


## PERSPEKTYWA KULTUROWA

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### FOREIGN CUISINE IN POLAND. ADAPTING NAMES AND DISHES<sup>1</sup>

(THIS ARTICLE WAS TRANSLATED FROM POLISH BY JAKUB WOSIK)

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**Abstract.** One of the more interesting layers of vocabulary in Polish are lexical items related to cuisine, sometimes, though rarely, referred to as gastronomys. In this text I intend to mainly discuss the names which exist at the crossroads of languages and cultures, as I believe they may, often after various transformations and adaptations, constitute Polish culturemes. I consider them distinctive indicators of a culture. Those include not only *bigos* [sour cabbage stew], *pierogi* and *schabowy* [pork chop], but also *fasolka po bretońsku* [“Breton beans”, beans, bacon and sausage in tomato sauce] and *śledź po japońsku* [“Japanese herrings”, pickled herring, hard-boiled egg and pickle salad], as well as *bogracz* [a stew], a word which despite having Hungarian origins does not operate in Hungarian as the name of a dish. I shall also focus on the methods of Polonising some borrowed names. The problems which I shall discuss offer an opportunity for teachers of Polish as a foreign/second language to help their students more easily accept the cultural differences at the intersection of Polish culture and their own cultures.

### 1. CUISINE BORROWINGS IN THE CONTEXT OF OTHER BORROWINGS

Polish absorbs numerous foreign names without losing, which is important, its own identity, as those names quickly become Polonised. Polish culture also absorbs many foreign elements without losing its identity, as culturally distant ele-

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<sup>1</sup> This article is an altered and updated version of two texts which I published earlier in a bilingual fairly inaccessible in Poland: *Egzotyzy kulinarne w i na języku Polaków. Rozważania o jedzeniu, mówieniu i pisanii*, “Spotkania Polonistyk Trzech Krajów”, years 2014/2015, Tokyo, and *Polskie kulinarne-leksykalne przemiany. Czy Polacy wiedzą, co jedzą?* “Spotkania Polonistyk Trzech Krajów”, years 2016–2017, Guangzhou.

ments become very quickly transformed and domesticated. That is visible in the names of rituals and traditions, in the acquisition of customs and their elements—recent history offers the example of Valentine’s Day, which was initially mocked and rejected as having only a commercial dimension, but has now become quite strongly rooted in the February landscape of Polish interpersonal contacts. Is there anyone who still notices the foreign character of the word *kościół* (from the Latin *castellum*) which now features the trademark Polish letters with diacritics, representing such distinctly Polish phones as the soft alveolo-palatal [ś] and [ć] and the distinctly Polish [u] written as “crossed o / closed u”, which is the nightmare of Polish learners. Polish language and culture eagerly adapt foreign elements, but they immediately assign them Polish traits (the degrees of adaptations of borrowings were discussed by, e.g. Bartmiński 1992).

Cuisine and the related names (gastronyms?) offer a very interesting example of adaptation of foreign elements and the foreign qualities in Polish customs and in their naming. Clearly, the last 30 years have offered a revolution in this respect. Of course, this article is only a brief foray into the matter. The turn of the 21st century witnessed a rapid intercultural exchange in various domains, including in cuisine. Its pace has been so high that no dictionary or handbook has been able to keep up, not even the online ones, a fact which I shall discuss later in the article. Therefore, it is no wonder that textbooks for learning Polish as a foreign language lack any traces of those changes. It is a domain of life (the same applies to phenomena associated with the internet, cosmetology, etc.) which it is the teacher’s task to ensure is included in the teaching process. This overview is intended to indicate that there exist such phenomena, which teachers must take into account using the information offered by the surrounding reality. Cuisine is one of the most eagerly discussed topics by learners, especially if in the process they can display their other skills, while the topic of foreign elements in cuisine triggers interesting discussions between students. This text indicates the most important and interesting tendencies in adapting names related to cuisine and their referents—it does not exhaust the topic, yet it does indicate certain traces and paths which teachers can follow if they wish to add variety to textbook-based lessons with current content.

## 2. THE POPULARITY OF FOREIGN CUISINES IN POLAND

The fact that cuisine and food occupy the minds and palates of Poles is proven by the number and the popularity of food shows on Polish television. Suffice to indicate a few foreign formats which have huge viewerships on Polish television: *Masterchef*, which has been on air since 2012; later *Masterchef Junior*, since 2016; *Top Chef*, aired between 2013 and 2018, which required the show’s participants to

engage in such tasks as “pierogi of the world”; “salads of the world” (which was extremely popular in Poland), and “Hell’s Kitchen”, which has also concluded. Among some of the older shows one should mention: *Makłowicz w podróży* (which began at the end of the 20th century; no new episodes are being created, but the old ones are eagerly viewed if aired on television or online), *Okrasa łamie przepisy*, which promotes regional cuisine; other shows have included: *Ugotowani*, *Przepis dnia*, *Ewa gotuje*, *Kuchenne rewolucje*, *Pascal*, *po prostu gotuj*, and many more. Many of those shows are no longer aired on television, yet they are still popular on the internet, and sometimes there are reruns of the shows on television.

In such shows often the host or a jury member is foreign, they have a spouse from abroad, or they are recognised specialists in a foreign cuisine. The shows are hugely popular; suffice to say that some are aired at prime time.

Some supermarket chains organise days of specific national cuisines, during which customers are offered specially priced products and seasonings necessary for preparing foreign dishes, along with the related recipes. Others establish special shelves or even entire sections with foreign cuisine products and seasoning.

### 3. CUISINE BORROWINGS IN TEACHING POLISH AS A NON-NATIVE LANGUAGE

Foreign names of foreign dishes and domestic names of foreign dishes have an, often unrealised, significance in teaching Polish as a non-native language. It sometimes happens that a foreign dish has an established Polish name which a foreigner has to learn to be able to eat their own national dish in Poland; sometimes foreign names are pronounced differently in Polish and they have different spellings to those in the student’s native tongue or in the language of the country from where the dish originated; finally, it is sometimes the case that names somewhat alter in meaning when compared to that designated by that name in the source language. A good example of that is the situation with the name *bogracz*. Polish dictionaries do not include an explanation, one exception is offered by PWN’s *Słownik języka polskiego* which states that *bogracz* is ‘a Hungarian goulash soup’. Wikipedia provides the following explanation: (Hungarian *bogrács*) – “a kind of pot used for preparing dishes over a bonfire. Often the term *bogracz* is used to also denote a goulash soup prepared in such a dish” (<http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bogracz> [15.05.2020]).

All that is true, though not quite. In the second meaning, the description from Wikipedia lacks only one detail: “Often the term *bogracz* is used **in Polish** to also denote a goulash soup...” That is because the Polish name *bogracz* is a metonymy. In Hungarian, there is only the word *bográcsgulyás*, i.e. a goulash soup cooked in a pot. If cooked in a pan, it is called a *gulyásleves* – a goulash soup. The Polish

*bogracz*, in sentences of the “try our bogracz” type, is simply a goulash soup (often with bell peppers) cooked over the fire, in a pot (but that mostly applies to restaurants) or in a pan.

One recipe for a Polish bogracz reads:

How to prepare a delicious bogracz? Bogracz is not difficult, which is why it is a good idea to prepare bogracz. And a bogracz with lump noodles is simply delicious. Dice the meat and frizzle it in lard. Dice the onion and brown it. Mix the two ingredients together. Add caraway seeds, garlic (chopped or pressed), tomatoes (peeled and diced), bell peppers (cut in strings), seasoning, and half a glass of water. Stew for 90 minutes (or until the meat becomes tender). Add water, if necessary. Add potatoes (diced), lump noodles (prepared earlier, rinsed), and tomato paste. Stew for an additional 30 minutes. Add water, if necessary. Your bogracz is ready.

