

THE TOUGHEST COOK IN THE KITCHEN: GENDER, AUTHORITY, AND  
WORKING-CLASS DISCOURSE(S) IN A HYPERMASCULINE RESTAURANT

A Dissertation

by

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Submitted to the Office of Graduate and Professional Studies of  
Texas A&M University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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May 2015

Major Subject: English

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## ABSTRACT

The hypermasculine culture of haute cuisine has been traditionally limiting to women, who tend to leave the restaurant industry or stagnate in their professional growth. With interpretive and descriptive discourse analysis, the study both “spots” the discourse norms of a hypermasculine community of practice extant in a high-end kitchen on the Texas Gulf Coast and offers an interactional sociolinguistic frame analysis to reveal how one woman negotiates her gender and authority display within that context to effectively manage what is known as the double-bind: the challenge of being perceived as professional—exhibiting behaviors often linked to the sex-class male—and likeable—exhibiting behaviors often linked to the sex-class female, but indexical of professional inefficacy.

The study comes from approximately eight hours of transcribed audiovisual data coded for domain knowledge, linguistic traces of recurrent discourse patterns, and instances of frame-shifting, institutional gatekeeping, and subject positioning. In demonstrating how “domain,” the first component of a community of practice approach may be reconceptualized as a spectrum of information, I identify the discourse features of the kitchen, including their jargon, interactional patterns, and two commonly accessed interpretive discourses: the discourses of disadvantage and deviance. In the present context, disadvantage is constructed by talk of money troubles and worker exploitation; deviance is constructed with linguistic behaviors linked to hypermasculinity, including high levels of swearing, talk of substances, and body humor, which includes the aggression-potential of the male body and sexual humor often directed at female

coworkers. The ideological discourses combine to account, in part, for the class-based anxieties of male interlocutors and their move to garner symbolic capital through hypermasculine behaviors.

This study also shows how one female manages the hypermasculine culture of her workplace and the double-bind by strategically maneuvering workplace frames, subject positioning, face needs, mitigation and aggravation strategies, and feminine and masculine speech varieties. Results suggest that the salience of workplace hypermasculinity impacts women's negotiation of the double-bind. Women working in hypermasculine workforces can adopt the professional demeanor commonly associated with men, but still appear "feminine," if they minimize engagement of hypermasculine codes.

## DEDICATION

To my beloved husband, Keith Droz

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my committee co-chairs, Dr. Shari Kendall and Dr. Valerie Balester, and my committee members, Dr. Nancy Plankey Videla and Dr. C. Jan Swearingen, for their time, feedback, and commitment to my work. I would also like to thank the late Dr. James Arnt Aune for his involvement in the early stages of this project.

Thanks also go to my friends and colleagues and the English department faculty and staff for making my time at Texas A&M University a socially and intellectually enlightening experience, with special thanks being reserved for Dr. Dragana Djordjevic, a confidant, colleague, and dear friend whose example and sympathetic ear became invaluable during this process.

Further, I wish to thank my colleagues at the Texas A&M University Writing Center, who showed me the fun of academia and more practically housed my audiovisual data on their servers for the better part of a decade. In particular, I want to thank UWC video coordinator, Gabe Salas, who voluntarily cut my raw footage into more manageable snippets and consequently helped me in more ways than I can name here.

I also want to extend my gratitude to Shadow's kitchen crew, who trusted me to enter their workplace and say something meaningful about it. I can only hope that what I have created here will, in time, indirectly return to them by way of structural and interactional improvements.

I also wish to thank my professors at the University of Michigan whose teaching and enthusiasm for the English language drew me to sociolinguistics and discourse analysis: Anne Curzan and the late Richard Bailey.

I am also deeply grateful to the childcare providers who indirectly facilitated the completion of this project by looking after my daughters for the many months it took to complete my study: Chelsea Safran, Margaret Roberts, and Diane LaSalle. If it were not for these outstanding Pittsburghers, these hardworking nannies who became my friends, I would not have achieved this goal. Their time gave me time.

I thank my parents, Patsy Ann Schell (née McKenney) and Frederick R. Welsh, for their support, value of education, and instillation of an interest in the diglossic conundrum of the upwardly mobile.

Finally, I share this accomplishment with my family: my husband, Keith Droz, whose love, patience, and—let's be honest—financial support allowed me to both luxuriate and languish in the ivory tower for the past eight years; and my daughters, Genevieve and Juliette, who compelled me to be a good role model by finishing what I started.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT .....	ii
DEDICATION .....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS .....	vii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	x
CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION .....	1
Introduction: The Rise of the Celebrity Chef and Misrepresentations of the Industry.....	1
Professional Cooking Requires Women to have a “Thick Skin” .....	2
Professional Kitchens as Communities of Practice .....	7
An Overview of the Project.....	9
Methodological Approach.....	9
Chapter Summaries .....	12
CHAPTER II WORKPLACE DISCOURSE: A REVIEW OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE .....	16
Introduction .....	16
Communities of Practice .....	18
The Communities of Practice Approach in the Study of Language and Gender .	18
The Workplace as a Community of Practice.....	20
Gender and the Workplace.....	22
Discourse Studies in Working-Class Workforces .....	25
Working-Class Masculinity.....	27
Gendered Authority in the Working-Class Workplace .....	32
Women in Professional Kitchens .....	37
Workplace Humor: Gender, Class, and the Kitchen .....	41
Gender and Humor .....	42
Working-class Humor in Kitchen Work .....	47
Conclusion.....	49
CHAPTER III METHODOLOGY: THE LINGUISTIC FRAMEWORK AND STUDY DESIGN .....	53
Introduction .....	53

The Study Design: Setting, Participants, and Data Analysis .....	54
Research Setting .....	54
Participants .....	56
First Shift .....	57
Second Shift .....	58
The Data and Methods .....	60
Transcription .....	60
Coding .....	61
Discourse and Discourse Analysis: Interpretation and Description .....	63
“Spotting” Interpretive Discourses .....	64
The Descriptive Linguistic Framework: Interactional Sociolinguistics .....	66
Framing .....	67
Positioning .....	69
Face .....	71
Limitations of the Study .....	73
Conclusion .....	77
CHAPTER IV THE PROFESSIONAL KITCHEN AS A COMMUNITY OF PRACTICE: THE DISCOURSE OF DISADVANTAGE .....	78
Introduction .....	78
Domain .....	81
Lower-domain and Higher-domain .....	85
Community and Practice .....	94
The Discourse of Disadvantage .....	97
Poverty .....	98
Exploitation .....	102
Conclusion .....	107
CHAPTER V THE PROFESSIONAL KITCHEN AS A “HYPERMASCULINE” COMMUNITY OF PRACTICE: THE DISCOURSE OF DEVIANCE .....	109
Introduction .....	109
The Discourse of Deviance .....	109
Talk of Substance Use .....	111
Ignoring Injury to Self and Other .....	114
Profanity .....	119
Body Humor .....	124
Sexual Humor .....	124
Aggression Humor .....	130
Conclusion .....	136
CHAPTER VI MANAGING THE DOUBLE BIND: INDEXING POWER AND NEGATING GENDERED SUBJECT POSITIONING, A CASE STUDY .....	138



Introduction .....	138
Indexing Power: Gatekeeping in the Kitchen.....	140
Questioned-then-Accepted Gatekeeping Ratifies Power .....	142
Gatekeeping to Goods and Information .....	147
Negating Interactive Subject Positioning as Sexual and Subordinate.....	156
Conclusion.....	168
CHAPTER VII CONCLUSION .....	171
REFERENCES.....	181
APPENDIX I TRANSCRIPT CONVENTIONS .....	207
APPENDIX II TRANSCRIPT .....	209

## LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 1: Kitchen Schematic .....	55
Figure 2: Kitchen Hierarchy.....	60
Figure 3: Lower/High Domain Spectrum.....	84
Figure 4: Distribution of Profanity - Word Usage (5 Hour Sample) .....	122

CHAPTER I  
INTRODUCTION

**Introduction: The Rise of the Celebrity Chef and Misrepresentations of the  
Industry**

Cooking for the camera was once relegated to the grainy footage of public broadcasting stations, where Julia Child would charm us with her mistakes and low production costs. But the past fifteen years have ushered in an era of celebrity cooking that has made America's foodies and casual diners become so well-acquainted with professional chefs and celebrity cooks that we are now on a first name basis with them—Ina, Emeril, Wolfgang, and Giada, though the list grows annually. These culinarians reach millions with their multimedia empires of bestselling cookbooks, primetime television shows, and commercial endorsements of brands ranging from Bud Light to Clairol. Their work has influenced our standards for cuisine, and their far-reaching presence has altered how we view the professional chef. Indeed, in the collective conscious of twenty-first century America, professional cooking is glamorous and clean, comprised of equal numbers of women and men who build the cultural capital of haute cuisine in an effort to feed it, bite by bite, to the hungry public.

Not surprisingly, the rise of the celebrity chef has paralleled rising enrollments at culinary schools. Writing in 2011, Food Republic blogger Naa Ako-Adjei reported (para. 1): “From 2009-2010, Le Cordon Bleu’s enrollment went up 31 percent, while in the last

six years, applications surged almost 50 percent at The Culinary Institute of America (CIA), forcing the school to add a satellite campus to help meet demand.” Before offering five axioms of culinary education, the fifth being a precept of this dissertation—“the kitchen can be a cruel environment; so develop a thick skin”—Ako-Adjei concludes with a simple question: *Do these eager culinary students really know what they’re getting themselves into?* Though I cannot speak for all students, I can offer anecdotal evidence that no, many of us, mostly women, do not know what we are getting ourselves into.

### **Professional Cooking Requires Women to have a “Thick Skin”**

In January of 2005 I entered a French-American culinary school modeled on the six-month practicum that is standard for culinary instruction in France. I was a younger woman with time on my hands before starting graduate school, so I enrolled purely out of curiosity. I envisioned learning a practical skill, meeting other foodies, and joining the curious ranks of people who get to say things such as, “I went to culinary school before I got my Ph.D.” I can now make that statement—with tongue in cheek, of course—but it was a purchased at a price.

Each weekday, students would arrive at 7:00 a.m. and cook until mid-afternoon, when we would adjourn for a family-style lunch consisting of our meticulously plated lessons. But during those eight hours of cooking, our classroom emulated the professional kitchen in task and culture. Recipes were quickly read, mad dashes to the

stock room and cooler were made each hour, and tensions were high. To relieve the tension, the men would joke and the women would quietly listen, waiting it out for a topic shift, or they would actively take part; but either choice appeared to be to women's peril.

Early on in my program, for example, I was approached by a male classmate who detailed a sexual fantasy of me as a naughty schoolgirl needing to be disciplined by him, the principal. My face reddened with anger and humiliation, and I ran to the director's office within seconds of processing that my interlocutor was constructing a sexual fantasy frame. In the director's office, I explained what had happened and anticipated the swift dismissal of my classmate from our program. However, our traditionally feminine female director, who came from France with her famous chef husband, sympathetically smiled as she softly purred, "*Mai oui mon cheri*; this is how it is in professional cooking." I sauntered back to my class with a renewed interest in my plans to pursue graduate school.

For the remainder of the program, I observed that jokes were sexual and generally directed at the women. But as the director explained, this was not a phenomenon endemic to my school, but rampant across the world of professional American cooking. For example, a 41-year old woman commenting on the popular blog network, Eater.com, explained that "when you enter culinary school... they don't mention that sexual harassment is part of the job and you better learn to laugh at all the rape jokes and threats. They don't mention that you will be working outside the law and you'll have no protections against serious injury." Indeed, the tough nature of the job

often limits women's inroads to this traditionally masculine occupation, and is mentioned across lay and academic portrayals of the profession.

Disney-Pixar studio's *Ratatouille* (2007), for example, an animated film about an anthropomorphized rat with a gift for cooking, captures this phenomenon by featuring a female chef named Colette who explains her position in the male-dominated world of professional cooking. When Linguini, the male protagonist, is advised to learn from Colette, she initiates their relationship with a stern acknowledgement of the thick skin she needed to advance in their profession:

Linguini: Listen, I just want you to know how honored I am to be studying under such a...

Colette: [*pins Linguini's sleeve with a knife*] No, you listen! I just want you to know exactly who you are dealing with! How many women do you see in this kitchen?

Linguini: Well, I uh:

Colette: [*pins Linguini's sleeve with another knife*] Only me. Why do you think that is? Because haute cuisine is an antiquated hierarchy built upon rules written by stupid, old, men. Rules designed to make it impossible for women to enter this world. But still I'm here! How did this happen?

Linguini: Well because, because you:

Colette: [*pins Linguini's sleeve with a third knife*] Because I am the toughest cook in this kitchen! I have worked too hard for too long to get here, and I am NOT going to jeopardize it for some garbage boy who got lucky! Got it?

*[she sweeps the knives off Linguini's arm and he falls to the floor]*

Colette is archetypical of the women who negotiate kitchen work's masculine stomping ground and stay long enough to rise in rank, becoming some of the toughest cook(s) in the kitchen. This happens when the women take on the discourse expectations historically linked to the male sex-class (Baxter, 2010; Goffman, 1977). Baxter claims that blue-collar workforces, such as professional kitchens, have a culture of limited roles for women, many of which are semantically derogated (Schultz, 1975), or have negative connotations. “[the kitchen] is,” according to celebrity chef Anthony Bourdain, “like a pirate ship” (2007: 27). Though Colette is a fitting fiction, an example of a woman who negotiates the masculine space, she is, alas, artificial. So, the question remains: How do *real* women fare after they have set sail?

Lay and scholarly accounts of women in blue-collar workforces suggest that women aboard the proverbial kitchen ship have three basic options: they either become pirates themselves, assimilating to the linguistic patterns and nonlinguistic behaviors of their male counterparts (McElhinny, 1995, 1998; Fine 1987, 2009) or, they become quiet captives, partly due to their speech divergence; or, they are thrown overboard—either “opting out” (Stone, 2007; Harris and Giuffre, 2010) or being selected for termination because of a failure to adapt to kitchen culture (Lynch, 2010). However, few studies exist which have interrogated these options, identified others, or have explicitly examined women who effectively negotiate their gender-work performances in blue-collar venues.

Research on gender in workplace discourse has mostly considered “white-collar” institutional language (e.g. Baxter, 2010; Holmes, 1997; Holmes and Stubbe, 2003; Holmes and Schnurr, 2006; Kendall, 2004; Tannen, 1994), and has only minimally considered the interaction of gender and discourse in working-class institutions, specifically nontraditional workforces that women have steadily entered in the past thirty years (McElhinny, 1995, 1998; Reskin and Roos, 1990). While women have comprised the majority of workers working in the lower-paying, quick-serve and family-style restaurants for years (ROC, 2012: 2), they are now beginning to work their way into higher-end establishments serving haute cuisine.

Indeed, the professional kitchen, a historically all-male, working-class institution has been entered by a greater proportion of women than ever (US Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2013: 214-215). Although the typical food service manager is a middle-aged male, prototypical first-line supervisors of food preparation and service workers are now females under forty-five (National Restaurant Association, 2006:30). This reflects an increase from figures gathered in 1986, the last date of published statistics by the National Restaurant Association. Even further, the number of first-line supervisor positions is projected to increase 16.5% by 2016 (National Restaurant Association, 2006: 51). If the current situation is maintained, it is expected that women will continue to hold or advance to this position or higher. Nevertheless, women working as head cooks or chefs in this context still fare worse than their male counterparts. In 2006, for example, only 26% of the 280 thousand chefs and head cooks were women. And the median



weekly earnings for these women were a mere 85% of those gathered by their male equals (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics).

So, it is a timely moment to consider the workplace culture of that space, particularly when one considers the economic impact of the restaurant industry: it employs approximately 11 million workers and is one of the largest and fastest-growing sectors of the American economy (ROC, 2014).

### **Professional Kitchens as Communities of Practice**

A tenet of this dissertation is that working-class, or blue-collar, jobs are distinguished from white collar positions for their general lack of a career ladder, health and retirement benefits, living wages, and traditional work-week schedule. Professional cooking falls into this category, for those who do it share the same working conditions as many other blue-collar jobs. However, what makes restaurant work markedly different from other working-class professions is its industry-wide co-culture.<sup>1</sup> As such, it has a set of “cultural traits and actions that transcend individual restaurants and characterize large swaths of the industry and its associated occupational orders” (Fine, 2009: 117).

These traits and actions combine to make workers in professional kitchens a collective of

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<sup>1</sup> Although Alice Waters, the pioneer of California Cuisine and matriarch of the clean cuisine movement, suggests that restaurants have unique styles, cultures, and values as organizations, sociologist Gary Allan Fine acknowledges the existence of a distinct restaurant subculture (2009: 117). However, I have made the editorial decision to avoid the term “subculture” since its use suggests that there is then a “superculture.” The dichotomy generated by these distinctions invites notions of superiority and inferiority and obscures the vision of equality between cultures that I wish to align with in my work and personal life. Co-culture is a term that allows a culture’s existence and operation alongside other co-cultures, such as the hegemonic, so-called “dominant culture.”

individuals who share similar philosophies and beliefs about normative interaction on the job and in the trade at large.

Chefs are aware of their co-cultural status, too: According to Natasha, one of thirty-three professional female chefs interviewed by Deborah A. Harris and Patti Giuffre, Texas State University sociologists whose most recent work considers female chef's work-family life balance, "Restaurant kitchens used to be a cool little club that only a few people knew about. Now everyone wants to be a chef" (2010: 44). Although Natasha likely lacks the linguistic nomenclature to talk about her occupational domain as such, she is describing the collective of professionals in her workplace as a community of practice. She is also using enthymeme to make a subtle, yet powerful argument about what industry professionals think it takes to be accorded the venerable title of chef: actually working in a restaurant.<sup>2</sup>

As with other communities of practice, membership happens not with a degree or diploma from an accredited school, but with time and sustained interaction with other ratified members of the community (Wenger, 1998). But unlike many other communities of practice, the "cool little club" of professional kitchens hazes its would-be-members by feeding them a typical recipe of long hours, low pay, few benefits (if any), non-traditional schedules, and a workplace tenor that is mediated by caricature-like representations of blue-collar masculinity. Many of us who are not in the community,

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<sup>2</sup> For cooking enthusiasts such as me, who ventured to culinary school to graduate with a degree and the privilege to identify myself as a "chef" to others, Natasha's assertion brings a little heartbreak—a point I make only slightly in jest. I have never worked in a restaurant kitchen, so I would not consider myself a member of a bone fide community of professional kitchen workers (Frey 2002).

particularly those of us who are women, would argue that such conditions are unsatisfactory at best, and grounds for leaving the industry at worst. However, the community of practice forged amidst those conditions is often strong and likened positively to no other (Bourdain, 2000; Fine 1987, 2009; Lynch, 2010; Harris and Giuffre, 2010).

## **An Overview of the Project**

### *Methodological Approach*

My study considers the hypermasculine culture in a male-dominated workforce, and the discourse strategies employed by a female employee who manages the social assumptions that are taken for granted in her workplace, including the power structures that are discursively created, maintained, negotiated and challenged there. Of course, feminist sociolinguistic debates and theorization “since the late 1980s have shown that speaking of ‘women’ and ‘men’ in universal or totalizing terms is problematic” (Lazar, 2007). Gender is a social identity realized along with other categories of social identity. For example, in enacting gender, an interlocutor may also be constructing her sexuality, which combines with her gender performance to aid the expression and construction of her regional identity. My project is located at the intersection of gender performance and sex- and social class-based identity constructions in the blue-collar workplace.

Data for the study comes from a larger corpus of audiovisual data gathered over two days of work in a Houston-area restaurant kitchen, Shadow.<sup>3</sup> My research venue was selected because it permitted access (several others did not), has a mix-sexed workforce, and is predominantly English-speaking. It is located in an upscale neighborhood known for boutique shops and Zagat-rated restaurants described as “eclectic American” and “fusion,” and Shadow fits this bill perfectly. It has ever-changing daily specials and a limited, seasonal menu comprised of approximately twenty recurrent dishes. The 600 square foot, rustic-industrial dining room seats approximately 75 people, including the 10 seated at the reclaimed wood bar tended, most nights, by an award-winning sommelier. However, the major participants in the study do not work in this aesthetically pleasing environment; they are the chefs in the “back of the house,” where it is loud and busy. They include Lisa, a bilingual Latina who unofficially oversees much of the work happening in the kitchen; Dale, the Chef de Cuisine officially in charge during data collection; Chet, the Chef de patisserie who prepares the desserts, who, like Dale, is a white man in his thirties; and Alina, a heavy-set African American line cook who works alongside of Phil, the lowest-ranking male cook present during data collection. Raw data was transcribed with Transana 2.41 software using Jeffersonian transcription conventions (Woods and Fassnacht, 2009).

For data analysis, I use two linguistic models: To articulate the kitchen community’s worldview, I use an approach to interpretive discourse spotting that is based upon Sunderland’s methods for uncovering discourses (2004), the oft-used topoi

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<sup>3</sup> Pseudonyms are used throughout the study.

or thematic schemes that are accessed by a multitude of conversations arising across a workday shift. I then turn to an interactional sociolinguistic model of linguistic analysis to, on the one hand, investigate the turn-by-turn construction of those discourses, and on the other, to interrogate the interaction of gender, class, and demeanors of authority.

Judith Baxter explains the benefits of an interactional sociolinguistic approach (2010: 102):

The IS model analyses in close detail the language used from one conversation turn to the next, paying attention to grammatical, lexical, prosodic and paralinguistic choices of language use. This method helps to understand exactly how different interlocutors achieve turns in the discussion, and is especially useful for revealing differences between people's speech styles as well as differences in status and power relations.

Using the interactional sociolinguistic model, I specifically investigate working-class masculinity strategies (e.g. sexual humor and profanity) and authoritative demeanors as they are enacted through frame shifting (Goffman, 1974); politeness and face-needs (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Goffman, 1967); aggravation and mitigation strategies (Labov and Fanshel, 1977); and subject positioning (Althusser, 1971; Davies and Harré, 1990).

In order to understand how gendered discourses are enacted, resisted, or enforced, I address the following questions: 1) What are the discourse features that demarcate hypermasculinity and kitchen talk? 2) Do women and men speak differently in the restaurant kitchen? 3) If a woman is accorded more respect than her female

coworkers, how does her linguistic behavior differ from that of her female and male counterparts, if at all? 4) How does the mainstream social hierarchy, which is influenced by social- and sex classes, influence the institutional hierarchy? In answering these questions, I meet my objective of identifying how women might be able to produce and manage their gender and professional identity displays in the blue-collar workforce; and to understand how the dialectology of discourses, or intersection of identities, in a traditionally-masculine workforce impact women's negotiation of the double-bind, the conflict between appearing traditionally feminine and professionally effective (Lakoff, 1990).

### *Chapter Summaries*

The next chapter initiates the study formally with a review of the relevant literature from linguistics, working-class studies, and sociology to examine the connections between gender and social class in workplace discourse. It begins by explaining the arrival of language and gender studies at a contemporary discourse model identifying one's gender performance as fluid and contextually mediated within communities of practice (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992). I show how managerial behavior in white-collar and blue-collar workforces has historically been linked to variations of masculinity performance. In the case of the restaurant kitchen, masculinity performance has been described as "hypermasculine" or "working-class machismo." My aim in Chapter II is to thus link relevant studies on workplace language to

discourse(s) of gender difference, masculinity, leadership and class, as it is the constellation of these factors that inform, in part, the construction of identity and expectation in the professional kitchen.

Chapter III turns from past studies to the present study of language happening in the kitchen of Shadow, an upscale restaurant located in Houston, Texas. It identifies my theoretical and methodological approach to interpretive and descriptive discourse analysis, as well as the macro- and micro-analytical methods of discourse identification and naming (interpretive), framing, subject positioning, and face. The chapter concludes with an explanation of the study design, including schematics of the research venue and its hierarchy, as well as the processes for data collection and analysis.

Chapters IV and V show how Shadow's kitchen crew satisfies Wenger's (2002) elements of a community of practice, which are a common domain, repertoire of resources or practices, and community-creation because of members' shared domain and repertoire. I argue that the community accesses a domain of knowledge in accordance with their individual institutional statuses. Shadow's cooks, chefs, and front-of-the-house staff who mingle with the kitchen crew also share a repertoire of resources, which include institutionally acceptable ways of interacting, workplace jargon, and, more notably in the study, interpretive discourses that are recurrently accessed to generate conversation and account for social phenomena. I show how the kitchen staff uses interaction to constitute and be constitutive of what I have named the discourses of disadvantage and deviance. The interdiscursivity of these thematic schemes account for,

in part, working-class men's status anxiety (Hofstadler, 1955) and its mitigation through hypermasculine strategies.

Chapter VI turns from the men working in the kitchen to the women who work beside them. It offers a case study of Lisa, a head line cook who is an unofficial institutional superior. I show that Lisa manages to appear both feminine and authoritative to her coworkers because of her production of a feminine demeanor of authority. She accomplishes this production by maneuvering workplace frames, subject positionings, mitigation and aggravation strategies, and feminine and masculine speech varieties as she positions herself as a desexualized gatekeeper.

I conclude the study in Chapter VII by summarizing my findings and clarifying my conclusions. I find that Lisa, the central figure of my case study in Chapter VI, is able to negotiate the double-bind in the hypermasculine workforce of the restaurant kitchen largely because of the saliency of working-class style of masculinity prevalent there. I argue that female participants in the present study may not be considered traditionally feminine in workforces that do not legally or unofficially allow or attribute prestige to overly masculine identity displays. That is, the allowable indices of masculinity in middle-class and white-collar workforces are thus different from those "permitted", or tolerated, in kitchen culture. In this way, a woman may be seen as traditionally feminine even if she does not display many of the characteristics of a traditionally feminine performance. For example, a traditionally feminine performance might include the following features: limited or zero-production of profanity; mitigation strategies in conversing, e.g. ways of



ameliorating the negative force of commands and criticism; and laughter at others' jokes, but very little humor-production oneself. I show that women working in heavily masculine environments—where, for example, profanity and sexual humor production are normative features of masculinity performance—may be perceived as “feminine” even if they do not perform traditional femininity. I argue that perceptions of their femininity are bolstered by the differential created when it is placed in opposition to perceived workplace masculine performances.

In addition, I show that studies of women's leadership in white-collar workplaces do not necessarily capture what happens in blue-collar venues. White-collar workforces have a set of discourse strategies that are effectively employed by institutional superiors, but the same strategies are often ineffective in the restaurant kitchen. For example, face-saving, mitigated requests are ignored by both sexes when the exigency is costly food preparation and the temporal character of the venue, where there is no time to negotiate duties and authority; such requests are contextually inappropriate or unexpected. To conclude the project, I locate areas for future sociolinguistic research centered on the linguistic constitution of gender and social class.

## CHAPTER II

### WORKPLACE DISCOURSE: A REVIEW OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE

#### **Introduction**

In the introductory chapter, I suggest that women entering and working alongside men in the “hypermasculine” restaurant kitchen have historically contended with behaviors that inhibit their professional advancement and comfortable membership in the institutional order. I outline the research questions underpinning the present analysis and suggest that there is a double bind faced by women looking to be both liked and respected in such workplaces. Here, I examine the complexities of my suggestion by looking to past work in the social sciences and humanities, thereby giving an overview of the present state of the questions in a review of relevant research.

This study is situated, primarily, within the sociolinguistic study of language and gender. My review therefore begins with a briefing on the arrival of language and gender, as a subdiscipline of linguistics, at a community of practice approach. This approach allows scholars to see how the dynamics of place and participants drive interaction norms in context. I then consider the role of gender in one community, the workplace, to explain that managerial behavior is often linked to the male sex class, even though women’s ways of enacting authority are capable of being quite effective.

Given that studies of managerial behavior have historically come from examinations of white collar workforces, I turn my focus to discourse studies of

working-class venues and displays of gender and authority therein. Specifically, I consider working-class machismo, a hypermasculine gender enactment central to identity displays in some traditionally masculine spaces, and studies that have considered the advent and tenure of women therein.

The remainder of the review considers the specific venue under examination, the restaurant kitchen. I show that women working in the traditionally masculine kitchen are expected to conform to hypermasculine behavioral norms if they are to “fit in.” These include, among other things, the production of a high level of profanity and the use and tolerance of sexual humor. However, as will be illuminated earlier in the review, women’s engagement of masculine linguistic behavior does not yield the same results it would if they were men. Rather, studies have shown that engaging masculine-linked behavior is often quite detrimental to the professional woman who engages it.

The review thus ushers in the quandary that catalyzed the present analysis: How is a woman to be perceived as traditionally feminine, yet institutionally authoritative, in the hypermasculine workplace if she uses the patterns linked to the sex-class of which she is not a part? Before attempting to answer that question in my analysis chapters, the review concludes with an overview of the study and its methodological framework, including interpretive discourses in the construction of hypermasculinity in the kitchen, and a frame analysis that considers subject positioning and face, an aspect of politeness theory used extensively in interactional sociolinguistic analysis.

## Communities of Practice

### *The Communities of Practice Approach in the Study of Language and Gender*

Since Robin Lakoff's seminal study (1975) of women's language during the "second-wave" of feminism (Mills and Mullany, 2011), researchers of language and gender have considered how communication between the genders is a cross-cultural production (Maltz and Borker, 1982; Tannen, 1990), and how gender is socially constructed and maintained (Butler, 1990; West and Zimmerman, 1991; Cameron, 1997). In discussions of cultural differences, it has been suggested that women tend to concern themselves with maintaining the faces of their fellow interlocutors, so they use language strategies that minimize status distinctions (Brown and Levinson, 1987). Conversely, men are mostly linguistically socialized to maintain status differences, independence, and convey information, or engaging in "report talk" (Tannen, 1990: 42), instead of facilitating "rapport talk."

The contrasting conversational goals of the genders is thus said to lead to divergent conversational styles. However, these are generalizations of the differing sex classes, and no one language feature pragmatically presumes female or male. Indeed, to look at gender and language from the standpoint of difference is only one of several discourses that may be applied (Sunderland, 2004). Ochs (1992: 340) clarifies the relation of language to gender as non-exclusive by noting that the features may be employed more by one than the other sex, so "the relationship between language and

gender is distributional and probabilistic.” By talking in ways that are associated with one or the other sex class, individuals signal their alignment with that sex class.

Ways of appearing feminine or masculine thus rely on variable features of language more commonly associated with one or the other sex. By displaying linguistic, paralinguistic, and semiotic behavior more commonly associated with the other sex-class, one may be considered as aligning themselves with the sex-class of which they are not a part, “indexing” masculinity or femininity (Ochs, 1992). For example, if a woman uses expletives, which have been found to be associated with men (McEnery and Xiao, 2004), she may be perceived as being less feminine. However, if the same woman were to smile a lot, she would be exhibiting a female sex-class linked behavior (Tannen, 1994b: 216). She would be “doing [her] gender,” so to speak (Goffman, 1976; West and Zimmerman, 1987; Butler, 1990). West and Zimmerman (1991:14) explain the idea of gender performativity succinctly: “Doing gender involves a complex of socially guided perceptual, interactional, and micropolitical activities that cast particular pursuits as expressions of masculine and feminine ‘natures.’” In other words, gender is something an individual DOES rather than something the individual HAS.

In light of the ability of an individual to allegedly perform a gender identity that is supposedly not “naturally” one’s own, language and gender scholars have taken up the constructivist approach to gender by holding that gender is a social category that is necessarily taught, learned, and enforced by individuals and their society (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003). Gender thus operates as a system of meanings, as it is

constantly shifting and is a construct which exists not “in persons, but in transactions” (Crawford, 1995: 12) that are continually happening within and between individuals. Given the view that gender is a fluid construction rather than a rigid category to which one is fixed, sociolinguists (Goodwin, 1990; McElhinny, 1995; Kendall 2004; Holmes and Schnurr, 2006) have begun to consider extensively how language and gender vary across speech events and activities, or communities of practice (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 1992, 1995).

The study of language and gender has thus developed in “third-wave” feminism to explore how it is the day-by-day relations between women and men in their shared communities of practice that mediate the production of their gendered identities (Baxter 2003). The workplace is a notable community of practice where the interaction between gender and linguistic production has been examined at length (Kendall and Tannen, 1997; Holmes and Stubbe, 2003; Holmes and Schnurr, 2006).

### *The Workplace as a Community of Practice*

The concept of a community of practice originated in the social anthropological work of Lave and Wenger (1991) and was extended by Wenger (1998) and Wenger, McDermott, and Snyder (2002). A communities of practice approach allows scholars to identify the ways in which individuals create and maintain their membership in certain groups via shared activities and language use. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, who

brought the concept of communities of practice to sociolinguistics (1992a: 90-91), define it as:

an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in some common endeavor. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations – in short, practices – emerge in the course of their joint activity around that endeavor.

Wenger further clarifies this concept (1998) by noting that three necessary elements distinguish a community of practice from other groups: the domain, the community, and the practice. By coming together and having a commitment to a shared domain of interest, membership is constructed. Members' shared competence helps distinguish themselves from other people not in the community of practice. By engaging in activities and discussions about the domain, members help each other and share information, and therefore build communal relationships that encourage learning from one another. In learning from one another, they become practitioners of the ways of the community: "they develop a shared repertoire of resources: experiences, stories, tools, ways of addressing recurring problems—in short, a shared practice. This takes time and sustained interaction" (Wenger, 1998: par. 13). The repertoire may include inside jokes, specialized jargon, and routines, which are performed and discursively constructed through recurrent themes and topics that construct a collective worldview, which fosters the creation of a situated coculture.

As a general rule, people are members of many communities of practice, but those that are created in the workplace often become particularly salient in employed

people's lives. The relationships and identities forged and sustained in one's place of work often underscore self-impressions, perceptions of others, and affirm or challenge notions of group identity. But it goes without saying that individuals are a composite of a number of identities; so it is critical to examine not just the communities of practice generated in workplaces, but the intersection in that sphere of other prevalent identities, such as gender and social class.

### Gender and the Workplace

As Kendall and Tannen (1997: 81) highlight in their review of scholarship on gender and language in the workplace, interaction on the job is characterized by a unique set of features: a hierarchical structure of employees; a history of greater male participation in most work settings, especially at the higher ranking levels; a pattern of participation along gender lines; and perennial inter- and intra-institutional reviews. It is also a locale where the genders increasingly interact with each other, enact authority, and are judged and responded to by individuals who are neither family nor chosen affiliates. Under this set of constraints, a particular workforce often develops a mode of institutional communication that serves as its normative model for conducting business, moving up in the ranks, and accomplishing work-related tasks. However, standard institutionalized modes of communication are often modeled on male norms of interaction (McElhinny, 1992), so institutional expectations for what constitutes



effective, professional, and desirable workplace discourse is often distributionally masculine in feature.

As Kendall and Tannen explain, an institutional identity such as “manager” is typically associated with a particular sex and the interactional style most typical of the sex that historically held that position: “In other words, the predominance of one sex in an institutional position creates and maintains gender-related expectations for how someone in that position *should* speak” or behave in order to maintain a position or promote (1997: 91). This point becomes contentious when the promotion of women in historically male positions of authority comes to the fore, as ways of enacting authority may differ between the sexes. For example, Kendall (1993, 2004) looked at the work-related talk of a technical director at a radio network to examine how the technical director enacted her authority with a subordinate. Rather than issue directives and index her authority in overt displays of power, the technical director chose to convey information indirectly in order to save the face of her subordinate and mitigate his anxiety by framing the information she was conveying as specific to that particular show, and not information that he was expected to already know. Instead of saying “Don’t forget that tapes have a one-second lead-in” (something he would presumably already know), she said, “Everything on this show has that one-second dead roll.” Similarly, she managed to get him talking about a topic he was comfortable with: personal computers. By bringing up a topic in which he had expertise, the technical director was able to decrease the subordinate’s anxiety, and thus increase his work-related efficacy. In turn, her egalitarian way of enacting her authority—although neither

masculine nor typical of those in her position—was particularly effective (the subordinate made no errors under the technical director that day). However, her gendered demeanor of enacting her authority at work was *not perceived* as effective or appropriate by her equals and superiors, so her position as technical director at the radio network was not renewed.

Evidenced by the work reviewed above is that women who are institutional authorities, and actively construct identities to position themselves as such, do so by capitalizing on linguistic strategies associated with their gender. However, the face-saving approach and egalitarian framing of interaction taken by many women in positions of authority is rarely recognized as being an effective or appropriate mode of indexing their status in the workforce. In response to this situation, scholars of language and gender have studied the effects generated when women authorities take on the interlocutionary characteristics of their equal male counterparts, specifically “assertive” language (e.g. using imperatives and direct orders). Studies have consistently shown that assertive language is perceived differently, depending upon its interlocutor.

Concomitantly, others’ assessments of the relative femininity or masculinity and efficacy of an assertive interlocutor change, depending upon the gender of the individual who produces the assertion (Kendall and Tannen 1997; McElhinny 1995). For example, Carli (1990), who looked at the way college students perceived an appealing message delivered by a woman or a man who spoke assertively or tentatively (e.g. using disclaimers, tags, and hedges), discovered that assertive women were perceived as more effective than those women who delivered tentative messages, but were considered to be

less influential by men and were deemed less likeable by the female respondents. Conversely, male speakers were considered competent, likeable, influential, and knowledgeable despite their mode of delivery. Similarly, Crawford (1988), found that women who spoke more assertively—for example by telling a boss to discontinue calling them demeaning names—received lower likeability ratings than men in the same situation.

Research done by Kendall and others (e.g. Williams, 1989; Tannen, 1994; McElhinny, 1995; McConnell-Ginet, 2000; Holmes and Schnurr, 2006; Baxter, 2010) suggests that intra-institutional attitudes about what constitutes the behavior of a “good manager” or a “good worker” in a particular position is linked to the linguistic and non-linguistic behaviors of the individuals who have historically held those positions. But the bulk of sociolinguistic research examining workplace discourse has come from white-collar professions, so more studies examining working-class professions are needed. This necessity is underscored by the fact that the majority of workers in the United States (64%) identifies as working-class (Zweig, 2011). They ultimately make linguistic choices that index that identity. In the case of restaurant kitchens, those who have historically held the position of chef or line cook are working-class men.

### **Discourse Studies in Working-Class Workforces**

But what exactly is meant by *working-class*? Linkon explains the difficulty of defining this term in the United States, “where our cultural faith in upward mobility

and an idealized version of equality have led us to insist that class does not really matter here” (1999:3). Zweig clarifies the category on the basis of the limited power the working-class have in the workplace (2011). Someone else determines their work schedules, decides upon production quotas and procedural modifications, and takes control of long term planning and development. The working-class may have the opportunity to make suggestions, but those are only taken under advisement and are easily disregarded.

What constitutes working-class is also contextually bound, since it is linked to matters of local culture (Linkon, 1999; Stevenson and Ellsworth, 1993). In Pittsburgh, where I presently reside, the central industry of the early twentieth century was steel manufacturing, which created a working-class with a shared history. But the local culture was, and remains, quite divided upon ethnic identity as Italian or Irish, so those divisions were reinforced in the mills. In more urban centers, such as Houston, where the present study took place, the working-class is more ethnically diverse, including people of color and immigrants, while rural areas, such as mid-Michigan where I grew up, working-class almost exclusively means Protestant and Northern European.

But no matter where one goes in America, the conditions of the working-class are standard: they do not have careers, but jobs. They are generally paid hourly wages instead of a salary, and their work is left at the workplace when they leave for the day. Working-class jobs may require some form of certification, but they do not typically require a college education, though the oversaturation of the marketplace with college-educated youth has somewhat altered that correlation (Christopher, 2005). Their work is

generally unvalued in the dominant culture, even though it is necessary for society's daily functioning.

Given this constellation of factors, working-class men lacking the market capital to assert a mainstream masculinity often garner symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1977) from hypermasculine displays.

### *Working-Class Masculinity*

Working-class masculinity is linked to the concept of "hypermasculinity," a term that hails from psychology as a way to describe the exaggerated production of behaviors linked to masculine cultural stereotypes within a co-culture (Parrott and Zeichner, 2008). Men who display an "excessive identification with and endorsement of the traditional male role" may be said to be hypermasculine (Mosher, 1991). According to Salter and Blodgett (2008: 402), "the term can apply to an overemphasis upon masculine-gendered physical traits and/or behavioral patterns, particularly dismissal or hostility towards feminine displays."

