

College of Halmstad

Department of Humanities

English Section

Cuisine Linguistics of British and American English

Are the culinary vocabularies of British and American English converging or diverging?

Gabriella Sohl

English - Linguistic Specialization 30 credits

D-Essay

Supervisor: Stuart Foster

Spring 2012

Abstract

This study is intended to unveil whether the culinary vocabulary of British English and American English are likely to converge or diverge in the future, as a way of contributing to understanding the evolution of the English language and its varieties. The topic itself was founded in travels to America which were paired with nearly fifteen years of interaction with British English, leading to understanding that some (food) words come to have different meanings even in similar languages, and possibly also within the same language.

Understanding this led to the thesis question: Are the culinary vocabularies of British English and American English likely to converge or diverge?

This is an area of study which has seemingly been left untreated so far under the umbrella of Linguistics. As such, the research in this essay focuses on determining a future convergence or divergence between the language varieties from a language historical aspect as well as taking sociolinguistic aspects of language change into account. These aspects are *fashion*, *foreign influence* and *social need*. In addition to the research, a survey involving 15 British and 15 American students between the ages of 18 and 30 which helps determining the current interaction between the two language varieties. Through the research and analysis of these areas of interest, it is found that the culinary vocabularies of the two language varieties are unlikely to converge completely, but are in a state both of constant partial convergence and divergence.

Key words: language change, British English, American English, culinary vocabulary, sociolinguistics, history of the English language, divergence, convergence

Table of Contents

Abstract	2
Language Abbreviations	5
1. Introduction	7
1.1. The Idea behind the Essay: It All Began With Curry	7
1.2. Aims and Purpose of the Essay	8
2. Literature Review	9
2.1. Theoretical Background	9
2.1.1. Historical Background	9
2.1.2. Linguistic Background	9
2.1.3. Background for Recent Developments	10
3. Methodology	12
3.1. Methods	12
3.2. The Chapters	14
4. English before the 16 th Century	16
4.1. Old English	17
4.2. Middle English	19
4.3. Influence on Food Vocabulary during Middle English	21
5. English Food Vocabulary from the 16 th Century to Present Day	24
5.1. British Food Vocabulary from the 16 th Century to Present Day	26
5.2. American Food Vocabulary from the Settlement to Present Day	30
5.3. Discussion and Analysis	33
5.3.1. Discussing the Vocabulary Additions: Morphology	33
5.3.2. Vocabulary Change by Fashion, Foreign Influence or Social Need	37
5.3.3. Common Foods - A Common Factor of Vocabulary	40
6. The Survey	45
6.1. One of Two Options	46
6.2. Food Recognition and Personal Definition	48
6.3. Results	51
7. Present Day: A Smorgasbord of Possibilities	52

7.1. Varying Meanings of the Same Vocabularies	53
7.1.1. Origin of the Divergent Vocabulary in Alphabetic Order.....	53
7.1.2. Discussing the Divergence	57
7.2. The Internet Impact: the World is Flat (Again) Like a Pizza	61
7.2.1. The Internet Impact	61
7.2.2. The Globalization Factor.....	62
8. Conclusion	64
8.1. The Historical Influence	64
8.2. The Sociolinguistic Influence and Final Conclusion.....	67
8.3. Further Research.....	69
Sources	71

Language Abbreviations

Alg. - Algonquian

Arab. - Arabic

Az. - Aztek

Bra. - Brazilian

Byz.G. - Byzantine Greek

Cana. - Canarese

Cat. - Catalan

Ch. - Chinese

Cu. - Cuban

Du. - Dutch

F. - French

G. - Greek

Ger. - German

Haiti. - Haitian

Hi. - Hindi

Hun. - Hungarian

It. - Italian

Jap. - Japanese

L. - Latin

L.M. - Medieval Latin

L.V. - Vulgar Latin

Mal. - Malay

Mbu. - Mbuntu

Mex. - Mexican

N.It. - Northern Italian.

O.E. - Old English

O.F. - Old French

O.N. - Old Norse

O.Sp. - Old Spanish

Peru. - Peruvian

Port. - Portuguese

Rus. - Russian

San. - Sanskrit

Sp. - Spanish

Ta. - Tamil

W.Afr. - West African

1. Introduction

1.1. The Idea behind the Essay: It All Began With Curry

During an extended trip to America, I noticed that words had different meanings from what I had appreciated during my earlier English studies. It really started with a discussion, and a misunderstanding, about *curry*. The discussion took place between an American friend and me, where I claimed that *curry* was a spice and he claimed that it was a dish. After some further discussion, we concluded that both of our definitions were correct, the fact was that mine was true for Swedish and his was true for English.

This discussion raised a question: are there any differences of similar kinds in different varieties of English as well?

This question laid the foundation for the idea of this essay which was then discussed, clarified further and given a focus which could be explored from a linguistic point of view, or a few linguistic points of view. This focus is the differences between culinary vocabulary in British English and American English, since the language varieties have given rise to a substantial amount of research but none focusing specifically on the culinary aspects of their vocabularies. Further, I chose these two varieties of English as they are well known and have distinctly different backgrounds from the time that they were split apart. One of them may well have established patterns of culturally associated vocabulary acquisition over nearly a millennium, and the other has been described as the language of a cultural melting pot.

An important part of analyzing the evolution of language varieties is to take into account the details, and our linguistic approach to food is a worthy topic for analysis.

1.2. Aims and Purpose of the Essay

The aim of this essay is to establish a basis for determining whether the culinary vocabularies of British English and American English are diverging or converging. The purpose of this is to provide input for another angle of linguistic studies on language development. This could possibly be applied to other languages as well, or at the very least to other varieties of English, which is a larger purpose for the future as my personal belief is that the relationship a culture has to food has a large impact on its development, which can very well be revealed through linguistic aspects of research. The research questions which will be utilized in order to conclude whether the British English and American English culinary vocabularies are converging or diverging are:

1. What is the historical influence that have caused the English varieties' culinary vocabularies to develop up until present day?
2. With fashion, foreign influence and social need as a focus point, what are the sociolinguistic aspects of the culinary vocabularies' development and how does this show itself?

In order to answer these questions it will be necessary to chart the development of English through the different eras, such as Old English, Middle English and Modern English. During this research, it will also be necessary to keep in mind in what ways the language and, subsequently, language varieties have been influenced by each other and the world around them. This will provide a basis for analyzing the final indications of future developments of the culinary vocabularies, and whether they are likely to converge or diverge.

The purpose of the essay is to provide grounds for an area of linguistics which does not appear to have been researched before, namely the development of culinary vocabularies in the two chosen varieties of English. The findings regarding culinary vocabulary should be able to contribute to the general understanding of the future development of the English varieties, adding another piece to the puzzle.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Theoretical Background

Extensive research has been conducted on the background of language development, as well as attempts to predict the direction(s) which it might take in the future. These theories cover the entire linguistic spectrum, from ancient and historical language development and sociolinguistics to attempts at analyzing the effects which the evolution of the Internet will have on the future of language.

2.1.1. Historical Background

Baugh and Cable have extensively charted the history of the English language with respect to linguistic and cultural aspects in the book *A History of the English Language*. This takes into account the foreign influences on the English language, the natural development as human speech alters language and the development of creoles and pidgins as well as different global varieties of English.

This information is crucial for the research to be conducted as it provides a comprehensive background of the English language, and aids in establishing trends of the past so that there is a basis for the analysis and discussion of the future convergence or divergence of the two English varieties.

2.1.2. Linguistic Background

Several theories have been developed about the nature of language change during the past centuries, and a few are reviewed in section three of *Language Change: Progress or Decay?* Among these are theories that language change occurs due to, as Jean Aitchison said, “a bewildering variety of factors ranging over almost every aspect of human life”.

Aitchison suggests a few reasons for language change, of which some will be focused on in this essay, namely “fashion, foreign influence and social need” [134] since they can be applied to any part of human life in different ways, and the development of culinary vocabulary is no exception. *Fashion* as a cause of language change is often described as implying that language change is random. However, here it will be treated as a choice, for example due to the political power of any particular country at a time and that country being considered “in fashion”. For example, a country can be “in fashion” due to currently being a major political power or breaking new ground in cooking. Furthermore, *foreign influence* as a cause of change has been viewed as that “the majority of changes are due to the chance infiltration of foreign elements” [137]. Here, it will be treated as a necessity for English speakers to adopt foreign words when they are encountered during travel and trade. Finally, *social need* has been viewed as altering language “as the needs of its users alter” [145]. This reason for language change will remain intact in the discussion and analysis here, and while there is a fine line between *foreign influence* and *social need*, the distinction is made where the speakers arrive in a new country and adapt new vocabulary from a clear social need.

2.1.3. Background for Recent Developments

The Internet is a large source of new vocabulary, especially with recent developments in the areas of social communities and tools for communication such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube. The impact of the Internet has been discussed for decades, among others by David Crystal who treated the effects which the Internet has on language, even before these three major social media outlets were in place.

Crystal covers *Language and the Internet* comprehensively, both discussing linguistic aspects and the different modes of communication on the internet, such as email and chat rooms, as well as the different personalities which develop, such as lurkers [Crystal 2002 53]. This information is important in order to determine the development which has already taken

place, and to establish a basis for the change which will be caused by such social media as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube.

In 1997, Crystal also discussed English as a global language, stating that the spread of the language is unprecedented when counting second language learners, ranging from anywhere between 670 million and 1,800 million people. As the English language spreads, more cultures and people become readily available to the English speaker and the culinary vocabularies of the languages are allowed to interact.

3. Methodology

3.1. Methods

My thesis question addresses whether the food vocabularies of American English and British English show signs of converging or diverging, and I have chosen to investigate these trends in order to provide the field with a seemingly unexplored answer.

The main method which is employed is qualitative research, and the analysis is mainly based on three of the reasons for language change which are proposed by Jean Aitchison, namely *fashion*, *foreign influence* and *social need*. The background for the analysis will be made up of etymological research based on *A History of the English Language* for establishing a list of words from each period of the English language. In order to fully investigate these words, the etymological dictionaries *Etymonline.com* and Ernest Weekley's *A Concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* will be consulted.

In addition to the written sources, primary data has been gathered with the use of a questionnaire which was distributed to 30 native English speaking students between the ages of 18 and 30 years old, of which half were American and half were British. The survey will be used in order to gain some insight as to whether the American and British culinary vocabularies have interacted.

These methods have been chosen based on the timeframe of the essay and the nature of the research necessary to determine the direction of trends for the future development of the two language varieties' food vocabularies. This has required extensive research on the evolution of the food vocabularies, mainly tracking and analyzing borrowings in order to provide a background for the following analysis. The chapters, which will be summarized below, have been ordered so that there is a natural progression from background to analysis.

Where dictionary definitions are required, the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (2009) will be consulted, and all etymology is taken from the sources mentioned above.

