Jamie Oliver as a promoter of a lifestyle:

Recontextualisation of a culinary discourse and the transformation of cookbooks in Slovenia

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To my parents and to my grandparents

Mojim staršem in starim staršem

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the recontextualization and localization of global culinary discourse to Slovenia after its independence from Yugoslavia in 1991 and its transition into a free market economy. Slovenia and its emerging celebrity chefs, Luka and Valentina Novak, are an example of the 'local', whereas the global is represented by the British celebrity chef Jamie Oliver. The study is based on culinary texts from Oliver and the Novaks' cookbooks. However, 'standard' Slovene cookbook texts are also analysed with the aim of showing the difference between the previous educational role of cookbooks and the contemporary, increasingly *edutaining* role of the new 'celebrity' cookbooks.

This study is situated within critical discourse analysis and it generally draws on the methodological framework of the discourse-historical approach ('DHA') (Reisigl and Wodak 2001), but also combines this with theoretical insights from the dialectic-relational approach (Fairclough 2010, 1992, 2001 [1989]). Its underlying theoretical focus has been recontextualization, which is one of the salient concepts within 'CDA' (*e.g.* Wodak and Fairclough 2010; Chouliaraki 1998). The model of recontextualization that I presented in this thesis (based on the definition of discourse in 'DHA') enables me to show how global culinary discourse has been recontextualised from Britain to Slovenia, via, firstly, a translation of Jamie Oliver's cookbooks, and secondly, via the production of an original local discourse.

The main claim of this thesis is that under the influence of global culinary discourse, local representations related to food and taste change, and so do cookbooks as genres. While recontextualization as translation results in appropriation of the text to the local circumstances in terms of genre conventions, branding opportunities, country-related representations (*e.g.* Italy) and the reconfirmation of the national identity, the second phase of recontextualisation reveals the characteristics of the locally produced discourse based on global characteristics. Compared to the 'standard' Slovene cookbooks, its 'celebrity' variant aims to reconstructs the national culinary identity *via* legitimation of the tastes of the new middle classes. Influenced by the global model, the Novaks' tend to represent food and foodstuffs relying on characteristics found in advertising while social actors are often synthetically personified (Fairclough 1989). Likewise, various perspectives construct a seemingly democratisized discourse and disperse the top-down authority as found in 'standard' cookbooks.

Key-words: recontextualization, culinary discourse, globalization, lifestyle, Jamie Oliver, Slovenia, cookbooks

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work, and has not been submitted in substantially the same form for the award of a higher degree elsewhere.

Lancaster, 31st March 2012   Ana Tominc

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INTRODUCTION TO THESIS

When Jamie Oliver first appeared on Slovene national television in the early 2000s, he soon became very popular, especially among women, as he represented a young, successful and likeable man with an ability to cook. While my mother adored him, my father found him to be profoundly annoying. For younger men, Oliver perhaps represented a model which encouraged them to cook themselves. But for my father he represented a new and not entirely understandable way of living which was then rapidly emerging from the West via the media. He mixed food with his hands, used a lot of herbs in his dishes and talked more than necessary. He was not in any respect like the chefs that used to appear on the TV until then. Every weekend, as all the family watched his shows, my father complained about Oliver spoiling the dish by adding ginger just everywhere while my mother, on the other hand, enthusiastically observed a wonderful new combination of pineapple and mint which she could prepare the next day.

Around Christmas 2003 I was an undergraduate student in social anthropology. I came across the first translation of one of Oliver's cookbooks into Slovene. It struck me as profoundly unusual and, most of all – very different from what I was used to seeing in cookbooks. As a concept, it was new in many ways: it contained many interesting photographs of Oliver and other people, the names of the dishes were original and sometimes funny, and many dishes were unknown to me. There were a lot of things I did not entirely understand – for example – why would a sandwich need a recipe in a cookbook? Or, what is a korma? As for the texts, these were full of the "co-occurrence

of contradictory or inconsistent elements – mixtures of formal and informal styles, technical and non-technical vocabularies, markers of authority and familiarity, more typically written and more typically spoken syntactic forms, and so forth" (Fairclough 1992: 97) that I was not used to from other cookbooks.

My initial interest in this thesis was to study the 'recontextualization' of Oliver's English cookbooks into Slovene, and in particular how the brand *Jamie* is transferred into a context other than the original. 'Recontextualization' here is understood in terms of "entities that are relocated to new contexts" (Fairclough 2006: 34). However, the year after I began work on this thesis (2009), Oliver's translator, Luka Novak and his wife, Valentina, launched a family-oriented lifestyle TV show in which they were to '*edutain*' (from educate and entertain) Slovenes while cooking. In 2010 and 2011, two cookbooks which were based on these shows followed as 'satellites' (Strange 1998) to the TV shows.[1] These were some of the first 'celebrity' cookbooks written and produced in Slovenia and modelled on the global lifestyle edutainment cooking as represented by Oliver. From the initial idea, the thesis therefore expanded to include the recontextualization of not only the brand *Jamie,* but also the implementation of the global edutainment discourse about food and lifestyle into the local setting of Slovenia.

RECONTEXTUALIZATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Within 'CDA', where this study is situated, examples of such recontextualization are not entirely unknown. Fairclough (2006b) recently provided a study of the recontextualization of 'Western' managerial practices into post-communist Romania.

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[1] The third cookbook is in preparation as work on this thesis enters its final stages.

According to his study, such a change includes a number of transformations in discourse about administration and the economy as the old communist discourses are swept away and new ones emerge. He stresses the adaptation of the global discourse and practices to the local context, a phenomenon which has become known as 'glocalization' in much of the academic literature, including 'CDA' (for example Wodak 2010). One such example includes the representation of women in Romania, where they are represented as not only successful (the global feature), but also as 'strong' - a feature that relates to the representation of women in Romania's past.

In many ways, this thesis proposes a similar frame of analysis; as a post-communist (transition, post-1991) country, Slovenia has been undergoing many significant changes with great intensity as it opened to a market economy and further embraced consumerism. This 'joining the club' (Kramberger 2003) meant not only a number of political, economic and cultural transformations towards a neoliberal model of the economy and further globalisation (I discuss these changes in Chapter 3), but also a number of accompanying changes in discourse. It should therefore not be a surprise that upon his appearance, Oliver became a very influential representative of the new global lifestyle. In the Slovene language, his name – Jamie – became a means of denoting a good chef. In an interview in the teen female magazine *Smrklja*[2], for example, the interviewee first uses Oliver's name as a metaphor for good cooking skills: "I do not spend much time in the kitchen and I am not jamie oliver."[3] A similar use can be found in one of the forums for expectant and young mothers, where the

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[2] *Smrklja* is a stylistically marked noun referring to a young girl. It can sometimes be used pejoratively as it is derived from the noun *smrkelj* meaning mucus.

[3] "V kuhinji ne preživim veliko časa in nisem Jamie Oliver" (Smrklja 2006).

user '*dazn*' gives a recipe for a pea soup for a child, adding: "I am not jamie oliver ☺ so do not expect anything special".[4]

dazn
Novorojenček
☆
☐
Neprijavljen

Prispevek:
143

Re: MAREC 2009
« **Odgovori #3383 dne:** November 27, 2008, 12:04:15 »

hm, najbl enostavn recept....skuhan grah popražiš na putrčku in čebuli....pol pa zaliješ, lohk voda, lohk juha....skuhaš in zmešaš s paličnim, dodaš kšno žlico kisle smetane in to je to...
nisem jamie oliver ☺tok da ne pričakovat nevemkaj....
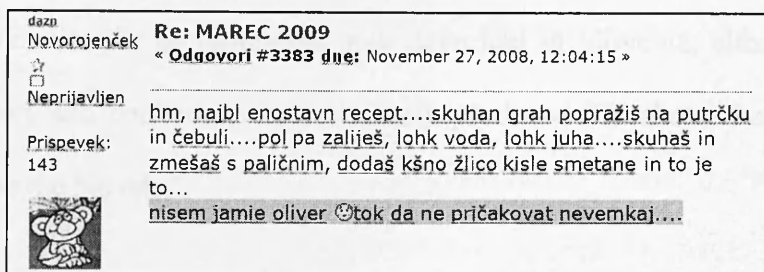
Later, *jamie* appears in a printed newspaper as a noun denoting a particular kind of a man with specific characteristics:

The sellers in the market have a similar problem with hair-splitting <u>jamies</u>, who no longer read their wife's list of ingredients written on a piece of paper, but would like to – with the active participation of their favourite veg seller – improvisingly collect the best of her offer with the recipe from their new Asian cookbook (Vojnović 2009).[5]

Here, *jamie* refers to a young man with the specific characteristics of a new lifestyle, as can be seen in the above extract: someone who is active, independent, and has an interest in global cuisine made with local ingredients.

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[4] "nisem jamie oliver ☺ tok da ne pričakovat nevemkaj..."
(»http://www.mama.si/forum/index.php?topic=39435.msg1342985 (accessed 10/12/2009)). Upper cases in Jamie Oliver are avoided in order to reflect the writing convention in this posting.
[5] "Sorodne težave imajo branjevke na trgu s pikolovskimi <u>jamieji</u>, ki ne berejo več z ženinega seznama na listku, temveč bi radi ob aktivnem sodelovanju svoje najljubše prodajalke zelenjave improvizirano povezali najboljše iz njene ponudbe z receptom iz svoje nove azijske kuharice" (Vojnović 2009).

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SOCIAL AND DISCOURSE CHANGE

Even if the above examples are by no means definitive evidence of the incorporation of a new linguistic item in the language's vocabulary, they may suggest the impact Oliver and the lifestyle he represents may have had in Slovenia, either through his own TV shows and cookbooks or via locally produced TV shows based on global brands such as the Novaks'.

In this context, the insight provided by Fairclough's (1992) analysis of discourse changes in 1980s' Britain helps classify the changes observed in the case of recontextualization of a lifestyle to Slovenia. Fairclough states that three major discursive processes were observed when Thatcherite neoliberal policy started to be implemented in Britain in the 1980s. He uses the term 'democratisation', meaning "removal of inequalities and asymmetries in the discursive and linguistic rights, obligations and prestige of groups of people", and provides examples of five major areas of such changes: language vs. social dialects; "access to prestigious discourse types"; informality of language; gender issues; and the elimination of overt power markers in institutional discourse. One of the salient changes in this context is the introduction of 'synthetic personalisation' (Fairclough 2001 [1989]), which refers to the "simulation of private, face-to-face, discourse in public mass-audience discourse (Fairclough 1992: 98). In Slovenia, these changes started to occur later, as the free market economy was established from 1991 onwards in all areas of life. In this thesis I will focus on the cultural changes in lifestyle discourses in Slovenia, in particular in cookbooks.

Second, following Fairclough, one can also observe the commodification of certain spheres of life, where market rules and regulations enter those areas of social life where the production of sellable goods in the economic sense has not been perceived as such before (*e.g.* universities). Finally, Fairclough analyses processes he refers to as "technologization". These are processes where discourse itself (rather than just human lives) is technologized. Discourse technologies can be seen as "transcontextual techniques, which are seen as resources or toolkits that can be used to pursue a wide range of strategies in many diverse contexts" (Fairclough 1992: 215). Examples include various workshops such as "social skills" training through which teachers, advertisers and others who are in positions of power influence those without such (and all other kinds of) "skills". A sign of social and discursive change is also interdiscursivity,[6] which according to Fairclough (1992: 104, 5) means that "texts contain heterogeneous elements which constitute other orders of discourse, such as style, register, genre conventions etc." My analysis will show that cookbooks interdiscursively link with advertising genres.

LIFESTYLE AND CULINARY MANUALS

As a topic, lifestyle rarely appears to be the focus of critical research, perhaps because it is a topic that seems to require no critical examination. However, research in the field of 'CDA' has been done in the area of lifestyle. Studies include van Leeuwen and Machin's study of *Cosmopolitan's* recontextualization into various contexts,

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[6] Interdiscursivity is a concept based on intertextuality (hence Fairclough's 'constitutive intertextuality'). Intertextuality is Bakhtin's concept that was first promoted in Europe *via* Julia Kristeva. Essentially, when a text is said to have traces of intertextuality, it means that elements of other texts have been used in this text either explicitly or implicitly. For Fairclough, 'manifest' intertextuality is when the text includes traces of other texts and draws on them, whereas 'constitutive intertextuality' is interdiscursivity.

which links well to the study presented in this thesis (Machin and Van Leeuwen 2005, 2003; also parts of Fairclough 2006; for other interesting topics see also van Leeuwen and Caldas Coulthard 2001; van Leeuwen and Caldas Coulthard 2003; Caldas Coulthard 2007; Wodak and Fairclough 2010; Torkington 2011). Lifestyle therefore becomes an important notion, in particular because it is often seen to be an everyday life topic where ideologies are the most common-sense and therefore the most powerful (Gardiner 2000).

Despite this, research into lifestyle discourse is often related to the genre of magazines, where scholars mostly analyse the representation of, for example, gender roles (for example Caldas Coulthard 1996). Food and culinary manuals, however, have not yet been taken into consideration, in particular not from the critical perspective. This is despite an increased interest in food studies in other disciplines of social sciences, in particular sociology, anthropology and history (Scholliers 2007; Hosking 2010).

When scholars in history and sociology analyse discourses related to taste, cookbooks often play an important role as everyday lifestyles can be extracted from them.[7] Mitchell (2001), Hunter (1991b), Beetham (2003), Newlyn (2003), and Segers (2005) all present cookbooks as data in historical research, while Floyd (2003), Cusack (2000), and Appadurai (1988) talk about cookbooks and their relationship to nationalism (this will be one of the issues discussed in Chapter 7). The relationship between recipes and ideology is analysed in a collection of articles by Naccarato and LeBesco (2008), and memory and cookery books is examined by Romines (1997).

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[7] Mennell (1985), however, claims that magazine articles provide better data for a study of representation of actual life, while cookbooks tend to represent reality in a somewhat distorted manner.

In this thesis, the critical interest in lifestyle discourse and culinary manuals comes from the idea that TV chefs, of which Oliver is a representative, are understood as promoters of postmodern, post-Fordist culture, with its values such as enjoyment, choice, and organic production of food. This is a culture based on niche rather than mass production and as such, connects 'lifestyle' with consumerism as the products increasingly function as symbols of identity. Taste therefore becomes one of the ways of representing one's everyday life in advanced capitalist cultures (Jagose 2003: 109 in Bell and Hollows 2006: 2). In Chapter 2, I discuss this further as I aim to theorise the context in which Oliver has been formed and which shaped the values that he promotes. His constant reference to local and organic produce, for example, can only be understood in the framework of the global free-market neoliberal economy as initially developed in the US.

Furthermore, the choice for cookbooks rather than magazines comes from the aim to analyse cookbooks as genres. In this thesis, I am interested in linguistic differences between what I refer to as 'standard' cookbooks and 'celebrity' cookbooks. I define 'standard' cookbooks as those cooking manuals whose primary purpose is to inform the readers about the cooking procedures and techniques. In contrast, 'celebrity' (or, as they are known in the literature, lifestyle) cookbooks are the type of cookbooks that emerged recently as an accompanying element to TV cooking shows and whose primary aim is not only to educate the readers about cooking, but also to entertain them. Despite visuals being an important part of 'celebrity' cookbooks, I will not be able to analyse them extensively in this thesis due to lack of space. However, in

Chapter 2, I provide a short comparison of the imagery in the 'standard' and the 'celebrity' cookbooks.

LOCALIZATION OF GLOBAL DISCOURSE INTO SLOVENIA – THE CASE OF THE FAMILY NOVAK

To my knowledge, there are no serious studies of food or taste in Slovenia, especially not from the perspective of discourse analysis (see for example Tivadar and Vezovnik 2010). Cookbooks have also been used as a historic source (Godina-Golija 2008, 2005, 2001) in order to highlight other aspects of everyday life. As the main focus of study, however, cookbooks have yet to be analysed as objects *per se*.

One of the main contributions of this study is not only the analysis of cookbooks as genres (as outlined above), but also a study of how global discourses tend to become localised into the particular context, in this case Slovenia. The general argument that I will be pursuing here follows from Machin and Van Leeuwen's (2003, 2005) study of a global magazine's many recontextualizations which demonstrated that lifestyle discourse is localised only in its appearance, while it retains global frames that make it recognisable as a particular discourse. Here, I will claim that when lifestyle discourse is introduced to Slovenia by the Novaks, its local variant remains global in frame (i.e. brings values, norms and general ideology similar to that found in Oliver) while it is localised to Slovene circumstances: the local variant represents the new Slovene middle classes in a specific location and at a specific historic time. In this sense, I claim that globalisation brings neither complete homogeneity nor heterogeneity of a particular cultural sphere; while cultural homogenisation can certainly be observed on

the level of the general frame this often remains hidden because of its local manifestation as specific and therefore different.

The family Novak is chosen as one of the early examples of this process of social change, as they are promoters of a particular lifestyle of the new rising middle classes. With the greater post-1990 social differentiation, new elites have been forming in Slovenia, and with them, new tastes and lifestyles. I will argue in this thesis that this new localised global discourse is tightly connected with the new practices and lifestyles of these new urban elites. According to Bourdieu (1984), who proposed a connection between class and lifestyle (or, taste), workers in media and cultural production (such as Oliver and the Novaks) are 'interpreters' who disseminate knowledge about taste and status to particular target markets of lifestyle groups. The expansion of lifestyle media is therefore not about the rise of lifestyle as a move beyond class (these chefs often like to be seen as "classless"), but rather an emphasis on lifestyle as an attempt to gain authority by the new middle-classes whose "cultural capital affords them considerable 'riches' in the area of life" (Bourdieu 1984: 8). In this way, Bourdieu claims, certain groups manage to make themselves look 'out of the ordinary'. In this sense then, this thesis also brings an insight into the tastes and practices of this group of people.[8]

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In this thesis, I depart from the idea that in post-1991 Slovenia, Oliver's discourse about food and lifestyle represents a novelty. In the years that followed his TV

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[8] Standard' cookbooks of course continue to co-exist with their 'celebrity' cousins. Here, they serve the analysis in terms of comparison.

appearance, the global discourse of *food as entertainment* was localised; firstly, via translations of Oliver's cookbooks to Slovene, and secondly, by the emergence of an original discourse, modelled on the global lifestyle but produced by Slovene 'celebrity chefs', and hence containing a number of local characteristics. Following Machin and Van Leeuwen (2003), it is possible to claim that in this recontextualization, the frame remains global, while the appearance of the discourse is realised as specific (local). The localised global discourse as it emerges through these celebrity chefs is seen as a representation of lifestyle of the 'new' emerging middle class in Slovenia.

The first research question addresses the first part of the recontextualization process, i.e. translation. When Oliver's texts first appeared in Slovenia, they were translated by Luka Novak. In the first chapter following theoretical considerations, i.e. Chapter 5, I therefore present the results of the analysis of the translations from English to Slovene. This chapter aims to answer the question *'How are Oliver's cookbooks adapted through translation for the Slovene target readership?'* and in particular *in terms of addition, deletion, substitution and redistribution.*

The second part of the analysis (Chapters 6-9) discusses the second part of the recontextualization process as suggested in Chapter 1. The overall problem lies in the question *'How is the global 'edutainment' lifestyle discourse recontextualised to Slovenia, mostly in terms of changes in the genre of cookbook?'* and this is further divided into sub-questions:

1. *Which topics can be found in the selection of texts from 'standard' Slovene cookbooks, Oliver's and the Novak's 'celebrity' cookbooks?* This question is

answered in Chapter 6 where I analyse and compare the topics from all three examples of cookbooks.

2. *How are strategies – nomination, predication, perspectivation, mitigation/intensification – employed in the selection of texts from 'standard' Slovene cookbooks, Oliver's and the Novak's 'celebrity' cookbooks?* This question is answered in Chapters 7 ('standard' Slovene cookbooks), 8 (Oliver's 'celebrity' cookbooks) and 9 (the Novaks' 'celebrity' cookbooks).

OUTLINE OF THESIS

The thesis consists of ten chapters. The first chapter outlines the methodological and epistemological issues related to critical analysis of discourse, in particular the recontextualization model that is proposed as a theoretical model in this study. The model takes into consideration two phases of discourse recontextualization; first, the translation of the foreign text into Slovene, and second, the independent production of a local discourse based on the global schema. This is followed by two theoretical chapters related to the case study. The second chapter discusses the context of the global discourse and its emergence in the West, but it also provides a theoretical background for lifestyle manuals, in particular cookbooks. The third chapter, on the other hand, focuses on Slovenia and the social, political and economic changes after 1991, in particular in the media. It also presents a short history of the genre of cookbooks in Slovenia.

The remaining chapters are dedicated to analysis. They are presented after a short chapter on methods, where I present the data and criteria for their selection. Chapter 5

discusses the first phase of recontextualization, as it points towards significant changes that the original English texts underwent as they were translated into the Slovene language. Chapter 6 is dedicated to topics, but at the same time provides an overview of the general themes found in the three corpora used. The following three chapters (7, 8, 9) each represent one particular period: Chapter 7 discusses cookbooks and their characteristics before 1990, Chapter 8 presents an analysis of an example of global discourse as represented by Oliver's translated texts, and Chapter 9 shows how global discourse is recontextualised locally in Slovenia. In the conclusion (Chapter 10), I summarise the main findings and discuss the limitations of the study.

1 CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Critical discourse analysis – or 'CDA' – is an umbrella term for a number of approaches to discourse analysis which have been developed in the discipline of linguistics in various European contexts from the late 1980s on. They differ from other linguistic approaches because, among other things, they combine different theories and methodologies beyond linguistics *per se*, such as sociology, history and politics. They share a common critical stance towards their data and the social world as well as towards their own analytical practices. This places them among critical social sciences.

This chapter is intended on one hand to provide an introduction to the approach that will be serving as a framework to the study in this thesis, and, on the other, to suggest a framework that shall be applied to it. In this thesis I will mainly draw on Fairclough's theoretical framework (*e.g.* definitions of critique, power, ideology), which will be combined with several concepts of the discourse-historical approach (discourse, genre, etc.). A more general introduction to 'CDA' is necessary in order to review the ontological and epistemological foundations of the approach, that is, to understand what we mean when we refer to 'CDA'. This is also a part of 'CDA''s own programme, to constantly critically assess and reflect on its own theoretical bases (Reisigl and Wodak 2001).

I start with a brief overview of the emergence of this school or movement of critical discourse analysis from the early 1990s on (section 1.2) and show how this 'school', as I shall refer to it, has later become a marketing brand, as Billig (2003) has rightly pointed out (section 1.2.3). Despite this, its beginnings have been varied, as illustrated by two contexts from which two branches of 'CDA' – the British and the Viennese – have developed (section 1.2.2). This is continued with a review of some of the constitutive notions of 'CDA' – power, ideology and critique (section 1.3.1). I conclude with defining the terminology that I will be using in this thesis – discourse and text, genre, and recontextualization (sections 1.4 and 1.5).

1.2 BACKGROUND TO CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF DISCOURSE

1.2.1 Emergence of the school

The emergence of the network of 'CDA' can be traced back to the early 1990s: in January 1991, Teun Van Dijk, Theo Van Leeuwen, Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, and Gunter Kress met in Amsterdam. The meeting was of 'historical importance' not because their theories would start to develop from then on, but because it is a point of reference from which 'CDA' as a network started its institutionalization and marketization. All of the researchers had been active in their own linguistic sub-disciplines and had already started to look towards a different way of integrating language and social practices as it had been known before in, for example, sociolinguistics (Wodak 1996, 1989). Fairclough and Kress, who worked in Britain, had already published work in which they tried to relate language to ideology and power. Similarly, Wodak's projects about Austrian post-war anti-Semitism, on which she was working from the mid 1980s and which meant the beginning of her so-called

'discourse-historical approach,' had already shown some fruitful results (Wodak *et al.* 1990). Van Dijk, who was the host in Amsterdam, had started a journal called *Discourse and Society* (1990) which would later become one of the most important journals of the network. His book *Prejudice and Discourse*, however, was published already in 1984.

A group of these scholars whose work seemed to be theoretically and programmatically very similar – against racism (Van Dijk), anti-Semitism (Wodak) and right-wing Thatcherism (Fairclough) to name just a few – but epistemologically quite diverse, have aimed to delineate themselves from other traditions and methodologies within discourse analysis, such as for example conversation analysis (Wodak and Meyer 2009: 3). They did this by creating an informal network which would allow its participants to discuss and develop their work in new directions. Van Dijk first launched the name 'critical discourse analysis' for this collective of theoretically and methodologically distinct approaches to language which have been previously referred to in various ways: Fairclough, for example, used Critical Language Studies ('CLS') and Text Oriented Discourse Analysis ('TODA') but soon adopted Van Dijk's suggestion ('CDA').

Already in 1995 Fairclough (1995: 20) noted that 'CDA' has now "passed through the first flush of youth, and is embarked upon the maturation process". A part of 'CDA''s first success also relates to the network within the newly established EU Erasmus programmes for the exchange of academics, which aimed to create a "jointly authored introduction to 'CDA'" (Fairclough 1995:20). In 2001, *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (Wodak and Meyer 2001) was published. Here, the school of 'CDA' is

explicitly theoretically and methodologically defined more extensively for the first time. However, it does not include papers from all of those who were first included in the Erasmus project: one can find Siegfried Jäger (Duisburg) and Ron Scollon's contribution (the latter was not part of the EU project) but not Per Linell (Linköping) or Paul Thibault (Italy) who had distanced themselves from 'CDA', as had Gunter Kress (Wodak and Meyer 2009: 33; Fairclough 1995: 20).

While the group's aim was to delineate themselves from other similar approaches which also devoted themselves to language in context, such as sociolinguistics, conversation analysis, linguistic anthropology and French discourse analysis, they still insisted that 'CDA' was not a coherent school, neither in terms of theories nor methodologies, much less in terms of topics of study. Despite this cacophony of different theoretical stances and combinations they share the following:

- 'CDA' is a linguistic discipline, so texts are its main data and the analysis is based on linguistic rather than sociological apparatus. Unlike many linguistic approaches to language in context, critical discourse analysts take into consideration a much broader context than, for example, conversation analysis which only considers the context which becomes manifest from the text itself. However, in analysis, the theories from other disciplines which frame linguistic analysis such as sociology are secondary to 'CDA'.

- 'CDA' is a critical school. Unlike linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics, scholars develop a critical stance to the phenomena that they research to the

extent that they sometimes appear to act politically. This critical dimension of 'CDA' will be discussed at length below.

- 'CDA' understands discourse and reality as separate yet united – dialectical – dimensions, hence it does not rely on discourse theories that see these as inseparable (see, for example, Laclau's work).[9]

In other words, it is possible to conclude that 'CDA' can be distinguished from other linguistic disciplines in that it is much more context dependent where context plays a major part in its interpretive approach to data and secondly, that it forms part of critical social science. It is also problem-oriented rather than being primarily concerned with linguistic units *per se*.

A similar approach to that of 'CDA' which developed a decade or two before Fairclough's theory comes from France. French discourse analysis (FDA), like Fairclough's approach, started as the study of language and its relationship to ideology. Building on the rich tradition of French linguistics – in particular Benveniste (1966), Cuioli (1990), Kristeva (1980) and via her, Bakhtin (1991; 1968; 1986) – and the intellectually stimulating debates and theoretical developments of the French left of the 1960s and 1970s, such as that of the early Foucault and Althusser, but also Lacan, a group of linguists had already been developing a theory and method which would enable *l'analyse du discours* from the 1960s on. Unlike the British approaches such as Fairclough's, which are traditionally more empirically oriented, the French aimed to develop a *theory* of discourse analysis which could then be applied to

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[9] Andreja Vezovnik, however, has suggested an ontological foundation for 'CDA' based on Laclau's theories (Vezovnik 2009; see also an English review of this book, Tominc 2012).

practical examples. Starting from a theoretical inconsistency between Marxist Althusser and Foucault, which they – like Fairclough – tried to combine into a coherent approach, they developed an approach based on Benveniste's (1966) enonciative linguistics – a cornerstone of French discourse analysis.

One of the main – and the first – French discourse analysts – Pêcheux – sees discourse in Foucauldian terms; thus the claim that the approach put "Foucault's perspective to work" (Courtine in Williams 1999: 76) seems correct: outside of discourse, no reality as such is possible (Williams 1999: 7). Jäger, a Duisburg discourse analyst, who also bases his analysis on Foucault's theory, is much closer to French discourse analysis as he defines discourses as not merely reflecting reality (or, in more Marxist terms, distorting it), but as "material reality *sui generis*", thus shaping and enabling social reality, being reality itself (Jäger and Mayer 2009: 39). Fairclough, who on the other hand, "accept[s] that both 'objects' and social subjects are shaped by discursive practices", nevertheless "insist[s] that these practices are constrained by the fact that they inevitably take place within a constituted, material reality, with preconstituted 'objects' and preconstituted social subjects. The constitutive processes of discourse ought therefore to be seen in terms of dialectic, in which the impact of discursive practices depends upon how it interacts with the preconstituted reality" (Fairclough 1992: 60), where reality and discourse are clearly separated.

Foucault refused the centred subject as well as rationality as it emerged from enlightenment. Deeply influenced by Nietzsche and fascinated by Adorno and Horkheimer's (Horkheimer and Adorno 1973) disappointment with rationality, he developed an approach which advocated that norms were socially constructed and

should therefore not be taken for granted. A linguistic analysis, according to Pêcheux, can therefore make this norm explicit and in this way remove its status as a norm. This is why Benvenistean enonciative linguistics, in which the "effects of discourse rely, not on the rationality of the human subject, but on the system of language while also leaving room for interpretive disciplines" (Williams 1999: 6) could be so well incorporated into the Foucauldian approach.

1.2.2 Different approaches to 'CDA'

1.2.2.1 'CDA' in Britain

One of the best-known and most influential branches of critical analysis of discourse has been developed in Britain.[10] Not only was this a consequence of important developments in the intellectual centres across Europe but it was also a result of certain social changes. At the time, the then Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher had been pursuing right wing politics which should be understood as a contrast to the post-war consensus based on the values of the welfare state. Two important scholarly centres – the University of East Anglia and the Birmingham Centre for Cultural Studies – were created in Britain and had an essential influence on the consequential development of discourse analysis. Contrary to the popular Chomskyian generative linguistics which spread in Europe from the 1960s on, in the late 1970s linguists from the University of East Anglia published the work which later proved to have an enormous impact on the development of 'critical' or, as they called it 'usable' (Hodge and Kress 1988: vii) linguistics. Hodge and Kress's *Language as Ideology* was a

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[10] Many commentators, such as Slembrouck (2001), Blommaert (2005), Widdowson (1995, 1998), Stubbs (1995), etc. ignore the fact that 'CDA' does not simply equal Fairclough and vice versa. Other important scholars are often barely mentioned, while the theoretical and epistemological foundations of Fairclough's approach have been criticised as those of "'CDA' proper".

"culmination" of the work that they had started in the early 1970s as well as Language and Control, which they published together with Fowler and Trew in the same year (Fowler 1979). Contrary to Chomsky, who was at the time interested in the inherent properties of language systems, they (and at approximately the same time another linguistic sub-discipline which was later to become known as sociolinguistics) focused their attention on the contexts of language use rather than solely on language as such. Attempts to look at language from a different perspective can be seen in disciplines such as philosophy and anthropology. The Viennese philosopher Wittgenstein (2001) claimed in the 1950s that meaning can only be formed in language use, whereas anthropologists working with the native populations of America noticed the use of different categories to describe some of the most common sense phenomena, such as colours. They understood that the world around us can be perceived and thought about in a way which was very different than their own. This threw new light on the understanding of the relationship between language, thought and reality and was a cornerstone of more independent language studies within anthropology (Whorf 1988).[11]

Vološinov's work on language from a Marxist perspective is an immediate predecessor to any kind of research which studies the relationship between language and ideology, such as that of Hodge and Kress, though it is not clear whether it had any immediate influence on their work. Vološinov (and also Bakhtin, as much as it is possible to speak of two different people at all) has been introduced to the European academic audience through the work of French linguistics via the work of Julia Kristeva, who was a Bulgarian immigrant to Paris. In the 1960s and 1970s, almost

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[11] Blommaert (2005: 23) accuses 'CDA' of not referring to linguistic anthropology at all even though its scope is fairly similar to that of 'CDA'.

parallel to the work of the East Anglia group, similar developments started to occur within the French linguistics where Althusser's Marxism was one of the bases for the development of French *analyse de discours* discussed earlier.

While it is possible to find references to Pêcheux in Fairclough's work (1992), the actual influence of French discourse analysis on the development of his theory should be approached sceptically. Blommaert (2005) states that the French developments became known in Britain mainly via the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural studies which was created in 1964. Stuart Hall, who was one of the founding members, and his group spread their ideas about the changes that were happening in the late 1970s and 1980s Britain under the rule of Thatcher in the journal of the Communist Party[12] *Marxism Today* (Slembrouck 2001: 35) and undoubtedly influenced early work by Fairclough, whose view of Thatcherism relies on the political analysis promoted in this journal (Fairclough 2001 [1989]: 146). Also, Fairclough could have become familiarised with the ideas of the French post-structuralism in this way, as Birmingham was a main centre from which the theories of Foucault – the main theoretical influence of early Fairclough – were spread to the British public. However, in Blommaert's opinion, "references to other discourse-analytic precursors (such as Michel Pêcheux, *e.g.* 1982) often seem more *post hoc* and motivated rather by a desire to establish a coherent authoritative lineage than by a genuine historical network of influences" (Blommaert 2005: 23), a statement which can also be supported by the lack of any reference to either Foucault, Pêcheux or any other scholar in general in Fairclough's first monograph *Language and Power* (Fairclough 2001 [1989]). Three years later, however, Fairclough offers a more

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[12] And not, as Slembrouck (2001) wrongly argues their own journal *Marxism Today* was just a medium for spreading their ideas.

thorough theoretical stance in which he critically examines not only Pêcheux but also Foucault and gives a relatively clear view of his own approach to social change (Fairclough 1992).

In his 1992 work, Fairclough elaborates the concept of social change: here, he not only positions his own work within the work of other discourse analysts, including the French, but he also gives an extensive critique of each of them and shows that his own, more empirical discourse analysis can bring more satisfying results. Because of their 'textometrie' or the typical practice of automatised text analysis the criticism against those belonging to the tradition of Pêcheux and his co-researchers is oriented towards their insufficient treatment of texts – such an automatised method was not designed to allow a full analysis of texts. From Fairclough's viewpoint not only were texts seen as a product and thus as static units in Pêcheux *et al.*'s approach, French analysts of the time in his opinion also ignored the organisation of texts as well as many linguistic features. The exception was key-words, to which they gave a lot of attention (see 1992: 30-5).[13]

Fairclough's criticism of 'critical linguistics' is in many ways similar to his criticisms of French discourse analysis: texts were seen as products rather than dynamic units and too much attention was given to certain parts of texts such as vocabulary and grammar. On the other hand, Fairclough argued, these scholars were not interested in how discourse changes and how texts are produced and understood in different contextual settings, which should be a focus of discourse analysis (Fairclough 1992:

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[13] The emergence of 'CDA' and corpus methods, that has been developed recently in the Anglophone academia, is in fact nothing new, as methods of the *analyse de discours*, used since 1970s, demonstrate (see also Prentice 2010: 407).

25-30). Such a static view of discourse was later challenged by critical discourse analysts, who proposed to analyse a broader range of verbal (as well as non-verbal) textual features in units larger than a sentence, with a specific focus on context and its functions, and extending the analysis beyond text, towards action.

While French discourse analysis adopted enonciative linguistics, Fairclough used Halliday's[14] systemic functional grammar which enabled him to study "language and its relation to power and ideology" (Fairclough 1995: 1). Here, language was claimed to be used functionally. Hallidayian grammar sees language as fulfilling three major functions at the same time: the ideational function enables us to understand the environment in which we find ourselves and the interpersonal function enables human relationships to be maintained within and outside of language. The third function is textual, which makes the other two functions relevant as it combines representations and interactions into one coherent text (Halliday in Van Leeuwen 2005: 76).

Related to this, but lately somehow distanced, is the work of another discourse analyst, Theo Van Leeuwen, which is considered to be in the tradition of systemic functional linguistics. As a film-maker, Van Leeuwen early on developed a systematic approach for multimodal analysis developed with Gunter Kress (1996). Coming from linguistics, their aim was to develop an approach with an emphasis on an equal consideration for all modes of communication. This was something that the large and

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[14] This British-American linguist and Sinologist was a student of another important linguist, Firth, when he started to develop his unique approach to the description of language. Having difficulties in describing Chinese grammar using traditional European categories he started developing a framework which would enable a functional description of any language – a theory later to be known as Systemic-functional Linguistics or, as an alternative to a traditional linguistics, systemic-functional linguistics (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004).

developed semiotic studies overlooked because their central focus was not language but images. Therefore, Kress and Van Leeuwen's approach is a contribution to the holistic study of communication with a detailed analysis of all modes which appear in a particular communicative act as well as a systematised, not impressionistic, tool for such analysis (Machin 2007: x-xi).[15] Similar concerns about the integration of language and images are also shared by Lemke (1998) and Chilton (2011). Chilton proposed a way of analysing images by taking into consideration our cognitive apparatus.

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[15] The visual has become one of the key points within the contemporary Western culture (Fyfe and Law in Rose 2001: 6). However, when we talk about 'seeing' we do not mean only the ability of the human eye to see (*vision*) but above all the *visuality*, defined as the social construction of the vision. Any object that exists and is visible to the human eye has thus a meaning attached to it. As such, an object is also a sign (Barthes 2002: 820-1) which represents the world in an ideologically biased way. Within social sciences there is a long tradition of studying the visual and its ideological nature. One of the classic studies of photography remains that of Barthes (1981), but there are also more focused analyses, such as that of Hall (1997), in which this British pioneer of cultural studies analysed visual representations of race. The concern of authors such as Hall has been oriented towards the media to construct and represent people and events in a way which bear power (Machin 2007: xiv). Despite such a strong tradition of the studies of the visual within the social sciences, the apparent connectivity between the language and the images has not been central to the discipline of linguistics for many years. Paradoxically, while linguistics has been a discipline where initial sign theory has been produced (de Saussure, Peirce), it did not manage to unite the quickly developing semiotics of the visual with its own object of study. The linguists have done much in the area of systematic study of language as a discourse which, similarly as imagery, bears power (for ex. Fairclough 2001 [1989]) but did not incorporate the knowledge produced within semiotics with its own in a systematic way. When seen from the point of view of not only language but communication, however, it becomes clear that in order to communicate, language users use not only language but images as well (Machin 2007: x-xi).

1.2.2.2 Central European context

The Viennese school of discourse analysis developed in the very different intellectual and academic context of Central Europe by Wodak and her colleagues.[16] It started to develop from the mid 1980s on, emerging from a project related to the 'Waldheim affair' in 1986 (Wodak *et al.* 1990).[17] Austria, as a first 'victim' of German Nazi occupation as the Austrian founding myth puts it, or as a Nazi collaborator in the extinction of the Jews, as it could be viewed from the other perspective (Wodak *et al.* 1999; Heer *et al.* 2007; Wodak and De Cillia 2007), emerged from the war starting with a long-time taboo related to the problematic past and the topic of anti-Semitism. While such stereotypes and prejudices were still heard privately, the question could not be and was not discussed publicly (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 91-94).

In such a context, the group started to develop their specific approach towards discourse analysis, which would enable an interdisciplinary historic (and thus, diachronic) analysis of discourse related to this affair. The approach will be known as

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[16] In the late 1960s when the student movement had reached its peak, Wodak had just started her studies in Slavic linguistics. Soon, she was involved in the student movement and was introduced to various social theoreticians, such as Marx and Habermas. Under the influence of these "vibrant times" (Tominc in preparation), she decided to continue her studies with Wolfgang Dressler, in Chomskyian linguistics rather than traditional Slavic studies. Soon, however, and also under the influence of de Beaugrande and Dressler's new work in 'text linguistics' with which she became acquainted during her studies she switched to sociolinguistics which was gaining importance at that time. Her early work can be placed within this linguistic sub discipline (Leodolter 1975; Wodak 1986; Wodak-Engel 1984).

[17] The 'Waldheim affair' thus relates to the "controversy surrounding the disclosure of the previously unknown past of Kurt Waldheim, former Secretary General of the United Nations, which arose during his campaign for the Austrian presidency in 1986. The affair not only focused international attention on Waldheim personally, but also raised broader questions relating to the history of anti-Semitism in Austria and the role Austrians played in the Nazi dictatorship and the 'Final Solution' (Wodak *et al.* 2009: 144; Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 97-8). In order to defend themselves from attacks, the Waldheim side constructed a "hostile image of a Jew" (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 98) which assumed that Waldheim (and, as a synonym, also Austria) was being attacked by a Jewish conspiracy.

Diskurshistorischer Ansatz (Discourse–historical approach, 'DHA'). Thus, in 1988, when Austrians were commemorating 50 years since the *Anschluss,* a project entitled 'Austria's languages of the past' started. On the one hand, the team analysed prejudice against the Jews as realised linguistically (in news discourse), while on the other hand, they also compared the news from various media with the facts to be able to see how distorted the reporting was (for a more detailed description see Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 41, 99ff). This was almost entirely a qualitative analysis[18] whose scope was also inspired by the theoretical underpinnings of the philosophers of the Frankfurt School, such as Adorno, Horkheimer and Marcuse.[19] Another fundamental influence on their theory was Habermas, who was Adorno's student. He started from the pessimism expressed by Adorno and Horkheimer in relation to the concept of enlightenment, and wanted to restore reason, enlightenment's core invention.

While Habermas and other philosophers of the Frankfurt School provided theoretical justification for critique (see also below), the empirical part derived not from Hallidayian linguistics as was the case with Fairclough, but from more classical strands of linguistic tradition, such as argumentation and rhetoric as well as de Beaugrande and Dressler's 'text linguistics'. Other influences include Bernstein's

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[18] However, Wodak *et al.* (1990) also brings a quantitative analysis of newspapers.

[19] After having to flee Germany in the 1930s and settle in the United States, these philosophers produced a number of salient texts in which they tried to understand the emergence of an authoritarian personality such as Hitler in inter-war Germany. While Adorno and Horkheimer (Horkheimer and Adorno 1973) put together their major text entitled *Dialectics of Enlightenment,* Marcuse (Marcuse 2008 [1964]) published a successful book with the simple title *One-dimensional Man.* He was one of the first critical theorists to "analyse the consumer society through analysing how consumerism, advertising, mass culture, and ideology integrate individuals into and stabilize the capitalist system" (Kellner 2009: 209). In his critique of modern – one-dimensional – society, he claims that the other pole of the two-dimensional society – critical thinking – has been eliminated. The rational, technological has taken over society and now dictates its thought.

sociology (Bernstein 1990) as well as ethnomethodology (Garfinkel 1967, 1986; Garfinkel and Rawls 2002) and interactionism (Cicourel 1974).

While the approach has been developed for the analysis of this particular study, their theoretical framework proved to be directly useful for other later studies, in particular those related to issues such as Austrian attitudes towards (Romanian) immigrants in 1990 (Van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999). Wodak has also used the same, yet adjusted framework for various studies of phenomena that did not directly relate to issues of racism and anti-Semitism such as the discursive construction of national and transnational identity and politics (Wodak *et al.* 1999, 2009) as well as supranational (EU) identity and organisations (Wodak 2009a). In the *Discursive construction of national identity*, for example, a number of authors investigated how national identity is built discursively (among other social practices) in private and semi-private settings and secondly, how the first influences the second via recontextualisation. Assuming national identity to be constructed and context-dependent which is reflected in discourse (content, (macro)strategies, argumentation) they set out to analyse commemorative speeches and addresses, the media, focus group interviews, and personal interviews. This principle of triangulation allowed them to track the discourse of the elites (speeches) as well as the recontextualisation of this in "everyday" language, in "other words" (Wodak *et al.* 2009: 187). Within discourses of national identity, not only the common past, present and future were constructed, but also common culture as well as 'national character', where "culture-based self-perception was determined not only by 'high culture' but also by an imagined homogeneous everyday culture, an assumed national mentality and a concept of naturalised descent" (Wodak *et al.* 2009: 189). The researchers found how 'Austrian

identity' even though it was never mentioned, could be seen to be built of both elements of the state and culture, even though the latter were rarely mentioned in political speeches.

1.2.3. 'CDA' today

Today, more than two decades after the Amsterdam meeting, 'CDA' has expanded enormously in its scope as well as in the number of scientists who use its methods and theories. It has also become not only a scientific approach, but a brand in itself. Hence Billig's critique of 'CDA' as an academic brand, a feature its scholars often criticise in others, cannot be overlooked (Billig 2003). Such branding has become a common feature in recent years and is in his opinion related to the fact that critical discourse analysis is becoming an enterprise. Not only do courses now exist in the academic market labelled 'CDA' in various departments around the world, but there are also 'CDA' conferences and meetings (as for example CADAAD) where a community of 'CDA' scholars can network. There are also books targeted at those 'doing 'CDA'', and several journals which, whilst not directly referred to as belonging to 'CDA', are accredited by established authors within the field (Chilton, Wodak: *Journal of Language and Politics*, Van Dijk: *Discourse Studies*). While the acronym 'CDA' (as well as 'DHA' (discourse-historical approach) and many others that can be found across the writing of critical discourse analysts) can be very convenient when referring to a specific approach and in particular in writing, it is perhaps true that they help to mystify the meaning of the message, which, "[o]nce it has become an official vocable, constantly repeated in general use, 'sanctioned' by the intellectuals, it has lost all

cognitive value and serves merely for recognition of an unquestionable fact" (Marcuse 2008 [1964]: 97f).[20]

1.3 MAIN CONCEPTS: POWER, IDEOLOGY, CRITIQUE

Despite 'CDA' developing in such varied contexts, these approaches share common concepts: power, ideology, and critique.

1.3.1 Ideology and power

1.3.1.1 Ideology

The popular understanding of ideology often tends to be related to the malicious attempts of particular powerful groups of people who try to impose a certain way of seeing the world on those innocent groups of people who seem to be void of ideology, and thus, ready to accept it (Rotar 2007 discusses ideology at length). Thus, for example, during the Slovene transition to a capitalist economic system at the beginning of the 1990s, some Slovene 'intellectuals' claimed that the time of ideologies (i.e. communism) was over. Nothing could be less true as neoliberalism started to appear in all spheres of social, political and mostly, economic life soon after.

Hence, another understanding of ideology may be better: in the Marxist tradition, ideology is defined rather as an imaginary relationship that the individuals have towards the circumstances in which they live (Althusser 1984). This is the basis for Fairclough's understanding of ideology that will be adopted in this study. Fairclough

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[20] Wodak believes that this could be avoided by constantly reflecting of its own stance as well as not taking for granted such abbreviations in one's writing (Tominc in preparation).

summarises three aspects of Althusser's theoretical contribution: a) ideology has material forms because it exists in institutional practices; b) ideology constitutes subjects by interpenetrate them and c) ideological state apparatuses do exist. While these ideological state apparatuses are the sites of social struggle, they at the same time participate in this struggle (Fairclough 1992: 87). He thus defines ideologies as "significations/constructions of reality (the physical world, social relations, social identities), which are built into various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices, and which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination" (Fairclough 1992: 87). As such, "ideologies embedded in discursive practices are most effective when they become naturalized, and achieve the status of 'common sense" (Fairclough 1992: 87), that is, "substantially though not entirely ideological" (Fairclough 2001 [1989]: 64) as he claims in his earlier work. Fairclough defines ideologies, following Foucault, as 'orders of discourse': "ideologies are located both in structures which constitute the outcome of past events and the conditions for current events, and in events themselves as they reproduce and transform their conditioning structures" (Fairclough 1992: 89). By doing this, he refuses the definition proposed by Pêcheux according to which ideology lies in structures, but he also disagrees with the tradition of critical linguistics who claims that it is possible to 'read off' ideology from texts.[21]

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[21] Fairclough departs from Althusser in other respects as well; while Althusser claims subjects to be completely constituted by ideologies, Fairclough, on the other hand, believes in individual human action, which brings him closer to Bourdieuian sociology.

In the context of history-oriented discourse analysis, such as the discourse-historical approach, it seems that mentalities – *méntalités* – could play an important role.[22] In contrast to a more formal ideology where the 'how' rather than 'why' is stressed, mentalities can explain why, for example, racism takes a specific shape in a given society (for more on this see Vovelle 1990) or why specific societies give in to neoliberalism more easily than others. The main difference between ideology and mentalities (though, the concepts greatly overlap) is the understanding that 'ideology' is a concept, while 'mentalities' refer to a kind of a state in which a phenomenon has been caught in the transformations of the *longue durée*.

Neoliberalism, then, is an ideology, because it proposes a "one sided perspective or world-view" which consists of "related mental representations, convictions, opinions, attitudes and evaluations" shared by a "specific social group" (Wodak and Reisigl 2009: 88). Neoliberalism's inherent characteristic is to spread this image of the reality around the world via a powerful media that is becoming less and less democratic, thus turning citizens into consumers. Those in power gain and those at the bottom lose. Chapter 2 is dedicated to a further discussion of consumerism, neoliberalism and media and the role of lifestyle discourses in such ideology.

When we talk about ideology in relation to power, we think of the hegemonic relationship between the actors involved. Hegemony – a concept developed by Antonio Gramsci in the context of rising fascism in Italy – is a concept based upon the idea that the dominant classes base their power on various kinds of domination, of which one is "intellectual and moral leadership" (Fairclough 2010: 128).

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[22] However, one of its main figures, Wodak, is not convinced that mentalities could be a functional tool in the DHA (personal communication).

1.3.1.2 Power and discourse

Linguistic (and other semiotic) practices can help reproduce ideology and maintain hegemony, as well as help "maintaining unequal power relations through discourse", and can "transform power relations more or less radically". (Wodak and Reisigl 2009: 88). For the language to be powerful, this cannot be on its own, but rather it needs people in power to make use of it. This suggests that not all people have the same 'amount' of power that some people are more powerful and some are less powerful. In the context of the discourse-historical approach, power is thus "a possibility of having one's own will within a social relationship against the will or interests of others" (Wodak and Reisigl 2009: 88). Power can be implemented in various ways, either by threatening, control through objects (weapons, means of production) or in some other, more subtle, way. Such power is (de)legitimised in discourse because texts are understood as sites of social struggle which contain and "manifest traces of different ideological fights for dominance and ideology" (Wodak and Reisigl 2009: 99; see also Fairclough 2010: 128-131).

If ideology becomes common sense to human beings, can one transcend it? Fairclough maintains that "[i]deologies arise in societies characterised by relations of domination on the basis of class, gender, cultural group, and so forth, and in so far as human beings are capable of transcending such societies, they are capable of transcending ideology" (Fairclough 1992: 91). It is unclear, however, to what extent it is possible to talk of societies where no power relations exist and whether this would indeed cause a kind of society where no ideology would exist. Fairclough does not accept Althusser's view in which he sees "'ideology in general' as a form of social cement which is

inseparable from society itself" (Fairclough 1992: 91). He supports this idea by stating that not "all types of discourse are ideologically invested to the same degree", and he adds an example of ideology of advertising and physics. While it is possible to agree with this claim, it is perhaps also necessary to add that it may be more correct to say that such discourses are invested not only to a different degree but also in different ways. This brings Fairclough to the question as to "[o]n what grounds can we say that this critical discourse is superior to the discourse which its critique is partly a critique of?" or in other words, how do we know which of these discourses are ideological and which are not? (Fairclough 2010: 8-9). This brings us to the question of critique.

1.3.2 Critique

I have now established that what I intend to study can be seen as hegemonic social relationships that can be maintained via discourse. In this section, I will discuss why it is possible to criticise these relationships and the society that maintains them. The question remains relevant, especially as postmodern relativism continues to deny that some discourses are more entitled to critique than others. In other words, postmodernist approaches see the position from which critique is provided as just another ideology without grounds to criticise it. Critical social science, however, provides the theoretical grounds for such critique.

Furthermore, with the recent institutionalisation and expansion of 'CDA' research, Fairclough is not wrong in observing that 'CDA''s value might become "weakened" should the name 'CDA' be used for any kind study simply because of the authority that this might bring. His answer is a definition in the form of three characteristics that define 'CDA': First, the study is trans-disciplinary, second, it involves analysis of,

rather than mere commentary on texts, and third, it is in some way normative (Fairclough 2010: 10). In this section, I will be focussing on the last characteristic – the issue of normativity – which is one of the features that significantly distinguishes 'CDA' from other approaches to discourse analysis.

The strongest programme of critique is provided by 'DHA', where critique is defined "explicitly and coherently" (Forchtner 2010: 20; but compare with Forchtner and Tominc 2012). They follow critique in the sense of the philosophers in the first generation of the Frankfurt School, as well as the second generation (most visibly Habermas), who have developed the notion of "critical" based on Hegel's (and to some extent also Marx's) theories, in particular that of critical rationality as a way of dialectical thinking (Benton and Craib 2001: 107 -109).

Critical rationality signifies "a form of oppositional thinking, a constant process of criticism" (*ibid.*: 112) with which scientists can challenge everything they analyse but, unlike in critical rationalism (*cf.* Popper for example), they not only criticise their data, but their own practices as well. Reisigl and Wodak (2001: 32f) develop a three dimensional concept of social critique with which they take a step towards the possibility of "informed choices". It is based on the concept of critique as understood in critical theory which is "revealing the discrepancy between an internal aim and the actual reality of an item" (Sherratt 2006: 201). The idea of such critique can be found at the core of the Frankfurt School.

- Text or discourse immanent critique is concerned with the internal structures of a discourse. It analyses "inconsistencies, (self)contradictions, paradoxes and

dilemmas" (*ibid.*: 32) within the discourse, in particular those connected to semantics, cohesion, syntax, argumentation etc. This is an apolitical critique.

- Sociodiagnostic critique points to the discursive practices which cause manipulation, propaganda or populism. It is interested in the parts of a discourse which prove to be "problematic" from a perspective of the human rights and human suffering and thus aims at "emancipation, self-determination and social recognition" (ibid: 34). This critique goes beyond the text because it includes the contextual information of the text with which it connects to the broader framework. Discourse is seen as a social practice related to other social activities. Critique here becomes political because it seeks to analyse the relationship between the discursive and non-discursive social practices which can take the form of social control.

- Prospective critique is concerned with the practical ethical matters of a research project because it strives to be an engaged science. For critical discourse analysis, this means that its researchers try to influence institutions to change or improve their language politics in various public spheres, such as hospitals, schools, courtrooms and media. A special kind of critique is retrospective critique, which focuses on the way past events are reconstructed and dealt with.

Fairclough, however, follows a different tradition. Taking a similar approach as with ideology, Fairclough orients himself towards the Marxist tradition. In his earlier orientations towards the 'critical' within linguistics (between 1983 and 1992) he uses the term 'critical' referring to the dialectical theory and method as well as to Engels because "the abuses and contradictions of capitalist society which gave rise to critical

theory have not diminished" (Fairclough 1995: 16). In fact, one could claim, they have increased with neoliberalism. Engels illustrates his interest by a metaphorical visualisation of the 'concatenation' of the causes and effects things have, an interest in how they move, come into existence and pass out of it (in Fairclough 1995: 36) as well as, an interest in how they are distorted. In other words, since the ideologies that are related to these chains are often *naturalised*, i.e. made invisible as ideologies, they become common sense (Fairclough 1995: 36, 42), critical analysis aims at denaturalising such ideologies.

The definition that I will adopt in this work will follow Fairclough's understanding of critique, which is based on Bourdieu:

> By 'critical' discourse analysis I mean discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural practices, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony /.../. In referring to opacity, I am suggesting that such lineages between discourse, ideology and power may well be unclear to those involved, and more generally that our social practice is bound up with causes and effects which may not be at all apparent (Fairclough 1995: 132-3).

Critical discourse analysis is then critical in terms of the dialectical relations which are to be analysed and explained. Here, however, he is also explicitly interested in how "dominant logic is tested, challenged by people and what they suggest to overcome the obstacles to address 'wrong' and improve well being" with which he explicitly realises the kind of relationship of 'help' between the intellectuals and social groups that he envisages in his early writing (Fairclough 1995: 18). However, he not only gives help to social groups which are in an actual position of 'struggle', but by giving them voice equates their solutions and strategies for overcoming obstacles with those of the intellectuals (Fairclough 2009: 163-4).[23]

1.4 DEFINITIONS OF THEORETICAL CONCEPTS

In 1.3, I have established the theoretical relationships between ideology and power and discussed how these relate to discourse. I have also explained in what sense such relationships should be critiqued. Here, the focus is on discourse and its internal 'parts', which is the relationship between discourse, text and genre.

The second part of this section relates to the concept of recontextualization: this is about how ideology spreads from one environment to the other, in this case via the media.

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[23] Also, note that Fairclough speaks no more of 'problems' but of 'social wrongs' which he justifies by explaining that not all social wrongs need solutions: "some wrongs are produced by systems and are not resolvable within them" (Fairclough 2009: 186).

1.4.1 Discourse, text, context, genre

Following Fairclough's dialectical-relational approach and Wodak's discourse-historical approach I see language to be a form of social practice (Fairclough and Wodak 1997), as a "way of signifying a particular domain of social practice from a particular perspective" (Fairclough 1995: 14), discourse is thus an entity seen as separated – but not entirely separated – from the social practices that are not discursive. Rather, they are in a dialectical relationship which does not allow for practices to be reducible to discourse (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 36). This aspect, where discursive and non-discursive social practices constitute and shape each other, distinguishes these two approaches from the post-Marxist approaches developed within discourse theory, where such a distinction is criticised.

Discourse is often seen to be a vague term, mainly because of its many uses and definitions in various disciplines. In his latest work, Fairclough makes a distinction between a more general use "meaning-making as an element of the social process" that he terms semiosis and other narrower uses such as "the language associated with a particular social field or practice" or "a way of construing aspects of the world associated with a particular social perspective" that he still defines as discourse (Fairclough 2010: 230). Thinking of a new definition which would reduce confusion in answering the question of what discourse is welcome. However, I am not convinced that renaming the abstract general meaning-making process that has already become established within many other social sciences such as sociology is a fruitful step forward. Not only does it create further confusion among those not familiar with work within critical discourse analysis, but by renaming it also eliminates this concept's theoretical dimension that links it to its most important theoretician, Michel Foucault.

This is moreover so because Fairclough relies on work deriving from Foucault, and from Bourdieu who also builds on Foucault (Fairclough 2010: 232): Social process is seen as an "interplay" of social structures, practices and events, where social practices are defined as a kind of a mediator between structures and events. These can be organised in networks, and are, following Bourdieu, in fact organisations and institutions. Networks of social practices have a semiotic equivalent in 'orders of discourse' (Fairclough 2010, 1992), while events are semiotically realised in texts.

Discourse is also "a complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts that manifest themselves within and across the social fields of action as thematically interrelated semiotic, oral or written tokens, very often as 'texts', that belong to specific semiotic types, i.e. genres" (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 36).

Reisigl and Wodak, as can be seen above, talk about fields of action which refer to different functions or "socially institutionalised ways of discursive practices" (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 36). These provide a 'frame' of discourse because they distinguish among one another in terms of "different functions or socially institutionalised aims of discursive practices" (*ibid.*: 36). The genre of the present study – cookbooks – may be assigned to the field of action of TV edutainment because it is the immediate product of TV cooking shows. Generally, cookbooks are also seen as part of the cooking education field of action, where cookbooks are written to educate people to cook better. Hence, in the case of cookbooks, frames change as cookbooks become associated with lifestyle media.

Field of action ADVISING ON CONSUMPTION/ PREPARATION OF FOOD	Field of action FORMATION OF PUBLIC OPINION	Field of action ADVERTISING
Genres Cookbooks* Recipes in magazines, online TV shows YouTube videos *Etc.*	*Genres* Press releases Interviews Statements *Etc.*	*Genres* Commercials Own magazine *Etc.*

Discourse topic 1 • Discourse topic 2 • Discourse topic 3 • Discourse topic 4 • Discourse topic 5 • Discourse topic 6

Figure 1: Interdiscursive and intertextual relations between discourses, discourse topics, genres and texts (following Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 39).

The topics that arise in these fields of action are parts of discourses. Discourses and discourse topics can be related to different fields and different discourses, and – as in intertextuality and interdiscursivity, which I will discuss below – they can relate to each other in many different ways.

'DHA''s use of topics draws on the work of Van Dijk (1987, 1980), who uses topics to be able to find semantic macrostructures of discourse. Hence, topics, or themes, are 'global meanings' of discourse as they represent what is considered to be the most

important meaning of the discourse: "[w]hen we summarise a discourse, we essentially express its underlying semantic structure, or thematic structure" (Van Dijk 1987: 48). Topics are thus what discourses are about, the "most important information of discourse content" and they represent the most memorable material. This is why they are most often expressed in titles, abstracts, as well as summaries and announcements (Van Dijk 2009: 62).

Such macrostructures are constructed out of local meanings by generalisation, deletion and construction of the available material. Hence, the irrelevant material will be left out as it abstracts meanings to higher level generalisations: "This means that macro rules reduce the complexity of lower-level meanings to simpler, more abstract, higher-level meanings." (Van Dijk 1987: 48). However, topics are not isolated concepts but propositions and are studied because of their influence; as they are often controlled by a powerful speaker, they define the overall coherence of the discourse and can thus affect the way we memorise and reproduce a certain discourse (Van Dijk 1987: 48; 2009: 62).

Finally, I come to texts; in Fairclough's definition these are semiotic dimensions of particular events. Texts are "materially durable products of linguistic actions" which are detached from the context in which they were produced (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 36) because as durable units, one of their fundamental characteristics is to overcome the temporary of the situation in which they were created. In 'DHA', a text can be related to various discourses, constituted of topics and closely related to macro-topics. Macro-topics are here seen as units that combine several similar topics. Texts can be assigned to genres.

1.4.2 Genre

Fairclough (1995: 14) defines genre as a "socially ratified way of using language in connection with a particular type of social activity." While this definition is broad enough to include various sorts of socially agreed uses of language, it is also quite vague, perhaps intentionally. Is a performative such as "I pronounce you husband and wife" already a genre? It is enounced by assigned authorities and is thus a socially ratified and expected way of using language when getting married, even though it is connected to "a particular type of social activity". According to this definition, it is indeed a genre. This is further confirmed in his latest work, where he specifically states that genres can be seen as "semiotic ways of acting and interacting, such as news or job interviews, reports or editorials in newspapers" (Fairclough 2010: 232).

Van Leeuwen's (2005: 13-5) definition is similar: he introduces genre in connection to multimodality (see also Lemke 2005). Genres are thus not only built of language; an important role is played by other semiotic modes, in particular visuals (I discuss these briefly in Chapter 2). Both linguistically and visually, the understanding of genres is culturally and historically dependent, a feature not particularly stressed by other analysts. Van Leeuwen points out that a shopping experience differs depending on the culture and period we are in: shopping where bargaining is essential appears to be the opposite of the big supermarket experience, where linguistic activity is not necessary at all (*ibid.*). Wodak (2009b) uses genres in a similar way where she suggests 'walk and talk' about the "West Wing genre", with which 'CDA' comes closer to the ways genre is used in other disciplines such as literary criticism, anthropology and folklore studies as well as rhetoric, where it is also widely used. Because of this, 'genre', like

'discourse' can be defined in many different ways. The word is thus "slippery" and the concept "fuzzy" (Swales 1990: 33; see also Bax 2010).

Bhatia (1993: 13-16) maintains that genre is primarily recognised on the basis of the purpose which also defines its inner structure. A slight change in the purpose of the genre will result in a sub-genre whereas a major change will lead to a new genre. In short, Bhatia suggests that it is possible to distinguish sub-genres based only on the communicative purpose. Secondly, Bhatia highlights the connection of a genre with its everyday users. He understands the genre and its internal structure to be a result of its existence within a certain professional community. This means that the members who use a particular genre not only recognise and understand this particular genre, but also shape it. Moreover, users are limited by certain genres "in terms of their intent, positioning, form and functional value" as it is not possible to ignore the limitations of a genre "without being noticeably odd" (*ibid.*: 14). They can however break their rules if they wish to achieve certain effects. This is exploited by professionals of certain genres on many occasions when they achieve their desired effects by adjusting the conventions of a genre to fit their own needs.

Figure 2 takes genre to be the central category and then demonstrates relationships between texts, genre, topics and macro-topics and their embeddedness in a discourse. Texts are built of different topics, such as g1, g2, g3. Topics within different texts, as the lines from Topics g1 to topic g5 show, can be linked to each other even though they form part of different discourses, such as A and B. Genres, such as genre g, can be part of several discourses. Discourses can interrelate/overlap, which is shown by partial overlap of the "circles".
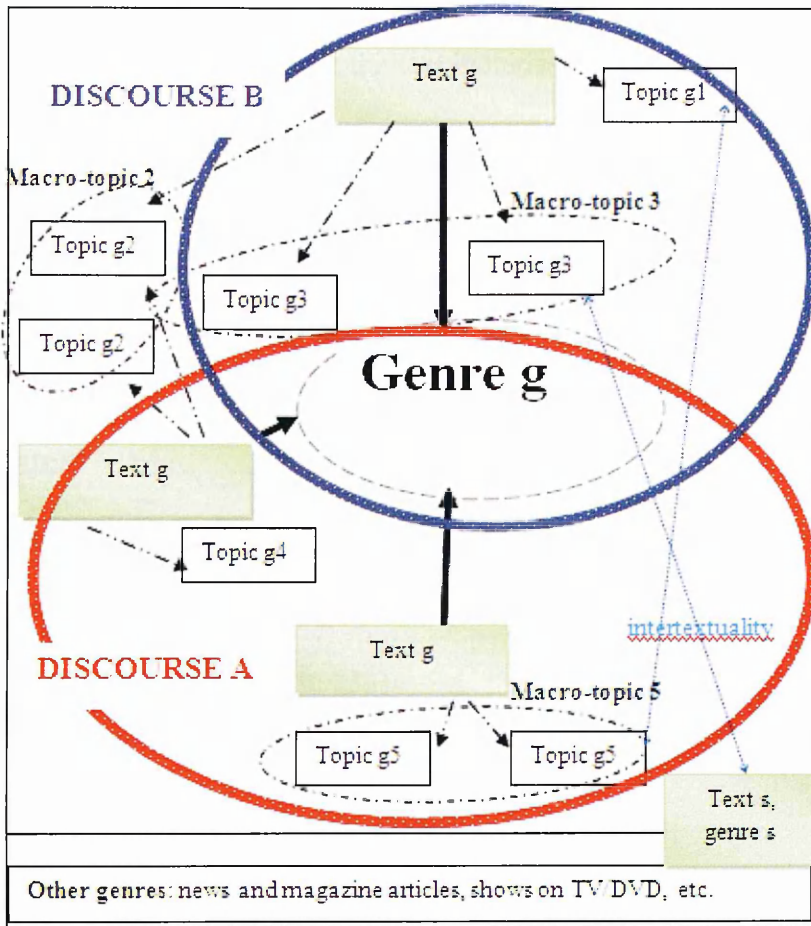
Figure 2: Genre, text, topic and discourse (after Reisigl and Wodak 2001). Intertextual relationships between texts are shown with a blue dotted line.

1.4.3 Intertextuality and interdiscursivity

Intertextuality is Bakhtin's concept which was first promoted in Europe *via* Kristeva in her 1966 thesis (Kristeva 1980). Essentially, when a text is said to have traces of intertextuality, it means that elements of other texts have been used in this text either explicitly or implicitly (in this case, it would be difficult to find a text that is not intertextual).

Fairclough distinguishes between two different kinds of intertextuality: 'manifest' intertextuality and constitutive intertextuality, or 'interdiscursivity'. In the first case, where intertextuality is manifested, the text includes traces of other texts and draws on them. In the second, however, texts contain heterogeneous elements which constitute other orders of discourse, such as style, register, genre conventions, etc. (Fairclough 1992).

1.4.4 Context

These processes happen in a particular context, which can be a particular political unit such as a state, as well as cultural, linguistic, and other units but also organizations and institutions (Fairclough 2010: 233).

Reisigl and Wodak (2001: 41) divide context into four layers:

- Internal to text(s): Elements of linguistic co-text and the relationship between different parts of discourse, such as utterances, texts, genres as well as discourses, also known as interdiscursivity and intertextuality. Vijay Bhatia (2008: 166), a leading scholar in genre studies, specifically proposes a focus on interdiscursive and intertexual elements of texts in question.

- External to text: context of situation, including the sociological and institutional framework as well as the broader socio-political and historical context which frame discourses. The latter is also related to history as a special element of the analysis, thus the discourse-historical approach.

1.5 RECONTEXTUALIZATION

Texts and discourse can change contexts, in which case we talk about recontextualization.

1.5.1 Defining recontextualization

Recontextualisation is one of the major concepts and categories in 'CDA' (Fairclough 2009: 163) but it has an "ambivalent character" (Fairclough 2009: 165) because it can be applied in many different ways (Sarangi 1998; Iedema 1999; Krzyżanowski and Wodak 2009; Van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999; Wodak 2000b; Wodak and Fairclough 2010; Chouliaraki 1998). In the context of this thesis, recontextualization will be seen in two separated sections that can be simplified as follows: first, recontextualization as translation introduces foreign concepts and ideas to the target audience, and second, recontextualization of the idea of food as edutainment which is realised according to local practices and a global frame.

1.5.2 Translation as recontextualization

Translation studies have proposed the idea of translation as recontextualization (House 2006) for the obvious reason that most often, translation means that the text will change context. Translators have long been aware of context changes as a consequence of translation. However, they have only recently started to take into consideration the ideological components that can be inserted during translation (see Munday 2007a, 2007b, 2008; Al-Mohannadi 2008; Al-Hejin 2010; Kang 2007). This is because, as Basil Bernstein states, "[e]very time a discourse moves, there is a place for ideology to play" (Bernstein 1996: 24). In other words, the recontextualised text is

adjusted to the cultural and political circumstances, i.e. domesticated, but this is normally done following either the expectations of the target audience or following the advice of those in power (editors, capital owners, etc.).

When translated, texts are in fact rewritten, as Lefevere (1992) suggests and in this process ideological components are added to the work. In translation studies, this process is often referred to as 'domestication' because texts become domesticated to the target language and culture.

