

TEMPORAL ASPECTS OF RESULTATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN BULGARIAN, ENGLISH AND HUNGARIAN COOKING RECIPES

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ABSTRACT

The current paper examines temporal aspects of resultative constructions in culinary recipes in three languages – Bulgarian, English and Hungarian. The qualitative analysis deals with both lexical content and grammatical structures from a cognitive linguistic perspective. The conclusion is that embodiment plays a crucial role in conceptualizing heat as well as change in shape, colour and consistency of a dish. Different perspectivization is experienced in the three languages. What unites them, however, is the conceptual metonymy COLOUR/ CONSISTENCY TYPICAL OF A STATE FOR THE STATE: duration of food preparation and the final state are two sides of the same phenomenon – they indicate the optimal stage that has to be achieved when cooking a meal.

KEYWORDS

resultative constructions, culinary recipes, embodiment, perspectivization

1. INTRODUCTION

“The way language is used in the context of recipe discourse shapes our interpretation of many aspects of the cookbook, concerning not only things culinary but also how we view a particular community and its values.” (Cotter, 1997, p. 52). The language of culinary recipes reveals a lot of facts about the culture of a community. Deep historical and socio-cultural information is hidden in the texts – the kitchen furniture, the instruments used for preparing a dish, and the method of cooking all reflect the socio-cultural background. Recipes may contain very specific lexemes and linguistic structures mirroring habits and cultural patterns. Recipe titles in themselves encompass certain anthropological and socio-linguistic information which might not be understandable to someone who is not part of the given community and is not familiar with the culture where this recipe is popular. For example: *Yorkshire pudding* in English or *Яйца по панagyурски* [yaytsa po panagyurski] in Bulgarian. The word-by-word English translation *Panagyurishte-style eggs* does not tell us much about the dish. Panagyurishte is a Bulgarian town, however, the knowledge of its existence and location is still not enough to help understand the essence. It is only the description of the meal that makes it understandable what the traditional Panagyurishte style is when it comes to preparing eggs: poached eggs with yoghurt and feta, traditionally prepared in Panagyurishte. If one would like to understand what motivates the naming of this meal, they will have to get an insight into its history. Similarly, in the case of *Bakonyi betyárleves* in Hungarian, even the

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knowledge of the exact meaning of the individual words does not give an idea of the content of the soup or the origin of its naming. The literal translation is a soup from the region Bakony in Hungary. The word „betyár” in this context has no exact translation, only an approximate counterpart in English can be provided – roamer, loiterer, social bandit.

Gerhardt (2013, p. 41) refers to Goode, Curtis & Theophano (1984) to acquaint the reader with the anthropological and cultural side of culinary recipes: “recipes are ways of encoding dishes, a culturally defined complex of food items” (Goode et al., 1984, p. 147). Even though recipes for one particular dish may vary from cookery book to cookery book or from cook to cook, their basic structure is a “group-shared, socially transmitted pattern” (Goode et al., 1984, p.147). On the one hand, it is the food items and, on the other hand, the modes of preparation that constitute a dish, with the latter being more important for the differentiation of different social groups/ethnicities (Goode et al., 1984, p. 148). Additionally, Gerhardt highlights that “recipes are not simple, straightforward step-by-step instructions that can be successfully used by any novice, but they represent a register containing presuppositions on many levels, necessary incompleteness in the steps of preparations or sets of instructions, assumptions about cultural knowledge, practical skills, and technical equipment evoking a complex set of practices. Successful cooks need to be able to **time** their steps, to understand the ever-changing nature of the product as they produce it while putting the text into action.” (Gerhardt, 2013, p. 42).

The whole texts of recipes deserve attention from a linguistic point of view. The current paper focuses on the temporal aspects of resultative constructions in Bulgarian, English and Hungarian culinary recipes. The research questions are:

How are resultative actions expressed in the three languages?

Is there a variation of resultative constructions (choice of NPs, AdjPs, PPs, subordinate clauses) within a language?

What differences and similarities are observed in the grammatical structures of resultative constructions?

What conceptual metaphors can be related to cooking recipes in the three languages?

The paper is structured as follows: the introduction part (1) is followed by a short literature review on the topic (2). Afterwards the methodology of the research is explained (3). The next section shows the analysis of the collected data (4). In the end I conclude the results (5) and highlight the limitations of the research (6).

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

According to Beavers “resultative constructions refer to clauses in which, in addition to the main verb (V), there is an additional, secondary predicate known as the result XP, predicating some state that comes about for some participant in the event as a result of the action described by the clause” (2012, p. 908). In Levin's work a resultative phrase is “a phrase which describes the state achieved by the referent of the noun phrase it is predicated of as a result of the action named by the verb” (Levin, as cited in Brdar, Brdar-Szabó & Kou, 2020, p. 64).

In their article Brdar et al. (2020) identify two types of resultative constructions: firstly, those which are related to the mechanical preparation of food – cutting, chopping, snipping, etc. – processes that lead to the change of shape of ingredients and/or mixing them together. The authors use the metaphor CHANGE IS MOTION to represent these mechanical processes – ingredients leave one state and enter another. In the second type of activity, thermic processes

take place and the focus is on duration and outcome: the time spent on achieving the desired state. The final state is usually indicated by colour or consistency. State and time in this context metonymically mean the same thing. This is referred to as COLOUR/ CONSISTENCY TYPICAL OF A STATE FOR THE STATE in the sense that the duration of food preparation and the final state are two sides of the same phenomenon – they indicate the optimal stage that has to be in cooking a meal.

