

Lexis of Latvian-speaking Communities at the Baltic Sea Coast in Latvia and Lithuania: Denominations of the Object *kitchen*

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Abstract. Until now, little attention has been paid to studies of Latvian language vocabulary on a thematic aspect related to the traditional homestead on the Baltic Sea coast once inhabited by the Curonians. This article presents names denominating the object of a kitchen in a traditionally built dwelling house, their diversity, origins, and prevalence in Latvian-speaking communities on the coast of the Baltic Sea in Latvia and Lithuania. The analysis is based on Latvian material from various written sources, using descriptive, partly historical and mapping methods.

The vocabulary analysed in the sources of this article shows lexemes that denominate both the separate, enclosed room and the part of the room used for food preparation and cooking. The prevalence of analysed lexemes in the meaning of a ‘kitchen’ is not uniform. In the coastal areas of Kurzeme, the names *kēķis*, *kukņa*, *plīsisstaba*, *virtuve* and their variations were identified, but in the vocabulary of the Latvian dialect of Šventoji, the morphological variant *kēķe* inherited from the dialectal vocabulary of Kurzeme has been recorded. In the vocabulary of Kurzeme, names denominating a kitchen are mainly of Germanic and Slavic origin. The emergence of Germanisms in the Latvian vocabulary related to the kitchen is directly related to the material cultural peculiarities, which were encouraged to Latvian peasants in Kurzeme by the German nobility, and to the Baltic German everyday speech. The impact of Lithuanian as an intermediary language has been recorded mainly in the Latvian dialect of the Curonian Spit. The borrowed names with the meaning of a ‘kitchen’, such as *kukne* || *kukine*, can be explained by the close contact of New Curonians with the Lithuanian-speaking community on the eastern coast of the Curonian Lagoon; New Curonians not only had economic ties with them, but also formed mixed families.

Keywords: Latvian, lexis, architecture, kitchen, semantics, language contacts.

Baltijos jūros pakrantės latviškai kalbančios bendruomenės Latvijoje ir Lietuvoje leksika: objekto *virtuvė* įvardijimas

Anotacija. Iki šiol nedaug dėmesio buvo skiriama latvių kalbos žodyno tyrimams tema, susijusia su tradicine Baltijos jūros pakrantės sodyba buvusioje kuršių teritorijoje. Šiame straipsnyje pristatomi tradicinės statybos gyvenamojo namo virtuvę įvardijantys pavadinimai, jų įvairovė, kilmė ir paplitimas latviškai kalbančiose Baltijos jūros pakrantės bendruomenėse Latvijoje ir Lietuvoje. Analizuojama latviška medžiaga iš įvairių rašytinių šaltinių. Tyrimas remiasi aprašomuoju, istoriniu ir iš dalies kartografiniu metodu.

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Šio straipsnio šaltiniuose aptinkama leksemų, kuriomis įvardijama ir atskira, uždara patalpa, ir patalpos dalis, skirta maistui ruošti. Analizuojamų leksemų, reiškiančių virtuvę, paplitimas nevienodas. Kuržemės pajūrio vietovėse užfiksuoti pavadinimai *ķēķis*, *kukņa*, *plītsistaba*, *virtuve* ir jų variantai, o Šventosios latvių tarmės žodyne užfiksuotas iš kuršiškųjų tarmių paveldėtas morfologinis variantas *ķēķe*. Kuršiškose tarmėse virtuvę įvardijantys pavadinimai daugiausia yra germaniškos ir slaviškos kilmės. Germanizmų, susijusių su virtuve, atsiradimas latvių kalbos leksikoje tiesiogiai susijęs ir su materialinės kultūros ypatumais, kurie Kuržemės latvių valstiečių buityje buvo perimami iš vokiečių bajorų, ir tiesiai iš Baltijos vokiečių buitinės kalbos. Lietuvių kalbos, kaip tarpinės, įtaka daugiausia užfiksuota Kuršių nerijos latvių dialekte. Pasiskolinčius pavadinimus, reiškiančius ‘virtuvė’ (*kukne* || *kukine*), galima aiškinti glaudžiais gyventojų kontaktais su Kuršių marių rytinės pakrantės lietuviais, su kuriais kuršininkus siejo ne tik ekonominiai, bet ir šeimų ryšiai.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: latvių kalba, leksika, architektūra, virtuvė, semantika, kalbų kontaktai.

Introduction

In Latvian lexicology, research on dialectal vocabulary is both thematically and territorially diverse. The analysed Latvian vocabulary groups cover a relatively wide range of thematic groups, for instance, natural phenomena, clothing, food, farming tools, household objects, fishing sites, and sea-related concepts; however, their research is incomplete. Although several groups of artisanal vocabulary have been examined, such as the vocabulary of mills, forges, baking, and other crafts, the names of concepts related to folk construction in Latvian have been studied relatively little and fragmentally (Reķēna, 1975; Bušmane & Kagaine, 2003; Kurzemiece, 2008). The analysis of vocabulary from a thematic perspective is always a relevant topic since dialectal lexicology is an essential part of diachronic linguistics. Moreover, research on the vocabulary of regional sub-dialects from a semantic perspective can provide evidence for studying language contacts and other branches of science (Bušmane, 2004, pp. 303–304).

This article aims to provide insight into the names denominating one room of a traditionally crafted dwelling house, namely, the object *kitchen* in the particular area under research – the coastal area of the Baltic Sea in Latvia and Lithuania, formerly inhabited by Curonians. The object of this study is the vocabulary of Latvian from a thematic perspective. Using a descriptive, partly historical and mapping method, this study analyses the variety, distribution, and semantics of names denominating a kitchen and explains possible language contact directions. Research on vocabulary related to traditional construction can provide in-depth insight into dialectal vocabulary in a given area of the Baltic Sea coast of the thematic group, which has been little analysed so far. However, a few aspects must be clarified to establish the framework for this study.

