

You wants aioli on that seal carpaccio, luh?

On the viability of local dialect in the St. John's restaurant industry

by

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Abstract

Nearly all dialects experience variation and change, and Newfoundland English (NE) is no exception. As the growing service sector of Newfoundland and Labrador's capital city, St. John's, strives to accommodate a competitive global enterprise culture (Harvey 2005), I question whether spoken language is being reflected in these values. The aim of this thesis is twofold. First, to centralize the workplace in variationist sociolinguistics research, looking specifically at two phonetic variables within the St. John's restaurant industry. Second, to pursue an emic perspective (Eckert 2000) in variationist research by inaugurating organizational identification (Cheney 1983; De Decker 2012), or sense of oneness with one's place of work, as a new framework for analyzing linguistic variation.

I recorded a series of hour long, Labovian-style, semi-structured interviews with sixteen female restaurant servers and hostesses from Newfoundland, working at any of six types of restaurant in St. John's classified according to traditional sociolinguistic categories. Participants also completed an Organizational Identification Questionnaire (OIQ) (Gautam et al. 2004). Interviews elicited tokens corresponding to the phonetic variables of interest, slit fricative (Clarke 1986) and creaky voice (Yuasa 2010) in both casual and careful speech. Following interview transcriptions and coding of the two variables, the influence of several external factors on OI and linguistic behaviour was analyzed with multiple mixed-effects logistic regression models run using the glmer package in R (Johnson 2009).

The traditional variationist model shows local and expensive restaurant employees to exhibit significantly less creak and affrication than employees of non-local and inexpensive restaurants ($p < 0.000$). The OI model presents nearly identical results, in that OI is strongest in local and expensive restaurants and there is a strong negative correlation between OI and use of creaky voice and slit fricative. Indeed, the relative lack of the observed variables among higher end restaurant employees, coupled with incrementally higher OI, points to the linguistic capital (Bourdieu 1991) of neutral speech, which appears to play a role in shaping the socially salient organizational image of the

restaurant industry as a whole.

Overall, the OI model is seen as more meaningful than traditional variationist models because rather than indexing an employee's linguistic behaviour to a fixed restaurant category, OI is viewed as consonant with a restaurant's linguistic identity at a particular time and place, with ethnographies providing emic, descriptive categorizations of restaurants, further qualifying the interaction between OI and linguistic behaviour. It is hoped that this study encourages a discussion about how alignment with perceived market identity relates to linguistic capital, how the economic evaluation of specific dialects is temporarily manifested in variations of spoken English in the workplace, and how OI provides an emic perspective for analyzing workplace variation.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Nearly all dialects experience variation and change, and Newfoundland English (NE) is no exception. Dialects shift according to a number of factors, many of which are well documented in studies of dialectology (Trudgill 1986; Britain & Cheshire 2003) and variationist sociolinguistics (Labov 1966, 1972; Eckert 2000). While language use in the workplace has received some attention in sociolinguistics (De Decker 2012; Wee 2014) and organizational literature (Cheney 1991; Alvesson 2001), the workplace as a potential testing ground for language variation has not been deeply investigated.

In St. John's, Newfoundland's capital city and relative hotbed of urbanization, economic changes over the last two decades, largely owing to the collapse of the cod industry and widespread shifts in the economy, have been characterized by a systemic growth in tourism, retail services, and peripheral expansion of Big Box stores. An important question remains to be addressed: Is St. John's service sector accommodating global values of growth and competition, and if so, how is language change being reflected in these values?

1.1. Overview of research

This thesis offers an examination of this question. It draws on the framework of Organizational Identification (OI), which has been gaining attention in business (Cheney 1983; Alvesson 2001) and sociolinguistics research (De Decker 2012) as a descriptive and analytic framework pertaining to employee behaviour and organizational success. It juxtaposes an original, emic (Pike 1954; Eckert 2000), OI-based model of variationist research with a traditional, etic, class-based model (Labov 1966), in order to test the former's ability to better discern social meaning in linguistic behaviour than the latter's, from the perspective of the speakers themselves, namely restaurant employees from a diverse array of restaurants in St. John's. Critical theories of enterprise culture (Harvey 2005), identity work (Foucault 2000), and linguistic capital (Bourdieu 1977, 1991) will be invoked to connect and explain

the dynamic processes associated with interactive effects of OI and language in the workplace. I propose that an examination of the spoken language of restaurant employees in this theoretical context may offer new insights into recent patterns of dialect change.

To investigate the relationship between OI and language, I focus on how sixteen female Newfoundlanders identify with their particular places of employment, together with their use of two phonetic variables, creaky voice (CV) and slit fricative (SF). To do this, I administered a questionnaire about OI modeled on the Organizational Identification Questionnaire (OIQ) developed by Cheney (1983) and modified by Gautam et al. (2004), geared specifically toward the restaurant industry. I then conducted audio-recorded, ethnographic interviews with restaurant employees dealing with their experience working in a St. John's restaurant. Through quantitative and qualitative analyses I demonstrate which linguistic behaviours are most valued in the restaurant industry, generally as well as specifically for type of restaurant as classified by the speakers themselves and by various media. Based on quality of results, I inaugurate OI as a descriptive variable in workplace-related variationist research.

1.1.1. Purpose of research

The primary objective of my thesis is to contribute to our understanding of how and why dialect features undergo variation and change, through an in-depth investigation of the fundamental role of market identities in producing language variation. Determining how dialect features are used may encourage a discussion about how alignment with perceived market identity relates to linguistic capital and how the economic evaluation of specific dialects is being manifested in variations of spoken English in the workplace.

1.1.1.1. An emic approach

Discerning a relationship between OI and language also provides a more nuanced approach to locally constructed social meanings associated with linguistic variables from a wide variety of emic perspectives. The terms *emic* and *etic* were coined by linguist Kenneth Pike (1954) to provide

methodological tools for describing linguistic behaviour, and human cultural behaviour more broadly, while avoiding the philosophic issues around objectivity. He describes an emic approach as “an attempt to discover and to describe the pattern of that particular language or culture in reference to the way in which the various elements of that culture are related to each other in the functioning of that particular pattern, rather than [an etic approach, or] an attempt to describe them in reference to a generalized classification derived in advance of the study of that particular culture” (Ibid:8). Thus, while an etic approach, which may be described in linguistics as Labovian or traditional variationist sociolinguistics, is useful for applying locally observed patterns to a macro-scale of cultural behaviour, an emic approach discovers and describes culturally relevant phenomena from the perspective of the culture itself, thereby rendering a more meaningful and authentic understanding of the observed patterns before they are applied to a cross-cultural habitus.

One common critique of traditional variationist research is its strict adherence to predetermined labeling of groups and categories. Its tidy applicability to a larger scale of variation may come at the cost of “losing the local experience that makes variation meaningful to speakers” (Eckert 2000:1). Eckert contrasts a theory of variation as structure, which would take the social categories as given, and would focus on speakers' use of variation as an indicator of their place in relation to them, with a theory of variation as social practice: “Theory of variation as social practice sees speakers as constituting, rather than representing, broad social categories, and it sees speakers as constructing, as well as responding to, the social meaning of variation” (Eckert 2000:3). The major contribution of this thesis to variationist research is the use of a quantifiable variable that is inherently emic. OI, which is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, is measured with the OIQ on a 7-point Likert scale (section 3.3.3), and is a quantification of how strongly an employee identifies with his or her workplace.

1.1.1.2. Divergence from Labovian variationist research

Labov, in his seminal variationist study on rhoticity among employees of New York City

department stores (Labov 1966), employed the use of a traditional class-based model to organize his criteria for selecting subjects as well as to explain his results. Based on his findings, he concluded that the use of rhotic /r/ was a reflection of social class and aspiration, as well as more widespread in younger speakers.

The stylistic patterns he found were remarkable and are still heralded widely as an important consideration in variationist research. He noted that speech varied significantly between casual and careful speech, with the latter style favouring the more prestigious rhotic /r/ pronunciation among all three socioeconomic classes in his study. Particularly significant was the use of rhotic /r/ among the lower middle class employees, which he ascribed to hypercorrection due to the awareness of prestige forms among this population and the desire to accommodate to upper middle class speech. This stylistic element, along with his methods for classifying department stores according to mixed media, are employed in the present study, and are discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

While I do borrow some methodologies from Labov's study for my own research, particularly his use of the stylistic speech variable, it is the etic, class-based model that forms the backbone of Labov's study, which stands at odds with my own aspirations for the present study. In fact, it is the use of a Labovian classification of restaurants and employees that I test in my own study precisely in order to replace this etic classification system with a more meaningful one, namely an emic system structured around OI. Thus, by juxtaposing two disparate research models, etic and emic, using the same linguistic data for each, I am attempting to discern whether one better describes observed speech patterns, based on theoretical perspectives described above and throughout the next two chapters.

1.1.1.3. Broad aspirations

The emergence of patterns between OI and language, together with an ethnographic qualitative data set, should generate discussion about how language ideologies influence speech in the contemporary workplace. If it can be shown that OI is related to the linguistic identity of locally-

constructed restaurant categories, which are defined both by ethnographic anecdotes and descriptions of employees' experiences, as well as by the portrayal of the restaurants themselves through media and general public exposure (Labov 1966), a more meaningful approach *vis à vis* traditional approaches to understanding local language identities may be inaugurated. Thus, it is hoped that this research serve as a springboard for further research in workplace-related variationist sociolinguistics in Newfoundland and Labrador, and provide a framework for analyzing similar change elsewhere.

1.1.2 The St. John's restaurant industry

Although the relevance of the workplace as a site of variationist research is discussed elsewhere in this thesis, a specific case for the restaurant industry is made here. The province of Newfoundland and Labrador is economically driven primarily by the oil extraction industry, but service industries account for the highest share of GDP (Statistics Canada 2015); however, tourism has since the early 1990s been a growing contributor to the province's overall GDP, receiving about \$1 billion annually in recent years (Government NL 2016). Although residents account for the majority of spending in the province's tourism sector, non-resident tourists are becoming increasingly important in assisting economic growth (Ibid). When cruise ships come to port, airplanes land, and cars park downtown, restaurants and pubs are a prime destination. New restaurants, cafes, and bars are appearing in St. John's every year, catering to increasingly diverse diets and palates. Sushi restaurants, for example, have expanded in St. John's, with ten establishments in the metropolitan area as of late 2016 (YP 2016).

In 2015 the restaurant industry generated \$1.1 billion in annual sales, contributing 3.6% of Newfoundland and Labrador's total GDP. The industry directly employs 15,500 people, or 6.6% of Newfoundland's workforce, making it the province's 4th largest employer. The industry also represents one in every five youth jobs (Statistics Canada 2015), providing an ideal setting for observing the current state of language use among young local people. Furthermore, according to the Canadian Tourism Human Resource Council (CTHRC 2008), the percentage of Canadian servers according to

age group in 2006 was 49.1% between 15 and 24, and 22% between 25 and 34, while the percentage of hosts by age group was 77.5% between 15 and 24, and 7.6% between 25 and 34. Therefore, the majority of people employed in customer service positions in the restaurant industry are under 35.

The restaurant industry's success depends on a myriad factors, perhaps most important of which are food quality and service (Sandlin 2007). Thus, the importance of customer interactions in restaurants makes for a good linguistic observatory. The popular industry itself spans a large chunk of the socioeconomic spectrum, catering to people from nearly all walks of life. The increasing number of establishments within the same institutional environment throughout the province also builds competition, which leads to innovations in marketing, advertising on social media, and quality of experience. In order to stay abreast of today's competition and increase social capital, restaurants need to constantly reinvent their image (Xiang et al. 2007; Perlik 2009).

1.1.2.1. Women in the restaurant industry

Though this thesis is not a treatise on the position of women in the service industry, the methodological decision to include only female restaurant employees in this research requires an explanation. The restaurant industry in Canada and the United States is gendered (Hall 1993; Neumark et al. 1996; CTHRC 2009; Rasmusson 2011), with males comprising the majority of “back of house” staff, where most food preparation occurs, and females occupying the “front of house”, where most customer interactions happen (CTHRC 2009). Specifically, front-of-house includes food and beverage servers, bussers, and maîtres d’hôtel/hosts. Back-of-house includes cooks and chefs. According to the Canadian Census, in 2006 79.5% of food and beverage servers, and 89.9% of maîtres d’hôtel/hosts were female. In the kitchen, a male-dominated domain of the restaurant industry, only 37.4% of cooks, and 18.5% of chefs were female (Ibid).

The causes and implications of such hiring criteria based largely around gender, while touched upon in the discussions of qualitative interview results (Chapter 6), are mostly beyond the scope of this

thesis, which is limited to a comparative analysis of several social and linguistic variables excluding gender. As this research project aims to compare the speech patterns of servers and hosts across a wide range of restaurants, it is taken as a given that the majority of employees occupying these positions are female. The inclusion of males in the study, and the possible observations of variation in speech patterns between genders, would potentially obfuscate the primary scope of the study with the addition of a gender variable to an already large list of variables. Thus, females are the exclusive representatives of front-of-house speech in this study.

1.2. Outline of thesis

Several theories of dialect variation are discussed in Chapter 2, along with the concepts of linguistic marketplace and linguistic capital. Possible parallels with language shift due to the division of domains, including the workplace, precede a summary of research involving the two phonetic variables of interest in this thesis. Chapter 3 introduces the theoretical concepts of neoliberalism and Organizational Identification, their current roles in the economic environment surrounding the St. John's restaurant industry, and possible links to language. Of particular interest here are the concepts of sociolinguistic scales, governmentality, and enterprise culture, and their possible relationship to spoken language in the workplace. The use of the Organizational Identification Questionnaire as a quantifiable tool for OI is also defended in this chapter.

Chapter 4 describes the methodology involved in this research, including recruitment, restaurant classification, the ethnographic interview and questionnaire, data analysis, and ethics. Chapters 5 and 6 present quantitative and qualitative results, respectively, while Chapter 7 offers a discussion of these results using the framework discussed in the first chapters, as well as suggestions for future research. A final chapter presents an overall summary and conclusion.

CHAPTER 2: DIALECT VARIATION

The subject of dialect variation is popular in sociolinguistics and dialectology and as such there is no shortage of theories related to its causes and consequences. It can be manifested in any of a number of linguistic ways, whether syntactic, morphological, lexical, or phonological. Of particular interest in the present study is phonetic variation in Newfoundland English. Before turning to a review of research chronicling recent phonological changes to NE, I first introduce some key concepts and examples related to dialect variation in order to lay out a theoretical framework that will structure this portion of the thesis.

2.1. Internally motivated variation and change

This study examines phonetic variation in specific institutional settings, and as such a survey of internally motivated patterns of phonetic variation, which are intrasystemic constraints on human language production, is beyond the scope of the present research question. An objective of the present study is to determine whether or not phonetic variation is occurring at all, after which it may be fruitful to examine internally motivated change; however, while this thesis examines consonantal variables, most research on internally motivated change has looked at vowel change (Lindblom 1990; Labov 1994; Trudgill et al. 2000) to account for systemic sound change within a language or dialect. It is hoped that eventually corpus data from this thesis can assist in uncovering broader intrasystemic changes to NE phonology. For the remainder of this chapter, I turn to socially motivated variation and change to build a pertinent framework for my thesis.

2.2. Socially motivated variation and change

Variationist research on socially motivated change is rather heterogeneous, and fruitful for the present study. Since it is suggested here that phonetic variation in NE is related to a systemic movement toward market-valued language, social motivations will be considered within the workplace setting. An overview of theories related to socially motivated variation and change, on which I base much of my

analysis, is provided below.

2.2.1. Theories of variation

Chambers (2003) suggests that an important underlying dynamic is the adoption in a particular social context of a novel variant by one or another social group to index affiliation or disaffiliation with others. Eckert (2000) introduces the social practice model based on findings in Detroit suburbs, Johnstone (1999) proposes place as a cultural rather than a physical concept, and Preston (1999) and Ito (2001) investigate language attitudes to account for language change. All of these concepts are related to linguistic identity and may be drawn upon to account for linguistic patterns exhibited by employees from the various work environments.

There is a further set of conceptual terms which address contact-related change, such as leveling, simplification, diffusion, focusing, and reallocation (Trudgill 1986; Kerswill 2002), all of which are associated with koinéization, the process that leads to the formation of new dialects (Samarin 1971). The first of these, dialect leveling, is discussed below, as it has been well-documented in literature on NE and is particularly relevant to dialect change in a post-insular society like St. John's (cf. Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1996).

2.2.1.1. Dialect leveling

In conditions of social or geographical mobility, Milroy (2003:158) describes the process of dialect leveling as the “linguistic reflex of the large scale disruption of close-knit, localized networks which have historically maintained highly systematic and complex sets of socially structured linguistic norms”. Leveling generally supports conditions for greater linguistic homogeneity over time, including “a tendency for localized norms of the kind supported by a close-knit network structure to disappear” (Britain & Cheshire 2003), or at least converge toward a common norm. Most empirical research on changes to NE have observed some degree of leveling.

2.3. Language ideologies

It is known that languages and language forms index speakers' social identities fairly reliably in communities (Eckert 2000), and language ideologies may be viewed as a system for making sense of this inherent indexicality. However, as with all sense-making activities, linguistic indexicality is socially positioned, emerging from specific local, political, economic, and social circumstances, leading to associations of linguistic forms with some meaningful social group, often dictated by institutionalized forms of power (Foucault 2000). Local language ideologies are manifested most apparently as reactions and attitudes to the linguistic varieties or forms imagined as characteristic of socially salient groups (Eckert 2000).

As with the study on coffee shop employees by De Decker (2012), discussed in Chapter 3, hypercorrection is often used to display a speaker's orientation to the social meaning of particular linguistic forms. In his study, employees of “local” coffee shops drew on non-traditional linguistic practices as a way to “out-standard” the standard Starbucks model. Thus, an institutional environment modeled around Starbucks is appearing to shape its language ideologies around the organizational image, and perhaps also linguistic image, of one particularly salient organization, the institutional model.

Importantly, ideologies do indeed change as particular organizations shift in and out of salience in the sociolinguistic landscape over time and space, and as ideologies change, language ideology can be said to shape the direction of language or dialect change (Irvine & Gal 2000). Thus, a Starbucks model today may lose its salience tomorrow, to be replaced by a different, more socially salient and powerful organizational model. A related concept dealing with systemic language change due to economically driven language ideologies is language shift, discussed in section 2.4.

2.3.1. Linguistic marketplace

Related to language ideology is the linguistic marketplace, which refers to the theory that a

speaker's linguistic variation is partly dependent on her economic activities or occupation, which may or may not require knowledge of a variety imbued with linguistic capital (Sankoff & Laberge 1978). Similarly, according to Chambers (2003), listeners place more value on the language of “professionals of language”, such as teachers, authors, and lawyers, than they do on those with less verbal heavy careers, like technicians or engineers. Similarly, more value is placed on “technicians of language” like actors and secretaries, because these jobs require more interaction with other people and greater proficiency with words.

The linguistic marketplace effect results from the need to find employment, which usually favours a push toward a more standardized tongue, as in a standard linguistics market, but in some cases the most locally prestigious one is encouraged. In occupations requiring little verbal interaction, the push toward standardization is less likely to occur (Chambers 2003). This thesis asks which dialect is most favoured in one particular industry in St. John's, Newfoundland. Since the restaurant industry is verbally heavy, relative to other industries, it is hypothesized that standardization is encouraged in the industry overall. However, the NE dialect may be considered locally prestigious in certain organizations within the industry, a language ideology which I predict may be related to their employees' desire to borrow the linguistic identity of their workplace, determined by their OI.

2.3.2. Linguistic capital

Intrinsic to the notion of a linguistic marketplace is linguistic capital, a concept which was developed by Bourdieu (1977, 1991) as a subset of the broader cultural capital or “knowledge, skills and other cultural acquisitions, as exemplified by educational or technical qualifications” (Bourdieu 1991:119). Linguistic capital is the legitimization of those languages or dialects that are used by groups possessing economic, social, cultural, and political power and status in a given society. In the case of languages, conflict arises when the central authority in the domains of administration, policy, and economics is controlled by the dominant language group, who gives preference in employment to those

with a better command of the dominant language (Christiansen 2006). It has been suggested that such preferential treatment also occurs in the case of dialects (see Section 2.5).

The standards of elite languages or dialects are predetermined by power relations that tend to favour the continued rule of the economically privileged (Bourdieu 1991). The choice of standards is perpetuated through the reproduction of social stratification and patterns of domination and subordination, as well as by the spread of certain linguistic forms with the highest currency (Ibid). This thesis seeks to discern whether either of the two phonetic variables under scrutiny appears to possess high currency in the restaurant industry of St. John's, and if so, whether it is being used by certain individuals to represent their organization's image. Rather than pursuing a deep investigation into the social conditions driving the use of variables, this thesis questions whether or not an employee's OI is in fact related to the linguistic identity of her respective organization.

2.4. Language shift

These above-mentioned patterns of linguistic domination are best-documented in studies of language attrition, as opposed to dialect change. Thus, although dialect change stemming from workplace communications has never been overtly researched to the best of my knowledge, language shift has. Fishman (1991) has written at length about the factors involved with language loss, which include increased density of communication, usually in a lingua franca, through urbanization, and the concomitant social dislocation incurred by many linguistic minorities in this situation. He also cites processes involved with modernization and democratization as potentially harmful for the maintenance of minority languages, due to the omnipresence of a dominant culture and its language dominating media, educational institutions, economic endeavours, governmental and worship services, the workplace, and even the playground (Fishman 1991:63).

Nettle and Romaine (2000) contrast biological causes of language attrition from economic ones, highlighting urbanization, educational institutions, and government policies as major economic driving

forces behind the phenomenon, as they all depend on uneven development for their successful implementation. Economic growth, they argue, is inherently biased in favour of the urban elites, resource liquidation, and homogeneity, at the cost of the rural poor and minority groups elsewhere (Nettle & Romaine 2000:160). Those in power, who most readily dominate media, local and international politics, and micro-levels of society, including the workplace, in turn control the assignment and distribution of linguistic capital in society, which tends to favour their particular lingua franca (Ibid:30).

In his paper, Palmer (1997) introduces the language-at-work hypothesis to explain how language choices at work may produce long-term language loss. He focuses specifically on indigenous languages in the southwestern United States with the premise that a language dies when a more dominant one replaces it in all or most domains, namely school, work, home, and social settings (cf. Fishman 1964). His hypothesis can be summarized as a causal chain leading from a shift in the economic structure of work to a shift in language use at work, to a shift in language use at home. Accordingly, communities in which parents train their children for life in a vernacular language-dominated work force are less likely to experience language shift at home.

One of the motivations for the current research project is to assess the driving forces discussed above in the context of dialect change in the St. John's restaurant industry. While clearly not all scenarios are applicable, many of the factors are relevant regarding the shift in economic structure toward neoliberal values. For instance, if our findings suggest that high OI correlates with lower use of NE in prestigious restaurants, we may expect the linguistic capital of more standard varieties and their eventual use in a population to prevail over time.

2.5. Dialect discrimination at work

Accent and dialect may have implications for employability, as many studies have shown. According to Cargile (2002), a listener may identify the ethnicity of the speaker through language

characteristics, such as phonological or grammatical contrasts, and ascribe a status level according to the stereotypes associated with that particular ethnic group. Individuals with the accent of the majority or dominant group are often considered to be of the highest status and competence level (Carlson & McHenry 2006). Cargile's (2000) research on Asian American accents in the employment interview suggests that speakers considered to be of equal or competitive status with the majority group, such as those with Asian or British accents, have increased ratings for status and employability. Canadian-English speaking judges rated speakers with “foreign” accents (i.e. Italian, Greek, West African, Portuguese, and Slovak) as more suitable for lower status jobs (Kalin & Rayko 1978). In the United States, speakers with Spanish-influenced accents (Dávila et al. 1993), and speakers of Appalachian English (Atkins 1993) and African American Vernacular English (Hopper 1977) have consistently been given low ratings in employability research.

