STUDIA NEOFILOLOGICZNE XVI

INSTRUCTIONAL WRITING ACROSS TIMES AND LANGUAGES

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pod redakcją
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PREFACE

The present volume unveils the vast scope and potential of instructional texts, demonstrating how they can be approached from various perspectives. The papers collected in the volume cover topics which range from the structure and typology of medical and culinary instructions, through medical and culinary lexicon, to instructions as found in grammar books. The articles cover the period from the fourteenth century until contemporary times, and deal with British, American and Australian varieties of English, as well as Polish.

The contributions have been organised in a chronological order, beginning with the analysis of medieval medical recipes in two seemingly unrelated manuscript collections, namely MSS 404 and 5262, housed at the Wellcome Library in London. Teresa Marqués-Aguado and Laura Esteban--Segura prove that – contrary to what has been believed – a certain degree of overlap can be identified between the instructions found in the two manuscripts; this is accomplished by investigating recipe components and individual recipe features, such as the form of the headings, telegrammatic style, verb forms, personal and possessive pronouns, object deletion, temporal structuring and parataxis.

The investigation of typological and structural features of medical texts is also addressed by Marta Sylwanowicz, who worked on surgical instructions. Her study shows that early surgical texts had a well-defined and well organised structure which co-existed with the linguistic features preferred in these texts. This resulted in an authoritative tone of the instructions.

The second part of the volume begins with Isabel de la Cruz-Cabanillas's presentation of Early Modern English recipes as a mirror of the time period. She concentrates on the society in which the recipes were written, as "no other genre is so permeable to the changes in the cultural and social spheres, reflecting fashion, traditions and conceptions of their time of writing." (Cruz--Cabanillas, this volume). The author discusses the most frequent diseases of the time and possible cures for them, as found in a number of selected and

(mostly) unpublished manuscripts from the 16th to the 18th centuries. The study is also a source of newly-introduced terminology for ingredients brought to Europe from America.

Francisco Alonso-Almeida and Francisco J. Álvarez-Gil investigate the nature and functions of modal verbs used in medical discourse. They show that apart from the general meaning of obligation expected of modal verbs used in instructions, one may find modals expressing possibility, prediction, and a range of other pragmatic functions. The authors touch upon the relationship between particular modal verbs and modal meanings, and discuss selected formulaic patterns found in the recipes. The deontic, dynamic and epistemic modalities are illustrated diachronically, in terms of their functions and frequency of occurrence in recipes.

The next article is a lexicographic comparison of two medical dictionaries from the 17th century. R.W. McConchie undertook the laborious task of juxtaposing the entries of the physical dictionary attached to the translation of Lazare Rivière (1655) and a version of the dictionary in Richard Tomlinson's translation of Jean de Renou (1657). Although earlier studies (Tyrkkö 2009)[1] revealed no common features between the two, on the basis of the analysis of the headwords as well as a number of entries, McConchie concludes that 'a modest part' of Renou/Tomlinson's dictionary derives from Rivière.

The final article in this part is based on the earliest recipe collections written and published in 17th-century Poland. Even though they were written only a few years apart from one another, Magdalena Bator argues that features of *Compendium Ferculorum* are more typical of a medieval than a 17th-century collection. Features of the latter are represented in recipes in *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends].

The third part of the volume, devoted to the period from the 19th century until today, comprises three articles dealing with instructions written in three different varieties of English. Julia Landmann offers an analysis of the culinary lexicon found in the contemporary informal language used in the media. Her attention is especially focused on the impact of French, Spanish and German which have influenced the (British and American) English lexicon since 1901. Next, Dana Serditova has collected a long list of culinary lexicon found in Australian slang. She categorises the collected entries into five categories on morphological, phonological, semantic, stylistic and etymological grounds.

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[1] Tyrkkö, J. 2009. "A physical dictionary 1657: The first English medical dictionary", in: R.W. McConchie, A. Honkapohja and J. Tyrkkö (eds.) *Selected Proceedings of the 2008 Symposium on New Approaches in English Historical Lexis (HEL-LEX 2).* Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press, 172–187.

The final contribution unveils a different face of instructional writing. Radosław Dylewski delves into a number of Confederate grammar books published between 1861 and 1865, and explores the irregular verbs whose past participle forms were considered obsolete, obsolescent or rare. Wherever possible, the author compares the Southern manuals with their Northern or British counterparts.

We would like to thank all the contributors for their splendid cooperation, and the group of reviewers who did a great job and shared their opinions to improve the volume. We would also like to acknowledge Jan Długosz University Publishing House, which agreed to publish the volume despite a number of obstacles which arose on the way.

The articles shed some light on the issues related to instructional writings of various types. However, they also pose a number of questions which remain unanswered, opening the door for further research. Thus, it is hoped that the volume will be inspirational for other scholars and will contribute to the growing interest in the analysis of instructions.

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MEDICAL RECIPES IN TWO MIDDLE ENGLISH MANUSCRIPTS: LONDON, WELLCOME LIBRARY, MSS 404 AND 5262*

Abstract

Recipes in Middle English specialised texts have been the focus of study over the past few decades. In the studies conducted, attention is drawn to particular types of recipes (medical, culinary, etc.) or to the type of production and intended audience (remedyboks and learned texts, addressed either to lay or to learned audiences). The present study analyses a sample of common recipes taken from two apparently unrelated manuscripts holding recipe collections (London, Wellcome Library, MSS 404 and 5262) in order to unearth connections between both texts. To account for these similarities, the linguistic features and the recipe elements of the recipes examined are discussed adopting a contrastive perspective.
Keywords: Middle English, remedybook, medical recipe, Wellcome 404, Wellcome 5262, recipe elements.

1. Introduction

Recipes have formed part of the vernacular English tradition for a long time, going back to as early as the 10th century (Carroll 2004: 175). This lasting presence has not caused their features to change much, however, as put forward by Görlach (1992: 756). Among these, a common trait stands out: their instructional purpose. In other words, in recipes instructions are

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* An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 39th AEDEAN Conference, Bilbao, Spain, November 11–13, 2015.

provided as to how to prepare a medicine, a meal or some other utility (Taavitsainen 2001: 86; Quintana-Toledo 2009: 24). Depending on the ultimate purpose that recipes seek to serve, different types can be found in early English – not only medical, but also culinary, magical, etc. The cookery recipe, for example, has been the object of study of contributions like those by Görlach (1992), Hieatt (1996) or Bator (2016), among others; alchemical recipes, on the other hand, have been studied by Grund (2003).

It has been widely reported in the literature that recipes can be analysed from two different perspectives: either as a text-type or as a genre. According to the former, linguistic traits are explored; as for the latter, their function is taken into consideration (Carroll 2004: 178, 186). As Taavitsainen has recently suggested, "text type features include imperative forms of verbs, measurements, and an optional efficacy part that may be realized in various ways", whereas the opening verb *take* or the abbreviation for recipe are "enough to trigger expectations of a text belonging to a genre whose function is to instruct in preparing something" (2016: 275). This twofold approach is applied, for example, in the analyses of Middle English (hereafter ME) medical recipes by Alonso-Almeida (1998–1999) or Marqués-Aguado (2014).

The focus of this article falls on medical recipes recorded in two ME manuscripts. Being medical, these recipes aim at describing substances, procedures and the like to help restore the balance of humours or a patient's general condition. Medical recipes have a long history, as they were already attested in Old English (hereafter OE) times, whereas, for instance, "no OE cookery recipe appears to be extant" (Görlach 2004: 126).

Scholarly research has also addressed the issue of where such mediaeval medical recipes are found, since there were different types of medical productions at the time. If in OE recipes typically appeared in remedybooks (Carroll 2004: 175), the options widen in the ME period, ranging from the said remedybooks to surgical and specialised/academic treatises. While the latter belong to the learned tradition of writing (Taavitsainen, Pahta and Mäkinen 2006: 87) with translations or adaptations from works in Latin, remedybooks represent "the oldest tradition of medical writing" (Bator and Sylwanowicz 2017: 26). As Voigts and McVaugh note, remedybooks were "made up mostly of treatment for ailments – or, more accurately, for symptoms – by minor surgical procedures, non-theoretical phlebotomy, cupping, dietary, prayers, charms, ritual action, and, of course, 'prescriptions'" (1984: 21). *A Fifteenth-Century Leechbook* (London, Medical Society, MS 136), edited by Dawson (1934), and the *Liber de diversis medicinis* (Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS A.5.2.), edited by Ogden (1938), are among the most well-known remedybooks.

The learned and the remedybook traditions differed in several ways (as summarised in Marqués-Aguado [2014: 108]; see also Bator and Sylwanowicz [2017: 25–27]). On the one hand, remedybooks were normally intended for lay people and contained recipes that were usually more standardised and that could be read independently. On the other, learned materials were produced for surgeons and physicians, and the recipes that they included were less standardised and more likely to follow an organisational pattern or be integrated into the treatise, "which makes it difficult to discern them from the main body of the text" (Bator and Sylwanowicz 2017: 27).

This apparently clear-cut division is not, however, that neat, since intertextuality among texts and writing traditions was commonplace. Indeed, individual texts, as Taavitsainen, Pahta and Mäkinen argue, usually have "complicated and layered transmission histories" (2006: 86). The transmission of theories, concepts and texts from the Antiquity to the mediaeval period, for instance, "involved successive stages of copying, translating, paraphrasing, commenting, excerpting, assimilating, adapting, and conflating" (Pahta and Taavitsainen, 2004: 12). In the process of creating new texts on the basis of previous ones, there was no need to refer to the sources, and originality was not a goal, particularly with recipe materials, in which intertextuality is even described as "striking" by Pahta and Taavitsainen (2004: 12, 14).

Our study delves into some recipes that are shared by two manuscripts held at the Wellcome Collection (London, Wellcome Library, MSS 404 and 5262; hereafter W404 and W5262, respectively) that are apparently unrelated, or whose connection at least has not been reported yet. In order to analyse the recipes selected, the manuscripts are first described (section 2). Then, the analysis tackles the sample of recipes from two perspectives (section 3): first, recipes are analysed linguistically (i.e. as a text-type); second, attention is paid to recipe elements (i.e. as a genre). Finally, the conclusion (section 4) closes the article.

2. Description of the manuscripts

No information on connections between the two manuscripts under study in this article has been found. In fact, the entries for both manuscripts in the Wellcome Library Catalogue have been checked, and so has been Voigts and Kurtz's search programme (2014), without positive results.[1] The recipes or

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[1]   The individual links for the two manuscripts in the Wellcome Library Catalogue are http://archives.wellcomelibrary.org/DServe/dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Ar chive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=0&dsqSearch=%28AltRefNo%3D%

fragments found in Keiser's manual (1998) only concern sections in W404 (see subsection 2.1), so no connections appear in this reference book either.

2.1. London, Wellcome Library, MS 404

The Wellcome Library Catalogue labels W404 as a *Leechbook*, the first in a series of manuscripts holding collections of recipes. In fact, the manuscript brings together various contents, including a description of urines, a series of medical recipes and remedies (along with some charms), some astrological tables and texts, etc. (see Moorat 1962: 271–272).

The text remains largely unidentified, although some connections have been established between excerpts in W404 and other already known texts. For example, a section on diet and bloodletting (f. 1r-v and ff. 34r-36r) has been linked to Galen's *De phlebotomia* (Keiser 1998: 3849), while a couple of charms aimed at staunching bleeding (ff. 19v-20r) have been placed in the traditions of the "Flum Jordan" and the "Longinus charm". As Mitchell notes, these two were "the most prevalent medical charms in the body of surviving charms", and "[m]anuscripts will often have both charms, or they will have multiple versions of the same charm" (2011: 63), as is the case of W404. This repetition could also be suggestive of how the manuscript was put together, i.e. that this was not a particularly well-planned collection of recipes.

The codex contains no table of contents to help identify the materials included in it. In total, W404 presents us with more than 350 recipes, a figure that comprises repeated recipes. Although at times the classical *de capite ad pedem* organisational pattern is followed, with recipes discussing head problems first and then moving downwards, such ordering is not always respected. Rather, recipes for the same ailment tend to cluster together, such as those for eye problems. Although most recipes are medical in character, around 20 provide instructions to prepare substances and preparations, or how to work with metals, which points at this being a varied collection.

The contents of the manuscript are rendered by four different hands, which may also help explain why some texts or excerpts are repeated. All of them can be dated back to the 15th century and show varying degrees of mixture of Anglicana and Secretary features. The recipes that will be analysed in section 3 are all written by the first hand. They lack rubricated headings, with the beginning of the heading being rather signalled by coloured initials, in which red and green tend to alternate.

27404%27%29 (W404) and http://archives.wellcomelibrary.org/DServe/dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=0&dsqSearch=%28AltRefNo%3D%275262%27%29 (W5262) (date of access: June 2019). In Voigts and Kurtz's database of *Scientific and Medical Writings in Old and Middle English* (2014), the reference numbers are .vk 5726.00 for W404 and .vk 3449.50 for W5262.

2.2. London, Wellcome Library, MS 5262

W5262 is a one-volume codex which contains a medical recipe collection. It dates from the early 15th century and displays a West Midlands dialect, being the most likely place of origin a bordering area between the counties of Herefordshire and Worcestershire (Esteban-Segura 2014). It includes a list of contents (ff. 3v-7v) recording 133 recipes (ff. 8r-53v), which is not accurate as some recipes do not appear later in the text. It is interesting to note that the missing recipes contain two dealing with childbirth ("Medic*ine* for wo*m*man þat t*ra*ueleþ" [Medicine for a woman that is in labour] and "Med*icine* to deliu*er*e wo*m*ma*n* of ded childe" [Medicine to deliver a woman of a dead child]), which can be an indication of the intended user(s) of the manuscript for whom the original text may have been adapted.

The manuscript consists mainly of recipes in English for affections, injuries and ailments dealing with human complaints, held in ff. 8r-61v. There are some fragments in Latin and practical recipes not necessarily relating to medical issues such as, for example, those concerning the preparation of drinks (turning wine into vinegar), reading in the dark, catching fowls, etc.

The arrangement intends to follow the mediaeval *de capite ad pedem* structure, from head to foot, presenting first those remedies for affections in the head and then moving downwards. As with W404, however, the grouping is sometimes quite arbitrary and closely related remedies may appear separated; those for the eyes, for instance, can be found scattered throughout the book, occurring at the beginning and at the end. Most recipes are therapeutic, that is, they discuss a remedy for a specific disorder. Prognostic recipes, which predict the likely outcome of a disease, and cosmetic ones are also found. As usual in manuscripts of the period and type, the magical and divine elements are present with incantations and charms, and the reliance on God's aid or grace to heal the patient.

Indications to employ repulsive substances, as we will see later in the analysis, together with the occurrence of charms, explain why remedybooks were considered to form part of the tradition of folk and popular medicine, lacking on many occasions a scientific basis.

Concerning script and decoration, W5262 was written using the calligraphic script known as Textura, the one generally employed in mediaeval times for formal and expensive books. The section headings in red and the rubricated initial letters, which function as textual markers to help the reader find information, also prove the careful making of the book.

3. Analysis of some common recipes

The present analysis stems from previous work carried on each individual text, both of which belong to *The Málaga Corpus of Late Middle English Scientific Prose*.[2] The corpus consists of medical writings from the Hunterian Collection at Glasgow University Library and the Wellcome Collection at the Wellcome Library in London (see Calle-Martín and Miranda-García 2012). In addition, the digitised images of the manuscripts can be freely consulted together with their diplomatic transcription. It is possible: (a) to amplify the images, to search for the occurrence of words and to check the transcribed text against the transcribed image; (b) to view the KWIC concordances and the lemma-sorted KWIC occurrences generated from the corpus; (c) to retrieve morpho-syntactic information from the texts; (d) to POS-tag ME texts; and (e) to mark dialectal features.

As mentioned above, many mediaeval texts still remain unidentified, including the two under scrutiny. Furthermore, the relevant literature has reported on frequent exchanges between texts (even between those that belong to different writing traditions, as mentioned in section 1), and so the issue of textual transmission still requires further research. A survey of both the table of contents and the rubricated headings in W5262, and the sequence of recipes in W404 (through the coloured initials introducing headings) has revealed, at least, some thematic correlations in terms of subjects addressed, and this has led us to study a sample comparison of some common recipes for the same diseases. The body of recipes related to eye diseases and to dysentery (called "menisoun" in the ME texts) has been selected for the purpose. From these, those recipes that did not show correlation in both manuscripts have been discarded. In total, the recipes under analysis amount to fifteen in the case of eye diseases and five in the case of dysentery.

As noted above, the order in which the recipes appear in remedybooks seems to be of relatively little importance. As Carroll states, "the fact that recipes may be read in any order or indeed individually, means that organisational ideals are rarely met" and this apparent lack of organisation represents "a point of contrast between remedybooks and academic treatises" (2004: 184). A noticeable difference between W404 and W5262 concerns precisely this aspect, as mentioned above. W5262 is preceded by a table of contents which is not totally accurate, since some of the recipes listed there are not found later on in the body of the text, such as those for curing eyelid problems or for red eyes. W404, on the contrary, shows no table of contents, but it is more systematic insofar as remedies aimed at

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[2]   Available from https://hunter.uma.es (date of access: June 2019).

addressing a particular ailment are presented one after the other, whereas those in W5262 are scattered across the text. Thus, this bears witness to the flexibility of the ordering of remedies in this type of books.

The ensuing analysis of the recipes is twofold and focuses on linguistic features and recipe elements.[3] This brings together earlier work on the identification of recipe elements such as composition, application, procedure, etc. (see Stannard 1982 and Hunt 1990), and more recent research on the linguistic elements of recipes (e.g. Görlach 1992, Carroll 1999 and Taavitsainen 2001).

3.1. Analysis of linguistic features

In terms of their linguistic features, recipes can be easily characterised by their overall structure (with a "very clear communicative principle") or the sequencing of "short paratactical sentences" (Taavitsainen 2001: 98). More specifically, attention will be paid to the following features, in line with Carroll's (1999, 2004) and Taavitsainen's (2001) previous research: form of the title or heading, 'telegrammatic' style, verb forms, personal and possessive pronouns, object deletion, and temporal structuring and parataxis.

a) *Form of the title or heading*

According to Taavitsainen, the typical form of a heading in a remedybook is that of "a noun phrase accompanied by a prepositional phrase or an evaluative adjective", but also *for* + NP/VP or a clause (2001: 99), while Carroll suggests *to*-infinitives as an alternative (2004: 181). In learned treatises, however, the heading may be "less conventionalised" (Taavitsainen 2001: 99) or even missing (with its content inferred from the context) (Carroll 2004: 181).

As has already been explained (see section 2), there are evident palaeographic differences as to the form of the headings in both W404 and W5262: the latter is very systematic in its use of rubricated headings to set off recipes, whereas the former only highlights the beginning of a new recipe heading by way of an enlarged initial (either in red or in green).

Curiously enough, our study reveals that headings of recipes for eye problems show a mixture of the patterns reported to be typical of both traditions of writing (learned and remedybooks), but with a preference for standardised, conventional patterns. In the case of W404, 6 recipes use "Another for the same" or simply "Another" (more usual in learned treatises) (example 1a); 5 recipes stick to this pattern but add specific information (e.g.

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[3]   Similar proposals can be found in Alonso-Almeida (1998–1999) and Marqués-Aguado (2014).

the purpose that the remedy serves) (example 1b); 2 recipes begin with "A medicine for" + NP (example 1c); and 2 are headed by "for" (example 1d), followed in both cases by the condition affecting the patient:[4]

(1)
(a) **A nother** for the same euel / Take celidonye … [W404, f. 12r]
(b) **A nother medycyn** for wormes that eteth me*n*nes | lides of ther yn / Take salte and bren … [W404, f. 12v]
(c) **A Medicyn for** blered ey3en / take … [W404, f. 12v]
(d) **For the perel** in a ma*n*mes eyen take … [W404, f. 13v]

W5262 is similar to a certain extent inasmuch as the formula with "Another" prevails, but in this case 3 recipes are headed by "Another" or "Another for the same" (example 2a) and up to 6 show "Another" plus specific information (example 2b). 4 of them, in turn, begin with "A medicine for" + NP (example 2c), and just 1 with "for" followed by the disease (example 2d). There is only 1 recipe lacking heading or title (example 2e):

(2)
(a) **An | ob*ur*for wormes** i*n* ma*n*mes eÿne*n* … [W5262, f. 11r]
(b) Anob*ur*for wormes | þat eten þe ledes … [W5262, f. 11r]
(c) **Medicine for** bleren eÿnen . | Nÿme … [W5262, f. 12v]
(d) **ffor þe perle** i*n* mo*n*mÿs i3e . | Nÿm … [W5262, f. 48r]
(e) **Nÿme** a clene skured … [W5262, f. 12v]

In the case of recipes discussing dysentery, a similar tendency is found, since "Another" / "Another for" + NP with the name of the disease / "Another for the same" are the most frequent linguistic formulae for headings (4 examples in each manuscript, same recipes) (examples 3a to 3d). Only 1 recipe (examples 3e and 3f) is headed in both texts by a clause including a relativiser:

(3)
(a) **A nother for the mencyon** a good medycyn take … [W404, f. 14v]
(b) **An oþer for þe M*enisoun*** . | Nÿm … [W5262, f. 20r]
(c) **A nother medycyn** for the same / take … [W404, f. 14v]
(d) **An*oþer*** .| Nÿme þe mÿlke of a kou// | we þat … [W5262, f. 20r]
(e) **For** a --- man or woma*n* **that haith** the me*n*cion | a medicine / take … [W404, f. 14r]
(f) **Who so haþ** þe Me// | nisoun … [W5262, f. 19v]

The analysis of the recipes selected, then, points at a preference for the patterns including "Another". These are more commonly associated with learned treatises, despite some divergences between texts.

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4 In the examples presented, changes of line are indicated by means of upright lines (|) and italics reproduce expanded abbreviations; bold is used for emphasis throughout. For recipe headings, underlining reflects coloured material (rubrications or initials).

b) 'Telegrammatic' style

The so-called 'telegrammatic' style (Carroll 1999: 29) refers to the absence of complete sentences, as Görlach contended (1992: 746). Yet, as Carroll herself argues, sentences tend to be complete, as the examples in the following subsections will clearly evince.

c) Verb forms

The use of the imperative is commonplace in instructional texts like recipes, as has already been pointed out (see section 1) and frequently reported in the literature (Carroll 1999: 30; Carroll 2004: 180–181). Although the verb "take" is the "conventional formula" to signal the beginning of a recipe (in learned treatises), other verbs might be used (see Taavitsainen 2001: 99–100). Verb forms like "shall" or the subjunctive mood are rare (Görlach 1992: 748), with the indicative being present to some extent.

The verb forms in the recipes in both manuscripts comply with the expected patterns, since the imperative clearly prevails and the typical verbs of cooking are found, such as "smere", "wring", "stamp", "drynk" or "take". This last verb is rendered consistently "nẏm(e)" in W5262 (examples 2c, 2d, 2e, 3b and 3d), a verb which is "not found in surgical tracts", as indicated by Taavitsainen (2001: 100). Instances of verb forms are supplied in examples 4 to 7 below. In subordinate clauses (typically expressing time or when something has to be done) tensed verb forms are employed (examples 4 and 5). In turn, "shall" (or, more frequently, "will" in W5262) is used to signal a prediction or to indicate the ultimate purpose of the remedy described (examples 6 and 7):

(4)
(a) and **when | thou haist don** ther w*ith* then **take** a litell theroff *and* | **temp*er*** hitt w*ith* eisell and this is truwe … [W404, f. 12r]
(b) *and* **wha*n*// | þou hast so ẏ don** þ*er* wiþ **nẏme**// | alitel þ*er* of *and* **temp*re*** hit wiþ eẏ// | sel *and* **do** aleẏtel in þẏn eẏe … [W5262, f. 10v]

(5)
(a) and **turne** hitt by the fyer **forto the wax be | al molton** a waye … [W404, f. 14v]
(b) *and* **turne** | hẏm **til þe wax beo al ẏ | multo*un*** a waẏ … [W5262, f. 20v]

(6)
(a) and **smere** thy eyʒen and eu*er* | more **thei schalbe** the bytt*ur* … [W404, f. 12v]
(b) þer wiþ **smere** | þẏn eynen *and* eu*er* **þeẏ schele*n*** | **beo** clere … [W5262, f. 11r]

(7)
(a) and hitt **schal restreyne** thy wombe … [W404, f. 14v]
(b) *and* hit | **wol streẏne** þẏ wombe … [W5262, f. 20r]

d) Personal and possessive pronouns

Personal pronouns, Taavitsainen states, show "[a] more personal attitude to instructions" (2001: 100), with first person pronouns appearing in the efficacy sections of surgical treatises and second person pronouns being used "frequently in remedybooks" (Taavitsainen 2001: 100). Possessive pronouns also "make the recipe more personalised" (Carroll 2004: 182), although they are not as common as articles (Carroll 1999: 30; Carroll 2004: 182).

The data from the recipes explored correlate with Carroll's claim that articles (both definite and indefinite) prevail over possessive pronouns (see example 8). As discussed above, verbs are usually in the imperative (and hence lack personal pronouns as subjects), as shown in examples 4 and 5 above, but second person pronouns are found in finite clauses referring to "further specifications and modifications" (Taavitsainen 2001: 100), as in example 8b, taken from W5262 and missing in W404 (see also example 4). In example 9, together with second person pronouns for specifications, possessives are used along with body parts (see also examples 6 and 7 above): in 9a the singular and plural forms of the second person pronoun alternate (see also Carroll 1999: 30), while W5262 (example 9b) is more consistent:

(8)
(a) *and* grynd **the** coop*er*esse … [W404, f. 13r]
(b) *and* grẏnd **þe** | coperose **as smal as þou mẏȝt** | *and* melt **þe** caponus gres … [W5262, f. 51v]

(9)
(a) and do therto solidẏue Jus and **when yu** | **goiste** to slepe do theroff yn **thyn** eyȝen … [W404, f. 14r]
(b) *and* do | þer to þe celidoẏne ius *and* | **whanne þou gost** slepe do// | þ*er* of in **þẏn** eẏe … [W5262, f. 12v]

e) Object deletion

As opposed to modern conventions, ME texts rarely show the deletion of the object (Carroll 1999: 31; Taavitsainen 2001: 100). The two manuscripts surveyed follow the expected pattern, since there is only one exception to preserving the object (example 10a). It has been suggested that with null objects "incomplete messages would have been rendered, possibly producing severe consequences on patients" (Marqués-Aguado 2014: 115):

(10)
(a) and **do ther in** and lett hitt stond long … [W404, f. 13r]
(b) *and* **do hit þer inne** *and* lete | hit stonde iij daẏes *and* iij nẏghtus … [W5262, f. 12r]

f) Temporal structuring and parataxis

Although these two features have been tackled separately in the relevant literature (e.g. Carroll 1999: 31), both temporal structuring and parataxis are presented together here due to the interrelations that they show.

The order in which the instructions are given mirrors that in which they should be implemented (Carroll 1999: 31; Taavitsainen 2001: 98); i.e. the procedure is presented chronologically and does not contradict medical practice. Such logical ordering may be reinforced by the presence of adverbs like "then" or "after", although in the two manuscripts under analysis coordination is preferred to link the subsequent stages in the preparation of a remedy (examples 11 and 12). Indeed, finding long series of coordinated short clauses has been described as a typical feature of mediaeval recipes (Carroll 1999: 31):

> (11)
> (a) **Take** salte **and bren** hitt **and** | **do** honye therto **and then distemp***er* them to gether **and** | **do** therof in thy eyȝen … [W404, f. 12v]
> (b) **Nẏme** salt **and bre***m***e** hit **and do** | honẏ þer to **and** temp*re* hit ẏ fe// | re **and do** on þyn eẏnen … [W5262, f. 11r]
>
> (12)
> (a) **and stamp** hit | wat*er*les yn a morter **and then wryng** out the Jus | **and take** that Jus **and do** hitt yn a possnett … [W404, f. 14v]
> (b) **and** pone hit waturles *and* in a | mort*er* **and wrẏnge** out þe ius | þer of **and do** hit in a posnet … [W5262, f. 20r-v]

Coordination is even used between clauses that contain a subordinate clause, as in example 13, which also reflects the fact that recipes in one or the other manuscript can occasionally be more specific as to the procedure or other recipe elements (discussed in subsection 3.2 below):

> (13)
> (a) **and gryn**d the coop*er*esse **and meng** them well y | fere **and when thou goost to sleppe do** yn thy eyȝe | as muche as halfe a weett corne of that **and do so** | iij nyȝthes … [W404, f. 13r]
> (b) **and grẏnd** þe | coperose as smal as þou mẏȝt | **and melt** þe caponus gres . **and do** | þer to þe poudur of coperose | **and menge** hem wel i fere . **and whe***n* | þou gost **to slepe do** in iȝe þe | mountas of half a whet corn | of þat . **and do** so . iij . nẏȝtes … [W5262, f. 51v]

3.2. Analysis of recipe elements

According to Stannard (1982: 60–65), the types of information or *Fachinformation* that can be found in recipes are: (i) purpose; (ii) ingredients, equipment and procedure; (iii) application and administration; (iv) rationale; and (v) incidental data.

The purpose of a remedy may appear either at the beginning or at the end of the recipe. In the texts at hand, this appears at the beginning, in the title or heading (example 14):

(14)
(a) **A nother for who so haith the webbe or the pese | in the eye** / Take stronge eisell and do hitt in a | lampe of brasse and the blake sloye of the wod *and* lede | and wermott and do ther in and lett hitt stond long | and as nede is do therof to thy eye and hitt shal | brecke the webbe … [W404, f. 13r]
(b) **An oþ*ur* for hem þat | habbeþ þe webbe oþ*ur* þe hawe** | N*ÿ*m strong ¶ i*n* e*ÿ*nen . | e*ÿ*sel *and* do hit in a vessel of | brasse *and* þe blake slo of þe | wode oþ*ur* of þe ȝerde *and* tak war// | mot *and* do hit þer inne *and* lete | hit stonde iij da*ÿ*es *and* iij n*ÿ*ghtus | þanne do hit in þ*ÿ*n e*ÿ*nen *and* | hit schal breke þe webbe … [W5262, ff. 11v-12r]

When the purpose is similar to that of the previous recipe, W404 tends to use the formula "Another for the same evil", whereas in W5262, this is usually reduced to "Another" (example 15), as has also been discussed regarding recipe headings (see subsection 3.1):

(15)
(a) **A nother for the same euel** / take turmentyne *and* ruwe | and celidonye and fenel and ribbwortt and | stamp them to gether and then smere thy eyȝen y*er* | w*ith* when that thou goost vnto thy reste … [W404, f. 12v]
(b) **Anoþ*ur*** | N*ÿ*m tormentine *and* ruwe | *and* celido*ÿ*ne *and* fenel and rib | wort *and* stampe hem to ge// | dre *and* smere þ*ÿ*n e*ÿ*nen þer w*ith* | whan þou gost to bedde … [W5262, f. 11r-v]

The ingredients making up the recipes are in the main herbal (example 16), although animal-derived ingredients, including *Dreckapotheke* or filth pharmacy (example 17), may be contained in the suggested cures as well:

(16)
(a) take **turmentyne** *and* **ruwe** | and **celidonye** and **fenel** and **ribbwortt** … [W404, f. 12v]
(b) N*ÿ*m **tormentine** *and* **ruwe** | *and* **celido*ÿ*ne** *and* **fenel** and **rib** | **wort** … [W5262, f. 11r-v]

(17)
(a) take the **blod of | smale byrddes** … [W404, f. 12v]
(b) N*ÿ*me **þe blod of smale | br*ÿ*ddus** … [W5262, f. 11r]

Common ingredients found in every household, such as honey, butter, salt, milk, wine or cheese appear frequently. This suggests that the recipes might have been designed to be used by relatively lay people or rural doctors, not specialised doctors or surgeons. This is also reflected in the type of equipment needed to make the recipes, which could also be found in any kitchen or household (example 18), such as cooking pots, pans, boxes, etc.:

(18)

(a) bacyn, potte, lampe of brasse, cloȝth, pan of brasse, rounnd stayffe, boxces, morter, possnett, etc. [W404]

(b) basseẏn, pot, paẏle, vessel of brasse, cloþ, apanne, round pebble, boxes, morter, posnet, etc. [W5262]

As for the procedure, this starts with the verb "take" or a synonym followed by the ingredients. Then several actions are to be carried out; they usually involve the verbs "do", "stamp", "smear", "burn", "seethe", "make", etc. The procedures are, in general, similar in the recipes under analysis in both texts, although on occasions one text shows more specificity, as exemplified above in 5, 8, 10 and 13.

Regarding measurements and quantities, they are not generally given or, when provided, are very general ("full of", "small", etc.). This happens even when, as Bator and Sylwanowicz suggest, "the lack of precision in the medical context might have had much more serious effects" (2017: 48). Learned productions usually display more specific measurements and quantities (Taavitsainen 2001: 103), although in general terms 15th-century medical texts are more prone to include specific measures than earlier texts (Bator and Sylwanowicz 2017: 40).

The element of application and administration comprises information regarding dosage, frequency and time of application (Mäkinen 2006: 91). This is also similar in both texts, although in a few cases one of them includes more detailed information. In example 19, for instance, the frequency is indicated by the adverb "long" in W404, whereas W5262 specifies "3 days and 3 nights":

(19)

(a) lett hitt stond **long** | and as nede is do therof to thy eye and hitt shal | brecke the webbe … [W404, f. 13r]

(b) lete | hit stonde **iij daẏes** *and* **iij nẏghtus** | þanne do hit in þẏn eẏnen *and* | hit schal breke þe webbe … [W5262, f. 12r]

As far as the rationale is concerned, this has to do with the arguments supplied to support the potency of a remedy and can be optional. In the eye recipes examined in W404 we find 4 instances of efficacy phrases, which are a subtype of tags or phrases that "attest to the value of a given remedy" (Jones 1998: 199–200) (example 20), whereas none is found in the same recipes in W5262:

(20)

(a) this is ryght | true and good … [W404, f. 12r]

(b) this is truwe … [W404, f. 12r]

(c) for hit is full good … [W404, f. 12v]

(d) and this is a good thyng … [W404, f. 12v]

Finally, incidental data comprise anecdotes or citations to other scholars. It has been claimed that the recipes in remedybooks rarely provide detailed references to the source from which they derive, whereas those in learned treatises are fairly exact (Taavitsainen 2001: 100–102). This is the case in both manuscripts, since not a single source is mentioned in the recipes surveyed.

4. Conclusion

One of the main findings of our research is the identification of shared material in the texts of two different manuscripts housed at the Wellcome Library. Their related content has not been recognised in the catalogues describing the manuscripts. The analysis has allowed us to find evident similarities in their recipes, notwithstanding differences in dialect, script and other palaeographic issues. The extent to which both manuscripts are connected could be further explored with a more exhaustive analysis of the recipes accounting for other ailments.

The analysis has also pointed out that in the sample of recipes analysed both the learned tradition of medical texts and remedybooks influenced or borrowed from one another, as traits of both traditions appear together. That is the case of the headings in both manuscripts or of the structure of recipes in W5262 following a *de capite ad pedem* structure.

Further investigation on other manuscripts containing recipes or parts of them is mandatory in order to find out more about the transmission of the texts. On the other hand, analyses of the language of the different copies, and more specifically, of their dialects are also necessary to shed light on the production and circulation of medical texts during the Middle Ages.

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CLOSE ÞE LIPPIS OF ÞE WOUNDE, & SEWE HEM & ÞANNE CURE HEM. SURGICAL INSTRUCTIONS IN MIDDLE ENGLISH MEDICAL TEXTS

Abstract

The aim of the proposed paper is to describe the structural organization of surgical instructions found in Middle English surgical treatises, and to examine selected linguistic features. The data for the paper come from the *Middle English Medical Texts* (MEMT) and the full versions of two Middle English surgical treatises.

Keywords: surgical instruction, Middle English, medicine.

1. Introduction

Instructional writing and its development in early English medical context have been the subject of many scholarly studies. Most of them concentrated on the recipes (e.g., Hunt 1990, Jones 1998, Taavitsainen 2001a, b, 2012, Mäkinen 2004, 2006, Quintana-Toledo 2009, Sylwanowicz 2009, 2014, 2015, 2016, Marttila 2011, Alonso-Almeida 1998, 1999, 2013, Bator and Sylwanowicz 2016, 2017, 2018). There are also single publications on, for instance, medical dialogues (Taavitsainen 2009) or guides to a healthy life (Barrera 2009, Valle 2009). As regards surgical texts, there is a dearth of publications that would examine the structural organization of the passages concerned with "treating diseases or injuries by means of manual and operative procedures, especially by incision into the body.", i.e. with surgical instructions (Roberts 2014, after Banham and Voth 2015: 153–154). This lack of interest in these instructive texts may be partly explained by the fact that early English surgical treatises concentrate on the human anatomy, and

detailed descriptions of the human body dominate these writings. However, a thorough reading of the available editions of early English medical texts reveals that instructions on how to deal with injuries, are also well represented.

A preliminary examination of selected Middle English surgical writings has shown that the descriptions of operative procedures offer a step-by-step guidance. In addition, these procedures can be divided into some stages, e.g.: pre-operative, operative and post-operative, a division used in modern surgical manuals (cf. Khatri and Asensio 2003). This suggests that medieval surgical instructions were well organized texts that allowed the reader to follow along easily.

On account of the above, the aim of the proposed paper is to describe the structural organization of surgical instructions found in Middle English surgical treatises. The following questions will be dealt with: (i) what is the schematic structure of operative instructions? (ii) how are they inserted within the larger body text, (iii) are there any linguistic elements that enable the reader to identify surgical instructions? (iv) is the format of operative instructions recurring?

In order to answer the research questions, a representative group of texts that include surgical writings was selected (these texts are described in section 2 of this paper). The next step involved browsing the collected texts to find the instances of surgical instructions. A difficulty one encounters here is that the descriptions of operative procedures are usually included in longer treatises that begin with theoretical considerations of a medical problem, descriptions of human anatomy, and continue with diagnosis and treatment. Although surgical instructions are usually preceded by statements that mark the beginning of the operative procedures (e.g., *Of wound made in synewe and his cure*), these statements are often followed by more than one surgical treatment of a given injury. Therefore, it was necessary to read thoroughly the examined texts to identify all possible instances of surgical instructions. The last step was the examination of the structure and linguistic features of the collected instructive texts.

2. The corpus

The material examined for the present paper comes from the *Middle English Medical Texts* (MEMT) corpus, a computerised collection of medical treatises from c.1375 to c.1700 (Taavitsainen, Pahta and Mäkinen 2005). The texts included in MEMT are classified into three main categories: (i) surgical texts, (ii) specialised texts, and (iii) remedies and *materia medica.* Since the proposed study concentrates on surgical operative instructions, the material found in the first collection has been examined.

The MEMT corpus, with some exceptions, includes only fragments of texts, therefore the material was supplemented with the full versions of the following 15th century surgical treatises: (i) two Middle English translations of Guido Lanfranc's *Science of Cirurgie* (von Fleischhacker 1894), edited from MS Ashmole 1396 (Bodleian Library, Oxford) and MS Additional 12056 (British Library, London), and (ii) John Arderne's *Treatises of Fistula in Ano, Haemorrhoids, and Clysters* (Power 1910), edited from MS Sloane 6 (British Library, London). Guido Lanfranc was the leading medieval authority that laid foundations for the French Surgery, and his work had been translated into many European languages, including Middle English. As regards John Arderne, he is thought to be England's first notable surgeon. He is also remembered as the first surgeon to successfully treat *Fistula in Ano* 'a cyst that developed due to long hours spent on a horse' (Power 1910, Sylwanowicz 2018)[1].

3. The structure of surgical instructions

The examination of the selected Middle English surgical instructions has revealed that their structure is fairly regular. These instructions consist mainly of two stages: the heading and procedure. The heading is a term used by Bator and Sylwanowicz (2017, 2018) in their studies of the structure of early English recipes. According to the authors the heading "informs the reader about the content of the text to follow" (Bator and Sylwanowicz 2018: 31). In the recipes the headings usually consist of a title and/or a statement of purpose.[2] The surgical instructions also start with a statement that marks the beginning of the part of the treatise that tells the reader/surgeon how to deal with an injury or other medical problems. Hence, in the present paper the term proposed by Bator and Sylwanowicz (2017, 2018) will be used when referring to the initial stage of surgical instructions. The next stage, procedure, provides a step-by-step description of the operative stages and is an obligatory part of surgical instructions. A typical surgical instruction is illustrated in example (1) below. The part in bold marks the heading, whereas the remaining text is an example of the procedure part.

(1) **If a man be wounded in his stomak & þe wounde of þe wombe wiþoutforþ ne be not brood**, þanne kutte it more & þanne sewe the wounde of þe stomak wiþ a needle þat is iiij. squar & wiþ a sutil þreed, & þis þou schalt speciali, whanne þe wounde is in a fleischi place of þe stomak, for if þe wounde be aboue in a place of

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[1] For more on medieval surgeons and their practice see e.g., Bullough (1966), Beck (1974), Wangensteen and Wangensteen (1978), Pouchelle (1990), Siraisi (1990), Getz (1990).

[2] For more on the structure of recipes see also: Alonso-Almeida (1998, 1999, 2013), Carroll (1999, 2004), Cruz-Cabanillas (2017).

þe stomak þat is neruous, ne traueile þou not þere aboute þanne, for it is an idil / Whanne þou hast sewid þe wounde bineþe as it is aforseid, þanne springe þeron poudre consolidatif & soude þe wounde of þe stomak, & holde open þe wounde of þe skyn wiþoute, til þe wounde of þe stomak be hool// (Fleischhacker, *LSC*, 169/33–37 – 170/1–6)

The following sections will discuss in more detail the parts of the surgical instructions. Particular attention will be placed on the selected linguistic features.

3.1. The heading

As noted earlier, surgical instructions were inserted within longer treatises that were devoted to the particular part of the body, its anatomy and possible injuries. In order to find a treatment for a particular injury one had to either read the whole text or look for the statements – the headings – that marked the beginning of a curative procedure[3]. One of the strategic ways of inserting the surgical instructions was by means of conditional clauses, cf.:

(2)
(a) If a wound be made with a Swerde (MEMT, *LChP*, f. 21v)
(b) & if þat a wounde be maad in þe heed wiþ brusynge, as wiþ a mace, or wiþ a staf, or ony þing þat brusiþ (Fleischhacker, *LSC*, 122/3–4)
(c) If a wounde be made of a wode hownde and the cure ther of (MEMT, *LChP*, f. 25v)
(d) If a man be wounded in his stomak (Fleischhacker, *LSC*, 169/33–34)
(e) If a mannes ʒerde be swollen (Fleischhacker, *LSC*, 228/36)
(f) If þer come an enpostym or ony swellynge to a mannes tunge, & it come of hoot humours (Fleischhacker, *LSC*, 262/19–21)
(g) If it so þat a wounde be in a caua (Fleischhacker, *LSC*, 165/5)
(h) If it is so be þat þe wounde of his wombe wiþoutforþ be so brood þat þe guttis falle out (Fleischhacker, *LSC*, 170/9–11)

These headings, as seen in the examples above, varied in their length. Apart from the medical problem, e.g. wounds, swellings, abscesses, they often indicate the affected parts of the body, e.g. head (example (2b)), stomach (2d), penis (2e) or tongue (2f). In addition, we can learn about the causes of the injuries. For instance, the instructions for wounds may vary depending on whether they were given with swords (example 2a) or other instruments (example (2b)), or whether they were bite wounds caused by an animal, cf. *wode hownde* 'rabid dog' in (2c). Also, as exemplified by the

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[3] In the manuscripts the headings are often marked with red ink. Sometimes, as in the works of Arderne, there are marginal illustrations that mark the beginning of a surgical operation (Jones 2002). Since the present study is based on text editions, the following discussion will focus only on linguistic, not visual, features of the examined instructions. For more on how visual elements supported the linguistic features in communicating the message in early English medical writings see, e.g.: Carroll (2005/2006), Jones (1984, 1987, 2002, 2006), Ratia and Suhr (2017), Tyrkkö (2017).

last two headings, some wounds may be so deep (example (2g)) that "they enter into the hollows of the chest" (Fleischhacker, *LSC*, 165) or so wide (example (2h)) that "the bowels fall out from the wound" (Fleischhacker, *LSC*, 170). As regards other medical problems, they might have been the result of an imbalance of some humours, e.g. in (2f) a hot humour is the cause of a swelling in the tongue.

Although conditional clauses prevail in the headings of surgical instructions, the following examples have been recorded in the examined material:

(3)
(a) Summen seien þat þe smale guttis moun be sowdid in þis maner: make a pipe (…) (Fleischhacker, *LSC*, 170/32–33)
(b) I wylle begynne at þe wounde at þe nese þat is y-kutte in lengthe, wose cure ys lyȝt to hele; brynge þe parties (…) (MEMT, *LSC*, f. 81a)
(c) Of wound made in synewe and his cure, wnderstond her that (…) (MEMT, *LChP*, f. 21r)
(d) In an hoot enpostym of þe ȝerde or of þe ballokis, þou schalt (…) (Fleischhacker, *LSC*, 228/10)
(e) Whanne þe apostym is broke, þan (…) (Fleischhacker, *LSC*, 220/10–11)
(f) Þe firste cure of þis enpostym is (…) (Fleischhacker, *LSC*, 223/31–32)
(g) In þis maner þou schalt helpe it / Take (…) (Fleischhacker, *LSC*, 267/34)
(h) Þis is þe cure of ficus þat comith of fleume, þou schalt (…) (Fleischhacker, *LSC*, 288/7)

As in the previous examples, these headings help to single out a particular surgical instruction. Some are in the form of prepositional phrases (examples (3c) and (3d)), time clauses (3e) or more straightforward statements (examples (3f)–(3h)), which directly introduce the reader to the part describing the treatment of the injury or other surgical problem. In addition to medical problems, some headings include personal references. For instance, example (3a) informs about an alternative treatment of a wounded intestine, as proposed by other practitioners. In (3b), on the other hand, there is a self-reference made by the author of the text: *I wylle begynne at þe wounde at þe nese* (…). Such examples, as many earlier studies confirm, give the text a more authoritative voice.[4]

The headings recorded in the examined material are not always very precise (cf. (2a) and (2c) and (3e) and (3f)) and do not indicate the injured part of the body. For instance, in the examined material, the heading: *In þis maner þou schalt helpe it* is not very informative. Only by back reference to the title of the chapter or by reading the lines preceding the heading, does one learn that that the treatment to follow concerns some breast ailment. Similarly, from *And ȝif it [wound] be with swerde* we also do not learn that

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[4] For more on interpersonal strategies and their role in early medical texts see, for instance, Marttila (2011), Mäkinen (2004), Sylwanowicz (2017).

the following treatment concerns the wound of the neck. This information is given in the title of the chapter: *Wonde of þe nekke* and the introductory remarks to the section, which inform that *Now we wyl tretyn of woundes þat beþ mad in þis place wiþ swerd oþere (...) wiþ an arwe, oþere with sum þinge semblable to hym.* (MEMT, *LSC*, f. 84b). In this chapter one can identify more than one treatment for the wounds of the neck, each marked by the headings which only mention a type of tool or weapon (sword, arrow, knife, spear) that caused the wound, e.g., *And if it be with a swerde…, And if þere be a synwe kutte…, And if þat þe wounde were y-mad (...) with an arwe oþere a knyff, oþere a spere, oþere sum þynge semblable to hem…* (MEMT; Fleischhacker, *LSC*).

