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## Between the local and the global – restaurant names in Poland, Germany, and China

### Introduction

The aim of this article is to compare Polish, German, and Chinese restaurant names, with a particular focus on the cultural and communicative aspects of their operation from the perspective of the public.<sup>1</sup> We perceive the

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#### <sup>1</sup> Authorship contribution statement

**Renata Przybylska:** Conception of the study, methodology, data acquisition and curation, analysis and interpretation of data, writing – original draft and editing, critical revision for important intellectual content, and final approval of the version to be submitted.

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analysed proper names as *chrematonyms*, and in particular, *urbochrematonyms* (Rzetelska-Feleszko et al. 2003: 371; see: Dombrowski 2015). This is because they are names of real-world objects (here specifically names of companies – restaurants, bars, cafes, etc.), created as a result of human activity, which are permanently embedded in the linguistic landscape of the city (Gałkowski 2018: 1; see also: Šrámek 1996; Sjöblom 2016).

In urban spaces, the names of eating establishments are often the first or main point of contact between the local community and other cultures. They form a field of cultural exchange and show the diversity and the multi-ethnicity of the communities living in the city. Also, they reflect the identity of minority groups (see, among others: Afeltowicz 2000; Breza 1998; Eckkrammer, Thaler 2013; Gałkowski 2008; Li 2017; Petkova 2017; Przybylska 1992, 2002; Juliana, Rosifita 2018; Szczek, Kałasznik 2016). In the analysis, we will try to answer the question of what, in terms of the naming tendencies observed in the studied type of onyms – both in their structure and semantics – is strictly local, that is, typical of a given urban and cultural space and its traditions; what is perceived as new, foreign, and exotic; and what is global, universal, and repetitive, regardless of language or culture.

The source material was initially obtained through the data search engine available on the website <https://www.tripadvisor.com>. It provides more than five thousand restaurant names for Berlin, over two thousand for Krakow, and more than one thousand for Dalian in China. In this way, about three hundred names of the best-rated restaurants operating in the urban spaces of Krakow, Berlin, and Dalian were selected for preliminary analysis. Subsequently, the collection of *urbochrematonyms* was further supplemented with additional data excerpted from other internet sources in order to collect examples of restaurant names that best reflect the observed naming trends.

## Functions of *chrematonyms*

Before proceeding to the analysis of the collected linguistic data, we would like to refer to the findings of researchers on the function of proper names, including *chrematonyms*, which are most important for our study and for the subsequent discussion.

Some onomastics specialists consider the **general onomastic function** – i.e., the property of being a proper name – to be the overriding function

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### Declaration of competing interest

We declare that we have no known competing financial interests or personal relationships that could have appeared to influence the work reported in this paper.

of lexical units classified under the *nomina propria* category (see, for instance, Šramek 1989: 251; Šramek 1999: 27; Siwiec 2012: 27). This assumption implies three specific and basic functions of *propria*: **nominative** (the special naming of an object), **identifying** (indicating an individual, unique object), and **differentiating** (singling out, distinguishing a given object from among others) (see, for instance, Karpenko 1980: 10; Kaleta 1998: 18, 34; Šramek 1999: 22; Rutkowski 2010: 54–61; Dunaj 2017: 77). Other functions of proper nouns, widely discussed in the literature, were compiled and thoroughly described by Mariusz Rutkowski, including the **informational**, **emotional**, **cognitive**, and **accumulative** (Karpenko 1980: 12, 14–15); **associative**, **evocative**, **connotative**, and **psychological** (Knappová 1992: 212–213);, as well as **social**, **sociological**, **ideological**, **descriptive**, **metalinguistic**, **phatic**, **accentual**, **constellational**, **perspectival**, **mythologising**, **protective**, **areal**, and **temporal** (Šramek 1999: 22; Rutkowski 2010: 56, 58, 61).

