'Koreanness' in the Netherlands

A Linguistic Landscape analysis of online menus from Korean restaurants in Amsterdam and Rotterdam.

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Abstract

This research examines the linguistic and semiotic features of online menus from Korean restaurants in the cities of Amsterdam and Rotterdam in the Netherlands. This study delves into the intricate link between cultural identity, cuisine, and language by introducing the concept of Linguistic Landscape and its evolution beyond the original research boundaries set by Landry and Bourhis (1997). It uses a mixed-method quantitative and qualitative research approach to map the different languages and symbols displayed on restaurant menus. This includes a detailed analysis of linguistic aspects, such as restaurant names and dishes, and an in-depth examination of other semiotic elements on the menu, such as pictures. The research aims to show how these elements contribute to Korean restaurants' authenticity and cultural identity in a foreign country. The findings underscore that every element on the menu, when combined, plays a crucial role in shaping customers' perceptions of authenticity. The conclusion emphasizes the need for further research in the field of linguistic landscape, particularly in exploring new extensions such as foodscape.

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1. Introduction

The Netherlands has known a variety of foreign restaurants for a long time, ranging from European to Asian and American restaurants. However, in recent years, the number of culinary establishments in South Korea (hereafter called Korea) has grown in popularity. These restaurants offer a range of dining experiences, from Korean BBQ-style dinners to street food and á-la-carte. As it is a restaurant located in a country different from the origin of the dishes, customers consist of both Koreans and non-Korean people. For the latter group, dining in a Korean restaurant has a feeling of exoticism, and more people worldwide have become interested in various parts of Korean culture after the emergence of the Hallyu Wave, also known as the Korean Wave. A wave that spreads Korean popular culture, propelled by Korean music hits like Gangnam Style by PSY and, more recently, by the boy group BTS. Through this Hallyu wave, people want to experience Korean culture, even if they cannot go to Korea themselves. These restaurants allow them to experience a different culture without having to travel far (Anna Boch et al., 2021). On the other hand, the Korean community in the Netherlands has also grown from 2,547 people with a Korean nationality in 2013 to 4,675 in 2023 (Central Bureau for Statistics, 2023), which indicates a growth of almost double in ten years. These Korean customers may find a Korean restaurant to be a taste of home and can find some calm in the familiarity of dishes and language.

Both customers are ultimately looking for authenticity from the restaurants, although for different reasons. The authentic Korean identity should be apparent if the restaurant wants to attract both customers. Food and identity are inseparable, as mentioned by Tran (2021), who also quoted the well-known saying, “You are what you eat” (p. 73). A variation on this saying is used as the title for the book ‘We Are Where We Eat’ (David Bell & Gill Valentine, 1997), which also stresses the importance of food as a social and cultural marker—saying that “every mouthful, every meal, can tell us something about our selves” (p.3). A restaurant in a

foreign space must show its identity, but it might not be in the same way as it would in its home country. The field of linguistic landscape has a broad history in terms of cultural identity. Language is something that is very interwoven with culture, and by looking at how and how often it is used, a lot can be said about the identity of this culture in various spaces. While the foundation of linguistic landscape lies in outside signage throughout a city or a specific region, it has since evolved into various other scapes, including the foodscape. Just like language, food is inherently tied to a culture. The way dishes are made, the ingredients, and how they are plated and eaten are all customs set in stone in that particular culture. By bringing these dishes and their names and ingredients to a foreign country, adaptations need to be made. The original necessities might not be available in the new place, so replacements must be found. The people living in the new place might not understand the original language, and thus, the name and recipe have to be translated or transliterated, depending on the source language. Still, to be familiar to the people from that culture, there has to be a part that still resembles the original identity.

This thesis contributes to the field of Linguistic Landscape by looking at the Korean ethnic restaurants in the Netherlands. Korean restaurants residing in foreign countries have not been the subject of research as much as other Asian restaurants, such as Chinese, but as Korean popular culture is rapidly growing, so is the amount of Korean restaurants worldwide. As I believe the number will only grow, Korean restaurants in foreign spaces are an interesting subject to research. There is no dedicated 'Koreatown' in the Netherlands, such as in Golden's (2017) research, where she analyzed the Linguistic Landscape of Koreatown and Japantown in New York. Instead, the restaurants are scattered around the city. Thus, the research method has to be adapted from the traditional linguistic landscape format of looking at signs in a particular neighborhood or street. For this research, the data location changed to what most restaurants have today: their online website. When looking for a place to eat with

minimal knowledge of a city, people tend to search for restaurants online. This is why, nowadays, a restaurant's website is as much of a sign as the physical signs outside a store. A menu best reflects the food and language culture on a single form of signage; thus, the online menus were chosen as the foundation for the data for this research. Specifically, the study focuses on mapping and analyzing the linguistic and semiotic features of online menus from Korean restaurants. It aims to decipher how these establishments convey their 'Koreanness' to a diverse clientele. As these restaurants serve ethnic cuisine in a country where the local language is different, the menu's linguistic part should primarily use a language and script that the people in the Netherlands can easily read. However, to maintain the authenticity of the cuisine, a considerable amount of Hangul or transliterated Hangul is also to be expected.

Ultimately, this study seeks to contribute to a deeper understanding of how ethnic restaurants navigate the complexities of cultural representation and authenticity in multicultural culinary spaces. By exploring Korean restaurants in the Dutch cities of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, it wants to shed light on how language and cuisine shape our understanding of culture and identity.

2. Linguistic Landscape

The term linguistic landscape originally refers to the visible language(s) in public places, such as signs, advertisements, and other written texts. Landry and Bourhis (1997) define it as "a distinctive marker of the geographical territory inhabited by a given language community" (p. 25). Researchers in early linguistic landscape studies used a quantitative approach inherited from multilingualism research (Xu & Wang, 2021). They focused on the “complex coexistence between languages” (Barni & Bagna, 2015, p. 7) and the presence or absence of languages that reveal various aspects of the community, such as the demographics and language policy. Since its emergence, the field of linguistic landscape has often been utilized as a background of research; this includes but is not limited to research that examines the hierarchy of minority languages (Amos, 2017; Cenoz & Gorter, 2006), globalization and English (Manan et al., 2017), and identity (Song et al., 2022; Tran, 2021).

Signs can be divided into top-down signs and bottom-up signs (Cenoz & Gorter, 2006). Government policies can be seen in top-down signs, such as street names or names of official buildings, where specific languages are government-regulated, and a certain amount of a language is required or prohibited. These personal attitudes about languages and societal expectations are best visible in bottom-up signs. Restaurant menus are often made in the private sector and are thus part of non-official signs that count as bottom-up signs (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006).

