English Rock and Pop Performances

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English Rock and Pop Performances. A sociolinguistic investigation of British and American language perceptions and attitudes
by Lisa Jansen

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

This study investigates British and American perceptions of and attitudes toward different singing styles in English pop and rock performances. Thus, the audience is central to this investigation. Singers and listeners alike are used to an American(ized) singing style in popular music as it has become the predominant voice in pop culture. It is a well-established fact that non-American singers emulate American voices for performance purposes (e.g. Werner 2018). The possible reasons and motivations for this behavior are manifold and are explored with growing interest in sociolinguistic research. In this context, especially the significance of the production side of music performances for cultural and sociolinguistic developments is widely acknowledged and examined. Meanwhile, the audience's associations with such language performances have long remained under-researched. Are listeners aware of this Americanization? Do they notice it linguistically or otherwise? How do they perceive and evaluate such performances? Assessing how the audience reacts to different singing styles on various levels can give insight into their perception of linguistic features and attached social meanings as well as language attitudes.

This study is discovery-oriented and explores a methodological framework which is relatively rarely applied in linguistic research. The theoretical background of this study serves as an introduction to the sociolinguistics of performance and lays the groundwork for understanding the importance of an audience-centered approach. It is therefore necessary, in Chapter 2, to first define and contextualize language performances, such as those of singers, as an object of sociolinguistic research. This chapter demonstrates that much like spontaneous speech, intentionally produced and stylized language can equally enrich the understanding of sociolinguistic issues. Section 2.1 investigates music performances as an integral part of pop culture. Music is pervasive in everyday life; people constantly consume pop culture products and participate in shaping their complex semiotic structure. Listeners were never as interconnected with one another and with language performances as they are today. Pop culture products are usually misjudged as fleeting, superficial, and therefore negligible. The relevance of the audience is often underrated and understood as passive – but in a "mediascape" (Appadurai 1996) in which production, use, and perception increasingly merge, Eckert's (2008, 2018) third-wave approach of sociolinguistics highlights the complexity of styles and

allows to include the involvement of the audience in the creation and evaluation of stylistic practices. Eckert's approach and its application to singing styles are discussed in Section 2.2. In communities of practice, such as those revolving around music, stylistic bricolages (Eckert 2018; Hebdige 1979) are constantly produced, perceived, and re-negotiated in reflexive processes. Language performances give insight into linguistic trends and popular styles. The audience shapes such language ideological processes through their perception and evaluation of performances. Hence, singing styles are not only formed by singers themselves but also by their audience. For instance, if a local British vernacular, typically considered old-fashioned and traditional, is recontextualized by young singers in indie rock performances, then this recontextualization reshapes the social meanings attached to the vernacular. However, it is not only the mere use of the vernacular, the singers' appearance, and their ideological agenda, i.e. diverging from the American(ized) mainstream, that leads to newly attached social meanings, but also the audience who perceives and evaluates such performances and equally shapes the indexical field (Eckert 2008). Moreover, audience members share and spread attitudes among each other, which strengthens the connection between, for example, an accent and (new) social meanings. As a result, this local British vernacular might be indexed as cool, fashionable, and rebellious (Beal 2009). In this study, the evaluations from the perception perspective that complement and influence social meanings expressed in indexical fields constitute a new type of field referred to as 'associative fields.' Section 2.3 summarizes the importance of language performances for sociolinguistic research.

Chapter 3 introduces singing as language performance. Most studies focusing on music performances have discussed various motivations for artists' stylistic choices, i.e. to Americanize their singing style or to maintain their vernacular voice (e.g. Beal 2009; Gibson & Bell 2012; Jansen & Westphal 2017; O'Hanlon 2006; Trudgill 1983). Previous research on singers' language behavior investigates and discusses linguistic trends as well as well-established conventions concerning singing styles. Section 3.1 of the theoretical framework focuses on the Americanization of singing styles (i.e. 'going mainstream') and the perceived opposing trend of 'going local.' Shifting the focus to the audience, Section 3.2 presents a few exemplary cases that reveal just how attentive listeners are when it comes to performers' language behavior. Listeners ranging from overhearers to music enthusiasts or from musicians to journalists and bloggers discuss online, for example, why British singers sound American, or they comment on perceived accent changes. Clearly, there is a keen interest on the consumer side to explore performers' motivations for choosing certain singing styles and to express opinions and attitudes toward them. Although the audience plays a decisive role in determining the success of a performance, it has been widely neglected in most sociolinguistic studies. In light of this research gap,

this study consults methodological considerations from perceptual dialectology and folk linguistics, and focuses on British and American perceptions and attitudes. Their music industries are not only the biggest and most influential in the world, but there is also a long-held and ongoing linguistic and cultural rivalry observable between the two groups (e.g. Murphy 2018). British and American students' perceptions of and attitudes toward singing styles are elicited with 50 guided interviews based on ten music stimuli, i.e. five rock and five pop song excerpts. The interview includes two major question sections: The first one concerns questions that capture reactions regarding the stimuli and the second one takes the interviewees' reactions into consideration and introduces a more open discussion on language trends in music. The major aims are to find out: First, which features, language-wise and other, are perceived as particularly British and/or American, second, which associations and attitudes are triggered with the stylized accents performed, and third, whether (and if yes, how) the British and American interviewees differ in their perception and evaluation of the same stimuli.

Chapter 4 introduces the qualitative approach to this topic as well as the methodology and data collection. To begin with, Section 4.1.1 briefly elaborates on the results of a small pre-study, an online survey, conducted prior to the guided interviews. The following sections present the auditory pop and rock stimuli (see Section 4.1.2), the 50 participants (see Section 4.1.3), and describe the interview structure and procedure (see Section 4.1.4). The conversation-like setup and open-ended questions enabled the participants to express themselves freely and the researcher to collect sociolinguistic indications. Section 4.2 explains the data analysis and processing. The interviews provided qualitative data which were compiled into a rich corpus. A content analysis of the interview transcripts generated various codes, which were clustered and led to the identification of attitudes toward an Americanized singing style and local British accents. Section 4.3 revisits Eckert's notion of indexical fields and points to its advantages as an analysis tool. The focus on the audience's perspective highlights the reflexive nature of performances and motivates the development of 'associative fields.'

Subsequently, the results of the content analysis are presented. First, the perception of the rock and pop songs is described separately. Chapter 5 focuses on which features, linguistic and other, are perceived as typically American or British (or other) and lead the interviewees to decide on allocating the performance to a specific accent, dialect, or variety. The second results section (see Chapter 6) deals with the discussion phase of the interviews and reveals the participants' attitudes toward an American(ized) singing style and (British) local vernaculars in music. Section 6.1 explores how the interviewees evaluate the trends as well as the performed accents themselves. The qualitative data analysis gives insight into how nuanced and complex the interviewees' thoughts on music performances and

language styles are and how their evaluation plays a crucial role in language ideological processes. To understand the relevance of the audience, the audience needs to be explored. Especially qualitative data and analyses offer this necessary detailed insight into their attitudes and opinions. In Section 6.2, associative fields generated from the data are presented. They show how strongly certain singing styles are interconnected with particular genres and how social meanings attached become easily transferable and affect one another.

The discussion in Chapter 7 revisits the study's research questions and reviews the results in reference to the theoretical framework and previous studies. The interviewees' perceptions and attitudes, i.e. language ideological descriptions and other sociolinguistic implications, are summarized and interpreted. Moreover, reflections on the methodological challenges provide insight into problems of and solutions concerning sociolinguistic qualitative research and conducting and analyzing interviews in particular. Chapter 8 offers concluding remarks on the outcome and importance of this study and provides an outlook for future studies that are similarly audience-centered.

This study aims to offer a contribution to the sociolinguistics of music that reveals important insights from a, thus far, widely unexplored perspective. Qualitative-oriented research plays an important role in laying the groundwork for new approaches and hypotheses. Observable trends should lead to further, more specialized, and fruitful investigations. The audience is becoming more and more involved in music performances and therefore has to be understood as an active participant in forming stylistic conventions instead of merely a passive consumer.

CHAPTER 2

Language performances as an object of sociolinguistic investigation

Traditional sociolinguistics centers around natural, spontaneous language. Labov (1972) refers to this type of speech as the vernacular, i.e. "the style in which the minimum attention is given to the monitoring of speech" (p. 208). This kind of "everyday speech" (Sankoff 1980: 54) or "real language in use" (Milroy 1992: 66), which ideally occurs when speakers feel unobserved, poses the dilemma of the observer's paradox postulated by Labov (1972): Sociolinguistic investigations aim at observing language that is used when speakers are unobserved. The sociolinguistics of performance, by contrast, investigates quite the opposite of natural speech. Here, performance refers to what Bauman (1977, 1992: 41–49) defines as "verbal art," Coupland (2007: 146–176) as "high performance[s]," and Bell and Gibson (2011) as "staged or mediated performances." A language performance is an intentionally produced and stylized speech event in which language is not only openly put on display but is, ipso facto, meant to be heard, i.e. observed, thus making the observer's paradox irrelevant. The main purpose of such performances is to entertain audiences; hence, they are actively planned and created to achieve this aim. Especially pop culture produces typical language performances, such as singing, comedy, and acting. They epitomize a "'performed,' 'scripted' or 'fictional' and thus less 'real' or genuine type of language" (Werner 2018: 8), which has long been considered not worth studying, particularly in sociolinguistics.