As far as chrematonyms are concerned, some onomastic theorists emphasise the need to distinguish a separate function for this class of proper names, corresponding to how and for what purposes these names are used in a consumer society. Hence, Edward Breza identifies a specific **advertising function** for chrematonyms, linking it to the cultural context and the requirements of the market economy (Breza 1998: 356). Adam Siwiec also discusses the **advertising** (or, more broadly, **persuasive**) **function** of trade-related names, treating it as a variation of the “object and communication function, involving names in close connection with the objects forming the subjective world of communication” (Siwiec 2012: 27). Since trade and service names, including company names, are inextricably linked to the business context, i.e., to the deliberate influence on the public within the commercial process, they possess important utilitarian, pragmatic, and culture-creating value in communication (see: Zboralski 2000; Rutkiewicz-Hanczewska 2011; Siwiec 2012, 2022; Borowiak 2021). Mainly for this reason, Artur Gałkowski distinguishes a separate class of **marketing and utilitarian chrematonyms** (see: Gałkowski 2008: 61–119), whose function he describes as follows:

The exponents of the **marketing function** [emphasis – PP, RP] of chrematonyms in the economic space could be reduced to a few [...] properties [...]: name orientation, product orientation, recipient orientation, conceptualisation, semiotic context (name – sign), communicativisation and discursivisation. They all make up the marketing function of chrematonyms, which is developed as a desirable process accompanying an active name in the economic environment and communication. (Gałkowski 2015: 179)<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Own translation of quote from Polish.

Let us further emphasise that, in cultural and communicative terms and from the perspective of the public, the names of businesses such as restaurants also perform an important function as a transmission link between different cultures. They are often a form of first contact with another culture and thus serve to build a stereotype of that culture and/or expand knowledge about it.

### Names in context – generic names versus proper urbochrematonyms

Restaurants are identified through the use of complex names. In Polish and German, the names of restaurants often include a segment that introduces a general, overarching generic name indicating a particular specific type or genre of a restaurant. In this function, the following internationalisms, i.e., international words, occur in both languages: *restauracja* / *Restaurant* / *Ristorante*; *bar* / *Bar*; *bistro* / *bistro*; *resto* / *Resto*; *Resto-Bar*; *klub* / *Club*; *café* / *Coffee* / *Café*. In addition, more specific, already polonised names appear in Polish, e.g., *pizzeria* (derived from *pizza*), *winiarnia* ('winery' derived from *wino* 'wine'). Numerous native nouns also serve this role in Polish, denoting traditional types of places where people meet, eat, and drink, e.g., *karczma* 'inn', *gospoda* 'inn, tavern', *zajazd* 'inn, roadhouse', *jadłodajnia* 'eating house, hash house, beanery'. New words are also coined in this function, e.g., *pierogarnia* 'a place where *pierogi* "stuffed dumplings" are served', *burgerownia* 'a place where burgers are served'. Similarly, in German we encounter generic names typical of German culture, e.g., *Küche* (German for 'kitchen'), *Wirtshaus* (German for 'inn'), *Speisesalon* (German for 'dining room'). Progressive globalisation has resulted in the effective dissemination of borrowed words outside their source language, e.g., *trattoria*, *ristorante* (Italian), *bodega*, etc., which also appear as generic names in both Krakow and Berlin. Such a generic term is followed only by the proper name of the establishment, e.g., *Restauracja Staropolska* ('Old Polish Restaurant', Krakow), *Griechisches Restaurant Athen* ('Greek restaurant Athens', Berlin). It is not always easy to separate the proper name from the generic term.

In Chinese, names have a tripartite structure, consisting of a generic name, a descriptive name, and a proper name. A variety of words function as generic names, the most common being 馆 'shop' and 餐厅<sup>3</sup> 'restaurant'. Business unit names, as nouns forming the generic names of eating

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<sup>3</sup> 餐 means 'meal', 厅 means 'room' or 'hall', so 餐厅 literally means 'room for meals'. 餐厅 currently has two meanings: 'dining room' and 'restaurant'; but here, we consider only the latter, i.e., 'restaurant'.

establishments, are usually found at the end of the name, e.g., 吧 ‘bar’ in 乐成串吧, 铺 ‘shop’ in 胖姐包子铺, and 馆<sup>4</sup> in 于记饺子馆. As Li Wanying claims:

With the economic development, modern names of business units emerge. These are complex names formed by a combination of traditional names and other characters such as 饭店 (restaurant), 菜馆 (restaurant), 酒馆 (bistro), etc. Some are borrowed from words such as 公司 (company, firm), 渔港 (fishing port) or 牧场 (pasture), and some from foreign languages such as 吧 (bar). There are also business unit names directly written in the original languages, e.g. *bar*, *Café* and *kitchen* in English. Among them, the noun 吧 (bar), which is borrowed from English, ranking 6th on the list, reflects the openness of the locals to foreign names. (Li 2022: 56)<sup>5</sup>

Therefore, the descriptive part of the name indicates the type of cuisine the restaurant offers, the ingredients it uses, how they are prepared, and the dishes it offers. Only after this is the proper name used. It should be noted that this study is concerned primarily with proper names in the three languages under comparison.

