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Slavic Loanwords in the Terms for Dumplings in Latvian¹

Food is an important part of the material heritage of any nation – it preserves old ethnic traditions as well as shows foreign influences of different periods. This article is looking at a specific group of Latvian culinary terminology – the words denoting different kinds of dumplings. This dish and its place in Latvian culinary tradition have been noted by ethnographers when describing the typical Latvian foods of the 19th century: “In the 19th century, a milk soup with dumplings was cooked more often than a homogenous milk and flour gruel. It was mostly made from barley flour, but in the late 19th century and early 20th century a dumpling soup made from wheat flour became more popular. Initially, it was cooked for special occasions – Sunday meals, celebrations, arrival of guests, but later became a more or less everyday food” (Dumpe, 1998, pp. 165–166). Baltic German aristocracies in Latvia, as well as city people, were acquainted with dumpling dishes already before 19th century. It is proved by culinary literature (e.g., a Latvian cookbook of 1796, meant for cooks working for Baltic Germans (quoted in Dumpe, 1998, p. 169), as well as dictionary data. As observed by ethnographers, by the mid-20th century dumplings was a typical dish both – in Latvian cities and countryside (Krastiņa, 1969, p. 472). However, as food industry and shop network developed, country people began using more and more ready-made foods. Thus, it was no longer rational to cook homemade dumplings very often if they could be replaced, e.g., by pasta purchased in a shop (Krastiņa, 1969, p. 519). Nevertheless, ethnographic studies prove that the dialect speakers of that time

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(mostly residents of countryside) had still retained many ancient food terms, including those denoting dumplings (Krastiņa, 1969, p. 520).

In Latvian sub-dialects, as research data show, many terms for dumplings are registered. These words, both Slavic and Germanic loanwords, clearly reflect the areas of influence of Slavic and Germanic cultures, respectively. For instance, in Western Latvia dumplings are often denoted by the Germanic borrowing *kīļķēni* (and its variants; observed in written sources since the 18th century (LEV I, 1992, p. 472)), but in the central part of Latvia the Germanic borrowing *klimpas* (and its variants) prevails; this word appeared in the 19th century (LEV I, 1992, p. 405) and nowadays is a Standard Latvian word. Slavic terms for dumplings are registered mostly in Eastern Latvia, i.e. the area of the High Latvian dialect. Each of them have several sub-dialectal variants.

This article uses various sources – e.g., the data about national food traditions and food terms gathered during the 1920s and 1930s in the expeditions organized by the Monument Board (*Pieminekļu valde*) (LVM), the ethnographic expeditions of the Institute of History in the 1950s (E), and by the dialectologists of the Institute of Latvian Language and Literature in the 1960s (Apv.). The author participated in these expeditions in 1969–1971; in the late 20th century the dialectological materials were also gathered by students of the University of Latvia and Liepāja University (then called Liepāja Pedagogical institute) (LU, LPI). Additional information was found in various ethnographic and linguistic sources. Some terms for dumplings were found in 18th century dictionaries.

Thus, the present paper, drawing information from sources of different periods, gives a chronological overview of the usage of terms for dumplings in the course of almost a century, with a retrospect to some 18–19th century sources as well. Thus, the distribution of dumpling terms borrowed from Slavic languages and used in Latvian sub-dialects is revealed, with brief additional information about the usage of the respective Slavic words in some neighbouring languages.

The Slavic terms for dumplings in sub-dialects spoken in Eastern Latvia can be classified in the following three groups.

I. *klečka, klečkins, klocka, kločka, kļēcka, kļēčka, kļocka, kļocks, kļocka, kļockš*

The word *kļocka* (usually in plural form), denoting various kinds of dumplings made of flour or potatoes, is used in the region of Latgale and the south-western part of Zemgale. This word has the largest area of usage. It has been registered, e.g., in Auleja² (LVM, № 2856, 103), Ludza (LVM, 2599; E, 28, 4474), Rēzekne, where it also

² The alphabetic list of Latvian sub-dialects and their reflection in a map can be found, e.g., in *Latviešu valodas dialektu atlants. Leksika*. (LVDA, 1999, pp. 27–33).

refers to dumplings made of pea flour (LVM, 2619), Varakļāni, where it denotes milk soup with grated potatoes (Latkovskis, 1937, p. 223), Kārsava (E, 28, 8564), Asūne, Galēni, Izvalta, Līvāni, Ozolaine and Stirniene (LU), Barkava and Lejasciems (LPI), Kalupe, Likсна and Nīcgale, as a term (in plural) for dumplings or dumpling soup (Reķēna, 1986, pp. 79–80), Bērzgale, Gārsene, Kalncempji, Nirza and Vārkava (Apv.), Aizkalne, Dagda, Krāslava, Mērdzene. Some informants referring to the preparation and use of *kļockas* have also been quoted in Kursīte (2012, pp. 386–387).