Research on dialect discrimination in the workplace has not been conducted with regards to Newfoundland English. Clarke (2010) talks about discriminatory attitudes toward the Newfoundland dialects by both Newfoundlanders and mainlanders, but implications for employability have not been tested. Thus, one objective of this study is to test whether or not certain types of workplace value more standardized and overtly prestigious linguistic features over local NE ones. The findings reported in Chapter 6 do raise the possibility of dialect discrimination in the St. John's workplace, an issue which ought to be accounted for by both businesses and the working population. Before delving further into the relations between language and the workplace, however, it is first necessary to review existing sociolinguistics research on recent phonological changes in NE, as well as to introduce the variables of interest here, slit fricative and creaky voice.

2.6. NE dialect variation

Among Canada's relatively homogeneous regional linguistic varieties, Newfoundland English is perceived by many as the single most distinct regional dialect in the country (Boberg 2010), as well as

a highly distinctive dialect in all the English-speaking world. In fact, it is the best-documented out of any variety of Canadian English, by scholars both within Canada and abroad (Clarke 2010). The relative linguistic autonomy of varieties of NE is generally accounted for by Newfoundland and Labrador's unique settlement patterns deriving primarily from southwest England and southeast Ireland, late entry into the Canadian Confederation, and geographic isolation.

Yet owing largely to its joining Confederation in 1949 and the perceived prestige of the national variety, Standard Canadian English (SCE), over the past three generations several traditional NE phonological features have been leveling toward SCE (Clarke 1991, 2010, 2012; D'Arcy 2000, 2005; Hollett 2006; De Decker 2012). Clarke (2010) discusses how SCE was imposed on NE speakers at the institutional level in the 1950s and -60s, when rural students majoring in education (B.Ed.) enrolling at Memorial University, Newfoundland and Labrador's sole higher education institution at the time, were obliged to take a "speech" course "designed to reduce strong local dialects and enable mastery of more standard pronunciation and grammar" (Clarke 2010:138). These changes are most apparent in St. John's. Empirical studies have shown NE marked variants to be falling into disuse, with change usually adopted first by members of the upper-middle/upper class, older women, and adolescents. Nearly all studies of change in NE have shown older men to retain local dialect features at the highest rates.

2.7. Phonetic variables of interest

This thesis examines one totemic phonetic variable found in Newfoundland English and one global English variable: slit fricative and creaky voice, respectively. Both creaky voice (Mendoza-Denton 2012:262) and slit fricative (D'Arcy 2000:76) lack metalinguistic awareness, in that they are not at the level of conscious awareness for most speakers (Silverstein 1981:5). An overview of the two variables including existing research documenting some of their usage patterns is reviewed below.

2.7.1. Slit fricative

An example of NE that unambiguously derives from Irish English is voiceless alveolar "slit

fricative” (Clarke 1986:68). It is symbolized as [ɬ] by Wells (1982) and occurs post-vocally as in *put* and *matter* and never pre-consonantly. In the present study, the slit fricative variable [ɬ] has a binary distinction, in that speakers either produce it as the slit fricative variant /ɬ/ or the stop variant /t/, which is representative of SCE. The only known surveys of its usage in Newfoundland, to the best of my knowledge, were reported by Clarke (1986) from her analysis of phonological change in St. John's English, and by D'Arcy (2000) in her study on young female speakers in St. John's. Smaller regional observations have been made for the Burin Peninsula (Lanari 1994), but results are not significant enough to be discussed here.

2.7.1.1. Clarke (1986)

Clarke's 1986 survey of St. John's English (SJE) indicates that slit fricative is declining among younger generations in St. John's, with transition toward SCE being led by adolescent females. It also suggests, based on its usage in formal and informal speech, that older generations (in her case, speakers who grew up in pre-Confederation Newfoundland) saw it as a prestigious form and were more likely to use it in formal speech, as opposed to younger speakers who tended to use it more in casual speech. Clarke's findings also suggest slit fricative to show no socioeconomic stratification among speakers of SJE, and that it does not appear to have any social stigma attached to its usage. She provides anecdotal evidence for this, showing that speakers are not even aware of the existence of the slit fricative variant.

2.7.1.2. D'Arcy (2000)

The study by D'Arcy (2000) looks at a variety of phonetic variables in adolescent female speakers in St. John's, with slit fricative as her only consonantal variable. Her study compares the speech of speakers with local parents to those with non-local parents. Although her patterns were not identified as statistically significant, they do suggest a few things. First, speakers with local parents are more likely to use the slit fricative variant than their counterparts with non-local parents. Second, like Clarke's finding for younger speakers, usage is slightly higher in casual speech than in careful speech.

Third, preadolescents use slit fricative less frequently than their adolescent counterparts.

2.7.1.3. Methodologies

An important difference between Clarke's and D'Arcy's studies is the latter's use of only word-final and pre-pausal post-vocalic tokens of [ɫ]. D'Arcy notes that of 186 tokens of intervocalic /t/ in free conversation, only once did slit fricative occur. My own results pattern similarly, in that there were zero occurrences of intervocalic slit fricative in all possible tokens. Therefore, I too limit my data to word-final tokens of /t/ in free conversation as well as reading tasks. This pattern likely results from decreased intervocalic use of slit fricative among younger speakers of NE across the board, as both D'Arcy's and the present studies concentrate primarily on young female speakers either twenty-five or thirty-five years after Clarke's study.

A final note on slit fricative research is the notable absence of words ending in /d/, such as *did* and *could*. As affrication was found to occur among such words in conversations and reading tasks, I have included all possible word-final post-vocalic tokens in the data sets. A full set of criteria determining which tokens are included in the study is outlined in section 4.4.1.3.2.

2.7.2. Creaky voice

Creaky voice, sometimes also called vocal fry, pulse register, laryngealisation, pulse phonation, creak, croak, popcorning, glottal fry, glottal rattle, glottal scrape, or strohbass, occurs when the larynx experiences “strong adductive tension, medial compression, and low airflow, resulting in a low-frequency irregular tapping sound” (Laver 1980:126). Historically, creaky voice or vocal fry had been considered a clinical voice disorder, but since the mid-60s is considered the lowest of three normal phonational registers, with the two higher ones being modal voice and falsetto (Catford 1964).

2.7.2.1. Traditional studies

Traditional, “first wave” sociolinguistic studies correlating creaky voice with social characteristics were conducted by Trudgill (1974) in Norwich speech and Esling (1978) in Edinburgh

speech. Trudgill's study correlated creak with paralinguistic markers of the working-class Norwich dialect, while Esling correlated creak with high social status, as opposed to whispery and harsh voice, which he found to correspond with lower status. Most subsequent studies, however, focused on the paralinguistic uses of creak to display different kinds of affect, which signaled a move into later waves of sociolinguistic research.

2.7.2.2. “Third wave” studies

The “third wave” in variation studies witnessed a move from viewing linguistic variants as categorical identity markers for particular speech communities to seeing speakers place themselves in the social landscape and construct their own personae through their speech styles (Eckert 2012). The first “third wave” mention of the social significance of creaky voice was by Brown and Levinson, who studied its use among the Tzeltal Maya of Chiapas, Mexico as a marker to seek commiseration, i.e. as a voice of complaining to seek sympathy (Brown & Levinson 1987:272).

This study marked the beginning of an inquiry into the differing sociocultural constructs surrounding the phonetic variable. Creaky voice in Lachixío Zapotec, for example, spoken by natives of the neighboring Mexican state of Oaxaca, marks both the seeking of commiseration as well as the showing of sympathy by mirroring the sympathy seeker's voice in reciprocity (Sicoli 2010), and he examines its use both phonationally and prosodically. Another instance of a differing sociocultural meaning for creaky voice is in Meso-American Spanish, where Sicoli demonstrated its stylistic use in urban tourist cities. There, he found it to be used by children begging for money or selling small crafts, as well as by adult pedestrian vendors attempting a sale (Sicoli 2015).

In Bengali, creaky voice has been analyzed in Bangladeshi medical encounters to signal “weakness, misery, or a sympathetic response to misery”, as well as by patients to present “*themselves* as weak” (Wilce 1997:354). Creaky voice in English has been indexed to emotions ranging from anger and sarcasm to fear and disgust (Murray & Arnott 1993), as well as signaling bored resignation when it

occurs throughout the phrase (Laver 1980:126).

Mendoza-Denton's research among Chicana “gang-girls” in California elucidates the mechanisms by which a less-than-salient linguistic feature, creaky voice, can act as a “semiotic hitchhiker”, co-occurring with more overtly stereotypical discourse markers and performative acts in simultaneous intertextual circulation (Hill 2005), thereby becoming enregistered as part of the “hard core” Chicana gang persona. She concludes that “creaky voice participates in a local economy of affect centered around being silent, being hard of heart (hardcore), and being toughened through experience” (Mendoza-Denton 2011:269), obeying discourse-internal constraints to construct this persona. She contradicts the way prevalent studies analyze creak in terms of being male or masculine, choosing rather to analyze it in terms of qualities, styles, and stances of toughness and of being hardcore. Moreover, creaky voice is used by non-members, as a way to “cross” or mock this persona (Mendoza-Denton 1999). Finally, creaky voice has demonstrated intra-speaker variation as a register feature to be turned on or off, depending on contextual relevance (Sicoli 2007), as evidenced in, for example, its conspicuous absence in interactions with parents (Mendoza-Denton 1997).

2.7.2.3. Recent findings

On the more linguistic side of things, studies have stated that creaky voice tends to occur in utterance-final position in British Received Pronunciation (Catford 1964), but particularly among RP-speaking men (Wells 1982). Similar results are found among male English speakers by Ladefoged (1982) and Monsen and Engebretson (1977). On the more gendered side of things, creak has been indexed to masculinity and hyper-masculinity in British English (Henton & Bladen 1988; Watt & Burns 2012) and Australian English (Pittam 1987), although more recent research is producing different results, discussed below.

Wolk et al. (2012) were the first to quantify the prevalence of creaky voice. In their study they found that more than two-thirds of American female college students used creaky voice in a reading

task, and it occurred most often at the end of utterances, concluding that creaky voice is increasing in frequency among university-aged women. “Future research should use both reading tasks as well as conversational speech tasks to distinguish between a ‘social use of vocal fry’ versus a ‘linguistic’ use of vocal fry” (Wolk et al. 2012:e115). An identical study was repeated on young male adult speakers and found their use to be four times lower than their female counterparts (Abdelli-Beruh 2014).

2.7.2.4. Perceptual tests

Perceptual tests in Australian, British, Irish, and American English found creaky voice to be associated with higher social status and authority (Pittam 1987; Esling 1978; Gobl & Ní 2003). For example, Borkowska and Pawlowski (2011) conclude that men and women with lower pitched voices are perceived as stronger and more dominant. Lefkowitz and Sicoli (2007) describe how American college students “get their creak on” to assume a position of power that goes against stereotypical norms of gender or rank, with the hyper-low pitch being a trope of masculinity and its cultural association with authority. They also demonstrate its use as a signal of insecure or inverted authority, as when a female scientist interviewed by a man on NPR creaks more when assuming an authoritative stance, going against the common indexical associations of gender and power. Finally, Lefkowitz and Sicoli's study is the first to describe creak as being lesser or absent among African American women, suggesting it as a possible dimension of whiteness. “The single index of power and authority afforded by the ultra-low pitch of creaky voice may appear more effective where the index of whiteness positions a woman closer to the axis of white, male authority” (Sicoli 2010:117).

2.7.2.5. Negative associations

Yuasa's study concludes that creaky voice in American English was most common among “young urban-oriented upwardly mobile American women”, but also indexed its use to such descriptors as “hesitant” and “not so confident” (Yuasa 2010:330). This marks a shift toward more conspicuously negative associations with creaky voice found in more recent studies. For instance, Quenqua (2012) has

shown how associations with creaky voice seem to have shifted from power and assertiveness to ditziness and apathy in young women, particularly those in business. One study has ruled creaky voice to be an off-putting “fashion trend” that may damage young women’s professional image (Saunders 2013), while a Duke study (Anderson et al. 2014) shows creaky voice is not preferred in the job market, advising women against using it. Adjectives used to describe perceptions of those who exhibit creaky voice are less competent, less educated, less trustworthy, less attractive, and less hireable. Finally, a study in Canada found the majority of both men and women to hold negative attitudes toward young women exhibiting creaky voice (Goodine & Johns 2014).

Thus, creaky voice is in a constant state of semiotic flux over time and space and therefore difficult to index to any one social meaning. The most recent findings across a variety of media deliver a negative report to those who creak, holding it in low regard, especially in the job market. As these findings pertain mostly to women in the United States and Canada, it is possible that many Newfoundlanders too hold negative attitudes toward creaky voice. If that is the case, we may expect creaky voice not to be a preferred feature of most organizations' linguistic identity, and likewise that employees with high OI exhibit it less than those with low OI.

2.8. Summing up

In this section I have introduced the global phenomenon of dialect variation and change, specifically looking at the broad social contexts that produce linguistic ideologies and the linguistic capital invested in them. One suggested hotbed for linguistic homogenization is the workplace, possibly stemming from economic viability of more standardized speech and local dialect discrimination. I have introduced the two linguistic variables to be tested in this study, slit fricative and creaky voice. Lack of metalinguistic awareness seems to be the most apparent feature they share. The two variables have never been studied together, and creaky voice has never been studied in a Newfoundland context. Slit fricative, a salient feature of NE, is reportedly unstigmatized and generally

associated with older speakers of NE, particularly women.

Creaky voice, I have suggested, is a much more widespread feature spanning several languages and sociolinguistic realms. The main objective here was to show the lack of productivity of indexing linguistic features to sociocultural constructs, as they are in constant semiotic flux. Even if creaky voice is found to be associated with low OI or less prestigious businesses, the fact remains that ideologies towards linguistic features change over time and vary across space. Furthermore, emic perspectives are much more relevant in variationist studies, as Mendoza-Denton's work on Chicana gang-girls' use of creaky voice demonstrates. She shows how to understand the sociocultural constructs surrounding creak it is necessary to witness its stylistic use through the perspective of the gang girls themselves, thereby rendering indexes much more relevant.

Yet to understand the mechanisms by which power dynamics and resultant linguistic dominance are played out in the workplace, and the possible implications for patterns of dialect variation therein, it is necessary to first look at the global economic landscape that lays the groundwork for any modern workplace with a hand in the market. The next section firstly illustrates the economic order of the day, neoliberalism, to situate my research at the macro-scale and to trace the economic trajectory of St. John's to its present state, and finally zooms in on the more interpersonal dynamics and identity work in the workplace to locate dialect variation “on the ground” through the framework of OI.

CHAPTER 3: NEOLIBERALISM & ORGANIZATIONAL IDENTIFICATION

A discussion of neoliberalism, a pervasive economic ideology characterizing most of the modern world, is developed in this section, in order to help interpret the dialect variation of interest in the chosen research setting, namely restaurants in St. John's. The remainder of this chapter discusses an overarching theme of this thesis, Organizational Identification, and its relevance as a framework in variationist sociolinguistics research, particularly as it pertains to workplace-related language.

3.1. A brief economic history of St. John's

St. John's is the capital and largest city in Newfoundland and Labrador, a province rich in history and home to the first known European settlement in North America, dating as early as 1000 AD (Quinn 1988). According to several accounts, St. John's was founded by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1583 making it the first North American English colony (Morison 1971). Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Britain secured it as a stronghold for inshore fishing around the port. The strategic importance of St. John's as a commercial trading outpost is evidenced by the many battles over its ownership (Rowe 1980). During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the structure of St. John's began to revolve around a diversity of industries, leading to steady population growth, though the cod fishing industry undoubtedly remained its primary economic force. St. John's became the capital of the Dominion of Newfoundland in 1907 and it was not until 1949 that the province became the tenth and final one to be incorporated into the Canadian Confederation (Ibid).

The collapse of the northern cod industry in 1992 marked the largest industrial closure in Canadian history, profoundly affecting the fabric of life in St. John's and the rest of the province for a decade, with record unemployment rates and a severe population decrease (Harris 2013). However, the turn of the century has seen a major turnaround in economic activity due to intense capitalization on offshore oil production, mining, and manufacturing. In 2013, service industries accounted for the largest share of GDP in the province, with per capita GDP tied for second highest of all provinces in

Canada, on par with that of Switzerland (Conference Board 2016). In 2013, Newfoundland and Labrador exhibited the highest growth rate in GDP per capita in all of Canada (Ibid).

3.2. Neoliberalism, an ideology

Neoliberalism is the current capitalist economic structure dominating most of the developed world and “the commonsense way many of us interpret, live in and understand the world” (Harvey 2005:3). Neoliberalism emphasizes human capital (Bourdieu 1991), that an individual’s own potential capabilities will be fully rewarded in the form of profit in the market. Thus, according to neoliberal philosophy social conditions cannot be blamed for one’s failure, as reflected in Margaret Thatcher’s famous claim that there is no such thing as society (The Guardian 2013). The reality, however, is that there are a myriad social and material constraints on an individual's standing in the world, one such constraint being the sociocultural embeddedness of language. Of relevance in this thesis is whether one's particular dialect plays a role in one's workplace potential. Language and neoliberalism is discussed in section 3.4 below.

3.2.1. Neoliberalism and inequality

It is well-documented by scholars of neoliberalism that neoliberal capitalism is heavily linked to rising social inequality (Harvey 2005; Navarro 2007; Sernau 2010). Harvey (2005) writes of the process he terms “accumulation by dispossession”, wherein the rights of the commons are suppressed, labour power commodified, all non-capitalist forms of production and consumption devalued, assets appropriated, exchange and taxation monetized, and credit systems initiated. Accumulation by dispossession, Harvey argues, allows neoliberalism to universalize and normalize inequality through the uneven development of global entities and through the restructuring of class power in favour of an increasingly wealthy elite class.

3.2.1.1. Sociolinguistic scales

Such social differentiation is apparent throughout all aspects of economic life in St. John’s, and

it inevitably extends to phenomena surrounding language. As different sociolinguistic scales (Blommaert 2007) co-exist in uneven spaces and change at uneven rates over time, the “unequal access to sociolinguistic resources and their dynamics of distribution and control” inevitably occur (Ibid:15). Thus, certain linguistic features perceived as economically valuable by the wealthy elite class, for example, may be invisible or hidden from speech communities operating at a different scale, perhaps limiting their job prospects in particular industries.

According to Blommaert (cf. Eckert 2000; Agha 2007), the rapid contextual shifts in universes of globalization prevent meaning making of sociolinguistic features from being static. Meanings are determined in a dynamic relationship with different “space-time dimensions” (Blommart et al. 2015:121) of social life, and the meaning-making processes develop “in a stratified, non-unified way due to the intrinsic polycentricity of any social environment in which communication takes place” (Ibid). For instance, “substandard” features, which may be located in foreign or dialect accents, are often indexed to some stereotypical characteristics of marginality, lack of sophistication, etc., however they may simultaneously carry varying “indexical loads” (Agha 2007), which shift as multiscalarly accompanies new “globalized flows of semiotic material” (Blommaert et al. 2015:123), and groups shift in and out of salience (Irvine & Gal 2001).

These phenomena undoubtedly can be found in the restaurant industry, and this thesis intends to illuminate some of the social context related to language variation therein. Before looking into this specific realm of economic activity, however, a brief look at neoliberalism in the St. John’s service sector is necessary to further contextualize the observations in this study at a macro-scale.

3.2.2. Neoliberalism and the St. John’s service sector

An overarching structural and ideological tenet of neoliberalism is the fundamental logic of the market; that market exchange is the guide for all human action and thus that conditions should ensure that a “free” market thrives (Harvey 2005). Thus, economic growth and competition are imperative to

neoliberal ideology. The mantra of growth and competition undergirding neoliberal philosophy is manifested in the endless commodification of all aspects of life. Intrinsic value of all goods and services is based on market value, and profits are what drive competition. More capital in St. John's over the past decade has translated into a growing service sector that has expanded across city limits. As is common in growing cities, its peripheries are dominated by translocal “Big Box” stores, while downtown St. John's attempts to sustain local “mom-and-pop” shops (Haltiwanger et al. 2010). This pervasive patterning of businesses captures the differentiation of scale intrinsic to any economic landscape.

3.2.2.1. The restaurant industry in St. John's

“We can see it happening. We're not known for [local, inexpensive restaurant] anymore, we're known for [fancy restaurant]; Oil is drying up, pennies are being pinched, so what will fund our future?” (The Overcast 2016). This was asked in an editorial in the local newspaper The Overcast, which nearly always features articles on new restaurants and culinary events downtown, often reflecting on how “our province is moving towards a new identity every day” (Ibid).

Owing largely to economic growth and increased tourism in recent years, the food service industry has become very lucrative in St. John's. New restaurants continue to appear both downtown and around the periphery, with diverse quality, pricing, and culinary options catering to a wide variety of palates. According to Labour Market Statistics provided by the NL Statistics Agency (2015), accommodation and food services were ranked sixth of all employment sectors in the province, accounting for 6.6% of NL's employee workforce in 2015 (about 15,700 people).

To remain lucrative, these restaurants must remain in healthy competition with one another or else go bust. Signs of interorganizational competition are readily available to consumers across a wide range of media, perhaps most obviously through organizations' presence on digital social media. The constant invocation to “Like us on Facebook” or “Follow us on Twitter” can now be seen as

imperatives for organizations trying to increase their market visibility (Wee 2014:64). Furthermore, business rating sites like Trip Advisor and Yelp provide overt competitive rankings based on user ratings for a variety of relevant categories. Interorganizational competition is further discussed in Section 3.3.1.3.

Tools for business success rely on capital, which in turn depends on sustained popularity and customer loyalty. In neoliberal terms, the most successful businesses are the most lucrative ones, and it is a safe assumption that as more wealth is generated in a city, the more lucrative businesses will eventually drive out their less profitable, smaller counterparts in the same industry and same part of town (Haltiwanger et al. 2010). Restaurant franchises often have several advantages over locally-owned restaurants, including brand recognition, purchasing power, national advertising, professional menu developers, and expert interior designers, often difficult for local restaurants' word-of-mouth advertising to compete with (Bradley 2014).

Restaurant employees, and specifically servers, can be seen as the face of customer service, which is a major criterion in determining a restaurant's popularity (Sandlin 2007). A reasonable question relates to the type of person being hired to reflect the image of a successful restaurant business. This thesis asks whether an employee's degree of accord with the integrity of her place of employment, or her Organizational Identification, henceforth OI, is consonant with the organizational image of the restaurant she represents. Specifically, the spoken language of the employee will be examined to determine whether her sociolinguistic practices reflect the business image. Ultimately, this thesis is testing whether a more standard SCE is perceived as having a higher economic value, or linguistic capital, relative to the local, nonstandard NE, and whether OI may be a useful diagnostic regarding one's linguistic behaviour with regard to the workplace.

3.2.3. Governmentality

An important facet of neoliberalism is governmentality, or government of the self (Foucault

2008), in which individuals self-regulate to become mini replicas of the organization they represent. In decentralized neoliberal economic spaces where the actions of the state is restricted, Foucault reasons that members of society are compelled to guide their own behaviour and the behaviour of others, or self-govern, based on the internalized knowledge and discourses ratified by those in positions of power. Such auto-regulation is seen as the most efficient type of control, since it is less outwardly authoritarian, leading instead to a reordering of society's conceptualization of power, freedom, economic activity, security, and even ideals.