Some studies have examined the use of the English language in the linguistic landscape of Korea (e.g., Choi et al., 2021; van Vlack, 2011; Park & Yang, 2015; Lee, 2019). A notable study is one conducted by Lawrence in 2012, where an analysis was carried out to examine the public signage used in different districts of Seoul and various cities across South Korea. The study focused on determining the usage percentage of four languages: English, Korean, 'Konglish' (a blend of English and Korean), and Chinese. The results of the study

provided valuable insights into language preferences and usage trends in the region. Another example is the study of coffee shop menus near the Seongsu Subway Station in Seoul by Chesnut and Curran (2022). Here, the English language was connected to cosmopolitanism and modernity while noticing a price difference in coffee shops that use more English in their menu.

2.1. Evolution of the Linguistic Landscape

In recent years, the idea of linguistic landscapes has advanced from its original definition by Landry and Bourhis (1997). As mentioned before, early studies on linguistic landscapes used a quantitative approach. However, Jaworski et al. (2011) introduced the term 'semiotic landscape' as a more comprehensive term. The semiotic landscape aims to encompass visual images, nonverbal communication, and architecture in any (public) space with a visible inscription made through deliberate human intervention (p. 2). This broader approach of semiotics challenges the boundaries of the field, but it also enhances our ability to interpret the messages conveyed in public spaces. By incorporating a multimodal orientation, the linguistic landscape becomes more effective and efficient, allowing us to gain new perspectives and dimensions of traditional public spaces.

Next to using a semiotic approach to traditional public spaces, the linguistic landscape has also begun to include a broader range of *scapes* that offer new perspectives and dimensions to traditional public spaces (Gorter & Cenoz, 2023). Some of these newer scapes are the studies on the online 'cyberscape' (Ivković & Lotherington, 2009), tattoos and text on a body are called 'skinscape' (Peck & Stroud, 2015), spoken language and music are 'soundscape' (Scarvaglieri et al., 2013), and then the foodscape, which delves into the language of restaurants and eateries. All these new scapes are still being expanded on, and thus, their definitions are not yet set in stone.

Although it is still a relatively new form of linguistic landscape, research has been conducted on foodscape, such as in combination with mobility (Leimgruber, 2018) and globalization and ethnic restaurants (Abas, 2019). Abas (2019) also explicitly defines the ethnic foodscape and says that the inside of a restaurant is considered an integral part of this scape. Thus, the study did not look at outside signage but analyzed the language used in the signage and menus inside restaurants.

Menus themselves are still an underresearched part of linguistic landscape research, and they require a different approach than that commonly used with shop signage in linguistic landscape research. As mentioned by Bagna and Machetti (2012), menus are a text genre that traditionally welcomes exoticism and gives these exoticisms different roles than any other signage. They also mention that a big difference between menus and other signage is that while menus are undoubtedly present in the linguistic landscape, they “may be viewed as invisible until a potential client is attracted to or chooses that specific place to dine” (p. 224). There is an extra barrier for the online menus, as the customer has not yet visited the establishment itself and thus has only the clues available online to try and see if they like the place.

The primary function of a menu is to convey the available dishes to the customers, but the way language and space are used on this menu can determine the customer's attitude towards the food on the menu and the restaurant's brand.

2.2. Cultural Identity, Food and Language

According to Song et al. (2022), “the linguistic landscape links restaurants with consumers” (p.2), and therefore, the restaurants choose a particular way to display text and symbols to accurately reflect the correct information about their authenticity and cultural identity. Authenticity in restaurants has been associated with the linguistic landscape in the

past and has been identified as a significant reason why people dine at certain restaurants (Kovács et al., 2014). People make decisions about which language to use based on various factors, including government policies, personal attitudes, and societal expectations.

When it comes to commercial establishments, the language used to communicate with customers should reflect the desired atmosphere of the establishment and appeal to the intended audience. By examining the language used in signs, valuable insights into the target audience and the emotions and attitudes of the person who created the sign can be gained.

The term ‘ethnic restaurant’ is often used when referring to restaurants that serve food outside of the traditional cuisine of the host country (Leung, 2010). These restaurants can also serve what Leung calls modified ethnic food, where traditional food is changed to fit the taste of the host country by combining local and foreign ingredients. Authenticity is regarded as a characteristic of ethnic restaurants.

In an ethnic restaurant, the perception of authenticity is closely tied to the extent to which a customer can experience the culture from which the restaurant’s food originates. This can be achieved through various means, such as the food's taste or the staff's ethnicity. Looking at the visual semiotic aspect, a restaurant can use ‘symbolic branding’ (Urry, 2019), which discusses the significance of using images of places in the symbolic branding of goods and services. It highlights that various types of landscapes, such as major cities, countryside, mountains, former industrial areas, etc., are utilized as backgrounds to suggest distinct qualities associated with products. To give something of Korean authenticity, one might use a picture of Korea to show where the ingredients come from. According to Youn and Kim (2017), incorporating unfamiliar ingredients, using unique food names, and sharing stories about a dish's origin can also enhance customers' perceptions of authenticity. However, the use of foreign words and scripts on signs can also play a significant role in conveying this authenticity. Jurafsky et al. (2016) found in their study of Western restaurants that more

upscale establishments often use foreign languages that are considered high-status culinary languages to enhance their authenticity. Especially languages with a different script from the country the restaurant resides in, such as Japanese and Korean script in a restaurant in Europe or The United States, give “an aura of foreignness and authenticity” (Matwick & Matwick, 2019, p. 535) through only the visual aspect. Menus are created with careful thought and consideration and can intentionally use a foreign language to convey an authentic feel. All signs are mediated and contribute to linguistic complexity, as they form part of the visual communication that is always coded (Kress & Leeuwen, 2006). The presence or absence of either language affects text interpretation, but this can also depend on the reader of the text (Matwick & Matwick, 2019). In a Korean restaurant in the Netherlands, Korean residents can find a sense of familiarity and even comfort in reading their native language. Non-speakers of Korean may not be able to read the words on the signs, but they can understand the Korean as exotic and authentic. They might not see them as a form of communication as they are not a cultural member, but the script still evokes a feeling (Kress & Leeuwen, 2006).

Blommeart (2010) talks about how foreign languages can be used semiotically instead of linguistically. A word’s origin can lie in one language, but in a different, foreign context, the word’s current use is merely for suggestive purposes. In this new context, the foreign language symbolizes something other than the actual meaning of the words, such as using French words to sound more chic without actually knowing what it means. In this case, he says that a sign like that is not a ‘French’ sign but merely a sign of ‘Frenchness,’ at least in its current environment of the foreign place. In a globalized world, people and their languages travel. With this, the language and its meaning also travel and shift to fit their new environment. After being relocated to a new environment where most people do not understand the language, the sign transforms into an emblematic one, as described by Blommaert (2010).

