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A FORMAL ANALYSIS OF THE CULINARY RECIPE – MIDDLE ENGLISH VS. ANGLO-NORMAN[1]

The recipe as a text type has been investigated among others by such scholars as Carroll (1999), Taavitsainen (2001a, 2001b), Görlach (e.g., 2004) and Mäkinen (2006). Schmidt (1994) distinguishes three types of the recipe: the medical, culinary and general. The majority of research conducted so far deals with the medical recipe or treats the text type as a whole without discussing the differences between the particular sub-types. The few studies devoted exclusively to the culinary recipe usually concentrate on its single features (for instance the presence of null objects, as in Massam and Roberge 1989, or Culy 1996).

A diachronic study of the recipe shows the evolution that the text type has undergone, since the earlier a recipe the more it varies from what we know today (cf. e.g., Culy 1996, Martilla 2009). The earliest culinary recipes, written in English, come from the late Middle English period. However, following Hieatt and Jones (1986: 859), "the earliest culinary recipes occur in two Anglo-Norman manuscripts" from the beginning of the Middle English period.

The aim of the present paper is to compare the Anglo-Norman and Middle English recipes. The former come from the end of the 13th and early 14th centuries, the latter from the 14th and 15th centuries. The study concentrates on some of the formal features of the texts, such as the length of the recipes, and their structure, esp. such recipe components as the heading and the procedure.

The corpus can be divided into two parts: (i) the Anglo-Norman database, which consists of 61 recipes (belonging to two collections), and (ii) the Middle English database, composed of 208 recipes which were either translated or derived from the Anglo-Norman ones.

1. Introduction

The Anglo-Norman culinary collections constitute one of the earliest medieval European examples of the text type. Following Hieatt (2002: 23), they link the continental and English cuisine and serve as a means to understand the development of the English cuisine. They are "the obvious place to start in examining the medieval cookery of England". Thus, in what follows, we shall discuss the structure of the earliest (Anglo-Norman) and the corresponding (later) Middle English recipes.

Special attention will be paid to the length of the recipes, as well as the structure of the particular recipe components, such as the heading and the procedure, which by some are considered to be the obligatory "recipe elements"[2].

2. The corpus

The corpus for the present study can be divided into: (a) the Anglo-Norman and (b) the Middle English. The Anglo-Norman database consists of 61 culinary recipes found in two manuscripts in the British Library: the Additional 32085 (MS A) and the Royal 12.C.xii (MS B)[3]. The former contains 29 recipes, which are "among the earliest full recipes from medieval Western Europe" (Hieatt and Jones 1986: 859), the latter consists of 32 recipes. Hieatt (2006) dated them to 1290 and 1320 respectively. Following Hieatt (2002: 25), MS A "antedates (if narrowly) the earliest surviving Continental culinary collections"[4]. The differences between the character of the Anglo-Norman and continental recipes were discussed by Hieatt (1980, 2002). A comparison of the recipes found in the two Anglo-Norman collections with some French culinary collections has shown that the former contain a number of dishes never found in any of the surviving French materials, which suggests a different source of the Anglo-Norman recipes than French. Hieatt (2002: 26) suggests that the Anglo-Norman collections were at least to a certain extent based on an Arabic source, namely *Baghdad Cookery Book*, which originates from the 12th century. On the other hand, some of the Anglo-Norman recipes might have been created in England (i.e., they were not based on any source)[5].

The Middle English recipes which have been selected for the present paper correspond to the Anglo-Norman ones in that they refer to the same dish. They come from various sources and are dated from 1325 to 1490[6]. A list of the

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[2] The term was introduced by Mäkinen (2006: 87).
[3] Edited by Hieatt and Jones (1986).
[4] The Italian collection *Liber de coquina* dates from c. 1300. The similarities between the Italian and the two Anglo-Norman collections suggest that they might derive from the same (lost) source.
[5] These are recipes for which no equivalents were found in other languages.
[6] The exact collections used for the present study have been listed in Appendix 1.

Anglo-Norman recipes and the corresponding Middle English ones has been presented in Appendix 2. The earliest Middle English equivalents of the Anglo-Norman recipes are probably translations of the Anglo-Norman originals (or of their duplicates). The later Middle English recipes show (greater or lesser) changes from the originals (Hieatt and Jones 1986).

For some of the Anglo-Norman recipes (from MS A) no English equivalent was found, for others we have found up to 14 corresponding recipes. The average number of equivalents for each Anglo-Norman recipe equals 3.5. Altogether, we have selected 69 equivalents of the 29 recipes found in MS A, and 139 for the 32 recipes found in MS B. By 'equivalents' we mean recipes for the same dish. It should be mentioned that in a number of cases, variants of a particular recipe were also found, however, these have been excluded from the present study. For instance, the Anglo-Norman recipe (1a) instructs how to prepare a sauce, whose main ingredient are grapes. The Middle English recipes with the same title (i) use substitutes for the main ingredient (broth and vinegar instead of grapes), as in (1b); (ii) add other ingredients which dominate the taste, as in (1c); or (iii) instruct how to prepare meat with this particular sauce, as in (1d). And thus, these were not included in the Middle English database. Additionally, for nine Anglo-Norman texts (all found in MS A), no corresponding Middle English recipes were identified.

(1a) Sauce Pevorade

Pevre gresse. Une sause k'ad a non pevre gresse. Pernez la raysine e quillez hors la grape e metez en un morter o un poi de sel, e quassez bien les grapes; e pus colez hors le jus; e metez gingivre e peivre e un poi de pein en un morter e braez bien, e pus destemprez oue le jus &cetera.

(Anglo-Norman recipes_MS A_19_1290)[7]

[Rich pepper. A sauce called rich pepper. Take a bunch of grapes and put them in a mortar with a little salt; crush the fruit well, then pour off the juice; put ginger and pepper and a little bread in a mortar and grind well, then mix with the juice, etc.][8]

(1b) Sauce Pevorade for Veal

PERUORAT FOR VEEL AND VENYSOUN Take brede & fry it in grece; drawe it vp with broth and vyneger. Take perto powdour of peper & salt, and sette it on the fyre. Boile it and messe it forth.