First, research on ethnography and architecture of folk construction in Latvia shows that traditional dwelling houses of peasants have developed gradually, and it is directly related to the cooking and heating centre in the building (Bīlenšteins, 2001, pp. 65–74; Kundziņš, 1974, pp. 185–196; Cimermanis, 2021, pp. 359–376). In western Latvia, the dwelling house developed in conjunction with the *nams*, a ceiling-less dwelling-cooking portion with a hearth from where the smoke escaped through the roof-ends, and the *istaba*, living-quarters, which usually had a ceiling and a stove. Such a dwelling house has

developed according to similar principles in a large area on the eastern side of the Baltic Sea, for instance, in Eastern Prussia, including the Klaipėda region, the north-west part of Lithuania (Samogitia), and Latvia (Kundziņš, 1974, pp. 300–302; Cimermanis, 1969, p. 30, 38). Inadequate fire protection, availability of improved materials and craft techniques were the main reasons behind the continuous visual and functional changes in the cooking and heating centre, namely, the construction of the mantle vault and chimney. Therefore, the concept *kitchen* in this research refers to the part of the room where food preparation and cooking takes place and a partially or entirely enclosed room for food preparation and cooking in all stages of its development.

Second, three Latvian-speaking communities developed under different historical and sociolinguistic circumstances can be identified in the research area, particularly the Latvians of Kurzeme, the Latvian-speaking community of Palanga and the Curonian Spit (Kapenieks, 2013; Straupeniece, 2018, pp. 10–35; Kiseliūnaitė, 2021). The Latvian-speaking community belonging to the historical Duchy of Courland and Semigallia, later the Governorate of Courland, was divided into two groups after the border between Lithuania and Latvia was established in 1921¹. Thus, a distinction can be made between Latvians who spoke their mother tongue and contributed to the development of the standard Latvian language and Latvian speakers in the vicinity of Palanga, a separate ethnolinguistic group, who have preserved the spoken Latvian language² in Lithuania until today. On the contrary, a unique Latvian-speaking community living in the Klaipėda region of the former Prussia was formed by colonialists from Courland in several waves during the 14th and 18th centuries (Bezenberger, 1888, p. 271; Forstreuter, 1981, p. 286; Kapenieks, 2013, p. 34). This community was not homogeneous in any sense, including linguistically. The language of people living in the coastal part to the north from Klaipėda to Palanga was closer to the Latvian written language than the language of the ethnos, which lived in the Curonian Spit, or New Curonians (Ivanickaja, 2018, p. 115)³. In the Curonian Spit, where the most significant part of colonialists was concentrated, until the middle of the 19th century, the New Curonian language was the primary and dominant language in the Curonian Spit, especially in the speech of local fishers.

¹ In 1919, after the dissolution of the Russian Empire, Šventoji and the nearby village of Būtingė became a part of the Republic of Latvia. Būtingė was located in the Rucava parish of Liepāja county (until August 1920, called Grobiņa county), and Šventoji was in Palanga parish (Straupeniece, 2018, pp. 10–17). In 1921, the Latvian-Lithuanian Border Treaty was signed, and both settlements were incorporated into the Republic of Lithuania. At that time, both villages were ethnically Latvian. Today Šventoji and Būtingė are part of Palanga City Municipality in Lithuania.

² The Latvian language of Šventoji and Būtingė is attached to the areal of the middle dialect of the Curonian sub-dialect. It should be regarded as a continuation of the southwestern dialects of Kurzeme with both archaic features and innovations characteristic to peripheral dialects of diaspora due to bilingualism (Kiseliūnaitė, 2021, pp. 56–57).

³ This is witnessed from the language material obtained by German philologist Adalbert Bezenberger (1888, p. 133) from storytellers, who had emigrated to Karklė from the former territory of Kursa, therefore in a small area of its southern part Latvian was spoken, but in the northern part – Lithuanian language was spoken (except during fishing, when Latvian was spoken also in Nemirseta) (Ivanickaja, 2018, p. 117).

All local areas, inhabited by speakers of Latvian regional varieties, share similar characteristics related to close economic contact with neighbouring ethnolinguistic communities, migration, including travelling artisans, and similar coastal inhabitants' lifestyles related to fishing. Changes in the sociolinguistic landscape or intensive language contact are the main reasons behind the influence of other languages on the vocabulary of these Latvian-speaking communities. For instance, in Šventoji and Būtingė, changes in the Latvian language are related to the increased role of the Lithuanian language in education, religion, and the reduced use of the Latvian language in other sociolinguistic functions, starting from the beginning of the 20th century (Straupeniece, 2018, pp. 15–23, 25–29). On the contrary, due to intensive economic and language contact with neighbouring communities, the influence of the Lithuanian and German⁴ on the language of New Curonians is noticeable.

The following sections briefly describe the names denominating a kitchen. Taking into account that the chosen vocabulary has not been continuously and purposefully surveyed, the analysed lexemes were selected from various written sources, for example, general or dialect dictionaries, monolingual or bilingual dictionaries, published or unpublished collections of dialectal lexis, and published transcription of folk storytellers; all used data sources are given at the end of this article. The criteria for data selection were thematic and geographical relevance, and the following examples from the written sources described below are presented in their original writing. The prevalence of lexemes denoting the object of a kitchen in the research area is depicted in Map 1 (see p. 113).