With sociolinguistic research shifting its focus from speech communities to individual speakers and from seemingly predictable language behavior based on social factors to innovative and agentive stylistic practices, language performances have begun to become a worthwhile topic of sociolinguistic investigation (Bell & Gibson 2011: 559; Eckert 2008; Watts & Morrissey 2019: 38). In the narrower sense, stylization describes active, agentive language behavior which draws on social meanings attached to linguistic features. Language is intentionally used and manipulated to evoke certain associations and reactions. In a broader sense, it also includes the conscious use of meanings which are attached to other possible modalities, such as movements and gestures, looks, or instrumentation. Performers are embedded in tradition. They rely on and pay homage to previous performances while simultaneously re-inventing themselves to stand out from the crowd and

build a credible, individual reputation. So, language performances constitute a continuous reinterpretation of existing styles as part of discursive culture (Bauman & Briggs 1990). A song, for instance, can reinforce old, add new, and re-appropriate existing meanings of linguistic and non-linguistic features. Indexical relationships, i.e. the co-occurrence of certain variants with perceived groups of speakers, genres, or "characterological figures"[1] (Agha 2003: 243), are openly and actively used as part of forming the semiotic landscape.

Since language performances are intentionally produced stylistic practices on public display, they reach large audiences with which they engage in reciprocal interactions. Listeners consume, evaluate, and disseminate performances. They add to the spread and manifestation of indexical relationships, shifts, and changes. Style and stylization originate in context and gain momentum through interaction. Hence, focusing on language performances as a sociolinguistic concept means acknowledging "the presence of semiotic significance in linguistic form" (Bell & Gibson 2011: 560) and that this semiotic significance, i.e. meaning, is created and observable in the interplay of language production and perception. Music is a vivid part of pop culture and singing a typical form of language performance in which such meanings and styles are accessible and available for investigation. Section 2.1 explores the role of language performances as part of pop culture and Section 2.2 locates language performances in Eckert's (2008, 2018) 'third wave model' taking a closer look at the construction of style and the reflexive processes between production and perception, i.e. performer and audience.

2.1 Pop culture and language performances

In general, pop culture products are often associated with something fun and fleeting and not of substance and influence. Its products and practices are often prejudged to be of less importance and worth than elite culture(s) since they attract the masses rather than a selected group of people. From the production perspective, this is exactly what pop culture aims to do: It is designed to cater to and be consumed by as many people as possible to achieve commercial success (Werner 2018: 5; Merskin 2008). Thus, it is often regarded as somewhat uniform and simplistic, even devoid of creativity and artistic integrity. Why is it then that language performances are nonetheless considered a suitable and fruitful topic for sociolinguistic investigation and enjoy growing attention in linguistic research?

1. Characterological figures are "well known [sic] persons or social types identified in the public's mind with certain speech styles" (Bell & Gibson 2011: 558; see also Agha 2003: 243).

Not taking pop culture seriously means ignoring the impact of a ubiquitous and powerful global tool of language production and dissemination as well as a highly relevant social phenomenon (Werner 2018: 3; Tagg 1982: 38). Pop culture, and specifically music, is a major driving force behind the spread of English(es) and a field of dense linguistic and cultural complexities (Jansen & Westphal 2017). It gives rise to different art forms that are inherently creative and allow for experiments and exaggerations, "stretching the boundaries of everyday language" (Bell & Gibson 2011: 558). English, and in particular American English, has become the language of pop culture, and especially Americanized (and Westernized) practices and products influence and shape global trends today (Werner 2018: 6). Many modern popular music genres (e.g. blues, rock 'n' roll, R&B, soul, and hip-hop) originated in the USA and have been adopted on a global scale, which resulted in the development of localized interpretations and meanings. Theories on the sociolinguistics of globalization (e.g. Blommaert 2010; Pennycook 2007) point out that globalization entails localization processes and an exchange of resources, which leads to an increasing diversity as well as to translocal and -cultural flows rather than a simple homogeneity of products and practices, as the term might imply at a first glance (Kubota 2002: 13; Pennycook 2003: 524). Modern technologies as well as online mass and social media accelerate such flows and facilitate the spread and exchange of pop culture products in the mediascape (Appadurai 1996). Not only have traditional mass media become part of the digital world, but most of them offer the opportunity for participation in addition to mere consumption. For instance, a news media outlet like The Guardian publishes articles and allows for readers to leave comments. The boundaries of active participation and passive consumption have become blurred. And although traditional mass media channels – television, newspapers, and radio – certainly play a part in the dissemination of pop culture, online media constantly gain more importance and power and promote the opportunity of 'produsage'[2] (Bruns 2008), which strengthens the position of the audience. Social media platforms, such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, and blogs provide a space for the audience to spread and reproduce pop culture products. A brief look at some typical language performances already hints at the potential of pop culture products for sociolinguistic investigation.

In the context of music, a singer's choice of a particular singing style might tell us what is considered popular or appropriate for different genres and which values are attached to different styles. Despite a perceived homogenization or Americanization of pop and rock music, a closer look reveals that agentive acts

2. 'Produsage' blends *production* and *usage*. It describes how closely consumption and participation have become intertwined in the digital world. For instance, blogging is a typical form of produsage, i.e. user-led content production.

of stylization lead to the promotion of local vernaculars, for example, in punk (Trudgill 1983) and indie genres (Beal 2009) as well as hip-hop (O'Hanlon 2006). Such trends provide information on ongoing changes within music performances that potentially influence language attitudes on a much broader scale. Music might induce changes within well-established hierarchies of Englishes: Long-stigmatized varieties such as African American English (AAE) or Jamaican Creole (JC) have gained worldwide, yet covert prestige. Both represent the original, i.e. typical, and symbolic voices of their associated genres. Hip-hop as well as reggae and dancehall have become translocal phenomena and their associated codes linguistic resources for others to adopt and adapt (Gerfer 2018; Mair 2013: 262–264).

In comedy, we often encounter exaggerated forms of linguistic stylization which are used to imitate or parody specific individuals or groups of speakers. Comedians accomplish this by selecting and performing (stereo- or proto)typical features of the speech of those speakers. If this performance is successful, the targeted language use and behavior is easily identifiable by the audience and evokes a comical effect. Parodies of this type re-contextualize well-known voices that "are loaded with associations" (Bell & Gibson 2011: 604) from past to present performances and activate the audience's social and cultural memory of such associations (Bakhtin 1981; Bell & Gibson 2011). Such imitations give insight into the status of linguistic features and show how they are embedded in the semiotic landscape. The performer reveals which features are considered characteristic of a speaker or group (and which are not) and draws attention to the social meanings attached to a particular linguistic variant.

Actors are linguistic chameleons who often slip into roles which differ from their natural speech and private person. Depending on their level of expertise, they can be fully convincing, or their imitation is somehow flawed, which would be especially noticeable to speakers of the targeted variety. Both cases provide interesting starting points for sociolinguistic investigation: What contributes to a convincing imitation? Bell (1984) for example shows that even an inconsistent imitation can suffice to deliver a convincing performance. How do different groups, for instance in- and out-group of the targeted voice, arrive at their conclusion? And how do they react to the performance?

The examples above show that pop culture products are highly relevant to the observation of sociolinguistic processes. Performances give insight into language trends and ideologies as well as people's perceptions of and attitudes toward different linguistic styles and adaptations. Listeners' reactions reveal what the audience expects from different artists in different genres and localities. This reciprocal relationship between performer and audience unfolds a semiotic space in which meanings, identities, and styles are exchanged, re-interpreted, and re-appropriated.

Genres are actively formed; they are made and remade. Every contribution reinforces the character and distinctiveness of a genre and contributes to its development (Bakhtin 1986).

2.2 Language performances in the third wave of sociolinguistics

The study at hand adopts various theoretical notions of Eckert's (2018) 'third wave of variationist sociolinguistics.' Instead of focusing on predetermined and supposedly static speech communities defined and stratified by, for example, region, socio-economic status, ethnicity, and sex, or networks linked to demographics, she identifies 'communities of practice' and pays equal attention to the group as well as to the individual speaker within it (Eckert 2008; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992). A community of practice is "an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in some common endeavor" (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992: 490). Such communities center around common practices which can include common ideas, stances, activities, looks, and, ultimately, a shared way of speaking. Stylistically, such communities are equally defined by their group identity, which unites them and is based on similarities in thinking and acting as well as the repertoires of the individuals who give new impulses to the group through social interaction. Thus, a community of practice is structured by the interplay between the community and its individual members. Together they constantly re-negotiate social meanings attached to different (re-)introduced stylistic devices, such as linguistic variants, fashion items, or further types of nonverbal communication. Eckert (2008) argues "that the meanings of variables [and other] are not precise or fixed but rather constitute a field of potential meanings – an indexical field" (p. 453). These potential meanings can emerge, shift, change, be activated or deactivated through interaction within groups and become localized, i.e. appropriated. They are transported into groups by individuals and used for the purposes of the community of practice. This approach illustrates the complexity and dynamics of the interplay between language production and perception – even if it does so rather implicitly. Individuals observe a particular (linguistic or non-linguistic) feature or item, re-interpret, and re-appropriate it.

Eckert (1989) describes how a group of 'Preppy girls' in an American high school appropriates one item of clothing, i.e. the pegged jeans, from the 'New Waver' group. The latter community of practice adopted this style of jeans first from British punk and new wave bands because it fit into their punk-like ideology of openly alienating themselves "from what they saw as the shallowness of the affluent adolescent community around them" (Eckert 2018: 187). The Preppy girls admired

how the New Wavers expressed their independence and resistance through this item of clothing and chose to peg their blue jeans to index these values.

