

PART II

Translating Food

Activating Sensory Modalities: Translating (or not) Texture and Taste of Bosnian-Herzegovinian Traditional Drinks

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Abstract

The present paper illustrates and discusses decisions made by the translator when rendering the texture and the taste of Bosnian-Herzegovinian traditional drinks into English, as described in The Bosnian Cuisine (2016), which, apart from collected recipes, contains excerpts from travelogues and literary works. In the paper, I refer to the adjective and the noun phrase equivalence or the lack of equivalence thereof in the English language, whereas special attention is given to using footnotes and brackets in translation, as well as to the negotiation process between the translator and the proofreader whose L1 is English. Based on corpus analysis, it can be concluded that the majority of decisions made regarding the nouns denoting traditional dishes were made to preserve the original names and to resort to footnotes and/or bracketing in order to render the reading experience and sensory modalities more accessible to readers, bearing in mind that they may not have tasted or seen the drinks mentioned, but also taking into consideration the wider socio-cultural context.

Keywords: texture, taste, sensory modalities, translation, Bosnian cuisine

Introduction

This paper aims to highlight the importance and/or possibility of activating sensory modalities (see Sanchez et al, 2020) in reading texts for translation and vice versa as well as to provide researchers and scholars with new perspectives on decoding texture from text (by reading experience only or due to relying on oral tradition) in similar corpora in different languages. As for the topic of the paper, the research motivation arises from the fact that the register of Bosnian-Herzegovinian menus is very complex and may represent a difficulty for the translator due to a large number of loanwords, hybrid structures, names of dishes and drinks that already include certain ingredients, which may lead to redundancy in the translation, as well as names of dishes and traditional drinks in which the adjective comes after the noun. Another complicating factor is certainly the heterogeneity of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian market in terms of dish names. Namely, in different cities of Bosnia and Herzegovina, we find different names for the same traditional dishes and drinks. For this reason, the research corpus includes a part of the book titled *The Bosnian Cuisine* translated

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into English in 2016. The analysis of the corpus chronologically follows my MA research, mentioned in the theoretical framework below, which refers to the classification of translatability of dish names. The reason why the decisions on the transmission of the message matter is not relevant only from a linguistic and translation point of view, but also due to the importance regarding the transmission of valuable texts through generations and among those who live abroad as “food practices help create a sense of diasporic identity” (Razia 2016: 47). Furthermore, this paper is a self-reflection on the methodology used in my MA thesis (Kalajdžisalihović 2010). The classification of the translation possibilities included in my MA thesis was made starting from frequent names for traditional dishes in Bosnia and Herzegovina, whereas little attention was given to traditional drinks. The traditional drinks mentioned in *The Bosnian Cuisine* (2016) are culturally and semantically relevant as they are part of a terminology constellation which includes the containers used to keep and serve the drinks, as well as the occasions on which they are served.

The first part of the paper presents the theoretical framework focused on the translatability of noun phrases denoting traditional dishes in Bosnia and Herzegovina, frequently seen on menus. In the second part, the focus is on names of less-known traditional drinks mentioned in *The Bosnian Cuisine* (2016) and on examples of cultural and literary contexts in which they occur. Finally, this brief analysis of the translation decisions aims to find similarities and differences in terms of the classification and the frequency of the nouns denoting traditional drinks.

Theoretical framework

In this paper, I will use my classification of the translatability of noun phrases denoting traditional dishes in Bosnia and Herzegovina starting from the analysis of restaurant menus available at the time my MA research was conducted (Kalajdžisalihović 2010). The classification of the translatability that will be mentioned in this paper consists of four groups: Type 1 – *untranslatable*: Bosnian noun phrases that retain the same form in their English equivalents; Type 2 – *acceptable translatability*: complex Bosnian noun phrases that can be translated into English; Type 3 – complex noun phrases that are *partially translated* into English; and Type 4 – complex noun phrases whose translation is *culturally conditioned*. Each type will be illustrated and discussed below.