As men who generally endorse an extreme male gender role orientation (Herek, 1986, 1988; Kite and Whitley, 1998), working-class men's limited economic capital is perceived as violation of the male gender role, thereby representing a significant threat to their self-concept. "To cope with this threat," explain Parrot and Zeichner (2008: 402), "these men attempt to bolster their identification with the male gender role by displaying highly stereotypic masculine emotions and behaviors (e.g., anger,

aggression),” a complex of behaviors that has been coined as “protest masculinity” (Broude, 1990; Adler, 1956 in Connell, 1991). Connell (1995) suggests that in constructing the masculine protest, working-class men defend what is masculine as opposed to what is feminine, and are doing so as a way to respond to their low social status on the male hierarchy. What they construct is thus a protest to their perceived powerlessness and a “working-class machismo” (Toron, 2012: 2). Toron explains (2):

‘Working-class machismo’ is almost a contradiction in terms, because masculinity is about power, and being working-class is to be disempowered....The working-class male who wants to prove his masculinity has few avenues available to him, so he will tend to express himself through physical means, especially in muscular work. The power to dominate others is expressed in a direct physical form, through physical and muscular power.

Working-class masculinity is also linked to the use of controlled substances (Sanders, 2011) and violence, which, according to Hochstetler, Copes and Forsyth (2014: 493) is a “symbolic attempt at attaining and maintaining honor and status” amongst other working-class men.

According to Michael Kaufman in his seminal article, “The Construction of Masculinity and the Triad of Men’s Violence,” the achievement of a successful working-class identity corresponds to the realization of a successful masculine identity (1987:13, in Toron, 2012:). Manual labor is awash with masculine features, and working-class masculinity becomes connected with physically demanding work. Toron explains that “the positive virtues of work reinforce their own sense of self-worth and give them a

type of (conflicted) acceptance into the social mainstream” (12:1). The use of physical posturing and substances may be said to combine with other working-class behaviors to make physically demanding work less onerous. Gregory (2013: 252) explains in his article “Among the dockhands – another look at working-class male culture” that “sexual kidding, physical posturing, and profanity, sometimes accentuated with crude but appreciable wit, made the demanding labor more bearable.” The same comes to light in the Shadow’s kitchen, where class and gender performance intersect in the creation of a workplace culture linked to male cultural models.

Regarding class as its own organizing principle, Russo and Likon (2005) note that scholarship has attempted to explain class through three theoretical lenses: economic structure, individual status, and discursive practices. With its dual interest in class and gender, the present dissertation is situated squarely in the third approach.

Discourse analyses concerning gender performances among the sexes and class in workplace interactions have largely focused on non-service industries and a short list of repeatedly-studied service jobs. Penning a reaction to the dearth of social research in this realm more generally, Bonalyn J. Nelsen (1999: 197) writes:

Vast expanses of the occupational landscape remain unexplored. Perhaps nowhere is this more evident than in the realm of service work, where a privileged handful of service occupations have been intensely studied at the expense of most others. For example, researchers have penned innumerable accounts of occupations such as prostitutes, police officers and, especially, health care workers, but relatively few of people who repair appliances, climb

telephone poles, operate daycare centers, or dispense subway tokens. Given that approximately three out of every four American workers are now employed in the service sector (Johnston, 1993), and that the vast majority neither turn tricks, make arrests, or tend patients, this seems a considerable oversight—one that clearly hobbles future efforts and developing a more rigorous and comprehensive understanding of work and its effect on our lives.

Although Nelsen is specifically critiquing sociology in her review of Fine's *Kitchens: The Culture of Restaurant Work* (2009), the only extant sociocultural study of kitchens, the same may be said for discourse studies at the intersection of language and gender, which has generally focused on a limited set of working-class occupations, such as police officers (McElhinny, 1992, 1995, 1998), factory workers (Stubbe, 2000), and construction workers (Baxter and Wallace, 2009). My work in a restaurant kitchen is thus a response to this limited consideration of working-class occupations. With its focus on working-class masculinity, gender, and leadership, the dissertation functions as one reaction to Nelsen's single criticism of Fine's ethnography, which is that it failed to raise broader social questions (199):

For example, the cooks Fine studied (and indeed, cooks in general) hailed from the working-class. How, then, do these cooks raise the cultural capital required of haute cuisine? Is the occupation stratified along class lines, or does some sort of acculturation take place? Such questions are not raised, much less answered [in Fine's ethnography].



An attempt at answering broader social questions is at the heart of my present work, since it explores how the construction of a restaurant kitchen's community of practice is a derivative of the community's unstated larger social project: the construction of gendered class identities. Therefore, my project centers both on the collective construction of a contextualized working-class identity, and more specifically on the few women who enter the traditionally masculine professional kitchens to cook, lead, and prosper—women who ultimately face the double-bind (Lakoff 1990).

Indeed, much of the social scientific literature on women's workplace discourse shows that women may be perceived as more effective and competent in their work when they take on the interlocutory characteristics of their equal male counterparts, but they are nonetheless judged to have indexed unfriendliness and an "unnatural" masculinity that is inextricable from the "nature of the job." Sociolinguistic studies examining women's successful negotiation of this particular double-bind are limited to Baxter's (2010) examination of "double-voiced discourse." My study is the first to consider it in a working-class venue. In light of the dearth of scholarship on working-class workplaces and women's leadership therein, my project jumps off from research conducted largely on white-collar institutions and the study of executive workplace discourse. However, relevant studies of working-class workplaces, which give insight into the culture of blue-collar workforces, are included.

### *Gendered Authority in the Working-Class Workplace*

The wealth of research on women working in male-dominated organizations has overwhelmingly demonstrated that the inroads to “masculine jobs” are not without bumps and obstacles (Rickett and Roman, 2012; Tsui and Gutek, 1999). However, some of this research has relied heavily on quantitative data, largely omitting the consideration of “woman” as a segmented category, which includes organizational femininity as just one possible construction. Research that has considered the realm in which gendered work practices arise and women construct identities in non-traditional work has, as stated earlier, most often looked at professional, white-collar occupations. But I follow Rickett and Roman’s argument (2012:665) that “the pursuit of the voices of the professional women has meant that the voices of the working-class women are often unheard.” Connell (1987) goes even further to argue that these experiences are “hidden from history” (188).

Unhidden in history, however, across all levels of workforces, is the omnipresent reality of organizational structures, cultures, and everyday practices endowing the “ideal employee” (and especially the ideal manager) as a rational, unemotional figure, an individual whose professional and personal characteristics fit more closely with western, cultural images of masculinity than femininity (Acker, 1990, 1992; Gherardi 1995; Martin, 1989). “Femininity, on the other hand,” writes Fournier and Kelemen (2001: 268), “has tended to be associated with embodiment, emotions and sexuality; as such it is constituted as subordinate to ‘male’ rationality, and possibly as out of place in

`rational' organizations.” While the characteristics of a “rational” organization have never been outlined, it is not unreasonable to assume that most—if not all—industries consider themselves and their business practices as being governed by reason and concerned with the furthering of market capital, at least partially if not predominantly. Therefore, the usual routes taken by women to enact authority are quite often unfeminine.

Rather, many women have learned to adapt to masculine workplaces and occupations by adopting masculine workplace behaviors, performing a masculine femininity, as it were. Enarson (1984) has emphasized the necessity of this strategy, since her work has argued that when women enter a workplace dominated by men, it is the women who must assimilate or accommodate. Other researchers have bolstered Enarson’s contention with their own work in blue-collar industries. For example, Carey (1994) reports that female heavy goods vehicle (HGV) workers need to ensure—or at least project—that their skills and performances are better than those brought to work by their male counterparts. Otherwise, the women HGV drivers will be considered incompetent, as explained by one HGV driver: “you can’t afford to make mistakes ‘cos you’re noticed more than a man...let’s face it, if it take some two shunts to get on a boat and it takes a man ten, they are going to criticize me more.” Raisborough (2006) corroborates that assessment in her study of female sea cadets. She argues that if women fail to go beyond the skills and abilities of men, women will be considered inauthentic workers whose only real purpose is to support and service the “real work” of men. So, just as women are expected to go beyond the abilities of their male counterparts, doing

more work, as it were, the very acknowledgement of that work as “good” is quite often dependent upon women’s production of discourses linked to masculinity. For example, McElhinney’s research on the discourse patterns of female police officers has suggested that women fare better in the field of law enforcement if they take on the linguistic patterns historically associated with effective police work. Not surprisingly, the historical prevalence of men in these positions has rendered effective discourse patterns masculine in feature (1995, 1998).

In their review of the discursive practices of women in traditionally working-class, male-dominated workspaces, Rickett and Roman (2012) show that other studies have gone on to consider the othering of “feminine” tasks; the exaggerated observation of women’s bodies (Davey and Davidson, 2000); the operation of a “masculine sex-drive discourse”; and “what Hollway (1984) calls the ‘female have/hold discourse,’ [that is, ‘it’s women who want and need commitment’]— all of which may result in a requirement for women to discursively ‘level their femininity’ (Carey, 1994) while occupying [traditionally masculine spaces]” (Collinson and Collinson, 1996: 665-666). The common denominator for much research examining women in traditionally masculine, blue-collar occupations is that they tend to do better if they take up masculine tendencies.

Pilgeram’s work with women in agriculture (2007) fits squarely in that constellation. Using in-depth, semi-structured interviews with white, female and male farm operators and participant observation at a livestock auction attended by and at which young women are employed in hopes of securing further work in farming,

Pilgeram explores how women in working on conventional American farms perform their gender in a masculine profession.

Pilgeram writes (2007: 585), “given that agriculture in the USA has traditionally been tied to masculinity and that increasingly more women are entering the field, [Pilgeram’s] work examines the strategies women employ to negotiate the tension between being women and being farmers,” a double bind wherein women had to choose: “either present yourself as feminine, which undermines your abilities as a farm operator, or present yourself as masculine, and undermine your sense of yourself as a woman.” The findings suggest that, in general, women’s success is aligned with their ability to reproduce the “masculinity that spells success for their male counterparts. These women dress in masculine clothing, sit with their legs spread, swear and are ‘tough as nails.’” (585).

However, Pilgeram suggests that women’s mere presence as farm operators does not necessarily subvert the relationship between masculinity and agriculture, since their success as farm operators is intricately tied to their ability to reproduce a performance of hegemonic masculinity. Therefore, women’s performance of masculine gender ultimately reinforces rather than subverts the ties between hegemonic masculinity and agriculture, since it reaffirms that the farm is, ultimately, a place for men.

Other literature has revealed that women’s adoption of male interactional patterns in male-dominated workforces serves to rationalize and reinforce the notion that the particular workforce is the domain of men. One work to highlight this phenomenon is Christine Williams’ seminal text *Gender Differences at Work*, which considers

masculinity and femininity performance in nontraditional occupations. In her text, Williams interviews female marines and male nurses to show how the sexes construct gender in nontraditional occupations and what the outcomes of those constructions are. For the individuals interviewed, Williams concludes that “gender is actively constructed in these ‘nontraditional’ occupations to conform to traditional beliefs about gender; female Marines wore pantyhose and makeup while male nurses were considered by their female colleagues to be strong and worthy of leadership positions” (1989: 3). Williams argues that the enactment of traditional masculinity or femininity ultimately maintains inequality between the sexes since men benefit when such traditions are preserved. The inequality reinforces masculine hegemony.

The body of scholarship which examines this phenomenon has disproportionately focused on men’s responses to women entering blue-collar work, thereby centering the conversation on men rather than the women who were allegedly at the heart of the inquiry.<sup>4</sup> One response that has received a lot of attention is men’s general persecution of women (Baker, 1978; Gruber and Bjorn, 1982; Meyer and Lee, 1978; O’Farrell, 1982; O’Farrell and Harlan, 1982; Giuffre and Williams, 1994). More specifically, the persecution comes in the form of sexual harassment (Enarson, 1984; Gruber and Bjorn, 1982; Meyer and Lee, 1978; Giuffre and Williams, 1994) and reluctance or refusal to transfer job-specific knowledge to women who are entering their ranks (Deaux, 1984;

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<sup>4</sup> Social science tends to focus on the reactions of men to women entering traditionally male workforces. When attention is paid to women’s reactions and handling of masculine workforce entry, it quite often identifies what went wrong. My study is unique in its handling of the issue, since it shows “what went right” and explains *why*.

Enarson, 1984; Kanter, 1977; O'Farrell and Harlan, 1982). This type of behavior has had a detrimental effect on women's job satisfaction and, resultantly, their retention.

O'Farrell and Harlan (1982) speculated that men's reasons for harassment and refusal to grant access to knowledge and skills necessary for women's job efficacy is to safeguard their insecure jobs.

Because the literature that has considered women in nontraditional, male-dominated blue-collar jobs has focused on hostility from male colleagues, blockages to promotion, and the difficulty women generally face with fitting in (Deaux, 1984), the typical conclusion "is that blue-collar men are especially hostile and resistant to women and that their resentment constitutes an important problem, if not the most important problem in female retention in nontraditional blue-collar jobs" (Swerdlow, 1997: 260). Despite Swerdlow's claim, little work has been done to examine the problem of retaining women in nontraditional blue-collar jobs. Rather, scholastic attention has focused on women's managerial styles in traditionally male workplaces, occasionally noting that stylistic differences can be few (Chernesky, 1996).

### Women in Professional Kitchens

In his *Introduction to Discourse Analysis*, James Paul Gee makes a distinction between "Discourse" with a "big D" and "discourse" with a "little d." Gee explains (2005: 7):

To “pull off” being an “X” doing “Y”..., it is not enough to just get the words “Right,” though that is crucial. It is also necessary to get one’s body, clothes, gestures, actions, interactions, symbols, tools, technologies, values, attitudes, beliefs, and emotions “right,” as well, and all at the “right” places and times. When “little d” discourse (language-in-use) is melded integrally with non-language “stuff” to enact specific identities and activities, then I say that “Big D” Discourses are involved....When you “pull off” being a culturally specific sort of “Everyday” person..., you use language and “other stuff” — ways of acting, interacting, feeling, believing, [and] valuing...— to recognize yourself and others as meaning and meaningful in certain ways. In turn, you produce, reproduce, sustain, and transform a given “form of life” or Discourse. All life for all of us is just a patchwork of thoughts, words, objects, events, actions, and interactions in discourse.

Gee’s quotation illumines an understanding of discourse as it is used in the present dissertation, but it also presents a conundrum for women working in traditionally masculine venues. If one takes Gee’s contention and applies it to the present research setting of Shadow’s kitchen, “pulling off” being a member of the kitchen’s community of practice requires more than just getting the jargon and actions of the trade right; one must also incorporate the language-in-use associated with the “patchwork” of kitchen culture. These patterns, to use Gee’s description, are perceived by many members of the community as “necessary” in becoming a ratified member of the group. They are, however, masculine-linked patterns. As past research has shown, women who engage



masculine strategies are perceived negatively. So, what is a woman to do? “Fit in” by performing or accepting masculine-linked patterns, but be perceived negatively?

The answer, it seems, is yes. In a tacit endorsement of Gee’s observation, with a specific application to restaurant kitchens, Fine (1987, 2009) and Lynch (2010) emphasize that females are best able to enter the male-dominated professional kitchen by adapting their behaviors to fit those that are traditionally allied to the profession—male-linked interactional patterns. They do not, however, consider the long term professional ramifications for women using those patterns. Rather, the focus is on the here-and-now: women can get by in the “back of the house” if they “become one of the boys” by learning to “decode male behavior patterns and be willing to engage in coarse joking and sexual teasing” (Fine, 1987: 141). In other words, they would need to become more comfortable with off-color humor and obscene language patterns, eventually coming to accept some sexual teasing.

Celebrity chef Anthony Bourdain gives examples of these language patterns of kitchens extensively in his popular press book, *Kitchen Confidential*, by describing “the real international language of cuisine,” only somewhat in jest (2000: 220):

The tone of the repartee was familiar, as was the subject matter.... I’ve been listening to the same conversation for *twenty-five years!* Who’s the bigger homo? Who takes it in the ass? Who, exactly, at this particular moment, is a *pédé*, a *maricón*, a *fanocchio*, a *puta*, a *pato*? It’s all about dick, you see. It’s *chupa mis huevos* time, time for *mama la ping*, take it in your *culo* time, motherfucker, you

*pinche baboso*, crying little woman. ... As an art form, cook-talk is, like haiku or kabuki, defined by established rules.

The established rules of kitchen talk are, as Bourdain would attest, indexical of masculinity, and a working-class masculinity at that. The same observation is made by Lynch in his ethnography of a restaurant kitchen (2010: 133):

The communication norms were heavily masculine. The women in the kitchen have learned to conform to the masculine communication norms and the gendered nature of humor in order to fit it; as Jen (a pastry chef in the kitchen) explains in her interview; ‘I have to be harder and tougher than all of the guys just to fit in here . . . Fuck me if I could wear my black belt up in here I would’. In her interview Jen goes on to explain further how she and the other women could not work here if the ‘boys’ had to change the way they talked and joked around them.

Out of the scope of his ethnography were the ramifications for women taking up masculine-linked discourse practice. Could women assume masculine interactional patterns while still being perceived as feminine? Would women advance, stagnate, or opt out of the profession if they engage in the masculine-linked discourse of restaurant work? Fine (1987) argues that women have the ability to disrupt these established patterns of communication, but he does not offer workable solutions or consider the implications of his thesis, which seem to condone, rather than question, the values of this male-dominated setting: Women uncomfortable with these male patterns of interaction would be detracted from the workplace and would unlikely stay if they entered it. At

minimum, women's disengagement with obscenity and off-color stories would likely exclude them from the masculine gathering (Kirkpatrick, 1974: 109) and give some men an excuse for excluding them from their interactions (Easterday, Papademas, Schorr, and Valentine, 1977). Kanter (1977: 229) offers a typical reaction from men to oppositional women in her study of women in a sizable corporation:

Indsco women faced constant pressure to allow jokes at the expense of women, to accept "kidding" from the men around them. When a woman objected, the men denied any hostility or unfriendly intention, instead accusing the woman, by inference, of "lacking a sense of humor."

Fine explains that "it is reasonable to assume that most men felt no unfriendly intent in their joking. They were...only having a good time, and building a work community in the process" (1987:134). But the foundation of that community was built, in part, on the marginalization of women and accusations of their holistic failure to "have a laugh." What emerges from these studies is that texts framed as humor are polysemous and contextually dependent. What is funny to one woman or man may not be to another. Therefore, it is necessary to consider the role of humor in the workplace and illumine the typical modes of humor in hypermasculine settings.

### **Workplace Humor: Gender, Class, and the Kitchen**

The past twenty years have yielded an impressive body of work considering spontaneous humor in naturally-occurring speech. Before this, studies of humor

considered what Hatch and Ehrlich (1993:506) call “standardized humor,” such as formulaic stories and the stuff of knock-knock jokes (in Holmes, 2006). But the growing body of work on workplace humor has revealed that it is a significant discursive mode that serves a variety of workplace functions. Humor has been shown to increase workplace productivity (Caudron, 1992; Avolio et al., 1999); functions as a tool for managers to influence their subordinates (Decker, 1987; Langford, Hancock, Fellows, and Gale, 1995; Mullany, 2004) and defuse conflict among workers (Duncan et al., 1990). It is also a mechanism for reducing tension (Abel, 2002). Similarly, humor is said to contribute to effective communication (Graham et al., 1992); is an important part of organizational culture (Holmes and Marra, 2002a); is a positive factor in leadership effectiveness (Priest and Swain, 2002); and promotes subordinate satisfaction (Decker, 1987). And, as outlined in Lynch (2010), an “impressive body of work on humor has utilized recorded conversation for discourse analysis of humor’s use in workplace groups” (Holmes, 2000; Holmes and Marra 2002a, 2002b, 2006), which have allowed scholars to explicate the functions of humor considered above. They have also revealed differences and similarities in the use of humor by women and men, and are beginning to look more closely at the role of social class in the construction of humor at work.

### *Gender and Humor*

One stereotype to emerge from the literature is that women lack a sense of humor (Crawford, 1995; Duncan et. al, 1990). However, Holmes, Marra, and Burns (2001)

found evidence of females frequently using humor in New Zealand workplaces, thus disproving the dominant stereotype. Similarly, Mullany's (2004) analysis of meeting chairs' use of humor to gain the compliance of their subordinates in business meetings showcases women's proficient creation of humor in the workplace. Mullany analyzed six managerial business meetings that were taken from a larger corpus of ethnographic case studies of businesses based in the UK. She uses Holmes' notion of "repressive humor" (2000: 175), "whereby those who enact power disguise the oppressive intent of their message by minimizing the status differences between themselves and their subordinates" (Mullany, 2004: 13). She provides in her study strong evidence for female meeting chairs' use of repressive humor as a mitigation strategy (a linguistic device which minimizes the harshness of an utterance) in order to gain the compliance of their subordinates. Further, Mullany finds that men use mitigation strategies to the same ends, but not the strategy of humor. More recently, Baxter (2010) found that female leaders in male-dominated corporations also use humor, and allow themselves to be the objects of humor; and otherwise attend to the face needs of subordinates by using "mitigated commands, forms of politeness, and indirect engagement"(112).

Other examinations of gender, humor, and the workplace have privileged a general discussion of how managers or individuals in leadership positions can use humor in the workplace and what they should avoid. Romero and Curthirids (2006) argue that managers tend to not give credit to the discourse strategy of humor, thereby undermining its numerous benefits. Their research therefore outlines the most effective ways managers may use humor in the workplace depending upon the ethnicity and gender of

the managers' interlocutors. Hay (1994, 1995, 2000) adds to this discussion by noting that women tend to use humor to build solidarity (affiliative humor), whereas men more often use humor to impress and emphasize similarities and differences between themselves and their interlocutors (self-enhancing humor). Therefore, Hay (2000), as well as Romero and Curthirids (2006:65), suggests that when managers address women they use affiliative humor, but self-enhancing humor when addressing men. Furthermore, gendered humor and sexualized humor are not recommended as a management strategy (Lyman, 1987; Romero and Curthirids, 2006), but may be used to some limited ends to strengthen workplace collegiality amongst same-sex groups (Porcu, 2005)

Researching the role of gendered and sexualized humor in the workplace more specifically, Hemmasi, Graf, and Russ (1994) found that derisive humor, which is often sex-based, plays a key role in alienating people in mixed-sex organizations. Using the responses of 144 questionnaires mailed to workers at several Midwestern organizations, Hemmasi et al. found that women do not enjoy sexualized humor if women are the "butt" of the joke. Regarding this typical place for women in the construction of humor, Mulkay (1988) quotes Legman (1968: 217) who claims:

One fact strikingly evident in any collection of modern sexual folklore, whether jokes, limericks, ballads, printed 'novelties,' or whatnot, is that this material has all been created by men, and that there is no place in it for women except as the butt.

As Bing (2007: 341) explains, and I corroborate in my study, “Legman is correct in noting that most dirty jokes are ‘grossly antiwoman.’” However, Legman (1975: 35) also claims that any woman who tells a dirty joke is “electively denying her own sex as a woman.” In the intervening forty years since Legman made that claim, studies have demonstrated that women do make sexual jokes and are not perceived as denying their sex class—though such jokes are generally told in the company of other women (Nardini, 2000) and do not use sex as the punchline (Bing, 2007: 348) but instead as a frame narrative: The joke becomes funny when the hearer realizes that the joke is not about sex at all, but about an issue such as cleaning and the wage gap. In fact, when the joke is not hostile to women, Lundell (1993: 308) found “that women do like sexual jokes even more than men depending on the type and content of the joke as well as who tells it.” When a dirty joke is told between women, women tend to feel freer to laugh. However, female respondents face a double bind with sexual humor, as explained by Bing (2007: 343): “If they don’t tell or laugh at sexual jokes, even those directed against them, they have no sense of humor. If they do, they are available.” Quoting Freud, Peter Farb (1974) notes that a woman who laughs at a man’s dirty joke is perceived as signaling a willingness to accept a man’s sexual approach:

A woman who agrees to listen to such a joke (or even sometimes tells one of her own) indicates that she is ready to accept such an approach. And once she has shown her willingness, it is very difficult for her later to revert to a pose in which she is shocked by the man’s physical behavior. (Farb 1974: 96, in Bing, 2007: 342)

I demonstrate in my analysis chapters that the women working in Shadow's kitchen adopt varying stances toward mixed-sex dirty humor: Lisa, the focus of my case study in the third analysis chapter, negates sexual subject positioning by dismantling or denying sexual humor frames, while Alina and Dawn listen, laugh, and co-construct the sexual humor that is so often linked to peer interactions in the kitchen. Lisa also undermines potential sexual subject positioning by "doing power" with gatekeeping strategies, attending primarily to her own face needs, and interactively positioning her interlocutors as subordinates.<sup>5</sup> She only occasionally invokes humor, should her efforts to reject sexual subject positioning be met with resistance.

With regard to institutional superiors' use of humor, researchers have found that "gender-related jokes—either sexist or sexual—are far more likely to be viewed negatively as sexual harassment when told by a superior than by a male or female coworker" (Hemmasi et al., 1994: 1125). Indeed, much of this likely confirms many of our folk beliefs about gender, humor and the workplace; but these analyses come from white-collar venues. Does the same advice hold in working-class venues such as the

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<sup>5</sup> A note on terminology: Institutional gatekeeping has a rich history in interactional sociolinguistics, where it has come to broadly mean "any situation in which an institutional member is empowered to make decisions affecting others" (Scollon, 1981: 4, in Johnson, 2007: 167). An individual's frame is their understanding of what's happening in an interaction, or their schema. Positioning happens when one or another assumes a role within that frame or storyline. There are two types of positioning: interactive positioning, when something one says positions another, and reflexive positioning, when one positions the self. If one offers condolences to someone, one is interactively positioning the other as the bereaved, and reflexively positioning oneself as the consoler. Last, one's face is the public self-image an individual tries to claim. Brown and Levinson (1987) suggest that face may be understood on two dimensions: Positive face: the wish of an interlocutor to be liked and approved of by others; and negative face, their wish to be unimpeded. Also used in the study is the concept of a Face Threatening Act, or an FTA, which is an utterance that inherently threatens the face needs of another. The intricacies of the linguistic framework are provided in the next chapter on methodology.



restaurant kitchen, where sexualized humor plays a large role in the construction of humor?

### *Working-class Humor in Kitchen Work*

The majority of humor research has considered humor as it takes place in white-collar, professional organizations, rendering the topic of working-class humor “woefully neglected” (Attardo, 2010: 121). However, of the limited number of extant sociolinguistic studies of working-class humor, a general finding is that older speakers and the lower class are freer to engage topics that would be “taboo” in professional organizations (Keim and Schwitalla, 1989; Schwitalla, 1995; Nardini, 2000; Günther, 2003; Porcu, 2005; Kotthoff, 2006). Available means or themes for humor may be determined by contextual elements as well. For example, Roy’s (1959) documentation of “banana time,” a humorous ritual during which blue-collar male employees flung fruit on a factory floor, suggests that the available means of humor will influence how employees can quickly rid or distract themselves from boring or tense situations. Turning to the kitchen, more specifically, it is a place where “physical toughness and projecting a thick-skin is expected and respected” (Lynch, 2010: 133). The communicative norms of the kitchen suggest that displays of “physical toughness” are embedded within humor; this is evidenced by the work of Collinson (1988, 1992) and Gibson and Papa (2000), who looked at blue-collar masculine constructed workplaces to see that harsh verbal teasing, crude jokes, and physical horseplay—what I term body

humor in my chapter examining interpretive discourses in kitchen talk—are all commonly embedded in humor frames.

Lynch specifically revealed that chefs use these features, often considered ways of building humor, to establish group boundaries and determine those who are in the community and those who are not. However, like Fine, Lynch concluded that women working in the kitchen need to take-up male patterns to fit in, including the production of the same “harsh and biting” often sex-linked humor, that, according to Lynch (2010: 131), “reinforced the social norms of [blue-collar masculinity] and paralleled other humor studies of blue-collar work.” Lynch’s study is a rejoinder to Brown and Keegan’s kitchen research titled, *Humor in the Hotel Kitchen* (1999). The purpose of Brown and Keegan’s study was to create a managerial tool (1999: 47) and observe how humor can be used in staff retention and training, because “the ultimate goal of the [kitchen] research was practical . . . to improve the smooth running of this very significant department” (1999:47). Indeed, theirs is a study that, like most others, is situated in the body of research concerned with humor as a management strategy.

The majority of research examining how humor is a managerial tool reveals that it is predominantly a positive, workplace endeavor. However, humor is a “double-edged sword,” and what is funny to one woman or man may not be to another. Moreover, the subversive use of humor has largely been unexplored, with the exception being Lynch (2010), who concluded that humor may be used in the kitchen to undermine authority, and Watts (2007), who shows that humor can be used as a form of resistance, refuge, and exclusion in highly gendered workplaces, such as professional restaurant kitchen studied

in this dissertation. There, a novel study of class, gender, and women's workplace leadership may emerge, since its hypermasculine working-class behaviors and customs, and the ritual use of sexual humor, dysphemism, and traditional omission of women in leadership positions, in particular, has yet to be considered in studies of workplace discourse.

Therefore, the primary focus of this dissertation is to show how one woman effectively manages workplace discourse(s) to be considered both feminine and respectable. I offer a detailed examination of the linguistic repertoire accessed by her community of practice to illumine the discursive terrain she traverses on a daily basis, a track with topographical features of ritual insults, sexual teasing, and strong profanity that emerge to women like the peaks of the Matterhorn: intimidating for some to surmount, easier for others, but serious all around for its coldness to traditionally feminine women looking to cook for a living.

## **Conclusion**

The present literature review reveals that contemporary studies of language and gender are rooted in the details of context and not wedded to discrete categories such as female and male. These studies are attuned to individual variation within and across gender categories, a theoretical stance that permits an examination of the multiplicity of gendered performances within contexts such as the workplace, which themselves are entrenched in conversational norms indexical of masculinity. The present study therefore

continues in this tradition by considering one type of masculine performance, hypermasculinity, which has been linked by other scholars to the working-classes toiling in the historically male restaurant kitchen. It also considers women's engagement of, or disengagement from, those otherwise contextually-unmarked behaviors. As evidenced above, many researchers have commented on women's inroads to hypermasculine occupations and have illumined the discursive landscape; however, their projects have not focused on the details of that terrain.

In the analysis that follows, I contribute to the small body of sociolinguistic research examining working-class discourse conventions and the even smaller inventory of studies considering the ways working-class women enact demeanors of authority in masculine workplaces. As demonstrated in the review above, past research has shown that women generally fail to manage the double-bind in professional venues, though none has considered its management specifically in blue-collar workplaces. The study therefore answers to the lack of social research on working-class women, and does so while also adding to a limited set of scholarly work examining kitchen discourse (for exceptions to this, see Fine, 2009; Brown and Keegan, 1999; Lynch, 2010). In using an interactional sociolinguistic approach, the study becomes the first of its kind to examine kitchen talk. Again, this approach to discourse analysis allows for a turn-by-turn examination of speakers' contributions and reactions, and allows researchers to see various discursive patterns—the management of discourse frames, attention to face needs, and the positioning of selves and others—as they unfold across speech events, thereby creating meaning within context.

After outlining my methodological and theoretical approach in Chapter III, I turn to my analysis, which is completed in three chapters. The first and second chapters identify the research venue—an upscale restaurant kitchen in Houston—as a community of practice. They link the scholarly and mainstream representations of kitchen work outlined in the present literature review as a coculture of working-class men expressing a situated hypermasculinity to actual spoken discourse, which constitutes and is constitutive of two interpretive ideological discourses: the discourse of disadvantage (considered in Chapter IV) and the discourse of deviance (considered in Chapter V). An interpretive discourse is that which is identified and named by an analyst who is taking a critical approach (mainstream, dominant, liberating). This is in contrast to descriptive discourses, which are context- or domain-related descriptions (*kitchen discourse, courtroom discourse, architectural discourse, classroom discourse*). Citing Fairclough (2003), Sunderland explains (2004: 6): “A useful and provisional starting point in the study of discourse in the interpretive sense is to see discourses as *a way of seeing the world*, often with reference to relations of power and domination.” In examining the situated construction of these ideological appropriations, I am able to give a scholarly account of the rich discourse features of talk in “the back of the house.” Such language, which relies heavily on humor frames, indexes masculinity and ultimately impacts the perceived femininity of women who engage it. Given that women’s “likeability” is linked to positive perceptions of their relative “femininity,” it may be argued that women are at a distinct disadvantage in professional restaurants because of its hypermasculine culture and associated discourse conventions.

After outlining the hypermasculine and working-class linguistic features of my research venue *vís-a-vís* their relationship to the above-mentioned discourses, I turn in my final analysis chapter to a consideration of working-class femininity by examining one woman's inroads to the traditionally masculine kitchen. This is accomplished by an interactional sociolinguistic analysis that is centered upon the concepts of gatekeeping, framing, positioning, and face.

My study departs from discussions of women's failure to professionally thrive in restaurants by offering a case study of a woman who has managed to artfully wield kitchen discourse conventions and gendered demeanors of authority to rise professionally and socially in her workplace. To better understand how this may be done by other women in blue-collar, hypermasculine workforces, the bulk of the third analysis chapter goes on to examine the discourse strategies used by Lisa, a working-class Latina in her forties. The argument I advance in the sixth chapter is that, in the historically masculine workplace of the restaurant kitchen, the point affirmed by the first of my two analysis chapters, Lisa effectively negotiates the double-bind, thereby making herself both professionally effective and contextually feminine in the eyes of her coworkers.

## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY: THE LINGUISTIC FRAMEWORK AND STUDY DESIGN

#### **Introduction**

The review of relevant literature in Chapter II served the dual purpose of contextualizing my study amidst other considerations of gender and workplace discourse, and providing an examination of the research tradition from which the present study emerges. Chapter III describes my methodology for the discourse analysis of interpretive discourses arising in Chapters IV and V, and the descriptive discourse analytic approach of interactional sociolinguistics for a frame analysis in Chapter VI.

I begin with an explanation of the design of my study, including my research site and data collection, participants, and methods for analysis. After outlining my research design, I explain the two main components of my framework, interpretive and descriptive discourse analysis, and the micro-analytical methods of those approaches relevant to the present study: discourse identification and naming (interpretive), and the elements of an interactional sociolinguistic frame analysis (descriptive), including a detailed description of framing, subject positioning, and face.

## The Study Design: Setting, Participants, and Data Analysis

### *Research Setting*

The conversational extracts for the forthcoming analysis come from a larger corpus of data that was collected over two weekdays in a metropolitan-area restaurant kitchen located on the Texas Gulf Coast. I contacted six restaurants that were considered “fine dining” establishments with predominantly English-speaking kitchen staff.<sup>6</sup> The site for the present analysis, which I have given the pseudonym Shadow, was the only restaurant that answered my inquiry. Audiovisual data was collected for approximately twenty-six hours: from food preparation in the morning (approximately 8:00 a.m.) until just before the kitchen closed (10:30 p.m.) on a Thursday and Friday. The executive chef (restaurant owner-operator) permitted only two days of filming on weekdays because she did not want the study to distract her staff during the busier weekend shifts. During these days, the workday is divided into three shifts: morning shift (4 a.m. - 11 a.m.), mid-shift (10 a.m. - 5 p.m.), and the evening shift (5 p.m. - 12 a.m.).

Two video cameras were placed at opposing ends of the kitchen so as to capture the verbal and non-verbal interaction of Shadow’s employees. The interactions of workers in the kitchen were partially determined by the physical layout of the workspace

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<sup>6</sup> Many professional cooks in this geographical region identify as Latino and speak Spanish and home and professional lives. Though I am considered a proficient Spanish speaker, I would have been unable to produce a meaningful translation or transcription of Spanish without a consultant. Moreover, had my study considered Spanish-speaking cooks as a group, it would have necessarily followed a different theoretical trajectory: immigrant status, intercultural communication, and the complexities of intersectionality between other identities.



and the jobs to which they were assigned. Head cooks, line cooks, and bakers were physically bound to their work stations, thus enabling the discussions between particular individuals and limiting contact with others. The head chef and ancillary kitchen and dining room staff had freer range of motion, given their placement away from the line. Figure 1 provides a schematic of the kitchen, the location of stationary participants, and the location of the cameras at the time of data collection.

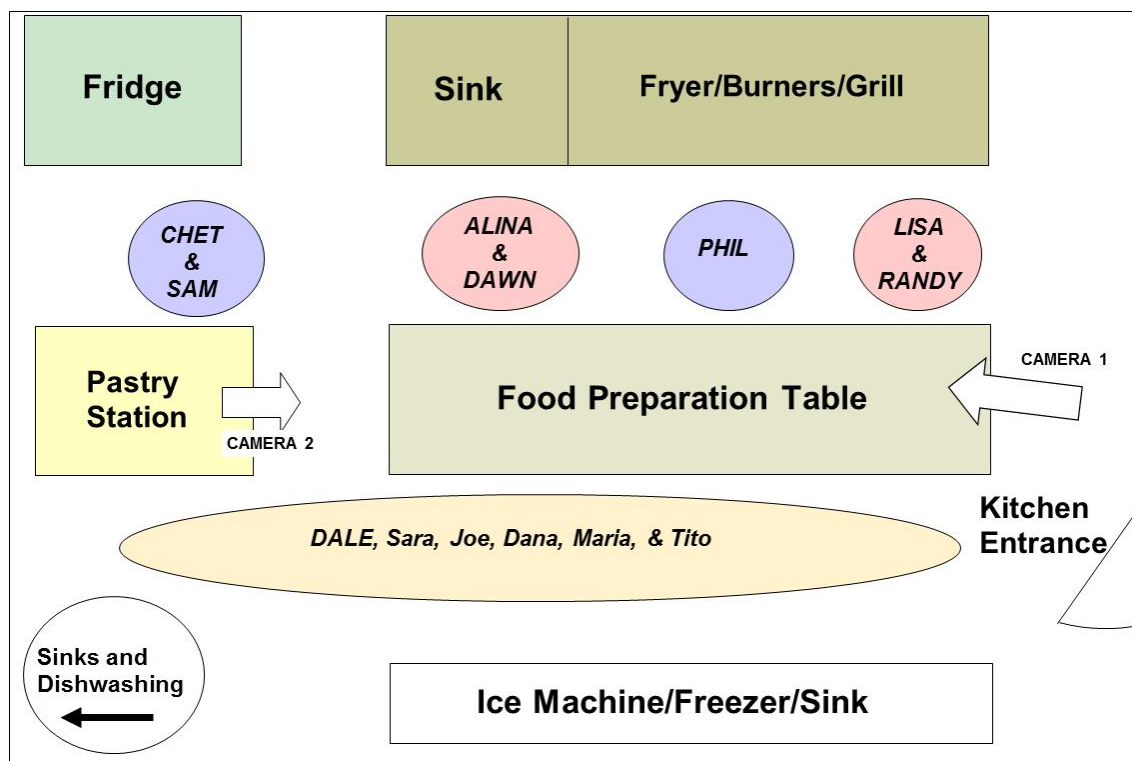


Figure 1: Kitchen Schematic

In addition to the spatial constraints seen in Figure 1, auditory limitations also exist in the kitchen. Additional noise is created by chopping boards, running water,

falling objects, clanking pots and pans, conversations coming in from the dining room, and a strong ventilation system that runs throughout the kitchen creating a loud hissing sound that often impedes workers' comprehension of the linguistic output of their coworkers. Lavalier devices capable of being attached to the speakers would have been optimal for capturing the verbal data. However, much of the communication happening within the kitchen, especially that constructed within the sexual humor frame, is nonverbal (see my section on body humor in Chapter IV), so audiovisual recorders are a better option if one does not have the option to use both.

### *Participants*

The workforce examined here was established by Clara, a white woman in her early forties who is the restaurant's executive chef, the owner and highest-ranking chef. Shadow was recommended to me by a mutual late friend of Clara and I, whose family helped finance Shadow's opening. Clara may have felt a sense of obligation to participate in the study because of the financial relationship between her and our mutual friend. Clara entered the kitchen only once during the two days of filming, and did not communicate with any of her staff in the kitchen during this time.

