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## **ATLAS OF THE BALTIC LANGUAGES: PLANT NAMES OF SLAVONIC ORIGIN**

Latvian and Lithuanian are the only Baltic languages still alive. They both have historically developed regional territorial dialects. Traditionally, three Latvian dialects are distinguished. *Middle* dialect is spoken in Kurzeme, Vidzeme and Zemgale. For the *Livonian* dialect, the area of distribution is Northern Kurzeme and North Western Vidzeme. *High Latvian* dialect is used in the eastern part of Latvia. The Latvian dialects are further divided into 500 small territorial units called *subdialects* which are united in certain groups.

Lithuanian language has two main dialects: Aukštaitian and Žemaitian. Lithuanian dialects are also divided into groups of subdialects, these groups containing more than 700 smaller dialectal units.

Historical regional dialects are relatively well-preserved both in Latvia and Lithuania. Nevertheless, nowadays they are disappearing. This was the reason why the dialectologists of the Latvian Language Institute of the University of Latvia, and the Department of Language History and Dialectology of the Institute of the Lithuanian Language, have developed a joint project entitled *Atlas of the Baltic Languages*, which is intended to demonstrate the close kinship of these two Baltic languages. In 2009, the pilot project volume of the *Atlas of the Baltic Languages*, including 12 geolinguistic maps with commentaries in Latvian, Lithuanian and English, was published (ABL 2009).

It has to be mentioned that for more than a century, research on Latvian and Lithuanian dialects was carried out parallelly, but separately, gathering data on the various dialects of each respective language (the recording of dialectal vocabulary of both Baltic languages began in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when special programs for gathering folklore and ethnographic and linguistic data were elaborated), see [Mikulėnienė, Stafecka 2011; 2012]. Only in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Latvian and Lithuanian vocabulary was recorded using a united questionnaire for the *Atlas linguarum Europae* (ALE).

Dialectal material collected for the national atlases of Latvian (LVDA) and Lithuanian (LKA), representing 500 subdialects in Latvia and more than 700 in Lithuania,

as far as information on Latvian and Lithuanian dialects for the *Atlas linguarum Europae* dealing with 36 Latvian and 42 Lithuanian subdialects, constitute the basis of the *Atlas of the Baltic Languages*.

It was also necessary to look for common methods of presenting the dialectal material on the geolinguistic maps, because of different national geolinguistic traditions and different ways of presenting dialectal material on the maps of national atlases. It has been decided not to indicate the traditional borders of the Latvian subdialects, because they have retained the no-longer existing 1939 borders of local civil parishes. Thus the areas on the maps where the Latvian and Lithuanian languages are spoken were joined into one common map for the *Atlas of the Baltic Languages* (see Fig. 3; more in details see [Leskauskaitė, Mikulėnienė 2010: 59–64]).

Five volumes are planned for the *Atlas of the Baltic Languages*, presenting the dialectal vocabulary in thematic groups:

- flora-related vocabulary (names of plants and trees);
- fauna-related vocabulary (names of insects, reptiles, birds, wild and domestic animals, etc.);
- physical and mental human qualities and kinship terminology (e.g., to ask, to like, to remember, lazy; family members, relationship terms, etc.);
- housing and settlement (e.g., words for village, garden, fence, terms related to agriculture, home trade, meals);
- natural phenomena, time, weather, etc. (e.g., names of clouds, rainbow, midnight, etc.).

In 2012, the first volume of the *Atlas of the Baltic Languages, Lexis 1: Flora* has been published in CD format (ABL 2012). This volume presents the part of the vocabulary characteristic of the Baltic languages on a wider scale. It introduces a comprehensive introductory article, 16 linguistic lexical maps and commentaries in Latvian, Lithuanian and English, as well as 15 smaller maps where 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 can also get acquainted with the history of the geolinguistic research conducted by the scholars of the two countries in the 2nd half of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Flora-related vocabulary includes names of:

- wild plants, e.g., cornflower, nettle, waybread, milfoil, dandelion, plantain;
- cultivated plants, e.g., onion, potatoe, garlic, cucumber, Swedish turnip, [winter] wheat;
- trees (juniper, hazel-tree, pear-tree, plum-tree, cherry-tree, etc.) and words related to a tree (top of the tree, cone, etc.).

Plant names mostly are words of Baltic or IE origin, e.g., Latv. *nātre* / Lith. *notrynė* ‘nettle’, Latv. *ceļa lapa* / Lith. *kelio lapas*, Latv. *dzīslene* / Lith. *gyslotis* ‘plantain’, Latv. *kvieši* / Lith. *kviečiai* ‘wheat’, Latv. *grieznis* / Lith. *griežtis* ‘Swedish turnip’. Nevertheless, borrowed plant names also occur in both Baltic languages. In most cases they are loanwords from German or Slavonic (Polish, Russian, Belorussian) languages. In this article, some borrowed plant names from Slavonic languages reflected in the *Atlas of the Baltic Languages, Lexis 1: Flora* are analysed.

