



## THE CONCEPT *LITHUANIANS* IN THE CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT OF LATGALE

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### Introduction

In the works of linguistic theorists there are still different views on proper names, ethnonyms belonging to proper names and semantics of ethnonyms. For example, a Latvian linguist Ojārs Bušs has updated this problem in Latvian linguistics. Studying contradictory cognitions of numerous linguists (E. Coseriu, A. H. Gardiner, A. Superanskaya, W. Van Langendonck, K. Willems etc.), he has come to conclusion that ethnonyms are proper names, the names of the human population (*pluralia tantum*) which have lexical meaning (Bušs 2005, 135–144). He also raises the idea that semantics (the denotative and connotative) of ethnonyms (and other proper names), possesses national peculiarity. However, other Latvian linguist – Anna Vulāne researching semantics of the ethnonym *krievs* ‘Russian’ and its functional surrounding in the Latvian language, admits that semantic capacity of ethnonyms used in everyday speech and dialects is different; they can be monoethnonyms used to name only one particular ethnic group; polyethnonyms which are used to name at least two ethnic groups, and it reflects historical, political and cultural contacts, related interconnections and stereotypes; doublets – lexeme, where ethnos sign is included in semantic structure just vicariously. It means that lexeme is used not only to refer to the ethnic group, but phenomena, realities or people (Vulāne 2007, 51).

Usually explanatory dictionaries provide the explanation of the ethnonym *Lithuanians* according to the pattern typical for all ethnonyms. For example, *Lietuvieši – tauta, Lietuvas pamatiedzīvotāji, runā lietuviešu valodā, ticīgie – gk. katoļi*. ‘Lithuanians – a nation, natives of Lithuania, speak Lithuanian, the faithful – mainly Catholics’ (SV 2009–2012); *Lietuviai – tauta, gyvenanti Lietuvoje, kalbanti viena baltų kalbų*. ‘Lithuanians – a nation that lives in Lithuania, speaks one of the Baltic languages’ (DLKŽ). In semantics of the ethnonym the main emphasis is put on territorial and linguistic identity, less often on religious identity. Encyclopaedic dictionaries often emphasize historical and cultural aspects.

The encyclopaedic “Latgale Linguo-Territorial Dictionary” (2012, ESF project “Linguo-cultural and socio-economic aspects of territorial identity in development





of Latgale region”) where the author of the paper has prepared the descriptions of entries (mainly ethnonyms) is an innovation. The basic functions of the dictionary are: 1) to reveal the peculiarity of the Latgalian (Latvian of Latgale – A.K.), the cultural field typical for him/her, (consequently, there has been put an emphasis on national peculiarity of semantics 2) to highlight the concepts of Latgale being forgotten or less known, 3) to facilitate the acculturation process of foreigners in Latgale (Šuplinska 2011, 266). Studying the opinions of various theoreticians on the essence of the notion ‘concept’ the creators of the conception of the dictionary (Šuplinska 2011, 269) based on the cognition of a Russian linguist Sergej Bočkarev: *Concept – a synthesizing linguo-mental formation which methodologically replaces percept (image), notion and meaning and includes all these perceptions in a reduced way becoming a kind of hyperonym for the perceptions mentioned above* (Bochkarev 2005, 78). Proper names such as toponyms, antroponyms, ethnonyms (inter alia *lītaunīki* ‘Lithuanians’) are also included into the structure of entries. The basis of the entry contains ~3 meanings revealing the essence of a specific ethnos in the cultural environment of Latgale. These meanings are based on the folklore texts, cognitions of Latgalian literature, periodicals, interviews, scientific publications, signs of art and culture; the functionality of ethnonyms in society is considered in the aspect of the opposition *familiar – unknown*, e.g., stereotypes, associations, emotional attitude. After researching the sources the author of the paper may conclude that the concept *Lithuanians* in the cultural environment of Latgale can be described in 3 basic aspects: 1) ethno-linguistic contacts, 2) statehood idea, 3) cultural signs of Lithuanians in contemporary Latgale (Kļavinska 2012, 418).

The aim of the paper is using “Latgale Linguo-Territorial Dictionary” entry “Lithuanians”, to reveal the basic aspects of the concept *Lithuanians* in the cultural environment of Eastern Latvia (Latgale).

