The Pragmatics of Ecofriendly Recipes in Food and Sustainability Columns: Analysis of British and American Newspapers

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Sometimes defined as "the queen[s] of pragmatics" (Fortunati 2015, 30) recipes are usually regulative or prescriptive texts characterized by recurring kinds of speech acts, i.e., mainly (indirect) directives (Brdar-Szabó, Brdar 2009; Al-Azzawi, Abdulameer 2020) and expressives (Chiaro 2013), and a high degree of formulaicity and routines (Fortunati 2015, 31), to mention only a few of their pragmatic features. In many cases, however, more complex methodological frameworks based on interfaces between pragmatics and other levels of linguistic analysis have been used to explore this textual typology. In addition, increasing interest in environmental issues has also recently influenced culinary linguistics and food studies in general, so much so that one could even talk about eco-culinary linguistics as a subfield of research comprising discourses about food waste, nature-friendly farming, and low-emission cookery, among others. Moving from these premises, this article presents an analysis of pragmalinguistic strategies – with particular emphasis on interfaces between pragmatics, morphosyntax, and semantics – adopted by a small corpus of food and sustainability columns consisting of four well-known British and American newspapers (*The Mirror* and *The Guardian* in the UK; *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* in the US) which embed regulative/prescriptive texts such as recipes within more informational frameworks, i.e., newspaper introductory articles. The research question underlying this paper is understanding how, from a pragmatic standpoint, these food and sustainability columns try (and manage) to persuade readers that environmentally friendly recipes are not only good for our planet, but also healthy and tasty.

Keywords: Eco-culinary Linguistics, Pragmatics, Food and Sustainability, Newspaper Columns

1. *Is Eco-culinary Stylistics Possible?*

In their seminal study about the language of ecology (*The Language of Environment: A New Rhetoric*, 1996), Myerson and Rydin define the object of ecolinguistic and ecostylistic research as the 'environet,' a "collection of texts, words and voices" which "ha[ve] a topical consciousness of the environment, of what currently should be argued about and how," or, in other words, "a network making linkage upon linkage between the environment words" (7). Therefore, the examples of sustainable recipes from some British and American news-

papers' food columns analyzed in this article belong to the environet. When dealing with the theoretical tenets and methodological frameworks used to investigate the main linguistic features of sustainable recipes in contemporary English newspapers, the transdisciplinarity of this research becomes clear, given the numerous connections between different fields such as ecolinguistics, stylistics, and food studies, to mention only a few.

In its very recent developments, ecostylistics is defined by Virdis (2022) as a field of studies inspired by two disciplines: ecolinguistics and stylistics. Ecolinguistics is

> the branch of linguistics connecting the study of language with the environment and the natural world, in their biological or ecological sense. Ecolinguistics investigates the role of language in the interactions among us humans, animals, plants and the environment; it considers language and society as closely joined together with the broader ecological structures embracing and sustaining them and life on earth as a whole. (Virdis 2022, 29)

Stylistics, on the other hand, is

> the study and analysis of texts founded on precise and exhaustive linguistic description, and is characterised by a close reading and explanation of the texts under investigation. [...] The research focus of stylistics is [...] the linguistic makeup of texts and the centrality of language in textual construction. The area has developed a theoretical framework and a wide variety of linguistic and analytical strategies capable of critically, scientifically and systematically "interrogating" not only language, texts and textual meaning, but also readers and contexts. (47–48)

What I have called eco-culinary stylistics in the heading of this section can be thus defined as an ecostylistic approach to textual genres related to the preparation and consumption of sustainable food. Here we come to another important definition, that is 'sustainable'. What is sustainable food? According to the *OED*, when referring to human activities, the adjective 'sustainable' indicates "[d]esignating forms of human activity (esp. of an economic nature) in which environmental degradation is minimized, esp. by avoiding the long-term depletion of natural resources; of or relating to activity of this type. Also: designating a natural resource which is exploited in such a way as to avoid its long-term depletion" (adj. 3.b). In the case of food and recipes, however, the adjective 'sustainable' is often synonymous with vegetarian or vegan, as meat production is often designated as being unsustainable. Following Bacon et al.: "as the world's population climbs toward 10 billion by 2050, shifting diets in middle- and high-income countries to include more plant-based foods and less meat – especially beef and lamb – can greatly ease agriculture's pressure on forests, freshwater supplies, and the climate" (2018, 2. See also Ranganathan et al. 2016). Therefore, in general, sustainable food can be considered any source of nutrition whose production involves a low carbon footprint, and meat does not seem to meet the requirements, although some of the recipes considered include locally produced meat and locally caught seafood, which are more sustainable than intensive livestock farming and aquaculture. The environmental impact of a meat-based meal is fourteen times higher than a vegan one, and more