Detailed examination of resultative constructions in miscellaneous printed culinary books and online collections shows us that embodiment plays a crucial part in the conceptualization of different objects and actions in the cooking process. “Human embodiment directly influences what and how things can be meaningful for us, the ways in which these meanings can be developed and articulated. Our reality is shaped by the patterns of our bodily movement, the contours of our spatial and temporal orientation, and the forms of our interaction with objects”. (Johnson, 1987, p. xix). Brdar et al. (2020) support the latter by claiming that embodiment as a general source of motivation should be interpreted broadly, encompassing everything from the body through the immediate physical environment to the social and cultural environment.

3. METHODOLOGY

To complete the research, I have looked at miscellaneous English, Bulgarian and Hungarian culinary websites and printed cookbooks, but have also taken examples from convenience food packages. It is to be noted that “cooking instructions printed on convenience food are similar to recipes in many respects because of their shared global function. However, the lack of space, the smaller range and less complicated nature of the “cooking” activities, the ready-made mixtures as well as the context on the packages (e.g., recycling instructions) also make them specific text types. As to be expected, cross-cultural differences can be found.” (Rathmayr, referenced in Gerhardt, 2013, p. 43). The qualitative analysis is based on the observed patterns and frequency of structures from altogether 120 recipes – 40 in each language including cold dishes, baking, frying, stewing, simmering and boiling. Naturally, I have not examined each recipe individually but have paid attention to the typical choice of lexemes and syntactic constructions. I have provided 42 examples altogether. I looked for similarities and differences in the three languages. It is not an aim of the paper to provide a quantitative cross-linguistic comparison of the observed constructions. Bulgarian serves as my starting point – firstly because it is my native language, and secondly, because it is the least investigated language as far as resultative constructions are concerned. For the Bulgarian examples I have provided their Latin transliteration and their English translation.

4. DATA AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Mechanical processing of food

There is a great variation in Bulgarian resultative constructions in the preparation phase – especially concerning verbs related to cutting, chopping and snipping. Although this resultative construction type is not central to the article, I consider it important to mention the main patterns. The following examples are taken from *Easter recipes* compilation (ed. Todorova, 2014); however, they are productive constructions in miscellaneous printed recipe books and online culinary blogs and websites as well. Most of them involve the verb *нарязвам*, [naryzvam] = cut/ chop:

- | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|
| (1) На-ряз-в-ам | на – preposition |
| <i>Na-ryaz-v-am</i> | <i>na</i> |
| PFV-cut-PFV-1SG | on |
| ‘Cut into’ | |

The prefix ‘na’ and the suffix ‘v’ serve for forming perfective verbs (verbs with perfective aspect) out of imperfective ones. The preposition ‘na’ on the other side corresponds to the English ‘into’. It is a polysemous preposition and can express different relations. In the framework of cognitive linguistics, “conceptual entities denote any kind of mental unit; *things* are conceptual entities that have stability in space and over time (such as house and tree), and *relations* are conceptual links between two or more entities (such as bring, laugh, into, because)” (Kövecses, 2010, p. 151). In language, the conceptual division into things and relations is reflected in the main word classes: things are coded as nouns; relations are coded as verbs, adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, and conjunctions. (Radden & Dirven, 2007, p. 56).

In contrast to English, where ‘into’ marks a different perspectivization, the Bulgarian preposition ‘na’ is related to surfaces when it comes to spatial relationships. The direct translation of ‘na’ is ‘on’. Here, it indicates a resultative construction whose conceptualization is different from that in English. As suggested by Brdar et al., English deploys the CONTAINER schema, while Hungarian invariably makes use of the SURFACE schema (Brdar et al., 2020, p. 78). My conclusion for Bulgarian is that the SURFACE schema is validated when considering the ingredients’ change of state as CHANGE IS MOTION, and STATES ARE LOCATIONS.

Here are some examples of miscellaneous shapes resulting from cutting. They illustrate how the standard geometrical forms are conceptualized in Bulgarian:

Нарязваме – Naryazvame – Cut/ chop:

- (2) сиренето **на парчета** – *sireneto na parcheta* – ‘cut the cheese **into pieces**’
- (3) шунката на малки кубчета – *shunkata na malki kubcheta* – the ham **into small cubes**
- (4) спанака **на ситно** – *spanak na sitno* – ‘(chop) **the spinach finely**’

‘Na sitno’ functions as a PrepP with an adverb and corresponds to the Hungarian ‘apróra’. I dare say that this is an enigmatic case in Bulgarian because ‘sitno’ is an adverb and does not normally require a preposition. In many cases, Bulgarians write it jointly, although the correct or accepted form of this construction is written separately. The joint orthography is, presumably, because in people’s cognition the whole phrase functions as an adverb. In the *Official Orthographical Dictionary of the Bulgarian Language* only the ‘sitno’ adverb exists, the ‘nasitno’ is not mentioned. According to Varbanova (2020), the orthography of this combination is not regulated, however, it is advisable to write it separately.

