half-long vowel or a component of a diphthong, e.g. *rãu-dõno.s*, *sa.żĩnĩ.ŋgĩ*.

CONSONANTS. Consonants have the notation of the corresponding sounds of Standard Lithuanian: *s*, *z*, *ş*, *ž*, *k*, *g*, *t*, *d*, *p*, *b*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, *j*, *ç*, *c*. Special marks are used in cases when qualitative changes occur and have to be shown.

The affricates *dž*, *dz* have double notation: *dž*, *dz* and *ʒ*, *ʒ*, e.g. *dž'õ.vĩ.ntu*, *m'æ̇.dz'i*, *ranzi*.

In some examples the hard (dark) velar consonant *l* is marked as *ł*, e.g. *varłèl'u*, *parłègdamas*.

The mark *w*, *β* signals a bilabial variant of the consonant *v*; it is used alongside with bilabial vowels, e.g. *wúogõs*, *jãβõ*.

*p t k ş s* – Voiced in some positions, preserving very tense articulation, e.g. *mĩr ş bũ-õ*.

*ŋ* – A velar variant of the consonant *n*, e.g. *duŋ'kçæuz*, *aŋ\_kũgõ*.

Palatal consonants have double notation: by a downward facing parenthesis above the letter (e.g. *kũgõ*, *õmžõ*) and an apostrophe after the letter (e.g. *ar'tipĩl'n'õ*, *g'ĩ'v'æ̇na*; *vĩşn'õms*, *bũlv'u*).

## Stress and syllable accents

The grave accent symbol ( ` ) is used to show the accentuation of a vowel in a short stressed syllable, e.g. *lãuk'in'u*, *kalv'ùs*.

The acute accent symbol ( ´ ) signals the acute accent of a long stressed syllable, e.g. *pĩlti*, *bũlvæs*.

The tilde ( ~ ) signals the circumflex accent, e.g. *mĩga*. When the accent is durative, i.e. when the voice pressure is equally distributed between both components of the diphthong of the syllable, two the tilde is used, e.g. *grãžẽĩ*. The above accent is characteristic of some western Highlanders around Kaunas, the southern part of western Highlanders around Šiauliai and some southern Lowlanders.

The upward pointing wedge symbol ( ^ ) signals a broken accent, a variety of the acute accent of Lowlanders, e.g. *pĩnĩngus*, *bõvãu*.



The  $\acute{\text{s}}$  symbol above the letter ( $\acute{\text{s}}$ ) signals the middle accent, e.g. *nú.gara, kí.š'í'*.

The symbol ( $\grave{\text{}}$ ) signals an abrupt accent, a variety of the circumflex accent, e.g. *avižú., jáunú.*. In some subdialects of Eastern Highlanders the abrupt accent falls on the last circumflex syllable.

In cases when the accent is indefinable, the general syllable stress is represented by the following symbol  $'$ , e.g. *maltu'va'í, ap'rukə.*

### *Other notations*

- | – A pause signalling a syntagm border, e.g. *mur s\_tē tis tai\_ vīsku s\_é davu | i\_rug'ù[s] s\_é davu | i\_kvieč'ùs, i\_miēž'u. | dá i\_linĩ.*
- ˘ – A junction between a clitic and an orthotonic word, e.g. *i\_ji\_˘pĩti, tai\_tĩ.*
- [ ], () – A sound which is now extinct, e.g. *bu[s]\_sausà, i(r) rù-žavo.s.*

COMMENTARIES  
AND MAPS

*Baltų kalbų atlasas*  
*Leksika 1: flora*

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## *Names of the Nettle*





# Names of the Nettle

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The map is based on Map No. 94 of LKA I and comments, answers to Question No. 63 of Antanas Salys' *Apklausas 1* (Questionnaire 1), the investigation carried out by Aurelija Gritėnienė (2006), answers to Question No. 401 of the Programme for Data Collection for LVDA, as well as the Collection of the names of plants compiled by Inese Ēdelmane and Ārija Ozola (*Latviešu valodas augu nosaukumi*) (Ēdelmane, Ozola 2003).

The perennial stinging nettle (*Urtica dioica*) and the annual nettle (*Urtica urens*) grow in Lithuania and Latvia. Based on the dialectal material the supposition can be made that the white nettle is often called the white deadnettle (*Lamium album*) (Latv. *baltā panātre*) in the Latvian language.

The map represents the generalised isolexes of the word for the nettle (*Urtica*).

Common words for this plant in the Lithuanian and Latvian languages have the root *notr-* / *nātr-*.

The word *nātre* is common in all dialects in the Latvian language. This is a word of Standard Latvian. Many phonetic and morphological variants of this word are used in the dialects of the Latvian language.

In the subdialects of the central dialect *nātre* or *nātr<sup>e</sup>* are usually used, e.g.: *tava dzēdra valuōdiņa kā nātrīte dzēldināja* 'your bitter words stung like a nettle flower' Medze (LVDA); *iekš nātrēm vajag sutenātiēs, kad ir rematisms* 'it is necessary to steam in nettles when you suffer from rheumatism' Nītaure (LVDA); *nātres sažēla tikpat kā zālkītis* 'nettles stung like a grass snake' Pampāli (LVDA).

Apocoped forms are common in the area of Livian dialects. The variant *nātr* is used in Livian Vidzeme subdialects (Aloja, Limbaži, Rozēni, Stiene, Umurga, Vitrupe and others), several other variants have been recorded in Livian Kurzeme subdialects (Ance, Dundaga, Piltene, Pūre, Spare, Užava and others): *nātaŕ*, *nāteŕ* (Dundaga), *nāter* (Strazde, Užava), *nātiŕ* (Užava), *nātur* (Zūras), e.g.: *nātaŕs dzilaņ* 'nettles sting' Dundaga (LVDA); *svētas nātr̄s stiprak kuōž ka tās liēlas* 'holy 'bitter' nettles sting more painfully than those large ones' Geri (LVDA); *liēles nātr̄s un sīkes nātr̄s* 'large nettles and bitter nettles' Pope (LVDA); *es i pērs kājs a nātrēm* 'I beat my legs with nettles' Rozēni

(LVDA); *nātur. ta ka nātrēs eskrēji* 'nettle; fell into it like into nettles' Zūras (LVDA).

The following phonetic variants are used in the High Latvian dialect: *nó<sup>a</sup>tre*, *nótre*, *nuótrē* (mainly in Selian subdialects), *nuótrā* (mostly in central and eastern Latgalian subdialects), *nuótrē* (in north western Latgalian subdialects), e. g.: *nuótriš aūg žēdiņa molā* 'nettles grow by the fence' Bērzpils (LVDA); *nuótres ir divejuōdas – vinas ir dzēlzs nuótres, utras – porastuōs* 'there are two kinds of nettles – some are iron<sup>1</sup> nettles, others are ordinary' Pededze (LVDA); *nuótriš ir uōrys-kūos i prostuōs* 'nettles are "bitter" wild and ordinary' Tilža (LVDA); *ka āi nuótriēm izaperās pīrtiē, to dak kuō guniē* 'if you beat yourself with nettles in a bath house you burn like in a fire' Viļaka (LVDA).

The form *nātra* with the *ā* stem is used in all dialects. It is common in compact areas of central Zemgalian subdialects (around Bauska, Eleja, Iecava, Naudīte, Sesava, Strutele, Vecsvirlauka, Vilce), central subdialects of Vidzeme (around Ērgeme, Krimulda, Lielvārde, Smiltene, Ranka, Rencēni), it has also been recorded in Livonian subdialects of Vidzeme (around Aloja, Limbaži, Salaca, Svēciems, Vainiži) and in Latgalian subdialects of High Latvian around Alūksne (Alsviķi, Anna, Beļava, Ilzene, Jaunlaicene, Jaunroze, Kalncempji, Litene, Mālupe and others). The form with the *ā* stem is found in some places in Kurzeme (Aizupe, Dundaga, Dunalka, Īvande, Kalēti, Laidze, Pērkuone, Piltene, Saka, Snēpele, Stende, Ulmale, Užava). It has also been recorded in some Latgalian subdialects (Auleja, Ezernieki, Kārsava, Kaunata, Krāslava, Mērdzene, Nirza, Rēzna and others). For example: *lielās nātras sauc pā dzēlžu nātrām* 'the large nettles are called iron nettles' Brukna (LVDA); *kuŕ mēitas bij mājās, tuŕ puķes ziēdeja, kuŕ pušī – tuŕ nātras* 'where there were girls in the house flowers bloomed there, where there were fellows there were nettles there' Iecava (LVDA); *ikrita nuótrās* 'fall into the nettles' Jaunlaicene (LVDA); *viņam mēl aš ka nātr* 'his tongue stings like nettles' Limbaži (LVDA); *pušī ā nuótrām sadžēla maitas* 'lads stung young girls with nettles' Mālupe (LVDA); *tās liēlās i svētās nātr<sup>a</sup>s, tām nevār pīduŕtiēs* 'those large ones are holy nettles, they mustn't be touched' Pabaži (LVDA); *sēnci vārš<sup>i</sup> nātr<sup>a</sup> zup<sup>u</sup>* 'old people used to make nettle soup' Valka (LVDA); *nuótrys dyžan osys* 'nettles are very painful' Zvirgzdene (LVDA).

1 It is not clear from the example which kind of nettles is referred to here.

The masc. form *nātrs* of the *o* stem has been recorded in Livonian subdialects of Vidzeme and Kurzeme (Svētciems, Tūja, Ugāle, Upesgrīva, Usma, Zūras), e.g.: *viš māl̄s a nātrim piļ̄* ‘all edges are full of nettles’ Ugāle (LVDA); *nātri tok i trīs zoft, dzelznātri, liēļē nātri un balteļē nātri, kas nekuož; garaļs nātrs duōd guōvim pavasari, ta duō pulk piēn un ir biēs (-zs) kreīms* ‘there are three kinds of nettles: iron ‘bitter’ nettles, large nettles and white dead nettles, which do not sting; large nettles are given to cows in spring, then they give more milk and sour cream is thicker’ Svētciems (LVDA).

The masc. form of the *io* stem *nātris* has been recorded in the south of Kurzeme (Apriķi).

Variants with palatalised *ṅ* – *ṅātre* and *ṅātra* form a wide area in the Selonian subdialects of Vidzeme (around Madona, Pļaviņas, Krustpils), Selonian subdialects of Zemgale (around Viesīte, Aknīste, Ilūkste), as well as in the southern and south-eastern parts of Latgale (around Aglona, Višķi, Kalupe, Likсна). The form with the *a* stem *ṅātra* is more common.

In the Selonian subdialects of Zemgale *ṅātr̄<sup>a</sup>*, *ṅuōtr̄e* are sometimes found, *ṅātr̄e*, *ṅōtr̄e* and others have been recorded in the Selonian subdialects of Vidzeme, *ṅuotre*, *ṅ<sup>o</sup>ātra*, *ṅuōtra* – in Latgalian subdialects of Vidzeme, and *ṅuōtra*, *ṅuōtr̄ā*, *ṅuōtr̄e* are found in Latgalian subdialects. For example, the form of the *ē* stem *ṅātre*: *ār ṅuōtr̄is trāukus dyžān lab̄i mozguōf̄* ‘nettles are good for washing up’ Asūne (LVDA); *ṅuōtr̄es aūg kār̄tupūs* ‘potatoes grow in nettles’ Bebrene (LVDA); *ṅōtr̄es gālda* ‘nettles sting’ Birži (LVDA); *v̄y:š pogol̄ms o ṅātr̄ēm àisáučs* ‘the entire yard is overgrown with nettles’ Bebrī (LVDA); *gēr zedeņiem ṅātr̄u lār̄ums* ‘there is plenty of nettles along the fence’ Mārciena (LVDA); *ṅōtr̄ēm sma:gi st̄y:pr̄ā ti škiedr̄ā* ‘nettle fibre is very strong’ Mētriena (LVDA); *cyti ṅuōtr̄is vařd* ‘others boil nettles’ Višķi (LVDA); *skó:túos, kó:kēni p̄ierodušies ṅātr̄ēs* ‘the cat had kittens in the nettles’ Vējāva (LVDA).

Examples of dialects with the form of the *ā* stem *ṅātra*: *ṅātr̄<sup>a</sup>*, *tā kuōž, tēic, ka ṅātr̄ai ā:s̄i zūob̄i* ‘the nettle, it stings, they say that nettles have sharp teeth’ Daudzese; *vačī ṅuōtr̄ys jam da p̄ierf̄ai* ‘old people take nettles to the bath house’ Naujene; *ṅuōtr̄as sadziēla r̄uokas* ‘nettles stung my hands’ Stāmeriena (LVDA); *ira lielās ṅ<sup>o</sup>ātras, zilās, bōltās ṅ<sup>o</sup>ātras* ‘there are large nettles, blue “bitter”, white-blossomed nettles’ Sinoļe (LVDA); *ṅātr̄as visās sātmalās* ‘there are nettles along all fences’ Vārnavā.

EH word *ṅātra* has been recorded in the south-western part of Kurzeme (Bārta, Dunika).

The variant *nātre* has been recorded in Kurzeme subdialects: *nātrei*; *viš iēskrē nātrenās* ‘he fell into nettles’ Jūrkalne (LVDA) and *nā:trēi* Vandzene. This word has been recorded in Strazde (Ēdelmane, Ozola 2003: 238).

Forms with both *ē* stem and *ā* stem are recorded in old Latvian writings.

The word *nātre* is presented in the dictionaries of the 17th–19th century: Neffel / *Nahtre* Lettus 1638: 132; *Nahtre*, ein Neffel, brenneffel. *Nahtres dfeļl*, die Neffel brennen ‘nettles sting’ Langius 1685: 176; *Nahtra pawašsar̄i atdsehlusi, tudaļ dseļl* ‘the nettle, when it comes into leaf in spring, it stings’ Fürecker 1685 I 57; *gann brihscham labbas Šahles eelassahs ir nahtres* ‘sometimes one gathers good herbs, sometimes nettles’ Fürecker 1685 I 132; *Nahtre: dselsa = Nahtre*. Kleine Nessel. *Nahtru kruhms*. Nesselstrauch ‘a shrub of nettles’ Depkin 1704

II 211; *nahtres tahs*, Neßeln, *nahtres dzeļl* die Nesseln brennen ‘nettles sting’; *nahtre pafchâ pavasarâ atfehłusi, dfeļl* Vrit mature quod vult vrtica manere ‘the nettle, when it comes into leaf early in spring, stings’ Lange 1773: 202; Neffel, *nahtres. Rokas pee nahtrehm fadfelt*. Seine Hände an Neßeln verbrennen ‘to have one’s hands stung by nettles’; Brenneffel, *fiħkas jeb fwehtas nahtres* ‘bitter, or holy nettles’ Stender 1789 I 434; *Nesseln, nahtre, nahtres dfeļl*, die Nesseln brennen ‘nettles sting’, *fwehtas nahtres* Brenneffel ‘holy<sup>2</sup> nettles’ Stender 1789 II 174; Neffel, *nahtra, nahtre. Nahtres feļ* oder *dfeļ* ‘nettles sting’; *fwehtahs nahtres* die Brenneffel ‘holy nettles’ Ulmann 1880: 541; *nahtra, -as, nahtre, -es*, die Neffel. *Swehtas un fiħkas nahtres* ‘holy and bitter nettles’, die Brenneffel; *Nahtres köfch, dfeļ*, Stechen ‘nettles bite, sting’ Ulmann 1872: 167.

The word *nātre* (*-a*) has been recorded in other sources too: *Vnd redfi / turr by Nahtres ween wirfsu / vnd stahweya pills dadfcho / vnd taß Muhris by eekrittifß* ‘and you see – there were only nettles above and the castle stood in the thistles, and the brick wall had fallen down’ Mancelius 1637 Sal 81; *bett ja tu to nhe kohpsi pareife / tad aux Nahtreß / Dadfchi / Wirrfes / und zitta nhelabba Sahle* ‘and if you do not take good care nettles, squelches and other weeds will grow’ Mancelius 1654 LP2 402 {382}; *und eeraugha schinny jeb zitta Dohbeh starrp Kahpoftem / Lohkeem / und starrp zittu Deewa Dahwanu / kahdu Nahtru / jeb zittu nicknu Sahl?* ‘and one sees some nettle or another weed in this or another bed among the cabbages, leaves [of onions or garlic] and other gifts of God?’ Mancelius 1654 LP2 166.

The variant with the palatalised root consonant *ṅ-* can also be found in some sources: masc. form *ṅātri* Nessel, (*ṅahtri*, Obl.) Nessel Stender 1789 II 174; Pokrzywa. Virtica. *Niotras* Kurmin 1858: 152.

Several sources also present the word combination *baltā nātre* (*-a*) ‘white-blossomed dead nettle’: *baltas nahtras* taube Neßeln Lange 1773: 101; *baltas nahtres* taube Nessel Stender 1789 II 174 and others.

In Lithuania the words with the root *notr-* are used in a smaller part of the area of the Lithuanian language. They are common in two separate areas – on the easternmost border of Lithuania and in Lowland.

The eastern area of the Lithuanian dialectal *notr-* use directly adjoins the Latv. *ṅātre* / *ṅātra* area.

The word *nōtrė* with its variants *notrė*, *notrīs*, *nóterė*, *noterė*, *nótarė*, which is an equivalent of Latv. *nātre*, is used in the subdialect of eastern Highlanders in Vilnius district, in the eastern part of Utena district and in some Lithuanian islands in Belarus. E.g.: *prikapóju na.fřú. kuřkōkam | api.beřu kuōm | priřjæ i\_vá.ikščæ.je gú.řklus ištiřpi*. ‘I cut nettles for young turkeys, sprinkle them with something – they devour it and walk with their crops stretched KIŽ 191; *patvory priaugo daug notrių* ‘many nettles have grown by the fence’ Ignalina (e-LKŽ); *notrės dalgos rankas* ‘nettles sting hands’ Apsas (e-LKŽ); *apsidilgiau notrė* ‘I had my hand stung by nettles’ Gervėčiai (e-LKŽ); *verdam notrės ir valgom* ‘we cook nettles and eat’ Dieveniškės (e-LKŽ).

Cases of the use of the plural form of *nōtrės* only (Vigutėnai, Kirdeikiai, Motiejūnai, Antaliedė, Medeikiai, Mielagėnai, Arnionys), *nōtrys* (Kirdeikiai) are found in some subdialects.

The word *notrà*, which is an equivalent of Latv. *nātra* and which denotes the annual nettle (*Urtica urens*) (e-LKŽ), has been recorded in some places in Eastern Lithuania. E.g.: *iřtu.sau | iřrā.unu nōtrās | pi.lna.s á.žæ.s* ‘I pull up the nettles – the vegetable beds are full of

2 It is not clear what kind of nettles is mentioned in this and further examples.

them' Klž 191; *notrų prikapoju, rūgščiu pienu užpilu, tuom žasiukus ir lesinu* 'I chop up nettles, pour sour milk over them, and give them to the ducklings' Imbradas (e-LKŽ); *ir mūs patvory pilna notrų* 'there are plenty of nettles along our fence' Švedriškė (e-LKŽ); *niekam netinka notra: nei gyvuliai ėda, nei paukščiai lesa* 'the nettle is goof for nothing: neither animals nor birds eat it' Daugailiai (e-LKŽ).

About other words for this kind of the nettle in Lithuanian dialects see Gritėnienė 2006: 43f., 173.

Adalbert Bezzenberger (1877: 239 [footnote 2]) indicates the variant *noterė* from the translation of the Bible by Jonas Bretkūnas (1536–1602): *Noteres ifchpefchdawa pakrumeis* 'nettles were pulled out under the bushes' BB Job 30,4. The manuscript dictionary of Lithuania Minor of the end of the 17th century *Clavis Germanico-Lithvana* mentions it first along other words for the nettle: Neßel. *Notere, ês*. F. Dilgine, es F. Dilgele, ês, F. C II 328. By the way, the earlier edition of *Lexicon Lithuanicum* contained *dilgėlė* in a respective place (see p. 402). The word *noterė* was recorded in the dictionaries by Pilypas Ruigys and Kristijonas G. Milkus published later.

The above-mentioned words of the eastern Balts are of the same origin as Pruss. *noatis* 'nettle' E 291 and Ukr. *натъ*, Pol. *nać*, Sloven. *nát* 'leaves, shoots, runners of a plant coming from earth (e.g. potato haulm)' (Trautmann 1923: 194; ME II 702f.; LEW 508f.; Smoczyński 2007: 428).

The formation of the latter Prussian and Slavonic words has been the subject of discussion thus far. This might be the derivative with the suffix *\*-ti-* from IE dial. verb *\*(s)nē-* / *(s)nā-* 'to spin, sew, tie, turn' (Persson 1912: 813, 815; PKEŽ I 299f., III 193; Smoczyński 2007: 428), cf. Latv. *snāt* 'to twist, spin', OInd. *snāyati* 'winds round, dresses', OIr. *snūd* 'turns, ties, tortures'; Gk. *véω* 'I spin', Lat. *neō* 'I spin; weave', OHG *nāu* 'I sew', etc. (IEW 973; ИЯ 704).

It is very likely that the derivative *\*nāti-* at first meant 'spinning' and later on becoming more concrete (cf. Latv. *nātns* 'linen') started to denote the nettle as one of the old spinning plants, cf. the Lithuanian word of a similar formation *nýtis*, Latv. *nīts*, Slav. *\*nitъ* 'harness thread' (PKEŽ I 299).

The suffix *\*-ti-* together with *\*-tu-* once was the main means of the formation of words denoting action in IE parent language (cf. Benveniste 1946) and in the Baltic languages for some, but later it began to disappear giving up their place to the inflexions *\*-o-*, *\*-ā-*. Somewhat later, the suffix *-imas* / *-ymas* began to be used in the Lithuanian language, the suffix *-šana* in the Latvian language (for more about this process see Ambrazas 1998).

The origin of Lith. *notrė* / Latv. *nātre* is not quite clear. Many investigators (especially having in mind Lith. *noterė*) try to reconstruct the derivative of the eastern Balts with the *r* stem *\*nāter* and to see the suffix *\*-ter-* there (cf. Specht 1935: 235; Skardžius I 306; LEW 508; Smoczyński 2007: 428).

However, the ancient suffix *\*-ter-* / *-tel-* in nomen agentis most probably disappeared for good as far back as the period of Proto-Balts (only its apophonic variant *\*-tlo-* used to form the words for tools have survived, cf. Lith. *árklas*, see Ambrazas 1993: 171ff.). It was replaced with the suffixes *\*tā-jo-*, *\*ē-jo-* derived from the adjectival affix *\*(i)jo-*, cf. OInd. *dātar*, *dātár*, Av. *dātar*, Gk. *δῶτωρ*, *δωτήρ*, OSlav. *dateľ* 'giver' and Lith. *davėjas* and *duotojas* 'giver' used in old writings (Ambrazas 1989, 1993: 112f., 2006: 69f., 2008b: 116f.).

Therefore Vytautas Mažiulis' idea (PKEŽ III 193f.) that the derivative *\*nāti-* was extended with the help of the suffix *\*-er-* in the

languages of eastern Balts seems to be more substantiated. The Baltic languages contain more nominal derivatives with the suffixes derived from *\*-ro-* cf. Lith. *žābras* 'switch, stick', *žābaras* 'switch, pole, shrub; gravel, broken stone': *žābas*, *koprė* 'hill': *kopà* and others (Ambrazas 2000: 178f.). Wolfgang P. Schmid (1993: 430) compared the Lithuanian word *noterė* with German *Nessel* 'nettle' from the point of view of formation.

The word *notrės* varies in the dialect of Lowlanders due to secondary suffixation (with different adjectival suffixes).

The word *nōtrėlė*, *notrėlė* is used in the southern area of Lowlanders, mainly in the subdialect of Southern Lowlanders in Varniai district, and in the neighbouring subdialects in Raseiniai, Kretinga districts. E.g.: *nūotrieliē kōnt skāūdē* 'nettles sting painfully' Dūnž 219; *ėškapūok nūotriēles ėš pātuōirūn* 'cut out nettles from the under the fences' Dūnž 219; *prīžēlē vėšōr nūotriēlūn* 'there are nettles everywhere' Dūnž 219; *pilni patvoriai notrieliū prižēlē* 'there are plenty of nettles along the fences' Tverai (e-LKŽ); *nōtrėlės taip pat skaudžiai kanda kaip i blusos* 'nettles bite as painfully as fleas' Kvedarna (e-LKŽ).

The variant *notrėlė*, *notrelė* has been recorded in different places of the area of Lowlanders and in some dialects of western Highlanders in Kaunas.

The word *notrėlė* was mentioned in the manuscript dictionary of Dionizas Poška (1765–1830), in the manuscript *Litvanica* 91a by Ambraziejus Pranciškus Kašarauskis (1821–1882) (Būga II 692).

*Notrėlė* with the derivational suffix *-ėlė* (that originated from *\*-lo-*) belongs to the same type of formation as *kirmėlė* 'worm': *kirmė*, *musėlė*: *mùsė* 'a fly', *skru(z)dėlė*: *skrù(z)dė* 'ant', *utėlė* 'louse': *ùtė* (LKA III 33, 135f., Map No. 24, 120, 121; Ambrazas 2000: 176).

The variant *notrelė* appeared due to the influence of the diminutives with *-elis* (*-ė*) (about the origin of this suffix see p. 425).

The word *notruolė* has been recorded in Petkaičiai. The words that have this peculiarity with the derivational suffix *\*-ō-liō-* (used mainly in the western part of Lithuania) can be an innovation common to the Lithuanian and Prussian languages (cf. the Lithuanian noun *Aukštuoliai* and Pruss. *Auctol-iten*) (Ambrazas 2000: 172ff., 2006: 71 and lit.).

A derivative *nōtrynė* from the suffix *-ynė* and its variants *nótrynė*, *notrỹnė* are used in the western part of Lowlanders – in the subdialects of western Lowlanders and northern Lowlanders in Kretinga, as well as in the subdialects of Telšiai and Varniai situated in the vicinity. E.g.: *šfōb<sup>a</sup> rėk vėrt<sup>ė</sup> ėš nūotriñ<sup>s</sup>* 'soup must be made from nettles' MožK; *nūotriñ<sup>s</sup> tuos ėr kùok<sup>s</sup> pašōtos<sup>s</sup>, kōnd dēdlė* 'those nettles are really mad, they sting bitterly' MožK; *nūotriñ<sup>u</sup> ė, gālėm ėšvėrt<sup>ė</sup>* 'there are nettles, we can boil them' MožK; *rėk trīnk<sup>tė</sup> sō nūotriñ<sup>ėms</sup> gālv<sup>s</sup>* 'the hair must be washed with nettles' MožK; *o tų nōtrynių daugumas: visas kojas ir rankas nudegiau* 'there are plenty of nettles: I had my feet and arms stung' Salantai (e-LKŽ); *į daržą nōtrynės auga* 'nettles grow in the kitchen garden' Priekulė (e-LKŽ); *jei notrynės varva šiltą rudens dieną, sėk rugius* 'if nettles are covered with dew on a warm autumn day, sow rye' Skaudvilė (e-LKŽ); *perkūnija dar negrumėjo, ir nōtrynės nedega* 'there has not been thunder yet and nettles do not sting' Gargždai (e-LKŽ).

The words *nōtryna*, *nótryna*, *notrynà* are also used there, e.g.: *anos darželė[je] nėko kito nėra, tik vienos notrynos* 'she has nothing else in her flower garden, only nettles' Kretinga (e-LKŽ); *nōtrynose kojas nusitvilčiau* 'I had my feet stung in the nettles' Gadūnavas (e-LKŽ); *daržai nōtrynoms apaugo, sunku ir išravėti* 'kitchen gardens became overgrown with nettles, it is difficult to weed' Rietavas (e-LKŽ).



The variant *nātrīne* has been recorded in Lejaskurzeme (Dunika): *nātrīnes vārijuši* ‘having boiled nettles’ is presented in EH from Rucava. Most probably this word has been borrowed from the dialects of Lowlanders of the Lithuanian language.

*Notrynė* is found in the writings by Jurgis Ambraziejus Pabrėža, Simonas Daukantas (1793–1864), e.g.: *Notrynės aug nesėtos, o kviečiai ir pasėti neaug* ‘nettles grow without being sown, and wheat does not grow even when sown’ (e-LKŽ), it was used in East Prussia too (Būga II 692).

At first adjectives were formed with the help of the derivational suffix *\*-ī-nō-* (cf. *mėlynas* ‘blue’, see p. 419). However, the majority of them became substantivised in the Baltic languages. Collective words with *-ynas*, *-ynė* are common in the Lithuanian language (Ambrazas 2000: 83ff.). Thus, the supposition can be made that all derivatives under discussion are of collective origin. For example, *notrynė* in Rokiškis, *Dusetos* denote ‘place overgrown with nettles’ (e-LKŽ).

Attention should be drawn to the fact that it is not the suffix *\*-ī-nō-* but its apophonic variants *\*-ei-nō-*, *\*-ōi-nō-* that are used in the Latvian language to form words of collective nature, cf. Lith. *eglynas* and Latv. *egliene*, *egliens*, *eglainis* (Ambrazas 2006: 67f. and lit.).

The word *nóterina* has been recorded in the environs of Klaipėda: *Muno vištytis, kurs jau toks didis buvo, įbėgo į nóterinas ir pražuvo* ‘my chicken, which was so big already, ran into nettles and disappeared’ (e-LKŽ); in Alsėdžiai the word *notrinis* is simply substantivised adjectives with the suffixes *-inas* (*-a*), *-inis* (*-ė*) (about their interrelation see Ambrazas 2005), cf. *notrinis* (*-ė*) ‘nettle’ Tverečius, Kaltanėnai (e-LKŽ).

In the northern part of Lowlanders that covers almost the whole of the subdialect of northern Lowlanders in Telšiai, the remake *nōtnėrė* with its variants *nótnėrė*, *notnėrė*; *nōtnėrė*, *notnėrė* is common. E.g.: *su nuotnieŕš šlūrta par nūgara čekšt | čekšt* ‘he champed [the paralysed] across the back with a bunch of nettles’ DūnŽ 219; *puo nuotnieres iškūok lė.za* ‘look for the [hen’s] nest in the nettles’ DūnŽ 219; *bāisė kōndōnŕs ĩr tuos nūōfnĕrŕs* ‘those nettles sting really badly’ MoŽK; *visi patvoriai priaugę nōtnėrių* ‘nettles grow along all fences’ Kruopiai (e-LKŽ); *mesk perekšlę į nōtnėres, páreis noras kvaksėti* ‘drop a sitting hen into the nettles and the wish to cluck will disappear’ Vieksniai (e-LKŽ); *nótnėrės, kur didesnės, mažiau dilgina, kaip tos daržo dilgynikės* ‘nettles that are bigger sting less than those small ones that grow in the kitchen garden’ Tryškiai (e-LKŽ); *nebrisk į nōtnėres* ‘do not wade into the nettles’ Gadūnavas (e-LKŽ); *nenudek rankas nu notnėrių* ‘do not have your hands stung with nettles’ Akmenė (e-LKŽ).

The word was recorded for the first time in the manuscript of the Comprehensive Polish-Lithuanian Dictionary of Simonas Daukantas in the 19th century: *pokrzywa, dilgine, dilgie* or *notnerie* DaDLL II 287.

The word under discussion could appear due to the link of *notrės* with the verb *nėrti* ‘to knit’ (about its origin see p. 401) because it shows the old purpose of the nettle – its use for weaving and knitting. However, a more persuasive explanation would be to derive it from Lith. dial. *\*not-ri(e)-nė* due to the syllable change that took place.

Later words for this plant made in the Lithuanian and Latvian languages are of different semantics – they are related to stinging with nettles.

The Lithuanian word *dilgė* is quite old. It has been recorded in the eastern part of the western Highlanders of Kaunas around the Nemunas River; it is used by eastern Highlanders in Utena, Kupiškis and Anykščiai. E.g.: *tu. dí.l'g'u. tai apė. namùs priviñsta | kap''l'uoji kap'-l'uoji* ‘those nettles grow in large numbers around the house, [though]

one hoes and hoes’ KpŽ I 414; *tu. dí.l'g'u. pavó.seri. i[š]sivá.rdu | do. kó.l' mažú.ta.s* ‘I boil those nettles in spring while they are small’ KpŽ I 414; *dí.l'gæs pařšai labáĭ 'rijæ* ‘pigs gulp nettles gladly’ KpŽ 414; *vaiķas inl'iñdo d'íl'g'ēsna ir apk'æp'ino kójas* ‘a child got into the nettles and got his feet stung’ ZtŽ 149; *tokioj žemėj tik dilgės ir usnys auga* ‘only nettles and thistles grow in this soil’ Utena (e-LKŽ).

Accentuation variants *dilgė* (Gaižūnai, Aleksandravėlė, Stelmužė, Imbradas, Skudutiškis, Pastovėlis) and *dilgė* (Kamajėliai) are recorded in separate subdialects.

The dictionary of Antanas Juška of the 19th century and folklore collections also record the word *dilga*.

The words *dilgė*, *dilga* under discussion are verbal derivatives of inflexions, cf. *dilgti* ‘to ache because of nettle stinging; to itch’, *dilgėti* ‘to itch; to care, want’, *dilgyti*, *dilginti* ‘to cause itching, irritate, tease’, *nudėlgti* ‘to begin to ache’, *dálgyti* ‘to sting with nettles’.

On the basis of the notional distribution of Lith. *dalgis*, Pruss. *doalgis* ‘scythe’ E 546 earlier the verb *\*delg-*, most likely, could mean the sememes ‘to hit, cut’. It is related to OIc. *telgja* ‘to chop off, prune off’, OIr. *dlongid* ‘he chops’ and others (cf. Leskien 1884: 323; Trautmann 1923: 44; LEW 81; ПЯ A–D 354ff.; PKEŽ I 213ff.; Smoczyński 2007: 91, 113).

Further, it is compared with IE *\*del-* ‘to chop’ from which Lith. *dalýti*, *dilti*, etc. are derived (IEW 194ff.).

The word *dilgėlė* of Standard Lithuanian is used in the whole area of the western Highlanders of Kaunas and in some neighbouring subdialects: southern Highlanders around Alytus, Trakai, in the southern subdialects of the western Highlanders of Šiauliai around Jonava, Kėdainiai, southern Lowlanders in Raseiniai around Kelmė, Tauragė. E.g.: *piktóji dilgėlė ĩta labáĭ kúnda* ‘this nettle stings badly’ DvŽ I 126; *prie kamāros tai tik vĕienos dilgėlės* ‘there are only nettles at the pantry’ KzRŽ I 148; *šóko kab dilgėlæ po sùbinæ pakišus* ‘danced as if a nettle has been thrust under the bottom’ KzRŽ I 148; *mūsų daržely priviso daug dilgėlių* ‘nettles grow in large numbers in our flower garden’ Leipalingis (e-LKŽ); *kad pakliuvau, tai pakliuvau, kaip nuogas į dilgėles* ‘I’ve got into it as naked into nettles’ Stakiai (e-LKŽ).

Rarer variants have been recorded in different places in Lithuania: *dilgėlė* (around Anykščiai), *dilgėlė* (Pagramantis, Nemakščiai, Užusaliai, Alvitai), *dilgėlė* (Trakininkai) and the plural form *dilgėlės* (Gegužinė).

The word *dilgėlė* was mentioned in the first manuscript dictionary of Lithuania Minor *Lexicon Lithuanicum*: Neβel *Dilgele* Lex 64a. in the 17th century. Later *Clavis Germanico-Lithvana* presents several words for the nettle; hence, they were not used in Lithuania Minor (see p. 401).

The word *dilgėlė* is a derivative of the same type of the suffix *-ėlė* as the word *notrėlė* (see p. 401). It was made from the older word *dilgė*.

Nearly in the whole area of southern Highlanders the word *dirgėlė*, *dīrgėlė*, *dīrgėlė* is used. E.g.: *dží.rg'ė.lė.s tōs no.g nē.vu. | nok spaudzimo*. ‘those nettles are for nerves, for blood pressure’ DrskŽ 69; *džirg'ė.-lė.sna šóko. | ir āk'es apšóko*. ‘jumped into nettles and the eyes bulged out’ DrskŽ 69; *d'irg'ėlės gri.náĭ rankáĭ n'eims'ĭ, labáĭ k'æp'inas'ĭ* ‘you shouldn’t take a nettle with a bare hand, it stings’ ZtŽ 153; *prik'æp'ĭ.su d'irg'ėláĭ táu rankàs ir kójas* ‘I shall beat your hands and legs with nettles’ ZtŽ 153; *d'irg'ėles saringd'in'ėt'ĭ reĭk'a* ‘it is necessary to pick nettles’ ZtŽ 153; *žirgėlĕ tai plá.ukus áugĭna* ‘nettles help hair grow’ PpaŽK; *an žirgėlŕ ũspilu | dektĭnĕ.s | nuspirkáu | ir tadù trinù* ‘I pour alcohol over nettles, I bought it, and then rub’ PpaŽK; *išrauk nor*

*šitas dirgėles: baisu žiūrėt, kokis darželis* ‘pull out at least these nettles, the flower garden is a real mess’ Rudamina (e-LKŽ); *merga kap dirgėlė – neprisglausi* ‘the girl is like a nettle – you would not press her to you’ Rodūnia (e-LKŽ).

The following variants of the word are recorded much rarer: *dirgėlės* (Azierkai), *dirgelė* (Krosna, Simnas), *dirgė* (Avižieniai), *dirgià* (Zietela), e.g., *kō t'eñ n'eb'it: lāpas b'it nug d'irg'os, rūšn'u. ir krū'pu., v'isa rāzom sumaišita* ‘there was everything there: the leaves were of nettles, sorrel and cereals’ ZtŽ 153. Cf. *dingelė* (Varanavas).

This is a variety of rotacism from the word *dilgėlė, dilgė* (cf. Zinkevičius 1966: 171f.). A similar change in the sonants *r, l* and others (in particular in suffixes) is a very old phenomenon dating back the period of Indo-European parent language (cf. Benveniste 1935; Specht 1944; Откупщиков 1967; ИЯ 196).

On the other hand, the secondary link with the verb *dirginti* could have had an impact here. Apart from the meaning ‘to tease, to excite; to disturb; to fire, to set a trap; to pamper, to corrupt, to damage’ has the meaning of ‘sting with nettles’, e.g.: *Dirgina dirgelė* ‘nettle stings’ Pelesa (e-LKŽ).

Attempts have been made to relate it to Russ. *дѣргать* ‘to give a pull, to drag, to tear’, OIc. *draga* ‘to pull’, Goth. *dragan* ‘to drag, bring, to pile’ and others (Trautmann 1923: 55ff.; LEW 96). All these words are derived from IE \**der-* ‘to skin, to flay; to chop off, to split’ from which Lith. *dirti, dūrti, darýti, derėti, dirbti*, etc. are derived (IEW 206ff.; Jēgers 1966b: 77ff.; Urbutis 2009: 54ff., 184, 200).

The area of the use of the word *dilgynė* covers the central part of Lithuania: it has been recorded in the subdialects of western Highlanders in Šiauliai, eastern Highlanders in Panevėžys, in western parts of the subdialects of Kupiškis, Anykščiai, Širvintos, as well as on the subdialects of Lowlanders of on the border with the Highlanders.

The variant *dilginė* is found in Central Lithuania (in some subdialects of the western Highlanders in Šiauliai, southern Panevėžys, eastern Highlanders in Anykščiai).

The forma *dilgynė* is common in the area of the Highlanders in Klaipėda region and the subdialects of Lowlanders that are close to it around Tauragė, Šilutė. LKA I 167 also presents the plural form *dilgynės* (Sablauskiai, Vaiguva, Ramučiai, Plaškiai) and the variant *dilgynė* (Papilė, Pakšteliai, Girdiškė, Juodaičiai).

The variants *dilgynė, dilginė, dilginė* have been recorded in the environs of Dieveniškės and Lithuanian subdialects in Belarus. *Dilginė* has been recorded in some subdialects of Lowlanders (Raudėnai, Kuršėnai, Urkuvėnai, Gudmoniškė). E.g.: *skīnāu dilgines | vīnas pīrsles* ‘I picked nettles – my hands are all blisters’ DūnŽ 72; *dī.dž' s.s.z dil' gina.s da' ži nax.uga | tē.p kur pakraš' čėis* ‘greater nettles do not grow in the kitchen garden, only somewhere at the edges’ KpŽ I 414; *miega kaip un dil' gin'u.* ‘sleeps like on nettles’ KpŽ I 414; *dilgynės auga patvoriuos* ‘nettles grow along the fences’ Panevėžys (e-LKŽ); *neik į dilgynes – išsidilgysi* ‘don’t go into the nettles – you will get stung’ Vabalninkas (e-LKŽ); *dilgynelėms takeliai apaugo* ‘paths became overgrown with nettles’ Gaurė (e-LKŽ); *nuv'ējo.m su mo.mū rviņ.kc žo.lė.s | nu ž'í.l'g'i.-n'es rviņ.ko.m'e* ‘we went to pick weeds with mother, well, we picked nettles’ DvŽ I 126; *d'í.l'g'in'u grīnà runkà n'epajim's'ì | kú.nda* ‘you will not take nettles with a bare hand – they sting’ DvŽ I 126; *itu. dz'il'g'in'ūr dāū.g v'isuī.* ‘there are plenty of these nettles everywhere’ DvŽ I 126; *bundās kēpēm iš žolės ir dzilginiū* ‘we baked loaves [of bread] from herbs and nettles’ LzŽ 59; *dzilginės runkàs dzilgina, kap ráuni jàs* ‘nettles sting hands when you pull them’ LzŽ 59.

The word for the plant *dilgynė* is mentioned as far back as 1599 in *Postilė* by Mikalojus Daukša: *Nes' kitáip' / iei ta Winiczia apláifimę ir dūfimę iei apžėli || dilginemis / ne tiekái vžmokeiimo ne imfime / bęť ir tatai ka pagadiiffime / || mokėť atpildit tūrime* ‘because otherwise, if we neglect that vineyard and let it become overgrown with nettles, we shall not only take payment but also have to compensate for what we will damage’ DP 96<sup>42-44</sup>.

It has been recorded in both dictionaries of Konstantinas Sirvydas in the 17th century: *pokrzywá / vrtica. dilgine* SPr 130; *pokrzywá / Vrtica. Dilgine* SD<sup>3</sup> 319. Alongside other words for the nettle, it was also used in Lithuania Minor (cf. p. 401).

*Dilgynė* is a derivative of the same type as *notrynė* (see p. 401) made from the word *dilgė*. *Dilginė* originated from the substantivised adjective with the suffix *-inis (-ė)*, cf. *dilginis (-ė)* ‘what stings; overgrown with nettles’ (e-LKŽ).

The variant *dygelė* recorded in Naujoji Ūta most probably originated due to its link with *dygūs, dyglūs*. These are derivatives with the suffix *\*-lo-* without an inflexion made from a rather old verb, cf. Lith. *dýgti, díegtį*, Latv. *dīgt* ‘dygti’, *diēgt* ‘to stab, beat; stitch, make large stitches, to hem’, Pruss. *digno* ‘hilt of a sword’ E 427, Lat. *figere* ‘to prick, to stick in; to piece, to run through; to insult; to pin up, to fasten; to announce; to build; to plant; to insert; to hammer in; to stick into cast down, to direct’ (ME I 477; LEW 93; IEW 243f.; Karaliūnas 1987: 74; PKEŽ I 199f.; Smoczyński 2007: 109).

The variant *dalgynė* recorded in Miežaičiai appeared due to the link with the verb *dálgyti* ‘to sting with nettles’, the adjective *dalgūs* ‘stinging, prickly, thorny’. Words for other plants have been made from them: *dalgūtė* ‘Common Stork’s-bill (*Erodium cicutarium*)’, *dalgūtis* ‘a plant of the Geranium family (*Erodium*)’, *dalgžolė* ‘ban sedge (*Carex Buekii*)’ (e-LKŽ).

In a compact area situated in the central part of Vidzeme (Kārļi, Dzērbene, Gatarta, Rāmuļi, Sērmūkši, Taurene, Jaunpiebalga, Kēči, Kosa, Vecpiebalga, Ranka and others) the word *dzeltene* is used. It is recorded in ME from Bērzaune too. The majority of cases of this word are attributed to the greater nettle, however, on the basis of dialectal examples it can be stated that the annual nettle was called *dzeltene*. E.g.: *nātr's cits sauc dzēltenes* ‘some people call nettles *dzeltenes*’ Dzērbene (LVDA); *nātras aūg sakņu dārzuos, dzēltenes aūg gar sētmalām, tās ir daudz liēlākas par nātrām* ‘nettles grow in kitchen gardens, *dzeltenes* ‘greater nettles’ grow along the fences, they are much larger than nettles’ Jaunpiebalga; *nātr's ir tās liēlās, un dzēltenes ir tās, kas aūg iekš saknēm duobēs* ‘nettles are those large ones, whereas *dzeltenes* ‘annual nettles’ are those that grow in vegetable beds’ Kārļi (LVDA); *dzēltenes ir tās liēlās* ‘*dzeltenes* are those large [nettles]’ Kosa (LVDA); *nātres i dzēltenes sāuca* ‘*dzeltenēm* were also referred to as nettles’ Ranka (LVDA); *dzēltene ir pret reumatismu* ‘the nettle is for rheumatism’ Sērmūkši (LVDA); *cic sauc pa nātrām, cic pa dzēltenēm, ir sīkās dzēlten's ari* ‘some call them nettles, others call them *dzeltenēm*; there are also dead *dzeltenes* ‘nettles’ Skujene (LVDA); *dzēltenes, kas kuož' dzeltenes – [such nettles] which sting*’ Taurene; *dzēltenes jāu mīl lābu zemi, ā kātru gādu dzēltenū mēš pēliēk liēlāks* ‘nettles like rich soil, a place overgrown with nettles increases with every year’ Vecpiebalga (LVDA).

This derivative has a compound suffix *-tene* (<-t(a)s + -ene), which is similar to Lith. *-tena* in its structure (<-tas + -ena, e.g., *kūltena* ‘overdriven horse, hack; a naughty child’, see Ambrazas 1993: 126), *-tinis (-ė)* (<-tas + -inis (-ė), e.g. *giltinė*).

The base verb *dzēlt* ‘to sting, to cut (usually with a sting); to butt, to prick (about needles); to sting with nettles, to burn’ is old, cf. Lith. *gēlti, gālinti* ‘to put an end to, to kill’, *gilti* ‘to cut, to put the sting out, to bite’, Latv. *galēt, galināt* ‘to kill, to do harm, to murder’, Pruss. *gallan* ‘death’ III 43<sub>3,15–16, 24</sub>, 61<sub>4</sub>, 65<sub>1</sub>, *gallintwey* I 5<sub>15</sub>; II 5<sub>15</sub>, *gallintwei* ‘to kill’ III 31<sub>8</sub>, *gulsennin* ‘soreness’ III 105<sub>2</sub>, Russ. *жалить* ‘to sting’, OCS *želěti* ‘to mourn’, OE *cwēlan* ‘to die’, *cwellan* ‘to murder’, OHG *quēlan* ‘to suffer pain’, Ir. *at-baill* ‘dies’, Arm. *kelem* ‘to torture’, Gk. *βελόνη* ‘point, needle’, etc. (Trautmann 1923: 83; ME I 541; LEW 145f.; IEW 470f.; ПЯ E–H 142ff., 334ff.; PKEŽ I 319ff., 422; Ambrazas 1993: 13, 85; Smoczyński 2007: 153, 168).

The variants *dzelne* (Izvalta) and *dzelde* (Kapiņi) have been registered in two subdialects of Latgale. The first of them is made from the above-discussed verb *dzēlt* with the suffix *-n-*, whereas the second one is made from the derivational verb *dzēldēt* ‘to stab, to sting with nettles’ (ME I 540) with the derivational inflexion *-e*.

The word *dzelzene* is used to denote the nettle in some north-eastern subdialects of Vidzeme. This word is used in Standard Latvian to refer to the knapweed (*Centaurea*), a plant of the thistle family.

In the mentioned subdialects it is usually used in the meaning of the annual nettle, and is rarer used to denote a generalised word for the nettle. E.g.: *mozàs dzēlzenes kuôž* ‘annual nettles sting’ Jaungulbene (LVDA); *viēnas ir lielās n°ātras un ūotras dzēlzenes. osākas ir dzēlzenes, t°apēc pār dzēlzenēm sauc* ‘some are greater nettles and others are *dzēlzenes* ‘annual nettles’, *dzēlzenes* are stronger therefore they are called like that’ Sinole (LVDA); *ņuoātras ir garākas dzēlzenes ir gāišākas* ‘[greater] nettles are taller, *dzēlzenes* ‘annual nettles’ are lighter’ Vecgulbene (LVDA).

The word *dzelzene* has also been recorded in northern Latgale – in Balvi and Liepna (Ēdelmane, Ozola 2003: 239). It is most probably kindred with another word for the annual nettle recorded in other subdialects *dzelzs nātre*, which word-for-word could be translated as

‘iron nettle’, e.g.: *maziē i dzēlznātrs* ‘annual [nettles] are *dzēlznātres*’ Nabe; *i divejādi nātri: dzēlznātri un nātri* ‘there are two kinds of nettles: annual nettles and [common] nettles’ Salaca (LVDA); *zēls nātra brīsmīgi kuôdīga* ‘annual nettle is very sharp’ Trapene (LVDA).

The word *dzelza nātre* was recorded in Liborijus Depkin’s dictionary: *dselsa = Nahtre*. Kleine Nessel ‘annual nettle’ Depkin 1704 II 211.

These words for the nettle are related to Latv. *dzēlzs* ‘iron’, which corresponds with Lith. *gel(e)žis*, Pruss. *gelso* E 522, Slav. \**želzo* ‘iron’ (Būga II 681ff.; Trautmann 1923: 83; ME I 543f.; LEW 144; ПЯ E–H 200ff.; PKEŽ I 346f.; Sabaliauskas 1990: 123; Smoczyński 2007: 167).

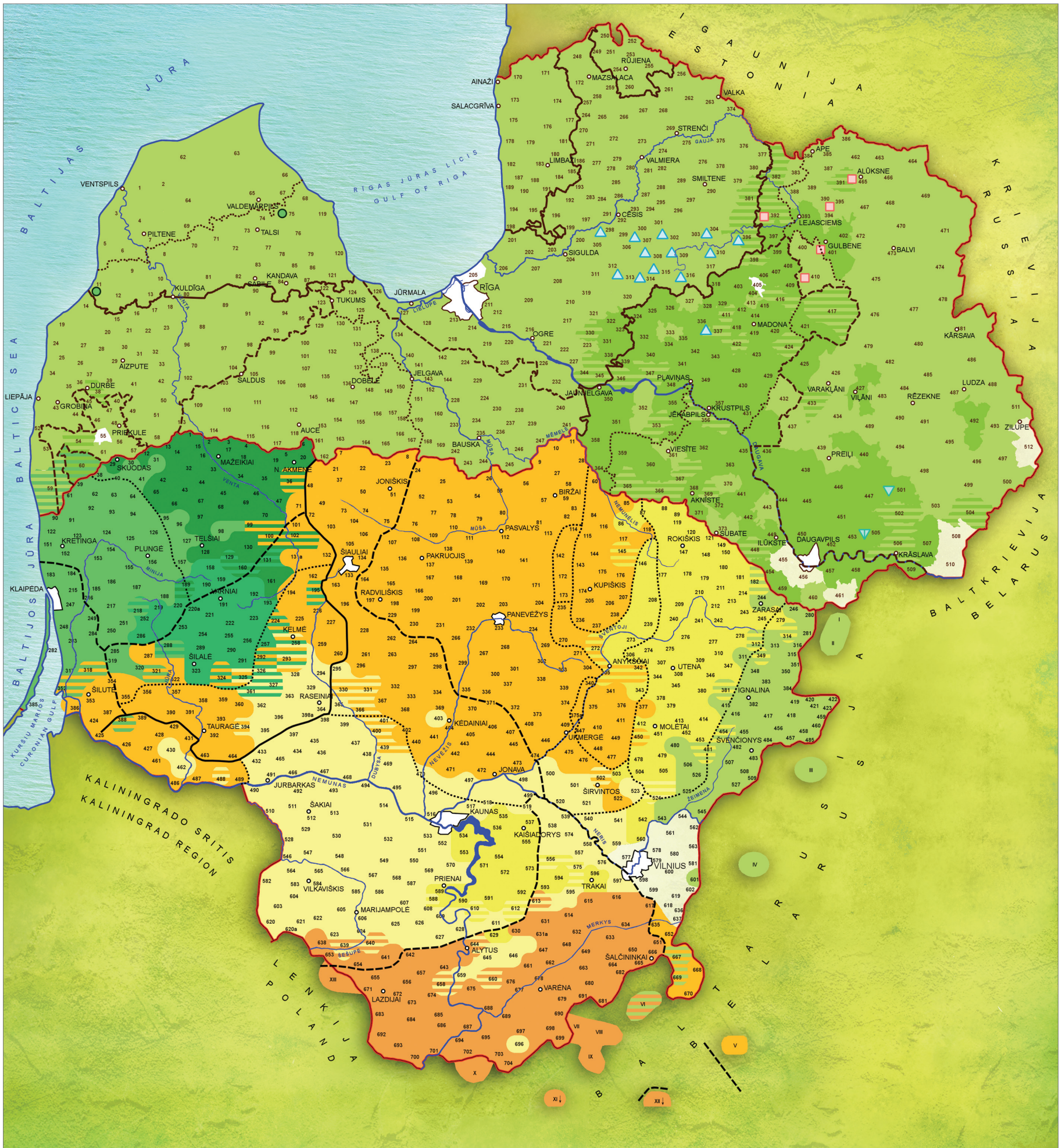
Most likely, together with Gk. *χαλκός*, Mycenaean *ka-ko* ‘bronze’, Hitt. *ḫabalki* ‘iron house’ is a loanword from Asia Minor, cf. Ha. *ḫapalki* (Иванов 1977: 223ff. and lit.).



Some words for plants in the Lithuanian language have also been made from the word *gel(e)žis*, e.g.: *gelžinis* ‘hoary plantain (*Plantago media*)’ Žigaičiai, *gelžinžolė* ‘such grass’ Gegrenai (e-LKŽ).

In the Latvian language other words for plants are also made – *plavas dzelzene* (*Centaurea jacea*) ‘brown knapweed’ and *lielā dzelzene* (*Centaurea scabiosa*) ‘greater knapweed’, the compound word *dzelzsžāle* meaning a plant of the Carex family *Carex nigra* (syn. *Carex vulgaris*, *Carex stolonifera*) ‘common black sedge’; all of them are words of Standard Latvian.

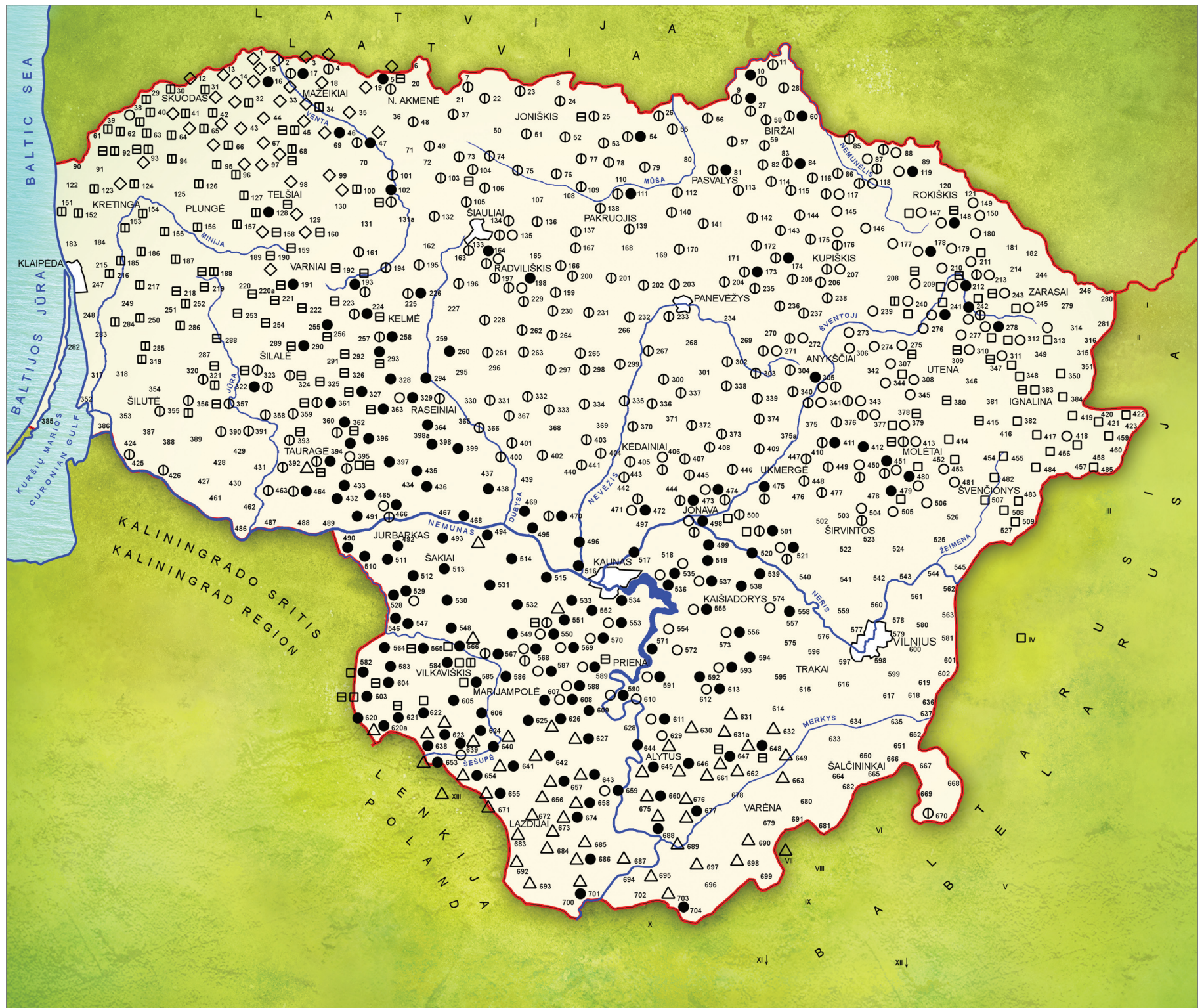
Very rare loanwords can sometimes be found in Lithuanian dialects. First and foremost loanwords from the Slavonic languages *krapyva, chrapýva* (cf. Bel. *краніва*, Russ. *кранува*) (Breslauja, Zietela) deserve mention, e.g.: *iš krapīvos itos sku.rōs n’ēmč’us v’irv’ēs v’ijo* ‘the Germans used to twist ropes from the fibre of nettles’ ZtŽ 311; *prik’āp’inau rankās krap’i.vái* ‘I stung my hands with a nettle’ ZtŽ 311; *tai tu krap’i.vái apāuks’i* ‘you will overgrow with nettles’ ZtŽ 311; also *pokryva* (cf. Pol. *pokrzywa*) (Troškūnai, Nemenčinė), *žigūlka* (cf. Bel. *жыгучка* ‘small nettle’) (Breslauja). The word *driginė* recorded in Nida could have been borrowed from Latv. *drigene* ‘henbane’ (LKA I 168).





 Latv. <i>nātre, nātra, nātrs, nātris</i> Lith. <i>notrė, notris</i>	 Latv. <i>nātrine</i> Lith. <i>notrynė, notryna</i>	 Lith. <i>notnerė, notnerė</i>	 Lith. <i>dilgynė</i>	 Latv. <i>dzelzene</i>
 Latv. <i>ņātra, ņātre</i>	 Latv. <i>nātrene</i>	 Lith. <i>dilgėlė</i>	 Lith. <i>dirgėlė</i>	 Latv. <i>dzelde</i>
	 Lith. <i>notrelė</i>	 Lith. <i>dilgė</i>	 Latv. <i>dzeltene</i>	 Latv. <i>dzelne</i>





●	<i>dilgėlė / dilgelė</i>	⊙	<i>dilgnė / dilginė</i>	□	<i>not(e)ra / not(e)rė / not(a)rė / notris</i>	⊞	<i>notrėlė / notrelė</i>
○	<i>dilgė / dilga</i>	△	<i>dirgėlė</i>	⊞	<i>notrynė / notrinė / notryna</i>	◇	<i>notnėrė</i>



*Baltų kalbų atlasas*  
*Leksika 1: flora*

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## *Names of the Dandelion*





# Names of the Dandelion

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The map and its comments are based on the answers to Question No. 81 of the Lexical Questionnaire of the ALE. In case of the Lithuanian language the answers to Question No. 103 of Part 2 of Dialectological Questionnaire No 4 of the KFRP, and in case of the Latvian language – the material collected by Inese Ēdelmane ir Arīja Ozola were additionally (Ēdelmane, Ozola 2003: 273ff.).

The names of the perennial plant of the genus *Taraxacum* of the family Asteraceae whose feature is milky sap have been put on maps. Therefore the names, which from the derivational point of view are related to the noun Lith. *pienas* ‘milk’, Latv. *piēns* are widespread mostly in the East Baltic languages. The latter is a derivative with the adjectival suffix \*-no- (cf. Skardžius I 217; Ambrazas 1993: 94).

Usually it is derived from IE \*pej-/pī- ‘to be fat, abundant’, cf. OInd. *páyas* ‘milk, liquid, water’, Av. *payah* ‘milk’, *paēman* ‘mother’s milk’ and OInd. *pyāyate, pmavati* ‘(it) gushes, swells’, *pīvan-*, Gk. *πί(φ)ων* ‘fat’, Lith. *pýti* ‘soak, to be saturated (about ground); to give or get milk’, etc. (Trautmann 1923: 210; ME III 276ff.; Frenkelis 1969: 38; LEW 585; ИЯ 570; Sabaliauskas 1990: 50; IEW 793ff.).

However, Wojciech Smoczyński (2007: 455), apart from the discussed one, mentions another alternative trying to relate the word being discussed to another similar IE verb from which Slav. \**piti* ‘to drink’, Gk. *πιθι* ‘drink’ etc. have evolved. It should be remembered that one of three terms of milk in the Prussian language – *poad-amynan* ‘fresh milk’ (E 695) – was derived from the adjective meaning ‘drinkable’ (PKEŽ III 298f.).

The Lithuanian and Latvian languages have one common name of the dandelion Lith. *piėnė* (cf. Also variants *piėnė, piėnė, piėnis, piėnys*) and Latv. *piene*. However, it includes only a small part of Lithuanian and Latvian dialects.

It is used in almost all dialects of Highlanders in Lithuania. For example: *tik usnės ir piėnės* ‘only thistles and dandelions’ Daukšiai (e-LKŽ); *piėnė prie žemės prigulusiais lapais, geltonais žiedais ant pliku liaunų rausvų stiebelių* ‘leaves of dandelions are pressed close to the ground, with yellow blossoms on bare slender purplish stems’ Ukmergė (e-LKŽ); *šiemet pūdyme daug piėnių, užtat ir avys atsiganė* ‘this year there are lots of dandelions in the fallow land, therefore the sheep are fat’ Veliuona (e-LKŽ); *gera ganyt kiaules pūdyme, jei yra daug piėnių prižėlusių* ‘it is good for pigs to graze in the fallow if it is overgrown

with dandelions’ Pasvalys (e-LKŽ); *vieni piėniai žydi* ‘only dandelions are blooming’ Rimšė (e-LKŽ); *išrauk piėniūs* ‘pull out the dandelions’ Rimšė (e-LKŽ).

In the Latvian language the lexeme *piene* has been recorded in some subdialects of Vidzeme, Latgale and Zemgale only, e.g.: *piņu pūnc sacvoyc: zaļtanai zaļtanc* ‘the whole yard is full of dandelions – it is yellow anywhere’ Aknīste (ALE); *nu piņu lopu cytu rāzi vūorej supu* ‘sometimes soup was made from dandelion leaves’ Kaunata (ALE); *pienes ziēd agri povasaruōs – viš zaļtans vīn. viņas nūoziēd, ta ceļās t’ās pūkas – piēnu sāklas* ‘dandelions bloom early in spring – everything is yellow; after they finish blossoming those round balls of silver tufted fruits float in the wind’ Sinole (ALE).

The idea promoted by Pranas Skardžius (I 73, 75) that *piėnė, piėnis* derived from the substantivised adjective should be shared. He had in mind the fact that adjectives with the attributive feature were widely made with the help of the affix \*-(i)io- in the late Indo-European parent language. They began to be substantivised very early in the Baltic languages and had a great influence on the system of forming the noun, partly on the system of inflection too – they determined productivity of -(i)io- and its constant spread (cf. Ambrazas 1992: 16ff., 2005: 130ff., 2006: 69f., 2008b: 116f. and lit.).

In the Latvian language the word *Taraxacum* most often denote *pienene*. The name *pienene* is a word of Standard Latvian and the term *Taraxacum* that is used all over Latvia. Somewhat rarer than in other places the word *pienene* is used in Kurzeme. Here the compound *cūkpiene* is more common. Examples of dialects are as follows: *mūsmājā tak i daū tās piēnenes, isplaūkušas i tagad, smukas, dzēltānas; drēbes aplipušas a piēneņu pūkām un siēna gružim* ‘there are lots of those dandelions in our house, they came into blossom and are still blooming, they are pretty, yellow; their tufts and hey stuck to our clothes’ Ērgemē (ALE); *piēnen’s i n’o piēmim oūgim, kas ziēd; piēnenem i iēkša piēnc sūrs* ‘dandelions are the first blossoming plants, dandelion sap is bitter’ Idus (ALE); *ja tās piēnenes nebūtu, ta nekas gūovij nebūtu kūo ēst* ‘if there were no dandelions the cows would have nothing to eat’ Kauguri (ALE); *piēnenes pa atmataim aūg, tā ka zēltaņš viēn, guōves a ēda* ‘dandelions grow in unbroken soil, everything is yellow, cows eat them too’ Renda (ALE); *piēnenim i zēltani ziēdi, un pēic tam pūki iēt pa gaīs; cūki ruōk piēnen sakņs, viņim tiē smeķigi* ‘dandelion flowers

are yellow and then their round balls of tuft fly in the air; pigs root up dandelion, they like them' Svētciems (ALE); *piēnen's nuōziēdējus's, viņ's aī pūkām apsēi vai vēsēl' laūk''* 'dandelions finish blossoming, their feathery tufts cover the whole field' Zālīte (ALE); *piēnēnes zied majā àr ze:ltēniem ziediem; kad lo:pu vai ziedu nūorāun, ta:k bōlta, rúugta sula; zemē i:r ra:sna sa:kņē* 'dandelions blossom in May with yellow flowers; if you pick a leaf or a blossom, white bitter sap starts running; their thick root is in the ground' Lazdona (ALE); *piēnēnes zied povasaruōs zāltāniem ziediem; nūo piēnēnēm [govīm] zāltāns piens tīkūot* 'dandelions bloom in spring with yellow flowers; dandelions make milk yellower' Sinole (ALE); *piēnēni garas lopas; piēnēne īr na-zuōle; visās molās zīd piēnēnes – zāltāns* 'dandelion leaf is long; the dandelion is a weed; dandelions bloom everywhere – everything is yellow' Stāmeriena (ALE); *kod piēnēnes suōk zīdiēt, tod vuss lauks zāltāns; bites vāc piēneņu zīdūs madu* 'when dandelions start to blossom all the field becomes yellow; bees gather dandelion honey' Ziemeris (ALE); *sastopamas visur – ceļmalās, laukos, pļavās; saulainā maija dienā, kad atveras piēneņu ziedi, viss lauks pārklāts ar mazām saulītēm; piēneņu uzlējumu lieto ēstgribas veicināšanai; jaunās piēneņu lapas lieto salātiem* '[dandelions] are found everywhere – along the roadsides, in the fields, meadows; on a sunny May day when dandelion blossoms open, the entire field is covered with small suns; dandelion cordial is used to increase one's appetite; fresh leaves are used for salad' Aiviekste (Apv).

This is the nomina qualitativa of the Latvian productive suffix *-ene*, which is widely used to form the names of plants (see Endzelīns 1951: 298).

The diminutive form *piēnēnīte* has been recorded in some subdialects in Vidzeme and Zemgale, e.g.: *piēnēnīt priēkš aknām* [lieto] 'dandelions are used to treat the liver' Lode (Apv).

The names *piēnele* and *piēnelis* that are found in a compact area in the subdialects of north-western Vidzeme can be of diminutive origin. Diminutives with the suffix *\*-eljo-* (derived from the diminutive *\*-l-*) were made not only in the Lithuanian language but also in some Latvian dialects (cf. Rūķe-Draviņa 1959: 245ff.).

Examples in dialects are as follows: *gušņs, piēnēļš rave loūka. grūt izravet; sakņs ķēburañ, žuburañ, ziļ* 'thistles and dandelions used to be pulled out; their roots are branched out, deep' Dunte (ALE); *piēnēļš zīēž a:gr pavasari uñ vēļ rudeni; kaziņēi griēž piēnēļš* 'dandelions blossom early in spring and the in autumn; dandelions are cut for the goat' Vainiži (ALE).

It is only in Vainiži that the form *piēndeļe* (*piēndēļ*) has been recorded.

Attention should be paid to the fact that *\*-injo-* adjectives turn into the nomina qualitativa very often in the Lithuanian language (cf. Ambrazas 2000: 145ff.), and in the Latvian language this happens much rarer and in some parts of dialects only (cf. Endzelīns 1951: 312f.; Reķēna 1995: 96). The name *piēnīne* found in Latgale is made with the help of a similar suffixes derived from *-no-* whose basis is the substantivised adjective *piēnīnis* 'milky': *piēniņi kai pūorlaūž, piēnc istak* 'when a dandelion is broken sap runs out' Asūne (ALE); *kot nūlaūš piēniņi, nu kuōta tak bōlc, ryūkc piēnc* 'when a dandelion is broken white bitter sap runs out of its stem' Izvalta (ALE); *ka nāizraun piēniņi àr vysu sakni, zān deviņys goļoys vūta* 'if a dandelion is not pulled out with its whole root nine heads grow in its place' Līvāni (ALE); *piēniņis tāidys kei saulēiņis* 'dandelions are like suns' Makašēni (ALE); *vīes pa lēirumu nosdī piēniņu saklys* 'the wind carries dandelion seed across

the field' Nautrēni (Apv); *kot piēniņis zīf, to vysys pļavys kai àr zāltu nūbārtys* 'when dandelions are blooming all meadows look as though covered with gold' Višķi (ALE).

The form *piēnīne* formed with the ending *-ine* has been recorded in Rūjiena. The form *piēnīene* has been recorded in Bērzgale (*piēniņa zīf zāltōniņm zīdēniņm* 'dandelions blossom with yellow flowers' ALE), but in Džūkste – *piēniēte* (*cūkas rakās kādū piēniēti, kādū sakniēti* 'pigs nuzzle for some small dandelion, some small root' Apv).

Another name *piēnīnīca* sporadically found in Latgale (Pilda) has the Slavonic suffix *-inīca* (about it see p. 418); *piēniēiēcu pa dūorzu piēuūcc* 'the garden is full of dandelions' Pilda (Apv).

Compounds whose basis is the name of an animal *cūka* (Lith. *kiaulė*) and liquid *piens* (Lith. *pienas*) form a large group of names. These names are used in a compact area in the subdialects of western Lithuania and Kurzeme.

The compound *kiaulpiēne* (cf. variants *kiaulpiēne, kiaūpiēne, kialpiēne*), which is the norm of standard language is most common in the Lithuanian language. The first component *kiaulė* 'pig' (about its origin see p. 437), apart from the pejorative meaning, can mean the purpose of the plant because dandelions is good early fodder for small livestock, cf. *gysiu kiaules ant dirvono, tenai tiek daug kiaulpienių* 'I'll drive pigs to unbroken soil, there are so many dandelions there' Baisogala (Gritėnienė 2006: 110).

Examples of dialects are as follows: *kiti kiaulpienes vieto salatų valgo* 'others eat dandelions instead of salad' Viduklė (e-LKŽ); *tokias minkštas kiaūpienes ir žqsimis gal duoti* 'such tender dandelions can be fed to geese' Salantai (e-LKŽ); *kāūpi nū pū kūr prisivīeli i plā ukus* 'dandelion tufts get stuck in the hair' Dirvonėnai (DšŽ 134); *kā p kāūpī-ne[s] žr d / pū kōkā lā ksta* 'when dandelions are blooming tufts are flying' the western part of the environs of Pavandenė (DšŽ 134).

Compound names of the dandelion whose first component has the form of the case are often found, e.g.: *kiaūliapiēne, kiauiliapiēne, kiauiliapiēne; kiaulāpiēne, kiaulāpiēne, kiaulāpiēne*. Examples of dialects: *gyvuliai kiaūliapienes mėgsta – nieko, kad karčios* 'livestock likes dandelions – they don't mind their being bitter' Nemunaitis (e-LKŽ); *kiauiliapiēnės auga visuose patvoriuose* 'dandelions grow along all fences' Linkuva (e-LKŽ).

The name *kiaulpienis* made from the compound *kiaulpiēne* made with the derivational inflexion *-is* has been recorded in the Lithuanian Dictionary of Botany (LBŽ 342).

In separate subdialects of the Lithuanian language such word combinations as *kiaūlių piēnės, kiauilinė piēne* are used to name the dandelion. The first component of the word combination is either the genitive case of the noun *kiaulė* or the derivative with the suffix *-in-*, and the second component is the noun *piēne*.

Names of similar formation are found in Latvian dialects too: *cūkpiene, cūkpienis* (Kurzeme), *cūkupiene* (Kurzeme, Zemgale), *cūkupienis* (Nīca), *cūku piene* (Latgalian subdialects of Vidzeme, Latgale).

The first component of these compounds is *cūka* 'pig'. Its origin is not quite clear. However, attempts are made to compare it to Latv. *suķis*, also NPers. *xūk*, OE *sugu*, Lat. *sucula*, Khmer *hucc* (ME I 398). They are remakes of the old IE name of the pig *\*sū-*, cf. Av. *hū-*, Gk. *σῦς*, Lat. *sūs*, OInd. *sūr*, etc. (for more about it see Specht 1944: 123; IEW 1038f.; Benveniste 1970: 27ff.; ИЯ 393).

The *e*-stem form *cūkpiene* has been recorded in a large area in Kurzeme: *cūkpiēns zīēd zēltenīnī zīēdiņm* 'dandelions blossom with yellow flowers' Alsunga (ALE); *tāde māl zeme kādreiz aūg tāj cūkpiēns;*



*lābs jaṁ vīṅs nau, tāpat, ka viš nezāl* ‘in this clayey soil those dandelions sometimes grow; they are not good, like all weeds’ Īvande (Apv); *miēžuōs saaūgušas cūkpiēnes* ‘barley is full of dandelions’ Kalēti (Apv); *cūkām gařšuo cūkpiēnes, viř<sup>a</sup>za, guřnu saknes; pavasarī aka va saraut cūkpiēnes* ‘pigs like dandelions, starwort, thistle roots; in spring one can pick dandelions instead of them’ Kursīši (Apv); *cūkpiēnes ēd salatuōs, lapiņš salaūž, sīpuōlluōks klāt, biřķit lēn etiķ ūdeņ. cūkpiēniņ piēns nejaūki rūkc* ‘dandelions are eaten in salads, leaves are plucked, spring onions are put, a little vinegar water; dandelion juice is very bitter’ Renda (ALE); *cūkpiēnītes puōgaļiņa bitēm laba. pavasarī nuō lapām tāisa salātus* ‘dandelions are very good for bees; in spring salad is made from the leaves’ Lutriniai (Apv). The *e-* stem form *cūkpiene* is also mentioned in Vidzeme (Krape).

The variant with the unabridged genitive form is found in Zemgale, Kurzeme and Latgale, e.g.: *iēt zemes pa gaisu, kā vepriņ ruōk cūkpiēnes grāṁmālē* ‘when a hog digs dandelions along the ditch earth flies in all directions’ Džūkste (ALE); [salātos] *mēs liēkam jaūnas cūkpiēņu lapiņ<sup>s</sup>* ‘young dandelion leaves are put [into salads]’ Nīca (ALE); *eku mýusu gaņēibā nīkūo cyta nau, b’idnys cýukupīnīis* ‘well, in our pasture there is nothing else but dandelions’ Varakļani (ALE).

The *ijō* stem form *cūkpienis* has been recorded in a large territory in Kurzeme: *cūkpiēņ – doūzgdagig lakstoūg; reřnaks sakņens treknē zemē oūgřem; sakņens izruōk setēmbre, oktōbre; āter nomazge oūkstē ūddņē; vītan vēšē viēte, līz nenāk piēns; izliēk plā:n žā:ūt silte iřpe; nožūjš, kad lūst; 5 g sakņē diēņē priēkš eīšen pret sklerōz un lē izdalēs holasterins; tēj jēm 1 ēdam kart sakņens uz 1 glāz vāreš ūdīņ, 3eř ½ glāz priēkš eīšen pret zēltņē kaīt, žulcakmiņem, tūsk, urīnpūšēļ, niēr vaīn. ārig svaīg sūl pret ac slimeb, kārpam, pinņem; joūns lapš un sakņens pa sāltem pret mazašņeb, noguram; epriēkš 30 minūc lapš nomērcē oūkstē ūd’ņē* ‘the dandelion is a perennial grass plant; roots are thicker of those dandelions, which grow in richer soil; roots are dug out in September, October; they are washed with cold water quickly; are dried in a cold place until sap stops running; a thin layer of them is left to dry in the room; they are dry when they start to break; as many as five grams of roots are taken every day before the meals for sclerosis and to remove cholesterol; to make tea one spoonful of roots is taken per a glass of boiling water; half a glass is taken before the meals for jaundice, gallstones, dropsy, the bladder, kidney diseases; fresh juices are for eye diseases, warts, pimples; young leaves and roots are used in salads for anaemia and tiredness; prior to that the leaves are soaked in cold water for 30 minutes’ Dundaga (Apv); *cūkpiēņš pa vašařs sakuņ uī pavasař mēs duōd luōpiņ; guōys vīņš ēd tapat, bet cūkām i jāsakape* ‘at the beginning of summer and in spring dandelions are given to livestock; cows like them, and it is necessary to chop them for pigs’ Lauciene (Apv).

Apart from Kurzeme the *ijō*-stem form *cūkpienis* has been recorded in Vainiži.

The name with the shortened root syllable of the first part of the compound *cukpiene, cukpienis* has been recorded in Livonian subdialects of Kurzeme, which is related to the fact that the first component of the compound was unstressed in these subdialects (Rudzīte 1993: 251).

The word combination *cūku piene* (*còuku pīņē*) was found in Susēja, but *cūku pienis* (*cyuku pīni*) was recorded in Gaigalava. The word combination *cūku piene* is usually found in Zemgala, e.g.: *cūku piēnēm liēlā ziedēšana ābelziēdu laikā* ‘dandelions are blooming when apple trees are in blossom’ Džūkste (Apv); *cūku piēnes ar nostām nese nuō*

*tūruma – l’ādas tiēvām, garām lopām bij* ‘they carried dandelions in bundles from the ploughed field – [dandelions] have such thin, long leaves’ Sinole (ALE).

The name *cūkpiene* has been recorded in some subdialects: *cūkpiēnes ēd luōpi; cūkām duō* ‘cattle eat dandelions; they are given to pigs’ Nīca (Apv); *joūns meīts no cūkpiēnenem nuōpiņ vaīnadziņ* ‘young girls make wreaths from dandelions’ Naukšēni (Apv).

The variant with the shortened root vowel of the first part of the compound is found in Ance (*cukpiēnes*) and in Panemunē (*cukpiēnes*). In some dialects of Vidzeme and Zemgale, e.g., in Ļaudona, Stāmeriena and Gārsene, the word combination *cūku piene* is found.

The name *lielā piene* ‘the large dandelion’ is sporadically used in the Latgalian subdialects of Vidzeme. Examples of dialects: *lielām piēnēm ir stūobri k’ā zīmuļi rasni, sākļas vējš nas pa gaisu* ‘stems of dandelions are as thick as pencils, seeds are carried by the wind in the air’ Sinole (ALE). Its first component is the adjective *liēls* ‘large’.

This is, like Lith. *leīlas* ‘slender, slim, thin’ (perhaps Pruss. *lail-īšnan* ‘torture’ should also be mentioned here III 69<sub>11</sub>) an adjective with the suffix *\*-lo-* related to the old *-no-* derivative Lith. *leīnas* ‘slender, thin, flexible, nimble, pliant’ (of the same formation as Mir. *līan* ‘gentle, soft’, Oic. *linr* ‘gentle, soft, weak’) and Gk. χεῖρός ‘lean, pails, delicate’ with the suffix *\*-ro-* (cf. Otrębski 1939: 76; IEW 661f.; LEW 329f.; ПЯ L 24ff., 287, 297), made either from *\*lē-/lī-* ‘pour, putty’ (PKEŽ III 23, 341ff.) or from *\*lei-* ‘disappear’ (IEW 661f.).

It should be noted that such a change in suffixes *\*-lo-*, *\*-no-*, *\*-ro-* is a very old phenomenon dating back to the IE parent language (cf. Benveniste 1935; Fraenkel 1938: 25ff.; Specht 1944; Burrow 1955: 126ff., 146ff.; Иванов 1965; Buder 1975; Откупщикова 2001: 276ff.; Ambrazas 2008b: 111).

It is true that the above-mentioned adjectives are related to Lith. *liē-sas, lai-bas* of a different formation (LEW 329ff.).

One or another rare name of the dandelion can be found in Lithuanian dialects. Some of them are of similar semantics as *kiaūlpienē* (cf. Gritėnienė 2006: 135): *piēnžolē* ‘milk grass’ (Josvainiai; concerning the second component *žolē* of the compound see p. 416), *baltpienē* ‘white dandelion’ (Linkmenys; concerning the origin of the first component *baltas* see p. 431; the analogous word combination *baltā piene* has been recorded in one of High Latvian central subdialects – Kalncempji: *bōltū pīņēnu lopas iēda paveserī solatūs ar krējumu* ‘leaves of the white dandelions are eaten in salad with sour cream in spring’ [Apv]), *karvāpienē* ‘cow dandelions’ (Skirsnemunē; e.g.: *kai karvāpienēs žydi, karvēs duoda daugiau pieno* ‘when dandelions blossom cows give more milk’ Kelmē, see Gritėnienė 2006: 135).

The word *karvāžolē – Kuhbluhme* has been mentioned in the historical writings since the 17th century translated *karwzoles* (Lex 248).

The word *kárvažolē* has the meaning ‘the kingcup (*Caltha palustris*)’ in the Dictionary of Kristijonas G. Milkus of the 18th century and in some later dictionaries (cf. Gritėnienė 2006: 81). The noun *kárvē* is the first component of the latter two compounds. First of all this relates to Slav. *\*korva* ‘cow’, Pruss. *carwis* ‘bull’ E 572, perhaps also to Alb. *ka* ‘bullock, bull’, and further to Pruss. *sirwis* ‘roe-deer’, Khmer *carw*, Lat. *cerwus* ‘deer’ and Gk. κερ(φ)ός ‘horned’. This is an old substantivised adjective with the suffix *\*-uo-* made from IE *\*k<sup>r</sup>-/k<sup>er</sup>-* ‘power; horn’ (for more about it see Ambrazas 2010b and lit.).

Names of dandelions with the root *sviest-* are found in a small compact area in north-eastern Vidzeme: *svīstņē* in Liepna, Mālupe, *sviēstene* in Jaunroze, Mārkalne, Pededze, Trikāta, *sviēstenīte* in Jaunlaicene. The noun *sviests* forms the basis of the name.



The derivative *karčiuškà* recorded in Antazavė defines the taste of dandelion juice. It is made with the help of the Slavonic suffix *-(i)uška* (about its origin see Ambrazas 2000: 112 and lit.) from the adjective *kartūs* 'bitter'. This is a derivative with the ending *-us*, which is widespread in the Lithuanian language (about it see Ambrazas 2008b: 108f. and lit.) from the verb *kiřsti* (*keřta*) (cf. Būga II 246; LEW 258f.; Smoczyński 2007: 260). And the latter has evolved from a very old and widely branched IE *\*(s)ker* 'to cut' (see IEW 938ff.; Jēgers 1966a; Откупщиков 1967).

The name of the dandelion *sīvene* is found in Ēdelmane's material from Labrags. This is a derivative with the suffix *-en-* from the adjective *sīvs* 'bitter'.

Those names of dandelions, which reflect folk medicine, form a separate group. Since olden times dandelion root-water was used to treat eczemas, furuncles, pimples. Therefore the names originated from the noun *šāšas* (scab) (cf. Gritėnienė 2006: 109f.), most probably made from the extinct verb *\*šař*, cf. Latv. *sass* 'unripe', *sasi* 'small boils', Lith. *šāřti*, *řiřti* 'scab' (ME III 744f.; LEW 966; Smoczyński 2007: 625).

The name *šařukas* with the diminutive suffix *-ukas* is found in the subdialects of the environs of Panevėžys, Deltuva, Joniřkis, Pasvalys, Pumpėnai: *kai buvom maři, iš šařukų vainikus pynėm, o dabar řqsim raunam* 'when we were small we made wreaths from dandelions, and now we pull them for geese' Pasvalys (e-LKŽ).

The following names of dandelions *piktašařis*, *piktšařis*, *piktošařiai* have been recorded in north-eastern and east Lithuania (Biržai, Panevėžys, Vilnius area, Kupiřkis, Subačius, Vabalninkas, Smalininkai, Joniřkis, Jonikaičiai, Medikiniai, Šeduva). Examples of dialects: *Nėdideli tokie geltonai řydi. Vaistai nuo šařų. Seniau gi būdavo visokiais spuogais užsikrėę, būdavo, kaip ir pūliuoja, tai piktašaři nuskina, patepa ir viskas* [pranyksta spuogai] 'small and bloom with yellow flowers; medicine for scabs; earlier people had pimples, sometimes they festered, then a dandelion was plucked, applied and that was all [pimples disappeared]' Panemunėlis, see Gritėnienė 2006: 110.

The first component of this compound is the adjective *piktas* 'angry', which corresponds to Latv. *pikts*; this is a derivative with the suffix *\*-to-* from the verb *\*peik-*, cf. Lith. *pýkti*, *peikti*, Latv. *pikt* 'to be angry', *peikt* 'to become spoilt, to get pampered', Pruss. *paikemmai* 'we cheat, lure', Gott. *bi-faihon* 'to cheat', *faih* 'deception, fraud' and other Germanic words related to them, perhaps also OInd. *pířunař* 'slanderer' (ME III 213; LEW 525, 563, 589; IEW 795; Stang 1972: 40; Sabaliauskas 1990: 175; PKEŽ III 210ff.; Smoczyński 2007: 446, 457). Examples of dialects: *piktašařių negraibykit: rankos bus karčios* 'do not touch dandelions: the hands will be bitter' Subačius (e-LKŽ); *iř piktašařių bitės ima medų* 'bees gather honey from dandelions' Ēriřkiai (e-LKŽ); *nėbėr lietaus, net piktašařių lapai suglebę* 'there is no rain, even dandelion leaves are limp' Salamiestis (e-LKŽ); *nurařkei piktašaři – bėga toks pienas* 'when you pluck a dandelion – sap runs out of it' Vabalninkas (e-LKŽ).

The name *šařavalkis* is found in the dialects of Panevėžys, Mieřiřkiai, Biržai, Saločiai, Daujėnai, Subačius, Karsakiřkis, Kupiřkis: *dobilai šařavalkiais išėjo – geltona išvien* 'dandelions choked clovers – it is yellow all over' Mieřiřkiai (e-LKŽ), *nėpink vainiko iš šařavalkių: kai ant galvos užsidėsi – piktšařių atsiras* 'do not make a wreath from dandelions; when you put it on your head scabs will appear' Biržai (e-LKŽ).

The second component of the compound is derived from the verb *\*uelk-*, cf. Lith. *vilkti* (*velka*), Latv. *vilkt* (*vėlku*), Slav. *\*velkti* 'to drag',

Av. *varək-* 'to drag, to pull', Gk. ἄ(φ)ορχῆ, Lat. *sulcus* 'furrow', Alb. *helk* 'I pull, tear out', Arm. *hely* 'to carry slowly' (Trautmann 1923: 349f.; IEW 1145; LEW 1253; Smoczyński 2007: 753f.); this, in its turn, most likely originated from even older IE *\*uel-* 'to tear, to wound, to kill' (cf. ИЯ 492, Footnote 1), from here Lith. *vėlė*; besides, cf. also the old IE word *vilkas*.

Apart from these the derivative *šařūnas* with the suffix *-ūnas* is mentioned in the Lithuanian Dictionary of Botany (LBŽ 342).

Dandelion roots are used against insomnia (Gritėnienė 2006: 110). This is reflected in the names of this plant made from the verb *snāusti* 'to nap' (*snāudžia*, *snāudė*), which corresponds to Latv. *snaūst* (*snaūžu*, *snaūdu*) and most likely is an innovation of the East Baltic Languages because the attempts to relate it to Gk. νυστάζω 'I sleep, I am sleepy; negligent, untidy' (cf. Schulze 1966: 376; ME III 973f.; LEW 852f. and lit.) raise doubts (Smoczyński 2007: 580f.).

The names *snaudālis*, *snaudālė* are found on south-eastern Lithuania (in Marijampolė, Daukřiai, Pauliai): *vaikai snaudaliūs pusto – gražu, kaip pūikai lekia* 'children blow dandelions – it is nice when tufts fly' Daukřiai (e-LKŽ).

This derivative made with the help of the suffix *-alis* (*-ė*) (derived from the adjectival affix *\*-lo-*) is usually the name of the agent (cf. Ambrazas 1993: 120) but sometimes denotes other plants too (*snaudālis* – 'yellow everlasting (*Helichrysum arenarium*)'; 'meadow pasque flower (*Pulsatilla pratensis*)'; 'Eastern pasque-flower (*Pulsatilla patens*)'; *snaudālė* 'milk gowan (*Leotundas*)'; is another field plant of the aster family'; 'cuckoo flower (*Coronaria flos-cuculi*)'; 'cat's-foot (*Antennaria dioica*)'; 'devil's-bit scabious (*Succisa pratensis*)' (e-LKŽ).

The names *snaudė*, *snūdė*, *snūdė* are found in some other subdialects (in Alytus, Marijampolė, Švenčionys, Trakai, Birřtonas, Joniřkis): *kap išgysi kiaules, tai neskink daug snūdžių, ba ir snausi per visus metus* 'when you drive pigs do not pluck many dandelions because you will feel drowsy all the year round' Ūdrija (Gritėnienė 2006: 110); *pievoje pas mus daug snaūdžių* 'there are many dandelions in our meadows' Trakai (e-LKŽ).

These names with the derivational inflexion *-ė* might be derived from concretised names of actions, cf. *snaudà*, *snaūdas*; *snudà*, *snūdas* 'doze' (e-LKŽ); *snaudė*, like *snaudālis*, *snaudālė*, also other plants: 'yellow everlastings (*Helichrysum arenarium*)'; 'Alpine cat's-foot (*Antennaria dioica*)' (e-LKŽ).

As to the appearance of a fruit of the dandelion made from silver tufts (cf. Gritėnienė 2006: 110), some names of the plant is based on the old Slavism *pīkas* (cf. OBel. *nyxv*). Such names were recorded in the writings of the 16th century already (cf. Būga II 364f.; Skardžius IV 240; LEW 664; Smoczyński 2007: 487): *pūkėnė* (Alksnėnai, Zarasai; with the suffix *-enė*), *pūkūčiai* (Šiulėnai; with the suffix *-utis*). Apart from these names, the derivative *pūkis* with the ending *-is* mentioned in the Lithuanian Dictionary of Botany (LBŽ 342).

The word *gegėlas* has been recorded in Tauragnai like a similar name of the field horsetail (*Equisetum arvense*) used in the same subdialect *gegėlis* (e-LKŽ; Gritėnienė 2006: 38) most likely formed with the help of the suffix derived from the adjectival affix *\*-lo-* from *gėgė* 'cuckoo'. And this one is a retrograde derivative (cf. Skardžius I 21 f.) from the older *gegužė*, which has equivalents in other Baltic (Latv. *dzeuze*, Pruss. *geuze* E 731) and perhaps Slavonic languages (ORuss. *жегъзуля*, Pol. *gżegzółka*, etc., see Trautmann 1923: 81; LEW 142f.; ИЯ E-H 189f.; PKEŽ I 337; Sabaliauskas 1990: 117) if this is not a loanword from the Baltic languages into the Slavonic languages (see Prinz 1966).

According to Vytautas Mažiulis (PKEŽ I 337f.), the derivative with the suffix \*-už- (cf. also Ambrazas 2000: 98) Lith. *gegužė* and its relatives are from the onomatopoeia \**ge-gũ*).

