

LINGUISTIC PERFORMANCE AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION
WITHIN CONTEMPORARY COOKING
A Comparative Study of the Language Use of Two British Chefs

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February 2014

ABSTRACT

This is a limited linguistic study that focuses on contemporary language use of two British nationals who are well-known professionals within cooking, and who perform linguistically in the writing of cookery books and in television shows.

There are two linguistic foci for the study: a gender perspective and a social class perspective. The aim is to evaluate the linguistic features that are characteristic of the two subjects in relation to the research approaches and in relation to previous research from these perspectives, and to compare their respective language use from the selected material. The study also aims to explore how the language use and linguistic style of each subject may contribute to his or her identity and to the professional image marketing processes the employ.

A quantitative method is used for the study of specific linguistic features and to detect the presence or absence of these features. A qualitative approach is used when discussing and commenting on how the qualitative result may have impact on, or may contribute to, individual style, identity and professional branding. The texts for the study is randomly chosen and comprises written texts in two cookery books of each individual and spoken language in one television episode, of each person, from broadcasted cookery shows. Due to the randomly selected and limited data, the study does not claim to be statistically relevant. Rather, it presents possible tendencies.

The results of the study show that the subjects act linguistically in accordance with traditional findings and previous research from the perspective of social class, but opposite to traditional findings regarding gender. This result raises the question as to whether or not class may have priority over gender as a linguistic feature, with higher relevance as a social variable, and further research is suggested within this area.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Basis of the Study

Language and linguistic performance are central aspects in identity shaping processes, whether the linguistic performance in question is deliberate or not. Language is part of human identity and the linguistic culture to which individuals belong influences how identity is perceived. When seeking to reach an audience with a certain message, not only what is being said is of importance, but also how it is said. The choice of certain words, expressions and other stylistic features has impact on the sender's perceived identity.

Linguistic features of a person's idiolect may be related to individual choices and conscious linguistic acts, that is conscious linguistic performance in order to strengthen the personal profile in a certain role or situation, and hence the identity. Certain features in linguistic performance may also be unconscious or not deliberately chosen; for instance, this includes such ones that are linked to different dialects or linked to culture, class or gender.

The power of language in relation to identity makes it an important tool in communication, brand building, brand identity and positioning. If one is seeking to reach out to an audience and performing publicly as a writer or through broadcasted media, linguistic performance is crucial for the result in terms of identity, image and market opinion. The language of, for example, writers who produce non-fictional work adds to the public image of the writer in question and hence his or her personal brand. Linguistic style is essential in the process: the language of the writer or speaker is part of his or her personality and the linguistic traits influence the public picture. Therefore, a study of the linguistic representation and performance of media personalities, for instance comparing male and female performance of representatives within the same profession and public arena, but with different cultural backgrounds and different linguistic styles, would be of value.

The research area for this study is language and text production in contemporary cooking and the writers and media personalities that will be the objects for the linguistic study are British chefs Jamie Oliver and Nigella Lawson. Both are well-known, popular and celebrated cooks who are successful in their respective careers and who have produced a great many books as well as culinary TV shows and cooking programmes. Both Oliver and Lawson have maintained a strong focus on brand building, as evidenced by their respective successful careers. At the same time, they each use different linguistic styles and they perform in two distinctive ways linguistically.

1.2 Thesis Questions

In light of the above mentioned, the thesis questions for my essay will be as follows:

1. What linguistic traits, with a focus on gender, culture and class, can be found in the language of the two chefs and brand builders within cooking?
2. To what extent are these traits in line with previous research and how may they contribute to the individual's respective linguistic style and identity?

The thesis questions are based on the opinion that the two individuals, Oliver and Lawson, have different language styles and different linguistic performances in their spoken language. However, there may also be differences that are represented in written text, such as books authored by the two chefs. By answering the thesis questions, this study aims to uncover linguistic evidence that supports or refutes the perception that the two media personalities represent different linguistic styles, and to discuss how linguistic features may have impact on style and identity.

In order to answer the thesis questions, a review of relevant literature from different fields will be conducted, concentrating on sociolinguistics and gender studies. Thereafter, a comparative study on written texts authored by both Oliver and Lawson will be conducted, to be collected from cookery books, as well as spoken language from television shows. In the Discussion section of this essay, the sociolinguistic implications of these will be considered, with a focus on how informative they have been in respect of modern British culture, in particular the class system and gender, and attitudes to aspects of language use. In the first part of the section, there will be a description of the backgrounds, antecedents and public profiles of both chefs.

1.3 Aim and Purpose

Research within linguistics reveals that there are identifiable differences between men's language and women's language. Discourse and verbal communication are often the main objects of linguistic research, but studies and comparisons have also been performed on written language and texts. Differences that are most commonly studied include, such aspects as length of sentences, certain expressions that mitigate¹ the message, how expansive women's speech is compared to men's in terms of the number of words used, how inviting it may seem as an effect of the use of tag questions, or, alternatively, how abrupt and strictly declarative it is. The

¹ Mitigation is achieved for example by the use of tag questions or hedges

discussion will also explore how close the language is to the standard form, considering both morphological, grammatical, and syntactic aspects. The proportion of slang, popular expressions, certain types of jargon and overall language style may also be of interest.

This study will consider linguistic variables that can be related to gender, culture and social class in order to observe how these features may contribute to a certain linguistic style, how it impacts upon the publicly perceived identity and image of the speaker or writer, and also whether these align with the common findings of most published research. Pronunciation and dialect related to geographical aspects will be disregarded, as these aspects are not part of the study.

There are possible limitations to consider. The study takes only a certain range of features into consideration: there may be features of relevance that are ignored and that might have impact on the overall result, were they to be considered. There is also the choice of texts to consider. Only a few texts, such as excerpts from two cookery books and spoken language from one television programme of each individual, constitute research data for the study. These texts are chosen randomly and the result of the study might have been different had other texts been analysed as research material. It will only be possible to comment on the texts chosen in relation to the linguistic features presented and the study does not aim to present full coverage of the linguistic research area in question.

2. SUBJECTS FOR THE STUDY

– TWO BRITISH CHEFS

2.1 Jamie Oliver – The Naked Chef

Jamie Oliver is a well-known cook, television personality, restaurant owner, author of cookbooks and ambassador for healthy food, with a special interest in food for children and nutritious school meals. Oliver became known as “the Naked Chef” because of his hands-on style and recipes with simple ingredients. His style has been described as “naked”, which means that it is straightforward, and his message concerning the necessity of healthier food habits has been outspoken and clear over the years since then.

Oliver was born in 1975; he grew up in Essex where his parents ran a pub. Here, he had early training, and this was later followed by him attending Westminster Catering College. After that, he worked for several years at the popular restaurant, *The River Café*. While working there, a documentary was made that portrayed Oliver and, soon after that, in 1997, he was presented with the opportunity of a television show of his own – *The Naked Chef*. Oliver has subsequently produced cookery shows “on the road”, visiting different locations around the world. *The Fifteen Foundation*, which offers training in restaurants for young unemployed people, is another initiative of Oliver’s that has been successfully exported to other countries. With nutritious lunches at schools in mind, Oliver initiated the national *Feed Me Better* campaign in Britain in 2004, and an accompanying petition for better school meals resulted in the British government granting considerably more money to this sector in order to improve the standard.²

Oliver lives mainly in London, but also resides in Essex, where he owns a farmhouse and grows fruit, vegetables and herbs. The farm has been the location for television series *Jamie at Home*. Oliver has received many awards³ for his initiatives concerning healthy food and more nutritious and balanced meals in order to decrease obesity, both in Britain and in the USA. The best-selling cookbooks that he has authored, and the restaurants within his company group, are numerous.⁴

² The government pledged an extra £280 million to improve the standard of school meals, to provide training for dinner ladies and equipment for schools.

³ www.jamieoliver.com/about/jamie-oliver-biog

⁴ Excerpt from the list of awards on www.jamieoliver.com/about/jamie-oliver-biog

2000 A BAFTA award for the television series of *The Naked Chef* in the Features category

2003 Tatler Best Restaurant Award

2003 MBE for his contribution to the hospitality industry

2005 June - Jamie was awarded an MBE (Member of the British Empire) in the Queen's Birthday Honours

2005 October - Special Recognition Award - UK National TV Awards

2005 October - Best Factual Programme (for *Jamie's School Dinners*) - UK National TV Awards

In conclusion, Oliver is a popular and much-esteemed cook and media personality who reaches out to a wide audience with a direct mode of address, and a language that is simple and straightforward. As a brand-builder, he is most successful, with a clear culinary ideology and the communication of a consistent message, both in the media and through his various initiatives. In terms of social class, Oliver appears to cultivate a working class image, and this is reflected in his language in terms of his colloquial Essex accent, his vocabulary, and other aspects of his linguistic style that will be explored below.

In this study, it will be of interest to look at specific linguistic insertions and speech habits of Oliver's in order comment upon how they may coincide with features that are most often associated with working class speech, but also to observe how these features may contribute to communication and brand building, and to Oliver's projected persona.

2.2 Nigella Lawson – Nigellissima

Nigella Lawson, born 1960, is a British cook, food writer, and author of cookbooks. Lawson's career started as a journalist, a book reviewer, and restaurant critic. Lawson comes from a publicly known family and from a conservative upper middle-class background. Lord Lawson, her father, has had a career as a Conservative politician. Lawson's late husband was a famous journalist and so is her brother. Lawson published her first cookbook in 1998, and it was entitled *How to Eat*. Her second book, *How to be a Domestic Goddess*, was published in 2000 and gave her the British Book Award for Author of the Year. *Nigella Bites*, *Nigella Feasts*, *Nigella's Christmas Kitchen*, and *Nigella Express*, are all examples of her television shows that have been shown over the years. Nigella Lawson also has her own cookware range, *Living Kitchen*, which is a successful brand in its own right. Lawson has a special interest in Italian food and one of her most recent cookery shows is called *Nigellissima*, produced and broadcasted by BBC in 2012, accompanied also by a cookery book with the same title.

2005 Jamie's School Dinners, Fresh One won the BAFTA TV Award for Best Factual Series

2006 Outstanding Achievement Award at the British Book Awards 2006

2007 Gourmand World Cookbook Awards Best Book Tied to a TV Series

2008 "Cook With Jamie" wins IACP Cook Book Award

2009 Observer Food Monthly - Food Personality of the Year

2010 Jamie's Italian named Brand of the Year at the British Hospitality Association Awards

2010 Jamie became the recipient of the TED award

2011 TV Choice Award– Best Food Show for Jamie's 30 Minute Meal

2012 May – Harvard School of Public Health's Healthy Cup Award

During 2013, Nigella Lawson's private life created headlines in the British press. Her divorce, the public quarrel that went before it and her statement about feminism causing women to 'dread the kitchen' (www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article469672) are reasons. Lawson has also received criticism for her book *How to be a Domestic Goddess* from a feminist perspective. In October 2013, *The Daily Mail* published a statement from Nigella Lawson, which appeared to blame feminism for women's "dread of the kitchen": "[...] Women of my generation were keen - rightly - not to be tied to the stove, but the ramifications of this were that they felt a sense of dread in the kitchen. How can this be good for anyone?' 'I also feel that to denigrate any activity because it has traditionally been associated with the female sphere is in itself anti-feminist'" (www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article469672).

Lawson further said that she was 'baffled' to be asked if she considers herself a feminist, as this should be 'self-evident'. The *Daily Mail* further reported Lawson saying: "Feeling comfortable in the kitchen is essential for everyone, male or female. At the time it seemed so many people were fearful of cooking, and that meant home was never more than a stop-off from work." (www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article469672).

Being a journalist, Nigella Lawson says that she thinks that her audience and her readers can relate to her, because she does not label herself a chef. "I am not a chef; I am not even a trained cook. So yes, I do think the fact that I am a bit of a kitchen klutz, and fit cooking into an already busy life (and I started writing food books when I was a non-food columnist with young children) means that I cook in much the same way as my readers, or viewers' 'Real cooking, the sort that goes on in homes, does not have to be tricky or difficult and I felt it was important to demonstrate that.'" www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-2469672).

The above statements of Nigella Lawson are interesting from a feminist perspective, and also from perspectives such as class and culture. She has positioned herself as very feminine, and she adds a sensuous style both to her dishes and to her overall performance in cookery books and broadcasts. Her looks and appearance are in focus, in parallel with the food and cooking. Lawson seeks to make use of her femininity in creating identity and building a brand, but also to address a wide audience and reach out beyond the upper middle class stratum to which she belongs.