Cognitive linguistic knowledge is the theoretical basis of the research where the main attention is focused on the semantic features of different linguoculturally marked signs (Croft, Cruse 2004). Russian cognitive semantics school offers the following concept structure: 1) image (perceptive i.e. features that are perceptible to the organs of senses and cognitive features for metaphorical perception of an object or a phenomenon); 2) information content – the minimum of the cognitive features determining the essence of the concept i.e. the definition of the concept keyword; 3) interpretive field (evaluative, encyclopaedic, utilitarian, regulatory, socio-cultural, paremiological area) (Popova, Sternin 2007, 104–115). The semantic structure of the concept *Lithuanians* is analyzed in this paper according to the following principles: 1) the nominative area (ethnonym, its lexical and phonetic variants), 2) interpretive area (evaluative attitude of the opposition *familiar – unknown*), which includes religious, social (occupation, living space), socio-cultural (customs and traditions), linguistic (language, necessity and possibility of communication), perceptive (outward appearance, paralinguistic features), emotionally and intellectually evaluative (character traits, temperaments) area.

Latgalian folklore texts, anthroponomy and toponymy data, Latgalian literature and history, researches in sociology and ethnology and journalism were used as the main sources to reveal the concept *Lithuanians*.

### 1. Lithuanians in Eastern Latvia (Latgale)

Latgalians and Lithuanians have a common origin and history. A number of research on ethno genesis of the Balts and later the immigration of Lithuanians to Latgale territory have been performed. For example, a Lithuanian linguist Kazimieras Garšva, analyzing the toponyms of Lithuanian origin, concludes that ancient Lithuanians settled in the territory of Latgale in the 13<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> century (Garšva 2009, 411). Contemporary Lithuanians are perceived as a neighbouring nation, and as an ethnic minority of Latgale. Statistics shows that the number of Lithuanians in Latgale in the 20<sup>th</sup> century is not large: in 1920 – 1135 Lithuanians (Jēkabsons 2007, 46), in 1989 – 2634 Lithuanians (LLV 2012, 856). According to the data of the last population census, there were 1 745 Lithuanians (0.4% of the residents) in Latgale in 2011, the largest number of Lithuanians was registered in Daugavpils (891) and Daugavpils region (236), as well as Krāslava region (76) (in total 24 426 (1.18 %) in Latvia) (LR CSP 2011).

### 2. Nominative area of the concept *Lithuanians*

There are various variants of ethnonyms in Latgalian texts to indicate Lithuanians: at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century till the early 20<sup>th</sup> century in the texts there appear – *leiši, lītaunīki, litvaki*, but in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century – *leiši, lītuvīši, leitovīši*.

As an entry name in the “Latgale Linguo-Territorial Dictionary” there was selected an ethnonym *lītaunīki* as one of the earliest Lithuanian denominations in Latgalian texts and the further onimization processes indicate its functionality: according to the toponym database data of Latvian Geospatial Information Agency, nowadays there are 8 populated areas in Latgale (and it is not found in other regions of Latvia) which have the same name (see figure 1); one place is called “Leiši” (LGIA 2012). There are also surnames of ethnonymic origin in Latgalian surname system, such as *Leišaunīks, Leišovnīks, Leitāns, Lītaunīks, Lītovnīks, Lītovīts, Litvaks* (Latkovskis 1968, 36–44).

The lexeme *leiši* in Latgalian folklore can identify not only people of Lithuanian nationality, but also:

1) beside the ethnonym *pūli* ‘Poles’ it is revealed as a generalized image of a conqueror (Livonian War, 1558–1583):

***Pūli, pūli, leiši, leiši,***  
*Kō gōjati šai zemē?*  
*Šai zemē sylta saule,*  
*Pōrpleiss jyusu pūda golvas.*  
(LFK 572, 328)

*Poles and Lithuanians,*  
*Why have you come to this land?*  
*The sun is warm here*  
*So your pot-heads might break.*

2) According to the Latvian folklore researcher Jānis Rosenberg's opinion, the ethnonym in the songs about *Aizdaugavas leiši* (mostly registered in Vidzeme, rarely in Latgale), functions with the meaning of 'Latvian of Augshzeme and Zemgale' (Rorenbergs 2005, 20):

<i>Grozni rieja leiša suņi</i>	<i>Lithuanian dogs barked furiously</i>
<i>Aiz Dougavas gulādami;</i>	<i>While sleeping across the Daugava;</i>
<i>Nadrīksteju zyrga dzyt,</i>	<i>I didn't dare ride my horses,</i>
<i>Ni īmovu zvārdzynuot. (LFK 1680, 2146)</i>	<i>Nor tinkle their bridle.</i>