Each of Shadow's chefs, servers, and kitchen staff was given a letter of informed consent articulating a general interest in how cooks communicate with one another, though without any reference to class, gender, and authority. Those who agreed to participate in the study were then placed on the schedule during the scheduled days of

filming by Joe and Dale, the general manager and head chef, respectively. I also drafted a questionnaire and distributed it to participants after data collection to learn more about their backgrounds and workplace attitudes, but only received a response from Dawn, a line cook. To mitigate this situation and learn more about my participants indirectly, I scheduled an informal interview with Lisa, the head cook or line leader during the shift analyzed in my study, as well as the focus of the case study in Chapter V. I took notes as Lisa explained the hierarchy of Shadow's brigade and the backgrounds of participants. What follows is a brief overview of the line cooks and bakers studied in the first and second shifts of the first day of filming, where the conversational extracts included in the dissertation originate. All names are pseudonyms:

### First Shift

Lisa is a small-framed bilingual Latina who described herself as a woman in her mid-thirties with a diploma in culinary arts from a local trade school. Like Alina and Phil, both line cooks, Lisa has worked at the restaurant since it opened five years prior to data collection, at which point the three became acquainted. Lisa described herself as "being like a mother" who keeps the "kids" in line at work. At the time of data collection, her official title was "head line cook."

Phil is a thin white man in his early thirties whose highest level of education is high school. His brother Tony was the *sous chef*, or the third in command, at the time of data collection. Lisa suggested that Phil is unhappy about being the lowest-ranking male on the line and is irritated that his brother has more authority at work than he does.

Alina is a large-framed black female in her early forties whose highest level of education is high school. Lisa described Alina as someone who “causes a lot of drama” at work because she instigates conversations by talking about others. Lisa, Alina, and Phil have lived on the Texas Gulf Coast their whole lives and have worked in the restaurant industry since they were teenagers.

Chet is a white male in his early thirties who, in addition to going to culinary school, has some level of university education. At the time of data collection, his official title was “chef de patisserie.” He had only been working at Shadow for a few months, so Lisa could not provide much information about his background.

Dale is a white male in his early forties with proficiency in Spanish acquired from working with Spanish speakers in kitchens. He is the head chef and the only active participant who is generally mobile in the kitchen. Unlike the above-mentioned participants, Dale wears shorts and a T-shirt in lieu of the mandated uniform of chef pants, jacket, headwear, and pristine apron. His primary location, as well as that of the other participants, is shown in the above schematic, Figure 1.

### Second Shift

Dawn is a small-framed white female in her late forties who began working at Shadow two years prior to data collection. She is a line cook. I became acquainted with Dawn during culinary school when we were classmates in levels one and two of our three-level course. Given that she completed my questionnaire and I had some background with her, I felt more comfortable assessing her behavior and linguistic

contributions. She has a diploma in court reporting, but had not formally worked outside the home until her job at Shadow. She, too, is from the Texas Gulf Coast.

Randy is a thin white male in his late fifties hailing from central Texas. His educational background is unknown, though being the head line cook for the second shift suggests that he has some level of formal education in the culinary arts.

Sam is a large-framed Latino male in his late twenties who is another chef de patisserie. His specific educational background and upbringing are unknown.

As the forthcoming analysis shows, the contextually mandated hierarchy created by the official power structure of the institution impacts workplace communication. The explicit institutional hierarchy is shown in Figure 2. The hierarchy is mandated by a simplified, eight-function version of Auguste Escoffier's classic, fifteen-positioned kitchen brigade system, a distinct hierarchy of responsibilities and functions that has been in effect in most professional food service operations since the early twentieth-century (Labensky and Hause, 2003). Individuals present during data collection are bolded.



Figure 2: Kitchen Hierarchy

*The Data and Methods*

Transcription

The data considered in this study comes from the first and second shifts on the first day of data collection. Researchers have suggested that the presence of an audio-recorder is mostly ignored after approximately ten minutes (Tannen, 1995), so the data comes from that moment onward, as it is considered representative of participants' typical interactions. Once raw data was collected, I viewed the recordings multiple times to note stretches of talk and moments of protracted silence, yielding approximately five

hours of conversation and two hours of silence. After I made the distinction between moments of talk and silence, I returned to the raw footage to transcribe participants' utterances and extralinguistic communication with Transana 2.41 transcription software (Woods and Fassnacht, 2009) using modified Jeffersonian conventions (see Appendix I).<sup>7</sup> I transcribed all interactions a few seconds before the onset of talk, during the strip of talk, and a few seconds after the coda of the final utterance (see Appendix II for transcript). I did not demarcate extralinguistic behavior during protracted moments of silence.

### Coding

The analysis of communication in the workplace is based upon the interactions happening during the days of data collection; so, much of the content of my analysis emerged from the data itself. I watched the corresponding episodes for each hour of talk multiple times to construct a detailed transcription, which I then informally analyzed for recurrent topical and behavioral patterns. I informally observed that kitchen workers tended to talk about money and issues related to its being earned, and that the men—and some women—tended to construct interaction patterns linked to hypermasculinity: swearing, physical and sexual humor, displays of strength and subversion of mainstream

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<sup>7</sup> Transana 2.41 allows the researcher to manage large corpora of qualitative data into various databases with multiple series and episodes, e.g. Database: *Dissertation*; Series: *Day 1*; Episode: *Hour 1*. Episodes may then be coded for keywords and interesting clips, and later grouped into meaningful sets of complementary data. The most recent version is 2.61, which was released October 2014.

values. To move past an informal insight and into a formal analysis, I coded the transcripts for analytically interesting segments of talk to discover recurrent behavioral features of the community of practice, while also searching for the “linguistic traces” (Sunderland, 2004) of their discursal tendencies, which I grouped into two interpretive discourses—Disadvantage (utterances related to money and exploitation) and Deviance (utterances constructing hypermasculinity).

To illustrate how their communal behavior and community-linked interpretive discourses are constructed in conversation, I extracted eighteen illustrative segments of talk. These extracts were micro-analyzed using interactional sociolinguistic methods to discover how the context—participants and the norms of the workplace—may work, turn-by-turn and over the course of shift (and, theoretically, over the course of a career), to constitute and construct the interpretive discourses discovered in my analysis. My analysis of the interpretive data follows in Chapters IV and V.

The case study of Chapter VI turns to the descriptive analysis of the social interactions between Lisa and her interlocutors. I argue that Lisa constructs a demeanor of authority with gatekeeping and frame management strategies while negating the efforts of her coworkers to position her as sexual, subordinate, or a combination of the two. I coded for gatekeeping in strips of talk wherein Lisa restricted others’ access to goods and information, and frame management in strips of talk where Lisa rejects sexual and subordinate subject positions. This yielded nine conversational extracts over a five-hour period. These extracts were then micro-analyzed for masculine and feminine-



linked strategies, including aggravating and mitigation strategies, as well as instances of her violations of, and attention to, the face needs of her interlocutors.

### **Discourse and Discourse Analysis: Interpretation and Description**

As Jane Sunderland suggests at the outset of her book, *Gendered Discourses* (2004)—a text I refer to often for its succinct and clear explanation of ideological discourses—there is no shortage of discourse to analyze, given that modes of communication expand exponentially with each passing day, giving rise to an equally mushrooming number and diversity of discursively classed and gendered sites. But discourse, as a term, has a host of meanings that vary across disciplines, and can be identified in one of two ways: descriptive or interpretive. Descriptive understandings of discourse are those which are “linguistic.” Sunderland explains (2007:6):

‘Linguistic’ meanings include, first, the *broad stretch of written or spoken language* and, second, the more specific *‘linguistic and accompanying paralinguistic interaction between people in a specific context’* (from Talbot, 1995: 43) (second emphasis my own).

Interpretive understandings of discourse refer to “*Broad constitutive systems of meaning* (from post-structuralism)” (Sunderland, 2004: 6, emphasis my own) and to “knowledge and practices associated with a particular institution or group of institutions” (Talbot, 1995: 43, in Sunderland, 2004: 6), or “different ways of structuring areas of knowledge

and social practice” (Fairclough, 1992: 3). Sunderland clarifies that “discourse(s) in this third sense is (are) at times indistinguishable from ideology” (6) as they are *ways of seeing the world* (Fairclough, 2003).<sup>8</sup>

My study adopts both approaches to the study of discourse to explain, on the one hand, how social interactions in the kitchen are often, though not exclusively, macro-organized into interpretive discourses of disadvantage and deviance. I explain an ideological stance of many of the male participants involved in the study who may “hypercorrect” for their perceived emasculation from having little market capital (evidenced by the discourse of disadvantage) with the symbolic capital garnered from linguistic features and social interactions indexing hypermasculinity (the discourse of deviance). These latter manifestations carry covert prestige (Labov, 1966; Trudgill, 1974; Kiesling, 1998) for men in the blue-collar workplace.

### **“Spotting” Interpretive Discourses**

To understand the macro-organizing interpretive discourses that I identify later in the study, I turn to descriptive discourse analysis to identify the turn-by-turn talk that constitutes those discourses, searching for what Sunderland calls the “characteristic

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<sup>8</sup> “Covert prestige” is attributed by working-class speakers to the non-standard language or dialects linked to their social class. The idea was postulated in 1966 by William Labov, who realized that even though members of the working class often identify their language as being “bad” or “inferior,” nevertheless continue the production of non-standard language as a signal of group identity (Labov, 2006: 85). A more recent example of this phenomenon is found in Scott Kiesling’s study of fraternity brothers’ word-final *-in* versus *-ing*, which was used by the men to index working-class behavioral traits such as “casual” and “hard-working” (1998: 94)

linguistic *traces* in talk or written text, i.e. speakers' and writers' own words" (2004: 7). The creation of familiar discourses through talk helps the speaker and her interlocutors maintain a sense of control and *make sense of the world* (Sunderland, 2004). However, "spotting" discourses, or recognizing them in talk and text, is not always a straightforward task.

As Jaworski and Coupland (1999) suggest, a discourse can only exist if it is "socially acceptable" in a particular group, and thus recognizable to them in some way. For a discourse to be recognizable, a known social structure and normative structure of communication must be in place (Sunderland, 2004: 28). Or, more pithily, a group has to have an institutional order and a clear sense of what is appropriate subject matter and ways of talking about that subject matter, i.e. "we agree that this is what we talk about and how we will talk about it." Though I am not a member of the kitchen's community of practice, I have a working-class background, and have learned and used the discourse features of my social upbringing all my life. Furthermore, I spent a considerable amount of time working with professional cooks during my time in culinary school. Combining these backgrounds, I am capable of recognizing the discourses of deviance and disadvantage, which are, I suggest, a critical component of the interactional order in Shadow's kitchen.

These discourses are not capable of being spotted in their entirety, for they are never *entirely* on a page or in a strip of talk. Rather, what is there are linguistic features: "marks on a page, words spoken, or even people's memories of previous conversations" (Talbot, 1995: 24). Van Dijk (1988: 39) explains that recognition of discourse through

such linguistic features includes “strategic processes of perception, analysis and interpretation.” Sunderland adds that these processes include short- and long-term memory, models of communicative situations, and *frames* and scripts (Sunderland, 2004: 28, emphasis my own). Therefore, to adopt a culinary metaphor, I argue that these interpretive discourses are like a recurrent dish on the Shadow’s menu of conversation: the ingredients and procedures used in the creation of those dishes are best deconstructed (another culinary allusion) with descriptive discourse analysis, which identify these “strategic processes of perception” or linguistic features. I do so specifically by adopting an interactional sociolinguistic framing approach.

### **The Descriptive Linguistic Framework: Interactional Sociolinguistics**

Interactional sociolinguistics is an empirical approach to linguistic discourse analysis which is characterized by, first, observing and audio-visually recording naturally-occurring language in context; second, transcribing the conversations in detail to note exact wording and micro-level aspects of language, such as overlapping speech (interruption), pauses, and extralinguistic behaviors; third, analyzing the transcripts and repeatedly listening to the recordings; and, fourth, playing back selected portions of the tape-recordings to gain the participants’ insights into the interactions (Kendall, 1999: 35). It follows the research traditions of sociologist Erving Goffman (1963, 1974, 1976, 1977) and linguistic anthropologist John Gumperz (1982a, 1982b) and focuses on analyzing language in context, drawing upon the analyst’s knowledge of the community

and its norms for interpreting interactions between participants. Schiffrin summarizes (1994: 105):

Goffman's focus on social interaction complements Gumperz's focus on situated inference: Goffman describes the form and meaning of the social and interpersonal contexts that provide presuppositions for the decoding of meaning. The understanding of those contexts can allow us to more fully identify the contextual presuppositions that figure in hearers' inferences of speakers' meanings.

In using an interactional sociolinguistic approach, one benefits from details of the context and an inventory of micro-analytic tools to understand how meaning, relationships, leadership are negotiated between interlocutors. The next section begins an overview of the analytical tools from interactional sociolinguistics that are relevant in the present study, beginning with an explanation of framing.

### *Framing*

In Kendall and Tannen's review of research on gender and language in the workplace, it is suggested that framing is a methodological approach that is useful for understanding the interactions between gender and power in the workforce (1997: 82). The idea of framing was introduced by Bateson (1972) and developed by Goffman (1974:21; 1981) and, later, Tannen (1993, 1994a). Encompassing the "principles of organization and social conduct that underlies every interaction" (Kendall, 2006: 414),

an individual's frame is their understanding of "what it is that is going on' in a given interaction" (Goffman, 1974: 10). It is the set of principles by which individuals define, categorize, and interpret social action (Buchbinder, 2008: 141). In line with an individual's understanding of a frame is that each person brings a history of similar interactions to the current speech event, or "contextualization cues" (Gumperz, 1982a, 1982b) which signal the hearer's contextual presuppositions about the activity, and thus, an understanding of what the speaker is attempting to do in the interaction, i.e. the speaker's frame of the activity.

Contextualization cues arising from linguistics include paralinguistic features such as tempo, hesitations, and pauses; style and register; diction; and prosodic features such as intonation and volume; among others. Therefore, a speaker's frame is identified by a hearer through contextualization cues that signify that participants are engaged in a known-type of encounter. That recognition comes from past interactions of a similar type.

Framing is allied to the social psychological concept of knowledge schema, or the ways one is expected to behave in a particular interaction, as predicated on the prior knowledge they have of a particular category, respectively (Bartlett, 1932, Tannen, 1993). Within rhetorical theory, framing may best be conceptualized in the notion of presumptions (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969), or that which is considered normal and likely in any given event. Indeed, the way in which interactions are framed is dependent upon the identities or positions the participants ascribe to themselves and others.

## *Positioning*

The theory of subject positioning was first conceptualized by Althusser (1971), but was introduced in the research traditions of discourse analysis by Davies and Harré (1990) and Harré and van Langenhove (1999). As suggested by Althusser (1971: 171): “We are always already subjects, and as such constantly practice the rituals of ideological recognition.” In other words, individuals bring to each interaction their history as a subjective being, a past that is marked by a number of positions in different forms of discourse. When individuals interact with others, they necessarily participate in a collaborative reconstruction of established storylines or, more difficultly, the establishment of new lines of interaction.

Davies and Harré suggest that there are two types of positioning (1990): “Interactive positioning,” when something one says positions another, and “reflexive positioning,” when something one says positions the self. By offering condolences, for example, you interactively position another as the bereaved and reflexively position the self as the consoler. Davies and Harré explain (1990: 49):

The speaker can position others by adopting a story-line (i.e. frame) which incorporates a particular interpretation of cultural stereotypes to which they are ‘invited’ to conform, indeed are required to conform if they are to continue to converse with the first speaker in such a way as to contribute and affirm to their [interlocutor’s frame].

Someone's words invite you to step into a subject position or alignment (Tannen, 1994, 1999), and a position or alignment is thus created in and through talk. According to Davies and Harré (1990:42):

Positions may be seen by one or other of the participants in terms of known "roles" (actual or metaphorical), or in terms of known characters in shared story lines, or they may be much more ephemeral and involve shifts in power, access, or blocking of access, to certain features of claimed or desired identity, and so on... . Any narrative that we collaboratively unfold with other people thus draws on knowledge of social structures and the roles that are recognizably allocated to people within those structures.

Mainstream social structures may have differing expectations of who should hold power than those structures created within a particular community of practice. For example, in the study that follows, the interactions between Lisa and Phil suggest that the saliency of a universal position, such as "woman," a generally less powerful position than the universal position of "man," is occasionally invoked by the lower ranking member, Phil, as a strategy to transfer a mainstream position of power to his workplace position.

Motivating the discursive strategies at play in the interactions between Lisa and her interlocutors is thus the good impression, or "face," that the participants have of themselves.



## *Face*

The term face (Goffman, 1967) is used in much the same way that English speakers use the phrases “to save face” and “lose face.” The concept of “face” can be defined as the “public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself [sic]” (Goffman, 1967:5), or “every individual’s feeling of self-worth or self-image” (Thomas, 1995: 169). In his analysis of face, Goffman (1967: 63, 73) identifies two dimensions of social relations based on “basic human needs” for “privacy and separateness” and the need to know that “others are, or seek to be, involved with him (sic) and with his (sic) personal private concerns.” In all social interactions we present a face to others and others’ faces, and interactants try to more or less protect their own and others’ faces, to play out the identity that the self and other attempts to construct in the interaction. However, as Scollon, Scollon, and Jones (2012: 49) remind:

Any communication is a risk to face; it is a risk to one’s own face, at the same time it is a risk to the other person’s. We have to carefully project a face for ourselves and to respect the face rights of other participants.... There is no faceless communication.

Politeness theory (Brown and Levinson, 1987) further distinguishes Goffman’s conceptualization of individuals’ need for inclusion and distance by postulating two kinds of face: “positive face,” the wish of interlocutors to be liked and approved of by others, and “negative face,” the wish for privacy and distance, and to have their

autonomy and independence respected. In their politeness theory, Brown and Levinson suggest that speakers will mitigate the impact of a Face Threatening Act (FTA), an utterance or behavior which threatens the face of an addressee or hearer, by using negative politeness strategies such as adopting hedging devices (e.g. I'm "sort of" unhappy, so I "kind of" want to resign), being indirect, or apologizing. Conversely, positive politeness strategies emphasize friendliness towards and solidarity with the hearer or addressee, and may include the use of slang, address forms, and identity markers indexical of in-group status, although it has been shown that these and other linguistic strategies are polysemous, and not restricted to the domain of either positive or negative politeness (Tannen, 1994).

Should individuals be in a position of having to violate the negative face needs of another, the speakers can modulate their utterances with mitigation or aggravation (Labov and Fanshell, 1977: 84-86). According to Labov and Fanshel (1977:85), "mitigation strategies reference needs and abilities (as in *Do you have enough time to dust this room?*) while reference to obligation (as in *Shouldn't the room be dusted?*) is generally aggravating." Mitigation is perceived as a more feminized linguistic expression, and aggravation, masculine. Empathic warmth, mothering behaviors and folk notions of politeness are allied to feminine characterizations, whereas rationality, efficiency, and aggression are linked to masculinity, particularly working-class varieties.

In the following three chapters, I present an interpretive discourse analysis and descriptive discourse frame analysis privileging the theoretical models mentioned

earlier.

### **Limitations of the Study**

The dangers of case studies are well-documented in sociolinguistics. Hamilton (1994:30-31) notes that, in terms of its weaknesses, the case can yield idiosyncratic findings. However, she also mentions that it has strength in going beyond “a superficial characterization” of the behavior being analyzed and, for linguistic research, provides “a sensible way to begin identifying the interrelationships between a variety of language phenomena in discourse,” which can then be used to “develop principled research questions and methodologies for larger group studies” (cited in Kendall, 1999: 42).

I do not make any claim that what happens at Shadow’s stations is what happens in other professional kitchens, though it would be inaccurate to say that I do not suspect it is normative behavior elsewhere. Researchers who have considered kitchen discourse before this study have repeatedly mentioned the heavily masculine language of those venues (cf. Fine, 1987, 2009; Lynch, 2010). Given this history and my own culinary background, it is likely that I approached the study with a certain knowledge, a “foreshadowed problem” (Malinowski, 1922); though I would not affirm any notion that I approached it with a “preconceived idea” that I wished to prove (cited in Kendall, 1999: 42).

As a methodology, discourse analysis has several limitations that impact the study. First, there is no absolute truth for the claims generated from the data, so competing “readings” or analyses of the discourse are possible. Powers explains (2001: 64) that “this seems like a serious limitation until one considers that the same limitation applies to other methods of inquiry as well”:

Any scientific study of, for example, the genetic causes of schizophrenia may be followed by an equally well performed study that refutes the evidence and describes a viral cause instead.

Second, generalizations cannot be extrapolated from the data, since the situation and discourse(s) change when contexts and participants do. Johnstone succinctly explains (1996:24) that, given these limitations, discourse analysis is “well suited to the study of the individual [or individual community of practice]... [O]ne describes what one’s research subjects *did*, not what they *do*” (cited in Kendall, 1999:24). Third, naming discourses and describing what research subjects do is not a neutral endeavor, since they “say something about the ‘namer’ as well as the discourse” (Sunderland, 2004: 47).

Sunderland explains (2004: 47):

To some, a pornographic written text or visual image might represent a “Discourse of misogyny”; to others (including some women), a “Discourse of liberation” (connoting, for example, freedom from censorship and repression). It is thus important for the discourse analyst to recognize and acknowledge these and to retain a measure of explicitness and reflexivity about her own analytical

and naming practice.... Ideally, identified, named discourses should be offered up for scrutiny by a group of informed others (those whose area of work is not gender and language as well as those in the field) to ensure the analysis is not solely the product of the analyst's particular interpretive proclivities.

To heed to Sunderland's suggestion, I wish to offer a "measure of explicitness" about my practices or approach to the study. To some social scientists whose work arises from data gathered over many weeks or months, my dataset is small. However, datasets of only one or two hours are often rich when employing the methods of descriptive discourse analysis; the focus is on the strategies used by interlocutors in context, so large corpora are not needed to make an interactional sociolinguistic assessment of the kind advanced in my third of three analysis chapters (some frame analysis is also offered in my first analysis chapter). However, no researcher is explicit about the necessary amount of data to spot and name interpretive discourses. Therefore, I turn to the implicit endorsement of smaller datasets offered by Sunderland, who used a single article from her hometown newspaper to spot linguistic traces of several discourses, e.g. "Promotional discourse," "Consumerist discourse," a "Discourse of late modernity," and a "Discourse of fantasy" (2004: 36-39). Patterns found within these datasets may echo those that are far from local (Varenne, 1992 cited in Kendall, 1999: 42)—be that locale a newspaper article or a workday shift in a professional kitchen.

Though the data captured on the second day of filming was meaningful for its endorsement of the interpretive discourses spotted on the first day, I did not develop a deep transcription of the data for analysis. I made this decision for two reasons: First, the

group that worked together the majority of the second day was led by sous chef Tony, a quiet participant who did not instigate or infiltrate conversation with his otherwise Spanish-speaking line-cooks; second, the present dissertation is concerned with the community of practice at work in Shadow's kitchen. But where does one differentiate between members and non-members of the community of practice? Given that discourse analysis is concerned with the individual—or individual community of practice—I needed a clear dividing line between those who were and were not in the studied community of practice. Therefore, the community of practice studied herein consists of workers in the first shift and those from the second shift who began their workday before the original team departed.

As I argue in the upcoming chapter, the community is made such not by virtue of working at the same venue, but because of the relationships forged by working together. This is a distinction Wenger (1998) and Wenger et al. (2002) do not make. The individuals assigned to the abovementioned shifts were typically scheduled together, so they were well acquainted and conversed in a manner befitting that familiarity. Evidence of this disconnect between shift workers is that my interviewee, Lisa, had very little information about the men and women working the second shift, even though many of them had worked at Shadow as long as she had.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter identified the linguistic framework of interactional sociolinguistics and my approach to interpretive discourse analysis, a method that is modeled on Sunderland's discourse spotting approach (2004). In an effort to contextualize the present analysis, I provided an overview of the research setting, its formal and informal institutional hierarchy, and participants within that hierarchy that constitute the community of practice at the center of the following analysis. My methods for data collection, transcription, and coding were also given. To follow Johnstone's advice, I "offer up for scrutiny" my interpretive and descriptive discourse analyses in the three analysis chapters that follow.

CHAPTER IV  
THE PROFESSIONAL KITCHEN AS A COMMUNITY OF PRACTICE: THE  
DISCOURSE OF DISADVANTAGE

**Introduction**

This dissertation offers an interactional sociolinguistic analysis of the discursive moves made by a female chef who successfully manages the double bind of being perceived as both liked and respected in her masculine place of work. My argument rests upon the notion that her workplace is “hypermasculine,” since I claim that her management of the double bind is successful because of an acute differentiation in gender performances: It is the severe differential between her contextual femininity and the salient masculinity on display in her community of practice that helps her efficaciously negotiate the contentious relationship between being perceived as both womanly and authoritative.

This chapter therefore focuses on the characteristics of the present study’s research venue, a restaurant kitchen, as a generally hypermasculine community of practice. Erkert and McConnell-Ginet remind that a community of practice is a collective of women and men who “come together around mutual engagement in some common endeavor” (2006: 127), which is, in this case, professionally cooking. By focusing on the actual turn-by-turn illocutions generated across the speech event of a workday morning, and using the concept of interpretive discourses as an organizing



principle, I offer specific incidences of the community's "ways of doing things, ways of talking, [their] beliefs, values, [and] power relations" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2006: 127).

The chapter begins by showing how the restaurant kitchen satisfies the initial element of a community of practice: domain. I use my participants' conversational input to show that membership comes for higher status individuals via an interest in the activities and foundational knowledge of what I have termed the *higher-domain*, the knowledge aligned to a titular industry under which the community operates, which in this case is the knowledge of professional restaurant cooking at large. Membership also demands higher status members' investment in what I classify as the *lower-domain*, knowledge of the methods and resources used and available in their specific locale, which in this case is the restaurant kitchen at Shadow, a haute cuisine restaurant in an upper middle class neighborhood of Houston, Texas. Lower ranking members of the community are often limited to the lower-domain.

After examining how kitchen participants construct an observable interest in the two components of domain identified by the data, I move into an analysis of how they satisfy the second and third elements of a community of practice, the repertoire of activities (practice) that, when enacted repeatedly in context, establish and affirm group membership for the enactor (community). My analysis focuses on kitchen workers' use of a common repertoire of resources, which may include their "experiences, stories, tools, [and] ways of addressing recurring problems" (Wenger, 1998: par. 13) – the discourse strategies at play in the kitchen.

Such strategies happen amidst the invoking, drawing on, production and reproduction of two interpretive working-class discourses: the Discourse of Disadvantage and the Discourse of Deviance. These discourses, or ways of seeing the world (Fairclough, 2003), will be analyzed at length in the present chapter, as they organize cooks' linguistic contributions and often inform decisions made for the creation and interpretation of the proxemic behavior of self and other.

The text or locutions of these discourses, the "tools" in their common repertoire for creating their community of practice, often include behaviors and utterances that index a working-class hypermasculinity. Those most commonly associated with professional kitchen work include profanity and sexual humor (Fine, 1987, 2009; Harris and Giuffre, 2010), though frequent references to social vices, such as drug use and the effects of alcohol, are also prevalent. To date, no sociolinguistic researcher has offered turn-by-turn examples of these speech acts in restaurant kitchens, interrogated their illocutionary forces, and considered their resultant perlocutionary acts.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Using Austin's (1962) terminology related to speech acts, a locutionary act is the performance of an utterance; an illocutionary act is the intended meaning behind the locution; the perlocutionary act is the actual effect. Consider the following illustrative example: Imagine you are sitting with a friend in a chilly room. Your friend is seated near an open window—the source of the chill. If you say, "It sure is cold in here," the locutionary act is the production of the words in the sentence, void of meaning. The illocutionary act is your intention behind the locutionary act. In other words, you want your friend to shut the window! The perlocutionary act is result of the locution, intentional or not. It is what your friend actually does or thinks in response to your utterance.

The present chapter therefore functions as an illustration of what such contributions look like, and considers what they do for the construction of the community of practice in my research venue. But more important to the overall goal of this dissertation, the analyses and arguments presented in the following two chapters will demonstrate how the professional restaurant kitchen is a hypermasculine workplace, thus providing Toulminesque backing for the arguments to be made in the final analysis chapter.

To begin, the following section examines how the restaurant workers at Shadow constitute a bone fide community. It does so initially by examining how the workers satisfy the requirements for an interest in domain, the first element identified by Wenger et al. (2002) in the construction of a community of practice.

### *Domain*

Wenger et al. explains that the element of domain is satisfied when a group of individuals have a shared commitment to a domain of interest, or a domain of knowledge (2002). Their shared competence with that knowledge helps distinguish themselves from those not in the community of practice. In their article, “Evolution of Wenger’s Community of Practice,” Li, Grimshaw, Nielson, Judd, Coyte, and Graham explain that “the *domain* creates the common ground (i.e., the minimal competence that differentiates members from non-members) and outlines the boundaries that enable members to decide what is worth sharing and how to present their ideas” (2009: 6). However, under the

ratified hierarchy of the brigade system and the limited space under which it plays out in the cramped workplace of the kitchen line, workers with quite different levels of practical, working knowledge are in constant contact. As defined by the brigade and its local implementation, kitchen workers' job descriptions demarcate their specific contributions, rendering their "common ground" or "minimal competence" only to local matters. Workers exhibit all the characteristics of a community of practice, yet do not share the same "domain," if one were using the original definition outlined by Wenger et al. (2002).

To explain the above ideas with an illustrative example, I turn to Maria and Dale, kitchen workers who are on opposite ends of the brigade. For a kitchen hand such as Maria, who possesses no cooking skill, but is nonetheless vital to the community for her specific activity in the brigade and social contributions, any access or contribution to the domain of knowledge comes via her shared knowledge of Shadow's social dynamics and local methods. Maria is in continual visual, aural, and physical contact with her superiors, such as Lisa and Dale, who both figure prominently in this study. So, the social interaction that builds community by reinforcing common practices happens often. Dale, who is Shadow's head chef, or the *chef de cuisine*, and most senior-ranking worker present during data collection, possesses the most culinary prowess and interest in the history and aesthetic sensibility traditionally associated with *haute cuisine*. What Dale knows about "the professional kitchen" as an institution is more extensive than what Maria knows, for he knows both local practice and industry practice. However, Dale shares equal standing with Maria in their mutual interest in the social substance of their

workplace, as well as in their common knowledge of localized methods—methods which may counter industry knowledge for procedural behavior.

An example of how local knowledge counters industry knowledge is found fittingly in the case of Shadow’s storage of leeks in the dry goods area. The following extract picks up after workers had spent the morning intermittently complaining that the stock room had taken on a stench:

**Extract 1**

1960	Dawn:	You think this might have something to do with the smell in the stock
1961		room (( <i>shows Dale moldy leeks</i> ))
1962	Dale:	They're //fucking all] going to seed
1963	Randy:	>They're stalked now<] yeah
1964		You can still sell them
1965	Dale:	Makes it harder yeah
1966		Just pull those out
1967	Dawn:	yeah

The industry-mandated procedure for green vegetables is to keep them refrigerated at all times and to discard all that are in the bushel or basket if several have rotted (Labensky and House, 2003). Randy’s contribution, *You can still sell them* (line 1964), and Dale’s qualification and local solution, *Makes it harder yeah / Just pull those out* (Lines 1965-66), share institutional knowledge that conflicts with industry standards. Maria, whose job is to bus and keep the kitchen clean, would not have received the industry wisdom via the formal channels Dale did, who, though knowledgeable of industry standards for hygiene, nonetheless defers to local methods and ignores the sanctions of his formal

training. Similarly, while cooking for customers, Shadow’s kitchen workers eat from cutting boards, drink from uncovered containers, lick their fingers and wipe their noses with the palms of their hands. These behaviors are anathema to the regulations of the high-end restaurant trade, which hails the uncontaminated and artistic creation of *haute cuisine* as a sign of cultural capital; they are behaviors, however, that are recurrent—and thus reproduced as “standard procedure”—in Shadow’s kitchen.

Individuals at the apex of the institutional hierarchy have access to the repository of wisdom about standard, industry procedures and cultural capital. Those at the nadir of the hierarchy simply may not; but their lack of industrial know-how does not limit their equal participation in the community. Therefore, an approach to domain that considers these various levels of access might be useful, as it could elucidate how an individual lacking knowledge can be just as much of a member of the community of practice as one possessing a wider range of entry to the domain. The following section thus offers a revised approach to domain for the restaurant kitchen by explaining how domain, a superstructural, tripartite element of a community of practice, can be theorized more specifically for the restaurant kitchen as the wider range of knowledge accorded by the industry (higher-domain) and the narrower range of knowledge accorded by the locale (lower-domain).

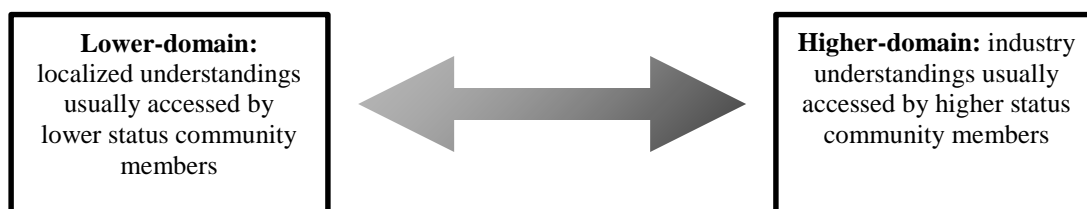


Figure 3: Lower/High Domain Spectrum

### Lower-domain and Higher-domain

The domain of knowledge, which is interchangeable with the concept of a domain of interest, is a continuum accessed at levels commensurate with status (see Figure 3). For individuals who are at the lower levels of Shadow's institutional hierarchy, the domain of knowledge is limited to local information, or the lower-domain. Members exhibit an interest in the lower-domain by using situated methods to help one another, share timely information about the workplace and its resources, and communicate institutional happenings. The higher-domain is accessed when members speak about cuisine and the kitchen by fluently using the jargon of their trade. This all happens while simultaneously executing industry-standard methods for food preparation with aesthetic sensibility (this last from Fine, 2009: 208). The following extract demonstrates how the workings of the lower- and higher-domain come together in the kitchen. It picks up when Dana, a server, returns a plated meal:

#### **Extract 2**

- 658 Phil: Why's that come back ((to Dana))  
659 Dana: He goes to me (.) "is this avocado? This has avocado in it right?"  
660 Lisa: It's sausage  
661 Dana: It's AVOCADO sausage ((mocks customer))  
662 Phil: //Tell him to pick] it out  
663 Lisa: It's avocado crème]  
664 Dana: Yeah  
665 I said to him ( )  
666 He said I don't like them

667 Phil: What's that?  
668 Lisa: Well having an attitude about =  
669 Phil: = Well isn't that on the menu↑ ((to Dana))  
670 <Avocado> sauce ((rolls eyes))  
671 Lisa: >Give it to me<  
672 Dana: Just wipe it off or something  
673 Lisa: I'll just redo the chicken  
674 Sara: But there's only a couple=  
675 Phil: = Just wash that shit off ((gestures toward stock))  
676 She's the one who ordered wrong-  
677 Lisa: No (.) it won't  
678 Alina: You want me to take this stuff off  
679 You're gonna have to do a whole new taco  
680 Joe: Hey (.) why don't you just put it in like a strainer and then dump some  
681 friggin hot water in it  
682 It'll take that shit right off and the cheese'll still be hot  
683 Phil: ((shakes head no))  
684 Joe: And the chicken'll still be juicy  
685 Lisa: I've got some chicken stock right here

Dana is on the bottom of the kitchen hierarchy because she, like Sara and Joe, is “front of the house,” a worker whose purview is not the kitchen, but “the floor,” or the dining room and other customer areas. Like Sara, Dana knows very little about cuisine, but is nonetheless aware of the “boundaries that enable [her] to decide what is worth sharing and how to present [her] ideas” (Li et al., 2009: 6). Servers who function also as runners, the workers to deliver food and bring it back to the kitchen in the event of dissatisfaction, do tend to become “comfortable with the customs and practices of the kitchen, [since] they begin to acquire the same unique worldview: that xenophobic,



slightly paranoid perspective that exists outside of the kitchen doors, the same ghoulish sense of humor and suspicion of non-kitchen personnel” (Bourdain, 2007: 229). Dana elicits the help of the line cooks and restaurant manager by aligning herself with the kitchen staff and distancing herself from the customer by instigating the oppositional banter expected when a dish is returned to the kitchen: *He goes to me (.) “is this avocado? This has avocado in it right?”/ It’s AVOCADO sausage* (line 659, 661). However, Dana is primarily paid with tips from satisfied customers, so she likely wants the dish to be appetizing, beautiful, and quickly fixed.

But in being a member of the community, she understands that the repertoire for getting a faulty dish fixed comes by initially maligning her customer and then conceptualizing how the problem could be remedied, even though culinary methods, a facet of the higher-domain, is not her stomping ground: *Just wipe it off or something* (line 672). Joe similarly exhibits competence with the lower-domain because he proffers a similar, localized solution: *Hey (.) why don't you just put it in like a strainer and then dump some /friggin hot water in it/ It'll take that shit right off and the cheese'll still be hot/ And the chicken'll still be juicy* (lines 680-82, 684). These solutions arise from the lower-domain, the narrower breadth of contextually relevant knowledge that is accessed by bona fide members of the community. The localized solutions offered by Dana and Joe are nevertheless rejected by Lisa, Alina, and Phil, who are capable of acquiring solutions from a higher-domain of industry knowledge. Each of these participants offers higher domain solutions, such as bathing the dish in stock to retain its flavor and even redoing the meal (Lines 671, 673, 675, 679, 683, 685).

Material higher in the domain also includes the industry-specific jargon that is fluently spoken by industry professionals across regions (Gross, 1958: 386-7). Writing on the lexical elements of the profession, Bourdain remarks (2002: 222-23):

You already know some of our terms. *Eighty-six* is the best known. A dish is eighty-sixed when there's no more. But you can use the term for someone who's just been fired, or about to be fire or for a bar customer who's no longer welcome. One doesn't refer to a table of six or a table of eight; it's a *six-top* or an *eight-top*. Two customers at a table are simply a *deuce*. *Weeded* means "in the weeds," "behind".... *Meez* is mise-en-place: your setup, your station prep, your assembled ingredients and, to some extent, your state of mind. *A la minute* is made-to-order from start to finish. *Order!*, when yelled at a cook, means "make initial preparations".... *Fire!* Means "finish cooking".... A cook might ask for *an all-day*, a total number of a particular item both ordered and fired, with *temperatures*, meaning degrees of doneness. And *on the fly* means "Rush!" A *wipe* means just what it sounds like: a last-minute plate cleaning. *Marijuana* or *mota* or *chronic* is chopped parsley. *Jiz* is any reduced liquid, like demi-glace.

This jargon is accessed by restaurant workers at Shadow, but most prevalently by the line cooks and chefs. Tables and their orders are referred to by their position on the floor map: *Twenty-seven thirty-two and eleven are in the fire whenever you want* (line 456). Runners or servers such as Dana and Sara would easily understand the above utterance, as well as the concept of "Eighty-six," which is used by three different cooks toward the end of the shift to reference the lack of items: *Eighty-six pasta* (line 1389, line 1415); *If you don't see them in there they're eighty-sixed* (line 1669). They would

also understand Alina's use of "dupe," which usually means an order ticket, but in this context undergoes semantic expansion to refer to individuals who are undesirable (line 1121).

The above examples showcase the lower domain terms accessed by everyone working in the restaurant, while the following are examples of kitchen-specific terms. These are terms situated at a higher point on the domain, and include jargon such as to "drop," which is synonymous with "to cook," and occurs in the three instances during the studied shift. The first and second were by Lisa, *Do you want to drop this other burger?* (line 652) *Did you already drop the fries for this?* (line 705), and the third was by Dale, *Lisa. don't drop anything please.* (line 1220). *On the fly* occurs only once, which indicates that the kitchen staff was not "in the weeds," or overwhelmed with orders, during the brunch shift (line 588). These examples reflect the industry-wide knowledge for speaking about kitchen work, and thus come from a higher domain of knowledge.