Type 1 – untranslatable: Bosnian noun phrases that retain the same form in their English equivalents: The Type 1 nouns may be divided into two subgroups: (1a) and (1b). Subgroup (1a) has a simple structure. It consists of one head noun, in singular or plural, which is not translated because the name of the dish is either characteristic of the area of Bosnia and Herzegovina or is already well-known around the world, for example: *hurmašica* (sg.) and *tiriti* (pl.). Bosnian noun phrases in Subgroup (1b) consist of an adjective or noun

premodifier and a proper noun in singular or plural. Their relationship is the relationship between the head noun and the noun or adjectival premodifier, which, being an obligatory constituent of the phrase, operates as a functional argument of the head noun. The names of these dishes are characteristic of the Bosnia and Herzegovina area, and foreigners who stay longer in the country are well acquainted with their composition and taste (e.g. *kadun butići, sarajevski sahan*).

Type 2 – acceptable translatability: Bosnian noun phrases that are and can be translated into English: Type 2 includes nouns that may be divided into eight subgroups: (2a), (2b), (2c), (2d), (2e), (2f), (2g), (2h). Like the first subgroup of Type 1, the first subgroup (2a) has a simple structure. Both the Bosnian noun phrases and their English equivalents in this subgroup consist of one singular or plural head noun and are fully translated into English (e.g. sg. *paradajz, riba, salata, sataraš, supa, kompot* / cf. *tomato, fish, salad, stew, soup, compote*). Subgroup (2b) includes Bosnian noun phrases (compounds) whose combination and order of constituents are fully reflected in their English translation equivalents. In both Bosnian and English noun phrases of this subgroup, the constituents are organised according to the scheme N2+N1, where N2 is the modifier and N1 is the head noun. At first glance and according to the structure N2+N1, phrases of this subgroup may resemble the phrases of subgroup (1b), but, unlike them, all the constituents of the Bosnian phrases in subgroup (2b) are or can be translated into English. In addition, the constituents of the English translation equivalents fully reflect the order of the constituents in the corresponding Bosnian compounds. In this subgroup, the relationship between the constituents is the relationship between the head noun and its nominal premodifier, which is an obligatory element and, therefore, has the status of a functional argument of the head noun (e.g. *paradajz supa, kupus salata, paradajz sos, krompir čorba, špinat čorba, orah kocke* / cf. *tomato soup, cabbage salad, tomato sauce, potato potage, spinach potage, walnut bars*).

In the Bosnian noun phrases of Subgroup (2c), the head noun denotes a limited amount of the ingredient (or ingredients) expressed by the noun or the following nouns. An example of such a phrase can be found in the name of the dish *plata sireva*. The noun complement (*sireva*) in the Bosnian noun phrase retains the status of a functional argument in the English translation equivalent. However, from the postnominal position, which it has in Bosnian, it moves to the position before the head noun, where it performs the function of a modifier of the head noun within the compound, and thus we get the phrase *cheese platter*. Subgroup (2d) of the noun phrase is structured so that the verbal adjective *trpni* appears as a modifier of the head noun, which agrees with the head noun in gender, number, and case (e.g. *miješana salata*). This adjective is translated as an English participle adjective with the suffix *-ed*, i.e. *mixed salad*. Subgroup (2e) contains Bosnian noun phrases consisting of an

attributive adjective, which agrees with the head noun in gender, number and case. The translation equivalent of an attributive adjective in English is most often a possessive adjective or a noun (e.g. *riblja čorba/fish potage*; *riblji paprikaš/fish stew*).

Subgroup (2f) includes Bosnian noun phrases that are more complex than the previous ones. In this case, a specific form of the descriptive adjective ending in *-ći* (*teleći file*) or the verbal adjective *trpni* (*punjeni file*) appears before the proper noun as a modifier. Two adjectives can also appear as modifiers in this type of noun phrase, for example, *kuhani* (Adj.) *teleći* (Adj.) *file*/ cf. *boiled veal fillet*. Their order cannot be changed, because the second modifier in the sequence is closely related to the head noun and represents its functional argument (**teleći kuhani file*). The English translation equivalent of this phrase is *boiled veal fillet*. As we can see, the first modifier in English is a participial adjective with the suffix *-ed*, while the second one is closely related to the head noun (**veal boiled fillet*).