The Names of the Object *KITCHEN*

1. Lexeme *ķēķis* and variants

Latvian dialect word *ķēķis* 'kitchen' and its morphologic variant *ķēķe* is recorded in the central and southern coastal area of Kurzeme (*ķēķis*. *LVI Apv.*, Bārta, Ēdole; *pavārds – tas ir ar ķēķis, pavārdā iekūrt uguni*. *Ibid.*, Bārta; *ķēķī mūra grāpis bi un ēdiēna grāpis iekš viēna mūra*. Bušmane, 1989, p. 269, Nīca; *ķēķē bi cemeņt plāns iēliēts [...] nu jaiēt a basām kājām pa cesmeņt plān*. *LVDA mater.*, Ulmale; *mūsu mājā bija viēna istaba un*

⁴ The Lithuanian language reached New Curonians through education, religion, and family. The western dialect of East Prussia Lithuanians or spoken Lithuanian was an everyday language used in ethnically mixed families (Kiseliūnaitė, 2016, p. 74). At regular markets, for example, in Memel (Klaipėda), Heydekrug (Šilutė), Kinten (Kintai) and villages along the river Nemunas up to Tilsit (Tilžė) or Ragnit (Ragainė), where New Curonians went to sell fish, Lithuanian, German and New Curonian were spoken (Strakauskaitė, 2004, pp. 112–113). Nevertheless, the overall impact of German, determined by historical and political conditions, was greater. After the unification of Germany in 1871, German became the only official language in the Prussian part of Germany and was, therefore, the dominant language in the spit. Germanization occurred rapidly and was more successful in the southern part of the Curonian Spit. In contrast, in the northern part of the spit, German was not used in New Curonian families until the middle of the 19th century (Kiseliūnaitė & Jakulytė, 2017, p. 150). After 1923, when the northern part of the spit was under the Lithuanian administration, inhabitants of the spit spoke New Curonian, German (standard language in the northern part and Low German sub-dialects in the southern part) and Lithuanian (standard language and Klaipėda Lithuanian language) (Strakauskaitė, 2004, pp. 81–82; Kiseliūnaitė, 2008, p. 75; Kapenieks, 2013, p. 101).

ķēķis; *vakarīnes ēdīsim ķēķē*. *LVI Apv.*, Rucava) and Šventoji (*ķēķe*. *MB*). The word is borrowed in Latvian at the beginning of the 18th century (<LG *köke* ‘kitchen’ (Sehwers, 1953, p. 64) or *käke* (Karulis, 2001, pp. 458–459), cf. Ger. *die Küche*)⁵. However, it did not appear in active use until the 19th century, because at that time, especially in North Vidzeme, Latv. *ķēķis* denoted a German kitchen with a chimney (Ibid., p. 458–459)⁶. In Kārlis Mīlenbahs and Jānis Endzelīns dictionary (*II*, p. 373) this lexeme is recorded in several places in Vidzeme (Latv. *ķēķis* in Trikāta, Valmiera, Rauna, Latv. *ķēķis* in Jaunpiebalga, Drusti, Āraiši, Jaunpils, Zaube), but *ķēķis* in South Kurzeme (Dunika, Lielezere). In the standard Latvian language the word *ķēķis* ‘kitchen’ is an archaism (Ceplītis).

From a semantic point of view, no change in the meaning of the lexeme has been observed. However, the examples recorded in Nīca allow deducing the development level of a dwelling house’s cooking and heating centre (*uguņš un dūmi gā uz liēluo krāsni, tad pa krāsns aūkšu apakaļ us ķēķa pusi*. *NIVe-I* 700, Nīca) or whether a chimney was constructed to remove smoke from the inside (*ķēķī nebījis skuŗstīna, dūmi gājuši pa visu māju*. Ibid., Nīca; *ka izbeīdza dārbus ķēķī, ta aizlaīda skūrsteņa caūrumu ciēt. un ķēķis bi siļc*. Bušmane, *C*, p. 364, Nīca). Thus, Latv. *ķēķis* was used to denominate ‘a room equipped for preparing meals’ regardless of the development level of a dwelling house. Also, in the excerpted material, the collocation *mellais ķēķis* || *ķēķe* in the meaning of a ‘black kitchen’ is recorded in Rucava (*aūkšā meļlaī ķēķē*. Stafecka & Markus-Narvila, 2016, p. 102) and Nīca (*tuō ķēķi, kuŗ luōpiēm ēdiēnu vārija, saūca paŗ meļluō ķēķi*. Bušmane, *K*, p. 205). The first component is Latv. dialect word *mells* ‘black’ (Mīlenbahs & Endzelīns, *II*, p. 595, cf. Latv. *melns* ‘black’), might indicate the appearance of the room, which eventually becomes covered with soot. However, the collocation in Nīca is used with the meaning of a ‘kitchen, where the fodder for the animals was cooked’ (Bušmane, *K*, p. 205), so it is very likely to be used with the same meaning in the broader area. From the examples found, it is not clear whether the collocation *mellais ķēķis* || *ķēķe* in the research area refers to both a room and a separate building.

To sum up, Latv. *ķēķis* is considered a Germanism that entered the Latvian language from the Baltic German everyday speech along with names of other objects related to construction found in manor buildings. In the Latvian language of Šventoji, this name is

⁵ Latvian linguist Ojārs Bušs, in his article (1977, p. 58), points to the problem of the entry of Low German loanwords in Latvian in terms of time. That is, their entry after the 16th century in a direct way is impossible. Therefore, Low German loanwords must be distinguished from Baltic German everyday speech, in which elements, including lexical items, of the Low German language could be found. Bušs notes that Latv. *ķēķis* and *ķēķša* ‘cook’, referring to Latvian linguist Jānis Zēvers and his stated time of particular borrowing, is borrowed from the local Low German everyday speech, in Germanic studies also known as “deutsche Mundart Aftlivlands”.