In Hungarian the corresponding resultative construction ‘apróra vág’ (= finely chop) also raises intriguing questions – it seems to be an adjectival phrase, however, by default, the LOCATIVE suffix -ra/-re is associated only with nouns and suggests approaching a surface from above. In this particular example, its metaphorical interpretation implies GETTING A RESULT IS MOVING IN SPACE. So, ‘apró’ here functions as a noun. If we think of another example in Hungarian with the same suffix: e.g. *simára kever* (=stir until smooth), it does not fulfill a LOCATIVE function here either. In this culinary context it serves as a measuring instance of event-based time: the stage we need to reach through a process that is not indicated in minutes.

- (5) марулята **на тънки ленти** – *marulyata na tynki lenti* – ‘the lettuce **into thin ribbons**’
- (6) Портокала и краставицата нарязваме **на филийки** – *portokala i krastavitsata naryazvame na filiiki* – ‘the orange and the cucumber **into slices**’
- (7) лука **на полумесеци** – *luka na polumesetsi* – ‘the onion **into crescents/ half moons**’

(8) Портокалите **на тънки колелца** – *portokalite na tynki koleltsa* – ‘the oranges **into small wheels**’

(9) Пилешкото месо **на тънки ивички** – *pileshkoto meso na tynki ivichki* – ‘chop chicken (meat) **into thin strips**’

In the case of ‘ivichki’ the diminutive suffix ‘-чк-’ [-chk-] is used, so it is not only strips but small, fine strips.

(10) Почистваме репичките, **сцепваме ги на кръст** на няколко места и ги потопяваме в подсолена вода. След около 10 минути те ще разцъфнат като розички.

Pochistvame repichkite, stsepvame gi na krast na nyakolko mesta I gi potopyavame v podsolena voda. Sled okolo 10 minuti te shite raztsafnat kato rozichki.

‘(We) clean the radishes, **splinter/cut them (their surface) crosswise at several places** and immerse them in salted water. In around 10 minutes **they will bloom like roses.**’

It is interesting how the cutting/ splintering process is explained in this recipe as a step to get the final result of ‘blooming roses’. The latter is the goal to be achieved with the radishes. It can happen within 10 minutes – the approximate time is given only for orientation.

(11) Перата на лука нарязваме **на ситно**, а бялата част **на пръстенчета**
Perata na luka naryazvame na sitno, a byalata chast na prystencheta

‘Chop the onion feathers **into small pieces/ finely** and the white part **into small rings**’.

In the case of rings, again a diminutive suffix is used.

(12) Белтъците се разбиват много добре **до гъст сняг**.

Beltycite se razbivat mnogo dobre do gyst snyag.

‘Beat the egg whites very well **until** (achieving the substance of) **dense snow**’.

Source: Nikolov, 1994, p.98.

All the examples above undoubtedly show how the results of mechanical processes in cooking are conceptualized in Bulgarian – sometimes the literal word-by-word English translation sounds awkward. This is because “different cultures often categorize the world differently and lay this down in their linguistic categories. Anybody who has ever studied a foreign language will have noticed that words in that language and the range of meanings associated with seemingly equivalent words are often different from those in one’s own language. [...] a language imposes its own conceptual grid upon our world of experience.” (Radden & Dirven, 2007, pp. 5-6). These examples also show how a community conceptualizes the different shapes of ingredients resulting from their mechanical processing. The notion of embodiment plays a crucial role in the above. Moreover, the examples prove Tomasello’s claim that “linguistic symbols are especially important symbolic artifacts because they embody the ways that previous generations of human beings in a social group have found it useful to categorize and construe the world” (Tomasello, 1999, p. 8).

4.2 Thermic processes

An extract from a Bulgarian recipe for a lamb liver dish “Drob-sarma” (which does not have a direct translation in English) clearly shows how important role **embodiment** plays in conceptualizing food. It demonstrates how Bulgarian people envision the colour change and also how they conceptualize the white greasy membranous sheath – as a veil (‘bulo’): this word is prototypically used for a wedding veil, and even the word ‘bulka’ meaning bride is derived from ‘bulo’ – a lady wearing a ‘bulo’.

(13) Печ-ем, докато було-то **по-румен-ее** равномерно
Pets-em, dokato bulo-to po-rumen-ee ravnomerno.

Bake- 1SG, until the veil PRF-blush-3SG.PRF evenly.

‘Bake until the veil is evenly browned’

Source: Todorova, 2014, p.13

The verb *porumenee* (3rd sg) is built by the prefix ‘po-’, which indicates the gradual change of a state or action and the ending ‘-ee’ which is the perfective form of ‘*porumen-yav-a*’ – indicating that the crimson colour should be achieved through the process of baking. Traditionally and prototypically the verb is used for people, especially children or young ladies, who blush because of shyness, or their face becomes red due to excitement. The adjective ‘*rumen*’ (which is also a given male name in Bulgarian) means rosy, red and rubicund, and is associated with a healthy look. It is obvious that the lexical choice here is motivated by the facts of human embodiment.