3) in the 16<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> century it may refer to 'Latvian, the inhabitant of the common Polish-Lithuanian State':

<i>Apkaustēju kraukļam kōjas,</i>	<i>I shod raven's legs</i>
<i>Nūsabrauču Vōczemē;</i>	<i>And drove to Germany;</i>
<i>Vōcas kungi breinōjōs,</i>	<i>All German lords wondered,</i>
<i>Kaidi leišu kumeleņi. (LFK 1976, 136)</i>	<i>What fine horses Lithuanians possess.</i>

In contemporary Latgalian texts the most frequently used ethnonyms are *leiši*, *lītuvīši/leituvīši*, rarely – *lītaunīki*. For example, in the tales about Lithuanians in Ciskādi, Rezekne region: *Cyskodu kungs leišu giminem ir devis par breivu mežu, lai jī varātu ceļt napīcīšamōs saimnīceibys ākas. Leitovīšu cylvāki beja cīši strōdeigi un izpiļdeigi. Itūs zemnīkus kunga vactāvs asūt īspēlējis kartōs.* 'The lord of Ciskādi gave the wood to Lithuanian families at no extra cost, so they could build the necessary farm buildings. Lithuanians were very hardworking and diligent. The lord's grandfather won these peasants in the game of cards' (Vasiļjeva 2011, 94). Evidently, *leiši* which is the ancient name of Lithuanians nowadays is not used in disdainful sense as it may sometimes seem to Lithuanians (Muktupāvela 2012, 294).

Nowadays the lexeme *broļukas / braļukas* might be considered as an ethnic nickname (in Lithuanian *broliukas* 'little brother'), which functions in colloquial Latvian (Muktupāvela 2012, 289–290). It has been observed in Internet commentaries that Latvians who live in other regions refer the name *braļukas* to Latgalians probably seeing their similarity to Lithuanians: *trakais 09: davai, latgoļi braļukas* 'Latgalian *braļukas*'; *Namejs, latgaļu karotājs: principaa uz lītoviishim varatu sa-caat braļukas, bet mes taikai ar tevi chiulja vins i tis pats* 'basically we can call Lithuanians *braļukas*, but we both, *čiuli*, (the name of Latvians who live in other ethnographic regions of Latvia – A.K.) are the same' (Komentāri 2009).

### 3. Interpretive area of the concept *Lithuanians*

#### 3.1. Social and socio-cultural zone

In 2013 it is planned to create the sign of the Baltic historical unity in Aglona – the monument to King Mindaugas and Queen Morta (legends tell that Morta (Marta) was a Latgalian, a daughter of the lord of Madelāni manor). There is a supposition that the Lithuanian nobleman Mindaugas was killed in 1263 while he was



on his way to Aglona visiting his wife Morta's relatives. There might have been a tomb in Aglona where the King and King's son were buried (Čekša-Ratniece 2012, 42–43). These legends and Latgalian folk songs, which reflect pre-Christian period, testify an equal social status.

At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century – in the time of the formation of national identity and the rise of statehood idea, the officials of Latgalian culture were inspired by the Lithuanian protohistory: 12<sup>th</sup> – 13<sup>th</sup> century, when Crusaders invaded today's territory of Latgale, Lithuanians consolidated and established the state of Lithuania; 14<sup>th</sup> – 16<sup>th</sup> century, the territory of Latgale was brought under Livonia, Lithuanians could boast of kings – dukes, many victorious battles, and the country stretching from the Baltic sea to the Black Sea. However, when Latgale and the territory of Lithuania were one country (in 1561 the territory of Latgale was a part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, from 1569 to 1772 a part of the common Polish-Lithuanian State, the Rzeczpospolita), common features (belonging to Catholic Church, conservative household management methods, farmers' low level of education) consolidated and Latgalian's lifestyle became different from the lifestyle of Latvians who lived in Vidzeme and Kurzeme. In the time when Lithuania lost its statehood (the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century) the territory of Latgale and Lithuania, composed of various provinces, got under the subjugation of Russian Empire; during this period Latvians of Latgale and Lithuanians were united because of abolition of serfdom (1861), consequences of Polish and Lithuanian Rebellion (1863), prohibition of the Latin print in the Lithuanian language- applied as well to Inflanty (Latgale) Latvian language (Lazdiņa 2011, 14–15).

