A VARIATIONIST ANALYSIS OF MODIFIERS IN COOKING SHOWS

by

© Mariana Hernández Hernández

A thesis submitted to the

School of Graduate Studies

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of Linguistics

Memorial University of Newfoundland

December 2017

St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador

ABSTRACT

> "[A]mong the many symbolic resources available for the cultural production of identity, language is the most flexible and pervasive." (Bucholtz & Hall, 2003, p. 369)

This study explores how food celebrities (re)produce (gender, class, cultural) identities through variant choice. The corpus (3,704 adjectival heads) derives from 20 hours of televised cooking shows from 12 food celebrities from Canada, England, and the USA. The chefs are classified in five gendered culinary personas (male: chef-artisan, gastro-sexual, environmentalist; female: pin-ups and homebodies) following Johnston, Rodney and Chong's categorization (2014). The two linguistic variables examined are degree modifiers preceding adjectives: intensifiers (*really great*, *pretty sticky*), and attenuators (*a bit cold*, *a little different*), as well as gradable adjectives (*nice*, *beautiful*). I use multivariate analysis to measure linguistic (syntactic position and adjective type) and social (gender, country, and food) correlations, as well as qualitative methods informed by work in the growing field of Food Studies (Ashley, Hollows, Jones & Taylor, 2004; Johnston et al., 2014; Naccarato & LeBesco, 2012, Prescott, 2012).

The results indicate that the intensification rates (29 %) and the three most frequently used intensifiers (*really*, *very* and *so*) in televised cooking shows are similar to those found by other studies (e.g., Ito & Tagliamonte, 2003; Tagliamonte, 2008; Tagliamonte & Roberts, 2005). However, different from previous findings, the *nice and* construction takes the fourth place of frequency, attenuators appear well distributed and with an important role as food and cooking gradators as well as markers of culinary control. The results also reveal that *−ly* intensifiers mark

masculinity among chefs, HEDONIST VALUE adjectives indicate sensual femininity among pin-ups, and *really* and TASTE adjectives are instruments of adequation (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005) used by gastro-sexuals to assimilate to homebodies. Although the skew towards 'positivity' is unmarked and common across languages (Rozin, Berman & Royzman, 2012), the analysis suggests that it may serve a purpose in the construction of cooking shows as 'fantasies of transformation.' Finally, this paper exemplifies how sociolinguistic and variationist analysis can help decode social hierarchies and constructs within fields and societies.

Keywords: adjectives, degree adverbs, linguistic variation, identity, culinary personas, language and food, language and gender, language and genre, cooking shows

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Gerard Van Herk, who guided this project. I will always be impressed and thankful about the incredible promptness with which he responded to my e-mails, read my drafts, and was always available to answer my questions. I would then like to thank the other two professors that read my thesis, the reviewers, who kindly took the time to provide suggestions and comments to help me improve it. I would also like to acknowledge two professors from the Sociology Department, Dr. Lisa-Jo van den Scott and Dr. Scott Kenny, who allowed me to audit their courses, which helped me start gaining a better understanding of sociological concepts. I would like to thank the professors of the Department of Linguistics too, for providing a supportive and friendly environment to graduate students. I certainly felt welcome and supported there.

Now, I would like to express my gratitude to the people that, with their friendship and support, made this stage of my life more joyful and pleasant: my landlady and friend, Liz, for her constant support and companionship, and for the innumerable things that I have learned from her; the sisters Alyson and Rose, who have always been there for me from the very beginning of my master's thesis; my sociolinguistics colleagues and friends Poo Ching and Leila with whom I have laughed, cried and mourned; my other colleagues and friends Hannah, Naomi, Yi, Yanxiao, Ismar, Saleem, and Gladstone, from whom I have only received kindness; my other friends outside the department, who have always helped me in one way or another: Marissa, Ellie, Erica, Sedigheh, Saeedeh, Maren (my youngest friend), and my late friend Ruth, who did not want me to leave her in St. John's but who, ironically and melancholically, left me first; and, lastly, all of my Brazilian friends, who have always made me feel part of their community.

To end this section, I would like to dedicate this last line of recognition to my unconditionally loving and helping parents and siblings, who are always in my heart.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

Abbreviations

Adj.: adjective
Adv.: adverb
C: complement
Comp.: compound
Ev.: evaluative (adj.)
Gen.: general (adj.)
n: negative
nc: negative connotation
p: positive
P: property or propensity
Part.: participle
pc: positive connotation
Sing.: singular
V: value

Acronyms

FCD: Food Composition Data
FW: Factor weight
NP: Noun Phrase
PEI: Prince Edward Island
TEC: Toronto English Corpus
VP: Verbal Phrase

INTRODUCTION

The appeal to me of cooking shows, besides the culinary aspect −naturally− was the way chefs use words, especially modifiers[1], to describe food. For example, in the sentences below, it can be observed how intensifiers (underlined), attenuators (in bold) and adjectives (italicized) convey a meaning that lies beyond food as a pure nourishing object and cooking as a mere domestic task.

(0.1) "Bread is <u>absolutely</u> *magical*." [Michael Smith]

(0.2) "This part in between [oyster] is *pretty* and *leafy* and <u>very</u> *edible*." [Laura Calder]

(0.3) "If you're gonna have a party that's *decadent*, you want to have some kind of red meat." [Giada de Laurentiis]

(0.4) "It's gonna get *happy* this cabbage." [Emeril Lagasse]

(0.5) "the amount of enjoyment I get from eating supper in bed is **almost** *shameful*." [Nigella Lawson]

Why characterize bread as a *magical* thing, red meat as something with the ability to transform a meal into a *decadent* thing, a cabbage as capable of becoming *happy*? Why describe an oyster as *very edible* instead of just *edible*? Furthermore, why would eating in bed be *shameful*? I had some intuitions that such linguistic behavior served a purpose, other than just being hyperbolic *per se*, and that such behavior might be following a pattern that was still unclear to me. I also wondered whether there were any language/pattern differences depending on the gender of the chef, or even the type of food item (e.g., sweet vs. savory food).

The very words that had caught my attention, that is, degree modifiers and adjectives, were words that I could quantify and study from a variationist perspective. In fact, several studies have shown that, for example, intensifiers, such as *very, really, so*, are used as

[1] Degree modifiers (e.g., *really, very, so, absolutely, completely, kind of, almost,* etc.) and adjectives (e.g., *big, beautiful, red*).

instruments of linguistic innovation and linguistic gendering (e.g., González-Díaz, 2014; Tagliamonte & Roberts, 2005) and that they are affected by topic; e.g., "emotionality of content" (Peters, 1994, p. 286 in Tagliamonte, 2008)). In other words, relying on them to explore my own questions seemed a reasonable inclination and a viable subject for a sociolinguistics seminar paper, which later became the topic of my master's thesis, which I present here.

Now, to what extent is a variationist study of modifiers in the genre of the cooking shows relevant? Although there are plenty of studies on modifiers, there is none –to my knowledge– in the context of cooking shows. Hence, with this paper, I seek to contribute to the field by exploring a genre (i.e., cooking shows) that has not been addressed by this type of studies (e.g., Ito & Tagliamonte, 2003; Tagliamonte, 2002, 2008; Tagliamonte & Roberts, 2005), or linguistic studies in the scope of food (e.g., Cotter, 1994; Freedman & Jurafsky; 2011; Jurafsky, Chahuneau, Routledge & Smith, 2014; Jurafsky, 2014; Lakoff, 2006; Paradis & Eeg-Olofsson, 2013). More broadly, I hope to contribute to the interdisciplinary dialogue of food studies.

In this paper, I focus on the use of intensifiers (e.g., *very / really good*) and attenuators (e.g., *kind of / a bit heavy*) in cooking shows from England, Canada, and the USA. The five general questions that guide this study are:

I. What are the intensification and attenuation patterns dependent upon linguistic (syntactic position and adjective type) and social factors (gender, country, food type)?

II. What are the major intensifying differences or similarities vis-à-vis the findings of previous intensifier studies (e.g., Díaz-González, 2014; Hazenberg, 2012; Ito & Tagliamonte, 2003; Kroch, 1995; Macaulay, 2002, 2005; Tagliamonte, 2008; Tagliamonte & Roberts, 2005)?

III. Which adjective collocation patterns are observed in the Cooking Shows Corpus?

IV. Do the results of the present study suggest something that can be particular to the cooking shows genre?

V. Is the categorization of *culinary personas* (Johnston, Rodney & Chong, 2014) useful in the tracing of linguistic patterns?

This paper consists of five chapters. In Chapter 1, I offer an overview of the theoretical background that supports my methodology, analysis and interpretations. In Chapter 2, I explicate the methodology that I used to classify degree adverbs, gradable adjectives, and extra-linguistic factors (gender, country, food), and I describe how I collected and coded my data set. In Chapter 3, I present my results and analysis. In Chapter 4, I discuss the most relevant findings. Finally, in Chapter 5, I offer a summary of the findings and I conclude by presenting those aspects that could be improved to expand this research.

CHAPTER 1: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter is divided in four main parts: in the first part of the chapter (Sections 1.1 & 1.2), I present research in the area of food studies[2] that helps contextualize this study. In the second part (Section 1.3), I summarize the three food linguistic studies that served me as a guide methodologically, and a fourth study that helped me theoretically. In the third part (Sections 1.4-1.8), I describe the linguistic features of interest (i.e., adjectives and degree adverbs), as well as findings from earlier research on those linguistic features. Finally, in the fourth part (Section 1.9), I summarize the works in the field of sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, and sociocultural linguistics (Bucholtz & Hall, 2003, Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; de Fina et al., 2006; Lakoff, 2006) that helped me gain a better understanding of identity in relation to language.

1.1 Food tastes, distinction and culinary capital

A Bourdieusian concept commonly used and adapted to food studies to explain how food and food practices can connote status, and even power, is the concept of *cultural capital*. This kind of capital can be acquired, but:

> [b]ecause the social conditions of its transmission and acquisition are more disguised than those of economic capital, it is predisposed to function as symbolic capital, i.e., to be unrecognized as capital and recognized as legitimate competence, as authority exerting an effect of (mis)recognition […] Furthermore, the specifically symbolic logic of distinction additionally secures material and symbolic profits for the possessors of a large cultural

[2] The term *food studies* began to be used in the 1990's. It refers to those approaches that study food beyond nutrition, gastronomy and agriculture. Food studies examine food with regard to its social, cultural, political, economic and environmental implications.

> capital […] In other words, the share in profits which scarce cultural capital secures in class-divided societies (Bourdieu, 1986).

Cultural capital can be of three types: embodied (e.g., one's accent, speech, skills, etc.), objectified (e.g., books, paintings, clothes, etc.) and institutionalized (e.g., credentials, education, specialized knowledge, etc.). In their book, *Culinary Capital*, Naccarato and LeBesco (2012), apply this concept to food and food practices and observe "how certain food practices give people a sense of distinction within their communities" (p. 1). *Distinction* is the term that Bourdieu (1984) employed to refer to the differences in people's tastes and lifestyles, which are determined by their social position and that function as social markers to distinguish one class from another. For instance, in the surveys that he conducted in the 1960s in France, he observed that, when asked about food, professionals and senior executives defined "the popular taste, by negation, as the taste for the heavy, the fat and the coarse, by tending towards the light, the refined and the delicate […] the teachers, richer in cultural capital than in economic capital, and therefore inclined to ascetic consumption in all areas […] almost consciously opposed to the (new) rich with their rich food" (p. 185).

Naccarato and LeBesco (2012) explain that "as individuals assert the value of certain dietary preferences and food practices over others, they engage in the quest for culinary capital" (p. 3). They go further to say that "such attempts to acquire culinary capital can be read as efforts to participate in projects of citizenship as individuals use their food practices to create and sustain identities that align with their society's norms and expectations" (ibid.). Using Foucault's concept of bio-power, they argue that culinary capital "promotes normative standards of the "healthy" body and also authorizes the kind of culinary indulgences and excesses that oppose such cultural expectations" (p. 4). They also use Nicolas Rose's theory to explicate how modern

societies have moved towards a discourse of free individuals who seek self-fulfillment. Individuals no longer need to be regulated, obligated or punished: they act and choose freely. Nevertheless, this apparent freedom "does not mark the end of the governed subject; rather, it indicates a change in the technologies through which citizens are governed" (p. 4). In this system, individuals govern themselves "by choosing to adopt specific practices and behaviors because of the status that comes with doing so" (ibid.). A clear example is the pursuit of culinary capital where consumers apparently choose their food practices freely, but "such freedom of choice is always influenced by a set of cultural norms and values that have been internalized by those consumers" (ibid.). Cooking shows, for instance, help portray paths to achieve status/good citizenship "through credible performances of a range of gender and class ideologies" (p. 42).

1.2 The role of food celebrities

Food celebrities can be found across a wide range of types of cooking shows, that is, not only within the instructional/traditional type −where a cook teaches the audience how to prepare a dish− but also in travel-food programs, such as *Bizarre Foods*, or competitive programs, such as *Iron Chef*, etc. One reason why traditional cooking shows (the only genre studied here) continue to be popular in modern television is because they have succeeded in portraying cooking as a form of self-expression and a way of acquiring cultural capital (Collins, 2008, in Naccarato & LeBesco, 2012). Moreover, now that those shows place more weight on entertaining rather than instructing, they are also more about "how to live" rather than about "how to cook" (p. 48). In addition, by providing the sensation of 'choice' among "different" foods, or "different" cooking shows, or even among "different" food celebrity types, they encourage the sense of 'self' in the viewer. Yet, as one may imagine, such "free" and "individual" choices realize reproducing pre-

existing ideologies of class and gender, which are facilitated and reinforced by televised cooking shows. In the end, "the real product of food media is not the celebrity chef, but the consumer" (Hansen, 2008, in Naccarato & LeBesco, 2012, p. 50).

A more detailed study of the kind of (culinary, gender, class) roles that food celebrities (re)produce is that of Johnston, Rodney and Chong (2014), who analyzed 98 cookbooks by 44 celebrity chefs, and found seven distinct and gendered culinary personas (see Table 1.1). They highlight that personas are 'collectively' created and the work of not only the chef who performs his or her persona, but of marketing experts, designers, TV producers, etc.; in other words, those personas are sociocultural constructs. Even though celebrity chefs may not be conscious of the mechanisms implicated in the crafting of their personas, "the goal is to create a persona that will resonate with consumers" (p. 3). In so doing, financial success and popularity are signs of having achieved "cultural legitimacy" (ibid.), and although it may seem that food celebrities are completely constrained by market forces or existing socio-cultural patterns, they, however, have agency in the construction of their personas, which are actually never entirely predictable (ibid.). Contemporary celebrity chefs are also very different from the first televised chefs (e.g., Julia Child), who "addressed their audience as pupils" (p. 5). Nowadays, contemporary food celebrities instruct, entertain and sell "themselves as the trademark of a lifestyle" (p. 5).

Table 1.1. Seven identifieable culinary personas and their attributes (adapted from Table 1 in Johnston et al. (2014))

Gender	Culinary persona	Main attributes	Example
Female	Homebody	Pragmatic, utilitarian concerns - tastes of necessity	Rachel Ray
	Home stylist	Aesthetics and style - tastes of distiction	Martha Stewart
	Pin-up	Self-gratification - tastes of indulgence	Nigella Lawson
Male	Chef-artisan	Spectrum from artistic genius to artistic craftsman	Emeril Lagasse
	Gastro-sexual	Pragmatic, utilitarian aesthetic and affective concerns; home-cooking with professional knowledge	Jamie Oliver
	Maverick	Unconventional sharing of (unique) food knowledge	Alton Brown
	Self-made man	Work ethic, status, status accumulation, love Americana	Jeff Henderson

The seven culinary personas found by the authors were the following: homebody, home stylist, pin-up, chef-artisan, maverick, gastro-sexual, and self-made man. The three first personas are feminine and the last four, masculine. As can be guessed from their labels, they were found to reproduce and reinforce social hierarchies as well as stereotypical gender patterns. Indeed, those culinary personas seemed to echo the traditional sexual division of labor; for example, while masculine personas performed their culinary control and expertise both in the domestic and the professional kitchen, feminine personas did so only within the domestic space.

For feminine culinary personas, their culinary creativity and authority were associated with their skills making domestic cooking appear effortless, quick, delicious, and even stylish or sensual, in some cases. Even though all three feminine culinary personas embrace domesticity and nurturing others, they do it differently. Homebodies (e.g., Rachel Ray, Paula Deen, Sandra Lee, Ree Drummond) place emphasis on practicality. They prepare recipes that require minimal precision, little complication, basic cooking skills and ready-made ingredients (e.g., canned,

frozen ingredients). They focus on quotidian concerns such as budget and time constrains, and their discourse is characterized by a casual and often humorous style. On the contrary, home stylists (e.g., Martha Stewart, Ina Garten) and pin-ups (e.g., Nigella Lawson, Giada de Laurentiis) prepare foods that reflect an upper-class status and lifestyle. Their cooking is more concerned with seeking sophistication, beauty, and even sensual pleasure, in the case of pin-ups, which are the 'sexiest' subtype among the feminine culinary personas.

While the female chefs were found to repeat and reinforce the association of women with domesticity and traditional feminine roles, male chefs repeated and reinforced the association of men with traditional professional roles, such as the genius-artist (e.g., chef-artisan), the skilled artisan (e.g., gastro-sexual) and the knowledgeable scientist-expert (e.g., the maverick) (p. 13). Chef-artisans (e.g., Emeril Lagasse, Mario Batali) prepare foods that require precision, technicality, and even artistry. They always link themselves with the professional kitchen. Mavericks (e.g., Ted Allen, Mark Bittman), although the most unorthodox of all masculine personas, still conform with traits traditionally linked to "masculine professions," such as science, research-based journalism, etc., which helps them gain distance from domesticity and the home kitchen. Gastro-sexuals (e.g., Jamie Oliver, Tyler Florence), like metro-sexuals, reject 'some' traditional masculine features by adopting 'some' behaviors traditionally thought as feminine. For example, gastro-sexuals embrace the domestic kitchen and nurturing others, but they signal their masculinity through making allusion to their professional kitchens, business endeavors, and their roles as professional chefs. Self-made (man) personas (e.g., Jeff Henderson) place emphasis on their rise from poverty −usually with no previous formal training− thanks to their food work. Because this element is central to their nature as 'self-made' characters, their recipes display craftsmanship. Although this culinary persona can be potentially portrayed by

both male and female chefs, the authors only found one woman (i.e., Gina Neely) depicting the self-made role as her primary role.

As can be observed, male chefs, especially white male chefs, have a greater number of personas to choose from, with more fluidity and more mobility between the home and the professional kitchen. They are also more likely to depict class mobility or gender transgressive behaviors than women. The authors conclude by indicating how, although culinary personas have "some agency to shape their self-presentation" (p. 20), they still reproduce, reinforce and naturalize status (class, gender, professional, cultural, etc.) inequalities. By so doing, they limit the categories that certain groups of people (e.g., women, people of color) can occupy.

In another study, Ashley, Hollows, Jones and Taylor (2004) investigated how food and cooking are represented on TV, how TV chefs can be seen as 'brands,' and cooking shows as 'lifestyle' programs, as well as the impact that these may have in our food knowledge and everyday food practices. As the authors explain, cooking shows are characterized by the following: They fall within the larger frame of lifestyle programming, that is, they follow the ethos of educating, entertaining and selling; their production is less costly than the production of TV dramas; they have fixed schedules that encourage predictable viewing habits; finally, they allow the connection with other industries/forms of making profits (e.g., the restaurant or the book industry) through the figure of a 'brand' chef. In fact, the role of the celebrity chef is fundamental in terms of their success and profitability, and this is precisely why TV chefs need to have "a distinctive brand image" (p. 175). One of the most successful 'brand' chefs to date is Jamie Oliver, who presents cooking as something accessible, pleasurable, masculine, and as a 'lifestyle' rather than a domestic task (p. 184).

Interestingly, the authors note that although television exposure may increase opportunities for economic profit, too much exposure in the "feminized space of daytime" (p. 179), may also reduce male chefs' legitimacy as 'serious' chefs. For example, Jamie Oliver himself claimed that he did not want to be seen as a "TV chef" (ibid.). Thus, TV chefs that seek to be seen as 'artist' chefs distance themselves from "media sell-outs" and even "play down the economic profits;" Gary Rhodes assures us, for example, that he is not a millionaire (ibid.). This is the strategy that celebrity chefs employ if they want to be perceived as 'artist chefs' and preserve their "cultural legitimacy within the culinary field" (ibid.).

TV chefs can also be seen as facilitators of 'culinary cultural capital' and 'distinction.' The authors argue that the meaning of cooking in cooking shows is "equated with the 'sensual and pleasurable' and becomes associated with leisure and lifestyle" (p. 181). Such connection of cooking and food with pleasure, enjoyment and sensuality can be explicitly observed in the discourse of chefs. The connection of food with pleasure and leisure is reaffirmed by an emphasis on its visual aesthetic aspect (p. 182), which is seen as a source of pleasure too. Finally, within this constellation of meanings, another meaning that is linked to food and cooking is the opportunity to care for the self. In the lines below I provide some examples from my corpus:

Examples from the corpus:

(1.1) I don't believe in guilty **pleasures**[3]. I think the only thing that everyone should feel guilty about is not taking **pleasure**. [Nigella Lawson, "Pasta Puttanesca," *Nigella Kitchen*]

(1.2) Because in the **pursuit of happiness** beautiful things are going to happen in this bowl." [Jamie Oliver, *4th of July NYC Cheesecake,* Jamie Oliver's Food Tube]

[3] Emphasis added.

(1.3) “a playful menu of light, but **decadent** treats [Giada de Laurentiis, *Girls night in, Giada entertains*]

(1.4) There’s no point in making **beautiful food** if you’re going to have an ugly plate. [Laura Calder, “Spinach omelet,” *Thrifty, French Food at Home*]

(1.5) And when **I’m dining alone**, I’d like to **treat myself** to my lemony salmon with cherry tomato couscous. [Nigella Lawson, “Pasta Puttanesca,” *Nigella Kitchen*]

In conclusion, food, cooking and eating can be used to “construct, and display, a particular lifestyle” (p. 183). Thus, chefs not only ‘sell’ their recipes, programs, books or kitchen products to the audience, but an ‘entire lifestyle.’ Within this logic, chefs not only teach their audiences how to cook, but how to live. Cooking shows also provide their audiences with a “fantasy of transformation:” they are “kitchen dreams” (p. 184).

