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ATLAS OF THE BALTIC LANGUAGES: FROM IDEA TO PILOT PROJECT

Introduction

The dialects of the two surviving, living Baltic languages, Latvian and Lithuanian, represent not only the cultural and historical heritage of two related peoples, but comprise also a wealth of facts relevant to scholars who study the Baltic and Slavic languages, as well as to other specialists examining such Indo-European issues as linguistics, ethnography, history, archaeology, etc.

Dialectologists from Latvian Language Institute of the University of Latvia and the Department of Language History and Dialectology of the Institute of the Lithuanian Language, have developed a proposal for a joint project entitled, *Atlas of the Baltic Languages*, which is intended to demonstrate the close kinship of these two Baltic languages. A pilot project, supported by a grant from the University of Latvia and Directorate for the Millenium of Lithuania has been carried out between 2006 and 2008 to determine what the form and eventual content of such an atlas might be. A compendium of existing geolinguistic findings, as well as results gathered from surveys of the dialects of both languages, as they are spoken today, are to be the basis for this proposed *Atlas of the Baltic Languages*. In 2009 a summary of work carried out on the pilot project on *Atlas of the Baltic Languages, Prospect* (ABL) has been published which includes 12 geolinguistic maps, with commentary in Latvian, Lithuanian and English. The publication also contains in the introduction homage paid to the living and extinct Baltic languages, as well as an overview of the history of the study of dialects in both countries and the characteristics and regional distribution of the dialects of Latvian and Lithuanian. The principles followed in creating these geolinguistic maps and associated commentary are described, too.

Linguists from these two neighbouring countries whose native tongues are closely related have set themselves a common goal of carrying out geolinguistic investigations of what have been in the past and what are in the present the common features of the Latvian and Lithuanian languages as well as the regional dispersion of these languages as of the late 20th century. *Atlas of the Baltic Languages* is intended to provide insight into the natural linguistic processes whereby a diversity of dialects developed in both Baltic languages. This article describes recent progress made in research on the regional distribution of dialects of both languages. Initial findings led to a pilot project on the *Atlas of the Baltic Languages*, in the course of which, research into geolinguistic issues allowed the project team to define future research activities. This paper includes results from an overview published by Dr. philol. Danguolė Mikulėnienė of independent geolinguistic research findings concerning the Lithuanian language, which also form part of the pilot project on *The Atlas of the Baltic Languages*.

It has to be mentioned that linguists studying the dialects of Latvian and Lithuanian have up to now not engaged in joint co-operative geolinguistic investigations of these closely related Baltic languages. For more than a century research on the dialects of the Latvian and Lithuanian languages has taken place in parallel, separately gathering data on the various dialects of each respective language. It is, therefore, necessary first to examine, briefly, the histories of the respective geolinguistic research endeavours.

The earliest records of territorial differences of the dialects of Baltic languages

The first geolinguistic studies of the Lithuanian language, as is the case for the Latvian language, date from the 19th century. The first Lithuanian and Latvian geolinguistic maps were published at the second half of the 19th century. However, the first records of differences between the territorial extents and diversity of Latvian and Lithuanian are to be found in surviving grammars and dictionaries of these languages compiled in the 17th century.

The first grammars of the **Lithuanian** language, written in Latin by several authors, contains a few references to the existence of different Lithuanian dialects. In 1653 Danielus Kleinas distinguished between various Lithuanian dialects based on the manner in which the phonemes **tj*, **dj* were then pronounced, i.e. *tie žodei, tiems saldiems žodems* rather than *tie žodžei* ‘these words’, *tiems saldiems žodžems* ‘for those sweet words’; the equivalence of the diphthongs *an*, *en*, i.e. *dungaus* ‘of the sky’; words beginning with the vowel *e*, i.e. *atait* ‘to come’, *atais* ‘will come’; and so on and so forth. Kristupas Sapūnas (1673) was the first to record the transformation by some speakers of the phonemes **tj*, **dj*, into the palatalised consonants *c’*, *dz’*, as opposed to their pronunciation as *č’*, *dž’* by others speaking the Aukštaitian dialect (the process in Lithuanian is referred to as “*dzūkavimas*”). In his grammar (1856) August Schleicher gave as the principal features distinguishing between the Aukštaitian and Žemaitian dialects to be equivalences of the ancient phonemes **tj*, **dj*, and the diph-

thongs *uo* and *ie*, as well as differences in pronunciation of the vowel *o* (Schleicher 1856: 3–5). At that time the question of how to classify various Lithuanian dialects, as well as clear demarcation of their territorial extent, were not settled. In 1888 Jonas Juszka proposed a system for classifying Lithuanian dialects (and groups of sub-dialects) which would distinguish between the Žemaitian dialect, the dialect of Lithuanian spoken in Prussia, and the western Aukštaitian and eastern Aukštaitian dialects (Juszka 1886: 8).