Subgroup (2g) includes a large number of Bosnian names of dishes that have the same syntagmatic structure, i.e. N1 *od* N2gen, where N1 is a proper noun and N2gen is a noun in the genitive form, an integral part of the prepositional phrase with the preposition *of* (*od*). Such are the following Bosnian phrases: *mus od čokolade*, *štrudla od jabuka*, *carpaccio od sira*, *tartar od lososa*, *salata od lignji*, *supa od povrća*, *salata od paradajza*, *salata od pečenih paprika*, *čorba od luka*, *salata od tjestenine*, *salata od pilećeg mesa*, *salata od šampinjona*, *musaka od krompira*. Here, systematicity was observed in the translation into English. Namely, the prepositional phrase with the preposition *of*, which represents the mandatory complement of the head noun in the Bosnian phrase, is realised in all English translation equivalents in the form of a noun or noun phrase in the position before the head noun as its mandatory modifier. In both languages, therefore, these constituents represent functional arguments, but in Bosnian they are complements, and in English, they are modifiers in singular. Thus, the above Bosnian phrases appear in English as *chocolate mousse*, *apple strudel*, *cheese carpaccio*, *salmon tartare*, *squid salad*, *vegetable soup*, *tomato salad*, *roasted pepper salad*, *onion potage*, *pasta salad*, *chicken salad*, *champignon salad*, *potato moussaka*.

Subgroup (2h) includes Bosnian phrases in which the prepositional phrase follows the head noun as its obligatory complement (e.g. *povrće na žaru*). Unlike subgroup (2g), in which the prepositional phrase with the preposition *of* shows what the given dish consists of, in this subgroup the prepositional phrase shows how the given dish was prepared. This Bosnian prepositional phrase translates into English as a participial adjective (cf. *povrće na žaru* and *grilled vegetables*).

Type 3—complex noun phrases that are partially translated into English: The Type 3 nouns may be divided into four subgroups: (3a), (3b), (3c), (3d). Subgroup (3a) includes noun phrases in which words from oriental

languages, mainly Turkish or Arabic, appear as head nouns, which are not translated because they refer to familiar culinary expressions. Only the premodifiers of the head noun are translated, which in such phrases can be nouns or adjectives. This subgroup incorporates the following noun phrases in Bosnian and in English: *sogan dolma* (*onion dolma*), *šarena dolma* (*assorted dolma*), *jagnjeća kapama* (*lamb kapama*), *pileći pilav* (*chicken pilaf*).

Subgroup (3b) includes Bosnian noun phrases in which, unlike the previous subgroup, the head nouns are translated into English, whereas the modifiers of the head nouns that entered Bosnian from Turkish or Arabic remain unchanged. This subgroup incorporates the following noun phrases in Bosnian and in English: *kulak čorba* (*kulak potage*), *bungur čorba* (*bungur potage*), *škembe čorba* (*skembe potage*).

The Bosnian noun phrases in Subgroup (3c) are structured so that a non-predicative possessive adjective derived from a proper noun, which denotes a geographical name, appears as a modifier of the head noun, while the head noun consists of one noun in singular. An example of this type is the noun phrase *sarajevska čorba*. The Bosnian possessive adjective derived from a proper noun, which takes the position before the head noun, when translated into English returns to the noun, i.e. its underived form, and also occupies the prenominal position, i.e. *Sarajevo potage* or *Sarajevo broth*.

A special subgroup, (3d), consists of noun phrases that contain a prepositional phrase introduced by the preposition *à la*, borrowed from French. This prepositional phrase indicates the style of preparing the food, and is also used in other registers, for example, *piletina à la king* (*chicken à la king*).

Type 4—complex noun phrases whose translation is culturally conditioned: In the case of phrases belonging to this group, it is more important to point out the problem of unevenness of terminology, most often related to the cultural aspect, which greatly complicates the translation process. Thus, for example, a translator may be faced with a dilemma as to which variant to use when trying to find the best equivalent for the same type of fish or steak for which different terms are used in different countries (see Collins Dictionary, n.d.). We also find a culturally interesting phenomenon in the translation of the word *pita*. In English, there are two words for this dish: *pitta* and *pie*. However, none of them is a faithful translation equivalent for the word that refers to the traditional dish found in the menus of the wider Balkan area. Discussing Type 4 in detail, however, is beyond the scope of this paper. As a subject for further research, this category could be related to the concept of “native eaters” (Bloom, 2008) and to food writing as a genre.

In the following part of the paper, the classification presented above will be used to determine whether it may be utilised in the analysis of the selected corpus denoting names of traditional (but less-known) Bosnian-Herzegovinian drinks in order to assess which category the translator’s decisions belong to

and to draw general conclusions about the translation process and the reasons for certain decisions.