([http://www.mojegotowanie.pl/przepisy/miesa/bogracz\\_z\\_kluseczkami](http://www.mojegotowanie.pl/przepisy/miesa/bogracz_z_kluseczkami) [15.05.2020])

Poles use the name *bogracz* only metonymously regarding the food, while as the name of the kitchenware they use the word *kociolek* [pot] instead. It is noteworthy that the Hungarian noun *bogracz* (*bogrács*) denotes **exclusively** the name of the kitchenware used for preparing the dish over open fire, regardless of the kitchenware’s size. In the Hungarian understanding that would be in Polish a *kocioł* [a large pot], not a *kociolek* [a small pot]. Hungarian does not include a diminutive form, i.e. a small kitchenware with a volume of 0.5–0.7 litre in which a goulash is served in a restaurant (where it is usually cooked in a pan), therefore the Hungarian *bogrács* corresponds to the Polish *kocioł*. In the Hungarian tradition, in a *bogrács* one usually prepares:

- a fisherman’s soup (*halászlé*) – in Polish usually referred to as a ‘fish soup’ or ‘Hungarian fish soup’ (though *halász* is a ‘fisherman’, while a *hal* is a ‘fish’), the Hungarian name *halászlé* clearly refers to the **fisherman** tradition of hours’ long cooking of soup after returning with the day’s catch – because it is a soup made exclusively with freshwater fish);
- a goulash soup (*gulyásleves*);
- shepherd’s pasta (*slambuc* – excellent quality flat square pasta made with 8–10 eggs per 1 kg of flour, fried to brown on lard from fried smoked pork belly, then cooked with potatoes). One version of it is called *tarhonya*. The word also exists in Slovak (*tarhoňa*). It is small round pasta prepared according to the previous recipe, with or without meat;
- potatoes with sausage and bell peppers (*paprikás krumpli*);
- leczó [a kind of ragout] (a Hungarian spicy lecsó, with or without rice, with sausage and smoked speck).

In Poland, the name of the kitchenware *kociolek* has completely ousted its Hungarian counterpart, while the name *bogracz* in Polish only denotes the food.

There should even be a recommendation for teachers of Polish as a foreign language who have Hungarians in their groups to indicate to their learners what they

can expect in their pot or on their plate when their Polish friends order a *bogracz* or invite them over “*na bogracz*” [for a *bogracz*] trying to offer them something special. The familiar name in a foreign land with a meaning different from the original may cause quite a surprise among guests from abroad: students, pupils, or colleagues. Allow me to quote a remark by a half-Polish half-Hungarian student (she grew up in Hungary, but completed her master’s studies in Poland) when asked how she understood the names *gulasz*, *bogracz* and *paprykarz*: “I understand those names **more** by their Hungarian meanings as I grew up in Hungary. When I’m in Poland, then yes, my point of view changes as now I know that in Poland those names have different meanings, but **when I first heard about that I was rather surprised**”.

The Polish manner of referring to foreign phenomena should be discussed in textbooks for learning Polish for several reasons. Some examples of good practices are offered by the recently released textbooks for the Japanese and the Chinese. After the period of widespread fascination with universal textbooks for everyone, without an intermediary medium-language, we are returning to the notion of dedicated textbooks, intended for specific national and language groups. Textbooks, even the new ones, focus mostly on language-oriented issues, i.e. the use of positive transfer, elimination of interference by using special sets and kinds of exercises and linguistic descriptions, less on gestures or facial expressions<sup>2</sup>, and least on the issues of cultural realities. What is actually important is to select for the initial lessons appropriate situations and vocabulary which will enable learners to name and describe their surrounding world, and only then proceed to describing the foreign world explored through the language they learn (*wachlarz* [a hand fan], *pagoda* [a pagoda], *szpada* [a spade], etc.) The next stage consists of selecting the appropriate situations and lexis necessary for becoming familiar with the foreign world of the new language. At least three goals are constantly present: 1) learners must be able to describe their own worlds, because, for example, that is interesting for the people whose language they learn (we want a Chinese person to tell us, Poles, something about Beijing, not about Krakow); 2) learners must be able to describe the world of the language they are learning to be able to tell their loved ones about it—we are aware that they do it in their native tongues, yet the study of a foreign language is supposed to help them name that reality as, e.g. not everything has its equivalent in their native tongue; and, finally, 3) **they must be able to draw connections between the two worlds**—identify the elements which are foreign to the culture of the language they are learning, including of their native tongue, using the language they are learning, the names that are used in it, which are adapted and transformed as per the rules and customs of the language they are learning. That requires considerable commitment from the teacher who

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<sup>2</sup> Though I should mention the 2010 textbook *Radość z języka chińskiego* published in China by People’s Education Press, which in the initial lessons presents the Chinese manner of counting on fingers which differs from the European standard.

has to help their students tame the language they are learning, so that they “do not take offence” at the language and culture they are learning for distorting their own cultural identifiers, and who has to help them see them as an indication of the popularity of their own cultures in the foreign one, i.e. as examples of the attractive expansion of their own language into foreign ones, and to help them learn to see those transformations and distortions as examples of intercultural communication.

#### 4. METHODS OF ADAPTING FOREIGN NAMES IN POLISH AND THEIR POPULARITY AMONG POLES

We absorb foreign dishes and products, which means we need to somehow refer to them. The need to name new realities is the most important cause of the growth of vocabulary (apart from, e.g. a refresh of the means of expressing emotions). It occurs in one of four main ways: through neologisms, neosemanticisms, phraseological neologisms, and borrowings.

Allow me to indicate the most common means of naming foreign realities in Polish. Some have their names in other languages, as their referents exist in various countries. One such word is a *hand fan*, which only requires a supplementing adjective to indicate differences in the appearance of individual examples: *Spanish*, *Chinese*, *Japanese*, or *Korean*; among the food-oriented examples one could certainly indicate *pierogi* [dumplings] (e.g. *Chinese*, *Mexican*, *Italian*), though sometimes they carry their original foreign names, and only later the explanation of the meaning of the name is the process indicated above: *chinkali* – a kind of ‘Georgian pierogi’, *pielmienie* – ‘Russian pierogi’, *kolduny* – ‘Lithuanian or Belarusian pierogi’. Other pieces of reality, less settled in other cultures (or not yet as common) may gain names in a foreign language as quotes (*sushi*), through the commonalisation of their pronunciation (*lazania* [referring to the dish *lasagne*]), simply through translation of a name (*spring pancake* (Chinese: 春餅; pinyin: **chūnbǐng**) ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spring\\_pancake](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spring_pancake), [15.05.2020]), indicated in European menus as *spring rolls*, or, finally, through the creation of neologisms (*sajgonki*).

##### 4.1. DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY GROUP AND THE STUDIED SOURCES

First of all, I decided to conduct a preliminary study to find answers to the questions of whether Poles could identify those names and meanings, whether they knew what they could find in various restaurants, what they could eat the-

re, and whether various foreign dishes had permanently entered Polish cuisine, whether they belonged to the Polish culinary reality, and, thus, whether their names had become ingredients of the Polish lexical stock. It was a survey which covered only approx. 30 randomly selected dishes and ingredients. I collected 50 surveys: 25 returned by lecturers and language instructors, and 25 returned by 1st and 2nd-year students of literature and language throughout Poland. I verified all of the researched names in 7 dictionaries: 4 traditional “hard-copy” ones, i.e.: *Słownik wyrazów obcych* edited by Jan Tokarski published in 1972 (SWO), *Słownik współczesnego języka polskiego* edited by Bogusław Dunaj published in 1996 (SWJP), *Wielki słownik wyrazów obcych* by Radosław Pawelec and Andrzej Markowski published in 2001 (WSW), and *Inny słownik języka polskiego* edited by Mirosław Bańko published in 2000 (IJP)—as a control volume I used the *Nowy słownik ortograficzny języka polskiego* edited by Edward Polański published in 2006 (ORT) – and 3 internet resources: PWN’s dictionary, PWN’s encyclopaedia, and *Wielki słownik języka polskiego* (WSJP), as I hoped that internet sources would include the most information and that they would be the most up-to-date, as they can be updated on a regular basis.