than four times higher than a vegetarian one (Takacs et al. 2022). This also means that sustainable food comes from local sources and is produced with eco-friendly agricultural methods which adhere to the principles of circular economy, green economy, and green supply chains. To sum up, sustainable food is hence primarily meat-free and local, for the reasons noted above.

Before presenting the object of my research, it is worth introducing the linguistic aspects and frameworks which will be considered in the following analysis, thus limiting and better specifying the ecostylistic approach adopted when approaching the environet. Since recipes as a textual genre are often defined as "the queen[s] of pragmatics" (Fortunati 2015, 30), textual pragmatics and pragmatic interfaces with morphosyntax and lexical semantics will be the main analytic tools employed. In particular, Khalil's (2005) strategies of foregrounding and backgrounding pertaining to textual pragmatics will be explored and applied to the corpus selected, together with Graziano and Mocini's (2015) and Graziano's (2017; 2019) applications of Hallidayan systemic functional grammar to the investigation of syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic salience in restaurant menus, in my case applied to newspaper articles focusing on sustainable recipes. Both approaches introduce a focus on prominence[1] at different levels of linguistic analysis, devoting specific attention to its pragmatic implications. Dealing with foregrounding and backgrounding, Khalil described the two phenomena as "surface structure operations that make sentences and their constituents more or less prominent and influence the interpretation of text meaning in terms of grounding values that have already been assigned to propositions" (2005, 3). Graziano and Mocini (2015) and Graziano (2017; 2019), on the other hand, focusing specifically on salience in English translations of Italian restaurant dish names, argue that it is the "substantial label" (2015, 127) and its syntactic structure, in terms of pre- and post-modifiers above all, that foreground prominent elements in the recipe title. Moreover, other specific pragmatic tools and theories will be employed, such as inferences, implicatures (Grice 1975; Potts 2005; 2007; Adami 2017), and speech acts (esp. Searle 1976).

Bearing these methodological premises in mind, I would argue that, from a pragmatic viewpoint, the sustainable (meat-free) recipes from the newspaper corpus I have selected are aptly designed to overcome what Bacon et al. call the "lack of knowledge and skills required to prepare appetizing plant-based foods", not to mention that most of the times sustainable dishes are perceived as "a 'healthy' choice, […] less tasty […] or less filling" (2018, 2). In other words, newspaper articles containing sustainable recipes are conceived as ecostylistically-aware marketing texts which foreground ecological elements without making recipes appear necessarily less tasty. In this regard, for example, Bacon et al. demonstrated that "changing the name of a vegetarian dish on a café menu can increase the proportion of people who choose that dish" (2018, 2). Therefore, instead of naming recipes, e.g., 'meat-free' or 'vegetarian breakfast,' sales increased in the case of such names as 'field-grown' or 'garden breakfast,' which are perceived as more appealing by customers, without directly involving the 'vegetarian = less tasty' equation. This is also true in the case of the ecofriend-

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[1] In this article, I use the terms 'salience' and 'prominence' interchangeably (Giora 2002).

ly recipes in the selected corpus, where dish names rarely give prominence to such labels as 'sustainable,' 'ecofriendly,' 'vegetarian,' or 'vegan.' I would also add that contamination and continuous references to fusion cuisine and exotic places to which certain recipes belong are extra factors thanks to which readers may like sustainable recipes, thus associating exotic ingredients with tastiness (see, for instance, Ariyasriwatana 2022).