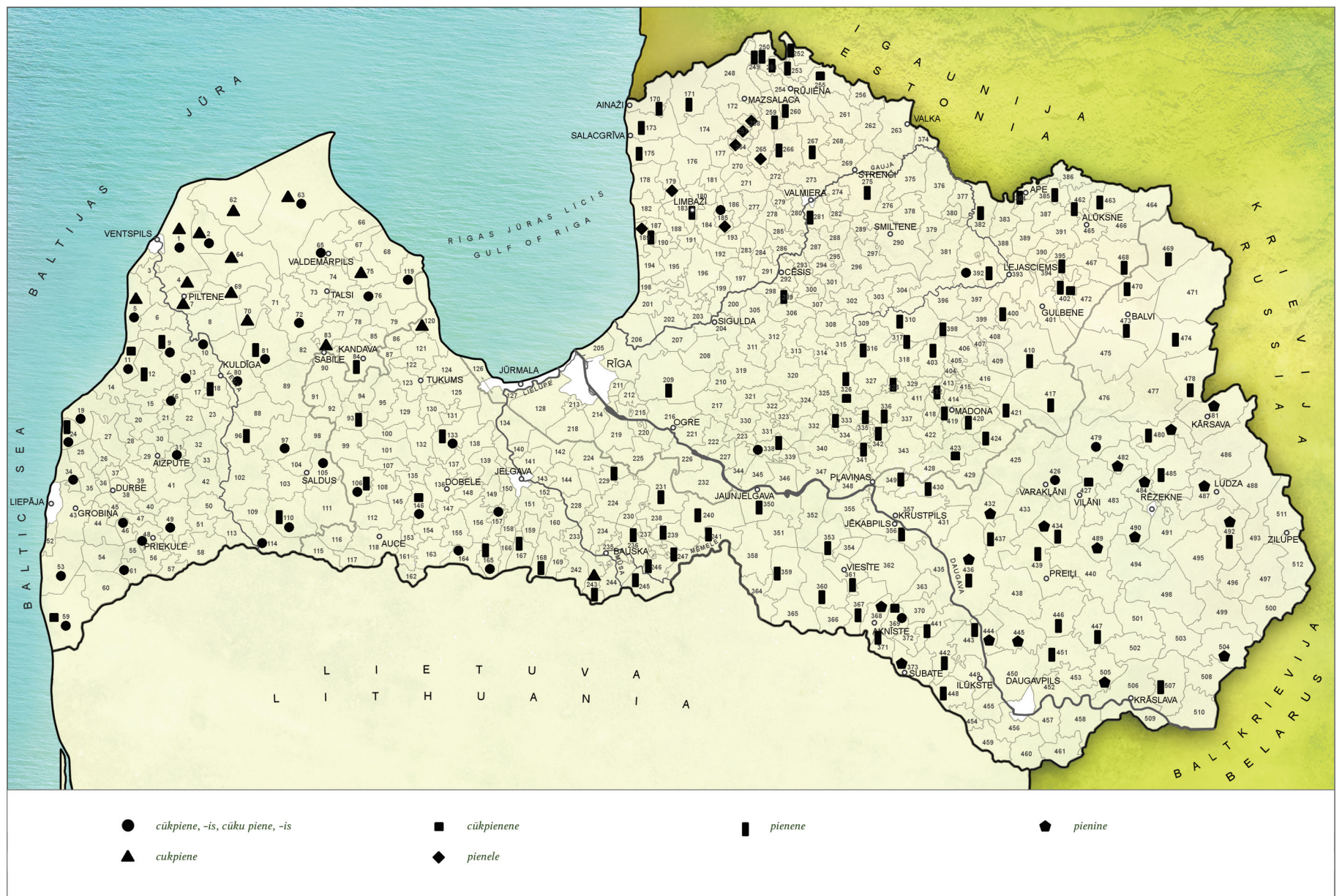
The name *dylikinė* found in Mielagėnai is made with the help of the adjectival suffix *-inis* (*-ė*) from the numeral *dylika* (twelve). The latter, in its turn, is a compound. The first component *dy-* perhaps originated from the older \**dvei-* (cf. OCS *dvě*, ORuss. *dvē*) and later changed due to the influence of *trylika*. And the second com-

ponent, as the forms used in the old writings *antras liekas* 'the twelfth' shows once was the adjective *liekas* 'extra' corresponding to Latv. *lieks* 'extra' (for more about it see Mažiulis 1957: 40ff.). This is a derivative with the ending \*-o- from IE verb *leik<sup>h</sup>-*, cf. Lith. *likti* (*lieka*), Latv. *likt* (*lieku*) 'to place, to build', Pruss. *polinka* 'stays', Goth. *leihvan* 'to lend', Lat. *linguo*, Gk. *λείπω* 'I leave', OInd. *riṅákti* 'it remains', etc. (Trautmann 1923: 145f.; LEW 372f.; IEW 669f.; ПЯ L 22ff.; Sabaliauskas 1990: 92; PKEŽ III 318; Smoczyński 2007: 355f.).









*Baltų kalbų atlasas*  
*Leksika 1: flora*

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## *Names of the Cornflower*





# Names of the Cornflower

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The map and its comments are based on the answers to Question No. 83 of the lexical Questionnaire of the ALE. Additionally, the answers to Question No. 76 of Antanas Salys' *Apklausa* (Questionnaire) 1 and *Latviešu valodas augu nosaukumi* (Collection of the Names of Plants) compiled by Inese Ēdelmane and Ārija Ozola (Ēdelmane, Ozola 2003) were used.

The wild plant of the family *Asteraceae*, the weed of winter wheat (*Centaurea cyanus*) is called in Lith. compounds *rūgiagėlė* and Latv. *rudzupuķe*. The basis of their formation is the word common to the Baltic (cf. Lith. *rugys*, Latv. *rudzis*, Pruss. *rugis* E 258), Slavonic (cf. ORuss. *ръжь*), Germanic (cf. OIc. *rugr*, OE *ryge*) languages (see Trautmann 1923: 246; Būga III 681; ME III 555; Porzig 1954: 143; Sabaliauskas 1958a: 455, 1990: 43; IEW 1183; LEW 745f.; Чесоданов 1962: 82f.; Stang 1972: 46; ИЯ 419, 658; PKEŽ IV 32f.; Smoczyński 2007: 523). Its further origin is not clear altogether.

The second components of the Lithuanian and Latvian compounds being discussed differ. In case of the Lithuanian (*rūgia-gėlė*) compound this is a rather old word *gėlė*. It most probably is a verbal derivative with the ending *-ė*, also cf. Lith. *gėltas*, Latv. *dzelts* 'yellow', Lith. *geltónas*, Latv. *dzeltnas* 'yellow', Pruss. *gelatynan* < \**geltaynan* 'yellow' E 464, also satemic variants Lith. *želti*, Latv. *zēlt* 'to shoot', Lith. *žālias*, *žolė*, etc., and further Slav. \**zelenъ* 'green', \**žlto* 'yellow'; OGH *gēlo*, Cym. *gell* 'yellow', OInd. *hāri-* 'light, yellow' and so on (see LEW 144).

Lith. *rūgiagėlė* is frequent in the subdialects of southern Lowlanders in Varniai district, southern subdialects of southern and western Highlanders, cf.: *šic m'en'k'ì rug'aĩ.* | *vien'ì ku.kālai* | *rūg'ag'ė.lė.s* 'here rye is poor – mere corn cockles, cornflowers' DrskŽ 310; *rūgegėlė.s tēb gražai.* *žrzi* 'cornflowers blossom so nicely' PpaŽK; *koki čia rugiai – vienos rūgiagėlės* 'what rye it is – mere cornflowers' Druskininkai (e-LKŽ).

The material collected according to Salys' Questionnaire 1 shows that this name (cf. also its other variants *rugiāgėlė*, *rugiagėlė*, *rugiagėlė*, *rugiagilė*, *rugigėlė*, *rūgedėlė*, *rūdegėlė*, *rūdagėlė*, *rudagėlė*, *rūdalėlė*) earlier was used in the entire dialect of Highlanders and in the area of southern subdialect of Lowlanders, as well as beyond the borders of Lithuania (around Pusk).

The standard form is *rūgiagėlė*. However, in dialects one can observe the shift of the stress toward the inflexion: *rugiāgėlė*, *rugiagėlė*,

*rugiagėlė*, *rugiagėlė*. Here one has to have in mind that compounds with a stress in the first component with the linking vowel *ia* are as though exceptions to the general tendency – to stress the linking vowel, cf. *spygliātvorė*, *krumpliāratīs*, etc. On the whole accentuation of compounds underwent changes of different nature (cf. Mikulėnienė 2005: 115ff. and lit.).

The name *rūgiagėlė* and its variants were not used in the old writings.

The names of the flower under discussion have variants with the linking vowel *i*: *rūgigėlė*, *rugigėlė*, *rugigėlė*, *rugigėlė*. In the Lithuanian language not only those compounds whose first component is the *i*-stem word have the linking vowel *i* (e.g.: *akimirkšnīs*: *akīs*, *naktižiedė*: *naktīs*; moment; eye, catchfly; night) but also those compounds whose first component is *ā*, *ō*, *ūō* or the (*i*)*ē* stem noun, e.g.: *vaikigalis*: *vaikas*, *basligalis*: *baslys*, *blauzdikaulis*: *blauzdā*, *eglišakė*: *ėglė* (cf. Urbutis 1965: 445f.).

Such distribution of the linking vowel *i* is very old, cf. the names *Gediminas*, *Minigaila*, *Noributas*, etc., which have parallels in other cognate languages (for more about it see Skardžius I 418ff., IV 665ff. and lit.).

The interchange of palatalised consonants *đ* and *g* in southern and some eastern subdialects of Highlanders (about it see Leskauskaitė, Mikulėnienė 1998 and lit.), as well as their link with the adjective *rūdas* determined the appearance of the forms *rūgiadėlė*, *rūdiagėlė*, *rūdagėlė*, *rudagėlė*, *rūdalėlė*.

The second component of the compound *rugiāžolė*, the word *žolė* used in all Baltic languages (cf. Latv. *zāle*, Pruss. *soalis* 'grass' E 293, acc. sing. *sālin* III 105<sub>13</sub>) is of the same origin as the above-discussed *gėlė*, and the variant *rugiakvietkà* is a Slavism *kvietkà* recorded in the writings of the 16th century (cf. OBel. *κβίτκα*, see Skardžius IV 175).

Neither of these compounds was recorded in the old writings and dialectal dictionaries. The name *rugiāžolė* is known from the material of the Programme for Collecting Facts of the Language recorded around Juodupė from the written language; cf. *Ji pareina taku nuo alksnyno, rankose turėdama aibes rugiažolių* 'she is coming home along a path from the alder grove with a bunch of *rugiāžolės* in her hands' written lang. (e-LKŽ).



When collecting the material according to Salys' Questionnaire 1 it was established that the variant *rugiakovietkà* is used around Mažaičiai.

Latv. *rudzupuķe* is spread in the entire territory of Latvia. The variant *rudzpuķe* is used in the Livonian subdialects of Kurzeme and Vidzeme. The word combination *rudzu puķe*, which is also recorded in the whole of Latvia, is rarer.

This is testified to by the examples of Latvian dialects: *smukas jòu tòas rudzupuķēs je, bét i nazoáļēs àr řèizē* 'those cornflowers are pretty, and at the same time they are weeds' Aknīste (ALE); *nařèiri rudzi – kiukuļi da rudzu pučis* 'rye is not clean – only corn cockles and cornflowers' Nautrēni (ALE); *rudzpuķ' zil' krās' i, tuņši zil'* 'cornflowers are blue, dark blues' Idus (ALE); *ziēdēt ziēd rudzu vārpa, bet, kad ziēd rudzupuķe, vārpa viņū neviņņēja* 'the ear of corn is in blossom, and when the cornflower is in blossom, the ear of the corn fails to overcome it' Nica (ALE); *rudzpuķs ziēd pa rudziņ, smuk, zil' ziēdiņ* 'cornflowers blossom in rye, pretty blue blossoms' Vainiži (ALE); *rudzupuķes ař řesuôt nizâls, bet maņ viņ's patik* 'cornflowers are also weeds but I like them' Zālīte (ALE).

The masc. form *rudzupuķis* is also used in Livonian subdialects, e.g.: *rudzupuķi oūg rudzos un ziēd a zilim ziēdim* 'cornflowers grow in the rye and bloom with blue flowers' Svētciems (ALE).

The second component of all these Latvian names *puķe* 'flower' is a Finnish borrowing, cf. Livian *putk, puk'k', put't'* 'flower' (ME III 405f.; Frenkelis 1969: 67; Sabaliauskas 1963: 134 and lit.).

Latv. *rudzu puķe* is used in the dictionaries of the 17th–18th century: *Rudsu Pukkes* Korn blumen Fürecker 1685 II 220; *Rudsu=puķķes* Korn=blumen Depkin 1704 III 1227; Kornähre, *rudfu pukke* Stender 1789 I 363; *Rudfu pukke*. Roggenblume Stender 1789 II 220.

The rare Latvian word *rūdzpūķis* in Lithuanian originated from Latv. *rudzupuķe*. This name and its variants *rūdzpūķis, rudzpuķe* are known from only from the western part of Lithuania (Klaipėda environs), e.g.: *daug tų rūdzpūķių žyda į rugius, viskas mėlynuoj[a]* 'many cornflowers bloom in the rye, everything is blue' Dovilai (e-LKŽ).

Germ. *Kornblume* 'cornflower' is of the same semantics as Lith. *rūgiagėlė* / Latv. *rudzupuķe*. The Germanism *körnblumė* recorded around Šilutė is related to that word. This name is used in the environs of Lyduokiai.

The Slavims of the same origin *vosilka* / *vasilka* are used in the meaning of the cornflower in Lithuanian and Latvian dialects and forms a common area of distribution (cf. OBel. *василѣкъ*, gen. sg. *василькá*, Pol. *wasilka, wasilek* 'cornflower', see Skardžius IV 298; Даль I 167).

Lith. *vosilkà* (and its variants *vosilka, vòsilka, vosilkas, vosilkas, vòsilkas, vosilkė, vosilkė*) is characteristic of all Lithuanian dialects.

The answers to Salys' Questionnaire 1 show that there used to be more variants: *vasilkà* (around Pikeliai, Skliaustė, Leckava, Klykoliai, Židikai, Tirkšliai, Vieکشniai, Padvarėliai, Kriukai, Žeimelis, Namajūnai and other places), *vasilka* (around Dapšiai, Zastaučiai, Tirkšliai, Kriukai, Žeimelis, Virškupėnai, Pabiržė, Daukniūnai, Geidžiūnai, etc.), *vasilkė* (around Laižuva, Tirkšliai, Vieکشniai, Skuodiškiai), *vasilkė* (around Zastaučiai, Urvikiai), *vósyłka* (around Klykoliai, Urvikiai), *vasilkas* (around Pikeliai, Leckava, Kerviai, Skliaustė, Židikai, Skuodas, Šarkė, Ylakai, Vabalai, Padvarėliai, Paluknė, Mosėdis, Vabalai, Puokė, Žemaičių Kalvarija, Seda, Dameliai, etc.), *vasilkas* (around Virškupėnai, Kuršėnai, Šakiniai, Mižuikai, Varniai, Gomaliai, Karčemos, Vaiguva, Anykščiai, Kurkliai, Pagiriai and other places), *vāsilkas* (around Kupreliškis, Šiekštininkai), *visilka* (around Urvikiai, Nauja-

miestis), *visilka* (around Dikoniai), *visilkas* (around Joniškėlis, Naujamiestis), *vosilka* (around Krakės), *vosilkà* (around Surviliškis, Truska-va, Ilgižiai, Andrioniškis), *vosilkas* (around Pašušvys), *vasėlka* (around Švėkšna, Judrėnai), *vasėlkas* (around Žlibinai), *vasielka* (around Viduklė), *vozilkà* (around Lekėčiai), *vozilka* (around Paupys, Mauručiai), *osilkà* (around Gražuliai, Trečiūnai, Skriaudžiai, Pašlavantis, Prienai, Marijampolė, Igliauka, Liudvinavas and other places), *usilkà* (around Pakruojis), *usilka* (around Kapčiūnai), *usilkas* (around Rudiškiai, Lūpaičiai, Norušaičiai, Pakruojis, Kapčiūnai, Šeduva, Raginėnai and other places), *asilkas* (around Joniškėlis).

The variety and distribution of these names can be illustrated by the examples from Lithuanian dialects: *dažnāi i vosilkàs riņgdavom* 'we often gathered cornflowers too' ZnŽ III 701; *ruģuōs va.silku. net mēlina* 'there are plenty of cornflowers in the rye – everything is blue' KlŽ; *vosilkos rugiuosà auga, ānos mėlynai žydz* 'cornflowers grow in the rye, their blossoms are blue' LzŽ 291; *sako, pirmos vasilkos žydzia, tai reikia linai sēt* 'they say, the first cornflowers bloom, so it is time to sow flax' Biržai (e-LKŽ); *jauroj auga vosilkos* 'cornflowers grow in ashen-grey soil' Dusetos (e-LKŽ); *vasilkos – nē kokia kvietka: žolė, i gana* 'cornflowers are not flowers, that's grass, and that's it' Viduklė (e-LKŽ); *vasilkės auga rugiūse* 'cornflowers grow in the rye' Vieکشniai (e-LKŽ); *iš vosilkių vainikėlis gražiai mėlynuojas* 'a cornflower wreath shows blue nicely' Valkininkai (e-LKŽ); *vosilkaĩ mėlynais teip jau daugiausia žiedeliais, ale bet būdavo ir rausvų* 'on the whole cornflowers have blue blossoms but there were also reddish ones' Suvainiškis (e-LKŽ).

The name *vosilkà* was recorded as far back as the 17th century:

\* In both dictionaries of Konstantinas Sirvydas: *modrak / caliba, calen-||dula, wofilka* SPr 83; *Modrak / modrzeniec. Cyanus. Wofilka* SD<sup>3</sup>178;

\* In the first manuscript German-Lithuanian dictionaries of Lithuania Minor; e.g.: *Kornbluhm Wofilka* Lex 55a; *Korn=Bluhme. Wofilka, ôs, F. C I 1099.*

The variant *vasilkà* (resp. *vasilka, vāsilka*) with the vowel *a* in the root is also used in dialects. The vowels *o* and *a* gradation is quite a frequent phenomenon in Lithuanian Slavisms (cf. Zinkevičius 1997).

In some places instead of *a, o* the vowel *i* (*visilkà, visilka*) or *u* (*vosilkà, vosilka*) is pronounced, the vowel *i* is replaced with *e* (*vasėlka*) or *ie* (*vasielka*), the voiced consonant *s*→*z* (*vozilkà, vozilka*). The remake *valilka* has been recorded in Pavinkšniai.

The consonant *v* is not pronounced at the beginning of the word in some part of Lithuanian dialects, e.g.: *vóras*→*óras, vokietis / vokie-tys*→*ókiētis / okiētys*, etc. (see Zinkevičius 1966: 177f.; LKA II 112f., Map 94). This change is characteristic of the Slavism under study: *osilkà, usilkà, usilka*.

Morphological variants are also to be mentioned: *vosilkas, vosilkas, vósilkas, vòsilkas; vosilkė, vosilkė; vasilkas, vasilkas, vāsilkas; vasilkė, vasilkė, vasilkià; vozilkas; vasėlkas; asilkas; usilkas*.

Stem variations of this nature are characteristic of Lithuanian nouns too. The parallel *õ* and *ā* stems are old, e.g., *nāgas*||*nagà* (see Stundžia 1978).

Attempts to Lithuanianise this Slavism can be seen in Lithuanian dialects – diminutives with the suffix *-(i)ukas* (that originated from IE \*-ko-, see Ambrazas 2000: 90f. and lit.) are used: *vosilùkas, vosiliùkas; vasilùkas*.

Latv. *vasilka* is used in the east and south of Latgale. In some of the dialects other variants of this name have been recorded – *vuosilka* (Kalupe), *vosilka* (Izvalta), e.g.: *vasilkyš – taiðys zilys pukētiš pa*

*rudzým žīt* ‘cornflowers are such blue small flowers, they bloom in the rye’ Asūne (ALE); *agruōk bārnus pužāja ài rusālkōm, lai, lasiēdami vašīlkys, namēidēitu rudzu* ‘earlier children were threatened with mermaids so that would not trample down rye when picking cornflowers’ Kaunata (ALE); *vašīlku vāiņuks* ‘a cornflower wreath’ Pilda (ALE); *vašōlkys vysvairuōk rudzūs aūk* ‘cornflowers are most often grow in the rye’ Izvalta (ALE); *rudzu fēirumā aūk vūošīlkys, kūkūlī, jī nagōņti izbāic labeibu* ‘cornflowers, corn cockles that damage the corn badly, grow in the rye’ Kalupe (KIV II 546).

The name *naktinīca* most often is used compactly in central subdialects of Latgale. It has been recorded in the answers to ALE Lexical questions in Ozolaine and Varakļāni, in the supplementary material – also in Aizkalne, Galēni, Višķi. The variant *naktenīca* (*nakfēnīca*) has been recorded in northern Latgale (in Šķilbēni) and the variant *naktinīdza* (*naktīnēidza*) – in southern Latgale (in Višķi), e.g.: *naktīnēicys aūg rudzūs* ‘cornflowers grow in the rye’ Galēni (ALE); *naktīnēicai gārs kuōc* ‘a cornflower has a long stem’ Ozolaine (ALE); *naktīnēica* (used by older generation) – *kas jāu fī pār puči, a pīļsātuōs is fērga pīerk* ‘the cornflower – it is not much of a flower, but people in towns buy it in the market’ Varakļāni (ALE); *naktīnēidzu vāinuēņū gōlvā* ‘a cornflower wreath is on the head’ Višķi (ALE).

The word *naktinīca* found in the Collection of the names of plants of the Latvian Language was recorded in Aizkalne, Barkava, Dignāja, Galēni, Malta, Preiļi, Rudzēti, Silajāni, Varakļāni, Vārkava, *naktinīce* – in Ozolaine, *naktenīca* – in Aglona, Makašēni, Višķi, *naktine* – in Gaigalava, but *naktenīte* – in Sakstagals and Stirniene (Ēdelmane, Ozola 2003: 327).

Latv. *naktinīca*, as well as its variant *naktenīca*, is hybrid. It is made from a very old noun *nakts* ‘night’ that dates back to the IE parent language, cf. Lith. *naktis*, Pruss. acc. sg. *naktin* ‘at night’, OCS. *noštъ*, Goth. *nahts*, Alb. *natë*, Lat. *nox* (gen. sg. *noctis*), Oind. *nāk* (acc. sg. *nāktam*), Gk. *νύξ*, *νυκτός* ‘night’, OIr. *in-nocht* ‘this night’, Toch. A *n[a]ktim* ‘nightly’, Toch. B *nekciye* ‘in the evening’, Hitt. *neku-* ‘evening’, etc. (Trautmann 1923: 193; ME II 690f.; IEW 762f.; LEW 482f.; ИЯ 791f., Footnote 1; Sabaliauskas 1990: 50; PKEŽ III 168f.; Smoczyński 2007: 415).

This might be a verbal derivative, cf. Hitt. *neku-* ‘to get dark, the day is drawing to a close’, perhaps partly Lith. *nakvoti* ‘to sleep’ too (Иванов 1965: 67f. and lit.).

On the other hand, the suffix *-inica* is Slavonic. It is true, it originated from *\*-iniko-* / *-ineiko-* (cf. Барбор 1969: 119ff.; Vaillant 1974: 349ff.). The latter evolved after two suffixes merged: the adjectival suffix *\*-ino-* and the one of diminutive origin *\*-iko-* / *-īko-* / *-eiko-* (cf. OCS. *grěšbnikъ* ‘sinner’: *grěšbnъ* ‘sinful’, see Vaillant 1974: 306ff.) and reflects very old contacts between the pre-Baltic and Pre-Slavic languages. It should be noted that Lithuanians and Prussians used one apophonic variant of the suffix *\*-iniko-* / *-ineiko-* and Latvians used another, cf. Lith. *laukinỹkas* ‘peasant’, Pruss. *laukinikis* ‘landowner’ E 407 and Latv. *laūcinieks* ‘peasant’ (for more about it see Ambrazas 2000: 118ff., 2006: 68).

The equivalent in the Lithuanian language *naktinỹcia* denotes other plants: ‘common evening primrose (*Oenothera biennis*)’, ‘night scented stock (*Matthiola bicornis*)’, ‘self-heal (*Prunella*)’ (Gritėnienė 2006: 108, 118, 180).

The names *zīdene* (Īvande, Renda, Venta) and *žīdene* (Alsunga, Pope) have been recorded in northern and central subdialects of Kurzeme, e.g.: *tūr pulk zīdeņs tuōs rudzuōs* ‘there are plenty of cornflowers in the rye’ Renda (ALE); *žīdene i zīl zīēd* ‘blossoms of the

cornflower are blue’ Alsunga (ALE); *uz Jāņem salasij žīdens un nuopīn jāņkruōn* ‘On St. John’s Day they picked cornflowers and made a St. John’s wreath’ Pope (ALE).

The names of the cornflower presented in the dictionary of the names of plants compiled by Inese Ēdelmane and Ārija Ozola broaden the area of distribution of *zīdene* and *žīdene* – *zīdene* is also used in Padure, Piltene, Renda, Ugāle, Užava, Zūras, *žīdene* – in Ance, Basi, Ēdole, Jūrkalne, Snēpele, and the compound *rudzzīdene* – in Venta (Ēdelmane, Ozola 2003: 329).

Jānis Endzelīns (ME IV 731) relates the word *zīdene* to the word *zīds* ‘silk’ (this is a borrowing, cf. Est. *sīt*, CLG *sīde*, see ME IV 731f.) on the basis of the blossom’s resemblance to silk. The name *žīdene* most likely is to be regarded as its phonetic variant.

The name *šīlķas* recorded around Pakruojis semantically corresponds to Latv. *zīdene*, *žīdene*, cf. its variants *šīlķelis* (around Mikniūnai, Pašvitinys), *siļķas* (around Gudaliai, Žemaičių Kalvarija; cf. e-LKŽ – around Kvėdarna), *siļķe* (around Genionys, Pūčkornės).

The word *šīlķas* is an old Slavism borrowed before the beginning of the 12th century, cf. ORuss. *шѣлкъ* (Būga I 340f.). Thereby by this word, or its derivatives revealing the peculiarities of blossoms some other flowers are denoted in Lithuanian dialects (cf. Gritėnienė 2006: 80, 86, 151 etc.).

The names used in some Latvian subdialects are related to the blue colour of the plant’s blossoms – *zilā puķe* (Nīca), *zilene* (Šķilbēni, Tilža), e.g.: *ruzīc aūga maizīte, zilā puķe – vāiņagam* ‘rye grows for bread, and a cornflower for a wreath’ Nīca (ALE); *zyļejīm zīdīm – zīlēniš* ‘flowers with blue blossoms are cornflowers’ Šķilbēni (ALE).

Ēdelmane and Ozola indicate that the name *zilā puķe* was also recorded in Aknīste and Annenieki, *zilene* – in Baltinava, *zilinīca* – in Istra, and the Nom. Pl. form of the diminutive *zilenītes* – in Ružina and Viļāni (Ēdelmane, Ozola 2003: 328f.).

The basis of these words is the adjective *zils* ‘blue’ that corresponds to Lith. *žilas*, related Lith. *žėlti*, *žėlias* (ME IV 720; LEW 1296; Smoczyński 2007: 784f.), *gėlė* (cf. p. 416).

Similar names of nomina qualitative are often made with the suffix *-enis*, *-ene* (derived from *\*-no-*) in the Latvian language (cf. Endzelīns 1951: 298ff.). Derivatives of this type are much rarer in the Lithuanian language, cf. Latv. *mėllene* and Lith. *mėlėnė* ‘blueberry’ (Ambrazas 2000: 166, 2006: 72).

It should be remembered here that Jurgis Pabrėža (1771–1849) and later botanists used the derivative with the ending *-ė žīlė* ‘hair touched with grey; grey hair, gray head’ (e-LKŽ) made of the adjective *žilas* to name the flower (*Senecio*) of the *Asteraceae* family. It is true, different names of this flower are used in dialects (Gritėnienė 2006: 107f.).

A greater number of rare names of the cornflower have been recorded according to Salys’ Questionnaire 1.

The word *mėlynė* denotes the cornflower around Perloja. This derivative with the ending *-ė* has other meanings in dialects too: ‘a plant of the *Ericaceae* family, bilberry (*Vaccinium myrtillus*)’; ‘bog bilberry (*Vaccinium uliginosum*)’; ‘a potato of bilberry species’ (cf. e-LKŽ).

This derivative is based on the adjective *mėlynas*, which is made with the help of the suffix *-ynas* (one few adjectives have retained it in the Baltic languages; with the derivative suffix *\*-ī-no-* that evolved from *\*-no-* different nouns are usually made here) from *mėlas* ‘blue’, related to Latv. *mėlns* ‘black’, Pruss. *melne* ‘bruise’ E 161, and further most probably Gk. *μέλας* ‘black’, Goth. *meljan* ‘to write’, OInd. *mālam* ‘mud, dirt’ and others (see IEW 720f.).

According to Vytautas Mažiulis (PKEŽ III 123ff.), they, in their turn, originated from the verb *\*mel(H)-* / *\*mol(H)-* / *\*ml̥(H)* ‘to make oneself dirty, to darker’, cf. also Lith. *mėlmas* ‘pale, palish’ (Ambrazas 2007: 17).

The compound *mėlinžiedis* is used around Virškopėnai, Papilys. Its second component *žiedas*, corresponding to Latv. *ziēds* ‘blossom’ is a derivative with the ending *-as* from the Baltic verb (cf. Lith. *žydėti*, Latv. *ziēdēt* ‘to blossom’), which most probably has related words in the Germanic language, cf. Goth. *keinan* ‘to germinate’ (IEW 355f.; LEW 1305; Stang 1972: 65f.; Sabaliauskas 1990: 192; Smoczyński 2007: 781).

The word *šarkakojis* in the meaning of the cornflower has been recorded around Gražiškiai. In a much larger area, however, this compound (more often stressed *šarkakojis*, *šarkakojis*) denotes ‘the forking larkspur (*Consolida regalis*)’ whose leaves are divided twice or three times into narrow, linear sections resembling a bird’s leg (Grišenienė 2006: 147f.), ‘ground pine (*Lycopodium clavatum*)’, cosmos (*Cosmos*) (e-LKŽ).

The first component *šarka* is most probably of onomatopoeic origin (e.g.: *kar kar*), like some names of birds (cf. Urbutis 1981: 45ff.; PKEŽ IV 64). It corresponds to Pruss. *sarke* E 725, Slav. *\*sorka* ‘magpie’, has some parallels in other cognate languages, cf. OInd. *śāri-* ‘such a bird’, *śārikā* ‘Indian magpie’, Alb. *sorrë* ‘crow’ (Trautmann 1923: 299; LEW 964; IEW 569; Sabaliauskas 1990: 34; PKEŽ IV 63f.; Smoczyński 2007: 624). The second component *kója* is an innovation of the eastern Balts (cf. Latv. *kāja* ‘leg’) that has not had a convincing etymology thus far (see ME II 186ff.; LEW 280; Sabaliauskas 1990: 144; Smoczyński 2007: 303f.).

The word *mėldas* denoted the cornflower around Sudargas. The word *mėldas* / *mėldas* usually means ‘a plant of the *Cyperaceae* family (*Scirpus*)’, sometimes ‘the reed’; ‘the rush (*Juncus*)’ (e-LKŽ).

It is common to the Lithuanian and Latvian languages (cf. *mėldi* ‘bulrush’). Most likely this is a derivative (or it might be a substantivised adjective) made from the verb *\*mėld<sup>(h)</sup>-* ‘to make gentle, soft’, cf. Pruss. *mal dai* ‘young’ III 97<sub>2</sub>, Slav. *\*moldb* ‘young’, Lat. *mollis* ‘soft, flexible’, Ir. *mėldach* ‘soft’, Gk. μέλδομαι ‘I soften’, OInd. *mṛdú-* ‘soft, delicate, pleasant’ and others (Būga II 166, 211; ME II 594f.; LEW 431; Sabaliauskas 1990: 157; PKEŽ III 100ff.; Smoczyński 2007: 386).

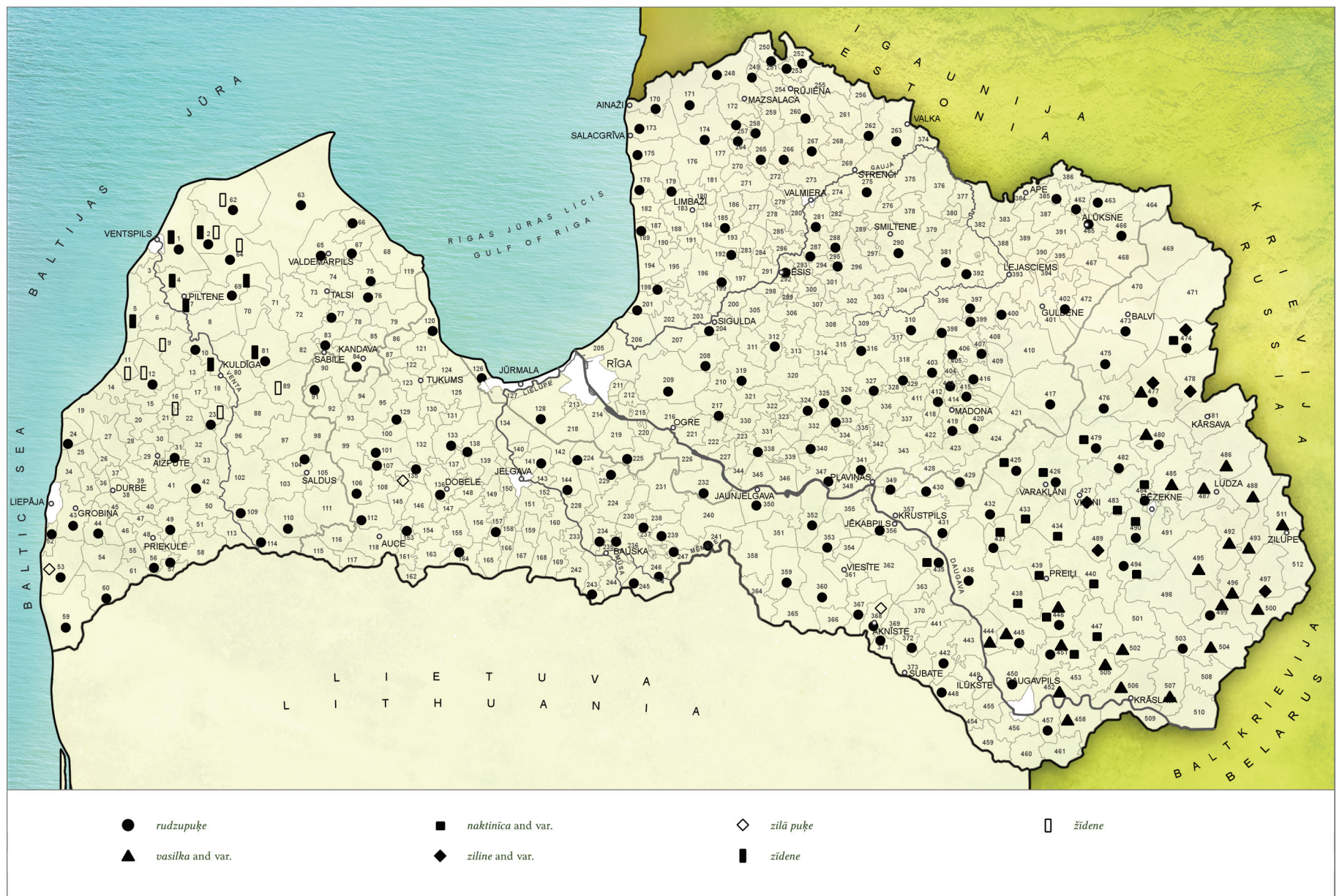
In its turn it most probably evolved from the older *\*(s)mėl-* ‘to crush, to grind’, Lith. *mėlti*, *smėlkus*, etc. originated from there (see IEW 716ff.; PKEŽ III 101, 105).

The names of the cornflower *kūkālis*, *kaukulis* used around Stupurai, Lūpaičiai, Žemytė most probably are related to Lith. *kūkti* (it should be noted that it most often is used to define drooping, flattening of ripe corn, e.g.: *tokia giedra, kad kasdien matyti, kaip javai kūnka* Bartninkai, see e-LKŽ), Latv. *kukt* ‘to bend, to droop’ (derived from IE *\*keu-* ‘bend’ expanded with the help of the determinant *-k-*, cf. IEW 588ff.), cf. Lith. *kūkis* ‘hook’ (for more about it see Mikulskas 2002), *kaūkas* ‘wooden hook or bow, – a certain tool of fishermen’, *kaūkaras* ‘a small mountain, hill’, *kūoka*, Latv. *kūoks* ‘tree, stick’, Pruss. *queke* ‘fence-pole’ E 635; Serb., Cro. *kūka* ‘hook’, *kvàka* ‘door handle, hook’; Goth. *hauhs* ‘high’, OScand. *haugr* ‘hill’, etc. (Būga I 168; Trautmann 1923: 121; ME II 302; ПЯ K–L 380ff.; PKEŽ II 327ff.).

Hence, from the point of view of formation the names of the cornflower being discussed can be treated as names of agents that have the suffix *-alis* (which originated from *\*-lo-*) and *-ulis*, which came from the names of actions to the category of the names of agents (cf. Ambrazas 1993: 120, 158f.).

This name, however, can mean another plant too – Lith. *kūkālis* ‘corn cockle (*Agrostemma githago*)’, cf. Latv. *kuokalis*, *kaukuolis*, *kūkalis*, *kūkolis* ‘corn cockle’.



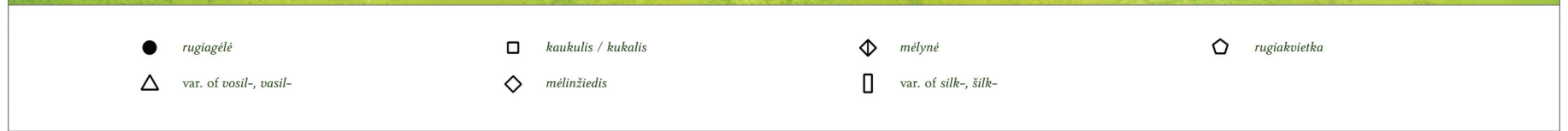
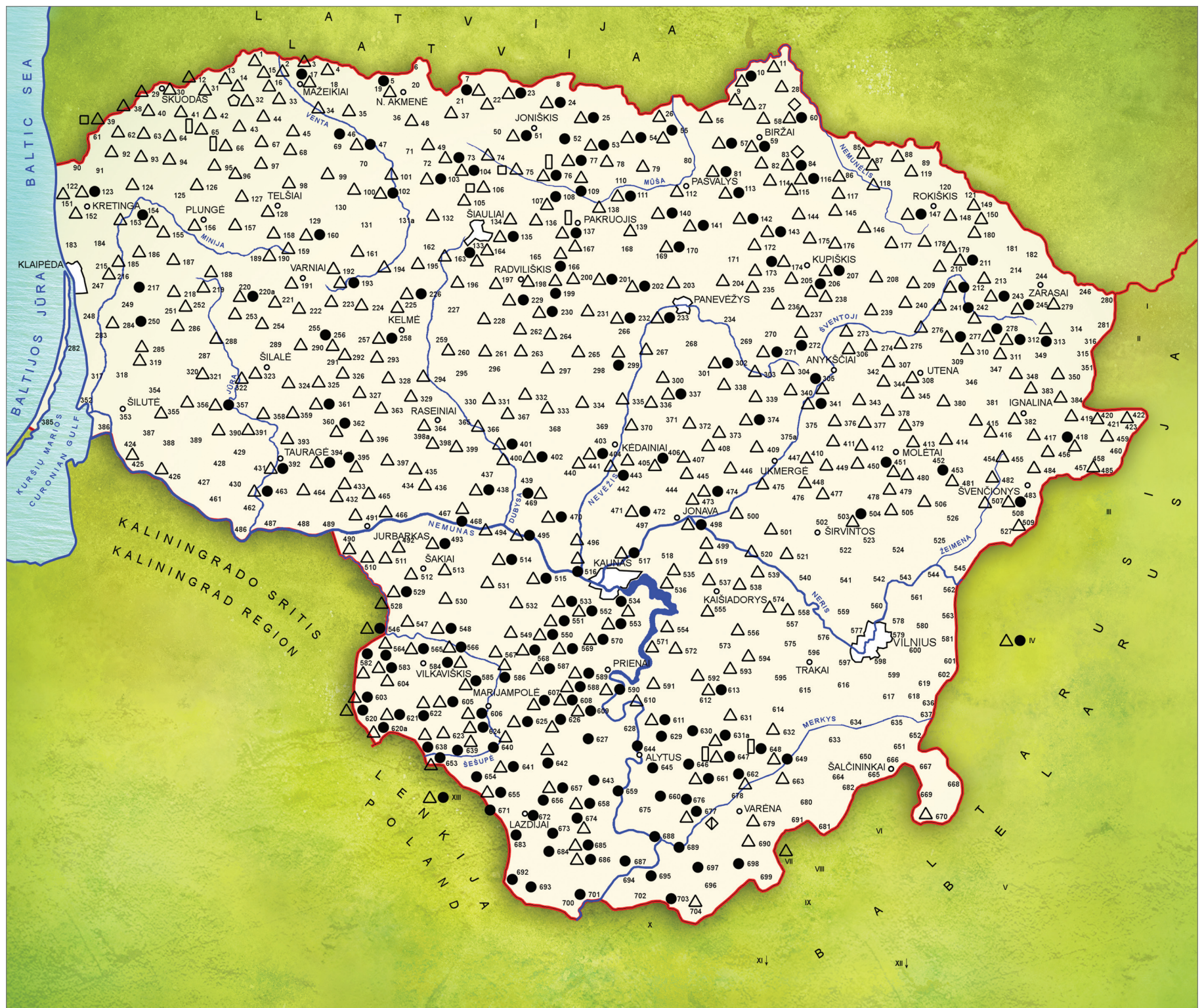






- |  |                            |                              |                   |                |
|--|----------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|----------------|
| ● Latv. rudzupuķe<br>Lith. rudzupkis               | △ Lith. vasilkas, vosilkas | ◇ Lith. kornblūnē            | ◻ Latv. zilene    | ○ Latv. zidene |
| △ Latv. vasilka, vasiļka<br>Lith. vasilka, vosilka | △ Lith. vosilkē            | ◻ Latv. naktinīca, naktenīca | ◻ Latv. zilā puķe | ○ Latv. židene |
|  | ■ Lith. rugiagēlē          |                              |                   |                |



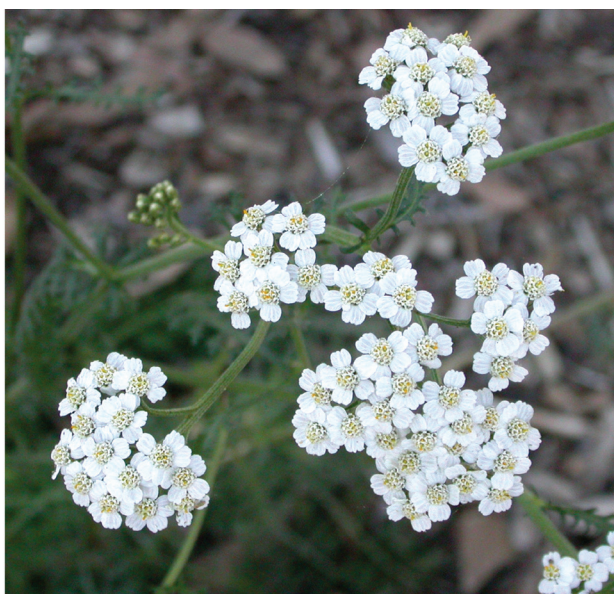




*Baltų kalbų atlasas*  
*Leksika 1: flora*

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## *Names of the Yarrow*



# Names of the Yarrow

Authors of the comments: Ilga Jansone, Asta Leskauskaitė, Saulius Ambrasas

The map and its comments are based on LKA I Map No. 95 and comments on it, Map No. 16 of the lexical part of LVDA and its comment. Additionally, the collection of the names of plants compiled by Inese Ēdelmane and Ārija Ozola (Ēdelmane, Ozola 2003: 262–266), as well as answers to question No. 68 of Antanas Salys' *Apklaudas* (Questionnaire) 1 were made use of.

The map represents the distribution of the names of the medicinal plant (*Achillea millefolium* L.) of the family *Asteraceae* that has fine featherly leaves.

Yarrow preparations are used in folk medicine to stop bleeding. This is reflected in many Lithuanian and some Latvian names of the yarrow (cf. Gritėnienė 2006: 181ff., 187). First of all, derivatives that are based on the names of blood are discussed.

The Latvian language (the only one of the Baltic languages) has preserved a very old, undoubtedly Indo-European name of blood *asins*, cf.: Hitt. *ešhar* (gen. sg. *ešhanaš*), Toch. A *ysār*, Toch. B. *yasar*, OInd. *ásrk* (gen. sg. *asnáh*), Arm. *ariwn*, Gk. poet. *ἄρα*, OLat. *as(s)er*, *assy* 'blood' (ME I 143f.; LEW 290; IEW 343; ИЯ 816; Sabaliauskas 1990: 12; Smoczyński 2001: 123; Ademollo Gagliano 2007 and lit.).

The word *asins* gave rise to several types of the Latvian names of the yarrow. The compound *asinszāle* and the word combination *asins zāle* are used in Latgale (Balvi, Kapiņi, Medze, Skaista) and the north-eastern part of Vidzeme (Kalncempji, Galgauska, Litene), e.g.: *pār asinszuōli mes sàucām pēlaški* 'we call the yarrow *asinszāle*' Balvi (LVDA); *ār asins zuōles lopām vār àisturēt asinis, sarēivēi, uzlēik, kad esi iğrīs pirstā* 'yarrow leaves can staunch blood, they are crushed up, put on the cut on the finger' Kalncempji (LVDA).

The variants *ašņa zāle* and *ašņu zāle* have been recorded in Latgala and north-eastern Vidzeme, e.g.: *ašņa zuōļa taīdūs čupūs aūk, pār ašņa zuōli sàuc, bōlīm žīdīm žīt* 'yarrow grows in clusters, is called *ašņa zāle*, has white flowers' Kārsava (LVDA); *indykus baroļ ai ašņa zuōliš* 'turkeys are fed on yarrow' Mērdzene (LVDA).

The second component *zāle* of these variants corresponds to Lith. *žolė* (see p. 416 about its origin).

The names *asins dziras*, *ašņa dziras*, *ašņa dzīras* (*ašņadzīras*) and many of their variants are common in Augšzeme and the southern part of Latgale.

The variants *asindziras*, *asinsdziras*, *asins dzires*, *asins dziriņas* whose first component is the noun *asins*, second component is the

noun *dzira* (or its variants) have been recorded in a rather compact area of Augšzeme (Ābeļi, Birži, Elkšņi, Krustpils, Laši, Nereta, Pruode, Sauka, Sērene, Zalve), in the south of Vidzeme (Koknese, Pļaviņas), in Latgale (Medņi), e.g.: *'asīn'zi:r' zied' – tie tē:jā', lopiņš, kād i puš'* 'yarrow blossoms are for tea, leaves are for wounds' Aizkraukle (LVDA); *tūos pelē:ņs pōr ā:sēñc zi:riņām sàuc* 'the yarrow is called *asins dziriņas*' Koknese (LVDA).

The names *ašņa dziras*, *ašņadziras*, *ašņa dzires*, *ašņadzires* have been recorded in a compact area of Augšzeme and Latgale, in southern and south-western subdialects, e.g.: *plouce ašņazō'lys; vyslobō'kō's – ašņadzires; kō'drāis skrīnūt iz a:kmiņa acsitu pēstagolu – ó'da vaļá, a:šņi skrīn; pīplouču ašņa dzires – tō's skujiņas sabēržu, lai tēik sula, izlyku vēršā un apsēju* 'picked some yarrow; yarrow is the best; once, when running, I hit the tip of my toe against a stone and skinned it, blood ran; I picked some yarrow stalks, crushed up their prickles so that juice could flow, put [on the wound] and tied' Dignaja (Apv). In some subdialects of the above-mentioned area the variants *ašņu dziras*, *ašņudzire*, *ašņa dziri*, *ašņa dzirenes* have been recorded. Furthermore, the variant *ašņu dzīre* is used in Birži, in Dagda – *ašņa dzīrkas*, and in Aizkraukle – *ašņu dzīrnas*. These names can be regarded as occasionalisms used alongside other more common variants.

Three variants whose second component is the root *dzer-* have also been recorded: *ašņadzēres* in Laši, *ašņadzēre* ir *ašņa dzēre* in Aknīste.

The second component *dzira* 'a drink' is the name made from the verb *dzeīt* 'to drink' (ME I 557), due to whose influence the variants *ašņadzēres*, *ašņadzēre*, *ašņa dzere* of the above-mentioned name of the yarrow appeared.

The basic verb *dzeīt* corresponding to Lith. *gėrti* is old, Indo-European. Only earlier it meant 'to swallow' (later 'to devour, to guzzle'), cf.: OCS *požirō* 'I swallow', OInd. *girāti* 'swallows', Av. *jaraiti* 'swallows up', Lat. *vorō* 'I swallow'; Gk. *βορά*, OIr. *túarae*, Arm. *ker* 'food', etc. (Trautmann 1923: 89f.; ME I 547; LEW 148f.; IEW 474ff.; ИЯ 702; Sabaliauskas 1990: 85; PKEŽ I 426; Smoczyński 2007: 172f.).

The compound *asiņšpuķe* whose second component is the borrowing *puķe* (see p. 417 about its origin) has been recorded in Medze.

The word combination *ašņa ziēdi* whose second component is *zieds* (see p. 419 about its origin) has been recorded in Beļava.



The derivative *asnenes* used in Škilbėni and made from the noun *asinis* with the suffix *-en-* is related to the word *asins*.

Lith. *kraūjas*, Pruss. *crauyo* 'blood' E 160 has some parallels with the same meaning in cognate languages (cf. Slav. \**kry*, WIr. *crú* 'blood', Lat. *cruor* 'thick blood running from a wound', see Trautmann 1923: 142f.; LEW 290; IEW 621f.; ПЯ K–L 159ff. and lit.). In the beginning, the prototype of *kraūjas* most likely had the meaning of 'raw (bloody) meat', cf. OInd. *kravís-* 'raw meat', Gk. κρέας 'meat' (ИЯ 698f.; Sabaliauskas 1990: 12; Mayrhofer I 411). Lat. *kreve* 'clotted blood, scab' reflecting an older state than Lith. *kraūjas*, Pruss. *crauyo* is to be mentioned here too. The latter most probably should be considered an old determinative similar to OInd. *kravyám* 'raw meat, blood': *kraví-* (Mayrhofer I 411; Skardžius I 60).

The word *kraūjas* laid the foundation for various names of the yarrow in the Lithuanian language. Among them is the compound *kraujāžolė* (see p. 416 about the origin of its second component *žolė*), which is a word of standard language. In some dialects it is accentuated *kraūjažolė* (around Vygreliai, Išlaužas, Leipalingis, Markutiškiai and in some subdialects of eastern Highlanders), *kraujažolė* (around Gaižūnai), *kraujažolė* (around Pandėlys, Kamajėliai), has no connecting vowel and suffix, is most probably of the *ijo* stem – *kraūjažolis* (around Medeikiai). These names are used in different subdialects of the Highlanders and Lowlanders, however, they are more characteristic of western Highlanders, west-eastern Highlanders, eastern Highlanders of Panevėžys, Anykščiai and Kupiškis, e.g.: *krājuja.ža.la.s i\_na.šfřu.ma.s geřu* 'I take yarrow for goitre too' Klž 120; *pridėk kraujažolių, ir nustos kraujas bėges* 'put on yarrow, and blood will stop running' Svėdasai (e-LKŽ); *pāškāu ī kraujāžuol's nū šerdėis* 'then there is yarrow for heart problems' MožK.

The Slavic name of blood influenced the appearance of the variants *kravāžolė* (around Joniškis), *krāvažolė* (around Eržvilkas), *krėvažolė* (around Ylakai, see the card index of Salys' Questionnaire 1), cf. Russ. *кровь*, Bel. *кроў*, Bel. *кров*, Pol. *krew* (ЭССЯ XIII 67ff.). They can be related to Latv. *krevele* 'scab', Latv. dial. *kreve, krevelis* 'clogged blood' (ME II 274f.).

The second component of the name *kraujāžolinis* is the adjective *žolinis* (*-ė*) / *žōlinis* (*-ė*) 'made of grass; non-ligneous, like grass; feeding on grass; intended for grass; abounding in grass' (e-LKŽ). This name has been recorded around Joniškis (Molėtai district; cf. the card index of Salys' Questionnaire 1).

The following variants *kraūkžolė*, *kriaūkžolė*, *kr(i)aūžolė* are used around Priekulė, Endriejavas, Dargaičiai, Žemaičių Naumištis, Vainutas, Tauragė, Skirsnemunė, Žagarė, Girkalnis, Dilbinai, Skaistgirys, Mištautai, Norušaičiai.

The name *kruiñžolė* has been recorded around Šukionys, Berklainiai, Derveliai, Meilūnai, Vareikonai, Muniškiai, Kalviai, Punkskas, e.g.: *kruiñžolės – tokie tankūs lapeliai* 'the yarrow – such dense leaves' Rozalimas (e-LKŽ). It is made from *krūvinas*, corresponding to Slav. \**krъvъnъ* 'bloody' (Trautmann 1923: 143; ЭССЯ XIII 66f.; PKEŽ II 262ff.; Smoczyński 2007: 320). Nominal adjectives of this type with the suffix \**-ino-*/*-injo-* (derived from \**-no-*) are characteristic of the Baltic, Slavic, Italic, Greek languages (cf. Ambrazas 2008b: 115f. and lit.).

The word combinations *kraūjo žolė* (around Mosėdis, Ratnyčia), *kruiñoji žolė* ('blood grass', around Naujoji Ūta), *kraujinė žolė* ('blood grass', around Žemytė), cf. words of a similar type in Latvian dialects (see p. 424), denote the yarrow in LKA (I 168) and in the card index of Salys' Questionnaire 1.

Second components of certain compounds are other words, cf.: *kraujāgėlė* ('blood flower', recorded around Kulva, Bijutiškis, Šunkariai) – the noun *gėlė* that originated in the Lithuanian language (see p. 416 about its origin);

*kraujanōsis* (in some subdialects of eastern Highlanders of Anykščiai, Kupiškis and Utena, e.g.: *kraujanosiais užkišk nosj, ir nustos kraujas* 'stop the nose with yarrow [leaves] and blood will stop running' Duokiškis (e-LKŽ); *duokš kraujanosio – baisiai bėga kraujas* 'give me some yarrow – blood is running' Utena (e-LKŽ); *paimk kraujanōsių ir uždėk ant žaizdos* 'take some yarrow and put it on the wound' Šimonys [e-LKŽ]), *kraujanōsė* (around Subačius, Andrioniškis, Rubikiai, Kabeliai) – a very old noun *nōsis*, cf. Latv. *nāss* 'nostril', Pruss. *nozy* E 85, OCS (Rus.) *носъ*, OGH *nasa*, Lat. *nāris* 'nose', OInd. (dual number) *nāsā*, Av. *nāh-* and so on (Trautmann 1923: 193f.; LEW 508; IEW 755; ИЯ 814; ME II 701; Sabaliauskas 1990: 13 and lit.; Smoczyński 2007: 428);

*kraujātekis* (around Medeikiai) – the Indo-European verb *tekėti*, cf. Latv. *tecēt* 'to flow', OCS *tešti* 'to flow, move, run', OIr. *teichid* 'runs away', OInd. *tākti* 'hurries, gushes, struggles through (about rivers, horses, wild animals)', Av. *tačaiti* 'runs, gushes', Alb. *ndjek* 'I chase', Toch. B *cake* 'river' and the like (Trautmann 1923: 316f.; LEW 1074f.; IEW 1059f.; ИЯ 670; Sabaliauskas 1990: 106; Jakulis 2004; Smoczyński 2007: 666f.; Matasović 2009: 377).

The following names are based on the word *kraūjas* ('blood'):

*kraujėlė*, *kraujūtis* used in the subdialects of southern Highlanders (e.g.: *norėdami kraują sulaikyti, ant žaizdos deda kraujučių* 'to staunch blood yarrow is placed on the wound' Aukštadvaris (e-LKŽ); *uždėk kraujūčio, ir nustos kraujas bėges* 'put some yarrow, and blood will stop running' Alovė (e-LKŽ) with diminutive suffixes *-elė* (the suffix *-elis* (*-ė*) has become a major diminutive building means in the Lithuanian language, it might have resulted from the determinative \**-l-*, see Ambrazas 2000: 93ff.; 2006: 64f. and lit.), *-utis* (this suffix is not so common, it was derived from the determinative \**-t-*, see Ambrazas 2000: 103f.);

*kraujinỹkas* / *kraujiniñkas*, *kraujininkas* with the suffix *-inykas* / *-ininkas* (derived from \**-iniko-*/*-ineiko-*, which is the main means of building nomina qualitativa in the Baltic and Slavic languages);

*kraujinis*, *kraujinė*: from the historical point of view it is a substantivised adjective with the suffix *-inis* (*-ė*); adjectives of this type are very productive in the modern Lithuanian language (cf. Kniūkšta 1976) but this exceptional position of these adjectives is not old (cf. Ambrazas 2004a and lit.): while being substantivised adjectives with \**-injo-* most often become names of nomina qualitativa in the Lithuanian language (Ambrazas 2000: 145ff. and lit.); whereas in the Latvian language one of the main diminutive building means *-inš* resulted from \**-injo-*, e.g.: *dēliņš* 'small son' (Rūķe-Draviņa 1959: 168ff.; Ambrazas 2006: 65f. and lit.);

*kraujjė*, *kraujjės* with the derivational inflection *-ė* (about its origin see Ambrazas 2000: 79ff. and lit.).

The word *krūvinas* (*-à*) 'bloody' originated from *kruiñė*, *kruiñinis*, *kruiñinius*. The words *kraujiniūkas*, *kraujinūkas* were made from *kraujinis*. Those words have the suffix *-(i)ukas*, that was derived from \**-ko-*. It is characteristic of diminutives. However, it is sometimes used to build the names of nomina qualitativa in the Lithuanian language. Some of them are based on adjectives (for more about all that see Ambrazas 2000: 90f., 127ff.).

The derivatives discussed, which originated from the noun *kraūjas*, are related to Bel. *крываўка*, *крываўнік*, *крывоўнік*, Rus. dial. *кро-*

вавник, Pol. *krwawnik* ‘yarrow’. This is where Slavisms have come from into the Lithuanian and Latvian dialects.

Slavisms are used in some subdialects of Latgale, e.g.: *kravņiks* in Rundēni, *kravavņiks* in Pilda, Rundēni, *krivaļņieki*, *kri'vavņiks* in Ezernieki, *krivovka* in Šķaune, *krovavņiki* in Mēdzene, Pilda, Skaista.

The Slavism *kriváunykas* with its variants *krivaūnykas*, *krivaunỹkas*, *kriváuninkas*, *krivaūninkas*, *krivauniņkas*; *krivāvnykas*, is widespread in a large area of Lithuania, e.g.: *kriváunuko prívirė ir gėra* ‘he has boiled yarrow and drinks tea’ LzŽ 130; *icie kriváunykai visuř áuga* ‘yarrow grows everywhere’ DvŽ I 312; *kriváunykus dėda kap kur vocis yrà* ‘yarrow is put where there is a boil’ DvŽ I 312; *kab imp'jáuna p'iršta, prid'ėd'in'ėja kriváun'i.ko* ‘when one cuts a finger, yarrow is put on it’ ZtŽ 318; *kriváuninku sùplàk i díek pri aúgmeñ.c* ‘crush up the yarrow and put it on the sore place’ DūnŽ 152.

In some places there are still words formed with different alterations:

\* with the root vowel *e* (concerning the influence of Pol. *krw* ‘blood’ cf. also p. 425): *kriváunykas*, *krivaūnykas*; *kriváuninkas*, *krivauniņkas*; *krivāvnykas*, *krivuovninkas*;

\* with the root vowel *a*: *kraváunykas*, *kravaūnykas*, *kravaunỹkas*; *kraváuninkas* (they were influenced by Russ. *кровь*, Byel. *кроў* ‘blood’, cf. p. 425);

\* with the root vowel *u*: *kruváunykas*, *kr(i)uváuninkas*, *kurváu-nykas*, *kurváu-nykas* (here a link with Lith. *krūvinas* is possible), e.g.: *křuváu-nyka žít káura vāsara | i gèrà liėkarstva* ‘yarrow blooms throughout the summer, and is good medicine’ DūnŽ 152; *krváu-ninko arbāta gėrāu | prapūlę skāūsmas* ‘I drank some yarrow tea – pain disappeared’ DūnŽ 156;

\* with the compound suffix (also of Slavic origin) *-al-nykas* / *-al-ninkas*: *kraválnykas*, *kriválninkas*, *kraválninkas*, *kruválninkas*;

\* of shortened forms: *kráunykas*, *kr(i)áuninkas*; *kraválkas*.

A rare Slavism *kriváuuka* of a different formation with its variants *krivaukà*, *krivúnka* was also found.

The names of the yarrow of similar semantics that are related to the old verb *s(t)ravėti* ‘to flow’ are to be mentioned further, cf. Latv. *strāuja*, *strāume*, *strāva* ‘storm’, *straūts* ‘flow’, perhaps also Pruss. *stroio* (< \**strujā*) ‘neck vein’ E 103 (PKEŽ IV 161); then OCS *struja* ‘a flow’, *ostrovъ* ‘island’, OGH *stroum* ‘storm’; OInd. *srāvati* ‘flows’, Gk. *ρέω* ‘I flow’, OIr. *sruaimm*, *sruth* ‘flowing’ and others (Trautmann 1923: 279f.; LEW 888 etc.; IEW 1003; ИЯ 227; Smoczyński 2007: 593f.).

The word combination *srāvo žolė* was recorded as far back as the 17th century in the manuscript dictionaries of Lithuania Minor, e.g.: Schaffscheer *Srawo Žole* Lex 73a; Schaff=Scheeren. *Herba Srawo-Žole*, *ės. F. C. II 384*.

It is rare in the present day dialects (cf. also the variant *strāvo žolė*). Instead of this word combination the derivative *srāvažolė* and its variants *sravāžolė*, *sravažolė*; *strāvažolė*, *stravāžolė*; *sraūžolė*, *sráužolė*; *sriáužolė*, *sriaūžolė*; *stráužolė*, *striáužolė*; *srāvžolė*; *srėvažolė*, *srėvžolė*; *strėvažolė*, *strevāžolė*, *strėvžolė*; *trėvažolė*; *trėvžolė*, *trivāžolė* are usually used. They have been recorded in the subdialects of Klaipėda region and western Highlanders of Kaunas, southern Lowlanders of Raseiniai, western Lowlanders and some western subdialects of northern Lowlanders of Kretinga, e.g.: *strāvažolės pėvorse | šičė gālima rāst* ‘yarrow in the meadows, here, can be found’ ZnŽ III 194; *srāvažolių syvais patrink žaizdq, ir nustos kraujas bėges* ‘rub the wound with yarrow sap and blood will stop running’ Vadžgirys (e-LKŽ); *uždėk srāvažolių ant žaizdos – užgys* ‘put some yarrow on the wound –

it will heal’ Skirsnemunė (e-LKŽ); *kurkos drūčiai lesa srāvažolės* ‘turkeys gladly peck yarrow’ Gelgaudiškis (e-LKŽ); *srāvžolės dėl kosulio* ‘yarrow is good for a cough’ Šilutė (e-LKŽ).

Due to the influence of the form of the verb *sravėti*, *srūti* (cf. Smoczyński 2007: 593) and the nomen actionis *srujā* ‘flow’ variants *sraūjažolė*, *sraujāžolė*; *srūjažolė*; *srūvažolė*, *sruvāžolė*; *strujāžolė* appeared (cf. e-LKŽ).

The link with the adjective *srabūs* ‘srebus’ (the consonant *v* has turned into *b*) might be hidden in the variant *srābžolė*.

The basis for the variant *sravīnžolė* (also cf. *sravīnė žolė*; *sravīnės žolės*) was laid by the adjective *sravīnis* (-ė) ‘related to flowing’.

In some subdialects of eastern Highlanders of Panevėžys, Kupiškis, Anykščiai and Utena another compound *sravanōsis* (about its formation cf. *kraujanōsis*, see p. 425) with its variants *stravanōsis*; *sravanōsė*, *stravanōsė*; *srevanōsė*, *srevenōsė*; *srevanōsis*, *strevanōsis*; *srevenōsis*, *strevenōsis*; *srėvanōsis* is used, e.g.: *uždėk žaizdq sravanosēm – nustos kraujas bėgt* ‘put some yarrow on the wound – blood will stop running’ Debeikiai (e-LKŽ).

The verb *srūti* and the name of action *srujā* had an influence on these compounds, cf. *sraujanōsis*, *sraujanōsė*; *srujanōsis*; *sraujanōsiai*, e.g.: *sraujanosius sutrinam ir dedam prie žaizdos, kad įsipjaunam* ‘we crush up some yarrow and put it on the wound when we cut ourselves’ Vabalninkas (e-LKŽ); *sraujanōsiais ištryniau žaizdq* ‘I rubbed the wound with yarrow’ Andrioniškis (e-LKŽ); *insipjovęs pirštą, pridėjau sraujanosių, tai tuoj sugijo* ‘after cutting my finger I put some yarrow on it and it healed immediately’ Duokiškis (e-LKŽ); *kaip tik ažukiši nosį sraujanōsiais, tuoj nustoja kraujas tekėt* ‘after you stop the nose with yarrow it staunches blood immediately’ Utena (e-LKŽ).

The adjective *sraunūs* with the suffix *-nus* (derived from \*-no-, cf. Ambrazas 2008b: 111f.) can be discerned in the variant *sraunanōsis*.

Other remakes of the compound *sravanōsis* have also been recorded, cf.: *varvanōsis*; *srijanosis*; *sravanōji*.

In the area of the southern and eastern subdialects of southern Highlanders, eastern Highlanders of Vilnius and the majority of subdialects of Utena, in some subdialects of Širvintai (around Šiauliai) and Anykščiai (around Kiaukliai), as well as around Gervėčiai, a similar compound is used whose first component is the noun *nōsis*, – *nosravà* with many variants *nōsrava*, *nosravà*, *nosrāvė*; *nostravà*; *nāsrava*, *nasravà*, *nāsravas*, *nāsrava*; *nastravà*, *nāstrava*, *nastravaĩ*; *nāstvaras*, *nuó-sravas*, *nuostravaĩ*; *nestravà*, *nėsrava*, *nėsravas*, *nėstravas*; *astravà*, *āstravas*, e.g.: *nosravą sutrina ir deda, kad kraują sulaikytų* ‘the yarrow is crushed up and put to stop blood’ Giedraičiai (e-LKŽ); *nāsravos gerai ažuturi kraują* ‘yarrow stops blood very well’ Švenčionys (e-LKŽ); *prirauk nasravų – pirštą insipjoviau* ‘pull some yarrow – I have cut my finger’ Kuktiškės (e-LKŽ); *būdavo, insipjauni pirštą, tuoj nasravą sutrynęs pridedi, ir nebėga kraujas* ‘whenever I cut a finger I would crush up yarrow and put on it at once, and blood stopped running’ Linkmenys (e-LKŽ); *nasravų sutrina, sutrina i apdeda itą sopulį* ‘yarrow is crushed up and put around that wound’ Dieveniškės (e-LKŽ).

The variant *nasruōtis* is a derivative with the compound suffix *-uotis* (< *-uotas* + *-is*, cf. Ambrazas 2000: 142).

In some subdialects of western Lowlanders and northern Lowlanders of Kretinga the yarrow is denoted by the derivative *srāvas* with the inflection *-as* and its variants *srauai*; *strāvas*; *srėvas*, *srevà*; *strėvas*; *srėvė*. The variant *strevà* is familiar to some western Highlanders of Kaunas, e.g.: *tók'os karbioto[s] žolės | vadídavo strėvos* ‘such curly grass used to be called *strevos* [yarrow]’ ZnŽ III 195.



This is concretised name of the action, cf. *sravà*, *pāsravas* ‘flowing’. It has some parallels in other cognate languages, cf. OInd. *srava-* ‘flow, overflow’, Gk. ῥόος ‘flowing, river, flood’ (Būga II 508f.; Trautmann 1923: 279; IEW 1003; Smoczyński 2007: 593).

In the Baltic (like in other Indo-European) languages *nomina actionis* of inflection formation (especially with \*-o- and \*-ā-) became widespread at the time when the old suffixes \*-ti-, \*-tu- (e.g.: Lith. *būtis*, *lietūs*), which once were the most important means of the formation of *nomina actionis*, began to disappear (cf. Ambrazas 1993: 36ff. and lit.).

The names of the yarrow are also suffixal derivatives. The derivative *sravinis*, *sravinė* with its variants *stravinis*, *stravinė*; *srevinis*, *srevinė*, which are used by some northern western Lowlanders and western northern Lowlanders, is made from *srāvas* with the help of the suffix *-inis* (-ė), e.g.: *lėipžėid<sup>u</sup> arbāt<sup>a</sup>s tēn*, *kūokės gripās sērks, nò, tū sreviñ<sup>u</sup> – ę pràėis* ‘lime blossom tea when one has the flu, well, give him the yarrow and it will pass’ MožK; *srėven<sup>s</sup> šėtā, vuo tas kraujāžūol<sup>s</sup>, sāk<sup>a</sup>, diel nėrovū* [renka] ‘*srevinės*, the yarrow, they say, is [picked] for nerves’ MožK.

The derivative *sravūninkas*, with the suffix *-auninkas* (concerning its origin see Skardžius I 149; Ambrazas 1993: 145f.) is based on the verb *s(t)ravėti*, cf. variants *stravūninkas*; *srevūninkas*; *srāuninkas*, *sraūninkas* *strāuninkas*; *srevalninkas*, recorded in some subdialects of western Highlanders and Lowlanders (around Vabalai, Vindeikiai, Babrungėnai, Plungė, Švėkšna, Tvaskučiai, Žemaičių Naumiestis, Timsriai);

the derivative *stravīlas* with the suffix *-yla(s)* (concerning its origin cf. Ambrazas 1993: 124) and its variants *stravīlas*, *stravīla*, *strevīlas* are used mainly in the southern part of the area of southern Highlanders, e.g.: *stravīlai g’eraĩ. | kaĩ. užg’eda | kaĩ. in’s’ip’á.una* ‘yarrow is good when it is put on cuts’ DrskŽ 651; *stravīlai nuog mót’eriško.s l’igōs* ‘yarrow is for a female ailments’ DrskŽ 651; *stravīlas | o. dař. krāujāžo.lė.* ‘[earlier] *stravīlas*, and now the yarrow’ PpaŽK;

the derivative *stravīklis* with the suffix *-iklis* (-ė) (derived from the suffix \*-tlo- of the names of tools with the help of which *nomina agentis* are sometimes made, cf. Ambrazas 1993: 153ff., 171ff.) cf. variants *stravīklė*, *strevīklė*; it is characteristic of western southern Highlanders and neighbouring western Highlanders of Kaunas;

the derivative *sravėnis* with the suffix *-enis* (-ė) (derived from the adjectival suffix \*-no-, cf. Ambrazas 1993: 126f.) cf. variants *sraveniai*, *sravėnė*, *srevėnė*.

The word *srevenōkas* (cf. variants *srevenōkai*, *srevėnōkai*) made from the above-mentioned noun *srevėnė* with the suffix *-okas* (derived from \*-ko-) is used to form *nomina qualitativa* (cf. Ambrazas 2000: 91f., 113ff.).

The word *gijūtis* (the one that heals’) recorded in the environs of Mielagėnai, Šiaulėnai, Tverečius reflects the same features of the yarrow, e.g.: *pridėk gijūčio, tai netekės kraujas* ‘put on some yarrow, it’ll staunch blood’ Mielagėnai (e-LKŽ), and the name *gajūtė* that was used around Nairiai, Vindeikiai was known to Jurgis A. Pabrėža, Friedrich Kuršaitis already (see the card index of Salys’ Questionnaire 1; e-LKŽ).

These are derivatives with the diminutive suffix *-utis* (-ė) (concerning it cf. p. 425) which were derived from a very old verb *gyti* (‘to heal’; to be more exact, from its past tense form *gijo*, cf. also the adjective *gajūs*), corresponding Latv. *dzīt* ‘gyti’, Pol. *goić* ‘gydyti’, Russ. *зажить* ‘to heal’ (ME I 559).

Earlier this verb had an older meaning ‘to live’, e.g.: *Ir gijo Adomas fzymta ir trifdefzymtis metu, ir pagimde sunu* Ch 1 Moz 5,3, cf. OSlav. *žiti* ‘to live’, Arm. *keam* ‘I live’, Gk. Hom. βέομαι ‘I’ll live’ (Trautmann 1923: 75; LEW 15f.; IEW 467ff.; Smoczyński 2007: 184).

Later verbal derivatives *gyvoti* having this meaning spread in the Lithuanian language (cf. Latv. *dzīvāt* ‘to work; live’ ME I 559) and especially *gyvėnti*. On the whole the IE adjective *\*g<sup>h</sup>iwo-* ‘alive’ got into the paradigm of the verb very early, cf. Pruss. *giwassi* (lebest) III 29<sub>18</sub>, 105<sub>12</sub>, *giwasi* (lebest) III 95<sub>1</sub>, *giwa* (lebet) III 43<sub>24</sub>, 49<sub>9</sub>, 63<sub>20</sub>, 97<sub>13</sub>, *giwammai* (leben) III 33<sub>1</sub>, 49<sub>7</sub>, OLatv. *dzīvu* ‘lives’, Lat. *vīvo* ‘I live’, OInd. *jīvati* ‘lives’, OSlav. *živō* ‘I live’ (Fraenkel 1938: 19; Skardžius I 459f.; Endzelīns 1951: 742; PKEŽ I 362, 375).

The name *rauklāžolė*, which is used in some subdialects of eastern Highlanders of Panevėžys around Žeimelis, Steigviliai, Joniškis, Megučionys is related to folk medicine (cf. Gritėnienė 2006: 186), e.g.: *žmogus, įsipjovęs pirštą, ieško rauklāžolių* Joniškis (e-LKŽ); *rauklāžolės užtraukia tą kraują* Žeimelis (e-LKŽ). Lith. *rauklāžolė* was derived from Lith. *\*trauklažolė* ‘grass, which clots blood’ (the element *-la-* appeared due to contamination with *traūklapis*).

The variant *raukāžolė* recorded around Saločiai (see the card index of Salys’ Questionnaire 1) shows a link with the verb *raūkti*. Latv. *raukt* ‘to wrinkle, decrease’ (concerning the difference in the form cf. Karaliūnas 1987: 83; Smoczyński 2007: 502f.). Attempts are made to relate it also to OGH *rūh*, OInd. *rūkṣá-* ‘rough’, Lat. *rūga* ‘wrinkle’; OInd. *luncati* ‘plucks’, Gk. ῥόύσω ‘I dig, scratch’, Lat. *runcō* ‘I weed’ (LEW 706f.; IEW 871f.). However, *raukāžolė* can be considered to be also an apheresic form from *t-raūkti*.

The name *raukāžolė* is more often used to refer to the plantain (*Plantago*) (see e-LKŽ).

The name *daktarēlė* has been recorded in Užušiliai. This is the derivative of the variant with the diminutive suffix *-ėlė* (-elis) (-ė) (cf. Ambrazas 2000: 95) made from the international word *dāktaras*.

The Latvian name of the yarrow *mēra puķes* and its derivatives used in the whole of Kurzeme are related to folk medicine, e.g.: *mēra puķes iņ dikti la:b<sup>a</sup>s priēkš krūteñ* ‘yarrow is very good for treating the breasts’ Dunalka (LVDA); *mañ māē kādreiz stāstij<sup>a</sup> – mērapuķ<sup>s</sup>* ‘once mother told me – *mērapuķes*’ Vecpils (LVDA); *vėcuōs laikuōs bi tikaĩ mē<sup>a</sup> puķ<sup>s</sup>* ‘in olden times [the name of the yarrow] was only *mēra puķes*’ Kazdanga (LVDA); *mērapuķ<sup>s</sup> priēkš vėdē<sup>a</sup>* ‘yarrow is for stomach diseases’ Ulmale (LVDA); *mērapuķ<sup>s</sup> i lāb zāl* ‘yarrow is good medicine’ Kuldīga (LVDA); *mēs nuō seniēm laikiēm saūcañ mērapuķītes* ‘since olden times we call [yarrow] *mērapuķes*’ Skrunda (LVDA). One of the variants of this name has also been recorded in Mazsalaca and Stalbe.

The independent component of these compounds is the word *puķe* of Finno-Ugrian origin (concerning its origin see p. 417).

In some subdialects of Kurzeme (in Alsunga and Basi) the name of the yarrow *mēra zāle(s)*, *mērzāles*, *mērzāle*, where the dependent component is *zāle* has been recorded (concerning its origin see p. 416).

The name of the yarrow *mēra zāle* was included in historical dictionaries of the 17th–19th century, e.g.: *Mehra Sahles* Fürecker 1685 I 190; Fürecker 1685 II 211; *Mehra Sahles* MLG II 93; *mehra fahle* Ulmann 1880: 615.

The derivative *mērenes* with the suffix *-no-* is found in Saka and Ziemeupe, e.g.: *te saūc mēren<sup>s</sup> – tās jaū zāļu grāmatā priēkš visañ kaitañ* ‘here they call *mērenes* – in books of medicine they [will be good] for all diseases’ Ziemeupe (LVDA).

The dependent or the first component is the noun *mēris* ‘plague’ related to Latv. *mirt* ‘to die’ and *mērdēt* ‘to starve, to let famish’, which,

in their turn, are related to Lith. *māras*, OSlav. *morъ* ‘plaque’, OCS *mrěti*, Lat. *morī* ‘to die’, Goth. *maúrþra* ‘killing’, Gk. *μορτός, βροτός* ‘a mortal man’ (ME II 619, 634f.; Trautmann 1923: 186).

The name *nāves puķes* denoting the ability of the plant to cure fatal diseases is also related to the name *mēra puķes* recorded in Nogale. The dependent component of the name is the noun *nāve* ‘death’, to which the following words are related: Pruss. *nowis* ‘waist’, Goth. *naus* ‘the dead’, OCz. *unaviti* ‘to kill’, Russ. *нытъ* ‘to have a pain for a long time’ (ME II 703f.; E 151; Trautmann 1923: 201f.).

The names of the yarrow with the root *pel-* are found in the Latvian languages and in some subdialects at the border with Latvia. They are common almost in the whole of the territory of Vidzeme (as the only one or one of the names of *Achillea*), compactly in northern Kurzeme, in central part of Zemgale, and sporadically in the remaining territory. It is regarded as a word of the literary language in Latgale.

The name *pelašķi* has become established in the standard Latvian language; in subdialects it has many variants: *pelakšas, pelakši, pelakšņi, pelaškas, pēlaškas, pelaški, pēlaški, pelaškes, pēlaški, pelēči, pelēčki, pelakstes, pelekši, pelēkši, pelekškes, peleški, pelēkšķi, pelenes, peles aste(s), pelestes, peleškas, peleškes, peleški, pelieši, peliškas, pēlkši, pēluški, pelušķes, peluški, pēlušķes, pēluškas, pēluškes, pēluški, pēlu astes*.

The name *pelaški* of the standard Latvian language and its phonetic variant *pēlaški* are found in the entire above-mentioned area where the word *pelaški* is widespread, e.g.: *pelašķs liēta prekš gara klēp; viņš nuōraū un vār tēj, več: agrak pīpej* ‘yarrow is used for whooping-cough; they cut it and make tea, old people used to smoke it’ Salaca (LVDA); *pelaški i grāūmalas a tiēm baltejim ziēdim; tīri kuōš balti naū; pelaški joū rūgti bez gal; pelašk tēj vāriņ priēkš klēp* ‘yarrow with those white blossoms in places along ditches; they are not purely white; yarrow is terribly bitter; yarrow tea was made for a cough’ Svēciems (LVDA); *pelašķ"s vaŕ piē zup"s aŕ likt, ta pipar"s neliēk* ‘yarrow can be put into soups, then peppers are not used’ Vildoga (LVDA); *pažŕdinaj guōvi aŕ pelašķ" tēj"* ‘the cow was given yarrow tea’ Inčukalns (LVDA); *pelašķ aūg katra viēta – ceļmala, pagālma, tīruma* ‘yarrow grows in any place – along the roadside, in the yard, in the field’ Jeri (LVDA); *pelāšķus mēs lāsām teijai; kā ziēmā i kāš vai smāgās krūc, pelāšku teija pēte lābākā zēle* ‘we pick yarrow for tea; when we have a cough or feel some heaviness in the chest, yarrow tea is the best medicine’ Vecpiebalga (LVDA); *pelašķus savācē un krāsūoja kapu vāiņagus* ‘yarrow was picked and used to colour funeral wreaths’ Kārdzaba (LVDA); *asiņu tecēšanu aptuŕ aŕ pēlaškiēm* ‘yarrow is used to staunch blood’ Medze (LVDA); *pēlaški ziēd baltiēm ziēdiņiēm* ‘yarrow has white flowers’ Pēternieki (LVDA).

The phonetic variant *pelaški* has been recorded in some subdialects of Zemgale (Lēdmane) and Vidzeme (Dikļi, Rauna, Kārļi, Drabeši, Krape, Bilska), e.g.: *pelašk" tēja dikti veselīga* ‘yarrow tea is very good for health’ Lēdmane (LVDA); *jaūniē nezin pelašk" labum"* ‘young people do not know benefit of yarrow’ Dikļi (LVDA).

Variants *pelaškes, pelaškas* and *pēlaškas* are found in a compact area of Selonian subdialects of Vidzeme (Bērzaune, Cesvaine, Jump-rava, Kalsnava, Krustpils, Kusa, Liepkalne, Liezēre, Lubeja, Mēdzūla, Meirāni, Odziena, Sarkaņi, Vēja, Vestiena, Virāne), and *pelaškes* is also found in Sēja and Panemunē.

Names that have another formant following the root *pel-*, e.g. *-e-* have also been recorded: *peleški* is used both in some subdialects of Kurzeme (Dundaga), Zemgale (Jaunauce, Engure, Irlava, Anenieki, Dobele, Ozolnieki, Šķibe, Svēte, Penkule, Tērvete, Platone, Lielvir-

cava, Jaunsvirlauka, Ukri, Augstkalne, Vilce, Lielplatone, Eleja, Se-sava, Svitene, Iecava, Zālīte, Mežotne, Code, Rundāle, Īslīce, Cer-aukste, Sece) and Vidzeme (Sloka, Vainiži, Krimulda, Sidgunda, Stopiņi, Mārupe, Katlakalns, Salaspils, Suntaži, Burtnieki, Kūduma, Baižkalns, Kārļi, Līgatne, Taurene, Kastrāne, Ķeipene, Plātere, Lau-bere, Mārkalne, Galgauska, Madliena, Irši, Vestiena, Ranka, Lizuma, Druviena, Ļaudona, Saikava), e.g.: *peleškiēm balti ziēd* ‘yarrow flowers are white’ Salaspils (LVDA); *pelešku ziēdu tēju ŕer kr"ūšu slimenieki* ‘women suffering from breast diseases drink yarrow blossom tea’ Gal-gauska (LVDA). The variant *peleškas* is sometimes found in a small southern area of Vidzeme (Madliena, Bebri, Aizkraukle, Sāviena) and the variant *peleški* is sometimes found around Cēsis (Jaunrauna, Kārļi, Dzērbene). The variant *peleškes* has been recorded only in Mēdzūla, and the variant *pelēški* – in Krustpils, Sinole, Lejasciems.

The variant *peliški* (with the formant *-i-*) is used mainly in the south of Zemgale, e.g.: *dik:t laba krūtēm ir pelišku tēja* ‘yarrow tea is very good for the breasts’ Vecsvirlauks (LVDA), however it has also been recorded in Nītaure. The variant *peliškas* has been recorded in one Selonian subdialect of Vidzeme in Saikava.

Some derivatives with the formant *-u-* are also used, e.g., *peluški* is used both in Kurzeme and Zemgale, and in Vidzeme – in Livo-nian subdialects, in the subdialects of Middle and High Latvian dia-lects. The area of the distribution of the variant *pēluški* is similar, e.g.: *nūo pēluškiēm i lāb tēj* ‘tea made of yarrow is good’ Pūre (LVDA). The variant *peluškas* has been recorded in one subdialect of Kurzeme, one subdialect of Latgale and in the subdialects of the Middle dialect and High Latvian, and the variant *pēluškas* has been recorded in one subdialect of Zemgale and in some subdialects of the Middle and High Latvian dialects. The variant *peluški* is used only in Vidzeme, e.g.: *peluškus vāiguōt griēst, ka vēl puŕpuruōs* ‘yarrow is to be cut when it still has buds’ Ērgeme (LVDA); *peluški dēŕ pŕēt iesnām un kāš"* ‘yarrow is good for cold and a cough’ Drusti (LVDA). Apart from these names the variant *pēluški* has been recorded in Sērmukši and the variant *peluškes* in Jumprava.

In some subdialects of Vidzeme and only some subdialects of Zemgale and Latgala variants with metathesis of the root consonant fusion *šk > kš* are found, e.g.: *pelakšas* Jaunpiebalga, *pēlakšas* Rubeņi, *pelakši* Raiskums, Jaunpiebalga, Lejasciems, Mazzalve, Laši, *pelakšņi* in Naudīte, *pelekstes* in Aduliena, *pelekši* in Priekuļi, Dzērbene, Drabeši, Rāmuļi, Taurene, Viesīte, Lizums, Lubāna, Anna, Balvi, *pelēkši* in Sinole, Lejasciems, Liepna, Viļaka, Balvi, *pelekškes* Rugāji, *pelekški* Vaive, Druviena, Kraukļi, Aduliena, *pelēkški* in Bērzpils, and *pelukši* in Druviena.

Other names of the yarrow with the root *pel-* are sporadically found in Zemgale, Vidzeme and Latgala, some of them could be related to the name (or its variant) of the grey colour. The name *pelači* has been recorded in Rāva, *pēlači* – in Ārlava. The variant *pelēči* was heard in the subdialects of the Middle dialect and the border subdialects of High Latvian dialect, e.g.: *ežmaļuōs aūg pelēci; viņa vēlēja pielasīt pelēču ziēdu* ‘yarrow grows at the lakeside; she told us to pick yarrow blossoms’ Sinole (LVDA), and *pelēčki* – in Mārkalne. The name *pelenes* has been recorded in some Selonian subdialects of Vidzeme (Viskāļi, Skrīveri, Aizkraukle, Koknese, Mētriena), and the name *pelestes* has been recorded in several Selonian subdialects of Vidzeme (Dzelzava, Oļi) and in north-western subdialects of Latgale (Barkava, Varakļāni, Bērzpils). The name *pelieši* has been recorded only in Biksti and Līvāni and the name *pēlkši* – in Launkalne.



The compound *peļastes* is used sporadically, in the whole territory of Latvia forming small compact areas in northern Kurzeme, central Zemgale, southern Vidzeme and western Latgale. The analogous word combination *peļu astes* has been mentioned in Viļāni, and *peles aste(s)* in Rēzna.

Three variants with the root *peļ-*, which might have formed on the basis of the above-mentioned names, have been recorded and they are sporadically found in Kurzeme, Vidzeme and Latgale, e.g., *peļāškas* in Ogre, Bebri, *peļāškes* in Jumprava, Līksna, *peļāški* in Pope, Puze, Bīriņi, Sigulda, Lielvārde, Zaube, Jumprava, Meirāni, Mārciena, Ļaudona, Vestiena, Saikava.

Separate variants of the name *pelaški* are included in historical dictionaries of the 17th–19th century, e.g.: *Pelli Aschkes* Fürecker 1685 I 189; Fürecker 1685 II 211; *Pellašchkes* MLG II 14; *pellašte* Stender 1789 I 192; *peļafchķi* Ulmann 1880: 615.

Opinions differ as to the origin of the names of the yarrow with the root *peļ-*, *peļ-*.

The name mentioned (as Pruss. *poalis* ‘dove’ E 761 and Gk. *πέλεια*, *πελείας* ‘wild dove’) is related to the names of different colours, cf. Lith. *pilkas*, *palšas*, *palvas*, Latv. *pelēks* ‘grey’ also OCS *pelesv* ‘blackish’, Slav. *\*palvb*, Germ. *\*falva-* ‘yellowish’, Lat. *pallidas* ‘pale’, OInd. *palitā-* ‘grey, old’, Av. *pouraša-* ‘grey, old’, Gk. *πελιτνός* ‘grey’, *πολιός* ‘grey, old’, etc. (Schulze 1966: 112, 122; LEW 565; IEW 804f.; Schmid 1970: 474f.; Smoczyński 2007: 447).

The second component Latv. *aste* of the compound is compared with Russ. *ocmb* ‘awn of the ear’ and related to Latv. *ass* ‘sharp’ (ME I 145). The latter is of the same origin as Lith. *ašu-taĩ*, Slav. *\*osv-tv* ‘thistle, i.e. sharp grass’, Lat. *acus* ‘needle’, Gk. *ἄχv-ov* ‘chaff’, NHG *Achel* (< *\*ak’u-lo-*) ‘ear’ (Būga II 294; IEW 19; Smoczyński 2007: 27), Hitt. *aku-* ‘sharp stone’ (Иванов 1965: 44f.).

This *u*-stem adjective once related to a corresponding derivative with the suffix *\*-ro-* whose equivalents are Lith. *āštras*, Slav. *\*stir*, Latv. *airs*, Lat. *acre* ‘sharp’ (about the formation see Skardžius I 299; Mažiulis 1959: 178; Smoczyński 2007: 273; concerning relation of the affixes *\*-u-* and *\*-ro-* cf. Ambrazas 2008b: 112f. and lit.).

The mentioned and other words with the root *\*ak-* (e.g.: *ak-muõ*, *ak-úotas*) can show that once there existed a currently totally extinct verb *\*ak-* ‘stab, prick’ (PKEŽ I 64f.).

According to another opinion (LVDA 59), the foundation of the name could be the root *peļ-* and the suffix *-ast-*. It is also possible that the foundation of the name could also be the word combination *peles*, respectively *pelēkie aški* ‘grey horsetails’. The name of the yarrow *aški* recorded in Dobeles corroborates this hypothesis. Several other names of the yarrow, whose dependant component denotes the name of some animal, also contain the lexeme *aški* (see *aitaški*, *aitu aški*).

Lith. *pėluodegis* (with its variants *pėluodegė*; *pėlvodegis*, *pėlvodegė*), which, according to Vincas Urbutis (2009: 324), can be a translation from the Latvian language approximately corresponds the discussed Latvian name of the yarrow. It is used in some north-eastern subdialects of eastern Highlanders of Panevėžys – around Užulišiai, Pabiržė, Geidžiūnai (according to the card index of Salys’ Questionnaire 1 and around Nemunėlio Radviliškis; also cf. e-LKŽ).

The origin of the noun (*v*)*uodegā*, which is the second component of this compound is unclear. Attempts have been made to relate it to Lith. *vedegā* ‘an axe with a bent blade to hollow boats or tubs; a tool to cut ground, ice’ and to *úodas* (cf. Endzelīns 1979: 490ff.; LEW 1164f. and lit.; Smoczyński 2007: 704).

The names with the lexeme *aita* ‘sheep’ in the first or dependant component recorded in some Latvian subdialects are semantically close, e.g.: *aitaški* Valgale (LVDA); *aitu aški* or *aituaški* Rubeņi (LVDA); *tūs pelaškus zeltiniši viēl sauc pār aitu aškīm*, *zīdus lituō tēijā pret kūosi* ‘the inhabitants of Zeltiņi call the yarrow *aitu aškīm*, they use blossoms to make tea against a cough’ Zeltiņi (Apv); *aitu aste* ‘sheep tail’ Zebrene. Here the variant with the dialectal form *vuška* ‘sheep’ – *vušku astes* in Baltinava (LVDA) should be mentioned.

The name of the yarrow *aitu aški* and its variants are included in separate historical dictionaries of the 17th–18th century, e.g. *awju afchķi* Ulmann 1880: 615.