⁶ This name referred to the food preparation and cooking room, which was formed by the walls of a mantle-vault-like chimney (Latv. *apvalkdūmenis* or *manetļskurstenis*). Such chimneys, based on the example typical in Germany, were widely distributed in the 18th and 19th centuries in Kurzeme and Zemgale, but rarely in Vidzeme (Cimermanis, 1969, p. 32). Fire-safe solutions, including mantle-vault-like chimneys, were encouraged by the authorities of the administrative area to improve the fire safety of peasant dwelling houses. From the 17th century in Latvia, this knowledge was borrowed from German pastors and manor administrations (Bīlenšteins, 2001, p. 73; Cimermanis, 2020, p. 361).

an inherited lexeme from the Kurzeme dialectal vocabulary, most likely the sub-dialect of Rucava.

2. Lexeme *kukņa* and variants

The Latvian lexeme *kukņa* ‘kitchen’ and its variants is recorded in the central and southern coastal area of Kurzeme (*kukņa* – *senāk jaū tāda plīte nebi, liēlaīs, plataīs skūrstiēns, ku dūimi gāja aūkšā*. *LVI Apv.*, Bārta; *kukņa*, rarely *kukne*, *kuknis*. Bušmane, *K*, pp. 164–165, Nīca; *kukņ. kukņa, kukniņ*. *LVI Apv.*, Alsunga). In the Curonian Spit, its morphological variant *kukne* and its phonetic variant with the insertion of *-i-* *kukine* || *kukin*⁷ in the same meaning is found (*kukne*. Plāķis, 1927, p. 64⁸; *kukin~kukņē* *f. II*. Mogharbel, 1993, p. 245; *kukin* *f.* Kwauka & Pietsch, 1987, p. 45; *kukne, kukine* *f.* Pietsch, 1991, p. 192; sg. Loc. *kukņē*. Šmits, 1933, p. 14, Perwelk (Pervalka); *kuknī* (*Küche*). *BezzS* 18). Also, the collocation Kursen. *mēle kukine* ‘(black) kitchen’⁹, formed after its German equivalent (Ger. *die schwarze Küche*. Pietsch, 1982, p. 72, 122), is recorded without an example in the text.

In Latvian *kukņa*, along with the morphological variants *kukne*, *kuknis* is a borrowing (<Rus. *кухня* ‘kitchen’¹⁰) introduced parallelly to the Latv. *ķēķis*. The word *kukņa* in the meaning ‘kitchen’ was more widely used in Kurzeme in the 19th century; Latv. dialect word *kukne* is recorded in South Kurzeme (Kalēti) (Mīlenbahs & Endzelīns, *II*, p. 301; Endzelīns & Hauzenberga, *I*, p. 668; Karulis, 2001, pp. 458–459). In the standard Latvian language the word *kukņa* ‘kitchen’ is an archaism (Ceplītis). Whereas in Lithuanian, the borrowed word *kuknia* ‘1. kitchen; 2. kitchen oven, stove’ is found (<Belar. *кухня* (Naktinienė, 2017) or rather Pol. *kuchnia* ‘kitchen’ (Ibid.; Fraenkel, p. 306; Brückner, 1927, p. 279)). Also, in the first meaning Lith. *kuknė* ‘kitchen’ is recorded in various regions of Lithuania, for instance, in the central part (around Raseiniai), in the north, on the border with Latvia (around Žagarė, Joniškis district), and in the west, the word has been observed in Priekulė, south of Klaipėda (Naktinienė, 2017). Both words have been fully incorporated into the dialects of Lithuanian language.

Semantically, the Latvian *kukņa* and its variants *kukne*, *kuknis* share the same primary meaning of a ‘room for food preparation and cooking’ or a ‘kitchen’. However, the ex-

⁷ In the Latvian dialects of the 20th century, such insertion of the vowel is found in the speech of Latvians in North Kurzeme, particularly, in the Livonian sub-dialects of Kurzeme, which becomes more regular as it moves northward from Kandava. See more on this phenomenon in the language of New Curonians in the article (Kiseliūnaitė, 2005).

⁸ The author, Latvian linguist Juris Plāķis, has explained this lexeme with the Latvian word *kukņa* (Plāķis, 1927, p. 64).

⁹ The first component of the collocation is Kursen. *mēlls* ‘black’ (Plāķis, 1927, p. 67), also recorded as *mēlls* (Ger. *schwarz*. Kwauka & Pietsch, 1987, p. 50) or *mēlls* by Richard Pietsch (1991, p. 265).