3.2. Procedure

Procedure is an essential part of the surgical instruction as it explains how to deal with an injury or other surgical case. This part of the text can consist of three stages: pre-operative, operative and post-operative.

The pre-operative stage is not an obligatory part of the surgical instruction and in the examined material it occurs rarely. The aim of this part is to instruct how to deal with an injury or how to prepare the patient before the surgery. For instance, Benvenutus Grassus, a medieval expert on ophthalmology, advises to start the treatment of the cataract with purging the patient, see example (4). The next day, the patient and the surgeon should be seated on the bench, face to face. Then, the patient should keep one eye closed and stay still. Finally, the operation begins, cf. example (5).

> (4) Ffyrst he must porge his brayn with pelett callyd **pillule Iherosolimitane,** wherof thus is the makyng: Take turbite, aloes, (...). (MEMT, *BG*, f. 5)

> (5) And when he hath youen the pacyent purgacioun, on the day next foloyng abowt ix of the clok whyle he is fastyng do hym sitte ouerthwart [{a forme{], rydyng-wyse; and sytte you also on the stoke yn lyk wyse face to face. And do the pacyent to holde the hole eye cloos with hys oon hande, and charge hym that he syt stydfastly styl and styre not. And þen blysse the and begyn thy craft in the name of Ihesu Cryste. (MEMT, *BG*, f. 5)

In John Arderne's instructions on how to treat *fistula in ano* 'anal fistula, abscess', the pre-operative part is much longer and more detailed and includes both physical and psychological preparation. The first part is devoted to the selection of the patient who should be strong and "þe place of þe sekeneȝ wele colored and þat the pacient is godeherted and abydyng" (Power, *AFS*, 21/32–35). Next, the patient is taken to the room "Where þe lech schal do þe mynysteryng of cure" (Power, *AFS*, 22/2–3) and he is advised to be brave and obedient, cf.:

(6) þe gracious perfeccion of þis cure ow not only to be recced as now to þe possibilite of my gode bisynes, bot also to ȝour gode and abydyng pacience. (…) if ȝe be vnobedient and vnpacient to my commandyngs (…), ȝe may falle in-to a ful gret perile or tary longer ȝe effecte of ȝe cure. (Power, *AFS*, 22/8–14)

This is followed by a detailed description on how to put the patient in bed and instructions for the surgeon's assistant.

As regards the operative stage, it is a fundamental part of the surgical instruction as it explains what steps should be taken during the operation. This part is usually marked by a linking particle *þanne* which is put directly after the headings expressed by conditional clauses, cf.:

(7)
(a) & if þe enpostym schewe wiþoutforþ, **þanne** <u>opene</u> it wiþ an instrument (…) (Fleischhacker, *LSC* 220/5–6)
(b) If a man be wounded in his stomak þe wounde of þe wombe wiþoutforþ ne be not brood, **þanne** <u>kutte</u> it more & þanne sewe þe wounde (…) (Fleischhacker, *LSC* 169/33–35)
(c) If þer come an enpostym or ony swellynge to a mannes tunge, & it come of hoot humours, **þanne** <u>þou schalt</u> bigynne þe cure þerof in þis maner (…) (Fleischhacker, *LSC*, 262/19–21)
(d) If þer be ony nerues, or arterijs, ouþer veynes kutt ouerþwert, **þanne** <u>þou schalt</u> worche (…) (Fleischhacker, *LSC*,160/15–16)
(e) If it be so þat þe guttis be colde, and þe guttis (…), **þanne** <u>þou must</u> sutilli make þe wounde (…) (Fleischhacker, *LSC*, 170/11–14)

As seen in the examples above, the particle *þanne* is followed either by imperative forms of verbs (cf. *opene*, *kutte* (7a) and (7b)) or by modals of obligation (*shall*, *must*) that are preceded by a subject *þou*, cf. (7c)–(7e). The form *þou schalt* is the most frequent element in the examined material. Apart from the examples with a linking particle *þanne*, the second most common opening element of the operative part is a verb in the imperative, cf.:

(8)
(a) And if þere be a synwe kutte, **brynge** þe parties of þe synwe togedyre (MEMT, *LSC*, f. 84b)
(b) And if þat þe woude were y-mad in þo parties with an arwe oþere knyff, oþere(…), **drawe** hym out (…) (MEMT, *LSC*, f. 84b)
(c) If the wounde be so gret that the byndyng suffice not, **sewe** the wounde with a squar nedyll (…) (MEMT, *LChP*, f. 21v).

Verbs in the imperative or *þou schalt* form are also commonly found after the headings expressed by a structure other than a conditional clause, cf. earlier examples (3a)–(3h). In such cases, the linking adverb *first* is often inserted, e.g.:

(9)
(a) Þe cure of an hoot enpostym in þe tetis / **ffirst** þou schalt (…) (Fleischhacker, *LSC*, 266/6–7)

(b) Þe firste cure of þis enpostym is, **first** þou schalt (...) (Fleischhacker, *LSC*, 223/31–32)

The post-operative part includes instructions on pain management and wound care. Usually, the post-operative care begins immediately after surgery and involves the application of closing and preventive medicines. The former promote tissue growth, e.g. astringent medicines (*consouder* or *souder*; cf. (10a) below) "þat makiþ þe lippis of a wounde soude togidere" (Fleischhacker, *LSC*, 344/30) and cicatrizant medicines (*consolidative*, *incarnative*, *solidative*) "þat makiþ hard fleisch to arise in þe stide of skin" (Fleischhacker, *LSC*, 344/32-34). The preventive medicines (e.g., *defensive*, *preservative*, cf. (10b) below), on the other hand, maintain health and protect from infection.[5] Also, there are some directions on how to improve the recovery. For instance, the patient should feel comfortable and have some rest (10b) and (10c), and should avoid certain types of food (10d).

(10)
(a) Whanne þou hast sewid þe wounde bineþe as it is aforseid, <u>þanne springe þeron poudre consolidatif & soude þe wounde</u> of þe stomak, holde open þe wounde of þe skyn wiþoute, til þe wounde of þe stomak be hool. (Fleischhacker, *LSC*, 170/2–5)
(b) & <u>þe pacient schal be kept from akynge</u> wiþ good kepinge & wiþ reste, & <u>he schal ligge</u> in an euene bed. & þou schalt <u>leie aboute þe wounde a defensive</u> of bole & of oile of rosis (...) (Fleischhacker, *LSC*, 160/18–21)
(c) & loke <u>þat he haue scielence & good reste</u>, & þat he trauaile not (Fleischhacker, *LSC*, 164/27–28)
(d) Also <u>þou schalt forbade him wijn & fleisch & al maner swete</u> metis þat engendrid blood or colre. (Fleischhacker, *LSC*, 228/12–14).

The post-operative part is an optional stage and its insertion seems to depend on the type of surgery. Hence, it is not recorded in all surgical instructions examined for the present paper.

In addition to the passages that instruct how to deal with the most common surgical problems, the authors of the texts sometimes add the descriptions of unusual or challenging operations that they once performed. One such surgical procedure is recorded in Lanfranc's *Science of Cirurgie* (Fleischhacker, *LSC*), in the section devoted to the apostemes of the neck and throat. The author starts with the introduction of the patient (a lady of Milan) and her medical problem, i.e. an internal and external swelling on her neck, cf.:

(11) I wole sette in þis place a cure þat bifel in þe cite of mediolanensis of a ladi þat was .L. wynter oold, & hadde a squinacie of fleume þat occupied al hir necke tofore wiþinne & wiþoute (...), & þe woman miȝte not speke, ne swolowe in no mete. (Fleischhacker, *LSC*, 220/23–25 and 221/1–2).

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5   For more on medicaments used in medieval England see Sylwanowicz (2018).

We are also informed that the patient was unsuccessfully treated by a young man who decided to ask his teacher, Lanfranc, for help. This introductory passage is followed by the procedure part, in which Lanfranc examines the patient (pre-operative stage, example (12a)), then opens the aposteme with the razor (operative stage, example (12b)) and finally he cleans, dries and closes the wound (post-operative stage, example (12c)).

(12)

(a) Þan I tastide hir pous, & it was wonder feble (...), & I knewe wel þat (...) þe matere was so greet. (Fleischhacker, *LSC*, 221/6–10)

(b) & þan I took a rasour (...), & þere I made a wounde, & þere I drowe out matere þat was corrupt, & it was foul stynkynge matere, & al miȝte I not avoide anoon. (Fleischacker, *LSC*, 221/10–15)

(c) & whanne þe wounde was maad clene I driede it vp & soudide it, & in þis maner þe pacient was maad hool. (Fleischhacker, *LSC*, 221/27–28).

Apart from such case reports, the author confirms his expert status in surgery by adding critical comments on unskilled physicians who failed to cure their patients because they had not followed Lanfranc's teachings, cf.:

(13) I haue seen ful manye lechis þat hadden greet name in cirurgie þat founden cancris in men (...) & miȝte ful long tyme haue lyued if he hadde kept aftir my teching in þis book. (Fleischhacker, *LSC*, 232/3–6)

4. Linguistic features

Apart from well-structured organization of the text, surgical instructions should be clear and communicative so that the reader could easily follow the directions. According to Werlich (1976) this can be achieved by language internal features that are expected in the instructive texts, i.e. "the use of commands or requests, first- or second-person point of view, topical coherence, topic-giving instructions, and a text structured either analytically or like a list" (Werlich 1976: 122–125; after Carroll 2004: 178). The examination of the surgical instructions has revealed that these texts exhibit linguistic features that are characteristic of the instructive texts, and which enable easy identification of particular stages of the surgical procedure described in the text. What follows is a discussion of the linguistic elements that appear recursively in the examined material, i.e.: forms of the verb, temporal sequencing and the use of pronouns.

4.1. Form of verbs

The most common form of verbs which are recorded in the examined material are imperatives, which is in accordance with Werlich's (1976) definition of instructional texts which is realised by sentences in imperative

forms. Within this group we can identify the following structures: verb + noun (e.g. *bynde þe nose*, *sette a ventuse*, *sewe þe wounde*), verb + pronoun (e.g., *kutte it*, *sowe hem*, *staunche hym*), and causative phrases with *let*/*make* (e.g., *let þe wounde be consoudyde*, *lete hem dreyʒen*, *make þe wounde blede*). Another group of verbs are modals of obligation (especially *shall* forms), which are almost equally represented as imperatives. Both structures (imperative and modal), as indicated in section 3.2, mark the opening of the operative-stage in the procedure section (cf. earlier examples (7a)–(7d) and (8a)–(8c)), and they recur in the remaining parts of the text, cf.:

(14)
(a) Þis is þe cure of ficus þat comith of fleume: þou **schalt binde** him wiþ a þreed, ouþer **kutte** him al awei, & þan þou **schalt soude** it as it is aforseid in oþere placis. (Fleischhacker, *LSC*, 288/7–9)
(b) Þe woundes þat beþ y-mad in oþere partye of þe face (…), **brynge** hem togidre, **sowe** hem, & **cure** hem (…). An þou maiste maken a sowing in þe face. (MEMT, *LSC*, f. 82a)

The next group of verbs, though rare, is represented by passive voice structures. They allow to avoid personalised references and such constructions are often found in the fragments where it is necessary to focus on a procedure and not on an agent of the sentence (cf. Alonso-Almeida 1999: 64). For instance, in the following example (15), the focus is on two types of bandages (ME *band* n., Norri 2016) that are used in the treatment of nose injury.

(15) And þilke <u>bande</u> þat ys vnder þe nose þat halt þe nose vpwarde, schal **be knett** abouen on þe hed, and aftirwarde he schal **be turnyde** twarte offere þe forehed (…). And þe <u>bande</u> þat **ys leyde** aboffe þe nose, schal **be bounden** behynden in þe nolle. (MEMT, *LSC*, f. 82a).

Additionally, passive forms are found in the headings, especially those expressed by conditional clauses (cf. earlier examples (2a)-(2e) in section 3.1).

4.2. Temporal sequence

Chronological sequencing of information is a strategy that assures a clear guidance through the content of the text. This step-by-step organization of the text is especially important in the description of actions performed during the surgical operation. In the examined material, the authors frequently make use of temporal adverbs: *first*, (*and*) *then*, *after(wards)*, *when*, or a perfective aspect, especially in the clauses introduced with *when*. Such clauses often mark the beginning of the post-operative stage of the surgical procedure.

(16)
(a) **First** þou schalt make þe pacient sitte vpon a stool tofore þee, & þou schalt sitte a litil hiʒer þan he (…), **& þan** þou schalt haue in þi mouþ a fewe braunchis of

fenel (…), **& þan** þou schalt blowe in his iȝe .ij. siþis (…), **þan** þou schalt haue an instrument of siluir, schape in the maner of a needle, **& þan** þou schalt bigynne aforȝens þe lasse corner of þe iȝe (…), **& whanne** þou seest þe point of þe instrument vndir þe corn, **þan** lete þe point of þin instrument (…). (Fleischhacker, *LSC*, 251/9–19)

(b) make a point by þe space of a litel fyngere from þat on ende of þe wounde, & an oþere point at þe oþere ende of þe wounde, (…); **& afterward** a point on eiþere syde of þe nose, **after warde** make a point between evyry point (…). (MEMT, *LSC*, f. 82a)

(c) And **whan þou hast broken** þe place þat þe water was ynne, **þan** presse it adounward (…) (Fleischhacker, *LSC*, 251/21–22)

(d) **Whanne þou hast sewid þe wounde** bineþe as it is aforseid, **þanne** springe þeron poudre consolidative (Fleischacker, *LSC*, 170/2–4)

The examples also reveal that the authors relied on short clauses, often joined with the conjunction *and*. As a result, the instructions are straightforward and easy to follow.

4.3. The use of pronouns

Earlier studies on the use of pronouns in early instructive texts have revealed that, contrary to modern scientific texts that are often depersonalised, avoid emotive elements and rely on passive constructions, personal pronouns constituted an important feature of Middle English texts (Alonso-Almeida 1999, Taavitsainen 2009). For instance, in the medical recipe collections the 2nd person possessive pronouns were frequently used to establish a familiar and intimate relationship with the potential reader, whereas personal pronouns *I* and *you* (2nd person singular) gave the text a more authoritative voice. The use of these pronouns depended often on whether the instructive texts were used in the collections aimed at the learned or non-learned audience (cf. Sylwanowicz 2017).

In the surgical instructions gathered for the present paper their authors usually put themselves in the position of the instructor. Hence a frequent use of the 2nd person *you*, cf.:

(17)
(a) þan **þou** schalt brenne þe place wiþ an hoot iren or wiþ gold, & þan **þou** schalt fulfille þe cure as it is aforseid (…) (Fleischhacker, *LSC*, 231/22–24)

(b) In a hoot enpostym of þe ȝerde or of þe balloki, **þou** schalt lete him blood (…)/ Also **þou** schalt forbade him wijn (…). Þan **þou** schalt leie þerto medecyns to putt awei þe mater (…) (Fleischhacker, *LSC*, 228/10–14)

(c) and after foure days sowd the wounde and hele all thynges **after thi wit**. (MEMT, *LChP*, f. 25v)

Sometimes, as in example (17c), the author assumed that the reader of the text was an experienced medical practitioner and left the decision about the final stages of cure to the user of the instructive text.

A similar authoritative voice is reflected by means of the pronoun *I*. The instances of this pronoun are usually recorded in the fragments in which the authors describe some challenging surgical cases that they successfully performed, or when they comment on the work of other practitioners, cf. earlier examples in (12) and (13) in section 3.2, and the following:

> (18) Summen seien þat þe smale guttis moun be sowdid in þis maner: make a pipe of elder, & putt wiþinne þe gutt, & þanne soude þe gutt þer vpon. & **I seie** þat it is not sooþ, for þis þing, þe smale guttis wolen not soude, & to þe greete guttis þis queyntise is nouȝt; <u>þerfore triste to þe maner þat is aforseid</u>. & take kepe of þe perels þat ben forseid. (Fleischhacker, *LSC*, 170/32–37)

In the above fragment, dealing with wounded intestines, the author disagrees with the procedure proposed by other practitioners. In addition, he underlines the fact that his treatment should be trusted and directs the reader to follow the instructions described earlier in the text.

5. Conclusions

This study has shown that Middle English surgical instructions have a well--defined structure, which is consistently used in the examined material. These instructive writings are divided into two main parts: the heading and the procedure. The first indicates the beginning of the instruction, whereas the latter is a detailed description of the series of steps to be taken before, during and after the surgical operation. The surgical instructions are usually found within long and exhaustive treatises on human anatomy, therefore the parts of the instructive passages on how to deal with injuries are marked by recurring linguistic features that allow the reader to easily identify surgical instructions in the texts. For instance, most headings are expressed by means of conditional clauses. The procedure part is characterised by a frequent use of verbs in imperative form and modal verbs of obligation. In addition, temporal adverbs ensure a step-by-step organization of the text. Although modern surgical instructions are depersonalised, the authors of Middle English texts often make use of personal pronouns, especially the 2nd person singular *you* and 1st person singular *I*, which gives an instructor-like, authoritative voice to the text.

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16TH TO 18TH CENTURIES

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EARLY MODERN ENGLISH RECIPES AS A MIRROR OF THE TIME PERIOD

Abstract

This article explores several Early Modern English recipe compilations extant in medical manuscripts through a purposely-built corpus in order to investigate the recipe genre as a mirror of that time period. Probably no other genre is so permeable to the changes in the cultural and social spheres, given that recipes are reflection of the contemporary society where they are written. This fact is especially noticeable in the abundance of remedies for some ailments of particular concern in the early modern period. Diseases were mainly treated with plants known from Antiquity, but Early Modern English recipes also incorporated new substances from the Continent and, specially, from America.[1]

Keywords: Recipe genre, Early Modern English recipes, Early Modern English diseases, Recipes as reflection of the time period, New World commodities, Manuscript recipe collections.

1. Introduction

Medical recipes have a long-standing tradition from Antiquity. In Britain, several *receptaria* from the Middle Ages have come down to us, both in Latin and in Old English. During the late Middle English period the vernacularisation of scientific texts allowed the compilation of recipe collections in English as part of the "Englishing" process of medical texts. Medical writing in general experienced a growth of interest as a result of the

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[1] I follow Barrera-Osorio's use of the word *America* to refer to the American continent. According to him, "this usage was already in place in the sixteenth century and is still current in many American countries, with the exception of the United States, where 'America' means only the United States" (2006: 12).

increasingly dominant position of English as a language of science and medicine, the proliferation of new diseases, the discovery of the New World and a fast developing print culture, among others (Pahta and Taavitsanen 2011: 1–8). Subsequently, recipe compilations also witnessed a dramatic increase in their production and publication during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

This article focuses on the examination of manuscript medical recipes in the Early Modern English period.[2] Recipes retain their prototypical features over the centuries (Jucker and Taavitsainen 2013: 157), but introduce innovations as well. Thus, early modern recipes replicate the medieval structural pattern where the text begins with a title specifying the purpose, the ingredients, followed by the preparation and application phases and a final efficacy phrase. Some of these components are optional, which means not all of them are present in every single recipe. But rather than on the linguistic features and structural patterns of the recipe, my interest lies in the exploration of recipes as a mirror of the contemporary society where they are written. Thus, recipes often tell us "about the cultural expectations and parameters of any given society" (Pennell 2009: 15). Probably no other genre is so permeable to the changes in the cultural and social spheres, reflecting fashion, traditions and conceptions of their time of writing. This fact is especially perceived in the abundance of remedies for some ailments of particular concern in the period. The outbreak of given diseases, such as the French pox or the epidemic plague, which afflicted London at the end of the seventeenth century, have an influence on the number of recipes found for these and other ailments during the early modern period. Some of these new diseases were treated with plants and other components known from Antiquity, but Early Modern English recipes also incorporated new substances discovered in the Continent and, specially, in America. Thus, the aim of the present study is to investigate the recipe genre as reflection of the time period, with specific focus on the vocabulary related to diseases and ingredients to treat them contained in the Early Modern English medical manuscripts.

The article is structured in the following way: after the introduction to the topic, the methodology process is explained, followed by a section on the availability of new commodities from America. After that, the most prevalent diseases in the early modern period are examined and illustrated with passages extracted from the corpus of medical manuscript recipes compiled for the research. Finally, the conclusions drawn from the analysis are presented in the final section.

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[2] The Early Modern English period here is understood to cover from 1500 to 1800 approximately.

2. Methodology

In order to undertake the research presented here, a purposely-built corpus of mainly unexplored manuscripts has been compiled. The corpus comprises recipe collections ranging from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. These collections are kept at the Glasgow University Library (henceforth GUL), the Wellcome Library and the British Library. The material has been balanced to include *receptaria* from the three centuries selected for the analysis, even though the number of recipes in each manuscript varies. Thus, sixteenth-century texts are GUL Hunter 93, GUL Hunter 95 and Wellcome 634. Some of the seventeenth-century ones are compiled on the verge of the new century but will mainly reflect the habits and recommendations from the decades previous to their compilation. In this sense, manuscripts GUL Ferguson 61, British Library Additional 27466, Wellcome 3009 and Wellcome 7113 are framed within the seventeenth century. Finally, as samples of eighteenth-century manuscripts, GUL Hunter 43, GUL Ferguson 15 and GUL Ferguson 43 have been selected for the study, as well as Wellcome 1322, which started being elaborated in the seventeenth century but whose compilation extends until 1750.

The transcription of the manuscript contents under consideration have not been published, with the exception of GUL Hunter 93, which entails firstly the necessary access to the texts, either through web digitalisations in the case of the Wellcome manuscripts and the British Library Additional 27466 or through the visit to the Glasgow University Library[3] to consult the material housed in this library. Secondly, the transcription of the contents was necessary to process the information contained in the manuscripts. Thirdly, the extraction of the data was undertaken manually by reading through the texts. Finally, the items were identified in each manuscript and classified in terms of whether they were an ingredient or a disease in order to be able to process the data easily.

The etymological information of the ingredients and the diseases, as well as the dates for the introduction into the English language, rely on the information provided by the *Oxford English Dictionary* (henceforth *OED*). Nevertheless, other lexicographic references have also been taken into consideration, such as the *Lexicons of Early Modern English* (hereafter *LEME*), the *Middle English Dictionary* and the *Dictionary of Medical Vocabulary* by Norri to check whether the word appeared already in the Middle Ages, even if the *OED* dated it in the Renaissance period.

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[3] The author would like to acknowledge here the *University of Glasgow Library Visiting Research Fellowship* for the year 2019, which made the consultation of the manuscripts held in Glasgow University Library possible. My thanks also to the staff from Special Collections for their kind assistance.

3. New Commodities from the New World: Of what avail?

Most recipe collections in the corpus were probably compiled to be used by the author in the domestic area. According to Leong and Pennell (2007: 136), remedies prepared in the household environment relied upon easily accessible ingredients, but new substances from America are also found in *receptaria*. The encounter with the New World in 1492 made available a whole new array of substances, to the extent that America became Europe's store for new products. In Barrera-Osorio's words (2006: 5), during the reign of the Spanish king Philip II the overseas empire became a source of wealth and commodities:

> The New World was a source of wealth (primarily silver but also potential commodities), and Philip continued his father's policy of fostering and supporting commercial activities there. The center of these activities was the search for commodities and the improvement of precious technologies and instruments. These activities were based in turn on the empirical study of nature.

Nevertheless, the study of nature in the New World was not without problems, as Barrera-Osorio notes (2006: 102):

> Perhaps the single most important difference between the development of natural history in the Atlantic world and in the Old World was that the natural products of the Atlantic world lacked a reference in classical traditions. Not a single classical or religious text could provide information on an avocado or cochineal (an organic red dye). Sometimes the texts did provide a clue, but it was never specific enough.

Thus, new products from America were used because native Indian people have proved their efficacy in the treatment of some diseases, but often also because they were considered sophisticated being new to the market. The outbreak of unknown diseases in the Old World left physicians unarmed, as there were no classical remedies to resort to. This could be the case of the new disorders, such as syphilis, but also of the plague, scurvy or rickets to which several medical preparations were applied, many of which included newly introduced American commodities.

During the early modern period the distinction between food and medicine was not firmly established (Francia 2014: 119). Subsequently, the newly discovered ingredients could be used as one or the other. As the novelties took some time to enter the British diet, it seems that the earlier the manuscript is, the fewer American goods it contains. Thus, Wellcome 634, being a sixteenth-century text, includes mainly medieval ingredients and the early modern novelties are kept to a minimum.

Likewise, some of the new products introduced from America may not have had a medical use properly, but were definitely employed for sanitary purposes. For instance, tobacco is recorded in few manuscripts in the corpus: Hunter 93, (folios 269 and 270), Wellcome 3009 (folio 40v) and

Wellcome 1322 (folios 50r and 50v). In the latter manuscript, both recipes are used to keep bugs away from the bedstead. Thus, one can read *A Receipt for Buggs*:

> (1) Take a pail of Water and put to it some unslaked Lime and let it stand all Night then pour of the Water clear and Boyle in it Tobacco stalks and Coloquintida, boyl them well and strain it wash the floor of the room & all the wainscott and Jester & Bedstead let it dig on & do it 3 times or more together it was never known to fail. [Wellcome 1322, folio 50v]

4. Diseases of the Early Modern English period

4.1. Syphilis

The theories about the origins of syphilis are mainly two, according to Cartwright and Biddiss (2000: 42–62). On the one hand, the first theory links the introduction of the disease into Europe with the ships coming from the West Indies. After several months from his departure, Christopher Columbus arrived at Palos in March 1493 with a crew of forty-four men and ten natives of the West Indies. According to Cartwright and Biddiss, "the crew were disbanded and some are said to have joined the troops of Gonzalo de Cordoba who marched with Charles VIII to Naples" (2000: 44). Charles VIII of France invaded Italy in the Autumn of 1494 and finally attacked Naples in February 1495. According to the above-mentioned scholars, "the army was not, in fact, composed of Frenchmen only, but also of mercenaries from Germany, Switzerland, England, Hungary, Poland and Spain" (2000: 44). Thus, the disease was characteristically blamed on foreigners, as foreign armies contributed to its spreading. Subsequently, Englishmen called it "the French pox" or "the French disease", rendering the Latin denomination *morbus gallicus*, or simply "the great pox", whereas Frenchmen named it "the Spanish disease" and "la grosse vérole". In turn, Spaniards used the denomination "el mal francés" (*the French disease*) to designate the illness.

On the other hand, the second theory associates syphilis with Africa, from where it could have been introduced into Spain and Portugal by the importation of slaves. In 1442 a Portuguese expedition captured several Moors and took them on board as prisoners. Furthermore, an extension of the African connection places the introduction of the disease at an earlier date: "Equatorial Africans found their way to Egypt, Arabia, Greece and Rome and they may have brought yaws with them" (Cartwright and Biddiss 2000: 46). Cartwright and Biddiss add that some historians link yaws with leprosy and think that it was brought from the Levant by crusaders, but this disease was in fact syphilis.

Leonardo Fioravanti, a sixteenth-century healer, argues for a different origin story. According to him, the disease was rooted in cannibalism, since several episodes of cannibalism "had allegedly occurred among some armies during the recent European wars" (Elmer 2004: 146). Any of the theories mentioned above stigmatised syphilis patients as people who had transgressed the boundaries of decent behaviour. This idea extended the belief that the disease was a punishment for sinful practices. Therefore, the moral aspect along with the fact that it was highly contagious gave the pox a particular character.

Whichever the actual origin was, the truth is that syphilis became rampant in Europe in the sixteenth century. The way of treating it was often with goods from the New World. One of these products was a resin known as *guaiacum* from *Guaiacum officinale* and *Guaiacum sanctum*, indigenous trees to South America and the West Indies. Wear (2000: 70) comments on the fact that especially *guaiacum* was imported in large revenues to cure the pox and that "the monopoly in its trade was sold by the Spanish Crown to the Fuggers, the wealthiest bankers in Europe". The Fugger family benefited from selling the drug at high prices, which meant that only very wealthy sufferers could afford the treatment.

In the corpus, several manuscripts refer to the use of *guaiacum* for the French pox. One of them is GUL Hunter 43, in which *guaiacum* and sarsaparilla, both native to the New Word, are prescribed for the French pox:

> (2) A Wonderfull good Diet for ye French Pox. Take Coloquintida drachm ij. The bark of Guajacum, Sarsaparilla, Liquerishe ana. ounce semisse. [GUL, Hunter 43, folio 3]

In turn, in GUL Hunter 95, several recipes for the same disease containing similar ingredients, among others, are included:

> (3) Recipe. ligni guiaci libra ij, Cortexe ounce ij, sarsaperilla libra semis. sarsafras Cardus benedictus. manipulus. 4. Camamell flowers melelott flowres ana manipulus ij pollipodi libra semis liquerish ounce .6. sene libra .j. hermodacteles ounce 6. turbit ounce 8. blacke helebor ounce .6: pulp Colloquinted a ounce iiij aneseedes ounce iij ginger. ounce: v semis. Cinamon. ounce ij put all these beinge prepared in aglasse boddye and Couer them ij fingers on with speritt of wine or distilled vineger. [GUL, Hunter 95, folio 2r]

> (4) Recipe. a sarsaparilla Sarsaphras, sene ana ounce iiij Lignum. vitae ounce viij sticadose, sepithimum. ana ounce ij aprickt rubarbe ana ounce. semis. boyle these in .6. quartes of water. & .ij. quartes of white wine & boyle them to the consumption of halfe & drinke of it .3. times adaye. [GUL, Hunter 95, folio 4r]

> (5) Recipe guiaci libra. semis. sarsaparilla ounce iij. China. ounce. j . sheep these in :8: libra of faire water. 20: houres then ad ounce. ij of the rootes of vipers grasse, of Cardus benedictus, ffumitory, ana. manipulus. j. then boyle these till the halfe be spente & when it is almost enough boyled ad: ounce ij of sarsaphras & ounce j. of liquerish & when it is cold strayne it for. vse / [GUL, Hunter 95, folio 9v]

Apart from the well-known *guaiacum* and sarsaparilla, in the example above (5), another foreign plant is prescribed: China-grass or *Bœhmeria (Urtica) nivea*, which is "a small shrubby plant with broadly cordate leaves, native to China and Sumatra; also the strong fibre obtained from the inner bark of this shrub, used in the making of grass-cloth" (*OED*). Apparently, it gets its name from its country of origin, *China*. Other early names were *Radix Chinæ* and *Tuber Chinæ*. In turn, *sassafras* is a plant native to America and Asia that is also recommended in GUL Hunter 95 recipes (examples 3, 4 and 5). It is widely used in the period for several ailments. Thus, apart from being used for the treatment of syphilis, in Hunter 95 it is used for the *The Sanacle drinke* (f. 3v), in a *purging diet* (f. 7r and f. 8r), and in a *Chyna broth for a consumption* (f. 7v).

Alternatively, syphilis could be treated with mercury in the form of ore cinnabar. Giorgio Sommariva of Verona tried mercury for his patients as early as 1496. Thus, in GUL Hunter 43, instructions are given on how to prepare an unguent of quicksilver (mercury) for the French pox:

> (6) An Unguent of Quicksilver For ye French Poxe. Take Hoggs Grease, Oyle of Baies ana. ounce iiii. Oyle of Petre, Litharge of Gold, Litharge of Silver ana. ounce ii. Oil of Chamomil ounce i. Quicksilver ounce iiii. Mingle altogether & make an Unguent & use it as ye other. This Unguent is for those yat will not take nor cannot take other medicines. [GUL, Hunter 43, folio 6]

As can be observed, apart from mercury other metals were used, such as litharge of gold and litharge of silver, all of them common ingredients in medieval recipe compilations.

4.2. The Plague

If the Middle Ages suffered from the Black Death, the early modern period "also frames the era of recurrent epidemics of bubonic plague in Europe" (Carmichael 2008: 280). According to this author, the "plague appeared in Europe at least once every generation between 1350 and 1720" (Carmichael 2008: 280). This explains the abundance of remedies found for the disease. Some areas in Europe were so heavily affected by the plague in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that Carmichael suggests the economic decline of the Mediterranean area of North-Central Italy and Castile could be the result of the demise of population in the seventeenth century due to the previous plague epidemics (Carmichael 2008: 281).

In the corpus, the plague is a recurrent illness that is present in every single manuscript with few exceptions, like Glasgow University Library Ferguson 15. Its absence in this compilation is understandable, since most of the recipes contained in this manuscript are culinary and only a few of them have a proper medical character. The disease is to be beaten by means of herbal remedies and other ingredients, such as the one provided in Lady

Fanshawe's recipe book, where *Dr Burg's directions in time of Plague* are to be followed:

> (7) Take three pints of Malmsey, boile in it a handfull of Sage, a handfull of Rue, till a pint be wasted, then straine it and set it over ye fire againe and putt thereto a pennyworth of long Pepper, halfe an ounce of Ginger, a Quarter of an Ounce of Nutmeg, all beaten together, then let it boile a little and take if of the fire & put to it 4 pennyworth of Mithridate, 2 pennyworth of Treacle, & a quarter of a pint of the best Angelico water. [Wellcome 7113, folio 5]

Here the reader finds ingredients that were common in the Middle Ages, such as sage, rue, long pepper, ginger, nutmeg or treacle, but also ingredients such as mithridate, which according to the *OED* refers to "any of various medicinal preparations, usually in the form of an electuary compounded of many ingredients, believed to be a universal antidote to poison or a panacea". Its first recording in the *OED* goes back to 1528, although, according to Elmer (2004: 11), *mithridatum* "was a version of theriac attributed to Mithridates VI, the king of Pontus (120–63 BCE). That it was still in use at this date attests to the persistence of the belief in this ancient and miraculous antidote to all poisons". In fact, the word *mithridatum* appears in the *Middle English Dictionary* with the first quotation circa 1425 gathered by Norri (2016: 684) in a text by Bernard Lilium in Ashmole 1505 (folio 22r): "ʒif he be ybede to þe mete & haþ any suspecioun or he go þerto, he schal ete notys oþer auellanes or fygus or ruwe oþer metridatum oþer tiriacam [L: mitridatum]". Thus, the medical compound was attested with its Latin name since the Middle Ages in Britain, although the Anglicisation of the denomination is only recorded from the Renaissance onwards.

Similarly, angelico water does not seem to be present in Middle English recipes (see De la Cruz and Diego forthcoming). Presumably it should have been prepared from angelica, the 'angelic herb,' or 'root of the Holy Ghost', so named on account of its repute against poison and pestilence, probably from the fragrant smell and aromatic taste of its root. The plague must have been particularly pestilent, as several recipes against the smell can been found. One of them is *A Parfume against ye Plague*:

> (8) Take Sage, Bay leaves, Hyssop, Rosemary ana. as much of each as you please, frankinsence a little quantity, make a powder of all: of which burn in a Chafinge dish for a Parfume. [GUL, Hunter 43, folio 17]

Likewise, angelica root is used *To make a perfume to smell vnto against ye Plague*:

> (9) ffirst take halfe a pinte of red Rosewater and putt thereto the quantitie of a hasellnutt of Venice Treacle or Metredate stirring them together Vntill they be well infused, then putt therto a gr of an ounce of Synnamon broken into small peeces and bruised, in a Morter, xij Cloues bruised, ye quantitie of a good hasell nut of Angelica Roote slyced very thyn, as much of Zedoarie rotte slyced, 3 or 4

> spoonfulls of white wyne vinigar, so putt them altogeather into a glasse, and stop it verie close, and shake it two or three tymes a day for two or three dayes. [GUL, Ferguson 43, folio 10r]

Apart from angelica root and mithridate that I have commented on above, a new ingredient to the period mentioned in (9) is *Venice treacle*, which, according to the *OED*, is "an electuary composed of many ingredients and supposed to possess universal alexipharmic and preservative properties". It was first attested in 1617.

Regarding the acquisition of the illness, from Hippocratic times the theory of *miasma* was present in the spreading of some diseases emphasising the impact of environment upon health. In the Middle Ages it was applied to the Black Death, whereby the epidemics were thought to be due to a miasma, a noxious form of "bad air" emanating from rotting organic matter, which would cause the disease. Early Modern English medicine was still very much rooted in classical medicine (Taavitsainen 2010: 12), whereby diseases are either the result of the diet or the air we inhale, according to Hippocrates (De la Villa et al. 2003: 47). Thus, the idea that the plague could have spread by the air was well established in early modern medical circles.

4.3. Scurvy

Even if scurvy had been known for centuries, it is a disease whose prevalence was probably higher in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries especially in sailors, but also in other groups within the society. In fact, Carmichael (2008: 285) claims that it was experienced by the most impoverished city dwellers. All in all, the increasingly long journey undertaken by navies and merchant fleets resulted in the effects being more prevalent among sailors. In this vein, according to Elmer's estimations (2004: 276), "on long voyages a ship could lose between a quarter and a third of its crew to the disease, not to mention those who were temporarily incapacitated". The high mortality rate among the navy personnel inspired James Lind, a Scottish surgeon in the Royal Navy, to carry out a dietary experiment on those sailors who fell ill with scurvy. Lind published his results in a book, entitled *Treatise of the Scurvy*, in 1753. His proposals for preventing the illness were not adopted immediately, but eventually in 1795 provisions were made to provide lemon juice to "crews who had been on salted provisions for six weeks" (Elmer 2004: 276).

The fact that citrus fruits were good for the scurvy was already known in the sixteenth century, as attested in John Feckenham's *Book of Medical Receipts*, which contains a recipe for *An electuary for the skiruie, stoping of the spleene, and abstructions*, as edited by Ortega-Barrera (2002: 295):

(10) The Cofernes of skiruie grasse, roman wormod and of ginger of each two
      ounces. Of the flowers of rosemary, Ye pulpe of Cyterne, cofernes of roses
      woodsorrell, succory; gilliflowers, of each one ounce. [GUL, Hunter 93, folio 260]

In the confection of the electuary several plants are used, among them succory, whose form with initial <s> is a sixteenth century alteration of the medieval form *chicory*, after Middle Low German *suckerîe*, Middle Dutch *sûkerîe* (Dutch *suikerei*, older Flemish *suykerey*, *succory*), according to the *OED*.

Some panaceas, such as *Aqua Vitae*, were also used to treat scurvy, as in "in any disease where any gross humour aboundeth, as in ye Gout, dropsie, french poxe, scurvey & þe like" (GUL Hunter 43, folio 25), but scurvy grass, which is "a cruciferous plant, *Cochlearia officinalis*, believed to possess anti-scorbutic properties" (*OED*), is the most widely used plant for the disease. Thus, it is found in *An approved drink for ye scurvy*:

(11) Take of water cresses brookcyme of scurvey grass as much as will yeild 3 pints
      or 2 quarts of juice let yr scurvy grass be ye greatest quaintity then take of
      saxifrage & sarsaparilla of each a good hand full thin shave'd & sew them in
      a bag of lawn. or some thin cloth but bruise ye woods be fore you put them into
      the bag & then have a small firkin of ale of 8 gallons after it hath worke'd put
      into it ye juice of those herbs befor name'd & ye bagg of saxifrage then stick an
      orange full of cloves & hang it by a thred in ye firkin it will be fitt' te drink after
      one day it must be drunk. in ye morning tasting & fast 2 hours after it drink it
      again at 4 in ye afternoon. [GUL, Ferguson 15, folio 124]

Apart from well-known ingredients, such as saxifrage and water cress, and the mentioned scurvy grass, another plant from the New World is recommended in (11): sarsaparilla. According to the *OED*, it refers to "the dried roots of plants of the various species of *Smilaceæ*; esp. Jamaica sarsaparilla, *Smilax officinalis*; also, a medicinal preparation of the root used as an alterative and tonic". Sarsaparilla is one of the ingredients that is present in all the manuscripts in the corpus. The earliest mentions of sarsaparilla often describe its supposed efficacy in the treatment of syphilis. Besides, it is profusely employed in British Library, Additional 27466. Its compiler, Mary Dogget, recommends its use in connection with diverse ailments. For instance, it is supposed to be good for scurvy (folio 20 and folio 45), but also good *To purge the Blood* (folio 51), *To the shortness of Breath* (folio 89) and *To Sweeten the Blood* (folio 299).

4.4. Rickets

According to Carmichael (2008: 283), "in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, dozens of 'new' diseases seemed to demand or defy medical explanation, which resulted in some of the earliest medical descriptions we possess for scurvy, rickets, typhus, syphilis, scarlet fever, the 'English sweate' (whatever that was), and even anorexia nervosa". We cannot be

certain whether rickets is a new disease, but Glisson is credited to have discovered the illness when he published a treatise *De Rachitide sive morbo puerili*, in 1650. An English edition, edited by Nicholas Culpeper, with the title *A treatise of the rickets, being a disease common to children*, appeared in 1651. The result of Glisson's work is part of the studies and discussions carried out in the informal group of physicians that took part in the meetings of the so-called "1645 group", which can be considered as one of the original nuclei of the Royal Society.

Rickets appears in the corpus in Wellcome 7113, GUL Hunter 93, but especially in GUL Ferguson 61 on several occassions: in recipe 36, *A Dyet Drinke for the Rockettes*; recipe 189, *An Ointment for ye Rickets* and recipes 232 and 233 *Lady Sharlowes receipt for the Ricketts* and *for ye Ricketts*. Lady Sharlowe's recipe reads as follows:

> (12) Recipe of speedwell Liver wort, dandelyon, heart Tongue, of each one handfull, penyroyle ½ a handfull, strawberrye Leaves, & vilet Leaves of each a handfull, of Liqurish & anniseed a ¼ of a pond of Each: 2 or 3 Leaves of Lovage bojle al these in 3 pintes of strong ale tell a pint be consumed, so sweeten it with browne suger & give ye child 2 or 3 spoonfulls. [GUL, Ferguson 61, folio 97]

Except for speedwell, which is first recorded in 1578 and designates "one or other species of *Veronica*, an extensive genus of small herbaceous plants with leafy stems and small blue (rarely pink or white) flowers", according to the *OED*, none of the ingredients in (12) are new. Liverwort, dandelion, hart's tongue, pennyroyal, strawberry, violet, liquorice, aniseed and lovage are all plants used extensively in medieval English recipes (De la Cruz and Diego, forthcoming).

Another instance of the period's interest in the disease is in manuscript Wellcome 3009, where one can read *Mister Iohnsons cure for the Ricketts*:

> (13) Take of the juyce of Scury grass four pennyworth to every two spoonfulls of it add one spoonfull of Ieane treacle, begin in February March Aprill and May takeing it nine daies in each moneth the spoonfulls in the morning fasting , and as much in the evening after a sleepe, then in the begining of Iune take twenty black Snailes and balme leaves beate togeather, spread it on lambs leather and lay it all along the chine of the back , and Remove it every two daies, this must be used at least three or four times. [Wellcome 3009, 17r]

Apart from scurvy grass, other ingredients such as Genoa treacle, snails and balm leaves are recommended to be beaten together, then you should spread it on lamb leather and lay it on the back several times.

5. Conclusions

Through the examination of the recipe collections from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries selected for the study, it can be concluded that recipes

are a mirror of the period in which they were written. No other medical genre reflects better the expectations, habits and experiences of a given time. The contents of the recipes analysed reflect their societies' concern with the outbreak of new diseases, such as the French pox and other old ailments that were particularly rampant in the period, such as the plague, the scurvy and the rickets regardless whether it can be considered an old or new disorder.

The remedies used to deal with these illnesses resort to old-known ingredients, such as plants and metals, but also to new substances recently introduced into Europe from America. Some of the new plants and stuff seem to have been used in the New World for similar symptoms; others bear no witness of their efficacy, but seem to be fashionable and especially well-received among the better-off, since they were expensive. One of the most common goods was *guaiacum*, whose monopoly was granted to a family of bankers. Native to America are also sarsaparilla and sassafras, while others came from Asia, such as china root, or from a nearer territory, as in the case of angelica that was cultivated in the Mediterranean area, or from an unknown origin, like scurvy-grass.

Regarding the dates of introduction of the new terms in the English language, the focus was on ingredients introduced from the sixteenth century onwards. As the *Oxford English Dictionary* was taken as the main reference, some antedatings to it have been identified. The exploration of other products not mentioned in this article, such as coffee or chocolate, leaves the door open to further research on the topic to see how these commodities were accepted among the European population and were introduced as food or medicine in the British diet.

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'SO THAT IT MAY REACH TO THE JUGULAR'. MODAL VERBS IN EARLY MODERN ENGLISH RECIPES

Abstract

The focus of this article is the use and function of modal verbs in early Modern English recipes (1475–1699). Modal verbs may show an array of modality meanings, such as the expression of epistemic and dynamic probability, and deontic permission, for example. In principle, both the formulaic nature of the recipe genre and its use for indicating procedure seem to suggest the existence of a primary modality layer of authorial deontic positioning in the sense of necessity. Indeed, recipes tend to represent a list of obligatory steps to be followed in the preparation of the remedy. Our research based on computer enquiries of a compilation of early Modern English recipes reveals that modal verbs appear to indicate some other recurrent modal scopes, namely possibility and prediction, as well as an array of pragmatic functions, viz. reliability, reinforcement and mitigation of claims. Our notion of modality mainly follows from Palmer (1986 and 2001), Hoye (2008), and van der Auwera and Plungian (1998). Conclusions will report on the frequency of modal verbs and modal meanings as well as their functions in discourse. These will also include an account on the relationship between modal verbs and modal meanings and certain formulaic patterns in the recipes compiled.
Keywords: modality, modal verbs, early Modern English, recipe genre.

1. Introduction

In this article, we focus on the analysis of modal verbs in early Modern English recipes (1475–1699). Recipes are made up of a list of steps that should be followed in the preparation of the remedy. We assume that the formulaic nature of the recipe genre and its use for indicating procedure suggest the use, at the very least, of deontic modality in the sense of

necessity. Other modal meanings may concern the evaluation of certain procedures, or even the assessment of the qualities of products. This means an evaluative dimension reporting on the author's stance.

Our notion of modality mainly follows from Palmer (1986 and 2001), Hoye (2008), and especially van der Auwera and Plungian (1998). As we consider that some modal meanings are strongly associated with the genre itself, we also describe the structure of the recipe from a functional perspective (Martin 1984, Halliday and Hasan 1985, Halliday and Matthiessen 2004). This formalization of the recipe in different ages of English has been earlier studied in Taatvitsainen (1988 and 2001), Pahta (1998), Alonso-Almeida (1998–1999). These studies have all agreed that the recipe is a well-defined genre, and so information is distributed in purposeful stages developing the instructions to achieve a particular goal. Some stages also have a primary aim of assessing the quality and efficacy of the finalized product. The language associated to these stages have been long reviewed in the works of Stannard (1992), Görlach (1992), Carroll (1997), Jones (1998), Alonso-Almeida (2008), and Bator (2016), to mention a few. To our knowledge, modal verbs in recipes have not yet enjoyed the same scholarly attention, and so a study like the one presented here associating the use of modal meanings and the genre is in order.

Our research is based on computer enquiries made on a compilation of early Modern English recipes. These recipes have been excerpted from sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century books, as they appear in the *Early English Books Online* (EEBO) database we describe later in this paper. This compilation serves as our evidence for the analysis of modal verbs, and interrogation has been carried out using *CasualConc* (Yasu Imao[1]) corpus tools. The verbs returned in the computerized concordances are organized according to meanings, and statistical differences have been assessed in terms of their loglikelihood ratio.

This paper is organized, as follows. Section 2 includes information on modality, modal meanings and modal verbs. This is followed by a section on the recipe genre in order to define it. Section 4 offers a description of the corpus and the methodology of analysis. The following section gives the results of our enquiries, and section 6 is a discussion of findings. Section 7 presents the conclusions from the present study.