In conclusion, Lawson has positioned herself as both feminine and sensuous, and at the same time a non-prestigious cook rather than chef, with the ability to present easy cooking for everyday life of ordinary people. How this is manifested in her language will be a primary focus of this study.

3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

3.1 Theoretical Background on Sociolinguistics, Culture and Class

Sociolinguistics is one area that serves as a theoretical basis for this study. The relationship between language and society is in focus, and there is a productive link to culture that will be of interest. Regional dialects will not be included in this study, whereas social dialects, or sociolects, are of particular relevance. Social class is often used when categorising speakers in different groups from a social perspective, with categorisation in terms of working class, middle class, and also the lower and upper segments of each group. This study will look at linguistic variables, such as certain words or expressions, in relation to for example class a social variable. The idiolects of two selected individuals will be studied and it will be informative to observe and identify what specific features are present in their respective use of language, and to discuss how they may be linked to, for example, social background. Different linguistic variables can function as social markers, marking the speaker as belonging to a certain group. “One feature that seems to be a fairly stable indication of lower class [...] is the final pronunciation of –ing with [n] rather than [ng] at the end of words such as sitting and drinking” (Yule 256). “Another social marker is called ‘[h]-dropping’, which make the words at and hat sound the same” (Yule 256). Such features and social markers are of interest to pay attention to in the study.

Another aspect is speech style, in the sense of formal or informal style, which may be recognisable in both spoken and written language. “It is common for speakers to have competence in several styles, ranging between the two extremes of formal and informal” (Mooney, LaBelle et al 469). Most often, style shifting in a certain idiolect is the focus. This study, however, will attempt to uncover those aspects of linguistic style that are embedded in the speech habits of the two individuals named.

Of special interest is also the question of prestige, with features such as overt and covert forms. Linguistic performance can be directed “upwards” or “downwards” for different reasons, such as the overt form when striving to perform linguistically in the same way as the upper classes or to use the language that is regarded the standard norm. It may also be a question of covert prestige and of staying within a certain social class or subculture, and hence moving the language downwards on the social ladder, valuing features that indicate membership of a certain social group that may belong to a lower class. “In view of the resistance of working-class speakers to the overt prestige of Standard English, we have to postulate the existence of another set of norms – vernacular norms – which have covert prestige and which therefore exert a powerful influence on linguistic behaviour (Coates 63). The aspects of overt and covert

prestige will be included in this study, and commented on in relation to brand-building, linguistic performance and identity.

Most interesting, when performing this study on the language use of two media personalities and brand-builders, is also the question of so-called "speech accommodation". Not only individual social and cultural backgrounds affect language. How the speaker or writer perceives his or her audience also has effect. Eckert and Rickford (2001) discuss 'audience design' and state: "Speakers design their style primarily for and in response to their audience. [...] Speakers have a fine-grained ability to design their style for a range of different addressees, as well as for other audience members". (Eckert and Rickford 143, 146). Designing language for a certain audience, having the reader or listener in mind, and aiming at a certain effect, is a central aspect in authorship and media production, and is hence pertinent in this study.

Since the essay will study and describe linguistic features of two cooks, examining linguistic evidence in their professional production, occupational register is another aspect to be borne in mind. How each person's occupational register, that is specific vocabulary connected to the profession, is reflected in the texts for the study may serve as material for comparisons. Apart from occupational register, it may also be possible to comment on situational register with differences between, for instance, types of media and adaption to the specific media form.

Within sociolinguistics, the connection between language and identity is also of interest. Within quantitative sociolinguistics, language variation can be associated with identity features, according to Labelle. Labelle discusses group identities for wide communities, such as religious groups within a population, but also linguistic differences between groups of students at high school, stating that language use and identity are elements in the process of creating and displaying social categories. Labelle also points at the work of Holmes and Meyerhoff (1999) who state: "individuals that come together to perform some behaviour, or engage in a common activity, form a community of practice, where, whilst engaging in that activity, they create and reinforce their social identity" (Labelle; Annabelle Mooney et al, 185). It will be of relevance to this study to consider the community of practice that the chefs are both engaged in, and discuss differences and similarities from that perspective.

3.2 Theoretical Background on Gender Studies

When performing a linguistic study from a gender perspective, different aspects are included. This study will concentrate mainly upon comparing specific linguistic traits in the language of the man and the woman in question, traits that within linguistic theory and research are labelled as typically male and female, or masculine and feminine. There are certain aspects, linguistic

features and specific insertions, that are identified as being characteristic of women's speech and men's speech respectively. Tag questions added to the end of a statement, so called hedges, such as 'sort of' and 'kind of', that mitigate the statement, and indirect speech acts, are all features that have been identified as feminine, whereas 'strong' language and assertive forms are identified as masculine. Coates (1986) has identified certain aspects that separate women's and men's conversational strategies: "...minimal responses, hedges, tag questions, questions, commands and directives, swearing and taboo language, and compliments." (Coates 86). It would be appropriate for the purposes of this comparative study not only to examine the number of, or variations between, typically masculine or feminine speech utterances, but also to possibly comment on how these may be used in relation to conscious identity shaping, prestige and brand-building.

Linguist Robin Lakoff has performed research on the language of men and women, and has identified features that are more frequent in women's language. Among these features are the above mentioned 'tag questions' and 'hedges', and also the use of intensifying adjectives, such as 'really'. Lakoff claimed that the use of these devices was due to uncertainty and a lack of confidence on the part of women" (Mooney, LaBelle et al 449). This view may be discussed in relation to identity shaping and conscious choices in linguistic performance if, and when, such devices are used in feminine and also in masculine language. This study will devote extra attention to the devices mentioned, in order to comment on possible reasons.

In *Language, Society and Power*, Pilcher and Preece discuss linguistic features that are seen as typically feminine. Hedges, minimal responses, turn-taking in conversation, and verbosity are features that are discussed, with the comment that they may serve a wider function than the mitigation of messages that is traditionally discussed:

"There is a widespread belief that women use more hedges [...] and epistemic modal forms [...] All these forms are said to function as mitigation, either by reducing the force of an utterance or by expressing the speaker's attitude (lack of certainty) towards their utterance. [...] Several empirical studies have found a gender difference with respect to hedges [...] but the findings of most empirical studies are rather more complex, pointing to the multifunctionality of these forms." (Annabelle Mooney et al; Pia Pilcher and Sian Preece 107).

The hedges mentioned will be included in this study, and discussed from a wider perspective than mitigation, regarding function and purpose.

Pilcher and Preece also comment on the findings from so called ‘variationist’ studies, performed by Trudgill in 1974 and Eisikovits in 1989, which suggest that gender is not the only factor to be considered. “One of the classic findings [...] has been that women tend to use more standard forms of pronunciation and grammar than men. However, several other studies suggest that gender may not be the only factor that researchers have to consider.” (Annabelle Mooney et al; Pia Pilcher and Sian Preece 102). Variationist sociolinguistic research investigates the links between specific linguistic features in relation to social variables, such as social class or gender. The variationist approach will be useful in this study.

3.3 Theories on Sociolinguistics and Gender Differences in Language

The main field of interest for gender studies has been to look specifically at differences between the language of men and women and how each gender is accounted for linguistically. Also, this study has its focus on differences rather than similarities. A seminal work which proposes this approach is Jennifer Coates’ book *Women, Men and Language*, in which Coates puts together a wide range of examples of gender differences in language. One approach when studying language and gender, mentioned by Coates, is the ‘social constructionist’ approach. “The [...] most recent approach is sometimes called the dynamic approach because there is an emphasis on dynamic aspects of interaction. Researchers who adopt this approach take a social constructionist perspective. Gender identity is seen as a social construct rather than a ‘given’ social category” (Coates 6). The constructionist approach thereby implies that it is possible to create and construct one’s gender identity, which is interesting in relation to this essay’s discussion on linguistic performance and identity construction. Coates states that “gender is accomplished every time we speak”, which entails the view that the use of language is a performance. How language may be used consciously, in a certain way for different reasons, is one interesting aspect. Men and women use different strategies but, if these strategies are related to gender instead of sex, a female or male gender strategy may be used by both sexes. It may be of value to pay attention to possible linguistic gender strategies in the language of, for example, media personalities, such as the individuals who have been selected as the objects of this study. Coates discusses the work of Lakoff in *Language and Woman’s Place*, and what is stated as characteristic for women. “... specifically singles out ‘empty’ adjectives like divine, charming, cute... as typical of what she (Lakoff) calls women’s language” (Coates 12).

It would seem possible that such adjectives, that is appropriate ones of the same type, would be common in, for example, TV shows, in order to create a certain feeling and thereby enhance the message. Empty adjectives of this kind will be looked at particularly, in order to establish whether there is a significant, gender-related difference between the man and the woman in this study. Other linguistic traits that Coates mentions as being described as typical of women’s

language are euphemisms, the use of relatively few swear words, a relatively more polite use of language, and a higher degree of verbosity, all of which will be included in the study. “Women in Britain tend to use forms closer to Standard English, while men tend to use a higher proportion of non-standard forms” (Coates 33). Coates states, in conclusion, that British English, as used by women, is more in line with the standard norm than that of men, and this will be taken into account when performing the comparative study.

The results of a wide linguistic study conducted by Newman *et al*, in which 14,000 text samples were analysed, support previous work. The researchers state that men, relative to women, tend to use language more for the instrumental purpose of conveying information, rather than expressing emotion. “This study provides strong evidence that women seem to have more of a ‘rapport’ style, discussing social topics and expressing internal thoughts and feelings more often, whereas men ‘report’ more often, describing the quantity and location of objects. [...] Reflecting the mixed bag of earlier work on emotional references, women use more affect words” (Newman *et al*, 2008).

Social class and status are other factors aside from gender that are linked to a more ‘correct’ language. “Prestige is stated to be attached to those linguistic forms normally used by the social groups with the highest social status. [...] Conversely, stigma is attached to non-standard forms” (Coates 47). Coates comments on linguistic research and concludes that: “In all styles, women tend to use fewer stigmatised forms than men” (Coates 53). The above assertion may be discussed in relation to overt and covert prestige, and linguistic performance by choice in the process of creating identity, in line with the following: “...they (speakers) are members of social groups, and it is one of language’s functions to act as a symbol of group identity” (Coates 66).

Coates also comments on differences in conversational practice between men and women, stating that women’s speech is often described as more tentative. “Women use more hedges. Hedges are linguistic forms such as *I think, I’m sure, you know, sort of* and *perhaps* which express the speaker’s certainty or uncertainty about the proposition in discussion” (Coates 88). Coates also describes the studies of Siegler and Siegler (1976) on attitudes that support the hypothesis that tag questions are often attributed to women, while strong assertions are attributed to men. Also, Cameron, McAlinden and O’Leary (1989), discussed by Coates, point to the fact that so-called ‘affective’ tags that express attitude are associated with powerful speakers. Coates observes: “...questions control what the next speaker is able to say” (Coates 93.)

According to Coates, linguistic variables do not vary randomly: they vary in relation to other variables such as gender and social class. “Linguistic variables, in other words, are

linguistically equivalent but socially different ways of saying something” (Coates 48). This viewpoint is interesting, for the purposes of the study, to follow. In relation to this study of linguistic performance, the following statement by Coates is also pertinent: “We change because different audiences require different performances [...] a range of alternative versions of femininity and masculinity are available to speakers” (Coates 139). Within this study, it may also be possible to comment on the contemporary linguistic situation in Britain from the aspect of diversity, with a focus on the two popular media personalities that have different linguistic styles. “...we make choices when we speak: we can resist and subvert. Social and cultural change are possible precisely because we do not use the discourses available to us uncritically, but participate actively in the construction of meaning” (Coates 216). This statement suggests there are linguistic choices to be made which can be used for different purposes, and that open up for diversity and linguistic change. Speakers and writers are active participants in the process of creating meaning.

3.4 Language and Social Action – Social Constructionism

There is a link between what Coates discusses regarding active meaning creation and what Burr points at in her book *Social Constructionism*. According to this approach, our knowledge of the world is constructed in the interaction between people. “It is through the daily interactions between people [...] that our versions of knowledge become fabricated [...] particularly language is of great interest” (Burr 4). Burr mentions that our talk has specific functions and achieves purposes for us, and that language can be performative and action-oriented. Speech act theory describes language as a human social practice and states that language is functional rather than descriptive. Burr states that this approach gives rise to questions about what functions a person’s talk has. “[...] what purposes they are trying to achieve, and what discursive practises they employ to bring about the desired effects” (Burr 59). Discursive devices and rhetorical skills used for certain purposes are in focus, and the question is how a person constructs his or her talk to achieve a certain effect. This discussion is highly relevant for this essay, and in line with the thesis question concerning how certain linguistic traits may contribute to linguistic style and identity.