¹⁰ There is another opinion that the Latvian word *kukņa*, since it is common in Kurzeme, is brought into Latvian through Lithuanian *kuknia* or directly from Polish *kuchnia*, but not from Russian (Fraenkel, p. 306). In Russian, the word *кухня* ‘kitchen’ is recorded at the beginning of the 18th century, and it was brought to Russian from Czech *kuchyně* through Polish *kuchnia* (Fasmer, 1986, p. 436). In Slavic languages, this word is most likely Germanism, for instance, in Polish from Ger. *kuchīna*, and later *kuchīn, küche(n)*, which, in turn, from Lat. *coquina, cocīna* (Brückner, 1927, p. 279).

amples from Nīca allow distinguishing kitchen names that denote a kitchen in the manor building (*kukne teīc muižā. muižā bi kukņa*. Bušmane, K, p. 164), in the servants' house near the manor building ([muižā] *kalpu māja bi. vidū bi kukņa, us katru galu istabas*. Ibid.), in the dwelling house of a homestead (*kukņa tik kuņģi teīca. pa sētām* [tas ir, lauku mājās] *tik teīca ķēķi*. Ibid.) or even a separate building – a hut used as a summer kitchen (*ta kukņa i, ku ārā vāra vasarā. tā tāda būdiņa tikaī. maz jaū viņas bi*. Ibid., p. 165; see about the Latv. *namīns* the next section). This implies that the object to which the word *kukņa* or its variation is referring, and hence the nuance of the word's meaning, is clarified in a broader context.

The excerpted material also reveals ethnographic information on the kitchen use in the Curonian Spit, which is little discussed in other sources. Firstly, various household activities took place in the kitchen, such as washing clothes and bathing (*ja, unt ka mes vāšā mazgājam, ar kuknē: iz dižā vaškāsil*. Mogharbel, 1993, p. 227; *un te mes peldjamiēs iz dižā tsiņķvannā kuknē:.* Ibid., p. 228); thus, it explains the absence of a separate bathhouse in the New Curonian homestead. Secondly, the number of kitchens in a dwelling house or the entrance from the *nams* into other rooms explains the main principle of the layout of a dwelling house (*mu:sā nāms turij vinā:lik istubās, tri:s kukāns*. Ibid., p. 224; *nu name iete dures pic kukines, kambur un diža istuba*. Deckeit-Paul, 1980; Ivanickaja, 2015, p. 27¹¹), thus also indicating its level of development.

Given the meanings and areas of prevalence of the word Latv. *kukņa* and its variants *kukne* || *kukine*, the Latvian-speaking community in Kurzeme and the Curonian Spit has differently adapted this lexeme into their language. The *kukņa* recorded in the coastal area of Kurzeme indicates direct contact with Slavs to denominate a kitchen, known already by the Latvian word *ķēķis* || *ķēķe*, already before most of the technical improvements were introduced in the second half of the 19th century. On the contrary, close contacts with Lithuanians on the eastern shore of the Curonian Lagoon, especially in Klaipēda as an important centre of economic contact in the broader region, indicates that its variant *kukne* in the New Curonian language is Slavism, borrowed through the Lithuanian language (cf. the form *kuknė* recorded in Samogitia and south of Klaipēda). Regarding the frequency and spatial prevalence of the recorded variants *kukne* and *kuknis* in the territory of Latvia, in the sub-dialect of Nīca and Kalēti, it is also most likely brought through Lithuanian.

3. Lexemes *nams* and *namīns*

Two names with the root *nam-* are registered for the kitchen as a part of the room with a different primary function. Latv. *nams* is recorded in the Curonian Spit (*nams ar adare šurnštine like kukna*. Pietsch, 1982, p. 122)¹² and Šventoji (*namā gatavoja ēdienu*. Balčus, 2021–2022), while Latv. *namīns* is registered in the southern coastal area of Kurzeme

¹¹ The excerpted material reveals that variants *kukne* and *kukine* in the meaning 'kitchen' is recorded in one source, written by an indigene of the Curonian Spit Herta Detzkeit-Paul (*nivēne ni atrapij nama, ni kuknē, stalē ar nivēns zileks nibije redzet*. Deckeit-Paul, 1980; Ivanickaja, 2015, p. 66). See more about this source in the article (Ivanickaja & Kiseliūnaitė, 2015).

¹² Ger. "Haus mit offenem Schornstein bis in die Küche" (Pietsch, 1982, p. 122).

(*namīns bi kukņa* || *kēķis*. *LVI Apv.*, Bārta). From the semantic point of view, both lexemes must be distinguished.

3.1. *nams*. The Latvian lexeme *nams* is a literary and polysemantic noun¹³, common in dialects throughout Latvia (Ceplītis; Mīlenbahs & Endzelīns, *II*, pp. 692–693; Endzelīns & Hauzenberga, *II*, p. 4). In the southern and central part of Kurzeme Latv. *nams* is recorded in the meaning of ‘a kitchen’ (Grobiņa, Īvande, Kandava) and ‘a place in a dwelling house where the oven, the kitchen was located’ (Saldus) (Endzelīns & Hauzenberga, *II*, p. 4). As evidenced by the examples in Mīlenbahs & Endzelīns dictionary, the kitchen is compared to the middle part of the dwelling house; however, in some areas, the *nams* denote the dwelling house’s middle room, which is divided by a wall in the kitchen and hallway (Mīlenbahs & Endzelīns, *II*, pp. 692–693). In the standard Latvian language *nams* in its 3rd meaning ‘a building or a room with a (usually) open fireplace; also kitchen; also anteroom, (entrance) hall’ is recorded as an ethnographism (Ceplītis).

The example recorded in the Curonian Spit and complemented with the picture shows that a dwelling house’s cooking and heating centre was located in the middle of the *nams* ‘hallway’. This part of the room was surrounded by the wall above which a mantle-vault-like chimney was built. Also, the example recorded in Šventoji reveals that the room, named as *nams*, was multifunctional, and cooking was just one of its functions. Therefore, the Latv. *nams* in the meaning ‘hearth, a part of the room with the fireplace’ can be distinguished from the excerpted material.