In most sub-dialects *kļockas* is a part of collocation where the dependant component

1) denotes the main ingredient; most often it is a sub-dialectal word for potato. E.g., *buļbu kļockas* (cf. *buļba* ‘potato’) in Kārsava (LVM, № 2619; with a note that potatoes are initially used for extracting starch), Bērzgale and Cibla (Apv.), *buļvu² kļockas* (cf. *buļva* ‘potato’) in Rēzna (Apv.), *ūlbiku² kļockas* (cf. *ūlbiks* ‘potato’) in Nautrēni (Apv.), *tupeņu kļockas* (cf. *tupenis* ‘potato’) in Stirniene (Apv.). There are also collocations where the dependant component contains a reference to another ingredient, for instance, *miltu² kļockas* (cf. *milti* ‘flour, meal’) in Stirniene (Apv.), in Līvāni (LU), *māizes² kļockas* (cf. *maize* ‘bread’) ‘dumplings made of bread leaven’ in Bebrene and Dviete;

2) contains a reference to an action whereby the dumplings are prepared, e.g., *tārkavuōtu² buļvu² kļockas* (cf. *tārkavāt* ‘to grate’) ‘dumplings of grated potatoes’ in Kalupe (KIV I, 1998, p. 507), in Likсна (LPI), *tārkavuōtu² tupiņu kļockas* ‘dumplings of grated potatoes’ in Barkava (LPI), *tārkavuōtas² kļockas* in Asūne (LU), *laistās kļockas* (cf. *laist* ‘to let, to send; to cause to flow’) (LLVV IV, 1972–1996, p. 579) in Nautrēni (Apv.), *griēztās kļockas* (cf. *griēzt* ‘to cut’ (LLVV III, 1972–1996, p. 143)) in Asūne;

3) contains a reference to a certain feature of the dish, for instance, *mēlnās kļockas* (cf. *mēlns* ‘black’) ‘potato dumplings with blueberry jam filling’ in Cibla (Apv.), *kļockas ar acīm* (lit. ‘dumplings with eyes’) ‘dumplings filled with pieces of bacon or cottage cheese’ in Līvāni (LU).

Occasionally, diminutive forms are also observed, e.g., *kļāckeņa* in Izvalta (LU).

Besides, a form derived from *o*-stem, *kļocki*, is registered in the northern part of Latgale – Baltnava, Šķilbēni and Tilža (Apv.), as well as in south-eastern Zemgale – Asare and Laši.

Apart from differences in noun stems, a shift of consonants *c*–*č* is also observed. The form *kļocki* has been registered in Northern Latgale – Balvi (Apv.) and Baltnava, but *kļockas* in Atašiene (Apv.), Preiļi and Eastern Zemgale – namely, in Rubeņi.

A variant with the consonant *l* in the root is observed in Western Latgale, and sporadically in Northern Vidzeme, e.g., *kļockas* in Līvāni (Etn., 1891–1894, p. 19), Varakļāni (where this word denotes dumplings made of pea or bean flour (LVM, № 2619; Latkovskis, 1937, p. 223); *miltu² kļockas*, *tupiņu kļockas* in Varakļāni (Apv.), Vainiži (E, № 12, 2247), Bērzpils and Tilža (Apv.), Atašiene and Barkava. It is to be noted that a compound term *kļockputra* (cf. *putra* ‘porridge, gruel’) meaning ‘flour porridge’ has been found in Kurzeme as well – namely, in Kandava (Graudiņa, 1964, p. 265).

The term *klockas* in reference to dumplings has been occasionally registered in Northern Vidzeme, e.g., in Svētiems (E, № 12, 2921), Ērgeme, Lugaži and Valka (Raģe, 2003, p. 169), in Vainiži (where *klocka* denotes a large dumpling filled with meat (VIV I, 2000, p. 390)), Palsmane (Apv.) and Vijciems; see also an article by the ethnographer A. Krastiņa (Krastiņa, 1963, p. 235). Moreover, according to the studies of B. Laumane, which are based on the materials of the “Atlas of the Latvian Dialects” (LVDA, 1999), several Slavic loanwords have been found in north-western Vidzeme (see Лаумане, 1977, p. 49 (map appendix)).

The word *klockas* has been occasionally registered in the western part of Latvia, the region of Kurzeme – e.g., in Piltene, Pūre, Vecmokas, where it might have appeared in relatively recent times (not shown in the map).

The term *klečkas* has been mostly observed in Eastern Zemgale, e.g., in Zasa (EH I, 1934–1946, p. 613), Dignāja (*miltu*² *klečkas*, *māizes*² *klečkas* // *mīklas klečkas* ‘bread leaven dumplings’, *kārtupeļu*² *klečkas* ‘potato dumplings’), in Slate and Zasa (Apv.). The variant *kļēčkas* has been registered in Western Latgale – in Atašiene (E, № 17, 6466). The derived form *klečkīns* (*k’l’ečkȳnc*²) ‘(potato) dumpling’ was registered in Eastern Zemgale – in Aknīste (Ancītis, 1977, p. 154).