#### 4.2. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS BASED ON THE SURVEY AND A REVIEW OF DICTIONARIES

My general conclusions based on the survey are: the adaptation of foreign gastronyms is not common as, even though we know some names of foreign dishes, we do not exactly know what they mean; we know some dishes (some we have even enjoyed – one example of this are Georgian dishes), but often we do not know or we cannot remember their names. My general conclusions after reviewing the dictionaries could be summarised in short as follows: cuisine vocabulary would not be considered worthy of being included in dictionaries. Therefore, if one was supposed to define the condition of the Polish language and its lexical stock based on the contents of dictionaries (e.g. IJP comprises 100,000 entries and some say a quarter of that is sufficient for educated people to communicate), one should conclude that the names of foreign dishes take long to make their way into Polish. In this respect, dictionaries (their authors and editors) are fairly non-responsive to the changing realities. That applies both to the very fact of including names, e.g. *chinkali*, *chaczapuri*, or *plov* (they are not even included in online dictionaries), and the degree of their Polonisation – a good example of this is *lasagne*, an Italian dish, the name of which dictionaries (if they include it **at all**, as it is absent from, e.g. IJP and WSJP) offer in the original spelling; two dictionaries, i.e. PWN’s online dictionary and the hard-copy spelling dictionary

(ORT) permit an alternative Polish spelling: *lazanie*. All of the surveys and interviews indicated that in Poles' speech this dish is **pronounced** exclusively as *lazania*, i.e. with a Polonised nominative ending *-a*, which introduces the word into the feminine declension (with the *-e* ending used for creating the nominative in plural for words ending in *-a* in the nominative in singular with roots ending in a soft or functionally soft consonant and, thus one *lazania* and two *lazanie*). None of the dictionaries indicated that, even though they reacted more quickly to the modes of Polonisation of other elements of reality, e.g. many dictionaries indicated the Polonised spelling of *biznesmenka* [businessmaness], the hybrid form of *bizneswoman*, or the alternative forms *czips* [crisp], *czipsy/chips* [crisps/crisp], *chipsy* [crisps], *dżojstik/joystick*.

The lack of names of dishes becomes even more surprising when one considers other borrowings. Those dictionaries include various other non-common scientific and technical terms and notions, and names from different realities: of animals, plants, instruments, even those completely unknown to the average user. The names *kimcz* or *kimchi* (the name of a Korean dish which, if searched for on Google, returns 13.8 million hits!) were not included either by PWN's online dictionary or by WSJP. And yet the word *kimcz* was known to the respondents (they at least heard about it) and they were able to associate it with the proper section of reality, i.e. with cuisine and with the appropriate cultural area or geographical region, i.e. Korea. PWN's dictionary did, however, include *hichiriki* [*pronounced in Polish as hiciriki*], i.e. 'a Japanese musical instrument which originated in China', though I do not think there is anyone who could find one person in a few (or maybe a dozen or several tens of) thousands who has ever heard it being played.

Therefore, as no information can be gathered from dictionaries (traditional ones), one has to resort to the internet, including the still cautiously approached Wikipedia, and, in our case, cook books, though when browsing those one must consider the fact that some recipes might be Polonised. Many clarifications are also offered directly by restaurants in their menus as they often list the ingredients of dishes or even provide short explanations of names, e.g. *hosomaki* – (Japanese *hoso* 'lean, thin', *maki* 'rolled') thin rolls filled with rice and one ingredient which gives the name of a *sushi*; *futomaki* – thick rolls (Japanese *futo* 'thick'), one of the most common types of *sushi* (Wikipedia adds the following: "the name comes from the adjective *futoi* which means: thick, greasy; thick rolls with at least 4 ingredients") – information provided in the menu of the KOKU sushi restaurant (<http://www.kokusushi.pl/pl/hosomaki.html> [15.05.2020]). The surveys indicated that many people have tried sushi, some even enjoyed it, yet 90%, including those who spent time outside of Poland, were not able to name any kind or type of the dish.



### 4.3. POLES' FAVOURITE CUISINES

In the survey, I asked about the respondents' favourite cuisine: 25% answered that their favourite one was Polish cuisine (as some added – “despite everything”), and they enumerated *bigos*, *pierogi*, *kotlet schabowy* and *kapusta* [cabbage stew] and Polish gravy served with meat. Among foreign cuisines, they indicated Chinese and Italian most often (approx. 25% each). As many as 15% answered: “I don't know”, “none is my favourite”, “I'm on a special diet”. Finally, only 10% of respondents indicated other cuisines (that was actually aligned with the fact that they had lived for several years at certain locations, particularly in the case of language instructors). This study is roughly reflected in internet surveys: “68% of respondents enjoy Polish cuisine, 58% Italian cuisine, 25% oriental cuisine, 19% Mexican cuisine, 16% American, 15% vegetarian or vegan, 14% Greek, 12% Arabic (kebab) and Mediterranean (seafood) cuisines, respectively, and 6% enjoy French, Balkan and East European cuisines, respectively. The fewest respondents (2%) indicated German cuisine. The study was conducted by SW Research for KFC on 11–14 March 2016 using the online survey method (CAWI) at the SW Panel internet panel. During the study, 801 surveys were conducted with people professionally active, aged 25–39, in cities with populations of or over 50,000 people (<https://www.wirtualnemedia.pl/artykul/polskie-dania-ulubiona-kuchnia-polakow-najmniej-lubiana-kuchnia-niemiecka> [15.05.2020]).

The approach to restaurants and cuisines defined in Poland using the adjectives *Asian* or *oriental* is interesting and deserves a more detailed study. The survey inquired what national cuisine a respondent would expect if they entered such a restaurant or heard about such cuisine. Answers to the first question (about *Asian* cuisine) predominantly indicated Chinese, relatively often in combination with Vietnamese cuisine, and there were only two indications of Japanese cuisine and only one of Korean cuisine. Answers to the second question (about *oriental* cuisine) most often indicated cuisine with dishes from India, referred to as *Indian* or *Hindu* cuisine.

Those determinations also require lexical digressions. It is difficult to decide which of the two adjectives is more appropriate in this case. Polish dictionaries are not very helpful: IJP states: *hinduski* (in the *Hindus* [a Hindu] entry) – someone who comes from India, e.g. *hinduska uroda* [Hindu beauty]; *indyjski* [Indian] – that which applies to India, *herbata indyjska* [Indian tea],  *słonie indyjskie* [Indian elephants]; SWJP: *indyjski* – something referring to India, coming from India, having an affiliation to the Indian state or the Indian Peninsula. *Odzież, herbata indyjska* [Indian clothing, tea]. *Towary, bóstwa indyjskie* [Indian goods, gods]. *Konsulat indyjski* [Indian consulate]; the dictionary lacks the adjective *hinduski*. Jan Grenia's *Słownik nazw geograficznych* [Dictionary of Geographical Names] states: *indyjski*

refers to India, *hinduski* from the word Hindu without an indication of scope. A 2019 Publication by Główny Urząd Kartografii i Geodezji i Komisja Standaryzacji Nazw Geograficznych poza Granicami Polski przy Głównym Geodecie Kraju [Chief Office of Cartography and Land Survey and the Commission for the Standardisation of Geographical Names Outside of Poland at the Chief Surveyor of the Country] indicated the adjective *indyjski* as the only adjective, and a name of the inhabitant of the area is *Indus* or *Hindus* (<http://ksng.gugik.gov.pl/wykaz.php> [15.05.2020]).