1.3 Background linguistic studies related to food

Food is not a new topic of research in most areas of study, but, it is fairly new in linguistics. This provides me with the benefit that anything that I produce, regardless of its modesty, will be already a contribution to the field. The disadvantage and challenge is, of course, finding sufficient background literature in the field. There were, nevertheless, three studies that served me as a foundation: Freedman and Jurafsky (2011), Jurafsky, Chahuneau, Routledge, and Smith (2014), and Paradis and Eeg-Olofsson (2013).

Freedman and Jurafsky (2011) found that the language used on bags of potato chips had a direct connection with the cost of the product and therefore, with the marketing assumptions of the social class that each product targeted. Expensive chips (68 cents per ounce or more) were distinguished from inexpensive chips (40 cents per ounce) by using the strategy of *distinction by*

negation (Bourdieu, 1984): they were described in terms of negation (e.g., *no* trans fat, *no* cholesterol, *nothing* fake); they contained words of lower frequency (e.g., *savory, culinary*), while inexpensive chips used words of higher frequency (e.g., *light, fresh*). Expensive chips also contained longer words and "more complex language" (according to the Flesch Kincaid readability calculator) than inexpensive chips. They also had more words than inexpensive chips in general (around 142 words per bag versus 104 used on bags of inexpensive chips). Finally, expensive chips used health vocabulary six times more frequently than inexpensive chips. None of these differences were, needless to say, an objective reflection of the actual nutritional content of chips. For example, as Freedman and Jurafsky (2011) explicate, none of the chips in the sample actually contained trans fats; yet, expensive chips mentioned the lack of trans fat more frequently than inexpensive chips (p. 49). The 'language distinctions,' hence, seemed to reflect social class representations. In addition to this, the authors reveal that 'authenticity[4]' was encoded differently. Those chips that appeared to represent the working class, made reference to historicity and tradition while chips that appeared to represent a wealthier class emphasized health and natural living (p. 53).

In the second study, Jurafsky, Chahuneau, Routledge, and Smith (2014) analyzed 900,000 online restaurant reviews and found linguistic patterns linked to the type of restaurant, its rating, the sex of the reviewer, and the type of food described. They found that reviews of lower rated restaurants (one-star reviews) used a narrative of *trauma*, that is, a narrative that uses negative emotional vocabulary (e.g., *bad, failure*) and contrasts the past actions of a third person (e.g., servers) inflicted on a victim (the diner/reviewer), who usually expresses herself/himself in the first-person plural. Reviews of higher rated, inexpensive restaurants (e.g., fast food

[4] The authors use the term *authentic* and *authenticity* to refer to the idea that "some aspects of culture, lifestyle, class identity, or language" (Freedman & Jurafsky, 2011, p. 46) can be more legitimate than others.

restaurants) used a narrative of *addiction*, that is, a narrative where food (e.g., pizza, burgers, tacos) is described as a drug; eating, as an addiction; and the diner, as an addict. The authors also found that certain foods were more likely to be described as drugs than others: meaty or fatty foods (e.g., French fries, burgers), starchy comfort foods (e.g., pasta, mac and cheese), sweet foods (e.g., chocolate, pancakes), and small ethnic dishes (e.g., dumplings, burritos) −in other words, non-normative foods, foods that are considered "bad for you." Fish or vegetables, for example, were never described using the addiction metaphor. Finally, reviews of higher rated, more expensive restaurants showed the cultural capital of the diner through her/his linguistic capital (e.g., utilization of longer and infrequent words). They were also characterized by the description of food as a sensual (and even sexual) pleasure. This was especially true when reviewers described desserts and the romantic ambiance. Lastly, the authors found that women were more likely than men to describe desserts and to use the addiction metaphor.

In the third study, Paradis and Eeg-Olofsson (2013), investigated 84,864 wine reviews and discovered two main types of descriptions. The first type used words from different sensory modal domains (VISION, SMELL, TASTE and TOUCH) and object properties; the second included imagery: personification, metaphors, similes and metonyms. The authors argue that lexical syncretism is based on the way we actually conceptualize sensory experiences; for example, *sharp* can be used as a descriptor of different sensory experiences (e.g., VISION, SMELL, and TASTE) and not only of TOUCH. As they explain, "[w]e cannot taste something without smelling something and we cannot taste something without feeling something, and over and above everything is the sight of something" (p. 38). Also, the wine reviews displayed mapping across different (sensory) domains by using imagery (metaphors, similes, metonyms and personification) to describe objects. The only characteristic that distinguished similes from

the other imagery devices was that most similes were comparisons between wines instead of between sensory domains.

There was also a fourth study that I found, that of Lakoff (2006), which approaches food from a sociolinguistic and identity perspective. Through qualitative analysis of written materials (restaurant menus, cookbook recipes, newspapers and magazine commentaries), Lakoff shows how gastronomic change relates to language and cultural change. She examines how the white, middle-class community of Berkeley, California, forms its food-related identity, and group ethos through its food attitudes. This study was helpful for me as a theoretical rather than as a methodological base (see Section 1.9).

1.4 Adjectives

Three aspects are important to note in order to understand how adjectives behave and the meaning that they convey: their morphology, their syntactic position and their semantic type.

1.4.1 Morphology of adjectives

For their morphology, adjectives can be divided in three major classes: simple, derived and compound. *Simple adjectives* are the most commonly used in English. They tend to be "monosyllabic or bisyllabic words of native origin, such as *good, bad, big, tall, easy*" (Downing & Locke, 2006, p. 477). *Derived adjectives* can originate from suffixation to nouns, (e.g., *recreation<u>al</u>*), other adjectives (e.g., *yellow<u>ish</u>*) or verbs (e.g., *drink<u>able</u>*). They can also form through prefixation to an adjective (e.g., *<u>un</u>happy, <u>in</u>secure*) or a verb (e.g., *<u>a</u>sleep, <u>a</u>wake*). *Compound adjectives* can be composed of different classes of words: noun + adjective (e.g., a *tax-free* product), adverb + participle (e.g., a *well-known* writer), etc. Some of these linguistic strategies that create adjectives are very productive in English; for example, the use of affixes *un-, -ish, -y, -ing* or *-ed* or the formation of compound adjectives. Frequently, compound words are formed by a participial and another class word, such as a noun, an adjective or an adverbial prefix (e.g., *heart-breaking, well-paid*). Sometimes, word-formations are only nonce words:

> (1.6) Nonce adjective: "The wagon beginning to fall into its slow and ***mileconsuming*** clatter." [William Faulkner]

1.4.2 Semantics of adjectives

For their semantics, adjectives can be divided in two major types: qualitative and classifying. Qualitative adjectives identify the quality of someone or something (e.g., *big, beautiful, healthy*)

and are gradable, which means that a degree adverb (e.g., *very*, *fairly*, *almost*), a comparative (e.g., *older, more compelling*) or a superlative (e.g., *the oldest, the most compelling*) can be used to indicate greater or lesser degree of something.

Active state, present participles or *-ing* adjectives that describe an effect are usually qualitative (e.g., *amazing, confusing, embarrassing, relaxing*):

(1.7) Qualitative effect *-ing* adjective: This book was *extremely boring*.

There is also a small set of *-ing* adjectives which are not related to a common transitive verb that are qualitative (e.g., *becoming, engaging, promising, revolting*):

(1.8) The story was *very moving*.

-ed adjectives that describe someone's emotional reaction to something are also typically qualitative (e.g., *amused, delighted, embarrassed, worried*):

(1.9) Qualitative emotional *-ed* adjectives: I was *so bored*.

Classifying adjectives or classifiers identify someone or something as of a particular class (e.g., *industrial* engineering vs. *mechanical* engineering), are considered not gradable (e.g., **more dental* treatment, **very dental* treatment), and are usually attributive. Downing and Locke (2006, p. 440) distinguish the following types:

(1.10) Affiliations: *Canadian* (voters), *Liberal* (party), *Muslim* (community), etc.

(1.11) Norms, sequences, sizes, ratings, scales: *average* (age), *previous* (job), *regular* (doctor), *top* (model), etc.

(1.12) Society and institutions: *municipal* (building), *industrial* (city), *metropolitan* (museum), etc.

(1.13) Periods: *prehistoric* (remains), *modern* (times), *classical* (music), etc.

(1.14) Processes[5]: *coming* (events), *sun-dried* (tomatoes), etc.

(1.15) Professions: *medical* (student), *social* (worker), *agricultural* (expert), etc.

(1.16) Technology: *atomic* (energy), *digital* (watch), etc.

(1.17) Time and place: *former* (boss), *old* (friend)[6], *previous* (job), *left* (leg), etc.

Compound adjectives may be qualitative (e.g., *absent-minded, far-reaching, old-fashioned*) or classifying (e.g., *cross-country, made-up, tax-free*), and *-ed* adjectives that refer to physical distinctions tend to be classifying (e.g., *furnished, painted, closed*).

Depending on the context, some adjectives can function as either qualifying or classifying:

(1.18) Qualifying adjective: *old* friend ('aged' friend)

(1.19) Classifying adjective: *old* friend ('long-time' friend)

And some others can lose their status of classifiers when they are modified:

(1.20) They are *very Catholic*.

Finally, there is another type of adjectives known as emphasizing adjectives. They are usually considered not gradable by prescriptive grammars (e.g., *absolute* rubbish, *complete* idiot), but they may be graded in spoken English (e.g., *more/most complete*). A small group of this kind of adjectives has *-ing* endings (e.g., *freezing*, *whopping*) and they tend to be used with very specific nouns or adjectives:

(1.21) *stinking rich*, *freezing cold*, *scalding hot*

In this paper, I will refer to the latter group as intensifiers.

[5] They are usually *-ing* and *-ed* participles related to intransitive verbs. When they appear in predicative position, they are not functioning as adjectives anymore but as part of a continuous/progressive tense:

(a) The city has a *booming* economy.

(b) The economy *is booming*.

[6] In its meaning as 'long-time' friend.

1.4.3 Dixon's semantic classification of gradable adjectives

Qualitative or gradable adjectives can be subclassified into more precise semantic groups. For example, Dixon proposes the following eight semantic categories (Dixon, 1977, pp. 1-62; Dixon & Aikhenvald, 2004, pp. 3-5):

- DIMENSION[7]: *big/little, large/small,* etc.
- PHYSICAL PROPERTY: *hard/soft, heavy/light, rough/smooth,* etc.
- COLOR, which includes eleven basic terms (e.g., *black, red, white*) and hyponyms (e.g., *scarlet, reddish, greeny*)
- HUMAN PROPENSITY: *jealous, happy, kind, clever,* etc.
- AGE: *new, young, old,* etc.
- VALUE: *good, bad, proper, lovely,* etc.
- SPEED: *fast, quick, slow,* etc.
- POSITION: *near, far,* etc.

Although COLOR adjectives can take comparatives and superlatives (e.g., *greener, the greenest*), unlike most qualitative adjectives, they do not always accept degree adverbs (e.g., *?very silver, ?really violet*). They can be more specified by using a submodifier before them (e.g., *light blue, bright orange*) with the option of using a hyphen between the two terms (e.g., *light-blue, bright-orange*). They can also use the suffixes *-ish* and *-y* to produce any approximate color (e.g., *greenish/greeny, greenish-blue, greeny-blue*).

[7] Capital letters are used henceforth to represent the different adjectival semantic categories.

1.4.4 Syntactic position of adjectives

For their syntactic position, adjectives can be divided in two major types: attributive, when the adjective is in a noun group, and predicative, when the adjective is the complement of a copula (e.g., *be, seem, become*):

(1.22) Attributive: The house had *white walls*.

(1.23) Predictive: The walls *were white*.

Although most adjectives can appear either in attributive or predicative position, there are some that are restricted to one or the other:

Only attributive:

(1.24) Qualitative adjectives: *adoring, flagrant, punishing, scant,* etc.

(1.25) Classifying adjectives: *atomic, digital, federal, neighboring,* etc.

(1.26) Classifying postnominal adjectives: *designate, elect, galore, incarnate, manqué,* etc.

(1.27) Number + Noun (sing.) compound adjectives: *eighty-page* (book), *four-door* (cars), etc.

Only predicative:

(1.28) Qualitative adjectives: *afraid, alive, alone, apart, asleep,* etc.

The majority of passive state, past participles or *-ed* adjectives can be used either attributively or predicatively. Nevertheless, there is a small set that can only be used in predicative position, and that are usually or always followed by a prepositional phrase, a *to-infinitive-clause* or a *that-clause* (Sinclair, 1990, p. 81):

(1.29) I was *thrilled* by the exhibition.

(1.30) He was always *prepared* to account for his actions.

(1.31) She was *convinced* that he had won.

A few adjectives have different denotations depending on whether they precede or succeed a noun; that is the case of *concerned, involved, present, responsible* and *proper*:

(1.32) Not everyone practices *responsible* journalism.

(1.33) The person *responsible* for the murder vanished into the darkness of the night.

A similar phenomenon occurs with DIMENSION adjectives, which indicate measure when used postnominally: *broad, deep, high, long, old, tall, thick* and *wide*:

(1.34) The door was two meters *wide*.

(1.35) He's thirty-three years *old*.

1.5 Degree adverbs

As mentioned earlier, an adjective is gradable if it can be modified by a comparative, a superlative or a degree adverb. Although degree adverbs −also called adverbs of degree or grading adverbs− can modify nouns, verbs, adjectives, other adverbs, etc., in this study I focus only on those that modify adjectives.

Even though the most common adjectives to be modified by degree adverbs tend to be qualitative, classifying adjectives may be preceded by them as well:

(1.36)[8] It was an *almost automatic* reflex.

(1.37) Kashmir is a *largely Muslim* state.

(1.38) The wolf is now *nearly extinct*.

Degree adverbs can convey three degrees of intensification: high, medium and attenuated. Degree adverbs like *very, really, so* and *-ly* adverbs, such as *extremely* and

[8] Examples from Sinclair (1990, p. 95).

completely, are considered to be of high intensification[9]. *Rather* and *fairly* convey medium intensification, and *quite* and *pretty* can be either of high or medium intensification depending on the context or pitch. *Almost, somewhat, -ly* adverbs like *slightly* and *moderately*, and the periphrases *kind of* and *sort of* express attenuated intensification.

To simplify a quantitative/variationist analysis, and to be able to make the results of this study more easily comparable to those of previous studies (i.e., Ito & Tagliamonte, 2003; Tagliamonte & Roberts, 2005; Tagliamonte, 2008), I grouped degree adverbs in two major classes: *intensifiers* and *attenuators*. I use the former term to refer to adverbs of high and medium intensification –the only items measured by the aforementioned studies– and the latter term, for adverbs of attenuated intensification.

1.5.1 Intensifiers (high and medium intensification adverbs)

The quantitative/variationist studies that I primarily use as reference here (i.e., Ito & Tagliamonte, 2003; Tagliamonte, 2008; Tagliamonte & Roberts, 2005), only analyzed high and medium intensification adverbs considering that these are more frequently used than attenuating adverbs. Since these studies refer to high and medium intensification adverbs as *intensifiers*, I also do so here.

In the group of high intensification adverbs one finds reinforcers (Paradis, 1997; 2001) or amplifiers (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Scartvik, 1985), which are modifiers that magnify the value of the linguistic element that they modify. Some, reinforcers, such as *very* (see 1.39) and *extremely*, which are more delexicalized, have the capacity to modify almost any adjective; others, which are less delexicalized, like *awfully* (see 1.40) and *terribly*, can only modify good

[9] Some theorists (e.g., Carita Paradis and Ronald Macaulay) divide high intensification adverbs into *maximizers* (e.g., *absolutely, completely*) and *boosters* (e.g., *very, really*).

and bad qualities; and even others, like *dreadfully* and *horribly* (see 1.41), can modify only bad qualities (Downing & Locke, 2006, p.488):

			Attributive position		Predicative position
(1.39)[10]	*very*	a.	the *very* latest techniques	b.	That's *very* kind of you
(1.40)	*awfully*	a.	an *awfully* nice man	b.	He looked *awfully* tired
(1.41)	*horribly*				We're *horribly* bored

1.5.2 Most frequently used intensifiers

Degree adverbs tend to be content words that become delexicalized or grammaticalized over time. One of the best-known examples is *very*, whose original meaning as 'real/genuine' became delexicalized (Stoffel, 1901, p. 30). While *very* and *really* were both popular intensifiers in the 18th-century, in contemporary varieties of British, Canadian and US American English, *really* is becoming the most common choice, especially among middle-aged to younger speakers, to the detriment of *very* (Tagliamonte, 2006b, p. 321).

Really still preserves its modal meaning (sentence 1.42) (Peters 1994, in Ito & Tagliamonte, 2003, p. 278). Syntactically, predicative adjectives seem to favor it; socially, middle-aged and younger generations with higher education use it more, and it is more contrastive between sexes in the middle generation (ibid.).

(1.42) I *really* (=truly) liked it.

Like *really*, *so* is growing in popularity in the three varieties of English mentioned above. For example, in the *Friends*[11] corpus, *so* represents 44.1 % of all intensifiers used (Tagliamonte & Roberts, 2005).

[10] Examples (1.39 (a)) and (1.39 (b)) come from Downing & Locke (2006, p.488).
[11] Extracted from *Friends* (1994-2004), the famous US TV sitcom.

1.5.3 Other intensifiers and other intensifying strategies

Other intensifiers include adverbs ending in *-ly*, such as *absolutely, completely, entirely* (see examples 1.43 & 1.44); four degree adverbs which can be considered of medium intensification: *quite, pretty, rather* and *fairly*, although, as explained in Section 1.3, *quite* and *pretty* can be either of high or medium intensification depending on the context (see examples 1.51, 1.52, 1.63 & 1.64); other adjectives like *just, all, dead, pure*, etc. (see examples 1.45-1.48); emphasizing adjectives (see sentence 1.49), periphrases like *such* (see sentence 1.50), etc.

(1.43) That's *absolutely beautiful*.

(1.44) You're *totally wrong*.

(1.45) That's *just awful.*

(1.46) He got *all crazy*.

(1.47) this is *pure embarrassing*

(1.48) this is *dead embarrassing*

(1.49) That's *freezing cold.*

(1.50) That's *such a nice* color.

Quite is considered one of the most 'versatile' degree adverbs in English (Paradis, 1997, p. 35; McManus, 2012; Méndez-Naya & Pahta, 2010, p. 191, in González-Díaz, 2014, p. 313). Depending on the context, it can function as a high intensification adverb, for example, with emotive adjectives (Downing & Locke, 2006, p.489) (see 1.51), or as a medium intensification adverb, expressing politeness or uncertainty (see 1.52) (Downing & Locke, 2006, p.489). Usually, a higher pitch and emphasis is added when used for higher intensification.

(1.51) *High intensification*: *quite* amazing, *quite* incredible, *quite* disastrous

(1.52) *Medium intensification*: I'm not *quite* sure.

Although it can modify other words, such as determiners (1.53), verbs (1.54) and even entire phrases, such as prepositional (1.55) or noun phrases (1.56), or nothing, and be used as a response marker (1.57), it is most frequently found modifying adjectives (1.58) and then adverbs (1.60). For example, in his study, Palacios Martínez (2009) found that *quite* served as an adjective modifier 58.8 % of the time, mainly preceding adjectives of positive quality, size or "distinctive feature of a person or a thing" (p. 209). He also found that *quite*'s most common syntactic position is predicative.

	Quite +	
[12](1.53)	Determiner:	… theaters that have been established over *quite a few years*.
(1.54)	Verb:	I *quite* agree with what you are saying.
(1.55)	Prepositional Phrase:	I don't think there's anything *quite like Toblerone*.
(1.56)	Noun Phrase:	They do tend to last *quite* a while.
(1.57)	∅	Not *quite*.
(1.58)	Adjective:	I've been able to use some French in Romania which is *quite* useful.
(1.60)	Adverb:	In fact I re-read most of them *quite* recently.

Rather diminishes the intensity of a utterance, conveying a more polite (1.61) or less emotional statement (1.62), but with the understanding than the more intense meaning is implied (Downing & Locke, 2006, p. 489).

[12] These examples come from Palacios Martínez (2009).

[13](1.61) I'm *rather worried* about your exam results.

(1.62) I was *rather pleased* at winning the lottery.

Pretty can express, as mentioned earlier, high or medium intensification, the former in negative evaluations (1.63), and the latter in its approximative value (1.64) (ibid.).

(1.63) *High intensification*: That paper of his was a *pretty poor* effort. (='very poor').

(1.64) *Medium intensification*: She's a *pretty good* student.

Fairly typically means 'to a reasonable degree' and it is used with "favourable and neutral" adjectives (1.65) rather than with "unfavourable" ones (1.66) (ibid., 490).

(1.65) *fairly honest, fairly intelligent*

(1.66) *?fairly dishonest, ?fairly foolish*

Finally, other linguistic strategies can be used to express intensification; for example, the *nice and* (*good and* or *lovely and*) construction[14] (1.67), adjective reduplication (1.68), intensifier reduplication (1.69), combined strategies (1.70), etc.

(1.67) The room is *nice and cozy*.

(1.68) A *deep deep joy*.

(1.69) That's *very very interesting*.

(1.70) That was *really nice and easy* to do.

1.5.4 Attenuators and other attenuating strategies

Attenuators (Paradis, 1997; 2001) or *downtoners* (Quirk et al., 1985) are modifiers that soften the value of the linguistic element that they modify (see 1.71 & 1.72). They are less studied and rarely quantified in variationist analyses because they are considered less frequent (Ito &

[13] Examples (1.61), (1.62), (1.63) and (1.65) come from Downing & Locke (2006, p.489-490).
[14] I will use '*nice and* construction' or '*nice and'* henceforth as an umbrella term to refer to the three variants of this intensifying strategy, unless indicated otherwise.

Tagliamonte, 2003, p. 258) and subject to less creativity and variation (Hazenberg, 2012, p. 66). Therefore, attenuating strategies are very limited; in fact, I can only document two here: the use of two different attenuators (1.73) and the use of an attenuator preceded by an intensifier (1.74).

(1.71) I'm *almost ready*.

(1.72) That was *a little bit disappointing*.

(1.73) His explanation was *a tiny bit boring*.

(1.74) Something *really kind of cool*.

1.6 Collocation patterns

There are internal/linguistic factors that can determine the behavior of degree adverbs and adjectives, e.g., their collocation patterns. As mentioned lines above, the degree of delexicalization of degree adverbs delimits to a great extent which type of adjectives they can modify. As a rule, the more delexicalized a degree adverb is, the more widely it can combine with adjectives. This is precisely why a degree adverb like *very*, which is completely delexicalized, can collocate with virtually any adjective, while one like *awfully*, which has not lost its lexical content entirely, can only collocate with positive and negative value adjectives (e.g., *good, sorry*) or with implied value judgements (e.g., *it's awfully red*).