In his ethnographic study of a reggae (and dancehall)[3] event in Germany, Westphal (2018) shows how JC is used in a very truncated and constructed manner. It mainly serves a symbolic function as the language of reggae (and dancehall). The German reggae subculture as a community of practice activates only specific meanings attached to the genres and variety and adds local values to both: being eco-friendly, hippiesque, and rather left-wing. Since the localized values clash with some of the traditional (roots) reggae ones, i.e. a strict religious, Rastafarian lifestyle, or more modern ones found in Jamaican (or Caribbean) dancehall, i.e. notions of homophobia, are deactivated.[4] It becomes clear that in order to adopt a stylistic choice into one's construction of resources, potential meanings, first of all, have to be perceived in order for them to be re-negotiated and, eventually, incorporated into one's own as well as the community's shared practices.

As has become obvious, the term 'style' in these cases also differs from the classic sociolinguistic notion in that it does not describe the linguistic choices made based on situational context and attention paid to speech (e.g. Labov 1972). Style represents a bricolage (Eckert 2008, 2018; Hebdige 1979) of linguistic as well as further semiotic resources serving the individual's communicative and social needs as well as those of the respective community of practice (Eckert 2018: 18). Today more than ever, stylistic resources are part of translocal and -cultural flows (Pennycook 2007) and thus ready for being processed and fused into the bricolage, i.e. the individual repertoire or construction of resources, of speakers. This is how the pegged pants travel from British punk to American high schoolers and JC is used as a symbolic linguistic resource in the German reggae subculture. In both cases, new, localized meanings are added to the indexical field of the resources and may replace traditional ones.

Since music performances are no isolated and solely linguistic phenomena, they need to be treated as multimodal products (Bell & Gibson 2011: 566). As multimodality is a key characteristic of music performances, the definition of style as various

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3. The two genres, reggae and dancehall, are inextricably linked. For instance, the event described by Westphal (2018) is called "Roots Plague and Friends" (p. 101) as one of the main participants is Roots Plague Soundsystem. This name is characteristic of the mixing of the two genres as *Roots* refers to roots reggae and *Soundsystem* refers to sound system, "a mobile club and the term denotes the technical equipment (e.g. huge self-built speaker boxes and generators, the group of people organizing the event, including a DJ ('selector'), a moderator ('DJ'), and technicians, as well as the event space" (Westphal 2018: 100) nowadays typically associated with dancehall.

4. Dancehall has emerged from reggae culture and uses it as a linguistic and otherwise semiotic resource. Both genres and their communities of practice in Jamaica also constantly re-negotiate social meanings attached to stylistic resources and (re)shape the indexical field (Gerfer 2018).

interacting semiotic resources is perfectly applicable. For instance, punk music does not only include a somewhat aggressive manner of singing and instrumentation but involves anti-establishment, anti-authoritarianism, and non-conformity stances. This punk ethos is also reflected, for example, in clothing (ripped and modified in a do-it-yourself fashion), hairstyles (various colorings and the Mohawk), and certain dances (pogo and moshing), to name but a few attached stylistic systems (Eckert 2018: 146).

As suggested above, I argue that people involved in music and its various genres can be understood as communities of practice (Watts & Morrissey 2019: 38). Performers gather around the prime common practice of singing (or music making) and the shared goal of entertaining their audience. The audience takes a special position within communities of practice surrounding music. Although it seems as if their role is rather passive in simply consuming music and not actively performing themselves, they are pivotal in shaping the semiotic landscape of genres. Considering punk as an example again, a whole subculture has formed around this genre, which would have been impossible without a large, devoted fan base adopting, forming, and spreading meanings. Clearly, modern technologies and, in particular, social media have facilitated the access to music performances and social interactions within communities of practice. Still, the impact of mass media (traditional and digital) as the major tool of pop culture product dissemination on language use has long been considered weak and negligible in sociolinguistic research (Labov 2001: 228; Trudgill 1986: 40), "mainly affecting language awareness and attitudes towards varieties" (Stuart-Smith 2012: 1078; see also Buchstaller 2014: 93–97 and Tagliamonte 2012: 41–42). But it is exactly those shifts and changes in language awareness and attitudes that can initiate sociolinguistic change (Bell & Gibson 2011: 570). Moreover, today mass media are complemented by social media, which are much more pervasive in daily life; they are constantly available and used to produce as well as consume content. The mediascape (Appadurai 1996) also opens up the opportunity for the audience to not only reproduce styles but also to actively engage in metalinguistic and metapragmatic discussions on language performances (Jansen & Westphal 2017; Jansen & Westphal forthcoming). If certain linguistic forms are popularized through the media, particular variants and the values indexed reach a broader audience. Language performances nowadays are disseminated faster and more widely, and listeners around the globe can easily communicate and exchange resources. Such processes are made observable through folk perceptions. Folk-linguistic approaches provide access to people's ideas about as well as perceptions and expectations of language use. Although Eckert (1980, 1989) does not directly approach her investigations into high schools from a folk-linguistic perspective, folk opinions and descriptions play a major role in her ethnographic fieldwork. Answers to questions such as "What makes somebody a

Burnout?"[5] (Eckert 1989: 49) reveal students' perceptions of and opinions about their own and opposing communities of practice. The high school students discuss symbols of membership on various stylistic levels and provide information on how to identify members of different groups, how they interplay with and dissociate from one another. Collecting these ethnographic data can include ascertaining folk-linguistic perceptions of the language behavior of different groups. This leads to Hoeningswald's (1966: 20) call for more folk-linguistic studies and the importance that lies in not only asking "(a) what goes on (language), but also in (b) how do people react to what goes on […] and in (c) what people say goes on." Preston (1989) adds that "there are few studies in which the amazingly simple task 'tell me where you think this voice is from' was made a part of research" (p. 3), drawing attention to lack of interest in folk-linguistic studies. However, what he claims to be an "amazingly simple task" (Preston 1989: 3) can only refer to posing the question itself, for the analysis of diverse and complex lay people's answers is not. This might also be a reason why researchers have shunned the effort. In a folk-linguistic study, if the aim is not to delimit answers with strict questionnaires or semantic differential scales, the researcher must approach perceptions and opinions from a qualitative angle, carrying out complex and time-consuming content analysis.

2.3 The sociolinguistic significance of language performances

The deliberations above show that language performances, and in particular music, as an object of sociolinguistic investigation had to overcome several reservations: epitomizing "strategic inauthenticity" (Coupland 2007: 154), being an integral part of pop culture as well as of (online) mass and social media. It has become clear that language performances, on the one hand, create new styles and initiate shifts and changes in indexical fields and, on the other, reflect popular folk-linguistic perceptions and opinions concerning language. Those styles and attitudes become part of the "circulating relationships between performed and everyday language" (Bell & Gibson 2011: 550) and between performer and audience. When language is put on display and disseminated through the pervasive and ever-growing mediascape (Appadurai 1996), it becomes an easily observable phenomenon for everyone and provides a space for meaning making. A language performance "packages up stylistic and socio-semantic complexes and makes them transportable" (Coupland 2007: 155) and accessible. Thus, it is not only the linguistic choices made by the

5. 'Burnout' is a group label that high school students use to describe an anti-school orientation and all other stances attached to it (Coupland 2007: 23; for a detailed definition see Eckert 1989).

performer that offer insight into language ideological processes, but the folk perceptions of and engagement with their styles as well. Therefore, this work investigates an under-researched topic from an often-ignored folk-linguistic perspective, incorporating notions of the third wave of sociolinguistics.

CHAPTER 3

Singing as language performance

Language performances are products. Whether singer, actor, or comedian – all of them actively stylize language to produce a certain effect. Singers might want to emphasize their regional, sociocultural, and musical origins, while actors need to convince the audience that they embody a character, and comedians often exaggerate specific features for comedic effect when they imitate a person or a group of speakers. Language performances always aim at entertaining the audience (Bell & Gibson 2011: 558; Coupland 2007). Understanding music and hence singing as a product is not supposed to entirely discount the often romanticized creativity of artists, but to highlight that their language behavior follows very different parameters than everyday conversations. Nonetheless, creativity certainly is one important aspect of linguistic stylization in music performances. Songs, whether performed on- or off-stage, are meticulously planned and rehearsed. Through all the stages of the production process, from writing the lyrics to finalizing the recording to the repetitive rehearsals, the performer is aware of their language use. Words, pronunciation, rhymes, etc. are consciously employed. Before a song is presented to the public, it is approved of by, for example, co-writers and -artists as well as the producers. This shows that often many people are involved in the production process and that the spontaneity and naturalness of everyday speech are replaced by strategy and recognition value. The final recording is widely spread and defines and represents an artist's image.

In music, language is stylized to different degrees and follows various motivations: Singers can diverge from their natural accent, as is shown by Trudgill (1983) for British artists who switch to a somewhat American accent when singing, or by Eberhardt and Freeman (2015) for Australian hip-hopper Iggy Azalea, who imitates Southern AAE to perfection. Non-Jamaican reggae and dancehall artists around the world pay homage to the origins of their genres by learning and employing JC in their performances (Gerfer 2018). The examples above describe one prevalent type of active stylization in singing, namely referee design (Bell 1984, 2001). Singers follow role models they wish to identify with and accommodate to this (outside) referee. Others intentionally employ their vernacular voice[6] like the indie

6. The term 'vernacular' here does not refer to the most natural and relaxed speech style as being the most authentic. In performances language use is always intentionally stylized. So, vernacular here refers to an intentionally produced vernacular (Bell & Gibson 2011: 558).

rock band Arctic Monkeys (Beal 2009). Sticking to his natural voice, frontman Alex Turner merges with the local (target) audience and creates a feeling of 'ingroupness.' This strategy of stylization is called audience design (Bell 1984, 2001) and can be found in several genres. Punk, folk, country, and hip-hop, which do not seem to have a lot in common at first glance, are known for the stylization of vernaculars and the creation of a sense of authenticity[7] in doing so. Singers can also consciously mix different linguistic resources and musical influences to highlight different aspects of their persona (Coupland 1988: 139). Rihanna, for instance, employs Caribbean English Creole (CEC), American English, and possibly AAE features (Jansen & Westphal 2017).