The term *kļēčka* was observed in the 1930s in Eastern Latgale – namely, in Asūne (LVM, № 2856, 62).

The word *kļocka* in Latvian sub-dialects was borrowed from Belarusian *клёцка*, *клёцкі* or Russian *клёцка* ‘dumpling’ (see, e.g., Reķēna, 1986, pp. 79–80); while Russian *клёцка*, as M. Fasmer believes, is borrowed via Polish *klosek*, pl. *kloski* from Middle High German *klōz*, New High German *Kloß* ‘ком, клецка’, rather than from New High German *Klotz* ‘колода’, as believed by E. Bernecker and A. Preobrazhensky (ЭСРЯ II, 1986–1987, p. 249). (Cf. also LEW I, 1955–1965, p. 267.) Cf. Middle Polish *klosek*, pl. *kloski*; Polish *kluska*, pl. *kluski* from German *Kloss* (see SEJP, 2005, p. 236).

Standard Russian *клёцки* and Standard Belarusian *клёцкі* are noted in linguistic as well as ethnographic sources (see, for instance, Даль II, 1989–1991, p. 118; ЭСБМ V, 1989, p. 60; Шейн, 1902, pp. 17, 32; Молчанова, 1968, p. 195; Королёва, 1999, p. 169; Сцяцко, 1970, p. 37, ПОС XIV, 1994–2004, pp. 202–203.). The word *klócka*, defined in dictionary as ‘gęsta kasza kukurydziana na mleku’, exists in Polish as well (SJP II, 1900–1927, p. 374).

The word *klēckas* can be found in Lithuanian sub-dialects, too – for instance, it is mentioned in a Lithuanian dictionary (with reference to its origin from German *Kloss*, borrowed via Russian *клёцка* (LKŽ VI, 1962, pp. 23–24)).³ It has also been registered in the sub-dialect of Lazūnai (Petrauskas & Vidugiris, 1985, p. 121), and in sub-dialects of the so-called *dūnininkai* in the north-east (Vitkauskas, 1976,

³ To be agreed with the reviewer’s opinion that due existence of vowel -e- in Lith. *klēckas*, not **kliockas*, the word has not been borrowed via Russ. *клёцка*, but only Byel. dial. *клёцкі* (not Byel. *клёцкі*) ‘croquettes’ (see СБГ 2, 1980, p. 476).

p. 498), in the sub-dialect of Kazlų Rūda (Pupkis, 2008, p. 367). Some Lithuanian sub-dialects use a derived word *kleckynė* ‘milk soup with potato dumplings’ (see, e.g., Milius, 1959, p. 265, 1964, p. 395; Šopauskas, 1962, p. 262; Vitkauskas, 1976, p. 498). Cf. *kleckynė* // *kleckiėnė* defined as ‘miltų ar tarkuotų bulvių tešlos gumulėlių sriuba (dažniausiai pieniška); kukulienė’ in Lithuanian sub-dialects (see LKŽ VI, 1962, p. 24). The word *kleckynė* is used in popular science literature as well (Uginčienė, 1991, p. 26). Possibly, Lithuanian influence is the source of the word *klečkins* used in a Latvian sub-dialect spoken in Aknīste, near the Lithuanian border.

II. *klucka, klučka, klučks, klučķs*

Moving westwards from the area of usage of the term *kļocka*, we find a variant *klučķas* which is mostly used in south-eastern Vidzeme and Eastern Zemgale.

As a noun of ā-stem, *klučķas* was fixed already in 19th century sources, e.g., in the data registered in Odziena (Etn., 1891–1894, № 1891, 19), and early 20th century ethnographic and linguistic data registered in Aizkalne (Jasmuiža) (LVM, № 2856, 10), Bērzaune (LVM, № 2531, 259) and Ļaudona (LVM, № 2531, 30), in the form *klūčķas* in Ērgļi and Ogre (FBR XI, 1921–1940, p. 21), in Sunākste (Vīksne, 1933, p. 187), in the singular form *klučka* in Ērgļi, Liezēre, Saikava, Sunākste and Vecpiebalga (EH I, 1934–1946, p. 621); see also Krastiņa (1963, p. 235).