As Partington explains, "delexicalization and width of collocation […] are probably one and the same" (1993, p. 183). In his view, "one word or group of words almost automatically 'calls up' another specific word or phrase, or at least, constrains the speaker to the choice of one of a limited set of possibilities" (ibid., p. 186). One clear example is *absolutely*, which −based on the Cobuild corpus− mainly collocates with adjectives that, like *absolutely* itself, also convey a heightened sense; e.g., *enchanting, shocking, appalling* (ibid., p. 187). Collocations are more or

less predictable depending on the degree of delexicalization of the degree adverb. For example, Taglimonte and Roberts (2005) found that *so* and *really* were more frequently employed with emotional adjectives (e.g., *jealous, glad*) than with non-emotional adjectives (e.g., *important, small*) by both female and male characters in *Friends*. This was later supported by the analysis of natural speech from the TEC, where Tagliamonte (2008) found that 20-year-olds indeed used *so* and *really* with emotional adjectives more than with non-emotional adjectives. Another good example is the semantic factor that determines the variation between *-ly* and *zero* adverbs in the York corpus. While *-ly* adverbs were more frequently used in an abstract or subjective sense, *zero* adverbs were more so in a concrete or objective sense (Tagliamonte & Ito, 2002, p. 254).

Nonetheless, linguistic factors themselves do not account entirely for all collocations. For instance, in the *Friends* corpus (Tagliamonte & Roberts, 2005), *very* was also utilized more frequently with emotional adjectives, but only by male characters. And, in the TEC corpus (Tagliamonte, 2008), *pretty* was only more frequent with emotional adjectives among 20- and 30- year-olds. This provides evidence that there are social aspects at play that influence not only collocation behaviors, but also degree adverb and adjective choice among speakers/speaker groups. In the next two sections I present some of the social correlations found by previous studies of premodifiers and modifiers.

1.7 Social aspects related to degree adverbs

Several studies (e.g., Díaz-González, 2014; Hazenberg, 2012; Ito & Tagliamonte, 2003; Kroch, 1995; Macaulay, 2002, 2005; Tagliamonte, 2008; Tagliamonte & Roberts, 2005) have found correlations between degree modifiers and social aspects, such as gender, age, class, etc. Even though their results are not entirely comparable among themselves or with mine, it is worth

mentioning (in the following lines) the aspects of their results that are pertinent to this study and how the authors interpreted such results.

In her corpus, based on Jane Austen's novels, González-Díaz (2014) found that Austen employed *quite* as an instrument of socio-stylistic variation and linguistic gendering among her characters. She used *quite* in its canonical sense, that is, as a high-intensification adverb (='completely,' 'totally'), to portray a character as morally good, and she reserved *quite* in its newer functions (scalar and emphasizer) to distinguish a character as "'deviant' and/or 'inferior' in some respect" (ibid., 321); e.g., Jane vs. Lydia (respectively) within the Bennet family in *Pride and Prejudice*. Furthermore, since most of these "deviant" characters are female characters, González-Díaz identifies *quite* as "a marker of *female* speech," which reflects a gender stereotype, rather than real speech (ibid.).

In contemporary English, *so* seems to be used as a marker[15] of "young feminine" speech. For example, the *Friends* corpus study (Tagliamonte & Roberts, 2005) showed that *so* was used twice as often by female characters by male characters. This finding was later supported by "real language" in the Toronto English Corpus (TEC) (Tagliamonte, 2008), where the group of 13-29-year-old women in the sample were more prone to using *so* than the other groups. While *so* seems to be the stereotypical intensifier to mark 'young femininity,' *pretty* seems to be the stereotypical one to mark 'young masculinity,' as revealed by the TEC study. The *Friends* study showed that *really* was more frequently used by females than by males. This trend was found in the TEC too, where *really* was the preferred intensifier among young people (13-29-year-old group), but especially among young women. Finally, *very* was equally utilized by both genders

[15] Throughout the paper, I use the terms *marker* and *indicator* as synonyms and without any allusion to the meaning they are given in stylistic variation analyses.

in *Friends* (Tagliamonte & Roberts, 2005), and it was in the TEC too, except among the 40+ group where female speakers seemed to use it more frequently than male speakers.

In his study on Scottish dialect (from Ayr and Glasgow), Macaulay (2002, 2005) found that two factors in his corpora seemed to determine the quantitative and qualitative differences in the use of degree modifiers: social class and gender. *Very* and *quite* were more frequently used by middle-class speakers than by working-class informants, and *very* had slightly higher rates in female speakers of the former group, while *quite* was used as a high-intensification adverb (='completely,' 'totally') more recurrently by middle-class speakers than by working-class participants. The only degree adverb that had relatively similar incidence rates in both social groups was *just*, although it was used qualitatively distinctly.

Macaulay (2002, 2005) also found that social class and gender triggered quantitative and qualitative differences in the use of *-ly* adverbs. In general, middle-class speakers used *-ly* adverbs significantly more frequently than working-class speakers did (up to twice times more). Furthermore, middle-class male adults from Glasgow used more *-ly* adverbs than their female counterparts (13.59 vs. 9.99 per 1,000, respectively), while working-class adult speakers of both genders utilized *-ly* adverbs similarly (4.71 in men vs. 4.99 in women, per 1,000). The kind of *-ly* adverbs used was also distinct according to social class. For example, Glasgow middle-class speakers used 74 different *-ly* adverbs while the working-class used only 37 different forms; 24 of those adverbs were common to both groups, with *really* as the most frequent (3.03 per 1,000 words).

In the York corpus, Tagliamonte and Ito (2002) found that education level rather than class provided the most consistent pattern distinguishing the use of *-ly* from the *zero* form. The predominant users of the *zero* form were less educated men. The more educated the male

speakers were, the more likely they were to pattern with the female speakers (ibid., p. 252). Nevertheless, all speakers at some point in the conversation used the *zero* variant.

Finally, in his study based on gender identity in Ottawa, Hazenberg (2012) found that straight-identified speakers were moderate users of intensifiers, but the most prominent users of attenuators; and that transsexual women had the lowest rates of attenuation while transsexual men had the highest. The most frequently used intensifier among all speakers (except among queer men and trans women, who preferred *very*) was *really*. *So* was favored among straight women, and queer women and men, while *pretty*'s usage was consistently low across all gender groups, except among straight men. These two last findings help confirm that *so* and *pretty* are markers of 'young femininity' and 'young masculinity' respectively (Tagliamonte, 2008). As for attenuators, *kind of* was the preferred variant across all gender groups.

1.8 Social aspects related to adjectives

Just as the usage of degree modifiers has social correlations, the use of adjectives does too. For example, in his study of Philadelphia speech, Kroch (1995) sees the more frequent use of intensifiers and of certain kinds of adjectives, such as augmentative (e.g., *large, serious*) and hyperbolic (e.g., *outstanding, enormous*), as part of the same linguistic behavior, which he further links to a broader social behavior. In his study, this linguistic behavior is what distinguishes the discourse of upper-class men (born between 1910 and 1923) from other groups (e.g., their female counterpart or upper-middle class men). He interprets this phenomenon as a projection of a "sense of entitlement" or "a sense of one's own importance," which is a product of someone's power and wealth (p. 40). In other words, the "strong emphasis in conversation" depicted by the upper-class men of his study reflects their sense of entitlement to express their

views and opinions with "greater self-confidence and authority" than middle-class men or even their female counterparts (p. 41).

Macaulay (2002, 2005) finds a similar class distinction. In his study of Scottish English, he observed that middle-class speakers in Ayr used more adjectives than working-class speakers (22.41 vs. 11.74 per 1,000 words, respectively). Furthermore, this linguistic behavior was comparable to those of middle-class and working-class speakers in Glasgow (34.16 vs. 24.74 per 1,000 words, respectively). Macaulay also noticed that the quality of the adjectives used differed depending on the speaker's social class. Middle-class speakers used more evaluative adjectives (VALUE and HUMAN PROPENSITY) and "uncommon" adjectives (e.g., *horrendous, hellish, chauvinistic*) than working-class speakers who mainly used "simple words of approval or disapproval" (e.g., *good, bad, nice*).

1.9 Identity, a sociolinguistic perspective

Since this study explores how identities are produced and reproduced through language (variant choice), I dedicate this section to summarize how some scholars in the field of sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, and sociocultural linguistics (Bucholtz & Hall, 2003, Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; de Fina et al., 2006; Lakoff, 2006) have defined identity, especially, with regard to language.

The development of identity was traditionally believed to only occur during childhood and adolescence, but contemporary approaches support the idea that identity is in continual construction throughout the course of someone's life. Moreover, identity is not only circumscribed to its most evident (major) categories (e.g., gender, age, ethnicity), but it is composed in complex ways by many other different aspects, which become apparent through

claims of *taste* (e.g., for clothing, art or food), *style* (e.g., linguistic) or group membership (e.g., within an economic group or a subculture), for example.

As Lakoff (2006) observes, "[e]arlier studies of identity tended to focus on the evidence available from psychopathology or analytic case histories" (p. 144), but contemporary studies have noticed that "[d]iscourse of all types is a potent creator and enforcer of identity" (ibid.); therefore, researchers have started to direct their attention to different forms of linguistic evidence, such as narratives, interviews, media discourses (as I do in this study), etc.

The most general perspective on identity is *social constructionism*, which sees identity as a process, as something that results from social interaction and not uniquely from the individual, as well as something that implies "discursive work" (Zimmerman & Wieder, 1970 in de Fina et al., 2006, p. 2). Furthermore, the new approaches also see identity as something fluid or in constant change, which implies that all identity assertions should be understood as (linguistic or non-linguistic) acts or performances existing in a given time and space.

Indexicality, which is "the semiotic operation of juxtaposition, whereby one entity or event points to another" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2003, p. 378), becomes central when identifying the creation and performance of identities: "By carrying out acts of reference, interactants continuously constitute and reconstitute their positions with respect to each other, to objects, places and times" (de Fina et al., 2006, p. 4). Applied to language, linguistic structures can be understood as 'indirectly,' rather than 'directly' associated with social categories (Ochs, 1992, in Bucholtz & Hall, 2003, p. 378). In this way, linguistic forms at all levels (e.g., phonology, morphology, semantics) may signal/index social identities and in-group memberships. For example, speakers may take a *stance* which indirectly associates them with a particular identity (e.g., young masculinity).

Another key concept for recent studies of identity is that of (social) *practice*, which refers to people's habitual social activities (including language). It is through social and discursive practices that "individuals and groups present themselves to others, negotiate roles, and conceptualize themselves" (de Fina et al., 2006, p. 2). Through imagining and accepting themselves as similar or different from others, individuals/speakers associate or dissociate from certain groups.

The degree to which identities are the product of conscious intention, habit, interactional negotiation, others' perceptions and representations, and the result of larger ideological processes and structures (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005) will remain in question. Nevertheless, the role that individuals/speakers' agency plays in identity formation is irrefutable. For instance, individuals/speakers may create or accentuate differences or similarities between in-group and non-members in a community of practice (e.g., the nerds vis-à-vis the Jocks and the Burnouts (Bucholtz, 1999)).

I must highlight now that throughout this work I mainly use the term *culinary persona* to refer to the identities (re)created by food celebrities. A culinary persona is a public identity that synthetizes personality, values, and lifestyle. They are drawn from "existing cultural norms and conventions," they are constrained by "schematic understandings of race, class, and gender," and, in turn, "constrain new entrants into a filed, by limiting the options available" (Johnston et al., 2014, p. 3).

CHAPTER 2: DATA AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter is divided into four main parts. In the first part (Section 2.1), I explain the type of videos that I used to collect the data set and I present the online platforms from which they originate. In the second part (Section 2.2), I describe the social factors that I considered; i.e., gender of speaker/chef, gendered roles, and food. In the third part (Section 2.3), I explain in which contexts degree adverbs were valid as tokens for this study and in which ones they were not. I also explicate in detail the semantic classification of adjectives that I propose, as an elaboration of Dixon's (1977), to better address cooking shows as a genre. In the fourth and last part (Section 2.4), I explain how I coded linguistic and social factors.

2.1 The cooking shows corpus

The corpus is formed of 3,704 adjectival heads. I used three online sources to gather the data set: The Foodnetwork.ca, BBC Two, and YouTube (see Table 2.1 for details). Some of the videos on YouTube were specifically created for YouTube; for example, for an existing YouTube channel, such as the Food Tube (this is the case of all the videos from Jamie Oliver or Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall). Other videos were paid advertisement, such as some of Jo Pratt's or Tyler Florence's videos, in which they showed a recipe using and endorsing a product; e.g., Tilda Basmati Rice (Jo Pratt) or Sprout (Tyler Florence). I did not consider that using videos that publicized a product would affect the results, since the soul of cooking shows by food celebrities is precisely that: to promote something (e.g., a lifestyle, a cookbook, etc.) or someone (i.e. the food celebrity herself/himself). In other words, even if a food celebrity does not explicitly talk

about his or her most recent culinary publication or kitchenware available, the marketable element is there.

Table 2.1. Cooking shows details

Chef	Country	Show / Video type	Platform	Age
Laura Calder (b. 1970)	Canada	*French Food at Home* (2007-2010)	the Food Network Canada	37-40
Anna Olson (b. 1968)	Canada	*Fresh with Anna Olson* (2008-2010), *Bake with Anna Olson* (2012-present)	the Food Network Canada	40-44
Michael Smith (1966)	Canada	*Chef Michael's Kitchen* (2011-present)	the Food Network Canada	45-50
Chuck Hughes (b. 1973)	Canada	*Chuck's Day Off* (2011)	the Food Network Canada	38-40
Nigella Lawson (b. 1960)	England	*Nigella Kitchen* (2011), *Simply Nigella* (2015)	You Tube, BBC2	55
Jo Pratt (b. 1973)	England	Videos on YouTube (2010-2015)	You Tube	37-42
Jamie Oliver (b. 1975)	England	Videos on Food Tube (2013-2015)	You Tube	38-40
Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall (b. 1965)	England	Videos on Food Tube (2011-2014)	You Tube	44-49
Giada de Laurentiis (b. 1970)	USA	*Giada Entertains* (2016-present)	the Food Network Canada	46
Ree Drummond (b. 1969)	USA	*The Pioneer Woman* (2015-2016)	the Food Network Canada	46-47
Tyler Florence (b. 1971)	USA	Videos on You Tube (2011-2015)	You Tube	40-44
Emeril Lagasse (b. 1959)	USA	Videos from Emeril You Tube Channel, including *Emeril Live* (1997-2014)	You Tube	38-55

Obtaining videos from three different sources made it difficult to maintain a completely uniform format among the videos. For example, while all of the videos from The Foodnetwork are consistent in their duration (around twenty minutes in length), the number of recipes per episode (three to four), and their structure (they conform to a narrative structure with introduction, transitions and conclusions), YouTube videos vary in format, length, and number of recipes per video clip. Nevertheless, that seemed irrelevant to the main objective of having used cookery videos, that is, having a corpus with enough gradable adjectives and intensifiers.

Despite the relative flexibility to include videos with different formats, I used only instructional cooking shows because that would allow more consistent linguistic data per speaker. Other food shows, e.g., travel cooking shows, reality shows, and other competition shows would have created too many distracting factors; e.g., other hosts, anonymous speakers, foreign speakers, etc.

2.2 Social factors

2.2.1 Sample of speakers (gender, culinary persona, country)

The sample of speakers comes from twenty hours of speaking time of twelve Anglophone food celebrities, stratified by gender, culinary persona and country. Methodologically, it was important for me to utilize a categorization that addressed the problem of the more rigid dichotomic division of male vs. female. As Eckert (1989) explains:

> [S]ex does not have a uniform effect on variables […] This is because sex is not directly related to linguistic behavior but reflects complex social practice. The correlations of sex with linguistic variables are only a reflection of the effects on linguistic behavior of gender −the complex social construction of sex− and it is in this construction that one

> must seek explanation for such correlations […] because gender differences involve differences in orientation to other social categories, the effects of gender on linguistic behavior can show up in differences within sex grouping (p. 245).

Therefore, I not only used the male-versus-female division, but also the categorization of culinary personas by Johnston, Rodney and Chong (2014), which they created to better reflect gender and class patterns among the celebrities in their sample. As my results show (see Chapter 3 & 4), the latter classification permitted the detection of more nuanced socio-linguistic patterns than did a traditional binary gender classification. Furthermore, by using both classifications, I also sought to avoid falling into an *essentialist* (Bucholtz & Hall; 2003) approach to identity (e.g., "men's language" vs. "women's language").

I should also highlight here that because none of the chefs performs a queer[16] identity, the results purely reflect feminine or masculine roles/personas. In addition to this, as can be seen in Table 2.2, I have chefs representing only four of the seven culinary personas described by Johnston, Rodney and Chong (2014), due to the lack of online availability of cooking shows videos from all food celebrities. Furthermore, of the twelve chefs that formed my sample, one, Hugh Fearnley-Wittingstall, did not seem to belong in any of the seven culinary personas described by the authors mentioned above; thus, I classified him as 'environmentalist,' as this seems to be his main characteristic. Finally, the 'country' factor represents the ethnographic context where the speaker performs as chef rather than his or her country of origin. For example, two of the speakers, Anna Olson and Michael Smith, were born in the United States, but I coded them within the Canada subgroup because Canada is the country where they perform as chefs.

[16] *Queer* is used as an umbrella term to define non-heteronormative identities.

Table 2.2. Classification of speakers into culinary personas

Gender	Culinary persona	Food celebrity	Country
Female	Homebody	Anna Olson	Canada
		Jo Pratt	England
		Ree Drummond	USA
	Pin-up	Laura Calder	Canada
		Nigella Lawson	England
		Giada de Laurentiis	USA
Male	Chef-artisan	Michael Smith	Canada
		Emeril Lagasse	USA
	Gastro-sexual	Chuck Hughes	Canada
		Jamie Oliver	England
		Tyler Florence	USA
	Environmentalist	Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall	England

2.2.2 Food

I used the *United Kingdom Food Tables* (*Food Composition Data: Production, Management and Use* (FCD), 2003, p. 38-39) to code tokens according to their food context (see Section 2.4 for further details). I made several modifications to the subgroups in the FCD, which can be observed in Table 2.3, but the most relevant changes to mention for the objectives of this study are the regroupings of items into the *Chocolate* and *Sugars & Syrup* subgroups. Based on the findings in Jurafsky, Chahuneau, Routledge, and Smith (2014), who found that chocolate had an effect on speakers' discourse, I created a subgroup for chocolate dishes, which included savory and sweet dishes. However, I excluded the latter from the other two subgroups that could contain sweet dishes. In other words, I separated sweet biscuits, cakes and doughs from the *Cereals and Cereal Products* subgroup and sweet milk-based desserts from the *Milk and Milk Products* subgroup and I made them part of the *Sugars and syrups* subgroup. My objective was to be able to test whether there was correlation between sweet dishes or chocolate dishes and

intensification. Finally, I used a separate code to mark tokens that happened outside the *recipe narrative frame* (see Section 2.4).

Table 2.3. Social factors

Gender	Culinary persona	Country	Food groups
female	Homebody	Canada	Fish and fish products
male	Pin-up	England	Meat and meat products
	Chef-artisan	USA	Eggs
	Gastro-sexual		Milk and milk products
	Environmentalist		Sugar and syrups
			Cereal and cereal products (e.g., breads, pastas, biscuits, rice, etc., excluding sweets)
			Chocolate dishes (both savory and sweet, and it includes drinks)
			Beverages
			Alcoholic beverages
			Miscellaneous (e.g., herbs, spices, dried fruits, nuts, oils[1], condiments, flavours, leavening agents, etc.)
			Vegetables and vegetable products
			Fruits and fruit products
			Other foods (e.g., kebabs, tacos, pasties, pizza, snacks, soups, humus, sauces, savory pies, salads, etc.)
			Tokens outside the recipe narrative frame

[1] Notice that nuts and oils are two separate subgroups in the FCD.

2.3 Linguistic variables

2.3.1 Degree adverbs

In this study I only included degree adverbs that modified *adjectival heads* in order to have a homogeneous base on which to perform a multivariate analysis and to be able to compare my results to those of Ito and Tagliamonte (2003), Tagliamonte and Roberts (2005), and Tagliamonte (2008). However, unlike those studies, which only quantified intensifiers (*really*,

very, *so*, etc.), I also quantified attenuators (*a little*, *a (little) bit, a (tiny) bit, kind of, sort of,* etc.), considering that cooking and food preparation implies a language of measures and quantities.

I coded for intensifiers such as those shown in examples (2.2)-(2.7) and other intensifying strategies, such as the use of *-ing* intensifiers (see 2.10) and the *nice and* (*good and* or *lovely and*) construction (see 2.12-2.14). However, when one of these adjectives (i.e., *nice, good* or *lovely*) appeared in a series of three or more, I did not consider them to be intensifying, but part of a series of adjectives:

(2.1) "It's *lovely* and *soft* and *glossy*." [Jo Pratt]

Other intensifying strategies captured in my coding were reduplication, either of an adjective (see 2.14) or a degree adverb (see 2.15), and combined strategies (see 2.16-2.17).

Intensification examples from the Cooking Shows Corpus:

(2.2) "Because this is my lasagna pan and I'm *very proud*." [Michael Smith]

(2.3) "This is a *really great* ice cream recipe." [Laura Calder]

(2.4) "They're [the patties] *so happy* right now." [Emeril Lagasse]

(2.5) "And I know it's [own ground meat] *super fresh*." [Anna Olson]

(2.6) "It's gonna be *seriously tasty*." [Chuck Hughes]

(2.7) "They're *dead posh*." [Jamie Oliver]

(2.8) "And it's gonna be fast in *such a teeny* pan." [Nigella Lawson]

(2.9) "This meat is *flat out delicious*." [Michael Smith]

(2.10) "If it's *screaming cold* in the middle and *screaming hot* on the outside is gonna toughen up, be horrible [steak]." [Jamie Oliver]

(2.11) "It's *nice and golden* underneath." [Laura Calder]

(2.12) “I'm happy to use lemon curd from the jar, providing it's *good and zingy*.” [Nigella Lawson]

(2.13) “you need to make sure that this [avocado] is *lovely and smooth*.” [Jo Pratt]

(2.14) “A *deep deep* joy awaits.” [Nigella Lawson]

(2.15) “It’s *very very tasty*.” [Jo Pratt]

(2.16) “It makes me feel *so very decisive* as I release the batter.” [Nigella Lawson]

(2.17) “So, that’s the marinate, a *really nice and easy* way to flavor up the stakes.” [Jo Pratt]

Intensifying strategies that were excluded include the exclamatory constructions *what a(n)* and *how*:

(2.18) “*What a pretty* color, too! Mmm.” [Ree Drummond]

(2.19) “And look *how cute*!” [Laura Calder]

As for attenuators, I coded for the following: *slightly* and *almost*, the periphrastic forms *a little, a (little) bit, kind of, sort of*, as well as other attenuating strategies, such as the use of two different attenuators (2.26) and the use of an attenuator preceded by an intensifier (2.27).