The first comprehensive classification of the dialects of Lithuanian was offered by Antanas Baranauskas (Baranovskij 1898: 49–78). He identified 11 groups of dialects spoken in the then tsarist province of Kaunas (Kowno). The classification proposed by A. Baranauskas of dialects and sub-dialects correctly identified isophones; however, he did not formulate, in any detail, his perception of what characteristics were the basis for distinguishing between dialects and sub-dialects.

Kazimieras Jaunius, a student of A. Baranauskas, adopted a different approach to classifying Lithuanian dialects (Javnis 1908–1916: 22–25, 29–34). K. Jaunius' precise description of the crucial features which distinguish one dialect from another proved to be invaluable to later researchers. His identification of the two principal Lithuanian dialects, Žemaitian and Aukštaitian, was based on differences in pronunciation of the archaic phonemes **tj*, **dj*, and of the vowels *é* and *o*. He further subdivided these dialects into groups of sub-dialects, on the basis of detailed variations and commonalities in pronunciation: in the case of the Žemaitian group, this concerned the diphthongs *uo* and *ie*, whereas for the Aukštaitian group, this concerned the equivalence of diphthongs *an*, *en*, *am*, *em*, as well as differences in pronunciation of the consonant *l*, when it precedes a number of vowels, notably *e*. Several later linguistic scholars (see Būga 1961: 85–97, Salys 1933: 21–34) built upon and refined this classification of Lithuanian dialects and sub-dialects, which was accepted for quite some time by linguists in Lithuania, and elsewhere, in their studies. It came to be known as the traditional classification scheme.

A new classification of Lithuanian dialects was introduced in the mid-20th century by Aleksas Girdenis and Zigmas Zinkevičius. This classification today is accepted as the reference standard. The methodology, which is a modified form of that introduced by Antanas Baranauskas, is based not on individual isophones, but on the totality of common and distinguishing phonetic features, largely vocalisms and syllable stress, associated with a dialect (Girdenis, Zinkevičius 1966: 139–147).

The first records concerning differences in **Latvian** language as it was spoken in different regions also date from the 17th century (see Laumane 1999: 303–304). In contrast to information about the Lithuanian language dating from this time, these first accounts of the Latvian language placed more emphasis on the differences between various dialects, rather than focussing on how these dialects are called, or their geographical extent.

In his German-Latvian dictionary, *Lettus, das ist Wortbuch...*, published in 1683, the German Lutheran minister Georg Mancelius clearly identified features of

the Latvian language attributable to both dialects and sub-dialects. In his introductory remarks G. Mancelius emphasised the fact that there were noticeable differences in Latvian spoken in practically every parish. In particular, he scrupulously listed features characteristic of the speech of residents of Alūksne, Gulbene, Daugavpils and Rēzekne. His publication mostly gives only general indications concerning the place where specific words (or word forms) were used. For example many locations are simply identified as Kurzeme, Zemgale, the border region with Lithuania; however, there are also a number of cases where usage is identified with a specific locality, i.e. Mežmuiža (Augstkalne), Zaļenieki (in Zemgale), Alūksne, Gulbene (in Vidzeme), Daugavpils, Rēzekne (in Latgale). A number of words are described as being typical of Kurzeme, i.e. *dižs* 'large, big'; *skutulis* 'dish'; *sviķis* 'resin', etc. Some words are denoted as being used in Alūksne, Gulbene, Daugavpils and Rēzekne, i.e. *rūdināt* 'to make cry'; *ustoba* 'dwelling house'. However, most of words listed in this dictionary are those used in Valle and Sēlpils, places where Mancelius worked for many years. The dialect found in Eastern Latvia differs markedly from the language spoken in Zemgale, and, thus, Mancelius was able to compare it with the Latvian middle dialect. The following words are noted to be used in Valle: *duobe* 'pit', grave'; *klēva* 'cattle-shed'; *patmaļi* 'mill'; *pūne* 'barn'; *raitnieks* 'rider'. The following words were recorded in Sēlpils: *guns* 'fire'; *patmalas* 'mill'; *ustuba* 'dwelling house'. The prefix *da-*, and the preposition *da*, are recorded as being used in both areas: for example, *daiet* 'to go up (to)' in Valle; *danest*, instead of *pienest* 'to bring' in Mežmuiža (see Zemzare 1961: 11–63).

In describing the Latvian language Paul Einhorn in his book *Historia Lettica* (1649) remarked upon its different dialects, notably, that the language spoken by individuals living in Daugavpils and Sēlpils featured many words not used by other Latvians, and also that pronunciation of identical words varied considerably. Furthermore, these persons called themselves as *rēdi* (or *rēdiņi*, the diminutive form). The territory which they inhabited stretched from the border with Russian speakers to Valle (Mežmuiža). Latvian was spoken in much the same way in the area around the towns of Rēzekne, Ludza and Viļaka; the High Latvian dialect is spoken today precisely in this region. According to P. Einhorn, Semigallians lived in the region between Valle and the town of Saldus; the region between Saldus and the border with Prussia was inhabited by Curonians, who were called *tāmi* both by Semigallians and by the inhabitants of Daugavpils. It is clear that P. Einhorn has, in his publication, sketched dialect borders which are substantially similar today.