2. *The Structure of Newspaper Articles about Sustainable Food: Paving the Way for a Pragmatic Analysis*

The analysis conducted in this essay is a qualitative investigation of a small DIY (do-it-yourself) corpus of food columns and articles from two British and two American newspapers, that is *The Guardian* and *The Mirror*, and *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, respectively, selected by keyword extraction on the News on the Web (NOW) corpus, a monitor corpus of online newspaper and magazine articles from 2010 to today, available at https://www.english-corpora.org/now/, and fully downloadable for offline corpus analyses[2]. These are indeed among the few Anglo-American newspapers engaged with sustainable cooking recipes and with columns and articles devoted to eco-friendly food.

For the purposes of this study, it is important to present the structure of the sustainable food columns in the above-mentioned newspapers, a structure which is almost the same for each of them and which, I argue, has its specific pragmatic characteristics. The corpus considered comprises double-layered texts: the out-and-out recipes, with their ingredients and procedures, are framed within introductory texts dealing with sustainability to enhance the reader's willingness to prepare eco-friendly dishes. The main components of these introductory texts are the heading and the lead.

2.1 Foregrounding in Articles' Headings

According to Khalil, in the field of textual pragmatics, foregrounding and backgrounding can be described as "[s]urface structure operations that make sentences and their constituents more or less prominent and influence the interpretation of text meaning in terms of *grounding* values that have already been assigned to propositions" (2005, 3). With this definition in mind, the headings of the columns/articles analyzed clearly foreground the environmental frame through a series of pre-modifying elements such as adjectives and adjectivized nouns, and adjectival phrases, which give semantic salience to both/either the recipes' tastiness and/or sustainability, as shown in the following examples (emphases mine):

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[2] At the moment I am writing (March 2024), the NOW corpus contains 18.7 billion words, but it expands with approximately 120–140 million words of data monthly, sourced from around 250,000 new articles, equating to roughly 1.5 billion words annually. The keyword extraction targeted the top five most frequently occurring keywords related to sustainability in the corpus, specifically identified through a lemma search and the filter /.*_(n|v|adj|adv)/ in #LancsBox 6.0. These keywords are 'sustainable', 'vegetarian', 'vegan', 'eco-friendly', and 'plant-based'. Subsequently, the obtained results were manually examined to emphasize culinary recipes.

"Eat this to save the world! *The most sustainable* foods – from seaweed to venison" (*The Guardian*, Finney 2021)

"Gizzi Erskine shares *tasty sustainable* recipes from lamb ribs to green shakshuka" (*The Mirror*, Watts 2020)

"Our *best* recipes for *climate-friendly* cooking" (*The New York Times*, Josephson 2019)

"7 *eco-friendly* recipes to celebrate Earth Day" (*The Washington Post*, Rodriguez 2023)

As observed by Ufot (2017), newspaper article titles and advertising mottos share many morphosyntactic and pragmatic similarities, because "advertisers employ journalistic techniques" (258). This involves, among other characteristics, the use of adjectives to "foreground [and] characterise the quality of the" recipes presented (262). In the case of the headings above, the premodifiers emphasize and bring to the forefront the environmental impact of the recipes being presented, as evident in the case of *The New York Times* ("climate-friendly cooking") and *The Washington Post* ("eco-friendly recipes"). More interestingly, *The Guardian* boosts the sustainability of the food and recipes presented by recurring to hyperbole, which "is foregrounded mostly in the superlative" attribute of the foods (261), a strategy used also by *The New York Times*. The example from *The Mirror*, on the other hand, highlights the fact that sustainable recipes are also tasty, not to mention that the postmodifying elements stress that both meat and meat-free recipes can be environmentally friendly. In fact, the parallel structure 'from + NP + to + NP', with prominence given to the adjectival noun 'lamb' and the adjective 'green', underlines that food need not be necessarily vegetarian or vegan to be tasty and sustainable.