The following main groups of borrowed plant names can be distinguished:

## 1. Common borrowings located in a wide area in Lithuania and used all over Eastern part of Latvia – the region of Latgale

Some loanwords from the Slavonic languages are widespread in the dialects of both languages in a large common area. Mostly they are names of cultivated plants and trees which, because of historical conditions, are borrowings from German elsewhere in Latvia (the regions of Kurzeme, Vidzeme and Zemgale), but in Lithuania and the eastern part of Latvia (Latgale) their equivalents are Slavonic borrowings.

Common Slavonic widely distributed borrowings usually are the names of some vegetables and fruits. Among the most well-known are the names of the potato (*Solanum tuberosum*) – Latv. *buļve* and its variants, *buļba* and variants, *uļbiks* / Lith. *bulvė* and variants, *bulbė* and variants (see Fig. 1).

Lith. *būlvė*, which has become established in the standard Lithuanian language, is frequent in Lithuanian dialects.



Fig. 1. Distribution of Latv. *buļve* and variants, Lith. *bulvė* and variants – ‘potatoe (*Solanum tuberosum*)’

It is the most characteristic name in Kaunas district, but is also found in the subdialects around Alytus, Lazdijai and Kėdainiai. This name is also used in the northern subdialects of the eastern Aukshtaitian of Panevėžys, in the subdialect of the northern Žemaitian in Kretinga district and in the north-western corner of Telšiai around Skuodas. The variant *būlva* is used around Utena, Zarasai, Rokiškis. On the basis of the material in Antanas Juška's dictionary of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, we can conclude that earlier it might have been used in some western Lithuanian subdialects, too.

The names with the root *buļv-* (*būlva*, *būļve*, *būļvis* and *būļvs*) are widespread in a large area in the Eastern part of Latvia – the subdialects of High Latvian dialect in Latgale, more rarely in Augšzeme.

The names *bulbė*, *bulba* are common in a large part of the area of the Lithuanian language. The first of them – *būlbė* and variants – is used by many Žemaitians: furthermore, it is also used in almost the entire area of the western Aukshtaitians of Šiauliai, and in the south-eastern subdialects of the eastern Aukshtaitians of Panevėžys area.

The name *būlba* is common in the entire area of the subdialects of southern Aukshtaitians, eastern Aukshtaitians of Vilnius, Utena, Anykščiai, Kupiškis, Širvintos areas, in eastern and central areas of the subdialect of Panevėžys, as well as in the south-western area of the Šiauliai Aukshtaitians around Jonava, Kėdainiai. This word is used in Dieveniškės and in many Lithuanian subdialects in Belarus: around Brestlauja, Apsas, Kamojys, Lazūnai, Gervėčiai. In the area of the northern Žemaitians around Plungė and Kretinga, the name *builė* is found.

Very similar words with the root *buļb-* are registered in the eastern area of Latvia, especially in Latgale and in some places in Augšzeme. Most common are the following names: *būļba*, *būļbe*, *būļbis* and *būļbs*. The *a* stem form *būļba* has been recorded in Selonian subdialects of Zemgale (around Aknīste, Laši) and in most subdialects of Latgale. The *ē* stem form *būļbe* is used in this area, too. The *iļo* stem form *būļbis* is recorded in the northern subdialects of Latgale (around Liepna, Viļaka).

The words *ūļbiks* and *ulbiķis* most likely represent apheresis of the initial *b-* of the stem *buļb-*. The name *ūļbiks* has been registered in Nautrēni and some neighbouring subdialects. [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 *bulvē* and *bulbė* (with their variants) are borrowed from Pol. *bulwa*, *bulba*, Bel. *бўльба*, *бўльва* (cf. [ЭСБМ I 410; LEW 63; Smoczyński 2007: 80]). They are Germanisms, cf. Germ. *Bolle* 'bulb, onion' [Фасмер I 240; Sabaliauskas 1990: 238].

Lith. *būlbė*, as well as *būlvė*, was known since the middle of 19<sup>th</sup> century, it was used by Simonas Daukantas. The Latvian written sources of the 19<sup>th</sup> century contain the nom. pl. form *bulbes*, *-u*, Kartoffeln (from Bebrene), see [Ulmann 1872: 39; *bulbes* Ulmann 1880: 439].