Eckert's (2008, 2018) approaches to style and stylization process Butler's (1990; see also Pennycook 2004) notion of performativity, which is, as the term suggests, an integral part of language performances. It was first introduced in her work on language and gender, which laid the foundations for a non-essentialist view of identity. Pennycook (2003) explains that "[p]erformativity […] can be understood as the way in which we perform acts of identity as an ongoing series of social and cultural performances rather than as the expression of a prior identity" (p. 528). In other words, the way we behave and speak in any kind of social interaction is a constant re-negotiation and re-fashioning of our identity – it is constructed through repeatedly performing acts of identity (Le Page 1978; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). This precludes that we behave and speak according to a pre-defined identity, but reveals that identity is always in the making. In music, performativity is not only omnipresent but publicly displayed in every instance of performance, giving insight into the development of a pop culture persona. Musicians actively and openly make use of the transformative possibilities that performativity offers, which does not only include linguistic stylization but also the use of other semiotic resources, such as creating a specific outward appearance, dancing styles, or the choice of instrumentation. Performative action, i.e. stylization, is multi- and transmodal (Bell & Gibson 2011: 559; Pennycook 2007) as it combines various resources for creating a bricolage of styles (Eckert 2018: 112) and hence, the construction of identity. Therefore, music performances are a prime case for investigating performativity and its expression through language[8] and the influence of other performative actions and stylistic resources.

The anti-foundationalist notion of language impelled by the sociolinguistics of globalization sheds light on how easily various linguistic resources can be

7. Authenticity certainly is a complex and multi-faceted phenomenon which is discussed in more detail in Bell and Gibson (2011), Coupland (2009), Gerfer (forthcoming), Kuppens (2019).

8. Pennycook (2003) does so in analyzing a Japanese hip-hop band, Rip Slyme, that mixes linguistic resources and creates a multilingual voice and hence identity.

encountered and used for performative or stylization purposes today. Against the backdrop of globalization, languages and varieties have become mobile and fragmented, and they transcend local and ethnic boundaries as the examples above already indicate. Blommaert (2010: 43) proposes to even dissolve the term 'language' as it promotes the idea of a confined and fixed entity. 'Linguistic resource,' instead, signals openness and availability to all speakers and deconstructs the notion of fixedness. Such resources (linguistic and non-linguistic), in all forms and functions, are mobile and hence part of a constant flow and exchange (Blommaert 2010: 197). In turn, geographical borders (e.g. of nation states) and sociocultural boundaries (e.g. social, ethnic, gender) of languages become widely obsolete. Especially the advent of new technologies has facilitated transnational or translocal communication and has expedited the exchange of linguistic resources. According to Blommaert (2010: 13 & 105), we accumulate various linguistic resources to build our individual, multilingual linguistic repertoires. This notion is consistent with Butler's (1990) notion of performativity as iterative acts of identity and Eckert's (2018: 118) understanding of style as a bricolage of resources. The way in which we make use of the resources within our repertoire reflects our identity.[9]

Apparently, the theoretical approaches introduced so far have in common that they all describe a dissolution of boundaries and share a non-essentialist point of view. Identity, styles, and linguistic resources are mobile and in a state of flux, readily available for speakers to do social work. Music genres are just as fluent, mobile, and fragmented as linguistic resources. Music and in a broader sense pop culture is an open, seemingly borderless space. Artists can eclectically choose from different genres to create their own sound – always balancing old and new. The principle of honoring tradition while creating something fresh and individual has led to a "plethora of subgenres" (Simpson 1999: 362), each creating their own label and community of practice. Again, since singers are in the spotlight, their multivocality (Jansen & Westphal 2017) and mix-and-blend musical styles are publicly accessible. They are leading personas of pop culture, the mediascape (Appadurai 1996), and role models to many listeners.

9. Clearly, the fact that linguistic resources transcend local and cultural boundaries (Mair 2013: 256 & 264–265) leads to various forms of cultural and linguistic appropriation (Eberhardt & Freeman 2015) such as 'crossing,' which Rampton (1995) describes as "the use of language varieties associated with social or ethnic groups that the speaker does not usually 'belong' to" (p. 14). Such cases are more or less critically evaluated and heavily discussed. While white appropriation of black cultural products is a hot topic, particularly concerning hip-hop (see e.g. Cutler 1999, 2003; Eberhardt & Freeman 2015), the use of JC by non-Jamaicans is still under-researched and rarely discussed in the media.

The audience is the counterpart of the performer. Music accompanies our everyday life. We either listen to it by choice or are simply exposed to it, for example when we go shopping. Even when we consciously decide to listen to a certain artist, it is not necessarily a heightened event as is a concert that requires planning on both sides, from performer as well as concertgoers. Modern technologies, like streaming services and mobile devices, make music recordings available everywhere and at any time. Bell and Gibson (2011) mention that the "pervasiveness [of music recordings] in contemporary society makes them the primary channel of public performance" (p. 558). The performer is constantly under the audience's scrutiny and evaluation. It approves or disapproves of performances and plays the decisive role in determining a singer's (or a band's) success (Bauman 2000: 1; Bell & Gibson 2011: 557–558). However, the "feedback is delayed and fractured" (Bell & Gibson 2011: 563) because the performer is not physically present at the moment of the listeners' reception and cannot directly receive responsive evaluations. However, modern technologies have certainly facilitated relatively prompt and even translocal reactions to music or video publications. Success is eventually measured in terms of, for example, clicks, download rates, and sales figures. The audience's reaction to a certain music product plays an essential part in defining linguistic and/or musical trends and whether or not they prevail. Language performances require a heightened sense of reflexivity on both sides (Bell & Gibson 2011: 558). The performer needs to know and strategically use linguistic features to evoke a certain effect. The audience is expected to recognize and understand said intended features and their attached meanings. It is with this cyclical interplay of production and perception, i.e. reflexivity, that resources gain social meaning. With the process of reflexivity, the audience's important and active part in the identity construction of artists and the manifestation of singing styles becomes clear. Moreover, listeners' reactions give insight into language perception and attitudes as well as language ideological developments. This is where the notions of enregisterment (Agha 2003), indexicality (Silverstein 2003), and indexical fields (Eckert 2008, 2018) come into play again. All three theoretical frameworks describe the process of linguistic features gaining (and spreading) social meaning, i.e. they are recognizable and become associated with, for instance, a specific group of speakers, a genre, or a characterological figure (Agha 2003: 243). A linguistic form or resource comes with a field of potential meanings, an indexical field. Some of these potential meanings, developed through previous co-occurrences and performances, can be activated or deactivated and/or appropriated, i.e. a localized meaning is added and embedded into the community of practice (Eckert 2008: 453). When a linguistic feature becomes "enregistered" (Agha 2003) or gains a "higher-order indexicality" (Silverstein 2003), it becomes a part of public awareness and can be used to do social work (Beal 2009: 224). Its

use and understanding rests upon reflexivity from both sides, i.e. performer and audience. Music can either evoke new associations or singers can utilize already enregistered features and further reinforce their engraved social meaning (Beal 2009; Stuart-Smith 2012). For instance, English punk bands have actively made use of Cockney to promote their working-class background and an anti-establishment stance. These values were promoted and reinforced because they co-occurred with singers and fans of the English punk scene. In turn, when people hear Cockney, these values and associations are triggered. Working-class dialects have become the code for this genre and a linguistic tool for indexing a deviation from mainstream norms and assessment.

The motivations for language stylization in music performances are manifold and partly interacting. Musical role models, genre appropriateness, commercial success, a song's topic, or the reinvention of a singer's alter ego as well as singing-inherent, physiological demands are potential influencing factors. This list already hints at the complexity of motivations and circumstances that can affect a performer's linguistic output. The following sections introduce works of the sociolinguistics of music performances.

3.1 The performer: Motivations for singing styles

The studies reviewed below span almost four decades of sociolinguistic research into music performances. They range from variationist approaches (Trudgill 1983) over stylistics (Simpson 1999) to language ideological frameworks (Beal 2009; O'Hanlon 2006), and theories against the backdrop of the sociolinguistics of globalization (Blommaert 2010; Pennycook 2007). Not only do they outline the theoretical developments within sociolinguistics, but they also provide an overview of shifts and changes in the indexical fields of singing styles, i.e. linguistic trends in music and attached social values. All of them acknowledge the dominance of American English in pop culture and pop music and focus on reasons for singers' convergence to or divergence from it. First, the following literature review traces research focusing on the production side of performances, i.e. the description of performers' language behavior and possible explanations and motivations for their stylized linguistic output. Second, the role of the audience within language performances is illuminated to introduce a folk-linguistic, perception-based approach in which listeners take center stage.

3.1.1 The American role model: A classic case of referee design

Trudgill's seminal study "Acts of conflicting identity: The sociolinguistics of British pop-song pronunciation" (1983) is commonly considered the starting point when reviewing sociolinguistic research on the style and stylization of singing accents. He concentrates on British artists' motivations for using an Americanized singing style and focuses on popular pop and rock musicians from the 1950s up to the English punk era including, for example, The Beatles, The Rolling Stones, and the Dire Straits as well as The Clash. The mainly quantitative, diachronic approach counts the actual realizations of prototypical American phonetic features against all possible occurrences within performances. The underlying stylized American accent is a sound pattern that Trudgill introduced and Simpson (1999) later refined and labeled the "USA-5 model" (p. 345).[10] It includes the following five features:

1. intervocalic /t/ in *better* as [ɾ] or [d] instead of [t] or [ʔ],
2. postvocalic /r/ as in *girl* or *more*,
3. BATH in *dance* or *half* as [æ],
4. PRICE vowel in *life* as monophthong [aː], and
5. LOT vowel in *body* as unrounded [ɑ].

