



**The Semantic Aspects of the Concept of *Russian*
in Latgalian Folklore**

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Introduction

In the multiethnic situation which has for a long time been the case of Eastern Latvia (Latgale), one manifesting aspect of ethnicity has been the categorisation of persons according to the ethnic principle. The efficient classification into person types, emphasising the common characteristics at the expense of individual peculiarities, depends upon stereotypes. Stereotypes are simplified descriptions of conventionally accepted cultural features of some categories of persons (Ē r i k s e n s 2010, 424). As admitted by the researcher of Latgalian folklore Angelika Juško-Štekele: "...folklore offers a collective view formed in the course of many centuries, filtering the most essential summarising view... The ethnic stereotype in this case coincides with the notion of such folklore image that is characterised by a generalisation inherent to folklore in general" (J u š k o-Š t e k e l e 2008, 155). Both the actual situation and the folklore texts prove that the ethnic stereotypes, division into "one's own" and "the alien", and the ethnic self-identification and identity are characterised by a change in the course of history, and also displayed by the functionality and semantics of the ethnonymic lexics.

Russians in modern Latgale are the largest ethnic minority (in some places like Daugavpils even the local majority) and an important component of the Latgale ethno-linguistic landscape, culture, economy and politics (see the overview of the number of Russian population of Latgale in Table 1). It has been assumed that the first Russian immigrants on the territory of Eastern Latvia were merchants arriving in the 10th–14th centuries, and they were rather few in number. Since the late 17th century Old Believers kept coming to Latgale. In the period of the Russian empire (1772–1917) within the framework of the re-settlement of Russians (mainly Orthodox) backed by the Russian government, soldiers, peasants, clerks and clergymen as well as representatives of other social classes came to the territory. The descendants of the Russians who immigrated before World War I, and consider themselves as the local population, are characterised by an interest in their ethnic culture and a mostly tolerant attitude towards the Latgalians. As the result of the migration policy maintained by the USSR after the WWII Russian intelligentsia, qualified and non-qualified labour as well as militaries came to Latvia (С и м о н я н 2002, 95–103).

These immigrants and their descendants, who currently are among both the citizens and non-citizens of Latvia with different identities, display a diverse attitude towards the state they live in and its natives (A p i n e *et. al.* 2004).

Table 1.

The Number of the Russians in the Territory of Latgale

1897 ¹		1935 ²		1989 ³		2000 ⁴		2011 ⁵	
Number of Russians	% (of the total population)	Number of Russians	%	Number of Russians	%	Number of Russians	%	Number of Russians	%
78 227	16	153 976	27,15	183 207	41,6	155 468	40,42	118 170	38,87

Earlier the semantics of the ethnonym *krievi* within the context of Latvian folk-songs have been studied by folklorist Jānis Rozenbergs (R o z e n b e r g s 2005), while the study of the linguist Anna Vulāne “Ethnonyma *krievi* sēmas un funkcionālā apkaime” (“The semes and functional environment of the ethnonym *krievi*”; V u l ā n e 2007) provides both a general characteristics of the culture-semantic field of ethnonyms and an analysis of the semantics of a particular single ethnonym (*krievi*) as a culturologically-marked lexeme, using the material of both the Latvian literary language and dialects, including a few folklore texts.

The aim of the present article is to reveal the reflection of the concept *Russians* in the texts of the Latgalian folklore, using the theoretical ideas of cognitive linguistics and the method of component analysis. The source of the study is the Latgalian folklore texts recorded in the period from the beginning of the 20th century up to the beginning of the 21st century (see the list of sources), and the empiric material of the study is ~234 ethnonymic lexical units used to nominate Russians.

The German linguist Heinz Vater actualised the view of modern linguistics as a cognitive science that studies the natural language as a mental phenomenon (F ā t e r s 2010, 24). The lexical semantics is not static: the changes of meaning take place as the result of both intralinguistic and extralinguistic factors; the changes of meaning are related to cognitive, linguistic, acculturation (the influence of other languages and cultures), historical, and social processes. For cognitive linguistics, conceptual and empiric analysis of linguistic categories is of greatest importance: the formal structures of a language are not studied autonomously but as a reflection of the general conceptual structure, principles of categorisation, experience, and influence of the environment (G e r a e r t s, C u y c k e n s 2007, 3).

The Russian school of cognitive semantics offers the following structure of the concept: 1) image (perceptive, which is the features perceived using one’s senses and the cognitive features, and the metaphorical understanding of an object or a phenomenon); 2) informative content – the minimum of cognitive features determining the essence of the concept, i.e., the definition of a concept’s keyword; and 3) the interpretative field (evaluative, encyclopaedic, utilitarian, social culture, or paremic zone) (П о п о в а, С т е р н и н 2007, 104–115). On the other hand, the Russian lin-

guists Yelena Berezovitch (*Елена Березович*) and Dmitry Gulik (*Дмитрий Гулик*) offer a method of the description of ethnic stereotypes dubbed the onomasiologic portrait (Russian *ономазиологический портрет*) (Б е р е з о в и ч, Г у л и к 2002, 49). The aforementioned study implemented the contrastive aspect current in cognitive linguistics. For the comparative analysis the following criteria are offered: 1) “objective” characteristics – ideas on the formation of an ethnic group (folk-etymology), the characteristics of the language, the dwelling place, biological profile (appearance, physical data, sexual sphere, etc.), mentality (traits of character, intellect, customs, religiosity) and social profile (the sphere of economy, relationship towards the surrounding others, and influence on other cultures); and 2) the “subjective” profile – emotionally evaluative profile (mainly negative, meaning ‘incomprehensible’, ‘wrong’, ‘false’) (Ibid., 59).