2.2 Representative and Directive Speech Acts in the Leads

Recipes are then introduced by half-expository, half-argumentative short paragraphs, in journalistic jargon called 'leads'. In the case of eco-recipes, leads are aimed at presenting environmental issues connected with food, and at the same time trying to convince the reader that going green is an eco-friendly, healthy, tasty choice. Resorting to both world/cultural and situational knowledge, these leads are characterized by performative speech acts such as representatives and directives, as in the following examples:

"Eat this to save the world!" (*The Guardian*, Finney 2021)

"Like many of us, although I love to eat, I'm always looking for a healthier and convenient option for dinner" (*The Mirror*, Lovelace 2022)

"Opt for ingredients that are local and in season, eat more plants, waste less food" (*The Washington Post*, Rodriguez 2023)

"So, you're concerned about the environment and interested in changing your diet" (*The New York Times*, Josephson 2019)

As noted by Searle, representatives and directives "mark the degree of intensity with which the illocutionary point is presented" (1976, 21–22). Therefore, the use of representatives and directives in the above leads aims to intensify the illocutionary force of the message the journalist wants to send to the reader, stating facts as they are (or as they are believed to be by the writer) and at the same time trying to direct the reader's actions towards more sustainable choices.

In a study about online advertisements in Indonesia, Astriningsih et al. (2020) have recently noticed that English web-based commercials use almost exclusively representative and directive speech acts to catch their potential customers' attention and invite them to buy their products. Once again, as in the case of the advertising mottos analyzed by Ufot (2017) and dealt with in the previous paragraph, the pragmatic strategies adopted to promote sustainable recipes share similarities with the language of advertising, this time concerning speech acts.

Moreover, the fact that leads are half-expository, half-argumentative texts makes them associate with other text types which have this same characteristic, that is, coursebooks (see, among others, Bondi 2012; Gómez Burgos 2017). Many studies have highlighted that "the most preferred speech acts" in Foreign Language Teaching (FLT) textbooks are "representatives and directives" (Asghar et al. 2021, 505. See also, among others, Nevisi, Moghadasi 2020; Ahmed et al. 2023). Therefore, newspaper leads belong to the same text type as FLT coursebooks and share the same prevalence of representative and directive speech acts. This similarity may be motivated by the fact that leads are the most 'educational' part in the promotion of eco-friendly recipes; hence, leads instruct readers in the advantages of sustainable food, exactly as FLT textbooks instruct learners in a foreign language.

2.3 Recipe Titles: Hallidayan Grammar, Foregrounding, and Inferences

The objective in this section is to address the question of whether and how, from a linguistic point of view, dish names and recipe presentations mirror the sustainability-oriented focus of the heading and lead of the newspaper articles/columns they are inserted in.

Before delving into the analysis of recipe titles, it is worth noting that, according to Graziano and Mocini:

> [f]rom the viewpoint of text typology, the dish label could be rubricated as the synthetic variant of that implicit narrative text which the recipe is the analytic version of, [...] somehow in the same relation as headlines are to a newspaper article. (2015, 124. On the narrative dimension of recipes, see also Cotter 1997; Norrick 2011; Adami 2017)

In the selected corpus, both the dish names and the heading of the newspaper article Graziano and Mocini discuss are present, and it is interesting to examine the relationship between the two synthetic variants of longer texts such as leads, on the one hand, and recipe instructions, on the other. Nevertheless, from a semantic and pragmatic standpoint, headlines and recipe titles do not seem to share many similarities in the corpus analyzed in this essay, especially when concerning eco-friendly matters.

To analyze recipe names, I have adapted Graziano's

> application of Halliday's (2004) grammar of the noun group specifically for the syn-
> tax of the English dish names to convey the idea that a competent [journalist] can
> facilitate the [reader]'s imaginative response, create expectations and anticipate plea-
> sures of the palate by skillfully distributing the components of a dish description in
> the pre-modifying and post-modifying slots of the noun sequence. (2019, 71)

In fact, as Graziano and Mocini argue:

> since the names of dishes are meaningful instances of language, coherent wholes that
> make sense to someone who knows the language in which they occur, they may be
> considered as texts, a special kind of texts that Halliday calls 'little texts,' whose gram-
> mar is reduced to one noun group only. (2015, 124)

Therefore, since recipe titles can be reduced to noun phrases, according to Halliday (2004), I will offer some examples from sustainable food columns and articles found in the newspapers examined here, following the British linguist's taxonomy of the noun group and bearing in mind that the pre-modifier slot is divided into 1) deictic, 2) numerative – or post-deictic, as Graziano had it (2017; 2019) – 3) epithet, and 4) classifier. The post-modifier slot is instead occupied by the qualifier. Although such labels as deictic and numerative are easily distinguishable – besides being quite rare in the corpus analyzed – it is worth understanding the difference between epithet and classifier. First of all, according to Halliday, from a morphological perspective, an epithet is an adjective (2004, 54), while a classifier can be both an adjective and a noun (320). Epithets "indicate some quality of the subset" (318), while classifiers "indicate a particular subclass of the thing in question" (319).