Attenuation examples from the Cooking Shows Corpus:

(2.20) “[…] and the tomato is *slightly sweet, slightly acidic*.” [Giada de Laurentiis]

(2.21) “[…] they’re cooked until the radishes and the potatoes are *almost tender*.” [Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall]

(2.22) “Just to give them *a little different* flavor, a little bit of spice.” [Ree Drummond]

(2.23) “It can be eaten at room temperature but I like it *a bit cold*.” [Laura Calder]

(2.24) “[…] we’re gonna be careful because it’s *kind of heavy*.” [Tyler Florence]

(2.25) “It’s *sort of dry* and crumbly at this stage.” [Anna Olson]

(2.26) “But this (extra virgin olive oil) brings a *sort of slightly grassy preppy* savoriness as well of gleam.” [Nigella Lawson]

(2.27) “And the sharpness of the jam… it’s just what you need to punctuate: that *rather sort of husky* liquorice quality.” [Nigella Lawson]

As mentioned in Chapter 1, and as can be confirmed by these examples, there are fewer variants among attenuators.

2.3.2 Adjectives

I coded adjectives considering two factors: their syntactic position and their semantic type. I considered three syntactic positions: *attributive, predicative* and *the…* I considered the latter because that context seemed to block intensification, so the best way to test it was to code it differently.

Attributive prenominal position:

(2.28) “I’m gonna knock up a *really punchy and delicious* Asian style dressing.” [Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall]

Attributive post-nominal position:

(2.29) “And they can take something *humble* like a tin of sardines and make it regal.” [Laura Calder]

Predicative position:

(2.30) “And the tarragon is *very fresh.*” [Giada de Laurentiis]

Predicative position (in elliptical sentences where the verb is implied):

(2.31) “*Crispy* outside and *fluffy* inside.” [Jamie Oliver]

The context:

(2.32) “I want *the fresh* warmth of ginger.” [Nigella Lawson]

For its type, I only considered qualitative or gradable adjectives, that is, all adjectives that would allow degrees of comparison or intensity:

(2.33) a. *bigger, more beautiful*, etc.

b. *very big, really beautiful*, etc.

This means that all gradable adjectives served as a quantifiable denominator, even in cases where they were not preceded by the variable:

(2.34) “This is a ∅ *good hot* pan.” [Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall]

I also extracted and coded those instances where non-gradable adjectives were modified by a degree adverb and, consequently, lost their status as classifying adjectives:

(2.35) “Now, the *very last* thing, optional, of course.” [Ree Drummond]

(2.36) “And now, for something *a little Asiatic*: oysters with my friend Ivan’s special sauce.” [Laura Calder]

(2.37) “[…] which is gonna make it *really palatable* for the child.” [Tyler Florence]

Nevertheless, based on previous studies on intensifiers (Hazenberg, 2012; Ito & Tagliamonte, 2003; Tagliamonte & Roberts, 2005; Tagliamonte, 2008), I excluded the following:

Comparative[17] and superlatives:

(2.38) “What could be a *simpler* sauce than melted butter?” [Laura Calder]

Fixed expressions:

(2.39) “And you’re *good to go.*” [Jo Pratt]

(2.40) “there’s nothings more simple than a *good ol’* pasta bake” [Ree Drummond]

[17] Although comparatives can be preceded by an attenuator (e.g., *slightly/a bit simpler*), and certain comparatives accept certain intensifiers (e.g., the *very latest* techniques), I excluded them to have a more homogeneous criterion.

Adjectives in unclear syntactic contexts, such as:

(2.41) "*Beautiful*!" [Chuck Hughes]

Interrogative utterances:

(2.42) "And, boy, does that look *fantastic*?" [Emeril Lagasse]

Negative statements:

(2.43) "It's *not overpowering*." [Giada de Laurentiis]

(2.44) "*Nothing complicated* about it." [Ree Drummond]

2.3.3 Proposed semantic classification of gradable adjectives

Creating a semantic classification of gradable adjectives that would better reflect the genre of food was a challenging task in that I needed categories that portrayed the sociocultural aspects that people, either consciously or unconsciously, normally associate with food; e.g., *indulgence, happiness, health, status,* etc. Like previous variationist studies (e.g., Ito & Tagliamonte, 2003; Tagliamonte, 2008; Tagliamonte & Roberts, 2005), I used Dixon's eight semantic categories of adjectives as a foundation (Dixon, 1977, pp. 1-62; Dixon & Aikhenvald, 2004, pp. 3-5). In addition, I separated and coded differently three special forms: *-ed* and *-ing* adjectives (e.g., *excited, exciting*), compound adjectives (e.g., *fiery-cracky*), and temporary state adjectives (e.g., *awake*, *alone*). I did that considering that the first two are productive strategies of word-formation, so coding them separately would allow me to account for nonce forms in the data. I must highlight here that examples of the third subgroup were not found in the corpus (see Chapter 3 for further details).

I also added two subgroups of adjectives, which I considered would capture sociocultural aspects of food: HEDONIST and TASTE adjectives. I created these two subcategories based on

the findings of Freedman and Jurafsky (2011), Paradis and Eeg-Olofsson (2013), and Jurafsky, Chahuneau, Routledge, and Smith (2014), who investigated food materials (i.e., chip bags, wine reviews and restaurant reviews, respectively) from a non-variationist perspective (i.e., a computational linguistic or a cognitive linguistic approach). Finally, I regrouped Dixon's categories and the subgroups that I added into three major groups: one that would encompass evaluative (+abstract) qualities, another that would comprise general (+concrete) qualities, and a third group for the aforementioned special forms.

Group I (evaluative [+abstract] qualities) includes adjectives that would be classified as evaluative (Downing & Locke, 2006, p. 480) or as value adjectives (Dixon & Aikhenvald, 2004, pp. 3-5). Both 'appreciative' or 'positive' adjectives (e.g., *pretty, beautiful, good, nice, lovely, perfect,* etc.) and 'pejorative' or 'negative' ones (e.g., *bad, awful, dreadful, shocking, atrocious, odd, strange*, etc.) are part of this category, as well as other adjectives, such as *curious, necessary, crucial, important, lucky,* etc. The five subcategories that I consider to be part of this more general group are the following: GOOD/BAD VALUE, TASTE, HEDONIST VALUE, HUMAN PROPENSITY, and other evaluative adjectives.

GOOD/BAD VALUE (VALUE henceforth) comprehends positive value adjectives, such as *good, healthy, nutritious* as well as negative value adjectives, such as *bad, sinful, malevolent,* etc. (see 2.45). Previous studies (e.g., Tagliamonte, 2008) have coded good/positive adjectives apart from bad/negative ones. Nevertheless, I chose not to do this considering that negative evaluation of food in cooking shows is limited, as chefs aim to portray food/recipes/cuisine in an appealing manner. For example, in the corpus, the adjectives *awful* and *terrible* never appeared, and *bad* occurred only three times, and, needless to say, in those three instances, *bad* was not used to refer to the chef's own food. I must highlight that this tendency towards 'positivity' is not

exclusive to the cooking shows genre, it is also evident in reviews of restaurants, book, movies, hotels, etc. (Jurafsky, Chahuneau, Routledge, Smith, 2014). Moreover, the positive bias in language is not only evident in English, but in other twenty languages according to Rozin, Berman and Royzman (2012). Using a 100 million corpus of spoken and written British English that positive words, the authors found that positive words were much more frequent than negative words*;* for instance, *good* appeared 795 while *bad*, only 153 times; *happy,* 117 times, while *sad,* only 134 times; *beautiful,* 87 times, while *ugly*, merely 14 times.

TASTE includes adjectives related to the beautiful and the ugly (e.g., *beautiful, ugly*), taking into account that judgments of taste encompass both. But, that was not the only reason why I created a single category, instead of two. The first reason was that, similar to what happens with BAD VALUE adjectives, chefs tend to describe food using positive aesthetic adjectives (e.g., *beautiful, lovely, sublime*) rather than negative ones (e.g., *ugly, dreadful, atrocious*); hence, negative aesthetic adjectives are very limited in the corpus. The other reason was that those negative aesthetic adjectives coincide with BAD VALUE adjectives; e.g., *bad, awful, terrible,* or with forms that could be categorized in the *-ing* and *-ed* adjectives sub-group, e.g., *disgusting*. Therefore, the most practical thing to do was to only consider positive aesthetic and gustatory adjectives in the TASTE category (e.g., *delicious, luscious, tasty*). I considered adjectives of 'tangible' taste, such as *sweet, bitter, sour, salty,* to be part of the PHYSICAL PROPERTY subcategory (see 2.51).

HEDONIST VALUE includes adjectives like *decadent, indulgent, irresistible, luxurious, lush, lavish, exotic, extravagant, voluptuous, seductive, hedonist,* etc.

HUMAN PROPENSITY adjectives are those that can apply to higher animals (Dixon, 1982). In this paper, all type of personification through adjectivization counts towards the

HUMAN PROPENSITY category; in other words, adjectives used to refer to people, animals, objects and food, both appreciative **(**e.g., *happy, kind, clever,* etc.) and pejorative adjectives (e.g., *jealous, curious, idiotic,* etc.).

The last subgroup includes adjectives that did not seem to belong to any of the other evaluative subgroups; for example, adjectives like *great, simple, necessary, crucial, important, easy, ready,* etc.

Examples of Evaluative Adjectives (Group I) from the Cooking Shows Corpus:

VALUE:

(2.45) "Simple and clean, and *healthy* and really deep flavor." [Tyler Florence]

TASTE:

(2.46) "I'm going to use this *gorgeous* goat cheese, which is young and fresh and creamy, but it's also got a *lovely* salty sharp tang to it." [Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall]

HEDONIST VALUE:

(2.47) "My salted caramel sauce is *supremely indulgent*." [Nigella Lawson]

HUMAN PROPENSITY:

(2.48) "They [burgers] get *happy* that way." [Emeril Lagasse]

Other evaluative qualities:

(2.49) "Oh, this is a *very important* moment." [Ree Drummond]

Group II (general [+concrete] qualities) comprises seven subgroups, mainly based on Dixon's semantic categories of adjectives, unless indicated otherwise: DIMENSION (adjectives of size, weight, or extent, such as *big/little, large/small, long/short, tall/short, wide/narrow, deep/shallow*); PHYSICAL PROPERTY (e.g., *soft, silky, crunchy, sweet, salty*); COLOR (e.g., *black, pinkish, greeny*); TIME (I considered any adjectives related to time, such as *new, young,*

old, recent, early, late); SPEED (e.g., *quick, fast,* slow) and POSITION (e.g., *low, high*). Adjectives expressing other general qualities that did not seem to fit in one of these categories were classified in a separate subgroup (e.g., *hungry, different, reminiscent*).

Examples of General adjectives from my corpus:

DIMENSION:

(2.50) "So, here we have the rump, this *big* piece of meat…" [Jo Pratt]

PHYSICAL PROPERTY:

(2.51) "We wanna get like a *really sweet* peppery hummus" [Jamie Oliver]

COLOR:

(2.52) "And [chocolate chips] make the whole thing just *a little bit greeny*." [Hugh Fearley-Wittingstal]

SPEED:

(2.53) "It's a *quick* and easy cocktail that my friends and I can make together." [Giada de Laurentiis]

POSITION:

(2.54) "I have the heat *really really low*." [Emeril Lagasse]

Other general qualities:

(2.55) "And they all taste *a little bit different*." [Laura Calder]

Group III included the special forms mentioned above: *-ing* and *-ed* adjectives (e.g., *amazing, interesting, comforting, frustrating, excited, amazed, deconstructed, caramelized*), compound adjectives (e.g., *lipstick-red*), and temporary state adjectives[18] (e.g., *asleep, alone, awake, ajar*).

-ed and *-ing* adjectives:

[18] As mentioned earlier, these forms did not occur in the corpus.

(2.56) “You get this magnificent thing *all puffed up* and stuffed with spinach and cheese.” [Laura Calder]

(2.57) “These bread puddings smell *amazing*.” [Anna Olson]

Compounds:

(2.58) “So now I have some *very cowboy-friendly* veggies to add.” [Ree Drummond]

(2.59) “we’re gonna let this roast for about 30 minutes until it is *really really spoon-soft*.” [Tyler Florence]

Finally, I must underline that polysemous adjectives such as *sweet, hard, sharp, dark* and *light* were classified within Evaluative Qualities (Group I) or General Qualities (Group II), depending on the semantic context where they were used. For example, *light* in sentence (2.60) was classified within the Evaluative-Qualities group instead of within the General-Qualities group.

(2.60) “But, that’s the *light* side. Now, come with me if you will to the dark side” [Nigella Lawson]

Table 2.4. Linguistic factors

Syntactic position	**Adjective type**
Attributive	**Evaluative qualities**
Predicative (copula)	VALUE
The… context	TASTE
	HEDONISM
	HUMAN PROPENSITY
	Other-evaluative qualities
	General qualities
	DIMENSION
	PHYSICAL PROPERTY
	COLOR
	TIME
	SPEED
	POSITION
	Other-general qualities
	Special forms
	-ing and *-ed* adjectives
	Compounds
	Temporary state (e.g., *asleep*)

2.4 The coding

Degree adverbs were counted in their relation to the adjective that they modified (2.61). Cases where there was no intensifier, but the adjective could have been intensified, as in (2.62), were counted as *zero*. All adjectives were coded according to the semantic classification of gradable adjectives, explained in Section 2.3.3.

(2.61) "In fact, I'm *quite excited*." [Nigella Lawson]

(2.62) "Then you need an ø *amazing* cream cheese." [Jamie Oliver]

To code for social characteristics, I used the dichotomic division of gender into 'female' or 'male,' and, as I explained in Section 2.2.1, I also classified speakers/chefs following the classification of culinary personas proposed by Johnston, Rodney and Chong (2014). Finally, I

classified them according to the country that they were representing, even if they had not been born there.

Classifying the food factor presented challenges due to the complexity and diversity of recipes themselves. The majority, if not all, of the recipes that form the corpus include a variety of food groups. For example, a pasta dish never only has dough noodles as the sole ingredient, but it is very likely to consist of vegetables, spices, and possibly meat too. Hence, I classed tokens into different food categories according to the food that was being described in each context (the section of the video). Below, I provide sample sentences (tokens) from the transcription of Nigella Lawson presenting the recipe "Salmon, avocado, watercress and pumpkin seed salad" in *Simply Nigella*, to show how I classified tokens into the different food subgroups:

(2.63) Fish: They [salmon] do look *a bit raw* on the top but they will cook…

(2.64) Fish: And the texture will be *soft and luxurious*.

(2.65) Miscellaneous: The pops [of the pumpkin seeds] remind me of those *little* caps that my brother had when we were little.

(2.66) Miscellaneous: I don't want them [pumpkin seeds] *scorched*, obviously.

(2.67) Vegetable: And I love the *fierce* pepperiness of watercress.

(2.68) Vegetable: It's the *perfect* foil to the smoothness of the avocado.

(2.69) Fish: *Such relaxing* way to cook fish!

(2.70) Fish: I'm getting *excited* now.

I must emphasize that even sentences where the referent was not food, as in example (2.69), were classified according to the food that was being described at that moment in the recipe. For

instance, even though Nigella is the referent in sentence (2.70), the sentence falls into the *fish* sub-group because that is the food context where the utterance is produced.

There were also other tokens that were produced outside the recipe narrative frame and said as Introduction (2.71), Transition (2.72), or Conclusion (2.73) within the cooking episode:

(2.71) Introduction: "I know French have a reputation of being *a bit posh*." [Laura Calder]

(2.72) Transition: "She's *super smart* and she's *really beautiful*." [Chuck Hughs]

(2.73) Conclusion: "River cottage is *light* and *easy*" [Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall]

Those instances were coded as outside-the-recipe-narrative tokens and, needless to say, were a minority subgroup in the corpus.

3 RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

In this chapter, I present and explain the distributional and multivariate analyses of degree adverbs and adjectives. I also contrast the results to previous findings and highlight the differences I found.

3.1 Distributional analysis of degree adverbs

To my surprise, presenting and describing succulent culinary creations does not radically boost the utilization of intensifiers (see Table 3.1). The intensification rates (excluding attenuators) still fell within the average range that has been reported by previous studies, which is 22-36 %. The three most frequently used intensifiers in the corpus (*really*, *very* and *so*) coincided −although the order varies− with those of previous studies (Ito & Tagliamonte, 2003; Tagliamonte, 2008; Tagliamonte & Roberts, 2005). This finding was useful in the sense that it confirmed Tagliamonte and Roberts' (2005) claim that media language does reflect what happens in "real" language. In a way, it was reassuring for me to know that I had not spent months and months transcribing and coding speech that was foreign to the realities of everyday English. The question then was, what was different or "special" about the language used in instructional cooking shows?

Table 3.1. Overall distributions

	N	%
All degree adverbs	1155 / 3704	31
Intensifiers (excluding attenuators)	1046 / 3595	29
Attenuators (excluding intensifiers)	109 / 2658	4

The answer arose when I started looking at the data in more detail, of course. For example, unlike in the three studies mentioned lines above, in my corpus it is the *nice and* (*good and/lovely and*) construction that takes the fourth place of preference after *so* (see Figure 3.1).

Furthermore, this construction took third place among US speakers, and second among Canadian speakers (see Table 3.2). Because the earlier studies (that I use as a reference) do not reflect this construction in their results, it is impossible for me to fully attribute its frequency in the corpus to the nature of the data itself, that is, food related. Equally interesting to me were the collocation patterns of *nice and* and those of the other degree adverbs. As shown in Table 3.6, each of the four most frequently used degree adverbs in the corpus is favored by certain types of adjectives over others (see Section 3.3 for further details).

Table 3.2. Rates of use of the four most frequent intensifiers, by corpus

Cooking shows corpus	**Lexical item**	**%**	**Other corpora**	**Lexical item**	**%**
Canada	*so*	23.1	**Toronto corpus**	*really*	35.9
	nice and	18.4	**(2003-2004)**	*very*	18.2
	very	14.9	(Tagliamonte,	*so*	16.7
	really	14.5	2008)	*pretty*	13.9
Overall intensification rates		**20.9**			**36**
England	*really*	25.9	**York corpus**	*very*	38.3
	very	17.3	**(1997)**	*really*	30.2
	so	9.8	(Ito &	*so*	10.1
	nice and	8.9	Tagliamonte, 2003)	*absolutely*	3.2
Overall intensification rates		**28.5**			**24**
USA	*really*	30.2	***Friends* corpus**	*so*	44.1
	very	15.5	**(1994-2004)**	*really*	24.1
	nice and	13.3	(Tagliamonte &	*very*	14.2
	so	12.8	Roberts, 2005)	*pretty*	6.1
Overall intensification rates		**38.2**			**22**

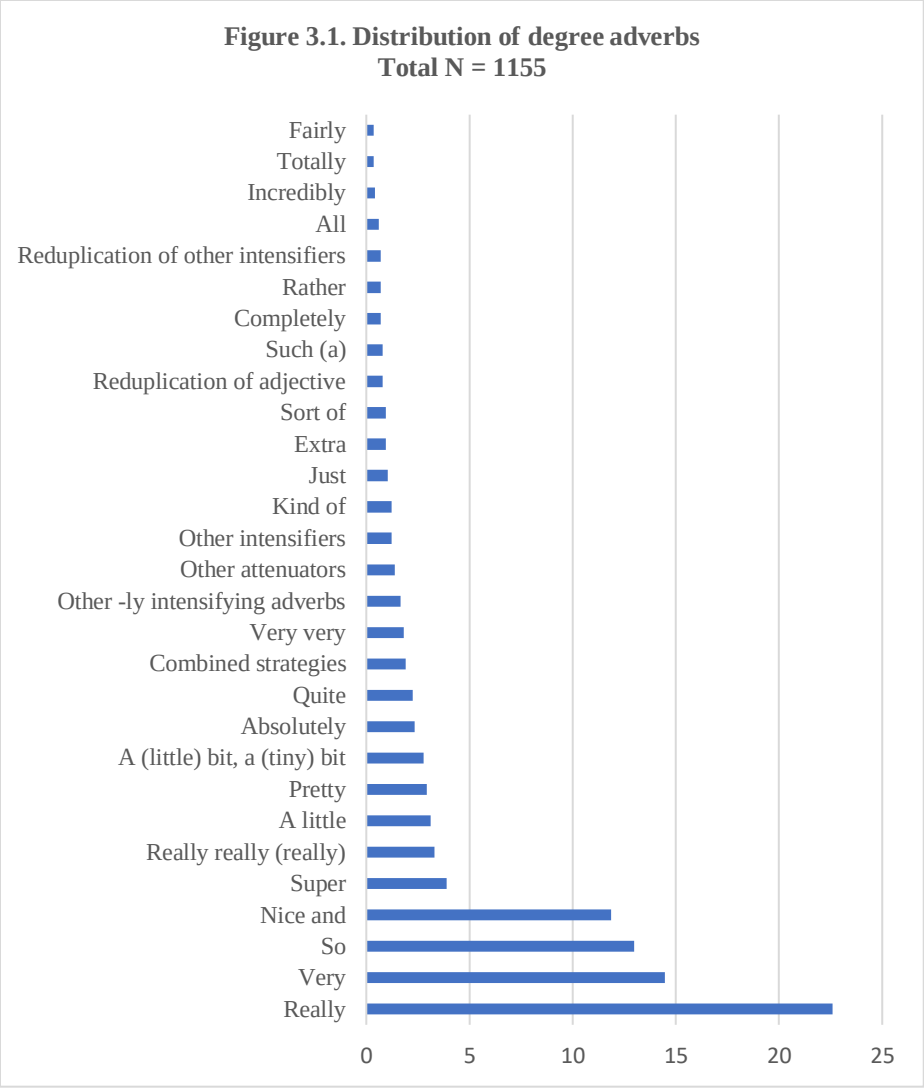
As for attenuators, one advantage of having included them in the data is that it allowed me to observe what place they had in comparison to intensifiers. Interestingly, *a little*, which is the most frequently used attenuator, occupied seventh place in relation to all the degree adverbs

used in the corpus with a frequency of 3 % (see Figure 3.1). This contrasts with the most frequent attenuator in Hazenberg's study (2012), which was *kind of*. However, and even though my category of attenuators does not coincide completely with his, his overall downtoning rates (among straight men and women), are similar to the attenuating rates in my corpus, that is, attenuators modified between 9 and 10 % of all adjective heads (see Table 3.3).