The division of a word’s lexical meaning into semes or semantic components is used in the component analysis. Namely, the method of component analysis is based on the assumption that the meaning of a word is formed by a set of semantic components (VPSV 2007, 187). A classic example of component analysis is that of the English polysemantic word *bachelor* by Jerrold Katz and Jerry Fodor, which uses a pre-determined set of semantic components (K a t z, F o d o r 1963, 186). For the purpose of the establishment of the basic meaning of ethnonyms (especially the polysemantic ones) it seems of importance to note such semantic elements as the type of the ethnic community (e.g., tribe, nation, ethnographic group, etc.), territorial (national) affiliation, and linguistic and religious identity. On the other hand, for the establishment of the contextual, emotionally evaluative meaning the principle of binary features is important (e.g., the semes ‘beautiful’ – ‘ugly’, ‘clever’ – ‘silly’, etc.).

Using the previously mentioned theoretical ideas, the **structure of the concept *Russians*** in this study is formed according to the following principle: 1) the **nomi-native field**, the semantic core of which is formed by the informative content of the image, i.e., the basic meanings of the ethnonym *krīvi* ‘the Russians’; the closest periphery of the semantic structure is formed by the semantics of the derivatives and stable word groups; the more distant periphery of the semantic structure is formed by the semantic derivatives; and 2) the **interpretative field**, the evaluative attitude: in the religious zone it is related to denominational membership; in the socio-cultural zone, it is related to customs and traditions; in the social zone to the characteristic trades and life space; in the linguistic zone to the characteristics of language and speech, and communication opportunities and necessity; in the perceptive zone to the evaluation of appearance and paralinguistic features; and in the emotionally and intellectually evaluative zone to the profile of character traits and intellect.

Designations of Russians in Latgale

The eastern Latvian dialects mostly use the ethnonym *krīvi* (in the literary Latvian language *krievi*) for the designation of Russians. Regarding its etymology it has been assumed that the Latvian *kriev-* from **kreiv-* (> Slavic *kriv-*) has historically been

the designation of a Baltic tribe that once lived on the territory around modern-day Pskov. Later when this region was taken over by the Slavic other Slavs called the descendants of the first immigrants *krivitchi* (old-Russian *кривичи*), i.e., descendants of **krivs*. Correspondingly, the ancient Latgalians attributed the name of the neighbouring Baltic tribe **kreivi* > *krievi* also to the Slavic tribe of the region (ME II, 285; Karulis 1992, 425).

Notwithstanding the fact that the consolidation process of individual Eastern Slavic peoples (Russian, Belarusian, Ukrainian) ended in the 15th – 16th centuries, the ethnonym *krievi* has been used in Latvian colloquial speech and folklore to designate all eastern Slavs until the beginning of the 20th century (Rozengs 2005, 115). Only in the first half of the 20th century the dictionaries document the ethnonyms *lielkrievi*, respectively the Russians, and *mazkrievi*, respectively Ukrainians and Belarusians (Vulāne 2007, 52–53). In modern Latvian *krievi* means ‘a Slavic people, natives of Russia’ (MLVV).

The natives of Latgale in their colloquial speech use (or earlier have used) designations partly characterising the Russians by the place they have arrived from: *maskali* (immigrants from Moscow, in our day a generalised designation of Russians: *maskaļs* (*maskalāns*, *moskovits*) ‘a Russian’ (Lukaševičs 2011, 109)); *prusaki* (from Russian *прусаки*, in the 1880s–90s, in the first half of the 19th century the Russian Old Believers from the Vitebsk government fled further to Eastern Prussia, but later returned after several beneficial manifests of the Russian government, as free town-dwellers) (Заварина 1986, 28); *sipaki* (Russian immigrants mostly from the region of Velikiye Luki (Lukaševičs 2011, 157) or Russians from the vicinity of Zilupe, who pronounce *s* instead of *sh* (a name with a pejorative meaning) (Strods 1991, 44)), *skabari/skabori* (Russian immigrants mainly from the vicinity of Pskov (Lukaševičs 2011, 157) or inhabitants of the vicinity of Rītupe (Strods 1991, 45)).

The Polish linguist Mirosław Jankowiak notes that in the colloquial speech of Slavs living in Latgale (the Poles, Ukrainians, Belarusians) the following ethnic nicknames are used to designate Russians: *kacapi* (in Ukraine this has been the designation of the Russian soldiers that in the 18th century wandered through the Ukrainian lands) and *rusaki* (corresponds to the Polish *rusek*, which was once the name used in Poznań voivodeship to designate the herdsmen driving oxen from Russia) (Jankovjaks 2009, 261).

The origin of the endoethnonym (self-given name) *русские* (*ruskie*) in the dictionary of etymology of Max Vasmer is related to the ethnicon (a general common name of a people or a tribe and a territory (VPSV 2007, 111)): *Русь* (Rus’) is mentioned in the old-Russian chronicles, connecting the further etymology with the old-Icelandic *Rosmenn* or *Roskarlal* ‘rowers, seafarers’. Nonetheless, Oleg Trubachov (Олег Трубачёв) in his comments criticises the Scandinavian etymology and explains the origins of the name through data from the hydronyms and toponyms (ЭСРЯ III 1986, 522–523). Additionally, in the Latgalian dialects sometimes the ethnonym *ruskī* is used to designate Russians.

In the Lithuanian language for the designation of the Russians mainly the ethnonym *rusai* (dial. *rūsai*) is used, but there also are other designations: *ruskis*, *-ė* (from the Russian *русский*), *maskolius*, *maskolis* (from the Belarusian *маскаль*) ‘a soldier of the tsar’s army’, ‘a Russian’; and *burliekas* (from the Belarusian *бурлак*) ‘old – a Russian barge hauler’; ‘in the tsar’s time – an Old Believer Russian in Lithuania’ (LKŽ 2013). It is possible that also in the Latgalian dialects the semantics of the lexeme *burlaks* ‘moonlighter’ is related to the meaning of ‘a Russian Old Believer moonlighting’ (Kļavinskā 2012).