The first component *aita*, *vuška* is the names of a sheep derived from the diminutive clippings (see ME I 14, IV 677). On the whole, the old form *avs* is rare in the modern Latvian language (cf. ME I 232; Sabaliauskas 1968: 114). It has equivalents in many Indo-European languages, cf. Lith. *avis*, OInd. *ávi-*, Gk. *ōis*, Lat. *ovis*, OGH *ou*, Ir. *ói*, Cymr. *ewig* ‘avis’, etc. (Trautmann 1923: 20f.; LEW 28; IEW 784; ИЯ 577; Smoczyński 2007: 38f.).

It should be noted that the name of a sheep is hidden in the German word *Schafgarbe* ‘yarrow’.

Names of the yarrow whose basis is the loanword from the German language *Schaff* ‘sheep’ are found in separate subdialects of the Latvian language, e.g., *šāpšērenes* and *šāpšēres* in Pērkuone, *šāpšiēri* in Rudbārži. The analogous name (*šāpšēr* ‘Schafgarbe’) was known in Kuršių kopos (Curonian dunes) (Kwauka, Pietsch 1977: 75).

Latvians use the name of another animal – the turkey – *tītars* for the yarrow. Both derivatives and compounds, as well as word combinations with the lexeme *tītars* are used in Kurzeme.

A metonymic transfer of the name of an animal to the name of a plant *tītari* has been recorded in Zante and Mērsrags. The neighbouring form *tīteri* is also recorded in Mērsrags.

The derivatives with the suffixes derived from *\*-no-*: *tītarenes*, *tītariņes*, *tītariņi*, *tītariņi*; *tīterines*, *tīteriņi* (concerning the vowel *e* in place of *a* in the suffix see Rudzīte 1964: 167) are used in a compact area of Kurzeme region, with the exception of the very northern part of Kurzeme, e.g.: *tītareņs – tik pēdīga laika sauc* ‘only recently yarrow has been called *tītarenes*’ Īvande (LVDA); *tītarenes – viņas tītariņiem duō, tās lapiņas; tēja ar zef* ‘yarrow – it is given to young turkeys, its leaves; and it is drunk like tea’ Rāva (LVDA); *tītaren’s i te – tās gar kāp" vař saraūt* ‘there yarrow here – one can pick it near the dune’ Pērkuone (LVDA); *tītariņes vēl tagad zied; tītari viņš dikti ēd, tāl"b viņš tā sauc* ‘yarrow is still blooming; turkeys peck it gladly therefore it is called like that [tītarenes]’ Grobiņa (LVDA); *tītariņ tēj i veselīg* ‘yarrow tea is healthy to drink’ Zentene (LVDA); *tīterines zied baltī; tējas zāle priēkš plaūšiēm* ‘yarrow white blossoms; tea helps treat lung diseases’ Bārta (LVDA); *tas i tīteriš, tīteriņ tēj, bet viš jōū nevīža zērt* ‘this is yarrow, yarrow tea, and he no longer drinks’ Mērsrags (LVDA).

Compounds or word combinations whose second component is the word *zale* ‘grass’ (concerning its origin see p. 416) are sporadically found in Kurzeme (Aizpute, Aistere, Ance, Ārlava, Ciecere, Dundaga, Durbe, Kabile, Kandava, Lubezere, Nogale, Puze, Sātiņi, Strazde, Ugāle, Upesgrīva, Usma, Vaiņūode, Valgale, Vandzene, Vecpils, Virbi, Virga, Zentene, Zūras, Zvārde) and in Zemgale (Aizupe, Dobeles, Dzirciems, Engure, Grenči, Īle, Irlava, Matkule, Remte, Rubeņi, Sēme, Smārde, Vāne, Vecmokas), as well as in separate subdialects of Vidzeme (Drabeši, Dunte, Jaungulbene, Sloka) and Latgale (Atašiene), e.g.: *tītarižāl" – kamēr vēl neziēd, tās lapiņas tītariņi šaūsmīgi ēd; aūg uz ežām*

'yarrow as long as it does not bloom, young turkeys peck the leaves gladly; grow on the edges of the field' Aizupe (LVDA).

The compound or the word combination whose second component is the word *puķe* 'flower' (concerning its origin see p. 417) has been recorded in separate subdialects of Kurzeme (in Saldus, Vārme) and Zemgale (Dzirčiems), e.g., *tītarpuķes*, *tītaru puķes*.

The compound whose second component is the irregular diminutive *dilliņš* 'small dill' has also been recorded in Usma, e.g.: *tītarādilliņi mazejirū tītariņirū labākā tēj, piļmā zāl'* 'yarrow tea is best for young turkeys, it is the first medicine' Usma (LVDA).

The name of the yarrow *tītaru zāle* and its variants were included in the historical dictionaries of the 17th–19th century, e.g., *tihteru fahles* Ulmann 1880: 615.

Having in mind the fact that Lith. *tītaras*, used at the border with Latvia, is most probably a loanword from Latvian (Urbutis 1963: 217), Latv. *tītars* most likely appeared in the Latvian language. It is made with the help of the suffix *-ars* (cf. names of Lithuanian agents with *-aras*, e.g., *plēparas* 'who talks a lot', see Ambrazas 1993: 133) from the onomatopoeic verb *tītīt* 'stubbornly refuse, be obstinate, to irritate, to make angry, to reproach; to threaten to do smth. bad; to show one's obstinacy; to bargain; to drill' (ME IV 206), corresponding Lith. *týtyti*, *týtinti* 'to ridicule, to mock; to try to find out, to overhear' (ME IV 208; LEW 1103).

The name *kurkinu zāle* has been recorded in Bērzgale. Urbutis (2009: 319f.) contemplates whether Latv. *kurkins*, which laid the basis for it, could be a loanword from the Lithuanian language widespread in East Lithuania, which originated from Lith. *kuřkinas* 'turkey' made from the loanword from the Slavic languages *kūrka* corresponding to Latv. dial. *kūrka* 'turkey hen', cf. Pol. *kurka* 'hen' (LEW 316). Nowadays there is no tendency in the Latvian language any more to form the names of males with *-ins* (about their origin, see Ambrazas 2000: 85f.) while they are still abundant in Lithuanian. However, there is no doubt that the name of the yarrow under discussion originated in the Latvian language.

The name *ežupuķe(s)* with the variants *ežpuķes*, *ežu puķe(s)*, *eža puķe(s)*, *ežapuķe(s)* is rather widely used in Zemgale, around Dobeles, and in Kurzeme, around Saldus, and *ežu zāle(s)* is used in a small group of subdialects around Dobeles, e.g.: *eža puķe – tiē paši pēlašķi 'eža puķe – the same yarrow' Vāne (LVDA); jāsaplūc ežapuķes tējai 'we have to gather yarrow for tea' Sēme (LVDA); ežupuķe aūg uz ežas 'yarrow grows on the edges of the bed' Zvārde (LVDA); senāk jau īstaīs vārc bi ežu zāle 'earlier the real name of the yarrow was ežu zāle' Džūkste (LVDA); ežu zāle aūga pa ežām, tūr viņas nēizara 'yarrow grows along the edges of the bed, they are not ploughed there' Bērze (LVDA).*

They are derived from Latv. *eža* 'bed, boundary', which corresponds to Lith. *ežià*, Pruss. *asy* 'bed, boundary' E 241, perhaps they are related to Slav. *\*ězv* 'pond', Arm. *azr* 'bank; boundary'. The possibility cannot be rejected that they are also related to Lith. *ēžeras*, Latv. *ezers*, Pruss. *assaran* E 60, Slav. *\*ezero / ezerv* 'lake', Gk. ἀχερούσια ὕδατα ἐλώδη 'marshy waters', hydr. Ἀχέρων, the name of an Illyrian or Thracian tribe Ὀσεριάτες near Lake Balaton, OE *ēagor* 'sea'. In this case this could be a very old word of heteroclytic declension (Benveniste 1935: 11; LEW 125; ЭССЯ IV 33f., 59; ПЯ A–D 120f., 131ff.; PKEŽ I 101, 104 and lit.). Some researchers offer other alternatives too (cf. Smoczyński 2007: 150).

Urbutis (2009: 317), on the basis of the forms containing *eža* and the name of pātaisas (lycopod) *eža cīsas* (ME I 572 with the corrected print error) thinks that Latv. *ezis* 'hedgehog' laid the basis for

the names of the yarrow being discussed, and the possible relation with *eža* is secondary, and it appeared due to folk etymology.

Latv. *ezis* corresponds to Lith. *ežys* (Vytautas Mažiulis PKEŽ I 104f. supposed that the word could have exist in the Prussian language, cf. the word *assegis* 'perch' derived from it E 572), CS. (Serb.) *ežb*, perhaps also Phryg. ἔξις 'hedgehog'. This can be a derivative of the adjectival affix *\*-jo-*.

Similar names of the hedgehog in other cognate languages differ in their formation, cf. OGH *igil*, Gk. ἐχῖνος, Arm. *ozni* (Trautmann 1923: 73; IEW 292; LEW 1330). However, their basis is the same – the ancient name of the snake, cf. especially Gk. ἔχις 'snake' (ЭССЯ VI 37; ИЯ 526; Urbutis 1981: 15; Sabaliauskas 1990: 30; Smoczyński 2007: 150). A distantly related might be the Lith. *angis* 'snake' whose form changed because of taboo (cf. ИЯ 526).

The rare name *tūkstuošziedi* recorded in Vecmokas, approximately corresponds to Russ. *тысячелистник* 'yarrow'. Both compounds conceal the numeral common to the Balts, Slavs and Germans, cf. Latv. *tūkstuot(i)ns*, Lith. *tūkstantis*, Pruss. *tūsimtons* III 37<sub>18</sub>; OCS *tysęsti*, Goth. *Dūsundi* 'thousand'. It was made with the help of the suffix *\*-nt-* from the verb *\*tū-* 'to swell; increase; have power', joined with the numeral *\*k̑ntom-* 'hundred' inherited from the Indo-European parent language (for more about it see Blažek 1999: 315f., 319f. and the abundant literature discussed therein).

The basic verb *\*tū-* did not survive in the Baltic languages but there are derivatives made from it, cf. Lith. *tūlas* (it preserved old meanings 'frequent; more than one, numerous, various' in the writings of the 16th–17th century), Pruss. *tūlan* 'many' III 55<sub>8-9</sub> (concerning its origin see Ambrazas 2008b: 110 and lit.), Latv. *tūte* 'power, energy' (Petit 2000: 123ff.; Smoczyński 2006: 161).

It should be mentioned that the Baltic languages have preserved a large number of ancient derivatives with the suffix *\*-nt-*:

1) here, like in many other Indo-European languages, active *\*-nt-* particles (see Ambrazas V. 1979: 29ff. and lit.) made of adjectives are used; the verbal derivative Lith. *dantīs*, which is far from the system of participles, dates back to ancient times, cf. Pruss. *dantis* E 92, Goth. *tunþus*, OIr. *dēt*, Lat. *dens*, Av. *dant(an)*, OInd. *dá(n)t-*, partly Arm. *atamn*, Gk. ὀδών 'tooth', etc. (Frenkelis 1969: 97; LEW 82; IEW 289; ПЯ A–D 299f.; ИЯ 302; Иванов 1981: 96f.; PKEŽ I 179 and lit.; Smoczyński 2006: 92f.);

2) hydronyms with *\*-nt-* of archaic formation are widespread in the territory of Lithuania, e.g., *Sālantas* (see Skardžius IV 879–944);

3) of the same origin are diminutives with *-int-elis* used in western Lithuanian dialects since olden times (e.g., *mažiñtelis* 'very small'), which also have parallels in some other cognate languages (see Ambrazas 2004b, 2008b: 101 and lit.).

The second component *ziēds* of the compound *tūkstuošziedi* under discussion corresponds to Lith. *žiēdas* (see p. 419).

Lith. *baltažiēdis* with its variants *baltažiēdē*, *báltažiedē*, *baltžiēdē*, *balžiēdis*, *balžiēdē*, is also based on this word. They are used in some subdialects of north-western Highlanders of Šiauliai (around Lieporiai, Šapnagai, Bridai, Dargaičiai, Rudiškiai, Stupurai, Dameliai, Vainėikiai, Noriūnai) and eastern Highlanders of Panevėžys (around Kirbaičiai, Kriukai, Žeimelis, Kuldūnai, Užušiliai, Bučiūnai, Gaižūnai, Kapčiūnai, Joniškaičiai, Pakruojis, Norušaičiai, Karčemos).

The derivative *báltē* has been made from the adjective *báltas* (-à) alone with the derivational inflection *-é*.

The adjective *báltas* (-à) is old. It corresponds with Latv. *balts* 'white', is related to OSlav. *\*blato* 'pool, marsh', Alb. *baltë* 'dirt,



sludge', Rom. *baltă* 'puddle, pool, lake' and others. On the whole, manifestations of *\*balt-* are found in a large area from the Baltic Sea to the Balkan region, the shores of the Mediterranean and Adrian Seas (Pisani 1968: 18; ПЯ A–D 189f.; Crevatin 1981: 7; Dini 2008: 18f. and lit.; Dambe 1972: 125ff.).

This is a derivative of the suffix *\*-to-*, cf. Lith. *bálti*, *bālas* 'whites', *balà*, Latv. *bāls* 'paledim', OCS *bělv*, Gk. *φαλῖός* 'white', Cel. *\*belo-* 'shining, white', Arm. *bal* 'paleness, pallor; pale colour'; Pruss. *batto* 'forehead' E 77, OInd. *bhāla-* 'forehead; radiance', Alb. *balë* 'horse with a white star on its forehead, an animal with a star on its forehead', *ballë* 'forehead', Bret. *bal* 'a white star on an animal's forehead', etc. (IEW 118ff.; ПЯ A–D 187f. and lit.), and further perhaps also OInd. *bhāti* 'it shines, glitters, glows, gleams' (Schulze 1966: 111; LEW 32; Karaliūnas 2004: 101ff. and lit.; Smoczyński 2007: 44).

Here it should also be mentioned that the discussed adjective *\*balt-* is also found in a rare name of the yarrow *bal̥tvēdere* recorded in Užava. Its second component is *vēdērs* 'stomach' corresponding to Lith. *vėderas*, *vėdaras* 'intestines, stomach, bowels; fried sausage of cereals or potatoes', Pruss. *weders* 'stomach' E 122. The latter word can be derived from the Indo-European name of the udder *\*uēd<sup>h</sup>r̥/ \*eud<sup>h</sup>r̥/ \*ūd<sup>h</sup>n-*, cf. OInd. *údhār/údhn-* 'udder' (Būga II 274f.; PKEŽ IV 227f.).

Another name of a medicinal plant *vēdērzāle* 'common centaury' has been made from *vēdērs* (ME IV 549).

The names *karpýtine*, *karpýtinis* reflect the shape of the yarrow leaves. They are used in the eastern subdialects of western Highlanders in Kaunas district, around Kalviai, Pašlavantis, Margininkai, Prienai, Birštonas, Nemajūnai, Užugostis.

These names are derived from the substantivised adjective of the compound suffix *-tinis* (*-ė*) (*<-tas+ -inis* (*-ė*), see Ambrazas 1993: 65f., 128f.). The derivative *karpýtė*, which is not so common and recorded around Mauručiai, have the suffix *-tė* (concerning its origin see Ambrazas 1993: 42ff.).

The basic verb *karpýti* of the derivatives discussed (corresponding to Latv. *kārpīt* 'to cut' ME II 198), denoting a repeated action, is a derivative with the suffix *-yti* (see about it Skardžius I 529ff.; Stang 1942: 147ff.; 1966b: 326ff.; Jakaitienė 1994: 396f.) made from *kiřpti*.

This word have many equivalents in other Indo-European languages, cf. Latv. *cīrpt* 'to cut', Lat. *carpere* 'to pick, to peck, to nibble, to pluck; to enjoy, to admire; to go, to take place, to tear; to divide, to split; to look for; to tire; to attack, to speak ill, to condemn', OGH. *scarbōn* 'to cut into small pieces', *herbist* 'autumn', Gk. *καρπός* 'fruit', *κρόπιον*, Latv. *cīrpe*, OIr. *corrán* 'sickle', OInd. *krpāṇa-* 'sword, ritual knife', Alb. *karpë* 'rock', Hitt. *karp-* 'to pick up, to take, to carry, to collect'; Pruss. *kerpetis* 'scull' E 72, OSlav. *чрѣнь* 'chip, tile', OGH. *scirbi*, OInd. *karpara-* 'chip', etc. (Trautmann 1923: 129; LEW 257f.; IEW 944f.; ПЯ I–K 332ff. and lit.; ИЯ 691f.; PKEŽ II 171ff.; Smoczyński 2007: 289).

Further it is related to an even older verb *\*(s)ker-* 'to cut', from which Lith. *kiřsti*, *skeřsti*, *skirti*, etc. were derived. (LEW 258; IEW 938ff.; Sabaliauskas 1990: 90).

The compound *mōrklapis* recorded around Rūgaliai is of similar semantics (cf. the variant *morklapelis*). The latter (and its variant *mōrklapis*) was also used around Vabalninkas, Utena, Sapiegiškiai (see the card index of Salys' Questionnaire 1).

Slavism *morkà* derived from *morkvà* (the latter was borrowed from Byel. *мóрква*, see Skardžius IV 193) forms the first component of

this compound. The concretised diminutives *morkùtė*, *morkvėlė* were made from it which were recorded around Čekiškė, Vilkija, Pravieniškės (see the card index of Salys' Questionnaire 1).

The second component *lāpas* corresponds to Latv. *lapa* 'leaf'. This word could have existed in the Prussian language too, cf. *lapinis* 'spoon' E 359. This can be a verbal derivative, cf. Lith. *ātlapas*, *lėpti* 'to come off', *lėpti* 'to wilt slightly, to bend down', Gk. *λέπω* 'I peal, scrape' (LEW 339f.; PKEŽ III 41ff.; Smoczyński 2007: 336f.).

The word *smirduōklė* reflects a sharp smell of the yarrow, e.g.: *Šiomet linuosa labai daug smirduōklių buvo* 'this year there were a lot of yarrow in flax' Dubičiai (e-LKŽ). This is a derivative of the suffix *-uoklė* (that was derived from *\*-tlo-*) made from the verb *smirdėti*.

This corresponds to Latv. *smirdēt*, OCS *smrōdēti* 'to stink'; attempts are made to relate it to Lat. *merda* 'dung', Gk. *σμόςδωνες* 'schemer, instigator' (Trautmann 1923: 271; IEW 970; LEW 847f.; Sabaliauskas 1990: 103; Smoczyński 2007: 578f.).

And further it might have been derived from the older verb *\*(s)mer-* 'to crush up', cf. Gk. *μαραίνω* 'I crush up, eat up, exhaust', OBulg. *izmrōmbrati* 'to pull up, dig out'; OInd. *mārdati* 'crushes up, squashes'; Gk. *σμερδνός* 'terrible', Germ. *schmerzen* 'to ache', etc. (IEW 735ff., 970).

In some Latvian subdialects the yarrow is compared to false hellebore, caraway, pepper.

The names *čemerīčas*, *čemerīčas*, *čemerīņi*, *čemerijas* have been recorded in south-western part of Kurzeme (in Nīca, Rucava, Asīte), e.g.: *īpas<sup>i</sup> liēpājnīek<sup>i</sup> sauc par čemerīņiem* 'it is mainly people of Liepāja who call the yarrow *čemerīņi*' Asīte (LVDA).

The name *čemerīņi* is related to Latv. dial. *cemerīņš* 'false hellebore root (*Helleborus*)' (cf. ME I 372), and *čemerīčas* corresponds to Lith. *čemerýčia* 'a perennial poisonous medicinal plant of the lily family (*Veratrum album*)', *čemerýčios* 'false hellebore root', medicine made from them (*Rhiroma veratri*). These are Slavisms, cf. Bel. *чeмepицa*, Russ. *чeмepицa*, OPol. *czemerzyca* (Skardžius IV 111).

In some subdialects of the Latvian language names of the yarrow related to the lexeme *ķimenes* 'caraway' or its dialectal variant *ķiemeles* have been recorded. In the northern part of Kurzeme, in Puze and Ugāle, the name *aitķiemele* has been recorded. The variant *aitkriēmele*, which might be an occasional derivative has been recorded in neighbouring Ugāle.

In some subdialects of High Latvian dialect word combinations with the lexeme *ķimenes* 'caraway' (and *ķimini*) have been recorded. The word combination *cūku ķimenes* has been recorded in Viksna, *guovju ķimenes* – in Meirāni, and *vilka ķimini* – in Mērdzene.

The names *aitķiemeles*; *cūku ķimenes*, *guovju ķimenes*; *vilku ķimenes* are based on the borrowings from the German language *ķimele* (cf. Lith. *ķimeliai*, CHG *kūmel* 'caraway', see Čepienė 2006: 211), *ķimene*, is related to CHG *cimin* 'caraway' (ME II 381); Lith. *kmūnas* is the borrowing from the Slavic languages, cf. Bel. *кминь*, Pol. *kmyn* (Skardžius IV 162). The first components of word combinations and compounds are names of animals *aita* 'sheep' (concerning their origin see p. 429), *cūka* 'pig' (concerning its origin see p. 409), *guovs* 'cow', *vilks* 'wolf', and this shows that a plant does not correspond to the common caraway (*Carom carve*).

The name of the yarrow *laukpipari*, *lauka* (and *lauku*) *pipari* is used in a small compact area in Kurzeme itself, e.g.: *lauku piparus liek, svaigu gaļu vāruot* 'yarrow is added when fresh meat is cooked' Dundaga (ME).

The second component of the names *lauka pipari(ņi)*, *laukpihari(ņi)* is *pipars* ‘pepper’. The latter most probably was borrowed from the Germanic languages (ME III 221). Meanwhile Lith. *pipiras* was borrowed from ORuss. *пѣпѣрь* prior to the 12th century (Būga I 340).

The first component of the names under discussion is the old noun *laũks* corresponding to Lith. *laũkas*, Pruss. *laucks* ‘field, soil’ III 105<sub>10</sub>. Most probably the abstract *\*leukos-* ‘lightness, brightness’, which later acquired the meaning of a light cleared place in a forest, cf. OInd. *uloká-*, *loká-* ‘cleared light placed; space, the world’, Lat. *lūcus* ‘grove’, OE *léah* ‘field, meadow, forest, open place’ (Schulze 1966: 121f.; Trautmann 1923: 151; ME II 426f.; LEW 343f.; ПЯ L 147ff.; PKEŽ III 49f.) was made from the verb *\*leuk-* ‘to shine’ with the derivational inflection *\*-o-* in the Indo-European parent language (cf. OInd. *rócate* ‘shines’, see IEW 687ff.).

Most likely the derivative *pipirnykas* with the suffix *-(i)nykas* made from the Slavism *pipiras*, which was used around Vilkaviškis, Leliūnai, Mielagėnai (see the card index of Salys’ Questionnaire 1; cf. e-LKŽ) denotes the yarrow and some of its species in Lithuanian subdialects.

Lithuanians, however, most often compare the pepper with other plants, cf.: *pipirėlis*, *pipirukas*, *pipirlapė*, *pipirlapis* ‘a plant of the birthwort family (*Asmum europaeum*)’, *pipirmėtė* ‘medicinal peppermint (*Menta piperita*)’, *pipirinė* ‘a plant of the mustard family Brassicaceae (*Lepidium*)’ (e-LKŽ).

Perhaps separate names of the yarrow recorded in Latgale are also related to bitterness of the yarrow tea, e.g., *sūrines* in Cibla, Ezernieki. The names, most probably, are *\*-no-* derivatives from the adjective *sūrs* ‘bitter’, which is related to Lith. *sūras* ‘salty’, Slav. *syrb* ‘raw, unprocessed; wet’, OWS scand. *surr* ‘ferment’, and is related to OPruss. *suris* ‘cheese’ (ME III 1134; Trautmann 1923: 293f.; E 688; PKEŽ IV 169). It might be that the dialectal form *šireñes* recorded in Šķilbēni, Rugāji, Baltinava is related to the dialectal variant *syurs* of the adjective *sūrs* ‘bitter’.

The names of the yarrow with the root *žūž-* (*žūžaines*, *žūžaiņi*, *žūžāji*, *žūžāni*, *žūžaunas*, *žūžaunes*, *žūžēnes*, *žūžēni*, *žūžērnēs*, *žūžērni*, *žūžēveņi*, *žūžēni*, *žūžines*, *žūžuoni*) are found in a compact area of Latgala, however, separate variants intertwine between themselves, e.g.: *žūžaiņi* – *bòlīm žīdenīm žīt*, *tuôc kuô vâinačēníc* ‘the yarrow has white blossoms, which are like a wreath’ Nīcgale (LVDA); *palašēišu žūžaiņi* ‘I shall gather some yarrow for myself’ Sakstagals (LVDA); *ka igrīš pīerstā, vajak satrēt ār žēužūonu sulu* ‘when you cut your finger you have to rub yarrow juice in’ Vārkava (LVDA); *ār žūžūonīm indykus i borði* ‘yarrow is given to turkeys to peck’ Silajāni (LVDA); *žūžārniis kuřkyņi āt* ‘turkeys peck yarrow’ Nautrēni (LVDA).

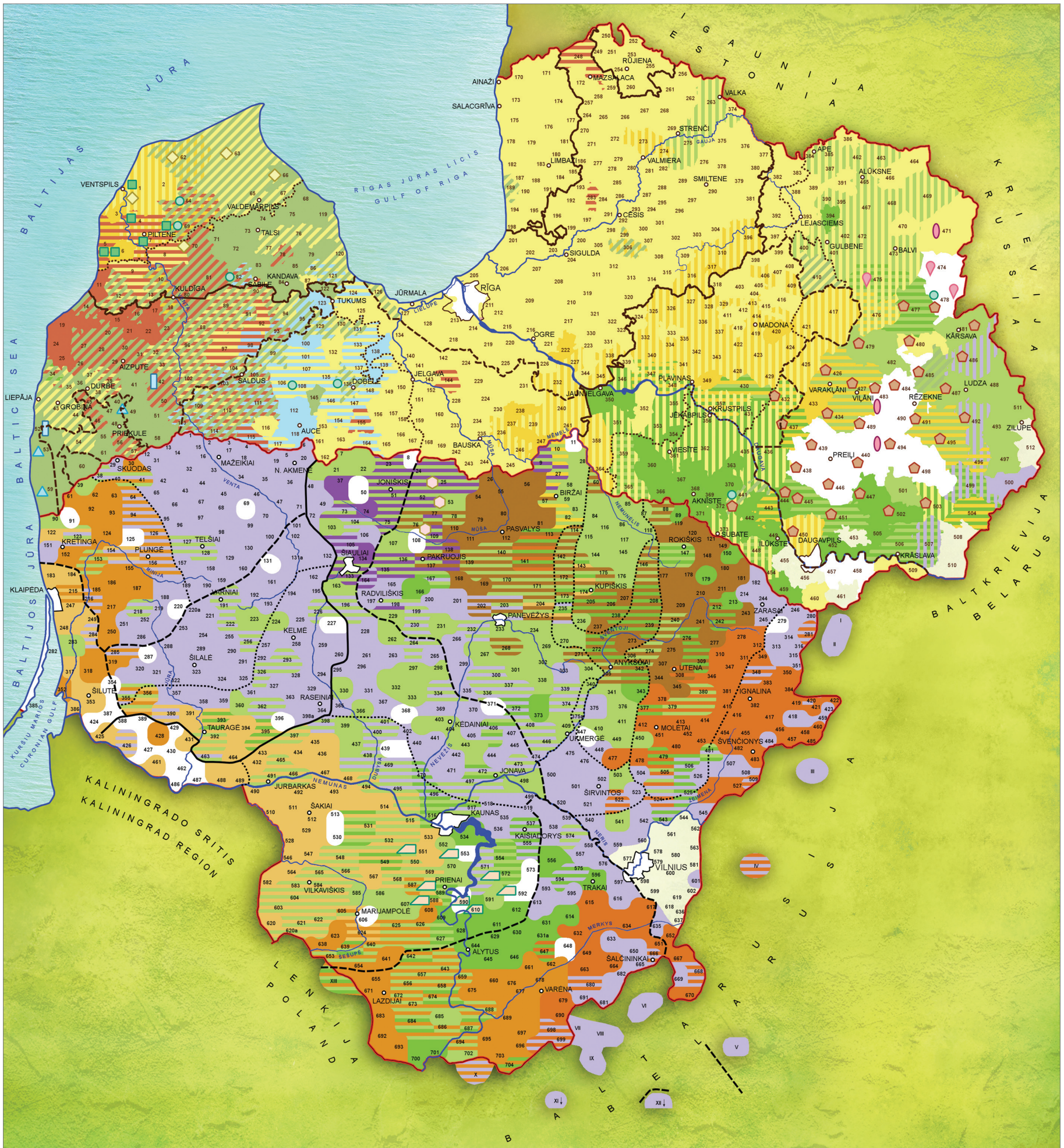
The names *žūžaines*, *žūžāji*, *žūžēni*, *žūžērnēs* used in Latgala perhaps are of onomatopoeic origin, cf. *žūžēt*, *žūžināt*, *žūžuôt* ‘to rustle, to murmur’ (ME IV 838), but they are more likely to be related to Lith. *apžiūžti* ‘to overgrow with grass’, cf. Russ. *волосяная трава, волосць* (Анненковъ 1878: 4): *Apžiūžēs plaukais kaip šuva* Valkininkai (e-LKŽ).

The name *indricenes* (and its variants), which was derived from a person’s personal name Indriķis, shows the time of yarrow’s blooming; earlier the day of Indriķis was celebrated on 15 July.

The names *indricenes* and *incenes* form a small compact area in north-west of Kurzeme. The variant *iñdricenes* has been recorded in Venta, Zūras, Ziras and Ugāle, and *iñdricenes* – in Piltene. Its shortened variant has been recorded in Užava only.

The name *sirpenes* (Viļaka) and *sirpines* (Sakstagals, Malta) most probably reflect the time of blossoming of the yarrow. The name could be a borrowing from the Polish language. The basis of the borrowing is the name of the month August *sierpień*, which is related to Pol. *sierp* ‘sickle’ that is related to Latv. *sirpis* ‘sickle’, Serb. *sîp* and Russ. *ceпn* ‘sickle’, further it is related to Gk. ἄσπη ‘sickle’ (ME III 847).





- |  |   |   |                                       |                                    |
|--|---|---|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Latv. <i>asins / ašņa žāle</i> and var.<br>Lith. <i>kraujažolė, kr(iau)(k)žolė</i>                             | Latv. <i>kravagņiks</i> and var.<br>Lith. <i>kravauninkas</i> and var.<br>(with the roots <i>kriov-, krev-, kraw-, kruv-, kurv-</i> ) | Lith. <i>s(t)rev-, s(t)rav-, srauļ- + nosis, -ė</i> | Latv. derivatives with <i>ež-</i>     | Latv. derivatives with <i>žūž-</i> |
| Latv. other derivatives with <i>asins- / ašņa-</i><br>Lith. other derivatives with <i>krau-, krauj-, kruv-</i> | Lith. compounds with <i>s(t)rav-, s(t)rev- + žolė, strevo / stravo žolė</i>   | Lith. <i>nastrava</i> and var.                      | Latv. derivatives with <i>ait-</i>    | Latv. <i>sirpenes, -ines</i>       |
| Latv. <i>peļāšis</i> and var.  | Lith. <i>baltažiedis, baltažiedė</i>  | Lith. derivatives with <i>fitar-</i>                | Latv. derivatives with <i>čemer-</i>  | Latv. <i>sierenes</i>              |
| Latv. <i>peļaste</i> and var.<br>Lith. <i>peluodegē, peluodegis</i>  | Lith. <i>s(t)rev-, s(t)rav-</i> derivatives   | Latv. derivatives with <i>mēr-</i>                  | Latv. <i>indricene, incene</i>        | Lith. <i>karpytinė, karpytinis</i> |
|  |   |   | Latv. <i>lauka pipir(ņi)</i> and var. | Lith. <i>rauklažolė</i>            |
|  |   |   | Latv. derivatives with <i>šāp-</i>    |                                    |



*Baltų kalbų atlasas*  
*Leksika 1: flora*

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## *Names of the Plantain*





# Names of the Plantain

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The map is based on answers to Question No. 82 of the ALE lexical Questionnaire, to Question No. 65 of the Fourth Dialectological Questionnaire of the KFRP, as well as on investigations carried out by Aurelija Gritėnienė (2006), Inese Ēdelmane and Ārija Ozola (2003).

The map represents prevalence of the generalised names of the plants belonging to the plantain (*Plantaginaceae*) family.

This plant that reduces inflammation is also famous for other medicinal qualities and has quite a number of names in the Baltic languages, which can be divided into several groups.

The names of the first group used in the eastern part of Lithuania and in some Latvian subdialects are related to the leaves of this plant with parallel veins that fork outward from the central midrib (cf. Gritėnienė 2006: 154).

The basis of their formation is Lith. *gýsla* / Latv. *dzýsla*. This word existed in the Prussian language too, cf. *pettegislo* 'the shoulder vein' E 108. It has parallels in other cognate languages, cf. OSlav. *žila* 'vein', Arm. *žil* 'tendon; rope', Lat. *filum* 'thread' (Trautmann 1923: 90; ME I 557f; LEW 150; IEW 489; Sabaliauskas 1990: 10; PKEŽ III 276f.).

The name *gyslōtis*, *gyslōtys* (plantain), thereby this plant is called in the Standard Lithuanian language too, has been recorded in northern subdialects of eastern Highlanders in Anykščiai, Panevėžys, Utena districts (around Pakruojis, Kupiškis, Zarasai), e.g.: *nut'ri.ntu. 'kɔju. nɔ.kɕei gi.s'lxɕeis ab'dɛk | tɔ.ɨ nutraũks kař's'ti.* 'put plantains around the sore foot for the night, they will reduce heat' KpŽ I 678; *prie šulinio daug gyslōčių priaugo* 'a lot of plantains grow around the well' Obeliai (e-LKŽ); *dabar gyslōčių jau gal niekas nevalgo* 'most probably nobody eats plantains now' Obeliai (e-LKŽ).

It is also used at the south-eastern edge of the area of the Lithuanian language – in the subdialects of southern Highlanders and eastern Highlanders in Vilnius area (around Leipalingis, Varėna, Šalčininkai, Dieveniškės, Gervėčiai and other places), e.g.: *uždėk pirštą gyslōčiais, ir nesuks* 'put plantains round your finger and it will not ache' Miroslavas (e-LKŽ).

The most common variants of this name are *gyslōčius* (Nairiai, Anykščiai, Deguliai, Skriaudžiai, Žalioji, Alksnėnai, Krosna, Leipalingis, Punksas, etc.), e.g.: *gyslōčius labai tinka dėti ant žaizdos* 'the plantain

is good to be put on a wound' Būdviētis (e-LKŽ); *gyslōčius mačija nuo prietvaro* 'the plantain helps in case of constipation' Tverečius (e-LKŽ); and *gysluōtis* (Juodaičiai, Daugėliškiai and other places), e.g.: *g'i.sluōcai cíej placai.s lāpais | gēra juōs* 'plantains are those with broad leaves, people drink them [tea]' DrskŽ 103; *g'i.sluōcai labai. geraĩ. | kap sùs-muši | àb'd'edzi tai.s lāpais* 'plantains are good when you bruise yourself, you put plantains round the bruise' DrskŽ 103; *gi.sluōceĩ | tai\_nuok\_skrañ.žo.* 'plantains are for the stomach' PpaŽK; *má n tai\_zoi.li-kapiř.štę.n žaizdà | tai\_àš visa\_laĩ.ka gerù | vīsu. žiēmu. | gi.sluōcus* 'I have duodenal ulcer, so I drink plantains all the time, all through the winter' PpaŽK; *geros žolės ten nēr – vieni gysluōčiai* 'there is no good grass there – only plantains' Nemunaitis (e-LKŽ).

The words *gyslōčis* (Medininkai), *gysluōčius* (Gervėčiai), *gysliuotis* (Kučiuonai, Kapčiamiestis) are recorded much rarer.

The word *gyslōtis* has the secondary suffix *-otis* (< suff. *-ot-* + root *-is*), which can be a common innovation of the Lithuanian and Prussian languages, cf. Pruss. *nagotis* 'brass pot with feet' E 349 : *nage* 'foot of the leg' E 145 (Ambrazas 2000: 140f., 2006: 72 and lit.).

The words *gyslōčius*, *gyslōčis* are later variants of the word. The variant *gyslōčia* is found in Konstantinas Sirvydas' second dictionary of the 17th century: *Bábká žiele. Plantago. Giflōčia* SD<sup>3</sup> 4. It is recorded in later dictionaries of Pilypas Ruigys, George H. F. Nesselmann, and the writings of Jurgis Pabrėža. However, it seems to be absent from the current Lithuanian dialects.

*Gysluōtis* (and its variants *gysliuōtis*, *gysluōčius*) was made with the similar suffix *-uotis* (< suff. *-ōt-* + root *-is*, cf. Ambrazas 2000: 142).

All the derivatives discussed here were derived from the adjectives *gyslōtas* (*-a*), *gyslúotas* (*-a*) (it should be noted that *gyslōtas* denotes the plantain itself in Rukai).

The suffixes *-(i)otas* (*-a*), *-(i)uotas* (*-a*) are very productive in the Lithuanian language. As a rule, adjectives with *-(i)otas* (*-a*) are made from the *ā* stem nouns, and with *-(i)uotas* (*-a*) – from the *ō* stem nouns. However, in dialects these suffixes are mixed between themselves and with other suffixes of the same origin *-ėtas* (*-a*), *-ytas* (*-a*), which are also derived from *\*-to-*. Due to this, a great number of doublets of *gyslōtas* (*-a*), *gyslúotas* (*-a*) type appeared in dialects (cf. Skardžius I 348ff.; LKA III 143ff., Map No. 130–134; Akelaitienė 1999). They have parallels in other cognate languages (Brugmann 1906: 405ff.), cf.

Lith. *barzdótas* and OSlav. *bradatv*, Lat. *barbatus* ‘barzdotas’ (Ambrazas 2008b: 114 and lit.). It is true that in the Latvian language adjectives of this type are much rarer than in the Lithuanian language (cf. Endzelīns 1951: 383f.). Corresponding variants with the suffix *-ains* derived from *\*-nō-* became widespread in the Latvian language, e.g.: *cēlmains* ‘full of stumps’ (Endzelīns 1951: 325ff.; Blinkena 2002: 205ff. and lit.), which have very few parallels in the Lithuanian language, e.g., *pilvāinas* ‘pilvotas’ (Ambrazas 2005: 123f.).

The name *gyslōnas* (with its variants *gyslōnė*, *gyslōnis*) is used in the very eastern part of Lithuania – in subdialects of eastern Highlanders in Vilnius and Utena areas, in some subdialects in Anykščiai area, e.g.: *gyslōnas gerai pridėti prie tvinkstančios vietos* ‘it is good to put the plantain on a swelling place’ Dusetos (e-LKŽ); *gyslōnai daugiausia papieviais auga* ‘plantains grow mainly at the edge of meadows’ Tauragnai (e-LKŽ); *visas atšlaimas gyslōnais apaugo* ‘the whole yard became overgrown with plantains’ Molėtai (e-LKŽ); *gyslonūs perka aptiekon* ‘plantains are bought at the chemist’s’ Švenčionys (e-LKŽ); *gyslōniai auga patakėm, pakelėm* ‘plantains grow by the side of paths, by roadsides’ Dusetos (e-LKŽ).

These names are made with the help of the suffixes derived from *\*-nō-*. The names of nomina qualitativa with the derivative suffix *\*-ā-no-* are common to the Baltic, Slavonic and Italic languages, cf. Latv. *druvāns* ‘unbroken soil’, CS *bratanv* ‘brother’s son’, Lat. *īnsulānus* ‘islander’ (Ambrazas 2000: 162f. and lit.).

The compound *gyslūnalapis* (*tenai gyslūnalapiai auga* ‘plantains grow there’ [e-LKŽ]) recorded in Maišiagala shows that once there was the derivative *\*gyslūnas*. Though the names of nomina qualitativa with the secondary suffix *\*-ū-no-* as an independent type of formation most likely formed in the Baltic languages and became more common during the period of the writing tradition of the Lithuanian language only (Ambrazas 2000: 158ff. and lit.), they have deep historical roots too.

The tendency to make social terms with the meaning of ‘master, leader’ with the adjectival suffix *\*-nō-* most probably goes back to the period of the late Indo-European parent language, cf. Lat. *dominus* ‘the Lord’, Goth. *þiudans* ‘king’, Gk. *κοίρανος* ‘leader of worriers’, etc. (Saussure 1963: 309f.; Meid 1957: 95f.; Watkins 1966: 45f.; Benveniste 1970: 301ff.).

Some of these names have the derivative suffix *\*-ū-no-* (e.g.: Lat. *tribūnus* ‘district leader’, OInd. *dāmūnas-* ‘belonging to home; home guardian’) and partly correspond to the Baltic derivatives with *\*-ū-no-* (cf. Brugmann 1906: 280; Specht 1932: 215f. and others).

The word *gysluōnis*: *gysluoniais*, *arba pabaliais*, *gydo iššutimus tarp kojų pirštų* ‘plantains, or pabaliai, are used to treat rash between the toes’ has been recorded in Antalieptė (e-LKŽ), and its variant *gysluōnas* in Kavarskas.

Derivatives with the suffix *-uonis* are derived from the verbs of consonant declension (cf. Skardžius I 293ff.; Endzelīns 1951: 328f.; Kazlauskas 1968: 273ff.; Ambrazas 1993: 150ff., 2000: 167f. and lit.), cf. the old word Lith. *žmuō*, Pruss. *smoy* E 187, Goth. *guma*, Lat. *\*hemō* ‘human being’, Os. *humuns* ‘people’, Umb. *homonus* ‘to people’, Toch. B *śaumo* ‘human being’. Its primary meaning could be ‘earthly’ (cf. Brugmann 1906: 295; Trautmann 1923: 369f.; Skardžius I 296f.; LEW 1320; IEW 415; Stang 1966b: 225f.; ИЯ 821; PKEŽ IV 132ff.; Smoczyński 2007: 790f.).

The derivatives *gyslōtas* (around Anykščiai), *gyslenis* (Obeliai, Kriaunos), *gyslutis* with the root *gysl-* are quite rare.

The compound *gýslalapis*, *gýslalāpis*, *gýslālapis* is widespread mainly in the subdialects of central Lithuania: in the subdialects of eastern Highlanders in Panevėžys, Širvintos, Kupiškis areas, in the eastern part of western Highlanders in Kaunas area, and it has been recorded in the area of southern Highlanders around Šalčininkai, e.g.: *‘gýslalapi.š čæ | ugnó.žó.la.s pakrašči[s] susó.dí.ntó.s* ‘the plantain is planted here, and greater celandines are planted at the edges’ KpŽ I 678; *labai gærai ‘gýslalap’ó. de.l í.ηkstu. ligó.s* ‘the plantain is very good for kidney diseases’ KpŽ I 678; *‘gýslalap’u. burbo.lú. | tai kai ví.dur’us palá.idžæ* ‘when one has diarrhoea he must drink plantain ears’ KpŽ I 678; *gýslalapj dedu, karštj traukia* ‘I place the plantain, it reduces heat’ Ēriškiai (e-LKŽ).

The variants *gýslapis*, *gýslapys*, *gýslapas* are less common (Užušiliai, Daukniūnai, Saločiai, Kalvarija and other places), e.g.: *‘mōčæku. | ‘gýslap’u. prisi.ræηka* ‘they gather the coltsfoot, plantains’ KpŽ I 678; *nuvařgusæs ‘krjæs ab’de[k] ‘gýslapeis | tó.ı acigá.usi* ‘put plantains round the tired legs, and you will become well again’ KpŽ I 678; *nuskink gýslapj iš patvorio uždėti ant piršto* ‘pick the plantain from the place along the fence and put it on the finger’ Liudvinavas (e-LKŽ).

The *ē* stem compound *gýslalapė*, *gýslalāpė* has been recorded in Pasvalys, Medikoniai: *dėk gýslalapę prie žaizdos – kraujas nebetekės* ‘put the plantain on the wound – blood will stop running’ Pasvalys (e-LKŽ).

These names are equivalents of Latv. *dzīslapa* ‘plantain’ (concerning the origin of the second component of the compound Lith. *lāpas* / Latv. *lapa* see p. 431).

The name *gýslāzolė* has been recorded in the environs of Panevėžys and Seda (concerning the origin of the second component of the compound *žolė* see p. 416).

Names with the root *dzīsl-* are found in Latgale (in the eastern, southern and south-eastern part of Latgale) and in Zemgale around Bauska. They are also semantically motivated and are related to the venation of the leaves of the plant.

In some Latgalian subdialects of Augšzeme (Aizkalne, Balvi, Liepna, Nīcgale, Šķilbēni) and in Zemgalian subdialect of Skaistkalne of the central dialect the variant *dzīslene* made with the ending *-ene* is found: *žēislēnes so iz rānu līk vīersā, lai krušuōk žēist* ‘plantains are put on a wound to help it heal better’ Šķilbēni (ALE).

This derivative is found in dictionaries from Zemgale: *dzīslene* ‘der Wegerich’ (Bārbele, Vecumnieki, Stelpe) EH I 362.

The variant *dzīslīne* made with the ending *-īne* is more frequent in the Latgalian subdialects of Augšzeme dialect, e.g., *žēislīnīs pi rānys līk, pi aūgūņa* ‘plantains are put on a wound, on an abscess’ Cibla (ALE); *vajak izlīkē žēislīni is sōpuma* ‘it is necessary to put plantain on a sore place’ Līvāni (ALE).

The variant *dzīslēņa* (*žēislēņa*) has been recorded in Skaista, and the variant *dzīslīne* (*žīslīņe*) has been recorded in Ezernieki. The derivative *dzīslīne* with the ending *-īne* is found in the dictionary of Kārlis Mülenbahs and Jānis Endzelīns (Eversmūiža [Cibla]) EH I 362.

The word combination *dzīslīņu lapiņas* has been recorded in Ludza, and the compound *dzīslapa* has been recorded both in the central Latgalian subdialects of Augšzeme dialect (Kalupe, Višķi), and in Zemgale subdialects of the central dialect (Bārbele, Jaunsaule, Panemune, Skaistkalne), e.g.: *žēislopys dalīk pi kuōdys rānys; žēislopys tuōdys žēisluōtys, pār tū jūos tuō sàuc; žēislopys aūk pogolmā i pa cēlamotys; ka kūoja pūordūrta, to vajak dalīkē žēislopu ar tūkīm; tūki izvālk nafēirūms, a žēislopa atjām kořstumu* ‘plantains are put on a



wound; *dzisllapas* ‘plantains’ are veined therefore they are called like that; plantains grow in the yard and by the roadsides; if your leg is pierced it is necessary to put plantain with lard; lard clears dirt and the plantain removes heat’ Kalupe (ALE); *pakryta i sadaužà cėli, a paturà viersà soltu žėislopu i óal jàu varà skrīt* ‘fell down and hurt the knee but put plantain on top and could run again’ Viški (ALE).

The *ē* stem form *dzisllape* is found in dictionaries (Bārbele, Vecumnieki, Stelpe) EH I 362.

The compound *dzisleņlapa* has been recorded in Skaistkalne (*žisleņlapas*).

Folk medicine has an impact on the second group of the Lithuanian name of the plantain (as in case of the yarrow, cf. p. 424) – plantain’s leaves are put on hurt places, wounds, places stung by insects (cf. Gritėnienė 2006: 182f.).

Mainly these are names with the root *trauk-* used in the western part of Lithuania covering the areas of Lowlanders and western Highlanders in Kaunas area.

They are related to the verb *tráukti*. The latter is related to Latv. *trāukt* ‘to run, to speed; to tear, to pull’, Pruss. *per-traūki* ‘pulled over, put on’ III 101<sub>14</sub>, perhaps is related to OHG *drucken* ‘to press’, Cymr. *trychu* ‘to cut’ (IEW 1074; LEW 1113f.; Stang 1972: 9; Sabaliauskas 1990: 191; PKEŽ III 273f.; Smoczyński 2007: 682f.).

Compounds are the first to be mentioned in this group of names.

Compounds with the second component *lap-* (*traūklapis, tráuklapis, traūkālapis*) are used in the area of northern and western Lowlanders and Highlanders in the Klaipėda region, e.g.: *traū.klaṗu lāpa dīdelī | uo anī nežīd* ‘plantain leaves are large but they do not bloom’ DūnŽ 403; *traū.klaṗus ar pri\_ruonuōz dēd | àlè anī pràstī vaī.star* ‘plantains are put on a wound too but they are poor medicine’ DūnŽ 403; *jėg° vėdōřūj, pėrmās’s vāists ī trāuklāp’s* ‘if you have diarrhoea the best medicine is the plantain’ MoŽK; *ka kārātās mōn skrōnd’s skāud, sōsėvėrėn° trāuklāp°* ‘when I sometimes have a stomach ache I boil plantains’ MoŽK; *pajieškók švāru. trāūklāpi.* ‘look for a clean plantain’ ZnŽ III 453; *traūkālāpiai pri kelio auga* ‘plantains grow by the roadside’ Plaškiai (e-LKŽ); *traūklāpiai labai karštj trauka* ‘plantains remove heat very well’ Klaipėda (e-LKŽ); *a parsipjovei, a koja suputo – dēk traūklāpi, ir ištrauks* ‘if you cut your leg or if it swells – put plantain on it, it will reduce heat’ Barstyčiai (e-LKŽ); *traūklāpiai nu pilvo skaudėjimo* ‘plantains are good for stomach ache’ Akmenė (e-LKŽ); *traūklāpius ant auglių deda, i tada pratrauka* ‘plantains are put on tumours, then they extract’ Kražiai (e-LKŽ); *trauklapis valo gleives iš plaučių* ‘the plantain cleans mucus from the lungs’ Smalininkai (e-LKŽ).

The variant *traūlapis* has been recorded in Užpelai (Tverai).

Compounds with the second component *žol-* are common in the subdialects of southern Lowlanders: *traūkažolė, traūkāžolė, traūkžolė, tráukžolė, traukžolė*, e.g.: *išsikėlė pik[v]otė, reik pridēt traūkāžolės, kad pratrūktj* ‘a carbuncle appeared, it is necessary to put some plantain on it to make it burst’ Pociūnėliai (e-LKŽ); *ten prasti laukai, ten auga tik traūkāžolės ir šuncibuliai* ‘fields are bad there, only plantains and wild onions grow there’ Keturvalakiai (e-LKŽ); *traukžolės platus lapas su gyslom* ‘a plantain leaf is broad and are veined’ Šiaulėnai (e-LKŽ); *uždėk traūkžolės lapą, ir nebėgs kraujas* ‘put a plantain leaf and blood will stop running’ Raseiniai (e-LKŽ).

The word *traūkas* is used in some western dialects (mainly in those of Lowlanders), e.g.: *iš trauko – žolė prasta, bet vaistas* ‘plantain grass is poor but medicine is [good]’ Kruopiai (e-LKŽ); *še, užsidėk*

*ant voties traūką, kad karštj sumažytj* ‘take it, put the plantain of the abscess to reduce heat’ Vilkaviškis (e-LKŽ). The word *traūkis* has been recorded in Viduklė, and the word *traūkė* – in Žaiginys.

These are concretised names of the formation of nomina actionis, cf. *traukà, traūkas* ‘attraction, ability to attract’ (e-LKŽ). Such parallel derivatives of this type as *traūkas, traūkis, traūkė* are quite a frequent phenomenon that was recorded in the writings of the 16th–17th century.

It should be noted that nomen actionis with *-is, -ys, -ė* became more frequent much later than did the corresponding derivatives with *-as, -a* (cf. Ambrazas 1993: 28ff.).

The name of diminutive origin with the suffix *-utis traukūtis* (about it see p. 425) is found in some part of the subdialects of western and eastern Highlanders, e.g.: *traukūčėi | žināū | ka\_no\_skrāndž° o uždegimur gėrāī* ‘I know that plantains are good for inflammation of the stomach’ ZnŽ III 462; *mėz gisloč° us vadīnamė traukūčėis* ‘we call plantains *traukučiai*’ ZnŽ III 462; *žoliums, traukūčiais gydydavo kitqsyk* ‘herbs, plantains were once used for treatment’ Žemoji Panemunė (e-LKŽ); *tie traukūčiai labai gerai, kai suka, tep ištraukia, visi pūliai išėina* ‘those plantains are very good, when a boil is forming, it extracts so well, all pus runs out’ Kazlų Rūda (e-LKŽ); *užsilipyk traukūtj, vis ne teip bėgs kraujas* ‘paste a plantain, it will not bleed so much’ Šakiai (e-LKŽ); *užsidėk ant prisūko traukūtj ir per naktj pratrauks* ‘put a plantain on the boil and it will extract pus overnight’ Garliava (e-LKŽ); *traukučius tik ant žaizdų dedam* ‘plantains are put on wounds only’ Ilguva (e-LKŽ); *duok vaikui traukūčių arbatos – nustos viduriuot* ‘give the child plantain tea – it will stop diarrhoea’ Lukšiai (e-LKŽ); *traukūčiai, kap nuskini, tai tokios gysliukės traukiasi* ‘plantains – when you break them of such veins are drawn out’ Pilviškiai (e-LKŽ).

Here and there the word combinations *traūko lāpas* (in Medingėnai also *traūko lāpai*), *traūko žolė* are found, e.g.: *traū.ka lāpa vaī.star nu kraū.je spá.udīma* ‘plantains are good for blood pressure’ DūnŽ 403; *če ī trāuk° lāpā* ‘these are plantains’ MoŽK; *kad gīvuolė trėid, tūs tātā trāuk° žūol’s, trāuklāp’s [suvirina]* ‘when animals have diarrhoea these plantains are boiled’ MoŽK; *traūko lāpai nū šlapinimos tie, nū pūslės* ‘plantains are for urination, those are for the bladder’ Judrėnai (e-LKŽ); *traūko lāpas i čia auga* ‘plantains grow here too’ Pagramantis (e-LKŽ).

It can be thought that the word combination *straūko lāpai* is of similar origin; cf. also the compounds *straūklapis, striaūklapis*, e.g., *striaūklapio plati lapai, kraują sulaiko* ‘plantain leaves are broad, they stop blood’ Plungė (e-LKŽ). Concerning the softening *r* in the compound *striaūklapis* see Zinkevičius 1966: 153ff.; concerning the ‘mobile’ *s* see Fraenkel 1922: 1949; also cf. the verb *sutraukti*.

The name *traūko kiaulėlė* has been recorded in Gegrėnai: *traūko kiaulėlės užtrauka vidurius kiaulėms ir žmonims* ‘plantains help pigs and people when they have stomach problems’ (e-LKŽ).

The word *kiaulėlė*, the diminutive with the suffix *-elė* (about it see p. 425), was made from the noun *kiaulė* of unclear origin (cf. LEW 249; Sabaliauskas 1968: 175ff., 1990: 200; Smoczyński 2007: 281f.).

Vytautas Mažiulis (PKEŽ IV 120f.) tried to derive it, together with Pruss. *skewre* ‘pig’ E 685 from the Balt.-Slav. verb *\*(s)keu-* ‘to cut off, to peel off’, from which Lith. *skūsti*, Latv. *skaūt* ‘to beat, to hit’, *kàusa* ‘withers; the crest of a mountain, hill’ etc. are derived (cf. IEW 954; Urbutis 1981: 83f.). Thus, *kiaulė* would be a substantivised adjective with the suffix *\*-lo-*, which meant ‘that is cut off, peeled off’. In other words, this animal was called like that because it is lop-eared.

Some other names of plants are also related to the word *kiaūlē* (cf. Gritėnienė 2006: 72, 74, 94, 99, 110f., 131, 134f., 169, 175f.).

The word combination *raūko žolė* is found in the manuscript dictionary of Lithuanian Minor of the 17th century: Weg Blatt. f. Wegerich. *Rauko Zole C II 921*.

It is also found in some later writings. There the plantain is sometimes denoted by one word *raūkas*, which usually means 'wrinkle; he who is always wrinkled; a string used to tighten the end of *naginė* (kind of sandal made of a single piece of leather); flounce, fold; the butt-end of cheese; bottom; unevenness of the surface' (e-LKŽ).

However, in present-day dialects the compound *raukāžolė* (recorded in writings since the 18th century) with the variants *raūkažolė*, *raūkžolė* is used in their place, e.g.: *mūsy patvoriuos labai daug yra raukāžolių* 'there are lots of plantains along our fences' Pasvalys (e-LKŽ); *uždėk sutrynęs raukāžolių ant sumuštos vietos* 'put the crushed plantain on the bruise' Vaškai (e-LKŽ); *raukāžolės vartojamos nuo rožės ir galvos skaudėjimo* 'plantains are used for erysipelas and headaches' LTR Židikai (e-LKŽ); *raūkžolių pumpurai vidurius sustabdo, o lapelius deda an piršto, kai įsipjauja* 'plantain buds stop diarrhoea, and its leaves are put on a finger when it is cut' Jurbarkas (e-LKŽ); *dėk raūkžolių, tuoj kraują užrauks* 'put on plantains, they will stop blood immediately' Gelgaudiškis (e-LKŽ).

The word *raūklapis* has been recorded in Smalininkai too: *raūklapis žaizdas gydo* 'plantain heals wounds' (e-LKŽ).

Discussions are still going on about the origin of all the names of the plantain with the root *rauk-*. They can be related to the verb *raukti* (about its origin see p. 427) but they can also be regarded as the aphaeretic form from *t-raukti*.

Most probably the name of the plantain *rautine* (EH II 359; Ēdelmane, Ozola 2003: 61) used in Auleja belongs to the same group. This name is related to the word *raut* 'to pull, to tear, to pull up' and denotes the healing properties of the plantain – to extract pus. The name is made with the ending *-ine*.

Only some names of the plantain with the word *kėlias* have been recorded in the Lithuanian language. Links with this word are more pronounced in the names of the plantain in other languages, cf. Russ. *подорожник, дорожник, попутник*, Bel. *дарожник*, Cro. *trputac*, Germ. *Wegerich*, however, it is very rare in the Lithuanian language (cf. Gritėnienė 2006: 155).

The word combination *kėlio lāpas* (corresponding to Latv. *ceļa lapa*, cf. p. 439), *kėlio lėtena* has been recorded in Lyduokiai. The latter word combination was also found in Antakmenė, used in some writings of East Prussia (e-LKŽ).

Jurgis A. Pabrėža used the word combination *kelio retina*. The compound *kelretinis* (e-LKŽ) is found in *Lietuviškas botanikos žodynas* (Lithuanian Dictionary of Botany) published with reference to Šilutė in 1938.

It should be noted that Pabrėža and later botanists used the word *retina* to denote a plant of the teasel family – the devil's bit (*Succisa*) (e-LKŽ).

The place where this plant grew played a significant role in making the names of the plantain in the Latvian language.

The names of the plantain containing the noun *ceļš* (Lith. *kelias* 'road') in the first part of the compound or a word combination are most common in the Latvian language.

The name *ceļmallapa* is found most often, it has been recorded in the whole territory of Latvia (sporadically, as a literary word in

Latgale). The word *ceļmallapa* is used with different accents in Latvian dialects. The variants *ceļmallapa* un *cēļmallapa* are more frequent, e.g.: *ceļmallaps lik uz oūgoniņm, us pušumiņm, a' biēspiēn; nuōvēlķ kařstum* 'plantains were put on abscesses, on wounds – with curd; reduces heat' Dunte (ALE); *ceļmallapa, ceļa lapa, ceļteka – tā i laba zāle; ka pušums pāgriēsts, liēk vi' sū; ar, ka caūrejai, savāra un iēzēf, ta aptu' ceļmallapa, ceļa lapa, ceļteka* 'the plantain is good grass; if the wound is cut it is put on top; in case of diarrhoea, it is boiled and drunk, diarrhoea is cured' Kursiši (ALE); *ceļmallapi gēld priēkř kařstum; ja uzliēk, kur uspa'ņps, vi'ņč nuōvēlķ kařstum* 'plantains help for heat; if they are put on a swollen place they remove heat' Svētciems (ALE); *kad apoūzs bi [radies augonis], ta sēi ceļmallaps vi'rsa; vi'ņ nuōņēm kařstum dikt* 'if an abscess forms plantains are put on top of it; they reduce heat [very well]' Vainiži (ALE); *cēļmallaps mūms jāu mīlzig āūg te* 'plantains grow very well here' Ance (Apv); *tās cēļmallapas agrāk sāukuši pa dzelbežlapām* 'earlier those plantains were called *dzelbežlapas*' Ērgeme (ALE); *cēļmallapas aūg cītās grāvū un ceļu molās; lik uz sasi-tumūm svaīgas lopas nū cēļmallapiņām vūorija zupu; cēļmallapas sagrī-za, nūplāuceja un vūorija ar putraimūm, gaļu vai tākūm cēļmallopu zupu; ko skuōbeņu moz vareja salasīt, to vūorija cēļmallopu zupu* 'plantains grow on hard soil along ditches and by the roadside; soup used to be made from plantains; plantains were cut, scalded and plantain soup was cooked with cereals, meat or fat; when they did not gather enough sorrels they cooked plantain soup' Kalncempji (Apv); *cēļmollo:p's i:skēltē un vā'ri' tē:ju* 'plantains were dried and tea was brewed' Kals-nava (Apv); *āūg piē celiņiem, ku:r dāudz stāigā, māl'nā zemē; jā pārskrāpē cūloāka ādu, tad vār ty:kt klāt sabārzātu cēļmallopu, lēi ātrāk zūyst* '[plan-tains] grow by the paths where people walk a lot, where there is black soil; if a person scratches his skin he can put on crushed plantains to make it heal faster' Lazdona (ALE); *cēļmallapa ir pa daūz laba zāle; priēkř klepus dēr; ja āūg pīrksc, uzliēk, tad rāuj ārā* 'plantain grass is very valuable; it helps when one has a cough; if a finger swells, and [plantain] is put on it, [pus] is extracted' Lutriņi (Apv); *cēļmallapas izārstē nūo aūguōņiēm* 'plantains are used to treat abscesses' Rūjiena (Apv); *cēļmallapas nūdēr ārstniēcībai; nūplōucu plotu cēļmallopu* 'plan-tains are good for treatment; I picked a broad plantain' Stāmeriena (ALE); *cēļmollo:pas senoāk iz visām celiētēm un lāuku ceļiem aūga* 'ear-lier plantains used to grow along every path and field roads' Sunākste (ALE); *cēļmollo:p' tējs jāžēr y:r, kād dazān' m'āgā* 'when one has a burning feeling in his stomach he must drink plantain tea' Virāne (Apv); *cēļmallapas i labas, ka acces sāp un kājas sāp* 'plantains are good when your eyes and feet are sore' Medze (Apv); *cēļmollo:pās i jāiskēltē, un tēt tik vā'ri' [tēju]* 'plantains had to be dried and then [tea] was brewed' Prauliena (Apv); *ceļmallap's ēsot labak's ka ziv' ēļ; visādīm nīkuļīm bērim vaj' g'ot dūot* 'plantains are better than cod oil; they must be given to all ailing children' Idus (Apv); *ceļmallaps priēkř plaūšam, priēkř kuņģa* 'plantains [help] when you have lung, stomach problems' Lode (Apv).

The diminutive form *ceļmallapiņa*, e.g., *ceļmallapiņas lika virsu vi-sur uz sasi-tumiēm, visvairāk tūkum lai ņemtū ārā* 'plantains were put on all bruises, mainly to reduce swelling' Mazsalaca (Apv) has been regularly recorded in some subdialects of Vidzeme and Zemgala (Augstkalne, Druviena, Dunte, Ipīki, Jaungulbene, Liepupe, Lībagi, Liepkalne, Līvberze, Mazsalaca, Mētriena, Naukšēni, Odziena, Rūjiena, Sēlpils, Skaistkalne, Vējaiva).

The diminutive form *ceļmallapīte* (*cēļmallapītē*) has been recorded in one subdialect only – in Oļi.



Variants with the lengthened root vowel of the second component *mala* of the compound have been recorded in separate subdialects of Zemgale (Bauska, Mežotne, Platone), e.g.: *ceļmāllapas palīz pret paņpumu* ‘plantains help in swelling’ Bauska (Apv); *labas zāles ir pelešķi, ceļmāllapas* ‘yarrows, plantains are good medicinal herbs’ Mežotne (Apv).

Analogous word combinations are found in historical dictionaries, e.g.: *zeļmallu lappas* Wegerich Lange 1773: 399; Wegerich *Plantago zeļmalu lapas*, *zēlines* Ulmann 1880: 757; *zeļmallu lappas* Wegerich Stender 1789 I 367.

The name of the plantain *cejmāllapa* has been recorded in one subdialect of north-western Vidzeme – in Idus, e.g.: *ceļmāllapa:m sēkl's i tādā: ruņžina;*; *ceļmāllap's oūg tādā: ciēta;*; *samīdita: zeme:* ‘plantain seeds are like a stick; plantains grow in hard, trampled soil’ Idus (ALE). It might be that this name reflects the old *l : j* change.

The first component *ceļmala* ‘roadside’ of the name *ceļmallapa* (with its variant *cejmāllapa*) is also a compound. Its basis *ceļš* ‘road’ that corresponds to Lith. *kēlias* ‘road’ perhaps is related to Gk. κέλυσθος ‘road, path’ (ME I 371; LEW 236).

This is a derivative of the suffix *\*-io-* derived from IE verb *\*kel-* from which Lith. *kēlti*, Latv. *ceļt* ‘to be protruded, to lift’, cf. also Lat. *ex-cellere* ‘to protrude, to stick out’, *prae-cellere* ‘to be superior’; Gk. κολωνός, Lat. *collis*, Eng. *hill* ‘hill’; OSlav. *čelo* ‘forehead’, etc. originated (ME I 369f.; IEW 544f.; LEW 236 etc; Sabaliauskas 1990: 184f.; Smoczyński 2007: 271f., 274).

The second component *mala* ‘edge, bank; locality’ is related to Lith. *lygmalas* ‘up to the brim, full to the brim’ partly to Rom. *mal* ‘bank’, Alb. *mal* ‘mountain’, OIsl. *mōl* ‘a wall built from small stones along the bank’, Arm. *mala* ‘eyebrow’, etc. (ME II 555f.; LEW 400f.). This can also be a verbal derivative, cf. CS *iz-molēti* ‘to protrude’, Gk. μολεῖν ‘to go away, to come’ (IEW 721f.).

The derivative *ceļmalīte* having a diminutive meaning is derived from *ceļmala*. It should be noted that the suffix *-ītis (-ē)* is one of two (alongside *-iņš, -iņa*) most significant derivational means of making diminutives in the Latvian language (Rūķe-Draviņa 1959: 168ff., 232ff.). in the Lithuanian language the suffix *-ytis (-ė)* is less productive. More diminutives are made with an apophonic variant of this suffix *-aitis (-ė)*.

On the whole, compound suffixes *\*-īt-jo-*, *-oit-jo-*, *-eit-jo-* (the latter is widely used to make names of nomina qualitativa) are in essence variants of the same suffix, cf. Lith. *vókiētis*, Latv. *vācietis* and Lith. *vókytis*, Latv. *vācītis* ‘a German’, Lith. *gimināitis* and *giminiētis* ‘a relative’.

At the beginning this suffix was used in the Baltic, Slavic (cf. southern Slav. *brātit' b* ‘brother’s son’, see Sławski 1976: 55ff.) and perhaps in the Germanic languages (cf. OHG *jungēdi* ‘the young of an animal’, see Mezger 1953) to form names of nomina qualitativa. Later this suffix fell into the category of forming diminutives. One of its apophonic variants became more common in the Latvian, the other – in the Lithuanian languages (for more about it see Ambrasas 2000: 108f., 135ff., 2006: 66f. and lit.).

The name *ceļmale* (its usual diminutive form is *ceļmalīte*, very rarely – *ceļmaliņa*) has been recorded in a compact area of the Selian subdialects of Vidzeme, however, it is also found in other places in Latvia (for example, in West Kurzeme and Latgale).

The derivative *ceļmala* with its phonetic variants has been recorded in Liezēre, Mārciena, Preiļi, Saikava, e.g.: *ceļmeļēm i tādās*

*zoļas stīžinas, ka nūoroūn lepiņu, cēļmeļēm ziēc i tāk kā vārpiņa* ‘plantains have such green veins; if you tear off a leaf, the plantain blossom is like a bell’ Saikava (Apv).

The compound *ceļmala* (*a* and *e* stem forms) is found in historical dictionaries: Wegebletter *Zeļmales* Phras 1638: 331; *Zeļmales* Wegblätter MLG II 369; *ceļmala* der Wegerich (Lubana) EH I 264; *ceļmale* ‘plantago major’ (Bārbele, Liepkalne, Lubāna, Vecumnieki); ‘plantago media’ (Ranka) EH I 264.

The diminutive form *ceļmalīte* sporadically is found in the whole territory of Latvia, e.g.: *tagad saka cēļmalītes. aūg graņc zemē, ceļu malās* ‘now they say *cēļmalītes*; [plantains] grow in soil abounding in gravel, by the roadsides’ Blīdene (Apv); *ēs tās cēļmālitās nūoskoluōi' un tā stiņgri pīsiēn' pīe tā vāig' I wash those plantains and tie to the cheek very tightly’ Kraukli (ALE); cēļmeļiš lo:pās samāļ un tēļ tūo zu:pu zēr priexš ēššēn's* ‘plantain leaves are ground and then the juice is drunk before meals’ Lazdona (Apv); *cēļmālišu čā:mi tē viēnc pīe ūotra, so:plū'c, cik voīg!* ‘plantain stalks are one next to another, pick as many as you need’ Liepkalne (Apv).

The diminutive *ceļmalīte* has also been recorded in the dictionary of Miulenbach and Endzelīns: *ceļmalīte, ceļmalu lapa* od. *ceļmallapa* od. *ceļlapiņa* Wegerich (plantago) ME I 371.

The variant with the lengthened root vowel of the second part *mala* of the compound has been recorded in Augstkalne (*ceļmālīte*).

The diminutive *ceļmaliņa* has been recorded in Kusa, Lazdona, Višķi.

The name *ceļlapa* (with its diminutive variants *ceļlapiņa* and *ceļlapīte*) is used in Kurzeme and north-western Vidzeme.

The variant of the compound with the full genitive form of the first part is widespread in south-western Kurzeme, e.g.: *ceļalapas vař uzlikt uz nuōbeřzumiēm, tās nuōjeņ sāpes* ‘plantains can be put on bruises, they kill pain’ Kalēti (Apv); *pušumaņ uslika ceļalapu, skābu kreīmu* ‘plantains and sour cream were put on the wound’ Kursiši (ALE); *ceļalapas aug uz tādīem lauku ceļiem; tās labas uzlikt, kad asiņi tek, citādi lielāku pāpu jau grūti apturēt* ‘plantains grow by such field paths; they are good to be applied when blood runs, but it is difficult to staunch bleeding when a wound is lager’ Rucava (ALE).

The word combination *ceļa lapa* is found in Kursiši alongside the compound *ceļalapa*.

The compound *ceļlapa* has been recorded in Kurzeme, and in north-western Vidzeme, e.g.: *ceļlaps a guōys neēd, viņim nesmeķe, tādās sīksc un ciēc* ‘cows do not eat plantains, they do not like them, they are elastic and hard’ Ģeri (ALE); *ceļlaps i dikt lābs; ceļlaps svaīks samāļ gāls mašine, ta ispiēž suliņ, liēk a mēd kuōpe; ka apaūkstejiēs, ta i lāb klepuņ* ‘plantains are very good; fresh plantain leaves are ground with a meat grinder, then juice is squeezed, mixed with honey; when one catches a cold, it is good for a cough’ Renda (ALE).

The diminutive form *ceļlapiņa* has been recorded in Ainaži, Ķoņi, Renda, Terneja, Virga, and the diminutive *ceļlapīte* – in Engure. The diminutive form has also been recorded in Izvalta in Latgale: *čēļlapēītis lap kořstumu atvalk* ‘plantain reduces heat very well’ (ALE).

The word combination *ceļa lapa* was mentioned in the sources of old writings from the 17th century: wegerich *ceļla=lappa* Lettus 1638: 204; *Zēļa lapas, z. tekas, zēļinas* Wegerich, *Plantago major* Ulmann 1872: 345t.; *zeļla lappas* Wegtritt, ein Kraut Stender 1789 I 367; like the compound and the word combination *ceļlapa* od. *ceļa lapa* Wegerich (plantago major) ME I 370 and the diminutive form *ceļmalīte, ceļmalu lapa* od. *ceļmallapa* od. *ceļlapiņa* Wegerich (plantago) ME I 371.

It is only in Dviete that the derivative *ceļiniece* (*ceļiņīca*) has been recorded. It was made from the noun *ceļš* ‘road’ (about its origin see p. 439) with the fem. ending *-nīca* (for more about it see p. 418).

Compounds whose second component contains different nouns are also found in Latvian dialects.

The compound *ceļalēpe* is found in several subdialects only, e.g., *ceļalēpes aūg graņc zemē, ceļu malās, aṗalām lapām* ‘plantains grow in soil abounding in gravel, along roadsides, their leaves are oval’ Blīdene (ALE).

The second part of the name – the noun *lēpe* ‘coltsfoot (*Tussilago farfara*)’ is related to Lith. *lėpė* ‘water lily (*Nymphaea*); spatterdock (*Nuphar*)’ (ME II 461). This, like Lith. *lāpas* / Latv. *lapa* (see p. 431), can be a verbal derivative, cf. especially Lith. *lėpti, lėpti* ‘to droop, to wither; to bend, to bend down; to become flabby; to faint’ (e-LKŽ).

The names *ceļvārpa* and *ceļvārplapa* are found in a compact area in northern Kurzeme.

The variant *ceļvārpa* is used in Ance, Dundaga, Kolka. The compound *ceļvārplapa* has been recorded in Dundaga, Kolka, Lubezere, Mazirbe, Neveja, Nogale, Pitragi, Roja, Slītere. The diminutive form *ceļvārplapiņa* has been recorded in Mazirbe.

The compound *ceļvārplapa* from Ance is also presented in the supplements to the dictionary by Miulenbach and Endzelīns – *ceļvārplapa* ‘Wegerich’ EH I 265.

The variants *celmežlapa, celmežu lapa, celbežlapa, dzelbežlapa* are found in some subdialects of north-western Vidzeme. The name of the plantain *celbežlapa* has been registered in Ērģeme subdialect only, e.g.: *viņas i divējādas – liēlās celbežlapas un mazās, abas divas labas ēsuot; tās celbežlapas, tās gān i gāuži labas, ka aūguoni* ‘there are two kinds of them – large plantains and small ones, both are useful; those plantains, they are very good for abscesses’ (ALE).

In the same Ērģeme the variant *dzēlbežlapa* has been recorded, e.g.: *viņa sacīsi, lai liēk tās dzēlbežlapas vīrsū tam pušānumām* ‘she told them to put those plantains on the wound’ (ALE).

The origin of the compound *celbedes* (with variants *celbeži, celbežlapa, dzelbežlapa*) is unclear, we can try to relate it to the old verb *best* ‘to stick in’, cf. Lith. *bėsti*, Pruss. *boadis* ‘thrust’ E 164, *embaddusisi* ‘they stick in’ III 113<sub>15</sub>, CS *bosti* ‘to butt’, Germ. *\*badja-* ‘lair, bed is dug in the ground’, Lat. *fadio* ‘I dig’, Cymr. *bedd* ‘grave’, Toch. A *pat, pāt* ‘to plough’, Hitt. *pid-dai* ‘digs a ditch’ (Trautmann 1923: 29; Būga II 588; Stang 1942: 39f., 1966b: 133; LEW 41; IEW 113f.; ПЯ A–D 238f., E–H 25f.; Sabaliauskas 1990: 81; PKEŽ I 150, 249ff.).

The loanwords from the Russian language *padarožņiks* found in some subdialects of Latgale only belongs to this group, for example, *pi rānu liēk padarožņiku* ‘the plantain is put on a wound’ Kaunata (ALE). The name was borrowed from Russ. *подорожник* ‘plantain’ where it is semantically motivated and made from two components Russ. *no* ‘along’ + Russ. *дорога* ‘road’. Russ. *дорога* ‘road’, like Ukr. *дорога* ‘road’, Pol. *droga* ‘road’, is related to IE *\*dorǵh-* (Фасмер I 530). Slav. *no* ‘under’ and Balt. *pa-* related to IE *\*pas-* (Фасмер III 293).

Derivatives made from two semantically related nouns *ceļš* ‘road’ and *taka, teka* ‘path’ form another group of names of the plantain.

Though the name *ceļteka* is a word of the Standard Latvian language it is used in a very compact area in Kurzeme, e.g.: *ceļteks las priēkš zālēm* ‘plantains are gathered for medicine’ Alsunga (ALE); *ceļteka – tuō liētuō priēkš vaīnām; viņ(a)s jaū aūg<sup>a</sup> tik pa sētu* ‘the plantain – it is used for diseases; it grows in the yard’ Nīca (ALE).

The name *ceļteka* has been recorded beyond the borders of this area in Vidzeme – in Kauguri where it could be treated as a word of the standard language.

The variant *ceļteka* (often together with other variants) is found in historical dictionaries: *ceļteka* od. *ceļa tēka* ‘Wegerich (plantago major)’ ME I 371; *ceļteka* (Kuldīga), *ceļteku lapa* Snēpele (EH I 265).

The compound of three components is more common. The variant *ceļtaklapa* has been recorded in Ance, Užava, and the variant *ceļteklapa* – in Ance, Ēdole, Īvande, Lauciena, Lielirbe, Piltene, Planīca, Pope, Puze, Renda, Ugāle, Venta, Zūras, e.g.: *ceļteklaps nojēn kārstuūn, ka piēliēk piē pušuūn va aūgoūn* ‘plantains reduce heat if they are placed on a wound or an abscess’ Lauciena (Apv); *ceļteklap katra ceļmale aūg, pastāvīg brada pa vīrs* ‘the plantain grows along every fence, we walk in them constantly’ Renda (ALE).

The word combination *ceļtaku lapa* has been recorded in Nīca and Puze, e.g.: *taūku saknes, ceļtaku lapas bi aūguoniēm, ceļtakas lapas liēk uz ievānuōjumu* ‘comfrees, plantains were good for abscesses, plantains are placed on injuries’ Nīca (ALE); *kad sāpē gā:l, tad siēvišķ sē pe gā:l klāt ceļtak lāps un dāž lāps ar* ‘when they had a headache women tied plantains and thistle leaves around it [the head]’ Puze (ALE).

The variant *ceļteku lapa* has been recorded in Pope, e.g.: *ta .piēliēk tūos liēlēs dāž lapš klāt, un .ceļ tēk lapš a kal, ka kāk aūr geņš .uz met:ēs, kas .netrūkst aūkša* ‘then leaves of that large burdock and also plantain are put in case any abscess forms, which does not burst’ (ALE).

This variant from Pope and Puze is presented in historical dictionaries – *ceļteklapa* EH I 265.

The variant without palatalisation of the first component of the compound is presented in historical dictionaries from Nīca – *celtaka* EH I 264. This variant has not been recorded in the current subdialect of Nīca.

The written sources from Stende present the form *ceļsteklu lapa* of the name *ceļteka* – *ceļstekl lap* Mund. Stende I 52; *ceļsteklu lapa* ‘Wegerich’ EH I 264.

The names *teka lapa* and *teku lapa* have been recorded in Nīca too, e.g.: *tēku lapas – tās tag ar liēk [uz vainām]* ‘plantains – today they are also placed [on wounds]’ (ALE).

The components of all these names discussed here *taka, tēka* ‘path’ are related to Latv. *taks* ‘also’, Lith. *tākas*; and the latter is an old concretised nomen actionis, cf. Slav. *\*tokv* ‘flowing, running’, Av. *taka* – ‘running’ (Trautmann 1923: 316f.; LEW 1051f.; IEW 1059f.; Ambrazas 1993: 110; Smoczyński 2007: 257f.); it is made with the derivational formant *\*-ō-* from IE verb *\*tek-* from which Latv. *tecēt*, Lith. *tekėti* (for more about it see p. xxx) were derived.

The names of the plantain *celmine* and *celmene* are found in two compact non-adjointing areas – in Latgale (especially in its eastern, southern and south-western part) and in Zemgale (in the subdialects around Bauska and Jelgava).

The variant *celmine* is more common, e.g.: *ceļmīniis aūg cītā zēmē* ‘plantains grow in hard soil’ Galēni (ALE); *čālmīniis aūk stygu moluōs, taīduōs vītuōs, kūr zāmā cīta, kūr dāuc stāigōi* ‘plantains grow at the edges of the clearings, in places where soil is hard, where it is trampled’ Nautrēni (ALE); *pūordyuru kūoju, liēšu ceļmīniis pi rānys* ‘I pricked my foot, put plantains on the wound’ Varakļani (ALE); *čālmīnāi lālys, iopolys, zēislānys lopys; zīc taīda kēi zaļa vūorpeņa* ‘plantain leaves are large, oval, veined; the blossom looks like a green ear’ Makašēni (ALE); *ceļmīniis pi rānys liēk* ‘plantains are put on a wound’ Varakļani (ALE).

The variant *celmine* is found in historical dictionaries – *celmine* Aknīste, Varakļani (EH I 263).



The variant *ceļmine* has been recorded in Latgala too, e.g.: *céļmiņis sasytuma vītā atvālk kořstumu* ‘plantains remove heat from the injured place’ Ozolaine (ALE).

The variant *celmene*, which could be treated as a result of a further development of the word *celmine*, has been recorded both in Latgale and in Zemgale, and in East Vidzeme, e.g.: *celmenes ruzu rugājuos bi tā nuô viēnas viētas; citi celmenes plūc, duô guôvīm, řsuôt laps krēms, guôvis viņas řd* ‘stubble fields are overgrown with plantains; others gather plantains, give them to the cows; they say then sour cream is good, cows eat them’ Džūkste (Apv); *nū celmenēm vūorija lopu kūopustus ār gaļu* ‘they made soup of vegetable leaves from plantains and meat’ Kalncempji (Apv); *celmenes aūg uz sàusām, ciētām vietām, uz celiņiem, kur samīdīc; celmeņu ziēc ir řāda k’ā v’ālīte; luopi labi ād řās; kozas ir varēn pēc celmenēm* ‘plantains grow in dry, hard places, on paths, where earth is trampled; a plantain flower is like a stick; animals eat them willingly; goats also like plantains very much’ Sinole (ALE); *celmenes aūg iz pogālmīm; celmenes dēr pret toūřkumu; piēc acu operācijas liku celmenes uz acīm* ‘plantains grow in the yard; plantains are good for swelling; after the eye operation I put plantains on my eyes’ Stāmeriena (ALE); *ja esi igrīzs pierstā, lēic brūcēi vīersā celmenes lopu, asīns vāirs nateciēs* ‘if you cut your finger put some plantain on the wound, blood will stop running’ Ziemeris (ALE).

The name is found in historical dictionaries too – *celmene* ‘plantago major’ Birži, Jaunsvirlauka, Rundāle, Gulbene (ME I 369); *celmene* Džūkste, Sunākste (EH I 263).

The diminutive form *celmenīte* has been recorded in some subdialects (Aduliena, Balvi, Code, Jaunlaicene, Liepna, Vecgulbene, Viesīte, Vīksna, Vilce)

The variant *ceļmene* with a corresponding diminutive form is found in several subdialects, e.g.: *ceļmenes* Jēkabnieki (Apv), *ceļmeņes* Sakstagals (Apv), *ceļmene* Sesava (Apv), *cēļmenīte* and *cēļmeņeīte* Elkšņi (ALE).

Having taken into consideration the model of semantic motivation and analogous derivatives (*ceļteka*, *ceļtaka*), the noun *ceļš* ‘road’ and the verb *mīt* ‘to trample’, i. e. the *min-* stem form of the present tense of this verb can be treated as the basis of this name.

Concerning the origin of the noun *ceļš* see p. 439.

The Latvian verb *mīt*, Lith. *minti*, *mindyti*, is related to CS *męti* ‘to press’, Russ. *mjatb* ‘to knead, to trample, to break, to crumple, to squeeze’, which further is derived from Gk. *μάτεισαι* ‘trampled down’ (LEW 454f.; Trautmann 1923: 185).

The homophonic derivative *celmene* (from the noun *celms* with the ending *-ene*) has formed in the present Latvian language denoting the name of a mushroom (*Armillaria*).

It is thought (Endzelīns, Ambrazas) that some names of Latvian plantain are based on the word *celms* ‘stem’. The latter corresponds to Lith. *kėlmas*, Pruss. *kalmus* ‘stem’ E 633, related to OEng. *helma* ‘handle of an oar’, OHG *scalm* ‘boat’, Gk. *σκαλμός* ‘oarlock, rowlock’, *σκάλη* ‘knife, sword, dagger’ made from IE verb *\*(s)kel-* ‘to cut’ from which Lith. *skėlti*, *kalti*, *kulti*, etc. derived (IEW 923f.; LEW 237; Откупщиков 1967: 249f.; ПЯ I-K 171ff.; PKEŽ II 90 and lit.).

It belonged to the verbs with the suffix *\*-mō-*, which once acted both as adjectives (the majority of them turned into passive participles in the Baltic, Slavic and Albanian languages) and as abstracts, cf. highly productive Lithuanian nomina actionis with the derivative suffix *-i-mas*, *-y-mas* (for more about it see Ambrazas 2007 and lit.).

The above-mentioned derivative *celmene* laid the foundation for the compound *celmeņlapa* (with its variants).

The derivatives *celmiņlapa* and *celmeņlapa*, as well as word combinations *celmiņu lapa* un *celmeņu lapa* are found in the same area as *celmene*, *celmine*, e.g., *céļmiņēs lopas līk yz rānoām; gūvīm dūd, ka buļu namēklēj; céļmiņēišu teja dēr skrūpuļām* ‘plantains are put on wounds; given to cows when they are not in heat; plantain tea helps to treat scrophulosis’ Aknīste (Apv); *cel’miņu lopys lītōi dīēl ūorsēišonys* ‘plantains are used for treatment’ Dricēni (ALE).

Other names of the plantain are rarer, found only in some Lithuanian or Latvian subdialects.

The name *gailūotis* has been recorded in Dubičiai. This is a derivative with the suffix *-uotis* made from the adjective *gailūs* (its older form *gailas* is found in old writings) ‘sharp, sticky; pungent, bitter; cold; angry, stern; covered with turfs, germinated, sodden, loosened; merciful; pitiful, sorrowful, lamentable, sad’ (e-LKŽ).

According to Vytautas Mažiulis (PKEŽ I 312ff.), this is related to Pruss. *gaylis* ‘white’ 459, OCz. *zielo* ‘very’, OHG *geil* ‘wicked’ and is a derivative with the suffix *\*-lō-* made from IE verb *\*g<sup>h</sup>ei-* ‘glitter’ from which the old derivative Lith. *žiemà* ‘winter’ (PKEŽ IV 97f.) is derived. The adjective with the suffix *\*-rō-* Lith. *giēdras* ‘bright’, Latv. *dziēdrs* (PKEŽ I 340ff.) is derived from the same root that has been expanded with the determinant *\*-d<sup>h</sup>-*.

The name of another plant *gailis* ‘a plant of swampy pine forests, peaty soil that has a strong smell (*Ledum palustre*)’ (e-LKŽ) is made from *gailūs*, cf. also *gailiārūgštē* ‘marsh pepper knotweed (*Polygonum hydropiper*)’ (Gritėnienė 2006: 99).

The compound *kaulāžolē* is used in the meaning of the plantain in Pliupai. However, usually it denotes another plant – the comfrey (*Symphytum officiale*) (cf. Gritėnienė 2006: 180f.).

The word *kāulas* (bone) is the basis of this compound. It corresponds to Latv. *kaūls*, Pruss. *caulan* ‘bone’ E 155. Further it is usually related to Gk. *καυλός* ‘stem of a plant, a shoot; a tube-like part of an animal’s body, etc.’, Lat. *caulis* ‘stem of plants’, Ir. *cuaille* ‘stake’ and the like, supposing that at first they meant ‘hollow’ (Trautmann 1923: 122; IEW 537; LEW 230; ПЯ I-K 375ff.; Sabaliauskas 1990: 144; PKEŽ II 142f.; Smoczyński 2007: 266).

Benjamiņš Jēgers (1970) is inclined to treat the Baltic word under discussion as a derivative from the verb Lith. *kāuti*, Latv. *kaūt* ‘to beat’, which is old, cf. Pruss. *cugis* (< Baltic *\*kūjas*) ‘hammer’ E 518, OSlav. *kovati* ‘to forge, to shoe a horse’, OHG *houwan* ‘to hit, to beat’, Toch. B *kau* ‘to kill’, etc. (Būga I 447; Trautmann 1923: 123; IEW 535; LEW 232; ИЯ 715; ПЯ I-K 238ff.; Sabaliauskas 1990: 89; PKEŽ II 292ff.; Smoczyński 2007: 267f.).

The names *bóba*, *bobkėlė* are used in several Lithuanian subdialects, mainly in Lazūnai and Zietela located outside the Lithuanian borders, as well as here and there in central Lithuania (in Labūnava, Ėriškiai), e.g.: *bopkėlės un atšlaīmo áuga* ‘plantains grow in the yard’ LzŽ 38; *ituoj bopkėlī āždėmam ronàs, kap unsipjáunam* ‘we put this plantain on the wounds when we cut ourselves’ LzŽ 38; *prisiskynę vaikai bóbom muša* ‘having picked plantains the children use them to flog’ Ėriškiai (e-LKŽ); *bob’āles tok’ōs áuga an k’iēmo* ‘such plantains grow in the yard’ ZtŽ 89; *kazōkai an bob’ā’l’u. b’l’rñūs k’āpa* ‘Cossacks fry pancakes on plantains’ ZtŽ 89; *bobūt’ēs an k’iēmo v’isa háuga* ‘plantains grow everywhere in the yard’ ZtŽ 89.

The appearance of these names can be related to the use of the Polonism *babka* (cf. SP XVI w. I 259; Linde I 39f.; SJPD I 283). Moreover, Slavism *bóba* and derivatives made from it sometimes denote other plants in Lithuanian dialects taking into consideration their appearance (cf. Gritėnienė 2006: 73, 77, 153f.).

The name of the plantain *baltvēdere* has been recorded in Sesava. Usually the name *baltvēdere* (and its variants) denotes other plants – the coltsfoot (*Tussilago farfara*) and the common silverweed (*Potentilla anserina*). The name is semantically motivated – it denotes a lighter lower part of the leaves of the plant.

The adjective *balts* ‘white’ (concerning its origin see p. 431) and the noun *vēders* ‘stomach’ form the basis of this name. Latv. *vēders* ‘stomach’, like Lith. *vėdaras* ‘stomach’, Pruss. *weders* ‘stomach’ E 122, is related to Lat. *uterus*, *venter* ‘stomach; mother’s embrace’ (ME IV 548; LEV II 498; LEW 1210f.; PKEŽ I 218). The morpheme *vēd-* is thought to have originated from \**uēd-*, however, its further links are not reliable (Smoczyński 2007: 727).

The name *slīdzene* whose authenticity is not reliable enough has been recorded in Liepna. This word can be thought to be semantically motivated and shows the arrangement of the leaves of the plant just above the ground.

The name *cūkaustiņa* (Ēdelmane, Ozola 2003: 60) recorded in Stirniene could be made on the basis of its external similarity to the ear of a pig. The basis of the compound *cūkaustiņa* is the noun *cūka* ‘kiaulē’ (concerning its origin see p. 409) and the diminutive form of the noun *auss* ‘ear’ made with the diminutive suffix *-iņ-*. Latv. *auss* ‘ear’, like Lith. *ausis*, Pruss. *ausins* E 83 (acc. pl.), is related to Slav. *ucho*, Goth. *ausō*, Lat. *auris*, Gk. οὔς (ME I 227f.; PKEŽ I 123; LEV I 90f.; LEW 26).

The name of the plantain *stidzene* (Ēdelmane, Ozola 2003: 61) has been recorded in Liepna, and *stidzenīte* and *stidzeņa* (Ēdelmane, Ozola 2003: 61) – in Skaista. Its basis is the place where it grows *stiga* ‘clearing, ground’. The name is made from the noun *stiga* with the suffix *-en-* and *-īt-*. The Latvian noun *stiga* is related to OCS *stbza* ‘path; byway’, and further according to the origin – to the verb *steigt* ‘to hurry, to hasten’ (as well as to the iterative verb *staigāt* ‘to walk’), which, like Lith. *steigtī*, is related to Gk. στείχω ‘I walk’, Goth. *steiga* ‘I climb’, Alb. *štek* ‘road’, Lat. *vestīgium* ‘foot, sole’ (ME III 1058f., 1065f.; Trautmann 1923: 285; LEW 899; Smoczyński 2007: 599f.).