(Forme of Cury_139_1390)

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[7] All the examples will be referred to as follows: the name of the collection/manuscript – the number of the recipe as it occurs in the corpus collected for the present study – the year to which the recipe is dated.

[8] In what follows, translations of the Anglo-Norman recipes will be given in brackets. All the translations of the Anglo-Norman recipes included in the present paper are after Hieatt and Jones (1986).

(1c) Sauce Pevorade, Garlik

Sauce oylepeuer / Take faire browne brede, and tost hit, and stepe hit in vinegre, and drawe it thorgh a streynour, and caste there-to garlek (butte stampe it small first); And caste there-to pouder of peper, And salte, And serue hit forth.

<div align="right">(Boke of Kokery_39_1445)</div>

(1d) Pork in Sauce Pevorade

Auter brawn en peuerade. Take myghty brothe of Beef or of Capoun, an penne take clene Freysshe Brawn, an sethe it, but not y-now; An 3if it be Freysshe Brawn, roste it, but not I-now, an pan leche it in pecys, an caste it to þe brothe. An panne take hoole Oynonys, & pylle hem, an panne take Vynegre per-to, and Canelle, and sette it on þe fyre, an draw yt þorw a straynoure, and caste per-to; þen take Clowys, Maces, an powder Pepyr, an caste per-to, and a lytil Saunderys, an sette it on þe fyre, an let boyle tylle þe Oynonys an þe Brawn ben euyne sothyn, an nowt to moche; þan take lykoure y-mad of Bred an Vinegre an Wyne, an sesyn it vp, an caste per-to Saffroun to make þe coloure bryth, an Salt, an serue it forth.

<div align="right">(Potage Diverse_32_1435)</div>

3. The formal features of the recipe

The formal features of the recipe were mostly studied by scholars dealing with the recipe in general (without distinguishing between its different types) or with the medical recipe collections (see among others Stannard 1982, Hunt 1990, Taavitsainen 2001a). They analysed the structure of the texts and distinguished a number of 'recipe elements' (as Mäkinen (2006) calls them), which compose the text type. Despite some differences in terms of the terminology used, these scholars are in agreement concerning the general division of the structure of the recipe. All of them agree that the heading and the procedure are the obligatory parts of each recipe. The former is referred to by Stannard (1982) as 'purpose'. In other studies, it is divided into 'rubric' and 'indication' (Hunt 1990), or 'title' and 'indication of use' (Taavitsainen 2001a). Additionally, Görlach (1992) mentions 'title' and Carroll (1999) calls for 'heading or title', without making any reference to the indication of use/purpose[9]. The latter obligatory element of recipes is the procedure. In the earlier studies which deal with the structural division of recipes, this component is divided into two parts: 'ingredients/equipment and procedure' (Stannard 1982); 'composition and preparation' (Hunt 1990); and 'ingredients and preparation/dosage' (Taavitsainen 2001a). Due to a slightly simplified structure of the medieval culinary recipes (when compared to the medical ones), in what follows, we will refer to the particular

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[9] Both Görlach and Carroll dealt mostly with the culinary recipes.

elements of the texts as 'the heading' (which consists of 'title' and/or 'statement of purpose') and 'the procedure' (which consists of 'list of ingredients' and/or 'preparation')[10].

3.1. The length

The length is closely related to the structure of the recipes, as well as to some of the linguistic features of the text type, such as simple sentence structure. There are some differences in the length of the two Anglo-Norman manuscripts. The recipes from MS B, although dated later, are much shorter than those in MS A. The former mostly do not exceed the length of three lines (whilst none of the recipes in MS A is that short). This can be accounted for by the fact that MS A uses more complete clauses, whilst in MS B we find either non-finite clauses or (more often) bare lists of ingredients (compare (2a)-(2b)). The difference in length of the two manuscripts may suggest that even though MS B is dated later than MS A, the former might have been based on an earlier material than the latter. Hieatt (2002: 33) rules out the possibility of these two being derived from a common source. She writes: "they are entirely separate entities; neither A nor B can possibly be derived from the other (or its source). There is very little overlap between them". We have found six dishes, for which recipes were found in both manuscripts. They not only differ in length and structure (those in MS B are shorter) but also the obtained dish is different, see (3a) and (3b).

(2a)
Mincebek. E une autre viaunde, ke ad a noun mincebek. Pernez amydon e myncez le en un morter, e si vos n'avez ceo, pernez flur demeyne; e pernez let de almaundes ou ewe teve, e metez dedenz un poi de gest ou un poi de past egre; e puys festes temprer; e pernez une esquele e festes un pertuz parmy, e festes culer le mincebek parmy cel pertuz en oile ou en gresse; e puys pernez sucre e festes sirop boiller; e festes bainer le myncebek dedenz, e metez du cel desus; e puys les dressez.

(Anglo-Norman recipes_MS A_4_1290)

[Mincebek (= fritters). Here is another dish, which is called mincebek. Take wheat starch and crumble it in a mortar; if you do not have any, take best white flour; and blend (the starch or flour) with almond milk or tepid water, and a little yeast or sourdough; take a bowl and make a hole in it, and pour the mincebek through the hole into (hot) oil or grease; and then take sugar and boil up a syrup; immerse the mincebek in this, and sprinkle with salt, and then serve.]

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[10] Terminology used by Bator and Sylwanowicz (forthcoming).

(2b)
Haucegeme. Let d'alemaunz, flur de rys, char de veel moudree, char de veel chiselé a manere de dees e mys leinz, galingal, canel, sucre: colour, vermail de sang dragoun.