Halliday affirms that, although

> [t]he line between Epithet and Classifier is not a very sharp one [...], there are signif-
> icant differences. Classifiers do not accept degrees of comparison or intensity [...].
> The range of semantic relations that may be embodied in a set of items functioning
> as Classifier is very broad; it includes material, scale and scope, purpose and func-
> tion, status and rank, origin, mode of operation – more or less any feature that may
> serve to classify a set of things into a system of smaller sets [...]. A sequence of Clas-
> sifier + Thing may be so closely bonded that it is very like a single compound noun,
> especially where the Thing is a noun of a fairly general class. (319–320)

Sometimes an adjective can be both an epithet and a classifier. Halliday uses the example of the NP 'fast train.' The adjective 'fast' can be considered an epithet when the phrase indicates the quality of a train being fast. Conversely, 'fast' is a classifier if the NP indicates a particular subset of trains.

Dealing with post-modifying elements, Graziano stresses the pragmatic importance of the qualifier, attributing to this element a function similar to the rheme – with the head

of the NP being the theme – and loading it with the "greatest informative and marketing purport" (2019, 77):

1) the Classifier slot should contain past participles indicating cooking procedures or (one or more) specifications of the "Thing" constituting the Head of the sequence, absolving, so to say, the function of theme (the topic, the given) of which the Qualifier is the rheme (the comment, the new);
2) in the distribution of elements allowed by the play between English pre- and post-modifying syntax, the Qualifier carries the greatest informative and marketing purport, so that it should contain all the valuable information (place of origin, quality indications, nutritional scales) as well as side ingredients, aromas, dressings or special preparations. (76–77)

Not in all the examples below the qualifier occupies a prominent position, while epithets and classifiers are much more important and informative. Nevertheless, some recipe titles have complex and informative qualifiers, this characteristic serving the "[info-]marketing purport" Graziano talks about (77; see also Graziano 2017, 112) and, at the same time, connecting again eco-friendly recipes with the linguistic strategies adopted by advertising.

The Guardian

Pre-modifier				Head	Post-modifier
Deictic	Numerative	Epithet	Classifier	Thing	Qualifier
		Last of the summer	tomato	paella	
			Pheasant	Normandy	with apples
		Spent coffee	roast	beetroot	
		Yoghurt-marinated		lamb and aubergine	with za'atar, Palestinian couscous, beetroot leaves and chickpeas

The Mirror

Pre-modifier				Head	Post-modifier
Deictic	Numerative	Epithet	Classifier	Thing	Qualifier
		Green		shakshuka	
				Pizza	with cricket dough, soil-free tomatoes and almond cheese
			Pork and sage	cannelloni	
		Super	vegetable	Salad	

The New York Times does not work with pre-modification a great deal:

		Pre-modifier		Head	Post-modifier
Deictic	*Numerative*	*Epithet*	*Classifier*	*Thing*	*Qualifier*
			Baked	Cod	with crunchy miso-butter bread crumbs
				Farro	with salmon, cucumber, radicchio and dill
		Green		shakshuka	with avocado and lime
				Pasta	with sardines and aromatic fennel fronds

The Washington Post adopts a completely different strategy:

		Pre-modifier		Head	Post-modifier
Deictic	*Numerative*	*Epithet*	*Classifier*	*Thing*	*Qualifier*
		Flexible	Fridge	enchiladas	
		Salt and pepper	Brick	mushrooms	
		Sweet, spicy and crunchy	Korean	tofu	
			Walnut and date-stuffed baked	apples	