Social constructionism posits the view that identity is an implicitly social concept. When something is identified, the identity comes to life. The features that make up human identities can be seen as socially bestowed, rather than innate characteristics of the person in question. “Our identity is constructed out of the discourses culturally available to us, and which we draw upon in our communications with other people” (Burr 106). This view is of particular relevance, as it acknowledges the fact that language and communication impact upon identity construction, which is a focus area for this essay.

Also gender as a feature has been discussed in relation to social constructionism. Stokoe discusses how there has been a shift in linguistic research on gender, from gender being an essential category to notions of gender as something that is performed. “Later work adopted performative notions of gender as something one ‘does’: an enactment, discursive construction or product of social interaction”. (Stokoe 108). Stokoe argues that the implication is a shift to analysis of the gendered significance of on-going talk. Stokoe presents the suggestion that gender category should not only be imposed onto linguistic data, but the relevance for speakers should be taken into account. The quantitative data in this study is linked to the traditional notion of gender being represented in language by certain linguistic features, whereas the qualitative part comprises the view of discursive construction, linguistic performance and as such relevance for the subjects.

3.5 Language and Society – A Sociolinguistic Perspective

The way we talk is deeply influenced by our class and background, according to Trudgill, who states that “our accent and our speech generally show where we come from, and what sort of background we have”. “These two aspects of language behaviour are very important from a social point of view: first, the function of language in establishing social relationships; and, second, the role played by language in conveying information about the speaker” (Trudgill 2). Regional dialect is of importance, but there is also social dialect that is of interest when discussing language, dialect and accent. In this study, dialect and, above all, social dialect, will be of interest since it comprises not only pronunciation, but also vocabulary and grammar. Trudgill mentions that Standard English has both colloquial and formal variants and that the language of the upper classes over time has come to be regarded as the model for speaking and writing ‘well’. In parallel to Standard English, there is the accent RP, Received Pronunciation, which is a non-localized accent that only occurs together with Standard English. In this study, one of the chefs (Lawson) represents the use of RP, in contrast to the other (Oliver), who does not. As this study is focused mostly on dialects, with more linguistic representation than pronunciation, the accents will be commented on briefly.

Trudgill further points to the fact that linguistic choice and change do not always take place in the direction of the prestige norm. “Language can be a very important factor in group identification, group solidarity and the signalling of difference ...” (Trudgill 13). This supports the idea that linguistic performance can be the result of an active choice to enhance certain linguistic or dialectal features in a conscious effort to reach an effect. Trudgill states: “social change can produce a corresponding linguistic change as society is reflected in language” (Trudgill 17), and this is an interesting standpoint when analysing the sociolects of two

contemporary speakers and writers, in the same occupation, who live and work in the same geographical and cultural environment.

Trudgill also comments on research from a gender perspective, adding to the discussion about difference in the language of women and men:

“The sets of data that these surveys have provided have one extremely striking feature in common. In all the cases examined, it has been shown that allowing for other factors such as social class, ethnic group and age, women on average use forms which more closely approach those of the standard variety or the prestige accent than those used by men [...]” (Trudgill 70).

Trudgill also mentions that it has been pointed out that many societies expect a higher ‘level of adherence to social norms’ from women than from men. Standard English has high prestige, or overt prestige, but also Trudgill points to the fact the opposite form, covert prestige, can be important in order to obtain social status, especially for male speakers. Relevant in the discussion of this study, from both culture and gender perspectives, is the following conclusion by Trudgill: “...language, as a social phenomenon, is closely related to social attitudes. Men and women are socially different in that society lays down different social roles for them and expect different behaviour patterns of them. Language simply reflects this social fact” (Trudgill 79).

Different styles are also discussed by Trudgill. Linguistic varieties can differ from one another in terms of their degrees of formality. “Varieties of language which differ from one another in this way are called styles” (Trudgill 83). Social context and social class have impact on styles. Style shifting may occur, depending on the social context. “They (speakers) do not just respond automatically to situations. They can also use switching for their own purposes: to manipulate or influence or define the situation as they wish” (Trudgill 105). This is evidence that language use is, to a vast extent, a performance which is germane in relation to the discussion regarding how the chefs in the study choose to act linguistically, and maybe also for what purpose.

3.6 Linguistic Resources for Creating Meaning, Gender and Style

In their book *Language and Gender*, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet point to the different resources that language offers when creating meaning and performing gender. Meaning, in this discussion, is a wide concept and not only attached to linguistic signs. Linguistic representation is, according to Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, an important component of meaning. “[...] the

range of linguistic resources that languages offer to construct gender [...] many of these constitute a kind of toolbox from which we pick and choose depending on our conscious or unconscious agenda” (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 63). This statement supports the proposition that there is linguistic performance that impacts upon identity construction, which is a basic cornerstone for this study.

Phonetics and phonology, morphology, lexicon, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics are all examples of linguistic disciplines, which offer resources to researchers in the form of theoretical and practical insights in understanding language and its use. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet point especially at the lexicon, stating that there is a firm link between gender and lexicon, and that the lexicon is the most changeable part of language and a “site for bringing in new ideas”. (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 69). As such, the lexicon will be of interest in this study of contemporary profiled language, from a gender perspective as well as from culture and class.

Tag questions are discussed also by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, who mention the different forms and purposes of tags. “They can indicate uncertainty and ask for confirmation from the other (their *epistemic modal* function [...]) but they can also be *facilitative, softening* or *challenging*” (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 145). From this, the conclusion can be drawn that tag questions may be used as tools in a linguistic performance. How the two referents in the study make use of tag questions, if there are any differences in the number or form, will be of some significance in this study.

One area discussed by Eckert and McConnell is stylistic practice. It summons up the use of many of the linguistic features mentioned, and considers how language and linguistic performance contribute to the overall style of the speaker, which makes it interesting to relate the discussion to identity. There is the important comment that styles cannot exist in isolation as they would be pointless and linguistically non-productive; rather, they must be recognised and as such have some kind of social meaning.

Another factor is that linguistic choices are part of many other stylistic choices a person makes. “Style is not so much a thing as a practice – a process of making social meaning – and as such it is a fundamental resource for gender production” (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 250). The differences between styles are essential as the contrast adds meaning, which is a valuable research aspect when performing the study on the language of the two chefs with different, more or less opposed, styles. “People interpret the stylistic landscape and attribute meaning to stylistic elements by contrasting a variety of styles; and they build modifications and new styles through the creative segmentation, appropriation, and recombination of these elements” (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 251). Whether or not a stylistic shift is of value depends on its

comprehensibility to others: it has to be not only creative, but also recognisable, which is interesting as a basis for the study of the expressive styles chosen and produced by the two media personalities for the study in relation to, for example, prestige.

3.7 Stylistics From a Feminine Perspective

Socioeconomic factors which have allowed a certain language to appear, or which have determined its appearance, are within the ambit of Mills' who, in *Feminist Stylistics*, argues for stylistics⁵ to comprise analysis of forms other than literary texts, such as advertising and newspaper reports. A perspective wider than literary texts is also necessary for this study. Mills highlights problems with traditional code models for language in which it is "assumed that the message that is encoded in language is exactly the same as the message which is decoded..." (Mills 27).

Mills states that perfect communication is rarely achieved; there are many contextual factors that have influence on the message. Instead of the traditional model, Mills states: "feminist stylistics is a move away from text-immanent criticism to a theorized concern with those factors outside the text which may determine, or interact with, elements in the text" (Mills 30). This study is not focused on the decoding of messages, but it is essential to remain alert to the problematic aspects of communication processes as they influence the performance of speakers and writers. "We do not simply write anything we wish, but we write within the context of those elements which are considered appropriate within our society... (Mills 29). What is appropriate governs also the linguistic choices in the material for this study, for branding and marketing purposes among others.

Mills discusses the 'gendered sentence'; she points at traditional research findings of linguistic differences between the language of men and women, such as the ones previously mentioned in this essay, but Mills opens up for a mitigated gender interpretation. "Rather, there is a range of discursive positions which the writer can adopt and these are not gender-neutral" (Mills 57). Mills' standpoint is in line with a basic premise of this essay, namely that linguistic performance is a tool with different discursive possibilities. "Terms which are associated with gender stereotypes may be used predictably or against the grain...(Mills 61). It will be pertinent to evaluate how the discursive possibilities at hand are used from a gender perspective.

⁵ Stylistics is a discipline that focuses on linguistic and tonal style in texts. It looks at linguistic choices made by individuals and social groups in their use of language. Stylistic features may include accents, dialects, grammar, sentence lengths and particular language registers.

Ideology, as a “sequence or set of statements which have certain conceptual links” is also discussed by Mills and she points to the fact that it is “essential that we do not see particular language items or statements necessarily having one undisputed meaning which is recognized by all readers” (Mills 149). There are larger-scale ideological frameworks, according to Mills, that contribute to the process of making meaning. As ideology is linked to culture and meaning, the ideological framework of cooking and culinary concepts is of importance in the study. Mills argues that it is necessary to analyse a wide range of factors in stylistic analysis, such as gendered framework but, from this more complex analysis, it is also possible to consider the relationship between lexical items and discourse frameworks that Mills mentions.

3.8 Popular Culture in Focus

In his book *Cultural Studies and the Study of Popular Culture*, Storey discusses what the concept culture means, and how it is manifested in society. Storey states that culture is not something essential that is “embodied in particular ‘texts’:

“[...] it is the practices and processes of making meanings with and from the ‘texts’ we encounter in our everyday lives. In this way, cultures are made from the production, circulation and consumption of meanings. To share a culture, therefore, is to interpret the world – make it meaningful – in recognisable similar ways” (Storey 3).

The viewpoint that Storey takes is germane to the discussion on linguistic performance, identity and style. For the identity creation and elements of style to be meaningful, they must be recognised by the audience and possible to interpret. This discussion is relevant in relation to media production, such as cookery books and television cookery shows, and the identity and brand-building processes at hand. Storey states that capitalist industrial societies are unequally divided in terms of ethnicity, gender, generation, sexuality, and social class. “Cultural studies argues that popular culture is one of the principal sites where these divisions are established and contested; that is, popular culture is an arena of struggle and negotiation between the interests of dominant groups and the interests of subordinated groups” (Storey 4). Storey further concludes that culture is something that we make, agency is present, and that it is important to bear in mind the “dialectal play between agency and structure, between production and consumption” (Storey 5). This essay concentrates on production, and consumption is not included in the study. However, it will be of value to consider the interest of dominant groups and subordinate groups, when looking at the market place at hand for the work of Lawson and Oliver.

Storey specifically looks at television and televisual discourse, stating that media producers determine how a 'raw' event is to be encoded into a programme and a meaningful discourse. Once the material has taken the form of televisual discourse, the formal rules of language and discourse are in dominance, a discursive translation of an event is served to the audience. "[...] meanings and messages are not simply 'transmitted', they are always produced..." "Media professionals may wish decoding to correspond with encoding, but they cannot prescribe or guarantee this" (Storey 11). The standpoint is interesting in relation to the television productions in the data for this study. How the producers and the brand-building chefs choose to use language to make decoding come close to encoding is of interest, since every encoded message can be interpreted in many different ways. The important factors are recognisable style, interpretable features, and a message that is possible for the audience to relate to. Social position affects the specific reading, which is important for producers to bear in mind. Storey states that class determines access to different discourses and mentions how subcultural frameworks may be related to individual readings.

3.9 Contemporary British Dialects and Accents

The British language of today is, like other languages, affected by development in society. Communications and mass media are influential factors, and processes of levelling are reducing the local diversity of dialects within the UK while, at the same time, certain local features are spread over a wide, regional area. Migration and education are other factors of importance. This process of dialect levelling is discussed by Barber, Beal and Shaw in *The English Language*. "[...] distinctive features of local dialect give way to more wide-ranging 'regional ones. Social and demographic factors such as [...] relocation and commuting has brought together speakers of different dialects" (Barber *et al* 267). In parallel to this development, some linguistic features, mainly from the London area, are spread throughout the UK, especially in the speech of younger people. This process of diffusion also affects contemporary British English. Barber *et al* further state that each geographical region in Britain has speech-hierarchy, which corresponds to socio-economic class. "The variations are not only just a matter of accent, but also of grammar and vocabulary. The speech of the top of the hierarchy is closest to Standard English in grammar and vocabulary, and to RP in pronunciation". (Barber *et al* 268). The authors also state that the degree of difference is influenced by sex, age and style in addition to class, that women diverge from the standard less than men, and that the differences, in all groups, are greatest in informal styles. All varieties, however, are undergoing constant change. It is essential to keep this development in mind when performing a comparative study of the language of two individual persons with different linguistic styles. To what extent men and women may be differently inclined to adhere to the standard language, and hence RP accent, may be discussed from a gender perspective. The class perspective may also be

informative when discussing accents, since non-prestigious variants, that is variants other than RP, traditionally are associated with lower class and lack of education.