It is a performance accent extracted from British singers' language behavior while they approach an Americanized singing style. They mainly employ or select[11] these five features which Britons associate with American speech (Trudgill 1983: 144). However, these features do not all occur together in one single American (or British) accent (Beal 2009: Note 1). The USA-5 model combines typical Southern US or/and AAE features, such as the PRICE monophthongization and Standard American English ones, like the postvocalic /r/. Since the US South is the cradle of modern pop and rock music, American artists have dominated the musical landscape and have become an imitation-worthy role model for many non-American artists who strove to sound like "those who do it best and who one admires most"

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10. Trudgill's (1983: 141–142) analysis is based on six features. It includes a sixth feature in addition to the USA-5 model: The pronunciation of vowels in words like *love* and *done* is centralized to [ə] as opposed to using [æ-ɐ], typical of the South of England or [ʊ-ɤ], typical of the North of England.

11. 'Select' here refers to "selectivity" (Bell & Gibson 2011: 568), which Bell and Gibson (2011) describe as a typical sociophonetic process in language performances: "Selectivity utilizes some features of the variety while omitting others (perhaps on the grounds of difficulty, salience, or lack of salience)" (p. 568).

(Trudgill 1983: 144, 147).[12] This language accommodation phenomenon is a classic case of what Bell (1992: 329–330) describes as (outgroup) referee design. British singers actively choose to converge with an outgroup referee, namely Americans, because they wish to identify with them. Trudgill argues that this pronunciation model reveals that British singers do not have a clear conception of the exact group of Americans they want to imitate (Trudgill 1983: 145–148). The USA-5 model includes features which seem partly contradictory: Rhoticity is widespread in the US and a salient feature of Standard American English, but the monophthongization of the PRICE diphthong, also represented in the pronunciation model, is a typical Southern US feature. He also notices that British artists do not model their linguistic performance on the USA-5 model with all its pronunciation rules to perfection. Building on Le Page's (1978) constraints on linguistic modification, he explains that the inconsistent and variable use of features is rooted in the performers' insufficient analytical ability to work out the rules of American linguistic behavior. Hence, British singers fail to fully modify their speech behavior accordingly. Bell and Gibson (2011) label this sociophonetic process "mis-realization" (p. 568). Trudgill describes the use of postvocalic /r/ as exemplary for this linguistic behavior. The singers he analyzed neither use it in all possible instances nor do they always produce it correctly. He detects hypercorrect rhoticity after vowel sounds in words which orthographically do not include <r>, such as in *calm*, *taught*, and *ideas* (Trudgill 1983: 148–149), and also shows that some phonetic environments are more challenging than others. When it comes to realizing postvocalic /r/ in an unstressed syllable followed by a consonant (e.g. in *better man*), British singers are least likely to produce rhoticity. However, it is exactly this environment in which Americans most commonly pronounce postvocalic /r/ (Trudgill 1983: 149–150). Such constraints on linguistic modification also exemplify the way in which a singing style is often emulated – it is rather imitated by perception and memory than meticulously learned and practiced (Gibson 2010).

Trudgill detects a noteworthy decline in American features that coincides with British music becoming increasingly popular worldwide. He retraces this behavioral shift for example within The Beatles' oeuvre. Rhoticity and /t/-flapping constantly decrease from the band's early beginnings until 1971 (Trudgill 1983: 151–153). One convincing reason is that with growing recognition of British music America's

12. Moreover, it is important to acknowledge the strong influence of African Americans in the creation and popularization of many globally popular music genres, such as rock and pop, rock'n'roll, funk, jazz, blues, rhythm, and rhythm and blues. "It is impossible to imagine what American music would sound like today had it not been affected so profoundly by the presence and contributions of African Americans" (Lornell & Rasmussen 2016: 5; see also: Trudgill 1983: 144; Eberhardt & Freeman 2015; McCulloch 2019: 73–75).

cultural dominance shifted and British bands began to establish themselves as an authority within the music industry. The new self-perception and -confidence led to American features being employed less frequently. The Beatles also changed musically toward a "more complex, contemplative, poetic" (Trudgill 1983: 153) style and promoted localness content-wise. It is not unlikely that these latter changes were also triggered by their increasing popularity and influence that granted them greater artistic freedom. Another important development was the emergence of British punk in 1976, with which the use of British English working-class features gained momentum. The anti-establishment stances openly expressed in lyrics and supported by the covert prestige of non-standard features attracted the unemployed British working-class youth. Punk bands such as The Clash accommodated to their targeted audience, which they were part of themselves, to uphold credibility. Still, Trudgill (1983) argues that "[t]he old motivation of sounding American has not been replaced by the new motivation, but remains in competition with it" (p. 155). Following Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) theoretical framework,[13] Trudgill explains that British singers' language behavior is based on conflicting identities and motivations: American artists are still considered the imitation-worthy referee, but British singers have begun trying less hard to sound like them. At the same time, British singers, especially punk artists, began to stylize their accent to highlight their regional and social background. The global success of British music has led to a new self-confidence and, in turn, to a certain appropriateness in sounding British as well. Eventually, this conflict has resulted in a hybrid accent characterized by a mixture of natural and working-class British variants and prototypical Southern and/or AAE features.

3.1.2 Two trends: Going mainstream and going local

Simpson (1999) observes that "whereas the USA-model might seem alive and well in many musical arenas, its associations and resonances […] have altered inexorably over the years" (p. 364). O'Hanlon (2006) corroborates this initial observation. She shows that while most music genres in Australia, and pop music in particular, follow the "ubiquitous American pronunciation model" (p. 202), Australian hip-hoppers do not accommodate to this vocal habit but instead stick to their local accents. Looking back at Trudgill's initial explanation here, it would seem expectable that US rappers are the targeted referee other members of the 'hip-hop

13. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's study (1985) revises communication accommodation theory particularly according to multilingual communities, giving insight into the speaker's language behavior toward a linguistic model. They describe a multi-layered situation of conflicting identities in which language use is modeled after the group/s speakers want to identify with.

nation'[14] (Alim 2004) want to imitate. Hip-hop originated in poverty-stricken and socially deprived urban African American communities on the East Coast in the 1970s. Therefore, African American artists are at the very core of this genre and considered the best in their field. Hip-hop has risen to a global phenomenon and has become the creative outlet for troubled youth around the world expressing injustice and marginalization (Alim, Ibrahim & Pennycook 2009; Eberhardt & Freeman 2015; Osumare 2001; Pennycook 2003). Certainly, non-African American artists adopt formulaic expressions and stereotypical tokens that derive from AAE as well, but more importantly, they create their own justifiable space within the hip-hop community with localized adaptions of this genre (Eberhardt & Freeman 2015: 306; Pennycook 2003: 516; see also Mitchell 1999). Unified under the credo 'keepin' it real,'[15] the major goal of hip-hop artists is to represent and promote authenticity. This authenticity (or realness) can be achieved or legitimized in various ways depending on how it is defined (Pennycook 2007: 14). However, one basic premise is the supposed congruence of the artist's private and publicly displayed persona (Cutler 2003: 215); it is to be who you really are. This entails that hip-hoppers should be culturally and linguistically "overtly local" (Pennycook 2007: 15). The discrepancy between ordinary speech style and performed accent is minimized. The lyrics often address very personal topics or presumably autobiographical episodes and include the respective locales and myths. Until today, white rapper Vanilla Ice is considered the epitome of inauthenticity in hip-hop. The disclosure of his made-up back story that replaced an actual peaceful and affluent suburban upbringing with a gang-related life in an urban African American ghetto led to a quick end of his career (Eberhardt & Freeman 2015: 307). With his imitation of supposed blackness he overstepped, i.e. 'crossed' (Rampton 1995), cultural and ethnic boundaries instead of using accepted strategies to legitimize his space within the core hip-hop community. A commitment to authenticity can also be observed in other music genres, such as country or folk music, as well as indie genres (Beal 2009; Coupland 2011; Watts & Morrissey 2019). Hence, the language behavior of such musicians reflects pride in their regional and sociocultural origins and connects them with their audience. Being real and in touch with your roots overrules the motivation of imitating those who did it first and do it best. O'Hanlon (2006) shows that "Australian Hip-hop has therefore successfully created its own unique identity through the rejection of standard AmE [American

14. 'Hip-hop nation' "refers to the imagined community that spans the globe, whose members consume and create the music, and live the lifestyle associated with hip-hop" (Eberhardt & Freeman 2015: 305).

15. "'Keepin' it real' or realness is about being authentic, and hip-hoppers are quick to criticize those who 'front' or pretend to be something they are not" (Cutler 2003: 218).

English] models of performer accent and the introduction of local phonological features" (p. 204).

It is certainly valid to say that British artists from the 1950s to the 1970s were modeling their singing style on that of American artists. The adoption of an American-influenced accent has been an active choice since artists wanted to be identified with those who are the leading group (Bell & Gibson 2011: 560; Trudgill 1983: 144). The USA-5 model was hence associated with America. Trudgill's (1983) often-cited conclusion that "British singers were indeed trying *less hard* to sound like Americans; but it cannot be said that they were actually trying to sound *more British*" (p. 154, emphasis in original) needs to be re-evaluated in the light of developments in the musical landscape as well as more recent research in the field. A new generation of studies has reviewed previous works and takes a new, language ideological perspective. Simpson (1999) already indicates a change in associations with this American model referring to it as stimulating a "perceived homogeneity" (p. 362) among listeners. As mentioned above, O'Hanlon (2006) goes further and describes this Americanized singing style as being "ubiquitous" (p. 202). These two labels illustrate that if artists want to stand out from the crowd, they need to diverge from this omnipresent code.