Like people, food cuisines and tastes migrate to different parts of the world. Here, they blend with the new space while also trying to maintain or reproduce their ‘origination identity’ (Graziano, 2017, p. 100). A cultural identity is defined by the shared characteristics of a group of people. These characteristics include various things, such as place of birth, religion, language, cuisine, and social behaviors. Culture can be national, but it can also encompass smaller subcultures within this national culture. This research will look at the language and cuisine aspects of cultural identity. The connection between food and national culture is one that has not been researched often yet, but the research that has come out all notes the same strong connection, no matter which country they looked at. Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001) draw a connection between salted herring and licorice and Dutch culture. Pho has also been noted multiple times as the ‘emblem of Vietnam’ (Greeley, 2002; Tran, 2021), and Bestor (2000) demonstrates a close link between sushi and Japanese nationalism, even through the immense globalization of sushi and slight changes in the recipe to accommodate every country’s own palate.

2.3. Summary

As Landry and Bourhis (1997) explained, the Linguistic Landscape concept talks about the visible presence of languages in public spaces, such as signs and advertisements. Early research in this field focused on the quantitative analysis of language coexistence, shedding light on various aspects of language communities, demographics, and policies. In recent years, the concept of linguistic landscape has evolved into the broader notion of semiotic landscape, as proposed by Jaworski and Thurlow (2011). This expanded framework offers a more comprehensive understanding of the messages conveyed through deliberate human interventions. Moreover, the Linguistic Landscape has expanded beyond traditional public spaces to include newer scapes like the 'cyberscape,' 'skinscape,' and 'soundscape.'

Among these, the 'foodscape' has also emerged, focusing on the language of restaurants and other eateries.

Examining cultural identity's linguistic and culinary dimensions reveals that food plays a significant role in shaping national and subcultural identities. Cuisines migrate and adapt to new environments, blending with local tastes while striving to maintain their original identities. As languages evolve and shift meanings in different contexts, food symbols transcend linguistic barriers, embodying cultural authenticity and heritage. Signs within the Linguistic Landscape are often categorized as top-down, reflecting government policies, and bottom-up, conveying personal attitudes and societal expectations. While top-down signs, like street names and official building names, are regulated by authorities, bottom-up signs, such as restaurant menus, reflect individual choices and preferences within the private sector. This makes menus, as a text genre within the Linguistic Landscape, not mere lists of dishes. They serve as important texts to convey cultural identity and authenticity in restaurants. Decisions regarding the language and layout of menus are not made carelessly. They are critical strategic choices that significantly impact how customers perceive the food and the establishment's brand. This emphasizes the significance of linguistic choices in communicating cultural authenticity, a vital aspect of this research. Foreign languages and scripts on restaurant signs and menus serve as symbolic markers of cultural identity, evoking feelings of exoticism and authenticity for both native and non-native speakers. The study of Linguistic Landscape and its intersection with food culture provides valuable insights into the complex dynamics of cultural identity in various areas of multicultural societies.

3. Methodology

This study aims to document the linguistic landscape of menus from Korean restaurants in Rotterdam and Amsterdam, the Netherlands, and examine how these restaurants portray Korean culture and identity, 'Koreanness' through their menus.

3.1. Procedure

Both quantitative and qualitative methods were used to analyze the data. The quantitative analysis involved noting the frequency of occurrence of each language and each category of Korean in a foreign landscape, as defined by Lee (2020) within the menus. The qualitative analysis used a multimodal research approach focused on identifying themes, patterns, and variations in language usage, considering factors such as menu item types, cultural connotations, and target audience. It also looked at elements of past language, such as pictures and text font sizes.

A comprehensive approach was undertaken to analyze the language used on menus available on the websites of Korean restaurants in Rotterdam. The study focused on a total of 21 restaurant menus specifically identified as Korean cuisine establishments. Of these 21 menus, ten are within the Amsterdam area, and another 11 are within the Rotterdam area, both in the Netherlands. The selection criteria were based on explicitly identifying the restaurants serving Korean cuisine while excluding 'fusion' restaurants serving other Asian cuisine. This was done to ensure a representative sample of the Korean culinary landscape in the city. Two more restaurants in Amsterdam were excluded as they did not have an online menu available at the time of research.

The data collection process was meticulous and systematic. Menus from the selected restaurants' websites were accessed online during the months of February and March in 2024

and retrieved for analysis. All these menus are from the restaurant's websites and not from secondary websites, such as takeaway websites. The collected data encompassed all textual content related to menu items, including dish names, descriptions, and any accompanying information available in digital format. The drinks were excluded from the dishes, as these were often the same and brand names instead of dishes. After the menus were analyzed, the information on the menus was placed in five main categories that will be discussed. These categories can be seen in Table 1 below.

Table 1
Categories on the menus

Category	Explanation
Restaurant name	The restaurant name is the brand of the restaurant and is often centered on the menu itself.
Dishes	The name of the dish and what people tell the waiter when they want to order. It is the first thing customers see when deciding what they want to eat.
Explanatory text	Text close to the dish's name and has an explanatory function, such as describing the dish, its ingredients, or how it is cooked.
Information-giving text	Text that gives information on the restaurant, such as house rules, how to order, and opening times.
Other	Any other miscellaneous text that appears on the menu.

Then, a detailed examination of the linguistic diversity within these menus was conducted. These are further separated into different categories, which are explained in the next chapter. The other semiotic variables have also been analyzed and linked to authenticity.

3.2. Menu languages

Like in Chinatowns, ethnic restaurants serve food that can make people feel at home and is a part of someone's cultural identity (Tran, 2021). With the notion of identity comes the usage of Culture-specific Items and how to translate these, as discussed by Kate Benedicta Amenador and Zhiwei Wang in 2023. The languages of the dishes are often hard to categorize,

as words from the original culture are sometimes also used in a different language. Take the word sushi, which is originally a Japanese word but has now become a part of the diction in many other languages, including English and Dutch. It also does not necessarily have the same meaning as the Japanese word sushi anymore. As mentioned in Chapter 2.3, Bestor (2000) pointed out that globalization and catering to local tastes have changed sushi, resulting in new forms unknown to the Japanese. Looking at a Korean example, the Romanized Korean word Kimchi is often written as a menu item. There are actually many different kinds of kimchi in Korea, which are unknown to Western customers and thus all ‘translated’ as simply Kimchi. Both Japanese and Korean have the extra hurdle of a different alphabet, where one word can also be written in the Latin alphabet in different ways, and only the most famous dishes have an official way of writing.