2. Modality, modal meanings and modal verbs

Modality is the term used in linguistics to refer to the expression of a speaker's evaluation of an event in terms of such notions as probability,

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[1]   Yasu Imao. *CasualConc – a concordancer for macOS*. http://casualconc.blogspot.com

possibility, obligation, permission and necessity, among other more fine-grained attitudes towards the propositional content framed by the modal particle. The ideas of stance and attitude concerning modal scopes are given in Palmer (1986: 2), as drawing from Lyon (1997: 452). These concepts inevitably raise related issues (a) concerning the (inter)subjective uses of modal particles and (b) concerning the association of modality with degrees of truth, i.e. the speaker's commitment. One case in point is the function of modal particles to indicate conclusions as a result of an inferential process, as we shall explain later. There are some ways in which modality can be coded in the language, and these fall in the lexical or the grammatical domains. Palmer (1986: 33ff) describes modal verbs, mood, and particles and clitics as examples of grammatical marking of modality. The lexical marking includes adverbs and other related expressions that evince the speaker's attitude towards the propositional content.

Modality is very differently categorized, as categories depend on the theoretical tenets followed each time. In our paper, we avoid all this terminological wealth to focus on the more agreed division of modal categories into (a) epistemic and (b) deontic modality. The former is "concerned with matters of knowledge or believe on which basis speakers express their judgements about state of affairs, events or actions" (Hoye 1997: 42). The latter refers to the "necessity of acts in terms of which the speaker gives permission or lays and obligation for the performance of actions at some time in the future" (Hoye 1997: 43). A similar twofold taxonomy is included in Biber et al.'s (1999: 485), if they use the terms *intrinsic* and *extrinsic modality*: "Intrinsic modality refers to actions and events that humans (or other agents) directly control: meanings relating to permission, obligation, and volition (or intention). Extrinsic modality refers to the logical status of events or states, usually relating to assessments of likelihood: possibility, necessity, or prediction."

Although the distinction epistemic and deontic works well for an important quantity of modal devices, another category is, at least, in order.[2] This third is known as *dynamic modality*, a subcategory of Palmer's *event modality* (2001). Palmer's classification distinguishes between *propositional modality* and *event modality*. The first type reports on epistemic modal uses, and it is further subdivided into *epistemic modality* and *evidentiality* (i.e. evidence given for the status of the proposition; cf. Willet 1988). The second type refers to attitudes towards events in the future, and it is subdivided into *deontic modality* and *dynamic modality*. In deontic modality, senses of obligation and permission hang on external

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[2]　Hiltunen and Tyrkkö (2011: 53–54) report on epistemic and deontic modal senses in their study in the *Early Modern English Medical Texts (EMEMT)*.

rather than internal factors. In dynamic modality, conditions are external, and it involves senses of willingness and ability on the part of the speaker or writer. Dynamic modality is, we argue, an important language feature in technical texts, as uses of modals can be only justified according to the notions of disposition and potentiality, as we shall see in due course. These notions have been the matter of extensive discussion in the domain of logics.

Modality can be realized by means of modal verbs, adverbs and clitics. In this paper, we focus on modal verbs, and so we keep to their description in what follows. As pointed out in Biber et al. (1999: 483), there are nine central modal verbs in present-day English, namely *can*, *could*, *may*, *might*, *shall*, *should*, *will*, *would*, and *must*. There is yet another group of modals called *the peripheral modals* or *marginal modals*, or more widely *semi-modals*: *need (to), ought to, dare (to), used to*. This group of modals tend to take *to*-infinitive rather than the bare infinitive. They share, however, some features with central modals: (a) direct negation with *not* (also as a contracted form), and (b) inversion in questions, even if such forms as *dare* and *need* may take the periphrastic *do*. The expressions *have to, had better* and *be supposed to* are regarded as idiomatic expressions with modal nuances (Biber et al. 1999: 484).

Denison (1993: 292ff) classifies modal verbs from a morphological, syntactic, and semantic perspective. The criteria for the identification of modal verbs are the following: (1) modal verbs do not present non-finite forms, (2) tense-distinction takes place in the majority of these verbs, (3) modal verbs do not show third person singular present indicative suffixes, (4) most modals can show their contracted version to form the negative, e.g. *can't*, *won't*, and *shan't*, and a number of these modal verbs can also appear as a clitic form, e.g. *'ll* (*will*), *'d* (*would*), (5) modal verbs do not have imperative forms, (6) they are followed by the bare infinitive, (7) modal verbs have a scope over the propositional content, (8) more than one modal verb can co-occur in some dialects, and (9) as operators, they may share a same set of NICE properties: $N =$ **n**egated by using n't/not, $I =$ subject-verb **i**nversion, $C =$ **c**ode, *i.e. the modal verb is able to retrieve meaning of an elided lexical verb in same phrase*, $E =$ *modal verbs can be* **e***mphasized*. It should be noted that, during the early Modern English, the common medieval practice of using inversion of the lexical verb for questions and attaching a negative adverb for making a negative statement ceased to happen.

3. The recipe as a genre

Our notion of *genre* follows the framework of functional grammar, as in in Halliday and Matthiessen (2004). Genre should be distinguished from *text*

type because genre is defined according to external features, and text type is characterised as to its internal linguistic criteria. In addition to these, *register* is also an important feature to be considered in the analysis of texts. Martin (1984), Halliday and Hasan (1985), and Biber (1988) have studied these concepts in detail and applied them to several concerns of textual analysis (cf. Moessner 2001). A representation of textual studies from a historical analysis are Taavitsainen (1988 and 2001a), Pahta (1998), Alonso-Almeida (1998-1999), and Carroll (1999), among many others. Research performed on present-day English specimens includes the works by Swales (1987 and 1990), Biber (1988), Bex (1996) and Bhatia (1993), among others.

From a functional perspective, Martin (1984: 25) defines genres as "a staged, goal-oriented, purposeful activity in which speakers engage as members of our culture". This is in line with Biber's definition of genre in which he understands that "genre categories are... assigned on the basis of use rather than on the basis of form" (1998: 170). The notion of functional stages in Martin's description is developed in Hasan (1985: 63–64) and Eggins (1994: 41), and they see two ways in which stages may associate. One is *generic structure potential*, i.e. all the possible stages in a given genre, and the other is *actual generic potential*, i.e. the result of applying the generic structure potential to a given text.

The notion of *text type* is defined according to the language used, and Werlich (1976) divides text types into description, narration, exposition, argumentation, and instruction. For Biber (1988: 70), the term text type is used to "refer to groupings of texts that are similar with respect to their linguistic form, irrespective of genre categories." That means that different text types may co-occur in one single genre, e.g. an *academic article* may show cases of the narrative, the expositive and the descriptive text types. Topic could be also considered as a feature pertaining to text types, but it is, in our view, more apt as a register characteristic (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 29, fn. 8). Thus, a recipe as a genre may be developed mainly as an expositive text, but, from a register perspective, recipes can be for cooking, for planting and grafting, for medical and veterinary purposes, among others. In short, text types are characterized according to morphological, syntactic and lexical features, this last one being a debatable aspect, as pointed out.

Görlach (1992) is one the first studies dealing with the recipe genre from a diachronic perspective, and he uses sections to divide internally the structure of the recipes. His research reveals that this genre exemplifies common morphological and syntactic features along with a specific organization of the contents and vocabulary related to the field each recipe represents. Other studies dealing with earlier recipes in English are

Stannard (1982), Hunt (1990), Alonso-Almeida (1998–1999, 2002, 2013), Alonso-Almeida and Ortega-Barrera (2015), Carroll (1997, 1999, 2004, 2005–2006), Jones (1998), Taavitsainen (2001), Mäkinen (2004, 2006), Bator (2013a, 2013b, 2014, 2016), Bator and Sylwanowicz (2017), de la Cruz Cabanillas (2017a, 2017b), and Sylwanowicz (2018). This claims for the interest in recent decades on the genre, but even though the field of research is far from is far from complete and further research will enlighten specific aspects dealing with language and language change. In this context, our study intends to represent a contribution to the field.

The generic structure potential of sixteenth and seventeenth centuries can be outlined thus:

(Title) ^ Ingredients ^ (Preparation) * (Application) * (Storage) * (Efficacy) *

(Reference to source) * (Further additional information)

In this formalization of the generic structure potential, the parentheses mean an optional stage, the circumflex suggests fixed order, and the asterisk implies variable order within the scheme. This formula indicates that only the ingredients section is necessary for a recipe to be qualified as such in this period, the rest of stages are optional. This generic structure potential works well for medical and culinary recipes. Using the following sixteenth-century recipe as an example, we shall describe the majority of the above sections:

(1) [TITLE] A verie rare remedie for to take the kernels out of a mannes throte, in fiftie daies at the frthest. [INGREDIENTS AND PREPARATION] TAke the rootes of Walwort, well washed, and boyled in white wine, and take also, these thinges folowyng: Sponge burned half a pound, & two hundred cornes of Peper. Al these thynges beyng well beaten into pouder, boyle them, in the saied wine, with the Walwort rootes: and hauinge sodden them wel, poure out the wine, [STORAGE] and kepe it in a viol wel stopped in some moyst place, [APPLICATION] than giue the patient of this wine to drinke, three times a day, at euerie time a glasseful, that is to say, mornyng, noone, and night.
[FURTHER ADDITIONAL INFORMATION] And while he vseth this, he must eate no other breade but Barley breade, and drinke his wyne without water. He must also abstayne from eatyng any maner herbes, Fysh, Garlick, Beetes, or other such like. Thys maner of regiment, ought a man to begyn, at the full moone, continuyng vntill the ende of the same, and after vntill the quarter encreasynge, of the nexte Moone: that is to saie .xlv. daies, and without doubt the patient shal be healed (Ruscelli 1558).

The actual generic structure of this recipe is Title ^ Ingredients & Preparation ^ Storage ^ Application ^ Further additional information ^ Efficacy. The title gives the contents of the text, and it visually indicates the new recipe. In the case of the ingredients stage, this one appears together with the preparation stage. Besides vocabulary related to herbs and fresh produce preceded by the verb *take* characterizing this stage, the use of cooking verbs and action verbs, namely *boyle* and *poure*, in the imperative

are indicative of the application stage of the recipe. The storage stage presents also a verb in the imperative followed by a noun indicating a recipient, i.e. *viol*. The application stage offers clear information as to the frequency, three times a day, the dosage, *euerie time a glasseful*, and the time, *mornyng, noone, and night*, the remedy should be taken. This is followed by the further additional information and this contains information regarding dieting while the medicine is being used. Finally, efficacy is expressed by using and *without doubt the patient shal be healed* by using the inferential *no doubt* and the modal verb *shal*.

Reference to source, i.e. indication of basis of information, is shown in the example below from *A Thousand Notable Things* by Thomas Lupton (1579). The function of this stage pursues to suggest reliability concerning the remedy recommended, even if source is generic and imprecise, as in this example, i.e. *This I had out of a verie olde booke*.

> (2) This following is a notable tryed medicine for the gowte, and for the swelling of ioynts, & for knobs or knots comming of the French pocks. Take May butter a quarter of a pound, halfe a pound of coomyn seede, beaten in fyne powder, a quarter of a pound of blacke Sope, one handfull of Hearbe grace, halfe a handfull of clarifyed sheepe suet: stampe all these to|gether in a morter, then take the gall of an Oxe, and a spoonefull of bay Salt, and frye them all together, tyll it be thycke: then laye it on a woollen cloath, and so apply it to the ache, as hotte as it maye be suffred, and let it lye vnremoued a whole weeke: and then laye another plaster thereof to it, and let it lye vnre|moued as long: then lay the thyrd plaster therto, and let it lye therto as long, as the other, (which wyll be in the whole three weekes:) and without doubt it wyll helpe him. I haue seene it proued. [REFERENCE TO SOURCE] <u>This I had out of a verie olde booke</u> (Lupton, 1579).

As we shall show below, the instructive nature of the recipes will determine the type of modal meanings to appear in the course of the recipe description. This text is for giving instructions to develop a series of actions in order to get a final product. This also implies the consideration of the qualities of people and things in which certain phases of the recipe making depend on in order to accomplish a satisfactory product. In addition, the functions of the recipe, e.g. healing and cooking solutions, necessarily involve an evaluative dimension assessing for the benefits of the recipe along with the suitability of certain products or procedures involved in its making. This may be well expressed by means of epistemic and deontic modal verbs, as these consider possible future scenarios accounting for states and chances of achievability.

4. Corpus description and methodology

The corpus is a compilation of English recipes of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. From a formal point of view, the recipes fit well

within the definition and description of the genre, as described in section 3, above. The texts have been grouped per century and have been excerpted from facsimiles downloaded from the *Early English Books Online* (EEBO) database through a subscription held by the University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria. This database contains more than 100,000 titles in photographic format, and some of these have been transcribed and they are therefore searchable. The date span of this collection is 1473–1700. In the table 1, we include information concerning the number of words and the number of texts analysed per century; the number of words corresponds only to all the recipes within these texts, excluding any other genre type.

Table 1. Number of words and texts in our compilation of recipes

	Number of texts	Number of words
c16th	10	121,789
c17th	7	121,929

The number of words represents exclusively recipe texts, and this means that careful reading has been made in order to isolate recipes upon the consideration of the description put forward in section 3 concerning this genre. The contents of the texts are varied, namely cooking, medicine, grafting, planting, hunting, surgery, pediatric medicine, and anatomy. These are literally unimportant from a genre perspective, although, obviously, they do matter from a register perspective. Our analysis of the texts will show, however, that register is essential in order to hypothesize about, and account for, the presence of modal verbs, as we shall show later on in this paper.

Our analysis of the texts has been carried out using computer tools using *CasualConc* (Yasu Imao), and examples of modal verbs have been excerpted. Avoidance of spelling variation in our retrieval has been done by using wildcards, and so interrogation of the database for cases of, say, 'will' returns such examples as *wil, will, wyl. wyll,* and *woll.* Concordance lines have been copied onto an Excel spreadsheet to tag samples according to meaning following our description of modality in section 2, above. This procedure allows us to obtain statistics concerning the frequency of modal verbs and modality types in recipes per century. Significance variation has also been calculated using the loglikelihood ratio. For the sake of comparison, we have normalized data to 10,000.

5. Results

The analysis of the texts reveals that the most common modal meaning registered in our corpus is deontic, as shown in Figure 1, below. The

difference in the frequency of deontic modals per century is evident and will be discussed later in due course in this paper. The second more frequent modal meaning is dynamic and the sixteenth-century subcorpus presents almost four more occurrences every 10,000 words than the seventeenth-century subcorpus. The reverse happens in the case of the epistemic modals. The seventeenth-century recipes present more cases of epistemic modality.
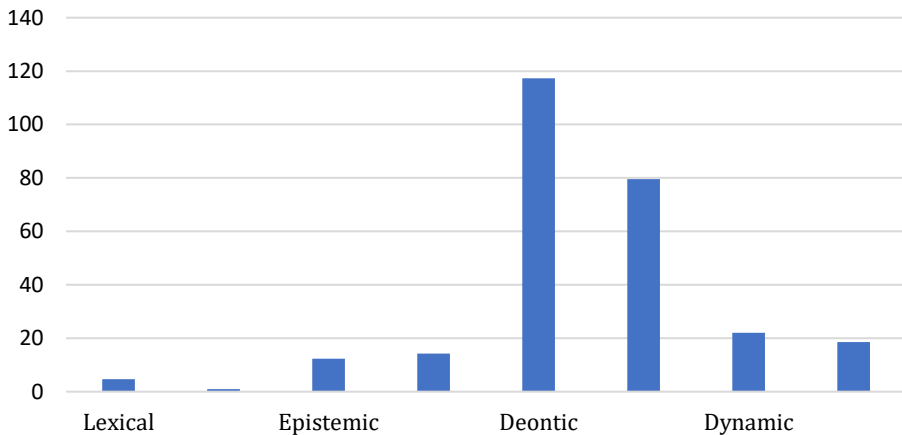
Figure 1. Modal values in early Modern English recipes

Figure 1 also includes information concerning the presence of lexical variants of what we now identify as central modals. Obviously, these cases are beyond the scope of this article, but we want to offer hereby some examples of these modal forms to exemplify these uses and for the sake of research transparency. The verb *will* is the form presenting lexical nuances in both subcorpora, as seen in (3), (4), (5) and (6):

(3) To take Fleas. ANoynt a potte with the Greace of a Bucke, and set it on your Bed, and all the Fleas will goe to it. Or els take the Greace of a Goupill, and annoynt a place of the house where ye wil haue them come and thei will goe thether. Or els take leaues of Dan, and lay them vnder your Couerlet or where ye **will**, and when they be among the leaues thei cannot come away (Hill, 1528).

(4) How ye maye cause your hawke to fle wyth a courage in the mornynge. ¶Yf ye **woll** that your hawke fle in the morough tyde: fede her the nyght before wyth hote meete. And wasshe the same meete in vryne: and wrynge oute the water clene. And that shall make her to haue luste and courage to fle in the mornynge in the beste manere (Berners, 1496).

(5) A Menstruum of Citron-Pills to dissolve Bodies of Metal and Coral... You may reiterate this course with new chips, as often as you please, during the season of the Dew; so to have what quantity you **will** of this Spirit (Digby, 1675).

(6) An excellent Remedy for the Dropsie... at dinner eat what you **will** of wholesom diet, but at night sup not, or but very little, and at going to bed, take the Cloves of Garlick and Wormwood Ale as in the morning (Digby, 1675).

In all the examples given above, the sense of volition is clear. The use of *will*, therefore, is equivalent to the lexical verb *to wish*. This meaning is recorded in the MED for the entry **willen** *v.* **(1)** 1f, with the following piece of evidence supporting this use: *sey by þe þat…willest of briddes and of bestes and of hire bredyng to knowe* (Skeat 1869: 205 in MED). Example (4) presents the most evident case of lexical *will* complemented by the noun clause *that your hawke fle in the morough tyde*. This structure is also registered in MED (**willen** *v.* **(1)**), as shown in *They…willen that folk hem loute…whanne that they passen thurgh the strete, And wolen be cleped maister also; But they ne shulde not willen so* (Kaluza 1891: 397, in MED).

Statistically, the loglikelihood ratio (31.94) indicates that difference between the two subcorpora is very significant in this respect with overuse in the case of the sixteenth-century recipes. Evidence from these two subcorpora suggests the gradual loss of this lexical meaning of *will*, as evinced in later instances from the sixteenth-century subcorpus along with all the examples of the seventeenth-century. These cases reveal a tendency to use this lexical form in the quasi-fossilized template *as/when/what (noun)/if + you will* with the same person marking, i.e. 2nd person singular, clearly indicating optionality. Its parenthetical nature is felt in many cases, and this may also support the idea that lexical *will* might have been perceived as idiomatic. Examples in (7) taken from these subcorpora illustrate our view; note that our last instance with a subject pronoun other than *you* is found as far as 1565.

(7)

1496:   therin / and lete her ete as moche *as she woll*. And that meete shall mewe her at your owne.
         … *who soo woll that* an hawke mewe not nor fall none of
1528:   …*what letters you will*, lettyng the same drye, and after rubbe a gol
1562:   … a thycke oyntment of ye which take *when you will* the quantytye of a lytle Beane, and anoynt th
1565:   … the eight parte (*or as litle as you will*) of an vnce of Muske.
         … let the patient slepe as moche *as he will*, who, in the mornyng shall finde hym self as
1587   … faire water, or Rosewater, and Spices (*if you will*) and make your paste and beate it.
1588   … Prunes, and Barberries about the Platter, *if you will*: strawe a little Suger and Sinamon about it.
1633   Also *if you will*, after the said ingredients are boyled and strained.
         … and *if you will* you may mixe with it an ounce of honey.
1658   … and so anoint your face as long *as you will*.
1659   Take Citrons, or Lemons, as many *as you will*.
         … and drink this second liquour at meals as often *as you will*.
1675   new Spirit of Urin; and so you may make it as strong *as you will*.

1675   … morning, evening, night, or *when you will.*
         … so to have *what quantity you will* of this Spirit.
         … at dinner eat *what you will* of wholesom diet.

Arguably, these cases of *will* might represent the code property of this modal verb, as exemplified in Gotti (2003: 284). However, we do believe there are such cases of *will* in (7) as *and so anoint your face as long as you will* and *a thycke ointment of ye which take when you will the quantytye of a lytle Beane*, whose lexical meanings are beyond doubt. Some examples might be less clear, and that could happen in *at dinner eat what you will of wholesome diet*, which could be paraphrased as *at dinner eat what you will eat of wholesom diet*. Even so, the lexical nuance is strong: 'eat what you **want to** eat of wholesome diet'. In all the occasions in which *will* appears in the protasis of the conditional clause, the meaning seems necessarily to be lexical, and this sense is certainly closer to *want to* and *like*. Thus, in the instance *and if you will you may mix with it an ounce of honey*, the interpretation of *will* in terms of its code property is likely, albeit awkward.

6. Discussion of findings

Table 2 presents the number of modal occurrences per meaning and per century:

Table 2. The meaning of modal verbs in early Modern English recipes (normalized results)

	Epistemic		Deontic		Dynamic	
	c16th	c17th	c16th	c17th	c16th	c17th
can	0,08		0,33		10,51	10,25
could	0,16	0,49				0,33
may	8,62	10,58	2,46	11,15	11,25	4,35
might		0,33				
must	0,08	0,16	30,05	12,14		
will	0,08		39,00	45,68	0,16	3,53
would	2,55	2,54				0,08
shall			44,50	9,19		
should	0,74	0,16	0,90	1,39	0,16	

This table shows that *will* and *shall* are the preferred forms in the recipes, and both score very highly for deontic meaning in both centuries. Dynamic modals appear quite frequently in our recipes. The presence of deontic and dynamic modals seems to be strongly connected to the instructive nature of the recipe genre, as giving instructions in English are

traditionally expressed through root modals. Epistemic modal verbs are the least frequent type in recipes. In what follows, we describe the use and function of modals in our corpus by order of frequency.

a) Deontic modality

The following graph exhibits the normalized figures for the deontic modals in the corpus. Considering the overall numbers, the difference in the use of these modals per century is very significant scoring a loglikelihood ratio of 88,54 with overuse of cases in the sixteenth-century sample. The modal verbs entailing deontic modality are *will, shall, must, may, should*, and *can*, in this order, as exhibited in Figure 2. This figure also shows that the modal verbs *shall* and *must* with a deontic nuance are more frequent in the sixteenth than in the seventeenth century.
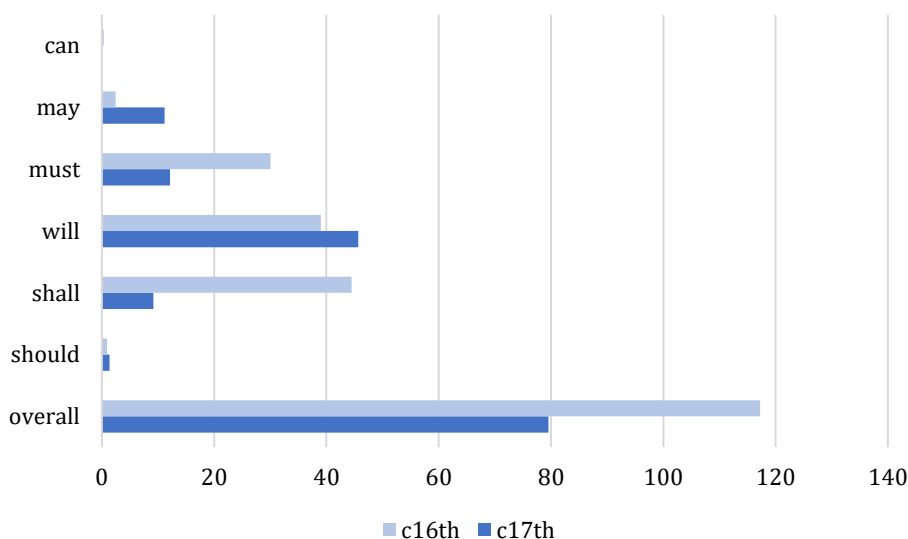
Figure 2. Deontic modals in recipes

Deontic modal verbs are used to indicate procedure. In this sense, the examples of deontic modals in the context of recipes show what steps should be taken in order to prepare the product. The meaning of these forms here is similar to 'is' or 'are'. The instances (8) to (11) illustrate this point. It is interesting to see that the collocation *you/ye + shall + infinitive* is functionally equivalent to the imperative mood, which is traditionally used in recipes

(8)   A medycyne for the Frounce in the mouthe... And yf the Frounce be wexid as grete as a notte Thenne there is a grubbe therin. whyche ye **shall** kytte wyth a rasure in this manere (Berners, 1496).

(9) Remedye for the same yf it be curable. YE must giue hym a purgacion, as is said in ye paine of the head, commyng of cholere: then dippe lynnen clothes in alume water, which **shal** be made thus (Goeurot, 1550).

(10) To heale an excrescens or growyng vp of the fleshe, within the yarde of a man, albeit it were rooted in of a long tyme… you **shall** take firste of all a Squirte, and fill it with white wine, wherein drie Roses, and Plantaine leaues haue been sodden and boiled, wherewith also ye **shall** mix a litle womans milke, or the milke of a Gote: then washe well the mannes yarde within, with this Squirte (Ruscelli, 1558).

(11) Then take a little kettle or an earthen pot, in the which you **shall** put three pints of water or a little more, then you **shall** boyle in it three or foure walmes the barly (Guybert, 1633).

Another use of deontic modality in recipes is to indicate a necessary outcome after following a previous indication in the text, as shown in examples (12), (13) and (14):

(12) For him that maye not hold his water… Take goates talow, and bren it, and make therof powder, and put it into the Patients Potage, and let him vse this, and he **shall** pisse measurablye ynough (Moulton, 1580).

(13) Hack it with a knife, and it **will** be ribb'd; then fry it almost browne with Butter, then take (Cooper, 1654).

(14) Boile them together, and you **shall** have a very good Salve (Philiatros, 1655).

In these instances, the verbs *shall* and *will* are used to show either the consequence of taking the medicine, as in (12) or the result of performing the activity previously described, as in (13) and (14). In fact, all these are examples of conditional sentences. This use of the modals has a clear evaluative dimension, as evinced in the following examples:

(15) Take an hearbe called Serpentine, and thei shall not barke at you (Hill, 1528).

(16) Eate all this, and you **shall** be safe (Ruscelli, 1558).

(17) Take dragons and drynke it, also stampe Dragons, and laye it to the place there the stinging is, and that **shal** suck out the venime, and ease the smarting (Moulton, 1580).

(18) …you may fry them without Butter as well as with it, and will be better (Cooper, 1654).

(19) A Plaister for aking of Bones. Take a pint of white Wine, and the gall of an Ox, boil them well, scum them clean, and then take crums of white bread and put ther|to, make a Plaister hereof, and lay to the place two or three times, and by the permission of God it **will** be whole (Philiatros, 1655).

Deontic meaning in the sense of personal intention to carry out an activity is also present in our corpus of texts. One instance is given in (20):

(20) Now I **shall** tell you very true medycynes to mewe an hawke hastely that ye shall byleue for trouth & ye woll asaye them (Berners, 1496).

The author uses *shall* in (20) to represent his aim to provide information regarding medical recipes. In other word, this use of modal is used to report on some kind of programmatic appreciation. This function of *shall* with

a deontic meaning is somehow on a par with what we call *expository shall/will*, which are deployed to draw the reader's attention towards specific information, hence the presence of the second person singular *you/ye*, as in the examples in (21) and (22). No instance of *expository shall/will* has been detected in the seventeenth-century subcorpus.

(21) Now ye **shall** vnderstonde yf a man woll make an hawke to the querre: in this manere he must doo. ¶Take a tame malarde and sette hym in a fayr playne: and lete hym goo where he woll (Berners, 1496).

(22) For to set sowre Cheries which doe grow commonly in Gardens, ye **shall** vnderstande they may well growe of stones, but better it shall be to take of the small cions which doe come from the great rootes (Mascall, 1572).

Another deontic modal meaning identified in our corpus is advisability, especially with *should* and *must*, as in the examples in (23)–(27). In these cases, all are medical instances, and the modal verbs are a means to frame some therapeutic recommendations. Person marking refers either to the person in charge of the preparation of the recipe, as in (27) *you should so proportion your substances or Nuts*, or to the patient *he should drink nothing but Tisanne*.

(23) For the same. Ye **must** vse euery daye to eate nutmygges, and to take ones in a weke a mirabolane condyte (Goeurot, 1550).

(24) A glystre for the same. And here ye **muste** note, that in all vomiting, yf the pacient be harde bellied, it is good to take a lenitiue glistre made of the decoccion of marche mallowes, mallowes, violettes, and, barly wyth oile of violettes, home of roses, and a litle cassia (Goeurot, 1550).

(25) The Patient **must** take every morning fasting, and not sleep after it (R.W., 1659).

(26) During this course the Patient is to eat no salt meat nor fish; besides he **should** drink nothing but Tisanne or Small-Beer that day he taketh the Liquor or Tincture (Digby, 1675).

(27) You **should** so proportion your substances or Nuts, as to have about a like quantity of juyce of each; as also so much of the Flowers as to have as much distilled water as out of either of the Juyces (Digby, 1675).

The use of *may* with a sense of permission has been registered in the seventeenth-century subcorpus. This deontic sense is clear in (27) and (29), below. The first example indicates deontic possibility in the sense that one ingredient is functionally identical for the purposes of the recipe. This same sense appears in (28), and the author offers indications for the intake of the product, and what is permissible to do and what it is not, i.e. *you may drink… eat not till two or three hours*.

(28) Mix all these well together with a little Creame, but do not make them too soft: instead of Bread you **may** take Almonds (if you will goe to the cost) which are much better (Cooper, 1654).

(29) Take of this one ounce or five drams, dissolved in a little warm Posset-drink; or take it with a little Virgin Honey in the Bed, and sleep after it. You **may** drink

now and then some warm Posset drink; but eat not till two or three hours, after it hath don working (Digby, 1675).

Deontic modality also suggests some kind of personal obligation (or sense of responsibility). This sense is clearly identified in *I muste aduertise you*. Authority is also perceived in this case, as the use of this modal meaning seems to emerge from the author's own experience and expertise.

(30) Then braye agayne, with the sayed water, that whiche shall remaine in the poke, and presse it a newe, vntill there issue no moore milke. But here I **muste** aduertise you, that this milke continueth not aboue two or three dayes (Ruscelli, 1558).

b) Dynamic modality

Dynamic modality is second in frequency. The loglikelihood ratio is 3.79, and so the difference between the use of dynamic modality in the sixteenth century and the seventeenth century is significant with overuse in the case of the former. The modal verbs used to entail dynamic meaning are *may, can, should* and *will* in order of frequency in the sixteenth century, and *can, may, could* and *would* in order of frequency in the seventeenth century, as shown in Figure 3. Dynamic *may* is more frequent in the sixteenth century, while more cases of dynamic *will* have been identified in the seventeenth century.
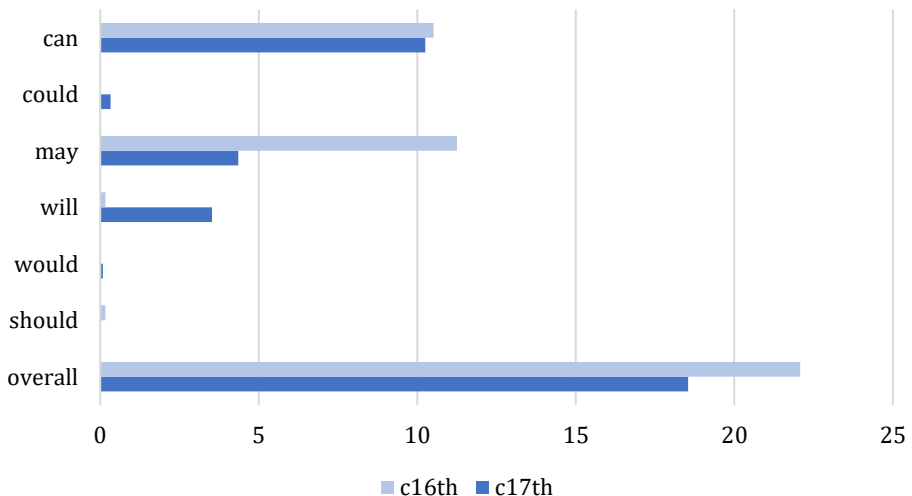

Figure 3. Dynamic modals in recipes

The presence of dynamic modals comes as no surprise in our corpus, as these modals may convey meanings involving the inherent, or even the circumstantial, qualities or capacities of people and things. This is important

in the case of recipes, as a description of the finalized product's potentialities is in order, as seen in (31). Another important use is related to aspects pertaining the states of products in the elaboration of a recipe, as in (32).

(31) A Menstruum to open any Body, but chiefly the Body of Gold... Then you will have a mighty subtil Spirit, which **will** dissolve almost any metal, and it will draw a Tincture out of Calx of Gold. It hath a pleasant smell and tast. All the Salt of Tartar will come over with the Saltpeter (Digby, 1675).

(32) Take a quarte and a halfe of common oyle, and sette it on the fyre in some vessell, then putte to it foure vnces of Ceruse or white leade well stamped, litarge of siluer verie fine and thinne, three vnces, common Waxe, four vnces, and leaue it so long vpon the fyre, vntill you **maye** spreade it with youre finger vpon a marble stone (Ruscelli, 1565).

Modals showing dynamic possibility are also identified in our corpus, and these represent the disposition of people to endure one condition, or to achieve a particular goal. The string *noun/pronoun + can/may + infinitive* is a very frequent structure indicating this dynamic meaning, as in examples (32) and (33):

(33) Poulder of Cypres. This is the most excellent poulder that a man **can** make. It is very true that out of Cipres and the east partes men bringe to Venise certaine rounde balles of a yelowe coloure (Ruscelli, 1558).

(34) For the toothach. Cap. xi. Take Betany and wylde gordes, and seth them in wyne, or else in Vyneger, and then put it in thy mouth as hote as thou **mayst** suffer, & holde it a good whyle in thy mouth, and it will take away thy payne (Moulton, 1580).

(35) To make Cheese-loaves. Take the Curds of a tender new milk Cheese, and let them be well pressed from the Whay, and then break them as small as you **can** possible, then take Crums of Manchet, 13 and yolkes of Eggs, with half the whites, and some sweet Cream, and a little fine flower, mingle all these together, and make a paste of it (Kent, 1653).

A variant of this formulaic template involves a comparative structure, thus highlighting the dynamic possibility sense of the modal verbs: *as + adjective (of +noun) + as + noun + can/may/will + infinitive*. Examples are the following:

(36) ...then warme them again **as hote as you maye endure**, rubbing them well a pretie space (Ruscelli, 1565)

(37) ...gather your roses as drye as you can and put them into the styll (Anon, 1588).

(38) ...and so lay it to the Patients stomach, **as hot as he may endure** (Philiatros, 1655).

(39) ...three mornings together **as much of this Powder as will lie** on six pence, with two spoonfuls of each water (W. M., 1659).

c) Epistemic modality

Epistemic modality as realized by modals is more common in the seventeenth-century texts in our corpus than in the sixteenth-century texts

with loglikelihood ratio of 1.75. The modal verbs entailing epistemic meaning are *may, would, should,* and *could*. Instances of epistemic *will* and *can* have been found in sixteenth-century recipes, as shown in Figure 4. Overall, epistemic modality is the least frequent modal meaning in the recipes analysed.
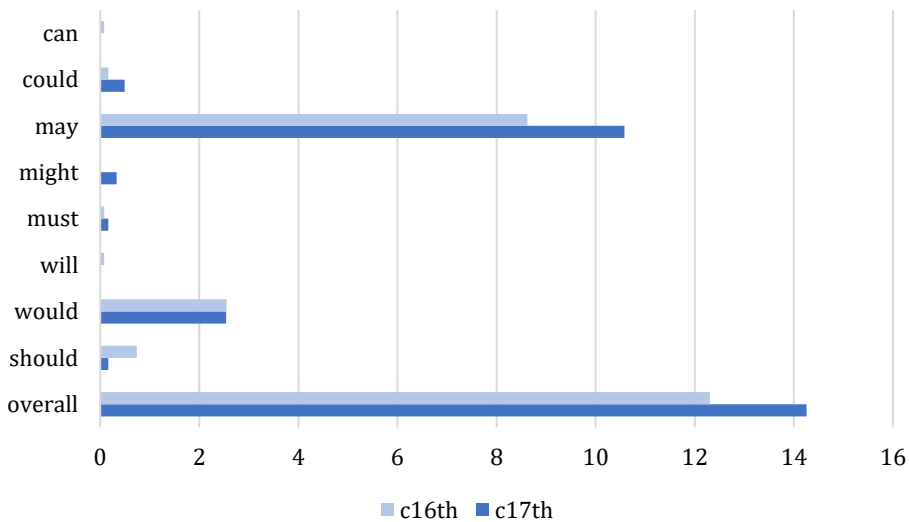
Figure 4. Epistemic modals in recipes

Epistemic modality is used in the recipes to indicate tentative probability and the authors therefore show their lack of commitment towards the contents of their texts (Coates 2003: 334). The following examples with *may* and *might* are illustrative:

(40) Remedy for the tothe ache. Payne of the tethe (as Galene sayth) amongeste other paines that are not mortall is ye most cruel and grieuous of them al. It **maye** come diuers wayes, of a cold or hote cause. If it come of a hote cause hys gomes are redde, and verye hote, wherfore it is very good to hold in his mouthe water of camphore or to seeth a lytle camphore in vinegre, and holde it in his mouth (Goeurot, 1550).

(41) Of this Liquor when 'tis ripe, let the Patient make use for his ordinary Drink; only having a Care, that if by Age or Accident it be perceived to grow sour, that Vessel then be left off, for fear, least the Acidity of the Liquor, corroding the Antimony, **might** make it vomitive (Boyle, 1692).

In these instances, *may* and *might* are hedges (Hyland 1998), and these are used to "present a proposition as an opinion rather than a fact" (1998: 5). In (40), *may* expresses an evaluation of the different possible causes resulting in toothache, i.e. *of a cold or hote cause*. In this sense, the didactic

target prevails over an hypothetical intention of avoiding imposition on the reader. This means that the author does not really seek to exclusively attenuate the propositional content in (40), but he rather wants to present two likely causes, and one of them is necessarily correct each time a patient with toothache requires attention. The use of *might* in (41) certainly shows the author's estimation of the truth of the propositional content, and so *might* refers to an hypothetical situation in which the liqueur may turn sour and so may produce an undesired effect. The mitigating purpose is sounder in this case.

Epistemic necessity modal verbs are also used in the corpus, but they only appear in the texts written by the last quarter of the seventeenth century. The forms entailing this meaning are exclusively *must* and *may* in even proportion. The following are examples excerpted from our corpus:

> (42) To make Polonia Sausages… first season your meat with the salt, kneading it in very well, and so let it lye one day and one night; 48 then put in your spices and knead them in very well with a little Muscadine, kneading it morning and evening with a little more Muscadine two dayes together; your guts **must** now be ready, having before lyen in salt and water two days (Woolley, 1670).
> (43) Another Remedy for the Dropsie. Take three or four pound or thereabouts, of Mountain-Sage, (a bagful above a foot, or fourteen or fifteen inches high, and eight or nine, or ten overthwart) bruise it in a Mortar, and put it into a Bag of Boulter-cloth, and put it into a Kilderkin of middling Ale as soon as it is tunned, putting into the Ale the Juice that **may** have run out of the Herb upon beating it (Digby, 1675).

In the first example, *must* seems to indicate inferential reasoning (cf. van der Auwera and Plungian 1998), and so the writer presupposes that the guts to prepare the sausages are ready. This inferential process is the result of experience, and so the proposition contained in "your guts must now be ready" appears to be more factual than hypothetical. This is the voice of authority. In (43), inferential meaning results from the use of *may* followed by the perfective, and that shows the writer's deduction that juice should be obtained from the action of scraping herbs. Boye and Harder (2009) have described this type of structure as evidential substance, and is of frequent use in the language of science (Alonso-Almeida and Carrió-Pastor (2017)). This is not the case in the recipe genre in our corpus. The reason for this very low frequency might be found in the fact that recipes contain practical information (rather than the presentation of theoretical argumentation), and therefore, there is not much room for logical deductions. Furthermore, our compilation encompasses recipes written before the scientific period, and there is the additional reason that recipes are very traditional in nature (Alonso-Almeida 2013), as they are unashamedly copied from one earlier compilation to another. In this context, it is obvious that the language exhibited still retains some of its medieval flavour.

7. Conclusion

This paper has presented information concerning the use and meanings of modal verbs in a corpus of early Modern English recipes. The results have turned as expected considering the genre under focus, i.e. recipes. The didactic nature of the recipes is reflected in the use of an expositive text-type (Werlich 1976) in order to develop the description of a procedure to achieve a desired goal. That explains the important amount of deontic modals identified. Variation between the two centuries analyzed is also very meaningful with overuse of this type of modality in the sixteenth-century. Interestingly, the use of epistemic modality, frequently associated with the manifestation of authorial politeness to avoid imposition on third parties, occurs occasionally in the two subcorpora. Variation is significant with overuse in the case of the seventeenth-century, which seems to be a timid indication of the turning point in the way science was looked at. The second most frequent modality type in our recipes is dynamic modality, as it may convey meanings pertaining the qualities, capacities and properties of people and things.

The use of modality in recipes is varied depending on the type. Deontic modality is convenient in order to show the procedure to prepare or follow a particular recipe. To some extent, deontic modality combines with the imperative mood in order to present indications. The benefits of deploying modals in this sense is the possibility to convey different shades of necessary actions. Advisability concerning therapeutic information is also expressed through the use of deontic modals. That is also the case of permission as to the actions that are allowed to be taken either with the handling of ingredients or the finalized product intake. Finally, there is a specific use of deontic modals to emphasize some particular information, and they therefore draw the readers' attention towards that specific information.

In short, deontic modality reveals the authors' expertise. This intention to exhibit some kind of authority is also perceived in the use of dynamic modality, as authors may thus show their knowledge of ingredients and expected results concerning procedures described in the recipe. This information seemingly follows from the authors' own experience on the topic dealt with in the recipes, even if part of the information provided in these texts should not be taken at face value. These dynamic modals express meaning as fact rather than anticipation. Epistemic modality is deployed both to indicate degrees of tentativeness in the case of epistemic probability modals and to indicate inferential logic in the case of epistemic necessity modals. While probability modal verbs seek to attenuate assertiveness, the second type reflects the author's good command of the topic.

This research represents a first step in the study of modal verbs in English recipes over time, as we have seen that some variation in language seems to be also taking place in this genre. This appears to be contrary to expectation. Because recipe collections are the result of copying and excerpting from earlier collections or even loose recipes, we may consequently assume some resistance to change. This needs further exploration on Middle English material and late Modern English recipes to evaluate variation tendencies in the use of modal verbs in this genre.

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THE APOTHECARY AND THE TAILOR: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE ENTRIES IN THE PHYSICAL DICTIONARIES OF 1655 AND 1657

Abstract

Two short medical ('physical') dictionaries appeared in English in 1655 (accompanying a translation of Jean Renou) and 1657 (accompanying a translation of Lazare Rivière), the first to employ the word dictionary in their titles. The lexicographers concerned saw their tasks somewhat differently. Whether and how closely they are related has been disputed; this study undertakes to resolve these questions by examining the apparent relationship between their entries. Comparing a number of entries and classifying the similarities and differences, first for verbs, and then for the entries they actually share reveals first, that the Rivière glossary was strictly intended as a guide to the translation text and was based on that alone and, second, that the Renou dictionary made considerable use of Rivière, but was not heavily dependent, making use of other sources as well.

Keywords: Nicholas Culpeper, definition, head-word, medical dictionary, noun, Jean Renou, Richard Tomlinson, Lazare Rivière, verb, word-list.

1. Introduction

The present book is structured around the idea of instructional texts, a notion not normally applied to dictionaries. And yet they are so in a powerful sense, being instructions to users as to how to understand and use words. Medical dictionaries, despite their obvious role as sources of information and instruction, are also greatly under-researched. In lexicographical research, head-words and definitions separately are taken to be the primary constituents of a dictionary, but a head-word and its definition, the complete entry, represents an instruction about lexical

comprehension of an item in an alphabetised list. Recipes, a principal topic of this book, share with dictionary entries a headword-definition structure as well as more detailed correspondences within the definition itself, including formulaic expressions adumbrating definition structure. Medical dictionaries may also arise from personal manuscript collections relating to practice as recipes do (see Leong 2018), and both accumulate material and change between editions, reflecting the shifting contemporaneous knowledge and culture.[1]

This chapter is an exercise in so-called dictionary archaeology, at least on the face of it, since it examines the relation between two English medical dictionaries published two years apart and between which some relationship might hence reasonably be assumed, given that the only possible substantial models, Andrew Boorde's The *Breviary of Helthe* (1547) and the glossary in the translation of Vigo by Bartholomew Traheron, were a century older, and no obvious correspondences can be found between these and the later physical dictionaries.[2] These are, first, the physical dictionary or glossary attached to the translation of Lazare Rivière published as *The practice of physick* in 1655, a work ascribed to Abdiah Cole, Nicholas Culpeper, and William Rowland. The second is *A physical dictionary, or, an interpretation of such crabbed words and terms of art, as are derived from the Greek or Latin, and used in physick, anatomy, chirurgery, and chymistry*, which is a stand-alone version of the dictionary in Richard Tomlinson's translation of Jean de Renou, published in 1657. These physical dictionaries have a complex publishing history (see Tyrkkö 2009). Scholars have disgreed about the relation between these dictionaries (Tyrkkö 2009: 178–179), and it seems a question worth revisiting. Tyrkkö makes a start on this comparison (2009: 179–180), but since his concerns are more with the description of Renou/Tomlinson and its printing history and context, a detailed comparison remains to be done. To supply this is then the immediate purpose of this chapter.

I hope to elaborate the inter-relationships which may exist between these two dictionaries without trying to prejudge the issue. It goes without saying that unless one outright plagiarises the other that establishing this relationship is founded on a circular argument, since one can only detail it by assuming that it exists. I hope that the resultant findings are sufficiently compelling to negate or at least circumnavigate the logical difficulties imposed by the data, but we are on shaky ground in more than one sense. Aside from the circular argument, we are also assuming that a work

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[1] I acknowledge the helpful comments of two anonymous referees, which have improved this piece considerably.

[2] For an account of these works, see McConchie (2019), Boorde's was probably the first medical text written and published in English (see Norri 2010: 65).

published only two years before another must have preceded it in composition, and there is no guarantee of this. Culpeper died the year before the publication of Rivière. The comparison will show that these dictionaries share many entries and, while some are verbatim, a number do in fact show a surprising degree of variation, even within entries which are apparently very similar. It will also show that they diverge at many points. The question is not simply whether they are dependent or not but how far they are interdependent.

The present research should also be seen in the context of the instability of the medical lexicon, at least as it appears in seventeenth and eighteenth--century dictionaries. My own previous but unpublished research shows that the three major dictionaries following the physical dictionaries, those by Steven Blancard (first published in English 1684), John Quincy (first published 1719), and Robert James (1742–45) share only 8.2 percent of their entries, making any claim that the medical lexicon in dictionaries was settled, let alone agreed, untenable.[3]

2. Methods

Two versions of what is called a physical (that is, medical) dictionary, those appearing in 1655 (Wing R1559, cited hereafter as Rivière) and 1657 (Wing 2143, cited hereafter as Renou/Tomlinson), have been compared in detail.[4] The list of head-words for comparison was limited strictly to those in the head-word position. Synonyms, even if appearing there as alternative head-words, such as "*Matter*, or *Quittor*", were left out of consideration. As it happens, some of these, like *quittor*, are independently listed as reciprocal entries in both dictionaries, so that there is no loss. Others, such as *aspera arteria*, under *rough arterie*, are not separate lemmas.