3.2. The Chapters

The fourth chapter, which follows this Methodology, focuses on providing a sufficient background the evolution of the English language before the 16th century. It accounts for the wide array of borrowings from the early influences on the language, mainly French, with a focus on etymology. For this chapter, I have opted to use Baugh & Cable's *A History of the English Language* as primary source as it is a comprehensive guide to the history of English.

The fifth chapter begins with outlining the borrowings which were added to the British English vocabulary from the 16th century to present day, and then outlining the corresponding borrowings in American English from the arrival of English in the United States to present day. Initially, the focus will lay on etymology which is then discussed and categorized according to discernible changes in morphology which took place in the transfer to the English vocabularies. The chapter then continues with a brief analysis of the modern applications of pizza and hotdogs within the two different cultures, with the intention of establishing whether the two cultures have interacted. The justification for this subchapter is that all aspects of food are important to discerning a complete pattern of language change.

The sixth chapter will focus on the presentation and analysis of a survey which I have designed and which was sent out to fifteen American students and fifteen British students between the ages of 18 and 30. This survey was focused on food recognition and word usage among the students. It is intended to determine whether the choices and knowledge of the surveyed groups can be interpreted as indicating any trend of convergence or divergence between the language varieties.

The seventh chapter will begin with discussing words which have varying meanings within British English and American English, but share the same forms. This discussion will begin by outlining the background and history of the words and continue with discussing the

changes, as well as investigating possible causes for the changes. This discussion is intended to investigate further trends in the development of the two language varieties. Furthermore, the seventh chapter will discuss the trends which the Internet and the globalization of English will have on further interaction between the culinary vocabularies, especially as social media have become important social and political tools in recent years.

The ninth chapter will conclude the previous findings and suggest future research.

4. English before the 16th Century

The English language is a West Germanic language that has gone through a substantial amount of change from its earliest form to that of present day, initially being more centered in the Germanic family, and now being known for assimilating words of all language families to the point where it is almost debatable where it belongs. As James D. Nicoll put it, “English has pursued other languages down alleyways to beat them unconscious and rifle their pockets for new vocabulary.” (Kemmer LinguistList.org). Although it might seem as though English has indeed pursued other languages and stolen their vocabularies, the most substantial impact on the English lexicon has come instead from languages which have imposed an influence and, over the course of time, borrowings from them have blended seamlessly into the English language.

As such, the following is a brief account of the general evolution of the English language over the Old and Middle English periods, then focusing on the early influence of French as of the year 1066 and through the Middle English period.

4.1. Old English

A substantial influence was imposed on the British when Germanic tribes began to invade the island, seizing it piece by piece, which began during the year 449 [Baugh & Cable 47-9].

These influences were the Angles, the Saxons and the Jutes whose dialects contributed to creating the Germanic language that became Old English [51]. It is Germanic in that, among other things, it shows the shifting of consonants as described by Grimm's Law [21-22] which describes a shift from the Latin *p* to an *f* in Germanic languages. For example "the English equivalent of [the] Latin *pisces* ... is what we actually find, in [the English] *fish*" and Grimm's Law also applies to voiceless stops which changed into fricatives, such as the Latin *tres* changing into the English *three* [21]. Another Germanic trait of English is that English has both "a "weak" and a "strong" declension of [adjectives]" and "weak or regular verbs such as fill, filled, filled" and finally, "it shows the adoption of a strong stress accent on the first or the root syllable of most words" which is responsible for "the progressive decay of inflections" in Germanic languages [51-2].

The period of Old English stretches from 450 through 1150, and Old English was the language's first incarnation, was very different from Modern English and consisted of forms of words which are likely to be very hard for the modern English speaker to recognize. For a few brief examples, we can take *sceap*, which is now *sheep*, and *rith*, which is now *right* [53-5] as well as forms such as *etan*, now *eat*, and *libban*, which is now *live* [56]. A noticeable difference between Old English and Modern English is the lack of Latin and French vocabulary which replaced up to eighty-five percent of the original vocabulary owing to the Norman Conquest [55]. The so-called *foreign influences* on Old English were that of Celtic, but the only noticeable influence resulted in place-names, an influence which shows itself in, among others, the first syllables of the names Winchester, Exeter and Lichfield [75].

A more substantial influence was that of Latin, a language of high status, and *fashion*, which the English wanted to learn, and one which enjoyed a high level of prestige among the inhabitants of the British Isles for a considerable time. The Christianization of England, which began in the year 597, brought with it a large number of words pertaining to religion, such as *angel*, *relic* and *psalm*, as well as both domestic and educational words. Among others there were food words such as *beet* [L. *beta*], *pear* [L. *pira*, plural of *pirum*] and *oyster* [L. *ostrea*, plural or fem. of *ostreum*] [82, 85-6]. This influence lasted until, and extended into, the period following the Norman Conquest, and the inception of Middle English, which we shall now move on to.

4.2. Middle English

The Middle English period, 1150 through 1500, largely started with the Norman Conquest, which took place in the year 1066. The former king of England, Edward the Confessor, died without issue after twenty-four years of reign, leaving England without a successor. The ruler of Normandy, William, who was also a second cousin to the deceased king, believed himself entitled to the throne, took it by force and was crowned king of England on Christmas Day in 1066. William proceeded by replacing the remaining English nobility with his own Norman followers, and Normans in important positions remained so for generations after the conquest [Baugh & Cable 108-12]. The Normans took their place both in court and church, surrounding themselves with their own people.

This was, understandably, the era when French took hold as the language of choice among the upper class, especially since the rulers of England were now also commonly dukes of France. English was the language of the common and lower classes, and the upper class French had little or no interest at all in learning how to speak it [114-6].

Incidentally, the use of French among the English upper classes is still very much present, even though the class system is less obvious in the current time than it was during the Middle English period. For example, if one takes a cursory look at the menu of a ‘high brow’ restaurant in England or even the United States, the menu may be in French, or is at least likely to contain have many French elements. Examples of this are *pied de cochon* (pig’s feet), *foie gras* (duck liver) and *tarte Tatin* (a French apple cake), all on the menu of the Gordon Ramsay Restaurant in London [GordonRamsay.com].

The French influence on the English vocabulary was “unbelievably great” [168] as there was much benefit to learning the new words. As time passed, the French speaking upper classes came to interact increasingly with the English, which led to a great many of their native words

carrying over into the language, such as those relating to government, military terms, fashion and, of particular interest, food. For a few examples, the words themselves (apart from food) stem from French, and in turn Latin, words. *Government* from *govern*, borrowed from French *gouverner* (L. *gubernare* and G. *kubernan*, and the French morpheme *ment*), and *military* borrowed from French *militaire* (from L. *miles*), *fashion* from French *façon* (L. *factio-n-*, ‘make’, from *facere*).

4.3. Influence on Food Vocabulary during Middle English

In relation to food words, the primary focus of this essay, the French brought many words to the dinner table. In fact, French brought *dinner* to the proverbial table, which stems from the French word *diner* which means “to dine” (O.F. *disner* from L.V. *disjunare* for *disjejunare*, “to break fast” which also provided us with *breakfast*, appearing to be a rare instance of calque). Among words for seafood were *sturgeon*, from the French *esturgeon* (L.M. *sturion*), *oyster* from the OF *oistre* (G *ostreon*) as well as *porpoise*, from the Old French *porpeis* (from L *porcus*, pig, and *piscis*, fish). These are words which are in modern day associated with a level of exclusivity and exoticness. The word *sturgeon* is, for many, immediately associated with its roe, *caviar* (Fr. *caviar*), which is an expensive delicacy, appearing on the plates of a lucky few. *Oysters* are a popular yet somewhat pricey dish with many applications, appearing both in homes and high brow restaurants. Lastly, *porpoise* is clearly off the modern menu, apart from the odd medieval recipe, which one might think would make the prospect even more exotic for the modern mind, or even stomach.

Further French influence on the English food vocabulary included meats, such as *veal*, from Old French *veel* (L. *vitellus*), and *venison* (Fr. *venaison*, L. *venation*-n, from *venari*, ‘to hunt’ [Weekley 458, 459]. This continues the trend of French having influenced the names of dishes which have remained appealing over centuries, seemingly logical as the upper classes were a rich source for these words as they interacted with the people of the new country. Naturally, there were also more common words that migrated from French into the English language, such as *salad* (F. *salade*, L. *salata*) [366], *biscuit* (F. *biscuit*, L. *bis coctus*, ‘twice baked’) [43], *orange* (F. *orange*, SP. *naranja*, Arab. *naranj*, Pers. *narang*) [286] and *peach* (F. *pêche*, OF. *pesche*, VL *pessica* for *persica*) [300]. These are now common words, and foods, but since the Middle English period did not have ready access to fruits and foods from all over the

world, for example peaches, it is another case of introduction by whoever could afford the luxury.

The French introduced the basic foundations of food words, but they also included seasonings. This was both in the sense of *spice* (O.F. *espice*) and *herb* (F. *herbe*, L. *herba*, ‘grass’) as well as actual spices such as *mustard* (O.F. *moustarde*) [273] and *clove* (F. *clou* L. *clavus*). There were also words which imply that cooking methods were brought in by the French, or at least into the language, alongside the words of the foods themselves. The French would *roast* (O.F. *rostir*), they would *parboil* (OF. *parboillir*, which ironically meant ‘to boil thoroughly’, L. *perbullire*) and they would *blanch* (F. *blanchir*, ‘to whiten’).

As we have seen, the French invaders were a huge influence on the English and brought with them a wide array of all things related to food, ranging from *sturgeon* to *peaches*, from *venison* to *biscuits* and they also imported both *breakfast* and *dinner* which might, for example, be *roasted* or *blanched*. Judging from the influence of French found in the English language, one can tell that the upper class, which started out as being fairly isolated from the native speakers of England, eventually had a great influence, one which reaches all the way into modern day, as has already been briefly explained. It might be interesting keep in mind that the foods brought by this influential nation have remained exclusive, expensive and intriguing. It is fairly obvious that the French influence was not simply a confluence of two peoples interacting and learning from each other, thus sharing secrets and recipes, but rather that of a dominant elite ruling the nation and affording a higher status to its own language over that which had been used by the pre-existing inhabitants.

This might have laid the way for how the English handle new influences with regards to accepting new foods and preparation methods. Throughout the investigation into the modern influences on the French language upon the vocabulary of modern English cuisine, it will be

relevant that the Normans conquered and occupied a nation which had a class system similar to their own.

In the following chapter, the discussion will continue on to explore how the English food vocabulary came to evolve as of the 17th century and beyond, with a focus on both British English and American English, treating them individually. Attention will be directed at the British Commonwealth and, in particular, the effects that colonization has had on British food culture and vocabulary. The discussion will then go on to American English and the effects of the famous melting pot of cultures on food vocabulary, cooking methods and applications. This will be both with regard to the settlers who came to seek new livelihoods and their interaction with each other, as well as Native and Latin American influences. Finally, the chapter will move on to discussing the trends of both of the varieties side-by-side to detect and describe any trends of convergence or divergence, with a brief focus on the spread of fast-food variations.