Table 3.3. Distribution of attenuators

	N	%
a little	36	3.12
a (little) bit, a (tiny) bit	32	2.77
slightly, almost	16	1.39
kind of	14	1.21
sort of	11	0.95
Total	109	**9.44**
Total degree adverbs	**1,155**	

Overall, attenuators were not the least used degree adverbs in the corpus; for example, *completely* and *totally* occupied a lower position than even the least used attenuator, which was *sort of* (see Figure 3.1). Once more, because previous studies −with the exception of Hazenberg's (2012) − have not included attenuators in their analysis, I lack a basis for comparison of typical behaviors or the frequencies of attenuators.



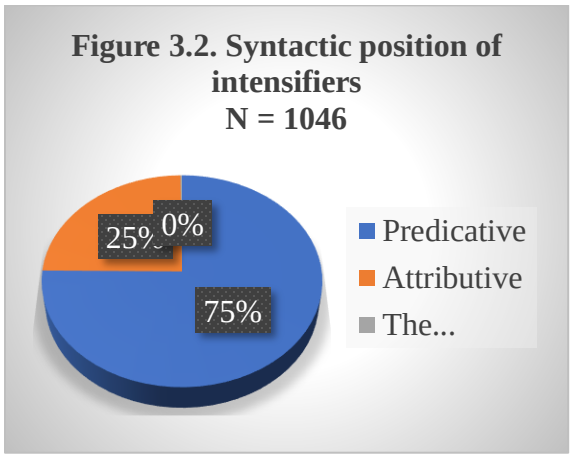
3.2 Adjective function

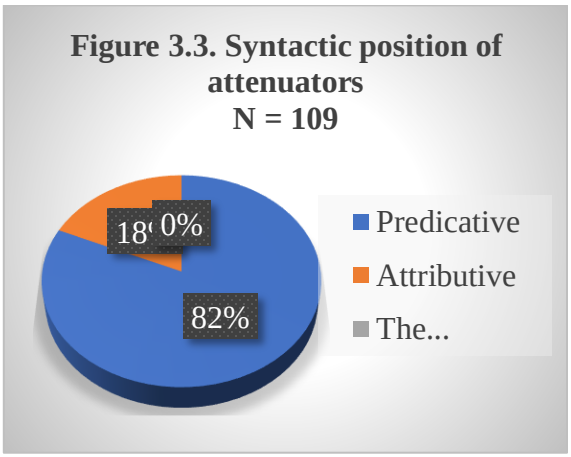
As shown in Figure 3.2, most intensified adjective heads occurred in predicative position (75 %), and only two intensified heads were preceded by *the* (0.17 %): one modified by *absolutely* (3.5) and the other one, by *zero* (3.4) (see Section 3.3 for further details regarding this adverb).

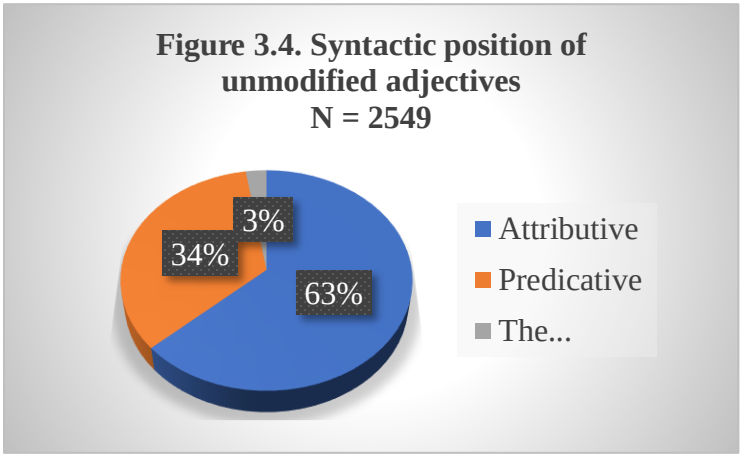
(3.4) "To make *the* *absolute* *perfect* pancake batter." [Emeril Lagasse]

(3.5) "that's one of *the* *absolutely* *beautiful* perfect and soft […]" [Tyler Florence]

As seen in Figure 3.3, most attenuated adjectives also occurred in predicative position (82 %). As shown in Figure 3.4, most adjectival heads appeared in attributive position when not modified (63 %), which coincides with previous findings (e.g., Van Herk, & Ottawa Intensifier Project, 2006).







In Figure 3.5, I present a more detailed distribution of the four most frequent intensifiers in the corpus. *Really* was more or less equally used with attributive and predicative adjectives, *very* was used twice as often with predicative adjectives, and *so* and *nice and* were practically circumscribed to occurring with adjectives in predicative position; for example, there was only one instance of *so* in attributive position (3.6), and only a handful of *nice and* in this syntactic context (3.7).

Attributive *so*:

(3.6) “and there you have a very tasty, *so easy* stress-free spaghetti Bolognese” [Jo Pratt]

Attributive *nice and*:

(3.7) “it’s a brilliant recipe to get children involved eating *nice and fresh* healthy vegs” [Jo Pratt]

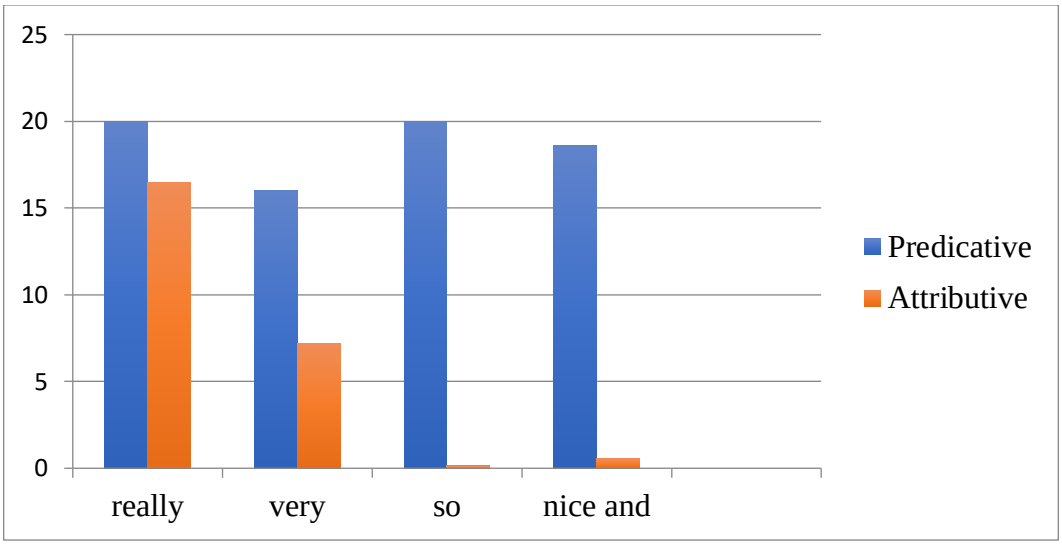


Figure 3.5. Syntactic position of the four most frequent intensifiers of the corpus by percentage (N=715)

3.3 Distributional analysis of adjectives

As can be observed in Table 3.4, evaluative adjectives represent 53 % of all adjectives, general quality adjectives, 41 %, and other adjectives, 6 %. In the first group, adjectives describing the most general evaluative properties had the highest frequency (26.4 %), followed by TASTE adjectives (17. 7 %), which is not surprising considering that the cooking shows genre is a highly aesthetic genre. Interestingly, although the ‘other’ evaluative-qualities group is constituted by a wide range of evaluative adjectives, it was truly a handful of them (e.g. *great, simple, perfect, easy*) that occurred >50 times (see Table 3.5). TASTE, as a more semantically specific subgroup, had less variety of adjectives, but what is interesting is that *nice* was the most frequently used

adjective in the subgroup, in the entire evaluative group, and in the entire corpus (see Table 3.5). Once again, this is unsurprising given the aestheticism of the instructional cooking shows genre.

Table 3.4. Distribution of adjectives by semantic group

		%	N	**Sample adjectives**
I	**Evaluative qualities**			
	TASTE	17.74	657	*delicious, yummy, gorgeous, beautiful, nice*
	VALUE	5.89	218	*good, bad, healthy,*
	HUMAN P.	1.48	55	*proud, busy, jealous, idiotic*
	HEDONIST V.	1.38	51	*indulgent, decadent, hedonist*
	Other Ev. Adj.	26.54	983	*great, simple, important, ready*
	Subtotal	**53.02**	1,964	
II	**General qualities**			
	DIMENSION	8.02	297	*big/little, large/small, long/short*
	COLOR	2.4	89	*black, red, pinkish, greeny,*
	SPEED	1.54	57	*quick, fast, slow, recent*
	TIME	0.3	11	*new, young, old*
	POSITION	0.11	4	*low, high*
	PHYSICAL P.	27.16	1006	*soft, silky, crunchy*
	Other Gen. Adj.	1.4	52	*hungry, different, reminiscent*
	Subtotal	**40.93**	1,516	
III	**Other adjectives**			
	Active or passive participle (*-ed* or *–ing*)	4.94	183	*interesting, caramelized*
	Compound adjectives	1.11	41	*lipstick-red, in-your-face, fiery-cracky*
	Temporary state	-	0	*asleep, alone, awake, ajar*
	Subtotal	**6.05**	224	
	Total		**3,704**	

In the second group, adjectives describing the most general physical properties had the highest frequency (27.1 %), followed by DIMENSION adjectives (8 %); *little* was the most recurring adjective of this subgroup, followed by *big*. The third group had a very modest representation in the corpus, which was expected to some extent considering that active (*-ing*),

passive (*-ed*) and compound formation imply strategies used to produce new adjectives/nonce forms (3.8 & 3.9).

(3.8) "giving it a *rather seventies-tangerine* glow" [Nigella Lawson]

(3.9) "it's smelling *pretty firey-cracky*" [Emeril Lagasse]

The higher frequencies of the adjectives shown in Table 3.5 also indicate a qualitative significance, which I explain in Chapter 4.

Table 3.5. Most frequently used adjectives in the corpus

Frequency	Adjective	Semantic subgroup
>200	*nice*	TASTE (I)
>100	*good*	VALUE (I)
	little	DIMENSION (II)
	delicious	TASTE (I)
	great	Other Ev. Adj. (I)
	beautiful	TASTE (I)
>50	*lovely*	TASTE (I)
	simple	Other Ev. Adj. (I)
	perfect	Other Ev. Adj. (I)
	easy	Other Ev. Adj. (I)
	hot	PHYSICAL P. (II)
	big	DIMENSION (II)

3.4 Collocation patterns

Of all semantic subgroups, VALUE adjectives were most likely to be preceded by a degree adverb[19]: 46 % of this type of adjectives had a premodifier. As explained in Chapter 2, unlike other studies (e.g., Tagliamonte, 2008), I did not code for GOOD and BAD VALUE adjectives separately due to the intrinsic 'positive' nature of the language used in cooking shows. Therefore, the category refers almost entirely to GOOD VALUE adjectives since 'negative'

[19] POSITION adjectives were actually premodified 50 % of the time, but considering that there were only four adjectives of this type, I prefer to overlook this fact.

evaluation is nearly non-existent in the corpus. For example, *bad* only occurred 3 times, *guilty*, only twice, and *wrong*, only once. Even though there is nothing extraordinary about the skew towards positivity, for it is also present in other language genres and other languages (Jurafsky, Chahuneau, Routledge and Smith, 2014; Rozin, Berman, & Royzman, 2010), it is still worth analyzing what purpose such positivity serves within the cooking shows genre (see Section 4.3).

As explained in Chapter 1, there is a correlation between how delexicalized an intensifier is and the modifiers (adjectives) with which it collocates. More delexicalized (older) intensifiers (e.g., *very*) have broader collocations while less delexicalized (newer) intensifiers (e.g., *terribly*) have narrower collocations. Two clear examples of the latter phenomenon are *absolute(ly)* and the *nice and* construction. As explained by Partington (1993), *absolutely* is an intensifier that is not fully delexicalized and therefore, it occurs with more specific modifiers, which happen to be "already marked for strength or superlativity" (p. 187); see, for example, sentences (3.10) - (3.13):

(3.10) "that is creamy, garlichy, and pea-y, and *absolutely delicious*." [Hugh Fearnley-Wittingstal]

(3.11) "*Absolutely pimped* to the hilt [cheesecake]." [Jamie Oliver]

(3.12) "What you will find here is *absolutely luscious*, luxurious flavor…" [Michael Smith]

(3.13) "Wow! Man, the smell is *absolutely amazing*!" [Chuck Hughes]

It is thus not surprising that *absolute(ly)* in combination with adjectives like *perfect* and *beautiful* (see 3.4 & 3.5) is the degree adverb that appears in the only two instances of the *the…* context that are followed by a premodifier + modifier in the corpus. (I describe *nice and* collocations later in the section.)

In Table 3.6, I present the distributions of the four most frequently used intensifiers of the corpus and what type of adjectives they modified. The analysis excludes all other adjectives not modified by them. It also excludes all adjectives in attributive position (as done by Tagliamonte, 2008) in order to make an equal comparison of the four intensifiers, given that *so* and *nice and* are largely restricted to predicative position.

Table 3.6. Distribution of the four most frequent intensifiers by type of adjective they modified in predicative position

		so		***really***		***nice and***		***very***		**Sample adjectives**
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	
I	**Evaluative qualities**									
	TASTE	18	3.35	35	6.51	0	0.00	10	1.86	*delicious, beautiful*
	VALUE	31	5.76	18	3.35	0	0.00	4	0.74	*good, bad, healthy*
	HUMAN P.	4	0.74	4	0.74	0	0.00	4	0.74	*proud, busy*
	HEDONIST V.	2	0.37	1	0.19	1	0.19	5	0.93	*indulgent, decadent*
	Other E. Adj.	47	8.74	52	9.67	6	1.12	46	8.55	*easy, simple*
	Subtotal	102	18.96	110	20.45	7	1.30	69	12.83	
II	**General qualities**									
	PHYSICAL P.	27	5.02	28	5.20	103	19.14	31	5.76	*soft, silky, crunchy*
	DIMENSION	2	0.37	0	0.00	2	0.37	1	0.19	*big/little, large/small*
	COLOR	0	0.00	1	0.19	13	2.42	1	0.19	*black, pinkish*
	SPEED	2	0.37	0	0.00	1	0.19	1	0.19	*quick, fast, slow*
	TIME	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	*new, young, old*
	POSITION	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	*low, high*
	Other General Adj.	3	0.56	0	0.00	0	0.00	2	0.37	*hungry, different*
	Subtotal	34	6.32	29	5.39	119	22.12	36	6.69	
III	**Other adjectives**									
	Active or passive participle (*-ed* or *–ing*)	11	2.04	4	0.74	1	0.19	9	1.67	*interesting, caramelized*
	Compound adjectives	2	0.37	0	0.00	4	0.74	1	0.19	*lipstick-red, fiery-cracky*
	Temporary state	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	*asleep, alone, awake*
	Subtotal	13	2.42	4	0.74	5	0.93	10	1.86	
	TOTAL	149		143		131		115		**538**

The first alteration reflected after excluding attributive adjectives was that the intensifiers became re-ordered as *so*, *really*, *nice and* and *very*. Two main factors motivated the use of these four intensifiers in predicative position: first, the nature of the genre (food related), and second,

the nature of the intensifier itself. As mentioned at the beginning of the section, some adjective types were underrepresented in the data (e.g., TIME, POSITION, BAD VALUE), while others were more frequent (e.g., TASTE, GOOD VALUE), and that seems to be simply because the cooking shows genre prompts or hinders one or another type. Evidence supporting this is that adjectives of POSITION and TIME[20], infrequent in the corpus, were more present in corpora with a broader collection of genres, such as the TEC (Tagliamonte, 2008) or the York corpus (Ito & Tagliamonte, 2003).

Nevertheless, even though my corpus is not 100 % comparable to the TEC and York corpus, due to its modest size and single genre, I can make a few generalizations about *so, really,* and *very* in predictive position. For example, as in the other two corpora, *really* and *very* consistently collocated with PHYSICAL PROPERTY, VALUE and HUMAN PROPENSITY adjectives; *very* also collocated with DIMENSION adjectives in the three corpora. *So* combined with PHYSICAL PROPERTY, VALUE, HUMAN PROPENSITY and DIMENSION adjectives, as in the TEC (*so* wasn't among the three most frequently used intensifiers in the York corpus). *Really* never occurred with SPEED adjectives, as in the other two corpora, and *so* never combined with COLOR adjectives, as in the TEC.

Those were the behaviors of the three most frequently used intensifiers (i.e., *really, very, so*) that I can describe as similar to those found in the TEC and York corpus. The differences are perhaps more interesting, and they arose from the genre specific coding and naming decisions I made. Coding the *nice and* construction was also useful as the variant exhibited collocation patterns distinct from those of *so, really* and *very* (see Table 3.6).

As shown in Table 3.7, among evaluative adjectives, *nice and* was disfavored by TASTE, VALUE and HUMAN PROPENSITY; in some cases, perhaps because its use with that kind of

[20] Referred as AGE in the other corpora.

adjectives would lead to non-intensifying readings (3.14-3.16), contradictory or cacophonic readings, as in sentence (3.14).

?/**Nice and* (*good and, lovely and*) + VALUE:

(3.14) Here's the difference between a ?*nice/?lovely/*good and* good pasta and a **nice/*good/*lovely and bad* pasta.[21]

**Nice and* (*good and, lovely and*) + HUMAN PROPENSITY:

(3.15) "And this is where you have to be (**good and*) patient." [Anna Olson]

(3.16) "My mom would be (**nice and*) *proud*." [Michael Smith]

Although the *nice and* construction never occurred with TASTE adjectives in the corpus, this collocation is not necessarily ungrammatical with all TASTE adjectives (see examples 3.17-3.20). While the combination of *nice and beautiful* in sentence (3.19) may sound acceptable, even though *nice* and *beautiful* have similar aesthetic meanings, the collocation of **nice and nice* in sentence (3.17) or **lovely and lovely* in sentence (3.18) are not acceptable for the simple reason that such combinations are cacophonous and repetitive (Denison, 2000, p. 119).

?/**Nice and* (*good and, lovely and*) + TASTE:

(3.17) "A (**nice and*) *nice* big onion." [Laura Calder]

(3.18) "and they just are so crisp and (**lovely and*) *lovely*." [Anna Olson]

(3.19) "It's a (?*nice and/*lovely and/*good and*) *beautiful* soup." [Laura Calder]

(3.20) "Looks (?*nice and/?lovely and/?good and*) *delicious*." [Tyler Florence]

[21] Original sentence: "Here's the difference between a *really good* pasta and a *really bad* pasta." [Tyler Florence]

Table 3.7. *Nice and* collocations in the Cooking Shows Corpus

		Syntactic position		Sample sentences from CSC	
		Attr.	Pred.		
I	**Evaluative qualities**				
	HEDONIST V.	0	1	(3.21)	"Plus it [capers] makes it *nice and decadent*." [Giada de Laurentiis]
	Other Ev. Adj.	2	6	(3.22)	"It starts to get nice and creamy, or I say, *nice and dreamy*." [Emeril Lagasse]
II	**General qualities**				
	PHISYCAL P.	4	103	(3.23)	"They're *nice and cold*." [Tyler Florence]
	DIMENSION	0	2	(3.24)	"it's *nice and thick* [salad dressing]" [Emeril Lagasse]
	COLOR	0	13	(3.25)	"so the cake is *lovely and golden*" [Jo Pratt]
	SPEED	0	1	(3.26)	"just let them come up *nice and slow*." [Tyler Florence]
III	**Special forms**				
	Active or passive participle (*-ed* or *–ing*)	0	1	(3.27)	"and get that flavour *nice and warming*, which works really well the chocolate" [Giada de Laurentiis]
	Compound adjectives	0	4	(3.28)	"Now, these buiscuits are gonna be *nice and piping-hot*." [Ree Drummond]
	TOTAL	**6**	**131**		**137**

Among general-quality adjectives, *nice and* was disfavored by TIME (e.g., ?*nice and new,* ?*lovely and young*), POSITION (e.g., ?*nice and low,* ?*good and high*) and 'other' general adjectives (e.g., ?*nice and different*). Among adjectives of the third group, it never occurred with passive adjectives (*-ed*) (see 3.29) and it occurred only once with a progressive adjective (*-ing*) (see 3.27 in Table 3.7). Although temporary state adjectives did not occur in the data, for obvious reasons, one can imagine that the construction *nice and* is unlikely to happen among that kind of adjectives (e.g., **nice and alone, *lovely and awake*).

?*Nice and* (*good and, lovely and*) + *-ed*:

(3.29) “It is gooey and (?*nice and*/?*lovely and*/?*good and*) *melted* and luscious.” [Ree Drummond]

Finally, attenuators (e.g., *kind of, a little (bit)*, *slightly*, etc.) were disfavored among TASTE, VALUE and POSITION adjectives. In the first two cases one can suspect that it is perhaps due to the ironic readings it may produce (see sentences 3.30 & 3.31), which, one can imagine, is dubiously the message wanted to be conveyed in a genre that seeks the persuasion of audiences.

TASTE:

(3.30) “Here are three (?*kind of*, ?*slightly*) *beautiful* sponge cakes.” [Anna Olson]

VALUE:

(3.31) “Oh, this is looking (?*sort of*/?*almost*) *good*.” [Hugh Fearnley-Wittingstal]

POSITION:

(3.32) “I’ve made a spinach soufflé, all puffed up and (?*a little*) *high* and cloudy.” [Laura Calder]

3.5 Multivariate analyses of degree adverbs

Until now, I have mainly addressed linguistic patterns without regard to their statistical significance. This section is now dedicated to the description of the main linguistic patterns in the data in the light of multivariate analysis.

3.5.1 Frequent intensifiers

I will begin by describing the major constraints of the three most frequent intensifiers (*really, very* and *so*) in the corpus. As illustrated in Table 3.8, I reduced adjective groups to uniquely represent those that were the most prominent/frequent in the corpus. Therefore, I condensed all the general-quality subgroups into a single group, I merged three of the evaluative-quality subgroups, as well as the two special-form subgroups; I grouped speakers/chefs into five gendered culinary personas, and I fused most food subgroups with the exception of the three that I imagined pertinent according to the findings of Jurafsky, Chahuneau, Routledge and Smith (2014), that is chocolate, meat and sugar. Another important thing to note about the organization of the tables in this section is that the factors within each group are ranked by their degree of favoring effect or positive correlation (i.e., their factor weights).