Another interesting aspect of contemporary British English is the development that Barber *et al* discuss, in which Received Pronunciation is losing some of its prestige, due to the fact that people educated at public schools no longer have monopoly of power and education. “Today, the majority of university students are not speakers of RP” (Barber, Beal and Shaw 269). The authors also mention Estuary English, spoken by educated speakers in the south-east of England, and by many radio and television presenters, and point to all British accents having gained prestige through the representation in media, and at least ‘soft’ accents are now accepted. “There is consequently a tendency in present-day Britain to draw the boundaries of ‘acceptable pronunciation, and indeed of ‘Standard English’ generally, rather wider than formerly [...] (Barber *et al* 269). Since this study has a focus on contemporary British English, and the language of two individuals who live and work in the same geographical region and who are members of the same subculture, it will be apposite to relate it to the situation that Barber *et al* discuss.

Even if this study is not focused on pronunciation, it is necessary at least to note and comment upon the accents of Lawson and Oliver. They have geographical roots not far from one another, Lawson is from London and Oliver is from Essex, at a relatively short distance from London. Lawson’s RP is contrasted against Oliver’s Essex accent. From the recent linguistic development in Britain that Barber *et al* describe, it is possible to presume the fact that most British accents have gained prestige. There is a wider acceptance of linguistic differences in style, accent, and dialect also in the language of contemporary cooking.

Fabricius discusses the sociolinguistic situation of RP in Britain. The speech patterns of one male and one female speaker of RP are compared and analysed in an attitudinal study based on youth responses to modern RP in order to search for a possible balance shift in sociolinguistics and also attitudes. The attitudinal evaluation of the RP accent is more negative for the man than the woman. Fabricius presents possible answers: “The British linguistic landscape has been transformed over the past century [...] and this transformation has not bypassed RP.” (Fabricius 118). The transformation is described as a loss of class distinctions and Fabricius notices that young people are less sympathetic to accents that indicate a superior stance. “Timothy’s speaking style and discursive stance are subject to more negative immediate reactions from these young judges because he effectively evokes the ‘superior’ male public school voice.” (Fabricius 120). At the same time she states that the RP accent and the elitist stance do not have negative implications for the woman in the study. Fabricius’ comments are of value to relate to this linguistic study, in which the female subject uses an RP

accent while the male subject has a working class accent, by social inheritance and possibly by performance.

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1 Selection of Material

The linguistic comparative study will be performed on both written texts and spoken language. The written texts will be collated from cookery books by Lawson and Oliver, two books by each author, out of which general presentations and descriptive texts will be the most important research material. If possible, recipes for broadly similar dishes will be identified from both chefs and these will provide the most relevant data by which comparisons can be made and conclusions drawn. The spoken language will be collected from television cookery shows, which are available on the You-Tube website.

The primary data are the following titles:

Jamie's 15 Minute Meals, Jamie Oliver

Save With Jamie, Jamie Oliver

Nigelissima – Easy Italian-Inspired Recipes, Nigella Lawson

Kitchen – Recipes From the Heart of My Home, Nigella Lawson

Money Saving Meals, Jamie Oliver, (Television)

Nigelissima, Nigella Lawson, (Television)

4.2 Method Selection

The objective for this comparative study is to identify different linguistic features in the language of the two subjects. The features to be studied and analysed are linguistic variables that can be related gender, culture, and social class in order to comment on how these features may contribute to a certain linguistic style with impact on the publicly perceived identity and image of the speaker or writer. Part of the study will be performed by listening to the shows while transforming the speech into written text, as linguistic evidence. This text, together with the text collected from the cookery books, will be studied and certain linguistic features will be searched for, catalogued, and considered.

4.3 Feature and Variable Selection

The linguistic features that this study comprises are, according to the research described in the previous chapter, related to gender and to social class. The following variables with links to the theoretical background are included in the research.

Variables related to gender – quantitative material

Hedges (sort of, kind of, I think, I'm sure, you know, sort of, perhaps)

Empty adjectives (divine, charming, amazing, wonderful, fantastic etc)

Intensifying adjectives (really, absolutely)

Slang, jargon, colloquialisms and popular expressions

Features related to gender – qualitative study

Degree of verbosity and sentence length

Inviting type of language or abrupt and declarative

Close to standard form in relation to correctness

Assertive forms and strong language

Variables related to social class – quantitative material

Final pronunciation of –ing with [n] rather than [ng]

So called [h]-dropping

Stigmatised non-standard forms (gonna)

Variables related to social class – qualitative study

Closeness to standard form in relation to accent (RP)

Closeness to standard form in relation to grammar

Covert and over prestige

Slang, jargon, colloquialisms and popular expressions

Linguistic style – formal or informal

4.4 Procedure

The study is performed on randomly selected texts, in the form of introductory texts in cookery books, recipes and television shows, and the chosen piece of text may therefore not be fully representative for the total or average text production of each subject. However, the quantitative results may serve to indicate overall tendencies and differences between the subjects and their language use, and also between different types of text production of each subject, and are representative in the form of general observations.

In order to make the texts of each subject comparable, the quantitative results will be presented in numerals, when this is possible or relevant. The quantitative results will make it possible to comment on differences in language use linked to specific linguistic variables that are commonly regarded as either feminine or masculine, or as features of different social classes. The qualitative material is used as basis for general comments, with the same research approaches in mind, on linguistic styles in language use. The study does not claim these results to be facts, rather material for further discussion.

4.5 Results and Reliability

The study is performed on the following texts, from each subject: two introductory texts from cookery books, two recipes from the same books, one episode of a television cookery show and extra comments from one of the subjects, for increased relevance due to the form of the material.

The linguistic features and variables that are included in the study will be searched for and counted. These countable insertions will be presented in tables in order to show the possible difference between the subjects. Countable features mainly concern qualitative data linked to the aspect of gender. Variables that are found will be exemplified after each table. The qualitative features will be observed and the results will be presented in text. The results, in total, will be analysed and commented on in the following 'Analysis' chapter.

It must be taken into consideration that there is a risk of decreased relevance, since the choice of specific features to be counted or observed, runs the risk of being of less scientific value, since a choice is made that is not based on scientifically established parameters. There is also the risk that the texts that constitute the research basis for the study, which are randomly chosen, are not fully representative in relation the total text production of each subject.

5. RESULTS

5.1 Results Introduction

The results of this study, regarding quantitative data, will be presented in tables that show number of insertions of specific linguistic variables. The qualitative data, and some of the quantitative data, will be presented in text. As material for the study, the following texts, with the stated number of words, have been used.

Jamie Oliver

Text 1: 580 words, text 2: 575 words, recipe 1: 476 words, recipe 2: 266 words, extra text/comments: 204 words, television show: 1 246, total number of words: 3 347

Nigella Lawson

Text 1: 650 words, text 2: 629 words, recipe 1: 383 words, recipe 2: 463 words, television show: 884, total number of words: 3 009

Transcripts of the texts are included in the appendix section.

5.2 Research Results

Variables related to gender – quantitative data***Hedges***

	Text 1	Text 2 Plus extra	Recipe 1	Recipe 2	Television Show	Total
Oliver	0	0	1	0	18	19
Lawson	0	0	0	0	2	2

The table shows number of insertions in relation to number of words, plus the total number. Examples in the material: kind of, sort of, a bit of

Empty Adjectives

	Text 1	Text 2 Plus extra	Recipe 1	Recipe 2	Television Show	Total
Oliver	10	17	6	1	25	59
Lawson	-	-	1	-	7	8

The table shows number of insertions in relation to amount of words, plus the total number. Examples: Amazing, incredible, beautiful, great, perfect, massive, gorgeous, wonderful, brilliant, ravishing

Intensifying Adjectives

	Text 1	Text 2 Plus extra	Recipe 1	Recipe 2	Television Show	Total
Oliver	7	9	-	-	16	32
Lawson	2	2	-	1	2	7

The table shows number of insertions in relation to amount of words, plus the total number. Examples: Really, absolutely, very

Jargon, slang, colloquialisms, popular or idiomatic expressions

	Text 1	Text 2 Plus extra	Recipe 1	Recipe 2	Television Shows	Total
Oliver	16	45	12	10	40	123
Lawson	3	2	2	2	6	15

The table shows number of insertions in relation to amount of words, plus the total number. Examples: Super-tasty, stuff, you guys, grab, gonna, veggies, super-quick

Variables related to gender – qualitative data

Degree of verbosity and sentence length:

Oliver's language use is more excessive than Lawson's

Inviting type of language or abrupt and declarative:

Lawson's language use is more strict and declarative than Oliver's

Close to standard form in relation to correctness:

Lawson's language use is closer to the standard form than Oliver's

Assertive forms and strong language:

*None of the usages shows particularly strong language,
Oliver uses more assertive forms*

Variables related to social class – quantitative data

Stigmatised non-standard forms:

*Oliver uses on some occasions a few stigmatised non-standard form,
such as final –n instead of –ng and h-dropping at the beginning of words*

Variables related to social class – qualitative data

Closeness to standard form in relation to accent (RP):

Lawson's uses RP and a language close to standard form, while Oliver does not

Closeness to standard form in relation to correctness:

Lawson's language use is more grammatically correct than Oliver's

Covert and overt prestige:

Covert or overt prestige may be linked to the language use of both subjects

Linguistic style – formal and informal:

*Lawson has a more formal linguistic style, from the closeness to RP and a
more correct grammar, than Oliver has*

6. ANALYSIS

6.1 Introductory Comments

The results of the study show that both Oliver and Lawson adhere to the norm regarding language use when looking at features of social class. Both subjects show an adherence to their social class and social background from a linguistic perspective. Conversely, both subjects deviate from the standard norm concerning variables related to gender. Oliver shows a tendency to frequently use linguistic features that are seen as feminine features, according to the theories presented. The same result is true for Lawson, who uses a language and linguistic features that are stated as being masculine, according to previous research.

6.2 Quantitative Variables Related to Gender

Hedges

Empty adjectives

Intensifying adjectives

Jargon, slang, colloquialisms, popular expressions

Analysis and comments:

The quantitative features stated above are linked to the gender perspective and are regarded as variables that are characteristic of a feminine language. All of these features, selected as research features regarding gender, are more frequently used by Oliver than Lawson. Some of the features occur frequently in Oliver's language use, but are not present at all in Lawson's language use. Judging from these results, Oliver's language use shows traits of a feminine language use, while Lawson's language use do not. It is apparent that both subjects deviate from the linguistic norm from a gender perspective.

6.3 Qualitative Variables Related to Gender

Degree of verbosity and sentence length

Inviting type of language or abrupt and declarative

Close to standard form in relation to correctness

Assertive forms and strong language

Analysis and comments:

No direct differences regarding verbosity and sentence length are to be traced in the material. Lawson's texts may be regarded as more direct, and in that sense more declarative, since they do not show the same number of empty adjectives. Lawson's texts and language use are closer to the standard form in relation to correctness, since they have fewer insertions of colloquial forms, non-standard forms, slang, and popular expressions. Specifically, strong language and assertive forms cannot be traced in either material other than the type of directness that comes from a language use closer to the norm, which can be perceived as strong in that sense. When discussing how inviting a type of language use may be, the focus is generally on tag questions, and similar elements, that are stated to be inviting instead of declarative. The frequency of tag questions is very low, in all texts. However, if the focus is moved from linguistic features to the topic and viewpoint of the text, Oliver's type of text can be seen as more inviting, since the reader or the viewer is approached more directly and talked to in a more personal way.

6.4 Quantitative Variables Related to Social Class

Stigmatised non-standard forms

Analysis and comments:

Due to the fact that most of the texts consist of written English in edited books, the number of non-standard forms of linguistic variables is very low. It is only in the television material, with speech, that non-standard forms are traceable. In Lawson's spoken language, in this data, there are no stigmatised non-standard forms. In Oliver's spoken language, in the texts for the study, there are some examples of non-standard forms, such as "it's gonna" and "I'm gonna". Oliver pronounces some words with a tendency of "h-dropping", and there is also a certain tendency of "-ng" being pronounced as "-n" in Oliver's speech.