In the context of my study I am interested in differences and similarities that occur between the original text and the target text and that have appeared as a consequence of domestication to the target culture ideology/national identity/ culture.

1.5.3 Recontextualization of ideology

In 'CDA', however, recontextualization seen as translation did not attract as much attention as other kinds of recontextualization (but see for example Al-Hejin 2010).

Within 'CDA' two strands of use of recontextualization can be distinguished:[24] firstly, as used by van Leeuwen, who brought this concept to the attention of the 'CDA' community' in 1993 for the first time, it is understood as a way of transforming social practices into a discourse and vice-versa. Drawing on Malinowski, who showed action as double recontextualisation "first as representation, 'in narrative speech', and then in the construction of realities, in 'the language of ritual and magic'" (Van Leeuwen

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[24] In her thesis, Kutter (2011) summarises its extensive meanings and applications.

2009: 147), and more specifically, on Bernstein,[25] he presupposes that discourses understood in the Foucauldian sense are "ultimately modelled on [the] social practices" which they represent. In this sense, he defined the structure of the field as the recontextualisation of the structure of social practice (Van Leeuwen 1993). Recontextualisation is thus how social practices get transformed into discourses which contain selected elements of practices (*ibid.*) and vice versa, as in the case of the application of the concept to the case of immigration control in Austria, where recontextualisation was defined in terms of "how social practices that constitute immigrants' everyday life and work are represented in the discursive practices of

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[25] Basil Bernstein builds his sociology out of the idea that educational institutions and the pedagogical discourses that prevail in them are not independent of the power relations which exist in wider society. Thus, in pedagogical discourse too, inequalities connected to race, gender and class are being constantly reproduced. Bernstein focuses on "the rules of its construction, circulation, contextualisation, acquisition, and change" (Bernstein 1990: 177). An understanding of the internal logic of pedagogical discourse is, he states, crucial for the analysis of external categories, such as class, gender, race and State. For him, pedagogical discourse is in fact a void (Bernstein 1990: 183), where two other discourses, instructional and regulative discourse, can be united in a particular way. In this process, forms of knowledge are embedded into the institutional framework in different ways so that in the end, knowledge is shaped and re-shaped according to the rules of the institution, in his case schools. Instructional discourse has thus not only the function of relaying knowledge but relaying social order and its power relations as well. The transformation of knowledge into pedagogical knowledge means that the original context has been removed only to be replaced with another structure, that of regulative discourse as in the example of physics given by Bernstein. Physics becomes a school subject as it is recontextualised from the context where it has been produced (normally higher education) to the context where it will be reproduced (schools). Here, the way physics is understood and represented gets appropriated, according to different factors, such as time (age of pupils) and space (schooling tradition in particular countries) for example. Another example is that of the recontextualisation of a practice, such as carpentry, into an imaginary discourse, where again, the power relations are changed so that finally, carpentry will be taught in school according to the rules of the school, not the carpentry guild (this is a point of departure for Van Leeuwen). In this way, the reproduction of the social order cannot be avoided because in such a relationship, regulative discourse may prove to be more prominent than instructional discourse itself.

writing and issuing *Bescheide*"[26] (Van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999). A similar understanding of recontextualisation was used by Iedema (1999), who analysed how talk was transformed into writing, and potentially, later also into practice. He showed how informal talk about the plans for a new mental hospital in Sydney was later rewritten and unified as a formal report which served as a starting point for the building of the hospital.

Somehow different is the other use of 'recontextualisation', initiated by Chouliaraki (1998) and later further explained in *Discourse in the late modernity*, her seminal work written together with Fairclough (1999). Like van Leeuwen, Chouliaraki draws heavily on Bernstein's pedagogical discourse but applies it differently. Van Leeuwen's understanding of discourse presupposes that social practice can exist outside of discourse unrepresented and that it can become represented as soon as it is recontextualised (Chouliaraki 1998: 30). Rather, Chouliaraki argues, discourse is defined as a "dialectical relation which is simultaneously a relation of colonisation and a relation of appropriation" (Fairclough 2006: 34; Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999), thus as a negotiation between the regulative and the instructional, in terms of Bernstein, which allows for certain specific choices/interpretations rather than others within the discourse. As such, recontextualisation is thus a process which occurs as a result of a relationship between the outside and the inside of an entity: "external entities are recontextualised, relocated within new contexts" (Fairclough 2006: 34) so that colonisation and appropriation can be seen as a form of globalisation/localisation (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999).

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[26] Documents issued by the Austrian government, via which they notify applicants of their refusal of visa applications.

This is the definition used in my thesis; it follows Fairclough, who used it in a similar way in *Language and globalization* (2006), where he analyses the recontextualisation of "new public management" to Romania. Similarly as in my case, this is seen as a part of globalisation because there is "a tendency of Western management techniques and models to be globalised" (Fairclough 2006: 33). Upon recontextualization, social change occurs because these models, despite localisation, still change significantly: "On the one hand, the external entity may expand into a new space, but on the other, this is a pre-constructed space with its own existing practices, orders of discourse and so forth, and recontextualization can be an active process of appropriating the external entity" (Fairclough 2006: 34).
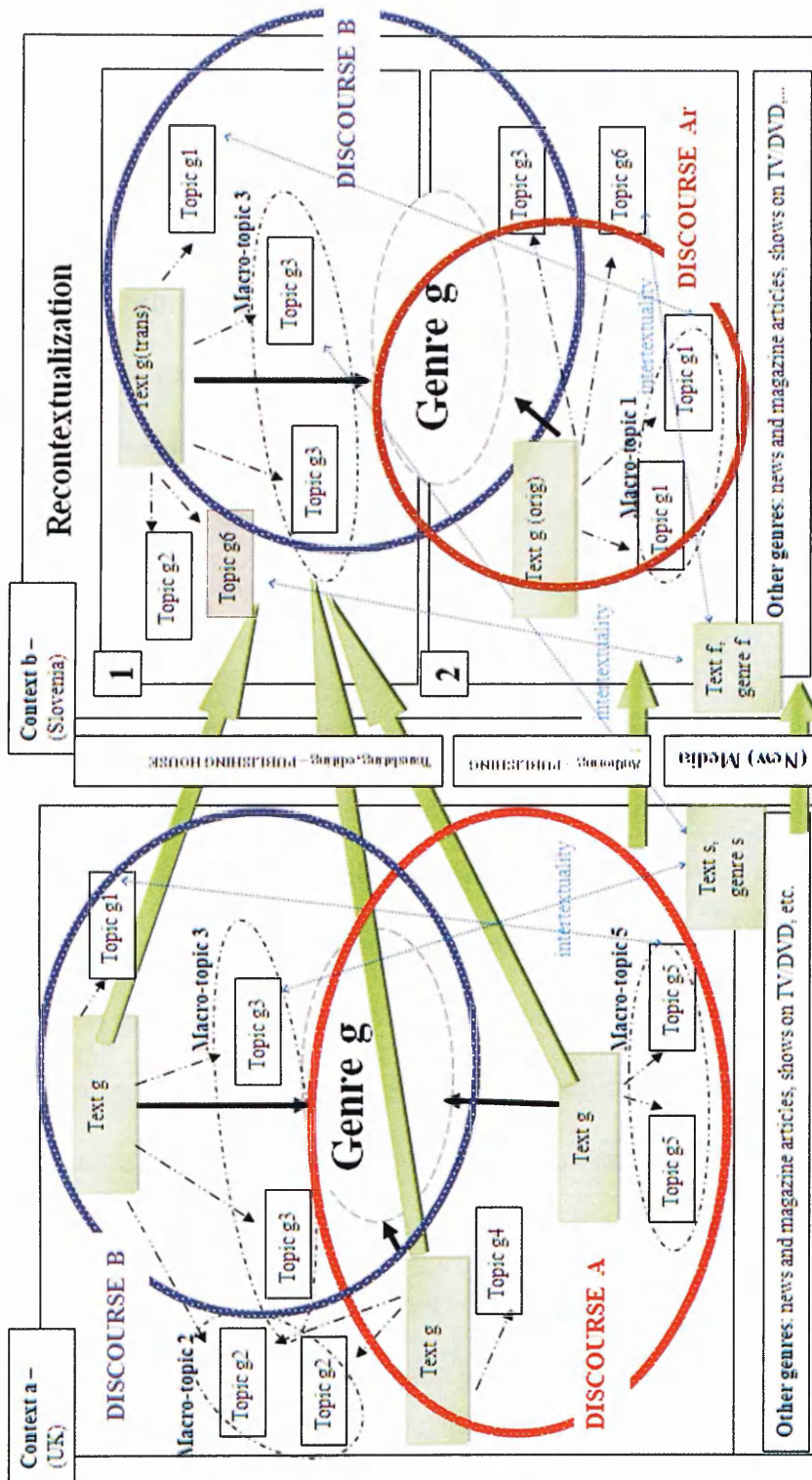
Figure 3: Interrelations between genre, texts, topics and discourses in the recontextualization process (after Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 39; Wodak and Reisigl 2009: 92). Figure 3 builds on Figure 2 as it attempts to demonstrate this complex process of recontextualization schematically.

The original discourse(s) is/are on the left side of the schema, while the recontextualised discourse(s) is/are on the right. The left side of the image presents two discourses – A and B. These discourses are realised in texts g that belong to the genre g (for example, a recipe). The texts contain various topics (g1–gn) that can be combined into macro-topics (1–n). They are linked to each other intertextually. Texts belonging to other genres, apart from genre g, are also part of these discourses; they are not, however, part of the focus of this thesis. The carriers of such recontextualization are (new) media and publishing houses (*e.g.* VALE Novak in Slovenia for Jamie Oliver).

In this study, recontextualization is understood to have two phases; first, there is translation (1, above right) of text g into another language. Text g still contains the majority of its topics, but it also contains some new ones, as the translator adds various comments to the original text (Topic g6 is a new topic). Recontextualized Discourse B is therefore quite similar to the original Discourse B (and so is Discourse A, not shown here). The second phase shows recontextualization of a discourse not via translation, but via production of a new text, based on a certain frame (Discourse Ar). Text g is now an original, rather than a translation, and while some of the topics are the same as in the original Discourse A, many are new (this is the contribution of the local element to the global discourse).

1.6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have focused on three important themes: first, I introduced critical discourse analysis as a school of linguistics, where I aimed to highlight the contexts in which two major approaches (dialectical-relational, discourse-historical approach) have emerged. These influence the epistemological and ontological foundations of these approaches, and the way they define power, ideology and critique as the central concepts of 'CDA'. Related to these is the specific understanding of discourse and the many ways of defining this. Finally, I have suggested a model for recontextualization, where two stages occur. Firstly, a discourse is translated via the translation of texts, and secondly, a discourse is recontextualised via the local creation of new texts based on the characteristics of the foreign discourse. This is a suggestion for the path that leads to transformation in culinary discourse and is directly related to the overall concern of this thesis: the transformation that occurs when a discourse as a whole is recontextualised into a different context.

2 POSTMODERNITY, GLOBALIZATION AND JAMIE OLIVER

2.1 CONSUMERISM AND POSTMODERN LIFE

This chapter brings a discussion of the economic, political and socio-cultural background to contemporary British society (2.1). This functions as a background to the lifestyle that Jamie Oliver is promoting in his cookbooks. Since the late 1960s and early 1970s, Britain has undergone a number of transformations: mass production or Fordist capitalism was replaced by a more nuanced and niche production that satisfied the needs of an increasingly aestheticised and differentiated lifestyle (2.2). Traditional identities were swept away and new ones were created using the symbolic and cultural value of objects. The media was an important actor in this transformation as it promoted different ways of living, possibilities of becoming 'your true self', and gave advice for all kinds of areas of life. Unlike in modernity, postmodernity established a form of education/information mixed with entertainment ('edutainment'/infotainment) where celebrities – rather than experts – play a central part. Cooking was to become one of the most popular types of entertainment on British TV (2.3). In this context, Jamie Oliver grew as a celebrity chef from the late 1990s. He became known around the world via his cooking shows which were exported to various countries, among them Slovenia, in a process of globalisation (2.4). In parallel to this, show-based 'celebrity' (lifestyle) cookbooks appeared translated in many of these countries. However, they did not serve only as cooking manuals, but were also texts whose function was to support the TV shows in their representation of foreign lifestyles:

these 'lifestyle' cookbooks functioned as exporters of a postmodern approach to the representation of food and food related practices, and as examples of the transformed cookbook as a genre (2.5).

2.1.1 Towards a free market economy

The revolution in now almost iconic period of May 1968 is a point of reference for a number of changes in Western and Central Europe in which the post-war generations were "breaking with the age of the grandpas" (Judt 2005: 398). The transformations were "enormous", as Jameson (1991: xx) observes, and the consequence was not only breaking with a certain era, but also with "tradition /..../ on the level of *mentalités*" (*ibid.*) in order to transform society. These cultural preconditions for what is often termed 'postmodernity'[27] have been paralleled with economic problems: the post-war Keynesian[28] model of the Welfare State could not provide solutions to increasing economic problems (Judt 2005: 453ff), which led to the economic crisis of the early 1970s (Harvey 1989: 284; Jameson 1991: xx-xxi).

European governments approached this problem in various ways: the tensions between the orientation towards a flexible, free market oriented economy that was

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[27] There is no consent as to whether this period is a continuation of modernity or a subsequent period. Hence, Giddens (1990: 2-3) speaks of 'late modernity' to designate that in fact, there has been no significant break with modernity itself but rather that modernity has been radicalised. Similarly, Bauman (2000) prefers to talk of 'liquid modernity' to emphasise the fluidity of relationships, lives, money, etc. i.e. the major change that separates it from modernity. The majority seem to prefer the term 'postmodernity', which describes the period as having significantly changed since modernity itself. In this work, I will be using the term 'postmodernity' to stress the discontinuities rather than continuities with modernity.

[28] Keynesian economics is based on a mixture of private and public sector, with an important role for government regulation.

proposed in Britain in 1973 as one of the solutions to increasing inflation, and the state regulated economy were not easily solvable. Such economic solutions, however, were first signs of the intensification of modernity toward a postmodern way of life. The rise of Margaret Thatcher and her reforms of the early 1980s put Britain on to the path of a neoliberal market economy with a society of individualism, competitiveness and increased inequalities. This ideology, in which governments started to serve the markets rather than citizens, has caused many structural changes in Britain.[29] One example is the transformation of local systems, such as the system of the local provision of food, which became incorporated into a "global commodity exchange" (Harvey 1989: 299). Beer consumption, for example, has been now internationalised as seen in this example from America (Harvey 1989: 299):

> Baltimore was essentially a one-beer town (locally brewed) in 1970, but first the regional beers from places like Milwaukee and Denver, and then Canadian and Mexican beers followed by European, Australian, Chinese, Polish, etc. beers became cheaper. Formerly exotic foods became commonplace while popular local delicacies (in the Baltimore case, blue crabs and oysters) that were once relatively inexpensive jumped in price as they too became integrated into long-distance trading.

Not only did foodstuffs migrate, but styles of cooking also migrated. Harvey (1989: 299) stresses that while foods and food styles have always migrated, there has been acceleration in the migration of culinary styles as they no longer merely follow migration streams, but in fact move faster than them. This is supported by the quick

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[29] For a detailed critique of neoliberalism, see Harvey (2005).

moving of ingredients such as "Kenyan haricot beans, Californian celery and avocados, North African potatoes, Canadian apples, and Chilean grapes" (*ibid.*) which can now be seen side by side in Western supermarkets. Food studies scholars have called the phenomenon where "the whole world's cuisine is now assembled in one place in almost exactly the same way that the world's geographical complexity is nightly reduced to a series of images on a static television screen" culinary tourism. Despite "the experience of everything from food, to culinary habits, music, television, entertainment, and cinema, it is now possible to experience the world's geography vicariously, as a simulacrum." (Harvey 1989: 300; see also Bell and Valentine 1997: 18f).

Simultaneously, consumerism was on the rise more than ever before (Slater 1997: 10). This is not new because consumerism is an inherent part of capitalism: for growth, capitalist production demands constant consumption. Consumerism became one of the main characteristics of the period, not only in terms of the "volatility and ephemerality of fashions, products, production, production techniques, labour processes, ideas and ideologies, values and established practices" (Harvey 1989: 285) but also services, and in the extreme case, "feelings, ideas, money, health, laws, religion, and risk-niche forms of identity, also known as culture" (Miller 2007c: 50), which have become equally commodified: now, anything can be seen in terms of its economic value and thus purchased. This is not unrelated to the pleasure, both physical and psychological, that commodities bring to the consumer. Pleasure too becomes a central term in consumerism (Ketchum 2005: 221).

2.1.2 Changes in the cultural sector (postmodernism)

This consumption is not the consumption for the masses which was characteristic of the earlier stages of capitalism, but rather an orientation towards niche markets, specific demands and various lifestyles. As society became increasingly 'throw-away', lifestyles, relationships, and values could be changed or thrown away just like paper plates (Toffler in Harvey 1989: 286).[30] Lifestyle, then, becomes something of a choice,[31] rather than being provided by tradition.

2.1.2.1 Lifestyle

The relationship between 'lifestyle' and consumerism comes from the interconnectedness between the products that have been produced as a result of the focus on niche markets in post-Fordist societies[32] and the ability of human beings to

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[30] The object of purchase, however, was not only goods, but also services such as entertainment as Britain turned away from manufacturing towards a service-oriented economy. This accelerated from the 1980s on, especially in Britain. Post-war trends show a decline in expenditure on food and clothing as the purchasing of other goods increases. This is related to general changes in society, such as the acquisition of new appliances (fridges, washing machines, bathrooms, televisions, heating systems) which resulted in changes in personal hygiene and in the ways people used their homes. These changes were not only functional, as Obelkevich (1994: 147) notes, but they "also reflected new tastes". While before, children's rooms were only used for sleeping, with heating systems installed, they could become places for playing as they were decorated in new ways. Similarly, the working classes' display rooms were now used to watch television and entertain guests at home, rather than meet them on the streets. "The post-war home did, however, tend to separate the members of the family from one another" as it enabled greater individuality. "When households became better equipped, they [the children, A.T.] became more dispersed, more 'cellular', more geared to individual gratification" (Obelkevich 1994: 148).

[31] Freedom and choice have become the slogans of postmodernity (Salecl 2010).

[32] The term Post-Fordism refers to a phase of capitalism which appeared with the shift from approximately the 1970s on, which is associated with deep economic, political and cultural changes. If Fordism meant the consumption of standard, mass commodities, post-Fordism, mainly produced niche products for specific lifestyles. It can also be referred to as postmodernity (Ash 1994).

use these products as symbols of their identity. Increasingly, the monetary value of objects became less and less important as their social and cultural status increased (Chaney 1996: 43). Concepts, such as "taste, income, health, status, diet, aspiration, subculture and leisure" are used in "order to represent everyday life in advanced capitalist cultures as an accretion of *personal style achieved primarily through consumption*" (Jagose 2003: 109 in Bell and Hollows 2006: 2, emphasis orig.). Related is the ideal of freedom of choice and construction of individual lifestyles which connote "individuality, self-expression and a stylistic consciousness" (Featherstone 2007: 83; Bell and Hollows 2005). Goods, practices, clothes and personal appearance rather than traditions and habits now form the identities of postmodern individuals. As part of this, lifestyle media, including Oliver's impressive business, offer the content and products for such a 'project': TV programmes, videos and DVDs, cookery books and magazines, personal appearance as well as promotional material convey topics through which the postmodern adult is instructed in a manner previously perhaps considered appropriate for a child (Furedi 2004) about cooking, gardening, style, self-improvement and many other concerns of everyday life (Bell and Hollows 2005).

Like consumerism, lifestyles are not a new notion: the transformations of the 1960s merely underlined the salience of the term for postmodernity; Lifestyles "do not mark grand historical ruptures; they are the culmination of processes with a much longer historical reach" (Bell and Hollows 2006: 3). The start of the rise of lifestyles can be contextualised in the "consumer revolution" (Featherstone 1995: 27) of the 19th century middle classes, who started to consume more "luxury goods, fashion, household goods, popular novels, magazines, newspapers and entertainment"

(McKendrick *et al.* 1982, in Featherstone 1995: 27). This was also the time of widening conditions for consumerism because of the expansion of the British working classes as a consequence of their urbanisation when they exchanged their regulated and predictable ways of living for new social relations and new ways of living (Bell and Hollows 2006: 6-8).

2.1.2.1.2 Bourdieu's theory of lifestyle

Until now, 'lifestyle' has been discussed from the perspective of cultural studies, which stresses the ability of every individual to freely choose their own style of life and the influence the marketing industry has on this. This notion of lifestyle is specifically related to consumerism, where it has a central place (Bell and Hollows 2005: 2). However, lifestyle can also be understood in a common sense way, as "patterns of action that differentiate people" (Chaney 1996: 4) from one another and are reflected in various texts.

Sociologists have often criticised an understanding of lifestyle as a project of creation of one's identity in complete freedom because structural constraints limit our possibilities of lifestyle choice. In this section, I discuss the lifestyle-related work of Pierre Bourdieu, who shows how identity creation is always limited by constraints which prevent an individual from freely acting in relation to him or herself. Examples of such constraints include class as well as how certain groups manage to make themselves "out of the ordinary" (Bell and Hollows 2005: 8).

The basis of Bourdieu's relational theory lies in his refusal of the various subjective approaches which have reappeared in post-war sociology and which are known as, for

example, 'behaviourism' and 'symbolic interactionism' and according to which an individual's action is not dependent on any social structure or constraint. Building on the more objective structural anthropology which has gained enormous importance in the post-war French social sciences since Lévi-Strauss' application of the idea of structure from language to the social phenomena, Bourdieu introduces agency into a rigid structure that was previously thought to be the decisive factor in how humans act. Like Elias, whose work he admired, Bourdieu saw society through a relational approach, rather than a structural approach. He partially builds on categories described by Elias: 'habits' is the rough equivalent of habitus, though Elias uses habitus in his work. For Elias, field is described as "social configuration", though he mentions field too (Unknown 2002: 83). By introducing notions such as habitus, field, actor and capital, Bourdieu manages to build a relational theory of social action which is neither subjective nor completely objective. Humans live in social spaces, he argues, which can be defined as larger social structures further divided into fields. A field is a "structured social space with rules" (Bourdieu 1984: 230) which enjoys relative autonomy such as the arts, education, politics, law and the economy. Within them, social actors are situated within certain positions. They are referred to as the "agents". Bourdieu understands them not to be completely independent, but they are also not completely determined by their position.

Lifestyle is not independent of the constraints of class, Bourdieu states. Despite its seeming classlessness and even an orientation to working class problems, the brand *Jamie* and the tastes it represents is undisputedly British middle class. Bell and Hollows (2005: 8) suggest that in general, lifestyle media and manuals "frequently legitimate the tastes of the new middle classes", a notion which also describes the new

Slovene cooking manuals and TV show of Novak and Smej Novak. Similarly, these represent the new wannabe 'elites' of Slovenia. These are seen as "cultural intermediaries" (Bourdieu 1984)[33] because of their "cultural authority as shapers of taste and inculcators of new consumerist dispositions" (Nixon and du Gay 2002: 495). The authority is a result of their position, such as being a chef (Oliver) or being a successful publishing businessman, translator, writer, but also a family man (Novak). Their knowledge of taste is then disseminated to particular lifestyle groups in the market. "[E]xpansion of lifestyle media is not about the rise of lifestyle as a move beyond class, but rather an emphasis on lifestyle as an attempt to gain authority by new middle classes whose cultural capital affords them considerable "riches in the area of life" (Bell and Hollows 2005: 8).

Lifestyles can be understood in terms of wider social structures or systems of practices, which can explain the relationship between the conditions of existence of a particular social group and the distinctive tastes that these groups develop. This is because Pierre Bourdieu's notion of 'lifestyle' is directly related to his concept of 'social space'.[34] Spaces have three fundamental dimensions and they are defined by

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[33] These are 'lifestyle professionals' associated with the hedonistic lifestyle turn. "The entry of new cultural intermediaries has been equated with a dissemination of postmodern sensibilities and a new culture of consumption, resulting from a radical expansion of visual culture, images and symbols (advertisers, stylists, lifestyle specialists), but also from a growth in the human services sector /.../ whose function is to stimulate" desire, the enhancement of self expression and the removal of hang-ups and inner blocks that limit the experience of fun (Binkley 2006: 112, and references therein).

[34] Early analyses of the 'social space' as a sociological concept can be found in the work of Maurice Halbwachs. In the *Morphologies sociale* he describes a social space not as a given entity, but as a framework which unifies the social group. In his late work, Halbwachs understands the notion of social space as a space where different groups relate to each other, but also where members relate to each other within the groups themselves. These create actual social bonds, among which is memory. Such

volume of capital, composition of capital and change in these two over time (Bourdieu 1984: 114).

Lifestyle is related to a particular habitus, which is a central notion of Bourdieu's (1993a, 1984, 1977) work, but he adopts it from Elias. In the original German version of his work in which he analyses changes, and the reasons for such changes, in "standards of behaviour and psychological make-up /.../ in European society since the Middle ages" (Mennell 1992: 30), Norbert Elias uses the concept of 'habitus' which can be defined as "the level of personality characteristics which individuals share in common with fellow members of their social groups."[35]

For Bourdieu (1984: 170), however, habitus refers to a system of lasting dispositions which generates and organises social practices. Figure 4 shows the relationship between habitus and lifestyle: habitus is a structured structure which structures practices by classifying them into organised units. Lifestyle is then "a system of classified and classifying practices"; that is, "distinctive signs" or tastes.

But habitus is not enough to produce a particular practice. Bourdieu (1984: 101) proposes a formula *(habitus)(capital)+field=practice* according to which capital is another important notion in his theory. Bourdieu proposes that while economic capital is important in one's lifestyle, this is not the only factor. Other forms of capital, like cultural capital, are also important in our lifestyle-related choices. Cultural capital, for

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understanding of memory is Halbwachs's seminal contribution to social sciences (Kramberger 2010b: 310).

[35] Until it was taken up and developed by Pierre Bourdieu, the term tended to be translated into English as 'make-up'.

example, is the set of dispositions that determine some of our choices in relation to such matters as the goods we choose to eat or buy. People rich in symbolic power (those in power) can then represent these dispositions as the only legitimate ones (Bell and Hollows 2005: 6), as, for example, TV chefs do. Field, on the other hand, is a structured social space with rules that is positioned within a space, but it is autonomous, though related to it.

Conditions of existence, habitus and life-style
(Bourdieu, 1984: 171)

→ conditioning
→ acts of perception and appreciation
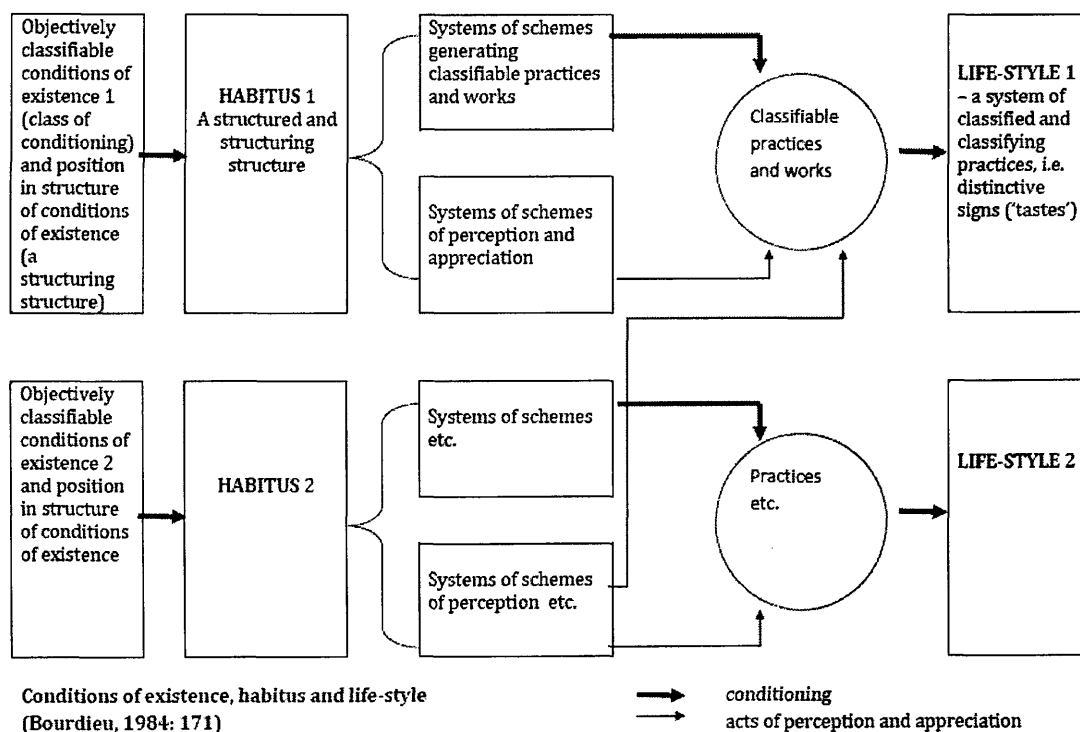
Figure 4: Lifestyle according to Bourdieu (1984: 171)

Tastes

As practices, tastes are directly related to lifestyles as these "emerge as choices made amongst practices (sports, pastimes, etc.) and properties (furniture, hats, ties, books, pictures, spouses, etc.) through which taste, in the sense of the principle underlying these choices, manifests itself" (Bourdieu 1993b: 108). A condition for taste is to have "goods that are classified as being in 'good' or 'bad' taste, 'distinguished' or 'vulgar'

– classified and thereby classifying, hierarchised and hierarchizing – and people endowed with principles of classification, tastes that enable them to identify among those goods those that suit them, that are 'to their taste'" (Bourdieu 1993b: 108).

The importance of Bourdieu's theory of lifestyle lies in stressing the objective, structural limitations to subjective choices. This is particularly important as I claim that in Slovenia, the new lifestyle discourses, such as that realised in the translated Jamie Oliver cookbooks and the original produced by the Novaks, are produced and intended primarily for the new middle classes, but that they are also presented as the only legitimate lifestyle choices for everyone else. Bell and Hollows stress this feature: "the importance of the idea of lifestyle in post-Fordist consumer culture coincides with the rise of the new middle-classes, who are perfectly positioned to capitalise on the new emphasis on lifestyle" (Bell and Hollows 2005: 7).

2.1.2.1.1 Branding

Marketing machinery plays an important role in persuading individuals of the necessity of a certain product for their project of identity building, of assigning value and meaning to objects. Tastes and opinions have been manipulated more and more, especially via advertising, where the image production industry has flourished, particularly in relation to branding (Harvey 1989: 290). Mass marketing, which offers the "idea of mass democracy, illusion of equal participation, glory of national culture" (Chaney 1996: 19) plays a crucial role as brands become symbols.

The so-called "cultural turn" in marketing in the 1960s brought new ideas and knowledge about the know-how of advertising. Consumers who were tired of constant

information from the then newly rising media (TV, journals, newspapers, radio) started to ignore ads, based on a then popular belief that "needs and desires are tied to income" (Arvidsson 2006: 52). The method of selling porcelain used by Wedgwood in the 18th century was reinvented[36] and the term 'brand' was first used in 1955 by Burleigh Gardner and Sydney Levy, for whom it represented "a public image, a character or personality that may be more important for the overall status (and sales) of the brand than many technical facts about the product" (cit. in *ibid.*: 55). In the 1960s advertising thus becomes connected to 'lifestyles' (as 'consumer categories' are named) and is today seen as a "precursor to contemporary branding" (*ibid.*: 62).

There is, however, one more step towards the understanding of brands as they appear today. If brand management can be defined as "putting public communication to work in ways that either *add to* or *reproduce* the particular qualities that the brand embodies" (*ibid.*: 67, emphasis original) then the understanding of the 'public' is no more that of passive receivers. They are now seen as active partners in the process of branding because they give meaning to particular products, implement them into their lives so that they become part of a style and construct a story around it. Branded products can thus not only be seen as external products but can also provide identity, security and group identification and so replace certain elements of traditional communities that no longer exist (Arvidsson 2006: 67, 82). Not only material products are branded, but increasingly also areas such as politics and organizations, NGOs (Ieţcu-Fairclough 2008; Hornscheidt 2008; Vestergaard 2008). The first two, for

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[36] The strategy worked on a similar principle as branding functions today: Mr Wedgwood first sold porcelain to the aristocracy for a very reasonable price. This way he effectively connected the notion of this particular china porcelain to values such as high class, status and quality. He then sold it to the rising middle classes who were ready to buy a product which conveyed a message of wealth and prosperity (Arvidsson 2006: 66).

example, analyse the functioning of branding discourse in politics (see also Caldas-Coulthard 2008).

Holt (2004) argues that successful brands include not only a connection with the costumer-product relationship but that their enormous success is based on the creation and correct use of a "myth" associated with the product and its desired symbolic meaning. In his opinion, brands emerge when companies, cultural industries, intermediaries (critics, retail salespeople) and customers together build a story around a product and give it a character which is then collectively accepted within a community (*ibid.*: 4). For a brand to become a cultural icon, however, it and other brands compete in myth markets and not in product markets. In other words, they "compete with other cultural products to perform myths that resolve cultural contradictions" (*ibid.*: 39). There are three ways for the myth market to work in/through (*ibid.*: 56-59):

a) National ideology: myths often express ideologies that 'stick nations together'

b) Cultural contradictions: there are national ideologies on how people should live, which differ from actual everyday life. Through myths, people can manage these contradictions

c) Populism and the special ideologies on which myths also rely
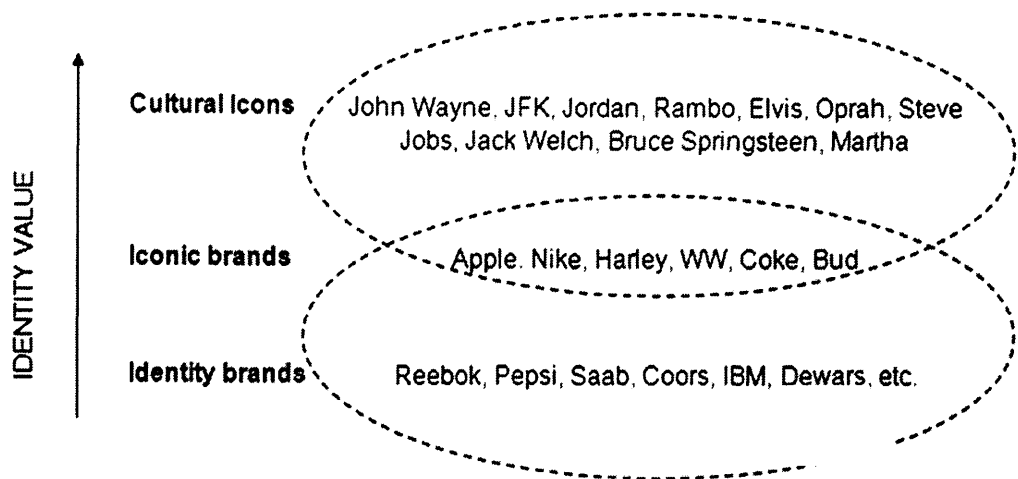
Figure 5: Iconic Brands are Brands that have become Cultural Icons (Holt 2004: 4).

Celebrities such as 'Jamie' and 'Oprah' are classified as cultural icons according to this approach because they are based on myths that people find easy to identify with. Like Oprah and Bruce Springsteen in the USA, 'Jamie' could now be classified as a cultural icon of Britain. He is surrounded by the myth of a bloke from the neighbourhood, good family man and husband, a good chef, who is always willing to help. Outside of Britain, 'Jamie' is a brand that represents British 'lifestyle' discourse, he is a symbol for 'healthy food, etc.' This 'myth' or the representation that the brand 'Jamie' embodies, will be discussed later.

2.1.2.3 Celebrities

Celebrities are one feature of the postmodern period because they have arisen in the context where intellectuals no longer hold the place that they used to in modernity. With the melting down of the meta-narrative, where the opinions and moral beliefs of intellectuals were given a central place, in postmodernity, their space first started to be equated with the popular "experts" with whom they have to compete not only in

expertise but also in authority (Lewis 2008: 135). Now "distinctions between experts and commentators have inevitably blurred, so that public discourse has come to consist of representations of topics and issues that are almost entirely made up of dialogues and commentaries between commentators and presenters" (Chaney 2002:108).

In addition to the rise of celebrities, there has also been a significant change in the character of democracy as it has become more populist. From the previous "ideology of consensus" (Chaney 2002: 100) that was based on an impersonal normative authority, the public sphere has now become pervasively irrational as well as fragmented. Public discourse is no longer legitimised in structures whose underlying authority is "accepted as reasonable and appropriate" (Chaney 2002: 104), but increasingly in relation to the conventions of the masses. The authority is no longer unchallenged but is constantly "asserted, framed and interpreted for their audiences" (Chaney 2002: 106). Relativism[37] and redefinition of knowledge are also important characteristics of the postmodern period, as seen when the experience of a popular celebrity is viewed as equally important as the knowledge of an expert in a particular field and soon even replaces it (Lewis 2008: 13). Even political action, previously in the power of democratic public sphere, has become an area of celebrity interference. Oliver's intervention in politics is just one example of such practices, *e.g.* his School dinners campaign in 2004 and 2005.

Chaney distinguishes between various categories of famous personalities: heroes, stars and celebrities. If I follow this definition, then Oliver represents a star, a hero and a

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[37] *Cf.* the discussion about 'critique' in Chapter 1.

celebrity at the same time. As role models, heroes are supposed to be ordinary, inspirational kinds of people who could be leaders. Stars, on the other hand, tend to be "global figures". Chaney states that heroes of mass culture can be better recognised as stars. Stars are also interpreted in many different ways, not just in their constitutive narratives but also in related comments/interpretations. Furthermore, while heroes tend to be limited to a narrative context, stars tend to be real people. A further distinction is that, as opposed to heroes, who tend to be a "heroic dramatisation of a moral ideal", stars "articulate for their audiences a dramatisation of identity" (Chaney 2002: 111), i.e. they may not exemplary in their behaviour.

Celebrities, on the other hand, gain "authority merely by their presence in public discourse" (Chaney 1996). They are authentic[38] in that they resemble their audiences, but they maintain an aura of distinction (Chaney 1996: 114): "there is now a much larger cast of the famous or recognisable who as celebrities mediate between distinction and everyday life". In other words, it is not only actors and politicians who are considered to be are exceptional anymore. Celebrities are now able to shift "opinions, acts, decisions, feelings, from private stage to the public" (Chaney 1996: 114).

The rise of celebrity chefs, as discussed in this thesis, must also be seen in this context. Expertise in the culinary field has risen in the context of the concerns of postmodern citizens. Eating has become increasingly related to health in Britain since the 1980s as correlations between certain diseases and nutrition were discovered. The

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[38] This "aura of 'authenticity'" is 'being yourself' as a professional ideology (Tolson 2001: 445). This is about "doing being ordinary" (Sacks 1984) rather than actually being ordinary. It is not ordinary person's ordinariness but celebrity ordinariness (*ibid.* 450).

food culture of postmodernity is full of concern and fear about eating well and above all correctly in societies where rules for what is considered healthy have become increasingly vague. Such concerns are not without relation to the time in which they emerge: In late capitalism, food has become related to a number of issues such as the individualisation of concern for one's own health for the 'public' good, consumption and its relation to lifestyle and choice, "informationalisation" of people's daily lives, and the increasing awareness of risks of post-industrial societies. In such a climate, food has become a field where different advice from different 'experts' whose ideas about food have a great influence on popular discourses and beliefs about food and nutrition (Lewis 2008: 49).
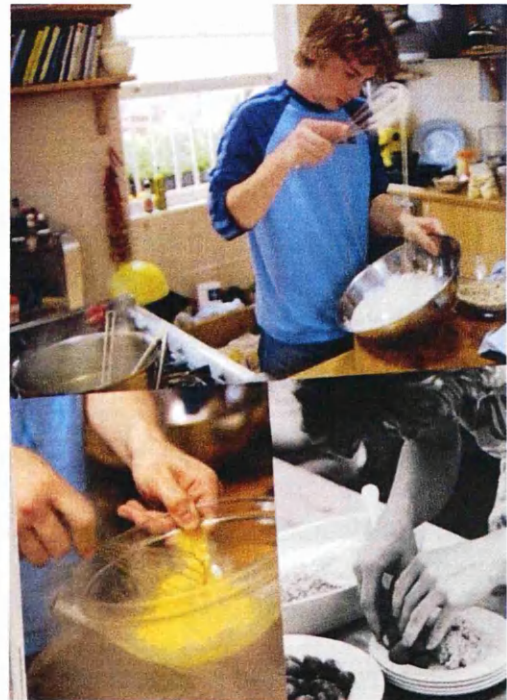
Image 1: Jamie Oliver, British celebrity chef cooking

First, experts who claimed to have knowledge about food have emerged in relation to nutrition which was then a developing science, and which offered analysis of different foodstuffs and their nutritional values. Nutritionists have become seen as experts who

have brought this highly 'public' masculine discourse of science and rationality into the feminine sphere of the kitchen and home. Such experts also represent a form of state intervention into the relationship between food and the health of citizens.[39] Recently, however, nutritionists have tended to distance themselves from such models of public health in which one type of advice should suit all, and rather emphasise the individuality of consumers. This is related to lifestyle expertise, but it is also embedded in the specific means of Western production and consumption of food. Tania Lewis talks of 'smart food' to describe the "set of food products and a particular approach to food, both of which privilege an essentially rationalist and calculative approach to consumption, one that is linked strongly to discourses of health and to scientific expertise" (Lewis 2008: 50). With this she suggests that there has been a growing amount of technologization as well as medicalization of discourse about food.

The second kind of expertise to emerge in parallel with nutritionists was the "new nutritionalist," where the individual's status is constructed more as a "mediator and an interpreter of knowledge" rather than an authority. Among other means, they are legitimised through the discourses of celebrity and have rebranded themselves as health consultants, diet gurus or food coaches, while they still maintain the traditional role as advisors on "public health issues" (Lewis 2008: 51). Lewis indicates that "the rise of this new brand of food expertise is indicative of a broader symbolic shift in popular conceptions of food and diet today" (ibid.: 55).

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[39] This was the case in the British colonies as well, well before the Second World War, when such state intervention was at its peak. The anthropology of food has its beginnings precisely in the need of the British authorities to feed their workers in Africa better, thus enabling them to work more efficiently (cf. Tominc 2010).

The third category of experts that are emerging includes those who have reoriented from smart food to slow food and who offer alternative models towards food. This category includes TV chefs. Like new nutritionists, they are oriented towards individuals in advising about their health and lifestyle. However, while "the discourse of rationalism and smart food has come to play a powerful role in framing 'commonsense' understanding of food, this kind of approach has not gone uncontested" (Lewis 2008: 55) as lifestyle entertainment on TV presents a number of TV chefs and cooks who critique and serve as an alternative to the smart foods view. Such chefs also act as a kind of resistance against the globalisation and industrialization of food as they often promote local, homemade foods.

One of the discursive strategies that celebrities use is to "minimise differences in character and outlook between themselves and their audiences" (Chaney 2002: 108) in order to be able to secure more empathy in the relationship between them. Fairclough (2001 [1989]) had already noted such a process in his early analyses and named it "conversationalisation of public discourse", where public discourse is the "ways in which collective life or public life is talked about, represented, symbolised and enacted, principally in the media of public communication." (Chaney 2002: 100). Image 2 shows Jamie Oliver represented as an 'ordinary lad' eating and chatting with Andy the plumber, an ordinary lad.

Image 2: Synthetic personalization (Fairclough 2001 [1989]) in images. In the image, the left actor is referred to as 'Andy the plumber' and Oliver is referred to as 'Ollie'.

Celebrities are directly interlinked with the media and other forms of representation. This "new class of celebrities", acquires a public identity "through their role in public discourse rather than of the expertise or authority they bring to that discourse." (Chaney 2002: 108). This is why for them, constant appearance in public life – through the media and manuals that they produce – is central to their existence.

2.1.2.4 Representation of lifestyle discourse: The media

2.1.2.4.1 The media in postmodernism

Postmodernity involves not only a breakdown of the public intellectual and the authority of knowledge, but of the means of democratic media as well:

In place of the universalism of the old networks, where sport, weather, news, lifestyle, and drama programming had a comfortable and appropriate frottage, highly centralised but profoundly targeted consumer networks emerged in the 1990s that fetishized lifestyle and consumption over a blend of purchase and politics, of fun and foreign policy (Miller 2007c: 14).

Increasingly, the media gives more attention to the gossip aspects of their content, filled with celebrities and their private lives, than to world problems such as poverty and inequality (Steger 2001: 69-70). Via the media the citizens are addressed as consumers rather than citizens:[40] instead of peace and security, one sees war and terror and in place of issues surrounding the environment, media talk about the weather instead) (Miller 2007c: 23).

When the economic, political and cultural problems of the world are addressed, the media often places them within neoliberal frameworks which reaffirm the neoliberal idea of the benefits that the market economy brings to everyone. This way, the media lead by commercial interests aims to "instil in its audience the values, needs, and

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[40] The difference between the two is defined in that the citizen has rationality, knowledge, opinions, whereas the consumer is naive, and need only to think if he or she can pay (Miller 2007c: 27f): "The consumer has become the classless, raceless, sexless, ageless, unprincipled, magical agent of social value in a multitude of discourses and institutions, animated by the drive to realise individual desires." (Miller 2007c: 31). Neoliberalism sees citizenship as the "voluntary actions of people in managing their lives (Vigoda and Golembiewski 2001, 274 in Miller 2007c: 33). Three types of citizenship relate to food: political (food policy); economic (food resources); cultural (food symbolism) (Miller 2007c: 112ff). Changes in cultural citizenship by large multicorporations via fast food, globalisation and food and importing cuisine from around the world in the 1980s and 1990s resulted in a situation whereby "consumption of food became radically disaffiliated from its conditions of production and circulation" (culinary tourism) (Miller 2007c: 117).

desires required for the expansion of markets" (Steger 2001: 69, but see also Preston 2009).

In the BBC, which has departed from Reithian principles,[41] there has been 'softening up' of 'hard' programming, for instance the 'soaping' and 'celebrity lifestyling' of the documentary and current affairs programming which has traditionally occupied the eveningslot, the recent spate of hybrid docusoaps[42] and the "broader displacement of 'serious' programming in favour of lifestyle programmes, often in the makeover format" (Moseley 2000: 301). These kinds of programmes are also known as 'Infotainment' and 'Edutainment': a mixture of entertainment and information/education programming. Despite the "educatory element, this often tends to be more in terms of taste than skills" (Smith 2010: 202). Often, skills tend to be downplayed and "[h]ow well one cooks, hardly matters" (Shih Chao 1998: 1).

Lifestyle media is a response to the needs of the increasingly detraditionalised (Giddens 1990) postmodern society.[43] Such programmes become guides as to "what and how to consume, and select from, a vast array not only of goods but also of services and experiences" offering the "opportunity to 'make over' our lives and our selves (Bell and Hollows 2006: 4; Moseley 2000). This provides indefinite opportunity for self-improvement and increasing aesthetisation of everyday life.

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[41] Reithian principles are so named after John Reith, the Scottish broadcaster who established independent public service broadcasting (the BBC). This was based on the principles 'Inform, educate, entertain'.

[42] Docusoaps can be defined as public activities that are packaged as continuous drama (Giles 2002: 604).

[43] This traditionalization is specifically obvious in the Novaks' texts as they call for the abandoning of tradition (dishes, tastes) in favour of a new kind of taste. See also Chapter 9.

Moseley (2000) refers to such TV as 'makeover TV', which is defined as "shows in which members of the public are beneficiaries of some expert advice or treatment" (Giles 2002: 606). The BBC has particularly specialised in the genre of food TV (Miller 2007c: 128; Hollows 2003; Brunsdon 2003).

Food on lifestyle TV

Links between food and audio-visual media are not new: Miller reports that they originate in the times when the telegraph and radio provided data "on commodity prices and weather, and overproduction leading to mass advertising" (Miller 2007c: 118). Today, "food television has taken a globalizing, commercial turn, which mines the past even as it invents the present" (*ibid.*: 132). Compared to the early days of food on TV, when shows tended to be rather "traditional domestic instructional programmes" à la Julia Child,[44] generally slow moving, and with the aim of cooking for family (not friends, customers or fans) (Ketchum 2005: 223-225), contemporary shows tend to be more "party oriented": cooking takes place in a broader social space in opposition to the female domestic sphere, and language tends to become more relaxed (see also Lacey 2005), which also creates a certain intimacy with the audience (*ibid.*: 225-7). Oliver's *Oliver's Twist*, however, would be referred to as 'avant-garde' by Ketchum (*ibid.*: 229-31) because programmes such as Oliver's "use unusual aesthetic conventions".

Strange (1998: 301) identifies four elements within the cookery programme genre: Cookery-Educative, Personality (which stresses the personality), Tour-Educative

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[44] Julia Child was an American cookbook writer and the first TV chef to cook on TV. She promoted French food in particular, which was her specialisation.

(which stresses the travelling aspect of cookery) and Raw-Educative (which stresses food's transformation from raw to cooked). The first one, Cook-Ed., can be seen as a continuation of classical TV cooking shows, where instruction tends to be given via demonstration in a kitchen. Other elements and their uses on programme are parts of Cook-Ed as well, but "all programmes contain some of these categories, though some will be more evident than others" (Strange 1998: 302). These elements are essential for the contemporary genre.

For the "armchair cook", "food television offers safe and economical ways to experience familiar and exotic pleasures" (Adema 2000: 114, 119). To be able to reproduce recipes presented by TV chefs, viewers need to use "the (lucrative) series spin-off cookbook", which will give the price, measurements and methods typical of Cook-Ed. discourse. Cookbooks are only one text type into which presenter/cook moves, as their identity is also confirmed elsewhere: advertisements, chat-shows, websites, etc. (Strange 1998: 311). "Various manifestations of the cookery programmes" can be seen as "textual meteorites": sites for the extension, disruption or transformation of the discourses within the original text (Strange 1998: 311-2).

Other media: newspapers and magazines

In the US after the Second World War, there was a rise in the production and dissemination of food media: the number of magazines where a section called 'style' was added in large numbers, increased in the period from 1961 to 2002. These 'style' sections are now as much about style of life as practices of food consumption. Increasingly, food writers start to offer instruction on the enjoyment rather than the

production of food. "[A]esthetics has displaced functionality" and "taste becomes schooled" (Miller 2007c: 119).[45]

In the US, there was a transformation in the editorial content and style of food-related commentary in American metropolitan newspapers and city magazines (Hanke 1989). Now, "the discourse through and about food speaks not only of modern and postmodern metropolitan cultural life and a new cartography of taste; it also serves as an important symbolic idiom for the organization of wider society in late capitalism" (*ibid.*: 236). Warde (2009) found similar changes in the representation of British taste in the Good Food Guide.

2.1.2.5 'Lifestyle' manuals: 'celebrity' cookbooks

Until now, I have discussed changes that occurred in media such as TV and magazines. In the next section, we will turn towards another important aspect of lifestyle advice culture: manuals.

2.1.2.5.1 Introduction – what are cookbooks?

"Cookbooks" – or "cookery books" as they can also be called – is a common name for a genre that contains several other sub-genres, most characteristically recipes, in one unit of material, or a book. Cookbooks are manuals filled with instructions related to

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[45] From 1940 to 1980, style and placement of news pages dedicated to food changed massively. Before, stories related to food were about "food poisoning, nutrition and famine" (Miller 2007c: 119). In 1980, 36% were style-related, and in the 1980s the New York Times published 80% of food stories on recipes and chefs (O'Neill 2003 in Miller 2007c: 119); food and problems associated with it became trivialised despite massive problems and health crises in the world. Food is now seen as "self-referential fun"; even if one cannot get the perfect food, the trick is in enjoyment of preparation, the process, "asymptotic, autotelic pleasure of its own" (Miller 2007c: 128-9).

various pieces of household advice, normally centred on the preparation and consumption of food. Their advice can range from the acquisition of foodstuffs (buying, growing or producing at home) to appropriate behaviour at various occasions. They can explain what, when, how and with whom to eat and how to prepare the food.

In an introduction to what is one of the rare collections of academic studies dedicated to cookbooks and recipes (see also Floyd and Forster 2003) the editor of *Recipes for Reading* (Bower 1997: 5ff) talks about two kinds of cookbooks: first, there are commercial cookbooks which have been produced by one or several authors with the intention of making 'personal profit', while on the other hand, there are community cookbooks, which are produced by a number of participating (usually) women with a charitable aim. [46] They "differ in tone and style from each other" (Cotter 1997: 52).

Cookbooks first emerged because of a need, among other things, to pass on culinary knowledge in a written form to audiences that could not learn directly from the practices of a cook or chef. The replacement over time of the kind of oral instruction common to "medieval guild" knowledge with written instruction meant that more precision was required in the information that had to be preserved: if at first, a simple vague note with listed ingredients – but not quantities – sufficed, later on, quantities were given and procedures described in detail (see for example Barber 1973: 21, 48, who talks about early recipes where no quantities were given). Mennell reminds us that the rare recipes are intended as *"aide-memoires* for literate and high-ranking

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[46] A community cookbook is defined as "a text that enacts within it a group of women's mental, theoretical, thoughtful positions or statements. Indeed, fundraising cookbooks are ideologically motivated, in their form as well as their content." (Bower 1997: 7).

superintendents of kitchens /.../, while the people who did the actual cooking were expected to know by training and experience the appropriate quantities of the various ingredients" (Mennell 1985: 53).[47]

2.1.2.5.2 The history of cookbooks

Despite cooking being a very old practice, cookbooks as we know them today only date back to the mid-eighteenth century. Earlier collections of recipes were widely known, but they were not systematised, and did not include visuals or exact measurements. In the European tradition, quantities were not given at all up to well into the Middle Ages, when the rich Arab tradition of cookbooks[48] influenced the European genre. This was particularly so in the Middle Ages, when cooking was increasingly seen in the domain of medicine, an idea that was preserved in European cooking up until the end of the 17th century (Barber 1973: 40). Monasteries and their apothecaries in particular were associated with good living and knowledge about medicine. The resemblance of the word 'recipe' in modern vocabulary for instructions on creating a dish and for medical instructions comes from this connection, as the modern word 'recipe' comes from the Latin 'Take...', in Latin '*Recipere...*' (Barber 1973: 48), which is also used for taking medicine.[49] Arab cookbooks also influenced the style and content of European cookbooks, as they become more elaborate and complex.

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[47] Also, as Barber (1973: 86) notes, cooks could not read, so giving quantities would not be helpful. Rather, manuscripts were kept away from smoke of kitchens and were read by noblemen and women.

[48] The earliest Arab cookbook dates from around 950. "[I]n 1239 the author of a treatise on cookery – at a time when they were virtually unknown in Europe – could say that he had consulted a large number of them in the course of his work." (Barber 1973: 50).

[49] This topic – food and health – also appears in modern discourse. The connection between food and health, which was brought to Europe by Arabs, is also known in the Indian Ayurvedic tradition.

The earliest English cookbook (14th century) is *The Forme of Cury* (Barber 1973: 78), with around 200 recipes. For the first time, consideration was given to the aesthetics of food presentation: food was to be coloured with saffron (Barber 1973: 80; Wilson 1991). This was an influential cookbook on which many other later cookbooks were based, as they take and copy recipes from it. In terms of style, this is a humorous cookbook that contains rhymes. The French names of dishes are still retained, which shows the heavy reliance of the British upper classes on French-originated tastes.

The first systematic cookery book after Apicius[50] was *De Honesta Voluptate* (Barber 1973: 102f), which was divided into eight headings, and gave quantities and portions. Barber states that this was "one of the most elegantly composed of cookery books." In 1570, Bartolomeo Scappi published a large cookbook, which was "one of the earliest attempts at a comprehensive guide to cooking" (*ibid.*: 104).

After 1415, English cookbooks became domestic in the sense that they did not rely on French cuisine to such a large extent: cookbooks became very humble and small and so cannot be compared to French ones (Barber 1973: 127). A larger number of cookbooks featuring quantities and more practical instruction appeared from 1575. The 17th century restoration brought a revolution in English cookery. The first female writer of cookbooks was Hannah Wolley, whose books on domestic management became very successful and were even translated into German. However, from the early 18th century on, England started being isolationist. This was the time when

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[50] Apicius was the author of a collection of Roman recipes from 4th or 5th century AD.

haute cuisine was also established (*ibid*.: 134-142), a trend which continued into the 19th century.

18th century cookbooks were not very different from today's as cookery became more national and English cooks turned away from a continental style of cooking and towards a more domestic style: "The instructions in cookbooks become much clearer as they are written more and more for the home rather than for nobleman's kitchen" (*ibid*.: 4). In the 19th century, Isabella Beeton published a very authoritative cookbook for middle class households, which became a book of reference until the 20th century.

2.1.2.5.3 'Celebrity' (lifestyle) cookbooks

'Celebrity' cookbooks are commercial books that emerged as one type of important profit-making books for publishing houses in the Western world. Their extreme popularity is not just a consequence of the public interest in cooking (which is related to the recent burst in interest in food), but also a product of successful marketing strategies adopted by big publishing houses. With the rise of TV edutainment, famous TV chefs in particular have started to produce cookbooks based on their TV shows. In this thesis, these cookbooks will not be refereed to as 'lifestyle' cookbooks, as they commonly are in the literature, but rather 'celebrity' cookbooks. This is because, as Hunter (1991a: 156) points out, "cookery-books, even cookery texts for schools, have always been an invitation to a particular life-style, to patterns of living which are not familiar". Therefore, all cookbooks are in fact 'lifestyle' cookbooks. By referring to them as 'celebrity' cookbooks, I stress their relationship with the TV celebrity personalities and the contemporary edutainment culture that they are part of.

There are many similarities between contemporary commercial cookbooks and community cookbooks, but there are also many differences: one of them is the visuality that arises as a crucial element in the postmodern instruction genre, which becomes primarily a source for lifestyle propaganda rather than cooking instruction. On the other hand, increasingly in the past few decades, magazines have also started to publish recipes; some specialised magazines even publish only recipes. What defines a cookbook as a genre is its structure; in a cookbook, recipes tend to be grouped according to a specific topic. On the other hand, a cookbook lacks elements that can be found in a magazine, such as regular (monthly) publishing and editorials. Cookbooks, as opposed to magazines, embed recipes in a narrative that defines them, because in Leonardi's (1989: 340) words, "[a] recipe is, /.../ an embedded discourse, and like other embedded discourses, it can have a variety of relationships with its frame". In this section, I discuss three sub-genres that can be found in a commercial cookbook and that differentiate it not only from a community cookbook, but also from a magazine. These are recipes, embedded narratives (introduction, thanks, acknowledgements etc.) and visuals.

Recipes

As embedded discourses, recipes were first seen as necessarily contextualised by Leonardi (1989: 340), as she states: "I think I can safely claim that a cookbook that consisted of nothing but rules for various dishes would be an unpopular cookbook indeed." Such a claim of course lies on the presumption that the aim of the book is to be popular, or at least used by many people. But we have seen that in the beginning, collections of recipes were nothing more than a collection of lists of ingredients.

The recipe is an instructional process genre[51] (Swales 1990: 63) whose purpose is to guide one through a process. In other words, cookbooks are "straightforward instructional texts designed to ensure that if a series of activities is carried out according to the prescription offered, a successful gastronomic outcome will be achieved" (*ibid.*: 46).

While there are many texts about cookbooks and recipes from a sociological or historical point of view, less has been written about their linguistic aspects (see for example Tomlinson 1986). Cotter's article is a useful and insightful entry point for discourse analysis of a recipe. Her rationale is that "language using the context of recipe discourse shapes our interpretation of many aspects of the cookbook, not only concerning things culinary but also how we view a particular community and its values" (Cotter 1997: 52). Her analysis, unlike Tomlinson's (1986), who focuses on the discursive aspect of recipes, examines recipes as a form of narrative, that is a way of telling stories, viewing them "formally and structurally as a narrative" (*ibid.*).

Syntactically, recipes are full of imperative and evaluative forms: in the first case, they give instructions on what to do and create an internal cohesion between the elements of the discourse, while in the second case, they describe or evaluate the dish or its parts. If the imperative verb builds the main message of the recipe, the evaluative part is an auxiliary that "reminds us of the pre-literate spoken transmission of recipes through the use of the pronoun (you) that characteristically distinguishes

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[51] Of all subgenres, the recipe is the most studied subgenre of cookbooks. When on their own, in magazines or in other contexts where they appear, recipes can be seen to be a genre, rather than a subgenre. In the context of this thesis, however, I will refer to them as a subgenre of cookbooks, which will be defined as a genre.
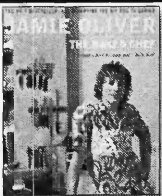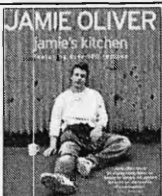
spoken discourse from written prose." (Cotter 1997: 57). Other elements, such as descriptive or prepositional phrases, and often locatives and instrumentals, "help explain the procedure initiated by the verb" (*ibid.*). Semantically, recipes include terminology that often requires previous knowledge. As description often tends to be "scalar" (*ibid.*: 58), correct positioning on the scale is crucial (see also Bax 2010 for a short presentation and analysis of recipe jargon).

Paralleling recipes to Labov's five-component structure – abstract, orientation clause, options, evaluations, and coda – Cotter provides an analysis of the different parts of a recipe. She refers to the title as 'abstract because it summarises the content of the recipe because of its implied phrase, now elliptical, 'how to make...' which can still be found in Renaissance recipes in the form 'To make a ...' (Cotter 1997: 59-60). The orientation clause is the part that situates the recipe in the context and gives information on the place, time and nature of the situation. Recipes also include lists, though this is a fairly recent feature. A list is an artificial means of highlighting a particular aspect of the narrative (Schiffrin 1994), and one that normally presents the parts in order in which they appear in the narrative. Both the 'complicating action' (what happened?) of the narrative and instructional action of the recipe are temporal because the sequencing assigns order to the action. Apart from these, there are also evaluative clauses which "offer a means by which to compare and interpret the recipe text in its social and historical contexts" (Cotter 1997: 63). Finally, the coda states how the narrative ends. In the recipe, this is the short closing sentence which concludes the recipe and can "function as a bridge" between the text and social reality.

The narrative that embeds recipes

Leonardi (1989) reminds us that "[l]ike a story, a recipe needs a recommendation, a context, a point, a reason to be" which can include "narrative, anecdote, travelogue, history, anthropology, political; diatribe and science" (Humble 2002: 322). The introduction to the cookbook, the introduction to the chapters, the thank you notes/acknowledgements provide a framework which wraps recipes within a broader narrative, or context.

The introduction to chapters in a cookbook is the text which accompanies a collection of recipes divided into different chapters. Table 1 below shows some of the ways cookbooks can be organised, using an example of Oliver's and the Novaks' cookbooks. The introduction to a chapter, if there is one, has the role of describing the collection, talking about the most prominent group of ingredients or cooking techniques found in the chapter or giving the author's views/experiences about the particular issue.

GROUPS OF INGREDIENTS Jamie Oliver: The Naked Chef (1999)		Introduction, First move, Herbs and spices, Soups, Salads and dressings, Pasta Fish and shellfish, Meat, poultry and game, Vegetables, Pulses, Risotto and couscous, Bread, Index, Thanks
TECHNIQUE OF HEATING Jamie Oliver: Jamie's kitchen (2003)		Introduction, Getting yourself, Shopping tips, Now it's your turn, Cooking without Heat, Poaching and Boiling, Steaming and Cooking in the Bag, Stewing and Braising Frying, Roasting, pot-roasting and pan-roasting,
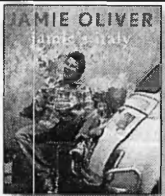
		Broiling and Grilling, Baking and sweet things, Index, Thanks
POSITION IN THE MEAL Jamie Oliver: Jamie's Italy (2005)		Introduction, Antipasti: starters, Street food & pizza, Primi: first courses, Soups, Pasta, Risotto, Insalate: salads Secondi: main courses, Fish, Meat, Contorni: side dishes, Dolci: desserts, Grazie mille: thanks, Index
SEASONS Jamie Oliver: Jamie at home (2007)		A nice little chat, Spring, Summer, Autumn, Winter, Useful stuff: my favourite seed and plant varieties/ where to buy them/other good addresses and websites, Thanks, Index
GROUPS OF INGREDIENTS with 'EXAMPLES' Novak/Smej Novak: Ljubesen skozi zelodec (2010)		Introduction, Soups (ALO ALO), Salads or light starters (PICNIC IN ROZNIK), Light lunches (or strong breakfasts) (TAPAS PARTY),Spagettin western! (and also risottos) (BEIJING, SHANGHAI, TOKIO...), Fish (NONA'S SAVOR AND OTHER PRIMORSKA STORIES), Meat (THE SCIENCE OF THE GRILL), Pizzas and flat cakes (PREKMURJE), Side dishes, sauces and basics (HOUSE FRANKO), Desserts, Thanks to all because you are/eat, Index[52]

Table 1: General organisation of contemporary cookbooks by groups of ingredients, techniques of heating, position in the meal, seasons and groups of ingredients

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[52] Uvod, Juhe (ALLÔ ALLÔ), Solate ali lahke predjedi (PIKNIK NA ROŽNIKU), Lahka kosila (ali krepki zajtrki) (TAPAS PARTY), Špageti vestern! (pa rižote tudi) (PEKING, ŠANGAJ, TOKIO...), Ribe (NONIN ŠAVOR IN DRUGE PRIMORSKE ZGODBE), Meso (ZNANOST ŽARA), Pice in pogače (PREKMURJE), Priloge, omake in osnove, (HIŠA FRANKO), Sladice, Zahvala vsem, ker (je)ste, Index.

Table 1 shows a variety of ways of grouping recipes into chapters Humble suggests that this 'postmodern' form of the 1990s cookbook, where recipes were arranged by ingredients and methods rather than by the stages of a traditional meal was another way of "removing the cultural barriers of the categories, thus setting food free" (Humble 2005: 250). Here, only the chapters of Oliver's *Jamie's Italy* are arranged according to the sequence of food consumption. The rest are either seasonal (winter, spring, summer, autumn), or use either techniques of heating or ingredients.

Visuals

When a cookbook becomes a manual for lifestyle, rather than simply a collection of recipes, visual elements become even more important than they would have been before. Since the 1990s "the look and styling of cookbooks became as important a factor as their content" (Humble 2005: 243). The *River Cafe cook book* and its sequels, "reached a startling success which is largely attributable to their innovative visual style." (*ibid.*). This style was developed a decade earlier for the magazines like The Face, but this was the first time it was used for cookbooks (*ibid.*).

Before the 1950s in Britain, cookbooks were not illustrated as a standard except in some rare cases, when the cookbooks were related to the production of magazines (Beeton) or related to media personalities, in which case photography was used, as in the tradition of magazines. Elisabeth David did this, and she set the standard for the rest of the 1960s and 1970s. Some cookbooks of the time were not illustrated at all (Hunter 1991a: 143). In the 1940s, however, many realised that the naturalistic depiction of food as it was known until then, no longer sufficed.

From the beginning, cookbooks that contained photographic visuals were mainly those whose author was a media personality and where publishing houses and their teams had produced a highly visual version. Individual writers, however, still tended to 'decorate' rather than illustrate the book. There were images of foreign places: "There are stylised, rather fantasised pictures of food served on rustic kitchen tables, and there is a focus on the depiction of ingredients rather than kitchen technology" (Hunter 1991a: 146). There is attention to detail and "almost narrative presentation of the interlocking of countryside, cooking and serving" in some books, as well as "invitation to involvement into the life around the food" (Hunter 1991a: 147). They contextualise the food rather than simply naturalistically represent it.

Large publishing houses recognised the need for more photographic material to help people imagine the food they were to cook (Humble 2005: 143). More pictures devoted to techniques, ingredients, food preparation, cooking devices, decoration and serving suggestions were used. Some also show the food's status (what dishes are used). Rather than "sterile backgrounds", food is now set in the actual backgrounds, however "there is no mess, no untidiness, and the food conforms to an idealised version of its presentation" (Humble 2005: 144). This conveys messages about the tastes and smells of the actual foods rather than the naive representation found in earlier books. In the 1960s, highly illustrated cookbooks became standard.

In the 1970s, trends in the publishing industry continued and the focus on design in food illustration was at the forefront as the industry realised that naturalistic photography did not work (Hunter 1991a: 153). Teams consisting of a photographer, stylist and home economist emerged in order to manipulate the look of the food,

which was now coloured and sprayed in order to improve its appearance in the photographs (Barthes 1972 describes this well). At the same time, the centre of the photo became not just the food, but also the chef, restaurant scenes and holiday landscapes (Hunter 1991a: 154). However, publishers were still reluctant to include people in pictures because their clothes and fashions would make the book limited in time. However, this changed because the publishing houses understood that in order to increase their profit, they need to appeal to the immediate audience by depicting them visually (Hunter 1991a: 154). Food became a status symbol representing class, race, and gender: Hunter (1991a: 145) stresses that "food and its context can convey power" as "the appearance of the end product counts for a lot more than the process" (see also Image 3).

Image 3: The number of people depicted increased in post-1970s cookbook imagery (Hunter 1991a). The images above are from Oliver's cookbooks.

2.1.2.5.4 Social actors and visual representation in cookbooks

In this section I present a short comparison of 'standard' and 'celebrity' cookbook imagery in terms of representation of social actors. The aim is to demonstrate the discussed turn in visual representation on a sample of my data.[53]

I discuss and contrast the photography from *Velika kuharica*, which represents a female social actor cooking, with an image from the Novaks' cookbook (*Ljubezen skozi želodec*), in which one of the main actors, Luka Novak, is helping his children prepare Viennese steaks.

(a)   (b)

Images 4(a) and (b): Representation of social actors in a 'standard' and a 'celebrity' cookbook.

In Image 4 (a) female hands are represented putting a fish into oil. The hands could be seen as a form of metonymy for a chef, even though at the back, one can in fact see the lower part of the person to whom the hands belong. The person is probably a

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[53] The cookbook imagery requires a much longer and methodologically justified analysis, however, due to space restrictions this demonstration will only show major differences.

professional chef, which is represented by a white apron, a symbol of professional cooking. Therefore, the social actor is not given a specific identity in this case, but instead she is represented generically as a chef. The lack of representation of her head (which identifies one as an individual most clearly) contributes to this image. In other cases, however, where the whole person does appear in the image, their identity is normally not known or it is not foregrounded.

