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## Molisan cuisine (names of dishes) as an example of multiculturalism and multilingualism

Today Croats can be found living in many parts of the world. The process of Slavic migrations started in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Diasporas can be found in Austria, Slovakia, Romania, Czech Republic (Moravia and modern Prague), Serbia, Italy and across the oceans in the USA, South America, RSA and Australia (Feruga, 2011, p. 87). Croats also live in Molis, Italy. According to Krzysztof Feruga (2011), it is the smallest Croatian minority in the world. Croatian is spoken by about 2000 to 2400 people in three isolated mountain communities. They settled in the villages of Kruč, Mundimitr and Filić possibly between the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century. Several Turkish invasions took place during this period, so Croats were forced to hide from the Sultan's armies and they found refuge in the Apennine Peninsula. The country of Croatia, occupied with its battle against the infidels, has forgotten about its fellow countrymen, who had lived in the region of Molis, over a long period of time. This region is unique, because this terrain had been inaccessible until the mid 12 century.

In the region people communicate in two languages – some speakers use “na našo”, others Italian. A similar situation is presented in the cookbook, *Kako biše slako*, published in 2005 (Feruga, 2009, p. 12). The recipes have been used for centuries and had been handed down orally. This book is proof that passing down traditions from generation to generation can have extraordinary results. The book was written in cooperation with families living in these villages, the authors being Vesna Ljubić and Gianco Giorgetta, which is the reason why in this region numerous foundations have been created – Italy does not help in maintaining the Molisan dialect. One of them is the Agosta Piccoli Foundation, which published the first

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Molisan-Croatian dictionary. Molis is an underdeveloped region and poor economically. It does, however follow Croatian tradition found in Dalmatia. For example, The Molisan cuisine does not offer sophisticated dishes. It should be considered as one of the Mediterranean cuisines, as it is based on olive oil and tomatoes. Its terminology range is rather basic.

An analysis of the names of recipes found in the book *Kako biše slako* for this article used linguistic methodology I have been using based on sources such as dictionaries, for example, V. Anić and some regional cookbooks. The examples below have been studied using the specific constructions in the trilingual cookbook, written in Italian, Croatian in the of the Molisan Croats dialect. The first word is “tikua udana” (wedding pumpkin), whose equivalent name in Italian is “zucca maritata”. According to one housewife, the name is derived from a folk saying “Tikua ma se udat, ne ke muka ma se uženit!” (The pumpkin will be married; it won’t be sacrificed, if it is married). The saying was taught to her by her grandmother – “Marela” (mother in the Molisan dialect). Dividing each of the elements of the name, “tikua” (pumpkin) is the equivalent of the Croatian “tikva”. Instead of the standard Croatian ‘v’ one place a Molisan ‘u’. According to the grammar of the Molisan Croats language, such a change takes place after consonants ‘k’ and ‘g’, where most often in Roman loan-words ‘v’ is spoken and written as ‘u’ (Feruga, 2009, p. 77). Additionally, the name differs from the Croatian standard in terms of the method of creating adjectives. The Croatian standard is “udata” (wedding) with a ‘t’, while, according to Molisan, it should be written with an ‘n’ – “udana” (Feruga, 2009, p. 86). As a curiosity, it is worth presenting the origin of the name for the “post-wedding pumpkin” recipe. It is explained by the etymology that “tikua da se ne jede sama, nego u pari sa svim ostalim sastojcima”, (a pumpkin should not be eaten alone, but with all the ingredients) (Ljubić & Giorgetta, 2005, p. 20).

The next recipe is for soup called, “juha od kokoše”. According to the Croatian standard, its name should be “juha od kokoši”. In this case, a feminine form, not present in Molis, is used for the ‘i’ (Feruga, 2009, p. 79). It should be emphasized, however, that the Molisan Croats language divides nouns into masculine and feminine forms with a single method of inflection. The dialect, although inflectional, in comparison with other Slavic languages is a less developed one.

Another recipe from Rita Giorgetta is “mišenja do luka” (sort of dumplings with garlic), with the Croatian standard of “miševi od češnjaka”. Again, in this example one may make a mistake by using a loan translation. “Luk” means garlic in the Molisan-Croatian dialect and “češnjak” means onion. In Croatian it is the other way round.