While the line cooks Lisa, Alina, and Phil exhibit practical knowledge linked to the higher-domain, such as providing solutions to order-related problems and engaging the jargon of their trade, that which is positioned even higher is invoked by Dale and Chet. These men, the *chef de cuisine* and *chef de patisserie*, respectively, are located near the top of the institutional structure and routinely discuss gastronomy as a science and source of cultural capital. Dale is, however, Chet's institutional superior. The following two extracts showcase Dale and Chet's appeal to the highest domain accessed during data collection:

### Extract 3

202 Dale: There's like a disease that you get that comes from only living on grits or  
203 polenta=  
204 Chet: = really?  
205 Dale: Yeah  
206 Only two nations in the world have ever gotten it  
207 The Italians  
208 Chet: ( )  
209 Dale: Well no (.) // you just eat more because you love] it so much=  
210 Alina: HEY I SAW THAT uhh ( )] *((to Phil))*  
211 Phil: That was like Jason hhh  
212 Dale: =And you're poor (.) *((to Chet))*  
213 It's just easy it's all you're able to eat (.)  
214 The deep south  
215 // it's some sort] of Ricket-oriented thing  
216 Alina: HE GOT OUT!]  
217 Phil: I don't care  
218 Dale: Not enough vitamin C gets in your body and you don't eat any vegetables  
219 Alina: But he got out though (.) jail  
220 He got out =  
221 Phil: =oh really?  
222 Alina: That was ( )  
223 Chet: Right *((to Dale))*  
224 Dale: Northern Italy Tuscany?  
225 And southern (.) United States  
226 Only two places in the world where overzealous sons of corn product  
227 cause =  
228 Chet: = you ever watch that show Survivor, man?  
229 Dale: I've watched bits of it a couple times  
230 Chet: Well there was one where he ended up having to eat rabbit right↑  
231 And it was like (.) OH: There are BITS of it  
232 *I'm going to get sick!*

233 Dale: Eating rabbit? *((widening eyes, putting down head*  
 234 *and smiling in disbelief))*  
 235 Chet: Just like nothing but  
 236 Dale: Oh nothing BUT rabbit.  
 237 You'll get scurvy  
 238 And I think that's what the disease was in Italy and United States the only  
 239 two places in the world where the disease occurred  
 240 Chet: Oh scurvy?  
 241 Dale: Yeah, because  
 242 Because the more and more I read and meet Tuscans they're like southern //  
 243 rednecks]  
 244 Chet: hhh]  
 245 They don't want to try anything other than what they know from their place  
 246 It's the only thing that's any good  
 247 They won't eat anything from anywhere else that is at all good  
 248 (4)  
 249 Tuscans

In Extract 4, Chet and Dale continue to access higher domain knowledge:

#### **Extract 4**

358 Chet: = I was reading that in this book that just came out this nutrition book a big  
 359 ( ) but ah they said that with like I guess like from like post-depression until  
 360 the 80s like a big fat person like only ( ) then in especially in like the  
 361 immediate post-Depression nobody was eating general shit that made you  
 362 fat  
 363 Dale: Nah  
 364 Chet: And the only people that did eat it =  
 365 Dale: = Cause nobody could afford it  
 366 Chet: Right  
 367 And ah but then they were saying how like a fat person's body like the

368                    brain starts like shutting down all the receptors that say I'm full  
369    Dale:            Oh really

The above extracts show that Dale and Chet maneuver knowledge from the higher domain, beyond the “mundane doing of cooking” (Fine, 2009: 11), by interrogating the doing of eating, the ramifications of gastronomy, and the history of food. Each of these subjects is considered in the curriculums of most accredited culinary schools and in culinary texts and broadcasts created by the highest paid in their profession.<sup>10</sup> Such culinary strongholds may be the aspirational alignments of Shadow’s top chefs, which may explain why they often access the higher domain when in each other’s presence.

The lack of interaction arising from these topical lines reveals another central feature of the above extracts: the chefs’ alignments with each other amidst other possible co-conversants, such as line cooks Alina and Phil. Rather, both sets of speakers maintain alignments commensurate with their position in the brigade and choose to overlap their interactions rather than insert themselves into a parallel conversation: Dale and Chet maintain alignment, as do Alina and Phil (lines 210-11, 216-17, 219-22), even though proximity would be their invitations to the other conversation. In taking up an alignment with one another, Dale and Chet index “prototypical cultural models and community positions” (Kiesling, 1998: 70) that are structurally above “southern rednecks” and “Tuscans,” the former being a social group often mentioned in the kitchen

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<sup>10</sup> The many publications of Julia Child, Jamie Oliver, and Gordon Ramsey, the broadcasts of The Food Network and The Cooking Channel, and the curriculums of the Culinary Institute of America, the Art Institutes of America, my own culinary alma matre, Culinary Institute LeNotre come to mind.

to delineate low cultural standards, as well as their temporal workplace affiliates, who generally received their culinary educations through apprenticeships and unaccredited trade schools and therefore do not have fluency with the highest levels of the domain—the place where elevated talk about their labor resides.

Though Dale and Chet's handling of the higher domain is occasionally ineloquent, as evidenced by their mutual hedging, e.g. *like* (lines 202, 359-361, 367) and *sort of* (line 215), the act of drawing from the higher domain for mutual knowledge displays aids in reflexively positioning themselves as community practitioners invested both in doing their trade and thinking of their trade. For example, Dale emphasizes his interest in the higher domain by projecting an image of self that is continually acquiring knowledge: *Because the more and more I read and meet Tuscans they're like southern // rednecks* (242-3). That knowledge is tempered, however, by a contextually appropriate humor frame, wherein someone or some group is most certainly being made fun of, i.e. Tuscans and Southern (American) rednecks. Chet maintains footing with Dale by sharing that he, too, has recently read about their industry: *I was reading that in this book that just came out this nutrition book* (line 358). By sharing what they have read and sustaining conversational alignments with one another, they reinforce their elevated position in the institutional hierarchy and demonstrate how the higher domain of knowledge is accessed in the kitchen. The analyzed corpus yields no other comparable discussions between interlocutors subordinate in the hierarchy regarding the cultural impact of cuisine.

The above analysis demonstrates that members of the community of practice tend to access the general domain of knowledge at lower or higher levels, which are contextually delimited by their position in the kitchen hierarchy. I have provided this protracted discussion in an effort to acknowledge the membership of more individuals in a single community of practice. By extending the nomenclature of domain to include these notions of lower- and higher-domain, membership in the community of practice established in Shadow's kitchen is wider and more representative of reality. In expanding membership to include cleaners, servers, line cooks, and chefs, I am able to speak on all positions in the brigade and provide a more holistic portrait of kitchen discourse.

### *Community and Practice*

If the domain is the body of knowledge encompassing the local and industry-wide methods that serve as the foundation, the *raison d'être*, for the community's origination, what constitutes the *community* accessing that domain is its common practice, which is the shared repertoire of resources elicited by members. At Shadow, these practices include such features as singing, which happens when interlocutors want to fill silence or add an element of humor to their utterances (e.g. lines 702, 809, and 1790), and the prevalence of parallel conversations.

A fitting example of the type of parallel conversation often happening in Shadow is found in the conversation about polenta between Chet and Dale above in Extract 3,



and that happening concurrently between Alina and Phil regarding a former worker's return to society after a prison stint (lines 210-11, 216-17, 219-22). These parallel conversations provide an example of the type of conversational arrangement that is typical in the kitchen, where severe spatial constraints and the background noise created by the loud and physical work of a high number of speakers invite overlap, conversational silence or delayed response, and the option of entering and leaving conversations without the interaction rituals expected elsewhere (cf. Goffman, 1982). So, it is easy to see how the conveyance of information—the act of accessing the domain—is done by harnessing a communal repertoire.

This repertoire extends to other textual elements as well, including the jargon outlined above and the documents of the trade: menus, inventory sheets, and schedules. But it also includes the narratives shared by members and the utterances that, when combined, work to convey a shared worldview. Therefore, the remaining analysis of this chapter focuses on kitchen workers' production, dissemination, and consumption of the discourses of disadvantage and deviance to organize talk about their work and home lives. These discourses are shared and social, springing up from interactions between interlocutors in the social structure of the kitchen. So, a fuller understanding of the discourse requires a clearer understanding of the context in which they arise (Sherzer, 1987; van Dijk 1997).

Discourse is not produced without context and cannot be understood without taking context into consideration....Discourses are always connected to other

discourses which were produced earlier, as well as those which are produced synchronically and subsequently. (Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 277)

My intention is therefore to illuminate the context—the restaurant kitchen—by viewing social interactions through the lens of dominant discourses sustained in Shadow’s kitchen. As with all discourses, it is impossible to find them in their entirety; but it is possible to examine selections of the texts that embody and produce them (Parker, 1992). Parameters for communal beliefs and values are reinforced via the interplay between text, discourse, and context, the maelstrom that undergirds the culture of the situated community in Shadow’s kitchen. This community, I shall show, is at once a picture of phenotypic diversity, but utterly homogenous in their shared marginalization by the mainstream for their general lack of formal, university education, late hours, low pay, and way of life (Fine, 2009). This way of life, just as the discourses that help constitute it, is often constituted by textual elements that index hypermasculinity, a form of low working-class masculine gender display that has been historically linked to the traditional, and thus ideal, kitchen worker. I begin my analysis of these interpretive and often interdiscursive discourses by first looking at the discourse of disadvantage, a thematic line often accessed for conversation in Shadow’s kitchen.

## **The Discourse of Disadvantage**

In a chapter considering recurrent themes and topoi in Julie Lindquist's linguistic ethnography of politics and persuasion in a Chicago working-class bar, the Smokehouse, the author mentions the following about her research site (2002: 73):

If you hang around the bar with Smokehousers long enough, you begin to notice that what first appeared to be a dense and formless thicket of discourse is really a well-traveled and elaborately mapped rhetorical landscape, that topics emerge and resurface with predictable regularity. You might even conclude that this terrain has an architecture of sorts; that of all the possible discursive territories to explore, some are in fact more habitable than others.

Lindquist goes on to argue that regulars organize their discursive productions around topoi "structuring the 'common sense' [that] lets speakers know 'where to go' to find resources for the given argument" (73). The resources she identifies are class, race and ethnicity, education, language and literacy, and politics, which encode speakers' ideology and identify "socially viable 'techniques' of persuasion" (73). Like the contributions of Lindquist's Smokehousers, the discursive productions of Shadow workers follow a similar "architecture," to borrow Lindquist's term. If I am permitted to extend the metaphor, Shadow's community of practice mandates that mutually agreed upon blueprints be followed. These blueprints, or the recurrent interdiscursive interpretive discourses of disadvantage and deviance, function as an organizing heuristic

for kitchen interaction, while the subjects used to build the communal structure are the brick and mortar.

The subjects scaffolding the discourse of disadvantage include poverty and exploitation, which function intertextually and thus pose a challenge for the researcher attempting to talk about them separately. However, the distinction is somewhat necessary, as it highlights Shadow workers' shared, though arguably incomplete, perception: one could argue that they are exploitable *because of* their poverty. Unexamined by Shadow workers is a more structural theory of poverty predicated on their exploitation, a topic important for examination, but one that is not within the scope of the present argument.

### *Poverty*

“Those who have money do not talk about it because they have it” is a mainstream adage with a clear subtext: Those without money talk about it *because they don't have it*. And truly, that is a reality of talk in the kitchen at Shadow, where a grim economic reality is omnipresent. Money is often on people's minds and at the tip of their tongues. Workers discuss their lack of funds both explicitly and implicitly in talk of schedules and multiple jobs, transportation, entertainment options and social behavior, all of which underscore a prevailing understanding of themselves and coworkers: *no one working in the kitchen has money*.

This is not to say that kitchen workers talk about money in terms of social class, or poverty as a state of mind, for money is seldom invoked “as an organizing metaphor for conversations about social phenomena” (Lindquist, 2002: 74). The one case where it is invoked for that purpose occurs between Dawn and Sam in a conversational extract concerning the costs of childrearing:

### Extract 5

1856 Dawn: My kid came home the other day smelling like weed and I was like (.)  
1857 I don't mind you doing it  
1858 You know that  
1859 But don't make it so obvious  
1860 He's like ((takes on voice of kid)) “What am I supposed to do if all the  
1861 other kids are doing it-  
1862 NOT do it?” hhhh  
1863 Jesus (.)  
1864 He just can't get caught (.)  
1865 I told him I don't have the money to bail his ass out of jail  
1866 Sam: >you know that's why I don't have kids<  
1867 I can't afford them  
1868 Dawn: yeah  
1869 Sam: It just doesn't make sense  
1870 I think crazy like that  
1871 Dawn: I know what you're saying  
1872 I've got this friend (.) four kids (.) three different daddies and I'm like=  
1873 Sam: = Who's this  
1874 Dawn: One of my best friends Nicki  
1875 Why does she keep having kids  
1876 You know (.) I mean  
1877 (3)

1878 >She works at Cash America< you know  
1879 It's not like she makes money

As demonstrated by the extract above, “to have money” is to have achieved the ability to take care of another person’s needs. Dawn accepts her son’s drug use on the condition that the police do not charge him, since [*Dawn doesn’t] have the money to bail his ass out of jail* (line 865). Sam takes up the topic of childrearing costs—a conversational line seemingly more pertinent to him than the unselected topics of drug use and encounters with the police—and shares that the single reason he does not have children is the cost of bringing them up: *>you know that's why I don't have kids< // I can't afford them* (lines 866-67). Intertextuality results from Sam’s invocation of the discourse of responsible parenting, which itself functions as a booster to the discourse of disadvantage sustained by their conversation. Dawn picks up on the interdiscourse: On the one hand, she sustains the discourse of responsible parenting by endorsing a traditional nuclear family structure, which happens byway of denigration to her “best” friend’s blended family: *I've got this friend (.) four kids (.) three different daddies* (line 872); on the other hand, she maintains the dominant discourse of disadvantage by explaining that her friend should not have the children because she lacks the fiscal requirements for their comfortable upbringing: *Why does she keep having kids: You know (.) I mean// >She works at Cash America< you know// It's not like she makes money* (lines 875-79). “To make money” is therefore to render oneself capable of comfortably providing for others.

“To make money” is to also have surplus after debts are paid and entertainment has occurred, e.g. going for drinks (Lisa and Alina, line 906) and traveling to other cities

(Randy, line 1471). If people do “make money,” they are better positioned to finance a vehicle and its associated costs, the largest investment that many in the kitchen aspire to obtain. Given the reverence accorded to vehicles by kitchen workers, an income characteristic to emerge in Labov’s work (2006) on class-based consonant pronunciation as well, overt discussions of transportation abound in the working-classes.<sup>11</sup> With the exception of Sam, who explains that the single reason he does not have a car is because of its cost: *That's why I don't have a car // I don't see the point in spending all that money on insurance and gas* (lines 1999-2000), the implicit subject of all other transport talk during the study is money. For instance, a vehicle is the imagined solution to the discomforts of public transportation, where *It's weird when you're just sitting there // It's fucking cold and no one's talking*. Phil sums up the situation with a curt *I fucking hate not having a car* (line 1271), a sentiment with which Chet agrees: *serious* (line 1272).

Getting and giving rides are a socioeconomic reality for kitchen workers, who must secure transportation to get to work and there make capital. To illumine that reality by example, I again turn to Chet, who often centralizes money and transportation in his discussions. In this case, Chet explains to Phil in extract 6 that a boss asked Chet to pick up one of Shadow’s catering jobs far from the restaurant. While in extract 6 he frames the situation as being an instance of exploitation, he earlier shares with Dale that the job

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<sup>11</sup> According to a report by the Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University, the renter share of US households in 2013 was 35%. The majority of this group is best characterized as working class, the economic group to which most kitchen staff belongs. Vehicles are generally the most expensive investment made by the working class (Beeghley, 2004; Gilbert,2002) and they often take precedence in kitchen conversations in the form of discussions about ride-sharing, loaning vehicles, and buying vehicles.

will be *no big deal [because he] got a ride* (line 480). In other words, what makes his work challenging is not the nature of the job, but the difficulties of simply getting to the job.

### *Exploitation*

The perceived economic disparity across the brigade often aligns with one's position in the workplace hierarchy, wherein workers who have vehicles are often those "in charge." *Chef de cuisine* Dale and head line cooks Lisa and Randy own vehicles, while others working in the kitchen during the examined shift do not. Chet, who has the esteemed title of *chef de patisserie* does not own a vehicle, but he has no subordinates working his station, and therefore no one who answers to him. That Chet has no one subordinate to him may influence his wage and, by association, his car ownership.

But why is vehicle ownership important for this study? That question is answered simply by what is demonstrated by transportation talk: when workers discuss getting to work, what is often conveyed is an interweaving of the textual elements of poverty and exploitation. These elements combine to undergird the discourse of disadvantage sustained in Shadow's kitchen talk. For instance, Chet and Phil indicate that there is a relationship between perceived poverty and exploitation in the following extract, which was referenced in the previous section. This conversational extract picks up after Chet and Phil finish a short conversation about being videotaped for the present study:



## Extract 6

1288 Chet: Yeah  
1289 So David called me up yesterday and was like “you gotta work at 4  
1290 o'clock in Tomball”  
1291 Phil: oh?  
1292 Chet: I was like yeah?  
1293 You're a cocksucker dude  
1294 I made plans with two different people  
1295 I wouldn't have minded had he told me yesterday or the day before  
1296 when I saw him  
1297 Phil: I would have been Uh-  
1298 HEY man (.) I can't make it  
1299 Chet: oh I can't  
1300 >I don't really have that option< I'm so poor.  
1301 I need the money  
1302 Phil: Yeah  
1303 I need money bad  
1304 (10)  
1305 Chet: I only had 19 hours here last week  
1306 But I haven't had a fucking day off in ages  
1307 Some of the stuff should be easy though  
1308 When I'm at the taqueria I mean  
1309 Half the time I'm there I'm on the fucking computer  
1310 Phil: Yeah  
1311 What taqueria?  
1312 Chet: Taqueria Norte?  
1313 Phil: Oh really? cool cool I didn't know THAT  
1314 (2)  
1315 Chet: I work there like three?:: nights a week  
1316 Phil: That's great  
1317 Chet: It's fucking easy man.

The above extract illustrates a prevalent handling of money talk in Shadow's kitchen, which prioritizes "getting hours" over good treatment. The discussion begins when Chet calls attention to the new subject with the discourse marker *yeah/so* (lines 1288-9), and explains to Phil that one of their bosses ordered him to work an unscheduled shift in a location several miles from Shadow. Indicated by the phrase, *I was like* (line 1292), is that Chet will recount not what he said to the boss, but what he was thinking when the boss gave him his orders: *You're a cocksucker dude/I made plans with two different people/I wouldn't have minded had he told me yesterday or the day before when I saw him* (lines 1293-96). Chet takes up a combative frame in calling his boss a *cocksucker* and explaining that he "minded" the sudden schedule change. However, that concern was subverted by the opportunity for Chet to mitigate his perceived poverty, a condition Phil shares, given his agreement with Chet's statement about not having the option to decline the job due to his finances, (lines 1302-3) *Yeah // I need money bad*. In the same extract, Chet shares that his other source of income is from a "fucking easy" job he has at a reputable taqueria (line 1317).

In fact, the multiple jobs cooks hold outside of Shadow are often talked about in similar pragmatic sequence: Speaker 1 expresses hardship; Speaker 2 empathizes; (optional) Speaker 1 diminishes hardship by naming the virtues of the job. The theorized structure is exemplified by the interaction between Lisa and Alina captured in the extract below, which picks up after Lisa explains that she has a catering job the next day:

### Extract 7

- 924 Lisa: And I've gotta make two hundred empanadas  
925 Alina: Two hundred empanadas?=  
926 Lisa: = two hundred  
927 Alina: Wow (.) that's a lot=  
928 Lisa: = Three hundred cookies  
929 (2.5)  
930 Alina: You gotta make three hundred cookies in two hours tonight?  
931 Lisa: And forty pounds of beans  
932 It's not that bad though  
933 I've got some of it in bags  
934 I've got some of the catering stuff there

Lisa explains her hardship in lines 924, 928, and 931: *And I've gotta make two hundred empanadas // = Three hundred cookies // And forty pounds of beans*. Alina empathizes with the hardship in lines 925, 927, and 930: *Two hundred empanadas?=  
Wow (.) that's a lot=  
You gotta make three hundred cookies in two hours tonight?* Lisa diminishes the hardship in lines 932-34: *It's not that bad though // I've got some of it in bags // I've got some of the catering stuff there*. That this is a normative conversational structure for dealing with coworkers' complaints in the kitchen is underscored by the repercussions of its violation in extract 8, which picks up after Chet and Phil have been talking about their shared poverty and Chet's other job, which is only challenging when he has to (line 1320) [*deal*] *with the drunk people*:

### Extract 8

- 1335 Phil: My girlfriend?

1336 She was renting this place with a sleigh bed  
1337 She was fucking drunk as shit one night and broke her toe on the  
1338 headboard (.) fucked up the bed  
1339 They told her when you come back you gotta bring wood.  
1340 But she's gonna have to repay all her fucking ah- medical-  
1341 medical costs  
1342 hhhh yeah she's like(.) FUCK YA'LL hhh  
1343 Oh yeah "you can come back but you gotta PAY"  
1344 Chet: She was JUMPING  
1345 (2)  
1346 Yeah but still  
1347 Fuck that  
1348 Phil: Like she can pay back \$6000 in medical bills  
1349 Chet: Serious

In extract 8 Phil functions as a proxy for his girlfriend in an expression of hardship (line 1336-40). He positions her as a hapless victim with exorbitant medical bills (lines 1347), *Like she can pay back \$6000 in medical bills*. By framing the event as one in which the girlfriend is exploited by the powerful, Phil reinforces the discourse of disadvantage at work in the kitchen. However, he provides enough contextual information for Chet to reject Phil's framing of the event, for he instead perceives her to be the culprit (line 1343), *She was JUMPING*. Chet's response, which reframes the event as one in which the girlfriend is an antagonist and violates Phil's positive face, functions also as a violation of the cooperative principle at work in the kitchen, which relies, in part, on the use of a normative adjacency pair (S1 hardship → S2 empathy). The ensuing silence

(line 1344) operates as a rejection of Chet’s reframing, which is contextually perceived as the more egregious breach of good behavior than that exhibited by the drunken girlfriend. Resultantly, Chet reestablishes footing with Phil and an alignment with the values of the community by uttering a response linked to the community of practice’s repertoire: (lines 1345-46) *Yeah but still // Fuck that*. Chet adopts a demeanor of disgust to recast Phil’s girlfriend as another example of the poor (read “powerless”) being exploited by the empowered.

Chet also aligns with Phil to simultaneously appropriate and construct the discourse of disadvantage in the justification of antisocial behaviors. To explain, Phil’s account is “constructed” in the sense that it is not a full and objective report, as it is “partial, produced by a human being who is fallible, [experiencing] things subjectively.... However, ‘construction’ can also mean that words put together in some coherent form themselves have the capacity to construct” (Sunderland, 2004: 169). Phil and Chet’s language is both *constructive* and *a construction* of the discourse of disadvantage (Potter, 1996: 98). While it operates to those ends, the discourse is concomitantly interdiscursive, intertextually supporting and constituting the discourse of deviance—the subject of the next chapter.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter examined the culture and community existing in one restaurant’s kitchen to illumine how it is a hypermasculine workplace. Using a community of

practice framework as my scaffolding, I showed how individuals working within Shadow's kitchen at various levels of the institutional hierarchy share a domain of knowledge, but access it levels commensurate with their institutional status. In the present context, the domain includes knowledge of situated practice on the lower end of the spectrum and industry-specific jargon toward the higher end. The distinction between higher and lower domains permits wider inclusion of members in the community of practice. I then showcased some of the tools in their common repertoire of resources by organizing them in terms of two interpretive discourses. I do not make any claim that these are the only discourses at work in that context; rather, they are the most salient and relevant for the present study.

The first of the two theorized interpretive discourses is that of disadvantage, which is shown to be constructed at Shadow with talk of money and exploitation. These themes are generally linked to the working-class, and men in particular. This latter discourse is made up of the invective so commonly associated in intra- and intercultural depictions of restaurant culture, where the "underbelly" of kitchen life is prevalently exposed for its singular shock and amusement. However, the discourse I have named here also comprises an array of other discursal and semiotic strategies, which combine with expletive language and subject positions to cast the kitchen as a hypermasculine working-class space historically limiting to women. My intention with the next chapter is to therefore showcase the prevalence of hypermasculine strategies constituting the discourse of deviance, the most salient kitchen discourse.

CHAPTER V  
THE PROFESSIONAL KITCHEN AS A “HYPERMASCULINE” COMMUNITY OF  
PRACTICE: THE DISCOURSE OF DEVIANCE

**Introduction**

This chapter examines the contextual behaviors constructing the discourse of deviance: hypermasculine posturing, a working-class masculine performance linked to masculine-strength discourses, ritual insult, and sexual banter. Together, these are framed as acceptable workplace humor strategies. Though it is now axiomatic that women have historically been unsuccessful in restaurant kitchens (Fine, 1987, 2009; Harris and Giuffre, 2010), I attempt at the end of this chapter to foreground how it is the overwhelming prevalence of the discourse of deviance—and women’s management of that discourse—that has in part complicated their successful advancement “up the line.”

**The Discourse of Deviance**

I wish to capture a number of epistemological realities of Shadow’s kitchen by calling this discourse “deviant”: By frequently using expletives and sexual references in their conversational exchange, kitchen workers speak about and to others in a way deviant from that which is normative behavior in white collar or mainstream workplaces; by often using their own and other’s bodies as channels of humor, kitchen workers

deviate from that which is sanctioned in a post-Title VII America; and by adopting the typically masculine linguistic practice of ritual insult in the construction of humor frames, which is intertextually linked to highly gendered separatist discourses “encouraging racial and gender discrimination, male superiority, homophobia, and aggression and violence,” workers deviate from the equality discourse encoded in their formal workplace texts (McDowell and Schaffner, 2014). Therefore, I use “deviance” to channel an empirically derived generalization about kitchen interactions and the intentional subversion of politeness so often driving the linguistic and non-linguistic contributions of the studied community of practice.

That generalization is that operating behind the hot stoves of Shadow’s kitchen, where strong men have traditionally hauled large vats of boiling stock, scalding trays of cooked bones, and oversized carcasses aged for butchering with perfectly honed knives, is a collective hypermasculine display linked to the symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1977) garnered from hard labor and stereotypical representations of what it means to be working-class and male. These representations manifest in the kitchen in the form of talk of substance use, ignoring pain, a behavior predicated on the presumed validity of masculine strength discourses in the kitchen, large quantities of profanity usage, and the appropriation of aggression and sex in the construction of humor.



## *Talk of Substance Use*

Conspicuous usage and reference to drugs and alcohol is often linked to working-class settings (Gruenewald, Treno, Taff, and Klitzner, 1997). Writing about one of these settings in her article, “Cowboys of the High Seas: Representations of Working-Class Masculinity on *Deadliest Catch*,” Lisa A. Kirby quotes MSNBC’s De-Ann Welker to give some explanation for why the connection may exist: “[Working-class men like those on the *Deadliest Catch* have] chosen careers that allow them to live the lives they enjoy without being tied down by normal social mores. And their bodies show the wear and tear of the rough-and-tumble life they’ve chosen” (2013: 114). Their culture of “hard-living and hard-work,” (Kirby, 2013: 114) is like that in the kitchen, where a similar storm of factors resultantly whips up talk about alcohol, drug, and nicotine use. This is not to say that kitchen workers use such substances at work; rather, they are invoked as a topic to orient the members of the community of practice toward one another and away from mainstream “social mores,” which culturally limit workplace discussions of substance use. Extract 9 illustrates how mutual enjoyment of substances reinforces a group identity while also affirming a working-class masculine model. It picks up after Phil smells fumes wafting through the kitchen:

### **Extract 9**

1572 Phil: I smell primer, man  
1573 (2)  
1574 Dale: What?

1575 Phil: Smell that little primer?  
 1576 Dale: //oh yeah::]  
 1577 Chet: uh-oh]  
 1578 Phil: Man those were the good old days  
 1579 I used to sniff that shit  
 1580 I'd get like ?WOOO ((wobbles his head back and forth))  
 1581 hhh  
 1582 Dale: That's got nothing on Sheila Shine  
 1583 (9)  
 1584 Chet: ((big yawn))  
 1585 TIRED  
 1586 Dale: You're fucking high  
 1587 Phil: hh  
 1588 Chet: so tired  
 1589 Dale: and high  
 1590 Chet: I wish  
 1591 Dale: No shit

Extract 9 exemplifies how drugs are topically invoked in kitchen conversations happening across the hierarchy, as conversationalists include, in order of structural influence, Chef de cuisine Dale, Chef de patisserie Chet, and line cook Phil. Knowledgeable about the situational acceptance of narcotics as a topic choice, Phil selects it by noting the smell coming through the kitchen (lines 1572, 1574): *I smell primer, man // Smell that little primer?* Dale, who is empowered to shut down the topic, instead ratifies it with pleasure, indicated by lengthening [æ] in (line 1576) *oh yeah::*. The perlocutionary effect of these utterances on Chet prompts an attempt to frame the event as problematic *uh-oh* (line 1577). Two potential reasons Chet considered the

situation problematic include the anticipated effect of the fumes on speakers, or because the topic selection and subsequent ratification signified for Chet the beginning of a conversation about their drug use and his utterance is facetious. Nevertheless, Phil invokes a humor frame to reflexively position himself as a long-time drug user (lines 1578-81): *Man those were the good old days//I used to sniff that shit//I'd get like ?WOOO//hhh*. But it is Chet's response (line 1582) *That's got nothing on Sheila Shine*, that exemplifies how talk of drug use is a form of masculine posturing in the kitchen, since he attempts to "one up" Phil's experience by stratifying the effects of chemical fumes, linking himself to the stronger substance and, by extension, to a stronger masculinity. The extract ends with Chet and Dale declaring that they would even like to be high that moment (lines 1590-91).

Indeed, "liking" the effects of substances arises often in the kitchen, where talk of substances use elicits laughter, jovial narrative, and situational longing for the effects of drugs. For example, emerging from the data are numerous other instances of men appropriating substances for the construction of a hypermasculinity, their "protest masculinity," as it were, by longing for cigarettes (lines 207-8) and laughing about friends' drug use (lines 1847-49). Dale even goes so far as to name smoking as a form of protest (line 2028), as his way to "continue [his] contrary ways" (lines 2036-37)! For the men in the kitchen, substance use talk denigrates the "gold standard of the White, middle class, Western representation of what is manly" (Sanders, 2011: 51) and instead reinforces a contextually linked working-class model.

Explaining the role of substances in working-class masculinity formation, Jolene Sanders (2011) suggests that folk notions of substance use link it to highly gendered male activities. Working-class men therefore *use* substances, in part, to strengthen their perceived masculinity performance. But evidenced by the above extract is that men *talk about* substances to strengthen their masculinity performances, too. They construct and call upon the discourse of deviance to garner a covert prestige connected to substances and reinforce the repertoire of the community of practice, which ultimately bolsters perceptions of their authentic membership in the historically masculine context of the restaurant kitchen.

### *Ignoring Injury to Self and Other*

Like substance use talk, persevering through workplace injury, physical pain, and stress is another feature of hypermasculine posturing found in Shadow's kitchen. Anthony Bourdain captures this phenomenon well as he recounts an episode from his early days as a line cook, when he was required to job-shadow the broiler man, Tyrone (2007: 33-34):

Then, grabbing a sauté pan, I burned myself. I yelled out loud, dropped the pan, an order of ossu bucco Milanese hitting the floor, and as a small red blister raised itself on my palm, I foolishly—oh, so foolishly—asked the beleaguered Tyrone if he had some burn cream and maybe a Band-Aid. This was quite enough for Tyrone. It went suddenly very quiet in the Mario kitchen, all eyes on the big

broiler man and his hopeless inept assistant....Tyrone turned slowly to me, looked down through bloodshot eyes, the sweat dripping off his nose, and said, “Whachoo want, white boy? Burn cream? A *Band-Aid*? ... I watched, transfixed, as Tyrone—his eyes never leaving mine—reached slowly under the broiler and, with one naked hand, picked up a glowing-hot sizzle-platter, moved it over to the cutting board and set it down in front of me. He never flinched.

A similar turn of events happens at Shadow, as is evidenced in extract 10. This excerpt comes from the middle of a conversation between Lisa and Alina, who are talking about the amount of work Lisa has to accomplish in the next day or so. It picks up at the moment Phil burns his hand with hot oil:

### Extract 10

914 Phil: FUCK *((burnt his hand; no one reacts))*  
915 Lisa: The teachers' luncheon.  
916 Tomorrow  
917 Alina: At what time?  
918 Lisa: Starting at eleven o'clock  
919 (2)  
920 Alina: HUNGRY::  
921 (2)  
922 Lisa: Um  
923 (2)  
924 And I've gotta make two hundred empanadas  
925 Alina: Two hundred empanadas?=*((walks back to workstation))*  
926 Lisa: = two hundred  
927 Alina: Wow (.) that's a lot=  
928 Lisa: = Three hundred cookies

929 (2.5)

930 Alina: You gotta make three hundred cookies in two hours tonight?

931 Lisa: And forty pounds of beans

932 It's not that bad though

933 I've got some of it in bags

934 I've got some of the catering stuff there

935 (3)

936 Alina: HUNGRY *((walks away from Lisa. Phil leans forward against a counter texting. Alina pushes the back of his knee and he falls forward. Phil does a back kick into Alina's groin))*

937

938

939

940

941 Alina: Hhh

942 Hold on Phil.

943 What the hell are you doing? hhh=

944 Phil: What the hell are YOU doing // (hhh)]

945 Alina: (hh)] you're trying to stick it in me huh?

946 Trying to stick your whole leg up in my shit

947 Lisa: How long ago did that ( ) go out?

948 Alina: Huh?

949 (3)

950 Lisa: About five minutes?

951 (2)

952 Alina: Five. *((shrugs shoulders))*

953 Lisa: Do you know how long ago that stuff went out?

954 Phil: Two minutes ago

955 Lisa: That's puncture

956 Let's go in three minutes

957 (speaking Spanish to Maria)

958 Alina: >BU:CK/X/X/X/X/X!< *((Mimicking chicken. Gives chicken to Maria))*

959

960 Maria: It's hot *((fanning face with mouth open))*

961 Alina: YEAH baby.  
 962 I just brought it  
 963 (2)  
 964 Lisa: Anybody want more chicken?  
 965 (2)  
 966 Alina: Huh?  
 967 Lisa: Chicken?  
 968 Alina: Chicken? ((to Phil))  
 969 Phil: ((Shakes head, looks at his hand))  
 970 Oh that's bad

Interdiscursively linking deviance and masculine strength discourses with intertextual elements of vocal and nonvocal responses, cooks are expected, like Tyrone in Bourdain's text, to deviate from—be stronger than—those who would feel and respond to workplace injury. They are instead expected to reinforce a stereotypically working-class masculine behavior of ignoring one's or another's pain at best, or "sucking it up" at worst. Lynch observes the same phenomenon in his ethnography of a restaurant kitchen: "The kitchen is a place where physical toughness...is expected and respected" (2010: 133). As is seen in the extract above, Phil is proximally close to Alina and Lisa, who would have noticed when he burnt his hand so badly that he cried out in pain *FUCK* (line 914) and minutes later commented on the severity of the injury by noting, *oh that's bad* (line 970). The same is seen in extract 11, which picks up during a group conversation about grilled cheese sandwiches:

**Extract 11**

1009 Alina: Grilled cheese

1009 Joe: Grilled cheese Alina Larson  
 1010 Alina: Yeah Joe Smith  
 1011 Chet: OH SHIT  
 1012 MOTHER FUCKER ((*grease has splashed on his jacket,*  
 1013 *burning his arm*))  
 1014 Lisa: More cheese guys=  
 1015 Dale: =//More cheese] Alina Larson  
 1016 Sara: More cheese]  
 1017 Alina: Oh I guess.

The above excerpt shows that five other speakers were working alongside of Chet, but not a single one responded to the grease burn he received by simply walking by the fryer. Similarly, everyone in the kitchen would have been in earshot when second-shift worker, Sam, cut himself and began bleeding, yelling *GOD DAMN IT! // SHIT* (lines 1832-33). However, no one seriously heeds to others' physical pain in the same way they do to injuries of their product, such as when Chet attempts to work with flour that is too moist and everyone sympathizes (lines 1191-95). In this regard, behaviors in the kitchen deviate from societal norms for politeness which mandate attention to the physically injured.

Such deviation is reinforced time after time, and even from those who have the power to seriously alter it. For instance, institutional superior Dale admonishes, *Don't be a pussy* (line 1569), when Chet shares that he has had a popcorn kernel stuck in his teeth for five days and *it hurts like a son of a bitch* (line 1566). Dale also tells Lisa *to get over it* (line 404) when she shares that the morning's shift has got her *really stressing* (line



403). If Dale were to invite into the workplace alternative discourses, such as multiple masculinities discourses and discourses of equality, it would be unlikely that subordinates would reject or question his framing of the event. This postulation gains traction when one considers how Dale bungles his Spanish (e.g. lines 428-32), and fails to pick up on humorous references linked to his age cohort (e.g. lines 252-256), yet no one corrects or teases him in the same way they would an institutional equal. Dale is thus positioned to make change, but instead wields his power to reinforce the hypermasculine model aligned to traditional kitchen work. He rebukes workplace subordinates' expressions of pain with the term *pussy*, a derogatory word linked to feminine weakness discourse that implies that the man being labeled such is effeminate or sexually inadequate (Sapolsky, Shafer, and Kaye, 2010), and in so doing reminds that the kitchen is a place for *real men*.

### *Profanity*

“For as long as I’ve been around restaurant kitchens they have been testosterone-fueled places where guys almost revel in their profanity”

Ruth Reichl, editor in chief, *Gourmet Magazine*

Cooks' reveling in profanity clashes with the observation offered by a little-known 1942 Supreme Court case, *Chaplinsky v. New Hampshire*, which put under the microscope those classes of speech considered "lewd and obscene, profane, libelous, and insulting or fighting words," concluding that:

[S]uch utterances are no essential part of any ex-position of ideas, and are of such slight social value as a step to truth that any benefit that may be derived from them is clearly outweighed by the social interest in order and morality.

But in the restaurant kitchen, many individuals treat lewd and obscene utterances as valuable social currency in the communal market of talk. And the truth that is conveyed is subtextual: By producing intense qualities and quantities of profanity, men index an authentic membership in their sex-class and, by extension, the traditionally masculine community of practice of the professional kitchen. In their estimation, swearing is simply part of the communal repertoire (Fine, 2009). And the point of swearing—just as is the point of talking about substances, ignoring pain, and, as the next section will show, is the point of engaging in body humor—is to actually disrupt the "social interest in order and morality" that is tied to the middle and upper classes for which they would likely presume the court decision speaks. In this regard, they revel in their profanity because they revel in their deviation from the norm.

Extract 12 illustrates this reveling rather clearly, since the speakers are discussing serrated knives, a rather tame subject that would likely be discussed in other contexts without the use of expletives:

## Extract 12

1527 Chet: Tell you what  
1528 I need a new serrated knife man  
1529 Phil: These ones  
1530 The grey ones they're getting now  
1531 Chet: Yeah  
1532 (2)  
1533 Phil: Those are=  
1534 Chet: =>I have one just like it<  
1535 I mean (.) it's the same kind (.) same weight  
1536 It's old as shit  
1537 I keep it at home and tried cutting a tomato  
1538 Fucker was cold and came from the fridge too  
1539 Phil: Like FUCK  
1540 Did the fucker slice right through?  
1541 Chet: Yeah  
1542 Phil: hhh  
1543 Chet: Man.  
1544 You guys need to have a serrated knife on tomato  
1545 Phil: Shit (.) tell Dale

Here, an inanimate object, a serrated knife, is endowed with such negative characteristics that it is rendered as a *fucker* (line 1538) that is *old as shit* (line 1536). Taking Chet's lead in discussing the knife in such terms, Phil also labels Chet's knife a *fucker* (line 1540). Indeed, in Shadow's kitchen, profanity is used *a lot*—should I be permitted an understatement. While quantity of expletives is an imperfect indicator of gender display, as perceptions of “overuse” are contextually dependent and hard, if not impossible, to measure, the production of a high amount of profanity has nevertheless come to be

understood as culturally indexing masculinity. Words perceived as conveying more obscenity are similarly linked to such a display (Jay, 1990). For instance, words and their variants such as *fuck*, *shit*, and *ass*, which are traditionally linked to the speech of men, are stronger than *damn* and *hell*, which are more traditionally linked to the profane speech of women. Timothy Jay (1992), a leading authority on the psychology of cursing, explains that if a word is judged more offensive, the more likely it is to be considered taboo and thus used by men. Noting that qualitative reports of perceived gender performance reflect the attitudes of a given community of practice, Bonnie McElhinny, in her ethnographic work with Pittsburgh police officers, has also endorsed such attitudinal measures of profanity (1995).