In the both Baltic languages, there are also some names for garlic that are common Slavonic borrowings: Latv. *casnags*, *casnāgs* and variants, and Lith. *česnākas* and its variants (see Fig. 2). They constitute a large common area of distribution in the whole territory of Lithuania and in the eastern and north-eastern part of Latvia – i.e. Augšzeme, Latgale and North-Eastern Vidzeme.

According to the data of ALE, the most widespread Lithuanian word for garlic is *česnakas*, which belongs to standard language vocabulary and is used in the whole country. *Česnakas* has also been recorded in Lithuanian subdialects spoken in Belarus. This word has several phonetic variants, most of them used in the Zhemaitian dialect: *česnāgas*, *čišnāgas*, in southern Zhemaitian subdialects also: *cesnākas*, *cesnāgas*, *cisnāgas*, *cicnāgas*. The variant *čisnākas* is also used in Zhemaitian subdialects, it has been registered in Šilutė, Judrėnai and Vismaldai, more seldom in the western Aukštaitian subdialects around Kaunas. In northern Zhemaitian subdialects one can encounter words with other phonetic transformations – *šėšnākas*, *šėšnāgas*, *šašnāgas*, *šišnakas*, *šišnagas*. The variants *čėsniikas*, *čėsnoškas* are registered in Lithuanian subdialects in Belarus – Zietela and Lazūnai.

In Latvia, the word *casnags* is registered in northern, eastern and some central subdialects of Latgale; *casnāgs* is characteristic of some Augšzeme subdialects and southern subdialects of Latgale, along with the variants *casnaks* and *casnāks*. The variants *cosnags* and *cosnaks* are mostly observed in northern subdialects of Latgale. In Augšzeme, as well as in some southern subdialects of Latgale (e.g. in Vārkava, Kalupe, Viški, etc.), the variants *časnags*, *časnāgs*, *časnaks*, *časnāgs*, etc. have been registered, see [LVDA map no. 48 and commentary].



Fig. 2. Distribution of Latv. *casnāgs* and variants, Lith. *česnakas* and variants 'garlic (*Allium sativum*)'

These Slavonic names of garlic are borrowed from Russ. *чеснок*, Bel. *чеснок*, *часно́к*, *часна́к*, *чо́снак*, Pol. *czosnek* (see [LEW 73; Sławski II 175; Sabaliauskas 1990: 238]).

*Časnoks* and *časnaks* are mentioned in written sources of 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century: *časnoks* – in the dictionary of Jan Kariger's [Kolbuszewski 1977: 186–187]; *časnaks* – in Jan Kurmin's dictionary: *Czosnek. Allium. Czosnaks*, v. *czasnaks* [Kurmin 1858: 21].

It has to be mentioned that *šišņaks*, *sišņaks*, *šišnaks* are registered in South-Western Kurzeme as well. Probably in this area it has been borrowed from Slavonic languages through northern Zhemaitian subdialects of Lithuanian.

Dialectal name of cucumber (*Cucumis sativus*) – Latv. *agurks* and variants / Lith. *agurkas* and var. – is also common in Lithuania and in the eastern part of Latvia. It is an old loanword from the Slavonic languages, cf. OBel. *огурокъ*, OPol. *ogurek*, see [Būga III 322].

Names of some berry bushes and fruit-trees are also used all over Lithuania and Latgale – e.g., Latv. *agrasta*, *agresta* and variants / Lith. *agrastas* and variants, cf. Pol. *agrest*, Bel. *а́грэст* 'gooseberries (*Grossularia reclinata*)'; Latv. *vīšņa* / Lith. *vyšnia*, cf. Russ. *вишня*, Bel. *вішня*, Pol. *wiśnia*, 'cherry (*Cerasus*)'; Latv. *šļiva*, *šļivka* / Lith. *slyva* and variants, cf. Russ. *слива*, Pol. *śliwa*, *śliwka* 'plum (*Prunus*)'; Latv. *gruša*, *gruža*, *gruška* / Lith. *grūšia* 'pear (*Pyrus*)'.

The name *grūšia* 'pear' in the meaning of a tree was once recorded as early as the 16<sup>th</sup> century, in Mikalojus Daukša *Postille: wēliiēme iimé turét' óbelis / grūšias / ir kítus mēdžius* 'we want to have apple-trees, pear-trees and other trees in it' [DP 558, 40]. The same meaning is also found in the second dictionary of Konstantinas Sirvydas in the 17<sup>th</sup> century where *grūšia* is given alongside another Slavonism *dūlia*.

In some manuscript dictionaries of Lithuania Minor in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the variant *grūšē* of the word *grūšia* that appeared due to merging of *iā* and *ē* stems (cf. [Ambrasas 1993: 32]) denotes a fruit of a pear tree. The word *grūšia* and its variants are used in both meanings in later writings and dialects.