The second mostly commonly indicated type of oriental cuisine was cuisine from Thailand. That name also creates problems with the adjective: whether a restaurant should be called *tajska* [Thai] or *tajlandzka* [Thailandish], and cuisine *tajska* [Thai] or *tajlandzka* [Thailandish]. IJP includes the word *tajlandzki* meaning: applicable to Thailand or Thais; the word *tajski* has not been recorded; according to IJP: *Taj* – is someone who comes from Thailand, *Tajka* [a Thai woman]; *Tajlandczyk* [Thailandian] is a citizen of Thailand, *Tajlandka* [a Thai woman]; the entries have no mutual formal references. In the surveys, restaurants were not referred to even once using the adjective *tajlandzka*, and that is the only adjectival form listed in the quoted publication standardising geographical names (it does not include the adjective *tajski*, nor *Taj* or *Tajka*), only the language is referred to as *tajski*. In Poradnia Językowa PWN [PWN's Language Clinic] in 2012 Jan Grzenia wrote that, in fact, “we do not always require particular accuracy, especially in colloquial speech. Sometimes it is also difficult to separate that which is *tajskie* from that which is *tajlandzkie*, e.g. *język tajski* [Thai language] is the official language in Thailand (and therefore it is sometimes referred to as *tajlandzki*)” (<https://sjp.pwn.pl/poradnia/haslo/Co-jest-tajlandzkie-a-co-tajskie;13580.html> [15.05.2020]).

Allow me to return to the basic differentiation/identification. SWJP finds the derivation source of the word *azjatycki* [Asian] in the word *Azja* [Asia], while *orientalny* [oriental] means: ‘applicable to the countries of the East.’ So, is that also Asia or not necessarily? IJP equates both adjectives: *azjatycki* – “that which applies to Asia or Asians”; *orientalny* – “that which applies to Asian countries with cultures different from the European culture or which is typical of them: *Liczne orientalne knajpki serwowały kuchnię indyjską, pakistańską, irańską lub chińską* [Various oriental bistros served Indian, Pakistani, Iranian, and Chinese cuisines].” The online dictionary of synonyms (synonym.net) definitely directs users' attention to the Middle and the Far East: “Arabic, Islamic, mahometański [Muhammadean], Muslim, Eastern, exotic, equatorial, tropical, Byzantine.” The names and descriptions of restaurants (menus, advertisements) equal the adjectives: *Asian* = *oriental* cuisine: “Asian cuisine is commonly considered one of the most delicious and original cuisines in the world. It covers such cuisines as Thai, Japanese, Indian, Korean, Vietnamese, and many more” (the images accompanying the note also include Turkish cuisine – remark by J.T.) (<http://allrecipes.pl/przepisy/azjatycka.aspx>). In the common perception, as indicated by the survey, the scopes of the adjectives are not

identical. The “A Dong” chain, popular in Poland, which uses the name “A DONG Oriental Restaurant”, thus defines itself: “it means, first of all, a high quality of original specialities of **Chinese and Vietnamese** cuisines prepared by chefs from the Far East, as well as uniquely atmospheric interiors and original Vietnamese music which together ensure that our guests can get a taste of the Orient, they are relaxed and happy,” (emphasis – J.T.) (<http://www.adong.com.pl> [15.05.2020]). Most of its clients refer to the restaurant as a Chinese restaurant – because its interior design reminds them of Chinese symbols, while Vietnamese culture is basically unknown in Poland, and no one pays any attention to the adjective *orientalny* [oriental] in the name. Polish consumers quickly indicate the common features of various cuisines from the Asian continent, e.g.: “rice, oriental spices, bamboo shoots” (K1), “rice and cooked meat” (K2), “extremely aromatic cuisine, spicy; based on fresh vegetables and fish” (G). Surely, such simple generalisation would never have appeared in answers from people from Asia or even people who have had some closer contacts with those countries. Such people try to somewhat internally specify the subtypes of the cuisine of the Asian continent: “you eat it using chopsticks, **apart from the Japanese** sauces, way of preparing (pace)” (emphasis – J.T.) (T), “small amounts of raw vegetables, a lot of fish and seafood, often fried in high temperature and mainly rice!!! Yet, actually, for me, there is no such thing as Asian cuisine (just like Asia), you can talk about Japanese cuisine, Vietnamese cuisine, Thai cuisine, but to talk about Chinese cuisine would be a misuse as actually it consists of many different cuisines which often have no common basis” (M). At this point I cannot, of course, refrain from quoting Tokimasa Sekiguchi, who argued:

Then, at the level of the cultural basis, anthropological in particular, which is visible clearly in, e.g. cuisine, we often notice a chasm between them (China and Japan – J.T.). In Chinese cuisine in literal terms we admire the art of cooking. The material is transformed and processes, and it undergoes a complete metamorphosis under the influence of fire and lots of oil and spices. Then, in Japanese cuisine, the perfect situation is to be able to eat anything in a raw state. In it, the art consists mainly of one’s ability to find the appropriate species of a raw material, cut it the right way, and serve it at the right moment—all that to be able to eat it raw. (Of course, I am somewhat exaggerating. Please do not think that we eat, e.g. uncooked rice).

(Sekiguchi 2008, p. 54)

#### 4.4. AN OVERVIEW OF SELECTED GASTRONYMS

Allow me, then, to conduct an overview of common knowledge about the referents of selected gastronyms adapted for Polish. It is surprising how quickly *pasta* began to denote *makaron* [Polish word for pasta]. Within a dozen or so years it dominated its original meaning: ‘something with a smooth consistency used as

a spread,' in WSJP: "a uniform substance made of mixed products and spices intended for eating" (this is the only meaning in dictionaries; in the returned survey it did not appear **even once!**) It is interesting to consider the adaptation of *keczup* [ketchup], which in the 1970s (SWO) was a completely Polonised borrowing having a Polish spelling with "cz" and Polish letter pronunciation with an [u], whereas today we are again considering the degree of assimilation of the name.

#### 4.4.1. Japanese cuisine

Allow me to begin with *sushi*: it was not recorded in either of the studied Polish dictionaries, it only appeared in the spelling dictionary (ORT) and in PWN's online dictionary: *sushi* [*pronounced in Polish as suszi*] "a Japanese dish in the form of a cylindrical piece of marinated rice with the addition of raw fish or seafood wrapped in nori leaves," and in WSJP: "*sushi*, less often *suszi*, "a traditional snack of the Japanese, which has the form of a small portion of rice with pieces of raw fish, vegetables or seafood" – in this case, the use of the genitive adjunct *Ja-pończyków* [of the Japanese] should cause some objections, as nowadays it is incorrectly exclusive. ENCYKL PWN **only** indicates *obligacje sushi* [sushi bonds], "bonds (usually Eurobonds) issued by Japanese issuers denominated in a currency other than the yen". None of the dictionaries (not even the spelling dictionary) provided the names of kinds of *sushi* (*maki*, *nigiri*), while the definition in PWN's dictionary limited the meaning of the name *sushi* to just one kind. Information on the kinds of the Japanese dish can only be found at restaurants. The survey indicated that even though respondents have eaten it, they did not know the related names. Therefore, restaurants usually rely on images. Sushi is described in fairly general terms: "small portions of raw fish with additions and sauces," (K1) or if one sees differences between them: "probably most often as rolls made of rice with stuffing or as «lumps» of rice covered with fish" (S) or, as per a dictionary, they associate it only with the popular and usually the cheapest kind (sold also in supermarkets): "rice with a piece of fish rolled in seaweed" (K2). Even if someone knows what sushi types look like and/or how they taste, they usually cannot name them, though sometimes restaurants provide such details in their menus. One has no idea what *maki*, *nigiri*, *uramaki*, *futomaki*, etc. is.

Similarly, one is unaware of the name of seaweed used for producing *makis*: it was not indicated in any of the traditional dictionaries, and it was almost unknown to the respondents. The name appeared in the online dictionary, with an unnecessarily long explanation: PWN – *nori* 'a seaweed with a red leafy thallus, used for preparing traditional sushi'; ENCYKL did not include any information about the application and the association between nori and the preparation of sushi, so for an

average user of food-related Polish it was meaningless as it did not provide the basic meaning: “red sea lettuce, edible species of marine red algae weeds of the porphyra kind” (ENCYKL).