Beal (2009) further supports and specifies O'Hanlon's (2006) observations. She investigates the first album of the British indie rock band Arctic Monkeys and finds that their frontman, Alex Turner, sticks to his 'natural voice' and exclusively uses Sheffield features. The band strongly identifies with its home city and audience, language- as well as content-wise. Beal explains this language behavior, i.e. going local, with the band's wish to dissociate themselves from the ubiquitous style. She asserts that the associations triggered by the American-influenced singing style have altered throughout the decades and have led to a shift in its indexical field. Since it has become virtually omnipresent in pop and rock music, it is not primarily associated with Americans or 'Americanness' anymore but instead indexes mainstream music (Beal 2009: 226). The co-occurrence of an Americanized singing style with pop (and rock) music reinforced this association while the actual referee, on whom this pronunciation model is based, stepped into the background. This way of singing has become so well-entrenched that it comes quasi-automatically to singers and can be described as a default or unmarked code for many pop music genres, for instance in New Zealand (Gibson & Bell 2012: 160). Hence, Beal (2009) concludes that the Americanized singing style is employed "without any conscious act of identity's [sic] taking place" (p. 239). The Arctic Monkeys' open rejection of the USA-5 model stands in opposition to this norm and indexes authenticity and independence from the mainstream (Beal 2009: 229). This is an initiative style-shift (Bell 1991: 105; Gibson & Bell 2012: 241) and just like the Australian rappers analyzed by O'Hanlon (2006), they actively avoid the institutionalized referee design

and replace it with local vernacular voices. In other words, they do not try to sound less American, but they consciously reject this external code, actively stylizing the local (Gibson & Bell 2012: 144). In some genres, this new motivation has replaced possible conflicting identities. The "Arctic Monkeys make it very clear that pretending to be American when you are in fact from the North of England is both 'fake' and conformist" (Beal 2009: 225). Gibson (2010: 13) reports on his experiences as a musician and explains his local, New Zealand English stylization with the wish to display authenticity:

> As an 18-year-old (notably coinciding with my first exposure to sociolinguistics), I began to notice that I used American-sounding features when singing my own original songs. I was unhappy with this because I felt that it was inauthentic for me to sing personal songs in a voice which was dialectally distinct from my speaking voice. As a result I began a long, and to some extent ongoing, process of retraining my singing voice to be more similar to my speaking voice. Listening back over the years of recordings, this was a very gradual process which came and went according to the recording context, song style, and place of residence; but gradually I developed a relatively New Zealand English (NZE) sounding singing accent, and this has been noted (not always favorably) in reviews of my music.

This quote shows that singers perform with a heightened awareness concerning their language behavior and entailed image. In the case of many indie bands as well as Gibson, it can be observed that they intentionally stylize their natural accent to identify themselves with their singing voice and display authenticity. It also demonstrates that the Americanized singing style is so pervasive that singers actively need to break themselves of this habit and consciously train their local voice. Gibson and Bell (2012) conducted interviews with New Zealand artists, such as Dylan Storey, who corroborates Gibson's experience: "Once you start thinking about it… it starts to become painful to blatantly sing American vowels, but going the other way is quite difficult too, you have to be really conscious… it does seem easier to sing in an American accent" (Gibson & Bell 2012: 146). Both statements support the notion of an American default accent. It is more widely accepted, easier to sing, and produced quasi-automatically. Additionally, there is still a lingering linguistic insecurity about their own varieties in New Zealand and Australia, also referred to as "cultural cringe" (Meyerhoff & Niedzielski 2003: 543). Especially in their music industries, New Zealand and Australian English are still much less popular and considered less appropriate than the internationally prestigious, external American code (Coddington 2003: 9). As Gibson (2010) recollects, his New Zealand voice was "not always favorably" (p. 13) evaluated. Such attitudes prolong the acceptance, spread, and success of said varieties in music although a change in pop culture seems underway (Gibson 2010: 45; O'Hanlon 2006: 203).

Rihanna's single "Work" (2016) is a case in point for showing that local voices have also found their way into pop music. In Trudgill's (1983) words, Rihanna carries out several acts of identity, but they are better described as 'co-existing' than 'conflicting.' The catchy, repetitive, and predominantly rather spoken chorus is most overtly Bajan and includes many CEC morphosyntactic features, whereas the verses, in which she switches the mode of discourse to singing, employ a typical American English pop (or mainstream) pronunciation. This pattern of singing styles clearly indicates speaker agency and the wish to incorporate different aspects of her identity into performance (Jansen & Westphal 2017). As opposed to Trudgill's British singers, Rihanna is proficient in all linguistic resources she employs, and she does so strategically. Instead of using a hybrid accent that shows a conflict in motivations, she patterns her singing styles, i.e. co-existing identities, with her mode of discourse. Here, the artist goes beyond the supposed dichotomy of mainstream versus going local and fuses both trends in a pop song while remaining authentic, i.e. "authentically pop" (Bell & Gibson 2011: 565) as well as 'authentically local.'

3.1.3 Further reasons for style-shifting in singing

Simpson's research begins where Trudgill left off, namely in the post-punk era. Simpson (1999) investigates the English music landscape of the late 90s and broadens the theoretical framework for understanding the style-shifting of British artists. On the basis of a mainly qualitative analysis of lyrics, he includes notions of discourse analysis and adapts Halliday's (1978) concepts of tenor, field, and mode as crucial artist-dependent aspects to music performances (Simpson 1999: 351–354). According to Simpson, a performer's language behavior is strongly influenced by the character or persona a singer slips into or plays while performing (tenor of discourse) and/or the lyrical content (field of discourse) that can sometimes demand taking on an alter ego's voice. These two reasons for adopting an Americanized singing style are singer-individual motivations that depend on a case-by-case choice.

However, the mode of discourse or, in other words, singing-inherent influences, are a stronger force. Within the mode of singing, we find a continuum that ranges from singing to speaking. Both come with different phonetic demands and realizations. The degree of singing often is a determining factor behind the intensity of style-shifting. British singer Adele's performance is more likely to be considered singing than that of Alex Turner (Arctic Monkeys), who rather engages in a sort of melodic storytelling. Both artists stick to their vernacular voice in interviews (clearly identifiably as Cockney for Adele and Northern or even Sheffield English for Turner), but only Turner also performs in his local voice (Beal 2009: 235). Contrarily, Adele's singing style is perceived as somewhat American (Anderson 2012). "[W]hile singing allows – and even on occasion demands – a degree of

style-shifting towards an external code, it would sound odd to hear a performer mimic a spoken variety other than his or her own" (Simpson 1999: 360). Singers like Adele prefer phonetic variants with less consonantal strength to those with a higher degree of constriction. Some American features are coincidentally easier to produce while singing because they are more sonorous than their British English counterparts. Morrissey (2008) claims that "certain speech sounds lend themselves better to singing than others" (p. 211). He explains that American English vowels are more open and therefore more sonorous than their British English counterparts. Gibson's analysis of New Zealand singers' vowel pronunciation partly supports this argument (2010: 129–130). Their F1 values – indicating the openness of the mouth – for the singers' sung vowels were even higher than those measured for American speakers.[16] Dylan Storey, a New Zealand rock artist analyzed by Gibson (2010), reinforces these observations by saying that "it just seems easier to sing in an American accent" (p. 130). Coupland (2009: 11) adds that monophthongized PRICE [aː] is easier to hold, not least because the constriction brought on by the closing movement of the diphthong is avoided. Also, /t/-flapping shows less consonantal strength than its two voiceless equivalents [t] and [ʔ] and facilitates a more fluent pronunciation. These singing-inherent consequences will surely have facilitated the rise of an American-influenced accent in music.

Simpson also considers ethnolinguistics and sociomusicology (Frith 1988, 1996) and thereby puts focus on sociocultural and political factors that can affect singing styles. He notices that with the rise of the Tories under Thatcher in the 1980s a linguistic conservatism spread in British popular culture. Working-class vernacular, which was advocated by the punk genre, was partly replaced with high-prestige features (Simpson 1999: 356–357). According to Simpson, The Stranglers epitomize this change: Not only did they transform musically and fashion-wise from a punk to a softer post-punk, new wave band, but this transformation was also accompanied by a linguistic change, moving from a mixture of USA-5 and some Cockney features toward exchanging the latter with overtly prestigious British English features (Simpson 1999: 356). The Stranglers realize the PRICE vowel as the Cockney variant [ɔɪ] in one of their early songs but produce the standard variant [aɪ] in the same word *time* in their 1982 song "Golden Brown" (*La folie*, 1982); in that same song they furthermore repeatedly use the high-prestige BATH vowel [ɑː] in words like *last* and *mast*. Simpson refers to Bell (1991: 105) in labeling their behavior a responsive style-shift. They respond to ongoing sociocultural and political changes in Britain. Nevertheless, Simpson indicates that other artists can take the initiative to reinvent themselves or oppose to the mainstream or current trends. Here,

16. Gibson (2010) took comparative F1 values for spoken American English from Clopper, Pisoni & de Jong (2005), Hagiwara (1997), Hillenbrand et al. (1995), and Peterson & Barney (1952).

Simpson already anticipates a trend that will reverberate in different popular music genres. He takes Northern Irish singer-songwriter Van Morrison as a counterexample to The Stranglers. In the 1980's, Van Morrison reinvented his persona and replaced the dominant US and AAE model in his singing style with a Belfast English pronunciation. Also, musically he went back to his roots and started promoting localness (Simpson 1999: 358–359). This development shows how strongly genre appropriateness and singing styles are intertwined.