3.2. *namīns*. Latv. dialect word *namīns*¹⁴ is formed of Latv. *nams* and the suffix with the ending *-īns*. In Kurzeme, diminutives with the suffix with the ending *-īns* or *-īna* are common in southwestern sub-dialects. For instance, with the derivational suffix *-iņ-* and *-īn-*, names in the sub-dialect of Nīca were formed. At the end of the 19th century, the suffix *-īn-* has often been replaced by the suffix *-iņ-*. Similarly, in the sub-dialect of Bārta, the suffix *-iņ-* was used in parallel to the suffix *-īn-* (see more in Bušmane, 1989, pp. 123–130). However, the example recorded in Bārta, namely, Latv. *namīns*, is a derivative that does not imply an object’s real smallness or emotionally subjective evaluation. This example can be explained in two ways. First, it is a variant of the Latvian word *namīņš*¹⁵ in the meaning ‘middle room of a dwelling house, divided by a wall in the kitchen and hallway’ or ‘kitchen’, formed with a sub-dialect-specific suffix. Second, this

¹³ The Latvian lexeme *nams* may name several objects, for instance, ‘a summer kitchen’, ‘a hallway’, ‘a (entrance) hall’, ‘a dwelling house’, ‘a hut for smoking herrings’, and others (see more Mīlenbahs & Endzelīns, *II*, pp. 692–693; Endzelīns & Hauzenberga, *II*, p. 4).

¹⁴ In the northern part of Vidzeme (Ērgeme) Latv. dialect word *namīns* is registered with three meanings: (1) ‘a building made of poles put upright like a tent for cooking in summer’, (2) ‘an anteroom of a bathhouse (where to put clothes, water is heated)’, (3) ‘a small building or extension to other buildings in the manor, where food for cattle was prepared, did laundry, etc.’ (Spektors).

¹⁵ The word *namīņš* in ethnography also denominates a hut made of poles put upright like a tent, in the centre of which there was an open fire for cooking. In Latvia, such structures were common up to the 20th century. Similar tentlike peasant houses have also been found in Lithuania (Kundziņš, 1974, pp. 181–184).

word refers to an outdoor kitchen – a separate building for a specific function (cooking) rather than a room in a dwelling house. Although both explanations are plausible, without a broader context of the use of the word it is impossible to evaluate them thoroughly.

4. Lexeme *plīstistaba*

In the central coastal area of Kurzeme, the lexeme *plīstistaba* ‘kitchen’ is recorded in one source (*suôc jaû a pa plīcistab. LVI Apv., Alsunga*). The compound Latv. *plīstistaba* consists of two components, in particular, Latv. *plīts* ‘cooking stove’ and *istaba* ‘room’. Given this, two aspects should be highlighted.

Firstly, the name *plīstistaba* directly refers to a room where the cooking stove is placed. Therefore, the semantic motivation of this name is the furnishing of the room with a specific cooking device, a cooking stove. Secondly, both components are borrowed in the Latvian language but at different times. Latv. *plīts*, also dialect word *plīte*, is borrowed at the beginning of the 18th century (<BG *die Pliete* ‘cooking stove’ < Rus. *плита*)¹⁶ initially in the meaning ‘brick, flat stone, tile’ (Mīlenbahs & Endzelīns, *III*, p. 349; Karulis, 2001, p. 702; Bušs, 1977, p. 61). While the meaning ‘kitchen (cooking) stove’ (Latv. *virtuves pavards*¹⁷) only became established in the 19th century (*LEV 702*), which also coincides with the time when the cooking and heating centre in the dwelling house underwent various technical innovations around the second half of the 19th century. Latv. *istaba* is borrowed already before the 13th century (<ORus. *учъба* ‘house, bathhouse’) and is widespread with several meanings: a ‘smoke room’ (Latv. *dūmistaba*), which means both the place of the hearth, the kitchen, or the entryway, a ‘threshing house with drying kiln’, a ‘dwelling house’, and a ‘room’ (Mīlenbahs & Endzelīns, *I*, p. 711; Endzelīns & Hauzenberga, *I*, p. 431; Karulis, 2001, p. 346). Today both components (*plīts* and *istaba*) are fully incorporated into the Latvian language system and found in the standard Latvian language (Ceplītis). However, it is impossible to thoroughly assess the territorial prevalence of this lexeme because it was not found in other sources and most likely should be considered an individually formed name of a kitchen.

5. Lexeme *virte viete*

In the Curonian Spit, the lexeme *virte viete* is recorded in one source (*ap virte viete stavij us ziedes viens ca. 2X2m plats un ca. 70 cm augste padāre*. Pietsch, 1982, p. 74)¹⁸. The collocation is formed of two components, namely, a derived word from the Kursen verb *vīrt* ‘to cook’ (Mogharbel, 1993, p. 258, cf. Latv. *virt*, Lith. *virtī*) and Kursen. noun *vīeta*

¹⁶ Latvian linguist Bušs (1977, p. 61) points out that although borrowing such a word through the Baltic German everyday speech is plausible, it must be borne in mind that the strengthening of words of such origin in the Latvian language was also based on the direct influence of the Russian language. It also highlights the problem of classifying this type of borrowing. Therefore, Bušs recommends using terms such as Russo-Germanisms or German-Russianisms.

¹⁷ In the standard Latvian language *pavards* ‘device usually for cooking, heated by firewood’ (Ceplītis).

¹⁸ Ger. “Nur über der Kochstelle stand auf dem Deckenbalken ein 2 x 2 m breiter und ca. 70 cm hoher Holzkasten” (Pietsch, 1982, p. 74).