Starting with the simplest patterns to describe, *very* was unsurprisingly the preferred variant among English chefs (cf. Van Herk 2009), *so* was the preferred variant among Canadians, and *really* did not present any statistically significant correlation with regard to nationality. *Really* and *very* were favored among attributive adjectives, and *so*, expectedly, among predicative adjectives.

Table 3.8. Multivariate analyses of intensifiers *really, very* and *so* vs. all degree adverbs

Really				***Very***				***So***			
Corrected Mean = 0.193				Corrected Mean = 0.126				Corrected Mean = 0.060			
Log Likelihood = -501.797				Log Likelihood = -437.360				Log Likelihood = -365.829			
Total N = 1131				Total N = 1131				Total N = 1131			
Syntactic position	**N**	**%**	**FW**	**Syntactic position**	**N**	**%**	**FW**	**Syntactic position**	**N**	**%**	**FW**
Attributive	118	43.1	0.72	Attributive	52	19	0.59	Predicative	149	17.4	0.73
Predicative	143	16.7	0.42	Predicative	115	13.4	0.47	Attributive	1	273	0.04
		Range	*30*			*Range*	*12*			*Range*	*69*
Adjective type				**Adjective type**				**Adjective type**			
TASTE	72	47.1	0.75	Other Ev. Adj.	76	21.4	0.63	VALUE	31	31.6	0.82
VALUE	39	39.8	0.7	Special forms	13	16.9	0.52	Special forms	13	16.9	0.59
Other Ev. Adj.	84	23.7	0.55	TASTE	17	11.1	0.46	Other Ev. Adj.	54	15.2	0.56
General Q. Adj.	61	13.6	0.38	General Q. Adj.	55	12.3	0.46	TASTE	18	11.8	0.54
Special forms	5	6.5	0.22	VALUE	6	6.1	0.29	General Q. Adj.	34	7.6	0.34
		Range	*53*			*Range*	*34*			*Range*	*48*
Culinary persona				**Culinary persona**				**Culinary persona**			
Gastro-sexual	108	35	0.67	Pin-up	74	25.2	0.7	Homebody	43	17.9	0.63
Homebody	61	25.4	0.52	Chef-artisan	30	15.3	0.58	Chef-artisan	34	17.3	0.55
Pin-up	53	18	0.47	Envionmentalist	13	14.1	0.42	Environmentalist	9	9.8	0.52
Environmentalist	18	19.6	0.46	Homebody	22	9.2	0.38	Pin-up	36	12.2	0.46
Chef-artisan	21	10.7	0.28	Gastro-sexual	28	9.1	0.37	Gastro-sexual	28	9.1	0.4
		Range	*39*			*Range*	*33*			*Range*	*23*
Gender				**Gender**				**Gender**			
Female	114	21.3	[-]	Female	96	18	[-]	Female	79	14.8	[-]
Male	147	24.6	[-]	Male	71	11.9	[-]	Male	71	11.9	[-]
		Range	*N/A*			*Range*	*N/A*			*Range*	*N/A*
Country				**Country**				**Country**			
Canada	37	12.7	[-]	England	60	16.5	0.59	Canada	59	20.3	0.63
England	90	24.8	[-]	USA	69	14.5	0.47	USA	57	11.9	0.48
USA	134	28.1	[-]	Canada	38	13.1	0.43	England	34	9.4	0.42
		Range	*N/A*			*Range*	*16*			*Range*	*21*
Food				**Food**				**Food**			
Other	163	28.2	0.56	Meat	35	14.7	[-]	Meat	35	14.7	[-]
Meat	42	17.6	0.46	Sugar	22	17.7	[-]	Sugar	20	16.1	[-]
Chocolate	16	19.3	0.46	Chocolate	13	15.7	[-]	Chocolate	6	7.2	[-]
Sugar	14	11.3	0.34	Other	85	14.7	[-]	Other	75	13	[-]
		Range	*22*			*Range*	*N/A*			*Range*	*N/A*

Moving now to more eye-catching patterns, none of the three most frequently used intensifiers had explicit correlations with gender. Even *so*, which is typically considered an intensifier that marks 'young femininity,' was strikingly used at similar rates by female and male speakers, and among the other type of degree adverbs, only *-ly* intensifiers had direct correlations with the masculine gender in general. This, should not be surprising, however, for as Ochs

argues, “few features of language directly and exclusively index gender” (in Bucholtz, 2012, p. 147). When one looks at the more nuanced categorization of speakers into gendered culinary personas[22], one realizes that there exists a second order gender correlation (Bucholtz, 2012). *Really* is the preferred intensifier of gastro-sexuals (Chuck Hughes, Jamie Oliver and Tyler Florence) and homebodies (Anna Olson, Jo Pratt and Ree Drummond), but it is used very infrequently by chef-artisans (Michael Smith and Emeril Lagasse). Pin-ups (Laura Calder, Nigella Lawson and Giada de Laurentiis) and the only environmentalist in the sample (Hugh Fearnely-Whittingstall) use it at moderate rates. *Very* is dramatically favored among pin-ups and drastically disfavored by gastro-sexuals and homebodies. *Very* is also preferred by chef-artisans, while *so*, by homebodies, chef-artisans and the environmentalist.

3.5.2 *-ly* intensifiers

Considering that *-ly* intensifiers are well known in the literature to be markers of class, especially of a masculine (more) privileged class (Macaulay, 2002, 2003; Tagliamonte & Ito, 2002), I measured their usage in relation to gender and gendered personas. As expected, the male speakers/personas consistently employed more *-ly* intensifiers than the female speakers/personas (see Table 3.9). For example, the fact that one of the pin-up speakers (Giada de Laurentiis) used zero *-ly* intensifiers affected the numbers of the group to the degree that the single speaker of the environmentalist group had a higher frequency of *-ly* usage than the pin-up group.

[22] The homebody, gastro-sexual and pin-up groups are integrated by one chef from each country. Given the modest size of my sample, the chef-artisan group only represents Canada and the US, and the environmentalist group, only one, England, with a single speaker.

Table 3.9. Multivariate analysis of *-ly* vs. *really, very* & *so*

Corrected Mean = 0.078
Log Likelihood = -188.109
Total N = 641

	N	%	FW
Adjective type			
Special forms	13	29.5	0.81
TASTE	15	12.3	0.59
Other Ev. Adj.	19	8.2	0.48
General Q. Adj.	13	8	0.48
VALUE	3	3.8	0.29
		Range	*52*
Culinary persona			
Chef-artisan	17	16.7	0.67
Environmentalist	8	16.7	0.65
Gastro-sexual	20	10.9	0.58
Homebody	12	8.7	0.5
Pin-up	6	3.6	0.27
		Range	*18*

Of all *-ly* forms, *absolutely* was the most common: it constituted around 50 % of them. As for collocations, *-ly* forms were highly favored by special adjective types; more precisely, by *-ed* and *-ing* forms (see 3.33 & 3.34). With evaluative adjectives, it was most common with TASTE adjectives (see 3.35) and least common with VALUE adjectives (see 3.36).

-ly + *-ed* and *-ing*:

(3.33) "I'm <u>*incredibly*</u> *excited* about this dish." [Michael Smith]

(3.34) "but because I find the color <u>*immensely*</u> *cheering*" [Nigella Lawson]

-ly + TASTE:

(3.35) "I've got some heirloom tomatoes, which are <u>*absolutely*</u> *beautiful* when the weather is nice and warm." [Tyler Florence]

-ly + VALUE:

(3.36) “Setting aside the marshmallow issues: sweet potatoes really are *extremely healthy*.” [Michael Smith]

One thing that is clear in all these examples is that the *-ly* forms still maintain some of their lexical value; in other words, they are not completely delexicalized.

3.5.3 Attenuators

The last thing to ponder in this section is the behaviors of attenuators vis-à-vis those of intensifiers. Although, it has been implicit until now that attenuators do not behave exactly like intensifiers, now I am able to present statistical evidence of their behaviors (see Table 3.10). Beginning with adjectives, intensifiers (as a group) preferably combine with three kinds of adjectives: VALUE, special forms and ‘other’ evaluative adjectives. Attenuators (as a group) are also prone to collocate with special forms and ‘other’ evaluative adjectives, but instead of VALUE adjectives, they prefer general-quality adjectives. TASTE adjectives disfavor both intensifiers and attenuators, especially the latter. As I explained in Section 3.4, the combination of attenuators + TASTE adjectives is probably not present in the cooking shows genre in order to avoid ironic interpretations. As for why intensifiers are infrequently used with TASTE adjectives, I can only speculate that it may be because the adjectives by themselves may already convey (for most speakers) a heightened aesthetic sense in most contexts (see 3.37 & 3.38).

(3.37) “it’s not only full of goodness, but packed with a *delicious* vegetably flavor” [Hugh Fearnely-Whittingstall]

(3.38) “Look at this *gorgeous* stock.” [Laura Calder]

Table 3.10 Multivariate analyses of intensifiers and attenuators vs. not modified adjectives

Intensifiers				**Attenuators**			
Corrected Mean = 0.083				Corrected Mean = 0.023			
Log Likelihood = -2096.299				Log Likelihood = -417.509			
Total N = 3595				Total N = 2658			
	N	**%**	**FW**		**N**	**%**	**FW**
Adjective type				**Adjective type**			
VALUE	153	46.1	0.68	General Q. Adj.	77	6.8	0.74
Special forms	70	32.6	0.54	Special forms	9	5.8	0.71
Other Ev. Adj.	339	31.7	0.53	Other Ev. Adj.	21	2.8	0.52
General Q. Adj.	384	26.7	0.48	VALUE	1	0.8	0.24
TASTE	153	23.3	0.42	TASTE	1	0.2	0.08
		Range	*26*			*Range*	*66*
Culinary persona				**Culinary persona**			
Gastro-sexual	290	32.2	0.54	Chef-artisan	28	6.3	0.64
Pin-up	265	29.9	0.51	Pin-up	35	5.3	0.56
Environmentalist	85	27.9	0.5	Environmentalist	9	3.9	0.52
Chef-artisan	173	29.3	0.49	Gastro-sexual	23	3.6	0.5
Homebody	233	25.5	0.46	Homebody	14	2	0.36
		Range	*8*			*Range*	*28*
Country				**Country**			
USA	444	38.2	0.61	USA	42	5.5	0.6
England	347	28.5	0.5	Canada	37	3.7	0.47
Canada	255	20.9	0.4	England	30	3.3	0.46
		Range	*57*			*Range*	*14*

Another of my speculations, mentioned earlier in the chapter, was that attenuators may be well distributed in the palette of degree adverbs employed in the corpus, given that this is a genre that requires speaking of different gradations of, for example, consistency (3.39), temperature (3.40), color (3.41), effervescence (3.42), flavor (3.43). Regarding the last food feature, around half of the instances of *slightly* modified flavor adjectives, and *slightly* was also the preferred attenuating variant to modify that specific subtype of PHYSICAL PROPERTY adjectives.

(3.39) Food consistency: "[Glutten] A *sort of chewy*, elastic protein that's the secret to great baking." [Michael Smith]

(3.40) (repeats (2.23)) Food temperature: “It can be eaten at room temperature, but I like it *a bit cold*.” [Laura Calder]

(3.41) Food color: “This is how I like to eat salmon: still *a bit bright-coral* within.” [Nigella Lawson]

(3.42) Drink effervescence: “*A little bubbly* that always makes everything super festive.” [Giada de Laurentiis]

(3.43) Food flavor: “[Tarragon] It’s *slightly minty*.” [Giada de Laurentiis]

Overall, gastro-sexuals had the highest rates of intensification and chef-artisans, of attenuation. The fact that it is the chef-artisans who are most likely to use attenuators reinforces −to me− the assumption that attenuators are an indispensable tool in the language of cooking shows, and cooking in general. (I discuss this further in Chapter 4.)

Finally, and less interestingly, when grouped by nationality instead of by culinary persona, the group of chefs that was most inclined to using both kinds of degree adverbs was the US group.

3.6 Multivariate analyses of adjectives

Bearing in mind that (social) meaning is constructed through various means, I also tested correlations between the culinary personas and the adjectives themselves (as a variable), especially remembering Kroch’s (1995) and Macaulay’s (2002, 2005) findings. This proved to be fruitful, since I found a correlation between type of adjective and culinary persona. As shown in Table 3.11[23], most culinary personas slightly favored evaluative adjectives, with the exception of pin-ups.

[23] This analysis excludes the environmentalist group, considering that it only has one member.

Table 3.11. Evaluative vs. General Adjectives

Group I: Evaluative Adjectives				**Group II: General-Quality**			
Corrected Mean = 0.568				Corrected Mean = 0.432			
Log Likelihood = -2167.577				Log Likelihood = -2167.577			
Total N = 3187				Total N = 3187			
Culinary persona	**N**	**%**	**FW**	**Culinary persona**	**N**	**%**	**FW**
Gastro-sexual	527	59.9	0.53	Pin-up	427	50.4	0.57
Chef-artisan	352	59.9	0.53	Homebody	362	41.5	0.48
Homebody	510	58.5	0.52	Chef-artisan	236	40.1	0.47
Pin-up	420	49.6	0.43	Gastro-sexual	353	40.1	0.47
		Range	*10*			*Range*	*10*

Since the evaluative group was a group with statistically significant correlations, I also tested the two subgroups that I had added to Dixon's category to better capture the language of the culinary genre, that is, HEDONIST V. and TASTE adjectives. The results were not unsatisfactory, for, as portrayed in Table 3.12[24], there were indeed correlations between those types of adjectives and specific culinary personas. TASTE adjectives were equally favored by gastro-sexuals and homebodies, while HEDONIST V. adjectives were preferred by pin-ups and homebodies (i.e., females), dramatically so among the former group. Chef-artisans avoided both types of adjectives.

[24] This other analysis also excludes the environmentalist group for the same reason.

Table 3.12. TASTE and HEDONIST V. adjectives vs. the rest of Evaluative adjectives

TASTE				**HEDONISM**			
Corrected Mean = 0.318				Corrected Mean = 0.432			
Log Likelihood = -1113.101				Log Likelihood = -2167.577			
Total N = 1809				Total N = 1809			
Culinary persona	**N**	**%**	**FW**	**Culinary persona**	**N**	**%**	**FW**
Gastro-sexual	205	38.9	0.58	Pin-up	34	8.1	0.84
Homebody	198	38.8	0.58	Homebody	10	2	0.55
Pin-up	102	24.3	0.41	Gastro-sexual	4	0.8	0.31
Chef-artisan	79	22.4	0.38	Chef-artisan	2	0.6	0.26
		Range	*20*			*Range*	*58*

The other factor group with a marked absence of correlations was food type. As I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, food as a subject −regardless of its tastefulness and aestheticism− does not seem to increase the use of intensifiers. Moreover, the type of food does not seem to have a correlation with the variants studied. I cannot deny that something in the language varies, as demonstrated by the studies of Freedman and Jurafsky (2011), Jurafsky et al. (2014), and Paradis and Eeg-Olofsson (2013), but such difference was not evident here. Learning this led me to a hypothesis or question −to be more accurate− with regard to food and language: Is it perhaps the cooking shows genre at large that creates qualitative and quantitative effects on modifiers rather than the specific food items or dishes? This in turn directed me to another question: To what extent are variant choice and frequency of specific linguistic items intrinsically linked to a speech genre? I discuss and attempt to partially answer these two questions in Chapter 4.

4 DISCUSSION

I dedicated Chapter 3 to providing the general description of the linguistic and sociolinguistic patterns found in the corpus. As I showed throughout the previous chapter, there were interesting sociolinguistic patterns, which I will describe and discuss in further detail in this chapter. Although I would need to do further research to be able to affirm the following, I could attribute some of the patterns found to the nature of the cooking shows genre itself; for example, the high rates of the *nice and* construction (see Section 4.1), the good distribution of attenuators in the spectrum of degree modifiers of the corpus (see Section 4.2), and the utility of positive adjectives in the construction of the 'kitchen dream' (see Section 4.3). Some other patterns can be seen as simply reproducing and reinforcing existent stereotypical gender sociolinguistic patterns; for example, the higher usage rates of *-ly* among male speakers with a higher status (see Section 4.4) or the higher rates of HEDONIST VALUE adjectives among female chefs that seek to perform as sexually attractive women (see Section 4.5). Without further preamble, I will now discuss these patterns.

4.1 *Nice and* and its relation with physical, dehumanized and positive entities

Nice and occupied a prominent place (fourth) in the spectrum of the intensifiers used in the corpus (see Figure 3.1). Second, its collocation patterns were very restricted, given that it is a form that is not fully delexicalized (see Section 3.4). Third, it was the preferred variant to modify PHYSICAL P. (see Table 4.1) and COLOR (see Table 4.2) adjectives.

Table 4.1. Contrastive distribution of *really, very, so,* and *nice and* pre-modifying PHYSICAL P. Adj.

In predicative and attributive position					Only in predicative position			
Total N = 227					Total N = 189			
	really	***very***	***so***	***nice and***	***really***	***very***	***so***	***nice and***
N	49	44	27	107	28	31	27	103
%	21.6	19.3	11.9	47.1	14.8	16.4	14.3	54.5

Table 4.2. Contrastive distribution of *really, very, so,* and *nice and* pre-modifying COLOR Adj.

In predicative and attributive					Only in predicative			
Total N = 17					Total N = 15			
	really	***very***	***so***	***nice and***	***really***	***very***	***so***	***nice and***
N	2	2	0	13	1	1	0	13
%	11.7	1.57	0	76.5	6.7	6.7	0	86.7

Fourth, overall this construction preferably combined with PHYSICAL P. adjectives; in fact, 78 % of the time that the construction combined with an adjective, that adjective belonged to the PHYSICAL P. subgroup (see Table 3.7).

Although I lack evidence from other studies, the patterns mentioned in the previous paragraph make me believe that the *nice and* construction is probably preferably used to emphasize the physicality of things (see 4.1-4.3) rather than their intangibility (see 4.4), and that such circumscription originates in the fact that *nice, lovely* and *good*, which constitute each of the three variants, are not fully delexicalized.

Nice and + PHYSICAL P. Adj.

(4.1) "it's [chocolate] *lovely and smooth*" [Jo Pratt]

(4.2) "ricotta salata is been pressed until is *nice and firm*" [Tyler Florence]

(4.3) "Once we get that [the milk] *good and hot…*" [Emeril Lagasse]

Nice and + Evaluative Adj.

(4.4) “or they [cheesecakes] can be *nice and formal* depending on what’s your occasion” [Ree Drummond]

So far in this paper, I have utilized *nice and* as an umbrella term referring to all three variants: *nice and, lovely and* and *good and*. However, I would not wish to imply that they are entirely interchangeable or synonymous or delexicalized at the same level; as a matter of fact, they are not. Evidence of this is that of the 137 instances of this construction that occurred in the corpus, only 13 manifested as *lovely and* and 5 as *good and*. One clear example of how the three variants are delexicalized at different levels is that, even though *nice and* was the preferred variant to modify COLOR adjectives in the corpus, that was not equally true for all variants, but primarily for the *nice and* variant. Moreover, *nice and* collocated with a very limited number of COLOR adjectives: *nice and* collocated only with *dark* (4.5), *golden* (4.6), *brown* (4.7), and *pink* (4.8); *lovely and*, only with *golden* (4.9) and *light* (4.10); and *good and*, with none.

Nice and + COLOR:

(4.5) “until [crème caramel] it’s *nice and dark*” [Laura Calder]

(4.6) “... and get it [crostini] *nice and golden*.” [Giada de Laurentiis]

(4.7) “They look amazing: *nice and brown* [biscuits].” [Ree Drummond]

(4.8) “And that’s gonna be *nice and pink* [meat].” [Emeril Lagasse]

(4.9) (repeats 3.25)) “so the cake is *lovely and golden*” [Jo Pratt]

(4.10) “the scone looks *lovely and light*” [Hugh Fearnley-Whittingtall]

This certainly does not mean that there are not other possible combinations, but it surely provides an idea of how restricted collocations are for the *nice and* construction and colors. Of course, one can imagine too that the instructional cooking shows genre itself contributes to

circumscribing possible combinations to a great extent. For example, the most common COLOR adjectives mentioned in the corpus are not opaque colors like *black* or *gray*, but colors within the light-to-brown spectrum, such as *light, golden, brown*, etc., probably because those are the colors employed to reflect degrees of doneness. The only exception is *dark*, which is frequently used to describe chocolate, caramel, berries, etc.

In Section 3.4, I discussed how certain *nice and* collocations are disfavored due to non-intensifying or contradictory readings or repetitive and cacophonic outcomes. Here, I would like to leave aside the two last cases, and discuss *nice and* collocations focusing on semantic outcomes only. In Table 4.3, I summarize how the *nice and* variants collocated and how they could collocate with adjectives (in parentheses). A few important aspects to consider about this table are the following: First, the judgements that I present are primarily based on the cooking shows data, contrasted (in parentheses) with what would be possible in everyday language. Second, the sample of adjectives is based on those that are common in the food genre. Third, among the positive adjectives, it prioritizes those that were among the most common in the corpus (except when the collocation seemed "too strange"). Fourth, the sample adjectives are meant as prototypes of their specific subtype; this means that even where I indicate that X or Y *nice and* variant collocated or could collocate with X or Y adjective, it does not imply that it combined (in the corpus) or could combine (in other contexts) with that (those) specific adjective(s). Fifth, the table does not include evaluations of combinations that would be unacceptable because of cacophony or repetition (e.g., *<u>*nice and*</u> *nice, *<u>*lovely and*</u> *lovely, *<u>*good and*</u> *good*). Sixth, the variant *lovely and* is only used by two British chefs; therefore, the assessment I provide is only valid for the British variety. With that in mind, I will now explain

the collocations that occurred in the corpus, confronted with those that could occur in everyday language or other speech genres.

