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## **CULTURE-BOUND FOOD TERMS IN A CONTRASTIVE PERSPECTIVE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

In a linguo-cultural perspective, food terms, i.e. the names of dishes, ingredients etc., are very important units, which results from several reasons (cf. Swislocki 2008). Firstly, they constitute a big and varied collection of words and multiword expressions. Secondly, many lexical items belonging to this group express meanings which are culture-bound, thus interesting in a contrastive approach. Among them, there are the names of national and local dishes found in a given source culture, not known to the target language users due to the fact that the foods are peculiar to the source culture.

Moreover, some food terms – even those naming dishes or ingredients known to target language users – may gain special connotations in the source language because of some extralinguistic factors whose influence is limited to the source culture. Therefore, generally speaking, the correspondence of a given term and its target language equivalents is of complex character.

The present paper aims to discuss the problem of equivalence of food terms which constitute referential lacunae, i.e. they express meanings the target language users are not familiar with. Such names tend to evoke particular connotations only in source language users (Szerszunowicz 2011a).

The cross-linguistic equivalence of the units in question will be discussed at two levels, i.e. systematic and translational. The lexicographic description of culture-bound food terms is difficult due to their linguo-cultural properties. For the same reasons, it can be assumed that their translation is usually complicated. The discussion of selected theoretical aspects of their interlingual correspondence will be illustrated with the analysis of Georgian and Polish examples of such names and their cross-linguistic equivalents.

### CULTURE-BOUND TERMS AS A LINGUO-CULTURAL PHENOMENON

Due to its complex character, the term *culture*, one of the most important in the modern studies, has many definitions. In the present paper, Alfred Weber's definition is adopted, according to which culture starts where life needs finish. It means that culture is above them, so it comprises values, beliefs, ideologies, group lifestyles, science and art (Weber 1927)<sup>1</sup>.

In the modern research on lexis and phraseology, cultural aspects are included in many studies and various terms are used to refer to units which convey cultural contents (Piirainen 2008; Goshkheteliani 2013a; Wiatrowski 2015), for instance, *culturally loaded*, *culturally marked*, *culture-specific* and *culture bound*. Discussing cultural issues of phraseology, Sabban (2008: 229–231) advocated the use of the adjective *culture-specific* to describe the items in question. The preference results from several reasons, one of which is the fact that using these terms involves defining in which was the unit is bound; therefore, the term *culture* has to be precisely defined. Moreover, such an approach puts an emphasis on close interrelation of culture and language, at the same time suggesting that they could be analysed separately.

In terms of culture-boundness, one can analyse words as well as multiword expressions, for instance, phraseological units (cf. Szerszunowicz, Vidović Bolt 2014) and proverbs (Goshkheteliani 2013b). It is possible to distinguish certain groups of words which tend to be culture-bound. For

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<sup>1</sup> An overview of definitions of the term *culture* is presented in the book titled *Culture. A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions* (Kroeber, Kluckhohn 1952).

instance, many items name phenomena from the sphere in the natural world. In a given culture, there are species of animals, plants etc., which are peculiar to this culture or have a greater eco-significance than the one they have in other cultures (Szerszunowicz 2011; Vidović Bolt 2011; Szerszunowicz, Vidović Bolt 2014). In the Australian variety of English, the name *bandicoot* is rich in connotations, which are employed in several phraseological units. This name does not carry connotations either in Polish or in Georgian and it is not a component of phraseological units in either of these two languages.

Culturally determined lexis and phraseology is by no means limited to the items describing natural world. The names of realia (Taylor 1998: 103–106) also belong to cultural-bound part of the lexicon. They can be divided into two main groups: the names of material realia, for example, the names of dishes, clothes, utensils, architectural terms etc.; social and historical realia, i.e. the lexis describing the sphere of social life. An illustrative example are the names of the family relations in several Asian languages (cf. Lisowski 2007).