5. English Food Vocabulary from the 16th Century to Present Day

The beginnings of Modern English occurred with the ending of the medieval period following the demise of the Plantagenet dynasty and the inception of Tudor England, around the start of the 16th century, and this was accompanied by the arrival of the printing press. It was accompanied by a spread of information in a way that was either completely new or applied in completely new ways, such as the expansion of education and new means for communicating [Baugh & Cable 200].

The invention of the printing press allowed for thousands upon thousands of books to be produced and manufactured to be identical and, as education was becoming more universal there were more people who were able to read them. Researchers think that as many as between a third and half of London's population was able to read "in Shakespeare's London" [201]. Another great factor in this evolution was the fact that transportation, commerce and communication brought more parts of the world within contact, stimulating growth and exchange, and allowing for English to take on the shape it has today.

In addition to these previously mentioned factors, we must also take into account the linguistic factors which influence language change. As suggested by Aitchison, there are two categories of factors: these are "social factors outside the language system ... [and] ... internal psycholinguistic causes" [134]. Of these, Aitchison chooses to focus on three internal causes, namely *fashion*, *foreign influence* and *social need*.

In short, arguments for *fashion* argue for the possibility that language fluctuates randomly and that change happens when speakers on occasion "miss the target" [135], arguments for

foreign influence claim that “the majority of changes are due to the chance infiltration of foreign elements” [137] and arguments for *social need* claim that language changes with the needs of its speakers, which is sometimes referred to as a ‘**functional**’ view of language change [145].

Also, in order to investigate the direction which the food vocabularies of the two English varieties might take, it will be useful to investigate two areas of interest before taking the factors of language change into account: specifically, which are the sources for the new food vocabulary, and what are the morphological changes that the vocabulary has undergone since the first encounter with English? The first of these questions will be the focus of the following outline, and following it will be a discussion of the second, as well as an analysis of the language changes with Aitchison’s three factors of language change in mind.

5.1. British Food Vocabulary from the 16th Century to Present Day

It may be perceived that the idea of modern British food to foreigners is almost completely made up of Gordon Ramsay, Jamie Oliver and the notion of having tea as a meal. Usually for the non-Briton, these associations might spring to mind long before any thoughts of actual British foods, such as the dishes which were used for the survey. Examples of these dishes are Yorkshire pudding and shepherd's pie.

The influences on Modern English were accompanied by the increased usage of English among all classes in society. Overseas travels during the Renaissance allowed for an increased interaction with other languages and this allowed for the, often controversial, importation of new vocabulary [Baugh & Cable 228]. Some of these imports came from the Romance languages, and in some cases the borrowings themselves were already far down the line of borrowing. Among these borrowings were the Spanish words *chocolate* (Sp. *chocolate*, Mex. *chocolatl*), *apricot* (1550s *abrecock*, Cat. *abercoc*, Port. *albricoque*, Arab. *al-birquq*, Byz.G. *berikokkia*, from L. (*malum*) *praecoquum* 'early-ripening [fruit]'. Form assimilated to Fr. *abricot*), *potato* (Sp. *patata*) and *cocoa* (correct form *cacao*, Sp. *cacao*, Az. *cacaua*, root form of *cacahuatl* 'bean of the cocoa-tree') as well as *maize* (Sp. *maiz*, Cu. *mahiz*), the Italian words *artichoke* (N.It. *articiotto*, O.Sp. *alcarchofa*, Arab. *al-hursufa*) and *vermicelli* (It. plural of *vermicello*) as well as the adaptation of the Dutch *pekel* which took on the form of *pickle*.

These were all words describing foods which were common to the languages and areas which they originated from, and they were assimilated into English thanks to interaction via trade and travel, so this would be considered a case of language change due to *social need* as the foods appeared with enough frequency in United Kingdom that the words associated with them became a permanent part of the English language.

As the British Empire expanded into the New World, contact with Native Americans expanded the English language with such words as *caribou* (Fr. *caribou*, Alg. *kaleboo*) and the dried *maize* called *hominy* (Alg. *Rockahomonie*, of which the first element means *maize*) and *hickory* (Alg. *pohickery*). From the other parts of the Americas came words such as the aforementioned *chocolate* as well as *chili* (also *chilli*, Az. *xilli*) and *tomato* (Sp. *tomate*, Mex. *tomatl*). Interaction with Cuba and the West Indies introduced words such as the aforementioned *potato* and *maize*, as well as bringing the ever popular *barbecue* (Sp. *barbacoa* from Haiti. *barbakoa*, ‘framework of sticks’) into the English language. From Peru came the dried meat which is referred to as *jerky* (Sp. *charquear*, Peru. *echarqui* for meat dried in long strips) and from other South American countries came words such as *cayenne* (Earlier *cayan*, *kian* from Bra. *kyyinha* associated with the town Cayenne in French Guyana) and *tapioca* (Sp. or Port. *tapioca*, Bra. *tipioca* for meal of cassava root).

From the British Empire’s interactions with the East came just as productive additions to the vocabulary. Interactions with India provided such contributions as *curry* (Ta. *kari*, Cana. *kari*), *mandarin* (Port. *mandarim*, Mal. *mantri*, Hi. *mantri*, San. *mantrin*) and *toddy* (Hi. *tari*). From a bit farther to the east came *mango* (Port. *manga* through Ta. *mankay*), and finally came the African contributions, the *banana* [W.Afr. *banana*] as well as the dish *gumbo* (Mbu. *ngombo*, ‘okra’).

It should be noted that some of these words which initially entered the English language through the expansion of the British Empire have become more common to the United States. For example, the word *jerky* is of American origin but has made its way into the Oxford Dictionary’s British section as well. Further, *chili* has also come to imply *chili con carne*, a “new world recipe” [Olver, FoodTimeline.org] which is more familiar to the United States than United Kingdom, though also recognized by most of the British students who participated in the survey.

The borrowings from the 19th century and beyond are even more focused on accumulating more knowledge from the world around English, in light of the increased interaction with other countries. These are so recent that they might be harder to distinguish as attributes of one variety of English rather than the other, since the US was well on its way to establishing itself, but the European and Eurasian borrowings shall be treated in connection with British English for the sake of convenience, as no sources have been found that provide any indication as to which borrowings were adapted into which one of the language varieties.

These modern European borrowings did in some cases imply that there might have been a relationship between the borrower and the borrowee which may have been based on more than just interactions between trading parties, in the light of the fact that education and travel were becoming more readily available. These are borrowings which have retained their original forms from the host languages. A few of them reflect the popular act of sharing drinks, such as having an *aperitif* [Fr. *aperitif*, L. *aperitivus*] with friends in France while waiting for a meal, going to the *cantina* [Sp. *cantina*] for a drink in Spain after a long day's hard work, celebrating with *vodka* [Rus. *vodka*, 'little water'] in Russia or having *sake* [Jap. *sake*] with business partners in Japan. For food, rather than drink or drinking establishment, we have the Hungarian *goulash* [Hun. *gulyáshús*], the Chinese *chow mein* [Ch. *ch'ao mien*] and the Japanese *sushi* [Jap. *sushi*] [Baugh & Cable 303]. Judging by these borrowings, the English were clearly spreading across the remaining parts of the world and seemingly accumulating new words in the fashion described at the very beginning of this essay, rifling through the pockets of unsuspecting languages for new vocabulary.

The trend seen in the modern British English is that the borrowings are far more voluntary than the trend was in Middle English, where the incentive for adopting new labels and concepts came from adapting to the invading ruler of the country. With Modern English we see a steady increase in the number of words which were instead accumulated through travel

and trade, adopting words as a *social need* arises for having them in the vocabulary, a natural process that occurred with the expansion of the British Empire as well as increased opportunities for travels and interactions with different cultures. These borrowings are dishes as well as drinks and food-related phenomena including spices, cooking methods and styles and so on, which are all more prominent today. An example of this is *barbecue*, a common and popular concept in most of the western world. There were also other particles of vocabulary with which British English interacted, like *jerky*, which might be available across the world in different shapes but is strongly associated with Britain's loud cousin, American English.

The discussion will focus on American English from the first settlement until present day, and the influence the famous 'melting pot' has had on meaning, vocabulary and method.

5.2. American Food Vocabulary from the Settlement to Present Day

When asked to define American food, many people automatically respond with quoting Morgan Spurlock's movie *Super Size Me* or simply pointing to the least healthy fast-food they can come up with. However, with the 'cultural melting pot' of settlers who came from many different parts of the world, it is easy to imagine that this has had some effect on the development of American food and food vocabulary, and also that this background is far more diverse than the common view acknowledges.

The English language was brought to the New World by English colonists. These colonists were followed by a great immigration from Ireland and Germany, respectively with the failure of the Irish potato crops in 1845 and the failure of the revolution in Germany in 1848. Until the 1890s, people from Northern Europe, many of whom were Norwegian and Swedish made the move across the sea as well, and from 1890 and onward Southern Europeans and Slavs came following the Northern Europeans [Baugh & Cable 351-2]. In addition to the voluntary immigrants, African slaves were brought to America from the 17th century until the middle of the 19th century to work on the fields of the New World, mainly in the southern states. Finally, since the mid-20th century, there has also been an influx of immigrants from neighboring countries such as Mexico and Puerto Rico, most of whom could very well be considered economic immigrants [352]. In addition to the foods which were brought to the states by immigrants, it is also believed that ice cream reached the United States at some point during this period, most likely during the 18th century [Cooper Funderberg 3].

Influences on the English food vocabulary included words such as *noodle* (Ger. *nudel*, 'narrow strip of dried dough'), *chowder* (F. *chaudiere*, 'cauldron'), *coleslaw* (Du. *koolsla*, *kool+sla*, 'cabbage salad') and *smorgasbord* (Sw. *smörgåsbord*, 'open sandwich table').

Naturally, there was also a plethora of Native American words, for a few examples are *squash*

(Alg. *askutasquash*, ‘green things that may be eaten raw’ from *askut*, ‘green, raw’ and *asquash* where the *ash* signals plural), *persimmon* (Alg. *pasimenan*, ‘fruit dried artificially’) and tree words such as the previously mentioned *hickory*, as well as the Algonquian word *caribou* for the local *reindeer*. Some words adapted were also those referring to Native American dishes, such as the vegetable dish *succotash* (Alg. *msiqatash*) and the corn bread *pone* (earlier *appane* from Alg. *apan*, ‘something baked’).

During its infancy, it would appear that American English used each available particle of culinary vocabulary to establish a culinary identity. Perhaps it should rather be said that the United States’ culinary identity was established by the multitude of *foreign influences* which arrived in the New World. Since it was a newborn nation, where most of the population came from somewhere else, it is natural to see that the dishes and vocabulary, which came with the settlers would be considered ‘American food’, and each piece of vocabulary is thus innately American. It is also intriguing to discover that the settlers would apply known words to new concepts. An example of an old meaning gaining a new use is the word *turkey* which was originally used for the guinea fowl, a fowl which was imported to England through Turkey. Turkey was subsequently applied to the large North American bird. In addition to this, there is also *rabbit* which was applied to the native animals despite the fact that these were actually *hares* [Baugh & Cable 363].