Variant forms within the main entry were also ignored, since the objective was not to enumerate all the medical terms, but to use head-words and definitions as an index of possible affiliation. A number of words italicised in the definition which are not glosses, as in the entry for *amalgamation*, which includes *argentum vivum*, were ignored for the present purposes as well, despite the italicisation suggesting that they were seen as medical terms in the full sense. Again, some do appear as independent head-words. The first job is to show briefly how these two dictionaries differ in general terms.

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3   I used the 1726 edition of Blancard and the 1736 edition of Quincy for that research.
4   Note that despite what I have called it for convenience, Rivière did not prepare a glossary for his original work.

3. How do these dictionaries differ?

General points of comparison are that the Renou/Tomlinson dictionary is more comprehensive than the Rivière dictionary, and its alphabetisation is much fuller, Rivière only following A- order with any consistency. The Renou/Tomlinson one contains almost three times more entries, 1711 as against 580 in Rivière.[5] Of the head-words in Renou/Tomlinson, 379 also appear in Rivière, or, to put it another way, 65 percent of the Rivière entries appear in Renou/Tomlinson, in itself suggestive of Tomlinson's use of Rivière. The Rivière dictionary is an appendix which was never published separately and has a single source, while the Renou/Tomlinson one is a stand-alone with multiple sources, although it did also appear in several versions as an appendix (see Tyrkkö 2009). Typographical differences include Rivière being presented in double columns, while Renou/Tomlinson is in a single column format.

4. Sources

The vast majority of terms in Rivière are to be found in the text, indicating that there was no reliance on an outside source, and that the primary intention of the compilers was indeed narrowly instructional, being a lexical guide to that text only. The spellings in the text and the glossary largely agreeing partially confirms this, as with the marked spelling *chollicks*, as does grammatical number, an exception being *cerates* (glossary)/*cerate* (text). The spelling deviations are (glossary first) *cachetical persons*/*cachectical persons*, *cronical*/*chronical*, *chalibeat*/*chalybeat*, *cronical diseases*/*chronical diseases*, *dilæted*/*dilated*, *day of judgment*/*day of judgement*, *deprivations*/*depravations*, *eliphantiasis*/*elephantiasis*, *glutinators*/*glutinatours*, *laxe*/*lax*, *lambative*/*lambitive*, *opisthotones*/*opistotonos*, *pærineum*/*pærinoeum*, *præposterous*/*preposterous* (also listed twice with a different definition), *pubes*/*pubis*, *recruted*/*recruited*, *scarefication*/*scarrification*, *sulphurous bathes*/*sulphurous baths*, *trebble quantity*/*treble quantity*, and *visor*/*visour*.[6] The presence or absence of a hyphen has not been noted. Most of these are familiar early modern spelling or typographical variants.

     Most words which are not explicitly mentioned can be easily inferred from the immediate textual context, including *formicans pulsus*: "The sixth

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[5]   Tyrkkö's count differs slightly from mine (2009: 177).

[6]   *Mammilarie passages/mamilar* (*passage*) probably mean (1) the mamillary passage of the brain, and (2) the costal process of the lumbar region.

sign is from the Pulse, which is now weak and unequal, leaping, or formicans"; *aranea tunica* "Humors may easily be carried by the Optick from the Brain; by the *Tunica Retiformis* and *Aranea,* to the Crystalline" (68); *distillations by descent* "Such Distillations of Flesh by Descent, are very convenient for Hectical Persons" and *similar diseases*: "The fault in the Organ comprehendeth all diseases in the Stomach, whether they be Similar, or Organical, or Common" (260). A few are reversed in order: *cephalick pills* "pills cephalick", and *conjoyned matter* "matter conjoyned". Some are glossed in-text, as in *diarrhœa* "a diarrhœa or loosness" (579).

Some can be loosely inferred from the context. *Species retained in the mind* is listed, but "Species which are retained in the memory" is all the text offers. *Attenuating medicaments* is attested only by "attenuating" in the context of various remedies, and *breathing of a vein* is unconfirmed, only being related to mentions of the "breathing forth" of humours, matter, and the heart. These exceptions represent only a very small percentage of the head-words, however. A few were not found in the text at all, such as *coincide*, *deprivations*, *diagrydiates*, *eneorema*, *perspirable*, and *specifick quality*.

Renou/Tomlinson shows a completely different relation to its text, with a slight majority of terms not occurring there at all. There are indeed some clear and somewhat puzzling discrepancies, an example being *fistick-nuts* in the dictionary, but *fisticle-nuts* in the text.[7] Other discrepancies are more predicable, such as *paralitick* in the dictionary, but the familiar variant *paralyticall* in the text, suggesting that there was little effort to bring the dictionary and the text into strict accord. The purpose of this work has clearly moved beyond its immediate text into the wider instructional realm, making good on the unfulfilled claim on the title-page of the Rivière glossary that "This Dictionary is of use in the reading of all other Books of this Nature, in the English Tongue".

5. Particular comparisons: Verbs

Medical dictionaries, predictably, are primarily dictionaries of things; that is, largely alphabetised accounts of the nature of things known rather than lexical definitions of words (see Tarp 2013, 2014, 2016: 228–230). As Ephraim Chambers puts it: "The *Dictionary* … supposes the Advances and Discoveries made, and comes to explain or relate 'em. The Dictionarist, like an Historian, comes after the Affair" (1728: xxii). If there are differences between them in terms of nouns, it will be primarily distinctions between classes of things – descriptions of their nature, and whether these things are

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[7]   A variant the OED does not record. The -le seems to be proclitic.

current or not. Linguistic information may be confined to their source language and preferred form of the word. Borrowings may be in Anglicised form or not. Medical dictionaries are usually heavily weighted with nouns, but one might expect some more overlap in verb entries since the expectation would surely be that the fewer the entries, the more basic the terms. This part of the study is primarily concerned with verbal head-words. Choices among verbs are more likely to vary according to grammatical treatment in the first place. Verbs in the present dictionaries are in English form without exception, as one would expect, despite a great many being borrowings.

Broad distinctions appear in the way these two dictionaries treat their verbs, leaving aside for the present detailed differences in the definitions. These verb forms have been dealt with under the various grammatical forms which appear: infinitives, 3rd personal singular forms, present participles, and past participles. Verb forms are often accompanied by derived forms, such as deverbals and deadjectivals, but usually less frequently by other forms of the same verb.

5.1. Infinitives

Rivière has 27 such forms: *apply*, *augment*, *attest*, *astringe*,[8] *compress*, *condense*, *cicatrize*, *calcine*, *corrode*,[9] *constringe*, *coincide*, *cicatrize*,[10] *discuss*, *diffuse*,[11] *expel*, *extenuate*, *eradicate*, *filter*, *infuse*, *incrassate*, *incarnate*, *indicate*, *malax*, *macerate*, *precede*, and *transpire*.

Renou/Tomlinson, by contrast, has the following 45 infinitive forms: *ablegate*, *circumcinge*, *circumduce*, *cohibit*, *coincide*, *comitate*, *commaculate*, *cruciate*, *cultivate*, *deduce*, *deject*, *denigrate*, *depose*, *dilacerat*, *discuss*, *dispel*, *dissect*, *dulcorate*, *elicite*, *eviscerate*, *exanimate*, *exiccate*, *exestuate*, *exhilerate*, *exonerate*, *expel*, *expectorate*, *extruct*, *exulcerate*, *implete*, *incarnate*, *indicate*, *ingrede*, *inoculate*, *intoxicate*, *investigate*, *leviate*, *permeate*, *perturb*, *recenseate*,[12] *refocilate*, *resartiate*, *reserate*, *substitute*, and *verticulate*. *Relax* has been excluded, since the word is defined nominally, a well-attested sense at this period: "Relax is sometimes used to

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8   This head-word is entered twice in Rivière, on each occasion with a slightly different definition: "bind, fasten, close" and "to bind", which may indicate the work of different compilers. Further repeats are *condense*: "to make thick" and "thicken, condensing, thickening" and *suppuration* "a collection of matter in an impostume" and "is when a swelling comes to gather Head, breed matter and is ready to break."

9   Note that the most frequent gloss in other seventeenth-century dictionaries, "gnaw", is not used in this entry, which has "eat" and "fret".

10 Also entered twice in Rivière, again with slightly different definitions.

11 Included here, but this head-word could be read as an adjective.

12 A nonce word in OED; not found in EEBO.

signifie the loosening of the belly". *Relax* is also followed by the verbal form *relaxing*. Note that *calefy, cohibit* and *denigrate* are defined as nouns ("That doth...") (*coincide* is defined thus in Tanner's glossary (1659) but not in the others), but OED provides no evidence for nominal usage. This needs further investigation. No nominal forms are attested in EEBO for *calefy*, *cohibit*, or *denigrate*; Renou's *Medical dispensatory* only uses the latter as a verb: "This Lotion will denigrate the hairs of hoary heads" (191). This list represents almost double the number in Rivière, but is a markedly smaller ratio than the overall increase in entries of over 200%. Whether this means that proportionately less verbs were available in the medical lexicon or that the sources of Renou/Tomlinson simply provided less is unknown.

There are seventy-two infinitive forms in all but, perhaps surprisingly, only three are shared, indicating a relative lack of overlap: *coincide*, where the definitions are not close; *incarnate* (the definitions being verbatim), and *indicate* (where the definitions are close to verbatim). Had the relationship been closer, one might have expected a majority of the Rivière verbs along with further additions. This lack of overlap suggests that the difference arises from the sources rather than the medical lexicon. Infinitives outweigh the 3rd person singular forms, but are themselves heavily outweighed numerically by the past participial forms.

5.2. Third person singular

Quite a few 3rd person singular verb forms occur in the full Renou/ Tomlinson list: *acquires*, *adimpleates*, *arceates*, *attracteth*, *coruscateth*, *deleates*, *depurges*, *deturpates*, *emanates*, *emends*, *enuntiates*, *erugates*, *exacts*, *expletes*, *extrudes*, *extergeth*, *impinguates*, *indicates*, *inebriates*, *jugulates*, *liberates*, *minuates*, *pollicitates*, *projects*, *reficiates*, *refragates*, *represses*, *respondeth*, *sapors*, *stimulates*, and *suppeditates* (31 in all). In the Rivière verbs, by contrast with Renou/Tomlinson, the singleton 3rd singular form is *attracts*. The fact that this verb has the marked and infrequent -eth ending in Renou/Tomlinson indicates that it was not copied directly. The same distinction applies to the definition ("draws to", as against "draweth together").

5.3. Present participles

Present participles are not all that frequent in either dictionary and, particularly in the case of one-word participial glosses, it not always certain that the head-word was intended as a verb and not as a participial adjective. Obviously multi-word nominal entries such as *breathing a vein* and *intermitting pulse* have been omitted from this list. Renou/Tomlinson has 14 in all: *appropinquating*, *attenuating*, *blanching*, *conciliating*, *contunding*,

corroding, *generating*, *germinating*, *leniating*, *lubricating*, *relaxing*, *spissating*, *stupifying* and *ureting*. The majority of these are verbs, but there are three nouns among them and a possible participial adjective. Rivière lists *attracting*, *corroding*, *dissipating*, *generating*, *incrassating*, *producing*, *repelling*,[13] *relaxing*, *refrigerating*, *stupefying*, and *suffocating*, 11 in all. Unlike the Renou/Tomlinson list, all of these are verbal.

These lists thus share *corroding* (definitions not close; one shared word), *generating* (definitions verbatim), *relaxing* (definitions not close; one shared word only) and *stupefying* (definitions verbatim). Deverbals in Rivière are sometimes incorporated into a definition, as under "*Condense*, thicken, condensing; a Condensation, a thickening" and under "*Suffocating*, choaking, Suffocation a choaking."

5.4. Past participles

The past participle usually occurs without the infinitive, perhaps because most were seen as adjectival rather than verbal. In Renou/Tomlinson, these are: *abscinded*, *accended*, *acuminated*, *affected*, *allauded*, *aromatized*, *assumed*, *circundated*, *coacted*, *coagulated*, *cocted*, *colourated*, *concinnated*, *concocted*, *confected*, *confirmed*, *conglomerated*, *consopiated*, *contracted*, *cultellated*, *decorticated*, *demerged*, *demonstrated*, *denominated*, *depraved*, *despumed*, *diffoded*, *diffused*, *dilated*, *dissipated*, *dissolved*, *educed*, *effigiated*, *effoded*, *effringed*, *embrocated*, *enecated*, *eraded*, *eroded*, *eventilated*, *excavated*, *excorticated*, *exenterated*, *exhausted*, *exhibited*, *exonerate*, *expressed*, *expurged*, *forated*, *fortified*, *geniculated*, *illited*, *imbued*, *implicated*, *infunded*, *infused*, *inserted*, *introsumed*, *irritated*, *levigated*, *liquified*, *macerated*, *manducated*, *mucronated*, *mutilated*, *obdulcorated*, *obruted*, *obverted*, *obvolved*, *operculated*, *perforated*, *præcipitated*, *recruted*, *redacted*, *reduced*, *refaricated*, *referted*, *remitted*, *repelled*, *reposed*, *reverted*, *retunded*, *revelled*, *rigated*, *steeled*, *subjected*, *sublevated*, *suffocated*, *supurated*, *tabefied*, *turbinated*, *variegated*, *ulcerated*, *uncultivated*, *usurped*, and *womb-imperforated*. These 96 are far more likely to be accompanied in a nearby entry by a nominal form such as *infusion* or *suffocation* than another verb form.

In Rivière, this list of past participial forms is much smaller, 34 in all: *affected*, *aromatized*, *contracted*,[14] *concocted*, *diminished*, *derived*, *dissipated*, *demonstrated*, *depressed*, *dilæted*, *dissolved*, *depraved*, *expressed*, *eroded*, *embrochated*, *exasperated*, *evaporated*, *eventilated*,

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[13] This is a very ambiguous entry: "*Repelling*: Medicines which draw back the humor from the part affected, Repellers, the same." This looks rather like a mistake for *"Repelling medicines"*.

[14] This is entered twice with the same definition.

fortified, *intercepted*, *judged*, *inserted*, *illustrated*, *impacted*, *perforated*, *precipitated*, *remitted*, *revelled*, *reduced*, *recruted*, *steeled*, *suppurated*, *terminated,* and *ulcerated*.

Since the latter number represents about the same proportion of words in each work, however, they share a similar treatment of past participles, but take a radically different approach to 3rd person singulars, as we saw. The past participles share 25 words; thus, putting it another way, the percentage shared of those in Rivière (71%) is far higher than for those shared in Renou/Tomlinson (7%). The shared past participles are *affected*, *aromatized*, *concocted*, *contracted*, *demonstrated*, *depraved*, *dilæted*, *dissipated*, *dissolved*, *embrochated*, *eroded*, *eventilated*, *expressed*, *fortified*, *inserted*, *perforated*, *precipitated*, *recruted*, *reduced*, *remitted*, *repelled*, *revelled*, *steeled*, *suppurated*, and *ulcerated*. *Conjoyned matter*, *couched with a needle* and *sealed earth* have been excluded.

On the face of it, this again suggests Renou/Tomlinson's dependence on Rivière. Examination of the definitions however reveals that only five of these, *aromatized*, *expressed*, *perforated*, *reduced*, *repelled*, are verbatim. These are also mainly very short, one- or two-word definitions or glosses, such as "bored through" for *perforated*. Nine, *contracted*, *embrochated*, *fortified*, *precipitated*, *recruted*, *remitted*, *revelled*(?), *steeled*, and *suppurated* are close in some respect, but not fully, and in some cases the changes are relatively trivial, while a further seven, *demonstrated*, *dilæted*, *dissipated*, *dissolved*, *eventilated*, *inserted*, and *ulcerated* bear little resemblance to their corresponding entries. Finally, *concocted*, *depraved* and *eroded* show no relation whatever in the definition. This is a mixed bag indeed. The work of a plagiarist would have shown little or no change in either head-word or definition, let alone any disjunction between them, aside from what can be explained by copying errors and printing-house conventions.

Looking at the words in common with verbatim glosses shows that *aromatized* is found quite often in English medical books, specifically in recipes, and not glossed except in these two dictionaries; in other words, it was not considered incomprehensible to those who consulted these works, ranging from mistresses of households, housekeepers, divines, and apothecaries. *Expressed* however is an interesting case, since few instances of its use in the "squeezed out" sense were found prior to the physical dictionaries, and the familiar non-medical "said, stated" sense prevails even in medical texts. *Perforated* is quite frequent in medical texts, but again I have not identified an instance in which it is glossed. There are a few uses in the OED dating back to around 1400. *Reduced* is a very frequent word with a long and complex semantic history. The gloss offered, "brought back again", is sufficiently imprecise to hinder closer analysis. *Repelled* was in

frequent use and lacks specific in-text glossing apart from one or two collocations with "driven back/driven away" (see EEBO), so that in general the reader was assumed to find it familiar. On the whole, then, these glossaries seem to have been targeted at a less educated reader who required glosses even for relatively familiar terms.

5.5. Morphological/derivational grouping

The pattern of verbal-deverbal entries is worth pursuing a little further. An infinitive seems rarely to be followed by or to follow a participle, exceptions being *relax*, *relaxing* in Renou/Tomlinson and Rivière's *corrode*, *corroding*, and *incrassate*, *incrassating*. Some infinitives in Riviere are matched by other forms, such as *corrode*, *corroding*, *corrosion*, and *expel*, *expulsion*, but others are unaccompanied by the infinitive, including *dissipating*, *dissipated*, but not *dissipate, evaporation*; *evaporated* but not *evaporate,* and likewise *suppuration,   suppurated,*   but   not   *suppurate.*   This   seems   to   be morphologically quite disorderly, evincing little evidence of systematic organisation by, say, verbs grouped with derivatives, which are sometimes with the verb but frequently not. Given that Rivière is only minimally alphabetical, such a system would have been perfectly possible. That it does not exist suggests that morphological and/or derivational principles were no more important than alphabetisation, and possibly less so. These factors considerably undermine the instructional value of the work.

6. Non-medical words

Both these dictionaries contain a number of terms which are not obviously or primarily medical. In Rivière we find *autumn*, *absurdities*, *centre*, *coincide*, *causa sine qua non*, *commemorative*, *diminished*, *exquisite*, *fabrick*, *form*, *illumination*, *illustrated*, *original*, and *precede*. Non-medical terms also figure in Renou/Tomlinson, including *adjacent*, *acquires*, *alacrity*, *appellations, bonity*, *castigation*, *diuturnity*, *investigate*, *miscellany*, *probable*, *profound*, *renovation*, and *symbolical*.
To consider at least a few of these, *absurdity* had no special medical sense; indeed its origin and its earliest use in English reflect the late Latin term meaning dissonance in music. The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century instances are overwhelmingly in religious tracts, and mean an illogicality, usually with the implication of foolishness or dishonesty. Where it does appear in medical texts, it is with this sense. *Alacrity* ("liveliness", "sprightliness" OED) is more closely associated with medicine, since it applies to states of mind and body, but its use is usually in religious and historical texts and conduct books. It is frequently associated with joy and

other positive states of mind, such as cheerfulness, optimism, willingness, and so on. Nevertheless, this term does appear in medical texts. An early instance appears in John Cotta's *A short discouerie* (126), but in the context of the virtues and abilities required in the medical profession rather than medical practice. In Pieter van Forest's *The arraignment of vrines* of 1623 we read of a patient that "The Gentlewoman to any outward appearance, the very day before her death, was … mouing and stirring with great alacritie and chearefulnesse vp and downe her chamber, busied about her ordinarie employments" (31). What seems to be a genuinely medical usage appears in Thomas Brugis's *The marrow of physick* on the use of oil of nutmegs: "if you drink thereof, and anoint the region of the heart therewith, it expelleth flegmatick, and grosse humours, and causeth alacrity; if any by a fall catch a wound, bruise, or broken Rib, let him only drinke of this Oyle with some vulnerary drinke, and it helpes him" (39). Since this sense also appears in some later medical texts, it may have been a medical sense emerging about the mid-century.

Diuturnity is used in Thomas Gale's *Certaine workes of Galens, called Methodus medendi* (1586) several times, but with no suggestion of a special medical sense. It is not evidenced again until 1686 in Théophile Bonet's *A guide to the practical physician*, where it used often enough to suggest that the medical context might be relevant. Neither *castigation*, *miscellany*, or *symbolical* are medical, and the argument for *renovation* would be weak at best (see OED). *Investigate* clearly belongs to the halo lexicon, but not the medical lexicon proper. This notion of the halo lexicon for terms peripheral to the medical lexicon, or indeed any specialist lexicon, seems to overlap with but is not co-extensive with what are variously called semi-technical or sub- -technical terms (see Marín and Rea 2014). *Investigate* is not all that frequent in English medical texts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[15]

Symbolical is used by and large in religious and philosophical publications, while *profound* is mainly confined to seventeenth-century religious works, only appearing occasionally in medical texts. *Bonity*, a rare word in any case, is almost never found outside religious works in the seventeenth century, apart from its appearance in Renou's *Medical dispensatory* (1657), which raises the question of why it should be there at all.

Why non-medical terms should appear in such compilations in general is unclear, although they may represent words whose purpose is to provide contextual support for the medical lexicon. Another possible motivation for the inclusion of such terms is the familiar contemporaneous notion of copiousness, although an appendix which must perforce be limited in size seems an unlikely place to accumulate many such terms. Another motivation

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[15] Comments like "not all that frequent" here usually mean that the OED and EEBO have been consulted and cross-checked, and sometimes LEME as well.

may simply be that they are hard words, a familiar idea in early modern English lexicography, but the counter-argument here is that some, including *absurdity*, *alacrity* and *profound* were in frequent use in this period. Given that the source of Rivière is the text itself, however, the crucial factor must simply be the perceived abilities and education of the readership.

7. Detailed comparison of definitions between Rivière and Renou/Tomlinson

There are 1912 head-words altogether between these works. Since an overlap between them may indicate no more than predictable agreement about a segment of the medical lexicon, not that one these dictionaries derives in part from the other, we need a more detailed examination. Determining the degree of relationship between entries using the definitions is sometimes straightforward, but it is often fraught with difficulty. Most of the re-occurring verbatim entries are one-word glosses, and some show a trivial deletion. Others differ in a variety of ways and to differing degrees, while still others show no relationship at all. I will begin by considering those which are exactly the same in each dictionary, leaving aside punctuation differences and spelling variation. The lists down to table 6 are exhaustive, but thereafter are only illustrative since the comparison is primarily intended to be qualitative, not quantitative.

7.1. No change between entries

Repeated verbatim entries between dictionaries may indicate borrowing, but this will not always be very meaningful. Since one-word glosses in particular may simply be the inarguable way of defining, it is possible for entries in different dictionaries to be exactly the same, but entirely independent. As Robert James put it in the proposals for his own medical dictionary in relation to previous works: "often nothing can be added to the Accuracy of their Explications … without the weak Ambition of concealing the Benefit by unnecessary Variations" (James 1741). Longer, multi-word definitions reveal much more, since the chances of coincidentally defining the same way over a multiword entry are exponentially less the longer the definition is. Nevertheless, the frequency of the one-word correspondences alone may indicate a relationship.

7.1.1. Single-term glosses

The most obvious no change category is single-term glosses (including spelling variants, and hyphenated forms) (see Table 1). The 15 in all which are shared are listed in Table 1.

Table 1. Single-term glosses

Rivière 1655	Renou/Tomlinson 1657
Anus, the Fundament.	*Anus*, the fundament.
Carabe; amber.	*Carabe*, amber.
Cardiogmos; heart-burning.	*Cardiogmos*, heart-burning.
Cataplasm; a Pultiss.	*Cataplasm*, a pultise.
Cavity; hollowness.	*Cavity*, hollowness.
Cavous: hollow.	*Cavous*, hollow.
Collyrium, an Eye-salve	*Collyrium*, an eye-salve.
Illumination: enlightening.	*Illumination*, enlightening.
Insipid: Tastless.	*Insipid*, tasteless.
Nutrition: Nourishment.	*Nutrition*, nourishment.
Phlebotomy: blood-letting.	*Phlebotomy*, bloud-letting.
Ponderous: weighty.	*Ponderous*, weighty.
Potent: powerful.	*Potent*, powerful.
Scorbut: the Scurvie.	*Scorbut*, the Scurvy.
Venenosity: poysonfulness.	*Venenosity*, poysonfulness.

Some early modern lexical context for these terms seems appropriate. *Anus* is glossed by "fundament" rather than "arse", the more familiar form. The most usual meaning of fundament elsewhere is "basis, foundation", but both fundament and arse are used in medical texts, the latter often appearing in compounds such as *arse-hole* and *arse-gut* rather than alone. *Cardiogmos* ("heartburn") is rare, occurring more in dictionaries than elsewhere in the seventeenth century. It is unrecorded in OED and not attested before Rivière. *Cataplasm* ("plaster, poultice") is frequent in medical texts but rare elsewhere. *Cavity* is almost confined to medical contexts to the end of the seventeenth century, while *cavous* and *scorbut* are entirely so, as are *phlebotomy* and *venenosity*, whose gloss, *poisonfulness*, is less frequent, but more likely to be used figuratively. *Collyrium* however appears in religious texts used figuratively in the context of curing spiritual blindness, and similar considerations apply to *nutrition* as spiritual sustenance. *Illumination* and *insipid* may be regarded as halo-words, common enough in medical texts but without a specifically medical sense. *Ponderous* seems to be similar, as does *potent*; its often being paired with glosses such as "heavy" and "weighty" suggests that it is regarded as "hard" rather than having a particular medical sense. Not surprisingly, both gloss *carabe* with the single and obvious term *amber*, *carabe* appearing in this sense in several sixteenth and early seventeenth-century medical texts. The form *carabe* however is listed in OED under *karab*, which appears to mean yellow amber

and bitumen. There seems to be some uncertainty over what *amber*, *ambergris*, and *karab* (carob?), as well as *gum anime*, actually meant.

7.1.2. Phrasal verbs

Six phrasal verb and two noun phrases occur (see Tables 2 and 3).

Table 2. Phrasal verbs

Rivière 1655	Renou/Tomlinson 1657
Constipation, stopping up	*Constipation* stopping up
Expel: to drive forth.	*Expel* to drive forth.
Expressed: squeezed out.	*Expressed* squeezed out.
Perforated: bored through.	*Perforated* boared through.
Influx: flowing into	*Influx,* flowing into
Repelled: driven away.	*Repelled* driven away.

Table 3. Noun phrases

Gum animi: Indian Amber.	*Gum animi* Indian Amber.
Uvula or *Columella*: the Pallate of the Mouth.	*Uvula* the palat of the mouth.

These are clearly more telling than the single-word glosses, which increases their individual significance, but they represent a negligible percentage of the total lexicon in these dictionaries.

7.1.3. Extended identity

Those with more than one term, such as adjective plus noun, prepositional phrases, and entries with more than one gloss are shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Extended identity

Abdomen: the Belly, or Paunch.	*Abdomen*, the Belly or Paunch.
Aranea Tunica the Cobweb-Coat, or Tunicle.	*Aranea tunica*, the cobweb, coat, or tunicle.
Congestion; a gathering together, or heaping up.	*Congestion*, a gathering together, or heaping up.
Generating: breeding, begetting.	*Generating*, breeding, begetting.
Indicate declare, point at	*Indicate* declare, point at
Reduced brought bach[sic] againe.	*Reduced*, brought back again.

The most frequent form is clearly glossing with two synonyms. The altered punctuation in the definition of *aranea tunica* has apparently changed the meaning, perhaps unintentionally or carelessly.

7.1.4. *Sentence or phrase length identity*

The following involve complete identity over a sentence-length expression or a lengthy phrase, see Table 5.

Table 5. Sentence or phrase length identity

Commissura; the Mold of the Head, where the parts of the Skul are united.	*Commissura*, the mold of the head where the parts of the skull are united.
Hemiplegia: the Palsy possessing one side.	*Hemiplegia*, the palsie possessing one side.
Infusion: a strained liquor wherein Medicaments have been steeped, either hot or cold.	*Infusion*, a strained liquor wherein medicaments have been steeped either hot or cold.
Opisthotones: a Convulsion so named, when the Body is drawn backward.	*Opisthotones*, a Convulsion so named, when the Body is drawn backward.
Pulsation: beating of the Arteries. In any part of the Body.	*Pulsation*, beating of the arteries in any part of the body.
Revulsion: drawing back of blood or Humors from the part affected.	*Revulsion*, drawing back of blood or humors from the part affected.
A Scruple is twentie graines or the weight of so many barley corns.	*Scruple*, is twentie grains, or the weight of so many Barley corns.
Spinal: of or belonging to the back-Bone.	*Spinal*, of or belonging to the back-Bone.
Stupefying: taking away the sence of feeling; benumming.	*Sstupifying*, taking away the sense of feeling; benumming.

This seems the most significant category in establishing a relationship between the dictionaries in that the chances of the definitions being the same by coincidence are remote. Among entries that are the same, the longer the definition, the more significant the coincidence. It is not the only possible form of affiliation, however, as we shall see.

7.2. Trivial change

This category is represented by entries in which there is a change of one or two terms, often a word which does not contribute to or alter the meaning significantly; see Table 6.

These range from the added "or" in the Renou/Tomlinson entry for *aromatized*, the changes in preposition in *extension* and *indicate* and the addition of the single adverb "freely" to *perspirable*, to the addition of the infinitive sign "to" in *transpire*, the presence or absence of the copula under *universal evacuation*, and the replacement of "bunching" by the near-synonym "standing" under *convex*. The change to the past tense in *eradicate* could mean that it was read as a Latinate adjectival participle in Renou/Tomlinson, but the context is not helpful in deciding this. This would

be a rare sense, but it is attested in the sixteenth century (see OED). None of these cases involves a significant change in meaning.

Table 6. Trivial change (shared text in bold)

Aromatized, **Spiced, perfumed**.	*Aromatized*, **spiced**, or **perfumed**.
Breathing of a vein **Blood-letting, properly if but little Blood** be **taken away**.	*Breathing a vein*, is **blood-letting properly**, where **but little Blood** is **taken away**.
Carminating medicines **are such as** do **break Wind**.	*Carminating Medicines*, **are such as break wind**.
Conjunctiva **a Coat of the Eye, so called because it sticks fast** unto **the Eye, and keeps it in place**.	*Conjunctiva*, **a Coat of the Eye so called, because it sticks fast** to **the eye**, **and** helps **it in** its place.
Consolidation: **closing up** of **a Sore or Wound**, &c.	*Consolidation,* **closing up a Sore or Wound**.
Convex bunching **out like the back-side of a** **Buckler or Platter**.	*Convex*, standing **out like the back-side of a** buckler or platter.
Cydoniatum **Conserve of Quinces, Marmalade**.	*Cydoniatum*, **conserve of quinces** called **marmalade**.
Diagrydiates **Medicines that have Scammony or Diagrydium in** them.	*Diagridiates*, **medicines that have scammony or diagrydium in** their composition.
Eradicate **pluck up by the Roots**.	*Eradicate*, **pluck**ed **up by the Roots**.
Exhalations **Vapors drawn up by the sun**, out of **the Earth and Waters**.	*Exhalation*, **vapors drawn** by the sun, upwards off **the earth and waters**.
Extension **stretching** out.	*Extension*, **stretching** forth.
Frontal vein **Fore-head Vein**.	*Frontal veins*, **fore-head vein**s.
Gargarisms that is, **Medicines to Gargle in the Throat to wash sore Throat**s.	*Gargarisms*, **medicines to wash and gargle in a sore mouth or throat**.
Indicate **declare, point** out.	*Indicate*, **declare, point** at.
Neotericks are late **writers in physick, or any other Art, so called in opposition to the Antient Authors**.	*Neotericks*, modern **Writers either in Physick or any other Art so called in opposition to the Antients**.
Perspirable **the Body is said to be perspirable, when the invisible Pores or holes in the skin, are kept open, so that the Vapors arising from evil Humors may breath out**. See Transpiration.	*Perspirable*, **the body is said to be perspirable when the invisible Pores or holes in the skin are kept open, so that the vapors arising from evil humors may** freely **breath out**.
Prognosis: **the foreknowledg of Disease**s	*Prognosis*, **the fore-knowledge of** a **disease**.
Sediment **the settling**s and **dregs of Urine or any other Liquor**.	*Sediment*, **the settling** or **dregs of urine or any other liquor**.
Sternutatories **medicines to snuf** into the nose **to provoke sneezing**.	*Sternutatories*, **medicines to snuff** up **into the nose to provoke sneezing**.

Table 6. Trivial change… (cont.)

Symptomes **evil dispositions of the Body which depend upon and accompany a disease; as Heat, thirst, Headach, want of Sleep, stomach-sickness, faintings, swoonings, &c.**	*Symptoms* **evil dispositions of the Body which depend on, and accompany a disease, as heat, thirst, headach, want of sleep, sickness** at **stomach, faintings, swoonings, &c.**
Transpire **breath through.**	*Transpire*, to **breath through.**
Universal evacuation: is **a general purging of the whol body, all at once.**	*Universal Evacuation*, **a general purging of the whole body all at once.**

7.3. Non trivial single-word change

The two examples listed in Table 7 represent single changes which may well be significant.

Table 7. Non trivial single-word change

Spiritus acousticos is **that portion of the spirit which in the eares discerneth Sounds.**	*Spiritus acousticus* **that portion of the** Animal **spirit which in the eares discerneth sounds.**
Cataphora, **a** deep **sleep.**	*Cataphora*, **a** dead **sleep.**

Spiritus acousticus is attested only in the physical dictionaries and does not appear in the OED. The change from "spirit" to "animal spirit" makes this definition somewhat more precise, and the existence of the animal spirit was controversial at the time. A deep sleep and a dead sleep are not easily distinguished. Barrough's *The method of phisick* 1578, cap. XX describes medical conditions known as a dead sleep, which he calls variously *coma*, *sopor*, and *granis et profundis somnolentum*, although he does not use *cataphora*. Still other medical works call it *lethargy* and describe dead sleep as a disease. Deep sleep on the other hand is often a symptom, and is usually glossed as *caros*. *Cataphora* is variously glossed in some medical works as either a deep sleep or a dead sleep.

7.4. Complex dependence

The definition of *aneurism* illustrates the complex way in which dependence between entries manifests itself, see Table 8.

Table 8. Complex dependence

Aneurism: **a Swelling caused by** a dilatation of the **Arteri**es **external Coat**, the **internal being** broken.	*Aneurism*, **a swelling caused by** the **break**ing the **internal coat** of an **artery**, the **external being** whole.

There is considerable overlap in actual wording and the grammatical structure of the definitions matches quite closely, but the conceptual structure is focussed quite differently. The Rivière entry stresses the dilation of the external coat of the artery, whereas Renou/Tomlinson shifts the focus to the internal coat.

A number of entries consist of the same core gloss, but with substantial material deleted in Renou/Tomlinson, as illustrated in Table 9.

Table 9. Deletion

Atomes: smal **motes** hardly visible, and that cannot admit of any division.	*Atomes*, **motes**.

While this is apparently just a simplification of the entry, it jettisons significant explanatory material. It is also easy to argue here that the assumption of inter-dependence is illusory, given that only a single word is shared, the possibility that these two are completely independent remaining quite strong. The next illustrative example removes two synonyms and makes a conflation, while the second appears to conflate the simile into a simpler description, see Table 10.

Table 10. Conflation

Carus; foulness, **rottenness**, corruption **of a Bone.**	*Carus*, **rottenness of a bone**.
Cornea, a **Coat of the Eye** like the **horn of a** Lanthorn. See *Veslingus* in English.	*Cornea*, the **coat of the eye of a horn**y substance.

But *horny coat* was a familiar name for the cornea, so that the similarity here seems less significant than the lack of a reference to a lantern (lanthorn) in assessing the degree of dependence. The reference to Culpeper's translation of Vesling's anatomy is omitted. Under *cornea*, the Renou/Tomlinson version is somewhat shorter than that in Rivière.

Shortening is not the predominant strategy, however. Rivière's *glandules* (Table 11) shows a definition which is almost verbatim, and an addition which adds little of substance.

Table 11. Addition

Glandules, **kernels, such as are about the Throat, aad[sic] are called the Almonds of the Ears, and such as the Sweet-bread**, &c.	*Glandules*, **kernels such as are about the throat, and are called the Almonds of the ears**, also **the sweet-bread**; and whatever is like to these is said to be of a Glandulous substance.

There is sufficient in common here to argue for a connexion.

In the case of *efficient cause* (Table 12), the first clause is verbatim, but is followed by an extended simile.

Table 12. Change in simile

The Efficient Cause: is **the working or making Cause**, so a Tailor is **the Efficient** of a Garment; **the Material Cause is the** stuff, a thing **is made** of which **the Efficient** works upon; So the Cloth or Silk **is the Material Cause** of the Garment. **The formal Cause**, the shape that makes it a Coat, or Cloak, or Doublet; **the final cause, is** the end why it was made, viz. to hide nakedness, keep off Sun and Cold, and to adorn the Body.	*Efficient cause*, **the working or making Cause**, as the Apothecary is **the efficient** cause of a compound medicine; **the material cause is the** Druggs, whereof it **is made; the formal cause** is that proper form given to it, whereby its distinguished to be a Pill, a Portion, an Electuary; and **the final Cause is** to procure health.

In Rivière, this analogy is with the making of clothes by a tailor, but in Renou/Tomlinson it is more appropriately with the making of medicines by an apothecary. While the head-word is in the text, the simile in the definition is quite different. Thus the entry is structurally similar but quite different in detail, and thoughtfully so. It seems hard to avoid the conclusion that these two are related despite the changes. The entry for *causa sine qua non*, which is not in Renou/Tomlinson, uses the same simile in the definition. "The Cause without which a thing cannot be, though it be not the principal Cause thereof: So a Taylors Shop-boord is a Cause *sine qua non,* without which a Garment cannot be made, though himself and the stuff, the shape and the end be principal Causes."

Cardialgia appears to represent a change in the perceived meaning (see Table 13), but there is some ambiguity about the meaning of this word. It is frequently heart-burn, but more liberal interpretations do occur. The OED recognises only the sense of heart-burn.

Table 13. Change of meaning

Cardialgia; **Heart**-burning.	*Cardialgia*, distempers, or griefs of the **heart**.

Some entries represent an accumulation of synonyms, for example, see Table 14.

Table 14. Synonymy

Congelation, **freezing together**, stiffness **with Cold.**	*Congelation*, benumming, unsuitablenesse, a **freezing together with cold**
Corroding; **biting**, gnawing, eating.	*Corroding*, **biting** and fretting.

Table 14. Synonymy (cont.)

Dissipated; scattered **abroad**	*Dissipated*, diffused, or spread **abroad**.
Distortion; **writh**ing, wresting, crooking.	*Distortion*, **writh**en, or turned from the natural place and situation in the body.
Embrochated: **moistened**, bedewed, **bathed**.	*Embrochated*, **moistened**, sprinkled. Wash'd, or **bathed**.
Eroded: **eaten asunder**, eaten up.	*Eroded*, rusted, canker'd, or **eaten asunder**.
A pair of *Forceps*, a smal Instrument like a pair of **Tongs, to** draw forth **any thing out of the Ears, &c.**	*Forceps*, **Tongs or** Nippers **to** take hold of **any thing** to be plucked **out of the ears**, mouth, womb, **&c.**
Inserted: fastened **or** planted **into**.	*Inserted*, engrafted, **or** joynted **into.**
Occult: **hidden**, unknown.	*Occult*, **hidden**, mysterious.
Stupid: that **is benummed, besotted, hath no feeling or sence,** blockish.	*Stupid*, **benummed, besotted**, that **hath no feeling or sence.**
Turgent: **swelling, working, moving too and fro spoken of the Humors of the Body when they are in a Combustion, and full of motion.**	*Turgent*, **swelling, working,** frothing, bubbling, **moving to and fro:** it's usually **spoken of the Humors of the Body when they are in a Combustion, and full of motion.**

Other entries taken together offer multiple synonyms without repeating what was in Rivière at all, see Table 15.

Table 15. Non-repeated synonymy

Depraved: marred, spoiled	*Depraved*, wicked, vile, base.
Horrors: Shiveringes.	*Horrors*, shakings and tremblings.
Inordinate: disorderly, unnatural, and unfitting.	*Inordinate*, irregular, unruly, masterless.
Præposterous: unnatural, undue, unfitting.	*Præposterous*, out of season, unhandsome, unseemly, disorderly.

This is quite an interesting exercise in synonymy in itself, suggesting both the availability of many synonyms and the independence of these entries. These entries are either unrelated or represent an attempt to avoid the Rivière glosses entirely, which seems less likely.

Some entries suggest bungled copying (Table 16). In *dissolved*, a bungled "its used to be spoken of" replaces "it is used of" may indicate eye-skip, although little else in this entry suggests inter-dependence. The entry for *elephantiasis* replaces the sensible "hide" for the less meaningful "side", and the meaning is partially lost under *pærineum* with the omission of "and fundament"; perhaps in error.

There is also some disparity in meanings and definitions between Rivière and Renou/Tomlinson.

Table 16. Bungled copying

Dissolved: melted, consumed away. **It is used of swelling**s that are brought down **by** Oyntments or Plaisters; and in other cases when the **Humor** causing the Disease is invisibly driven away.	*Dissolved*, **it**s used to be spoken **of** [sic] dissolving hard knots, kernels, or **swelling by** application of outward medicines, and internally by dispersing any coagulation, or gathering together of **humor**s by diet drinks.
Elephantias is a **lepr**ous disease, which makes **the Patient**s skin **like the** Hide **of an Elephant**.	*Elephantiasis* is a kind of white scals[sic] or leprosie over the whole body of **the patient**, making it **like the** side **of an elephant**.
Pærineum: **the** space **which run**s like a ridge **between the privities** and fundament **in men and women**.	*Pærineum*, **the** seam **which run**neth **like a ridge between the privities** both **in men and women.**

Table 17. Disparity

Dissolution of Natural Heat: a decay of Natural Heat.	*Dissolution*, is a preparation of Medicine simple and compounded by some convenient moisture to a certain consistence.
Emulsions: Almond milkes; and milkes made of cool **Seeds**, &c.	*Emulsions*, the steeping or dissolution by steeping of any **seeds** or kernels in liquor till it come to the thickness of a jelly.
Plethorick: **full of** blood, too **full of** blood.	*Plethorick*, a too **full** habit **of** body, or an evil constitution **of** the body wherein the humors offend rather in quantity, than quality.
Atrophy want of Nourishment, when the Body pines away.	*Atrophy* a Consumption.

The entries for *dissolution* represent two distinct senses of this term. Rivière is not entirely correct about *plethorick* in that an excess of any humour(s) can produce this condition, not just blood. A similar consideration applies to *emulsion*, which often means almonds, but need not. These entries thus suggest no inter-dependence. Likewise, the entries for *atrophy* (Table 17) allude to different senses, both of which were viable in the seventeenth century.

Table 18. Disparate cross-references

Escharoticks: see Causticks potential. [*Causticks*, are Medicines which burn the Skin and Flesh to make Issues, &c.]	*Escheoticks*[sic], potential cauteries: *see* Cauteries. [*Cautery actua*l, burning with a red hot iron.] [Caustick, Medicines to burn the skin, to make issues, &c.]

Both entries for *escharoticks* involve a cross-reference, one to *Causticks potential* and the other to *potential cauteries*. While a cautery and a caustic were synonymous in the seventeenth century, this disparity cannot be the result of close inter-dependence or slavish imitation.

Note in Table 19 that *procatarctick causes* provides a really complex comparison.

Table 19. Complexity: Aristotelean complications?

Procatarctick Causes: **primarie, first working** and occasional **Causes. So in a Feaver, the next immediate Cause is putrefied choller, &c. but the first working & occasional cause**s, were **the patients taking cold, by swimming in the cold water; whereby the pores became shut, and the Matter of the Disease** was retained **in the Body**. So the Procatarctick Cause of worms in Children, is their greedy eating of Fruit, but the immediate Cause, is putrified humors occasioned by those Fruits; out of which humors the worms breed.	*Procatarctick Causes*, **the primarie, first working** or moving **Causes, as in a Fever. The next immediate** moving **Cause is putrefied choller, &c. but the first working and occasional Cause** was **the patients taking cold**, or **by swimming in cold water; whereby the pores became shut, and** so **the matter of the Disease** inflamed by being pent up **in the body**.

The change from "occasional" to "moving" for these predisposing causes on two occasions seems significant, since "occasional" must mean 'predisposing' or 'initial' here, and a "moving" cause apparently relates to the Aristotelian efficient cause, but the change is not made in the third instance. Rivière's example is dropped, but the retention of the "matter" in the body is expanded upon.

There seems to be no relation between these dictionaries at all (Table 20) in the case of *privation*.

Table 20. No relation whatever

Privation: loss.	*Privation*, God knows what it is, there is no such thing in nature.

It is glossed sensibly in Riviere by "loss", but in Renou/Tomlinson not attracting a definition, but being shrugged off, perhaps with the concept of *horror vacui* in mind. The word is in fact quite frequent in medical texts, and occurs in the Renou/Tomlinson's own entry for *apoplexy*. 'God knows' may well be a simple declarative, not the modern expletive.

7.5. Further evidence of inter-dependence

Further evidence of their inter-dependence is the nature of the shared terms. While one would expect familiar medical terms like *bolus*, *contusion*, *diacatholicon*, *mortification*, or *pugil* to be shared, being basic items in a seventeenth-century medical lexicon, others are surprising, especially some of the multi-word expressions. While one might expect such

expressions in a specialist dictionary, one would not expect that a number occur verbatim in two separate works, especially given the relatively low rate of shared vocabulary among medical dictionaries. These include *carminating medicines*, *coction of humours*, *febris catarrhalis*, *habit of body*, *solution of continuity*, and *vaporous matter*. *Treble quality*, not an obviously medical term at all, also appears in both. For the sake of wider comparison, the only one of these which appears in Blancard 1684 is *solution of continuity*, under the Latin form *solutio continui*. There are also shared phrases such as *species retained in the mind* and *state of the/a disease*.

No attempt is made to regularise language, in that those which are in Latin or Greek in the one are also in Latin or Greek in the other; likewise English spelling variations among these shared terms are also very few. The most striking change, *breathing vein/breathing of a vein* is apparently editorial, although perhaps in the circumstances it should be regarded as a transcription error since it is a singleton example. Analysis shows a somewhat increasing dependence as we move through the alphabet, with more shared entries as a percentage, and less original ones. The change begins about the letter M, where the balance between the two is almost equal.

8. Conclusion

The immediate research question here was what kind of relation subsists between the Renou/Tomlinson and Rivière glossaries. Views have varied: R. C. Alston found them inter-dependent, but this view is not universally accepted (see Tyrkkö 2009: 178–179). My own provisional study shows that, of the 580 head-words in the Rivière dictionary, 379 also appear in Renou/Tomlinson. This represents 65 percent of the Rivière entries which does suggest a relationship, but this comprises only 22 percent of Renou/Tomlinson, suggesting that it is simply one among several sources. Counting head-words, however, is only scratching the surface of the problem. While the compilers of the Rivière glossary made no attempt to survey medical literature for terminology, sticking pretty rigidly to their own text, Renou/Tomlinson spread their net much wider, presumably seeing the need for more extensive coverage of thís specialist lexicon.

Whole entries needed detailed examination. Taking the cases of verbatim entries and those exhibiting only trivial differences together (38), these represent 6.5% of the Rivière entries (580; 6.6%), Renou/Tomlinson thus has 2.2% of (1711; 2.2% of those in Rivière, and they share 1.65% of the total of all lemmas (2291). A cline then takes us from verbatim through significantly verbally altered to structurally altered to wholly unrelated.