4.2.1 Nominalization

The following examples exhibit that nominalization is frequently applied in Bulgarian – this phenomenon is not typical for English and is not so often used in Hungarian recipes:

- (14) Кашата се сипва по малко с непрекъснато бъркане до завиране и сгъстяване
Kashata se sipva po malko s neprekysnato byrkane do zavirane i sgystyavane.
The porridge is poured gradually by constant stirring until boiling and thickening.

‘Pour the porridge step by step, stirring constantly until it boils and thickens.’

Source: Nikolov, 1994, p.73.

‘*S neprekysnato byrkane*’ can be expressed by a nominalized verb in Hungarian, however, in all English recipes I have come upon during the research, the ‘stirring constantly’ present participle + adverb construction is used to express that two actions are happening at the same time. In Hungarian two variants are possible: *állandóan kevergetve* (transgressive [határozói igenév] or ‘*állandó kevergetés mellett*’ – with a nominalized verb.

- (15) Вари се до омекване (Bulgarian)

Vari se do omekvane

Boil/cook-REFL until softness

‘Cook until soft’

Certain verbs and nouns have identical forms in English, and in such cases those nouns can be translated to Bulgarian by either simple verbs or nominalized verbs (in other words, nouns derived from verbs), e.g.

- (16) Bring to a **boil**, reduce to a **simmer**, and cook until tender (about 20 minutes).

Source: https://www.simplyrecipes.com/recipes/easy_shepherds_pie/

‘Cook until tender’ is a non-finite ‘until-clause’ which could be expressed by a finite ‘until-clause’ in Bulgarian sounding ‘until it becomes tender’ or again, by a nominalization. In Hungarian, the correspondent could be either an adjectival phrase ‘*puhára főzzük*’ (though *puha* is not the most precise translation of tender and here the adjective is converted to a noun) or by a finite until-clause, usually with negation ‘*amíg puha nem lesz*’= until it does not become tender.

- (17) Pork chops with crispy crust and risotto with mushrooms and onions

Source: Manchev & Shishkov, 2012. (Bulgarian)

Method:

В тиган със загрят зехтин ги запържваме от двете страни, **докато коричката стане златиста**. След това ги допичаваме за десетина минути в предварително загрята на 180 фурна.

V tigan sas zagryat zekhtin gi zaparzhvame ot dvete strani, dokato korichkata stane zlatista. Sled tova gi dopichame za desetina minuti v predvaritelno zagryata na 180 furna.

‘In a pan with heated olive oil, fry both sides of the chops **until the crust becomes golden**. Then bake them for around ten minutes in a preheated oven at 180 degrees.’

Here the preparation phases (e.g., warming up the olive oil and preheating the oven) are integrated with the form of past passive participle. The exact time is not indicated, and the recipe contains presuppositions that the reader (the cook) has preliminary knowledge about the order of the different steps that need to be taken during the cooking process. This is very frequent in all recipes I have come upon in all three languages. Sometimes the already mechanically processed shape is indicated in the ‘Ingredients’ section, e.g.:

(18) Shepherd pie recipe (English)

3 large (1 1/2 - 2 pounds) potatoes, **peeled and quartered**

1 medium onion, **chopped** (about 1 1/2 cups)

1-2 cups vegetables – **diced** carrots, corn, peas

Source: https://www.simplyrecipes.com/recipes/easy_shepherds_pie/

Numerous resultative constructions expressing temporal aspects and optimal state can be found even in a single recipe:

(19) (Bulgarian) Ризотото приготвяме, като първо в малко зехтин задушаваме нарязаните на шайби гъби и наситнения лук **до пълното омекване и изпаряване на течността**. Изваждаме ги и в същия тиган загряваме останалия зехтин и в него запържваме нарязания на ситно лук и измития ориз, **докато стане кристален**. Добавяме виното и **изчакваме да изври**, след което започваме да прибавяме постепенно по черпак от горещия бульон, като първо **изчакваме течността да се абсорбира** и чак тогава доливаме отново. Продължаваме да готвим **при постоянно разбъркване**, докато оризът **ни стане „al dente“**, т.е. не напълно сварен, а твърд в средата.

Rizototo prigotvyame, kato parvo v malko zehthin zadushavame naryazanite na shaibi gabi i nasitneniya luk do palnoto omekvane i izparyavane na technostta. Izvazhdame gi i v sashitiya tigan zagryavame ostanaliya zehthin i v nego zaparzhvame naryazaniya na sitno luk i izmitiya oriz, dokato stane kristalen. Dobavyame vinoto i izchakvame da izvri, sled koeto zapochvame da pribavyame postepenno po cherpak ot goreshitiya buljon, kato pyrvo izchakvame technostta da se absorbira i chak togava dolivame otново. Prodolzavame da gotvim pri postoyanno razbarkvane, dokato orizat ni stane „al dente“, t.e. ne napalno svaren, a tvard v sredata.