This research will use a different way of categorizing the languages. In his article on the possibilities of ‘Korea’ in the linguistic landscape, Lee (2020) described three ways of using ‘Koreanness’ as a brand and a national identity in foreign linguistic landscapes. He argues that using the Korean language does not make a particular region, or in this case, the restaurant, authentically Korean or possess Korean identity. He talks about the importance of language in nation branding a particular space and gives three categories to reinvent the usage of the Korean language in a foreign space. Korean dishes initially have Hangul names, but there are various ways the names of these dishes can be listed on menus in other countries, like the Netherlands, especially as people from other countries can not read Hangul Korean. In a foreign space, Korean national identity must be ‘reinvented through linguistic resources’ (p. 262). The use of the Korean language in a menu does not make the restaurant Korean. However, just because it is a Korean restaurant does not mean it uses Korean food. Instead, Lee gives three ways of using Korean in a foreign context, and the combination of these three strategies facilitates ‘the local reinvention of Korea’ (Lee, 2020, p. 275).

Lee (2020) discusses translation as the first category of the reinvention of 'Koreanness' in language. This category encompasses words or sentences that are often directly translated from one language into another, such as from Korean to English. However, it also includes 'minimalist translations,' where only a part of the text is translated to show the most essential information in the primary language of the intended audience.

The second category is transliteration, where the text is translated from one script to another. This is often the case when a word is untranslatable or when a particular needed cultural nuance gets lost in direct translation. In Korea, the Hangul script is used, but for signs in the Netherlands, these words are written down in the Latin alphabet, so the non-Korean customers are also able to read the words. This can also be categorized further with words that are known and understandable in the Latin alphabet and those that do not make much sense. One-word dishes such as Bulgogi (불고기, thinly sliced, marinated beef) and Kimbap (김밥, cooked rice and other ingredients wrapped in a sheet of seaweed) do not necessarily need further translation. They are more memorable than the example of WOORIJIP, used by Lee (2020, p. 270). Where WOORIJIP comes from the Korean 우리집, meaning 'Our House,' it holds no significance outside of Korean, whereas with dishes, they can often be understood in another language more easily.

The last category is translingualization, a process in which language resources are blended or mixed, resulting in a situation where conventional categories of languages cannot be easily applied. A form of translingualization is the combination of multiple languages, where a sign does not make sense in just one language. However, the reader must understand all languages to grasp the meaning entirely. An example of this is a Korean restaurant in Leiden, the Netherlands, whose name is Gochu Gang. Gochu (고추, Go-chu) is the Korean word for pepper, and Gochujang (고추장, Go-chu-jang) is Pepper paste, a condiment often

used in Korean food. In the name of this restaurant, they changed Jang to Gang, gang being an English word that exudes calm and edgy energy but also gives a feeling of being in a group. By combining the Korean Gochu and the English Gang for the wordplay on GochuJang, they show that they are a Korean restaurant and, at the same time, bring a more international appeal. Through this way of translingualization, Koreanness is brought to a foreign country.

Lee (2020) highlights that this blending of language resources makes categorizing languages neatly into distinct and conventional classifications challenging. For this research, I will categorize the text on the restaurant menus into five different categories that can be found in Table 2.

Table 2
Categories of languages on menus

Category	Explanation
Hangul (한글)	Writing in Hangul, the Korean script.
Translation	When a word or text is directly translated from Korean into another language.
Transliteration	The script is changed from Hangul to the Latin alphabet to make it readable for people who do not know Korean.
Translingualization	Combining Korean and words from another language to make a new phrase or word requires knowledge of both languages.
Dutch	This is the national language in the Netherlands and the local language of the restaurants.
English	As a Lingua Franca, tourists, non-Dutch, and non-Korean speakers often use this language.

A found limitation to these categories are words of Korean food that are present in the in the English or Dutch Dictionary. This means that these words are often used enough by English or Dutch speakers to become part of their vocabulary, similar to sushi, as mentioned earlier. For this research, these words were still counted as transliteration and not Other, as they do have a Korean root and are still classified as exoticism; people who are new to Korean food and culture might still not know what they are, even if these words for certain dishes are often staples in that country's food culture.

3.4. Demographics

Two cities in the Netherlands —Amsterdam and Rotterdam — were chosen for this study. The choice of these cities was made based on the number of Korean restaurants residing in them, as well as the most recent numbers regarding the foreign nationalities published by the *Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek* (CBS, Central Bureau of Statistics) in the Netherlands. This was supplemented with data from *Onderzoek en Statistiek* (O&S; Research and Statistics) for more specific numbers regarding Amsterdam and data from *Onderzoek010* (Research010) for specific numbers regarding Rotterdam.

3.4.1. Amsterdam

Amsterdam is the capital of the Netherlands and has the highest number of different nationalities in one city in the world, with over 180 nationalities. It is a city where the number of people of Dutch descent has decreased to a point where they are now in the numerical minority. In the Netherlands, a person is considered of Dutch descent if they were born in the country and both of their parents were also born there, so it is different from nationality. This means that when Amsterdam passed this threshold, it became a majority-minority city (Crul et al., 2019).

Table 3
Population in Amsterdam by nationality on January 1st, 2023

Nationality	People
Total population	918.194
Dutch	723.044
Italian	13.316
Turkish	11.566
Indian	6.505
Morrocan	7.332
Chinese	4.838
South Korean	805
North Korean	2

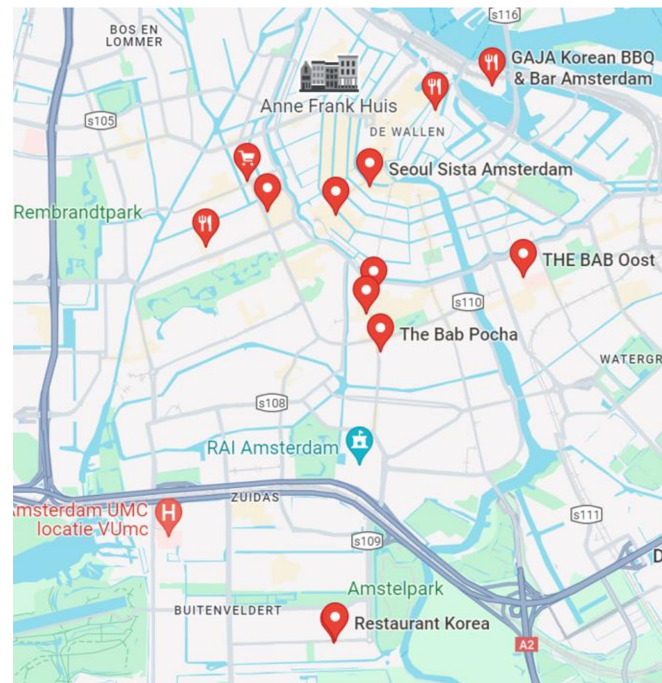
Source: O&S, 2023

In Table 3, a few of the nationalities that are most prevalent in Amsterdam can be seen. On January 1st, 2023, 805 people with a South Korean nationality and two with a North Korean nationality lived in Amsterdam. It is also known worldwide as a city where you do not need to speak the national language, but you can get by using just English. When looking for Korean restaurants in Amsterdam, 16 could be found through a Google search using the keyword 'Korean restaurant Amsterdam.' Out of these 16 restaurants, two are Asian fusion restaurants, which means that they also sell dishes from other Asian countries. As this research focuses on Korean restaurants specifically, these fusion restaurants were deemed unsuitable for this research unsuitable for this research. A further two restaurants had no online menu on their website or social media page and could not be used. This leaves 12 restaurants whose menus were suitable for this research, but two have branches in both Amsterdam and Rotterdam. As the menus for both locations are the same, these were only

counted once and placed under Rotterdam. Most of the Korean restaurants in Amsterdam that are part of this research are located in the city center, as seen in Figure 1, with some restaurants having multiple locations in Amsterdam.