Latgalians' special sympathy towards Lithuanians in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (and its end) can be explained by common grievances, sense of common disaster – in Latgale there was the same press bau (and other constraints, in reality even more drastic than in Lithuania) (Lukaševičs 2008, 121). Furthermore, at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century till the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Latgalians and Lithuanians had a common disaster – due to the economic backwardness they were forced to go to wealthy farmers and industrialists of Vidzeme, Kurzeme and Zemgale to earn for a living. According to A. Butkus, Latvian and Lithuanian peasant's economic inequality and hence different educational and cultural level appeared because of the different time when the serfdom was abolished. In Kurzeme it happened in 1817 and in Vidzeme it was in 1819, but in Lithuania and Latgale in 1861 (Butkus 2006, 17). Probably this is the reason why in the 19<sup>th</sup> – 20<sup>th</sup> century Latvians of Kurzeme and Vidzeme regarded both Lithuanians and Latgalians as the poor and uneducated.

In the 80-ies of the 20<sup>th</sup> century mainly Lithuanians supported independence of Latvia, and even now they are loyal to the country of their residence. Nowadays the media express the idea that nations are united because of brands and not because of flags. In this case the number of supermarket chains, mobile operators and other companies represent Lithuania as an economically active country in Latvian (Latgale). There has been implemented Latvian-Lithuanian Cross-Border cooperation program



for 2007 – 2013 (Latgale region is also involved) which works on the issues connected with environment, tourism infrastructure, social services and improvement of frontier area accessibility (Latvia–Lithuania Cross Border Cooperation Programme 2007–2013, 2008).

In the time of the first independence of the Republic of Latvia (1918–1940) there was observed the boom of Lithuanian social organizations and schools in Latvia (as well in Latgale) (Jēkabsons 2007, 42–46). Nowadays Daugavpils Lithuanian community is a major contributor of Lithuanian cultural history in Latgale: there is Lithuanian Sunday school, folk ensemble, many activities are organized, and the maintenance work of the memorial, dedicated to Lithuanian soldiers who were killed in 1919, is regularly done (Krivica 2006).

### 3.2. Linguistic zone

The researchers of the lexis (inter alia proper names), phonetics, morphology of Latgalian patois (Laimute Balode, Antons Breidaks, Kazimieras Garšva, Lidija Leikuma, Antoņina Reķēna, Vilma Šaudiņa, etc.) have focused on the features of common linguistic phenomena and lithuanisms.

Nowadays a great number of toponyms demonstrate the presence of Lithuanians in Latgale. For example, in June 2012 researchers and students of Rezekne Higher Education Institution and Vytautas Magnus University (project “Development of Research Infrastructure for Education in the Humanities in Eastern Latvia, Lithuania”) went on an expedition to Rezekne district, Sakstagals parish, Ciskādi, which is mentioned in encyclopedias (Visuotinė lietuvių enciklopedija) as the Lithuanian language island situated to the farthest north of Lithuania (Garšva 2003, 143). Nowadays it is not possible to find any person there who speaks Lithuanian, but local microtoponyms of Sakstagals parish (*Deneliški, Guriliški, Kukuči, Mortiški, Subinaite* etc., see figure 2), records in church books, engravings on gravestones (see figure 3), and Lithuanian folk songs interpreted by local inhabitants, are the evidence of Lithuanians’ former presence.

The Lithuanian language is a significant cultural sign in Latgalian texts. Folklore, especially anecdotes depict misunderstandings arisen in the communication between Latvians and Lithuanians because of the so-called false friends of the translator (also known as interlinguistic homonyms, heterosemantisms, etc., see more: Kļavinska 2004, 140–147). For example, the word *druska*, which means ‘crumb’ in Latvian, but ‘salt’ in Lithuanian, has caused a comical situation. During the First World War a Latvian soldier asks a Lithuanian mistress to give him bread, *Īdūdit maņ maizes!* ‘Give me some bread!’ The mistress does not understand him and does not give anything. Thinking that the Lithuanian is stingy, a Latvian soldier says, *Īdūdit kaut drusku!* ‘Give me at least a crumb!’ The mistress brings a handful of salt (LF 1968, 91).