6.5 Qualitative Variables Related to Social Class

Closeness to standard form in relation to accent (RP)

Closeness to standard form in relation to correctness

Covert and overt prestige

Linguistic style – formal and informal

Analysis and comments:

Lawson's language use is closer to the standard form (RP) than Oliver's, considering both accent and grammar. This study does not focus on accent or pronunciation. However, there is a close relation between accent and grammatical correctness in the features of RP, which is evident in Lawson's language use and is therefore considered here. Oliver's language use, both in spoken language and written texts, has working class features such as non-standard forms. Covert prestige is to be considered here, and to what extent Oliver's linguistic style is

deliberately chosen or developed further, in order to express membership of a certain linguistic culture. The extent to which overt prestige is present in Lawson's case is also to be discussed.

6.6 Linguistic Variables and Linguistic Style

Regarding style, the following expressions are characteristic of the language use of each person. These linguistic features contribute to forming the overall language style of Lawson and Oliver, and hence have impact on the identity process, the public persona and the also the branding process of each subject.

Oliver:

Totally worth it, game changer, amazing, packed full of, super-quick, on track, total joy, being into, screaming out for, you guys, super-affordable, insane amount, wodge of cash, loads of, wicked flavour, lug of, splash of, chunks, bunch of, kick-ass, slaps of, chuck it, super-cheap, foodie, dude, show-stopping, super-tasty, I'm gonna, it's gonna, grab, super-thrifty, oh yeh.

Oliver also uses hyperbole, which is a linguistic exaggeration, in order to express enthusiasm, create a strong impression and to emphasis his statements more strongly. Examples of hyperbole in Oliver's text are: screaming out for, a wodge of cash, loads of advice, wicked flavour, confident salad, slaps of heat, cook up a storm, show-stopping dishes, a weapon in the kitchen (dish), loads of money, massive punch of flavour.

Lawson:

Tender sweetness, earthy fragrance, mad dash, delicious, rather more (baroque), indeed, absolutely adore, abundant, positively to preclude, it came to pass that, slightly condescending, ravishing, ungainly, being in position to, radiant, rewarding, the olden days, spectacular, crucial element, indisputably, essential purity of purpose, or indeed, having the edge over, albeit, radiate enthusiasm, unfailingly, I suspect, armoury of pretention, pretty well.

Also Lawson uses some hyperbole, but compared to Oliver's language use the examples are few: a germ of an idea, cook for ages, radiate enthusiasm, simmering away (idea).

7. DISCUSSION

7.1 General Comments and Possible Implications

The two subjects in this study present, and represent, different language styles and different linguistic performance. They use different linguistic variables, which, according to Coates, are linguistically equivalent, but socially different, ways of saying something and that vary in accordance to variables such as gender and social class. With a variationist sociolinguistic approach, this discussion will concern the social variables class and gender in relation to linguistic features of the two subjects.

Some of the findings in the study support what is traditionally seen as masculine and feminine features of gender, and traditional working-class and middle class features. Other findings do not support traditional theories regarding these features. On the contrary, the findings of the study show opposite relationships concerning many of the features within the gender perspective. What is commonly stated to be typically feminine traits are to be found in Oliver's language use to a far greater extent than that of Lawson. The linguistic features linked to class show a more traditional pattern in the result of the study. One question that arises from the results, and which may be worthy of further investigation, is whether there is a competing relation between the two linguistic feature areas, namely gender and social class, and which one that may be the stronger force in that case, with the highest impact on personal linguistic style and language use.

7.2 Gender Features in the Study

Regarding gender features, those which linguists traditionally state as being feminine features include a mitigating language with hedges and tag questions, verbosity and a more excessive language that is not so direct and brief as male language, longer sentences, and also a language that is close to the standard norm and more correct. The use of slang, idiomatic or popular expressions, and colloquialisms is, on the other hand, characteristic for male language, generally speaking. One feature that is especially significant in the results of this study is the use of intensifying adjectives, which is a feature that is typically feminine according to linguistic research and the traditional view.

When summarising the research findings regarding gender features, the results show both an adherence to traditional research and some clear oppositions to the common view. Hedges (a feminine trait) are not common in the written texts of either subject. This feature is only present

to a noticeable extent in Oliver's spoken language. There may be particular reasons, which explain the absence of hedges in the written text. Firstly, it does not serve the same purpose to use hedges in written texts as in spoken language, since hedges often serve the purpose of making the language inviting in a discussion. Secondly, the low number of hedges may be due to editorial factors and the production process in which the material is reproduced to be more distinct and correct, and to serve both artistic and branding purposes. Thirdly, the lack of hedges in Lawson's spoken language, which separates her language use from traditional feminine language use, may be due to social aspects, class variables, and her adherence to the upper middle class speech norms. In conclusion, hedges are only used by Oliver and in spoken language.

Empty adjectives and intensifying adjectives are other features that are stated as feminine. Coates mentions that empty adjectives and intensifying adjectives are typical of women, according to Lakoff's research. Both types of adjectives have a significantly higher representation in Oliver's texts than in Lawson's. Especially empty adjectives, such as "amazing", are used very frequently by Oliver, but seldom or never by Lawson. This is the most important and most significant difference between the two linguistic representations. This result is in contrast to the research norm since it is the male subject who uses these features frequently, while the female subject shows an opposite pattern to the male, and to traditional research. Why Lawson's texts lack these features may relate to social aspects and a higher adherence to the standard norm through an upper middle class identity. In this case, social class seems to have higher impact than gender aspects. Regarding Oliver, the extensive use of empty adjectives shows a language use that is the opposite of traditional male language style. This result may be due to factors linked to social class instead, if regarding a less formal and less correct language as features significant of working-class speech. However, the result may also be a deliberate choice of a language style that is inviting, modern, expressive, and in a sense informal. If so, it may serve branding purposes in order to create and enhance a certain personal style with a distinguishable profile in the media and in the professional market of cooks, chefs, and writers of cookery books. It may be Oliver's choice to build on his inherited linguistic ground, develop it further, and with covert prestige seek to stay in or belong to a certain sub-culture or social group. The membership in such a group, in this case it may be of readers and viewers that take an interest in food but who might be regarded as so called ordinary people and not food experts, can be defined through a linguistic bond. If that is the case, Oliver may use a deliberate linguistic strategy in which a "simple" language is suitable together with "simple" and straightforward cooking, possible for everyone to succeed with. Covert prestige may in this case be productive as a means for positioning on the market scene. It may also serve the purpose of creating an identity that accords with an overall message of simplicity, and also of an open attitude, an inviting and friendly style, and foremost an expressive style that

signals true passion for food and cooking. The vast use of intensifying adjectives, and also of hyperbole, contributes to an expressive style that markets passion.

There is also a further possibility to consider, namely that Oliver's and Lawson's different language styles in, for example, television shows, are the result of different production methods. Lawson's programmes may be more heavily scripted than Oliver's, which may result in a more correct and formal linguistic style.

7.3 Features Related to Social Class in the Texts

The social variable, considering different sociolects, is in focus when considering class, as is the impact social classes have on linguistic performance and text production. Class, as a social variable, seems to have strong influence on individual speech and linguistic performance. The specific linguistic features in question concern both speech habits and written texts, with accents, pronunciation, choice of words and expressions, grammatical correctness or relation to the standard norm and syntax. This discussion will concentrate on linguistic features, but not on pronunciation or accents.

As stated in the theoretical background, stable class markers for working-class speech are "h-dropping", pronunciation of final "-n" instead of "-ng" and stigmatised non-standard forms in general. Oliver's language use is influenced by these features to a certain extent. It is not a typically working-class type of language use, which may be due to some mitigation through editing and media production, and hence a certain adaptation to, or movement towards, the standard norm. However, Oliver's spoken and written texts bear witness to this working-class background and the texts show a clear difference from the texts of the other subject in the study.

Within research, features such as jargon, slang, colloquialisms, and idiomatic expressions are sometimes stated as typically male features. They are also relevant when discussing social class, and they represent features linked to lower-middle class or working-class. The results of this study show a clear difference between the language-use of the two subjects within this area. Colloquialisms and idiomatic expressions in particular are represented to a far higher degree in Oliver's texts. The reason for this situation may be similar to what is discussed about empty adjectives. Colloquialisms are linked to working class speech and popular expressions are often stated to be more common in working class or lower middle class speech, as mentioned in the theory section. The use of popular expressions may also be a deliberate choice, in accordance with the possibly deliberate use of empty adjectives. Covert prestige,

declaration of membership in a certain linguistic culture, and a marketing strategy of creating a certain profile and identity may be reasons also behind the use of idiomatic expressions.

Lawson's language use and the lack of features such as empty adjectives, intensifying adjectives, colloquialisms, and idiomatic expressions, may be due to two reasons mainly. Lawson's linguistic heritage, that is an upper middle-class language style, may contribute to a correct, well-spoken and in a sense more formal language style. In this case, variables of social class have higher impact upon the linguistic style than gender variables. The other reason for the results may be that Lawson makes a deliberate choice to stay within the linguistic field of her class, to enhance that language, to act in accordance with overt prestige and to promote a sophisticated overall style in her language use. It may serve as a marketing strategy to guard a language style that is in accordance with RP, which is seen as the standard norm of a correct language.

7.4 Choice of Linguistic Style

It is stated in the theoretical background that one of language's functions is to act as a symbol of group identity. The fact that language can be directed "upwards" or "downwards", with the use of overt and covert prestige that has been discussed, supports the theory that language use is a social practice and performance.

There is also the possibility of "speech accommodation" to consider: this is how the speaker or writer perceives his or her audience influences the language choices of the speaker or writer. When deliberately designing the language for the perceived audience, the communication process is made easier which contributes to the marketing and branding processes. Oliver and Lawson are both well-known writers and television personalities within the field of cooking, and it is probable that language design and speech accommodation are objectives in their work. Overt and covert prestige are factors that, when used with purpose, are linked to speech design. The fact that language can be actively designed may have had impact on the texts in this study and may at least in part explain the results which, in some respects, defy the norm and traditional findings.

According to speech act theory, language is a human social practice that is functional rather than descriptive. Behind this theory lies the fact that language can be used for different purposes, depending on what the writer or speaker wants to achieve. Different discursive devices can be used for certain purposes and a person may construct his or her language use in order to achieve the desired effect. Certain linguistic traits and discursive devices may be used in a linguistic strategy. In the case of Lawson and Oliver, who perform very differently from

each other in their use of language, the question is how much of their respective performance can be attributed to social factors that, to a significant extent, may be beyond the control of the individual, and how much is due to strategic planning and language design. The parts of the results in this study that differ from the traditional findings of linguistic research may be explained by active performance, identity shaping processes, and language design as well as branding and marketing factors.

In the theoretical background, it is stated that individual identity is constructed when using discourses that are available to the individual and used in communication with others. This view implies that language constitutes a basis for identity construction, which it is important to consider when building and marketing a personal brand as the two subjects do. Language may therefore constitute an essential tool for the subjects in their respective brand building work and that may be a factor behind the results that differ from the more usual findings. The result that Lawson's language use in some ways is the opposite of traditionally feminine language use may be a strategic choice of hers. Oliver's language use, which in many ways is the opposite of traditionally male language use, may also reflect a deliberate attempt to enhance and maintain a language style that is effective as a linguistic tool in the communication with the target group.

Linguistic features that are associated with, for example, gender stereotypes may be used predictably, or against the trend, according to research mentioned in the theoretical background. From the gender perspective, Oliver's purpose with possible language design, if deliberately using feminine traits, may be to strive to be perceived as having less male dominance, being more inviting, less declarative, and more appealing to a wide audience of common people. It would be plausible, judging from Oliver's stated intention to reach out to the nation with nutritious recipes and advice on how to eat in a healthy way, that a linguistic strategy is to be perceived as simple, straightforward, inviting, and ordinary. To go against the linguistic gender norm may be helpful in this endeavour. The part of Oliver's language use that is inherited and not used strategically lays the ground for the constructive part and is necessary for credibility. The same is true for Lawson, who aims at being successful in the communication process with her audience through language use and speech style in which overt prestige may be present. Also, in this case, the inherited speech style is of importance for credibility and a necessary basis for constructive action in the same direction. Lawson most probably aims at marketing a sensuous style in order to appeal to just as vast an audience.

For the identity creation and elements of style to be meaningful, they must be recognised by the audience and possible to interpret, as stated in the theoretical background. The linguistic style is meaningful if it is recognisable and interpretable. Judging from this, it may be strategic to design language, or to use prestige, with a certain social context and target group in mind. Social context and social class have impact on styles and style shifting may occur depending on

the social context. According to Trudgill (2000), as stated in the theoretical background, speakers can manipulate or influence the situation by shifting style. It is also claimed by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2013) that style is a practice, and that it is a process of making social meaning. The differences between styles are essential as it is the contrast between them that produces meaning. In order to be of value, a style must be both creative and recognisable.