Translation: ‘Prepare the risotto by first stewing the sliced mushrooms and chopped onion in a little olive oil **until the liquid softens (literally: until full softness) and evaporates completely (literally: until the liquid’s full evaporation)**. Take them out and in the same pan heat the remaining olive oil and fry the finely chopped onion and the washed rice in it **until it becomes crystalline (transparent)**. Add the wine and **wait for it to boil**, then start gradually adding a ladle of hot broth, first **waiting for the liquid to be absorbed** and only then refill again. We continue to cook, **stirring constantly (literally: constant stirring (NP))**, until **our** rice becomes al dente, ie. not completely cooked, but firm in the middle.’

Source: Manchev & Shishkov, 2012.

Apart from nominalization, another interesting observation in the investigation of Bulgarian recipes is the use of personal pronouns when talking about ingredients – though not too frequent, this is an acceptable construction that sounds naturally in Bulgarian: until OUR rice becomes ‘al dente’.

As for the consistency of the rice: the Hungarian correspondent of ‘crystalline’ would be ‘üveges’ (=glassy). Indeed, glassy is most frequently used in Bulgarian, as shown in example (19), however ‘crystalline’ denotes a slightly different texture.

- (20) Оризът се пържи, докато стане **стъклен** (Bulgarian)

*Orizyt se pyrzi, dokato stane **styklen***

‘Fry the rice until (it becomes) **glassy**’

- (21) ‘Старобългарска каварма’ – *Starobylgarska Kavarma* – Old Bulgarian Kavarma² (Bulgarian)

Месото се измива и се нарязва на късчета, запързва се в мазнина **до готовност**, след което се прибавят дребно нарязаният лук, домати, люти чушки, сол, чер пипер, чубрица и вино. Сместа се задушава **до готовност** и се поставя върху омлет, прегъва се **във вид на полумесец** и се гарнира с кисели краставички или зелена салата според сезона.

*Mesoto se izmiva i se naryazva na kascheta, zaparzhva se v maznina **do gotovnost**, sled koeto se pribavyat drebno naryazaniyat luk, domati, lyuti chushki, sol, cher piper, chubritsa i vino. Smesta se zadushava **do gotovnost** i se postavya varhhu omlet, pregava se **vav vid na polumesets** i se garnira s kiseli krastavichki ili zelena salata spored sezona.*

English translation: ‘Wash the meat and cut it into bits (pieces), fry it **until cooked** (literally: until readiness, more precisely: until it reaches the state of readiness), then add the finely chopped onions, tomatoes, hot peppers, salt, pepper, savory and wine. Stew the mixture **until ready** and place it on an omelet, folded **in the shape of a half moon** and garnished with pickles or lettuce according to the season.’

Source: Nikolov, 1994, p.32.

What is interesting in this recipe is that ‘до готовност’ [do gotovnost] (= until ready) implies different meanings in the first and the second usage. It is the experience of the cook (as the recipient of the message) that is decisive in understanding the essence. This is in accordance with what was already mentioned in the literature review about the complex nature of recipes – that they contain presuppositions on many levels (Gerhardt, 2013, p. 41) and also supports Radden and Dirven’s claim that “typically, the speaker can choose among many possible “construals”, i.e., alternative ways of conceiving and expressing a situation. For example, we may describe a situation from our point of view or from that of the hearer. Another type of cognitive operation relates to the speaker’s packaging of information as “mental spaces”. As a rule, a considerable amount of information which the speaker intends to convey is not expressed explicitly. The hearer therefore needs to infer the meanings the speaker wants to communicate. The hearer is thus not just the recipient of a message but takes

² Kavarma is a traditional Bulgarian dish using pork, although the dish also exists in beef and chicken versions. It is one of the most delicious Bulgarian dishes. It should be baked in the oven in traditional earthenware bowls. Source of the footnote: <http://www.balkanfoodrecipes.com/dishes/main-dishes/kavarma-recipe/>

an active part in understanding an act of communication.” (Radden & Dirven, 2007, p. 1). The different interpretations of ‘*do gotovnost*’ also represent Langacker’s view on linguistic meaning: “In cognitive semantics, meaning is identified as the conceptualization associated with linguistic expressions. Linguistic meanings are also grounded in social interaction, being negotiated by interlocutors based on mutual assessment of their knowledge, thoughts, and intentions”. (Langacker, 2008, p. 37).

4.2.2 Conceptualization of heat

The following example illustrates how heat is conceptualized in Bulgarian:

- (22) Задушаваше се **на тих огън** до готовност (PP with a noun)
Zadushava se na tih ogan do gotovnost
‘Simmer over low heat until ready’ (literally: until readiness/ until it reaches the state of readiness)

The slow method of cooking on low heat is expressed through the synesthesia ‘*тих огън*’ [tih ogan] = silent fire. This expression has historical explanation when housewives were using wood fire stoves to cook meals. Especially if we think of outdoor fire, the sound of the flames can be heard. There are other frequent expressions as well in Bulgarian indicating cooking on low heat, e.g., ‘slab ogyn’ which can be translated to English word-by-word as ‘weak fire’. Its closest counterpart could be ‘on low flame’. Hungarians use ‘lassú tűzön’ with the meaning slow fire to express the same. Additionally, Hungarian uses expressions such as ‘kis lángon’ or ‘takaréklángon’ meaning ‘on low flame’.