The first study of the two differing forms of pronunciation of Latvian, i.e. the dialect spoken in the region ruled by German speakers, and that spoken in Polish administered territory, is to be found in the grammar, *Dispositio imperfecti...*, published in 1732, in Vilnius. These two forms of pronunciation are found today in the speech of the inhabitants of Low and High Latvian, respectively. The author of this grammar of 1732 described the vocalism of colloquial speech in Low

Latvian and provided comparisons with examples of speech from High Latvian (see Grabis 1984).

The first scholar to describe all three dialects of the Latvian Language was August Bielenstein, a German Lutheran minister, who did so in 1863. These three dialects are: that associated with High Latvian (*oberländischen*), the north-western Couronian dialect (*nordwestkurische*) and the Middle (*mittleren*) dialect. The dialect spoken in Eastern Latvia was also described by A. Bielenstein to be High Latvian (*Hochlettisch*), while at the same time he described as Low Latvian (*Niederlettisch*) both the north-western Curonian dialect, and to the middle dialect. He furthermore occasionally referred to the north-western Curonian dialect as the *tāmu* dialect (*tahmische*) (Bielenstein 1863: 12–17). A. Bielenstein described the phonetic and morphological differences between the dialects and gave quite an accurate description of the areas in which they were prevalent. This was the first extensive account of the dialects of the Latvian language; however, A. Bielenstein **does not make any reference** to the sub-dialect in Vidzeme which was influenced by the Livonian language. The names proposed by A. Bielenstein to distinguish various Latvian dialects have become entrenched in Latvian linguistic study.

A. Bielenstein observed that the Middle dialect was the basis for the written Latvian language, at the same time as noting that a number of written works, influenced by Catholic beliefs and traditions, had been published in the High Latvian dialect.

Nevertheless, a collection of dialectal texts and their analysis *Lettische Dialekt-Studien* (1885) by German linguist Adalbert Bezzenberger has to be regarded as the first noteworthy publication in Latvian dialectology. A number of dialectal phenomena recorded by A. Bezzenberger has disappeared nowadays or their distribution has changed.

The first geolinguistic maps of the Baltic languages

The first map showing the geographical reach of the **Lithuanian** language is to be found in the grammar compiled in 1876 by Friedrich Kurschat, in which he differentiates between two dialects of the Lithuanian, i.e. Žemaitian and Aukštaitian – with the Nevėžis river being the physical dividing line (see fig. 1).

These dialects are further described to encompass several groups of sub-dialects: for the Žemaitian dialect, there was a North-Western group (Kretinga, Salantai, Viekšniai, Telšiai, Šiauliai), and a South-Western group (Varniai, Raseiniai, Tauragė, Jurbarkas); whereas for the Aukštaitian dialect, there was a North-Eastern group (Panevėžys, Vabalninkas, Kupiškis, Zarasai, Anykščiai), as well as a South-Eastern group (Ukmergė, Kaunas, Vilnius). As regards the former gubernia of Suwalki, Friedrich Kurschat distinguished between the Mirjampolė group of sub-dialects (Marijampolė, Veiveriai, Kalvarija) and the Suvalkai group of sub-dialects (Suvalkai, Seinai, Seirijai, Merkinė). As regards Lithuanian as spoken in East Prussia, he distinguished (and geographically delineated) the southern, middle and northern Prussian dialects of Lithuanian.

Fig. 1. The first geolinguistic map of Lithuanian language (1876)

The first geolinguistic map of the **Latvian** language, on the other hand, was published in 1892 by August Bielenstein (see fig. 2). This map was an Appendix to the main body of his book, *Die Grenzen des lettischen Volksstammes...* (Bielenstein 1892). The map comprises 33 isoglosses, that represent, for the main part, phonetic and morphological features of Latvian dialects and sub-dialects. These isoglosses can be used to infer clear boundaries between various dialects; they also are evidence for the distribution of sub-dialects. However, the map does not explicitly give the regional extent of the dialects of the Latvian language.