(Anglo-Norman recipes_MS B_6_1320)

[Haucegeme (= veal stew colored red). Almond milk, rice flour, ground veal, diced veal added; galingale, cinnamon, sugar; the color, sandragon red.]

(3a)
Teste de Tourk. Fueille de paste, bon farois: plaunté dedenz, chonys e volatyle, dates plumees souceez en miel, formage nowe plaunté dedenz, clous, quibibes, sucre desus, puis une couche de fars festicade grant plenté; colour de fars, soré, jaune e vert. La teste serra neir adressé a la manere de chevels de femme en un neyr esquele, une face de houme desus.

(Anglo-Norman recipes_MS B_27_1320)

[Turk's head. A sheet of pastry well filled, with rabbits and poultry, dates, peeled and sweetened in honey, new cheese, cloves, and cubebs; sugar on top, then a generous layer of ground pistachio nuts; the colour of the ground nuts, red, yellow, and green. The head (of hair) should be black, arranged to resemble the hair of a woman, in a black bowl, with the face of a man set on top.]

(3b)
Teste de Turke. A fere meymes cele viaunde per jur de pesson ou en kareme ke l'em apele teste de Turke. Pernez rys triez e festes les laver, e sechir, e pus le braez bien; e pus festes temper oue let des alemaundes espessé, e metez dedenz especes e seffran, si cum avant est dist, e sucre. Festes un cofin de past, e pus festes escauder des anguilles, e festes oster les fimys, e pus festes goboner; e pernez persil e sauge e del bro, e festes braer en un morter, e metez seffran e pudre; e pus coverez le, e metez en furn, &cetera.

(Anglo-Norman recipes_MS A_23_1290)

[Turk's head. How to make the dish called Turk's head for a fish day or in Lent. Take choice rice and wash it and dry it; then grind it thoroughly, mix with thickened almond milk, and put in spices and saffron, as directed below, and sugar. Make a pastry case; then scald eels and remove the excrement; then cut them up; and take parsley, sage, and some broth, and grind in a mortar, and put in saffron and mixed ground spice; then cover and put it in the oven, etc.]

When it comes to the length of the Middle English recipes, Carroll (2004: 182) stated that typical Middle English recipes range from 40 to 120 words. Looking at a number of the Middle English equivalents collected for the present study, we can see that the length could have varied a lot (see for instance recipes for jelly found in different collections, (4a)-(4c)). Generally, the later a recipe the longer and more detailed it was. However, there are exceptions to this rule, as in (5a)-(5b).

(4a)

Gelee. Vihs isodeen in win & water & saffron & poudre of gynger & kanele, galyn-
gal, & beo idon in an vessel ywryen clanliche; Þe colour qwyt.

(Diversa Cibaria_25_1325)[11]

(4b)

For to make a gely, tak hoggys fet oþer pyggys, oþer erys, oþer pertrichys oþere
chiconys, & do hem togedere & seth hem in a pot; & do in hem flowre of canel and
clowys hole or grounde. Do pereto vineger, & tak & do þe broth in a clene vessel of
al pys, & tak þe flesch and kerf yt in smale morselys & do yt perein. Tak powder of
galyngale & cast aboue & lat yt kele. Tak bronchys of þe lorere tre & styk ouer it, &
kep yt al so longe as þou wilt & serue yt forth.

(Diversa Servisa_56_1381)

(4c)

Gely / Take Calues fete, and scalde hem faire, and ley hem in faire water, and late
hem wex white; Also take hoʒos of fele, and ley hem in faire water fore to soke oute
þe blode; And þen take hem oute of þe water, and ley hem in a faire lynnen clothe,
and lete the water ren oute; And þen take a faire scoured potte, and put al thes hoʒos
and calues fete þerin; And þen take good white wyn, that woll hold colloure, or
elles fyne claret wyne, and caste there-to a porcion, and none oþer licoure, that the
flessh be ouer-wose with al; and sette hit ouer the fire, and boile hit, and skem hit
clene. Whan hit is boylled tender ynowe, take vppe the flessh in a faire bolle, And
save wel þe licoure; and loke that þou have faire sides of pigges, And faire smale
chekynes scalded, and drawe hem, ([and the] legges and [the fete] on) and wassh
faire, and caste hem in þe same fist broth, And set hit ayen ouer the fire, and skym hit
clene, and lete a man euere-more kepe hit, and blow of þe grauey; And in case that
þe licour waste awey, cast more of the same wyne þere-to; And put þi honde there-
to, And, if thi honde be clammy, Hit is a signe þat it is gode; and lete not þe flessh
be so moche ysod that hit may bere no kuttyng; And then take hit vppe, and ley hit
on a faire clothe, and set oute the licoure fro the fire; And put a fewe coles vnder
þe vessell þat þe lycoure is yn; and take salt, pouder of peper, and good quantite
of saffron, (that hit haue faire Ambur colour,) and a good quantite of vinegre; And
loke that hit be sauery of the salt and of the vinegre, & faire of colour of saffron;
And put hit in a faire lynen clothe, And sette vnder-neth a faire dissh, and late hit
ren thorgh the cloth so oft þat hit ren clene; And if þou seest that hit hath to litull of
the vinegre, or salt, or saffron, caste thereto more, after thi discrecion; And then kut
faire sidde ribbes of þe sides of pigges, and ley hem on a chargeour or on a dissh,
And set hit faire on a colde place, and powre þe gely þeron; And then take faire
blanched almondes, and caste anone thereon er hit kele, and foilles of tried pared
ginger; and lete stonde to kele.

(Boke of Kokery_94_1445)

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[11] Looking at the structure of this recipe we may conclude that it must have been translated from
the Anglo-Norman MS B, which also contains the recipe for 'jelly'.