Members of organizations are encouraged to self-govern in order to internalize and promulgate the goals of organizations. This is done through organizational discourse with an emphasis on teamwork and collective autonomy, an attractive organizational culture, and identity work, which is discussed below. Whether or not governmentality is related to language in the workplace remains to be tested. Further discussion on this point is merited if patterns are indeed found between the linguistic behaviour of certain employees and their OI, which may be partially qualified by ethnographic emphasis on neoliberal values in the workplace.

3.2.4. Neoliberal discourse

Such self-regulation or “subjectification” is achieved largely through discourse. Similarly, Fairclough (2006) attests to the colonization of discourse by the market through the language of “new capitalism”, which he claims is pervading other domains of life. Finally, Massey (2013:20) asserts that through the repeated public use of neoliberal vocabularies, the naturalness of markets becomes so “deeply rooted in the structure of thought... that even the fact that it is an assumption seems to have been lost to view”.

The understanding in linguistic research that language is always rooted in social conditions and material constraints (Foucault 2000) can help us confront the neoliberal ideology of “language as pure potential” (Shin & Park 2015:5), which simply and unproblematically posits language as a transparent

medium for the expression of one's market potential. Although not about neoliberal discourse *per se*, this thesis seeks to test whether the pervasiveness of neoliberal language can also be found in changing phonetic features of the local dialect, based on the possibility of situating non-local phonetic variables within neoliberally defined “economically valuable” work settings. For a better understanding of why the economics of market identity and linguistic identity are central to this thesis, OI is described in the next section.

3.3 Organizational Identification

Negotiation of identity in the workplace is an important issue in the increasingly competitive and expanding business world (Swann et al. 2009), and this section outlines how and why identity at the organizational level is managed, and what this may signify for linguistic performance in the workplace.

3.3.1 What is Organizational Identification?

Identification is "an active process by which individuals link themselves to elements in a social scene" (Cheney 1983:342), helping them to make sense of their physical and mental environments and thereby to navigate their worlds appropriately. The propensity of an individual to align with individual and organizational values (Pratt 1998) or the perception of oneness and belonging with an organization (Ashforth & Mael 1989) is known as Organizational Identification (OI). Cheney (1983) has also noted the primary importance of language in processes of identification, as it allows both the organization to communicate to the employee its expressed values, as well the employee to verbally express similarities or affiliations with the organization to which she belongs.

3.3.1.1. Management of identity

In the organizational sciences, OI is seen as linked to organizational commitment, which has implications for productivity, efficacy, and profit (Tompkins 2005). As such, employee satisfaction and retention are often seen as crucial to a successful business. Apart from obvious, authoritative forms of

control, sometimes those in power in an organization more effectively control, improve, or increase employee OI by implementing seemingly “unobtrusive” methods (Tompkins & Cheney 1985) that in fact “control the cognitive premises underlying action” (Perrow 1979:151). Kassing (1997) discusses how organizations may choose to emphasize, through communicated goals and values, only those particular problems and choices seen as “most salient to organizational success” (Kassing 1997:316), thus biasing employees' decision making and consequently also their sense of identification. In other words, by accepting incentives typically in the forms of wages and salaries, and by responding to the “aura” of authority, employees in the neoliberal workplace are enticed to identify with their organization through a set of common strategies used by those in power. Such strategies are by nature communicative and may involve use of a “common ground”, identification by antithesis (common adversary, often governmental regulations), assumed “we” (versus “they”), or unifying symbols such as logos or trademarks (Tompkins & Cheney 1985).

Alvesson & Willmott (2002) argue that identity regulation, or the "discursive practices concerned with identity definition that condition processes of identity formation and transformation" or “identity work” is a fundamental and oft-neglected form of organizational control that takes place notably during induction, training, and promotion procedures, and paves the way for corporate identity to inform “self-identity work” (Alvesson & Willmott 2002:627). In a modern work environment characterized by diminishing job security, downsizing, shorter work contracts, and outsourcing, the management of identity work becomes increasingly necessary to sustain employee commitment, involvement, and loyalty.

The research topic for this thesis has to do with the possible implications for OI on language use in the workplace. It is hypothesized that restaurant franchises, or any restaurants with a strong corporate identity, are vigilant in processes surrounding identity work and self-identity work of their employees. Whether these processes are effective is to be decided based on quantitative results related

to OI as well as qualitative results found in ethnographic interviews. If OI is indeed being effectively cultivated through organizational efforts, those employees' linguistic behaviour will be of special interest. No empirical research as yet has sought a firm correlation between OI and spoken language.

3.3.1.2. Enterprise culture

A major hallmark of neoliberalism and a highly praised feature of OI is the systemic prioritization of enterprise culture, which has become pervasive and normative in all aspects of modern society and promotes particular attributes as “human virtues” worth cultivating (du Gay 1996:56). Such attributes include autonomy, risk-taking, creativity, innovativeness, strategy, competitive spirit, and customer-orientation. In the restaurant industry, novel approaches to making customers feel appreciated, ambiance creativity, cutting edge food and drink presentation, and high-quality marketing techniques are examples of business practices indispensable to a successful business. Due to the hegemonic status of enterprise culture (Harvey 2005; Ong 2006), individuals and organizations are all expected to demonstrate enterprising qualities or at least that they are attempting to cultivate them, in order to legitimize their existence and activities (Wee 2014).

3.3.1.3. Commodification of identity

While enterprise culture is prevalent across organizations, OI is still constrained in that it must reflect distinctively an organization's particular goals. Image and identity become commodities that the organization must safeguard because they are the key strategic resources by which an organization can distinguish itself from competing organizations (Comaroff & Comaroff 2009). Wee (2014) points to the need for organizations to competitively cultivate semiotic resources in response to the commodification of identity, thereby producing its psychological distinctiveness and cultural capital among both employees and the general public. Hogg and Terry (2001:19) claim that OI is generally highest when there is interorganizational heterogeneity. By this logic, we would expect employees from St. John's more unique restaurants to display a higher OI.

3.3.1.4. Institutional Isomorphism

On the other hand, organizations in the same industry tend to become isomorphic, or similar, to each other. Isomorphism is an organization's response to the institutional environment; the stronger the institutional environment surrounding a set of organizations, the more likely they are to display isomorphism (Scott 1992). An example of an institutional environment is the fast food industry; organizations within this institutional environment are generally isomorphic.

The institutional environment is not, however, always homogeneous, since “institutional myths” are normalized to different degrees in different societies, and organizations have different degrees of freedom in deciding whether to abide by these myths (Wee 2014:5). We would thus expect employees of isomorphic restaurants, such as casual franchises, to exhibit weaker OI than employees of less isomorphic ones. Yet it is expected that the more economically prestigious franchises take greater care to disguise some of the institutional practices intrinsic to their institutional environment. For instance, a prestigious steakhouse franchise that does not display environmentally sound business practices has the resources to promote other “institutional myths” such as altruism and employee fairness, thereby cultivating a stronger OI in their employees than less prestigious franchises are able to do.

Since language is a ubiquitous part of the life of an organization, it has been proposed that, by extension, isomorphism should be measurable in organizational language (Lewis 2002), yet this has not been tested outside of organizational texts and documents. I propose that isomorphism should also be reflected in the spoken language of restaurant employees, in the form of common phonetic features. I hypothesize that nearly all restaurants must eventually conform to the demands of the market if they are to sustain a successful business image, and the linguistic capital of SCE will prevail, at least for the time being. However, I also posit that certain models of localness will use local dialect as a commodity to assert the enterprising quality of “traditional meets modern”. Thus, this thesis will look carefully at the speech of employees in all restaurant categories to see whether a strong sense of affiliation (OI)

with the restaurant correlates with its perceived linguistic identity, and whether linguistic isomorphism appears to be occurring.

3.3.2. OI and language

According to Labov (1972), an employee's linguistic behaviour is the single most salient social characteristic reflecting his occupational status. De Decker (2012) relates this observation to OI by hypothesizing that “employees with high OI will linguistically mark their alignment with their workplace in order to promote its identity to their customers.” In justifying his socioeconomic classification of department store employees, Labov (1972) cites Mills (1956), who conversely observes “salespeople in department stores...to borrow prestige from their contact with customers, and to cash it in among work colleagues as well as friends off the job.” Thus, we can assume that a successful business model also reflects the identity of its customers. This is especially the case in restaurants, where customers are simultaneously the economic backbone and ultimate critic. Thus, for restaurant employees, we would expect their speech within the workplace to reflect that of both their customers and the perceived organizational image.

3.3.3. Quantifying OI

In business research, OI has come to be seen as an increasingly powerful concept necessary to quantify, in order to predict employee job involvement and commitment to their organization, which can in turn predict productivity, absenteeism, and turnover. An Organizational Identification Questionnaire (OIQ) was developed by Cheney (1983) and included twenty-five questions regarding employee OI on a 7-point Likert scale. Gautam et al. (2004) later revised Cheney's questionnaire, however, based on a desire to tease apart organizational identification from organizational commitment, two related but conceptually different aspects of employee behaviour.

According to these authors, there is strong theoretical and empirical evidence for why these two concepts are discrete. Organizational commitment can be broken down into four types: affective,

continuance, normative, and attitudinal. Affective and attitudinal commitment are most similar to OI in that they correlate best with satisfaction, well-being, lower turnover, and higher productivity (Gautam et al. 2004:304), albeit with some methodological difficulties (Ibid:305). The others, however, have a neutral or even unfavourable relation to employee performance and other variables. OI is also a highly flexible variable, dependent on a number of factors including the salience of the organization and its interorganizational interactions, whereas commitment “is seen as an attitude, which, once established, is relatively stable and enduring” (Ibid:305). Furthermore, studies have empirically tested the distinctiveness of OI and commitment and, based on questionnaires and expert analyses, have found their differences to be statistically significant (Van Knippenberg & Sleebos 2001; Gautam et al. 2004).

The new OIQ has been distilled from Cheney's original OIQ into an eight-item questionnaire deemed as a reliable measure of OI for employees in organizations. It is this revised OIQ that is used in the present study, and it can be found in Appendix A.

3.4. Concluding remarks

The economic trajectory of Newfoundland has been unique in its abruptness. As the last province to join Confederation in 1949, it has changed from a group of insular communities to only relatively recently opening up to outside capitalist investments, as well as immigration of people from places outside of western Europe, undergoing a resurgence of economic growth largely fueled by offshore oil money. The number of sociolinguistic scales is increasing as Newfoundland, and particularly St. John's, experiences growing inequality and an expanding, competitive, uneven business landscape.

The restaurant industry in St. John's offers a ripe observatory for linguistic variation against a backdrop of scalar discrepancies. Competition is evident through organizations' omnipresence on social media and advertisements, and the rise of Big Box franchises, largely found on the periphery of the city. As restaurants grapple for semiotic resources to gain the upper hand in the expanding service

sector, the servers and hosts remain the most conspicuous face of customer service, a crucial factor determining a restaurant's popularity. I have argued that their OI, or sense of oneness with their place of employment, should be indicative of which linguistic patterns are perceived as most economically valuable overall in St. John's' restaurant industry.

The mechanisms by which perceptions about cultural, and linguistic, capital are achieved have to do with power structures dominating human life. In the current neoliberal iteration of capitalism, economic evaluation is dictated insidiously through the guise of freedom, enterprise, and autonomy; i.e., governmentality. In the prevailing enterprise culture, organizations assist in broadening local perspectives about cultural capital in order to attain maximum profitability. By cultivating OI in employees, and particularly in those who work for organizations with access to the most semiotic resources ensuring their psychological distinctiveness and cultural capital, but still within the confines of a set institutional environment, businesses manage to sustain employee commitment, involvement, and loyalty, despite the increasingly precarious conditions of the neoliberal workplace environment.

Marrying the twin notions of homogeneity and heterogeneity, Irvine (2001) points to the importance of both distinctiveness in organizations, for differentiation purposes, as well as consistency within the institutional environment, for the sake of comparison with other organizations, in order to achieve a “coherent representation of a distinctive self” (Irvine 2001:31). This point speaks to the relativity, rather than any intrinsic meaning, of indexicality with regards to semiotic resources employed by organizations in the creation and reaffirmation of identity. Just as the clothing choices of Eckert's (2000) jocks and burnouts index social meaning only when analyzed relative to each other, the constructed social meaning of any stylistic practice of an organization can only exist relative to that of another organization. The linguistic behaviour employed by representatives of organizations can only be seen as meaningful when viewed in light of other organization representatives' behaviour, with OI as a helpful indicator as to the indexicality of the linguistic features in question.

In the next chapter I discuss the methodology involved in this research, in order to mobilize the various points covered in the preceding chapters. The results are provided in Chapters 5 and 6, and a discussion and concluding remarks are found in the final chapters.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

This section outlines all of the processes involved in this study. The recruitment process is discussed first, followed by the method of classifying restaurants and research participants. I then summarize the interview process, quantitative data analysis, sharing of results, and this project's approval by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR).

4.1. Recruitment

Participant recruitment occurred continually until I had interviewed at least two employees from each of the predetermined restaurant categories (see Table 4.2). All research participants were female restaurant employees (see Section 1.2.1. on women in the restaurant industry), whom I myself recruited through paper advertisements on-campus and downtown, as well as via Internet-based ads. Throughout the recruitment process I also encouraged snowball recruitment, to appeal to restaurant employees who may not have had access to or taken notice of the recruitment ads. The following paragraphs outline each of these recruitment methods in turn.

4.1.1. Paper fliers recruitment

The first mode of recruitment was paper fliers I hung around the MUN- St. John's campus and downtown. The wording on the fliers was very broad: “Attention restaurant servers and hosts. Do you work in a restaurant in St. John's? Are you a native Newfoundlander?¹ Are you at least 18 years of age? If you answered 'yes' to all of these questions, please contact me today to see if you qualify for an hour-long interview about how employees in St. John's' expanding service sector identify with their place of employment, and receive \$10 upon completion. Please take a copy for anyone else you know who may be interested in participating in this study!”, followed by my contact information. At the bottom of the recruitment poster it was stated that the research is for my Master's degree at MUN and I included the

¹ This criterion included anyone who was either born and raised in Newfoundland and Labrador or who was born elsewhere but has been living in Newfoundland and Labrador since childhood. Anyone who lived in Newfoundland and Labrador throughout childhood but has lived abroad in adulthood were not included in the research because there of the possibility that they no longer qualify as “native speakers” of NE.

ICEHR approval statement. As restaurant employees made the initial contact with me, I set up interviews with them on a first come, first serve basis, until I felt all criteria had been satisfied.

4.1.2. Internet recruitment

Secondly, I used a few websites to advertise the research project to the local Internet community. I limited ads to Facebook, Kijiji, and Craigslist. The advertisement was worded very similarly to the recruitment flier and all efforts were made to reply to respondents as promptly as possible and in similar fashion. A phone conversation was requested following initial contact, in order to reaffirm that all requirements were met and to set up a meeting time and place.

4.1.3. Snowball recruitment

Finally, snowball recruitment was used to extend the reach of my research to as many qualifying restaurant employees as possible. The recruitment ads already encouraged sharing of the research information to anyone else possibly interested in the research project, and I also encouraged people by word-of-mouth to spread news of the research to female friends and acquaintances fitting the description of server or host in a St. John's restaurant, and gave them my contact information to pass along.

4.1.4. Follow-ups

For all three types of recruitment, interviews occurred at a rolling rate. As soon as contacts were initiated, we agreed upon a meeting place and time. Preference was given to a comfortable, quiet room at either mine or the interviewee's home, or else in a private section of their restaurant during quiet business hours, generally between two and three o'clock in the afternoon.

4.2. Classification of restaurants and participants

This study includes sixteen employees from a variety of restaurants in St. John's falling into one of six categories. The restaurants have been classified by conforming to a set of criteria, namely localness (translocal or local) and average menu price (inexpensive, mid-range, expensive), and there

were at least two participants from each combination of size and price. Average prices were tabulated according to menus and restaurants were judged as local or translocal based on criteria as discussed below. Participants were grouped according to age (on a sliding scale) and origin (based on dialect region). Data from one of the sixteen participants, who works at a local, mid-range restaurant, were removed from the study after I had learned that she had actually grown up in Halifax.

4.2.1. Classifying St. John's restaurants

In Labov's (1966) seminal study on accents of employees in New York City department stores, he classified three department stores based on socioeconomic status. He did this through an analysis of advertisements, which he categorized according to style and caliber of newspaper, as well as price ranges. Fifty years later, his classification technique is still relevant, albeit with more resources at hand. Social media, for instance, is now seen as a legitimate source of information for market research and is largely based on Internet websites (Patino et al. 2012). Furthermore, since local restaurants and franchises are differentiated in this study (cf. De Decker 2012), Blommaert's (2007) concept of sociolinguistic scale (see section 3.2.1.1. for a review of the concept), proves useful as a resource to index the features found in both local, situated, and personal restaurants, as well as those found in translocal and decontextualized restaurants.

To demonstrate the use of traditional socioeconomic variables in traditional variationist research, this study utilizes a binary and tertiary classification of restaurants with regards to localness and price range, respectively. Price range is relatively straightforward, with restaurants judged as either inexpensive, mid-range, or expensive based on an average price of six menu categories: appetizers, salads, vegetarian entrees, meat entrees, desserts, and soft drinks (Table 4.1). Based on a broad range of restaurant prices, as well as price ratings on Facebook and Trip Advisor I decided to deem inexpensive restaurants as having an average price of up to \$10.99, mid-range \$11-16.99, and expensive \$17 and higher. Despite the apparent straightforwardness of this process, however, it is important to note that

the price range classification is subjective because perceptions of “inexpensive”, for instance, may vary between individuals sharing a geographic space.

Localness is subjective as well and needed to be considered carefully. Internet ratings on such social media websites as Yelp, Trip Advisor, and Facebook were of assistance here, as well as restaurant mission statements and advertisements, found both online, over the radio, and in physical space. Table 4.2 provides a schema for the binary and tertiary classification of restaurants, as well as the number of participants interviewed from each category. Table 4.3 demonstrates some examples of localness considerations.

Table 4.1. Restaurant classification by Price

	Appetizer	Salad	Veg entree	Meat entree	Soft drink	Dessert	Average
Local							
Restaurant A	9.98	1.69	7.46	11.04	2.04	4.36	8.05
Restaurant G	5.67	4.99	10.99	10.99	2.36	3.07	7.61
Restaurant C	9.86	4.75	16.99	19.89	3.18	7	12.48
Restaurant H	12.5	12	25	31.3	3.4	9.3	15.58
Restaurant E	17.8	18	30.5	33.75	3.25	9	25.01
Restaurant I	36.35	18	23	47	4	8.5	31.06
Non-local							
Restaurant B	9.82	12.04	9.49	8.86	2.76	7.39	8.39
Restaurant J	10.91	12.24	10.49	14.56	2.44	6.59	10.96
Restaurant D	13.12	14.74	14.49	22.03	2.85	6.59	12.3
Restaurant K	8	12	17.5	18.5	3	8	14.65
Restaurant F	12.3	17.5	26	37.74	3.12	7.6	17.38
Restaurant L	16.47	16.34	26.22	28.4	3.1	12.94	17.25

Table 4.2. Restaurant classification by Localness and Price

	Local (n=7)	Non-local (n=6)
Expensive (n=3)	Category 1	Category 2
Mid-range (n=7)	Category 3	Category 4
Inexpensive (n=3)	Category 5	Category 6

Table 4.3. Some examples of Localness classifications

Restaurant A	Company website: “Taste the tradition”; invokes the importance of fish to Newfoundland's identity; Radio advertisement conveys strong appeal to a local clientele
Restaurant B	Company website: Describes [Restaurant B] as one of Canada's largest family restaurant chains
Restaurant C	Menu has included items like “Townie touton” and “Newfie break-the-fast!”
Restaurant D	Zomato review: “Very ‘franchisey’. The atmosphere in the location is the same as others, same with the food”
Restaurant E	Company website describes the local sourcing of ingredients; Restaurant E has won several prestigious restaurant awards
Restaurant F	Facebook: describes locations across Canada and the United States

4.3. Interview process

To begin investigating the relationship between OI and dialect in the workplace, I administered a short questionnaire as well as conducting a series of hour-long interviews with sixteen employees from a variety of restaurants in St. John's. There were two main components to the interview: the OI component and the linguistic component. The relationship between the two components is the subject of my research.

4.3.1. Questionnaire

Upon meeting, the participant was asked to read and sign a consent form, so that informed consent be obtained before data collection began, as per Article 3.5 of the TCPS2. Directly before the interview, participants were asked to fill out a quick nine-item questionnaire about their experience in their workplace (OIQ plus an extra question about language use in the workplace), in private and at their own pace (see section 3.3.3. for a review of the OIQ). During this period I assigned them a number (e.g. #001) for confidentiality, as well as to help with organization during the analysis phase of the research. Completion time was generally no longer than five minutes.

Participants indicated their agreement with each item on a seven-point Likert scale (endpoints: 1= totally disagree, 7 = totally agree). Once the questionnaire was completed, I briefly studied it before we sat together in a predetermined quiet space for the interview. Interviewees had the option of altering their responses to the questionnaire after the interview portion.

4.3.2. Interview

Participants were informed that the interview was to be audio-recorded and made aware of their rights to end the interview at any time, as well as reminded of the anonymity of their responses both in the questionnaire and interview. After their consent, the interview proceeded for forty-five minutes to one hour. It was semi-structured, wherein participants were given prompts and encouraged to freely discuss the topic. The entire interview was digitally recorded using an M-Audio MicroTrack II, and all efforts were made to minimize background noise.

Opening questions were about basic personal information: name, date of birth, and place of birth. Next, I prompted about positive and negative aspects of their life in St. John's. Then, switching gears to the main topic, I asked their feelings about working in the restaurant industry in general, and their restaurant in particular. Questions sought to address their responses to the questionnaire, particularly responses near the endpoints (i.e. 1 or 7). For instance, if they answered 1 or 2 for “I am

glad I chose to work for [restaurant] rather than another one”, I asked if there were another restaurant they would have preferred to work at and what circumstances led them to the current one.

Close to the conclusion of the interview, I started prompting about their use of language both in the workplace and outside of work. Questions addressed their sense of linguistic identity, or whether or not they adopted the perceived language of their organization, if one existed. If applicable, they were then asked about possible motivations for code-switching in the workplace.

4.3.2.1. Consent, debriefing, remuneration

Directly before filling out the questionnaire, participants read and signed a consent form, which addresses the issue of confidentiality and anonymity. They were also reminded at the start of the interview that their participation is voluntary and they have the right to withdraw from the study at any time. After no more than one hour had elapsed in the interview, I thanked the participant for her time and ended the interview. The participant was debriefed, and I made her aware of the availability of interview materials, if desired after completion of the research. I made sure my contact information was available, answered any final questions, and payed the interviewee before we concluded our meeting.

Since the participants had not been made aware of the specifically linguistic nature of this research prior to the interview, their natural phonological output should not have been altered drastically by factors outside of the “interviewer effect”, wherein the interviewee distorts his or her responses due to the social style, personality, or presentation of the interviewer. All efforts were made by the interviewer to diminish any such effect, including producing a laid-back atmosphere and encouraging the interviewee to do the bulk of the talking. The interviewee's lack of knowledge about the focus on linguistics makes for a ripe recording full of authentic linguistic variables to analyze. All efforts were made by myself to minimize the use of the two variables during the interview.