In the 2nd half of the 20th century, the term *klučķas* was widespread in Eastern Vidzeme and Eastern Zemgale (from Mazzalve to Dignāja) and occasionally appeared in Western Latgale. It was found in collocations as well, for instance, *bīdeļu² klučķas* (cf. *bīdeļi* ‘very fine flour’) ‘dumplings made of fine flour’ in Ziemeris, *lielās² klučķas* ‘lit. ‘big dumplings’, referring to potato dumplings boiled in water and eaten with a gravy, in Bebri, Grostona and Krustpils (Apv.), in Viesīte, *sausās klučķas* (cf. *sauss* ‘dry’) ‘small potato dumplings filled with meat, mushrooms and onions and eaten with a gravy’ in Bērzaune and Ļaudona (Apv.), *paplānās klučķas* (cf. *paplāns* ‘rather thin’) and *uzgaidāmās klučķas* (cf. *uzgaidīt* ‘to wait for a while’) ‘potato dumplings eaten with milk or cream (without meat)’ in Ļaudona (LVM, № 2531, 30), *biezpiena² klučķas* (cf. *biezpiens* ‘curd, cottage cheese’) ‘boiled dumplings made of cottage cheese, flour and eggs’ in Bērzaune (Apv.), *berztās klučķiņas* (cf. *berzt* ‘to rub; to crumble’) ‘small dumplings made of crumbled dough’ in Krustpils and Sunākste. Some compound terms with the word *klučķas* as the independent component have been found – e.g., *tupeņklučķas* in Prauliena and *tupiņklučķas* in Grostona ‘potato dumplings; milk soup with potato dumplings’ (Apv.).

Cf. also *klučku putra* in Pļaviņas (Stukmane) (Etn., 1891–1894, № 1891, 19) and Bērzpils (LTT I, 1940–1941, p. 82), *klučkaina putra* ‘clotted porridge’ in Kalncempji (Apv.), *klučku piens* ‘curdled milk’ in Pededze (Apv.; see also Bušmane, 2007, p. 87).

In Saikava, the word *klučka* is sometimes used in a transferred meaning – denoting a short, clumsy person (Apv.). The same word has been fixed in some toponyms, too – e.g., *Klučka* is a meadow in Ērgļi, and there is a *Klučku purvs* in Alsviķis (Endzelīns, 1961, p. 108).

As a noun of *o*-stem, the word ***klučki*** has been registered in the 20th century in north-western Vidzeme and Northern Latgale, e.g., *klučks* ‘ein Kloss’ in Liepna (EH I, 1934–1946, p. 621), *klučki* ‘rye flour dumplings’ in Vīpe (E, № 17, 6392), in Kalncempji (*bīdeļmiltu klučki, kartupeļu klučki, mēllie klučki* (cf. *mēlls* ‘black’) ‘blueberry jelly with dumplings’ (Apv.)), ‘barley flour dumplings’ in Sinole (Apv.), ‘dumplings from barley wholemeal’ in Anna, Ilzene, Trapene, Vīksna etc., *ašņa klučki* ‘dumplings where flour is mixed with blood’ in Mālupe (Apv.), *cietie klučki* (cf. *ciets* ‘hard’) ‘big dumplings made of hard dough’ in Balvi, *mazie klučkiši* (cf. *mazs* ‘small’) ‘small dumplings made of hard, crumbled dough’ in Balvi and Mālupe.

The term *klučki* appears already in 18th and 19th century cookbooks (Lpg., 1796, pp. 217, 218, 220; Lpg., 1863, p. 60).

The word ***klučkas*** has been registered only in Palsmane.

A variant ***klučķi*** was found only in written sources – dictionaries of the 18th and 19th century (Stender, 1789, p. 112; Ulmann, 1872, p. 115). In the sub-dialects recordings of the 2nd half of the 20th century, this word was never registered with a consonant *ķ*.

The dictionary of K. Milenbahs contains the form *klučķi* – it was taken from the dictionary of Ulmann and included in the entry *klucis* ‘block’ with a definition (written by J. Endzelīns) in German: “wohl durch russ. *клѣцки* beeinflusst” (ME II, 1923–1932, p. 233). This hypothesis might be proved by the distribution of the words *klučkas* and *klučki* – they are observed westwards from the area of the Slavic borrowing *kľockas* and eastwards from the area of Germanic borrowing *klucis*. Another proof is the reference made by B. Laumane about some Slavisms registered in the said territory. The existence of the word *klučķi* in a 1796 cookbook (meant for cooks working in manors) shows that it was known already in the 18th century. According to the classification provided by B. Laumane, the terms *klučkas*, *klučki* and their variants can be found in an area that borders with the region of Latgale and sometimes overlaps with its territory. This supports B. Laumane’s observation that Slavisms are found in north-eastern Vidzeme (see Лаймане, 1977, pp. 59, 65) and diachronically represent isoglosses that seem to be rather ancient (see Лаймане, 1977, p. 65).

Moreover, the Germanic loanword *kluči* (see ME II, 1923–1932, p. 233), from which the words *klučkas*, *klučki* might be derived under the impact of Slavic influence, is used mostly in north-western Vidzeme and Southern Vidzeme (from Ikšķīle to Aizkraukle).

On the usage of the terms *klučki*, *klučkas*, *kluči* see also Kursīte (2012, pp. 383–384).