- (23) Hungarian example:
Másfél liter vízzel felöntjük, megfűszerezzük, és 10 percig takaréklángon forraljuk
‘Pour one and a half liters of water, season and **simmer/ cook slowly** for 10 minutes’.

4.2.3 Colours and consistency

- (24) Bulgarian example
Пече се до **бледорозово**
Peche se do bledorozovo
‘Bake until **pale pink**’

Pale pink may have different representations in people’s minds. This is a very specific colour shade and is not the most frequently used colour indicating a state of readiness, however, it is productive in Bulgarian. The construction is interesting because ‘bledorozovo’ is an adjective but here it behaves like and can be characterized as a noun.³ I have come upon resultative constructions in English using either pale or pink, but not the nuance of pale pink:

- (25) English example
Beat the butter and sugar **until pale and fluffy**, then add the lemon zest
<https://www.bbcgoodfood.com/recipes/lemon-buttermilk-pound-cake>
- (26) English example
Cook until no longer **pink** (meat)

The hues of red are very frequent in Bulgarian. Hungarian also uses the lexeme ‘megpirul’ which contains the stem ‘pir’ referring to the red colour. However, in the case of preparing food, it denotes the state of becoming brownish or nuance of reddish-brownish.⁴

- (27) Bulgarian example

³Prepositions in Bulgarian precede most typically nouns and pronouns. They can stay before adjectives or numerals, but in this case the Adj and Num fall under the category NOUN. Source: <https://gramatika-bg.com/chasti-na-rechta/predlog.html>

⁴ Reference for the explanation: <https://www.arcanum.com/hu/online-kiadvanyok/Lexikonok-a-magyar-nyelv-ertelmezo-szotara-1BE8B/m-3C77D/megpirit-3E646/>

Пече се в умерена фурна, докато **се по-за-черви**.
Peche se v umerena furna, dokato se po-za-chervi
Bake in a moderate oven, until it **turns red/ blushes**
'Bake until (golden)brown'

The interesting thing here is that Bulgarians seldom say word-by-word 'until it becomes red' – we do not use the adjective 'red' to mark the degree of redness, but use a verb or a noun derived from a verb. 'Po-za-chervi' means 'it becomes slightly reddish'. The correspondent in English recipes would be '(golden) brown'. There is a direct counterpart in Hungarian: 'megpirul'. Examples (28)-(31) are taken from Hungarian recipes.

- (28) *Az öntetet öntse rá a hússzeletekre, majd legvégül a tetejére szórja rá a reszelt sajtot. Előmelegített sütőben süsse, **míg meg nem pirul a tetején***
'Pour the sauce over the slices of meat, then finally sprinkle the grated cheese on top. Bake in a preheated oven **until browned** on top.'
Source: Convenience food package (Milli tejszín csomagolásán: Kétsajtos-tejszínes csirkemell)
- (29) *Amikor a hús **kellően megpirult** és porhányossá vált, kiemeljük, pár percig állni hagyjuk, csontjáról lefejtük, és **félujjnyi vastag szeletekre** vágjuk.*
'When the meat is properly browned and powdery, (we) take it out (from the pan), leave it to rest for a few minutes, peel it from the bone and **cut into half-finger-thick slices**.'
Source: Liscsinszky, 2003, p.104. Kacsamell ínycsók módon/Gourmet style duck breast.

Apart from expressing the colour brownish or golden-brown through a lexeme whose stem denotes the colour 'red', example (28) is also intriguing because of the grammatical structure 'míg meg nem pirul' – typical and very productive in Hungarian: future event expressed by splitting the verb into two parts by negation – prefix and stem morpheme. It appears in a finite until-type clause with detailed instructions related to only one component – the top layer.

Another interesting observation in example (29) is that the verb is modified by the adverb 'kellően' which can be translated as 'properly' implying 'the right way/ the way it should be'. Obviously, this state of appropriateness allows for individual interpretation and is related to the way it is visualized and conceptualized in one's cognition. It also has to do with the notion of embodiment and the way this degree of proper meat baking is encoded in people's minds from previous generations (cf. Radden and Dirven, 2007 and Tomasello, 1999, quoted in this paper on p. 8). Additionally, embodiment is also observed in the expression 'cut it into half-finger-thick slices'.

A frequent construction in Hungarian is the use of past tense to indicate future actions as demonstrated in (30) and (31). The two examples below are also intriguing because of the degree of softness: half-soft, and almost fully soft:

- (30) *Természetesen először a marhahúst kezdjük főzni, és **ha már félig megpuhult**, csak akkor rakjuk bele a csirkét.*
'Of course, we start cooking the beef first, and only **when it is half-soft**, we put the chicken in it.'
Source: Nagy, Lénárt & Pákozdi, 1987, p.8.
- (31) ***Addig** főzzük, **amíg** a zöldség **majdnem teljesen megpuhult**.*
'Cook until the vegetables are **almost completely soft(ened)**'
Source: Nagy, Lénárt & Pákozdi, 1987, p.17.