Another recipe that appears in the cookbook is “povača od grandinja oš sardele” (corn cake with sardines, cake with cracklings) or in Croatian “pogača od kukuruza li srdeli” (“srdeli” being

the regional equivalent “inćuni”). Analyzing the grammatical layer it has to be mentioned that before a consonant ‘g’ transforms itself into ‘v’ in the Molisan language. In so doing the name loses its sonority. There is also a regional lexis (gradinja in Molisan, kukuruz in Croatian, corn in English) and the preposition ‘oš’ as an ‘l’. In short, looking into the origin of the recipe we find out that it has its roots in a family tradition: Maria’s mother (“mat”), the owner of the recipe shown in the book, passed it on to her daughter. The word “mat” is an archaism. The lexeme originates from Old Church-Slavonic “mati”. The dish is most commonly served at supper time (Molisan lexeme “ura”, Croatian “sat”) – (“kolacijuna” instead of using “večera” in Croatian). There exists a saying, regarding pogača, which may be heard when someone makes an error while preparing this dish: “Ja se razbila povača, se ne parendiva več” (I’ve ruined the pogača dough, now it won’t bake) (Ljubić & Giorgetta, 2005, p. 25). Yeast cakes could not be omitted in the cookbook (“povača s črkliji”), Croatian standard being “pogača s čvarcima” (with crackling) or “povača s celjem” which in Croatian is “pogača s keljom”. We have here an example of a lexical trap. The Croatian equivalent of cabbage (Polish “kapusta”) is “kelj”, while in the language of Croats living in Italy it is “zelje”. What is more, one should focus attention on the adjective inflection in the instrumental case. The language of the Molisan Croats has an inflectional ending (-em), but it is different in Croatian (-om). Also, known in both countries is the recipe for “pogača sv. Josipa”, which we call “Krešasti Sepa”. The name originated from a holiday, for which it is prepared, namely Saint Josip day in Molisan, which takes place on the 18<sup>th</sup> March.

The last recipe, which can be found in the book, and whose author is Maria Romagnoli, is “rizandze s mblikem” (pasta with milk) or “rezanci s mlijekom”. Here, one can see a different phonetic form of “mlijeko” and a declensional form of the instrumental (Feruga, 2009, p. 83). A characteristic feature of the Molisan language is the appearance of the reduced vowel yer ‘b’ after the consonant ‘m’. Although one may find differences while analyzing the names of various dishes, the consonant system is very similar in both languages, with the exception of that in the Molisan-Croatian dialect ‘d’ does not appear. At the same time, in Croatian there are no ‘dj’, ‘dz’, ‘dj’, ‘tj’, ‘kj’, digraphs. Summing up, the ‘dz’ consonant which does not appear in Croatian has been replaced by ‘c’.

An example of a dish from Italy is “panikot” (pane cotto, Croatian equivalent “kuhani kruh”), which has a directly loaned word from the Italian. Another Italianism can be the name of a dinner dish “cupa do boba” (soup or “varivo do boba” a synonymous name existing in the Molisan dialect), which is a thick soup, to Italianisms. “Cupa” is a loan translation from Italian, where it is written as “zuppa”. Moreover, in the language of Molisan Croats prepositions have a different

use. If we want to use the phrase “standard Croatian” in the Molisan dialect there is a high probability of misunderstanding, as this preposition has changed its original notation to “do” (from). Another recipe is the Molisan “fritata s patani” (pancakes with asparagus), which in Croatian is called “palačinke s krumpirima”. The name is a loan word from Italian lexeme “frittata” while the second word “patate” means potatoes. A dish called “mušiška” is also worth mentioning, as it can only be found in Molisan cuisine and lacks an equivalent among Croatian dishes.

A recipe for an exquisite salad is “ndzlata do mulundžel” (orange salad), known in Croatian as “salata od naranče”. In the first part of the name, we have a prefixed ‘n’ and at the same time, the Croatian ‘s’ has been substituted by the ‘dz’ digraph (Feruga, 2009, p. 77). It is worth noticing that “mulundžel” (orange) is a word specific only for the region of Molis. At times, the names of recipes are created according to different lexical constructions, as happen in the case of “one na vrteno”, also called “taranjole” (special sort of pasta). The name comes from an activity which is done while preparing the dish, mainly the method of rolling. The next recipe is “rizandze s kundžimem do pečurki” (pasta with mushrooms sauce), also known as “rezanci s umakom od gljiva”. The lexeme “rizande” above mentioned and described, “kundžim” being a regionalism. In Italian it can simply be called “sugo”. In Croatian a lexeme “šug” (sauce) or simply “sos” is also known and used.