The name of the plantain *vālītes* (Ēdelmane, Ozola 2003: 61) has been recorded in Šķilbēni. The name of the raceme of the plant forms its basis. The word is related to the noun *vāle* ‘battledore, bludgeon, club’, it is made with the help of the diminutive suffix *-īt-*. The Latvian noun *vāle* is related to the verb *velt* ‘to full’ (ME IV 497; Trautmann 1923: 349), and Latv. *velt*, as Lith. *velti*, – to OCS *валъ* ‘a huge wave’, Gk. εἰλῆω ‘I full’, Lat. *volvere* ‘to full’ (ME IV 533; Trautmann 1923: 349; LEW 1221; Smoczyński 2007: 732).

It seems likely that the name of a separate species *saldati*, *zaldāti* – the hoary plantain (*Plantago media*) – has been recorded in Latvian subdialects. The variant *saldati* has been recorded in Mērdzene, Nirza, Pilda, Rundēni, Zvirgzdene (Ēdelmane, Ozola 2003: 63), *zaldāti* – in Rēzekne, *zaldāteņš* – in Skaistā (Ēdelmane, Ozola 2003: 63).

The basis of the name is the noun *saldāts* ‘soldier’ (and the variant *zaldāts*), which is made in Skaistā with the diminutive suffix *-en-*. Latv. *saldāts*, *zaldāts* is a loanword from Germ. *Soldat* ‘soldier’ or Russ. *солдат* ‘soldier’; the latter is a loanword from Germ. *Soldat*, Dutch *soldaat* or Fr. *Soldat* whose basis is It. *soldato* derived from It. verb *soldare* ‘to hire’ (Фасмер III 709).

The basis of the name is a game popular in Latgale – a scuffle with the leaves of the raceme of the hoary plantain.

The name *baicele* has been recorded in Ozolaine: *šeņūok sauce muna mūote bāicēlīs* ‘earlier my mother called [plantains] *bāicēlīs*’; it has also been recorded in Naujene (Ēdelmane, Ozola 2003: 58). Another variant *boicovys* (Ēdelmane, Ozola 2003: 58) has been recorded in Ružina.

Though all these words are presented as generalised names of the plantain, it is seen that they all could be attributed to the names of the hoary plantain (*Plantago media*).

Therefore these names could be related to the words *saldati* and *zaldāti* and to Russ. *бой* ‘a battle’ whose basis is Russ. verb *бумб* ‘to beat’.

There is also another explanation of the origin. The first component of the compound *baicele* can possibly be related to *baīce* ‘short thick whip’ derived from Germ. *Peitsche* ‘whip’ (ME I 249).

The name of the plantain *puolis* (Ēdelmane, Ozola 2003: 61) has been recorded in Vilce. The basis of the name is the ethnonym *puolis* ‘a Pole’. It might be that this word is also attributed to the names of the hoary plantain (*Plantago media*) and is related to the above-mentioned game.

The ethnonym *puolis* is a derivative from Pol. *pole* ‘field, soil’. Its basis can be thought to be IE \**pel-* ‘light, grey’ from which Latv. *palss*, *pelēks* ‘whitish, grey’ was derived. At first this word was used to denote countrymen as opposed to forest dwellers. Historically, the name was first related to the Polish tribe (that lived on the Varta River). Pol. *pole* is related to Lat. *palam* ‘openly, clearly’ (Фасмер III 307f., 321f.; LEV II 73; Rozenbergs 2005: 65).

The name of the plantain *turki* (Ēdelmane, Ozola 2003: 61) has been recorded in Šķilbēni. The basis of the name is the ethnonym *turks* ‘a Turk’. It is possible that it can also be attributed to the names of the hoary plantain (*Plantago media*) and is related to the mentioned game.

The Latvian ethnonym *turks*, like Lith. *turkas* and Russ. *мырок*, is a loanword from OTurkic and Turkic *türk* ‘dynasty, which Chinese called *tu-kiu*; the nation subordinate to it’ (Фасмер IV 125).

The name of the plantain *tripatnieks* (Ēdelmane, Ozola 2003: 61) whose origin and semantic motivation are unclear has been recorded in Aglona.

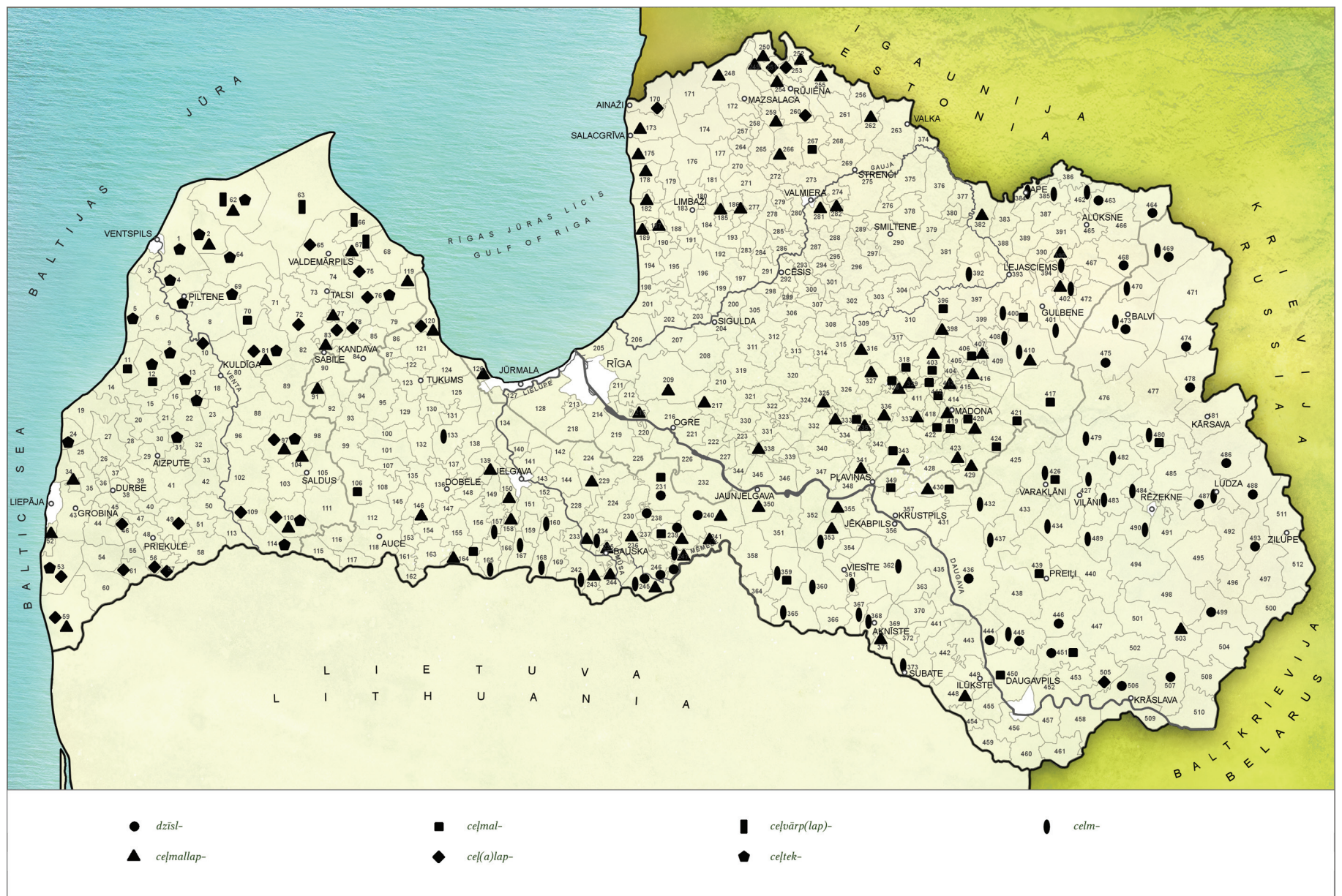
The name of the plantain – the compound *zeltiklapa* whose second component is the noun *lapa* ‘leave’ (concerning its origin see p. 431) has been recorded as an occasionalism in Renda. The origin of the first component has not been elucidated.





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|---|--------------------------|--|------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| ● Latv. cejmallapa, cejmallapa                            | □ Latv. cejalēpe         | ▭ Latv. cejteklapa   | ○ Latv. dzislapa<br>Lith. gyslapis | ▭ Lith. traukas, traukutis |
| ○ Latv. cejmalīte   | ◇ Latv. celmene, celmine | ▭ Latv. ceļbežlapa, dzeļbežlapa                                      | ○ Latv. taka lapa, teka lapa       | ▭ Lith. raukžolė           |
| ○ Latv. ceja lapa, cejalapa, cejlapa<br>Lith. kelio lapas | ◇ Latv. celmeņlapa       | ● Latv. dzislene<br>Lith. gyslotis, gysluotis, gyslotas,<br>gyslonas | ▭ Lith. trauklapis, traukalapis    | ○ Lith. baicele            |
| △ Lith. kelio letena                                      | ■ Latv. ceļteka          |  | ▭ Lith. traukžolė, traukažolė      | □ Lith. bobkele            |







*Baltų kalbų atlasas*  
*Leksika 1: flora*

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## *Names of the Juniper*



# Names of the Juniper

Authors of the comments: Rima Bakšienė, Ilga Jansone, Anna Stafecka, Saulius Ambrazas

The map and the comments are based on LKA I Map No. 91 and LVDA Map No. 9, comments and answers to Question No. 61 of the Questionnaire on the Lexicon of the ALE.

A coniferous shrub of the cypress family bearing black berries (*Juniperus communis*) in both languages is referred to by the name with the common root *-egl-*; Lith. *kadagys*, Latv. *kadiķis* with their variants are also names common to both languages.

Lith. *ėgli(u)s* / Latv. *Paeglis* are most widely used.

Lith. *ėgli(u)s* (usually with the circumflex accent, rarer with an acute) is used throughout eastern Lithuania, in almost all subdialects of Highlanders (with the exception of a large area of western Highlanders around Kaunas where *kadugys* is used), the word has not been recorded in the area of Lowlanders. E.g.: *iž v'erb(u)ōs | iž ėgl'o. scip'inaĩ.* 'spokes are made of willow trees, junipers' DrskŽ 84; *và | jieg'l'u wúogōs* 'look here, juniper berries' DvŽ I 141; *và ėgl'ys verbai* 'look, a juniper for a *verba* [a Sunday palm]' LzŽ 69; *ėglius áuga gražūs* 'a nice juniper grows' LzŽ 69; *'ėgli.s lab'jæú p'rę. s'mę.li.nú. á.uga* 'junipers like growing near the sands' KpŽ I 524; *par vařbu.\* nusĩ.neši 'ėgl'ɔ. baž'nič'ɔ.n | paš'ví.n'tina* 'on Palm Sunday one takes a juniper [twig] to the Church to consecrate' KpŽ I 524; *pavó.seri. žu.s'ukùs p[a]ugí.ntus ap'rurkɔ. su apĩ.š'vi.stu 'ėgl'u* 'in spring ducklings are treated with smoke of a consecrated juniper sprig' KpŽ I 524; *ėgl'u. prisraškáu męsai veĩdzi.f* 'I pick juniper to smoke meat' KlŽ 60; *reikia išvirt ėglio uogų – sako, geras vaistas* 'I have to cook juniper berries – they say it is good medicine' Nemunaitis (e-LKŽ); *ažeik ažeik – ėglio uogom pamylėsiu* 'come in, come in – I'll treat you to juniper berries' Leliūnai (e-LKŽ); *iš ėglio verbas taiso* 'verbos are made from juniper twigs' Joniškėlis (e-LKŽ); *mėsq rūkina su ėgliais* 'meat is smoked with juniper' Merkinė (e-LKŽ); *radau zuikį po ėgliu tupint* 'I found a hare sitting under a juniper bush' Rudamina (e-LKŽ); *ėglius visada žalias* 'juniper is always green' Punia (e-LKŽ); *man negaila nei ėgliaus grėblelio, nei lankos dobilėlio* 'I grudge neither a juniper rake nor a field clover' Onuškis (e-LKŽ).

In the periphery of eastern subdialects (eastern Highlanders around Vilnius) the variants *ėgli(u)s*, *āgli(u)s* and *egliùkas*, *agliùkas* are found, e.g.: *agl'ũ.ku. verbõn dedũ* 'I put junipers in a *verba*' KlŽ 60.

The name *ėgli(u)s* is found in Kristijonas Milkus' and Jurgis Šlapelis' dictionaries, in the book of hymns by Danielius Kleinas and

other old writings of a later period, in Antanas Baranauskas' *Anykščiu šilelis* and elsewhere (Lipskienė 1964: 64).

The name *paeglis* with its different variants is most often used in the eastern part of Latvia. It is less frequent in the western part of Latvia.

The word *paeglis* of Standard Latvian has been recorded throughout Vidzeme, in some places in Kurzeme (Aizupe, Kabile, Lauciena, Pampāli, Renda, Zemīte, etc.; ME presents it also from Lubezere, Biksti, Ezere, Kursiši, and EH from Īvande and Sātini too), as well as in Zemgale (Auri, Bēne, Praviņi, Sēme, Valgunde and other places; ME give it recorded from Bukaiši, Eleja, Jaunsvirlauka, Lielaide, Līvberze, Tērvete, Vilce, Vircava, and EH – also from Rundāle), in Augšzeme (Aknīste, Birži, Elkšņi, Laši, Rubeņi, Sauka, Sēlpils [ME], Sērene, Viesīte, Zalve), it was also recorded from some subdialects of Latgale, e.g., in Baltinava, Balvi, Dagda, Gaigalava, Kārsava, Līksna (ME), Nautrēni, Tilža, Viļaka.

The feminine form *paegle* is used in the eastern part of Latvia, too. The variants *paėglis*, *paėgle* are used in Vidzeme in the environs of Valmiera and Cēsis. They have also been recorded in Bauņi, Burtnieki, Braslava, Kārķi, Kauguri, Mārsnēni, Raiskums, Vaive, Vecpiebalga, and ME presents them from Brenguli, Ēvele, Jercēni, Krimulda and Pāle, too.

In this area the variant *paėrglis* with the insert *r* (it might be that it could have originated due to the contamination of the words *paeglis* and *ē-r-kšķis*) is sometimes found. It is quite often that *j* is inserted between two vowels in High Latvian dialect: the variant *pajegle* has been recorded in Latgale (in Aizkalne, Barkava [FBR XIII 26], Kalupe, Nautrēni, Nīcgale, Ozolaine, Rugāji, Rundēni, Ružina, Tilža, Sakstagals, Vārkava, Višķi, Zvirgzdene, etc.); *pajeglis* – in the subdialects used in the environs of Alūksne (in Alsviķi, Beja, Beļava, Jaunroze, Karva, Mārkalne, Veclaicene, Ziemeris). This word has also been recorded in Lazdona and Sarkaņi, in ME it is presented from Naukšēni, and in EH – from Susēja.

The variants *paiglis*, *paigle* are also used. *Paigle* is most often used in Livonian subdialects of Vidzeme, and *paiglis* is widespread in small areas in Livonian subdialects of Kurzeme (around Nogale, Vandzene) and the Selonian subdialects of High Latvian (around Sarkaņi, Lazdona, Cesvaine) of Kurzeme. The variants *pėgle*, *pėglis* have been recorded in the subdialects of eastern Latgale (in Andrupene, Asūne,



Cibla, Istra, Kaunata, Pilda, etc.), *pāglis* – in Selonian subdialects of Vidzeme (in the Middle dialect around Jaunpiebalga, e.g., in Aduliena, Cesvaine, Graši, Lubeja, Tirza, also in some Latgalian subdialects of Vidzeme, e.g., in Lizums), *pāgle* – in several subdialects of Latgale (in Šķaune, Bērzgale, Mērdzene, Ružina). The material of toponyms testifies to a more diverse spread of phonetic variants of the lexeme *paeglis* (see Bušs 2003: 109ff.).

Examples from Latvian dialects: *mān bij kuŗu, no tīram paeglēm pīt* ‘I had a basket made of juniper’ Jeri (LVDA); *paeglam traki asi skuji* ‘juniper needles are prickly’ Svētciems (ALE); *paeglēs uogas pīcepešiem liek* ‘juniper berries are put into steaks’ Krape (LVDA); *paegļu uogas gēldūt zoālēm* ‘juniper berries are used for making medicine’ Aknīste (ALE); *pa kanovas moļu paeglēs pīaūgušš* ‘junipers grow along the ditch’ Šķilbēni (LVDA); *paeglām ir zaļas uogas, bet, ka gotavas, tod ir mallas* ‘juniper berries are green but they turn black when they are ripe’ Sinole (LVDA); *pajagļu pī myūsu moz jira* ‘we have few junipers here’ Nīcgaile (LVDA); *pāglis ūgys dyžān ryūgtys* ‘juniper berries are very bitter’ Pilda (LVDA); *pāglis saknīs špīrtā labi nu raka* ‘vēža’ ‘juniper root liquor helps for cancer’ Šķaune (LVDA).

Latv. *paeglis*, *paegle* was recorded in old written sources. Examples from the dictionaries of the 17th–19th century: Wacholder / *Pa-eggles* Lettus 1638: 198; Wacholder / *Pa-eggles*, Wacholderbaum / *Pa-eggles* Phras 1638: 333; *Pa=egle* Ein Wachholder strauch, baum Fürecker 1685 I 71, II 90; *Paēgles* Holunder oder Wacholder baum MLG II 130; *Pa-eggles* Holder oder Wachholderbaum Langius 1685: 67; *Paehgle* Wacholder Lange 1773: 221; *Jadłowiec. Juniperus Piegli kuks* ‘juniper tree’ v. *paeglis* Kurmin 1858: 40; *pa-egle, -es* der Wachholder Ulmann 1872: 181.

Some examples from other sources of the 17th century: *kad tu gulleja appakfch weena Pa-Egli / Deewa Englis pee tew nahze / atneffe tew ehft in dfert* ‘when you were lying under the juniper an angel of God came to see you and brought you some food and drink’ LGL 1685 K1 130.

It is thought that the names with the root *-egl-* are derivatives from the name of another coniferous tree – Latv. *egle* / Lith. *ēglė*, relative to Pruss. *addle* E 596, Preslav. *edlā* ‘fir tree’. In its turn the latter originated from IE *\*ed<sup>h</sup>-* ‘sharp’, *\*ed<sup>h</sup>-lo-s* ‘prickly’ (cf. LEW 118; PKEŽ I 48; ПЯ A–D 56f.; Smoczyński 2007: 141; LEV I 261).

The derivative with a quantitative vowel gradation *ēglė* → *ėgli(u)s*, is more frequent in the area of the Lithuanian language, and the derivative without it *ėgli(u)s* is found much rarer (LKA I 165).

Lith. *ėgli(u)s* is also related to Pol. *ja(d)łowiec* and Bel. *jelenec* (LEW 118).

The name Lith. *kadagys* / Latv. *Kadiķis* is widespread in both languages.

Lie. *kadagys*, *kàdagis* is used in the subdialects of Lowlanders, in rare cases in the area of Highlanders bordering Lowland. In the most westernly subdialects the variants *kadegys*, *kàdegis*, *kàdekis* are sometimes found. *Kadugys*, *kàdugis* has been found almost in the whole area of western Highlanders around Kaunas. Some Highlanders around Panevėžys use the forms *kadagys*, *kàdagis*; *kadugys*, *kàdugis*, southern Highlanders prefer *kadugys*, *kàdugis*. E.g.: [*griaudžiant*] *kādug'o dēgina* | *labāi tīnka švāntōs agōtos\* vanduo* ‘[when it thunders] people burn juniper, St. Agatha’s water is also good’ ZnŽ I 587; *kai kā.rves ižg'davom, kadugēis rūrkdavau* ‘when we drove the cows to the pasture

we smoked them with juniper’ ZnŽ I 587; *kadugīs\_vā gēraī labāi no\_pļāuč'u* ‘juniper is very good for the lungs’ KzRŽ I 303; *kādug'o šakūtē ūškiši uš\_pavė.ikslo* | *i\_stóvi kelis mētūs* ‘you put a juniper twig behind a picture and it stays there for several years’ KzRŽ I 303; *kādag' ūg'a dīes i mēs'a* ‘they used to put juniper berries into meat dishes’ MoŽK; *mēiž'u rēk siet'e, ka kàdagē žid* ‘barley is to be sown when junipers are in blossom’ MoŽK; *kādag's nusīnēs'i i bažnīc'e* ‘you take junipers to the church to be [consecrated]’ MoŽK; *geras botagas iš kadugiū* ‘a good whip is made of junipers’ Skirsnemunė (e-LKŽ); *kur kadagiai, ten ir erkės* ‘where there are junipers there are ticks’ Telšiai (e-LKŽ); *atnešk kadagiū, reik rūkyti mėsą* ‘bring some juniper, we must smoke the meat’ Raseiniai (e-LKŽ).

The name *kadagys*, *kadugys* was found in the manuscript of a dictionary in Lithuania Minor in the 17th century (Wachholde *kadegis*; Wachholderbeer *kadagiu ūgos* Lex 102r), in the dictionaries compiled by Frydrich Kuršaitis, Antanas Juška, Mykolas Miežinis, Kristijonas Milkus, George Nesselmann, writings of Jurgis Ambraziejus Pabrėža, a collection of Lithuanian folk songs and fairytales compiled by August Leskien and Karl Brugmann, Lithuanian songs of East Prussia collected by Vilius Kalvaitis, in Juška’s songs, etc. (Sabaliauskas 1990: 226).

The name *kadiķis* and its variants used in Standard Latvian were registered in the areas of Kurzeme, Zemgale, Augšzeme, rarer in Vidzeme. This name was heard in the Curonian Spit (Kuršių nerija) too (EH I 573).

The variant *kadeķis* is most often used in Zemgale (Bukaiši [ME], Dobeļe, Mežotne, Ozolnieki, Rundāle, Salgale [ME], Svēte) and in the south of Kurzeme (Aizpute, Ezere, Kalvene, Kazdanga, Kursiši [ME], Pampāļi, Strazde, etc.). Other variants are also sometimes found in Kurzeme: *kadegs* (Dunalka, Grobiņa, Nīca, Pērkone, Rucava, Saka, Ulmale, Ziemepe, etc.), *kadēgis* and *kadiģis* are widespread in almost the same area. The variant *kadiķe* has been recorded in Zemgale (Augstkalne [EH], Brukna, Bukaiši [FBR XII 16], Vilce).

Other variants can also be sporadically found: *kadags* and *kadagis* in Rucava, *kadaks* in Naukšēni (ME), *kadega* in Dunalka.

Examples from Latvian dialects: *ka bi rešni kadiķi, tad nuō kadiķiēm liēca ziřga luōkus* ‘if juniper stems were thick they were used to make shaft bows for horses’ Džūkste (ALE); *ka nebi krāsu, ta zaļu pēvēja ať kadegu* ‘when there was no paint the green colour was made from juniper’ Rucava (LVDA); *kadeķiši aūg smilšaiņās viētās* ‘junipers grow in sandy soil’ Nīca (ALE); *kadiķām aš: adats* ‘juniper needles are prickly’ Laidze (LVDA); *a kadiķ zariēm tīr trāūk's* ‘juniper twigs are used to clean dishes’ Kandava (LVDA); *a kadiķ iskvēpin istab* ‘the room was scented with juniper’ Valgale (LVDA); *a kadiķi kūpināja gaļu* ‘the meat was smoked with juniper’ Mežotne (LVDA); *nuō kadiģiēm pātagas kātus drāž* ‘juniper is used to make whip handles’ Rucava (LVDA).

This name is an old word frequent in many languages, its origin is difficult to explain. It has been used not only by the Balts but also by the Baltic Finns since olden times.

Latv. *kadiķis* was included in a dictionary of the 19th century: *kadiķis, -a* (Lith. *kadagys*) der Wachholder Ulmann 1872: 96.

There are several opinions as to the origin of Lith. *kadagys* / Latv. *kadiķis*, relative to Pruss. *kadegis* ‘juniper’ E 608. Some researchers treat it as a loanword from the Finnish languages, cf. Fin. *kataja*, Est. *kadak*, Liv. *kadāg, gadāg*, Veps. *kadag*. Others think it to be a loanword from Low German, cf. *Kaddig, kaddik* (see LEV I 366; Sabaliauskas 1990: 226f.; PKEŽ II 65ff.). There are scholars

who treat it as a Baltic word and try to link it with Gk. κέδρος ‘juniper’, Oslav. *kaditi*, *kadilo* ‘to incense, frankincense’ (LEV 201f.; ПЯ I–K 111ff.). Jānis Endzelīns treats the forms *kadegs* and *kadēģis* recorded in Kurzeme as loanwords from the Lithuanian language (ME II 131).

The name *ērcis* and its variants *ēcis* is widespread in the north-east of Kurzeme. The origin of this word is the same as that of the noun *ērķšķis* (-k- > -c-, i. e. aphricatisation before the front vowel [see Endzelīns 1951: 181]) ‘a prickly stipule or the shape of a shoot’ Llvv II 507.

There are other variants too: *ēdzis* (Ēduole), *ērksis* (Ulmale), *ērķšķis* (Laža, Kuldīga), *ērķis* (Dundaga).

The variants *ērcetis*, *ērcietis*, *ērcēja* and *ērcāša*, on the basis of the data of the collection of songs *Latoju dainas*, were used in the southern part of Kurzeme.

According to the area of their use, the names with the root *ērc-*, *ēc-* can be treated as Couronisms.

Toponyms *Ērc-*, *Ērc-* containing the roots are also frequent in that area (for more about it see Hirša 1987: 76f.).

Examples from Latvian dialects: *atnes ērc, kuô krâsn isslaūcīt!* ‘bring some juniper twigs to clean the oven!’ Alsunga (LVDA); *n<sup>o</sup> ēč lūķem pin vî:zs* ‘bast-shoes were made from juniper splits’ Pope (LVDA); *kas nu ēcs pa kuôk, tâc krūms* ‘a juniper is not a tree, just a shrub’ Venta (ALE); *ērc bîrzes pa to pakaln<sup>u</sup>* ‘the slope of the hill is just a juniper grove’ Renda (LVDA).

In some Lithuanian subdialects (particularly in the area of western Highlanders around Šiauliai) this plant is called *verbà*. E.g.: *palaužiau verbôs pušinei* ‘I have brought some juniper [for a broom]’ Kuktiškės (e-LKŽ); *parnešk verbôs bent vieną gražesnę šakelę* ‘bring at least one nice branch of juniper’ Debeikiai (e-LKŽ); *ir žiemą, ir vasarą verbà žaliuoja* ‘juniper is green in winter and in summer’ Balninkai (e-LKŽ).

It must have come later and its origin could be related to the custom to take a branch of juniper to the church to be consecrated on Palm Sunday. The word is related to Russ. and Bel. *verba*, *verbnaja nedelja* (LEW 1225; LKA I 165).

In some parts of the Lithuanian language area, mainly in the subdialects spoken outside the borders of Lithuania, the following loanwords have been recorded: *jalaūčis*; *jelaūčius*, *jėlaučius*; *jedlaučius*; *jeláuka*, *veláuka*, *vėláuka* (cf. Pol. *ja(d)łowiec*). E.g.: *jėlaučius žiēmų vāsary žaliuoja* ‘juniper is green in winter and summer’ LzŽ 97; *jelaūčius áuga, vúogos nug jō yrà* ‘the juniper grows, its berries ripen’ LzŽ 97; *jelaūčių medzỹ cià yrà: itai gūdziškai jelaūčius* ‘there are junipers in the forest: *jelaūčius* is a Belarusian word’ DvŽ I 215; *kap kōšika padāro iš jeláuku., tai m’etūs bústa* ‘a basket made of juniper serves you the whole year’ ZtŽ 247; *v’éláuka ir bazn’ič’oj šv’ént’ina* ‘the juniper is even consecrated in church’ ZtŽ 751; *miško slėny auga visas jalaūčių miškelis* ‘there is a grove of junipers in the forest valley’ Kučiūnai (e-LKŽ); *jo kolonijoj vieni jalaūčiūkai auga* ‘only junipers grow in his farmstead’ Lazdijai (e-LKŽ).





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| <p><span style="display: inline-block; width: 15px; height: 10px; background-color: #c8e6c9; border: 1px solid black; margin-right: 5px;"></span> Latv. <i>kadēķis / kadēķis</i><br/>Lith. <i>kadagys / kadugys / kadekis</i> and var.</p> | <p><span style="display: inline-block; width: 15px; height: 10px; background-color: #ffe0b2; border: 1px solid black; margin-right: 5px;"></span> Latv. <i>paeģis / paeģle</i> /<br/><i>pāģlis</i> and var.</p> <p><span style="display: inline-block; width: 15px; height: 10px; background-color: #ffcc80; border: 1px solid black; margin-right: 5px;"></span> Lith. <i>ėglis / ėglius / eglis</i> and var.</p> | <p><span style="display: inline-block; width: 15px; height: 10px; background-color: #d7ccc8; border: 1px solid black; margin-right: 5px;"></span> Latv. <i>ērcis / ērcis</i> /<br/><i>ērcietis</i> and var.</p> | <p><span style="display: inline-block; width: 15px; height: 10px; background-color: #e1bee7; border: 1px solid black; margin-right: 5px;"></span> Lith. <i>verba</i></p> | <p><span style="display: inline-block; width: 15px; height: 10px; border: 1px solid purple; margin-right: 5px;"></span> lie. <i>jalaučis / jedlaučius / velauka</i> ir var.</p> |
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*Baltų kalbų atlasas*  
*Leksika 1: flora*

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## *Names of the Cone*





# Names of the Cone

*Authors of the comments: Asta Leskauskaitė, Anna Stafecka, Saulius Ambrazas,  
(footnotes) Rolandas Kregždys*

The map and the comments are based on LKA I Map No. 93, LVDA Map No. 10 and its comments, answers to Question No. 49 of the Lexical Questionnaire of ALE.

The map represents and the comments discuss the names of the roundish or oblong fruit of a coniferous tree (a pine or a fir tree) in which seeds form.

Lithuanian and Latvian names with the root *kirk-/cirk-* form a common area in the north eastern part of Lithuania and eastern part of Latvia.

Lith. *kirkuzė, kirkuzė, kirkuzis, kirkuzys, kiřkužiai; kirkuzas; kėrkuzis* are used in the northern subdialects of the eastern Highlanders of Kupiškis and Utena (around Suvainiškis, Užubaliai, Onuškis, Juodupė, Aukštadvaris, Šiekštininkai, Paliepis, Sodeliai, Lukštai, Bučiūnai, Svobiškis, Kupreliškis, Pandėlys and other places).

Here these names are frequent, e.g.: *kirkuzės auga ant pušų ir eglių* ‘cones grow on pines and fir trees’ Panemunėlis (e-LKŽ); *voverys pušų ir eglių sėklom minta, iš kirkužių jas išgliaudamos* ‘squirrels feed on the seeds of pines and fir trees cracking them from cones’ Panemunis (e-LKŽ); *voverys tai mėgsta kirkužių sėklas* ‘squirrels like cone seeds’ Šimonys (e-LKŽ); *prie miško gyvenę žmonės kurui dažnai var-toja kirkužius* ‘people who live near a forest often use cones as fuel’ Užpaliai (e-LKŽ); *kirkužiai suskloję rudeni išsikečia* ‘closed cones open in autumn’ Zarasai (e-LKŽ); *eglys kirkužiai dideliai, drūti* ‘fir tree cones are big, thick’ Rokiškis (e-LKŽ).

The names *cirkuzis, cirkūzis, cirkužs, cirkūžs*, rarer *cirkucis* are common in the eastern part of Latvia (mainly in Augšzeme and Lat-gale, with the exception of its northern and eastern subdialects).

Names with *cirk-* are various from the phonetic and morpho-logical point of view. The most frequent is *cirkuzis* forming a large compact area in Augšzeme (around Dignāja, Pilskalne, Dviete) and in the eastern and central part of Latgala (around Līvāni, Vārkava, Aglona, Preiļi, Viļāni).

The following phonetic variants are found in subdialects: *čierkušs* (-zis) and *cyrkušs* or *cyřkušs* (-zis) in Latgale, rarer in Augšzeme, e.g.: *pylna agla ar čierkužim* ‘the pine is full of cones’ Aglona (LVDA); *čierkužu pylna zeme, pilni kuki* ‘the ground and the trees are full of cones’ Aknīste (ALE); *prīdōm i āglōm dauč čierkužu* ‘pines and fir trees have many cones’ Bērzgale (LVDA); *prīžu i āglu sāklys auk čierkužūs* ‘pine and fir seeds grow in cones’ Bērzpils (LVDA); *ar čierkužim*

*krūsio dzeji* ‘cones are used to dye threads’ Galēni (LVDA); *prīžu sāklys daboļ nu čierkužu* ‘pine seeds are obtained from cones’ Izvalta (ALE); *pilasejom čierkužu pylnu kėrzi* ‘we gathered a full basket of cones’ Kalupe (ALE); *pylna āglā cyřkužu* ‘the pine is full of cones’ Malta (LVDA); *pūika sāt kaī cyřkušs* (-zis) ‘the boy sits like a cone’ Sakstagals (LVDA).

The variant with *-ier->-ēr-* prevails in the Selonian part of Ziem-gale, e.g.: *vōvėreite nūmetę zemė cėrkuzi* ‘a squirrel dropped a cone’ Dignāja (LVDA); it has been recorded in the Selonian subdialect of Latgale – in Līvāni: *ka nabeja molkys, gōjōm zoru i cėrkuzu lašeif* ‘if there was no fire wood we used to go and gather branches and cones’ Līvāni (ALE).

The variant *cirkūzis* (*čērkiūšs*) has been recorded in several sub-dialects of Latgale (around Baltinava, Balvi, Mērdzene, Naujene, Tilža, Šķilbēni and other places), e.g.: *čērkiūšs vōvōārāi lobuōkais jēdīnc* ‘a cone is the best food for a squirrel’ Auleja (LVDA); *čērkiūžy aūg iz prīžu i aglu* ‘cones grow on firs and pines’ Kārsava (LVDA); *vyssmukoīki ir āglu čērkiūži* ‘the most beautiful cones are pine cones’ Makašēni (ALE); *ka āglīs pavasarī pylņys čērkiūžu, byūs uļbiku goc* (-ds) ‘if fir trees in spring are full of cones it will be a good year for potatoes’ Nautrēni (ALE).

The variant *cirkūžs* (*cierkiūžs*) is used in Pilda (FBR XIII 46).

The variant *cirkuozis*, which has also been recorded in Augšzeme (around Dviete, Slate) and in the north-east of Vidzeme (Beļava), is used mainly in Latgale (around Aglona, Bērzpils, Galēni, Kapiņi, Malta, Sakstagals, Skaista, Šķaune, Šķilbēni, Tilža, Vārkava, Viksna, Viļaka, Višķi and other places), e.g.: *vōvōārā graūš čierkūžus* ‘a squirrel gnaws cones’ Auleja (LVDA); *egļei apkrytuši čierkūži* ‘pine cones have fallen’ Dviete (LVDA); *prīžu čierkūži* ‘pine cones’ Nautrēni (LVDA).

The variant *cirkužs* (*cyrkužs*) is sometimes found in some sub-dialects of Latgala – in Aizkalne, Naujene, Rugāji, Pilda, Varakļāni, e.g.: *vōvōārā losa cyřkužus* ‘squirrels gather cones’ Naujene (LVDA).

The variant *cirkučs* from Aizkalne, Preiļi, Viļāni, Zvirgzdene is recorded in EH I 273.

In the north of Latgala (around Šķilbēni) the variant *cėrkūzis* (*cārkiūšs*) was found.

Kazimieras Būga (III 693) stated that Lith. *kirkuzė* and its equivalent Latv. *cirkuzis* (ME I 386) are words of the Selonian language.

Attempts were made to relate this name to Latv. *karāties*, Lith. *karóti* (cf. ME I 393; LEW 216). This is a derivative with the suffix \*-āti (see about it Stang 1942: 155ff., 1966b: 360ff.; Skardžius I 504ff.; Endzelīns 1951: 816ff.) made from Lith. *kárti*, Latv. *kārt*.

And the latter evolved from the Indo-European \*(s)ker-; however, opinions differ about whether it evolved from its meaning 'to cut' (cf. LEW 224f.; Jēgers 1966a: 22f.) or from 'to bend, to twist' (cf. PKEŽ II 133f.). Though there is no essential difference because the meaning 'to bend, to twist' most probably originated from the older meaning 'to cut' (Трубачев 1966: 246ff.).

Having adopted the said hypothesis difficulties arise in explaining differences in the forms of the name of the cone being discussed and its hypothetical basic word. It is not for nothing that Jānis Endzelīns (ME I 393) questioned this link.

Some names of the cone in the Lithuanian language could be of onomatopoeic origin (cf. Ambrazas 2010a).

For example, in some northern subdialects of eastern Highlanders of Panevėžys and Kupiškis alongside the discussed *kirkuzė* the word *gurgūtis* (and its variant *gurgūtė*)<sup>1</sup> is used, cf. *gurgū.tas nud'rimba n. ė.g'ū. ir pušū. 'cones do not fall down from fir and pine trees' KpŽ I 777; parnė.š'kit šakū. su gurgū.ta.m 'bring branches with cones' KpŽ I 777; miške daug eglų ir pušų gurgūčių 'there are plenty of fir and pine cones in the forest' Papilys (e-LKŽ); eglų gurgūčių išgliaudė voverys 'squirrels shelled fir tree cones' Biržai (e-LKŽ); šiemet ant eglų labai daug yra gurgūčių 'this year there are very many cones of fir trees' Raseiniai (e-LKŽ).*

It might be made from the verb *guṛgti* 'mutter; grumble' (e-LKŽ). Furthermore, the derivative *kirkuzė* is similar to *gurgōzas*, the variant of *gurgūtis* (Kuldūnai) from the point of view of its derivation.

Another variant of *gurgūtis* is *gurgūckas* recorded near Subačius and made with the suffix *-uckas*. The latter, most likely evolved from the Lithuanian suffix *-utis* (-ė), which due to bilingualism was influenced by Slavic suffixes derived from \*-ko-. The suffixes of adjectives *-itkas*, *-ickas* characteristic of southern and south-eastern Lithuanian subdialects emerged in a similar way (see about them Vidugiris 1997).

The word *burkūtis* that is found in neighbouring subdialects of the eastern Highlanders of Panevėžys district also has the suffix *-utis* (derived from the determinative \*-t-, characteristic of diminutives but sometimes it is also used to make nomina agentis, see Ambrazas 1993: 142f., 2000: 103f.), cf. *ant šios eglės nėra nė vieno burkūčio* 'there isn't a single cone on this fir tree' Antašava (e-LKŽ).

It is related<sup>2</sup> to Lith. *buṛkti* 'to purr; grumble', *burkūoti*, interj. *būrkū, burkū / buṛkū* (e-LKŽ), and further partly to Lith. *buṛkšti* 'to play a little leather pipe', *burkšnóti* 'to clatter', Latv. *burškēt* 'to rattle, to knock; to roll; to squeak; to speak indistinctly, to chatter', Pol. *burczeć, burknąć* 'to mumble, to grumble, to buzz, to hum', Cz. *burčeti* 'to chink, to clank, to rattle, to buzz' and others (ME I 353; LEW 66 and lit.).

The word *kukūtis* in the meaning of the cone found in several subdialects of north-western Highlanders in Šiauliai district (around Žagarė, Dilbinai, Vaineikiai, Skaistgirys, Dameliai, Kyburiai, Šakyna) belongs to the same derivational type. The bird of the hoopoe family (*Upupa epops*) is usually denoted by this derivation.

It is made<sup>3</sup> from the old verb that most likely dates back to the late Indo-European parent language, cf. Lith. *kūkti* 'to give a cry', *kaūkti*, Latv. *kāukt*, Russ. *кыкамь* 'to grumble', OPol. *kukać* 'to scream', CHG. *hiulen* 'to howl', OInd. *kauti* 'creams', Gk. *κωκύω* 'I scream', etc. (Trautmann 1923: 122; IEW 535f.; LEW 230; Sabaliauskas 1990: 89; Smoczyński 2007: 267f.).

1 It can be tentatively supposed that Lith. dial. *gurgūtis*, -ė 2 'cone' DŽ, Š, Vb, Slm, Pp, Ppl, Brž, Rs, 'food made of small lumps of paste rolled on a grater' Pmp, 'in casting – an insert of incombustible substance placed in the casting form' (e-LKŽ) is not a word of onomatopoeic origin. On the basis of connotation of referential sememes of Lith. *kankorėžis* 1 'a fruit of a fir tree or a pine; *gurgūtis, burkutis, žebelys, kirkuzė, brekis, vėjo vaikas* 'a cone' R, S, Dauk, J. Jabl, K. Būg, P, K, Kv, Žgč, Klvrž, Lkv, LT II 436, Škn, J, Sr, Lnk, '(anat.) pineal gland (*corpus pineale*), adrenal glands' writ., 'corn cob' Jms (e-LKŽ), i. e. (I) 'cone blossoms of coniferous and cycads trees, a cluster of pineal seedbuds, as well as stamens', (II) (in its form) cone-shaped, rarer egg-shaped, globe-shaped (LE X 444), the lexeme is comparable with subst. Lith. *spūrgas* 3 'fruit of the hop' SD<sup>1</sup> 32, R 210, MŽ 279, N, Kos 59, J, Rtž, L, Rtr, Š, DŽ, Ndž, KŽ, Sml, Pn, Vb, Pšl, Slm, Sdk and others, 'a tree bud' R, N, [K], Rtr, L VIII 1030, Ndž, KŽ, Erž, Jnš, Švnč, Knv, DŽ, MŽ, Grv, Sv, Gdž, ČrP, 'unopened blossom, bud' L, Rtr, Ndž, Ar, 'catkin' Pnd, 'drop' P. Cvir, '(usu. pl.) tassel' SD<sup>1</sup> 32, Kos 59, LL 36, 71, BŽ 15, Rtr, Š, DŽ, Pkr, Grž, Šmn, Ob, Km, Pnd, Pl, Pnd, LTR (Rk), Ndž, 'round pendant' MLTE II 259, Šd, KŽ, 'some pompon' writ., 'pimple, dot, spot' Prk, Gs, KzR (e-LKŽ) resp. subst. Lith. dial. *spurgūtis* 'bubble', cf. *Sukrešėjusio kraujo spurgūtis* Dkš and others (see Lith. *spūrgas* – e-LKŽ), which due to initial contamination with subst. Lith. *burbulė* 3<sup>ab</sup> 'thickening at the end, knob' Ds, Kp, Ob, Tvr, 'bud' Š, LTR (Pnd), Tvr, 'cone' Sl, Km, Š, 'corn raceme with blossoms or corns' Pn, 'air bubble rising or forming from liquid' B, SD 8, Mrs, '(bot.) water lily (Nymphaea)' Tvr (e-LKŽ) [due to the sememes 'thickening at the end, knob' and cone' (of words of other origin) for more about it see Трубачев II 155] tuned into subst. Lith. dial. *\*burgūtis* 'tree bud; cone' → subst. Lith. dial. *gurgūtis* (with *b- > g-* due to [1] secondary contamination [about such changes see also Zinkevičius 2011: 86] with subst. Lith. *gūrguolė* 1 'row, heap, group' Rt, Kv, Pln, Grg, 'organised row of carts to carry smth. (the army, corn or the like)' BŽ 171, LTR, A. Vencl, 'bubble' Drs (e-LKŽ) ↔ subst. Lith. *buṛbulas* 3<sup>b</sup> K, *būrbulas* 3<sup>b</sup> Sb, Užp; SD 8 'air bubble rising or forming from liquid' Gs, Grž, Lnk, Dbk, Všk, Kp, J, Krkl, S. Dauk, K I 244, 'unimportant thing, trifle, nonsense' Krkl, Sl, Ds, 'corn cob, knob' S. Dauk, J. Jabl, J, 'a tree covered with knobs' Alk, 'lump, piece' Gl, Skr, Rs and others [e-LKŽ; also cf. subst. Lith. *gaṛgalas* 'string knot, pompon, lump' J (see about it LEW 134)]; [2] concerning regressive assimilation, i. e. *b...g > g...g* [also see Kregždys 2010a: 67f., 2011: 65]).

2 On the basis of the connotation sememes of the referent *cone* specified in Footnote 1 (the form) cone-shaped, rare egg-shaped, globe-shaped, this word most probably is related to v. Lith. *buṛkti* 'to blow, to swell' Skdv, J, Gr (e-LKŽ), also cf. prefixed derivatives: v. Lith. *išbuṛkti* 'to swell up, to grow fat and flabby' Rm, Šlv, Šll, Užv, Skr; v. Lith. *pabuṛkti* 'to swell up, to swell out' C I 1117, Vdk, Bru, J; v. Lith. *subuṛkti* 'to swell up/out' Bt, Rs; v. Lith. *užbuṛkti* 'be swollen' Skdv, Skr (e-LKŽ), i. e. The integral meaning 'swollen / puffy / oval object' resp. 'the cone' (this meaning is also reflected in the languages of eastern Slavs, cf. ORuss. *шшшшка* 'fruit with seeds of coniferous trees; a ball, top [such a toy, a top]' [see Срезневский III 1596], Russ. *шшшшка* 'swelling, protuberance of the surface of a thing; cone-shaped fruit of some trees made of squama covering the seed, which are close to the pithy stem inside it' [CAP VI 891] – more about the semantic link of the referent *cone* with the meanings 'to put on airs, to be conceited, swollen' see Топоров 1974: 29).

3 It might be that this word reflects the change *k...k < b...k* (see Footnote 1) determined by regressive assimilation i.e., Lith. dial. *kukūtis* ← subst. Lith. dial. *bukūtis* 2 'cone' Dglš, OG 121 and others (e-LKŽ) < adj. Lith. *būkas*, -à 4 'not sharp, blunt' Ēr, Kp, Dkš, Plv (↔ adv. Lith. dial. *bukaī* 'with a round end' Kp, 'hornless' Vrn, Pbs and others [e-LKŽ]) + suff. *-ut-* (about it see Skardžius I 363); also cf. possible connotation reflection of "unevenness, dishevelment": *striukas bukas ponaičiukas po karklyną šoka* (KpŽ I 245) = a brush to brush hair, cf. Lith. dial. *budūkas* 2 'cone' Slk, S I 260 ← Lith. dial. *bubūkas* 'ditto' (with the root *-b- > -d-* due to contamination with similar words to subst. Lith. dial. *badūkas* 'thorn, needle, butter' Dkš resp. subst. Lith. dial. *badūklis* 2 'sharp stick or tool to butt smth., stick in' Sv, Vlkv, Rk, Mš, 'thorn, needle, butter' Smn, Ob, subst. Lith. dial. *badūklis*, -ė 2 'an animal that butts, which butts very much' J, Grv, Rm or v. Lith. *badūti* 'to beat, to stab with horns' R, J, Šl, Lš, Škn, 'to stab, to spike, to jab', Jnš, Jnšk, M. Valanč, Šts, SD 102, Vrnv, Ēr, PPr 167, KrvP, Jnš, Varn and others, also cf. adj. Lith. dial. *badūtinis*, -ė 1 'sewn together, sewn from patches' Šts, 'done by butting' writ. (e-LKŽ).



The cone has different names made from onomatopoeic verbs in some subdialects of southern Highlanders, eastern Highlanders of Utena and Vilnius.

The derivatives *baubūkas*, *baubēlis*; *bubūkas* have been recorded around Kiemionys, Tolimėnai, Kazitiškis, Kirdeikiai, Linkmenys, Motiejūnai. They are related<sup>4</sup> to Lith. *baūbti*, *būbti*, *bubėti*, Latv. *baubt*; Lat. *būbō* ‘the great eagle-owl’ (LEW 37 and lit.), e.g.: *šiais metais ant pušų ir eglų yra daug baūbelių* ‘this year there are many cones on pine and fir trees’ Linkmenys (e-LKŽ); *rudenį labai daug baubukų miške* ‘in autumn there are many cones in the forest’ Salakas (e-LKŽ).

The variants *būkas*, *būkėlis*, *būkėlys*, *būkėlė*, *būkūtis*; *būkas*, *bukėlis*, *bukūtis*, *būkšis* are used around Berčiūnai, Gaidė, Vigutėnai, Luodžiai, Biržiniškė, Rimšė, Kazitiškis, Medešiai, Antakmenė, Kačergiškė, Linkmenys, Šiulėnai, Ceikinėliai, Mielagėnai, Švenčionys, Gervėčiai, e.g.: *mum būkaī labai kojas sudurstė* ‘cones pricked our feet badly’ Linkmenys (e-LKŽ); *šiandie važiuosme girion būkū rinkti, ba iš jų geros pakuros* ‘today we shall go to the forest to gather cones because they make good kindling wood’ Mielagėnai (e-LKŽ); *pušų būkėlės jau krinta* ‘pine cones are already falling’ Ceikiniai (e-LKŽ); *nueik miškan ir atnešk būkėlių vaikam* ‘go to the forest and bring cones for the children’ Daugėliškis (e-LKŽ); *mažai šiemet būkėlių – nebus kuom sėti miško* ‘this year there are few cones – there will be nothing to sow the forest with’ Paringys (e-LKŽ); *mažutis kai būkėlis, ė jau bernauna* ‘small as a cone and already employed’ Mielagėnai (e-LKŽ).

They are related to *baūkti* ‘to bellow, to bleat; to scream’, *būkti* ‘to bleat, to bellow’, *būkas* ‘the bird of swamps, the bittern’; Latv. *bucēt* ‘to sound’, *būkskēt* ‘to echo in a hollow way, to roar’, interj. *būkš*; Slav. *\*bučati*, *\*bukati* ‘to shout, to bleat, to cry, to make noise’, *\*bykь* ‘ox’, OInd. *bukkati* ‘barks’, Gk. βύκτης ‘bleating’ and others (Endzelīns 1980: 411; LEW 37; Sabaliauskas 1968: 135; ЭССЯ III 74, 88, 147f. and lit.).

The words *bumborūs*, *bumburūs*, *bamborūs*, *bamburūs*, *bambuorūs*; *bumbuorūs*; *kvajū būmbuoras*, *bumburūs*, *buñburas*<sup>5</sup> are found around Šklėriai, Tiltai, Akmuo, Čebatoriai, Varėna, Vėžionys, Vydeniai, e.g.: *bá.mbuorus n’ėša ir séklas lugždžina* ‘cones are carried and seeds are cracked’ DrskŽ 29; *g’enūkai lāsa buñ.burus* ‘little woodpeckers peck cones’ DrskŽ 46; *kvajūr bambuoraī. prikriti. an tārko.*; ‘there are pine cones on the path’ DrskŽ 29; *eglės bambuorūs ilgas, o kvajos trumpesnis* ‘a pine cone is long, and that of a fir tree is shorter’ Azierkai (e-LKŽ); *pilna pušėlė bambuoriū* ‘a young pine tree is full of cones’ Leipalingis (e-LKŽ).

They are related to Lith. *bambėti*, *bumbėti*, interj. *bámbt*, *būmbt* / *buñbt*; Latv. *bumbāt*, *bumbēt* ‘to beat, to knock’; Pol. *bęben*, Russ. бубен ‘drum’, Gk. βομβεῖν ‘to sound in a hollow way’ and others (ME I 261; LEW 33f. and lit.).

Some very rare cone names of similar semantics are known from separate places:

\* *bibýkas* (Druskininkai), *biñbė*<sup>6</sup> (Valkininkai, cf. *perka tepgi ir eglų bimbes* ‘also buy fir tree cones’ [e-LKŽ]); this word in the Lithuanian

- 4 It can be supposed that subst. Lith. dial. *baūbukas* 1 ‘cone’ Lkm, Slk, subst. Lith. dial. *baūbelis* 1 ‘cone’ Lkm, ‘cucumber-shaped or knob-shaped fruit of plants’ Dgl (e-LKŽ) due to the denotation value of the referent (see Footnote 1) are to be explained as defective forms, i.e., the determined formed *\*baubu-riu-kas* (with the absorbed *-riu-*) < subst. Lith. dial. *buñburas* 3<sup>b</sup> ‘bud, pompon’ J. Jabl, J, Lš, Ds, Kt, A 1885, 128, Kt, J V 968, ‘a blossom of a plant that ceased blooming’ Skr, ‘a bent place of a plant’ J, ‘thicker end, pompon, knob’ Lp, Vv, V. Kudir, ‘unevenness, thickening of a thread’ Kp, ‘the tied up end of a sausage’ Vrn (e-LKŽ) (after the root *-au-* < *-am-* due to contamination with Lith. *kauburys* 3<sup>b</sup> ‘a low protuberance’ J, LV II 172, Kv, Kp, Pl, Mrk, J. Balt, V. Myk-Put, ‘crest, top of a small mountain’ J. Jabl, Žem, Pžrl, ‘mound, rise’ Rš, Sv, Vvr, Pč, J. Dov, Škn, ‘[anat.] what inflation, swelling’ writ., Nt [e-LKŽ] resp. [dem.] *kaubu-riu-kas* ‘a small inflation, swelling’) resp. *\*he who is conceited resp. oval, etc.*’ is reflected (see Footnote 3). The form Lith. dial. *bubūkas* reflects the variant of the diminutive form with the root *-u-* instead of *-um-* of the above-mentioned subst. Lith. dial. *buñburas*, cf. subst. Lith. dial. *buburai* ‘eruption, pimples of rough skin’ ↔ subst. Lith. dial. *buburai* ‘pimples, eruptions’ (Būga I 323), also cf. subst. Lith. dial. *būburas* 3<sup>b</sup>, 1 ‘bubaras’ Dov ↔ Lith. dial. *būbaras* 3<sup>b</sup> ‘pimple, blackhead’ GGA 1885, 936, Klp (e-LKŽ) (such change / variance exists in the Latvian language too, cf. [with the alternative suff. *-ul-* (for more about it see Skardžius I 186)] Latv. *bumbul(i)s* ‘a small swelling; cone and others.’ [ME I 349] ↔ Latv. dial. *bubulis* ‘knot of threads; lump of cloth’ [ME I 243–244; also see EH I 248] – also see LEW 64).
- 5 The origin of these lexemes is supposed to be related to Lith. dial. *buñburas* 3<sup>b</sup> ‘bud, pompon’ J. Jabl, J, Lš, Ds, Kt, A 1885, 128, Kt, J V 968 mentioned in Footnote 2, ‘a blossom of a plant that ceased blooming’ Skr, ‘a bent place of a plant’ J, ‘thicker end, a pompon, a knob’ Lp, Vv, V. Kudir, ‘unevenness, thickening of a thread’ Kp, ‘the tied up end of a sausage’ Vrn (e-LKŽ; also see KpŽ I 149), and Lith. dial. *bamborūs*, *bamburūs*, *bambuorūs* root change *-um-* > *-am-* most probably is to be explained by contamination with Lith. dial. *bañbti* ‘to put on weight, to swell, to bloat’ J, ‘to swell’ Ut and others (e-LKŽ), also cf. v. Lith. dial. *apibañbti* ‘to grow into a stomach somewhat’ J, *išbañbti* ‘to grow into a stomach, to blow’ J, Ds and others, *nubañbti* ‘to blow, to grow fat’ Ll, Up and others, *pabañbti* ‘to grow into a stomach, to put on weight’ Km and others, *užbañbti* ‘to swell’ Ktk, Slk and others (e-LKŽ) resp. Lith. *bamba* 1 J, Klov, *bambà* 4 Vlkš ‘(anat.) a depression in the middle of the abdomen (*umbilicus*)’ SD 245, Gs, M. Valanč, Šts, Trgn, Slm, Krkl, Pn, ‘the end of the apple where there was a blossom’ P, ‘the last sheaf or swath’ Vlkj, ‘what swelling, pompon’ Ss, Trgn, Km, Ggr, Lp, Lzd, ‘a swelling in the upper part of the fruity body of the fungi in the middle, near the stem’ P, ‘another small head will grow from the cabbage head’ Lzd, ‘the bud of tobacco has not burst into blossom yet’ Lzd and others (e-LKŽ), i.e. their basic form (cf. LEW 33), though Vytautas Mažiulis (PKEŽ I 129) presents a different (highly doubtful) description of the origin of Lith. dial. *bañbti*.
- 6 It can be supposed that the genesis of the cone names subst. Lith. dial. *bibýkas* ‘cone’, subst. Lith. dial. *biñbė* 1 ‘the knob of a reed’ Lp, ‘such grass that blooms with yellow blossoms growing in poor soil with leaves lying on the ground’ Vlk, ‘fruit of potato blossoms’ Pl, ‘cone’ Vlk, ‘tail’ Lp (e-LKŽ) is related to the genesis of a fir fruit (the first denotation, cf. Latv. *egļej tódi lelóki ùn garóki čikuri, pridej mozóki, tódi opolóki* ‘fir tree cones are rather big and long, those of a pine are smaller, somewhat oval’) and *membrum virile* external similarity (such identification of referents is characteristic of nuptial rituals of Slavs – a wedding cake [Russ. *коровай*] was decorated resp. dressed [from below] with dough pieces of the cone form, related to phallic symbolism [more about it see Иванов, Топоров 1974: 245; also see Сумцов 1996: 110, 196; Топоров 2000: 215] – for more about such reflections (borrowed from Slavs) on the Lithuania’s border with Slavs see Baldžius 2005: 75) (this cultural motive is characteristic of the attributes of ritual symbolic of other Indo-European peoples, i.e. [old Indians and (especially) Greeks] [for more about it (Indians) see Dowson 1888: 177; (Greeks) Lurker 2005: 49, 51; Скржинская 2009: 119], which in the nations of Italics [РИС 132 (by the way, it might be that Romans took over this decorum and military symbol from Celts who used to make bronze supplements to guns in the shape of a cone – see Диллон, Чедвик 2006: 362, 396, 399, 401; Роллстон 2004: 47, 66, 85; Широкова 2005: 140)], and later in Germanic nations [most probably a cultural borrowing of the Romans] acquired the connotation of a military usable meaning therefore the cone [as a symbol of virility] made from wood or iron was fastened in the middle of a shield [see Тодд 2005: 38; Симпсон 2005: 151, 229]). This lexical link of the said referents is highly characteristic of the Slavonic (of all groups) languages (see Плудер-Сарно I 42, 44, II 238), i.e. subst. Lith. *býbis* 2 K, Dkš, Grg, Vlkš, Sut, *bybýs* (4) Š; Kv, Ds ‘*membrum virile, penis*’ due to contamination (it is risky to suppose that this is a derivative of the suff. *-ikō-* because they are very scarce in the subdialects of the Lithuanian language [Skardžius I 131]) with subst. Lith. dial. *rykas* ‘vessel; tool; a finger without a nail resp. *membrum virile*’ (see Būga II 86) ~ ‘penis’ J, E, Mrj, Lkš, Gl, Jrb, J V 747, Tv, Sch 64, 192, Sim, Plv, ‘cunnus’ BsP III 219, N (e-LKŽ) → *\*bybykas* ‘a thing similar to *membrum virile*’ → *bibýkas* ‘ditto’ (with *-i-* instead of etymological [see LEW 43] *-y-* due to phonetic [most probably determined by accentuation of the second morpheme (such changes have been characteristic of the Baltic languages since olden times, cf. shortening of unstressed infle-

language also has the meanings of ‘knob of a reed; such grass that blooms with yellow flowers and grows in poor soil with leaves lying on the ground; fruit of potato blossoms; a tail’, cf. *bibyti* ‘to fire’, *biĩbti*, interj. *bibĩmpt*, *bibĩmt*, *biĩmt* and the like (e-LKŽ);

\* *borškė* (Ventė, Kintai, cf. e-LKŽ); most probably is related<sup>7</sup> to *barskėti*, interj. *bárkš(t)*; Latv. *brakstēt*, *brakšēt* ‘to roar, to crack’, interj. *braks*; further partly cf. CLG *brāskēn* ‘crackling’, CHG *brastōn* ‘to crackle’, OIc. *braka* ‘to squeak’, Ir. *brosc* ‘noise, thunder’, Lat. *fragor* ‘crackling’ and others (ME I 322f.; Stang 1942: 136; LEW 35 and lit.);

\* *budũkas*<sup>8</sup> ‘cone’ (Luodžiai, Salakas), cf.: interj. *budũkš* (e-LKŽ); *voverys mėgsta budũkũs* ‘squirrels like *budũkũs*’ Salakas (e-LKŽ); *budũkai auga tik ant pušũ; ant egliũ auga šiškũs* ‘*budũkai* grow only on pines, and *šiškũs* grow on fir trees’ Salakas (e-LKŽ).

In the northern corner of Lithuania, near the Latvian border (in Daukniũnai, Jurgėnai, Berklainiai, Vabalninkas, Daržiškiai, Stumbrĩškis, Šalteniai, Piniava, Karsakiškis, Subačius, Miežiškiai, Navikai, Viešintos) the name *brėkis* (with its variants *brekỹs*, *brėkė*) is used, e.g.: *ka[d] dũ.va.gal’vėn b’rek’ũ* ‘suddenly I was hit with a cone on the head’ KpŽ I 228; *vaikai renka brekiũs ir kũrina* ‘children gather cones and burn them’ Paĩstrys (e-LKŽ); *ziemą voverys minta egliũ ir pušũ brėkiais* ‘in winter squirrels feed on pine and fir tree cones’ Vabalninkas (e-LKŽ).

This name originated<sup>9</sup> from Latv. *brėķis* ‘loudmouth, a crying child’, made from the verb *brėķt* ‘to scream, to cry’ (attempts are made to relate the latter with Slav. \**brechati* ‘to shout, to bark, to roar, to hiss’, OGH *pracht* ‘noise’, Ir. *bressen* ‘a shout’, see ME I 330f.).

The word *vėjavaikis* ‘happy-go-lucky kind of person’ (with its variants *vėjãvaikis*, *vėjavaikis*, *vėjo vaĩkas*, *vėjo vaikai*)<sup>10</sup>, which is used nearby and in one or another place of the same area (around Saločiai, Užušiliai, Geidžiũnai, Šukionys, Gataučiai, Berklainiai, Vabalninkas, Alizava, Salamiestis, Daržiškiai, Karsakiškis, Panevėžys, Jotainiai,

Ramygala) is closely related to the name *brėkis*, e.g.: *pilna eglė vėjavaikiũ, lyg ant obelės obuoliũ* ‘the fir tree is full of cones, like an apple-tree with apples’ Klovainiai (e-LKŽ); *mes vaikai žiemą eidavom vėjavaikiũ rinkt* ‘we, children used to go to gather cones in winter’ Karsakiškis (e-LKŽ); *Petras parnešė iš girios vaikam vėjavaikiũ* ‘Petras brought cones for the children from the forest’ Ramygala (e-LKŽ); *Jonai, parvežk mums šiandie iš miško vėjo vaiku* ‘Jonai, bring us cones from the forest today’ Biržai (e-LKŽ).

This is a compound that usually denotes a frivolous man (e-LKŽ). Its first component is the noun *vėjas* corresponding to Latv. *vėjš*. Its basic word *vėti* ‘to blow; to winnow’ is very rare in the Lithuanian language (see e-LKŽ) but it has very deep roots, cf. OSlav. *vėjati* ‘to blow’, Hitt. *huũai-* ‘to run, to speed’, OInd. *vāyati* ‘dries (up)’, Arm. *hovem* ‘I blow’, etc. Many names of the wind are made from it in IE languages, the most archaic of them being \**uent-*, cf. Hitt. *huũant-*, Toch. A *want*, Lat. *ventus*, Goth. *winds* (Trautmann 1923: 345f.; LEW 1216f.; IEW 81ff.; Иванов 1965: 91ff.; 1981: 166f.; ИЯ 677; Smoczyński 2007: 745).

The second component is *vaĩkas*, which is related to Pruss. *waix* ‘servant (farmhand)’ III 67<sub>4</sub>, *waiklis* ‘son’ E 190 made from a rather old verb \**ueik-* too, cf. Lith. *veikti* (also *veiklũs*, *vikrũs*, *vėkas* ‘power, life’), Latv. *vėikt*, OSlav. \**věkv* ‘power, century’, Goth. *weihan* ‘to fight’, Ir. *fichim* ‘fights’, Lat. *vincere* ‘to conquer, to overcome the enemy’ and others (Bũga I 43; Trautmann 1923: 339; LEW 1180f., 1213f.; IEW 1128f.; Sabaliauskas 1990: 148; PKEŽ IV 213; Smoczyński 2007: 712, 728).

Somewhat towards south-east, mainly in the north-eastern subdialects of eastern Highlanders of Kupiškis, Anykščiai, Utena and Vilnius there is a much larger area where *žebelỹs*, *žebelis*, *žebėlis*; *žėvelis*, *žėvelỹs*; *šebežis*, *šebežỹs*<sup>11</sup> are common.

xions and later reduction, as well as changes of long unstressed vowels, which were in other positions (for more about that see [and lit.] Mikulėnienė 2005: 40, 172, 175, 200–201]) rather than due to morphological codification), and subst. Lith. dial. *biĩnbė* ← subst. Lith. dial. *piĩmpis* 2 ‘insignificant sore, pimple’ Užv, Krš, Mžk, Varn, (euph. joc.) *penis* Ms, Slnt, Jnš, Grž, ‘such curse’ Kl, Varn, Brs, Skd (e-LKŽ) (with the initial *b-* < *p-* due to contamination with the already mentioned subst. Lith. *bybis*, *bybỹs* ‘*membrum virile, penis*’ [whose flexic *-ė* according to analogy with subst. Lith. dial. *kulė* (Russ. *куль*) 4, *kũlė* 2 M, Kos 36, ‘a pouch for tobacco, money’ Krš, JD 547, Jnk, Ndž, (anat.) *scrotum* resp. the external sack of skin inclosing the testes [in some subdialects man’s penis is called ‘kulys’ (resp. Lith. dial. *kulys* – see LE XVI 294), cf. also subst. Lith. dial. *kũlis* 2 ‘*scrotum*’ J, Š, BSp II 37, Skd, Užv, Kp, Pnd, Lž, Slnt, Šts, Vks, Dr (e-LKŽ) ⇒ subst. Lith. dial. *pimpė* 1 ‘female genitals’ Ds (e-LKŽ)] J, Rmš, Kv and others (e-LKŽ)]. This supposition can be substantiated by the existence of the sememe ‘tail’ because in Lithuanian subdialects this name of the part of a human body attributed to the taboo language is called by the loanword Germ. *Schwanz* ‘a horse’s tail; *membrum virile*’: subst. Lith. dial. *švaĩcas* 1, *švaĩcas* 2 Plv (vulg.) *penis* Skr, ‘such a curse word’ Kri (e-LKŽ).

- 7 Most probably this is a loanword from the German language, translated from Germ. *Borste* ‘bristles; bristle resp. hard hair; pimple (on the neck)’ (Pawłowsky 1911: 260) with the sporadic change *-t-* > *-k-* found in the Lithuanian subdialects, cf. Lith. *sterblė* ↔ *skerblė*.
- 8 It can be cautiously supposed that Lith. Dial. *budũkas* reflects a change in regressive assimilation (for more about this derivational method see Skardžius I 136–137).
- 9 This supposition would be convincing if Latv. *brėķis* ‘loudmouth, a crying child’ (ME I 331) were used in the meaning of ‘cone’, however, this is not the case (cf. ME ibd.; EH I 241). It can be cautiously supposed that subst. Lith. dial. *brėkis* 2 ‘kankorėžis, žebelys, burkutis’ ‘cone’ Antš, Paj, Vb (e-LKŽ) (*brekỹs*, *brėkė*) reflects vocal synharmonism, i.e. the process of assimilation according to the vocal series: Latv. *bruka* ‘rupture, hernia’ (see EIV I 189 [also cf. adj. Latv. dial. *brukaiņš* / *brukains* ‘having hernia’ (EIV ibd.)]); rapture (Lat. *hernia, ruptura*) resp. hernia “[...] externally has the shape of soft swelling, pressed out from inside outside” (LE XXXI 531), i.e. a cone and rapture could have been related due to the identical referential denotation ‘swelling resp. oedema’ (see Footnote 2) ↔ Latv. *trũce* ‘ditto’ → Latv. dial. \**bruke* ‘ditto’ (with the inflected *-a* > *-e-* due to the analogy with Latv. *trũce*) → Latv. dial. \**breke* ‘ditto’ (due to the already mentioned vocal synharmonism or regressive assimilation, cf. Latv. *mėitainĩte* ‘a young girl’ ↔ Latv. *mėitanĩte* ‘ditto’ BW 12060, 13010 [ME II 593]) ⇒ (loanword from Latvian) the *ė* stem Lith. dial. *brėkė* ‘cone’ → the *ĩ* stem Lith. dial. *brėkis* ‘also.’ (with the inflected *-e* > *-is* due to contamination with Lith. *kankorėž-is* ‘also’) → Lith. dial. *brekỹs* ‘also’ (according to the analogy with Lith. dial. *žebelỹs* ‘ditto’).
- 10 It is supposed that this name of the cone was determined by mythological motivation because Lithuanian related a fir tree with chthonic fertility (the cone is the devil’s cigar [Vėlius 1983: 120]): it gave birth to children from the hands, the head and the feet (LM I 213); God’s sons (winds – LM I 409) presented it with gold rings; this can be euphemistic name for *membrum virile* (see Footnote 5), cf. syntagm Lith. *vėjo pãmušalas* ‘a frivolous man, happy-go-lucky kind of person, an urchin’ Gs, Plv, Auk, A. Vencl, LzP, Kt, Krok, Mrj (e-LKŽ), also cf. Latv. *vėja zaķis* ‘dissolute person’ (ME IV 554); people who called the cones like that related the genesis of this name to the activity of the wind, as though “[...] the wind blows them off, beats them off” (Dulaitienė 1958: 431).
- 11 The supposition can be made that subst. Lith. dial. *žebelỹs* 3<sup>b</sup> K. Bũg, Š, Dž, Ndž, Kž, LKA I 166 (Rk), Ds, Krns, Jž, Sv, Antz, Kp, *žebelis* 1 LKA I 166, Ukm, Adm, Blnk, Rk, *žebėlis* 2 LKA I 166 (Dgl); S. Dauk, Rtr, Blv, E ‘cone’ Sug, Ut, Km, Ob, Ktk, Skp, Vžns, Užp, Sv, ‘dumpling made by pressing it on the back side of a grater’ Dbk (e-LKŽ) are to be treated as reflections of vocal synharmonism (for more about such vocal changes in the Lithuanian and Latvian languages [and lit.] see Breidaks I 337; also see footnote 7), i.e. Lith. dial. \**žibelys* ‘he who is with his mouth open’ (← v. Lith. *žibãuti* ‘to breathe with one’s mouth wide open when one is sleepy or tired’ Trgn, Ktk, Aln, Blnk, Klt, Sv, Ant, Slk, Lkm, Ldk, ‘gasp for breath’ Dgč, A. Rũt, [‘joc.’] to eat, gorge’ Švnč, ‘to eat’ Slk, ‘to gasp for breath’ Ndž [e-LKŽ] + suff. \**-eljõ-* [for more about this derivational type see Skardžius I 175ff.] – getting dry cones “open their mouths”, i.e. expand themselves i.e. “yawn” [see LE X 444], cf. v. Lith. dial. *žibũoti* ‘to gasp for breath’ [Klž 428]) > Lith. dial. *žebelỹs* > *žėvelỹs*.



These names are widespread in the said subdialects, e.g.: *sako mat, kai pavasarį daug žebelių in egliai, tai ir bulbų bus* ‘they say that when there are plenty of cones on fir trees in spring there will also be potatoes’ Suginčiai (e-LKŽ); *šaką nuskyčiau eglėlės su šešiais žebeliais* ‘I picked a branch of a fir tree with six cones’ Kamajai (e-LKŽ); *pilna žemė žebelių – voverėčių pričekšlinta* ‘the ground is full of cones – squirrels shelled them’ Kuktiškės (e-LKŽ); *šiomet žebelių ant egliai tai kaip žvakių prikarta* ‘this year cones hung like candles’ on fir trees’ Vyžuonos (e-LKŽ); *kad pliekia geniai žebeliūs, net miškas skamba* ‘woodpeckers peck at the cones so hard that the entire forest resounds’ Užpaliai (e-LKŽ); *vaziuotumėm miškan žėvelių rinkty, tik greit vakaras, sutems* ‘we would go to the forest to gather cones but evening, dusk will soon fall’ Skapiškis (e-LKŽ); *žėveliais pečių kūrina* ‘cones are used to fire a stove’ Kupiškis (e-LKŽ); *kartais ir šėbežį vadina skuja* ‘sometimes a cone is called skuja’ Leliūnai (e-LKŽ); *nuo bulbų kasimo kad pasidarė rankos kaip šėbežis* ‘the hands became like a cone from lifting potatoes’ Anykščiai (e-LKŽ); *tu ko čia paspūtes kaip šėbežys* ‘why are you so puffed up like a cone’ Utena (e-LKŽ).

The onomatopoeia *žebel* used to define a common language perhaps laid the basis for the names *žebelys, žėbelis, žėbėlis; žėvelis, žėvelys; šėbežis, šėbežys*, cf. also *žėbelė* ‘fairy tale; ghost; failure, oaf; blind person’, *žėbelis / žėbėlis* ‘fairy tale; chatterbox, windbag’; *žėvelioti, žėvernoti, žėvergoti* ‘to talk nonsense’, *žėvoti* ‘to shout loudly, to scream’; *šėbaldėlė* ‘he who talks nonsense’, *šėbeldoti* ‘to tease, to accost; to make approaches to smb.’ (e-LKŽ).

Almost all western Lowlanders and the western part of northern Lowlanders use the name *čiūtė*, e.g.: *tuos ĩ čūrė’s* ‘those are cones’ MožK; *čūrė’s lōb vadintė* ‘called cones’ MožK; *ant egliai auga čiūtės* ‘cones grow on fir trees’ Dovilai (e-LKŽ); *pušų čiūtės kojas bado, o egliai ne* ‘pine cones prick your feet, and fir tree cones do not’ Pa-

langa (e-LKŽ); *žiūrėk, kaip gražiai eglė[je] čiūtės atrodo* ‘look how beautiful the cones on the fir tree look’ Kretinga (e-LKŽ); *kūrėme ugnį su čiūtėmis* ‘we made fire with cones’ Klaipėda (e-LKŽ).

Algirdas Sabaliauskas (1972: 167f.) having only the rough copy of the map of *Lietuvių kalbos atlasas* (The Atlas of the Lithuanian Language) at hand (cf. LKA I Map No. 93) established that *čiūtė* ‘cone’ evolved from the names of a pig<sup>12</sup> of onomatopoeic origin rather than from the variants *čėčkà, čyčkà* of the word *šyškà* borrowed from the Slavic languages (about them see p. 459) as Ernst Fraenkel thought (LEW 72, 77), cf. Lith. *čiūtė, čiūtis; čiūkà, čiūkas*, Latv. *čūčis* ‘young pig, squealer’ (for more about them see Sabaliauskas 1968: 172ff.)<sup>13</sup>.

In some subdialects of the northern Lowlanders of Telšiai (around Kalotė, Serapiniai, Salantai, Grūšlaukė, Mosėdis, Gudaliai, Mažaičiai, Gadūnavas), i.e., somewhere in the same area as the said *čiūtė*, the words *kiaulė* (about its origin see p. 437)<sup>14</sup>, *kiaulėlė, kiaulėkė* ‘pig, piglet’ denote the cone, e.g.: *vūoverėis mūists – ėgl’s kaulėl’s* ‘the squirrels’ food is cones’ MožK; *vadėn kėtėjė kōnkūoriežės, be(t) dāugāu kaulėlūoms* ‘others call it cones but more often *kiaulelėmis* (piglets)’ MožK; *eglės šakos su kiaulėmis yr diktai smagios* ‘fir tree branches with cones are very heavy’ Gargždai (e-LKŽ); *bėkiam kiaulėlių pasirinkti* ‘let us run to gather cones’ Žemaičių Kalvarija (e-LKŽ).

Right at the area of *čiūtė*, in the subdialects of Highlanders of Klaipėda region and in some subdialects of southern Lowlanders adjacent to them, the names *būrė, būris, burikė, buriūkas, buriūkė, burytis, buriūlis* are used, e.g.: *kiti eina buriūs rinkti kūrenti* ‘others go to gather cones to light the stove’ Pagėgiai (e-LKŽ); *eglės ir pušies vaisius yra būrės* ‘cones are fruits of a pine and a fir tree’ Pagėgiai (e-LKŽ); *voverė būrės yra išaižiusi* ‘a squirrel has shelled the cones’ Klaipėda (e-LKŽ); *prisirinkim būrių ir užkurkim, jos gerai dega* ‘let us gather cones and light the stove, they burn very well’ Tauragė (e-LKŽ);

12 It can be supposed that subst. Lith. dial. *čiūtė* 2 ‘cone’ Kal, Prk, Krg, Dov, Plng, Krtn, Klp, ‘a prickly singletree tied between the horses harnessed in a pair’ Dr (e-LKŽ) derived from Lith. dial. *\*džiūtė* ‘what is dried / dry’ with a sporadic change *č- < dž-*, cf. adj. Lith. dial. *džiūtis* 2 ‘what is thin, dried’ Šts (e-LKŽ) ↔ subst. Lith. dial. *džiūtis* 4 ‘airing; drying’ Ktk, Grl, ‘drying, disappearance’ DŽ, Mž 288, Ch5Moz 28, 22, ‘lung disease, consumption’ SD 356, [K], Vvr, M. Valanč, LC 1887, 9, Rod (e-LKŽ), subst. Lith. dial. *džiūtė* 4, *džiūtė* 1 ‘lung disease, consumption’ Bdr, Strj, Krok (e-LKŽ), also cf. of another grade of vowel gradation Lith. dial. *džiaūtas* ‘a basket for drying cheeses’ Jz (see Skardžius I 320), *džiaūtas* 1 ‘a place in a drying barn between two poles, a bed of a drying barn; amount of flax or corn put to dry on the bed of a drying barn’ Sd, Klvrž, ‘a basket for drying cheeses’ Tv ↔ *džiaūta* 1 ‘a place in a drying barn between two poles, a bed of a drying barn’ Žd, ‘amount of flax or corn put to dry on the bed of a drying barn’ Skd, Šts, ‘a basket for drying cheeses’ Lkv, Varn, J, Krkl (e-LKŽ) ← v. Lith. *džiūti* ‘to become dry, to get dry’ K, Kp, N, Ds, Lp, A. Baran, Lg, Prl, Šl, Pn, ‘to become hard when losing juices’ J, Ėr, Lp, Q 508, M. Valanč, B, ‘to disappear by evaporating’ JD 466, B. Sruog, KrvP (Vlkv), ‘to wither, droop, to disappear, to perish (about plants)’ LTR (Lbv, Mrk), Dbč, D 3, JD 903, KrvD 20, LT III 414 (Sln), ‘to get lean, to grow feeble’ Lz, Užp, OG 339, K, Ėr, M. Valanč, K I 36, A. Baran, DP 7, BP I 14, K II 39, R<sup>1</sup> 72, ‘to be ill consumption’ SD 356, K I 36, Ds (e-LKŽ) / v. Lith. *džiūti* ‘to hang, to put to dry’ J, Rz, Všk, Plv, D 110, OG 321, LTR (Šll), ‘to dry’ Bsg and others (e-LKŽ) (for more about this derivational method see Skardžius I 320ff.).

13 It can be supposed that Lith. dial. *čiūtė* 1 ‘pig, *čiukė*’ Ssk, Ds, Užp (e-LKŽ), *čiūtis* ‘ditto’ are not onomatopoea because pigs do not rock [piglets] to sleep (cf. v. Lith. dial. *čiūčiuoti, čiūčiuoti* ‘to call a dog’ Kp or v. Lith. *čiūčiuoti, čiūčiuoti* ‘to lull to sleep, to rock’ Tvr, Slk, LTR (Smn), J, JV 220, Žvr, ‘to sleep’ J, OG 313, LTR (Tvr), ‘to be rocked by the waves, to sway when floating’ LTR (Mrj), FM 31, ‘to make preparations for a long time, to toil (at smth.), take certain time’ Šmk, Ds, ‘to take pains, to waste time on preserving, pampering’ J, Rdm, ‘to tie thickly, to drag’ Gs [e-LKŽ]), but to grunt. Therefore these dialectisms most likely are to be treated as absorptive forms from Lith. dial. *\*čiuo-p-tė(-is)* whose origin is related to dialectic diversification of verbal roots Lith. dial. *čiuop-* ↔ *čiaup-* ↔ *čiop-* ↔ *čep-*, i. e. the genesis of this noun of onomatopoeic origin is related to the development of v. Lith. dial. *čióptelti* ‘to begin to smack one’s lips’ J. Balt (e-LKŽ) derived from v. Lith. *čėpsėti* ‘to smack one’s lips, to champ, to suck (at)’ Š, Vaižg, Pn, Alv, ‘to eat smacking one’s lips’ Grž, Dkš, Vv, Št, ‘to relish champing (when eating)’ Dglš, Vaižg, ‘to shuffle’ Pl, Gs (e-LKŽ): (1) the root change *-io- < -e-* is explained by a dialectic comparison of verbs of different vocalism and differential origin (resp. morphological contamination) cf. v. Lith. *čėpsėti* sememe ‘to champ’ ↔ v. Lith. *čiaūpti, čiaūpti* ‘open, make (lips, mouth)’ K, Pn, Nmn, Gs, ‘to clutch, to suck’ J, ‘to suck (at)’ J, ‘to talk, to chatter’ Arm (e-LKŽ); (2) besides, it should be mentioned that in the Lithuanian subdialects sometimes cases of identical usage (due to the derivational *\*čiuo-p-tė(-is)* type, see Footnote 8) of v. Lith. *čiópti* (with the root *-io-*) and v. Lith. *čiūopti*, dial. *čiūopti* Rdm ‘to touch, to feel, to grope’ R 151, C II 577, ‘to snatch, seize’ J, ‘to steal’ Jz (e-LKŽ) are found, i.e. the sememe *\*‘she who does not shut her mouth resp. eats constantly (smacking her lips) ↔ is greedy (for eating)’*.

It is to be underlined that Latv. dial. *čūčis, čūča, čūčele, čūčuks* ‘pig (*-aitē, -iukas*)’ (ME I 424; EH I 298), most likely should be attributed to the loanwords from the Russian language, cf. Russ. *чúшка* ‘pig’, Russ. *чúха* ‘muzzle, a pig’s snout; pig’ (Даль IV 616–617; Ожегов, Шведова V 575; CAP VI 835) therefore linking the Lithuanian and Latvian names of a pig is most likely impossible.

14 Naming the cone through the ‘pig’ denotation is correlative with the arguments of explaining the origin of subst. Lith. dial. *borškė* ‘cone’ presented in Footnote 4, i.e. Lith. dial. *borškė* (Germ.) < Germ. *Borste* ‘bristles; a bristle resp. hard hair; pimple (on the neck)’ (Pawłowsky 1911: 260) ↔ Germ. *Borstenvieh* ‘pig’, i.e. the determined associative sememe ‘an object like a pig ↔ bristly / bristling animal’. Therefore, the hypothesis can be put forward that the zoonomic connotation of the phytonym is of German rather than Baltic origin, and the lexeme *kiaulė* ‘pig’ of this meaning, most probably, is attributable to a lexical group of semantic translations.

ot gražūs burkūliai, prisirinkim 'how nice the cones are. Let us gather them' Krinčinas (e-LKŽ); ant šios eglės nėra nė vieno burkūčio 'there is not a single cone on this fir tree' Antašava (e-LKŽ).

These names of cones are most likely related to the names *būrē*, *burēlė*, *burūtė* and the like of onomatopoeic origin (about them see Sabaliauskas 1968: 116; Откупщиков 1993 and lit.)<sup>15</sup>.

The following words related to the names of cows and calves are similar to the said words:

\* *buziōkas*, *buziūkas*, *buziūlis*, *būzulas*, *buziūlas*; *bužys*, *buželis*, *buziūkas*, *bužukas*, *bužulis*; *būžys*, *būželis*, *būziūkas*, *būžukas*, cf. *būžė*, *būžė* 'cow', *buziūkas*, *buziūlis* 'calf';

\* *bučiūkas*, *bučukas*, *būčius*, *būčiai*, cf. *bučiūlis* 'calf', *būčkė* 'cow'.

These names are characteristic of southern Highlanders and some neighbouring subdialects of western Highlanders, e.g.: *āglė.s bu.žai. ī.lgus* 'cones of a fir tree are long' DrskŽ 48; *v'isó'k'u. bužir dař. | ir kvājo.s tūri bu.žir* 'there are various cones now, and pines have cones' DrskŽ 48; *antā buzūku. āgl'u. suprañ.ta* [the weather] 'according to fir tree cones are understood' DrskŽ 48; *prisirinkom nuo pušelaičių būžiū* 'we gathered cones from young fir trees' Marcinkonys (e-LKŽ); *nuo aňkslio puola bambuoriai, nuo eglės būžiai* 'bambuoriai fall from an alder and būžiai fall from a fir tree' Leipalingis (e-LKŽ); *po eglēm pilna būžiū prikritę* 'there are plenty of cones under a fir tree' Liškiava (e-LKŽ); *pilna žemė prikrito būžiūku* 'the ground is full of fallen cones' Daukšiai (e-LKŽ); *neturi kuo kūrenti, tai eglių bužiūku prisirinko* 'he does not have what to heat a stove with, so gathered cones' Alytus (e-LKŽ); *ant eglių tiek daug bužiūliū* 'there are so many cones on fir trees' Seinai (e-LKŽ); *parink eglių bučiūku, bus pakurom* 'gather fir cones for kindling wood' Valkininkai (e-LKŽ); *šįmet ant eglės daug bučiūku* 'this year there are plenty of cones on the fir tree' Krokialaukis (e-LKŽ).

Attention could be drawn here to the name *kakaraitas* recorded in Juodpėnai and most probably related to the sound made by a cock *kakarėku*, cf. also *kakarėnė*, *kakarėnė* (e-LKŽ)<sup>16</sup>.

In Latvian subdialects, apart from the said (cf. p. 451) name *cirkuzis* (with its variants *cirkuožis*, *cirkūžis*) characteristic of the former Selonian land (Augšzeme) and Latgale, some other names of the cones sounding similarly are used.

The name *čiekurs*, which has phonetic and morphological variants in the dialects, is characteristic of all Latvian dialects and standard language. The form of the *o* stem is most common, e.g.: *ka sakaġst, ta vīņ aš – durēs kājes tie priēž čiekār* 'when they dry up, they are sharp – those pine cones prick the feet' Ance (LVDA); *egleġ tādī pagarākī čiekurīšī* 'fir cones are longish' Asīte (LVDA); *čiekuruōs sēkl's iēkšā* 'cone seeds are inside' Augstkalne (LVDA); *vūoverē ād čikurus* 'the squirrel eats cones' Beja (LVDA); *paēglīm nau čiekurī, priēdeġ i čiekurī* 'the juniper has no cones, the pine has' Daugulī (LVDA); *bi atnesis viēnu zaru a visīm čiekurīm* 'one branch with cones was brought' Ērgeme (ĒIV I 234); *a's kápāi pa kūokiēm, čiekur's lā:ēsi:ī* 'I climb the trees, gather the cones' Graši (LVDA); *priēžu čiekurus cilvėki lasa maīsiēm* 'people gather pine cones by sacks' Inčiukalns (LVDA); *čiekurim i kařsts uguņš* 'cones make hot fire' Ūoņi (LVDA); *egleġ tōdī lēlōki ūn garōki čikuri, priēdē mozōki, tōdī opolōki* 'fir tree cones are rather big and long, those of the pine are smaller, oval' Līvāni (LVDA); *ār čikuřim kuryņōi kruōsni* 'cones are used to heat a stove' Naujene (LVDA); *lasija priēžu čiekurus ūn kr'āsuoja tamiē čiekuru zupā pūikulīšām bikses* 'gathers pine cones and dyes the boys' trousers with the cone water' Sinole (LVDA); *vāverī čiekuriņš grāūz* 'squirrels gnaw cones' Skulte (LVDA); *ka doūdž eglī čiekari, ta labi kařtiņi* 'if there is plenty of fir tree cones, potatoes are good' Svētciems (LVDA); *priēž čiekur's muīža pārdeu* 'pine cones were sold to the estate' Vainiži (ALE); *priēž čiekār's* 'pine cone' Venta (ALE); *salas čiekār's, pakūr ugēn a tiem* 'gather cones and fire the stove with them' Zlēkas (LVDA).

The *ijo* stem form *čiekuris* has been recorded in the southern part of Kurzeme (around Apriķi, Bunka, Kuldīga, Nīca, Rudbārži, Snēpele, Valtaiķi and in other places), in Žemgale (around Lestene, Sēme, Valgunde and other places) and very rarely in the northern part of Vidzeme (around Dikļi, Ipiķi, Jeri, Mazsalaca, Pāle, Umurga and other places), in south-east of Vidzeme (around Kalsnava, Prauliena, Vējava), in some places in Augšzeme (around Saliena, Sauka, Zasa) and different subdialects of Latgale (around Aglona, Andrupene, Bērzpils, Dagda, Kaunata, Ozolaine, Rugāji, Tilža, Višķi and other places), e.g.: *jāvāķ čiekuri* 'it is necessary to gather cones' Asīte (LVDA); *atradu viēnu čiekuri* 'I found one cone' Kabile (LVDA); *čiekuruōs ir sēklas* 'there are seeds inside the cones' Kalēti (LVDA); *priēdēm i tādī*

15 The origin of subst. *būris* 2 'cone' Pgg ~ *būrē* 2 'sheep' Krž, Skr, J, Grš, Grdž, Vlkv, 'cone' Pgg, Klp, Trg, 'catkin' K, Bru, '(bot.) *Vexillum*' P (e-LKŽ) is explained in two ways: I. These forms reflect the absorptive form \**bur-buol-ē* (with the absorbed *-buol-*; for more about such changes see Footnote 9), cf. subst. Lith. *burbuolė* 'cone' Sl, Km, Š (e-LKŽ; also see Footnote 1); the *ijō* stem form could appear by analogy with Lith. *kankorėžis* 'cone'; II. The words are treated as isolesxes of the parent language of the Baltic and Slavonic languages, cf. subst. Lith. *gūras* 'shelf (of a mountain) ('hummock, top of a mountain' [LKŽ III 741])' J I 715 ↔ Russ. *гуля* 'cone; blister (under the skin); tumour' (Būga I 330, 441 [it should be mentioned Oleg Trubatchev doubted this link proposed by Būga (see Фасмер I 473), though he himself (Трубачев I 279, II 155) states that there is a genetic link between the sememes 'block (of stone) / lump' and 'cones' and presents a casuistic supposition as if Russ. *гуля* < Preslav. \**gulja* 'cone' ← 'to rub, to peel (off), to tear (off)' (ЭССЯ VII 170) – it is not clear who rubs or peels what using those cones, if these are meanings reflecting a practical connotation]), Pol. *gula* 'bump (of beating)', *gulka* 'cone' (Linde I 801) and others (for more examples see ЭССЯ ibd.), the discrepancy between suffixal *-r-* and *-l-* of which is explained by an especially frequent dissimilative change in sonant derivational elements in the Indo-European parent language already (for more about it see Benveniste 1984: 40) < adj. Balt.-Slav. \**gūr(l)a-* 'hunched, bent' (> v. Balt.-Slav. \**gūr(l)-* \*'to become hunched') < adj. IE \**gūr(l)o-* 'ditto' (with the IE determinant \**-r-* and \**-l-* change) < v. IE \**gūr-* 'to bend down, to bend' (cf. Urbutis 1981: 33; PKEŽ I 331, 425), reflecting a change in the initial consonant *g-* > *b-*, which can be accounted for in two ways: (1) as sporadic determined by folk etymology (see LEW 65; Kabašinskaitė 1998: 83); (2) the impact of alternants of the German language with the identical usable meaning (words used in Klaipėda region), cf. Germ. *Borke* 'bark, birch-bark, a dried resinous cut on a tree' / adj. Germ. *borkig* 'thick bark, dried up' – cf. i.e., these are associatives because cones were used as kindling wood (cf. subst. Lith. *prākuras* 3<sup>b</sup> Kl 'kindling wood' Pln, Kal, Užv, Trg (e-LKŽ) ~ (pl.) *prakurāi* 'what is used to light fire' Dkš, Pln, Dovydai (Biržai district), Sb (Skardžius I 444) ↔ 'chips, slivers, birch-barks to make fire' (DLKŽ<sup>5</sup>), also cf. Latv. *salas čiekār's, pakūr ugēn a tiem* 'gather cones and use them to make fire'; Lith. *prisirinkim būriū ir užkurkim, jos gerai dega*. Hence, the conclusion can be drawn that compilers of LKŽ mistakenly put Lith. dial. *būrē* 'cone' (< \**gurē* 'ditto') and Lith. dial. *būrē* 'sheep' of quite different (onomatopoeic – concerning it see LEW 65) origin in one lexical semantic family of words.