The action – cooking – is taking place on a white cooker. The colours of this image appear dull; the prominent colours are white, black and the colour of human skin (hands). In 'standard' cookbooks, in images such as this one, the process of cooking is usually foregrounded by omitting any other objects in order to draw attention to the preparation process rather than any other equipment. The pot with oil is positioned in the centre of the image, which further stresses the centrality of this action. It is also possible that one aim is to project the idea that a clear and organised space is being portrayed. This complements the analysis in the previous section, where the image of the food itself is also seen as presented in a neat and orderly manner.

Image 4(b), however, is an example of a very different representation of cooking activity, not only in terms of the social actors, but also in terms of the image's structure and colours. It is assumed that this image represents the Novak family in their home. Four actors can be seen in this image: Luka Novak, who is the celebrity in his own right, and three of his children. These also appear as social actors in the analysed texts, as shown in Chapter 9. Therefore, contrary to the previous image,

where the identity of the chef is unknown, here it is clear exactly who the represented people are.[54]

These social actors differ from those in the previous image in many other ways as well. Firstly, they are wearing everyday clothes, rather than a specific professional uniform. The aprons seem to be those for home use rather than the professional white ones normally worn by chefs. The absence of an apron on the men (neither the father nor the son have one) may suggest an interesting gendering of apron use (i.e. only being suitable for women).

Secondly, the girl in the centre of the image seems to be enjoying herself. It seems that she was caught in the middle of laughing while trying to beat the egg, suggesting that the activity is entertaining. She is waiting for the steak to come from her brother's station to hers, where she will coat it in the beaten egg. The brother (the boy on her left) seems interested in the activity that he is undertaking (as seen by his facial expression, for example). The third child, Pavla (left) is, however, is observing the brother and waiting for the steak to arrive to the third station, where it will be coated in breadcrumbs, finally preparing the Viennese-style steak for frying. In 'standard' cookbooks, enjoyment is usually not represented as explicitly as it is here, and it is certainly not one of the focal points.

This image is a realisation of Oliver's constant plea to involve children in the cooking process (see Chapter 5 for a discussion of the topic related to children). While the

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[54] Jamie Oliver's visual material, for example, sometimes even contains names which nominate the social actors in the image. It can be said that this is a visual form of Fairclough's (2001 [1989]) synthetic personalization as it appears as if these people are our own 'friends'.

Novaks never explicitly call for this, they constantly include images of children helping them cook in their cookbooks, directly representing how this should be done (i.e. by example) rather than only by discussing it.

The setting of this activity is most probably the Novaks' home. It is, therefore, filled with objects used in everyday modern life (*e.g.* a fridge) and decoration objects such as a bunch of sunflowers at the back of the room. On the right, there is also a fruit bowl and a pot of herbs. Compared to the sterile look of the cooker in Image 4(a), the setting here seems more a representation of any reader's home kitchen filled with various everyday objects. Similar settings can normally be seen in Oliver's images, where he cooks in what was set up by the BBC as his 'home' kitchen. In order to give this idea, the kitchen in which he was filmed and photographed, was set up as an ordinary kitchen, i.e. a rather messy, but warm place full of pots, pans and food boxes. Similarly, the Novaks tend to give the same impression: their kitchen is presented as a kitchen of any average viewer, who is invited to identify with the lifestyle they represent.

2.1.2.5.5 Food photography

While cookbooks do not contain only images of food,[55] but also other subjects (such as landscapes and portraits), food photography remains at their centre.

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[55] This is not new: Food has been represented in relation to people and the settings throughout history. The initial intention to include imagery was not exclusively to help people imagine how the final product should look, but also to decorate the book. Hence, older cookbooks contain not only images of objects related to eating, but also of people in their natural settings.

In art, food and food related activities have been represented for many centuries. Food first acted as a symbol for various senses that the author wanted to depict and was not the subject of painting on its own. Because senses were regarded as matters closer to nature (and animality) than to culture, this topic was seen to be of secondary importance. Senses were organised hierarchically and were depicted thus in art. Touch, for example, was related to sexual pleasure, whereas vision and hearing were given higher status. For centuries, food was represented as an addition to another object: an apple in a painting of the Virgin Mary was a symbol, but on its own it was considered trivial and unworthy of serious attention (Korsmeyer 2000: 157-8).

As a counterpoint to such a hierarchy of the senses, still-life painting was developed and here, food was depicted on its own. Consequently, still life was not considered a genre of equal importance to the other paintings. The subject, food, was generally considered to be a feminine matter, thus of lower and domestic status, suggesting repetitiveness and routine as opposed to the male depiction of unique events (Korsmeyer 2000: 164). Despite all this, still-life could still be presented in a way that could "appeal also to the sense of taste and gustatory appetite" (*ibid.*: 159) using the technique of *trompe d'oeil*. Despite such depiction being heavily criticised, still life was loved through history. Those in favour tried to show that they were not paintings merely related to pleasure, but a serious subject and that they contained a "moral depth" (*ibid.*: 161), such as a hidden suggestion for modesty in eating.

Unlike in art, food in cookbooks was generally visually represented in ways which did not openly invite gustatory and sexual pleasures. Cookbooks were regarded as manuals, instructions for the preparation of a certain dish. Food photography is in fact

still life depicted via a different technique (*via* film or digital media rather than on canvas) and is used not to hang on a wall but for commercial use (marketing) in various settings (menus, cookbooks, packaging, calendars, etc.). Food photography is nearly always a result of the work of a photographer together with food stylist (Manna and Moss 2005). Rather than being a trend from the perspective 'from above', food photography in the West today is presented in more natural terms (it should look clean and simple) (effects include selective focus, tilted plates and extreme close ups), which goes hand in hand with trends in professional cooking that strive to make food more visually appealing.

The extreme case of food photography is 'food porn'. Again, as in paintings, there is a connection between food and sexuality. Food porn is a term which refers to the photography of food where the food is presented as provocative or glamorous. The term first appears in the writing of the feminist critic Rosalind Coward (1984: 103):

> Cooking food and presenting it beautifully is an act of servitude. It is a way of expressing affection through a gift... That we should aspire to produce perfectly finished and presented food is a symbol of a willing and enjoyable participation in servicing others. Food pornography exactly sustains these meanings relating to the preparation of food. The kinds of picture used always repress the process of production of a meal. They are always beautifully lit, often touched up.

Another possible meaning of food porn refers to the attractiveness and presentation style of some cooking show hosts, such as Nigella Lawson. Lawson has become

renowned for her flirtatious manner of presentation, and the perceived overt sexuality of her presentation style has led to her being labelled by several commentators as the "queen of food porn".
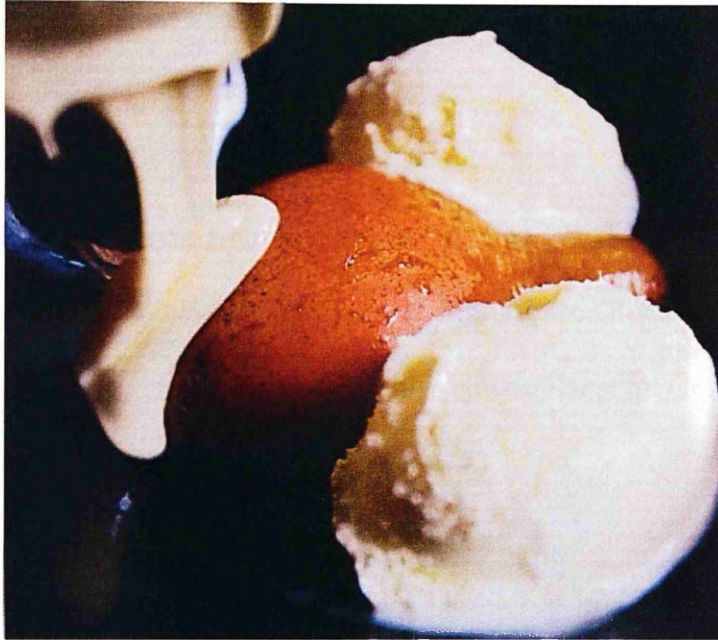
Image 5: Food porn from the Novaks' first cookbook Ljubezen skozi želodec. *The image represents a poached pear with ice cream and white cream being poured on it. However, it also has another reading: the pear and the two white ice-cream balls on its side may resemble the shape of a penis.*

Scholars often take for granted the idea that the various modalities of such multimodal material complement each-other: Lash (1990), however, suggests that text and image can embody contradicting tendencies: he talks of two ideal types where the 'discursive modernist' type operates "through a distancing of the spectator from the cultural object" (*ibid.*: 175) while the hedonistic consumer culture of images functions in the opposite way: it erodes the distance between the spectator and the image. This is because, "while texts anchor meanings in concrete narratives, images tolerate

ambiguity and invite the active interpretive and associational work of viewers and consumers..." (Binkley 2006: 111).

Similarly as in the section above (i.e. visual representation of social actors), I now turn towards the representation of objects in 'standard' and 'celebrity' cookbooks in my examples.

The two images below come from a 'standard' Slovene cookbook (*Velika kuharica, p. 350*) (Image 6(a)) and a 'celebrity' cookbook, in this case Oliver's *Happy Days with the Naked Chef (p. 263)* (Image 6(b)). They are representative images of the two styles of visual material that can be found in these books.

Image 6(a) represents several pieces of cooked chicken in a metal pot, ready to be served. Surrounding the main dish are objects which are intended for decoration, such as vegetables and spices that were perhaps used in the preparation of this dish (for example, onion and pepper), but also other objects and vegetables. These are represented here because of the meaning that they may contribute to the image. Tomatoes, aubergines and courgettes are all Mediterranean vegetables; as such, they create the image of this dish as Mediterranean, which cannot be seen from the chicken itself. The objects are neatly arranged around the central focus of the image – the pot – which is positioned closest to the viewer. The colours used in this image are generally warm (*e.g.* the wooden table and the colour of the tomatoes - red); however, other colours also appear in the picture (*e.g.* the green courgette). As suggested in the literature (*e.g.* Hunter 1991), the perspective of this image is top-down, i.e. the photo

is taken from the perspective of an average person standing and looking at the dish. The entire image is equally focussed.

Image 6(a) is therefore representing a Mediterranean dish, an impression which is achieved using a number of suitable vegetables as decoration elements. The red colours give the dish a homely touch, whereas the neat representation gives an impression of a careful setting of the scene.

(a)   (b)

Images 6(a) and (b): A pair of images representing objects from a 'standard' and a 'celebrity' cookbook

Compared to this image, Image 6(b) is an example of 'celebrity' cookbook imagery. The image features a part of a plate of sliced pineapples decorated with mint sugar. The arrangement of the pineapple on the plate suggests playfulness; they seem not to have been arranged carefully, neither do they seem to have been placed in any specific order. Rather, the idea that the plate gives is that of coincidence, as if the slices have

accidentally fallen into the plate in this particular way. Similarly, the mint sugar seems to have been sprinkled on the pineapple randomly. This impression is further strengthened as some mint sugar can also be seen on the table-cloth near the plate. It therefore seems clear that this presentation contrasts greatly with Image 6(a), which is presented as being carefully arranged and where nothing seems to be left to chance. The pineapple image does not have the intention of representing the plate as specifically arranged and neat, but rather gives the impression of spontaneity.

The colours in this image are contrasting; the tablecloth consists of a cold (blue) and a warm colour (red). This is in contrast to the yellowness of the pineapple with green mint-sugar sprinkled over it. The blue and the yellow give an impression of freshness, contrary to the red features of Image 6(a), where the dish is designed to give an impression of warmth, tradition and homeliness.

The majority of Image 6(b) is out of focus, and only the closest parts of the plate can be seen clearly. This, again, is a feature that distinguishes 'standard' cookbook images from 'celebrity' ones. It is a technique which brings only certain parts of the dish to the viewer's attention. Unlike Image 6(a), where other related objects are also present on the table, this image only shows the pineapple slices. The focus on what seems the closest part of the image therefore creates an area of interest for the wandering eye of the viewer, especially as the image does not have a special focus on a particular object like Image 6(a). Here, the pot with the chicken pieces is represented as the centre of the image. In Image 6(b), however, no such central point exists. The focusing is therefore perhaps a consequence of a closer zoom and an absence of other decorative

elements in the image. Pineapple also appears to be photographed from a closer point as compared to the chicken.

To sum up, the representation of food in culinary manuals has undergone a change. From food photography of a still-life dish surrounded by various decorative objects and seemingly neat presentation, the food is now represented on its own, encompassing the entire picture. What matters more now is the detail of certain foodstuffs as well as the message that the image is trying to give: spontaneity, freshness and lack of exhausting and planned decoration. Like in the linguistic representation, simplicity and imperfection are the core messages of how the food is supposed to be seen in contemporary society.

2.1.2.6 Food and taste in Britain

Between the late 1960s and 1990s, there were important changes in terms of food and taste in Britain. Continuing the seminal work of Stephen Mennell on the long term changes in British tastes, his measuring of change is based on material from household surveys and statistics as well as women's magazines in order to be able to explain changes in food representation in this period. For him, recipes in women's magazines are important as they were not only used for cooking but were also "fuelling the imagination about food, style and pleasure" (Warde 1997: 44); thus, they were setting the standards. He finally talks about four antinomies. He shows how the changes that have happened in society also affect practices related to food as an example of lifestyle. At the same time, this study shows how the representation of food as seen in magazines coincides with what household surveys and statistics revealed, thus being a trend setter, but also reflecting the existing tastes of the population.

Until the 1980s, British cuisine tended to be a blend of many ethnic cuisines which were used to construct the 'modern British' national cuisine. The symbol for British cooking was regionality, the market, the relishes and spices, as well as tradition (Warde 2009: 159). In the 1990s, however, the discourse of postmodern culture was introduced, with its eclecticism, mixing of cuisines, celebrity, less concern for the purity of ingredients, hybridisation of national cuisines, celebration of lack of order, and glorification of exuberance and fun (*ibid.*: 162). Global sourcing became the main basis of the 'new tradition' that Britain was to invent and construct in postmodernism (*ibid.*: 165).

2.2 JAMIE OLIVER, A CULTURAL INTERMEDIARY

Today, Jamie Oliver is so widely known around the world that a special introduction to this lifestyle celebrity, a chef and businessman may appear ignorant to the scale of fame that he receives and the status that he deserves. Starting as an apprentice in one of London's restaurants in the late 1990s, he first appeared in his own TV cooking show, *The Naked Chef*, in 1999. He has hence become known globally, particularly because of a number of projects in which he set out to tackle issues within British society, such as social deprivation, healthy nourishment and education about food. Despite this, Oliver's public persona and his brand, *Jamie*, reflect the ideals and the culture of postmodern Britain: on one hand, this is his position in the structure and on the other, the values and tastes that he exhibits. He is a celebrity chef who has become famous because of his edutainment role in the late capitalist lifestyle media: In *The Naked Chef*, we can see what Bondebjerg describes as "...the democratisation of an old public service discourse dominated by experts and a very official kind of talk, and

the creation of a new mixed public sphere, where common knowledge and everyday experience play a much larger role." (Bondebjerg 1996: 29 in Brunsdon *et al.* 2001: 37). He has developed a distinctive brand, which contributed to him becoming an authoritative person in public life. He is tackling issues that are, to a large extent, a consequence of the British free-market economy since the early 1980s, such as the case of the unsuitable food in British schools that emerged as a consequence of Thatcher's introduction of free-market principles into school canteens.

As for his values, Oliver embodies postmodern man with an acceptable touch of femininity, while still retaining his masculine sexual appeal. He promotes the taste of the middle class, who enjoys cooking and hedonistically indulges in eating. He stimulates people to cook according to their own desires, abandoning exact measurements and procedures by following their own instincts. His food is represented as domestic rather than industrial, and local rather than global while still using a range of global ingredients that one can find in the local markets. As a cultural intermediary, Oliver not only reinforces the postmodern ideology to British middle class consumers, but exports it also to other countries to which he is introduced through the global media.

2.2.1 Who is he?

James Trevor (Jamie) Oliver was born in 1975 and was raised in Clavering in Essex, where his parents own a village pub called The Cricketers. He often stresses how this culinary capital that he acquired from this young age helped him develop, particularly as his father showed an interest in locally produced food from early on. From the age of eight on, he worked in the pub's kitchen, and started cooking from 14 years old. In

1991, he went to London's Westminster Kingsway College, where he acquired basic culinary knowledge. Soon after, he spent some time in France and when he returned to London, he began working in Gennaro Contaldo's Neal Street Restaurant as a pastry chef. Gennaro Contaldo remained his friend and featured in many of his TV shows and books.

When he was 21, Jamie Oliver was first spotted by Pat Llewellyn from an independent production company, Optomen,[56] in the kitchen of one of London's restaurants River Café – his next professional stop – while they were filming a documentary about this restaurant (Lewis 2008; Smith 2006). Optomen also produced all the subsequent Jamie Oliver shows for BBC.[57] His media career thus started in 1999, at the age of 24, as he appeared in his own TV show, *The Naked Chef*, for the first time. Two more series under the same umbrella term followed in the subsequent years, *The Return of the Naked Chef* and *Happy Days with the Naked Chef*. Under the brand of *The Naked Chef*, he followed an established format of lifestyle TV that was already known to the British audience of the time, as I have shown in the first part of the chapter. His subsequent series were *Pukka Tukka* (2000) and *Oliver's Twist* (2002). In 2005, however, he turned towards a rather different genre of TV cooking programme, *Jamie's school dinners*. Talbot (2007: 110) comments that while his shows still retained lifestyle elements, there was also "docu-soap, celebrity biopic and

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[56] This, and some other information in this paragraph, was provided by Joanne Hollows (personal communication) as a critique to the literature cited. I would like to thanks her for pointing these out.

[57] Hollows (p.c.) suggests that *"Oliver's Twist* was not made for the UK market but the international market. It got shown much later in the UK and not on the network BBC channels." It might have been made by Jamie Oliver's production company Fresh One.

makeover"[58] as well as for the first time the "mediatised political activism", characteristic of many contemporary celebrities.

Unlike many other TV 'chefs', however, Oliver's legitimacy as a TV chef is situated in his position as a restaurant chef (Hollows 2003) while his Slovene lifestyle equivalents, Novak and Smej Novak, which I will discuss in the next chapter, do not have this legitimacy and have to rely on other areas, as for example their expertise in cooking because they are parents who cook for their children, because they are translators of a number of cookbooks and because they have an amateur interest (and hence, advanced expertise) in the culinary field.

Such a mixture of elements allows the building of a brand 'Jamie' in many very distinctive ways. Hence, in 2002, he established his Fifteen foundation, a charity that offers young people from the edge of the society the opportunity to be trained in a restaurant. The project was named after the first group of fifteen apprentices, Fifteen North London, and featured in his *Jamie's Kitchen* series. This further confirmed his portrayal as a do-gooder (Talbot 2007: 110) and brought him an Order of the British Empire (OBE) awarded by the Queen (Kelly and Harrison 2009). Two years later he embarked on a new project – *School dinners* – in which he set out to improve British eating habits.[59] He started by trying to change the food children were being given in schools and by lobbying for a bigger budget to be allocated for school meals.[60] If

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[58] Docu-soap is a combination of hard and soft genres because it combines "hard facts, information and values of realism /.../ with access to and emphasis on Jamie's personal life, friends and family relationships laid bare and in around his domestic space" (Brunsdon *et al.* 2001: 38).

[59] British school meals have deteriorated since Thatcher introduced market competitiveness. Schools started to cater cheap, rather than quality food.

[60] Naik (2008) doubts that Oliver did in fact put dinners on the agenda.

some of the larger issues Oliver might have encountered in his Fifteen project remained manageable, School Dinners proved not to be as successful as it was hoped. Several issues emerged, such as teaching dinner ladies 'healthy' cooking and convincing children to eat this food, which, in many cases, differed greatly from the food that they were used to. These are clearly problems that could have been avoided had Oliver not approached them in a simplistic manner that characterises the advice of many postmodern 'experts' (Inthorn and Boyce 2010: 92ff). Oliver was without doubt trying to approach the issue with the best intentions, but he ended up being very disappointed and even cried in one of his TV shows. Oliver did not take into consideration the connection between taste and class, which as Bourdieu has reminded us, is particularly strong in Britain. The food that Oliver proposed was, according to his status as a promoter of middle class tastes, not working class food. Instead of replacing unhealthy elements of the meal with similar healthier variants, Oliver imposed "his food tastes, while presenting the issue as a purely dietary one" (Talbot 2007: 120), resulting in angry parents bringing fast food to school in order for their children not to be completely hungry. The other issue related to school dinner ladies who were not used to cooking such food. When Oliver tried to teach them, the communicative situation often seemed to be inappropriate, as he referred to them as 'girls' even though they were older than him. This contributed to "underlining the asymmetrical social relations between them" (Talbot 2007: 116). Finally, his approach also ignored the very diverse food habits of British school children in terms of religious needs (Twiner *et al.* 2009). Despite these difficulties, he was later named the "Most Inspiring Political Figure of 2005," annually selected by Channel 4 News viewers.

This orientation towards social issues continued in the subsequent years and contributed to Oliver's image as a 'good guy'. From then on, Oliver completely abandoned the naughty brand overtly playing on sexuality[61] and started developing a different brand – *Jamie* – which is to convey messages compatible with his "social change" approach. Not only did he continue to promote an Italian lifestyle as preferable and healthy, but he also kept working on the Dinners and Fifteen projects throughout the first half of the new millennium's first decade. In 2008, around the start of the financial crisis, and alluding to the inter-war Ministry of Food,[62] he returned to issues of healthy and affordable eating, this time by working with communities who were previously reluctant in respect to his School Dinners projects, particularly in Rotherham. By now, Oliver had managed to evoke "an interest in food that transcends age, class and culture and was unseen in Britain before" (Smith 2006: 224); thus his next step was a project in which he was to tackle eating habits of the United States.[63] In 2009,

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[61] For example, the title of his book and his nickname, *The Naked Chef* suggests nudity and draws on sexuality (*cf.* Cook *et al.* 2008).

[62] He explains the idea in the books as follows (Oliver 2008: 9-10): "During and after the First World War terrible food shortages meant many people were malnourished. So when the Second World War broke out the government knew they'd have to do something pretty clever to stop this happening again, and what they did was set up a Ministry of Food. Basically it was created for two major reasons: to make sure there was enough food to go round and also to educate the public about food and proper nutrition so they'd be healthy and fit. /.../ The Ministry of Food was all about going to the people, wherever they were – workplaces, factories, gentlemen's clubs or local shopping areas. They did this by simply mobilising thousands of women who could cook, then sending them out across the whole country to provide support and tips to the public. Because of this, people knew how to use their food rations properly and were able to eat, and live, better. Historians say the original Ministry of Food was a saving grace of the war."

[63] Oliver's approach was again over-simplistic, and he had to cope with major resentment from the American people who were not willing to change their tastes in food and styles of life.

Oliver is at the head of a multinational corporation that has produced 12 television series and assorted specials seen in 130 countries; he has written 10 cookbooks that have been translated into 29 languages and sold almost 24 million copies in 56 countries. In addition to the Fifteen Foundation and restaurants, he has opened six Jamie's Italian restaurants in the UK in the past two years, high-volume yet high-quality odes to a cuisine he loves; he sells his own brands of cookware, cutlery, tableware and gift foods; he publishes his own magazine; and he continues in his ninth year as spokesman for Sainsbury's, an upscale supermarket chain ... [H]e is said to be personally worth at least $65 million (Witchel 2009).

2.2.2 What does he represent?

Oliver sells a "whole lifestyle through a discourse of accessibility and achievability", "a way to be through clothes, looks, domestic space and ways of being a man" and in this way makes "available particular ideals of taste, style, gender, family values and morality to the 'ordinary' viewer." (Brunsdon *et al.* 2001: 38). In particular, I will be focusing on the initial four of these: taste, style, gender and family values, and I will replace 'morality' with 'values related to food' as I found this particularly salient in a subsequent discussion of these same topics appearing in the Slovene variant of the lifestyle cooking discourse.

2.2.2.1 Taste

British middle class taste can be considered a reaction to many factors such as many health related food problems as a consequence of free-market economy with no regulation (hence, organic food is often preferred by the middle class), avoidance of

air-freighted products with the aim of saving the environment (hence, local food is often preferred), and a turn towards imperfection in cooking as opposed to the perfectionism of the restaurants (hence, homemade food is favoured). However, British cuisine of the 1990s was also a fusion of various cooking styles and ingredients from around the world, and as such, it was even marketed as 'traditionally British' (for an interesting discussion about an 'invention' of the British 'traditional' food towards the end of the millenium see Warde 2009). An important element in Oliver's taste is also the representation of Italian cuisine, which functions as an important factor in his construction of masculinity (see below), but it at the same time "signifies less formal and more 'rustic' tradition." (Hollows 2003: 235), thus stressing his taste as not posh, as not restaurant, and not French (a connotation of Frenchness in Britain would also work against his established representation as a 'simple lad' and is hence completely avoided in all of his shows). This idea of 'homely food' is further complemented with everyday British domestic cookery.

2.2.2.2. Gender: masculinity

Hollows establishes that Oliver's lifestyle activity is built precisely around the play between the Britishness and Italianness, hence stressing his ethnicity as a "British-Italian hybrid" (Hollows 2003: 235). Because of the connotations that 'Italy' has in Britain, Oliver thus manages to build his masculinity in terms of an *ideal* man: "brother, lover, son, friend and father" which is confirmed with the extra discursive practices of a long-term monogamous relationship, marriage and children (Brunsdon *et al.* 2001: 38), while at the same time also remaining constructed as a woman as he shops, dances, and cooks, which can be seen to be stereotypical characteristics of women. The tension in this presentation is negotiated throughout his shows as he

supplements these with other, more masculine activities: he rides a scooter (Italian Vespa), plays drums in a band and visits his suppliers. This is supported by "hard and cheeky" language, which is "punctuated with words like 'bash', 'smash' and 'throw'". (*ibid.*). As one commentator notices, he is "heterosexual, but in touch with his feminine side" (Walker 2000: 6 in Brunsdon *et al.* 2001: 38). Moseley (in Brunsdon *et al.* 2001: 38) stresses that "Jamie the Naked Chef can be understood as an explicit articulation of the tension between these two representations, and the show, in terms of content and aesthetic, as representing a negotiation, a struggle between these competing discourses of masculinity.". Miller (2007c: 127) similarly suggests that his appeal is "cross-class metro-sexual appeal" where "cooking seems like a legitimate pastime for the man who is equally at home in front of the football or the *foie gras*." Oliver also likes to bake, which is traditionally seen, at least in Britain, to be a female concern (Humble 2005: 258ff). But above all, Oliver also demonstrates that 'real lads' do cook" (Moseley 2000: 309).

2.2.2.3 Family values

Oliver is represented as a family man, and this image is not only reinforced through his constant narrative about his girlfriend/fiancée/wife Juliet and later his children, but also many photographs of his family in all of his cookbooks (Image 7 below). Family members are featured in his shows. Again, his inflicted Italianness helps to establish rather conservative family values. His reference to 'bambinos' rather than children (as noted by Moseley in Hollows 2003: 235) creates "an imagined Italian tradition of family, rather than a British family-values agenda, which usually signifies a non-youthful conservativism" (Hollows 2003: 235).
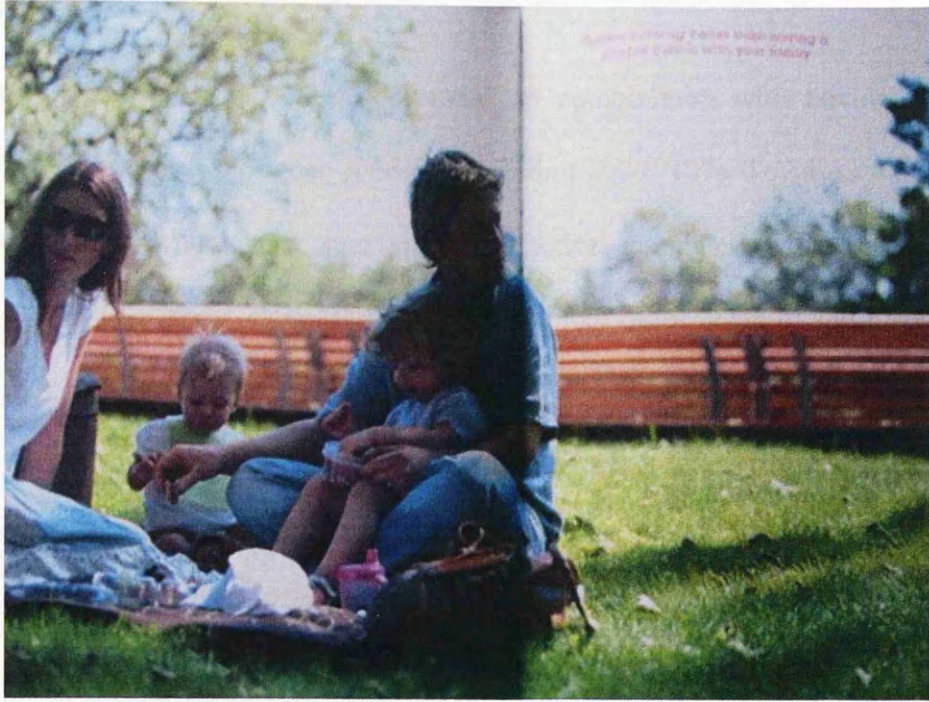
Image 7: Oliver is often represented with his family.

2.2.2.4 Values related to food, cooking and life in general

As opposed to female cooking, which is often seen as everyday obligation, Oliver's masculinity is built around cooking as pleasure (Hollows 2003: 240). Enjoyment while cooking is "associated with the middle classes for whom food preparation is entertainment", rather than work, which is largely because this is normally not a typical middle classes profession (after Lupton 1996 in Hollows 2003: 249). Oliver will thus ask the viewer to enjoy not only the process, but also the food, to be creative in cooking, and to freely choose or replace the ingredients. Tradition serves as a point of security, comfort and point of orientation, but the stress is on the expression of one's needs and desires in relation to food, rather than following the pre-established tastes of the previous generation.

2.2.2.5 Style

He was marketed as a "cheeky persona" in combination with having a "can-do approach to cooking" (Bonner 2006: 68 in Talbot 2007: 109). To stress this style and to attract young audiences, pop video aesthetics associated with MTV are used (Moseley 2000: 309; Ketchum 2005: 231). Unlike other chefs of the time, such as Delia Smith for example, who represents a middle class, instruction oriented chef with a direct appeal for the audience, Oliver rather approaches the task dynamically; comparing him to *Delia* who also cooks in her own home – *Jamie* tends to be less static: while she speaks directly to the camera, he talks to a seemingly hidden figure behind the camera which only emphasises his construction of "ordinariness" as opposed to the 'BBC' voice behind the camera. He is "down-to-earth and casual, his language and manner of handling of food are gutsy and punchy" (Brunsdon *et al.* 2001: 36).

Feature of masculinity and ordinariness are further strengthened with the use of language: he uses pop slang ('pukka peaches mate') (Moseley 2000: 309). In order to attract not only the young, but also the older public, he uses interplay of language that connotes old times (such as 'dinner ladies') as well as expressions that are fashionable today. He uses a number of other rhetorical figures as well. In their study of his language in the public debate about school dinners Guy Cook, Alison Twiner and Julia Gillen (Cook and Gillen 2008: 21-23; Cook *et al.* 2008) found his style to be "colloquial and informal, with frequent swearing". He uses vague and evaluative language, such as the 'catch words' of contemporary British cuisine: 'fresh(ly) prepared', 'healthy', 'homemade' and 'traditional' that cannot in fact have these exact meanings as it would be difficult, for example, for a meal to be 'homemade' if it was cooked in the school kitchen. Metonymy is also used: 'burgers', 'pizzas', and 'chips'

stand for high caloric (bad) food, while 'focaccia' stands for healthy, good food. Finally, his language is skilfully used to exploit the effects of poetic parallelism (below), as it is possible to establish the parallels between the clauses of his sentences (now-now; I can-I can; got my bit-get on with it) as well as rhyme (my bit- on with it).

So now	– lovely –	got my bit,		
now	I can	get on with it,		
I can			be a normal	
			bloke.	

Example 1: Poetic parallelism in Oliver's language (Cook et al. 2008).

In terms of style of eating, Oliver also deviates from accepted manners: tasting food with his fingers and then giving "groans of pleasure" (Ketchum 2005: 231) not only intensifies the surrealness of the situation, as Ketchum comments, but most of all reinforces his representation of masculinity in term of his sex-appeal (*cf.* The Naked Chef). He promotes a decivilising process[64] (Elias 1994) as he often uses his hands rather than specific tools for mixing and tasting the food.[65]

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[64] In his salient work *The civilizing process* Elias (1994) studies how the Europeans became 'civilised'. By analysing various culinary and behaviour manuals from the Middle Ages to the 17th century, he describes how European manners were gradually shaped. One such behaviour was the use of certain cooking and eating equipment, as throughout the Middle Ages people tended to eat with their hands, only gradually learning to use knives and spoons. The 'decivilising process' therefore refers to the reversal of this tendency.

[65] Bauman also talks of postmodernity as a decivilised modernity (see in Smith 2001).

2.3 GLOBALISATION AND LIFESTYLE DISCOURSES

One of the characteristics of postmodernity is a further shrinkage of time and space; in defining the economic characteristics of the early 1980s in the beginning of this chapter, I have already pointed towards the increased possibility of sharing material goods globally and have shown its effects on local production. When talking about globalisation, however, one cannot neglect the important aspects that relate to the political as well as cultural effects of globalisation in societies around the world. New technology, for example, creates numerous possibilities for mass TV to instantaneously spread around the world not only information, but also ideas, values and habits. These can be seen in many households around the world at the same time. With this, discourses are being globalised at a speed never seen before. Anglophone chefs seen on lifestyle TV shows are the most globalised group of TV chefs in the world: out of approximately 200 celebrity chefs from countries such as Iceland, the United Arab Emirates and Trinidad and Tobago, in 2008 British and the US chefs "totally dominate the world television markets for food shows" (Award 2008). Fifteen percent of all world chefs come from Britain. This places Britain as a world leader in this category, which in turn means that cultural intermediaries such as Oliver do not only act as consolidators, promoters and justifiers of a particular middle-class British lifestyle to the other groups within Britain, but can now spread this influence to all other countries around the world.

TV shows, however, are not the only means of spreading new ideas and values. These transmitters rather than creators of cultural capital can also be "those working in higher education, publishing, magazines, broadcast media, theatre, and museums" whose symbolic capital is high enough to influence "the reception of serious cultural

products" (Bell 1976: 20) in the target country. Profit oriented publishing houses publish manuals that are related to TV shows with the hope that the previously established brand and TV marketing will stimulate sales. Publishing houses are therefore important "merchants of culture" (Thompson 2010) whose role in the globalisation of lifestyle and other discourses should not be underestimated. The competition in the global market and the pressure on publishing houses to publish profitable material creates a publishing industry with a diminished concern for publication of texts that are not part of the mainstream (*ibid.*).

2.3.1 Globalisation

2.3.1.1 Defining globalisation

In discussing the characteristics of contemporary society, the movement of people and goods on a global level, which has been particularly accelerated in the last five decades, is referred to as globalisation. The term, however, is "the most widely used – and misused" but at the same time also "one of the most rarely defined, the most nebulous and misunderstood" keywords of the present day (Beck 2000: 19). As a term, 'globalisation' is contemporary, while as a process, it seems to be rather old: this is a world exchange of foods and people that has its roots in the 16th century. It is related to world system theory (Wallerstein 1974) and its consequences were famously noted by Karl Marx in the middle of 19th century England. Many commentators understand contemporary global processes as an unavoidable and expected consequence of the process that started with Europe's discovery of the Americas. For Tomlinson, for example, this is a "rapidly developing and ever-densening network of interconnections and interdependencies that characterize modern social life" (Tomlinson 1999: 2). But the main notion – interconnectivity –

which is used to define globalisation, Tomlinson comments, can hardly be differentiated from other similar processes which occur not only in the past, for example during Romanisation or Hellenization of the ancient world (Burke 2009: 104), but also among other contemporary cultures, as studies in anthropology can illustrate. However, for the purposes of this thesis, I will claim that while such a view is descriptively valuable, it completely neglects the crucial connection of contemporary globalisation to the dogmatism of the neoliberal economy (see also Muntigl *et al.* 2000, in particular Wodak's contribution).[66] Globalisation is a process unlike others not only because of its specific understanding of social time and space, but also because of the

> scale, density and stability of regional-global relationship networks and their self-definition through the mass media, as well as of social spaces and of image flows at a cultural, political economic and military level (Beck 2000: 12).

At the same time, Beck also enumerates a number of other novelties, such as the perception of trans-nationality itself, "'placelessness' of community, labour and capital", the perception of Other in one's life and the rise of European institutions, to name just a few (Beck 2000: 11). Furthermore, globalisation is a kind of 'rhetoric', "the main weapon in the battles against the gains of the welfare state." (Bourdieu 1998: 34). This is Beck's (2000: 11) *"processes* through which sovereign national states are criss-crossed and undermined by transnational actors with varying prospects of power, orientation, identities and networks." I thus claim that globalisation should

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[66] Harvey (2005: 170) provides an excellent introduction to neoliberalism and its "social consequences which are in fact extreme."

be seen as a part of the political and economic decisions of Western governments, in particular Darwinist neoliberal dogma, and it is as such neither unavoidable, nor 'natural'. In this process, which is also a process of redistribution (Bauman (1998) refers to it as 'stealing') of the world's wealth for the benefit for a small group of people, new media and business elites are acquiring a large amount of economic capital while portraying globalisation in specific ways (Steger 2001).

We can see why it is important to talk about globalisation and discourse. I have already made a distinction between the actual processes of globalisation and the related discourses: if we state that discourse does not merely represent, but also actively shapes the processes of globalisation, the discourse requires special attention.[67] The media is an important actor in this relationship because it is an important bearer of such discourses, "transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity" (Fairclough 2006) that can be realised in terms of genres and discourses: genres such as CNN news, UN and EU websites and discourses such as "neoliberal" or discourses of popular culture and other lifestyle discourses.

For Steger (2001), a specific representation of globalisation is termed 'globalism' and it sees globalisation to be:

- about liberalisation and the global integration of markets,
- inevitable and irreversible,

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[67] Of course, as Fairclough realises, this is a complex relationship: he discusses the relationship between globalisation and its discourses. He claims that discourses do not merely represent, but also actively shape the processes of globalisation. He positions himself within critical realism: "there are *real* processes of (*e.g.* economic) globalisation, independently of whether people recognise them or not, and of how they represent them" and there are also representations of these processes (Fairclough 2006: 5).

- nobody is in charge,

- beneficial to everyone,

- further spreading democracy in the world.

This is largely a portrayal of globalisation in terms of its economic component while neglecting other aspects of it which make globalisation a complex process with at least three dimensions: economic, political and cultural. Wodak (2000a: 74) and Weiss and Wodak (2000), on the other hand, talk of 'globalization rhetoric,' which refers to the "discursive construction of a state of affairs known as 'globalization'". Wodak (2000a: 74) gives an example of unemployment discourse as she claims that such rhetoric exists in a "very close argument relationship with the other constitutive elements of the EU unemployment discourse" (*e.g.* 'flexibility' and 'competitiveness') related to the neoliberal economy.

2.3.1.1.1 Dimensions of globalisation[68]

Globalisation, however, is not just about the economy, but *also* about it. Scholars (*e.g.* Tomlinson 1999) mention three dimensions of globalisation. The first of these dimensions, Economic globalisation, relates to essentially involving the linking of national economies in terms of trade, finances and investment by multinational firms. Much has been written about this aspect, which originates in Friedrich Hayek's and Milton Friedman's economic ideas that were welcomed in the Europe of the 1970's,

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[68] Appadurai (1996) identifies five dimensions or 'landscapes' – as he names them – that take part in these "global cultural flows" and that form globalisation: Ethnoscapes (flows of people); technoscapes (flows of information with the help of technology); finanscapes (flows of global capital); mediascapes (flows of information via the media and the capability to produce them); and ideoscapes (flows of ideologies).

when the previous Keynesian welfare state seemed to be economically failing. In the context of the present thesis, it is perhaps worth mentioning that neoliberal ideas started to flourish and spread all over Europe with greater speed after the fall of communism in Central and Eastern Europe, when the prevailing discourse was that of disfunctioning state regulated markets (as a post-war economic consensus in Europe) (*e.g.* Kramberger 2003). One ideology was easily exchanged for the other as neoliberalism promised 'freedom' and 'democracy'.

Part of neoliberal 'newspeak' (Bourdieu 1993b) is to give new meanings to words that are already in circulation. In neoliberal dogma, 'freedom' – as seen, for example, in the US – is the freedom to enjoy free trade but without responsibility for its consequences, while freedom of movement and protest (by those at the unfortunate end of the globalisation) does not apply (Bauman 1998: 70 also discusses 'freedom' of two kinds). British academic discourse is particularly well adapted to the neoliberal 'newspeak' as it is often not able to separate "analytical concerns from ideological and normative matters" (Alan Scott in Steger 2001, 401). The consequence is of course a "danger that the ethos of scientific detachment might unintentionally serve politically motivated attempts to provide 'people with persuasive arguments' to the effect that little can be done in the face of these enormous economic, political and social developments" (Steger 2001: 41). For example, we now 'learn' sociology instead of 'study' it, we have 'experience' instead of 'knowledge'; we do 'research' but no more 'science', and euphemisms such as 'challenges' are used in place of 'difficulties' and 'problems'. Focusing on 'learn' vs. 'study,' this shows a clear reorientation of universities towards vocational training rather than the production of original knowledge and it coincides with general trends in universities: 'Learning' French

means that, at the end of the process, the person will be able to speak, read and write in French. 'Studying', on the other hand, is an academic pursuit, where one studies French language as an object, the concepts within it and their connections. Similarly, 'experience' as a typical postmodern catchword has nothing to do with objective and possibly verifiable (or objectifiable) knowledge, because it depends on one's own personal perception of the world. As such, it eliminates the authority of the objective knowledge that needs to be acquired through study in a longer process. Furthermore, experience does not require reflection of any kind because it remains solely personal and thus always unmistakable.

The second dimension of globalisation is that it can be seen as a <u>political process.</u> It is centred on the question of a nation state and the way it is influenced by the flows of capital/ transactions across its borders. This relates to the sovereignty of the nation state (the EU, as a supra-national state has taken over many of its functions) and how this relates to the growing concern over global governance. The third dimension of globalisation, which is at the heart of this study's interest, is <u>cultural</u>: "Globalization lies at the heart of modern culture; cultural practices lie at the heart of globalization", claims Tomlinson (1999: 28). "[C]ulture matters for globalisation in the obvious sense that it is an intrinsic aspect of the whole process of complex connectivity", says Tomlinson in his comprehensive overview of issues that surround globalisation and culture (Tomlinson 1999: 22). Giddens equally stresses that culture is a/the "fundamental" aspect of globalisation. The two do not share the same notion of culture, however. While Giddens understands 'culture' to refer to media and its technologies, Tomlinson (1999: 21) adopts a definition, closer to cultural studies. Following Raymond Williams, he understands it to be ordinary, as a "whole way of

life", "the order of life in which human beings construct meaning through practices of symbolic representation" or, as "ways in which people make their lives, individually and collectively, meaningful by communicating with each other" (Tomlinson 1999:18-9). Consequently, he is interested in the influence of globalisation in relation to identity, to shared values, myths, etc. around local life.

2.3.1.2 The consequences of globalisation: homogeneity or heterogeneity?

Steger suggests that the main question here is whether globalisation contributes to increasing cultural homogeneity "or does it lead to greater diversity and heterogeneity?" (Steger 2001: 34). One of the major concerns that surround globalisation is the effect that it may have on the local population and, in particular, their culture. This topic tends to be often misused in nationalist political rhetoric in a form of 'topos of threat' to the national identity and culture (cf. for example, Reisigl and Wodak 2001). Even in academia, however, concerns have been raised as to whether globalisation threatens local communities by producing a uniform culture or not. Following the findings of van Leeuwen, Machin and Thornborrow (Machin and Thornborrow 2003; Machin and Van Leeuwen 2003), I will claim that the general frame tends towards uniformity, while its actual local representation is not, therefore causing an appearance of heterogeneity.

2.3.1.2.1 Globalisation means homogeneity

Cultural globalisation causes homogeneity of society as a consequence of the 'cultural imperialism' (Tomlinson 1991) of Western culture towards the rest of the world. This includes 'media imperialism'(*ibid.*: 46). Tomlinson discusses the example of Donald Duck and the American ideology that it brings as well as the *Dallas* series. He

suggests that the fact that audiences can negotiate "the possible contradictions between alien cultural values and the 'pleasure of the text'" has been overlooked (see also Wodak 2009a; 2010 for media imperialism in the case of West Wing).

Ritzer (1993) proposes a thesis of the 'McDonaldisation' of society, which he set out in the early 1990s, when fast-food chains dominated much of society. Similarly, Barber (1996) talks of 'McWorld' in terms of the ability of consumer capitalism to spread around the world as America popular culture. These scholars mainly warn against the homogenisation of world culture and the Americanisation or "standardisation of lifestyles" (Latouche 1996) through the "Anglo-American value system /.../, consumer goods, and lifestyles" (Steger 2001: 34-35).

2.3.1.2.2 Globalisation means heterogeneity

When global products are introduced to a local environment, they are adapted to the cultural, social and political realities in which the local population lives. This is a necessary process that happens regardless of anyone's strategy or expectation; at least the meanings attributed to the new global commodity will be negotiated locally: local practices and discourse influence the reception, use, and adaptation of foreign/unknown materials. McDonald's, for example, has a very different meaning in former Socialist countries as it does in the US. Likewise, books are translated for local audiences, and recipes adapted to local tastes.

Quite a different thing is localisation with the specific aim of making a profit: in marketing, a strategy that arose in the 1970s is the appropriation of a global product to local settings with the aim of selling it more easily. The term for such a practice –

glocalisation –[69] is conveniently constructed of the notions 'global' and 'local' to emphasise its dual nature, but most importantly to provide practical ways of succeeding in doing it. Such interplay between the global and the local is shown in many studies, such as Koller (2007), where the author analyses the strategies with which the brand HSBC has seemingly recontextualized its discourse to local environments. Interestingly, the analysis illustrates that the opposition between local and global is visually and linguistically parallel to the opposition between old and new. The local is primarily represented in the past and is used only to attract local customers, while the majority of the bank's brand is still aimed at international/global users.

The term *glocalisation* has been introduced to academic discourse via British sociology (Robertson 1992; Wellman and Hampton 1999; also by Bauman 1998 who provides a critical discussion) where it can be used for any kind of appropriation of the global to the local regardless of whether this is a strategic, profit-increasing process or not. Bauman relates it to its neoliberal aspects and uses it to describe unequal relationships between global and local partners: "What is a free choice for some descends as cruel fate upon others" (Bauman 1998: 70). Following Robertson, he employs the term to refer to "the unbreakable unity between 'globalizing' and 'localizing' pressures – a phenomenon glossed over in the one-sided concept of globalization" (*ibid.*). For Bauman, then, 'glocal' is directly related to pressures from the global (on the top) to the local (on the bottom) where localisation is needed in

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[69] The concept originates in a Japanese business practice of the 1980s, where '*dochakuka*' came to mean 'global localization' (Robertson 1992). The original Japanese word referred to the way farming techniques were adapted to the conditions of particular locality.

order to insure "freedom of the successful", to sell, to make them accept the global phenomena. His critique of the process is unmistakable (*ibid.*: 72f):

> The lie of the free-trade promise is well covered up; the connection between the growing misery and desperation of the 'grounded' many and the new freedoms of the mobile few is difficult to spot in the reports coming from the lands cast on the receiving side of 'glocalization'. It seems, on the contrary, that the two phenomena belong to different world, each having its own, sharply distinct causes. One would never guess from the reports that the fast enrichment and fast impoverishment stem from the same root, that the 'grounding' of the miserable is as legitimate outcome of the 'glocalizing' pressures as are the new sky's-the-limit freedoms of the successful /.../

In using the term, as noted above, academia serves the interest of the capital, not the people, as it justifies the activities performed in the name of globalisation (increasing sales, increasing profits) by equating them with other, more spontaneous processes of adaptation to the local. There is also an important difference in this: by using the term (originally used to describe a technique of selling) for a process which is the reverse of its original use (analysis) the distinctions between the two are lost. It would perhaps be best to introduce another, business independent term which would be free of connotations and histories of marketing, such as hybridisation.

2.3.2 Branding and discourse in a globalised world

The general argument that I will be pursuing here follows from Van Leeuwen's empirical findings where he shows that lifestyle discourse is localised only in its appearance, while it retains global frames that make it recognisable as a particular discourse. I claim that when lifestyle discourse is introduced in Slovenia via cultural intermediaries, its local variant remains global in frame (i.e. it brings values, norms and general ideology similar to that found in Oliver) while it is localised to the Slovene circumstances: the local variant represents the new Slovene middle classes in a specific location and at a specific historic time. In this sense, I claim that both directions, both the thesis of homogeneity and that of heterogeneity, are partially right: while homogenisation can be observed on the level of the general frame, this is not always visible because it is manifest in local, specific forms. The most banal example is translation, as the content largely remains similar to the original, while the code of communication is changed.

My claim follows from research on the recontextualization of the lifestyle magazine *Cosmopolitan* into different countries worldwide. Studying the construction of global discourse in localised settings, a group of scholars showed how the global tends to be localised to the context of each specific country. As the style of the brand *Cosmopolitan* needs to be retained, a specific language has to be invented for use in local countries. This language, on the one hand, represents the global brand (i.e. local consumers must recognise it) while on the other it brings a new style to the local specific genre. If before, the magazine advice genre still retained elements such as distance between the reader and the writer, Cosmo advice tends to bridge the gap between the two by introducing new styles with more informal elements. The authors

discuss several styles, such as advertising style, the style of the expert or the style of the street, which are all used in local varieties of the magazine. On the other hand, these styles and discourses also influence the local as they are a source of new styles, genres and discourses (Machin and Van Leeuwen 2003; Machin and Thornborrow 2003). Machin and Van Leeuwen (2003) discover that while the global discourses become localised, this only happened superficially (*ibid.*: 509). They claim that global discourses are based on socio-cognitive schemas "that allow practices to be transformed into discourses about practices" (*ibid.*: 499) and can be seen as frameworks which set up our understanding of discourses (see also Machin 2004). While such schemas remain global, they claim, the discourses localise. This is based on the analysis of Propp's *skaski*[70] where he analysed different events in various Russian fairy tales in order to see through a general pattern. Similarly, Van Leeuwen's schemas are abstract and remain the backbone of the discourse whereas only certain features localise. An example is the difference between the presentation of problems and solutions in the case of Asian *Cosmopolitan*, where a solution to a problem is often a form of 'retreat' as compared to the Northern European solution, where communication is seen as being able to solve problems (*ibid.*: 210).

Finally, there is Fairclough's salient study of globalisation, language and social change in Central and Eastern Europe (Fairclough 2006) which shows similar tendencies. Fairclough, however, does not discuss these tendencies in terms of global frames and local realisations, but rather talks of mixes in discourses, genres and styles in terms of "interdiscursive hybridity" (Fairclough 2006: 31-32). He problematises various uses of 'language in globalisation': among others, he gives the example of the

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[70] *Skaski* can be translated as 'fairy tales', yet the meaning is not exactly the same.

role of media in a time of globalisation and relates this to branding in politics, with the example of a Romanian politician. Basing his analysis on research into the recontextualisation of *Cosmopolitan* in different countries around the world, he shows how in Romania, gender identities are recontextualised from the West in *Cosmopolitan*, while the strong figure of a woman still exists from Communist times: "[P]eople are exposed to all sorts of cultural identities, attitudes, and values in the mass media, some of which like Cosmo woman are heavily promoted. But whether discourse or styles come to be selected and retained and have a major cultural impact depends upon conditions of various sorts in the recontextualizing context" (Fairclough 2006).

While Fairclough acknowledges the limitations of his own view of globalisation and the role of language related to it (he chooses to describe it from a very particular position of 'CDA' (Fairclough 2006: 173)), Blommaert (2008; see also Blommaert 2010) nevertheless evaluates his efforts rather negatively. He states that Fairclough has not been able to free himself from the neoliberal view which is being served to us in everyday discourse and according to which, the fall of communism means the start of a new, capitalist world. He claims that a more distanced view of Romania and the changes which he describes would mean contextualizing it into a wider historical framework. This would enable an explanation of social change not merely in terms of recent political changes and, consequently, changes in discourses, but in terms of how societies as such change throughout history.

3 SLOVENIA: SOCIOHISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The main aim of this chapter is to provide a comprehensive overview of the context into which lifestyle discourses related to food have been recontextualised from the early 2000's onwards from the 'West'. Slovenia was a transit country (3.1.1) with specific cultural and social life: media influenced by the countries in the West were seen from the early 1960s on (3.1.2). Representations of food in women's magazines (3.1.2.3.1) largely followed ideas from the west, though with a delay and with specific reference to the socialist context. On TV, however, food still tended to appear in its classical style comparable to the static shows of Julia Child (3.1.2.3.2). As genres, cookbooks largely functioned independently of the media and were still seen to be manuals that largely represent the process of cooking, rather than a manner of living.

In the late 1990s, however, new tendencies appeared: increases in commercial television programming brought various and increasing numbers of Western entertainment programmes, as well as edutainment. Jamie Oliver was a success. A decade later, Luka Novak and Valentina Smej Novak become new stars and celebrities as they presented the first lifestyle cookbook that directly related to their cooking show seen on TV (3.2). These are seen to be cultural intermediaries, representatives of the new middle class, who, like Oliver in Britain, promote specific lifestyles.

3.1 SLOVENIA IN TRANSITION

3.1.1 End of self-managing socialism and the introduction of a free market economy

The time after Slovene independence was a period of transition from a largely state planned economy to a free market economy, with the privatisation of a number of state owned companies (Križanic 1996). In Slovenia, this process was gradual, but the neoliberal values and ideas originating from the US and disseminated via England nevertheless entered society early on and in many areas. In one of her excellent articles, Kramberger (2003) critically analyses the Slovene *'glissement'* into the neoliberal ideology and the adaptation of its cultural, economic and political elites. Much as this discourse was not distributed by these 'new elites' themselves, but was assisted by the media, this "neoliberal avatar" (Kramberger 2003: 78), "who released the distribution of the new transnational vulgate," not only to the fields of politics and economics, but also science and culture. The consequences were worrying from the beginning as the values of the welfare state, equality and egalitarianism began to be removed, only to be replaced with keywords of the new doctrine such as 'mobility', 'freedom' and 'tolerance', to name just a few.

3.1.2 Cultural circumstances

Mihelj and Downey (forthcoming) suggest that the media are not only a political institution but also an economic and cultural institution: they filter, frame and disseminate information "about the political processes" but they also "play a key role in promoting goods, in shaping and negotiating cultural values and norms".

3.1.2.1 Media in Slovenia in transition

While it may seem useful to categorise social phenomena into periods such as pre- and post-1989, this division is not helpful in understanding the way the Yugoslav and Slovene media functioned at this time. The present day popular media in Slovenia have continuity with the previous system but they also share a number of characteristics with the media of the West (Mihelj forthcoming).

The beginning of the 1990s were full of dichotomies: on one side, state control and on the other, "uncontrolled commercialisation" which was then realised in the complete "absence of the commercial aesthetic format" as "the aesthetics is determined by the ideology of paternalism" which "guards the national culture against the transnational elite culture" (Luthar 1992: 178). Despite this, when foreign capital started to flow in larger amounts the late 1990s, the 'domestic elites' were not too concerned about 'national culture'.

The private media was active in Slovenia from the 1980s. For example, there were a number of private radio stations. The first private TV channels, however, entered the market ten years later than in the West. The "transformation of media-economy dynamics in the region went hand in hand with an accelerated process of economic liberalization" (Mihelj and Downey forthcoming). The first commercial TV channel was Kanal A. It was established in 1989, but started to broadcast in the late 1990s. This was a minor TV channel, mainly because of lack of money for their own production or the purchase of foreign programmes (Bašič Hrvatin and Milosavljevič 2001: 48). In 1995, however, CME-owned[71] ProPlus launched POP TV and TV3. POP

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[71] An American company; for more on CME, see Downey (in preparation).

TV brought a major change in commercial television broadcasting in Slovenia because it was the first TV channel with major foreign investment (CME). POPTV perceived itself as a 'programme network' based on ideas from the US. This provided several stations within the network with cheaper and better distribution of material. Such a model of TV successfully spread from the US to the media fields of the Central and Eastern Europe, rather than Western Europe (Downey in preparation). POP TV also introduced some new media practices to the Slovene audience. It was an increasingly Americanised TV channel, as it broadcast up to 70-80 % American programmes and in the beginning it only broadcast foreign soap operas. It soon established its own informative programme *24ur,* which quickly became serious competition for the public RTV Slovenija (Bašič Hrvatin and Milosavljevič 2001: 52f). Meanwhile, the public channel RTV Slovenija became increasingly commercialised as it was pushed to compete with POPTV, which was more successful in everything except sports programming and some entertainment programmes. The response of the public TV channel was similar to that of other public TV channels across Europe as they started to increase the number of commercial programmes they showed (Bašič Hrvatin and Milosavljevič 2001: 56-8).

This is the context in which Jamie Oliver appeared on RTV Slovenija in 2001. In the next season, the show appeared on POP TV, not because it was 'taken over' but because the new seasons were "offered by another distributor" as Gorazd Slak, the programme manager of the company ProPlus, explained in an interview. He also stressed the importance of Oliver's show in financial terms as "on Sunday before the 24ur informative programme, this was the most watched programme at this time in Slovenia" (Štamcar 2004).

Publishing houses, like to an extent the media, are also involved in spreading ideas and publicising certain trends. After 1991, large publishing houses such as *Mladinska knjiga*, were privatised, while on the other hand, new ones emerged (Rugelj 2010: 63-4).

3.1.2.1.1 Media entertainment in Yugoslavia

Media entertainment was no different than other practices in sharing similarities with Western practices while retaining partial continuity from the previous communist system.

Sabina Mihelj (forthcoming) discusses television entertainment in communist Slovenia as she focuses on the "structural similarities between television cultures on both sides of the Iron Curtain". While taking into consideration the fact that the availability of the Western programmes greatly increased after 1989, she points to numbers collected as far back as 1974, when the Yugoslav TV Belgrade got 80% of its imported programmes from countries other than those in the communist bloc. Half of these imports were from the US (Yugoslavia was by no means an exception in this). Much of this material was made up of entertainment programmes, and this was largely because, at least until the 1970s, domestic production was lacking because of the unavailability of money and experienced people. Later on, however, the communist countries started to produce a large number of entertainment and relaxation programmes, which were very popular with audiences. Finally, Mihelj (*ibid.*) concludes, "television professionals across Eastern Europe were becoming increasingly adept at entertaining their viewers", despite this entertainment often

being controlled by the state. However, as "socialist popular culture was not ideologically uniform", the regime also had to sustain some critique, as for example happened in Yugoslavia already from the mid-seventies on.

The entertainment in communist countries shares many similarities with that in other countries, as from the 1950s on; the international exchange of TV programmes was globally intensified. What differed from Western TV channels was that the communist TV channels were regulated to a greater extent, were smaller in number, and their advertising was both limited and politically controlled. Such massification of the media, which was increasingly becoming a form of entertainment rather than education throughout Europe, became a worry not only in the communist countries, but also in the rest of Europe. In Yugoslavia, the increasing amount of popular music, films and dances on TV was seen as 'corruptive' not only because it was associated with capitalism but also because it 'diverted' people from 'real life'. These factors all show that the dichotomy between East and West is not a useful divide in terms of the entertainment media (Mihelj forthcoming).

The picture is similar for the period after 1989 as the "deregulation of television markets was prompted by pan-European and in fact global developments", i.e. the consequence of the neoliberal logic of market functioning rather than simply the fall of communism. Having understood this, other Western countries have undergone a similar process since the 1990s, with the difference being that the Western European media field liberalised a few years earlier (Mihelj forthcoming).

If Mihelj stresses the similarities between the Western and Eastern production of entertainment programmes, Breda Luthar (1992: 179ff) provides an analysis of the then popular TV shows/games *Kolo sreče* (*The Wheel of Fortune*) and *Ona in On* (*She and He*) which are modelled on Western talk show games, but, as she explains in her analysis, do not manage to completely embrace such characteristics largely because of issues such as the purist ideology of language use which does not allow for a conversational style of language on the TV.[72] In the 'new television' as it is known in

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[72] Slovene national identity is largely based on cultural elements, such as language. From the 16th century, Slovene language was constructed as one of the most important characteristics of nationhood, therefore excluding large (often bilingual) German speaking population, which in the 19th century started to be increasingly seen as the 'Other', i.e. connected to the ruling German speaking Austrians (this was not often the case, as German was the official language of the state and those with middle class aspiration spoke German publicly). In this period, when many European nations were shaped (*e.g.* Italy, Germany), the Slovene literary language was constructed in order to assist the formation of a nation whose members spoke at least 7 dialects, sometimes mutually not comprehensible (i.e. Western and Eastern dialects do not share many characteristics). This process started already in the 16th century with the protestant translations of the Bible (Trubar, 1555), however, but the 19th century scholars speeded the process. Slovene literary (standard) language was/is based on Ljubljana dialect (as the central dialect), but it included features from other dialects as well as other Slavonic languages (as for example dual from Old Church Slavonic). In an attempt to purify the language of the German influence, much of German vocabulary was replaced with the vocabulary from other Slavonic language, most often Czech and Polish. The Slovene dialects, however, still contain a large amount of foreign lexis, in particular from Italian and German. Slovene literary language was prescribed and until up to the end of the 1990s, this was the only preferred form of use in public spaces and in writing. In order to be able to assure that the proper standard of literary language is used in writing, proofreaders are used in Slovenia, whose role is to 'correct' one's written language before any publication, often changing text beyond purely grammatical errors. The possibility to spread the written word freely and quickly through the use of internet, gave access to writing for a larger audience to many people who earlier never had a chance to express themselves directly, without proofreader's linguistic censorship (for more on this see also Tominc 2008). This phenomenon is interesting, in particular as it gives an opportunity to the researchers to study not only literacy practices but also the development of contemporary language (for example, the decline of certain cases as well as dual forms can be noted resulting in a fierce opposition from some language users, which prompted them to create a Facebook group named 'A group for prevention of genitive case in negation' (*Skupina za ohranjanje rodilnika pri zanikanju*) with around

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the West, Luthar suggests that there are visible influences of the conversational style on TV language, which is "no longer elevated, formal and monologous as it used to be in the theatre, in the political congregation or in the 'old' radio in the first years of the television" (Luthar 1992: 179). In particular, she states, this is valid in the case of those programmes that are more communicative, such as quizzes, games and talk shows and where one would expect such conversational characteristics to appear in language because of the circumstances in which the speakers find themselves.

However, she concludes that the language of the presenter of the analysed show *Kolo sreče* is not entirely conversational because he uses "means which are more appropriate and characteristic for the written language" (Luthar 1992: 181) so that despite the possibility of introducing more spoken language, this is only seen in the genre of sketches, where the presenter uses dialectal as well as archaic and jargon expressions. Thesea are unlike the language used when communicating with the players, i.e. standard (*ibid.*: 182). Luthar analyses a number of characteristics of this show's language (*ibid.*: 181) and concludes that language resembles that which is normally used in writing. In other words, there are not many of the abbreviated forms normally used in spoken language, the use of verbal forms characteristic of written language is high, and when a text is read out, she notices hypercorrection (the infinitive –*ti* remains, instead of the spoken version –*t'*; the affirmative '*da*' is used instead of the spoken '*ja,*' etc.)

She concludes that by using such language, the presenter not only breaks the norms of language as it was supposed to be used according to the situation, but the presenter

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800 members (15 March 2012)). In this sense, Oliver's translations and the Novaks' cookbooks are a real revolution as for the first time; instructional genre contains non-literary language in a written form.

also limits the time intended for the players to speak, since they are apparently believed not to have an 'appropriate' knowledge of the standard language, and hence should not be given too much screen time on the TV (see also Busch 2009).

A similar situation is also seen in case of body language on this show because of the way the show is represented via camera angles and the use of sound. Instead of the American style of 'impression management', the Slovene game is full of silences because of players' lack of knowledge of 'legitimate' Slovene. Likewise, there is little movement of players because of a lack of skills needed in circumstances of group presentation and social hierarchy where the presenter is at the top and the players are at the bottom. The result is, Luthar, suggests, a rather obviously un-spontaneous expression of emotions and the "atmosphere is compared to the famous foreign games and quizzes /.../ realistic, tense, censored and normed – no ecstatic enthusiasm, cheering, shouting and support by the audience" (Luthar 1992: 185, 6). Although entertainment programmes are shown on TV in Slovenia, we can conclude that the language used on them remains largely static, and conversational forms are avoided.

In conclusion, this discussion suggests that before 1991, Yugoslavia was not a society closed to Western influences. However, some of the TV shows seen on national TV at the time still adhered linguistically to the norms of standard language without any conversational features. In Chapter 9, I will show how the Novaks' cookbooks break this modernist characteristic as for the first time, the printed cooking manual includes a number of conversational and dialectal features.

3.1.2.2 Representation of food

3.1.2.2.1 Food and taste in Slovenia

Describing Slovenia in terms of its past 'behind the Iron Curtain' is not enough; while this did influence and perhaps limited the spread of Western discourses about life and food as well as the style of its presentation in the Slovene media in the second half of the 20th century, issues of taste need to be looked for deeper in its history. A larger part of the country's history – up until World War I – positions Slovenia in the history of Central Europe. Centuries of the Slovene lands being united under the Habsburg monarchy have left traces in the major part of the country's mentality today. This is particularly so taste-wise.

Slovenia did not undergo the kind of postmodern food revolution of the 1990s that could be seen in London.[73] Since 1945, Slovenia's food tastes and habits had been influenced by immigration from other republics of the former Yugoslavia (Mlekuž 2009; but compare with Vezovnik 2010; see also Zevnik and Stankovič 2008), neighbouring cuisines, magazines and cookbooks that promoted mainly continental European dishes (French, German, Italian, Spanish) and, to an extent, the wider availability of foodstuffs from around the world such as bananas (Godina-Golija 2008). It is perhaps interesting to note that, on the level of discourse, Balkan dishes (except 'burek') are included in cookbooks as far back as the 1923 *Slovenska kuharica*.

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[73] In a 2003 study, Tivadar (2003) analyses the ambivalent attitude of the Slovenes to semi-prepared food that can be bought in supermarkets. The study is interesting because it exposes the values of Slovenes towards food, in particular if contrasted with British society: Slovenes in the early 2000s were not used to such food because they had not been exposed to it, hence their ambivalent attitudes. It is only considered acceptable in limited contexts.

3.1.2.2.2 Magazines

As discussed in the first part of this chapter, the Yugoslav media market was not untouched by Western influences. Similarly, Western ideas about food and its representation can be found in the Yugoslavian press in the late 1980s when the "utopian vision of 'self-managing socialism' started to melt" (Tivadar and Vezovnik 2010: 381). In their study of the representation of food and food related practices in the Slovene female magazine *Naša žena* from the 1950s to the late 1980s, Andreja Vezovnik and Blanka Tivadar (Tivadar and Vezovnik 2010) analyse recipes in order "to show how Naša žena's suggestions and advice for cooking and housekeeping followed, supported and perpetuated the main socialist ideas and values" (Tivadar and Vezovnik 2010: 380). They suggest that while the first period until the 1980s supported the socialist programme in which modernisation was at its core, the late 1980s saw a shift when the magazine started to follow the Western model and to critique the previously glorified modernisation process because of its increasingly negative characteristics. In the 1980s, the working socialist woman was always supposed to save time in cooking in order to be able to fulfil other important duties. However, this is the time when a new idea appears: saving time is overtaken by the postmodern idea of enjoyment and having more leisure time. Parallel to this, as the state lurched towards collapse, a more radical type of traditionalism started to grow and part of this involved the revival of traditional customs and feasts as well as homemade dishes.[74] Postmodern ideas about food preparation started to enter the media discourse about food, where key words such as 'domestic' and 'traditional dishes' and at least discursively, the modernist idea of high calorie foods, were replaced with concepts associated with low calory diets. Towards the end of the

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[74] Particularly great was the drive towards Slovenian festive dishes. Bread is seen to be "the most indicative examples of re-traditionalisation" post-1990s" (Tivadar and Vezovnik 2010: 397).

1980s, people started to turn "towards macrobiotics, organic food and cooking from scratch with fresh and natural foodstuffs." (*ibid:* 398.) In this context, it is perhaps important to note that in Slovenia, 'organic' is not meant yet as a brand in the way it has become understood in the UK. While *Naša žena*'s advice did promote the idea of having a garden and cultivating one's own food as a means of relaxation and self-realisation after a hard day rushing through modern life, this was not a discourse which was to convince people to start nurturing a garden as may be the case in Britain, but only for those who already had gardens to continue doing so. As Tivadar and Vezovnik suggest, in 2000, just under 70% of all Slovene households cultivated their own kitchen gardens, and even 20% of those living in towns did so. The percentage of the town population that bought or received such food from their relatives is not mentioned. However, such data may suggest that the dependence of Slovenes on home-grown food is already high compared to the UK, where this trend is just starting to grow. The ideologies supporting such practices are as much those of more traditional economising as of more postmodern relaxation and fulfilment. This suggests that *Naša žena* did advocate the idea of individual lifestyles towards the end of the 1980s and early 1990s. As the secure and more traditional structures started to break up, this gave the people a feeling that they can make a free decision about how they are going to behave despite the fact that at the same time, it also advocated the female role in terms of 'traditional' gender roles (Tivadar 2009).[75]

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[75] As in other cooking-related material, *Naša žena* recipes also show how nationalistic ideology works through the construction of what is seen as 'traditional' and 'Slovene'.