The nominative field of the image of a Russian in Latgalian folklore

By analysis of the ~234 cases of use of lexemes denoting Russians in Latgalian folklore texts, it was found that **the core of the nominative field** is formed by the ethnonym *krīvi* (singular nominative case in masculine *krīvs*, feminine *krīvīte*). In folklore texts, both next to the ethnonym and also separately, Russian personal names are mentioned, such as *Vanča*, *Miška*, *Iļļuska*, *Maša*, *Sergeis*, *Se’opka Makarovskijs*, etc.

Using the previously defined semantic elements of the ethnonym’s meaning, the following meanings of the ethnonym *krīvi* were found in Latgalian folklore:

1) the ethnic group of the Russian people, living in Latgale, both Old Believers and Orthodox, who speak Russian (see the examples in the section devoted to the analysis of the interpretative field of the image of Russians);

2) Eastern Slavs (a common name for Russians, Ukrainians and Belarusians) – in the corpus of folklore texts analysed, no lexemes denoting Ukrainians were found, while Belarusians (*boltkrīvi*) were only mentioned in the more recent texts; therefore, it can be assumed that the older layer of folklore (mainly folksongs) by use of the ethnonym *krīvi* speaks of ethnic relationships (mainly wars and mixing) with Eastern Slavs in general;

3) a people, natives of Russia, as in the legend of origins: *Bet krīvim Dīvs sacēja: “Jums ir leli kažuki, stypra veselība, tad dūdu jyusim zīmeļu pusi. Turu cerību, ka iyus puorcīsīt lelus soltumus un bodu.”* ‘But God said to the Russians: “You have huge fur coats and good health; therefore, I give you the north side. I am of the belief that you will be capable to withstand the fierce cold and famine”’ (LPT “As some peoples came to be”, 5); and

4) a generalised designation of foreigners, as in the compaction of the ethnonyms *krīvi krīvi leiši leiši* ‘Russians Russians Lithuanians Lithuanians’ in the classic folksongs. For example in folksongs that supposedly reflect the period before the invasion of the crusaders (in the 12th century) the compaction of ethnonyms denotes a generalised image of some foreign invaders: *Krīvi krīvi, leiti leiti, / Kam nūkavi bruolileņ(u)? / Kam atstuoji rudzus mīžus / Kai upeitjas leigojūt?* ‘Russians Russians Lithuanians Lithuanians, / Why did you kill our lad? / Why did you leave rye and barley (crops) / Waving like a river?’ (LTDz 52882, 326).

The **closest periphery of the nominative field** is formed by the diminutive derivatives *krīveni* (singular nominative case in masculine *krīveņš*, feminine *krīvīteite*) and *krīveiši* with a mainly positive emotional meaning. In context the lexeme *krīveni*

also has the meaning ‘simple-minded, gullible Russians’, for example: *Bazneickungs nikai navarējis cytaidi vīntīseigajam krīveņam īskaidrēt, kai saceidams: “Asmu pops.” Tod krīveņš vaicōjis breinōdamīs: “Bet kur tod ir tova bōrda?”* ‘A priest had no other way to explain it to the gullible Russian than to say: “I am a *pop* (an Orthodox parish priest)”. Then the Russian [*krīveņš*] asked in surprise: “But where then is your beard?”’ (LF 1968, 180).

In Latgalian folklore *maskali* (including diminutive *maskalīši*) is used to denote the Russians, although in the context it does not indicate the same found in lexicography sources ‘the Russian Old Believers’ or ‘the Russians having immigrated from Moscow’, but rather is used as a synonym of the ethnonym *krīvi*: *Krīvi krīvi, maskalīši, Vuorej putru kolonā; Vardes tauku īmatuši, Vylka kuoju pajaukuši*. ‘Russians Russians, *maskalīši*,/ Cooking porridge on the top of a hill;/ Adding fat of a frog,/ Adding a wolf’s leg.’ (LTDz 52883, 35). It must be added here that also in other parts of Latvia similar examples can be found (in folksongs), thus proving that such a designation is an ancient one and known in other parts of Latvia as well.

According to an informant’s explanation in the paroemia *krīvs – russkais i myusejais* (Kļavinska 2004), the lexeme *russkais* denotes a Russian in Russia or an immigrant from there, while *myusejais* ‘ours’ refers to a Russian descendant of a family having lived in Latgale for several generations. Still this is merely a single recording of the lexeme in the text corpus analysed; therefore, such semantics may be viewed as occasional. On the other hand – the researcher of the ethnopsychology of Latvian Russians Ilga Apine attests to this distinction: “The post-war [after WWII] migration overwhelmed the local Russian population group, and they seemingly drowned in it. Actually they remained, in addition in the 1940s–50s they still quite strictly discerned between themselves, Russians, from the newcomers – the Soviets” (Apine 2001, 31).

To denote the Russian children the lexeme *krīvalāns* is used, which in context possesses a quite clearly pejorative meaning: *Smuks i dails latvju dāls/ Zīmu dzyma zīmeņā; Zyls i malns krīvalāns/ Koč i auga vosorā*. ‘Handsome and fair the son of the Latvians / Born in the very winter,/ Blue and black (ugly) the Russian child/ Though grown in the summer’ (LTDz 56056, 50).

The lexeme *krīvi* has also been used in folksongs in the function of ethnicon: *krīvūs* ‘in the Russian land’, *krīvu nūmalē* ‘in a far-away part of the Russian land’, and *uz krīvu rūbežīm* ‘on the borders of the Russian land’. In some separate cases it is difficult to discern between the plural locative form *krīvūs* meaning ‘in the Russian land’ from the meaning ‘in the Russian (tsar’s) army’: *Padzidosim mes, bōleni, Koley t wyssi winuwit, Diws tū zyna, cytu godu/ Kur mes kotrys dzidosim:/ Cyts krīwūs, cyts polščā, Cyts mož smilkšu kalneniā* ‘Let’s sing brothers,/ While we are all still together,/ God only knows, in a year’s time,/ Where will each of us sing:/ Some in the Russian land (or: Russian army?), other in the Polish land (Polish army?), / Some other maybe in a sand hill (graveyard)’ (MK (1916) 1999, 274).