16 It is possible to suppose cautiously that Lith. dial. *kakaraitas* 'cone' ← subst. Lith. *kaūkaras* 'a small mountain, hill, hillock' B, R, MŽ<sup>2</sup> 118 and others; 'the top of a mountain' M, S. Dauk, RB 4 Moz 23,9; 'a rise of earth, mound' B, J; 'forehead, back of the head' Kair (e-LKŽ) (also cf. Lith. *kaūkoras*, ô 73 '*mandrake*' C I 75; i.e. reflected by the sememe of 'fertility' [LE XVII 225; for more about it see Kregždys 2010b: 66] + suff. *-ait-* [about this derivational type see Skardžius I 358ff.] – with *au...a* > *a...a* due to vocal synharmonism [about this change see Footnotes 7, 9]), i. e. usable meanings of different connotation are determined: (1) 'protruding (like a forehead); swollen (like a hillock)', also cf. subst. Lith. dial. *kaukorikas* 2 'a child with a large head' Šmn (e-LKŽ; also see KpŽ I 228); (2) 'fertile i.e. full of seeds (like mandrake)'.



*mazāki čiekurīši* ‘pine cones are rather small’ Pāle (LVDA); *egļu čiekurīši i lilēki* ‘fir cones are rather big’ Prauliena (LVDA).

However, due to a lack of material it is not always possible to determine the stem of the name *čiekur(i)s* in some part of subdialects.

The name *čiekurs* was mentioned in the dictionary of the 18th century: *tfcheekurs* Tann=oder Fihten=zapfen Stender 1789 I 329.

The name *ciekurs* (in the form of both the *o* stem and the variant *ciekuris* of the *ijo* stem) is widespread in a large area of Kurzeme south of Alsunga, Kuldīga, Matkule, Zentene as far as the Lithuanian border, in Zemgale to the west of Bārbele, Iecava, Misa, in some places in Vidzeme around Aloja, Mazsalaca, Vecate, as well as in Dzērbene, Jaunroze, Līgatne, Lubāna, Mēdzūla, Rozula, Smiltene, Vecpiebalga and other places, in Augšzeme.

The *o* stem *ciekurs* is used in Kurzeme (Asīte, Dzirciems, Īvande, Kalēti, Laža, Medze, Pūre, Purmsāti, Usma), Zemgale (Blīdene, Garoza, Iecava, Jaunpils, Nereta, Penkule, Platone, Sātiņi, Sēme, Smārde, Svēte, Vircava, Zasa and other places), in Vidzeme (Burtņieki, Daugmale, Idus, Ipiķi, Līgatne, Lubāna, Mazsalaca, Patkule, Puikule, Ranka, Sarkaņi, Skulte, Vecpiebalga, Krape and elsewhere), rarer in Latgale – in Medņi, Šķilbēni, e.g.: *ja i eglem doūdz ciēkur<sup>l</sup>, ta i laps, ta i laps kārtapeļ<sup>l</sup> gac (-ds)* ‘if there are many cones on fir trees, we shall have a good harvest of potatoes this year’ Idus (ALE).

The form of the *ijo* stem *ciekuris* has been mainly recorded in Kurzeme (around Asīte, Dunika, Gaiķi, Grobiņa, Nīkrāce, Rudbārži, Vecpils, Ziemupe and other places), rarer in Zemgale (in Auri, Ezere, Kursiši, Nīgrande, Sātiņi, Vilce) and in Vidzeme (in Ipiķi, Lubeja, Pāle and other places), e.g.: *taga priēd<sup>s</sup> ciēkur<sup>s</sup> salas<sup>a</sup>, be<sup>r</sup> bedrē – zivis kūpin<sup>a</sup>* ‘now they are gathering pine cones and burying them in a ditch – they smoke fish’ Nīca (ALE).

Sometimes due to a lack of material the stem of the name *ciekur(i)s* is unclear.

The name *ciekuris* was mentioned in the dictionaries of the 17th–18th century: Dannapfel / *zeekuris* Lettus 1638: 22; *Zeekuris*, ein dann apfel Fürecker 1685 I 316; *Zeekuris*, ein dann=apfel. *Zeeku<sup>r</sup>i*, pl. Depkin 1704 IV 216; *Zeekuris* Langius 1685: 351; Tannäpfel, *Zeekuris*, pl. *Zeekuri* Phras 1638: 325.

The variant *čiekurzis* is used in several subdialects of Kurzeme and Zemgale (in Gavieze, Embūte, Nīca, Pampāli, Lielplatone, Iecava and other places), and it forms a larger compact area in the southern part of Vidzeme (around Irši, Kalsnava, Kraukļi, Ļaudona, Mēriena, Vestiena). This name has also been recorded in different subdialects of north-eastern Vidzeme (in Beļava, Galgauska, Gaujiena, Sinole and other places), e.g.: *vā<sup>e</sup>ce tūos čiekūr<sup>z</sup>is, pō<sup>e</sup>rd<sup>u</sup> vā<sup>e</sup>lsēi tās sāk<sup>l</sup>s* ‘gathered those cones, sold the seeds to the state’ Cesvaine (LVDA); *vāvere sēd eglē un graūz čiekūr<sup>z</sup>us* ‘a squirrel sits in a fir tree and gnaws cones’ Galgauska (LVDA); *čiekūr<sup>z</sup> – vā<sup>e</sup>cs vārd<sup>s</sup>* ‘čiekurži is an old name’ Graši (LVDA); *skā<sup>x</sup>sti, so<sup>r</sup>kāni eglu čiekūr<sup>z</sup>i* ‘fir cones are nice, red’ Kraukļi (LVDA); *čiekū<sup>r</sup>:r<sup>z</sup>iem i:r zvū<sup>ņ</sup>as, storpā zvū<sup>ņ</sup>ām auk sāk<sup>l</sup>as* ‘cones have scales, seeds grow between the scales’ Lazdona (ALE); *mēs – čiekūr<sup>z</sup>i* ‘we [said] – čiekurži’ Nīca (ALE); *kod eglēm i:r dōu<sup>ç</sup> čiekūr<sup>z</sup>i<sup>z</sup>, bu<sup>s</sup> lo:bā zir:ņ rōz<sup>z</sup>* ‘if there are many cones on fir trees there will be a good crop of peas’ Odziena (LVDA); *čiekurzis – eglēm aūg čiekūr<sup>z</sup>i* ‘[says] čiekurzis – cones grow on fir trees’ Sinole (ALE).

The variant *ciekurzis* has been recorded in several subdialects, e.g.: *zām kotras ciekūr<sup>z</sup>a lapiņas ir sēkliņa ar spārniņu* ‘there is a small seed with a wing under each scale of the cone’ Sinole (ALE); *egles ciēkūr<sup>z</sup>is, priēdes ciēkūr<sup>z</sup>is* ‘fir cone, pine cone’ Kauguri (ALE); *kūpi-*

*nā<sup>a</sup> siļķel<sup>s</sup> ciēkūr<sup>z</sup> dūmuōs* ‘they smoked small herrings in cone smoke’ Nīca (ALE); *svīdu ar cīkūr<sup>z</sup>i* ‘I threw a cone’ Stāmeriena (ALE); *prīdiēm un eglēm ir cīkūr<sup>z</sup>i, kurūs nūgatavejās itū kūku sāk<sup>l</sup>as* ‘pines and fir trees have cones in which seeds of these trees ripen’ Ziemeiris (ALE); as well as in Kursiši, Sunākste.

EH presents the variant *ciekuzis* from Skaista.

In separate subdialects (in Aiviekste, Ozolnieki, Taurene, Jaunpiebalga, Valka, Vecpiebalga, Vējāva, Veļķi, Sēlpils, Susēja) the variants *ciekurznis* – *šuo<sup>g</sup>ad eglēm daūdz cīkūr<sup>z</sup>ņu* ‘this year there are many cones on fir trees’ Vecpiebalga (ALE) – and *čiekurznis* (Vecpiebalga) have been recorded.

Several other variants are rarer: *čiekurzs* Liepna; *čiekuzis* (čīkūs<sup>s</sup>) Līvāni; *čikuzis* Atašiene; *čirkuzs* Sakstagals; *čirkuzis* (čyrkuss) Rēzna, Elkšņi, Rite, Suseja, e.g.: *prīžu čēkūr<sup>z</sup>im vīnc gāls tīvī<sup>ņ</sup>č, utrs rēsnāks* ‘one end of pine cones is very thin, the other is thicker’ Elkšņi (LVDA); *činkurs* Barkava, Dzelzava, Varakļāni; *cinkurs* (cy<sup>ņ</sup>kūrs) Varakļāni; *čuokurs* – Limbaži (ME), Salaca; *čenčere* Vecgulfene; *čenkurs* Trikāta.

Other variants were also recorded in some subdialects of Kurzeme: *ciekausis* Dundaga (ME); *ciekauzis* (ciēkaūzs, dat. –žam): *priēde šuo<sup>g</sup>ad daūdz ciēkaūz* ‘this year there are many cones on the pine tree’ Alsunga (ALE); *ciēkaūsis*, e.g.: *egle<sup>i</sup> ir čiekāūš* ‘a fir tree has cones’ Īvande (LVDA), Alsunga; *ciēkaūšam i sēķ<sup>l</sup>s* ‘there are seeds inside the cone’ Padure (LVDA); also Kurmāle; *ciēkaūzis* (ciēkaūzuos tās sēķ<sup>l</sup>s ‘seeds are inside cones’) Planīca (LVDA); *ciekuozis* Ziemupe (ALE), Kazdanga, Skaista (EH); *čiekūōž* Valgale.

Names with *ķ* at the beginning of the word have been recorded in separate subdialects: *ķiekurs* around Ābeļi, Koknese, Sece, Sērene, Sunākste, *ķiekuris* around Koknese, Mārciena, Kurzeme (around Vaiņode), e.g.: *saka a<sup>r</sup> – ķiēkur<sup>s</sup>* ‘they also say *kiekuris* – a cone’ (LVDA); *ķiekurs* Sunākste; *ķiekurzis* – Aizvīķi; *zām eglēm ir sabirusš skujas un ķīkūr<sup>z</sup>i* ‘there are needles and cones under the fir trees’ Beja (LVDA), Daudzese, Gramzda; *mū<sup>s</sup> tē so:k: ķiekūr<sup>z</sup>i* ‘we say *kiekurži* (‘cones’)’ – Irši (LVDA), Kalēti, Koknese, Pededze, Pļaviņas, Sēlpils, Sunākste, Vaiņode, Vietalva, *ķiekuzis* Krustpils, *ķikuo<sup>z</sup>is* Malta.

Names with *ķēk* have been recorded in the south-west of Kurzeme: *ķēkurzis*, e.g.: *priēdēs aūg ķēkūr<sup>z</sup>i* ‘cones grow on pine trees’ Dunika (ALE); *ķēkūr<sup>z</sup>us gan nelasiju* ‘I did not gather cones’ Rucava (ALE); *ķēkuzis* (ķēkuzis) Dunika, Rucava; *ķēkuzis* (ķēkuzis) Rucava.

The variant *ķikurs* is used in some subdialects of Latgale (in Asūne, Dagda, Ezernieki, Skaista), e.g.: *prīdāi mozi ķīkūr<sup>e</sup>iši, a aḡlai lēli ķīkūr<sup>i</sup>, ga<sup>r</sup>i* ‘pine cones are small, and fir cones are long’ Asūne (LVDA), and in Andrupene, Asūne, Dagda, Ezernieki – *ķīkuris*.

Other variants have also been recorded – *ķirkurs* and *ķirkurzis* around Sunākste; *ķirkusis* and *ķirkuo<sup>z</sup>is* around Krāslava; *ķirkuzis* – around Aknīste (Ancītis 1977: 119), Skaista, Sunākste, Višķi; *ķiekuzis* around Krustpils; *ķikūzis*, *kīkūs<sup>s</sup>* (-zis) in Malta.

Loanwords from the Latvian language *ciēkuras*, *ciēkuzē*, *ciēkūžē*, *kīekuzis* used in one or another Lithuanian subdialect at the border with Latvia appeared from Latv. *ciekurs* and its variants.

It is not quite clear how the names of cones originated in the Latvian language. However, it might be that when the Selonians were moving away from their native places to other places in current Latvia the name of the cone migrated together with them and after its relation with the basic word broke it was recreated anew.

Furthermore, on the basis of *ciekurs* and Cuoronism *cinkuris*, the idea is put forward that alongside *\*kerk-* there existed its old variant *\*kenk-*. Attempts were made to relate Lith. *kankorėžis* (the cone) to

the latter (ME I 393; LEW 216). However, here again the problem arises of how to explain differences in the form.

At the present time *kankorėžis* (cf. also its variants *kankorėžis*, *kankoraižis*, *kankarėžis*, *kankorėžis*, *kankurėžis*; *kankōrai*) is extremely characteristic of the western Lithuanian sub-dialects – those of Lowlanders, e.g.: *kōnkūrēžis jē tūr<sup>i</sup> – gērā, ęr iki.š<sup>i</sup> i* [snowman] *nūos<sup>i</sup>* ‘if you have a cone – it is good, also put a nose [of a snowman]’ MoŽK; *kōnkūrēželē vęs tēik ęr ōn pōšę ĩr* ‘there are cones on pines all the same’ MoŽK; *jēig<sup>o</sup> kārātās kārōs nuorēdav<sup>a</sup> ešēmēs<sup>f</sup>, jāu, nō, sōvērindav<sup>a</sup> kunkūrēžis<sup>u</sup>* ‘if sometimes cows wanted to abort, then, well, cones were boiled’ MoŽK; *surinkom eglės kankorėžių ir susikūrēm ugnį* ‘we gathered fir cones and made fire’ Barstyčiai (e-LKŽ); *kankorėžių daug, kitą metų būs rugių gerų* ‘there are plenty of cones, next year the rye crop will be good’ Šatės (e-LKŽ); *ir lakstys paskuo kaip kankorėžis, ar neisi numie* ‘and you are running after me like a cone, why don’t you go home’ Veiviržėnai (e-LKŽ).

In the 17th century it was recorded not only in the manuscript dictionary of Lithuanian Minor based on the dialect of western Highlanders *Clavis Germanico-Lithvana* (Dann=Aepffel. *Skujos, ū Pl. M. Kankoreczei* || *Czyzka, os. F C I 443*), but also in the second dictionary of the eastern Highlander Sirvydas (*βyβka/Conus, Kun=||karežis/ſkuia SD<sup>3</sup> 440*).

Looking for the sources of this compound further attention could be drawn to an old onomatopoeic reduplication (see about it Brugmann 1906: 46ff.; Skardžius I 22ff.; ИЯ 219ff. and lit.) derivative *kañkalas* (recorded since the beginning of writing) denoting a bell tied under cow’s neck.

It is of similar formation as Slav. *\*kolkolb* ‘bell’, OInd. *karkari-* ‘flute’, *kalakala-* ‘a desultory cry, murmur’, cf. also Latv. *kaļuot* ‘to chatter’, Gk. *καλεῖν* ‘to shout’, OGH *hellan* ‘to ring’, etc. (Skardžius I 23; LEW 215; ЭССР X 137ff. and lit.).

It should be noted that in Kazimieras Jaunius’ writings the word *kañkalas* is used in the meaning of a cone, and in some dialects it denotes ‘lump’, as well as ‘a plant with the blossoms resembling a bell, the bluebell bellflower (*Campanula rotundifolia*)’ (e-LKŽ). Thus, it might be that the word *kankorėžis* ‘the cone’ was made because its form resembled *kañkalas* ‘the tongue of a bell’.

The second component of the compound *kankorėžis* ‘the cone’ is absolutely clear – it is the verb *rėžti* ‘to cut’ (Smoczyński 2007: 253), relative to Slav. *\*rězati* ‘to cut, to beat’ and most probably derived from IE *\*urēg-* ‘to break’, cf. Gk. *ῥήγυμι* ‘I break’ (Trautmann 1923: 245f; LEW 245; IEW 1181f.; Sabaliauskas 1990: 139; Smoczyński 2007: 212).

And the variant *kankoraižis* is based on the verb *raičyti / raižyti* ‘to carve’, which is related to Latv. *rižēt* ‘to cut, to slice’ and perhaps evolved from another IE root *\*rei-* ‘to cut’, as the Lith. *riē-k-ti* (Karaliūnas 1982).

The origin of the name *aguřkas* is associative (according to the similarity of referents; this is an old loanword from the Slavic languages, cf. OBel. *озырокъ*, OPol. *ogurek*, see Būga III 322; Skardžius IV 84; Sabaliauskas 1960: 262ff.).

This name is used around Guostagalys, Puodžiai, Joniškėlis, Pasvalys, Dikoniai, Jurgėnai, Medikony, Sereikony, Pandėlys, Jutkonys, Kupiškis, Noriūnai, e.g.: *ant eglės auga aguřkai* ‘cones grow on a fir tree’ Kupiškis (e-LKŽ); *šitoj eglėj šiomet daug aguřkų* ‘there are many cones on this fir tree this year’ Pandėlys (e-LKŽ).

In some places, when denoting a cone, another Slavism *bóba* is also used, cf. *bobukas* (Daugėliškis), *bóbeliai* (Linkmenys). It should be not-

ed that this word of Slavic origin is often used in forming folk names of plants (cf. Gritėnienė 2006: 77, 153f.).

Here or there the cone is also compared with a bubble, a corn cob, a knob, a brush: *burbiulai* (Timsriai, cf. the name of the plant *burbulis* (*Trollius*) ‘globe flower’, which was derived from *burbulis* ‘bubble’, cf. Gritėnienė 2006: 64f.), *buřbuolės* (Rybokai, e.g.: *prisraškiau eglės burbuolių* ‘picked fir cones’ Kamajai, see e-LKŽ), *buožukė* (Ūdrija), *šepetėlis* (Namajūnai).

The derivatives *buřbuolės*, *burbulis*, like *buřbulas*, are names of the result of an action made from the verb *buřbti* with suffixes that originated from the adjectival suffix *\*-lo-* (cf. Ambrazas 1993: 92). Other two names are of diminutive origin: *buožukė* is based on the noun *búožė* (corresponding with Latv. *buōze*; further origin of this word is unclear, cf. LEW 37; Smoczyński 2007: 81), and *šepetėlis* – *šepetys*.

The latter is a derivative of the suffix *-etys* (that originated from the adjectival suffix *\*-to-*) from *šępti* (*šęmpa, šępo*) ‘to grow in an ugly, untidy way (about hair, beard)’ (for more about it see LEW 963; Smoczyński 2007: 629f.), cf. the example from Antanas Juška’s dictionary: *Šęmpa tavo barzda, t. y. želia skeberėjja] kaip šępetys* (e-LKŽ). Thus, the word *šępetys* ‘brush’ could have appeared due to the similarity of the appearance of a brush to an ugly beard and, perhaps, belonged to the same derivational type as the word *meketys* ‘stammerer’, as well as *klebėtis* ‘a shaky thing; good-for-nothing’, *plepėtis* ‘chatter-box’, *raukėtis* ‘a frowner’ (cf. Ambrazas 1993: 130f.).

The name *skujà* (cf. variants *skujė, skujas, skujis, skujys, skujus, skujukas*) is most widely used in the subdialects of western Highlanders and southern Lowlanders, as well as in some neighbouring sub-dialects.

Its prevalence is testified to by the examples of subdialects: *nà | kuriz didesnė. skujė. rās* ‘well who will find a bigger cone’ ZnŽ III 95; *skujė saũ.sì saũ.sì | riñ.kuom i laruža kūrriem* ‘cones are dry, we gathered them and made fire’ DūnŽ 332; *skojokà bō.va vaikūrñ zabūōva* ‘cones were a children’s toy’ DūnŽ 332; *kįšenikie skujis | mañau | ka uōbulis* ‘there was a cone in the pocket, I thought it was an apple’ DūnŽ 332; *seneliuk, numušk man skują* ‘grandad, knock down a cone for me’ Linkuva (e-LKŽ); *pušies skujutės irgi yr, mažesnės kaip eglės* ‘there are also pine cones, they are smaller than those of a fir tree’ Klovainiai (e-LKŽ); *terp tų skujų yra eglės sėklės* ‘there are fir seeds in those cones’ Žeimelis (e-LKŽ); *eglių skujus voverės aižo* ‘squirrels shell fir cones’ Laukuva (e-LKŽ); *einant par mišką, skujukai kojas bado* ‘when walking through the forest cones prick your feet’ Betygala (e-LKŽ).

The name *skujà* is found in the oldest existing manuscript dictionary of Lithuania Minor *Lexicon Lithuanicum*:

Dannapfel	<i>Skujos, Czyzkas Lex 22a;</i>
Thannapfel	} <i>Czyzka, Skuja Lex 87.</i>
Thannzapff	

Alongside the word *skuja*, the word *kankorėžis* also appears in the dictionary *Clavis Germanico-Lithvana* of a later period (Dann=Aepffel. *Skujos, ū Pl. M. Kankoreczei* || *Czyzka, os. F C I 443*), and in Sirvydas’ second dictionary the word *skuja* follows the word *kankorėžis* (*βyβka/Conus, Kun||karežis/ſkuia SD<sup>3</sup> 440*).

The word *skujà* under discussion denotes not only ‘the cone’ but also very often ‘a needle’ in the Lithuanian language (e-LKŽ). It is its equivalent in the Latvian language *skuja* (ME III 902) that usually has the meaning of ‘the needle’. Further attempts were made to compare the word *skujà* with Russ. *хвоя* ‘needle’ and other words



that sound alike in some IE languages, e.g., WIr. *scē* ‘the hawthorn’ (cf. Būga I 599, II 315, 618, III 877; Trautmann 1923: 268; LEW 821; IEW 938).

However, the word *skujà* is hardly a very old word. It, like other afore mentioned names of the cone, could have appeared from the onomatopoeic word in the Baltic languages. Kazimieras Būga (I 297), when speaking about the diphthong *ui*, which is new, mentioned links of the word *skujà* with the Lithuanian words of a similar semantics *skuīstas* ‘shrub, bush pine; forest’, *skuīstis* ‘thick fir grove’, *kuīstas* ‘shrub, bush’, *kuītas*, *kuītis* ‘young, thick grove of coniferous trees; thick brushwood’.

The Lithuanian verbs *kuīsti*, *skuīsti* ‘to play pranks, to romp, to go on the spree’ (e-LKŽ) and especially Latv. *skuit*, *skuju* ‘to shave, to cut; to clean’ (ME III 902) can be also added to them.

The Slavism common to the Lithuanian and Latvian dialects was derived from Bel. *шбіііка*, Russ. *шшшшка* or Pol. *szyszka* ‘cone’ (cf. Skardžius IV 115).

The name *šiška* and its variant *šišks* is used in a large territory of East Latgale (around Cibla, Istra, Kaunata, Nirza, Pilda, Zvirgzdene and other places), as well as somewhere in South Latgale (around Kapiņi, Naujene, Skaista, Višķi), e.g.: *ai agļu šyškòm var krasât vòlnys džeji* ‘fir cones can be used to dye wool’ Kaunata (ALE); *šiška, prÿžu i agļu šyškys* ‘a cone, pine and fir cones’ Pilda (ALE).

The area of the use of Lith. *šyškà* (with its variants *šyška*, *šyškēlė*, *šyškūtė*; *šiškà*; *šyškas*, *šiškas*; *šyškas*) is much wider, it covers a part of the dialect of Highlanders (especially eastern ones), e.g.: *šiškàs saringd'inéjom* ‘we gathered cones’ ZtŽ 665; *jĩ'ni.kas b'id n'emāžas, āgļes sa šiškòm'i* ‘the fir grove was rather big, firs had cones’ ZtŽ 247; *šiškòs kvajinēs māskickos, krūglickos* ‘fir cones are small, oval’ LzŽ 257; *šyškàs itai riņkom ir kūrìnom* ‘we gathered and burned cones like

that’ LzŽ 257; *po kvajù pílina šiškēliu* ‘there are many cones under a pine’ LzŽ 257; *šiškàs žiemą eda žvēriukai* ‘in winter wild animals eat cones’ Paberžė (e-LKŽ).

There are two more distant phonetic variants in Lithuanian dialects:

\* *šyškà*, *šyška*, *šyška*; *šiškà* is used in some subdialects of eastern Highlanders of Vilnius, western Highlanders of the Kaunas area and southern Highlanders, e.g. *po egle nerasi grūšiq, bet šyška* ‘you will not find a pear under a fir tree, but you will find a cone’ Daukšiai (e-LKŽ); *šyškūtės tai eglju, didesnės, o pušų mažesnės* ‘fir cones are larger and pine cones are smaller’ Prienai (e-LKŽ);

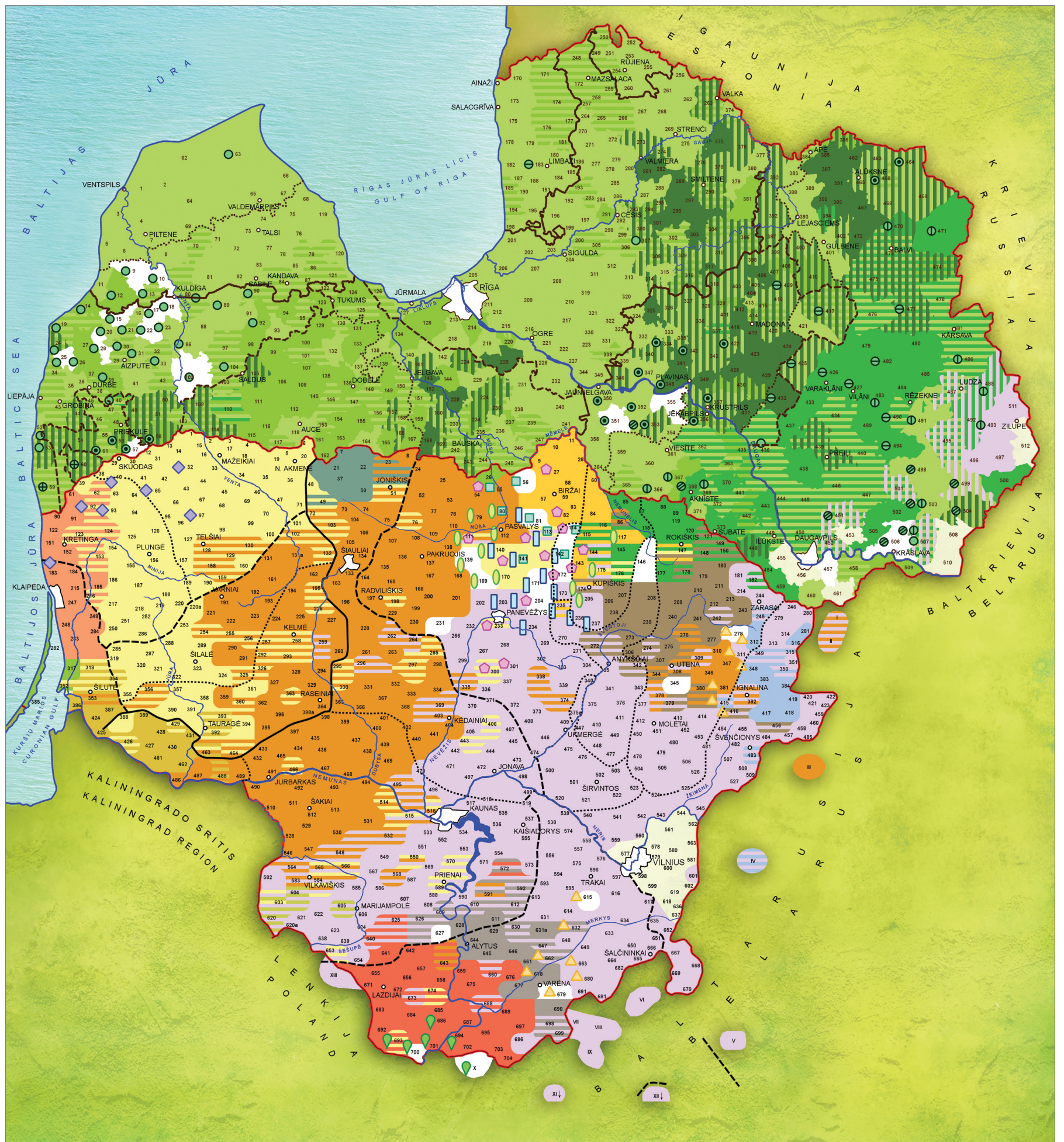
\* *čyškà*, *čyška*; *čiškà*; *čyškà*; *čyškas* is characteristic of western Highlanders in Kaunas district, e.g.: *tėtė iš miško paņnešė čiškų ragāžæ* ‘dad brought a basket of cones from the forest’ KzRŽ I 108; *čiškùč'u pílnoš rankùtes | nēr kur dēt* [kitų] ‘hands are full of cones, there is nowhere to put [others]’ KzRŽ I 108; *voverės labai mėgsta čyškàs* ‘squirrels like cones very much’ Veiveriai (e-LKŽ).

The latter *čyška* was recorded alongside the Lithuanian name of the cone as far back as the 17th century in manuscript dictionaries of Lithuania Minor (cf. p. 458). The word *čėčka* is also mentioned in the dictionaries of that region published later (see Schulze 1966: 626; LEW 72; e-LKŽ).

The name *kvajùkė* ‘pine cone’ registered in Punksk was made with the diminutive suffix *-ukas* (*-ė*) (derived from *\*-ko-*, see Ambrasas 2000: 87ff. and lit.) from the Slavism *kvajà* ‘pine’ (cf. Bel., Russ. *хвоя*) used in some southern and south-eastern Lithuanian subdialects, cf. also the variant *kvajė* recorded in the dictionaries of Lithuania Minor of the 18th–19th century (e-LKŽ).

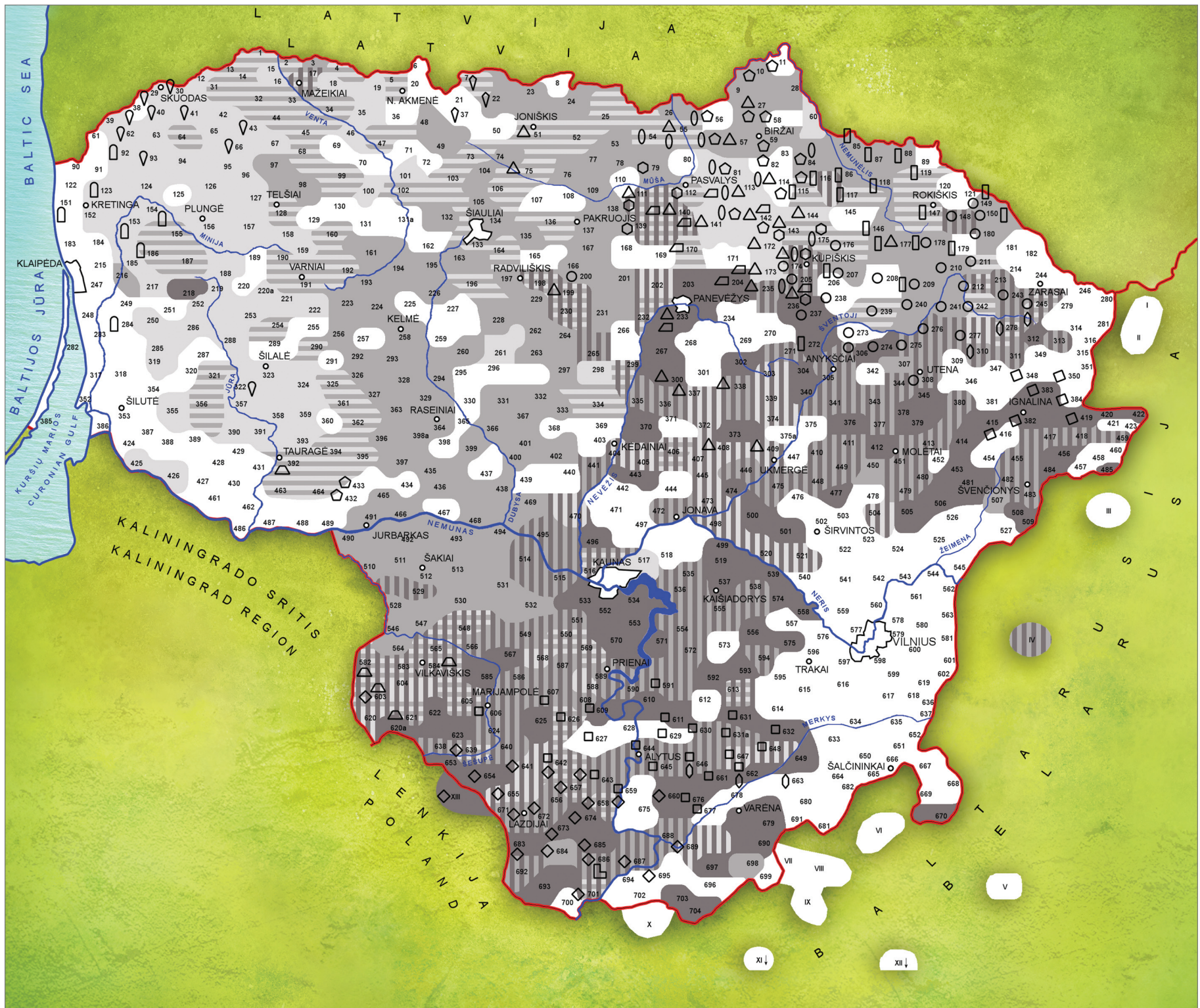
More different names have been recorded in Latvian subdialects: *aitiņa* ‘pine cone’ in Rudbārži; *bullītis* ‘young, even cone’ in Zante; *kukuodzis* in Mērdzene.





	Latv. <i>čiekurs</i> , <i>-is</i>		Latv. var. with <i>čik-</i> , <i>čirk-</i>		Latv. <i>šiška</i> , <i>-s</i>		Lith. <i>bučiukas</i>		Lith. <i>burkūtis</i>
	Latv. <i>ciekurs</i> , <i>-is</i> and var. Lith. <i>ciekuras</i> and var.		Latv. var. with <i>cik-</i> , <i>cink-</i> , <i>čink-</i>		Lith. <i>šiška</i> / <i>šička</i> / <i>čička</i> / <i>šyška</i> / <i>šyčka</i> / <i>ėyčka</i> / <i>šiškas</i> / <i>šyškas</i>		Lith. <i>čiūtė</i> and var.		Lith. <i>kiaulelė</i>
	Latv. var. with <i>cirk-</i> Lith. var. with <i>kirk-</i>		Latv. var. with <i>ķek-</i>		Lith. var. of <i>skuj-</i>		Lith. <i>gurgutis</i> / <i>-ė</i>		Lith. <i>brekis</i> / <i>brekys</i> / <i>brekė</i>
	Latv. <i>cērķūzis</i> , <i>ciekurzis</i> / <i>čiekurzis</i> , <i>ciekurznis</i> / <i>čiekurznis</i> , <i>čiekurzis</i>		Latv. var. with <i>ķiek-</i>		derivatives of <i>būžys</i> , <i>būž-</i> / <i>buž-</i> / <i>buz-</i>		Lith. <i>būkas</i> , <i>bukas</i> / <i>-elis</i> / <i>-utis</i>		Lith. <i>vėjavaikis</i> / <i>vėjo vaikas</i>
	Latv. var. with <i>ciek-</i> , <i>čiek-</i>		Latv. var. with <i>ķik-</i> , <i>ķirk-</i>		Lith. <i>žebelys</i> / <i>žebelis</i> / <i>žėvelis</i>		Lith. <i>kukutis</i>		Lith. <i>agurkas</i>
			Lith. <i>kankorėžis</i> and var.		Lith. <i>burė</i> / <i>-ikė</i> / <i>-iukas</i> , <i>-ė</i>				Lith. <i>bamborys</i> / <i>bumbuorys</i> and var.





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|---|---|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><span style="display: inline-block; width: 15px; height: 10px; background-color: #d3d3d3; border: 1px solid black; margin-right: 5px;"></span> kankorėžis and var.</li> <li><span style="display: inline-block; width: 15px; height: 10px; background-color: #a9a9a9; border: 1px solid black; margin-right: 5px;"></span> var. of skuj-</li> <li><span style="display: inline-block; width: 15px; height: 10px; background-color: #696969; border: 1px solid black; margin-right: 5px;"></span> var. of šišk-, žyšk-, sičk-, žyčk-, čyčk-, cyčk-, sičk-, čyšk-, sišk-</li> <li><span style="display: inline-block; width: 10px; height: 10px; border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 50%; margin-right: 5px;"></span> žebelys / žibelio vaikas, ževelis / ževelys, ševelys / ševelio vaikas</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><span style="display: inline-block; width: 10px; height: 10px; border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; border-bottom: 1px solid black; margin-right: 5px;"></span> vėjavaikis / vėjavaikas / vėjo vaikas</li> <li><span style="display: inline-block; width: 10px; height: 10px; border: 1px solid black; margin-right: 5px;"></span> derivatives of bučius, bučis, buč-</li> <li><span style="display: inline-block; width: 10px; height: 10px; border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; border-bottom: 1px solid black; margin-right: 5px;"></span> būžys, būž- / buž- / buz- derivatives</li> <li><span style="display: inline-block; width: 10px; height: 10px; border: 1px solid black; margin-right: 5px;"></span> kirkužė / -is, kirkušė</li> <li><span style="display: inline-block; width: 10px; height: 10px; border: 1px solid black; margin-right: 5px;"></span> gurgutis / -ė</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><span style="display: inline-block; width: 10px; height: 10px; border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 50%; margin-right: 5px;"></span> burkutis</li> <li><span style="display: inline-block; width: 10px; height: 10px; border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; border-bottom: 1px solid black; margin-right: 5px;"></span> kiaulė, kiaulelė</li> <li><span style="display: inline-block; width: 10px; height: 10px; border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; border-bottom: 1px solid black; margin-right: 5px;"></span> brekis / brekys / brekė</li> <li><span style="display: inline-block; width: 10px; height: 10px; border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 50%; margin-right: 5px;"></span> agurkas, agurkėlis</li> <li><span style="display: inline-block; width: 10px; height: 10px; border: 1px solid black; margin-right: 5px;"></span> čiūtė</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><span style="display: inline-block; width: 10px; height: 10px; border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; border-bottom: 1px solid black; margin-right: 5px;"></span> derivatives of būkas, bukas, būk- / buk-</li> <li><span style="display: inline-block; width: 10px; height: 10px; border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 50%; margin-right: 5px;"></span> baubelis, bubukas</li> <li><span style="display: inline-block; width: 10px; height: 10px; border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; border-bottom: 1px solid black; margin-right: 5px;"></span> burė / -ikė / -iukas</li> <li><span style="display: inline-block; width: 10px; height: 10px; border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; border-bottom: 1px solid black; margin-right: 5px;"></span> kukutis</li> <li><span style="display: inline-block; width: 10px; height: 10px; border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; border-bottom: 1px solid black; margin-right: 5px;"></span> bumbuoras</li> </ul> |
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*Baltų kalbų atlasas*  
*Leksika 1: flora*

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## *Names of the Blackberry*





# Names of the Blackberry

Authors of the comments: Ilga Jansone, Asta Leskauskaitė, Saulius Ambrazas,  
(footnotes) Rolandas Kregždys

The map and its comments are based on the answers to question No. 64 of the Lexical Questionnaire of the ALE. Additionally, question No. 154 of the Fourth Dialectological Questionnaire of the KFRP, as well as the research carried out by Inese Ēdelmane and Ārija Ozola (2003) was used.

The map represents prevalence of the name of the wild thorny berry shrub of the *Rosaceae* family bearing dark blue or black sour berries resembling raspberries (*Rubus caesius*) and the names of its berries.

The names of the blackberry used in the Lithuanian and Latvian languages are related only by their resemblance to raspberries noticed in some subdialects.

The word combination *juodà aviētē* with its variants *júodoji avietē*, *juodóji avētē*, *juodóji avēčia*, *juodóji avēčia* (cf. also *juodà malinà* recorded in Gervėčiai where *aviētē* has been replaced with a corresponding Slavism, cf. Slav. \**malina* ‘raspberry’, see ЭССЯ XVII 158ff.), as well as the compounds *júodavēčia*, *júodavētē*, is used in some subdialects of Lowlanders and some subdialects of eastern and southern Highlanders.

According to the Fourth Dialectological Questionnaire of the Programme for Collecting Facts of the Language, *juodóji avietē* has been recorded around Padvarėliai, *júodoji avietē* – around Plaškiai, *júodas avietys* around Anykščiai, *juodėji aviečiai* around Vyžuonos, Sudeikiai, Tauragnai, *júodavietis* around Biržiniškė, *júodavētē* around Rusnė, *júodavietē* around Plungė, Medingėnai, Rietavas, Užpeliai, Stirbiškė, Stragutė and other places.

The variants *juodà avētē/avētē*, *juodóji avētē/avētē* are used around Mosėdis, e.g. *gripūjēnt jōud<sup>a</sup>s aviet<sup>s</sup> lābā gērā* ‘when you have flu blackberries are very good’ MoŽK; *aviet<sup>s</sup> nu kūosolę jōudūosēs* ‘blackberries are good for a cough’ MoŽK.

Equivalent names of blackberries – word combinations whose components are the adjective *melns* and the noun *avene* (various dialectal forms) are found in some part of Latvian dialects (in High Latvian dialect).

The variant *melnā avieša* has been recorded in Dricēni (*mālnuôs avīšys ir mālnā kriuosā* ‘blackberries are blue’ ALE) and in Makašēni (*ka gotova, mālnuô avīša tymši zyla* ‘when ripe the blackberry is dark blue’ ALE).

The variant *melnā avieška* with the suffix *-k-* has been recorded in Šķilbēni, e.g.: *mālnuôs avīškas ir ošejuôm lopuôm* ‘blackberries have prickly leaves’ (ALE).

The variant *melnais avietis* is used in Nautrēni and Viļāni, e.g.: *mālni avīši lobi prēt kūosu; mālni avīši irā taīdys mālnys ūgys, vālu zīt, na tai keī avīši* ‘blackberries are good for a cough; blackberries are such black berries, they bloom late, unlike raspberries’ (ALE).

Word combinations with the second component *avene*, *avine* are also found in Latgala.

The variant *melnā avene* is used in Skaista and Sinole, e.g.: *malnūs aveņu lopas* ‘blackberry leaves’ Skaista (Apv); *māllās avenes ir zilganas, lās vār ēst, pa grāviem aūga* ‘blackberries are bluish, they can be eaten, they grow in ditches’ Sinole (Apv).

The name *melnās aviekstenes* is sometimes found in Sinole too, e.g.: *kazenājus sāuce pār māllajām aviekstenēm* ‘blackberries are called black raspberries’ (Apv).

The variant *melnā avine* has been recorded in Višķi, e.g.: *mýusu pušī mālnū avīņu nau* ‘there are no blackberries on our land’ (ALE).

The second components of the names Lith. *aviētės* (this word has been recorded in the dictionaries of the 17th century) and Latv. *aviešas* ‘raspberries’ are an innovation of the East Balts (cf. LEW 28; Sabaliauskas 1990: 154). It is derived from IE \**avi-* (cf. Lith. *avīs*, Latv. *avs*, see p. 429), made with the help of the suffix \**-eiŋo-*, which is an apophonic variant of the suffix \**-it-jo-* (<\**-ī-to* + \**-jo-*) (cf. Ambrazas 2000: 135ff.).

The first component is different. If Latv. *melns* ‘black’ is related to Lith. *mėlynas* (cf. the name of the blackberry *mėlyna aviētē* recorded in Liutkiškės) and has old IE roots (cf. p. 419), the origin of Lith. *júodas* ‘black’ is unclear.

The name *bráizanti avēčia* has been recorded in Balninkai. When collecting material according to the Fourth Dialectological Questionnaire of the Programme for Collecting Facts of the Language, it was noticed that the name *bráizanti avietē* is used around Plaškiai. The first component of these names is of quite different semantics. This is active participle of the present tense of the verb *bráizyti* ‘to scratch’. This, in its turn, is made, with the help of the suffix *-yti*, from *brėžti* ‘to draw’, which first of all is related to Lith. *brúožti* ‘to scratch, to brush, to rub, to tear (shoes); to run violently’, *bróžti* ‘to brush’, *bróžyti* ‘to drive, to chase’, Latv. *brāzt* ‘to have a spree, to go on a bender, to make noise;

to hurry, to drive fast, to run; to argue; to throw, to fling, to hit the target, to beat' (Būga II 366; Karaliūnas 1987: 175; Smoczyński 2007: 72, 76), further most probably to Oic. *brike* 'board' and Latv. *berzt* 'to rub, to scrape' (LEW 56f.; IEW 167).

The name *kazene*, which is a word of standard language and a botanical term of the plant *Rubus caesius* L. is very frequent in Latvian dialects.

The name *kazene* is used in different Latvian subdialects (the subdialects of Latgale took it over from standard language), e.g.: *kazen's ir meļl's, tās te ir lērum's mežā* 'blackberries are black, there are plenty of them here, in the forest' Augstkalne (ALE); *kazene is-skatās kā aviēte, bet viņa ir meļla* 'the blackberry looks like a raspberry but it is black' Bauska (Apv); *kazenes meļlas; viņas i mežā; aūg zēmākā, mitrākā mežā; vakar kazenes trāpīju lasīt* 'blackberries are black; they are in the forest; grow in a low wet forest; yesterday I went to gather blackberries' Blīdene (ALE); *dzērvēn's, brūklen's, aviēsen's; viņas bi tādās zilās – kazen's, tādās pašas kā aven's* 'cranberries, red bilberries, raspberries; some were so blue – blackberries, the same as raspberries' Burtņieki (Apv); *avenes saļdākas, kazenes nau tik saļdas, bet labā zemē liēlas kā iškška gaļš; kazenēm meļla krāsa uņ tādā kā zilgana migliņa* 'raspberries are sweetish, blackberries are not so sweet but in good soil they are as large as the tip of the thumb; blackberries are black and has as if a bluish haze' Džūkste (ALE); *es jàu nau tās kazenes lasiš* 'I have never gathered those blackberries' Ērgeme (ĒIV II 80); *kazenes ir tādās meļlas, tūmšas – gārdas ēst* 'blackberries are black, dark – delicious to eat' Ezere (Apv); *kāzenē i:r tādā pā:te uoga kā aiviekstene, tikāi mālna* 'a blackberry is the same berry as a raspberry, only it is black' Lazdona (ALE); *kazenes – meļlas uogās viņām, gāšīgās; te pat mežā viņ's viņtu viņtām aūgl; badīgas dik-ti, ērkšķainas* 'blackberries – their berries are black, delicious; they grow here in the forest; very prickly' Nīca (ALE); *kazēns ir meļls, tuņšš, tā:ds ka avēns* 'blackberries are black, dark, just like raspberries' Pope (ALE); *kazene tāt krūmliš bi, bālīti ziēdeļi; tūr jāu nevār ne āre tikt, stīgs piēķērs, plēš liēls, a dusmaņ skriēn kazeneņ gařām; kazenes nelasaņ, neņemaņ* 'the blackberry was such a shrub, white flowers; you cannot even go outside here, shoots get stuck, tear badly, runs through the blackberries angry; we do not gather blackberries, do not take them' Renda (ALE); *kazenes ar ābuļiēm savāra* 'blackberries are cooked together with apples' Sesava (ALE); *kazenes tūmši, tūmši brūnas, tik pat kuō mallas ūgas, sōldas, sulainas; osi zori, grōutas lasīt* 'blackberries are dark dark brown, almost black berries, sweet, succulent; branches are sharp, they are difficult to gather' Stāmeriena (ALE); *ka:zenēm mālnas uogās; te vi:ņū mo:z beja* 'blackberries are black; there were few of them here' Sunākste (ALE); *nuō kazenēm laps vīns* 'blackberry wine is good' Vilce (ALE); *lasa kazen's, tāis" vīn"; viņtām ir daūz kazeņ"* 'gather blackberries, make wine; in some places there are many blackberries' Zālīte (ALE).

The name is included in historical dictionaries, e.g.: Brombeern *Kafenes* Phras 1638: 325, *kaffenes* (and *kaffu ohgas*) Brombeern Lange 1773: 145.

The name *kazenes* made from Slavism *kaza* 'goat' (cf. Slav. \**koza*; this word is related to Lith. *ožkà*, see ЭССЯ XII 197f.) with the help of the suffix *-ene* (about it see Endzelīns 1951: 298) prevail in Standard Latvian.

In some Latvians subdialects the following variants with *kazines*, *kaziņi* with the suffix *\*-injo-* are known, e.g.: *l'ās kazīņes yr k'ā aiviks-īiņes, tikai mālnas* 'those blackberries are like raspberries, only black' Birži (Apv); *iēs lašt kazīns* 'will go to gather blackberries' Dundaga (ALE); *nuō tuō kaziņu gaņ ne kã nau, zaptej bišķi vār sašivākt* 'there are almost no blackberries, one cannot pick enough for jam' Rucava (ALE); *kazine ir [...] uōga* 'a blackberry is a [...] berry' Sinole (ALE). According to I. Ēdelmane, the name *kazine* is also used in Gaigalava.

The variant *kazlene* is found in some subdialects of Kurzeme, e.g.: *kazlenes i tās meļlās* 'blackberries are those black' Kandava (ALE); *kazlēns jo nelās* 'blackberries are no longer gathered' Venta (ALE).

The name *kazlenes* used in some places could be related either to Latv. *kazlēns* 'a kid', or perhaps to a rare *kaza* variant *kazla*, which originated due to the influence of Russ. *козёл* (< Slav. \**kozьlbъ*, see ЭССЯ XII 32f.) 'goat' (EH I 597).

The name of the blackberry *kazlipe* has been recorded only in one subdialect of the Latvian border, e.g.: *kazlipeš ēršķi koā ēršku ūgoām; kazlipe ūgas ta mozoākas iņ mālnas* 'blackberry prickles are like those of dog rose shrubs; blackberries are smaller and black' Aknīste (ALE).

The second component of this name *lipe* (with the variant *lipe*) 'short tail' is borrowed from Est. *lippu* 'tail' (ME II 540f.; SKES II 298; SSA II 81; Zeps 1962: 150). Another opinion (LEV I 553) is that IE \**lei-* 'to bend' forms its basis.

In the Nīca subdialect, in Kurzeme, the compound *kazzemenīte* (and *kazuzemenīte*) (Ēdelmane, Ozola 2003: 147) has been recorded as a doubtful one. The second component *zemene*, which means a berry of both a forest and a garden, determines neither the features of the blackberry as a raspberry nor its external features.

The name *cūcene*, which is related to the name of a pig *cūka* (concerning its origin see p. 409)<sup>1</sup> was made according to Latv. *kazene*.

In the Latvian language *cūcene* is a term of one species of the blackberry of the *Rubus* genus – *Rubus nessensis* – the apomictic blackberry but in subdialects both of these species are not differentiated.

The name *cūcene* is used in the Livian subdialects of Vidzeme, e.g.: *cūceņs ar oūg grāvas, tād kā aveseņs, bet meļl uog; nou tik smeķig* 'blackberries also grow in ditches, they are like raspberries but their berries are black; not so delicious' Dunte (ALE); *kazeni saūc ari pař cūceni* 'the blackberry is also called *cūcene*' Kauguri (ALE); *cūceni tādī meļli, zilgani, negataņs tas uog i sařkanc; cūcens ne kuō nelas* 'blackberries are black, bluish, unripe berries are red; people do not gather blackberries much' Svētciems (ALE); *cūceņs ir tād uoglej, tād ka aveseņs, tikei uogs ir tād meļl, kad nuōgatavejas* 'blackberries are such berry stalks that look like raspberry ones, only berries are black when they ripen' Vainiži (ALE). The name *cūcene* recorded beyond the said area, in Krape, is doubtful.

The name is included in historical dictionaries: *zuhzenes* Brombeeren Ulmann 1872: 350.

The name of the blackberry *lācene* used on the Estonian border, is not very common in Latvian subdialects, e.g.: *lācenes ir tūmšas, brūnas; asi kārīti; tā jāu nāk vēlak pec avenēm; tad, kad mīēžus plāun, viņas ir gatavas; aūg uz kalliņiem; pacēlām krūmiņu aūkša uņ ta lasijam* 'blackberries are dark, brown; their stems are prickly; they ripen later than raspberries; then, when barley is cut, they are ripe; grow on hills; we

1 However, a different hypothetic explanation of the origin is also possible: Latv. dial. *cūcene* ← \**kūcene* is an associative according to the phytomorphic structure of the blackberry shrub, i.e. 'a dishevelled, grown into a clump' shrub ~ Latv. dial. *kūcens, kūcene* ↔ Latv. *kūce* 'a heap of corn' ← Latv. dial. *kūķis* 'wet corn thrown into a heap (stack)' (for more about it see ME II 332f.).



lifted the shrub up and then gathered' Ilzene (Apv); *luôcanas aûg mežûs* 'blackberries grow in forests' Jaunroze (Apv); *luôcanas ir kuô avenas, tikai brôunas, lillâ, sofkanas ûn zilâs* 'blackberries are like raspberries, only they are brown, violet, red and blue' Karva (Apv).

The data (especially collected by I. Ēdelmane) of some Selonian subdialects and those found around Bauska in which the Finno-Ugrian impact is felt, supplement the area of the name *lâcene*. It should be added that the name *lâcene* means another plant of the *Rubus* genus – the cloudberry (*Rubus chamaemorus*) in the standard Latvian language. The name of the blackberry *lâcene* could have appeared due to different reasons: first, due to the Estonian language in which these plants are called in a similar way (*Rubus caesius* – *põldmurakas*, *Rubus nessesis* – *kitsemurakas*, *Rubus chamaemorus* – *rabamurakas*); second, due to the fact that in several subdialects on the Estonian border (especially in north-eastern Vidzeme) the name *lâcene* is not used in the meaning of *Rubus chamaemorus* because to name the cloudberry (*Rubus chamaemorus*) the Finno-Ugrian words *muraka*, *mureka*, *murika* are used.

The name *gêrvuogê* prevails in the Lithuanian language. This is a word standard language. It can be related to Latv. *dzêrvene* (cf. Latv. *dzêrve*), the word used for another berry – the cranberry (*Oxycoccus*).

This compound has quite a lot of variants in subdialects:

\* of accentuation, e.g.: *gêrvuogê* (this stress already existed in F. Kuršaitis' dictionary in the 19th century), *gervúogê*, *gervuôgê*, e.g.: *riêtenos âštr'os | gê.rvuogem vadîna* 'plants that turn up are prickly, called blackberries' ZnŽ I 442; *i\_aviêč'u | i.gê.rvuog'u te\_pîlna* 'there is plenty of both raspberries and blackberries there' KzRŽ I 227; *a ne gêrvuogîems vadên kaškûokes avîetes* 'don't they call certain raspberries blackberries' MoŽK; *parnešê pilnq uzbonq gervuogiu* 'brought a full jug of blackberries' Linkuva (e-LKŽ); *net burnoj nuo gervuogiu kartu* 'blackberries left a bitter taste in my mouth' Šunskai (e-LKŽ); *gêrvuogês išsirpsta šienpjûtê[je]* 'blackberries ripen at hay time' Barstyčiai (e-LKŽ);

\* the clipping *gêrvuogê* (e-LKŽ);

\* with the linking vowel *-a-*, e.g.: *gêrva(v)uogê*, *gervâ(v)uogê*; *gêrâuogê*, *gêrvavagê*; *-ia-*: *gêrviauogê*, e.g.: *palei upę radau gêrvauogiu* 'I found blackberries along the river' Kupiškis (e-LKŽ); *ar daug parsinešei gêrviauogiu* 'have you brought many blackberries' Būdvielis (e-LKŽ); *mergaitês renka gerviauoges* 'girls gather blackberries' Miroslavas (e-LKŽ).

The name *gêrvuogê* was recorded in the oldest dictionary of Lithuania Minor *Lexicon Lithuanicum*: Krazelbeeren *Gerwûges* Lex 55a.

The first component of the compound *gêrvê* (recorded in the dictionaries of the 17th century) has equivalents in the Baltic (Latv. *dzêrve*, Pruss. *gerwe* E 715), partly Slavic (cf. ORuss. *жеpавъ*) languages. Further, it relates to OGH *kranuh*, Arm. *krunk*, Gk. *γέρον*, *γέρονος* 'the crane' and others (Trautmann 1923: 87; LEW 137; IEW 383ff.; ИЯ 540; ПЯ E–H 223ff.; Smoczyński 2007: 174; concerning its formation cf. Ambrazas 1993: 134 and lit.)<sup>2</sup>.

The second component *uoga* (already used in the writings of the 16th–17th century) is lexical-semantic variant of the Baltic (Latv. *uôga*) and Slavic (*\*ag-oda*) languages. Its further etymology is unclear (cf. Trautmann 1923: 202; LEW 1165; IEW 773; ЭССЯ I 57ff.; Sabaliauskas 1990: 121f.; Smoczyński 2007: 704).

The word *gêrvînê* 'blackberry' recorded in Kunigiškiai originated from the substantivised adjective with the suffix *-inîs* (*-ê*).

The word *vârnuogê* and the variant *varnâuogê* with a linking vowel denote the blackberry around Bubliai. Collectors of facts of the Fourth Dialectological Questionnaire of the Programme for Collecting Facts of the Language recorded the first variant in Šakyna, Skai-stgiris and Salantai, and the second one in Šakyna. The variant *vârnuogê* is also known in Rodūnia, e.g.: *nuejo medžian vârnuogiu* 'went to the forest for blackberries' (e-LKŽ).

The first component of this compound *vârna* (found in the writings of the 16th–17th century), like the word *uoga*, is also a lexical-semantic variant of the Baltic (Latv. *vârna*, Pruss. *warne* E 722) and Slavic (cf. OCS *vrana*) languages (Trautmann 1923: 343; LEW 1201; Smoczyński 2007: 723). Toch. B *wrauña* (< *\*urñ-*) 'crow' of similar formation differs greatly from the latter ones in its form (Windekens 1976: 121, 583). Usually they are derived from IE *\*uer* 'to burn, to gird' (cf. IEW 1166; Sabaliauskas 1990: 120). However, they can also be compounds of onomatopoeic origin (ИЯ 540; PKEŽ IV 225).

Two rare variants of the name of the blackberry recorded when collecting material according to Dialectological Questionnaire No. 4 of the Programme for Collecting Facts of the Language are to be discussed separately.

The word *krûmuogê* has been recorded in Grybėnai. This compound was used by Vydūnas (1868–1953), e.g.: *Panašiai veikiančios ir krûmuogês. Jos išvaro diegus, kurie žarnų darbq gadina* 'krûmuogês have a similar effect. They help get rid of colic pains that interfere with the work of the intestines' (e-LKŽ). It is included in the 1938 *Lietuviškas botanikos žodynas* (Lithuanian Dictionary of Botany).

Blackberries often grow on the bank of a lake or a river. This is reflected by the name *krañtuogê* (e-LKŽ).

The first component of this compound is *krañtas*. It corresponds to Latvian couronism *krañts* 'bank, shore' (ME II 259) and most probably is related to the present tense form *kreñta* of Lith. *krîsti* (cf. ПЯ K–L 218; ЭССЯ XIII 35; Smoczyński 2007: 307). This verb corresponds to Latv. *krist*. Further, it is compared with Lith. *krêsti*, *kratýti*, Latv. *krêst*, *kratît* and attempts are made to look for its links with WIr. *crothaim* 'I shake', OHG *reden* 'to sift', etc. (cf. Būga II 464; LEW 295; IEW 620; Sabaliauskas 1990: 185; Smoczyński 2007: 308, 316).

Attention should be drawn here to the fact that the Latvian name of the bank *krâuja*, *krâujš* is of similar semantics. Lith. *kriaũšis*, perhaps the Kurshian *Croye* (cf. the hydronyms Latv. *Kruôja*, Lith. *Krúoja*), Lith. *pa-kruoja* 'foot of a hill'; Lith. hydr. *Kraũjaupê*, *Kraujâupis*, *Kraujînis*; *Krûvandâ* is related to it (Karaliūnas 1987: 199, cf. also Ademollo Gagliano 2007: 14f.). And further it most likely relates to Pruss. *krût* III 101<sub>12</sub>[63<sup>20</sup>], OIc. *hrynja* 'to fall', etc. (ПЯ K–L 216ff.; PKEŽ II 88f. and lit.).

The name of the blackberry *ķepene* is used only in the Zvârtava subdialect on the Estonian border: *Gaũjas malâ atruôd avenas, bet meļlas, tâs sauc pâr ķepenêm* 'raspberries but they are black, which are called *ķepenes* are found on the bank of the Gauja' (ALE).

This is a derivative with the ending *-ene* whose first part can be treated as a borrowing from the Finno-Ugrian languages and most probably is related to Est. *kâbi* (pl. *kâpad*) 'katkin, cone' Wied. 238.

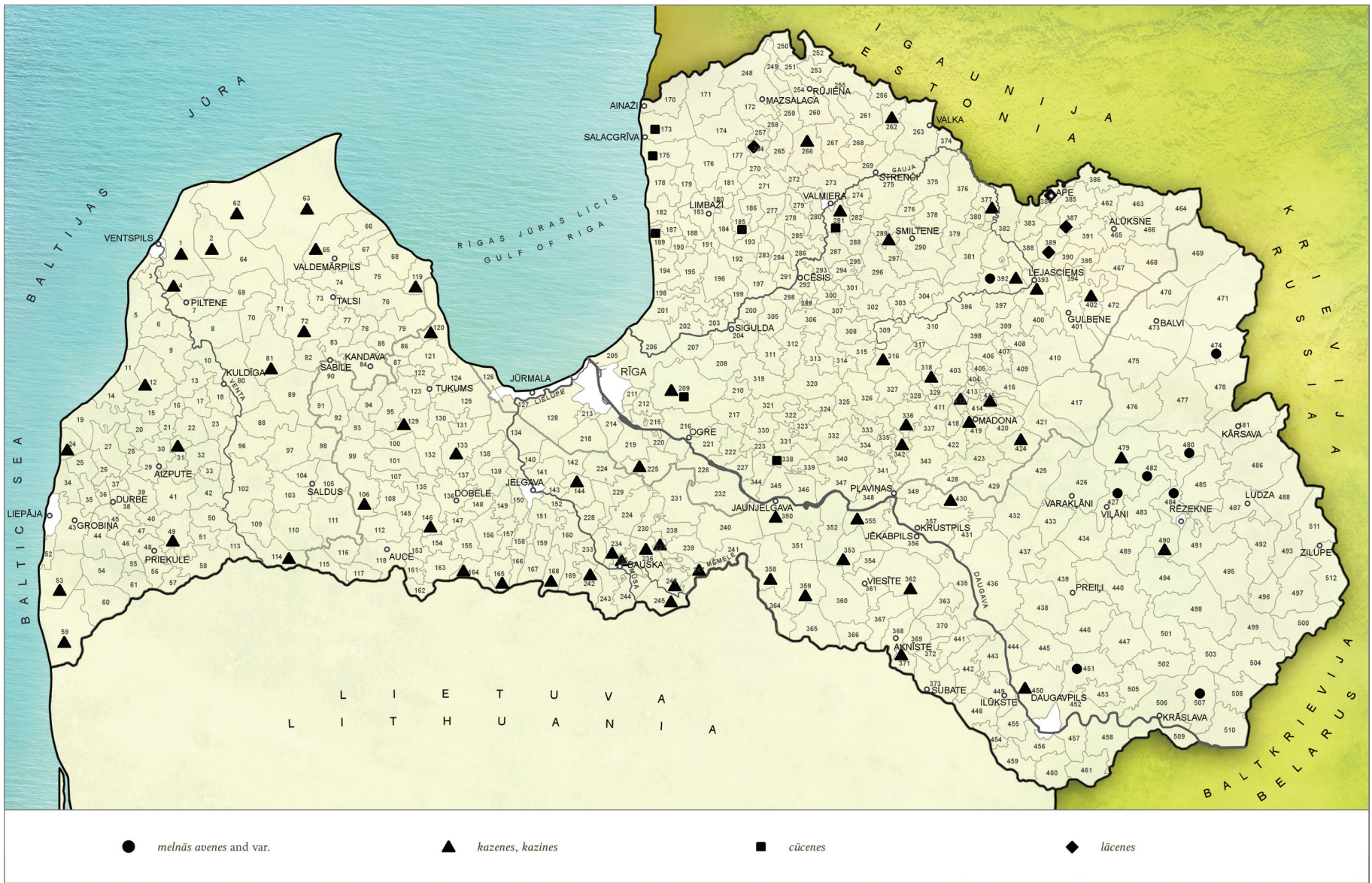
2 Phytonimic motivation of the name of this plant is more convincing. Lith. *gêrvuogê* could be explained as a compound of *karmadhâraya* type: subst. Lith. *kêras* 'a shrub (of raspberries too)' (cf. adj. Lith. *kervas* 'clusy, sluggish' ← *\*branchy, branched out, spread, wriggled* [Vanagas 1981: 154]) + subst. Lith. *uoga* (with *k-...g-* > *g-g-* due to regressive assimilation), cf. Lith. dial. *krûmuogê*. *-v-* in this compound is not etymological, it appeared to avoid hiatus, i.e. *\*kera-uog-* > *\*ker(a)-v-uog-* > *\*kervuog-* > *\*gervuog-*, and has become rooted due to folk etymology resp. phonetic homonymy with Lith. *gêrvê* (cf. Kabašinskaitė 1998: 18).



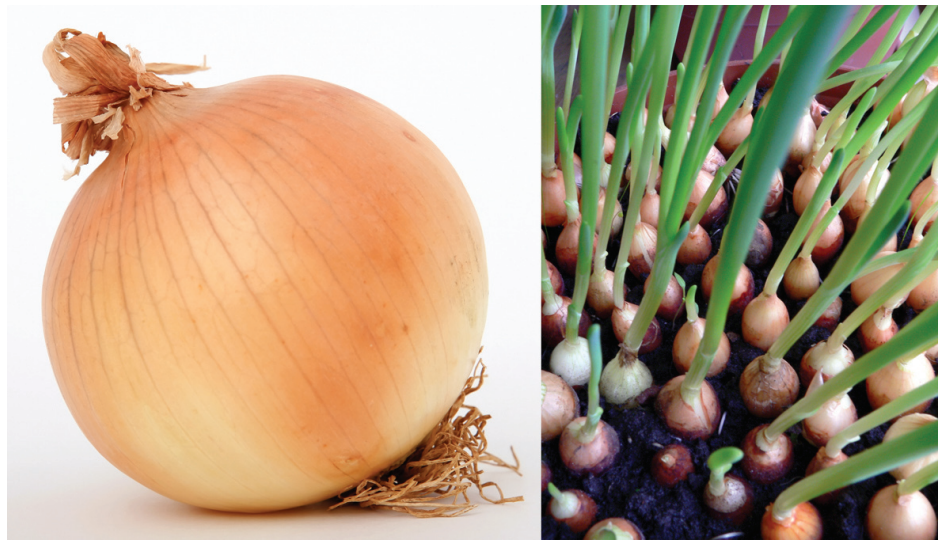


● Latv. <i>kazene</i> and var.	□ Latv. <i>cūcene</i>	□ Lith. <i>meškos avietė</i>	○ Lith. <i>gervainė</i>	⦿ Lith. <i>braižanti avėčia</i>
○ Latv. <i>kazlīpe, kažlīpe</i>	◻ Lith. <i>kiaul(i)avietė</i>	● Lith. <i>geruogė, geruogė, gero(i)auogė</i>	◊ Lith. <i>varnuogė, varnuogė</i>	◻ Lith. <i>draskė</i>
△ Latv. <i>melnā avieš(k)a</i> and var. Lith. <i>juoda avietė, juodavietė</i> <i>juodoji avėčia</i> and var.	◊ Latv. <i>lācene</i>			





*Names of the Onion*





# Names of the Onion

*Authors of the comments: Ilga Jansone, Violeta Meiliūnaitė, Saulius Ambrasas*

The map and its comments are based on the answers to Question No. 79 of the Lexical Questionnaire of ALE. Additionally answers to Question No. 80 of Antanas Salys' *Apklausas* (Questionnaire) No. 1, question No. I.b.11 of KFRP and the names of plants collected by Inese Ēdelmane and Ārija Ozola were made use of (Ēdelmane, Ozola 2003: 351–352).

The names of the vegetable with edible leaves and round underground bulbs called the onion (*Allium Cepa*) in the Lithuanian and Latvian languages are loanwords (cf. Sabaliauskas 1958b; Urbutis 1981: 192f.). The most widespread and common to both languages is Lith. *cibūlis* / Latv. *cibulis*.

The material of the ALE and KFRP shows that Lith. *cibūlis* is used in all Lithuanian dialects, e.g.: *šiemet ir mūs menki cibūliai* 'this year our onions are poor too' Ūdrija (e-LKŽ); *įdėk cibulio, kvepės labiau* 'put in some onion, it will smell better' Alytus (e-LKŽ); *viralas be cibūlių negardus* 'soup without onions is not delicious' Kruopiai (e-LKŽ); *po mė nul'ū sō dinai | uštai tavor\_tō kī cibūlei* 'You planted them under the moon that is why your onions are like that' KzRŽ I 102; *prisipjė ustai lašin'ū su\_cibūleis | i\_skanū* 'to slice bacon with onions, and it is delicious' KzRŽ I 102; *jis\_teip išpīr [s] sāvō pōlitika kaip\_cibūli bė\_kvā pō* (joc.) 'he will exaggerate their policy like an onion without smell' KzRŽ I 102; *cibul'ū patrini | i\_nejištī s [bitei įgėlus]* 'rub it with onion and it will not swell [after a bee stings] ZnŽ I 205; *pasisō dīnōm cibul'u. gī vī bei palaikī t* 'we'll plant onions to keep us alive' ZnŽ I 205; *maž'ūlis kaip\_cibul'ūkas ritingė jesi pā žemė* 'small as an onion rolling just above the ground ZnŽ I 205; *liko jis toks cibūlis (neūžauga)* 'he remained like an onion (a midget)' Geistarai (e-LKŽ); *akys išlindę kai cibūliai* 'the eyes bulge like onions' Tauragnai (e-LKŽ); *cibū.lei ži.duōlēis išė | be\_cibū.lū. šiēmet* 'they bolt, we'll have no onions this year' KlŽ 30; *atā cibū.lū. priri.ji.s | smī.rda vī.sas* 'he came after eating onions, stinks all over' KlŽ 30; *šitū. kviētku. šā.kni.s kai\_cibū.lei* 'the roots of these flowers are like onions' KlŽ 30; *vaiķas kai\_cibū.lis* 'a child is like an onion' KlŽ 30; *nekrimsk cibūlio – nē nesmirdēs* 'don't eat onions – there will be no stink' Daukšiai (e-LKŽ); *cibul'o n'egalėjau jėst* 'I could not eat onion' ZtŽ 110; *va ir cibul'is kok'is ir morkvā* 'look, what an onion, and a carrot' ZtŽ 110.

Alongside these names other variants of the loanword *cibūlis* are used: *cibulė* and *čibūlis* (concerning the consonant *č* in place of *c* cf.

Urbutis 1981: 193). E.g.: *cibulės der ir ašaroms bėginti* 'onions are good for making your eyes water' Šatės (e-LKŽ); *pasodinau cibulės* 'I planted onions' Dieveniškės (e-LKŽ); *kāp cibulės sūpina, sāko – cibūlių vainikas* 'after onions are braided together they call it an onion wreath' DvŽ I 85; *pasodzinaū visās cibulės* 'I planted all the onions' DvŽ I 85.

Other variants are rare: *cybūlis* (Ceikinėliai, Greičiūnai), *ciubūlis* (Barzdai, Žalioji); *cibuliūkai* ('an onion', Balčiai); *cybulė* (Pėžaičiai), *cibulė* (Kelmė), *cibūlė* (Telšiai); *cibulià* (Rugėnai, Josvainiai, Labūnava, Užpeliai, Lazūnai, Dieveniškės), *cibūlià*, *cybulia* (Gervėčiai). E.g.: *nuo'ė jo c'ibul'o s stumbuōsna* 'onions grew into stems' DvŽ I 85; *reikia cebulės apravėti, par žoles nē matyt nebesimato* 'it is necessary to weed the onions, I cannot see them for weeds' Vieکشniai (e-LKŽ); *aš ankstie pasisvadinu cėbulių* 'I planted onions early' Švėkšna (e-LKŽ); *ta obelis kitq metq turi obulų kaip cebūlių* 'that apple tree has as many apples as onions in some years' Gargždai (e-LKŽ).

The loanword *cibulis* is rare in the Latvian language, however, it is used in a compact area in the southern part of Latgalian subdialects: *žāmī, kur aūk vīrza, lap pasadūt cibūli* 'onions give a good crop in the soil where chickweed grows' Izvalta (ALE); *čibul'u loksty* 'green onions' Kapiņi (LVDA); *čibuļu loksty* 'green onions' Krāslava (LVDA).

The name of the onion *čibulis* has been recorded in one of the Selian subdialects of Zemgale, in Rite. ME I 412 also recorded the name of the onion *čibuļi* (with the note – jargon), and indicated that it is used around Bērzaune.

Lith. *cibūlis* / Latv. *cibulis* are loanwords from OPol. *cybula*. The latter is a hybrid Germanism from WHG *Zibolle*, *Zebulle* (Brückner<sup>3</sup>1974: 56), which, in its turn originated from WLat. *caepola*, *cipolla* (cf. It. *cipolla*). And this is a diminutive form of Lat. *cēpa* 'onion' (Kluge<sup>24</sup>2002: 1021). The following names could be treated in a similar way: *cibulis* (Agurkiškė, Kazlų Rūda), *cibulė* (Rusnė, Plaškiai, Žemaičių Kalvarija, Lyduokiai); *cypulė* (Kunigiškiai), *ceipulis* (Užubaliai); *sibulis* (Pakruojis), *sibūlis* (Bitėnai, Sukaičiai, Viešvilė, Smalininkai, Sudargas, Jurbarkas, Vilenčiūnai, Jotija, Kulva, Markutiškiai, Vepriai, Pabaiskas, Krikštėnai, Kaukliai, Šiaudžiai, Bijutiškis, Inturkė, Medeikiai, Švenčionėliai, Švenčionys, Trešiūnai, Adutiškis); *zibūlis* (Barzdai). Interchange of consonants *s*, *c*, *z* has been noticed in other Germanisms of the Lithuanian language (cf. Čepienė 2006: 292ff.). Lith. *Cypule* known in Plikiai is also treated as Germanisms, cf. East

Prussian German *Zippel* and E. Kuršaitis' *cibulė*, cf. LG *Zibbel* (Urbutis 1981: 192).

The variant *cibulia* was recorded in the manuscript work *Deliciae Prussicae* completed to be written by Motiejus Pretorius in 1690 (cf. Skardžius IV 109).

The variant Lith. *cebulė*, *cēbulė* was recorded in the writings of Jurgis Pabrėža in the 19th century and now it is used in some sub-dialects of Lowlanders (Švėkšna, Vieksniai, Veiviržėnai, Gargždai) and western Highlanders (Lenčiai) and is derived from the current Pol. *cebula* (Urbutis 1981: 192).

The word *svogūnas*, which has become established in Standard Lithuanian is spread in a narrower area in subdialects than the discussed *cibulis*. It is mostly used by western Highlanders of Kaunas, in the western part of southern Highlanders, eastern Highlanders in Širvintos district and the southern part of eastern Highlanders of Panevėžys. E.g.: *einam svogūnų sodyt, ravėt* 'let's go to plant, weed the onions' Druskininkai (e-LKŽ); *sako, svogūnūs reik sodyt pryš vyšnių žydėjimą* 'they say onions have to be planted before cherry trees burst into blossom' Eržvilkas (e-LKŽ); *ir seniau mes svogūnais vadėm* 'earlier we called onions too' Rudnia (e-LKŽ); *kopūstai su svogūnais tai gardu* 'cabbage with onions is delicious' Žirmūnai (e-LKŽ); *įdedi svogūnų py padažo* 'onion is added to the gravy' Priekulė (e-LKŽ); *užsiėmė pūt svogūnai* 'onions started to rot' Pivašiūnai (e-LKŽ); *didesnei kasai svogūnų trijų rublių prašo* 'they ask three roubles for a larger string of onions' Kuktiškės (e-LKŽ); *ir valgė, kas papuolė: ridikas – ridikas, svogūnas – svogūnas* 'and they ate whatever they found: [if it was a radish], [they ate] a radish; an onion – an onion' Daugai (e-LKŽ); *svogūnas dešims ligų invaro, česnakas dešims išvaro* 'the onion can cause ten diseases, the garlic drives ten diseases away' Vidiškiai (e-LKŽ); *kad tau Dievas duot sveikatą gražią ir svogūnų ežią* (joc.) 'Let God give you good health and a bed of onions' Krokialaukis (e-LKŽ).

Several variants are possible: *svogūnas* (Kaldūnai, Nemunėlio Radviliškis, Suvainiškis, Totorkalnis, Kerviai, Skliaustė, Židikai, Dapšiai, Zastaučiai, Urviniai, Purvėnai, Kivyliai, Gėpaičiai, Dilbinai, Skaistgirys, Vaireikiai, Kriukai, Žeimelis, Nemažūnai, Užušiliai), *svagūnas* (Sodeliai, Antazavė, Ribokai, Rokiškis, Kreščionys, Lyduokiai, Labanoras, Čiulai, Tverečius, Birštonas), *svagūnas* (Sodeliai, Anykščiai), *cvagūnas* (Čekonys), *svigūnas*, *svogūnis* (Užušiliai), *svagunas* (Dusetos, Skiemonys).

Despite the fact that the name *svogūnas* is less common than that of *cibulis*, the word is quite old. It is found in the second dictionary of Konstantinas Sirvydas (Cebulá. Cepe, cepa || *Swogunas* SD<sup>3</sup>27; *pioro ábo piezre v cy||bule*. Stylus, thallus cae-||parū. łayʒʒkas *fwagunu* SD<sup>3</sup> 296) and the manuscript dictionaries of Lithuanian Minor of the 17th century (Zwiebel *Swogunas* Lex 113; Zwiebel|jaamm *Swokuno* Sekla Lex 113a; Zwiebel. *Swogūnas*, ô. M C II 1111).

Discussions are still going on about the origin of this word. In his description of the lexeme Ernst Fraenkel (LEW 956) presents only the facts of mentioning it in the old writings and the writings of a later period (apart from the examples that he mentioned from Sirvydas and Georg H. F. Nesselmann's dictionaries, of great importance in describing phytosegregation of the plant is Lith. dial. *Swogunátis*, -*czio* Ragainė 'the chive (*Allium schoenoprasum*); the leek (*Allium porrum*)' mentioned by Nesselmann [1851: 510]), several dialectic forms and states that etymology of Lith. *svogūnas* is unclear.

Algirdas Sabaliauskas (1990: 278f.; also see 1958b: 171ff.) presents the only reliable but not an exhaustive description of the name of

this plant, having most likely quite correctly compared Lith. *svogūnas* and Caraim *sogán* 'Allium Cepa', Tat. *sugan* 'also'. Wojciech Smoczyński (2007: 621) repeated Sabaliauskas' supposition, but for some reason failed to specify its author.

The main name of the Latvian *Allium Cepa* is *sīpuols*. It, as well as its dialectal variants *sīpuolis*, *sīpuls*, *sīpals*, *sīpols* originated from WLG *sipolle* (ME III 855; Sehwers 1953: 305), and the word *cīpuolis* recorded by Juris Plaķis (1927: 52) in Kurzeme is from NHG *Zipolle* (Urbutis 1981: 193). Only the *Atlas linguarum Europe* in Klaipėda specifies the equivalent *cīpuolė* in Lithuanian dialects.

The name *sīpols* [*sīpuols*] is used in the dialects of the Latvian language in the entire the territory of Latvia (this name is rarer in Latgala, in the north-western part of Vidzeme and the northern part of Kurzeme where other variants of the name *sīpols* are used).

Dialectal examples: *kad mizā sīpuōlus, jārāūd; uōlas vār krāsuōt ar sīpuōla mizām* 'when you peel an onion you have to cry; eggs can be dyed with onion skin' Blīdene (ALE); *sīpuōlus aūzē sakņu dārzuōs piē mājām; sīpuōls i vėcu vėcais aūks; vasarā ēdām luōkus, ziēmā pašus sīpuōlus* 'onions are grown in beds near the house; the onion is a very old plant; in summer we ate green onions, and in winter onion bulbs' Džūkste (ALE); *luōki sīpuōlim un ķipluōķim* 'onions and garlic [have] leaves' Jaunrauna (LVDA); *sīpuōli kuōž acīs* 'onions make our eyes smart' Kauguri (ALE); *sīpuōlam kupl luōk* 'onion leaves are lush' Nabe (LVDA); *sīpuōlus, dillītes liekām* [pie salātiem] 'we put onions, dill [into salad]' Panemune (ALE); *griēz viē tuōs sīpuōlus ar visim luōķim* 'they cut the onions with all their leaves' Rauna (LVDA); *rež, kādi muōms sīpuōlu luōki: liēli, tūmši zaļi* 'see what the leaves of our onions look like: large, dark green' Trikāta (LVDA); *vāsārā sīpuōlu luōkus šėcepe, kā tāisijā zuōsti* 'in summer onion leaves were fried when gravy was being made' Vecpiebalga (LVDA); *sīpuōl i piēcs viērķņs* 'there are five strings of onions' Alsunga (ALE); *tu stādi tuōs sīpuōlus divdesmit piēktā maija vakarā bes saūles, ta, ka neviēnc nerēdz ūn a tevi nerunā, ta neaūg dubūlti tiē sīpuōli* 'plant those onions on the twenty-fifth of May, after the sunset, when nobody sees you and talks to you, then those onions do not grow double' Ērgeme (ALE); *sīpuōliēm paūsarī aūg luōki* 'in spring those onions grow leaves' Grobiņa (LVDA); *sīpuōlu luōkus šķinaim, likaim piē mērcēm, biēspiēna; [pīrāgiem] iēkšā lika sagriēztu spēķi ūn sīpuōlus* 'we plucked onion leaves, put them into the gravy, curd; chopped bacon and onions were put [into the muffins]' Iecava (LVDA); *sīpuōl' jāu nūņņēmti, vīņs aūgusta vāc nuōst* 'onions have been pulled out already, they are gathered in August' Kandava (ALE); *sīpuōl', pipar's nevar' ēst* 'I cannot eat onions, peppers' Kazdanga (ALE); *ka aūg piēksc, ta piēmā zāle bij knipluōks, vai maize a sālī, sīpuōlu, pārstāja aūgt* 'when a finger swells, the first medicine was garlic or bread and salt, onion, and the swelling stopped' Kursiši (Apv); *ustaīsīs salat's ar sīpuōl' luōķiēm* 'we made salad with green onions' Matkule (LVDA); *paūsaruōs nuō sīpuōliēm izdīkst luōki* 'in spring leaves shoot from onions' Medze (LVDA); *sacēp uz pañnu taūkus a sīpuōliēm; mañs dēls dikti grib sīpuōlus; us pañnu sacēpa gaļu – kumāsīnus a sīpuōliēm* 'bacon and onions are fried on a frying pan; my son wants onions very much; pieces of meat with onions are fried on a frying pan' Nīca (ALE); *sīpuōli šogad tād videj aūguš, vīņ tād' pusgataļ bi jaisrāū, sālīs nāc vīrse; ja dabū sāl, sīpuōl ziēd* 'this year onions grew of average size, they had to be pulled out unripe, they froze; if they are frost-bitten onions bloom' Renda (ALE); *sīpuōlus mēs tūr taj stūrēnā* [stādām] 'we [plant] onions in that corner' Rucava (ALE); *piē zuņ labak likt sīpuōl luōks nekā pašs sīpuōls* 'it is better to



put green onions than onion bulbs into soup' Svētcieims (LVDA); *sīpuōlu luōki jaū zeltē* 'onion leaves are already turning yellow' Vāne (LVDA); *sīpuōlu luōki gařšigi uz sviēstmaizes* 'onion leaves are delicious on a sandwich' Vecauce (LVDA); *sīpuōlu luōki vis'gařšigāki iř paūsari uz maizes vaī kařī'feļiem* 'green onions are most delicious in spring on bread or potatoes' Vecsvirlauka (LVDA); *sīpuōl<sup>o</sup> luōk<sup>i</sup>*; [jāēd] *pa viēnaŋ sīpuōlaŋ katr<sup>u</sup> diēn<sup>u</sup>* 'onion leaves; one must eat an onion a day' Zālīte (ALE); *sēipūlu laūpēidama, nēf apsaraūdavu* 'when peeling an onion I nearly began to cry' Aknīste (ALE); *sēipūla lokstus āt i pošus sēipūlus* 'onion leaves, as well as onion bulbs, are eaten' Asūne (ALE); *tāvām gařšuo sēipūlu lūki* 'father likes onion leaves' Mālupe (LVDA); *lūoki iř smālki ziēmas sīpuōliēm* 'leaves of winter onions are small' Meirāni (LVDA); *sīpūollō:ksti:ŋi ōr krēju:m<sup>u</sup> ūn vāl gurķi klō<sup>a</sup>t* 'onion leaves with sour cream and also with cucumbers' Odziēna (Apv); *pašķin sīpūolu lakstus, kūo piēgriēst piē salātiēm* 'pluck onion leaves to put into the salad' Oļi (LVDA); *sīpūolu lokstus mēs ādām l<sup>o</sup>āpot viēnus pošus, i sagriēžām piē biēzapiēna* 'we eat onion leaves on their own and put them chopped into the curd' Sinole (LVDA); *nūo-jāmtūos sēipūolus la:bi iskāltēja* 'pulled out onions were dried well' Sunākste (ALE); *sīpūolu lokstus liēk piē mērcēs, tiē pa ziēmu ār āūg* 'onion leaves are put into gravy, they grow in winter too' Trapene (LVDA); *tiēm sīpūliēm, kas izzied, nīkādu lāga lo:kstu nau* 'those onions which burst into blossom do not have good leaves' Mārciēna (Apv); *sēipūls iř lops un veselīks. nūlāupi sēipūlu siēnīm kū piēgriēt* 'onions are good to eat; peel an onion, chop it and put it into mushrooms' Stāmeriēna (ALE); *sēipūli kūš acūōs; sasaōiļcs kaī sēipūls* 'onions make your eyes smart; dressed like an onion' Višķi (ALE); *sēipūls nūdēr vusūr piē cēpēšim ūn zupuōm* 'an onion goes well with anything, with steaks and soups' Ziēmeris (ALE).

The name *sīpols* [*sīpuols*] has been recorded in many Latvian dictionaries of the 17th–19th century: *Zwiebel – Siepohls* Lettus 1638: 222; *Zwiebeln – Siepoli* Phras 330; *Sihpols*, pl. *Sihpoli* – *Zwiebeln* Langius 1685: 253; *Sihpoli tee* – *Zwiebeln* Lange 1773: 296; *Zwiebel – fihpols* Stender 1789 II 742; *fihpols* – *Zwiebel* Stender 1789 I 262; *fihpols* – *die Zwiebel* Ulmann 1872: 256; *Zwiebel fihpols* Ulmann 1880 795.

The *ijō* stem form *sīpuolis* has been also recorded in some subdialects (mainly in Selian ones). Dialectal examples are as follows: *pe salatām vaīg sīpuōļ luōk* 'we need green onions for salad' Laidze (LVDA); *sīpuōlim laksti nuōzēltēši* 'onion leaves have turned yellow' Skaņkalne (LVDA); *sīpūoļām vīrs zemes lo:ksti, poc zemē; sīpūoļus nūovālk ūn sā:pīn riņkūos ziēmāi; kat sīpūeli mizuo, viņč kūož ā:cies* 'onion leaves are above the ground, the onion itself is under the ground; onions are pulled out and braided into strings for winter; when you peel an onion, it makes your eyes smart' Lazdona (ALE); *lūokā'vi i:r ziēmas sīpūoļiem* 'winter onions have leaves' Vējava (LVDA); *sīpūoļu lō:kstus piēgriēž piē zū:pas* 'onion leaves are chopped and put into soup' Kalsnava (LVDA).

The variant *sīpolis* [*sīpuolis*] is found in the four-lingual (German-Swedish-Polish-Latvian) dictionary of the beginning of the 18th century: *Die Zwibel/Zipolle – Rōldōk – Cybulā – Tee Sihpoli* Wörterbüchlein 1705: 76–77.

The variant *sīpuls/seipuls*, which most likely originated after the diphthong *uo* had turned into a monophthong, is used in a compact area of eastern Latvia. The dialectal examples are as follows: *naskot sēipulus cēpēm plītā i ādēm bēz mazišis* 'some time we baked onions in a stove and ate them without bread' Bērzgale (ALE); *sēipulām iř izāltana myza; sēipulus āsī iř ūsēlēģi* 'an onion has a yellowish skin; it is goody to eat

onions' Dricēni (ALE); *sēipūli kūš acīs* 'onions make your eyes smart' Kalupe (ALE); *sēipuly lab'i aūk pār tū, ka tē b'iejuš būļbys* 'onions grow well because there were potatoes here' Kārsava (ALE); *sēipulus sapyn ūēitiŋā i pār zīmu tūr is cēpļa; sēipulym iř saknīs i loksti* 'onions are braided into strings and are kept next to the bread-baking stove during the winter; onions have bulbs and leaves' Makašēni (ALE); *zīmā sasola sēipulu sākla, saguo vusi sēipuly strēļcūs* 'onion seeds got frozen in winter, all onions grew flowers' Nautrēni (ALE); *zyini, taic tūorps sēipulā; kaic gars sēipula laksc; sēipulam deveņis ūōdys* 'you know, such a worm inside an onion; what a long onion leaf; an onion has nine skins' Ozolaine (ALE); *sēipulu lokstus pi bīspina sagriž* 'onion leaves are cut and put into curd' Pededze (LVDA); *itaic sāusūms suōc žālītāt sēipulū loksti* 'it is so dry, onion leaves are beginning to turn yellow' Sakstagals; *itēi muna sēipulu dūbē* 'this is my bed of onions' Šķilbēni (ALE); *āizāi atnes sēipulu lokstus, kū pi zūstes piļikt* 'fetch some onion leaves to put into the gravy' Stāmeriēna (LVDA); *sēipulu lokstūs dāuz vitaminu* 'onion leaves abound in vitamins' Ziēmeris (LVDA).

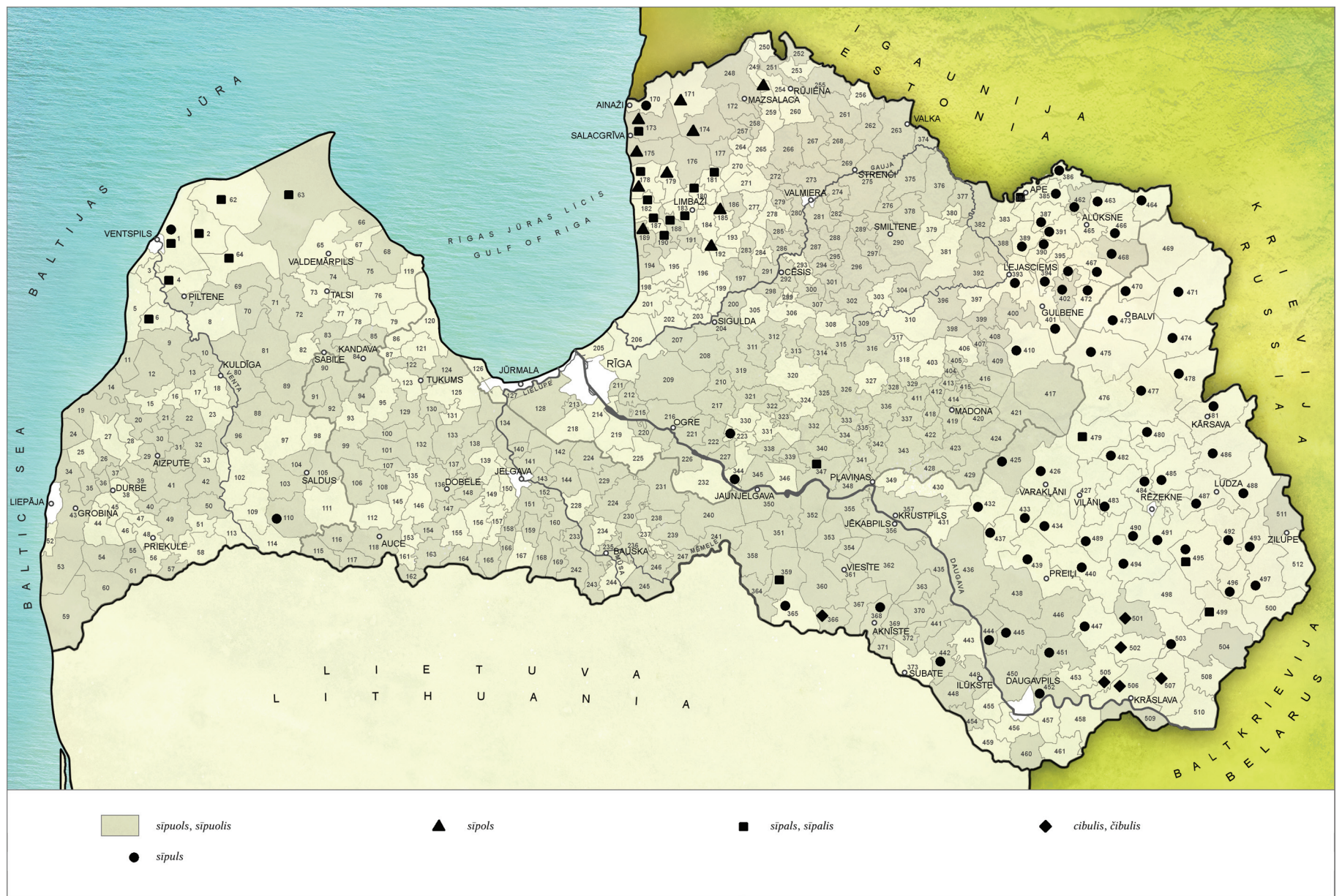
The variant *sīpuls / seipuls* is included in Kurmin's tri-lingual dictionary of the 19th century (Polish-Latin-Latvian, according to the tradition of Augšzemnieki): *Cebula – Cēpa, cepe – Seipuls*, pl. *Seipuly* (Kurmin 1858: 13).