3.1.2.2.3 TV and food representation post-1990

Similarly to Luthar's findings about the language style of TV presenters on Slovene

TV in the early 1990s, TV chefs also adopted a similar style of presentation in terms

of language, camera angles, context, dress and cooking presentation. Since at least the

1980s (but most probably even earlier), many TV chefs were entertaining Slovene and

Yugoslav audiences. Most notably, the Yugoslav brand Vegeta was introduced by the

chef Oliver Mlakar, who prepared every dish using *Vegeta*[76] in the 1980s. In the

1990s, nouvelle cuisine was propagated by the French chef Paul Bocuse. They were

both popular TV chefs, but they both represented a type of chef that dominates the

screen through the authority that comes with the white uniform and the characteristic

hat. Their representations were rather static, as they normally stood behind the kitchen

counter, dressed in the chef's uniform with a white long hat, which suggested the

authority of an expert. Their ingredients were prepared in advance, neatly laid out on

the counter, as the chef named them in – normally standard language (usually

subtitled). There was no shopping for ingredients; neither did friends come over to

taste the food. Not much was known about the private life of the chef, despite him (as

it was, usually a he) being a star.

Oliver's arrival on RTV Slovenija and later on POPTV meant novelty in many ways

that were new in the UK as well, as discussed in Chapter 2. However, in Slovenia,

apart from the style of presentation, his shows also propagated new tastes and a

lifestyle that has been historically, socially and culturally contextualised in Britain.

His shows were new not only because of elements that were previously unknown in

Slovene TV food entertainment production, but also because his appearance caused

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[76] Vegeta is a powdered vegetable addition to various dishes, similar to stock cubes.

shops all over Slovenia to provide people with food that were previously unknown. This remark is made by the translator of his cookbooks, Luka Novak, himself:[77]

> Even I cannot believe that lemon thyme – apart from coriander! – has appeared in some Slovene supermarkets that couldn't care less about herbs before the appearance of Jamie. Translator's note. (p. 138)[78]

Finally, for the development of the Slovene cookbooks as genres, the translations of Oliver's books were again, in many ways a novelty.

In the next section, I review the history of Slovene cookbooks with special attention to the language. This is perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of Oliver's translations as they represent a break in the use of standardised language as opposed to the conversational variants as used by Luka Novak, who translated Oliver.

3.1.2.3 Cookbooks in Slovenia

3.1.2.3.1 Early cookbooks in Slovene

The first cookbooks in the Slovene language appeared in the late 18th century and were intended for the cooks of the richer middle class inhabitants of larger towns such as Ljubljana, Celje and Maribor. They were to educate Slovene speaking servants and

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[77] Caraher and Lange (2000), however, claim that the influence of TV chefs on the public seems to be low. Despite this, another study shows how Delia, a popular British TV chef, directly influences what people buy in shops (Clifford *et al.* 2009; see also Bonner 2003: 176).

[78] "Še sam ne morem verjeti, da so limonov timijan začeli – poleg koriandra! – prodajati celo v nekaterih slovenskih supermarketih, ki so se do pojava Jamieja dobesedno požvižgali na zelišča! Op. prev."

cooks to the rich German speaking trade families about cooking and other issues of home economics.[79] The first cookbook in the Slovene language was a translation of an unknown Bavarian cookbook which might have been used in the area, and was translated to Slovene by Valentin Vodnik and published in 1799 as *Kuharske bukve*. It seems that the German original was a cookery manual used by professional cooks who worked in the kitchens of wealthy middle or upper class families (see also Image 8, which represents the kind of kitchen where this cookbook would have been used).[80]

This cookbook might have originated from a monastery because, in the German lands, secular books tended to be rare. Many unpublished manuscripts were found in German monasteries: interestingly, they reflect the cuisines of the neighbouring lands (Barber 1973: 88). A manuscript found in the building of the Dominican monastery of St Paul at Leipzig from the mid-16th century contains a number of Polish and Hungarian recipes: "other dishes came from nearby monasteries, or were brought back by monks who had been on their travels, such as another chicken stew which is noted as 'Slovenian dish'" (Barber 1973: 117). In this area, such exchange of tastes and

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[79] The lands that built modern Slovenia were, until after the Second World War, largely multilingual with German being an official language of the Austrian monarchy and its upper classes until 1918. Italian, Hungarian, Slovene and German were also used by the inhabitants.

[80] Indices that could support such a claim are several. First, the writer assumes an experienced cook and does not use precise measurements for ingredients or precise instructions (such as the time needed for different things to be cooked). This feature is common up to the end of 18th century in cookery books aimed at professionals (Jerenec 2006: 12; Montanari 1998). Second, the visual at the beginning of the book, which Vodnik may have simply copied from the original, represents a fairly rich kitchen, in a house with wide windows and a big fire (see Image 6). Finally, modern commentators (Godina - Golija 2001; Šifrer 1981; Pokorn 2009) who write about *Kuharske bukve* mention without fail that the recipes contained in the book represent the tastes of the middle class of Central Europe.

recipes were common: this show how Slovene cooking for upper classes heavily relies on the tradition of Central European tastes.[81]

Image 8: Visual material from Kuharske bukve; the text says: "The best dishes for hungry people".

Vodnik's notes in the translated cookbook that "[t]he *Krein* women learn to cook with difficulty because they do not understand the meaning of French, English, German

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[81] In Graz/Gradec, which was an important centre for printing cookery books from the 17th century on, the first Austrian cookery book *Koch und Arzney-Buch* was printed in 1686. Cookery books also originated in other German speaking areas, such as Nurnberg, where *Köchin* was printed in 1691. Ptuj library contains many more 18th century cookery books written in German (Jerenec 2006: 10-11).

and Italian words."[82] This is a reference to cookery books in other languages spoken in the area that might have been available as well (especially those in Italian and French) as a result of the spread of multilingualism in the local population.

The two women in Image 8 are depicted in two kinds of cooking processes: one is preparing the dough perhaps for a pie, and the other one is mixing something in a bowl. In the fire at the back there is a pot where food is already being prepared. Nothing is known of the identity of these women, neither are they mentioned anywhere else in the book. Rather, they are models for a cook in any kitchen of that time, i.e. generic social actors.

As an Enlightenment erudite, Vodnik's interest lies in the introduction of manuals for the use of the local population that could not read existing books, but as this was the early days of the Slovene literary (standard) language, his task was difficult: he also had to introduce (or invent) new terminology which would then become used in the standard language. As we can see from the introduction, he tried to collect words from different parts of the land (different dialects) so that speakers of all dialects could understand his translation.[83] The issues that Vodnik had with the invention of vocabulary in this cookbook were many and show that there was a lack of Slovene-based expressions for the purposes of describing middle class cuisine. This suggests the extent to which German rather than Slovene was used in such contexts up to that

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[82] Original: "*Krajnize se kuhanja teshko uzhe, ker nesastopio pomenik franzoskeh, anglejskeh, lashkeh inu nemskeh besedi.*" Vodnik's cookbook is written in writing called *bohoričica*. I use s instead of the special letter ſ and e instead of ę. I also omit the accents.

[83] For him, "clear" language meant language rooted in Slavic words (not German) whereas a century later, "clear" language would mean "clear" literary (constructed) language.

date (see also Vidmar 2009, for an extended study of terminology that Vodnik introduced to the Slovene).

Several other translations followed Vodnik's cookbook and they were all translated from German. Even after 1868, when the first Slovene 'original' cookbook appeared, German translations continued to be used and reprinted (for example, Anton Turk, a publisher from Ljubljana, published the translated compiled cookbook *Spretna kuharica* (Ilich 2004: 404).[84]

3.1.2.3.2 Magdalena Pleiweis and the 'original' Slovene middle class cookbook

In 1868 Magdalena Pleiweis published[85] the cookbook *Slovenska kuharica* (*The Slovene Cookbook*) which stands at the beginning of the construction of the national culinary identity through a line of cookbooks that claim to be "Slovene" in their titles.[86] *Slovenska kuharica*, unlike the previous cookbooks in Slovene, was the first non-translated cookbook in the Slovene language. Its author, Magdalena Pleiweis, née Knaffel (Knafelj) (1815-90), was originally from Koroška/Kärnten (village: Podgorje v Rožu) from a wealthy family of farmers. She learnt to cook while working in the kitchen of an upper class family. In 1856 she married Ljubljana merchant Valentin Pleiweis.[87] Being rich, she managed to publish *Slovenska kuharica* by herself. The

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[84] Andrej Zamejic published *Nove kuharske bukve* (*New cookery books*) from German (Ilich 2004: 404).

[85] It remains debatable whether she actually wrote it or just dictated it; the first print mentions Neža Lesar as having written the recipes, which were merely dictated by Magdalena Pleiweis (Ilich 2004).

[86] The second half of the 19th century was a time during which debate around the national question and the bigger independence of the Slav people within the Austrian monarchy was intensifying. Hand in hand with the construction of the "nation" went also the construction of the national cuisine.

[87] Pleiweis was the father of the famous Slovene politician Janez Bleiweis.

book was later reprinted and updated four times, in 1878, 1889 (1890), 1897 and 1902 (Jerenec 2006: 14; Ilich 2004).

The introduction is aimed at female "comrades"[88], but not only at servants in the richer houses.[89] It is also aimed at those women who would like to be independent housewives (*samostojne gospodinje*) or those who would like to improve their culinary knowledge. It is a collection of 932 "eminent and less eminent recipes, good and healthy dishes" just as she learned them "in the many years of service at the higher classes". This means that the recipes contained in the book were, as in previous books, used by wealthy town families in the second half of the 19th century in Ljubljana and elsewhere.

Pleiweis does not show much concern for the language compared to Vodnik.[90] In the posthumous reprints to the book, the language was improved and recipes added (160 were written by Marija Lavtižar, who also added additional instructions for food conservation and various menus) (Ilich 2004: 405). For the sixth reprint, Sister Felicita

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[88] The text starts with *"Tovarišice!"*, which was later used in the socialist Yugoslavia instead of Madam/Mrs/Miss.

[89] It seems that such placements were becoming rare: "rare are the families nowadays who allow their cooks to have around them younger girls who learn" (Pleiweis).

[90] Unlike Vodnik, however, whose prime concern was the correct terminology that would be understood by all the Slovene speaking people, she talks about "cleanliness" of the language. In the context of the forming of the nation and the language, this purist language ideology is common: "I know very well that the Slovene writers write their books in a cleaner Slovene language and that one of them could translate some excellent German or other language books. But on the other hand I am also sure that the knowldge of language is not enough for cookbooks because if the author does not know how to cook by himself/herself, it can happen that the dish, which is described in the best language, has a different image in books and a different image on the table" (my translation).

Kalinšek thoroughly changed the book. This was the beginning of a practically new cookery book, *Slovenska kuharica* (1912).

3.1.2.3.3 The brand "Kalinškova"

Kalinškova (Kalinšek's) is a brand for the Slovene cookbook and it has a status similar to Mrs Beeton in Britain. Her cookbook soon became a brand for good middle-class cuisine. It was reprinted several times and often given as a present at weddings (Godina-Golija 2005: 198).

Terezija Kalinšek (1865–1937) was born in Podgorje near Kamnik. She came from a very religious family, which probably influenced half of the six children – including her – to become nuns. She entered the nunnery in Maribor in 1892 and four years later, she gave vows making her known as Sister Felicita. Soon, she took charge of the monastery kitchen (Šelih *et al.* 2007: 97).

Sister Felicita became a teacher of cooking in the then newly opened School for Home Economics (*Gospodinjska šola*) in 1898 in Ljubljana where she stayed until her death. She was very popular and her good name was widespread, so she was offered the chance to prepare a 6th reprint of the popular cookbook previously written by Madgalena Pleiweis (*ibid.*).[91] The 1912 edition was published as The Magdalena Pleiweis' *Slovene Cook(book)*, sixth edition improved and revised by S.M. Felicita Kalinšek, a school sister and a teacher at the "School for Home Economics".

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[91] Like contemporary lifestyle chefs, she built her name prior to publishing a cookbook: this improved the cookbook's chances of being successful.

Image 9: Sister Felicita Kalinšek (in Šelih et al. 2007)

The *Slovene cookbook* was shaped and written mostly by nuns, which may be related to the intense re-catholicization of the Slovene lands in the 19th century and the status the church had acquired in society. After the death of Sister Felicita Kalinšek, *Slovenska kuharica* was revised by others: Regina Gosak, then Sister Izabela, who adapted her cookbook to the socialist reality. Marija Ilc (Sister Vendelina) together with Bernarda Gostečnik (also a nun) had "given the book the middle class touch back" (Ilich 2004: 406). The last to revise the book was Boris Kuhar (2009), a well-known "culinary expert" and chef, who introduced to the book some "specific regional and local culinary specialities", including dishes that could only be found in the "historic memory" or were completely forgotten (Bogataj 2009).

Compared to earlier cookbooks, the question of language in the book is completely separated from that of cooking[92] as literary Slovene gains status as a standard language and cooking terminology becomes established. Kalinšek, however, still uses some comparable German terms that were in use throughout the early version of the book, but the frequency is now lower. For example, when she makes introductory notes in the beginning of the book, she uses German equivalents for certain terms she might have thought would be more precise, maybe because they were more well-known: *prežganje* (einbrenn) – roux, *pariti* (dünsten) – to steam, *pražiti* (rösten) – to roast etc., but this only happens sporadically.

Image 10: An image from Kalinšek/Ilc: Velika slovenska kuharica.

The publication from 1999 still retained the images from the old book, thus the images are not photographs, but drawings. One of the images depicts other young children –

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[92] Felicita Kalinšek in her introduction does not mention the language question at all, whereas Vodnik and Pleiweis did.

girls – cooking. This suggests that *Slovenska kuharica* is a middle class cookbook with a tradition.

This cookbook is intended for professional cooks in middle class households, but for the first time, country housewives are also mentioned explicitly. This brings us to the beginning of the stage in which this middle class cookbook became constructed as 'the' Slovene cookbook and started influencing tastes and fantasies beyond the middle classes. A reproach to the kind of cuisine propagated by Kalinšek can be found in *Varčna kuharica* written by Marija Remec only three years after Kalinšek. She claims that "[t]he cookery books that are in use today, are compiled in big and extensive households, which have at their disposal different kinds of means and foodstuffs. That is why they do not bother so much about a small household which normally has a limited choice of foodstuffs" (p.1). By "cookery books that are in use today", she most probably means the kinds of middle class books that Felicita Kalinšek wrote.

The book still does not contain any visual material, and in fact it is visually less attractive than the 1902 Pleiweis print, which includes many vignettes. For the first time, advertising enters cookbooks; it includes 13 very interesting advertisements at the end of the book (5 one-page and 8 half-page ads).[93]

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[93] The ads include one for the first pasta factory in Ilirska Bistrica, has an ad for egg pasta, a Kolinska ad for coffee, Bernjak & Šober grocer's shop, a paper shop in Ljubljana, a factory for colours Adolf Hauptmann, the shop selling iron Fr. Stupica, an ad for pots and pans, an ad for Weck Sterilisers, for preserving of the vegetables and fruits for "several years", Ivan Dogan carpenter in Ljubljana, Suttner shop selling Swiss watches and jewellery, Dentist Praunseis (an ad for dental services with the use of cocaine – it is known that Sigmund Freud introduced cocaine into psychoanalysis and recommended its use for several conditions around the time of the ad (with thanks to Taja Kramberger for pointing this out to me)), a society for savings (*Vzajemno podporno društvo v Ljubljani*), Anton Stacul grocery (an ad for mineral water), and an ad for the Franck brand coffee substitute (chicory).

Kalinšek introduces many new sections into her book, such as advice on how to kill poultry and how to prepare the meat from various animals. Such a section appeared in Slovene written cookbooks for the first time in her 1912 book. It has 26 chapters, an appendix and 12 sections of menus (one per month). Overall, there is a clear division between everyday and fasting dishes: what follows soup on fasting days and what on other days, fasting stews and everyday stews, fasting roasts and everyday roasts, etc., which is not surprising given that she was a nun.[94] Also, while traditional English 'puddings' seem unknown in the Slovenia of today (in Slovenia pudding is a kind of sweet dish made from jelly and milk), this cookbook still includes puddings (*"Pudingi"*) similar to those cooked desserts known in England (Almond pudding with rum, for example). This shows common (similar) culinary tastes and habits of the middle-classes in Europe (also in Slovenia) but also a shift in tastes to the cuisine of the lower (working) classes during socialism and the later oblivion of certain dishes, such as puddings.[95]

Varčna kuharica (*An economical cookbook*) by Marija Remec was published during the wartime, in 1915 (reprinted 1920). In 1931, at a time when the majority of Slovenes lived as a part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (a third in the west lived under Italian occupation), Marija Remec published a book which was intended not only for the middle classes but also for the working classes - *Kuharica v kmečki, delavski in preprosti meščanski hiši* (*A cook in the farm, workers and in a simple middle-class*

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[94] Fasting dishes disappear from British cookbooks with the rise of Protestantism, which did not prescribe fasting so strictly or on so many days of the year.

[95] This is why the translator of Jamie Oliver to Slovene (see for example *Naked chef,* 2000) could not translate the English pudding as "puding": the memory of pudding as a dough-based sweet has already been forgotten and the signifier filled with another meaning – that of a milk and jelly dish.

house). This is the first cookbook explicitly intended for the less wealthy strata of society.

For the 1915 *An economical cookbook – a collection of instructions for preparation of tasteful and nutritious dishes with modest means. For bad and good times compiled by M.R. in the war year 1915,* the author claims that there are many cookbooks which Slovenes used at the time: Post-war cookbooks still contain many recipes which are common to middle-class or so called "Viennese cuisine" (Godina-Golija 2001). For the rest of the population, modesty of means became the main motivator: food was expensive and housewives were advised to cook in a way that would save some money. The book stresses the importance of healthy cuisine before concerns about taste and accuses housewives of only worrying about the taste and not the "correctness" of food. At the end of the book, recipes are arranged according to ingredients so that the person who cooks can first figure out what the family would like to eat, and then find a recipe.

Today, the tradition of Kalinšek cookbooks is related to reliability and 'tradition', rather like Mrs Beeton's cookbooks in the UK. According to a survey conducted by Gosteničnik (in Godina-Golija 2005), however, almost 50% of people surveyed believe that it does not contain enough recipes from different Slovene regions and that many of the recipes are complicated and not contemporary. The survey also suggests that consequentially, the dishes are useful for festive meals, but not for everyday cooking. These responses show that the middle class 'Kalinškova' cookbook (in the 1990s this was prepared by Sisters Vendelina and Bernarda) may have been constructed as a Slovene cookbook, but that the tastes in it do not correspond to the

tastes of normal Slovene people. This is perhaps a consequence of the events after the Second World War, when the traditional Slovene aristocracy was asked to either leave the country or was downgraded to socialist 'worker' status. In the next half a century, working class and farmer's tastes were stressed rather than the rich tradition Viennese cuisine associated with the middle classes.[96]

3.1.2.3.4 Cookbooks after the Second World War

The tastes and cuisine of the lower classes, particularly in farming areas, is described in a number of works which are dedicated to particular geographical areas of Slovenia (see for example Renčelj 2011 for the south of Slovenia; 1999 for the Karst region; Bogataj 2002 for Ljubljana; Pucer 2003 for Istria peninsula). These are not cookbooks that are intended for people to learn how to cook, but rather descriptions of particular culinary practices in different parts of Slovenia. Academically, these tastes have been studied in the framework of ethnology studies that usually failed to take a critical stance towards the 'traditional' elements of these kind of lifestyle, hence reinforcing (rather than deconstructing) the nationalist ideology via the national cuisine (for example Godina-Golija 1998).

In post-war times, many recipes were published either in magazines for women (such as *Naša žena*), but also in cookbooks, published by either official bodies (the *Central committee for the advancement of home economics* is one of them) or other authors. The idea was to introduce to new dishes from various culinary traditions, but mainly the continental tradition.

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[96] Maja Godina-Golija (2005) writes about the influence of the *Kalinškova* book on Slovene eating habits.

Style-wise, cookbooks do not contain any 'celebrity' elements until the late 1990s. Their language is technical, with culinary vocabulary, and the perspective is impersonal. In Chapter 7, I present a case study where I will analyse language as it appears in these 'standard' cookbooks.

The early 2000s brought to Slovene TV not only lifestyle cooking shows (Oliver's *The Naked Chef*) but also a transformed idea of a cookbook as a 'satellite' to the show. If previous chefs published recipes about the food they cooked on TV, they were usually to be found on Teletext or in the newspapers. As previously discussed, translations of Oliver's cookbooks differed not only in their visual style and their inclusion of a number of actors, but also in terms of the break from written literary language as for the first time, more casual, even dialectal expressions had to be used in a cookbook. A number of cookbook translations followed after 2000, and a number of them followed the style representative of Oliver's. However, none achieved such successful sales. Many, such as the translation of Ramsay, were published by the same publishing house that launched Oliver's translations – Vale Novak.

One of the first attempts at a postmodern 'lifestyle' cookbook produced in Slovenia was in 2003, when Vale Novak publishing house published a 'lifestyle' version of Marija Ilc, Sister Vendelina's[97] cookbook, which was prepared together with Edvina

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[97] This is the same person who participated in creation of Slovene cookbooks based on the tradition of Kalinškova. Sister Vendelina was 88 at the time of preparation of the book, and she died as the first batch went to print.

Novak[98] especially for this occasion. The book features Sister Vendelina in many pictures throughout the book. Entitled *Zmeraj sestra Vendelina. Osnove dobre domače kuhinje* (*Always Sister Vendelina. The basics of good domestic cooking*) retains the language style of the previous cookbooks, but it includes visual material that suggests a move towards a more 'celebrity' style of cookbook. In it, Sister Vendelina, dressed in her nun's costume, is seen cooking, shopping in the market and teaching the young how to prepare dishes. However, this is a hybridity of styles as the book also includes a preface by Vendelina which is linguistically rather conservative, an image she portrays in other respects as well, given that she is a nun (see Image 11 below).

Image 11: Sister Vendelina's cookbook. S. Vendelina died before the book was published in 2003.

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[98] Edvina Novak, the mother of the translator and the 'chef' Luka Novak, will also be seen as a social actor in one of the texts analysed in Chapter 9.

3.2 EXAMPLE: NOVAK AND DISCOURSE OF LIFESTYLE

Luka Novak and his wife, Valentina Smej Novak, became partially known to the public before starting their cooking show: Valentina was a translator and a columnist in the female magazine *Ona* (She), while Luka was a director of the publishing house ValeNovak, a translator and a writer.

Luka studied comparative literature, and after returning from a short spell working in Germany, took over the family business which was established in 1990 by his parents (see also Rugelj 2010): he became a general manager of the publishing house in 1993. In 1997 he obtained an MBA and later studied at Stanford. He was active in many aspects of publishing; from 1999-2003 he was involved in the Slovene book fair organisation, including the Frankfurt fair. In 2006, Luka was a candidate for the mayor of Ljubljana.[99] Valentina, on the other hand, studied philosophy, and started working in Vale Novak in the fashion department.

Vale Novak Publishing house specialises in publishing cookbooks, in particular lifestyle cookbooks, but they also publish novels. They are particularly known for their innovative approach to bookstores, which until recently they also owned, especially as they introduced a new concept for bookstores to Slovenia (combined bookstore and fashion houses, bookstores set up like living rooms, etc.). They have published Jamie Oliver's cookbooks, as well as a number of others, such as those by Gordon Ramsay.

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[99] http://lukaljzupan.wordpress.com/2006/09/21/biografija/ (accessed 20 Avgust 2011).

According to Rugelj, VALE Novak, can be considered one of the smaller publishing houses that emerged at this time and survived the first wave of private publishing. It was established in 1990 by Edvina Novak and Luka Novak. In the next two decades, they published more than 200 books. They are not just a publishing house, as they also have a number of bookstores and they also own stores with fashion elements (Rugelj stresses that this is one of the characteristics of Slovene publishing, i.e. that publishers also often have their own bookstore). In 2010, VALE Novak's bookstores were sold to the publisher Mladinska knjiga, and the fashion stores were closed while the publishing house itself continues in the publishing business.[100]

Publishing houses, like to an extent media, are also involved in spreading ideas and publicising certain trends. After 1991, large publishing houses like Mladinska knjiga were privatised and new ones emerged (Rugelj 2010: 63-4).

The Novaks started their own cooking show in 2009 on the commercial POP TV.[101] In 2010 and 2011, they published a cookbook which was related to the show in the same way Oliver's cookbooks are related to his show. They are not the first TV cooks to have published their own cookbook. In 2003, the chef Leon Pogelšek published *Kuhajmo brez zavor* (Let's cook without brakes), which was supposed to be based on his TV cooking show. But none of the previous cookbooks have been as successful as that of the Novaks: they even received a reward for publishing the best cookbooks in

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[100] http://www.rtvslo.si/kultura/knjige/mladinska-knjiga-bo-asimilirala-knjigarni-vale-novak/238913 (accessed 20 August 2011).

[101] See http://24ur.com/ekskluziv/domaca-scena/strast-v-kuhinji-zakoncev-novak.html (accessed 20 August 2011) and the comments in the forum below, which also suggests the resentment of some commentators towards this style of cooking and the lifestyle it represents.

Eastern Europe in 2010. In Slovenia, the first book was one of the best selling books of 2010.

The Novaks represent the new Slovene middle class, and like Oliver, act as cultural intermediaries (Bourdieu 1984) trying to consolidate a particular lifestyle as the only legitimate one. From Western lifestyle chefs, they take the format for a cookbook and the general postmodern frame (cooking should be a passion, etc.), but they have built this lifestyle according to local specificities, as we shall see in Chapter 9.

Image 12: Visual material from the Novaks' cookbooks resembles that in Oliver.

The representation of the new Slovene middle class does not rely on simplicity, closeness to natural procedures and foodstuffs such as cabbage and beetroot, but shapes its identity based upon a more sophisticated understanding of life that is at the same time 'organic', 'local' and 'homemade' while still retaining the cosmopolitan and chic touch. They achieve this by referring to French, rather than Italian cuisine,

and recreating tradition from selected richer Slovene rural dishes. They also heavily rely on Central European tastes and the tradition of the Kalinšek cookbook.

3.3 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have briefly discussed Slovenia's transition to a market economy and the processes that have surrounded it. Yugoslav media included a number of Western programmes well before the 1990s, and Slovene TV also tried to produce their own shows following those seen in the West. Despite this, the language of these shows remained static, as Luthar shows in her analysis of these early TV shows. Neither did cooking programmes follow their Western examples: cooking on TV was similar to that of Delia, rather than lifestyle chefs. In socialist Yugoslavia, popular entertainment from the west co-existed with the democratic media, but it did not colonise it: educational and informative programmes remained distinct from entertainment, as is the case with postmodern lifestyle media in some Western countries. In a similar vein, cooking shows remained educational rather than being about entertainment and cooking was perceived as about the process of food preparation rather than any associated lifestyle.

4 DATA AND METHODS

This chapter is dedicated to a discussion of the methods that will be used for the analysis of the selected texts. Contrary to Chapter 1, where I discuss theoretical concerns of epistemology and methodology, *Data and Methods* presents the criteria for the selection of data and for the concrete methods employed. It also explains methods for analysis of the translation of the texts from English to Slovene.

4. 1 DATA SELECTION FOR ANALYSIS

4.1.1 Three periods

The data for analysis come from three corpora of Slovene language texts from three subsequent periods. The data for translation also includes the English originals.

The first period represents cookbooks published in Slovenia before the year 2000. This data is used to highlight the context into which the new "lifestyle discourse" (see Chapter 2) is being recontextualised. Two cookbooks have been selected: The first one is *Velika slovenska kuharica* by Marija Ilc (s. Vendelina) whose historical importance has been indicated in Chapter 3. The second was published by *Centralni zavod za napredek gospodinjstva* (Central institute for the advancement of home economics) in the mid-1980s under the editorship of Andreja Grum. She has been involved in publishing many cookbooks and has published some herself in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. Contrary to the *Velika slovenska kuharica*, which in the late 1990s still included numerous characteristics typical of cookbooks printed in the first half of

the 20th century, *Velika kuharica* is an excellent example of a 'standard' cookbook of the 1980s as it already includes coloured visuals.

Year	Author	Title
1985	Andreja Grum (ed.), with participation of Marjeta Prašnikar, Pepika Levstek, Marija Rapoc and Marica Šlajmer	*Velika kuharica* [A Great cookbook]
1999	Marija Ilc (s. Vendelina)	*Velika slovenska kuharica* [The Great Slovene Cookbook]

Table 2: Corpus 1 data source

The Second period can be seen as the time of the first translations of foreign lifestyle cookbooks and their great popularity as a consequence of the television promotion of a particular chef. As explained in Chapter 2, lifestyle manuals are here defined in relation to the TV celebrities whose product they are, and where significant attention is given to the chefs and their personal lives. Here, I will consider the originals and the Slovene translations of Jamie Oliver's cookbooks between 2002 and 2005. To be able to illustrate the differences and similarities between the translated texts and the original I first conducted a short pilot study based on 8 texts on leafy vegetables from various Oliver books; this analysis was then enhanced with suitable examples from other Oliver's texts. I have examined all five translated books and listed discrepancies that relate to established sections.

In this period, five cookbooks were translated by Luka Novak,[102] but the translations were not published in the same order as the originals.

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[102] In 2009, however, *Ministry of Food* was translated by another translator, Tadej Zupančič as *Jamiejevo ministrstvo za prehrano.*

Year	Original title	Year	Slovene title
1999	*The Naked Chef*	2002	*Kuhinja do nazga*
2000	*The Return of the Naked Chef*	2003	*Še več kuhinje do nazga*
2001	*Happy Days with the Naked Chef*	2002	*Srečna kuhinja*
2003	*Jamie's Kitchen*	2003	*Napreklicno Jamie*
2006	*Jamie's Italy*	2006	*Jamie v Italiji*

Table 3: Corpus 2 data source

The third period is constituted by lifestyle manuals produced in Slovenia by two Slovene authors. Unlike other popular cookbooks in Slovenia, these became popular as a consequence of the television shows of which they are parts. Here, I will consider the first two such popular cookbooks published in 2010 and 2011 by Luka Novak and Valentina Smej Novak. These are part of their cooking show, which has been aired on the Slovene POPTV since 2009.

Year	Authors	Original title
2010	Luka and Valentina Novak	*Ljubezen skozi želodec* [Love through the stomach]
2011	Luka and Valentina Novak	*Ljubezen skozi želodec 2* [Love through the stomach 2]

Table 4: Corpus 3 data source

4.1.2 Different sub-genres in a cookbook

The study is restricted to discourse as it appears in the genre of cookbooks. It is, however, equally concerned with the diachronic transformation of cookbooks after

Oliver's appearance in the Slovene culinary and media fields as with the representation of a Slovene middle class lifestyle in the new 'celebrity' cookbooks.

It has been indicated in Chapter 2, that as independent pieces of text, recipes are embedded genres and that as such, they require other genres to provide further explanation, narrative or 'the bed' (Leonardi 1989) in which they can be contextualised. In cookbooks, such accompanying narratives can vary from texts such as introductions to the book or separate related selection of recipes (chapters), additional commentaries that appear before the instructional part of the recipe, the acknowledgements section, as well as visual material. The selection of texts for analysis reflects a variety of different genres (or sub-genres) that can commonly be found in a cookbook.

Moreover, I have shown in Chapter 2 that the main sub-genre in cookbooks is the recipe because it inherently defines a cookbook. This, however, is not enough for it to be defined as a cookbook: it also needs to lack certain other (sub-) genres (for example, an editorial that may transform a number of recipes into a magazine) and include some others (for example, chapter texts which introduce a group of several related recipes) (for a discussion of genres/sub-genres, see Chapter 1).

My selection of data will be organised around *two sub-genres* that can be found in cookbooks. These are often inter-related and form a whole; particularly when a given recipe also includes an image, the distinction between the two parts may not be simple. The texts in the tables below have been selected for analysis. The distinction of mode, however, is made for analytical purposes.

RECIPES	*Čokoladna torta, prva* [Chocolate torte, first]	*Velika slovenska kuharica*, p. 626
	Artičoke [Artichokes]	*Velika kuharica*, p. 269
	Epohalni ananas s potolčenim metinim sladkorjem [Epohal pineapple with crushed mint sugar]	*Happy Days with the Naked Chef* (Slovene translation), p. 262
	Pita iz robidnic [Blackberry pie]	*Jamie's Italy* (Slovene translation), p. 287
	Bananin kolač [Banana cake]	*Ljubezen skozi želodec*, p. 383
	Mlačna solata z mladim krompirjem [Warm salad with new potatoes]	*Ljubezen skozi želodec*, p. 64-5

INTRODUCTIONS TO CHAPTERS	*Zelenjavne jedi* [An introduction to the chapter on vegetables]	*Velika slovenska kuharica*, p. 369
	Torte [An introduction to the section on cakes]	*Velika slovenska kuharica*, p. 625-6
	An introduction to the chapter on desserts from Oliver's second cookery book	*The Return of the Naked Chef* (Slovene translation), p. 241
	An introduction to the section on pasta from the Novaks' second cookbook	*Ljubezen skozi želodec 2*, p. 140

Table 5: Sub-genres

This analysis does not include the introductory chapters from *Velika kuharica* because the style and content are similar to those found in *Velika slovenska kuharica*. Furthermore, in *Velika kuharica*, the introduction on vegetables starts with an introduction that directs the reader back to the general introductory chapter which was

supposed to give all the necessary information about the preparation of vegetables. Instead, it is possible to find a chapter entitled 'Nutrition' (*Prehrana*) with the sub-chapters 'Healthy nutrition' (*Zdrava prehrana*), 'The energy needs of a human being' (*Energentske potrebe človeka*) and 'Nutrients' (*Hranilne snovi*) which is followed by 'Basic means of food preparation' (*Osnovni načini priprave hrane*). This in turn contains a number of subtitles containing technical expressions: 'Mechanical treatment of foodstuffs' (*Mehanska obdelava živil*), 'Heat processing of foodstuffs' (*Toplotna predelava živil*), and so on.

4.1.3 Vegetables and desserts as text themes

The texts that have been selected for analysis all relate to either vegetables or desserts. This is not a random, choice however. It would be possible to demonstrate certain discursive strategies in the majority of introductions to chapters and recipes.

These two categories of recipes appear almost in any classical cookery book. Desserts and vegetables are often structural elements of a meal.[103] Unlike pasta, rice, or couscous which – like potatoes – fulfils the need for carbohydrates, vegetables fulfil the role of fibres while desserts often have a ceremonial, celebrative or festive role (Douglas 1974).

Oliver's representation of food is in line with (or part of) the general contemporary discourse that relates food to issues of health and well-being. Vegetables are a salient feature of such a lifestyle, as they are seen to contribute to health and thus be

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[103] For an example of a structural analysis of a meal see Douglas (1974).

beneficial. The contemporary British slogan 'Five a day'[104] is just one of the indicators of how vegetables have gained an important place as a prominent item on the plates of rich western consumers, replacing the post-war ideal of meat.

Desserts, on the other hand, are often constructed as one of the main pillars of national food identity, in particular those offered for major holidays (for example, in Slovenia the only dish with which the majority of those who consider themselves ethnic Slovenes identifies is a dessert called *'potica'*). Such desserts also tend to be remnants of old tastes, as their preparation involves techniques and combinations that seem to resemble ways of preparing food that are outdated today. An example is an English dessert (Christmas pudding) where medieval combinations of ingredients (in particular heavy use of spices) are still used to date (Barber 1973). Thus, desserts can be seen to be in many ways remnants of past procedures for cooking as well as inhabiting past ideas and concepts.

4.1.4 Selection of specific texts

The texts that have been selected for analysis are often at the intersection of the sub-genre and the topic. For example, *Velika slovenska kuharica* only has one example of an introduction to the chapter on vegetables while *Velika kuharica* does not include such a chapter at all. The recipes have often been selected based on the discursive elements that they contain: for example, Oliver's 'Blackberry pie' contains an interesting illustration of perspectivation, while his 'Epohal pineapple with crushed mint sugar' demonstrates how desire and taste can be created through linguistic

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[104] 'Five a day' is the slogan of a number of health programmes in the UK which are designed to encourage the daily consumption of more fruits and vegetables.

representation. The Novak's second cookbook *Ljubezen skozi želodec 2* contains no introductory text to its sections on vegetables or desserts, so an introduction from a section on pasta has been chosen instead.

4.2 METHODS FOR ANALYSIS OF TRANSLATION AS RECONTEXTUALISATION

For the analysis of translation as recontextualisation (see also Chapter 1), I use categories suggested by Wodak and Van Leeuwen (see Wodak 2000b; Van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999):

- deletion/omission of lexis, clauses, clusters or paragraphs from the original;
- addition of elements to the translated text;
- redistribution/rearrangement of elements in the translated text as compared to the original;
- substitution/renaming.

1. Deletion/omission

Deletion can be defined as the omission of material or its parts, which is not replaced in any way, in the process of translation. There may be many reasons why the translator and/or the editor decide to leave particular information out. This may sometimes be simply because the information may not be relevant in the new context.

2. Addition

Elements are sometimes added in the translation, and this can happen because additional information is required for the target reader's understanding or because the

syntax of the target language requires it, as the examples below illustrate. The example shows the addition of a clause which defines the clause as an answer. This example is from Oliver's second book.

(4.1)

ORIG.   In water. Ø

TR.   V vodo, je odgovor.

[Into the water, is the answer.]

Additions are often editors' or translators' comments, which I will discuss below in Chapter 5.

3. Redistribution/rearrangement

Redistribution is when the editor/translator retains all the elements of the original text but arranges them differently than they were arranged in the original. This can often be a consequence of different syntactic rules in languages, but it is sometimes the result of other conditions.

(4.2)

ORIG.   It is good served with whole roasted birds (game or chicken), fresh spring peas and smoky bacon.

TR.   Zelo dobro je, če uporabimo svež pomladanski grah in dobro prekajeno slanino, postrežemo pa k pečenemu piščancu.

[It is very good if we use fresh spring peas and well smoked bacon, and we served to a chicken roast.]

Here, the instruction is changed: In the original, a certain vegetable dish is to be served with roasted bird, peas and bacon. In the translation, the peas and bacon are probably meant to be used with vegetables, and together this is to be served with chicken.

4. Substitution/renaming of elements in the translated text as compared to the original. This occurs when a different element is inserted in place of the original. This is a common strategy because substitution is a good way to bring the translation closer to the target audience. The most classic example can be seen in (4.3) from *Jamie's Italy* where a reference to a British car (Aston Martin) is replaced with a symbolically similar value for the Slovene audience (Mercedes) (i.e. a prestigious, expensive car).

(4.3)

ORIG.   Treviso is the Aston Martin of the radicchio family.

TR.   Treviški radič je Mercedes med radiči.

   [Treviso radicchio is a Mercedes among radicchios.]

(4.4) is an example of a substitution where a web page is replaced with a contextually more appropriate instruction to buy the seeds at the market.

(4.4)

ORIG.   Have a go at growing your own – you can buy seeds online from www.seedsofitaly.com.

TR.   Lahko ga vzgojite na domačem vrtu ali kupite na trgu, ne bo vam žal.

   [You can raise it in your home garden or buy it on the market, you will not be sorry.]

4.3 METHODS FOR THE ANALYSIS

In this section, I discuss the categories for the analysis based on categories proposed in the discourse-historical approach (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 45; Wodak and Reisigl 2009: 112f). First, I identify social actors, objects and processes in the linguistic and visual material, and then I analyse what characteristics these have been attributed. Further categories can be related to stylistics, particularly 'point of view' and 'modality' rather than general textual structure and actors within it. Finally, I analyse the intensification/mitigation strategies which are used as ways of increasing or decreasing certain characteristics of the social actor, object or process.[105]

4.3.1 Nomination and predication strategies

Referential/nomination strategies are used in the construction of social actors such as in- and out-groups (but also their members) as well as individuals, i.e. to distinguish those that belong to 'us' and those who do not. Reisigl and Wodak (2001) list a number of ways in which nomination strategies can be realised. Their category of social actors draws on Theo Van Leeuwen's (2008) work in developing an elaborated "system network of representation of social actors in discourse" (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 46). Apart from social actors, this strategy also includes the discursive construction of objects/phenomena/events as well as the construction of processes/actions. These are all important categories for an analysis of cookbooks.

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[105] Here, I only use four categories developed within the discourse-historical approach. The fifth one, – argumentation strategies – which makes the approach most distinct from other approaches in "CDA", but also generally (for example, corpus-based approaches cannot capture this feature), is not used here because the use of argumentation schema and topoi is less relevant to my research questions.

Predication strategies, on the other hand, can be defined as "stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative and positive traits in the linguistic form which can be expressed implicitly or explicitly" (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 45). Once social actors have been identified, it is possible to analyse how they are being labelled; that is, whether positively or negatively. The line between these two strategies is of course not completely clear as often nomination already denotes or connotes a certain positive or negative value, as much as a certain social actor already represents something in himself or herself (i.e. they are brands, like *Jamie*).

The two categories, nomination and predication, are of crucial importance for this analysis. There is a clear relation to stylistics as the scheme is complemented "with a tropological conceptualisation of metaphorical /.../, metonymical and synecdochical constructions or *'invention'* of social actors" (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 54). Using these two strategies, it may be possible to show the transformations in discourse, in terms of conversationalisation (Fairclough 1992: 201ff) and democratisation (*ibid.*: 219) of discourse. An example is the deletion of the boundary between professional cooking and home cooking in terms of clothing. Clothes used by chefs increasingly become simply everyday clothes, rather than retaining their distinctively professional uniform look (of which the high white hat is a symbol).

Actors can be seen as role models as they construct the ideal – or the desired – reader in terms of their lifestyle. The analysis of objects, on the other hand, can give an insight into which objects are being represented in this discourse as well as how food is represented in contemporary discourses about food.

REPRESENTATION OF PERSONS/ OBJECTS/ PROCESSES IN COOKBOOKS		NOMINATION actor description	PREDICATION action attribution
Social actors (=people) How is the chef represented? *on his own *with friends *with family *with other 'experts' (shop keepers, dinner-ladies etc.) *with children	*How is the chef described?*	-Proper names -Deictic and phoric expressions -professional anthroponyms -ideological anthroponyms -collectives, incl. metonymic -economic anthroponyms	Be + adjective etc.
How are children represented? How are adults represented? Which social actors are not present?			
Objects, phenomena, events How is food represented? How is food	*How are objects described?*	-concrete -abstract	

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processing represented? How are cooking utensils represented? How is Italy represented?			
Processes/action	*How are processes described?*	-material -mental -verbal	

Table 6: Nomination and predication strategies

Having identified the main social actors/objects/processes and their attributes, I focus on the remaining two categories, perspectivation and intensification/mitigation.

4.3.2 Perspectivation/framing/discourse representation

This is a strategy used by the writer to position themselves as opposed to their object of speech; that is, from which point of view they speak in their reporting about real world events. The reader is invited to identify with this position. As point of view, perspectivation has been widely studied in stylistics (see for example Short 1996; Semino and Short 2004). The specific linguistic strategies used include speech and thought representation, use of discourse particles, deictics, ellipsis, etc.

4.3.3 Intensifying and mitigation strategies

This strategy helps modify the illocutionary force of an utterance either by intensifying or mitigating it. Frequently, it is possibly to find modal verbs,

impersonalisations or forms indicating reservation towards the content as well as different assertions such as 'we' instead of 'you' or 'I', questions instead of assertions, vagueness and tag questions (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 84). These strategies include foregrounding and backgrounding, which are also two salient features developed in stylistics.[106]

4.4 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I presented the methods and data that will be employed in this thesis. The categories for analysis used will those developed within the discourse-historical approach. The main focus of my research is the study of cookbooks and this is also where the data comes from. I will analyse texts from three time periods: "'standard' cookbooks", "Jamie Oliver 'celebrity' cookbooks" and "post-Oliver 'celebrity' cookbooks by the Novaks. These fall into various sub-genres, linguistic and visual, and are thematically related to either vegetables or desserts. Unlike the case studies, where selected texts will be studied in detail, the next chapter gives a general overview of the topics in the corpora in these three particular periods. In the following chapter, I will extract the topics from three separate corpora of lifestyle texts.

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[106] Foregrounding is when we see the elements in the text that are somehow foregrounded as opposed to the text, i.e. they stand out. Short (2005) shows how this is done visually by using colours and positioning of elements in order to highlight different concepts in visual material. A good example of foregrounding is Dylan Thomas' poem entitled '*A grief ago*' where the usual location that is expected to go with a goal is an expression of time (eg. a <u>month</u> ago) and not an emotion (eg. grief). Other examples of foregrounding include deviation and parallelism, where deviation refers to moves away from the norm on a linguistic level and parallelism refers to the use of repetitive structures. Foregrounding relies on what we call a norm and enhances the meaning potential of the text (Nørgaard *et al.*: 96).

5 ANALYSIS OF THE TRANSLATIONS OF OLIVER'S COOKERY BOOKS INTO SLOVENE

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the adaptation of the original texts to the Slovene context. This follows from the questions that this thesis aims to answer; these are related to the two phases of recontextualisation[107] of lifestyle discourse to Slovenia, where the first phase constitutes the availability of foreign lifestyle discourse in Slovene and the second phase the production of localised global discourse. Hence, this chapter answers the question about the adaptation through translation of Oliver's cookbooks for the Slovene target readership.

At the end of Chapter 1, some issues related to translation were discussed. When it comes to the translation of manuals related to food preparation, problems that translators often face are those related to availability of ingredients in the target culture and potentially their replacement, vocabulary for different cuts of, for example, meat, and the conversion of measurements or cooking utensils (Epstein

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[107] As explained in Chapter 1, recontextualisation is defined as a process which occurs as a result of a relationship between the outside and the inside of an entity: "external entities are recontextualised, relocated within new contexts" (Fairclough 2006: 34). Colonisation and appropriation can therefore be seen as a form of globalisation/localisation (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999). Van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) define recontextualisation terms of transformation of social practices into discourses and vice versa. For example, "how social practices that constitute immigrants' everyday life and work are represented in the discursive practices of writing and issuing *Bescheide*", i.e. documents issued by Austrian government with which they notify applicants of their refusal of the application for a visa.

2009). However, texts can undergo other changes as well. Research in the sub-discipline of sociology that studies translation as a process has pointed towards several elements that translation studies have neglected as a consequence of their predominant interest in the 'cultural' rather than 'social'. I have indicated in Chapter 1 not only how the translator's habitus can affect the translation, but also the power relations that are interwoven in the process. It is often editors, rather than translators who have the last say in how the text is to appear in the final version (for an overview see Wolf 2011; see also Wolf and Fukari 2007) because translators work for editors, who can further appropriate their translation to the target reader's expectations in the hope of increasing the marketing result of the publication (Alègre 2004: 199).[108] Section 5.3.5 in particular will show that a number of changes are a result of the editors' rather than the translator's interference.

This chapter is divided into several parts: after a short discussion about the translation of cooking manuals, I will compare the originals and the translations. This will be divided into five sections dedicated to the various levels of translation. First, changes that are related to genre are discussed in 5.3.1. This will be followed by an examination of representation of the brand *Jamie* in 5.3.2. Translation of discourse about Italy and related issues of national identity will be discussed in 5.3.3 and 5.3.4. The chapter will conclude with a discussion about the overt presence of the editor and the translator as one of 'us' (the Slovenes) in the translated texts.

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[108] Pym expresses this well as he states that translator's client is the editor, and the editor's client is the reader (Pym 1997: 78).

5.2 SOME REMARKS ON TRANSLATING COOKING MANUALS

Translation Studies scholars have shown on a number of texts, including those culturally most prominent and with the longest tradition of translation, such as the Bible, that translation requires a number of decisions by the translator for the text to achieve the same communicative purpose as the original. There are issues related to the change of linguistic system (the formation of sentences, for example) as well as transformations in the assumptions that each text carries about the cultural background of its production as well as its readers. Even more so than the differences that arise due to the use of different language structures, other issues, such as the inappropriate translation of textual features and organization of the text can limit the success of the communicative event (Colina 1997: 337). Similar issues can be caused by changes in the content of the text. It has already been shown how such appropriation – or 'rewriting' (Lefevere 1992) can be a space for various ideological adjustments of the text such as issues of national identity, which I will discuss in 5.3.4 (Von Flotow-Evans 2000; Al-Mohannadi 2008; Long 2007; Munday 2008, 2007b; Pérez 2002; Venuti 1992; Al-Hejin 2010).

Cookbooks are texts which particularly embody the cultural traditions, customs and experience of a particular culture. The translator faces a challenge as he or she needs to employ various techniques to communicate these meanings. For example the translator must find a suitable translation of "utensils such as kettles, garlic presses and potato mashers" which may not be used in all cultures (Munday 2001: 86, quoted in Alègre 2004: 200).

At the same time, translators have to consider the usefulness of the translated recipes in a particular target language (that is, can the dish be cooked?), as well as retain their representative function and content (in the case of Oliver, these need to retain the brand). Texts are adapted to the target context, which, in most cases, is a context which the translators either know well or have been socialised into so the target reader's image comes from their immediate knowledge of the target reader "because his (sic!) choices are dictated by extra-linguistic choices" (Alègre 2004: 200).

While Alègre who has examined a corpus of translated culinary texts, shows that the format of the genre (i.e. recipes) has not proved to be a problem in these translations, Colina specifically makes a point about the features of the text. She lists a number of characteristics specific to recipes as genre in English and Spanish and stresses the importance of domesticating these in the translation (Colina 1997: 338).[109] Alègre reports on the following strategies that the translators have used in her corpus to "register cultural difference" (Alègre 2004: 191): "Adaptation, respect for foreign culture, focus on the reader, nationalisation of the foreign element and reference to the target culture".

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[109] For English recipes, she found the following (Colina 1997: 339-340): syntactic features (absent preposition 'of'); frequent omission of definite and indefinite articles; zero anaphora (i.e. no overt marker) to refer to the topic, lack of subordination, complex sentences using coordination, punctuation marks rather than conjunctions, and the use of the imperative.

5.3 COMPARING THE ORIGINAL AND TRANSLATION: SOME FINDINGS

Domestication/recontextualisation of texts can be analysed on various levels; first I will analyse how the cookbooks have been localised in relation to their genre characteristics. One of the most salient elements here is the form of interpersonal relationship between the reader and the writer in the text. This is a way of giving a command; it is institutionalised in this form of text and hence relatively fixed. The translation could not be completely domesticated had this feature been neglected.

Secondly, however, the translator and the editor need to translate the brand, i.e. Jamie, which needs to be localised, but still recognised as the global (foreign) brand seen on television screens. Separated from this is the translation of the representation of Italy, which is an example of how a whole discourse about a particular country/group of people gets appropriated in another cultural setting. This is necessarily done in relation to the representation of the target group, i.e. Slovenes, and consequentially works as a construction or reconfirmation of national identity. Finally, there are the translator and the editor themselves: as they comment on various aspects of Oliver's text overtly, they further appropriate the original to the target language and its environment.

5.3.1 Genre conventions: politeness and command[110]

Of all written texts, the representation of relationship of the writer and the reader is perhaps most visible in instructional genres, as their primary aim is to guide readers in

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[110] This is a shortened version of Tominc (in review).

their future actions: if the intended outcome is to succeed, the reader needs to closely follow the writer's instruction. The writer, on the other hand, should conform to the cultural norms of politeness, as command-giving can be seen as a face threatening act.

This section will expand on the problem already sensed by Colina (1997), who suggests the importance of the target language genre specificities. Hence, I will discuss, on one hand, the characteristics of the speech act of command in Slovene and English recipes, and on the other, the need for the translators to accommodate to the target culture specificities of politeness, rather than retaining the original norms (see also Hatim and Mason 1990: 76ff). The consequence of this is, as Van Den Broeck (1986) suggests, that the translator is forced to perform target language shifts on the macro-structural syntactic level, hence moving away from the representation of interpersonal relations as seen in the original.

5.3.1.1 Command in English and Slovene recipes

In English recipes, the most dominant form of command seems to be the imperative, where the reader is told what to do by the writer, as in "melt the chocolate." (Cotter 1997: 55). This feature, which is not only stable in the genre today, but also diachronically from relatively early on (Görlach 2004; Colina 1997: 340), was modelled on the French Norman plural imperative. In some cases the instruction was in the form of advice with a modal finite 'should' as in "you should melt the chocolate", especially as early recipes appeared together with recipes for drugs in books in which advice on household management in Britain was given (Görlach 2004: 129).

The subject is normally the reader, expressed either explicitly with a pronoun 'you' or implicitly, as in the examples above, where the subject is incorporated into the verb (*e.g.* 'melt'). The finite is usually moderated for modality, but not for tense, as in English, recipes are usually in the present tense rather than future, as is the case with examples from Apicius' collection of recipes in Latin from the 3rd century. Here, recipes appear in the future tense, but not in the imperative ('you will melt') (Görlach 2004: 129).

Apart from imperatives, evaluative forms and descriptions can also be included in recipes. Their message is auxiliary, and often includes the use of the second person singular. Cotter reminds us that these forms are a relic of the "pre-literate spoken transmission of recipes through the use of the pronoun (you) that characteristically distinguishes spoken discourse from written prose" (Cotter 1997: 57).

Unlike in English, it seems that no systematic linguistic study into Slovene recipes and their interpersonal component has been conducted to date. In Slovene cooking manuals, it is possible to find two ways of establishing interpersonal relations through a recipe: the diachronically earlier form which resembles the English conventions of command and the contemporary form, where a first plural indicative is used in place of an imperative.

Vodnik's (1981 [1799]) first translation of an unknown Bavarian cookbook from German to Slovene contains second person singular imperatives, which could have

been modelled on the German originals of the time.[111] After Vodnik established this norm,[112] other cookbooks followed in retaining these characteristics: the 1912 *Slovenska kuharica* [The Slovene cookbook] by Sister Felicita Kalinšek uses second person singular imperative throughout, and so does the chain of numerous reprints that derive from her cookbook up to today. Even the 1999 edition of *Velika slovenska kuharica* [The Great Slovene Cookbook], edited by the last generation of a number of Kalinšek's successors (Ilc and Kalinšek 1999) still retains the same interpersonal features, as (5.1) demonstrates.

(5.1) *The Great Slovene Cookbook*, p. 555

ORIG: *Maslo umešaj in mu polagoma primešaj rumenjake, sladkor z vanilijo in ogreto čokolado.*

[Cream the butter and slowly add egg yolks, sugar with vanilla and warmed-up chocolate.]

Other cookbooks of the time follow similar conventions. Post-war cookbooks, however, no longer appear to contain this form of command. The imperative is now only used occasionally, and never with a subject in the singular.

5.3.1.2 Norms and conventions in translation

Consider the following example, which is representative of the majority of the translations of the subject in the corpus:

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[111] Contemporary German cookbooks contain commands in the form of description; 'one melts the chocolate', while late 18th century recipes may have used an imperative.

[112] Vodnik introduced to the Slovene language not only the cookbook as a genre, but new terminology as well (*cf.* Vidmar 2009).

(5.2) *Happy Days with the Naked Chef*, p. 211

ORIG: Cook for 2 or 3 minutes until the greens are tender, or al dente, then drain in colander.

TR: *Kuhamo 2 do 3 minute, da se zelenjava zmehča ali se skuha al dente, potem pa odcedimo.*

[We cook 2 to 3 minutes, so that the vegetables become tender or cook al dente, then we drain.]

The original sentence contains two second person imperative ('cook', 'drain') and one indicative ('are'). The first one is a command; the second example is a statement giving information about what is likely to happen should the command be followed. Hence, here, the subjects involved in this communication are two: 'me' (the writer) and 'you' (the reader), where the writer constructs readers to be opposite to the writer, i.e. performing a task on their own using the instruction provided. The translation, however, does not retain the original relationship between the two as it follows the established norms of the Slovene recipe genre, where the writer seems to be constructed as a part of the activity. Hence, both references to the reader are transformed into the first person plural, that is, they include the writer and the reader in the activity which was previously only supposed to be done by the reader: now, it is 'we' who perform an action on the greens.

The genre norms tend to be followed even when the action in the original is significantly reformulated. This is done either by changing the verb subject from 'the recipe' into 'we' (Example 5.3) or by changing the agent from the impersonal passive to the active 'we'. The latter case (Example 5.4) also demonstrates a change in the

action which is to be done *to* the dish: in the translation, the dish is served rather than being eaten. This further confirms the recipe in Slovene to be an active rather than a generally passive genre.

(5.3) *Jamie's Italy*, p. 264

ORIG.: This recipe sees the more robust leaves blanched first...

TR.: *Pri tem receptu bolj trde in čvrste liste najprej obarimo....*

[In this recipe we first parboil the harder and robust leaves...]

(5.4) Jamie's Italy, p. 264

ORIG.: (it) 'This dish can be eaten either cold as an antipasto or warm as a vegetable contorno.'

TR.: *Tole zelenjavo lahko postrežemo bodisi toplo bodisi hladno.*

[We can serve this vegetable either warm or cold.]

5.3.2 Translating the brand

The translator is aware of the need to recreate the style that constitutes the Jamie brand in Britain. As explained in Chapter 2, early *Jamie* tends to be represented through his non-standard speech, often Essex dialect, and uses a number of linguistic means to build this brand. Similarly, in the Slovene translation, the translator often introduces slang, dialectal expression and even figurative language. This is interesting as cookbooks for the first time deviate from the standard, formal norm of a manual and turn towards literary and sometimes conversational forms that are full of original stylistic solutions. The translations also include a number of new interdiscursive relations that are specific to the Slovene context.

5.3.2.1 Informal, conversational style

The style of the translations is often informal/conversational. Example (5.5) demonstrates a use of a Slovene clitic '*ej*' which is used in the spoken interaction also to call someone, similarly to 'hey' in English.

(5.5) *The Naked Chef*, p. 25

ORIG.   Make yourself a huge bowl of broth for lunch, filled with noodles, vegetables or whatever – it will be really good for you.

TR.   *Napravite si eno res veliko skledo juhe za kosilo, polno nudelnov, zelenjave ali česarkoli že – ej, res vam bo dobro dela.*

[Make yourself one really big bowl of soup for lunch, full of noodles, vegetables or whatever – hey, it will really do you good.]

In (5.6) it is possible to see the Ljubljana slang/dialect '*kva*' for standard '*kako*' [how]. In the next section, where I will discuss case studies, I show uses of Ljubljana dialect in several additional examples.

(5.6) *The Naked Chef*, p. 187

ORIG.   Looks great.

TR.   *Kva je dober!*

[How (Lj. dialect) good it is!]

The translator not only uses words from the spoken language, but also represents spoken language in writing, as in (5.7) below. A 'real chop' is translated as '*velik, praaavi kotlet*' where the repetition of 'a' suggests a long vowel further magnifying the size of the chop.

(5.7) *The Naked Chef,* p. 107

ORIG.   ...bat it out slightly – now that's a real chop.

TR.   *ga malo potolče, tako da iz dveh nastane en velik, praaavi kotlet.*

[bat out a bit, so that one big, reaaal cutlet is made out of two]

The example below shows further conversationalisation (see Chapter 2 for Fairclough's definition), as the translator uses words originating from various languages. Borrowings from English are common in recent times, while borrowings from German and Italian are older because of the historical interaction between Slovenia and these countries. (Serbo)Croatisms, on the other hand, date from the time when Slovenia was part of the former Yugoslavia. None of these features is expected in the standard language and unless seen in the figurative language of prose and poetry, these are not normally seen in the standard form.

6.3.2.1.1 Words originating in English

In (5.8), the translator employs the Anglophone predication '*simpel* (simple)' instead of the literary Slovene '*enostavno*' or '*preprosto*' even though the loan word is orthographically domesticated. In this way, he assigns Jamie to the younger generation of slang users, who can be associated with this kind of language. Examples (6.16)–(6.19) similarly show the use of an English word, rather than Slovene: '*do fula*' in place of the standard '*v celoti*', '*stejk*' in place of the standard '*zrezek*', '*bejba*' in place of the more common '*punca*', '*point*' in place of the standard '*skrivnost*' (secret) and '*sorry*' in place of the standard '*oprostite*'. These contribute to Oliver being portrayed as youthful.

(5.8)   *The Naked Chef,* p.95

ORIG.:   The most simple

TR.   *Najbolj simple...*

         [The most 'simple]

(5.9)   *The Naked Chef* p. 95

ORIG: Tuna steak

TR: *tunin stejk*

         [Tuna steak]

(5.10)   *The Naked Chef,* p. 76

ORIG.:   but this dish uses asparagus to its full

TR.:   *tokrat bomo pa stebla uporabili do fula*

         [this time we will use stems to its full]

(5.11)   *The Naked Chef,* p. 25

ORIG.:   so leave it a couple of weeks into a relationship

TR.   *raje, ko se z bejbo že malo poznamo*

         [rather when you know each other a bit better with the girl]

(5.12)   *The Naked Chef* p. 92

ORIG.:   The secret is to get the freshest John Dory and the best black olives

TR.   *point je v tem, da poiščemo čimbolj svežega kovača in najboljše možne črne*

         olive

         [the point is in that we find the freshest John Dory and the freshest possible

         black olives]

(5.13)   *The Naked Chef,* p. 105

ORIG.:   Sorry if this all sounds a bit harsh

TR.   *Res sorry, če se tole sliši tako krvoločno*

         [Really sorry if this sounds a bit bloodthirsty]

However, while these are foreign words, the domestication and approximation in translation functions so that stylistically unmarked nouns are translated as if they were originally marked, using the domestic lexis. The figure of Jamie is created as if he is one of 'us' and not as if he is indeed 'foreign' among 'us'.

6.3.2.1.2 Words originating from the languages surrounding Slovenia

German

Many words originating from German can be found in Slovene dialects as well as in the contemporary spoken language. Below are three examples of such uses.

(5.14) shows a translation of 'packs' as '*pakunga*' (the stylistically marked noun for a package, possibly of German origin from '*Packung*'), which is an informal, perhaps dialectal expression, but not necessarily specific to an age group. (5.15) is an example where he uses the verb '*pošlihtati*' from German '*schlichten*' and (5.16) where he uses '*žmohtna*' from Old German '*smach*' (*žmoh*) meaning taste (i.e. related to modern German '*Geschmack*', taste) (Snoj 1997).

(5.14)   *The Naked Chef*, p.78

ORIG.:   Packs of prewashed baby spinach

TR.   *...pakungo že oprane mlade špinače...*

[a 'pakunga' of prewashed young spinach]

(5.15)   *The Naked Chef*, p.78

ORIG.:   just to tidy it up a bit

TR.   *da jih malo pošlihtamo*

[so that we put them in order a little bit]

(5.16)   *The Naked Chef* p. 34

ORIG: Give the salad a bit of an edge

TR.:   *Da bo solata bolj žmohtna*

[so that the salad will be 'stronger']

Italian

Italian dialect-based expressions can also be often found in Slovene dialects and spoken contemporary speech, especially in the West of Slovenia. '*Pašta*' is one such example, where a foreign noun is used in place of the standard '*testenine*' (5.17).

(5.17)   *The Naked Chef*, p.47

ORIG.:   I always make far too much on purpose. I then dry it and keep it in airtight jars for really good, quick pasta.

TR.   *Namenoma zmeraj naredim veliko več rezancev, kot je potrebno, nato pa jih*

posušim in shranim v neprodušno zaprtih kozarcih – za res dobro in hitro pašto.

[I always make much more tagliatelle than it is necessary, and then I dry them and save them in an airtight jar – for a really good and quick pasta.]

Croatian/Serbian

Croatian/Serbian has been a source of many loan words, especially before the 1990s, when Slovenia formed part of Yugoslavia together with speakers of these languages. Many people immigrated to Slovenia and brought with them linguistic uses that are now widely used in spoken interaction. (5.18)–(5.20) are examples from *The Naked Chef*.

In the addition to the original (see (5.18)), the translator adds *Jaoooo!*, which not only represents length in spoken language by elongating 'o', but is also a Croatism '*jao*' which can translated as something like 'oh', here as a form of approval and anticipation of taste.

(5.18)   *The Naked Chef*, p. 18

ORIG.:   Serve with some good peppery extra virgin olive oil and fresh Parmesan.

TR.   *Postrežemo z dobrim, rahlo pikantnim oljčnim oljem in s svežim parmezanom.*

Minештrone doseže svoj vrhunec, če nazadnje vanj kanemo še malo kisa in kisle

smetane. Jaoooo!

[We serve with a good, slightly spicy olive oil and fresh Parmesan. Minestrone reaches its peak if, at the end, we pour some drops of vinegar and sour cream into it. Ohhhhh!]

(5.19) and (5.20) include '*na brzaka*' deriving from the Croatian word '*brzo*' meaning quickly'. '*Brzak*' is a noun meaning something[113] quick and in a combination with the preposition 'na' it means 'quickly' in Slovene urban speech. (5.20) also includes the adjective 'doteran' which is also a Croatism.

(5.19)   *The Naked Chef,* p. 230

ORIG.:   ... or can be quickly whizzed up in a food processor.

TR.   *ali pa jo na brzaka zmiksamo v multipraktiku*

         [or we mix it quickly in a food processor]

(5.20)   *The Naked Chef,* p. 214

ORIG.   It's so easy to grab a tart out of the freezer, bake it in minutes and fill it with something simple or elaborate.

TR.   *nič lažjega, kot iz zmrzovalnika potegniti eno pito, jo na brzaka speči in nafilati s čim prav preprostim ali bolj doteranim.*

         [nothing easier than to pull one pie from the freezer, bake it quickly and fill it with something simple or more complicated.]

6.3.2.1.3 Figurative language

Example (5.21) is a replacement resulting in a very interesting 'poetisation'[114] of the language. Previous research on Oliver's language (Cook *et al.* 2008) has found a number of examples of Oliver's use of poetic language in his discourse. In the

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[113] In fact, it is rather 'someone quick'. The declension 'na brzaka' suggests an animate reference, as an inanimate reference would have the form 'na brzak'. This makes this saying even more figurative as it personalises the concept of speed.

[114] By 'poetisation' I mean the use of poetic language.

translation of cookbooks, this feature has sometimes been additionally intensified, as the example below referring to spinach shows:

(5.21)   *The Return of the Naked Chef,* p. 150

ORIG.:   I like the irony taste of spinach, I love the colour, it's really good for you...

TR.   *Všeč mi je kovinski okus špinače, všeč mi je njena barva, všeč mi je to,*

              da je zdrava...

              [I like the metal taste of spinach, I like her colour, I like that it is

              healthy...]

The effect of grading the feeling of liking that is expressed in the original with the semantic intensification like > love > really good is expressed in the translation via anaphor, a rhetorical feature where the first element of a clause is repeated. It seems, however, that the effect is in fact intensified because anaphor, contrary to the semantic intensification, works on the level of repeating the same group of sounds, bringing a dramatic effect.[115]

Example (5.22) contains the expressive noun 'scoprati' (standard 'sčarati') which means 'to bewitch it all together'. This is a metaphor, suggesting the whole process is an easy task to do, but it also includes an interdiscursive feature of a fairy-tale.

(5.22)   *The Naked Chef* p.34

ORIG.:   Once you've got all that together

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[115] A consequence is also the turning of the action towards the narrator rather than towards the reader (good for you vs. I like it). The topic of health is explicitly included in the translation, whereas this is not the case in the original.

TR.   ...*ko ste vse to scoprali*

                             [when you have bewitched it all together]

Similarly, in example (5.23) '*brez velikih kolobocij*' is used, which is again figurative

language. '*Kolobocija*' is a noun meaning confusion, chaos or mish-mash, but it is

expressive.

(5.23)   *The Naked Chef* p.97

ORIG.:   The idea of this dish is to bake your salmon plainly with a little olive oil

TR.   *vic tega recepta je, da brez velikih kolobocij spečemo lososa z*

                             malo oljčnega olja in soli.

                             [the point/idea of this recipe is without big confusion to bake a

                             salmon with little olive oil and salt]

5.3.2.2 Interdiscursivity

An example of added interdiscursivity can be seen in example (5.24). A Slovene

singer Tomaž Domicelj performs a Slovene version of Segeer's lyrics based on the

Cossack folksong 'Where have all the flowers gone' entitled in Slovene '*Kam so šle*

vse rožice'. Here, the translator plays with the sentence structures and keeps repeating

'*Kam so vsi --- šli?*' inserting different social actors/objects into the structure. The

translation "*kam so vsi okusi šli?*" is an interdiscursive insinuation to this song.

(5.24)   *The Return of the Naked Chef*, p. 56

ORIG.:   Where's all the goodness?

TR.   Pa kam so vsi okusi šli?

                             [Where has all the flavour gone?]

There are many other examples where an interdiscursive element is either added or it is a substitution of another clause, as in example (5.25) from *The Naked Chef* (p. 201) for Mascarpone cream where a link is made to Grimm's fairy-tale *Mizica, pogrni se* [The Wishing-Table].[116]

(5.25)   *The Naked Chef* p. 201

ORIG   ...and Bob's your uncle and Fanny's your aunt.

TR.   *...in mizica, pogrni se!*

              [....and the little table, set yourself up!]

Example (5.26) illustrates the addition of an interdiscursive element which resembles the language of TV sales, which is widely known in Slovenia because of very aggressive marketing on private television networks. '*Toda to še ni vse: če jo skuhate zdaj, dobite zdraven še pet mojih najljubših variacij /.../ torej pokličite zdaj!*' is an almost direct line from such selling shows.

(5.26)   *The Naked Chef* p. 169

ORIG.   Anyway, what I am going to do now is give you a really solid, decent risotto

          base method and then give you five of my favourite variants. I reckon once

          you've tried one you'll be surprised yourself how easy it is.

TR.   *Kakorkoli, tole, kar vam bom zdajle povedal, je poštena in zelo solidna*

          osnovna metoda za rižoto. Toda to še ni vse: če jo skuhate zdaj, dobite

          zdraven še pet mojih najljubših variacij – in to za pet obrokov, torej pokličite

          zdaj! No, zdaj pa zares, ko boste enkrat poskusili, boste še sami presenečeni,

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[116] I will show in chapter 8 that as an author (not just a translator), Novak is also very keen on using fairy-tale related intertexuality in cookbooks.

kako preprosto je.

[However, this, what I am going to tell you now is a straightforward and very good base for risotto. But this is not all: if you cook it now, you get also five of my favourite variations with it – and for five meals, so dial now! Well, seriously now, when you try it once, you will be surprised yourself, how simple it is.]