Figure 1

The locations of Korean restaurants in Amsterdam



Source: Google Maps (30 March 2024)

3.4.2. Rotterdam

Rotterdam has the second largest population amount among cities in the Netherlands. Similar to Amsterdam, it passed the threshold of half of the population being of non-Dutch descent and became a majority-minority city (Crul et al., 2019). In 2023, less than half (44,5%) of the people living in Rotterdam are of Dutch descent, which is again not to be confused with nationality. The biggest minority group in Rotterdam are people of Surinamer descent (7,8%), secondly is people of Turkish descent (7,3%), and third is Moroccan descent (7,0%) (Onderzoek010, 2023).

Table 4
Population in Rotterdam by nationality on January 1st, 2023

Nationality	People
Total population	663 900
Dutch	568.766
Turkish	9.294
Chinese	3.630
Indian	2.396
Syrian	2.137
Indonesian	868
Remaining Asian Countries	2.625

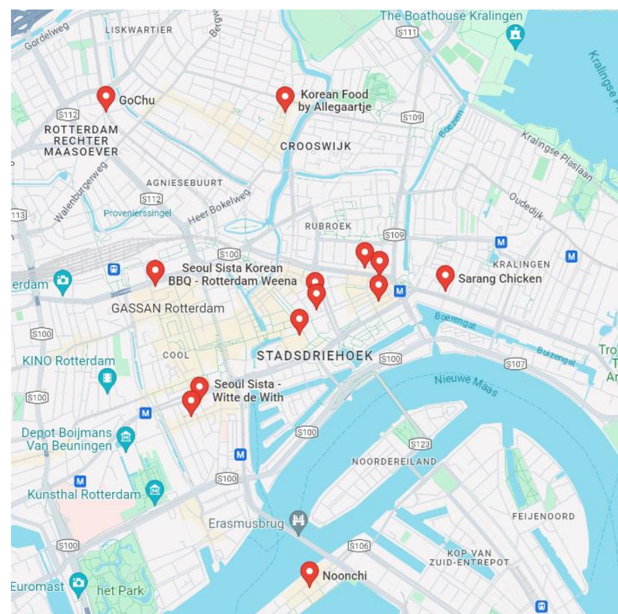
Source: Central Bureau for Statistics, 2023

The Netherlands had 4,652 South Koreans and 23 North Koreans as residents on January 1st, 2023 (Central Bureau for Statistics, 2023). Compared to Amsterdam, there was no exact number of South Koreans living in Rotterdam available, although there were numbers for other (Asian) countries. Based on this, it may be presumed that it is a small percentage of the Rotterdam population. Looking at Table 4, they would fall under the Remaining Asian Countries category, which is less than 2.625 people. This is also why there

is no central Koreatown in Rotterdam, and the Korean restaurants are spread throughout the city, as seen in Figure 2. Through a Google search with the keyword 'Korean restaurant Rotterdam,' 12 Korean restaurants were found in Rotterdam. After further research, one of the restaurants was an Asian fusion restaurant and was excluded from this study, as explained in Chapter 3.4.1. This leaves Rotterdam with 11 restaurants that are suitable for this research. It is important to note that some restaurants have multiple locations in the city, so the number of physical restaurants exceeds 11. The different locations use the same menu, so they are counted as one for this research.

Figure 2

The locations of Korean restaurants in Rotterdam



Source: Google Maps (23 March 2024)

4. Analysis and results

To provide a comprehensive overview of the different signs and symbols available on restaurant menus, the analysis begins by focusing on several linguistic aspects of the menu. The names of the restaurants will be analyzed first, as this is the first thing people notice about a restaurant and often sets the tone for what people can expect from this restaurant foodwise. The menu language analysis is divided into two parts, the first being a quantitative analysis, showing how many of the language categories were used and where. The second part is a qualitative analysis showing how the semiotic elements relate to the restaurants' authenticity and 'Koreanness.'

4.1. Restaurant names

The word that is often first visible on the menu and the first thing people see when searching for a restaurant is the name of that restaurant. It is what brands the restaurant and sets the tone for the customer. The name itself can already give a potential customer a feeling of how authentic they think the restaurant will be. In Table 5, the names of the Korean restaurants in Amsterdam and Rotterdam have been categorized by the categories made by Lee (2020).

Table 5
Names of Korean restaurants in Amsterdam and Rotterdam

City	Category	Amount
Rotterdam	Translation	0
	Transliteration	4
	Translingualization	5
	Other[a]	2
	Total	11
Amsterdam	Translation	0
	Transliteration	3
	Translingualization	4
	Other[a]	3
	Total	10

[a] Other is either a Dutch or an English name unrelated to any Korean words.

4.1.1. Transliteration

In Rotterdam, there are four restaurants that have a name that is a transliteration. These are Man Nam, Gamasot, Noonchi, and Gochu. The first restaurant is Man Nam, the name of which is a transliteration. It comes from the Korean word 만남, which translates to 'encounter' or 'meeting.' While the word has meaning in Korean, Man Nam does not mean anything to customers who do not speak Korean. It is, however, not hard to remember, and with the explanation on the website about the name, it does give the customer a more Korean feel. The name of the second restaurant is Gamasot, which they write as 가마솟 on their website. Although the spelling more used for this word is 가마솥 in Korean, the pronunciation stays the same. A Gamasot is a big stone pot used for cooking in Korea, something almost all Koreans know, but that might be unknown to non-Korean customers. Noonchi comes from the Korean word 눈치, which cannot be directly translated outside of Korean. It means being able to read the room and have situational awareness. This is again a concept that all Koreans are very familiar with, but something that people who do not know Korean do not fully understand the meaning of. The last one is Gochu (고추), the Korean word for pepper and often used in Korean dishes, either in its original form or as the condiment GochuJang (고추장).