(5a)

To maken amydon to holden water ase longe as þou wolt, wel and veyre. Nym corn clene abouten Seint Iohn & do hit in a clene vessel, & do veyr water ynoh wiþ þe corn dawes; & vche day beo wel ywaschen. & soppen ygrounden, & soppen iboilled in veyr water, & hit schal stonden in þe water al þat hit beo isoken, & soppen yhonged in an touwayl a3ein þe zunne al þat hit beo drue. Soppen nym hit hout & do hit in an clene vessel, & hold ase long ase þou wolt, & wreh wel, & corf to veyre peces.

(Diversa Cibaria_41_1325)

(5b)

For to make amydoun. Tak whete and step it ix daies, & eueri dai chaunge þe water. And bruse it wel in a morter ri3t smal. Tempre it. Sep it with muchel water and seye it pourh an herseue, & let it stonden and kelen. Poure out þe water. Ley it on a clop. Turn it til it be drye.

(Goud Kokery_3_1450)

3.2. The structure

3.2.1. The heading

All the Anglo-Norman recipes begin with a heading. Most of the studies devoted to the structure of the recipe (apart from Stannard 1982) divide the heading into two parts: the title and the statement of purpose.[12] The Anglo-Norman headings are typical of the text-type, i.e., they are either expressed with the title (in the form of a nominal phrase) or with the statement of purpose (in the form of a non-finite clause or an infinitive), see examples (6)-(8). The ratio of the occurrence of the particular elements of the heading in the two Anglo-Norman collections is shown in Figure 1.

(6) Browet d'Alemaigne. [German broth.]

(Anglo-Norman recipes_MS B_15_1320)

(7) A fere bruet sanz herbes. [Making broth without herbs.]

(Anglo-Norman recipes_MS A_10_1290)

(8) Coment cheveril serra rosti of tute la pel. [How to roast kid in its skin.]

(Anglo-Norman recipes_MS A_7_1290)

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[12] On the discussion of the variety of terms used with reference to certain parts of the recipe, see the beginning of section 3 of this paper or Mäkinen (2006: 87-88).
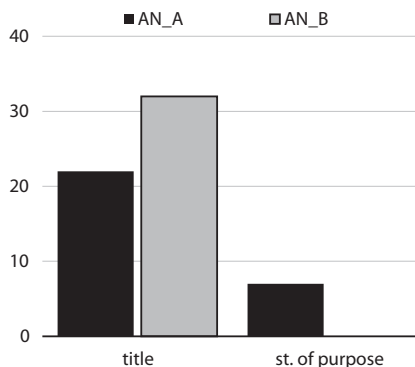
Figure 1. The ratio of the occurrence of the particular heading components
in the two Anglo-Norman collections.
[AN_A and AN_B stand for the Anglo-Norman MS A and MS B respectively.]

What is interesting, in MS A the heading (either in the form of a title or
a statement of purpose) is often followed by a description of the dish comple-
menting the heading, such as (i) 'here is a/another dish which is called …', or
(ii) 'instructions for …', (see examples (9)-(11)). The latter type usually com-
plements statements of purpose rather than titles (as can be seen in (11)). Some
recipes begin with a description of type (ii), which might be interpreted as either
being the statement of purpose (not followed by any additional complementing
clause whilst it is of descriptive character itself) or as a complementing clause
(in which case it is the heading which is missing), see (12)-(13). In such cases
what follows is a list of ingredients rather than the preparation.

MS B is much more condensed. The headings consist of titles only (always
in the form of a nominal phrase). They are followed by lists of ingredients re-
quired for the preparation of a particular dish (as in (2b) above).

(9) Teste de Turk. E une viande d'ad a noun teste de Turk. [Turk's head. Here is
a dish which is called Turk's head.]

(Anglo-Norman recipes_MS A_26_1290)

(10) Rosee. E un autre viande, k'ad a noun rosee. [Rose pottage. Here is another
dish, which is called rose pottage.]

(Anglo-Norman recipes_MS A_16_1290)

(11) A quire char saunz fu. E issi enseigne coment l'en quira char saunz fu. [Cook-
ing without fire. Instructions for cooking meat without fire.]

(Anglo-Norman recipes_MS A_6_1290)

(12) Ici comence coment l'en deit fere claree. [Here begin instructions for making claree (= spiced wine).]

(Anglo-Norman recipes_MS A_28_1290)

(13) La manere coment l'en deit fere gravee. [How to make gravee (= meat or fish in almond-based gravy).]

(Anglo-Norman recipes_MS A_29_1290)

Similarly, most of the Middle English recipes begin with a heading in the form of (i) the title, which is often the name of the main ingredient, see for instance (14)-(15); or (ii) the statement of purpose, as in (16)-(17). The ratios of the particular heading types found in the analysed collections are shown in Figures 2 and 3. The Middle English titles might have included a clause which defined the meal, especially if there were a number of meals based on the same ingredient within the collection, see examples (18)-(20). In such cases, the clause is often based on the hypernym-hyponym relation, as in the examples. The defining clauses were found in all but one (20) recipes of the *Diuersa Cibaria* collection (1325), which, to a large extent, originates from the Anglo-Norman MS A. What is interesting, such statements were not part of the heading in the original Anglo-Norman recipes, but they followed the heading (as if to describe the dish), see for instance (21). This suggests that instead of translating the title or repeating it untranslated, it was the description of the dish which was translated and placed in the position of the heading in the Middle English collection. In the recipes translated from MS B, the headings were usually left untranslated.

The statement of purpose was also frequent within the Middle English database. It could have been expressed with an infinitive, as in (16)-(17), or take the form of an 'instructional clause', as in (22). Both were also found in the Anglo-Norman collections (see (23)-(24)), however, they were much less frequent.

(14) Sawge.

(Goud Kokery_21_1380)

(15) Rede Rose.

(Potage Diverse_126_1435)

(16) For to make a gely.

(Diversa Servisa_56_1381)

(17) To make viaunde of Cypre.

(Utilis Coquinario_21_1395)

(18) Anoþer mete þat hatte amydon.

(Diversa Cibaria_35_1325)

(19) A sauce þat hatte peyuere egresse.