These names were and still are used in almost all subdialects of Aukštaitian and Zhemaitian dialects (see [ABL 2012, 508–509]).

The Lith. words *grūšnià*, *grūšnia* and other variants most likely have originated from Bel. *грушняя* 'pear' (most probably derived from the adjective *\*grušvņņjv* 'pear-shaped', cf. [ЭССЯ VII 157]). These names are known from some subdialects in the Klaipėda area, spoken by western and eastern Zhemaitians.

According to the map No. 2 of *Dialectal Atlas of Latvian* (LVDA 1999), the name *gruša* (cf. Russ. *груша*) is used all over Latgale, with the exception of some south-western, north-western and southern subdialects, and the word *gruška* (cf. Pol. *gruszka*) – around Rēzekne, Viļāni, Kalupe, Aglona, Krāslava. The word *gruža* has been recorded near Rēzekne – in Makašēni and Nautrēni.

Other variants most probably borrowed from the Slavonic languages have been recorded in Lower Kurzeme: *grūša*, *grūšis* and *grūšu kuoks* in Rucava, and *grūše* in Dunika. Probably in this area they were borrowed from Slavonic languages through Lithuanian.

The variant *gruškakuoks* (*Gruska-koks*) is mentioned in Georg Elger's dictionary [Elger 1683: 99], and *grušņa kuoks* – in Jan Kurmin's dictionary – *Gruszka drzewo. Pyrus. grusznia kuks* [Kurmin 1858: 37].

## 2. Common borrowings located in wide area in Lithuania and used in some subdialects in Latgale

Some names of plants of Slavonic origin are mostly widespread in Lithuania but occur rarely in the subdialects of Latgale.

The Slavonisms of the same origin *vosilka* / *vasilka* (cf. Bel. *васілёк*, Pol. *wasilka*, *wasilek* 'cornflower' [ЭСБМ V 72], Russ. *василёк* [Даль I 167], see [Skardžius IV 298]) are used in the meaning of cornflower (*Centaurea cyanus*) in Lithuanian and Latvian dialects. They form a common area of distribution (see Fig. 3).

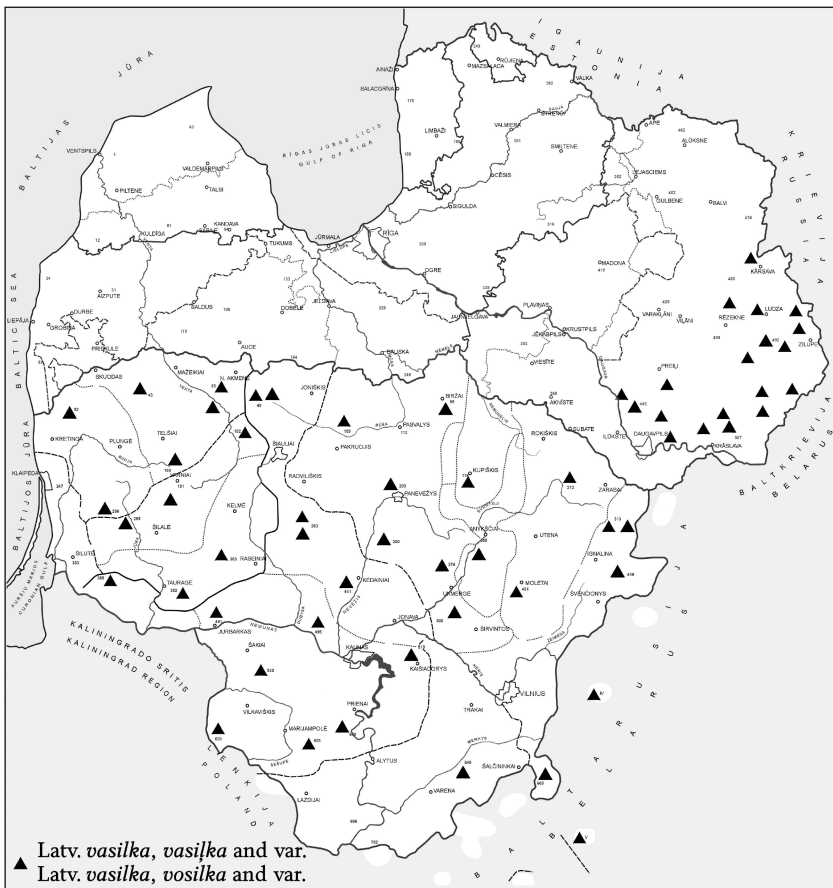


Fig. 3. Distribution of Latvian and Lithuanian *vasilka* (*Centaurea cyanus*) 'cornflower' and its variants



Lith. *vosilkà* (and its variants) is characteristic of all Lithuanian dialects. The name *vosilkà* was recorded as early as in the 17<sup>th</sup> century: in both dictionaries of Konstantinas Sirvydas: *modrak / caliba, calen-||dula, wofilka* [SPr 83]; *Modrak / modrzniec. Cyanus. Wofilka* [SD3178]; in the first manuscript of German-Lithuanian dictionaries of Lithuania Minor; e.g.: Kornbluhm *Wofilka* [Lex 55a]; Korn=Bluhme. *Wofilka, ôs*, [F. C I 1099].