III. *zacerka, zacirka, zacirks, zāc(j)orka, zacorka, zaķirka*

Both ethnographic and linguistic literature mentions a dish used in Latgale during the late 19th century and in the 20th century – *zacirka*, a kind of porridge or milk soup with very small dumplings. Usually it was made of hard dough by crumbling it into boiling water and then adding milk; sometimes from a liquid dough, e.g., in Kalupe (KIV II, 1998, p. 577) and Likсна (LPI). The dough was made from different kinds of flour. The ethnographic and dialectal recordings of the early and middle of the 20th century most often mention barley or pea flour – e.g., in the surroundings of Ludza (LVM, № 2599). In Kalupe, flour made of beans was also used (KIV II, 1998, p. 577). In Asūne, the dish called *zacirka* ‘soup with little dumplings’ was made for the purpose of drinking and, before use, milk was added (LVM, № 2856, 98). In Likсна, too, it was used as a beverage to replace tea (E, № 22, 8019). See also Kursīte (2012, pp. 925–926).

According to the findings of the ethnographer A. Zavarina, flour dish called *затирка* was used by the russophones in Latgale in the 2nd half of the 19th century on almost daily basis. It was still observed, though less frequently, in the Russian Old Believers’ community in Latgale during the 2nd half of the 20th century. When preparing this dish, they mixed flour with water and rubbed (*затирали*) it into little pieces and then boiled them in water or milk. This kind of porridge in late 19th century Russian community in Latgale was mostly made from fine rye or wheat flour, less frequently from pea flour. The poorer peasants were using barley flour. (See Заварина, 1986, pp. 221–222.) In the Old Believers’ russophone community in Latgale, the term *затирка* denoted either ‘milk soup with crumbled eggs and flour’ or ‘soup with potato dumplings’ (Королёва, 1999, pp. 163, 166).

A. Zavarina points out that *затирка* was a typical East Slavic food and, as sub-dialect data show, was mostly used in southern territories, as well as in the governorates of Vitebsk and Pskov. She believes that the Russian peasants in Latgale and Lithuania became acquainted with this dish with the arrival of immigrants from the said territories (Заварина, 1986, p. 222).

The dish called *zacerka* is characteristic not only in East Slavic, but also West Slavic (Polish and Czech) traditional cuisine, and was also introduced in Lithuania (Заварина, 1986, pp. 221–223). It is noteworthy that in some parts of Latgale, a word *zacerniki* was used to refer to Belarusians and Poles, or to anyone eating the said dish (LTT IV, 1940–1941, p. 220).

A term *zacirka*² denoting a certain kind of porridge or soup is widespread in the sub-dialects of Latgale and Eastern Zemgale – for instance in Līvāni (LU), Likсна (LPI), Bērzgale, Dagda, Krāslava, Preiļi, Laši, Pilskalne, Rite. In ME IV (1923–1932, p. 678), the word *zacirka* is registered as observed in Vārkava. A variant *zaciřka*² was fixed in early 20th century Zemgale – more precisely, in Augstkalne (Mežamuiža) (Jansons, 1937, p. 231). However, the same source contains a note saying that the

Figure 3. Distribution of the word *zacirka* and its variants

recorder of the material was misled, since the word is not typical of that area but might be borrowed from Lithuanian (Jansons, 1937, p. 232).

In order to denote small dumplings, the plural form of the term has also been used in the said area – namely, *zacirkas*², defined in K. Milenbahs and J. Endzelīns' dictionary as 'Nudeln aus Weizenmehl', observed in Birži and Bebrene, and with the meaning 'kleine Klösse aus Gerstenmehl' in Lubāna (ME IV, 1923–1932, p. 678), Barkava (LPI) and Ezernieki.

The diminutive form *zacirkiņa*² has been fixed in Atašiene (Apv.).

In some Latgalian sub-dialects, the word *zacērka*² is registered as denoting milk soup with dumplings – in Asūne, Galēni, Izvalta and Ozolaine (LU), Kalupe (KIV II, 1998, p. 577), Likсна and Nīcgale (Reķēna, 1986, p. 89), Nautrēni, Nirza and Sakstagals (Apv.), *zacerka* was also found in Zvirgzdene (ME IV, 1923–1932, p. 678), Bērzgale and Cibla (Apv.), also as a plural word *zacērkas*² denoting dumplings in Bērzpils and Tilža (Apv.).

Diminutives *zacerkeņa* and *zacirkeņa* 'milk soup with fine dumplings (rubbed from moistened flour)' were mentioned by H. Strods in his collection of ethnographic terms used in Viļāni (Strods, 1991, p. 59). The term *zacērkiņas*² 'small dumplings' is also observed in Varakļāni (Apv.).

A form of *o*-stem, *zacirks*, with the German definition 'eine Milchsuppe mit kleinen Weizenmehlkloßsen, Klunkermus' (ME IV, 1923–1932, p. 678), was taken over from an earlier source and included in K. Milenbahs and J. Endzelīns' dictionary.

In some sub-dialects a variant *zacorka* has also been registered, e.g., in Pilda (ME IV, 1923–1932, p. 678; with *-or²*- Apv.), in the surroundings of Ludza (LVM, № 2599) and Rēzekne (LVM, № 2619), and in Dricēni (LPI), a word *zàc(j)orka*² – in Šķilbēni, Tilža and Viļaka (Apv.).