‘place’ (Plāķis, 1927, p. 90, cf. Latv. *vieta*, Lith. *vieta*). As evidenced by the German translation, the collocation denotes a place of a hearth in the *nams* of a dwelling house, not the entire room¹⁹. Most likely, the author Pietsch created this name²⁰ after the German language equivalent found in the text (Ger. *die Kochenstelle* ‘cooking place’). Latvian linguists Ojārs Bušs and Vallija Dambe have stated that this source’s text (Pietsch, 1982) has become German-like compared to other works by Pietsch (Bušs & Dambe, 1985, p. 96). Moreover, its linguistic meaning is lowered by several facts, for instance, literal translations from German or the frequent replacement of the ending vowel with *-e* (Ibid., p. 100). This lexeme is not found in other sources; therefore, more likely should be considered an individual creation and directly translated from German.

6. Lexeme *virtuve*

Latv. lexeme *virtuve* in the meaning of a ‘kitchen’ is recorded in the central and southern coastal area of Kurzeme (*tā nu sanāk, ka es te vāirāk pa virtuvi – vāru pāmpāļus, vis:u kūo*. Laumane, 2008, p. 135, Ziemeupe; *mūsu mājā virtuvē zīvē naļ bijis cīrvis un kluc:is!*. Ibid., p. 72, Pape). The Latvian word *virtuve*²¹ in the meaning of a specially furnished room for cooking was formed²² after the example of the Lithuanian word Lith. *virtuvė*²³ and took root in the standard Latvian language in the 1920s (Karulis, 2001, p. 1173). Therefore, compared to the other analysed lexemes, it is considered a relatively new name for a kitchen. Today the lexeme has become established in the standard Latvian language with the primary meaning ‘a specially arranged room with a hearth for cooking’ and the

¹⁹ In the Curonian Spit, the oldest type of traditional fisher’s dwelling house consisted of only two rooms: an entrance hall and a room heated by an open fire. Over time, multifunctional hallway or corridor appeared in the central part of the building (Butkevičius, 1958, p. 175). As evidenced by the pictures, in the 18th and 19th centuries, the central part of a dwelling house usually was a large hallway with a fireplace surrounded by masonry walls of different heights; above this place of the hearth a wide smoke collector was built to ensure smoke escapes through the attic (Demereckas, 2011, p. 208). Further development of the dwelling house is also closely related to the improvement of the heating centre and adjustment of the layout to the needs of the family (Butkevičius, 1958, pp. 175–177; Detlefzenas, 1995, pp. 26–27).

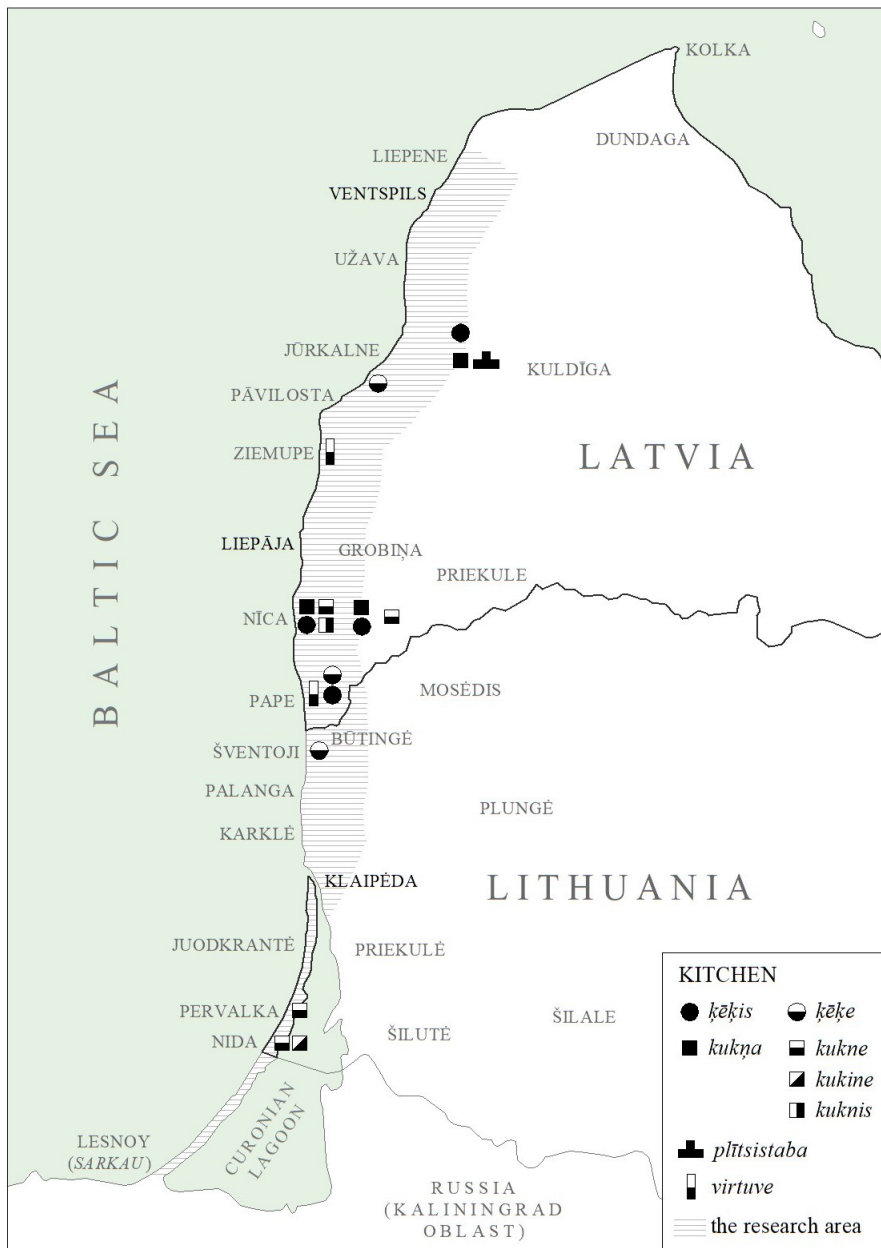
²⁰ Pietsch comes from Nida in the Curonian Spit, and as a fisher’s family descendant, had known the New Curonian language since childhood. Besides the New Curonian language, he also spoke German and had bilingual surroundings for a long time; therefore, the texts are obviously Germanized. See more on Pietsch’s contribution to the documentation of the New Curonian language in the article by Arina Ivanickaja (Ivanickaja, 2017).