In a contrastive perspective, such items, both words and expressions, constitutes a group of units posing many problems on two planes: firstly, since many of them are non-equivalent words and phrases, it is difficult to adequately describe them in bilingual dictionaries; secondly, due to their specificity, they require special attention in the translation process (Szerszunowicz 2013). Therefore, to provide a description of each item, a comprehensive analysis of equivalence parametres should be conducted.

## EQUIVALENCE AND ITS PARAMETRES

In contrastive analyses, both in literary and linguistic studies, the term *equivalence* is one of the key notions (cf. Burkhanov 2003: 91–114), which can be defined as a relation of correspondence between a given source language element and its representation in the target language. Two main kinds of equivalence can be distinguished: systematic and translational (Dobrovol'skij 2011).

As for the former kind, the correspondences are established at the systematic level. As result of contrastive analyses, typologies of cross-linguistic equivalents are developed. Although such classifications differ, depending on the adopted criteria, they tend to be composed of

the following kinds of equivalents: full (total), partial, functional, zero (cf. Gläser 1984; Hejwowski 2004: 108–112; Fiedler 2007: 118)<sup>2</sup>.

The most important parameters of cross-linguistic comparison are the following elements: meaning, stylistic markedness, connotations the notion (including cultural connotations), frequency. The semantics of a given food term needs to be explained, which is done either by providing explanatory equivalent or by giving a functional equivalent, i.e. one of approximate equivalence, which is signalled by the  $\approx$  sign preceding the word or phrase. In the case of many food terms, stylistic labels are element of indirect defining, so they are important. The connotations also should be included in the description, since they are elements of linguistic-cultural knowledge on the names at issue (Szerszunowicz 2014). As for the last parameter, frequency, it can be compared thanks to the available corpora.

The latter kind, translational equivalence, consists in determining the equivalents of particular units in a translation. The relation is established for a given text and its translated version. Translating food terms is difficult and many mistakes occurs in the translation of menus, cookery books and other texts which contain such names (Szczęk, Kałasznik 2015). The choice of the translation technique is context-dependent, so a multi-aspectual analysis is required to choose the most adequate one. The most commonly used techniques are: paraphrasing a food term; providing the source language food term, often followed by a paraphrasis of its meaning; substituting the source language food term with a target language corresponding item.

## CASE STUDIES

As already mentioned, among culture-bound lexical units, food terms constitute one of the most important groups (cf. Taylor 1998: 102; Pinnaivaia 2010: 71–76; Szerszunowicz, Vidović Bolt 2014). In a contrastive perspective, culture-bound food terms can be analysed as elements of the language system or as an item of a text. In this subchapter, an in-depth analysis of two selected names will be presented. For the Polish language, the name *bigos* is chosen, while for Georgian – *khachapuri*.

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<sup>2</sup> Apart from these kinds of equivalents, it is worth mentioning false friends (cf. Gläser 1999, 2000). (Szerszunowicz 2006, 2008).

## BIGOS

## SYSTEMATIC EQUIVALENTS

The monolingual dictionary of the Polish language, *Uniwersalny słownik języka polskiego*, contains the following definition of the word *bigos* (USJP, 1: 260): ‘potrawa przyrządzana z kapusty, zwykle kwaszonej, różnych gatunków mięsa i kiełbasy, grzybów suszonych z dodatkiem przypraw’ [a dish made from cabbage, usually sauerkraut, various kinds of meat, dried mushrooms and spices]. A similar definition can be found in other lexicographic sources, for instance, the on-line *Wielki słownik języka polskiego*<sup>3</sup>.

What is interesting, the analysis of the entry for the word *bigos* in various bilingual dictionaries shows that some of them include the information on the national character of this dish. Such component is included in *Słownik polsko-szwedzki* [Polish-Swedish Dictionary] (PSPSz), *Polsko-český slovník* [Polish-Czech Dictionary] (PČS) and in *Polsko-chorwacki słownik* [Polish-Croatian dictionary] (PHR). Moreover, in the dictionary of food terms titled *An A-Z of Food & Drink*, this characteristic is given in the definition of the term in question: “Bigos is the Polish national dish. It is a stew made from alternate layers of sauerkraut and meat” (F & D: 28). The analysis of the entries serves as a basis for the proposal of an explanatory equivalent (cf. Zgusta 1984) of the term at issue presented in Table 1.