Cases like *efficient cause* are by no means irrelevant, however, seemingly showing creative re-editing. In some cases, such as the four shared present participles, it seems as perspicuous to say that these medical lexicographers agreed to this extent on what should appear in their lists and agreed on the corresponding definition in two cases than to argue that one depended upon the other.

The Rivière dictionary is seemingly *sui generis*, while the Renou/Tomlinson one is a farrago, a modest part of which derives from Rivière. Stand-alone medical dictionaries had not been published in English up to this point, with the exception of Boorde's *Breviary of helthe* (1547), already more than a century old. Culpeper and his co-translators thus would have found no recent models to work from, and Tomlinson was almost inevitably going to place some reliance on Rivière, since the only alternatives were Latin medical dictionaries. The expanded scope of Renou/Tomlinson reflects a greater ambition for the stand-alone dictionary, encompassing the larger medical discourse community.

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THE EARLIEST POLISH COOKBOOKS: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Abstract

The tradition of writing down culinary recipes started much later in Poland than in other European countries (as for instance France, England or Germany). The earliest Polish (known) cookbook is *Compendium Ferculorum* written by Stanisław Czerniecki and dated to 1682. Its author highly valued Polish cuisine and claimed that foreign tastes should not influence native ones. The collection was very popular and well known. At approximately the same time, an anonymous author collated another cookbook, *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends]. It was dated to the period 1686-88 and is believed to be closely related to the Austrian *Ein Koch- und Artzney-Buch* from 1686. The latter Polish collection has only been discovered recently.

   The two collections were briefly compared by Dumanowski (2011: 52–66). However, his comparison is purely of a cultural and historical character. In the present study, a linguistic analysis of the two collections will be offered in order to compare the structure and selected features of the text type as represented in *Compendium Ferculorum*, whose author openly valued native over foreign ways, and *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends], which was clearly inspired by foreign (mostly German and Austrian) instructions.

Keywords: culinary recipe, foreign influence, text type features, authorship, readership.

1. Introduction

Compendium Ferculorum is said to be the first cookbook written in Polish. Its authorship has been assigned to Stanisław Czerniecki, the master cook at the Princes Lubomirskis' court. The author himself claimed that the book was the first such publication in Polish. The collection was published in 1682, but it must have been compiled earlier, considering the fact that Czerniecki referred to Michał Aleksander Lubomirski, who had died in 1677,

as if he was still alive. Dumanowski (2012: 50) dates the collection back to the period between 1670 and 1677. The publication became extremely popular, especially in the 18th century, which resulted in some 20 re-editions and translations into other languages (e.g. Russian: *Russkaya stryapnya*, cf. Leeming 1974). Czerniecki valued Polish cuisine and openly criticised foreign tastes, which – as he claimed – should not influence Polish dishes. Nevertheless, his collection is not void of foreign dishes, which were included in the volume – as Czerniecki writes – for those who do not like Polish cuisine. The foreign elements are explicit in the names of the dishes, for instance *Sposób robienia Ciasta Angielskiego* [To make English pastry (JD)][1], *Tort Hyszpański* [Spanish tart (JD)], *Potrawa Włoska* [Italian dish (JD)], or imposed by including recipes known from (earlier) French collections, for instance *Kapłon całkiem w Flasie* [Whole capon in a bottle (JD)] which is a translation of the recipe *Poulet en ragoust dans unc Bouteille*.[2] The author also suggests foreign ways of preparing some components of the presented dishes, for the reader to decide which variant to choose, for instance "Węgrowie / chleb smażą z Słoniną w kostkę pokraianą / co y ty możesz tak uczynić / ieżeli chcesz." [The Hungarians fry their bread with diced lard, and if you wish you can follow this example (JD)].

The second collection selected for the present study, *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends], originates from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and is related to the court of the Radziwiłł family. It lacks the title page, thus its author is not known,[3] and the current title was added only in the 19th century. Following Dumanowski (2011), the manuscript was written in six hands, and the main part (pages 2–83) represents the neat style of a single scribe. The estimated date of origin of the manuscript is 1686-88. The collection consists of two parts: culinary and medical. Dumanowski indicates a strong relation of this collection to *Ein Koch- und Artzney-Buch*[4]; he also draws attention to a significant number of chefs of German origin working for the Radziwiłł family, which might have enhanced the foreign influence on the recipes.

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[1] The English translations of the Polish recipes will be given in square brackets. The Polish examples were copied from Czerniecki's text (1682) faithfully in terms of spelling and the use of capital letters; in the translations capital letters were used only where required grammatically. Most of the translations of the fragments from *Compendium Ferculorum* were conducted by the author of this article, in a number of cases translations were taken from Dumanowski (2014) – these are marked in the text as (JD).

[2] The recipe was published in *Le cuisinier francois: enseignant la maniere de bien apprester…* by François Pierre de La Varenne in 1659.

[3] For a discussion on possible authorship of the cookbook, see Dumanowski (2011: 35–40).

[4] The first Austrian cookbook, published in 1686 in Graz. It consists of two parts, which contain culinary and medical recipes respectively. The cuisine is typical of southern Germany and Austria. Dumanowski (2011: 45–49) discusses similarities between the two cookbooks, rejecting direct translation of the German/Austrian recipes into Polish.

The two collections chosen for comparison are the earliest known cookbooks written in Polish. They come from approximately the same period, with *Compendium Ferculorum* being slightly earlier than *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends]. The former has been very well known for centuries, and the latter manuscript has been discovered in the archives only recently. The former praises Polish tradition, while the latter is most likely related to a German cookbook. Thus, the aim of this study is to conduct a linguistic analysis of the two collections in order to check the degree of overlap between them. The fact that both collections represent the same text type and originate from the same period suggests that they should be (close to being) identical in terms of their typological features. However, bearing in mind the plausible German origin of *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends], it is argued that this collection might represent more contemporary features of the text type than *Compendium Ferculorum*, which would be closer to the earliest (medieval) collections published in other languages. The first German cooking recipes were compiled in the 14th century,[5] and since then the text type developed. Assuming that *Compendium Ferculorum* was a reflection of Polish cuisine, and (being the first Polish cookbook) was not modelled on any foreign collection, one may expect the instructions to have been structured in a rather basic and simple way.[6] In the following sections the structure of the two collections and of the recipes included in each of them, as well as a selection of features typical of recipes, will be discussed.

2. The structure

Compendium Ferculorum is divided into three (carefully designed) chapters on (i) meat, (ii) fish, and (iii) dairy and flour dishes, respectively. Each chapter, according to Czerniecki, should consist of one hundred recipes, ten additional recipes and one special instruction. However, such a regulated order (desired by the author) has been blurred by the fact that some instructions have not been numbered, and some others consist of the heading alone[7]. All in all, the collection contains 365 texts (be it either a full recipe or a heading with no procedure)[8]. Additionally, the collection begins

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[5] See Bator and Pawlikowska-Asendrych (forthcoming).

[6] Such was the case with early American recipes which, even though they were written in the 18th century, resembled medieval English recipes in terms of their structure and linguistic features (cf. Dylewski 2016).

[7] These are usually elliptical and refer to the procedure mentioned in another recipe, as in the case of *Potrawa z Kaulefiorami także* [A dish with cauliflowers, the same] which refers to the preparation of *Potrawa z Karczochami* [A dish with artichokes].

[8] For a discussion of the structure of the recipes in *Compendium Ferculorum*, see also Bator (2019).

with a long dedication to Lady Tekla Lubomirska, a word to the reader, a general memorial which is in fact a long list of foodstuffs to be used at banquets, an instruction "on the cook" in which Czerniecki enumerates the qualities and the duties of a cook, and a note on garnishing and decorating dishes. Only then does he proceed to the recipes.

The individual recipes range from three words – where no procedure is included and the recipe consists of a heading alone, to 250 words – as in the case of the very first recipe in the volume, which not only instructs how to prepare broth but also suggests how to decorate the table and how to cut certain meats. Such a long instruction is an exception; the average length of the texts in *Compendium Ferculorum* is 46 words.

Moda Bardzo Dobra [Very good trends] contains 363 recipes, organised in thirteen chapters of unequal length. The main part is written in a single hand and consists of 317 culinary instructions. Most of the instructions refer to the preparation of desserts and confectionery. The first 168 instructions seem to have been organised in a well-thought out and logical manner and form thematic sections, such as 'fish', 'tarts', 'patés', 'biscuits', etc. The remaining sections in this part of the collection seem more chaotic, where the author incorporated recipes for different kinds of dishes within the same section (e.g. patés next to tarts). Instructions from 318 to 363 are, according to Dumanowski (2011: 41–43), later additions by various scribes. They cover a variety of subjects from the storage of food to healing and veterinary issues.

The individual culinary recipes range from several words – as in the case of a recipe which, instead of giving the instructions, refers to the previous recipe, see (1); to 250 words (Tort gołębi [Dove tart][9]). The average length of the recipes included in this collection is 72 words.

(1) Pigwowy cale takiż, tylko miasto muszkatełek pigwy.
    [Of quinces, also. Only instead of nutmeg use quinces.]

Table 1. The corpus (* based on an automatic count in a .docx file)

	(estimated) date of origin	no. of recipes	length (no. of words)*
Compendium Ferculorum	1682	365	18 150
Moda Bardzo Dobra [Very good trends]	1686–88	317	22 800
TOTAL:		**682**	**40 950**

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[9] All the fragments taken from *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends] were translated by the author of this article.

The present study is based on (i) the first edition of *Compendium Ferculorum* (published in 1682) available from the Digital Library of Wielkopolska, and (ii) 317 recipes, that is the main part, of Dumanowski's (2011) edition of *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends]; see Table 1. The remaining forty six instructions found in the latter collection have been excluded from the study due to their non-culinary character.

The recipes found in *Compendium Ferculorum* very much resemble medieval instructions in terms of their structure (see Bator 2019). They begin with a heading, usually in the form of a title which states the name of a dish (81%), as in (2); the remaining 19% of headings state the purpose of preparing a certain dish, as in (3). The heading is followed by the procedure, in which ingredients are incorporated into the body of a recipe, rather than being isolated from the text. Most of the recipes end with a serving component in the form of a conventional formula, such as *a day* [and give], *a day na Stół* [and serve forth to table], without specifying the way of serving a dish.

(2) Pryszki na zimno
 [Pryszki served cold (JD)]

 Ryby z Pinellami
 [Fish with pine nuts (JD)]

(3) Z Masłem tak gotuy Ryby
 [On cooking fish in butter]

 Po Węgiersku żółto tak zaprawisz
 [Hungarian style served yellow]

 Dorsz y Pomuchle tak gotuy
 [To cook cod and Baltic cod, proceed this way]

All the instructions in *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends] begin with headings. 95% of them take the form of a nominal phrase which includes the name of a dish, as in (4). The remaining headings either refer to the preceding recipe (see (5)), or state the purpose of preparing a dish (as in (6)).

(4) Jabłka w cukrze albo w likworze
 [Apples in sugar or in liqueur]

 Potrawa włoska [Italian dish]

(5) Insze z cytryn [Another of lemons]

 Inszy takowy [Another such]

(6) Jako ciasto zrobić do tretowania, aby się samo w sobie w różne figury na kształt
 wiórów, które spod chleba padają, będzie nawieło
 [How to make pastry for frying, so that is takes different shapes resembling
 pieces which fall off bread]

 Ślimaki tak gotować [To cook snails, proceed this way]

 Z pigw rzeczy różne [Of quinces, various]

The procedure, which follows the heading, is more varied in *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends] than in the other collection. It takes the forms of (a) the preparation into which ingredients are incorporated, as in (7), or (b) a list of ingredients followed by the preparation, as in (8). The former is typical of the earliest recipes, while the latter characterises later recipes and might have resulted from the influence of *Ein Koch- und Artzney-Buch*. Following Carroll (2005–06: 309), "Such separate listing of ingredients can be found as early as the mid-sixteenth century (in some German recipes) – but to date the present researcher has never seen such a division in medieval manuscripts."

(7) Ciasto smażone postne
Urobić ciasto z winem, jabłek nakrajać w talarki i maczać w tym cieście, i kłaść w oliwę gorącą, a nie tykać nożem, boby nie rosło.
[Fried pastry for Lent
Knead pastry with wine, slice apples and dip in the pastry, and put into hot olive, and do not touch with a knife, so that it rises.]

(8) Past cesarski
Ostrego cynamonu łut, imbieru łut, gwoździków łut, gałganu, kwiatu muszkatałowego, (…). Weźmij do tego półtora funta kanaru, ten z półtorą kwart wódki różanej, cynamonowej albo sałwiowej warz, (…).
[Emperor's paté
One lot of strong cinnamon, one lot of ginger, one lot of cloves, galangal, mace, (…). Add 1.5 pounds of canary sugar, and boil it with 1.5 quarts of rose, cinnamon or sage liquor, (…)]

The recipes may end with some information on serving or storage of the food prepared. The choice between these two depends on the dish itself, whether it is to be eaten right after its preparation or, in the case of preserves, whether it is to be saved for later use. The serving information usually takes the formula *dać do stołu* [to take to the table].

3. References to the author

The author of *Compendium Ferculorum*, Stanisław Czerniecki, is well known, and his life has been well documented; see Dumanowski (2014: 27–31) for more details on Czerniecki's life. In the collection he called himself a master cook (*kuchmistrz*), which he explains as a kitchen teacher. At the beginning of his book, Czerniecki enumerates a number of qualities a cook should have, such as to be clean and have a sense of taste, and some duties of a chef, for instance:

it is his duty to grasp the intention of his lord or that of the author and instigator of a banquet, the number of guests to be entertained as well as to understand the table,

and in accordance thereto accommodate the table, not to indulge in excess, (…) not to shame his lord through foolish parsimony.

(Dumanowski 2014: 59)

Apart from the direct description of the chef in the section prior to the recipes, the cook's presence can also be found in the instructions, for instance in the form of the 1ˢᵗ person singular references. Czerniecki mentions his preferences and dislikes; see examples under (9).

(9) Tertufolle upiecz w popiele zawiąwszy w Pakopie / a możesz y uwarzyć / (<u>ale lepsze pieczone</u>)
[Bake truffles in ashes, wrapped in a cloth; you may also boil them, <u>but baked ones taste better</u>]

są niektórzy / co mieszaią Rożenki drobne / Pinelle / Agrest ; <u>Ja na wolą daię</u> /
[there are those who add small raisins, pine nuts, and gooseberries; <u>I do it according to my fancy</u> (JD)]

Są też różne Sapory do pieczystego (…) <u>niechcę ich specifikować / y onemi zatrudniać</u>.
[There are also various flavourings which go with roast meat, (…) <u>I do not want to describe them and deal with them</u>]

It is not known whether the author of *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends] signed the collection because the title page of the manuscript has gone missing. Following Dumanowski (2011: 35–40), the author must have been a confectioner due to the dominance of recipes for desserts and sweet meals. Thus, he points to Jan Mikołajewski as one of the possible authors, due to the fact that Mikołajewski, who specialised in confectionery and preserves, was working for the Radziwiłł's at the time the book was written.

The recipes do not shed any light on who the author of the collection is; there is no mention of the author nor any 1ˢᵗ person reference, as was the case in *Compendium Ferculorum*.

4. References to the reader

As far as references to the author were rare or none, the reader is addressed frequently in both collections. On the one hand, the fact that the author defines some ingredients or tools mentioned in *Compendium Ferculorum* suggests that the collection was aimed at non-professionals (see examples under (10)); but on the other hand, references to the reader's preference or taste (see examples under (11)) lead to the conclusion that the cookbook must have been aimed at cooks; however of less knowledge than Czerniecki's (see (12)).

(10) Weźmiy <u>Animelli</u> niemało / to iest Mleczka z Cieląt
[Take a fair quantity of 'animelle', that is of veal sweetbreads]

włóż w kociełek nakray <u>Botwiny</u> / to iest / Liścia Cwikłanego wszatki
[put it in a pot, shred some 'beet leaves', that is beetroot leaf tops (JD)]

a przez <u>Zufan</u> / to iest / łyżkę żelazną / na to umyślnie zgotowaną / dziurawą /
[through a 'zufan', an iron strainer spoon, made specifically for this very purpose (JD)]

(11) a ieżeli też będziesz chciał / a potrzeba będzie przydasz rożenków lubo małych / lubo wielkich / abo też oboyga według potrzeby
[Should you so wish or should such a need arise, you can also add some raisins, large or small, or some of either size, according to your need (JD)]

ieżeli chcesz przywarz / a możesz y nieprzywarzać
[if you wish, you can give it a boil, although it is a matter of choice (JD)]

Kosztuy iednak smaku / dla soli
[Taste if it's salty enough for your liking (JD)]

wprzód iednak tę polewkę zaprawisz według smaku /
[Before you run it, season it to your liking (JD)]

(12) a formuy w ręku ptaki / iakie chcesz / albo umiesz;
[Mould the paste into bird-shapes, according to your fantasy or skill (JD)]

Moda Bardzo Dobra [Very good trends] is even richer in direct references to the reader. Similarly to *Compendium Ferculorum*, the reader is told how to conduct certain procedures, which tools to use or how to choose good-quality ingredients, see examples under (13), but he is also supposed to make certain decisions on his own, as in (14).

(13) dać temu we[z] wrzeć raz tylko, bo gdyby więcej, sczerniałyby.
[let it boil only once; if more it would burn]

Wiedzieć naprzód potrzeba, że cytryny te tylko zejdą się do smażenia w cukrze i w miedzie, które około św. Symona Judy ze Włoch przywożą, nadto jeszcze te wybierać, które gładkie są i zielonawe,
[You should know that only those lemons are good for frying in sugar and honey which are brought from Italy around St.Simon Juda's Day; also choose those which are smooth and greenish]

(14) To wszytko warz wespół, aż zrozumiesz, że nawrzał dosyć.
[Boil all this together until you know that is has boiled enough]

a podług upodobania sokiem porzyczkowym czerwonym, wiśniowym brunatno albo fijołkowym modro ufarbować.
[and colour after your discretion with redcurrant, cherry or violet juice]

5. Verbal forms

Following the types of verbal structures used in cooking recipes, Donalies (2012) distinguishes two categories: instructional and descriptive recipes. The former make use of a strong, invigorating tone, which is to make the

addressee act directly as instructed by the author, who is an authority. The latter type of recipes are written in a moderate tone which allows the addressee to participate in the cooking.

In *Compendium Ferculorum* the imperative {Imp.} dominates; additionally the 2nd person Sng. Indicative {Ind.} clauses can be found, (see (15)). *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends], apart from these two types of clauses, contains verbal structures such as infinitives {Inf.}, impersonal verbal forms without modal verbs {Impers.} and passive forms, see (16).

(15) & <u>mieszay</u> to wszytko społem / przydawszy Jaiec Kilka / <u>dasz</u> Pieprzu
[and mix {Imp.} all together; having added a few eggs you will add {2p.Sng.Ind.} pepper]

a potrzeba będzie <u>przydasz</u> rożenków lubo małych / lubo wielkich / abo też oboyga według potrzeby zrobiwszy <u>spuść</u> na wrzącą wodę
[if necessary you will add {2p.Sng.Ind.} raisins either small or large, or both; having done as required put {Imp.} into boiling water]

(16) Cukru <u>weźmij</u> go funt, a do tego półtory miary wody ciekącej, na węglu to mocno <u>zwarz</u> i <u>odszumuj</u>.
[Take {Imp.} a pound of sugar, add a pound and a half measures of water, and boil {Imp.} it hard on coals and skim {Imp.}.]

<u>Weźmiesz</u> tedy, uwarzywszy, z uczynionej wprzód wagi pomiarkowanie na dwa łuty cukru trzy krople anyżowego (albo czym przyprawić te kołaczki zechcesz) olejku. Takimże sposobem <u>bierze się</u> na ćwierć funta cukru kwinta proszku perłowego lubo czego zażyć chcesz.
[Then you will take {2p.Sng.Ind.}, having boiled, three drops of anise oil for every two lots of sugar (or whatever you want to season them with). In this way, one takes {Impers.} one drachm of pearl powder for quarter of a pound of sugar or whatever you want to eat.]

Owoce także <u>robione</u> w cukrze <u>być mogą</u>, ale ich dobrze podsuszyć trzeba.
[Fruit may also be prepared {Passive} in sugar, but one should dry them well.]

Tragant <u>moczyć</u> w wodzie różanej, przez chustkę <u>przecisnąć</u> i łyżkę cukru <u>zmieszać</u>, aby to rzadko było. (…) na dekiel miedziany <u>położyć</u> i <u>suszyć</u> z wolna przy piecu.
[Tragant soak {Inf.} in rose water, strain {Inf.} through a cloth, and add {Inf.} a spoonful of sugar, thin. (…) put {Inf.} on a copper tray and dry {Inf.} slowly by an oven.]

According to Donalies' categorisation (2012), clauses with the imperative and the 2nd person singular indicative forms are typical of instructional recipes, whilst the infinitive, impersonal structures without a modal verb, and passive constructions, are characteristic of descriptive recipes. The variety of clauses encountered in the two analysed collections groups *Compendium Ferculorum* as a collection of instructional texts, whilst *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends] should be labeled as a collection of mixed (instructional and descriptive) type recipes.

6. Measurements

It is generally known that medieval recipes were rather imprecise in terms of stating the measures, temperatures and times of dish preparation (cf. for instance Carroll 2009, Bator and Sylwanowicz 2017). Only those recipes which were incorporated into (more precise) medical collections (cf. Bator 2017) and later ones (aimed at a lay audience) contain precise measurement terminology.

The two Polish collections differ with respect to the measurement terminology used by their authors. Czerniecki in his *Compendium Ferculorum* relies on the reader's taste and discretion and instructs on the quantity of particular ingredients with non-specific measure terms,[10] such as *niemało/niewiele* [(not too) little], *trochę* [some], *parę/kilka* [a few], *z potrzebę* [as needed], or *według smaku* [according to taste]; see examples under (17). Specific or container-related terms are used in the collection sporadically, that is: *kwarta* [quart] – once, *funt* [pound] – twice, *uncja* [ounce] – twice, *łyżka* [spoonful] – four times, see examples under (18).

An opposite situation is found in *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends]. The author is much more precise than Czerniecki and the recipes are rich in the variety of the metric (= specific) terminology: *funt* [pound], *libra* [apothecaries' pound], *kwinta* [drachm], *kwarta* [quart], *ćwierć* [quarter], *łut* [lot], *miarka* [measure]; as well as container-related terminology, for instance *garść* [handful], *łyżka* [spoonful], and *łyżeczka* [teaspoonful]. The non-specific terms, such as *trochę* [some], *kilka* [a few], *niemało* [not too little], and *ile potrzeba* [as needed] are in the minority. See examples under (19) for the use of particular terms in the collection.

> (17) przyday masła <u>niemało</u> / soli <u>według smaku</u> / Czosnku vwierć <u>nie mało</u> / włóż / rozpuść rosołem / a dowarzywszy day na Stół ; możesz też Cytrynę wycisnąć ieżeli chcesz / albo Octu winnego mocnego <u>trochę</u> przydać.
> [add butter <u>decently</u>, salt <u>to taste</u>, crush in garlic <u>decently</u>, put in, dilute with broth, serve to table when boiled; you may also squeeze in a lemon if you wish, or add <u>some</u> strong wine vinegar.]
>
> Weźmiy on rosół któryś wstawił / przecedź / weźmiy Cytryn / wyciśniy <u>tyle ile smak potrzebuie</u> / a ieżeli Cytryn niemasz / Octu winnego / rozbiy żółtków Jaiecznych / <u>ile potrzeba</u> / (…)
> [Take broth which is boiling, strain through a sieve, take lemons, squeeze in <u>to taste</u>, in default of lemons add wine vinegar, beat yolks of eggs <u>as many as needed</u>, (…)
>
> (18) Oparzonych Migdałów utłucz w Moździerzu <u>funt</u> ieden / Cukru <u>pułfunta</u> /
> [Beat <u>one pound</u> of blanched almonds in a mortar, and add <u>half a pound</u> of sugar]

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[10] Bator and Sylwanowicz (2017) divided measure terms into specific, non-specific and container-related terms. Carroll (2009) distinguishes precise (specified) and vague (approximated) quantities.

(19) Migdałów <u>półtora łuta</u>, pistacji i cynamonu <u>po pół łuta</u>, gwoździków, skórki cytrynowej z cukru <u>po dwóch uncyjach</u>, gałki i kwiatu muszkatowego <u>po półtory kwinty</u>, liścia róży czerwonej <u>trochę</u>, wszytko to skraj miernie. <u>Funt</u> cukru warz [w] wódce różanej, (...)
[One and a half <u>lots</u> of almonds, half a <u>lot</u> of pistachio nuts and cinnamon, cloves, two <u>ounces</u> of lemon peel in sugar, nutmeg and mace one and a half <u>drachms</u> each, <u>some</u> red rose petals, and hew it all. Boil a <u>pound</u> of sugar in rose liquor, (...)]

Vagueness, being reflected among others in the use of imprecise terminology, is typical of early instructions (cf. Carroll 2009), which might have been written to "testify to the skills of the cook" (Attar 1987: 13) or to document the practices of a noble kitchen (Carroll 2009: 58), rather than to teach and instruct. The more precise recipes were more likely aimed at a non-professional audience with the purpose to instruct; they did not rely on the cook's sensitive palate but specified the amounts and quantities required for the preparation of particular dishes.

7. Conclusions

The following conclusions, although of a tentative character, can be drawn (they have been summarised in Table 2 below): Foremost, collections (written and) published at approximately the same time do not have to be identical, even though they represent the same text type (which in contemporary Europe had been fairly fixed by this time). A brief look at a selection of features typical of the text type has shown that recipes in the two collections differ at least partly. What is noticeable at first sight is the length of the instructions. *Compendium Ferculorum* offers shorter, mostly imprecise recipes, which lack details such as measurements. Also their structure is less reader-friendly, with the ingredients combined into the recipe preparation rather than being clearly presented prior to the directions, which is the case at least in some of the recipes in *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends]. The latter collection is much more precise also in other respects; it states specific quantities based on the metric system used in Poland at the time, it often defines the tools which are to be used, and explains how to choose the best quality ingredients. The author's preferences are not demonstrated in *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends], and the reader is given the freedom to decide what (s)he prefers. *Compendium Ferculorum* seems to be more authoritative also with reference to the verbal forms used by Czerniecki. The (almost exclusive) use of imperatives puts the reader in the position of the performer of the author's commands. In the other collection, its author, apart from imperatives, introduces infinitives, and passive and impersonal verbal

structures, which softens his tone and makes the reader a participant in the process of the cooking.

Table 2. The comparison of selected features of *Compendium Ferculorum* and *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends]

	Compendium Ferculorum	*Very Good Trends*
length (of recipes)	approx. 46 words	approx. 72 words
structure (of collection)	carefully designed into 3 parts	(part 1): carefully designed (part 2): messy
structure (of recipes):		
heading	title: 81% statement of purpose: 19%	title: 95% statement of purpose: 5%
procedure	preparation	(list of ingredients +) preparation
serving	serving: conventional formula	serving: conventional formula; OR storage
author	known; chef; present in the recipes	anonymous; confectioner; absent from the recipes
intended audience	has some knowledge but still needs certain guidance; role of performer	has some knowledge but still needs certain guidance; role of participant
verbal forms	instructional recipes	mixed recipes (instructional + descriptive)
measurements	non-specific	specific

The analysed features of the two collections may suggest that *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends] reveals some characteristics typical of 17th-century recipes, whilst *Compendium Ferculorum* is simpler. But to answer the question whether the differences between the two analysed collections can be accounted for by the influence of *Ein Koch- und Artzney--Buch* on *Moda Bardzo Dobra* [Very good trends], requires that further investigation and an in-depth comparison of the Polish and Austrian/ German collections be undertaken.

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19TH TO 21ST CENTURIES

19ᵀᴴ TO 21ˢᵀ CENTURIES

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FOREIGN INFLUENCES ON ENGLISH RECIPES SINCE 1901: AN ANALYSIS OF THE CULINARY IMPACT OF FRENCH, SPANISH AND GERMAN ON THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN THE 20TH AND 21ST CENTURIES WITH A SPECIFIC FOCUS ON INFORMAL USAGE

Abstract

The focus of this article will be on the culinary impact of French, Spanish and German on the English language since 1901. New media such as electronic dictionaries and corpora represent valuable tools to identify and examine the variety of recipes of French, Spanish and German origin which enriched English cookery in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. As will be seen, these languages have provided English with a significant number of terms for appetizers, dishes, desserts and items of confectionary, snacks, food products, cookery styles and the preparation of dishes. Specific importance will be attached to a number of culinary terms that have become particularly common in informal language, where they show specific uses or meanings. Sources such as the *TV Corpus* or the *Soap Corpus* are used to identify the typical informal use of the various borrowings. Little attention has been paid to this aspect in previous research.
Keywords: foreign influences on English recipes since 1901, online dictionaries and corpora in lexicological research, language contact, lexicology, informal language.

1. Current knowledge in the field and preliminary studies

The culinary arts have recently become increasingly popular. A multitude of Internet blogs and cookery shows have been launched where manifold recipes from all over the world are presented, comprising exotic dishes, new flavours and innovative preparation options.

Yet, the diversity of foreign influences on English cuisine has not yet been fully investigated. This also holds for the whole range of new French, Spanish and German recipes that have influenced English cookery since the twentieth century. There are few studies on the diversity of the culinary terms of French, Spanish and German origin which provide a detailed analysis of their meaning and use in English.

A research project completed in Poland in 2017 (*OPUS 6*, funded by the *National Science Centre*) has addressed several different essential issues with respect to the evolution of recipe writing in the British Isles between the fourteenth and the seventeenth centuries. Most studies on recipe writing have so far mostly concentrated on historical texts with a specific focus on medieval times (e.g., Hieatt 1988, 1996; Carroll 1999, 2000; Pahta 2004, 2012); later analyses are scarce and rarely go beyond the seventeenth century. An exception is Alonso Almeida's (2013) study which encompasses the end of the eighteenth century. Yet, its focus is on the medical recipe. In the context of the afore-mentioned *OPUS6* project, Bator and Sylwanowicz (2015–16, 2017a, b, c) have written a variety of articles that include a comparison between culinary and medical instructions produced between the fourteenth and the close of the seventeenth centuries. Apart from the findings of the Polish research project, the following aspects have been examined in existing studies:

1) structural aspects related to the recipe (Görlach 1992, 2004, Carroll 1999),
2) typological characteristics of the recipe (Massam & Roberge 1989, Culy 1996),
3) its lexical features (Marttila 2009, Bator 2011, 2013 a, b, c, 2014),
4) essential issues to do with the structure of the relevant manuscripts (Hieatt 1996, 2004).

Recipes published from the period of the twentieth century until today have not yet been systematically examined.

The objective of this paper is to investigate foreign influences on English recipes since 1901 by means of the linguistic documentary evidence compiled in electronic dictionaries such as the *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (henceforth *OED*) and English corpora, including the *British National Corpus* (*BNC*) and the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (*COCA*). As pointed out before, much value will be accorded to a number of culinary terms which show specific uses in informal contexts. Therefore, sources reflecting informal language (e.g. the *TV Corpus*) will be taken into account, in order to detect new tendencies in the use of foreign-derived cookery items in present-day English.

In the present article, *English language* specifies the communication system of writing and speech with all its registers and linguistic levels used

by the English-speaking community. The term *informal usage* relates to a style of writing or speaking which is appropriate for everyday conversation rather than for official situations.

2. Methodology

The following chapter gives an overview of the methodology developed to research foreign influences on English cookery since the twentieth century.

2.1. The *OED Online* as an important source of culinary terms of French, Spanish and German provenance

The *OED* can be searched online at <http://www.oed.com>. It comprises the second edition from 1989 (usually referred to as the *OED2*), the entire texts of the 1993 and 1997 *OED Additions Series*, and an essential proportion of updated and new lexical entries which make up the planned third edition, i.e. the *OED3*. By means of specific search options available in the *OED Online*, words with a foreign word origin borrowed into English since the beginning of the twentieth century can easily be found. The following searches have to be performed: Entries containing *"French"* (or Spanish, German) in *"Etymology"* and *"1901–"* in *"Date of Entry"*. After carrying out these searches, all the different culinary terms which have been adopted from French, Spanish and German since 1901 appear in a combined list in the *OED Online*.

In this article, a lexical item is categorized as a borrowing from French, German or Spanish when one of these languages represents the *immediate* donor language. *Sabayon*, the name of a type of dessert first attested in 1906 in the *OED2*, can be adduced as an example. The item is classified a French borrowing in this paper, despite the fact that its French source term ultimately goes back to Italian *zabaione* (see *OED2*).

In addition, a number of borrowings can be found which are confined (or chiefly confined) to a particular variety of English. This holds for *menudo*, for instance, which entered English in 1904 as a designation of a variety of soup in Spain and Spanish America (especially in Mexico). According to the *OED3*, the borrowing is mainly documented in American English, as the following example illustrates:

> (1) "1986 B. Fussell *I hear Amer. Cooking* i. i. 33 I was once snowed in for a week and lived entirely on a single large pot of *menudo*, which improved with each reheating." (*OED3*)

It should be noted that all the different types of borrowings identified by the *OED* were considered in this paper.

2.2. Investigating the meaning and use of foreign-derived culinary terms in English, including informal usage

To examine the meaning and use of the various foreign-derived culinary terms, the linguistic documentary evidence included in the *OED Online* will be taken into account because it reflects the typical usage of a lexical item since its earliest attestation in English. It seems noteworthy that *OED* entries which have not yet been revised, i.e. those which belong to the *OED2* published in 1989 or the *OED Additions Series* from 1993 and 1997 do not provide any usage examples of the various culinary terms in recent decades. Hence, additional linguistic data will be collected and evaluated, in order to get a rounded picture of the linguistic usage of the words under review since their first documented usage in English until today. In order to find more of the supporting linguistic documentary evidence, corpora representative of present-day English, such as the *BNC* and the *COCA*, will be consulted.

The search options in the *BNC* and the *COCA* allow for an investigation of the contextual usage of lexical items in various genres/registers. The *BNC*, originally compiled by Oxford University Press in the 1980s and the early 1990s, represents a 100 million word corpus of British English usage in the later decades of the twentieth century. It relies on a wide spectrum of genres, including newspapers, magazines, fiction, academic writing and spoken language. The *COCA* constitutes a balanced corpus of American English usage. It currently contains 560 million words of text, ranging from newspapers, fiction and academic writing to spoken data. The *COCA* covers the time span between 1990 and 2017.

More than a simple count of the culinary terms adopted from French, Spanish and German into English since the twentieth century, this article will provide a detailed analysis of the treatment of the various borrowings in lexicographical resources such as the *OED* in comparison to their everyday usage in English (encompassing informal language). Investigating the linguistic material in corpora reflecting everyday usage (the *Movie Corpus*, the *TV Corpus* and the *Corpus of American Soap Operas* (i.e. the *Soap Corpus*)), the typical informal context where a twentieth or twenty-first century culinary term taken over from French, German or Spanish occurs since its adoption into the receiving language will be examined.

The *Movie Corpus* comprises 200 million lexical items from more than 25,000 films from the 1930s to the present day. Together with the *TV Corpus*, which consists of 325 million words retrieved from 75,000 television episodes from the 1950s until today, it is a helpful source which documents informal language. These two corpora allow the investigation of linguistic developments since the earlier decades of the twentieth century in different varieties of English.

The *Soap Corpus* makes it possible to research informal language usage in American English. It encompasses 100 million lexical items collected from 22,000 transcripts of American soap operas of the first decades of the 21st century.

In the time of the British Empire, many speakers of English came into contact with a variety of foreign cultures in different overseas colonies, which led to a mutual influence between English and various other languages. In addition, several different foreign languages exerted a strong impact on the English lexicon including the domain of cuisine. Needless to say, French long served as the donor language *par excellence* in the field of cookery.

In this paper, it will be important to determine to what extent different foreign languages such as French have continued to enrich English cookery in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

In the present article, the identification and evaluation of the foreign influences on culinary recipes is partly based on the studies of Schultz (2012, 2016 and 2018). In her book published in 2012, Schultz investigates a sample of 1677 twentieth-century French borrowings included in the *OED Online*. Due to their meanings, the different lexical items were divided into a variety of semantic areas to provide an overview of the different fields and spheres of life enriched by French in the twentieth century. The first part of Schultz's investigation concentrates on the adaptation of the French-derived words to the English spelling and pronunciation system. The second part is about the semantic integration of the French borrowings in English in comparison to the relevant French equivalents in the donor language. The focus of linguistic concern of Schultz (2016) and Schultz (2018) is on 1958 words of German origin adopted into English since the twentieth century and on 1355 Spanish-derived lexical items which were first documented in the *OED Online* after 1801. In these two investigations, the semantic development and stylistic uses of the borrowed words are examined.

The present article will focus on the foreign culinary vocabulary identified by Schultz in 2012, 2016 and 2018. Several typical uses of French, German and Spanish borrowings investigated by Schultz in 2012, 2016 and 2018 will be taken into account in the present article. Yet, this paper goes far beyond the findings presented in Schultz's previous studies, since it will examine the occurrence and use of the foreign vocabulary in English corpora reflecting informal language use.

3. The influence of French, Spanish and German on English cookery since 1901

The following lists give an overview of the chronological distribution and numbers of French, German and Spanish culinary terms which have been

borrowed into English since 1901. Most of them can also be found in Schultz 2012, 2016 and 2018. Yet, the reader should observe that the relevant lists have been slightly updated and modified: several new culinary terms of French, German or Spanish origin have been recently added to the *OED Online* which are relevant for the present analysis.

3.1. French-derived culinary terms

According to the *OED Online*, 81 culinary terms have been adopted from French into English between 1903 and 1985. The *OED* does not record any French-derived culinary term which was adopted in the twenty-first century. In the present article, the various French cuisine terms have been divided into lexical items relating to appetizers, dishes, desserts and items of confectionary, cookery styles and the preparation of food.

(a) Appetizers

Two terms for appetizers can be found in the list of twentieth-century French culinary terms: *amuse-bouche*, n. (1959) and *amuse-gueule*, n. (1963), both of which are preferably used in contexts related to French cookery. This is corroborated by the following usage examples collected from the *BNC* and the *COCA*:

> (2) Dinner proved to be a splendid recital in the vocabulary of great French cooking. Dishes of dainty 'amuse gueule' teased us into our first course of whole baby Brittany lobster, seascented and sat upon a diminutive salad of oil-tossed green leaves – simple you might think – splendid simplicity in fact. (*BNC*, *Yorkshire Live* (1992), Preston: Town and County Magazines)

> (3) At Lespinasse, diners receive a sweet amuse-bouche before dessert and petits fours after – but just a single main dessert. (*COCA*, *The New York Times*, 1999)

(b) Dishes

40 terms relating to dishes have been borrowed from French into English since 1901. Among them are some terms specifying regional dishes, such as *pissaladière*, a speciality from Provence, and *chermoula*, denoting "a sauce or marinade for fish or meat, typically containing olive oil, lemon juice, garlic, coriander, and other herbs and spices", or "a fish or meat dish served with this" (*OED3*) in North African cuisine.

There are also terms for French dishes which have become comparatively widespread in English-speaking countries, such as *quiche*, *cassoulet*, *crudités*, *vichyssoise* and *coq au vin*. These borrowings occur fairly frequently in corpora of present-day English.

The adjective phrase *en croûte* (1913) and the adjective *panaché* (1961) also belong to this sample of borrowings. They are both used as post-

modifiers in English. The former relates to "dishes in which the principal ingredient (usually meat) is served baked in a pastry crust" (*OED3*), and the latter to "a dish combining ingredients of different colours" (*OED3*).

The following gives a rounded picture of all the twentieth-century French-derived terms for dishes in chronological order:

(1) Nouns

meunière, n. (1903); *demi-glace*, n. (1906); *émincé*, n. (1907); *quiche*, n. (1925); *gratiné*, n. (1928); *madrilène*, n. (1931); *piperade*, n. (1931); *pissaladière*, n. (1931); *bœuf*, n. (1936); *cassoulet*, n. (1940); *mouclade*, n. (1948); *pistou*, n. (1951); *rouille*, n. (1951); *tapénade*, n. (1952); *tourtière*, n. (1953); *tian*, n. (1955); *étouffée*, n. (1958); *crudités*, n. pl. (1960); *feuilleté*, n. (1970); *chermoula*, n. (1974); *magret*, n. (1980)

(1.1) Borrowings reflecting proper nouns

stroganoff, n. (1932); *vichyssoise*, n. (1939)

(2) Phrases
(2.1) Noun phrases

navarin printanier, n. phr. (1907); *truite bleue*, n. phr. (1907); *oeuf en cocotte*, n. phr. (1909); *croque monsieur*, n. phr. (1915); *moules marinière*, n. phr. (1928); *pâté en croûte*, n. phr. (1929); *pâté de campagne*, n. phr. (1931); *coq au vin*, n. phr. (circa 1938); *pâté maison*, n. phr. (1947); *croque madame*, n. phr. (1958); *pommes allumettes*, n. phr. (1962); *menu gastronomique*, n. phr. (1966)

(2.1.1) Borrowings reflecting proper nouns

salade niçoise, n. phr. (1907); *bœuf bourgignon*, n. phr. (1915); *quiche Lorraine*, n. phr. (1925)

(2.2) Adjectival phrase

en croûte, adj. phr. (1913)

(3) Adjective

panaché, adj. (1961)

The culinary terms taken over from French since 1901 are characterized by their great variety, ranging from terms for dishes including fish or seafood (e.g. *truite bleue*, *moules marinière*), meat (e.g. *bœuf bourgignon*, *coq au vin*) and vegetables (*crudités*), to terms for egg dishes (e.g. *oeuf en cocotte*), pastries (e.g. *pâté en croûte*), salads (e.g. *salade niçoise*), sauces (e.g. *rouille*) and soups (e.g. *vichyssoise*). One might argue that the vocabulary adopted from French in the field of cookery has contributed to the diversity of the English recipe repertoire. The preparation of most of the different French--derived recipes requires a certain skill or practice, i.e. the recipes are a sign of a comparatively sophisticated cooking style.

(c) Desserts and items of confectionary

Seven twentieth-century French borrowings relating to desserts and items of confectionary are part of the culinary terms identified in the *OED*, among

them some relatively common terms such as the afore-mentioned *sabayon* and *pain au chocolat*. Here they are in chronological order:

(1) Nouns

sabayon, n. (1906); *palmier*, n. (1920); *clafoutis*, n. (1926)

(2) Phrases

(2.1) Noun phrases

petit beurre, n. phr. (1906); *pain au chocolat*, n. phr. (1945)

(2.1.1) Borrowings reflecting proper nouns

pêche Melba, n. phr. (1907); *tarte Tatin*, n. phr. (1951)

Of the lexical items in this group, *sabayon* and *clafoutis* specify varieties of desserts that have become relatively common in English cuisine, while *petit beurre* and *palmier* refer to types of biscuits confined to French cookery contexts. Examples are:

> (4) 1913 C. MACKENZIE *Sinister St.* I. I. ix. 130 They all sat down at midnight, … not at all too much tired to sip grenadine sucrée and to crunch Petit Beurre biscuits. (*OED3*)

> (5) "1980 *Redbook* Oct. 187/2 Palmiers are small, chewy-crisp, heart-shaped puff-pastry cookies that you've probably seen in French-pastry shops." (*OED3*)

Pêche Melba, an ice-cream dessert, and *tarte Tatin*, a type of tart, are derived from proper nouns. The former reflects the name of the Australian opera singer Nellie *Melba*. The French chef Escoffier is reputed to have invented this dessert in London towards the end of the nineteenth century (see *OED3*). As to *tarte Tatin*, the recipe was created by the French hoteliers Stéphanie and Caroline *Tatin* in the Sologne region of Loir et Cher in France in the nineteenth century (see *OED3*).

(d) Food products

25 French-derived terms for food products belong to the culinary vocabulary investigated in this paper. Examples are *mesclun*, adopted into English in 1976 as a designation of "[y]oung leaves and shoots of a variety of wild plants, used to make a salad" (*OED3*), and the fairly widespread term *crème fraîche*, which was first documented in 1936 in the receiving language. It seems noteworthy that this list of borrowings also contains several different words reflecting proper nouns, such as *Marennes*, the name of a type of oyster. It corresponds to the area in France where it is cultivated.

(1) Nouns

croûte, n. (1906); *reblochon*, n. (1908); *rascasse*, n. (1921); *clementine*, n. (1926); *oursin*, n. (1928); *praire*, n. (1929); *courgette*, n. (1931); *couverture*, n. (1935); *vacherin*, n. (1936); *langoustine*, n. (1946); *tomme*, n. (1946); *demi-sel*, n. (1946); *mesclun*, n. (1976)

(1.1) Borrowings reflecting proper nouns
Marennes, n. (1905); *Belon*, n. (1908); *Montélimar*, n. (1908); *Morbier*, n. (1936); *Chaource*, n. (1966); *Marmande*, n. (1967)

(1.2) Proprietary names
Chaumes, n. (1976)

(2) Phrases

(2.1) Noun phrases
crème fraîche, n. phr. (1936); *Passe Crassane*, n. phr. (1954); *pain de campagne*, n. phr. (1970); *fromage frais*, n. phr. (1976); *pain au levain*, n. phr. (1985)

The various food products once again point to the great variety of French culinary items that have found their way into the English language since 1901. The collection of borrowings in this domain includes terms for cheese (e.g. *Morbier*, *fromage frais*, *reblochon*), products made from bread (e.g. *croûte*, *pain de campagne*), fruits and vegetables (e.g. *clementine*, *Passe Crassane*, *Marmande*), fish and seafood (e.g. *rascasse*, *oursin*, *Belon*) and confectionary products (e.g. *Montélimar*).

(e) Cookery styles

Three nominal phrases denoting cookery styles can be identified among the French cookery terms: *haute cuisine*, n. phr. (1926), *cuisine bourgeoise*, n. phr. (1951) and *cuisine minceur*, n. phr. (1975).

(f) Preparation of food

Four items have to do with the preparation of food. This is *saucier*, n. (1961), a chef skilled in cooking sauces, *affineur*, n. (1976), an individual involved in the production of cheese, *to nap*, v. (1961), "[t]o coat or cover (a dish) with sauce" (*OED3*), and *sous vide*, adv. phr. (1986). The meaning of the latter is paraphrased as follows in the 1993 *OED Additions Series*: "(According to, designating, or following) a method of preserving esp. partially cooked food by vacuum-sealing in a package and then chilling".

3.2. German-derived culinary terms

As to German, 36 twentieth-century borrowings to do with cookery can be found in the *OED Online*. The earliest acquisition dates from 1901, and the latest was adopted into English in 1963. Again, the *OED* does not record any twenty-first century culinary terms from German. Among the cookery items, we find German borrowings denoting dishes, desserts and items of confectionary, food products, words of German origin relating to eating habits and salutations used in the context of gastronomic experience.