Spelling is a separate problem with food-related foreign names which function in Polish. Those names should receive particular attention. I have already discussed *lazania*, the Polonisation spelling of the name in lexicographic sources should be accompanied by inflectional Polonisation, which has, in fact, already occurred in the spoken language. Maybe it would be worthwhile accepting in dictionaries the Polonised spelling *sushi* > *suszi* as sometimes one might hear about *suszikarnia* (‘a sushi place’, following the pattern of *naleśnikarnia*, *pirogarnia* [pancake or pierogi place]), or even *suszarnia* (though this name seems less appropriate due to its ambiguity and the place it already occupies in the set of Polish lexemes) – then again, it could function as a *suszikarnia*, following the pattern of *pizzeria* or *churrascaria*; and also since *sushi/suszi* is the basis of wordplay, e.g.: “Poland has already experienced the *kaszi* frenzy, which is nothing more than a kind of *suszi* without rice but with groats [*kasza* in Polish]” (<http://wegannerd.blogspot.com/2013/11/peczotto-z-koprem-woskim-i-z-czerwonym.html> [15.05.2020]).

#### 4.4.2. Turkish cuisine

The issue of spelling is interesting in the case of a *kebab*, which in this form has settled in Polish. There is probably no point in trying to transfer into Polish directly its spelling in Turkish (“in modern Turkish, which uses the Latin alphabet, it is spelled *kebab*, yet the older Turkish form spelled in Arabic is *kebab* (in the transcribed form, of course). Polish had probably borrowed the word earlier that we think”, [sjp.pwn.pl/poradnia/haslo/kebab](http://sjp.pwn.pl/poradnia/haslo/kebab) [15.05.2020]), as the pronunciation in *casus obliqui* consolidated that coda “b” as: *kebaba*, *kebabem*. *Kebab* in Polish is associated exclusively with one kind of the dish: *döner kebab* – which was proven by the survey where respondents sometimes included linguistic remarks, and that is because Turkey is for Poles a popular holiday destination (“mutton with salads, sauce, in Turkey there are many kinds” – R), yet, in general, the common Polish expectation is one-sided, including in dictionaries: SWO – Turkish ‘a Turkish lamb roast, with onion, pepper, egg, and rice’; WSW: ‘a spicy dish with roasted pieces of meat, usually lamb, served with fried onion and bell peppers, served with rice or stuffed in a bun’; (...) Turkish *kebab*; IJP – not listed; PWN – *kebab* ‘a Turkish dish made of grilled meat, which is cut into small pieces’; ENCYKL – *kebab* [Turkish], a dish from Turkey. When defining the dish, Germans used the second part of the name, completely disregarded by Poles: “In Germany,

the dish is usually referred to as *döner* (in Turkish ‘something which turns’), while a version in a *lawasz* pie as *dürüm döner* (‘rolled döner’), Turkish pizza (*Türki-sche Pizza*)” (<http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kebab> [15.05.2020]).

## 5. FOREIGN CUISINES AND THEIR REFERENTS IN POLISH CULTURE. CULTUREMES

The problem of mutual translatability of languages and cultures, and the manner in which they permeate each other and adapt the components of the other culture is gaining more attention among researchers. Today, it is a very topical problem since, as Hanna Burkhardt has indicated, the perception and creation of reality is largely and undeniably impacted by “the ease of cultural exchange, an extensive network of mutual relations, and the meeting of people and learning about their cultures” (Burkhardt 2008, p. 197). Clearly, that permeation has never been more common or dynamic. The development of means of transport (e.g. the availability of cheap flights) and the global nature of internet contacts, and the ability to gain information, mean that today there are no cultures or languages which are inaccessible.

That is why researchers, but also ordinary people (at least some, because I realise that, sadly, the intercultural curiosity of the majority of the Polish and global societies is often ousted by xenophobia), are becoming increasingly interested in the history of some cultural facts and their names—from their origins to their histories once they become absorbed from the donor culture into the recipient culture.

Apart from relatively new names, the modes of adaptation of which I have already discussed, one should also consider some names which have functioned in Polish for a long time, the referents of which have been present in Polish cuisine for many years. I believe that the more or less Polonised names, adapted for Polish, of more or less Polonised referents could be considered as Polish culturemes. As I indicated earlier, Polish language and culture fluctuate between a focus on the native and a fascination with that which is foreign, which leads to adaptation and domestication of foreign elements. Domestication quickly leads to internalisation, and external assimilation and transformation into internal “exotic own”.

### 5.1. THE NOTION OF A CULTUREME

To start with, allow me to indicate how the term *cultureme* is understood in Polish dictionaries and Polish subject literature. I shall begin with the online *Dobry słownik*: “A **cultureme** is a linguistic expression which exists in the minds

of a community and which is common to its members, one which includes a set of qualities and associations which define the cultural essence of the community, and which can say much about it; it is often strongly marked (positively or negatively); a specialist term used in, e.g. ethnolinguistics” (<https://dobryslownik.pl/slowo/kulturem/222209/1/235531/> [15.05.2020]).

Maciej Rak referred to the findings of Anna Wierzbicka and Alicja Nagórko thus: “The notion of a cultureme has been used in translation studies, stylistic studies, and in ethnolinguistics. In the most recent description (represented by Alicja Nagórko), a cultureme is closest to Anna Wierzbicka’s words. Therefore, culturemes could be considered as keywords important for a community for their self-identification. (...) Polish highland culturemes are used for, e.g. self-identification (...), fulfilling (similarly to stereotypes) the following functions: mental (they facilitate the thinking and talking about the world), social (they integrate (...)), and cognitive (they convey the common conceptualisation) (Rak 2015). Then, when indicating the origins of the term, Marta Skura also referred to Anna Wierzbicka’s findings, as well as to Els Oksaar’s thesis. She stressed that it is:

the entirety of cultural and socio-cultural patterns and rules of behaviour. Els Oksaar referred to an instance of such an abstract cultureme as *behavior*. The author discussed culturemes within a narrower sense: cultural keywords (including, e.g. exoticisms) and cultural scripts, stereotypes (mainly ethnic stereotypes), and xenisms. Els Oksaar analyses communication among foreigners, i.e. situations in which it becomes evident that one’s command of grammatical and lexical structures is not enough to engage in successful communication. Therefore, what is important is the comparative aspect. The situation of an encounter with a foreign culture which results in communicational lapses was discussed by Anna Wierzbicka (1994) based on her own experiences. She stressed that coming into contact with another culture helped her realise the rules of her own culture, and she started seeing Polish culture anew.

(Skura 2009)

## 5.2. FOREIGN CUISINE AS POLISH CULTUREMES

Culturemes are actually the relevant elements of every culture. As Grażyna Zarzycka has argued: “a cultureme is a significant element of culture (rich in meaning, hence fulfilling the function of its interpreter), which can be indicated by both linguistic actions (words, sentences, texts) and non-linguistic actions (social behaviour, such as: facial expressions, gestures, and proxemic behaviour)” (Zarzycka 2018, pp. 3–4). Culturemes possess distinctive features which enable one to identify the significant components of a culture. One could liken them to phonemes and morphemes, which are the components of a system, and they have no meaning, or mean something else, outside the system. Similarly, culturemes

function within a certain cultural whole. They are the indicators of cultural separateness. One could indicate such food-oriented names in Polish as *kurczak po chińsku* [Chinese style chicken], *ryba po grecku* [Greek style fish], *śledź po japońsku* [Japanese style herrings] or *barszcz ukraiński* [Ukrainian borsch] – those are names particular to Polish food culture, and they indicate what Poles think about the countries included in the names, and yet they embody Polish food-related preferences, though they may prove misleading, to say the least, for foreigners coming from those countries.