In the Latgalian folklore texts numerous word groups were found with the ethnonym as the dependent component, presenting the idea of the Russian material and

intangible culture (*krīva buorda* ‘the Russian beard’, *krīva sveita* ‘the Russian coat’, *krīva capureite* ‘the Russian hat’, *krīva kamanenis* ‘the Russian sled’, *krīvu tabaks* ‘the Russian tobacco’, *krīvu barabans* ‘the Russian drum’, *krīvu brandīneits* ‘the Russian vodka’, *krīvu volūda/mēle* ‘the Russian language’, etc.); the designations of state power (*krīvu/-a laiki* ‘Russian times’, *krīvu cara laiki* ‘the times of the Russian tsar’); money (*krīvu nauda* ‘the Russian money’, *krīvu rublis* ‘the Russian rouble’), as well as word groups denoting the army of the tsarist Russia (but also that of the USSR) ((*īt*) *krīvūs* ‘(to go to serve in) the Russian army’) and the Russification process (*palikt par krīvu* ‘to become Russianised’). The semantics of the lexeme *krīvi* in the word groups *krīvu pops* ‘a Russian priest’ and *krīvu bazneica / cerkva* ‘a Russian church’ can only be related to the Orthodox Russians, as the Latgale Old Believers did not recognise priesthood (therefore Russian *бесноповуи* – ‘no-priests’) and built oratories instead of churches (Russian *моленная*) (Никонов 2008, 28).

The further periphery of the nominative field is formed by the semantic derivatives. The semantic derivatives of the ethnonym *krīvi* in riddles mainly express the idea of the appearance of a Russian: *krīvs dūbē, bōrda ōrā* ‘A Russian in a pit, his beard sticking out’, and the answer – ‘radish, turnip or beetroot’ (LF 1968, 394); *krīvs sēd dūbē, moti ōrā* ‘a Russian sits in a pit, his hair sticks out’ - a carrot (LF 1968, 394); *četri krīveiši, vysim četrim iz pakali buordenis* ‘four Russians, all four have beards backwards’ – the legs of a horse (LFK 2011, 5222), etc. For an overview of the nominative field of the image of Russians in Latgalian folklore, see Image 1.

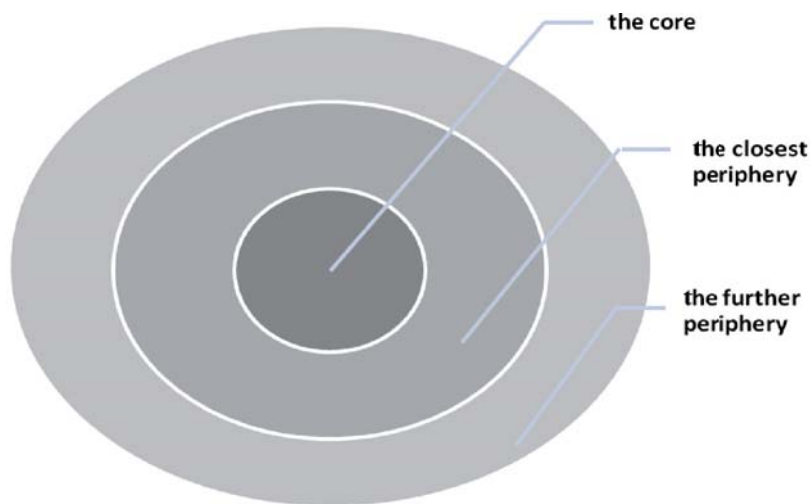


Image 1. The nominative field of the image of a Russian

Interpretative field of the image of the Russian

The religious zone. Notwithstanding the fact that the first Russian immigrants in Latgale were the Old Believers, the analysed folklore corpus shows no hint towards the religious traditions of Old Believers. Possibly this was caused by the secluded lifestyle of the Old Believers. The lexeme *staroveri* ‘the Old Believers’ appears to

be used in a completely different context, indicating the trade characteristic for the Russian Old Believers as craftsmanship, but also depicting them as brawlers and thieves (*LF* 1968, 182; *LF* 1968, 184). Folktales and stories sometimes show Russians who act in contradiction to the ideas of Christian morals. For example, Russian women practice witchcraft and harm crops (*LPT* “Witches harm crops” 3A) or a Russian turns into a werewolf, stealing ewes and bringing them to other Russians (*LPT* “A man willingly turns into a werewolf” 54). As noted by the Lithuanian ethnologist Laima Anglickienė, in the folklore of several peoples supernatural abilities are attributed to the neighbouring people, even representatives of other religions as specific representatives of the “alien”. For example, in northern Lithuania the Latvians are considered as witches and warlocks, while in eastern and south-eastern Lithuania it is the Russians and the Poles, while the folklore of numerous peoples contain the belief that the nomadic ethnos – the Gypsies/Roma – possess supernatural abilities (Anglickienė 2006, 76–77).

On the other hand the word groups *krīvu pops / muocēituojs* ‘the Russian priest’ and *krīvu bazneica / cerkva* ‘the Russian church’, as mentioned before, can be related to the Orthodox faith. One of the most popular images of Russians in the Latgalian folklore is *pop*, who unlike the Catholic priest (with the Latgalians mostly being Catholic) may get married, as several texts mention his wife and children (*LPT* “The Strong Ansis” 20. A. 650.A.; *LPT* “The Punishment for Getting Angry” 22.A.1000.) The orthodox priest also has his other human weaknesses – the wish to eat well and drink spirits.