There are three restaurants in Amsterdam with transliteration names: Hongdae, Gaja, and Gangnam Chicken. Hongdae is named after the trendy neighborhood in Seoul, called the same name and written as 홍대 in Korean. Hongdae in Seoul is most known for its bars, clubs, shops, and a variety of restaurants. Gaja (가자) means something along the lines of 'let's go!' in Korean; it is an enthusiastic proposition. The last one is Gangnam Chicken, which comes

from 강남 치킨 (Gang-Nam Chi-Kin). Gangnam (강남) is a more expensive district in Seoul, mostly known now worldwide through the song Gangnam Style by PSY that came out in 2012. Chicken in Korean is used to mean fried chicken, which is also what they sell mainly at Gangnam Chicken, which is why this one is placed in the transliteration category.

4.1.2. Translingualization

Five restaurants in Rotterdam have a name that uses translingualization. The first one is Seoul Sista. Seoul (서울) is the capital of South Korea, and when pronounced, it sounds a bit like the English word 'soul.' Putting it together with Sista, a variety of the English word sister, gives a name that sounds like a soul sister or someone you feel very close to. Putting 'Sista' in English also ensures that the reader reads Seoul in the English way to pronounce the full name the way it was intended. The second one is BapBoss, where Bap (밥) is the Korean word for rice or meal. Putting this together with the English word Boss gives a feeling to the customer that this restaurant knows what they are doing and is the best at making Korean meals. The third one is Sarang Chicken, where Sarang (사랑) is the Korean word for love. As the Gangnam Chicken restaurant mentioned earlier, this name could also have been a transliteration. However, as the restaurant does not only sell fried chicken but also different forms of chicken in various dishes, it is counted as the English word chicken. Sarang Chicken means I love chicken, but if you do not know the Korean word Sarang, it can seem like the name or sort of chicken is called Sarang. Fourth is Gangnam KBBQ, or written in full as Gangnam Korean Barbecue. The name of this restaurant combines the Korean word Gangnam and the English 'Korean Barbecue.' It is hard to determine their category when it is the name of a city or a region, but this one was placed with translingualization as in their logo; the word Gangnam is written in Korean. Soju Bar is the last one, where soju (소주) is a well-known

alcoholic drink in Korea. Placing Soju with the Dutch and English word Bar, even people who do not know the Korean word Soju can still grasp the kind of restaurant it is.

There are five restaurants in Amsterdam with translingual names, but two of them are branches of chains that are already mentioned above, Seoul Sista and Soju Bar. The third one is The Bab, where Bab is another way of romanizing the Korean word 밥, similar to BapBoss in Rotterdam. On their website, The Bab writes their name in Hangul as 더밥, which sounds like the Korean word 덮밥 (Deop-Bab) when it is said phonetically. The word 덮밥 means rice with any form of topping on top of it, something often used in Korean restaurants. Next is The Bab Pocha, which is counted as a separate restaurant as it has a different menu from the main branches. Pocha is a transliteration from the Korean word 포차, a place where people go to drink and eat, so the focus is mostly on food that goes well with alcohol. Kim's So is the next one; Kim is a very common Korean last name, and So (소) is the Korean word for cow. The last one is the restaurant called Khan, which is an abbreviation of the words Korea and Hankuk. Hankuk (한국) is the name for the country South Korea in Korean, and using both English and Korean words shows how they bring both cultures together.

4.1.3. Other

The other restaurant names in Rotterdam are Allegaartje and K-ea. Allegaartje is a Dutch word that means a mix of different things, a mishmash. With this name, they want to show that they have a variety of Korean dishes available, but the name itself does not let the customer know that they sell Korean food. The last one is K-ea, which uses the 'K-' to indicate their Koreanness, just like it is used in K-pop and K-drama. The -ea part comes from tea, as the most significant part of their menu is various flavors of bubble tea. The name

shows clearly that they are related to Korea and what they are selling, without using Korean words.

There are three restaurants in the Other category in Amsterdam, the first being Miss Korea BBQ. This name is entirely in English and straightforward as to what a customer can expect in this restaurant. The next one is Seoul Food Amsterdam, where Seoul is again the capital of South Korea. It is placed in Others and not in translingualization, as the name is written in English on the logo, and thus, Seoul is counted as an English word. Last is Restaurant Korea Amsterdam, whose name can be pronounced in both Dutch and English. It is very straightforward in what it sells, without using any Korean in the name.

4.2. Quantitative analysis

4.2.1. Dishes

The primary function of a menu is to show customers what foods they can order. The names of the dishes are thus the places people look at the most and can be considered the most essential part of a menu. There have been various ways of writing these dish names. Most menus use a combination of categories, as Lee (2020) mentioned. In 13 menus, the dish's name is mainly written in English, using direct translation from the Korean name, as seen in Figure 3. There are also eight menus where more than half of the dishes' names are written using transliteration. Many menus also use a combination of transliteration and translation in the title, especially with Korean words like 'kimchi,' 'bulgogi,' and 'mandu' (e.g., *Chicken Mandu, Kimchi Pancake*).

Figure 3

부대찌개 becomes Korean Army Stew

Out of the 21 restaurants, 7 put the names of the dishes in Hangul on the menu. However, this is never in place of the transliterated or translated name but always next to or below it, in a font that looks less bold than the one used for the Latin script. Making it smaller and less bold gives the reader the impression of being less critical. It will not be the first thing they see while quickly looking over the menu. Placing the Hangul gives the feeling of exoticism mentioned earlier.

Although all 21 restaurants are in the Netherlands, only three write the dishes' names in Dutch. For two of them, this is only the case if you change the language on the website, as

it is not the default setting. This can indicate that they do not market to Dutch customers or that they assume that Dutch people are proficient enough in English to understand it.

4.2.2. Explanatory text

For the explanatory text, there is currently only one restaurant that provides the text only in Dutch, and then there are three more restaurants where the language on the website can be changed into Dutch. In the remaining 17 restaurants, all the explanatory text is currently written in English. No Hangul is used in the explanatory texts.

Both the dish name and the explanatory texts often used a mix of English and Transliterated Hangul. Although most of the explanatory text would be in English, a few ingredients were rarely translated into English or Dutch. These words are Kimchi, Kimbap/Gimbap, Gochujang, Bulgogi, Mandu, and Bingsu. The most used transliterated food word is Kimchi, which is used in all but one menu, followed by Bulgogi.

4.2.3. Other

If there is information-giving text on the menu, it is written in English. This includes information about opening times, how to order in the restaurant, and information about allergens. Three restaurants include other text on the menu besides information-giving text, dishes, and explanatory text.