(Diversa Cibaria_39_1325)

(20) Cawdele þat is part of blawmaunger.

(MS Harley 5401_16_1490)

(21) Kuskenole. E une viaunde ke est apelé kuskenole. [Kuskenole (= pastries with fruit filling). Here is a dish which is called kuskenole.]

(Anglo-Norman recipes_MS A_25_1290)

(22) Her hit techeþ hou me schal make fuaus.

(Diversa Cibaria_38_1325)

(23) A fere bruet sanz herbes. [Making broth without herbs.]

(Anglo-Norman recipes_MS A_10_1290)

(24) Ici comence coment l'en deit fere claree. [Here begin instructions for making claree (= spiced wine).]
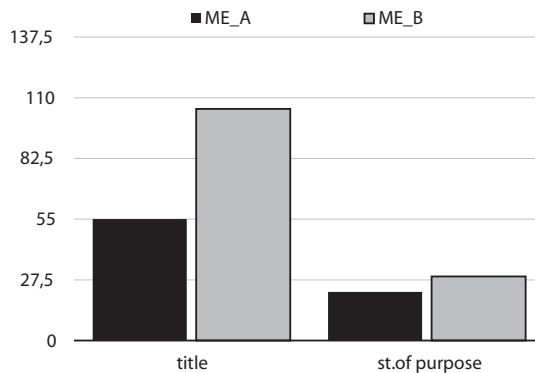
(Anglo-Norman recipes_MS A_28_1290)

Figure 2. The number of heading types in the Middle English collections. [ME_A and ME_B stand for the Middle English equivalents of the recipes found in the Anglo-Norman MS A and MS B respectively.]
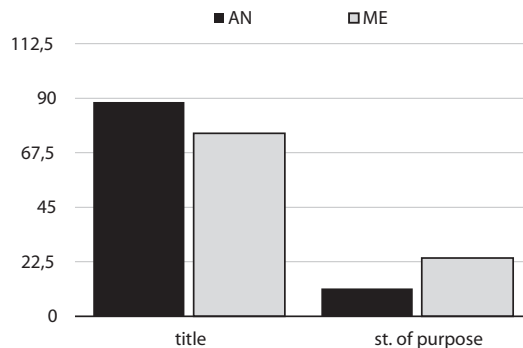

Figure 3. The percentage of heading types in the two databases.

The choice of the heading component in the Middle English database does not seem to be dependant on the date of a particular recipe. It didn't depend on the type of the Anglo-Norman heading either, i.e., even if the Anglo-Norman recipe began with a title, the Middle English corresponding recipes could have had various types of the corresponding headings.

Not all of the headings in the Middle English collections were translated[13]. Especially the nominal headings, but not exclusively, remained untranslated, e.g., (25). We have also found examples of headings in Latin, even though it was not the case in the Anglo-Norman equivalent, as in (26). Such foreign titles were found not only in the early collections but also in those coming from the later 15th century. This suggests that they might have been translated from foreign sources rather than being the evolved forms of the earlier adopted Anglo-Norman recipes. However, it should be noted that the etymology of the headings does not necessarily indicate the origin of the dish (cf. Hieatt 1995).

(25) Coudre en tens de nois.

(Diversa Cibaria_10_1325)

(26) Potus clarreti pro domino.

(Goud Kokery_4_1380)

Semantically, the headings might have depicted one of the following:

- the major ingredient:

    (27) Flowrys of hawporn.

(Potage Diverse_128_1435)

- the colour (of the dish and/or of the main ingredient):

    (28) Rede Rose.

(Potage Diverse_126_1435)

    (29) A rede Morreye.

(Potage Diverse_122_1435)

- the origin of the dish:

    (30) Browet of Almayne.

(Utilis Coquinario_22_1395)

    (31) To make viaunde of Cypre.

(Utilis Coquinario_21_1395)

- the taste:

    (32) Swete blanche.

(MS Laud 553_5_1430)

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[13] This may indicate a certain degree of multilingualism and code-switching present in the analysed material (cf. Bator 2015, 2016).

It should be remembered, though, that the heading might have been mis-leading. For instance, some of the available recipes for 'blanc manger' (= 'white food') instruct to colour the dish (e.g., with saffron), cf. Hieatt (1995).

3.2.2. The procedure

As mentioned before, the procedure may consist of two parts: the list of ingredients and/or the preparation. At least one of these components seems to be obligatory. The two Anglo-Norman collections differ from each other. On the one hand, most of the recipes in MS B are in fact short lists of ingredients needed for the preparation of a particular dish. Hieatt (2002: 29) calls such recipes "chef's shorthand". Only sporadically do these recipes contain short clauses (e.g., (33)-(34)). On the other hand, all the recipes in MS A contain the preparation component, as in (35). They are composed of short paratactical clauses structured in temporal order, often connected by 'and', so that the reader knows step by step what to do. The temporal order is evidenced for instance by repeated phrases 'then/afterwards' [AN *pus*].

(33) Sang dragoun. Let d'alemaunz e de rys, e bon poudre de gyngyvre e sucre; colour de sang dragoun.

(Anglo-Norman recipes_MS B_30_1320)

[Sandragon. Almond milk and rice, and good ground ginger and sugar; the color of sandragon.]

(34) Browet d'Alemaigne. Pernez let d'alemaundes, trieez clous de gylofre, qui-bibes, oynouns fris; e doit estre chaud des clous e quibibes; colour, jaune.

(Anglo-Norman recipes_MS B_15_1320)

[German broth. Take almond milk, select cloves, cubebs, fried onions; it should be hotly spiced with cloves and cubebs; the color, yellow.]