The variant *vasilkà* with the vowel *a* in the root is also used in dialects. The gradation of the vowels *o* and *a* is quite a frequent phenomenon in Lithuanian Slavonisms (cf. [Zinkevičius 1997]).

Latv. *vasilka* is used in the east and south of Latgale. In some subdialects, other variants of this name have also been recorded – *vuosilka* (Kalupe), *vosilka* (Izvalta).

Some names for the yarrow (*Achillea millefolium* L.), which have originated from the noun *kraūjas* ‘blood’, are related to Pol. *krwawnik* ‘yarrow’, Bel. *крываўнік, крывоўнік*, Russ. dial. *кровоавник* (see [ABL 2012: 425–426; ЭСБМ V 128]).

The Slavonism *kriváunukas* with its variants is widespread in a large area of Lithuania. In some places there still are words formed with different alterations, e.g., with the root vowel *e* (showing the influence of Pol. *krew* ‘blood’): *kreváunukas, kreváuninkas, krevāvnykas, krevuovninkas*, etc.; with the root vowel *a*: *kraváunukas, kravaunŷkas; kraváuninkas* (they were influenced by Russ. *кровь*, Bel. *кроў* ‘blood’); with the root vowel *u*: *kruváunukas, kr(i)uváuninkas, kurváunukas, kurváuninkas* (here a relation with Lith. *krúvinas* is possible); with the compound suffix (also of Slavonic origin) *-alnykas / -alninkas*: *kraválnykas, kriválninkas, kraválninkas, kruválninkas*; shortened forms: *kráunukas, kr(i)áuninkas; kraválkas*. A rare Slavonism *kriváuka* of a different formation with its variants *krivaukà, krivúnka* was also found (more in details see [ABL 2012: 426]).

Such Slavonisms are used in some subdialects of Latgale, e.g.: *kravņiks* in Rundēni, *kravavņiks* in Pilda, Rundēni, *krivalņieki, krivavņiks* in Ezernieki, *krivovka* in Šķaune, *kravavņiki* in Mērdzene, Pilda, Skaista (see [LVDA, map no. 16 and commentary]).

The name of the cone *šiška* (and its variant *šišks*) is registered in some subdialects of Eastern Latgale (around Cibla, Istra, Kaunata, Nirza, Pilda, Zvirgzdene and other places), as well as Southern Latgale (around Kapiņi, Naujene, Skaista, Višķi). It was derived from Bel. *шышка*, Russ. *шuuшка* or Pol. *szyszka* ‘cone’ (cf. [Skardžius IV 115]).

The area of the use of Lith. *šyška* with its variants is much wider, it covers a part of the territory where the Aukshtaitian dialect is spoken (especially eastern subdialects). There are two more distant phonetic variants in Lithuanian dialects: *šyčka, šyčka* and its variants is used in some subdialects of eastern Aukshtaitians of Vilnius, western Aukshtaitians of Kaunas area, and southern Aukshtaitians; *čyčkà, čýčka; čyčkà; čýčkas* is characteristic of western Aukshtaitians in Kaunas district. The latter *čyčka* was recorded alongside the Lithuanian name of the cone as early as in the 17<sup>th</sup> century in manuscript dictionaries of Lithuania Minor. The word *čečka* and its variants is also mentioned in the dictionaries of that region published later (see [LEW 72; e-LKŽ]).

In Lithuanian-speaking areas in Belarus, along with the Lithuanian word *avietė* ‘raspberry (*Rubus idaeus*)’ the Slavonic borrowing *malina / malyna* is also used.



Some separate south-eastern and central subdialects of Latgale (in Asūne, Ezernieki, Kapiņi, Kaunata, Naujiena, Rēzna, Rundēni, Skaista, Šķaune) also use the word *maļina*, usually along with some of the words with the root *av-*. The word *maļina* is Slavonic borrowing (cf. Russ. *мали́на*, Ukr. *мали́на*, Bulg. *мали́на*, Serb. and Croat. *малина*, Slov. *malína*, Cz. *malina*, Pol. *malina*), etymologically related to Lith. *mėlynas* ‘blue’, Latv. *mēlns* ‘black’. A less credible interpretation associates it with Gr. *μηλον* ‘sheep’, Ukr. *маль* ‘young sheep’ (see [Фасмер II 563]).