### Local, native, and familiar

Restaurant names are often a mixture of multiple languages, including the local native language and various foreign languages. This is mainly evident in the names of restaurants in Berlin and Krakow. By their very nature, however, names expressed in the native language are more local.

Structurally, three types of names composed of a preposition and a noun have a local character, connected with Polish culture and customs: names with the preposition *u* ‘at’, e.g., *U Babci Maliny* (‘at grandma Malina’s’); names with the preposition *pod* ‘under’, e.g., *Pod Aniołami* (‘under the angels’); and, more rarely, names with the preposition *na* ‘on’, e.g., *Szamot na Wielopolu* (‘fireclay on Wielopole Street’). Names such as *U Babci Maliny* and *U Doroty* (‘at grandma Malina’s’, ‘at Dorota’s’) are expressions taken from colloquial language, in which they function as placeholders, denoting a location in relation to the person who owns the place. In everyday speech, they are often used to answer the question “Where have you been?”, e.g., “I was at Janek’s,” “at my aunt’s,” “at my brother-in-law’s.”

The type of names with the preposition *pod* (‘under’) is used to situate the restaurant, either actually or symbolically, in relation to a characteristic object, usually one dominating the space because of its height or position – for example, above the entrance to the restaurant. The names *Pod Baranem*

<sup>4</sup> 馆 is the name of certain service shops, usually added at the end of the word.

<sup>5</sup> Own translation of quote from Polish.

(‘under the ram’) and *Pod Złotą Pipą* (‘under the golden pipa’, *pipa* was the name used for a device for pouring beer in historical Galicia) refer to restaurants that have an image of the stated object above the entrance. In these names, the preposition *pod* (‘under’) occurs in the so-called emblematic sense. Names such as *Pod Wawelem* (‘under the Wawel Castle’) situate the restaurant in the vicinity of an easily recognisable object of great importance within the city.

In terms of the lexical material used to form the names, those consisting of colloquial words or referring to everyday, mundane reality stand out. This includes the names of: a) utensils associated with preparing and serving food, e.g., *Kolorowe patelnie* (‘colorful pans’), *Szklanki* (‘glasses’); b) dishes, meals, and products, especially those typical of Polish or regional cuisine, e.g., *Nadziany Strudel* (‘stuffed strudel’), *Zalewajka* (‘kind of potato soup’), *Kluska* (‘dumpling’), *Pierogarnia* (‘dumpling restaurant’, derived from the word *pierogi*); c) states of mind: *Folga* (‘ease’), *Radocha* (‘jollity’).

In semantic and functional terms, names motivated by topography – that is, connected with the street on which the restaurant is situated (e.g., *Szamoto na Wielopolu* ‘fireclay on Wielopole Street’), the name of a district (e.g. *Stodoła Bronowicka* ‘Bronowicka barn’, from the name of the district Bronowice in Krakow), or some characteristic object within it – have a local character, as in *Forty Kleparz Restobar* (derived from the name of a historic fort building located in the Kleparz district of Krakow).

In the context of localness and nativeness, allusive names referring to historical figures, literary and film characters, and historical or symbolic places and events important to a given culture are of particular importance. Such names are intelligible on a deeper, allusive level usually only to native speakers, though they may also appeal to well-informed tourists who visit foreign cities and are interested in local history and culture. Names of this kind in Krakow include: *Szara* (‘grey’) – derived from the name of a tenement in the Main Square; *Wierzynek* – from the name of the rich Krakow merchant Wierzynek, who, in 1364, hosted a magnificent feast for the Polish king and the European monarchs; *Krakowiacy* (‘Krakovians’) – from the ethnic name of the inhabitants of the Krakow area; *Wesele* (‘wedding’) – from the title of a drama written by Stanisław Wyspiański, depicting Polish society deprived of statehood at the end of the 19th century, set during a wedding in an authentic village near Krakow; *Sukiennice* (‘cloth hall’) – from the name of the characteristic historic Renaissance building located in the centre of the Main Square; *Galicyska* (‘Galician’) – from the historical name of the region of Galicia. As can be seen, the names mentioned are the so-called transferred names, taken from other objects or persons.