Methodology and corpus analysis

The methodology used in the corpus analysis is based on the search of the keywords “drink” and “drinks” in the text of *The Bosnian Cuisine* (2016) and the exploration of the context surrounding the keywords. Out of the 44 results, the analysis of the noun phrase(s) denoting drinks in the corpus may be analysed and classified first on the basis of the decisions made for (a) *containers of drinks*, (b) *events and processes associated with a particular drink*, as well as when it comes to the very (c) *names of traditional drinks*.

(a) Containers: The following examples are found in the corpus with reference and emphasis given to containers used to store or serve traditional drinks:

- (1) For drinks, they used ewers, big and small pitchers made of copper (*ibriks*) that were called *bochale* or, less frequently, *mastrappa*, a word of Arabic origin. (p. 26-27).
- (2) *Šerbe* used to be a very popular drink in Bosnia. It was prepared in a sherbet ewer (*šerbetni ibrik*) and served with ice. The sherbet ewer is a tall, richly engraved copper pitcher. From the sherbet ewer, sherbet was poured into decorative glasses (*maštrafa*) and served on engraved saucers (*tabak*). A special embroidered napkin, *šerbetna mahrama*, was also used when serving sherbet (p. 64).
- (3) Coffee is prepared in special jugs, i.e. coffee pots (*džezva*) or coffee ewers (*kahveni ibrik*). Coffee sets are usually made of copper, brass and are sometimes even silver-plated or silver. A *džezva* has a particular shape: its neck has to be narrower than its body. Such a shape allows the coffee grounds (*toz*) to remain at the bottom when pouring coffee into cups (p. 86).
- (4) Bosnian coffee is served in the *džezva* in which it was baked, together with small decorated handleless demitasses (*findžan*), water, sugar, Turkish delight, or other snacks. Each *findžan* comes with a nicely wrought copper cup (*zarf*) meant to hold it (p. 87).
- (5) At the event called *akšamluk*, the guests drink soft brandy from small long-necked glass bottles (*čokanj*) and eat specially prepared dishes, the *mezetluk*. Soft brandy has much less alcohol than the so-called “burned Slivovitz,” which “fills you with a nice slow but long buzz leaving your soul laden with noble and fathomless melancholy” (p. 73).

Following this analysis of the corpus with a special emphasis given to containers, it can be concluded that it is not important only to decide on the type of the noun phrase in question, but also to understand its wider socio-cultural context, which is important both for the reader and the writer of the text in terms of “activating sensory modalities” pertaining to sight (i.e. shapes), touch (i.e. temperature), taste (sweet, sour, bitter, salty) and smell. In this case, the translator and the proofreaders opted for the Type 1 – untranslatable but positioned the noun phrases after their descriptive equivalents in order not to affect the reading process. Another problem was related to providing the nouns in singular or plural where a balance was achieved to ease the reading process in the way that the original term was often preserved in singular and given in brackets, whereas the descriptive equivalents were given in plural.

(b) Events and processes: The following examples are found with reference and emphasis given to gatherings, events and processes related to serving traditional drinks:

- (6) As *sevdalinkas* are songs about love and yearning, they were first popular among women, who were humming them in their homes, hidden from the public. Traditional Bosnian cuisine is also bound to the privacy of the home. The journey of *sevdalinka* and Bosnian cuisine out of the private sphere of life involve public restaurants (*aščinicas*), soup kitchens (*imarets*), coffee houses (*kahve*), outings to the countryside (*teferičs*), evening gatherings over a drink (*akšamluks*) and travellers' guesthouses (*musafirhanas*) (p. 14-15).
- (7) For Bosnian culture, coffee played an important role as it established a specific connection between the private and the public spheres of life. *Kahvedžinicas*, or *kahve*, as they are called more simply in Bosnia, were coffee houses opened in every town. They created a new atmosphere that had been unknown before. The coffee house was a public space accessible to everyone, and yet it had a homey atmosphere and hospitality (p. 80).
- (8) Bosnian coffee is made using a special utensil and following a precise procedure, different from the Turkish and European methods of coffee brewing. The main difference is that Bosnian coffee is “baked” since it is not brewed together with water. Ground coffee is first put in a heated-up coffee pot (*džezva*) and then boiling water is poured over it. The coffee is removed from the heat after it has risen (p. 86).
- (9) The baking process starts when ground coffee is put into a previously heated-up dry *džezva*. Boiling water is poured over the coffee and the *džezva* is not removed from the hotplate before the coffee has risen at least three times. Water is boiled in a special coffee ewer (*kahveni ibrik*).