4.4. Sharing of results

If desired, participants had the option of receiving a CD of their interview for their own

personal oral history and/or a copy of a final report on the findings to understand restaurant culture from a sociolinguist's perspective. Had interest been sufficiently high, participants also would have had the option of a presentation by the primary researcher, either through MUN seminar series or elsewhere. Participants were also given the ability to access study results by contacting me or the MUN Linguistics Department directly.

4.5. Ethics

In compliance with the standards set out by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR), my application for ethics approval was approved and the value of my research agreed upon (ICEHR # 20161901-AR). The application consisted of an outline of research plans and some background literature, specific information on how the research will be conducted, and what contribution the research will make to the fields of sociolinguistics and organizational studies. In addition, I submitted a recruitment document, informed consent form, debriefing sheet, and questionnaire, all of which were accepted by the committee.

4.6. Data analysis

All data analysis occurred in the sociolinguistics lab (IIC-2006) at Memorial University. Interviews were transcribed in full by the primary researcher and saved on a password-protected computer, with the subject number as the file name (e.g. *Transcription_001*). Identifying personal information, i.e. name and place of birth, were deleted from the transcribed document. Name and place of birth were also deleted from the audio recordings. As all participants agreed to it on the consent form, all interviews have been stored electronically on the Memorial University Sociolinguistics Lab (MUSL) server.

Due to the highly competitive and public nature of the restaurant industry, restaurants have not been specified in the thesis or any reporting of this study. If necessary, letters have been used for the restaurants and participants to protect their anonymity (e.g. Speaker A, Restaurant D). The following

paragraphs outline the methodologies employed in both quantitative and qualitative data analysis.

4.6.1. Quantitative data

4.6.1.1. OIQ

OI data from the questionnaire were organized on a spreadsheet in numerical fashion based on responses as per the Likert scale, with each interviewee represented by her subject number. Scores from the Likert scale were averaged to produce an OI score for each research subject, with possible scores ranging from zero to seven.

4.6.1.2. Social factors

Phonological data were quantified by number of tokens of the variables of interest and organized in a spreadsheet saved in the MUSL server. All numerical data are associated with the subject number of the research participant. Age, dialect region, and speech style of speakers, as well as localness of restaurant and price of restaurant were assessed. These social factors are necessary to control for the degree to which OI data are influenced by any of them. Statistical analyses involved a multivariate test that included these three social factors in the Rbrul 2.3 software (Johnson 2009).

4.6.1.2.1. Age

Age is expected to have at least a minimal effect on use of slit fricative, as previous studies have shown (D'Arcy 2000; Clarke 2010). Older participants are more likely to affricate to some degree. Creaky voice has not been studied in relation to age, to the best of my knowledge. Most studies have either limited research to young speakers (Yuasa 2010; Wolk et al. 2012) or else have made no mention of age. The age factor is assessed on a sliding scale, from youngest to oldest, in relation to participants' OI and other social factors. In this study, the median age of the participants is 25, while the average age is 27, a bit higher due to the eldest participant being sixteen years older than the second eldest.

4.6.1.2.2. Dialect region

Since Newfoundland has historically been divided into dialect regions (Clarke 2010), the

possibility of regional influences on linguistic behaviour may exist. In particular, use of slit fricative, a typically Irish English feature, may be more prominent in participants who grew up in regions where Newfoundland Irish English (NIE) is most commonly heard. It may be less prominent in regions where Newfoundland British English (NBE) is primarily heard. Clarke (2010) discusses the influence of settlement patterns and subsequent reshuffling of populations on the current linguistic patterns found in the province today. According to her research, NIE is most prevalent along the southern part of the Avalon Peninsula, which is the most easterly and most heavily populated part of Newfoundland and Labrador. NBE, on the other hand, is found most everywhere else. Since the possibility of a third type of dialect, St. John's English (Clarke 1991), may also play a role in shaping either of the two variables, I've included this dialect region in the study. Thus, dialect region is divided into three: NIE, NBE, and SJE, and is defined as the region in which the participant has spent the majority of her life.

4.6.1.2.3. Style

Speech style is sometimes overlooked in variationist research even though it is indispensable to any serious understanding of variation. Wolk et al. (2012) conclude that an investigation of creaky voice in most reading tasks and conversation tasks is necessary to determine whether there are both linguistic and social constraints against its use. Most recent studies in the United States and Canada have focussed on reading tasks, while ethnographic studies have looked at speech in conversations only. In workplace-related variationist research, speech styles can also be used to compare language in and out of work. In the restaurant industry, and particularly at the “front of house”, the speech employees adopt at work may resemble that of the careful speech used in reading tasks.

For this reason, I am comparing speech in both a conversational interview and two reading tasks, which are coded as I and R, respectively. The chosen readings tasks are *Comma Gets A Cure* and *The Rainbow Passage*, two common tasks used in phonological research. The first one is entertaining and the second use is informative, both are roughly the same length, and were created in order to apply

a good representation of English sounds of different dialects to a standard text.

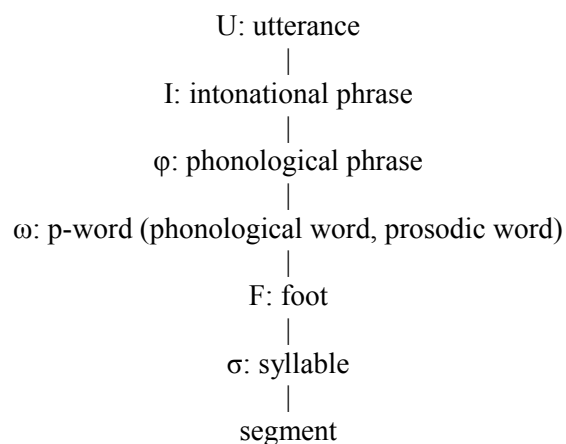
4.6.1.2.4. Restaurant category

All restaurants in this study, as discussed in section 4.2.1., have been classified according to various media and grouped into one of three categories based on price and one of two based on localness. Thus, price has been coded as either inexpensive, mid-range, or expensive, and localness has been coded as local or non-local.

4.6.1.3. Linguistic factors

To test for linguistic constraints on either phonetic variable, Selkirk's prosodic hierarchy was employed (Selkirk 1980). Selkirk proposed the hierarchy (Figure 4.1) to account for the domains of segmental rules. Although never explicitly used in research on creaky voice or slit fricative, past research has demonstrated the former's highest occurrence at the end of utterance phrases (Yuasa 2010; Wolk et al. 2012).

Figure 4.1. Selkirk's prosodic hierarchy

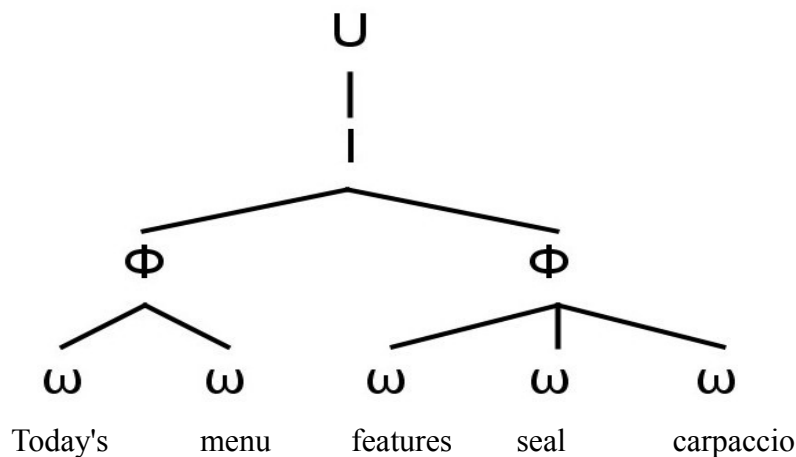


The present study employs only the top three levels of the hierarchy, and abbreviates them as UP, IP, and PP, respectively. Since the lowest levels of the hierarchy pertain to syllable structure specifically, which is not a focus of this study, they have been omitted. An example of the way Selkirk's prosodic hierarchy is used in this study is shown in Figure 4.2.

4.6.1.3.1. CV data

All data for CV and SF were compiled in separate spreadsheets on Microsoft Excel. For CV, fifty utterance phrases (UPs) from each interview transcription were chosen at random through Excel's randomization tool. Since the two reading tasks include forty UPs in total, all forty were included in the data, for a grand total of ninety UPs per interview. Each utterance from the ninety UPs was accounted

Figure 4.2. Example of Selkirk's prosodic hierarchy



for in the data set, along with all data pertaining to social factors and linguistic factors, i.e. where each word in the utterance occurred in the prosodic hierarchy. Positions in the hierarchy were designated as either initial (i), medial (m), final (f), or single (s), if it were the only utterance in a phrase.

To code for whether CV was used, tokens were labeled under a “Voice_Quality” column as either modal (m) or creak (c). Following findings by Hollien and Michel (1968) and Blomgren et al. (1998) that listeners could distinguish creak from other vocal registers with over 95% accuracy, judgments based on the perceptual evaluation of voice quality as modal or creak were regarded as trustworthy. The “Condition” column designated an utterance as occurring either in the interview (I) or reading task (R). Table 4.4 provides an example of how the CV data were coded for a single UP taken from a reading task.

Table 4.4. CV data coding for one UP

Word	UP	IP	PP	Voice quality	Speaker	Condition	Age	OI	Localness	Price
Well	i	s	s	m	14	R	25	5.5	Non-local	Mid-range
here's	f	i	i	m	14	R	25	5.5	Non-local	Mid-range
a	f	i	m	m	14	R	25	5.5	Non-local	Mid-range
story	f	i	f	m	14	R	25	5.5	Non-local	Mid-range
for	f	f	i	m	14	R	25	5.5	Non-local	Mid-range
you	f	f	f	c	14	R	25	5.5	Non-local	Mid-range

4.6.1.3.2. SF data

SF was coded similarly to CV, but with a few notable differences. Since only potential tokens of SF were coded, the data were much more selective. Rather than choosing a random sample of utterances from each transcription, all possible tokens were compiled in a data set for each speaker. Possible tokens were all utterances with post-vocalic, word-final /t/ or /d/, as explained in section 2.7.1. The data from all sixteen interviews revealed some patterns that helped choose possible tokens. The first notable pattern was that none of the tokens of slit fricative [t̪] occurred after nasal consonants or /l/, so no such tokens were included in the data set. The second pattern observed was that all [t̪] tokens occurred at the end of a phrase, whether UP, IP, or PP. Not one token of SF was found to occur mid-phrase. Therefore, only certain tokens adhering to these criteria were coded in the data for SF. An example of how SF was coded is taken from an interview and shown in Table 4.4.

Table 4.5. SF coding for one UP

UP: [UP[IP[PP A *bit*]][IP[PP yeah][PP so I *did*]][IP[PP I went out][PP with a couple][PP of the girls][PP one time]][IP[PP but since then][PP I've been working in]][IP[PP well I've][PP been working][PP in the *night*]][IP[PP so by the time][PP I get off][PP I'm just like]][IP[PP I just want][PP to go to *bed*]]]

Word	SF?	Phrase position	Speaker	Dialect region	Condition	Age	OI	Localness	Price
bit	Y	IP	14	NIE	I	25	5.5	Non-local	Mid-range

Word	SF?	Phrase position	Speaker	Dialect region	Condition	Age	OI	Localness	Price
did	N	IP	14	NIE	I	25	5.5	Non-local	Mid-range
night	Y	IP	14	NIE	I	25	5.5	Non-local	Mid-range
bed	N	UP	14	NIE	I	25	5.5	Non-local	Mid-range

4.6.2. Qualitative data

In addition to numerical data, the interviews provide a rich ethnographic data set. As the conversation portion of each interview lasted between thirty and fifty minutes, with a loose structure and plenty of time for personal anecdotes and tangents, relevant emic data were also obtained. These qualitative data are important for signaling how restaurant employees view the industry in which they work, as well as their own organization specifically. For example, at some point in each interview I asked the interviewee to classify or describe her restaurant, in her own words. These descriptions were often used to qualify any public portrayals of the restaurants through various media. A tabulation of descriptive words and phrases used by speakers with low OI and high OI is provided in the next chapter to offer a comparison with pre-determined restaurant categories.

Selected utterances from the interviews are also of assistance in the next chapter to bring to light some of the more personal issues related to OI. By focussing on the experiences of employees from different socioeconomic backgrounds and representing drastically different organizations within the same industry, it may be possible to find common threads that transcend, and possibly supplant, traditional socioeconomic classifications. The blurred lines between etic and emic categorizations are the driving force behind the search for nuance. Although the “insider's perspective” and the “public image” of restaurants may appear very similar, the ethnographies offer a more nuanced angle with regards to observed patterns of linguistic behaviour and OI, and may help explain apparent discrepancies between how OI and traditional categories pattern with language use.

CHAPTER 5: QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

This chapter presents results from multivariate tests using R statistical software. Where price and localness effects are examined in relation to the phonetic variables, a Mixed Effects Logistic Regression test was used, with either SF or CV as the dependent variable, and price and localness as the fixed independent factors. As discussed in the previous chapter, “word” was included as a random factor in all tests involving SF or CV. All traditional social variables will be presented here in relation to OI and, if necessary, to each other. Specific restaurant categories will occasionally be labeled as per the classification schema in Table 4.2. The next chapter lays out some of the qualitative results from the interviews. A more in-depth discussion of results is provided in chapter 7.

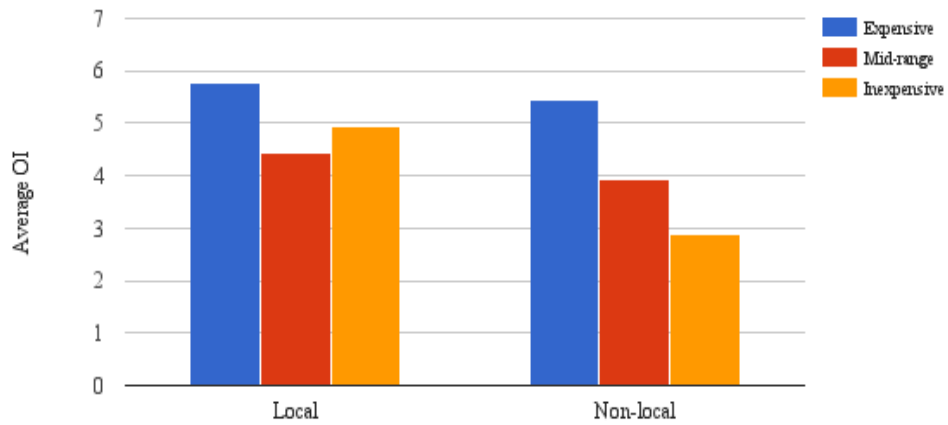
5.1. OIQ score

With a possible OIQ score anywhere between 0 and 7, the average for the fifteen research participants was 4.54, with the highest score being 6.63 and the lowest being 2.38. The following subsections highlight the interactions of OI with other variables, including restaurant category, speaker age, dialect region, and speech style. Subsequent sections will show the interactions between OI and the phonetic variables of interest.

5.1.1. OI and restaurant category

Results in R show both localness and price to be significant factors determining an employee's sense of identification with restaurants in St. John's (see Figure 5.1). Local restaurant employees are significantly more likely to have a higher OIQ score ($p < 0.000$) than their non-local restaurant counterparts. As for price, expensive restaurants are correlated with the highest OI, significantly higher than both mid-range and inexpensive restaurants ($p < 0.000$). Mid-range restaurants follow by a wide margin, and inexpensive restaurants are at a close third. Thus, Category 1 restaurants are found to have employees with the strongest OI. Employees of Category 6 restaurants have the weakest OI.

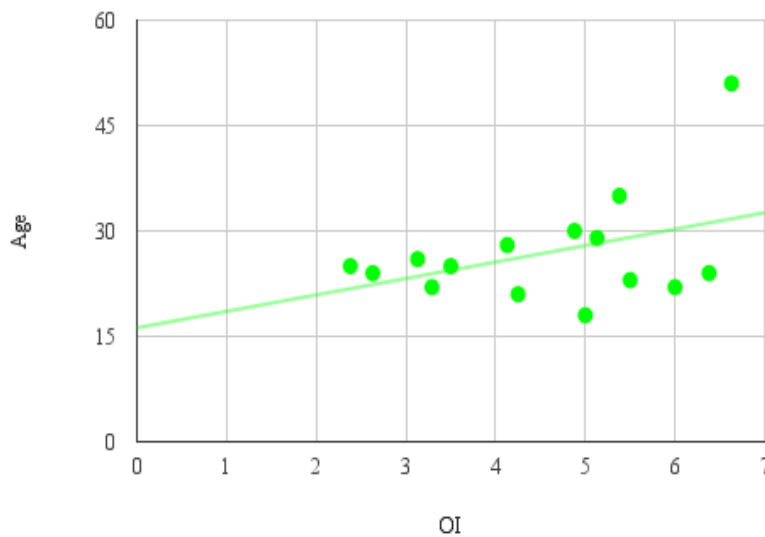
Figure 5.1. OI vs. Restaurant category



5.1.2. OI and age

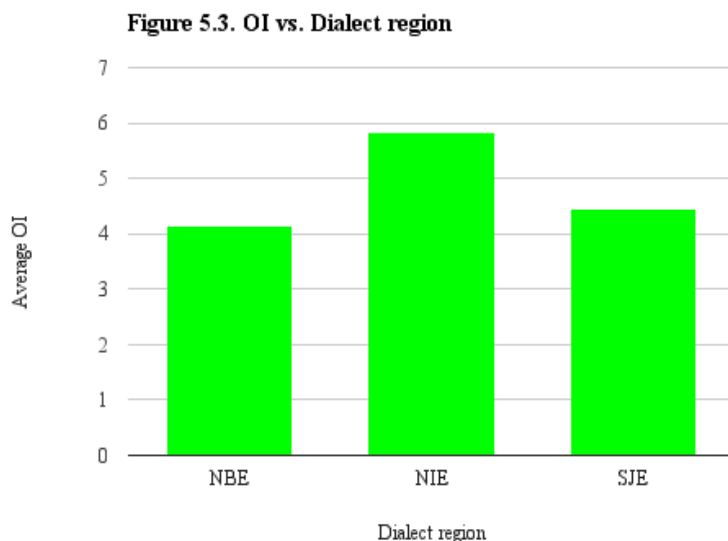
Results show a positive correlation ($r^2 = .16$) between OI and age. The observed trend is undoubtedly strongly influenced by the eldest of the participants, who at 51 is the employee with the highest OI. Figure 5.2 depicts the relationship between OI and age.

Figure 5.2. OI vs. Age



5.1.3. OI and dialect region

As shown in Figure 5.3, the highest OI is found among speakers from the region in which NIE is most prevalent, or the southern Avalon Peninsula. The lowest OI is found among speakers from NBE regions, which are all other regions of Newfoundland outside of St. John's, where SJE is prevalent. Speakers from St. John's proper have an OI in between the two other dialect regions. Although these results are inconclusive on their own, their parallels with interactions between dialect region and the phonetic variables are noteworthy, discussed in later sections.



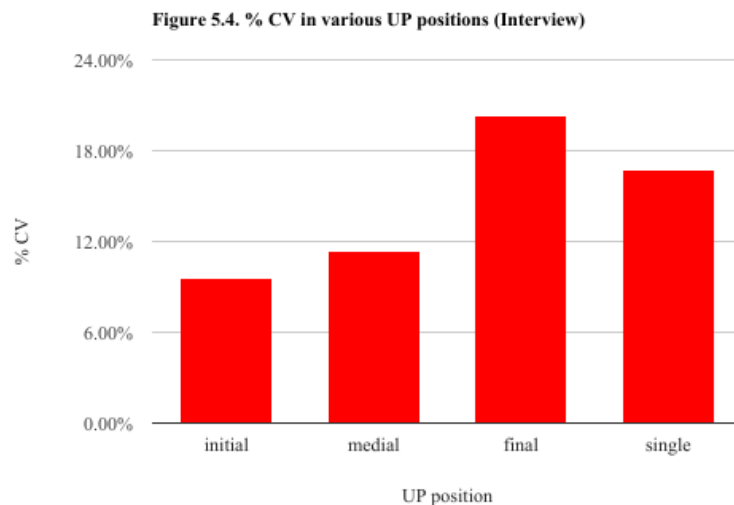
5.2. Creaky voice

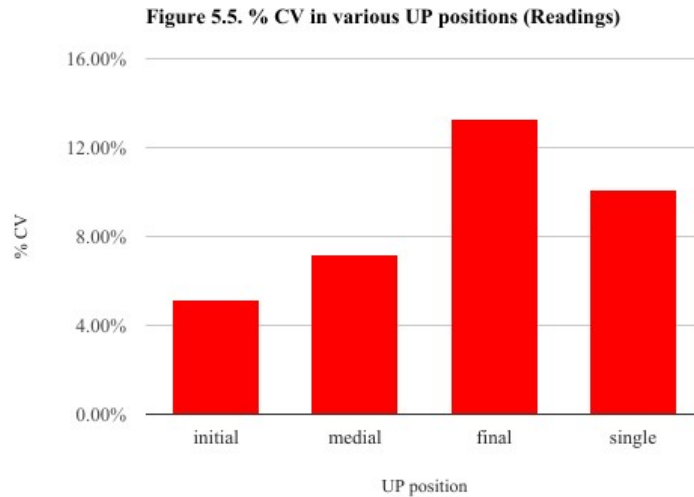
Out of a total of 22,975 tokens from all fifteen interviews, including the fifty random utterances from each conversation portion as well as the forty utterances from the reading tasks of each speaker, the creaky voice register occurred only 12% of the time. The following sections report on the interaction of CV use with all other variables, including position in the utterance phrase, restaurant category, speaker age, dialect region, speech style, and finally, OI.

5.2.1. Linguistic constraints on CV

As with previous research looking at the position of CV in an utterance, these data show CV overwhelmingly more likely to occur in UP final position. However, while past studies reported only on CV in reading tasks (Wolk et al. 2012; Abdelli-Beruh 2014), the present data relate to linguistic constraints on CV in both conversational and reading tasks. Results from the interview portion are shown in Figure 5.4 and results from the readings tasks are shown in Figure 5.5.

The column charts below indicate percentages of tokens creaked out of all tokens in various UP positions. CV has the highest likelihood of occurring in the final position of UPs for both interviews and reading tasks, occurring in this position 20.3% and 13.3% of the time, respectively. CV was least likely to occur in UP initial position in both interviews and readings, occurring only 9.6% and 5.2% of the time, respectively. More pauses and single utterances in the interviews accounts for the higher occurrence of CV in single position in interviews than in readings. Despite its low frequency overall, R tells us that CV is significantly more likely to occur in final position of UP than anywhere else ($p < 0.000$).





5.2.2. CV and traditional Labovian factors

The relationship between CV and traditional sociolinguistic factors are presented below, based on results in R. Variables of interest include age, dialect region, and style.

5.2.2.1. Age

There is a negative correlation between CV and age, with the highest rate of creak used by the youngest, 18-year-old speaker at 24.1% and the lowest rate used by the eldest, 51-year-old speaker at 11.7%. All other speakers use CV to varying degrees, and percentages of CV usage are depicted in Figure 5.6. The negative trendline ($r^2=.35$), though a bit stronger, is roughly a mirror image of that relating OI and age.

5.2.2.2. Dialect region

Comparisons are also made between speakers from different dialect regions, and their use of CV. Results in R show that speakers from NBE regions are significantly more likely to creak than speakers from other regions ($p<0.000$). Figure 5.7 presents results of percentage of CV tokens used by speakers from the three dialect regions under discussion, which include NIE, NBE, and SJE. Speakers from NBE regions creaked at a rate of 14.1%, NIE speakers at a rate of 7.2%, and SJE speakers at

8.4%. The results form a mirror image to those of OI and dialect region.