(a) Dishes

Eleven twentieth-century culinary terms from German designate types of dishes, among them a number of words relating to sausages, such as *bratwurst* and *knackwurst*. It should be noted that in general, the various cookery items borrowed from German in the twentieth century belong to a fairly rustic style of cuisine. Examples are *klops* and *Weinkraut*. The different borrowings denoting dishes have also been arranged chronologically:

(1) Nouns
rollmop, n. (1901); *rösti*, n. (1906); *buckling*, n. (1909); *bratwurst*, n. (1911); *Spätzle*, n. (1933); *klops*, n. (1936); *knackwurst*, n. (1939); *Weinkraut*, n. (1955); *Weisswurst*, n. (1963)

(1.1) Borrowing reflecting a proper noun
thuringer, n. (1933)

(2) Phrase
(2.1) Noun phrase
matjes herring, n. phr. (1939)

Bratwurst, *knackwurst*, *Weisswurst* and *thuringer* specify sausage dishes. There are also terms for types of fish dishes (e.g. *buckling*, *matjes herring*, *rollmop*). One item refers to a dish produced from vegetables. This is *Weinkraut*, the name of a variety of *sauerkraut*. *Klops* denotes "[a] type of meat-ball or meat-loaf" (*OED2*), and *Spätzle* specifies a noodle dish common in the South of Germany. There is also *rösti*, which relates to "[a] Swiss dish of grated potatoes, typically shaped into a small patty and fried" (*OED3*).

(b) Desserts and items of confectionary

Eleven twentieth-century German borrowings specify desserts and items of confectionary.

(1) Nouns
Bundt, n. (1903); *Linzertorte*, n. (1906); *Stollen*, n. (1906); *streusel*, n. (1909); *nusstorte*, n. (1911); *gugelhupf*, n. (1935); *Palatschinken*, n. (1929); *konditorei*, n. (1935)

(1.2) Borrowing reflecting a proper noun
Sachertorte, n. (1906)

(2) Phrase
(2.1) Noun phrase
streusel kuchen, n. phr. (first attested in *OED2* in 1910)

(2.2) Borrowing reflecting a proper noun
Dobos Torte, n. phr. (1915)

Most of the German-derived items in this group are used to designate varieties of tarts or cakes, such as *Linzertorte*, *Stollen*, *nusstorte*,

Sachertorte, *Dobos Torte* and *streusel kuchen*. *Palatschinken* is confined to Austrian cuisine, where it denotes a dish consisting of pancakes. In addition, there is *konditorei*, which shows several meanings in English, just like the source term in the original donor language. It may either refer to items of confectionary or "a confectioner's shop, a shop where pastries are sold" (*OED2*).

(c) Food products

Eleven lexical items in the list of German borrowings under review are used to denote food products.

(1) Nouns
quark, n. (1903); *schmierkäse*, n. (1905); *schlagsahne*, n. (1907); *lachsschinken*, n. (1923); *schmaltz*, n. (1935); *schlagobers*, n. (1938); *muesli*, n. (1939)

(1.1) Borrowings reflecting proper nouns
Emmental/Emmenthal, n. (1902); *Liptauer/liptauer*, n. (1902); *Tilsit*, n. (1950)

(1.2) Proprietary name
Liederkranz, n. (1909)

Most of the borrowings in this domain refer to types of cheese (e.g. *schmierkäse*, *quark*, *Tilsit*). *Schlagsahne* and *schlagobers* refer to "whipped cream" (*OED3*). The latter is mainly restricted to Austrian cuisine, as in:

> (6) "2014 M. Sʜᴇʀᴀᴛᴏɴ *1, 000 Foods to eat before you Die* 321/1 And perhaps the ultimate is the *Wiencaffe*, or *Eiskaffe*, which is hot coffee in a glass with a scoop of vanilla ice cream and a dome of schlagobers". (*OED3*).

Lachsschinken relates to a type of ham initially produced in Bavaria, and *muesli* functions as a common term for a food product which has its origins in Switzerland.

(d) Borrowing relating to the manner of eating

One twentieth-century German borrowing relates to a manner of eating. This is the verb *to dunk* (1917), "to dip, to immerse" (*OED3*). The word has developed several extended and figurative uses. In basketball, for instance, it is documented in the sense of "[t]o jump up and thrust (the ball) downward into the basket with the hand or hands above the rim; to score (a basket or points) in this way" (*OED3*), as is illustrated by the following usage example:

> (7) "2013 *N. Y. Times* (National ed.) 10 Mar. (Sports section) 4/1 I caught the ball on the dotted line and dunked it and the crowd went crazy." (*OED3*)

(e) Salutations used in the context of eating and drinking

Furthermore, two German-derived twentieth-century borrowings are used as salutations in the context of eating and drinking: *Mahlzeit*, int. (1913) and *prosit*, int. (1916). Typical usage examples in the *OED3* are:

(8) "1991 W. PERRIE *Road that Move* (BNC) 78 When my food was brought, she nodded and pronounced Mahlzeit over it".

(9) "1951 F. BROWN *Murder can be Fun* ii. 24 'Prosit!' said Tracy. They drank".

3.3. Spanish-derived culinary terms

Spanish has provided English with 49 cookery terms between 1901 and 1986, including terms for dishes, desserts and items of confectionary, snacks, food products and dietary supplements.

(a) Dishes

Of the twentieth-century Spanish-derived culinary terms, 35 lexical items relate to dishes.

(1) Nouns

relleno, n. (1906); *chuño*, n. (1909); *pancit*, n. (1912); *sinigang*, n. (1912); *sofrito*, n. (1913); *masa*, n. (1914); *churrasco*, n. (1917); *guacamole*, n. (1920); *lechon*, n. (1920); *chipotle*, n. (1922); *parrilla*, n. (first attested as a culinary term in 1924); *taquito*, n. (1924); *burrito*, n. (1934); *adobo*, n. (1938); *flauta*, n. (1938); *sancocho*, n. (1939); *morita*, n. (1945); *tostada/tostado*, n. (1945); *pupusa*, n. (1948); *carnitas*, n. (1949); *seviche*, n. (1951); *zarzuela*, n. (first attested as a culinary term in 1956); *mofongo*, n. (1959); *chimichurri*, n. (1967); *chimichanga*, n. (1968); *parrillada*, n. (1969); *romesco*, n. (1969); *fajita*, n. (1971); *machaca*, n. (1972); *mojo*, n. (1983)

(2) Phrases

(2.1) Noun phrases

huevos rancheros, n. phr. (1901); *salsa verde*, n. phr. (1957); *pico de gallo*, n. phr. (1958); *patatas bravas*, n. phr. (1986)

(2.1.1) Borrowing reflecting a proper noun

tortilla española, n. phr. (1957)

A typical feature of the culinary vocabulary introduced from Spanish since 1901 is its great variety, ranging from dishes originating in Filipino cooking, such as *pancit*, a particular noodle dish, and Mexican dishes such as *taquito*, to dishes traditionally prepared in South America and the Caribbean (e.g. *sancocho*, a type of soup) and in El Salvador, including *pupusa*, a variety of tortilla.

A careful perusal of the ingredients from which the different dishes are prepared reveals that some of them are produced from plants, vegetables or fruits (e.g. *guacamole*, *pico de gallo*), meat (e.g. *churrasco*, *fajita*), fish and seafood (e.g. *seviche*), eggs (e.g. *huevos rancheros*) and flour (e.g. *taquito*). The list of Spanish-derived dishes also contains terms for soups (e.g. *sinigang*, *sancocho*) and sauces (e.g. *sofrito*, *salsa verde*, *mojo*). Most of the recipes of these dishes have their origins in Spanish-speaking countries of the United States. This is valid for *chimichanga*, for instance, a borrowing from American Spanish designating "a burrito which is deep-fried until the

tortilla becomes crisp" (*OED3*). According to the *OED3*, it is documented in contexts related to Mexican or south-western American cuisine, as in:

> (10) "1968 R. Johnson *Aficionado's Southwestern Cooking* 62 Chimichangas. Fry a burro in deep fat after it is rolled. It changes the flavor entirely and is well worth trying". (*OED3*)

(b) Desserts and items of confectionary

In addition, six twentieth-century Spanish borrowings refer to desserts and items of confectionary:

(1) Nouns
turron, n. (1918); *membrillo*, n. (1920); *churro*, n. (1929); *sopaipilla*, n. (1934); *paleta*, n. (1957); *natillas*, n. (1969)

The list of twentieth-century Spanish-derived culinary items also contains designations of desserts and items of confectionary, such as *turron*, a specific sweetmeat similar to nougat. The word reflects the Spanish *turrón*. *Membrillo*, "a thick preserve made of quinces" (*OED3*), and *natillas*, a type of custard, are embedded in cookery contexts of Spanish-speaking countries, as is shown in the *OED3*:

> (11) 2000 *Independent on Sunday* 20 Feb. (Review Suppl.) 42/1 To round things off, manchego, the Spanish sheep's cheese served with membrillo, a sweet quince paste.

> (12) 2001 *Albuquerque (*New Mexico*) Jrnl.* (Nexis) 4 May 10 An a la carte taco is 89 cents; a taco plate is $4.25 and includes rice, beans, a sopaipilla and a serving of natillas for dessert.

(c) Snacks

Three twentieth-century borrowings from Spanish are used to specify snacks: *antojito*, n. (1926), *taco*, n. (1949) and *tapas*, n. (1953). Of these, *taco* and *tapas* have become widespread terms in English, which might be due to the fact that these items represent popular snacks in English-speaking countries, where they are frequently prepared and consumed. *Antojito* refers to "a small dish served as an appetizer or as part of a main meal, or as a snack (often as street food)" (*OED3*) in Mexican cookery. According to the *OED3*, the word is confined to American English.

(d) Food products and dietary supplements

Five twentieth-century Spanish borrowings can be grouped into the collection of lexical items designating food products and dietary supplements.

(1) Noun
Incaparina, n. (1959), a type of dietary supplement

(1.1) Borrowings reflecting proper nouns
Cabrales, n. (1910); *poblano*, n. (first recorded as a culinary term in 1927)

(2) Phrases
(2.1) Noun phrases
pan de sal, n. phr. (1910); *dulce de leche*, n. phr. (1923)

The collection of Spanish culinary terms also contains some terms for food products, such as *Cabrales*, the name of a type of cheese corresponding to the Spanish region where it is made, and *dulce de leche*, a variety of sweet sauce.

4. Investigating informal uses of culinary terms adopted from French, German and Spanish since 1901

The majority of foreign-derived culinary terms do not develop specific uses in informal language after being introduced into English. The meaning of most of the culinary terms investigated in this paper stays the same over time. Examples are the French borrowing *piperade*, a dish originating in the Basque region in France, the German-derived term *nusstorte*, a variety of tart filled with nuts, and *chimichanga*, a borrowing from Spanish designating a type of burrito in Mexican cookery. These words do not show any semantic variability in English. Yet, several relatively frequent culinary terms deviate from their original meaning or show specific uses in informal usage in recent decades which are not recorded in dictionaries reflecting "Standard" English. Typical examples are *sabayon*, *cassoulet*, *haute cuisine*, *bratwurst*, *guacamole* and *fajita*.

Of these, *sabayon* shows a new use in English due to the modification of the original French recipe. It was initially borrowed into English as the name of "[a] dessert or sauce made with egg yolks, sugar, and white wine, whipped together, thickened over a slow heat, and served hot or cold" (*OED2*). In recent decades, a *sabayon* can also be prepared with savoury ingredients, turning the dessert into a dish, which leads to a semantic broadening of the word on the linguistic level. Typical usage examples which can be found in corpora reflecting informal uses such as the *TV Corpus* comprise *oyster sabayon*, *scallop Benedict and sea urchin sabayon* (both recorded in *Top Chef*, 2010) and *bearnaise sabayon* (*Desperate Housewives*, 2011). It seems noteworthy that this use is not confined to informal English, but also occurs in balanced corpora reflecting English usage with all its registers. The *COCA*, for instance, includes the following example: "a rich sabayon of pearl tapioca, Island Creek oysters and a dollop of caviar" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 2009).

Corpora revealing informal language such as the *TV Corpus* document new meanings of several comparatively common borrowings which have not yet been recorded in dictionaries reflecting "Standard" English, including the *OED Online*. An example is *cassoulet*, which is first attested in 1940 in the *OED2* in the sense of "[a] stew-pan; hence, a ragout, originally a regional speciality of Languedoc, consisting of meat (esp[ecially] duck, goose, or pork) and haricot beans." In the *TV Corpus*, for instance, the word occasionally shows a metaphorical sense. It may refer to the blend of odours which emanate from a woman, as is corroborated by the following two usage examples retrieved from the *TV Corpus*:

> (13) "The sortilege of odours emanating from a woman–- is known as her cassoulet".
> (*TV Corpus*, Green *Wing*, 2004)
> (14) "Get in! I love your cassoulet. (sniffs) – What is it?" (*TV Corpus*, *Green Wing*, 2004)

Neither the *OED* nor corpora such as the *BNC* and the *COCA* include any usage examples of this meaning of *cassoulet*, which indicates that it might be confined to colloquial English.

A further example is the phrase *haute cuisine*, which was borrowed into English in 1926 as a designation of "[h]igh-class (French) cooking" (*OED2*). In the corpora at issue, it is sometimes also recorded in a figurative sense, denoting something of very good quality or reputation, which is considered first class. In the following extract from *The League*, for instance, *haute cuisine* is used with respect to Rivera as a tourist destination:

> (15) "I just love the name of it, Rivera… sounds great. Rivera is haute cuisine, and what I need you to do is help me make a reservation […]" (*TV Corpus*, *The League*, 2012)

In an extract collected from the *Movie Corpus* in 2000, *haute cuisine* is used to describe an elegant outfit:

> (16) "You look fine Yeah, this is the haute cuisine of garments. What? Nothing. Nothing. So how are you?" (*The Movie Corpus*, *You can count on me*, 2000)

This meaning has not yet been included in the *OED2*, which might be related to the fact that it seems to be more common in colloquial English.

As to German-derived culinary terms, the corpora consulted contain very little evidence. An exception is the common term *bratwurst*, for which several different usage examples are available. Yet, it maintains its original culinary sense. The linguistic documentary evidence includes some examples in which it is embedded in German-speaking contexts or contexts somehow related to Germany, as in:

> (17) "[…] Enter Germany, home of the bratwurst, Beethoven, BMW and Oktoberfest oompah bands. They also take the recycling of plastics […]" (*The Movie Corpus*, *Bag it* (USA, Canada), 2010)

(18) "Wisconsin. It was all built on wurst. – Wurst? – Weisswurst, Bratwurst, Knackwurst. Bavarian people. Lots of strudel shops and service people in leather […]" (*The Movie Corpus*, *Sunshine state* (USA, Canada), 2002)

Some instances in which German-derived culinary vocabulary is used in colloquial English reveal a cliché-ridden portrayal of German people and their culture, comprising eating habits. Examples are:

(19) "Fr[äulein] with the Glockenspiel – verboten. And the apple strudel with the Liederkranz – Gesundheit. Everything is Gesundheit, kaputt and verboten!" (*The Movie Corpus*, *Stalag 17* (USA, Canada), 1953)

To dunk represents one of the few German borrowings in the field of cookery that underwent a semantic broadening in English. It was first adopted into the receiving language in 1917, meaning "[t]o dip a biscuit, pastry, piece of bread, etc., into tea, coffee, milk, soup, etc., to moisten it before eating it", "to dip a piece of food into a sauce, dressing, or dip" (*OED3*), as is exemplified by the following *OED3* example:

(20) "1926 L. Hart *Six Little Kitzels* in D. Hart & R. Kimball *Compl. Lyrics L. Hart* (1986) 100/2 They served the dinner from a buffet; I dunked my cracker in the kuffey".

The borrowing has been recorded in a further meaning in North American English since 1936 in the sense of "[t]o push the head and shoulders of (a person) under water, esp[ecially] as a joke or prank." (*OED3*). In addition, it has served as a basketball term since 1934. The relevant meaning is defined as follows in the *OED3*: "[t]o jump up and thrust (the ball) downward into the basket with the hands above the rim; to score (a basket or points) in this way." *To dunk* goes back to the colloquial Pennsylvanian German *dunke* "to dip", which is itself derived from the synonymous German *dunken* (now obsolete), a former spelling variant of *tunken*. The German equivalent does not manifest a similar sense development in the donor language. In the various corpora reflecting informal English, *to dunk* is documented in the same uses. It should also be noted that corpora such as the *Soap Corpus* quite often include the derivative *slam dunk*, originally functioning as a basketball term for "a forceful shot in which a player jumps and slams the ball down into the basket" (*OED3*). According to the *OED3*, this usage is restricted to American English. It seems noteworthy, however, that *slam dunk* is predominantly used in a figurative meaning which is not listed in dictionaries such as the *OED Online*. In a metaphorical sense, it may relate to 'a direct hit', 'a bombproof thing'. This use seems to be prevalent in informal English. Examples from the *TV Corpus* and the *Soap Corpus* are:

(21) "And you're going to have a great life. Slam dunk". (*The TV Corpus*, *Medium*, 2005)

(22) "Angie: You led me to believe this was a slam dunk. Now it sounds like you're hedging your bets". (*Soap Corpus*, *AMC*, 2011)

Similarly, Spanish culinary terms which have been taken over into English since 1901 usually do not change in meaning after being adopted into the receiving language. Some of them show particular usages in informal language which are not documented in English dictionaries such as the *OED*. This holds for *guacamole*, for instance, which entered English in 1920 as a borrowing from American Spanish, designating "[a] Mexican dish made from avocado pears mixed with onions, tomatoes, chili peppers, and seasoning". (*OED2*). In the *TV Corpus* and the *Soap Corpus*, we find several examples for its usage in *holy guacamole!*, an exclamation expression surprise, or astonishment, as in:

(23) "[Michelangelo] Holy guacamole! It is a ruby! [April] Whoa, what happened to the lights?" (*TV Corpus*, *Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles*, 1991)

(24) "Jesus Christ! Holy guacamole! Freaking frijoles! Leaping langoustine. East Side Bloods!" (*TV Corpus*, *South Park*, 2003)

(25) "Elwood: Holy guacamole, Dude! Is this foxy lady your girlfriend?" (*Soap Corpus*, *ATWT*, 2006)

(26) "Centaur! – Oh, yeah! Holy guacamole. Look out, he's right behind you. – Cuco!" (*The Movie Corpus*, *Americano*, 2016)

Corpora such as the *COCA* include very few usage examples of *holy guacamole*, which indicates that it is much more frequently used in colloquial English. An additional example is *fajita*, which was adopted from American Spanish into English in 1971, denoting "[a] grilled strip of marinated steak" or, in the plural form, "a dish originating in Mexico or the southern United States, consisting of strips of such meat served with a variety of garnishes or sauces in a soft flour tortilla" (*OED3*). In dictionaries of English such as the *OED*, only the culinary sense of the borrowing is recorded. A close review of the linguistic data in informal corpora suggests that it can sometimes be used with respect to something which is perceived as 'hot' in the figurative sense, as in:

(27) "Happy to see your fajita boy? That's no fajita boy. That's a fajita man. Emery: So hot". (*TV Corpus*, *Fresh of the boat*, 2015)

This particular usage is not made explicit in dictionaries reflecting Standard English. It thus appears to be confined to colloquial or informal language usage.

5. Summary and Conclusion

This study has shown that French, Spanish and German served as important donor languages in the culinary field during the twentieth century. Of these languages, French provided the largest number of culinary expressions since

1901. A total of 81 culinary terms were borrowed from French into English in the twentieth century. This article has shown that apart from French, German and Spanish have also contributed to the further differentiation and enrichment of the recipe repertoire of English. Some culinary terms such as *coq au vin*, *sabayon*, *tapas* and *bratwurst* have become fairly widespread in English, which indicates that the relevant recipes have become very popular and are therefore often prepared.

The cookery vocabulary of French origin usually points to a refined manner of preparing food, whereas the German-derived culinary terms are more of a rustic cuisine style. A characteristic of the Spanish culinary vocabulary is its large proportion of culinary items originating in the different varieties of Spanish, such as Mexican Spanish. A considerable number of the Spanish-derived culinary terms are chiefly confined to cookery contexts relating to Spanish-speaking regions in the United States.

In this paper, much value was accorded to several culinary terms that have become particularly common in informal contexts, where they show uses that are not recorded in lexicographical sources such as the *OED*. Specific uses of culinary items which are mainly documented in informal contexts result from changes in meaning due to semantic extension including modifications of the original recipe and metaphorical sense developments. As has become clear from this survey, culinary terms can also be used for caricaturing and cultural stereotyping, as was exemplified by German-derived cuisine vocabulary.

A desideratum is to study the informal language usage of foreign-derived culinary items based on a larger lexicographical sample of borrowings, in order to uncover new tendencies in this area.

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Australian Food Slang

Abstract

The article analyzes Australian food slang. The first part of the research deals with the definition and etymology of the word 'slang', the purpose of slang and its main characteristics, as well as the history of Australian slang. In the second part, an Australian food slang classification consisting of five categories is provided: -ie/-y/-o and other abbreviations, words that underwent phonetic change, words with new meaning, Australian rhyming slang, and words of Australian origin. The definitions of each word and examples from the corpora and various dictionaries are provided. The paper also dwells on such particular cases as regional varieties of the word 'sausage' (including the map of sausages) and drinking slang.

Keywords: Australian food slang, Australian English, varieties of English, linguistic and culture studies.

Australian slang is a vivid and picturesque part of an extremely fascinating variety of English. Just like Australian English in general, the slang Down Under is influenced by both British and American varieties. Australian slang started as a criminal language, it moved to Australia together with the British convicts. Naturally, the attitude towards slang was negative – those who were not part of the criminal culture tried to exclude slang words from their vocabulary. First and foremost, it had this label of criminality and offense. This attitude only changed after the World War I, when the soldiers created their own slang, parts of which ended up among the general public. Naturally, the newspapers yet again were the main trendsetters. This was the time when Australian slang was at its peak – in the sense that it was perhaps most authentic. After that it was heavily influenced by American slang and American culture in general – just like the rest of the world. Australian slang adopted a number of American words and phrases, but still, it is very distinct (partly due to the accent) and recognizable.

This particular topic – food slang – was chosen due to the fact that food remains a major part of socialization. It is a universal topic that is understood across all countries and nationalities. It is also an extremely important part of culture, it is a reflection of the culture. Australian food is a very social experience that often takes place outside – at the beach. Australians are known for their laid-back attitude, and their slang is another proof of it.

Data and Methodology

The aim of this research is to show Australian food slang in all its variety, to determine and describe the meanings of separate words and phrases, and to provide a classification of it. The purpose of this research is to provide a collection of Australian food slang terms that are used today. While different slang dictionaries provide different terms for food, this article is a more full and complete representation of Australian food slang. The materials used for this research include the definitions from a number of dictionaries (*Oxford English Dictionary*, *Macquarie Dictionary*, *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, etc.), the Corpus of Global Web-Based English, NOW Corpus, and the TV Corpus data, as well as publicist texts. The theoretical base of the research are monographs, academic articles, teaching aid books in the field of linguistic and culture studies, etymology, varieties of English.

The main methods of this research include lexical semantic and cognitive types of language analysis, as well as lexicological analysis. The slang terms related to the topic of food were extracted from publicist texts and dictionaries, after which the definitions were drawn based on the Corpus examples. This methodology allowed to describe Australian food slang in detail and classify it.

1. What Is Slang?

1.1. Definition and Etymology

Writing about slang presents a complicated task, since the idea of slang is universally understandable but very hard to define and explain. Moreover, slang is often intuitive and requires cultural background knowledge in order to understand it. Still, in this research paper I will try to identify and define some of the culinary terms Australians use in an informal setting, i.e. food slang. Before we proceed to the words and phrases themselves, it is important to get an understanding of what slang is in general.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* says that slang is "a type of language consisting of words and phrases that are regarded as very informal, are more

common in speech than writing, and are typically restricted to a particular context or group of people". The term originated in the 18th century and initially was the language of thieves, although later it received a more positive meaning of a "jargon of a particular profession". In the book *Slang Today and Yesterday*, Eric Partridge argues that slang used to indicate vulgar language before 1850, after which it was accepted by general public and became widely used. Now that slang is used by every class and is recognized everywhere, it does not contain any negative meaning or connotations (Partridge 1954: 3).

The definition of the word *slang* in the *Cambridge Dictionary* is very similar to the *Oxford Dictionary* one: a "very informal language that is usually spoken rather than written, used especially by particular groups of people". *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* defines slang as a "language peculiar to a particular group" and "informal nonstandard vocabulary", and "extravagant… speech". So, we can highlight several main points: informal context, group identity, and colorfulness.

As for the etymology of the word, scholars lean towards three different theories: Romani, Scandinavian, and variations on English words *language*, *lingo*, or the French *langue*.

The first theory, Romani, goes back to the Isaac Taylor's findings in the village named Flash, Derbyshire. It was him who noticed that a "narrow strip of land" is called *slang*, "such as used for gypsy encampments" (Green 2016: 3). *Slang* had a wider meaning and included traveling shows organized by gypsies. However, it was not possible to find a Romani etymology for the word slang.

The Scandinavian theory finds its roots in Walter Skeat's work, namely, his *Etymological Dictionary of the English Language.* In this dictionary, he traces the origin of the word slang to the Norwegian *sleng* – "a slinging, an invention, device <…> a little addition or burthen of a song, in verse and in melody". The derivatives of this word include *slengjenamn* – "a nickname", *slanger* – "gossip", *slengjeord* – "an insult or allusion". This etymology was accepted by a number of generations of OED's editors, until the groundbreaking work by Eric Partridge, who suggested that the word *slang* comes from the Old and Middle English verb *sling*, which also has links to Old Norse. This theory would explain the meaning of *slang* as a somewhat abusive language (Green 2016: 5).

The third theory relies on the fact that slang, be it criminal jargon or simply a vulgar language, is still a language, thus it seems logical to link it to the words *language, lingo*, and *langue*. How and why did the 's' appear in the beginning then? Some linguists explain it with the theory of 'attraction'. In this case, such compound words as "beggars' lang" or "thieves' lang" have pulled the letter 's', which explains *slang*.

If we look at some other materials, for example the *Online Etymology Dictionary*, we will see that it does not give any concrete information. Moreover, it says that the etymology is unknown, however, the word *slang* was thought to have come from Norwegian *slengnamn*, which is translated as "nickname" (*Online Etymology Dictionary*). However, this is not correct, as is the connection to the French *langue*, and both are denied by etymologists such as Anatoly Liberman. In his study *The Etymology of the Word Slang*, he states that the word was previously used for "a narrow piece of land" and "those who travel about this territory" (hawkers), so it was "the manner of hawkers' speech", "low class jargon, argot" (Liberman 2003: 99), which brings us back to the Romani theory (it is, however, important to understand that there are no links to Romani except for the "narrow strip of land" meaning).

The solution offered by Jonathon Green is closely related to the Anatoly Liberman's theory, which he considers the most accurate. He agrees that the roots can be found in Scandinavian languages, but we should look at parallel definitions rather than one single word. He claims that some of these terms might have been borrowed by hawkers and brought to the English (London) underworld (Green 2016: 7).

1.2. The Purpose of Slang

Slang exists in all well-known languages, moreover, sometimes it develops to an extent when it can be considered as a language within the language. For example, Ebonics was widely used in the United States of America in the 20th century, it was the language of the African-American population and its main purpose was to communicate secretively without being understood by the police. Some of their vocabulary was adopted by the white population, which is why African-Americans had to create new words to stay secretive.

Many professions, especially in the sphere of finance or IT, have developed a special jargon, which also is inaccessible to an uninitiated person. Still, even those words penetrate into the standard language and enrich it, make it more interesting.

Slang is used for self-expression, and even more – it reflects personality, it helps a group of people distinguish themselves from others (Partridge 1954: 4). Referring to M. Alfredo Niceforo, Partridge enumerated fifteen reasons why slang "is employed". They include the "playfulness or waggishness" of it, the humorous side or the desire to express snobbishness, to separate from the crowd, to be "picturesque", "startling", "to be brief and concise", "to enrich the language", "to reduce... the excessive seriousness of a conversation", "to amuse", to ease "social intercourse", to show one's belonging to a "school, trade, or profession", "social class", or "to be secret" (Partridge 1954: 6–7).

1.3. Slang Characteristics

It is natural that there are numerous ways to characterize slang. We can look at the social aspect of it: slang does not belong to any class since it encompasses words that come from various social backgrounds and that are still understandable for the majority of people (Partridge 1954: 10). As noted by E.W. Bowen, "it is composed of colloquialisms everywhere current..." However, we must also be aware of the fact that *colloquialism* and *slang*, even though often used in the same context, are different terms. While *colloquialism* is an informal version of a language, a phrase that is used in a less formal context, *slang* is the use of non-standard words, or misuse of certain words and phrases (Austin Peay State University Academic Support Center, 2012). Apart from not being class-dependent, slang is culturally universal: it can be found in all linguistic communities. Although slang does appear in different forms and possess various traits, it is present in all cultures (Moore, Bindler, Pandich 2010: 524–26).

We can also talk about slang's informal or colloquial tone. While slang does not belong to any class, it can be used in order to identify with a particular sub--group, which is why slang is bright, playful, rebellious, and inventive. It serves a "group-identifying function". These days, however, the goal is changing, and instead of creating a group identity, people want to identify with a particular style or an attitude (Eble 1996: 119). In order for this to happen, slang has to be new, appealing, acceptable, and fashionable, as well as creative (Eble 1996: 120, Coleman 2014: 4). The importance of style also explains the linguistic variation of slang. However, style in this case does not only relate to the means of saying the same thing in different ways. It combines the way people speak, the way they dress, the way they behave (Davie 2019: 78).

Another distinct trait of slang is its secrecy. It is known that around 52% of all the terms in the English language are not recorded in dictionaries (research by Jean-Baptiste Michel et al.), some scholars believe there is 'dark lexis' in every language, and slang can be considered part of this 'dark net'. The role of secrecy is extremely important for slang. In fact, this characteristic once again reminds me of Ebonics, the goal of which was, partly, to communicate secretly.

It is also important to mention that slang is made in the cities, it is urban. After the industrial revolution, the countryside language, the regional dialects started to disappear. Instead, cities began to provide new slang words that ended up on the industrial streets. Slang has always been considered vulgar, low, and non-standard, but, to give it justice, slang did appear on the streets, and these two words – slang and street – will always be connected (Green 2016: 37). Apart from that, slang is not restricted geographically, it is not a variety. Although, some exceptions do exist: for example, British bloke vs. American guy (Eble 1996: 10).

1.4. Australian Slang

For a very long time Britain's slang was the only English-based non-standard language. However, with the emerging Australian population, the situation changed. It happened so that the first ever dictionary published in Australia included both slang words and the standard English, since it was "a glossary of cant appended to the memories of the transportee James Hardy Vaux" in 1819 (Green 2016: 49). After that, a number of magazines that included new words appeared, the words that were unknown to the British, which was a step towards creating a new variety of English. These days, such terms are known as Australianisms.

Australian English is known to be very different from the rest of the world Englishes, and the distinct accent appeared in the 19th century (Coleman 2012: 207). Colin Bowles in his *G'day! Teach Yourself Australian in 20 Easy Lessons* argues that it is "patently untrue" that even someone who speaks English fluently can understand Australians. Back in 1945 it was considered a serious issue, as even the then Minister of Immigration announced that "all newcomers of course will have to learn to speak Australian." (Bowles 1986: vii). As for the non-standard language, at first, it mainly consisted of the language of criminals (like in the UK and the US). Apart from that, many British slang words traveled to Australia together with its citizens, which explains the similarity between the two. Still, Australian slang started to develop on its own, independently of other English-speaking countries. The attitude towards it changed, too. If before the WWI slang was considered vulgar and shameful, after the war it "came to represent vitality, virility, and defiantly high morale" (Coleman 2012: 215). Slang became widespread and reached further beyond the bounds of Sydney. Naturally, such popularity led to the compilation of the first Australian slang dictionary by Sidney J. Baker. The dictionary speaks about the influences that Australian slang had, including the dominance of American movies and TV shows, as well as a general multiculturalism, which leads to a decline of slang. However, no slang is pure, and such influence is only natural. Today, Australian slang is presented on a number of official governmental websites, aiming to help newcomers feel at home in the Land Down Under. Australian slang remains varied, creative, and accepting of other cultural influences (Coleman 2012: 216–23).

2. Australian Food Slang Classification

While researching dozens of different words and phrases that comprise Australian food slang, I tried to find interrelations and similarities between them, so that a classification can be created. In this paper, Australian food

slang is divided into five subcategories. The first one is the -ie/-y/-o and other abbreviations – words that 'lost' their endings due to the peculiarities in Australian pronunciation. The second subcategory are words that underwent phonetic change, which resulted in the change of spelling. The third one is the words with new meaning. Naturally, not all of the words are new to the English language, but the meaning of these particular words in this particular context, which is Australian food slang, is different from the rest of the world. The fourth group is Australian rhyming slang – an obvious choice, since rhyming slang is very rich and colorful, and offers plenty of examples from various spheres of life, including food. The last subcategory is words of Australian origin, which includes words from aboriginal languages. In most cases, they signify various edible plants that are native to Australia.

2.1. -ie/-y/-o and Other Abbreviations

The first group of words in the classification are diminutives, which are very common in Australia. This is why Australian English is considered a somewhat 'lazy' variety – Australians simply omit the endings of some words. In fact, these endings mark informality and point to familiarity between speakers (Moore 2014: 90). The examples below belong to the Australian food slang vocabulary.

> **Avo** – avocado.
> (1) Veggie breakfast – eggs, sourdough, spinach, avo, tomato, mushrooms (GloWbE).
>
> **Barbie** – BBQ.
> (2) (a) Here I was, across the world, in this land with kangaroos, clear blue water, shrimp on the barbie and I had nothing to say? (GloWbE).
> (b) He propounded the natural and national virtues of the Aussie beach barbie with beer and prawns, and the big chunder – *Australian*, p. 20, 1976 (cited in G. Wilkes' *Dictionary of Australian Colloquialisms*).
>
> **Bardie** – an edible wood grub (Bardistus cibarius).
> (3) (a) "They've been stuck out in the mulga for nearly a week… livin' on lizards and bardies" – Stuart Gore *Holy Smoke* p. 82, 1968 (cited in G. Wilkes' *Dictionary of Australian Colloquialisms*).
> (b) So, for example, a bardie bush doesn't have a lot of palatable value to cattle but it has a high eco-system value because it acts as a nursery for other more desirable shrubs to come through (NOW Corpus).

While one might argue that this word should be included in the last category, Words of Australian origin, I decided to leave it here since the name derives not from the Australian aboriginal languages but from Latin.

> **Brekky (brekkie)** – breakfast (Coleman 2012: 221).
> (4) You put butter on your toast then put a thin spread of the stuff on. Not a bad brekkie (GloWbE).

Chewie – chewing gum (Coleman 2012: 221). According to GloWbE, much more popular in the US.

(5) (a) "Shut up, mug", Danny said. "Give us a chewie". – William Dick, A Bunch of Ratbags, p. 244, 1965 (cited in *The New Partridge Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English*).
(b) I went with the plantain chips, a package of Justin's peanut butter cups, and a pack of chewie Fruities (The TV Corpus).

Chokkie (choccy) – chocolate (Coleman 2012: 221).

(6) I know it's addictive to me – one small choccy and hell, give me the whole damn block thanks! (GloWbE).

Choccy Biccy – chocolate biscuit. One would assume that the phrase would also be of Australian origin, however, the corpus shows that it is only found in Britain. It can be explained by the fact that the word *biccy* originated in Britain (Coleman 2012: 221).

(7) So with an early morning sing-along, a cup of tea and a choccy biccy we were all cheery enough once we arrived at Boathouse organic farm (GloWbE).

Eski, esky – trade name of portable cooler for drinks, etc. (Coleman 2012: 221).

(8) (a) "Look, mate, I don't mind a tidal wave as long as it doesn't knock over my esky." – Sunday Telegraph (Sydney), 1976 (cited in G. Wilkes' *Dictionary of Australian Colloquialisms*).
(b) For a simpler solution fill the bath with ice and put the beers in, or buy some eski's – the polystyrene ones work equally as well for the day and won't break the bank (The TV Corpus).

Lobby (lobbies) – lobsters, a freshwater crayfish. Also called *yabbies*.

(9) (a) Growing up in Brisbane during the 60's and 70's a lobby was a fresh water cray while only those found in salt water were called yabbies.
(b) My husband grew up in Bundaberg, Qld, in the 1950's & early 60's and always used the word lobby not yabbie (both – *Macquarie Dictionary*).

Lollies – sweets (Coleman 2012: 219).

(10) (a) Fanny ran away to the nearest lolly shop, and all her brothers and sisters followed her. – Catherine Spence *Clara Morison,* p. 278, 1971 (cited in G. Wilkes' *Dictionary of Australian Colloquialisms*).
(b) His series on corner stores set off recollections of children buying lollies from friendly and not-so-friendly shop owners (NOW Corpus).

Maccas – McDonald's.

(11) I can't remember the last time I ate Maccas – it's hideous junk (GloWbE).

Mash – mashed potatoes.

(12) The Lord Nelson is a big chicken schnitzel topped with avocado, nz mussels, prawns & occy in creamy garlic white wine sauce served with chips & salad or mash & vegies. Outstanding (GloWbE).

Pav – pavlova, a meringue dessert with cream and fruit topping.

(13) (a) The food… included the best pay I've had in years (although the topping of kiwi fruit somehow departed from the WA theme). – Australian, Mag. 20, 1983.
(b) If the result represents an incongruous collision of cultures and comic sensibilities – the whole experience can feel like nibbling on a Four'n Twenty croissant, or a pav topped with escargot – it'll make you giggle and wince at its

daring (unless you fancy yourself a purist, in which case you'll probably grimace and feel inappropriately superior) (NOW Corpus).

Sammie – a sandwich.

(14) You doan like it, there's Vegemite inner cupboard. Make yourself a sammie (Bowles 1986: 27).

Sav – saveloy (see *saveloy*).

(15) The cook's home port was in Boston, and he'd just managed to get the savs covered with cold water before blowing through. - *As You Were*, p. 58, 1949 (cited in G. Wilkes' *Dictionary of Australian Colloquialisms*).

Spag bol – spagghetti bolognese.

(16) (a) "And [Al Grassby] brought in all those migrants… y'know, those coons and spags". – Bulletin 1 Jun, pp. 399–40, 1974 (cited in G. Wilkes' *Dictionary of Australian Colloquialisms*).
(b) It could be that lovely Helen at the local pool telling me she read and liked my article, my husband saying I look really pretty in that dress or my little tykes exclaiming their spag bol is amazing (NOW Corpus).

Toastie – a toasted sandwich. According to GloWbE, more popular in Britain.

(17) Italy's answer to a cheese toastie - the cheese calzone (calzone ai formaggi) was up next… (GloWbE).

Veggies – vegetables (Coleman 2012: 221). According to GloWbE, more popular in the US.

(18) For 10 weeks, they were given a low-calorie diet consisting of veggies and a diet shake (for a total of around 500 calories per day) (GloWbE).

2.2. Phonetic Change

The words presented below underwent phonetic change, which led to a different spelling and, eventually, to a new word.

Chook – a domestic fowl, a chicken (Coleman 2012: 219).

(19) (a) A game rooster that could massacre twenty of your neighbours' domestic cooks in as many minutes. – J.C.L. Fitzpatrick *The Good Old Days*, p. 71, 1900 (cited in G. Wilkes' *Dictionary of Australian Colloquialisms*).
(b) Yet, at May Street they sell a belter of a side dish of Perth's current chook of choice, Korean fried chicken, that will set you back a measly six bucks (NOW Corpus).

Sanger – a sandwich

(20) (a) "I fixed a few sangos for you". – John Kiddell *Euloowirree Walkabout,* p. 21, 1969 (cited in G. Wilkes' *Dictionary of Australian Colloquialisms*).
(b) Defining sanger, he wrote: "Sandwiches. Someone who fancied a chicken sausage sandwich could ask for a chook snag sanger". (NOW Corpus).

2.3. Words with New Meaning

Naturally, this category is the largest, as the words presented below are used in Australian English and, particularly, in Australian food slang, with a modified meaning. While the words themselves are not new to the English

language, the meanings are quite peculiar and different from the rest of the world.

Arse nuts, bum nuts – eggs (Bowles 1986: 75).
(21) The curried bum-nuts are freakin awesome. Incidentally, egg dishes are very popular in India too. Nothing like the dirty 'curried egg' we get on sangers over here in Oz (GloWbE).

Billy – teapot or a small pot used for brewing tea or cooking soup in. The term originates from the times when bushmen (a dweller who lives away from the populated areas in Australia) had to provide themselves with food while being away from civilization.
(22) Edward came behind… carrying in one hand a gun, in the other a tin kettle or billy, as the diggers call it. – William Howitt *Land, Labour and Gold*, p. 195, 1855 (cited in G. Wilkes' *Dictionary of Australian Colloquialisms*).

Billy tea – tea made in a billy.
(23) A barbecue breakfast, billy tea and damper will be on sale and highlights of the ceremony include Citizen of the Year awards (The TV Corpus).

Counter lunch, countery – pub lunch. Lunch counter is an equivalent used worldwide, it is a small diner where a client sits on a stool by a counter and the food is cooked on the other side.
(24) (a) During smoko at Leopold Conrad's butcher's shop, his men would swarm across the street to Mildren's pub for a counter lunch (GloWbE).
(b) Down in South Albury we'll gather at Brady's Hotel, have a counter lunch and a few frothies, before sitting down, having a few more frothies and yelling our guts out for the working class teams (NOW Corpus).

Cut lunch – sandwiches. In the UK the term means a light meal put in a container (*Cambridge Online Dictionary*).
(25) Cut lunch – another way to say sandwich (GloWbE).

Damper – bread made out of flour and water, soda bread. Australian travelers who went to remote areas would traditionally bake this bread in the coals or ashes of a campfire.
(26) (a) "You wait til I get out. Your damper'll be dough". – Brian Penton *Landtakers*, p. 51, 1934 (cited in G. Wilkes' *Dictionary of Australian Colloquialisms*).
(b) Tasting plates include oysters, bimbalas, mullet, abalone, and damper, depending on what's being cooked at the time (NOW Corpus).

Dingo's breakfast – no breakfast, also bush-man's breakfast. A dingo is a wild dog, which is considered dangerous and often persecuted. This dog's life is tough and it has no time for breakfast, it is always on the run.
(27) A dingo's breakfast, a pee and a look around, is free, which I'm told is popular with tourists on buses. – Age (Melbourne) 16 Hun Extra 11, 1984 (cited in G. Wilkes' *Dictionary of Australian Colloquialisms*).

Fairy floss – candy floss, cotton candy.
(28) (a) Just between you and I, pistachio-flavoured fairy floss is the new Black Forest gateau (GloWbE).
(b) "Sundaes with cream and fairy floss and lollies, things like that. And milkshakes – we put lollies on top of them", Elisha says (NOW Corpus).

Flake – shark's flesh, mainly the small ones'; shark's meat (Bowles 1986: 35).

(29) Knowing it was shark has been the reason why I have generally chosen whiting, not really sure why, but something about eating something called 'flake' when it was really 'shark' annoyed me for some reason and didn't sit right (GloWbE).

Icy pole – frozen flavored water snack; the equivalents in other English-speaking countries are *freezer pop, ice lolly, ice block*.

(30) While waiting we were given an icy pole and after we had been rescued we were given a box of chocolates and letter from the Motel Reception apologising for the inconvenience. Pretty amazing (GloWbE).

Jaffle – A toasted sandwich. Also, a cooking appliance for making toasts.

(31) If you've ever made a jaffle or toasted sandwich and cursed at how your cheese has melted out and on to the cooking surface, haloumi is best eaten fried or grilled! This is because of its high melting point (GloWbE).

Mush, moose – prison food, esp. porridge.

(32) "What's mush?" I asked… "Breakfast, kid", said George. "A dixie full of lumpy gluey, reviled wheat" (*Oxford Dictionary of Slang*).

Mystery bag – a meat pie or a sausage. It is unknown what the butcher put in there, hence the name.

(33) "The bags of mystery or links of love are sausages" (*Oxford Dictionary of Slang*).

Pie floater – a meat pie floating in a bowl of pea soup with lots of sauce. Generally used in South Australia, in Adelaide (Bowles 1986: 75).

(34) That means it's shirts off and in the mud for Dr Chris and Commando – at least once a week Plus Tiffany gets a weekly eating challenge – starting with a pie floater from Harry's Cafe de Wheels and ending with a dozen of them chicken embryo eggs they had to eat on Survivor (GloWbE).

Plate, bring a – instruction on party or BBQ to bring a previously prepared and assembled plate of food to share.

(35) When you are invited to a party and asked to "bring a plate", this means to bring a dish of food to share with your host and other guests. Take the food to the party in any type of dish, not just a plate, and it is usually ready to serve (GloWbE).

Saveloy – a hot dog.

(36) A Paddy's market was an open air affair, a mixture of merry-go-rounds, sideshows, saveloy sellers, farmers with produce and animals for sale, second hand dealers, craftsmen and members of the rag trade (GloWbE).

Snag, snagger – a sausage. It is possible that the word appeared due to a similarity of the shape of a sausage and an actual snag. However, a more frequent interpretation is that the word originated from 'snack'. Colin Bowles notes that Australian sausages are "thin, pink, obscene and tasteless" (Bowles 1986: 61). Other sources such as *Macquarie Dictionary* also point out to the fact that Australian sausages typically are mild, not too spicy.

(37) Throwing some snags on the barbie, turning on the cricket and cracking a cold beer are just part and parcel of summer (GloWbE).

Snarler – a sausage. According to the corpora, more popular in New Zealand.

(38) At the end of the dispensing line little chaps from the Boys' Brigade ejaculated a blob of rich red Fountain Tomato Sauce on top of each snarler. – Sydney Morning Herald, 1982 (cited in G. Wilkes' *Dictionary of Australian Colloquialisms*).

Since, at this point, we have encountered two different Australianisms signifying the word *sausage* – *snag* and *snarler* – it would be appropriate to dig deeper into the topic and discuss Australian regional names for the word. It appears that all regions in Australia have different names for the word *sausage*, all of them are shown on the map below (Figure 1).