The variant *sīpols* has been recorded in a small compact area in Livian subdialects of Vidzeme where it appeared in an unstressed syllable after the diphthong *uo* had shortened (see Rudzīte 1993: 144) when the loanword *sīpuols* was begun to be treated as an inherited word. Dialectal examples: *sīpol's joū stādiļ, bet mušs tu' sīpuōl lāg negribeļ ūūkt* 'onions were planted but actually onions did not want to grow there' Dunte (ALE); *sīpol's vār stādit a sēklam un a sīpolim; ka sīpol' i dabuš ūūkstum', ta ziēd vasara* 'onions can be grown from seeds or from bulbs; when onions get frost-bitten, they bloom in summer' Idus (ALE); *sīpol' luōks pe mērc' liēk* 'onion leaves are put into gravy' Mazstraupe (LVDA); *sīpol' luōks, ka salats taīs, liēk klā; es ta liēk pa kriētnaŋ* 'onion leaves are put when salad is being made; I use a lot of them' Rozēni (LVDA); *sīpoli jāstād pīlla mēnesi, ta viņi neoūg struōbas; ka sīpol mizo, viņč kūož acis* 'onions must be planted when the moon is full then they do not grow hollow; when you peel an onion, it makes your eyes smart' Svētcieims (ALE); *es viēn gabaliņ sīpol nuōēid; es uzgriēz tād ma:z sīpaliņ uz maiz* 'I ate one piece of onion; I chop a small onion on bread' Vainiži (ALE).

The variant *seipols / sīpols* is used in separate subdialects of Augšzemnieki. Dialectal examples: *jul'ī agreinūs sēipolus jūoizlasa i jūošēļ ražisku* 'in July it is necessary to pull out early onions and to sow radish' Kaunata (ALE); *ūn sē:ūiškyn sīpōllō:ksti:ŋ – t'ē mū:n gā:žuo* 'I find onion leaves especially delicious' Koknese (LVDA).

The variants *sīpals, sīpalis* are also used in a compact area of the north-western Livian subdialects of Vidzeme and in central Tamnieki subdialects of: *sīpals – tuōs es slēņger ēd, pat piē piēnzup vel šaūi klāt* 'I eat onions a lot, even put them into milk soup' Pope (ALE); *ka luōk nokaļst, ta sīpāl ne'ōūg* 'when leaves get dry onions stop growing' Zūras (LVDA); *sīplēm uzmetēs slimēb* 'a disease damaged onions' Dundaga (ALE); *puļk sīpaļ izōg, būs jaiēt us tiērg* 'many onions have grown, I'll have to go to the market' Venta (ALE); *sīpaļēm luōk savīst* 'onion leaves wither' Ziras (LVDA); *viņč i sālde sīpāl luōks* 'this is a leaf of the sweet onion' Stiene (LVDA); *sīpalim joū nuōgāš lakst* 'onion leaves have fallen down' Vainiži (LVDA); *sīpalaŋ papriēkš iř luōk, bet kad sažēlte, tad iř lakst* 'at first an onion has leaves but when it turns yellow, the leaves wither' Vitrupe (LVDA).

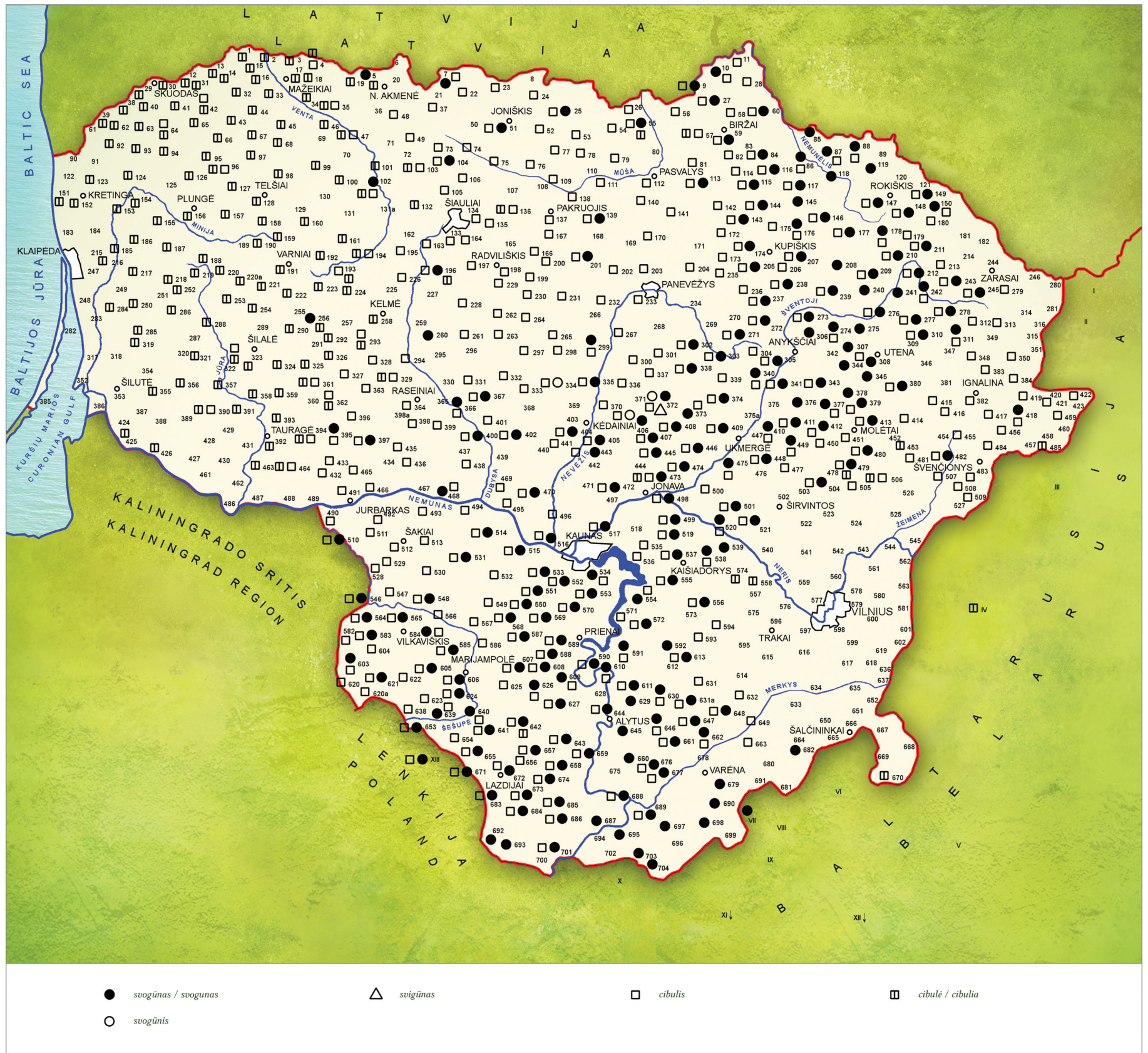














*Baltų kalbų atlasas*  
*Leksika 1: flora*

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## *Names of the Potato*



# Names of the Potato

*Authors of the comments: Rima Bakšienė, Anna Stafecka, Saulius Ambrasas*

The names of the potato (*Solanum tuberosum*), a cultivated agricultural plant of the solanaceae family are presented in the map.

The map is based on Map No. 87 of LKA I and comments, on the answers to Question No. 42 of the fifth dialectological questionnaire of the KFRP, LVDA Map No. 44 and its comments, and ALE Question No. 340.

Potatoes were started to be grown in Latvia and Lithuania only at the end of the 17th century, and they were started to be cultivated more actively in the 18th–19th century (see Niedermann 1923; Strods 1958; Zinkevičius 1990: 82).

In his work *Pasakojimas Antano tretininko* (Tale of Antanas, a member of the Third Order of St. Francis; written in 1872 and published after the author's death in the USA in 1890–1891), Motiejus Valančius described the appearance of this vegetable in Žemaitija (Lowland):

*Pilipas Brazdauskis Saląntu parakwijes, Nasrienu sodos pasituris ukinikas, metusi 1806 pavasari iš Kłajpiedas parwažiawes tare szejminaj sawa „Szitaj pirkau Kłajpiedoj septines kartopeles, wokitej saka esąnt jes iš Amerikos parwežtas, łabaj naudingas ir skanes; mergajte torielką jemusi sugrajzik, wieną paragausma ir suprasma ar tijsą wokitej saka? Mergajte tujaus sugrajže wieną žalę kartopelę. Pilipas ir wisa szejmyna su drusku apsudidama, kąnda, bet prariti negaleje. Petris sunus dar tare „et negut wokitej gal jes walgiti ne žmones.“ Pilipas lijpe duoti [bulvę] kiaulej: ta beregięnt wieną sucziaupioje. Pilipas atsilijpe, pęnkies likusioses idigkiet darzy, kad patis negalesma walgiti bęn kiaules paszersma. Mergajte tujaus darzi pas numą ir sudjigie. Iszdigus stebiejos łapams ir łajszkams naujos žoles. Tąn pat meta rudinop atwažiawa iš Lijpojes wokitis linu pirkti, tam Brazdauskis tare „pirkau kiele kartopeles, bet nežinau kajp su juomis apsiejti? pamokik mani. Wokitis apsakie: jogiej wielaj rudini rejķ jes rauti, noręnt walgiti, rejķ jes wirti ar kiepti, par žijma łajkiti arba rusie arba kamaroj it batwinius. Pavasari ankstij sieti bet retaj. Pilipas gawes rudeni iš pęnkiu bulwiu tris deszimtis tris; kielelą iszwirina ir wisi ragawa o likusioses sieklaj užłajkie.*

*O jogiej bulwes ira apwales kajp ropes; dielto ir pramine roputiemis. Kitur jes wadęn bulwiemis dar kitur dulemis. Uzrasziau taj kad butu žinoma kajp nesenej tas wajsiusžiames iwejestu palika Zemajcziu kraszti.*

‘Pilipas Brazdauskis, a well-off farmer from the Salantai parish, Nasrėnai village in the spring of the year 1806 having returned from

Klaipėda said to his family: “Here I bought in Klaipėda seven *kartopelės* [potatoes]. Germans say they have allegedly been brought from America, very good to eat and tasty; girl, take a plate and cut one raw potato; we’ll taste one and see if the German told the truth. The girl sliced a raw potato immediately. Pilipas and all the family put some salt on it, tried to eat but could not swallow. Petris, his son, even said “maybe only the Germans can eat them not people”. Pilipas told them to give [potato] to a pig: it ate it in no time. Pilipas answered plant the rest five in the vegetable garden: if we are not able to eat them we’ll at least feed them to the pigs. The girl went to the garden by the house and planted them. When they sprouted they wondered at the leaves and stalks of the new grass [plant]. The same year in autumn a German from Liepaja came to buy flax and Brazdauskis said to him “I bought some *kartopelės*, but do not know what to do with them, teach me. The German said: “You will have to lift them late in autumn; if you want to eat them they have to be boiled or fried; in winter they have to be kept in a cellar or pantry like beet and planted early in spring at some distance one from another. From the five potatoes Pilipas got three-three; they boiled some and all tasted them and kept the other for seed.

And those potatoes are as round as turnips; that’s why they are called *roputės*. In some places they are called *bulvės*, in other *dulės*. I put it down so that it is known that fruit [vegetable] was started grown in the land of Žemaičiai’ (Valančius I 574–576).

The majority of the names of the potato in the Lithuanian and Latvian languages are loanwords – Germanisms or Slavisms.

Loanwords from the Slavic languages are widespread in the dialects of both languages in a large common area.

The name *bulvė* (its rare variants – *bulvė*, *bulvė*) mentioned in the extract from Valančius’ book, which later became established in the Standard Lithuanian language, is frequent in Lithuanian dialects in three non-adjacent areas.

It is the most characteristic name of western Highlanders in Kaunas district but on the border it is also found in the subdialects of southern Highlanders around Alytus, Lazdijai and in the southern part of western Highlanders of Šiauliai around Kėdainiai, e.g.: *màno bulvęs kai\_rutà | žídi\_jæu* ‘my potatoes like the rue, are in blossom already’ ZnŽ I 187; *búlvo’u. sodínimu lāĩks | kai\_žídi alĩvõs aba\_žídint vĩšn’õms* ‘the time for planting potatoes is when lilacs are in blossom



or when cherry trees are in blossom' ZnŽ I 188; *niėko mės nətùrim | ċè nę búlvę á.uga | nę kàs* 'we have nothing, even potatoes do not grow here' KzRŽ I 91; *sudígo búlvęs | jęu reik[s] skabít* 'potatoes geminated, we'll have to pluck' KzRŽ I 91; *patùši.davo bírlôu. | su-grūzdavo. taš búlvęs* 'potatoes were stewed and mashed' PpaŽK; *kur kokis | laukę lis má.žas | tai raikę i žu.rę c | kat ne-inlĩ st búlvę.sna | a(r) ruģuósna* 'where there was some small field we had to watch that [cattle] should not get into the potatoes or rye' PpaŽK; *dygsta búlvės kamaroj, diegus reikia skabyt* 'potatoes are sprouting in the lumber room, shoots have to be removed' Veiveriai (e-LKŽ); *jau trečia eile bulves kaupiu, matosi ir bulvėčių* 'I hoe potatoes for the third time, small potatoes can be seen' Kudirkos Naumiėstis (e-LKŽ); *susileido kaip šutinta búlvė* 'became limp like a stewed potato' Vilka-viėkis (e-LKŽ).

This name is also used in the northern subdialects of the eastern Highlanders of Panevėžys around Panevėžys, Pakruojis, Pasvalys, in the subdialect of the northern Lowlanders in Kretinga district and in the north-western corner of Telėiai around Skuodas, e.g.: *kāp ta jōd<sup>o</sup>.ka bōlō nēkasatāu?* 'how is it that you two are not lifting potatoes?' MoŽK; *mōn<sup>a</sup> bōlv<sup>s</sup> vės<sup>s</sup> jau kāsam<sup>s</sup> i* 'my potatoes are being dug up' MoŽK; *pēt<sup>o</sup> s vēr<sup>o</sup> sō bōlōuoms* 'I cook dinner with potatoes' MoŽK; *búlvės apdygo, gali vagoti* 'potatoes have sprouted, you can furrow' Skuodas (e-LKŽ); *nukaiėiau pietams bulves* 'I peeled potatoes for dinner' Skuodas (e-LKŽ); *ėiandien po pavakarės búlves sėsım* 'today about the nightfall we shall plant potatoes' Skuodas (e-LKŽ).

The variant *búlva* (very rarely – *bulva*) is used in some subdialects of eastern Highlanders around Utena, Zarasai, Rokiėkis, e.g.: *búl'vos duonai užumaina* 'potatoes is a substitute for bread' Dusetos (e-LKŽ); *ar druskos dėjai bulvos?* 'have you put salt on the potatoes?' Obeliai (e-LKŽ); *apskritus kaip búl'va* 'round like a potato' Dusetos (e-LKŽ).

Another variant *búliava*, in its formresembling faintly the Lithuanian derivatives with the suffix *-(i)ava*, e.g.: *brol(i)avà* 'brothers and sisters', *velniavà* (cf. Ambrazas 2000: 50) has been recorded in the northern subdialects of Panevėžys, e.g.: *búliava ir duonę užvaduoja* 'potatoes substitute even bread' Joniėkėlis (e-LKŽ); *ėimet búliavų daug prikasım* 'this year we dug up a large crop of potatoes' Klovainiai (e-LKŽ). However, on the basis of the material in Antanas Juėka's dictionary of the 19th century, the supposition can be made that earlier it could have been used in some western subdialects of Lithuania too.

The names *búlbė*, *búlba* are common in a larger part of the area of the Lithuanian language.

The first of them – *búlbė* (rarer *bulbė*, *bulbė*) is used by many Lowlanders: all people in the Telėiai area, the eastern part of Kretinga, Varniai and Raseiniai areas, e.g.: *on tū búlb<sup>o</sup> ušpįaustúom krāp<sup>o</sup>* 'we put some dill on the potatoes' MoŽK; *ėētā pasėjeįem cīela dārža bōlbu* 'well, we planted potatoes all over the garden' KrŽ 55; *je neųžauks bōlbę | būs bliuogā* 'it will be bad if potatoes do not grow' DūnŽ 55; *bōlbę | ànà ožāug* 'a potato, it grows' DūnŽ 55; *tāva núosį kā[p] búlbi* 'your nose is like a potato' DūnŽ 55; *muno boba dabar búlbes skuta* 'my wife is peeling potatoes now' Šaukėnai (e-LKŽ); *ėiomet daug búlbių užderėjo* 'this year the potato crop is very good' Raseiniai (e-LKŽ).

Furthermore, it is also used in almost the entire area of the western Highlanders of Šiauliai, in the south-eastern subdialects of the eastern Highlanders of Panevėžys area around Pakruojis, Radviliėkis, Panevėžys, e.g.: *búlbė – duonos užvadas* 'a potato is a substitute for bread' Ramygala (e-LKŽ); *tos búlbės ankstyvos, greit užauga* 'those

potatoes are early, they grow fast' Ramygala (e-LKŽ); *búlbės didelės kaip kamuoliai* 'potatoes are as big as balls' Linkuva (e-LKŽ); *ėiomet búlbės verdamos sukrinta, miltingos* 'this year potatoes become mealy when boiled' Ėriėkiai (e-LKŽ); *nusipirksiu greitųjų bulbių ir pasisod-insiu* 'I bought early potatoes and shall plant them' Linkuva (e-LKŽ); *kiaulines búlbes gyvuliams supenėsiu* 'I'll give small potatoes to the livestock' Ėriėkiai (e-LKŽ); *nuvažiavo su búlbėm į malūnį!* 'went to the mill with potatoes (said nonsense)' Panevėžys (e-LKŽ).

This name is also characteristic of the most southerly subdialects of southern Highlanders around Varėna, Druskininkai, sometimes it is found in other single subdialects of southern and western Highlanders in Kaunas district, e.g.: *bú.lb.ūr kōšę.s púodu. privé.rzi* 'you make a full pot of mashed potatoes' PpaŽK; *čk.bú.lbi. išvīrus* 'just boiled potatoes' PpaŽK; *kę.pam bú.lbes kap.kā.sam* 'we fry potatoes when we lift them' PpaŽK; *prabá.ltō. šitúoj grę.tinì [sriubq] | ir.vá.lgō. su.bú.lbę.m* 'this sour cream is added to soup and eaten with potatoes' PpaŽK; *kas m.ėtai bú.l'bė.s | tai jau n'elabā. á.ugo.* 'each year potatoes [planted in the same place] do not grow very well' DrsKŽ 45; *bú.l'b'u. já.m dúodu | rug.ūr tá.m m'ė.istru* 'I give some potatoes and rye to the master' DrsKŽ 45; *kepa iš grikių, búlbių* 'they bake from buckwheat, potatoes' DvŽ I 75.

The name *búlba* (rarer *bulba*) is common in the entire area of the subdialects of southern Highlanders, eastern Highlanders of Vilnius, Utena, Anykėčiai, Kupiėkis, Širvintos areas, in eastern and central areas of the subdialect of Panevėžys as well as in the southwestern area of the Šiauliai Highlanders around Jonava, Kėdainiai, e.g.: *karalá.-dai | bú.lbas ċ.da | žmó nę.s lá.isto lá.ist<sup>o</sup>* 'Colorado beetles feed on potatoes, people keep watering them' PpaŽK; *pritarčiuojū bú.lbu. | skarvā.du. prispī.rgai laėiñūr | ař.ten tūr pacūr tāk* 'you grate potatoes, roast some bacon or lard in the frying-pan' PpaŽK; *pavá.lgā.m bú.lbu. i.gerāi mú.m | dainúojēm | net.lāukai žvā.gā* 'we eat potatoes and feel good, we sing and the songs are heard across the fields' KlŽ 27; *bú.lba.s ka.purstūs apgažęje.* 'potatoes have overgrown the cabbages' KlŽ 27; *grudō. [vištoms] raikę | bú.l'ba tai nēlabāi* '[chickens] need corn, potatoes are not very good' KpŽ I 246; *bú.l'bā.[s] sō.dí.n't [reikia] sanaga'lī | sanañ 'męnesi. daugė.usę* 'potatoes are to be planted when the moon wanes, mainly in the full moon' KpŽ I 246; *bú.l'bo.z buz grō.ž.ō.s | kaip abo.lei* 'potatoes will be as nice as apples' KpŽ I 246.

This word is used in Dieveniėkės and in many Lithuanian subdialects in Belarus: around Breslauja, Apsas, Kamojys, Lazūnai, Gervėčiai, e.g.: *jāū prazd'ėdz.inėja žvid'ėc' bú.l'bos* 'potatoes are starting to blossom' DvŽ I 75; *mā.no. sp'ėško.s bú.l'bo.s | skāū.ž'ej ž'ūs | aš anks'c'ì jir kas'ù* 'the growth of my early potatoes will become dry, I am going to lift them early' DvŽ I 75; *ā.nas v'ėi.k'a | sordz'ino. bú.l'bu jir sá.u | jir má.n* 'he probably planted potatoes for himself and for me' DvŽ I 75; *ká.r'v'ė. b'ėga tai búl'bósna | tai rug'úosna* 'the cow runs either into potato or into the rye field' DvŽ I 75; *vog'aū búl'bas, àl'e n'ė kařto n'esagáu* 'I stole potatoes but I was never caught' ZtŽ 99; *ir búl'by daug sodzīnam* 'we plant a lot of potatoes too' LzŽ 42; *òt, kokiā bul'bà dzidelė* 'look, what a big potato' LzŽ 42; *aĩsim krėsc trųšàs ir sodzýsim bul'bàs* 'we'll go and spread some fertilizer and plant potatoes' LzŽ 42.

In the area of the northern Lowlanders of Kretinga around Plungė and Kretinga the name *búilė* (very rarely – *builė*) is found, e.g.: *ėiomet daug búilių prikasiau* 'this year I dug out a lot of potatoes' Tverai (e-LKŽ); *lapė búiles kasė ir kurmį užpraėė* 'fox dug up potatoes and invited the mole' (tale) Nevarėnai (e-LKŽ).

The name *būlvē* (with its variants) is derived from Pol. *bulwa*, and *būlbē* (this, like *būlvē*, was known as far back as the mid-19th century, it was used by Simonas Daukantas, e.g., *Diegimas bulbių, sėtinių stiprina žemę* ‘planting of potatoes, Swedish turnip improves the soil’ [e-LKŽ]), *būlba* – from Bel. *бульба*, rare *būilē* – from Bel. *буль* (cf. Niedermann 1923; LEW 63; Smoczyński 2007: 80f.). And they are Germanisms, cf. Germ. *Bolle* ‘bulb, onion’ (Фасмер I 240; Sabaliauskas 1990: 238).

Very similar Slavisms with the roots *buļb-* and *buļv-* are found in the eastern subdialects in Latvia, especially in Latgale and in some places in Augšzeme.

Most common are names of the same origin with *buļb-*: *buļba*, *buļbe*, *buļbis* and *buļbs*.

The *a* stem form *buļba* (*būlba*) has been recorded in Selonian subdialects of Zemgale (Aknīste, Laši, Pilskalne and other places) and in most subdialects of Latgale (Asūne, Auleja, Baltinava, Balvi, Cibla, Stirniene, Varakļāni, Kārsava, Krāslava, Makašēni, Malta, Mērdzene, Nirza, Rēzna, Sakstagals, Skaista, Zvirgzdene, etc.), e.g.: *pišadēšējdam būlbu, boūs i pošim, i lūpim* ‘planted lots of potatoes, for ourselves and the livestock’ Aknīste (ALE); *dreizūos būlbys vāk staīāt agrī* ‘early potatoes are to be planted early’ Bērzgale.

The *ē* stem form *buļbe* (*būlbā* or *būlbē*) is used in this area too, it has been recorded in Bebrene, Bērzgale, Brigi, Istra, Naujene, Nirza, Pilda, Rēzna, Skaista, Višķi, Zvirgzdene, etc., e.g.: *būlbā keī ūtrūo mairā* ‘the potatoe is like second bread’ Bērzgale (Apv); *mās salosom tōlku i pa svādīni būlbis nūkašam* ‘let us call somebody for help and we shall lift potatoes on Sunday’ Višķi (LVDA).

There is also the *o* stem variant *buļbs* (*būlbs*), which is used in Dagda (cf. *bulbs* Niedermann 1923: 70), Kaunata, Nirza, Laši, Pilskalne, e.g., *pylta voga – būlbs pi būlba* ‘the row is full, potato after potato’ Kaunata (Apv).

The *ijō* stem form *buļbis* (*būlbs*) is mostly used in the northern subdialects of Latgale (Liepna, Šķilbēni, Rugāji, Tilža, Viļaka), e.g., *būlbus jau dzonoj* ‘potatoes have already been hilled up’ Šķilbēni (ALE).

The name *buļbs* or *buļbis* has also been recorded in Aizkalne, Bērzgale, Malta, Rundēni, Viļāni, Višķi (due to a lack of material it is impossible to determine the stem of the word; the same can be said about the word *buļbi* nom. pl. form from Alūksne, Ļaudona ir Stāmeriena; presented in ME I 347).

The writing sources of the 19th century contain the nom. pl. form *bulbes*, *-u*, Kartoffeln (from Bebrene) Ulmann 1872: 39; *bulbes* Ulmann 1880: 439.

The words *uļbiks* and *ulbiķis* most likely have been derived from the root *buļb-*.

The name *uļbiks* has been registered in Nautrēni and some neighbouring subdialects (Bērzgale, Bērzpils, Makašēni, Tilža), e.g.: *saušņoji šūgod ūlbiki; ūlbikus stota, ka zīd uōbēlneicys* ‘this year potatoes are mealy; potatoes are planted when apple trees are in blossom’ Nautrēni (LVDA); *ka nau ūlbiku goc (-ds), napījaūg itymā fēirumā* ‘if it is not a good year for potato, [potatoes] do not grow in this field’ Makašēni (Apv).

ME IV 297 presents the variant *ulbiķis* from Domopole (Bērzpils) and Zaļmuiža (Nautrēni), and EH II 712 – from Bērzgale. It is not recorded in other collections.

The names with the root *buļv* are widespread in another large area: *buļva*, *buļve*, *buļvois* and *buļvs*. They are also common in the area of the subdialect of Augšzemnieki in Latgala, rarer in Augšzeme.

The *ā* stem form *buļva* has been recorded in Bērzpils, Dricēni, Gaigalava, Kalupe, Līvāni, Rugāji, Sakstagals, Tilža, Varakļāni, e.g.: *būlvys cylvākām ir ūtrūo mairā* ‘potatoes for man is like bread’ Dricēni (LVDA); *kaī mēilām bārnām dāudzi vūordu, tāi i būlvai* ‘potatoes, like a beloved child, have many names’ Gaigalava (LVDA).

The *ē* stem form *buļve* has been recorded in Aizkalne, Bebrene, Dricēni, Dviete, Kaunata, Malta, Pilskalne, Rēzna, Rubēni, Viļāni, Višķi, e.g.: *būlvōis stota maja ūtrējā pušā, a losa sēnēfērī* ‘potatoes are planted in the second half of May, and are lifted in September’ Dricēni (LVDA); *lāi lālys izaūktu būlvōis, jūos dīu rāizis jūotār* ‘for potatoes to grow big it is necessary to earth them up twice’ Kaunata (LVDA); *sāusā vosorā izaūg lālys būlvōis* ‘potatoes grow big when the summer is dry’ Ozolaine (LVDA).

The *o* stem form *buļvs* (*būlvs*) is used in some Selonian subdialects of Zemgala (Pilskalne, Rubēni).

The *ijō* form *buļvis* (*būlvis*) is widespread in some northern (Balvi, Rugāji, Šķilbēni) and south-western subdialects (Kalupe, Liksna, Līvāni, Vārkava) of Latgale, as well as in some Selonian subdialects of Zemgale (Bebrene, Susēja), e.g.: *ār būlvōi vīn napūordzēvūoši* ‘you cannot live on potatoes alone’ Kalupe (LVDA); *vōi, cik skāists fēirums, ka būlvōi zīf, būlvōim jira bōļi i ružvōi zīdi* ‘look, what a beautiful field when potatoes are in blossom, potato blooms are white and pink’ Kalupe (KIV I 197).

*Buļvs* or *buļvois* (the stem is not clear) has been recorded in Istra, Malta, Preiļi, Varakļāni.

The variant *bullis* (*būllis*) (perhaps from *būlvis* > *būllis*?) is used in two subdialects of northern Latgale (Šķilbēni and Viļaka), e.g.: *Andru Zosē sačēja: būllī, na būlbi* ‘Andru Zose used to say *būllī* ‘potatoes’ rather than *buļbi*’ Šķilbēni (ALE); *joūnūs būllus napatīk lōupiēt – zīžās pi:rsti* ‘I do not like peeling new potatoes – the fingers become coloured’ Viļaka.

The form *bullis* is used to denote the potato in north-eastern Vidzeme in Alūksne (Niedermann 1923: 69).

The derivative of the said name *bullitis*, is formed with the diminutive suffix *-itis* recorded in some subdialects of northern Kurzeme (Ēdole, Piltene, Usma, Ziras), ME presents it from the subdialect of Kalupe in Latgale.

Nom. pl. *buļvas* is known from the source of the 19<sup>th</sup> century: *buļvas*, Kartoffeln. Ulmann 1872: 40.

Names with the root *guļb-* are frequent in the subdialects of Latgale: *guļba*, *guļbe*, *guļbis*, *guļbs*; cf. *gulbiši* Venta (ME), which most likely were derived from Bel. *гульба* (Niedermann 1923).

The *ā* stem form *guļba* (*gūlbā*) is found more often, it is used in the subdialects around Aglona, Preiļi, Viļāni, has been registered in Kaunata, Malta, Pilda, Ružina, Skaista, Šķaune and other places, e.g.: *mudri varāšim rakf gūlbys* ‘soon we shall be able to lift potatoes’ Galēni (LVDA); *saguluši gūlbu mūotrūoji* ‘potato growth is flattened’ Sakstagals (LVDA); *gūlbu dāudz šiej, ar gūlbys cūkys baroi, i pošy ādām* ‘they plant lots of potatoes, feed them to pigs, and eat them themselves’ Vārkava (LVDA).

The *ē* stem form *guļbe* (*gūlbā*) is used mostly in the southern subdialects of Latgale (Aglona, Dagda, Izvalta, Kapiņi, Krāslava, Malta, Višķi), e.g.: *mozūos gūlbis lūpym barojām* ‘we feed small potatoes to animals’ Izvalta (LVDA); *suōkagūlbis kašf* ‘they started lifting the potatoes’ Krāslava (Apv).

The *o* stem form *guļbs* (*gūlbs*) has been recorded in Dagda and Kaunata, e.g., *kot sūuks pa daļai nūkust, jūopōrlosa gūlby* ‘when snow



melts a little we'll have to sort out the potatoes' Kaunata (ALE). The *iġo* stem form *guļbis* (*gūl̥bs*) is used in Aizkalne, Andrupene, Kapiņi, Kaunata, Malta, Rundēni.

The name of the Germanic origin *kartupelis* is used in the large part of the territory of Latvia (< LG *kartuffel*, see Sehwers 1953: 47; cf. also the current HG *Kartoffel*; this word was borrowed from It. *tartuficolo*, see Kluge 2002: 473f.).

*Kartupelis*, a word of Standard Latvian, is often used in dialects along another older name.

The examples of dialects are as follows: *pišadēstējōam kartupeļu: bouš i pošim, i lūpim* 'we planted potatoes, they will be for us and the animals' Aknīste (LVDA); *kuōka ecēs<sup>a</sup> bi kādrēz priēkš kartupeļiēm* 'earlier potatoes were harrowed with wooden harrows' Grobiņa (LVDA); *kaŗtupeļus cepa ar visām mizām kruōš priškā vōi koŗstās ūglēs* 'potatoes were fried in jackets at the front of the stove or in hot live coals' Kalncempji (LVDA); *ka jau grib tā smālkāk runāt, tā glaunāk, ta tēc – kaŗtupeļ* 'when one wants to say in a more modern way he says *kartupeļi* 'potatoes' Planīca (LVDA); *mušs puļk izaŗ: g, tik briē: smik kaŗtupeļ aŗ: g* 'many potatoes grew, they grew awfully well' Pope (LVDA); *ka kaŗtupeļus apstādija ūn nūoraka, tanī dienā vārija kaŗtupeļu bieŗputru* 'when potatoes were planted or lifted, mashed potatoes were served' Rencēni (LVDA); *kārtupēls – tys pa jaunām* '*kartupelis* – this is in a new fashion' Sakstagals (LVDA); *kārtupeļi vacā j'ās<sup>o</sup>āda, ta tik lieli loksti naaŗgūt* 'potatoes are to be planted when the moon is on the wane so that the potato steams do not grow tall' Sinole (ALE); *gūs iēda kaŗtupeļu lokstus* 'cows eat the above-ground growth of potatoes' Stāmeriena (LVDA); *kaŗtupeļs stād abuliņ zeme, agrak stādij rudz rugaja* 'potatoes are planted in the soil in which clover grew before, earlier they were planted where rye used to grow' Svētciems (LVDA); *bet nu sāk saŗkt pakaŗtupeļiēm ar* 'now they started to call *kartupeļ* too' Zante (LVDA).

The dictionaries of the 18th and 19th century record the word *kartupelis* and nom. pl. *kartupeles*: *Kartoffeln, kartuppeles* Stender 1789 II 762; *kartupelis, -la*, pl. *-i*, die Kartoffel. *Kartupeļus rakt un vilkt*, kartoffeln ausnehmen 'to lift potatoes' Ulmann 1872: 103; *Kartóffel, kārtupelis* Ulmann 1880: 439.

This name has many phonetic and morphological variants in dialects.

The word *kartufelis* is most often used in Kurzeme and Zemgale, rarer in south-eastern Vidzeme and Augšzeme, e.g., *pa kaŗtufeļim ar pasōuc, bet paš sova stārpa pa rāceņim runa* '[potatoes] are also called *kartufeli*, but among themselves they are called *rāceņi*' Stende (LVDA).

The word *kartupulis* is mostly used in Selian subdialects of Latgale (Ābeļi, Elkšņi, Zasa, also in Druviena and Rudzēti), e.g., *kārtupūli cīfi sāuc i guļba* 'others call a potato *guļba*' Rudzēti (LVDA). It has also been recorded in Ābeļi, Druviena, Krustpils, Rudzēti, Zasa.

The word *kartopelis* is used mostly in Livonian subdialects of Kurzeme, younger generation uses it in some subdialects of Latgale, e.g.: *pa Jāņ nedeļ mušs ju bij izvā:rc kaŗtupeļ zuŗ* 'in the week of St John's we already ate potato soup' Pope (LVDA); *es ēd kartopaļs* 'I eat potatoes' Venta (LVDA).

The word *kartup(i)s* is widespread in Vidzeme (around Cēsis, Smiltene, it is also found in Augšzeme), e.g.: *šūodie izvāriju kaŗtupus* 'today I boiled potatoes' Kauguri (ALE); *kaŗtupus smilc (-ts) zemē viē vāŗrāk stāda* 'potatoes are planted mostly in sandy soil' Smiltene (LVDA).

The word *katupelis* is found in some subdialects of Zemgale (Augstkalne [EH], Bēne, Sniķere, Ukri, Vecauce, Zaļenieki), e.g., *vagas*

*katupeļiēm džen a mazuō aŗkli* 'trenches for potatoes are made with a small wooden plough' Zaļenieki (LVDA).

The variant *kartpelis* is used in Kurzeme, in some places in Zemgale and Vidzeme (Burtnieki, Grundzāle, Nītaure, Raiskums, Rencēni, Valmiera, etc.), e.g.: *kaŗtupeļu tūcis* 'potatoe stew' Burtnieki; *kaŗtupeļus nuōtīra un vāra* 'potatoes are peeled and boiled' Iecava (LVDA); *kaŗtupeļus nuōkāsa, sapēncēja a drēbu mazgājamuo vāli* 'potatoes were lifted, mashed with a washing beetle' Kārķi (LVDA); *duŗģgava i tāda biēŗputra – kaŗtupeļ<sup>s</sup> nuovār<sup>a</sup>, sabakā, pieleļ piēnu* 'dungava there is such porridge – they boil potatoes, pour milk over them' Virga (LVDA).

The variant *kartfelis* is used in Kurzeme and Zemgale, e.g.: *viēnā ruōkā siļķe, viēnā kaŗtfelis* 'a herring in one hand, a potato in the other' Nīca (LVDA); *kaŗtfeliēm iŗ rōzā ziēdi* 'potato blossoms are pink' Vecsvirlauka (LVDA).

The variant *karpelis* is widespread in Vidzeme, it is used rarer in Augšzeme (there the word *karpalis* is also found – Sece, Sērene, sporadically found in Kurzeme too – Dunalka, Kalvene), e.g.: *kaŗpeļ<sup>a</sup> kluč<sup>s</sup> vārija* 'potato dumplings were cooked' Burtnieki (LVDA); *kaŗpeļi agrāk vāŗrāk nebi kā maziē ziliē* 'earlier there were no other potatoes, only those small and blue' Ērgeme (LVDA); *kaŗpeļs stād liēlus lāuks* 'large fields are planted with potatoes' Jeri (LVDA); *kaŗpeļiēm šūogad miļzīgi laksti* 'this year the potato growth is very big' Kūdums (LVDA); *iēsim kaŗpeļus ņēmtu!* 'we'll go to lift potatoes!' Skaņkalne (LVDA).

The words *kartins, kartiņš* (and *kartīns*) are used mainly in Livian subdialects of Vidzeme, e.g.: *iēs kaŗtinu stādītu* 'they'll go to plant potatoes' Braslava (LVDA); *kaŗtins a vis miz vāri* 'potatoes were boiled in jackets' Kārķi (LVDA); *kaŗtiņš stādij diēzgaņ doūdž* 'they used to plant a lot of potatoes' Dunte (LVDA); *smaga zeme stādīt kaŗtiņ noŗ miļtan* 'potatoes planted in heavy soil are never mealy' Pociems (LVDA); *joŗna mēnesa stāditi kaŗtiņi izoŗg lakstas* 'potatoes planted when the moon is young have large above-ground growth' Svētciems (LVDA).

The sources of the 19th century recorded the nom. pl. form *kartiņi, -u*, Kartoffeln. Ulmann 1872: 102.

The word *karpāns* has been registered in Vecpiebalga and the neighbouring subdialects, *karpans* – in Grostona, Jaunpiebalga, Jumurda, Vecpiebalga, e.g., *kāŗpānus vāgā vismāz diŗrēz* 'potatoes are hilled up at least twice' Vecpiebalga (LVDA).

Other variants are found much rarer. The variant *karpulis* could have appeared due to distant regressive assimilation (*-upe-* > *-upu-*) and due to later disappearance of *-tu-* or its adjustment to the ending *-ulis*. It has been recorded in Skujene, Sunākste, e.g., *es na:zinu, koā bes kaŗpuļiem cilvāks varātu dzeivūt* 'I do not know how one could live without potatoes' Sunākste (ALE); *kartapelis* – in Nereta (Niedermann 1923: 41); *kartapulis* – in Ābeļi (Niedermann 1923: 41), in Birži.

The loanword *tupulis* (< LG *tuffel* EH II 704) is most frequent in south-east of Vidzeme and in several western subdialects of Latgale, e.g., *tupuļus stādija tad, kad t'āds gobolāins debess ar mozākiem m'ākuonišiem; ka bij skaidris, ta tukšš (-šs) tīrums, ta tupuļi na-izaŗgūt* 'potatoes were planted when there were small cumulus in the sky – with small clouds; if the weather is fine the field is empty, potatoes do not grow then' Sinole (Sgr 304).

The aphaeretic variant *tupelis* < *\*kar-tupelis* is used in the subdialects around Jumprava, in the northern part of Kurzeme (Dundaga, Pope), e.g., *vē:cie po tuppeļiem* 'old people call [potatoes] *tupeliai*' Meņģele (LVDA).

The name *tupenis* is frequent in the southern part of Vidzeme, rarer in western Latgale; it is also found in Talsi, Dunte, Kursiši,

Džūkšte and other places, e.g.: *adbràuc is tupèñ rakšonys tòlk* ‘come to help lift potatoes’ Galēni (LVDA); *iscep uôglês tupeniti un êd* ‘they bake a potato in live coals and eat’ Kursiši (ALE).

In some places the variants *tupene*, *tupine*, *tupinis* (Dagda), *tupiņš* are used, e.g., *muna tànte sîkus tupiņus saskrùotēja, sagriêze sàklài – sořkanie spirta brùža tupiņi toàpot aûga* ‘my aunt cleaned small potatoes, cut them for seed; red potatoes for making alcohol also grew’ Sinole (ALE).

Lith. *kartùpelis* has been recorded in the area of the Lithuanian language in Kybartai (used in Lithuania Minor as far back as the 18th century, e.g.: *Sékĩtė Kopuštis, Mòrkus fu diddėlė Sáuje; Rópju, Paštarnókũ Swiklũ beygĩ Rėpukkũ; Taip ir Szalkiũ, fũ gardžeis Kartuppėliũ Walgeis* ‘sow a large handful of cabbages, carrots; turnips, parsnips, beetroots and potatoes; also cabbages, with delicious potato dishes...’ DonelR 126), the word *kardùpelis* is also derived from the said LG *kartuffel* (cf. Alminauskis 1934: 63f.; Smoczyński 2007: 260).

*Kurdùplis* of Zietela could come through Bel. dial. *картòфля*.

Another name of the potato *kunodà*, *kunòdas* used in Zietela is also Belarusian, cf. Bel. dial. *кунада* (LKA I 161), e.g.: *drámnos kunòdos* ‘small potatoes’ ZtŽ 331; *kunòdu. ar dúot pònu?* ‘shall I give potatoes to the master?’ ZtŽ 331; *žmón'ès ěm'è kunodàs sod'int'i* ‘people started planting potatoes’ ZtŽ 331; *t'egũ jės p'ino sa kunòdom* ‘let him eat milk with potatoes’ ZtŽ 331; *graži kunod'ėlė* ‘a nice small potato’ ZtŽ 331; *dú'k'it nór po kunod'ėla* ‘give at least a potato each’ ZtŽ 331; *kap m'ėnũkas mĩc'itkas, tai ir kunodĩkos mĩc'itkos* ‘when the moon is small, potatoes are small too’ ZtŽ 331; *kunodàs kasėm* ‘we lifted potatoes’ Zietela (e-LKŽ); *prapuolė kunòdos čionai* ‘potatoes have disappeared here’ Zietela (e-LKŽ).

The word *ėčiũkas* from Sokaičiai and the word *ėčũkas* from Smalininkai are probably derived from Germ. dial. *Erdschocke* (for more about it see Kluge 2002: 63, 253).

Another part of Lithuanian and Latvian names of the potato appeared due to the similarity of the nodule of the potato to other vegetables and fruit.

Western Lowlanders and some neighbouring northern subdialects of Lowlanders in Kretinga district, southern Lowlanders in Varniai and Raseiniai districts (around Šilalė, Tauragė), Highlanders of Klaipėda region (Lithuanians that lived in East Prussia in the 19th century) used the old word *ropė* or its diminutive variant *ropùtė* (rarely *rapùtė*, *rupùtė*) in the meaning of the potato, e.g.: *šimėta ropòtės àug kãp\_pasòtòšes* ‘this year potatoes grow like mad’ KrŽ 349; *palĩndòšis pò\_stála sòrĩnk tas\_ròpòtės* ‘get under the table and pick up those potatoes’ KrŽ 349; *pėitãms ěšševėřšò sãusũ ropòtu* ‘I’ll boil dry potatoes for dinner’ KrŽ 349; *ropiũ cielq\_pũrq priroviau* ‘I pulled out a pood of potatoes’ Palanga (e-LKŽ); *ař eisũ ĩ kelnerĩ sėklai rópes pjaustyt* ‘I’ll go to the cellar to cut potatoes to be planted’ Ramučiai (e-LKŽ); *ankstybes roputės mes jau nukasėm* ‘we have already lifted the early potatoes’ Skirsnemunė (e-LKŽ); *ropùčių neskustũ išvirs gaspadinė, kanapiũ vėl sutrĩns* ‘the housewife will boil potatoes in jackets, will crush hemp again’ Judrėnai (e-LKŽ); *atneřk krestj dideliũ ropùčių – kugelĩ kepsim* ‘bring a basket of big potatoes – we’ll bake potato cake’ Tauragė (e-LKŽ); *pietums išvirsiu ropùčių su lupenom* ‘I’ll boil potatoes in jackets for dinner’ Kartena (e-LKŽ); *mes turėjom tũ roputikiũ, buvo skanios, miltingos* ‘we had those potatoes, they were delicious, mealy’ Šilutė (e-LKŽ) (cf. the above-mentioned extract from Valančius’ book, see p. 476).

In one or another subdialect in Klaipėda region and in the subdialects of western Highlanders on the southern side of the Nemunas

River the name of the potato of the same origin *rapũkas* (in some places *ropũkas*) is found, only it has another diminutive suffix *-ukas* and often a different root vocalism.

The name being discussed is not absolutely new either, it has been recorded in the writings of Antanas Tatarė (1805–1889) who came from the environs of Griřkabũdis (the village of Rygiřkiai) (about their language see Zinkevičius 1981): *darbũ kuo daugiausia: miežiũs, aviřas, řirnius, rapukus iš lauko namo pargabenti* ‘there was much to do: to bring in from the field barley, oat, peas, and potatoes’ (e-LKŽ). E.g.: *pirmã niėgz búlvũ neminavòjo | sakĩdavo | rapũkai* ‘earlier nobody mentioned potatoes, they said *rapukai*’ ZnŽ II 523; *rapũkai řėis mĩtais prastã užderėju* ‘potatoes did not give a good crop this year’ ZnŽ II 523; *mĩs laukuosė riņkomã rapukũs* ‘we gathered potatoes in the fields’ ZnŽ II 523; *tĩnka kaip\_sviestas su\_rapũkais* ‘like butter and potatoes’ ZnŽ II 523; *ka\_rapũku. turėsi | bãdu nematĩsi* ‘if you have potatoes you will never starve’ ZnŽ II 523; *apie mus senieji žmonės visi tik rapũkais bulves vadina* ‘around us the old people call potatoes *rapukai*’ Kiduliai (e-LKŽ); *jau rapũkũ mažai sklepe, reiks iš kaupo atsineřt* ‘there aren’t many potatoes in the cellar left, I have to bring some from the heap covered with earth’ Sudargas (e-LKŽ); *kad tie rapũkai řjmet ir visai neuřderėjo* ‘this year potatoes did not give a good crop at all’ Ragainė (e-LKŽ); *dařylq\_valgydavo su rapũkais* ‘they ate the gravy with potatoes’ Smalininkai (e-LKŽ); *iřvirk man ropukũ* ‘boil some potatoes for me’ Girkalnis (e-LKŽ).

The word *ropė* in the meaning of ‘a medicinal plant of the cruciferous family (*Brassica rapa*)’ is found both in the first (rřepã / *rapa*. *Rope* SPr 161) and the second (Rřepa okrãglã / *Rapa*, æ. *Rapum*, *Rope* SD<sup>3</sup> 395) dictionaries of Konstantinas Sirvydas, as well as in the manuscript dictionary of Lithuania Minor of the 17th century *Clavis Germanico-Lithvana* (Rũbe. *Rópe*, ěs. F. C II 355).

It has relative words in other IE languages, cf. CS *rěpa*, OHG *ruoba*, Lat. *rãpum*, *rãpa*, Gk. *ρόπος* ‘ropė’. This is a ‘travelling’ word of an unclear origin (cf. Trautmann 1923: 237; LEW 743; IEW 852; Sabaliauskas 1959a, 1990: 43 and lit.; Smoczyński 2007: 520).

The name *rãcenis* used in Kurzeme and in a wide compact area in western Zemgale is a semantic analogue of *ropė* (cf. *rãcenis* – *Brassica rapa*), e.g.: *kad řermuòķřliēm pulķ uòg's, tad rãcėņ' la:bi paduòdãš* ‘when there are many berries on rowan trees, potatoes give a good crop’ Asĩte (LVDA); *maņ cũk" rãcėņ's vėl tagad iēt* ‘now I use [the name] *cũku rãcenis* “potatoes for pigs” again’ Dzirciems (LVDA); *ka jau i rãcenis, ta badã nuòmiřt nevař* ‘if there are potatoes we shall not starve to death’ Kursiši (ALE); *mēs jaũ parast' turiņ tuõ var' du – rãcėņ'* ‘we usually use that word *rãcėņ'*’ Kursiši (LVDA).

The form *rãcinis* is used in some places in the south of Kurzeme (Bãrta, Dunika, Kursiši, Nĩca, Rucava, Saldus, Sãtiņi), in some subdialects the word *rãciņš* – (Dundaga FBR V 132, Pũre FBR XIV 46), *rãcėnis* (Blĩdene, Džũkste, Garoza) can be found, e.g.: *rãcėņus ka stãda, a cacĩti izdzėņ vagas* ‘when potatoes are planted trenches are made by a harrow’ Džũkste (ALE); *rãcĩnis – rãcĩnis jaũ grib, ka gař viņũ ruřinãš; rãcĩņus iėraũsa pėlnuòš, icepa, senãk bi sař'kaniē, ziliē, liēliē bãltiē rãciņi* ‘potatoes like to be taken care of; potatoes are put into ashes, baked, earlier there were red, blue, large white potatoes’ Džũkste (ALE). The word *rãcis* is used in Blĩdene. The name *rãpucis* (EH II 361) has been recorded in the Latvian language of the Curonian Spit (Kurřiũ nerija).

The name *rãcens* ‘turnip’ is also used in the meaning of the potato in the sources of the 19th century: in Kurland hier und da auch ‘here and there in Kurzeme’ *rahcens* Ulmann 1880: 439; also nom.



pl. *zemes rāciņi*: *femes rahciņi* ‘turnips of the earth’, Kartoffeln. Ulmann 1872: 234.

Jānis Endzelīns (ME III 494) stated that Latv. *rācenis* could appear by means of contamination from the root *rāp-* (cf. Lith. *rópė*) and *rac-*, cf. Latv. *rakt* ‘to dig’. This verb is related to Lith. *rākti* ‘to peck, to stab, to dig’ (Būga I 276, II 195, 258, 534f.; ME III 475, 699; Smoczyński 2007: 498f.).

Latvians also compare potatoes with beans.

The name *pupa* (cf. *pupa* – *Vicia faba*) has been recorded in Galēni and Varakļāni and ME IV 712 recorded the name *zempupa* from Nereta and Sauka.

Latv. *pupa* (*Faba vulgaris*) is related to Lith. *pupà* (ME III 414). The toponyms *Pupayn*, *Pupekaymen*, etc. (Gerullis 1922: 137; Endzelīns 1943: 237) testify to the fact that this word existed in the Prussian language too.

August Leskien (1891: 225) compared *pūpa* to *putà*, *pūsti*. Actually, *pupà*, like all other words mentioned here, could have been derived from the same IE verb *\*peu-* / *\*rou-* / *\*pū-* ‘to blow’, only it was extended by another determinative *-p-*, cf. especially Latv. *paup* ‘to swell’ (it is also related to Lith. *paūpti* ‘to die’, see Urbutis 2009: 100), Latv. *pups* ‘woman’s breast’, Lat. *pūpus* ‘boy, child’, Alb. *pupë* ‘breast, teat, bud’ (Sabaliauskas 1959: 232ff.; Sabaliauskas 1990: 158; LEW 670f.; IEW 847ff.; Smoczyński 2007: 489f.).

By the way, Vytautas Mažiulis (PKEŽ I 129f.) put forward the idea that both Lith. *pupà* and Pruss. *babo* ‘beans’ E 263 were children’s words.

From the semantic point of view the name *pampālis* found in Kurzeme, especially in its south western part, matches the said words, e.g.: *apaļ's paṁpaļ's izvārīja* ‘whole potatoes were boiled’ Asīte (LVDA); *paṁpaļi bij senāk, tagad kaṁtfelī* ‘earlier [the name] was *pampaļi*, and now it is *kaṁtfelī*’ Ziemeupe (ALE).

The name *pimpulis* has been recorded in Kurmene and Taurkalne. In some places in Kurzeme the word *pentupelis* (Priekule) and *pentups* (Asīte [EH], Bunka [EH], Gramzds [ME], Priekule) are used.

The *pampaļi* is found in the sources of the 19th century: *pampaļi*, *-u*, Kartoffeln. Ulmann 1872: 188; locale Benennung ‘toponym’ *pampaļi*. Ulmann 1880: 439; *pimpuļi* kartoffeln (from Taurkalne) Ulmann 1872: 201.

The name *pentups* is also specified in the source of the 19th century: *pentups*, *-a*, die Kartoffel. Ulmann 1872: 199.

Lith. *paṁpalas* whose main meaning is ‘lump’ is related to them (e-LKŽ).

The latter was made with the adjectival suffix (derived from *\*-lo-*, cf. Ambrazas 1993: 98ff.) from the children’s verb, cf. Lith. *paṁpti*, Latv. *pāmp*, also Pruss. *papinipis* (< *\*papimpis*) ‘saddle’ E 444, Slav. *\*pupь* ‘navel’, OIc. *fimbul* ‘strong, large’, Lat. *pampinus* ‘leaves of the vine, shoot’, *papula* ‘pimple, pustule’, Gk. *πομφός* ‘skin blister’, Arm. *ṙampūšt* ‘bladder’ (Trautmann 1923: 205; ME III 73; LEW 535f.; PKEŽ III 222f.).

ME presents the word *ābuols* ‘apple’ from Alūksne in the meaning of ‘potato’, and EH *ābals* from Venta. There are also other names: *zemes ābuols* ‘apple of the earth’ Balvi (Niedermann 1923: 75); *zemes ābuls* (Sinole), e.g., *tupuļus sāuce gòn pār zemes ābuliem*, *bet reši*

‘potatoes are called *zemesāboli* too but rarely’; *zemābuols* (Vainiži), *zem(e)sābuols* (pl. *zemsābuļ*) Dunte (FBR VIII 69).

These names could have appeared due to an old German name for the potato *Erdapfel*, which is a translation from Lat. *mālam terrae*. The latter, at first denoted cyclamens, melons, cucumers, and later was started to be used widely in Europe to name potatoes (Kluge 2002: 253).

On the other hand, the Latvian compound being discussed (resp. a word combination) is made from two old words. The first one is especially archaic – *zeme*, cf. Lith. *žėmė*, Pruss. *same* E 24, *semmē* III 105<sub>17</sub>, OSlav. *zemlja*, Lat. *humus*, OInd. *kṣam-*, Av. *zəm* (acc. sg.), Gk. *χθών*, Hitt. *tegan* (gen. sg. *tákna(a)š*), Toch. A *tkam* (gen. sg. *tkanis*), etc. (Trautmann 1923: 369; ME IV 708f.; Benveniste 1935: 147ff.; LEW 1299; IEW 414ff.; Иванов 1965: 25ff.; ИЯ 821; Sabaliauskas 1990: 53f.; PKEŽ IV 58ff.; Smoczyński 2007: 777f.).

The second component *ābuōls* is also quite old; once it was a noun of the *l* stem, cf. Lith. *obuolys*, Pruss. *woble* E 616, Slav. *\*āblu-*, *\*ablъko*, OHG *aphol*, *-ul*, OIr. *Ubúll*, etc. (Būga I 433; Trautmann 1923: 2; ME I 234f.; Fraenkel 1936: 108; LEW 515; IEW 1f.; Kazlauskas 1968: 286; ЭССЯ I 44ff.; ИЯ 637f.; Sabaliauskas 1990: 41f.; PKEŽ IV 259ff.; Smoczyński 2007: 432).

In some Lithuanian subdialects potatoes are compared to another similar fruit – the pear. In some subdialects of northern Lowlanders of Telšiai around Mažeikiai, Akmenė the name *dūlė* (with its variants *dūlis*, *dūlė*, *dūlis*) is used, e.g.: *kad aš buvau maža, kitaip nevadino kaip dūlės* ‘when I was small potatoes were called *dūlės*’ Akmenė (e-LKŽ); *eisiam dūlių kasti* ‘we’ll go to lift potatoes’ Akmenė (e-LKŽ); *nulupk dūlės, virsiam šutinio* ‘peel potatoes, we’ll cook ragout’ Papilė (e-LKŽ); *šiomet miltingi dūliai* ‘this year potatoes are mealy’ Klykoliai (e-LKŽ) (for more about the Slavism *dūlià* ‘pear’ see p. 519), cf. also the above-mentioned extract from Valančius’ book (see p. 476).

Several other names are rarely used in the Latvian language: *kaņķis* – in several subdialects of Kurzeme (Alsunga, Jūrkalne, Ulmale (Niedermann 1923: 90), Užava, Venta (pl. *kaņķi* ME), *kaņķēns* (Alsunga, Jūrkalne, Užava), *kaņķēns* (Venta) (pl. *kaņķēni* ME), e.g., *kaņķi – maziņi, sīki* ‘*kaņķi* small [potatoes]’ Blīdene (LVDA).

The name *kankenī* Kartoffeln was recorded in the source of the 19th century: Ulmann 1872: 102.

The name *ķēpulis* was found in Baižkalns (nom. pl. *ķēpuļi* ME), *ķēpulis* – in Remte, Strutele, Zebrene, nom. pl. *ķēpuļi* ME presents it from Remte, Strutele, as well as from the environs of Jelgava and Tukums.

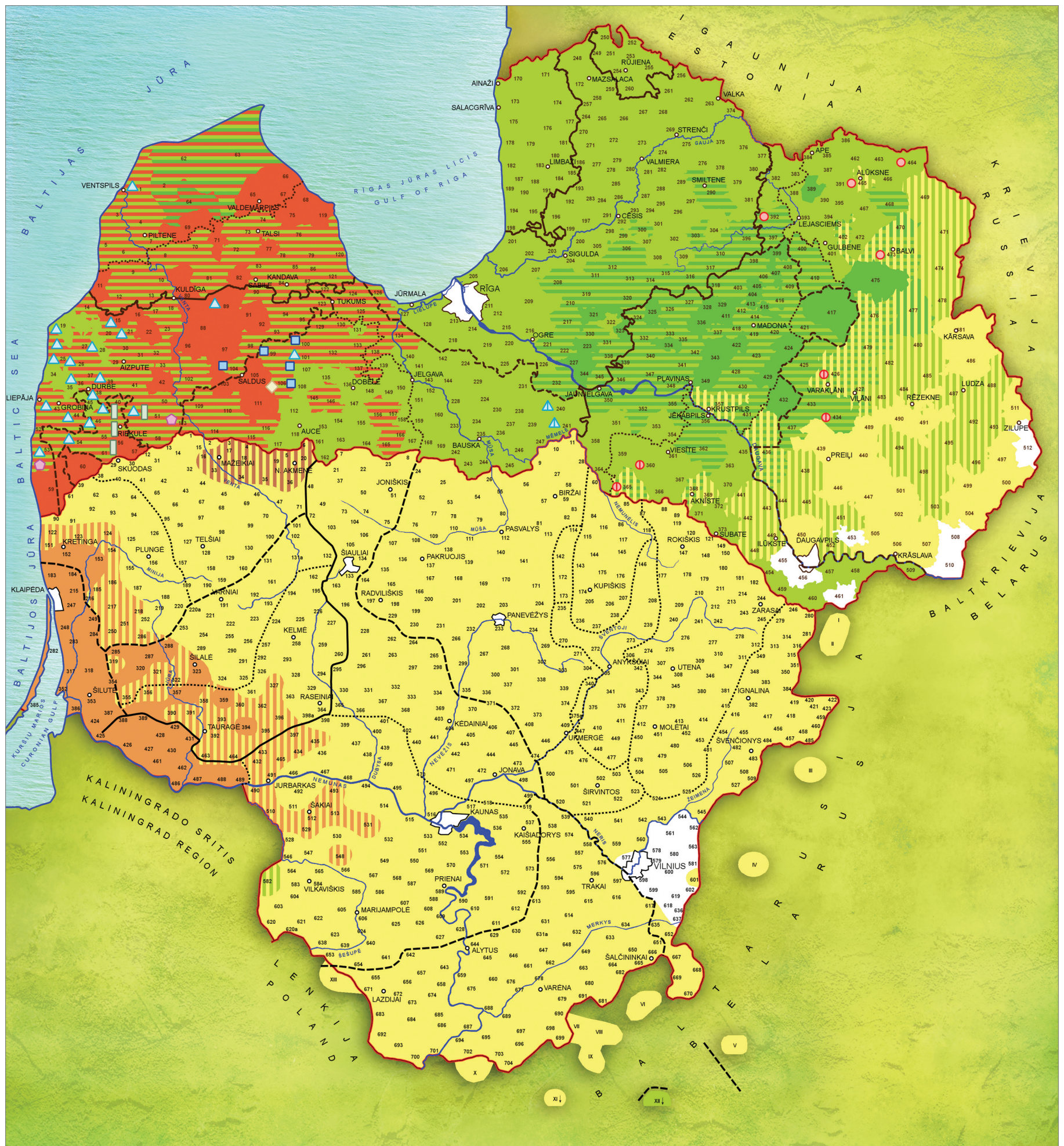
Nom. pl. *ķēpuļi* is found in the source of the 19th century: *ķēpuļi* Kartoffeln Ulmann 1872: 106.

Sporadically some other names are sometimes used: *kaftelis* (Bīriņi, Vecumnieki), nom. pl. *bimbaži* (Dzirciems ME); *kankumi* (Ulmann 1872: 102); *kaņtuļi* (Valmiera ME), *papučis* (Alūksne ME), *pāpulis* (Birži, Zasa), etc.

The word *čāčis* has disappeared from active usage in Nīca and Nīgrande.

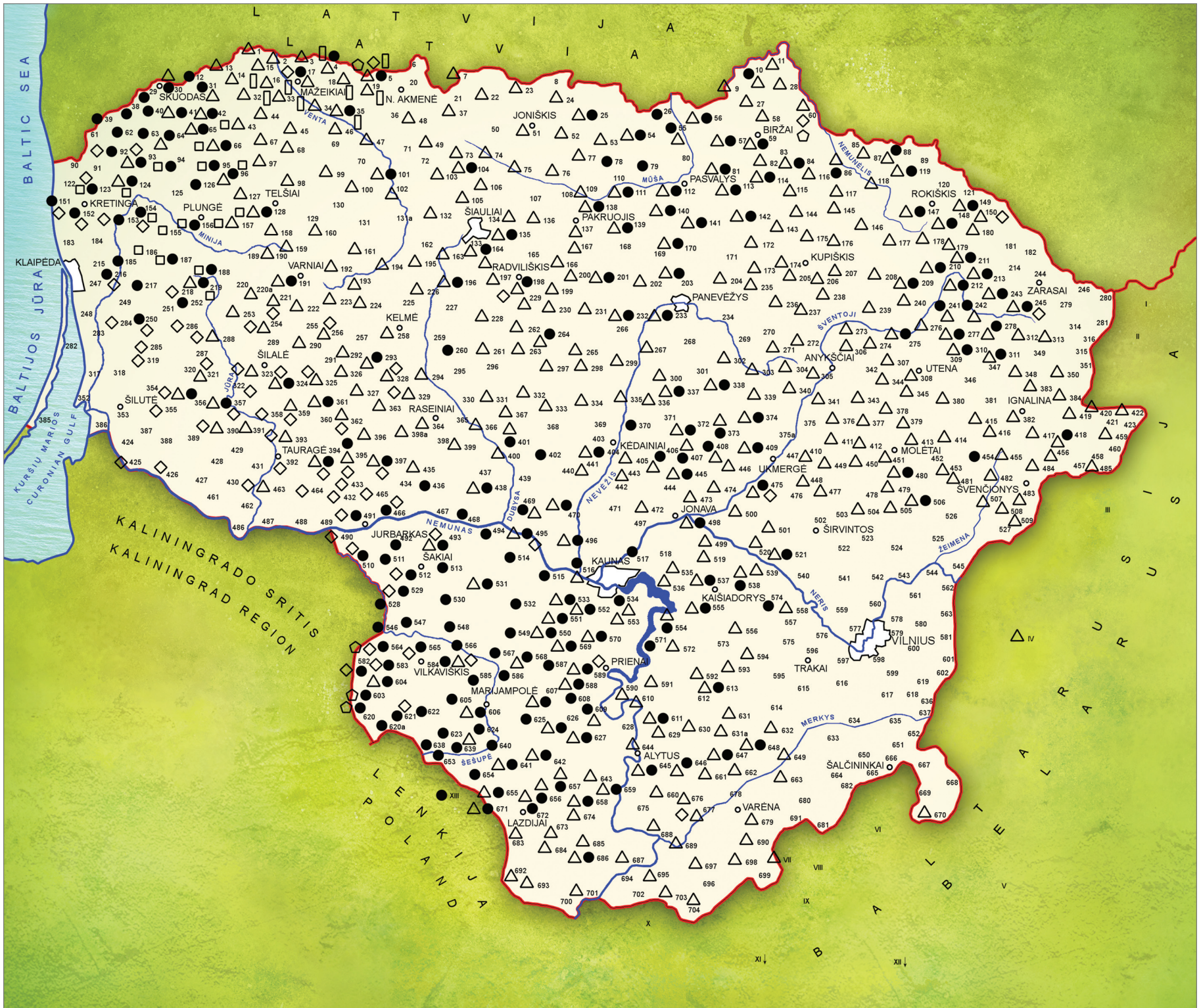
The following names known to us from different sources are not found in dialects: *bambuļi*, *bumbēži*, *bumburs*, *gartupeļi* and others.





- |  |   |  |  |  |                                       |  |                                  |
|--|---|--|--|--|---------------------------------------|--|----------------------------------|
|  | Latv. <i>kartupelis, karpelis, kartiņš</i> and var.<br>Lith. <i>kartupelis, kardupelis, kurduplis</i> |  | Latv. ( <i>zemes</i> ) <i>ābols</i> and var. |  | Latv. <i>pimpulis</i>                 |  | Latv. <i>pēntupelis</i> and var. |
|  | Latv. <i>tupelis, tupelis, topiņš</i> and var.  |  | Latv. ( <i>zem</i> ) <i>pupa</i> and var.    |  | Latv. <i>ķēpulis</i>                  |  | Latv. <i>cāčis, čāčis</i>        |
|  | Latv. <i>rācenis, rācis</i> and var.  |  | Latv. <i>pampalis, pampālis</i>              |  | Latv. <i>kaņķēns, kaņķis</i> and var. |  |                                  |
|  | Lith. <i>ropė, roputė, rapukas</i>  |  |  |  |                                       |  |                                  |
|  | Latv. <i>buļba, buļva, guļba</i> and var.<br>Lith. <i>bulbė, bulba, builė</i> and var.                |  |  |  |                                       |  |                                  |
|  | Lith. <i>dūlė, dūlis, dulis</i>   |  |  |  |                                       |  |                                  |





- *bulvė* and var.
- △ *var. of bul(i)b-*
- *var. of buil-*
- ◇ *var. of rop-, rap-, rup-*
- ▭ *var. of dūl-, dul-*
- ⬠ *kartupelė, kurdupelis*



*Names of the Swedish Turnip*





# Names of the Swedish Turnip

*Authors of the comments: Rima Bakšienė, Ilga Jansone, Anna Stafecka, Saulius Ambrazas*

The map and the comments are based on LKA I Map No. 89 and LVDA Map No. 47 and its comments.

The names of the Swedish turnip (*Brassica napus* L. var. *rapifera*) are presented.

Many names with the root *griez-* / *griež-* are used in Lithuanian and Latvian subdialects. Lith. *griežtis* and Latv. *grieznis*, *griezinis* are widespread in a large compact area in the eastern part in Lithuania and Latvia.

The variant *grieznis* is widespread in south-east of Vidzeme – in the Selonian subdialects of the Latvian language; *griezinis* forms a compact area in a larger part of Latgale. In some subdialects the words *griežinis*, *griežņa*, *griezenis*, *griežēnis*, *griežienis*, *griežine*, *grieznis* are also found.

Examples of dialects are as follows: *vòirák gòn kâli*, *griēžņi sák aizmirsties* '[the word] *kolis* is used more often, [the word] *griežnis* is beginning to be forgotten' Ērgļi (LVDA); *griēžņ"s tog<sup>a</sup>d moš ku:r rač* 'you can hardly see any turnips nowadays' Sausnēja (LVDA); *grīziņus šēnuok cīš ļauds ād'ā* 'some time ago people used to eat more turnips' Asūne (LVDA); *vasalus grīziņus cāpā cepl'ī*, *i grīziņus tyka kluot pi mairīš* 'they used to bake turnips in an oven, [they] also put it into bread [dough]' Nautrēni (LVDA).

Latv. *grieznis*, *griežinis*, *grieznis* were recorded in the 18th–19th century Latvian written sources: *greesni* Schnittkohl Lange 1773: 122; *greeschini* (*greesni*) Schnittkohl Stender 1789 II 520; *greesni* Schnittkohl Ulmann 1872: 79.

In the territory of Lithuania the name *griežtis*, *grīēžtis* and its variants *griežtys*, *griežtinis* are widespread in the north-eastern part: in the subdialects of eastern Highlanders around Vilnius, Utena, Anykščiai, Kupiškis, in the eastern part of the Panevėžys district, e.g.: *i[š]si'rvæu 'grieš'ti*. | *muñ'drei' vó.iks'č'v.ju ir vó.lgau* 'I have pulled up a turnip, now I am walking proudly and eating it' KpŽ I 740; *'grieš'čei burdavo. d'væ'jopi* | *gæl'toni ir bal'ti* 'turnips were either yellow or white' KpŽ I 740; *'mursu. 'niekas nævó.lg.v. 'grieš'č'u*. | *kæūla.m ata'duodam* 'none of our family eats turnips, we feed them to pigs' KpŽ I 740; *grīēšti. búrđava. nusí.lupu* | *pakì atainù iz\_darža. i\_suvá.lgáu* 'I used to peel a turnip on my way from the garden and eat it' KlŽ 81; *grīēšču. nesa.dí.na dabar'* 'nobody plants turnips now' KlŽ 81; *nulupk man griēžtj* 'peel a turnip for me' Kupiškis (e-LKŽ); *kopūstai griēžčiais*

*išvirto* 'cabbages turned into turnips' Skapiškis (e-LKŽ); *kai motulė griežčius sės, ant rytojaus raut galės, tai tada gi, motinėle, aš pas tave sugrįšiu* 'when my mom sows turnips, the next morning she will pull them up, then, dear mummy, I'll be coming back' Pandėlys (e-LKŽ); *mūsy šiais metais tik balti griežtiniai užaugo, geltonų visai nėra* 'this year only white turnips have grown, there are no yellow turnips at all' Ragainė (e-LKŽ).

The variant *griežtis* with the rising accent is used in the Standard Lithuanian language too.

All the above-mentioned names are verbal derivatives, cf. Latv. *griezt* / Lith. *griežti* (EH I 409; LEW 169).

The name *kālis* in Standard Latvian forms a compact area in north-eastern Kurzeme, Zemgale and western Vidzeme, e.g.: *kāļs var pa Jāņim iēsēt, ātr isaūg* 'Turnips can be sown on St. John's Day, they grow fast' Aizpute (LVDA); *kāļu lapas guōvei duōd* 'turnip leaves are given to cows' Nītaure; *kāļus cepa rijā, bērīm liēlais prieks* 'turnips were baked in the drying barn, the children were happy' Omuļi (LVDA); *luōpu kâli balti, dzēltâniē i\_suluōti* 'turnips given to animals are white, yellow and succulent' Rucava (LVDA). This area extends further into northern Lithuania where the variant *kolis* is used.

In a small compact area in Kurzeme around Saldus the names *kūle* and *kūlis* (< Germ. *Kohl*), e.g.: *kūl's senāk tikaī saūca* 'earlier [turnips] were called *kūlēs*' Ciecere (LVDA); *mañ vēl tagad aūg kūļi* 'even today I grow turnips' Gaiķi (LVDA).

Latv. *kālis* was recorded in the dictionaries of the 17th–19th century: *Kahl* Schnittkohl Fürecker 1685 I 107; *kahls, kahli* Wurzelwerk in Gärten Lange 1773: 138; *kahli* Schnittkohl Stender 1789 II 93; *kāhļi, -u* Schnittkohl Ulmann 1872: 96.

Latv. *kālis*, like Est. *kaal*, originated from Sw. or MLG *kāl* ME II 191 (cf. *kōl* 'Kohl, Gemüse' Schiller II 516) or LG *kāl* (LEV I 371; cf. LEW 281; Urbutis 1981: 210).

The Lithuanian equivalent *kōlis* and its variants *kolys*, *kolinis* are used in the northern area of Panevėžys and in the eastern most subdialects of the northern part of western Highlanders around Šiauliai, e.g.: *eik čia, duosiu kolio pagraužt* 'come here, I'll give you some turnip to nibble' Pajstrys (e-LKŽ); *neleisk karvių į kolius* 'do not let the cows into the turnip field' Pakruojis (e-LKŽ); *galva kaip kolis* 'the head like a turnip (*bald*)' Grūžiai (e-LKŽ).

This word must have come into the Lithuanian language from Latvian; however, the possibility cannot be rejected that it might have come directly from German into some western dialects (Sabaliauskas 1990: 271).

In southern and south-western part of Latgale the turnip is referred to as *sakne*. This word is characteristic of all Baltic languages, cf.: Latv. *sakne*, Lith. *šaknis*, Pruss. *sagnis* 'the root' E 629 (ME III 652; Sabaliauskas 1990: 158; LEW 958).

The name *sprūte* (< MLG *sprute* ME III 1026; cf. MLG *sprote*, *sprute* 'Sproß, Sproßling' Schiller IV 348) and its variants *sprūta*, *sprūtis*, *šprūte* are used in Kurzeme, e.g.: *sēsīm biētes, sēsīm sprūtas; nuō sprūtām vāra cimi – biēšputru taūkuōs* 'we will sow turnips; you can cook turnip mash *cimē* in fat' Bārta (LVDA); *sprūt's maz aūdzē, te zeme pa stipru, vajg smīlc zemi* '[people] do not grow many turnips, the soil is too rich, you need sandy soil' Valtaiķi (LVDA); *sprūt's ir bāl's, – tās luōpiēm, tās aūg liēlākas, viēn's ir dzēl'tenas – cīlvēkiēm* 'there are white turnips for animals and they grow larger, other turnips are yellow, they are for people' Vecpils (LVDA).

In south-western Kurzeme the name *cimenis* (Aistere, Grobiņa [ME], Tāši) are used, e.g.: *cimenis* (senāk), *bet maz tuō tēc'a* '(formerly) *cimenis* but hardly anyone used it' Aistere (LVDA). In the northern part (Dundaga) – *struņķis*.

In western subdialects of the Lithuanian language the name *sētiniys* and its variants *sētiniis*, *sētiniis* form a large area. This is the name used in all subdialects of Lowlanders; it is also used in the northern part of western Highlanders around Šiauliai and in subdialects of the Klaipėda region, e.g.: *šomāla vēsō[s] sīteņōs ę sōšiere bādūr̄n mētās* 'mashed all turnips and fed [animals] during famine' DūnŽ 321; *sīteņūr̄ pasēsījejo ažē.kę* '[they] have sowed a bed of turnips' DūnŽ 321; *kām sīetinė lābā pātīn.k* | *ir i bulbīnī dēd* 'who likes turnips very much, puts them into potato soup' DūnŽ 321; [nudegus] *permējē vāistā i sīetin's* '[in case of burn] the turnip is the first medicine' MoŽK; *sīteņē vālgūom's i* 'turnips are edible' MoŽK; *bāl's i givōlēnē sīteņē* 'white turnips are for animals' MoŽK; *sīetiņ' sōšētarkavuojiēm vālgūomūj'* 'we grate turnips for eating' MoŽK; *ę dōn'a ęš sīetiņ' lōbām kēpt'* 'we used to bake bread from turnips too' MoŽK; *vaikas sētini grauža* 'the child nibbles at the turnip' Šilalė (e-LKŽ); *sētiniā dideli kaip kepurės* 'the turnips are as big as caps' Kretingalė (e-LKŽ); *tėvai, eisiam sētiniū diegti* 'father, we will go to plant turnips' Mažeikiai (e-LKŽ); *mūso sētiniām visus lapus spragės nuédė* 'flea-beetles have eaten all the leaves of our turnips' Kruopiai (e-LKŽ); *sētiniā išėita i kūlas* 'the turnips have grown into leaves' Šatės (e-LKŽ); *sētiniāičiai sultingi, skani* 'the turnips are succulent, delicious' Laukuva (e-LKŽ); *dailūs tokie sētiniukai, nedideli* 'the turnips are nice and small' Kražiai (e-LKŽ).

The variant *sētiniys* (3<sup>a</sup> stress paradigm) is found in Standard Lithuanian too.

Lith. *sētiniis*, *sētiniys* has been derived with the help of the adjectival suffix *-tiniis*, *-tiniys* from the verb *sėti*. The latter originated from the IE root \**sē(i)-*, and has equivalents in many cognate languages: Russ. *сеять*, Pol. *siać*, Skr. *sijati*, Lat. *sero*, Goth. *saian* and others (LEW 778; IEW 840; Sabaliauskas 1990: 101; Smoczyński 2007: 545).

In a large area of southern Lithuania, which includes the areas of

western Highlanders around Kaunas and the southern part of western Highlanders around Šiauliai, the names *kručkās*, *gručkās* are used.

Its different variants are found: in the largest part of southern Highlanders the name *kručkās* is used, in the most southerly corner around Varėna – *kručkà*, *kručkė* are frequent; in the subdialects of Šiauliai area and in northern subdialects of western Highlanders, around Raseiniai, Jurbarkas the names *kriučkas*, *kriučkà*, *kriučkė* are found, e.g.: *i rūnkel'u. | i kr'učku. dėdavom i dūona*. 'we used to add beetroots and turnips into bread dough' ZnŽ I 777; *būlvæ[s] skūta | kručkūs lūpa | vakariēnæ. kãičæ* 'potatoes, turnips have been peeled, supper is cooking' ZnŽ I 782; *a žinot | kas kručkās | kap ká.ime gīvænus* 'do you know what a turnip is if you lived in a village?' KzRŽ I 397; *kap kuř. so.džina daũ.g'i. tu. kručku.* 'in some places many turnips are planted' DrskŽ 171; *šiemet kriučkai dideli užaugo* 'this year turnips are big' Krokialaukis (e-LKŽ); *tuoj jau možnės ir kručkų išsivirt* 'soon you will be able to cook some turnips' Liškiava (e-LKŽ); *kručkai geriau auga susodinti ant kitos vietos* 'turnips grow better if planted in another place' Marijampolė (e-LKŽ); *aš kručkās mėgstu – jos saldžios* 'I like turnips, they are sweet' Šiauliai (e-LKŽ).

In the area of western Highlanders in Kaunas area, around Šakiai, Vilkaviškis, Marijampolė, the names *gručkās*, *griučkas* are widespread, e.g.: *būrdavu | uža.uga gručkai bačkōs didūmu* 'turnips used to grow as big a barrel' ZnŽ I 514; *dūona būrdavu su gr'učkais* 'bread used to contain turnips' ZnŽ I 509; *jæu gručkās væ.rda | tai taiñ kiemē kvēpæ* 'when the turnip is cooking, its smell fills the yard' KzRŽ I 258; *i daržai reikėjo ravėti | i rūnkelei | i gručkai | i mōrkos te visōk'os* 'the garden, the beets and turnips, and the carrots, and the like had to be weeded' KzRŽ I 258; *nuaīs'u i būlvainæ gručku* 'I'll go the potato cellar for turnips' KzRŽ I 258; *ar jūs šimet gerai užaugo gručkai?* 'Have your turnips grown well this year?' Liubavas (e-LKŽ).

In the subdialect of Dieveniškės and in the environs of Varanavas, Nočia and Rodūnia located in Belarus the variants *bručkà*, *bruškà* are preferred, e.g.: *c'à v'isaipō vadz'ina | ir kručkà | ir bruškà* 'here they are called in different ways – *kručka*, and *bruška* (turnip)' DvŽ I 313; *brūšku kap kadū būr̄na labāi. dz'id'el'ūr̄* 'sometimes turnips grow very big' DvŽ I 73; *sāko, bruškās sveika vālgyc* 'they say turnips are healthy to eat' DvŽ I 73; *brūškos būsta bāltos ir geltōnos* 'turnips are white and yellow' LzŽ 41; *nà, iñ pagraūš bruškēļi* 'well, take and nibble at a turnip' LzŽ 41.

The variant *gručkas* have been recorded in many old dictionaries of Lithuania Minor since the 17th century, e.g.: *Rappuck: Žemlindeī, dzū M. || Rappukai, kū [M.] || Gruczkaī, ū. M. C II 262 (III 270); Rappucken Žemlindeī Reppukai, Gruczkaī B 994; Gruczkas, ko, m. eine harte Rūbe, Rēpukē* (onlt *Rappukas, ko R I 43* (Urbutis 1981: 207).

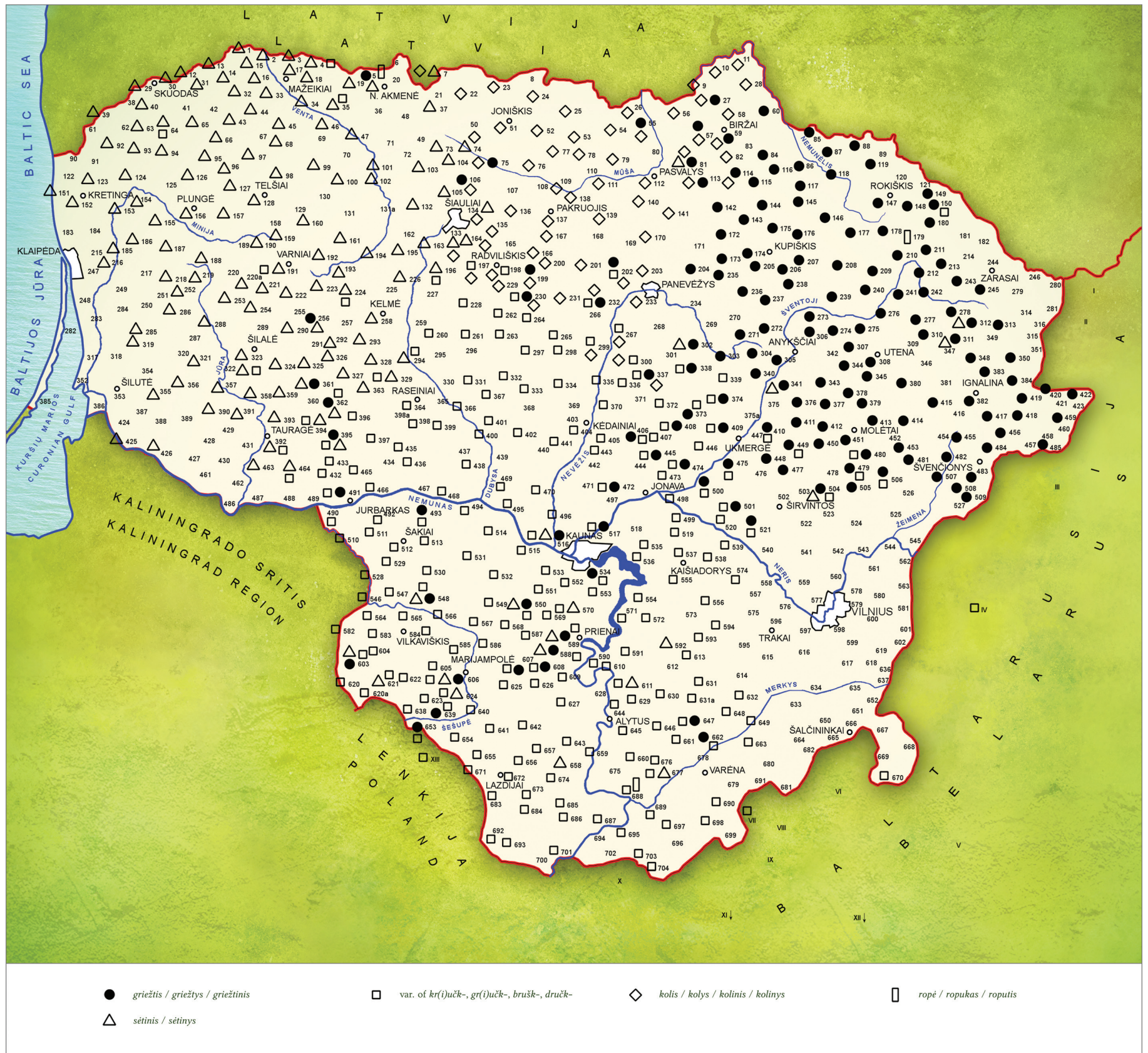
Earlier it was thought that these names were Slavisms, cf. Bel. *брышка, брычка*, Bel. dial. *кρυчка*, Pol. *gruszki* 'such kind of potatoes' (see LEW 302; Skardžius IV 137). However, Vincas Urbutis (1981: 205ff.) proved that they are Germanisms, cf. Germ. dial. *Brūke, Brucke, Wrūke, Wru(c)ke* < LG *Wruuk* 'a block, a log', *Wrück* 'root', and Bel. dial. *кρυчка* is regarded as Lithuanianism (ЭСБМ V 127). Loanwords from Belarusian *bručkà*, *bruškà* that occur in Lithuanian subdialects are of much later origin.





- |  |  |   |  |                       |
|--|--|---|--|-----------------------|
| Lith. <i>griežtis / griežtys / griežtinis</i>              | Latv. <i>griežinis</i>                                     | Lith. <i>sėtinsys / sėtinis</i>                 | Lith. <i>kručkas / kriučka / gručkas / bručka</i> and var. | Latv. <i>struņķis</i> |
| Latv. <i>griežinis</i>                                     | Latv. <i>griežņa</i>                                       | Latv. <i>sprūte / sprūtis / sprūta / šprūte</i> | Latv. <i>sakne</i>   | Latv. <i>cimenis</i>  |
| Latv. <i>griežinis / grieženis / griežienis / griezine</i> | Latv. <i>kālis</i><br>Lith. <i>kolis / kolys / kolinis</i> |   | Latv. <i>kūle / kūlis</i>                                  |                       |







*Baltų kalbų atlasas*  
*Leksika 1: flora*

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## *Names of the Crops*



# Names of the Crops

*Authors of the comments: Rima Bakšienė, Anna Staficka, Saulius Ambrasas*

The map is based on the answers to Question No. 68 of the lexical questionnaire of ALE and Question No. 46 of LVDA.

The map represents the distribution of names of crops. Words of a general meaning – Lith. *duona* (bread), Latv. *maize* ‘bread’ are used in the Lithuanian and Latvian languages. These words have the main meaning of ‘a food that is usually baked in an oven from leavened dough and has the shape of a loaf’ in both Baltic languages. This meaning is characteristic of the entire area of the Latvian and Lithuanian languages, and it is a common word in both languages.

However, in dialects Lith. *duona* and Latv. *maize* are also used in the meaning of ‘crops’ (‘cultured plants of grass family cereals grown for grain: grain of these plants’ (e-LKŽ)). The dictionary of Standard Latvian attributes Latv. *maize* ‘crops’ to poeticisms (Llvv V 52).

The latv. *maize* ‘crops’ is most characteristic of the High Latvian dialect. It is used in a rather compact area in Latgale, often in the diminutive form, e.g.: *jūnūjām’ mairēitā, koļām lops laiks* ‘crops have to be cut as long as the weather is fine’ Dricēni (ALE); *a lyka vysaku gi, mairēiti lyka – mizus, aizys* ‘everything was stacked up, crops were stacked – barley, oats’ Izvalta (Adt 35); *a kulā gi mairi pīkrāun i kūt* ‘crops are stacked in a barn and threshed’ Izvalta (Adt 36); *šūgot skāista mairā auk* ‘this year crops grow well’ Kalupe (KIV I 589); *beja taīdi godi, ka bārā gryūdus ai vusom palovom, ka mairēitā nanūjauga* ‘there was a year when corn was put [into a corn bin ] together with chaff when crops failed’ Nautrēni (LVDA); *pļāun mairi, lik mairi pyuūt* ‘corn is cut, corn is stacked in a barn’ Pilda (ALE); *mairis fēirums; tymā fēirumā šājā mairi* ‘a field of corn; corn is sown in that field’ Viļani (Apv); *šūgot mairi lābi pa-aūgušē* ‘this year corn turned out well’ Šķilbēni (ALE). EH presents the word *maize* in the meaning of ‘crops’ from Auleja, Līvāni, Višķi too.

The word *maize* is used in this meaning in the area of the Selian subdialects of Zemgale. It has been recorded in Bebrene: *niaug ni zāle, ni maize* ‘neither grass nor corn grows’ (EH) and in Dignāja, and in a folk song it has been recorded in Sēlpils too: *tīrumā maize auga / gar malām ganibiņas* ‘corn grew in the field, there was a pasture along the edges’ (LD 25941).

This meaning has been also recorded in the area of High Latvian dialect in Vidzeme (Dzelzava, Galgauska, Kalncempji, Mārciena,

Patkule, Sinole), e.g.: *pār labību ar soka: nu gōn šūgod ir loba mairē* ‘the following is said about the crops: this year bread ‘crops’ are good’ Kalncempji (Apv); *as skātuos lauciņā, vāi m’airzita tīrumā* ‘I am looking at the field, whether the crops are in there in the field’ Kalsnava (FBR IV 74); *paldies Dievām, nu jōu mairzites piē-aūdzis!* ‘thank God, now the crops have turned out very good’ Sinole (Apv).

The word *maize* ‘crops’ has been also recorded in the area of the central dialect – in Zemgale (Džūkste, Ukri, Skaistkalne), e.g.: *ta jaū a’ bi priēš Jēkaūpu jaūna mairē nuōpjaūta* ‘this was before St. Jacob’s day (25 July) new crops were cut’ Džūkste (ALE); *mairē nebij vēl izkūta* ‘corn has not been threshed yet’ Skaistkalne (Apv).

It has also been recorded in a folk song from Zālīte: *tīra maize tīrumā / bitī’ meža maliņā* ‘crops are clean in the field, bees are at the edge of the forest’.

The meaning of ‘crops’ has been recorded in Livonian subdialects Vainiži of Vidzeme: *maizs nou lāg pa-oūdzs, vaīrak jā-ēd karītiņš* ‘the crops have not turned out very good, we have to eat more potatoes’ (ALE); and in a folk song it has been recorded from Vecate too: *to vietīnu vien lūkoju/kur aug maize tīrumā* ‘I was looking for that spot where corn grew in the field’ (LD 25911-2).