A number of the isoglosses on this map show the distribution of linguistic features of the Curonian dialect, notably isogloss no. 4, *dui* 'two', *dubens* 'bottom, ground'; isogloss no. 5, the use of the prefix *āz*, instead of *aiz* 'behind'; isogloss no. 6, *ziergs* 'horse'; isogloss no. 8, *gāla* 'head', *dzēre* 'crane'; and isogloss no. 17, *dārbs* 'work'. Other isoglosses show the regional extent of the influence of the Livonian language on Latvian, i.e. isogloss no. 1, the loss of a final syllable and isogloss no. 13, the absence of a feminine case. A number of isoglosses align in the north-south direction and hint at the demarcation between the regional extent of the middle dialect and the dialect spoken in Eastern Latvia, for example there being a clear distinction in sound equivalences in these dialects (e.g. isogloss no. 35, *k* and *č* and *g* and *dž*; isogloss no. 23, the use of the morpheme *sa-* as a prefix to denote the reflexive form of verbs; isogloss nr. 20 showed wide-

-spread use of the preposition *da* in the Eastern part of Latvia, etc. Only one isogloss in this geolinguistic map referred to lexis, i.e. isogloss no. 9, the use of *dižs* ‘big, large’.

Fig. 2. *The first geolinguistic map of Latvian language (1892)*

The maps produced by F. Kurschat and A. Bielenstein have found an enduring place in the study of Baltic dialects not only as they are historically significant entities, *viz.* the first such maps for their respective languages, but also being a valuable and unique source of information about the dialects of their time.

The first questionnaires used to gather dialectal information

The first systematic efforts at gathering Latvian and Lithuanian non-material cultural assets date from the second half of the 19th century, from the time when gathering ethnographic records and the study of local linguistic variations and nuances became wide-spread in Europe.

The first although quite different questionnaires used to gather dialectal information about Lithuanian and Latvian dialects were due to Eduardas Volteris. The programme *Программа для указания особенностей говоров Литвы и Жмуди* (1886), conceived by Eduardas Volteris, is the first systematised attempt at gathering information about **Lithuanian** sub-dialects. The methodology was developed to gather such data about Lithuanian spoken throughout territory then ruled by Tsarist Russia.

The need to organise a systematic investigation of Lithuanian sub-dialects was discussed at a general meeting of the Lithuanian Science Society in 1912. Kazimieras Būga accepted this task. The questionnaire that he developed for this purpose was published between July 23rd and 25th, 1924 in the newspaper “Lietuva”. Regrettably, no information was gathered based upon this questionnaire. The untimely death of Kazimieras Būga in December of that same year put an end, for some considerable time to come, of attempts at gathering the relevant information.

The first attempt at systematically gathering similar information about the **Latvian** language, as it mentioned above, is also due to Eduardas Volteris, who in 1892 published, in Jelgava, a set of guide-lines for this purpose, i.e. *Programma tautas gara mantu krājējiem*. Questions about Latvian ethnography, folklore, myths, the environment, dress, place of residence, occupations, and food were laid out in 10 chapters of this publication. A number of questions seek to discover the names of real places as well as concepts. However, this set of questions practically paid no attention to phonetic and morphology issues of the Latvian language.

As we see these are quite different programmes, quite different approach to the gathering information on Latvian and Lithuanian dialects. It is still unclear today why radically different questionnaires (methodology) were proposed for the purpose of gathering facts about identical issues, notably data about dialects. It is also far from evident why no common questionnaire was developed to gather information about the Lithuanian and Latvian languages, in a way that would facilitate their study from a geolinguistic stand point. The publication, *Programmu tautas gara mantu krājējiem*, was revised and republished by Pēteris Šmits in 1923 under the title, *Programma tautas gara tradīciju krājējiem*.

The newspaper, *Dienas Lapa* (1886–1905), began to publish a series of supplements entitled, *Etnogrāfiskas ziņas par latviešiem* (1891–1894), at approximately the same time as the previously mentioned publication, i.e. *Programma tautas gara tradīciju krājējiem*. The purpose of these supplements was to collect terms used by Latvian speakers in various regions inhabited by Latvians, and also to encourage scholarly study of the Latvian language. The supplements also included articles inviting the readers to contribute terms that would be used to compile a comprehensive dictionary of the Latvian language. Information was gathered this way from more than 100 locations in Kurzeme and Vidzeme.

The first professional programme for gathering material about the dialects and sub-dialects of the Latvian language was developed by Jānis Endzelīns, and it was published in the journal *Druva* in 1912 & 1913. Attention was focussed in this survey on the regional distribution of a number of phonetic features (e.g. the pronunciation of *e*, *ē*, *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*, *ai*, *au*, intonation and consonant interchange); additionally, it addressed issues of word formation and morphology (diminutive forms, declension of nouns, verb forms, and certain numerals and prepositions, etc.).

During the 1930s Jānis Endzelīns argued in favour of producing an atlas showing the isoglosses of the Latvian language; regrettably, this proposal was not acted upon.

At the same time he invited the collection to take place of various material aspects of Latvian culture, as follows: *Following the example set by A. Bielenstein, it is now opportune to gather information about material expressions of culture, e.g. concerning various different shapes and designs of fences and enclosures, which as they are to be found in different regions. This information should help to infer the borders of territories inhabited by ancient tribes* (Endzelīns 1933: 105). This invitation by J. Endzelīns can be extended today in support of the necessity to create an atlas of the Baltic languages, since the extents of territory inhabited by the ancient Baltic tribes are related to the geographical limits of the Latvian and Lithuanian states. One can say, that J. Endzelīns was, implicitly, one of the authors, more precisely, the first author of the idea of producing such an atlas.