Undeniably, the cultural aspect is important in terms of systematic equivalence and bilingual lexicographic description. According to Rodger (2006: 572), “the general-purpose bilingual dictionary can also serve as a bridge between cultures, or (as cultures are not monolithic) between

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<sup>3</sup> In this dictionary, the entry for *bigos* contains the following explanation: ‘potrawa przygotowana z kapusty, zwykle kiszzonej, z dodatkiem różnych gatunków mięsa, grzybów i przypraw [a dish made from cabbage, usually sauerkraut, and various kinds of meat, mushrooms and spices]. [http://www.wsjp.pl/index.php?id\\_hasla=20803&id\\_znaczenia=3879430&l=30&ind=1](http://www.wsjp.pl/index.php?id_hasla=20803&id_znaczenia=3879430&l=30&ind=1). Accessed 1.08.2015. It is worth adding that in the dictionary accompanying the book by Małgorzata Witaszek-Samborska (2005: 199–200), a more detailed description is provided: ‘potrawa z kiszzonej i/lub słodkiej kapusty, duszonej z różnymi gatunkami mięsa, kiełbas, grzybów, z suszonymi śliwkami i przyprawami, czasem podlewana czerwonym wytrawnym winem’ [a dish from sauerkraut/fresh cabbage, stewed with various kinds of meat, mushrooms, prunes and spices, sometimes also with red dry wine]. The dictionary also gives two other meanings ‘siekanka, potrawa z siekanego mięsa’ [a dish from chopped meat], ‘potrawa z ryby’ [a dish made from fish] (Witaszek-Samborska 2005: 200).

two sets of cultural understandings” (Rodger 2006: 572). The inclusion of cultural information, for instance, in glosses and culture boxes contributes to the hybrid character of a bilingual dictionary (Szerszunowicz 2011c).

TABLE 1. The proposal of an entry for the word *bigos*

<p><b>bigos</b></p> <p>1. a Polish national dish made from cabbage, usually sauerkraut, various kinds of meat, dried mushrooms and spices  <i>Wymieńmy przykładowo tradycyjne polskie danie – bigos. Jakże pasuje do niego brązowa kamionka lub zielona waza z odpowiednią chochlą. [NKJP: T. Rojek, Jak to się je: savoir-vivre przy stole]</i>  <i>W kuchni w ogromnym kotle gotuje się bigos z kiełbasą, babcia nadzoruje smażenia kotletów i pieczenia ciasta. [NKJP: D. Korol, Wydziedziczeni, “Twój Styl”, 1997]</i></p> <p>2. a portion of this dish  <i>– Trzy razy kompot, dwa mieszane, jeden z jabłek! Trzy razy nelsonskie na jee! Raz bigos! [NKJP: H. Worcell, Zakłete rewiry, 1936]</i></p> <p>3. <i>fig. infml.</i> a mess  <i>To kto jest właściwie odpowiedzialny za cały ten bigos. [NKJP: E. Cechnicka, Znak Anny, 1997]</i></p> <p><b>narobić bigosu</b> ‘to make a mess, to cause trouble’  <b>niezły/prawdziwy bigos</b> ‘a real mess, trouble’</p> <p><b>additional information:</b> The name probably stems from the German word <i>begossen</i>. Bigos is a dish which is commonly served at such occasions as wedding receptions, family get-togethers, Christmas, New Year’s Eve and sleigh ride parties. It is commonly served in bars, restaurants and public places, such as street markets. It is also associated with hunting – one of varieties of this dish is called <i>hunter’s bigos</i>.</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; text-align: center;"> <p><b>Visual material</b></p> </div>
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In the case of food terms naming the dishes unknown in the target culture, the visual material is important<sup>4</sup>, since it enables the dictionary user to form an image of a given dish. Many dictionaries of cultural terms include the illustrations for lacunary items (cf. ACD).