Occasionally, ethnographic materials refer to a variant of this term where the consonant *k* appears (from *cj* ?), e.g., *zaķirka* in Asūne (E, № 31, 2181), Bebrene, Dviete, Rauda, and *zaķirkas* in Rudzēti (LVM, № 2856, 53) and the surroundings of Ludza (E, № 28, 4453).

The word *zacirka/zacerka* in Latvian sub-dialects was borrowed from Belarusian *зацірка* and/or Polish *zacierka* 'похлебка с мелко изрезанным тестом' (ME IV, 1923–1932, p. 678). To be added that in Polish dialects the form *zacirka* is used (SGP VI, 1911, p. 267).

Ethnographic and linguistic literature contains many references to the usage of this dish (i.e. its name) in Slavic languages. For instance, an early 20th century author P. Schein mentions *затицурка* in his description of the inhabitants of north-western Russia (Шейн, 1902, p. 31). O. Trubachov, in his study of the terms denoting porridge or gruel in Slavic languages, includes *затерка* in the group of dishes made from ground flour or dough. He explains the word semantically as derived from the verb *тереть*, and also mentions names of this dish in several Slavic languages – Russian

dialectal words *затирка*, *зати́ру́ха*, Ukrainian *затірка*, Polish *zacierka* (Трубачев, 1960, pp. 23–24). Cf. data in dictionaries – *затирка* ‘лапша, которую не крошат, а катают коlobками, шевырюжками’ (Даль I, 1989–1991, p. 649), *затирка*, *зати́рка* (СРНГ XI, 1976, p. 93), *зати́рка*, *зати́ру́ха* (ПОС XII, 1994–2004, p. 180).

This dish, i.e. its name, is characteristic of Belarus as well (see, e.g., Манаенкова, 1973, pp. 131, 132). A boiled dish made from flour and called *зацірка* has been noted by L. Molchanova (Молчанова, 1968, p. 194), a researcher of Belarusian material culture. The linguist P. Stsyatsko, referring to another source, says that the terms *заце́рка*, *зацірка* are Slavic-Polish coinages (Сцяцко, 1970, pp. 38–39); *затирка* is also mentioned by G. Veshtort in her study of culinary terms which describe the way the respective dishes are prepared [Вешторт, 1968, p. 368]). The words *зацірка*, *зати́рка* are also included in a Belarusian-Russian dictionary (БРС, 1962, p. 318); cf. *заці́рка*, *заце́рка* (СБГ II, 1980, p. 266), *заці́рка* (ТС II, 1982, p. 132). With the dictionary definition ‘polewka z grudek ciasta gotowanych na wodzie, na mleku’, the word *zacierka* and its variants *zaciorka*, *zaciórka*, *zacirka*, *zaczerka* appear in Polish as well (SJP VIII, 1900–1927, p. 49). In a study devoted to culinary terms in Eastern Polyesye sub-dialects of the Ukrainian language, *затирка* is mentioned among those East Slavic words that have equivalents in West Slavic languages (Турчин, 1990, p. 12).

A gruel made of barley, rye or buckwheat flour and called *zacirka* is known in Lithuania as well, see, e.g., Марченко (1974, p. 94). As pointed out by the ethnographer V. Milius, there are two methods of cooking it – either mixing wheat flour directly in water, or crumbling pieces of dough in boiling water; *zacirka* is a name known in the Aukštaitija region (Milius, 1964, p. 395). The term *zacirka* is also registered, e.g., in the sub-dialects of the Samogitian/Zhemaitian dialect of the Lithuanian language (Vitkauskas, 1976, p. 556), in the sub-dialect of Lazūnai (Petrauskas & Vidugiris, 1985, p. 291) and the sub-dialect of Kaltanėnai (Vilutytė, 2008, p. 415). With an indication showing that it is a dialectal word, and a definition ‘pieniška miltinių ar bulvinių kukulaičių sriuba, kankolienė’, this word is also included in a dictionary of the Lithuanian language (LKŽ XIX, 1999, p. 988; the same source contains a derivation *zacirkynė* which has the same meaning). In Lithuanian sub-dialects, too, the term *zacirka* has been borrowed from Slavic languages (Belarusian *зацірка*, Polish *zacierka*) (LKŽ XIX, 1999, p. 988).

It is to be noted that in some Latvian sub-dialects spoken in southern and northern parts of Vidzeme, there exists a semantically similar term denoting a dumpling soup – *beržumi* and its variants, e.g., *beržumīni*, *beržumiņi*, *berzeknis*, *berzekņi*, *berzenis* (cf. *berzt* ‘to rub, to crush, to crumble’ (LLVV II, 1972–1996, p. 61)).