At the end of the process, the little boiling water left in the ewer is poured over the coffee to allow the grounds to fall to the bottom of the *džezva*. Well-prepared Bosnian coffee has to allow a thick brown foam (*kajmak*) to form on top during the baking process (p. 86).

- (10) Bosnian coffee is never served on its own. A sweet or salted biscuit (*lokum*), sherbet, juice, etc. are served before the coffee. These snacks enrich the coffee-drinking ritual, just like serving tea in Great Britain so that it is regarded as a special kind of intermediate meal. Coffee is poured into *findžans* in such a way that first a small amount of the foam is skimmed and placed into every *findžan*, and then the coffee itself is poured. Without the foam on top of the cup, the Bosnian coffee simply is not “the coffee” (p. 87).
- (11) In Bosnia, coffee is sipped with a distinctive kind of pleasure (*ćeif*), without any hurry, anxiety or agitation. It is insulting and impolite to just “grab a coffee”. In the olden days, coffee bakers (*kahvedžija*) would refuse to take money from guests who would not abide by the ritual: “You do not owe me a single dinar, but I beg you, come to my coffeehouse – no more” (p. 88) [1].
- (12) The ritual commences by serving water, which prepares the palate to fully experience the true coffee flavour. The guest will put a sugar cube under their tongue and melt it as no sugar is added to coffee, and it is at this point that the long sipping ritual commences (p. 88).
- (13) The underlying paradigm of Bosnian culture is founded on the principles of “the open” and “the closed”. In the coffee-drinking ritual, this is manifested through an enchanting play between conversation and pregnant, friendly silence (p. 88).

By analysing the part of the corpus which refers to events and processes, it can be concluded that many activities described happen within the context of the “coffee culture”. In this case, the translator and the proofreaders opted for Type 2 – acceptable translatability for the noun “kahva” and Type 1 for the nouns denoting events and gatherings, whereas the English plural was added to the original nouns to preserve collective-culture connotations. Strategies applied in the category (a) can be found here too (e.g. coffee bakers (*kahvedžija*)), whereas the greatest emphasis is given to the sensory modality of taste, texture (of coffee) and touch (temperature).

(c) Names of drinks: Finally, the following examples are found with reference and emphasis given to actual names of traditional drinks:

- (14) In the Bosnian tradition, a special kind of after-dinner gathering at home is called *sijelo*. As light meals are eaten on this occasion, it is

common to serve *šerbe* (a syrup-like drink made by adding sugar and spices like cloves, honey or lemon to water; sherbet), coffee, light cooked meals, fresh or dry fruits (p. 57).

- (15) *Šerbe* (sherbet) is made from sweetened water, spices, rose petals, honey, lemon, etc. There is another kind of sherbet called *šurup*, which is made of a sweet fruit syrup. In the Bosnian language, the word *šerbe* is also used to refer to thickly boiled sugared water used as a coffee-sweetener or in sweet *pitas* (p. 64).
- (16) *Sofra* drinks. The individual dishes served at the *sofra* (meal in Islamic cultures) are accompanied by various drinks. These drinks are usually considered a replacement for salad, as the concept of salad we know today did not used to be present in the Bosnian cuisine (p. 63).
- (17) In the Bosnian cuisine it was common to serve a thicker yoghurt-like sour milk (*kiselo mlijeko*). This drink, an important food source, has always been known for a multitude of health benefits (p. 63).
- (18) *Boza* is a yellowish, slightly sour refreshing drink made of maize flour, yeast and sugar. Connoisseurs claim that genuine *boza* does not contain yeast and sugar, but three kinds of rough flour (maize, barley, wheat). After *boza* is left to ferment in wooden barrels, usually for three days, its flavour becomes refreshingly brisk. According to writer Miljenko Jergović, the brisk flavour, which makes it so popular, comes from alcohol (*boza* may contain from 0.5% to 5% of alcohol). A *špricer* (spritzer) is what you get when *boza* is proportionally mixed with lemonade (p. 64).
- (19) While *boza* is usually considered to be a summer drink, *salep*, a warm sweetened drink, is usually consumed in winter. *Salep* is made by brewing the lizard orchid (*Satyrium hircinum*, L.) (p. 64).
- (20) According to Evliya Çelebi, an Ottoman travel writer from the 17th century, apart from *rakija*, numerous other alcoholic beverages (though not as often) were brewed in Bosnia, such as: non-mulled wine (*muselez*), a kind of young wine called *hardaliye* (spiced by adding charlock, grapes, and other spices) and mint liquor (*nane rakisi*). Another popular and specially brewed drink, which contained 17% of alcohol, was *medovina* (mead; honey wine), the famous drink among ancient Slavs. In Sarajevo, there was a drink called *ramazanija* that, according to Çelebi, “was made of grapes and knocked you down” (p. 70).
- (21) Aside from *rakija*, usually made of the domestic plums, the Ottomans also brought *mastika*, a kind of fruit brandy spiced by the whitish sweet resin of the mastic tree. Rum is also mentioned in some sources (p. 70).