Starting from the very north of Australia, we encounter the phrase **round meat**. We might assume that the name appeared due to the round shape in which some of the sausages are made. As we move south, new terms are found. **Windsor sausage** is the typical sausage name found in North Queensland; the flavor and the shape of the sausage are the same as Devon sausage (see below), but the name is different (*Macquarie Dictionary*). Queensland has several names for the word *sausage*, those include **veal German, luncheon**, and **mortadello(a)** (the Italian influence). And again, the contents of the sausage remain the same, and the only difference is the name. Macquarie Dictionary contributors note that as children they did not realize that it was not common to call a sausage, for example, a *luncheon*, but as they grew up and started traveling around the country, they encountered all this great variety of names used, essentially, to define the same thing. **Byron sausage** is the name typical for a large area which includes New South Wales and Northern Rivers. One of the contributors notes that while they were growing up in Lismore (a town close to Brisbane), it was common to use this word. The name itself derives from a small factory at Byron Bay called Norco, which was producing these sausages (*Macquarie Dictionary*). Moving further 'down', all the way to Victoria and Northern Tasmania, we encounter a number of different words: **German sausage, pork German, Strasbourg, Strasburg**, and, simply, **Stras**. The last one can be explained by the Australian's love for shortenings. As for the first two, clearly, the German influence can be traced. One of the contributors notes that their mother, who was from Melbourne, would always use the word *Strasburg*. Moreover, *Strasburg*, compared to all the other sausages listed above, has a strong flavor, it is spicier and reminds of salami (*Macquarie Dictionary*). Another popular name in that area is Devon sausage, which is more common and well-known throughout Australia than the other regionalisms. In Tasmania the common names for sausage are **Belgium sausage** and **wheel meat**. Last but not least, in the less populated Western Australia the common name for a sausage is **polony**. This word may have originated from the Italian *bologna*, and, as one of the *Macquarie Dictionary* contributors notes, "in Perth it is polony" (*Macquarie Dictionary*).
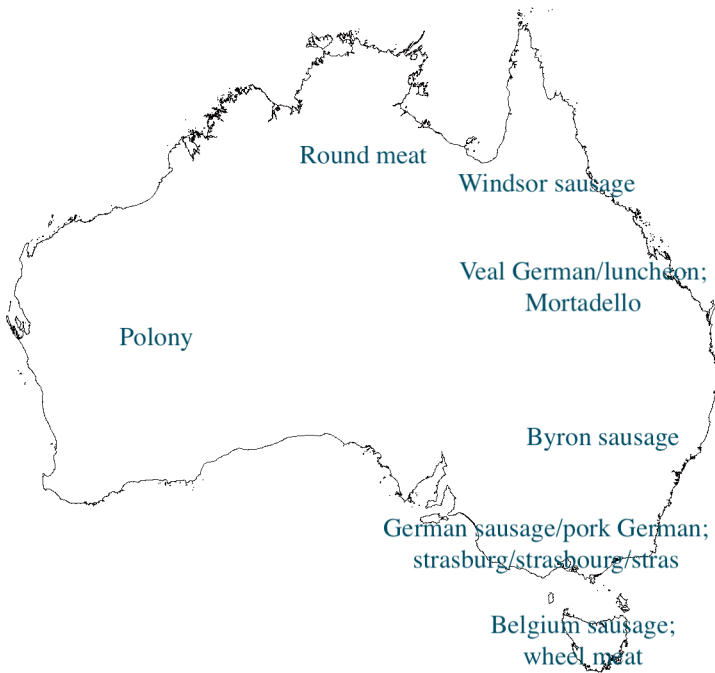
Figure 1. Australian Sausage Map. (Source: compiled by the author)

Spud – a potato. The word comes from the digging a hole in the soil before planting a potato. Related to the Latin word *spad-* meaning *sword*. According to GloWbE, more popular in Ireland.

(39) One of the projects that caught her eye was potato stamping, which she tackled on her own – including the cutting of the spud (GloWbE).

Tucker – food. Some examples from Australian National Corpus include: "Sit down and have some tucker", "Let me have some tucker I will work for it", "And have to eat their tucker too". One could argue that the word *tucker* presupposes the necessity to fight for food, work hard to get some.

(40) Eastenders are known as hard-working, hard-living folks. They also have pretty hard stomachs? come lunchtime, don't be surprised if jellied eels, or eel pie, appear before you as traditional tucker (GloWbE).

Tucker-bag – food bag.

(41) They also carried a tucker bag containing a frying pan, tucker and a billy or billycan to make tea (GloWbE).

2.4. Australian Rhyming Slang (Food and Drinks)

Dead horse – tomato sauce (The Melbourne Local, Apr 2, 2012). Interestingly, the phrase *tomato sauce* means *horse* according to *A Dictionary of English Rhyming Slang*.

(42) (a) Dead horse – a phrase meaning tomato sauce (GloWbE).
(b) A couple of pounds of stammer and stutter with a bottle of dead horse – W.S. Ramson, ANND, 1998. Puckapunyal: Official Journal of the 17th Australian

Infantry Brigade, 2nd October 1940 (cited in *A Dictionary of English Rhyming Slang*).

Dog's eye – meat pie. The dish is popular not only in Australia but also in the United Kingdom, New Zealand, Canada and several African countries.

(43) (a) Dog's eye- a type of Australian meat pie (GloWbE).

(b) You're a two wheeler, go and get us a dog's eye and dead horse. – M. Balwyn, Survval Guide, p. 143, 2007 (cited in *A Dictionary of English Rhyming Slang*).

Bleeding dog's eye – a meat pie with tomato sauce (cited in *A Dictionary of English Rhyming Slang*).

Britney Spears – beers. Sometimes only the first name is used. Another variant of the phrase is simply *brittos*.

(44) Ready for a few cold Britneys? – Sunday Herald Sun, Melbourne, 4th March 2001 (cited in *A Dictionary of English Rhyming Slang*).

Harold Holt, Harry Holt – salt, considering the usual Australian pronunciation of the word. Harold Holt was an Australian Prime Minister, who disappeared at Portsea in Victoria where he was swimming.

(45) So we nutter out a few quid, pair of lobsters, and I did a Harold. – 2007 (cited in *A Dictionary of English Rhyming Slang*).

Angus Murray – a curry. Angus Murray was an Australian criminal. *A Dictionary of English Rhyming Slang* references S.J. Baker's *The Australian Language* and G. Seal's DEDH, however, no examples of the use were found in the corpus.

Gypsie Lee – tea.

(46) The great British response to any huge crisis – put the kettle on and have a brew-up, the world may be about to end but there's still time for a cup of Gypsy Rose Lee… – 2008 (cited in *A Dictionary of English Rhyming Slang*).

Kerb and gutter – butter. A Dictionary of English Rhyming Slang references S.J. Baker's *The Australian Language* and J. Meredith's *DAS*, however, no examples of the use were found in the corpus.

Loop the loop – soup. Also used in Britain and America, as well as New Zealand. However, the variant *loopy the loop* was only found in Australia.

(47) "I want some squad halt in my looping-the-loop", is the modern way of asking for salt in your soup. – A.W. Boyd, *Country Diary*, p. 226, 1946 (cited in *A Dictionary of English Rhyming Slang*).

Soft as silk – milk. *A Dictionary of English Rhyming Slang* references S.J. Baker's *The Australian Language* and J. Meredith's *LTOJL*, however, no examples of the use were found in the corpus. Still, the phrase soft as silk is very often found near the word milk, or white as milk. Thus, we may assume that this is how the phrase came about.

Squatter's daughter – water. According to *A Dictionary of English Rhyming Slang*, the short form appeared in the Sydney *Kings Cross Whisper* in 1967.

(48) Rhyming slang that my father used included squatter's daughter for water and salt-sea wave for shave. – *The Age*, Melbourne, 1996 (cited in *A Dictionary of English Rhyming Slang*).

Tom and Sam – jam. *A Dictionary of English Rhyming Slang* references S.J. Baker's *The Australian Language* and J. Meredith's *LTOJL*, however, no examples of the use were found in the corpus.

Uncle Ned – bread. Used only in the full form.

(49) If you are asked have you any 'Uncle Ned', is have you any bread[.] – *The Kapunda Herald*, Kapunda, South Australia, 1894 (cited in *A Dictionary of English Rhyming Slang*).

Stop thief – beef. The word has a specific meaning – while talking about a piece of beef that was stolen.

(50) I have got this piece of stop thief. – D. Anglicus, VT, 1857 (cited in *A Dictionary of English Rhyming Slang*).

Off break – a steak. *A Dictionary of English Rhyming Slang* references E. Spilsted's GASB1 and G. Seal's DEDH, however, no examples of the use were found in the corpus.

2.5. Words of Australian Origin

Adjigo – a yam native to coastal Western Australia. The word originated in one of the aboriginal languages called Nhanta in the 19th century (*The Oxford English Dictionary*).

Anzac Biscuits, Anzacs – cookies made with oats and coconut that were given to ANZAC ("Australian and New Zealand Army Corps") soldiers during WWI.

(51) These were the tastiest anzac biscuits ever and so easy to cook as well (GloWbE).

Barra – an abbreviation for barramundi (see *barramundi*).

(52) Back in' 89 i was in at Windjana by myself and at the time there where no 'no fishing' and yes I did throw a lure around, caught ox eyed tarpon and a few small barra all released, there were also plenty of small crocs waiting for a feed (GloWbE).

Barramundi; barra – aboriginal name for Australian freshwater fish, esp. the large ones and found in the north of the continent.

(53) 1st Course – Confit Salmon with Peas # 2nd Course – Duck Ravioli with Wild Mushroom # 3rd Course – Barramundi with Roasted Fennel # 4th Course – Beef Cheek with Parsnip Mash # 5th Course – Peach Bellini (NOW Corpus).

2.6. A Glimpse into Australian Drinking Slang

While in order to cover Australian drinking slang fully, one will need to conduct serious research, it is essential to show at least some examples in this paper, which is why I call it simply a glimpse and not a comprehensive review. The words below can also be categorized based on the classification presented earlier, however, since the groups would end up being too small, I present the terms in alphabetical order.

A Cold One – beer. Considering how hot it can get during summer in Australia, a cold beer on the beach is a must, hence the name.

(54) "We've all won this race … and now that we've done it I think we deserve a cold one". (GloWbE).

Adam's Ale – water.

(55) Adam's Ale – refers to the biblical first man, means water as in "I am bloody parched, need a gulp of Adam's ale". (GloWbE).

Amber fluid – beer. The name appeared due to the similarity of the color of amber an beer (*Oxford Dictionary of Slang*).

(56) There'll be 360 meat pies and 30 kilos of snags to demolish, washed down with 40 cartons of amber fluid. – NT News (Darwin), 1980.

Bottlo, bottle-oh – a person who collects and sells used bottles (Coleman 2012: 222).

(57) It was an approach as familiar as the postmen with their whistles, and the cockatoos glanced idly at the sweating pony and the two bottle-os in their grubby trousers and singlets. – Vince Kelly, The Bogeyman, p. 186, 1956 (cited in *The New Partridge Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English*).

Bundy – Bundaberg Rum, often in the expression *bundy and coke*.

(58) The "spirit of the game" was over-proof Bundy run and all players entered freely into it. – National Times 10 Mar Colour Mag. 6, 1984 (cited in G. Wilkes' *Dictionary of Australian Colloquialisms*).

Cab Sav – Cabernet Sauvignon.

(59) The big one, a traditional Bordeaux blend of Cab Sav, Merlot, Cab Franc, Malbec and Petit Verdot (GloWbE).

Cleanskin – a bottle of wine with no label.

(60) This improvement has apparently been eroded over the last eighteen months by the promotion of cleanskin bottled wine selling for as little as $2 a bottle (GloWbE).

Coldie – a can or bottle of cold beer (Coleman 2012: 221).

(61) "Copla coldies in the fridge", he said. – Nino Culotta *They're a Weird Mob*, p. 126, 1957 (cited in G. Wilkes' *Dictionary of Australian Colloquialisms*).

Cuppa – a cup, cup of.

(62) So sit back, read on and enjoy with a cuppa herbal tea… (GloWbE).

Dead soldier or **dead marine** – empty beer or spirits bottle.

(63) "Woodcartin's not the game it used to be, neither is collectin' dead marines". – K.S. Prichard *Golden Miles*, p. 375, 1948 (cited in G. Wilkes' *Dictionary of Australian Colloquialisms*)

Drink with the flies – to drink alone in a pub; unsociable attitude.

(64) "A few days ago a common swage, drinking with the flies". – Arthur Wright *The Boy from Bullarah,* p. 114, 1925 (cited in G. Wilkes' *Dictionary of Australian Colloquialisms*).

Frothy – Beer. Originally meant *foamy* or *bubbly* and could be applied to any liquid (i.e. milkshake).

(65) Red noses and more plans and counter plans and big fires and frothy beers held aloft and there were congratulations all round (GloWbE).

Get on the turps – to drink alcohol (see *turps*).

(66) You get the people going out on a yabby picnic and they yake a big heap of grog with them, they get on the turps, fall in the river and all sorts of terrible things (GloWbE).

Goon – a flagon of wine; cheap cask wine, also the bag containing the wine (goon bag).

(67) Tim Stanford started off drinking with 'the goon'. It's a flagon of moselle or riesling. – Sydney Morning Herald, Nov 30, 1982 (cited in G. Wilkes' *Dictionary of Australian Colloquialisms*).

Grog – a general term for an alcoholic drink (usually liquor, beer).

(68) The pubs were full of shearers gorging on and waiting for a break in the weather. - Bobbie Hardy *The World Owes Me Nothing*, p. 146, 1979 (cited in G. Wilkes' *Dictionary of Australian Colloquialisms*).

Handle - a beer glass with a handle.

(69) No schooners here, George, but I guess a handle will do the job. <…> They're about the size of a middy. – M.J. Burton, Bush Pub, p. 148, 1978 (cited in *The New Partridge Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English*).

Hottie – a hotwater bottle (Coleman 2012: 221).

(70) We'd had a run of late nights and we were pretty fagged so round about ten I filled the hottie and Beryl and I went to bed. – Barry Humphries A Nice Night's Entertainment, p. 17, 1981 (cited in G. Wilkes' *Dictionary of Australian Colloquialisms*).

Lolly water – sweet soft drink or a soda that does not contain alcohol (or very little alcohol); used to describe an overly sweet drink, esp. if artificially colored.

(71) Lolly-water Soft drink (as an example of derivation from pidgin). – Baker, p. 231, 1945 (cited in G. Wilkes' *Dictionary of Australian Colloquialisms*).

Maggoted – a term used to describe someone who is extremely drunk.

(72) Greta tells the queen that she's going to the clubs to get maggoted. Classy, Greta (GloWbE).

Plonk – cheap wine; derives from WWI rhyming slang: *plinkety plonk*, meaning *vin blanc* (Coleman 2012: 220).

(73) We went to a show and the queues for the dreadful cheap plonk were long and populated by people with sad faces who would probably have been happier with an ice cream (GloWbE).

Plonko – a person who drinks cheap wine; also a *wino*.

Roadie – a final drink, usually drunk before one heads back home.
(74) A roadie is normally a beer before one hits the road (GloWbE).

Shout – a turn to buy a round of drinks (also for others).

(75) Like to come and have a beer with me? I'll shout. – William Dick *Naked Prodigal*, p. 75, 1969 (cited in G. Wilkes' *Dictionary of Australian Colloquialisms*).

Slab – a carton consisting of 24 bottles or cans of beer.

(76) After paying legal costs, court costs and dividing up his assets like a cold slab of beer on a hot day to an angry mob that just gate-crashed his party, Mr. X estimated that the whole legal experience set him back a cool $250,000.00 and this he tells me is a conservative estimate (GloWbE).

Skin full – drunk.

(77) One father was concerned that his children would be able to express their feelings. I know men really struggle in that area and it is not until they get a skin full of beer that it comes out (GloWbE).

Stubby – a 375 ml bottle of beer, smaller than usual.

(78) He threw an empty stubby into the box and went to the refrigerator for a full one. – Frank Hardy The Unlucky Australians, p. 49, 1968 (cited in G. Wilkes' *Dictionary of Australian Colloquialisms*).

Tinny – a 375 ml can of beer.

(79) The aluminium "tinnie" has long been a major force in the Australian boat market for its low initial cost, durability and ease of use. – Herald (Melbourne), Jun 35, 1979 (cited in G. Wilkes' *Dictionary of Australian Colloquialisms*).

Turps – any kind of alcoholic drink.

(80) What about the rest who are going straight back on the turps the minute the stores do open? – NT News (Darwin), Mar 6, 1982 (cited in G. Wilkes' *Dictionary of Australian Colloquialisms*).

Conclusion

Slang is a valuable topic for research, since it is always changing, always developing. Slang is universal and can be found in almost every language, which means that it is understandable to the majority of the population. Still, it is very difficult to define slang, since it comes in many forms. Its characteristics vary from having informal tone and not belonging to any class to the importance of style and attitude. Slang is secret, fashionable, vibrating, and colorful. Due to the fact that it appeared on the streets and is, in its essence, urban, slang is ever-changing, free, and accepting. All these characteristics serve the purpose of slang. Slang is used to express oneself, to stand out from the crowd and to show one's belonging to a subculture, to a group. It also helps to make the language richer, more picturesque, and playful. Last but not least, slang reduces the formality of a conversation and makes social intercourse easier.

Australian English is a distinct variety. One of its most interesting parts is food slang. Since food is an important and often essential part of a social interaction, food slang is vast and inventive. In this paper, an Australian food slang classification was proposed, which divides slang words into five categories: -ie/-y/-o and other abbreviations (e.g. pav, spag bol); words that underwent phonetic change (e.g. sanger); words with new meaning (e.g. billy, mystery bag); Australian rhyming slang (e.g. kerb and gutter, soft as silk); words of Australian origin (e.g. adjigo). Each word and phrase was defined, and the examples were given. Moreover, regional varieties of the word *sausage* were explained, and the map was attached as a form of visual

representation. To complete the review, drinking slang was also touched upon, and a number of examples were drawn.

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Obsolete, Obsolescent, and Rarely Used Verb Forms in Confederate Grammars

Abstract

Confederate textbooks published between 1861 and 1865 have recently been receiving more and more scholarly attention. Nonetheless, only a handful of publications deal with the linguistic aspects, focusing mainly on the extralinguistic traits typical of textbooks published in the Confederacy during the Civil War. This article aims to, at least partially, fill this void by means of exploring the realm of irregular verbs; more specifically it focuses on those verbs, whose preterite/past participle forms were deemed obsolete/obsolescent/belonging to solemn style in seven prescriptive grammars of the time. In the discussion section, whenever possible, comparisons to existing studies depicting coeval British and American verbal paradigms are carried out. It is assumed that such an approach allows for showing plausible similarities/discrepancies between the patterns offered in Confederate patters and in their British/Northern counterparts.
Keywords: Confederate grammars, verbal paradigm, irregular verbs, Confederate prescriptivism.

1. Introduction

Prescriptivism and its impact (or lack thereof) on language change has long been a subject of scholarly interest. Up to date American normative grammars, however, have received scant attention of researchers, as has the linguistic value of American orthoepical and prescriptive evidence. A notable exception is a series of recent publications by Anderwald (2012a, b), (2013), and (2016) in which the 19th-century American grammars are treated *en masse* and no differentiation is made between Northern and Southern publications. The latter, narrowed down to those published in the Confederate States between 1861 and 1865, constitute the topic of the present paper.

It should be emphasized that the normative input of the Confederacy has only relatively recently been acknowledged in such publications as Quigley (2006), Kopp (2009), and Bernath (2010). These, however, focus rather on the extralinguistic traits typical of textbooks of the time, such as the promotion of Southern patriotism, increasing racism, secessionist feelings or cultural elements that surface in a variety of textbooks.

To my knowledge, only within the last two decades have Confederate normative grammars and textbooks been acknowledged as a source worthy of analysis from a purely linguistic angle. More specifically, in Montgomery's (2004) *LAVIS*[1] talk (published in 2015), where the 19th century is treated as crucial in the development of Southern American English, focus is on the elements pertinent to historical dialectal data; in particular, Montgomery draws linguistic data from five Confederate textbooks that offer a list of prescribed and proscribed norms. Among these proscribed elements are some which reflect the spoken idiom of the time.

This paper is the outcome of a broader study of textbooks published in the Southern states during the Civil War period and aims at addressing whether a systematic scrutiny of these thus-far-neglected sources will unearth more information on the use of non-standard (=dialectal) features as depicted in the sections devoted to structures and forms proscribed by both grammarians and authors of textbook of the 19th century.[2] This paper, in turn, focuses on a selection of seven Confederate grammars (henceforth the *Corpus of Confederate Grammars = CCG*) published between 1861 and 1865, which offers lists of irregular verbs, whose alternative primary forms are marked as outdated or rarely used. Bearing in mind that the Confederate authors' goal was to inoculate the minds of the young and the old alike with the purest form of English, an analysis of the set of grammars may shed some light on what verbal forms were understood then as representing the most refined version of English and which were then deemed obsolete, obsolescent, and rarely used. Given the conservative character of prescriptive writing in the 19th century (Anderwald 2012a), the paper will go on to ascertain which grammars clung to outdated verb forms, and which discarded them, and whether the primary forms of verbs differ in books by the same author(s). Verb forms found in the said set of Southern grammars are also compared to Anderwald's aforementioned existing studies (and, if need be, others[3]). The aim of such an approach is twofold: (a) it allows for

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[1] *LAVIS* III: Language Variety in the South: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives. *LAVIS* III conference was held at the University of Alabama in April 2004.

[2] These might testify to the presumed continuing changes and the process of new dialect formation in the region in (more or less) the mid-19th century.

[3] For example, Dylewski's (2002) study of a corpus of Early American English for the years 1620–1720. This study investigates ablaut verbs in written American English of that period.

ascertaining whether the verbal paradigm attested in the Confederate writings conforms to the general, American pattern of the 19th century and (b), assuming that chunks of grammars, if not their entire content, had been copied from the earlier sources (not only American), the comparison to British normative grammars of the first half of the 19th century seems a legitimate approach.

Finally, the forms of verbs gleaned from the sources at issue are, whenever possible, complemented with the information garnered from Mark Davies's 400 million-word *Corpus of Historical American English*; whenever applicable, and the use of certain forms is checked in *Private Voices*, a searchable collection of Civil War letters, throughout which the elements of spoken word are apparent.[4]

2. Confederate textbooks: an introduction

Confederate textbooks include the following publications printed in the Confederate States[5] of America between 1861 and 1865: primers, readers, grammars, spellers, elocution manuals, and geography books. As Kopp (2009) maintains, in the Confederate Imprints deposited in American libraries one may find at least[6] 136 textbooks published in the Confederate States during the Civil War. The chronology of their publication is given in Figure 1.

Interestingly, even though during the war the rebellious South faced an economic blockade and later an economic depression, the need to establish its economic independence and, more importantly in the context of this paper, intellectual and educational independence from the Northern states manifested itself in a vigorous effort to provide the Southern student with books intended for their particular needs. The quote below illustrates the obstacles the Confederate publishers were forced to overcome:

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[4] This website (available at https://altchive.org/private-voices) offers "transcriptions of nearly 4,000 letters from four Southern states: North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama". Letters of the type written by members of less privileged stations of American society for the most part contain unrestrained language, where many elements of spoken language are observable.

[5] The Confederate States of America comprised 11 states which proclaimed secession once Abraham Lincoln had been elected president of the US. The Confederacy lasted from 1861 to 1865; after its defeat by the North, it ceased to exist. https://www.history.com/topics/american-civil-war/confederate-states-of-america; date of access: 01.04.2019.

[6] Kopp (2009: 30) says that the exact number of hard to specify: "Many textbooks appeared in multiple editions over the course of the war, and most bibliographers count each edition as a separate work, even when no material was added or deleted from the original content. It is therefore difficult to determine whether or not a new edition of a previously published work should be considered a unique item. A second problem is that many more textbooks may have been produced in the Confederacy than survive today in libraries and archives".

We are happy to be the medium of introducing these books to the public, and we regret that the restrictions of the blockade and the innumerable difficulties of publication in these times forbid their appearance in a style equal to their merit. We prefer to publish them without pictorial embellishments other than a simple frontispiece: first, because the expense would so greatly enhance the cost of the books as to place them beyond the reach of the general public; and secondly, because it would be exceedingly difficult now to procure illustrations worthy of the name. When the war is over it will be easy to obtain suitable cuts in stereotype plates from abroad, when a new edition will be published supplying all present omissions (Chaundron 1864: publisher note).
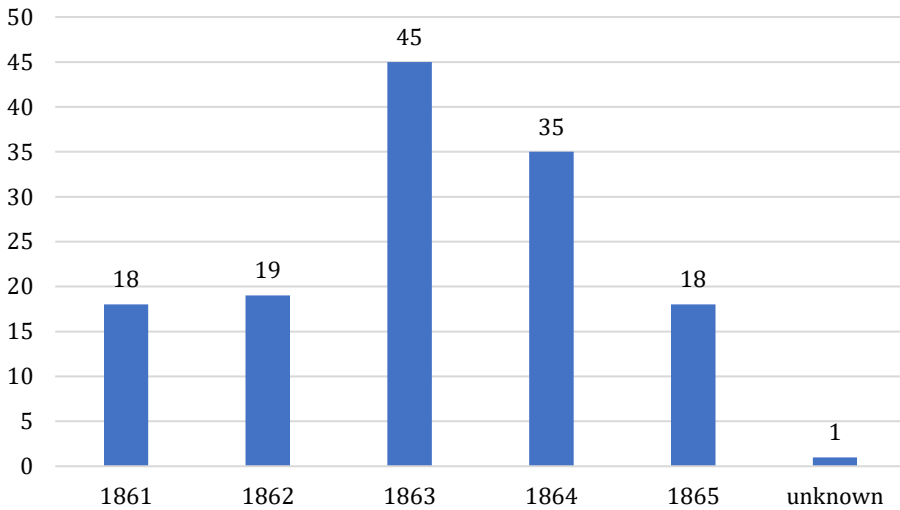

Figure 1. Chronology of textbook publishing (according to Kopp 2009: 106)

Bearing in mind more obstacles that potentially hindered the production of books, such as the growing lack of decent-quality paper and the dearth of large publishing houses in the South, the amount of educational books published between 1861 and 1865 is frankly impressive.[7] As is evident in Figure 1, in the midst of the wartime activities, the production of textbooks was at its prime. These were printed in eight Confederate states: Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, South Carolina, Texas, Alabama, and Louisiana, with Virginia and North Carolina leading the way (Kopp 2009). This domination seems to have stemmed from the relative economic prosperity which characterized these two states during the war when, of course, compared to other states of the Confederacy.

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[7]   The year 1863 was a turning point in the war, and it affected the production of textbooks: the Union army began to succeed increasingly, a year later Abraham Lincoln was elected president for the second time against the hopes of the South and the Union troops moved further South. None of this augured well for a promising future for the Confederacy.

Below the motivation behind the publishing of books in the war-stricken South together with the character of such books is addressed.

3. Confederate textbooks: motivation behind their publication

The issues of Southernness, the promotion of Southern patriotism, values and ideology, religiousness and independence in the textbooks published in the South between 1861 and 1865 has received extensive treatment in scholarly publications. The interest in the Confederate material under discussion may be categorized roughly as follows: (a) ideology, patriotism (promoting the idea of the Confederacy) have been addressed in Kopp (2009) and Bernath (2010); (b) religiosity and Southern way(s) of life, in turn, have been discussed in, e.g., Kennerly (1956), Marten (1998), and Kopp 2009; (c) the struggle for (intellectual) independence has received treatment in Bernath (2010); (d) slavery and white supremacy have been tackled by Faust (1988); (e) instructions for young Southerners constitute a part of Kopp's (2009) thesis; and (f) linguistic prescriptions and proscriptions in Confederate textbooks have been discussed by Montgomery (2004 and 2015).

This section draws partially on the existing scholarly contribution and, although the topic of this paper concentrates on Southern grammars and archaic and rare verb forms found there, it also addresses the broader category of Confederate textbooks. This seeks to give a fuller picture of the incentives behind their writing, re-writing, and publishing.

The campaign for Confederate textbooks resulted from the dependence of antebellum Southern educators and school children on Northern works. Once these books were no longer available or acceptable, an alternative was required. The aim of this alternative was to establish the supremacy of Southern textbooks over their Northern counterparts and to promote patriotism, insofar as books instructed children to honor, respect, and memorialize the Confederacy, and religiosity among young learners. Southern schoolbooks sought to teach them not only manners, but also pure English and, all in all, Confederate textbooks were vital in shaping the hearts, minds, and language of Southern youngsters. Publishing books by Southerners for Southerners also marked, not only the struggle for intellectual independence, but also the intellectual superiority of the Confederate States. It also assured the inclusion of qualities regarded as necessary, in which their Northern counterparts were ostensibly lacking.

Confederate textbooks were often prefaced with an explanation of the reason behind their publication, an emphasis of their Southern character and, importantly, their Southern authorship. A case in point would be the

preface to *The Dixie speller and reader*, in which is written: "Her main object
has been to supply a Spelling and Reading Book combined, the want of which
is seriously felt at the present time, and which, while it is adapted to the
different grades of scholarship of the young beginner, should contain
nothing objectionable in moral tone, and should be wholly Southern in
sentiment". It is also states: "[w]hile the *sons* of the South are nobly battling
for her political, a *daughter* thus makes an humble effort to keep open the
path to her literary independence" (1863: 6). Lander (1863) emphasized the
following: "...the first Arithmetic whose authorship and publication belong
exclusively to the Confederate States". In the preface to Worrell's (1861: iii)
The principles of English grammar, the author, on the one hand, offers the
following apology:

> The only apologies offered for presenting *a new Grammar* to the public are — first,
> *that every independent nation must furnish its own literature*; and second, *that none
> of the works hitherto presented to the public are perfect*. The Southerners, in their
> previous history, have been content to have their books furnished them by the North.
> This not only *discouraged Southern authorship*, and *cramped genius*, but it allowed
> the North the *chief means of shaping national bias* — THE Press. But now that the
> Southern people have separated from the North, and established an *independent
> nationality*, she will, of course, hail with pleasure every industrious effort of "*her own
> sons*" to free her from *Abolition dependencies*.[8]

He goes on, however, to maintain that "the author does not claim
absolute perfection in the present work; but he *does* claim that, while he has
embodied in this work the *best* that he could obtain from other sources, he
has presented, in a *clearer*, *fuller* light, the 'science of the English language,'
than any other one author of his acquaintance" and that there "are three
considerations which should commend this work to Southern patronage:
1. The author was *born* and *educated* in the *South*: 2. The work has been
edited and *published* in the *South*: 3. The *work itself*: "let it stand or fall on
its own merits"" (Worrell 1861: iv).

The books often contain "testimonials in [their] favor": in Baird (1864:
189), W. Perroneau Finley and John R. Dow recommend the book in this
manner:

> The Rev. Washington Baird, being about to publish, for the use of schools in the
> Confederate Slates, a Spelling Book, interspersed with Reading Lessons in prose and
> poetry, &c., and having explained to us the system on which it has been prepared,
> and having submitted many portions of the manuscripts containing lessons adapted
> to the various stages of a pupil's progress, we take pleasure in now expressing our
> opinion of the merits of his work. We consider this book of Mr. Baird's, not only
> a great desideratum in our schools, but, as the title page asserts, well calculated to
> please and instruct the young; and while it imparts useful information, its tendency
> is to produce correct moral impressions. It has also the special merit of being

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8   Original italics, hyphens, and capitalized words have been retained in this excerpt.

adapted to our Southern latitude, and in accordance with the views and sentiments of the people of the Confederate States. We also think it a valuable acquisition as a family book for the instruction and training of children during their elementary course; and we have no hesitation in recommending it to the patronage of all who are concerned or interested, either professionally or otherwise, in the training of the young and rising generation. We really think, also, that Mr. Baird deserves the gratitude of the Southern people for this elaborate, well-timed and patriotic contribution to the mental and moral furniture of our schools, and the educational resources of our country.

Some of the published titles *per se* also mirrored the need to manifest the Confederate succession and the need to emphasize its unique identity. The books in question therefore bore titles to obviate any confusion with their Northern counterparts, such as *Southern (1863) edition: the elementary spelling book, being an improvement on the American Spelling Book by Noah Webster*, *The Southern pictorial primer* (West & Johnston 1863); *Dixie primer for the little folks* (Moore 1863), *The Southern Confederacy arithmetic* (Leverett 1864), and *The Confederate States speller & reader* (Neely 1865) (Montgomery 2015: 105).

Scruting of content, however, often reveals that Southern authors either copied Northern (and British) books in their entirety or in part. Sometimes they introduced minute changes to the Northern originals. *Smith's English Grammar, on the productive system, revised and improved, and adapted to the use of schools*, for example, contained "Confederate rather than foreign[9] names in the examples" and the rest of the content remained unchanged. In the introduction to the *Southern edition, the elementary spelling book* (1863: 5–6), one finds the following: "A few selections from the writings of others have been made, but by far the greater number are entirely original".

In order to establish the originality, the publishers' and authors' testimony, authors would assure the readers that the given publication be by all means genuine and credible. In the section called "publisher's advertisement" of Neely's (1865) *The Confederate States speller*; the publisher thus writes: "The book here offered to Southern Teachers, is neither a reprint, nor a medley hurriedly got up. It is an original book, as far as such a book can be original; and has been prepared with the utmost care, by a practical teacher, whose experience of more than forty years in his profession has enabled him to judge what are the wants both of preceptor and of pupil".

Montgomery (2004: pages not numbered) rightfully recapitulates the discussion on the driving forces behind textbook production and publication: "These new Southern schoolbooks were motivated by more than necessity, opportunism, and sectionalism ... A fourth purpose was

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9   Foreign here means Northern.

inculcating proper language practices by identifying for correction pronunciations and grammatical usages in the speech of pupils". Indeed, as mentioned before, the purest form of English was the ideal to be attained by Confederate youth. For example, in the preface, Sterling and Campbell (1863: iii) posit that "in spelling and pronunciation we have followed, mainly, the authority of Dr. Worcester, who, in our judgement, approaches nearer the true English standard, and accords better with the usage of our best native authors in the Confederate States than any other lexicographer". This urge for linguistic correctitude and teaching "the true English standard" was to unify: to construct a united society also by means of the English language.[10]

4. The importance of the Bible, and biblical and solemn style

The importance of the Bible and biblical language should not be underestimated, bearing in mind the piety of the South (and the history of English *per se*). Bergs and Brinton (2012: 1047) discuss the general tradition which attributes the profound impact of the *King James Bible* "both on English literature and on the development of modern written English". They maintain that this tradition began in the 18th century with the likes of Bishop Lowth (1979 [1775]: 62), who calls the English of the *King James Bible* "the best standard of our language", which may be followed until the end of the 20th century, for example, with McGrath (2001: 1), who calls it a "landmark in the history of the English language" whose influence "has been incalculable" (see also McArthur 1992: 121)". The authors simultaneously advise against taking this impact at face value: "although the influence of the *King James Bible* certainly cannot be denied, it seems that, from a linguistic perspective, such sweeping statements need either qualification or confirmation" (2012: 1047).

The importance of biblical English in the case of normative grammars, at least those analyzed for the purpose of this paper, ought not to be overlooked. Before we focus on the biblical forms at length, I would like to give a moment's thought to the presence of biblical/religious references in Southern schoolbooks in general.

Southern schoolbooks are interspersed with references of biblical and religious character regardless of their nature. Such elements are to be found in readers, spellers, arithmetic text books, and grammars alike and the need

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[10] It has to be emphasized that these were the concerns of upper-class Confederates, since the authors of textbook were generally members of the upper class who had the time to spend hours writing books, of finding a publisher, and then spending money on marketing their books.

to study the Scriptures is often emphasized; as for the former, for example, in *Our own arithmetic*, students are presented with the following task: "the Bible contains 31173 verses; how many verses must I read each day, to finish it in one year?" (Lander 1863: 198). In the *First reader for Southern Schools* Moore peppers his textbook with reading tasks characterized by deeply religious overtones. One of the lessons, for example, reads: "Jesus Christ is the Son of God. He is able to save us from our sins. He died to save all men. He is now in heaven, but will come again… O Lord make me lit to meet Thee! When I die, take me up to Thee!" (1864: 15). In turn, in the *Confederate spelling book*, Baird (1864: 24–25) provides a spelling lesson in solemn/biblical style, a fragment of which is quoted here: "… neither will I smite every living thing any more as I have done. While the earth remaineth, seed time and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night, shall not cease".

In terms of the latter, for instance Sterling and Campbell (1863: 161) write: "The study of the Bible is a great matter. That holy book treats of God, of man, of time, of eternity, of heaven, and of hell. It speaks only truth on all matters. He who knows the Bible well, may be wise and good, and happy, though he never reads any other book".

Regarding the Biblical language, Bergs and Brinton (2012: 1047) point out that:

> "Biblical English" can be seen as the register of English which is based on the language of the *King James Bible*, that is, the language of Tyndale's translations, with the 16th century alterations of succeeding Bible translations and the alterations made by the translators of the *King James Bible*. Its major morpho-syntactic and lexical features have been described by Crystal and Davy (1969) in their discussion of religious language. The most important ones are the use of the second-person pronouns (*ye* vs. *you*, *thou* vs. *you*), the inflectional endings of the second and third persons of verbs (*-st, -th*), archaic past forms of verbs (e.g. *spake*) and plural forms of nouns (e.g. *brethren*), older word orders (e.g. inversion after initial adverbials) and, of course, lexical archaisms (e.g. *behold, forthwith*). These and other typical features of Biblical English can be said to constitute the major elements of the register of religious English, a variety which today seems to be only partly acceptable even in its proper religious domain and is elsewhere mostly limited to literary or humorous purposes.

In coeval grammars much coverage is given over to guidance on pronominal and verbal paradigms. For the most part, these paradigms reflect no actual usage of the time, but depict forms already confined as biblical language, a solemn (or grave) and poetic style. More specifically, the grammars analyzed provide the following set of personal pronouns in the singular: the 2nd person pronouns *thou* (of the second person, either gender), *thy* or *thine* (possessive) and *thee* (objective); in plural: *you* or *ye* (nominative), *your* or *yours* (possessive) and *you* (objective). Similarly, in

the sections devoted to compound personal pronouns, *thyself* (both nominative and objective cases) occurs in the singular. Archaic forms with *thou* are also provided in the sections devoted to verb conjugation: *art* is to occur with *thou*, the *-st* ending is prescribed to appear on the 2nd person singular verbs (i.e. *thou wast*, *thou hadst*, *thou lovedst*, *thou tookest*, *thou mayest*, etc.). In addition, the -(*e*)*th* ending which had long fallen out of general use, but was still claimed to in the linguistic repertoire of the Quakers, was to appear on the 3rd person singular verbs next the preferred *-s* ending.

In other types of schoolbooks one may also find reading/spelling instruction where texts written in solemn style were employed. By means of example, *The Confederate spelling book, with reading lessons for the young, adapted to the use of schools for private instruction* by Smith (1865: 55) provides youngsters with text rendered in verse and embellished with poetic style:

> When thou art feeble, old and gray.
> My healthy arm shall be thy stay,
> And I will soothe thy pains away,
> My mother!

5. Confederate grammars

While Kopp (2009) offers an extensive treatment of textbook publishing in the Confederacy, she does not differentiate between various types of schoolbook. Weeks (1900) in the *Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1898–99* is useful in finding relevant material. He lists and briefly annotates Confederate textbooks between 1861 and 1865. In Weeks' annotated bibliography there are 101 items elegantly divided together with their types and years of publication. Their distribution across the five years of the Civil War is, for the sake of readability, presented in Table 1.

Not only do the numbers given here differ from those given by Kopp (2009), but scrupulous scrutiny of Weeks' bibliography might prove somewhat misleading. Some editions are omitted, certain publications are ignored entirely (for instance, Worrell's 1861 grammar). Others, in turn, find themselves in Weeks' bibliography not on the basis of their physical edition, but via announcements on the covers of other textbooks. *The new Texas grammar*, for example, Weeks (1900: 1149) notes, is "mentioned in Raines's Bibliography of Texas; date of publication not clear; belonged to the New Texas Series of school books". The search for this publication proved, nevertheless, to be fruitless. The same applies to *New English grammar* by Dr. Dagg, which was "announced as ready on the cover to Burke's Picture Primer, published in 1864". An intense search in on-line library catalogs and

the Internet failed to retrieve any satisfying results, but for the sole reference to *Burke's Picture Primer*.

Table 1. Textbooks published in the Confederate States (according to Weeks 1900)

type \ year	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865	uncertain	total:
primers	2	1	6	7	0	0	16
spellers	5	0	0	9	0	0	14
readers	3	3	0	18	5	0	29
arithmetic	11	0	0	0	0	0	11
grammars	1	1	4	4	1	1	12
geographies	0	0	1	3	0	0	4
dictionaries	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
books on foreign languages	0	1	0	5	0	0	6
Sunday school and other religious books	1	4	3	0	0	0	8
total:	23	10	14	47	6	1	**101**

Of the grammars that shall be analyzed Table 2 lists seven titles[11] chosen for linguistic scrutiny.

Table 2. Grammars published in the Confederacy and subject to analysis

Year of publication:	Author:	Title:
1861	Worrell, A.S.	*The principles of English grammar*
1862	Smythe, Charles W.	*Our own primary grammar for the use of beginners*
1862	York, Brantly	*An analytic, illustrative, and constructive grammar of the English language*
1863	Smythe, Charles W.	*Our own elementary grammar, intermediate between the primary and high school grammars, and especially adapted to the wants of the common schools*
1864	York, Brantly	*York's English grammar, revised and adapted to Southern schools* (3rd edition)
1864	Bullion, Peter (book revised by Rev. B Craven)	*An analytical and practical grammar of the English language*
1865	—	*Louisiana English grammar*

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[11] Out of 12 grammars listed by Weeks, two were not found, two were editions of earlier works and in one no list of irregular verbs was present.

Due to space limitations, not much heed will be paid to a more elaborate description of particular grammars. A brief mention, however, is warranted.

The Southern wholesomeness of Worrell's (1861) grammar, its aims, and the apparent merit of its author being born and educated in the South have been mentioned above. Smythe's (1862) *Our own primary grammar* was "announced in North Carolina Journal of Education, October, 1861, and said by that journal to be the 'first North Carolina school book that has made its appearance since commencement of the war'" (Weeks 1900: 1148). Smythe's (1863) *Our own elementary grammar* was designed as a sequel to the primary grammar and was intended to embrace "a complete elementary statement of the subject" (Weeks 1900: 1148). In one of the testimonials at the beginning York's (1862) publication, Reverend A.W. Mangum, A.B. underlines its originality:

> But it is his Grammar which I wish especially to recommend. Those who are acquainted with the various Grammars of our language will readily admit that all the pretended new ones, published for the last fifty years, have been little more than copies of the ideas of those before them, with a change in expression or words and arrangement. I can safely say that Prof. York's is a *new Grammar*. It contains originality, and that originality is unquestionably improvement… Several distinguished teachers in high schools in North Carolina have adopted his Grammar as a text book. If it be an improvement on other similar works, surely others should be discarded and it adopted. The author is a North Carolinian, and if his book possesses real merit, North Carolinians ought to encourage his talent and give him their patronage (1862: viii).

Unfortunately, not much can be said about Bullion (1864), since the preface to the edition in my possession is utterly illegible.

York (1864) is an actual introduction to York's *An analytic, illustrative, and constructive grammar of the English language*. In the preface to *York's English grammar, revised and adapted to Southern schools* (1864 or 1865)[12] we read that "…the author has attempted the publication of a Grammar adapted to the capacities of the juvenile mind – which Grammar he denominates "An Introduction to the Illustrative and Constructive Grammar". The plan of teaching, as unfolded in the latter, is precisely similar to that of the former; hence it will be found to be a convenient and easy introduction to the more voluminous and elaborate treatise embraced in the former work".

Finally, *Smith's English grammar, on the productive system. revised and improved, and adapted to the use of schools in the Confederate States* will

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[12] Save that the supposed 1864 edition bears this date on the front cover; on the editorial page, however, there is 1865. To make matters worse, this edition contains an introduction dated 1860 on the basis of which one can infer that it is the date of the first edition of *York's English Grammar, Revised and Adapted to Southern Schools*; that is why it can be treated as an introductory publication to *An Analytic, Illustrative, and Constructive Grammar of the English Language*.

not be taken into account, since it is a reprint of earlier editions the book went through and, importantly, "The North Carolina Journal of Education for March, 1864, has a scathing article on the inaccuracy of this book and on reprinting it for the Confederate States" (Weeks 1900: 1148). The *Louisiana English Grammar. Published by order of His Excellency, Henry W. Allen, Governor of Louisiana* (henceforth *LEG*), however, published in 1865 has not been discarded. It is a compilation from Smith's *English Grammar* and, as Weeks (1900: 1149) emphasizes, the style of instruction in the book is "eminently adapted to beginners and children of tender years".

6. Analysis and discussion

6.1. Preliminary remarks

In Lesson XXVI entitled "the regular and irregular or strong and weak verbs" Smythe (1862: 33) offers the following definitions: "The Regular verbs add *d* or *ed* to form their principal parts. The Irregular verbs do not add *d* or *ed* to form their principal parts". He regards this division, however, as inadequate and states: "The later and more correct division is into *Strong* and *Weak* verbs ... The Strong verbs form their principal parts by changing the vowel; as, s*i*ng, s*a*ng, s*u*ng. The Weak verbs require the addition of a letter or syllable, *t*, *d*, or *ed*; as, keep, kep*t*, kep*t*; love, love*d*, love*d*; learn, learn*ed*, learn*ed*".

Even though in modern textbooks some scholars who deal especially with earlier varieties or dialects of English still cling to the notions of *strong* and *weak* verbs,[13] Dylewski's opinion (2013: 191) that such terminology's is inapplicable to a description of the verbal system of English beyond the Medieval Ages holds sway here. The more appropriate bipartite division of English verbs into *regular* and *irregular* is thus employed.

An analysis of the lists of irregular verbs found in the seven grammars allowed for the retrieval of the set of verbs termed by at least one of the normative grammarians as obsolete, obsolescent, rare, and as formal or grave, biblical, and poetic style.[14] These primary forms of verbs are past tense and past participle forms, as in Table 3.

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[13] The history of English verbs is so complex that it constitutes a topic in its own right; the reader interested in the evolution of the strong-weak (regular-irregular) system ought to consult, for example, Anderwald (2016), Krygier (1994), and Price (1910).

[14] This is done so by either microtypographic means or the separate list of items deemed obsolete.

Table 3. Obsolete, obsolescent, and rare verb forms in the *CCG*

Verb	preterite forms:		past participle forms:	
bake			*baken*	
bear (to bring forth) and (to carry)	*bare*			
bind			*bounded*	
break	*brake*		*broke*	
cleave (to adhere)	*clave*			
cleave (to split)	*clave*	*cleft*		
drive	*drave*			
get	*gat*		*gotten*	
grave	*grove*			
hold			*holden*	
lie (to recline)			*lien*	
ride	*rid*		*rid*	*ridden*
run	*run*			
show	*shew*			
shrink	*shrank*			
sing	*sang*			
sink	*sank*			
slide	*slode*			
sling	*slang*			
speak	*spake*			
spin	*span*			
spit	*spat*		*spitten*	
steal	*stale*			
stick	*stack*			
sting	*stang*			
stink	*stank*			
strike	*strake*		*stricken*	
string	*strang*			
sware				
swear	*sware*			
swing	*swang*			
tear	*tare*			
thrive	*throve*			

In the discussion of the study results, verb forms are divided into (1) preterites and past participles (in line with Table 3) and, whenever possible, (2) grouped into categories on the basis of the shared paradigms in the forming of their principal parts. Before this discussion commences, an

explanation of the distribution of forms across the grammars under discussion is provided.

6.2. Verb forms in the *CCG*

This section deals with the distribution of the forms in question across the grammars published in the Confederate States between 1861 and 1865. Table 4 below gives the (numerical) data, which are illustrated graphically in Figure 2.