Figure 5.6. CV vs. Age

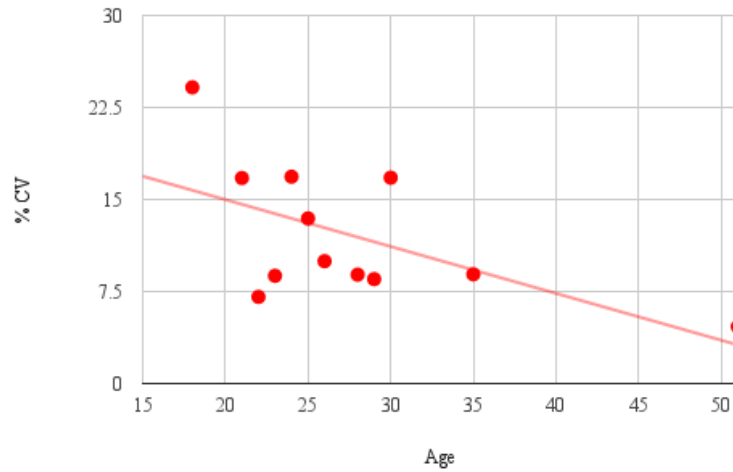
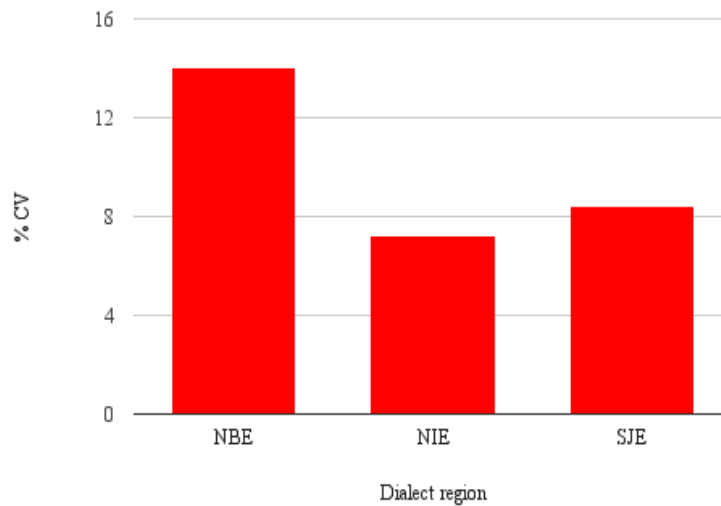


Figure 5.7. CV vs. Dialect region



5.2.2.3. Style

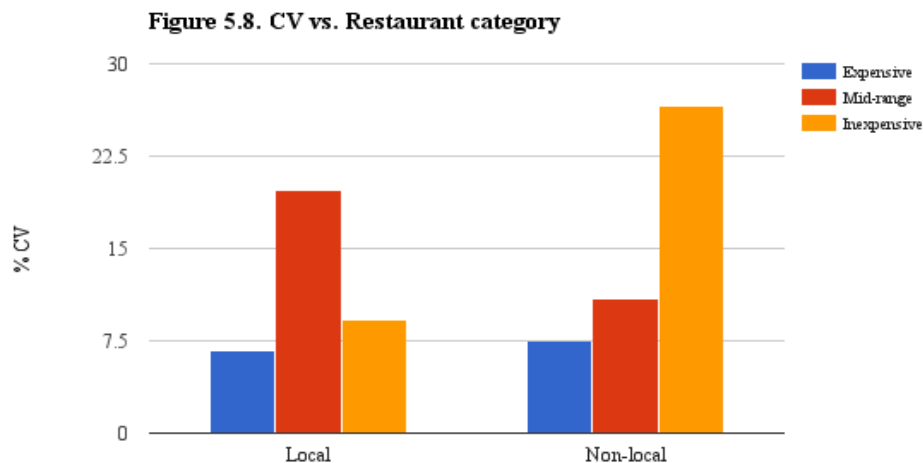
Compared with careful speech in reading tasks, creaky voice is much more likely to be heard in informal, conversational speech ($p < 0.000$), occurring in interviews 13.5% of the time and only 9.3% in reading tasks. Only one of the six groups, Category 2 employees, used creaky voice at a higher rate in careful speech. In fact, this group used creaky voice more in careful speech than any other group, but

less than all but one other group in casual speech.

5.2.3. CV and restaurant category

Compared to expensive restaurants, creaky voice is significantly more likely to occur among employees of inexpensive restaurants and mid-range restaurants ($p < 0.000$ for both). It is also more likely to occur among employees of non-local restaurants ($p < 0.000$). The highest rate of creak is found among Category 6 employees. The lowest rate is found in Category 1 restaurants. Inexpensive restaurant employees use creaky voice 14.8% of the time, mid-range employees use it 13.4% of the time, and their expensive restaurant counterparts use it only 4.6% of the time.

So far, then, we are seeing the most neutral speech in expensive restaurants, and particularly local ones. As for localness, local restaurant employees use CV 11.4% of the time, compared to 12.2% among non-local restaurant employees. Although the trend seems slight, it is significantly significant given the overall relatively low number of CV tokens. Figure 5.8 depicts the relationship between percentage of CV tokens and restaurant category based on price and localness. Of note is the rough mirror image of these results compared with those of OI and restaurant category.

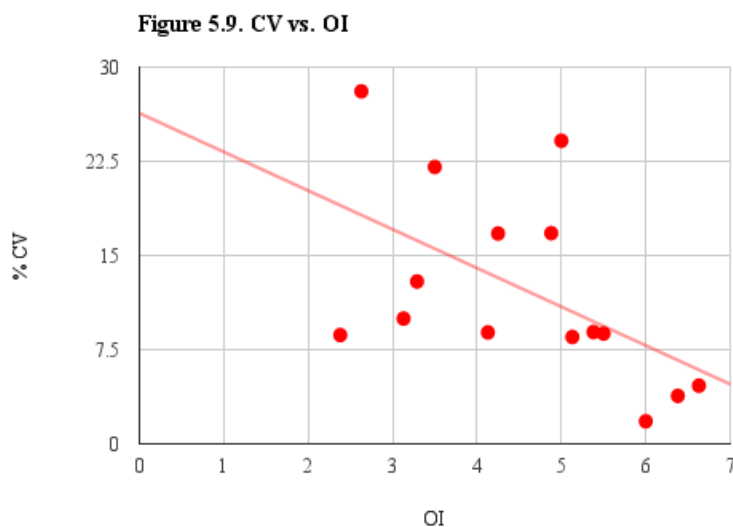


5.2.4. Interaction between OI and CV

OI and CV are in an inverse relationship in both conversations and reading tasks; that is, as OI increases, CV decreases. Thus, employees with a high OI are much less likely to creak than those with a low OI. Figure 5.9 shows a strong negative trendline ($r^2=.31$) to demonstrate this relationship. Given the mirror-like qualities of the two variables, a strong negative correlation is to be expected.

5.3. Slit fricative

Out of a total of 2,713 tokens from all fifteen interviews, including the fifty random utterances from each conversation portion as well as the forty utterances from the reading tasks of each speaker, SF occurred only 9.7% of the time. The following sections report on the interaction of SF with all other variables, including position in the utterance phrase, restaurant category, speaker age, dialect region, and speech style. Interaction between SF and OI is reported on in the final subsection.

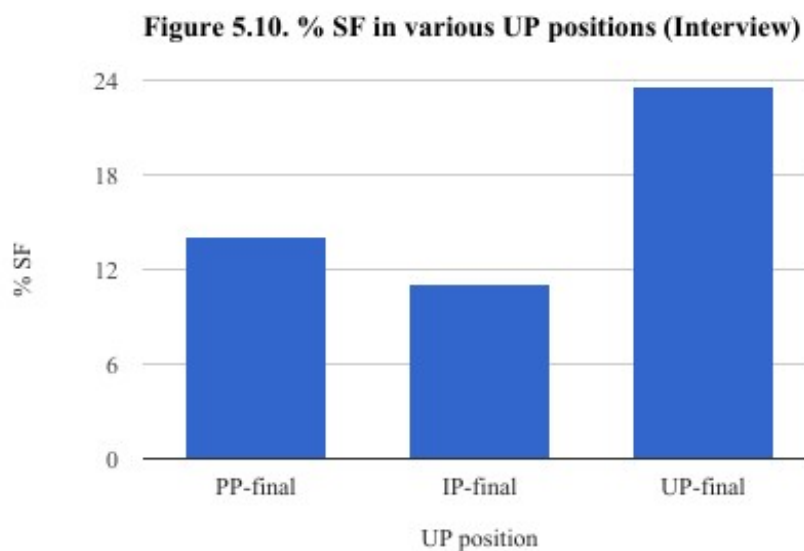


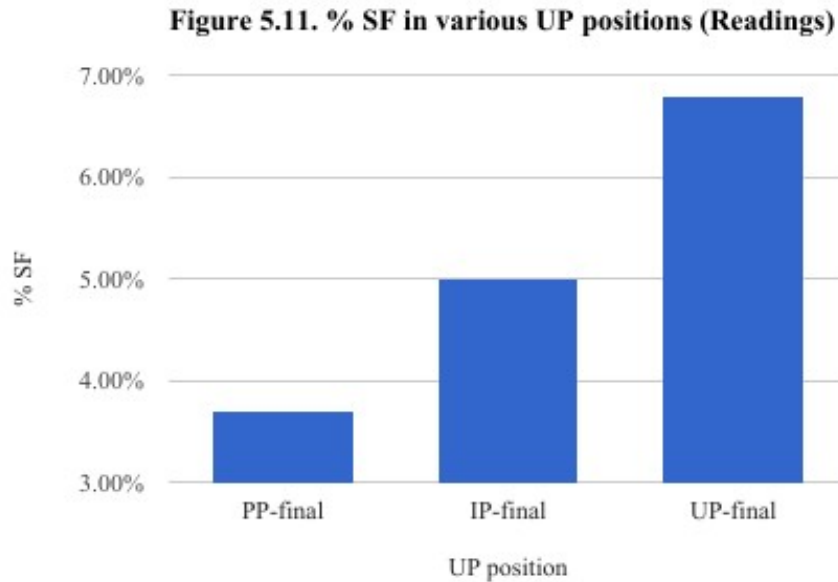
5.3.1. Linguistic constraints on SF

No previous research has taken linguistic constraints on SF into account, apart from its description as most common in word-final and pre-pausal positions (D'Arcy 2000). The present study looks at the position of SF tokens using the Selkirk's Prosodic Hierarchy framework. All tokens are

found to occur either in the final position of PP, IP, or UP, where PP-final tokens are found before a slight phonational pause, IP-final tokens are found before a larger intonational pause, and UP-final tokens are those found at the end of a sentence. Data relate to linguistic constraints on SF in both conversational and reading tasks. Results from the interview portion are shown in Figure 5.10 and results from the readings tasks are shown in Figure 5.11.

The column charts indicate percentages of tokens affricated in various UP-final positions, out of all potentially affricated tokens in those position. SF was highest in the final position of UPs for interviews at 23.6%, while in reading tasks it occurred in this position only 6.8% of the time. SF was least likely to occur at the end of PPs in readings, occurring only 3.7% of the time, though this position was more likely to be affricated in the interview portion, occurring in 14.1% of all possible tokens. IP-final position occurred in 11.1% of tokens in interviews, and 5% in reading tasks. Despite its low frequency overall, R tells us that SF is significantly more likely to occur in final position of UP than anywhere else in interviews ($p < 0.000$). Taking both interviews and reading tasks together, SF is significantly most likely to occur in UP-final position ($p < 0.000$).





5.3.2. SF and traditional Labovian factors

The relationship between SF and traditional sociolinguistic factors are presented below, based on results in R. Variables of interest include age, dialect region, and style.

5.3.2.1. Age

There is a strong positive correlation ($r^2=.41$) between SF and age, with the lowest rates of affrication used by the second youngest and youngest speakers, at 1.4% and 1.1%, respectively. The highest rate of 21.4% was used by the eldest, 51-year-old speaker. All other speakers used SF to varying degrees, and percentages of SF usage are depicted in the scatter chart in Figure 5.12.

5.3.2.2. Dialect region

Comparisons are also made between speakers from different dialect regions, and their use of SF. Results in R show that speakers from NIE regions are significantly more likely to affricate than speakers from other regions ($p<0.000$). Figure 5.13 presents results of percentage of SF tokens used by speakers from the three dialect regions. Speakers from NBE regions affricated at a rate of 10.4%, NIE speakers at a rate of 19%, and SJE speakers at 7.4%. The relatively high rate of affrication among

speakers from NIE regions is to be expected, given the historically Irish nature of the slit fricative variable. For a more in-depth discussion of this phenomenon, see section 7.1.3.

Figure 5.12. SF vs. Age

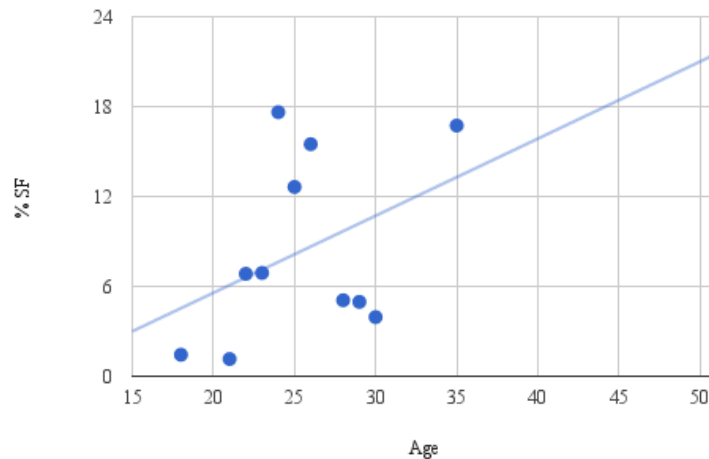
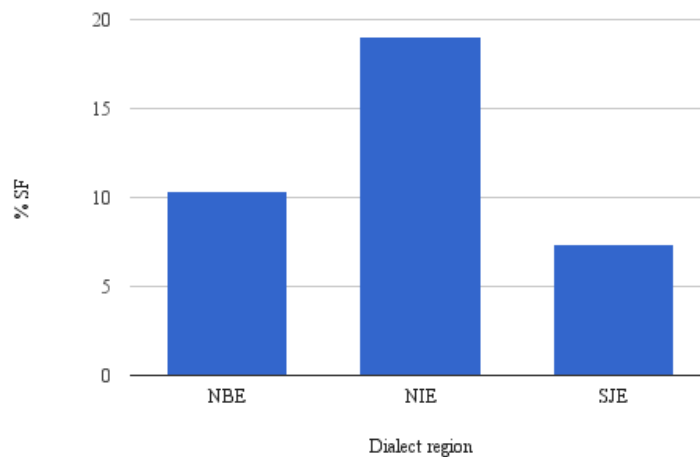


Figure 5.13. SF vs. Dialect region



5.3.2.3. Style

Compared with careful speech in reading tasks, SF is more likely to be heard in informal, conversational speech ($p < 0.000$), at 11.4% compared with only 5% in reading tasks. Of all the groups, only Category 3 employees affricate at a higher rate in careful speech than in casual speech. However, the relationship between OI and SF tells a different story, as discussed in Section 5.3.4 below. The next

subsection discusses the interaction between SF and specific restaurant categories.

5.3.3. SF and restaurant category

Compared to expensive restaurants, SF is significantly more likely to occur among employees of inexpensive restaurants and mid-range restaurants ($p < 0.000$ for both). It is also more likely to occur among employees of non-local restaurants ($p < 0.000$). The highest rate of affrication is found among Category 6 employees. The lowest rate is found in Category 1 restaurants. Inexpensive restaurant employees use SF 20.5% of the time, mid-range employees use it 8.4% of the time, and their expensive restaurant counterparts use it only 5.7% of the time. Thus, considering both phonetic variables, the most neutral speech is found in expensive restaurants, and particularly local ones.

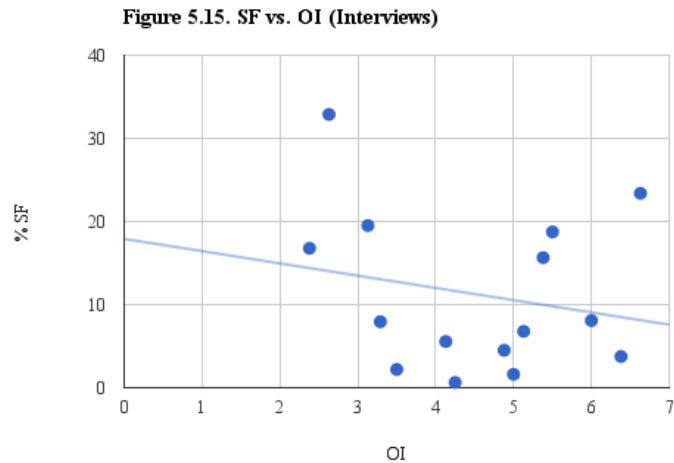
As for localness, local restaurant employees use SF 9% of the time, compared to 20.5% among non-local restaurant employees. Figure 5.14 depicts the relationship between percentage of SF tokens and restaurant category based on price and localness. This patterns very similarly to CV, as well as roughly mirror imaging OI patterns, with both comparisons particularly remarkable among non-local restaurant employees.



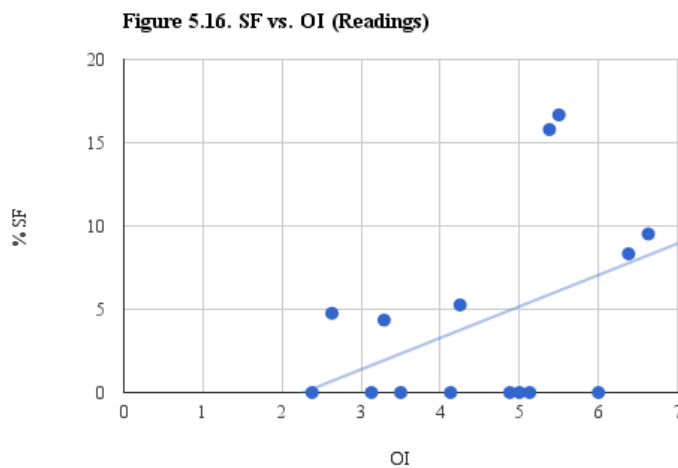
5.3.4. Interaction between OI and SF

OI and SF are in an inverse relationship both overall and in interviews alone; that is, as OI

increases, SF tends to decrease. Thus, employees with a low OI are more likely to affricate than those with a high OI. The overall rates of SF range from a low of 1.4% to a high of 31%. However, at 18.4% the employee with the highest OI also exhibits the third highest rate of SF, softening the negative trendline ($r^2=.04$) shown in Figure 5.15. Though slightly less drastic, this relationship parallels that between OI and CV.



However, the relationship between OI and SF changes when looking at reading tasks alone. In fact, here OI and SF are in a positive relationship; that is, as OI increases, rate of SF increases as well. Figure 5.16 depicts this relationship, showing a positive trendline ($r^2=.19$).



5.4. Summary of results

The quantitative results displayed in this chapter provide some interesting patterns, summarized here. OI strongly correlates with traditional restaurant categories, with the highest OI occurring among employees from local or expensive restaurants and the lowest OI occurring among non-local or inexpensive restaurant employees. OI also has a positive correlation with age, and is lowest among speakers from NBE regions, the largest group of speakers, and highest among speakers from NIE regions, of which there are only three speakers.

CV is significantly more likely to occur at the end of utterances than anywhere else in both conversations and reading tasks. It is also most common among employees from inexpensive or non-local restaurants, and least common among expensive or local restaurant employees. It has a negative correlation with age and is significantly more likely to occur in conversational speech than careful speech. Its highest occurrence is among speakers from NBE regions and lowest is among those from NIE regions. It has a negative correlation with OI, both in interviews and reading tasks.

Overall in the data, SF is significantly more likely to occur in UP-final position than anywhere else in an utterance, though it is more common after IPs in reading tasks. Like CV, it is most prevalent in inexpensive or non-local restaurants, and least prevalent in expensive or local restaurants. It demonstrates a positive correlation with age and is significantly more common in conversations than reading tasks. It occurs most commonly among speakers from NIE regions and least frequently among speakers from St. John's. Like CV, it has a negative correlation with OI, but only in conversations. In reading tasks, SF actually tends to increase as OI increases.

The next chapter presents qualitative results on language and OI from the ethnographic interviews, and the following chapter attempts to tie all the results together with a discussion about phonetic variation and OI in the St. John's restaurant industry. Finally, a concluding chapter closes the study.

CHAPTER 6: QUALITATIVE RESULTS

In order to gain a more pertinent understanding of restaurant category, through the experience of those who physically and sociolinguistically represent the restaurants in question, I provide below a series of descriptive words, concepts, and example sentences used by speakers in the ethnographic interviews when discussing their work experience. These ethnographically derived, emic categorizations further qualify the interactions between OI and language behaviour discussed above. A more in-depth discussion relating all quantitative and qualitative results is found in Chapter 7.

6.1. Descriptive words

Table 5.1 below lists the descriptive words and concepts used in the interviews by employees with high OI scores and those used by employees with low OI scores. Although the restaurants are not overtly referred to by localness or price range, the descriptive cues often provide this information through the speakers' emic perspectives.

Table 6.1. Descriptive words

High OI	Low OI
Local pride	Management
High tips	Low tips
Discounts	Customer interactions
Uniqueness	Too franchisey
Food quality	Food quality
Reputation	Reputation
Ambiance	Ambiance
Ethical practices	Impersonal
Freedom to experiment	Uniform & appearance

Able to be themselves	Suppression of personality
Co-workers	Co-workers
Management	Objectification
Corporate charities	“Bottom of the barrel”
Fairness	Questionable business practices
Likable dress code	

6.2. Examples from interviews

The following excerpts contain selected questions and answers from the interviews. Questions mostly revolved around the OIQ, and examples here portray respondents' descriptions of their workplace, opinions about ideal work environments, and sources of pride, joy, or contempt at work. The first section below contains excerpts from employees with a high OIQ score (4.5 and higher), while the second section contains responses from those with a low OIQ score (below 4.5). For sake of comparison with traditional categories, speakers are divided into the six pre-determined restaurant classifications as shown in Table 4.2 (1=expensive, local; 2= expensive; non-local; 3=mid-range, local; 4=mid-range; non-local; 5=inexpensive, local; 6=inexpensive; non-local). Speakers A and D work at the same restaurant, as do Speakers G and L. To the best of my knowledge, none of these participants are socially involved with one another, nor were they aware of the others' participation in this study.

6.2.1. Responses from employees with high OI

Category 1:

Speaker A has been working at a very prestigious restaurants specializing in Newfoundland cuisine for about two years, and describes why she loves working there, including the locally sourced food.

R: So it really seems like you enjoy working there.

A: Yeah, I do, I thoroughly enjoy. I love being able to talk to people, especially about like

Newfoundland food. I love Newfoundland so it's really nice to be able to like, express that love through work.

R: So ___ is very local and fine-dining.

A: Yeah, yeah exactly, yeah we locally source as much as humanly possible. Yeah, whatever's in season, that's, that's what we base, like we have a catch and a game that changes daily or weekly depending on what's freshest. And lot, we use a lot of like local suppliers, like people that like just, you know mom pop going out just picking like uh chanterelle mushrooms in the woods, you know.

Here she discusses the differences between locally-owned restaurants and franchises, and why she prefers the former.

R: And how would you feel about working in a franchise?