Table 4.3. Collocations of *nice and, lovely and* and *good and*

		nice and	***lovely and***	***good and***			**Sample adjective**
	Values =	√ / x / (√) / (?) / *					p / n / Ev. / Gen.
I	**Evaluative qualities**						
	TASTE (beauty)	x (*)	x (√)	x (*)	p		*beautiful*
		x (*)	x (*)	x (*)	n		*ugly*
	TASTE (palate)	x (√)	x (√)	x (*)	p		*delicious*
		x (*)	x (*)	x (*)	n		*horrible*
	VALUE (health)	x (√)	x (?)	x (√)	p		*healthy*
		x (?)	x (*)	x (*)	n		*unhealthy*
	VALUE (ethics)	x (*)	x (*)	x (?)	p		*right*
		x (?)	x (*)	x (?)	n		*wrong*
	HUMAN P.	x (√)	x (√)	x (√)	p		*happy*
		x (*)	x (?)	x (*)	n		*shameful*
	HEDONIST V.	√	x (?)	x (√)	p		*decadent*
	Other Ev. Adj.	√	√	√	p		*simple*
		x (s)	x (*)	x (s)	n		*difficult*
	Subtotal						
II	**General qualities**						
	PHYSICAL P.	√	√	√			*soft, tender*
	DIMENSION	√	√	x (√)			*big, thick*
	COLOR	√	√	x (√)			*golden*
	SPEED	√	x (*)	x (√)			*quick / slow*
	TIME	x (√)	x (*)	x (√)	p		*new / old* (recipe)
	POSITION	x (√)	x (*)	x (√)			*low / high* (heat)
	Other Gen. Adj.	x (√)	x (*)	x (√)	p		*portable*
	Subtotal						
III	**Special forms**						
	Active part. (*-ing*)	x (√)	x (?)	x (√)	p	Ev.	*exciting*
		x (?)	x (s)	x (?)	n	Ev.	*disgusting*
		√	x (√)	x (√)		Gen.	*warming*
	Passive part. (*-ed*)	x (*)	x (?)	x (*)	p	HP	*excited*
		x (*)	x (s)	x (*)	n	HP	*embarrassed*
		x (√)	x (√)	x (√)		Gen.	*caramelized*
	Comp. Adj.	√	x (√)	x (√)			*golden-brown*
	Temporary state	x (√)	x (?)	x (√)			*asleep*

p = positive value, n = negative value, x = It did not occur in the CSC, √ = It occurred in the corpus.
(√) = It may occur (in everyday language).
(*) = Unlikely to occur (in everyday language); the variant still maintains its full aesthetical, ethical, etc. meaning in such context;
(?) = Unsure.
(s) = If it occurs, it may carry a sarcastic, ironic of humorous undertone.

The first pattern that calls one's attention is how all three variants consistently reject collocating with negative adjectives, which suggests that the *nice and* construction is not fully delexicalized yet. This suggestion is reinforced by the fact that the construction was also avoided among adjectives with a HUMAN P. value. Within a larger frame, even the fact that the *nice and* construction collocated better among General Adj. instead of among Evaluative Adj. can be interpreted following the same logic, since Evaluative Adj. (e.g., *healthy, decadent, indulgent*) tend to have a primary or secondary 'human' interpretation/association while General Adj. (e.g., *soft, golden, big/little, quick/slow, new/old*) do not have such connotation. As the *nice and* construction still keeps a 'humanized' connotation (e.g., *nice* 'kind,' *lovely* 'attractive,' *good* 'virtuous'), this discourages its collocation with 'humanized' adjectives.

One last thing to consider is that several collocations of the *nice and + negative adjective* type may happen, but with a sarcastic undertone (e.g., *nice and difficult, nice and shameful, nice and disgusting*)[25], or may be used differently from dialect to dialect or among younger generations of speakers.

4.2 Attenuators as culinary gradators and markers of culinary control

Although not as frequent as intensifiers, attenuators were well distributed in the spectrum of degree adverbs of the corpus. As I mentioned in Section 3.5, I attribute this to the cooking and food genre itself, which requires describing different gradations of temperature (4.11), readiness (4.12), consistency (4.13), freshness (4.14), color (4.15), flavor (4.16), etc.

(4.11) (repeats (2.23)) "It can be eaten at room temperature, but I like it *a bit cold*."
[Laura Calder]

[25] As one of my colleagues indicted, prosody and other language cues (e.g. gestures) may have a key role in the interpretation of the *nice and* + adjective as intensifying versus just as an adjective + adjective structure.

(4.12) “Two rack of baby back ribs *almost ready* for the oven.” [Michael Smith]

(4.13) “The carrots of course at this point are still *a little firm*.” [Anna Olson]

(4.14) “I happen to be a *kind of fresh* spinach kind of guy.” [Emeril Lagasse]

(4.15) “this will add a lovely, *sort of green* fleck over the top” [Jo Pratt]

(4.16) “It’s distinctive, *a little bit earthy* [pandan].” [Anna Olson]

Besides, it seems to me that attenuators are preferred for those cases where it is necessary to provide a more nuanced description of the state of food or the cooking procedure (as can be observed in the examples 4.11-4.16). Attenuators were, for example, the second preferred group of degree adverbs −after *nice and*− to modify colors, which is a group of words that implies itself gradations.

Attenuators actually appeared to have been used as markers of culinary control or an expression of culinary capital. As I explained in Chapter 1, this relates to Bourdieu’s concept of *cultural capital*, which can be seen as a symbolic asset (speech, skills, credentials, tastes, clothing, mannerisms, material belongings, etc.) that connotes and confers status and power to those who possess it and display it. Since this paper is not concerned with chefs’ culinary knowledge and skills per se, but with how they depict them through language, here I only explore how the chefs in the sample seemed to have employed attenuators as a resource to display their culinary control, which can be interpreted as a subform of culinary capital.

One indication that leads me to ponder that possibility is that the homebody was the least likely to use that type of degree modifiers (as well as intensifiers). As one remembers from Chapter 1, this culinary persona “encourages a casual and utilitarian approach to cooking,” and portrays “minimal complication or concern for precision” (Johnston et al., 2014, p. 9). For instance −although not part of my sample− Rachel Ray’s measurements using “pinches” and

"palmfuls" and "eyeballing" ingredients are epitomes of such an approach. The opposite example is the chef-artisan, who is the most prone to employing attenuators (see Table 3.10). As explained in Chapter 1, chef-artisans portray themselves as artistic geniuses or craftsmen.

Of course, using attenuators to mark culinary control should not be interpreted as a dichotomy where more attenuation means 'more culinary expertise' and less attenuation, 'amateur culinary knowledge.' To me, attenuating is simply another strategy that speakers/chefs may use to mark their culinary control. For instance, while chefs Emeril Lagasse and Michael Smith, for whom it is important to be perceived as culinary artists or craftsmen, choose to make use of that linguistic resource to mark their proficiency and status as (trained) chefs, Anna Olson and Tyler Florence (also trained chefs) do not.

Attenuators also served to justify the semi-authenticity of a dish or recipe. Contrast, for example, sentences (4.17) and (4.18) with (4.19)

(4.17) (repeats (2.36)) "And now, for something *a little Asiatic*: oysters with my friend Ivan's special sauce." [Laura Calder]

(4.18) "We're gonna start by making a simple *sort of English* style batter." [Emeril Lagasse]

(4.19) "But next I'm going to get *very French* with a tin of sardines." [Laura Calder]

As can be observed in Table 4.5[26], and as shown in Table 3.10, unlike intensifiers, attenuators were favored among general adjectives rather than evaluative adjectives in the corpus. However, as I indicate in Table 4.5, collocations with evaluative adjectives are not all ungrammatical or unlikely. Besides, some combinations are only plausible with humorous, sarcastic, ironic or euphemistic readings. The limited collocations between attenuators and

[26] Table 4.5 summarizes how attenuators collocated with adjectives in the corpus, but also how they could collocate in other language contexts (between parentheses). In this table I use the criteria 1-4 that I used for Table 4.3.

evaluative adjectives in the corpus can, without doubt, be attributed to the instructional cooking shows genre itself, which disfavors 'negativity.' In other words, the instructional cooking shows genre will tend to avoid diminishing the 'positive' meanings rendered by evaluative adjectives and will also tend to block sarcastic or ironic readings in general, as well as 'negative' evaluative adjectives overall. Nevertheless, attenuators were not uncommon among the few instances of negative connotating adjectives, where they serve to downplay the viewer's possible objection to the dish or to making it, as shown in (4.2) and (4.21).

Attenuator + negative connotating Evaluative Adj.:

(4.20) "It's *a bit technical*, but it's super easy to understand." [Michael Smith]

(4.21) "It's these hard sinews that kind of make this cut a *little bit unfashionable*." [Jamie Oliver]

Among general adjectives, attenuators were most frequent with PHYSICAL P. adjectives: a characteristic that can be attributed to the food genre. One can imagine that among that group is where more (cooking) gradations are required (remember examples 4.11-4.16). Attenuators were also common modifying the few cases of negative connotating general adjectives, as shown in (4.22) and (4.24).

Attenuator + negative connotating General Adj.:

(4.22) "They [salmon] do look *a bit raw* on the top but they will cook…" [Nigella Lawson]

(4.23) "[Chili powder] It can get *a little bit stale*." [Michael Smith]

(4.24) "[…] 'cause it's got that *kind of fermented* edge to it [buttermilk]" [Laura Calder]

Finally, the other type of adjectives that favored attenuators were special forms, but because the collocations with this set of adjectives are very limited, it is irrelevant to discuss those collocations beyond what is shown in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5. Collocations of attenuators

		a little, a (little/tiny) bit	*kind of / sort of*	*slightly*	*almost*			**Sample adjectives**
	Values =	√ / x / (√) / (?) / (*)				p / n / Ev. / Gen.		
I	**Evaluative qualities**							
	TASTE (beauty)	x (*)	x (√)	x (?)	x (?)	p		*nice, beautiful*
		x (?)	x (√)	x (?)	x (?)	n		*ugly, lousy*
	TASTE (palate)	x (?)	x (√)	x (?)	x (?)	p		*delicious, tasty*
		x (?)	x (√)	x (?)	x (√)	n		*horrible*
	VALUE (health)	x (?)	x (√)	x (?)	x (√)	p		*good, healthy*
		x (?)	x (√)	x (?)	x (√)	n		*bad, unhealthy*
	VALUE (ethics)	x (?)	x (√)	x (?)	x (√)	p		*right, appropiate*
		x (√)	x (√)	x (?)	x (√)	n		*immodest, vulgar*
	HUMAN P.	√	x (√)	x (√)	x (√)	p		*happy*
		√	x (√)	x (√)	√	n		*shameful, crazy*
	HEDONIST V.	x (√)	x (?)	x (√)	x (√)	p		*decadent*
	Other Ev. Adj.	√	√	√	√	p		*simple, ready*
		x (√)	√	x (√)	√	n		*difficult, hard*
	Subtotal							
II	**General qualities**							
	PHYSICAL P.	√	√	√	√			*hot, sweet, soft*
	DIMENSION	√	√	x (√)	x (√)			*thick, small*
	COLOUR	√	√	x (√)	x (√)			*golden, brown*
	SPEED	√	x (√)	x (√)	x (√)			*quick / slow*
	TIME	√	√	x (√)	x (√)	p		*new / old* (recipe)
		√	√	x (√)	x (?)	n		*old*
	POSITION	x (√)	x (√)	x (√)	x (*)			*low / high* (heat)
	Other Gen. Adj.	√	√	√	x (?)			*English, Asiatic*
	Subtotal							
III	**Special forms**							
	Active part. (*-ing*)	x (?)	x (√)	x	x (?)	p	Ev.	*exciting*
		x (?)	√	x (√)	x (√)	n	Ev.	*disgusting*
		x (√)	√	√	x (?)		Gen.	*warming, refreshing*
	Passive part. (*-ed*)	x (√)	x (√)	x (√)	x (√)	p	HP	*excited*
		√	x (√)	x (√)	x (√)	n	HP	*embarrassed*
		√	√	x (√)	x (√)		Gen.	*caramelized*
	Comp. Adj.	√	√	x (√)	x (√)			*out-of-this-world*
	Temporary state	x (√)	x (√)	x (√)	x (√)			*asleep, afraid*

p = positive value, n = negative value, x = It did not occur in the CSC, √ = It occurred in the CSC.
(√) = It can occur (in everyday language).
(?) = It may be used (in everyday language) to produce a euphemistic, ironic, sarcastic or humorous reading.
(*) = Unlikely to occur.

4.3 Positive adjectives and their instrumentality in the construction of the 'kitchen dream' space

As described in Chapter 3, the instructional cooking shows genre itself dictated to a great extent what kind of premodifiers and modifiers were used. Two clear examples are the strong skew towards positivity and towards portraying food as sensory pleasure. For example, with regard to the latter, TASTE, HEDONIST V., DIMENSION, COLOR and PHYSICAL P. adjectives which are all adjectives that help construct the sensory pleasure of food represent more than half (56 %) of all the adjectives in the corpus. This supports Prescott's argument that in affluent societies, sensory pleasure is what dictates food preferences, given that diets in such societies have become "increasingly unrelated to survival" (2012, p. 14). Indeed, cooking shows are undoubtedly not about teaching their audiences what food to cook or eat to survive. Even in the case of homebodies, who cook for 'tastes of necessity' (Bourdieu, 1984), the food that they cook is food that pleases, food that people may 'want' to eat and not food that people may just 'need' to eat; for example, homebodies cook foods like Smothered Pork Chops (Ree Drummond) or Turkish Delight Chocolate (Jo Pratt).

Regarding the skew toward 'positivity,' as I explained in Section 3.4, this skew is not something extraordinary in language. Previous studies (Jurafsky, Chahuneau, Routledge & Smith, 2014; Rozin et al., 2012) have documented a higher frequency of positive over negative words in language, which is linked to the fact that humans experience positive events more frequently than negative ones. Positive words are therefore unmarked. Yet, what is interesting about the salient positivity in the corpus is the purpose that such positivity serves within the cooking show genre. In addition to this, as I will explain below, such positivity extends beyond the adjectives that are intrinsically positive, such as *good*, *happy, beautiful*, etc., for other non-

intrinsically positive adjectives (e.g., *quick/slow*) become positive within the constellation of positive meanings generated by the cooking shows genre.

As I explained in Section 1.1, cooking shows provide their audiences with paths to achieve status through the acquisition of culinary knowledge (culinary capital < cultural capital). In such an attempt, the genre becomes a 'fantasy of transformation' (Ashley et al., 2004, p. 184): a fantasy in the sense that such transformation is merely illusory. In other words, even if the viewers (=consumers) of cooking shows, as a result of this viewing (=consumption), do learn about gourmet ingredients or how to prepare sophisticated recipes using the professional culinary techniques taught by the chefs in the programs, and even if they buy the entire set of books, knives, etc., from their favorite chef, the effect of all these 'choices' will very unlikely be upward class mobility. I do not deny, however, that viewers/consumers can achieve and accumulate culinary (cultural) capital.

Now, how does the pursuit/achievement of culinary capital relate to the linguistic skew towards 'positivity' in the genre? To me, this is serving a very specific purpose in the construction of the cooking shows genre as a 'fantasy of transformation' genre. In fact, the extreme inclination towards 'positivity' in the genre reminds me of two other genres: fairy tales (in the style of Hollywood or Disney) and retailing discourse. In fact, some US American instructional cooking shows are not very far from being kitchen fantasies (e.g. *The Pioneer Woman* and *Giada Entertains*); and some celebrity chefs, not very far either from being the human version of a fantasy hero(ine) (e.g., Ree Drummond and Giada de Laurentiis). This may sound like an exaggeration on my part; however, as I explained in Chapter 1, some researchers have recognized that instructional cooking shows can be read as "food fictions" and "kitchen dreams" (Ashley et al., 2004, p. 184).

As for the other comparison, with retailing, instructional cooking shows discursive strategies are not far from those used by a sales person. Indeed, all chefs in the sample 'sell' something, either directly or indirectly, during their shows. For example, Jo Pratt explicitly endorses Tilda Basmati rice (4.25); Tyler Florence openly promotes his own baby food brand Sprout (4.26); Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall, his own books (4.27); Jamie Oliver, his own books, knives, YouTube channel (4.28), etcetera, etcetera.

(4.25) "so, let's serve this *delicious* **Tilda** basmati rice" [Jo Pratt]

(4.26) "Now, this one of the *really important* parts of **Sprout**, our baby food." [Tyler Florence]

(4.27) "I've gotten *fantastic* recipes from this *spanking* ***new*** **tome** [cookbook] [Hugh Fearnley-Whittingstall]

(4.28) "[**Jamie Oliver's Food Tube] It's** about finding new talent and also celebrating *great* food." [Jamie Oliver]

Even the chefs that do not openly 'promote' their products during their shows have websites where they do; that is, the selling liaison is always there. In sum, positive adjectives serve a rather practical purpose, which −needless to say− goes beyond helping to teach viewers how to cook, eat healthily, or prepare a foreign dish.

I would now like to analyze the adjective frequencies in each of the three main groups more closely, and explain how positivity is constructed in the corpus. The majority of the most recurrent adjectives from the Evaluative-Adjectives and the Special-forms groups are intrinsically positive adjectives: *nice, good, happy, great* (see Table 4.6), and *amazing* and *excited* (see Table 4.8), respectively. This is not so for the recurrent adjectives from the General-

Adjectives group (see Table 4.7); for example, *hot*, *little*, *light*, *quick*, *high*, *different* acquire positiveness based on their linguistic and semantic context, as well as the genre (see 4.29-4.34).

(4.29) "from the stove, straight into a serving bowl: *hot* and **delicious**[27] (p) [roast potatoes]." [Tyler Florence]

(4.30) "Oh, I just get so excited about *little* things like that!" [Anna Olson]

(4.31) "Try to get it [chimichurri] **nice** (p) and fresh and *light*." [Chuck Hughes]

(4.32) "This [mince masala] is a really *quick* and **healthy** (p) recipe." [Jo Pratt]

(4.33) "I've made a spinach soufflé, all puffed up and *high* and **cloudy** (pc)." [Laura Calder]

(4.34) "…but it's how [ground cloves] they're used in a particular way that makes them taste <u>*so*</u> *different*, and that is **the essence of what cooking is** (pc)." [Nigella Lawson]

Of course, I do not want to imply that every time that those adjectives were used, they connoted a positive meaning. In fact, there were many instances where they appeared with a neutral meaning (see 4.35-4.36), and even, a few times, with a negative connotation (4.37). In other words, (positive, neutral, negative, etc.) meaning is constructed within a specific (word < discourse < genre < sociocultural) context. As Partington (1993) explains, "[i]ndividual words in language production […] tend to be delexicalised […] they convey meaning only as part of the environment in which they are used: they are not meaningful as separate units" (p. 186). I interpret this 'environment' as a sociolinguistic environment and not only as the context at the sentence level.

(4.35) "and just bake them [artichokes] in a <u>*very*</u> *hot* oven." [Emeril Lagasse]

(4.36) "Not better or worse, just *different*… [muffins]" [Michael Smith]

(4.37) "**Be very careful** (nc) when you're working with *hot* oil." [Emeril Lagasse]

[27] Positive words or words with a positive connotation are marked in bold.

Table 4.6. Most and least frequent evaluative adjectives (group I) of the Cooking Shows Corpus

Semantic subgroup		Adjective	Frequency
TASTE	m	*nice*	204
	l	*horrible, lousy, succulent*	1
VALUE	m	*good*	179
	l	*wrong, right, shameful, vulgar, decent, immodest, gutsy*	1
HUMAN P.	m	*happy*	10
	l	*nervous, shy, passionate, brave, lazy, sensitive*	1
HEDONIST V.	m	*decadent*	30
	l	*irresistible, flamboyant, extravagant, lush*	1
Other Ev. Adj.	m	*great*	136
	l	*economical, posh, pure, girly*	1

m = most frequent adjective in the semantic subgroup
l = sample adjectives that appeared only once in the semantic subgroup

One clear example of how adjectives that do not have an intrinsic positive or negative value acquire one or the other in a specific context is the pair *quick/slow*. *Quick* represented 77 % of all SPEED adjectives of the corpus, while *slow*, only 7 %, which can be interpreted as a preference of 'quick' speed (in cooking) over 'slow' speed. *Quick* was also the preferred variant over *fast* and the other 'quick' variants that appeared in the corpus. All 'quick' variants together represented 93 % of SPEED adjectives. Indeed, most chefs (except for Michael Smith and Tyler Florence) did not utter *slow* even once. Such SPEED choice can be well understood in the broader socio-cultural context where the cooking shows are produced; that is, Anglo-Saxon (mainly urban) contemporary societies, which promote a 'quick' (= "more productive," "better,"

"desirable") pace of doing things (= 'living'). 'Quick' in this (syntactic < semantic < discursive < socio-cultural) context become a positive adjective and a value.

Table 4.7. Most and least frequent general-qualities adjectives (group II) of the Cooking Shows Corpus

Semantic subgroup		Adjective	Frequency
PHYSICAL P.	m	*hot*	62
	l	*jigly, textural, edible*	1
DIMENSION	m	*little*	149
	l	*petite*	1
COLOR	m	*light*	49
	l	*bronze, black, gray, opaque*	1
SPEED	m	*quick*	44
	l	*whirlind, speedy*	1
POSITION	m	*high*	10
	l	N/A	N/A
Other Gen. Adj.	m	*different*	25
	l	*similar, portable, English*	1

m = most frequent adjective in the semantic subgroup
l = sample adjectives that appeared only once in the semantic

The 'quick' predilection is epitomized by Ree Drummond (a homebody) and Chuck Hughes (a gastro-sexual), who were the most frequently users of the 'quick' variants. Ree Drummond's 'quick' adjectives[28] represented 19 % of all SPEED adjectives, and Chuck Hughes's, 31 %. Each makes use of them to construct their particular (culinary) space, subgenre and persona subtype. The culinary space and subgenre that they depict is 'fast-paced' and 'busy,'

[28] I use the terms *'quick' adjectives* and *'slow' adjectives* as blanket terms to refer to all variants of adjective *quick* and *slow*, respectively.

although in a different way. Ree Drummond (linguistically) constructs her 'busy' and 'fast-paced' space by transposing the ideals of the *American Frontier*: she calls herself *the pioneer woman*; her property, a *frontier* (rather than a ranch); and her husband and sons: *cowboys* (rather than ranchers). See, for example, how she opens *The Pioneer Woman* TV episodes: "I'm Ree Drummond, I live **in the middle of nowhere**, and all my recipes have to be approved by **cowboys**, hungry kids, and me. Here's what's happening on the ranch [description of the recipes]. Welcome to my **frontier**" (Ree Drummond, 2015-2016). Within this frame, 'quick' cooking becomes a value/something positive, even a 'necessity' (see 4.38-4.41).

Ree Drummond:

(4.38) "It's *quick* cooking for **cowboys**." [Ree Drummond]

(4.39) "It's all about **hungry cowboys** and three *super fast* **16-minute meals**."

(4.40) "A **frontier** *quick* fix −**cowboy** chopped salad."