The new continent also allowed for freely combining words and applying them to concepts and new findings within the new way of life, sometimes by the use of compounding, which brought us *popcorn* (simply *pop* + *corn*) and *apple butter* (a highly concentrated form of *applesauce*). Other foods of the United States which have appeared in more recent days are the Polish dumpling *pierogi* and the sweet Japanese marinade *teriyaki* which is served at a vast number of restaurants, as well as an array of recent applications of Mexican food called *Tex-Mex*. *Tex-Mex* [*Texas+Mexico*] appeared in the 20th century and is a “native foreign food

... for it does not exist elsewhere ... [but] its inspiration came from an alien cuisine” [Root & Rochemont, *Eating In America*] which includes variations of Mexican foods such as burritos, chili con carne and tacos which often do not even remotely resemble their original forms [Olver, FoodTimeline.org].

The previous quote can be applied to all of the initial ‘American’ food, if compared to the established British food culture which has evolved over more than a millennium. Much of the vocabulary used, and dishes mentioned, have essentially been of an alien nature to the United States, with the exception of the Native American vocabulary and cuisine, though this cuisine is still considered alien to the settlers. With regard to the diversity of nations and cultures from which their countrymen originate, it makes sense that ‘American’ food is very diverse as well.

This leads us to the comparative discussion, which is the main part of this chapter, where the information gathered will be in focus and where a more thorough analysis will take place.

5.3. Discussion and Analysis

Apart from the fact that the British English has a longer history behind it, the evolution of both the British and American food vocabularies appear to have taken similar steps in their stages of evolution, mainly to have assimilated vocabulary and foods from different parts of the world as they have encountered them. On one hand, British English appears to be developing as the possibilities for interacting with other countries and cultures become more readily available. On the other hand, American English assimilates and embraces dishes of any culture which has become part of the 'melting pot'.

The discussion that takes place in this section will first focus on the morphological changes which the new food related vocabulary underwent as it became a part of the English language. Secondly, the discussion will continue with an analysis of the language change as of the period of Modern English and to present day. This will be performed according to the foundation of Aitchison's three factors of influence on language change. Further discussion will elaborate upon how these three factors might influence the convergence or divergence of the two language varieties. Finally, the discussion will briefly focus on developments in the world of the British and American cuisines.

5.3.1. Discussing the Vocabulary Additions: Morphology

Among the new food vocabulary which has been added to both of the English varieties, there appear to be three distinct effects of transfer which have taken place. In order to illustrate these effects three tables have been assembled. The previous information is summarized in each table.

The first effect of transfer is an intact transfer where the forms of the words have remained unchanged by the transfer from the host language to the borrowing language, which may in some cases have lost their singular form. This is illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1. Intact transfer

Language of Origin	Original Form	English Form	Lost Singular
French	<i>Aperitif</i>	<i>Aperitif</i>	
West African (Wolof)	<i>Banana</i>	<i>Banana</i>	
Spanish	<i>Cantina</i>	<i>Cantina</i>	
Algonquian	<i>Caribou</i>	<i>Caribou</i>	
Spanish	<i>Chocolate</i>	<i>Chocolate</i>	
Japanese	<i>Sake</i>	<i>Sake</i>	
Japanese	<i>Sushi</i>	<i>Sushi</i>	
Spanish/Portuguese	<i>Tapioca</i>	<i>Tapioca</i>	
Italian	<i>Vermicelli</i>	<i>Vermicelli</i>	<i>Vermicello</i>
Russian	<i>Vodka</i>	<i>Vodka</i>	

The second effect of transfer is a phonological transfer, where the words' original spellings have been replaced with an anglicized version, roughly corresponding to how the words were pronounced in the host language as the learners who encounter the new words "learn their adopted language imperfectly" [Aitchison 137]. Among these is the earlier form of *cayenne* (*cayan/kian*) [*kyynha*] which was then associated to the city of Cayenne. The changes that have taken place with the second effect are illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2. Phonological Transfer

Language of Origin	Original Form	English Form
French	<i>Abricot</i>	<i>Apricot</i>
Italian	<i>Articiotto</i>	<i>Artichoke</i>

Haitian	<i>Barbakoa</i>	<i>Barbecue</i>
Brazilian	<i>Kyynha</i>	<i>Cayan/Kian (Cayenne)</i>
Aztec	<i>Xilli</i>	<i>Chili</i>
Chinese	<i>Ch'ao Mien</i>	<i>Chow Mein</i>
French	<i>Chaudiere</i>	<i>Chowder</i>
Spanish	<i>Cacao</i>	<i>Cocoa</i>
Dutch	<i>Koolsla</i>	<i>Coleslaw</i>
Tamil	<i>Kari</i>	<i>Curry</i>
Peruvian	<i>Echarqui</i>	<i>Jerky</i>
Spanish	<i>Maiz</i>	<i>Maize</i>
Portuguese	<i>Mandarim</i>	<i>Mandarin</i>
Portuguese	<i>Manga</i>	<i>Mango</i>
Dutch	<i>Nudel</i>	<i>Noodle</i>
Dutch	<i>Pekel</i>	<i>Pickle</i>
Spanish	<i>Patata</i>	<i>Potato</i>
Swedish	<i>Smörgåsbord</i>	<i>Smorgasbord</i>
Hindi	<i>Tari</i>	<i>Toddy</i>

Some of these appear to be somewhat out of place, such as toddy [tari], unless it is taken into account that the Hindi pronunciation of tari resembles “*tadi*”, which then becomes a smaller and more logical step to *toddy*. There are a couple of other interesting aspects but, as these also apply to the third effect of transfer, this discussion will be included below.

The third effect of transfer is a loss of prefix, suffix, or where a part of the word has simply been omitted. However, the process here is slightly more complicated than in the previous cases as the final English word forms have in almost all cases undergone a combination between the second and third effects. Firstly, the word has undergone a loss of suffix or

prefix, and secondly it has also undergone a phonological transfer. The changes that have taken place with the second effect are illustrated in Table 3.

Table 3. Loss of Prefix or Suffix

Language of Origin	Original Form	Suggested Transferred Form	English Form
Hungarian	<i>Gulyáshús</i>	<i>Gulyásh</i>	<i>Goulash</i>
Mbuntu	<i>Ngombo</i>	<i>Gombo</i>	<i>Gumbo</i>
Algonquian	<i>Pohickery</i>	<i>Hickery</i>	<i>Hickory</i>
Algonquian	<i>Rockahomonie</i>	<i>Homonie</i>	<i>Hominy</i>
Algonquian	<i>Pasimenan</i>	<i>Pasimen</i>	<i>Persimmon</i>
Algonquian	<i>Apan (Pone)</i>	<i>Pan</i>	<i>(Appane) Pone</i>
Algonquian	<i>Msiqatash</i>	<i>Siqatash</i>	<i>Succotash</i>
Algonquian	<i>Askutasquash</i>	<i>Squash</i>	<i>Squash</i>

Many of the words which have been outlined in the third category, and subsequently their anglicized spellings, provide two perspectives. In part it displays the pronunciation of speakers of the host language, for example Hungarian or Indian, as well as how an English speaker interprets the phonetics of the foreign pronunciation in the process of adding words to their own vocabulary from the host language. This provides a valuable insight into the transfer of words from one language to another, but has little relevance for the prediction as to whether American English and British English will converge or diverge. For this to be relevant, the scope of this essay would need to expand into analyzing which languages both of the varieties of English might interact with in the future. While this will be a brief part of the

following discussion it cannot, unfortunately, be investigated exhaustively here but might be very relevant for future studies of the evolution of the English language varieties.

5.3.2. Vocabulary Change by Fashion, Foreign Influence or Social Need

To begin this section, one might ponder that *foreign influence* could be the foremost influence on language and vocabulary change, since all of these words are of foreign origin. The early vocabulary changes concerning British English were indeed caused by the *foreign influence* of the high status Latin language, and that of the French speaking invaders who came to rule the country. However, while *fashion* is said to be random, I would like to argue that fashion, in the context of language change, is anything but random. This is based on a notion that an incentive for change can give rise to a *fashion* simply because the speakers of a language may wish to further their own status without necessarily being under the pressure of an actual *social need* or by being forced by a *foreign influence*.

Aitchison points out that “there are often identifiable ‘weak spots’ in a language structure where change will be likely to strike” [136-7] and while she is speaking of morphological changes and new vocabulary additions in a discussion about the acclaimed randomness of *fashion*, a randomness which she disproves, this statement could also be applied to *social need*. The *social need* for each and every one of the previously accounted for vocabulary additions is clear as the British or American peoples come into contact with the host language and their local produce, for example needing to be able to communicate what a *mango* is with the speakers of Portuguese. Encountering this new vocabulary also creates a *social need* for adding the word to their own vocabulary in order to communicate the new findings to English speaking people and to strengthen a vocabulary “weak spot” [137], which in itself may spark a culinary *fashion* and influence the manner in which the cuisine develops.

As previously stated and outlined, the French had a substantial influence on the development of the English language in United Kingdom during the Middle English period. As the French took their place as the upper class among the British, their cuisine was regarded as sophisticated and it can be speculated with some certainty that the rich brought with them exotic wares and cookery from their home country as well as from travels abroad, which would have been likely to spark the beginning of a culinary fashion. In fact, French items are still included on the menus of “even quite ordinary restaurants” [Aitchison 142] and at more expensive restaurants the entire menu might be translated into French, for examples see Alain Ducasse’s or the Waterside Inn’s menus. A similar event, though hardly a sophisticated one, took place in Hawaii during the Second World War when spam became a staple source of protein since it did not need refrigeration, and since then Hawaii has found many uses for the product [Smith, WiseGeek.com]. Though this development was caused rather by a *social need* than *fashion*, and does not concern a language change, it is an example of factors which influence a change in a country’s culinary culture, and should be taken into account.

Influences on the British English culinary vocabulary expanded into foreign influences as of the expansion of the British Empire, and some additions have already been accounted for. Among other things, this has left the British with a great knowledge of Indian foods such as different kinds of curries as well as a strong enough liking for chicken tikka that they rehashed it and made chicken tikka massala a British national dish [Cook, Guardian.co.uk].