In the environment of the Italian language, the inhabitants often use loan words, for example “sanjitele” (“sagnitelle” is an Italian word, sort of pasta), which has been phonetically and grammatically adjusted despite the existence of Molisan equivalent i.e. “rizandze” (also sort of pasta).

Some recipe names repeat themselves, but Cristina Bartolino’s recipes are unique, for example, a dish called “čif-čaf” (the specific, characteristic own name).

The next example is “lzanje s sugem do jaji” (lasagna with an egg sauce). An egg in Croatian is neuter (Feruga, 2009, p. 83). However, in the Molisan-Croatian dialect one may distinguish two declensions: masculine and feminine. Old masculine nouns “have been moved from neuter due to language contamination”. However, due to neighbouring Italian dialects they have been reduced to masculine (Feruga, 2011, p. 82). The Croatian version of the above dish is “tjestenina s umakom od jaja” (also neuter). “Lzanje” is a specific type of pasta and a dish of Italian origin. Therefore, we may also speak of a lexical “trap”, as the name of this dish in Italian is “pasta al sugo d’uovo”.

In both languages Molisan Croat, as well as in Croatian, the same dishes have their equivalents. A word such as “kundžim” is a native Molisan word with “umak” in Croatian and

“šug” or “sug” in this case, although they exist in the living language, they are loan words from Italian. The only difference is the adaptation of the “šug” lexeme to the collection of Croatian lexemes. Additionally, it is worth noticing, that it is the only dish in the book which includes boiled eggs. Also, later in the paper, a recipe for “sug s sparugioš rikotom” (sauce with asparagus or ricotta) will be mentioned.

Furthermore, “patina potkop” (potatoes baked in peka, a special oven) is not only a recipe but also a new name for the method of baking “ispodpeke”, here it is called “potkop”. It is a dish which makes use of an old-time oven. The word is a compound of two words: “pot” and “kopa”, which is “ispod” and “peka” in Croatian. This old method of preparing meat-vegetable dishes is still used today during holiday dinner preparations.

Molisan cuisine dishes use their natural resources. the same happens in the case for example of “žutenica s kažovem”. “Žutenica” is chicory and “kažov is valjuške” consists of noodles made of cheese, bread, eggs and parsley. Other dishes, which contain locally available vegetables are prepared similarly in this region. It is worth noticing that the lexeme “kažov”, whose roots originate in Italian-the expression “caccio e uovo”, meaning cheese and eggs. It appears very often as a side dish in a variety of dishes. Coming back to “kažova”, the dish “specatin s kažovem” is served usually during the carnival. The next recipe – “frškatele s kundžimem” (polenta), was created by Michela Tala. The local word can be substituted with-also known in Croatia – “polenta”. The name of Florinda Iorio’s recipe “pulenda s fažolem” can be included in the group of direct loan words. The second dish by this housewife is “mulinjame pune” in Molisan or “punjeni paltidžani” in Croatian. In the Molisan dialect, prepositions and pronouns often have shortened forms.

There is some value in taking into consideration a dish called “burajina frijena” in Molisan or “pržena boražina” which is baked asparagus. The name is a direct loan word from Italian. In Croatia, the name “pržene šparoge” is much more popular.

Other dishes are made of liver. For example, “specatin do fegatela” in Molisan (“složenac od jetre” in Croatian) and another synonym “cupeta s fegatelem” (“varivo s jetrom”). Once again, one can see the influence of Italian on the vocabulary of the dialect of Molisan Croats and may consider it an example of a direct loan word. This is, however, a natural order of things, as residents of Molis have contact with this language on a daily basis.

As I have previously mentioned, different synonyms of the same dishes exist in both Croatian and Molisan, for example “laganele s muljikom” in Molisan (pasta with carrot) and in previously mentioned recipes – “rizandze s muljikom”. “Laganele” a loan word from Italian,

and “rizandze” an adaptation of Molisan dialect grammar, in the Croatian version – “rezanci” (a sort of pasta). However, the carrot has been replaced with a dialectal equivalent known only in the region of Molis – “muljika” (carrot), which means exactly the same. Another unique dish is “štrijola” which does not have an Italian equivalent.