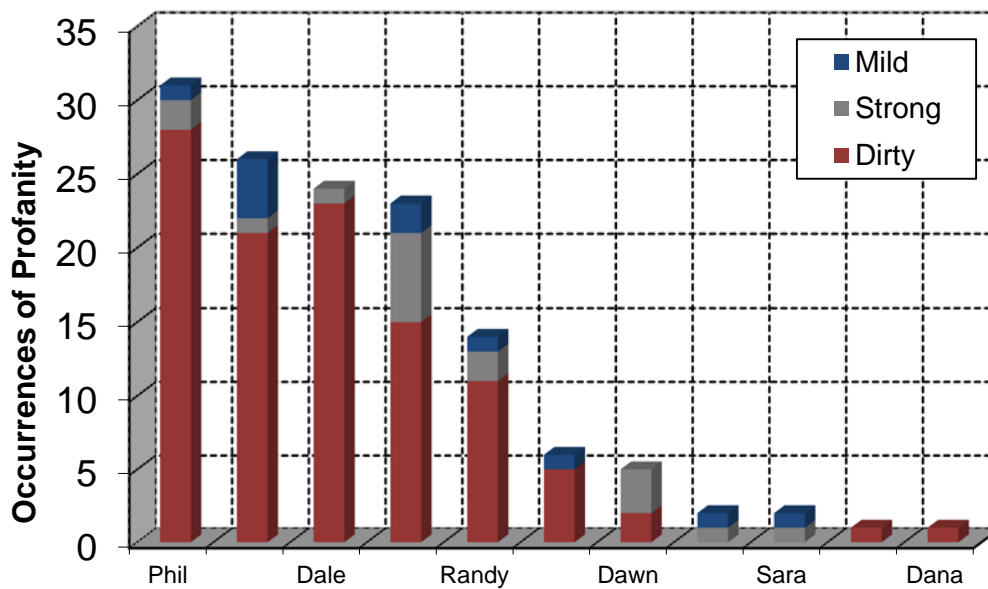


Figure 4: Distribution of Profanity - Word Usage (5 Hour Sample)

To capture the profundity of profanity in the kitchen, Figure 4 illustrates the amount and category of obscenity (Sapolsky et al., 2010) spoken by each speaker in terms of the FCC's dirty words (*fuck, cock, shit, balls, mouth*), strong words (*asshole, pussy, bitch*), and mild words (*hell and damn*). Only the expletive roots are listed, though variants of the expletive are included in the count, e.g. *cock* is actually the one instance of <cocksucker>, since no one said *cock* as a discrete word during the studied shift. The greatest amount of taboo language in any category is produced by Phil, the lowest-ranking male cook. Out of 11 speakers marked for expletives and profanity usage, Phil produces approximately 34% (38 out of 113 occurrences). The lowest production of profanity comes from two of the three women working in the kitchen, Dawn and Lisa, as well as the two servers, Sara and Dana, and general manager, Joe, who briefly entered the kitchen during the studied timeframe.

The interlocutors most active during data collection were Lisa, Phil, Alina, Dale, and Chet. The second shift speakers, Randy, Sam, and Dawn were active participants once they arrived for their shift, which was approximately one hour before the first shift concluded. Therefore, the distribution of data does not indicate the profanity production of speakers for an equal measure of time. It does show, however, that the males produce higher quantities of taboo language (80 percent) than women, with the exception being Alina. Alina produces less profanity than the three most active men (Phil, Chet and Dale), though her production quantity is 4 times higher than Dawn, and 10x higher than Lisa, who produces the least amount of profanity (two utterances) for a worker bound to the kitchen.

Alina transgresses traditional gender norms with her high quantity of profane utterances in all three categories, which indexes masculinity in her gendered linguistic performance. She may be attempting a form of linguistic accommodation, aligning her speech patterns to the dominant group to minimize social differences such as gender, as a subversive expression of politeness. But if her performance were a form of politeness, it is done at the cost of appearing traditionally feminine. The complexities of her and Lisa's gender performances are the focus of the next chapter.

However, achieved by the men producing large amounts of expletives is the same quality of hypermasculine capital elicited by talk of substance use. For example, Phil has very little institutional authority; given his contextual powerlessness, he may feel the need to appropriate the symbolic power of his sex class in his workplace interaction to augment his perceived masculinity. He may be appropriating the covert norm for a contextualized status that counters the prestige strategies—the more sanitary speech—of standard forms. And it is these very same covert norms, or hypermasculine behaviors, that produce and reproduce the discourse of deviance in the construction of an institutional identity. That identity is often bolstered by the affiliative ends of profanity.

### *Body Humor*

#### Sexual Humor

The above discussion quantified verbal profanity production, but that discussion is incomplete without a consideration of the intertextuality of body and voice: profanity

is created when Phil thrusts his groin into Alina's side (lines 867-868), and it is created when Dawn pantomimes with Randy's body how Salvano [*humped*] on [*Courtney*] (line 1906). However, such as the effects of profanity outlined in the previous section, the physical profanity created in the examples above often serves affiliative ends for the men instigating and observing it. It is these expressions of sexualized humor that, along with other forms of verbal jousting, I have termed body humor: the comicality achieved or attempted via utterances and nonverbal displays referencing one's body, others' bodies, the effects of substances on bodies, and the aggression-potential of bodies. Body humor may also comprise taboo topics such as odors, secretions, and illness. Humor that deemphasizes the body is standard in modern white-collar workplaces, where humor tends to focus on human relationships or social observations and eschews humor constructed by references to the body and its capacities.

But in the restaurant kitchen, to instigate and achieve body humor is to constitute and construct the discourse of deviance and enact a workplace identity recognizable to other members of the community. Shadow's culture subverts such limits and instead links the achievement of an authentic workplace identity to men's intertextual expressions of sexual desire and physical aggression. The face threatening potential of such expressions is often mitigated or rendered "off record" (Brown and Levinson, 1987) by their occurrence in humor frames, a point I clarify with dialogue from extract 10. Extract 13 picks up after Sam and Dawn conclude a conversation about child support:

### Extract 13

1895 Sam: You know that part of your job is to be relentlessly hitting on Dawn  
1896 and Courtney all night  
1897 Randy: *((Smiles, wobbles head, and nods))*  
1898 Dawn: I need a vacation from Salvano  
1899 Fucking perv  
1900 Sam: Although that's part of the rule  
1901 It's part of his job  
1902 Dawn: No *((smiling but shaking head))*  
1903 He started humping Courtney the other day  
1904 Sam: Huh  
1905 Dawn: He was humping on her  
1906 He was like (.) YOU'RE going to have a good day *((begins humping*  
1907 *Randy to illustrate))*  
1908 Sam: He starts and then she starts

After Randy failed to enter the dyad in the more feminized discussion about responsibilities to one's children, Sam selects a new topic in Extract 13 that enables male alignment. It also functions as an involvement strategy, a way to include Randy in the discussion and give him positive face. In making such an alignment, Sam centralizes male sexual desire in the performance of their workplace identity in a contextually recognizable humor frame: *You know that part of your job is to be relentlessly hitting on Dawn and Courtney all night* (lines 1895-6). Randy recognizes and ratifies the frame with nonverbal cues, beginning with a smile, feigned contemplation, and ultimate agreement (line 1897). Dawn accepts the humor frame too, but uses indirection to suggest that a difference exists between men's expressions of desire in the humor frame and those not framed as humor (lines 1898-99): *I need a vacation from Salvano //*



*Fucking perv.* In this regard, Dawn appears to accept Sam's interactive positioning of her as a body for humor, but creates limits when Sam justifies Salvano's interactive positioning of her body for authentic desire (Lines 1900-01): *Although that's part of the rule // It's part of his job.* Dawn smiles and shakes her head, contradicting Sam, *No* (line 1902). For Dawn, Salvano appears earnest in his desire, whereas other males seemingly do not. Of course, it is possible that they too are earnest, but frame their desire as humor in an effort to be "off-record" (Brown and Levinson, 1987), an attempt to remove the speaker from claims of his imposition.

Dawn maintains her footing in a similar exchange to emerge from extract 14, which picks up after she explains to Randy, Lisa's station replacement at the shift change, why their workspace is disorganized:

#### **Extract 14**

1747	Randy:	It's a mess	<i>((looks at the servers' work station))</i>
1748			<i>((turns to Sam, referring to Dawn))</i>
1749		But she don't care	
1750	(2)		
1751		She likes a mess (.)	
1752		In her mouth	
1753	Sam:	hhh	<i>((sleezy laugh))</i>
1754	Dawn:	We're being videotaped today	
1755		Be good hhh	

Randy interactively positions Dawn as a sexual object, (lines 1751-1752) *She likes a mess (.) // In her mouth*, which Sam endorses with a laugh (line 1753). Here, Dawn

appears to once again accept Randy's interactive sexual positioning in the construction of workplace humor, as evidenced by her alignment with the men, the contextualization cues (Gumperz, 1992) being her shared laughter and the invocation of the "boys will be boys" discourse (lines 1754-1755) (Sunderland, 2004: 93). She gently reminds them to "be good," reflexively positioning herself as a mother figure to possibly index the symbolic power of maternal behavior, thus femininity (Ochs, 1992). She may feel as though she is supposed to accept such positioning because of precedence or because she is guilty of dirtying their shared workspace; some "teasing" being more welcome than a bald face reprimand.

What this constellation of illocutionary and perlocutionary forces exhibits is that the body is "fair game" for constructing workplace humor, even if it calls upon sexual performance discourse. A deeper critical analysis of the interactive positioning of women as sexual bodies at work is offered in the next chapter. There, I closely look at other examples of sexual humor frames and examine how a female institutional superior manages them and avoids profanity without succumbing to the fate outlined by Fine (1987: 132): "Those women who can and do choose to accept these normative standards may be treated well, whereas those who fail to accept these informal rules by choice or lack of experience are more *likely to experience difficulties and discrimination*" (emphasis my own). Most relevant and in the scope of the present chapter is simply that sexual body humor is a typical expression of situated hypermasculine congeniality; it produces, reproduces, and affirms the traditional link between working-class masculinity and restaurant work, though often at the expense of the women working there.

However, female-directed sexual humor is not the only expression of body humor to emerge in the kitchen. There, spatial tightness means that bodies are continually bumping, rubbing, and blocking one another. To comment on that activity, the body itself becomes the object of humor. For example, when Phil returns from a trip to the cooler and is bumped by Chet, Phil complains *Fucking knocked off my implant* (line 1596), to which Chet responds *You got ripped off* (line 1597). Both men interdiscursively draw from the non-emancipatory discourses of “feminine weakness,” i.e. women as “whiners and complainers” (Widerberg, 2001 in Werner, 2004: 1042), and the “Privileging of appearance – in women” (Sunderland, 2004: 91) to humorously comment on their spatial constraints. Phil uses the female-associated breast implant, which is largely linked to augmenting a woman’s perceived beauty, in lieu of masculine-linked terms such as <chest> or <pecs> (pectoralis major muscle) to comment on his perceived physical pain. By combining these discourses, he undermines women and capitalizes on perceptions of their weakness to make an off-record mention of his pain, an unmentionable in the hypermasculine space of the kitchen discussed earlier in the chapter. Similarly, Chet comments on Phil’s femininity performance by suggesting that he was bamboozled by an ineffective plastic surgeon who failed to provide an attractive and structurally sound breast augmentation.

Though the female body is the indirect subject of their exchange, Phil’s body is the ratified subject of his and Chet’s co-constructed body humor. Humor frames constructed by talk of the male body are common, though males’ sexualization by other males appears an anathema to their collaborative construction of a hypermasculine

workplace and individual heterosexual performances, which necessitate the discursive differentiation of themselves from women and gay men (Cameron, 1997). Therefore, the male or unmarked human body is appropriated by both sexes for humor in quite unsexual terms: aging, (lines 1437-8) *My daddy didn't have any grey hair until he was 55 // My ass looks like Santa Claus's beard ((Bends over and spreads buttocks))*; secretions and odors, (line 131) *No going to the nose or the butt or the crotch for a couple days*, and, more often, its propensity for violence.

### Aggression Humor

In their article examining the link between working-class masculinity expression and violence, Hochstetler, Copes, and Forsyth (2013) affirm the social constructionist view of gender as dynamic and recursive. This situation, the ever-changing nature of gender and its expression, creates in working-class males an imperative to prove their masculinity at any moment, as there are fewer opportunities to demonstrate worth than can be found among the more economically privileged classes. When the opportunity arises to show just how manly a man is, he must be ready to quite literally pounce.

During data collection in Shadow's kitchen, violence is never physically realized; but it is symbolically achieved by the face threatening acts of ritual insult and the jocular goading of other community members, who were always men, to either commit acts of violence or refrain from them. "Ritual insult" (Labov, 1972) arises in the kitchen in instances where a coworker commits the face threatening act of a direct or indirect

request. As explained in Davies (2006: 102): “This style represents an exploitation of the relation between on-record strategies and intimacy. In other words, I can say things to you that I wouldn’t dare to say if we weren’t close; an exchange of insults becomes a display of the strength of our friendship bond.” This phenomenon is exemplified by an exchange between Randy and Dawn offered in Extract 15, which picks up after several minutes of silence and Dawn’s entry into Randy’s station for some rice:

### **Extract 15**

- 1726 Randy: ?Oh (.) so you want to grab some of my rice ?huh ((*shakes head smiling*))  
1727 Dawn: Yeah (.) you want to get mad  
1728 Randy: Yeah screw that  
1729 Dawn: hhh

Randy confronts Dawn in the humor frame to question her motives for taking “his” rice, a shared good that only a moment earlier was commented on in terms of its abundance and questionable utility (lines 1715-1716). Contextualization cues for his utterance being set in the humor frame include the prosodic elements of rising intonation and hyperbolic gestures (line 1726), which signify for Dawn that theirs is a joking footing (Jefferson et al., 1976). She opens the floor to Randy for a hypermasculine display with a declaration of his potential to “get mad” (line 1726), which he takes up briefly (line 1728) *Yeah screw that*. His rejoinder maintains the frame and, like his initial utterance, functions as a way to instigate and propel conversation. Dawn endorses the frame and, by extension, the use of ritual insult to create humor, with a laugh (line 1729). The same may be said

about Dawn's use of ritual insult with Sam in the following extract, which picks up after Dawn has had to squeeze between Sam's body and the stainless steel prep table on the end of the line:

### Extract 16

<del>1777</del> 1778 1779	Move your big ass, Sam	((she leaves the station and moves to the other side, having to pass Sam en route))
<del>1780</del> 1781	SHUT UP Dawn I get stuck (.) hhh	

Dawn commits a bald on-record face threatening act with a command, *Move*, and profane insult, *big ass* (line 1777). Dawn draws attention to Sam's overwhelming physical size and her inability to manage the space he occupies with mock aggression, but does so in a humor frame, which is contextualized by her laughter (line 1781) *I get stuck (.) hhh*. However, her initial and final FTA are polysemous, giving positive face to Sam and functioning as an involvement strategy, yet making very real critical commentary on his obstruction of her movements. Rather than take offense to her on-record strategy by taking up the latter meaning, Sam co-constructs a humor frame and moves to a jocular footing with a ritualized joking utterance of his own, (line 1780): *SHUT UP Dawn*. The majority of on-record body humor constituting ritual insult variety centers around the acquisition of goods and space, so here I have attempted to give some insight into how that plays out in the kitchen.

In the kitchen, being provoked to commit or refrain from violence also functions as a constructor of humor, interactively positioning the recipient as capable of physical aggression. But this positioning is always welcome; it is constructed in the humor frame and allows the ratified recipient of the message the opportunity to enact hypermasculinity via the symbolic violence of aggressive talk. For example, Lisa opens the floor to Dale to display his masculinity in the following extract, which introduces a new topic after a considerable amount of silence:

**Extract 17**

154 Lisa: Dale.  
155 Dale: Yeah  
156 Lisa: When you get upset tomorrow night do not throw the camera  
157 Dale: Alright I'm ah (.) ((*Smirks and furrows brow*))  
158 I'm gonna do it  
159 I'm gonna break the camera  
160 Lisa: hh  
161 Don't do //anything] ( ) that little ( ) right there  
162 Dale: ( )]  
163 They'll pay me money for my presentation

Underscoring the symbolic capital of violence-talk is that Lisa chooses to interactively position Dale, her superior, as capable of violence and not Chet or Phil, (lines 154, 156) *Dale //When you get upset tomorrow night do not throw the camera.* Both men were proximal to her and thus potential recipients of her positioning. She thus gives positive face to Dale and opens the floor for his enactment of a working-class

masculinity-linked violence display. And, as most men did during data collection, Dale enters a humor frame and takes up her subject positioning as one capable of violence. The humor frame is contextualized by the semiotic cues of an initial smirk and subsequent furrow of his brow, as well as the discourse marker, *alright*. *Alright* prefaces the sequence-initiating action of accepting her command and the beginning of a display of mock aggression, (line 157-158) *Alright I'm ah (.) I'm gonna do it*. Dale enacts the deviance associated with hypermasculine kitchen discourse and his institutional identity as chef. Though he likely has crafted an identity based upon localized norms, his conceptualization of what it means to be a “chef” is likely influenced, to some degree, by popular portrayals of his industry and job. Recent media interest in chefs has glamorized the abusive work practices of chefs such as Gordon Ramsey, who is known for throwing objects and verbally abusing his staff. Therefore, Dale may be playing on “abusive chef discourse” as much as he is on the prevalent enactment of body humor in his community of practice.

The same may be said for Chet and Phil, who co-construct a “fantasy” sequence (cf. Hay, 1995), an imaginary scenario, in which Phil limits data collection for the present study by blocking the lens on the audiovisual recorder. Their conversation picks up after Chet witnesses Phil pretending to break the recording equipment:

**Extract 18**

1280	Chet:	Oh DUDE
1281		Why don't you go wreck some stuff?
1282	Phil:	HHH





would presumably not understand that theirs was a humor frame. Subsequently, Chet discourages Phil's footing and instead mitigates Phil's aggravation with a coda reminding of their conviviality, (line 1286) *HHH] Nah*. Chet's negation of Phil's activity is notable because of its multifunctionality: it attempts to give positive face to the researcher by suggesting that theirs is a frame of humor, and she is simply being interactively positioned (like many women in the kitchen) as the butt of the joke; and it reminds Phil that the appropriation of violence in the construction of humor is to be limited to interactions between bone fide members of the community (Frey, 2002; Lynch, 2010).

### **Conclusion**

Working-class men, who, lacking the financial capital linked to hegemonic masculinity, garner symbolic capital with hypermasculine strategies also linked to their social class by their repetition in places such as the professional kitchen. These strategies, while not exhaustive, include conversations about substances; overlooking injuries to one's self and others on the job with verbal reprimands or ignoring on-record expressions of pain and discomfort; a high level of dirty profanity that is linked to working-class men's discourse at work; and the production of humor frames with what I have termed body humor. All of these strategies create and constitute the discourse of deviance, which revels in the oft-acute difference between the kitchen's community and practice and that of mainstream, white collar venues.

In the context of Shadow's kitchen, many of these strategies sustain an air of conviviality (Davies, 2006). However, it may be argued that ritual insults and other forms of humor reliant on the sexual subject positioning of women function as off-record strategies to maintain an order of hegemonic masculinity. Men working in the kitchen never make bold declarations that women are not welcome, but their communication norms are, to echo Lynch (2010: 133), "heavily masculine," and reproduce the idea that the ideal worker is male in sex and gender performance. Therefore, it becomes important to consider the gender performances of the few women working in the kitchen and ask a difficult question: Although past studies of kitchen discourse have suggested that women should "[learn]to conform to the masculine communication norms and the gendered nature of humor to fit in" (Lynch, 2010: 133) and become "one of the boys" (Fine 1987: 146), it is nonetheless true that studies in language and gender have shown the very opposite: women who do so face the double bind. What is a woman to do?

I provide one answer to that challenging question in the next chapter. There, I examine several extracts to reveal how one woman, Lisa, successfully manages the double bind in Shadow's kitchen by strategically maneuvering workplace frames, subject positionings, mitigation and aggravation strategies, and feminine and masculine speech varieties. I demonstrate that it is possible for women to adopt the professional demeanor commonly associated with men, but still appear "feminine" in context, if they minimize their engagement of the hypermasculine strategies so commonly linked to restaurant kitchen work.

CHAPTER VI  
MANAGING THE DOUBLE BIND: INDEXING POWER AND NEGATING  
GENDERED SUBJECT POSITIONING, A CASE STUDY

**Introduction**

Lay and scholarly accounts of the professional kitchen conclude that it is a place to be avoided by those uncomfortable with obscenity and sexual references, its discourse being chilly to those women and men who fail to exhibit the macho traits linked to working-class males. Unfortunately, few researchers have entered the kitchen to examine what, exactly, that discourse sounds like and how it functions to create an environment that is allegedly “no place for women.” Therefore, my first chapter considered the discourse features of one restaurant kitchen to show how working-class, “hypermasculine” identities are expressed in context.

I revealed two interpretive discourses that intertextually organize kitchen workers’ turn-by-turn linguistic contributions in a community of practice existing in Shadow’s kitchen. The first discourse I named was that of disadvantage, which organizes conversations about money and exploitation. This discourse exposes anxieties linked to working-class men’s economic capital and thus functions as an impetus for the creation of symbolic capital via the discourse strategies used in the discourse of deviance. The discourse of deviance organizes the discourse features that are so acutely linked to impressions of kitchen life in the public mind: talking about drugs, cigarettes,

and alcohol usage; exhibiting pain tolerance and ignoring any expressions of pain that may arise from the mouths and bodies of others; producing large amounts of profanity, especially the “dirty words” banned by the FCC during primetime; and creating humor with aggression-potential and sexual references to women and, more to the point, the women working in the kitchen.

I briefly touched upon the women working in the kitchen in the last chapter, examining Dawn’s acceptance of interactive sexual positioning (see analysis and discussion for extract 14) and mentioning Alina’s access of masculine strategies to intimate that they are two women who heed the advice of Fine (1987) and Lynch (2010) who advocated for women to take up male patterns to fit in and be “one of the boys.” Though my data do not support any claim that Dawn is completely disrespected by the men in the kitchen, her function as the butt of the sexualized joke necessitates her accepting the lower position placed on her by her male colleagues. Such activity reinforces notions of the kitchen as a masculine stomping ground where women are out of their element. And though I cannot make any claim that Alina is completely disliked by her male coworkers for exhibiting male linguistic patterns and demeanors, which are indexed by her male apparel and sex-class linked movements, such as scratching her groin and spreading her legs when lounging, it is clear that she does not exhibit features of traditional femininity, a characteristic of effectively managing the double bind. Therefore, I turn in this chapter to Lisa, the first-shift head line cook who, I argue, manages the double bind of being perceived as both respectable and traditionally feminine.

I show that Lisa successfully manages the tenuous ground of indexing femininity and leadership in the hypermasculine restaurant kitchen by creating a contextually feminine demeanor of authority. She is a firm yet benevolent superior, a manager of a multiplicity of behaviors on the power/control and connection spectrum (Tannen, 2001). She effectively creates this demeanor of authority by strategically maneuvering workplace frames, subject positionings, mitigation and aggravation strategies, and feminine and masculine speech varieties in her enactment of institutional gatekeeper (cf. Holmes, 2007) and desexualized coworker.<sup>12</sup> With Lisa as an effective example, I demonstrate that it is possible for women to adopt the professional demeanor commonly associated with men, but still appear “feminine” in context, if they negotiate the above strategies and minimize their engagement of the hypermasculinity so commonly linked to restaurant kitchen work.

### **Indexing Power: Gatekeeping in the Kitchen**

This section examines how Lisa indexes her power as a gatekeeper to institutional resources by strategically maneuvering the abovementioned discourse strategies. Her brigade status is “head line cook,” a job that entails receiving orders and yelling them out for the line to hear. These orders are interjections and unrelated to the

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<sup>12</sup> Johnson’s review (2007) of the gatekeeping metaphor in interactional sociolinguistics proffers the following definition of gatekeeping activity, which “has come to mean ‘any situation in which an institutional member is empowered to make decisions affecting others’” (Scollon 1981: 4 in Johnson 2007: 167).

strip of talk around them. See, for example, Lisa's interjection with an order below, *BURGER Frie::d Chicken (.) and cheddar* (line 1372):

**Extract 19**

1369 Lisa: Thank you, employees, for ordering your food at 2 o'clock when you know I  
1370 need to make the soup  
1371 I really want a club sandwich  
1372 BURGER Frie::d chicken (.) and cheddar

Lisa is also the individual responsible for white board notations visible to all staff, and calling out to other line cooks when items are eighty-sixed, or no longer available for sale. Other cooks rely on her word to determine the availability of meats and poultries and what their next tasks should be, but she is not a delegator of tasks. Rather, all customers' orders are entered into a computer at the front of the house and are electronically sent to the head line cook in the kitchen via a ticket machine, a feature of modern commercial kitchens that allows for stricter bookkeeping than paper ticket orders.

Once Lisa gets the ticket, she initiates food prep by simply calling out the order, thereby activating other line cooks and bakers who are overseeing the station assigned to them by either the *sous chef* or *chef de cuisine*. For instance, during the shift examined in the present dissertation, Alina is in charge of cold foods and Phil oversees the fryer. If Lisa calls out "fried chicken," as she does in extract 16, it signifies that Phil needs to get raw chicken, dress it in whatever way necessary, and deep fry it. The repertoire

understood by bone fide members of the community of practice suggests that no additional instructions are necessary.

While Lisa is not a delegator, she is also not directly empowered by her title to function for other members of the community as a gatekeeper. She and her fellow line cooks are structurally equal within the kitchen brigades established by French chef Georges Auguste Escoffier. Lisa and those beside her “on the line” have equal access to goods. But the repertoire she and others reinforce in their specific kitchen is that she, as head line cook, is empowered to make decisions about who can and cannot get goods and information. She wields this piece of knowledge from the lower domain, knowledge of local practice, to index authority on numerous occasions throughout the shift, functioning as a supervisor, even though that is not a duty assigned to her by title. For example, the second shift head line cook, Randy, simply “does his job”: he reads the orders out and keeps the white board updated. No one asks his permission for food; no one gets scolded when there is a shortage. Lisa, on the other hand, uses the slight difference between the duties assigned to her position and that of her fellow line cooks to garner power within the kitchen.

### *Questioned-then-Accepted Gatekeeping Ratifies Power*

Even though Lisa’s coworkers intellectually understand that she does not have any “real” power over them, they understand and repeatedly affirm her symbolic power by not questioning it—even if they surmise that she is not being veracious. To



demonstrate the complexities of this situation, I turn to extract 2, which exemplifies how Lisa often functions as a gatekeeper because it is an occasion where her gatekeeping strategies are questioned by someone not in the community. The exchange picks up after Lisa receives a hand-delivered order at lunchtime from server Sara, a member of the community of practice given her continual social and professional interactions with the kitchen staff, fluency with the lower domain of kitchen knowledge, and familiarity with the repertoires recurrent in the kitchen. That the order is hand-delivered suggests to Lisa that it is not a meal intended for customers. Extract 20 picks up at the moment Lisa studies the ticket and elicits clarification from Sara on the recipients of the meals:

### **Extract 20**

1383 Lisa: Sara. Are both of these tables employees?  
1384 Because I only have one pasta  
1385 Sara: Uh (.) yeah  
1386 Lisa: Only ONE pasta  
1387 Sara: Ok  
1388 I guess Christy can have it ((Sara returns to the dining room))  
1389 Lisa: Eighty-six pasta  
1390 (8)  
1391 Creme Brulee  
1392 Chet: a'ight  
1393 (16)  
1394 ((Sara returns to the kitchen))  
1395 Sara: She wanted me to double check if you really don't have enough  
1396 Lisa: I mean (.) if they're both employees, I have to go really light or  
1397 whatever  
1398 I don't have enough for both of those

1399 I have a lot of veggies  
1400 Sara: That's better ?for me  
1401 It's better for my ass  
1402 Lisa: ((Gives Sara a disapproving look))  
1403 Sara: What.  
1404 It is

Lisa constructs a gatekeeping frame in extract 20 to oppose Sara's request for two orders of pasta, a popular menu selection nearing its limits. She elicits Sara's attention by asking a known answer question, *Sara. Are both of these tables employees?* (line 1383), which functions here as a mitigation strategy. Because workers' orders are either submitted verbally or on hand-written tickets, and customers' orders are electronic and the machine is properly functioning that morning, Lisa is aware that the order is for her coworkers. The question therefore works to minimize the adverse effects of her subsequent on-record FTA of denying the request because it prepares Sara for the denial: *Because I only have one pasta // Only ONE pasta* (lines 1384, 1386). Lisa uses aggravation to reinforce her reflexive positioning as gatekeeper: she uses the pronoun *I* to indicate that she alone has control and ownership of the stock, which is actually within the purview of Dale and Clare; and she raises her volume when she repeats the quantity of pasta dishes she is willing to relinquish, *ONE*. Sara adjusts her footing to accept Lisa's frame and the interactive positioning of servers as subject to her gatekeeping: *Ok // I guess Christy can have it* (lines 1387-1388).

As a member of the community, Sara recognizes that the normative practice is to reinforce Lisa's position as an unofficial superior and herself as the subordinate via an

acceptance of Lisa's gatekeeping. However, Christy, a server at Shadow who is not a member of the kitchen's community of practice, questions Lisa's wielding of power and sends Sara as her representative: *She wanted me to double check if you really don't have enough* (line 1395). The statement serves three notable purposes. First, it supports the notion that the normative behavior is to not question Lisa's gatekeeping, as Sara attempts to distance herself from the activity by attributing it solely to Christy, *She wanted me to double-check* (line 1395)—even though it is possible that she is using Christy as her proxy. After all, if Christy denied the one plate of pasta, Sara could have simply pushed the issue and saved face: “Oh, it's totally okay! I was thinking of getting the chicken sandwich anyway.” Second, it signifies Lisa's arbitrary gatekeeping practices by questioning them with the adverbial intensifier, *if you really don't have enough* (line 1395), which suggests that Lisa is not being genuine in her withholding and has a history of that behavior. Third, it reintroduces the subject, but this time with the presumption that Lisa will relent and give the servers what they want, given their reference to her pattern of denying goods.

The questioning of Lisa's authority therefore functions as its ironic ratification: the indirection used by a bone fide member of the community indicates that Lisa's gatekeeping indexes her authority and reinforces it. It shows that in the kitchen, as with other workplaces (Holmes, 2007: 1995), “gatekeeping is not solely concentrated in the hands of those who appear most obviously to have authority over others.” Lisa “does gatekeeping” as a way of building power, but does so in a feminized fashion by balancing mitigation and aggravation strategies.

While Lisa rejoins Sara's question by maintaining the masculine strategy of denying access on the servers' exact terms, she enacts her authority with feminine accommodation strategies in her utterance, *I mean (.) if they're both employees, I have to go really light or whatever // I don't have enough for both of those* (lines 1396-1397). She uses the discourse marker, *I mean*, to initiate an explanation of her thoughts and behaviors and the hedge, *or whatever*, as an involvement strategy to include Sara in the construction of another resolutions to the dilemma.

Lisa's feminine-linked behaviors are atypical in other superiors' enactments of kitchen authority. Dale, whose proclamations are never questioned throughout data collection, constructs a masculine display of authority through aggravation strategies, such as the use of profanity and direct statements in confrontations. For example, when admonishing Maria for speaking Spanish during data collection, Dale produces an on-record bald-faced FTA (line 424): *Listen (.) we got the cameras and we got the freakin microphone so speak the fucking English do you understand?* Maria simply responds (line 433): *Okey dokey*. Indeed, Dale's expression of authority is normative in restaurant kitchens. Therefore, Lisa's combination of aggravation and mitigation strategies—such as her denial, but subsequent explanation and consolation with smaller portions and veggies, respectively—indexes an authority best described as feminine in an otherwise masculinized space.

### *Gatekeeping to Goods and Information*

As extract 20 shows how Lisa's expression of power through gatekeeping is stylistically feminine and constitutive of her otherwise unratified authority, the following five extracts show how that power is enacted more specifically. While the topical chain analyzed below comes from the beginning of the workday (approximately 11:00 a.m.), the kitchen staff nonetheless have been at work for roughly four and a half hours. Given the amount of time they have been awake and working, they are starting to get hungry; a perk of their job is to have meals provided by the restaurant. Because the kitchen is particularly busy at this time, no one has time to take a break to sit down with fork and knife to consume their lunch. Not letting such a constraint deter them, as they would presumably have little time to eat a "proper" meal during the busy workday, the dishwashers and bussers begin to eat what appears to be leftover chicken as they pass the line. It is at this point when Lisa begins to negotiate her power by managing others' access to the goods over which she has exclusive control, some benchmark activities of a gatekeeper. Extract 21 marks the beginning of the topical chain, Lisa's restriction of access, and her display of traditional masculine and feminine strategies:

#### **Extract 21**

91        Lisa:        Can ?Y'ALL stop eating the (.) damn chicken and vegetables  
92                    (.) Cause that's all we have. *((avoids eye contact and walks past them))*  
93                    (15)                    *((everyone returns to work without talking))*

Lisa forms her directive statement as a request with the modal *can*, an indirect construction which often functions to mitigate face threats, but here is combined with aggravating strategies. Brown and Levinson (1987: 135) explain that a request such as Lisa's above is an example of "conventional indirectness." Such utterances encode the clash of wants felt by interlocutors to have an utterance go on record (direct), but still indicate a desire to have gone off record (indirect, thus polite). Features such as intonational and volume rise on *y'all*, the expletive *damn*, and pause before *damn*—a notable stylistic choice for Lisa, who only swears five times during the shift—are aggravating strategies that work to invoke a confrontational frame which the other participants take up through a collective comprehension of Lisa's indirect speech act: they are to stop eating the food immediately. Authority is indexed by aggravation, *Can y'all stop eating the damn chicken and vegetables* (line 91) and the tacit reminder that she is the subordinates' primary source of information concerning the availability and quantity of goods in the kitchen, *cause that's all we have* (line 92).

Line 92 contrasts the aggravation strategy of line 91 with mitigation. By using the pronoun *we* and providing an explanation for their restricted access, she enacts an authority display which frames the speech event as egalitarian, one in which they are all jointly engaged and equally invested (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Goodwin, 1990). Lisa thus balances a traditional display of authority through aggravation strategies with an unmarked gender display achieved by what I term "layered mitigation," the combined occurrence of minor and major strategies to intensify mitigation. In doing so, Lisa enacts the supervisory identity of someone who has the power to deny access to those

desiring it, while still maintaining a traditionally feminine managerial style marked by moves to index collectivity (Kendall, 2004).

Lisa “does power” (Holmes, 1997) in the following two extracts referencing the topic of chicken by continuing to produce speech acts restricting access to the goods she unofficially controls. Her command over others’ access is a simple display of institutional power, as the quantity of goods remains relatively stable throughout the topical chain despite her shifting stance with regard to how and when others may have access. This begins in extract 22, which showcases a combination of traditional masculine strategies and an avoidance of traditional feminine strategies. At this point in the interaction, Alina has crossed over into Lisa’s work station, where the chicken storage is located. Lisa notices Alina dipping into the storage bin and inquires about Alina’s move to obtain an item that has been restricted to her:

**Extract 22**

754	Lisa:	What do you need chicken for?	
755	Alina:	For Maria	
756	Lisa:	Grilled chicken?	<i>((to Maria))</i>
757		You can't have fried chicken	
758		You get grilled chicken	
759		One grilled chicken coming up for Maria	
760	Maria:	But that's not what I want	<i>((from other end of kitchen))</i>
761	Lisa:	I don't care	
762		I'm not her babysitter	<i>((to Alina))</i>

Her interrogative, *what do you need chicken for?* (line 754) signals a hierarchical frame predicated on confrontation and status differences, as both Lisa and Alina know that, at that particular moment, chicken is not a required ingredient for any order coming from the front of the house. The frame invoked by Lisa and ratified by her subordinates when Alina answers, *for Maria* (line 755), and Maria subsequently reacts to Lisa's restriction, *but that's not what I want* (line 760), further underscore their interactive positioning as deferential supplicants to Lisa's authority. Lisa interactively positions them as subordinate and they position her as superior. Indeed, Lisa's hierarchical frame maneuvering and interactive subordinate positioning is further evinced by the fact that the chicken is, contrary to her implication, a common good in great supply.

Untranscribed data from a later shift indicates that the restaurant was in no danger of running out of chicken, even though there was no stock delivery or refresh of chicken supply from another in-house source, e.g. freezer, cooler, or stock room. Therefore, the on-record subject is chicken, but the off-record matter is Lisa's power.

I further that contention by examining Lisa's seemingly ambiguous conditions and arbitrary allowances for who gets chicken and how they get it. For example, she mitigates the FTA of complete restriction in extract 18—*stop eating the (.) damn chicken* (line 91)—with modified restriction in extract 19, *you can't have fried chicken // you get grilled chicken // one grilled chicken coming up for Maria* (lines 757-759). Hoping to clear all symbolic restrictions, Maria, the lowest ranking individual involved in the interaction framework, attempts an appeal to Lisa's pathos by feigning sadness in an authentic display of disappointment, *but that's not what I want* (line 760). As Tannen



(1993: 44) has shown, the word *but* marks the denial of an expectation not only of the preceding clause, but of an entire preceding set of statements. By phrasing her response in a way which threatens the face of her superior, Maria attempts to establish a permissive frame by indexing the arbitrary nature of Lisa's restriction. Lisa does not take up the frame offered by Maria. Rather, she controls the interactive frame by reinforcing a reflexive positioning of authority through masculine strategies, namely aggravation and a denial of traditional femininity, *I'm not her babysitter* (line 762). However, as evidenced in the remaining two extracts in this topical chain, Lisa reinstates the balance of aggravation and mitigation strategies as she negotiates the indexing of authority and marked gender displays. In extract 23, for example, Lisa openly permits access to all forms of chicken, and even goes so far as to "push it" on her interlocutors after the majority of her subordinates have requested access:

### **Extract 23**

882 Alina: ah F:uck.  
883 HUNGRY  
884 Lisa: I've gotta grilled chicken  
885 (2)  
886 ONE GRILLED chicken?  
887 They would love to eat  
  
...  
964 Lisa: Anybody want more chicken?  
965 (2)  
966 Alina: Huh?  
967 Lisa: Chicken?

968 Alina: Chicken? ((to Phil))

...

990 Lisa: THREE BURGER:  
 991 pasta  
 992 chicken  
 993 FRIED CHICKEN

994 Alina: hhhhh  
 995 take some bowls!

996 Lisa: Go in the restroom and (Spanish) ((to Maria))  
 997 Fried chicken en el baño ((pantomimes opening a door))

Alina, Lisa's closest ally in the kitchen despite status distinctions, expresses a desire for food, *ah F:uck; HUNGRY!* (Lines 882-883). In keeping with her position as gatekeeper, Lisa redresses prior FTAs by offering the most desirable form of chicken to her subordinate and thereby gives and receives face: Alina's independence is preserved because she is not controlled, a function of negative face; and Lisa's social inclusion and ability to be liked is underscored by her willingness to now grant access. This gives positive face to Lisa and functions as a display of traditional femininity, particularly the mothering behavior of offering food. Because Alina fails to achieve hearing of Lisa's offer, the latter begins to grant tender through other forms: *ONE GRILLED chicken?* (Line 886) and *anybody want chicken?* (Line 964).

Although access is what her interlocutors desired all along, Lisa's timely, albeit not externally motivated, construction of the permissive speech act signals her authority by the very arbitrary nature of her allowance. After all, she has gone from completely

disallowing the consumption of chicken in extract 18, to only allowing grilled chicken in extract 19, to finally allowing fried chicken in extract 20, where she instructs Maria (who was originally denied access to fried chicken) to invite everyone in the kitchen to join in its consumption. However, indexed by the subordinates' collective assent to the continual frame changes made by Lisa is that her management of power and goods is typically constructed in the above manner. And evinced by the willingness of the collective to defer to her unmotivated shifts is the efficacy of her reflexive positioning as gatekeeper in the management of workplace frames and the enactment of her institutional authority.