The culinary footprint of the United States can be generalized as being caused by an abundance of foreign influences, ranging all the way from Chinese to German and from Hawaiian to Mexican, and it could be said that some element from almost every culture has found its way to this cultural melting pot, though in this context it might be more appropriate to refer to it as a cultural Dutch oven in which all of the ingredients are allowed to stew until they became a part of the same dish. The historically diverse nature of American English

leaves little room for charting changes but, as linguists have argued, speakers learning a new language will carry over elements from their first language; an example of this can be seen in how the African slaves who were brought to America adopted the new language imperfectly and possibly giving rise to Black English [Aitchison 137]. This argument, when combined with the different languages that interacted with English during the time of the settlement and the ways in which the English assimilated the new food vocabulary into their own, has led us to the previously outlined vocabulary of Modern English.

The modern American cuisine has become infamous for the fashionable fast-food which is nearly being promulgated across the world, and the fast-food restaurant chain McDonald's is spreading rampantly with 12804 restaurants in the United States, 3598 restaurants in Japan and anywhere between 100 and 1100 restaurants in an additional 22 countries [http://www.nationmaster.com/graph/foo_mcd_res-food-mcdonalds-restaurants]. The popularity of fast-food among Americans has caused fast-food restaurants to compete over unique ways of attracting customers, for example breakfast options such as McDonald's "Southern Style Chicken Biscuit", Jack in the Box's "Waffle Breakfast Sandwich" and Burger King's "Croissan'wich". This displays a *fashion* trend of catering to specific customers such as Southern State Americans as well as redefining the concept of a sandwich in two different ways, in one case by substituting the bread with waffles and in the other case by compounding a croissant and a sandwich. Burger King's corresponding menu in the United Kingdom offers "Breakfast in Bread", but has a much narrower spread available for the customer, while McDonald's upholds both a large spread and the witty "Oatso Simple". In this case, both of the restaurant chains appear to be appealing more to the humorous and homely side of the British rather than compounding these well known items into one, almost as though they are attempting to make friends with the language and mindset of the British.

5.3.3. Common Foods - A Common Factor of Vocabulary

There are major sources of language which spread across both United Kingdom and the United States which reach the majority of people who have access to some kinds of media, such as television, radio or the Internet. In order to investigate whether British English and American English are likely to converge or diverge, it will be beneficial to go beyond vocabulary and analyze the applications of foods which are common to both cultures, such as pizza, in order to establish whether cooking trends indicate trends in vocabulary as well.

As Aitchison pointed out, word meanings are being applied both in “ordinary” and ‘metaphorical’ ways and “[a] metaphor is a word ... used in a non-prototypical way” [126]. While this concept may be difficult to apply to the food vocabulary in question, as it is limited and largely intact, there has been a widespread experimentation with common foods. This was briefly shown in the account of fast-food chains’ wordplay and redefining of, among other things, the sandwich. If the British and American peoples appear to take similar steps in developing their approaches to common foods then it is possible to speculate regarding the development of the future food vocabularies and, at the very least, strengthen the theory regarding a convergence or divergence of the language varieties.

Before moving on with the chapter, and the discussion on common foods, I shall take the opportunity to make a brief personal account of a possibly peculiar verbal difference in the meaning of *noodles*. As previously explained, the word *noodle* denotes a ‘narrow strip of dried dough’, and it is commonly associated with rice noodles and egg noodles, for example present in *chow mein*. However, upon spending an extended period of time in the United States, I found that *noodle* was in fact applied both to any kind of regular noodle, but it was also commonly used to denote any kind of plain textured pasta, regardless of shape, such as *macaroni*. This could possibly be explained by the fact that *pasta* and *noodles* have been two categories which overlap “very extensively” [Davidson, HuffingtonPost.com] but it is a

matter of speculation as I have not found a traceable origin for this vernacular meaning. Although peculiar, I have found that it is possible to identify an American just by their application of *noodle* to such pasta as *macaroni* [It. *maccheroni*] and *fusilli* [It. *fusilli*].

The pizza [It. pizza “cake, tart, pie”] can be presumed to have been present in United Kingdom for a substantial amount of time before it entered the United States during the 20th century, since the Italian population in Britain was above 5,000 people and the Italian community in London has been present since the 18th century [<http://www.resthof.co.uk/italianhistory.htm>]. In Britain, the pizza still resembles its original form. The pizza in the United States was mainly imported by the Italian immigrants who arrived during the latter half of the 20th century. Initially, the *pizza* was referred to as a *tomato pie* [Stradley, WhatsCookingAmerica.net] and has since then been adapted into many varieties,

A common variation is the ‘traditional’ *Italian pizza*, with tomato sauce and cheese, and there is also the *tomato pie* where the order is reversed, with the tomato sauce on top of the toppings and cheese. There are also specific regional variations which are named after their regions, such as the *Chicago deep dish pizza* which has a thick crust which surrounds the lavish amounts of toppings.

As Aitchison says, “[a] word is likely to have a central meaning, which can be pulled and stretched around edges. In the long run, this can give rise to various overlapping senses...”

This is easily applied to foods such as pizzas as well as it is applied to words. The core meaning of *pizzas* is, according to the Oxford Online Dictionary “a dish of Italian origin consisting of a flat, round base of dough baked with a topping of tomato sauce and cheese, typically with added meat or vegetables”. Over time, meanings have come to cover pizza

variations where the rim of the crust can be filled with cheese, the pizza is square or where the crust is substituted for French bread [GreatPizzaRecipes.com].

As previously shown, pizza has come to develop several metaphorical meanings. A couple of these variations have spread to the United Kingdom, for example the New York style pizza which is available at two of London's 'best' best pizza restaurants, Mulberry Street and Pizza East [Squaremeal.co.uk]. Also, a chain of pizza restaurants which is called The Snappy Tomato Pizza offers "Chicago Style Square Pan Pizzas" and "New York style Thin Base Pizzas" [SnappyTomatoPizza.co.uk]. Of course, there is some irony to this as the American the square pan pizza is actually referred to as a "Sicilian" pizza.

However, this shows that American trends and vocabulary are to some degree being adopted by the British, in addition to their regular options. Another sign of the influence which the United States has had on pizza in Britain is the success of the American pizza restaurant chain Domino's, which was voted Britain's "top pizza company" in a 2010 poll [Kate, Pizzanews.co.uk].

Furthermore, *hot dogs* are another common denominator for British English and American English. The core meaning of the word *hot dog* is, in the Oxford Online Dictionary's British section, "a hot sausage served in a long, soft roll". The American section adds "... and typically topped with various condiments." Sophie Morris from *the Independent* discussed hot dogs in Britain as a trend that has never really caught on, apart from the "banger in a bun [which has been] cloaked in ketchup" [Morris 2011]. Judging by this statement, the British have remained true to a basic definition of the hotdog.

The term hot dog is connected to a few pieces of lore, among others that a 19th century cartoonist drew a dachshund in a bun, and not knowing how to spell the dog's name he simply coined it a "*hot dog*" [Mikkelson 2007]. The *hund* of *dachshund* also means "dog". The first

hot dog to reach America, the original *hot dog*, is rumored to come from either Frankfurt or Vienna. The reasoning behind this speculation is that the *hot dogs* in America are mainly referred to as *Frankfurters* or *Vienna sausages* which are then put in a roll or bun, and their origin stems back to the 19th century. One of the earliest hot dog stands in America may be Charles Feltman's *pie-wagon*, from which he also served hot sausages in buns, and his pie-wagon opened on Coney Island in 1867 [Stradley, WhatsCookingAmerica.net].

Furthermore, the somewhat conservative British stance on hotdogs is a contrast with the American near-obsessive culinary nature which experiments with and adapts dishes to a point where they are barely recognizable, giving rise to a number of 'metaphorical' hot dog coinages. There is a trend of naming these hot dog variations after their origin, such as the Hawaiian style *puka dog* where the sausage is stuffed into a bun with a hole in the middle, adapting the name after the Hawaiian word for *hole* [Quinette, PukaDog.com].

However, Morris points out that American style hotdogs have made their way to the United Kingdom as of the last few years, with such creations as "[t]he Mexican Elvis" which received its name due to Mexican ingredients such as peppers and guacamole, and it was created by Cooper, 'The Dogfather', who comes from Dulwich [Morris 2011]. The introduction of American style hotdogs in Britain has been met by tentative customers. As 'the Dogfather' put it, "People are often a bit shy about trying it, but when they're done they usually call me a genius!" [Morris 2011].

Reluctance to accept a new application of an old habit is also commonplace in language evolution, and animosity towards new vocabulary additions and dialects have been well documented and discussed by an almost countless number of reporters, authors and linguists over the centuries. For example, Aitchison relates accounts from the 6th century all the way to the 19th century where people of stature bemoaned language change as a "decline in moral

values” [120], and Crystal relates some people’s fears regarding the effects that the Internet will have on “language and languages” [Crystal 1, 2001].

As this chapter has uncovered, there are some common developments in the spread of culinary trends regarding common foods such as pizza and hotdogs, and these are similar to the spread of new vocabulary additions. Some American variations of dishes, and subsequently the vocabulary which is associated with these dishes, have spread to the United Kingdom successfully. At the very least this indicates that the two cultures interact, and might also indicate another partial convergence of food vocabulary.

In order to continue the investigation into whether American and British people are sharing vocabulary which is fairly common to the other culture, a survey of 30 students was conducted of which half were American and half were British. This survey is the focus of the following chapter.

6. The Survey

The survey consists of three parts and has been assembled with the intention of acquiring data regarding the possible interaction between the culinary vocabularies of American English and British English. Fifteen British students and fifteen American students were asked to participate in the survey, though one survey from each group was returned blank, thus the highest number for either side is fourteen. The group chosen for the survey is men and women between the ages of 18 and 30 as this is the age when many become independent, as well as influence people who are younger and older than themselves with the language choices that they make. The hope is that this age group can indicate an initial trend in the adaptation of vocabulary from the other language variety.

The first part of the survey is a list where the students were asked to tick off one of two options on each row. One option was a British food word and the other one was the American equivalent, such as *chips* and *French fries*. This part of the survey is intended to investigate whether there is a noticeable preference for terms from the other language variety among the target group. The second part of the survey consists of thirty descriptions of dishes and forty options for dishes with which to pair the descriptions. There is one British and one American part of this section of the survey, and it is designed to investigate whether the British and American students in the target group recognize dishes which are fairly common to the other culture. The third part of the survey has four questions, asking the students to provide their own definitions of pizza, tacos, sausages and hamburgers, in order to establish whether the views differ between the cultures or if they are essentially equal within the target group.

6.1. One of Two Options

The students were all asked to fill out their choices in a table with two options on each row, where each row had correlating food terms in British English and American English. There were a few words from the other vocabulary which were the preference of more than sixty percent, or nine, of the concerned students. These words are the main focus of the following discussion, with some focus on the less frequently favored options. The words were chosen with the help of a list which consisted of items that are British and American variations of the same word meanings.

The options are listed in Figure 1, and the numbers indicate the number students who chose the word from the other language variety.