(35) Blaunche escrepes. E une autre viaunde, ke ad a noun blaunche escrepes. Pern-ez fleur demeyne e blaunc de l'oef, e festes bature, ne mye trop espesse, e metez du [vin]; pus pernez une esquele e festes un pertuz parmy; e puys pernez bure, ou oile, ou gresse; e puys metez vos quatres deis dedenz la bature pur hastir; e puys pernez cel bature e metez dedenz une esquele, e festes culer parmy cel pertuz dedenz la gresse; e puys festes une escrespe, e puys une autre, e metez vostre dei denz le per-tuz de l'esquele; e puys jettez sucre desus les crespes, e dressez celes escrespes od les poumes de ora[n]ges.

(Anglo-Norman recipes_MS A_2_1290)

[White pancakes. Here is another dish, which is called white pancakes. Take best white flour and egg white and make batter, not too thick, and put in some wine; then take a bowl and make a hole in it; and then take butter, or oil, or grease; then put

your four fingers in the batter to stir it; take the batter and put it in the bowl (the improvised funnel) and pour it through the hole into the (hot) grease; make one pancake and then another, putting your finger in the opening of the bowl (to stop the flow of batter when enough has been poured for one pancake); then sprinkle the pancakes with sugar, and serve with the 'oranges'.]

Following Enkvist (1986), such temporal sequencing is typical of cookery books. In his earlier work, Enkvist (1981) introduced the term 'experiential iconicity' to reflect the salient order of clauses, in which the sequence of events is shown from the author's/writer's perspective (as opposed to the natural order, in which the sequence relies on the state of affairs in the world).[14] He distinguished three types of experiential iconicity, i.e., temporal, social and spacial. He claims that the temporal sequencing in culinary texts is usually accompanied by fronting a locative phrase, e.g., (36). This has been accounted for by Tabakowska (1993: 55), who writes: "the 'first things first' principle finds its realisation in the topic/comment arrangement within the utterance". Thus, if the topic is predictable (as is the case with cooking recipes), it is omitted and the author begins with the presentation of the comment (Tabakowska 1993).

(36) Into a small frying-pan put two eggs.

(Enkvist 1986: 251)

However, the fronting phenomenon occurs very sporadically in the analyzed medieval material, see for instance (37). In the Anglo-Norman database, there are either no clauses (most of MS B) or (in case of MS A and partly MS B) the majority of clauses begin with a verb (and not with a comment, as suggested by Enkvist, and Tabakowska). In the corresponding Middle English recipes, the situation varies. The recipes:

1. are lists of ingredients, not composed of any clauses – this applies to some of the recipes found in the *Diuersa Cibaria* collection, which is the earliest translation of the Anglo-Norman material. This applies only to some of the recipes translated from MS B. See example (38). Sometimes even though the Anglo-Norman recipe is a list of ingredients (MS B), the Middle English translation contains clauses, e.g., (39);
2. are composed of imperative clauses, sequenced in temporal order, often joined by the word *soppen*, e.g., (40). Such recipes mostly begin with a verb;
3. begin with a comment (not included in the Anglo-Norman recipe) followed by a sequence of imperative clauses as in 2 above, e.g., (41). This applies especially to the latest medieval recipes.

(37) (…) & per schal gret vlehs beon igrounden,

(Diuersa Cibaria_7_1325,
transl. from Anglo-Norman MS B_7_1320)

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(38) Coudre en tens de nois. Milke of alemauns, flour of rys, curneles of nuten ifried, gynger itried, sucre vort abaten þe keneschype; nuten yfried abouen.

(Diversa Cibaria_10_1325,
transl. from Anglo-Norman MS B_10_1320)

[AN orig.: Coudree en temps de nois. Let d'alemandes, flur de ris, les curnels fris, gyngyvre triee, sucre pur abatre la amereté, nois plaunté desus.]

(39) Maumenee. Wyn; braun of chapoun ipolled al to poudre, & soppen do pryn to boillen wiþ þe wyn; alemauns igrounden al dru3e & idon pryn, & poudre of clowes idon pryn; alemauns ifried schulen beon idon pryn, & þer schal gret vlehs beon igrounden, & sucre fort abaten þe streynþe of þe speciere; þe colour schal beon inde.

(Diversa Cibaria_7_1325,
transl. from Anglo-Norman MS B_7_1320)

[AN orig.: Maumenee. Vyn, braoun de chapoun moudree tot a poudre e puis mis leynz pur boillyr ou le vyn; alemaunz moudrez tot seks e mys leynz; la poudre des clous mys ou tot frimailles d'alemaundes deivent estre mys leynz, e y doit estre char grosse moudree, sucre par abatre la force de l'especerie; colour, sorré ou ynde.]

(40) Anopour mete þat hatte amydon. Nym amydon & grind in an morter, & make boillen wyþ alemauns, & soppen nim þe alemaundes ihwyted & saffron & make boillen togederes in water. & soppen fryen in oylee oþur in greece, & vnder þe metee þat is ihwyted schulen beon iset alemauns icoloured, & abouen þe mete icoloured schulen beon iset alemauns iwyted & rys & penides.

(Diversa Cibaria_33_1325,
transl. from Anglo-Norman MS A_13_1290)

[AN orig.: De amydoun. E une autre viaunde, ke ad a noun amydoun. Pernez amydoun, si le festes braer, e festes bon let des alemaundes, e metez dedenz sucre, e festes boiller od oile des alemaundes; e pernez les alemaundes blaunches e seffran, e festes boiller ensemble en ewe, e pus friez en oile ou en gresse; e sus la viaunde blaunche serra plaunté alemaundes colurés rose de sucre, e sur la viaunde coloré serrunt plaunté alemaundes blaunches, e rys e penides; e pus dressez.]

(41) Blank de sirre. **To mak blank de sire** tak ryse and wesshe it and grind it small and temper it up with almond mylk and boile it then tak the braun of capon or henne and hew it small and grind it with myed bred and sesson it with sugur and florishe it with almondes and serue it.

(Noble Boke off Cookry_196_15th c.)

Even though Hieatt (2002) claims the recipes in the two collections could not have had a common origin, six of the Anglo-Norman recipes were found in both collections, i.e., MS A and MS B.