5.3.3 Representation of Italy

Contrary to the previous section where I looked at the recreation of the brand in the translation, I am here concerned with the content of translation, i.e. how the translation of the discursive representation of Italy matches the original. In Oliver's cookbooks, Italy and Italians tend to be represented in a very positive way. This is done via various strategies, such as via nomination and predication of the people and their environment, food and habits, the use of Italian language as a symbol, and through the number of Italian recipes that appear in the books.

5.3.3.1 Representation of Italians in originals and in the translation

In the originals, Italians tend to be represented in a positive way. This is largely retained in the translation; however, in some cases their representation is deleted or substituted as in example (5.27). Ø represents that the original has been deleted in the translation.

(5.27) *The Naked Chef,* p.100

ORIG.: This is one of the real tastes of Italy which you must try. -> Ø

Example (5.28) is an example of representation of Italians in terms of them being involved with gardening, because, in Oliver's understanding, they all have a garden which is their source of vegetables. In the Slovene translation, however, this appears to be 'our', i.e. Slovene characteristics, as 'we' are those in possession of a garden that can be ransacked for vegetables when required. Here, an in-group is created as the translator discursively reconfirms the identity of a group of people whose vegetables can either be found in the garden or at the vegetable stall at the market.

(5.28)   *The Naked Chef*, p.102

ORIG   Most Italians have a   vegetable garden

TR.   *Pobrskajmo malo po   zelenjavnem vrtu za hišo*

          [Let's ransack a little   the vegetable garden behind the house

ORIG   and no matter how big or small it is they always have

          greens and veggies to hand.

TR.   *ali po stojnici z zelenjavo.*

                                              or the stall with vegetables.]

5.3.3.2 Use of the Italian language in originals and the translation

The English originals contain a number of Italian expressions. Many are used because they are parts of the British culinary jargon and their domestication to Slovene is to be expected. Hence, 'Cannellini beans' as they appear in the original are translated simply as '*beli fižol*' (white beans), since the name 'Cannellini' is not used in Slovene.

The Italian language, however, is also commodified (see for example Heller 2010: 108) and used as a brand. Increasingly, the language "has become central to niche marketing and to the localization dimensions of globalization" (Kelly-Holmes 2000; 2005 in Heller 2010: 108). The book *Jamie's Italy* in particular is full of expressions that are used in Italian in order to market the lifestyle – rather than just the recipes – as Italian. In Britain, Italian-ness is seen as a selling point, because Italy is discursively constructed as romantic and desirable. In (5.29), for example, the original contains the Italian 'Grazie mille!' which is followed by a longer English expression of thanks. Such repetition of information shows that the Italian is used for symbolic reasons because it is a successful marketing tool. The Slovene translation, however, puts the Slovene thanks first. This is then followed by the Italian expression.

(5.29) *Jamie's Italy,* p. 350

ORIG.   Grazie mille!

   Thanks a million to all the lovely people that helped in putting this book together.

TR.   *Tisočkrat hvala!*

   Grazie mille!

   Hvala tisočim ljudem, ki so pomagali spraviti skupaj to knjigo.

   [Thousand times thanks! Thousand thanks! Thanks to thousands of people, who helped in putting this book together.]

(5.30) below is another example of a title from *Jamie's Italy*: In the original, the (Italian) title is given first, and this is followed by an English explanation below it. The recipe, which in Italian refers to a typical way of preparing leafy vegetables, are described in terms of the vegetables' origin with the predicate 'Italian'. The English language is explaining the Italian title rather than translating it. In the Slovene

translation, however, not only does the Slovene title appear at the top of the Italian therefore visually gaining priority over the Italian title, but the translation also equally reduced the original's reference to the Italian origin of the dish. The translator has translated the Italian name of the dish literally, hence deleting the reference to the Italian style of the dish that can be seen in the original.

(5.30) *Jamie's Italy*, p. 260

ORIG.   Ricetta tipica per verdure Verdi. Italian style greens

TR.   *'Tradicionalni recept za listnato zelenjavo. Ricetta tipica per verdure Verdi'*

        [Traditional recipe for leafy vegetables. A typical recipe for green vegetables]

Examples (5.29) and (5.30) have shown how the use of Italian language as a symbol for Italy has been reduced in the translation. The next example (5.31), however, demonstrates the omission of lexis that denotes parts of the Italian meal that have been used in the original to reinforce the representation of Italian-ness. While the original defines the cold and warm dish in terms of their position in the meal in Italian, the Slovene translation deletes this definition altogether.

(5.31) *Jamie's Italy*, p. 245

ORIG.:   This dish can be eaten either cold as an antipasto or warm as a vegetable contorno.

TR.   *Tole zelenjavo lahko postrežemo bodisi toplo bodisi hladno.*

         [We can serve this vegetable either warm or cool.]

5.3.3.3 Achieving a localised equivalent of Italianness in translation

When adapting the original to the new target readers, the translator made an effort to bring the representation of Italy close to Slovene readers in many interesting ways

which are not always mere deletions. As in example (5.28), where national identity is reinforced by creating an in-group, (5.32) is an example of a substitution of the Italian/English nomination 'pasta' for two Slovene nominations, *'testenine'* and *'pašta'* interchangeably. In this case, the translator uses the characteristics of Slovene Western dialects, where the Latin-based lexeme *'pašta'* is commonly used in place of the literary Slovene *'testenine'*. By doing this, it seems that he is trying to recreate admiration and desire for a particular lifestyle by means of locally existing fantasies. In other words, while in Britain the Italian lifestyle represents a desired middle class taste and behavioural pattern, similarly within Slovenia, the Slovene Western border areas of, in particularly the plateau of Kras (Karst) and the Slovene Coast represent a desired destination for many middle class inhabitants in terms of food and a generally more relaxed lifestyle. In the media, and particularly in TV series, Slovene Western dialects tend to be used to represent positive rather than negative styles of life.

(5.32) *The Naked Chef,* p. 67

ORIG. One of my best mates was Marco, who had Italian parents but had been brought up in London; he was a really good bloke and so passionate about Italy, the culture, the food and yes, you've guessed it, the *pasta*! I don't think he knew it but he started my obsession. I began to read about pasta. I bought my first Italian pasta book.

TR. *"Eden mojih najboljsih pajdašev je bil Marco, ki je bil Italijan, vendar je odrastel v Londonu; res je bil super tip in čiiiisto nor na Italijo, na njeno kulturo, hrano in kajpak, uganili ste, na pašto! On je bil tisti, ki je vzbudil mojo strast, čeprav mislim, da se tega ni zavedal. Začel sem se izobraževati o testeninah. Kupil sem svojo prvo italijansko knjigo o pašti. "*

[One of my best mates was Marco, who was Italian, but he grew up in London.[117] He was really a great bloke and compleeetely crazy about Italy, to its culture, food, and of course, you've guessed, pasta! He was the one who started my passion, even though I think he was not aware of that. I started to educate myself about pasta. I have bought my first Italian book about pasta.]

This stylistic move towards the use of dialect rather than purely literary form is interesting as a way of recreating Jamie as a brand, which I have discussed in the previous section.

Related to the issue of the discursive representation of Italy in the translation is the discursive construction of national identity or/and its confirmation in translations. I will discuss this in the next section.

5.3.4 National identity and assumptions about target readers

When appropriating the original to the target readership, the translator and the editor hold a number of assumptions about the target market's habits and expectations. In this section I will discuss the assumptions that relate to and reconfirm the national identity of the target group (i.e. Slovenes), while the next section is concerned more generally with the translator and editor's additions and comments to the original text which have to do with the practical aspects of food preparation (that is, availability of ingredients, for example).

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[117] Here, I will not discuss the translation of syntagm "who had Italian parents" into "*ki je bil Italijan*" [who was Italian], though the distinction is important as it points to different understandings of nationality. While one nationality was Italian, the other was British with Italian origins.

Example (5.33) is an example of the discursive construction of national identity where 'we' – the Slovenes – are seen as keen mushroom pickers.

(5.33) *The Return of the Naked Chef,* p. 205

ORIG.:　Ø

TR.　　*Sicer pa Slovenci gobarimo, a ne ? Torej ne bo problem, op.prev.*

　　　　[Despite all, we Slovenes like to mushroom, don't we? So it should not be a problem, translator's comment.]

The above example is an overt translation as we can see that the comment is the translator's addition, while (5.34) is not: it is an addition which is a consequence of the use of the deictic in the original which, it seems, will not match the habits of the target readers. The deictic is then replaced in the translation for a country (England):

(5.34) The Naked Chef, p.169

ORIG.:　If I asked most people if they made risotto at home I reckon most would say 'no' and would think it was just poncy restaurant food.

TR.　　*Če pri nas v Angliji vprašaš ljudi, ali doma kuhajo rižote, stavim, da jih bo večina rekla, da ne in da je to hrana za v restavracije.*

　　　　[If you ask people in our place, in England, whether they cook risotto at home, I bet the majority would say not and that this is restaurant food.]

Below is another comment from the translator. Here, he comments on the English habits regarding breakfasts: in Slovenia, it is very common to eat cheese for breakfast, while in England it is not, as we learn from Jamie's narration. The translator, however,

reassures the readers that this is indeed strange from the point of view of the target audience's culture and places 'us' as opposed to 'them'.

(5.35) *The Return of the Naked Chef*, p. 28

ORIG.:   I first had this in Florence for brekkie and my initial reaction, as the unworldly person that I am, was why am I having cheese for breakfast?

TR.   *Prvič so mi tole za zajtrk postregli v Firencah in moja spontana reakcija je bila do konca angleška: le zakaj so mi za zajtrk dali sir (Angležem je to očitno nezaslišano, op. prev.)?*

[I got this served for the first time in Florence and my spontaneous reaction was English to the end: why was I given cheese for breakfast? (To English people this is obviously unprecedented, transl. comment)?]

5.3.5 Overtness of translation

There are some interesting examples of addition when the translator or the editor adds content-related comments that are seen to be specifically useful in the context of the reader. These are often comments related to the availability of the ingredients, as in (5.36).

(5.36) *The Naked Chef*, p. 179

ORIG.:   Ø

TR.   *Tudi v Sloveniji ga dobimo že v vseh trgovinah, op. ured.*

[Also in Slovenia, we can get it in any shop, editor's comment.]

Apart from this, the editor or the translator add elements which directly reflect an idea they may have about their target audience's use of ingredients, such as in (5.37),

which is a list of ingredients everyone is advised to have at home at anytime. Here the editor establishes himself/herself as the one in the know, as he/she appears to give advice on the choice of ingredients *as if* he/she was a chef himself/herself.

(5.37) *The Naked Chef*, p. 9

ORIG.:   Ø

TR.   *-Bio zelenjavne jušne kocke*

-Parmezan (nikoli tisti naribani iz vrečke, ki nima zveze s pravim parmezanom, ampak parmigiano reggiano ali grana padano v kosu, ki sta žal bistveno cenejša v Italiji, nadomestimo pa ju lahko z dostopnejšim domačim zbrincem ali drugim trdim sirom, lahko tudi kozjim, op.ured.)

['-bio vegetable soup cubes

-parmigiano (never the one from the bag, which has no connection with the real parmigiano, but parmigiano reggiano or grana padano in a piece, which are unfortunately much cheaper in Italy, but we can replace them with easier available homely 'zbrinc' or other hard cheese, it can also be goat. Editor's comment]

Example (5.38) is another instance of such a comment from the editor:

(5.38) *The Naked Chef* p.12

ORIG.:   ...you can get them in Thai food shops for about £20 (on mortars)

TR.   *V Sloveniji se dobijo v trgovinah z zdravstvenimi pripomocki, pa v trgovinah z azijsko robo ali pa na bolsjakih, ce hocete take bolkj starinske – vcasih so v njih trli kavo, op.ured.*

[In Slovenia they can be bought in shops with health remedies/instruments as well as in shops with Asian stuff or in the boot sales, if you want more old-style ones – they used to crush coffee in them in the old days, Editor's comment.]

The final example (5.39) is an addition which is not related to either of the categories above, but seems to be just a comment and shows the editor's meta-knowledge about Oliver's other cookbooks. Here, he describes an anecdote given by *Jamie* in one of his later books about the responses he gets from the audience.

(5.39) *The Naked Chef,* page 211.

ORIG.:   Ø

TR.   *V Srečni kuhinji, ki je v Angliji izšla po tej knjigi in jo imamo tudi v slovenščini, Jamie razkrije, da je starejša gospa, ki jo je vzpodbudil ta nagovor, med sadje zamešala celo paprika čips. Ni se ravno obneslo, vsi so se pa krepko narežali. Op. ured.)*

[In The Happy Kitchen, which was published in England after this book and we also have it in Slovene, Jamie uncovers that an older lady, who had been inspired by this address, mixed pepper crisps into fruits. It did not quite work out, but everyone had a good laugh. Editor's comment.]

5.4 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have discussed the differences between the English original and the Slovene translation of five of Oliver's cookbooks that were translated to Slovene between 2002 and 2006. The chapter thus aimed to answer the questions related to the adaptation of Oliver's cookbooks through *translation* for the Slovene target readership.

Changes that are a result of differences in language structures were not taken into account, while I focused on differences resulting from genre conventions, branding and specific country-related representations, such as the representation of Italy. I also showed how the translator and the editor tied in the expectations of the target audience, which resulted in reconfirmation of the national identity of Slovenes (who are the default target audience). This is one of the salient aspects of this study as I show how national identity is re-examined in the process of translation and the 'British' is abandoned in order for the 'Slovene' to be established. Often, the translation points towards the translator's stereotypes and prejudices towards the British, the Slovenes or other social groups in question. Resulting as they do from common-sense (rather than based on scientific study) expectations of the target group's understanding of the social world, these adaptations also show the target group's (i.e. Slovenes') perceived understanding of self as well their understanding of others.

This discussion shows the level of appropriation/rewriting that the text undergoes in order to be localised. Such localisation of foreign texts is the first step in introducing new lifestyle discourses to the Slovene audience, as the publishing houses play the role of 'culture merchants' (Thompson 2010) in introducing new ideas to local markets.

6 COMPARISON OF MACRO-TOPICS AND DISCOURSES

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I analyse topics and discourses in the three corpora: first, in Slovene pre-1990 cookbooks, secondly, in translations of Jamie Oliver into Slovene and thirdly, in the 'celebrity' cookbooks by Novak and Smej Novak. Many of the topics are directly related to concepts and transformations discussed in Chapters 2 and 3.

This chapter elaborates on the research question related to topics in all three discourses, namely which topics appear in the first, second and the third corpus and how these compare. The aim is to show that the latter cookbooks bring not only novelty as compared to 'classic' cookbooks, but also a form of localisation of global food discourse to the Slovene context. Hence, certain topics will generally be similar to those found in Oliver's corpus, while others will be new.

As defined in Chapter 1, topics are extracted from texts and are thus related to them. They are also related to discourses and genres. Macro-discourses are discourses which are linked to other, smaller and more 'specialised' discourses. They consist of topics that are employed in other discourses: macro-discourse about food, for example, is related to all other discourses via topics that connect the two. Discourses are also related to each other via topics and this is why some of the topics are listed in two columns. The tables in this chapter features discourses (horizontal), macro-discourses (vertical) and topics (T1-Tn). This shows how the discourses and macro-discourses are connected. The interconnection of macro-discourses, discourses and topics is,

however, complex; thus the tables only show simplified categories (see Chapter 1 for an elaborate discussion of this interconnectedness).

6.2 DISCOURSE TOPICS/THEMES IN CORPUS 1

The data from the pre-1990s cookbooks contain three discourses (Discourse about ingredients and the preparation of food, Discourse about food consumption and Discourse about the needs of the human body (nutrition)) and the four macro-discourses (Food, Economics, Past and Manners). Below is an example of an introduction to chapters from *Velika kuharica*.
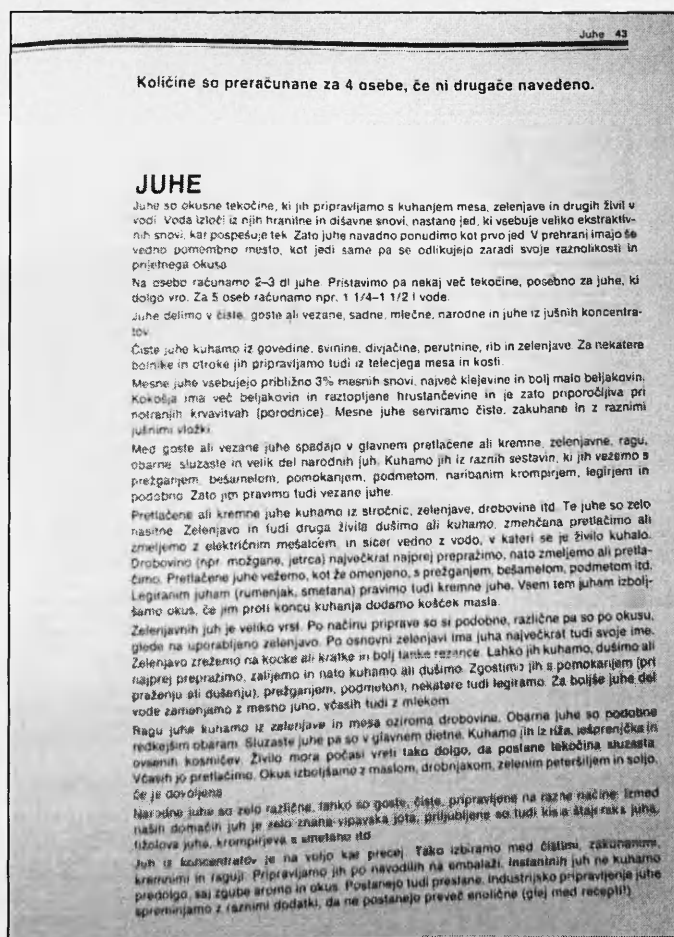
Image 13: An example of an introduction: Juhe [Soups], Velika kuharica, *p. 43*

Each of the discourses was created by combining similar topics (see (6.13) - (6.15) for an example of 'Discourse about nutrition') (Wodak 2001: 66). The table below shows how these topics are also related to macro-discourses about food, economics, past and manners. The macro-discourse about manners is distinct for this corpus as the author explicitly instructs the reader on how to behave in a particular situation, for example how exactly to eat a banana or a chicken. In the other two corpora, this is done by referring to the actors and their own practices.

Table 7 below integrates the topics, discourses and macro-discourses in Corpus 1. 'Discourse about ingredients and the preparation of food' is the larger discourse, which is followed by 'Discourse about nutrition'. This discourse contains topics related to the nutritious aspects of food – these tend to be relatively close to scientific discourse.

Discourses Macro- discourses	Discourse about ingredients and the preparation of food	Discourse about food consumption	Discourse about nutrition
FOOD	T1: Instructions for the preparation of food T2: Cooking methods T3: Kinds of foodstuffs / varieties T4: Ingredients and their quality T5: Food and techniques of other nations	T13: Eating various dishes	T16: Food as medicine T17: Calorific and biological values of foodstuffs (Protein, Water, Fats, Carbohydrates, Vitamins and minerals) T18: How to prepare a menu according to the body's needs T19: Health

	T6: Terminology		
ECONOMICS	T7: Preparing ingredients, including killing animals at home T8: Saving energy		
PAST	T9: Meat in the past T10: The history of food T11: The kitchen now and then		
MANNERS	T12: Manner of food serving and decoration, (*e.g.* setting the table)	T14: Manners at the table T15: Children and table manners in the family	

Table 7: Topics and discourses in Corpus 1.

DISCOURSE ABOUT INGREDIENTS AND THE PREPARATION OF FOOD

This is the most salient discourse in this corpus. It contains a higher number of topics that relate to all four macro-discourses (for a definition of discourse and macro-discourse, see Chapter 1). Related to food are topics such as 'Instructions for the preparation of food' (T1), which is the core of any cookbook because it defines the genre. Closely related is the topic 'Cooking methods' (T2), an example of which is (6.1) below:

(6.1)

Poznamo različne metode kuhanja, pri vseh pa je posredovalec toplote voda oziroma vodna para. S kuhanjem ne morem preseči temperature 100°C (brez zvišanega pritiska), zato kuhe nič ne pospešimo, če dovajamo živilu več

toplotne energije, (velik plinski plamen, premosno odprta električna plošča).
(Grum *et al.*, p. 25)

TRANSLATION: We know different methods of cookingbut with all of them; the heat conductor is water or steam. It is not possible to exceed the temperature of 100°C by cooking (without higher pressure), so cooking is not any quicker if the foodstuffs are given more heat energy (large gas flame, too much open electric plate).

These cookbooks also discuss different kinds of foodstuffs and their varieties, which can also be a topic (T3). Related is the topic about ingredients and their quality (T4). 'Food and techniques of other nations' (T5) is a smaller topic, as it is not often that these two cookbooks discuss foreign dishes; they do suggest recipes for all kinds of foreign dishes, but not much description accompanies them.

(6.2)

Domovina fondijev je kitajska, vendar je sirov fondi postal švicarska narodna jed (Ilc, p. 485).

TRANSLATION: The country of fondues is China, however, cheese fondue has become a Swiss national dish.

This topic includes new dishes, which are often foreign, but also new foodstuffs such as ostrich, as (6.3) shows:

(6.3)

Pri nas se je noj kot gojena žival pojavil leta 1991 (Ilc, p. 289).

TRANSLATION: Here, ostrich has appeared as a breed animal in 1991.

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A topic that clearly distinguishes the first corpus from the second and third is the topic of 'Terminology' (T6). This topic relates cooking to professionalism and it is common for 'standard' cookbooks, where cooking is seen as requiring expert knowledge and precision. It is thus common to define certain procedures, as seen in (6.4) and (6.5) where the terminology is explicitly explained:

(6.4)

Prilivanje. Jedem prilivamo med kuho določeno količino tekočine, včasih vso naenkrat, včasih postopoma (omake, juhe, zelenjavne jedi, dušeno meso itd.) (Grum, p. 35).

TRANSLATION: Adding by pouring. A certain amount of liquid is added to the dishes during cooking, this can be done all at once or gradually (sauces, soups, vegetable dishes, stewed meat etc.).

(6.5)

Aspik je prečiščena in strjena juha. (Ilc, p. 66)

TRANSLATION: Aspic is a cleared and thickened soup.

Topics related to the macro-discourse of economics include those associated with home-economics, such as how to kill animals at home (T7) and how to save energy while cooking (T8). Example (6.6) is an instance of an instruction about how to kill and clean a pig, and (6.7) is about the pressure cooker and its benefits.

(6.6)

Klanje

Odraslo svinjo ali prašiča zakolje in očisti klavec. Navadno jo odere, ker se koža lahko proda. Mlado svinjo ali odojka zakoljemo in očistimo sami. Z vseh strani jo dobro natremo s stolčeno kolofonijo. Posebno natančni moramo biti pri glavi, ušesih in nogah (Ilc, p. 255).

TRANSLATION: Butchery

A grown-up hog is stabbed and cleaned by a butcher/slaughter man He usually flays it off, because the skin can be sold. A young swine or a piglet is killed and cleaned by ourselves. It needs to be well rubbed from all sides with a crushed colophony. We need to be especially careful near the head, ears and legs.

(6.7)

Ekonom lonec nekako najbolj združuje obe lastnosti: prihrani energijo in vsebnost živil. Hranilne vrednosti se v njem precej ohranijo zaradi tega, ker se hrana kuha pod pritiskom in se vitamini nimajo kam izgubiti. Če upoštevamo čisti kuhalni čas (brez segrevanja), se je čas kuhanja v njem skrčil kar na četrtino (rižota se v takem loncu kuha samo 5 namesto 20 minut) (Ilc, p. 61).

TRANSLATION: Pressure cooker combines both characteristics: saves the energy and the contents of foodstuffs. The nutritive values can be saved in it because the food is cooked under pressure and the vitamins have nowhere to go. If we take into consideration the cooking time (with no warning up), the time of cooking has shortened by one-fourth (a risotto can be cooked for 5 instead of 20 minutes in such a pot).

The topics that relate to the past are those that explain the history of foodstuffs or kitchen equipment, such as 'Meat in the past' (T9), 'The history of food' (T10) and

'The kitchen now and then' (T11). Example (6.8) below is an interesting comment about meat and animals in the past in Slovenia:

(6.8)

Pred sto tridesetimi leti, ko je nastajala prednice te knjige, so bili vanjo uvrščeni recepti z mesom živali, ki prosti ne žive več v naših krajih ali pa so na robu izumrtja: bober, vidra, kljunač, želva, toda niti beside o konjskem mesu, saj je bil tedaj konj spoštovana delovna žival (Ilc, p. 213).

TRANSLATION: Hundred and thirty years ago, when the ancestor of this book was being made, many recipes containing the meat of animals that no longer live freely in our country or are at the edge of extinction were included: beaver, otter, snipe, and turtle. But there was not even a single word about the horse meat, because at that time, a horse was a respected working animal.

Velika slovenska kuharica is a book that also mentions many procedures that are no longer useful. Here, these texts are historic in themselves as they testify to another period where foodstuffs and their methods of preparation would have been different. Example (6.9) concerns a method of cooking a turtle.

(6.9)

Želve so na Slovenskem zaščitene, zato jih ni dobiti v trgovinah ne živih ne mrtvih. Če pa že prideš do žive živali, moras ravnati zelo kruto: želvo segrej toliko, da pokaže iz oklepa glavo. Glavo odreži, prestreži kri v nekaj kapelj kisa ali zribanega kruha (Ilc, p.348).

TRANSLATION: In Slovenia, turtles are protected; this is why it is not possible to find them in shops neither dead nor alive. But if you do come across a live animal, you must proceed very cruelly: heat the turtle so that it shows its

head out of the cuirass. Cut the head, catch the blood with some drops of vinegar and grated bread.

Velika slovenska kuharica contains a number of pages where the author discusses manners for behaving at the table and procedures for serving food and setting the table (T14). Example (6.10) is an interesting comment by the author on improper behaviour at the table and (6.11) is an instruction on how to set a table.

(6.10)

Ve, da z glasnim srebanjem juhe in cmokanjem spravlja druge ob živce. Zaveda se tudi, da nam pribor ni igrača, pa tudi ne instrument, razen če bi rad prosil za besedo in izrazil svojo zahvalo (Ilc, p. 29).

TRANSLATION: He or she knows that with loud sipping of a soup he or she gets on other's nerves. He or she realises also that the tableware is not a toy and neither an instrument, except if he or she would like to ask for attention to speak and express his thanks.

(6.11)

Vsako mizo, pa naj se ob njej zbirajo samo družinski člani ali najimenitnejsi gostje, vedno pripravimo skrbno in z ljubeznijo, pri tem pa upoštevamo razliko med vsakdanjo in slovesno pokrito mizo.//.../ Pogrinjke za različne obroke (zajtrk, malio, kosilo, večerjo, slavnostno pojedino) pripravimo 2 cm od roba mize in 60 do 80 cm narazen (Ilc, p. 24).

TRANSLATION: Every table, be it an assembly of family members or the most prestigious guests, should always be prepared with care and love, but we need to consider the difference between the everyday and the solemnly set

table. /.../ The cover for different meals (breakfast, '*malica*', lunch, solemn meal) is prepared 2 cm from the edge of the table and 60 to 80 cm apart.

This links well with Elias' (1994) classic discussion of taste and manners, as the examples above demonstrate an attempt to 'civilise' the manners of the guests at the table and the hosts.

DISCOURSE ABOUT FOOD CONSUMPTION

Discourse about food consumption is constituted of 3 topics, which is why it is a 'small' discourse[118].
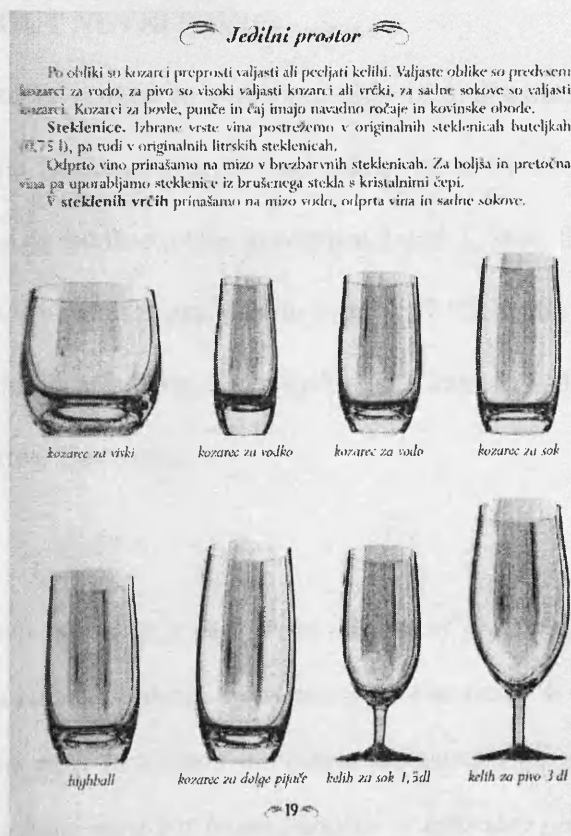
Image 14: A selection of glasses used for various alcoholic drinks.

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[118] I define a 'small' discourse in terms of a number of topics it contains; discourse containing up to 3 topics is considered a 'small' discourse.

These are all related to the macro-discourse about manners, because they are about the manner of food consumption, such as how to eat various dishes (T13), how to behave at the table (T14) and the role of family manners for children's education (T15). Example (6.12) is one such instruction:

(6.12)

Kreme, strjenke in pene jemo z žličko./.../ Breskve in melone jemo z vilicami in nožem (Ilc, p. 32).

TRANSLATION: Creams, puddings and froths are eaten with a teaspoon. /.../ Peaches and melons are eaten with forks and a knife.

DISCOURSE ABOUT NUTRITION

The third discourse is related to nutrition; this is a discourse where authors are concerned about the health and how food relates to it (T16: 'Food as medicine'). However, compared to the discourses in corpora 2 and 3, here, the discussion includes scientific discourse, as seen for example in topic T17 'Calorific and biological values of foodstuffs (Protein, Water, Fats, Carbohydrates, Vitamins and minerals)'. Examples (6.13)-(6.14) constitute this topic:

(6.13)

Človekovo zdravje je v veliki meri odvisno of pravilne prehrane. Ta naj vsebuje vse za razvoj in obstoj organizma potrebne snovi, ki dajejo toploto in energijo kot vir moči in telesu z ustreznimi sestavinami povečujejo odpornost proti boleznim. Zato mora biti hrana biološko in kalorično polnovredna. Poleg tega naj bo higiensko neoporečna (Ilc, p. 43).

TRANSLATION: Human health depends on correct food to a large extent. The food should contain all substances needed for the development and

sustaining of the organism. These are those which give heat and energy as a source of strength and increase the body's resistance against disease providing the right ingredients. This is why food needs to be biologically and calorie-wise at full value. Apart from this, it also needs to be hygienically perfect.

(6.14)

Ogljikovi hidrati so sestavljeni iz ogljika, kisika in vodika. Medtem ko v sestavi maščob prevladuje ogljik, je v ogljikovih hidratih več kisika. Ogljikovi hidrati krijejo dnevno od 50 do 60% potrebnih joulov. K ogljikovim hidratom sodi tudi celuloza, ki je človek ne prebavi, daje pa občutek sitosti in pospešuje normalno delovanje črevesja (Ilc, p. 45).

TRANSLATION: Carbohydrates are built of carbon, oxygen and hydrogen. While fat is largely built of hydrogen, carbohydrates contain more oxygen. Carbohydrates daily provide from 50 to 60% of needed joules. Cellulose is also a part of carbohydrates, and the human being does not digest it, but it does give a feeling of fullness and accelerates the normal functioning of the intestines.

(6.15)

Vsa olja razen ribjega so raslinskega izvora. V oljih prevladujejo nenasičene maščobne kisline, med njimi esencialne, ki jih mora dobiti človekov organizem s hrano oziroma jih sam ne more pretvoriti (Grum *et al.*, p. 10).

TRANSLATION: All the oils except the fish oil are vegetable. In the oils, there are unsaturated fat acids, among them essential fats, that the human body needs to receive with food i.e. that cannot be created by the human body.

When preparing a menu, these cookbooks are concerned not with taste and enjoyment, but with the chemical needs of the human body (T18).

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(6.16)

Pri sestavljanju jedilnika moramo torej upoštevati vse hranilne snovi, ki jih potrebuje organizem (Ilc, p. 48).

TRANSLATION: When composing a menu, we need to especially take into consideration all nutritive substances that the organism needs.

Apart from four macro-discourses, examples of pre-1990s 'standard' cookbooks are concerned with food preparation on one side, food consumption on the other, and discourse about the composition of food in terms of its chemical elements as well as the biological (material) needs of a healthy human body.
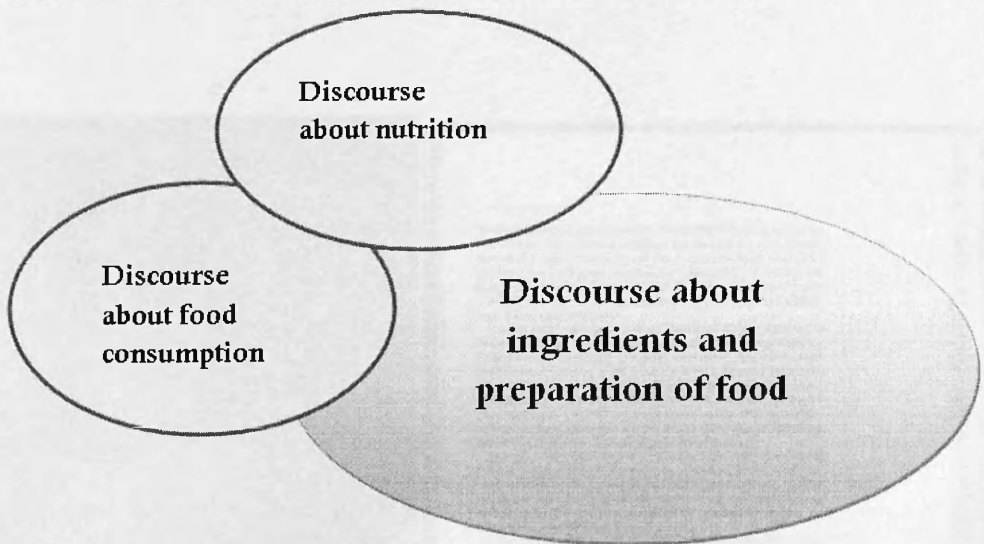
Figure 6: Discourses in Corpus 1

To sum up, this corpus largely relates to the idea of a cooking manual which provides specific instructions about not only food preparation, but also about manners related to its consumption and serving in middle class settings. It also gives detailed nutritional

information about the composition of various foodstuffs with the intention of giving the reader an understanding of how food is best consumed in relation to the biological needs of one's body. Here, needs such as enjoyment and fun are not considered at all. The second and third corpus, however, both introduce such topics, as well as more personal comments about the chef's/writer's lives.

6.3 DISCOURSE TOPICS/THEMES IN CORPUS 2

The analysis of topics, as in the previous section, is based on a corpus of texts from which topics have been extracted. Below is an example of such a text. As macro-structures, topics give a general idea of the content of texts and are imbedded into discourses (Van Dijk 1980).
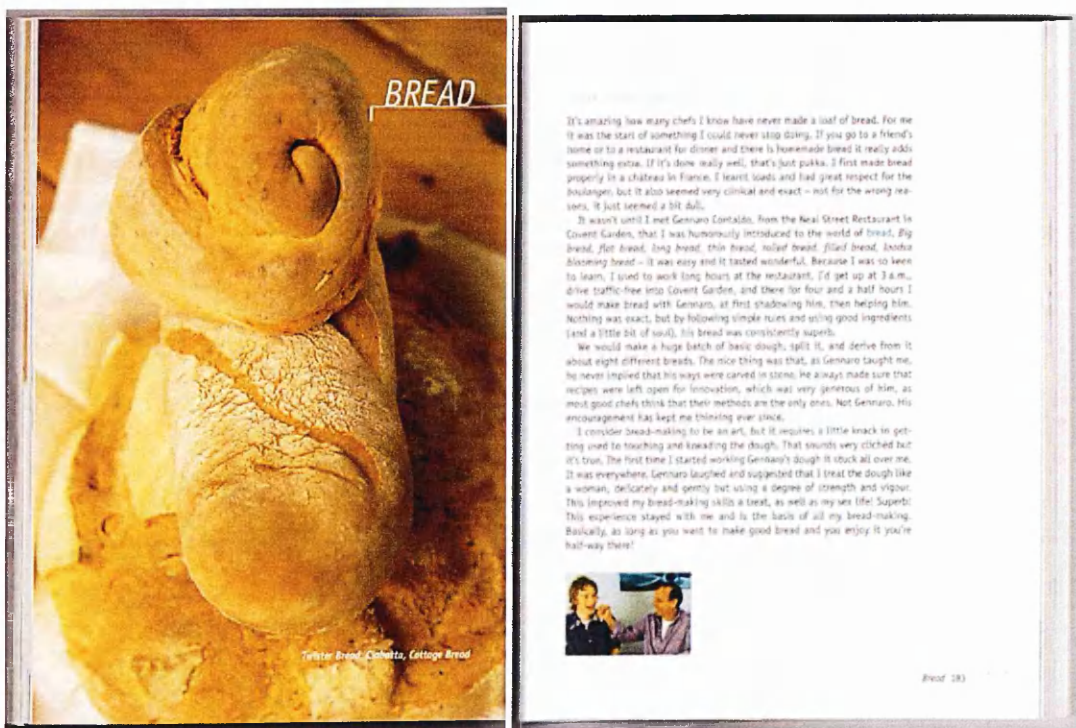
*Image 15: Introduction to the chapter on Bread (*The Naked Chef, *p. 182-3).*

(6.17)

If you're a real connoisseur of herbs, you'll probably meet my mate Jekka along the way, be it at Chelsea Flower Show or at a festival. (*Happy Days with the Naked Chef*, p. 16)

(6.18)

When I first moved to London in 1992 all I heard with regard to cocktails and fine drinks was 'Dick Bradsell this', 'Dick Bradsell that'. His name cropped up so often I though he was a film star. Having trained at Zanzibar in London, his precision and natural flair for mixing cocktails, and his obvious ability to evolve his drinks in new ventures, led to him setting up many great cocktail bars. With his name behind Dick's Bar at the Atlantic in Piccadilly, he also set up bars at Soho Brasserie, the Moscow Club, the Café de Paris, Fred's Club, the Player, the Flamingo, and, most recently, Match Bar. (*Jamie's Dinners*, p. 264)

Discourses / Macro-discourses	Discourse about ingredients and preparation of food	Discourse about supply	Discourse about Britain	Discourse about Italy	Discourse about family and friends	Discourse about children	Discourse about professional food provision
FOOD	T1: Instruction for preparation of food T2: Cooking methods T3: Kinds of foodstuffs/varieties T4: Festive food T5: Food of other nations T6: Food as medicine T7: Ingredients and their quality T9: Globalisation and variety of food T11: Homemade food		T1: British food T2: Representation of vegetables in Britain T3: Comparison of food in Britain and other countries T4: British and special foods (fish) T6: Demand for change in eating habits	T1: Food in Italy T3: Italian people and health	T1: Preparing food for family and friends	T4: Children and food	
ECONOMICS	T8: Shopping for ingredients T10: Food production	T1: Power of buyers T2: Demand for change in quality of ingredients T3: Food production in Britain T4: Globalisation and variety T5: demand and supply relationship T6: Relationship between money and quality/ season and cooking T7: Demand for change in demand-supply chain T9: Relationship between quality of food and health	T5: Consumerism in Britain	T2: Italy and food supply chain (home production)		T2: Children and cooking/shopping	T1: Restaurants as opposed to home food
OLIVER	T12: Oliver's own practices (Home economics)			T4: Oliver and Italy	T2: Oliver's family and friends T6: Oliver's past		T2: Oliver as chef
PAST	T3: Vegetables in the past T4: History of food T4: Food as memory trigger		T5: Past eating practices in Britain		T2: Food and our parents T6: Oliver's past		
OTHER			T7: British audience T6: Children in Britain	T5: Children in Italy	T3: Commensality	T3: Children in Italy T4: Children in Britain T5: Parents and children eating and cooking together	T3: Other experts and the promotion

Table 8: Topics, discourses and macro-discourses

DISCOURSE ABOUT INGREDIENTS AND THE PREPARATION OF FOOD

This discourse is one of the most salient discourses and consists of several interrelated topics. This is not surprising, as it would in fact be unusual for this genre not to contain food-related topics. These range from general and common food categories, such as meat, vegetables, desserts and pasta, to those defined by place of consumption ('street food'), groups of consumers ('kids'), the place certain food holds in the meal ('starters', 'side dishes') or the specific time of consumption ('breakfasts'). They offer general guidelines on how to prepare certain groups of foodstuffs at home, such as how to soak and cook pulses (*T1*: Instructions for the preparation of food). Information on the procedures for preparing various dishes is provided (T2: Cooking methods) as well as information about the availability of various foodstuffs (T3: Kinds of foodstuffs/varieties). Related to the macro-discourse about food as well as the food chain in capitalism and consumerism is the topic 'T4: Ingredients and their quality' because the narrator gives advice on buying the best quality of foodstuffs available (also related to 'T6: Shopping for ingredients'). The conditions of food production are also discussed (T5: Food production).

(6.19)

Always make your dressing with really good olive oil. At the end of the day you get what you pay for with olive oil, there are no bargains! Your salad should be dressed just before its arrival to the table or else it'll be horribly soggy.

(Salads and Dressings, *The Naked Chef*, p. 29)

The availability of various ethnic foods from across the world in Britain that are introduced in these texts and the recommendation to eat food in its original setting

(Oliver urges the British to go to Italy and try their food there for themselves) (T8: Food of other nations) is directly linked to the topic of the increasing availability of diverse foods as a result of economic globalisation. It is also linked to increases in the purchasing power of the British middle and working classes as well as the constant consumerist striving for new, exciting and enjoyable food (T: Globalisation and variety of foods).

On the other hand, there are also topics which discourage consuming: economising at home is one of the topics constantly present in home manuals in recipe books which offer (usually) women advice on how to manage their home in the most economically efficient way. Preparing food in bulk and freezing it for later, as well as turning leftovers into various dishes is advice that is often given through the narration of Oliver's own experience at home rather than through the top-down general or impersonal style of advice that can be more often found in older cookery books (T: Oliver's own practices – home economics).

(6.20)

Whenever I make a soup I always make it for 4 or 6, even if it is just for me, and freeze the extra in those little plastic sandwich bags. (Soups, *The Naked Chef*, p. 15)

The texts assume the preparation of food will take place at home (T: Homemade food), which is opposed to the professional world of restaurants (This is linked to topics in the Discourse about professional food provision). Home is also a place where one does not have to be perfect at cooking and likewise, food made at home does not have to resemble that found in restaurants. Such reassurance on the acceptability of

imperfection is conveyed via its comparison to everything that is represented as 'perfect' via the restaurant and the chef as an actor employed in it.

As a separate topic, restaurants are representatives of the world outside of the home and opposite to the food that home cooking can achieve. In restaurants, food is represented as perfectly prepared and served, but at home it does not have to be. In restaurants, the procedures for cooking are too complex and the equipment they possess is too numerous compared to homes, where food should be simple enough to make using whatever equipment one has. In restaurants, finally, and specifically in British restaurants as opposed to Italian ones, food can sometimes be of low quality (see the first example below) whereas at home, it should be of high quality and fresh, except on certain occasions, when one can indulge in food that would generally be seen as 'bad'. After all, perfection is not desirable, not even for a chef, as example (6.22) below shows.

(6.21)

Just look at 90 per cent of kids' menus in restaurants – they're all the same: fish fingers, burgers, chicken nuggets and sausages.

With this chapter I wanted to reassure you that even though I'm a chef, I still get cravings for a good old fish finger buttie or sticky sausage or cheese bap with brown sauce.

The relaxed atmosphere, imprecision and enjoyment in cooking is related to discourse on Italy via a narration about other experts in the field, such as Gennaro Contaldo. The paragraph below, in which Contaldo represents Italian cuisine, represents this notion.

(6.22)

I first made bread properly in a château in France. I learnt loads and had great respect for the boulanger, but it all seemed very clinical and exact - not for the wrong reasons, it just seemed a bit dull.

It wasn't until I met Gennaro Contaldo /.../ nothing was exact, but by following simple rules and using good ingredients (and a little bit of soul), his bread was constantly superb. (Bread, *The Naked Chef*, p. 183)

Finally, there is the topic of homemade food, where the food eaten was supposed to be not only of good quality, but also cooked at home. All in all, the individual is being reshaped as an always-passionate being who enjoys what he or she does. Cooking and home management are related to enjoyment, as well as a need to feel fulfilled and try out new things.

DISCOURSE ABOUT SUPPLY

This discourse is related to the broader problems that have accumulated as a result of the free market economy prevalent in Britain since the 1980s and is related, among other things, to the macro-discourses about consumerism and food supply in capitalism via many topics discussed below. This discourse unites topics that form the core of Oliver's critical stance towards the contemporary food market, but it also firmly anchors his cookbooks in the British context.

According to Oliver's texts, the food in supermarkets is not always of high quality. He suggests the way to change this is through the logic of the supply-and-demand chain where the readers (consumers) will have to demand better produce for the supply to improve. The power of those on the buying side of the chain (T: power of buyers) is

greatly stressed as if all the complicated relations in this chain can be reduced to this short exchange.

(6.23)

So what I'd like to ask you to do is stop being British and putting up with sub-standard products – be a bit more Italian and have your say on a regular basis. What fishmongers and supermarkets alike will have to start doing then is worrying about quality, not quantity. If we all have a go, you'll be surprised how many shops, restaurants and businesses will look at what they're doing because they have to listen to their customers (Fish, *Jamie's Italy*, p. 177).

So food should be organically grown (T2: Demand for change in quality of ingredients), rather than produced in the great bulk that requires pesticides to ensure profitability.

A different problem is the availability of fruits and vegetables throughout the year, which is a result of globalization (T4: Globalisation and variety). As globalization results in the wide availability of any kind of fruits and vegetables through the year, their quality is necessarily lower; Oliver therefore advocates that there should be a relationship between the seasonality of fruits and vegetables and cooking (T6: Relationship between money and quality/season and cooking), i.e. people should aim to cook and eat seasonal produce rather than what is available throughout the year.

This also related to local production, which is also advocated to a great extent. But we have seen that globalisation, on the other hand, comes in handy when Oliver talks

about the variability of foodstuffs: as a result of globalisation many of foodstuffs now tend to be widely available, and cheap.

(6.24)

These days the average supermarket gives you the choice of six or seven varieties of tomatoes, five to ten types of mushrooms and vegetables from God-knows-where. (Vegetables, *The Naked Chef*, p. 135)

The relationship between the quality of food and health is constantly emphasised. Quality of food, in particular is related to the topic of animals and their health: the desire for meat of good quality is related to the care animals receive and this is compared to the mass production of meat in Britain at present. (T8: Relationship between quality of food and health).

Closely related is the macro-discourse about economics. In capitalism, growing production on the one side presupposes growing consumption on the other side. One of the presupposed activities of those who cook is also their need to buy ingredients, because the process of food preparation starts with the acquisition rather than preparation of food.

The buyer is here represented as very active, as he or she must actively seek products of the best quality, preferably organic and local, and he or she is encouraged to seek help from the butcher or shop assistant and engage in communication with them. Furthermore, children should be taught how to consume properly: touching and smelling the food selected for home use, then negotiating with the shop-keeper, and finally buying, having been assured that the best product has been bought. Many of

the activities are introduced through Oliver's own practices of shopping and are supported by visual material.

(6.25)

When buying fish you should trust your own instinct and go for ones that look, feel and smell really good. It's also quite wise to become chummy with your fishmonger – find out when the freshest fish comes in, then make sure he reserves it for you. (*Happy Days with the Naked Chef*, p. 138)

The texts also contain the topic 'Other experts and their promotion', the function of which is not merely giving authority to the advice provided, but also advertising their own products and abilities via direct internet links and telephone numbers that are made available in the text. This is purely promotional – though very subtle – and signals where people should shop in order to get the best possible produce available (and also to become similar to the chef himself). This topic forms a link to the Discourse about professional food provision.

DISCOURSE ABOUT BRITAIN

The discourse about Britain unites topics that are related to the context in which the cookbooks have been produced. The representation of Britain is in terms of its food practices, the economic system related to food, the relationship between food and health, Oliver's own involvement in it, and its past. The discourse about Britain is closely connected to all these macro-discourses.

In clear opposition to the Italian food which is discussed in the next subsection, contemporary British food (T1: British food) is represented as unhealthy, and this is

particularly so for certain foods such as vegetables (T2: Representation of vegetables in Britain). Oliver propagates the idea that British food requires change (T6: Demand for change in eating habits) whereas Italian food is desirable as it is (T3: Comparison of food in Britain and other countries) and should be seen as an example of a desirable lifestyle. The comparison of the two countries includes comparison of children (T6: Children in Britain).

(6.26)

In comparison to Italy, it's horrific to see what the British consider a salad. No wonder lots of people here think they don't like them. If you are one of these people, I hope this chapter helps to change your view. (Salads, *Jamie's Italy*, p. 152)

An important part of this discourse is consumerism in Britain (T5: Consumerism in Britain), as Oliver discusses shopping practices that he notices in supermarkets or gives advice on how to select the best ingredients. In a macro-discourse, the past is often drawn upon when justifying change (T8: Past practices of eating in Britain).

In his cookbooks, Oliver also discusses the feedback that he gets from his audience and comments on it (T7: British audience).

(6.27)

My lord, how people went mad for the vodka watermelon from Return of the Naked Chef – from teenagers to OAPs I wasn't sure who was worse. (*Happy Days with the Naked Chef*, p.292)

DISCOURSE ABOUT ITALY

For Oliver (T4: Oliver and Italy), Italy is almost like a second home, a place he wants to be born into, and that he deeply admires and can identify with. Italian food (T1: Food in Italy) is represented as fresh, good, tasty and desirable.

> (6.28)
>
> Pasta is fun, and it should be made with love, then eaten quickly, with lots of gusto and slurping if need be. (Pasta, *Jamie's Italy*, 84)

While British food habits are compared to those of other nations, it is most commonly compared to Italian food as Oliver claims to be most familiar with this. Discourse on Italy includes topics similar to those that I have described above. They are related to Italy and usually serve as an example of how the British should behave and what they should eat. These topics include children (T5: Children in Italy). Italy is represented as a country of healthy people (T3: Italian people and health) that eat good quality food that is often produced at home with an amount of passion and affection for good food (T2: Italy and food supply chain (home production)). If the food is not produced at home, then it is bought from a local shop where it was made "by someone who makes them well" and freshly on the day.

Health is constantly presented as a concern and an aim. While the British (according to Oliver) have numerous health problems related to the bad food that they eat, Italians (and to an extent other nations, i.e. the Japanese) to whom they are compared, have better lives and live longer (T: Italian people and health).

When British culinary habits are not compared to Italian ones, they are compared to the past, including Oliver's own past (macro-discourse: past). There are at least two representations of the past: one that should be avoided and in which vegetables, for example, were over-boiled and where the availability of vegetables was not as great as now, and a different past which we should be looking towards: the past where the quality of vegetables was better as a result of different agricultural production (i.e. farming). There is also a great deal of his own experience, in which his own parents are presented as role models for the correct attitude towards food.

DISCOURSE ABOUT FAMILY AND FRIENDS

The macro-discourse on the past greatly overlaps with the discourse of family and friends as Oliver remembers his own practices as a child: the culinary practices of his own childhood and the role of his family in these. (T: Oliver's past). Apart from describing the traditional roles in which his two parents have found themselves – his mother cooked him a 'healthy' breakfast, while his father taught him how to shop on the market for the needs of the pub – these traditional gender roles are explicitly yet jokingly drawn upon in other situations as well.

(6.29)

I grew up with a mother who cooked us breakfast every single morning, whether it was an unbeatable bacon sarnie, the full Monty or her homemade jam and thick-cut bread. She was a star. (*The Return of the Naked Chef*, Morning glory, 22)

A major part of this discourse is also the idea of commensality (T: Commensality) – that is, of sharing food – and the table, as the term itself suggests – with your friends

and family. As I will stress in the section on 'discourse about children', the importance of families eating together for the upbringing of children is seen as as important as the mere idea of family and food united. Through partners cooking for each other and friends cooking for other friends, the topic of preparing food for others is almost omnipresent, as we see (and this is especially obvious in the visual material) Oliver always surrounds himself with friends and family while eating (T: Preparing food for family and friends). In this way, eating is not a solitary act, neither is it an act of mere eating for the sake of eating, but it is a social event of great importance. In this, again, he reinforces the middle class idea of eating together inasmuch as it – again – relies on the stereotypical representation of Italian culinary habits.

DISCOURSE ABOUT CHILDREN

Children are represented as being a great concern in Oliver's life and in his cookbooks. There is a comparison of British children and their parents, to those he observed in Italy and that – again – are seen to be a role models for the British (T: Children in Italy, children in Britain). Parents are responsible for the culinary education of their children so the generational transmission of culinary practices must be realised at home in everyday life. In doing this, children need to be treated as grown-ups rather than children in that adults should engage them in tasks that adults usually do themselves. Children should give their opinions while shopping is being done, for example, and they should do their share in the kitchen (T: children and cooking/shopping). The transmission of culinary capital includes the code of behaviours at the table, so parents should also eat together with their children (T: Parents and children eating and cooking together).

(6.30)

So really try and get the kids involved in making some shopping decisions, because all they want is to be treated like grown-ups. Instead of letting them trail behind you while you pile things into the trolley, ask them to choose a pineapple by smelling it to check that it's ripe, for instance. (*Happy Days with the Naked Chef,* Shopping, 68)

DISCOURSE ABOUT PROFESSIONAL FOOD PROVISION

As I will show in the analysis of texts below, Oliver constantly changes the perspective from which he is speaking, as he narrates either as a chef, a parent, or a shopper. The discourse in which he represents the professional provision of food as opposed to the provision of food at home is, however, not surprising given that he is a professional chef himself. Many images also stress this as they represent him in his uniform and in restaurant kitchen settings (T: Oliver as chef).

Restaurant food as opposed to home-cooked food is constructed as perfect, complicated to make and demanding, while homemade food need not be. Rather, at home, taste and healthiness take prominence as the visual aspect becomes less important (T: Restaurants as opposed to home food). Thus, at home, food does not have to look perfect – in fact, it is even more desirable if it does not, as this gives it an image of homely cuisine.

(6.31)

As a chef I see loads of desserts which are far too fussy for the home situation – I just know that no one will want to make them.

I believe the answer is to give you some simple recipes that you can personalise, but without the fussy stuff. (Desserts, *The Naked Chef*, 197)

Above, I have explained how one of the topics, namely 'Other experts and their promotion' is formed and I have given three examples of this. Oliver refers to other experts either in relation to his own past, telling the reader about people who taught him the various techniques of cooking, or in relation to experts who sell ingredients. As in the example above about the cocktail making expert Dick Bradsell, they become part of the discourse because they have participated in the creation of the cookbook's content, i.e. the recipes.
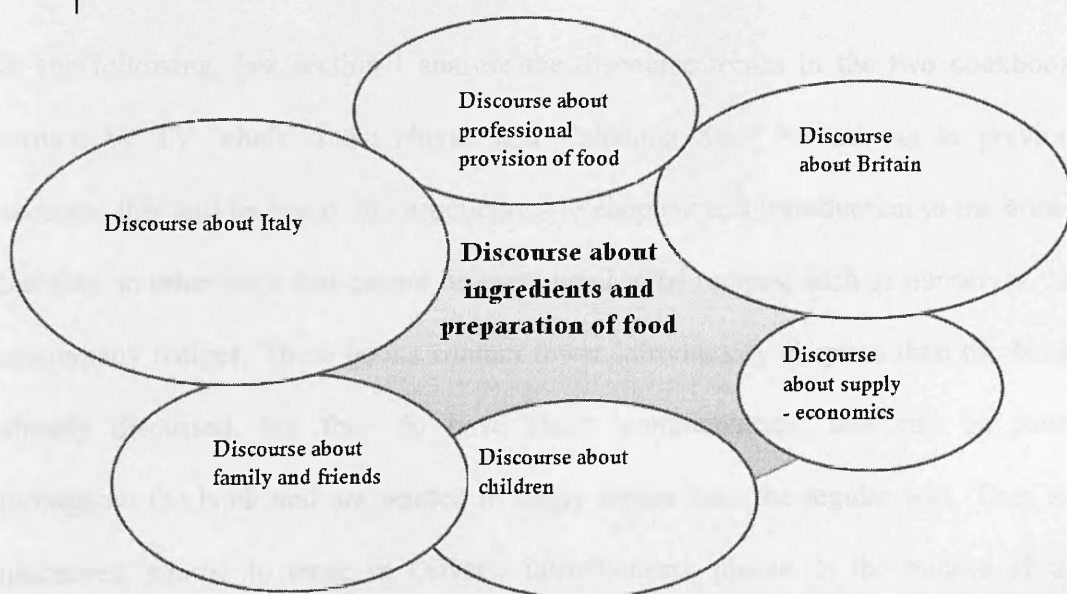
Figure 7: Discourses in Corpus 2

Compared to the topics in corpus 1, this corpus reveals a much broader range of topics and discourses (see Figure 7 above). As in corpus 1, 'Discourse about ingredients and preparation of food' is still the main discourse as it overlaps with all other discourses,

while others are new. In particular, topics and discourses related to one's family, children and friends link well with the theoretical discussions about the de-objectification of postmodern 'knowledge'. What matters now is personal experience, such as Oliver's own perception of the world, his family's practices and his own friends, as well as people he meets on the streets, rather than a standardised and generally agreed representation of reality (as seen in corpus 1) in the form of instructions and nutrient descriptions. The analysis of topics in Oliver's texts also demonstrates the importance of relying on Italy and all things Italian, in particular in comparison to Britain.

6.4 DISCOURSE TOPICS/THEMES IN CORPUS 3

In the following, last section I analyse the discourse topics in the two cookbooks written by TV 'chefs' Luka Novak and Valentina Smej Novak. As in previous sections, this will be based on introductions to chapters and introduction to the books, but also on other texts that cannot be considered to be recipes, such as narratives that accompany recipes. These books contain fewer introductory chapters than the books already discussed, but they do have short 'commentaries' that can be found throughout the book and are printed in larger letters than the regular text. They are narratives, similar to those in Oliver's introductions, placed in the middle of the chapters as short sections.

lepo peče in dogaja, da se ne bi kaj zažgalo ali pa tekočina preveč izhlapela. V tem primeru dolijemo še malo vrele vode ali jušne osnove.

Ko je cassoulet lepo gostljat in je videti pečen, ga vzamemo iz pečice, odkrijemo in potresemo z debelo plastjo drobtin, ki smo jih prej v multipraktiku zmleli iz starega kruha.

Denemo pod žar nazaj v pečico in gratiniramo kakih 5 minut, odvisno od moči žara. Pozorno spremljamo dogajanje in pazimo, se ne zažge. Ko je zlatorjavo zapečeno, je gotovo.

Postrežemo z dobrim mehkim belim kruhom in zeleno solato z gorčično polivko. Uspeh jesenske večerje je garantiran. Zraven pijemo krepko rdeče vino, lahko pa tudi kak dober cviček. Pa na zdravje!

(Piknik na Rožniku) | 81

Image 16: An example of an introduction

DISCOURSE ABOUT INGREDIENTS AND PREPARATION OF FOOD

As in the previous two examples, 'Discourse about ingredients and preparation of food' is the discourse with the largest number of topics. The most common topics are Instructions for preparation of food (T1) and Cooking methods (T2) followed by Ingredients and their quality (T3). Here, quality is discussed in terms of its locality as opposed to global tastes. Local means Slovene and the authors encourage readers to eat Slovene food. Their slogan is "Cook global, eat local" (I, p. 78). However, there are also many recipes where this may not be possible, such as a recipe for salmon,

which is not a local Adriatic species of fish. This shows an interesting contradiction, which, it seems, derives from the ideological needs to propagate the local vs. global distinction, while at the same time showing a need to build a certain new middle class taste which is not exclusively based on Slovene ingredients and existing tastes. The Novaks have a specific problem because the majority of Slovene cuisine as constructed by *Slovenska kuharica* is already based on locally available ingredients, but they ignore this (i.e. they aim to upgrade it, see below) in order to make themselves distinct.

(6.32)

Poleti in spomladi pač prilagodimo izbor zelenjave, vendar vedno glejmo, da uporabljamo le sezonsko bero. Valentina, ki ni velik fan zelenjavnih juh, se vedno pritožuje, da za mineštrone 'praznim hladilnik' in da bi moral bolj paziti na to, kaj dajem noter (I, p. 20).

TRANSLATION: In summer and spring we simply adapt the selection of vegetables, but we must always be careful to only use seasonal stuff. Valentina, who is not a great fan of vegetable soups, always complains that I always 'empty the fridge' when making minestrone and that I should be more careful about what I add into it

The food and techniques of other nations (T4) reveal the extent to which world foods are represented in the Novaks' discourse. If Oliver focuses on Italy, the techniques and recipes most prominent here tend to be French. Other cuisines include those of the US, such as burgers, and those of Spain, Russia, Japan, China, the Middle East and Central Europe. Central European dishes include Austrian and Hungarian dishes, such

as Wiener Schnitzel, Esterhazy-, Sacher- and Dobosh-Torte, which are related to Slovene culinary traditions via the common culinary and general history of the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy.

(6.33)

Te rezine so kvintesenda srednjeevropske peke. Za tiste, ki imajo res radi torte (I., p. 404).

TRANSLATION: These slices [Esterhazy] are quintessence of Central European baking. For all those who really like tortes.

(6.34)

V Franciji skoraj ni restavracije, kjer bi te juhe ne dobili. Izhaja menda iz pariške četrti Les Halles, kjer je bila svojčas velika pokrita tržnica, taka iz litega zeleža, kjer so silaki za kosilo jedli čebulno juho, legendarno soupe a l'oignon *s popečenimi kruhki in gratiniranim sirom, v katero so kanili še malo rdečega vina ali žganja. Praviloma velja, da jo je treba v Parizu jesti v čim bolj običajni gostilni, v tako imenovani* bistrot du quartier, *lokalnem pajzlu, kjer jo bo brkati Marcel gotovo skuhal tako, kot je treba* (I., p. 31).

TRANSLATION: In France there is almost no restaurant where you cannot get this soup. It seems that it comes from the Paris *quartier* Les Halles, where used to be a large covered market, made of cast iron, where strong men lunched on onion soup, a legendary soupe a l'onion with grilled bread and cheese gratin, in which they have dropped a bit of red wine or gin. It is generally a rule that this soup should be eaten in a most ordinary inn in Paris, in a so-called bistrot du quartier, local 'pajzl', where it is cooked the way it needs to be by a large-moustached Marcel.

(6.35)

Brez njega ne bi bilo ne Sartra ne Coco Chanel in morda tudi francoske revolucije ne, kdove (I., p. 41).

TRANSLATION: Without it [a steak] there would be neither Sartre, nor Coco Chanel and perhaps neither French Revolution, who knows.

(6.36)

Vrnimo temelje zdrave hrane tja, kjer bi že zdavnaj morali biti – in kamor jih postavljajo tudi najbolj napredni svetovni nutricionisti: zdrava hrana je pristna in uravnotežena, ključ je v zmernosti in lokalnosti. In najpomembnejše: zdrava hrana je običajna, navadna, takšna, kot bi jo skuhala in prepoznala tudi naša babica (II.p. 13).

TRANSLATION: Let's return the foundation of the healthy food where it should have been long ago – and where even the most progressive world nutritionists put it: healthy food is genuine/authentic and well-balanced; a key is in the moderation and locality. And the most important: healthy food is usual, common and just like our grandmother would cook and recognise it.

The Novaks also talk of festive food (T5).

(6.37)

Kuharija za praznike je nekaj čisto posebnega. Postane se bolj družabna kot sicer. Ko se bliža božični večer, so dileme na vrhuncu. Kaj pa bomo za vigilijo? Ko smo pred desetletji hodili na božični večer k babici, je bil na mizi vedno puran. Ne, ne, nekaj bolj preprostega mora biti, saj je vendar post, mogoče kar asketsko skuhana postrv in krompir? Ne, to ne bo v redu, ni nič slavnostno...(II. p. 405).

TRANSLATION: Cooking for holidays is something quite special. It becomes even more social than usually. When Christmas Eve approaches, dilemmas are in the peak. What are we going to eat in the eve? When, decades ago, we used to go to grandmother for Christmas evening, she always prepared turkey. No, no, there should be something simpler, it's fast after all, maybe just an ascetically cooked trout and potatoes? No, this will not do, it is not festive....

There is no opposition between homemade food and bought food as in Oliver's data; however, Homemade food (T6) appears as the topic in itself. All these topics are related to the macro-topic of food.

Topics that are related to the macro-topic of economics, are Shopping for ingredients and The Novaks' home practices. Shopping is related to either the local market or the shop, but never is it mentioned in relation to mass supermarkets and the problems that these may bring. As for the main actors' home practices, these can be from taking breakfast, travelling and holiday destinations, to suggestions for making stock (this also appears in Oliver's books).

(6.38)

Tole južnoitalijansko jed si naredimo vedno, ko smo skuhali preveč špagetov ali pa so nam ostali of prejšnjega dne. Tako smo ekonomični in se kreativni (I., p. 167).

TRANSLATION: We make this southern Italian dish every time when we have cooked too much spaghetti or there were leftovers from the previous day. In this way, we are economic and at the same time creative.

(6.39)

Za zajtrk se pri meni izmenjujeta klasični musli in jutranji džus iz svežega sadja in zelenjave. Takrat, ko se mi zdi, da moram želodec malo bolj pripraviti na stresno dopoldne, polno sestankov, se odločim za musli, ki ga opišem tule spodaj. Ko pa imam občutek, da potrebujem malo detoksa, mini prečiščevalne kure, potem poje sokovnik in Valentina se jezi, ker je potem toliko za pomivat (I., p. 99).

TRANSLATION: For breakfast I always exchange between classic muesli and morning juice made of fresh fruits and vegetables. When I think that I should prepare my stomach for a stressful morning, full of meetings, then I take muesli, which is described below. But when I have a feeling that I need a bit of detox, mini cleansing cure, then the juicer sings and Valentina is annoyed because after there is so much to be cleaned.

The Novaks also discuss the history of food (T9), though this is a minor topic.

(6.40)

Leta 1832 je Klemens, princ von Metternich, pripravljal veliko zabavo in zaželel si je take prave, odločne, moške sladice, v nasprotju s kremastimi in načičkanimi smetanovimi tortami, ki so bile takrat v modi. A njegov glavni kuhar je zbolel, in sladice se je lotil šestnajstletni vajenec Franz Sacher... vse ostalo je zgodovina. (I, p. 401)

TRANSLATION: In 1832, Klemens, prince von Metternich, was preparing a big party and he wished for a real, determined, manly cake sweet, in opposition to the creamy and tricked out tortes which were fashionable at the time. But his main chef got sick, and so his 16-year-old trainee Franz Sacher started to prepare the sweet.... Everything else is a history.

DISCOURSE ABOUT SUPPLY

Compared to Oliver, this is a much smaller discourse about the supply of ingredients and it only stresses the Relationship between the seasons and cooking and the Relationship between the quality of food and cooking. On one hand, then, cooking should not only be related to local produce, but it should also be seasonal. The food should be of good quality.

(6.41)

Katerakoli listnata solata se bo obnesla v tej krasni kombinaciji s popečenim kozjim sirom, le da bo res sezonska in 'trnovska', torej iz domačih logov (I, p. 53).

TRANSLATION: Any kind of green salad will do in this wonderful combination with grilled goats cheese, as long as it is really seasonal and 'trnovska' that is, from the 'home-grove'.

(6.42)

Kakorkoli že, za majonezo vedno uporabimo najboljše olje, kar ga lahko dobimo (I, p. 349).

TRANSLATION: However you put it, for mayonnaise we always use the best oil that we can get.

(6.43)

1 'domač' piščanec (I, p. 249).

TRANSLATION: 1 'home-grown' chicken

(6.44)

Zavzemam se za rehabilitacijo tlačenke! Gre za eno najbolj kvalitetnih mesnin, saj je narejena brez umetnih dodatkov, naravni aspik pa je prava specialiteta. Tlačenka je tudi v skladu s prehransko etiko 'nose-to-tail eating', torej da je treba pujsa – ali kakšno drugo žival – pojesti od rilca do repa, saj ni niti ekološko, niti etično, če zametujemo določene kose mesa (I, p. 313).

TRANSLATION: I advocate the rehabilitation of '*tlačenka*'! This is one of the most quality meats, because it is made with no artificial additives, and the natural aspic tends to be a real speciality. '*Tlačenka*' is also in accordance with alimentation ethics 'nose-to-tail eating', that is that a piggy – or any other animal – should be eaten from snout to tail, because it is neither ecological nor ethical if we throw away certain parts of meat.

(6.45)

Pri kupljenem listnatem testu pa le glejmo na sestavine: naj bo z maslom, ne z margarino! In s čim manj konzervanov! (I., p. 294).

TRANSLATION: When buying filo pastry we need to be careful about ingredients: let it be with butter, not margarine! And with as little preservatives as possible!

(6.46)

No, naredil sem si jih šele nekaj let kasneje. Takrat rakci namreč niso bili povsod dostopni kot danes, ko jih imaš v vsakem supoermarketu (I, p. 127).

TRANSLATION: Well, but I have prepared them some years later. At that time shrimps were not widely available like today, when you can buy them in any supermarket.

DISCOURSE ABOUT SLOVENE FOOD

This is a discourse about Slovene food. The topics are about the contemporary Slovene cuisine (T12) and what it should be like, and on the other hand, about older Slovene dishes that should be either brought into practice again or amended (T13). An important part of this discourse is therefore the invention of tradition, i.e. what should be seen as a traditional dish and what place it should have in contemporary cuisine.