Croat cuisine of those living in Italy is dominated by potato dishes with additional tomatoes and local vegetables cuisine. “Blitva oš patane” (Croatian “blitva” and “krumpiri”) is one of many examples. The method of preparing dishes like “sočivo u pinjat” (“sočivo u pinjati”) seems equally interesting. “Pinjata” is a clay dish used to boil food. Usually, it is placed in the middle of a hearth, close to the fire to slowly cook.

The cookbook was written with the cooperation of families living in the three villages mentioned above, so it is not surprising that we are dealing with family traditions. Gradually, sweet or other dishes not served as dinner appear in it. For example, Molisan “panunda oš djavulile”, or “nauljen kruh i feferoni”. “Djavuli” is a regional kind of elongated pepper, in Croatian “feferoni” (“slatka mala paprika” – sweet small pepper). According to tradition, it is collected after fermenting young wine (“berba”), stored in a dry location and used as an ingredient for many dishes.

An interesting linguistic case is “takunelice s graham”, known in Croatia as “krpice”. The first segment of the lexeme is a loan word from the Italian phrase “tacconelline”, phonetically adapted to the Molisan-Croatian language. In this example one should notice a lexical “trap” as bean, according to the Molisan dialect, is “slanutak” and “fažo” means “peas”. In further parts of the book one may find additional information that the dish “takunele” is also called “lukošulje”.

From unique Molisan recipes for deserts and cakes, one may distinguish – among others – “držklje” or “držčke” which people took with them when they were working in the fields during summer, treating them as a sweet snack. This cake is absent in the Croatian culinary tradition. Because of many years of Diaspora, it is clear that the language has created a new, unique world. “Biskote s medem” (“kolači s medom”) and “kolačića” (Croatian version “kolačića”) were eaten on a daily basis. The latter shows that the consonant ‘ć’ is not distinguished in the language of Molisan Croats (Feruga, 2011, p. 73). The original name for the filling of this cake is “kaškavuneska” and, according to the author of the recipe, it has its origins in the word “kašaškavuneska”, also called “slavenskakaša”. Near the end of the book a surprisingly deceptive name “stračatela” (soup) can be found, the word itself being a loan.

Molisan Croats also eagerly bake pancakes with asparagus (Molisan “fritata s sparugi”, Croatian “palačinke sa šparogama”). There are a lot of identical words in the dialect, more

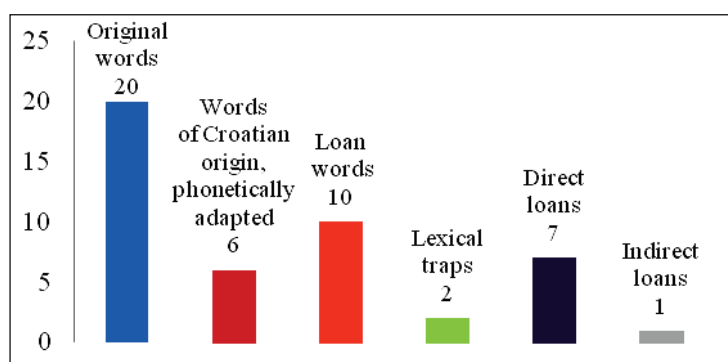
or less assimilated phonetically regarding grammar. In the last example, one may also see a lack of grammatical consequence of the Croatian language when in Instrumental after the letter 's', 'š' we write 'sa'. A dish related to pigsticking, which is served the other day is the original "krvič" made from pork.

A dish is borrowed from Italian "fuzile s sugem do zeca". An interesting detail may be the description of the method of preparing pasta with the help of a wire from an umbrella. The type of pasta is "prstaše" whose name – according to Molisan folk association – originated from the shape as they are formed by hand. Pasta in Italy is amazingly popular. This can be seen almost everywhere while looking through recipes, for example in "tarce, fuzili, prstaše".

Another meat dish presented in the cookbook is "kutke s patanioškažov" or, as the Croatian equivalent of "svinjske kožice s krumpirima" and „kažov“, an original Molisan name for "rižoto-granariz s sparugi". "Juha s palici" is intriguing because of its peculiarity. The second segment of the name comes from the Italian "palline" which in standard Croatian means "round-shaped cake", close to "knedla" and "njok". A dish called "kuasala", whose name is a loan from Latin words "acqua" and "sale" (water and salt) may be even more fascinating.