Figure 4
Korean text on a menu

Two of these restaurants wrote a text in Hangul that did not give direct information about the food on the menu. The first one is 행복으로 가는 열쇠 (Haeng-Bok-Eu-Ro Ga-Neun Yeol-Sui), which can be found in Figure 4 and translates as The key to happiness. The other one is written in a font that resembles Korean calligraphy. It says 만남은 진리다. 치킨은 사랑입니다 (Man-Nam-Eun Jin-Ri-Da. Chi-Kin-Eun Sa-Rang-Ib-Ni-Da), which roughly translates to Mannam (name of the restaurant) is the truth; chicken is love. The only Hangul on the menu of the third restaurant gave information about how Korean people like to eat their meals. It reads 치맥 (Chi-Maek) - a combination of 치킨 (Chi-kin, or chicken) and 맥주 (Maek-Ju, translated as beer). In Korean culture, this combination of drinks and snacks is trendy, and the Hangul on the menu is used to promote a special deal offering both fried chicken and beer together. The details of the deal are explained in English.

These texts do not give any information that will tell the customer what they can order in the restaurant, but they give the reader an extra form of Koreanness. Even if they cannot understand what it says in Hangul, seeing it on the menu gives an extra feeling of Korean authenticity.

4.3. Qualitative Analysis and Discussion

The first thing people notice about the authenticity is the language. In Chapter 4.2. the number of Hangul and transliterated Korean is observed. To see how this relates to authenticity, how it is written is also important. Youn and Kim (2017) noticed a few elements that can enhance the customer's perception of authenticity, as mentioned in Chapter 2.2. One of these elements is using 'unique' food names, names that are unfamiliar in the language of the country the restaurant is residing in. This can be done by using Hangul, which also has the

element of using a different script. This makes it unreadable for the non-Korean customer and gives the menu the feeling of 'Koreanness.'

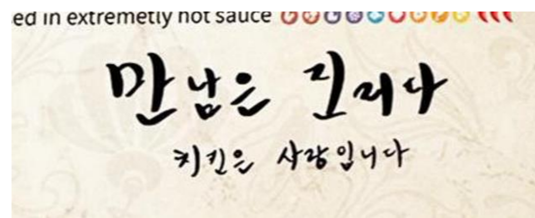
Figure 5

A dish from Kim's So's menu that shows transliteration, translation, and Hangul

However, not every menu that was analyzed uses Hangul, and when it is used, it is always combined with either a transliterated or translated name first; an example can be seen in Figure 5. As Scollon & Scollon (2003) mentioned, Western countries use a left-right text vector; people read the text from left to right and from top to bottom. In Korea, the text follows either a left-right or top-bottom vector. The way the text is put down says a lot about what the maker of the sign tries to convey with the language and who their primary audience is. An essential part of any visual is the composition of the things inside of it. This encompasses "the way in which the representational and interactive elements are made to relate to each other, the way they are integrated into a meaningful whole" (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006, p.175). The way that the Hangul version of the dish's name is written in the menu is always on the right or below the transliterated and translated dish names. This indicates that it is to be read second and thus also has a lower rank of importance (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2006). This feeling is strengthened by the use of a bolder and bigger font on the transliterated and translated name, compared to the Hangul text.

Figure 6

Korean text on the menu from Man Nam



Analyzing the explanatory text strengthens this feeling of mainly catering to their non-Korean audience. None of the restaurants use Hangul in this text; it is always in English and, in a few isolated instances, in Dutch. This can mean that Korean people would know the dish just by looking at the name of it in Hangul, but the English explanation text is also when the dish name is either in English or transliterated. Other texts, such as opening times and information about allergies, are also in English. The only other form of text in Hangul is text that holds no information for the customer; such text can be seen in Figure 6. It is of no direct importance to the customer and is merely a filler that enhances the exotic look of the menu. This is also strengthened by the use of a handwriting font, giving the text a feeling as if a Korean person themselves wrote it.

Figure 7

A stamp on the menu from the restaurant Noonchi

Another feature regarding authenticity is the sharing of stories about the dish's origin (Youn & Kim, 2017). In Figure 7, you can see a visual sign on a menu from Noonchi that is made to look like a stamp. It reads: 'Korean street food-life style&more' and is written in a

circular motion. These kinds of visuals add to the feeling of authenticity, as the stamp makes it look like the food is branded as being authentically Korean, and customers link it directly to the country, giving the customer the feeling that they are experiencing food as if they were there. Other restaurants used this same tactic. For example, The Bab and The Bab Pocha both included a small background story regarding the food and the story of how 'actual' Koreans eat this and gave suggestions on pairing foods and drinks, as seen in Figure 10. Soju Bar also used this by dedicating a whole page section to the Korean Fried Chicken and Beer combo.

Figure 8

A dish explanation from The Bab, which includes background information about the dish

Tteokbokki 12 EUR

떡볶이

Rice cake and fish cake cooked with home made spicy gochujang sauce. Topped with spring onion and sesame seeds. This is one of the most popular Korean street food. Rice cake texture is sticky and foods are spicy. If you want to challenge spicy Korean food, this will be the first step to try. Good combination especially with Gimbab.

The use of unique food names is the last feature Youn & Kim (2017) mentioned, and also something that can be seen in all the menus analyzed. Certain words are never translated and only ever used in the transliterated form. These words are words like Kimchi and Gochujang; an example can also be seen in Figure 8. Kimchi is a food that is especially strongly tied to Korean culture and nationalism (Surya & Lee, 2022). The word Kimchi and what sort of food it is is only ever explained in two menus, but it is never mentioned in others. Using Korean words in an otherwise English text can create a sense of exoticism, as the reader may understand some of the text due to contextual clues. This ties in with Blommaert's (2010) mention of using language as a symbol, where he uses a chocolate shop in Japan called *Nina's Derrière* as an example. Although the Korean transliterated word Kimchi fits in this context, in contrast to the French used in the shop's name, people might end up buying the

dish without knowing what Kimchi is. This is because they might assume that any dish with a Korean word in its name must be an authentic Korean dish.

Figure 9

The Aegyo Set

Sometimes, the transliterated Korean word does not make sense in the context. This is the case for a set menu that can be seen on Gaja's menu. On the last page, a couple of set menus are listed, one of which is called The Aegyo set, as seen in Figure 9. This is the only 'dish' where the transliterated word has nothing to do with food, as Aegyo (애교, Ae-Gyo) is the Korean word for something that is cute and baby-like, almost to the point of it being too much. While Set is used in Korean to mean a meal deal or a specific menu in a restaurant (e.g., a BigMac Set at McDonald's, where you get the burger with fries and a drink for a predetermined price), an Aegyo Set is used playfully between friends or between a famous person and their fans to show a few poses that show off ones 'aegyo.' It has less to do with food and more with Korean pop culture.