An internet forum entitled: *Typowa polska potrawa... RATUNKUUU* [Typical Polish dish... HEEELP] begins as follows:

i\_smutek 08.02.05, 16:25

We have just invited a couple of Japanese whom we befriended to show us how to make sushi, and we are supposed to serve them TYPICAL POLISH CUISINE. That will most certainly be bigos, but we are not sure whether our guests will enjoy it, so we wanted to have something else on standby; so what are our options:

- barszcz ukraiński
- ruskie pierogi [Russian pierogi]
- placek po węgiersku [Hungarian potato pancakes]
- fasolka po bretońsku
- ryba po grecku.

Do we have any dishes typical of Polish cuisine which have some normal names? Don't expect me to serve the common schabowy

([http://forum.gazeta.pl/forum/w,77,20379410,20379410,Typowa\\_polska\\_potrawa\\_RATUNKUUU.html#p20382889](http://forum.gazeta.pl/forum/w,77,20379410,20379410,Typowa_polska_potrawa_RATUNKUUU.html#p20382889) [15.05.2020]).

The peculiar nature of those names (typically Polish dishes) is based on the relation to their extra-linguistic realities, different for each dish:

- *kurczak po chińsku* is a general denomination which does not and could not have a referent in Chinese cuisine, first and foremost due to the variety of “Chinese” regional cuisines and due to the various ways in which chicken is prepared there; dishes which carry that name are not, of course, served in Chinese, Asian or oriental restaurants (which I discussed earlier), but rather in ordinary general (adjectiveless) restaurants where the name means: chicken cut into thin slices, with the addition of spices generally considered as Asian (and not necessarily Chinese), vegetables cut into pieces, possibly bamboo shoots or mushrooms (again, not necessarily Chinese, often simply champignon mushrooms):

A modified Chinese dish – sweet chicken with vegetables and bamboo shoots with oriental spices. A special combination of tastes offers an interesting outcome and tastes even better with every bite.

(<http://durszlak.pl/przepisy-kulinarne/kurczak-po-chinsku> [15.05.2020]).



Today, we have for you a recipe for a quick and delicious *kurczak po chińsku*, which you'll be able to prepare in no more than 30 minutes. (...) Cut the chicken into strips and put it into a bowl. Add grated garlic, ginger, chopped pepper (with seeds removed), seasoning and soy sauce. Heat oil in a wok and add the meat. Fry it for a few minutes on all sides, then add defrosted vegetables, French cut onion, and lime juice. Add salt and pepper and fry for about 5 minutes, stirring regularly. At the end, add water and cook for 2–3 more minutes. Serve the chicken with cooked rice.

(<http://gotowaniecieszy.blox.pl/2014/07/Kurczak-po-chinsku-przepis.html> [15.05.2020])

– ŚLEDŹ PO JAPONSKU – on the internet there is even a Polish discussion board under this name: [forum.gazeta.pl/forum/w,77,98075671,98075671,s-ledz\\_po\\_japonsku.html](http://forum.gazeta.pl/forum/w,77,98075671,98075671,s-ledz_po_japonsku.html) [15.05.2020] which began with an entry from 2009: „śledź po japońsku, emigrantka34 20.07.09, 22:45: Now I have a question. Does anyone know where the name « śledź po japońsku » came from? I've searched the whole internet and I got nothing. I can only guess, but I don't want to suggest any of my ideas. Does anyone know this? This came to my mind when I was considering the opera cake :)”.

What is *śledź po japońsku*? It is herrings covered in decorative sour cream and/or mayonnaise, often with the addition of onion and other vegetables:

Boil water in a pan with the other ingredients of the sauce. Peel the onion, French cut it, and add to boiling water. Boil it approx. 30 minutes until the onion becomes soft. Boil the carrots, parsley root and celery root until they are tender, cool them, peel them, and dice them. Add cut cucumbers in brine and apple, mix in the mayonnaise. Season with salt and pepper. Mix the sour cream with mayonnaise and spices, pour it over the onion. Peel the eggs, cut them in half. Arrange the dish on a plate as you see fit”.

(<http://www.przyslijprzepis.pl/przepis/sledz-po-japonsku-8> [15.05.2020])

A reader of the recipe might wonder where the herrings went. They are in the ingredients and in the pictures, but the author forgot to include them in the recipe:

Ingredients: Vegetable salad: 6 carrots, 4 parsley roots, half of a large celery root, 5 cucumbers in brine, 1.5 sweet apples, 4 tablespoons of mayonnaise, 4 herring fillets in oil, 5 small onions, a hard-boiled egg, a radish. Sauce: approx. 2 glasses of water, 2 tablespoons of sugar, 1 tablespoon of vinegar, a pinch of salt. Sauce for the onion: 4 tablespoons of sour cream (18% fat content), 3 tablespoons of mayonnaise, salt, pepper, sugar, and lemon to taste”

(<http://www.przyslijprzepis.pl/przepis/sledz-po-japonsku-8> [15.05.2020]).

A second recipe includes herrings:

Dice the onion, add salt, vinegar, oil and sugar, mix and put onto a platter. Dice the cucumbers, place on the onion. On top, place halves of hard-boiled eggs. Soak matiasies [young immature herrings] in water. Cut each fillet lengthways into two halves and wrap it around the eggs. Decorate the egg in a herring with mayonnaise, parsley and red bell pepper”

(<http://www.mojegotowanie.pl/przepis/sledzie-po-japonsku> [15.05.2020]).

Throughout the world, various cuisines have their regional varieties. That is because they must be adjusted to the tastes and culinary habits of the inhabitants of a region or the citizens of a country. Of course, there will always be exceptions (we know a few restaurants well and the chefs there cook food for us which is close to, e.g. Chinese or Hungarian original dishes), but restaurants are for ordinary people, and among them sometimes as much as 90% seek **minor** portions of the exotic, which would be tasty to them **despite** the traditional tastes of their domestic culinary culture (some people who belong to the oldest living generation absolutely does not tolerate the “new-fashioned” tastes of the, e.g. combination of meat and fruit, which has been a Polish discovery of the last 30 years).

As I have already mentioned, the learning of a non-native language follows the basic objectives of learning how to describe one’s own world and the world one learns through the language one learns together with its reality, and later of combining them. Among those elements of the realities which need to be named, a major place is occupied by cuisine and dishes—even more interesting when considered at the intersection of two cultures and languages, when one finds elements of both in the names.

Polish culturemes certainly include *bigos*, *pierogi*... (“So we decided to serve herrings – truly typical, a classic vegetable salad (everyone forgot about it), and then dumplings, so *kopytka* [Polish gnocchi], *kluski śląskie* [round flattened Polish gnocchi with an indent in the middle], *nylonki*, *pyzy*, *pierogi ruskie* [Russian pierogi], *uszka* [Polish ravioli], *placki ziemniaczane* [potato pancakes], and all that with goulash, and, of course, *bigos* :)),” [http://forum.gazeta.pl/forum/w,77,20379410,20379410,Typowa\\_polska\\_potrawa\\_RATUNKUUU.html#p20-3828809](http://forum.gazeta.pl/forum/w,77,20379410,20379410,Typowa_polska_potrawa_RATUNKUUU.html#p20-3828809) [15.05.2020]; emphasis – J.T.) Still, the following are also Polish culturemes: *kurczak po chińsku*, because every ordinary Pole knows what kind of dish that is, and *śledź po japońsku*, which together with *fasolka po bretońsku*, *pierogi ruskie* and *ryba po grecku* are not known anywhere else in the world. Finally, *barszcz ukraiński* also belongs to Polish culturemes—in Polish cuisine it was altered and gained a special character (NB, *kluski śląskie* [Silesian dumplings] originally had a different referent to now: in Upper Silesia they were called *kluski polskie* [Polish dumplings]). Other major culturemes also include culinary compound names which formed in Poland as a combination of a general intercultural identifying component (*kurczak* [chicken], *śledź* [herring]) and a differentiating component which indicates the cultural reference of a dish—both components are domestic in linguistic terms.