The names for the vegetable with edible leaves and round underground bulb called the onion (*Allium Cepa*) in the Lithuanian and Latvian languages also are loanwords (cf. [Sabaliauskas 1958; Urbutis 1981: 192f]). The most widespread and common to both languages is Lith. *cibūlis* / Latv. dialectal *cibulis*. The material of the *Atlas linguarum Europae* shows that Lith. *cibūlis* is used in all Lithuanian dialects. Alongside these names, other variants of the loanword *cibūlis* are also used: *cibulė* and *čibūlis* (concerning the consonant *č* instead of *c*, see [Urbutis 1981: 193]).

The loanword *cibulis* is rare in the Latvian language. However, it is used in a compact area in the southern Latgalian subdialects. The name of the onion *čibulis* has been recorded in one of the Selonian subdialects of Zemgale, in Rite. [ME I 412] has 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>2</sup> 1957: 56].

The following names could be treated in a similar way: *cībulis* (in Agurkiškė, Kazlų Rūda), *cībulė* (in Rusnė, Plaškiai, Žemaičių Kalvarija, Lyduokiai); *cypuolė* (in Kunigiškiai), *cei̇pulis* (in Užubaliai); *sībulis* (in Pakruojis), *sibūlis* (in Bitėnai, Sukaičiai, Viešvilė, Smailinkai, Sudargas, Jurbarkas, etc.); *zibūlis* (in Barzdai). Interchange of consonants *s*, *c*, *z* has also been noticed in other Germanisms of the Lithuanian language (cf. [Čepienė 2006: 292]). Lith. *cypule* known in Plikiai is also treated as Germanism, cf. East Prussian German *Zippel* and E. Kuršaitis’ *cībulė*, cf. LG *Zibbel* [Urbutis 1981: 192]. The variant *cibulia* was recorded in the manuscript *Deliciae Prussicae* (by Motiejus Pretorijus in 1690). The variant *cebulė*, *cēbulė* was recorded in the writings of Jurgis Ambraziejus Pabrėža in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and now it is used in some subdialects of Zhemaitian dialect (in Švėkšna, Vieksniai, Veiviržėnai, Gargždai) and also by western Aukshtaitians (in Lenčiai) and is derived from the current Pol. *cebula* [Urbutis 1981: 192].

### 3. Different Slavonism in Latvian and Lithuanian

Several Slavisms registered in Latvian and Lithuanian are of different origin. For instance, names of clover (*Trifolium*) recorded in some eastern subdialects of Latvian and Lithuanian are borrowed from Russian and Byelorussian: Latv. *kļevers* (< Bel. dial. *клевєр*, *клевір*, Russ. *клевер* which is treated as Germanism, cf. LG *klewer*, Engl. *clover*, more in details see [Fasmer II 245]), Lith. *kaniušina* < Bel. *канюшына*, Pol. *koniczyna* ‘clover’ (see [ЭСБМ IV 243; ОИА (4) 2012: 194]).

The name of the plantain *padarožņiks* has been found in some subdialects of Latgale. This was borrowed from Russ. *подо́рожник* ‘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 \**dorgh-* [Фасмер I 530]. Slav. *no* ‘under’ and Balt. *pa* are related to IE \**pas-* [Фасмер III 293].

The names of the plantain *bóba*, *bobkėlė* are used in several Lithuanian subdialects, located outside the Lithuanian border, mainly in Lazūnai and Zietela, as well as in some places in central Lithuania (in Labūnava, Ēriškiai). Appearance of these names can be related to the use of the Slavonisms (cf. Pol. *babka* ‘plantago’ [Brückner 1957: 9]; Bel. *ба́бка* ‘*Plantago L.*’ [ЭСБМ I: 253], Russ. *ба́бка* ‘ditto’ [Даль I: 33]). Moreover, Slavonism *bóba* and its derivatives sometimes denote other plants in Lithuanian dialects, taking into account their appearance (cf. [Gritėnienė 2006: 73, 77, 153]).