With regard to Berlin restaurant names that exhibit their native and peculiar character, this is structurally the case for names with the preposition

zum 'to', e.g., *Zum Patzenhofer* ('to the Patzenhofer'), *Zum Schusterjungen* ('to the shoemaker's boy'). Chrematonyms based on the name or surname of the owner function similarly, e.g., *Barbara's Küche* ('Barbara's kitchen'), *Schlögl's Altberliner Gaststube* ('Schlögl's old Berlin restaurant'), as do names featuring commonly used German personal names, e.g., *Restaurant Wilhelm*, *Max und Moritz*, *Restaurant Marjellchen*, *Fritz and Co.*, *Alte Fritz*.

The feature of being local is also expressed in names motivated by Berlin's topography, e.g., *Bürgermeister Schlesisches Tor* – derived from the name of Berlin's underground stop *Schlesisches Tor*; *Boulevard Friedrichstrasse* – derived from the name of the street; *Xantener Eck* ('street corner') – derived from Xantener street; *Restaurant Acht & Dreissig* – derived from the address Oranienburger Strasse 38. They also include names simply with the word *Berlin* or an adjective derived from it, e.g., *Gaffel Haus Berlin* ('Gaffel House Berlin'), *Berliner Kochwerkstatt* ('Berlin cooking workshop'), *Restaurant Berlinchen*. There are also chrematonyms motivated by geographical names of places outside Berlin but in German-speaking countries, e.g., *Thüringer Stuben* – referring to Thuringia, a German federal state with its capital in Erfurt; *Ottenthal Restaurant & Weinhandlung*, containing the name of a municipality in Lower Austria, Ottenthal.

German, i.e., local, cuisine culture is also evoked by the names of dishes considered to be characteristic of Germans, e.g., *Kartoffelkeller* ('potato cellar'); *Kartoffelkiste* ('potato box'), *Berliner Kartoffelhaus* ('Berlin potato house') *Schnitzlei* (derived from the word *Schnitzel* 'a type of meat cutlet'), *Repke Spätzlerei* (derived from the name of traditional German dish – *Spätzle* 'small dumpling'), *Knödelküche Runde Sache* ('dumpling kitchen round thing'), *Stadtssalat* ('city salad'), *Curry36*, *Curry at the Wall* (the name derives from *Currywurst* 'a type of sausage' popular in Germany). In addition, chrematonyms containing the names of specific brands of products originating in Germany are indicators of localness, e.g., the *Paulaner* restaurant, named after the famous brand of beer produced in Munich; the *Bitburger Siemensstadt Restaurant*, referring to Germany's largest brewery, *Bitburger*; or *Gasthaus Krombach*, which uses the name of the most popular German pilsner.

The atmosphere of familiarity is also created by names containing expressions from colloquial German, including: a) those referring to people, e.g., *Dicke Wirtin* ('fat housewife'), *Der Wurstler* ('butcher who particularly produces sausages'), *Bürgermeister* ('mayor'; here, additionally, with the connotation of a dish, i.e., a burger); b) those referring to animals, e.g., *Henne* ('hen'); furthermore, c) adjective names with an expressive function, e.g., *Froindlichst Berlin* ('the nicest Berlin'), as well as d) types of meeting places specific to the German way of life, e.g., *Volkskammer* ('people's chamber'); *Esszimmer* ('dining room'), *Schankhalle Pfefferberg* ('bar room') or names evoking the atmosphere of the countryside, e.g., *Scheune* ('barn'), or *Schäferstübschen*



(‘shepherd’s hut’). Here, names expressing states of mind to be associated with a stay in a particular restaurant should additionally be mentioned, formulated in the native language, e.g., *Ausspanne* (‘relax’), *Stilbruch* (‘quiet break’), *Föllerei* (‘madness’). An interesting idea is to take a phrase fixed in everyday language and use it as the name of a restaurant, e.g., *Sowohl Als Auch* (‘as well as’), which is a method that clearly brings the public closer to the local atmosphere and style of colloquial communication.

For those familiar with German-speaking culture, names referring to historical figures, including writers, are also very meaningful, e.g., the name of the *Joseph Roth Diele* restaurant, which relates to the famous Austrian writer who lived from 1894 to 1939 and wrote the well-known novel *Radetzky March*. Associations with German history or Nordic mythology are evoked by the name *Walhalla*, referring on the one hand to a German memorial to distinguished heroes and, on the other, to a mythological land of eternal happiness – the abode of fallen warriors.