Although the interactions that have so far been considered here have been between Lisa and other women, the remaining extracts consider how Lisa maintains her professional authority and contextually salient femininity when her interlocutor is a less powerful male who appears to resist the hierarchical frames and professional positioning she interactively constructs. As will be explained further below, Lisa's traditionally feminine identity display may be considered contextually salient because it is predicated on its opposition to the display of a high number of hypermasculine language features. But for now, my analysis focuses on how Lisa controls interactional framing and subject positioning, and thus indexes her authority. In extract 24, Phil attempts to first instate an egalitarian frame in his interaction with Lisa just as he attempts to interactively position her as woman, a mainstream subordinate status, in lieu of accepting his position as an institutionally subordinate male. As Phil begins this in extract 24, however, Lisa and Dale are engaged in a discussion about the number of customers that have suddenly

entered the restaurant. Constrained by time and needing to quickly “drop” the chicken (cook it in oil), Phil attempts to get Lisa’s attention so as to gather information regarding the length of time they need to be cooked.

#### **Extract 24**

- 165 Phil: How long do you we got fried chicken? ((to Lisa))  
166 Lisa: uhh about // ( ) ]  
167 Dale: ( ) ]walkin' in  
168 Lisa: Throw them in until the rounds close ((clears throat))  
169 (board) fried  
170 Did you get too many walkin' in? ((to Dale))  
171 Phil: How long do they need to be in the pork fryer  
172 Dale: Use butter  
173 Lisa: Couple minutes  
174 (20)  
175 Lisa: Spread about the fish (°)

Even though Phil needs information that only Lisa possesses, he attempts to obtain it through the creation of an egalitarian frame in the above interaction. In doing so, he appears to resist the workplace hierarchy because he corrects *you* with *we* (line 165), thereby highlighting an assumption that he and Lisa are jointly engaged in a common endeavor and have the same inventory of knowledge and skills (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Goodwin, 1990; Kendall, 2004). Although she provides an indirect answer, *throw them in until the rounds close* (line 168), Phil needs more specific instructions on how to cook the meat. Phil chooses to phrase his request as a deflection of his lack of

knowledge through the use of the pronoun *they* (line 171), with the implicit antecedent *chicken*. Rather than phrase his request for information in a way that positions him as one-down (e.g. “How long should I put them in the pork fryer?”) or positions Lisa as one-up (e.g. “How long do you think I should drop them?”), Phil prioritizes his attempt to create an egalitarian frame by seeking information in the way he does: *How long do they need to be in the pork fryer* (line 171).

As Phil holds a lower position in the kitchen hierarchy, he, unlike Lisa, does not have the viable option of shifting the frame to one where he is positioned as powerful. That is, Lisa’s unofficial position of authority sanctions her creation of an authoritative frame and the production of a bald, on-record FTA such as an order, *spread about the fish* (line 175). Phil’s attempt to reframe the interaction as egalitarian may therefore function as an effort to subvert the hierarchical frame—thus the power— maintained by Lisa in their shared community of practice. Moreover, the example provided by Phil’s attempted frame shift may be an illustration of a phenomenon wherein low status individuals endeavor to shift hierarchical frames to more egalitarian ones in order to destabilize an institutional power structure and privilege more mainstream hierarchies. However, to enact her authority and maintain her position of power over her subordinates, Lisa must work to control the frames and positions she takes up rather than to allow her subordinates to establish the order of the interactional framework.

## Negating Interactive Subject Positioning as Sexual and Subordinate

While the above extracts have considered the ways in which Lisa controls interactive frames and enacts her professional identity by restricting access to goods, controlling workplace frames, and balancing feminine and masculine displays with a combination of aggravating and mitigating strategies, the remainder of the analysis considers how Lisa negotiates her subject positioning as both a superior and woman in light of attempts by others to position her sexually and, by extension, subordinately, as is done in extract 25.

This conversational extract picks up after Phil ends a conversation with Dale, the *chef de cuisine*, who indirectly complimented Phil's work ethic by being impressed by his subordinate's return to work the next morning after a day of butchering beef, a physically taxing, time-consuming, and dirty job. Before Phil's exchange with Dale, Lisa indirectly asked Phil to get the chicken, a function of her yelling out the order, *CHICKEN SALAD?* (line 13). However, Phil has not completed his portion of the task, so Lisa begins to do it herself:

### Extract 25

30				<i>((Lisa bends in front of Phil to</i>
31				<i>grab chicken from a cooler))</i>
32	Phil:		>WHOA/X/X<	
33			Mistake mi hijo	
34			Check the label=	
35	Lisa:		=I already did ( )	

36 (10)

37 ((Alina finishes cell call and  
38 turns back to coworkers))

39 Alina: Aweshit

40 I was like-

41 What's all of this

42 Dale: A-/X =

43 Sara: = >yes/X/X<

44 Phil: Turkey pot pie

45 Sara: Turkey pot pie?

46 Phil: ((nods))

47 (26)

48 Lisa: I'll get my own chicken //dammit]

49 ((Lisa is smiling as she walks away  
50 from Phil))

51 Phil: I was only] kidding

52 (2)

53 Lisa: I know

54 But I'd rather like

55 Be here

56 (7)

57 Phil: You can borrow my chicken any time// hh]

58 Lisa: I had] my own already ready.

59 I just-

60 (6)

61 My food wasn't ready

Having just received positive face from the most senior authority in the kitchen that day via an endorsement of his masculinity, Phil is emboldened to interactively position Lisa in lines 32 to 34 as “the corrected” by indicating that she has made a mistake:

>Whoa/X/X< // *Mistake mi hijo* // *Check the label*. To aggravate his utterance, he positions her as diminutive Hispanic person over whom he somehow has possessive rights: “*mi hijo*” (sic) (trans. “my son”). Phil thus invokes the presumption (Perelmen Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1969), or expectation, that his gender and ethnicity carry a master-status, so he accordingly frames his deliberation with Lisa after summoning this cultural expectation as one where he is positioned with the upper-hand.

Understanding that Phil is attempting to place her in a one-down, culturally subordinate position, she jockeys for control of the frame: *I already did* (line 35), *I'll get my own chicken, dammit* (line 48). She mitigates her criticism of Phil's failure to fulfill his job description through the masculine strategies of sarcasm and expletives and invokes a humor frame that Phil takes up. Phil attempts to create a hierarchical frame by invoking the status accorded to him in mainstream culture by his simply being a white male (Crawford, 1995) while concomitantly trying to reposition his superior as a sexual female, his cultural subordinate, by using a sexual metaphor in the suggestion that Lisa can borrow his “chicken” any time (line 57).

He instigates a reframe by invoking the sexualized banter presumed as acceptable in the kitchen setting: *you can borrow my chicken anytime* (line 57). Nevertheless, the final utterances by Lisa indicate that she will neither take up the sexual humor frame nor accept the alignment Phil is taking up to her: a sexual male and female, rather than a superior and subordinate. Instead, Lisa deflects the traditional sexualized female position, *I had my own already ready* (line 58). That she already had chicken is doubtful, given her earlier reprimand of Phil and the way she concludes the interaction by



underscoring his position as an incompetent employee who failed to get the chicken Lisa originally expected of him: *my food wasn't ready* (line 61).

Rather than having the exchange be framed as a sexual interaction— again, a common way to construct humor in Shadow's kitchen—Lisa chooses to reframe the interaction as a desexualized speech event in which the presumption of the master status of ethnicity and sex is inverted by the institutional hierarchy, one in which Lisa is not simply presumed effective and capable, but in control. Indeed, the same may be said of what occurs in the following two extracts.

The conversation extracted below picks up shortly after Lisa permits Maria to have grilled chicken, but not fried (see extract 22). Lisa maintains the hierarchical frame established in that earlier exchange by turning her attention to Phil, who she directly reprimands in the following strip of talk for failing to effectively perform his job.

### **Extract 26**

764 Phil: I didn't even know I had fried chicken until I looked up there  
765 //Nobody told me]  
766 Alina: You got like two] of 'em  
767 Oh it's the same thing  
768 Phil: Nobody told me shit  
769 Alina: Well you got the next ticket baby ((*leans on workstation bending*  
770 *toward him*))  
771 Phil: <Nah/X/X>  
772 Lisa: Well if you stay in the line ((*Lisa and Alina flank Phil,*  
773 *both*  
774 *leaning toward him*))  
775 (2)

776 Phil: We got this girl down here to tell us //things]  
777 Lisa: You stand] in line and you (.)  
778 listen  
779 then I wouldn't have to say it twice  
780 I said two chicken wings=  
781 Phil: =I was minding my own business  
782 Chet: Bear claw  
783 Dale: Oh wow  
784 Alina: They come back with them tickets  
785 (2)  
786 What-EVerr ((walking away))  
787 Phil: I need a secretary  
...  
819 Phil: Chicken's almost ready  
820 Hey Lisa the chicken's almost ready  
821 Lisa: Huh?  
822 Phil: The chicken's almost ready  
823 Lisa: That's ready ((pointing to stove, looking at Dale))

The extract above is another instance where Lisa constructs a demeanor of authority and positions Phil as a subordinate who is subject to her disciplining. Here again, Phil counters her strategies by resisting her hierarchical frame and professional positioning by attempts to appropriate the symbolic power aligned to his ethnicity and sex class: he suggests that he needs a secretary (line 785), a female-linked occupation; though it is unclear if he honestly presumes Lisa or Alina will fulfil this role. Rather, it appears that his utterance is to mitigate the face attack he has just sustained by his female interlocutors.

The perceived face attack begins after Phil repeats twice that he was not informed of his task: *Nobody told me* (line 767) and *Nobody told me shit* (line 770). Rejecting the victimization frame that Phil attempts to construct around the event, Alina coolly explains the protocol for orders coming through by reframing their work as collaborative: *Well you got the next ticket baby* (line 771). She leans in to him, lowers her voice, and uses the contextually affiliative diminutive, *baby*, as mitigation strategies that give face to Phil. However, Phil commits the FTA of rejecting her alignment and attempt to reframe the event, which is evidenced by his protracted negation, *<Nah/nah/nah>* (line 773). A slow repetition of a negation such as Phil's encodes both a denial of the previous utterance (Alina's reframe) and sends the metamessage that her perception is grounded in faulty logic.

At this point, Lisa enters the conversational alignment in an effort to terminate Phil's framing of the event. She begins with a contextually feminine mitigation strategy to position Phil as someone who brought the situation on himself by failing to effectively

perform his job: *Well if you stay in the line* (line 774). Her utterance is indirect; it gives negative face to Phil by allowing him to retain autonomy and make a decision to stay in the line if he chooses to. Her politeness strategy is an ineffective reprimand, however, since Phil builds his case by shifting his footing to Alina in an effort to collaboratively diminish Lisa's authority. He uses the inclusive pronouns, *we* and *us*, in his rejoinder, *We got this girl down here to tell us // things* (line 777) to enact a conversational alignment with Alina, and underscore his perception of Lisa's misalignment with both of them. Her alleged misalignment is indexed by deixis, *this girl down here*, a contextualization cue that refers to the informal hierarchy mandated by Shadow's structure and practice and suggests that Lisa is apart from the two of them. Phil works to frame Lisa's demeanor of authority as ineffective, since she failed to adhere to the practice of keeping him informed. In so doing, he aggravates the situation more by minimizing her institutional status with the diminutivizing, *girl*, and attempts to appropriate the power of his white male master status to the institutional hierarchy by interactively positioning Lisa as subordinate.

However, Lisa negates his interactive subject positioning—one of her signature strategies for indexing power in the kitchen. She takes the conversational floor from Phil and abandons her feminine-linked mitigation strategies, overlapping his statement with an on-record FTA: *You stand] in line and you (.) listen // then I wouldn't have to say it twice // I said two chicken wings=* (lines 776-778). She strategically violates the negative face needs of her male interlocutor by limiting his options: he is only permitted to stand

at his workstation and listen for (her) orders. Lisa mandates the framing of the event as one in which it is not she who is ineffective, but her institutional subordinate Phil.

Even though Phil closes the exchange by latching to Lisa's statement with a reassertion of his autonomy, (line 781) *I was minding my own business*, it is nonetheless clear that he surrendered to the frame constructed by Lisa. He gets back to work cooking the chickens, and shortly thereafter repeatedly signifies their completion: (Lines 819, 820, 822) *Chicken's almost ready // Hey Lisa the chicken's almost ready // The chicken's almost ready*. Maintaining her demeanor of authority with a masculine display of aggravation, Lisa avoids eye contact with Phil and instead directs her gaze to Dale as she confirms receipt of Phil's message with Dale as the ratified listener and Phil as the unrated, (line 823) *That's ready*. Knowing that Dale was within earshot of Phil's utterances, just as Phil, too, knew their superior was in hearing range, Lisa's reiteration of his message functions as a subordination strategy. It frames the event as one in which Lisa is empowered as the information liaison to the chef and Phil simply is not.

As evidenced by the strip of talk above, and, most certainly by the extracts examining gatekeeping behaviors, the line is a place where individuals symbolically jockey for power, positioning each other as subordinate on institutional or mainstream lines. Phil seeks to garner power by appealing to his identity as a white male; and Lisa indexes her status by negating interactive subject positionings and limiting others' access to goods and information.

In the following conversational extract, Alina indexes her rightful place in the kitchen by gathering masculine-linked symbolic capital, though at the expense of her

female co-worker Lisa. Here, their strategies for constructing their individual workplace identities intersect in a common scene enacted by this trio: Alina and Phil take up alignments to one another to jocularly position Lisa as a subordinate to Phil along sexual lines. The extract picks up after a long strip of conversational silence, which, when it occurs, is often broken by humor strategies. Therefore, Alina introduces the sexual humor frame by joking that Phil has not followed Dale's instructions for behavior during the days of data collection. Phil takes up the humor frame while Alina works to strategically involve Lisa. Alina's involvement of Lisa is a camaraderie strategy for the former, and an appeal to the positive face needs of both women. But in a case of pragmatic homonymy (Tannen, 1984), or ambiguity, the latter views the strategy as face attack that she must quickly mitigate in order to further enact her professional and feminine identities:

### **Extract 27**

827 Alina: Don't touch- ((to Phil))  
828 Don't touch nothing he said  
829 (2)  
830 I saw you grab your balls  
831 Phil: I DIDN'T grab my balls  
832 (2)  
833 You can grab them if you want  
834 Alina: Ut-ugh  
835 You can grab them ((to Lisa))  
836 Lisa: That's gross  
837 Phil: Your hands aren't big enough for my balls ((to Lisa))  
838 Alina: I bet her mouth is HHH

839 (2)

840 Phil: Uh- nah not really *((studies Lisa))*

841 Open up wide

842 Let me see //hhh]

843 Alina: hhh]

844 Lisa: Sorry it's yours that I'm not interested in

845 Alina: That's what I'M thinking about

846 (5)

847 MARIA *((yells to the ceiling))*

848 What do you want //MARIA::!] *((turns back around and rests*

849 *her chin on a ledge. Looks at Lisa))*

850 Lisa: Whether they] do or don't?

851 >I don't want them<

852 Phil: They're slippery enough they'll fit.=

853 Lisa: =Alina. that's Alina

854 She wants them

855 Alina: Sh:: what'm I do with them?

856 Lisa: She told me whenever you walk by:: and rub up against her?

857 She likes that

858 Alina: //HHHH] *((bends over laughing hysterically))*

859 Phil: hhhhh]

860 Lisa: She LIKES it

861 Whether she tells you she does or not

862 Phil: Is that fucking true Alina?

863 Alina: I didn't tell her that *((feigns shock))*

864 it's a lie

865 Phil: //I know that's true Alina]

866 Lisa: she called me on the PHONE and] told me that

867 Phil: *((grabs Alina's shoulders, pushes his*

868 *groin into her three times))*

Lisa saves face and prolongs her use of feminine strategies by rejecting their sexual positioning and minimizing engagement in their sexual banter. However, complementary schismogenesis, the phenomenon in which one person's style drives the other into increasingly exaggerated forms of the opposing behavior (Bateson, 1972), occurs when Lisa's increasing attempts to reclaim control of the frame and desexualize the interaction are met by even more sexualized dialogue and imagery. After Lisa fails to reclaim control with feminine strategies, she uses masculine strategies to retrieve command of the frame and deflect her unwanted sexual attention in a way which sexually positions another female.

For example, both Alina and Phil work to position Lisa as a sexually subordinate female in the above strip of talk. Nevertheless, Lisa's subordinates appear to do this for differing reasons. Alina positions Lisa as such at the outset when trying to instigate a contextually appropriate humor frame which includes all participants, *you can grab them* (line 883). However, after Lisa says with flat intonation and seriousness, *sorry it's yours I'm not interested in* (line 884), Alina perceives that the head line cook is uninterested in engaging the sexual humor frame as the recipient of sexual positioning and accordingly shifts her alignment from Phil to Lisa by agreeing with Lisa's assessment of Phil's desirability: *that's what I'm thinking about* (line 845). Alina shifts her footing to demonstrate that she identifies no longer with Phil in the exchange, but with Lisa: the prospect of sexual relations with Phil is unappealing. Contrarily, Phil attempts to retain the sexual positioning of Lisa, and, by extension, the enervation of her professional identity as his institutional superior by drawing on mainstream status differences. He



works to maintain this footing even after his collaborator, Alina, has abandoned her alignment with him, *they're slippery enough they'll fit* (line 852).

As stated above, it is at this point when Lisa shifts her interactional approach by deflecting sexual attention from herself onto Alina, and thus invoking masculine strategies, *that's Alina; she wants them* (lines 853-854). Alina correspondingly takes up the sexual position created by Lisa by neither negating her superior's claim, nor dismantling it with a closed response, such as "No, I don't." Rather, Alina reacts with an open-ended interrogative which invites Lisa to elaborate, *sh:: what am I do with em?* (line 855). Because Alina takes up the sexual position attributed to Lisa at the outset of the exchange, Lisa is able to refocus her illocutionary efforts on reinstating her desexualized professional identity, which nonetheless comes with masculine indexicals. Phil and Alina thus take up the confessionary frame instilled by Lisa regarding Alina, *she told me that whenever you walk by::// and rub up against her?// she likes that* (lines 856-857). By rejecting the sexual positioning of others in the kitchen culture, Lisa is able to both enact her professional authority through the resistance of the interactive positioning of others and the attempts of others to control workplace frames, just as she is able to display a contextually appropriate display of traditional femininity, though not void of some marked masculine strategies.

## Conclusion

The above analysis examined nine conversational extracts to illumine the demeanor of authority constructed by Lisa, the first-shift head line cook at Shadow. I showed that Lisa manages workplace frames, subject positionings, mitigating and aggravation strategies, and feminine and masculine speech varieties to construct a contextually feminine demeanor of authority, most obviously through gatekeeping maneuvers and deflections of the efforts of her interlocutors to position her subordinately or sexually. This case study suggests that Lisa may have the assertive managerial style indexical of masculinity; however, she nevertheless creates a strong femininity display relative to the normative femininity of kitchen culture.

The usual femininity display in the kitchen is an analogue to the masculine identity display, which is advocated for women working in kitchens by Fine (1987) and Lynch (2010). Alina's femininity may be described in precisely this way, since she garners symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1977; Eckert, 1995) within the kitchen by frequently initiating sexual, "off color" humor, and employing profanity for expressive emphasis and description. For example, in the seven hours of dialogue from which the excerpts for this dissertation were taken, Alina produced more than ten times more profanity than Lisa and four times more profanity than Dawn, who also took up the femininity display advocated by past researchers of kitchen culture. Furthermore, the number of times Alina instigated one hundred percent of the female-initiated sexual topics and sexual

humor, and generated an amount more than five times that of any male speaker. Lisa, however, does not initiate any of these discourse patterns.

Indeed, although her conversational style is neither particularly supportive nor “other oriented,” characteristics of traditionally feminine demeanors of authority, Lisa relatively *seldom* engages the “hypermasculine” linguistic strategies constitutive of the discourse of deviance. So, she is perceived as rather feminine, given the context. On the rare occasion she swears, she produces mild profanity; and she never instigates nor encourages interactive sexual positioning and talk of substance use. She does not pretend to be immune to the challenges of her job, since she explains to Dale at one point that she is “stressing” (line 402) and his advice is to simply “get over it” (line 403). However, she does not share these vulnerabilities with her peers on the line, so she is perceived as in control.

All of the above features of Lisa’s workplace behavior index within kitchen culture a feminine identity display that is contextually “traditional,” but also institutionally authoritative. She does not enact a contextually normative authority display predicated on masculine-linked aggravation, but rather turns to such strategies if her feminine-linked strategies appear to not work in the conversational exchange. In so doing, she works hard to balance a variety of mitigation and aggravation strategies, buffering any of her masculine displays with feminine-linked strategies. Concomitantly, she rejects and reframes any workplace alignments that denigratively position her enactment of authority, interactively positioning her interlocutors as subordinate to maintain that demeanor. These are all maneuvers that enable her to most effectively

control how she is perceived by her others. And that perception, as I have demonstrated above, is that Lisa is a vital member of the community of practice who wields power that is not formally attributed to her. She is included in social interactions because of her likeability and willingness to engage in some forms of workplace play; but she is followed because her authority is ultimately respected. Therefore, Lisa is a woman who, in the hypermasculine culture of Shadow's kitchen, is capable of managing the double bind that so often limits women's inroads to traditionally masculine occupations.

## CHAPTER VII

### CONCLUSION

I have shown in this study how one community of practice extant in a restaurant kitchen linguistically creates a hypermasculine workplace culture. I presented an interpretive discourse analysis of the exchanges occurring between participants across a workday shift, which were deconstructed using the methods of interactional sociolinguistics. This dual-approach to discourse permitted a macro- and micro-level analysis, illuminating turn-by-turn conversational transactions and general thematic content invoked, created, and reinforced because of those turns. I then delivered a more pointed interactional sociolinguistic frame analysis to unveil the discourse strategies employed by Lisa, a head line cook, to show that she creates a gendered demeanor of authority in the workplace to effectively manage the double bind of being perceived as feminine and professionally authoritative.

Wenger et al. (2002) explain that a group of affiliates may be considered a community of practice if they have an interest in a shared domain, or the minimal amount of common knowledge accessible by members, as well as a common repertoire of behavior that, when enacted repeatedly over time, creates community. I find that “domain” is limited to local and social knowledge if it is conceptualized as “the minimal competence that differentiates members from non-members community” (Li et al., 2009: 6). I therefore advance a reconceptualization of “domain” in the workplace as not a distinct, minimal competence, but instead as a spectrum. Li et al. (2009) note that

interpretations of the community of practice model vary across disciplines and that Wenger's community of practice concept has evolved as a result of that variance. My conceptualization of the model may prove valuable to other researchers looking to account for institutional structure while maintaining a more inclusive notion of "community." I suggest that the first element of a community of practice model allows scholars to account for institutional status.

Where a member of the community of practice is situated on that spectrum is commensurate with their institutional status: higher status members have *higher-domain* knowledge, the knowledge aligned to a titular industry under which the community operates, as well as *lower-domain* knowledge, fluency with the social goings-on and workplace methods or resources of their specific locale. Lower ranking members of the community are often limited to the lower-domain. In viewing domain as a spectrum, one is able to account for structural features of the institution and speak more specifically about the types of contributions made by a greater variety of members. Future research might consider the social or workplace capital garnered by various "qualities of knowledge," or the value placed on types of knowledge, be it relevant to the community socially, industrially, or both. Also, it may be valuable to consider whether the type of knowledge, and who wields that knowledge in workplace talk, is similar in other workplaces. I concede that it is likely that superiors in other workplaces do not have as strong of a handling on local social happenings as the higher status cooks and chefs in Shadow's kitchen; similarly, lower-ranking individuals elsewhere may have more grasp of higher domain knowledge than those working in the present research venue.

I consider in the present study how Shadow may be described as a hypermasculine workplace by focusing kitchen workers' use of a common repertoire of resources, their "experiences, stories, tools, [and] ways of addressing recurring problems" (Wenger, 1998: par. 13). This repertoire is best described as the discourse strategies at play in the kitchen, which include an industrial jargon, frequent use of singing for humor, and the occurrence of several parallel conversations during times of talk. More salient, however, are the features that comprise the identified and named discourses "spotted" in the data: the *Discourse of Disadvantage* and the *Discourse of Deviance*. I find that these discourses, or ways of seeing the world (Fairclough, 2001), organize the linguistic contributions of members of the community of practice throughout the workday shift and may illumine the class-based anxieties of its male members.

I show that the discourse of disadvantage is constructed in the kitchen with talk of money and exploitation. I suggest that these themes are generally linked to working-class men who lack the financial capital aligned with contemporary productions of hegemonic masculinity, so they create symbolic capital when they produce the hypermasculine strategies linked to restaurant kitchen work. These strategies, I argue, construct the discourse of deviance, a description that means to showcase their conscious and unconscious rebellion from the workplace norms expected by mainstream social establishments. Ehrlich and Levesque (2012: 273-274) explain that "the precise ways in which masculine identities are constituted...[or] produced as dominant [or] subdominant [is] influenced to a great extent by the local discourse content." During the studied shift,

hypermasculine strategies included the instigation of conversations about controlled and illegal substances; overlooking injuries to one's self and others on the job with verbal reprimands or ignoring on-record expressions of pain and discomfort; a high level of dirty profanity; and the production of humor frames with talk of aggression-potential and references to the sexual and subordinate position of their female coworkers.

As a progression on my analysis of dominant discourses to emerge from kitchen talk, I consider Lisa's negotiation of the masculine-linked workplace culture in Shadow's kitchen. I show that Lisa successfully manages the fragile ground of indexing femininity and leadership in the hypermasculine restaurant kitchen by creating a gendered demeanor of authority. Lisa accomplishes this by strategically maneuvering workplace frames, subject positionings, mitigation and aggravation strategies, and feminine and masculine speech varieties, all while enacting an identity as institutional gatekeeper and desexualized coworker.

I find that, although she does not have the traditionally feminine demeanor of authority that one would discover in a white-collar workplace, Lisa's gendered authority display may be described as "contextually feminine," or feminine because of its enactment in a hypermasculine context. She rarely uses the discourse features linked to the construction of the discourse of deviance; her profanity is limited to mild words; and she actively works to dismantle any workplace frames that position her as sexual or subordinate to her male coworkers. Contrarily, her female interlocutors, Alina and Dawn, who become Lisa's female models for comparison and differentiation, very often do take up masculine-linked patterns associated with their workplace, as well as accept



and, in some cases, instigate reflexive sexual subject positioning. Lisa's behavior therefore indexes within kitchen culture a feminine identity display that is contextually "traditional," but also institutionally authoritative. She uses feminine-linked authority strategies at the outset of her conversational exchanges, enacting the face-saving behavior expected of her sex-class. However, she is not averse to using masculine-linked aggravation strategies to construct a demeanor of authority that is more unilateral, and traditional in the workplace, instead of the bilateral demeanor of authority more often drawn upon by women in positions of workplace authority (Kendall, 1999: 215). If that demeanor is challenged in some way, Lisa makes a strong effort to interactively position her interlocutors as subordinate, rejecting and reframing those workplace alignments that seek to denigratively position her ability to control the situation and self.

When Lisa's femininity is coupled with others' impressions of her effective and professional workplace identity, it becomes clear that the double bind of appearing both a "good woman and good professional" is not an unmanageable constraint on women's ability to progress in their hypermasculine workplaces: Lisa was promoted to the position of *sous chef* shortly after data collection because she was perceived by her coworkers and institutional superiors to be both likeable and effective in her job.<sup>13</sup> During the informal interview that took place after my official data collection, Lisa mentioned that she had been doing the work of a *sous chef* since she became the morning shift's line leader; so it "made sense to [her]" that she would be given the

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<sup>13</sup> I am reliant upon contextualization cues to indicate that Lisa was liked and perceived as effective in her workplace. A more traditional interactional sociolinguistic study would have shared the findings with the participants and asked for their feedback.

position. And it “makes sense” to researchers of gender and language scholars, too: In her study of women and men in the workplace, Tannen (1994a) finds that promotions do, in fact, tend to go to people who act as though they already have the higher-level position.

I also find that the saliency of working-class styles of masculinity in a particular workforce may influence perceptions of femininity and authority displays. When the men enact a hypermasculine identity in Shadow’s kitchen, they communally situate themselves on the extreme end of the gender performance continuum, the imagined range of possible gender performances by the sexes. Where Lisa is situated on that continuum may not be “traditionally feminine,” if one were to compare her gender performance to women working in white collar venues. There, women are rarely asked to do heavy lifting and debone animal carcasses, activities historically linked to the male sex-class; there, women may index their sex-class through feminine clothing and accessories, all of which are effectively banned in a professional kitchen that requires a gender neutral uniform of flame-retardant material and food-protective headwear. However, Lisa may be said to be “contextually feminine” because of the extreme masculinity display enacted linguistically in the context of Shadow’s kitchen.

The present study has considered working-class masculinity over an overt discussion of working-class femininities because of the historical impact of hypermasculinity on restaurant culture. I wanted to give a scholarly account of restaurant discourse more holistically, and that required a central focus on the interaction patterns

and linguistic features more commonly linked to men. However, my study is situated in discussions of working-class femininity, as well. Researchers who have looked at working-class femininity have noted that it is fractured along regional, racial, and ethnic lines (Stevenson and Ellsworth, 1993). A working-class woman in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania may look and sound nothing like Lisa, a first-generation Mexican-American woman enculturated in Houston, TX. Therefore, speaking of “working-class” behavior in essentializing terms is as inaccurate as speaking of gender in totalizing ways. Rather, it is the “language and forms of discourse used by different groups in different contexts that unveils the impact of social and material location on individual subjectivities and interpersonal relationships” (Brown, 1997: 685). Sociologist Signithia Fordham (1993: 8) explains, “in a socially, culturally, and racially stratified society like the United States, culturally specific routes to womanhood are inevitable.” Enacting a femininity that is recognized as “traditional” in the restaurant kitchen is regionally, racially, and contextually bound.

Lisa’s particular variety of femininity may not be considered traditionally feminine in workforces that limit and attribute no prestige to overtly masculine identity displays, as is done in *Shadow*. I suggest, therefore, that futures studies consider the range of “permissible” masculinity and femininity displays, since a wider variety of indexicals appear to inform whether or not a woman will be perceived as feminine in the hypermasculine workplace. For example, profanity and its types are ascribed gendered meaning in contexts only where swearing happens; sexual humor can be used to index gender only if sexual humor is a form of humor that is created in that context; goading

one's coworkers to commit acts of aggression can only be used as a marker of masculine performance if such exchanges are given the occasion to emerge in the community of practice. Therefore, I am wont to suggest that more work needs to be done in sociolinguistics to uncover the range of gendered behaviors within a greater variety of contexts.

Indeed, the need for investigations of traditional gender constructions in communities of practice has long-been considered essential, as evidenced by Crawford (1997: 44): "To understand how gender relations are played out in talk, we would need to analyze talk within its local context (i.e. the relative power and status of each participant, [and] the status of gender in the situation)." In their discussion of gender in communities of practice, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992:473) argue a similar point regarding gender in communities of practice: "The relation between gender and language resides in the modes of participation available to various individuals within various communities of practice as a direct or indirect function of gender." That is, speakers create ways of speaking within their communities of practice; how they enact their identities within the community is partially determined by other categories of social identity such as ethnicity, social position, sexuality, and geography (Lazar, 2005; McElhinny, 1995). Although I did not approach the interactions happening across the workday shift from an intersectional perspective considering race, immigrant status, and sexuality, for example, I am obliged to acknowledge the importance of the intersectionality of participants' identities and the potential of those identities' emergence and constitution, in part, through workplace discourse. I presume that Lisa's

status as a married woman, bilingual Latina, and mother influence her linguistic output and enactment of institutional identity. A study exclusively concerned with Lisa would have been able to illumine those intersections, so this is quite likely a limitation of the present study. However, the present study was able to privilege the collective identity of the community of practice, which necessitated a consideration of masculine and feminine-linked behaviors.

Nevertheless, the study of language and gender has shifted from a comparative framework in which the goal is to identify the linguistic differences between men and women, to instead privilege an approach that is founded upon the details of the context, including variation within individual and across gender categories (Bucholtz, 1999). This is not to say that some linguistic behaviors lose the appellation of being sex-class linked. Kendall (1999: 216) explains:

Gendered linguistic resources, such as smiling or ritual insulting, may be used by either women or men, but the “unmarked” gendered meaning does not dissipate; instead, it delineates different “kinds” of women and different “kinds” of men. If a man uses linguistic options associated with women, he will not be perceived as a woman, but as an effeminate man.

The “kinds” of men at work in the kitchen (not all) tend to use hypermasculine linguistic patterns that have become limited through legislation in mainstream workplaces. For example, the often female-directed “sexual humor” of the kitchen is plainly described in white-collar workforces as “sexual harassment” or discrimination violating Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The local culture of many white collar workforces simply

does not allow it. Meanwhile, in the culture of haute cuisine, sexual- and female-directed “humor” is common and locally polysemous—humorous to some; harassment to others. However, female-directed humor across restaurant kitchens is increasingly being reported. Although women working in the restaurant industry only comprise 7 percent of working women, they account for nearly 37 percent the sexual harassment charges being filed by women with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (Restaurant Opportunities Centers United [ROC], 2012). That is a figure “more than 5 times the rate for the general female workforce” (ROC United, 2012: para 9).

Culturally sanctioned indices of masculinity in middle-class or white-collar workforces are thus different from those that are “unofficially permitted” in kitchen culture and, potentially, other male-dominated working-class occupations. Given the larger arsenal of behaviors available to men in the kitchen—a general locale that does not appear to be changing its masculine-linked ways any time soon— a woman may be seen as traditionally feminine even if she does not display *all* of the characteristics of such a gendered performance. Perceptions of her femininity may be bolstered by the differential created when it is placed in opposition to perceived workplace masculine performances.

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## APPENDIX I

### TRANSCRIPT CONVENTIONS

?	Marked rising shifts in intonation immediately after the rise
.	Marked lowering shifts in intonation immediately after the fall
,	Slight lowering of intonation
:	Extension of the sound or syllable preceding the mark.
!	Exclamation point indicates an animated tone
--	Indicates a halting, abrupt cutoff or self-interruption
((     ))	Indicates details of the conversational scene, including extralinguistic features
> <	The utterance between the “less than” signs is delivered at a pace quicker than the surrounding talk.
(words)	Items enclosed within single parentheses are in doubt.
(     )	When single parentheses are empty, no hearing could be achieved for the string of talk or item in question.
(.)	Indicates a brief pause
(#)	Indicates the length of a pause in seconds
CAPS the	Indicates that an utterance, or part thereof, is spoken louder than the surrounding talk.
= the	Latching. When there is no interval between adjacent utterances, utterances are linked together with equal signs
hhh	Indicates laughing
...	Elliptical speech

Words //words]  
words]

Square brackets indicate simultaneous speech. The overlapping talk is aligned vertically with double slashes in S1 utterance marking the onset of S2 overlap.

Word/X/X

A phrase or word followed by /X indicates that the word was repeated. The number of occurrences of /X is the number of times the phrase or word was repeated.

“Words”

Quotation marks enclose “direct quotations” (constructed dialogue)

All names used in examples are pseudonyms.