4. Conclusions

The paper aimed at examining over 60 Anglo-Norman culinary recipes and over 200 corresponding Middle English equivalents. The latter were either translations of the Anglo-Norman texts or their later developments. On the basis of the research, the following conclusions could be drawn:

(i)   the length of the Anglo-Norman recipes suggests that the later manuscript (MS B, dated to 1320) must have been based on earlier forms of the recipes than the other Anglo-Norman manuscript (MS A) dated to 1290;

(ii)   within the Middle English corpus, the length generally depended on the chronology of the recipes, i.e., the later a recipe the longer it was; we have found only a few exceptions to this rule;

(iii)   the heading (in both databases) is much more frequently reflected with the title (in the form of a nominal phrase) than the statement of purpose;

(iv)   the Anglo-Norman MS B is more conservative (with titles only), which also proves that the form of the recipes is earlier than of those in MS A, in which a greater variety can be seen (nominal phrases, infinitives, instructional clauses). In MS A the heading is frequently followed by a comment specifying the type of dish. In a number of cases the comment takes the place of the heading;

(v)   in the Middle English translations of MS A, apart from the title and/or the statement of purpose, it is the comment which might take the place of the heading (the original heading being omitted). This suggests that the translator either realised that the comment in the Anglo-Norman text is a pure repetition of the heading, or did not want to translate the names of the dishes (which might not be too informative for the English users);

(vi)   in the later Middle English translations, a great deal of the nominal headings remain untranslated;

(vii)   the procedure element in the analysed recipes is twofold: the Anglo-Norman MS B and its direct translations consist of lists of ingredients, hardly any preparation can be found, the rest of the corpus consists of the preparation component, usually in the form of short, paratactical clauses put together in temporal order;

(viii) the earliest Middle English recipes retain the structure of the Anglo-Norman originals (sometimes even the Anglo-Norman phrases are left untranslated, e.g., *foille de paste*).

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Appendix 1. List of the collections used for the present study[15]

collection	symbol used	date	reference
Anglo-Norman collection (MS A)	AN_A	1290	Hieatt and Jones (1986)
Anglo-Norman collection (MS B)	AN_B	1320	Hieatt and Jones (1986)
Boke of kokery	BK	1445	Austin (2000)
Diversa cibaria	DC	1325	Hieatt and Butler (1985)
Diversa servisa	DS	1381	Hieatt and Butler (1985)
Forme of Cury	FC	1390	Hieatt and Butler (1985)
Goud kokery	GK	1340-1480	Hieatt and Butler (1985)
Harley MS	Hrl	1490	Hieatt (1996)
Laud MS	Aus_L	1430	Austin (2000)
Leche viaundez	LV	1435	Austin (2000)
Noble boke of festes ryalle and cokery	NBC	1475	Napier (1882)
Ordinance of pottage	OP	1460	Hieatt (1988)
Potage diverse	PD	1435	Austin (2000)
Utilis coquinario	UC	1395	Hieatt and Butler (1985)

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[15] The collections appear in alphabetical order.

Appendix 2. List of the analyzed Anglo-Norman recipes together with their Middle English correspondents (based on Hieatt 2006)[16]

dish:	AN recipe	date:	corresponding recipes	date:
Poume d'oranges [pommedorry]	AN_A_1	1290	DS_42; DS_59; PD_46; LV_19; LV_23; NBC_270	1381; 1381; 1435; 1435; 1435; 1475
Blaunche escrepes [white pancakes]	AN_A_2	1290	–	
Saugee [sage sauce]	AN_A_3	1290	GK_21; PD_117; LV_37;	1450; 1435; 1435
Mincebek	AN_A_4	1290	FC_181; LV_59; GK_22;	1390; 1435; 1450
Cressee	AN_A_5	1290	–	
A quire char saunz fu [cooking without fire]	AN_A_6	1290	–	
Coment cheveril serra rosti od tute la pel [how to roast a kid in its skin]	AN_A_7	1290	–	
Ravieles [ravioli]	AN_A_8	1290	FC_94; LV_41	1390; 1435
Geleye [jelly]	AN_A_9	1290	[AN_B_25]; DC_25; DS_56; BK_94	1320; 1325; 1381; 1445;
Brewet without herbs	AN_A_10	1290	–	
Tardpolane	AN_A_11	1290	–	
Luce in sops	AN_A_12	1290	–	
Amidon (pudding)	AN_A_13	1290	DC_33; Aus_L_3; Hrl_23	1325; 1430; 1490
Cresterole	AN_A_14	1290	DC_34; LV_61	1325; 1435

[16] The recipes appear in the order as found in the Anglo-Norman collections MS A and MS B.

dish:	AN recipe	date:	corresponding recipes	date:
Hawthorn pottage / Espinee	AN_A_15	1290	[AN_B_11]; DC_11; DC_35; DS_46; FC_58; UC_31; PD_75; PD_128;	1320; 1325; 1325; 1381; 1390; 1395; 1435; 1435
Rosee	AN_A_16	1290	[AN_B_12]; DC_12; DC_36; DS_41; DS_47; FC_53; UC_32; PD_100; PD_126; OP_75; NBC_222	1320; 1325; 1325; 1381; 1381; 1390; 1395; 1435; 1435; 1460; 1475
Strawberry pottage	AN_A_17	1290	[AN_B_13]; DC_13; DC_37; DS_47; PD_123	1320; 1325; 1325; 1381; 1435
Suade	AN_A_18	1290	[AN_A_24]; [AN_B_23]; DC_23; DC_38; DC_44; DS_47; Aus_L_5	1290; 1320; 1325; 1325; 1325; 1381; 1430
Sauce, pevorade	AN_A_19	1290	DC_39	1325
Salty food, amendment of	AN_A_20	1290	DC_40; DS_49; Aus_L_2	1325; 1381; 1430
Amidon (starch)	AN_A_21	1290	DC_41; GK_3; NBC_207	1325; 1340; 1475
Coue de Rouncin	AN_A_22	1290	DC_42; DS_44	1325; 1381
Teste de Turk, for Lent	AN_A_23	1290	–	