It should be mentioned that the category of localness is associated with naming businesses using a surname and/or forename. This is a rather marginal phenomenon among the collected Polish- and German-language chrematonyms, yet it is noticeable and characteristic of Chinese restaurant names, for example: 韩玉饭店 (‘Hanyu’s restaurant’ – Hanyu is the owner’s surname and forename), 老张牛肉面 (‘Zhang’s beef noodles’ – Zhang is the owner’s surname), 诸葛烤鱼 (‘Zhuge’s roast fish’ – Zhuge is a Chinese surname), 姜小厨 (name structure: surname + occupation: 姜 – Jiang (Chinese surname), 小 meaning ‘small’, 厨 ‘cook’), etc. Chinese anthroponyms obviously evoke local and native culture. Names whose component is a local name directly referring to the topography of the city of Dalian or, more broadly, to the names of cities, towns, or other geographical objects in China, have a similar effect on the public. The following names may serve as examples:

二七友名焖子铺 – 二七 the name of a place in Dalian: 二七友名焖子铺: 二七 (*Erqi*, literally ‘two seven’) is derived from 二七广场 (*Erqi Square*), located in the Zhongshan district of the city; 友名 sounds the same as 有名 ‘known’; 焖子 (*Menzi*) means ‘fried sweet potato starch jelly with gravy’; 铺 means ‘shop’;

海味道: 星海 – the name of a tourist attraction in the city of Dalian: 海味道: 星海 (*Xinghai*, literally ‘star and sea’) is derived from 星海广场 (*Xinghai Square*), the world’s largest city square, located in the Shahekou district, which is one of the symbols of Dalian; 味道 means ‘taste’;

鸭绿江海鲜烧烤大排档 – the name of a tourist attraction in Liaoning Province: 鸭绿江海鲜烧烤大排档: 鸭绿江 (*Jalu River*) is a river in southeastern Liaoning, forming the western part of the border between China and North Korea; 海鲜烧烤 means ‘grilled seafood’; 大排档 means ‘stall’.

滇池人家米线 – the name of a tourist attraction in another part of China: 滇池人家米线: 滇池人家米线 (*Dian Chi*, also called Kunming Lake)



is a freshwater lake near the city of Kunming in Yunnan Province (Chinese: 云南) in southern China; 人家, meaning ‘a family engaged in a certain industry’, here can be understood as ‘a family’ or ‘at someone’s place’; 米线 means ‘rice noodles’.

Let us emphasise that the names of administrative regions, tourist attractions, etc. often appear in proper names together with other words to show the regional characteristics of the restaurant and to indicate the type of cuisine offered to customers.

It should also be mentioned that a specific feature of Chinese culture is a rather complex system of rules for addressing others, which takes into account age, gender, family relationships, and social hierarchy. Thus, there are restaurants in Dalian that include such characteristic Chinese terms of address in their names, such as:

明哥生煎: 明 (Ming, a Chinese male name), 哥 (a form of address for a man older than oneself), 生煎 (‘a kind of small pan-fried steamed bun’);

姐夫的小菜: 姐夫 (‘brother-in-law – the elder sister’s husband’), 的 (a particle following the noun-defining modifier), 小菜 (‘appetisers’) – here, 姐夫 (‘brother-in-law’) is used to reduce the distance between the restaurant and its customers (cf. Li 2022: 64).

Undoubtedly, the most distinctive exponents of the local culture are the names of various dishes known only in China or, more widely, in Asia, which are difficult to translate into European languages, e.g., 张亮麻辣烫 (Zhang Liang Malatang) – a chain restaurant founded by a person whose given name is Liang and surname Zhang, serving *Malatang*, a popular type of Chinese street food from Sichuan Province; 金三顺拌饭: 金 (Kim) is a Korean surname, 三顺 (Sam-soon) is a Korean female given name, and 拌饭 (Bibimbap) is a popular Korean dish.

Localness is also expressed through references to popular and well-known products of Chinese culture present in some restaurant names. This refers to titles of literary works, TV series, films, songs, etc., or quotations from these cultural texts, e.g., a name with a song title: 皖南味菊花台米线: 皖南 (Southern Anhui<sup>6</sup>) is a former administrative region (1949–1952), 味 means ‘taste’, 菊花台 (*Chrysanthemum Terrace*) is a well-known song performed by Jay Chou,<sup>7</sup> and 米线 means ‘rice noodles’; a name with a film title: 寻味顺德 粤菜: 寻味顺德 (*Seeking Flavours in Shunde*) is the title of a documentary film depicting food in the district of Shunde in the city of Foshan, Guangdong Province in southern China, 粤菜 means ‘Cantonese cuisine’; a name with

<sup>6</sup> Anhui is a province in eastern China.