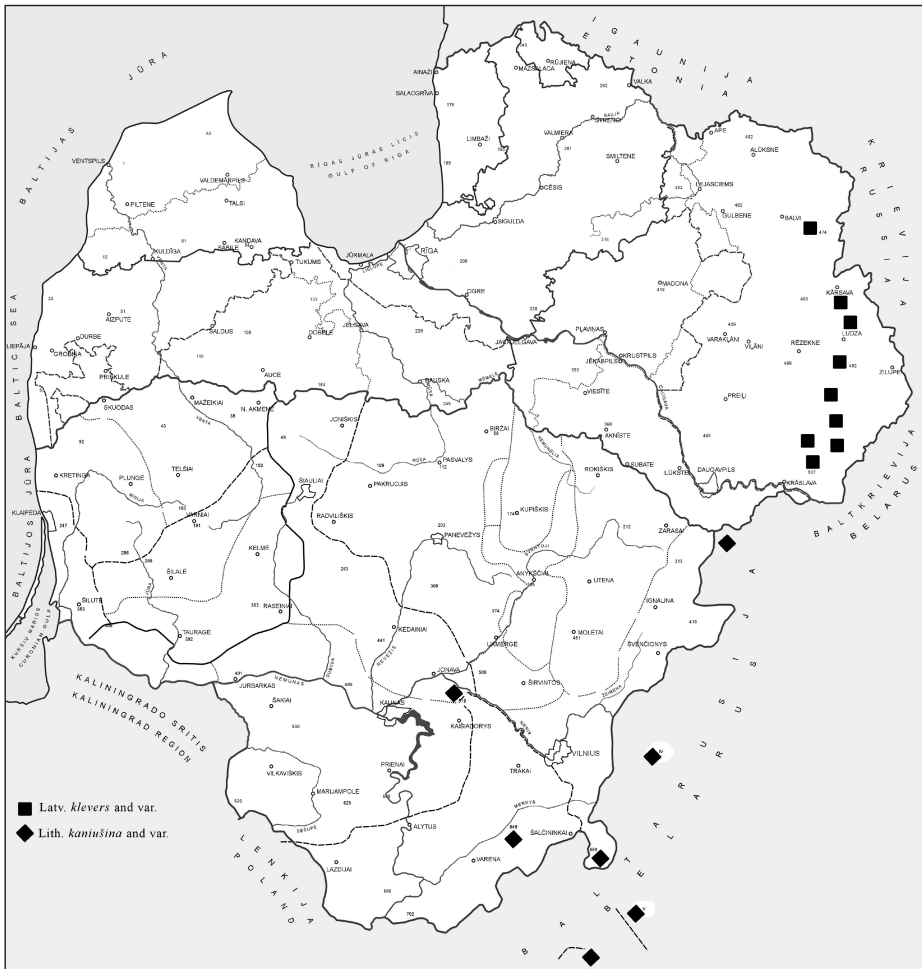


Fig. 4. Distribution of Latvian *klevers* and Lithuanian *kaniušina* ‘clover (*Trifolium*)’

Two names of the plantain have German or Slavonic origin. It seems likely that the name of a separate species *saldati*, *zaldāti* ‘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], Nautrēni, Makašēni; *zaldāti* – in Rēzekne, *zaldāteņš* – in Skaista [Ēdelmane, Ozola 2003: 63]. The basis of the name is the noun *saldāts* ‘soldier’ (and the variant *zaldāts*). 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 etymon is It. *soldato* [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 and Naujene [Ēdelmane, Ozola 2003: 58]. Another variant *boicovys* [Ēdelmane, Ozola 2003: 58] has been recorded in Ružina. Though all these words are presented as general names of the plantain, they all could be attributed to the names of the hoary plantain (*Plantago media*). Therefore these names could be related to the words *saldati*, *zaldāti* and to Russ. *бой* ‘a battle’ whose basis is Russ. verb *бумь* ‘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 cornflower (*Centaurea cyanus*) *šilkas*, recorded around Pakruojis, semantically corresponds to Latv. *zīdene*, *žīdene*, cf. its variants *šilkēlis* (around Mikniūnai, Pašvitinys), *silkas* (around Gudaliai, Žemaičių Kalvarija; cf. e-LKŽ – around Kvėdarna), *silke* (around Genionys, Pūčkornės). The word *šilkas* is an old Slavism borrowed before the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, cf. ORuss. *шьлкѣ* [Būga I 340]. This word or its derivatives, describing the peculiarities of blossoms, is also used to denote several other flowers in Lithuanian dialects (cf. [Gritėnienė 2006: 80, 86, 151 etc.]).

Among the names of tree-top, several Slavonisms have been recorded in Latgale: *makuška* in Krāslava (< Bel., Russ. *макушка* ‘tree-top; mountain peak; top of the head’) and *makouka* in Rundēni (< Bel. *макаўка*; see [ЛІАБНГ I 169]).

In some places, when denoting a cone, another Slavism *bóba* is also used, cf. *bobūkas* (Daugėliškis), *bóbeliai* (Linkmenys). It should be noted that this word of Slavonic origin is often used in folk names of plants (cf. [Gritėnienė 2006: 77, 153]).