APPENDIX II

TRANSCRIPT

1 Alina: Take some bowls!. TAKE SOME BOWLS //(hhh)]  
2 Lisa: quiche?] Chicken salad  
3 Phil: Take some bowls what.  
4 Alina: Ugh° (( Nods ))  
5 (2)  
6 Lisa: It's hard to be ourselves when somebody's watching=  
7 Dale: =WHATever  
8 ?You've been VIDEotaped // before]  
9 Phil clothes ]come off  
10 Dicks start fly-  
11 Alina: (hhh)  
12 Dale: Little VIXON  
13 Lisa: CHICKEN SALAD?  
14 PRIME RIB?=  
15 Phil: = Oh fuck that  
16 Dale: HEY  
17 Phil: ((Smiles))  
18 (11)  
19 Dale: Yeah  
20 That's a hard thing to say  
21 Lisa: TUNA FISH  
22 Phil: Bullshit!  
23 I don't want to get my hands dirty?  
24 I don't know how many I had to do yesterday  
25 Dale: I don't know how many I had to do //yesterday]  
26 Phil: I had] about 5 or 6=  
27 Dale: =WOW  
28 Phil: hhh  
29 Dale: And you don't have to take the day off?  
30 ((Lisa bends in front of Phil to  
31 grab chicken from a cooler))  
32 Phil: >WHOA/X/X<  
33 Mistake mi hijo  
34 Check the label=  
35 Lisa: =I already did ( )  
36 (10)  
37 ((Alina finishes cell call and  
38 turns back to coworkers))  
39 Alina: Aweshit  
40 I was like-  
41 What's all of this  
42 Dale: A-/X =

43 Sara: = >yes/X/X<  
44 Phil: Turkey pot pie  
45 Sara: Turkey pot pie?  
46 Phil: *((nods))*  
47 (26)  
48 Lisa: I'll get my own chicken //dammit]  
49 *((Lisa is smiling as she walks away from Phil))*  
50  
51 Phil: I was only] kidding  
52 (2)  
53 Lisa: I know  
54 But I'd rather like  
55 Be here  
56 (7)  
57 Phil: You can borrow my chicken any time// hh]  
58 Lisa: I had] my own already ready.  
59 I just-  
60 (6)  
61 My food wasn't ready  
62 Phil: Greek salad *((watching Alina make a salad))*  
63  
64 (24) *((Cooks resume worki on their own projects))*  
65  
66 Lisa: You didn't go to the party?  
67 Alina: That's what I'm saying  
68 Lisa: ? You know that I didn't want it to become a problem  
69 That's what it is (.  
70 And they KNEW I was going to get there and chew 'em out  
71 Somebody you know? ( )  
72 The kids aren't happy I don't apologize for that  
73 (11)  
74 I knew there were kids there but I need  
75 I chose not to have a lot of kids there  
76 (11)  
77 I mean  
78 they're people playing pool and sitting on their asses and=  
79 Alina: = ( )=  
80 Lisa: =nothing mattered there  
81 Alina: Yeah it does  
82 It does matter //>when they ain't payin<]  
83 Lisa: <yeah but I was>]  
84 My brother was taking my car until about 8 pm  
85 If I was going to go it was going to be after that.  
86 (2 min)  
87 Phil: Oh: I tell you my fuckin *((to Lisa))*  
88 Corn beef tortilla an-  
89 Maria: plato chique  
90 Tito: (Spanish)

91 Lisa: Can y'all stop eating the damn chicken and vegetables  
 92 Cause that's all we have. *((avoids eye contact and walks past them))*  
 93 (15) *((everyone returns to work without talking))*  
 94 Lisa: Two BLTs=  
 95 Phil: =OH::  
 96 You're KILLING ME  
 97 (14)  
 98 Dale: You are going to forty-five *((to Sara))*  
 99 Be sure it's chicken salad for three.  
 100 Thank you:  
 101 Phil: God I hate the communists who ordered the two BLTs at the same time  
 102 (36)  
 103 Lisa: I think it'll go now  
 104 Forty-three?  
 105 Greek salad and a dip  
 106 A Greek salad  
 107 Sara: Where are the ( )  
 108 Phil: Clara has 'em=  
 109 Sara: =Clara?  
 110 Phil: They're going out today  
 111 Maria: (Spanish)  
 112 Tito: (Spanish)  
 113 Alina: taping? *((beckoning motion to Dale))*  
 114 Dale: Yes, Alina Larsen?  
 115 Alina: hh I'm gonna go over to that fucking board and sign your name Joe  
 116 Smith  
 117 Dale: Ah:!  
 118 Alina: Hey Bitch!  
 119 Give me your number  
 120 Dale: She was going to anyways I'm sure  
 121 Alina: hhh  
 122 Phil: Not now THOUGH hhh *((points to Alina))*  
 123 *((everyone laughs))*  
 124 Once she watches this video *((bends over laughing and pointing*  
 125 *at Alina))*  
 126 hhhh  
 127 (30)  
 128 Dale: The camera's not even focused on the right person  
 129 Lovely  
 130 Alright  
 131 No going to the nose or the butt or the crotch for a couple days  
 132 Lisa: We're being taped for a couple days?  
 133 Dale: Today and tomorrow  
 134 Lisa: Oh:: I can't wait to read the things she has to say  
 135 Phil: //I] I was wondering how much we could get for the camera at the pawn  
 136 shop  
 137 Dale: uh]  
 138 Dale: You're not going to take this? *((shows Lisa plated food))*

139 Lisa: I can't do four  
 140 Dale: That's good  
 141 That you're right  
 142 (2 min)  
 143 Phil: I don't know if I can handle two days of this stuff *((to Alina))*  
 144 Alina: hh  
 145 it'll be alright  
 146 (3 min) *((Maria throws something at Phil and he laughs))*  
 147  
 148 (1.5 min)  
 149 *((Maria and Alina convene around trash bin))*  
 150  
 151 Dale: You got some air flow going over there?  
 152 Lisa: Yeah finally  
 153 (20)  
 154 Lisa: Dale.  
 155 Dale: Yeah  
 156 Lisa: When you get upset tomorrow night do not throw the camera  
 157 Dale: Alright I'm ah (.) *((Smirking and frowning brow))*  
 158 I'm gonna do it  
 159 I'm gonna break the camera  
 160 Lisa: hh  
 161 Don't do //anything] ( ) that little ( ) right there  
 162 Dale: ( ) ]  
 163 They'll pay me money for my presentation  
 164 (6)  
 165 Phil: How long do you we got fried chicken?*((to Lisa))*  
 166 Lisa: uhh about // ( ) ]  
 167 Dale: ( ) ]walkin' in  
 168 Lisa: Throw them in until the rounds close *((clears throat))*  
 169 (board) fried  
 170 Did you get too many walkin' in? *((to Dale))*  
 171 Phil: How long do they need to be in the pork fryer  
 172 Dale: Use butter  
 173 Lisa: Couple minutes  
 174 (20)  
 175 Lisa: Spread about the fish (°)  
 176 (15)  
 177 Dale: Clara?  
 178 Lisa: Anybody have any sundried tomatoes right there? *((goes to get sundried tomatoes))*  
 179  
 180 Phil: huh?  
 181 (3)  
 182 Dale: Whatever  
 183 Sara: Hey what are grits?  
 184 What are grits made out of?  
 185 Dale: Corn=  
 186 Sara: =it's corn? *((turns to leave))*

187 Dale: Same situation, same principle  
188 Sara: *((nods head, starts to leave))*  
189 Dale: It's ground cornmeal  
190 Sara: Thank you  
191 Chet: The cheese that we put in it is not as good  
192 Dale: Say what?  
193 Chet: As far as polenta goes  
194 The cheese that we put in grits isn't as good as the cheese that ah// comes  
195 in] polenta  
196 Dale: no that's]  
197 But I don't think that there's any difference between polenta and grits  
198 Chet: No I don't think there is either  
199 Dale: I think it's the same thing as what Bob Marley refers to as corned meal  
200 porridge  
201 (2)  
202 Dale: There's like a disease that you get that comes from only living on grits or  
203 polenta=  
204 Chet: = really?  
205 Dale: Yeah  
206 Only two nations in the world have ever gotten it  
207 The Italians  
208 Chet: ( )  
209 Dale: Well no (.) // you just eat more because you love] it so much=  
210 Alina: HEY! I SAW THAT uhh ( )] *((to Phil))*  
211 Phil: That was like Jason hhh  
212 Dale: =And you're poor (.) *((to Chet))*  
213 It's just easy it's all you're able to eat (.)  
214 The deep south  
215 // it's some sort] of ricket oriented thing  
216 Alina: HE GOT OUT!  
217 Phil: I don't care  
218 Dale: Not enough vitamin C gets in your body and you don't eat any vegetables  
219 Alina: But he got out though (.) jail  
220 He got out =  
221 Phil: =Oh really?  
222 Alina: That was ( )  
223 Chet: Right *((to Dale))*  
224 Dale: Northern Italy Tuscany?  
225 And southern (.) united states  
226 Only two places in the world where overzealous sons of corn product  
227 cause =  
228 Chet: = you ever watch that show survivor, man?  
229 Dale: I've watched bits of it a couple times  
230 Chet: Well there was one where he ended up having to eat rabbit right?  
231 And it was like (.) OH: There are BITS of it  
232 *I'm going to get sick!*  
233 Dale: Eating rabbit? *((widening eyes, putting down  
234 head and smiling in disbelief))*

235 Chet: Just like nothing but  
 236 Dale: Oh nothing BUT rabbit.  
 237 You'll get scurvy  
 238 And I think that's what the disease was in Italy and United States the  
 239 only two places in the world where the disease occurred  
 240 Chet: Oh scurvy?  
 241 Dale: Yeah, because  
 242 Because the more and more I read and meet Tuscans they're like  
 243 southern // rednecks]  
 244 Chet: hhh]  
 245 They don't want to try anything other than what they know from their  
 246 place  
 247 It's the only thing that's any good  
 248 They won't eat anything from anywhere else that is at all good  
 249 (4)  
 250 Tuscans  
 251 (4)  
 252 Chet: Do they have raiders?  
 253 Dale: Do they have what  
 254 Chet: Raiders.  
 255 The Tuscan raiders?  
 256 Dale: Tuscan raiders I don't know *((walks to ticket window))*  
 257 Shrimp and grits two times  
 258 Go in with tostada  
 259 You have three two sandwiches all day  
 260 BLT  
 261 Phil: I got two coming right up  
 262 Dale: Thank you  
 263 (2)  
 264 Dale: The next thing we got is fried chicken (.) lame and fish right?  
 265 Lisa: Yeah  
 266 Dale: Beautiful *((resumes his place at station.  
Starts cutting bread))*  
 267  
 268  
 269 Tuscans' old world bread crumbs= *((to Chet, smiling))*  
 270 Alina: =Move that shit up *((to Phil))*  
 271 Phil: Chicken salad sandwich  
 272 Alina: Move that shit over  
 273 Phil: Move that shit off// there]  
 274 Alina: I say ]scoot that shit off  
 275 Chet: Did you see that pickup guy all sporty*((to Dale))*  
 276 Dale: Say what?  
 277 Chet: That pickup driver all sporty  
 278 Dale: hhh  
 279 Nah they're poor redneck man  
 280 They don't believe in cars  
 281 They believe in donkeys  
 282 Chet: hhh



283 (10)  
284 Dale: They gotta have like  
285 After four hundred years of nothing but barley mush (.) and wheat mush  
286 When they bite it (.) you know.  
287 It took them like a hundred years before they even started eating corn  
288 Chet: I thought they were supposed to have good food  
289 Dale: Yeah. well they have great food don't get me wrong  
290 But we're talking about medieval  
291 ((stands looking at Chet without speaking))  
292 You know we're talking about four hundreds five hundreds (.) dark ages  
293 Nobody was eating any good shit  
294 Chet: ( )  
295 Dale: Yeah, tomatoes with ( )  
296 They didn't touch corn (.) but then (.) but then finally when somebody  
297 said "man, I'm so sick of this fucking barley? I am going to KILL  
298 MYSELF if I ever have another mud bowl of barley mush."  
299 and then they found some dried corn in the corner and one of 'em (.) the  
300 fucking I'm sure the most=  
301 Chet: = They make corn oil  
302 Dale: The most avant-garde of all Tuscans  
303 (4)  
304 And then they made the corn mush and they said "Oh my God? let's eat  
305 this every day. mush  
306 I'm never touching another bowl of barley again!"  
307 And they did?  
308 They just ate polenta all every day all day  
309 >polenta/X/X<  
310 And then after like about six months or something everybody started  
311 getting sick and they realized  
312 (2)  
313 Maybe we should eat more of them red things //(hhh]  
314 Chet: then they ]started eating  
315 polenta again, "We're SICK  
316 Dale: No they (.) they wanted- they just realized because just like southern  
317 folks and all the things that make them like die by the age of thirty two  
318 because their hearts stop beating  
319 Cigarettes (.) everything fried  
320 Tuscans can't stay away from it  
321 They're junkies (.)  
322 They're corn junkies  
323 (3)  
324 Chet: I kinda feel that way about Sonic  
325 Dale: hhhh I agree?  
326 Sonic is a good example of something that is really bad  
327 You know it's really bad but you can't stay away  
328 Chet: Yeah  
329 Dale: Because because of the FIVE minute ecstasy that you have while you're  
330 gobbling it up

331 Chet: Serious  
 332 Dale: And then the  
 333 But the only sad  
 334 Then the then the  
 335 But then the sad thing is that twenty minute STOMACHache you have  
 336 afterwards  
 337 Chet: Yeah  
 338 Dale: And it's-  
 339 The total-  
 340 What I find more than anything  
 341 When I eat like junk food  
 342 Hey I know I'm being bad so I can't get my hands out of it //hh]h  
 343 Chet: h]  
 344 Chet: You figure if you just eat it really fast=  
 345 Dale: = //Right]  
 346 Chet: and then] you'll get it over// and] you'll be okay  
 347 Dale: right]  
 348 Chet: I'm not doing it anymore?// I didn't] do it?  
 349 Dale: hhh]  
 350 Chet: It was only five minutes ago.  
 351 Dale: And then you slam it all down your throat and it's you feel like (.)  
 352 exhausted  
 353 Chet: Yeah  
 354 Dale: awful  
 355 and not like sick awful  
 356 just like (.) I got no energy man  
 357 I'm just like blah =  
 358 Chet: = I was reading that in this book that just came out this nutrition book a  
 359 big ( ) but ah they said that with like I guess like from like post  
 360 depression until the 80s like a big fat person like only ( ) then in  
 361 especially in like the immediate post-Depression nobody was eating  
 362 general shit that made you fat  
 363 Dale: Nah  
 364 Chet: And the only people that did eat it =  
 365 Dale: = Cause nobody could afford it  
 366 Chet: Right  
 367 And ah but then they were saying how like a fat person's body like the  
 368 brain starts like shutting down all the receptors that say I'm full  
 369 Dale: Oh really.  
 370 Chet: to keep it// (.. ) ]  
 371 Dale: to keep it growing?]  
 372 Chet: Yeah  
 373 Cause ah they'll just say in general it doesn't matter what your body is  
 374 your body always thinks it's okay  
 375 Dale: It ignores what your brain is telling you?  
 376 Chet: Yeah  
 377 Well I mean I guess that's just how everybody's body runs  
 378 Your body doesn't I mean

379 Years and years and years  
380 Eventually your heart's just going to show you're a fat person  
381 But for those years your body's just chillin the way that it's going  
382 Dale: Right =  
383 Chet: =>and ah< (.) that's about as far as I got  
384 Dale: What? (hhh)  
385 Chet: They they compared it to like you know to like you know=  
386 Dale: =>It's like heroin<  
387 A fat person eats=  
388 Chet: = He eats  
389 Dale: Yeah  
390 Chet: That's right  
391 Dale: I hear I mean it's *((walking to ticket window))*  
392 Makes a lot of sense  
393 (Stop) plate walking in  
394 Lisa: Ok  
395 Dale: Order in  
396 Chet: whoa/X/X *((in background))*  
397 Dale: I love this *((ladles the sauce in pot))*  
398 The cream sauce  
399 You've gotta be careful with these grits  
400 Lisa: Yeah  
401 Dale: The way you heat it  
402 Lisa: Yeah but like (.) I'm really stressing = *((arranging pans on stove))*  
403 Dale: = Well (.) now just get over it  
404 (3) *((continues to look at Lisa))*  
405 Stick a little cream in that and that little bit of brokenness will ah (.)  
406 the cream will emulsify the fat and we'll have that same thing that you  
407 had *((turns to ticket window))*  
408 Lisa: Yeah  
409 Dale: Four walking in  
410 Twenty two  
411 Spanish plate walking in  
412 Alina: Was that me?  
413 Dale: Nope  
414 Alina: Ah okay *((smiling, waving hand down))*  
415 Dale: I don't know *((walks back toward Chet))*  
416 Who makes the veg plate?  
417 Alina: *((keeps gaze on Dale for 3 seconds  
before speaking))*  
418  
419 No I saw you putting the ticket//here]  
420 Dale: I was] //but then ]I realized you  
421 Alina: Ah okay?]  
422 Dale: Didn't have anything to do  
423 Maria: *(Spanish to Dale)*  
424 Dale: Listen (.) we got the cameras and we got the freakin microphone so  
425 speak the fucking English you understand?  
426 Maria: *((nods))*

427 Dale: Ah HH  
 428 NO PUEDO ENCANTRAR ((speaking to the ceiling))  
 429 (2)  
 430 no puedo entener que hablando si hablar ((to Maria))  
 431 eso es un clasé de Ingles  
 432 no es un clasé de español  
 433 Maria: Okey dokey  
 434 Dale: Okeydokey // hhh]  
 435 Maria: hh]h  
 436 Chet: Parts of this are going to end up on our own reality show  
 437 Dale: hhh  
 438 Chet: And it's going to be called "Whatever"  
 439 Dale: WHATEVER  
 440 Alina: habla español! ((speaks toward the ceiling))  
 441 Dale: WHATEVER  
 442 Lisa: Yeah (.) but that's the English version  
 443 Dale: Maybe it's a-d  
 444 Chet: Yeah  
 445 Phil: The salads just went out didn't they.  
 446 Alina: Yeah/X  
 447 Lisa: What the ?salads  
 448 Alina: ((stops working to look at Lisa))  
 449 Lisa: For eleven.  
 450 Dale: ?Huh  
 451 Lisa: Out to twenty two then  
 452 Dale: QUE no  
 453 Well yeah ((picks up ticket))  
 454 Twenty two here's got two burgers and a pasta  
 455 Three twenty-two thirteen  
 456 Twenty-seven thirty-two and eleven are in the fire whenever you want  
 457 Maria: Alina (.) this for you  
 458 Alina: Oh ((smiling and taking gift from  
 459 Maria))  
 460 Thank you Maria  
 461 You're so nice  
 462 Chet: Twenty-two  
 463 Dale: What'd you say?  
 464 Chet: Nothing  
 465 Maria: ( ) ((to Alina))  
 466 Tito: ((Screams. No one responds))  
 467 Chet: Croy samples  
 468 Alina: I made it right here and I ((motions flip of hand swooping  
 469 on counter))  
 470 (16)  
 471 Chet: After after I work if David calls me I'm going to be like "oh yeah, I  
 472 forgot to tell you yesterday (.) I got you booked at four o'clock for a  
 473 party in Tomball"  
 474 And he's like "what the hell"

475 (3)  
476 Dale: Four o'clock ?today  
477 (2)  
478 Chet: Ah yeah  
479 Dale: Wow  
480 Chet: It's no big deal (.) I got a ride  
481 I'm going down there with my roommate  
482 Dale: Oh yeah?  
483 What do you gotta do?  
484 Chet: I have no idea  
485 They told me it was easy though  
486 So I'm presuming not much  
487 I'll probably have to cut some spring rolls  
488 Dale: Alright  
489 Chet: You know that//[sort of thing]  
490 Dale: Know we got people] that fill the trucks and then  
491 and then other people that drive the trucks that go with the trucks out  
492 there=  
493 Chet: = Well the deal is there's (.) they're referred to as the shop crew  
494 and it's the waitstaff  
495 (2)  
496 Some of the waitstaff just show up for the party (.) some of the waitstaff  
497 go set up (.) work (.) bring everything back  
498 Those are like the full-timers  
499 Dale: Right  
500 Chet: Those that set-up the party (.) work it (.) tear everything down and wash  
501 all the dishes and shit  
502 Dale: Oh  
503 Chet: So we don't have to help with any food  
504 We just show up in the jacket  
505 Dale: Just show up with a chef's coat  
506 Chet: Yeah and ah=  
507 Dale: =And they have the instructions there for you  
508 Chet: Menus >I mean< we get menus  
509 Dale: Right  
510 Chet: Weigh the mints  
511 But I (.) I don't worry about (.) ( I usually don't think of it until I get there  
512 Dale: How many people is this Tomball thing?  
513 Chet: I don't know  
514 Dale: You don't even know?  
515 Chet: There's two of us cooks (.) so  
516 Dale: It's gotta be around the order of a hundred right?  
517 Chet: Yeah (.) if they need two  
518 (3)  
519 Hopefully there's some kind of delicious fish on the menu at the party  
520 Dale: hhhHH  
521 Phil: Like fish ?tacos  
522 Chet: No

523 Lately we've been making this a smoked trout-these smoked trout  
 524 appetizers  
 525 Phil: Uh-huh  
 526 Dale: Oh my god *((walks toward ticket window,*  
 527 *gets ticket and walks back))*  
 528 //d-]  
 529 Chet: That] are just fuckin' BANGin'  
 530 Dale: Do you have any idea about how to do these *((looking at ticket))*  
 531 Chet: What  
 532 Dale: I mean (.) I know how to do the fritter rolls (.) but do you know  
 533 anything about the shape of fritter rolls  
 534 Chet: I don't know  
 535 I'll make them into a ball  
 536 Dale: Let me know when it's gone  
 537 One tostada coming up  
 538 Chet: THERE'S THREE OF THEM  
 539 Yeah  
 540 Kahlua chocolates  
 541 Does anybody have any boiling water?  
 542 *((Alina and Lisa look at each*  
 543 *other, then at stove, and then go*  
 544 *back to working))*  
 545 Dale: Boiling water on the stove?  
 546 I don't know probably not  
 547 *((Chet walks away from station*  
 548 *to the stove to look for water))*  
 549 (15) *((Everyone resumes working.*  
 550 *Chet gets his water and goes*  
 551 *back to his station))*  
 552 Chet: Oh:: what a bad time for this *((Alina hands Dale a salad and*  
 553 *he tastes it))*  
 554  
 555 Alina: Does it have a good flavor?  
 556 Dale: *((moves head to the side, squints, gives*  
 557 *"sorta" hand motion))*  
 558 Who made it? you? *((turns and walks away))*  
 559 Alina: Yeah  
 560 What's that? *((to Chet))*  
 561 Chet: Dale (.) can you hand me a half sheet please  
 562 (2) It comes with one sauce ice cream and candied hazelnuts *((to Alina))*  
 563 Did you see any yesterday by chance? *((to Dale))*  
 564 Dale: *((shakes head no))*  
 565 Chet: No?  
 566 (43) *((everyone is doing a task))*  
 567 Lisa: *((motions Phil to hand her a plate))*  
 568 The first one  
 569 Phil: *((hands Lisa a plate))*  
 570

571 (13) ((Sara walks past Dale placing dish  
572 for staff to take to dining room))  
573 Sara: That one going?  
574 Dale: If I can get it out with the meat  
575 How far are we on the tostada ((to Lisa))  
576 Lisa: I can do it right now  
577 (16) ((Sara, Dale, and Phil watch  
578 Lisa working))  
579 I'll put this one with the shrimp  
580 Is that going to be alright ((to Dale))  
581 Dale: No (.) because they need two tostadas not one  
582 Now that the shrimp's sat out here for another fucking five minutes=  
583 = So::  
584 Dale: Just give them a regular=  
585 Lisa: = A regular tostada=  
586 Dale: = Yeah  
587 Just give me a regular tostada  
588 A regular tostada on the fly  
589 Then I'll get tostada tampico for table eleven=  
590 Lisa: Ok  
591 (3)  
592 Is that the one that Chet just did?  
593 Dale: yeah that's the one that Chet did ((walks to end of table))  
594 It's this one right here ((holds up a ticket))  
595 That's just to add the=  
596 Lisa: =Alright ((Sara and  
597 Dana and Dale stand watching Lisa))  
598 Lisa: One regular coming up  
599 Dale: Right now start number two ((to Lisa))  
600 This one to number three and this number ( )  
601 ((Sara and Dana take the meals  
602 from kitchen))  
603 Dale: How we going.  
604 PASTA ((grabs ticket and reads))  
605 TOSTADAS TAMPICO AND A BIRD  
606 Lisa: I'll need a chicken  
607 Dale: Alright ((walks to other end of kitchen))  
608 Maria: (speaking Spanish to Dale)  
609 Dale: It stink?  
610 See we're having to ah-  
611 It wasn't really a- wasn't a drainage problem  
612 Chet: Right yeah  
613 Stinking it up  
614 Dale: >Nah/X/X/X/X<  
615 No we're drain-  
616 It's a slow drain out of this thing so it's going slow- draining slow outta  
617 here and then it's not draining properly  
618 This is filling up and overflowing and coming out in front

619 It's not draining//properly]  
620 Chet: Sara]  
621 Sara: Yes  
622 Chet: Did you by chance see where these polluted?  
623 Dale: It stinks a little bit of it and you see these calcium // deposits]  
624 Sara: ummm]  
625 I don't think so  
626 Dale: = And the white button sticks  
627 (5) Take it to three ((handing plate to Sara))  
628 Chet: Dinner rolls (.) espresso ice cream (.) blue ( ) and candied yams  
629 Lisa: I'm going to put another of these in  
630 Dale: Oh ((continues eating his salad))  
631 Lisa: I'm pretty close on the lambs and burgers on two plates ((to Dale))  
632 Chet: How many do we need?  
633 Dale: Three of them  
634 Chet: Three of them?  
635 Sara: Can I take this out?  
636 Dale: ((nodding head, chewing))  
637 Chet: Whoo?  
638 Dale: What  
639 Chet: You agree  
640 You agree?  
641 Dale: Time to take that thing out ((Phil spins a bowl on his  
642 finger and looks at Lisa))  
643 Lisa: Is the second one started? ((to Phil))  
644 Phil: Hamburger ((does a "presenting" gesture))  
645 Lisa: We can start going on the other one  
646 Phil: Potato fries?  
647 Lisa: Add blue cheese to the chicken salad  
648 (4)  
649 I'm getting blue cheese  
650 (14) ((Phil starts using his bowl as  
651 a drum))  
652 Lisa: Do you want to drop this other burger?  
653 Phil: Yeah  
654 Lisa: I need the fries  
655 (7)  
656 Phil: Uh-oh ((sees a returned plate))  
657 Lisa: HOT CHICKEN?  
658 Phil: Why's that come back ((to Dana))  
659 Dana: he goes to me (.) "is this avacado? this has avacado in it right."  
660 Lisa: It's sausage  
661 Dana: It's avacado sausage ((mocks customer))  
662 Phil: //Tell him to pick] it out  
663 Lisa: It's avacado crème]  
664 Dana: Yeah  
665 I said to him ( )  
666 He said I don't like them



667 Phil: What's that?  
668 Lisa: Well having an attitude about =  
669 Phil: = Well isn't that on the menu? *((to Dana))*  
670 <Avocado> sauce *((rolls eyes))*  
671 Lisa: >Give it to me<  
672 Dana: Just wipe it off or something  
673 Lisa: I'll just redo the chicken  
674 Sara: But there's only a couple=  
675 Phil: = Just wash that shit off *((gestures toward stock))*  
676 She's the one who ordered wrong-  
677 Lisa: No (.) it won't  
678 Alina: You want me to take this stuff off  
679 You're gonna have to do a whole new taco  
680 Joe: Hey (.) why don't you just put it in like a strainer and then dump some  
681 friggin hot water in it  
682 It'll take that shit right off and the cheese'll still be hot  
683 Phil: *((shakes head no))*  
684 Joe: And the chicken'll still be juicy  
685 Lisa: I've got some chicken stock right here  
686 Joe: It's a good idea hhhh  
687 Lisa: Chicken stock. *((questioning))*  
688 Phil: I think it's kinda her fault  
689 Alina: Shut your ass up  
690 They paying for it //hhh]h  
691 Lisa: hhh]  
692 Phil: Are they paying for it twice? *((to Alina))*  
693 Are they paying for it twice?  
694 Joe: hhhh  
695 Alina: They're paying for it  
696 That's all I know  
697 Lisa: Can you hand me that plate again hun  
698 I want to put some aioli on the side *((Dana hands her a plate))*  
699 (5)  
700 Lisa: Here you go  
701 Joe: Thanks  
702 Phil: oh:: I LOVE making FRIES *((singing))*  
703 (10)  
704 Lisa: Okay let's do-  
705 Did you already drop the fries for this  
706 Phil: Yeah  
707 They're there in the window  
708 Maria: Quanto tienes? *((to Alina))*  
709 Do you speak Spanish  
710 Alina: No *((walks to other end of kitchen))*  
711 Maria: ( )  
712 Alina: I watch Tropico  
713 Maria: I don't like that  
714 Alina: Hh oh you don't like that

715 .Oh:://I like ]that it's my shit  
716 Maria: Oohh]  
717 Alina: I don't know what they're saying but //hhh]  
718 Maria: hhh]hh  
719 (Spanish)  
720 Alina: I like that shit  
721 OLE  
722 Sometimes they speak English too  
723 Maria: Yeah?  
724 Alina: At first no (.) but now they speak a little English  
725 Maria: Oh.  
726 When ?  
727 Shut up? hhh  
728 Alina: All day- all days of the week they speak English  
729 Maria: All days?  
730 Alina: All some times  
731 The people on there yeah ((walks away toward Lisa))  
732  
733 Alina: You put the lamb down Lisa?  
734 Lisa: Yeah  
735 It's always on Tuesday  
736 Alina: Huh  
737 Lisa: It's always on Tuesday  
738 Alina: I can't hear you  
739 Lisa: It's always on Tuesday ((walking toward Alina))  
740 Alina: What  
741 (3) ((Alina and Lisa whisper ))  
742 Sara: Oka:y: ((trying to get Phil's attention))  
743 ((Phil doesn't respond to Sara,  
744 though he looks up and goes back to texting))  
745 That portion's hot that's sitting in the window right.  
746 Phil: ((still texting, nods))  
747 Chet: Behind you  
748 Phil: Do we need some vegetable mirepoix?((to Alina))  
749 ((Alina walks away))  
750 Alina: Can I have the chicken bins? ((to Lisa))  
751 I gotta get all the chicken out of the base of this thing and I don't want it  
752 ((bending over to get chicken))  
753 Lisa: Ah don't worry about it  
754 What do you need chicken for?  
755 Alina: For Maria  
756 Lisa: Grilled chicken? ((to Maria))  
757 You can't have fried chicken  
758 You get grilled chicken  
759 One grilled chicken coming up for Maria  
760 Maria: But that's not what I want ((from other end of kitchen))  
761 Lisa: I don't care  
762 I'm not her babysitter ((to Alina))

763 (10)  
764 Maria: That's fried chicken  
765 How long'd that fried chicken get dumped?  
766 Phil: I didn't even know I had fried chicken until I looked up there  
767 //Nobody told me]  
768 Alina: You got like two] of em  
769 Oh it's the same thing  
770 Phil: Nobody told me shit  
771 Alina: Well you got the next ticket baby ((leans on workstation bending  
772 toward him))  
773 Phil: <Nah/X/X>  
774 Lisa: Well if you stay in the line ((Lisa and Alina flank  
775 Phil, both leaning toward him))  
776 (2)  
777 Phil: We got this girl down here to tell us //things]  
778 Lisa: You stand] in line and you (.) listen  
779 then I wouldn't have to say it twice  
780 I said two chicken wings=  
781 Phil: =I was minding my own business  
782 Chet: Bear claw  
783 Dale: Oh wow  
784 Alina: They come back with them tickets  
785 (2)  
786 What-EVerr ((walking away))  
787 Phil: I need a secretary  
788 Lisa: Dessert ((hands Alina something for pastry  
789 Station))  
790 Alina: Dessert?  
791 Lisa: Dessert.  
792 (13)  
793 Sara: This is soup three right?  
794 Dale: Yes it is  
795 (4)  
796 So (.) we haven't even gotten the (.)  
797 What about the fried green tomato half?  
798 Lisa: That's last  
799 The chicken's not even ready yet huh?  
800 Dale: Yeah we're not ready for the chicken because the soup hadn't gone out  
801 Sara: It's my sister so it's not a big deal  
802 Whenever it's ready  
803 Dale: Oh yeah?  
804 You don't want us to wait?  
805 Lisa: It's already gone down  
806 Sara: When it's ready  
807 Dale: We'll bring it out to you  
808 (5)  
809 It's all good ((singing))  
810 Lisa: One thing did come out from the depths not working=((to Dale))

811 Phil: That chicken's almost ready ((to Lisa))  
 812 Lisa: I just want to be told if stuff is not fixed  
 813 Dale: oh yeah?  
 814 When summer comes that's just cold stuff  
 815 Lisa: Cold?  
 816 What?  
 817 Dale: Grilled stuff with cold stuff and then they send it back and they say  
 818 this stuff is cold and you're like uh-huh SURE is  
 819 Phil: Chicken's almost ready  
 820 Hey Lisa the chicken's almost ready  
 821 Lisa: Huh?  
 822 Phil: The chicken's almost ready  
 823 Lisa: That's ready ((pointing to stove, looking at Dale))  
 824 (24)  
 825 Lisa: O:kay::  
 826 (3)  
 827 Alina: Don't touch- ((to Phil))  
 828 Don't touch nothing he said  
 829 (2)  
 830 I saw you grab your balls  
 831 Phil: I DIDN'T grab my balls  
 832 (2)  
 833 You can grab them if you want  
 834 Alina: Ut-ugh  
 835 You can grab them ((to Lisa))  
 836 Lisa: That's gross  
 837 Phil: Your hands aren't big enough for my balls ((to Lisa))  
 838 Alina: I bet her mouth is HHH  
 839 (2)  
 840 Phil: Uh- nah not really ((studies Lisa))  
 841 Open up wide  
 842 Let me see //hhh]  
 843 Alina: hhh]  
 844 Lisa: Sorry it's yours that I'm not interested in  
 845 Alina: That's what I'M thinking about  
 846 (5)  
 847 MARIA ((yells to the ceiling))  
 848 What do you want //MARIA::!] ((turns back around and rests  
 849 her chin on a ledge. Looks at Lisa))  
 850 Lisa: Whether they] do or don't?  
 851 >I don't want them<  
 852 Phil: They're slippery enough they'll fit.=  
 853 Lisa: =Alina.that's Alina  
 854 She wants them  
 855 Alina: Sh:: what'm I do with them?  
 856 Lisa: She told me whenever you walk by:: and rub up against her?  
 857 She likes that  
 858 Alina: //HHHH] ((bends over laughing hysterically))

859 Phil: hhhhh]  
 860 Lisa: She LIKES it  
 861 Whether she tells you she does or not  
 862 Phil: Is that fucking true Alina?  
 863 Alina: I didn't tell her that ((feigns shock))  
 864 it's a lie  
 865 Phil: //I know that's true Alina]  
 866 Lisa: she called me on the PHONE and] told me that  
 867 Phil: ((grabs Alina's shoulders, pushes  
 868 his groin into her three times))  
 869 Alina: HEY //HHH]  
 870 Phil: hhh]h ((looks around kitchen for  
 871 approving onlookers))  
 872 Lisa: hh]  
 873 Crazy  
 874 Alina: Yeah you can //get my leg]  
 875 Phil: did y'all] see that?  
 876 Did y'all see that catch that?  
 877 Alina: //hhhh]  
 878 Lisa: Would] y'all get me// some barley?]  
 879 Phil: ( ) kitchen] hhh  
 880 Alina: hhh  
 881 (3)  
 882 Alina: ah F:uck.  
 883 HUNGRY  
 884 Lisa: I've gotta grilled chicken  
 885 (2)  
 886 ONE GRILLED chicken?  
 887 They would love to eat  
 888 Sara: There you go ((exits kitchen))  
 889 Phil: Ahhh  
 890 I LIKE PIEE.  
 891 Joe: I don't know if she's ready yet  
 892 That's a that her little sister?  
 893 Dale: yeah  
 894 Joe: she's not- she's not ready for that chicken though yeah?  
 895 (2)  
 896 Lisa: PIES  
 897 Dale: Nah I don't think she's doing the chicken  
 898 Lisa: Desserts ((handing something to Chet))  
 899 (4)  
 900 ((walking by Alina, smiles and mocks))  
 901 ( )  
 902 Alina: ((grabs Lisa, puts arm around her))  
 903 I can't stay mad at you forever  
 904 Lisa: Yeah I can't stay mad=  
 905 Alina: = Gotta get over it  
 906 Lisa: You wanna go for a drink tomorrow at ( )?

907 Alina: Sure  
 908 When I get off?  
 909 Lisa: OH? yeah.  
 910 You're working tomorrow aren't ya?  
 911 (2)  
 912 Yeah I'm doing that ah- that ah  
 913 Alina: What do you gotta do?  
 914 Phil: FUCK *((burnt his hand; no one reacts))*  
 915 Lisa: The teachers' luncheon.  
 916 Tomorrow  
 917 Alina: At what time?  
 918 Lisa: Starting at eleven o'clock  
 919 (2)  
 920 Alina: HUNGRY::  
 921 (2)  
 922 Lisa: Um  
 923 (2)  
 924 And I've gotta make two hundred empanadas  
 925 Alina: Two hundred empanadas?=  
 926 Lisa: = two hundred *((walks back to workstation))*  
 927 Alina: Wow (.) that's a lot=  
 928 Lisa: = Three hundred cookies  
 929 (2.5)  
 930 Alina: You gotta make three hundred cookies in two hours tonight?  
 931 Lisa: And forty pounds of beans  
 932 It's not that bad though  
 933 I've got some of it in bags  
 934 I've got some of the catering stuff there  
 935 (3)  
 936 Alina: HUNGRY *((walks away from Lisa. Phil leans forward against a counter texting. Alina pushes the back of his knee and he falls forward. Phil does a back kick into Alina's groin))*  
 937  
 938  
 939  
 940  
 941 Alina: Hhh  
 942 Hold on Phil.  
 943 What the hell are you doing? hhh=  
 944 Phil: What the hell are YOU doing // (hhh)  
 945 Alina: (hh)] you're trying to stick it in me huh?  
 946 Trying to stick your whole leg up in my shit  
 947 Lisa: How long ago did that ( ) go out?  
 948 Alina: Huh?  
 949 (3)  
 950 Lisa: About five minutes?  
 951 (2)  
 952 Alina: Five. *((shrugs shoulders))*  
 953 Lisa: Do you know how long ago that stuff went out?  
 954 Phil: Two minutes ago

955 Lisa: That's puncture  
 956 Let's go in three minutes  
 957 (speaking Spanish to Maria)  
 958 Alina: >BU:CK/X/X/X/X/X!< ((Mimicking chicken. Gives chicken  
 959 to Maria))  
 960 Maria: It's hot ((fanning face with mouth open))  
 961 Alina: YEAH baby.  
 962 I just brought it  
 963 (2)  
 964 Lisa: Anybody want more chicken?  
 965 (2)  
 966 Alina: Huh?  
 967 Lisa: Chicken?  
 968 Alina: Chicken? ((to Phil))  
 969 Phil: ((Shakes head, looks at his hand))  
 970 Oh that's bad  
 971 (25)  
 972 Lisa: Oh that sucks that you had to work tomorrow  
 973 (2)  
 974 Alina: ((tilts head to side, indicating  
 975 agreement))  
 976 Lisa: Call in sick //hhh]  
 977 Alina: hhh]  
 978 Yeah  
 979 When I first came back to work on Saturday I was like (.) oh my GOD  
 980 I'd rather have Friday than Saturday  
 981 Lisa: Mmm  
 982 Alina: And she must've found somebody cause she goes "oh that's okay you'll  
 983 be the end person"  
 984 Alina: Oh yeah- yeah  
 985 She didn't like look at my way she didn't- the dirt  
 986 Sometimes you gotta work the grill  
 987 Lisa: Ah like ( )  
 988 Looking forward to not doing it ((walks toward ticket window))  
 989 Alina: Well he's gonna ( ) Saturday  
 990 Lisa: THREE BURGER:  
 991 pasta  
 992 chicken  
 993 FRIED CHICKEN  
 994 Alina: hhhhh  
 995 take some bowls!  
 996 Lisa: Go in the restroom and (Spanish) ((to Maria))  
 997 Fried chicken en el baño ((pantomimes opening a door))  
 998 Alina: Is that what I think it is?  
 999 Lisa: ((speaking Spanish to Maria and  
 1000 Sam 3 seconds. She then walks  
 1001 to ticket window))  
 1002 Lisa: TUNA on TOAst

1003 Phil: Maria  
1004 Thank you for the fried chicken *((to Lisa))*  
1005 Lisa: Alina  
1006 Do you have the salad?  
1007 Alina: *((nods head))*  
1008 (33)  
1009 Alina: Grilled cheese  
1010 Joe: Grilled cheese Alina Larson  
1011 Alina: Yeah Joe Smith  
1012 Chet: OH SHIT  
1013 MOTHER FUCKER *((grease has splashed on his jacket, burning his*  
1014 *arm))*  
1015 Lisa: More cheese guys=  
1016 Dale: *==//More cheese] Alina Larson*  
1017 Sara: *More cheese]*  
1018 Alina: Oh I guess.  
1019 Phil: OH:: he called you by na::me  
1020 Lisa: Let me by *((touching Phil lightly on the*  
1021 *shoulder as she scoots past him))*  
1022 Alina: Dale Klein  
1023 Dale: Dale Klein in the his-ouse  
1024 Alina: The Klein in the house  
1025 *((Dale drums on the counter several imes while*  
1026 *Alina smiles at him and moves in front of Phil to*  
1027 *put cheese on the chicken salads. Phil doesn't*  
1028 *move))*  
1029 Alina: You better watch or I'll hit you with my ass  
1030 Phil: Well why you backing up then? hh  
1031 Alina: D. Klein.  
1032 I don't think that's even your last name  
1033 Dale: It's not.  
1034 Lisa: It's Frazier  
1035 Brendan Frazier  
1036 Dale: That's it./X  
1037 Alina: Nah that ain't it=  
1038 Lisa: *==//it's true] it's ah:*  
1039 Dale: *that's it]*  
1040 Alina: That ain't it  
1041 Lisa: It starts with an F  
1042 Dale: Lisa Banks (.) how long have we worked together and you don't know  
1043 my last name.  
1044 Alina: Hey what's your last name?  
1045 Lisa: I DO know your name I just can't remember RIGHT now  
1046 This minute  
1047 *((Sara enters the kitchen,*  
1048 *having heard the conversation*  
1049 *))*  
1050 Sara: If you'd ask me any other time I would know



1051 Alina: When you are drunk or what?  
 1052 Dale: Oh yeah she knows when she's drunk *((Sara ignores them))*  
 1053 Lisa: Macaroni and cheese (.) potato salad or it doesn't matter what they want  
 1054 Dale: Big one/X/X *((Lisa grabs a big bowl for Dale))*  
 1055 LISA BANKS  
 1056 Lisa: That's not my name *((smiling))*  
 1057 That's not my name  
 1058 You should know that by now. hhh  
 1059 (2)  
 1060 Can't you see I'm Hispanic?  
 1061 Where did I get Banks from?  
 1062 Dale: Your marriage. to Mr. Banks  
 1063 Lisa: Where's Harlan? *((Harlan, a server, comes in the kitchen))*  
 1064 *kitchen))*  
 1065 Do you want macaroni and cheese with that pasta or potato salad  
 1066 Harlan: Ah: the latter  
 1067 Dale: You'll need two of them?  
 1068 Harlan: Yeah  
 1069 Dale: Spaghetti and buttered corn  
 1070 Chet: Two? *((grabs a sautee pan))*  
 1071 Dale: That's the one  
 1072 (17) *((everyone resumes working in silence))*  
 1073 Sara: ALINA  
 1074 *((Alina is at the other end of the kitchen, but turns toward Sara when she hears her name))*  
 1075 *her name))*  
 1076  
 1077 Alina: Yes ma'am?  
 1078 Sara: Don't make that Greek salad  
 1079 Alina: Oh  
 1080 Sara: They don't want it  
 1081 Alina: Alright  
 1082 Sara: They said the chili's gonna be too much already  
 1083 Alina: What do you want  
 1084 Sara: She doesn't want anything to replace it  
 1085 Alina: She doesn't want anything to replace it.  
 1086 *((Alina and Phil work silently next to each other, though Phil spends a lot of time observing Alina's work. She tries to ignore him, but finally looks at him. He stops gaping at her work, and goes back to his own. Alina walks to the refrigerator, far away from the line))*  
 1087 *refrigerator, far away from the line))*  
 1088  
 1089  
 1090  
 1091  
 1092  
 1093 Lisa: Let's get on that (norkiss)  
 1094 Alina: The what?  
 1095 Lisa: The norkiss. twenty-four  
 1096 (13)  
 1097 Lisa: Get a pasta bowl please *((Alina grabs a pasta bowl))*  
 1098 Alina: Here's that pasta bowl Dale Klein

1099 Dale: Yes Alina Larson  
 1100 Alina: Fried chicken  
 1101 Chicken Salad.  
 1102 (3)  
 1103 Phil: Here's your fried chicken right here  
 1104 Sara: Hey what are we doing with the seafood plate?  
 1105 Lisa: Ah- crimini mushroom ah pablano  
 1106 That and a chili  
 1107 (3)  
 1108 Alina: Hey (.) you know.  
 1109 I don't ever remember seein'. seeing Maggie leaving  
 1110 Lisa: When?  
 1111 Alina: The other night.  
 1112 Sara: OH um.  
 1113 Alina: She just came and left //or what?  
 1114 Sara: yeah] she didn't stay for very long.  
 1115 They had like a drink =  
 1116 Alina: = That like her boyfriend? *((makes a disapproving face))*  
 1117 Sara: He's cute  
 1118 Alina: No he ain't!  
 1119 He just like her pussy. hhh  
 1120 No he wasn't.  
 1121 Maybe he nice but he a dupe HHH *((looks to Phil for his reaction))*  
 1122 Sara: He's just old.  
 1123 Alina: Yeah he IS old.  
 1124 That's what I'm sayin.  
 1125 Sara: Too old for her  
 1126 Alina: He old like her daddy  
 1127 Sara: She's 23 and he's 37=  
 1128 Phil: = That's pretty old  
 1129 Alina: He looks like he's 47  
 1130 (3)  
 1131 Lisa: I'm going to tell her you said that  
 1132 *((group laughs))*  
 1133 Alina: Don't tell her I said that *((to Sara))*  
 1134 Sara: WHATEVER  
 1135 I tell her all the TIME  
 1136 (10)  
 1137 Phil: How long you got?  
 1138 Lisa: Four. quatro *((until the end of her shift))*  
 1139 Phil: I've got five  
 1140 Lisa: Meanwhile.  
 1141 Two fried tomatoes *((to Phil))*  
 1142 Phil: Fuck that. *((feigns rejection of order))*  
 1143 Screw you  
 1144 Lisa: While you wait get the lamb ready  
 1145 Alina: You here Sunday?  
 1146 Phil: I don't work Sunday

1147 Alina: Yeah that's your brother's time.  
 1148 That's my brother:: ((mimicking Phil))  
 1149 That's my brother:: ((walks to him and pinches him))  
 1150 Phil: I don't work on Sunday  
 1151 Lisa: Five minutes and they're up (.) next thing you do. ((to Phil))  
 1152 Alina: That's my brother::  
 1153 What about my brother?  
 1154 My brother did it  
 1155 (2)  
 1156 You know how long you- he's been at the soup kitchen?  
 1157 Phil: I didn't talk to him.  
 1158 I went home.  
 1159 Lisa: His ?girlfriend came over.  
 1160 He's in lo::ove ((Alina looks at Lisa and nods))  
 1161 Alina: //Awww!]  
 1162 Lisa: You is! ((starts drumming Phil's back))  
 1163 Phil: If you guys don't fucking stop I'm going to fucking throw up on you,  
 1164 okay? ((smiling))  
 1165 Lisa: //hh]  
 1166 Alina: hh]  
 1167 (3)  
 1168 AWWW that's so sweet  
 1169 (10)  
 1170 Lisa: At least one person in this kitchen could be in love //hhh]  
 1171 Alina: Awww] ((pointing to himself))  
 1172 Chet: Not this guy  
 1173 Alina: Not me either  
 1174 Love don't live here no more  
 1175 Phil: Love never lived here  
 1176 ((Dale has just brought fried  
 1177 zucchini from the dining room,  
 1178 which Phil notices hasn't been  
 1179 touched))  
 1180 Phil: Again?  
 1181 They haven't even had the first ones yet!  
 1182 Alina: hhh  
 1183 Dale: There's fourteen of them so they need more than two.  
 1184 Phil: What if they don't like them?  
 1185 Dale: I don't know Phil  
 1186 Phil: I don't see them getting two more *campechanas*  
 1187 Dale: Not yet. But they will  
 1188 ((While all this has been going  
 1189 on, Chet has been working  
 1190 alone at the pastry station))  
 1191 Chet: God Damn it!  
 1192 The fucking flour is too wet.  
 1193 The last half hour I've been dealing with that shit  
 1194 Alina: Awww.