Zooming further from the text and looking at the pictures used, we can also see a form of 'symbolic branding' (Urry, 2019). Here, we can look at the pictures of dishes and the menus' backgrounds. The dishes can be shown in the pictures on Korean plates with Korean

chopsticks. The menu from Gangnam KBBQ uses the South Korean flag as a background on the front page, which shows an obvious connection to Korea. The other menu pages have an image in the background reminiscent of older Korean paintings. Sometimes, it is not directly related to Korea, as Gamasot uses a background with a drawing of a bamboo tree, which is more symbolic of China. Miss Korea uses a background that combines old-style Korean houses (한옥, Han-Ok) and the modern skyline of Seoul; this can be seen in Figure 10.

Figure 10

The background shows older type buildings and the modern skyline of Seoul.

5. Conclusion

As mentioned before, this research has two primary purposes. The first one is mapping various semiotic variables of the online menus of Korean restaurants, with the main point being the language. The second one is to see how the use of these variables portrays the cultural 'Koreanness' in the menus—using Korean in a foreign landscape forces choices to be made about identity and authenticity, if not for the simple reason that most people outside of Korea cannot read the Korean script. Analyzing restaurant names and menu presentations in Korean restaurants in Amsterdam and Rotterdam reveals a diverse branding and language utilization approach. In both cities, there is a notable trend towards incorporating Korean elements into restaurant names and menus, with variations in transliteration, translingualization, and direct translation.

Of the twenty-one restaurants, all but one have a Korean aspect in their name. Some show Hangul in their logo or even directly use the word Korea or a city district in Korea. Others go for more subtlety and use a transliterated Korean word, accepting that the pronunciation may be less than perfect. In Rotterdam, transliteration dominates, with restaurants like Man Nam, Gamasot, Noonchi, and Gochu using Korean words or concepts without direct translation. These names evoke a sense of Korean authenticity but may require explanation for non-Korean customers. Translingualization is also evident, as seen in names like Seoul Sista and Gangnam KBBQ, which blend Korean and English to create unique identities. Additionally, some restaurants opt for wholly Dutch or English names like Allegaartje and K-ea, using the 'K-' prefix to signify their Korean connection. Amsterdam mirrors this diversity, with restaurants like Hongdae, Gaja, and Gangnam Chicken employing similar strategies of transliteration and translingualization.

The menus analyzed from Korean restaurants in Rotterdam and Amsterdam show all the important features that influence authenticity perceptions, as mentioned by Youn and Kim

(2017). The use of Hangul alongside transliterated or translated names adds a sense of 'Koreanness' and exoticism, although Hangul in dish names often appears secondary in importance. Visual semiotic composition, such as font choices and arrangement, contributes to conveying authenticity. This inclusion of Hangul adds the flair of exoticism but is often relegated to a secondary role, suggesting a balance between accessibility and cultural authenticity.

Explanatory text in English suggests a target audience of non-Korean diners, while storytelling elements and unique Korean food names like 'Kimchi' enhance authenticity for people who do not know Korean culture but want to learn more. However, the clarity given through the explanatory text is important to ensure customers understand dishes with foreign names, aligning to create an immersive cultural dining experience. Using Hangul and transliterated Hangul in other texts has a definite symbolic role, in line with Blommaert's (2010) theory, where language is used merely for semiotic function rather than linguistic importance. These texts give no information about the food; they are just used to show the ‘Koreanness’ of the restaurant.

In conclusion, the analysis of Korean restaurant menus in Amsterdam and Rotterdam shows a strategic blend of semiotic variables to convey cultural authenticity while catering to diverse audiences. The language, composition, storytelling elements, and unique food names collectively contribute to shaping customers' perceptions of authenticity in Korean restaurants' menus. Incorporating Korean language elements, whether through transliteration, translingualization, or direct translation, is crucial in shaping customers' perceptions of 'Koreanness.' This linguistic approach, in combination with the visual semiotic elements such as the background image, creates a restaurant experience that combines Korean culinary heritage with the foreign landscape of the Netherlands.

5.1. Further research

The research had to be kept quite limited due to constraints such as time and word limit; this leaves a fair opportunity for any further research to be done. First of all, the field of linguistic landscape research is constantly trying to find new boundaries and evolve from the foundational thought of what Linguistic landscape is, as created by Landry & Bourhis (1997). This research has been placed under one of these new extensions called foodscape, which is still an underresearched 'scape' that can be further researched. In this research, only the online menu was used for data, but various other elements inside the restaurant can be considered. Not only other signs and their written languages but also the semiotic elements, the music, and spoken language can be looked at. These are elements inside the restaurant itself, but research can also be broadened into the online part of the restaurant. The whole website of various marketing campaigns can be used to collect data, especially now that many restaurants have social media such as Instagram, where they post videos and pictures to represent their brand.

Only two major cities in the Netherlands were examined to gather data, but this can be expanded to more cities to gain more data. It can also give the researcher more information to compare, as Amsterdam and Rotterdam are similar in being majority-minority cities. It would be interesting to see if restaurants in cities with fewer tourists and minorities would still give the same results, as they may want to attract different crowds. Next to comparing different cities, cross-cultural studies can also be conducted by comparing the results to other ethnic restaurants in the Netherlands. This can be other Asian restaurants in the same city. As a large population of people of Chinese nationality live in Rotterdam, Chinese restaurants might give different results. However, it might also be interesting to note the difference between a Korean restaurant and a restaurant from a country closer, such as France or Italy. Because

more people in the Netherlands speak these languages, it is worth pondering how their perception of things, such as exoticism, could be influenced.

Lastly, this research only gave an overview of the menus. However, a more in-depth analysis can be done using a more comprehensive model such as the Multilingual Inequality in Public Spaces (MIPS) model (Gorter & Cenoz, 2023). This model aims to "describe and analyze the cyclic sequence associated with the construction of linguistic landscapes and how these processes and outcomes affect the experiences of groups of people" (Gorter & Cenoz, 2023, p. 80). This process consists of multiple components. Along with analyzing the sign, it includes the sign-making process and researching how the sign is perceived. This can be achieved by interviewing the restaurant owners about the choices on their menus and how the sign came to be. Additionally, customers can be surveyed to determine if the language on the sign influenced their perception of the Korean restaurant's authenticity.

This research on Korean restaurants in Amsterdam and Rotterdam contributes to the field of Linguistic Landscape studies by shedding light on how language, food, and cultural identity intersect in the context of ethnic dining establishments. By focusing on Korean cuisine in the Netherlands and analyzing online menus as a form of communication, the study offers valuable insights into the portrayal of 'Koreanness' through linguistic and semiotic elements. The study broadens the scope of Linguistic Landscape research by moving beyond traditional signage and analyzing online menus as a form of linguistic and semiotic communication. It highlights the diverse ways cultural identity can be expressed through language and other semiotic elements, offering a nuanced understanding of how restaurants market their 'Koreanness' within a foreign context. This research invites further exploration of how language and food can connect and tell a story about who we are and where we come from, even on small signs like a restaurant menu.

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