<sup>7</sup> Jay Chou (Chinese: 周杰伦, born 18 January 1979) is one of China’s best-known musicians. He has won the World Music Awards three times.

a quotation: 不负如来: 不负如来 ('to be worthy of the Buddha's teaching') is derived from a love poem written by the Sixth Dalai Lama<sup>8</sup> (see: Li 2022: 69).

## Foreign, exotic and different

At the other end of the spectrum from names that express localness and nativeness are names that sound exotic and deliberately evoke foreign languages and cultures. Such names encourage the tasting of exotic dishes and introduce a non-native cuisine culture into a new social environment. Foreign-language names that evoke associations with other cultures and foreign countries are mostly unintelligible and incomprehensible to the public. Still, due to their exotic sound and spelling, they become associated with a specific culture and type of cuisine.

In Krakow and Berlin, these include names evoking French, Italian, Turkish, Greek, Chinese, Japanese, Arabic, Indian, Mexican, and Vietnamese cuisine. Partly universal and cross-cultural in character are the names of restaurants **in French**, based on French words functioning as loanwords in various European languages. These include the names of restaurants in Krakow, e.g., *Voilà Restaurant* (French: *voilà* 'there it is'), *À La Carte* (French: 'according to the menu'), as well as the names of restaurants in Berlin, e.g., *Sucre et Sel* (French: 'sugar and salt'), *Entrecote* (French: 'entrecôte steak').

Due to the prevalence and high prestige of Italian cuisine, **Italian** words related to Italian food have also entered many European languages. Such words appear in the names of restaurants both in Berlin, e.g., *Buongiorno Ristorante Berlin*, *Ristorante Bocca Felice*, *Terazza Portofino*, *Trattoria La Stazi-one Mozzarella and Pomodoro*, and in Krakow, e.g., *Squero Ristorante Italiano*, *Ristorante Santa Caterina*, *Pizzeria Vicenti*, or *Cocina Verde*. These are usually names referring to different types of Italian restaurants, such as *trattoria* and *pizzeria*, or to dishes or products characteristic of Italy, e.g., *mozzarella* or *pomodoro*. Other onyms, including saints' names, also appear in the names of such restaurants, which is quite *distinctive* (cf. *Ristorante Santa Caterina*).

**Turkish** cuisine, on the other hand, is evoked in the names of dishes popular in Turkey that have become internationalised in recent times, e.g., *kebab* – *Chef Kebab* (Krakow), *Mustafa's Gemüse Kebap* (Berlin). Associations with Turkey are also evoked by the names of well-known tourist attractions, e.g., *Dervish* – a restaurant in Berlin (from *dervish*, 'a member of a Muslim fraternity known for performing the so-called dervish dance, which is a Turkish tourist attraction'), or by the names of characters from popular Turkish

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<sup>8</sup> Cangjang Gyaco – the Sixth Dalai Lama (born 1683, in the Mon district, died 1706) – was a Tibetan poet (see: <https://encyklopedia.pwn.pl/haslo/Dalajlama-VI;3890353.html>).

TV series, e.g., *Hürrem* (the main protagonist of the Turkish TV series *The Magnificent Century*, depicting the time of Sultan Suleiman the Great and his relationship with his beloved of the same name), which is present in the Berlin name *Hürrem*<sup>9</sup> *Café Restaurant*.

**Greek** food culture is also reflected in the names of restaurants that refer to dishes considered typical of Greek cuisine, such as *mezze* and *filo*, e.g., *Mezze by MontRaw* (Berlin), *Filo Greckie Bistro* (Krakow), or simply contain the adjective *grecki/griechisch*, e.g., *Grieschisches Restaurant Athen* (Berlin), *Grecka Taverna Minoas* (Krakow).

**Japanese** dishes, which are gaining more and more fans, have also contributed to the appearance of names from the Japanese language or stylised in Japanese, most often containing the word *sushi*. Examples from Krakow include: *Ima Sushi*, *Piano Sushi*, *Roru Sushi*, *Sakana Sushi and Sticks*, *Yamato Sushi*; and from Berlin: *Danto Sushi*, *Lovely Sushi*, or *Yokozuna Sushi*. Names with the word *sushi* are also present among the names of restaurants in the Chinese city of Dalian, such as 夫妻寿司 ('husband and wife sushi'), 和之味寿司 ('Japanese sushi').