Possibly the seemingly good life of the Russian priest and his prosperity is the reason suggesting the heroes of the Latgalian folk-tales (peasant and herdsman) to turn into a *pop* with the help of the devil (*LPT* “A Peasant Becomes a Priest” 2.A. 1825.; *LPT* “The Man persecuted by the Devil Becomes a Priest” 2.A. 811). The folktales display the idea that *pop* and prayers, as well as staying overnight in the Russian church, can help alleviate different ills (*LPT* „Three Drowned Orthodox Priests” 2.A.1601.; *LPT* “The Devil’s Bride” 11; *LPT* “The Death of Witches”, 10.A.).

The folklore texts in a comic modality show the Latgalian ideas of some particular religious traditions of the Orthodox Russians, such as placing candles at the icons, causing fire in the church (*LF* 1968, 306), etc. Folklore notices that the Russians too frequently invoke the name of God without sufficient reason, as in the paroemia *bogojās kai krīvs* ‘to swear to God as a Russian’ (*LSDF* 1723 254).

The perceptive zone. The description of Russians’ outer appearance in folklore texts is a rare phenomenon; it mostly appears in classic folk songs, which focus on the details of Russian traditional clothing. The main feature of the appearance of Russian men as emphasised in the folklore context is their beard, as in the paroemia: *ar (lelu, kuplu) bōrdu kai krīvs* - ‘with a (big, bushy) beard as a Russian’ (*RA* 03-T1-V1-Bp94). Such a view must be caused by the Old Believer traditions. The characteristic general judgement of the appearances of foreigners with the meaning ‘ugly’ is also attributed to the Russians as in *zyls i malns [krīvalāns]* where ‘black and blue’ means ‘ugly’ (*LTDz* 56056, 50).

Folklore texts focus attention on some specific details of the traditional clothing of the Russian men: *sveita* ‘men’s coat’, *caunu capureite* ‘marten (skin)hat’, *jūsta* ‘belt’, and *leli kažuki* ‘big fur coat’. In wedding songs the lexemes denoting the clothing of Russian men are frequently connected with the predicate *patikt* ‘to like’, this meaning that the judgement of the clothing and with it – also the suitor – is positive.

In her turn the Russian woman, possibly because of her colourful clothing is compared with a rainbow: *garvėdzele* (possibly from *garvelce* ‘rainbow’ (S t r o d s 1991, 16)). Of the characteristic female clothing items *saravans* ‘sarafan’ is mentioned. The paroemia *sorkona kuo krīvite* ‘red as a Russian’ (LSDF 1268 814) could attest to the bright and colourful clothing characteristic to Russian women.

A testimony of the Russian temperament could be the idea of the Russians being rather loud in communication, as in the paroemia: *ni tu čigana apmuoneisi, ni krīva puorklīgsi* ‘you won’t either outwit a Gypsy or out-yell a Russian’ (LSDF 1950 1326).

In the socioculture zone attention has been paid to the vices characteristic to Russians. The most frequent of those – the abuse of alcohol, which is not reprimanded though, for example in the following legend of origin: “*Tad krīvi nūsaklausējaši Dīva vuordu, lyudze nu juo, lai jis dūtu jīm brandivīna, ar kū pasasildīt. Tai arī nūtyka. Šis brandivīns tyka izlyugts krīvim nu paša Dīva un tagad pa vysom Krīvijās molom stypri dzer un taisa brandivīnu.*” ‘Then the Russians, having listened to God’s speech, asked him to give them alcohol with which to warm them. And so it came to be. This alcohol the Russians received from God himself, and now all over Russia they are making and widely drinking vodka.’ (LPT “How some peoples came to be”, 5). The stable word group *krīvu/-a brand-īneits/-isneš/-iveits* ‘the Russian spirits’ in the context of joke songs attests to the fact that the Latgalian themselves are also no stranger to the use of alcohol: *Tu muoseņ, es muoseņ, Dzersim krīva brandīneiti! Tev ūleņa, maņ ūleņa, Kringeleits zakuskai.* ‘You (are) a sister, I (am) one, Let’s drink the Russian spirits! An egg for you, an egg for me, A pretzel for snack’ (LTDz 46167, 326).

The depiction of the Russians in the legends and stories feature the semes ‘thieves’ and ‘robbers’. Besides the ethnonym *krīvi* in the semantic role of the subject, such predicates as *nūkaut, nūsist* ‘to kill in order to rob’, *atjimt naudu* ‘to take away money’, *īt vepra zogtu* ‘to go to steal a hog’, *nūzagt viersi* ‘to steal an ox’, and *pīplēst pupu* ‘to steal beans’ were found. Also the fighting among the Russians has been depicted: *Staroveru cīmā nūteik kaušonōs. Divi krīveni apstrōdoj vīns ūtru ar mītim.* ‘They are fighting in an Old Believer village. Two Russians work one another with a stake’ (LF 1968, 184).

The same as other foreigners (with the exception of the Jews), Russians are perceived both as welcomed and unwelcomed suitors. A Russian is a welcome suitor for maintaining good neighbourly relations, because of his good material situation and acceptable appearances (LTDz 39914, 427). On the other hand, a Russian is depicted as an unwelcome suitor because of his strange, unknown ways. Still, mar-

rying a Russian woman in modern folklore (stories) is connected with the loss of one's own (Latvian) identity: *Kai apsaprecēja ar krīvīti, tai i pats par krīvu palyka, nūbrauca iz Daugovpili dzeivuotu. A bārni jau beja kai teirī krīvalāni, tāvs ar jim latviski narunova, krīvu skolā guoja.* 'As he married a Russian, he became a Russian himself, and moved to live in Daugavpils. But their children were purely Russian, the father didn't speak Latvian to them, and they attended a Russian school' (Kļavinskis 2004).

Assessing the experience of contact, **in the social zone** it is possible to establish three types of Russians: first, invaders or soldiers of a foreign army; second, representatives of the ruling power or masters; and third, inhabitants of Latgale, socially equal to the natives.