The Inhabitants of Molis prepare healthy and cheap dishes, such as "zelje stražinan". I mentioned "zelja" (cabbage) earlier, due to its being a lexical "trap".

Lastly, it is important to describe a recipe "patane suche", also called "suhi krumpiri" in Croatian. This name has a more original synonym – "skarčofane u bilo". To explain it, "u bilo" is another folk association. One does not add "rajčice" (tomato) to the dish, hence its white look. Another loan-word is "lendkije s kutkami" – originally Italian "lenticchie con le cotiche" which in Croatian is written as "leća sa svinjskim kožicama", which are lentils with porc crackling.



A summary of names that appear in the book *Kakobišeslako*.

As one can see from the chart, the biggest group are the original Molisan-Croatian words. The region of Molis looks after its family verbal tradition very well and the book

helps to promote it. Also a large group are loan-words and direct loans from Italian, which is the official language of the region. Alternatively, loans from Croatian, which have been phonetically and grammatically fitted into the Molisan language, also exist. It should be emphasized that in most cases the core of the words of Molisan origin is written in accordance with the rules of the Croatian language. Lexical “traps” and indirect loans also appear, but they are the least numerous group amongst all the collected names of Molisan cuisine.

Molisan Cuisine – list of all names of recipes mentioned in the articles

Molisan name	Croatian name	English name
tikua udana	tikva udata	-
juha od kokoše	juha od kokoši	Broth
Mišenja do luka	miševi od češnjaka	-
povača od gradinja oš sardele, povaća s črkli	pogača od kukuruza i sardeli, pogača s čvarcima	Corn cake with sardines, cake with cracklings
rizandze s mblikem, rizandze s kundžimem do pečurki, rizandze s muljikom	rezanci s mlijekom, rezanci s umakom od gljiva	Homemade pasta with milk, mushroom sauce
panikot	kuhani kruh	Boiled stale bread leftovers seasoned with tomatoes, celery and garlic sprinkled with goat cheese
cupa do boba	varivo od boba	Boiled broad beans fried on a pan on olive oil with garlic and hot peppers.
fritata s patani	palačinka s krumpirima	Pancake with potatoes
ndzlata do mulundžel	salata od naranči	Orange salad
čif-čaf	-	-
lazanje s šugem do jaji, sug s sparugi oš rikotom	tjestenina s umakom od jaja/ Umak sa šparogama i rikotom.	Lasagna with boiled eggs and vegetables / asparagus and ricotta sauce
patane potkop	krumpir ispod peke	Potatoes baked in peka, a special oven
žutenica s kažovem	-	Dumplings with chicory
frškatele s kundžimem	palenta s umakom	polenta with sauce
pulenda s fažolem	palenta s grahom	polenta with peas
mulinjame pune	punjeni palitidžani	filled aubergines
burajina frijena	pržena boražina i pržena šparoga	baked asparagus
specatin do fegatela, cupeta s fegatelem	složenac od jetre	Liver gratin
blitva oš patane	blitva i krumpiri	Potatoes



Molisan name	Croatian name	English name
panunda oš djavulile	nauljen kruh i feferoni	Small, sweet pepper with oiled bread
takunelice s grahem	krpice	Pasta with peas
džrklje or džrčke	absent in croatian culinary	sweet snack
biskote s medem	kolači s medom	cake with honey
kolačića	kolačića	Cake
stračatela	stračatela	soup with spinach
fritata s sparugi	palacinke sa šparagama	pancakes with asparagus
fuzile s sugem do zeca	fuzile s umakom od zeca	pasta with tomatoes
kutke s patani oš kažov	svinjske kožice s krumpirima	pig's fingers with potatoes
granariz s sparugi	rižoto sa šparogama	rice with asparagus
	juha s okruglicama	soup with cheese
kuasala	kuasala	old bread with vegetables
patane suhe	suhi krumpiri	dry potatoes
lendkije s kutkami	lendkije sa svinjskim kožicama	lentils with porc crackling and pepper

While analyzing a group of original Molisan words, I decided to group the above-mentioned examples according to three categories. I searched for equivalents in Croatian, and English. A sum-up revealed the following facts: a problem occurred in translations in English as for example, in a dish called "mišenja do luka". In other situations, these names were an attempt to take the main ingredients into account, for example, "panikot" – boiled bread, "rizandze s mblikem" – pasta with milk, "lendkije s kutkama" – lentils with porc crackling and peppers. Most of the names should be grouped into a collection of words specific to the region of Molis and the Mediterranean Sea basin.