Lithuanian Jonas Kurminas is the author of a trilingual dictionary “Słownik polsko łacinsko łotewski” (1858). This dictionary is the first most comprehensive reflection of the Latgalian lexicon (Leikuma 2009, 25). The author has used the



first Lithuanian dictionary – Konstantinas Sirvydas “*Dictionarium trium linguarum*” (~1620) as a sample. An education employee and writer Bronislavs Spūls admits that working for 40 years as a priest in several congregations of Latgale, Kurmins had mastered the local Latvian well and therefore he managed to include around 10000–12000 Latvian words in his dictionary, sometimes adding self-made words or the words derived from the Lithuanian language (Spūls 1976, 371).

In the 90-ies of the 20<sup>th</sup> century some Latgalian authors searched and updated common stem words of the Balts. The Lithuanian language text insertions play an important role in postmodern creative works of Oskars Seiksts: *NASAVĒRĪZĀKVA-REJU BEZ SAULIS OKULERU (ROJS ORBISONS VĒĻ IR DZEIVS) / JĪE KALBA APIE ORBISONA. TAI TOKSAI ŽMOGUS. ŠAIP JAU DURNIS. JĪS, JĪ, MES, JĪE, JOS. TAI PRIEGLĒBSTĪS* ‘Do not look at the aquarium without sunglasses (Roy Orbison is still alive) / They talk about Orbison. It is such a man. Fool. He, she, we, they. It’s scope’ (Seiksts, Lukaševičs 1996, 53). The poet Antons Slišāns has studied and found out that kin’s roots of many neighbourhood residents of Viļaka can be found in Lithuania, Samogitia, so he encouraged a translator Kristina Vaisvalavičienē to translate his children’s poetry. As a result there was created a unique collection of poems “*Rūtaļu vydā. Ratelē vēdorelie*” (2009), where a Latvian text is translated into Lithuanian, but a Latgalian one – into Samogitian.

A Lithuanian linguist and journalist Alvydas Butkus is of the opinion that nowadays Latvians and Lithuanians are able to communicate in both Baltic languages only in border areas. Russian is the language which mainly functions as *lingua franca* in older and middle-aged generation communications; the younger generation is trying to communicate in English, so inevitably there is some distance, coolness and feeling of strangeness to a certain extent, and even misunderstandings and miscomprehensions (Butkus 2005). The Lithuanian language can be acquired in Latgale at Daugavpils University and Rezekne Higher Education Institution, but A. Butkus believes that it should be taught in secondary schools of Southern Latvia, as well as the Latvian language should be taught in secondary schools of Northern Lithuania.

### 3.3. Religious zone

In Latvian stereotypical concept, Lithuanians are depicted as a religious nation and conservative Catholics in comparison with progressive Lutherans (Latvians) (Butkus, 2007; Muktupāvela 2012, 285). The same stereotypes can be applied to Latvians of Latgale (Latgalians) because Lithuanians and Latgalians have common historically formed belonging to the Catholic Church and even the primacy of the Catholic identity over national identity.

In Latgalian cultural memory Lithuanians are mostly clergymen: *senejūs laikūs vysi bazneickungi beja leitovīši, reti kaidis pūļu tauteibas. Atbraukuši uz Latgolu, jī īsamōceja latgaļu volūdu un nūdzeivova vysu laiku Latgolā. Jī prota ar cylvākim sadzeivōt un vysi jūs cīneja*. ‘In ancient times, all the priests were Lithuanians, rarely they were Poles. When they came to Latgale, they learned the language and lived



all the time in Latgale. They knew how to get on well with people and everyone respected them' (Dzeņš 1971, 55-56). From the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century till the early 20<sup>th</sup> century there are known several Lithuanian clergymen (D. Andrekus, J. Andžijevskas, V. Tomašunas, etc.), who were significant to Latgale because they organized the construction works of many Catholic Churches, favoured the activities of education and social life (Latkovskis 1999). Lithuanian Catholic clergymen had an important role in promoting national awakening of Latgale. In the novel "Tauta grib dzeivuoť" (Nation Wants to Live) by Antons Rupainis about Latgalian Awakening there was expressed the idea that *sovā katōliskā aplūkā latvōts var atsaspert tikai ar draudzeigūs lītaunīku atbolstu* 'in his/her Catholic circle the Latvian can move forward only by friendly support of Lithuanians' (Rupaiņš 1963, 87).