A: I don't know, I don't think, I definitely wouldn't enjoy it. A hundred percent, no I don't think I'd enjoy it as much... you know it's all the same food you know, like there's no personal touches, there's no quality, like. Like if someone don't like the steak like, they'll just make another one, you know like they don't like the sauce, they'll just make another sauce, but they'll be exact same, you know like you won't, nothing will ever change, and, that's what I like about working at a local restaurant, where like things change. Well our menu changes seasonally too, so that's, I love that, that's cool, yeah.

Category 2:

Here Speaker B describes why she is proud to work at her restaurant and one of the perks of working there.

R: So according to what you've written, you're proud to work at [restaurant].

B: I'm very proud to work at [restaurant] yup. Um, I can honestly say, uh, I enjoy going to work, um, it's not, for the most part, a very stressful environment, it's very positive feeling, everyone there likes to be there, so there's not really anyone bringing you down. Um, I mean I actually just got back in February, [restaurant] just chose twelve random employees and sent them on an all-inclusive ski resort vacation for four days up in Ontario...

This section discusses the uniform, which includes a tight black dress, and servers have the choice between cleavage or no cleavage. Hosts, however, must wear the cleavage dress. She then goes on to discuss how the uniform represents her own image, and the hiring criteria based on appearance.

R: Do you think they push the cleavage a little bit?

B: Uh, to be honest, all the hosts have to wear the ones with the cleavage, so, and they're the first people you see when you come into a restaurant, so without a doubt that's definitely putting kind of that stereotype, just at the forefront of the restaurant there.

R: They're the face of the restaurant.

B: They are, they are, yeah. Um, they have very strict regulations in terms of, um, always have to wear black pantyhose, not black tights, so like the see-through sheer pantyhose. We're supposed to wear minimum one-and-a-half inch heels, that's kind of. So now, with the new restaurant there's a lot of stairs up to the kitchen, so it can be, um, it can be quite the, uh, quite the walk if you need to get food or anything really, so it can be a little challenging if you can't walk in heels.

R: Do you feel like it represents who you are outside of work?

B: I, well, as you can tell right now I'm wearing a dress, so I am very much a, I like to dress up, um, so, I, I'm more than happy to wear the dress... um, the dress at work is very tight. Yeah, yeah, it is very tight, so, uh, I don't know, they only carry so many sizes, so whether or not that is in terms of their hiring criteria or whatnot, I'm not entirely sure. But, everyone who works in [restaurant] in those dresses are relatively small.

R: OK, so you do feel like they hire according to look.

B: I do, yes, I do, yeah.

Here she talks about some of the standardization processes involved with her restaurant.

R: Do you feel like when you're working there you're performing in a way that reflects the restaurant?

B: Yes, with [restaurant] in particular, there was a very lengthy orientation process. Very, so, we have manuals and every year they have corporate come down and, of course, you always have to undergo, like, you know, to make sure you're maintaining the standards of the franchise, so they will come and they'll grade you on everything.

Speaker C, a server at the same restaurant, discusses how she talks neutrally around guests, with the motivation being the desire to represent the standards of her restaurant and to attain better tips.

R: You control the way you speak around guests.

C: Um, but yeah no in front of guests like I would never say anything. I don't even, if, sometimes like they'll talk, say something about politics or something, I don't ever express like anything in any which way about how I feel about things. Because I feel like you never know what your guests think and I don't want to offend people. Like I'll always try and just be very neutral. About everything.

R: So you have to perform a certain way for guests, to uphold the image and to get better tips.

C: Exactly, well yeah, yeah, yeah. Yeah it's, I think it's partly the fact that the, our training, like to behave, like to act a certain way with guests I guess. Um and that's I guess like the restaurant standards. But also it's, yeah I want them to give me their money. So I want to get a good tip and, yeah.

Here she speaks about the perks involved with working at her restaurant.

R: So there are perks.

C: Yeah, like you get like discounts and stuff, like it's nice, like you can bring your friends out and

get forty percent off, which is awesome. So, and like while you're working you can have staff meals and stuff, so it's, which are cheap. Well, you get a discount. Yeah, and it's, so it's really cheap, like it's cheaper than getting McDonalds. So it's, yeah. So it's good. Like, I like it.

Here she speaks about the importance of having a local identity, but how many Newfoundlanders from “around the bay”, when in St. John's, tend to eat at chain restaurants because they recognize brands, a common acknowledgment in several of the interviews. She confesses that her restaurant is neither local nor sustainable in any way.

R: Is that important to you, having a local identity?

C: Yeah, I mean for me I think it's really important, I think it's like a, even when you travel and stuff like, I like to see local cultures, like I don't want any of the other crap, right. And so with Newfoundland, like I, I feel like it's important that you keep that alive a bit and. I mean I would never, before I worked at [restaurant] I would never go eat there, it's not the kind of place that I would pick out to go to eat. I generally just am not really that into chain restaurants. But in terms of somewhere to work, it's great because, I find here especially in Newfoundland, people, maybe not so much in the city... but people around the bay, when they come to St. John's to eat, they generally eat at chains... and that's their fancy night out. I think a lot of it is they're not aware of other restaurants in St. John's, so they know, they recognize the brand, yeah so... but it's definitely not local at all. No it's not, no, [restaurant] doesn't like, there's nothing sustainable at our, no it's, yeah it's very much a chain. Things come in on trucks. Um, so, yeah, like all of our seafood is frozen.

Category 3:

Speaker D discusses the identity and image of the restaurant where she is a server, which is an ethnic restaurant in downtown St. John's. She classifies it as “very local”, mainly owing to its clientele and personalized image.

R: What would you say is the identity there?

D: It's very local. It's local, yeah, I find it very local. Yeah, we get our tourists and everything else, but we do get a lot of people.

R: What would you say is the image of [restaurant]?

D: I don't know, we like carrying on with people, right? Like a lot of our co-workers have a really good sense of humor. You know we really like carrying on and people really like that. People come back and you know they love when we joke around with them and. You know and remember who they are and you know, treat them well. It is, yeah. It is really like that.

Speaker E talks about her affinity toward her restaurant.

R: Do you try to reflect the image of the restaurant you're working at?

E: Yeah, pretty much. It's just kind of like I want to make this place look good 'cause I want people to

love it as much as I do. Yeah.

Here she discusses why she prefers to work for a locally-owned business, highlighting the importance of keeping money within the province.

R: What kind of restaurant would you work in if not there?

E: Yeah, I'd want to do local. I'd want to do a locally-owned restaurant. I wouldn't want to go to like [chain restaurant] or like [chain restaurant] 'cause. I just, I'm not a big chain person, like if I'm living in St. John's, I'm from St. John's, I want to support that. I want to keep the money in here. Yeah. Yeah, like a hundred percent. And that, when that [international franchise] went on the corner of Water Street I was pissed. I was like, what the fuck. I was like, this is, oh my god I'm like fuck. Yeah and like the two, I'm just like, no, like why are there two [international franchise] on Water Street, like why. Basically, like, I don't know. Just go away.

Despite having a high OIQ score, Speaker E is disillusioned by her restaurant's double standards with regard to dress code.

R: But they do try to control their outward image.

E: Yeah. And it's, it's kind of, it bugs me because I wore a dress, and I got it approved by [manager] 'cause like I, she's one of my really good friends outside of work, so I, I just sent her a picture, I was like, "Is this OK?", she was like, "Yeah." But then I got to work and my other manager was like, "That's not OK", like "there's cutouts in it." And I was like, "OK," like "no problem, I won't wear it again." But then another host, for the past like two weeks has been wearing crop tops and I'm like, I can't wear a dress that I am fully covered except like one spot right here and she can show her entire stomach. Like that is not OK. That is not fair.

These excerpts represent the common sentiment among many women I interviewed, who prefer to support "small local business", but would work at a franchise if the money were exceptional. Speaker F believes a franchise would be too restrictive in appearance and behaviour control. This speaker, although employed at a local restaurant, lacks pride in her workplace mainly because of what she describes as "sketchy business practices" and a low salary.

R: Would you work for a franchise?

F: I mean in terms of like restaurants I've only really ever worked for small businesses, like local businesses. And that is like super important to me, like um. Yeah like when I was seventeen, or, yeah seventeen, I got hired at [coffee shop] and I worked there for, until they closed, which was a couple months ago, last summer. So it was like, seeing that guy running his like small local business. I did, you just like know how it works and it's like, yeah it's just, I just think like supporting local is like so important, especially in St. John's.

R: Keep the money in.

F: Oh exactly. Yeah. So I don't know if like morally I'd be able to like go work for a big franchise. And you know like this corporate stuff doesn't fly with me anyways, you know? I don't know if I'd be able to work somewhere that had a uniform. Or somewhere that I had to like you know say certain things or do certain things or. It, that's just not like, you know?

R: Where you don't meet the bosses.

F: Yeah, exactly. Yeah, I just, I think that like with local businesses it's like, you become invested in that business, whereas like anything corporate, it's like you don't really care so much. 'Cause it's just like another buck in some guy you never met's pocket, right? But it's not, there's just something like, to me there's something like cold about it. And, yeah, just like living, growing up in St. John's, and like seeing how much things have changed like since I was a kid. And since I first started working in the service industry to now. Like, you know, so many places that I frequented and places that I worked at don't exist anymore, right? So it's like, that's important to me, you know? I would only ever want to work for a small, like a local business, I think. Unless the money was like amazing or like. But, unless yeah, extreme circumstances, you know? If, if that was the case, but. Yeah, I don't, I can't, I just can't see myself doing that, yeah.

Speaker G is extremely experienced in the restaurant industry, and, though her OIQ score is relatively low, does have pride in her restaurant's desire to constantly improve itself, which she explains in the first excerpt. She then goes on to describe the advantage of having business and social media skills in the modern restaurant industry, and the other factors determining a successful restaurant business, which include its image and music. Newfoundland is modernizing, she claims, so it is important for businesses to move forward with regards to business practices, including an eclectic music vibe.

R: So why are you proud to work at [restaurant]?

G: Yeah, yup, yup, it's uh, they strive to do better regularly, is I guess is the best way to put it. They uh they're constantly trying to ameliorate how they're presenting themselves to the public, so, whether that be the look, the service, the food, they're, so that's good, that's uh, there's a lot of places that just keep to their standard and, it's better to always work for somewhere that's trying to reach a bit higher.

R: What would you say is the image they're trying to project?

G: Um, I guess definitely modern. Um, but I find, like they, compared to other locally owned restaurants that I've worked at, the owner is a um, he did a business degree. So he knows the business side of things, he's really good with social media, he's really good at um like all the Tripadvisor like that kind of stuff, he's good at responding to people that have had, taken complaints or issues and, um, he's not afraid to point out when someone's lying, like just complaining for no reason.

R: So there are a lot of factors determining a successful restaurant business.

G: Oh yeah, and there's more like, and like I said like, ____, the owner of the ____, he, he's good at social media, he's good at business, he's good at those things, so, and unfortunately, 'cause I'm not saying our food's not good, it's just that the food has gone over a couple of makeovers since we

started, since we opened. So, the food wasn't, in theory, as funny as it sounds, it necessar-, it wasn't necessarily the biggest draw. The food is good, but it's just that it was the image and the, um the por-, you know people wanting to go and be seen there. And our piano bar plays a huge part of that.

R: Why is the vibe at [restaurant] preferable?

G: Um, well it's the fact that it's the live music. There's no, and not Newfoundland live music, as much as like I, you know, Newfoundlander born and bred, but, there's a time and a place for Newfoundland music, and sometimes you just, you know, Newfoundland is getting, or St. John's is getting big enough that there needs to be places where it's not, that the only live music you go to see is not, you know fiddles and traditional, yeah.

Although she does appreciate the openness of this locally-owned restaurant to personality differences among its staff, she is often irked by some of the “peculiarities” in management by other supervisors, which appears to be a major factor contributing to her lack of affinity towards her workplace.

R: So you feel like at the ____ ____, everyone can have their own personality.

G: Yeah, yeah. Absolutely, yeah 'cause they even. Sometimes I almost don't, 'cause the, our general manager said that she doesn't mind if the supervisors have kind of little pecul-, I'll call them peculiarities like differences in how they do things, and there's been a couple of things where I've wanted to be like, “Well, really, are you sure you want them doing that that way?”

R: That's nice.

G: Yeah, absolutely, yeah. Oh yeah, I don't disagree with it, I disagree with certain choices that the other supervisors make, but as a, but for, to give that uh, that room to breathe when you're on shift is nice.

Category 4:

Speaker H, a proud employee, discusses the interview and orientation processes involved in obtaining her serving job.

R: What was the interview and training like?

H: The training was long, the interview process was very short. So I did, I was interviewed by one woman, who then, um, like the interview probably took ten minutes or less, and then she passed me on to another interview, and I didn't know at the time that the second interview was with the general manager. Yeah, but that's the way it went, cause it was at a job fair, so everything was like fast paced, you know people going in and out all day, and then I went to the second interview which was like fifteen minutes after my first one, and at the end of the conversation she was just like, “Welcome to the team”, and I was like, “Oh, cool, that's easy.”

Category 5:

The following excerpts are from Speaker I, the eldest, 51-year-old speaker, who expresses her opinions

about the value of working in a small, local establishment, and why her boss is so successful. She also bemoans the work ethic of young people today and why she feels she wouldn't fare well in a chain restaurant.

R: You've been in the restaurant industry a long time.

I: But, I like working, people say to me like, “You've got so much experience, why don't you go to fine dining or something like that?”, right? Not me, it's not my personality. Yeah, like you know, yeah you can't be who you wanna be, you gotta be who they want you to be, do you know what I mean. So, yeah it doesn't work for me, right. I had this lady the other day say to me... she said, “I was just telling him the other day how people come to see you, because you're always joking around and carrying on with them” and stuff like that, right, yeah, so, yeah.

R: [Restaurant owner]'s a good boss.

I: Like she's all about the customer and you know, knowing everything that they want and stuff like that, right, yeah. As soon as they comes into the door she knows just by looking at them what they want, and she's got it on, and they expect that too, you know what I mean. Like if somebody comes in and sees that there's somebody else cooking or whatnot, they'll say, “Oh I'll come back another day when [owner]'s working.” Yeah, cause they want the familiarity and, you know what I mean right.

R: [Staying busy at work] keeps your brain active.

I: Yeah, it does though, and I mean your time goes by so fast then, and it's like you know. I don't know if it's the generation or what it is, but sometimes like the, the work ethic of some of the young ones nowadays, it doesn't hold up to what it used to be, what I'm used to anyways, like. I can't, I worked at [international coffee franchise] at three different locations, and I was there for two or three days and that was it. Because their, the young ones' work ethics, and not only that, they were all about speed speed speed, nothing, no quality. It's quantity with them, right, you know what I mean, and I don't agree with that. So, what I don't understand, and here you got a little company like this that's struggling right, and putting out the best kind of food, right.

R: So you don't think you'd do well in a chain.

I: No, definitely not, definitely not. I've gone, I've gone to sit into restaurants, like um [small franchise]... they've gone too franchisey, you know what I mean? It's not personalized like it used to be down on [location], [location] was so quiet and so nice, yeah, but since they moved to these big box places or whatever, like it's just too commercialized, right. Up to [peripheral location in St. John's] everything is so loud, right. Yeah, do you know what I mean, like that's the reason why I won't work for those big places and, plus it's like, there's no personalization with it either, right, the waitresses are there, they do the job, they get paid their tips and that's it.

6.2.2. Responses from employees with low OI

Category 3:

Speaker J, though she respects some things about the restaurant where she currently works, which she describes as “mid-range”, hints at a desire to work at a more prestigious restaurant, due to the heavier

work load at mid-range restaurants. She also confesses that money, and especially tips, are the “whole point of serving”.

R: So is the economic prestige of the restaurant important for you?

J: Oh yeah. For sure. Yeah. Well, I would rather, I mean, I guess, like, the thing is that if you work in a place that has, I mean I think that the city needs more mid-range restaurants, but you work a lot harder for your tips in a, like the, you know, the cheaper the place the harder you work and the less you make.

R: So you say money is the number one reason you work at [restaurant].

J: It is number one because, like, the... 'cause I don't usually talk about my tips, but like you know obviously the whole point of serving is, like, that extra money that you get. It's my, it is my, like, it's how I've managed to travel all these years.

This question responds to Speaker J's previous mentioning of social media as being a stressful part of working in the restaurant industry. Here she elaborates on why social media is such “a big stress these days”.

R: Like review websites?

J: Yeah, like Trip Advisor. I find, like, that's a big stress these days. Social media is a huge, uh, stressor when it comes to relationships or, uh, restaurant relationships. Yeah, it's really weird. Like 'cause you know, like, if you, it's like sometimes I, like, obsess, I'll like serve the table and then afterwards I'll just be like, “Oh my god!”, like, “did I do this thing? Did I do this thing?” and then I'm like, “Oh. What if they review?”, like, “what if they review?”, like. 'Cause you know that your manager is constantly reading those websites and that you could get pointed out on there, and it's just like... Or, yeah, even just, like, I mean yeah, I feel like it's a pretty legit fear these days to, like, feel like, to be pointed out on, like, called out on like Trip Advisor or something, 'cause it's like, once it's there, it's there.

Finally, she speaks about the expectations some customers have of her to speak with a local accent, which she dislikes. In other words, she does not enjoy representing that aspect of the restaurant's image.

R: Do you ever put on a local accent at work?

J: Some customers like really kind of want you to put it on. The customers kind of get, like, they get, yeah they get kind of, like, weird sometimes... like sometimes they're like, I don't know, it's almost like they're expecting you to put on a little show for them or something, which I despise.

Category 4:

Speaker K is extremely unhappy with her workplace and has since changed to a different restaurant. In

these excerpts she describes her distaste for the management of her appearance and interaction with customers. In particular she dislikes the uniform and believes they hire based on appearance. Finally, she discusses the restaurant's dishonesty with regards to its promises on paper and its actions.

R: So in the training process do they drill you a lot about your appearance?

K: Definitely, and they do like uniform checks where they basically make you stand up and do a little twirl and count your jewelry like to see if you're wearing enough like, it's so bad. Just like you know, [restaurant] appropriate accessories. It's, it's so bad, it's so bad. Yeah they want everybody to be like these little, little clones. When they first opened they wouldn't even hire male servers like, it was only like the last six months that they started hiring male servers, yeah.

R: Did they also tell you how to interact with customers?

K: Yeah there's a lot of like, like at [other restaurant] they used to, they used to call it like “[other restaurant] spec”, like you know, but it wasn't bad, like you know like just don't call people “guys”, and like you know like there was a certain way to do things. But at [restaurant] it's like, somebody walks up to the bar and you have to be like, “Hey there guys, how's it going? My name's [name]!”, shake their hand even if it's like a couple on a date or whatever... and then you have to ask them their name and then because it's called the “corner bar theory”, it's this big thing, so they want [restaurant] to be like, like a neighbourhood bar, like [other bar] basically. But they want it to be like that and I'm like, “It's a chain restaurant, people come here for like you know beer and chicken fingers and to see girls in short skirts before they go downtown, like they don't care what your name is, like they don't want to shake your hand”, like. Ah it's just outrageous, I'm sorry for like venting about this, but.

R: So when you were working there did you ever feel like you wanted to project their image?

K: I needed the job, like you know so, and I believe like, I don't know, even if I'm not happy or whatever, if I go to work, I do what gotta be done, I do a good job, like I don't believe in, even if I'm, even if I hate the place like you know, I'm not gonna lie to a customer, like if something tastes like dirt I won't be like, “Oh this is like fantastic, you should definitely try it”, like. But you know, I do the best I can, like I put on my slutty little uniform and all my jewelry and go down with a smile on my face and introduce myself and shake people's hands and not make enough money and then go home and do it all again the next day.

R: So you don't sympathize with the image they're projecting or their identity.

K: No, with the brand no, definitely. Well like on paper they have like this huge thing like “[restaurant] promises” to their employees and like you know like what the managers promise you and what, and like it's fine on paper but if nobody follows through with it then it's worth nothing, you know what I mean, yeah.

R: [To be the face of the company] may mean pretty and skinny.

K: Yeah, yeah definitely. Well like you know if you had a few extra pounds on like they probably would not hire you like, shocking to say, like... this little mini skirt tank top combination. Especially in like January, like you know how cold it is here, like it just looks, it looks crazy like to go in and out with these girls. Like you go out for a smoke and you like freeze to death, like, but that's all you can do.

Here she talks about the use of dialect in her restaurant, and how she tailors it to her audience.

R: Do you [put on a Newfie accent] at work sometimes, depending on your audience?

K: Depending yeah like if it's like you know if I know it's like a clear bayman walks in, I'm like, "Hey b'y", like "how's it going?", like you know and probably talk a little bit more Newfie, but if it's somebody that's obviously not from here then I'd talk less Newfie, you know. You kind of gotta tailor it to who you're talking to, so.

R: So you're not trying to project the Newfoundland image, unless it's fellow Newfoundlanders.

K: Yeah like, but some, yeah or like you know, if tourists come in and like you know they're, they want to taste the local culture, then you're like you know, then you can kinda, even like sound a bit Irish if you wanted to like. And they just think it's super charming.

Category 5:

Speaker L was looking for another serving position at the time of this interview due to her dissatisfaction with her workplace. When asked to describe the image of the restaurant, she immediately discusses her distaste for the uniform, though it seems that few employees in fact wear it. When I rephrase the question, she discusses its traditional Newfoundland image and some positive attributes of its culinary options. Finally, despite her overall negative perception of the restaurant, her description of management of employee behaviour is similar to that of other locally-owned restaurants, in that it is not very strict, and quite open to difference.

R: What do you think is the image of the [restaurant]?

L: Uh, let's just say, I would consider it as a fast food restaurant to be honest. Like it don't seem like nothing high-end restaurant or nothing fancy like. We're wearing white shirts, like that rots me. Like I hate wearing white cause every time like I leave work I have like little stains on it, and like it don't look classy at all, like, and then she wants us to wear scrub shirts. I'm like, what do scrub shirts have to do with waitressing like. Like I just don't, yeah I don't think it looks, like I could see the cooks wearing it, because like they're cooking and everything, but the waitresses shouldn't have to wear those. I don't think, nobody wears them though.

R: I've been there only once, but I feel like their image is extremely local, extremely Newfoundland.

L: Yeah it's more of a local like traditional like restaurant I'd say. Yeah like the fish cakes and like they sometimes have like pork chop dinners or like, jig's, jig's dinners are really popular there. Like everybody loves jig's, and I mean like most places are pretty expensive, like you're almost paying almost twenty bucks for them and they're only like thirteen ninety-nine there, or twelve ninety-nine or something like that. So I mean like it's pretty decent, and I mean you're getting a pretty big plate full too, there's not nothing like skimpy about it, yeah.

R: Does she tell you how to act with your customers?

L: Not at all, like, really she just be's like be positive and be nice to them, like. I mean like that's any place, you should always be nice to your customers and like you should never be rude to them or anything like that like.

Category 6:

These excerpts come from Speaker M, an extremely disillusioned employee of a well-known franchise in Atlantic Canada. She offers some negative descriptions of her restaurant, including its lack of prestige, the physical demands involved with working there, the appearance of the female staff, and its unfortunate non-localness, but also justifies working there for the money.

R: You didn't feel like [restaurant] had any prestige.

M: No prestige, exactly, yeah. If anything it's like a gross, like, you know, lots of gross stuff.

R: What was the interview like?

M: Yeah, they didn't even ask me. [Restaurant], you know, if you, they'll put you in the pit, and if you come out on top, well like so many people have started a Friday night and they're gone by the end of the Friday night, because it is really hard. It's like a lot of work, you have to be fit... to work there, because there's stairs... And you have to be like pretty. Everybody that works there is pretty. Like really pretty.