<sup>4</sup> There are different approaches to the inclusion of the visual material in learner’s dictionaries. Cf. Szczepaniak (2000: 169–182).

To sum up, it can be said that the analysed name is an example of a term which has a linguo-cultural significance in the Polish culture. Therefore, its status has to be reflected at the systematic level, which is shown in the above proposal of a bilingual entry for the lemma *bigos*. It includes the elements of traditional lexicographic description as well as cultural information<sup>5</sup>, which allows for presenting the linguo-cultural information of this lexical item.

#### TRANSLATIONAL EQUIVALENTS

As culture-bound units, food terms are important in a translational perspective<sup>6</sup>. Special attention should be paid to those constituting referential gaps in a cross-linguistic and cross-cultural perspective: the meaning is unknown to the target language users. Moreover, such names may evoke cultural connotations in the source language users. The question arises whether the translation of such terms always involves the semantic, stylistic and connotative loss in the target language text.

It is assumed that a given lacunary food term can be used to express various senses. For instance, in restaurant menus and cookery books the word *bigos* is used to express the basic meaning<sup>7</sup>. The name tends to be borrowed in its original form and is explained in the text. In the book titled *Polish Cooking* (PC: 19), the name is given in its original form, followed by an explanatory phrase in brackets: *Bigos (meat & sauerkraut stew)*. However, in many texts, the status of the culture-bound term is more complex. In order to discuss this issue, textual occurrences of the word *bigos* and the translations of the unit will be analysed.

The first one is an excerpt from *Pan Tadeusz, or the last foray in Lithuania. A tale of the gentry in the years of 1811 and 1812* by Adam Mickiewicz. The main motive of the passage is the dish itself. In the excerpt quoted below, its exceptional quality is praised:

W kociołkach bigos grzano; w słowach wydać trudno  
Bigosu smak przedziwny, kolor i woń cudną;

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<sup>5</sup> The bilingual dictionaries of culinary terms tend not to contain additional information, including this of cultural character (cf. SK).

<sup>6</sup> Mistranslations of food terms are common, for instance, in menus (cf. Korzeniowska 1998).

<sup>7</sup> The figurative meaning of the word *bigos* is not analysed in this subchapter.

Słów tylko brzęk usłyszysz i rymów porządek,  
 Ale treści ich miejski nie pojmie żołądek.  
 Aby cenić litewskie pieśni i potrawy,  
 Trzeba mieć zdrowie, na wsi żyć, wracać z obławy.

Przecież i bez tych przypraw potrawa nie lada  
 Jest bigos, bo się z jarzyn dobrych sztucznie składa.  
 Bierze się doń siekana, kwaszona kapusta,  
 Która wedle przysłowia, sama idzie w usta;  
 Zamknięta w kotle, łonem wilgotnym okrywa  
 Wyszukanego cząstki najlepsze mięsiwa;  
 I praży się, aż ogień wszystkie z niej wycisnie  
 Soki żywne, aż z brzegów naczynia war pryśnie  
 I powietrze dokoła zionie aromatem.

(PT: 197)

The name of the dish is the key component of the passage and the English translation contains the original name, which is explained and described in the text. Therefore, the retention of the term adds the connotation of Polishness, i.e. the foreignness which is expected in the translated text (cf. Hejwowski 2004).

The bigos is being cooked. No words can tell  
 The wonder of its colour, taste and smell.  
 Mere words and rhymes are jingling  
 sounds, whose sense  
 No city stomach really comprehends.  
 For Lithuanian food and song you ought  
 To have a god health and country life and sport.

But bigos e'en without sauce is good,  
 Of vegetables curiously brewed.  
 The basis of it is sliced sauerkraut,  
 Which, as they say, just walks into the mouth;  
 Enclosed within the cauldron, its moist breast  
 Lies on the choicest meat in slices pressed.  
 There it is parboiled till the heat draws out  
 The living juices from the cauldron's spout  
 And all the air is fragrant with the smell.

(PT: 196)

The explanation is detailed and the reader can imagine the dish and its specific character. Moreover, the choice of the dish to be praised in a poem suggests that the dish is important.