The image of the Russian-soldier is found in stories of the events of the First and Second World War: *Pymō pasauļa kara laikā Latgolā zemņiku ustobōs beja nūvītōti krīvu karaveiri,* 'During WWI in Latgale Russian soldiers were lodged with the peasants' (LF 1968,92); *Kara laikā vītejī sliepās iz Annys solis, jī meklāja patvārumu nu krīvim i vocīsim,* 'During the war the local people were hiding on the Anna island; they were seeking refuge from both the Russians and the Germans' (RA 10-T15-V6-Vn12). In the descriptions of different wars, the Russians are shown as the enemies of the Germans, as, for example, in the following folk-tale: *Vuolyudzei gadījās skrīt gar karalauku, kur vuocīši beja sakuovuši krīvus.* 'An oriole happened to fly by a battle field where the Germans had beaten the Russians' (LPT "An oriole and a nightingale").

Stable word groups *krīvu ķēneņš* 'the Russian king', *krīvu laiki* 'the Russian times', *krīvu cara laiki* 'the times of the Russian tsar', *krīvu nauda* 'the Russian money', *krīvu kungi* 'the Russian masters', and *krīvu muižnīki* 'the Russian landlords', attest to the seme 'representatives of the ruling power' of the ethnonym *krīvi*. This seme is connected with the subjection of the local population to the Russification that started under the tsarist Russia: *Muižnīku laikā iz Dubencu nu Krīvijās atsyuteja krīvus, a vysus latvīšus, kuri dzeivova Dubencā, aizsyuteja prūjom. Dubencas solā beja krīvi viņ, a latvīšu nabeja.* 'In the age of landlords they sent Russians from Russia to Dubenca, but sent all of the Latvians, who lived in Dubenca, away. In the village of Dubenca there were only Russians and no Latvians at all' (LFK 2143, 389); the same continued under Soviet rule. An ironic reflection of the result of such a policy is presented in the paroemia: *Mes bejom treis latvīši: es, Vaņka i vēļ vīns krīvs* 'We were three Latvians there: me, Vaņka (>Ivan, a clearly Russian name) and one more Russian' (Kļavinskis 2004).

The local Russians of Latgale as equal to Latvians in the social sphere are characterised by their being peasants; collaboration with the Russian peasants in folklore texts is expressed using the predicates *aizajemt ķēvi [nu krīva]* 'to borrow a mare (from a Russian)', *pierkt syvānu [nu krīva]* 'to buy a piglet (from a Russian)', etc. In the analysed folklore material some other characteristic trades of the Russians are also mentioned, namely: cattle dealers, craftsmen, and carpenters.

The linguistic zone. In the excerpted material the linguistic relations of the Russians (*krīvs*) and the Latvians (*latvīts, zemnīks*) are attested by the presence of the speech verbs *vaicuot* ‘to ask’, *saceit* ‘to say’, *runuotīs* ‘to talk’, *līleitīs* ‘to boast’, *sveicynuot* ‘to greet’, *atbildēt* ‘to answer’, and *mudynuot* ‘to urge’. Latgalian folklore has noticed the characteristic features of Russian speech: loud speaking, yelling, and swearing (*LF* 1968, 110). In the folklore texts the word groups *prast latviski* ‘to know the Latvian language’ and *narunuot latviski* ‘to not be speaking Latvian’ attest to the different attitudes of the Russians living in Latgale towards the Latvian language.

At the same time designations of the Russian language *krīvu volūda / mēle; [runuot] krīvyski / pa krīvyskam* ‘(to speak) Russian’ in a wider context reveal both the misunderstandings caused in the communication of the Latgalians with the Russians through the inability to speak Russian or the scarce knowledge of the tongue and requirement to learn the language imposed by the ruling power: *Ļaudim vajadzējis prast ari pa druskai krīvu mēli, cytaiž gadejušōs vysaidys napatikšonas*. ‘The people also had to know some of the Russian tongue, otherwise there were all kinds of trouble’ (*LF* 1968, 63). Misunderstandings caused by a bad command of the Russian language are depicted in anecdotic household situations. For example, a Latgalian woman, the mistress of a farmstead tells a Russian, using wrong expression: *Ješ, ješ, Miška! Paidzjoš v sarai i zdochniš!* ‘Eat, eat, Mishka! You’ll go to the shed and kick the bucket!’ (meaning the Russian *otdohnesh* ‘rest’, but mixing it up with *sdohnesh* ‘(vulg.) die’). The Russian worker becomes scared and turns pale (*LF* 1868, 43).

As a result of the long-standing tight ethnolinguistic contact with Russians and other Slavic people, the Latgalian speech uses numerous slavisms that even the LatgalianLatgalians themselves joke at in folklore texts (joke songs), using in the same text both LatgalianLatgalian lexics (in the following example the Russian words are bolded): *Svuotiņami lobas drēbes, / Dakazaļi naudas daudz; / Syp, syp, niželei, / Dvacyc pīcu nažāloj! / Man pīkusa rūkas kuojas, / Vašu kašu vuorējūt*. ‘The best man has good clothes, / **Proven** he has much money; / **Pour, pour, don’t grudge**, / Don’t grudge **twenty** five! / My hands and legs tired out, / Cooking **your porridge**’ (*LTDz* 56059, 466).

The emotionally and intellectually evaluative zone. Similar to that of the representatives of other nations, the attitude towards the Russians in folklore is contradictory. In taking into account the long-term and diverse experience of contact with Russians, attitudes also vary in the reflection of different historical periods.

Similar to other representatives of other nations, the Russians in Latgalian folklore are both clever and stupid, both the fraudsters and the victims of fraud. A Russian fools a Jew by selling him a dog for a calf (*LF* 1968, 104), while the Russian is fooled by a Gypsy in a contest of telling one’s dreams (*LF* 1968, 171).