R: Did it feel like a local place to you?

M: No, no, 'cause [restaurant]'s a, is everywhere in Atlantic Canada, so.

R: Localness is important to you.

M: Yes, definitely. Yeah, oh my god, yeah. Especially with our budget, and sixty thousand people in Alberta being laid off, like, we have to keep everything local so we can keep the money in our hands, and, keep it circulating, you know? Totally, yeah, a hundred percent.

R: So why would you say you chose to work there over other restaurants?

M: Because I did make a lot of money, yeah. Yeah so you get twenty-four hours a weekend, and then you make crazy tips. Um so it's like, I was a student so I was in school from Monday to Friday, and then, yeah.

However, although she describes the restaurant as non-local because it is a chain, she also mentions it as being less of a “huge corporation” than other franchises, implying there are degrees of localness. She also describes how the management has employees indulge tourists in a local St. John’s accent. In other words, the linguistic identity for which this franchise is aiming is decidedly local.

R: Have you ever been attracted to working at a franchise like [chain restaurant]?

M: No, never. I would never. Uh, with a franchise like that, they drop people and they, you don't even meet the owners. You know what I mean? Like last, the owner at [locally-owned restaurant], I like house-sit for him, you know? It's like, it's, it's wicked. And [restaurant] is the same in that, it's not a huge corporation. It's like still small enough that you know the owners, you know like, you know? If you get lo- let go for some ridiculous reason you can do something about it. [Other franchise], you know, they don't care. You're replaceable. There's like three thousand resumes upstairs, you know?

R: So you did speak differently at work?

M: Definitely, and, another thing I just remembered. [Restaurant] has us, if there is tourists, you put on your St. John's accent.

Speaker N is an MA student at Memorial University who in fact works at two different restaurants, one bistro-style downtown restaurant and another chain restaurant on the periphery of town. She answered questions with the second restaurant in mind. Her answers reflect the fast-pace, impersonal environment of this particular franchise, particularly in the earlier meals of the day, as well as some unpleasant encounters with customers who objectify her.

R: All servers have to perform in a certain way for tips for other reasons too. What would you say that it's like for you?

N: Uh, well, a lot of times at [restaurant] it's kinda just like, "Hey our special old-fashioned ham nine forty nine, hashbrowns and toast come with that, see you in a bit", like that you just yell it at someone and leave and go grab whatever the next table, everything's, you're just going from one thing to another to another to another like super fast paced and you don't really have a chance to even look at people, all customers look the same, you don't have any chance to be like, "Oh hey, how ya doin' today person I know", it's just like, "Hey whatever", spit it out and go, then at [other restaurant] it's kinda like you spend ten minutes explaining specials and saying welcome yeah... and drinks and stuff.

R: Do people go for dinner?

N: Yup, people do go for dinner but like it's totally changes, like the serving part of it, 'cause like the brunch and the breakfast is, the, the place is full, all the time right. So then, like I said it's like a dollar tip, five dollar meals, take your coffee and go. But then in the evening like, it becomes a little bit more of a relaxed environment, yeah. Yeah, a lot of kids, a lot of kids, yeah. Old people and kids.

R: People say inappropriate things?

N: Yeah basically it's ridiculous stuff, like, "Little girls like you, that's who I want to take home and undress" and stuff like that he was sayin', at the table, at the table, and I was like, "That's a little bit inappropriate, have another beer."

Here she speaks first about code-switching at work, depending on the audience, and then about her

desire to perform well for the management, but not necessarily for the franchise.

R: Does it feel inauthentic [to put on an accent]?

N: Uh, a little bit, especially yeah, a lit-, a little bit, a little bit over the top yeah, but I definitely have a bit of an accent anyway, especially when I get drunk or talk to your friends that are from Newfoundland, you know most of Newfoundland is, yeah, so it's not too bad, but you definitely turn it on, like I definitely, it's a little bit of acting when you're talking to a tourist, yeah.

R: While working at [restaurant] how often do you think about reflecting their image? Are you conscious of it?

N: [Restaurant] image, uh, not really, not really. I do have a good relationship with the owner of the restaurant and the managers there, so I do like want to do a good job for them personally but not really for a [restaurant] franchise, yeah.

6.3. Summary of results

A few themes emerged in the fifteen interviews regarding experiences in the restaurant industry, along with a variety of related opinions. One common thread was the lack of a job interview, apart from lengthy interviews at a few franchises, and a couple informal ones elsewhere. Even an employee from the restaurant seen as the most prestigious one in St. John's did not undergo an interview. This pattern reflects the still relatively casual work environment of St. John's compared to other parts of the world.

Particularly among local restaurant employees, there was importance placed on supporting local business and keeping money in the province. This theme was enthusiastically discussed by ten of the fifteen research participants. In a similar vain, local restaurant employees were decidedly uninterested in working at a franchise. For their part, several employees of franchises expressed an idealistic preference to work in a local restaurant, but such actions were hindered by the necessity for a higher wage and the lure of higher tips, another overarching theme in the interviews.

All but one speaker mentioned a strong contrast between speech at work and normal everyday speech. This declaration was usually accompanied by a discussion of language expectations at work or the linguistic behaviour of co-workers. While speakers from more prestigious restaurants seemed interested in the topic of workplace-related language, it was received with lukewarm enthusiasm by

other speakers, most notably those with higher rates of SF. In general, local accents seem to be uncommon in the more prestigious restaurants in this study, while they are present or even encouraged in less prestigious restaurants, suggesting that there may be dialect discrimination at play in the St. John's restaurant industry. Localness does not appear to be a major factor influencing its presence or absence in the speech of employees.

Appearance was an oft-mentioned theme in the interviews, with opinions ranging from disdain to lukewarm to extremely positive. Specifically, the most positive rating came from an employee at a locally-owned restaurant with required dresses handmade by a local designer. Negative opinions toward dress requirements derived from perceived managerial repression of style or general dislike of the uniform. Interviewees discussing restaurants where management seem to selectively hire employees at least partly based on physical appearance reacted either negatively or neutrally to this observation.

Responses to questions regarding the desire to uphold the image of the restaurant varied. Most employees with high OI spoke positively about reflecting their organization's image, while the general desire of those with low OI to reflect their restaurant's image was conspicuously low. Finally, the importance of social media also came up in several interviews, sometimes accompanied by feelings of anxiety about customer ratings.

The next chapter ties together observed patterns from the interviews and OIQs to draw some tentative conclusions about language and OI, with final concluding remarks located in the final chapter.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION

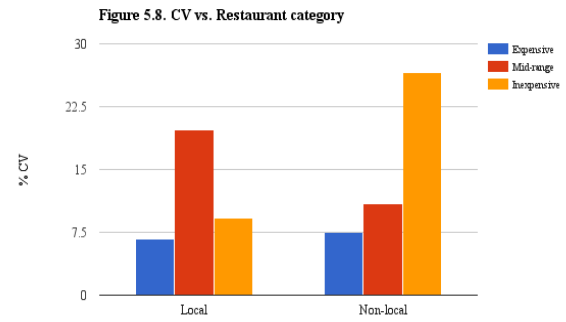
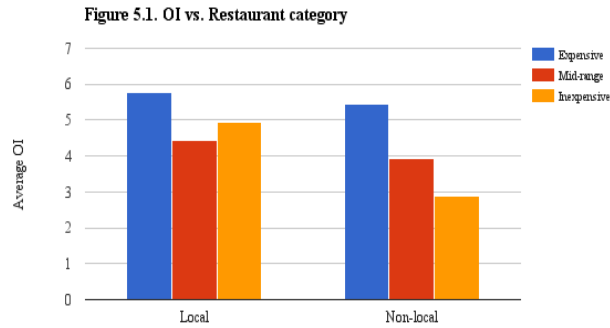
The following paragraphs evaluate the results provided in the preceding chapters. Discussion of results is organized as follows: First, I consider the differences between predetermined and locally-constructed categories of restaurants. Next, I discuss results pertaining to OI and localness, followed by a closer look at some of the salient patterns found with regards to phonetic variation and social variables. A general discussion of language and OI is summarized at the end of this chapter, as well as prospects for future research, and some concluding remarks are found in chapter 8.

7.1. Traditional categorizations vs. OI

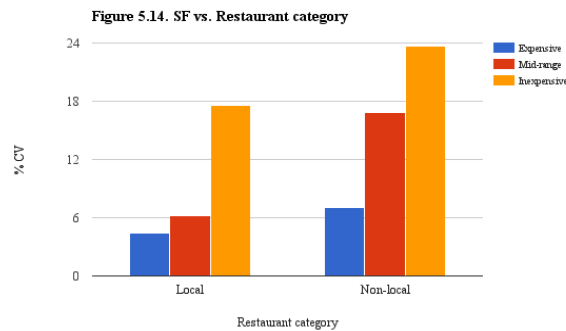
At the onset of this thesis, I considered the possibility of a new way of looking at language variation in a workplace-related context, and have proposed the inauguration of OI as a predictive factor in observed variation, in lieu of traditional predetermined sociolinguistic categories such as socioeconomic class and age. I have suggested that an emic perspective is a more effective means of understanding variation at a local level, and that OI has the potential of offering such a perspective. Below I further defend my proposal in light of results we have observed in the preceding chapters.

7.1.1. Restaurant categories

Perhaps the most significant finding in this thesis is the nearly identical interplay between predetermined restaurant categories and the phonetic variables and OI with the phonetic variables. To begin with, OI and CV has nearly identical inverse effects with regards to restaurant category. If we juxtapose the two charts, this inverse relationship becomes more apparent. The restaurant category with the highest OI in Figure 5.1, Category 1, is also the category with the lowest CV rate in Figure 5.8. Similarly, the category with the lowest OI in Figure 5.1, Category 6, is also the one with the highest rate of CV in Figure 5.8. With CV in particular, all other categories form nearly exact mirror images with each other in the two charts.



A similar pattern emerges when looking at SF and restaurant category, the only distinct difference being the swapping of Categories 3 and 5 in Figure 5.14, which shows the rate of SF to increase incrementally as price range decreases. However, the extreme rates of CV and OI remain attached to the same categories, namely Categories 1 and 6, and these results are statistically significant ($p < 0.000$) in all cases.

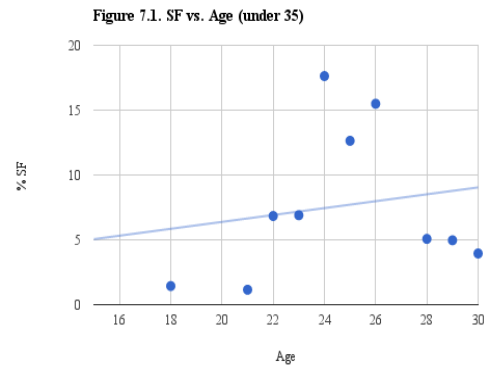
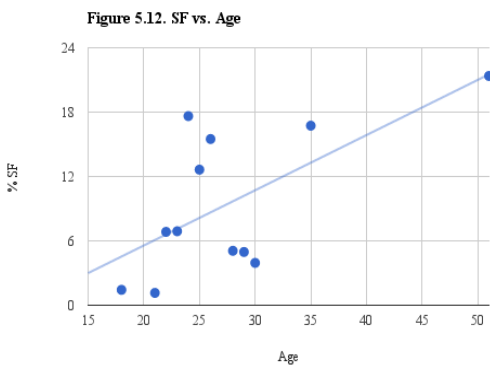


7.1.2. Age

Age also shows some interesting effects in relation to OI and language variation. It shows a weak positive correlation with OI, a stronger one with SF, and a weak negative correlation with CV. In other words, older people appear to identify a bit more strongly with their workplace in this group of participants, and they are also the ones exhibiting the highest rates of SF and the lowest rates of CV. Thus, it appears that age is a better indicator of variation than OI.

However, in order to truly grasp the interaction of age and language variation, we need to

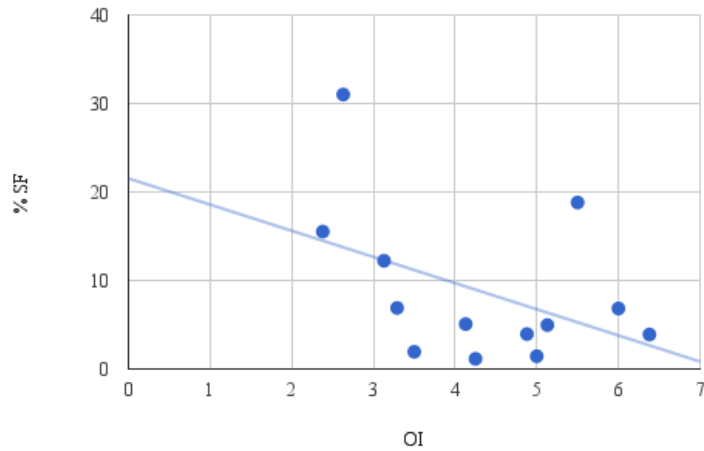
consider the context more closely. As mentioned in Section 1.1.2, the restaurant industry is unevenly structured with regards to age and gender. The “front of house” positions of servers and hosts, for example, hire significantly more females than males, and the majority of employees in these positions are under 25. Indeed, seven of the participants in this study are under 25, six are under 35, and only two are 35 or over. If the two eldest participants are removed from the picture, we see a much weaker interaction between age and SF. Compare Figure 5.12 with Figure 7.1, which includes only the fourteen participants under age 35.



The effect is clearly much weaker without the two eldest speakers, who comprise the minority of employees in the restaurant industry with regards to age. The slight positive trendline ($r^2=.03$) merely suggests that SF increases slightly with age. However, now we can compare Figure 7.1 with Figure 7.2, which shows the relationship between SF and OI, also excluding the two eldest speakers. Here the effect is much stronger, and includes rates of SF from both interviews and reading tasks. The negative trendline ($r^2=.19$) more convincingly suggests that OI and SF are in an inverse relationship.

As for CV, the effects with both OI and age are rendered slightly less pronounced when the two eldest speakers are excluded. Figure 7.3 depicts the relationship between CV and age without the two eldest, and Figure 7.4 depicts the same group’s relationship between CV and OI (compare with 5.6 and Figure 5.9, respectively). As the trendlines show, the interactive effect is slightly stronger with OI and

Figure 7.2. SF vs. OI (under 35)



age ($r^2=.25$) than CV and age ($r^2=.21$). Thus, OI appears to be a slightly more convincing predictor variable than age with regards to CV.

Figure 7.3. CV vs. Age (under 35)

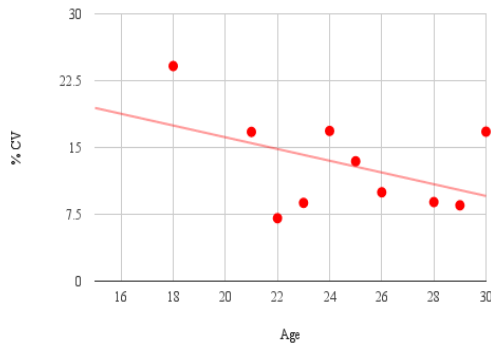
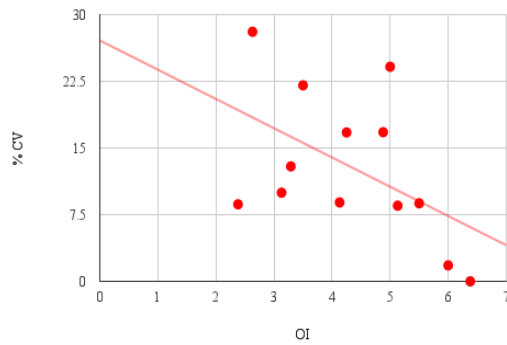


Figure 7.4. CV vs. OI (under 35)



7.1.3. Dialect region

The dialect region variable is of interest mainly to determine whether speakers from traditionally Irish English regions use the slit fricative variant more than other speakers, since SF is a traditionally Irish English feature. Evidence supporting regional influence on language behaviour may render OI results less meaningful. As it happens, participants from NIE regions are significantly more likely to affricate than speakers from NBE or SJE regions. However, this seemingly confounding discovery is offset by the realization that speakers from NIE regions are also significantly more likely

than speakers from other regions to have a high OI.

This evidence is not being used to suggest that all restaurant employees with high OI are more likely to come from NIE regions; rather, it shows that the patterns between dialect region and SF are extremely similar to those between OI and SF, and therefore precludes any claim that dialect region is a stronger predictor of linguistic variation than OI. It must be noted here, however, that the data set in this study includes only three speakers from NIE regions, not a sufficient number to make any serious claims regarding the preferability of either dialect region or OI with regards to phonetic variation.

7.1.4. Style

As motivated in section 4.4.1.2.3, the comparison of speech styles in conversations and reading tasks is of particular importance in this workplace-related sociolinguistic studies because it offers researchers a comparable glimpse into a speaker's "language at work", without necessitating an actual visit to the workplace. In other words, the speech style in reading tasks is more likely than conversational speech to resemble the speech style employees adopt at work. Indeed, all but one participant admitted to speaking very differently when at work, and their use of phonetic variables was in fact quite different between conversations and reading tasks. Interestingly, the one speaker who claimed not to alter her speech at work was among the few participants whose conversational and reading speech styles with regard to phonetic variation remained quite similar to one another.

Both CV and SF are significantly more likely to occur in informal, conversational speech. Starting with CV, the only group to creak more in reading tasks was Category 2. The overwhelming likelihood for creak to decrease in formal speech, however, leads to some tentative generalizations about CV in the restaurant industry. Although its usage is greatly varied among participants, its strong tendency to drop in formal speech is indicative of suppression of its use when speaking to customers at work. In other words, less creak may form part of the linguistic identity of the St. John's restaurant industry as a whole. Indeed, OI and CV in reading tasks have a negative correlation, indicating that

employees more likely to take on the identity of their workplace also creak less at work. Why only a handful of participants creaked more in formal reading tasks remains inconclusive and appears not to affect significantly the relationship between OI and CV.

Turning to SF, the finding that it is significantly more likely to occur in casual speech echoes that of D'Arcy (2000), which contradicts Clarke's findings that slit fricative is "at least as characteristic of formal as it is of informal style" (Clarke 1986:73). Thus, perhaps thirty years later, the prestigious associations of SF are shifting in favour of more neutral speech, at least in certain speech communities. Indeed, the relative lack of affrication observed in the overall speech patterns of higher end and local restaurant employees, coupled with incrementally higher OI, points to the linguistic capital of neutral speech, which appears to play a role in shaping the organizational image of the St. John's restaurant industry.

As with CV, when looking at traditional categories SF is least likely to occur among employees of expensive restaurants, and most likely to occur in inexpensive, non-local restaurants. Specifically, Categories 1 and 3 are the sites of least SF, followed closely by Category 2 restaurants. Again, then, we are finding the most neutral speech in expensive restaurants, and more in local than non-local restaurants overall. We are finding the most NE speech significantly to be found in Category 6 restaurants. This finding mirrors De Decker's showing the prevalence of local linguistic features in non-local, inexpensive coffee shop chains, which he ascribes to hypercorrection on the part of local coffee shop employees, or the "Starbucks Effect" (De Decker 2012:50).

And yet the case of SF is not quite so straightforward when taking into account the relationship between OI and SF in reading tasks. As noted in section 5.3.4, unlike CV, there is actually a positive correlation between OI and SF when speech is more careful². Thus, while the rate of SF decreases overall in reading tasks, there is evidence to suggest that employees more likely to take on the linguistic

2 This relationship is not significantly altered when participants over the age of 35 are omitted from the data.

identity of their workplace may in fact affricate at work. In other words, there may still be some prestige associated with SF in the St. John's restaurant industry. Overall in the St. John's restaurant industry, however, based on the present data set, SF appears to be losing steam, especially where OI is high. This more often than not means locally-owned restaurants, an observation I discuss below.

7.2. Ethnographic resources

7.2.1. OI and localness

Whether or not one chooses seriously to consider pre-determined categories of localness or employees' own categorizations of localness, it is quite clear from the preceding two chapters that OI and localness are linked. Although some employees from definitively non-local organizations, such as Category 2 restaurants, do exhibit a strong sense of oneness with their workplace, the overwhelming majority of research participants cited localness as a factor influencing their OI. Specifically, of the eight employees with OIQ scores above 4.5, five of them cited localness as a very important and admirable quality of their workplace. Ten of the fifteen participants in this study provided long responses to prompts related to localness, all of them having a strong preference for frequenting or working at businesses they perceived as locally-owned.

7.2.2. OI and enterprise culture

It seems that high OI is in part related to the permissibility of expressing oneself freely, whether through physical, social, or linguistic behaviour. We have seen from the ethnographies that several employees with low OI have been asked at some point to speak with a local accent, ostensibly in order to reflect the restaurant's benevolent and charming local image, even if it is in fact a transnational franchise, as in the case of Speaker M. This emphasis on a local language identity also problematizes the local/non-local dichotomy in the traditional classification model. OI transcends the blurred lines by focussing instead on how strongly an employee identifies with her workplace. OI may encompass ideas about local allegiances, public perceptions about the restaurant's image, which may be imbued with

overt or covert prestige, and authoritative restrictions with regards to her own behaviour, be it physical, social, or linguistic.

Whereas some employees decidedly lack a strong sense of identification with their workplace due to any number of factors, others retain a strong OI when their own personal identity is perceived as a close match with that of the restaurant, even if certain aspects of the workplace are viewed as undesirable. The organization's management of identity, its apparent valorization of enterprising qualities among its staff, perks, bonuses, and high tips are all instrumental in an organization's ability to cultivate a high OI among its self-disciplining employees.

7.2.3. OI and neoliberal values

In other words, employees are demonstrating governmentality-at-work in the modern neoliberal workplace. An example of this can be found in Speaker B, a proud employee of a franchise, who has been the recipient of numerous perks, including a free ski trip, large discounts at the restaurant, high tips, and a general embrace of the organizational culture. She discusses at length the franchise's foundation, which contributes to various charities that are voted on by staff, and the strong friendships she has cultivated with co-workers. She admits to the necessity of flirtation and physical attractiveness as mechanisms for earning a higher wage, as well as strict corporate regulations on appearance and behaviour, but does not consider these as limitations to identifying strongly with the organization.

Another participant, Speaker C, who has a lower but still above average OIQ score, happens to be an employee at the same franchise. She describes the restaurant from a more critical angle. Although she claims that having a local identity is very important to her, she admits that the restaurant is “not local at all” and that “there's nothing sustainable” about it. Nonetheless, the high tips, discounts on food and wine, fair management, and flexible scheduling keep her OI high. In her case, as in Speaker B's, the pros clearly outweigh the cons.

The other pair of speakers from the same restaurant, Speakers I and L, both work at a

traditional, Newfoundland-style restaurant, and each describes it as very local. However, Speaker I, with the highest OIQ score in the study, praises the local, unpretentious, flexible environment of the restaurant, as well as the food, whereas Speaker L condemns its lack of prestige with regards to its image and the staff uniform, which she admits nobody actually wears. Speaker I clearly places value in it being a community-oriented establishment, where people know each other and appreciate tasty homemade meals. She is less interested in tips, which are emphasized by Speaker L as an important aspect of working in a restaurant, and this case also a motivation for seeking a different job. Their OIQ scores are drastically different, with Speaker I's at 6.63 and Speaker L's at 3.13, the second lowest score in the study.

7.3. OI and language

OI, when shown to relate to linguistic behaviour as it does in this study, is an important marker of identity because it at once describes both the state of a speaker's workplace identity as well as the state of an entire industry within a particular institutional environment. Thus, it serves as a bridge between dialect variation and industry, which I have argued is presently embedded within a pervasive enterprise culture. How do the findings in this study relate to phonetic variation? CV demonstrates a strong negative correlation with OI, both in casual and careful speech. The relationship is similar with OI and SF, but weaker, and slightly reversed in careful speech.