Finally, economic reasons should be considered a strong motivator (O'Hanlon 2006: 202). Music performances are products which aim at entertaining the audience. The wider the audience, the more successful a performer and consequently, the more money is earned. Acknowledging America's dominant position in the music industry, holding the highest retail value and its position as the most influential of English varieties (Mair 2013: 261), it seems comprehensible if singers adopt an Americanized singing style. Most studies do not or only indirectly mention this financial incentive. However, non-American bands are often accused of having sold out when they style-shift to an American-influenced singing style, in turn making them more successful in the USA and around the globe as well as part of mainstream, pop culture.[17]

3.1.4 Revisiting theories on language performance in music

Trudgill (1983: 143–144) mentions Giles' language accommodation theory (Giles & Smith 1979) and the sociolinguistic notion of appropriateness as possible explanations for British singers' Americanized singing style but dismisses them in favor of Le Page's (1978) approach, which he considers most applicable. However, all three approaches should be brought together to obtain a comprehensive picture – they all play an important role in linguistic modification in music performances and should be understood as interconnected rather than separate ideas.

The beginnings of the going local trend were already observed by Trudgill (1983) and Simpson (1999) for British punk singers who perform an act of identity and use working-class features to index their local and social origins as well as their reaction to political events. Gibson and Bell (2012: 141) describe this change as an initiative-taking form of audience design, i.e. singers actively accommodate to their local audience. Artists who go local position themselves outside and against the mainstream and American cultural dominance and promote values of authenticity

17. O'Hanlon (2006) mentions that 1200 Techniques, one of the 27 Australian hip-hop bands she analyzed, not only shows a higher degree of Americanization in their performance than the others, but also "has enjoyed considerable mainstream success, having been signed to a major record label" (pp. 202–203). She therefore draws a connection between the band's Americanized performance and their commercial success.

and independence. The use of local vernaculars and their attached values have become so closely intertwined with particular genres that artists as well as the audience consider this language behavior the appropriate and expected style. For instance, punk, indie pop and rock, folk, country, and hip-hop are more strongly interconnected with certain (sub-)cultural values, such as political views and fashion, than other genres, particularly pop, and are more likely to express it through linguistic choices. This shows that the performers' strategic language accommodation turns into genre appropriateness and is one pivotal notion of understanding the motivations of singers, on the one hand, and expectations of the audience, on the other. Music genres and stylistic variation cannot be investigated independently of each other. In this regard, the case of The Stranglers is again exemplary. Trudgill (1983) explains that they were "accused of having 'sold out' and of not being 'really punk'" (p. 157). Frith (1988) adds: "Trudgill confirms linguistically my critical belief that the Stranglers weren't really a punk band" (p. 167). Their adherence first to the USA-5 model and later to prestigious British English features led to a loss of punk credibility. Their language behavior opposed the ideas of the English punk scene. In hip-hop, a long-standing discussion has been re-ignited showing how the imitation of an accent can lead to criticism and disapproval. A case in point is successful white, Australian, female hip-hop artist Iggy Azalea. In contrast to the British artists analyzed by Trudgill, she has precisely identified her linguistic role model and imitates it to perfection. Her hip-hop persona skillfully raps in Southern AAE. However, her natural accent is marked by Australian English features and is clearly identifiable in interviews. It is diametrically opposed to her performed accent (Eberhardt & Freeman: 2015: 313–317) and therefore, she is openly accused of being inauthentic, appropriating a language and culture she is not a part of. This criticism mainly comes from within the African American hip-hop community, i.e. Azealia Banks or Q-Tip (Eberhardt & Freeman 2015: 319). Eberhardt and Freeman (2015) conclude "that her linguistic performance is best characterized as figurative blackface" (p. 320). The issue of race certainly fuels this already controversial topic. In short: She does not 'keep it real' and this is met with disapproval; this also points to the social and political dimensions involved in the discussion.

Language performances are inherently inauthentic in the sense that they are not spontaneous or natural but planned and rehearsed. Nonetheless, authenticity is displayed in various ways and always intentionally produced. The most obvious strategy is to make the artist's persona and the person behind it seem congruent, which is mainly achieved through personal lyrics and a local accent (Coupland 2007: 180). In contrast, pop music is often considered inauthentic and basically value-free as well as dominated by American mainstream pop culture: "American accented singing may be interpreted as a violation of the singer's 'real' identity" (Bell & Gibson 2011: 565). Nonetheless, if singers follow genre-related linguistic

conventions, then using an Americanized singing style "may alternatively just be heard as 'authentically pop' or authentically 'rock'" (Bell & Gibson 2011: 565).

It is difficult to determine whether non-American singers really 'put on an American accent' or whether it actually comes to them 'naturally' as this institutionalized referee design has become a vocal habit of pop musicians and appropriate for the genre (Gibson 2010: 12). It is obvious that authenticity is certainly not a simple and self-explanatory concept. In the end, the audience plays an important role in determining whether a performance is considered authentic or not. A singer's performance is always weighed against listeners' expectations, i.e. "the cultural schema active for a listener at that time" (Bell & Gibson 2011: 565).

3.2 The audience: Change of perspective

The audience is a multi-layered construct. According to Bell (1984), audience members range from intentionally targeted in-group members to those not addressed but still consuming the product. In descending order of importance, he labels them auditors, overhearers, and eavesdroppers (Bell 1984: 159-160). In the context of music, the addressees can be understood as fans – core members who are familiar with an artist's work and background. However, other audience members are also potential listeners and critics. The audience has always been described as an intrinsic part of language performances and inevitably occurs in every definition (e.g. Bauman 1992; Bell & Gibson 2011; Coupland 2007). Bell's audience design (1984, 2001) emphasizes its importance, describing that speakers (or singers) often responsively accommodate their language behavior to their target audience. Bell and Gibson (2011: 563–564) offer an extensive definition of language performances and list the audience as one important dimension among others. Its role is mostly described as passive and has been widely neglected in sociolinguistic research so far. However, a change of perspective is necessary to focus on listeners as active participants in language performances. In literary studies, this shift in focus is reflected and theorized in reader-response criticism (e.g. Iser 1994; Jauß 1994; Stuart-Smith 2012: 1077). It claims that meaning in texts, or other art forms, is created in the actual reading process of the recipients. Lee (1982: 105) describes crucial aspects of performances with regard to the audience:

> [T]he popular singer […] can only exist provided that he or she attracts a paying audience. The singer must therefore be in a constant state of dialogue with the audience and must 'communicate' to them, a situation which is only possible when the 'language' used is understood by both sides. Innovation and invention can thus only be of a type which the audience will tolerate, and are usually within very strict limits.

Music is a product for the audience and, accordingly, performers are dependent on their listeners' reactions, which will majorly influence, even determine, an artist's success. Hence, the audience plays a decisive and active role in language performances.

Once again, it is important to understand performances as highly reflexive communicative events. Singer and audience need a certain linguistic awareness to produce and consequently perceive social meaning through language (Bell & Gibson 2011: 559). Singers might use specific features to reinforce the social meaning associated and, ideally (but not necessarily), the audience is aware "that a certain stylistic variant operates as an index for a certain social meaning" (Bell & Gibson 2011: 559). Reflexivity enables the production, perception, and re-appropriation of stylistic variants on the basis of linguistic abilities and metalinguistic awareness. It is a recursive, cyclical process between singer and audience; therefore, it is difficult to identify the starting point of indexical processes. Once a stylistic variant gains a 'higher-order indexicality' (Silverstein 2003) or becomes enregistered (Agha 2003), i.e. develops a certain social meaning or cultural value, people are aware of it. This is when language attitudes toward such features become most apparent and observable. This meaning can range from a trend of brief duration to a well-established marker or even stereotype (Labov 1972; see also Johnstone & Kiesling 2008: 8–9). Lee (1982) also emphasizes that not only the performer but also the audience – or 'the folk' in terms of Niedzielski and Preston (2000) – shows heightened linguistic awareness and can be quite critical of a singer's linguistic stylization. Their tolerance toward linguistic changes and experimentation has narrow boundaries.

A brief online search quickly reveals that the audience scrutinizes and discusses performers' singing styles. The four cases described below (see Sections 3.2.1 to 3.2.4) exemplify how the audience's perception and evaluation are displayed by comments, posts, and articles. They give insight into the complex relationship between different music genres and their conventions as well as listeners' expectations. They indicate the audience's sensitivity and attentiveness toward linguistic changes in language performances and exemplify how listeners evaluate the singing style of different singers. The audience as part of the community of practice also participates in deciding what is considered linguistically appropriate for various music genres and types of performances. The following cases show that meaning is created in the process of reception and that the audience is worth being studied as an active participant in language performances. The audience recognizes the use of certain features and provides information on indexed values. In some cases, audience members comment on performances – either directly, for example via Twitter, or indirectly through media channels like (online) newspapers or other web-based platforms.

3.2.1 Case I: Arctic Monkeys

Beal (2009) shows that the Arctic Monkeys combine old-fashioned Sheffield features with those of younger British English speakers, such as TH-fronting and /t/-glottalization, and bring about a shift in the indexical field of Sheffield speech. Instead of evoking associations with older speakers and traditional, old-fashioned values, their language behavior indexes authenticity, modernness, and an anti-mainstream stance (Beal 2009: 236–237). In the beginning of their career, their targeted audience is mostly young people from Sheffield and other northern urban centers such as Leeds and Manchester. The Arctic Monkeys have become the epitome of Yorkshire and the embodiment of the Northern English youth. Their audience welcomes this display of local pride and independence from the dominant American music industry. Nevertheless, frontman Alex Turner has been exposed to criticism in recent years as he is accused of having acquired an Americanized singing style (or 'American twang'). The Arctic Monkeys' performance at the Glastonbury festival in 2013 (Michaels 2014; Tait 2013) triggered metalinguistic discussions and hence constitutes an instance of heightened reflexivity on the listeners' side.