dish:	AN recipe	date:	corresponding recipes	date:
Suade	AN_A_24	1290	[AN_A_18]; [AN_B_23]; DC_23; DC_38; DC_44; DS_47; Aus_L_5	1290; 1320; 1325; 1325; 1325; 1381; 1430
Cuskenole	AN_A_25	1290	DC_45	1325
Teste de Turk	AN_A_26	1290	[AN_B_27]; DC_27	1320; 1325
Emeles	AN_A_27	1290	DC_46; Aus_L_8	1325; 1430
Clarre	AN_A_28	1290	GK_4; GK_6; FC_205	1380; 1380; 1390
Gravy	AN_A_29	1290	–	
Blancdesire	AN_B_1	1320	DC_1; DS_29; DS_78; DS_90; FC_39; FC_201; PD_21; PD_81; PD_116; BK_83; OP_68; OP_72; NBC_54; NBC_220; Hrl_74	1325; 1381; 1381; 1381; 1390; 1390; 1435; 1435; 1435; 1445; 1460; 1460; 1475; 1475; 1490
Vertdesire	AN_B_2	1320	DC_2	1325
Anesere	AN_B_3	1320	DC_3	1325
Chicken, Spanish	AN_B_4	1320	DC_4	1325

dish:	AN recipe	date:	corresponding recipes	date:
Caudle ferry	AN_B_5	1320	DC_5; DS_34; FC_43; PD_47; PD_139; BK_109; OP_84; NBC_19; NBC_20; NBC_232; Hrl_16; Hrl_66	1325; 1381; 1390; 1435; 1435; 1445; 1460; 1475; 1475; 1475; 1490; 1490;
Veal, minced in red sauce	AN_B_6	1320	DC_6	1325
Mawmene	AN_B_7	1320	DC_7; DS_30; FC_22; FC_202; UC_25; BK_58;	1325; 1381; 1390; 1390; 1395; 1445;
Mortrews, double	AN_B_8	1320	DC_8	1325
Applemoys	AN_B_9	1320	DC_9; DS_17; DS_35; DS_63; FC_81; Aus_L_14; Aus_L_16; PD_79; PD_134; NBC_44; NBC_266; NBC_273; Hrl_76	1325; 1381; 1381; 1381; 1390; 1430; 1430; 1435; 1435; 1475; 1475; 1475; 1490
Hazelnuts in season	AN_B_10	1320	DC_10	1325
Spinee	AN_B_11	1320	[AN_A_15]; DC_11; DC_35; DS_46; FC_58; UC_31; PD_75; PD_128	1290; 1325; 1325; 1381; 1390; 1395; 1435; 1435

dish:	AN recipe	date:	corresponding recipes	date:
Rosee	AN_B_12	1320	[AN_A_16]; DC_12; DC_36; DS_41; DS_47; FC_53; UC_32; PD_100; PD_126; OP_75; NBC_222	1290; 1325; 1325; 1381; 1381; 1390; 1395; 1435; 1435; 1460; 1475
Strawberry pottage	AN_B_13	1320	[AN_A_17]; DC_13; DC_37; DS_47; PD_123	1290; 1325; 1325; 1381; 1435
Cherry pottage	AN_B_14	1320	DC_14; DS_77; FC_59; UC_33; PD_124; Hrl_40	1325; 1381; 1390; 1395; 1435; 1490
Brewet of Almayne	AN_B_15	1320	DC_15; DS_31; FC_48; UC_22; PD_67; OP_46; NBC_30; NBC_219	1325; 1381; 1390; 1395; 1435; 1460; 1475; 1475
Brewet Sec	AN_B_16	1320	DC_16; PD_113	1325; 1435
Brewet Saracen (white)	AN_B_17	1320	DC_18	1325
Brewet Salmene	AN_B_18	1320	DC_17; PD_80	1325; 1435
Eel in sorre	AN_B_19	1320	DC_19; PD_107; BK_101; OP_14; NBC_41	1325; 1435; 1445; 1460; 1475;

dish:	AN recipe	date:	corresponding recipes	date:
Sanc dragon	AN_B_20	1320	[AN_B_30]; DC_20; DC_30	1320; 1325; 1325
Pynade	AN_B_21	1320	DC_21; DS_91; FC_52; UC_3; LV_3; OP_58;	1325; 1381; 1390; 1395; 1435; 1460
Diacre	AN_B_22	1320	DC_22	1325
Suade	AN_B_23	1320	[AN_A_24]; [AN_A_18]; DC_23; DC_38; DC_44; DS_47; Aus_L_5	1290; 1290; 1325; 1325; 1325; 1381; 1430
Perre, Rampant	AN_B_24	1320	DC_24	1325
Gele	AN_B_25	1320	[AN_A_9]; DC_25; DS_56; BK_94	1290; 1325; 1381; 1445
Brasee	AN_B_26	1320	DC_26; PD_76	1325; 1435
Teste de Turk	AN_B_27	1320	[AN_A_26]; DC_27	1290; 1325
Viande de Cypres	AN_B_28	1320	DC_28; DC_56; FC_100; UC_21; OP_74; NBC_47; NBC_210	1325; 1325; 1390; 1395; 1460; 1475; 1475
Ermine	AN_B_29	1320	DC_29	1325
Sanc dragon	AN_B_30	1320	[AN_B_20]; DC_20; DC_30	1320; 1325; 1325
Hochee	AN_B_31	1320	DC_31; FC_36; NBC_250	1325; 1390; 1475

dish:	AN recipe	date:	corresponding recipes	date:
Murree	AN_B_32	1320	DC_32; DS_37; DS_85; FC_40; PD_71; PD_118; PD_122; NBC_22	1325; 1381; 1381; 1390; 1435; 1435; 1435; 1475