7.3.1. High OI

To observe language in speakers with high OI is to observe the desired linguistic identity of their representative organization. By this logic, the neutral language of employees with high OI in this study represents the desired neutral linguistic identity of the entire restaurant industry. In other words, CV and SF are not preferred linguistic markers in the current St John's restaurant industry, whether in locally-owned restaurants or franchises. The occasional dialect-heavy speech of certain employees with high OI likely represents the locally-oriented desired image of their particular organizations, which

may be situated within a disparate sociolinguistic scale from those organizations who embrace the salient, neutral linguistic identity. I further discuss this last point below.

7.3.2. Low OI

There has been a conspicuous silence thus far about employees with low OI, and what this may imply about their language behaviour. Those who scored lower than 4.5 on the OIQ were most likely relatively frequent users of the marked linguistic features, CV and SF, and thus furthest from the salient neutral speech of the restaurant industry as a whole. Based on the ethnographic interviews as well as past research, below I offer some conjectures as to why these speakers may display such marked linguistic behaviour.

7.3.2.1. CV

As mentioned in Chapter 2, there has been a wide variety of research on CV, and much recent literature in North America has claimed it to be a method used by women to engender the power associated with masculinity by employing the lowest vocal register, the realization of which is almost indistinguishable between a male or female (Hollien & Michel 1968). Taking into account the interviews and OIQ scores in the present study, it does seem plausible that the women who creaked the most do in fact habitually employ CV to assert dominance in the workplace. One example is Speaker N, the research participant with the lowest OI, who spoke at length about the objectification she deals with at the family restaurant chain she works at on the periphery of St. John's. Though not a regular occurrence, the occasional discomfort emanating from inappropriate comments by male customers may be enough reason for her to keep up a guard at work, and it is possible that CV is a sort of linguistic shield against this type of objectification. Speakers K and M, who also spoke very negatively about their respective workplaces, both franchises accompanied by such descriptors as “no prestige”, “lots of gross stuff”, “forced to flirt”, “slutty little uniform”, and “no food quality”, were also among the speakers with the highest rate of creak. Incidentally, these were also the speakers with the second and

third lowest OIQ scores.

Whether or not CV is a defense mechanism against an unpleasant work experience, used to empower these women in the face of habitual exploitation and objectification, is uncertain. As mentioned in section 2.7.2.5, there has been much negative association with CV reported in recent studies, and its co-occurrence with low OI could be a result of employees' failure or lack of desire to reflect their organizations' less creaky linguistic identity. Of course, such negative perceptions toward CV may not pertain to all sociolinguistic scales in St. John's; likewise, they may alter in the near future. In any case, the statistical correlation between CV and OI certainly merits further research in such fields as sociolinguistics and business psychology.

7.3.2.2. SF

As very little sociolinguistics research has been conducted on SF, it is a bit more difficult to make conjectures about how its realization in the workplace may be related to low OI. Since there has been no reported stigma attached to SF, in Newfoundland and Labrador or elsewhere, this study serves, to the best of my knowledge, as the first of its kind to locate its use within a sociolinguistic space, namely the restaurant industry. As mentioned earlier, age is certainly in a positive correlation with SF, but that is not enough to explain its variable usage in the restaurant industry, since the majority of restaurant employees are under 35 years of age. I have shown OI to be in a negative correlation with SF, and in fact it is once again Speaker N, the speaker with the lowest OI and highest rate of CV, who was also found to display the highest rate of SF. Speakers K and M are also among the most frequent users of SF. Thus, we are finding a very local NE feature to co-occur more with franchises than with locally-owned restaurants.

It is possible that speakers at franchises with low OI are exhibiting local linguistic behaviour to compensate for their restaurant's lack of local character. It is also possible that some of these speakers, many of whom work in a St. John's franchise, are simply catering to their clientele. Speaker C, for

instance, described the eating behaviour of “people around the bay”, as dictated by brands they recognize, which generally means they “eat at chains... and that’s their fancy night out.” Speaker I, who also works at a franchise, expressed a similar opinion about Newfoundlanders, claiming they don't “trust the small ones”:

I: “...Newfoundlanders like love chain restaurants. Yeah, yeah, they don't like, they don't really trust the small ones I don't think. Or they don't veer off to try something new, they just go to what they always have eaten and enjoyed, I guess.”

This may be a simple case of linguistic accommodation. However, that assessment alone does not explain the low rate of SF among proud employees like Speakers B and C, who also work at franchises with an ostensibly high proportion of local customers. Nor does it explain the positive correlation between OI and SF in careful speech. The general trend is that employees with low OI are more likely to affricate in casual speech, which means that this local NE feature forms part of their personal linguistic identity. This may in turn be informed by language ideologies, or attitudes and reactions towards the socially salient linguistic forms, which are for the most part neutral. Yet the lack of metalinguistic awareness associated with SF leads me to suggest that employees with low OI, who more likely than not work at a non-local or less prestigious restaurant, are situated within a different sociolinguistic scale than the majority of employees with high OI. In other words, their lived experience may not encapsulate the spaces in which socially salient linguistic features are in constant circulation and/or considered valuable.

7.4. Future research

This research has the potential to offer, for the local service sector, new insights into what conditions at the larger economic scale motivate speakers to adopt speech styles in the workplace. Although this research does not make any claims about which dialects are better or more beneficial to the local community, it is hoped that participants may look at their own opinions about their dialect in a new light and find inherent value in the range of dialect options at their disposal. The scholarly

community may also benefit from this research, as it will hopefully illuminate some under-researched fundamental causes of dialect shift in a post-insular community of the global era. For fellow scholars of the future, this study may serve as a baseline for further research on workplace-related dialect change in Newfoundland and may provide a framework for analyzing similar change elsewhere.

Future research may seek to further contextualize the use of phonetic variables in order to better understand the social constructs surrounding their use. Mendoza-Denton (2011) does this by determining the communicative features of those utterances in which CV is found. For instance, she looks at which types of utterances within a conversation contain the most tokens of CV. This type of contextualization is applicable to any linguistic feature. Future research may also choose to test the OI framework in other organizational contexts, be they diverse industries or recreational activities.

Finally, an approach similar to Ito's (2001) might be appropriate in workplace-related variationist research. While OI may still be used as a variable, ethnographies may produce categories of their own from which to look at language variation. One major theme in the interviews, often through prompting but sometimes organically emergent, was the topic of local business. While the topic was responded to by all interviewees, not everyone had a strong opinion about it. Eight of the sixteen spoke at length about the importance of locally-owned businesses in St. John's, while the remaining seven provided an unenthusiastic response or else showed definite disinterest in the concept. While it would be interesting to investigate language variation from the standpoint of opinions about locally-owned businesses, this methodology is beyond the scope of this paper and can only be suggested for use in further research.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

In variationist research, linguistic variables are often indexed to particular sociocultural categories with fixed meaning, rather than to context-specific categories with locally-constructed social meaning. Contextualized categorization situates linguistic variables in an indexical field, or “a constellation of ideologically linked meanings, any region of which can be invoked in context” (Eckert 2012: 94). Indexing variables this way is much less restrictive and more speaker-oriented, as speakers organically decide how and when to invoke a particular variable for a sense of membership in a community, as a pejorative marker of a stereotype, to display admiration for another group, and so on. Variables are in a continuous state of flux, and it is unproductive to treat them as static entities.

Such is the case with creaky voice and slit fricative, two structurally dissimilar linguistic features heard in St. John's today. The former of these is heard predominantly among young females across the English speaking world, the latter predominantly among older females in the Irish English speaking world. Creaky voice has received a great deal of attention in the media of late and more recently the attention has been overwhelmingly negative towards females who display it. Slit fricative reportedly has no stigma attached to it, likely due to its unconscious realization by the speech communities in which it is used. Rather it is a distinct feature of Newfoundland English that appears, at least from a linguist's perspective, to be losing ground and as such is worthy of study.

The object in this thesis was to investigate the distribution of these two distinct phonetic variables in a common site, the workplace. The workplace is a known site of identity construction at both the individual and organizational levels. The restaurant was chosen as an appropriate workplace setting due its central location in the current St. John's enterprise culture, the high frequency of verbal interactions between servers and customers, and its endowment of an object on which to base linguistic variation: organizational identification. I have proposed OI as a sociolinguistic variable to examine identity in the workplace, due to its inherently emic nature; the speaking subject is quantifying her own

perceptions regarding personal identification with her workplace, rather than having abstract, static, or decontextualized socioeconomic categories imposed on her by an outside observer.

To test its relevance in variationist research, I interviewed sixteen female restaurant servers or hosts, whose place of employment falls into one of six categories based on price and localness, two relative and minimally biased classifications. Research participants answered a questionnaire about OI and then spoke with me for about an hour. The conversation included a discussion about working in the restaurant industry as well as two reading tasks. I coded each interview for tokens of creaky voice and slit fricative in both conversational and careful speech, then ran multivariate tests relating the two variables to age, speech style, restaurant price, restaurant localness, and OI.

Analyses revealed OI and traditional Labovian restaurant categories to pattern very similarly with phonetic variation. Both creaky voice and slit fricative were favoured by employees of inexpensive and non-local restaurants, which were also the categories corresponding to the lowest OI scores. Conversely, neutral speech, i.e. lower frequency of the phonetic variables in question, was favoured in expensive and local restaurants, which were also the categories with the highest OI scores. Both variables were much less present in careful speech. Age had a slight positive trend with slit fricative and a slight negative trend with creaky voice, to some extent mirroring earlier variationist studies for either variable.

Two possible interpretations of the data are as follows, keeping in mind that any interpretation reflects a specific time, place, and social setting. One is that restaurant employees with high OI display more standard speech than those with low OI, who display more creaky voice as well as more NE features. The other interpretation is that employees in local and expensive restaurants display more standard speech, and those in non-local and inexpensive restaurants speak with more local variants and creaky voice. Either interpretation works in this study, though analyses may vary. In the first interpretation we can say that most restaurant businesses with the ability to cultivate semiotic resources

with which employees can identify are encouraging a more neutral speech as part of their OI. As a result, only those people successfully and willingly identifying with that image are hired, and retained, in those businesses to represent their image. Restaurants that do not cultivate a strong OI in employees appear to display more of a local linguistic identity, as well as creaky voice.

The other interpretation may conclude that local and expensive restaurants hire employees displaying less local speech and creaky voice. One might reason that employees at these restaurants are demonstrating the Starbucks Effect by hypercorrecting and using non-local speech as a standard effected by their non-local counterparts, but in doing so are displaying it even more than non-local restaurant workers. On the other hand, local and expensive restaurants have a less local, more neutral linguistic identity, which is clearly demonstrated in the linguistic behaviour of their employees. As discussed throughout this thesis, this interpretation is unfavourable because it oversimplifies the lived experience of the employees, who may not choose to define their workplace solely in terms of its price or localness, or themselves in terms of age or dialect region. OI offers an avenue around the problem of impersonal categorization, and ethnographies serve to personalize the OIQ scores.

Of course we will not get the same sort of pattern for every phonetic variable with OI. The point is rather that OI appears to be in a strong relationship with linguistic behaviour. It is a powerful descriptive tool with regards to linguistic behaviour at present and is thus embedded with a great deal of psychological and sociocultural underpinnings. The highest OI is found in local restaurants, but why is that? Responses given by restaurant employees ranged from uniqueness to creative freedom to ethical sourcing of food. These are not the types of response non-local restaurant employees gave. Rather, the ones with high OI spoke of tips, bonuses, and friendships with co-workers. They also spoke of the need to perform for higher tips, including flirting and wearing a tight uniform, but this never came up in the local restaurant experience.

This of course brings us back to the question of why OI is related to linguistic behaviour. I have

conjectured that employees with high OI are taking on the linguistic identity of their workplace. Why then do restaurants cultivating high OI in their employees have business identities that align with more neutral speech? Of the two representative phonetic variables in this study, creaky voice is stigmatized time and again, but its sociocultural meanings have always been in flux and have varied geographically and contextually. It has been viewed with contempt, uncertainty, and admiration. It likely carries different meanings for different communities in St. John's at the present. In today's restaurant industry, it is more prominent among employees lacking a strong sense of identification with their organization. It is less prominent among employees with an affinity toward their workplace's image. Possibly, then, all restaurant linguistic identities eschew creaky voice, but primarily employees with low OI choose not to align with this image. Age may be another predictive factor, with younger speakers more inclined to creak. Still, though, OI is more powerful with regards to creaky voice.

Slit fricative has historically been a prestigious marker of Newfoundland Irish English. Today it seems that is changing, and the restaurant industry tells us that it has more associations with employees exhibiting weak workplace identity than those with strong workplace identity. However, OI provides an excellent opportunity to delve more deeply into this trend. Although it appears that overall the St. John's restaurant identity eschews strong NE speech, and that dialect levelling is occurring at the macro-scale, this may not be the case for all restaurants. Indeed, the server with the highest OI exhibited the third highest rate of slit fricative, affricating 23% of all possible tokens. She self-identifies as a lifelong server and loves where she works because it is local, unpretentious, stable, and she doesn't need to perform at work. Undoubtedly her high rate of slit fricative is a reflection of the "local and proud" linguistic identity of her workplace. At fifty-one years of age, she is also the oldest of the research participants, which according to previous research on slit fricative, helps explain her linguistic behaviour.

Blommaert's concept of sociolinguistic scales captures this possible instance of the so-called

“Fabrice Syndrome” (Hobsbawm 1983)³, when “a portion of sociolinguistic resources is only visible, hearable, and understandable to those who are located in spaces where these resources circulate and have value” (Blommaert 2007:15-16). The number and complexity of scales among St. John's speech communities increases as the city continues to globalize and expand, and as its number of blind spots, or invisible spaces, also continue to grow, processes of reshuffling of the value and function of linguistic resources occur (Ibid). According to this perspective, those exhibiting strong NE features may not have access to the capital-imbued linguistic resources perceived and valued by speakers from other scale-levels. Moreover, as the value and function of NE or neutral speech reshuffles, the distribution of updated linguistic resources across different scale-levels is inevitably uneven through space and time.

Thus, social circumstances may allow only certain speech communities to gain access to novel features much earlier than others, perhaps reinforcing existing stereotypes or creating new prejudices about certain groups of people and/or their linguistic behaviour. Implications for this unequal distribution of resources are profound as the marketplace values and devalues certain linguistic behaviour. Employment discrimination due to degree of local dialect or accent is well-documented in North America and is possibly occurring in the St. John's restaurant industry. Discerning whether or not low OI is a result of restricted job access due to linguistic behaviour seen as unfavourable in the job market is beyond the scope of this research. This thesis has simply shown that there is indeed a link between one's linguistic behaviour and her affinity towards her place of work; further analysis is mere conjecture.

Speakers with lower rates of SF and high OI are most likely reflecting the neutral linguistic capital of their workplace, which these speakers tend to describe as an excellent place of employment

³ Fabrice Syndrome takes its name from the hero of Stendahl's *Chartreuse de Parme*, and describes how “participants from the bottom do not usually see historic events they live through as top people or historians do” (Hobsbawm 1983: 13n.)

due to local pride, prestige, perks, high tips, or other factors. The high rate of SF found among employees with the lowest OI is significant. One conjecture is that these employees, who lack pride in their work environment, often due to its lack of character or prestige, are partially compensating for the lower prestige through alignment with a more local identity. Indeed, the three lowest OI scores are found in franchises, and the testimonials of the employees speak to their disenchantment with the lack of restaurant character and low food quality. It is possible that local speech is a way to balance out their impersonal and uninspiring work experience. Another conjecture is that less prestigious organizations selectively hire employees with an image they feel reflects their own, which happens to include a local accent. A third conjecture is that speakers involved with these organizations have restricted access to the capital-imbued linguistic resources perceived as valuable by other sociolinguistic scales.

Employee OI can be used as a diagnostic for an organization's linguistic identity. If an employee with a high OI speaks a certain way, that is most likely the way the organization wants her to speak. Conversely, an employee with a high OI may be helping to construct the linguistic identity of her workplace. If that organization is perceived by some outsiders as having a prestigious image, as were nearly all the restaurants in this study that were associated with high OI, then those particular linguistic forms get imbued with linguistic capital and become the prevailing standard. The restaurants in this study identified as local and prestigious are setting the new linguistic standard in the St. John's restaurant industry, and many people are catching onto those linguistic forms they imagine to be characteristic of that socially and economically salient group. Some will remain skeptical, however, and continue with the traditional or creaky way of speaking. Or perhaps their workplace will continue to cling to a traditional linguistic identity, either out of local pride or due to restrictions within its particular sociolinguistic scale.

Given the prevalent enterprise culture surrounding nearly all businesses today, it is no surprise that OI is a crucial factor in any successful business model. In a modern work environment

characterized by diminishing job security and employment durability, OI becomes more of a necessity to ensure the survival of businesses. Human attributes of enterprise culture, including autonomy, risk-taking, creativity, strategy, innovativeness, competitive spirit, and customer-orientation, are actively promoted in the restaurant industry to meet the demands of the market. Many of the interviewees in this study did discuss these personal attributes as being fostered in their particular work environments, and this was viewed as a bolster to OI. Indeed, testimonials about creative freedom, strategy, and innovativeness abounded in interviews dealing with higher-end local restaurants.

Such testimonials were also found among subjects exhibiting neutral speech. Clearly, if linguistic organizational identity does exist, in today's St. John's restaurant industry the heralded identity is neutrality, insofar as slit fricative and creaky voice are concerned. Yet, the socially salient linguistic variables of today may change tomorrow. Socioculturally salient organizations currently promoting neutral phonetics may turn to a more cutting edge linguistic identity at another time, place, or context, and likewise, their employees may also be the initiators of linguistic change. The holders of linguistic capital may change, as language ideologies change, shifting in and out of salience and constantly shaping the direction of language change. With this in mind, Organizational Identification, I have argued, should prove itself, in the current economic environment, to be an important descriptive and explanatory variable in variationist sociolinguistics research due to its inherently emic and fluid nature.

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Appendix A: Summary of speaker variables

Speaker	OIQ score	% CV	% SF	Age	Dialect region	Localness	Price
1	3.1	8.5	5	29	NBE	Local	Expensive
2	3.5	22	1.9	25	NBE	Local	Mid-range
3	3	1.8	6.8	22	SJE	Non-local	Expensive
4	4	8.9	16.7	34	NIE	Local	Mid-range
5	3.1	10	15.5	26	SJE	Non-local	Inexpensive
6*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	4.3	16.7	1.1	21	SJE	Local	Mid-range
8	5	24.1	1.4	18	NBE	Local	Mid-range
9	4.9	16.8	3.9	30	NBE	Non-local	Expensive
10	4.1	8.9	5.1	28	NBE	Local	Mid-range
11	3.3	12.9	6.9	22	NBE	Local	Inexpensive
12	2.4	8.7	15.6	25	NBE	Non-local	Mid-range
13	2.6	28.1	0	24	NBE	Non-local	Inexpensive
14	5.5	8.8	18.8	25	NIE	Non-local	Mid-range
15	6.6	4.6	21.4	51	NIE	Local	Inexpensive
16	6.4	0	3.9	24	NBE	Local	Expensive

* Speaker 6 was not included in the study

Appendix B. OIQ and interview questions

OIQ for Restaurant Employees

1. I am proud to be an employee of [restaurant].
2. I would probably continue working for [restaurant] even if I did not need the money.
3. I often describe myself to others by saying 'I work for [restaurant]'.
4. I am glad I chose to work for [restaurant] rather than another company.
5. I am willing to put in a great deal of effort beyond that normally expected to help [restaurant] to be successful.
6. I have warm feelings toward [restaurant] as a place to work.
7. I have a lot in common with others employed by [restaurant].
8. I tell others about deals and offers by [restaurant].

Interview Topics

1. Personal information (Date of birth, Place of birth)
2. Positive and negative aspects of living in St. John's
3. How restaurants in St. John's/Newfoundland have changed over their lifetime
4. Feelings about working in the restaurant industry
5. What the restaurant industry might look like in the future
6. How it is working at place of employment (I address some responses to the questionnaire)
7. Local vs non-local customers at place of employment
8. How they think outsiders perceive their place of employment
9. Their own interview for their current job, if they can remember
10. Language use in the workplace (do they adapt the perceived language of the organization and possible motivations for 'dialect-switching')
11. Reading from word lists (to elicit formal speech for comparison of styles)

Appendix C. Reading Passages

Reading Task 1. Comma Gets A Cure

Well, here's a story for you: Sarah Perry was a veterinary nurse who had been working daily at an old zoo in a deserted district of the territory, so she was very happy to start a new job at a superb private practice in North Square near the Duke Street Tower. That area was much nearer for her and more to her liking. Even so, on her first morning, she felt stressed. She ate a bowl of porridge, checked herself in the mirror and washed her face in a hurry. Then she put on a plain yellow dress and a fleece jacket, picked up her kit and headed for work.

When she got there, there was a woman with a goose waiting for her. The woman gave Sarah an official letter from the vet. The letter implied that the animal could be suffering from a rare form of foot and mouth disease, which was surprising, because normally you would only expect to see it in a dog or a goat. Sarah was sentimental, so this made her feel sorry for the beautiful bird.

Before long, that itchy goose began to strut around the office like a lunatic, which made an unsanitary mess. The goose's owner, Mary Harrison, kept calling, "Comma, Comma," which Sarah thought was an odd choice for a name. Comma was strong and huge, so it would take some force to trap her, but Sarah had a different idea. First she tried gently stroking the goose's lower back with her palm, then singing a tune to her. Finally, she administered ether. Her efforts were not futile. In no time, the goose began to tire, so Sarah was able to hold onto Comma and give her a relaxing bath.

Once Sarah had managed to bathe the goose, she wiped her off with a cloth and laid her on her right side. Then Sarah confirmed the vet's diagnosis. Almost immediately, she remembered an effective treatment that required her to measure out a lot of medicine. Sarah warned that this course of treatment might be expensive-either five or six times the cost of penicillin. I can't imagine paying so much, but Mrs. Harrison-a millionaire lawyer-thought it was a fair price for a cure.

Reading Task 2. The Rainbow Passage

When the sunlight strikes raindrops in the air, they act as a prism and form a rainbow. The rainbow is a division of white light into many beautiful colors. These take the shape of a long round arch, with its path high above, and its two ends apparently beyond the horizon. There is, according to legend, a boiling pot of gold at one end. People look, but no one ever finds it. When a man looks for something beyond his reach, his friends say he is looking for the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow.

Throughout the centuries people have explained the rainbow in various ways. Some have accepted it as a miracle without physical explanation. To the Hebrews it was a token that there would be no more universal floods. The Greeks used to imagine that it was a sign from the gods to foretell war or heavy rain. The Norsemen considered the rainbow as a bridge over which the gods passed from earth to their home in the sky. Others have tried to explain the phenomenon physically. Aristotle thought that the rainbow was caused by reflection of the sun's rays by the rain. Since then physicists have found that it is not reflection, but refraction by the raindrops which causes the rainbows.

Many complicated ideas about the rainbow have been formed. The difference in the rainbow depends considerably upon the size of the drops, and the width of the colored band increases as the size of the drops increases. The actual primary rainbow observed is said to be the effect of super-imposition of a number of bows. If the red of the second bow falls upon the green of the first, the result is to give a bow with an abnormally wide yellow band, since red and green light when mixed form yellow. This is a very common type of bow, one showing mainly red and yellow, with little or no green or blue.