From the perspective of style, it is of value to consider the language use of Lawson and Oliver in parallel, with the understanding of contrasts to be essential for the process of making meaning. Oliver's language use is mirrored and understood in relation to, or in comparison with, the language use of Lawson in the same way that Lawson's language use is understood in the comparative light of Oliver's. One would not be perceived as it is without the other.

It may be assumed that Lawson and Oliver both aim at reaching out to wide audiences in their professional work. Hence, it may be strategic choices to assume and develop separate roles and profiles on a shared market arena. Language and language use are essential factors in this process. It may also be a fortuitous coincidence that there is another chef who, regarding professional style, is a clear contrast to oneself, on the same market.

Lawson's correct and formal style in language use, which is an inherited linguistic style, may be regarded as sophisticated. This sophistication may be used as a basis in the brand building process, and the active choice may impact upon the linguistic style from a gender perspective. It may, hence, be the reason for Lawson's language use, showing fewer feminine linguistic traits than traditional feminine language use. In the same way, Oliver may build on his linguistic inheritance and further develop his language use into having a high degree of verbosity, empty adjectives, and colloquialisms, possibly aiming at being perceived as linguistically inviting and friendly.

This study looks at the variables gender and social class. In the case of both Lawson and Oliver, there is the question as to whether class, as a social variable with impact on language style, may have priority over gender. The results of the study show that Lawson adheres to the norm regarding class, but not regarding gender. The same result is true in the case of Oliver, who also adheres to the norm regarding class, but not regarding gender. What is not possible to determine is the extent to which the linguistic output of each subject is a product of their social upbringing, and to what extent it is a product of strategic choices and prestige. Under all circumstances, it would be valuable to further investigate the power relation, or dominance factors, regarding different types of linguistic feature areas, such as gender and social class.

7.5 Contemporary Language Use in Britain

The contemporary linguistic situation and language use in Britain seem to hold possibilities for diversity. This study concentrates on the language use of subjects with backgrounds from London and Essex, both of whom have lived and worked in London for many years. In that sense, their linguistic environments are similar. They are also working within the same profession, and performing within their respective careers with very similar methods. Even so, their respective language use shows a great many differences, and the two chefs demonstrate, in some ways, opposite linguistic performances. Within this spectrum that distinguishes the two subjects, it is plausible that there is scope for many other linguistic varieties. This is one factor that supports the claim that British English of today consists of, or may ultimately consist of, a range of diverse speech varieties that coexist within the same geographical region and the same professional environment.

As stated in the theoretical background, people make choices when they speak. According to Coates (2004), individuals are able to resist and subvert linguistic norms, and Coates claims that social and cultural change are possible precisely because speakers or writers do not use the discourses available uncritically: rather, they participate actively in the construction of meaning. Choices can be made and that opens up the possibility for a diversity of linguistic styles, and for linguistic change over time.

Social change can produce a corresponding linguistic change, according to Trudgill (2000) as previously stated. In that way, society is reflected in language, which may be seen as a crucial factor for the current and future linguistic situation. Contemporary British society, as with most western societies of today, is diversified with regard to social culture, ethnic backgrounds, inheritance, and popular culture. Development in society has also resulted in new attitudes to gender and gender roles, with a wider range of possibilities also in this area. Social change has a strong link to language and contemporary British English is diversified, with acceptance of varieties that deviate from the standard norm. Judging from this situation, the linguistic performance of the two subjects may be a result of an increasingly permissive attitude towards a broad linguistic spectrum.

It is also a consideration that society lays down different social roles for men and women, according to Trudgill (2000), and expects different behaviour patterns of them. Language is closely related to social attitudes. In some ways, the subjects in the study adopt the expected role, and in other ways they do not, as the results show. Their respective language use may be a product of social factors. The features that go against the gender norm may emerge from, or be facilitated by, a social change within this area, with the possibility of increasingly liberal attitudes to more varieties than the standard norm considering gender roles. At the same time,

features regarding social class may be products of a society that is more conservative regarding these social structures.

According to Barber *et al* (1993), there is a strong speech-hierarchy in Britain, corresponding to socio-economic class. Standard English is at the top in grammar and vocabulary, and RP is the norm for pronunciation. RP is now losing some of its prestige, according to Barber *et al*, due to the fact that people educated at public schools no longer have monopoly of power and education, and today the majority of university students are not speakers of RP. Hence, there is a greater acceptance of variations in pronunciation and language use other than the standard norm. This development may be a contributing factor to the accepted variation and broad span between Oliver and Lawson regarding language use, and it may contribute to making a non-standard form, such as Oliver's, more accepted. The loss of prestige by RP is contributing to the acceptance of greater linguistic variation.

7.6 Thesis Questions in Relation to Results

Thesis questions for the study:

1. What linguistic traits, with a focus on gender and social class, can be found in the language use of the two chefs and brand builders within cooking?
2. Are these traits in line with previous research and how may they contribute to the individual's respective linguistic style and identity?

The results of the study answer the question as to what linguistic traits, in relation to the stated variables that are included in the study, are to be found in the language use of the two subjects. The results have also made it possible to comment on the extent too which these findings are in accordance with earlier research and traditional views, as discussed in the previous section. The results show that traditional features regarding class are to be found in each subject's language use, whereas the results regarding gender features are the opposite to what is commonly accepted as male and feminine features respectively, as it is stated and argued in previous research.

It has been possible to discuss and, to some extent answer, how the language traits and usage may contribute to each subject's linguistic style and identity.

8. CONCLUSION

8.1 Summary and Conclusion

When summarising the results of the study, there are clear tendencies to be seen that make it possible to conclude that the subjects adhere to the standard norm in one of the research approaches, with regard to social class, but not in the other one, namely gender.

Oliver's language use includes linguistic traits linked to working-class language, and it also contains traits that are linked to more typical feminine language concerning gender. Lawson's language use shows, in the same way, adherence to social class with features of upper middle-class language, whereas the gender perspective shows a linguistic performance that, in some aspects, is different from traditional research findings. Hedges, tag questions and empty adjectives are, for example, uncommon in Lawson's texts. In conclusion, class, as a linguistic variable included in this study, has strong impact on linguistic performance and language use, which is seen in the case of both subjects. Gender, on the other hand, is a linguistic variable that has less impact on linguistic use than class, in this study, which is a result that may be related to cultural and social factors in society.

The findings of the study have been presented, discussed and related to possible reasons. They have also been discussed in the light of how they may contribute to the individual's linguistic style and identity. The linguistic inheritance may be a basis upon which notions of overt or covert prestige may be applied in order to further enhance a certain type of language use, and also to use language as a method in the marketing and branding processes of the two professional chefs. In conclusion, there is the possibility of building on a linguistic inheritance and background and, by applying overt or covert prestige, enhancing the characteristic linguistic style further in order to strengthen an individual overall style, profile or identity. The results of the study show that the two subjects have conformed to their respective linguistic backgrounds and have stayed within their particular linguistic cultures.

8.2 Further Research

The fact that the results show that class, in this study, is a linguistic variable that has high impact on linguistic performance, whereas gender has less impact, may be used as a basis that opens up for more questions and further research. It would be valuable to study a broad range of linguistic environments in order to establish if these results are valid in other situations, and to what extent this imbalance of the two variables is present in contemporary language use.

Among other areas for further investigation, I would suggest the following:

Is class a linguistic variable that has priority over gender in most linguistic environments?

Does class have priority also over other linguistic variables and, if so, which ones?

Why, if this is the case, does class have priority over other variables?

What may be the reasons? What other factors are relevant for class having priority?

What effects are likely to be seen in language development in relation to the results?

Lena Ekberg

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10. APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Texts Oliver

Jamie Oliver

Introductory text 1: 580 words

Introductory text 2: 575 words

Recipe 1: 476

Recipe 2: 266

Extra material: 204 words

In total 2: 101 words

Jamie's 15 Minute Meals

Simple

I'm so excited that you're into the world of 15-Minute Meals. The promise of this book is simple: delicious, nutritious, super-fast food that's a total joy to eat and perfect for busy people like you and me.

My relationship with you, the public, and these cookbooks I write is an incredibly important one. Over 30 million of you have bought my books in the last 10 years, and I never took that amazing support for granted. With each new book I feel a massive responsibility to push myself and give you something I really believe in; something I think you will love, with recipes that deliver on every level, and this book is no exception. It's had a clear game plan right from the start, because not only am I responding to what you are all screaming out for – tasty, quick, affordable food – I'm doing it with recipes that are anchored in balance and nutrition. The creation of this book has been a real game changer for me.

Nutritious

Total Joy to Eat

Because I passionately wanted this to be a cookbook you can use every day of the week, and not just for special occasions, health and nutrition had to be at the heart of it. So I wrote and cooked every recipe with my incredible nutritionists, Laura Parr and her team, looking over my

shoulder. They kept me on track, and kept a close eye on portion size, and as a result the recipes in this book are averaging about 580 calories per serving, which is great, so they'll fit easily into any main meal based on what we should be eating each day. It's really important to vary your recipe choices so that you feed your body with lots of different nutrients. Most importantly – because calories can be a useful but slightly blunt measure – keep in mind that these tasty meals are packed full of wholefoods, grains, veggies, fresh herbs, citrus, quality proteins and other beautiful things that will really help take care of you and your family.

There are a lot of days when speed is key, and that's where *15-Minute Meals* comes into play. This book is categorically a tool to make you cook really fast, delicious, fresh food, any day of the week. Of course, slow cooking old school, authentic recipes is the heart and soul of any great home cook, but this book is an expression of big, exciting flavours, for busy people.

Developing and writing the recipes, designing the pages, getting the timings right, and bringing the calories and nutrition to this happy place without compromising on flavour, has all taken an awful lot of hard work. Every word, every sentence, has been debated, and every single stage of each recipe has been streamlined in order to give you these super-quick, tasty dishes. I can't tell you how hard it's been. I've had to be ruthless, rein myself in, and carefully weigh up every decision I've made, from the amount of ingredients I've used to the number of pans on the hob. But it's been totally worth it, because my food team and I are so excited about where we've finally got to with this book. So please trust in all the effort we've put in, and know that as long as you follow what I've written, and have the essential equipment that is vital for speed, you'll be enjoying these tasty, healthy meals in your own home, possibly even tonight.

Save with Jamie

I'm Listening

Very simply, this book exists because you guys asked for it. Through your requests in jamieoliver.com, Twitter, Facebook and Instagram, the demand for delicious, exciting food that's not hard on your wallet was very clear, so I've listened. And to be honest, when you, the public, focus me in a brief like *Save with Jamie*, although it involves an incredible amount of research, work and recipe testing, I absolutely love it. For years I've been telling people that if you look back through history, the best food in the world has always come from communities under massive financial pressure. But the proviso is that you must be able to cook! If you can't

and have no money, that's when the trouble starts. So this book is very clear in its intention – ultimately it's here to help you eat well, and to:

Shop smart • cook clever • waste less

This book is relevant to every household – whether you're a couple, a family, a household of students or living on your own, I guarantee you'll find recipes and principles that you can use every day. It's a celebration of big, exciting flavours, and the array of delicious dishes is naturally inspired by many countries around the world. But, most importantly, every recipe is really accessible, trustworthy and, above all, super-affordable. Each meal will easily cost you less per person than an average fast-food takeaway (costings for each recipe are available via jamieoliver.com/savewithjamie), and it's not about trading down, it's about being clever. Stats suggest that the average family in the UK throws away around 680 BP of food a year – that's 12 billion BP across the nation, which is an insane amount of waste. Use this book the way it's intended and you'll waste less, as well as saving a wodge of cash.

I've made sure this book is really easy to navigate, with such clear chapters: veg, chicken, beef, pork, lamb and fish. There's loads of advice on getting stocked up and make sure your kitchen has everything you need to cook from scratch as well as plenty of tips on making the most of your ingredients, stretching them further, and using bits up. It's also about encouraging you to shop around and shop wisely, using supermarkets, butchers, greengrocers, fishmongers and markets. This is where the book comes into its own, giving you the ability to keep people well fed, happy, nourished and healthy, while keeping costs under control. I'm here to arm you with as much helpful information, as possible.