The names of the sustainable recipes presented above illustrate the various strategies adopted by journalists. The most emblematic cases are surely *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*, which adopt two syntactically opposed approaches giving salience to post- and pre-modifiers respectively. In some cases, however, the degree of sustainability of the recipe is signaled by epithets and classifiers, which are given prominence also due to their pre-modifying position. Such adjectives as "last of the summer" or "spent coffee" underline the circularity (and hence the sustainability) of the dishes introduced, while "green" or "super vegetable" highlight that the recipe presented is meat-free, even in those cases where it would be unnecessary to stress this characteristic. Considering the above examples, shakshuka (a North African/Middle Eastern dish of poached eggs in a spicy tomato sauce) and salad are generally known as vegetarian dishes; if anything, it should be their variations with meat (e.g., Beef/Lamb shakshuka, Caesar salad, etc.) which should be signaled as non-vegetarian dishes with epithets and classifiers.

Of particular interest is *The Guardian*'s "Waste not" column (https://www.theguardian.com/food/series/waste-not). As the name suggests, this is an anti-waste food column dedicated to recycling recipes characterized by recurring linguistic patterns in recipe titles

themselves, which always consist in the string "How to turn + NP + into a + (boosting) epithet + thing." The screenshot below is an example of some of the latest recipes added to the series:

Figure 1 - *Some examples from* The Guardian*'s "Waste not" column*

Waste not

| How to turn a glut of late-summer tomatoes into a sumptuous paella - recipe | How to turn coffee grounds into a delicious marinade for beetroot | How to turn yoghurt pot scrapings into a Middle Eastern marinade - recipe | How to turn leftover roast chicken or vegetables into a glorious pad thai - recipe |
| 2d ago · 159 | 9 Sept 2023 · 56 | 2 Sept 2023 · 27 | 26 Aug 2023 · 79 |

The boosting epithet is usually an adjective – such as delicious, glorious, sumptuous, etc. – or a word recalling exotic places. The syntactic structure of the dish names gives prominence to the epithet, since the first NP has no qualifying adjective, whereas the second NP (i.e., the 'epithet + thing' string) has a qualifying adjective aimed at drawing in the reader's eye. In this case, Halliday (2004, 318) would say that such epithets are attitudinal, that is, they are related to the journalist's subjective attitude, instead of experiential, 'objective'.

Nevertheless, many recipes need not foreground their sustainability, since they are believed to be inherently eco-friendly given the list of ingredients mentioned in their name. Such dishes as "Pizza with cricket dough, soil-free tomatoes and almond cheese," "Salt and pepper brick mushrooms," "Sweet, spicy and crunchy Korean tofu," or "Walnut and date-stuffed baked apples" list a series of ingredients in pre- or post-modifying position which underline their sustainability. Therefore, the food journalist or chef need not give prominence to their eco-friendliness recurring in the epithets and classifiers seen above, and this seems to be true even in the case of recipes containing meat or fish. This may be due to the writers' (un)conscious appeal to what in pragmatics – or rather in both Relevance Theory and neo-Gricean pragmatics – is called pseudo-logical inference[3], that is, "conclusions that [...] involve moving from premises (or assumptions) [and which] may seem necessary, permissible or reasonable to draw, [although] their truth is not guaranteed" (Culpeper, Haugh 2014, 137). In the cases analyzed in this study, the newspaper articles' headings and leads represent the premises about food sustainability whose conclusions are introduced by the eco-friendly recipes. In other words, thanks to the foregrounded elements in the premises, a reader can infer the eco-friendliness of the recipes presented without necessarily recurring to pre- and post-modifying elements that stress their sustainability. Hence the eco-friendly recipes presented resemble any other recipe. Moreover, readers who do not wish to read the article's heading and lead, or who are not so keen on environmental issues but are attracted by the dish name itself, can enjoy reading about a tasty, sustainable recipe oblivious to the fact that it is prepared with meat-free, local, low carbon products.

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[3] For the terminological distinction between pragmatic, logical, and pseudo-logical inferences, see Culpeper, Haugh 2014, 136–137.