The cultural connotations can be evoked. For instance, in the following excerpt, the name is accompanied by such words as *matka* [mother], *święta* [Christmas] and *ojczyzna* [motherland]. Thus, it is an element which creates certain atmosphere.

Wiesz, to jest bardzo dobry bigos. Ze świąt przywiozłem. Moja matka zrobiła. I to ci mogę jeszcze powiedzieć, że bigos mojej matki jest moją ojczyzną!... Jedz, jedz!... (NKJP: M. Sieniewicz, *Żydówek nie obsługujemy*)

Therefore, similarly as in the previous text, it is preferable to retain the name. It is a word which is associated with Christmas, Poland and Polishness. Yet, the amplification might be advisable, since the context is not sufficient for the reader to comprehend the meaning if the term.

You know, this bigos is very good. Made for Christmas by my mother. Traditional Polish cabbage stew with meat. And I can tell you one more thing: my mother's bigos is my homeland!... Eat, eat!...

The word *bigos* is the key word in the passage: a name evoking personal feeling in the speaker, a name of a dish with symbolical value, having a great value for this person.

However, the name *bigos*, loaded culturally as it may be, can also be used as a name of a dish which does not carry any cultural connotations. In the second example, the name *bigos* is used in an informal conversation. In this dialogue, it is used together with other names of dishes, which can be ordered. All the culinary terms, i.e. *schabowy z kapustą* [pork chop with cabbage], *pomidorowa* [tomato soup] and *bigos*, are the names of typical dishes eaten at home or at restaurants in Poland.

Ojciec jadł przy stoliku schabowego z kapustą, wypluwał dyskretnie chrząstki i odkładał je do pustego talerza po zupie.

– Siadaj, Iruś, siadaj. Przetrącisz coś pewnie? Właściwie jest tylko pomidorowa i schabowy, można jeszcze bigos zamówić, ale strach, bo to, cholera, nigdy nie wiadomo, co tam napakują. (NKJP: W. Kowalewski, *Bóg zapłać!*)

Moreover, in this excerpt, the man informing about the possibility of ordering the dish called *bigos* advises not to order it because it can be made from remnants of restaurant food.

At the table her father was eating pork chop with cabbage, discretely spitting out gristles and putting them into an empty soup plate.

Take a seat, Iruś, take a seat. Will you have something? Actually there's only tomato soup and pork chop, you can also have rissole, but, damn, maybe better not, no one knows what they can put inside.

The substitution of the word *bigos* with a textual equivalent *rissole* seems to be a good solution, since it is the sense conveyed by the name of the dish in the original. Therefore, any target name dish which can be made from leftovers can serve as a functional equivalent. In the passage, the word at issue does not evoke any specific cultural connotations in then source language readers, apart from the dish being commonly served in restaurants. This criteria is met by a few English names. It can be concluded that in such contexts the name does not pose difficulties in translation.

Furthermore, it can be assumed that in some contexts, a food term is used as an element of a long string of names of various dishes, as in the following example:

Proszę podać żur, bigos, zrazy z kaszą i mocną czystą wódkę! (NKJP: W. Kowalewski, *Światło i lęk*)

Actually, as many as three different dishes are names and the occurrence of the word *bigos* does not convey any particular connotations. Other names also belong to culture-bound food term: *żur* is 'soup from fermented rye flour' (WSPA: 1424), the word *kasza* has an equivalent which is a borrowing (English *kasha*). The implementation of substitution technique makes it possible to create a functionally equivalent phrase, as shown by the proposed translation below:

Broth, beef collops with mashed potatoes and straight vodka.

The effect of foreignisation is avoided, since the food terms do not function in the analysed context as carriers of cultural contents.

From a translational point of view, the examples of textual occurrences of the word *bigos* show that culture-boundness of a unit is an important factor, which has to be taken into consideration. However, it is only the analysis of a particular context which allows for determining which sense is the semantic dominant and which properties of the unit dominate in a given text.