Vocabulary Options	British	American
Chips/French Fries	1	1
Gammon/Cured Pork	1	0
Pudding/Dessert	12	1
Supper/Dinner	13	1
Courgette/Zucchini	1	1
Aubergine/Eggplant	1	1
Grill/Broil	1	10
Ice Lolly/Popsicle	0	0
Jelly/Jello	0	0
Starter/Appetizer	0	4
Crisps/Chips	0	0
Sweets/Candy	1	2

Fairy Cake/Cupcake	9	0
Take-away/Takeout	2	0
Eggy Bread/French Toast	6	0
Marrow/Squash	10	0
Sorbet/Sherbet	2	10
Candyfloss/Cotton Candy	0	0
Black Treacle/Molasses	3	0
Semolina/Cream of Wheat	1	1

Figure 1. Word choice

As we can see, the American versions of words for which more than sixty percent of the British students showed a preference were *dessert*, *dinner*, *cupcake* and *squash*. The British words which were preferred by the same percentage of the American students were *grill* and *sorbet*. Unfortunately, the number of ‘foreign’ words which were preferred was not substantial enough to indicate any vocabulary change apart from an interaction which can be expected to happen over the course of time, much like adopting words from other languages happens naturally when new concepts are encountered. This preference would need to be documented over a longer period of time in order to gain a proper place in the vocabulary of the other language variety.

6.2. Food Recognition and Personal Definition

Following the vocabulary options were a number of descriptions of fairly common British and American dishes, such as *curry* and *shepherd's pie* on the British side, and *teriyaki* and *chowder* on the American side. The dishes were selected with the help of Americans and Britons, as well as research on regional dishes to ensure that there would be a chance of recognition. The students were asked to pair up the descriptions with a corresponding dish. The numbers in Figure 2 illustrate the number of British and American students who successfully paired the descriptions with the dishes of the other culture. The results are ordered according to the number that was assigned to each one of the dishes and indicates how many of the students chose the correct option for each dish. See the survey for more information [Appendix 1].

Am food	Britons	Americans	Br Food	Britons	Americans
1.	3	11	1.	4	4
2.	5	14	2.	13	5
3.	9	13	3.	13	9
4.	13	14	4.	8	0
5.	2	9	5.	12	8
6.	2	7	6.	6	2
7.	14	9	7.	12	6
8.	1	6	8.	8	1
9.	4	7	9.	X	X
10.	0	7	10.	11	5
11.	1	6	11.	13	1
12.	7	6	12.	14	6

13.	0	6	13.	14	5
14.	0	6	14.	14	6
15.	4	6	15.	11	7

Figure 2. Food Recognition.

As seen above, the three dishes which were most commonly recognized by the British students were *chowder*, *corndog* and *chili con carne*. Among the American students, there was merely a single item which sixty percent of the American students recognized, namely *clotted cream*. There was also one dish which was recognized by slightly fewer, *potato scallops*. This further strengthens the conclusion that the survey has only served to document a partial influence. Due to the limited size of the survey, it will simply serve as a first glance at an area of study which deserves a larger amount of time and effort dedicated to it in order to be investigated properly.

The third part of the survey, the four questions which asked the students to provide their own definitions of pizza, tacos, sausages and hamburgers was intended to ascertain whether there were any cultural aspects which might cause definitions to diverge. However, it was determined that the average definitions among the participating students were equal.

The definitions of pizza were consistently some paraphrasing of “[f]lat dough topped with cheese, meat and a complimentary sauce” [American Student 1] and “dough based product with tomato sauce and cheese on” [British Student 6] with the occasional “[d]oughy goodness” [British Student 9]. One of the American students wanted to know what kind of pizza the question regarded, “deep dish or regular?” [American Student 6].

Tacos were nearly unanimously defined as a “[h]ard or soft corn or flour based shell” [American Student 4] which could be filled with “spicy beef and extras” [British Student 4], sometimes with an illustration to ensure that there was no misunderstanding as to the shape of

a taco shell. One British student, number 7, simply wrote “[n]othing”, which implies that tacos may not be known to everyone.

The common opinion denoted that a sausage was “minced meat contained in a thin casing” [British Student 11] and generally pork based. There were two American students whose definitions were simply “[a]n elongated piece of highly processed meat” [American Student 2] and “meat rolled” [American Student 10].

Finally, most of the students regarded a hamburger as being a “[g]round beef formed into a patty” [American Student 5] and often “put into a bun” [British Student 5] with “bacon, cheese, salad etc” [British Student 11]. The odd definitions were mostly humorous, such as “like burgers ... but what Americans call them” [British Student 13] and one American student elaborated that “McDonalds does not make hamburgers” [American Student 6].

6.3. Results

The results of the survey could be interpreted as there being some influence of *fashion* on the two culinary vocabularies. This is reflected in a minor adaptation of culinary vocabulary from the other culture, or at the very least the recognition of dishes and words among speakers of the other language variety. For example, the preference for words which are foreign could indicate a larger interaction between the two cultures, showing another form of partial convergence like that which has been observed earlier. This is reinforced by the partial recognition of foods which are fairly common to the other culture.

Further analysis of the area which the survey was intended to uncover is obviously needed in order to establish a wider basis for a sound theory, but this survey has established the need for such an investigation.

The recommendations I would make is that the questions are made to be absolutely clear, as there were some unintended ambiguities on the survey which confused a few students as to what and how they were supposed to write their answers. Naturally, a future survey would also need a larger target group and a broader spectrum. It is my hope that this essay provides information which can aid in future research on the subject, and help establish a foundation for a future survey and analysis.

7. Present Day: A Smorgasbord of Possibilities

As has been shown during the course of this essay, the English vocabulary has interacted with other languages both by a quite forceful *foreign influence*, such as the Norman Conquest, and by *social need* as new culinary vocabulary was encountered and became more readily available thanks to revolutionary methods of travel and trade, for example technological advancements such as airplanes. This left the English language with a great culinary vocabulary influx even before Modern English took its shape. It is increasing its volume with every moment either by rifling through the pockets of unsuspecting languages or combining words of its own in order to catch the interest of its speakers.

Firstly, the focus of this chapter will be put on the convergence and divergence which has occurred naturally between British English and American English in similar vocabulary. The discussion will focus on varying meanings of the same vocabulary, as well as vocabulary which has changed forms but retained the same meaning over time.

Secondly there will be a discussion of the impact which the Internet and the globalization of English may have on the development of the two language varieties' culinary vocabulary.

This discussion will be based on the work of David Crystal.

7.1. Varying Meanings of the Same Vocabularies

British English and American English have both evolved from the same source, but there has been some divergence in terms of meaning between words that have the same form. This divergence is also found in culinary vocabulary. In order to establish if this provides any indication as to trends of a convergence or divergence between the vocabularies, it will be useful to investigate the origins of the words with divergent meanings.

The words and expression which will be investigated are: *a la mode*, *aubergine*, *biscuit*, *brew*, *chips*, *cookie*, *corn*, *grill*, *jelly*, *lemonade*, *muffin*, *pudding*, *saloon*, *sherbet*, *soda*, *sprouts* and *squash*.

7.1.1. Origin of the Divergent Vocabulary in Alphabetic Order

Beginning with the origin and background of the words and expression, a list has been assembled with the intention of providing background information for the following analysis and discussion.

A la mode first entered the English language with the literal French meaning of being ‘in [the] fashion’. The staff at the Cambridge Hotel in Washington County, New York, says that Professor Charles Watson Townsend had a habit of ordering apple pie with a side of ice cream during the 1890s. A woman named Berry Hall asked what the dish was named and when Townsend said that it did not have a name, she named it “Pie a la Mode” [Stradley, WhatsCookingAmerica.net] which then spread through the country. This is a trend which does not appear to have spread to the United Kingdom by any other means than *pie a la mode* smoothies [FoodNetwork.co.uk, Celtnet.org.uk].

The French *aubergine* entered the English language about 27 years after *eggplant* [O.N. *egg* + O.E. *plant*] which was added to the vocabulary in 1767. Originally, *eggplant* denoted the white variety of the plant. In the United States, *aubergine* is used to describe the color.

Biscuit, as previously accounted for, was a direct import from French that in turn originated from the Latin *bis coctus*, ‘twice baked’. The British English word is used for a type of small, dry cookie. The American English meaning for *biscuit* usually denotes a small, soft bun. The latter use has been recorded since 1818.

Brew, from the Old English *breowan*, used to indicate any brewed beverage but has come to diverge. The British English meaning is commonly used for *tea*, while the American English variety is usually used to indicate a *beer*.

Chips, from the Old English *cipp*, meaning ‘piece of wood’, has been used to denote thin slices of fruit since 1769 and the specific reference to potatoes has been found by 1859 in *a Tale of Two Cities* [Etymonline.com], while the British use which denotes French fries is harder to trace. The closest to the origin of the British way of denoting *chips* is that the first *fish and chips* shop is supposed to have been set up in the 1860s [Alexander 2009], but who did Britain the honor of being the first official fish n’ chip salesman is disputed. It is interesting to note the use of the superordinate *fish* in this context, in that an assumption is made that the hearer understands that the *fish* specifically denotes hyponyms such as *cod* and *haddock* rather than *mackerel* or *bass*.

The *cookie* was introduced by American English in 1703 and is used to denote any small, flat and sweet cake, but has come to be commonly used to specifically denote a *chocolate chip cookie* in British English. The regular meaning of *cookie* corresponds to the British English *biscuit*.

Corn came from Old English and was initially used to denote any kind of ‘grain with the seed still in’, from the Proto-Germanic *kurnam* which meant ‘small grain’ and is commonly used for *wheat* in England as well as *oats* in Scotland and Ireland. However, *corn* has come to take on the exclusive meaning of *corn on the cob* in America.

Grill has been around since the 1680s, and is an adaptation of the French *gril*. The verb meaning to *broil* on a *grill* dates back to the 1660s [Etymonline.com]. It is also synonymous with barbecuing, where food is placed on a metal *grill* and cooked over a fire. The British English meaning for *grill* is a form of cooking where strong heat is applied from directly above or below, which corresponds to the American English *broil*.

Jelly, from the Old French *gelee* meaning ‘a frost/jelly’, entered the English language during the 14th century. In the United Kingdom *jelly* denotes a soft, sweet food made from gelatin and fruit juice, synonymous to the American *jell-o*. In the United States, *jelly* denotes a sweet, thick substance made from boiled fruit and sugar with few or no pieces of fruit in it, similar to *jam*.

Lemonade originated from the 1660s and the French *limonade*, with the French suffix *-ade* intact, and research implies that the drink could have originated as an Egyptian wine made from lemon, dates and honey [Wright, CliffordAWright.com]. Today, *lemonade* is a popular drink made with lemons, sugar and water. In the United Kingdom, *lemonade* has also been associated with a sweet, carbonated drink that tastes of lemons. It is interesting to note that the suffix has been applied to a multitude of other drinks, such as limeade, Gatorade and Powerade.