Preliminary activities in advance of creating the national dialectal atlases

It is self-evident that in order that an atlas of the dialects of one language be produced, linguistic materials (focussing on dialect specificities) need to be collected in a systematic way, i.e. in the form of results from a standard questionnaire which are then classified according to a pre-defined number of sub-dialects.

The study of the sub-dialects of the **Lithuanian** language, following such methodology, began in the beginning of the 1940s, i.e. early in the period of Soviet occupation. A new questionnaire *Apklausa 1* („Survey Nr. 1”), comprising 92 questions was prepared by Antanas Salis. It was foreseen that the resulting survey would gather information on the names of a number of plants and animals as they related to sub-dialects. It was planned later to carry out further specialised surveys, the questionnaires for which were not produced. The outbreak hostilities of the Second World War in Lithuania stopped the collection of such information. However, replies to the *Apklausa 1* survey were received from more than 1500 locations.

The first maps of groups of Latvian sub-dialects were published in 1939 & 1940. These maps, which were based on information gathered by and compiled by Velta Rūķe (Rūķe 1939) comprised:

- 1) *A map of the isoglosses of Latgale. Phonetic aspects.* The principal phonetic features characteristic of Latvian sub-dialects spoken in Latgale were illustrated by means of 14 isoglosses. For example, these showed the regions of broken tone accents and falling tone accents; the transformation of the sounds *i*, *ū*, *ē*, *ir* and *ur*; the occurrence of *ai* following *k* and *g*; *k*, *g* > *č*, *dž* or *k'*, *g'*; the regional extent to which the word endings *-as*, *-es* > *-ys*, *-is* are to be found.
- 2) *A map of the isoglosses of Latgale. Morphological aspects.* This map comprised 17 isoglosses, which covered a number of characteristic differences of nouns, numerals and verbs.
- 3) *A grouping of sub-dialects in Latgale.* In the third map produced by V. Rūķe, three principal groups of the Latvian sub-dialects to be found in Latgale were identified by their phonetic and morphological features to be: the northern group, the south-western group and the group in Eastern Latgale.

Velta Rūke published three further maps in 1940 (Rūke 1940):

- 1) *A map of isoglosses in Western Vidzeme*. The author noted that *the 13 isoglosses which were included in this map, covered both phonetic and morphological features*. For example, this map reflects the regional distribution of variations in intonation, such as is the case for the degree to which the sound *e* is broadened in single-syllable infinitives, the diminutive *-iņš* form, and variations in the declension of certain nomens as well as differing versions of certain verbs.
- 2) *A map of isoglosses in Northern Vidzeme. Phonetic aspects*. This map comprised 13 isoglosses to illustrate the regional distribution of such phonetic features as the use of *-ir-* and *-ur-*, transformation of the diphthongs *ei*, *au*, usage of the soft *r* sound.
- 3) *A map of isoglosses in Northern Vidzeme. Morphological aspects*. Morphological differences are shown on this map by means of 16 isoglosses, in which differences in the endings associated with the declension of some nouns, variations in the use of prefixes and prepositions, the ending associated with the third person singular of passive verbs, etc. Using the geographic information derived from grouping of certain forms of dialect variations, Velta Rūke was able to compare the influence of the Livonian language on Latvian sub-dialects, both as regards common features and different features in Northern Kurzeme and Western Vidzeme.

A methodology for describing sub-dialects, compiled by Velta Rūke, was published in 1940; this, in fact, is one of the important pre-cursors to producing an Atlas of Latvian Dialects.

Study of the dialects of the Baltic languages after the Second World War

A new chapter in the study of Lithuanian and Latvian dialects began in the 1950s after a decision was taken to produce atlases of the two languages.

Jozas Senkus led the effort to produce an *Atlas of the Lithuanian language* (LKA). A programme to gather information to produce such an Atlas (*Lietuvių kalbos atlaso medžiagos rinkimo programa*) was created in 1950, and authored by Jozas Balčikonis, Boris Larin, Jozas Senkus: the first programmatic publication appeared in 1951, the second, in 1956. The programme methodology was verified during the course of an expedition to the Prienai region. An appendix to the programme document, “*Instructions on how to collect information for the Atlas of the Lithuanian language*” (*Lietuvių kalbos atlaso medžiagos rinkimo instrukcija*), incorporating practical observations from initial efforts at gathering data, was published in 1954. This publication gave “*detailed instructions, based on scientific and methodological considerations, on how best to gather information on dialects*”.