## KHACHAPURI

## SYSTEMATIC EQUIVALENCE

Georgian cuisine is famous for its variety of food (cf. Goldstein 1999). Most favourite among them is khachapuri. You cannot find its meaning in many dictionaries (e.g. F & D), but people who tasted it express their opinion on the Internet. Some people compare it with pizza, though it is different.

Khachapuri is a cheese bread, the word coming from *khacho* (ხაჭო), for 'cheese curd', and *puri* (პური), for 'bread'. However, it is more than cheese bread. It is a part of the Georgian culture and if we judge according to its round shape, it represents the sun that was the main God in pagan Georgia. Therefore, we can conclude that the culture of baking khachapuri is very old. The ingredients are: flour, yeast, eggs, pint of salt, milk/*matsoni* ('yogurt'), cheese and butter. Cheese must be with little salt and fresh (*chkinti*). It is baked in the oven or even on the frying pan.

Khachapuri is a part of the Georgian culture and the Georgians are proud that there are various types of it: Imeretian, Adjarian, Mengrelian, Gurian, Svanian, and so on. It has different names in some regions of Georgia: *khabisgini*, *keceuli* and *brachula*. There is an interesting story connected with the Adjarian Khachapuri. The Laz, who inhabit coastal part of Adjara, are anglers. Therefore, they gave khachapuri the shape of the boat and the egg inside represented the sun. Christmas khachapuri which is called *ghvezeli* or *kveri* is an inalterable food for each Georgian family for Christmas. It has the shape of the new moon and it is filled with cheese and a sliced boiled egg.

The cultural significance of *khachapuri* is reflected in proverbs and routine formulae used in the field of hospitality. In Georgian proverbial stock, there is a proverb *ობღობს კვერი ცხვა, ცხვა და გვიან გამოცხვა* (*oblis kveri cxva cxva da gvian gamocxva*) translated as "orphan's kveri (Christmas cheese pastry) baked and baked but baked late", which means "an orphan succeeds in life but quite late". When you are in Imereti or Guria, the hostess always invites you by telling, *Would you come in, please. I will bake khachapuri for you*. There is no birthday party or wedding reception or any other type of social gathering in Georgia without khachapuri.

It is not surprising that the culture of baking khachapuri is very old. Agriculture has been the major production in Georgia since ancient times. The Archeologists still find many artifacts in all parts of Georgia. First, they found potteries with wheat in Kolkhети, then in Shulaveri, dating 5–6 B.C. Fourteen sorts of Georgian wheat take roots from ancient periods: *dika*, *makha*, *dolispuri*, *ipqli*, *asli*, *taotukhi*, *zanduri*, *khulugo*, *khozo*, *khotor* etc. We meet the word *ipqli* (flour) in the 5–12 century literary works and manuscripts. It also stood for autumn wheat (Adeishvili 2012). Wheat and bread have iconic meaning in Georgia. There is no Georgian *supra* ('dinner') without bread. Wheat is mostly used for religious purposes, to remember the dead special dish *korkoti* is cooked from it.

ILLUSTRATION 1. Selected kinds of khachapuri



Imeruli khachapuri

Acharuli khachapuri

Christmas ghvhezeli/kveri

(Source: <https://www.google.pt/webhp?sourceid=chrome-instant&ion=1&espv=2&ie=UTF-8#q=khachapuri> (<https://www.google.pt/search?q=სამობაო+ღვეზელიospv>))

The name of the dish has a culture-embedded character and it carries a rich connotative potential. Therefore, its lexicographic description should contain linguo-cultural information. The entry presented below includes both linguistic and cultural aspects.