²¹ In Mīlenbahs & Endzelīns dictionary (IV, p. 618) Latv. *virtuve* is recorded with several meanings: (1) ‘a laundry room’ in Vidzeme (Priekule, Vecpiebalga), (2) ‘a kitchen’, also ‘a food stall’ (Ger. *die Garküche*. Endzelīns & Hauzenberga, II, p. 789).

²² The Latvian derived words *virtuve* ‘kitchen’ and *virējs* ‘cook’ were proposed by Latvian writer and linguist Juris Alunāns (Karulis, 2001, p. 1173; Sokols, 1963, p. 61), one of the intellectuals of the First Latvian National Awakening at the end of the 19th century. Neo-Latvians tried to exterminate words borrowed from German and to find and create new words that would denote new concepts (Ibid., pp. 58–62, 346–349).

²³ Lith. *virtuvė* depending on its meaning is common in different regions of Lithuania; however, the word Lith. *virtuvė* in its primary meaning ‘a room with special equipment (oven, stove, etc.) for cooking’ has been found in Plungė and Kuliai (Plungė district), Kartena (Kretinga district), Seda and Leckava (Mažeikiai district), Judrėnai (Klaipėda district), Griškabūdis (Šakiai district), Skudutiškis (Molėtai district) and other places (Naktinienė, 2017). The Lithuanian word *virtuvė* is also recorded in the meaning 2. ‘stove for cooking food’, 3. ‘food’, 4. ‘cuisine’ (Ibid.).

secondary meaning ‘a set of peculiarities of food and cooking, which is characteristic of, for instance, a nation, a country, a region’ (Ceplītis) and can refer to both a single room for food preparation and cooking and a cooking area within a room with another function.



Map 1. Prevalence of lexemes denoting the object of a kitchen in the research area

Conclusions

According to all sources, the lexemes examined denominate both the separate, enclosed room (*ķēķis* || *ķēķe*, *kukņa* || *kukne* || *kukine*, *plītsistaba*, *virtuve*) and the part of the room used for food preparation and cooking (*nams*, *virte viete*). In the latter case, recorded names, whether original word or collocation, denote a place of a hearth or dwelling house's cooking and heating centre located in the middle of the *nams* 'hallway'. Although fixed at separate times and in separate places, the semantic motivation of particular names is related to the equipment or appearance of the room, thus confirming the changes in the kitchen and the material objects related to it. There are, however, certain exceptions regarding the meaning; for instance, the collocation *mellais ķēķis* is recorded with the meaning of a 'kitchen, where the fodder for the animals was cooked', but the *kukņa* is registered in the meaning of a 'summer kitchen' as a separate building.

The territorial prevalence of these denominations with the meaning of a 'kitchen' in the area under research is not uniform. On the coast of Kurzeme, names denominating a kitchen are of Germanic (*ķēķis* || *ķēķe*) and Slavic origin (*kukņa* || *kukne* || *kuknis*). The emergence of Germanisms in the Latvian vocabulary related to the kitchen in its most varied sense is directly related to the material cultural peculiarities, which were encouraged to Latvian peasants in Kurzeme by the German nobility, and to the Baltic German everyday speech. In the vocabulary of the Latvian dialect of Šventoji, the name *ķēķe* is considered inherited from the dialectal vocabulary of Kurzeme. In contrast, names of Slavic origin have entered the Latvian language of Kurzeme through direct contact and indirectly through the Lithuanian language. There is also the word *virtuve*, which is related to the Lithuanian word *virtuvė*; however, the examples found in Kurzeme do not involve direct language contact.

In the Curonian Spit, the impact of the Lithuanian language has been recorded. It is reflected in borrowed names with the meaning of a 'kitchen', such as *kukne* || *kukine*, through the Lithuanian language as an intermediary language. Therefore, the emergence of these names in the particular area is most likely explained not by itinerant artisans, who often helped to build dwelling houses and might bring the names of a Germanic origin to the Curonian Spit, but instead by close economic and linguistic contacts of New Curonians with the Lithuanian-speaking community on the eastern coast of the Curonian Lagoon. Lithuanian domestic partners brought their language to the Curonian Spit; therefore, their presence, especially women, as the main hearth-keepers in the household may have had a direct influence on the naming of the object kitchen and the borrowing of such names into the vocabulary of the New Curonian language.

Abbreviations

Belar. – Belarusian, Ger. – German, Ibid. – in the same place (to refer to the source mentioned in a previous reference), Kursen. – New Curonian, Lat. – Latin, Latv. – Latvian, Lith. – Lithuanian, Loc. – locative case, LG – Low German, ORus. – Old Russian, Pol. – Polish language, Rus. – Russian, sg. – singular.

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