The most ancient layer of folklore (the classic folksongs and folktales) in a hyperbolised way depict the fear of Russians (invaders, robbers, werewolves) up to killing out of that fear – to defend oneself. (*LPT* “The traveller and the Robber” 3.A.954; *LPT* “Good Selling” 8.A. 1642. 1600).

A benevolent, friendly attitude towards the Russians can be found in wedding songs. The sense of co-operation, helpfulness, and hospitality is also present in the depiction of local Russian peasants: Russian women are characterised by phrases like *ļūti vīsmīleīga* ‘very hospitable’ and *loba saimineica* ‘good hostess’. The attitude towards the Russian as one’s own is shown by such descriptions as *pazeistams* ‘known’ and *myusejais* ‘ours’.

The stories and anecdotes depict the Russians as people with the self-identification of a great nation, willing to impose their language and traditions. For example, anecdotes of the Soviet period mainly show an ironic attitude towards that: - *Dēļ kō mums ir vajadzīga brōleigōs krīvu tautas draudzeiba? vaicoj inspektors napylnajā vydškōlā.(...) - Ari es, bīdri inspektor, par šū vaicōjumu asmu bīži dūmōjis, - atbiļd Putrāns.* “For what purpose do we need the friendship of the brotherly Russian people?” an inspector asks at a high school. “I, too, comrade inspector, keep wondering about this mystery,” Putrāns (a Latgalian surname) answers’ (*LF* 1968,114).

The traditional folklore recorded in other ethnographic regions of Latvia show a similar image of the Russian as that in the Latgalian folklore, only the silliness of the Russian is more pronounced and emphasised, as the Russians are depicted as thieves, traders, and dealers (*LTDz* 2219 26). In other parts of Latvia the image of a Russian landlord is less present, as well as Russian religious traditions. A negative evaluative attitude towards the Russians is prevalent, as in this text: *Kad Dievs jau visas tautas bijis radījis, gribējis radīt vēl krievu. - “Neradi vis!” teicis kāds eņģelis, “posts vien pašam būs ar viņu.” Dievs tomēr nav eņģeļam klausījis un radījis vien. Kā nu bijis gatavs, krievs uzlēcis no zemes, ieķēries Dievam krūtīs un kļiedzis: “Vai tev pase ar ir?”* ‘When God had nearly already created all the nations, he decided to create the Russian. - “Better don’t!” some angel suggested, “You will run into trouble with him.” God did not listen to that angel and created the Russian nevertheless. The moment the Russian was completed, he jumped up, grabbed God by the lapels and yelled: “Do you have a passport?”’ (*LTT* 15043).

According to L. Anglickiene, Lithuanian folklore also views Russians in a comparatively negative light, frequently depicting them as witches and warlocks and horse thieves, paying special attention to their widespread swearing. The image of the Russian as a soldier is widespread and the historical songs tell of particular wars, such as the Russian-French war and both World Wars. The Lithuanian folklore also depicts linguistic misunderstandings in communication with Russians. Because of the ethnonym *gudas* having different meanings in Lithuanian folklore, the depiction of Russians is difficult to separate from that of the Belarusians (Anglickienė 2006, 201–201).

Both in Latvian and Lithuanian modern folklore, especially in the migrating plots of the anecdotes the contest between the Russian and representatives of other nations (the Germans, Americans, Latvians, Estonians, etc.), the cunning Russian usually wins. Additionally, the image of the wealthy, self-confident but silly new-Russian is popular in anecdotes.

Conclusions

In the analysed corpus of Latgalian folklore texts the ethnonym *krīvi* has the basic meaning of ‘the ethnic group of the Russian nation, which lives in Latgale, and the Old Believers and the people of the Orthodox faith that speak Russian’, while at the same time there also are other meanings: ‘a general designation of a foreigner as in the compaction of ethnonyms *krīvi krīvi leiši leiši* in classic folk-songs’; ‘the common name for eastern Slavs (Russians, Ukrainians and Belarusians)’; and ‘people, natives of Russia’.

Latgalian folklore also features other lexemes denoting Russians: *maskali* with the meaning ‘Russians’ and *rusškī* with the meaning ‘Russians living in Russia or recently immigrated from there’. Other designations of Russians used in the colloquial speech (*sipaki*, *skabari*, etc.) were not found in folklore texts.

The interpretative field of the image of Russian is expressed by the following semes:

1) in the religious zone: ‘Old Believers’, ‘Orthodox’, ‘actions incompatible with Christianity – women being witches, men as werewolves’; ‘Orthodox priests may get married or use alcohol’, ‘Orthodox priests and the church can help when one is in trouble’, and ‘too frequently invoking God’;

2) in the perceptive zone: ‘wearing a beard’, ‘ugly’, ‘the traditional male clothing – a fur coat and hat and female – a sarafan, colourful clothing’, and ‘loud behaviour’;

3) the sociocultural zone: ‘drunkards’, ‘thieves’, ‘robbers’, ‘brawlers’, ‘desirable spouses’, ‘undesirable spouses’;

4) in the social zone: ‘invaders’, ‘soldiers’, ‘masters’, ‘representatives of the ruling power’, ‘Russifiers of the local population’, ‘peasants’, ‘living in villages’, ‘carpenters’, and ‘cattle dealers’;

5) linguistic zone: ‘speaking Russian’, ‘speaking Latvian and Latgalian’, ‘not speaking Latvian’, ‘swearing’, and ‘speaking loudly and yelling’; and

6) in the emotionally and intellectually evaluative zone: ‘clever’, ‘stupid’, ‘evil and violent’, ‘women hospitable and good hostesses’, ‘well known’, ‘one’s own’, and ‘aware of their political power’.

The concept of Russians has a variable semantics in folklore texts. Firstly, it depends on the time depicted in the folklore text, especially in the description of the social area; and secondly on the folklore genre specifics, for example, classic folk songs have maintained more archaic elements of the language – the names of Russian traditional clothing.