Nowadays, it seems, a common Catholic identity is not as important as in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, but even now many Latgalians go to see the glorious Churches of Lithuania and the Hill of Crosses, but tourists and pilgrims from Lithuania go to Aglona basil – the centre of Catholicism in Latgale.

#### 3.4. Perceptive zone

Lithuanians' outward appearance and temperament evaluation in Latgalian textuality is minimal, thus it proves the belonging to the same anthropological type and social status. There is found only one folk riddle, where the external appearance of the Lithuanian woman arouses the association of reed: *Szmujdra, gara litaūnica, szolka burdiš pakalā. Nidra.* 'Slender, tall Lithuanian, silken ribbons behind. Reed' (LIF 1892, 209). However, an allegory *treis buobys i leic* 'Three women and a Lithuanian man' (LS 937 182) might present the evidence of Lithuanians' garrulity and noisy behaviour.

In contemporary era of globalization, it is difficult to determine the uniqueness of clothing and behaviour in ethnic aspect, but a culture anthropologist Rūta Muktupāvela is of the opinion that contemporary Latvian youth considers that Lithuanian youth has a bad taste in clothing and the use of colours and as an integral part of the Lithuanian behaviour they mention Lithuanians' noisiness and negligent attitude towards others (Muktupāvela 2012, 286).

#### 3.5. Emotionally and intellectually evaluative zone

In Latgalian folklore, the relations between Lithuanians and Latvians are slightly depicted; Lithuanians appear as desirable spouses to have good relations between neighbours:

<i>Krīvūs devu sov' muosiņu,</i>	<i>I gave away my sister to Russians,</i>
<i>Leišūs jēmu līgaviņu;</i>	<i>And married a Lithuanian girl;</i>
<i>Krīvi znūti, leiši svaiņi,</i>	<i>Sons-in-law are Russians,</i>
	<i>brothers-in law are Lithuanians,</i>
<i>Kur bej celt īnaidiņu? (LTDz 46167, 326)</i>	<i>Why to quarrel with them?</i>





However, the distinctive or different is always visible and shows stereotypical concept of one nation about the other. Throughout the Latvian folklore (including the texts written in Latgale) Lithuanians appear as fools. For example, the proverb *glups koa leic* 'As stupid as Lithuanian' (LS 1268 490). There have not been found any other negative characteristic traits of Lithuanians in Latgalian folklore and literary texts. While in other regions of Latvia a stereotypical perception of Lithuanians is more diverse: they are depicted as an obscure religious and furtive nation. Anecdotes jeer at Lithuanians' greed and naivety making fun of the Lithuanian language which sounds strange to Latvians (Muktupāvela 2012, 285). It must be admitted that there are the same stereotypical perception of the Latvians of Latgale, giving them the nickname *čangaļi*. A folklore researcher Janīna Kursīte asserts that the stereotypical percept of *čangaļs* is attributed to 'blockish, coarse, slow-witted, soulful, a tippler, rowdy, reckless, too religious, cringer (especially in the context of Soviet times)' (Kursīte 2005, 80). This kind of perception of the neighbouring ethnic groups is typical in folklore. In Lithuanian folklore Latvians are depicted as misers, wizards and magicians (Anglickienė 2006, 231). On the contrary, the tale about Lithuanians of Ciskādi, mentioned in the 2<sup>nd</sup> chapter of this paper, highlights a positive perception praising their diligence.

Under the current economic situation, as usual, quite negative new stereotypes about neighbours have appeared: Lithuanian is not a nationality, but a profession: marketers and self-seekers, but in Lithuanians' point of view Latvians are conceited, lazy, and without initiative. However, emphasizing the solidarity of Latvians and Lithuanians there is also highlighted a positive stereotype – the only living Baltic nations with the archaic Indo-European languages and a unique ethno-culture (Butkus 2007).

Nowadays the relations of both nations are mostly cooperation-oriented. For example, the association "Latvian and Lithuanian Forum" (founded in 2007, in Kaunas) provides a cooperation of the Balts in various spheres: it organizes students' summer camps, cooperation between frontier schools (Latgale schools and universities participate as well), congresses of the Balts' unity (for example, in 2008, the congress held in Rezekne was dedicated to the problem issues of historical communication of Latvia and Lithuania. In 2012 there was published the "Report on the cooperation prospects between Lithuania and Latvia" (one of the authors – a linguist and diplomat Alberts Sarkanis was born in Latgale). It discusses about the areas of cooperation related to the Baltic identity of our nations and which are described as a common informative, cultural, educational and scientific space. It is also planned to maintain further cooperation in the spheres of economy, transport, energy and security (Germans, Sarkanis 2012).