### 5.3. CUISINE OF HUNGARIAN DESCENT. POLISH TRANSFORMATIONS

I would like to highlight names which have foreign origins yet are distinct identifiers of Polish cuisine. I am referring to the exoticism and xenisms which Skura indicated as *culturemes*—*culturemes* which foreigners have to (should) know to be able to avoid communicational misunderstandings. The closer a name is in the donor language to a name in the native culture of a foreigner and if they denote other referents, the more one should focus on properly understanding them. Various situations occur in the process of adapting culinary names:

- 1) a name adapted while absorbing its referent (with a slight regionalisation of the referent and its adjustment to match the tastes of the local customers; a good example of this is the already discussed *sushi*, which, in Polish restaurants and *sushi* stands, is often offered with roasted or grilled fish);
- 2) absorption of the name with a change of the referent; the assignment of the borrowed name to a different referent:
  - metonymy (*bogracz*),
  - a change of referent/assignment of a foreign borrowed name to a local dish (*gulasz*),
  - “pretending” that an item is a foreign name (*paprykarz*).

Consider the names of Hungarian origin—they are attractive for Poles by dint of the historical and cultural closeness of the nations (while names related to the Far East owe their attractive nature to geographical distance and cultural exoticism), a fact which is actually described well in the old adage: *Polak Węgier dwa bratanki i do szabli, i do szklanki* [Pole and Hungarian brothers be, good for fight and good for party].

At the beginning of the text I discussed the name *bogracz*. One should also consider other names of dishes which originated from Hungarian cuisine, which are actually quite similar – the most common answer to a question in the survey: What is the difference between a *goulash*, a *lecsó*, a *bogrács*, and a *paprikás*? was: *They are similar*.

*Gulasz* is similarly defined in several dictionaries, e.g. SWO – *gulasz* (Hungarian *gulyás*) ‘a dish prepared with diced meat stewed with oil, onion, and bell peppers’; IJP – ‘it is a dish of finely cut meat stewed in a spicy sauce’; PWN – *gulasz* ‘a dish of diced stewed meat’; ENCYKL – *gulasz* [Hungarian], ‘a dish prepared from diced and fried meat, stewed with spices’.

A special kind of transfer, or actually blending of two transfers, has occurred: in the culinary culture and in language, two elements which Polish dictionaries carelessly mix. For the sake of clarity: a *gulasz* as a Polonised counterpart of what the Hungarian *gulyás* means to Hungarians, that which in full form they would refer

to as a goulash soup (Hungarian *gulyásleves* or *gulyás* for short). What Poles call a *gulasz*, Hungarians know as a dish called *pörkölt*, which in Slovak is called *perkelt* or *tokaň*. Hungarian cuisine has an entire family of related “goulash” dishes made with meat. Including two thick ones (*pörkölt*), which are Hungarian national dishes, and which consist of meat (including mutton), onion and bell peppers, with the addition of a hefty amount of paprika. The name *pörkölt* came from the old Hungarian word *pergelt*, which today means slightly fried, browned. A *pörkölt* is served on a plate as a main course. If pieces of meat are stewed and served as a dish without bell peppers, the dish is called *tokány* – which might be an untranslatable word and is generally not Polonised, though it is worth noting that Robert Makłowicz, a culinary celebrity, uses it also in Polish<sup>3</sup>. No water should be added to these dishes (and if any, then a tiny amount). The meat stews in its own sauce, which cannot be thickened using flour. That is a quality which is a distinct difference to the Polish *gulasz*, which, actually, is closer to a *tokaň* than a *pörgölt*<sup>4</sup>.

Therefore, we wonder where the Polish name *gulasz* came from, one which denotes a traditional Polish dish made of pieces of meat stewed in their own sauce, served as a main course, so also on a plate with potatoes or groats – though usually in traditional Polish cuisine without bell peppers (so closest to the Hungarian dish known as *tokaň*). As far as one can trust etymological discussions in Wikipedia, the Polish *gulasz* could have been a transfer into the Polish reality of the archaic meaning of the word *gulyás*: “The name comes from herdsmen who herded cattle from spring to autumn in lowlands. The cattle were called *gulya*, and a herdsman who herded them was called a *gulyás* [pronounced in Polish as *gujasz*]. Therefore, a dish prepared by herdsmen was called a *gulasz*. Only later did the language introduce from the folk language the word *pörkölt* (<http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gulasz> [15.05.2020]).

Adding the thus understood *gulasz* (both with bell pepper and without) to potato pancakes was the foundation of the name of a dish: *placek po węgiersku* [Hungarian potato pancakes]<sup>5</sup>. At this point, it is worth quoting an opinion about *placek po węgiersku* posted on a portal: “often, here and there, there appear entries about *placek po węgiersku* and there are always those who say that Hungarians do not know potato pancakes. And that is true. So, I would like to clarify the situation, if no one has done that before me, how *placek po węgiersku* came to

<sup>3</sup> Np. <http://www.maklowicz.pl/pl/przepisy/z-ksiazek/borsos-tokany-tokan-pieprzny> [15.05.2020].

<sup>4</sup> Brigitte, the half-Hungarian half-Polish student, whom I have already quoted: “From my point of view, a goulash means mainly a soup, not the dish which is known in Poland (a dish with meat). A *gulasz* in the Polish meaning would be *pörkölt* in Hungarian, and a goulash in the Hungarian meaning would be a *gulyásleves*.”

<sup>5</sup> I am from Hungary, or am I? That is the question! *Placek po węgiersku*, as one might expect, did not come from Hungary and it is quite obscure there. The situation is quite different in Poland and other countries near Hungary, everyone knows the dish there (<http://www.gotowaniezmiłości.pl/2012/12/placek-po-węgiersku.html>, [15.05.2020]).

be. The story goes that in Krakow, on Grodzka St., there were, or actually are as they are still there and they are quite successful, two restaurants located nearly door-to-door: the Bar Grodzki, with its speciality being potato pancakes, and the Balaton, which serves Hungarian cuisine. The Balaton's chef at that time was an actual Hungarian and he served great chow, he couldn't understand why it wasn't him, but the Bar Grodzki, which had kilometre-long lines for some ordinary potato pancakes. And then he had a revelation, a eureka moment, and he decided to marry Poland and Hungary, meaning placek z gulaszem [a potato pancake with goulash] [actually with tokańy or pörköltém – J.T.] and thus the ingenious dish came to be, which almost everyone has loved ever since and which every other day is listed in the menu. I only don't know whether the ingenious Hungarian collected any royalties for use of the name and the recipe" (<http://forum.gazeta.pl/forum/w,77,23945794,23945794> [15.05.2020]).

It is unclear how accurate this story is, or whether it is accurate at all. Maybe some historian will verify it some day. We can only watch the faces of Hungarians who having ordered a *gulasz* get a dish on a plate and wonder where the Magyar element is in a placek *po węgiersku*. If a teacher of Polish as a foreign language has a Hungarian in their group, they should definitely discuss those dishes in the lesson "at a restaurant".

Another interesting story applies to the word *paprykarz* and its referent, or rather referents: according to PWN – a *paprykarz* is 'a dish made of veal, poultry or fish, cut and stewed with a lot of bell peppers'; ENCYKL – a *paprykarz* is 'a kind of goulash seasoned with a lot of bell peppers'; Wikipedia: *paprikáskrumpli* – 'a kind of *paprykarz* in which instead of meat you can use potatoes and sausage' (<http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bogracz> [15.05.2020]).

The name *paprykarz* underwent a revolution in Polish. Initially, allow me to add that for a long time, it constituted a rather close counterpart of its Hungarian original, usually prepared per a recipe which in Hungarian applied to a *paprikáskrumpli*, i.e. diced sausage, bell peppers, onion and potatoes. Therefore, initially, the name *paprykarz* denoted a dish which did not differ much between the two culinary cultures.