TABLE 2. The proposal of an entry for the word *khachapuri*

**khachapuri**

1. a Georgian national dish made from dough and cheese
2. a portion of this dish

ობლის კვერი ცხვა, ცხვა და გვიან გამოცხვა (oblis kveri cxva cxva da gvian gamocxva) lit. orphan's kveri (Christmas cheese pastry) baked and baked but baked late

**additional information:** The name probably comes from *khacho* (ხაჭო), for “cheese curd,” and *puri* (პური), for “bread”. *Khachapuri* is a part of the Georgian culture and the Georgians are proud that there are various types of it: Imeretian, Adjarian, Mengrelian, Gurian, Svanian, and so on. It has different names in some regions of Georgia: *khabisgini*, *keceuli* and *brachula*. There is an interesting story connected with the Ajarian *Khachapuri*. The Laz, who inhabit coastal part of Adjara, are anglers. Therefore, they gave *khachapuri* the shape of the boat and the egg inside represented the sun. *Khachapuri* is a dish which is commonly served at such occasions as birthday parties and wedding receptions.

Visual material

In conclusion, it can be said that it is worth expanding the entry with additional items, such as elements of cultural knowledge. The inclusion of such information enables the dictionary user to develop skills necessary to use the word and to interpret properly its contextual use. The proposed entry

#### TRANSLATIONAL EQUIVALENCE

The problem of translation lacunae is always arguable. When foreign guests are invited to have *khachapuri*, the Georgians always say that it is like cheese pie though different from it. Therefore, it is easy to understand the difference when you try it. However, when the Georgian literature is translated or one has to explain the word, one uses the equivalents *cheese bread* or *cheese pie*. The reader understands that the dish is made of dough and cheese (cf. Goldstein 1999: 136–139).

Surprisingly, there are only few Georgian folk and nursery rhymes where *khachapusi* is mentioned and they are not translated into English. Therefore, it is worth analyzing how to deal with the non-equivalent term *khachapuri* in translation. The first text is a nursery rhyme pronounced by the children when they start to play a game “choose me”:

დღეს .... დღეობაზე, გამოვაცხვეთ ხაჭაპური, აი, ამის სიმაღლეზე, აი, ამის სიგანეზე,  
ხაჭაპურო, ხაჭაპურო, ვინც გინდოდეს, აირჩიე.

In the above quoted passage, the word is used three times: first, as *khachapuri*, than twice as *khachapuro*. The general meaning expressed in the text is the staple food.

Today is ....birthday, we baked khachapuri (Cheese pie), that is of this height, that is of this width, khachapuro (cheese pie), khachapuro (cheese pie), choose the right person you want.

The second text chosen for the analysis is Rachuli cheerful armour folk song accompanied by dancing:

ლერწამისა ხესაო, ქორი მოჯდა წვერსაო,  
 აქ ჩამოდი ჩვენსაო, ქალი მიქნევს ხელსაო,  
 ხაჭაპურსა გამოგიცხობ, ცარიელსა ქერქსაო,  
 ვარიასაც ქე დაგიკლავ, ცარიელსა ძელეზსაო....

In the above passage, the name of the dish is used to express the notion of staple food. Moreover, it expresses hospitality, since it can be interpreted as an invitation to come and see the woman. Racha is one of the most beautiful Georgian regions, with its wonderful nature, special attitudes and very original traditional rhythmic dancing and singing. There is also a tradition that each dance is performed to its own related folk song. ([http://www.messenger.com.ge/issues/2175\\_august\\_20\\_2010/2175\\_traditions.htm](http://www.messenger.com.ge/issues/2175_august_20_2010/2175_traditions.htm))

On Malacca tree a hawk sits,  
 Come down the woman calls me,  
 I will bake a crusty khachapuri (cheese pie) for you,  
 I will kill a skinny hen for you.

In the rhymes, translating the term *khachapuri* as *cheese pie* seems the best choice from the given two equivalents: *cheese bread and cheese pie*. It is not possible to retain the original term and include amplifications due to the specific character of children's rhymes and folk songs. Lacunae, like *khachapuri*, possess bright national marking for the foreign recipient, which is unavoidably lost in the translation.

If the word *khachapuri* is used in the translation, it requires an explanatory phrase. The word itself sounds exotic and is not meaningful to native English readers, unless they are familiar with elements of Georgian culture. Therefore, using a functional equivalent is the most advisable option. Providing that metrical requirements are met by the translator, this technique is adequate.