The Slavic loanwords *kļocka*, *zacirka* and *klučka* in Eastern Latvia have long been (including the final decades of the 20th century) the only terms denoting the respective dish in the speech of the older generation. A typical feature of these terms is their variability. Thus, the different aspects (phonetic, morphological, semantic)

of these words provide detailed information not only for dialectologists but also for researchers of ethnic material culture and lifestyle, as well as culture contacts and issues of ethnic history.

Abbreviations

- Apv. – Latvijas Universitātes Latviešu valodas institūta izlokšņu leksikas kartotēka.
- E – Latvijas Universitātes Latvijas vēstures institūta Etnogrāfisko materiālu krātuves materiāli.
- EH – Endzelins Jānis, Hauzenberga Edīte. *Papildinājumi un labojumi K. Mīlenbaha "Latviešu valodas vārdnīcai"* 1–2, Rīga: Kultūras fonds, 1934–1946.
- Etn. – *Etnogrāfiskas ziņas par latviešiem. "Dienas Lapas" pielikums* I–IV, Rīga: P. Bisenieka drukātava, 1891–1894.
- FBR – *Filologu biedrības raksti* 1–20, Rīga: Latviešu filologu biedriba, 1921–1940.
- KIV – Reķēna Antoņina. *Kalupes izloksnes vārdnīca* I–II, Rīga: Latviešu valodas institūts, 1998.
- LEV 1992 – Karulis Konstantīns. *Latviešu etimoloģijas vārdnīca* I–II, Rīga: Avots, 1992.
- LEW – Fraenkel Ernst. *Litauisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg; Göttingen, 1955–1965.
- LKŽ – *Lietuvių kalbos žodynas* VI, Vilnius: Valstybinė politinės ir mokslinės literatūros leidykla, 1962; XIX, Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos institutas, 1999.
- LLVV – *Latviešu literārās valodas vārdnīca* 1–8, Rīga: Zinātne, 1972–1996.
- Lpg. 1796 – *Latwiska Pawaru=Grahmata; Muishas Pawareem par mahzibu wissadus Kungu Ehdeenus gahrđi wahriht un sataisiht*, Sast. un tulkotāji Urban Friedrich Casimīr, Stobbe Matthias. Jelgava, 1796.
- Lpg. 1863 – *Latviska Pavāru=grāmata*. Otra drikķe Jelgavā pie J. W. Steffenhagen un dēla, 1863.
- LPI – Liepājas Universitātes (bij. Liepājas Pedagoģiskā institūta) studentu dialektoloģijas prakses un diplomdarbu materiāli 20. gs. 70.–90. gados.
- LTT – *Latviešu tautas ticējumi* 1–4. Sakrājis un sakārtojis P. Šmits, Rīga: Valters un Rapa, 1940–1941.
- LU – Latvijas Universitātes Filoloģijas fakultātes studentu kursdarbu un diplomdarbu materiāli.
- LVDA – Bušmane Brigita, Laumane Benita, Stafecka Anna. *Latviešu valodas dialektu atlants. Leksika*. Darba zin. vad. B. Laumane, Rīga: Zinātne, 1999.
- LVM – Latvijas Nacionālā vēstures muzeja Etnogrāfijas nodaļas arhīva bij. Pieminekļu valdes materiāli.
- ME – Milenbahs Kārlis. *Latviešu valodas vārdnīca* 1–4. Rediģējis, papildinājis, turpinājis J. Endzelīns, Rīga: Izglītības ministrija, Kultūras fonds, 1923–1932.
- Milius 1959 – Milius Vacys. *Lietuvių valstiečių maistas XIX a. antrojoje pusėje – XX a. pradžioje*. – *Iš lietuvių kultūros istorijos* II, Vilnius: Valstybinė politinės ir mokslinės literatūros leidykla, 1959, pp. 257–268.

- Milius 1964 – Milius Vacys. Maistas ir namų apyvokos daiktai. – *Lietuvių etnografijos bruožai*, Vilnius: Valstybinė politinės ir mokslinės literatūros leidykla, 1964, pp. 386–416.
- SEJP – *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*. Ed. Wiesław Boryś. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2005.
- SGP VI – *Słownik gwar polskich*. Ed. Jan Karłowicz. Contributor from Vol. 6 (U-Ż) J. Łoś. Kraków: Nakładem akademii umiejętności drukarnia uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego pod zarządem Józefa Filipowskiego, 1911.
- SJP – *Słownik języka polskiego I–VIII*. Eds. Jan Karłowicz, Adam Krýnski, Władysław Niedźwiedzki, Warszawa, 1900–1927.
- VIV – Ādamsons Eduards, Kagaine Elga. *Vainižu izloksnes vārdnīca I–II*, Rīga: LU Latviešu valodas institūts, 2000.
- БРС – *Белорусско-русский словарь*, под ред. К. К. Крапивы, Москва: Государственное издательство иностранных и национальных словарей, 1962.
- ПОС – *Псковский областной словарь с историческими данными*, 1–8, Ленинград: Издательство Ленинградского университета, 1967–1990; 9–15, Санкт-Петербург: Издательство С.-Петербургского университета, 1994–2004.
- СБГ – *Слоўнік беларускіх гаворак паўночна-заходняй Беларусі і яе пагранічча 2*, Мінск: Навука і тэхніка, 1980.
- СРНГ – *Словарь русских народных говоров XI*, Ленинград: Наука, 1976.
- ТС – *Тураўскі слоўнік у пяці тамах 2*, Мінск: Навука і тэхніка, 1982.
- ЭСБМ – *Этымалагічны слоўнік беларускай мовы 5*, Мінск: Навука і тэхніка, 1989.
- ЭСРЯ – Фасмер Макс. *Этимологический словарь русского языка. В четырех томах, 1–4. Издание второе, стереотипное*. Под ред. Б. А. Ларина. Перевод с немецкого и дополнения О. Н. Трубачева, Москва: Прогресс, 1986–1987.