The word *maize* is also used in the meaning of ‘grain’, e.g.: *aizdod maizes, bālelī, deviņām nedeļām* ‘lend me grain, my brother, for nine weeks’ Dzelzava (LD 27958-1); *ka es bēns aūgu, saīmniēki vē mairi samala mājās* ‘when I was still a child the others used to grind corn at home’ Džūkste (Apv); *sepuōk mairi biera orūdūs* ‘earlier corn used to be placed in corn bins’ Kalupe (KIV I 589); *vīra māte mani rāja, ka nevaru maizes malt* ‘my mother-in-law scolded me because I could not grind corn’ Patkule (LD 22579-0); *grūti malti pūru maize / viegli nesti padusē* ‘wheat grains are difficult to grind, it easy to carry them under your arm’ Turlava (LD 1784-0); *kliēti vēl orodī jiraīdeņa, mairēiti bēfēm* ‘there are still corn bins in the barn, we keep grain there’ Varakļāni (ALE).

The word combination *maizes zeme* ‘rich, fertile farmland where corn is sown’ is found in folk songs (in a much wider area than the above-mentioned one), e.g.: *ļaudis teica maizes zemi, Laima gaužas asariņas* ‘people praised good soil, Laima [fated] bitter tears’ Ļaudona (LD 10042-1); Mēdzūla (LD 10042-6); *še būt’ laba maizes zeme, kad būt’ gudris arajiņš* ‘soil would be good here if there was a clever ploughman’ Raņķi (LD 10893-1).



The word combination *maizes zeme* ‘good soil’ was mentioned in the dictionaries of the 18th and 19th century: *maifes femme* gut Ackerland ‘good soil’ Lange 1773: 184; Stender 1789 I 152; *maifes feme* gut ackerland ‘good soil’ Ulmann 1872: 150.

In Kurzeme where the word *maize* in the meaning of ‘crops’ has not been recorded (with the exception of a couple of folk songs) the word combination *maizes arājs* ‘a bread ploughman’ meaning ‘a farmer’ is common: *māizes arājs – zemkopis*; *māizes arājiēm jau maziēm, maziēm jāstrādā* ‘a bread ploughman – a farmer; farmers start working when they are still very young’ Saldus (Apv).

The word combination *maizes arājs* and its diminutive form *maizes arājiņš* recorded in folk song in Kurzeme are very common, the following meaning usually intertwine within it: ‘ploughman, farmer’ and ‘the head of the family who works the soil and sows corn’. The combination *maizes arājs* covers a broad area in the central and southern part of Kurzeme; in folk songs it has been recorded from Aizpute, Dzērve, Dunalka, Ēdole, Ezere, Gavieze, Grobiņa, Kuldīga, Kursīši, Lutriņi, Padure, Rāva, Raņķi and others. This word combination is used much rarer in the northern part of Kurzeme – it has been recorded in Dundaga, Vandzene, Ventspils, e.g.: *tēvs tureja, māte kūla / manu maizes arājiņu, / kam viņš art nemāceja, / kam kumeļu nelocija* ‘father held and mother spanked my bread ploughman because he did not know how to plough, that he could not curb the horse’ Kabile (22661-0); *sēd’, sēd’, māsiņa / te tava vietniņa / te tavs galdiņš, / te maizes arājs* ‘sit down, sit down, sister, this is your seat, this is your table, there is a bread ploughman’ Kuldīga (LD 18918-2); *Dievs aizliedza bitītei / sarkanaju āboliņu, / tā aizliedza man ļautiņi / labu maizes arājiņu* ‘God forbade the bee [to visit] the red clover, so me forbade people a good bread ploughman’ Nīkrāce (LD 9458-0).

In other regions this word combination is found rarely, in folk songs it has been recorded from Vaive in Vidzeme: *mazai manim tēvs nomira / pusaugušai māmūlite / pumūžiņu dzīvojot / nomirst maizes arājiņis* ‘when I was small my father died, when I grew a little – my dear mother died; having lived half the age the dear bread ploughman dies’ (LD 3975-0) and from Sece in Augšzeme: *dzīvo gudri, man’ māsiņa / tautiņās aizgājusi / pacel krēslu, noaun kājas / savam maizes arājam* ‘be clever, my dear sister, after you get married: move a chair, take off the shoes for your dear ploughman’ (LD 17730-0).

The word *māize* is related to Latv. *mīezis*, Lith. *miēžis, miežys, miežis* (as to accentuation cf. Karaliūnas 1987: 154, 157), Pruss. *moasis* (< \**maizis*) ‘barley’ E 261 (Endzelīns 1943: 30, 212; LEW 451; Frenkelis 1969: 37; Stang 1966b: 8; PKEŽ III 146; Smoczyński 2007: 398f.).

Attempts were further made to relate them to Iran. *maiz-* ‘to sow’ (cf. Топоров, Трубачев 1962: 231; Sabaliauskas 1990: 157; Karaliūnas I 77).

The word *dúona* has also been recorded in the meaning of ‘crops (usually grain crops, rye)’ in different Lithuanian subdialects.

A clear area of its use in the Lithuanian language is impossible to define. ALE recorded it in the area of western Highlanders in Šiauliai district – in Labūnava, however, on the basis of dictionary material it can be stated that in this meaning it is common elsewhere too, both in western and eastern Lithuanian subdialects, e.g.: *šīmet vīskas vėlėū ēina | da\_šīta. dúona. pirmėū pjėūš* ‘this year everything is late, first these crops will be cut’ ZnŽ I 332; *paskūi rūoždavū dīrva. dúonai* ‘later the soil for crops was prepared’ ZnŽ I 332; *kai\_tā dúona. pasikīrtom i\_pasikūrlem | tai\_būvu labāi skanī dúona* ‘after we have cut and threshed these crops, bread was very delicious’ ZnŽ I 332; *ir*

*dúnos, ir kunōdu. būs* ‘there will be both crops and potatoes’ ZtŽ 163; *nūv'ēžē dú'na mál't art'ì N'āmano* ‘crops were taken to be ground near the Nemunas’ ZtŽ 163; *vākar an dú'nos pagān'ē, tai jau kār'ē namóp ir t'āsas'i* ‘yesterday the cow grazed in the crops so today it struggles to get home’ ZtŽ 163; *paaugo duonos šiemet par visus* ‘the crop is good this year everywhere’ Kuktiškės (e-LKŽ); *šiemet duonos neužaugo* ‘there is no crop this year’ Ēriškiai (e-LKŽ); *šiemet geri metai, daug duonos prikūlē* ‘this year is a good year, the yields of threshed crop are good’ Joniškėlis (e-LKŽ).

The word *dúona* is related to Latv. *duōna* ‘a slice of bread, the heel of a loaf’, OInd. *dhānā-* ‘corn, crops’, MPers. *dān-* ‘grain’ (LEW 111; Frenkelis 1969: 37; IEW 242; Sabaliauskas 1990: 56; Smoczyński 2007: 134).

Here attention can be drawn to the fact that Prussians had another term for bread, cf. *geitye* (< \**geitys*) E 339, *geits* III 53<sub>9</sub>.

The latter is related to Slav. \**žito*, denoting different kinds of crops (barley, rye, wheat, etc.), and bread and is derived from IE \**g<sup>h</sup>ei-* / *g<sup>h</sup>i-* ‘to become alive’ (ПЯ E–H 194ff.; PKEŽ I 343f.; Trautmann 1923: 58), from which Lith. *gýti* that earlier had the meaning of ‘to live’ has been derived (cf. p. 427).

Throughout the entire area of the dialects, as well as in Standard Lithuanian the name *javai* is widespread. It is used to refer to both grain crops or feeding cereals crops, e.g.: *par švėnt<sup>a</sup> \*vūon<sup>a</sup> javā nu laukū bōv<sup>a</sup> vėžam<sup>s</sup>* ‘on St. Anne’s day (26 July) crops were carried from the fields’ MoŽK; *kōr jav<sup>u</sup>s sīej<sup>š</sup>, te(p) pāt bōv<sup>a</sup> riežėlē* ‘where crops were sown there were also strips of land’ MoŽK; *kėtūs javūs nīe dīr<sup>s</sup><sup>u</sup>, tik rūgūs* ‘there was no brome in other crops, only in rye’ MoŽK; *ka\_dīėvaz\* dúotu. | javūs lėdāi nəsukūltu. | āūdrōs nėužėitū.* ‘heaven forbid that hail flattens the crops, that storms break out’ ZnŽ I 567; *jėvāi šīmed gerī | ir\_žiemīnei | ir\_vasarīnei* ‘this year the crops are good – both spring and winter crops’ ZnŽ I 567; *kur\_gėrō[s] žėmęs | tai\_tiesó[g] gražuōlei tie\_jėvāi* ‘where soil is good the crop is simply beautiful’ KzRŽ I 288; *jėvūr nesėjėu | tig\_būlv<sup>u</sup> pasodinaū* ‘I did not sow any crops, I planted only some potatoes’ KzRŽ I 288; *ka(b)\_būrna\_jāu | darbīmetę. | jāu\_tuos javus imam* ‘in busy days we harvest the crops’ PpaŽK; *taī. ir\_pabėga [karvės] | ir\_kuř. inbėga ir\_daržūosa | jėvūosa | kur\_iškā.du. padā.ro.* ‘[cows] run away and wherever they run, either into the kitchen gardens or into crops, they do harm everywhere’ PpaŽK; *sv\_iriėpko.s javusā | vijōkl'ai bú.l'borā ir l'inusā* ‘there is white charlock, runch winter cress in the crops, bindweeds in potatoes and flax’ DvŽ I 214; *mūs javāi iškūlta* ‘our crops have been threshed’ DvŽ I 214; *javāi mac'itkī – n'ė p'jaut* ‘crops are small – they cannot be cut’ ZtŽ 246; *itus javūs žu.rét ir jau burokūs rav'ėd reik'a* ‘it is necessary to take care of the crops and to weed the beetroot’ ZtŽ 246; *klėtj užvertė javāis* ‘the granary has been loaded with crops’ Linkuva (e-LKŽ); *kol dar javai (grūdai) šiauduose, atsi-imkit, kas prigul* ‘as long as crops (grain) are still on the stalks [un-threshed], take what belongs to you’ Skirsnemunė (e-LKŽ); *doiese ganė ir javūs išganė* ‘two of them pastured the cattle and the crops were grazed’ Daukšiai (e-LKŽ).

The singular form *jāvas* is used in the majority of Lithuanian subdialects, e.g.: *bi kūoks jāus gėrāu ōnksīāu [sėtas]* ‘any crop grows better if sown earlier’ MoŽK; *jė.igu gėras jėvas | tai\_tiek nualsėdavo [kertant]* ‘if the crops are good they make one exhausted [when reaping them]’ ZnŽ I 567; *kūr ta\_jėva nupjovez dėsi* ‘where will you put these crops after you have cut them?’ ZnŽ I 567; *piá.utuvais nu-imžinėjom visóki. jėvu.* ‘we cut all kind of crops with sickles’ PpaŽK; *kiek\_tř sūdera užmo.kėc pinigāi.s ar\_ko.kū javū* ‘they strike a bargain

to pay in cash or crops' PpaŽK; *à't'v'ežė. jãvo. t'el'is maišus* 'several sacks of crops have been brought' DrskŽ 125; *jãujo.n jãvo. krã.una | bĩrlo. | t'i kũl'a* 'crops used to be loaded in the drying barn and then they were threshed there' DrskŽ 125; *jiė ir bú.l'bas addũos ir jãbõ dũs* 'they will give the potatoes, and will also give crops' DvŽ I 214; *pėrstovėj jau jãvas, grũdãĩ bĩra* 'the crops have overgrown, grain is falling' DvŽ I 214; *veizdėjom arklĩų ir radom net svetiman jave* 'we were looking for the horses and found them in somebody else's crops' DvŽ I 214; *labaĩ daũg jau jãvo dãvė* 'plenty of crops have been given' LzŽ 97; *matai, koks javas – kur nebuvęs, geriau ir auga* 'see what crops – where there was none [last year nothing was sown], they grow better' Pociũnėliai (e-LKŽ); *kvietyš – gležnas javas, bijo šalčĩų* 'wheat is a fragile corn, it easily damaged by frost' Salamiestis (e-LKŽ); *koks javas, toks grũdas* 'like crops like corn' Marijampolė (e-LKŽ); *sijotas jãvas kitioniškã* 'sifted crops are different' Panevėžys (e-LKŽ).

This word is common in the writings of the 16th–17th century, e.g.: *Diewš prikel debefšis dangaus / Teikdams zemei Litaus / Szoles iawus ßmogui augin / koßna kuna fotin* 'God wakes up the clouds in the sky sending rain to the soil, grows grass and crops for man, satiates everybody' Mž 241<sub>10–13</sub>; *kaip iſch ſeklos iſch dryſta ir uſzauga jawai / iſch kuriu ſzmones paſſipen / Schiteipo ir iſch Diewo ſzodßio / penama ira duſche || ſzmogaus ant amſzino iſchganimo* 'as crops give shoots and grow from a seed on which people feed, so the human soul is fed by God's word for eternal salvation' BP I 245<sub>16–20</sub>; *tada wiſsa mumis paſsiwede, a palaiminga bua, teip iawoſa kaip ir kittofu daiktofu* 'when everything worked well for us and was blessed, so were the crops, and other things' WP 108r<sub>34–198v3</sub>; *Nes' ioß nu rugiapũtis / kãd žmõnes iawũs ižg lãuko kũpia* 'because it's been since harvest time when people harvest crops in the fields' DP 297<sub>22–23</sub>; *Tegul kiti tur iawãys kleti pripildita* 'let others have the granary filled with crops' SG<sub>2</sub> 3<sub>4</sub>; *Ir bus tey jumus pryſkaytyta and aſteros juſu: kaypo jewey iſz aſtos, ir kaypo || piñnumas iſz profos–kubĩla* 'and let it be included into our sacrifice: like crops from the dirt floor, like plenitude from the millet tub' Ch Sk 18,27.

This is a really old word inherited from the Indo-European parent language. Very near equivalents to the word *jawai* are found in Indo-Iranian languages, cf. OInd. *yãva-* 'crops, grain, barley', Av. *yava-* 'crops' (Porzig 1954: 169). Then follows Gk. *ξειαί* 'a certain kind of crops (wheat Spelta)', *ξειδωροσ* 'providing crops'; Ir. *ėorna*, Hitt. *eyan* 'barley' and others (Trautmann 1923: 107; LEW 192; Sabaliauskas 1959b, 1990: 40; IEW 512; ИЯ 655f.; Smoczyński 2007: 232).

In the long run neologisms appeared in other Baltic languages. For example, the word *arrien* 'crops' III 89<sub>2</sub> was used in the Prussian language, which could be related to Lith. *arũodas*, Latv. *aruods* (cf. ABLP 118f. and lit.).

The name *labĩba* 'crops' has become prevalent in the Latvian language; it is widespread all over Latvia and it is the word of Standard Latvian. The name *labĩba* has the meaning of 'cultured plants of the cereals family grown for grain; grain of these plants'. Different phonetic (rarer morphological) variants of this word are found in dialects.

The word *labĩba* is used in Kurzeme and Zemgale, as well as in Vidzeme, e.g.: *ſuõgad labĩb lab padėvusėš* 'crops this year are really good' Alsunga (ALE); *labĩb" nuõ pėlavãm sijãj" nuõst* 'chaff was separated from the crops' Asĩte (ALE); *labibas laĩks* 'crop [reaping] time' Augstkalne (FBR XII 13); *rudzi, kviėši, miėži, aũzas – tã visa iř labĩba; nekãd tagãd labĩbaĩ tãda raža nau kã senãk, kãdi rudzi bi, ziřni ari iř*

*labĩba, pļãujami tãpat kã cita labĩba* 'rye, wheat, barley, oats are crops; now there is no such yield as before, what the rye was, peas were also crops cut in the same way as any other crops' Džũkste (ALE); *aũzas, miėžus – vasarãja labĩbu, tũo tãpat iz àdĩm sameta* 'oats, barley – spring crops, they were also thrown on the poles in a drying barn [to dry]' Ērgeme (ALE); *a ka pļãun labĩbu, toř ir iksã kuõtã* 'when crops are cut a scythe with a short handle is used' Mãrkalne (LVDA); *pėrkuõni aũg labĩbã* 'white charlock grows in the crops' More (LVDA); *lãcaũza aũg iėkš labĩbas, labĩba – graũdu labĩba, kas i vãrpu augi* 'brome grows in the crops, corn is grain crops, they are cereal plants' Nĩca (ALE); *kã, vãi vãr lũop"s labĩbã laĩst?* 'how is it possible to let cattle graze in the corn?' Panemune (ALE); *kruša, tã iř vėl juõ bļãura, viša labĩba pėc tam sakrĩtusi vėldrė* 'hail is even more dangerous, after it all corn is flattened' Rucava (ALE); *labĩbas pļãve viėl nau pabãikta* 'harvesting time has not come to an end yet' Stãmeriena (ALE).

Variants with a shortened vowel in the suffix *labiba* (Augstkalne, Jaunsaule, Kazdanga, Krape, Rãva, Renda, Rucava and others) have been recorded in some subdialects, e.g., *tã i labib, kuõ nuõkũl* 'these are crops that are threshed' Kandava (ALE).

The apokoped form *labib* is used mainly in the Livonian subdialects of Kurzeme (Jũrkalne, Kandava, Kazdanga, Laidze, Lauciena, Pastende, Pũre and others), in Livonian subdialects of Vidzeme (Dunte, Liepupe, Limbaži, Pabaži, Puikule, Rũjiena, Rozėni, Salaca and others), e.g.: *rudzi i ziem's labib* 'rye is winter crops' Idus (ALE); *vėca mėnesi sėt labib birst* 'grain of crops sown when the moon is on the wane fall out' Ģeri (Apv); *labib – katram labibeĩ iř sou salm* 'crops – straw of each crop differs' Vainiži (ALE).

The variant *labėb* is used in the Livonian subdialects of Kurzeme (Dundaga, Zũras and others), e.g.: *braũc uz muĩž pėc labėb, sabė:r un vėd uz mãjėm* 'went to the estate for crops, took some for themselves and took home' Pope (ALE); *sė labėb, põsař, piėrmes sė ziėrniņš, ta õ"zs, miėžz – citt labėb* 'sowed crops in spring, first sowed peas, then oats, barley, other crop' Venta (ALE).

The masculine form of with the extinct inflexional vowel *labĩbs* (*labip*) has been recorded in Mėrsraga: *labib smuk nuõ-oũdzs* 'the crop has brown beautiful' (LVDA); Svėtciems: *labibam jãlaĩž nuõgatavotes* 'crops are to be allowed to ripen' (ALE).

The variant *labeĩba* is characteristic of Selian subdialects of Ziemgale, e.g.: *ėei ģistõa labeĩba je rudzi, miži, kviši, aũzas, bėř iz rata pãr labeĩbu sauc i žierņus, i vyku, i cyta kũ, kas kuļãms* 'rye, wheat, barley and oat are real crops but peas and vetch, and all that is threshed sometimes are also called crops' Aknĩste (ALE); *kat tra:kna labėiba un iznoãk vėji, leiti – sakrėit vėldė* 'when crop is lush and winds and rain start, they become flattened' Sunãkste (ALE); *labeĩbas gubã* 'stacks of crop' Sėlpils (FBR XX 73).

The following variants of *labieba* have been recorded in that area: *labieba* (Dviete); *slapņã vosorã ſvoka labieba izaũg* 'crop is poor in a wet summer' Bebrene (Apv) and others.

Different phonetic variants have been registered in the Selonian subdialects of Vidzeme: *lēbĩba* (Lazdona, Lubeja), *lãbĩba* (Lazdona, Prauliena, Sarkani), *lã"bib* (Pļãviņas), *lãbĩba* (Prauliena), *lēbĩba* (Sai-kava) and others.

In the dialects of Latgale (eastern, in particular) the word *labĩba* (*labeĩba*) has become prevalent due to the influence of standard language, e.g.: *labeĩbu díeļ mãizis isãjõm* 'we sowed crop for bread' Asũne (ALE); *kłieĩt stũovėjė labeĩba* 'crop was kept in the granary' Galėni



(ALE); *labēiba jau pļāunoma* ‘it is time to cut crop’ Kalupe (ALE); *bēidzās šina pļūoā, jāu labēiba brīdā* ‘harvesting is coming to an end, crop is ripe’ Nautrēni (ALE); *labēiba stajānkūōs iskōlta* ‘crop became dry in the stacks’ Zvirgzdene (Apv).

The word *labība* is often mentioned in old writings. It is mentioned in many dictionaries: *Labiba* Getreide, Korn Langius 1685: 129; *labbiba tik šausa*, das getreide raßelt gantz ‘crop is so dry’ Fürecker 1685 I 311; *labbiba* Depkin 1704 II 102; *labbiba ta* das Getreide Lange 1773: 184; *labbiba* Getreide, Korn Stender 1789 I 127; *labiba* das Getreide, das Korn Ulmann 1872: 130; *getreide, labiba* Ulmann 1880: 342.

The word *labība* is used in other sources of the 17th century: *Ta tirum labbibe vnd wuffes czittes augles wurfon to femme dod vnde paffargat* ‘field corn and all other fruit on earth give and protect’ Ps 1615: 51; *Tu eepreezini mannu Širrdi / Jebſche winjeems ghann dauds Wiēna vnd Labbibas gir* ‘you make my heart glad because they have much wine and crops’ LGL 1631: 424; *Weens Puhrs labbibas gir dauds gulldinņus maxayis* ‘for one pood of corn many guldens were paid’ Mancelius 1631 LVM 229; *Kad nu ta Labbiba auge/un auglojāhs/ tad atraddahs arri ta nikna Sahle* ‘when this crop grew and thrived, the weed appeared’ JT 1685 Mt 13,26; *Laizighas Leetas gir / Ehſchana / Dferrſchana / Drahnas / Labbiba / Lohpi / Weſſeliba / Meers / und tahdas Leetas warram mehß arridfan no Deewu luhkt* ‘food, drink, clothes, crops, animals, health and peace are temporary things, and we can ask God for these things too’ Mancelius 1654 LP1 496; *Aifto ta Labbiba us Lauku nhe augh no šōw pafſchu / no nhejaufchu / nhe tadehļ ween / ka ta kļuhft labbe ee=ſtrahdata; bett taß ſchehligs Deews audfena to...* ‘because crop does not grow in the field by itself, unawares, not only because it is well cultivated but also because merciful God grows them’ Mancelius 1654 LP2 124.

The word combination *maizes labība* or the compound *maiz[e]slabība* ‘bread, grain crop’, which denotes cereals from which bread is baked, has been recorded in some subdialects, e.g.: *māizes labība – tikai rudzi, mieži, kvieši* ‘grain corn – only rye, barley, wheat’ Nītaure (Apv); *māizs labib / māizslabib* ‘grain corn’ – *ispalīdz nu maņ ar māizs labib – piētrūkst kâc (-ds) pūrs* ‘lend me some grain corn – I am short of about a pood’ Vainiži (Apv); *kâdreiz runā pār māizes labību* ‘once there talk was about grain corn’ Blīdene (ALE).

*Labība* is a concretised name of a feature. At first it meant ‘goodness, value’ (cf. ME II 396).

The suffix *\*-ībā* with the help of which the derivative under discussion is made, once in the Baltic languages was the main means to form the name of a feature. Latvians preserved its form best. Its later *ē* stem form *\*-ībē* became prevalent in the majority of the Lithuanian dialects (cf. LKA III 137, Map No. 123) a long time ago. This innovation can be common to the Lithuanian and Prussian languages, cf. Lith. *pagonybė* and Pruss. *pogonbe* ‘paganism’ E 795.

By the way, with the help of *\*-ībā* names of actions are often made in the Lithuanian (as well as in Latvian) languages, e.g., *darýba*. This is, however, quite a recent innovation.

The Baltic *\*-ībā* differs from Slav. *\*-b-bā* only in the ending of the stem, cf. Lith. dial. *lýgyba* (Latv. *līdzība*) ‘equality’: *lygùs / lýgus* and Oslav. *bor̃ba*: *bor̃b* ‘fight, battle’.

These suffixes are usually related with IE *\*bhā-* ‘to shine, glitter, appear’ (Lith. *bálti*, cf. p. 431 might be a distant reflection of this verb) or *bhū-* ‘to grow, be, become’, cf. Lith. *búti* (for more about all that see Ambrasas 1993: 76f., 2000: 8ff., 2006: 70 and lit.).

The basis for the formation of the derivative Latv. *labība* under discussion is the adjective common to all Baltic languages, cf. Latv. *labs*, Lith. *lābas*, Pruss. *labs* ‘good’ III 51<sub>20</sub>.

It is usually thought that the latter was derived from IE *\*labh-* ‘to seize, snatch’, cf. OInd. *lābhate* ‘takes, snatches, reaches, acquires’, Gk. *λάφῦρον* ‘plunder’, *ἀμφι-λαφής* ‘wide, large, wealthy’ and others (Būga I 156ff.; Trautmann 1923: 148; ME II 397f.; LEW 327; IEW 652; ПЯ K–L 401ff.; PKEŽ III 14f.).

However, this is not absolutely clear (cf. Smoczyński 2007: 331).

From the semantic point of view Latv. *labība* ‘crops’ can also be related to Pol. *zboże* ‘crops’ (about its origin see Brückner <sup>3</sup>1974: 647), which belongs to the same root as *bogaty* ‘wealthy’ (cf. Frenkelis 1969: 38).

The word *naudà* to denote the crops is found in one or other Lithuanian subdialect. ALE recorded it in the area of Highlanders of Klaipėda region around Trakininkai, Lauksargiai, and on the basis of e-LKŽ material it can be stated that it is common in different subdialects of eastern Highlanders, e.g.: *pripyliau pilnus aruodus naudōs* ‘I filled the corn-bins with crops’ Paringys (e-LKŽ); *aruodai náudai pilt* ‘corn-bins to pour crops in’ Rimšė (e-LKŽ); *kultuve kuliam visokią naūdq* ‘all kinds of corn is threshed with a beater’ Apsas (e-LKŽ); *nedygsta naudà* ‘crop does not germinate’ Apsas (e-LKŽ); *jaujy džiovinom naūdq ir linus mynēm* ‘we dried crops and broke flax in the drying barn’ Breslauja (e-LKŽ); *kuom mokēsit – náuda ar pinigais?* ‘will you pay in crops or in cash?’ Paringys (e-LKŽ); *seniau žmonės patys žinodavo, kada kokia naudà sėtie* ‘earlier people knew themselves when and what crop to sow’ Tverečius (e-LKŽ); *šjmet nauda neužaugo – bloga vasara buvo* ‘this year crop did not grow – the summer was bad’ Salakas (e-LKŽ); *klaimas su visa náuda sudegė* ‘the barn burned down with all the crops’ Dusetos (e-LKŽ); *karvė naudōj, eikit – išvarysit!* ‘the cow is in the crop field, go and drive it away!’ Dusetos (e-LKŽ); *kai prireikia pinigų, insipiliu naudōs maišelį ir nuvežu turgun* ‘when I need money, I put some property [grain] into a sack and take it to the market’ Daugailiai (e-LKŽ); *nelygu malimas, nelygu naudà* ‘corn is different, grinding is different’ Dysna (e-LKŽ).

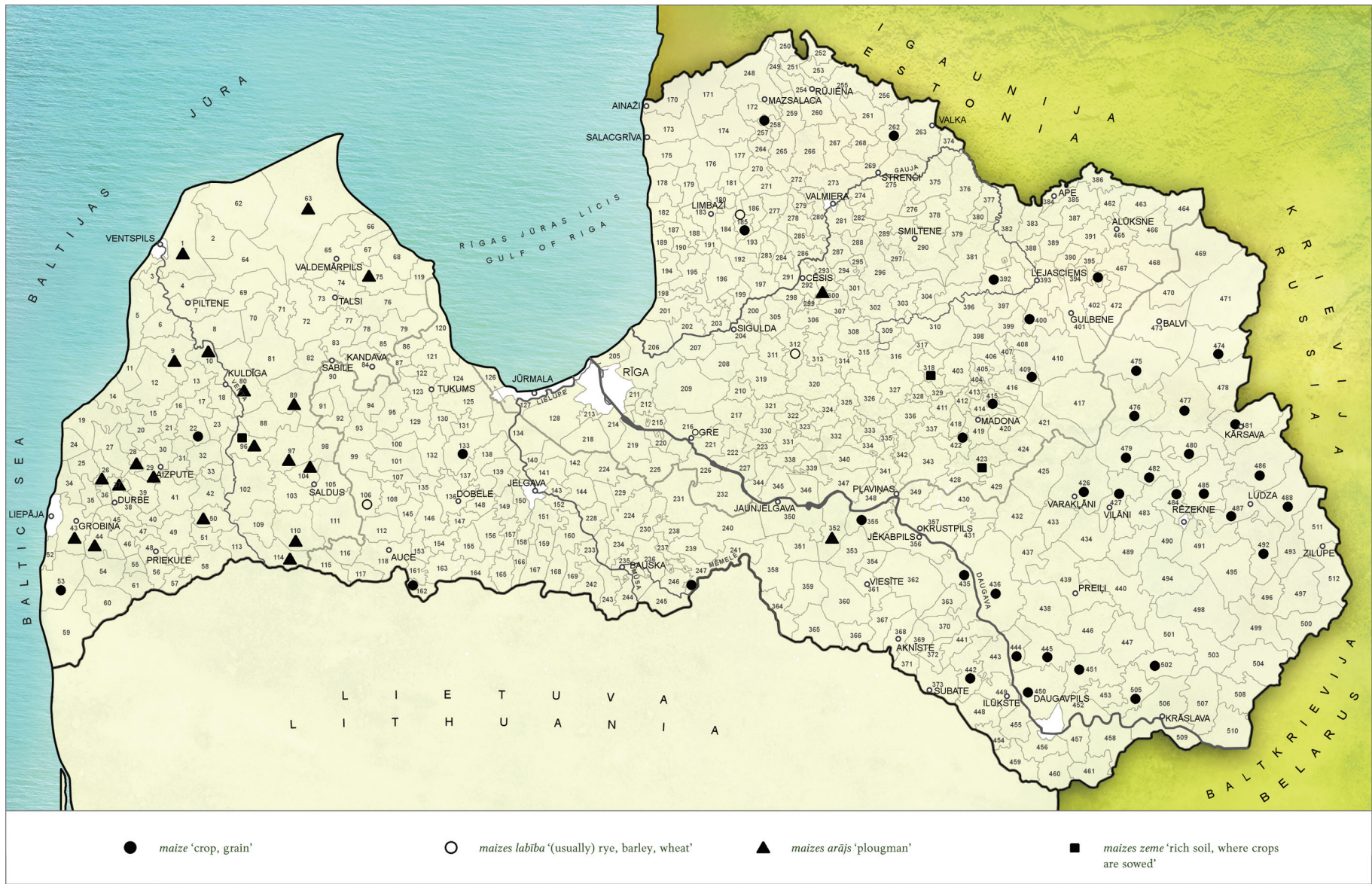
The word *naudà* (common in the writings of the 16th–18th century) is used in the Latvian language too – *naūda* ‘money’. On the basis of the onyms of western Balts (toponyms *Nauden*, *Naudithen*, *Nawdisken* and the like; nomina propria *Naudyn*, *Naudicz*, *Nawdiocz*), the supposition can be made that this word existed in the Prussian language too. Further German equivalents are mentioned, e.g.: OHG *nuz* ‘nauda’, OIc. *naut* ‘domestic cattle’, Goth. *niutan* ‘to reach, have’ and others (LEW 487; IEW 768; Stang 1972: 42; Sabaliauskas 1990: 73; Smoczyński 2007: 418).

Their possible links with the even older IE verb *\*neu-* ‘to give stimulus’ without the determinative *-d-* are also to be investigated, cf. OInd. *návatē*, *nāuti* ‘turns, moves’, *nudāti* ‘pushes, move forward’, Gk. *νεύω* ‘I nod’, Lat. *ab-nuo* ‘I give a negative sign, I disagree, deny, disobey, do not allow’ and others (IEW 767).











*Baltų kalbų atlasas*  
*Leksika 1: flora*

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## *Names of the Winter Wheat*





# Names of the Winter Wheat

*Authors of the comments: Asta Leskauskaitė, Ilga Jansone, Anna Staficka, Saulius Ambrazas*

The map and the comments are based on LKA I Map No. 94 and LVDA Map No. 39B, as well as on maps, comments, and answers to Question No. 70 of the ALE Questionnaire on Lexicon.

To name the *Gramineae* family cereal (*Triticum hiemales*) which is used to make white bread and cakes, the two Baltic languages use common words: Lith. *kviečiai* / Latv. *kvieši* and Lith. *pūrai* / Latv. *pūri*. In Lithuania and Latvia, they form large compact areas.

The name *kviečiai* is used throughout Lithuania, except for its north-western territory; the name is also firmly established in Standard Lithuanian: *murs tėtis tai vīskui sėdavu | i\_rug'ù[s] sėdavu | i\_kvieč'ūs, i\_miēž'u. | dá i\_linūr* 'our dad used to sow everything: rye and wheat, and barley, flax too' ZnŽ I 828; *jis acilīgi.s pasmērt kviečėis* 'after his death he will pay back in wheat' ZnŽ I 828; *kviečiai. | tai\_mūrš bū-φ. | be\_ūr su.* 'our wheat had no awn' PpaŽK; *kap kviečių būs, tai ir pyrāgū būs* 'if you have wheat, you will also have white bread' DvŽ I 331; *t'eñ b'it pas'éta āv'ižos, kvieč'eī, l'inaī* 'oat, wheat and flax were sown there' ZtŽ 337; *v'ienā išk'ep'ė iš kv'ieč'ū dūonos, tai òt gard'ī* 'one [housewife] baked bread from wheat, it was so delicious' ZtŽ 337; *iš kviečių grāžūs pyrāgai* 'from wheat you can bake nice cakes' LzŽ 138; *bu.tinaī jāu raikē nup'jē.ut' p'rē.š lau'rīnu.\* kvē.čēi žē.mī.nei* 'winter wheat is necessary to be cut before St Laurence' KpŽ II 554; *zaci.rkai va arba 'blīnč.m tai iŗ'gi m.ļdavč.m 'kvieč'us* 'we also ground wheat for dumpling soup or pancakes' KpŽ II 554.

Standard Latvian and Latvian dialects most often use the name *kvieši*. It has been recorded in the whole territory of Latvia, except for Kurzeme. In Latgale preference is given to the phonetic variant *kviši*. When referring to the wheat variety used for food, the word combination *ziemas kvieši* is used.

The origin of the Lith. *kviečiai* / Latv. *kvieši* is very much disputed. Kazimieras Būga (II 85, 230t.), Ernst Fraenkel (LEW 326), Wojciech Smoczyński (2007: 331) and some other researchers are of the opinion that the word might have been borrowed from northern Germanic and should be linked to the IE *\*k<sup>h</sup>ei-* 'to light; white, light'.

Algirdas Sabaliauskas (Сабаляускас 1959: 219ff.; Sabaliauskas 1990: 41) states that the above words of the eastern Baltic languages could be of Baltic origin, since the Baltic and Slavic languages (cf. Latv. *kvītēt* 'to glimmer, glisten', *kvitināt* 'make smth glisten', Russ. *yvem* 'a blossom', *yvestmu* 'to bloom') have both – satem and centum

reflexes of the root *\*k<sup>h</sup>ei-*. Semantically, the word has parallels with the Pruss. *gaydis* 'wheat' and *gaylis* 'white' (cf. PKEŽ I 311ff.).

The Lith. *kviečiai* is often mentioned in Jonas Rikovičius' book of psalms (RG), Danielius Klein's grammar (PLKG 166), Mikalojus Daukša's *Postilė* (DP), Jonas Bretkūnas' *Postilė*, the German-Lithuanian dictionary *Clavis Germanico-Lithvana*, in Jonas Jaknavičius' *Evangelijos* (The Gospels) of 1647, 1674, 1690 and 1705, Samuelis Chylinski's *Bible*, Sapūnas and Šulcas' grammar *Compendium Grammaticae Lithvanicae*, the first edition of Konstantinas Sirvydas' dictionary, several dictionaries of the 20th century: *nėwiens Kwietys nenėžs waišaus / Net žėmen' tur ypulti* 'no wheat bears fruit until it falls into soil' RG 483,13; *a tu Pone Diewe gelbek / idant mes czjstu grudeliu kwieczu geru / ifilaitumbim / Ieib ing Diewo klūna butumbi* 'Oh, Lord, save us, help us stay clean like wheat grains in God's barn' BP I 216,10; *kwietei czjfti atfkirami ira nūg kukaliu / alba kitu piktu fžoli* 'wheat is separated from corn cockle or other weeds' BP I 210,23; *idant raudami kukalus / ne ifzrautumet fu iey draugie ir kwiečiu* 'when pulling out corn cockles we should not pull out the wheat' JE5, 30, 8–9; *surinkite iuos peduofn vnt fudeginimo, o kwiečius fukraukite kluonan mano* 'get those sheaves for burning, put the wheat into my barn' PS I 281, 17; *kwēcziū grud's žėmena fėtas / Gul kaip mirres ir bepuwas* 'a grain of wheat, when sown into soil, lies like dead and rots' KING 448, 13.

Latv. *kvieši* was often used in dictionaries of the 17th–19th century: *Weitzen-Mehl / Queefcho-millt* 'Wheat flour' Lettus 1638: 120; *Semelmäl / Queefcho-millti / ballto Mais-millti* 'wheat flour / white bread flour' Lettus 1638: 167; *Weitzen / Queefchi* Lettus 1638: 209; *Kweeschi* pl. *Weitzen Fürecker* 1685 I 116, II 157; *Qweeschis weitzen Fürecker* 1685 I 196, II 234; *Qveeschis Weitzen. Qweeschi Kweeschi* Depkin 1704 I 291; *Kweeschi Weizen; bredušchi kweesi* 'ripe wheat'; *Apšeemes kweeschi* winter weizen, *Zeemes=Kweeschi* Depkin 1704 II 93; *Queefchi Sommerweitzen* Langius 1685: 208; *Kweefchi Weizen* Lange 1773: 164; *Kweefchi Weizen Stender* 1789 II 126; *Pszenica. Triticum. Kwiszy* Kurmin 1858: 177; *kweefchi* der *Waizen* Ulmann 1872: 130.

The name *kvieši* is often used in other old Latvian writings too: *ne kahdu Wahrpu tas Kweefchagrauds nefš / Ja tas neekriht Semmē* 'that wheat grain will not grow any ears unless it falls onto the soil' LGL 1685 K1 180; *bet teem Łaudim gulloht nah-ze winna Eenaidneeks /*

*un fehje niknas Sahles starp Kweefcheem / un gahje nohft* ‘when the people were asleep, his enemies came and sowed some weeds into the wheat, then left’ JT 1685, Mt 13,25; *un tas / ko tu fehji / ne irtas pats / kas augams irr / bet tik-kai Grauds / jeb Kweefcho jeb kahds no teem zitteem* ‘what you sow might be not the same as what you see growing afterwards; only grains of wheat or other crops are important’ JT 1685, 1 Kor 15,37; *weens Mehers Kweefcho par weenu Graffi* ‘a measure of wheat for a penny’ JT 1685, Atk 6,6; *jo ta Semme no fewispafchas nefš auglus / papreekfchu Sahli / pehz Wahrpu / pehz pillus Kweefchs eekfch Wahrpas* ‘the land will bear fruit from its own resources: first grass, then ears full of wheat’ JT 1685, Mk 4,28; *ne / ka juhs to nikno Sahli israwedami ir tohs Kweefchus ne-ispluhzaht* ‘unlike you who weed the wheat and pull out crops’ JT 1685, Mt 13,29; *atgoja inaydniks jo, und ayzšeja kyukalus storp kwiszim, und nugoja* ‘here came his enemy and sowed some corn-cockle into the wheat, then left’ EvTA 1753: 19.

Lith. *pūrai* /Latv. *pūri* form another continuous common area.

Lith. *pūrai* is used in the north western Lithuania, in most western, northerly and some southern subdialects of Lowlanders: *žėimėnė kvėitė ĩ vārdò pūrā* ‘winter wheat is called *pūrai*’ MoŽK; *pūrā stòmbesnė ĩ, kvėitė ĩ smòlkėsnis* ‘winter wheat is bigger, (spring) wheat is smaller’ MoŽK; *ā, pūrā ĩ rùdini sėjamiš* ‘wheat is sown in autumn’ MoŽK; *pūrai yr stambesni, iš pūrų skanesnis pyragas, baltesnis* ‘winter wheat is bigger, winter wheat can be used to make a delicious cake, whiter than usual’ Kuliai (e-LKŽ); *šiemet geri pūrai: būs pyrago* ‘this year wheat is good; it will bring cakes’ Veiviržėnai (e-LKŽ); *kartais mažai tekrimta pūrų* ‘sometimes they ate too little wheat’ Mosėdis (e-LKŽ); *pūrams pryš paaugant, perinsiu vištą, būs kuo lesinti* ‘before the wheat grows, I will put a hen [on eggs], we will have feed’ Gegrėnai (e-LKŽ). Much less frequent variants of accentuation are *pūrai* (Pikeliai, Leck-

ava, Gudaliai, Kalgraužiai, Darbėnai etc.), *pūrai* (Pikeliai, Skliaustė, Židikai, Puokė, Gadūnavas, etc.).

The name the winter wheat *pūri* or *pūri* is used throughout Kurzeme; it has also been identified in some south eastern subdialects of Zemgale, Vidzeme (Ērgļi, Vēja, Ļaudona, Saikava, etc.): *pūrs a sēi rudiņas* ‘wheat is also sown in autumn’ Pope (LVDA); *kviēšs sēi paūsar, bet pūrs – ruden* ‘[spring] wheat is sown in spring and winter wheat in autumn’ Īvande (LVDA); *senāk pūrs sēi māl zemē* ‘earlier wheat was sown in clay’ Ēdole (LVDA); *ziēmas kviēši – pūri – ĩ brūnāki, sīkāki* ‘winter wheat is browner and smaller’ Bārta (LVDA); *vasaras pūrus sāka sēt tikaĭ pēc kara* ‘they started sowing spring wheat only after the war’ Lutriņi (LVDA). In Kurzeme the above word is used to refer to spring wheat as well (*vasaras pūri*).

The origin of Lith. *pūrai* /Latv. *pūri* is unclear. Supposedly, the word could be old inheritance with some equivalents in other languages, cf. Pruss. *pure* ‘brome’, Russ. *ныпеў* ‘wheat-grass’, Pol. *perz*, Gk. *πυρός* ‘wheat, a grain of wheat’, Serb.-Cro. *nūp* ‘spelt (*Triticum aestivum*)’, Sloven. *pīr*, Cz. *pýr* (Skardžius I 31; Vasmer 1950: 474; IEW 850; LEW 671; Сабалюскас 1959: 221ff.; Sabaliauskas 1990: 42; PKEŽ III 363f.; Smoczyński 2007: 490).

The name *pūri* is found in the dictionaries of the Latvian language of the 17th–19th century: *puhri* winter weizen Langius 1685: 202; *puhri* winter weizen Fürecker 1685 II 181; *puhri tee* Winterweizen Lange 1773: 242; *puhri* Winterweizen Stender 1789 II 209; *puhri* (*kweefchi* in Welt-Kurland Sommerwaizen den *puhri* gegenüber) Ulmann 1872: 130.

In old writings, the Lith. *pūrai* is not mentioned. It can be found in the 19th century writings of Simonas Daukantas and Jurgis Pabrėža, for example, *Iš ragų gerdamys, pūrų duona užkandos* ‘drinking from horns, eating the bread of wheat’ S. Dauk (e-LKŽ).







*Names of the Hazel Tree*





# Names of the Hazel Tree

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The map is based on the answers to Question No. 62 of the ALE lexical questionnaire. When writing comments the answers to Question No. 140 of the fourth dialectological questionnaire of the KFRP, Question No. 64 of the *Lietuvių kalbos tarmių ir jų sąveikos tyrimo programa* (Programme for Lithuanian Dialects and Research into their Interaction), as well as answers to Question No. 382 of LVDA were additionally made use of.

The map shows the distribution of words referring to a nut-bearing shrub of the *Corylaceae* family – the Common Hazel (*Corylus avellana*).

Latv. *lazda* ‘stick’ that is also used to call the hazel in standard Latvian is an old word of the Baltic languages that is spread all over the territory of Latvia. It is used in all historical regions; its phonetic variant *lozda* is common in the High Latvian dialect.

Examples of dialects are as follows: *šūgod rīkstu goc (-ds): pūlnas lozdas* ‘this year is a year of nuts: hazels are full’ Aknīste (ALE); *mežā bi daūdz lazdu, ūn citu gadu bi traki daūdz rīkstu* ‘there were many hazels in the forest, and in some years there used to be many nuts’ Ērgeme (ALE); *lazda:m i ciēti rīkstī* ‘hazel nuts are hard’ Idus (ALE); *kuru god lozdōm jīr dāuc rīkstu* ‘in some years there are lots of nuts on the hazel trees’ Kalupe (ALE); *pēickāi kuōtu nu lozdys grīzā* ‘the crop of a whip was cut out of the hazel tree’ Nautrēni (LVDA); *šis i lazdeles [zars]* ‘this is a branch of a young hazel tree’ Nīca (ALE); *lozdu līču, rīkstus rāvu* ‘I bent the hazel tree, picked the nuts’ Šķilbēni (ALE); *kuī rīkstus dabūsī, ja lazda nau* ‘where will you get nuts from if there are no hazel trees’ Zālīte (ALE); *kūr ir lozdas, tūr pūikas ūn vūovēres mēkliē rīkstus* ‘boys and squirrels look for nuts where there are hazel trees’ Ziemeris (ALE).

The variant *lazds* is used in the subdialects of central Vidzeme around Bilska, Jumurda, Kauguri, Sēļi, Trikāta, Vaive, Vecpiebalga, e. g.: *lazds, tas jāu mūms tepat ir* ‘the hazel tree is right near us’ Dzērbene (LVDA); *pār lazdim sāuc; lazda rīksti* ‘they are called hazel trees; hazel nuts’ Jaunrauna (LVDA); *neviēna lazda* ‘[there isn’t] a single hazel tree’ Rauna (LVDA); *lazdi dikti agri ziēd* ‘hazel trees blossom very early’ Smiltene (LVDA).

This word is used in some subdialects of High Latvian dialect in Vidzeme (Galgauska, Jaunroze, Lejasciems, Tirza and others), e.g.: *mājas dārzā lozdus sastādija* ‘hazel trees have been planted in the

garden of the house’ Lizums (LVDA); *lozdi ziēd gavieniē ār sofkanēm, moziēm ziēdiņēm* ‘hazel trees bloom with small read blossoms during Lent’ Sinole (ALE).

The variant *lazds* has been rarer recorded in Kurzeme – Dunika, Kandava, Laidze and other places, and in Zemgale – Salgale. For example: *lazdām i rīkst* ‘there are nuts on the hazel tree’ Zūras (LVDA); *lazduōs aūg rīksti* ‘nuts grow on hazel trees’ Vecmokas (LVDA).

The variant *lēzda* is common in the dialects of central Vidzeme (around Ērgļi, Omuļi, Krimulda) and the Livonian subdialects of Vidzeme (Ainaži, Aloja, Lēdurga, Puikule, Idus, Rozula, Svētciems and others), e.g.: *lēzd aūg krūmos* ‘hazels grow in shrubs’ Aloja (LVDA); *div<sup>o</sup>s lēzd<sup>o</sup>s tīrum<sup>o</sup> malā* ‘two hazel trees on the edge of a field’ Plani (LVDA); *lēzdās aūg rīksti čēmuriem* ‘nuts grow in clusters on hazel trees’ Skaņkalne (LVDA).

The word *lēzds* with the *o* stem is found almost in the same area, e.g.: *lēzdu stīpas bi mucām* ‘hoops of the barrels were made of hazel trees’ Ērgeme (ALE); *lēzdi, lēzdim rīksti aūg* ‘nuts grow on hazel trees’ Kauguri (ALE); *pavasari muīs patik lēzd bārbaliņ<sup>s</sup>, ka lēzd ziēdēi* ‘in spring we liked catkins of hazel trees when hazel trees were in blossom’ Ozoli (LVDA); *agrāk jāu pina kuīvus, krēslus tāisija, ta jāu briēsmīgi izmaītuōja tuōs lēzdus, lēzdi labi liēcās* ‘earlier baskets were woven, chairs were made so hazel trees were extensively used, hazel trees were easy to bend’ Vilzēni (LVDA).

The variant *lagzda* is quite common in Kurzeme. Its phonetic variants are found in Livian subdialects: *lāgzd* – Zlēkas, Zūras (FBR VII 41), *lāgzd* – Ēdole, Īvande, Padure, Zūras, *lāgzda* – in Engure, e.g.: *lagzd<sup>o</sup>s miza, lagzdaī rīksti* ‘hazel tree bark, hazel nuts’ Asīte (ALE); *šūōgad lagzdaī daūdz rīkst* ‘there are plenty of nuts on hazel trees this year’ Alsunga (ALE); *lagzde pulk rīkst* ‘there lots of nuts on a hazel tree’ Jūrkalne (LVDA); *lagzdu krūms* ‘a hazel shrub’ Renda (ALE).

It is also used in Zemgale, e.g.: *tepat aūg lagzdas* ‘hazel trees grow right here’ Jaunauce (LVDA); *lagzdām tiē ziēdi tādi maziņi* ‘those hazel tree blossoms are so small’ Līvberze (LVDA); recorded in separate places and in Vidzeme (Ādaži, Bīriņi, Dauguļi and others), e.g.: *lagzdas bi pīls a rīkstiīn* ‘hazel trees were full of nuts’ Skulte (LVDA).

*Lagzds* is most often used in the northern and central parts of Kurzeme, e.g.: *lāgzds aūg mežē* ‘a hazel tree grows in a forest’ Lauciene (LVDA); *te gār ēzērmāl i lagzdi* ‘there are hazel trees along the shore of

the lake here' Renda (ALE); *lagzduôs aûg riêkst* 'nuts grow on hazel trees' Stende (LVDA). This variant was recorded in Zemgale too, e.g. *tuŗ, tai mežâ vëşëlas ciŗsmas piŗlas lagzdiêm, kad nâk riêksti, mâsiêm var nest* 'there, in that forest entire clearings are full of hazel trees, when nuts ripen one can pick them in abundance' Zemīte (LVDA).

The variant *lēgzda* is more common in Zemgale (Bukaiši, Dobele, Džūkste, Naudīte, Sņikere, Tērvete, Vilce and others), for example: *lēgzdas – agrâki tautas mutē* 'lēgzdas 'hazel trees' – people used to say earlier' Bērze (LVDA); *lēgzda ziêd gavēnî saŗkaniêm ziêdiņiêm* 'a hazel tree blooms with red blossoms during Lent' Džūkste (ALE). It is also common in Livonian subdialects of Vidzeme, has been recorded in Ainaži, Dunte, Lāde, Liepupe, Limbaži, Nabe, Rūjiena, Salaca and other places, e.g.: *lēgzd ziedt gavēņ laika* 'hazel trees bloom during Lent' Lāde (LVDA); *pūiki lēgzda ņiŗiņ riêksts* 'boys pick nuts in a hazel tree' Svētciems (LVDA).

The EH presents the word *lēgzda* from several subdialects of central Vidzeme – Ērģeme and Lugaži.

The stem *o* form *lēgzds* is most often used in Vidzeme Livian subdialects, e.g.: *lēgzdi – tiē aûg tâ krūmos* 'hazels – they grow in shrubs' Lēdurga (LVDA); *gan puik nuôlauzs lēgzdam gal* 'a shepherd has broken the top of the hazel tree' Umurga (LVDA); *lēgzd ņuôgad piŗl a riêkstiņ* 'this year hazel trees are full of nuts' Vainiži (ALE).

Several variants of the word for this shrub are mentioned in old Latvian dictionaries: *Lafdi* Lettus 1636: 85; *lagsdi* hasel strauch 'hazel trees' Fürecker 1685 I 131, 1685 II 196; *Lagsdi*, haselstrauch Depkin 1704 II 105; *lafda* Ulmann 1872: 135; *legfds*, *legfda* Ulmann 1872: 139; *lagfda* Ulmann 1872: 135; Leszczyna, Corylus. *lozda* Kurmin 1858: 67.

The equivalent of the word *lazdà* in modern Lithuanian is usually used in the meaning of 'stick' and the old sememe of 'hazel tree' is retained in one or another subdialect only, also cf. variants *lāzdas*; *lazà*, *lāzas* (about the origin of the two latter see Būga I 273).

Some subdialects of western Lowlanders (around Raseiniai, Kelmė, Kuršėnai) still use the word *laz(d)à* in the meaning of 'hazel tree' and their neighbours western Highlanders (around Jurbarkas, Marijampolė), e.g.: *luņkà [buvo] iŗ\_lazŗ* 'bows [were made] from hazel tree' DūnŽ 170; *senúovie viêdra: biva lazuôs mēdže luņkàs* 'in olden times buckets had hoops made of hazel tree wood' DūnŽ 170; *lazdos ņimet nu rieŗutu linksta* 'this year hazel trees bend under nuts' Karklėnai (e-LKŽ); *sniegui bēgant, lāzdos pradeda ņydēti* 'hazel trees start blooming when snow melts' Uŗventis (e-LKŽ).

This word has been recorded in his old meaning in south-eastern are of the Lithuanian language: eastern Highlanders of Vilnius area – around Dūkŗtas, Dieveniŗkės (the word combination *lazdŗ krúmas* has also been recorded in the subdialect), southern Highlanders – around Trakai, Onuŗkis, Leipalingis, e.g.: *lazdŗ ai.k pririņ.k ir suviŗk [akēcias]* 'go for sticks, collect them and make [a harrow]' DrskŽ 186; *in lazdōs kok'ŗ rieŗut'ŗ randz'ŗ* 'you can find a nut or two on a hazel tree' DvŽ I 346; *daũ.gel' lazdũ | al' mârza rieŗutŗ* 'there are many hazel trees but few nuts' DvŽ I 346; *Ivonēlis kârso lazdŗ krúme* 'Ivonēlis dangles on a hazel tree' DvŽ I 346; *pask'orē ... krumi lazdu ņil'ko kustu. aŗũ. karklo* 'hanged himself ... with a silk kerchief on a hazel tree' DvŽ I 346; *ŗiemet pilnos lazdos rieŗutu* 'this year hazel trees are full of nuts' Onuŗkis (e-LKŽ); *visa lazda apkepus kekēm* 'the entire hazel tree is full of clusters' Trakai (e-LKŽ).

It is common in Gervėčiai, Lazūnai, Pelesa subdialects of the Belarusian Lithuanians, the environs of Varanavas, e.g.: *ānas lazōn inliņdo ir sēdz'* 'he got onto a hazel tree and sits there' LzŽ 141; *un*

*lazdōs rieŗutai āuga* 'nuts grow on a hazel tree' LzŽ 141; *cia daũg tŗ lazdŗ yrà* 'there are lots of those hazel trees here' LzŽ 141; *svietas renka rieŗutus – kas lazdà, tai ņmogus* 'people are picking nuts – a man in a hazel tree' ņirmūnai (e-LKŽ); *gaidukas inlindo lazdōn* 'a cockerel got onto a hazel tree' Pelesa (e-LKŽ); *pririŗē verŗelį pas lazdelę ir nuej[ō] medin* 'tied a calf to a young hazel tree and went to the forest' Armoniŗkės (e-LKŽ).

The meaning of 'a stick', which often has a symbolic meaning, is very often found in old Lithuanian writings, e.g.: *Purpurà apwiłko / erŗkeczàis karunawoio / wieton' lazdos karàleus nēndre iam padawinōio* 'he was dressed in purple clothes, crowned with a dog rose and presented with a reed instead of the King's staff' DP 169<sub>41-42</sub>; *Ir norint waiŗchczocziau [sic!] tamŗsoia pakalņya, neŗsibijau ne quartunos, neŗa tu fu manim eŗsi, tawa laŗda ir tawa ramtis linksmin mane* 'even if I walked in a dark hillside, I would not be afraid of misfortune because you are with me, your stick and your support cheer me up' BB Ps 23,4; *Lāzdà Aronà pādŗiuwufi ir umay prāŗidufi* 'Aronas' stick is dry and suddenly in flower' SE 80<sub>19-20</sub>; Heroldŗka laŗká. Caduceum. *lazda pafiuŗtinio* 'a courier's staff' SD<sup>3</sup> 82; Laŗka pāŗtuŗba. Pedũ. *lazda pie-menies* 'a shepherd's stick' SD<sup>3</sup> 149, etc.

However, the meaning of 'hazel tree' is also presented in the second dictionary compiled by Konstantinas Sirvydas (Leŗczyznà / drzewo leŗczyznowe. Corylus. *lazda* 'hazel tree' SD<sup>3</sup> 152; Orzech laŗkowy / Auellana nux *Rieŗutis lazdos* 'a hazelnut' SD<sup>3</sup> 270) and in the manuscript dictionaries of Lithuania Minor of the 17th century (Nuŗbaum *Laŗda* 'hazel' Lex 65a; Nuŗbaum. *Laŗda, ôs*. F. 'hazel' C II 156).

Apart from the data of the Latvian language, its old age is also testified to by Pruss. *laxde* (< \**lagzdē*) 'hazel tree' E 607. This word, as the above-mentioned Latv. *lagzda*, *lagzds*, *lēgzda*, *lēgzds*, has the insert -g- (ME II 399; Endzelĩns 1943: 40; Endzelĩnas 1957: 57; Stang 1966b: 108; PKEŽ III 55).

On the other hand, the meaning of 'a stick' that is dominant in the Lithuanian language now, though secondary, is not entirely new. On the basis of a semantic distribution of the compound word *kel-laxde* 'shaft of a spear' E 423 (: *kelian* 'a spear' E 422) the supposition can be made that it was not alien to the Prussian language either.

The Baltic \**laŗ-da* 'hazel tree' (of a similar formation as Lith. *ŗaiz-dà*, cf. Ambrasas 1993: 87f.), seems to have the equivalent in Alb. Language *laŗthi*, *ledhi* 'hazel tree' (Широков 1984: 17; Sabaliauskas 1990: 41). Here one should have in mind the fact that the Baltic and Paleo-Balkan languages once had very close contacts (cf. Dini 2000: 162ff.; Karaliūnas II 331ff. and lit.).

Similar kinship words denoting plants exist in the Slavonic languages too, e.g. OSlav. and the current Russian word *loza* 'vine', Pol. *loza* 'willow, osier; rod; willow thicket'; Pol. *laŗka* 'stick; hazel tree', Russ. *лаŗга* 'hazel tree' and others (Trautmann 1923: 153; LEW 348; ЭССЯ XIV 239ff., XV 34, XVI 118ff.; ПЯ L 48ff.; Smoczyński 2007: 341).

They all might have been made from the same Baltic-Slavonic verb \**leŗ-* 'crawl' (PKEŽ III 56; also ПЯ L 50ff.), cf. especially Pruss. *liŗe* 'crawls' III 107<sub>3</sub>, Latv. *lēŗēt* 'to crawl slowly towards smb./smth.', Slav. \**lēŗti* 'to crawl'.

Ant its roots can be hidden in IE \**leg<sup>h</sup>* 'to lie down, to lie' (PKEŽ III 70ff.), cf. Lith. *lėŗti* 'to lay down', OCS *leŗti* 'to lie down', Gk. *λέŗεται* 'lie down', etc. (see further IEW 658f.).

A collective compound word of a collective *lazdýnas* (with its variants *lazdýnas*, *lazýnas*), made from the above-discussed *lazdà* became prevalent in Standard Lithuanian and its dialects.



It is used almost throughout the entire area of the Lithuanian language, only in the bordering subdialects it is used together with other words, e.g.: *isèlepâu i tũ lazđĩn<sup>a</sup>, nò, rėk skabĩt<sup>e</sup> tus rėišot<sup>u</sup>s* ‘I climbed up that hazel tree, well it necessary to pick those nuts’ MoŽK; *vėd<sup>o</sup> priėjũou pò tuok<sup>o</sup> lazđĩn<sup>o</sup> e sògòliėu* ‘we went up to such a hazel tree and lay down’ MoŽK; *e dàuğãu anũos (rudmėsės) aũg kòr i lazđĩnã* ‘and they (milk caps) grows more in places where there are hazel trees’ MoŽK; *pėrnã tũs lazđĩnũs bòv<sup>a</sup> dàuğ rėišutũ* ‘last year there were lots of nuts on those hazel trees’ MoŽK; *lazđi.nũr bũvo. daũ.g'is* ‘there were many hazel trees’ DrskŽ 186; *tĩ apæ. \*kirdaikũs lazđi.nai | á.nies ræ.šutũ. tú.ri* ‘there, near Kirdeikiai, there are hazel trees, they bear nuts’ KlŽ 140; *t'ĩ lazđz'inas á.uga | [...] t'ĩ v'it'æ'l'u ir r'ėšutũ bũvo* ‘a hazel tree used to grow there, [...] there were twigs and nuts there’ DvŽ I 346; *nėr lazdynĩ par mum* ‘there are no hazel trees with us’ Labanoras (e-LKŽ); *ant lazdynũ šiemet daug žirginũ* ‘there are many catkins on hazel trees this year’ Ramygala (e-LKŽ); *lazdynė radau ežio lizdq* ‘I found a hedgehog’s nest under a hazel tree’ Užventis (e-LKŽ); *ši metq mũso lazdynũs nė vieno riešuto nebuvo* ‘this year there was not a single nut in our hazel trees’ Salantai (e-LKŽ).

In his second dictionary Sirvydas gave ‘hazel tree grove’: *Leŕczynã lafek leŕczynowy / Coryletum. lazđinas* SD<sup>3</sup> 270. This meaning has also been recorded in Druskininkai subdialect (e-LKŽ).

Derivatives with the suffix *-ynas* (derived from the adjectival formant *\*-no-*) have been made in the Lithuanian language since olden times, which mean accumulations of plants or other things in a single place (Ambrazas 2000: 53f.). Collective words this type have equivalents in the Prussian, Slavonic, partly Latin, perhaps, German, Albanian languages but they are not found in the Latvian language. To form derivatives of a collective nature Latvians use the apophonic variant *\*-ino-* / *-oino-* of the suffix *\*-ino-* rather than the suffix itself, cf. Lith. *eglynas* ‘fir tree grove’ and Latv. *egliene, eglieņs, eglainis* ‘hazel tree grove’ (see Ambrazas 2006: 67f. and lit.).

In the dialect of the Lowlanders around Mosėdis the derivative *lazdynojas* made from the word *lazdynas* with the help of the suffix *-ojas* has been recorded: *òns ten brãižĩes pò tus krũm<sup>u</sup>s, nãrde pò tus lazđi.nũoj<sup>u</sup>s* ‘he knocked about in those shrubs there, crawled about those hazel trees’ MoŽK.

The word *lazđos mėdis* has been recorded in Balčiai (in the area of eastern Highlanders in Utena region). The development of the archetype of the second component of the syntagma is as follows: adj. IE *\*med<sup>h</sup>io-* ‘middle one’ > adj. Balt.-Slav. *\*medja-* ‘also.’ > subst. Balt.-Slav. *\*medja(n)* / *\*medjã* ‘what is mediate, middle’ > Balt. *\*medja(n)* / Balt. dial. *medjã* ‘forest’ (once this could be a boundary dividing homesteads, tribes).

This meaning is extremely characteristic of the Latvians (*mežs*) and Prussians (*median* E 586). It is also used in some south-eastern Lithuanian subdialects (cf. LKA I 191f., Map No. 113; LKA III 24, Map No. 3). In IE parent language *\*med<sup>h</sup>io-* meant the adjective, e.g.: Goth. *midjis*, Lat. *medius*, OInd. *mãdhya-* ‘middle’ (Bũga II 257; LEW 424f.; IEW 706f.; ИЯ 485f.; PKEŽ III 119f.; Smoczyński 2007: 382).

In some Lithuanian dialects the word *riešutas* (with its variants *riėšutas, riešutys*) means a hazel tree.

Most often it is used on the whole south-western border of the area of the Lithuanian language: in the area of southern Highlanders around Druskininkai, Lazdijai; western Highlanders of Kaunas area (together with the combination *riešutĩ krũmas*) around Kazlũ Rũda, Vilkaviškis, Šakiai, Jurbarkas and the subdialects of the former Klaipėda

region, e.g.: *riešuto šãka palenkĩ | i.skini* ‘you bend a branch of the hazel tree and pick [nuts]’ KzRŽ II 174; *bũvo i.riešutĩ | lipam i.riešutus i.trėškinam* ‘there were also nuts, we climb on the hazel tree nuts and crack them’ KzRŽ II 174; *nuv'ė.i gaidũko. v'i.zg'ėc | rãdo. gaidũku. riešuciñ.* ‘went to see the cockerel, found the cockerel in a hazel tree’ DrskŽ 304; *teñ mezĩne.š [šakės] bũ-ò. vã tò.kòs | padarĩ ta | gãl i(š).šitò. iš.riešuço* ‘there was a wooden pitchfork there, made perhaps from this hazel tree’ PpaŽK; *raugytũ agurkũ gausi mieste nusipirkti, o brilliantũ rasi sode po riešuto krũmu* ‘you will buy pickles in the city and will find diamonds under the hazel tree in the garden’ (fairytale) Žalioji (e-LKŽ).

*Riešutas* ‘nut’ in the meaning of ‘hazel tree’ has also been recorded in the area of Lowlanders around Mosėdis and in Pelesa located in Belarus, e.g.: *nebòv<sup>a</sup> tũs krũmũs ni vėin<sup>a</sup> rėišot<sup>a</sup>* ‘there was not a single hazel tree in those shrubs’ MoŽK; *marškinius paleidžia, eina riešutuosna basi bernai* ‘barefoot chaps loosen their shirts and go into the hazel trees (to pick nuts)’ Pelesa (e-LKŽ).

The word under discussion once was a derivative with the *t* stem (cf. Trautmann 1923: 241; Fraenkel 1936: 192f.; Skardžius I 361; Specht 1944: 23; Stang 1966b: 223; Zinkevičius 1966: 265; Kazlauskas 1968: 286) made with the help of the suffix *-ut-* (derived from the determinative *\*-t-*, perhaps the remnant of heteroclitic declination, see Ambrazas 2000: 103f. and lit.), from the Baltic *\*reisas*, cf. Latv. *rieksts* ‘nut’, Pruss. *bucca-reisis* ‘beech nut’ E 593, Slav. *\*orėchv* ‘nut’, Alb. *arrė* ‘hazel tree’ (LEW 731; PKEŽ I 163f.; ПЯ A–D 261; Smoczyński 2007: 515f.).

The latter may be related to Lith. *rišti*, Latv. *rist* ‘to tie’, *riest* ‘to bind’, Pruss. *per-rėist* ‘to tie up’ III 89<sub>2</sub>, etc. (PKEŽ I 163f.; III 270f.) derived from IE *\*ureis-* ‘turn’ (about it see IEW 1152ff.). Therefore the primary meaning of the Baltic *\*reisas* could be ‘flexible, twisted tree’ (PKEŽ I 164).

Most often, however, this word in the Lithuanian language is used to denote the fruit of a hazel tree rather than the hazel tree itself. Therefore the collective word *riešutynas* in the meaning of ‘hazel tree’ made with the help of the above-discussed suffix *-ynas* is used in a much larger area of dialects.

This word has been recorded in differences places in Lithuania, most often in the border dialects of the Lithuanian language area: southern Highlanders around Druskininkai, western Highlanders of Kaunas around Vištytis, southern Lowlanders around Tauragė, western Lowlanders around Klaipėda, northern Lowlanders around Naujoji Akmenė, eastern highlanders in Panevėžys district around Pakruojis, Pasvalys, Vilnius district – around Dũkštas, as well as in Zietela located in Belarus, e.g.: *vė.štas òntã rėišotĩne bėšòntes* ‘hens are there, in a hazel tree’ KrŽ 343; *inlipo. taš gaidũkas riešuciñan* ‘that rooster climbed onto a hazel tree’ PpaŽK; *riešuci no. žievė | tai tò. kė kaip ižžũ sta | tai bũ na tò.kė rudã* ‘bark of a hazel tree is brown when it gets dry’ PpaŽK; *apĩ.švi.sta. ræ.šutĩna. | lã.pai apsã.uga.jæ na. perkũna.* ‘leaves of a consecrated hazel tree protected against thunder’ KlŽ 249; *tav'ė g'i riešut'inas nug n'ešč'ėš't'i.s pakũps* ‘it is a hazel tree that will hide you from trouble’ ZtŽ 546; *iž r'ėšut'ino d'irba lañka* ‘bow was made from a hazel tree’ ZtŽ 546; *par mus riešutynũ priaugė* ‘our place is overgrown with hazel trees’ Vidiškiai (e-LKŽ); *inlindo gaidys riešutynañ ir riešutauna* ‘a rooster got onto a hazel tree and is picking nuts’ LKT387 Dubičiai (e-LKŽ); *nuog riešutyno mesiu kekelė, – sako gaidaitis* ‘I shall throw down a cluster from a hazel tree, the cockerel says’ Perloja (e-LKŽ); *voverės riešutus neša nuo riešutyno* ‘squirrels carry nuts from a hazel tree’ Pasvalys (e-LKŽ).

Apart from this one the meaning of 'hazel tree grove' is mentioned in the 19th-century Frydrichas Kuršaitis' dictionary. The latter meaning was recorded in the manuscript dictionary of the 17th century *Clavis Germanico-Lithvana*: NußGarten. *Reßutinne*, ês. F. *Refzutynas*, ô. M. C II 156.

The word in this meaning is still used in some current dialects, e.g.: *Šimonių girioj tai ne riešutynas, o šiç vien lazdynai* 'it is not a nut-tree grove in Šimonys wood, there are only hazel trees here' Salamiestis (e-LKŽ); *riešutynè riešutus skabo, laužo* 'nuts are picked, broken in a nut-tree grove' Raudėnai (e-LKŽ); *nuėjau į riešutyną ir nusipjoviau lazda* 'I went to a nut-tree grove and cut a stick' Vieškėnai (e-LKŽ).

A variant of *riešutynas* with the *ē* stem *riešutynė* 'hazel tree' has been recorded in Pabiržė. Dictionaries of George H. F. Nesselmann, F. Kuršaitis and Užpaliai subdialect recorded the form *riešutynė* 'nut-tree grove'. Attempts were made in e-LKŽ to find such a derivative in the above-mentioned dictionary *Clavis Germanico-Lithvana* mentioning the quotation given there from the Bible: *Aβ nuejau i Reßutinne* 'I went to a nut-tree grove' Levit. 6.10 (C II 156). However, the doubled *n* letter makes this interpretation doubtful and leads us to the supposition that there was the derivative *riešutinė* with the suffix *-inė*, all the more so that the word *riešutinis* 'hazel tree' is recorded in Ap-sas: *Kai vėjas palėpes drasko, reikia švęsto riešutinio inkišt* 'when the wind roars in the attics a consecrated hazel branch should be stuck in' (e-LKŽ). This is a substantivised adjective *riešutinis* (*-ė*).

Apart from *riešutynas* there is a much rarer, word *riešutójas*, which is used mostly in a southern part of Lithuania (Kučiūnai, Rūdninkai, Vievis), *riešutójis* (Lazdijai, Seinai), *riešutojys* (Krosna, Barčiai), e.g.: *eina eina jie ir daeina riešutoji – lazdyną* 'walk on and on and come to the *riešutojis* [hazel tree]' LKT375 Lazdijai (e-LKŽ); *lipk, vaike, riešutojiñ ir mums parašyk riešutų* 'climb, lad, onto a hazel tree and pick some nuts for us' Seinai (e-LKŽ); *čia tik riešutojai auga, o riešutų nėra* 'only hazel trees grow here, there are no nuts' Kučiūnai (e-LKŽ).

Here and there a hazel tree is referred to by a compound word *riešutmedis* (Vertimai), *riešutmedis* (Liutkiškiai), *riešutmedis* (Karčemos) or word combinations: *riešuto mēdis* (Balninkai), *riešutinis mēdis* (Lyduokiai, Plaškiai, Daršiškiai), *riešutų krūmas* (Rusnė, Balbieriškis).

The Lithuanian compound words and word combinations discussed partly remind one of the combinations *lazdu* (*lęgzdu*) *krūms*, *riekstu kuoks* and compound words *lazdkuoks* (Pabaži), *lazdukuoks*, *lagzdkrūms*, *lęgzdkuoks* (Ainaži), *lęgzdkrūms* (Dunte, Liepupe), *riekstkuoks* (Mārupe) sporadically used in Latvian dialects, e.g.: *lęgzdu krūms ar čemuriēm* 'a hazel tree with clusters [of nuts]' Allaži (LVDA); *kas te bij lazdkuok!* 'what an abundance of hazel trees here!' Dauguļi (LVDA); *laūkmale aūg liēls lagzdkrūms* 'a big hazel tree grows on the edge of the fields' Piltene (LVDA); *apuž lęzd krūm bi nuōbirušš laps* 'there are fallen leaves under a hazel tree' Stiene (LVDA); *lęgzd krūma aūg riēksti* 'nuts grow on a hazel tree' Salaca (LVDA); *mañ añ iñ lęgzdkuoks* 'I have a hazel tree

too' Vitrupe (LVDA). They are formed from the familiar to us Latv. *lazda*, *lagzda*, *lęzda* 'hazel tree, stick', *krūms* 'shrub', *rieksts* 'nut' and *kuoks* 'tree; wood; stick' that have not been discussed yet.

The latter related Lith. *kúoka* 'stick with a thick end', *kúkis* 'hook', Pruss. *queke* E 635 'fence-pole', Serb., Cro. *kvàka* 'door handle; hook' and others.

They (as Lith. *kaūkas*, Latv. *kauks* 'goblin', Pruss. *cawx* 'devil' E 11, Lith. *kaūkuras* 'hill', *káukė*, *káuk-olė*, *kiáuk-utas*, *kaūk-uras*, *kūkuras* 'part of the back next to the name; hump, back', Latv. *kukurs* 'hump', Goth. *hauhs* 'high', *hiuhma* 'heap' and others) are derived from the IE verb *\*(s)keuk-* (cf. Lith. *kūkti* 'bend, incline, grow crooked', Latv. *kukt* 'grow crooked', OInd. *kuc-áti* 'he shrinks, bends' (the latter in its turn is perhaps from IE *\*(s)keu-* 'being bent to cover' from which Lith. *kiáutas*, Pruss. *kento* (corrected into *\*keuto*) 'human skin' E 156 and the like originated; see Būga I 368, II 211; ПЯ I–K 293ff., 349, K–L 380ff.; PKEŽ II 148ff., 182ff., 327ff. and lit.).

The words *lazdu krūms*, *lazdu kuoks*, *riekstu kuoks* 'hazel tree' are also found in old dictionaries *Laßda = kohx* Hafelftaude 'hazel tree' Phras 1638: 333; *Lagsda kohks* Depkin 1704 II 105; *Leszczyna, drzewo leszczynowe. Corylus. lozdu kryums, lozdas kuks, rykstu kuks* Kurmin 1858: 67.

The word *žilvītis* in the meaning of 'hazel tree' has been recorded in Griškabūdis. This word usually denoted other melliferous plants: 'a willow (*Salix*)' (this meaning was already given in both dictionaries compiled by Sirvydas) and the 'common osier (*Salix viminalis*)' (e-LKŽ).

This is a compound word made of *žālias* and *vytīs* 'flexible twig': *vyti* 'to twist, turn' (Schulze 1966: 118; Būga II 661; LEW 1309; Smoczyński 2007: 785).

From the same IE verb *\*uei-* 'to turn' (about it see IEW 1120ff.), as *vytīs*, Pruss. *witwan* 'osier' E 603 is derived, as well as words for this tree in other IE languages, e.g.: Latv. *vītuōls*, Av. *vaēiti-*, Gk. *ιτέα*, Lat. *vītis*, OIsl. *vīðir* and others (ИЯ 628).

The word *bardynas* recorded in Skuodas is of an unknown origin. It might be related to *barzdà* (without the consonant *z*, cf. *skrudēlē* and *skrudēlē*, see LKA III 135, Map No. 120; the influence of the Latvian language is also possible, cf. Latv. *bārda* 'beard'), which is a common to the Baltic (Latv. *bārda*, dial. *bārzda*, Pruss. *bordus* E 101), Slavonic (e.g., OSlav. *brada*), German (e.g., OHG *bart*), Italic (e.g., Lat. *barba*), perhaps also Illyrian (cf. the noun Σκηνό-βαρδος) languages (Trautmann 1923: 27; Specht 1944: 87; LEW 36; Фасмер I 196; Porzig 1954: 134; ПЯ A–D 240ff.; PKEŽ I 150f.; Smoczyński 2007: 48).

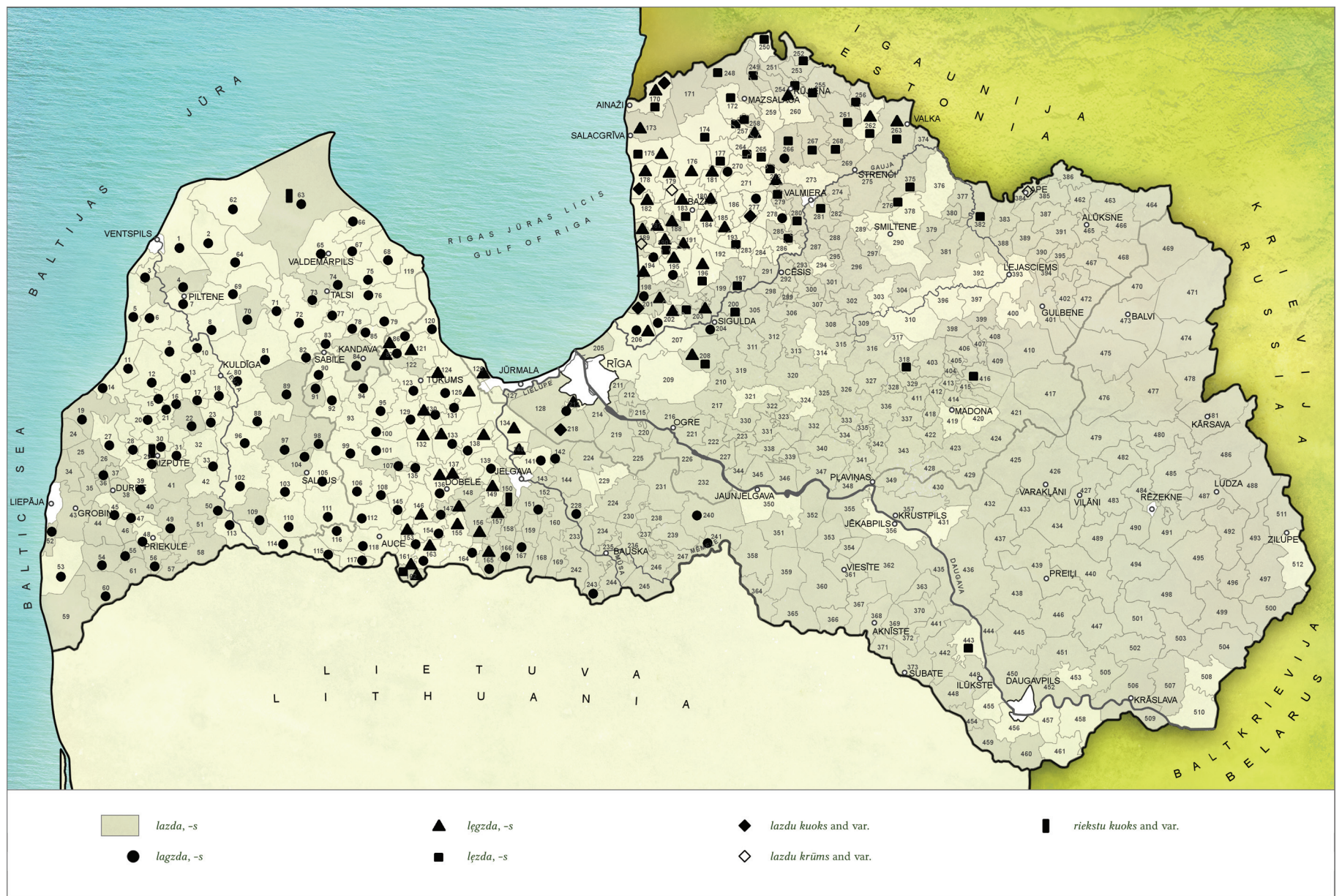
Some derivatives of this word are used to denote names of plants, e.g.: *barzdis* 'woodland angelica (*Angelica silvestris*)', *barzdōnas*, *barzdžiūklis*, *barzdūkas*, *burzdūklis* 'meadow horsetail (such plant)', *barzdžiūkas* 'field horsetail (*Equisetum arvense*)' (e-LKŽ).





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|---------------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|--|
| ● Latv. lazda, lazds<br>Lith. laz(d)a | ⊖ Latv. lezda, lezds   | ⊕ Lith. laz(d)ynas | △ Lith. riešutas, riešutys | △ Lith. riešutmedis, riešuto /<br>riešutinis medis |
| ○ Latv. lagzda, lagzds                | ⊖ Latv. legzda, legzds | △ Lith. riešutynas |                            |  |







*Baltų kalbų atlasas*  
*Leksika 1: flora*

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## *Names of the Pear*



# Names of the Pear

*Authors of the comments: Asta Leskauskaitė, Anna Staflecka, Saulius Ambrazas*

The map and its comments are based on the answers to Question No. 59 of the lexical questionnaire of ALE and the Lexical Part of LVDA Map No. 2 and its comments. Additionally, the answers to Question No. 69 of Antanas Salys' *Apklausa* (Questionnaire) 1 and to question No. 2 of the Fourth Dialectological Questionnaire of the KFRP were used.

One name of the tree under discussion (*Pirus* L.) and its fruit (Lat. *pirum*) seems to be common to the Lithuanian, Latvian and Prussian languages, cf. Lith. *kr(i)áušė* (with its variants *kriaušė*, *kriáušia*, *kriáušis*; *tráušė* (here *t* most probably is derived from *k*); *kráušis*; the forms of another similar fruit tree *obelis*, *obelė* could have influenced the origin of that word, see PKEŽ II 267f.), latv. *kraūsis* 'kriaušė (tree and fruit)', Pruss. *crasy* 'pear (tree)' E 617, *crasios* 'pears (fruit)' E 618 (Trautmann 1923: 140; ME II 264; LEW 296; Smoczyński 2007: 313).

The toponym *Krawselauken* allows us to maintain that the Prussians (like Lithuanians) apart from the *ī* / *iā* stem could also have the *ē*-stem form (PKEŽ II 266ff.).

However, having studied it more thoroughly, it turns out that the history of these words is not so simple. There is no doubt that *kráušė*, *kráušis* was used in Lithuania Minor as far back as the 17th–18th century:

\* Birn *Kraufbe* item Birnbaum Lex 18;

\* Birn----*Kraufbe*. *Gruße*; Birnbaum----*Kraufbe* Q 92 (records made by Kazimieras Būga show that analogous identical descriptions of words existed in the manuscript dictionary Q<sup>1</sup> of Lithuania Minor that disappeared during World War II, see Zubaitienė 2009: 46f., 158, 186);

\* Birn. *Kraufbe*, *ês*. F. *Gruße*, *ês*. F.; Birn=Baum. *Kraufbis*, *iô*. M. *Kraufbe*, *ês*. F. C I 356; *jeyb žalotumbim / ir žjūdētumbim kaip ūbelis ir kraufes* 'if we were green and bloomed like apple and pear trees' ŠM 97, 22–23.

The form *kriáušė* that became established in Standard Lithuanian is most likely later (due to a variation of the soft and hard consonant *r* in dialects, cf. Zinkevičius 1966: 153ff.).

On the whole, this name and its variants in Lithuanian dialects are rare. Currently they are used in some subdialects of eastern Highlanders and western Highlanders of Kaunas, as well as in the subdialects of Lowlanders only, e.g.: *kré.us'ur būvor | kōkæ\_dù mēdžei*

'there were some two pear trees' KzRŽ II 392; *trēšņes ešāl<sup>a</sup>, křāušes ešāla eš tūos žēimūos* 'sweet cherries were destroyed by frost, pear trees were destroyed by frost that winter' MoŽK.

The masculine form *kráušis* has been recorded in the area of western Lowlanders, e.g.: *kráušiai skani* 'pears are delicious' Saugos (e-LKŽ).

The material collected in the 1940s according to Salys' *Questionnaire* 1 shows that the name *kriáušė* and its variants in the said subdialects were more frequent. Furthermore, they were used by some southern Highlanders who were neighbours of western Highlanders of Kaunas.

These data can partly support Būga's (I 478) idea that the word *kriáušė* was a loanword borrowed from the Prussian language.

Equivalents in the Latvian language are also rare. *The Dialectal Atlas of Latoian* presents the names *krausis* and *kraušu bumbiere* recorded in south-west Kurzeme (Nīca), e.g.: *kraūsis i nepuōtēta bumbiēre* 'krausis is not a grafted pear tree' Nīca (LVDA). The variant *krause* is used in Vidzeme in the Selonian subdialect of Grostona, and the toponym *Krāusaiņi* in Liezēre (Endzelīns 1961: 127).

The name *kraūse* specified in LVDA comments is also used around Ugāle (*lidz žuōgmaļ jastād viss piļl a kraūsem, le neņēdz coūr* 'it is necessary to plant pear trees as far as the fence so that nobody could see through'), and *krausis* around Klostere, where, according to the presenters, it was found at the turn of the 19th. The variants *krāušis* (Plāķis 1927: 63), *křāušu kuoks* (ME II 296), *kraūškuoks* (EH I 644) were also used in the subdialects of the Latvians of Kuršių nerija (Curonian Spit).

Therefore the hypothesis was put forward that Latv. *krausis* has come through the Lithuanian language (cf. Sabaliauskas 1966: 111; ПЯ К–Л 168). Vytautas Mažiulis (PKEŽ II 268) thought that this was a Couronism remade in the Latvian language. According to him, at first *\*krausjā* belonged to the western Balts. In the vicinity there was the area of the Slav. *\*gruša* 'pear' phonetic variant *\*kruša* (cf. especially Бернштейн 1961: 73f.; ПЯ К–Л 169f.).

The further origin is unclear. The majority of researchers are convinced that this is a borrowing from the languages of the Caspian region, cf. Kurdish *korēš(i)*, *kurēš(i)* but the roots of the latter are unknown either (cf. ПЯ К–Л 170f. and lit.).



Oleg Trubachev (ЭССЯ VII 156f.) tried to relate the Baltic and Slavic name of the pear to Slav. \**gru iti*, \**kru iti* ‘to destroy, to divide’, Lith. *krù ti* ‘to crush, to rub, to chop fine; to stuff, to dip into, to break, to ram; to butt; to eat, to stuff; to embrace each other; to push one another; to drive, to chase’, *krau ýti* ‘to rumple, to crumple; to harm, to beat; to push’ (derived from IE \**g<sup>h</sup>rey-s-*, \**kreu-s-*). This hypothesis, however, is even less reliable due to semantic reasons (cf. ПЯ K–L 171f.).

Slavisms occurred from Slav. \**gruša* and its derivative forms in the Lithuanian and Latvian languages.

The name *grūšia* ‘pear’ in the meaning of a tree was once recorded as far back as the 16th century in Mikalojus Daukša *Postille: wēliūeme iimé turét’ óbelis / grūβias / ir kítus mēdžius* ‘we want to have apple, pear and other trees in it’ DP 558<sub>40</sub> (cf. Skardžius IV 137).

The same meaning is also found in the second dictionary of Konstantinas Sirvydas in the 17th century where *grūšia* is given alongside another Slavism *dūlia*.

In some manuscript dictionaries of Lithuania Minor in the 17th century, the variant *grūšė* of the word *grūšia* that appeared due to merging of *iā* and *ē* stems (cf. Ambrazas 1993: 32 and lit.) denotes the fruit of a pear tree.

The word *grūšià* (resp. *grūšia*; *grūša*, *grūša*, *grūšà*), *grūšė* (resp. *grūšė*) is used in both meanings in later writings and dialects. Furthermore, in some places (as in the word *kráušė*) the consonant *r* is palatalised: *grūšià*, *grūšė*, *grūšė*, *grūšià*. There are morphological variants too *grūšas*, *grūšas*; *grūšis*, *grūšis*.

According to Salys’ Questionnaire 1, the material collected testifies to the fact that there were not only these but also other phonetic and morphological variants: *grūšia*, *grūšià*, *grūšia*, *grūšė*, *grūšas*, *grūšas*, *grūšis*, *grūšis*, *grūšis* and others.

These names were and are still used in almost all subdialects of Highlanders and Lowlanders, e.g.: *šiēmet tój grūšà pirmūkařt a(ž) žydėjo* ‘this year that pear tree has burst into blossom for the first time’ LzŽ 88; *ladùs nakciù dáu kap grūšos dzidziùmòs* ‘at night the hail of the size of a pear fell’ LzŽ 88; *súltingo’s grūš’òs | burnò lé.idžesi* ‘succulent pears melt in the mouth’ KzRŽ I 259; *juòkemeřs | bá.i-kaujæm | i.vá.lgòm tá.is grūšæ’s* ‘we laugh, play tricks and eat those pears’ KzRŽ I 259; *šitój grūšà paso.dzíta dá.r màno. dziēdo.* ‘this pear tree was planted by my grandfather’ DrskŽ 115; *kab grūšò.s màno. brāšk’è.s | dzidziùl’è.s* ‘my strawberries are as large as pears’ DrskŽ 115; *dabar gi tas grūšias padék* ‘now put down those pears’ DvŽ I 189; *anà aīt jau – k’ità stòv’i gru.šē ir prāšos’i* ‘she is about to go – she was about to go away, another pear tree stands and asks’ ZtŽ 222; *sakaū, dú’k mán gadnòs gru.šēs* ‘I say, give me a good pear’ ZtŽ 222; *nuv’æj pažu.rét tòn gru.šēn ir rādo tā žieda* ‘went to look at that pear and found that blossom’ ZtŽ 222–223; *pakėlė.m nuo.žė.mė.s óbuoli. ar.grūšū.* | *taí mùs nùbaude.* ‘we picked up an apple or a pear from the ground, and we were punished’ PpaŽK; *to.kò’s židėlė.s grūšò.s | ale.kad.dá.r žá’lo.s* ‘the pears are so big but are not ripe yet’ PpaŽK; *sodinykas nuskynė grūšas* ‘the gardener picked a pear’ Leipalingis (e-LKŽ); *išdžiūvo mūsų sode žieminė grūšià* ‘the winter pear tree died in our orchard’ Veiveriai (e-LKŽ); *skani ta grūšė* ‘the pear is delicious’ Mosėdis (e-LKŽ); *šiēmet mūsų saldinis grūšis labai žydėjo* ‘this year our sweet pear blossomed heavily’ Kuliai (e-LKŽ); *rudenį grūšai pri-noksta* ‘pears ripen in autumn’ Akmenė (e-LKŽ).

In his dictionaries Simonas Daukantas mentioned the variants *grūšė*, *grūšas*, *grūšus*: *grusze*, *gruszùs*; *grusze*, *gruszás* (DaDLL I 224); *gruszás* (DAMLL 50) of the word *grūšia*.

The words *grūšnià*, *grūšnia*, *grūšnia*, *grūšnė*, *grūšnė*, *grūšnià*, *grūšnia*, *grūšnė*, *grūšnė*, *grūšnià*, *grūšnia*, *grūšnia*, *grūšnė* and others most likely have originated from Bel. *грушня* ‘pear’ (most probably derived from the adjective \**grušnyj* ‘pear-shaped’, cf. ЭССЯ VII 157). These names are known from some subdialects of the Highlanders in the Klaipėda area, western and eastern Highlanders, e.g.: *gruš’ n’ò.s bú.vò. rudení.na.s pí.lnò.s | nù tai ‘gòr’čėiz dalí.ndavò. senæù* ‘autumn pears were full, so they gave them out’ KpŽ I 760; *‘tiek privól’gė.m klæbò.ní.jò.ĩ ší.tu. ‘gruš’ n’u. | kad privól’gæu kad li.g ‘tòlai* ‘we have eaten our fill of these pears in the presbytery’ KpŽ I 760; *man geriau tinka grūšnės, ne obuoliai* ‘pears are better for me than apples’ Žagarė (e-LKŽ).

According to LVDA the name *gruša* is used all over Latgale, with the exception of some south-western, north-western and southern subdialects, and the word *gruška* (derived from the diminutive form \**gruška* of Slav. \**gruša*; concerning its distribution cf. Бернштейн 1961: 72) – around Rēzekne, Dricēni, Gaigalava, Viļāni, Kalupe, Vārkava, Aglona, Izvalta, Krāslava. The word *gruža* has been recorded in Makašēni and Nautrēni, e.g.: *sadā aūg grūšys, uòbėlėnėcys, šl’ivys* ‘pear, apple and plum trees grow in the garden’ Dricēnai (LVDA); *navaru daudž grūšku iēšf* ‘I cannot eat too many pears’ Kalupe (ALE); *tėi tā tēluo bėja mēžoga gruža* ‘hence, there used to be a large wild pear tree here’ Nautrēni (LVDA); *pí mýsu moz grūšu* ‘we have few pear trees’ Pilda (ALE); *bàrnūm grūšas paėėik* ‘children like pears’ Šķilbēni (ALE).