To sum up, it can be concluded that although khachapuri is embedded in the Georgian culture and carries a complex meaning, in terms

of translation, the degree of difficulty differs depending on the text. The name of the dish may be used to express various aspects of meaning and evoke various connotations.

## CONCLUSION

In a linguo-cultural perspective, the equivalence of food terms is a complex phenomena, comprising various relations between the source language units and their target language counterparts. One of them is zero equivalence, which occurs when a given food term does not have an equivalent in the target language. In terms of both systematic and translational equivalence, it is most difficult to deal with referential lacunary units, i.e. names verbalising the meanings not known to the target language users.

The analysis of selected examples of such terms shows that they should be paraphrased at the systematic level. The explanatory equivalent provides the information which is necessary for the dictionary user to form an image of the object named by the term. It is worth adding that visual aids are an important element of the description of such units. The entry ought to contain cultural information, since its inclusion facilitates the dictionary user's using the unit and decoding it in various contexts.

At the translational level, it is the context which determines the equivalent of a given food term. A thorough study of a particular text enables analysing the actual sense of the word as an element of the text as well as determining its connotative potential. The zero equivalence of a lacunary unit does not always mean difficulties in the process of translation: if the unit is used without activating its connotations, for instance, the name of the dish stands for a typical one, it can be successfully substituted with the target language equivalent.

Table 3 shows that the textual uses of food terms vary and the genre factor is also important, as it is the case with the menu or the cookery book.

It can be concluded that food terms are culture-bound in various ways, one of which manifests itself in their being embedded in a given culture. Referential lacunary units are an example of names whose meaning and connotations are not familiar to the target language users. There-

TABLE 3. Selected textual uses of food terms and proposed translation techniques

	The status of the food term in the source text	Examples of food term occurrence	Techniques of translation
1.	The food term is a central motive. It activates many cultural connotations.	e.g. literature, press	Direct borrowing of the term with explanation
2.	The name is not a central motive, but it evokes cultural connotations vital for the comprehension of the text.	e.g. press, informal discourse	Direct borrowing with explanation; paraphrasing
3.	The name is used as an example of a given kind of a dish, e.g. Christmas dish, a typical, cheap dish, common food etc.	e.g. literature, informal discourse	Substitution
4.	The term expresses the basic meaning.	e.g. menu, cookery books	Direct borrowing (explanations in the text)
5.	The word appears in a string of food terms	e.g. literature	Substitution, omission

fore, their bilingual lexicographic description and the analysis of their translation are of great importance.

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## CULTURE-BOUND FOOD TERMS IN A CONTRASTIVE PERSPECTIVE

### Summary

The food terms typical of a given culture constitute an important group of culturally determined lexis. Many of them belong to lacunary units, i.e. they have zero equivalents, which means that they do not have counterparts in the target language. They manifest cultural significance and have a strong connotative potential. The aim of the paper is to analyse their specifics in a contrastive perspective. The analysis will be conducted on the example of Polish and Georgian names. The equivalence of such expressions will be discussed at two levels: systematic and translational.

**Key words:** culture-bound units, food terms, cross-linguistic equivalence, translatability

## ZDETERMINOWANE KULTUROWE NAZWY KULINARIÓW W PERSPEKTYWIE KONTRASTYWNEJ

### Streszczenie

Jedną z ważnych grup leksyki zdeterminowanej kulturowo są nazwy potraw właściwe danej kulturze. Wiele z nich to jednostki lakunarne, czyli takie wyrazy i wyrażenia, które nie posiadają obcojęzycznych odpowiedników. Mają one często duże znaczenie kulturowe i są obdarzone dużym potencjałem konotacyjnym. Celem artykułu jest analiza ich specyfiki w ujęciu międzyjęzykowym na przykładzie wybranych nazw polskich i gruzińskich. Omawiane są dwa zjawiska: ekwiwalencja tych jednostek na poziomie systemowym oraz przekład nazw kulinarnych o silnym osadzeniu kulturowym.

**Słowa kluczowe:** leksyka zdeterminowana kulturowo, nazwy potraw, międzyjęzykowa ekwiwalencja, przekładalność