We all need to understand the basics about food, where it comes from and how it affects our bodies, as well as the importance of good, tasty cooking. My nutrition team have worked closely with me in the book to ensure that there's clarity in each page with calorie information per portion, and there's lots of extra detail at the back (see pages 268-72), to help you make informed choices. I hope *Save with Jamie* serves you well, gives you beautiful, nutritious food and some great mealtime memories, with the reassurance that none of it will break the bank. A cookbook that from start to finish has delicious recipes, all dedicated to great value, is a brilliant weapon to have in the shelf, whoever you are. I hope it gets passed down through your family to your children – it will certainly be my kids' first cookbook when they're ready. Good luck and happy cooking.

Incredible Lamb Biryani

Biryani is a big hitter – it's scrumptious, hearty and is a bit of an Indian favourite. It has always been one of those wonderful recipes that has the capacity to use up leftover – just like the

Italians would make a lasagne, or the Brits would make a pie filling – and the flavour and moisture from the leftover shoulder of lamb is perfect for it.

Serves 6

Total time: 2 hours 30 minutes

Left over lamb bones

400g basmati rice

2 thumb-sized pieces of ginger

6 cloves of garlic

2 red onions

olive oil

optional: leftover lamb dripping

450g frozen spinach

1 fresh red chilli

2 heaped teaspoons curry powder

2 tablespoons plain flour

2 tablespoons mango chutney

red wine vinegar

250g leftover cooked lamb

optional: leftover lamb gravy

1 handful of flaked almonds

fat-free natural yoghurt, to serve

optional: a few sprigs of fresh coriander

Put the leftover bones from the mothership lamb recipe into a large casserole pan – roughly break them up with a rolling pin if you can – then cover with 1.5 litres of water and simmer in a medium heat for 1 hour, skimming away any scum from the surface, to make a stock. Sieve it into a large jug and put aside to add wicked flavour to your stew and gravy later.

Cook the rice according to packet instructions, then rinse under cold water and drain. Preheat the oven to 200 degrees. Peel and finally chop the ginger, garlic and onions, then divide between two large pans, both in medium heats, with a lug of oil in each (if you've got any leftover lamb dripping from the roast, use a spoonful here instead of oil for massive flavour). Cook for 10 minutes, stirring regularly, then add the frozen spinach to one pan with a splash of water and cook down for 10 minutes, still stirring regularly, or until dark and delicious. Season to perfection and put aside. Meanwhile, finely slice the chilli and stir into the second pan with the curry powder, flour, mango chutney and a splash of vinegar, then shred in the lamb. Stir well, add any leftover gravy you have from the mothership recipe, then pour in the stock and

simmer for around 20 minutes, or until nice and thick. Season to perfection, then pour through a sieve into a pan to separate the meat stew from the gravy.

Season the rice to perfection, then layer half of it in a greased baking dish (roughly 25cm x 30cm), followed by all of the spinach and the meat stew from the sieve, finishing with a layer of rice. Sprinkle over the almonds, cover with tin foil and bake for around 40 minutes, or until hot through, removing the foil halfway. Serve with hot gravy and yoghurt on the side, and scattering of coriander leaves (if using).

Chicken Cacciatore

Spaghetti & Smoky Tomato Sauce

Ingredients out • Kettle boiled • Large frying pan, medium heat • Large lidded pan, medium heat

Chicken & Sauce

4 skinless, boneless chicken thighs

olive oil

125g oyster mushrooms

125g chestnut mushrooms

4 rashers of smoked pancetta

2-3 sprigs of fresh rosemary

2 anchovy fillets

2 jarred red peppers

1 small handful of black olives (stone in)

2 cloves of garlic

1 fresh red chilli

60 ml Chianti

700 g passata

1 bunch of fresh basil

Pasta

320g dried whole wheat spaghetti

30g Parmesan cheese

Start cooking

Cut the chicken into 1cm chunks, then put into the large frying pan with 2 tablespoons of oil and a pinch of salt and pepper • Roughly chop the mushrooms, finely slice the pancetta, then add both to the pan with the rosemary leaves, anchovies and torn-up peppers • Squash and add the olives (discarding the stones), then turn the heat up to medium-high, tossing regularly until golden.

Put the pasta into the large pan, cover with boiling salted water and cook according to packet instructions • Squash the unpeeled garlic through a garlic crusher into the chicken pan • Finely slice and add the chilli, pour in the wine and passata, then season to taste • Tear and stir through most of the top leafy half of the basil

Finely grate the Parmesan • Drain the pasta, reserving a cupful of the starchy cooking water, then tip on to a platter and spoon over the sauce • Scatter with the remaining basil leaves and the grated Parmesan • Toss together, loosening with a splash of cooking water, if needed

Save with Jamie

“I’ve got a good, simple, confident salad –light crunchy leaves, slaps of heat from the chilli, really tasty hot croutons and, very importantly, a kick-ass but subtle blue cheese dressing that will make this small amount of lovely leftover meat go such a long way. And, if in doubt, just chuck it in a wrap or pitta to make it even more gorgeous.”

(Oliver Save with Jamie 124).

“I’m fully aware that this isn’t your everyday pasta, but it’s sumptuously gorgeous, and will put big smiles in people’s faces. Sardines are super-cheap and something we should all embrace and eat more of – simply get your fishmonger to remove the scales, fillet them and remove the main bones, and you’re going to cook up a storm.”

(Oliver Save with Jamie 248).

“My mate Tim Hogg is a massive foodie and wine dude, and has made a life in Portugal that he’s so passionate about. He gave me the heads up on this fantastic baked fish stew, which is really interesting because there’s no added liquid – everything cooks and steams in its own juices to keep the flavours intense and delicious. I took the liberty of finishing it off under the grill to crisp up the potatoes, which isn’t traditional, but I couldn’t help myself”.

(Oliver Save with Jamie 256).

Appendix 2: Television Episode Oliver

Jamie Oliver: Money Saving Meals

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=otA3ALq8rWE>

Food is my love and my passion, but it's also my business. You might think it's impossible to eat really amazing, super-tasty food on a budget, but think again. I want to show you how you can eat delicious meals every day. With some cheeky little money-saving tips, tricks from the restaurant trade, and some other most gorgeous recipes ever, which just so happen to be really, really cheap. You interested? Come on in. Let me introduce you to the food team.

The girls over here have been doing costings and nutrition. We have a boy, he's doing food safety and waste. As you can see, this is exciting stuff, but we are all really passionate to get you guys cooking smart, cooking clever and wasting less. I am going to prove to you that you can all, every single one of you, eat like a king, no matter what the budget.

Today, we have show-stopping dishes to wake your appetite without crushing your piggy bank. You might think that a big joint of meat is pricy, but I'll show you how to transform my mothership Sunday roast brisket into an incredible careen stir fried rise, oh yeh. My sweet fish pie is so delicious and super thrifty, all thanks to the freezer. Forget the take-away, my hot American pizza pie is a fraction of the price. Plus, I am going to meet a pair of food-wasters who need help saving money. Welcome, to my money-saving meals.

Everyone deserves an incredible roast in every week with friends and family, but so many of you think that you just can't afford it. I want to show you an amazing way to save loads of money and I need you to think big, spend a bit of money, to save money. This is beef, always known for being expensive, but this is a brisket of beef, it's an amazing cut, incredible flavour. Look at this, it's been slow-roasting for four hours, you're going to have nice gravy in the bottom, it's gorgeous. Then you've got the potential to later in the week have the most amazing dishes out of the leftovers. So think big to save money, you are going to love it.

So let's fire up this amazing money-saving roast. Grab a nice handful of rosemary and season the brisket. I've got a hot pan here, casserole pan, and we'll just get that beautiful brisket and we'll go fat side down into the pan, we'll start with getting colour on this, okay, the colour means flavour. Look at that, that's what we want, get in there my son.

Once the meat is brown, add a couple of sliced onions into the pan, and let the brisket sit on top. I am going to smear that with a couple of teaspoons of English mustard, and it just kind of forms like a little bark, flavours the sauce and the beef in a fantastic way, so give that a really good rub-up. And then last, but not least, before it goes on its four hour journey, tuck it into bed

with some wet greased food paper. When it's damp it kind of moves a little bit more graciously, and add a double layer of tin foil so that the joint doesn't dry out. Then, into the oven a hundred and seventy. Cook for four hours if you want the meat carveable, or around five if you want it pullable. Ah, it's going to get people very excited. I love brisket, it's one of the cheapest cuts of beef, but there's no compromise on flavour if you cook it long and slow. Serve with some delicious roast buds, smashed buttery carrots and sweets, a fat gravy made from the meat juices and a secret spoonful of jam. And the oldest trick in the book to make your meet go further, little Yorkies, just five pence each, and that's it. A beautiful roast, mothership brisket of beef, fit for a king, for about one pound eighty a portion. You want some of that? Come on then.

Right now I am going to make a dish with eggs and my delicious leftover brisket. It's Korean stirred fried rice. This, my friends, is a weapon in the kitchen. Start by pulling apart 200 grams of your leftover brisket. On this meal I am going to use some smoky barbecue sauce, two tablespoons, and then I'm gonna go for two tablespoons of chilli sauce and a little soya sauce. So we're kind of making a Korean style sort of barbecue sauce, basically. As this kind of leftover has the ability to be a little bit dry, lovely barbecue sauce will dress around it, and look after it, take care of it and it will be delicious. I'm gonna use some white rice today, and actually this is really, really good with brown rice and there's a healthier option. Rice is a great starch for carrying strong flavours, so cook one mug of rice in boiling water. And in a large pan, fry a hundred and fifty gram of common old mushrooms, together with two cloves of garlic and one chopped chilli. The wonderful thing is this, humble leftover is gonna give a massive punch of flavour that no piece of fresh meet will ever give. Exciting. So, it all happens now, in the pan. We're gonna keep the pan moving, look at that, beautiful. Can you see that, caramelizing, just starting to happen in a really unusual way, it's like the sugar in the barbecue sauce... just sort of like... kind of almost getting like a toffee, it's just really looking after that meat. You can see the meat is really soft again now. Add the warm cooked rice and half a slice of green cabbage. And now we're getting to the point when the pan is kind of getting quite full. Move everything around, and pat it down, almost like when you make a sand castle and you sort of pat it down, like this, on the top, to make it really sort of dense. Crack in one egg, just give it an egg fried rice kind of vibe, just mix it up, and once the egg has gone in, just pat it down, right up the side, around the edges. And the reason I'm doing this is just to sort of pat the rice to the bottom so the bottom of the pan is going to go like a sort of giant rice crisp. Golden, crispy, gorgeous. Meanwhile, poach four eggs for two to four minutes, depending on how you like them, I like them running. One egg per person. Wonderful rice. Scatter over some toasted sesame seeds. Oh, yeah, look at those. And one more splurge of chilli sauce. Ah, something a bit different. And if you've got coriander around, you can grab a little bit of that. In the end of the day, it just proves that leftovers do not have to be boring. And that's a little move on from stirred fried rice, with a bit of a Korean flavour, barbecue, beef, rice, crispy bits, fluffy bits, eggs, chilli sauce, that serves them up. Can you see? Completely crispy here, that's exactly

what I wanted. Ah, give me a beer, and a quiet corner. All right, now it's time, come and have a little taste, help yourselves. Really good, definitely have a go at that.

(This is a transcript of spoken material and the text may not be in full accordance with the television show.)

Appendix 3: Texts Nigella Lawson

Recipe 1: 383 words

Recipe 2: 463 words

Introductory text 1: 650 words

Introductory text 2: 629 words

In total: 2 125 words

Indian-rubbed lamb chops

With butternut, rocket and pine nut salad

There is something about the scented heat of the spices here that intensifies the tender sweetness of the lamb, and since you do no more than make a rapid rub, and the chops themselves need only scant cooking, this is as undemanding to cook as it is rewarding to eat. On top of that, the earthy fragrance, as you cook, gives you all the effects of a high-end spa's scented candle without the added expense. There's all upside here. With one proviso, that is: make sure you don't let my impatience rub off on you. Cook these choplets at too high a heat, and the air will be acrid and smoky rather than aromatic.

The butternut squash salad is not an obligatory accompaniment, but it is a fitting one, not least for its radiant Bollywood colouring. If it makes life easier, by all means cook the butternut cubes ahead, though make sure they're at room temperature before you assemble your salad. Between you, me and the gatepost, I wouldn't actually refrigerate them in the first place, but I am all too aware that Health & Safety strictures would command me not to advise you to follow suit. Your call.

But if you're in a mad dash, then a salad made with colourful mixed leaves of any sort would be delicious; and be advised that you could make an even more rapid rub for the chops by simply mixing the salt specified below with 3 teaspoons of Madras curry powder.