After analysing the names of traditional drinks and processes, it can be concluded that the translator and the proofreaders opted for Type 2—acceptable translatability in the case of alcoholic drinks while preserving their original name (in brackets), and Type 1 for the nouns denoting less familiar non-alcoholic traditional drinks (*salep*, *boza*, *šerbe*). The effect that the translation attempted to achieve while preserving every word that was not redundant in the reading process, was to appeal to the sensory modalities of taste and texture. It was sometimes necessary to use footnotes. This option was scarce, bearing in mind that the reader would need to look at the footnotes frequently, although footnotes should not present a problem in non-fiction texts (Landers, 2001).

The degree to which cultural distance should be bridged and the amount of explanation that is needed vary from one term to another. In the case of the present corpus, however, omission as a strategy was not used. In the case of bridging cultural gaps when certain artefacts do not exist in the target culture, different strategies were used, footnotes being employed very rarely (e.g. a “Bosnian rose”, *đulbešćerka*, from Turkish *gulbeşeker*, a very fragrant garden rose similar to the Bulgarian rose) while attempting to preserve the sensory modality (e.g. “ice-cold”) in the very description rather than the footnote. In the case of the word “čorba”, or “broth”, a footnote was used at the end of the book, to explain that broths served for breakfast were usually sour and thick. As for rare words, gelatine sheets, for example, rarely called *almasija*, were mentioned in the book only once (in the recipes section), which is the reason why their taste and texture—varying from solid to liquid state—were described in the footnote rather than in the text of the recipe itself.

Concluding remarks

This paper has explored the choices that the translator made when translating the texture and taste of traditional Bosnian-Herzegovinian drinks, as they are described in *The Bosnian Cuisine* (2016), by referring to a classification of noun phrases according to their translatability. In addition to the collected recipes, the publication analysed includes fragments of travelogues and excerpts from literary works, which allows readers to see the gastronomic terms in different contexts.

The English language equivalency between adjectives and noun phrases in food writing and translation, or a lack thereof, has been discussed in the paper as well. I have also addressed the use of footnotes and brackets in translation, as well as the negotiation process in terms of terminological, lexicological, lexicographical and intersemiotic debates with regard to four types of Bosnian noun phrases used for traditional or common dishes and the applicability of the classification for Bosnian traditional and less-known drinks.

In terms of methodology, the paper is a self-reflection on the theoretical framework proposed in my MA thesis in 2010 and applied to the translation of *The Bosnian Cuisine* (2016), which has allowed me to work on a similar corpus, produced with the contribution of proofreaders whose L1 is English. The analysis shows that there are similarities between the strategies used for translating names of traditional dishes and drinks, but that the context and discourse as such may determine translators' and proofreaders' decisions, especially if the focus of the text is on activating sensory modalities such as texture, taste, sight and touch in terms of the drinks described, occasions on which they are served, shapes of containers they are served in, etc. where the text may be classified in the domain of visual experience (Bourget 2017). In addition, another aim of this paper is to reach out to readers whose identity may be shaped by a reminiscence to food practices in their home country, whereas each word that is not redundant has been preserved in the translation. Taste and texture are two of the sense modalities that the translation aimed to evoke while keeping all the words that were not superfluous in reading and in terms of their order. Although footnotes should not be an issue in non-fiction works, it was occasionally required to use them. However, this option was not exhausted as the reader would have needed to often review the footnotes. Therefore, it has been once again confirmed that the issue of translating names of traditional dishes and drinks remains a challenge for linguists, a challenge that, nevertheless, allows translators to produce instructional input as well as hybrid equivalents.

Notes

[1] "If you go into a Starbucks and ask for 'coffee,' the barista most likely will give you a blank stare. To him the word means absolutely nothing." (Bellos 2012)

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