Furthermore, associations with **Arab** culture are evoked by the following names: *Couscus*, *Al Medina* (Krakow), *The Hummus Club* (Berlin), *Ottamann meats and go*, *Ali-Baba* (Berlin), while an **Indian** atmosphere in décor and menu is offered by restaurants with names such as *Pitbul Shisha Bar* (Krakow), *Delhi Curry House* (Krakow), *Delhi 6* (Berlin), *Hymalaia Indisch* (Berlin). As can be seen, these names refer to customs and utensils originating in India, such as the *shisha* (a type of water pipe for smoking, popular in those countries), as well as to geographical names.

**Mexican** cuisine also has its enthusiasts, which is reflected in the following Spanish-language names: *Mustachos* ('moustache', Krakow), *Dolores* (Berlin), *La Caleta* ('bay', Berlin).

In addition, **Vietnamese** culinary culture is making its way into Europe through restaurant names such as *Vietland*, *Saigon Food Restaurant*, *New Day Vietnam Heritage Food* in Berlin, and *Bonjour Pho*, *Vietnam Food – Phở*, *Wietnam* in Krakow.

In Dalian, foreign cuisine is represented by names alluding to Japan, e.g., 吉兆 Kitcho – 烧鸟·居酒屋 ('Kitcho grilled Izakaya chicken'<sup>10</sup>), Korea, e.g., 韩式快餐 'Korean fast food', and even France, e.g., 普罗旺斯咖啡馆 ('Restaurant Provence'). Clearly, there is a direct evocation of a foreign culture if the name is written in the Latin alphabet, e.g., *UNICORN patisserie&café*, 普拉那啤酒

<sup>9</sup> It should be noted that the actress (Meryem Uzerli) playing the role of Hürrem has dual German and Turkish citizenship.

<sup>10</sup> Izakaya is a type of Japanese place with food and alcohol.

坊 *Paulaner* ('Paulaner Brewery'), RR coffee 红兔子店 ('RR coffee red rabbit shop', RR – stands for red rabbit).

## Universal, global, and international

In all the cities surveyed, we encounter names that are universal, widespread throughout the world, and no longer essentially linked to any specific culture. These are mainly the names of restaurants that are part of global chains, such as *McDonald's Restaurant*, *Burger King*, *Pizza Hut*, *Domino's Pizza*, *KFC Kentucky Fried Chicken*.

In the context of internationally owned fast food restaurants, it is noteworthy that in China, in addition to English names, their local equivalents also appear. For instance, alongside the name *McDonald's*, 麦当劳 (*Mài Dāng Láo*) is also visible on the signboard. As one can see, the names of these chains are names in English, which today fulfils the role of an international language, creating bridges between all cultures. For the public, these names are already devoid of any reference to their original meaning; they are purely conventional forms of restaurant identification, and do not carry any cultural message. Universal names include mainly English-language names, less frequently French or Italian. The universality of English names is determined by the wide knowledge of this language throughout the world and by the popularity of American culture expressed through it. Obviously, only those names that contain English words familiar to the general public – even to those who do not actually speak the language – are intelligible to customers in various countries. The list of such names is long, including the use of words such as *pub*, *shop*, *supermarket*, *coffee*, *hamburger*, *cheeseburger*, *ketchup*, *hot dog*, *fast food*, *smoothie*, *chicken*, etc.

## Summary

The names of restaurants are often the first point of contact with a foreign language and sometimes remain the only one, apart from the names of exotic dishes on the menu. Consequently, they provide a space for experiencing the multiculturalism of the world. Hence, *urbochrematonyms* perform an important informative function: they tell the public that there exists a particular country and culture offering a particular cuisine. In this way, such names convey a desired exoticism that is accessible to everyone, allowing the public to be virtually transported into a different world that is appealing in its otherness. At the other extreme are names that refer to local, native, or national traditions. They are carriers of the desired sense of familiarity and connection

with what is known, accepted, and liked. These onyms are expressed in the local language and are usually motivated by local places (topographical motivation), local situations, and local people (cultural motivation). Between these two poles – the familiar and the foreign – are English-language names, which, due to the increasing use of English and its role as a *lingua franca*, serve as a factor integrating people regardless of their origin and native language, blurring the distinction between the familiar and the foreign. A particular unifying role and blurring cultural differences is played by the names of global restaurant chains operating in many countries, e.g., *McDonald's*, *Pizza Hut*.