Table 4. The distribution of verbal forms across seven Confederate grammars

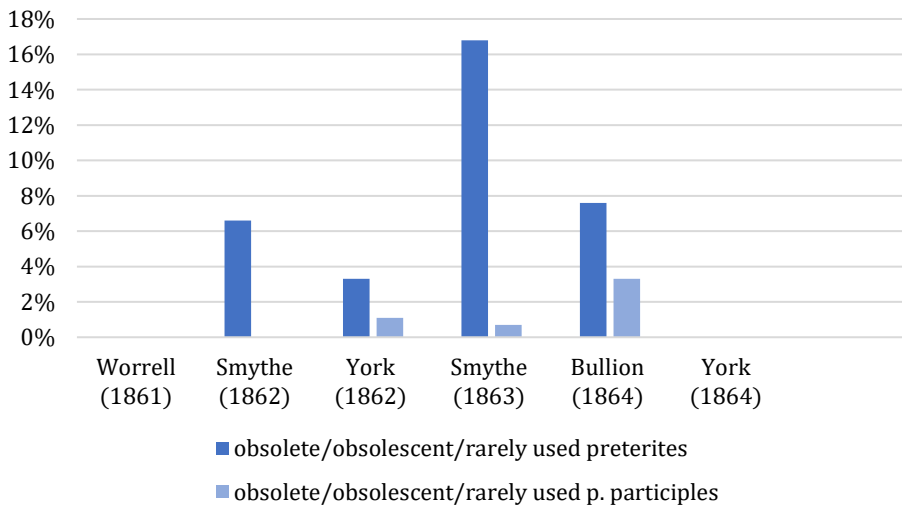| Grammar:	No. of verbs	No. of verbs with alternative forms		Obsolete/obsolescent/ rarely used preterites		Obsolete/obsolescent/ rarely used p. participles	
Worrell (1861)	173	48	27.7%	0	0%	0	0%
Smythe (1862)	122	39	32%	7	6.2%	0	0%
York (1862)	181	62	34.2%	6	3.3%	2	1.1%
Smythe (1863)	143	56	39.2%	24	16.8%	1	0.7%
Bullion (1864)	184	82	44.6%	14	7.6%	6	3.3%
York (1864)	176	55	31.2%	0	0%	0	0%
Louisiana Grammar (1865)	170	48	28.2%	0	0%	3	1.8%

Figure 2. Obsolete, obsolescent and rare preterites and past participials in seven Confederate grammars

Since in neither Worrell (1861) or York (1864) are there forms marked as outdated or rarely used, the discussion automatically shifts to the remaining five sources under scrutiny. In Smythe (1862) the reader is provided with italicized "parts not now in use". The forms thus marked are the preterites: *bare*, *brake*, *clave, drave, gat, slang* (past form of *sling*) and *sware* (past form of *swear*). Interestingly, such forms as *spake* and *tare* are listed as alternative preterites, but they are not marked as archaic. It is not actually certain whether this was purposeful, or simply an editorial error. In the later version of Smythe's grammar, there is the richest array of forms which this normative grammarian regards as "forms not now used" (Smythe 1863: 86). These are (a) preterites: *bare* (past forms of *bear* – "to bring forth" and of *bear* – "to carry"); *brake*; *clave*; *cleft*; *drave*; *gat*; *grove*; *shew* (the past form of *show*); *shrank*; *sang*; *slode* (the past form of *slide*); *slang* (the past form of *sling*); *slat* (form of *slit*); *span* (the past form of *spin*); *spat*, *stale* (the past form of *steal*); *stack* (the past form of *stick*); *stank* (the past form of *stink*); *strake* (the past form of *strike*); *strang* (the past form of *string*); *sware*, *swoll*; *swang* (the past form of *swing*), and, unlike in Smythe (1862), *tare.* Amidst past participle forms one finds only one marked as out of current use: *bounden*.

In the case of the *Louisiana English Grammar* (1865), the technique employed to indicate obsolescence of a given form is microtypographic: it is done by means of an asterisk (first footnote), dagger (used when an asterisk has already been employed), and by diesis (double dagger = used to mark the third footnote). The forms of interest are of course listed in the footnote, where the *Louisiana English Grammar* offers only past participle forms: *gotten* (nearly obsolete), but "its compound, *forgotten*, is still in good use", *ridden* and *spitten* (are both nearly obsolete).

In York's 1862 grammar a different technique is employed to present outdated verbal forms. On page 103 one finds the following: "[a]s the reader of the Bible will frequently meet with forms of the verb which are now obsolete, consequently they do not appear in the List, a few of these are given in the following"[15]:

Table 5. An additional list of verbs with obsolete forms (York 1862: 103)

PRESENT	PAST	PAST PARTICIPLE
bear (to carry)	*bare*	borne
bear (to bring forth)	*bare*	born
drive	*drave*	driven
get	*gat*	*gotten*
shew	*shewed*	*shewn*
speak	*spake*	spoken

* those marked in italics are deemed obsolete.

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15   What followed was a separate short list of outdated italicized forms.

Finally, Bullion (1864: 83) writes: "The following list comprises nearly all the irregular verbs in the language. Those conjugated regularly, as well as irregularly, are marked with an R. Those in *italics* are obsolete, or obsolescent, and now but little used". Amongst the italicized verbal forms one may find both preterites and past participles. The former are: *bare*, *brake*, *clave*, *rid*, *run*, *shrank*, *sank*, *spake*, *span*, *spat*, *sware*, *tare*, *throve*; the latter: *baken*, *broke* (past participle form of *break*), *holden*, *lien* (of *lie* – to recline), *rid*, and *stricken.*

6.3. Past tense forms: verb classes

a) *The* bare *-class*

This group comprises verbs which today display /o/-vocalism and –*n* suffix in their past participles and which historically would also form their preterites by means of <a>, such as *bear – bare*, *swear – sware*, *tear – tare*. The results attested in the grammars are given in Table 6. A hyphen is used here to indicate the absence of an obsolete/obsolescent/rare/solemn-style form. An asterisk adjacent to a given verb form indicates that, even though it has been attested in a source, it has not been categorized by its author(s) as rare or not in coeval use. Zero indicates that the verb is not listed among irregular verbs at all.

Table 6. The *bare*-group of verbs in the *CCG*

Worrell (1861)	Smythe (1862)	York (1862)	Smythe (1863)	York (1864)	Bullion (1864)	*LEG* (1865)
—	*bare*	—	*bare*	—	*bare*	*bare**
—	*sware*	—	*sware*	—	*sware*	—
—	*tare**	—	*tare*	0	*tare*	—

In the course of the 19th century all said forms were rare in actual usage, and were confined mainly to solemn/poetic style. For instance, Lass (1994: 92) states that in Middle English *bare* was the dominant past tense form of *bear*; which at the beginning of Early Modern English was superseded by *bore* with <o> from the past participle (Jespersen 1942: 59). Dylewski (2002: 170–171) noted the scant appearance of <a> forms (*bare*, *sware*, *tare*) in his corpus of Early American English (1620-1720) but for poetry, "which genre often retains or purposefully uses archaic forms for stylistic reasons".

b) *The* brake *-class*

This class groups verbs forming their preferred past tense variants with <o> and participles by <o> and –*en* (such as: *break– broke – broken*, *cleave – clove – cloven*, etc.).

Table 7. The *brake*-group of verbs in the *CCG*

Worrell (1861)	Smythe (1862)	York (1862)	Smythe (1863)	York (1864)	Bullion (1864)	*LEG* (1865)
—	*brake*	—	*brake*	—	*brake*	—
—	*clave*	—	*clave, cleft*	—	*clave*	—
—	*spake**	—	*spake**	—	*spake*	—
—	—	—	*stale*	—	—	—

The *Oxford English Dictionary* (s.v. *break*, v.) writes that "in late Middle English *brāke* became the regular form both in singular and plural, which, being retained in the Bible of 1611, is still familiar as an archaic form. But early in the 16th cent., if not before, *brake* began to be displaced by the modern *broke*, formed after the past participle of the past participle".

The same dictionary gives 19th-century examples of *clave* found in the Bible, which points to the fact that its usage lingered, at least in biblical style. Regarding the forms *clave* and *cleft*, the *Oxford English Dictionary* (s.v. *cleave*, v.) states: "A past tense *clave* occurs in northern writers in 14th cent., passed into general use, and was very common down to *c*1600; it survives as a Bible archaism. A weak inflection *cleaved* came into use in 14th cent.; and subsequently a form *cleft*; both are still used, *cleft* especially in past participle, where it interchanges with *cloven*, with some differentiation in particular connections, as 'cleft stick', 'cloven foot'". Smythe (1863) classification of the past tense form *cleft* as "not now used" seems to have reflected its infrequent use rather than its archaic character, especially in view of the fact that the remaining Confederate grammars give it as the second option.

The preterite *spake* is described by the *Oxford English Dictionary* (s.v. *speak*) as archaic, dialectal, or poetic. The dictionary also provides an 1848 quote form J. R. Bartlett's *Dictionary of Americanisms:* "*spake*…is still heard occasionally from the pulpit, as well as in conversation". This, at least partially, chimes with Dylewski (2013: 253) who, in the contexts of the past tense forms *spake* and *rate* found in the corpus of Civil War letters from North-western South Carolina, asserts: "the rarity of the occurrence of verbal paradigms associated with bygone qualities in the history of the English language" He also posits that "most probably, these archaic forms lurked somewhere in the background of the linguistic repertoires of older speakers".

The appearance of the form *stale* in Smythe (1863) is conspicuous for two reasons: in the first place, the *Oxford English Dictionary* (s.v. *steal*) gives no examples of the use of the preterite in <a> past the 16th century. Scrutiny of the King James Bible for cases of *stale* yielded no results. Assuming that the inclusion of archaic forms in 19th-century grammars published in the

South was, *inter alia*, to provide explanations for the readers of the Bible, the absence of this form in the Bible and its presence in Smythe (1863) is intriguing.

c) The drive-*class*

This category groups such verbs as: *drive, ride, rise, stride, smite, strive, thrive,* and *write* (all of which have a diphthong in the past tense form and shot /i/ and –*en* in the past participle. Unfortunately, only two verbs displayed forms indicated as obsolete/obsolescent/rare: *drive* and *thrive* (Table 8 presents their distribution across seven Confederate grammars):

Table 8. The *drive*-class of verbs in the *CCG*

Worrell (1861)	Smythe (1862)	York (1862)	Smythe (1863)	York (1864)	Bullion (1864)	*LEG* (1865)
—	*drave*	*drave*	*drave*	—	—	—
*throve**	*throve**	*throve**	*throve**	*throve**	*throve*	*throve**

As Dylewski (2002: 189) writes, according to Jespersen (1942: 56), *drave* is "the northern descendant of the Old English *drāf,* which elsewhere became ō (*oo*). Lass (1994: 85), however, maintains that in Early Modern English, owing to dialect borrowing, a historically northern form with /a:/ and its later development in <a> would have no regional indexicalness". The OED (s.v. *drive*, v.) classifies *drave* as an archaic alternant of *drove*.

In the preterite *throve* interesting tendencies are observable. Firstly, unlike the other six grammars, Bullion alone carries (1864) the form *thrived* as the preferred form. It is also the only grammar in which the two forms have been provided and in which *thove* is regarded as obsolescent.

Secondly, if one focuses on the diachronic rivalry between *throve* and *thrived* in American English,[16] an interesting picture emerges (Figure 3).

According to Anderwald (2012a: pages not numbered), "THRIVE is historically a strong verb with the past tense form *throve*, and the strong verb form is still dominant in use over the course of the 19th century (according to data from COHA)", as is illustrated in Figure 3. "*Throve* declines over the course of the 20th century and today is practically non-existent. It stops being the majority form after the 1910s, and moves below the 10 per cent mark after the 1960s, becoming truly marginal" (Anderwald 2012a: pages not numbered).

She further states that:

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[16] Classifying a given term as archaic or rare is treated here, whenever applicable, as a premise to expand the discussion and supplement it with data drawn from Anderwald (2012a and 2016).

... also shows, however, that the regularization of THRIVE is a very recent phenomenon that cannot be traced to the 19th century. Over the course of the 19th century, *throve* only shows an almost imperceptible decline; instead, it alternates with *thrived* and is used in over 50% of all cases at most points in time. For this reason it is again interesting to investigate grammar writers' stances on this variable phenomenon, and to investigate whether in this case, prescriptive grammars caused the decline of *throve* towards the 20th century.
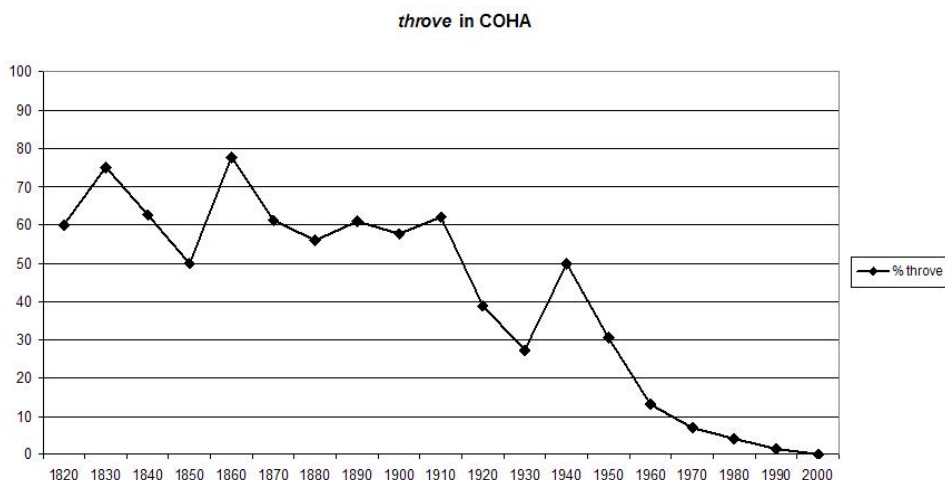
Figure 3. *Throve* (vs. *thrived*) in the *Corpus of Historical American English* (after Anderwald: 2012a: pages not numbered)[17]

Thirdly, Anderwald (2016: 262–263) discusses the distribution of past tense forms of *thrive* across normative grammars, both of American and British provenience. In Table 9 her results are juxtaposed with those obtained for Confederate grammars. Figure 4 presents the tendencies graphically.

Table 9. Preterite of *thrive* in American,[18] Confederate, and British grammars (for 1860s)

Grammars:	1 = *throve*	2 = *throve* preferred	3 = *thrived* preferred	4 = *thrived* only	[not mentioned]	total
American	0	4 (44.4%)	2 (22.2%)	2 (22.2%)	1 (11.1%)	9
Confederate	6 (85.7%)	0	1 (14.3%)	0	0	7
British	11 (84.6%)	1 (7.7%)	1 (7,7%)	0	0	13

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[17] http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/series/volumes/10/anderwald/. Date of access: 20.03. 2019.

[18] York's (1862) grammar is included in Anderwald's corpus of prescriptive grammars. In order to assure accuracy, whenever my results are juxtaposed with Anderwald's (2012a and 2016), the numerical data from York's grammar are subtracted from Anderwald's counts.
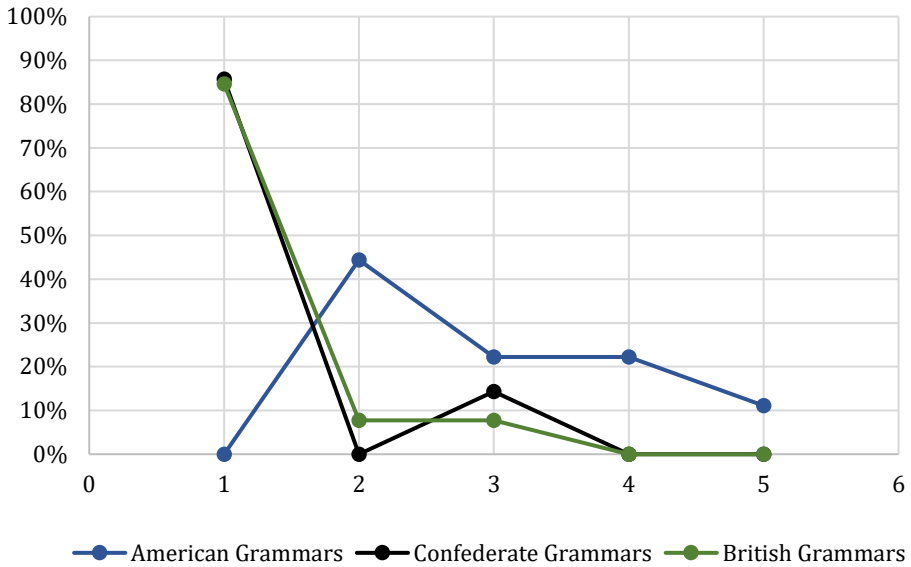
Figure 4. Forms of *thrive* in American, Confederate, and British grammars of the 1860s

Interestingly, in the case of the past tense forms of *thrive*, the Confederate paradigm is conspicuous in its resemblance of that proposed not in American grammars of the 1860s but in British grammars. A claim might be ventured at this point that, in their pursuit to attain the purest form of English and in their contempt for all that was Northern, Southerners consciously oriented themselves to a British, putatively more prestigious, form and reached out for the British paradigm, or they may simply have copied British lists of irregular verbs. This claim, however, is tentative in its nature and needs verification based on a greater pool of data.

Additionally, the prescribed form *throve* in the Confederate books published in the 1860s overlaps with the peak of its use in the *Corpus of Historical English*. This may be incidental or the form prescribed in the contemporary grammars may reflect the actual usage of the time.

d) sling- and sing-*classes*

Anderwald (2016) would have it that in present-day English one may observe "two groups of verbs that on the one hand are very similar", yet, on the other hand, form "their past tenses in a distinct way. The larger of these groups consists of the verbs *cling*, *dig*, *fling*, *hang*, *sling*, *slink*, *spin*, *stick*, *sting*, *strike*, *string*, *swing*, *win* and *wring*". All of these form their past tense and past participle identically by way of vowel change to <u> (i.e., *sling – slung – slung*, *strike – struck – struck*). This category of verb is traditionally called the *sling*-class.

The second group is slightly smaller and consists of *begin*, *drink*, *ring*, *shrink*, *sing*, *sink*, *spring*, *stink* and *swim*. These verbs form their past tense forms with <a> and past participle with <u>; hence the past tense and the past participle are distinct. All these fall into the category here called the *sing*-class (in accordance with Anderwald 2016 terminology).

In the former group the following words display alternative (obsolete/obsolescent/rare) forms in the corpus of grammars studied published in the Confederate States:

Table 10. Forms of *sling*, *spin*, *stick*, *sting*, *strike*, *string*, and *swing* in the *CCG*

Worrell (1861)	Smythe (1862)	York (1862)	Smythe (1863)	York (1864)	Bullion (1864)	*LEG* (1865)
—	*slang*	—	*slang*	—	*slang**	—
—	*span**	—	*span*	—	*span*	—
—	—	—	*stack*	—	—	—
—	—	0	*stang*	0	—	—
—	—	—	*strake*	—	—	—
—	—	—	*strang*	—	—	—
—	—	—	*swang*	—	—	—

We have to bear in mind that forms in <u> are those recommended by all authors. In Worrell (1861), York (1862) and (1864), as well as the *Louisiana English Grammar* (1865) there are no forms in <a>.

A more interesting picture emerges from Smythe's (1862) list, where next to *slung*, the archaic form *slang* is provided, and next to *spun* an alternative that is unitalicized *span*. In a similar vein, Bullion offers alternative forms in <a> for *sling* and *spin*: *slang* and *span* respectively. Here, however, it is *slang* unmarked for obsolescence or its contemporaneous "little usage". Smythe (1863) acknowledges variation in this class of verbs, but, according to him, all the alternatives are forms "not now used". It must be emphasized that acknowledging variation in these grammars is done only in a minority of cases.

Anderwald (2016: 78) writes that in her study of American grammars throughout the 19th century all authors display remarkable uniformity "in prescribing forms in <u> for *sling*, *slink*, *swing*, and *spin*". British grammars,[19] as Anderwald (2016: 79) summarizes:

> ... allow, or prescribe, variable forms much more widely for [*spin*] This permitted variation decreases significantly after the 1870s, but constitutes the majority opinion for many individual decades before, especially during the middle of the

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[19] For the explanation of the more permissive treatment of the *sling*-class of verbs see Anderwald (2016: 80).

century (from the 1830s to the 1860s). Overall, we can see a change in opinions in British grammars from allowing variable forms to giving *spun* as the only option. Given that also before, over the course of the eighteenth century, *spun* was practically never criticized in grammar, what becomes visible in British grammar writing resembles a U-shaped curve, from advocating *spun*, to allowing variation in the middle of the century, back to advocating only *spun*.

Finally, according to Anderwald (2016), the prescribed prevalence of forms in <u> reflects the actual usage in written American English, a conclusion reached on the basis of the *COHA* data. It should also be mentioned that the domination of <u> forms and the treatment of forms in <a> as marginal or little or never used in the *CCG* conforms to the general American rather than British pattern, which runs counter to the treatment of the preterites *throve* and *thrived*.

As for the latter class, the *sing*-class, the tabulated forms are given in Table 11.

Table 11. Forms of *shrink*, *sing*, *sink*, and *stink* in the *CCG*

Worrell (1861)	Smythe (1862)	York (1862)	Smythe (1863)	York (1864)	Bullion (1864)	*LEG* (1865)
shrunk/ shrank*	*shrunk/ shrank**	*shrank/ shrunk**	*shrunk/ shrank*	*shrank/ shrunk**	*shrunk/ shrank*	*shrunk*
sang/ sung*	*sang/ sung**	*sang/ sung**	*sung/ sang*	*sang/ sung**	*sang/ sung**	*sung/ sang**
sunk/ sank*	*sunk/ sank**	*sank/ sunk**	*sunk/ sank**	*sank/ sunk**	*sunk/ sank*	*sunk/ sank**
0	0	*stunk*	*stunk/ stank*	0	0	*stunk*

As is evident from the above Table, different grammars permit a fluctuation in different verbs.[20] In Worrell (1861), Smythe (1862), York (1862), York (1864), and the *Louisiana English Grammar* (1865) no obsolescent forms are listed. Whenever alternative forms are given, these are forms still in use, albeit these may not be the preferred forms.

Crucially it is in Smythe (1863) and Bullion (1864) that one finds italicized forms in <a>; in Smythe (1863), the past tense forms *shrank*, *sang*, and *stank* are "not now used". In Bullion (1864), *shrank* and *sank* are either "obsolete, or obsolescent, and now but little used".

Anderwald's (2016) research juxtaposes her results from both American and British grammars with those retrieved from the Confederate grammars.

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[20] In the body of grammars studied there are more verbs that belong to the class that has two possible preterits. For the sake of this paper, however, only those whose alternative forms were marked as archaic or not/little used in at least one grammar are discussed.

Table 12 gives the pooled data; for the sake of readability, their graphic presentation is split into two consecutive Figures.[21]

Table 12. Preterite forms of *shrink* in American, British, and Confederate grammars

		shrunk only	*shrunk* pref.	*shrank* pref.	*shrank* only	Total:
American	1840s	9 (56.2%)	4 (25%)	2 (12.5%)	1 (6.25%)	16
	1850s	2 (22.2%)	3 (33.3%)	3 (33.3%)	1 (11.1%)	9
	1860s	3 (50%)	2 (33.3%)	1 (16.7%)	0 (0%)	6
British	1840s	5 (26.3%)	4 (21.1%)	3 (15.8%)	7 (36.8%)	19
	1850s	5 (23.8%)	4 (19%)	6 (28.6%)	6 (28.6%)	21
	1860s	0 (0%)	2 (18.2%)	4 (36.3%)	5 (45.5%)	11
Confederate	1860s	1 (14,3%)	4 (57.1%)	2 (28.6%)	0 (0%)	7
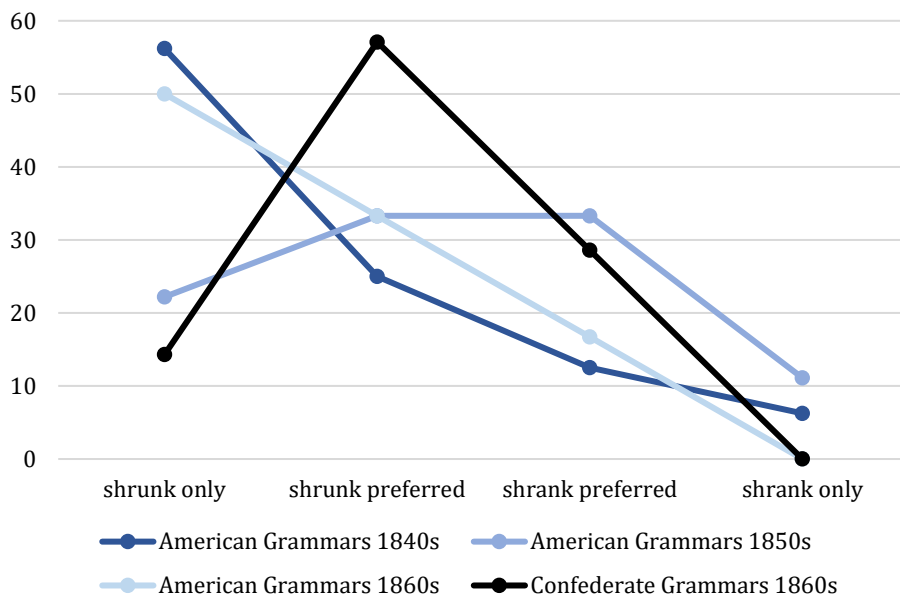
Figure 5. Past tense forms of *shrink* in American and Confederate grammars

As is evident from the graphs (Figure 5, 6), the Confederate paradigm corresponds to neither of the above-mentioned paradigms. This pattern is less neat than that observed for the past tense forms of *thrive*. This is interesting bearing in mind that grammarians and publishers from the South often copied their verb lists or modeled them on earlier editions.

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[21] For the sake of transparency and readability the discussion is confined to a span of four decades.
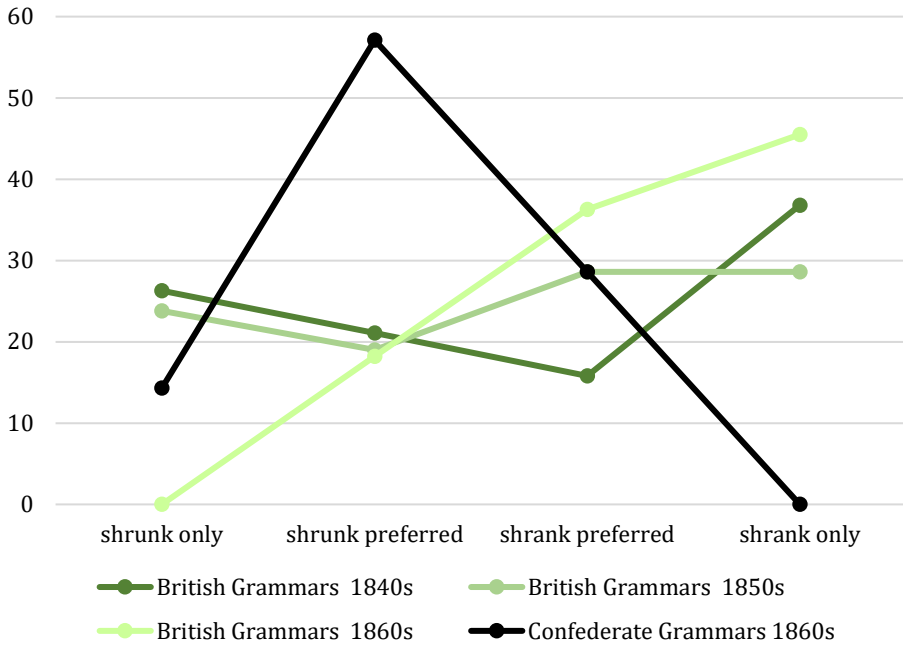
Figure 6. Past tense forms of *shrink* in British and Confederate grammars

The data for the past tense forms of *sing* drawn from prescriptive grammars and discussed by Anderwald (2016) allow for the same procedure as with the past tense forms of *shrink*.

Table 13. Preterite forms of *sing* in American, British, and Confederate grammars

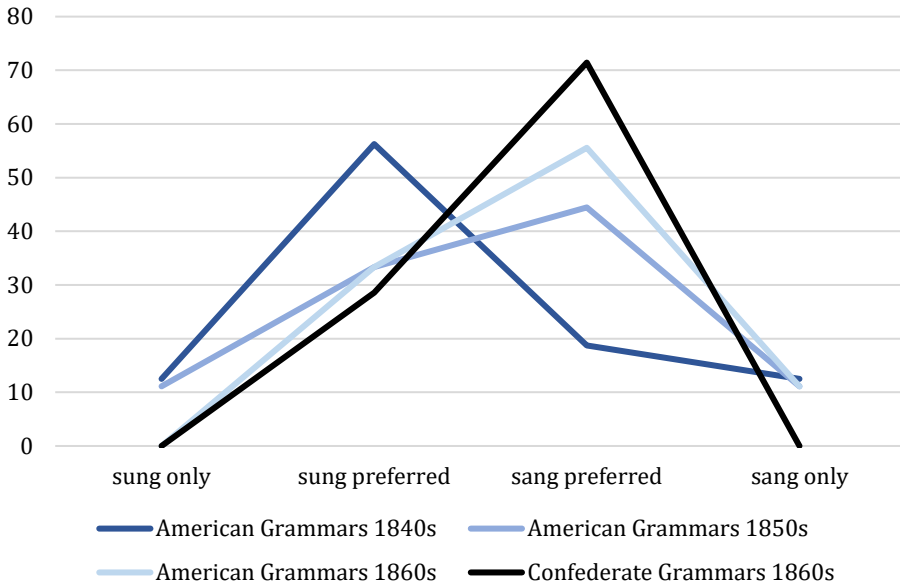|		*sung* only	*sung* preferred	*sang* preferred	*sang* only	Total:
American	1840s	2 (12.5%)	9 (56.3%)	3 (18.8%)	2 (12.5%)	16
	1850s	1 (11.1%)	3 (33.3%)	4 (44.4%)	1 (11.1%)	9
	1860s	0 (0%)	3 (33.3%)	5 (55.6%)	1 (11.1%)	9
British	1840s	0 (0%)	6 (31.6%)	4 (21.1%)	9 (47.4%)	19
	1850s	1 (4.8%)	7 (33.3%)	8 (38.1%)	5 (23.8%)	21
	1860s	0 (0%)	1 (7.1%)	7 (50%)	6 (42.9%)	14
Confederate	1860s	0 (0%)	2 (28.6%)	5 (71.4%)	0 (0%)	7

Figure 7. Past tense forms of *sing* in American and Confederate grammars
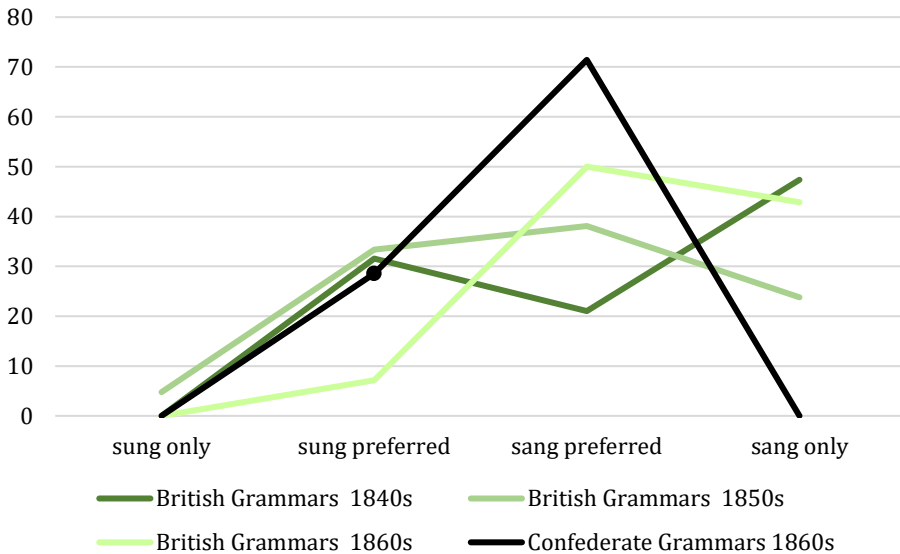

Figure 8. Past tense forms of *sing* in British and Confederate grammars

Here the paradigm attested in the *CCG* aligns more with the general American pattern of the 1860s, but differs from those prescribed in British grammars.

In order to be able to gauge the influence of grammar writing on real language developments, Anderwald (2012a) investigates the *Corpus of Historical American English* for the past tense forms of *begin, drink, ring, shrink, spring, sing, sink,* and *swim*. She concludes that "although the direction of change is the same in all cases (towards fewer past tense forms in <u>), the trajectories of change clearly differ significantly".

When one focuses solely on lexemes that appeared in the Southern grammars and were marked as obsolete or rarely used and which were studied by Anderwald (2012a), in the *COHA*, forms of *sing* "move from being variable at the beginning of the century", where the ratio of <u> to <a> forms is approximately 50:50, to dropping to 20% in the 1860s, to finally losing forms in <u> to the prevalent forms in <a>. Of this Anderwald (2012a) says: "Exemplarily, compare the switch-over point for *sung* with the recommendation in grammar books: although *sung* already moves below 50% after 1820 in written American English, the recommendation to use *sang* instead of *sung* only becomes the majority opinion in grammar books around 1850 – a time lag of over 20 years". This pertains to the recommendations offered in the set of Confederate grammars.

The two verbs *shrink* and *sink* also seem to "undergo the most striking developments, from preferring past tense forms in <u> at the beginning of the century, to preferring past tense forms in <a> at the end". On the basis of collected data, Anderwald (2012a) orders the verbs chronologically in the following manner:

Preferring past tense in <a>:
— After 1820: *sing*
— After 1830: *sink*
— After 1850: *shrink*

My data allow for postulating the existence of an apparent time lag between the actual use and the recommended forms in the books published between 1861 and 1865. Five of the Confederate grammars out of seven (i.e. 71%) recommend *sunk* as the preferred form. Anderwald (2012a) writes that the time lag lasted until the 1850s. The Confederate grammars are therefore more conservative in their recommendations, extending, as they do, the duration of the lag by over a decade.

The same applies to *shrink*. Even though after 1850 the past tense forms in <a> gained ground, the majority of Confederate grammars (71%) still give *shrunk* as the majority variant. Interestingly, it is York (1862 and 1864) who consistently prescribes forms in <a> for *shrink, sing, sink* and <u> for *stink* only.

6.4. Past tense forms: individual verbs

a) *gat*

The lists of irregular verbs studied in the *CCG* include *gat* (the past tense form of *get*). This archaic form has been attested in Smythe (1862), Smythe (1863), and Bullion (1864). According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (s.v. *get*), this verb displayed the same paradigm as Class V historically strong verbs (for example, *speak*), hence the past tense singular in <a>. "Forms in *-o-* in the past participle (which are common from an early date) probably result (as in many verbs historically of Class V) from influence from the paradigm of verbs historically of strong Class IV," for instance, *bear* and *steal*. The "(generally later) spread of forms in *-o-* to the past tense probably also partly reflects the analogous influence from the paradigms of other verbs. By the early 17th cent. *got* had become the usual form of the past tense in the developing standard variety (both *gat* and *got* are found in the King James Bible of 1611)".

   Dylewski (2002) found that throughout the seventeenth century the number of such preterites as *gat*, *gate* or *forgat* diminished and like other older forms in <a>, these were ousted by those displaying /*o*/-vocalization. He further claims that the infrequent appearance of *gat* (and *forgat*) in his corpus of early American English might be recognized only as a literary style marker.

b) *grove*

Only in Smythe (1863) does one find the italicized form of the verb *grive* – *grove* (next to the regular preterite *graved*). The *OED* (s.v. *grave*, v.) classifies the past tense form *grove* as appearing in Middle English, but *grove* can be found in none of the examples used to illustrate an array of meanings of *to grave*).

c) *run*

The preterite *run*, marked as obsolete, or obsolescent, and now but little used, occurs in Bullion (1864) and the other grammars give no alternatives to the preterite *ran*. Classifying it as "little used" seems not to reflect the linguistic environment of the South. Firstly, Dylewski's (2013) study of Civil War letters from North-western South Carolina indicates that the past tense *run* was apparently the prevalent form in the languages of selected Civil War soldiers ("the unmarked variant *run* used to be by far the dominant one (15/15 tokens, 100%), at least among the commoners representing the selected part of South Carolina").

Secondly, Atwood (1953: 20) maintains that the preterite *run* was used "by nearly all the informants of both Type I and Type II" in Virginia and North Carolina" during the first half of the 20th century. Bearing that in mind, the preterite *run* was in use both in the 19th century and the first half of the 20th.

d) *slode*

As well as *slide,* Smythe (1863) provides the past tense form *slode*; a form recorded neither in the *Corpus of Historical American English* nor in the King James Bible of 1611. Examples of the use of the form in <o> in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (s.v. *slide*) remain prior to the beginning of the 16th century. One may therefore venture the claim that Smythe (1863) might have compiled a list of irregular verbs on the basis of sources a good deal earlier.

e) *shewed*

This form was indeed rarely used in the American English of the 19th century, as Figure 9 indicates. *Showed* was by far dominant and *shewed* but a minority variant.
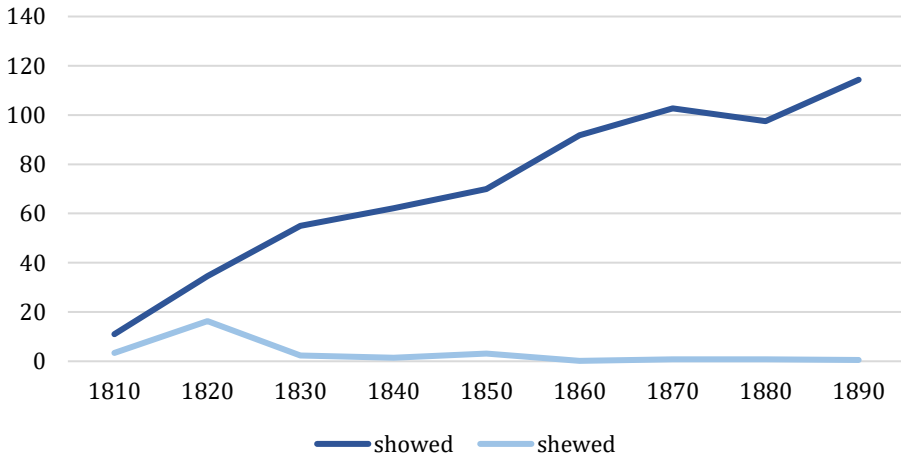

Figure 9. The past tense *showed* vs. *shewed* in the *Corpus of Historical American English*

6.5. Past participle forms

a) *baken*

Bullion (1864) lists the past participle *baken.* This "strong past participle of *bake* is now superseded by *baked* in literary English". The *OED* describes it as archaic or obsolete (s.v. *bake*, v.)

b) *bounden*

This only appears in Smythe (1863), where it is also described as rare. The form *bounden*, as an adjective, is described by the *OED* as obsolete and archaic. The last attestations in the *OED* are from the 1860s and 1870s.

c) *broke*

Bullion's (1864) classification of this form as obsolete or rarely used runs counter to what we know of the earlier and later usage. Even though the *Oxford English Dictionary* (s.v. *break.* v.) claims that "*broken* is still the regular form. but from the end of the 14th cent. this was often shortened to *broke*, which was exceedingly common in prose and speech during the 17–18th cent., and is still recognized in verse", the usage of the past participle *broke* in Southern American Englishes lingered. By means of example, in Miles' (1980) study of the characteristics of verbs in Haywood County, North Carolina, and Dylewski's (2013) research the dominant variant in the past participle among informants was *broke*. As reported by Atwood (1953: 7), the past participle *broke* was also frequently recorded in the speech of older speakers with limited education from the Middle and South Atlantic States in the first half of the 20th century.

d) *holden, gotten, spitten, stricken, and ridden/rid*

holden

This form appears in Bullion (1864) exclusively. As early as the 17th century, according to Dylewski (2002), its use was conditioned by stylistic concerns. This form appears in the *King James Bible*, which may serve as an explanation for its inclusion in the grammars.

gotten

The *Louisiana English Grammar* describes the past participle *gotten* as nearly obsolete and York 1862 terms it an obsolete form. The prescribed forms most probably reflected the use current at the time. Firstly, the data form the *COHA* show the domination in the use of *gotten* from the 1970s (cf. Figure 10).

Secondly, in the corpus of Civil War material analyzed by Dylewski (2013: 263) the form *got* predominated (57/58 tokens = 98.28%), which was "by far the preponderant form, and only one incidental case of *gotten* (1.72%)".

The data from both Dylewski and the *COHA* point to the domination of the past participle form *got* when the grammars under discussion were published.
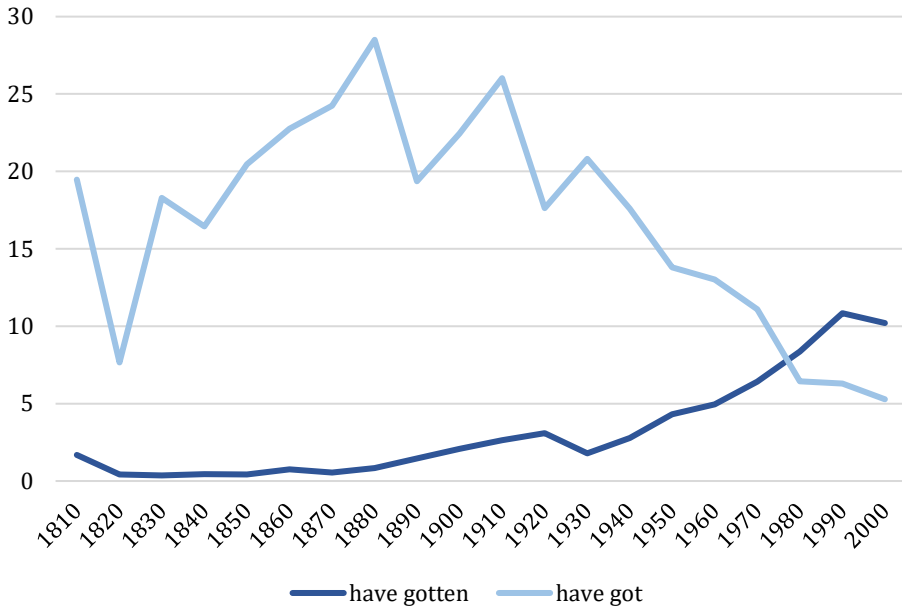
Figure 10. *Have gotten* vs. *have got* in the *Corpus of Historical American English*

spitten and *stricken*

Not much can be said about *spitten* and *stricken*. The former is commented on only in the *Louisiana English Grammar* as "nearly obsolete" and a search in online corpora yielded no results. The *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* (s.v. *spitten*) regards this participle as dialectal, as does the *OED* (s.v. *spit*, v).

    Stricken is given only in Bullion (1864). This participle form is unattested in any of the corpora consulted.

ridden/rid

Table 13. The past participle forms of *ride*

Worrell (1861)	Smythe (1862)	York (1862)	Smythe (1863)	York (1864)	Bullion (1864)	*LEG* (1865)
ridden/ rode*	*ridden/ rid**	*ridden*	*ridden/ rid**	*ridden*	*ridden/ rid*	*rode/ ridden*

    Bullion (1864) italicizes the past participle form *rid*. Price (1910: 16) maintains that the variant had never become as common as *rode*, possibly due to a need to distinguish it from *rid* meaning "to get *rid* of." The existence of the participle form *rid(d)* finds the following explanation: it may emerge as a consequence of the *–n* loss in *ridden* (Dylewski 2002).

The rivalry between *ridden*, *rode* (and *rid*) is reflected in all grammars but for the *Louisiana English Grammar*. The data form the *COHA* (cf. Figure 11) show the evident domination of the participle in –*en* over that in <o>, although it diminished temporarily in the 1840s. Only isolated cases of the form *rid* are to be found throughout the 19th century, which is also indicative of the fact that it was the minority, if not archaic, variant in written American English.
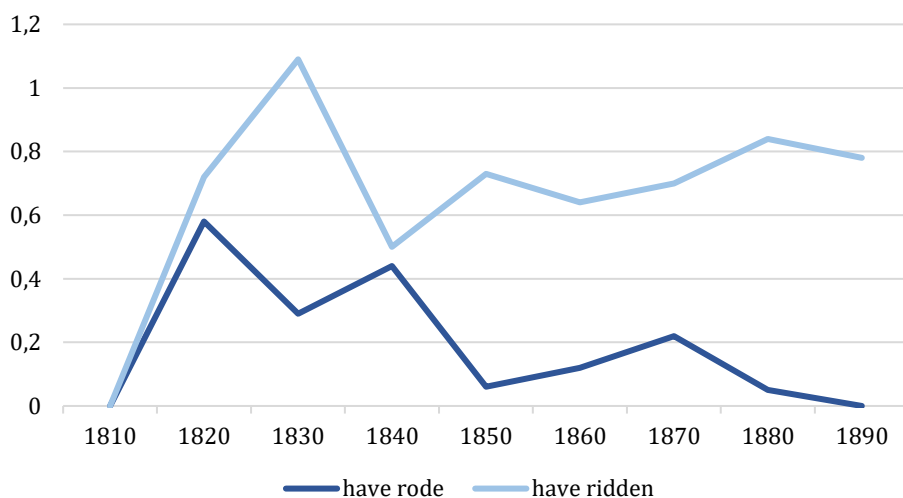

Figure 11. *Have rode* vs *have ridden* in the *Corpus of Historical American English*

e) lien

The participle *lien* (*lyen*) is listed in Bullion (1864). This form is classified by the *Oxford English Dictionary* as an obsolete participle. Examples of this variant are hard to come by in the corpora consulted. Just one instance has been recorded in the on-line corpus of Civil War letters:

> 1) I had bin loocking for a letter from you for the last weak But never come tell this morning it was *lyen* own the Road some wheir the one before this was Dated the 8th and this one was Dated the 16th and it did not Reach me (August 30. 1863; Issac Lefevers to Catherine Lefevers from Catawba County. NC).[22]

This case, however, permits no detailed discussion.

f) shewn

Shew, and its forms, is described by the *OED* (s.v. *show*, v.) as archaic. The past participle form, *shewn*, is demonstrated by York as present in the Bible

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[22] https://altchive.org/private-voices/node/12087. Date of access 01.05.2019.

and even then obsolete. The diachronic data from the Corpus of Historical American English show the steady decline of this participle until the 1850s. Thenceforth *shewn* enjoyed marginal popularity in written American English during the 19th century.

7. Conclusions

However productive was the rebellious South regarding the production of schoolbooks, it produced relatively few original grammars and this prevents far-reaching conclusions. Those offered below are rather tentative in nature and require further verification.

It is hoped that this paper has demonstrated that the grammars published in the Confederate states separately from their contemporary Northern, or American, counterparts are worthy of study. The comparison of the results retrieved from the *Corpus of Confederate Grammars* with those obtained by Anderwald (2012a and 2016) shows that sometimes the authors of the former conformed, to a greater or lesser extent, to the general American pattern. At times the results bear a resemblance to coeval British paradigms. On the one hand, it may have been a coincidental similarity, but on the other, it may have reflected the Confederates' search for the purest form of English in books published oversees.

This study offers no equivocal answer to the question of the extent to which the Southern authors based their recommendations on the actual usage or that to which they sought inspiration in contemporary, or earlier, grammars. It may be concluded, however, that the importance of biblical language or, more precisely, the need to explain the idiosyncrasies of biblical English to the pious Southerners exerted no profound impact on the alternative forms of irregular verbs listed. It is only in York (1862) that one may find a special section appended to the actual list of irregular verbs and devoted to archaic verb forms typical of biblical language.

Interestingly, the same authors differ markedly in their treatment of forms dubbed obsolete/obsolescent, rarely used or belonging to the solemn/poetic style. Whereas York (1862) offers the special section mentioned above, *York's English grammar, revised and adapted to Southern schools* (1864) presents the reader with no archaic or rare forms.

A similar trend is observable in the case of Smythe's grammars. In *Our own primary grammar for the use of beginners* (1862) out of 122 verbs listed, only seven (= 6.2%) are given obsolete alternative forms. *Our own elementary grammar, intermediate between the primary and high school grammars, and especially adapted to the wants of the common schools* (1862) also lists 143 irregular verbs, of which 25 (17.5%) fall outside the

mainstream usage of time. The target audience may have been the reason for this. Whereas Smythe (1862) was designed for the use of beginners, Smythe (1863) was intended for the needs of more advanced readers, hence a more complex verbal system.

In conclusion, the grammars published in the South, albeit not numerous, constitute a valuable, but thus far greatly neglected, primary material worthy of linguistic analysis. It is hoped that further studies, based on a wider array of traits, may reveal either their originality or similarity to either Northern or British counterparts.

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