The grades of the colour 'red' corresponding to the process of 'browning' are expressed through miscellaneous adjectival modifiers in Hungarian. It is questionable whether these function as adjectives or adverbs in these cases: *ropogós pirosra sütjük, szép pirosra sütjük*. The quotation is taken from Horváth (1987), however, the examples appear in several

cookbooks. The literal translation of ‘*ropogós piros*’ is crispy red. This conceptualization of the red colour in Hungarian is interesting because colours do not have tangible functions, but this example shows brilliantly how this specific combination of colour and consistency conveys comprehensible meaning to Hungarians, it is encoded in their cognition. *Szép piros* means beautiful red and denotes a full, intense shade of red. The two examples above demonstrate the connection between linguistic symbols and cognitive construals (cf. Tomasello, 1999, p. 8 in the Literature Review section).

The prefixes ‘po’ and ‘za’ (as in (27)) in Bulgarian are very productive in resultative constructions in Bulgarian cooking recipes.

(32) След това се сипва брашното и се оставя да се **ПО-ЗА**-пържи.

*Sled tova se sipva brashnoto I se ostavya da se **PO-ZA**-parzhi.*

Possible translation: ‘Then pour the flour and leave it **to get a little bit/slightly fried.**’

Source: Zvezdev, 2008, p.21.

The prefix ‘za-’ denotes “affecting the surface(s) of an object, or the object itself – on or from (all) sides.” (Leseva, 2010). According to Filip (as referenced in Leseva, 2010) Slavic prefixes add meaning components that contribute to specifying a criterion for ordering of events in the denotation of verbs, i.e., they define a scale that orders the set of events ‘based on the degree to which they possess a certain measurable property’ (spatial, temporal, etc.) and an upper bound. From the definition of ‘za-’ it follows that the nature of the scale specified by the prefix is in the spatial dimension and that the constants that combine with it have some spatial component to them. The prefix ‘po-’ indicates the start of an action. So, the linguistic meaning encapsulated in the verb ‘*po-za-parzhi*’ is that we leave the flour to get a little bit *superficially fried on all sides*.

The grammatical function of prefixes is “to transform imperfective verbs into perfective” (Kostov, referenced in Šarić & Nedelcheva, 2018). Apart from fulfilling grammatical functions, prefixes in many cases are semantic modifiers as well. (The topic of grammatical and semantic prefixation is one of dispute as elaborated by Šarić & Nedelcheva).

4.2.4 Components’ state of readiness

Constructions referring to only one component (as in (28)) are frequent in both Hungarian and Bulgarian as illustrated below. The change of state in a separate ingredient marks the optimal stage of readiness for the whole dish:

(33) Bulgarian

Пече се в умерено силна фурна, **докато хване коричка отгоре.**

Peche se v umereno silna furna, dokato hvane korichka ogore

‘Bake in a moderately strong oven **until it catches a crust on top**’

(34) Hungarian

*További 15 percig sütjük, **hogy egy lágyan olvadó réteget kapjunk.***

‘Bake for 15 more minutes **to obtain a soft melting layer**’

Source: Convenience food package: Tihanyi Camembert cheese

Bulgarian chefs often use ‘golden’ or hues of golden, especially in vlogs and books issued after 2010 (based on my observation during this mini-research).

(35) Когато **лукът придобие златист оттенък**

Kogato lukyt pridobie zlatist ottenyk

‘When the onion **acquires a golden nuance**’

(36) След като лукът **стане златист**, добавяме и брашното и бъркаме, за да се получи хомогенна смес. След това прибавяме меда и узото, доливаме зеленчуковия бульон и оставяме на котлона да ври около 40 минути. След като супата е готова,

натриваме филийките от франзела с чесън, намазваме с масло и поставяме отгоре парче кашкавал. Запичаме ги във фурна **до получаване на златист загар**.

‘Once the onion **becomes golden/ golden brown**, add the flour and mix to obtain a homogeneous mixture. Then add honey and ouzo, add the vegetable broth and simmer for about 40 minutes. After the soup is ready, rub the baguette slices with garlic, grease with butter and put a piece of cheese on top. Bake them in the oven **until golden-brown brown** (literally: until receiving golden tan).’

Source: Manchev & Shishkov, 2012.

The literal translation of the second case of golden-brown is very intriguing because of embodiment: just as humans get a golden tan after sunbathing, thus the cheese on the baguette slices ‘obtains’ tan, so the colour transformation is superficial, it reaches only the upper layer of the food.

In example (33) the adverb ‘otgore’ (= on top) offers us a specific viewing frame ‘from above’, a perspective from which food is approached and how the change of state is perceived. “In choosing one conceptual or linguistic alternative rather than another, the speaker “construes” her thoughts in a specific way. [...] Construals are cognitive operations which are often strikingly similar to principles of visual perception. [...] Adopting a particular perspective is one of many possible construal operations.” (Radden & Dirven, 2007, pp. 21-22). In contrast, in English we observe a different perspective in the case of baking: in the example below the approach is “inside-out”:

- (37) Bake for 25-30 mins **or until a skewer inserted into the centre of the cake comes out clean**.