(4.41) "A *fast* and yummy supper made, start to finish in **16-minutes flat**…"

Chuck Hughes, on his part, constructs a different culinary 'fast paced' space (kitchen < restaurant < Montréal) with 'masculine' language undertones (see 4.42-4.43), complemented by other visual and musical cues marking a 'tough' and 'young' masculinity: rough camerawork, tattooed arms, dark clothes, running shoes, alternative music in the background (e.g., alternative rock, ska, Indie rock, dance punk).

Chuck Hughes. "Block party." *Chuck's Day Off*:

(4.42) "Today it's gonna be *crazy*, but **I'm taking it to the street**."

(4.43) "Today's definitely not a **one-man show**."

Ironically, although the show is about Chuck's day off, which one would imagine slower paced and relaxed, his is portrayed as 'rushed,' and his SPEED adjectives are, therefore, used to

depict ‘quick’ cooking actions that appear like formulas, introduced by the imperative “give it” (see 4.44-4.45).

Chuck Hughes:

(4.44) “Give it [coconut] a *quick* buzz.”

(4.45) “We wanna give it [fish] a *quick* rinse.”

(4.46) “Just give it [fish] a *quick* taste.”

(4.47) “Give it [lemon preserve] a *quick* try.”

But while ‘quick’ adjectives help Ree Drummond in the construction of the industrious country ideal, or Chuck Hughes in the portrayal of a ‘masculine’ way of cooking and being in the kitchen, ‘slow’ adjectives, although only a handful, serve Michael Smith (a chef artisan) in the construction of a regional identity (Prince Edward Island) in terms of a *locus amoenus*, which is certainly built upon the stereotype ‘country side vs. the city,’ and more specifically: Atlantic Canada vs. Mainland Canada and even vs. the USA (see 4.48-4.50). Needless to say, in his culinary space, *slow* is a ‘positive’ adjective and a value (see 4.51-4.52).

Michael Smith:

(4.48) “In **PEI** you’re never more than a few minutes away from **the best oysters**.”

(4.49) “This is the grain that made **Canada great**.”

(4.50) “And **in just twelve short hours**, your patience will be rewarded.”

(4.51) “More than enough time for *slow* **patient** (pc) flavor building.”

(4.52) “**All the best** (p) ways are *slow*, because ribs are tough.”

Table 4.8. Most and least frequent adjectives of special-forms group (group III) of the Cooking Shows Corpus

Semantic subgroup		Adjective	Frequency
Active participle (*–ing*)	m	*amazing*	42
	l	*disgusting*	1
Passive participle (*-ed*)	m	*excited*	12
	l	*embarrassed, impressed,*	1
Compound adjectives	m	*golden-brown*	10
	l	*finger-licking, dark-green, lipstick-red*	1
Temporary state		N/A	N/A

m = most frequent adjective in the semantic subgroup
l = sample adjectives that appeared only once in the semantic

The portrayal of a 'quick' cooking style is complemented by evaluative adjectives *simple* (88 [instances in the corpus]) and *easy* (71), vs. a *slow* (4) and *difficult* (2), which together reconfigure a constellation of meaning(s) (see 4.53-4.54).

(4.53) "…with *fast* smashed red potatoes and *simple* sliced tomatoes." [Ree Drummond]

(4.54) "And I'm going to make a *really quick* and *simple* vegetable and noodle **stir-fry**." [Jo Pratt]

(4.55) "And this is a *great, easy* cake that comes together **in a snap**." [Anna Olson]

(4.56) "It's a *quick* and *easy* cocktail that my friends and I can make together." [Giada de Laurenttiis]

(4.57) "[Cheesy sausage rigatoni] It's hard to beat this dish for a *quick* and *easy* **make-ahead meal**." [Ree Drummond]

To close this section, I will only emphasize that even though the positivity of the genre is nothing linguistically and even cognitively unusual, it is still relevant to deconstruct the meanings behind the unmarked positivity of words, and even seek it in other words which are not inherently positive, but become positive in a specific (sociolinguistic and cultural) context, for positive (and negative) biases 'always' serve a purpose.

4.4 *-ly* intensifiers and their connection with masculininity

In Sections 1.5 and 1.6, I explained how *-ly* intensifiers, evaluative adjectives (VALUE and HUMAN P.) and "uncommon" adjectives served to mark masculinity and *a (more) privileged class* in Macaulay's study (2002, 2005). In the present corpus, *-ly* intensifiers indeed contributed (linguistically) to the distinction of speakers as masculine culinary personas (see Table 4.9). One should now pause to ponder whether those masculine personas are also using *-ly* intensifiers to show that they belong to a more privileged class than the female chefs. As observed in the analysis of Johnston, Rodney and Chong (2014), male chefs, especially white male chefs, do have more privileges than other clusters of people (e.g., women, non-white men, etc.). For example, they have access to a greater number of culinary roles than female chefs, they enjoy greater mobility between the home and the professional kitchen than women, as well as greater class mobility and gender fluidity (e.g. gastro-sexuals). Thus, to me *-ly* intensifiers do contribute (linguistically) to legitimize a masculine (culinary) hegemony.

Table 4.9 Distribution of *-ly* by gender

Total N = 63		
Gender	**N**	**%**
F	18	28.6
M	45	71.4

This interpretation is further supported by the fact that *absolutely*, the variant that constituted 50 % of *-ly* intensifiers, often collocated with adjectives that already bore superlative meaning:

(4.58) "It's an *absolutely essential* life skill." [Michael Smith]

(4.59) "Now, this shrimp is *absolutely fantastic* because of the sauce." [Emeril Lagasse]

Although such collocations may be due to the incomplete delexicalization of *absolutely*, the greater tendency among male chefs toward such superlatives could be interpreted as related to the greater sense of confidence, entitlement and authority to express their opinions that privilege (white) masculine classes have, as shown in Kroch's study (1995).

4.5 The connection of TASTE adjectives with pragmatism and colloquialism and the indirect indexicality of HEDONIST V. adjectives to sensual femininity

Two statistically significant adjective subtypes, also essential in the creation of positive meaning, were TASTE and HEDONIST VALUE adjectives. As explained in Section 3.6, chef-artisans disfavored both HEDONIST V. and TASTE adjectives, especially the former (see Table 3.12). For example, Emeril Lagasse did not use any of the HEDONIST V. adjectives, and Michael Smith uttered only two. Why would it be less imperative for this culinary persona type to describe food in terms of beauty and especially of hedonism?

This seems logical in the case of Michael Smith, who portrays a rural and sustainable cooking style < lifestyle. But why did Emeril Lagasse avoid completely using words like *decadent, indulgent, extravagant, luxurious, glamorous, lush, etc.* to describe his cooking? The reason becomes clearer when one contrasts the usage of HEDONIST V. adjectives, stratified by

gender. As it can be observed in Table 4.10, it appears that HEDONIST V. adjectives are indirectly indexing 'femininity,' especially of a stereotypically 'sexy' femininity, for it is the pin-up group (over the homebody group) that favors HEDONIST V. adjectives the most (see Table 3.12).

Table 4.10. Distribution of HEDONIST V. adjectives by gender

Total N = 51		
Gender	**N**	**%**
F	44	86.3
M	7	13.7

Such linguistic behavior is further supported by the fact that it is also the pin-ups who used the least number of *-ly* intensifiers (a marker of masculine privileged groups) (see Table 3.9), but they are the group that favors general adjectives the most (see Table 3.12). These linguistic strategies resonate with Johnston, Rodney and Chong's description of the pin-up persona: "The pin-up persona embeds food and cooking in a lifestyle of leisure, entertainment, and sensual pleasures…" (2014, p. 11). This can be clearly observed in Giada de Laurentiis's introduction to the episode "A night of decadence," from her cooking show *Giada Entertains* (4.58-4.60):

Giada de Laurentiis. "A night of decadence." *Giada Entertains*:

(4.58) "I'm throwing caution to the wind with a ***glamorous*** party."

(4.59) "...and making a menu of ***indulgent*** small bites."

(4.60) "... and put on a <u>*really*</u> ***pretty*** **dress** and some **heels** and decorate so it's ***romantic*** and ***fun*** and ***decadent***."

At the other extreme of the gender spectrum, one finds the chef-artisans: the group that uses attenuators (see Table 3.10) and *-ly* intensifiers the most (see Table 3.9), and TASTE and

HEDONIST V. adjectives the least (see Table 3.12). As shown in the previous sections, chef-artisans used attenuators to mark their culinary capital (see Section 4.2), *-ly* intensifiers to mark their membership in a *more privileged class* that is masculine (Section 4.4). They disfavored HEDONIST V. adjectives, as these are markers of a 'sexy' femininenes. One should now pause to consider why chef-artisans also disfavored TASTE adjectives. Recalling Johnston, Rodney and Chong's definition, the chef-artisan "denotes a model of manhood built on pride in craftmanship […]" (ibid., p. 13). For the authors, this persona type is also inclined to treat cooking as an 'artistic' endeavor and to emphasize his technical abilities and expertise. Why is it then that chef artisans must strongly disfavor adjectives related to gustatory and aesthetic taste? I think one plausible reason is that, although for this culinary persona cooking is an 'art,' its portrayal as such is not necessarily achieved by employing a lot of TASTE adjectives, but by other evaluative adjectives and culinary terms and information, as shown by Emeril Lagasse in his presentation/introduction to the "Classic Peach Melba" recipe (see 4.61-4.63).

Emeril Lagasse. "Classic Peach Melba." *Emeril Favorite Desserts*.

(4.61) "It was created by one of our classic mentors, **chef Escoffier**."

(4.62) "And it was created for Nellie Melbourne, a famous singer, in 1893."

(4.63) "The dish is typically prepared by poaching the peaches in a **simple syrup**."

Who are then the culinary persona types that do favor TASTE adjectives and with what purpose do they do so? As seen in Table 3.13, gastro-sexuals and homebodies equally favored the use of TASTE adjectives and they were also the two culinary personas that were most inclined to using *really* (see Table 3.8), which was the intensifier that favored TASTE adjectives the most. In other words, there is a correlation in the increased use of *really* and TASTE adjectives by these two culinary personas. *Really*, as Labov observed, is "one of the most

frequent markers of intensity in **colloquial**[29] conversation" (in Tagliamonte, 2008, p. 367) and it has been found to have a direct connection with 'emotional adjectives' among certain population segments (Tagliamonte, 2008, p. 383). Taking into account that TASTE adjectives, without doubt, carry an emotive value and that the most commonly used TASTE adjectives in the corpus (i.e., *nice, delicious, beautiful, lovely*) can be considered 'colloquial/common' rather than 'uncommon' adjectives (e.g. *pulchritudinous, beauteous, ambrosial, delectable*), it would be worth exploring if there is a relation between the use of *really,* TASTE adjectives and the pragmatism and colloquialism portrayed by gastro-sexuals and homebodies (see 4.64-4.69).

Gastro-sexuals:

(4.64) "…and *really tasty* root vegetables." [Michael Smith]

(4.65) "And that sweetness from the butter is *really beautiful*." [Jamie Oliver]

(4.66) "Hi, I'm Tyler Florence with a *really delicious* dish." [Tyler Florence]

Homebodies:

(4.67) "It's a *really nice* tiny flavor [fresh lemon zest]." [Jo Pratt]

(4.68) "I'm going to make an avocado salsa, which is *really tasty*." [Jo Pratt]

(4.69) "That [onion rolls] is *really delicious* too." [Ree Drummond]

As I explained in Chapter 1, gastro-sexuals tend to display traits of the feminine culinary personas, such as demonstrating their care for others through feeding them, and embracing the domestic kitchen; for example, Chuck Hughes uses his day off to cook for others. Thus, it is unsurprising that gastro-sexuals use linguistic behaviors similar to those of the homebodies.

[29] Emphasis added.

5 CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary

As Chapter 3 showed, the three most frequently used intensifiers in the corpus were *really, very* and *so,* similar to the results of other intensifier studies (Ito & Tagliamonte, 2003; Tagliamonte, 2008; Tagliamonte & Roberts, 2005). However, different from the variants that typically appear in fourth place (e.g. *pretty* and *absolutely*), it was the *nice and* construction that took that place in my corpus. The behaviors of this variant seemed to have been purely motivated by linguistic factors, and more noticeably, by its status as a non-fully delexicalized form. As such, it showed a preference for PHYSICAL and positive adjectives, which is expected considering that this variant still maintains to a greater or lesser extent, its (positive) lexical value (i.e., 'nice,' 'lovely,' and 'good').

Due to the lack of variationist studies that include attenuators in their corpora, I am unable to affirm almost anything with regard to the patterns that I observed in the Cooking Shows Corpus. For example, I am unable to assert at this moment if their distribution across the spectrum of degree adverbs in this corpus is something that can be attributed to the tendency in the food genre to use subtle gradations (see examples 4.11-4.16 in Section 4.2) or not. Nevertheless, attenuators appeared to have had very specific functions in the corpus: they were used to provide nuanced descriptions of food (e.g. consistency, color, flavor), to justify semi-authenticity (see examples 4.17-4.19 in Section 4.2), to diminish a negative meaning or connotation (see examples 4.20-4.21 in Section 4.2), and to show culinary control. It would be worth comparing their behaviors in other genres to observe if such patterns are indeed specific to the Cooking Shows genre or not.

Previous studies have used Dixon's semantic classification of gradable adjectives, but, as I have shown in this paper, this classification can be modified and adapted to study specific language genres. For example, dividing the original single VALUE adjective group into more subtle subgroups (i.e., VALUE, HEDONIST V., TASTE) was useful to identify sociolinguistic patterns. Without the HEDONIST V. subcategory, I would not have been able to recognize the sensual feminine stereotype in pin-ups, and without the TASTE subcategory, I would not have perceived the adequation (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 599) performed by gastro-sexuals to assimilate their behaviors, including linguistic ones, to those of the homebodies.

Classifying chefs following Johnston, Rodney and Chong's culinary personas (2014) was valuable, as it allowed me to find other linguistic patterns than the traditional division of male-versus-female permitted. Nevertheless, the latter was enough to indicate two dichotomic gender distinctions: First, it sufficed to reveal that *-ly* intensifiers were more frequent among male chefs (see Table 4.9) and served to indicate membership in a masculine privileged group. Second, it also sufficed to reflect that HEDONIST V. adjectives were more frequent among female chefs (see Table 4.10), and to demonstrate how this type of adjectives served to signal a stereotypically sensual femininity.

Chefs performed their (genre, culinary and lifestyle) identities through their more or less frequent usage of certain degree adverbs and adjectives. The chef-artisans and the pin-ups were the two culinary personas that showed the clearest and most stereotypical masculine and feminine traits, respectively. Chef artisans seemed to have depicted their masculine culinary supremacy with the highest rates of *-ly* intensifiers and their culinary control (also supremacy) with the highest rates of attenuators. They also seemed to have indicated their culinary professionalism with the lowest rates of *really* (a marker of colloquialism), and their type of

masculinity with the lowest rates of HEDONIST V. adjectives (markers of 'sexy' femininity) as well as of TASTE adjectives (markers of 'emotion'). Pin-ups appeared to have expressed their feminine sophistication and sensuality through the most pronounced use of *very* (a less colloquial intensifier), General-Quality adjectives (sensory/physical adjectives), and HEDONIST V. adjectives (=sensual femininity), as well as with the least frequent usage of *-ly* intensifiers.

Gastro-sexuals (a masculine persona with feminine traits) and homebodies shared linguistic behaviors that could be interpreted as portraying them as pragmatic, casual and approachable to their viewers; for example, they were the speakers most likely to use *really* and TASTE adjectives, and the least likely to use *very* and attenuators. Such patterns suggest to what extent it is important for gastro-sexuals to femininize their behaviors (including linguistic ones) in the construction of their persona. Furthermore, it shows the relevance of those behaviors to be similar (=adequation) to those of the homebodies instead of to those of the pin-ups, the sexiest version of the feminine culinary personas. Indeed, as explained in Section 4.5, even though gastro-sexuals are gender-transgressive in that they display qualities of the feminine cooking personas, such as caring for others (cooking for them) and embracing the domestic kitchen, it is still central to them to signal their 'masculinity.' Hence, they may adopt those feminine linguistic behaviors that are fundamentally 'pragmatic' instead of 'stereotypical.'

Finally, the environmentalist −a culinary persona that is not included in Johnston, Rodney and Chong's study (2014), and that is (unintentionally) underrepresented in the corpus, indicated his masculinity through the 'typical' usage of *-ly* intensifiers and less usage of HEDONIST V. adjectives, just as the other two masculine culinary personas. Nevertheless, because this culinary persona is not a 'stereotypical' masculine culinary persona, the rest of his linguistic behaviors were 'in-between' (see Tables 3.10 for example).

Classifying chefs into culinary personas was also useful in allowing me to trace patterns valid across the three dialects and beyond idiosyncratic usage; for instance, the higher rates of HEDONIST V. adjectives among pin-ups or of TASTE adjectives among homebodies. Even though I am more inclined to understanding linguistic items and patterns within a specific (field < subgenre < genre < sociocultural) context, it was interesting to find that there are some sociolinguistic behaviors that are valid across different Anglophone dialects.

Another aspect that was evident in the corpus was the skew towards 'positivity.' As mentioned in Chapters 3 and 4, this skew is not unusual and it is considered unmarked in language. Nevertheless, as I showed in Chapter 4, it seems to serve a purpose in the construction of cooking shows as 'kitchen dreams' < 'fantasies of transformations.' It is important in providing the viewer (=consumer) with the illusion that he/she is acquiring culinary knowledge (culinary capital < cultural capital) which could be transformed into social and even economic capital. Although needless to repeat, the effect produced is similar to that caused by the consumption of other forms of fantasies.

5.2 Limitations and expansion of research

There are several things that could be done differently to improve and expand this study. Most of them pertain the coding. First, coding the frequencies of particular adjectives in the corpus and comparing their frequencies with their frequencies in other corpora or genres would permit us to observe which adjectives are used more frequently to construct specific cooking show sub-genres and specific culinary persona types. It would also help to determine the likelihood of adjectives to appear with specific degree adverbs. Second, adjective heads could be classified within more encompassing umbrella terms that could group their various synonyms (e.g., *quick* as the

umbrella term for *quick, fast, speedy*). This would help erode dialectal differences when merging data from different dialects and would allow tracing symbolic constructs across dialects. For example, this proved to be useful in my analysis of *quick* as the preferred SPEED adjective variant to portray a 'quick' lifestyle. Third, as with adjectives, I would also code degree adverbs according to their frequency,

With respect to food, the codification of the food items/referents remains problematic. As I explained in Chapter 1, I used the *United Kingdom Food Tables* from the *Food Composition Data*, considering that it would be the most "objective" way to code for food items. However, as I mentioned in the previous chapter, coding for specific food items did not show significant correlations, which should not be interpreted −of course− as a sign that food does not have any effect on language. In fact, other studies have found correlations using different quantitative methods (e.g., Freedman & Jurafsky, 2011; Jurafsky et al., 2014; and Paradis and Eeg-Olofsson, 2013). The question is then, why were there no apparent correlations in the results of this study, which uses a variationist method? This leads me to consider three hypotheses. Hypothesis one: perhaps coding for individual food types is an unproductive method, which would mean that I have then to rethink how food should be coded in a way that could show correlations with degree modifiers and adjectives. Hypothesis two: perhaps coding for individual food types proved to be unproductive only because of the size of my data set, and perhaps with a larger or more varied corpus I would find correlations. Hypothesis three: coding for individual food types is irrelevant because what causes qualitative and quantitative effects on degree adverbs and adjectives is possibly the cooking shows genre as a whole rather than the specific food items or dishes themselves.

Even though I am unable to concretely test these three hypotheses here, I would like to mention a few considerations in relation to them. First, coding for food is complex, and even problematic, given that recipes involve multiple ingredients. The question becomes then what to code? Food types with the illusion of being "more objective," as I did in this paper? Meal courses? Not coding for food types at all? As I have said above, the first method was unfruitful for this project. The second did render correlation between modifiers and 'sweet' food in the pilot project that preceded the present study; however, I chose to walk away from coding food based on meal courses because I considered it problematic too given that not all cooking shows are structured in the same way, nor do chefs necessarily tag their recipes with a specific meal course label (e.g., appetizer, entrée). Thus, the labelling completely depends upon the interpretation of the analyst, which is something that can be disputable since, for example, what for some people may be considered a 'dessert,' for others may be considered a 'snack.' Is the solution then not to code for food types at all, or perhaps test a different food coding, or simply increase the data and continue using the codes that I used here? These are questions that I would consider in future food related sociolinguistic research. At the same time, I am aware that one should be cautious not to over-label and consequently over-interpret an object of study that is already over-charged with symbolic meaning.

Finally, the sample of speakers should be larger and more diverse to have a broader spectrum of culinary personas represented and to be able to make broader generalizations about the patterns found.

5.3 Future directions

While other fields in the social sciences (e.g., sociology, anthropology) have been prompt in studying food and cooking shows, the study of the genre is still fairly new in (socio)linguistics. Even though this may already be a sufficient motivation to continue exploring this genre, to me, the relevance of studying the genre from a sociolinguistic perspective, especially if it combines quantitative methods, resides in that it can help decode concrete (linguistic) evidence of such sociological abstractions as gender, cultural capital, hegemony etc. Similarly, the sociolinguistic perspective can help elucidate the mechanisms behind the production and reproduction of cultural personas, which can be valid across different regions that share the same language and a similar vision of the world − as observed in the results of the present study. It is also fundamental to extending the analysis to other languages/socio-cultures and including non-celebrity chefs (for example, independent cooks/chefs that have channels on YouTube), to see if their performances are also reproductions of the legitimized identities in their societies, or if they rather create alternative roles.

As shown in the results, modifiers are great tools to study how they help construct and are part of larger constellations of meaning(s); e.g., noun phrase < sentence < narrative frame < subgenre < genre < sociocultural context. For example, they serve as instruments in the (re)production of legitimized (gendered and cultural) identities. Furthermore, as observed in the results, studying minor/less-frequent forms, such as attenuators or the *nice and* construction, is equally important in the deconstruction and interpretation of the different levels of meaning upon which a recipe, subgenre, genre, cultural persona, etc. is founded.

Lastly, I would like to close this chapter and this work highlighting the importance of combining different quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis (e.g., corpus linguistics, computational linguistics, variationist analysis, discourse analysis, interviews, etc.) in order to render a more thorough interpretation of social constructs, speech genres, and linguistic (re)productions in general. Similarly, in my opinion, an interpretation is never complete without an interdisciplinary dialogue.

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