2.4 Dish Presentations and Implicatures

In case readers skip the sustainability-centered leads, newspaper recipes are often accompanied by presentations of the cooking procedure aimed at foregrounding the dish's tastiness, as well as other positive qualities, including its eco-friendliness. Writing about TV cooking shows, Adami affirms that "colourful presentations [...] of recipes intentionally calibrate the extra meaning of what is actually said and play with the sense of implicature" (2017, 59). This is also true in the case of the newspaper recipes analyzed here, where, I argue, what Grice defined as conventional implicatures[4] (1975. See also Potts 2005, 35–36; 2007, 669) are of particular relevance. The question here is to understand what the fundamental implicature in sustainable recipes is. The answer is probably that readers are indirectly guided to understand that sustainable food is good, healthy, and tasty and, of course, directness is not the most pragmatically effective means of asserting this.

Below are examples of some presentations of sustainable recipes from the corpus and the possible implicatures drawn by readers:

> A sweet-yet-sharp apple is the perfect accompaniment to wild game, and has a similar season from autumn to midwinter, when stored apples start to fade and the shooting season ends. An old apple still makes great cooking, though. (*The Guardian*, Hunt 2022)
> *Implicature*: Last of the season, no-waste, sustainable food is tasty.
>
> The meat is great for a lamb version of Mexican carnitas, and leftovers are superb in flatbreads as a kebab. (*The Mirror*, Watts 2020)
> *Implicature*: Even meat can be a sustainable choice if we do not waste it and recycle leftovers.
>
> This attractive stir-fry is inspired by a traditional Chinese dish called rainbow beef. The vegetarian version works well, and it's also easier to make. (*The New York Times*, Shulman 2018)
> *Implicature*: Vegetarian/vegan, sustainable food is as tasty as meat dishes and easier to cook.
>
> The mighty legume [i.e., lentils] lowers carbon emissions by pulling nitrogen out of the air and depositing it underground, and requires no irrigation to grow. (*The Washington Post*, Rodriguez 2023)
> *Implicature*: Legumes are environmentally friendly products.

The possible implicatures drawn from the presentations of the dishes above help readers understand the tastiness and multiple benefits of sustainable foods. The idea is that once the readers' attention has been caught by the article's heading and lead, which foreground environmental issues through a series of pragmatic strategies, there is no need to stress such

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[4] Conventional implicatures depend on the meaning of a sentence. They are different from conversational implicatures, which depend on the context of the interaction between speaker and hearer.

issues again in the title and description of the recipe; hence more indirect strategies can be adopted, such as "play[ing] with the sense of implicature" (Adami 2017, 29).

3. *Conclusion*

This article has identified and investigated a series of pragmatic strategies – and their possible interfaces with other levels of linguistic analysis – which recur in the environet, especially in a corpus of newspaper articles from the UK and the US dealing with sustainable cooking recipes. These recipes are often included in newspaper columns about sustainability and are framed by an introductory article explaining and underlining environmentally friendly issues.

First of all, the article's/column's heading has been analyzed recurring to Khalil's approach to foregrounding and backgrounding in textual pragmatics (2005) and to Ufot's morphosyntactic study about advertising mottos compared to newspaper headings (2017). Next, leads have been considered, that is, short paragraphs introducing the main topics and themes of a newspaper article, halfway between an expository and an argumentative text. Some examples from leads have been analyzed recurring to the speech act theory of Austin and Searle and in particular to Searle's study on the combination of representative and directive speech acts (1976). Dish names have been explored through the lenses of Halliday's systemic functional grammar, in particular through its application to dish names by Graziano and Mocini (2015) and Graziano (2017; 2019). Moreover, the notion of inference as understood by Relevance Theory and neo-Gricean pragmatics has been applied. Lastly, the descriptive texts introducing the preparation of the recipes and their procedures have been investigated according to Grice's (1975) and Potts's (2005; 2007) definitions of implicature and to Adami's application to culinary TV shows (2017). In conclusion, this article has tried to demonstrate that journalists draw on a series of pragmatic devices and their interfaces with morphosyntax and lexical semantics to convince their readers that sustainable food and recipes are not only beneficial to our planet and our health, but also tasty and easy to prepare.

This analysis would no doubt benefit from a larger corpus in the future, so that even a quantitative perspective could be implemented, and general trends identified.

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