Information on Lithuanian dialects was gathered over 15 years as part of this programme: in all data was gathered from more than 800 locations (it had been decided officially to study 704 inhabited places on Lithuanian territory). Study of Lithuanian dialects was pursued in areas outside Lithuania, and information was obtained from an additional 13 locations. The phase of gathering data was completed in 1970, and work then began to produce maps, based upon, “*A prospectus and*

instructions for preparation of the Atlas" (*Atlaso rengimo prospekto ir instrukcijos*), which had been approved in 1968, and whose authors were Elena Grinaveckienė, Aldona Jonaitytė, Kazis Morkūnas, Aloizas Vidugiris.

At the end of the 20th century an *Atlas of the Lithuanian language* (*Lietuvių kalbos atlasas*) was published in three volumes (LKA 1, 1977; LKA 2, 1982; LKA 3, 1991). Each volume comprised a number of maps and a supplementary volume containing comments on the maps. In all 376 maps with explanatory notes were prepared by Lithuanian linguists. These maps contain information on more than 560 different features of the Lithuanian language.

Lithuanian linguists were able to gather information on a number of sub-dialects which are rapidly disappearing. These mostly are part of the traditional southwestern peripheral sub-dialects spoken in Lithuania and outside its borders (mostly in Belarus). Today these Lithuanian sub-dialects are in many places almost completely extinct, or on the verge of extinction.

Systematic collection of information for the purpose of producing a *Dialectal atlas of the Latvian language* (LVDA 1999) was started in Latvia, as was the case for Lithuania, only after the end of the Second World War, when guidelines were published for collection of the relevant data. A publication, "A programme for collecting information for producing an atlas of Latvian dialects" (*Latviešu valodas dialektu atlanta materiālu vākšanas programma*), appeared in 1954, which was based on a questionnaire, prepared by Elfrīda Šmite, intended for a survey of lexis. Maps began to be produced for eventual inclusion in an atlas in parallel with active gathering of material on sub-dialects. Initially this was the work of Elfrīda Šmite and Milda Graudiņa. Later Benita Laumane and Brigita Bušmane joined this effort, and, starting in the second half of the 1970s, they were joined by Nellija Jokubauska, Anna Stafecka and Alberts Sarkanis.

The lexis part of a *Dialectal Atlas of the Latvian language* (*Latviešu valodas dialektu atlants*), was published in 1999; it contains 102 maps (of which 100 are dedicated to lexis issues), and explanatory notes in Latvian, English and Russian. The authors of this publication are B. Bušmane, B. Laumane and A. Stafecka, with B. Laumane being the scientific director of the team. The geolinguistic maps contained in this publication are based on a unified systematic description of all sub-dialects, student diploma papers written about all of the latter, as well as use of information gathered by expeditions to all of the regions of Latvia. Most of the phonetic and morphological maps and associated notes were prepared in electronic form.

Antons Breidaks has published the atlas of one group of Latvian sub-dialects, *A phonetic atlas of the Latgalian sub-dialects within the High Latvian dialect* (*Augšzemnieku dialekta latgalisko izlokšņu fonētikas atlants*), (Breidaks 1996).

The monograph as a form of recording a sub-dialect is the preferred manner in which both Latvian and Lithuanian sub-dialects are studied. The most important such publication in the field of study in the 20th century of Lithuanian dialects is a monumental research work by Zigmas Zinkevičius, his Doctoral thesis which appeared later, in 1966, as a monograph, *Dialectology of the Lithuanian language*,

which featured 75 maps. These present a comparison of the phonetical and morphological characteristics of the said dialects.

Marta Rudzīte has during the post-war period analysed in great detail Latvian dialects. In a publication based on her Doctoral thesis Marta Rudzīte presented 36 geolinguistic maps based on information gathered by expeditions from the then Latvian State University and the Language and Literature Institute, on selected data from published and unpublished sources. In this study older data from the beginning of the 20th century was used for comparative purposes. A monograph by M. Rudzīte, *Dialectology of the Latvian Language* (*Latviešu dialektoloģija*) was published in 1964, which contains a detailed description of the regional extents of Latvian dialects and sub-dialects.

A number of geolinguistic maps can be found in various publications on specialised topics in Latvian lexis. For example, the monograph by Benita Laumane, *Fish names in Latvian* (*Zivju nosaukumi latviešu valodā*), contains 17 maps showing how fish names are distributed over Latvian territory (Laumane 1973); the regional distribution of various names of meals is shown in several maps produced by Brigita Bušmane, the vocabulary associated with clothing is to be found in maps produced by Ilga Janšone, etc. Antons Breidaks has published many phonetic maps of Latvian dialects.

Latvian and Lithuanian linguists have, since the 1970s, been associated with the international project, *Atlas Linguarum Europae*: information on 42 Lithuanian sub-dialects and 36 Latvian sub-dialects was included in this project. Although this atlas cannot completely represent the spatial distribution of all languages, information gathered for producing this atlas, in that it was obtained in the form of a survey based on a unified questionnaire, is useful not only for geolinguistic study of the Baltic languages, but which has also has firmly established the Baltic languages in their rightful place in the linguistic map of Europe.