### Conclusion

A linguist O. Bušs admits that *semantics is the sphere of linguistics, where explicit claims are often impertinent. (...) Many semantic problems can have several possible explanations and numerous interpretations* (Bušs 2003, 275). It must be

added that the process of ethnonym conceptualization is quite complicated: although meanings are formed following the dominant of the contextual semantics, the crucial role is attributed to the competence and intuition of the researcher.

The obtained data of the research proves that the concept *Lithuanians* reveals several common features in Lithuanian and Latgalian cultural history: common origin, cognate languages, belonging to Catholic Church, statehood idea, while the stereotyped percept of character traits, typical for neighbours, is quite negative. In comparison with the perceptions of Lithuanians of those Latvians who live in other ethnographic regions of Latvia, Latgalians attribute more 'familiar' features to Lithuanians (most notably it is revealed in social and religious areas of the concept). It can be explained by the long-term spatial separation of Latgale from Latvia and historically formed common destiny with the Lithuanians.

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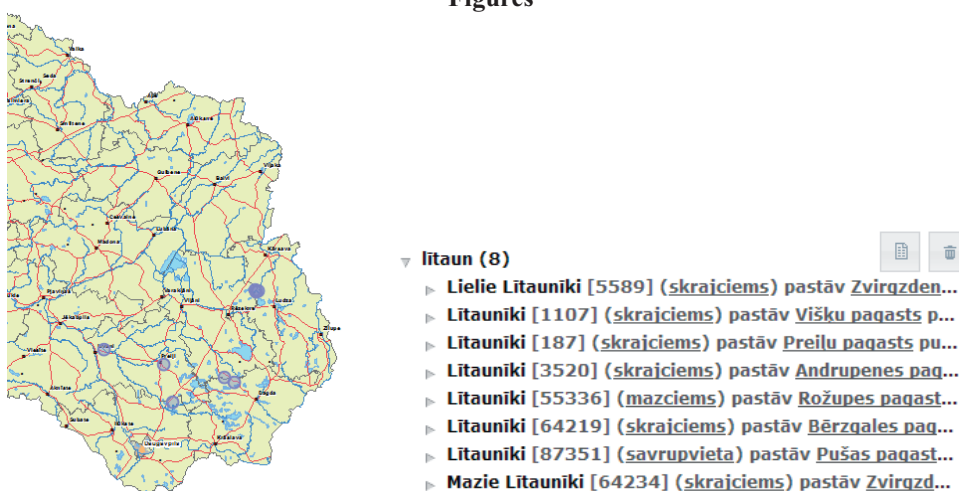
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## Figures



**Figure 1.** Ethnonymic origin toponyms Lītaunīki in Latgale (Cakula Z., LGIA data base)



**Figure 2.** Bus stop *Subinaite* (in Lithuanian *subinė* vulgarism ‘arse’) in Rēzekne district Sakstagals parish (the project’s “Development of Research Infrastructure for Education in the Humanities in Eastern Latvia, Lithuania” data base, 2012)





**Figure 3.** Gravestone to Ciskādi church organist Jons Milkevičs in Ciskādi Cemetery (the project's "Development of Research Infrastructure for Education in the Humanities in Eastern Latvia, Lithuania" data base, 2012)

