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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 *Marennnes*, 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); *prairie*, 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

Marennnes, 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. (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

Liederkrantz, 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. SHERATON 1, 000 Foods to eat before you Die 321/1 And perhaps the ultimate is the *Wiencaffé*, 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); *chuiño*, n. (1909); *pancit*, n. (1912); *sinigang*, n. (1912); *sofrito*, n. (1913); *masa*, n. (1914); *churrasco*, n. (1917); *guacamole*, n. (1920); *lechón*, 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) Jnl.* (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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