The origin of *muffin* is somewhat unclear, though it may have come from the Low German *muffen*, plural of *muffe* which means ‘small cake’. Otherwise, it may be connected with the Old French *moufflet* which means ‘soft’ and is used to describe bread. The American *muffin* is a small, round and sweet cake that usually has fruit or bran inside, while the British *muffin* is a small, thick kind of round bread which is usually eaten with butter. It is otherwise known as an *English muffin*.

Pudding came from the French *boudin* in the 13th century and indicated the stomach or entrails of a pig, sheep etc. and is still associated with some British savory, and even offal, dishes such as Yorkshire pudding, steak and kidney pudding and black pudding. However, *pudding* is also associated with sweet British puddings, sometimes milk based, like rice pudding, or flour based like various sponge puddings. In this sense, the British *pudding* can also be equal to the American *dessert*. In America, *pudding* denotes a thick, creamy dish which is usually made with milk, eggs, sugar and flour which is served cold, such as a chocolate or vanilla pudding.

Saloon is an Anglicized form of the French *salon*, indicating a large hall in a public place such as a boat, and originated around 1835. On the other hand, the American meaning indicating a public bar developed by 1841. The American meaning which denotes a bar has remained, and the British meaning has taken on that of a comfortable room in a bar.

Sherbet originated from the Turkish *serbet* which denotes a drink made from diluted fruit juice and sugar. The American use of *sherbet* is that of a sweet, frozen food made with water, fruit, sugar and sometimes milk, equal to the British *sorbet*. The British use for *sherbet* is for a powder which is eaten as candy.

Soda became a part of the English vocabulary in the late 15th century. It either originated from the Italian *sida* or the Arabic *suwwad* for 'a kind of saltwort' from which soda is obtained. In British English, *soda* indicates carbonated water which is used to dilute alcoholic drinks such as whiskey and is also referred to as *soda water*. In the American sense, *soda* is used to refer to a sweet, carbonated drink which is equal to *soda pop*. *Soda pop* is sometimes shortened *pop*.

Sprout comes from the Old English *sprutan*, from *asprutan* meaning ‘to sprout’. In British English, the word *sprouts* has among other things come to denote Brussels sprouts, while American English uses it for alfalfa sprouts.

Squash is a borrowing from a Native American language, specifically Algonquian. The original word *askutasquash* literally translates to “the green things which may be eaten raw”. In British English, *squash* has come to denote a drink made of fruit juice, sugar and water.

7.1.2. Discussing the Divergence

There are a great number of words in the English vocabulary which are shared by the two language varieties. Quite a few of these words have come to diverge in meaning, such as the previously outlined seventeen examples.

I propose that there are three different patterns of divergence which can be distinguished. The first is a pattern where the original meaning has been replaced completely within one language variety, the second is a pattern when the original meaning has been slightly altered within one language variety, and the third pattern can be defined as when there has been a divergence, or specific development, from the original meaning within both language varieties. Further patterns could be introduced but, due to the limitation of the space and range of this essay, these three patterns will have to suffice.

The first pattern can be observed in *a la mode*, *aubergine*, *sherbet* and *squash*. *A la mode* because the meaning was adapted from fashion to indicate a pie served with ice cream, *aubergine* because the meaning changed from indicating a dark berry to the color, *sherbet* since it has gone from indicating a drink or frozen food to a candy powder, and finally *squash* because the British English meaning morphed from a “green thing” to a drink.

To elaborate, *a la mode* was a case of American whim to apply an old concept to a new one which has no logical connection to the form of the word. This being said, one could ponder

that the woman who named it *Pie a la mode* considered it a new *fashion* for pie as it had been ‘dressed up’ with vanilla ice cream. The other two words included in this pattern could be considered to be logical adaptations of words where an old form became obsolete, that there was a *social need* to apply these words to a new article. However *eggplant* has been in use since 1767 while *aubergine* entered the English language in 1794 [Harper, Etymonline.com], and the French origin of the word suggests that there might have been a *fashion* related shift towards the French language and possibly culture around this time.

This opens up an opportunity for theorizing about the British historical connection to the French language, which might then have jumped into the American language to indicate color, a use which has been attested since 1895. The theory about an influence of fashion sparking a change in the British English language around this time is strengthened by the choice of the French *sorbet*, which has been used to denote “frozen dessert, sherbet” since 1864. The assimilation of these two words can be traced to the reigns of the French emperors Napoleon and Napoleon III, who ruled between 1799-1814 and 1848-1870 respectively [France Timeline, History-Timelines.org.uk]. Napoleon was one of “the most celebrated personages in the history of the West” [Britannica.com] and led France to rise in the ranks with the founding of the First French Empire. Napoleon III was the ruler of the Second French Empire who gave France “two decades of prosperity under a stable, authoritarian government” [Britannica.com]. As *fashion* tends to follow the current trends, it is logical to see that these words were incorporated into the English language during times when France was viewed with high esteem.

Squash, on the other hand, has been recorded from the 1640s with the Algonquian meaning of “green things that may be eaten raw”. However, *squash* had been in use as a verb since the 1560s, for the act of squashing, or crushing. The verb originated from the Old French *esquasser*, “to crush”. It is not farfetched to ponder that the British meaning of a drink could

very well have originated from the French background, making a juice by '*esquasser* [modern form *écraser*] *un fruit*', crushing a fruit. So far in the analysis of divergent meanings, it would appear that the American meaning changes have been caused by what could be called a *local fashion* and *social need*. The British meaning changes appear to be caused by a European or historical fashion, depending on whether the timing is interpreted through the standings of countries in Europe at the time of the vocabulary additions, or through the historical connection between the British and the French.

Furthermore, the second pattern can be observed in the greatest number of words. This pattern denotes a meaning that is similar to the original meaning, yet denotes something which has a distinguishably different shape. These words are *biscuit*, from a British cookie to an American bun, *chips*, which has gone from denoting a thin slice of fruit or potato to a British French fry. There is *cookie*, which has gone from meaning any kind of cookie to specifically denoting a chocolate chip cookie, and *corn* which has gone from indicating any grain to specifically indicating corn on the cob, and so on with *grill*, *jelly*, *lemonade*, *muffin*, *pudding* and *saloon*. Among these words, half of each has attained new meanings in each language variety. Some of the American English meanings of words appear to be following the trend of applying words to concepts which are encountered or founded in the New World, such as corn and saloons, and thus adhering to granting words new meaning by *social need*. The British would appear to have experimented with the dishes and preparation methods, over time resulting in different versions of *muffins* and *grilling*, rather following a local fashion and making the British cuisine truly British.

The third pattern unites British English and American English in that they have both developed their own specific meanings for the words *brew* and *sprouts*. *Brew* originally indicated any brewed beverage but has come to indicate tea and beer, and *sprouts* denoted anything that *sprouts*, now indicating *Brussels sprouts* and *alfalfa sprouts*. Both of these cases

appear to be changes by *local fashion*, adapted to the local varieties. They are also examples of nominalization which appears to be a trend of its own in the culinary world, with another example being the previously mentioned *squash*, taken from the act of squashing something and being applied to a drink, from verb to noun.

To conclude this section, there are a few different developments in the vocabularies of British English and American English, some of which can be traced to historical events such as the rise of French with the Napoleonic eras. The causes of change in British English can, in most cases, be traced to *fashion*, where it is hard to distinguish between *fashion* and *social need* for the American changes. When it has been a matter of *fashion*, the United States has had tendencies to follow *local trends* where the United Kingdom has had tendencies of following *European* or even *historical trends*, though with some *local trends* as well.

The next section will briefly outline the possibilities which the Internet and the globalization of the English language bring with them for the development of the British English and American English culinary vocabularies.

7.2. The Internet Impact: the World is Flat (Again) Like a Pizza

The importance of the Internet has, metaphorically speaking, exploded during the course of the last decade, even more so than was envisaged a decade ago. The title points to the fact that information has once again become “point-to-point”, meaning virtually any information is available on Google, at the very least as a proxy and there is no reason to travel across the world when information is only a mouse click away.

7.2.1. The Internet Impact

In 2001, David Crystal wrote about the impact which the Internet has had on language, ranging from previously accounted for anxieties regarding the effects which the Internet might have on language development [see page 26]. Even back in 2001, information had a completely new way of spreading over the Internet, and Crystal accounts for different vocabulary uses on the different media used to communicate such as email, the web and virtual worlds [Crystal 2001].

What is interesting to note is that the online phenomena of Facebook, Twitter and YouTube were still years from being created and certainly far from becoming the popular social and political tools which they are at this moment in time. This opens up for speculation that the spread of British English, and possibly even more American English, have gained a new medium for proliferating local cuisine and food vocabulary.

It has become easier to spread one’s opinion and knowledge to anyone with an internet connection, though this occurs at varying speeds, depending on how fast the respective connections are. For examples of online cooking influences, the top cooking channel on YouTube is called *Epic Meal Time* and consists of a team of young American men who generally combine several kinds of foods with bacon strips and alcohol in more or less inspiring ways. On Facebook, Jamie Oliver, at the time of writing, has over a million “likes”,

Anthony Bourdain's show *No Reservations* has a million and a half "likes", and each person who "likes" or "follows" these public figures and channels are provided regular updates, tips and tricks from the person(s) in question. In 2011, Sam Dean of *BonAppetit.com* listed the "Top 10 Chefs to Follow on Twitter", where fans can follow the progress of restaurants, pick up tips of where to eat and also get a look into the daily lives of their favorite chefs.

It is difficult to say what effect this has had on the culinary vocabularies of British English and American English, but it can be speculated that there has been some exchange of vocabulary and a dissemination of local recipes. Whether speakers adapt the new spelling as well as the vocabulary, or merely pick up tips from what they read without allowing it to affect their daily speech and writing would require a study conducted over a long period of time. This is unfortunately beyond the reach of this essay, but the medium of the Internet will doubtlessly have some effect on the future development of the divergence or convergence of the two language varieties' vocabularies.

7.2.2. The Globalization Factor

Crystal has also elaborated on the potential for English as a global language, as the language has become more widespread and more people speak it than any other language on the planet. At the time he wrote *English as a Global Language*, which was in 1997, estimates of how many people currently spoke English varied between 670 million and 1,800 million people [Crystal 1997 53-61] depending on whether the estimate only counted "native or native-like command of English ... [or] ... a criterion of "reasonable competence" [61]. In 2004, the number of reasonably competent English speakers was estimated to be around 1,800 million [Schiltz 2004] and today it can be speculated that over two billion people have a reasonable command of the language.

From this point of view, the development of either one of the English varieties in question may very well depend on which countries each culture chooses to interact with in the future. For the sake of speculation, any one country in the world might become fashionable at some point in time and, depending on the country's vicinity to either the United Kingdom or the United States, it might have some influence on their culinary vocabulary. This is another question which only time can truly resolve and, while it could be crucial for the convergence or divergence of the two language varieties, the span of this essay is not wide enough to include a larger sociolinguistic investigation as to which countries would have the biggest impact on their neighbors.