Serves 4, with the salad overleaf

1 teaspoon ground coriander

1 teaspoon ground cumin

1 teaspoon ground ginger

¼ teaspoon ground cloves

½ teaspoon cayenne pepper

½ teaspoon ground cinnamon

3 teaspoons sea salt flakes or 1 ½ teaspoons pouring salt

12 small French-trimmed lamb chops or 8 larger lamb chops

2 x 15ml tablespoons garlic oil

- Measure out the spices into a wide, shallow dish along with the salt, and mix to combine.
- Dip the lamb chops into the spice mixture, dusting them well on all sides.
- Warm the oil in a frying pan, then fry the chops for about 2-3 minutes a side, depending on thickness, over a medium heat. They should look darkly burnished – but still juicily pink within – when cooked.

Sicilian Pasta with Tomatoes, Garlic & Almonds

I have come across more than one version of “pesto Trapanese”, the Sicilian pasta sauce from Trapani that differs from the more popularly known, Genovese variety in a number of ways. Chief of these is that almonds, not pine nuts, are ground into the mix – a divergence whose origins (in common with a lot of Sicilian food) owe much to Arabic cooking.

Giorgio Locatelli, the London-based Italian chef and restaurateur, uses mint as his herb of choice for this; others go, as they more usually do up north, for basil; some use nothing more than tomatoes, garlic, and olive oil. The recipe below is rather more baroque in its sweep, which seems entirely right for a dish that is inspired by Sicily.

Throughout Italy, eaters do not grate Parmesan over pasta sauces that contain fish (or are very garlicky), so you should consider cheese here doubly ill-advised, unless you wish to substitute $\frac{1}{4}$ cup grated pecorino for the anchovies.

I like to use fusilli lunghi, which are like long golden ringlets (or, less poetically, telephone cords – and you can see them in their raw state in p.49) but, if you can't find them, simply substitute regulation-size fusilli (or indeed any pasta of your choice).

Since the sauce is unheated, it would be wise to warm the serving bowl first but, having said that, I absolutely adore eating this Sicilian pasta cold, should any be left over. It is so easy to make and, being both simple and spectacular, is first in my list for a pasta dish to serve when you have people around.

Serves 6

1 $\frac{1}{4}$ pounds fusilli lunghi or other pasta of your choice

Salt for pasta water, to taste

8 ounces cherry or grape tomatoes

6 anchovy fillets

2 tablespoons golden raisins

2 cloves garlic, peeled

2 tablespoons capers, drained

1/3 cup skinned almonds

¼ cup extra-virgin olive oil

leaves from small bunch basil (approx.. 1 cup, packed), to serve

Put abundant water on boil for the pasta, waiting for it to come to a boil before salting it. Add the pasta and cook following the package instructions, though start checking it a good 2 minutes before it's meant to be ready.

While the pasta is cooking, make the sauce by putting all the remaining ingredients, barring the basil, into a processor and blitzing until you have a nubbly textured sauce.

Just before draining the pasta, remove a cupful of pasta-cooking water and add 2 tablespoonfuls of it down the funnel of the processor, pulsing as you go.

Tip the drained pasta into your warmed serving bowl. Pour and scrape the sauce on top, tossing to coat (add a little more pasta-cooking water if you need it), and strew with basil leaves.

KITCHEN RECIPES FROM THE HEART OF THE HOME

Introduction

Or what the kitchen means to me, and why I live in it

This is a book I've been wanting to write for a very long time. The idea first came to me almost ten years ago and has been simmering away in the back burner ever since. Maybe I just needed to spend more time in the kitchen before I could write about it. And by "in the kitchen", I mean, rather in a number of kitchens, they have all been different but with one crucial element in common: they're where I feel most at home.

But, if this is the starting point of the book, it's not one I ever stray far away from. I know it's impossible to prove a negative but let me start, about face, by telling you what this book isn't. It isn't a handbook or a manual. It isn't a lifestyle guide or aspirational treatise. It most definitely isn't intended as a work of social history, although I do believe that any cookbook ultimately ends up as one: the history of what we eat is indisputably the history of how we live and who we are. In fact, this book is simply the story of my love affair with the kitchen. Whatever the opposite of the currently still fashionable genre, the misery memoir, might be, this is it: a comfort chronicle.

Please, listen to me, though, when I say that my focus does not emanate from the belief that cooking holds any inherent moral qualities or reveals essential purity of purpose and congratulation-worthy virtue. Certainly no: it wouldn't occur to me to feel guilty about eating food I hadn't cooked – so long as I enjoyed it – any more than I ever have or would feel guilty about buying clothes rather than sewing something to wear myself. The born-again fervour and judgemental outlook of the status-conscious cook seem to me positively to preclude a happy life in the kitchen – or, indeed, out of it. I don't cook because I feel I ought to, but because I want to. And, of course, there are times when I don't want to. That's life. Sometimes reality has the edge over romance: albeit I have said before, and hand-on heart declare again, that for me the kitchen is not a place I want to escape from, but to escape to, I will confess that there are times when the idea of cooking doesn't fill me with joy or make me radiate enthusiasm.

What I've discovered, after what feels like a lifetime's cooking, is that anything which holds true in the kitchen, is just as true out of the kitchen. This is one of my mantras and I fear it won't be the last time you hear me chant it. And I'm sorry if it reeks of homespun philosophy, but that's just what it is. So, while it may be the case that occasionally – at the end of a long day or when I'm so exhausted that just staying upright seems a challenge – I approach cooking

with something less than my usual gusto, I nearly always find that just getting in with it can make me wonder what I was dreading in the first place, and why. But then, the same applies to so many obligations and undertakings that loom over us in life, outside of the kitchen, too. Fear – of disappointment, inadequacy, failure – seems to make fools of us, causing us to forget what we all unfailingly learn from experience: that not doing what frightens us makes us fear it more rather than less. Perhaps some day I'll write a book called "Feel the Fear and Cook it Anyway", although to some extent I suspect that this is, indeed, the subliminal message of every cookbook I've ever written. [...]

(*Lawson Kitchen. Recipes from the heart of the Home* 12).

NIGELISSIMA

Easy Italian-Inspired Recipes

It was when I was sixteen or seventeen that I decided to be Italian. Not that it was a conscious decision; nor was it even part of the teenage armory of pretention – the battered Penguin Modern Classic stuffed conspicuously into a basket, the Anello & Davide tap shoes, the cult of the Rotring pen filled with dark brown ink – of the time. No: I simply felt drawn to it, to Italy. While doing other A-Levels (the British equivalent of high school examinations) I did a crash course in Italian and, before I knew it, I'd applied to read Italian at university. I did an entrance test in French and German – in the olden days you still sometimes had to do this – with a plea to swap French for Italian. Certain universities then, and I would guess still now, took a slightly condescending view toward the Romance languages: at Oxford, the authorities saw no reason why Spanish, Italian, or Portuguese couldn't be studied at degree level from scratch; if you knew Latin and French, they blithely assumed that you were pretty well there, anyway.

At my interviews, I talked of spending my gap year in Italy, and it came to pass that I did. I think I may have implied that my destination was along the lines of a stint at the British Council in Florence. And Florence was, indeed, where I went – at first – not as a student of culture, but as a chambermaid. I'd sworn to do anything to earn a living except clean restrooms, so of course, that's what I ended up doing. But I did learn Italian – after a fashion. A year or so on, in a translation class at university – we had been given the task of rendering, orally, a piece of the *History of Western Philosophy*, or some such – my tutor said to me, "That's fine grammatically, Nigella, but I'm sure Bertrand Russell wouldn't have sounded like a Florentine greengrocer!"

I wish I sounded like a Florentine greengrocer now; I am afraid my Italian these days has the halted stammer of any smitten British tourist. But if I don't spend as much time in Italy as I'd like, I bring as much of Italy as I can into my kitchen. And that is what this book is about.

I fear I never write the introduction to a book without claiming that I had the germ of an idea for it way, way back. It's how I work, though: the books I really want to write are the ones I put off for longest. I will be charitable to myself here, and claim that it must be because I need to let them filter through and become part of me first. It is true that the book I have now written is not quite the one I originally intended. That is how it should be if the process of writing has any meaning. I had thought that one day I would write my "Italian book" and it would concentrate on food as it is cooked in Italy. As someone who, since putting the project on the back burner, has bought a whole wall full of Italian cookbooks (about five hundred titles at the most recent count) I no longer felt so driven to write it. I also had a sense of embarrassment about my original idea; without the fearlessness (or arrogance) of youth, I blushed at the presumption of an English person's finger-wagging on the subject of authentic Italy – for all that I derive much pleasure as well as instruction from any Anglophone Italian cookbooks. And yet still I felt that Italian food was so central to me, and to how I cook, that I couldn't drop the project altogether. [...]

Appendix 4: Television Episode Lawson

Nigella Lawson

http://www.tv4play.se/program/nigellissima?video_id=2465110

When I can, I love love love coming to an Italian deli, and right now, I'm here because I need some fregola, which you don't find on the high street. Fregola is like a giant couscous, it's often known as Sardinian couscous, but unlike ordinary couscous it's toasted when it's made so it has a real roundness and a nuttiness in flavour, and what I need it for is my Sardinian couscous and clams.

Oh, the sound of a sizzle just makes me salivate. I have the charlottes, and with some olive oil. The wonderful thing about these charlottes is they soften so quickly, so I'm already in position to mince in some garlic. A lot of garlic here, two cloves, but this is from Sardinia and they do like their taste robust. A bit of fire as well, some chilli flakes, it's gorgeous, it's terracotta-coloured confetti. I haven't quite finished the flavour-base, I feel I need an ungainly squirt of tomato pure. I normally would never add tomatoes to clams, I like them in bianco as they say in Italy, or white, but this is different, it brings some colour at the same time. On top of all that base, I'm adding a weakish chicken stock. You could at this stage add wine, but I prefer vermouth, it has a more mellow ring about it, you don't have to cook it for ages like you would with red wine. In goes the fregola. If you've never come across fregola before, do not be afraid, or even slightly panicked, it really is like giant couscous, that's all it is.

The fregola won't take very long to cook, and in the meantime I will chop some parsley. Now, the fregola is cooked, I can feel that. It's cooked with a sort of a bit of resistance, which is how it should be, but, I have something to add and that is the silica that will issue from these clams. They have been soaked in cold water, and all you need to know, is that any clams that don't open should be chucked away.

I always feel a link with our primeval past when I cook seafood. The welcoming clatter. These just need to steam, like this. So I'm getting ready now. I love it, when the clams have opened, and the fregola is nestling inside the shells, on the cushions of clam. Beautiful, oh, the smell, I am transported to the Italian seaside. In need a bowl, I need a ladle, and I need to eat. It's an odd thing, this is so unlike anything you ever tasted, and yet reassuring at the same time. That is the magic of Italian cooking.

I learned from living in Italy that you really don't need a whole raft of things to create a beautiful supper. For example, when I cook lamb I just marinate it in balsamic vinegar and some olive oil and salt. And then once it's garlanded with bay leaves it so ravishing, and likewise I do a recipe with some baby aubergines and I scatter with onions on top. My pudding is much newer, although in fact, it comes from a relatively old source, it's an ice cream cake that is studded with merengue, and it's incredibly high impact for low effort. And I discovered it in a book written by an Italian man of letters. I may have found the recipe in a venerable volume, but it's now one of the most straightforward and simplest dishes in my repertoire. There aren't many puddings you can rustle up early in the morning, before a day's work, but this is one of them. There are only four ingredients needed, the first one being cream, obviously, and I whisk this so the cream is thick but still soft which is what I want. And now I am ready for ingredient number due: a splash of rum. My philosopher actually specified a rather rare liquor, but rum to me always tastes so authentically Italian in puddings. Okay, so that is the whisking part over and done with. My third ingredient is chocolate, it's a good start. I find it easier to cut the chocolate rather than grate it. It makes a great difference if your chocolate is cold, because otherwise it almost starts to melt as you chop it. So, in with the chocolate chunks, oh, lovely sound, and now quick; fold. My last ingredient: some meringues, some brute force needed, these just get crushed in a sugary and heavy snowfall. And the thing about meringues is that they will not freeze, so you create a crisp texture within the ice cream cake. And now it's just a question of folding these in. Like a morning walk on freshly fallen snow. Yes, it needs a day in the freezer, but basically this is now made. Here it goes, just tamp it down. So after a day, give or take, in the freezer, this will be set and ready to serve, and with it, I'm going to melt some chocolate, some cream and another splash of rum, and that's a chocolate sauce done. There's nothing fancy about it, there's nothing difficult. But as Steve Jobs said, simplicity is the ultimate sophistication.

(This is a transcript of spoken language in a television show and the text may not be in full accordance with the programme.)