What is more, some names may deceive a translator due to their ambiguity – "stračatela" is a spinach soup defined in dictionary "a delicate broth with parmesan egg noodles" according to the Molisan tradition and not the popular Italian ice cream dessert. However, the example of "polenta" has appeared to be practically graphically identical in the three discussed languages. It is possible that if a word belongs to a group of internationalisms, it is borrowed from one language to many other languages and it has the same meaning in each of them. Also, there have been dishes found which, due to their regional character, have unique sounds, for example, "čif-čaf" (specific, characteristic name). Additionally, one should notice the simplicity of Molisan cuisine. The ingredients mostly used are tomatoes and other seasonal fruits and vegetables characteristic to the Mediterranean climate.

There exist many grammatical differences, however, the vast majority of them originating from adapting the Croatian language to everyday speech of the inhabitants, in which loan-words appear. A particular problem could occur when writing some dish names which have been passed earlier only orally. Molisan-Croatian cuisine and culinary names are part of the Croatian cuisine that has been created during the time of Diaspora.

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## Molisan cuisine (names of dishes) as an example of multiculturalism and multilingualism

Today Croats can be found living in many parts of the world. The process of Slavic migrations started in the 7<sup>th</sup>. Diasporas can be found in Austria, Slovakia, Romania, Czech Republic (Moravia and nowadays Prague), Serbia, Italy, even across the oceans in the USA, South America, RSA and Australia. The Croatian minority in Molise is the smallest Croatian minority in the world. Croatian is spoken there by about 2000 to 2400 people in three isolated mountain communities. They settled in villages, Kruč, Mundimitr and Filić possibly between the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> century. Several Turkish invasions took place during this period, so Croats were forced to hide from the Sultan's armies and they found refuge on the Apennine Peninsula. The country of Croatia, occupied with its battle against the infidels, has forgotten about its fellow countrymen, who had been living in the region of Molis, for a long time. In every day Croatian speech one

can hear multiple loan-words. A particular problem can occur when writing some names of dishes which have been passed down but orally only. Molisan-Croatian cuisine and culinary names are part of Croatian cuisine that was created during the time of the Croatian Diaspora.

**Keywords:**

Molisan cuisine; regional cuisine; multiculturalism; multilingualism; Croatian minority in Italy

## **Kuchnia molizańska (nazwy potraw) jako przykład wielokulturowości i wielojęzyczności**

Obecnie Chorwaci żyją na całym świecie. Proces migracji Słowian rozpoczął się już w VII wieku. Ich diaspory możemy odszukać w Austrii, Słowacji, Rumuni, Czechach (na Morawach i w obecnej Pradze) i Serbii, Włoszech, a nawet za oceanem Atlantyckim w USA, południowej Ameryce, RPA i Australii. Najmniejszą chorwacką mniejszością narodową są Molizianie. Językiem chorwackim posługuje się od 2 do 2,4 tysięcy ludzi w trzech odizolowanych społecznościach. Początek osiedlenia się we wsiach: Kruču, Mundimitrze i Filiću określa się na XV–XVI wiek. Okres ten obfituje w najazdy tureckie, kiedy to Chorwaci ukryli się przed armią sułtańską i znaleźli schronienie na Półwyspie Apenińskim. Chorwacja okupowana przez Turków zapomniała o swoich rodakach, którzy żyli w regionie Molise przez dłuższy czas. Język chorwacki pojawia się w mowie potocznej mieszkańców, szczególnie w zapożyczeniach. Szczególnym problemem jest określenie nazw kilku dań, które dotychczas funkcjonowały tylko ustnie. Chorwacko-molizańska kuchnia oraz jej nazwy kulinarne są częścią kuchni chorwackiej, która została utworzona w czasach diaspory.

**Słowa kluczowe:**

Kuchnia molizańska; kuchnia regionalna; multikulturalizm; multilingwinizm; mniejszość narodowa we Włoszech