However, at some point, the name was taken over in Polish and in Polish culinary culture by one of the hit products of the period of the People's Republic of Poland, i.e. a tinned food called *paprykarz szczeciński*: "sold in tins ground fish meat (usually 40% of the total content) with rice, onion, tomato paste; in plant oil, with various spices and salt" ([https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paprykarz\\_szczeci%C5%84ski](https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paprykarz_szczeci%C5%84ski) [15.05.2020]).

The fact that the new referent almost completely replaced the old one was indicated in the answers by the Poles who responded to the survey:

Paprykarz – I don't know, I don't know it (apart from paprykarz szczeciński). Maybe that's a different name for lecsó?

I associate paprykarz with a spicy meat and bell pepper spread.

Paprykarz: first thing that come to mind is paprykarz szczeciński – fish with riceJ

Paprykarz – a type of tinned food (ground fish mixed with rice and tomato/pepper sauce?).

Paprykarz – first thing that comes to mind is paprykarz szczeciński, a kind of tinned fish with rice and tomatoes.

It would be worth indicating the history of paprykarz (szczeciński):

Paprykarz szczeciński was developed in the mid-1960s by the scientists at the laboratory of PPUDiR Gryf in Szczecin as commissioned by Wojciech Jakacki. Paprykarz szczeciński was an innovation intended to utilise the waste after cutting out fish bones from frozen fish blocks. The food was modelled after the African dish called a chop chop, which the technologists from Polish reefer ships fulfilling ocean-going fishing as they visited the ports of Western Africa tasted and enjoyed greatly. Apart from meat (acquired from scraps produced while dicing frozen fish blocks), amounting to 50% of the tin content, from African fish of various species, (e.g. red porgy and pagrus), the original paprykarz szczeciński included tomato pulp imported from Bulgaria and Hungary, spicy African pima peppers, vegetables and spices. The first tin of paprykarz came off of Gryf's production line in 1967. On 1 December 1968 a Szczecin tin of paprykarz received the Q quality mark. Paprykarz szczeciński was exported to 32 countries. It was imitated in Colombia and various outlets manufactured a similar product, e.g. also to be exported to neighbouring countries. (...) During the economic crisis in the People's Republic of Poland, it often failed to meet the requirement of the original standard of 50% content of fish meat, and apart from fish meat it included waste: scales, pieces of fish fins, bones, heads, and spines. There was also a version of paprykarz with groats instead of rice. Currently, (since the early-1990s), paprykarz szczeciński is no longer manufactured in Szczecin. Since the name "paprykarz szczeciński" was not reserved, similar fish products with the same name are manufactured by various companies throughout the country. In July 2010, the marshal of the West Pomeranian Province requested the Ministry of Agriculture to include paprykarz szczeciński in the list of traditional products and that offered a chance for ending Szczecin's long-lasting fight to regain the rights to the cult tinned food. On 22 December 2010, paprykarz officially became a traditional product.

([https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paprykarz\\_szczeci%C5%84ski](https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paprykarz_szczeci%C5%84ski) [15.05.2020])

The initial name *paprykarz* in Polish, seized by the fish tinned food, has been completely replaced by *leczo*, which actually in its basic form is quite similar to the original dish. Since the Polish *paprykarz* was such a hit, it is a cult tinned food, and it is an official traditional product, there is probably no turning back and the name is going to stay in this new meaning.

*Leczo*, then, according to PWN is "a Hungarian dish made of bell peppers stewed with tomatoes and onion, with sausage, smoked speck and spices"; EN-CYKL – Hungarian *lecső*, 'a dish made of fresh bell peppers, tomatoes and onion, with sausage, eggs and spices, eaten hot.' Wikipedia adds:

(Hungarian *lecsó*) a Hungarian dish, also known in Slovakia, Ukraine, Germany, Czechia, Austria, and Israel, a kind of vegetable ragoût made with tomatoes and fresh bell peppers stewed with lard with the addition of smoked speck and with fried onion, spiced with paprika. Thus prepared, *leczo* is served in Hungary as a side dish to meat dishes,

e.g. pork chops, or as a stand-alone dish. In the latter case, during the stewing, sausage, whole or sliced, is often added. You can also add eggs, one per person, before the end of stewing. Another way is to add rice at the beginning of stewing, which is cooked together with the whole dish. In Poland a *leczo* is often prepared using oil and with courgette or aubergine, and thus rather resembles Provence's ratatouille.

(<http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leczo> [15.05.2020])

Polish *leczo* is not an exclusively vegetable dish. Recipes found on the internet are often divided into two groups: “Leczo” and “Vegetable leczo”. In fact, despite being vegetable-based, the Hungarian dish is not vegetarian—since it can have scratchings or can be stewed using lard. Recipes for a Polish *leczo* often indicate sausage as one of the basic ingredients: “The secret to a delicious smelling leczo? Easy: a lot of onion, bell peppers and tasty kielbasa. I use Polish uncooked kielbasa or Frankfurters because they ensure the best smell without excessive fat” (<http://allrecipes.pl/przepis/3671/leczo-klasyczne.aspx> [15.05.2020]).

Karol Okrasa, a culinary celebrity, has even suggested pork chops: “Spicy leczo with pork chops and courgette. Rich smell and aroma in one pot! Exceptional recipe combining Polish, German and Hungarian cuisines” (<https://kuchnialidla.pl/product/pikantne-leczo-ze-schabem-i-cukinia> [15/05.2020]). Even though the short description includes information about additions from other cuisines, the text never indicates what in the recipe comes from Poland, Germany, and Hungary, while the name *leczo* clearly indicates Hungarian origins.

## 6. CONCLUSION

Many culinary names in Polish constitute special Polish culturemes, special indicators and determiners of Polish culture, culinary culture in this case. Often, those include, as in the cases of the discussed names, culinary creations which emerged through the meeting and overlapping of cultures, and contacts between them. Poles have given the world pierogi and kielbasa. Polish kabanosy [thin, dried sausages] are manufactured in Zhongshan (China) – are they adapted to Chinese preferences? Are the products that the Chinese call a *kabanos* the same thing as that to which Poles would refer by that name? And do they call them *kabanosy* at all? International contacts mean that dishes travel, and so do their names. Their paths often cross, sometimes overlap, or even partly merge. The study of the histories of dishes and their names is a fascinating pursuit, and the activity which consists of indicating how they function in a recipient (culinary) culture is necessary for one to be able to present Polish culture in its full glory. It is an important and interesting challenge for teachers and university language instructors, as culinary themes have always evoked strong emotions among learners,

and cooking workshops have always been extremely popular. The best outcomes are achieved through combining culinary cultures—learners learn about Polish dishes, but they can also present their own culinary traditions. When, during such workshops, a group encounters cultural amalgams, regionally transformed dishes and their names which originated in the learners' countries, bouts of laughter ensue, and through laughter, learners can tame the newly discovered world.

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## OBCA KUCHNIA W POLSCE – ADAPTACJA NAZW I POTRAW

**Słowa kluczowe:** kulturem, zapożyczenie, gastronom, kulinaria, kuchnia

**Streszczenie.** Jedną z ciekawszych warstw słownictwa stanowią w języku polskim nazwy kulinariów, zwane z rzadka gastronomiami. W tekście postanowiłam zająć się przede wszystkim nazwami, które funkcjonują na styku kultur i języków, uznając, że mogą one – często po różnych przekształceniach i zmianach adaptacyjnych – stanowić polskie kulturemy. Za kulturemy uznaję wyznaczniki dystynktywne danej kultury. A takimi – obok bigosu, pierogów, schabowego – są już na pewno choćby fasolka po bretońsku i śledź po japońsku, ale także bogracz, który jako nazwa potrawy w języku węgierskim nie występuje. Uwagę poświęcam także sposobom polszczenia niektórych zapożyczonych nazw. Przedstawione problemy są pewną propozycją dla nauczycieli języka polskiego jako obcego/drugiego, by ich uczniom ułatwić akceptację różnic kulturowych na styku kultury polskiej i ich własnej.

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