(6.47)

To je stara prekmurska jed, ki je v poletnih mesecih poskrbela za osvežilno večerjo za kosce ali žanjice /.../ Že zaradi tradicije kumaro z jogurtom obvezno postrežemo v rustikalni lončeni skledi (I., p. 278)

TRANSLATION: This is an old 'Prekmurje' dish, which took care for refreshing dinner for mowers and reapers in summer months. /.../ If nothing else, we should serve it in a rustic clay pot because of tradition.

(6.48)

Kuharija je tudi nosilec nacionalne identitete – čas je, da nadgradimo našo Vendelino in ponudimo nekaj domačega, a hkrati urbanega, novega, svežega. Čas je, da se revolucionira tudi slovenska kuharija. /.../ Ljubezen skozi želodec je izziv tistim filanim paprika od vaše babice – so res najboljše, kar smo kadarkolil jedli? Mogoče so res dobre, vendar si moramo končno svoje paprike nadevati sami! (I., p. 14).

TRANSLATION: Cookery is also a carrier of national identity – it is about time we upload our Vendelina and offer something homely, but at the same time urban, new, fresh. It is about time that Slovene cuisine revolutionises as well. /.../ Love through the Stomach is a challenge to those filled peppers that your

grandmother used to make – are they really the best we've ever eaten? They may

be really good, but we need to fill our own peppers by ourselves! (I., p. 14).

DISCOURSE ABOUT FAMILY AND FRIENDS

This is similar to Oliver's discourse where he discusses his own family and friends.

Here, however, the emphasis is on family, as friends largely remain anonymous. An

exception is Eva Strmljan Kreslin, who provides recipes for some of the dishes. She is

the wife of a famous Slovene singer. Another friend called Milan (p. 283, I) is also

mentioned as he provides a recipe for a dish.

The Novak family prepare food for family and friends (T14) and consume it together

as visible from the photo material. Grandparents are often mentioned in relation to the

actors' food practices of the past as well as their own past. An important topic is

commensality as they stress the importance of consuming food together (T17).

(6.49)

Skupaj

Kuharija pa je tudi posebna filozofija, kjer se materialno povzdigne v

duhovno, kar odražajo vonjave v naši kuhinji. Je bistven družinski obred, ki nam

časa ne jemlje, ampak daje. Daje nam dragocen čas z druzino in s prijatelji (I., p.

14).

TRANSLATION: Together

Cooking is also a special philosophy, where material is upgraded into the

spiritual, which is reflected also by the fragrances in our kitchen. It is an essential

family meal, which does not take time, but gives it. It gives us precious time with

family and friends.

(6.50)

...se odločite za bouillabaisse *in povabite se tašče in taste, tete in strice, prijatelje ali morda sosede, za vse bo dovolj* (I., p. 200).

TRANSLATION: ...and decide for bouillabaisse and invite also mothers and fathers-in-law, aunts and uncles, friends and perhaps neighbours, it will be enough [food] for all.

(6.51)

Babica mi je ob nedeljah dopoldan v veliko skledo stresla za dobro pest moke, ubila vanjo jajce in rekla: "Na, pa daj, dokler ne bodo rokice čiste!" Z vztrajnostjo in zagnanostjo šestnajstletnice sem se z obema rokama zagnala v moko in jajce. Najprej je bilo vse skupaj podobno lepilu, nato žgancem, kmalu pa se je pričela oblikovati kepa in res, na koncu so bili prstki čisti (I, p. 145).

TRANSLATION: On Sunday afternoons, my grandma put a good handful of flour in a big bowl, added an egg and said: "There, go on, until the hands become clean!" I have thrown myself into the egg and the flour with the perseverance of a six-year-old with both my hands. At first, it was all like a glue, then 'žganci', but soon a lump started to create and indeed, in the end, fingers were clean.

(6.52)

Potem je nonič njoke zabelil s telečjim golažem ali pečenkino omako, porazdelil po krožnikih in svoje živahno pocmokal z malo parmezana. Nazadnje je vse pomazal še s kruhom. Tudi nona ni zaostajala in ga pri tem karala v dekanščini ('Buoš fenou vre anbat fruocat, babec!') [Bos že enkrat nehal smokat, dedec!]. /.../ Danes, ko sem se sam lotil priprave noničevih njokov, so mi iz podzavesti kar privreli na dan, in ko sem jih naredil prvič, sem imel občutek, da jih delam že tisočič. Skratka: nonič, 'revisited' (II, p. 225).

TRANSLATION: After that, *nonič* buttered gnocchi with veal sauce (*golaž*) or roast sauce, divided them by plates and munched his own portion joyfully, adding a bit of parmeggiano. At the end, he cleaned the plate with bread. *Nona*, similarly, was not much behind, and kept telling him off in Dekani dialect ('*Buoš fenou vre anbat fruocat, babec!*') [Will you for once stop munching, man!] /.../ Nowadays, when I try to prepare nonič's gnocchi myself, they have just boiled out of my subconsciousness and when I prepared them for the first time, I had a feeling that I am preparing them for the thousandth time. In short, *nonič*, '*revisited*'.

DISCOURSE ABOUT CHILDREN

Children play an important part in this discourse, but largely with reference to the Novaks' own children rather than children in general. They are discussed in relation to eating certain food, but also as they cook (T 18 and T 19).

(6.53)

Seveda pa boste morali za noč čarovnic vse nakupe podvojiti, kajti otroci bodo zahtevali svojo bučo, da bi iz nje naredili pošast. Medtem ko torej oni s svojimi pipci in švicarskimi nožici dolbejo, jim vi pripravite izvrstno malico in jih potem prepričajte, da jo bodo pojedli (I., p. 23).

TRANSLATION: For the night of the witches you will have to double all the shopping, of course, because children will want their own pumpkin, in order to make a monster out of it. Therefore, while they – equipped with gardener's and Swiss knives – excavate the pumpkin, you prepare them an excellent supper and then convince them to eat it.

(6.54)

V drugi fazi se vam bo gotovo priglasilo veliko prostovoljnih pizzaiolov, ki

bi z veseljem oblagali pice, kajti na tej točki so vsi strašno radi kreativni. Pri nas

tisti manjši od meter dvajset ne dajo v usta nič, kar ni navadna margarita,

velikemu pizzaiolu pa komaj preprečim, da na vsako pico ne zmeče čilijev (I, p.

297)

TRANSLATION: In the second phase, you will certainly get a number of

voluntary pizzaiolos who would love to top the pizzas, because at this stage,

everyone would like to be very creative. In our house, those lower than meter and

twenty don't put into their mouth anything which is not a simple Margarita, but I

hardly convince the larger pizzaiolo not to put chillies on every pizza.

DISCOURSE ABOUT PROFESSIONAL PROVISION OF FOOD

While Oliver is a chef, and thus often compares home cooking to that of the

professional institutions such as restaurants, the Novaks are not. However, they do

refer to chefs to a great extent. On one hand, they refer to other international chefs,

such as Oliver, Julia Child or Vendelina (T21), while on the other hand they visit

contemporary Slovene chefs in their restaurants (T20)

(6.55)

To je najbolj preprosta juha na svetu. To je bil prvi recept, ki sem ga

skuhal po Marcu-Pierru Whiteu. Kontroverznem učitelju Gordana Ramseya, pri

čemer on doda še ostrige in kaviar (I., p. 25).

TRANSLATION: This is the simplest soup in the world. This is the first

recipe which I have cooked according to Marc-Pierre White. A controversial

teacher of Gordon Ramsay, only that he adds oysters and caviar.

(6.56)

Vsak kuhar, ki da kaj nase, ima svojo različico te strogo poletne solate, recimo Rose Gray in Ruth Rogers, ki jo v River Cafeju pripravljata z breskvami in sta z njo okužili tudi Jamieja (I., p. 29).

TRANSLATION: Every chef who takes himself seriously, has their own variant of this seriously summer salad, for example Rose Gray and Ruth Rogers, who prepare it with peaches in the River Cafe and who have infected with it also Jamie.

(6.57)

Kako lep je že sam drevored, ki pelje do čarobne Hiše Franko. Ana in Valter tam nadaljujeta družinsko tradicijo, ki sta jo s srcem nadgradila v duhu časa. /.../ V Frankovi kuhinji se vsak dan dogaja idealen preplet lokavorstva, torej hranjenja z domačim, obdelanega s sofisticirano sodobno kuharsko tehnologijo, ki pa se v duhu globalnega trenda spet vrača k pristnemu in preprostemu. Izkušnja Hiše Franko pokaže pomen lokalne skupnosti, povezanosti in navezanosti na domači kraj – to pa je svetovljanstvo v pravem pomenu besede (I., p. 363).

TRANSLATION: How beautiful is the tree alley which leads to the magic House Franko. There, Ana and Valter continue family tradition, who have (using their heart) upgraded it in the spirit of time. /.../ In Franko's kitchen, an ideal interweave of locavorism, that is, feeding with the home-produced, handled with a sophisticated contemporary culinary/cooking technology, which, in the spirit of global trend, returns to the genuine/authentic and simple. An experience of the House Franko shows the meaning of the local community, the connectedness and attachment to the home place – and this is cosmopolitanism in the real meaning of the word..

DISCOURSE ABOUT ARTS AND LITERATURE

This is a minor but important discourse because it defines Slovene middle class aspirations to be seen as intellectually interesting. Thus, many references are made to food as found in literature (T22) as well as food consumed while travelling and visiting galleries. This relates closely to the references to French food seen in the discourse about ingredients and the preparation of food.

There is a certain sophisticated approach to cooking, which connects the Discourse about the professional provision of food and Discourse about arts and literature. The authors' philosophical education, their taste for books, as well as the need to show off their culinary terminology is seen in the following interesting paragraph, which demands extensive general knowledge from their readers:

(6.58)

Ce ju bomo jedli samo z dijonsko gorčico /.../, potem se tu naša zgodba konca. Ce pa bomo deklinirali kot se za resne kartezijance spodobi, potem sta tule se genitiv in dativ (I, p. 41).

TRANSLATION: If we will only eat them with Dijon mustard, then our story finishes here. But if we decline/inflect as it is proper for serious Cartesians, then here are genitive and dative.

The second book explains further what 'deklinirati' means:

(6.59)

Ko ratatouille *enkrat imamo, ga lahko po mili volji 'dekliniramo', torej sklanjamo, kot to včasih imenujejo pretenciozni francoski chefi* (II, P. 132).

TRANSLATION: Once we have ratatouille, we can 'decline' as we please, that is, we can produce different cases, as this is sometimes called by the pretentious French chefs."

(6.60)

Rusko kulebjako, ribjo pogačo z zeljem in rižem, omenjata tako Gogolj kot Dostojevski. In kaj je tudi ne bi, ko pa je tako dobra. /.../ Noblesse oblige, si je rekel Tolstojev junak Levin in si v usta ponesel grizljaj kulebjake, medtem ko ga je Kitty zamišljeno opazovala (II., p. 416-7).

TRANSLATION: Russian kulebiaka, that is fish pie with cabbage and rice, is mentioned by Gogol' as well as by Dostoyevsky. And why wouldn't they as it is so good. /.../ *Noblesse oblige* said Tolstoy's hero Levin and took to his mouth a bite of kulebiaka, while Kitty absorbed in thought watched him.

(6.61)

Kar precej te kuhinje sva z Valentino preizkusila v živo, na potovanjih v Peking in Tokio, od koder sva prinesla celo zakladnico idej, ki sva jih potem poustvarila doma in prilagodila za slovenski okus (II., p. 284).

TRANSLATION: Much of this cuisine has been tried alive by Valentina and myself, while travelling to Beijing and Tokyo, from where we brought a whole bag of ideas that we then reproduced at home and accommodated them for a Slovene's taste.

(6.62)

Tole torto smo jedli v Dalmaciji nekega julijskega večera (II., p. 39).

TRANSLATION: We have eaten this cake in Dalmatia on a July evening.

Discourse about Slovene food

Discourse about professional provision of food

Discourse about ingredients and preparation of food

Discourse about art and literature

Discourse about supply - economics

Discourse about children

Discourse about family and friends
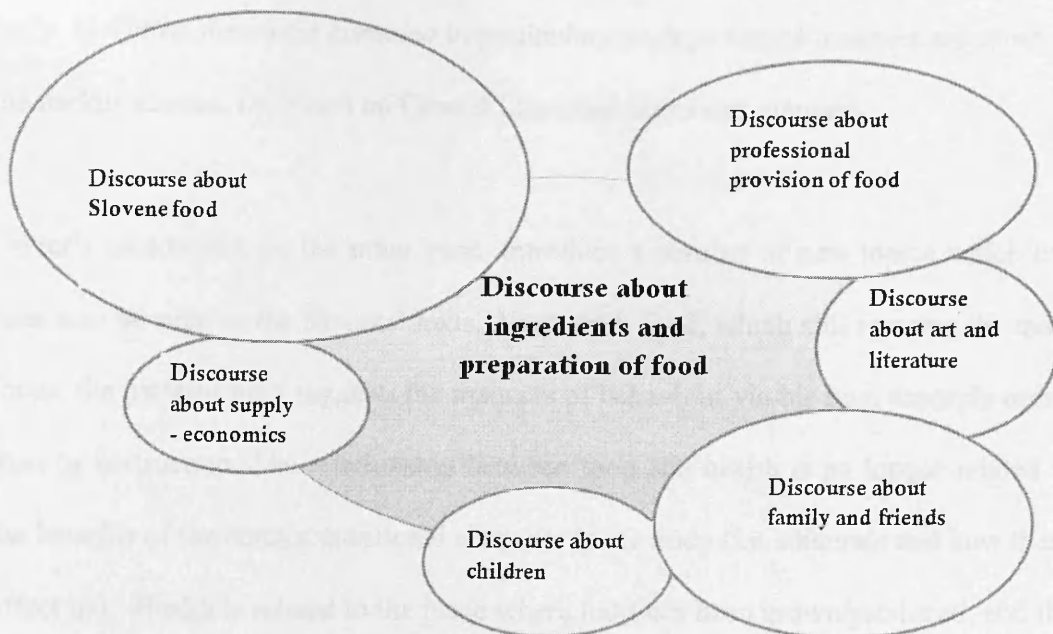
Figure 8: Discourses in corpus 3

6.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I compare and contrast the three corpora in terms of the topics and discourses that construct them. The corpus of pre-1990s texts contains topics and discourses that are related to a scientific meta-discourse as well as topics that relate to meta-discourse about manners. As shown by Elias (1994), the self-control of human manners through a long process of civilising gave rise to the behaviour where human affects were no longer welcome; people were expected to behave in a certain controlled way, which is complex and stabilised (Cvirn 2001: 426ff). The topics in corpus 1 therefore tend to be normative in that they prescribe how one should behave at the table via imperative constructions rather than by setting examples based on represented social actors. The scientific approach to food and the professionalism found in cookbooks is a characteristic of modernity where cookbooks' central topic and discourse remain that of food, its composition, and its chemical benefits to the

268

body. In *Velika slovenska kuharica* in particular, the represented manners are those of the middle classes, i.e. based on Central European tastes and manners.

Oliver's cookbooks, on the other hand, introduce a number of new topics which can later also be seen in the Novaks' texts. Apart from food, which still remains the main focus, the narrator here suggests the manners of behaviour via his own example rather than by instruction. The relationship between food and health is no longer related to the benefits of the certain nutritional elements to the body (i.e. minerals and how these affect us). Health is related to the place where food has been grown/produced, and the quality of the process in which it was involved. None of these concerns are present in the first corpus. Finally, the Novaks' also include a number of topics which are dependent on the local rather than the global context. Unlike Oliver, whose references to Italian cuisine are extensive, the Slovene lifestyle 'chefs' refer to French taste and culture. This becomes one of the cornerstones of these books, as it is also related to the targeted/envisioned/desired representation of this lifestyle as sophisticated and chic. Such a change also represents a shift in values and norms related to taste and manners as the focus turns from the civilising to the de-civilising process; now, manners are no longer prescribed. Rather, readers are invited to enjoy themselves and relax, to act instinctively, according to their own wishes and desires. On the other hand, tastes are represented as much more limited as only 'local' food is advocated despite the availability of food from all around the world. The question is seemingly ethical (for example, 'local' harms the environment less, and 'local' is healthier). At the same time, the middle classes can afford to buy more expensive food of better quality (local, organic), while others may not be able to do so.

In the next three chapters, I present three case studies of cookbook texts from three different periods: 'standard' cookbooks (Chapter 7), Oliver's 'celebrity' cookbooks (Chapter 8) and the Novaks' 'celebrity' cookbooks (Chapter 9).

7 CASE STUDY 1: 'STANDARD' COOKBOOKS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The analysis of topics in Chapter 6 gave a general overview of the main contents of the three examples of cookbooks. The comparison of topics has focused on differences between the three; the conclusion was that 'standard' cookbooks contain an orientation towards a more scientific nutritionist discourse, whereas 'celebrity' cookbooks tend to contain topics that are not always directly related to food preparation and consumption. While these differences are important, however, they are not the main characteristics that can demonstrate the transformation of 'standard' cookbooks to ''celebrity' cookbooks'. Topics such as travelling, family and food provision are not new in themselves, as studies of medieval and early modern cooking manuscripts show. Other features, such as style and perspectivation, however, separate the modern cookbook from its postmodern variant in a more distinct way.

This chapter will illustrate the main characteristics of the type of a cookbook that is characteristic for the modern period: formal, standardised style of language, and impersonal narration with a hidden narrator as well as majorly collective social actors. Similarly, the values that come across in these texts reflect the idea of the chef-expert as an impersonal normative authority who has knowledge about proper and generally accepted rules of manners related to food (see also Chaney 1996). Taste-wise, these cookbooks are centred on European cooking, preferably Central European, with many other dishes, such as French, Italian, Balkan, etc.

The chapter will attempt to answer the research question 'What strategies –
nominalization, predication, perspectivation, and mitigation/intensification – are
employed in the selection of texts from 'standard' Slovene cookbooks?' It is divided
into two sections: first, I examine the sub-genre 'Introduction to chapters,' which is
followed by the sub-genre 'Recipes'. In each, I point towards important aspects of
these three case studies, such as nomination, predication, perspectivation and
mitigation/intensification. These will enable me to show the characteristics of standard
style of cookbooks in terms of its orientation to modern, rather than postmodern
values and norms (see also Chapter 2).

7.2 SUB-GENRE 1: INTRODUCTIONS TO CHAPTERS

7.2.1 An introduction from *Velika slovenska kuharica*

The first text examined is an introduction to the relatively large collection of recipes
on vegetables that is contained in Vendelina Ilc's cookbook. The content of the text is
related to the use and position of vegetables in today's nutrition and techniques for the
preparation of vegetables. She also discusses changes in preparation of vegetables in
the past and differences to how they are used today. Roux[119] is particularly prominent
as a technique to prepare vegetables though it is stressed that this method is now in
decline.

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[119] Roux represents one of the cornerstones of the French cuisine. It is a thickening agent for sauces and
it is made by cooking flour and butter until the flour browns (Davidson 2002 [1999]: 807).

7.2.1.1 Nomination and predication

Social actors

Not many individual social actors appear in this text. There is, however, a clear distinction between an in-group ('*mi*', we) and out-group ('*oni*', they) that can be extracted from the indirect use in conjugated verbs. The pronoun '*mi*' constructs two kinds of in-groups. First, this is a union between the author of the text/narrative and imaginary readers,[120] and secondly, this can also be a group of people who subscribe to the national identity that the book co-constructs (i.e. Slovenes). The readers and the writers are constructed as a part of the larger in-group of Slovenes who have been "imperceptibly influenced by Viennese cuisine" in the past. Such an influence by the neighbouring nation – Austria – is represented negatively. This is reinforced by personification of both cuisines as symbols of both nations. '*Slovenska kuhinja*' (Slovene cuisine) is, in the past, represented positively whereas Viennese cuisine is a symbol of Austria,[121] and as such, it is the cuisine of the other, whose habits are seen to have harmed us.

This text reflects the historist (Kramberger 2010a) understanding of Slovene history, which denies and ignores the multicultural and multilingual reality of the pre-1848 Slovene provinces of Austria, thus representing Slovenes as a homogenous group of people with their own cooking habits and manners. Historical analyses (for example Rotar 2007) show the opposite; these provinces have been historically mixed not only

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[120] For more on this, see also Tominc (under review), where command and politeness forms in recipes are discussed further.

[121] The majority of the Slovene lands have been a part of the Habsburg Empire for centuries together with Austrian, Hungarian, Czech, Slovak and some Croatian dukedoms.

in terms of languages spoken (Slovene, German, Italian etc.), but also in terms of tastes. Viennese cuisine was the cuisine of the German speaking Slovene middle classes, and this was also the cuisine of the original 1912 *Velika kuharica*. In the process of construction of the Slovene nation, the German-speaking middle classes remained outside of what was perceived as 'us', and were hence constructed as part of the Austrian, colonising influence.

In this context, it is important to note that there is no such thing as 'Slovene' national cuisine, as culinary practices largely depend on geographical location as well as on class. Despite this, the construction of the Slovene national cuisine has largely been based on the food of farmers, who have been seen as *the proper* Slovenes. This is because this class of people spoke Slovene, rather than German in the Austrian Habsburg Empire. This culinary text is, therefore, a very clear example of this nationalist discourse where Austria is perceived as negative, bad, even threatening to 'us'.

It is worth noting, however, that since this happened in the past, there are two out-groups in this text: Austrians and the past 'us'. This suggests a kind of cut off between the contemporary 'us' and the 'us' in the past. The relationship between the present and the past self is shown in example (7.1) below where the tense changes from past to present:

(7.1)

Prvotno slovenska kuhinja pravzaprav ni poznala prikuh s prežganjem v pravem pomenu, ker <u>so</u> <u>imeli</u> ljudje nekdaj naravni čut za zdravo prehrano. Neopazno pa <u>smo</u> prišli pod vpliv dunajske kuhinje.

TRANSLATION: In the beginning, Slovene cuisine did not know trimmings with roux in the real sense of the word, because people in the past had a natural feeling for healthy food. Inperceptibly, we came under the influence of the Viennese cuisine.

This example states that in the past, "people had a natural feeling for healthy eating" which was harmed by the Viennese habits that influenced the past 'us'. Note the passivity in the action of 'us' suggesting that the agency in this influencing action was exclusively on the side of the Austrians, as if we did not participate at all in this takeover of certain habits and tastes.

Example (1) also contains a case of nationalistic argumentation, where 'we' are constructed positively and the other negatively. Following Toulmin (1958), I use the argumentation scheme illustrated below to illustrate rhetoric where 'we' are constructed as better than 'them'.

(1) 'WE' are better

DATA   THEREFORE   **CLAIM**

Before Viennese influence, 'we' did not use roux.   *'We' have a better 'natural feeling' than the Viennese.*
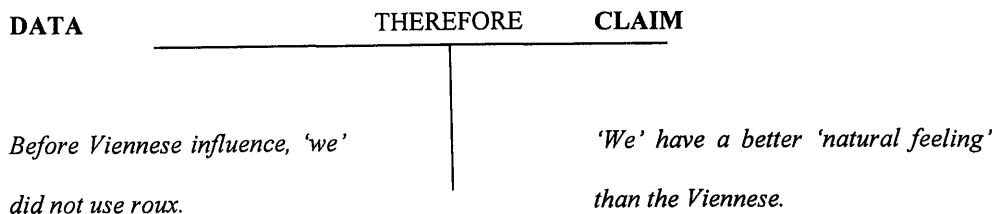
Since

WARRANT

Roux   is   not

healthy.

DATA | **THEREFORE** | **CLAIM**

'We' have been influenced by   *'We' no longer eat healthily.*

Viennese cuisine.

Since

WARRANT

'They'   brought

unhealthy   habits

(roux).

Such construction of 'us' and 'them' is here salient not only because Vendelina Ilc's cookbook (as *the* Slovene cookbook) is by default trapped in the nationalistic discourse of what is and what ought to be Slovene cuisine (*cf.* also banal nationalism by Billig 1995), but also because it is a direct descendant of a cookbook (see Chapter 3 for history of this cookbook) that was produced in the times of the modern nation-state ideology of the 19th century; thus, the importance of Slovenes being different to their then culinary closest 'other' (i.e. Austrians as the nation in power) reflect to date the modernist preoccupation with the nation, nation-making and national cuisine. In chapter 9, I will illustrate the contemporary desire of the Novaks' 'celebrity' cookbooks to move away from this traditional, nation oriented cooking to a more personalised, individual taste and cooking, the very core of postmodern lifestyle choice, freedom and individualism.

Table 9 below shows other social actors that appear in this text. Apart from 'us', *'Kitajci'* (the Chinese) are also represented positively because they use an amount of flour which resembles 'our' use. *'Ljudje'* (people) are the only collective referring to the members of our in-group in the past who had 'a natural feeling for healthy food'.[122]

Deictics	*'mi'* (we)	-prepare various dishes -can add different things to dishes (*e.g.* starch) -have been imperceptibly influenced by Viennese cuisine (*'Neopazno pa smo prišli pod vpliv dunajske kuhinje.'*)
	'oni' (they)	-100 years ago used a worse quality of starch than today -have been making dripping (*'zabelili/podmetli'*) with flour -used to have a chef in larger kitchens
Collectives	*'Kitajci'* (the Chinese)	-use a comparable amount of starch to 'us'
	'Ljudje' (people)	-can be in possession of a natural feeling for healthy food (*'nekdaj [so imeli] naravni čut za zdravo prehrano'*)
Professional anthroponyms	*'Kuhar'* (a cook/a chef)	-took care of roux (*'prežganje'*) -could be found only in bigger Viennese-style kitchens
Personification	*'Slovenska kuhinja'* (the Slovene cuisine)	-in the past did not know trimmings with roux 'in the real sense' (*'ni poznala prikuh s prežganjem v pravem pomenu'*)
	'Dunajska kuhinja' (the Viennese cuisine)	-influenced 'us' badly

Table 9: Social actors in Velika slovenska kuharica *introduction to vegetables chapter*

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[122] The description of 'our' people in terms of their naturalness and healthiness has been highlighted in other studies of nationalistic discourses in Slovenia; especially those of the 19th century (*cf.* Rotar 2007).

Table 9 demonstrates that the only professional anthroponym in this text is *'kuhar'*, which is a masculine form nominating a person cooking. The noun derives from the verb *'kuhati'* (to cook) as it is in English and can be translated either as "cook" or "chef".[123] In the text, *'kuhar'* is a professional chef who appears to be working in bigger kitchens and specialises in preparing roux. This reinforces the relationship between the male chef and professionalism/specialization in cooking, in particular in environments where people can afford it, i.e. middle class households. Such an image of past cooking practices stands in contrast to the imaginary female reader of the cookbook, who is most commonly constructed via the use of feminine forms or by describing tasks as feminine.

This text suggests that in terms of social actors, 'standard' Slovene cookbooks tend to avoid individual nominations of specific people; rather they use collectives or generic anthroponyms, which creates a generalised and commonly acceptable discourse. Examples relating to conduct and taste are not directly related to the preferences of a particular person; rather, they are represented to be group taste which is commonly accepted.

Objects

The representation of objects seems to be a more salient feature of cookbooks then social actors. This is even more so as the instruction genre, which includes cookbooks (see Chapter 2 for a definition), generally focuses on the preparation of objects, i.e.

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[123] Unlike the feminine noun *'kuharica,'* which is seen to be a female person cooking in any setting, *'kuhar'* stereotypically has positive attributions and can more easily appear in positions related to more demanding and creative types of cooking, whereas its female form cannot.

food as its central aspect. The question here is how objects are represented (the nomination and predication of foodstuffs and other objects used in cooking).

Table 10 shows that this text contains a number of concrete as opposed to abstract objects. Concrete objects are largely related to food in general, as well as to vegetables, other ingredients, the preparation of parts of a dish, and health and space.

CONCRETE		
Related to food generally	*'Vrsta samostojnih jedi, prilog in prikuh'* (a number of main dishes, side dishes, and trimmings)	-can be made of vegetables
	'jed' (dish)	-vegetables -contrary to past practices, only a minimal quantity of starch should be added
Related to vegetables	*'Zelenjava in sočivje'* (vegetables and legumes)	-are ingredients for a number of dishes
	'Zelenjava' (vegetables)	-is the basis for a balanced diet today -contains 'aromas, colourings, bitter elements, anti-bacterial ingredients and fibre' -is rich in vegetable oils -can be overcooked or emptied of nutritious elements -can be washed (*'oprana'*), -can be fresh
	'Krompir in stročnice' (Potato and legumes)	-they have 'a special place among the fibre'
Related to other	*'škrob'* (starch)	-are added to vegetable dishes

ingredients		-was not as refined 100 years ago -is today added in minimal quantities
	'Neočiščena žitna zrna' (unrefined wheat grains)	-are balanced nutrition
	'Moka' (flour)	-can be measured in spoons -was a usual kind of dripping (*'podmet/zabela'*) in the past -can be fried in fat
	'Prikuha s prežganjem' (trimmings with roux)	-can be in 'its real sense' (*'v pravem pomenu'*)
Related to the preparation of parts of a dish	*'Prežganje'* (roux)	-is seen as special -is defined as 'flour fried in fat' -can give a special aftertaste (*'priokus'*) to vegetables -is a connivance (*'potuha'*), resulting in the use of fewer vegetables -was dedicated a special chef in the past in bigger kitchens -must be well and correctly made -can be more or less harmful
Related to health	*'Hranilne snovi'* (Nutrients)	-can be destroyed by certain ways of cooking -need to be replaced by the addition of fresh vegetables
	't.i. polnovredna prehrana' (so-called balanced diet)	-is a vegetable which includes "aromas, colourings, bitter elements, anti-bacterial ingredients and fibre -includes unrefined wheat grains -contains vegetable oil
Related to space	*'kuhinja'* (kitchen)	-can be bigger
ABSTRACT	*'Priokus'* (aftertaste)	-is special

	'Naravni čut' (natural feeling)	-for healthy food
	'Količine škroba/zelenjave' (amount of starch/vegetables)	-minimal/small

Table 10: Objects in Velika slovenska kuharica *introduction to vegetables chapter*

The analysis suggests that vegetables are represented as one of the ingredients for a number of dishes and are described using technical language related to chemistry and the science of food. This *'temelj t.i. polnovredne prehrane'* ('the basis of the so-called full-value nutrition') includes *'hranilne snovi'* ('nutrients') as well as *'aromate, barvila, grenčine, protibaterijske učinkovine in balastne snovi'* ('aromas, colours, bitter elements, anti-bacterial ingredients and fibre'). Predication never attributes to vegetables characteristics which have to do with taste in terms of evaluation (good or bad); rather it focuses on what this vegetable can be like in terms of cooking techniques or nutrients as well as its role in human nutrition.

Apart from vegetables and other ingredients, this text also includes a discussion of techniques for cooking, such as *'prežganje'* (roux), which is a technique for thickening the food using flour warmed up in fat or oil. This technique is discussed in the introduction because of its special connection to vegetable dishes, which were prepared using this method in the past. Today, the method is considered unhealthy. No justification is given for this predication (i.e. roux is unhealthy); rather, the history of its use is discussed, which leads the author to suggest that roux can be *'manj škodljiv'* ('less harmful') if it is prepared well. An example is set in the past but it requires, as we have seen in the previous paragraphs, a special chef in charge of roux preparation.

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Such examples from larger cuisines indirectly suggest that roux is no longer to be prepared at home at present. This is not just because of the lack of a separate cook (and probably, finances), but also because roux leads us to use fewer vegetables. The description of its bad taste is toned down by the euphemism 'special aftertaste' ('*poseben priokus*'), which, again, avoids describing the taste of food in evaluative terms.

To summarise, the characteristic features of this text are avoidance of evaluative predication when referring to food and the very specific nomination of foodstuffs using precise vocabulary of the sciences in order to explain exactly why certain food should be eaten and how it should be prepared.

7.2.2.2 Perspectivation

This text does not include many indicators of a specific perspective other than that of an unknown, impersonal narrator, an expert on vegetables, their preparation, techniques of cooking them and their history. This is particularly so if compared to the construction of perspective in cookbooks from later periods (Chapters 8 and 9).

The beginning of the text suggests that this introduction is a part of a larger collection of texts, as '*tudi*' (also) suggests intertextual links to previous contents. There is thus another chapter preceding this one, where independent dishes were made of other ingredients. Such a beginning is also an *in medias res* as it places the reader straight into the middle of the discussion of the food.

(7.2)

Tudi iz zelenjave in sočivja delamo celo vrsto samostojnih jedi, prilog in prikuh. (Ilc,p. 369)

TRANSLATION: We can make a number of independent dishes and trimmings also of vegetables and legumes.

The narrator changes perspective; she is constructed as the impersonal third person as well as a part of the in-group (we). This way, the narrator appears to be close to and more intimate with the reader. There is also a perspective from the point of view of the Slovenes, as this is seen as the group that has been influenced by the habits and tastes of the other out-group (Austrians).

The perspective of an unknown other is marked when the '*t.i.*' ('*takoimenovana*', so-called) is used to suggest that the narrator also represents a perspective which is not her own. This may be because the narrator tries to distance herself from the expression that follows '*t.i.*', namely '*polnovredna prehrana*' (balanced diet), which may have been seen as a contemporary addition to the discourse about health that she might not be able to identify with.

Deictics of time situate the narrative in the present. '*Danes*' (today) is used to mean 'at present,' which is contrasted with '*pred sto leti*' (a hundred years ago). The narration is therefore from the perspective of today.

This pattern of the third person, impersonal perspective can be observed throughout these cookbooks. If the author does refer to herself, she avoids using the less impersonal, first person forms that become common in later cookbooks. She

constructs herself as '*sestra Vendelina*' (Sister Vendelina) and uses third person verb forms (*e.g.* '*je porabila*', she used).

(7.3)

Nojeva jajca imajo približno 35 dag rumenjaka in 70 dag beljaka, ustrezajo 20 do 30 kokošjim jajcem. Sestra Vendelina je porabila za torto ob rojstnem dnevu papeža Janeza Pavla II. 50 jajc, torej bi lahko vzela samo dve nojevi (Ilc, p. 289).

TRANSLATION: Ostrich's eggs have approximately 35 dag of egg white and equal 20 to 30 hen eggs. Sister Vendelina used 50 eggs for a cake for Pope John Paul II's birthday; therefore, she could only take 2 ostrich's.

This is the only reference to the author of the book and probably appears here as an illustration of the size of the ostrich eggs; she was responsible for making a cake for Pope John Paul II's birthday (he visited Slovenia in 1996). She used 50 hen's eggs, but if these had been ostrich's eggs, she would only have been able to use two.

7.2.2.3 Intensification/mitigation

The text includes a limited number of examples of intensification and mitigation, especially if compared to the number of examples from the texts discussed in the next two chapters (8 and 9). Here, intensification and mitigation are discreet. For example (7.4) '*navadno*' (usually) is used to intensify the repetitiveness of a certain habit.

(7.4)

...zato so zelenjavne jedi <u>navadno</u> podmetli ali zabelili z nekaj žlicami moke (Ilc, p. 289).

TRANSLATION: ...this is why vegetables was normally
fatted with a couple of spoons of flour.

This introduction to the chapter is a longer piece of text whose function is not to act as an instruction for the preparation of a dish, but rather to explain some general features of vegetables as they were used in the past and as they are used in the present, while bearing in mind the nutritional aspect of food. It is an example of a standard instruction text with the qualities of a modern rather than postmodern instructional genre. As such, it serves as a comparison to the case studies in Chapters 8 and 9, which have rather postmodern characteristics. With reference to the research questions about the nomination, predication, perspectivation and intensification/mitigation strategies used in this type of text, is it possible to conclude that it does not contain many individual social actors, but that collectives or professional anthroponyms tend to be used instead. Objects are nominated using scientific names and the predication focuses on the preparation process and needs of the body rather than on the evaluative sensory characteristics of food. The perspective is that of a third person impersonal narrator. The next section highlights similar features in the genre of recipes.

7.3 SUB-GENRE 2: RECIPES

7.3.1 A recipe from *Velika slovenska kuharica*

The text is selected from an introduction to the section on cakes ('*Torte*') and the recipes which follow. The section forms part of the desserts chapter, which is divided into a section on sweets entitled '*Še zmeraj sladko*' (And still, the sweet) and a section on fruits entitled '*In še sadje*' (And fruits). This is an introduction to a number of recipes about cakes that follow it, but it functions as a part of a recipe rather than an

independent introduction. In it, general information about cakes is given; this applies to all consequent recipes. Here, I analyse the first two paragraphs of the introduction and one recipe for a chocolate cake.

The title to the chapter on desserts is stylistically interesting: *'Ah, sladki poobedki'* (Oh, sweet desserts) resonates with the exclamation one might make when one sees desserts. The discourse marker *'ah'* intensifies desirability/excitement while the noun *'poobedki'* suggests that these dishes are eaten after the main course, as the noun is a compound of the preposition *'po'* (after) and the noun *'obed'* (meal), which also makes the word sound old-fashioned (*'obed'* is a rather outdated noun for a meal).

The first section in this chapter, *'Še zmeraj sladko'* (And still sweet), refers to the previous section which introduced sweets made of various types of dough (*'Testa'*), but which are not considered desserts. *'In še sadje'* (And fruits) is the final section in this chapter. In both cases the particle *'še'* positions the sections with regard to others (in the first case, continuity is expressed, and in the second, finality is expressed), but it also suggests a rather conversational twist. It is perhaps worth noting that such a twist only appears in the section on sweet things and fruits as if this section could be considered a less 'serious' chapter than the others. This may also suggest that a dessert is part of the meal towards its end where the behavioural norms are looser, hence inviting guests/eaters to drop their usual (presupposed) rigidity/refusal when it comes to eating sweet things.

7.3.1.1 Nomination and predication

Social actors

The only social actor in the text is 'you' as the reader is told what to do in order for the dish to be successful. Contrary to the conventions found in contemporary cookbooks, the command is here not yet mitigated via the inclusive 'we', but it is rather direct, similarly to how it is expressed in English.[124] The reader is constructed as a female as the deictic *'ti'* has a predication 'will put (fem.) the cake together' (*'boš sestavila torto'*).

Objects/phenomena/events

As a set of instructions on shaping the cake, all main objects and phenomena relate to the topic of cake making. The descriptions are technical, as expressions such as those used in geometry are applied to descriptions of cake shapes and the various parts of a cake: *'ploskev'* (plane) and *'stranice'* (sides) are used to describe geometrical forms. There are also a number of expressions related to exact shapes, such as *'trikot'* (triangle), *'storž'* (cone), *'list'* (leaf), *'zvezda'* (star) and *'srce'* (heart). These suggestions may reflect the inclusion of more demanding cakes which require a certain level of expertise from the cook.

CONCRETE		
Related to the cake and its parts	*'torta'* (cake/torte)	- requires fresh ingredients to turn out good - requires "skill at mixing, attention while baking and taste for decorating"

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[124] See also Tominc (in review) as suggested earlier.

		(*'spretna roka pri mešanju, pazljivost pri pečenju in okus pri krašenju'*) to turn out beautiful -can be of many kinds -can be simple -for "the most solemn occasions, can be very rich" -can be shaped in many ways -can be made of chocolate -is finally styled on a doily
	'stranice' (sides)	-is coated with cream or jam/marmalade -can be cut in various ways
	'plošča' (plate)	-should be cooled down
	'ploskev' (plane, surface)	- should be coated with icing -some can be thicker than others -can be 20cm in diameter
	'testo' (dough)	-should be baked in a square tin -can be made of biscuit/walnuts -is intended for cakes
Related to the shape	*'oblika (torte)'* (shape [of the cake])	-can be shamrock leaf, triangle (*'trikot'; 'trikotna'*), star, heart shaped etc. -can be rounded -can be topped with elements that resemble roof tiles
	'trikot' (triangle)	-two, upper, the second
	'storž' (cone)	-pine-cone -shaped
	'list' (leaf)	-shamrock -can be cut out according to the shape of the paper pattern

	'zvezda' (star), 'srce' (heart)	
	'polmeseci in drugo drobno pecivo' (crescents and other small cakes)	-are made of leftovers from the cake shaping
Tools	'pločevina' (tin)	-can be square in shape
	'nož' (knife)	-should be sharp for cutting
	'krožnik' (plate)	-covered with a doily
Pars pro toto	'roka' (hand)	-skilful ('spretna')
Ingredients for the cake and its decoration	'marmelada' (jam, marmalade)	-thick
	'nadev' (filling)	-any ('poljuben')
	'Mandeljni, lešniki, orehi' (almonds, hazelnut, walnuts)	-are sprinkled on the cake -are ground
	'pastile' (pastilles)	-of chocolate
	'sneg' (whites)	-hard
	'sladkor', 'rumenjaki', 'moka', 'kakav', 'krema' (sugar, egg yolks, flour, cocoa powder, cream)	
	'prašek' (powder)	-for baking
	'margarina' (margarine)	-melted
	'živila' (foodstuffs)	-fresh
ABSTRACT	'okus' (taste)	
	'pazljivost' (carefulness, attention)	

Table 11: Objects, phenomena, events

Table 11 outlines all objects found in this text. The majority of objects are concrete, mostly related to cake making as well as the shape of the cake. A list of ingredients

used for preparation of the cake is also significant. The predication presented in this table co-constructs the cake making as an activity that requires skill, taste and attention. Variation is possible, but within the range suggested by the author ('x can be done in this or that way'...). The author does not discuss any personal preferences, nor is any object constructed as related to her personal life. It is also possible to note that a large majority of objects presented in this table is used in cake making rather than in other areas. This is particularly clear if this feature is compared to the objects in postmodern ''celebrity' cookbooks,' where objects from other areas of life will also be included. The analysis of pre-1990 cookbooks therefore again reflects the norms and ideals of the modern period, where cooking is not seen as a leisure time activity, but a serious task requiring skill. Following instructions is essential and so is the use of the correct equipment.

7.3.1. 2 Perspectivation and intensification

Perspectivation

In terms of perspectivation, this recipe does not differ from previous texts in this chapter. The narrator of the text remains represented as unknown and impersonal. There is no reference to the author's own practices, nor is she mentioned in the text, hence she does not appear as a specific social actor of this text. Short (Short 1996: 258) suggests that in such cases the reader can assume that the narrator and the author in the text are the same person.

The distance between the addresser (the author/narrator) and the addressee (the reader) may appear to be large. However, considering the above collapsing of the

author into the narrator, certain solidarity between the author/narrator and the addressee emerges. It can be claimed that this is because the author is a nun, who is known to be responsible for cooking in her monastery and the readers are constructed as women through feminine predication '*boš sestavila torto*' (you will put the cake together) in example (7.5) below.

(7.5)

Ostanke zreži v polmesece in drugo drobno pecivo, drugo zdrobi in zmešaj

s kremo, s katero boš sestavila torto. (Ilc, p.626)

TRANSLATION: Cut the remaining into crescents and other small cakes, the rest break into small pieces and mix with cream, with which you will compile (fem.) the cake.

The imperative 2nd person singular in the command '*zreži*' (slice) is then mitigated with the assertive 2nd person sg. future '*boš*' (you will).

Intensification/mitigation

As in the previous example, there are not many examples of intensification or mitigation of nouns in this text either. The instruction allows for choice in the selection of cakes as well as the use of shapes and creams using epistemic modality (indicating the possibility of something) with the verb '*lahko*' (can) as in example (7.6) below, while the other verbs in this text express certainty (deontic modality).

(7.6)

Torte <u>lahko</u> različno oblikuješ, npr. kot deteljni list, trikot, zvezdo, srce idr.

/.../ Tortno testo <u>lahko</u> spečeš tudi v posameznih ploščah,... (Ilc, p.626)

TRANSLATION: You can shape cakes in different ways, for example as a shamrock leaf, triangle, star, heart etc. /.../ You can bake the cake dough in various tables/plates.

7.3.2 A recipe from *Velika kuharica*

This recipe comes from the book *Velika kuharica,* which was produced in the 1980s by the Yugoslav *Central committee for home economics.* It was targeted at workers, who were at the centre of the socialist political project. Generally, the recipe does not differ from the examples analysed above. Unlike the previous cookbook, this cookbook does not include any discourse about Slovene nationalism at all, but rather focuses exclusively on food and its preparation. Issues such as healthy meals and cooking techniques are at the forefront.

This recipe follows the title '*Zelenjava*' (Vegetables). Introductory chapters are here missing, presumably because, as a statement underneath the title suggests (page 269), "[t]he preparation and the use of vegetables is described at length in the introductory part." This is a short recipe for artichokes and, as in the case of *Velika slovenska kuharica,* this recipe is one of six recipes on page 269 which are all followed by one another, separated by a line. Unlike the previous book, however, as a typical example of late 20th century cookbooks, *Velika kuharica* contains photographs of selected dishes scattered throughout the book. The ingredients are listed on the left and are bolded while the text is placed on the right.

Social actors

Only the personal deictic '*mi*' (we) is used here. The singular '*ti*' (you) that sometimes appeared in *Velika slovenska kuharica* is no longer used. 'We' is followed by predication which specifies the action of the cooking. 'We' clean and prepare the food (artichokes) and prevent them from turning dark using lemon. 'We' also fill the artichokes in order to cook them. The action associated with the cooking person is thus focused around food and its preparation, while other activities, such as the consumption of food, shopping and entertaining friends, do not appear in this text. Likewise, the vocabulary is formal, without metaphors or colloquial expressions to describe the action of the nominated entity.

The lack of social actors and their nomination, as well as the use of standard, unmarked (rather than stylistically marked) language suggests that this text can be placed among the instructional genres that are characteristic for the modern period, with its lack of personal references, use of stylistically unmarked language and the exclusion of celebrity personalities and their lifestyles.

Objects, phenomena, events

This text only includes objects. The largest group is ingredients for the suggested dish, and this is followed by the required utensils. The only abstract nomination is '*čas*' (time) related to the time required for cooking the dish. The recipe does not include any objects that are not related to the preparation of food. Table 12 below also lists the predication for ingredients and utensils. An analysis of these shows that objects are only described in terms of their action or use (i.e. what do we do with them), and only

rarely are they described in terms of their qualities (*e.g.* something is salty). Again, like in previous texts, all objects are related to preparation of the particular dish.

CONCRETE		
Ingredients	'*Artičoke*' (Artichokes) '*Jim*', '*jih*' (to them, them)	-are being cleaned ('*osnažimo*') and cut -are filled
	'*Konice listov ter stebla*' (Points of the leaves and stem)	-are cut away from the artichokes -are being coated with lemon or vinegar
	'*Listi*' (leaves)	-get filled with other ingredients
	'*Limonin sok ali kis*' (Lemon juice or vinegar)	-are used to prevent the artichokes from darkening
	'*Krop*' (boiling water)	-is salty; used to cook artichokes
	'*peteršilj, drobtine in česen*' (parsley, breadcrumbs and garlic)	-are chopped
	'*Olje ali maslo*' (oil or butter)	-is melted
	'*Juha*' (soup; stock)	-is an addition while cooking artichokes
Utensils	'*Kozica*' (a pan)	-is filled with artichokes
	'*štedilnik*' (stove)	-is used for the artichokes to be cooked
ABSTRACT	'*čas*', '*ura*' (time, hour)	-is used to measure the time of cooking

Table 12: Object, phenomena, events

6.3.2.2.2 Perspectivation

The perspective of this short text is from the point of view of 'us'. All the verbs are in the indicative, first person plural. This is a mitigated form of command using an assertive ('*porežemo*' 'we cut/ trim'), which constructs an in-group by merging the author (narrator) and the reader into one group. I have mentioned in previous sections

that this form of command is common in Slovene recipes but that in the past, an imperative was also used, as it is in English contemporary recipes.

Such a perspective intensifies the impersonal character of the instruction because it excludes many specific points of view that are used in the 'celebrity' cookbooks discussed in later chapters. Instead, it reinforces the one common point of view shared by the reader and the writer, i.e. the point of view of the cook.

6.3.2.2.3 Intensification/mitigation

As in the examples above, no adjective other than those that are an essential part of the instructions, are used, for example _trde konice_ (hard points) and _slani krop_ (salty boiling water). There are no evaluative adjectives to assess the dish in terms of its taste or visual appearance as is the case in 'celebrity' cookbooks. Zero modality is used throughout the recipe suggesting that, since modal verbs are not used, there is no explicit possibility for uncertainty regarding the dish or the possibility to amend it in any other way desired. This, again, strengthens the impersonal note of the instruction genre as well as the strength of the normative element in the cookbook. It also strengthens the idea that the author possesses knowledge that cannot be challenged.

7.4 CONCLUSION

The case study texts – despite belonging to different sub-genres – all show similar patterns in terms of nomination, predication, perspectivation as well as intensification/mitigation as indicated by my research questions.

These instructional texts do not have many features which are stylistically interesting; they tend to be impersonal culinary instructions with technical language, related to either nutritional science or culinary jargon. I have discussed the fact that the nomination of objects tends to require certain knowledge of cooking, nutritional terminology or even geometry. Social actors tend to be groups, such as 'us' or 'them'. The nomination of individuals such as 'chef' is rare. However, if this occurs, it seems to be a rather general statement exemplifying a profession, rather than an individual. Nomination of specific individuals is not the norm here and the personal experience of the writer of the book is never directly revealed as such. Predicates describe processes in terms of what happens with foodstuffs in the process of cooking, or what the food looks like. However, this is rarely intensified using adjectives suggesting evaluation. The language is standard Slovene with no feature of conversational variants. *Velika slovenska kuharica*'s language is at points even old-fashioned (*e.g.* '*zavij urno čez torto*' (quickly roll over the cake)).

This pattern suggests that as genres, 'standard' cookbooks (as opposed to 'celebrity' cookbooks, Chapter 8 and 9) tend to be based on the impersonal normative authority of experts in the field. As such, they offer advice and guidance about all areas of cooking. Compared to 'celebrity' cookbooks, these tend to be based on a consensus regarding what should be contained in a cookbook (i.e. which chapters and in what order), they avoid individualistic and personalised references to anyone's personal life. The authors of these texts are chefs, who are at the same time nutritionists concerned about public health and well-being rather than individuals' lifestyles. There seems to be little room for individual choice, and even if this is allowed for, it is carefully guided by the writers of the books. Experimentation has no place here.

Compared to 'celebrity' cookbooks, the point of view is also rather general as it includes the majority of readers (*e.g.* 'we') rather than a specific individual (chef), inviting identification from a larger group of people.

In this case, 'standard' cookbooks are also an important part of constructing national identity; I have demonstrated how nationalism is expressed through issues of tastes and culinary procedures and how Slovenes tend to be differentiated from Austrians, i.e. the 'other'. Linking this to the discursive reconfirmation of national identity in Oliver's translations discussed in Chapter 5, it becomes clear that cookbooks, even if 'just' culinary texts, a collection of recipes, are never apolitical; they are never exempt from broader social and cultural issues such as identity construction and nationalism.

8 CASE STUDY 2: JAMIE OLIVER'S 'CELEBRITY' COOKBOOKS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter brings textual examples of 'postmodern cooking manuals',[125] such as Jamie Oliver's cookbooks. Apart from using a different style of language, these also advocate a different lifestyle, set of values and tastes. As in Chapter 7, I analyse examples of introductions to chapters as well as recipes. I demonstrate that in terms of nominations of social actors and objects as well as their predications, these cookbooks differ from those analysed in the previous chapter. There are also differences in perspectivation and mitigation/intensification. The chapter relates to the research question 'How are strategies – nominalization, predication, perspectivation, mitigation/intensification – employed in the selection of texts from Oliver's 'celebrity' cookbooks?

In this chapter I show the general characteristics of global celebrity chefs' discourse about food as represented by Oliver. The main interest of this analysis is the shift in style and perspective, as well as the representation of social actors and objects. In the next chapter I will demonstrate how this discourse's main features will be recontextualised to the local context in the cookbooks produced by the Novaks. The

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[125] By postmodern I mean the lifestyle that they promote and the style in which they are written (See also Chapter 2).

result will be a localised global discourse[126] about food. Apart from the global framework that is similar to that of Oliver, the local variant will also contain many local characteristics in terms of taste as well as language (Chapter 9). Here, I analyse four texts that can be divided into two sub-genres:

- Text 1: An introduction to the chapter on vegetables (from *The return of the Naked Chef*, p. 19-20)

- Text 2: An introduction to the chapter on desserts (from The Return of the Naked Chef, p. 241)

- Text 3: A recipe '*Epohalni ananas s potolčenim metinim sladkorjem*' [Epohal pineapple with crushed mint sugar] (from *Happy Days with the Naked Chef*, p. 262)

- Text 4: A recipe '*Pita iz robidnic*' [Blackberry pie] from (*Jamie's Italy*, p. 287)

Only the salient features in each of these texts are highlighted. First, I discuss the most interesting features of nomination and predication strategies. This is followed by an example of perspectivation strategies in the first two texts. I conclude with a discussion of intensification/mitigation strategies. The aim of such an analysis is to demonstrate the characteristics of Oliver's discourse and compare it to findings in the previous chapter.

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[126] Wodak (2010a) and many others refer to this phenomenon as 'glocal'. I discuss this term and explain my position towards it in Chapter 2.

8.2 NOMINATION AND PREDICATION STRATEGIES IN OLIVER'S TEXTS

8.2.1 Social actors

One of the main differences between the 'standard' cookbooks discussed in the previous chapter and 'celebrity' cookbooks such as Oliver's is the first person narration and the constant reference of the narrator to himself. I have pointed out that this is never the case in earlier texts, where the focus is on depersonalised and neutralised instruction. All four texts examined in this chapter contain first-person narrative through which the chef represents himself and his actions.

First person narrative ('I', 'we')

Table 13 below demonstrates the construction of 'I' and 'we' through a deictic in all four texts.

In the first text, the narrator/shopper (Oliver) is constructed as a person who is not new to the business of book writing – he implicitly says this by referring to his first book –, which gives him initial credibility. He supports this by playfully referring to himself as '*doktor Do Nazga*' (doctor Until Naked).[127] He is a positively oriented individual who is confident that changes related to food consumption are on the way. He supports his enthusiasm with examples of changes he has already noticed in supermarkets, but he wishes to remain a realist and also stresses that there is a 'contrast' among buyers. He is positively inclined towards those who share his enthusiasm and try to change their food habits (despite their dislike of the narrator's

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[127] This is a metaphor having not only a sexual connotation, but also suggesting his cooking strategy – he strips the recipes down 'to the naked', hence making them more accessible for an everyday cook.

interference) while he condemns those who do not, especially if they are parents. His idea is thus two-fold: those refusing to change their lifestyle habits should be punished by having their children taken away and force fed vegetables (*'me ima, da bi ugrabil to mularijo in bi mesec dni turil zelenjavo'*), while those showing interest in change (this is expressed through verbs suggesting change) should merely be helped. Text 2 shows Oliver as someone who 'tells' things to others, but who also humorously represents himself as being older and fat. In text 3, as in the other texts, 'I' usually comes across indirectly, through verb suffixes. Oliver is nominated as a child on two occasions, and in both of them the nomination is not a stylistically neutral term. Rather, the narrator (translator) describes his childhood self in evaluative terms as *'mulc'* and *'pamž'*, which both connote a lively and rather naughty boy who found fruit as a dessert boring. Being older, he can answer the wishes of the child in him better than any adult could by offering a much more interesting dessert. Thus, based on his own past and his memories of his own experiences, he suggests a solution to the problems posed (i.e. fruit being boring and thus not being eaten).

In text 4, the expertise and the knowledge of the baking is hyperbolically explained by the narrator stating his experience in making the pies (*'sem naredil na tisoče takih pit'*) and his past professional experience of being a chef in Carluccio's[128] London restaurant. This way, the narrator is constructed as someone who has experience with cooking in professional kitchens and thus deserves the trust of the reader.

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[128] Carluccio is a famous chef and Oliver's mentor. Oliver used to cook in his restaurant in his early career. He often appears in his shows as well as in his texts.

Text 1	*Jaz* (Me) (= Oliver)	- already 'possesses' one book (*'moja prva knjiga'*) - is certain that many more things will happen in supermarkets - does not worry about prices being too high (*'se ne sekiram, da bi bilo predrago'*) - Notices things about people (*'postali so precej bolj radovedni'*) - Believes that people have started to learn about cooking and enjoy it - notices a huge contrast among buyers while walking around the shop (*'šetam po trgovini'*) - seems to believe the contrast has always been there and always will be - finds observing other people interesting - would like to help other people, but realises it may not be welcome (*'jih bom samo slišal'*) - imagines being represented as "*trotel*" (idiot) by young shoppers - cannot stand mothers feeding their children food he does not approve of - wishes he could make children eat the food he approves of (*'me ima, da bi ugrabil to mularijo in bi mesec dni turil zelenjavo od spred' pa od zad'* [I feel like kidnapping these kids and for a month feed them vegetables forcefully from the front and from behind]). - presents himself as *'Doktor Do nazga'* (i.e. authority)
Text 2	*Jaz* (Me) (= Oliver)	-tells things to the readers -predicts that he might be fat in 10 years as a result of his dessert-eating habits (*'ko bom z debelim birbauhom in salom okrog pasu opletal naokrog kot kak cotl'*)
Text 3	Jaz (=Oliver)	-As a child (*'kot mulc'*; *'kot pamž'*) found fruit as a dessert boring (*'tako neskončno dolgočasno'*) -he understands why in the past he found fruit boring -such a recipe would excite the narrator even as a child (*'bi me navdušil še kot pamža'*)

		-has a habit of throwing away the centre of the pineapple or sucking it (*'ali cuzam'*) while he finishes the food
Text 4	**Jaz** (**=Oliver**)	-has made thousands of such pies -has worked for Antonio Carluccio in London -went to see Swan Lake -was observing people while they ate pies -Is in possession of pies - is a mortal being (*'sem se drenjal z ostalimi smrtniki'*) -was eating (*'glodal'*) pre-packed sweets -was not jealous -knows how good the pies are (*'prekleto dobre'*)

Table 13: Social actors: 'Jaz' (I)

At times, 'I' becomes part of the deictic 'we' common in contemporary recipe instructions in Slovene (Table 14). This is especially notable in recipes, as seen in texts 3 and 4. As in 'standard' cookbooks, 'we' is either constructed as the in-group of the reader and the writer (as a common instructional politeness form, see (Tominc in review)), or it can refer to a larger group, i.e. our society in general.[129]

Text 1	*Mi* (we)	- Should be buying more products produced in a specific way - Used to know a better way of production (*'kot se spodobi'*)food in the past (*'svojčas'*) - Produce massively and take shortcuts (*'smo začeli hoditi po bližnjicah'*)

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[129] Oliver talks of British society in terms of the past and the present. Generally, this is similar to the case in Chapter 7, where Slovenes as a nation were constructed in terms of their past and the present. Here, however, the in-group ('us') is not represented with positive attribution, as was the case of Slovenes ('good') vs Austrians (harming us, hence 'bad'), but rather with negative attribution (i.e. the Italians are seen in more positive terms than 'us', as they eat healthy food etc.).

Text 2	*Mi*	-try to avoid eating deserts
Text 3	*Mi*	-cut, peel etc. (recipe jargon)
Text 4	*Mi*	-we have been preparing these pies -might have puff pastry in the fridge

Table 14: social actors – we ('mi')

The narrator is here represented as 'one of us', who is concerned about our food consumption as well as food production. He talks from his own experiences as an adult as well as a child, and as a chef as well as an ordinary citizen. He visits supermarkets, opera houses and other places which also attract ordinary people. His power to tell people what to eat comes from his representation as a successful restaurant chef and this is demonstrated via predication (i.e. what he does, who he knows, etc.) in numerous narratives. His expertise and the knowledge of the matter is hyperbolically explained by the narrator stating his experience in making pies ('*sem naredil na tisoče takih pit*') and his past professional experience as a chef in Carluccio's London restaurant. This makes the narrator a person who should be trusted/listened to because of his past experience of cooking.

Construction of the reader

Another characteristic that separates 'standard' cookbooks from Oliver's cookbooks is the discursive construction of a reader in the text via direct address using the deictic 'you'. Text 2, for example, shows how the 'I-narrator' (Oliver) tells something to the reader, 'you' ('*povem vam*'). This is explicitly used twice to stress the perspective from which the advice is being given, thus positioning the reader in the passive position of the person who should listen to what to do. Readers are constructed via two strategies: the current general opinion according to which 'we' should avoid

eating desserts, and the other suggested practice according to which the reader is advised not to restrict this desire. Being depicted as someone who cannot avoid desserts, the reader should instead engage in physical exercise, such as climbing the stairs rather than taking the lift. The possibility of becoming overweight that is often related to eating sweets is represented using comical features that present fatness in a humorous way and make it seem as though it is fully socially accepted (*'ko bom z debelim birbauhom in salom okrog pasu opletal naokrog kot kak cotl'* [when I will be going around like a *cotl* with a big tummy and fat around my waist]).

The reader ('you') is an urban person whose weight should remain controlled. This can be done in two ways, neither of which includes the complete omission of desserts or the suppression of one's wishes: either by eating certain kinds of desserts, or by avoiding too many calories.

In text 3, 'You' is the receiver of the order related to dish preparation, but he/she is also given permission to do certain things by the narrator. He/she (reader -the host) is clearly being advised how to behave in certain situations involving guests.

In 'standard' cookbooks, the expected norm of behaviour is laid out (*e.g.* how to behave at the table), whereas here, the behaviour of the cook/chef is laid out as a model: if 'standard' cookbooks try to avoid spontaneity, Oliver tries to reinforce it.

Text 2	*Vi* (You, pl.)	-should not refrain from eating sweet things if you feel like it (*'če se vam lušta sladko'*) -might still eat desserts even if they are bad

		-might be feeling bad (*'slaba vest'*) in relation to eating sweets
		-should use the stairs, not the lift (*'raje po štengah kot z liftom'*)
		-it is given that you usually use the lift
Text 3	*Vi*	- ordered to buy a pineapple
		-could look crazy
		-you may ignore the guests and prepare the dish (*'v celoti ignorirali in hladnokrvno obirali lističe metice ter jih dodajali sladkorju'*)
		-will finish the food at the table
		- will be doing it for a minute
		-may have some leftovers with which to cook another dish
Text 4	*Vi*	-get ready for a treat

Table 15: Text 3: social actors: 'vi' (you, pl.)

To summarise briefly, this analysis shows how such 'postmodern' cooking manuals construct the reader not only in terms of what he or she should cook and how, but also in terms of how the reader should behave towards their friends while cooking, and how they should feel about eating certain foods (*e.g.* sweets).

Construction of third persons: families/social groups/people etc.

Texts in 'standard' Slovene cookbooks do not contain many social actors in general as they are oriented towards objects. Here, on the other hand, there are a number of social actors – text 1, for example, talks about Oliver's experience of consumption in modern supermarkets and the people he sees in them. Social actors are generally not nominated as 'customers' or 'buyers', but other, more family life oriented nominators are used. Like the majority of the narratives in Oliver's cookery books, this is a first person narrative, similar to an autobiography, where the narrator often collapses into one of the characters of the story, such as a chef or a shopper. Here, the

narrator/shopper merges into 'we', creating an in-group that contains the narrator and abstract others, including the reader. On the other hand, there is an out-group of those he observes while strolling through the supermarket, such as mothers, children, parents, couples, or even more generally – people.

In this text, several discourses overlap. The discourses on supply and on food are connected to the discourse on children and parents as well as to Oliver's own past. Oliver, on the one hand, describes and evaluates the current practices that relate to children and their parents, but he also, on the other hand, gives a normative framework on how this relationship should look. Doing this, he often draws on his own childhood or on practices he has seen in Italy, thus on the discourse on Italy.

In this text, it is also possible to observe that children are constructed similarly to their parents or other adults, including in terms of what they eat and how they behave while shopping, as in text 1. Table 16 below shows all third person social actors in this text.

Collectives (they)	*ljudje* (people)	- have become much more curious (*'radovedni'*) in relation to cooking - lots of them have started learning about cooking - they enjoy learning about cooking
	Kupci (buyers) *(couples, mothers with children)*	-are very different from each other (*'neverjeten kontrast'*)
	Pari (couples)	- are young - buy interesting vegetables

		- discuss food preparation ('*debatirajo* ') and even quarrel ('*se včasih celo skregajo*') about dinner
		- usually have good ideas ('*užitne ideje*'), but not always ('*dostikrat pa usekajo tako zelo mimo*')
		- answer the narrator's offer of help in Ljubljana dialect ('*Kva! Kdo da si! Spel' se trotel!*')
		- refuse the narrator's help
		- are interested and try hard ('*jih zanima in se trudijo*')
	Mularija, Mulci (kids)	- can be seen in supermarkets with their mothers
		- are fat ('*zamaščeni*')
		- come in a group ('*gruča*')
		- need to improve their health ('*bi dobili spet malo zdrave barve*') regardless of the method ('*bi ugrabil*', '*bi turil*')
	otroci (kids)	- any vegetable is appropriate for them ('*primerna*')
		- in Italy they eat different vegetables ('*grizljajo šparglje*', '*namakajo artičoke v odišavljena masla in omake*')
		- In Italy they enjoy themselves, have fun ('*uživajo, zabavajo se*')
		- In Italy they eat healthy food ('*prekleto zdravo je*')
		- healthiness of their food depends on their parents ('*jejo točno tako zdravo, kot jejo njihovi starši*')
Family relations	*Mama* (mum)	- has a bunch of fatty children
		- their trolley is full of fast food ('*gurajo poln voziček kokakole in čipsa pa špagetov v konzervi*')
	Starši (parents)	- are possessed by children ('*njihovi starši*')
		- should be an example to their children ('*otroci jejo točno tako zdravo, kot jejo njihovi starši*')

Table 16: Social actors and predication in an Introduction to vegetables

Table 17 below shows the distinction between representations of groups of actors in Italy as compared to Britain. As opposed to children in Britain, those in Italy are

nominated as '*otroci*' (the standard noun for children) who enjoy themselves and have fun while eating healthy food.

UK		ITALY	GENERALLY
In the supermarket	Generally		
Kupci (different)	*Ljudje, ljudje* - UK	*otroci*	*Za otroke*
Pari	*Mama z gručo zamaščenih mulcev mularija*		*otroci*
			starši

Table 17: Social actors in Italy as opposed to Britain

In the UK, there are three categories of actors: couples, people in general, and parents. While the first two groups are seen as interested in food issues, couples – though not perfect - specifically try to improve their attitude to food. Parents, however, are not represented in such a positive light. Here, the mother is described as having a bunch of fat and unhealthy children nominated as '*mulci*' and '*mularija*'. The noun is etymologically related to the word '*mula*' (a mule), giving it a slightly negative connotation. Stylistically this is a marked and informal noun used when children do not behave well. This noun ('*mularija*') can also have a playful connotation, thus reducing the tension in making a criticism of the parents' (readers') strategies for raising their children. It gives a sense of understanding of the fact that children are naughty. Oliver imagines that these children should be taken away from their parents and that they should be stuffed with vegetables as a way of having a healthier lifestyle.

On the other hand, there are children in Italy, nominated with the general noun '*otroci*', who are represented as having a good time, needing no forced feeding, as

they are involved in activities such as '*grizljajo*', '*namakajo*', '*uživajo*' and '*se zabavajo*' (they bite, soak, enjoy, and have fun, respectively). The relationship between these children and their parents is, contrary to those in Britain, seen as positive. The responsibility lies on parents, because '*kar jejo starši, to jejo tudi otroci*' (whatever parents eat, children eat). This suggests that parents must change their eating habits in order for the change to be effective on their children.

Comparing the results from the analyses in Chapter 7, it becomes obvious that more social actors are included in this text. These social actors represent a certain lifestyle with which readers can easily identify. This is missing in the older cookbooks.

The writer's vocabulary includes terminology related to selling (*e.g.* 'buyers'), but mostly, his interest lies in private sphere of life. He talks of family, children, parents and their relationship to food and to each other. The next chapter will provide a very interesting mixture of both: an interest in reforming the nation, while at the same time an orientation towards the private.

Text 3 contains collectives which are nominalised indirectly via the verb form (thus as 'they') or using the nominators '*gostje*' ('guests') and '*družina*' ('family') (see Table 17). The deictic 'they' are the people from the narrator's past who are described as being unimaginative with fruit, while the present third person actors are those potential guests for whom pineapple could be prepared. They are seen as observers to the reader/cook's cooking procedure, but who are also represented in terms of their action during the process of eating. In this case, the pot of yogurt will not simply be put on the table, but it is meant to be circulating among the guests.

	Oni (they)	-have offered the narrator fruits for dessert
		-they were lazy and did not prepare fruit in an interesting way in the past (*'vsaj od daleč videti zanimivo'*)
Collectives	*Gostje"* (guests) *Gostje ali družina* (guests or family) *4 osebe* (4 persons)	-they will be passing a pot of yogurt (*'ki si ga bodo gostje podajali'*) -observe and will think those cooking went mad (*'da se vam je utrgalo'*) because of the cooking procedures suggested

Table 18: Third person social actors and their predication in text 3

In text 4 (Table 19 below), the narrator presents us with the in-group and the out-group. The scene is set in the theatre because this is where Oliver situates his introduction to the recipe on blackberry pie. The first group is the group of people described by the narrator as *'smrtniki'* (the mortals) and the latter group is nominated with the less evaluative and general *'obiskovalci'* (visitors) and *'ljudje'* (people). The narrator is not directly nominated, but he is surrounded by the mortals. However, in terms of spatial movement, he is in the same position as others, because *'smrtniki'* is represented as a crowd using the verb *'drenjati se'* ('to throng'), which suggests the space between the people in the stalls is scarce. The activity also assigned to the narrator is *'glodanje'* (gnawing) as this is the way he eats his sweets.

On the other hand, the out-group, associated with the pies, is placed in the boxes above (note also the important distinction between 'down' and 'up', though the description of the theatre is in accordance with our schematic ideas about how the visitors to Western theatres are seated). Their activity is described as different via a metaphor, i.e. in terms of a picnic (*'najbolj prefinjena oblika piknika v Londonu'*; the

most refined kind of picnic in London). The contrast between the crowd in the stalls and the spaciousness of the open space related to outdoor picnics is exploited to emphasise the deliciousness of the cake eaten by those above in the boxes as opposed to the candies eaten by those below, in the stalls.