The mixing of cultures at the linguistic level is evidenced by the numerous onymic hybrids found among the restaurant names studied, e.g., *Mustafa's Gemüse Kebap* – a combination of the Turkish name *Mustafa* and the Turkish name for the dish *kebab/kebab* with the German word *Gemüse* 'vegetables'; *Kimchi Princess* – a combination of the Korean word *kimchi* 'spicy sauerkraut' and the English word *princess* (Berlin).

Foreign restaurant names introduce selected elements of a particular foreign culture into cultural circulation, treating them as emblematic. They contribute to the formation of an ethnic stereotype gradually emerging in the minds of Europeans or Asians. This stereotype mainly exposes characteristics associated with food and, sometimes, with certain customs considered typical of the culture in question. In the transmission of the elements of a given foreign culture, words appearing in restaurant names that denote meals or dishes typical of that culture play an important role. Similar roles are played by geographical names associated with a country and its culture, especially city names, as well as by anthroponyms, forenames, and surnames. The linguistic pathways of cultural transmission in company names in Berlin, Krakow, and Dalian are similar in this respect.

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### Między lokalnością a globalnością – nazwy restauracji w Polsce, Niemczech i Chinach

#### Abstrakt

Celem artykułu jest porównanie polskich, niemieckich i chińskich nazw lokali gastronomicznych, które postrzegamy jako chrematonimy, a w szczególności urbochrematonimy. Są to bowiem takie nazwy realiów (tu konkretnie firm – restauracji, barów, kawiarni itp.), powstałe jako wynik aktywności ludzkiej, które na stałe wpisują się w krajobraz lingwistyczny miasta. Nazwy restauracji są w przestrzeni miejskiej często głównym czy pierwszym miejscem kontaktu lokalnej społeczności z innymi



kulturami. Stanowią pole wymiany kulturowej i świadczą o różnorodności – wieloetniczności społeczności zamieszkujących dane miasto. Jednocześnie pozwalają one wyartykułować tożsamość grup mniejszościowych. W analizie spróbujemy odpowiedzieć na pytanie, co w zakresie tendencji nazwotwórczych, wykorzystanych w badanym typie onimów – w ich strukturze i semantyce, ma charakter ściśle lokalny, typowy dla danej przestrzeni miejskiej i kulturowej, w tym określonej tradycji, co jest odbierane jako nowe, obce i egzotyczne oraz co jest globalne, uniwersalne i powtarzalne niezależnie od języka czy kultury. Materiał źródłowy został wyjściowo pozyskany dzięki wyszukiwarce danych na stronie: <https://www.tripadvisor.com>. W ten sposób zgromadzono do wstępnej analizy najpierw około trzysta nazw najlepiej ocenianych przez klientów restauracji, funkcjonujących w przestrzeni miejskiej Krakowa, Berlina i Dalianu. W dalszej kolejności zbiór urbochrematonimów dodatkowo uzupełniono o wyniki ekscerpcji z innych źródeł internetowych, umożliwiających zebranie takich przykładów nazw lokali gastronomicznych, które najlepiej ilustrują zauważone tendencje.

### Abstract

The paper offers a contrastive analysis of Polish, German, and Chinese names of eating places, seen as chrematonyms or, more specifically, as urbochrematonyms. Names of restaurants, eateries, and cafés result from human activity and are permanently inscribed into the linguistic landscape of a city. Restaurant names present in urban space often serve as the first, or even main, point of contact between the local community and other cultures. They form the background for cultural exchange and provide evidence of the diversity and multi-ethnicity of the communities living within the same city. They are a way to articulate the identity of ethnic minorities. The research question we attempt to answer in this analysis is whether the word-formation means used to shape the formal and semantic structure of restaurant names exhibit specifically local features – i.e., those typical of a given urban and cultural space and its traditions – or whether they are global, universal, and repetitive, i.e., language- and culture-independent. The language data were retrieved using a search engine available at <https://www.tripadvisor.com> and consist of three hundred restaurant names evaluated by customers as the best eating places in Krakow, Berlin, and Dalian. Subsequently, the collection of urbochrematonyms was further supplemented with examples drawn from other internet sources in order to collect restaurant names that best reflect the observed trends. The excerpted data were analysed in terms of the lexico-semantic material and the structural patterns used in the composition of urban chrematonyms.

Słowa kluczowe: chrematonim, urbochrematonim, nazwy restauracji, lokalność, globalność

Keywords: chrematonym, urbochrematonym, names of restaurants, local, global