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Słowiańskie zapożyczenia wśród nazw pierogów w języku łotewskim

Streszczenie

Żywność stanowi zasadniczą część kultury materialnej każdego narodu. Nazwy związane z nią często zachowują narodowe tradycje i dawne nazwy dłużej, niż to ma miejsce w innych sferach, a ponadto umożliwiają zaobserwowanie wpływu innych kultur. Według danych słownikowych, pierogi były znane na Łotwie już w XVIII w. Potwierdzono wiele ich nazw w regionalnych subdialektach łotewskich; zapożyczenia na ogół występują na całym obszarze.

W tym artykule autorka stara się – na podstawie zapisów w materiałach etnograficznych i lingwistycznych z różnych okresów, śledząc użycie nazw pierogów w ciągu niemal stulecia i odnosząc się do danych ze słowników z XVIII–XIX w. – pokazać użycie i dystrybucję różnych nazw pierogów pochodzenia słowiańskiego w subdialektach łotewskich, jak też podać fragmentaryczne dane o użyciu poszczególnych zapożyczeń słowiańskich w sąsiednich językach.

Słowiańskie zapożyczenia *kļocka*, *zacirka*, obok ich odmianek, są rozpowszechnione we wschodniej Łotwie, tj. w obszarze dialektu wysokołotewskiego. We wschodniej Łotwie zarejestrowano też nazwy *klučki*, *klučkas*, derywaty od niemieckich zapożyczeń *kluči* z insercją spółgłoski *k* pod wpływem języka rosyjskiego.

Pod względem semantycznym zapożyczenia *kļockas*, *klučkas* i ich odmianki oznaczają pierogi zrobione z różnych surowców (np. różnych rodzajów mąki i ziemniaków). Dalsze odniesienia do składników tej potrawy i sposobu jej przygotowania zawarte są w objaśnieniu słowiańskiego zapożyczenia *zacirka* i jego odmianek najbardziej typowych dla słownictwa łotewskich chłopów.

Słowiańskie zapożyczenia analizowane w tym artykule nierzadko (jeszcze do ostatnich dekad XX w.) służyły jako jedyne nazwy omawianych dań w mowie przedstawicieli najstarszej generacji mieszkańców obszaru wschodniej Łotwy.

Słowa kluczowe: język łotewski; dialekt wysokołotewski; zapożyczenia słowiańskie; odmianki wyrazów; semantyka; dystrybucja wyrazów

Slavic Loanwords in the Terms for Dumplings in Latvian

Abstract

Food is an essential part of the material culture of every nation. It frequently preserves national traditions and old names longer than other spheres do, additionally, it lets observe the influence of other cultures. According to dictionary data, dumplings were known in Latvia already in the 18th century. Many names for them have been attested in regional subdialects of Latvian; borrowings usually cover wide areas.

In this article, basing on ethnographic and linguistic material notations of different antiquity thus tracing the use of names for dumplings almost a century long and referring to dictionary data from 18th–19th century, the author tried to reveal the use and distribution of names for dumplings of Slavic origin in subdialects of Latvian, as well as to offer fragmentary data on the use of particular Slavic borrowings in neighboring languages.

The Slavic borrowings *kļocka*, *zacirka* alongside variant names are widespread in Eastern Latvia, i.e. in a rather narrow or wide area of the High Latvian dialect. In Eastern Latvia, the names *klučki*, *klučkas* derived from the Germanic borrowing *kluči*, with insertion of the consonant *k* under influence of Russian, have also been registered.

From the semantic angle, the borrowings *kļockas*, *klučkas* and their variants are denoting dumplings made of various raw materials (e.g., different kinds of flour, also pea-flour, potatoes). Further references to ingredients of this food and its preparation are included in the explanation of the Slavic borrowing *zacirka* and its variants most typical for the peasants vocabulary in Latgale.

The Slavic borrowings examined in this article have not seldom (even up to the last decades of the 20th century) been serving as the only names of the said dish in the speech of representants of the oldest generation in the particular area in Eastern Latvia.

Keywords: Latvian language; High Latvian Dialect; Slavonic borrowings; variants of words; semantics; distribution area of words

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