In terms of the manner of eating the desserts, the narrator's form of eating resembles that of an animal. He is trying patiently to finish a hard piece of food, while the vaguely nominated 'visitors' eat their desserts impatiently, trying to fill their mouths with more than they can manage to swallow (*'so se basali'* - they stuffed themselves).

proper names	**Antonio Carluccio**	-The narrator worked for him
group nomination	***obiskovalci*** (visitors)	-of Royal Opera House shows -have had these pies in the form of a picnic in their stalls -were sitting in their stalls
	Ljudje (people)	-Were eating (*'so se basali'*) the pies
	smrtniki (mortals)	-seat in the lower, cheaper seats

Table 19: third person Social actors in text 4

In sum, the third person actors here are active, real life people from Oliver's life. He either meets them when he shops/cooks/visits the opera or they are his friends and family. Sometimes they are nominated with proper names or with group nominations. 'standard' cookbooks, on the other hand, do not contain any such actors, in particular not those related to the personal life of the book's writer. This salient distinction between the 'celebrity' and 'standard' cookbooks points towards the ways in which lifestyle is represented. If 'standard' cookbooks aim to be impersonal cooking manuals, containing general and widely recognised instruction on what to eat and how

to behave in specific situations, then their celebrity variants represent a personalised account of the lifestyle that one should follow. Including a number of social actors from the chef's personal life (either his friends or the unknown people he includes in the stories) is a way of not only representing the chef as the reader's friend but also a way of offering a variety of human models with which the reader can identify.

8.2.2 Objects, phenomena, events

<u>Food</u>

In Text 1 the only food represented is vegetables. The supply of vegetables is becoming more varied and is also organic, suggesting optimism in the future of farming. A nomination that only appears in the translation is *'kraljestvo zelenjave'* (kingdom of vegetables) which suggests a positive attribution as it represents vegetables metaphorically. Vegetables are represented in terms of a political system.[130] The attribution is positive because of the intertextual reference to a fairy-tale in use of the nouns, which is common in Luka Novak's translations of Oliver as well as in his own cookbooks (see Chapter 9). In fairy-tales, 'kingdom' often tends to be represented positively, with a good-natured king and queen who possess a lot of gold and other rich materials. In this metaphor, vegetables are likened to this stereotypical richness of fairy-tale kingdoms. Hence, *'kraljestvo zelenjave'* is a kingdom rich in different sorts of vegetables.

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[130] This is not a taxonomic use of 'kingdom', though it can be related to it. In any case, kingdoms of animals/plants are also a used metaphorically.

Some vegetables are seen as interesting; however, all are healthy, in particular for children, to whom a specific relation is made. They should be given all vegetables, just like in Italy where they are seen as adoring asparagus and artichokes. Food is also represented in terms of the general nominator *'proizvodi'* (produce), specifically clarifying that they should be homemade (*'domači'*), thus opposing the norm – industrially produced goods.

CONCRETE		
related to food	*Zelenjava, Kraljestvo zelenjave* (vegetables, kingdom of vegetables)	- not much has changed since the last book - is cabbage, potatoes and tomatoes, salads - is becoming varied (*'izbira je pestrejša'*) -in the future the majority will be organic (*'biološko'*) -none is bad for children (*ni je,'ki ne bi bila primerna za otroke'*) -narrator's way of making children eat it (*'bi jo turil od spred' pa od zad"*)
	Zelje (cabbage) *paradižnik* (tomato) *krompir* (potato) *solate* (salads) *šparglji* (asparagus) *artičoke* (artichokes) *rukola*	-is interesting (*'šparglji', 'artičoke', 'rukola'*) -children eat (*'grizljajo'*) asparagus and artichokes (*'namakajo v odisavljena masla in omake articoke'*) (in Italy) -it is healthy
	Masla in omake (butters and	-Are health and scented (*'So odišavljeni in zdravi'*)

	sauces)	
	Zadeve (things)	-can be prepared (*'scmariti'*)
	Stvari (things)	-available now as opposed to the past
	Proizvodi (produce)	-They are 'homemade' (*'domači'*) and made as they should be, as they used to be in the past

Table 20: Objects in text 1

The text describes and presupposes a society which is in the process of change from mass consumption to a rather niche market provision of food, hopefully largely based on organic and local produce. Rather than discussing vegetables in terms of their nutrients as was the case in Ilc's text, Oliver talks of problems related to the possibility of buying a variety of vegetables in contemporary supermarkets. His narrative is based on personal, subjective stories, while Ilc uses scientific facts. Here, the representation of vegetables in terms of them being 'interesting' already suggests a more evaluative predication that cannot be found in 'standard' cookbooks. This can be further illustrated with text 4 which is a recipe for a dessert. Here, desserts are nominalised in three different ways, either as *'pita'* (pie), more generally as *'sladica'* (dessert) or as *'tortica'* (little cakes). The first two nouns are stylistically rather neutral whereas *'tortica'* is a diminutive, constructing desserts as small and cute. While *'pita'* and *'tortica'* are seen in terms of their taste, *'sladica'* is used to single out this particular dessert from others that are less simple to prepare. Predication for these in Table 19 below shows that they are described as *'prekleto dobre'*, *'krasna'* and desirable to be eaten with all our heart. This metaphor implies sincerity because when a wish arrives from our heart (rather than our brain/head) this usually suggests that it is related to our emotions. Emotions and the strength of the desire make every wish 'from the heart' an unavoidable one, something for which one would give anything.

CONCRETE		
food		
	Pita (pie)	-of blackberries (*'iz robidnic'*)
		-thousands of (*'na tisoče takih'*)
		-possessed by the narrator (*'moje'*)
		-are damn good (*'so prekleto dobre'*)
		-is awesome (*'krasna'*) with afternoon tea
	Sladica '(dessert)	-this one is easy to make
	Tortice '(cakes)	-we wish to eat them with all our heart (*'iz srca si jih zaželimo'*)

Table 21: Objects in text 2

Furthermore, in text 2, desserts are salient objects. They are nominalized either as *'sladice'*, *'sladko'*, *'kos torte'*, or *'taka roba'* [sweets, the sweet, such stuff]. They are represented on the one hand in terms of taste and on the other in terms of preparation. Desserts trigger the desire to eat them, and even if one tries to avoid them, this remains a continuous task, thus our resenting them is not successful (*'se jim skušamo upirati'*, i.e. we <u>try</u> to avoid them). They do not always make one fat and they are not unhealthy, they are also eaten in a small amount of time (this suggests the lack of control while eating, so the cake is eaten by simply throwing it into oneself, rather than chewing it).

CONCRETE		
desserts	*sladice* (sweets things)	-they need to be resented (*'vedno se jim skušamo upirati'*)
		-you can have a craving (lust) for sweets
		-it is possible to feel bad (*'imeti slabo vest'*)

	sladko	-do not always make you fat
	(the sweet)	-are not always unhealthy
	taka roba	-'a cake can be thrown into one' (*'vreči vase kos torte'*)
	(this kind of	-are good and simple
	stuff)	-not demanding in terms of quantity, nor technically demanding (*'nič*
	kos torte	*kaj tehnično ali količinsko preveč natančnega'*)
	(piece of	-is what one wishes to make at home
	cake)	
	tigrica	-representation of speech; it is little as well as 'playful/naughty but
	(tigress)	gentle' (*'poredna, a nežna'*)

Table 22: Objects in text 2

Text 3 contains predications that are, however, interesting in that they resemble those found in previous texts by Oliver as he sells dishes, i.e. by making them look mouth-watering. The recipe (*'recept'*) and the dish (*'jed'/'zadeva'*) are both attributed positive characteristics, as they are exciting and will explode in mouth. The conceptual metaphor FOOD IS EXPLOSIVE underlines the intensity of taste and its instant release (i.e. dish explodes in the mouth) (see also Musolff and Zinken 2009; Goatly 1997).

Food is thus represented as desirable and tasty. It is also seen as difficult to resent it. Apart from this, the texts contain a number of objects that are not related to food.

Other

These texts contain a number of concrete objects which are not related to either food or cooking. In text 1, for example, the discourse about food supply is clear as the narrator discusses the supermarket culture in the UK. A large group of objects is thus

those related to the production and distribution of vegetables, mainly shops which are nominated as '*supermarketi*' and '*hipermarketi*' referring to a larger shop with alimentary goods as well as '*trgovina*' (a shop) referring to any kind of unit that trades any kind of goods ('*trgovati*' to trade). Here, '*trgovina*' is used in relation to a specialised shop whereas the other nominators describe bigger, contemporary centres of consumption.

CONCRETE		
related to the economy	*Trgovina* (shop)	-can be specialized ('*specializirane*') -today, other shops also contain foodstuffs previously available only here -narrator strolls ('*šetam*') around it
	Supemarketi, hipermarketi (supermarkets)	-many things are about to change, according to the narrator -according to some gossip, they will contain 90% organic vegetables by 2005 ('*zelenjave, pridelane biološko*')
	Vozički (trolleys)	-are full of interesting vegetables/of fast food ('*kokakola, čips, špageti v konzervi*') -is moved by pushing ('*guranje*')
	knjiga (a book)	-in the narrator's possession -is first
related to eating	*večerja* (dinner)	-proper things need to be eaten for dinner

Table 23: Other objects in text 1

In text 2, there are concrete toponyms like '*štenge*' and '*lift*' (stairs, lift) which are related to Oliver's advice on how to use the calories that one gains from eating cake. In 'standard' cookbooks, however, toponyms would rather be related to the places where one stores food, etc. Second, abstract nominations such as '*vest*'

(consciousness) rarely appear in 'standard' cookbooks as they are not concerned at all with one's feelings and emotions when eating.

CONCRETE		
toponyms	*štenge* (stairs)	-you are advised to use the stairs after having eaten a piece of cake
	lift	-it is a given that you usually use the lift
	restavracija (restaurant)	-do not make the same desserts as at home ('*v restavracijah je pa druga pesem*')
	Dom(a) ((at)home)	-certain kinds of desserts are very desirable to make at home
ABSTACT	*vest* (conscience)	-feels bad when one eats desserts
	Zbir (collection)	-Is small, but contains good and simple sweets
temporal	*deset let* (ten years)	-time in the future when narrator may look fat as a consequence of eating too many sweets

Table 24: Objects, phenomena, events

Text 4 provides examples of nominations that contain the names of buildings and places, such as the Royal Opera House, which relates to a particular building in London. This makes the cookbook less universal; rather it becomes specific in terms of its relation to the celebrity chef and his own environment. This is not any opera (other nominations (*e.g. 'lože'*, '*sedeži*') used are common to any opera house), but it is specified as the particular place that the narrator actually might have visited. Similarly, the restaurant's predication reveals that this is the restaurant in Neal Street in London where Oliver previously worked. A number of other nominations are common for the cookbook discourse.

buildings/places	v restavraciji (in the restaurant)	-Neal Street v Londonu
	Royal Opera House (kraljeva operna hisa, op.prev.)	-offered pies to their visitors
	Lože (boxes)	-possessed by visitors ('v svojih') -located above the stage
	sedeži (seats)	-located below -much cheaper
other objects and tools	Zmrzovalnik (freezer) Hladilnik (fridge)	-a place to keep pastry -a place for the pie to wait
	Ponev (pan) Posodice (kitchen utensils)	-is small
	Pekač (tray) Skleda (bowl) Model (tin)	-is big -for cakes
	Čopič (brush) lopatica (small spade) nož (knife)	-clean, for baking
	Pečica'(oven)	
Measurements and part of whole	žlice (spoons) strok (pod) Stopinj' (degree) pest (handful)	
ABSTRACT	Poslastica (dainty) oblika piknik' (a form of picnic)	-true ('prava') -most refined in London

	Labodje jezero (Swan Lake)	
Parts of a meal, temporal	*čaj* (tea) *dan* (day)	-afernoon ('*Popoldanski*') - one ('*neki*'); free ('*prosti*')
Measurements	*Minute* (minutes) *premer v cm* (radius in cm) *Gram* *deciliter* *polovica* (half)	
Spatial orientation	*Rob* '(edge) *Dolžina* (length) *Notranjost* (the inside)	
other	*Navodila* (instructions)	

Table 25: Other objects in text 4

In this section, I illustrate that the nomination and predication strategies in 'celebrity' cookbooks differ from the 'standard' cookbooks analysed in Chapter 7.

I have shown that one of the most salient characteristics of 'standard' cookbooks is a generic nomination of the majority of actors, if these appear in them at all. 'Celebrity' cookbooks, on the other hand, contain a number of social actors that are nominated, on many occasions using proper names. This synthetic personalisation (Fairclough 2001 [1989]) creates a quasi-friendly/intimate relationship between the reader and the narrator, because the narrator's friends are constructed as the reader's friends. The story also makes their identification possible. In cases where the actors are not named,

they are normally people from Oliver's life (i.e. people he has met while in the supermarket, in any case 'ordinary' people, etc.). The actors are also often nominated using non-standard or stylistically marked language, such as for example *'pamž'* for a child. Furthermore, unlike in 'standard' cookbooks, where the reader is never explicitly mentioned, 'celebrity' cookbooks construct the reader and his or her preferences, actions and tastes, usually *via* a deictic 'you'.

8.3 PERSPECTIVATION STRATEGIES

The analysis of the perspective from which the content is narrated can clarify the distance or closeness of the narrator towards the narrated content as well as towards the other characters in the story. It shows from which perspective the story is presented. This strategy constructs different perspectives and distance from which readers are invited to view the topic and evaluate it. Here, perspectivation is used to understand the perspectives from which the narrator narrates. This way, he is constructing the narrative in a specific way and inviting the reader to identify with a particular point of view (such as a cook, shopper, and activist). In this section, I discuss the discourse structures of text 1 and text 2. The discourse structure shows how the first person narrator of this short text often collapses into separate characters from whose position he speaks. It is rather difficult to separate these roles at times, especially as the narration is presented as autobiographical, and thus factual (Short 1996: 257). I then analyse each point of view taking into account the various stylistic features that construct it.

8.3.1 Perspectivation in text 1

Below is the discourse structure of text 1, following Short (1996):

Addresser 1	Message	Addressee 1
(actual writer of the text)		(actual reader of the book)

A-er2a	Message	A-ee2a
(I-narrator)		('you' – reader of the book
Oliver		who is either interested in
('we')		cooking or would like to learn,
		but is not too rich)

CHARACTER A:	Message	'you'
'I' as *book writer*		
CHARACTER B:	Message	'you'/CHARACTER D
'I' as *shopper/chef/activist*		
CHARACTER D: 'young couple'	Message	CHARACTER B

*Figure 9: Discourse structure for the introduction to vegetables*

The text is mainly narrated from the perspective of the narrator/shopper/chef/activist, a different point of view is employed only when the imaginary meeting between the narrator/chef and the couple (character D) takes place in the supermarket following the chef's disapproval of their overheard plans for dinner. This is represented in the

form of a dialogue between the two social actors (8.1). The narrator here becomes the addressee.

(8.1)

Ponavadi imajo kar užitne ideje, ampak dostikrat usekajo tako zelo mimo, da me prime, da bi šel do njih in rekel: "Oprostite, jaz sem doktor Do nazga, lahko kaj pomagam?" Ampak vem, da jih bom samo slišal: "Kva! Kdo da si! Spel'se, trotel! (The Return of the Naked Chef, p.20)

TRANSLATION: Usually they have quite edible ideas, but many times they go so far away that I feel like I should go to them and say: 'Excuse me, I am doctor Until Naked, can I help?' But I know that I will only be told off: 'What! Who you say you are! Fuck off, idiot!

The perspective of the couple is expressed through the spatial deictic verb *'spel'se'* ('draw off') in direct speech, which suggests a movement in the direction away from the addresser, in this case character D. In the following, I focus on the perspective of the narrator/chef/shopper/activist, and I will distinguish between them at several points of the narration. As the narration takes the form of a first-person narration, it is difficult to separate the perspective of the narrator from various characters that he represents himself in, as much as it is difficult to separate different characters (Short 1996: 260-2, who suggests that in autobiography such a collapse of all three levels is a norm). This is why the separated perspectives should be understood merely as vague categories which greatly overlap.

a) Narrator/chef

The perspective of the chef has been assigned in all cases where concern about food preparation (rather than its production or acquisition) has been expressed. Below I show how various linguistic features co-construct this perspective.

Through the deictic *'to'* (this), the chef expresses closeness to the discussions about food that he can overhear in the supermarket (8.2). However, a certain distance remains, as the direction of movement in (8.3) suggests going from 'here' to 'there'. The conditional of the verb *'iti'* (to go) and the proposition *'do'* (to) mean there is still space between them.

(8.2)

Meni je to tako zanimivo.

TRANSLATION: To me, this is so interesting.

(8.3)

Me prime, da bi šel do njih...

TRANSLATION: I feel like I should go to them...

The imaginary dialogue discussed in (8.1) includes social deictics (T-V)[131] because the narrator/chef uses respectful polite forms towards the couple. The representation of a couple, however, is in terms of informal and rather rude answers, using second person singular forms of verbs (*'si'*, *'spel'se'*). This dialogue also represents the sort of people that may be imagined by the narrator to be his readers/followers. They seem

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[131] In Slovene, as in many other Indo-European languages, the formality of social relations can be linguistically marked via plural/singular 2nd person (T/V).

to be ignorant of the presentation of the narrator as a doctor ('*doktor Do nazga*'; doctor Naked Chef), rather, they call him '*trotel*'. This nomination is a loan from the German *Trottel* (idiot, fool) and is used in central parts of Slovenia with the same meaning. The speaker's linguistic identity is also suggested by choosing a typical Ljubljana form of the question 'what' ('*kva*' in place of the standard '*kaj*').[132]

Perspective is expressed via other linguistic categories as well, such as the narrator's representation of voice as in (8.4) and (8.5). The latter is followed by direct speech, representing direct words as imagined by the narrator/chef, while (8.4) represents their speech activity ('*debatirajo*' debate, '*se kregajo*' argue), followed by indirect speech as seen by Oliver. The indirect speech also includes the noun '*scmariti*', which roughly translates as to cook quickly and not very precisely, hence representing the couples as quite experimental and eager to try and cook themselves.

(8.4)

Večinoma vidiš mlade pare s polnimi vožički bolj ali manj zanimive zelenjave /../ ki debatirajo in se včasih tudi kregajo o tem, kaj bi najbolj pasalo... in kako bi bilo treba zadeve scmariti.

TRANSLATION: Mostly you see young couples with full trolleys of more or less interesting vegetables /... who debate and sometimes also fight about what would best go together ... and how things should be prepared.

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[132] The similarity of the question-form and the representation of the sound made by a frog in Slovene ('*kva-kva*') gives Ljubljana dialect speakers a unique nickname – '*žabarji*' (froggers).

(8.5)

Ponavadi imajo kar užitne ideje, ampak dostikrat pa <u>usekajo</u> tako zelo

mimo, da me prime, da bi šel do njih in rekel: <u>"Oprostite, jaz sem doktor Do</u>

<u>Nazga, lahko kako pomagam?</u>"

TRANSLATION: Usually they have quite edible ideas, but many times

they go so far away that I feel like I should go to them and say: 'Excuse me, I am

doctor To the Naked, can I help?'

b) *Narrator/Shopper*

The second perspective is that of the narrator/shopper. While it could be argued that

the perspective of this character collapses into other characters, the example

doubtlessly suggests the perspective of someone who shops. The choice available in

modern supermarkets today is described as '*pravi balzam*' (true balsam), which could

be seen as the perspective of someone who does not have a supply service available as

is customary in professional kitchens, but needs to do their shopping on their own,

thus the availability of ingredients in close proximity is important.

c) *Narrator/Activist*

As a result of translation, the narrator/activist (or perhaps the narrator himself) is seen

to be placed outside of England because the deictic 'here', used in the original, has

been replaced by the spatial nominator '*v Angliji*' (in England) by the translator. The

reporting clause reporting the indirect speech in (8.6) shows this:

(8.6)

V Angliji se celo <u>govori</u>, da bo do leta 2005 v nekaterih supermarketih kar

90% zelenjave pridelane biološko.

TRANSLATION: In England they even talk that until 2005 in some supermarkets as much as 90% of vegetables will be grown organically.

Temporal references frame the narration in terms of time, so that '*do leta 2005*' (until the year 2005) suggests the activist talking from the perspective of before this year.

The perspectives from which the narrator speaks in this text are those of a shopper, activist and a chef. These are the perspectives which the reader is invited to identify with. Perspectivation is used in a similar way in text 2 (next section), where the point of view of a chef again becomes visible. Despite texts 3 and 4 hinting at various interesting points of view, such as that of a child or a person eating, these will not be discussed here as they are only realised in one or two linguistic occurrences (see examples (8.7) for the perspective of a child and (8.8) for the perspective of someone who eats). In both cases it is only the spatial deictics '*to*' (this) that points to the food which is represented as close to the speaker-child and speaker-eater. This implies that Oliver here mainly seeks to build a relationship with adult shoppers rather than children or those who eat.

(8.7)

...se mi je zdelo <u>to</u> tako neskončno dolgočasno...

TRANSLATION: ....I thought it was so boring...

(8.8)

<u>To</u> je ena tistih zadev, ki kar eksplodirajo v ustih...

TRANSLATION: This is one of those things that explode in mouth.

8.3.2 Perspectivation in text 2

As in the texts already discussed, this text contains the first person narrative. There are the same three level structures (layers) which, as we have seen in Text 1, often collapse into one as the narrator (Oliver) assumes the role of the character (chef). There are two characters whose point of view the narrator assumes in the text: the first is an unknown imaginary third person appearing via a direct speech representation *in medias res* right at the beginning of the text. This is a representative of the general public – one of 'us' – who is trying to avoid eating desserts. His or her speech is directed towards another imaginary third person with whom the first speaker is presumably engaged in a conversation. Hence, here it is only possible to see an answer to a question which could presumably be an offer to have a dessert. The situation is formal as the answer contains the plural 2nd person form of the verb 'have'.

The second character is first person narrator/chef constructed as Oliver, who then comments on the speech of the third person character. Here, the first person narrator assumes the role which includes the unknown third person narrator, the narrator and himself ('we').

Perspectivation 1: narrator as an imaginary third person, a representative of 'us'

The character of a third person represented through speech is a result of narrator/chef's imagination and is intended to represent the voice of an ordinary person who is one of 'us' (this includes the narrator/chef). This character speaks his/her point of view via free direct speech. Support for this is found in a number of linguistic features that suggests the point of view of a dinner guest.

<u>a) Speech and thought representation:</u>

The closeness of the reader to the character is assured by starting the text *in medias res* with a hypothetical representation of speech and thought (Semino and Short 2004). Starting a conversation *as if* the information about the speaker and the context had already been a given is also one of the ways of reducing distance between the reader and the narrator by placing the reader in the middle of the action. This hypothetical representation of speech/thought is part of a dialogue where only one part is known/represented and it is presumably from a dialogue between a host who offers a dessert and a guest who takes it. It is possible to conclude that this is imaginary/fictional speech because the narrator then follows with a reporting clause '*Vedno se skušamo upirati*' suggesting that this could have been potentially uttered by one 'us' who does not want to eat desserts.

The text is built of two parts. It seems clear that the first two clauses represent imaginary thought referring to the dessert ('*Ti mala tigrica. Poredna, a nežna.*'), which is followed by free direct speech. The metaphor which depicts the dessert as a tiger is explained in the clause via predication, as the tiger and the dessert both seem to have qualities such as '*poredna*' (naughty) and '*nežna*' (gentle).

Ti mala tigrica. Poredna, a nežna.	*Ne, ne, ne, sladice pa ne bi... ooo, kaj, a to imate, no pol pa mogoče bi...*
TRANSLATION: You little tigress. Noughty, but gentle.	No, no, no, I don't want a dessert.... aaahhh, what, taht's what you have, well, then I might have some...
Free direct thought	Free direct speech

b) <u>Deictics:</u>

The personal deictic '*ti*', meaning 'you (sing.)', is used here in the manner of telling off someone, but in a very playful way. This is supported by the continuation, when it is said that the tiger is naughty. Apart from conventions around the use of '*ti*' in such cases, the strength of the act is mitigated with the diminutive of tiger along with a specific form of the adjective 'little', which is '*mala*'. This suggests that the speaker, from whose position this has been portrayed, presumably sees the sweet and thinks about its desirability while trying to avoid it. Naughtiness perhaps suggests that the dessert is indeed so tempting that the speaker finds it difficult to control his or her desires. So the relationship between the dessert and the speaker is that of seduction, where one party (the dessert) seduces and the other party – while enjoying the seduction – tries to refuse it. This is clearly suggesting the image of an erotic relationship between the dessert and the speaker. The reader is positioned in a similar way – as a person who has been seduced by the dessert.

The spatial deictic '*to*' ('this') suggests that the speaker sees the dessert and points towards it, saying '*a to imate*' ('is this what you have').

c) <u>discourse markers and particles</u>

'*pa*': The semantics of the particle '*pa*' are extremely complex in Slovene (Virant 2007; Žagar 1995).[133] In the first co-text, '*pa*' means that food other than dessert has previously been offered to the speaker and accepted and that the dessert, which is now offered, in contrast, cannot be accepted. This is a polite refusal of an offer because it reminds the host that this is the only thing that the speaker refuses, that before, all the

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[133] Žagar (1995) analyses '*pa*' as a connective, not as a particle, Virant (2007), on the other hand, looks at its other uses as well.

other food had been accepted. The second '*pa*' can be here read as 'contrary to what I said before' because the speaker has been convinced to accept the dessert as well.

'*ooo*': This marker expresses the amazement/surprise of the speaker, as he/she can see a dessert he/she likes and cannot resist.

'*no*': The particle 'well' shows a change in attitude as a result of seeing something pleasurable in front of one.

Other features of conversationalisation

The language of this passage is not standard Slovene; rather, it represents everyday conversational Slovene, including some elements of dialect. Following Fairclough, conversationalisation is a part of a process referred to as democratisation, which can be understood here as "the removal of inequalities and asymmetries in the discursive and linguistic rights", "tendency towards informality of language" and the change in relations between language and social dialects (Fairclough 1992: 201). Conversationalisation is one of the most salient differences between 'celebrity' and 'standard' cookbooks.

Ellipsis (and parallelism)

Ellipsis[134] is a characteristic of a spoken language and it is here used several times; twice a verb is missing and the punctuation (...) has been used as if to indicate such a spot intentionally (ellipsis-punctuation, in my opinion, in fact indicates a turn in which

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[134] Ellipsis is a stylistic feature that refers to the intentional omission of a word or part of sentence.

the host speaks/acts). The same verb 'to eat'/'to get' is missing in both cases, because the syntactic structure is in fact parallel:

Sladice	pa	ne	bi	[jedla]
[sladico; jo]	pa	mogoče	bi	[jedla]

In the situation presented in the text, both participants of the conversation are able to see the object of debate in front of them, and the reference to 'sladica' is omitted. In the parallelism above, the second part (in the second row) contains no noun/pronoun referring to dessert as it does in the first part (in the first row). The same ellipsis happens in 'a to imate' where the (pro)noun is not needed (following 'to') because the deictic 'to' defines the object in the time of speaking.

Other

Other features include use of 'kaj' ('what') not as a question, but rather as a discourse marker (expressing surprise), the shortening of the question 'ali' to the conversational 'a', the shortening of 'potem' (then) to the more conversational 'pol' and a repetition of negation ('ne, ne, ne'), suggesting a strong objection to an unknown question. Uncertainty (but also politeness) is expressed using the conditional 'bi' and the modal particle 'mogoče' (maybe).

Perspectivation 2: the narrator as a chef

The perspective of the narrator/chef is also expressed using various linguistic features.

a) *speech and thought representation*

Contrary to the perspective above, speech and thought are always represented indirectly and they refer to the reader, 'you'.

Below are two examples of indirect speech – the narrator's representation of the imaginary thoughts of the reader. Both are about construction of the desires/wishes of the reader in terms of the preparation and consumption of food.

(8.9)

če se vam lušta sladko, kar dajte

TRANSLATION: If you fancy sweet, just do it...

(8.10)

...pač taka roba, ki si jo po mojem ves folk želi delati doma...

TRANSLATION: ...a kind of stuff that in my opinion all folks wants to do at home.

Example (8.11) could be the *narrator's* representation of speech or thoughts, that is, again constructing the reader in terms of his or her desires as he/she does not succeed in resisting such desire (the aspect of 'to resist' is continuous).

(8.1)

We always try to resent the sweets....

TRANSLATION: vedno <u>se skušamo upirati</u> sladicam...

In some cases, the narrator is explicit about the fact that it is him giving advice to the readers. In cases such as (8.12) the reporting clause (*'to vam povem'*; this is what I tell you) is not necessary, yet it is used at the end to stress that this is the narrator's point of view rather than that of the (abstract) addresser.

> (8.12)
>
> *Če pa imate slabo vest, potem ko ste vrgli vase kos torte, <u>potem raje po štengah kot z liftom</u>, to vam <u>povem</u>.*
>
> TRANSLATION: If you however feel bad, after you have thrown into yourself a piece of cake, then take the staircase rather than the lift, this is what I tell you.

The third person is represented via the narrator's representation of voice as in (5). The use of *'citirati'* (to quote) suggests that 'they' will repeat every word exactly as it was said, thus representing those who will reproach him in ten years for eating too much dessert as pedantic/quibbling. The point of view, however, is from the present into the future, using the temporal deictic *'čez deset let'* (in ten years). In this way, the future 'they' is represented as someone who will still be interested in Oliver (and his weight), hence retaining his imaginary importance in the future.

> (8.13)
>
> *Ziher <u>bodo</u> tole <u>citirali</u> čez deset let...*
>
> TRANSLATION: They will surely quote this in ten years...

b) Deictics

Spatial deictics construct closeness between the narrator, the narrative and the object of discourse. By using *this* as opposed to *that* (*'bodo tole citirali'*; *'to vam povem'*) and *here* instead of *there* (*'tule je mali zbir'*) the stress is on the proximity of the narrator to the text, stressing the fact that it is in fact his perspective that has been used. Moreover, as the reader is reading the text, this is also construction of proximity. The second group of spatial deictics relates to the reader as *'doma'* ('at home') and *'ste vrgli vase'* ('you have thrown into yourself') refer to the respective homes and bodies of the readers from the perspective of the narrator as well as constructing the reader.

c) Discourse markers/particles

In this section, I analyse the particle *'pač'* used in (6) below, which strengthens the conversational style of the narrative.

> (8.14)
>
> *Nič kaj tehnično ali količinsko preveč natančnega, pač taka roba, ki si jo po mojem ves folk želi delati doma,...*
>
> TRANSLATION: Nothing very technically or quantity too precise, a kind of stuff kind of stuff that in my opinion all folks wants to do at home.

The meaning of this particle is difficult to define because, like the particle *'pa'*, it can have very diverse semantics. Here, it means something like 'well' stressing the obviousness of the matter under discussion, and "well, something-like-you-know-what-I'm-talking-about", also gives a feeling of not being very precise but still relaxed.

d) *Ellipsis*

Many ellipses occur in this text and three examples are given below. In (8.15), for example, the verb *'pojdite'* (go, pl.) is omitted, while in (8.16) the conversational *'po mojem'* (in my) is used, omitting the noun *'mnenje'* (opinion). In the last example (8.17), the translator uses the equally conversational *'če se vam lušta sladko'* (if you have a lust for something sweet) where *'jesti* (to eat) is missing.

(8.15)

če pa imate slabo vest, potem ko ste vrgli vase kos torte, potem [pojdite] raje po štengah kot z liftom...

TRANSLATION: If you however feel bad, after you have thrown into yourself a piece of cake, then take the staircase rather than the lift.

(8.16)

...ki si jo po mojem [mnenju] ves folk želi delati doma...

TRANSLATION: ...a kind of stuff that in my opinion all folks wants to do at home.

(8.17)

Vedno se skušamo upirati sladicam, ampak povem vam, če se vam lušta [jesti] sladko, kar dajte.

TRANSLATION: We always try to resent the sweets, but if you have lust for it/if you fancy sweet, just do it.

e) *Foregrounding*

The effect of foregrounding is the conversationalisation (Fairclough 2001 [1989]) of the culinary discourse of cookery books. Such language deviates from the common

instructional language conventionally found in cookery books. This has been achieved in various ways, both by deviating from standard Slovene and by including elements of prose and poetic language, such as parallelisms.

Through foregrounding, the perspective of the narrator is strengthened because distinct elements of his speech are incorporated into the text. In the English original, this is indeed the slang used by Oliver, which is known to the viewers of his shows, whereas in the translation this must be invented.

In the Slovene translation, the narrator uses the language of youth, enriched by many expressions originating from the German language that can be found in various Slovene dialects and in many non-standard speech situations, but also those recently originating from English, which are common among young language users. Apart from lexical deviation, there are other features of such language, such as syntactic deviation (for more on this, see also Chapter 5 on Translation).

The lexemes '*birbauh*' ('beer stomach' instead of the standard '*pivski trebuh*'), '*štenge*' ('stairs' instead of the standard '*stopnice*'), '*folk*' ('people' instead of the standard '*ljudje*'), '*ziher*' ('surely' instead of the standard '*zagotovo*') and '*luštati se*' ('have lust for something' instead of the standard '*zaželeti si*') all have German origins.

The lexeme '*lift*' (standard '*dvigalo*') is a more recent loan-word from English.

'*Salo okrog pasu*' (fat around waist'): '*salo*' is usually used when describing fat related to animals, thus 'pork fat' rather than human fat ('*maščoba*'). Such use has a specific effect.

The parallelism in (8.18) appears because of the denial of the fattiness and unhealthiness of desserts, which is further reinforced with the adverb '*vedno*' (always), also used in both clauses.

(8.18)

Sladice ne nujno vedno redijo in niso vedno nezdrave.

TRANSLATION: Sweets/desserts don't necessarily make you fat and they are not always unhealthy.

f) Sentence structure

The structure of the sentences is reminiscent of the conversational language. Example (8.19) contains four clauses which are arranged in a way that gives the impression of a vivid, relaxed narrative. In (8.20) a similar effect appears. '*Povem vam*' (I tell you) is another signal of conversational style that can be seen in both, as is the repetition of '*potem*' (then) in (12).

(8.19)

Vedno se skušamo upirati sladicam, ampak povem vam, če se vam lušta sladko, kar dajte.

TRANSLATION: We always try to resent the sweets, but if you have lust for it/if you fancy sweet, just do it.

(8.20) *Če pa imate slabo vest, <u>potem ko</u> ste vrgli vase kos torte, <u>potem</u> raje po štengah kot z liftom, to <u>vam povem</u>.*

TRANSLATION: If you however feel bad, after you have thrown into yourself a piece of cake, then take the staircase rather than the lift, this is what I tell you.

A similar effect is seen is example in (8.21), which employs many particles, such as '*pač*' and '*pa*' and omits connectives, making the discourse look as though it is not grammatically cohesive.

(8.21)

Tule je mali zbir dobrih in preprostih sladic – nič kaj tehnično ali količinsko preveč natančnega, pač taka roba, ki si jo po mojem ves folk želi delati doma, v restavracijah je pa druga pesem.

TRANSLATION: Here is a little collection of good and simple desserts - nothing very technically or quantity too precise, a kind of stuff that in my opinion all folks wants to do at home, in the restaurants, however is a different thing.

In conclusion, this section has shown that perspectivation in Oliver's translated texts is very varied, as the writer tries to show various points of view. This has been shown via an analysis of various features, as suggested in Wodak and Reisigl (2001) and Short (1996). Conversational features are used to construct the perspective of a young chef who is close to the reader, whereas 'standard' cookbooks maintain their impersonal narrator using standard language and a third person point of view.

8.4 MITIGATION AND INTENSIFICATION

Cookery books increasingly aim to represent food as attractive and desirable. This section is dedicated to the analysis of the Introduction to desserts (text 2), where desserts are represented as particularly desirable. Desserts, because of their high calorific value have been seen as unhealthy; however, the narrator manages to linguistically diminish the size of the desserts; he then represents them as practically irresistible. This is done via strategies of intensification of desirability and mitigation of the size of desserts.

Firstly, desserts and sweet food are represented as small and cute by using expressive diminutive 'mali' rather than the more neutral 'majhen'. The choice of this lexeme expresses fragility and cuteness, which is strengthened by the naughtiness ('poredna') and gentleness ('nežna') that follow. It is also interesting, that the translator chooses to translate the masculine 'tiger' as feminine tigress 'tigrica', probably because of the agreement in gender (in Slovene, dessert ('sladica') is also feminine). However, while this may seem an acceptable decision due to the fact that the image of a tiger would probably give a completely opposite message (a tiger being a large and aggressive animal), the translation cognitively strengthens the perception of smallness in the desserts via the metaphor 'dessert=little tiger' as a result of the feminine ending –ica (e.g. 'sladica') being at the same time also a feminine diminutive suffix (e.g. 'Ana' -> 'Anica', little Ana; 'hiša' -> 'hišica', little house). Furthermore, the collection of recipes is also small ('mali').

If the dessert is not described in terms of its smallness and cuteness, then it is no longer possible to influence its size (and, via this, control one's intake of calories) and

one should rather make use of physical exercise (i.e. do sport in order not to gain weight). A piece of cake is not mitigated in the described way, but it is set in the past: ...'*potem ko <u>ste vrgli</u> vase <u>kos torte</u>*' ('after you had thrown into yourself a piece of cake'). Moreover, certain irrationality is suggested within the act of 'throwing the cake into oneself', because this is an instant, momentous act, which does not involve much thinking or any rational decision.

The problem of being overweight is exclusively assigned to eating sweet things; i.e. an activity which indicates hyperbole, but this is mitigated with a comical description of Oliver as an overweight person: '*debel birbauh, salo okrog pasu*' [fat tummy, fat around the waist].

Desserts are small, but they are also desirable and hard to resist. Thus, while one tries to resist them ('*se <u>skušamo</u> upirati*'), the verb suggests that the action is not completed as the verb is in the continuous aspect ('*upirati se*' vs. '*upreti se*'), therefore the action of resistance has not yet been successful. The difficulty of resisting is also shown via indirectness of refusal and acceptance. A conditional rather than an affirmative is used in this case, which in Slovene can also act as a politeness strategy: '*Sladice ne <u>bi</u>...No pol pa mogoce <u>bi</u>*'. '*Mogoče*' ('maybe') intensifies the fact that the person is not entirely sure whether he/she should in fact have a dessert or not.

Despite the construction of this clear division between oneself for and against the dessert, the narrator explains that the kinds of desserts he suggests are wanted by everybody at home ('*ves folk*'), which is clearly hyperbole. He is aware of this, and so he mitigates his own hyperbole by stating that this is just his own opinion: '*...<u>po</u>*

mojem ves folk želi delati doma.' He encourages anybody who is still sceptical about their ability to prepare his dishes – again using litotes – that nothing too precise will be suggested neither in terms of measuring nor technique (*'nič kaj preveč natančnega'*), thus everything will be approximate.

The analysis of this text shows that the desire for desserts is intensified via the intensification of predication and via relationship between the social actors and desserts.

Further to the analysis of text 2 above, similar characteristics can be found in another recipe for *pita* (Pie*)* (text 3). The desirability of the dessert is expressed in examples (8.22) to (8.27) with predication. In examples (8.22) to (8.24) the pie is described as 'damn good'; 'real delicacy/treat' and 'awesome' whereas in the latter three examples (8.25–8.27) this is expressed using verbs of desire and verbs that express the enjoyment of food, such as *'privoščiti si'* (to afford to oneself), *'zaželeti si iz srca'* (to wish from one's heart) and *'basati se'* (to stuff oneself).

(8.22)

Prekleto dobre so te pite.

TRANSLATION: They are damn good these pies.

(8.23)

Pripravite se na pravo poslastico.

TRANSLATION: Get ready for a real treat.

(8.24)

Pita je krasna za k popoldanskem čaju.

TRANSLATION: The pie is wonderful to the afternoon tea.

(8.25)

So si jih privoščili v najbolj prefinjeni...

TRANSLATION: They had them in the most prestigious form...

(8.26)

Ali pa jo damo v hladilnik, dokler si tortice iz srca ne zaželimo.

TRANSLATION: Or we put it to the friedge, until we wish the cake from the bottom of our heart.

(8.27)

Stegoval vrat ter opazoval ljudi, ki so se basali z mojimi pitami...

TRANSLATION: I was stretching out my neck and observe the people who stuffed themselves with my pies

Mitigation in the form of litotes is used to reduce the feeling of envy that the narrator might have felt towards those eating these cakes, as in (8.28). Note the denial of envy, followed by 'I just knew', which is used in order to make envy look excusable.

(8.28)

Saj ne, da bi bil ljubosumen. Samo vedel sem...

TRANSLATION: Not that I was jealous. I just knew...

This pie, which is eaten by the well-off, is represented as good. The food eaten by the narrator in the stalls is, on the other hand, seen as miserable. This is not only because it is pre-packed ('*iz vrečke*', in a bag') but also because it requires an action of '*glodanje*' (gnawing). The verb implies, first, that the sweets in the bag are chewy and hard to eat, and therefore not very tasty, but, second, chewing them also requires patience; the actor knows that at the moment, the better desserts are not reachable for him, therefore he needs to patiently chew whatever he has.

Finally, this not being a cookery book for professionals, the recipes are also presented as simple. This is demonstrated in (8.29) to (8.31) below. In (8.29) '*res lahko*' (really simple) intensifies the simplicity of preparation, while (8.30) and (8.31) suggest a certain freedom from instruction as they allow for variation of the ingredients depending on availability and wishes. Thus, (8.30) is very vague in its specification of fruits ('*katerokoli*' any; '*celo*' even) whereas (8.31) takes into consideration your 'will' ('*po mili volji*' and '*dajte si duška*' - sayings, meaning roughly 'whatever you desire' and 'go on, give your soul' respectively).

(8.29)

To sladico je <u>res</u> <u>lahko</u> narediti, se posebej če imamo... par kosov krhkega ali tudi listnatega testa za pite.

TRANSLATION: This dessert can really be made easily, especially if we have ... a couple of pieces of puff pastry for pies.

(8.30)

<u>Katerokoli</u> mehko sadje... <u>celo</u> rahlo pokuhane kosmulje

TRANSLATION: Any soft fruit...even slightly cooked gooseberries.

(8.31)

Če si želite več sadja, si dajte duška, prav tako ga po mili volji lahko zmiksate.

TRANSLATION: If you wish more fruit, go ahead, similarly you can mix it as you please...

To be commercially interesting, a cookery book should have content that attracts buyers. Of course, even if the intent of the narrator is to trigger desire in those who do not know how to cook (thus, provoking them to start), the strategies for building desire are the same for those who do know how to cook and for those who do not.

Text 3 also contains some interesting intensification strategies. On one hand, the narrator intensifies boredom/disinterest when talking about food in the past and then intensifies interest in food in the present.

Hence, in (8.32) boredom is described hyperbolically as 'so indefinite' that it is even beyond one's ability to tell. In (8.33), the hyperbole used not only concerns food, but also people who were involved in the preparation of food, hence the use of 'nobody' when referring to this group of people. They have not prepared 'anything that would look interesting at least from far away' (another instance of hyperbole). The whole sentence suggests litotes with the meaning 'everybody prepared only uninteresting things' because of the negation of 'nobody – did not do nothing[135] – interesting'.

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[135] Unlike in standard English, double negation is commonly used in Slovene, so the sentence has the meaning 'did nothing/did not do anything'.

(8.32)

Se mi je zdelo <u>tako neskončno</u> dolgočasno, da vam niti povedati ne morem.

TRANSLATION: I found it so endlessly boring that I cannot even tell you.

(8.33)

Nikomur se ni ljubilo iz sadja pripraviti ničesar, kar bi <u>bilo vsaj od daleč</u>

<u>*videti zanimivo.*</u>

TRANSLATION: Nobody wanted to prepare anything with fruit that would look interesting even from far.

INTENSIFICATION OF INTEREST

On the other hand, interest in the new recipe is also intensified, together with the intensification of the taste that the food could stimulate.

In (8.34), this is expressed via the description of the emotional state that it causes, since the author would have been excited by it even as a child. In the section on perspectivation, I have shown that the child's perspective is also used in this text and that it has a role in suggesting that children, too, would find this dish interesting. The particle '*še*' ('even') however, suggests a continuation between then and now in the life of the narrator. The narrator finds it exciting now, but he projects this excitement to the past and imagines the mental state of the child he was. This can be summed up via a metaphor in which the excitement has grown linearly with the growth of the person, so that a small child is excited, but a big man is even more excited.

In the title (8.35), pineapple is described as '*epohalen*' ('epoch-making'), which suggests its uniqueness over a long stretch of time.

(8.34)

Recept, kot pa je tale tukaj, bi me navdušil še kot pamža.

TRANSLATION: Recipe like this would inspire me already when I was a

child.

(8.35)

Epohalni ananas s potolčenim metinim sladkorjem

TRANSLATION: Epohal (pukka in original) pineapple with crushed mint

sugar

INTENSIFICATION OF TASTE

The most prominent characteristic is the intensification of taste, which directly creates

desire for the food presented.

The tastiness of the dish is described using various types of hyperbole, such as in

(8.36) where this dish is impossible to ever (*'nikoli'*) forget once you try it. It also

suggests that because it is so good, nothing will be left, which is done via

presupposition in (8.38), where *'slučajno'* ('by chance') explicates the idea that there

are very unlikely to be any leftovers (which is intensified using a conditional *'bi'*).

Also, as (8.39) shows, the cook/host needs to be careful that the guests do not steal

any of the pineapple pieces while they are set aside for later. Again, this reminds the

reader of the attractiveness of sliced pineapple; the verb *'suniti'* ('to filch') is usually

used in the context of small thefts. The person who has such intentions is thus

represented in terms of a small thief, who steals pineapple while the host is not being

attentive, but it also means that the desire is too great to wait until official permission to eat is given.

In (8.37) not only hyperbole is used, but also the exclamation 'Something so phenomenal!'" This additionally stresses the desirability of the dish as it represents the emotional state of the narrator.

(8.36)

Ko enkrat poskusiš, ne pozabiš <u>nikoli</u>.

TRANSLATION: When you try once, you never forget.

(8.37)

Kaj tako <u>fenomenalnega</u>!

TRANSLATION: Something as phenomenal.

(8.38)

če bi vam <u>slučajno</u> se kaj ostalo...

TRANSLATION: If by any chance something is left...

(8.39)

...pazimo, da nihče <u>ne sune</u> kakega koščka ananasa.

TRANSLATION: We are careful so that no one steals any piece of

pineapple

In example (8.40), the smell of sugar and mint is described as 'gorgeous/divine'. In Slovene, the noun *'božanske'* is etymologically related to *'bog'* (Slovene for 'god')

(see also Lesniewski 2007 where the author proposes an interesting analysis of fragrances in advertising).

(8.40)

...in oddajal božanske vonjave.

TRANSLATION: And gave out divine flavours

Example (8.41) is a metaphor suggesting an explosion of food in the mouth.

(8.41)

To je ena tistih zadev, ki kar eksplodirajo v ustih in se je ne moreš in ne moreš najesti.

TRANSLATION: This is one of those things that just explode in your mouth and you cannot and cannot finish eating.

INTENSIFICATION OF BEHAVIOUR

Finally, there is also the intensification of the host's ('your') behaviour which is supposed to be ignorant towards the comments guests may make. (8.42) suggests that following the instructions in the recipe will make people think 'you have gone mad' while you will, on the other hand, completely ignore any comments and keep working. '*Utrgati se*' ('to pluck') (8.42) is a metaphor in which the mental state is compared to the breaking of something, damaging a unit.

(8.42)

si bodo mislili, da se vam je utrgalo.

TRANSLATION: They will think you'd gone mad.

In (8.43) the ignorance will be 'complete' and the mental state 'cold-blooded'.

(8.43)

jih boste ... v <u>celoti</u> ignorirali in <u>hladnokrvno</u> obirali...

TRANSLATION: You will... completely ignore and cold-bloodedly gather/pick..."

To conclude, this sections looks at strategies used for intensification and mitigation in the representation of food. I analyse intensification of interest and taste as well as behaviour and I show that these texts include some features common in advertising, such as commodification and branding. Furthermore, by intensification of taste, the writer suggests that this food must be eaten because it is so good that it cannot be avoided. The social actors also show a considerable amount of interest in the food, even to the point that they ignore other people.

The texts are interdiscursive as many features found here relate to advertising discourse (Cook 2001; Goddard 2002). Therefore, an instructional text such as a culinary manual is no longer just informing the reader about the processes required to cook a dish/eat it/manners at the table, but also employs various advertising strategies used in marketing to sell the food or the book. Following Fairclough (2003), Bax (2010: 52) refers to such commodification of the instructional genre as a hybrid genre; this is also one of the features of discourse change (Fairclough 1992).

8.5 CONCLUSION

In her diachronic study of cookbooks, Humble (2005) defines contemporary cookbooks as 'postmodern'. Humble discusses the increasingly unpredictable ways of organising material in such books, i.e. the way chapters are organised. Oliver's cookbooks show many features of 'postmodern cookbooks', from introducing chapters that have nothing to do with the traditional sequence of a meal or division according to groups of ingredients / parts of the dish. There are, however, other features that Humble does not mention, such as the increasing conversationalisation. Here, I have shown how non-standard language that cannot be found in 'standard' Slovene cookbooks is used in Oliver's translated texts to create the various perspectives from which the narrator speaks. This is what Fairclough (*cf.* 1992: 201) calls the 'democratisation' of discourse, namely the "removal of inequalities and asymmetries in the discursive and linguistic rights", such as relations between languages and social dialects as well as an inclination towards informal rather than formal language. For example, with the introduction of dialect and conversational style into the genre of cookbooks, the writer presents a seeming equality between those possessing linguistic capital and those who do not.[136] In reality, however, power relations (i.e. authority) between the chef and the reader remain the same, even though the chef is represented as a less authoritative, top-down expert figure. The inclusion of social actors which are not directly related to cooking (either in visual or linguistic texts) is also such a strategy. By giving space to social actors other than those necessary for the preparation of a dish (*e.g.* concrete people such as friends and

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[136] In Chapter 3, I briefly discuss the situation in Slovenia regarding language policy, which remains, to date, extremely prescriptive (i.e. it is desirable that any printed material should be proofread in order to follow standard Slovene conventions; it is not considered possible for any dialectal or conversational features to appear in such material unless it is a literary work.)

family), the author creates a vision of a democratic community in which everyone can and should participate. The majority of these genre-related 'global' features are also visible in the Slovene cookbooks post-Oliver that I analyse in the next chapter.

With regard to lifestyle, general features of 'postmodern cooking manuals' have been outlined in Chapter 2. The food is represented as desirable as the discourse includes some characteristics of adverts; food should be healthy, homemade and made with the best ingredients. Social actors, on the other hand, are constructed as common, everyday people. Specific social groups such as children or their parents are specifically instructed on how they should behave and what they should eat via examples given in the cookbooks.

The next chapter analyses the Slovene equivalent of Jamie Oliver, the family Novak. I will illustrate that in terms of its general characteristics, their discourse is very similar to that of Oliver, but that the difference comes from the localisation of the global discourse about food as represented by Oliver.

9 CASE STUDY 3: 'CELEBRITY' COOKBOOKS IN SLOVENIA

9.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter – Chapter 8 – highlighted some of the major characteristics of the discourse manifest in Oliver's translated cookbooks. In this chapter, I show how some of the general features found in Oliver's texts have been recontextualised in to Slovene cookbooks, most visibly in two 'celebrity' cookbooks: *Ljubezen skozi želodec. Sodobna družinska kuharija* (2009) and *Ljubezen gre skozi želodec 2: po zdravi pameti* (2010). There may be other cookbooks which could perhaps also be seen as "'celebrity' cookbooks', but the decision to select these two was based on two facts: firstly, these very successful[137] cookbooks are authored by the translator of Oliver's cookbooks, Luka Novak and his wife, and secondly, they are published by the same publishing house, VALE Novak, which translated and published Oliver's books. At the same time, Luka Novak himself has been until very recently one of the owners of this family business. This publishing house, especially compared with others in the Slovene publishing field, is a major 'point of entry' for contemporary cookbooks that promote a different, new lifestyle and a different model of a cookbook (see also Rugelj 2010). VALE Novak is therefore a 'cultural intermediary' (Bourdieu 1984) for certain *edutainment* cultural products.

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[137] Both books were the best-selling books in Slovenia in 2010 and 2011. The TV show on which these books are based also has a web-page: www.ljubezenskozizelodec.si where one can read: "We are proud to be able to share with you news about the excellent performance of the book »Ljubezen gre skozi želodec« in the prestigious cooking awards *Gourmand world cookbook awards* – third place in the category 'Best cookbook of Eastern European cuisine'!"

The lifestyle that appears in the Novaks' cookbooks is by no means a mere copy of that promoted by Oliver, but a mixture of the global edutainment and activist cooking with local elements added by the Novaks themselves as representatives of the Slovene new middle classes. It is thus a promotion of a certain new, localised lifestyle, which is based on a global model (see also Machin and Van Leeuwen 2003).

This striving for a mix of local and global can be most obviously seen in the fact that the authors include not only recipes from various parts of Slovenia (*e.g. gibanica*), but also dishes based on Central European cuisine (*Sacher torte, Esterházy torte*/slices), which is the cuisine of the 'traditional' urban middle class in Slovenia.[138] It is therefore not entirely incorrect to claim – as they state in the introduction of their first cookbook – that their cooking is an improvement ('*nadgradnja*') of 'our Vendelina'[139] and that the book "offers something homely ('*domače*'), but at the same time urban, new, fresh." (Novak and Novak-Smej 2009: 14). The 'urban, new, fresh' notion is found, among other things, in the inclusion of a number of recipes from Asian countries (Japan, China) that taste-wise seem quite far from the everyday Slovene taste.

Since these two cookbooks are authored by a couple, some of the recipes are provided by Luka Novak and some by his wife Valentina. It is possible to discern the identity of the author from linguistic features containing gender agreement (thus Valentina S.

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[138] This is a consequence of the century of common history as part of the Austrian Habsburg monarchy, where until the mid-20th century; the middle classes in Slovenia spoke German, Slovene or Italian.

[139] This is a reference to the tradition of Kalinšek cookbooks, of which the penultimate, Vendelina Ilc's cookbook, is analysed in Chapter 7.

Novak uses the feminine form of the past participle) but also from the topics (Luka Novak may, at points, conform to male identity through the text).

The authors are doubtlessly advocating a change in tastes. In the introduction to their first book they state:

> Every generation must eat whatever it – in the literal and metaphorical sense – cooks for itself. *Love through the stomach* is a challenge to those stuffed peppers prepared by your grandmother – are they really the best we have ever eaten? They may be really good, but in the end we must stuff our peppers by ourselves! And even improve them, with our own hand, our own heart and our own children (Novak and Novak-Smej 2009: 14).[140]

The previous two chapters have examined the features of 'standard' and 'celebrity' cookbooks. In this chapter, I take comparable texts, i.e. mainly from chapters on vegetables and desserts, with the aim of making the analysis fully comparable with the previous analyses. However, as there are almost no introductions to the chapters in this book, these will be replaced by short 'commentaries'/stories that can be found accompanying recipes throughout the book and which are printed in larger letters. They are narratives, similar to those in Oliver's introductions, but they are not placed in front of each chapter; rather, they can be found in the middle as short sections.

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[140] "Vsaka generacija mora pojesti tisto, kar si – v dobesednem ali prenesenem smislu – skuha sama. Ljubezen skozi želodec je izziv tistim filanim paprika od vaše babice – so res najboljše, kar smo kadarkoli jedli? Mogoče so res dobre, vendar si moramo končno svoje paprika nadevati sami! In jih se izboljšati, s svojo roko, svojim srcem in svojimi otroki."

The aim of this chapter is therefore to demonstrate the features of Slovene 'celebrity' cookbooks; the changes that can be observed in cookbooks, in particular if 'celebrity' cookbooks are compared to 'standard' ones, and to point towards salient social, cultural and economic changes that have emerged since Slovenia's independence in 1991. The increase in the amount of lifestyle media on national and private TV channels (including a large increase in the number of cooking shows on TV) and the particular type of cookbooks follows the example of Britain as it transformed into a society where celebrity advice and instruction is common, as discussed in Chapter 2. This study therefore aims to demonstrate the effects of cultural globalisation (with local adaptations) in a transition country such as Slovenia and how this affects the emergence of local lifestyles.

The chapter is divided into several parts, and like the previous two chapters, it will contain an analysis of three case studies. This chapter will answer the same question as in the previous chapters, again with the aim of allowing for comparable findings: 'How are *strategies – nomination, predication, perspectivation, and mitigation/intensification – employed in the selection of texts from the Novaks' 'celebrity' cookbooks?'* It aims to highlight the features that are characteristic of ''celebrity' cookbook' as genres.

The following texts will be analysed:

- A recipe for *Bananin kolač* from Novak and Smej Novak's first cookbook *Ljubezen skozi želodec*, p. 383

- A recipe for *Mlačna solata z mladim krompirjem* from Novak and Smej Novak's first cookbook *Ljubezen skozi želodec*, p. 64-5

- An introduction to the chapter entitled *Kosilo ali zasilo* about pasta from Novak and Smej Novak's second cookbook *Ljubezen skozi želodec 2*, p. 140

9.2 NOMINATION AND PREDICATION STRATEGIES IN THE NOVAKS' TEXTS

9.2.1 Social actors

The social actors in this text are similarly constructed as in Oliver's texts in terms of number of appearances, nomination and predication.

Text 1 (which is a recipe for banana bread) contains several social actors. Table 24 shows that, apart from personal deictics, there are three groups of social actors: proper names, family relations and cartoon characters.

Personal deictic	'*Mi*' (narrator's family)	-in possession of a fruit bowl – may contain bananas with brown spots - begin to cut the cake ('*pričnemo rezati kolač*')
	'*Mi*' (reader and narrator)	-we need, we see, etc. (all verbs describing the action required to complete the task)
	'*Jaz*'	-I transform ('*pretvorim*') bananas into a cake
Proper names	Pavla	-adores this cake -does not like bananas
	Luka	-is satisfied with one piece ('*se zadovolji*') -cares about his weight ('*pazi na linijo*')

Family relations	Otroci 'children'	- take 2 or 3 pieces of cake ('vzamejo dva/tri kose kolača') - go to sleep - can spread butter in the tin - they have thin fingers
Cartoon characters	Palček Smuk 'dwarf Smuk'	-can take the cake away ('Da ga ni odnesel palček Smuk?')

Table 26: Nomination and predication

The text is narrated from the perspective of only one of the authors of the book – Valentina – thus 'the children' and 'Luka' feature as social actors. One child, Pavla, is specifically nominated using her proper name. There are also the first person personal deictics, '*mi*' (we) and '*jaz*' (I). '*Mi*', however, transforms from '*we*' (my family and I) to '*we*' (me and you/reader). Unlike in Oliver's texts, the reader ('*you*') is never explicitly or directly addressed.

Children feature in the introduction to the recipe as well as in the instructional part of the recipe itself, whereas Luka, Pavla and '*mi*' (my family and I, i.e. Valentina) are only part of the text's beginning. The recipe's only social actors are the children and 'we' (me and you/reader).

The representation of '*mi*' and all of the subsequent narration is about a family (father, mother) with at least three children[141] who – when the cake is ready – start eating it together. However, the active actor in this case is the mother, as she takes the decision to make a cake out of old bananas. This is the only time when 1st person singular is used attributing an action explicitly to her despite previous narration being in the case

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[141] Plural is used, not dual, as in ex. '*gredo otroci spat*' (go (3rd pers. pl.) children (pl.) to sleep). The dual form would be '*gresta otroka spat*' (go (3rd pers.dual) children (dual) to sleep).

of '*mi*' – this could have continued (*e.g.* we make a cake out of old bananas) with the effect of her action being reduced in this context.

Proper names are used for the father – Luka – and one of the children – Pavla. The first actor is represented as the person who finished the cake at night even though at first he appears not to eat it due to his worries about his weight. The second actor, however, is an example of a child who does not like bananas, but then eats them when the mother prepares them in a different way (i.e. in a cake). Such nomination brings the reader into a relationship with the family as it gives a feeling of closeness and familiarity with the actors. The reader is presupposed to already know these actors either from previous texts or from the TV, because when 'Pavla' is introduced, nowhere is it explained that she is a child. Given her name, she could have easily been mistaken for an elderly lady by a reader who does not know the family.[142] The children, however, are not only eating the cake, they are also helping their mother prepare it, as they are given the task of greasing the tin because of their thin fingers.

There is also '*palček Smuk*', a character from the famous 1980s cartoon, who could have eaten the cake at night according to Valentina. This character is introduced because in the morning, the cake which was made in the evening has disappeared – there is a hint that it was eaten by Luka, but since he is officially dieting, it could have been eaten by a mysterious dwarf.

The second example (text 2) is a recipe for a salad with young potatoes, cauliflower and peas. This is started with a story which talks about shopping in the market and it is

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[142] Statistical data shows that after 1991, this name has been given to only 14 girls born in Slovenia whereas around 3,500 women born in the period 1921–1960 bear this name today.

a short 'comment' which describes the vegetables available in the market in early June. Generally, the features of this text are similar to those in the previous text. There are three categories of social actors in this text (Table 27): the personal deictic *'mi'* (we) which is referring to either 'us' as a family or 'us' as the author/narrator and the reader. 'Luka' is referred to with his proper name, whereas their children are represented either as general *'otroci'* or as *'tamali'* (the little ones). Other collective is *'človek'* (a human being), which appears when the narrator describes human action in a very general way. *'Soseda'* (a neighbour) denotes the market seller in terms of her position in space in relation to the position of the narrator.

Personal deictics	'mi' (family)	-should not forget peas (*'ne smemo pozabiti na grah'*)
	'mi' (with reader)	-do the actions required to prepare the recipe (*ostrgamo, skuhamo...*) -are advised not to season the salad (*'zakaj bi jo po nepotrebnem pikantili, raje naj si jo vsak zašpili po svoje.'*)
Prop.names	Luka	-would like to add young onion and chilli
Collectives	'Človek' (a human being)	-is being ridden from one stall to the other (*'kar poganja od ene stojnice do druge'*)
	'Tamali' (the little ones)	-did not like the colour of the vegetables at first (*'so se najprej zmrdovali nad barvo'*) -at the end fought for the last pea in the bowl (*'na koncu so se grebli za zadnji grahek v skledi'*)
	'Otroci' (children)	-like this dish (*'je uspešnica'*)
Spatially-rel. nomin.	'Soseda' (soseda)	-is near potatoes (*'kifeljčar tam pri sosedi'*)

Table 27: Nomination and predication

The third text is an introduction to the chapter on pastas. Rather than focusing on various techniques of pasta preparation, the text rather presents a story about minestrone as made in the coastal region of Slovenia (Primorska) by the family's grandmother Edvina. Hence, the main social actor in this text is '*nona Edvina*', who is constructed not only as a grandmother, but also as a famous publisher and writer ('*urednica in soavtorica kuharskih knjig sestre Vendeline*', the editor and the co-author of the cookbooks of Sister Vendelina). The predication describes her as someone who lives in the coastal area in the village Dekani. She is a very successful woman ("*ni od muh*", lit. not of the flies, being 'of flies' means to be of no use) who knows how recipes were supposed to be written ("*ve, kako se pišejo recepti*") because she has worked as a publisher in the family publishing house VALE Novak (this is the publishing house where Oliver's translations as well as Luka and Valentina Novak's first cookbook were published). She is a person who deserves "the most famous recipes with a warranty in Slovenia ("*za najbolj slovite recepte z garancijo na Slovenskem*"), because together with Valentina Ilc (the author of *Velika slovenska kuharica*, analysed in Chapter 7) Edvina Novak published a popular cookbook based on Ilc's cooking expertise. This book features Ilc, a nun, who is shown cooking in her own monastery kitchen and shopping in the Ljubljana market. The result was a cookbook with a fairly standard recipe outline, but with photography reminiscent of ''celebrity' cookbooks' (see Chapter 3 for an example). As a result of this, Edvina Novak is also constructed as someone who knows what "good, homely Slovene food" ("*dobra, domača slovenska hrana*") is. Grandma Edvina also prepares minestrone for the children; they are depicted as loving this food. They are said to walk through the door and excitedly say: "Is it going to be minestrone? Nona's minestrone?" ("*A bo mineštra? Nonina mineštra?*").

Table 28 below shows that, in this text, the main actors are again family members. Nona Edvina is nominated with a proper name, and she is constructed not only as a successful woman, but also mostly as a grandma who cooks for her grandchildren.

deictics	'ti' (you, generic)	-if you sing while cooking, the *mineštra* will be better.
collectives	*'Otroci'* (children)	-ask if there will be *mineštra* when they arrive at grandma's house
Proper names	*'Nona Edvina'* (Grandma Edvina)	-says that *primorska mineštra* needs to be cooked in a perfect manner -has tried the recipe several times - "ni od muh" (i.e. she is very successful) because she is "deserving of the most famous recipes with a warranty in Slovenia" (*"je zaslužna za najbolj slovite recepte z garancijo na Slovenskem"*) -long editor and co-author of the cookbooks of Sister Vendelina -knows how to write recipes -knows what is good homely (*"domača"*) Slovene food

Table 28: Nomination and predication (social actors in text on pasta)

To sum up this section, compared to 'standard' cookbooks, one can see here how social actors are constructed in a different way than in 'standard' cookbooks, but similarly to the way they are constructed in Oliver's 'celebrity' cookbooks. These are real people nominated using their personal names. They are represented as close to the reader, because it appears as if the family life of the Novak family is opened up to each of the readers to be part of, to participate in and to observe. The readers learn about the family practices of the husband and the wife (Luka and Valentina) as they are constructed as adventurous in cooking as well as imperfect (depicted eating more cake than allowed). Secondly, unlike 'standard' cookbooks, children often appear in

these texts, not nominated simply as *'otroci'* (children), but also using a number of other, stylistically marked nominations (*'tamali'*, the little ones). The predications for children show that they are active in the kitchen (they help their parents), but that they also like to eat the majority of the dishes that the parents prepare stressing the tastiness of the dishes, as I will discuss in the section about Intensification/mitigation below. All of these features suggest a move away from the style of a 'standard' cookbook towards a less rational and impersonal variant of the type of 'celebrity' cookbook presented in the previous chapter (Oliver's cookbooks).

The next section will discuss the representation of objects, phenomena and events in the same three texts.

9.2.2 Objects, phenomena, events

The first text on banana bread contains a number of objects (see Table 29 below). The concrete objects can be grouped as 'food' (and separately 'fruits') and 'cooking equipment' whereas abstract objects involve only two nominations. Here, the nominations are similar to the 'standard' cookbooks' representation of objects, but the predication is not.

CONCRETE		
Food	*Bananin kolač, kolač* (Banana cake, cake)	-is a family 'hit' (*'družinski hit'*) -is adored by their daughter (*'obožuje ga Pavla'*) -is miraculous (*'je čudežen'*) - in the evening it is full (*'cel pride iz pečice zvečer'*)

		-is eaten in pieces (*'vzamejo ga v kosih, Luka pa en kos'*) -disappears in the morning (*'zjutraj ga ni več'*) -could have been taken by palček Smuk
	Sestavine (Ingredients)	
	Jajca (eggs)	-from the fridge -at room temperature
Fruits	*Banane* (bananas)	-have a collection of three (*'se naberejo tri'*) -Pavla does not like them
Cooking equipment	*Skleda* (bowl)	-of fruits
	Posoda: stepalnik, skleda, lonček (utensils: mixer, bowl, a small pot)	-not many should get dirty
	Pekač (tin)	
	Kozica (frying pan)	-small
	Pike (spots)	-remind (*'opominjajo'*) (personification)
	Čopič (brush)	
	Prstki (little fingers)	-tiny (*'drobni'*)
	Linija (line; i.e. waist line)	
	Roke (hands)	
	Masa (mass)	
	Glazura (glazing)	-simple (*'najbolj preprosta pod soncem'*)
	Zmes (mixture)	-as thick as honey (*'kot med gosta'*) -is on top of the cake (*'vrh kolača'*)

		-will slip down and will look like Kilimanjaro
ABSTRACT	Hit (*hit*)	
	Veselje (happiness)	

Table 29: Objects

Banana bread is represented as a very desirable dessert. It is nominated as '*bananin kolač*' or '*kolač*', described as a family '*hit*' with a special quality of being '*čudežen*' (miraculous) as it disappears overnight. It is loved even by those, like the narrator's daughter Pavla, who do not like bananas as such.

Another interesting representation is that of '*glazura*' (glazing) or '*zmes*' (mixture) – as it is nominated in a certain part of the instruction in terms of a simile '*kot med gosta*' (as thick as honey) and in a vivid representation of the finished cake topped with glazing which, after slipping from the top of the cake where it was placed, will look like the Mount Kilimanjaro ('*bo videti kot Kilimandžaro*'). This glazing is also described as '*najbolj preprosta pod soncem*' (the simplest under the Sun), again using a metaphoric expression to describe the space to which this simplicity applies (i.e. everything covered by the Sun). Another such device is personification, as in the case of bananas, where the brown spots that appear on the banana 'remind' one that the banana should be eaten soon ('*pike opominjajo*').

The second text represents shopping; in terms of topic, this is similar to one of Oliver's texts that I discussed in the previous chapter where he talks about his visit to the supermarket. However, in his texts, the objects related to the economy often tend to be those of mass production (i.e. supermarkets) and Oliver appears to critique these.

In the Novaks' texts, only a romanticised version of shopping appears, so that town 'markets' and corner 'shops' are mentioned, but 'supermarkets' are not. This is a salient issue because it points towards the severity of the problem of mass consumption in Britain, which is not the case in Slovenia (yet). This is perhaps why the Novaks' reformist message can be mild, as if their call for change did not really originate in a need to reform people eating habits for the sake of healthy eating, but for the sake of taste and lifestyle. When Oliver calls for change, this is because mass produced food is bad for one's health. In the case of the Novaks, the required change comes from the need not to eat healthier, but from the need to be 'urban, fresh, new', as they state in their introduction.

Image 17: Strolling in Ljubljana market

This text therefore gives an image of shopping on the market (perhaps the main Ljubljana market, as this features in one of their visual images, see Image 17 above).

'*Tržnica*' (market) and '*stojnica*' (a stall) feature as main objects related to the buying and selling of vegetables. A visual illustration is given earlier in the book (Novak and Novak-Smej 2009: 15) and it shows the main authors/narrators strolling down Ljubljana city market among flowers.