Pilot Project of the Atlas of the Baltic Languages

The proposal to create jointly a single atlas of the Baltic languages matured rather slowly during the process of gathering information for the atlases of the Latvian and Lithuanian languages, as well as the *Atlas Linguarum Europae*. In 1991 the First Latvian Congress of Scientists was invited by Marta Rudzīte to agree that compiling and publishing an atlas of the Baltic languages is as important to the field of Latvian dialectology as the gathering and investigation of new data on Latvian sub-dialects (Rudzīte 1991). An article by Prof. A. Breidaks, *The isophones of the Baltic languages* (*Baltu valodu atlanta izofonas*), published in the book of Abstracts of the Conference, *Lietuvių kalba: tyrėjai ir tyrimai* (*Lithuanian: Research and Researchers*), held in 1995, in Vilnius, proposed further study of a number of topics on phonetic issues which are common to the Latvian and Lithuanian languages (Breidaks 1995: 15). Similar proposals by Anna Stafecka are contained in an article, *Dialectal Atlases of the Baltic languages – experience and intentions*, that was presented at the Second International Congress of Dialectologists and Geolinguists, held in 1996 in Amsterdam, and published in the book of Abstracts of this meeting (Stafecka 1996: 136).

Recently this idea has gained acceptance and a joint project is planned by the dialectologists from Latvian Language Institute of the University of Latvia and the Institute of the Lithuanian Language.

The idea of producing an Atlas of the Baltic languages is certainly not a novel one. Information published in the form of atlases of Baltic dialects, and unpublished data, as well as data gathered for use in the *Atlas Linguarum Europae* demonstrate many common features, i.e. in regard to phonetics, morphology, and particularly in regard to lexis (see fig. 1, 2 and 3). This argues strongly in favour of the need to investigate the geolinguistic aspects of the two languages in a coordinated way.

A total of 12 geolinguistic maps of the lexis of the both Baltic languages were created in the framework of the pilot project, *Atlas of the Baltic Languages*. The electronic version of these maps is due to Edmundas Trumpa. The maps have shown a number of regions where common lexis can be found, e.g. the western and eastern regions of the Baltic languages, e.g. the names for juniper: Latv. *kadiķis*, Lith. *kadagys*; Latv. *paeglis* and its variants /Lith. words with the root *-egl-*; the names for toad: Latv. *krupis*, *krūpis* /Lith. *kriupis*; Latv. *rupucis* / Lith. *rupužė*; the names for (winter) wheat: Latv. *pūri*, *pūri* /Lith. *pūriai*; Latv. *kvieši* / Lith. *kviečiai* (see fig. 3).

Fig. 3. The names for (winter) wheat : 1 – Latv. *kvieši* / Lith. *kviečiai* 2– Latv. *pūri*, *pūri* / Lith. *pūriai*

Some common lexis can be found over the entire area where Latvian is spoken and the Žemaitian dialect of Lithuanian, e.g. the names for lark: Latv. *cīrulis* / Lith. *cyrulis*; the names for pigeon: Latv. *baluodis* / Lith. *balandis* ‘pigeon’ (see fig. 4).

Fig. 4. The names for pigeon: 1 – Latv. *baluodis* / Lith. *balandis*; 2 – Lith. *karvelis*

Common names also can be found over the entire area where Lithuanian is spoken and High Latvia dialect, e.g. the names for top of tree – *viršūnė* is found in all dialects of Lith. but *viršūnė*, *virsaune*, only in the said Latv. dialect, as opposed to Standard Latvian ‘galotne’. Some words are common in the eastern regions where both languages are spoken, e.g. names for corn-bin: Latv. *aruods* / Lith. *aruodas* (see fig. 5), also in the Eastern region where Latvian is spoken and in the western region where Lithuanian is spoken, e.g. names for smith: Latv. *kalvis* / Lith. *kalvis*.

Fig. 5. Names for corn-bin: 1– Latv. *aruods* / Lith. *aruodas*; 2 – Latv. *apcirknis*; 3 – Lith. *miega*

German loan words are to be found widely over the entire region where Latvian is spoken and in the Lithuanian sub-dialects found in the northern part of Lithuania, e.g. names for Swedish turnip: Latv. *kālis* / Lith. *kolis*; names for stork: Latv. *stārķis* / Lith. *starkas*. Borrowings from Slavonic languages are located mainly in eastern area where both languages are spoken, e.g. names for stork: Latv. *bacjans* / Lith. *bacionas*.