8. Conclusion

8.1. The Historical Influence

The beginning of the essay outlined the earliest influences on the food vocabulary of English, from the Latin *beet*, *pear* and *oyster* to the immense amount of French vocabulary which changed the form of English and laid the foundation for what it is today. Many French words from the Middle English era were rarities at the time, such as *oranges* and *peaches*. This appears to be logical since the French had their place as the upper class and could afford to import expensive wares and introduce new concepts. The French influence was found to have been a great source of new vocabulary, and it is likely that this caused French to be a language which became firmly associated with rare and exotic high status foods.

The development of modern English was found to include many exotic words of Spanish, Italian, Dutch, for example *chocolate*, *vermicelli* and *pickle*. In addition to this new vocabulary there were imports from the Americas, such as *caribou*, *hominy* and *jerky*. The British cuisine vocabulary expanded as the British came across new items during trade and travel, and the expansion can be regarded as being caused by a *social need*.

The American English culinary vocabulary was assembled by the variety of cultures which arrived to the New World, adapting words to their common English vocabulary and giving the famous melting pot its name. According to Aitchison's three labels of language change, it can be said that the American culinary vocabulary was established by a multitude of *foreign influences*, where the new vocabularies were adapted into English, and some old words were attached to concepts of the New World.

In the transfer between languages, there were some morphological changes. The three distinct changes which were discovered was an intact transfer where the word retained its form, a phonological transfer where the words appear to be spelled as they sound to the English speaker, and a loss of prefix, suffix or where a part of the word has been omitted. In most cases, the third morphological change occurs in parallel with the second. The cause of the changes within the British English vocabulary was concluded to be a mix of *social need* and *fashion*. The cause of changes within the American English vocabulary was concluded to be *foreign influences*, and recent trends were attributed to *fashion*. It was also found that there appears to be some convergence between the trends of fast food in the United States and the United Kingdom.

The survey concluded that there was some preference for American English varieties of words among the British students as well as some preference for British varieties of words in American students, though unfortunately not a substantial enough trend which would support a compelling deduction of the existence of any such influence. Furthermore, a few dishes and condiments from the other culture were recognized. There was a general agreement on the definitions of tacos, pizza, hamburgers and hotdogs, but the definitions were too general to indicate any particular influence from either language variety, though there was a recognition of some influence of *fashion*.

The final chapter begun with discussing vocabulary which are common to both British English and American English, but have also diverged in meaning. The section found that words had been replaced by *social need*, some of them interestingly around the reigns of Napoleon and Napoleon III in France. Many words were replaced due to a *local* or *European fashion* and some were replaced due to *social need*, but no words were found to have changed meaning due to *foreign influence*. Finally, the second chapter found that the development of the Internet as well as the globalization of English opens up for interaction and a spread of

information which may influence the development of the language varieties' culinary vocabularies. However, it was found that it is impossible to specifically determine this influence without a long term study.

To conclude this chapter, history has had a substantial influence on the development of the English varieties, mainly that of French.

8.2. The Sociolinguistic Influence and Final Conclusion

In general, the trends which cause the two language varieties to develop further appear to be divergent in that the American English culinary vocabulary has developed due to the *social need* of establishing a vocabulary in the new world, while the British English culinary vocabulary has rather followed trends of *foreign influence* and *European fashion*. This is based on the historical development of British English which was heavily influenced by French, as well as further finds which support a British connection to France since new French vocabulary was introduced during the reigns of Napoleon and Napoleon III, both of which caused France to progress and rise in power.

The sociolinguistic influences on the English varieties during the Modern English period have respectively been the countries with which Britain interacted during the expansion of the British Empire, and this led to a substantial number of words being imported into English from Britain's colonies and trading partners. Arguably the greatest influence on British English during this period came from India, as chicken tikka massala is a cross between an Indian and a truly British dish, as well as widely being accepted as a British national dish. In contrast with Britain, the cuisine of the United States is diverse due to the varied cultural backgrounds of the settlers, as well as the immigrants who came from neighboring countries. Among others, immigrants have contributed with such food as the American interpretation of Mexican cuisine called Tex-Mex, which is a large part of the fast-food industry.

There are a few of points of convergence between the two food vocabularies, namely the presence of French vocabulary on menus and the spread of fast food varieties from the United States to the United Kingdom. In addition to this, there was some evidence of the exchange of lexical preferences between the British and American students who participated in the survey,

and their definitions of a few fast-food items corresponded to those of the students from the other culture.

However, the few signs of convergence were not substantial enough to show that the two language varieties will ever converge entirely, but the conclusion of the research and analysis is rather that it is likely that the culinary vocabularies of British English and American English show signs of diverging.

In part, this claim is strengthened by the effects that mainland Europe is having on the development of British English, as well as the effects which South America is having on American English. Also, it is nearly impossible to predict the effects which the spread of English as a global language will have on the development of all varieties of English. The factors of globalization, the internet as well as the neighboring countries which surround the language varieties provide environments of development which diverge too greatly to make a convergence likely. Adding in the strongly divergent pasts of the United Kingdom and the United States, I have reached my final conclusion. These culinary vocabularies are likely to diverge in the future.

8.3. Further Research

There is a large amount of research to conduct in this area to continue exploring the future development of trends in the culinary vocabulary of British English and American English, as this essay has merely laid some foundation which could easily be elaborated upon in greater depth.

Research which I suggest as a continuation of this analysis could begin with a more extensive survey, with a breadth and carefully thought out content intended to further discuss and investigate the knowledge among each one of the cultures and establish an empirical base which can be trusted to have taken all necessary aspects into account. Due to the limited time during which my survey was conducted, it was unfortunately not possible to make more use of it when taking the human factor into account, such as two uncompleted surveys. My suggestion for a further survey would include recognition of foods which are recognized in the entire country from which they originate. This would be a good foundation as one would also need to take into account that many American foods are largely unknown to other Americans, whether they come from the Southern, Northern, East or West parts of the United States.

Further research could also take into account all parts of the United Kingdom specifically, first investigating culinary developments within each of the countries. My own survey, for example, was conducted in England, so it is merely a generalization that it might, or might not, apply to the entire United Kingdom. To gain a broader base, one could also investigate recognition and knowledge among different social strata, such as working the class, middle class and upper class.

An important factor to be taken into account is the Internet and the future interaction in which the United Kingdom and the United States might partake with other countries around the

world. The exposure to these countries and cultures may coincide between the United Kingdom and the United States, and could cause the English varieties to converge due to exposure. The researcher might want to take into account previous interactions which the United States and the United Kingdom respectively have had and try to predict future interactions which might have an effect on the development of the culinary vocabularies.

These are merely a few suggestions on the topic of future research, and there are certainly more angles to take on this intriguing subject of language development.

Sources

Primary Data:

Survey [Attachment 1].

Sources:

A. Wright, Clifford. "History of Lemonade".

CliffordAWright.com/caw/food/entries/display.php/id/95/. N.P. N.D. Web. April 27, 2012.

Aitchison, Jean. *Language Change: Progress or Decay? Third Edition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. Print.

Alexander, James. "The unlikely origin of fish and chips". BBC.co.uk. N.P. Web. December 18, 2009.

C. Baugh, Albert and Thomas Cable. *A History of the English Language, Fifth Edition*. London: Routledge, 2002. Print.

"Celt Net". "Apple Pie à la Mode Smoothie". CeltNet.org.uk. N.P. N.D. Web. April 28, 2012.

Cook, Robin. "Robin Cook's chicken tikka masala [sic] speech". Guardian.co.uk. N.P. April 19, 2001. Web. March 18, 2012.

Cooper Funderburg, Anne. *Chocolate, Strawberry and Vanilla: A History of American Ice Cream*. Pennsylvania: Bowling Green State University Press, 1995. Print.

Crystal, David. *English as a Global Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. Print.

---. *Language and the Internet*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. Print,

Dale, Doug. "McPicnic!". SummitViewCommunity.com. N.P. N.D. Web. July 15, 2012.

Davidson, Alan. "Pasta". HuffingtonPost.com. N.P. N.D. Web. April 9, 2012.

Dean, Sam. "Top 10 Best Chefs to Follow on Twitter". N.P. October 21, 2011. Web. July 19, 2012.

Encyclopedia Britannica. "Napoleon I". N.P. N.D. Web. July 18, 2012

---. "Napoleon III". N.P. N.D. Web. July 18, 2012.

"Food Network". "Apple Pie a La Mode Shake". FoodNetwork.co.uk. N.P. N.D. Web. April 28, 2012.

"Great Pizza Recipes". "A Guide to Different Types of Pizza". GreatPizzaRecipes.com. N.P. N.D. Web. April 13, 2012.

Harper, Douglas. *Etymonline.com*. Internet, 2012. Web. February-May 2012.

History Timelines. "France Timeline". N.P. N.D. Web. July 18, 2012.

"Kate". "Domino's Voted Top Pizza Company in Customer Experience Poll". PizzaNews.co.uk. October 28, 2010. Web. April 14, 2012.

"Kemmer". "Sum: James D. Nicoll Quote". LinguistList.org. N.P. February 23, 2002. Web. April 4, 2012.

"McDonald's". "Food Statistics: McDonalds Restaurants (most recent) By Country". NationMaster.com. N.P. N.D. Web. July 13, 2012.

Morris, Sophie. "Serious About Sausages: The hotdog gets a makeover". Independent.co.uk. August 4, 2012. Web. March 25, 2012.

Olver, Lynne. "Food Timeline FAQs: Mexican & Tex Mex Foods". FoodTimeline.org. N.P. N.D. Web. March 21, 2012.

Pearson/Longman. *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*. Harlow:

Pearson/Longman, 2009. Print.

“Resthof”. “History of Italian Restaurants in Britain”. Resthof.co.uk. N.P. N.D. Web. July 15, 2012.

Smith, S.E. “What Is Spam Musubi?”. WiseGeek.com. N.P. N.D. Web. July 12, 2012.

“Snappy Tomato Pizza”. “Index”. SnappyTomatoPizza.co.uk. N.P. N.D. Web. April 14, 2012.

Stradley, Linda. “Apple Pie - History of Apple Pie”. WhatsCookingAmerica.net. N.P. N.D. Web. March 26, 2012.

---. “Hot Dogs - History and Legends of Hot Dogs”. WhatsCookingAmerica.net. N.P. N.D. Web. March 26, 2012.

---. “Pizza - History & Legends of Pizza”. WhatsCookingAmerica.net. N.P. N.D. Web. March 26, 2012.

“Square Meal”. “Best Pizza”. SquareMeal.co.uk. N.P. N.D. Web. April 14, 2012.

Weekley, Ernest. *A Concise Etymological Dictionary of Modern English*. London: Secker & Warburg, 1952. Print.

“Wikia”. “McLabeling”. GreysAnatomy.Wikia.com. N.P. N.D. Web. July 14, 2012.

Quinette, Rick. “A Hole Lot of Flavor”. PukaDog.com N.P. N.D. Web. July 11, 2011.