The origin of the name of the cone *agurkas* is associative, due to the similarity of the referents. This name is used around Joniškėlis, Pasvalys, Jutkonys, Kupiškis, Noriūnai, etc.

The name of the potato *kurdūplis*, used in the Lithuanian subdialect of Zietela, could have come through Bel. dial. *карто́фля*. Another name of the potato *kunoda*, *kunodas* used in Zietela is also Byelarusian, cf. Bel. dial. *кунада* [LKA I 161].

Very rare loanwords of the name of the nettles can sometimes be found in Lithuanian dialects. First and foremost, loanwords from the Slavonic languages *krapýva*, *chrápýva* (cf. Bel. *кранива*, Russ. *кранива*) (Breslauja, Zietela) deserve to be mentioned, also *pokryva* (cf. Pol. *pokrzywa*) (Troškūnai, Nemenčinė), *žigūlka* (cf. Bel. *жыгучка* ‘small nettle’) (Breslauja).

The *Atlas of the Baltic Languages*, reflecting the language contacts, could be an important source for further investigation not only in Baltistics but also in Slavistics and Indo-European comparative linguistics. From the distribution of related lexical and semantic phenomena we can also learn about parallels or differences of the world outlook of the ancient Balts, and the history of dialects and language contacts.

## ABBREVIATIONS

Balt. – Baltic	Gr. – Greek	ORuss. – Old Russian
Bel. – Belarusian	IE – Indo-European	Pol. – Polish
Bulg. – Bulgarian	It. – Italian	Russ. – Russian
Croat. – Croatian	Latv. – Latvian	Serb. – Serbian
Cz – Czech	LG – Low German	Slov. – Slovenian
Engl. – English	Lith. – Lithuanian	Ukr. – Ukrainian
Fr. – French	OBel. – Old Belarusian	WHG – West High German
Germ. – German	OPol. – Old Polish	

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## АТЛАС БАЛТИЙСКИХ ЯЗЫКОВ: НАЗВАНИЯ РАСТЕНИЙ СЛАВЯНСКОГО ПРОИСХОЖДЕНИЯ

### РЕЗЮМЕ

В статье рассматриваются названия растений славянского происхождения в диалектах единственно живых балтийских языков – латышского и литовского. Исторически эти славянизмы были заимствованы региональными территориальными диалектами, которые в настоящее время исчезают.

В 2009 г. был опубликован пилотный проект *Атласа балтийских языков*, включающий 12 геолингвистических карт с комментариями на латышском, литовском и английском языках. В 2012 г. первый том атласа: *Атлас балтийских языков. Лексика I: Флора* – был опубликован в формате CD.

Связанную с растительным миром лексику представляют названия, обозначающие: 1) дикорастущие растения – например, василек, крапиву, подорожник, тысячелистник, одуванчик, 2) культурные растения – например, лук, картофель, репу, (зимнюю) пшеницу, и 3) деревья (можжевельник, орешник, грушу и др.), а также части деревьев (макушку дерева, шишку).

В качестве основных групп заимствованных названий растений можно выделить:

1. Общие заимствования, которые встречаются в широком ареале в Литве и во всей восточной части Латвии – в Латгалии. Обычно это названия овощей и фруктов,

например, картофеля (*Solanum tuberosum*) – лат. *buļve* и вар., *buļba* и вар., *uļbiks* / лит. *bulve* и вар., *bulbe* и вар., чеснока: лат. *casnags, casnāgs* и вар./ лит. *česnākas, šėšnākas* и вар.

2. Общие заимствования, которые встречаются в широком ареале в Литве и в некоторых говорах Латгалии, например, лит. *vosilka* / лат. *vasilka* ‘василёк (*Centaurea cyanus*)’, лит. *kriváunykas* и вар. / лат. *kravavņiks* и вар. ‘тысячелистник (*Achillea millefolium* L.)’.

3. Славянизмы несовпадающего происхождения в латышском и литовском языках, например, лат. *klevers* (< рус. *клевер*, бел. диал. *клéвер, клевір*) / лит. *kaniušina* < бел. *канюшына*, поль. *koniczyna* ‘клевер (*Trifolium*)’.

*Атлас балтийских языков* отражает языковые контакты и служит важным источником для дальнейших исследований не только в балтистике, но также в славистике и индоевропейском сравнительном языкознании.

*Słowa kluczowe:* języki bałtyckie, dialekty, zapożyczenia słowiańskie, *Atlas języków bałtyckich*.

*Keywords:* Baltic languages, dialects, Slavonic borrowings, *Atlas of the Baltic Languages*.

*Ключевые слова:* балтийские языки, диалекты, славянские заимствования, *Атлас балтийских языков*.