Other variants, which were most probably borrowed from the Slav languages have been recorded in south-west Kurzeme: *grūša*, *grūšis* and *grūšu kuoks* – in Rucava, and *grūše* in Dunika.

The variant *gruškakuoks* (*Gruska-koks*) is mentioned in Georg Elger’s dictionary (Elger 1683: 99), and *gruřna kuoks* – in Jan Kurmin’s dictionary – *Gruszka drzewo. Pyrus. grusznia kuks* (Kurmin 1858: 37).

Slavisms appeared in the Lithuanian and Latvian languages from Bel. *дўля* or Pol. *dula*, derived from PreSlav. \**kvdun’a* / *kvdul’a*. And the latter most probably is a borrowing that came through the Latin language from Gk. *κιδώνια*. This is a toponym of Crete whereby the variety of apples was denoted (cf. ЭССЯ XIII 174f. and lit.).

The name *dūlia* is found Sirvydas’ second dictionary in the 17th century: *Gruřká drzewo. Py-||rus. Grūšia / dula; Gruřká owoc / Pirum.* || *Dula SD*<sup>3</sup> 77.

The word *dulià*, like *grūšia*, *grūšnia*, also have *ē*-stem variants (*dūlė*, *dūlė*, *dūlė*) in Lithuanian dialects. They are used mainly in the subdialects of western Highlanders of Kaunas, southern and western Highlanders, as well as the subdialects of Lithuanians of Belarus., e.g.: *kap kàs dūliàs válgė su meduřm* ‘some people ate pears with honey’ LzŽ 63; *vaĩkai, nerāškait dūlių* ‘children, don’t pluck pears’ LzŽ 63; *eĩ, bóba, po kám dūlios?* ‘hey, woman, how much are the pears?’ DvŽ I 132; *šiēmet jūs dūlių dūlių – net linksta šakos* ‘this year here is plenty of pears – the branches bend under them’ Švenčionys (e-LKŽ); *pernoko dūlios, kap miltai* ‘the pears over ripened, became like flour’ Rudamina (e-LKŽ); *šiņnakt vētra išpurtino visas dūlias* ‘at night the storm shook down all the pears’ Kupiškis (e-LKŽ); *šiais metais tik dūliai teužderėjo* ‘this year only the pears gave a good crop’ Breslauja (e-LKŽ).

However, more concrete meanings of this word or its variants are specified in some dictionaries of dialects:

\* ‘the variety of summer pears that bears succulent fruits; its fruit’, e.g.: *mačæù dūl’u. dauk.prikrītæ. | susiriņki[t] dz’ovít* ‘I saw many pears lying on the ground, gather them to dry’ ZnŽ I 326; *dūlėz grėĩ[t] træšta* ‘pears rot fast’ ZnŽ I 326;

\* 'a pear whose fruit are large (a tree and a fruit)', e.g.: *senæú tai* 'burdavɔ. 'viena [rūšis] | *vadí.ndavɔ. 'du'l'ɔ.s | alæ kú.m'š'tina.[s] ší.tɔ.z* 'du'l'ɔ.s 'earlier there was one [variety], called *dūlios*, but they were as large as a fist' KpŽ I 467; *bú.vɔ. senæú 'du'l'u. | bú.vɔ. labai dí.deli. [s]'sɔdas* 'earlier there were pears, the garden was very large' KpŽ I 467; *dūlē smāil' gru.šlê, tēiv' gālā, par vēdɔr' druktesn' dūliai* are pointed pears, thin ends, thicker in the middle' MoŽK.

Some variants that were recorded according to Salys' Questionnaire 1 have similar meanings, e.g.: around Kunigiškiai – *dūlia* 'large pear, sweet, cracked'; around Seirijai – 'grafted pear'; around Pandēlys – *dūlē* 'a pear whose summer fruits are large'; around Kazlų Rūda – *dūlē* 'certain variety of pears'.

The Slavism *duļa* has been recorded in Latgale (mostly in eastern and southern subdialects). It often denotes the variety of a large fruit, e.g.: *duļa – lēluōka gruša – aūglis i stumbrys* 'dulia – a rather large pear – the fruit and the stem' Istra (LVDA); *duļa – lēluo gruša – kūks i aūglis* 'dulia is a large pear – the tree and the fruit' Nirza (LVDA); *kas soka – grūšys, kas – dūlis* 'one calls grūšys, another – dulis [pears]' Šķaune (LVDA).

The Germanism *bumbiere* – a borrowing from Germ. dial. *Bumbeere* (ME I 349; Sehwers 1953: 20 and lit.) – and its phonetic and morphological variants are widespread in a large part of the territory of Latvia. The name *bumbiere* is a word of the standard Latvian language. It is used in many subdialects of Kurzeme, Zemgale, rarer in Vidzeme and Latgale, e.g.: *buṁbiēres piļlas a buṁbiēriēm; rudzu buṁbiērus vaī ēst rudzu pļaujamā laīkā; meža buṁbiērēm iī mazi uī ciēti buṁbiērīši* 'pear trees are full of pears; rye pears can be eaten during the harvest time; fruit of forest pears are small and hard' Džūkste (ALE); *pa buṁbiēri mēs saūcam gaī aūgli, gaī kuōku* 'we call both fruit and tree *bumbiere*' Kursiši (ALE); *mumš bi buṁbiēri, ziēms sāl nevarēj isturēt* 'we had pears, they did not survive winter colds' Renda (ALE); *buṁbiērēi ir gaīšīgi buṁbiēri* 'fruits of the pear tree are delicious' Ropaži (ALE); *būmbira aūglis ir būmbirs* 'fruit of a pear tree is a pear' Stāmeriena (ALE).

The *ijō* stem form *bumbieris* is used compactly in the north of Kurzeme, it has also been recorded in the central part of Kurzeme and around Lutriņi, Saldus, in a large area of Vidzeme (rarer in southwest and southeast), e.g.: *buṁbiēris – gān kūoks, gān aūglis* 'pear is both a tree and a fruit' Kauguri (ALE).

Other variants of this name are presented in the LVDA card index. The *ō* stem form *bumbiers* is used in some northern subdialects of Kurzeme (Alsunga, Užava, Vandzene, Zlēkas and other places), in Vidzeme (Alsviķi, Augstroze, Ērgeme, Gaujiena, Litene, Pabaži, Rautna and other places), e.g.: *buṁb'eram i oūkstak t'e zar'* 'those pear branches are higher' Idus (ALE).

The variant *bumbere* has been recorded mainly in Livonian subdialects of Vidzeme (Aloja, Salaca, Svētciems and other places), and *bumbēre* – in some places in Kurzeme (Dunika, Usma and other places), in the south of Zemgale (Ceraukste, Jaunsvirlauks, Sesava, Vilce, Panemune), in a large compact area in Vidzeme and in the Selonian subdialects of Zemgale around Dviete, Sunākste, Susēja, in the Selonian subdialects of Vidzeme around Aizkraukle, Irši, Kraukļi, Plātere, Sarkaņi.

The names *bumbēre, bumbernīca, bumbērīca, bumbērīce*, which most often are used in the Selonian subdialects of Vidzeme and Zemgale are widely known, e.g.: *vacòa buṁb'ērīca pūlnai pūlna buṁb'ēru* 'the old pear tree is full of pears' Aknīste (ALE).

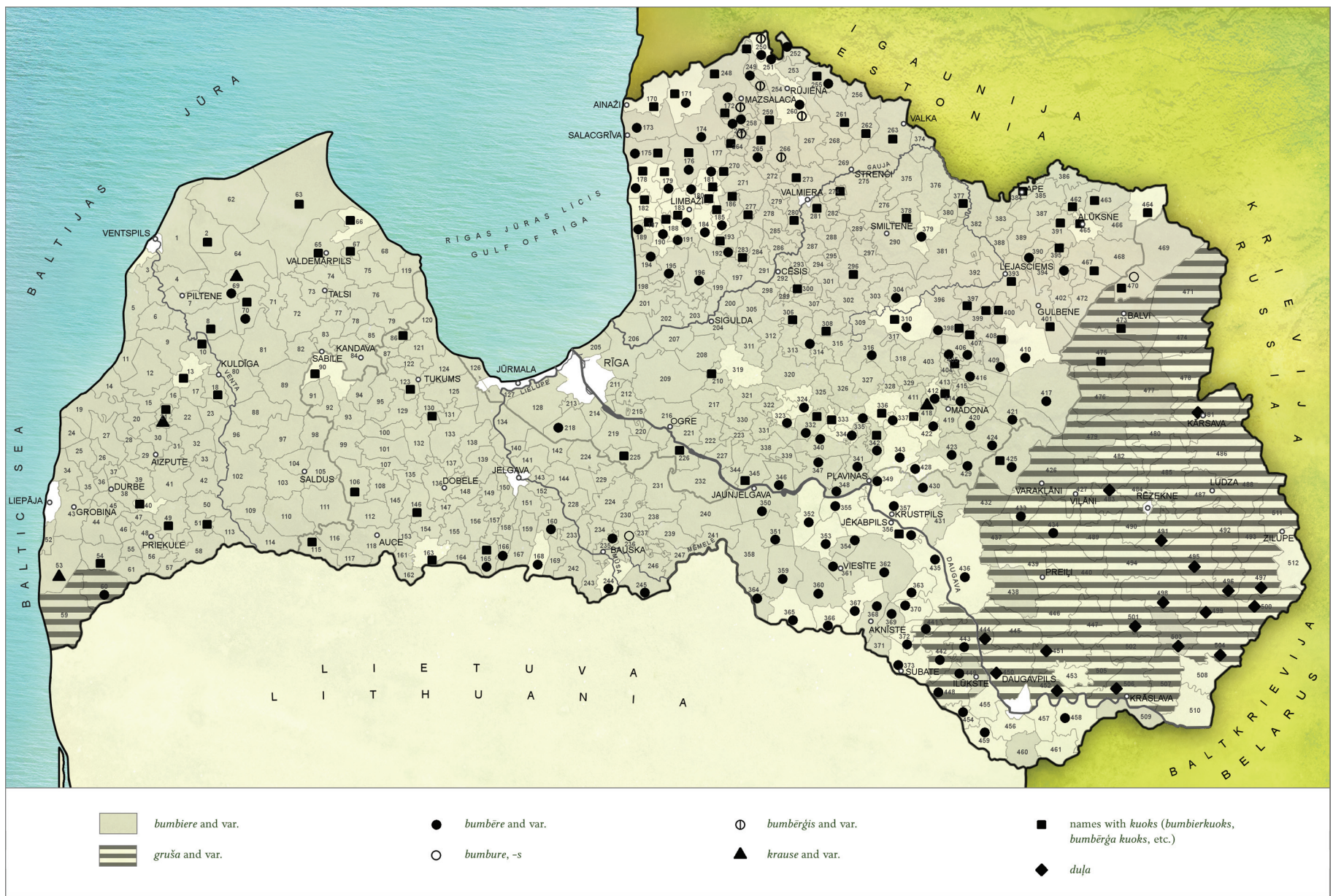
The following compounds are also frequent: *bumberkuoks* in Livonian subdialects (in Rozēni, Svētciems, Vitrupe, Tūja and other places), also in Bauņi, Naukšēni; *bumbērkuoks* (Bērzaune, Drabeši, Jaunpiebalga, Meņģele, Sarkaņi, Sērmūkši, Skaņkalne and other places); *bumbierkuoks* – mainly in Kurzeme (in Bārta, Dundaga, Matkule, Padure, Pope, Usma, Zlēkas and other places) and Vidzeme (in Ainaži, Naukšēni, Rozula, Sēļi, Vitrupe and other places). Furthermore, the word combination *bumbieru kuoks* is used (in Asīte, Naudīte, Jērcēni, Kārķi, Lejasciems, Mārkalne, Vecgulbene and other places), as in some subdialects of Latgale (in Balvi, Rugāji, Varakļāni).

The second component of these names is *kuoks* 'tree' (concerning its origin see p. 504).

Other variants are not so common: *bumbēģis* (Bauņi, Burtnieki), *bumbēra* (Aiviekste), *būmbire* (Viļaka), *buṁbure* (Vecsaule), *būmbūrs* (Vīksna), the word combination *buṁbērga kuōks* (Vilzēni), *buṁbiēra kūoks* (Kauguri), *būmbieres kūoks* (Mārkalne), *būmbiru kuoks* (Pededze), *būmburu kūoks* (Vīksna).

The syntagms *bumbeṁra kohs* Birnbaum Lange 1773: 68; *bumberu kohks* Stender 1789 I 32; *bumbeṁru kohks* Stender 1789 II 144; *bumbeṁru kóhks* Ulmann 1872: 40 in the meaning of 'pear' were recorded in written sources of the 18th–19th century.

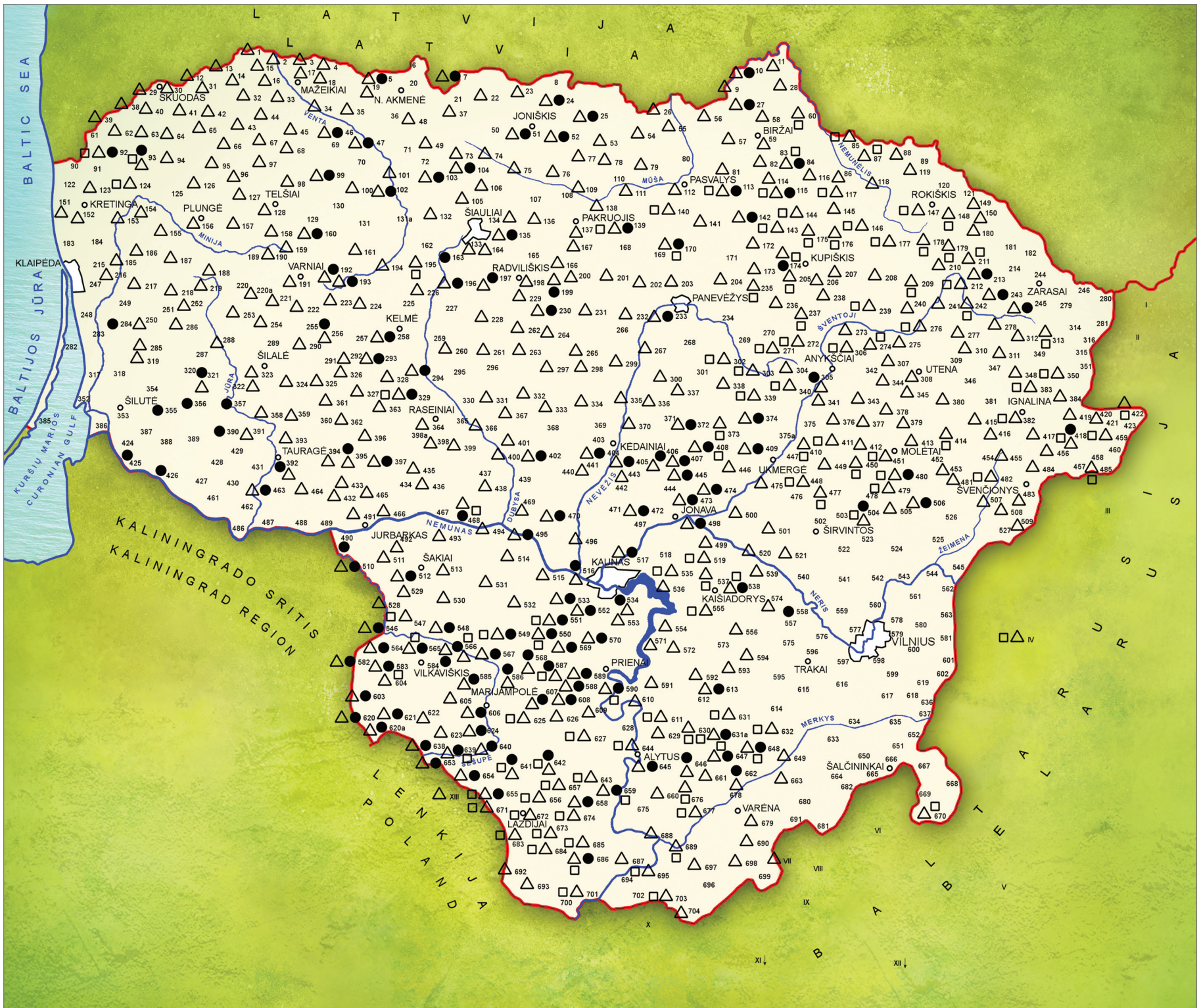












- *kriaušė* and var.
- △ var. of *gr(i)uš-*, *gruš-*, *gr(i)uš-*, *grus-*,  
*gr(i)ušn-*, *gr(i)ušn-*, *grūsn-*,  
*gruž-*, *grūž-*, *grūžn-*,  
*grūšč-*, *grišč-*
- var. of *dūl-*, *dul-*, *dūn-*, *dun-*



*Baltų kalbų atlasas*  
*Leksika 1: flora*

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## *Names of the Top*





# Names of the Top

*Authors of the comments: Rima Bakšienė, Ilga Jansone, Anna Stafecka, Saulius Ambrazas*

The map and the comments are based on LVDA Map No. 12 and its comments.

The map presents names of the top of a tree. In the area of the Baltic languages Lith. *viršūnė* / Latv. *viršūne* forms a compact one.

The Lithuanian *viršūnė* is a word of Standard Lithuanian that is also used in almost all dialects. Examples from Lithuanian dialects are as follows: *anā tā viršūne ėda āmaras* 'that top is being damaged by aphids' ZnŽ III 682; *jėgu vā.rnos viršūne | tai žinók | šāls* 'if crows sit on the top, frost is coming soon' ZnŽ III 682; *itai kaml'is, o itai v'iršūn'ė* 'this is a stem and that is the top' ZtŽ 774; *kap atp'jáunam v'iršūn'ė m'ėdžó, tadā jau d'erev'ėkas* 'when the top of a tree is cut off, what remains is a log' ZtŽ 774; *vėjas nugūrino aglės viršūnį* 'the wind has torn off the top of the fir tree' LzŽ 289; *pati viršūnė obeles nušalo* 'cold has nipped the very top of the apple tree' Daugėliškis (e-LKŽ); *varnos ka liuob tūps į pačią viršūnę, sakys – prieš speigą* 'they say that crows sit on the top of a tree before hard frost' Endriejavas (e-LKŽ); *aprišimas te tavo, visos viršūnės liko grynos obeliūčių* 'you haven't wrapped up the apple trees properly, all the tops are bare' Kaltanėnai (e-LKŽ); *amalai viršūnėsa išauga, krūmas didelis* 'mistletoe grows on the tops, the bush is large' Kapčiamiestis (e-LKŽ).

Lith. *viršūs* and its derivative *viršūnė* (with its variant *viršūnis*) are often mentioned in the writings of the 16th–17th century. However, the names do not only refer to the 'tree top' but also to the 'upper part, sharp peak' or 'authority and power'. For example: *wirβune* Gipffel Lex 42v, 82r; *wirβunis* Lex 106v; *padarítas ant' wirβunes kátnu* 'made on the top of the mountains' DP 458<sub>17</sub>; *wiffokia wirβune ir prakelimas nūg Diewó yrá* 'any power and praise depends on God' DP 497<sub>27</sub>.

The Latvian dialectal *viršūne* (ME IV 610; Endzelīns 1951: 320; LEW 1262) and its variants are widespread in the eastern part of Latvia – in the territory of the High Latvian dialect. The name *viršūne* is used in a wide compact area in Latgale, also in Augšzeme and south-east of Vidzeme. The variant *virsaune* (derived with the suffix *-aun-* [Endzelīns 1951: 320f.]) is most frequent in the Selonian subdialects of Vidzeme (Aiviekste, Bērzaune, Lubāna, Sarkaņi and other places) where it is often used alongside *galuotne*. The variant *virsuone* is widespread mainly in the Selonian subdialects of Vidzeme and Zemgale. The name *virsuotne* is also most characteristic of the Selonian subdialects of Ziemgale and Vidzeme but it has been also recorded in some

subdialects Kurzeme (e.g., Pērkone, Planīca [LD 220,1], Tāši, Vērgale). The variant *viršūtnē* has been recorded in Selonian (Ērgļi, Koknese, Liepkalne, Susēja) and Latgalian subdialects (Kalncempji, Kārsava, Mērdzene, Nīcgale, etc.), and EH presents *viršūtnis* from Kaunata.

Other variants are much rarer – *viršaine* has been recorded in Sauka (LD 2763,1), *virsaunice* – in Mētriena, *viršautne* – in Kraukļi, *viršene* – in Beļava, Stāmerienā (FBR XIX 126), in Zeltiņi, *virsuokne* – in Trikāta. The names *virši*, *viršus* are mainly used in songs. For example: *virsoūnic' nūozō'ģē* 'the top has been cut off' Mētriena; *žimā ka vūornys sazamat kūka vīersyūnī, soka – byūs soltūmī* 'in winter when cows perch on the tops, they say frost is coming' Nautrēni (LVDA); *kūkam jir kāmliis, vyducs i vīersyūņa* 'a tree has a butt end, trunk and top' Asūne (LVDA); *noiet saule vakarā, meža viršus ligodama* 'the sun is setting in the west swaying the trees tops' Pļaviņas (LD 33879,3v).

Latvian dictionaries of the 18th–19th century record different variants of the name for *viršūne*: *wirfons* Gipfel eines Baumes Stender 1789 I 363; *wirfonis*, *-ņa* der Gipfel Ulmann 1872: 342; *wirfenes* die Spitzen von Bäumen Jaunlaicēnē, Veclaicēnē Ulmann 1872: 342; *wirfune*, *wirfunite* Gipfel des Baumes Ulmann 1872: 343.

Lith. *viršūnė* / Latv. *viršūne* are derivatives with the suffix *-ūnė* / *-ūne* from the noun Lith. *viršūs*, Latv. *virsa* 'the upper part of smth., the upper half' (Ambrazas 2000: 159), which is related to OSlav. \**vrchъ*, Russ. *верх*, Pol. *wierzch*. Further this Baltic and Slavic word is related to OInd. *várṣma* 'height, top, upper surface', Gk. *οὐρανός* 'sky', Lat. *verrūca* 'mound, hill' (LEW 1262; Sabaliauskas 1990: 134f.; LEV II 537f.).

In Standard Latvian the name *galuotne* became established at the beginning of the 20th century; it is most often used in dialects, mainly in Kurzeme, Zemgale and Vidzeme, rarer in Selian subdialects and Latgale.

The variant *galuokne* is used in a compact area in Kurzeme and the western part of Zemgale, *galuoksne* in south-west of Kurzeme, rarer in the north (Stende, Strazde, etc.) and in Zemgale around Tērvete and less frequently in Vidzeme, *galuone* – in south-west Kurzeme (Grobiņa, Nīca, Rucava, Pērkone [EH], Bārta [EH] and other places). Sporadically other variants are also found: *galūne* (Ranka, Sinole, Tirza), *galaine* (Vārve, Ugāle [FBR VII 17]), *galainis* (Venta, Užava, Ziras, Piltene), *galautne* (Ērgeme, Kārķi, Kūdums, Omuli),

*galuote* (Kandava [LD 33748,1]) and others. E.g.: *pa galuôkni vaīrak saûc, galuôkne – kas tâc gaŗâks istecējis* ‘it is often referred to as the top; top is anything that has grown higher’ Vērgale (LVDA); *tâdi kuôki kam kruôni kâ âbeleī, tiēm nevar atrast galuôkni* ‘such trees, they have crowns like apple trees, their tops are difficult to find’ Grenči (LVDA); *zeģenes bij nuôciŗstas priēdes galuôtnes* ‘the poles were made by cutting off the tops of pine trees’ Iecava (LVDA).

Latv. *galuotne* (and *galuodne*), *galuotnis* were recorded in the dictionaries of the 18th–19th century: *galloodne* der Gipfel ‘top’ Lange 1773: 115; *gallotnis*, Gipfel am Baum ‘the top of a tree’ Stender 1789 II 66; *galohntnis, -ņa, galohntne, -es*, der Gipfel ‘top’ Ulmann 1872: 70; Gipfel ... des Baumes ‘a tree top’, *galotnis, galotne* ‘top’ Ulmann 1880: 346.

The variants *galuote* and *galuone* (*galuons*) are also founding the sources of the 17th–19th century: *gallohtes* die Zopff=Enden von gefälleten bäumen Fürecker 1685 II 99; *Gallohns* ein End vom abgehauenen Balcken oder Holtz Langius 1685: 72; *Gallohns* Ein Ende vom abgehauenen balken oder Holz MLG I 141; *Gallohtes* die Zopf=Enden Von gefälleten bäumen Depkin 1704 I 219; Gipfel ... des Baumes .. *galone* Ulmann 1880: 346.

Latvian written sources contain some other names of the top too: *kuoka gals* – der Gipffel / *Kohka-ghalls* Phras 1638: 332; Gipfel des Baums, *kohka gals* (*gallohtnis, wehjenize*) Stender 1789 I 289; *virsgals: wirs=galles*: spitze. E.g. des bergs, baumes etc. Fürecker 1685 II 98.

The Lithuanian name *galūnė* and its accentual variant *galūnė* in the meaning of the ‘top’ is rare, it is somewhat more often used in the subdialects of Lowlanders, recorded mainly in folklore. E.g.: *kâm reikiēŗ lēptē i tûokē aukšīâusē bēŗzē, kēltē un pat galūnīes* ‘why did you have to climb the tallest birch, to put up [a nest of a stork] in the very top’ MoŗK; *ēglē dō mētē netorīēŗ galūnīes* ‘the fir tree had no top for two

years’ MoŗK; *anâm tōŗ mēdūis galūnē išpĵâutē* ‘we have to cut off the top of trees for it [a stork]’ MoŗK; *sâulē ēit unt mēdū galūnīems* ‘the sun goes on the tops of the trees’ MoŗK; *taboko galūnes skabo, kad neiŗeity ĵydūles* ‘they break off the tops of tobacco [plants] to prevent it from flowering’ J (e-LKŗ); *aug galūnēlē aukŗstesniai, linkst pašakēlēs ųemesniai* ‘the top grows high, the lower branches bend low’ JD1516 (e-LKŗ); *tų liepelių galūnēlėj margoĵi gegelē* ‘on the top of the lime trees there is a spotted cuckoo’ D8 (e-LKŗ); *galūnē prigaunama, ųaknis išraunama* ‘the top can be reached, the root is pulled out’ Salantai (e-LKŗ).

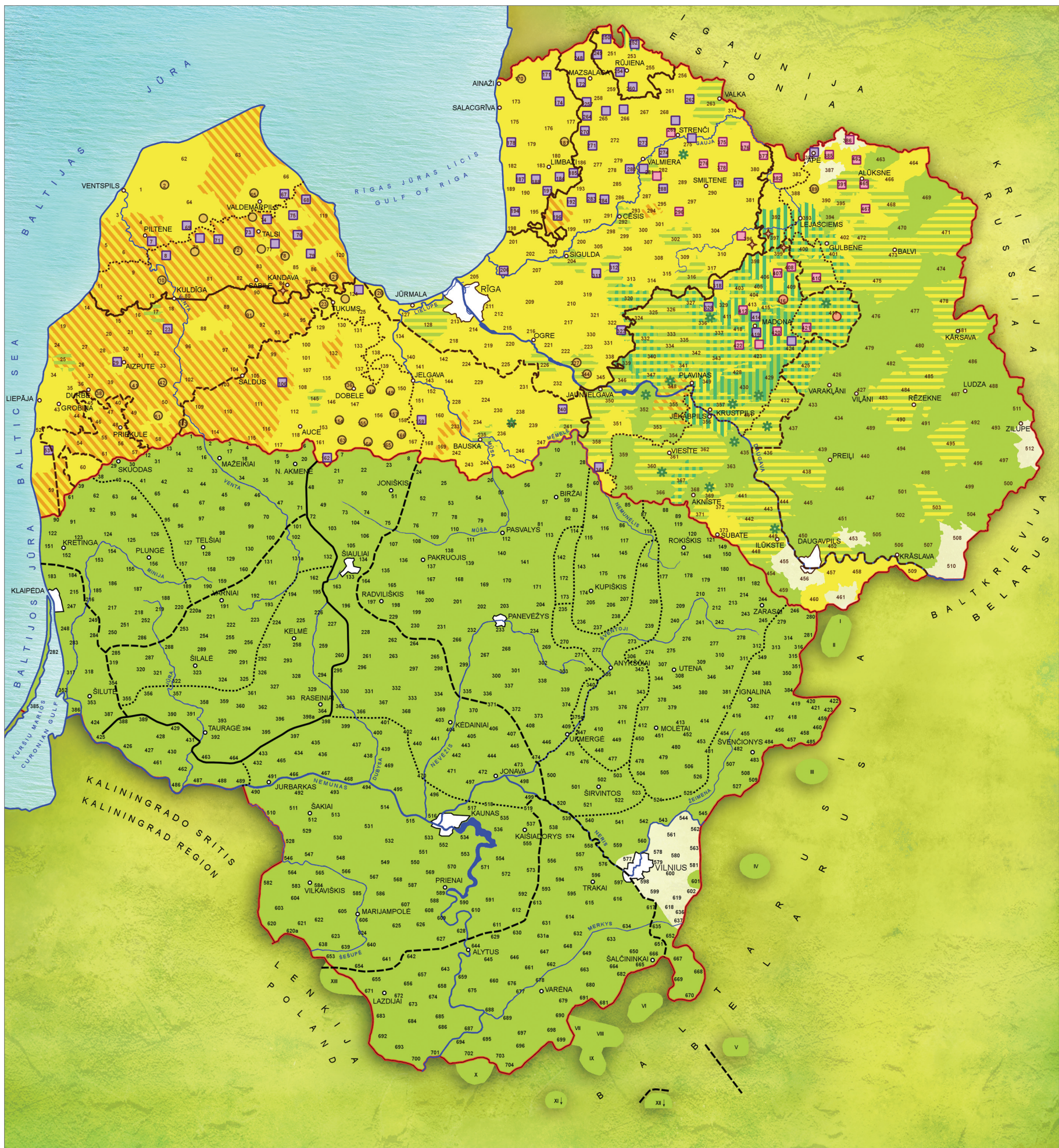
The origin of the name is most probably related to the meaning of the noun *gals* a ‘higher place’ (LEV I 284). The name *kuoka gals* was recorded in the source of the 17th century: der Gipffel / *Kohka-ghalls* Phras 1638: 332.

The name is comparatively widely used in the north-western part of Vidzeme and the subdialects around Valmiera, Cēsis, rarer in the northern part of Kurzeme around Snēpele, Usma, Vandzene; in north-east of Vidzeme the name *spice* is found – *ŗpice* (< Germ. *Spitze*), e.g.: *kuôks bez ųpic:es nemaz neaŗĵ* ‘tree without a top would not grow’ Vilzēni (LVDA).

Sporadically other variants are also used: *spicaune* – in Saikava, Sinole, *spicene* – in Ozoli, *spicgale* – in Kauguri, *spicuotne* – in Vējava, *ŗpicaune* – in Sinole.

Several Slavisms have been recorded in Latgale: *makuŗka* in Krāslava (< Bel., Russ. *макушка* ‘tree top; mountain peak; top of the head’) and *makouka* in Rundēni (< Bel. *макаўка*; see ЛАБ I 169); they are close semantically to *galvenīce* recorded in the east of Vidzeme (in Lubāna LD 13250, 530; this name was also recorded in the 19th century dictionary [Ulman 1872: 72]) and *galvenieks* in Cesvaine (LD 13250, 12; cf. *galva* ‘head’).





- |  |   |  |   |   |  |
|--|---|--|---|---|--|
| <span style="display: inline-block; width: 15px; height: 15px; background-color: #90EE90; border: 1px solid black; margin-right: 5px;"></span> Latv. <i>virsaune</i> / <i>virsuone</i> / <i>virsuotne</i> / <i>virsiutne</i> and var. Lith. <i>viršūnė</i> | <span style="display: inline-block; width: 15px; height: 15px; background-color: #FFFF00; border: 1px solid black; margin-right: 5px;"></span> Latv. <i>galuotne</i> / <i>-is</i> / <i>-s</i> | <span style="display: inline-block; width: 15px; height: 15px; background-color: #FFA500; border: 1px solid black; margin-right: 5px;"></span> Latv. <i>galuokne</i>             | <span style="display: inline-block; width: 15px; height: 15px; background-color: #FFD700; border: 1px solid black; margin-right: 5px;"></span> Latv. <i>galuokne</i> / <i>galuoksnis</i> / <i>galuokšnis</i> and var. | <span style="display: inline-block; width: 15px; height: 15px; background-color: #90EE90; border: 1px solid black; margin-right: 5px;"></span> Latv. <i>galvenice</i> / <i>galvenieks</i> | <span style="display: inline-block; width: 15px; height: 15px; background-color: #FF69B4; border: 1px solid black; margin-right: 5px;"></span> Latv. <i>špice</i> / <i>špicaune</i> and var. |
| <span style="display: inline-block; width: 15px; height: 15px; background-color: #3CB371; border: 1px solid black; margin-right: 5px;"></span> Latv. <i>virsaune</i>   | <span style="display: inline-block; width: 15px; height: 15px; background-color: #90EE90; border: 1px solid black; margin-right: 5px;"></span> Latv. other var. with <i>virš-</i>             | <span style="display: inline-block; width: 15px; height: 15px; background-color: #FFD700; border: 1px solid black; margin-right: 5px;"></span> Latv. other var. with <i>gal-</i> | <span style="display: inline-block; width: 15px; height: 15px; background-color: #FF69B4; border: 1px solid black; margin-right: 5px;"></span> Latv. <i>špice</i> / <i>špicaune</i> and var.                          |   |  |



## SUPPLEMENTS



# LVDA Dialect List\*

No.	Item						
1	<b>Venta</b>	36	Aistere	71	Spāre (Spārne)	<b>106</b>	<b>Blidene</b>
2	Pope	37	Rāva	72	Stende	107	Biksti
3	Vārve	38	Durbe	73	Pastende	108	Zebrene
4	Zūras	39	Vecpils	74	Laidze	109	Pampāļi
5	Užava	40	Krote	75	Vandzene	<b>110</b>	<b>Kursiši</b>
6	Ziras (Dziras)	41	Kalvene	76	Lauciene	111	Zvārde
7	Piltene	42	Rudbārži	77	Libagi	112	Lielaide
8	Zlēkas	43	Grobiņa	78	Strazde	113	Nīgrande
9	Ēdole	44	Gavieze	79	Zentene	114	Ezere
10	Padure	45	Tadaiķi	80	Kuldīga	115	Ruba
11	Jūrkalne	46	Virga	<b>81</b>	<b>Renda</b>	116	Jaunauce
<b>12</b>	<b>Alsunga</b>	47	Bunka	82	Valgale	117	Vadakste
13	Īvande	48	Priekule	83	Virbi	118	Vecauce
14	Ulmale	49	Asīte	<b>84</b>	<b>Kandava</b>	119	Mērsrags
15	Gudenieki	50	Nīkrāce	85	Cēre	120	Engure
16	Basi	51	Embūte	86	Dzirciems	121	Sēme
17	Planīca	52	Pērkone	87	Pūre	122	Vecmokas
18	Kurmāle	<b>53</b>	<b>Nīca</b>	88	Vārme	123	Tume
19	Saka	54	Bārta	89	Kabile	124	Milzkalne
20	Apriķi	55	Purmsāti	90	Matkule	125	Smārde
21	Klostere	56	Gramzda	91	Vāne	126	Sloka
22	Turlava	57	Aizviķi	92	Aizupe	127	Sala
23	Snēpele	58	Vaiņode	93	Zante	128	Babīte
<b>24</b>	<b>Ziemupe</b>	59	Rucava	94	Zemīte	129	Irlava
25	Vērgale	60	Dunika	95	Grenči	130	Praviņi
26	Dunalka	61	Kalēti	96	Raņķi	131	Slampe
27	Cīrava	62	Ance	97	Lutriņi	132	Lestene
28	Dzērve	<b>63</b>	<b>Dundaga</b>	98	Gaiķi	<b>133</b>	<b>Džūkste</b>
29	Aizpute	64	Puze	99	Remte	134	Kalnciems
30	Laža	65	Ārlava	100	Strutele	135	Annenieki
<b>31</b>	<b>Kazdanga</b>	66	Lubezere	101	Jaunpils	136	Dobeles
32	Valtaiķi	67	Nogale	102	Skrunda	137	Sīpele
33	Sieksāte	68	Upesgrīva	103	Sātiņi	138	Bērze
34	Medze	69	Ugāle	104	Saldus	139	Līvberze
35	Tāši	70	Usma	105	Ciecere	140	Valgunde

\* ALE items are in bold.

141	Ozolnieki	198	Bīriņi	253	Ķoņi	310	Jaunpiebalga
142	Pēternieki	199	Turaida	254	Rūjiena	311	More
143	Tetele	200	Vildoga	255	Naukšēni	312	Nītaure
144	Garoza	201	Pabaži	256	Omuļi	313	Ķēči
145	Īle	202	Sēja	257	Braslava	314	Kosa
146	Naudīte	203	Krimulda	258	Vecate	315	Skujene
147	Auri	204	Sigulda	259	Sēļi	<b>316</b>	<b>Vecpiebalga</b>
148	Šķibe	205	Mangaļi	260	Jeri (Ģeri)	317	Veļķi
149	Glūda	206	Ādaži	261	Kārķi	318	Mēdzūla
150	Svēte	207	Inčukalns	<b>262</b>	<b>Ērgeme</b>	319	Mālpils
151	Vircava	208	Allaži	263	Lugaži	320	Zaube
152	Vecsvirlauka	<b>209</b>	<b>Ropaži</b>	264	Vilzēni	321	Kastrāne
153	Bēne	210	Sidgunda	265	Bauņi	322	Ķeipene
154	Penkule	211	Dreiliņi	266	Burtnieki	323	Plātere
155	Tērvete	212	Stopiņi	267	Rencēni	324	Taurupe
156	Zaļenieki	213	Mārupe	268	Ēvele	325	Ogre
157	Jēkabnieki	214	Katlakalns	269	Jērcēni	326	Ērgļi
158	Platone	215	Salaspils	270	Ozoli	327	Jumurda
159	Lielvircava	216	Ikšķile	271	Dikļi	328	Vēja
160	Jaunsvirlauka	217	Suntaži	272	Jaunburtnieki	329	Lubeja
161	Sniķere	218	Olaine	273	Valmiera	330	Laubere
162	Ukri	219	Dole	274	Brenguļi	331	Madliena
163	Bukaiši	220	Daugmale	275	Trikāta	332	Meņģele
<b>164</b>	<b>Augstkalne</b>	221	Ogresgals	276	Plāņi	333	Liepkalne
165	Vilce	222	Rembate	277	Dauguļi	334	Irši
166	Lielplatone	223	Lēdmane	278	Ķieģeļi	335	Sausnēja
167	Eleja	(A)224	Augšiecava	279	Mujāni	336	Vestiena
168	Sesava	224	Iecava	280	Kocēni	337	Bērzaune
169	Svitene	(L)224	Lejasiecava	<b>281</b>	<b>Kauguri</b>	<b>338</b>	<b>Krape</b>
170	Ainaži	225	Baldone	282	Jaunvāle	339	Viskāļi
171	Rozēni	226	Tome	283	Stalbe	340	Bebri
172	Skaņkalne	227	Lielvārde	284	Kūdums	341	Odziņa
173	Salaca	228	Salgale	285	Vaidava	342	Vietalva
174	Aloja	<b>229</b>	<b>Zālite</b>	286	Lenči	343	Kalsnava
<b>175</b>	<b>Svētciems</b>	230	Misa	287	Liepa	344	Jumprava
176	Pāle	231	Vecumnieki	288	Mārsnēni	345	Skrīveri
177	Puikule	232	Birzgale	289	Blome	346	Aizkraukle
178	Vitrupe	233	Mežotne	290	Smiltene	347	Koknese
179	Viļķene	234	Code	291	Raiskums	348	Plaviņas
180	Katvari	235	Bauska	292	Cēsis	349	Aiviekste
181	Pociems	236	Vecsaule	293	Priekuļi	350	Sērene
182	Tūja	237	Brukna	294	Jaunrauna	351	Daudzese
183	Limbaži	238	Stelpe	295	Baižkalns	352	Secē
184	Umurga	239	Bārbele	296	Rauna	<b>353</b>	<b>Sunākste</b>
<b>185</b>	<b>Vainiži</b>	240	Taurkalne	297	Launkalne	354	Vārnavā
186	Augstroze	241	Kurmene	298	Kārļi	355	Sēlpils
187	Liepupe	242	Rundāle	299	Līvi	356	Ābeļi
188	Lāde	243	Īsliče	300	Vaive	357	Krustpils
<b>189</b>	<b>Dunte</b>	244	Ceraukste	301	Veselava	358	Mazzalve
190	Stiene	<b>245</b>	<b>Panemune</b>	302	Dzērbene	359	Zalve
191	Nabe	246	Jaunsaule	303	Drusti	360	Sauka
192	Mazstraupe	247	Skaistkalne	304	Gatarta	361	Viesīte
193	Rozula	248	Mazsalaca	305	Līgatne	362	Birži
194	Skulte	<b>249</b>	<b>Idus</b>	306	Drabeši	363	Zasa
195	Vidriži	250	Ipiķi	307	Rāmuļi	364	Mēmele
196	Lēdurga	251	Terneja	308	Sērmūkši	365	Nereta
197	Lielstraupe	252	Lode	309	Taurene	366	Rite



367	Elkšņi	404	Kārdzaba	441	Rubeņi	478	Baltinava
<b>368</b>	<b>Aknīste</b>	405	Graši	442	Bebrene (Bebrine)	479	Gaigalava
369	Susēja	406	Kraukļi	443	Dviete	<b>480</b>	<b>Nautrēni</b>
370	Slate	407	Virāne	444	Nīcgale	481	Kārsava
371	Gārsene	408	Aduliena	<b>445</b>	<b>Kalupe</b>	482	Dricēni
372	Asare	409	Dzelzava	446	Aizkalne	483	Sakstagals
373	Prode	410	Jaungulbene	447	Aglona	484	Makašēni
374	Valka	411	Viesiena	448	Laši	485	Bēzrgale
375	Vijciems	412	Kusa	449	Pilskalne	486	Mērdzene (Mērdzine)
376	Cirgaļi	413	Oļi	450	Līksna	487	Zvirgzdene (Zvirgzdine)
377	Zvārtava	414	Sarkaņi	451	Višķi	488	Cibla
378	Bilskā	415	Patkule	452	Naujēne (Naujine)	489	Ružina
379	Birzuļi	416	Cesvaine	453	Biķernieki	<b>490</b>	<b>Ozolaine</b>
380	Grundzāle	417	Lubāna	454	Rauda	491	Rēzna
381	Palsmane	418	Grostonā	455	Svente	<b>492</b>	<b>Pilda</b>
382	Gaujiena	<b>419</b>	<b>Lazdona</b>	456	Laucesa	493	Nirza
383	Trapene	420	Prauliena	457	Skrudaliena	494	Malta
384	Jaunroze	421	Meirāni	458	Saliena	495	Kaunata
385	Jaunlaicene	422	Mārciena	459	Kurcums	496	Rundēni
386	Veclaicene	423	Ļaudona	460	Demene	497	Istra
387	Karva	424	Saikava	461	Silene	498	Andrupene (Andrupine)
388	Dūre	425	Barkava	<b>462</b>	<b>Ziemeris</b>	499	Ezernieki
389	Ilzene	<b>426</b>	<b>Varakļāni</b>	463	Mārkalne	500	Šķaune
390	Zeltiņi	427	Viļāni	464	Pededze	501	Kapiņi
391	Alsviķi	428	Sāviena	465	Alūksne	502	Auleja
<b>392</b>	<b>Sinole</b>	429	Mētriena	466	Beja	503	Dagda
393	Lejasciems	430	Medņi	467	Anna	504	Asūne
394	Beļava	431	Vīpe	468	Mālupe	505	Īzvalta
395	Kalnecmpji	432	Atašiene	469	Liepna	506	Krāslava
396	Ranka	433	Stirniene	470	Vīksna	<b>507</b>	<b>Skaista</b>
397	Lizums	434	Galēni	471	Viļaka	508	Robežnieki
398	Druviena	435	Dignāja	472	Litene	509	Kaplava
399	Tirza	436	Līvāni	473	Balvi	510	Indra
400	Galgauska	437	Rudzēti	<b>474</b>	<b>Šķilbēni</b>	511	Brigi
401	Vecgulbene	438	Vārkava	475	Rugāji	512	Pasiene
<b>402</b>	<b>Stāmeriena</b>	439	Preiļi	476	Bērzpils		
403	Liezēre	440	Silajāņi	477	Tilža		

# LKA Items List\*

<i>Nr.</i>	<i>Punktas</i>	<i>Rajonas</i>	<i>Apylinkė</i>				
1	Pikeliai	Mažeikių	Juodeikių	32	Mažaičiai	Mažeikių	Šerkšnėnų
2	Leckava	Mažeikių	Rievyčių	33	Tirkšliai	Mažeikių	Tirkšlių
3	Knabikai	Mažeikių	Rievyčių	34	Viekšniai	Akmenės	Viekšnių
4	Laižuva	Mažeikių	Laižuvos	35	Padvarėliai	Akmenės	Akmenės
5	Klykoliai	Akmenės	Klykolių	36	Sablauskiai	Akmenės	Alkiškių
6	Vegeriai	Akmenės	Vegerių	37	Dameliai	Joniškio	Juodeikių
7	Žagarė	Joniškio	Žagarės	38	Paluknė	Skuodo	Skuodo
8	Gudaičiai	Joniškio	Gudaičių	39	Žemytė	Skuodo	Lenkimų
9	Kuldūnai	Biržų	Sodeliškių	40	Mosėdis	Skuodo	Mosėdžio
10	Nemunėlio Radviliškis	Biržų	Nemunėlio Radviliškio	41	Vabalai	Skuodo	Šačių
11	Totorkalnis	Biržų	Nemunėlio Radviliškio	42	Puokė, Barstyčiai	Skuodo	Barstyčių
				<b>43</b>	<b>Seda</b>	<b>Mažeikių</b>	<b>Sedos</b>
12	Kerviai	Skuodo	Aleksandrijos	44	Skuodiškiai (Skuodo Ketūnai)	Mažeikių	Šerkšnėnų
13	Skliaustė	Skuodo	Ylakių	45	Pievėnai	Mažeikių	Tirkšlių
14	Židikai	Mažeikių	Židikų	46	Avižliai	Akmenės	Ventos
15	Dapšiai	Mažeikių	Juodeikių	47	Papilė	Akmenės	Papilės
16	Zastaučiai	Mažeikių	Ukrinų	48	Kruopiai	Akmenės	Kruopių
17	Urvikiai	Mažeikių	Mažeikių	<b>49</b>	<b>Šakyna</b>	<b>Šiaulių</b>	<b>Šakynos</b>
18	Purvėnai	Mažeikių	Laižuvos	50	Kyburiai	Joniškio	Buivydžių
19	Kivyčiai	Akmenės	Klykolių	51	Noriūnai	Joniškio	Kepalių
20	Gėpaičiai	Akmenės	Vegerių	52	Bučiūnai	Joniškio	Bučiūnų
21	Dilbinai	Joniškio	Žagarės	53	Steigviliai	Pakruojo	Lauksodžio
22	Skaistgirys	Joniškio	Skaistgirio	54	Nairiai	Pasvalio	Vaškų
23	Vaineikiai	Joniškio	Daunoravos	55	Saločiai	Pasvalio	Saločių
24	Kriukai	Joniškio	Kriukų, Bučiūnų	56	Smilgiai	Biržų	Smilgių
25	Žeimelis	Pakruojo	Žeimelio	57	Pabiržė	Biržų	Pabiržės, Biržų
26	Namajūnai	Pasvalio	Kiemėnų	58	Parovėja	Biržų	Parovėjos
27	Užušiliai	Biržų	Medeikių, Sodeliškių	59	Obelaukiai	Biržų	Biržų
28	Lujėnai	Biržų	Pundurių	60	Virškupėnai	Biržų	Pundurių
29	Skuodas	Skuodo	Skuodo	61	Įpiltis	Kretingos	Laukžemės
30	Šarkė	Skuodo	Aleksandrijos	62	Serapiniai	Kretingos	Grūšlaukės
31	Ylakiai	Skuodo	Ylakių	63	Šaukliai	Skuodo	Mosėdžio
				64	Vindeikiai	Skuodo	Notėnų

\* ALE items are in bold.



65	Gudaliai	Skuodo	Barstyčių	121	Bučiuškai	Rokiškio	Lukštų, Obelių
66	Žemaičių Kalvarija (Varduva)	Plungės		122	Žibininkai	Kretingos	Darbėnų, Rūdaičių
67	Ketūnai	Mažeikių	Sedos, Šerkšnėnų	123	Ruginiai	Kretingos	Kurmaičių
68	Trimėšėdis	Telšių	Nevarėnų	124	Stropeliai	Kretingos	Kūlupėnų
69	Dauginiai	Akmenės	Kairiškių	125	Mišėnai	Plungės	Šateikių
70	Mickišké	Telšių	Tryškių	126	Babrungėnai	Plungės	Babrungo
71	Klaišiai	Akmenės	Papilės	127	Lieplaukė	Plungės, Telšių	Telšių, Varnių, Žlibinų, Paukštakių
72	Auksučiai	Šiaulių	Šakynos	128	Telšiai	Telšių	Telšių, Gadūnavo
73	Dargaičiai	Šiaulių	Gruzdžių	129	Rūdupiai	Telšių	Luokės, Viešvėnų
74	Rudiškiai	Joniškio	Rudiškių	130	Kaunatava	Šiaulių, Telšių	Raudėnų, Tryškių, Upynos
75	Stupurai	Joniškio	Stupurų				
76	Mikniūnai	Pakruojo	Pašvitinio, Klovainių	131	Ginteniai, Urkuvėnai	Telšių, Šiaulių	Upynos, Micaičių
77	Gaižūnai	Pakruojo	Linkuvos				
78	Guostagalys	Pakruojo	Guostagalio	132	Džiūkai	Šiaulių	Kužių
79	Kriaušiskiai	Pasvalio	Grūžių	133	Lieporiai	Šiaulių	Šiaulių
80	Puodžiai	Pasvalio	Tetirvinų	134	Šapnagai	Šiaulių	Šiaulių
81	Daukniūnai	Pasvalio	Krinčino	135	Norušaičiai	Šiaulių	Kairių
82	Geidžiūnai	Biržų	Geidžiūnų	136	Joniškaičiai	Pakruojo	Lygumų
83	Anglininkai	Biržų	Geidžiūnų	137	Pakruojis	Pakruojo	
84	Papilys	Biržų	Biržų, Medeikių	138	Kapčiūnai	Pasvalio	Joniškėlio
85	Suvainiškis	Rokiškio	Suvainiškio	139	Dikoniai	Panevėžio	Skaistgirių
86	Aukštadvarys	Rokiškio	Panemunio	140	Jurgėnai	Pasvalio	Pumpėnų, Kriklinių
87	Užubaliai	Rokiškio	Juodupės	141	Berklainiai	Pasvalio	Daujėnų
88	Onuškis	Rokiškio	Juodupės	142	Vabalninkas	Biržų	Vabalninko
89	Juodupė	Rokiškio	Juodupės	143	Salamiestis	Kupiškio	Antašavos
90	Kalgraužiai	Kretingos	Laukžemės	144	Alizava	Rokiškio, Kupiškio	Alizavos, Pandėlio
91	Darbėnai	Kretingos	Darbėnų				
<b>92</b>	<b>Grūšlaukė</b>	<b>Kretingos</b>	<b>Grūšlaukės</b>	145	Sriubiškiai	Rokiškio	Pandėlio
93	Salantai	Kretingos	Imbarės	146	Rybokai	Rokiškio	Panemunėlio
94	Gintališkė	Plungės	Platelių	147	Rokiškis	Rokiškio	Panemunėlio, Žiobiškio
95	Skirpsčiai	Plungės	Alsėdžių				
96	Alsėdžiai	Plungės	Alsėdžių	148	Obeliai	Rokiškio	Obelių
97	Gadūnavas	Telšių	Gadūnavo	149	Kreščionys	Rokiškio	Lukštų
98	Eigirdžiai	Telšių	Eigirdžių	150	Svobiškis	Rokiškio	Obelių
99	Tryškiai	Telšių	Tryškių	151	Pryšmančiai	Kretingos	Rūdaičių
100	Raudėnai	Šiaulių	Raudėnų	152	Kretinga	Kretingos	
101	Pakšteliai	Šiaulių	Kuršėnų	153	Budriai	Kretingos	Kartenos
<b>102</b>	<b>Kuršėnai</b>	<b>Šiaulių</b>	<b>Kuršėnų, Micaičių</b>	154	Kalniškiai	Kretingos	Imbarės
103	Lukošaičiai	Šiaulių	Gruzdžių	155	Karklėnai	Plungės	Kulių
104	Dimšiai	Šiaulių	Gruzdžių	156	Plungė	Plungės	Nausodžio, Stalgėnų
105	Bridai	Šiaulių	Šiaulių	157	Žlibinai	Plungės	Žlibinų
106	Lūpaičiai	Šiaulių	Meškuičių	158	Lauko Soda	Telšių	Telšių
107	Beinoraičiai	Pakruojo	Lygumų	159	Eidžiotai	Telšių	Janapolės
108	Norvaišiai	Pakruojo	Lygumų	160	Luokė	Telšių	Luokės
109	Megučioniai	Pakruojo	Linkuvos	161	Vidsodis	Kelmės	Pašilėnų
110	Gailioniai	Pakruojo	Linkuvos	162	Gudmoniškė	Kelmės	Šaukėnų
111	Joniškėlis	Pasvalio	Joniškėlio	163	Aukštelkė	Šiaulių	Kurtuvėnų, Šiaulių
<b>112</b>	<b>Pasvalys</b>	<b>Pasvalio</b>	<b>Pasvalio</b>	164	Kirbaičiai	Šiaulių, Radviliškio	Kairių, Radviliškio
113	Šukionys	Biržų	Vabalninko				
114	Gataučiai	Biržų	Geidžiūnų	165	Voskoniai	Radviliškio	Aukštelkų
115	Kupreliškis	Biržų	Kupreliškio	166	Derveliai	Pakruojo	Rozalimo
116	Šiekštininkai	Biržų	Kupreliškio	167	Rozalimas	Pakruojo	Rozalimo
117	Pandėlys	Rokiškio	Pandėlio	168	Getautai	Pakruojo	Klovainių
118	Paliepis	Rokiškio	Panemunio	169	Medikoniai	Pasvalio, Panevėžio	Pušaloto, Skaistgirių
119	Sodeliai	Rokiškio	Juodupės, Rokiškio				
120	Lukštai	Rokiškio	Lukštų	170	Sereikoniai	Pasvalio	Pumpėnų

171	Stumbriškis	Panevėžio, Pasvalio	Karsakiškio, Kriklinių	225	Kušleikiai	Kelmės	Kelmės
172	Daršiškiai	Kupiškio	Antašavos	226	Padubysys	Šiaulių	Padubysio
173	Šalteniai	Kupiškio	Palėvenėlės, Subačiaus	227	Kiaunoriai	Kelmės	Kiaunorių
<b>174</b>	<b>Kupiškis</b>	<b>Kupiškio</b>	<b>Aukštupėnų</b>	228	Šiaulėnai	Radviliškio	Šiaulėnų
175	Jutkonys	Kupiškio	Palėvenėlės	229	Miežaičiai	Radviliškio	Sedūnų
176	Skapiškis	Kupiškio	Skapiškio	230	Vaiduloniai	Radviliškio	Šeduvos, Sedūnų
177	Robliai	Rokiškio	Panemunėlio	231	Sidabravas	Radviliškio	Sidabravo
178	Rageliai	Rokiškio	Ragelių	232	Naujamiestis	Panevėžio	Naujamiesčio
179	Kriaunos	Rokiškio	Kriaunų	233	Panevėžys	Panevėžio	Velžio
180	Aleksandravėlė	Rokiškio	Obelių	234	Miežiškiai	Panevėžio	Miežiškių, Taruškų
181	Suviekas	Zarasų	Suvieko	235	Subačius	Kupiškio	Subačiaus
182	Stelmužė	Zarasų	Imbrado, Suvieko	236	Navikai	Anykščių	Surdegio
183	Kalotė	Klaipėdos	Kretingalės	237	Viešintos	Anykščių	Viešintų
184	Plikiai	Klaipėdos	Kretingalės	238	Šimonys	Kupiškio	Šimonių
185	Lapiai	Klaipėdos	Lapių	239	Svėdasai	Anykščių	Svėdasų
186	Šakiniai	Klaipėdos	Lapių	240	Vilučiai	Rokiškio, Utenos, Anykščių	Obelių, Užpalių, Svėdasų
187	Mižuikiai	Plungės	Kulių	241	Vaiskūnai	Utenos, Zarasų	Sudeikių, Užpalių, Pakniškių
188	Alkas	Plungės	Bubėnų	242	Antalieptė	Zarasų	Antalieptės, Degučių
189	Medingėnai	Plungės	Medingėnų	243	Blyniškės	Zarasų	Ežerėnų
190	Vismaldai	Telšių	Žarėnų	244	Zarasai	Zarasų	Kimbartiškės, Magučių
<b>191</b>	<b>Varniai</b>	<b>Telšių</b>					
192	Šlapgirė	Kelmės, Telšių	Luokės, Užvenčio	245	Berčiūnai	Zarasų	Bikėnų, Magučių
193	Užventis	Kelmės	Užvenčio	246	Turmantas	Zarasų	Kimbartiškės
194	Šaukėnai	Kelmės	Šaukėnų	247	Dumpiai	Klaipėdos	Dovilų
195	Kurtuvėnai	Šiaulių	Kurtuvėnų	248	Dercekiai	Klaipėdos	Priekulės
196	Pakapė	Šiaulių	Pakapės	249	Kojeliai	Klaipėdos	Agluonėnų
197	Liutkiškiai	Radviliškio	Radviliškio	250	Veiviržėnai	Klaipėdos	Veiviržėnų
198	Karčemos	Radviliškio	Sedūnų	251	Mataičiai	Klaipėdos	Endriejavo, Judrėnų
199	Šeduva	Radviliškio	Alksniupių, Šeduvos	252	Žadvainai	Plungės	Pelaičių
200	Raginėnai	Radviliškio	Pakalniškių	253	Stirbiškė	Plungės, Šilalės	Tverų, Laukuvos
201	Smilgiai	Panevėžio	Smilgių	254	Laukuva	Šilalės	Laukuvos
202	Spirakiai	Panevėžio	Berčiūnų	255	Skabučiai	Šilalės	Laukuvos
<b>203</b>	<b>Piniava</b>	<b>Panevėžio</b>	<b>Piniavos, Skaistgirių</b>	256	Pašilė	Kelmės	Karklėnų
204	Karsakiškis	Panevėžio	Karsakiškio	257	Kražiai	Kelmės	Kražių
205	Noriūnai	Kupiškio	Noriūnų	258	Kelmė	Kelmės	Maironių, Grimžių
206	Papiliai	Kupiškio	Aukštupėnų	259	Kubiliai	Kelmės	Tytuvėnų
207	Juodpėnai	Kupiškio	Puožo	260	Tytuvėnai	Kelmės, Raseinių	Tytuvėnų, Šiluvos
208	Verksnionys	Rokiškio	Kamajų				
209	Kamajėliai	Rokiškio	Kamajų	261	Šaukotas	Radviliškio	Šaukoto
210	Minkūnai	Rokiškio	Jūžintų	262	Legečiai	Radviliškio	Pašušvio
211	Antazavė	Zarasų	Antazavės	263	Pašušvys	Radviliškio	Pašušvio
212	Dusetos	Zarasų	Pakniškių, Žukliškių	264	Baisogala	Radviliškio	Baisogalos
213	Aviliai	Zarasų	Avilių	265	Pociūnėliai	Radviliškio	Skėmių
214	Imbradas	Zarasų	Imbrado, Kavoliškių	266	Vadaktai	Panevėžio, Radviliškio	Krekenavos, Sidabravo
215	Birbinčiai	Klaipėdos	Dovilų, Gargždų				
216	Gargždai	Klaipėdos	Gargždų, Vėžaičių	267	Ėriškiai	Panevėžio	Upytės
217	Antkoptis	Klaipėdos	Antkopčio	268	Uliūnai	Panevėžio	Velžio
218	Endriejavas	Klaipėdos	Endriejavo	269	Narbutai	Panevėžio	Miežiškių
219	Rietavas	Plungės	Pelaičių	270	Rukiškis	Anykščių	Juostininkų
220	Užpeliai, Tverai	Plungės	Stalgėnų, Tverų	271	Troškūnai	Anykščių	Juostininkų
221	Drobūkščiai	Telšių	Varnių	272	Andrioniškis	Anykščių	Andrioniškio, Stakių
222	Gomaliai	Telšių	Varnių	273	Mičionys	Anykščių	Debeikių
223	Labūnavėlė	Kelmės	Užvenčio	274	Debeikiai	Anykščių	Debeikių
224	Vaiguva	Kelmės	Vaiguvos	275	Vyžuonos	Utenos	Vyžuonų



276	Sudeikiai	Utenos	Sudeikių	328	Giniočiai	Kelmės	Liolių, Pakražančio
277	Daugailiai	Utenos	Daugailių	329	Alėjai	Raseinių	Alėjų
278	Kiemionys	Zarasų	Bikėnų	330	Tverjoniškė	Raseinių	Pagojukų
279	Smalvos	Zarasų	Smalvų	331	Šnipaičiai	Raseinių	Pagojukų
280	Tilžė	Zarasų	Kimbartiškės	332	Ažytėnai	Kėdainių	Krakių
281	Gaidė	Ignalinos	Gaidės, Rimšės	333	Krakės	Kėdainių	Krakių
282	Juodkrantė	Neringos m.		334	Šlapaberžė	Kėdainių	Dotnuvos
283	Priekulė	Klaipėdos	Agluonėnų	335	Surviliškis	Kėdainių, Panevėžio	Petriškių, Surviliškio
284	Pėžaičiai	Klaipėdos, Šilutės	Agluonėnų, Saugų	336	Truskava	Kėdainių	Truskavos
285	Švėkšna	Šilutės	Švėkšnos	337	Aukštadvaris	Panevėžio	Ramygalos
<b>286</b>	<b>Judrėnai</b>	<b>Klaipėdos</b>	<b>Judrėnų</b>	338	Šilai	Panevėžio	Vadoklių
287	Stirbiškė	Šilalės	Kvėdarnos	339	Radžiūnai	Ukmergės, Anykščių	Taujėnų, Traupio
<b>288</b>	<b>Kvėdarna</b>	<b>Šilalės</b>	<b>Kvėdarnos, Laukuvos</b>	340	Kavarskas	Anykščių	Kavarsko
289	Šiauduva	Šilalės	Padievyčio	341	Kurkliai	Anykščių	Kurklių
290	Kaltinėnai	Šilalės	Kaltinėnų	342	Rubikiai	Anykščių	Rubikių, Skiemonių
291	Nuomininkai	Šilalės	Poškų	343	Skiemonys	Anykščių	Skiemonių
292	Adomaičiai	Kelmės	Pakražančio, Stulgių	344	Leliūnai	Anykščių	Skiemonių
293	Pakražantis	Kelmės	Pakražančio	345	Deguliai	Utenos	Pakalnių
294	Lyduvėnai	Raseinių	Šiluvos	346	Tauragnai	Utenos	Tauragnų
295	Šiluva	Raseinių	Šiluvos	347	Balčiai	Utenos	Šeimaties
296	Reksčiai	Radviliškio	Šaukoto	348	Kazitiškis	Ignalinos, Utenos	Kazitiškio, Šeimaties
297	Gražiškiai	Radviliškio	Skėmių	349	Biržiniškė	Ignalinos	Gubavos, Grybėnų
298	Devynduoniai	Kėdainių	Gudžiūnų	350	Medešiai	Ignalinos	Grybėnų, Naujojo Daugėliškio, Sokiškių
299	Krekenava	Panevėžio	Krekenavos				Šiulėnų
<b>300</b>	<b>Ramygala</b>	<b>Panevėžio</b>	<b>Ramygalos</b>	351	Vėlūnai	Ignalinos	Šiulėnų
301	Jotainiai	Panevėžio	Ramygalos	352	Ventė	Šilutės	Kintų
302	Raguva	Panevėžio	Raguvos	<b>353</b>	<b>Šilutė</b>	<b>Šilutės</b>	<b>Kintų</b>
303	Traupis	Anykščių	Traupio	354	Ramučiai	Šilutės	Gardamo
304	Grybuliai	Anykščių	Troškūnų	355	Žemaičių Naumiestis	Šilutės	Žemaičių Naumiesčio
<b>305</b>	<b>Anykščiai</b>	<b>Anykščių</b>	<b>Anykščių, Dabužių, Šeimyniškių</b>	356	Vainutas	Šilutės	Vainuto
306	Čekonys	Anykščių	Debeikių	357	Žvingiai	Šilalės	Pajūrio
307	Aknystėlės	Utenos	Leliūnų	358	Pagramantis	Tauragės	Pagramančio
308	Utena	Utenos	Vyžuonų	359	Lomiai	Tauragės	Lomių
309	Spitrėnai	Utenos	Spitrėnų	360	Batačiai	Tauragės	Batakių
310	Juknėnai	Utenos	Daugailių	361	Skaudvilė	Tauragės	Skaudvilės, Vaidilų
311	Tolimėnai	Ignalinos, Zarasų	Kazitiškio, Salako	362	Petkaičiai	Tauragės	Dauglaukio
312	Luodžiai	Zarasų	Salako	<b>363</b>	<b>Viduklė</b>	<b>Raseinių</b>	<b>Viduklės</b>
313	Dūkštas	Ignalinos	Sokiškių	364	Raseiniai	Raseinių	Paliepių
314	Kalviškiai	Ignalinos	Rimšės, Sokiškių	365	Laužai	Raseinių	Raseinių
315	Rimšė	Ignalinos	Gaidės, Rimšės	366	Betygala	Raseinių	Betygalos
316	Vigutėnai	Ignalinos	Rimšės	367	Ilgiziai	Raseinių	Ilgizių
317	Sakūčiai	Šilutės	Kintų, Saugų	368	Sutkūnai	Kėdainių	Pajieslio
318	Saugos	Šilutės	Saugų	369	Dotnuva	Kėdainių	Dotnuvos
319	Tvaskučiai	Šilutės	Inkaklių	370	Pliupai	Kėdainių	Taučiūnų
320	Būdviečiai	Šilutės	Švėkšnos	371	Okainiai	Kėdainių	Truskavos
321	Teneniai	Šilalės	Piliaikalnio	372	Pagiriai	Kėdainių, Ukmergės	Pagirių, Tulpiakiemio
322	Pajūris	Šilalės	Pajūrio	373	Meilūnai	Ukmergės	Siesikų
323	Šilalė	Šilalės	Šilalės	<b>374</b>	<b>Taujėnai</b>	<b>Ukmergės</b>	<b>Taujėnų, Lėno</b>
324	Vytogala	Šilalės	Upynos	375	Knitiškiai, Vidiškiai	Ukmergės	Vidiškių
325	Girdiškė	Šilalės	Upynos	376	Dapkūniškiai	Molėtų	Balninkų
326	Stulgiai	Kelmės	Stulgių	377	Alanta	Molėtų	Alantos
327	Nemakščiai	Raseinių	Nemakščių	378	Skudutiškis	Molėtų	Skudutiškio

379	Suginčiai	Molėtų	Suginčių, Skudutiškio	433	Žindaičiai	Jurbarko	Žindaičių
380	Kuktiškės	Utenos	Kuktiškių	434	Pauliai	Jurbarko	Šimkaičių
381	Kirdeikiai	Utenos	Saldutiškio	435	Medininkai	Jurbarko	Stakių, Šimkaičių
382	Ignalina	Ignalinos	Palūšės	436	Stakiai	Jurbarko	Stakių
383	Antakmenė	Ignalinos	Vidiškių, Grybėnų	437	Juodaičiai	Jurbarko	Juodaičių
384	Kačergiškė	Ignalinos	Kačergiškės	438	Pagausantys	Raseinių	Kalnujų, Verėduvos
385	Nida	Neringos m.		439	Daugėliškiei	Raseinių	Ariogalos
386	Rusnė	Šilutės	Rusnės m.	440	Rugėnai	Kėdainių	Pernaravos
387	Juknaičiai	Šilutės	Jonaičių, Juknaičių	<b>441 Jovainiai</b>	<b>Kėdainių</b>	<b>Kėdainių</b>	<b>Jovainių, Pelėdnagių</b>
<b>388 Kavoliai</b>	<b>Šilutės</b>	<b>Usėnų</b>		442	Labūnava	Kėdainių	Nociūnų
389	Katyčiai	Šilutės	Katyčių	443	Slikiai	Kėdainių	Žeimių
390	Žygaičiai	Tauragės	Žygaičių	444	Žeimiai	Jonavos	Markutiškių
391	Jociai	Tauragės	Tauragės, Girininkų	445	Pasoda	Jonavos	Markutiškių
392	Stragutė	Tauragės	Tauragės	446	Jakutiškiai	Ukmergės	Atkočių
393	Joniškė	Tauragės	Tauragės, Kunigiškių	447	Juodausiai	Ukmergės	Lyduokių
394	Pašaltuonys	Jurbarko	Eržvilko	448	Šėsuoliai	Ukmergės	Šėsuolių
395	Eržvilkas	Jurbarko	Girdžių, Žindaičių	449	Želva	Ukmergės	Želvos
396	Paupys	Raseinių	Viduklės, Raseinių	450	Videniškiei	Molėtų	Videniškių
397	Vadžgirys	Jurbarko	Vadžgirio	<b>451 Molėtai</b>	<b>Molėtų</b>	<b>Molėtų</b>	<b>Luokesos, Pažzuolių</b>
398	Kalnujai, Gervinė	Raseinių	Kalnujų, Raseinių	452	Čiulai	Molėtų	Mindūnų
399	Girkalnis	Raseinių	Girkalnio	453	Pastovėlis	Molėtų	Mindūnų
400	Ariogala	Raseinių	Ariogalos, Verėduvos	454	Antaliedė	Švenčionių	Kaltanėnų
401	Lenčiai	Raseinių	Ariogalos	455	Kretuonys	Švenčionių	Reškutėnų
402	Pavinkšniai	Kėdainių	Pernaravos	456	Gražuliai	Švenčionių	Bielionių
403	Mištautai	Kėdainių	Kėdainių	457	Jurgeliškė	Ignalinos, Švenčionių	Mielagėnų, Svirku
404	Kėdainiai	Kėdainių	Kėdainių				
405	Bubliai	Kėdainių	Taučiūnų	458	Piršteliškė	Švenčionių	Adutiškio
406	Šėta	Kėdainių	Šėtos	459	Radiškė	Ignalinos	Dysnos
407	Gaižūnai	Jonavos	Bukonių	460	Kavaltiškė	Švenčionių	Adutiškio
408	Siesikai	Ukmergės	Siesikų	461	Pagėgiai	Šilutės	Pagėgių
409	Kunigiškiai	Ukmergės	Laičių, Vidiškių	462	Vilkyškiai	Šilutės	Vilkyškių
410	Lyduokiai	Ukmergės, Anykščių	Lyduokių, Kraštų, Žemaitkiemio	463	Rūgaliai	Tauragės	Baltrušaičių, Dauglaukio, Tauragės, Batakių
411	Balninkai	Molėtų	Balninkų				
412	Girsteitiškis	Molėtų	Pažzuolių	464	Eičiai	Tauragės	Gaurės
413	Purvėnai	Molėtų	Čiulėnų	465	Girdžiai	Jurbarko	Girdžių
414	Labanoras	Švenčionių	Labanoro	466	Skirsnemunė	Jurbarko	Šilinės
415	Linkmenys	Ignalinos, Utenos	Linkmenų, Saldutiškio	467	Raudonė	Jurbarko	Raudonės
416	Motiejūnai	Ignalinos	Linkmenų	468	Veliuona	Jurbarko	Veliuonos
417	Ceikinėliai	Ignalinos	Zuikų	469	Čekiškė	Kauno	Čekiškės
418	Mielagėnai	Ignalinos	Mielagėnų	470	Vareikoniai	Kauno	Panevėžiuko
419	Šiulėnai	Ignalinos	Šiulėnų	471	Vandžiogala	Kauno	Babtų, Karmėlavos, Vandžiogalos
420	Tverečius	Ignalinos	Tverečiaus	472	Kulva	Jonavos	Kulvos
421	Sekonys	Ignalinos	Dysnos	473	Markutiškiai	Jonavos	Markutiškių, Upninkų
422	Vosiūnai	Ignalinos	Dysnos				
423	Lazinkos	Ignalinos	Dysnos	474	Vepriai	Ukmergės	Veprių
424	Sausgalviai	Šilutės	Jonaičių	475	Pabaiskas	Ukmergės	Pabaisko
425	Šilininkai	Šilutės	Juknaičių	476	Krikštėnai	Ukmergės	Ukmergės
<b>426 Plaškiai</b>	<b>Šilutės</b>	<b>Usėnų</b>		477	Kiaukliai	Širvintų	Zibalų
427	Rukai	Šilutės	Stoniškių	478	Šiaudžiai	Molėtų	Giedraičių
428	Timsriai	Šilutės	Natkiškių	479	Bijutiškis	Molėtų	Dubingių
429	Kulmenai	Šilutės	Natkiškių	480	Inturkė	Molėtų	Inturkės
430	Trakininkai	Šilutės	Rambyno	481	Medeikiai	Molėtų	Arnionių
431	Lauksargiai	Tauragės	Lauksargių	482	Švenčionėliai	Švenčionių	Švenčionėlių
432	Vertimai	Jurbarko	Žindaičių	483	Švenčionys	Švenčionių	Švenčionių



484	Trečiūnai	Švenčionių	Švenčionių	538	Žasliai	Kaišiadorių	Kaišiadorių
485	Adutiškis	Švenčionių	Adutiškio	539	Paparčiai	Kaišiadorių	Paparčių
486	Bitėnai	Šilutės	Rambyno, Vilkyškių	540	Kernavė	Vilniaus	Dūkštų
487	Sokaičiai	Šilutės	Vilkyškių	541	Maišiagala	Širvintų	Jauniūnų
488	Viešvilė	Jurbarko	Viešvilės	542	Ažulaukė	Vilniaus	Ažulaukės
489	Smalininkai	Jurbarko	Jurbarkų, Viešvilės	543	Nemenčinė	Vilniaus	Nemenčinės, Eitminiškių
490	Sudargas	Šakių	Kidulių				
<b>491</b>	<b>Jurbarkas</b>	<b>Jurbarko</b>	<b>Jurbarkų, Girdžių</b>	544	Šventininkai	Vilniaus	Buivydžių
492	Valenčiūnai	Šakių	Gelgaudiškio	545	Magūnai	Švenčionių	Magūnų
493	Jotija	Šakių	Plokščių	546	Kudirkos Naumiestis	Šakių	Būblelių, Sintautų
494	Kriūkai	Šakių	Kriūkų	547	Žvirgždaičiai	Šakių	Žvirgždaičių
<b>495</b>	<b>Vilkija</b>	<b>Kauno</b>	<b>Vilkijos</b>	548	Barzdai	Šakių	Griškabūdžio, Barzdų
496	Muniškiai	Kauno	Babtų, Užliedžių				
497	Batėgala	Jonavos	Kulvos	549	Kazlų Rūda	Marijampolės	Bagotosios, Gavaltuvos
498	Pašilaičiai, Upninkai	Jonavos	Dumšių, Upninkų				
499	Gegužinė	Kaišiadorių	Zūbiškių	550	Skriaudžiai	Prienų	Skriaudžių
500	Mančiūšėnai	Širvintų, Jonavos	Gelvonų, Upninkų	551	Mauručiai	Kauno, Prienų	Garliavos, Veiverių
		Širvintų	Gelvonų	552	Garliava	Kauno	Garliavos
501	Neveronys	Širvintų	Zibalų	553	Margininkai	Kauno	Taurakiemio
502	Širvintos	Širvintų	Zibalų	554	Kruonis	Kaišiadorių	Kruonio
503	Šešuolėliai	Širvintų	Zibalų	555	Žiežmariai	Kaišiadorių	Žiežmarių
504	Giedraičiai	Molėtų	Giedraičių	556	Kietaviškės	Kaišiadorių	Kietaviškių
505	Dubingiai	Molėtų	Dubingių	557	Vievis	Trakų	Ausieniškių, Balceriškių
506	Joniškis	Molėtų	Arnionių, Joniško				
507	Melagėnai	Švenčionių	Šutų	558	Paneriai	Trakų	Balceriškių
508	Ziboliškė	Švenčionių	Strūnaičio	559	Sudervė	Širvintų, Vilniaus	Dūkštų, Jauniūnų
509	Ropiškė	Švenčionių	Strūnaičio				
510	Slavikai	Šakių	Slavikų	560	Gulbinai	Vilniaus	Paberžės, Riešės
511	Baltkojai	Šakių	Šakių	561	Bezdonys	Vilniaus	Bezdonių
512	Šakiai	Šakių	Šakių	562	Buivydžiai	Vilniaus	Buivydžių
513	Lukšiai	Šakių	Lukšių	563	Puntuzai	Vilniaus	Lavoriškių
514	Lekėčiai	Šakių	Lekėčių	564	Žalioji	Vilkaviškio	Augalų, Lygumų, Juodupėnų
515	Zapyškis	Kauno	Zapyškio				
516	Kaniūkai	Kauno	Užliedžių	565	Alksnėnai	Vilkaviškio	Augalų, Juodupėnų, Alksnėnų
517	Karmėlava	Kauno	Karmėlavos				
518	Užusaliai	Jonavos	Užusalių	566	Pilviškiai	Vilkaviškio	Paežerių, Alksnėnų, Pilviškių
<b>519</b>	<b>Palomenė</b>	<b>Kaišiadorių</b>	<b>Palomenės</b>				
520	Čiobiškis	Širvintų	Čiobiškio	567	Kazliškiai	Marijampolės	Gavaltuvos
521	Musninkai	Širvintų	Musninkų, Jauniūnų	568	Ažuolų Būda	Marijampolės	Gavaltuvos
522	Šiauliai	Širvintų	Jauniūnų	569	Mozūriškės	Prienų	Veiverių
523	Skliauščiai	Vilniaus	Glitiškių	570	Išlaužas	Prienų	Išlaužo
524	Akmena	Vilniaus	Glitiškių, Paberžės, Visalaukės	571	Darsūniškis	Kaišiadorių	Vilūnų
			Danilavos, Nemenčinės	572	Kalviai	Kaišiadorių	Kalvių
525	Troškūnai	Vilniaus	Arnionių	573	Pakertiškės	Kaišiadorių	Žiežmarių
			Šutų	574	Kaugonys	Kaišiadorių	Paparčių
526	Arnionys	Molėtų	Būblelių, Sintautų	575	Daugirdiškės	Trakų	Bagdononių, Rusakalnio
527	Šutai	Švenčionių	Sintautų				
528	Bajoraičiai	Šakių	Griškabūdžio	576	Rykantai	Trakų	Bražuolės
529	Sintautai	Šakių	Jankų	577	Buivydiškės	Vilniaus	Buivydiškių
530	Griškabūdis	Šakių	Višakio Rūdos	578	Baniškės	Vilniaus	Vilniaus dalies
531	Šunkariai	Šakių	Alšėnų, Noreikiškių	579	Naujoji Vilnia	Vilniaus	Naujosios Vilnios
532	Agurkiškė	Marijampolės	Rokų, Samylų	580	Uosininkai	Vilniaus	Mickūnų
533	Poderiškiai	Kauno	Rumšiškių	581	Petruliškės	Vilniaus	Lavoriškių
534	Armališkės	Kauno	Rumšiškių	582	Kybartai	Vilkaviškio	Lygumų, Molinių, Pajevonio
535	Pravieniškės	Kaišiadorių	Kaišiadorių,				
536	Rumšiškės	Kaišiadorių	Palomenės	583	Alvitas	Vilkaviškio	Alvito, Augalų, Gražiškių
537	Kaišiadorys	Kaišiadorių					

584	Vilkaviškis	Vilkaviškio	Alvito, Šeimenos	637	Tabariškės	Šalčininkų	Turgelių
585	Šunskai	Marijampolės	Šunskų	638	Liubavas	Marijampolės	Liubavo
586	Sasnavas	Marijampolės	Sasnavos	639	Kalvarija	Marijampolės	
587	Plutiškės	Marijampolės	Guobų	640	Želsva	Marijampolės	Liudvinavo, Naujienos
588	Pašlavantys	Prienų	Naujosios Ūtos				
589	Prienai	Prienų	Ašmintos, Birštono	641	Krosna	Lazdijų	Krosnos
590	Birštonas	Prienų	Birštono	642	Simnas	Alytaus	Simno, Verebiejų
591	Jieznas	Prienų	Jieznos, Stakliškių	643	Mirolavas	Alytaus	Santaikos
592	Užuguostis	Prienų	Lielionių	644	Alytus	Alytaus	Domantonių, Luksnėnų
593	Mergiškės	Trakų	Ubiškių				
594	Semeliškės	Trakų	Semeliškių	645	Alovė	Alytaus	Alovės
595	Barčiai	Trakų	Tolkiškių, Obelių	646	Daugai	Alytaus	Daugų
596	Trakai	Trakų	Bražuolės	647	Genionys	Varėnos	Pavarėnio, Jakėnų
597	Lentvaris	Trakų	Kariotiškių	648	Pučkornės	Varėnos	Valkininkų
598	Kirtimai	Vilniaus	Lavoriškių	<b>649</b>	<b>Valkininkai</b>	<b>Varėnos</b>	<b>Valkininkų</b>
599	Rudamina	Vilniaus	Rudaminos	650	Gudeliai	Šalčininkų	Daučiūnų
600	Čepurniškės	Vilniaus	Žemaitėlių	651	Šalčininkėliai	Šalčininkų	Šalčininkėlių
601	Šumskas	Vilniaus	Juodšilių, Kalvelių, Šumsko	652	Kurmilionys	Šalčininkų	Akmėnynės
				653	Salaperaugis	Marijampolės	Liubavo
602	Kuosinė	Vilniaus	Kalvelių	654	Navininkai	Marijampolės	Sangrūdos
603	Pajevonys	Vilkaviškio	Pajevonio, Keturvalakių, Molinių	655	Rudamina	Lazdijų	Rudaminos
				656	Barčiai	Lazdijų	Veisiejų
				657	Meteliai	Lazdijų	Žagarių
604	Klambučiai	Vilkaviškio	Bartninkų	658	Seiliūnai	Lazdijų	Noragėlių
605	Keturvalakiai	Vilkaviškio	Keturvalakių, Gižų	659	Nemunaitis	Alytaus	Nemunaičio
606	Marijampolė	Marijampolės	Meškučių, Šunskų	660	Ilgininkai	Varėnos	Merkinės
607	Igliauka	Marijampolės	Igliaukos	661	Druckūnai	Varėnos	Varėnos
608	Naujoji Ūta	Prienų	Naujosios Ūtos	662	Akmuo	Varėnos	Jakėnų
<b>609</b>	<b>Balbieriškis</b>	<b>Prienų</b>	<b>Balbieriškio</b>	663	Čebatoriai	Varėnos	Daržininkų
610	Nemajūnai	Alytaus, Prienų	Birštono, Punios	664	Kuršiai	Varėnos	Daržininkų
				665	Kaniūkai	Šalčininkų	Gerviškių
611	Butrimonys	Alytaus	Butrimonių	666	Šalčininkai	Šalčininkų	Šalčininkų
612	Gripiškės	Prienų	Lielionių	667	Dailidės	Šalčininkų	Poškonų
613	Aukštvarys	Trakų	Ubiškių	668	Daulėnai	Šalčininkų	Jurgelionių
614	Panošiškės	Trakų	Tolkiškių	669	Miežionys	Šalčininkų	Dieveniškių
615	Šklėriai	Trakų	Rūdiškių	670	Maciūčiai	Šalčininkų	Dieveniškių
616	Lygainiai	Trakų	Paluknio	671	Vingrėnai	Lazdijų	Būdviečio
617	Marijampolis	Vilniaus	Rudaminos	672	Švėntėžeris	Lazdijų	Švėntėžerio
618	Akmeniškės	Vilniaus	Rudaminos	673	Avižieniai	Lazdijų	Šlavantų
619	Žemaitėliai	Vilniaus	Visalaukės	674	Seirijai	Lazdijų	Seirijų
<b>620</b>	<b>Vištytis, Vygreliai</b>	<b>Vilkaviškio</b>	<b>Vištyčio, Gražiškių</b>	675	Savilionys	Alytaus	Raitininkų
621	Gražiškiai	Vilkaviškio	Gražiškių	676	Nedzingė	Varėnos	Nedzingės
622	Bartninkai	Vilkaviškio	Bartninkų	677	Perloja	Varėnos	Nedzingės
623	Vilkabaliai	Vilkaviškio	Rasių	678	Varėna	Varėnos	Varėnos
624	Liudvinavas	Marijampolės	Meškučių	679	Vydeniai	Varėnos	Vydenių
<b>625</b>	<b>Daukšiai</b>	<b>Marijampolės</b>	<b>Padovinio</b>	680	Vėžionys	Šalčininkų	Dainavos
626	Gelčiai	Marijampolės	Gudelių	681	Eišiškės	Šalčininkų	Eišiškių
627	Ūdrija	Alytaus	Krokialaukio	682	Butrimonys	Šalčininkų	Butrimonių
628	Kriauniai	Alytaus	Dubėnų, Luksnėnų	683	Kučiūnai	Lazdijų	Kučiūnų
629	Žagariai	Alytaus	Punios	684	Veisiejai	Lazdijų	Šlavantų, Veisiejų
630	Pivašiūnai	Alytaus	Pivašiūnų	685	Jovaišiai	Lazdijų	Leipalingio
631	Onuškis, Dusmenys	Trakų	Onušio, Dusmenų	<b>686</b>	<b>Leipalingis</b>	<b>Lazdijų</b>	<b>Leipalingio</b>
632	Tiltai	Trakų	Lieponių	687	Liškiava	Varėnos	Kibyšių
633	Maceliai	Varėnos	Valkininkų	688	Merkinė	Varėnos	Merkinės
634	Rūdninkai	Šalčininkų	Rūdninkų	689	Puvočiai	Varėnos	Marcinkonių
635	Jašiūnai	Šalčininkų	Jašiūnų	690	Kaniava	Varėnos	Kaniavos
636	Dainava	Vilniaus	Medininkų	691	Daugidonys	Šalčininkų	Kalesninkų



692	Sapiegiškiai	Lazdijų	Kučiūnų	VIII	Rodūnia, Plikiai	Varanavo	
693	Kapčiamiestis	Lazdijų	Kapčiamiesčio	IX	Pelesa	Varanavo	
694	Druskininkai	Varėnos	Ratnyčios	X	Azierkai	Gardino	
695	Mašnyčios	Varėnos	Ratnyčios	XI	Nauji Giernykai	Ščiutino	
696	Darželiai	Varėnos	Marcinkonių	XII	Zietela	Zietelos (Djatlovo)	
697	Marcinkonys	Varėnos	Marcinkonių	XIII	Punskas	Seinų	
698	Rudnia	Varėnos	Dubičių, Kaniavos	LAT	Latvija		
699	Dubičiai	Varėnos	Dubičių		Akmenė	Akmenės	Akmenės
700	Macevičiai	Lazdijų	Panemunės		Linkuva	Pakruojo	
701	Lipliūnai	Lazdijų	Panemunės		Biržai	Biržų	
702	Ratnyčia	Varėnos	Ratnyčios		Klaipėda		
703	Šklėriai	Varėnos	Marcinkonių		Žarėnai	Telšių	
704	Kabeliai	Varėnos	Marcinkonių		Tauragė	Tauragės	
I	Breslauja	Breslaujos			Grinkiškis	Radviliškio	
II	Apsas	Breslaujos			Gelvonai	Širvintų	
III	Kamojys	Pastovių			Dusetos	Zarasų	
<b>IV</b>	<b>Gervėčiai</b>	<b>Astravo</b>			Dūkštas	Ignalinos	
<b>V</b>	<b>Lazūnai</b>	<b>Vijos</b>			Mielagėnai	Ignalinos	
VI	Varanavas, Nevažiai, Asava	Varanavo			Griškabūdis	Šakių	
VII	Nočia	Varanavo			Švendubrė	Varėnos	
					Dieveniškės	Šalčininkų	

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## Abbreviations

abl. – ablative	Ha. – Hattic	OIr. – Old Irish	UpSo. – Upper Sorbian
acc. – accusative	HG – High German	OLatv. – Old Latvian	Ved. – Veda
adj. – adjective	hydr. – hydronym	OLith. – Old Lithuanian	v. – verb
Alb. – Albanian	Hitt. – Hittite	OCS – Old Church Slavonic	vulg. – vulgarism
anat. – anatomic(al)	Hom. – Homer	OLG – Old Low German	WBalt. – West Baltic
Anatol. – Anatolian	ibd. – ibidem	OPol. – Old Polish	WHG – Western High German
Anglo-Sax. – Anglo-Saxon	IE – Indo-European	OPruss. – Old Prussian	WIr. – West Irish
arch. – archaism	interj. – interjection	ORuss. – Old Russian	WLG – Western Low German
Arm. – Armenian	Ir. – Irish	OS. – Old Saxon	writt. – written
Assoc. – associated	Iran. – Iranian	OScand. – Old Scandinavian	zool. – zoology
Av. – Avestan	It. – Italian	OSlav. – Old Slavic	
Bel. – Belarusian	joc. – jocular	Oss. – Ossetic	
Balt. – Baltic	Kashub. – Kashubian	OTurkic – Old Turkic	
Balt.-Slav. – Baltic-Slavic	Kurd. – Kurdish	OWScand. – Old West Scandinavian	
Bret. – Breton	L. – Carl Linnaeus	Phryg. – Phrygian	
bot. – botanical	lang. – language	Pers. – Persian	
Bulg. – Bulgarian	Lat. – Latin	pl. – plural	
Celt. – Celtic	Latv. – Latvian	Pol. – Polish	
cf. – confer	LG – Low German	Polab. – Polabian	
Chak. – Chakavian dialect	lit. – literature	Prakrit. – Prakritic	
Cymr. – Cymric	Lith. – Lithuanian	Preslav. – Preslavian	
CHG – Central High German	Liv. – Livonian	Prof. – professor	
CLG – Central Low German	loc. – locative	Proto-Anatol. – Proto-Anatolian	
collect. – collective	LoSo. – Lower Sorbian	Proto-Iran. – Proto-Iranian	
Cro. – Croatian	Lowland. – Lowlanders	Proto-It. – Proto-Italian	
CS – Church Slavic	Luw. – Luwian	Proto-Lith. – Proto-Lithuanian	
Cz. – Czech	Maced. – Macedonian	Proto-Latv. – Proto-Latvian	
Dac. – Dacian	masc. – masculine	Proto-Slav. – Proto-Slavic	
dat. – dative	MBret. – Middle Breton	Pruss. – Prussian	
dial. – dialect	med. – medicine	resp. – respective, respectively	
dimin. – diminutive	MHG – Middle High German	Rom. – Romanian	
EastBalt. – East Baltic	MIr. – Middle Irish	Russ. – Russian	
EastLatv. – East Latvian	MW – Middle Welsh	Serb. – Serbian	
Eng. – English	n. – new	Skr. – Sanskrit	
Est. – Estonian	neut. – neuter	Slav. – Slavic/Slavonic	
etc. – et cetera	NHG – New High German	Sloven. – Slovene	
euph. – euphemism	No. – number	smb. – somebody	
f. – following	nom. – nominative	smth. – something	
fem. – feminine	NPers. – New Persian	Serb.-Cr. – Serbo-Croatian	
ff. – following (pages)	O. – Old	subst. – substantive	
Fig. – figure	OBel. – Old Belarusian	suff. – suffix	
Fin. – Finnish	OBulg. – Old Bulgarian	Sw. – Swedish	
Fr. – French	OCz. – Old Czech	Tat. – Tatar	
g. – gender	OCo. – Old Cornish	Thr.-Maced. – Thracian-Macedonian	
gen. – genitive	OE – Old English	Toch. A – Tocharian A	
Germ. – German	OHG – Old High German	Toch. B – Tocharian B	
Gk. – Greek	OIc. – Old Icelandic	top. – toponime	
Goth. – Gothic	OInd. – Old Indian	Ukr. – Ukrainian	