In general, taking into account the diverse experience of contacts formed over a long period of time, the image of the Russian in Latgalian folklore is rather contradictory, treated both benevolently and with hostility. Russians, similar to the images of other foreigners, mainly display the traits of the “alien”, though some particular trait can also position the Russian as “one’s own”.

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Antra Kļavinska

Koncepto *RUSAI* semantiniai aspektai latgalių tautosakoje

S a n t r a u k a

Pagrindinės sąvokos: *etnonimai, konceptas, kognityvinė lingvistika, tautosaka.*

Šio straipsnio tikslas – atskleisti koncepto *RUSAI* atspindį latgalių tautosakos tekstuose naudojant kognityvinės lingvistikos išvadas ir komponentų analizės metodą. Tyrimo šaltinis yra latgalių tautosakos tekstai, užrašyti nuo XX a. pradžios iki XXI a. pradžios, tyrimo medžiagos apimtis ~ 234 etnoniminės leksikos vienetai, vartojami rusams pavadinti.

Analizuojamajame tautosakos tekстыne ruso vaizdo nominatyvinio lauko branduolį sudaro etnonimas *krīvi* ‘rusai’, jo pagrindinė reikšmė yra „rusų tautos etninė grupė, gyvenanti Latgaloje, kalbanti rusiškai, sentikiai ir stačiatikiai“. Tačiau nustatytos ir kitos reikšmės: ‘kittataučių apibendrinamasis pavadinimas etnonimų grupėje *krīvi krīvi leiši leiši* (‘rusai rusai lietuviai lietuviai’) liaudies dainose’; ‘rytų slavai (rusų, baltarusių ir ukrainiečių apibendrinamasis pavadinimas)’; ‘tauta, gyvenanti Rusijoje’. Nominatyvinio lauko artimąją periferiją sudaro deminutyviniai vediniai *krīveni, krīveiši*, turintys ir teigiamus reikšmės atspalvius, ir reikšmę ‘patiklūs, lengvatikiai rusai’. Kitos leksemos rusams pavadinti: *maskali* ‘rusai’, *rus-skī* ‘Rusijoje gyvenantys ar iš Rusijos neseniai atsikėlę rusai’. Stabilūs nominaliniai žodžių junginiai su etnonimu *krīvi* ‘rusai’ prezentuoja supratimą apie rusų materialinę ir nematerialinę kultūrą, Rusijos valstybės valdžios, pinigų, armijos pavadinimus. Nominatyvinio lauko tolimąją periferiją sudaro semantiniai derivatai. Liaudies mįslėse pavartoti etnonimo *krīvi* semantiniai derivatai su reikšme ‘ridikai, ropės, morkos ar burokėliai’ ir kt. labiausiai atskleidžia asociacijas su rusų vyrų išorinei išvaizdai būdingu požymiu – ilga, tankia barzda.

Apskritai, atsižvelgiant į ilgą ir įvairiapusę Latgalos latvių ir rusų kontaktų patirtį, taip pat į įvairių folkloro žanrų tekstų specifiką, ruso vaizdo interpretaciniame lauke pastebimas palyginti prieštaringas rusų vertinimas, požiūris į juos yra ir palankus, ir priešiškas. Rusai, taip pat kiti svetimtaučiai, tautosakoje labiausiai pasižymi „svetimojo“ požymiais (religinėje, percepcinėje, socialinėje, lingvistinėje zonoje), tačiau kai kurie požymiai gali rodyti rusą kaip „savąjį“ (socialinės kultūros, emociškai vertinamoje zonoje).

Antra Kļavinska

The Semantic Aspects of the Concept *RUSSIAN* in the Latgalian Folklore

S u m m a r y

Key words: *ethnonyms, concept, cognitive linguistics, folklore.*

The aim of this article was to reveal the reflection of the concept *Russian* in the texts of Latgalian folklore, using theoretical ideas of cognitive linguistics and the method of component analysis. The source of the research is Latgalian folklore texts recorded in the period

from the early 20th century up to the beginning of the 21st century, with the empirical material of the study being roughly 234 ethnonymic lexical units used to nominate *Russians*.

The core of the nominative field of the image of the Russian in the analysed corpus of the folklore texts is formed by the ethnonym *krīvi* ‘the Russians’, its basic meaning being ‘the ethnic group of the Russian nation, which lives in Latgale, and Old Believers and the people of the Orthodox faith that speak Russian’, while at the same time there are also other meanings: ‘a general designation of a foreigner as in the compaction of ethnonyms *krīvi krīvi leiši leiši* in the classic folk-songs’; ‘the common name for the eastern Slavs (Russians, Ukrainians and Belarusians)’; and ‘people, natives of Russia’. The closest periphery of the nominative field is formed by the diminutive derivations *krīveni*, *krīveiši* carrying both a positive emotional meaning and the meaning of ‘simple-minded, gullible Russians’. The other lexemes denoting Russians: *maskali* with the meaning ‘Russians’, *russkī* with the meaning ‘Russians living in Russia or recently immigrated from there’. The stable nominal word groups employing the ethnonym *krīvi* ‘Russians’ in the function of the dependant component, present the idea of the material and non-material culture of Russians and the designations of the Russian state power, money and army. The further periphery of the nominative field is formed by the semantic derivatives. The semantic derivatives of the ethnonym *krīvi* used in the folk-riddles with the meaning ‘radish, turnip, carrot or beetroot’, etc., mainly reveal the associations with the feature of a Russian male’s appearance – a long and bushy beard.

In general, taking into account the diverse experience of contacts formed over a long period of time, as well as the specifics of the texts of different folklore genres, the image of the Russian is rather contradictory, treated both benevolently and with hostility. The Russians (the same as images of other foreigners) mainly display the traits of the “alien” (in the religious, perceptive, social, and linguistic zone), though some particular trait can also position the Russian as “one’s own” (the socioculture and emotionally evaluative zone).

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