### *Antra Kļavinska*

## KONCEPTAS LIETUVIAI LATGALOS KULTŪRINĒJĒ APLINKOJĒ

### Santrauka

**Pagrindiniai žodžiai:** *konceptas, kognityvinė semantika, etnonimas, lietuviai, latgaliai.*

Straipsnyje analizuojami koncepto *lietuviai* pagrindiniai aspektai Rytų Latvijos (Latgalos) kultūrinėje aplinkoje. Tyrimo pagrindą sudaro „Latgalos lingvoteritorinio žodyno“ (2012) straipsniui „Lietuviai“ autorės surinkti šaltiniai: latgalių tautosakos tekstai, antroponiminiai ir toponiminiai duomenys, latgalių literatūra, istorijos, sociologijos ir etnologijos tyrimai, publicistika. Žodyno straipsnyje autorė padarė išvadą, kad konceptas *lietuviai* Latgalos kultūrinėje aplinkoje atskleidžiamas trimis aspektais: 1) etnolingvistiniai kontaktai, 2) valstybingumo idėja; 3) šiuolaikiniai lietuvių kultūros ženklai Latgaloje. Šiame straipsnyje, pasitelkiant kognityvinės semantikos teorines išvadas, koncepto *lietuviai* semantinė struktūra analizuojama pagal tokį principą: 1) nominatyvinis laukas (etnonimo variantai: *leiši, litauniki, litviaki, lītuvīši, leitovīši*); 2) interpretacinis laukas (vertinamoji nuostata opozicijoje *savas–svetimas*), kuriame išskiriama religinė, socialinė (užsiėmimas, gyvenamoji erdvė), socialinės kultūros (papročiai, tradicijos), lingvistinė (kalba, komunikacijos galimybė ir poreikis), perceptyvinė (išvaizda, paralingvistiniai požymiai), emociškai ir intelektualiai vertinamoji (būdo bruožai, temperamentas) zona.

Šio tyrimo duomenys rodo, kad konceptas *lietuviai* atskleidžia kelis bendrus požymius lietuvių ir latgalių kultūros istorijoje: bendra kilmė ir giminiškos kalbos, priklausymas katalikų tikėjimui, valstybingumo idėja, tačiau charakterio bruožų stereotipiškas suvokimas, kaip kaimynams būdinga, yra gana neigiamas (lietuviai vaizduojami kaip kvailiai, mušeikos, prekyautojai, savanaudžiai). Palyginus su kituose Latvijos etnografiniuose regionuose gyve-



nančių latvių įvaizdžiu apie lietuvius, Latgaloje lietuviai turi daugiau „savojo“ požymių (ryškiausiai tai atsiskleidžia koncepto socialinėje ir religinėje zonoje). To priežastis – Latgalos teritorijos ilgalaikė atskirtis nuo likusios Latvijos bei istorinis bendrumas su lietuviais (1561 m. Latgalos teritorija tapo Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės dalimi, nuo 1569 iki 1772 m. buvo Abiejų Tautų Respublikos (Žečpospolitos) dalis).

*Antra Kļavinska*

## THE CONCEPT *LITHUANIANS* IN THE CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT OF LATGALE

### Summary

**Keywords:** *concept, cognitive semantics, ethnonyms, Lithuanians, Latgalians.*

This paper analyses the basic aspects of the concept *Lithuanians* in the cultural environment of Eastern Latvia (Latgale). The basis of the research is the author's collected sources on the entry *Lithuanians* of "Latgale Linguo-Territorial Dictionary" (2012). These sources are Latgalian folklore texts, antroponymy and toponymy data, Latgalian literature, history, research in sociology and ethnology, and journalism. The author of the paper concludes that the concept *Lithuanians* in the cultural environment of Latgale can be described in 3 basic aspects: 1) ethnolinguistic contacts; 2) statehood idea; 3) cultural signs of Lithuanians in contemporary Latgale. Using theoretical knowledge of cognitive semantics, the semantic structure of the concept "Lithuanians" in this paper is analyzed according to the following principles: 1) nominative area (variants of the ethnonym Lithuanians, *litaunīki, litviaki, lītuvīši, leitovīši*), 2) interpretive area (evaluative attitude of the opposition *familiar - unknown*), which includes religious, social (occupation, living space), socio-cultural (customs and traditions), linguistic (language, necessity and possibility of communication), perceptive (outward appearance, paralinguistic features), emotionally and intellectually evaluative (character traits, temperaments) area.

The obtained data of the research proves that the concept *Lithuanians* reveals several common features in Lithuanian and Latgalian cultural history: common origin, cognate languages, belonging to Catholic Church, statehood idea, while the stereotyped percept of character traits, typical for neighbours, is quite negative. In comparison with the perceptions of Lithuanians of those Latvians who live in other ethnographic regions of Latvia, Latgalians attribute more '*familiar*' features to Lithuanians (most notably it is revealed in social and religious areas of the concept). It can be explained by the long-term spatial separation of Latgale from Latvia and historically formed common history with the Lithuanians. (in 1561 the territory of Latgale was a part of the Lithuanian Grand Duchy, from 1569 to 1772 a part of the common Polish-Lithuanian State, the Rzeczpospolita).