Here, vegetables are nominated either as separate kinds of vegetables ('*cvetača*' (cauliflower); '*krompir*' (*potatoes*); '*grah*' (peas)) or in general, simply as vegetables ('*zelenjava*'). All the vegetables are described as young and fresh (for example, cauliflower has just been cut in the garden), but here, the authors make no note of the kind found in Oliver's texts about how to cook vegetables. Apart from the general nomination, potatoes are nominated either as a special elongated sort '*kifeljčar*', or as a diminutive ('*krompirček*'). Similarly, '*grah*' (peas) becomes '*grahek*' (little peas). These vegetables are very desirable, because they are represented as something that is desired (even) by children. In order to get close to them, they perform an aggressive action ('*se grebejo*' (they rake/scrape)) to be able to eat them. '*Čili*' (chilli) and '*čebulica*' (spring onion) are the kinds of vegetables assigned to only one of the characters (Luka); children may not like them because they make the dish hot.

The bowl in which the dish should be served is described as 'neat'. This suggests a certain attention to the tableware in which the food should appear, therefore also influencing the readers' ideas about the proper and desirable way to serve food in terms of style.

CONCRETE		
Related to the economy/buying	*Tržnica* (market)	-is at its peak in early June (*'je na vrhuncu zgodaj junija'*)
	Stojnica (stall)	- there are several (*'jih je vec'*) -one is being driven from one stall to the other (*'cloveka kar poganja od ene stojnice do druge'*)
Related to food vegetables	*Cvetača* (cauliflower)	-just cut, still young (*'pravkar odrezana, se mlada'*) -is young -should not be hard, but neither overcooked
	kifeljčar; krompirček krompir (potatoes)	-is at the neighbour (*'je pri sosedi'*) -is on a grain of a single pea (*'je na zrnu graha'*) (reference to the fairy-tale) -je young (*'mlad'*)
	grah; grahek (peas)	-we should not forget it -children fight for the last one (*'se grebejo'*) -is young
	Zelenjava (vegetables)	-should be compact (*'čvrsta'*), but not half-raw (*'toda ne napol surova'*) - cooked (*kuhana/obarjena*) - collected in a neat bowl (*vsa združena v lični skledi*) -has parsley/almonds on top -seasoned with lemon juice, olive oil and salt
	Zrno (grain)	-of peas
	čili (chilli)	-Luka likes it
	čebulica (little onion)	-young -Luka likes it
Other	*Voda* (water)	-salted
	Jed (dish)	-is a hit with children (*'je uspešnica pri otrocih'*)
Rel. to cooking equipment	*Skleda* (bowl)	-contains peas -neat (*'lična'*)

ABSTACT	Kombinacija (combination)	-is unpredictable ('je nepredvidljiva')
	Učinek (effect)	-is assured ('je zagotovljen')
	Barva (colour)	-is too green ('preveč zelena')

Table 30: Nomination and predication (objects) in text 2

The food is seen as easy to prepare. Thus, the example in (9.1) sums it up:

(9.1)

Tole tukaj je <u>nepredvidljiva</u> kombinacija, ki zahteva <u>malo</u> truda, učinek pa je <u>zagotovljen</u>.

TRANSLATION: This here is an unforeseeable combination, which requires little effort, but the effect is guaranteed.

The combination suggested is 'unpredictable,' which can be a way of assuring the reader that personal detours from the suggested path are acceptable. It also requires '*malo truda*' (little effort), while the effect is assured.

An interesting intertextual feature is displayed in this text. As in the translation of one of Oliver's texts, where Luka Novak used an intertextual link to a fairy-tale '*Mizica, pogrni se*' and in the recipe on banana bread, where a character from a cartoon is used (see the previous section for '*palček Smuk*'), here, a reference to the famous Andersen fairy-tale *The Princess and the Pea* is being made. Resembling a princess, a small potato is being placed on the grain of a single pea, as in (9.2):

(9.2)

Tako rekoč krompirček na zrnu graha!

TRANSLATION: A potato on a single piece of pea, so to say."

This constant reference to the world of fantasy via fairy-tales and cartoons seems to be one of the salient features of the Novaks' 'celebrity' cookbooks. By referring to characters from these genres, they are not only trying to appeal to the 'child' within every adult, but also trying to bring some nostalgia for the 'good old days', thus using pathos to achieve their goals.

Text 3 is a description of a particular scene in the village of Dekani where the children's grandmother Edvina lives. Table 29 below shows a number of concrete as well as abstract objects. *'Vrata'* and *'hiša'* are related to the house, while the other concrete objects all refer to food. Many predications for these are in terms of the simplicity with which the dish should be made (*e.g. mineštra* should not be cooked with 'extravagant ingredients or miraculous techniques'; *'jed'* is represented as 'simple' and food should be homely. The main dish – *mineštra* – is again represented as something desirable for the children to eat, as they ask about it as soon as they arrive at their grandmother's house.

Mineštra, however, is not an all-Slovene dish; regionality is very important here. It is stressed several times that this is a dish made by *nona* (this originally Italian nomination for grandmother ('*nonna*') is only used in a certain region of Slovenia, i.e. Primorska, which is close to Italy). Secondly, the synonym for the dish is *'pašta-fižol'* which again, aligns it with this region's dialect (see the discussion of *'pašta'* in this dialect in Chapter 5, where I discuss issues related to the translation of Oliver's

cookbooks). Finally, the predication of this dish is *'primorska'*, directly relating it to the region in question. Like Oliver, the authors of these cookbooks represent various Slovene regional dishes (also for example *Prekmurje*, as Valentina comes from this part of Slovenia) as by-products of visits to their friends and family around Slovenia who happen to cook for them. There is nothing impersonal in this, as these dishes usually appear to be simple, everyday food that people in fact eat in their everyday lives.

CONCRETE		
Related to house	*'Vrata'* (door)	-children step through them -they belong to a stone house
	'Hiša' (house)	-is made of stone -is in Dekani (a village on the Slovene coast)
Related to food	*'Mineštra'* (minestra, thick soup)	-is what children would like to eat -assigned to grandma (*'nonina'*) -is *'primorska'* (region – the littoral part) -also called *'pašta-fižol'* -needs to be cooked perfectly -does not contain extravagant ingredients or miraculous techniques
	'Jed' (dish)	-is simple
	'Sestavine' (ingredients)	-should not be extravagant
	'hrana' (food)	-good homely Slovene ("dobra, domača slovenska")
Related to cooking instruction	*'Knjige'* (books)	-cooking (*'kuharske'*) -of Sister Vendelina -edited and co-written by *nona* Edvina
ABSTRACT	*'Stvar'*	-is first to be asked

	(a thing)	
	'Tehnike' (techniques)	-should not be miraculous (*'čudežen'*)
	'Recept' (recipe)	-must be tried out a hundred times because it is simple in terms of ingredients and techniques -are the most famous (*'najbolj sloviti'*) in Slovenia -they have a warranty -*nona* Edvina knows how to write them
	'Trik' (trick)	-cooking (*'kuharski'*)
	'kuha' (cooking process)	-the process during which you can sing a song Dekani style

Table 31: Objects in Text 3

To sum up, as in the previous section, objects are represented in a similar way to the way they are represented in Oliver's cookbooks. No longer are there only nominations that merely denote a certain object; here, the author uses diminutives, metaphors, similes, cartoon characters and dialect expressions to represent objects as interesting and desirable.

9.3 PERSPECTIVATION STRATEGIES

As discussed in the previous two chapters, the analysis of the point of view from which the content is narrated exposes the position of the speakers towards the narrated content as well as their distance or closeness. The strategy constructs different perspectives and distances from which readers are invited to view the topic and evaluate it.

In this section I discuss the perspectives in texts 1 and 2. These do not have as elaborated discourse structures as the texts discussed in Chapter 8. However, they narrate from the point of view of a family, as this is a family cookbook. They aim to represent themselves as an average family, even though they promote the lifestyle of a particular class (i.e. middle class). As a consequence, they try to make their style a legitimate choice for everybody (see also Bourdieu 1984).

9.3.1 Perspectivation in text 1

The first text is constructed from the perspective of one of the authors, Valentina, who narrates from the point of view of a mother and a cook. She talks about her family's habits related to the dish (i.e. banana bread). In the case of the Novak's cookbooks, none of the authors are chefs in their actual lives, so the narrator can only collapse into one of the other characters that they depict: a cook, a parent, and a shopper (Short 1996: 260).

As in Oliver's texts, the reader and the writer/author are constructed to be close to each other, which is not the case in 'standard' cookbooks. The analysis of text in Chapter 7 showed that in 'standard' cookbooks the distance between the writer and the reader tends to be large. The perspective is that of the 3rd person who is an unknown, impersonal narrator. In this respect, the Novaks' texts are closer to Oliver's 'celebrity' cookbooks than to 'standard' cookbook' texts.

The closeness between the narrator/the cook and the reader is established by the use of spatial deictics. Thus, in (9.3) – (9.5) below, *'to'/'ta'/'tale'* (this) is used instead of *'tisto'* (that).[143]

(9.3)

Tale bananin kolač je družinski hit.

TRANSLATION: This banana bread is a family hit

(9.4)

Jih pretvorim v ta bananin kolač, ki ima še to dobro lastnost, da med pripravo ne umažeš prav veliko posode: /.../, to je vse.

TRANSLATION: I transform them into this banana bread, which has also this good characteristic that during its preparation you do not dirty many vessels: /.../ and this is all.

(9.5)

Za ta kolač potrebujemo...

TRANSLATION: For this cake we need...

The closeness between the reader and the writer is also achieved via the use of personal names, such as Pavla and Luka, rather than 'my husband/daughter' or even 'Mr. Novak', which would further expand the distance between the reader and the characters. Example (9.6) shows that the reader is expected to know that Pavla is the daughter of the couple as no other hint is given at their relationship in this recipe. I

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[143] In fact, Slovene distinguishes between three levels of closeness: this (*'to'*), that (*'tisto'*), and that further away (*'ono'*).

have mentioned earlier that given her rather old-fashioned name, she could also be an adult.

In the case of example (9.7), the verb '*odnesti*' (take away) is used, giving an idea of spatial orientation. The situation is described from the perspective of someone who possesses the cake, which is then being removed.

(9.6)

Obožuje ga celo Pavla, ki sicer banan sploh ne mara.

TRANSLATION: Even Pavla loves it, who normally does even like bananas.

(9.7)

Da ga ni odnesel palček Smuk ?

TRANSLATION: Was it not taken by the dwarf Smuk?

Apart from the perspective of Valentina, who is the narrator, the perspective given is also that of a family. This is most undoubtedly expressed with the dative form of 'we' in (9.8) when the author – Valentina – states that bananas accumulate in the bowl to us ('*nam*'; dative of 'we').

(9.8)

Čim se nam v skledi s sadjem naberejo tri banane,...

TRANSLATION: As soon as we get three bananans in the fruit bowl...

9.3.2 Perspectivation in text 2

Unlike the first text, the second text could have been written from the perspective of any of the parents. However, at the end of the recipe, Luka appears in the third person (see (9.9) below), which suggests the text is written from the perspective of the wife.

(9.9)

Luka bi vse skupaj še izdatno potresel z mlado čebulico in s čilijem, vendar pa je ta jed prava uspešnica pri otrocih...

TRANSLATION: Luka would sprinkle altogether with the young onions and chilli, but this dish is a real success in children.

Schema-oriented language is employed in this text about shopping in the market. The reader knows how market stalls are normally positioned, and that one needs to walk from one stall to another, every time being assisted by a different seller. These are close to each other so that a short step is required to visit the neighbouring seller who is usually a woman ('*soseda*' rather than the masculine '*sosed*').

The representation of imaginary thought appears at the beginning of the text (9.10) and it suggests the perspective of a shopper as it contains reference to the shopping process from his or her perspective. It suggests a process of buying vegetables for the dish that is then introduced on the page opposite.

(9.10)

... malo te pravkar odrezane, še vse mlade cvetače tukaj, pa kifeljčar tam pri sosedi, joj, pa na grah ne smemo pozabiti...

TRANSLATION: A little bit of this just cut, all young cauliflower here,

and the potato there at the neighbour, oh, we should not forget the peas...

Deictics shows that the narrator is in fact placed in the market, close to the cauliflower

stall. Example (9.11) contains the spatial deictics *'te'* (this), *'tukaj'* (here) and *'tam'*

(there) when referring to the neighbour's stall.

(9.11)

Malo te pravkar odrezane, še vse mlade cvetače tukaj, pa kifeljčar tam pri

sosedi...

TRANSLATION: A little bit of this just cut, all young cauliflower here,

and the potato there at the neighbour.

The narrator then switches from the perspective of a shopper to that of the cook/writer

in (9.12). She again uses spatial deictics to position herself close to the recipe

suggested and the reader by using *'tole'* (this) and *'tukaj'* (here):

(9.12)

Tole tukaj je taka nepredvidljiva kombinacija, ki zahteva...

TRANSLATION: This here is such an unforeseeable combination which

requires...

The language of the text is standard, though it borders on conversational, especially

where thought is being represented (Example (9.13)). This suggests the perspective of

a common, everyday shopper/cook. In (9.13) where a representation of thought is

given, there are many features of conversationalisation, such as ellipsis. An example is

the ellipsis of the verb 'to be' between '*kifeljčar*' and '*tam*' as demonstrated in (9.13). '*Tamali*' in (9.14) is also an ellipsis as it omits the noun, only featuring the demonstrative pronoun followed by an adjective (little, small), which then acts as a noun. In this case, this is a conversational representation of children from the perspective of their parents, or adults perceiving them as small. '*Joj*' (11) is a discourse marker suggesting excitement in spoken discourse.[144]

> (9.13)
>
> *Pa kifeljčar [je] tam pri sosedi, <u>joj</u>, pa na grah ne smemo pozabiti...*
>
> TRANSLATION: And the potato there at the neighbour, oh, we should not

forget the peas...

> (9.14)
>
> <u>*Tamali*</u> *so se najprej zmrdovali...*
>
> TRANSLATION: The little ones have first pulled faces...

As in the example where I analyse Oliver's *Blackberry pie* (Chapter 8), where syntactically, much of the text seemed conversational, here it is also possible to find a similar example of enumeration with the particle '*pa*' (and). This gives the impression of quick action.

> (9.15)
>
> <u>*Pa*</u> *kifeljčar /.../ joj, <u>pa</u> na grah ne smemo pozabiti...*
>
> TRANSLATION: And the potato there at the neighbour, oh, we should not

forget the peas..."

---

[144] The verb '*pozabiti*' (to forget), however, features in the standard form, rather than the conversational '*pozabit*'.

This discourse particle is used again in (9.16) to reassure the reader that despite the simple recipe, the effect can be guaranteed.

(9.16)

Učinek pa je zagotovljen.

TRANSLATION: And the effect is guaranteed.

To conclude this section, the perspectivation strategies used in the selected Novak texts are similar to those in Oliver's texts as the actors are not only represented as close to the reader, but also the perspective varies from the point of view of a family to a shopper and so forth. 'Standard' cookbooks, on the other hand, only contain one perspective (that of an impersonal, 3rd person narrator).

9.4 MITIGATION AND INTENSIFICATION

The final section of this chapter discusses mitigation and intensification strategies. The whole of text 1 works as a linguistic intensification of the taste of this dish. The actors are role models for various groups of people such as children and men. The dish is first of all nominated as the family 'hit' (*'družinski hit'*) assigning it the status of success. A number of discourse particles intensify this image by gradually intensifying the positive sides of it. Example (9.17), for instance, stresses that in addition to other good sides of the dish, it also (*'še'*) does not require many utensils. In example (9.6) above even (*'celo'*) the daughter Pavla is mentioned as liking it, suggesting that this is very good particularly because she normally does not like bananas.

(9.17)

Ima še to dobro lastnost, da med pripravo ne umažeš prav veliko posode...

TRANSLATION: Has also this good characteristic that during its preparation you do not dirty many vessels!

The cake is so good that Luka, who appears to be trying not to gain too much weight, has eaten half of the cake himself. This message comes across implicitly because the author rather suggests that the cake may have been taken by a dwarf, thus representing Luka's breaking of healthy eating rules as less 'punishable'. As in one of Oliver's translated texts, where the translator at the end of the recipes establishes intertextuality to describe the abundance of delicious food that the recipe offered by including a phrase from a famous fairy-tale (9.18), the narrator here also uses a fictitious character from a well-known cartoon 'The dwarf Smuk' (9.19).

(9.18)

Mizica, pogrni se!

TRANSLATION: The table, set yourself!

(9.19)

Da ga ni odnesel palček Smuk?

TRANSLATION: Was it not taken by the dwarf Smuk?"

This reference brings a playful touch to the narration, especially as the narrator suggests that the cake was probably eaten by her husband, who could not resist the temptation despite it not being good for him.

In the second text, the representation of food is intensified in terms of the desirability of the dish, the freshness of the ingredients and mitigation of the difficulty of its preparation.

Intensification of the desirability of vegetables

Vegetables are represented as desirable. Firstly, the reason for children making faces to express their opposition to eating vegetables (*'so se zmrdovali'*) is the colour of the vegetables, which is described as too green (*'preveč zelena'*). From the perspective of someone other than a child trying to avoid eating vegetables, the intense colour of vegetables is very eye-catching and implies that they are healthy. This description is rounded by a change of attitude on the side of the children, as in the end they nearly fought (*'so se grebli'*) to eat the vegetables. Again, this suggests that the vegetables are wanted even by children who may not want to eat them at first.

This image of the desirability of vegetables is not achieved only through the behaviour assigned to children, but also by the behaviour of the adults. The description of euphoric behaviour in the market caused by the new and young vegetables is achieved by personification of the market, which at its peak-time makes helpless human beings (as they are represented) behave in a certain way. The helplessness of humans with this action is achieved not only by their passivisation (the human is being driven by an unknown force) but also using the particle *'kar'* (just) as in (9.20).

> (9.20)
>
> *Zgodaj junija, ko je tržnica na vrhuncu, človeka <u>kar</u> poganja od ene stojnice do druge.*

Vegetables in this market are represented as fresh, just cut (*'pravkar odrezana'*), establishing a connecting to the place where they grew (hence, almost being part of nature!). The vegetables are also portrayed as 'still all young' (*'še vsa mlada'*). By using the particle *'še'* the writer stresses the fact that the vegetables will get old one day, thus emphasising the importance of focusing on them when they are still young and fresh. As in the previous texts, diminutives are used to represent vegetables as cute, as *'krompirček'* (little potato) and *'grahek'* (little peas). Peas are also seen as something that one must not forget to buy in the market, using the negation of the epistemic modal verb 'must'.

The whole dish is finally described as *'prava uspešnica'* (a true success), where not only is success intensified by the predication true/real, but the noun itself expresses certainty in the result. This is related to the representation of objects/phenomena and events where the process of preparation is depicted as simple and unproblematic.

The third text is focused on the *minéštra* soup and the expertise required for its preparation. Not only is the dish excellent, but so is the recipe provided. The dish needs to be cooked to perfection (*"skuhana popolno"*) and for this to happen, the recipe needs to be tried out a hundred times (*"stokrat preizkušen"*). The recipe provided has gone through this rigorous test, and the writer even guarantees this. In addition, *nona Edvina*, who is this recipe's author, has particular knowledge related to cooking (i.e. she was involved in the preparation of several cookbooks, she was an editor of one of them, etc.) which gives the recipe an additional guarantee. The recipe

is made to seem even better because at the end of this introduction, a cooking trick is also given, which as also a humorous effect: one should sing the Dekani way while preparing this dish.

In this text, therefore, the aim is not just to give the story about *minestra*, but to reinforce its desirability and the likelihood that one will make it; first, the dish is so good because even children like to eat it (children always ask about it), and second, because the recipe is perfect, the reader is reassured that this dish will definitely be a success.

9.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have answered the research question 'How are the strategies nomination, predication, perspectivation, mitigation/intensification employed in the selection of texts from the Novaks' 'celebrity' cookbooks?'

I have shown that these texts differ significantly from what I refer to as 'standard' cookbooks in that nomination, predication, perspectivation, and mitigation/intensification are employed to a significant extent as they are in Oliver's cookbooks. In terms of nomination, the analysis of texts demonstrates that, as in Oliver's texts, social actors are nominated using proper names for family members, thus removing social distance from the reader. This openness of one's private life towards the public is also one of the common features of the two case studies. When it comes to predication, social actors are represented with many human faults such as the desire to eat a dessert that is seen as unhealthy (Luka), but also as specialists in both the writing of cookbooks and cooking (Edvina).

In terms of perspectivation, the impersonal third person narrator tends to be avoided, as the perspective is always one of the family members or the family as such, a shopper, a cook, etc.: roles with which the reader can identify. The discourse is also conversationalised, a feature not present in 'standard' cookbooks. However, compared to Oliver's translations into Slovene, the Novaks' language still retains standard elements to an extent in that dialect is only present very occasionally, whereas Oliver uses it significantly more. Finally, another feature which is similar to Oliver's texts is the kind of linguistic intensification of food and taste that also does not appear in the 'standard' cookbooks.

One of the important implications of this analysis has to do with identity and ways in which this is constructed through cookbooks. In Chapter 7, I claimed that 'standard' Slovene cookbooks still tended to build national identity based on differentiation from the other, i.e. the Austrians while constructing 'us' in terms of 'our' culinary practices. In the Novaks' cookbooks, however, identity tends to be constructed in opposition to the 'old' practices and with reinvention of individual selves who should discover joy and pleasure in practices such as cooking, which were previously simply seen as everyday necessities. To do this, traditions need to be reinvented (*e.g.* old regional dishes, such as '*tlačenka*') and new dishes from around the world included (in particular from Asian cuisines) in order for this new middle class lifestyle to be differentiated from the tastes of everyone else.

Furthermore, the change in cookbooks also points towards important aspects of the processes of globalisation and the localisation of certain of its elements. If Oliver

builds his approach of simple cooking based on Italian cooking, the Novaks tend to include French cuisine to emphasise the chic and cosmopolitan nature of their lifestyle while still retaining an important aspect of global discourse, i.e. the importance of calling for organic, local and homemade produce, to sell cooking as an enjoyable, pastime activity which allows for a dream of one's private reinvention.

10 CONCLUSION

10. 1 SUMMARY

In this thesis, I have presented a case study related to the recontextualisation and localisation of a global lifestyle discourse to a local setting. Slovenia, and its emerging 'celebrity chefs' Luka and Valentina Novak, is an example of the 'local', whereas the global is represented by the British celebrity chef Jamie Oliver. The study is based on culinary texts from Oliver and the Novaks' cookbooks. The main claim of this thesis has been that under the influence of global culinary discourse, local representations related to food and taste change, and so do cookbooks as genres. 'Standard' Slovene cookbook texts were also analysed with the aim of showing the difference between the previous educational role of cookbooks and the contemporary, increasingly *edutaining* role of the new 'celebrity' cookbooks.

This study is situated within critical discourse analysis and it has generally drawn on the methodological framework of the discourse-historical approach ('DHA') (Reisigl and Wodak 2001), but has also combined this with theoretical insights from the dialectic-relational approach (Fairclough 2010, 1992, 2001 [1989]). From the latter, it takes its understanding of critique, thus orientating itself towards Bourdieu's understanding of 'critical' and a definition of 'ideology' following Althusser and Fairclough as "significations/constructions of reality (the physical world, social relations, social identities), which are built into various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices, and which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination" (Fairclough 1992: 87).

On the other hand, the study has relied on 'DHA' for its definition of discourse and its function, as well as its analytical strategies.

Its underlying theoretical focus has been recontextualization, which is one of the salient concepts within 'CDA' (*e.g.* Wodak and Fairclough 2010; Chouliaraki 1998) as well as the localisation of globalising tendencies, sometimes also referred to as 'glocalisation', a term that has not been adopted in this study for reasons explained in Chapter 2. The model of recontextualization that I presented in Chapter 1 and that was the theoretical basis for this thesis is modelled on the understanding of discourse seen in the 'DHA'. The model suggests interrelatedness between genre, texts, topics and discourses in recontextualisation processes. This has enabled me to understand how global culinary discourse has been recontextualised from Britain to Slovenia, via, firstly, a translation of Jamie Oliver's cookbooks, and secondly, via production of original local discourse based on the global model. Such changes in discursive practice may potentially lead to social changes in terms of culinary practices (for example tastes and manners), as well as other lifestyle related practices, especially if the discourse is understood in a dialectical relationship with non-discursive social practices as in this thesis.

The topic of this critical study, lifestyle manuals, and in particular cookbooks, has rarely been the object of critical discussion. The critical aspect of the study has come from the understanding of 'critique' as a systematic exploration of the "often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural practices, relations and processes" (Fairclough 1995: 132-3) which leads one to "investigate how such practices, events

and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony" (*ibid.*). In culinary discourse and cookbooks as its carriers, for example, "such lineages between discourse, ideology and power may well be unclear to those involved" (*ibid.*). Therefore, the main idea of examining cookbooks in critical terms has been to understand their function in promoting a particular lifestyle in Britain and how, as a consequence of globalising forces, these lifestyles tend to be spread to other countries where they are then domesticated/localised. Like other texts (most commonly magazines), cookbooks reflect a style of life that is either being promoted anew or is already deeply embedded within society's norms and values.

In this thesis, the interest into cookbooks has related to the particular set of values being represented. These relate to the worldview of postmodern consumerist society, as was further elaborated in Chapter 2. Here, one's life is a project on its own, freed from traditions and the rationalism of modernity, ready to embrace a life of enjoyment, self-realisation and constant choice. This is particularly salient as these messages are being recontextualised into a transition (post-communist) country, Slovenia, where post-1991 novelties from Western countries are often accepted with great enthusiasm (see also Galasinska and Krzyzanowski 2009; Krzyżanowski and Wodak 2009). This is perhaps one of the most important themes that this thesis has embraced as it – like an increasing number of other academic studies in transition countries – aims to contribute to understanding how globalisation works, but also, most saliently, how the global is accepted in post-communist local contexts through the example of an everyday, ordinary text, such as a cookbook.

I based this study on three temporally subsequent periods; first, cookbooks before the appearance of Jamie Oliver's books in Slovenia ('standard' cookbooks), second, Oliver's translated 'celebrity' cookbooks, and third, the Novaks' 'celebrity' cookbooks following the rise of TV edutainment in Slovenia and the subsequent rise in the local production of culinary shows. From each of these periods, I chose representative texts and qualitatively analysed them in terms of strategies developed within 'DHA': Topics, nomination and predication, perspectivation, intensification/mitigation. I have attempted to show differences between standard and 'celebrity' cookbooks as genres as well as to point out changes in the representation of lifestyle. My research questions were as follows:

1. How are Oliver's cookbooks adapted through translation for the Slovene target readership?

2. How is the global 'edutainment' lifestyle discourse recontextualised to Slovenia, mostly in terms of changes in the genre of cookbook?

Most importantly, the study has revealed changes in the genre of a cookbook as culinary discourse becomes increasingly commercialised and fragmented. I have argued that the cookbook is now not only a manual with instructions for successful cooking, but at the same time invites readers to consume, in particular with features that resemble ads, where food is represented as tasty and desirable.

10.1.1 Translating Oliver

The first research question was related to the first phase of recontextualisation, i.e. the translation of a foreign (English) text into Slovene. This was discussed in Chapter 5. The original and the translated text were compared in terms of additions, deletions, substitutions and renaming. This discussion showed the level of appropriation/rewriting that the text underwent in order to be localised. I focused on the differences that are resulted from genre conventions, branding opportunities and country-related representations (*e.g.* Italy). I also showed how the translator and the editor tried to match the expectations of the target audience, resulting in reconfirmation of the national identity of the Slovenes (who were the default target audience).

10.1.2 Recontextualization of the discourse

The second phase of recontextualisation results in locally produced discourse based on global characteristics. Here, I first set out to analyse **topics**, which gave an overview of the general content of the three corpora of texts. I concluded that compared to 'standard' cookbooks, 'celebrity' cookbooks contain a number of topics and consequently discourses that are not found in the earlier culinary texts. For example, Oliver's and the Novaks' texts include Discourse about Italy, Discourse about family and friends, Discourse about children, and Discourse about Arts and Literature, while 'standard' cookbooks contain topics related to nutrition. Common topics found in 'standard' cookbooks included those that refer to food and its preparation as well as its consumption. This change suggests that an overall shift has taken place in the topics that are and can be included in a cookbook. As the modern meta-narrative is being increasingly disposed of, the impersonal and rationalist culinary advice gives way to

the postmodern, increasingly personal display of everyday individual lifestyles, which are demonstrated through linguistic and visual means throughout the books.

The heart of the second part of the thesis was the **detailed linguistic analysis of sample texts** in the three corpora and their comparison. Here, a similar change was noticed.

The analysis of 'standard' cookbooks showed the following features:

- In terms of nomination, if represented at all, social actors tend to be generic, while objects (food) tend to be nominated using stylistically neutral expressions or culinary jargon.

- Predication has the function of describing the social actors and food in terms of their qualities related to the quantities needed (big/small etc.), and normally not in terms of their taste.

- The point of view is that of the third person (impersonal narrator).

- Intensification/mitigation, which was seen here in terms of potential intensification of taste, remains unused.

My analysis of the Novaks' text, on the other hand, revealed that they stylistically resemble Oliver's cookbooks. They also represent a locally distinct lifestyle which is based on a general frame set out in Oliver.

- Nomination of social actors can still be generic, but it is more often specific, as personal names are used to refer to people (*e.g.* Pavla, Luka, Edvina). Nomination of objects, on the other hand, tends to be stylistically

marked, as seen in, for example, diminutives ('grahek', little peas) and metaphors (*e.g.* 'kraljestvo zelenjave', kingdom of vegetables).

- Predication attributes values related to taste (*e.g.* 'fantastično', fantastic; 'okusno', tasty) as well as general description of the food (*e.g.* 'velik krompir', big potato)

- Discourse structures via which the first person narrator often collapses into separate characters from whose position the narrator speaks point towards diversified perspectivation.

- Intensification of taste and desire related to food interdiscursively links cooking instruction to adverts, while several intertextual connections to fairy-tales (in particular in the Novaks' cookbooks) relate cooking to childhood fantasies and dreams.

These changes should be understood in the context of broader social change in the second half of the 20th century. One of the characteristics of the postmodern period is that celebrities tend to replace intellectuals, the central figures of modernity. In postmodernity, their space first started to be equated with that of popular "experts," with whom they have to compete not only in expertise but also in authority. Popular (ordinary) television importantly contributes to this because it offers a platform from which these celebrities can speak (see Chaney 1996, 2002; Moseley 2000 and others outlined in Chapter 2).

Manuals in which the discourse of these authorities is represented change as impersonal and often scientific cookbooks have started to be oriented towards a more relaxed style that Fairclough (1992) referred to as 'democratisation'. The previous

"ideology of consensus" (Chaney 2002: 100) based on an impersonal normative authority, has given way to an increasingly irrational and fragmented public sphere. Public discourse is now legitimised in relation to the conventions of the masses and authority is "asserted, framed and interpreted for their [i.e. media, comment A.T.)] audiences" (Chaney 2002: 106). The instruction in cookbooks is no longer merely educational instruction, but has become entertaining as these texts now include a larger number of specific social actors who act as lifestyle models for audiences. Similarly, recipes have begun to advertise the food rather than simply teach its preparation.

10.2 CONTRIBUTION

The study presented in this thesis brings new insights into the process of recontextualisation and its outcomes as understood within 'CDA', as well as in studies of globalisation, but it also contributes to the research on cookbooks as genres. Finally, it offers an analysis of the development of a particular new lifestyle discourse in Slovenia, therefore contributing to transition studies in general.

Within 'CDA', recontextualisation stands as one of the salient concepts for analysis, as both Fairclough (2006b) and Wodak (2009) have shown: Fairclough through studies of social change in post-communist countries with the example of Romania, and Wodak (2009b) in her analysis of the *West Wing* TV series. Equally revealing are the contributions of others, specifically Machin and Van Leeuwen (2003, 2005) whose analyses show how lifestyle discourses, such as that realised in *Cosmopolitan*, are spread around the world as a consequence of globalisation. In a way, this thesis brings a synthesis of these studies as it first stresses discourse change in a transit (post-

communist) country and second focuses on culinary lifestyle manuals and the localisation of global discourse. The process of recontextualisation is therefore analysed diachronically, i.e. by comparing material from the periods before and after the 1990s with the aim of locating salient differences in style and transitivity.

By focusing on one genre only – cookbooks, this study also contributes to the research on cookbooks and recipes as genres in general, but in particular from the perspective of discourse analysis. The only such linguistic analysis that I encountered is that of Cotter (1997), where the author offers a discourse analysis of a recipe linking it to Propp's narrative structure. However, no other analysis of other material such as introductions and visuals, in particular in a complementary manner, has been conducted in this area, at least not to my knowledge.

Moreover, the study fills a gap in the study of contemporary lifestyle in Slovenia. By deconstructing the discourse in the Novaks' texts, this thesis at least partially offers an insight into the representations of the style that the rising middle classes advocate. Currently, a project has been established at the University of Ljubljana Faculty of Social Sciences, which aims to analyse Slovene lifestyles. The project is generally based on the study conducted by Bourdieu in his seminal book *Distinction* (1984), where he point towards differences in lifestyles depending on social class. According to Andreja Vezovnik, a research fellow with this project (personal communication),[145] the aim is to offer a comprehensive analysis of styles of life, including culinary taste, based on a large volume of data that the team has compiled via questionnaires. The study is currently awaiting its second phase, where data will be analysed and

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[145] The principal investigator of the project is Prof. Breda Luthar from the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Ljubljana, Slovenia.

interpreted. In the scope of this quantitative study, the topic of this thesis can therefore usefully complement the findings of the project, in particular as it focuses on the discursive rather than social practices that are being researched in the project itself. In this context, it would be interesting to see whether the study's final findings locate the actual taste of the new middle classes as similar to that advocated in the Novaks' cookbooks or not. Furthermore, the findings of this thesis will also be salient in relation to the changing construction of national identity, in particular culinary identity, via culinary texts. Among other things, this thesis presents an example of discursive construction of Slovene national identity in 'standard' and 'celebrity' cookbooks. 'Slovene' national cuisine, like other national cuisines, is a social construction, because culinary practices largely and normally depend on geographical location as well a class and are therefore varied. The national cuisine, on the other hand, is based on a selection of particular elements which are highlighted and constructed as the only important elements. The construction of Slovene national cuisine in the 20th century has largely been based on the food of farmers who have been seen as *the proper* Slovenes, whereas the German-speaking middle classes were not and were therefore excluded. The 'celebrity' cookbooks (i.e. those by the Novaks') tend to distance themselves from this understanding of national cuisine as they reinvent the taste of the middle classes as viewing cooking as a cosmopolitan, ethically responsible and enjoyable activity. Cooking and eating have now become part of identity itself.

Finally, the study of the translation of Jamie Oliver's books may contribute to the developing interest of translation studies in the ideological aspects of translation as it points out how the translation from English into Slovene contributes to the

strengthening of national identity. No such contribution has been made yet, as the translation research into cookbooks thus far has only noticed other problematic aspects of translating food-related content, such as translating the culture-specific names of dishes (Colina 1997; and especially Alègre 2004 for recipes). In Chapter 5, however, I briefly discuss how translating cookbooks can also become an issue for the sociology of translation as it becomes a social practice where "social discursive practices which mould the translation process and which decisively affect the strategies of a text to be translated" (Wolf 2011: 2).

10.3 LIMITATIONS OF THE THESIS

The formal limitations of an examination genre such as a thesis currently do not allow for an extended analysis of the problem as required because of time and space restrictions.

First, the analysis of lifestyle is somewhat restricted as attention is drawn primarily to the characteristics of the cookbook as a genre. This means that my claims about the representation of the new middle classes' lifestyle in Slovenia does not include other media, where similar representations may appear, such as, and in particular, magazines and the Novaks' TV show. However, as the focus is on one genre only, specific attention is also given to the cookbook and its sub-genres (*e.g.* recipes) in terms of their genre features and their diachronic development.

A further limitation of this thesis related to space is the lack of a comprehensive visual analysis. In lifestyle texts in particular, multimodality should be given specific attention as images contribute in an important way to the representation of tastes.

While I briefly introduced some of the issues of visual change in cookbooks in Chapter 2, a more comprehensive analysis would have included a larger sample of images, in particular those from 'celebrity' cookbooks, as well as taking a more systematic approach to the analysis. This would have enabled me to offer a broader interpretation of the lifestyle that has been represented by the Novak family (i.e. in terms of clothing, for example) and it would provide an important complement to the linguistic analysis.

Throughout the process of writing this thesis, I have thought at several points of contacting the translator and the new celebrity chef, Luka Novak in order to interview him. An analysis of the production process via ethnography would combine well with the framework of 'DHA' (for example Wodak 2009b), as it would aim to understand not only the texts, but also the ways in which these have been produced and the power relations involved. This intention slowly vanished as my project started to evolve from the initial idea of studying the translation of Oliver's English texts into Slovene and incorporating other material, in particular the new 'celebrity' books. While this would indeed have brought an interesting perspective to the project, it may be difficult to justify it given that my focus was now on the recontextualization process, which did not include exclusively translation. However, an interview could give an insight into the practice of writing a 'celebrity' cookbook in Slovenia. It has often been rumoured that Oliver tape-records his texts and a member of his team transcribes them. What was the writing process like in the case of the Novaks? Have they intentionally imitated Oliver's style in order to achieve sales? Why Luka Novak's constant interdiscursive and intertextual reference to fairy-tales? These are the questions that Luka Novak could perhaps be asked had this thesis been longer.

Equally important is the issue of audiences, as I reflected on the question of actively using these books and reading them. In Slovenia, Oliver's and the Novaks' cookbooks are bestsellers but does anybody actually read them? If not, how can they influence anyone's practice? This question remains unanswered in this thesis as it can only be assumed that cookbooks as genres, at least to an extent, do in fact reflect either existing practices or that they can contribute to social change. Despite Mennell's (1985) advice against their use in historic research on people's habits and tastes, many cookbooks are still thought to be important data as they are believed to represent practices, and in particular lifestyle shifts, in the history of tastes (see for example also McCann 2012). From this, it is possible to conclude that in the future, the change from 'standard' cookbooks to 'celebrity' cookbooks may perhaps be regarded as a representation of one of such historic shift.

Finally, one limitation is embedded in the methodology of 'CDA' and all social sciences in general. The interpretation of data is based on a small selection of texts which have been selected because of their representativeness. The majority of texts were selected based on their topic (either vegetables or desserts) and further divided into two sub-categories (recipes, and introductions to chapters). While some of the particular issues and topics have been highlighted in the detailed analysis as a result of this, some others have been neglected, if not completely left out. However, the general characteristics of both 'standard' and 'celebrity' cookbooks in terms of topics, transitivity, style, and perspective have been represented regardless.

Despite these limitations, I hope that in this thesis I have succeeded to at least partially explain my father's initial resentment towards Oliver and the newly introduced lifestyle that he promoted in the early 2000s in Slovenia. The changes that Slovenia has undergone in the last 20 years have been enormous; and if lifestyle, and in particular culinary taste, can be seen to be one of the most common concerns in people's everyday lives, this study stresses how intrinsically interlinked these remain with other areas of political and economic intervention. This is why 'innocent' topics, such as food and cooking remain one of the most exciting areas for critical examination.

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12 APPENDIX

Čokoladna torta, prva [Chocolate torte, first], *Velika slovenska kuharica*, p. 626

ČOKOLADNA TORTA, PRVA

10 jajc, 30 dag sladkorja, 30 dag moke, pecilni prašek, 6 dag kakava,
10 dag zmletih orehov ali lešnikov, 10 dag raztopljene margarine

V trd sneg polagoma dodajaj sladkor in rumenjake ter primešaj moko, pomešano s pecilnim praškom, kakavom, orehi in z raztopljeno margarino. Testo peci pri 200°C tri četrt ure.

626
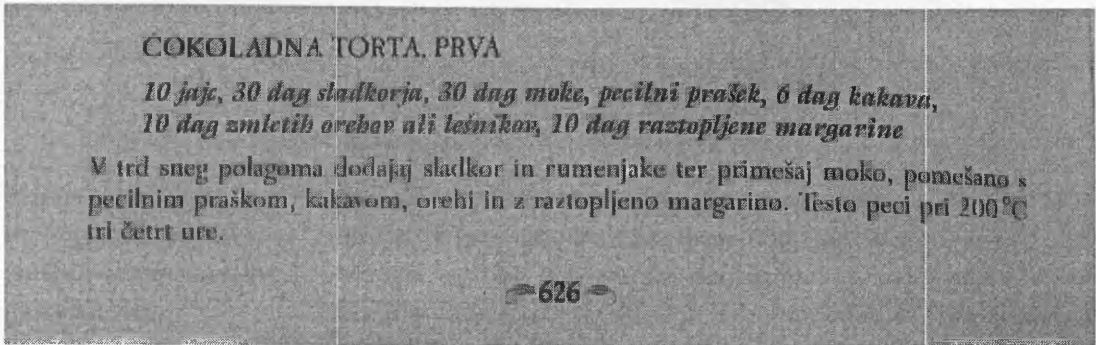
CHOCOLATE TORTE, FIRST
10 eggs, 30 dag[146] of sugar, 30 dag of flour, baking powder, 6 dag of cocoa, 10 dag of ground walnuts or hazelnuts, 10 dag of melted margarine
Slowly add sugar and egg yolks into a stiff beaten egg white and add flour, mixed with baking powder, cocoa, walnuts and with melted margarine. Bake the dough at 200°C three quarters of an hour.

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[146] It is common for Slovene cookbooks to use *dekagram* (and *dl*), rather than *gram* (and *ml*) measurements.

Artičoke

5 artičok, 1/2 limone, slan
krop, zelen peteršilj, česen,
2 dag drobtin, 1/2 dl olja,
malo juhe

Artičoke osnažimo in jim porežemo trde konice listov ter stebla. Obrezane pokapamo z limoninim sokom ali s kisom, da ne počrnijo in jih napol skuhamo v slanem kropu. Odcedimo, med liste pa damo sesekljan zelen peteršilj, drobtine in česen. Nadete artičoke zložimo v kozico, polijemo z oljem ali z raztopljenim maslom in postavimo na štedilnik. Ko se pogrejejo, jim prilijemo še malo juhe in jih dušimo pol ure.
Čas priprave in dušenja: 1 ura 15 min

**5 artichokes, ½ of
lemon, salty boiled
water. Green parsley,
garlic, 2 dag
breadcrumbs. 1/2dl of
oil, a bit of soup [stock].**

Artichokes

We clean artichokes and cut their hard points of the leaves and stems. When cut, we coat them with the lemon juice or with vinegar, so that they do not darken and we cook them in salty boiling water half way through. We remove them from water, and add chopped green parsley, breadcrumbs and garlic in between the leaves. We place filled artichokes into a pan, splash with oil or melted butter and put on stove. When they are warmed, we add (to them) a little soup and sauté for half an hour.

Time of preparation and sautéing: 1 hour 15 minutes.

Zelenjavne jedi [An introduction to the chapter on vegetables], *Velika slovenska kuharica*, p. 369

Zelenjavne jedi

Tudi iz zelenjave in sočivja delamo celo vrsto samostojnih jedi, prilog in prikuh. Zelenjava je danes temelj t.i. polnovredne prehrane, ki na prvem mestu vsebuje neočiščena žitna zrna, sledi zelenjava, ki vsebuje aromate, barvila, grenčine, protibakterijske učinkovine in balastne snovi (med katerimi imajo posebno mesto krompir in stročnice), ter zelenjava, bogata z rastlinskimi olji.

Pred sto leti niso uporabljali tako prečiščenega škroba kot ga danes, zato so zelenjavne jedi navadno podmetli ali zabelili z nekaj žlicami moke. Če danes zelenjavnim jedem že dodajamo škrob, ga dajemo v minimalnih količinah, podobno kot Kitajci.

Posebno poglavje pa je prežganje, to je na maščobi ocvrta moka, ki da zelenjavi poseben priokus, hkrati pa je potuha, da uporabljamo manjše količine zelenjave, pa še ta je prekuhana in osiromašena hranilnih snovi. Zato moramo v takih primerih zavržene hranilne snovi nadomestiti tako, da ponudimo nekaj oprane sveže zelenjave iste vrste.

Prvotno slovenska kuhinja pravzaprav ni poznala prikuh s prežganjem v pravem pomenu, ker so imeli ljudje nekdaj naravni čut za zdravo prehrano. Neopazno pa smo prišli pod vpliv dunajske kuhinje. V vseh večjih kuhinjah so imeli kuharja, ki je skrbel samo za prežganja. Bila so dobro in pravilno pripravljena, zato tudi manj škodljiva.

369

430
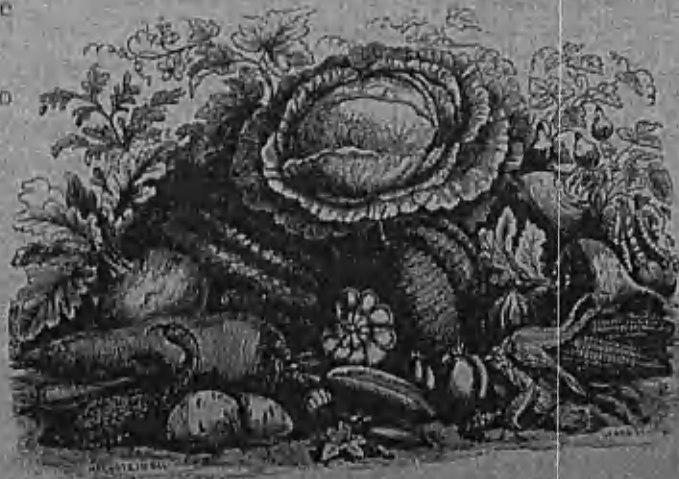
Vegetable dishes

We can make a number of independent dishes and trimmings also of vegetables and legumes. Today, vegetables is the basis for the so called 'balanced diet', which should, in the first place, contain unrefined wheat grains, this is followed by vegetables, which contains aromas, colourings, bitter elements, anti-bacterial elements, and fibre (among which a special place is given to potato and legumes), as well as vegetables, rich in vegetable oils.

Hundred years ago they did not use starch as refined as today, this is why normally fatted with a couple of spoons of flour. If today we have to add starch to vegetable dishes, we add it in minimal quantities, similarly as the Chinese.

However, a special chapter is roux, which is flour fried on fat, which gives a special aftertaste to vegetables, and it is also a connivance at the same time to use smaller quantities of vegetables, which is anyway overcooked and emptied of nutritious elements. This is why in such cases we have to replace the destroyed nutrients by offering some washed fresh vegetable of the same kind.

In the beginning, Slovene cuisine did not know trimmings with roux in the real sense of the word, because people in the past had a natural feeling for healthy food. Inperceptibly, we came under the influence of the Viennese cuisine. In all larger kitchens they had a chef/a cook, who took care of roux only. They were well and correctly made, and this is why also less harmful.

Torte [An introduction to the section on cakes], *Velika slovenska kuharica*,

p. 625-6

Torte

TORTE

Za dobro torto so potrebna sveža živila, za lepo pa spretna roka pri mešanju, pazljivost pri pečenju in okus pri krašenju. Izbira tort je velika — od čisto preproste do zelo bogate za najbolj slovesne priložnosti.

TORTA V POSEBNI OBLIKI

Torte lahko različno oblikuješ, npr. kot deteljni list, trikot, zvezdo, srce idr. Za trikotno torto speci testo v pločevini kvadratne oblike. Pečeno in ohlajeno prereži diagonalno, da dobiš dva trikota. Spodnjega nadevaj s kremo ali namaži z marmelado in pokrij z drugim. Zgornjo ploskev oblij z ledom in okrasi, stranice namaži s kremo ali marmelado in posuj s sesekljanimi mandeljni, lešniki, orehi. Za deteljni list, zvezdo, srce, smrekov storž idr. speci na pločevini vsako posebej piškotno in orehovo testo za torte. Na ohlajeno ploščo položi izrezan modelni list v obliki zvezde ali druge oblike in z ostrim nožem gladko obreži. Ostanke zreži v polmesece in drugo drobno pecivo, drugo zdrobi in zmešaj s kremo, s katero boš sestavila torto. Tortno testo lahko spečeš tudi v posameznih ploščah, izrežeš poljubne oblike, jih sestaviš in obliješ z ledom ali prevlečeš s kremo. Za smrekov storž vzemi dve debelejši tortni ploskvi, dolgi približno 20 cm. Izreži ju, nadevaj s poljubnim nadevom in sestavi tako, da dobita oblasto obliko. Oblasto prireži tudi stranice. Izoblikovan storž tanko prevleči z gosto marmelado in obloži s čokoladnimi pastilami; polagaj jih od koničastega konca navzgor v obliki strešne opeke. Storž položi na krožnik, prekrit s čipkastim papirjem.

TORTES

For a good torte/cake fresh ingredients are needed, and for a cake to turn out beautiful a skill at mixing, attention while baking and taste for decoration is required. The choice of cakes is big – from a very simple to a very rich for the most solemn occasions.

TORTE/CAKE IN A SPECIAL SHAPE

You (sing. fem.) can shape cakes in many ways, for example as a shamrock leaf, triangle, star, heart shaped etc. For a triangle cake, bake the dough in a tin of a square shape. Once baked and cooled, cut it diagonally, so that you get two triangles. Fill the bottom one with cream or spread jam and cover with the second one. Coat the upper surface with icing and decorate, coat sides with cream or jam and sprinkle with ground almonds, hazelnuts, walnuts. For a shamrock leaf, star, hearth shape or pine cone etc. bake on a tin separately a bisuit and walnut dough for tortes. On a cooled plate place a paper pattern in the shape of a star or other shape and cut around with sharp knife. Cut the remaining into crescents and other small cakes, the rest break into small pieces and mix with cream, with which you will compile the cake. You can also bake the torte dough in separate/various plates, cut out desired shapes, compile them and pout over with icing or coat with cream. For pine cone take two thicker torte plates, in length approximately 20 cm. Cut them, fill with desired filling and compile so that they get a sphere shape. Cut the sides as well. Glaze such a finish pine-cone with thick jam and coat with chocolate pastilles; place them from the pointed nib towards the top just like roof tiles. Place the pine-cone on a plate, covered with a doily.

Epohalni ananas s potolčenim metinim sladkorjem [Epohal pineapple with crushed mint sugar], *Happy Days with the Naked Chef* (Slovene translation), p. 262

Epohalni ananas s potolčenim metinim sladkorjem

Če so mi kot mulcu za sladico ponujali »sadje«, se mi je zdelo to tako neskončno dolgočasno, da vam niti povedati ne morem. Ampak zdaj vidim, zakaj: nikomur se ni ljubilo iz sadja pripraviti ničesar, kar bi bilo vsaj od daleč videti zanimivo. Recept, kot je pa tale tukaj, bi me navdušil še kot pamža. To je ena tistih zadev, ki kar eksplodirajo v ustih in se je ne moreš in ne moreš najesti. Ko enkrat pokusiš, ne pozabiš nikoli.

ZA 4 OSEBE

1 zrel ananas • navaden jogurt, ko postrežemo (če hočemo) •
4 zvrhane žlice sladkorja • pest sveže mete

Kupite si en lep zrel ananas. Dišati bi moral malo po sladkem in listi naj bi se dali zlahka odstraniti. Odrežemo ga na obeh koncih in ga nato z nožem olupimo, pri čemer odstranimo vse črne koščke. Zatem ananas razrežemo na četrtine in odstranimo malo manj okusno sredico, ki jo jaz ali vržem stran ali pa cuzam, medtem ko dokončujem jed. Četrtine kolikor mogoče na tanko narežemo po dolgem. Razporedimo jih v dveh plasteh po velikem krožniku. Ne damo jih v hladilnik, pač pa samo umaknemo.

Po večerji nesemo ta krožnik na mizo skupaj z lončkom jogurta, ki si ga bodo gostje podajali, ko bo šlo zares, nakar se vrnemo z možnarjem, v katerega smo dali sladkor. Gostje ali družina si bodo pri tem najbrž mislili, da se vam je utrgalo, še posebej, če jih boste pri tem početju v celoti ignorirali in hladnokrvno obirali lističe metice ter jih dodajali sladkorju. Dobro jo stolcite v možnarju kar pri mizi. Sladkor bo pri tem spreminjal barvo in oddajal božanske vonjave. Z dovolj ročne spretnosti boste trli kakšno minuto. Metin sladkor nato posujemo po krožniku z ananasom – pri čemer pazimo, da pred tem nihče ne sune kakega koščka ananasa. Kaj tako fenomenalnega! Če bi vam slučajno kaj ostalo, lahko vedno naredite še pina colado.

Epohal pineapple with crushed mint sugar

If as a child I was offered 'fruit', I found this so very boring that I cannot even tell you. But I can see now why: nobody bothered making out of fruit something which would look interesting at least from far. The recipe like this one here would excite me already as a child. This is one of those things, which just explode in your mouth and you cannot and cannot finish eating. When you try once, you will never forget.

Buy yourself one beautiful ripe pineapple. It should smell a little bit sweet and leaves should be removed easily. We cut it on both sides and then peel with the knife, at which point we also remove all black pieces. After, we quarter the pineapple and remove a little bit less tasty centre, which I either throw away or suck, while I keep finishing the dish. I cut the quarters as thinly as possible in length. We place them in two layers on a big placte. We don't put them into a fridge, but just remove.

After dinner we take the plate to the table together with a pot of yoghurt that the guests will pass between each other when it goes for real, and then we come back with a mortar, where we placed sugar. The guests or family will probably think that you've gone mad, especially if you will be ignoring them while doing this and pick the leaves coldblooded and add them to sugar. Crush it well in the mortar just at the table. While doing this sugar will keep changing colour and give out gorgous fragrance. You will be crushing for a minut with enough hand skill. We then sprinkle mint sugar on the plate with pineapple – at which we are careful for nobody to steal any pieces of pineapple. Something as phenomenal! If by chance there's any left you can always make pina colada.

pita iz robidnic
torta di more

za 8–10 oseb

Sam sem naredil na tisoče takih pit, ko sem delal za Antonia Carluccia v restavraciji Neal Street v Londonu. Delali smo jih za Royal Opera House (kraljeva operna hiša, op. prev.) in obiskovalci opernih in baletnih predstav so si jih privoščili v najbolj prefinjeni obliki piknika v Londonu, in sicer v svojih ložah nad odrom. Nekega dne sem si šel na prost dan ogledat *Labodje jezero* in stegoval vrat ter opazoval ljudi, ki so se basali z mojimi pitami, medtem ko sem se sam drenjal z ostalimi smrtniki na spodnjih, mnogo cenejših sedežih (in glodal sadne bonbone iz vrečke!). Saj ne, da bi bil ljubosumen. Samo vedel sem, kako prekleto dobre so te pite! To sladico je res lahko narediti, še posebej, če imamo v zamrzovalniku par kosov krhkega ali tudi listnatega testa za pite. Uporabimo lahko katerokoli mehko sadje – maline, robidnice, jagode ali borovnice, celo rahlo pokuhane kosmulje. Pripravite se na pravo poslastico!

1 x krhko testo (stran 279)

za nadev
1 vanilijin strok
500 g maskarponeja
1 dl sladke smetane

3 žlice sladkorja
3 žlice žganja ali sladkega vina
300 g robidnic (ali drugega sadja, glej zgoraj)
2 žlici marmelade iz robidnic ali malin
majhna pest svežih majhnih lističev mete

Najprej z maslom namažemo tortni model s premerom 28 cm. Za krhko testo sledimo navodilom na strani 279. S testom potem obložimo tortni model, da sega malo tudi ob robu, in postavimo za eno uro v zamrzovalnik. Pečico razgrejemo na 180 stopinj in testo pečemo približno 12 minut oziroma toliko, da se zlatorumeno zapeče.

Vanilijin strok razpolovimo po dolžini in odstranimo semena tako, da z nožem postrgamo notranjost vsake polovice. Maskarpone, smetano, vanilijina semena, sladkor in žganje mešamo v veliki skledi, dokler se lepo ne zasveti. Poskusimo – nadev mora biti bogata, penasta in rahlo sladkana krema s svežim pridihom žganja. Žganje lahko izpustimo oziroma ga nadomestimo s sladkim vinom.

Ko se testo ohladi, nanj z lopatico nanesemo sladkano kremo. Kremo enakomerno razporedimo po testu in jo prekrijemo s sadjem, ki ga narahlo položimo na kremo, ne da bi ga preveč pritiskali. Če si želite več sadja, si dajte duška, prav tako ga po mili volji lahko zmiksate. Nato v majhni ponvi stopimo nekaj žlic marmelade s 3 do 4 žlicami vode. Mešamo, dokler ne dobimo prozornega sirupa, nato s čistim čopičem za peko narahlo nanesemo sirup po sadežih.

Preden postrežemo, potresemo z metinimi lističi. Lahko postrežemo v velikem pekaču ali v več majhnih posodicah. Pita je krasna za k popoldanskemu čaju. Postrežemo lahko takoj ali pa jo damo v hladilnik, dokler si tortice iz srca ne zaželimo.

Blackberry pie

Torta di more

I have made thousands of such pies when I worked for Antonio Carluccio in the restaurant Neal Street in London. We used to produce them for the Royal Opera House (royal opera house, transl. comment) and the visitors of opera and ballet performances/shows have eaten them in the most refined form of a picnic in London that is in their stalls above the stage. One day on a free day I went to see Swan's Lake and I was stretching my neck and observed people who were stuffing themselves with my pies, while I was crowded with the other mortals in the lower, much cheaper seats (and gnawed fruit bonbons from a bag!). Not that I was jealous. I just knew how damn good these pies are! It is really easy to make this dessert, especially if we have in the freezer a couple of pieces of puff pastry or filo pastry for pies. We can use any soft fruit – raspberries, blackberries, strawberries or blueberries, even slightly cooked gooseberries. Get ready for a real treat!

1x puff pastry (page 279)

For the filling
1 vanilla pod
500g of mascarpone
1dl of cream

3 spoons of sugar
3 spoons of liquor or sweet wine
300 g of blackberries (or other fruit, see above)
2 spoons of jam made of blackberries or raspberries
a small handful of fresh mint leaves

First, we grease with butter a cake tin with diameter 28cm. We follow instructions for puff pastry on page 279. We put the dough on a cake tin, so that a little bit looks over the edge as well, and place for one hour to the freezer. We heat the oven to 180 degrees and we bake the dough for approximately 12 minutes or until it is golden brown.

We halve the vanilla pod length-wise and remove the seeds by scraping the inside of each half with a knife. We mix mascarpone, cream, vanilla seeds, sugar and liquor in a big bowl, until it shines beautifully. We try – the filling must be a rich, creamy and slightly sweet cream with a fresh touch of liquor. We can leave out liquor or we can replace it with sweet wine.

When the dough gets cold, we add the cream with a small spade. We arrange the cream equally on the dough and cover it with fruit, which we place on the cream gently, without pressing it too much. If you wish for more fruit, go ahead, equally you can mix it. After, we melt a couple of spoons of jam with 3-4 spoons of water in a small pan. We mix until we get a transparent syrup, then we gently spread it on the fruit with a clean brush.

Before we serve, we sprinckle with mint leaves. We can serve in a big tin or in several little vessels. The pie is awesome with the afternoon tea. We can serve immediately or we can put it in the fridge, until we wish to eat it with all out heart.

Bananin kolač

Tole bananin kolač je družinski hit. Čim se nam v skledi s sadjem naberejo tri banane, na katerih prve rjave pike jasno opominjajo, da bodo vsak čas prezrele, jih pretvorim v ta bananin kolač, ki ima še to dobro lastnost, da med pripravo ne umažeš prav veliko posode: en stepalnik, ena skleda in en lonček, to je vse. Obožuje ga cela Pavla, ki banan sicer sploh ne mara. Je pa bananin kolač čudežen. Zvečer, ko pride iz pečice rezal kolač, ga pričnemo rezati; otroci ga vzamejo vsak po dva ali tri kose. Luka pa se zadovolji z enim, ker pazi na linijo. Potem gredo otroci spat, bananinega kolača pa zjutraj ni več. Da ga ni odnesel palček Smuk?

Za kolač s premerom 24 cm

3 zrele banane
0,5 dl sladke smetane
100 g rjavega sladkorja
1 vanilijev sladkor
naribana lupinica 1 limone
125 g masla, pa še malo za pekač
150 g sladkorja v prahu
5 jajc pri sobni temperaturi
300 g moke
2 žlički pecilnega praška
ščep soli

Za glazuro:
150 g sladkorja v prahu
sok 1 limone

Za ta kolač potrebujemo nažlebljen pekač za šarklje – otroke zadolžimo, da ga čimbolj natančno namažejo z maslom: z drobnimi prstki bodo natančneje namazali reže, za še večje veselje pa jim maslo lahko raztopimo v mali kozici in damo v roke čopič za mazanje. Namaščen pekač še poprašimo z moko – in precej bomo videli, kako natančno je bil namazan!

Pečico razgrejemo na 180 stopinj.

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Banane zmečkamo z vilicami, dolijemo smetano, dodamo rjavi in vanilijev sladkor ter limonino lupinico in premešamo.

V drugi skledi penasto stepemo maslo skupaj s sladkorjem v prahu, nato pa eno po eno dodajamo jajca. Če bomo uporabili jajca naravnost iz hladilnika, se nam bo masa zazdela židka, saj se ne bo lepo poenotila z maslom, kar sicer ni nič hudega, vendar se temu lahko izognemo, če uporabimo jajca pri sobni temperaturi.

Zdaj pa dodamo polovico moke, žličko pecilnega praška in ščep soli, premešamo, nato dodamo pol bananine mešanice, premešamo, dodamo še drugo polovico moke in drugo žličko pecilnega praška, spet pomešamo, dodamo še preostalo bananino mešanico in pri vmešavanju temeljito postrgamo tudi stene posode, da se masa poenoti. Testo nalijemo v pripravljen pekač in postavimo v ogreto pečico.

Po približno 45 minutah z zobotrebcem preverimo, ali je kolač pečen: zobotrebec zapičimo v sredino kolača in ga izvlečemo. Če ostane suh, je kolač pečen. Vzamemo ga iz pečice in zvrnemo na rešetko, kjer naj se ohladi.

Ohlajen kolač premažemo z najbolj preprosto glazuro pod soncem: sladkor v prahu razmešamo s toliko limoninega soka, da dobimo kot med gosto zmes, ki jo razporedimo krog in krog po vrhu kolača, od koder bo spolzela navzdol, da bo videti kot Kiliman-džaro.

Postavimo na podstavek za torto, ki smo ga obložili s čipkastim papirjem.

Banana cake

This banana cake is a family hit. As soon as we have a collection of three bananas in the fruit bowl, on which the first brown spots clearly remind us that anytime they will be too ripe, I convert them into this banan cake which has also this good quality that does not require you to dirty too many utensils: a mixer, a bowl and a little pot, that is all. Even Pavla adores this cake, and she does not normally like bananas. However, the banana cake is also miraculous. In the evening when the whole cake comes from the oven we start cutting it: children take two or three pieces each. Luka, on the other hand, is happy with only one, because he is careful of his 'line' [i.e. he is dieting]. Then children go to sleep, and in the morning there is no more banana cake. Was it taken by dwarf Smuk?

For a tin with 24 cm diameter
3 ripe bananas
0.5dl cream
100g brown sugar
1 packet of vanilla sugar
Ground peel of 1 lemon
125g of butter, and a little bit for the tin
150g of powdered sugar
5 eggs at room temperature
300g of flour
2 teaspoons of baking powder
Pinch of salt

For glazing:
150g of powdered sugar
Juice of 1 lemon

For t his cake we need a gutter-shape tin for *šarklji* – we give children a duty to spread butter in it as exactly as precisely as they can: they will grease the rifts with their tiny little fingers, if we want to give them bigger happiness then we can melt some butter in a little frying pan and give them to their hands brush for greasing. We dust the greased tin with flour – and we will see immediately how precisely it was greased.
We heat the oven to 180°C.
We mash bananas with forks, pour in cream, add brown and vanilla sugar as well as lemon peel and mix.
In a different bowl we mix butter together with powdered sugar, and then we add eggs one by one. If we use eggs directly from the fridge, the mixture will seem spoilt because it will not create uniforminty with the butter, which is in general nothing wrong, but we can avoid this, if we use eggs at room temperature.

Now we add half the flour, a spoon of baking powder and a pinch of salt, we stir, then add half of banana mixture, we stir again and add the second half of flour and the second spoon of baking powder. We stir again, and add the remaining half of banana mixture and while mixing, scrub thoroughly also the sides of the bowl, so that the mixture unifies. We pour the dough into a ready tin and put into the hot oven.

After approximately 45 minutes we check with a toothpick, whther the cake is done: we stick the toothpick into the middle of the cake and pull it out. If it remains dry, the cake is ready. We take it out of the oven and we put it to a net where it should cool down.

We coat a cold cake with the simplest glazing under the sun: we mix powdered sugar with as the amount of lemon juice that will make a thick mixture, which should be spread round and round on the top of the cake, from where it will slip down, so it will look like Kilimanjaro.

We put it on cake salver, which has been decorated with a doily.

Mlačna solata z mladim krompirjem [Warm salad with new potatoes], *Ljubezen skozi želodec*, p. 64-5

Zgodaj junija, ko je tržnica na vrhuncu, človeka kar poganja od ene stojnice do druge: malo te pravkar odrezane, še vse mlade cvetače tukaj, pa kifeljčar tam pri sosedi, joj, pa na grah ne smemo pozabiti ... Tole tukaj je taka nepredvidljiva kombinacija, ki zahteva malo truda, učinek pa je zagotovljen. Tamali so se najprej zmrdovali nad preveč zeleno barvo, na koncu pa so se grebli za zadnji grahek v skledi. Tako rekoč krompirček na zrnu graha!

Mlačna solata z mladim krompirjem, cvetačko in grahom

Za 4 osebe

500 g kifeljčarja ali drugega čvrstega mladega krompirja

3 drobne glavice mlade cvetače ali 1 večja

100 g sveže izluščenega mladega graha

šopek peteršilja, ki ga nasekljamo

50 g mandljevih lističev ali nasekljanih mandljev

sol

sok ½ limone

oljčno olje

po želji: mlada čebulica, narezana na kolobarčke, in čili v prahu

Mlad krompir ostrgamo in ga skuhamo v osoljeni vodi. Posebej obarimo mlado cvetačo – tako, da ni več čisto trda, pa vseeno še ni razkuhana. Isto naredimo še z mladim grahom. Zelenjava naj bo čvrsta, toda ne na pol surova.

Vso kuhano in obarjeno zelenjavo združimo v lični skledi. Nato zelenjavo potresemo z nasekljanim peteršiljem in z mandlji, posolimo ter zabelimo z limoninim sokom in oljčnim oljem. Jemo še mlačno.

Luka bi vse skupaj še izdatno potresel z mlado čebulico in s čilijem, vendar pa je ta jed prava uspešnica pri otrocih – zakaj bi jo po nepotrebnem pikantili, raje naj si jo vsak zašpili po svoje.

Ta mlačna solata se izvrstno poda kot priloga k telečjim ptičkom na strani 253.

In early June, when the market is at its peak, the human being is being driven/ridden from one stall to the next: a little bit of this all young cauliflower, freshly cut, here, and the potato (*kifeljčar*) there at the neighbour, oh, and we should not forget peas. This here is such an unpredictable combination, which requires little effort, and the effect is assured. The little ones first did not like the too green colour, but at the end they fough for the last pea in the bowl. So to say a potato on the grain of pea!

Lukewarm salad with young potato, little cauliflower and peas

For 4 persons
500g of *kifeljčar* (a sort of potato) or other robust young potato
3 tiny heads of young cauliflowers or 1 bigger
100g freshly shelled young peas
A small bunch of parsley, which we chop
50g of almond flakes or chopped almonds
Salt
Juice of 1 lemon
Olive oil
Optional: young onions, cut into slices, and powdered chilli

We scrub the young potato and cook it in salted water. Separately we parboil young cauliflower – so that it is no longer completely hard, but neither overcooked. We do the same with the young peas. Vegetables should be compact, but not half-raw.

We combine all the cooked and parboiled vegetables in a neat bowl. Then we sprinkle the vegetables with chopped parsley and almonds, salt it and add lemon juice and olive oil. We eat it when still lukewarm.

Luka would sprinkle this with a generous amount of young onions and chilli, but this dish is a true hit with children – why spicing it unnecessarily, rather, let everyone do it their own way.

This lukewarm salad can go excellently with Veal Birds on page 253.

An introduction to the section on pasta from the Novaks' second cookbook,

Ljubezen skozi želodec 2, **p. 140**

Prva stvar, ki jo otroci vprašajo, čim stopijo skozi vrata kamnite hiše v Dekanih, je: "A bo mineštra? Nonina mineštra?" Nona Edvina trdi, da mora biti taka preprosta jed, kot je primorska mineštra, ki ji nekateri pravijo tudi "pašta fižol", skuhana popolno – ker se ne diči z ekstravagantnimi sestavinami in kakšnimi cudežnimi tehnikami, mora bit recept stokrat preizkušen. In ta spodaj je bil, garantirano. Pa tudi nona Edvina ni od muh, saj je zaslužna za najbolj slovite recepte z garancijo na Slovenskem: dolgoletna urednica in soavtorica kuharskih knjig sestre Vendeline točno ve, kako se pišejo recepti in kaj je dobra, domača slovenska kuhinja. Pa še kuharski tip: mineštra bolje uspe, če med kuho zapoješ eno po dekansko.

The first thing that the children ask, as soon as they step through the door of the stone house in Dekani, is: "Is there going to be a minestra? Nona's minestra?" Nona Edvina claims that such a simple dish as "Primorska minestra", that some people also name "pasta-faggioli", should be cooked perfectly – because it does not boast with extravagant ingredients and some miraculous techniques, the recipe needs to be tried out hundred times. I this one below was, guaranteed. But even nona Edvina is very capable/successful because she is deserving of the most famous recipes with a warranty in Slovenia: a long term editor and co-author of sister Vendelina's cookbooks knows exactly how to write recipes and what is good homely Slovene food. And a cooking tip: minestra will be better if you sing while cooking Dekani way.