Source: <https://www.bbcgoodfood.com/recipes/carrot-cake>

- (38) Bake for 1 hr 15 mins, until **a skewer poked in comes out clean** – you’ll need to lay a sheet of foil on top after an hour if the cake is browning too much. Source: <https://www.bbcgoodfood.com/recipes/rhubarb-crumble-cake>

4.2.5 Until-clauses in English

The examples below demonstrate the miscellaneous uses of ‘until’ clauses in both variants – finite and non-finite. Boas (referenced in Brdar et al., 2020, p. 72) argues that the *until* constructions similar to those shown in the examples below are not proper resultatives, but “cookbook instruction sentences” – “they focus on the time span that it takes to reach the state [...], rather than on perspectivizing the result of the event.” In any case, since these constructions are very productive, they deserve linguistic attention. The *until* clauses appear with both AdjP’s or as full subordinate clauses with future perspective expressed by present simple, present continuous or present perfect tense. Examples (39-42) exhibit *until* structures, however, they are full of data for analysis for many other reasons: conceptualization of colour, smell and consistency.

- (39) To make the syrup, put the ingredients in a small saucepan and heat **until the sugar has dissolved**.

Source: <https://www.deliciousmagazine.co.uk/recipes/nutty-avocado-and-mango-salad-with-soy-and-lime-dressing/>

- (40) Combine garlic and **3 tbsp. extra-virgin olive oil** in a cold large skillet. Set over medium heat and cook, stirring occasionally with a wooden spoon, **until garlic begins to turn golden**, about 3 minutes. Add herbs and cook **until fragrant**, about 30 seconds. Bring to a simmer and cook, stirring occasionally, **until tomatoes are just starting to soften**, about 5 minutes. Gently crush tomatoes with a spoon. Continue to cook, stirring occasionally, **until tomatoes are jammy**, 8–10 minutes more, depending on

ripeness. **(You're looking for a consistency slightly looser than tomato paste to prevent soggy hand pies.)** Let the tomato mixture cool.

<https://www.bonappetit.com/recipe/cheesy-tomato-hand-pies>

- (41) In a separate pan, melt the sugar and golden syrup together, **stirring occasionally**. **Once the sugar granules have dissolved, bring to a boil** and cook until the temperature reaches 155C on a sugar thermometer. Remove from the heat and swiftly whisk through the cream mixture. Return to the heat and cook **until the mixture reaches 127C**, constantly whisking so it doesn't catch.

<https://www.bbcgoodfood.com/recipes/salted-caramels>

- (42) Spread the mashed potatoes over the top of the ground beef. **Rough up the surface of the mashed potatoes with a fork so there are peaks that will get well-browned**. You can even use a fork to make creative designs in the mashed potatoes. [...] Bake in oven: Place in a 400°F oven and cook until browned and bubbling, about 30 minutes. If necessary, broil for the last few minutes **to help the surface of the mashed potatoes brown**.

https://www.simplyrecipes.com/recipes/easy_shepherds_pie/

What is interesting in (42) – an American recipe of a traditional British dish – is that it uses constructions different from until-clauses to express the optimal state of readiness: it is marked either by setting the goal (component: 'so there are peaks') or how to facilitate the optimal stage: 'to help the surface of the mashed potatoes brown'.) Similarly, in example (41) a piece of advice is given on how to avoid a non-desired state: "constantly whisking so it doesn't catch".

5. CONCLUSION

There are various resultative constructions in Bulgarian, English and Hungarian for denoting the optimal state of readiness. While nominalized verbs in PP's and finite verbs in until-type of clauses dominate in Bulgarian (*до омекване, докато омекне*), the until-clause in both its finite and non-finite variant (e.g. *until soft*) appeared to be the most productive resultative construction in English in this research. Hungarian deploys predominantly the structure "noun converted from an adjective + a case ending (sublative case) -ra/-re" (e.g. *puhára pároljuk*) or detailed subordinate until-clauses. In all three languages the detailed subordinate clauses usually refer to a single component and not the whole dish. Embodiment plays a crucial role in conceptualizing shapes, colours and consistency. Perspectivization is different as well: the CONTAINER schema is representative of English, while Hungarian and Bulgarian deploy predominantly the SURFACE schema. The conceptual metonymy COLOUR/ CONSISTENCY TYPICAL OF A STATE FOR THE STATE is illustrative in all three languages in the sense that the change of colour or consistency is indicative of the optimal stage of readiness of a dish.

6. Limitations of the research

This piece of work cannot cover all significant points in analyzing the temporal aspects of resultative constructions in culinary recipes. There is abundant material in the three languages which can be analyzed both diachronically and synchronically. In my paper I have covered only a limited number of the observed phenomena. Considering that all translations are my own, there might be imprecisions and alternative variants are possible. Depending on the target audience of culinary recipes, the lexical and grammatical structures may differ significantly, and this is an area that deserves researchers' attention. Also, the choice of words

for conceptualizing miscellaneous forms and stages of readiness differs or may differ from decade to decade and one would surely find significant differences in recipe books from the 19th century and the 21st century. Further synchronic and diachronic research is suggested with special attention to colours, kitchen equipment, and mechanical processing of ingredients. In the case of Bulgarian, if I embark on new diachronic research, I would use the book “Изкуството на старата българска кухня. Кулинарното наследство на XIX век” (The art of old Bulgarian Cuisine. The culinary heritage of 19th century) as a starting point.

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