As mentioned before, the maps created in the framework of the pilot project, *The Atlas of the Baltic Languages*, show the principal grouping of most terms used by the speakers of these two living Baltic languages. An in-depth geolinguistic study of the Latvian and Lithuanian languages could produce important findings in the field of the history of the Baltic peoples. The geolinguistic study of the dialects of the Baltic languages undoubtedly has considerable potential in that it would give insight into relations between various ancient Baltic tribes (the Zhemaitians, Curonians, Selonians, Latgalians), their world outlook, and possibly demarcate the territories they inhabited; these findings could also shed light on various hypotheses advanced about the neighbourly relations between Baltic tribes in ancient times.

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SUMMARY

Dialectologists from Latvian Language Institute of the University of Latvia and the Department of Language History and Dialectology of the Institute of the Lithuanian Language, have developed a proposal for a joint project entitled, *The Atlas of the Baltic Languages*, which is intended to demonstrate the close kinship of these two Baltic languages. A pilot project, supported by a grant from the University of Latvia and Directorate for the Millenium of Lithuania has been carried out between 2006 and 2008 to determine what the form and eventual content of such an atlas might be.

In 2009 a summary of work carried out on the pilot project on *Atlas of the Baltic Languages, Prospect* has been published which includes 12 geolinguistic maps, with commentary in Latvian, Lithuanian and English. The publication also contains in the introduction homage paid to the living and extinct Baltic languages, as well as an overview of the history of the study of dialects in both countries and the characteris-

tics and regional distribution of the dialects of Latvian and Lithuanian. The publication also describes the principles followed in creating these geolinguistic maps and associated commentary.

This article describes recent progress made in research on the regional distribution of dialects of both Baltic languages. For more than a century research on the dialects of the Latvian and Lithuanian languages has taken place in parallel, separately gathering data on the various dialects of each respective language. It is, therefore, necessary first to examine, briefly, the histories of the respective geolinguistic research endeavours.

The first records of differences between the territorial extents and diversity of Latvian and Lithuanian are to be found in surviving grammars and dictionaries of these languages compiled in the 17th century.

The first map showing the geographical reach of the **Lithuainian** language is to be found in the grammar compiled in 1876 by Friedrich Kurschat. The first geolinguistic map of the **Latvian** language was published in 1892 by August Bielenstein.

The systematic efforts at gathering Latvian and Lithuanian non-material cultural assets date from the second half of the 19th century. A new chapter in the study of Lithuanian and Latvian dialects began in the 1950s after a decision was taken to produce atlases of the two languages. At the end of the 20th century the atlases of the Lithuanian and Latvian language were published. This was the main basis for joint project – *The Atlas of the Baltic Languages*

The maps created in the framework of the pilot project, *The Atlas of the Baltic Languages*, show the principal grouping of most terms used by the speakers of these two living Baltic languages. An in-depth geolinguistic study of the Latvian and Lithuanian languages could produce important findings in the field of the history of the Baltic peoples.

АТЛАС БАЛТИЙСКИХ ЯЗЫКОВ: ПРОЕКТ РАЗРАБОТКИ

РЕЗЮМЕ

В 2009 году был издан сигнальный проект *Baltu valodu atlants* (Атлас балтийских языков), в котором кроме 12 геолингвистических карт с комментариями на латышском, литовском и аглийском языках, дана обширная вступительная часть, посвященная живым и мертвым балтийским языкам, краткая история диалектологических исследований обеих стран, характеристика и распространение диалектов латышского и литовского языков, а также принцип составления карт и комментариев.

В основу Атласа балтийских языков легли предыдущие геолингвистические исследования и собранные по вопроснику диалектные материалы обоих балтийских языков.

В течение более столетия исследования диалектов литовского и латышского языков развивались параллельно. Языковые в диалектные данные были собраны и обработаны в отдельности для каждого языка. Необходимо затем проследить историю геолингвистических исследований диалектов обоих языков.

Первые сведения о территориальных различиях латышского и литовского языков были отнесены уже в грамматиках и словарях XVII века.

Первую карту распространения литовского языка предложил Фридрих Куршат (Friedrich Kurschat) в изданной в 1876 году грамматике литовского языка.

В 1892 году была издана первая геолингвистическая карта латышского языка, ее автором был священник немецкой национальности Август Биленштайн (August Bielenstein).

Во второй половине XIX века в Европе собирались этнографические материалы и исследовались местные языковые особенности. В это же время появляются первые программы собирания латышской и литовской нематериальной культуры. Новый период в исследовании латышских и литовских диалектов начался в 50-ые годы XX века, когда было решено издать атласы литовского и латышского языков.

В основу *Атласа балтийских языков* легли изданные в конце XX века диалектологические атласы литовского и латышского языков, составленные в нем карты показывают их общие лексические ареалы.

Słowa kluczowe: języki bałtyckie, dialektologia, geografia lingwistyczna, atlasy językowe.

Key words: Baltic languages, dialectology, geolinguistics, geolinguistic atlas.

Ключевые слова: балтийские языки, диалектология, лингвогеография, лингвистические атласы.