1195 Phil: That fucking sucks man  
1196 *((Several minutes pass without conversation))*  
1197  
1198 Sara: That's a bad one *((a hamburger))*  
1199 Dale: Ok 'tard.  
1200 (5)  
1201 Sara: Did you call me a 'tard?  
1202 *((Dale does not respond))*  
1203 *((Phil has just walked past Alina, his leg brushing against her backside))*  
1204  
1205  
1206 Alina: You trying to grab my ass?  
1207 Phil: Yeah.  
1208 Alina: You was trying to grab my ass. *((Phil picks up tongs and begins to snap them at her))*  
1209  
1210 Phil: I wanted to use these (.) but they don't grab too well.  
1211 Alina: Yeah they don't grab too good  
1212 *((Phil demonstrates on his own buttocks that the tongs don't grab well))*  
1213  
1214  
1215 Sara: Lisa?  
1216 Lisa: What  
1217 Sara: Is there-  
1218 I might have to leave after this table  
1219 Lisa: Ok  
1220 Dale: Lisa. don't drop anything please.  
1221 (4)  
1222 Dana: Yeah::  
1223 So somebody must have cased my sister's house  
1224 So somebody broke into her house and stole.  
1225 She just got like a brand new sixty-something inch plasma tv.  
1226 Brand new leather couches  
1227 Just stole everything. took everything  
1228 She wasn't feeling too good so she come over to my place but didn't lock up her house  
1229  
1230 Phil: That's somebody she KNOWS  
1231 Dana: That's what we're saying  
1232 Phil: Where's she live.  
1233 Dana: Copperfield (.) Highway 6 Huffmeister (.) 290 area.  
1234 So >she's freaking out trying to<  
1235 I'm trying make her feel better  
1236 Phil: She knows them  
1237 Dana: >Oh I know< she knows them.  
1238 I hope she opens her fucking eyes  
1239 THAT'S why you don't hang out with ghetto  
1240 Dale: Tell her. *((points to Sana))*  
1241 Sara: It's so hard  
1242 They look normal

1243 You don't know they're ghetto until they start talking  
1244 Lisa: What happened?  
1245 Sara: Oh my God  
1246 Somebody broke into her house?  
1247 Dana: My sister's house.  
1248 She just got a \$4000 TV two weeks ago (.) brand new  
1249 Spent \$6000 on furniture (.) brand new  
1250 Sara: Does she have insurance?  
1251 Dana: I think she has insurance on the TV  
1252 Dale: Her homeowners insurance will cover it  
1253 Dana: She probably has RENTERS' insurance.  
1254 Dale: It'll still cover it  
1255 Dana: >BUT YOU KNOW:<  
1256 I kinda hope she doesn't so she learns her lesson  
1257 She just left her house open at like two or three in the morning.  
1258 I feel bad for her but-  
1259 *((people give looks of*  
1260 *agreement, resume working for*  
1261 *several minutes))*  
1262  
1263 *((Chet, Dale, and Phil are*  
1264 *talking about what they do on*  
1265 *public transportation))*  
1266 Chet: I usually play video games on my phone but-  
1267 (2)  
1268 Dale: Yeah  
1269 It's weird when you're just sitting there  
1270 It's fucking cold and no one's talking  
1271 Phil: I fucking hate not having a car  
1272 Chet: Serious  
1273 *((4 minutes pass with workers cooking,*  
1274 *cleaning, and prepping mise en place.*  
1275 *Near the end of this time period, Phil is*  
1276 *finished with his tasks and bored, so he*  
1277 *starts pretending to break the recording*  
1278 *equipment))*  
1279  
1280 Chet: Oh DUDE  
1281 Why don't you go wreck some stuff?  
1282 Phil: HHH  
1283 Stick my hand up there!  
1284 Fuck you Bitch //HHH] *((displays obscene gesture to*  
1285 *camera))*  
1286 Chet: HHH] Nah  
1287 (3)  
1288 Yeah  
1289 so David called me up yesterday and was like "you gotta work at 4  
1290 o'clock in Tomball"

1291 Phil: ?oh  
1292 Chet: I was like ?yeah  
1293 You're a cocksucker dude  
1294 I made plans with two different people  
1295 I wouldn't have minded had he told me yesterday or the day before when  
1296 I saw him  
1297 Phil: I would have been Uh-  
1298 HEY man (.) I can't make it  
1299 Chet: oh I can't  
1300 >I don't really have that option< I'm so poor.  
1301 I need the money  
1302 Phil: Yeah  
1303 I need money bad  
1304 (10)  
1305 Chet: I only had 19 hours here last week  
1306 But I haven't had a fucking day off in ages  
1307 Some of the stuff should be easy though  
1308 When I'm at the taqueria I mean  
1309 Half the time I'm there I'm on the fucking computer  
1310 Phil: Yeah  
1311 What taqueria?  
1312 Chet: Taqueria Norte?  
1313 Phil: Oh really? cool cool I didn't know THAT  
1314 (2)  
1315 Chet: I work there like ?three:: nights a week  
1316 Phil: That's great  
1317 Chet: It's fucking easy man.  
1318 Phil: Yeah  
1319 Chet: It's real easy  
1320 The worst part is just dealing with the drunk people  
1321 Phil: Yeah  
1322 Chet: But I make a good wage  
1323 (3)  
1324 You know like the food they make (.) it takes a significant amount of  
1325 time to cook  
1326 Phil: So are you cooking?  
1327 Chet: FUCK NO  
1328 Phil: So what do you do?  
1329 Chet: I work the registers man  
1330 Bus tables  
1331 (7)  
1332 I ?make my own food  
1333 DE-licious  
1334 (15)  
1335 Phil: My girlfriend?  
1336 She was renting this place with a sleigh bed  
1337 She was fucking drunk as shit one night and broke her toe on the  
1338 headboard (.) fucked up the bed

1339 They told her when you come back you gotta bring wood.  
 1340 But she's gonna have to repay all her fucking ah- medical- medical costs  
 1341 hhhh yeah she's like(.) FUCK YA'LL hhh  
 1342 Oh yeah "you can come back but you gotta PAY"  
 1343 Chet: She was JUMPING  
 1344 (2)  
 1345 Yeah but still  
 1346 Fuck that  
 1347 Phil: Like she can pay back \$6000 in medical bills  
 1348 Chet: Serious  
 1349 *((These two stop talking and there is*  
 1350 *relative silence in the kitchen for several*  
 1351 *minutes before Sara enters asking for a*  
 1352 *sample))*  
 1353 Sara: Hey Alina (.) can I get a taste of that chicken salad?  
 1354 Alina: Hell no  
 1355 Girl is you crazy?  
 1356 Sara: No  
 1357 Give me the damn chicken salad //hhhh] *((mock aggression))*  
 1358 Alina: hhhh]  
 1359 Lisa: Such language  
 1360 (3)  
 1361 Norm: Gir:l are you crazy?  
 1362 Lisa: Such language in the kitchen.  
 1363 (5)  
 1364 Alina: Here it is *((hands Sara some chicken salad))*  
 1365 Sara: Thank you  
 1366 *((Lisa appears from outside of*  
 1367 *the frame. She's been getting*  
 1368 *food together for coworkers))*  
 1369 Lisa: Thank you, employees, for ordering your food at 2 o'clock when you  
 1370 know I need to make the soup  
 1371 I really want a club sandwich  
 1372 BURGER Frie::d chicken (.) and cheddar  
 1373 Chet: Burger  
 1374 Lisa: MARIA *((continues cooking. Maria shows*  
 1375 *up))*  
 1376 One chicken for you  
 1377 *((The executive chef, Clara,*  
 1378 *enters the kitchen))*  
 1379 Lisa: Oh my god  
 1380 JOE  
 1381 Alina: Who do you want?  
 1382 (7)  
 1383 Lisa: Sara. Are both of these tables employees?  
 1384 Because I only have one pasta  
 1385 Sara: Uh (.) yeah  
 1386 Lisa: Only ONE pasta

1387 Sara: Ok  
 1388 I guess Christy can have it *((Sara returns to the dining room))*  
 1389 Lisa: Eighty-six pasta  
 1390 (8)  
 1391 Creme Brulee  
 1392 Chet: a'ight  
 1393 (16)  
 1394 *((Sara returns to the kitchen))*  
 1395 Sara: She wanted me to double check if you really don't have enough  
 1396 Lisa: I mean (.) if they're both employees, I have to go really light or whatever  
 1397 I don't have enough for both of those  
 1398 I have a lot of veggies  
 1399 Sara: That's better ?for me  
 1400 It's better for my ass  
 1401 Lisa: *((Gives Sara a disapproving look))*  
 1402 Sara: What.  
 1403 It is  
 1404 *((A minute passes with Phil and Alina watching Lisa work))*  
 1405  
 1406 Alina: That fucking pasta smells .good  
 1407 Dale: Hey Alina Rhineland  
 1408 Alina: Whatever Dale Fraiser-  
 1409 Fuck Sir –  
 1410 Fucks her  
 1411 Dale: only sometimes.  
 1412 Group: hhhh  
 1413 (14) *((Dale is addressing the servers who have just come in the kitchen))*  
 1414  
 1415 Dale: Eighty-six pasta.  
 1416 Push the lunch fish  
 1417 *((Lisa stops to pay attention to Dale speak more, but he doesn't. She resumes her work))*  
 1418  
 1419  
 1420 (15 min)  
 1421 *((Randy has just shown up for the afternoon shift.))*  
 1422  
 1423 Randy: What are we talking about.  
 1424 Asians?  
 1425 Group: hhhh  
 1426 Dale: What's burning=  
 1427 //Randy'll] tell you all about Asians  
 1428 Chet: =Mild grease]  
 1429 Phil: You should have seen it  
 1430 My name's Phil *((Phil shakes Randy's hand))*  
 1431 Nice to meet you *((feigning introductions))*  
 1432 Group: hhh  
 1433 Phil: Haven't seen you in AGES  
 1434 Look at all that grey hair



1435 Randy: yeah, look at my grey hairs  
 1436 My daddy didn't have any grey hair until he was 55  
 1437 My ass looks like Santa Claus' beard *((bends over and spreads his*  
 1438 *buttocks))*  
 1439 Alina: HHHH  
 1440 Randy: SNOW::: White  
 1441 hhh  
 1442 It was a hell of a weekend  
 1443 Alina: So where'd you go  
 1444 Randy: I got out of here  
 1445 It started raining and I went down to Mexico!  
 1446 Alina: What did you do?  
 1447 Riding donkeys  
 1448 Randy: Oh yeah.  
 1449 I got four of them *((pantomimes riding a donkey))*  
 1450 HEE-HAW/X  
 1451 Alina: hh *((Claps))*  
 1452  
 1453 (5 min)  
 1454 *((Phil walks away from the station while*  
 1455 *observing the knife in his hand. Chet watches him))*  
 1456 Chet: You'll have to get a couple of those and start chopping tomatoes and shit  
 1457 *((makes double chopping*  
 1458 *motion))*  
 1459 Randy: Hey chef  
 1460 What's my schedule next week  
 1461 I don't work until Saturday  
 1462 But I leave Saturday night  
 1463 Dale: Where are you going?  
 1464 Going to Austin?  
 1465 Randy: Yeah  
 1466 I don't care for it that much  
 1467 But I got family up there  
 1468 Dale: Is little Randy in Austin too  
 1469 Randy: Yeah?  
 1470 But the money is good  
 1471 I make money like that *((snaps fingers))*  
 1472 *((At the same time, Chet and Phil are*  
 1473 *having their own conversation at the pastry*  
 1474 *station))*  
 1475 Chet: Whoa  
 1476 Let's see this thing *((Phil hands Chet a knife))*  
 1477 SHOWTIM:E  
 1478 SHIT  
 1479 Fuck five star  
 1480 Showtime is SIX star  
 1481 Phil: I like those knives  
 1482 Chet: A Bronco Bill carver

1483 (6)  
1484 Chet: Like him and his dad were always at odds  
1485 Phil: At odds  
1486 Chet: Yeah  
1487 (5)  
1488 Like (.) "YOU'LL NEVER BE AS GOOD AS ME"  
1489 Phil: Fucker was a chef  
1490 Chet: He's always on those infomercials  
1491 Phil: "You're NOT A REAL CHEF" ((Phil takes on voice of Bronco  
1492 Bill's father))  
1493 Chet: Ow  
1494 (2)  
1495 They're fucking really shitty actors  
1496 That's why they're on an infomercial  
1497 (7)  
1498 Lifetime warranty  
1499 I want to try and send stuff back  
1500 Mail back a broken knife  
1501 Phil: hhh  
1502 \$40 shipping and handling  
1503 Chet: Yeah right  
1504 (5)  
1505 Phil: If you buy the whole set  
1506 We'll ship it to you for five bucks  
1507 They claim like the other knife's like  
1508 a HUNdred dollar value for the chef's knife  
1509 It's like the same handle (.) same steel  
1510 They get dull if you look at them wrong  
1511 Chet: Of course it does  
1512 (9) ((Randy enters the line))  
1513 Phil: What's ?up //where] were you  
1514 Randy: Hey]  
1515 Corpus  
1516 I was in Corpus  
1517 Chet: Seriously.  
1518 Those white handled (.) fucking (.) sensai knives are shit  
1519 The white handle  
1520 The slimmer kind  
1521 Cost ?eighteen bucks=  
1522 Phil: =last one I had cost twenty  
1523 (4)  
1524 I was fixing to buy another one but I gave up  
1525 Chet: Tell you what  
1526 I need a new serrated knife man  
1527 Phil: These ones  
1528 The grey ones they're getting now  
1529 Chet: Yeah  
1530 (2)

1531 Phil: Those are=  
1532 Chet: =>I have one just like it<  
1533 I mean (.) it's the same kind (.) same weight  
1534 It's old as shit  
1535 I keep it at home and tried cutting a tomato  
1536 Fucker was cold and came from the fridge too  
1537 Phil: Like FUCK  
1538 Did the fucker slice right through?  
1539 Chet: Yeah  
1540 Phil: hhh  
1541 Chet: Man.  
1542 You guys need to have a serrated knife on tomato  
1543 Phil: Shit (.) tell Dale  
1544 Chet: But that's how I like my tomatoes  
1545 Phil: Cold  
1546 Chet: Yeah (.) I hate soft tomatoes  
1547 //Make me] nauseous  
1548 Phil: >I don't either<  
1549 (6)  
1550 Chet: I like them to be like (.) cold  
1551 Phil: Hm  
1552 Chet: And a little under-ripe  
1553 Phil: And a little firm  
1554 Chet: Yeah  
1555  
1556 *((Randy is now dressed in his whites and joining the line cooks. He just walked past Phil and bumped his behind with his hip))*  
1557  
1558  
1559 Alina: Can't you see we're being recorded  
1560 Phil: You just now noticed that hhhh  
1561 Randy: I noticed when I came in  
1562 I'm still giving it the evil eye  
1563 (6)  
1564 Chet: I'm going on day 5 of having a popcorn kernal stuck in my tooth  
1565 Phil: huh?  
1566 Chet: Hurts like a son of a bitch  
1567 Way up there  
1568 Hurts like hell  
1569 Dale: Don't be a pussy  
1570 Is THAT what you're thinking about  
1571 Chet: Yeah (.) cause it hurts so bad  
1572 Phil: I smell primer, man  
1573 (2)  
1574 Dale: What?  
1575 Phil: Smell that little primer?  
1576 Dale: //oh yeah]  
1577 Chet: uh-oh]  
1578 Phil: Man those were the good old days

1579 I used to sniff that shit  
1580 I'd get like ?WOOO *((wobbles his head back and forth))*  
1581 hhh  
1582 Dale: That's got nothing on Sheila Shine  
1583 (9)  
1584 Chet: *((big yawn))*  
1585 TIRED  
1586 Dale: You're fucking high  
1587 Phil: hh  
1588 Chet: so tired  
1589 Dale: and high  
1590 Chet: I wish  
1591 Dale: No shit  
1592 (4)  
1593 Chet: I gotta go pay the god damned phone bill  
1594 *((Phil returns from the cooler  
1595 and is bumped in the chest by Chet))*  
1596 Phil: Fucking knocked my implant  
1597 Chet: You got ripped off  
1598 (10 min) *((Dawn and Randy arrive for their shifts,  
1599 relieving Phil and Lisa,  
1600 respectively. Dawn and Randy  
1601 begin fixing their stations))*  
1602 Dale: Why is everything in this kitchen below the knees covered in black shit  
1603 Phil: *((smiles at Dale))*  
1604 Dale: Is it because of the mats?  
1605 (3)  
1606 Like (.) this thing *((points to some equipment))*  
1607 These posts  
1608 The starter bucket  
1609 Alina: Everything's black  
1610 Dale: Yeah  
1611 Alina: The mats  
1612 Dale: The mats?  
1613 Alina: Yeah (.) fucking talk to Jimmy  
1614 He didn't clean them  
1615 *((Dale shakes head, walks away))*  
1616 Phil: Yeah (.) I wonder how much we can get for these things at the pawn  
1617 shop  
1618 Dawn: Look at you talking to the camera  
1619 It's not turned on right?  
1620 Phil: yeah //It's turned on]  
1621 Randy: yeah]  
1622 I got shocked by it earlier  
1623 Dawn: What?  
1624 Randy: I had no idea  
1625 Dawn: Oh

1626 *((Sam arrives to relieve Chet at  
the pastry station))*  
1627  
1628 Chet: What's up, man  
1629 Sam: Hey  
1630 Chet: I made some chocolate shells for you today  
1631 Clara said you needed those on the cart  
1632 Sam: oh (.) no I'm good  
1633 Chet: It only took about ten minutes to do  
1634 There's peach sauce here *((points to a squeeze bottle))*  
1635 Sam: ok  
1636 Chet: Pomegranate is here  
1637 (2)  
1638 Ok I'm gonna bounce  
1639 We've only got one more of those pies left  
1640 Sam: Shit's hot *((Sam touches the pie))*  
1641 Alina: You are hot, Latino!  
1642 No hhh you a hot Asian  
1643 Sam: No such thing  
1644 Chet: The profiteroles are going over pretty well today  
1645 Sam: >oh that's good<  
1646 Chet: I have about four or five of those  
1647 Adios Lisa  
1648 Lisa: Bye  
1649 Chet: See you later Sam  
1650 Phil: You gonna be here tomorrow, Chet  
1651 Chet: No (.) I'll be here Saturday  
1652 Phil: I'll bring that CD  
1653 Alina: Hey where are those dishes  
1654 Lisa: Donde estan los cuencos *((to Maria))*  
1655 Alina: That's what I'm asking you  
1656 Maria: No se  
1657 En el lavavajillas.  
1658 Pregunte Tino  
1659 *((Lisa, Tino, and Maria begin a short, inaudible  
conversation in Spanish. No one answers  
Alina))*  
1660  
1661  
1662 Alina: I'm trying to help you  
1663 Sam: Where are those cremes  
1664 Phil: Hey (.) if you don't see them in there I don't know  
1665 Sam: Everything's labeled  
1666 I don't see why I don't see it  
1667 Phil: Well I don't know  
1668 We sold a shit ton of it (.)  
1669 If you don't see them in there they're eighty-sixed  
1670 Dawn: uh-oh  
1671 (4)  
1672 I think Cari didn't come  
1673 Why didn't she come?

1674 Phil: She didn't want to work  
1675 Dawn: Well call the bitch and tell her to show up  
1676 Alina: She didn't want to do it the hard way when ( )  
1677 Sam: Blame it on somebody  
1678 Phil: Hey (.) so Dawn  
1679 You gonna be here this weekend  
1680 Dawn: yeah  
1681 I'm working a double hit on Sunday  
1682 Phil: What?  
1683 Dawn: yeah (.) I need the money  
1684 (5 min)  
1685 Sam: Did you see your Mom on Mother's day  
1686 Dawn: My mama died when I was a baby but I didn't know her  
1687 Sam: That sucks  
1688 Dawn: She was an alcoholic  
1689 If they hadn't taken her away I would've had memories  
1690 That was fall of '67  
1691 They took every picture of her off the wall  
1692 Like she never existed  
1693 So I didn't even really know what she looked like  
1694 Sam: My dad's father was like that  
1695 Didn't talk about how my grandmother died  
1696 Dawn: Right (.) and they just play like they didn't never exist  
1697 Sam: yeah (.) you know (.) he didn't talk about it  
1698 Dawn: >yeah yeah that's like what-< my nephew  
1699 His mother died when she was my age  
1700 Uh- he had videos: and all this other  
1701 He remembered her  
1702 Sam: Yeah (.) we had technology that you guys didn't have  
1703 Dawn: Yeah  
1704 Sam: You guys got jacked  
1705 Here you're talking about the late 60's  
1706 Dawn: Yeah (.) she died in 67'  
1707 I was only 4  
1708 Sam: That's what I'm saying  
1709 You guys didn't have the video cameras like we had  
1710 Dawn: It was all super 8- uh- film  
1711 (10)  
1712 Randy: So what do we have *((Randy walks past Dawn  
while addressing her))*  
1713  
1714  
1715 ?Rice (.) what else.  
1716 Dawn: ?Rice  
1717 Randy : *((nods head and eats some with his fingers while looking at  
Dawn))*  
1718  
1719 Oh yeah  
1720 They did a lot of cookin' (.)  
1721 No FOOLin arou:nd

1722 *((Several minutes of working go*  
1723 *on without talk. Randy walks*  
1724 *away but returns to find Dawn*  
1725 *eating over her station))*

1726 Randy: ?Oh (.) so you want to grab some of my rice ?huh

1727 Dawn: Yeah (.) you want to get mad

1728 Randy: Yeah screw that

1729 Dawn: hhh

1730 Hey Maggie tell me about that graduation

1731 *((Dawn walks away from Randy*  
1732 *while still eating the rice))*

1733 Randy: I'm just trying to figure out what we're going to do with it

1734 *((Randy walks over to Dawn to*  
1735 *address her))*

1736 So we gotta figure out what we can cook to go with the rice

1737 *((Dawn walks past Randy, who*  
1738 *is looking at her tray))*

1739 Dawn: This is my meez (.) all my gathered stuff

1740 *((Randy walks to the other side*  
1741 *of the station while Dawn*  
1742 *organizes her station))*

1743 Is there ice in this one/X

1744 Randy: These two are hot *((points to some pots))*

1745 They're hot

1746 Dawn: Sounds good

1747 Randy: It's a mess *((looks at the servers' work station))*  
1748 *((turns to Sam, referring to Dawn))*

1749 But she don't care

1750 (2)

1751 She likes a mess (.)

1752 In her mouth

1753 Sam: hhh *((sleezy laugh))*

1754 Dawn: We're being videotaped today

1755 Be good

1756 Sam: ok

1757 Yeah (.) what's that for

1758 Dawn: Somebody's doctorate or Ph.D. //or whatever]

1759 Sam: *Lame]*

1760 Randy: *<We were trying to figure>]* out how  
1761 much we could get for this equipment down at the pawn shop  
1762 *((The group laughs))*

1763 Sam: Ph.D. in ?what

1764 Dawn: I don't know

1765 Bullshit probably

1766 Randy: I got a Ph.D. out in my truck *((Dawn looks at him with a*  
1767 *smile, waiting for the punchline))*

1768 Which is what we call in the business a Post Hole Digger //otherwise  
1769 known as a PhD]

1770 Dawn:  
1771 hhh]  
1772 Hey I got some oats and honey in my car  
1773 Randy: Shit (.) what's that for ((shakes head))  
1774 Fucking get a job (.)  
1775 Sam: No shit  
1776 Dawn: hhh  
1777 Move your big ass, Sam ((she leaves the station and  
1778 moves to the other side, having  
1779 to pass Sam en route))  
1780 Sam: SHUT UP Dawn  
1781 Dawn: I get stuck (.) hhh  
1782 (8)  
1783 Well (.) I only have to work Tuesday Wednesday and Thursday  
1784 I'm off Friday through Saturday  
1785 Sam: That's awesome  
1786 What about Sunday  
1787 Isn't that when Salvano works  
1788 Dawn: I have to work but Salvano is off on Sunday ((dances))  
1789 Sam: ((nods head))  
1790 Randy: a woo ooh ahh ((singing))  
1791 Tino: Caliente  
1792 Randy: It is not  
1793 Tino: It IS hot  
1794 (10)  
1795 Randy: So you didn't miss me  
1796 Sam: Yeah  
1797 Where did you go  
1798 Randy: Fucking Mexico  
1799 Sam: How long were you gone  
1800 Randy: Ten days  
1801 Sam: Shit (.) I didn't get any of that when you were talking up there  
1802 I apologize (.) now it's all clear to me  
1803 Dawn: What happened  
1804 Sam: Nothing (.) He said I didn't miss him while he was gone  
1805 Dawn: oh ?yeah/X/X  
1806 He was on vacation for ah- two weeks  
1807 (30)  
1808 Sam: Danny made those grits yesterday  
1809 You try them  
1810 Dawn: No they didn't look very good  
1811 Sam: They were glutenous  
1812 I'm going to make some real grits today  
1813 (30) ((Randy and Tino go to the line))  
1814 Randy: There's only one ?sauce for ?me  
1815 //How does this ?happen] ((Shaking head))  
1816 Sam: uh]  
1817 Randy: Ya ?see



1818 I haven't worked this station since uh- January  
 1819 Sam: Only two  
 1820 Chicken *((points to a sauce on the station))*  
 1821 Randy: What ?chicken  
 1822 Are you fucking kidding me  
 1823 Sam: Caliman  
 1824 Randy: >oh/X/X<  
 1825 (2)  
 1826 You know it really is stupid  
 1827 We need more than that  
 1828 He's such an ass  
 1829 Dawn: I'm going to tell Dale you said that  
 1830 Sam: GOD DAMN IT  
 1831 SHIT! *((Everyone looks at him, but resumes their work.))*  
 1832  
 1833 (15 min)  
 1834 Joe: What are you doing ?Tino  
 1835 Breaking all the shit, dude *((Tino is rapidly prepping meats))*  
 1836 Tino: Then why don't you do it?  
 1837 Joe: I don't have time  
 1838 Tino: Maybe Sam  
 1839 Joe: Sam will do it  
 1840 Dawn: Oh hey  
 1841 How is Kerri  
 1842 Joe: She went to Florida  
 1843 Dawn: She went to ?Florida  
 1844 Kerri: She's on vacation for a week  
 1845 Dawn: Oh (.)Florida  
 1846 (15)  
 1847 Sam: Hey (.) did you see that truck parked out back  
 1848 Dawn: Yeah it's John's truck  
 1849 He's back there smoking  
 1850 Sam: hhh  
 1851 Dawn: Yeah I told him I didn't want him blowing it in my face (.) and he was  
 1852 like (.) what you don't like it  
 1853 Sam: Did he ask you that  
 1854 Dawn: Yeah (.) I just don't want it all up on my face unless I'm smoking too  
 1855 (2)  
 1856 My kid came home the other day smelling like weed and I was like (.) I  
 1857 don't mind you doing it  
 1858 You know that  
 1859 But don't make it so obvious  
 1860 He's like *((takes on voice of kid))* "What am I supposed to do if all the  
 1861 other kids are doing it-  
 1862 NOT do it?" hhhh  
 1863 Jesus (.)  
 1864 He just can't get caught (.)  
 1865 I told him I don't have the money to bail his ass out of jail

1866 Sam: >you know that's why I don't have kids<  
 1867 I can't afford them  
 1868 Dawn: yeah  
 1869 Sam: It just doesn't make sense  
 1870 I think crazy like that  
 1871 Dawn: I know what you're saying  
 1872 I've got this friend (.) four kids (.) three different daddies and I'm like =  
 1873 Sam: = Who's this  
 1874 Dawn: One of my best friends Nicki  
 1875 Why does she keep having kids  
 1876 You know (.) I mean  
 1877 (3)  
 1878 >She works at Cash America< you know  
 1879 It's not like she makes money  
 1880 Sam: I gotta- we got- ah- this card from this ah- girl I worked for at Safelite  
 1881 who's a general manager now=  
 1882 Dawn: = Right  
 1883 Sam: But she met this guy (.) fucking (.) four kids three mothers already  
 1884 But she's thirty-six years old never had a child  
 1885 Dawn: Yeah  
 1886 Sam: He hasn't had a job in like two years  
 1887 She's going to go out and marry him  
 1888 Dawn: Oh God  
 1889 Sam: It just doesn't make any sense  
 1890 Why would you have a child if you can't pay for them  
 1891 SHE PAYS his child support  
 1892 *((they shake their heads and*  
 1893 *walk away from each other))*  
 1894 Sam: Now Randy  
 1895 You know that part of your job is to be relentlessly hitting on Dawn and  
 1896 Courtney all night  
 1897 Randy: *((Smiles, wobbles head, and nods))*  
 1898 Dawn: I need a vacation from Salvano  
 1899 Fucking perv  
 1900 Sam: Although that's part of the rule  
 1901 It's part of his job  
 1902 Dawn: No *((smiling but shaking head))*  
 1903 He started humping Courtney the other day  
 1904 Sam: Huh  
 1905 Dawn: He was humping on her  
 1906 He was like (.) YOU'RE going to have a good day *((begins humping*  
 1907 *Randy to illustrate))*  
 1908 Sam: He starts and then she starts  
 1909 *((Dale enters the kitchen and*  
 1910 *begins dicing garlic near the pastry*  
 1911 *station. He had Sam are talking about a*  
 1912 *former employee, who quit after a big*  
 1913 *fight with Dale))*

1914 Dale: Yeah (.) I gave him a chance to apologize  
 1915 Sam: I mean >you went to his house<  
 1916 Dale: And I went to his house  
 1917 Fucking- fucking let him get- gave him a Get out of Jail Free card and he  
 1918 FUCKin threw it back in my face  
 1919 Sam: hhh  
 1920 Dale: That was the true- that was the real misfire  
 1921 Sam: I bet  
 1922 Dale: ?Well  
 1923 (4)  
 1924 Sam: When I was in the Army I got arrested with this ah- ?sargeant  
 1925 This staff sergeant  
 1926 And he had a Get out of Jail card free like the Monopoly //one in] his  
 1927 wallet  
 1928 Dale:  
 1929 Right]  
 1930 Sam: BAD NEWS at the courthouse //hhh]  
 1931 Dale: They didn't] like that huh  
 1932 Sam: He was like >YA'LL WANNA use this<  
 1933 Ya'll wanna use this  
 1934 Dale: When you're at the courthouse (.) it's too late to show that card when  
 1935 you're at the courthouse  
 1936 Sam: Well we were small // it was] in the middle of a country //JAIL House]  
 1937 Dale: oh] oh]  
 1938  
 1939 Sam: in like (.) a //halfhouse on the side] of the road=  
 1940 Randy: Where the fuck was Joey]  
 1941 Dale: =RIGHT ON  
 1942 Sam: Where it's just county  
 1943 ((Randy walks over to Dale and  
 1944 begins complaining about how  
 1945 Joey tended to Randy's station  
 1946 while Randy was on vacation))  
 1947 Randy: Where was he man  
 1948 Two weeks  
 1949 Two weeks  
 1950 That shift was not going to be the fucking end of the world  
 1951 When I was on that station I was here every time at 7 o'clock  
 1952 Dale: Well YOU'RE a professional and Joey's not  
 1953 Sam: When you were twenty-two twenty-three (.) how many times you'd wake  
 1954 up at 7 o'clock to get to work  
 1955 Randy: Every fucking //time]  
 1956 Dale: a lot] you'd be out of a job  
 1957 It's a different world now man  
 1958 Randy: That was back in the dark ages  
 1959 Back before the war  
 1960 Dawn: You think this might have something to do with the smell in the stock  
 1961 room ((shows Dale moldy leaks))

1962 Dale: They're //fucking all] going to seed  
 1963 Randy: >They're stalked now<] yeah  
 1964 You can still sell them  
 1965 Dale: Makes it harder yeah  
 1966 Just pull those out  
 1967 Dawn yeah  
 1968 Dale: Leeks are at a point where they're all going to seed so they have those  
 1969 stalks sticking out  
 1970 *((Dale begins honing a chef's knife))*  
 1971 (8)  
 1972 Sam: We got a sixteen for the red velvet  
 1973 Dale: Ok  
 1974 Sam: Four on the cheesecake  
 1975 Dale: We actually froze some so we're good all night  
 1976 (30)  
 1977 *((Randy, Dale, and Sam are talking about the costs of car ownership. Dawn and Chun are simply listening))*  
 1978  
 1979  
 1980 Randy: I let (George) take my car and just asked him to fill my gas tank  
 1981 He had all week to do it  
 1982 Dale: That's between you and him  
 1983 Randy: My mileage is awesome  
 1984 I filled it up and still have three dollars and change to spare  
 1985 (2)  
 1986 Yeah well the other guy didn't have a car  
 1987 Sam: Good thing you don't need the good stuff in the car  
 1988 Dale: I HAVE to get the good stuff in my car or else my car runs like SHIT  
 1989 But I ain't paying more than \$3 a gallon the whole time  
 1990 Sam: Sucks when you're putting lots of (miles on a car)  
 1991 Dale: One time I put eighty miles on my fucking car  
 1992 Like when they were selling me my phone you know  
 1993 They were like Don't you want a car charger  
 1994 I'm like NO  
 1995 They're like "WHAT- NO CAR CHARGER YOU CAN'T BUY A  
 1996 PHONE WITHOUT A CAR CHARGER"  
 1997 Sam: I don't want one *((ventriloquating))*  
 1998 Dale: I'm like DUDE (.) I don't spend any time in my car (.) at all  
 1999 Sam: That's why I don't have a car  
 2000 I don't see the point in spending all that money on insurance and gas  
 2001 when it'd sit in a lot for 12 hours a day  
 2002 Randy: My car doesn't have a //lighter]  
 2003 Dale: I like having] a car though  
 2004 Randy: There's not even an ashtray  
 2005 There's this little plug where the lighter's supposed to be  
 2006 Dale: This whole country's going to shit  
 2007 Everybody's quitting smoking  
 2008 You can't even smoke in your own car any fucking more  
 2009 Sam: WHa::t

2010 (2)

2011 Dale: They don't give you lighters (.) They don't give you an ashtray

2012 Randy: Yeah

2013 So I asked about that and they said it's because people aren't using them

2014 anymore and I said WELL SHIT then take out the fucking turn sig//nals]

2015 Jesus

2016 Dale: hhh]

2017 Sam: h]

2018 They can't do that cause the guy in front of you could have (?)

2019 Dawn: I think they charge you for the lighters and ashtrays as an accessory

2020 Dale: An ashtray is a fucking ?accessory

2021 That's so fucking (?)

2022 You can't drink

2023 You can't even drink good stuff from the bar

2024 But you got plenty of cup holders now

2025 Can't smoke in the car

2026 Take all the smoking devices out of the car

2027 (3)

2028 I'm getting ready to start smoking again just to- fucking ah protest

2029 Sam: hhhh

2030 Dale: fuck it

2031 I'm smoking again

2032 I'm smoking <AGAIN>

2033 I'm fucking going out and buying a pack of cigarettes after work tonight

2034 Sam: That's a great cause to protest

2035 (3)

2036 Dale: Right (.) just to be a contrarian

2037 Just to continue my contrary ways

2038 (2)

2039 I quit smoking

2040 I proved to myself that I can do it

2041 Sam: Sure

2042 So now you can go back

2043 Dale: Exactly

2044 I didn't quit cause I didn't like to smoke

2045 I quit because I couldn't breathe for a while

2046 I thought I had tuberculosis

2047 Couldn't see

2048 ((several minutes pass and no one speaks))

2049 Dale: Oh hey (.) the last I heard from Albertoni he told me this story about

2050 how he didn't want to leave me hanging

2051 And that is (.) AFTER he didn't show up for a shift at work so I don't

2052 understand what-

2053 what- WASN'T HANGING

2054 Sam: hhh

2055 Dale: So I said "don't ever call me again dude like

2056 it's like ((pretends to be Albertoni)) "NO MAN I swear (indecipherable)"

2057 and I'm like dude don't call me (.) fuck off

2058 Randy: hhh *((looks at Dale))*  
2059 (2 min)  
2060 Dale: Dude *((to Randy))*  
2061 Did you look at the schedule  
2062 Randy: No  
2063 Dale: You're scheduled to come in at 11 on Sunday  
2064 Probably going to be like that for a while because Jimmy's on line  
2065 working the grill  
2066 Randy: But Dale (.) the game's on Sunday hhh  
2067 Dale: I'll tape it on my DVR and leave you a spare key  
2068 Randy: hhh  
2069