Concerning the staged performance in Glastonbury 2013, one fan (Taylor 2013) tweeted: "A bit confused by Alex Turner's new accent […]. He's like Sheffield's Elvis." Another one (Sullivan 2013) wrote: "Nobody seems to have mentioned Alex Turner's weirdenheimer American accent at Glasto. Yet Joss Stone scuppered her career over the same thing." A blog post (Cummins 2016) mentions that "Turner […] has been swayed by our neighbours to the West while on some time out." The Guardian (Michaels 2014) subtitles the summary of an interview with the indie rock band Wild Beats[18] "Hayden Thorpe claims lyrics to new single refer to UK singers with Americanized voices – such as the Arctic Monkeys." The fact that Turner moved to Los Angeles and underwent a stylistic change reminiscent of Elvis Presley has probably added to the perception of an 'American twang.' Although there are also plenty of opposing, understanding, and supporting views, this performance made it into the news, became a public issue, and provoked metalinguistic discussions.

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18. It should be mentioned here that the Wild Beasts corrected the impression made during their interview with Pitchfork, which was also cited in the Guardian. Their frontman explains: "We made a comment that was wrongly interpreted as having a go at Arctic Monkeys. […] We are not stupid enough to disregard the fact that Arctic Monkeys are the flagship of Domino [British indie record label] and are doing fantastic things around the world. It was kind of embarrassing. So I had to speak to the label, to say 'Sorry about this'" ("Brit band Wild Beasts," 2014). However, they do criticize singers who change their accent and lose authenticity. The singer of the British indie rock band Wild Beasts (Michaels 2014) comments: "If someone grew up in New York and they sang in a London accent, how would that be received? It sounds absolutely impossible, doesn't it?"

A quick comparison between the staged performance of their signature song "Mardy Bum"[19] at Glastonbury in 2007 and 2013 reveals that in the latter the LOT vowel is produced rather with an American-sounding unrounded [ɑ]: *and you got* [gɑt] *the face on* [ɑn]. In the earlier performance, he realizes a clearly audible rounded [ɒ] in the same line. Apart from this, Turner remains constant in his use of all other salient Northern British English variants and Sheffield-specific features. He employs the emblematic high back STRUT vowel [ʊ], retains a short [a] for BATH, and [aː] for MOUTH in *now*. He also sticks to the old-fashioned pronunciation of the Sheffield intensifier *right* as [ɹeiʔ]. Turner remains non-rhotic, glottalizes non-initial /t/ (e.g. *right* [ɹeiʔ], *that* [ðæʔ]), drops /h/ (*hard* [ɑːd]), and employs TH-fronting (*things* [fɪŋz]). Although the salient Northern English and Sheffield features clearly dominate, the slight change in LOT seems to have been noticed by the audience.[20] The vocal critics, probably core members of the targeted group, take accent issues very seriously and are extremely attentive to changes in Turner's linguistic output. Especially a band that prides itself on stylizing the local – making it their trademark – will be under close and careful scrutiny by their audience. Fans have internalized Turner's Sheffield voice, which is clearly audible when the live audience produces the respective salient features in unison. It is what they memorize and, hence, expect and consider appropriate. Even the slightest change is noticed. It is not necessarily the accurate emulation of a whole set of features, for example the USA-5 model, that leads to the perception of an American accent. Apparently, only one feature can trigger this association (Bell 1992: 337). In the case of the Arctic Monkeys, the recognition of one feature that is different from the expected singing style influences the overall perception of Turner's accent. The negative evaluation of his singing style even led Turner to briefly respond to this criticism, claiming that he does not sound different on purpose and that his new look, i.e. the Elvis-like appearance, might influence people's perceptions (Stevens 2013). The media attention and Turner's reaction show that the audience has a tangible influence on music and singing styles. Flanagan (2019) as well as Jansen and Gerfer (2019, forthcoming) document the band's linguistic, musical, and content-related development. They show that while Turner's use of standard English accent features and grammar

19. This song was also chosen because Beal (2009) offers an extensive analysis of the recorded version which laid the groundwork for comparison.

20. It is important to mention that the two live versions of "Mardy Bum" differ also in their musical realization. While the performance of 2007 is very close to the recording, the 2013 version interprets "Mardy Bum" rather as slow ballad backed by a string section. This entails a change in his "mode of discourse" (Simpson 1999) in which the lyrics are more sung than melodically told. In turn, this influences Turner's singing style, which might explain why listeners felt he was dragging out vowels.

as well as some previously rejected pronunciation features ascribed to American English (e.g. /t/-flapping) increase over the years and are particularly noticeable on the band's latest album which was released in 2018, he retains Northern English STRUT to continue indexing their 'Sheffieldness.' The band's development in different music genres, changing from 'edgy,' independent genres like garage rock and post-punk to pop and glam rock has certainly also contributed to the perceived Americanization of the band.

3.2.2 Case II: Joss Stone

Joss Stone is a renowned soul and R&B artist from Devon, England. In 2007 she presented BRIT award nominees and was accused of emulating an American accent. This incident "was enough to send the British media into a righteous spin" (Petridis 2007). Many listeners ridiculed her language behavior and it has been so well-mediatized that we find mention of it on her English Wikipedia page. Although this case concentrates on Stone speaking, not singing, it is nonetheless a display of her pop persona and part of her overall performance as an artist. People's descriptions of her presentation reveal that they associate a Southern States accent with some of the features used. One listener (pajamagirl123 2016) commented: "I think I heard some struggling Southern creeping in with her regular accent." Another one (Ashley Pomeroyvor 2016) wrote that "she says […] 'strawng' and 'inspahring' […] switching from mid-Atlantic to a kind of drawl." These examples describe a perceived lengthening of vowel sounds and monophthongization of PRICE, respectively. Her pronunciation of *inspiring* is moreover accompanied by vocal fry (or 'creaky voice'), which is often associated with young American girls (Freed 2014: 630–631; see also Wolk, Abdelli-Beruh & Slavin 2012; Yuasa 2010). The Guardian music blog (Needham 2007) claims that "Joss Stone has come a long way from Devon – and judging by last night, her accent has gone even further…" and states that she "enquired 'How's it goin'? in not a merely mid-Atlantic, but broad American accent." Again, this example refers to a low monophthongized MOUTH vowel [haːzɪt goʊɪn]. Although these features can be noticed, she nonetheless employs many standard and non-standard British English accent features as well: GOAT with a central onset [əʊ] (*going*, *also*, *know*), THOUGHT as [ɔː] in words like *all* and *also*, as well as TH-fronting (*through*), and a non-rhotic pronunciation (*are*).

There are also statements that defend Stone's performance or claim that she does not sound American. However, the negative comments co-occur with the perception and description of features as American. Evaluations such as "she comes across as fake as fuck with that accent" (shotgunshawzy 2016) or "[t]hat moment

when you realise Joss Stone is a wannabe-American cunt" (David Jones 2015) are not only offensive but show that her performance is considered inauthentic. Surprisingly, there are no discussions on her singing accent to be found online. It seems that the audience does not find her Americanized singing style problematic, but that she partly transfers it to her spoken voice is not accepted. The singer also took a stance against the accusations and explained her Americanized performance with her exposure to American English while working in the USA and collaborating with American artists. Stone has an American father and has regularly been working in the USA since the beginning of her career at the early age of 14 ("Joss Stone," 2008). Shortly after the incident, Stone released her third studio album, which was not well-received, particularly in Britain. The sum of incidents culminated in Stone's ("Joss Stone," 2008) reaction claiming that "England doesn't like me anymore." The audience's (and media's) accent evaluation seems to have had a concrete impact on her career and the singer ("Joss Stone," 2008) claims that the record company did not promote her album after the BRIT award incident: "That week all the [Brits] shit happened, they said, 'We're just gonna cancel your promo [promotional appearances] – we're gonna cancel everything that you have organised.'" One of the comments (Sullivan 2013) on Turner's singing style mentions that "Joss Stone scuppered her career over the same thing," i.e. putting on an American singing style.

3.2.3 Case III: One Direction

One Direction is a globally popular English-Irish boyband formed during X-Factor, a British televised singing competition, which they finished third in 2010. The band's members have various regional backgrounds, and in interviews they use clearly identifiable British English accents. In one interview, they openly stated that they were advised to use an Americanized singing style to ensure success in America (Moodie 2013). Interestingly, there is no discussion online that includes negative reactions to this confession. Instead of criticizing their emulated American voices, we find fun-related, positive videos in which they are interviewed and comedically 'show off' their American accent in American late-night shows (ClevverTV 2013).

This demonstrates that the music genre plays an important role in explaining the audience's reaction to One Direction's singing style. For mainstream pop music, it seems that the audience expects and readily accepts an accent change to American English and that it is not an issue that is challenged or discussed. In their interview (Moodie 2013), One Direction propose different reasons for their accent imitation, offering insights into language perception in music. For them, singing

and pop music simply work better with an Americanized singing style, which is hence considered the established code. One band member says: "I think in certain music genres you can really tell when people are British, but in pop it's not as easy to get it across" (Moodie 2013). Another (now former) group member adds: "[']What Makes You Beautiful['] would sound more indie with a British accent" (Moodie 2013). This quote shows that local accents are associated with indie genres and pop music with an American-influenced singing style. These are established conventions, set up by performers and listeners alike.

3.2.4 Case IV: Rihanna

In the case of Rihanna's single "Work", released in 2016, we can observe how the use of certain features partly fails to trigger the desired associations and polarized the audience (Jansen & Westphal 2017). While some praised her performance as an authentic homage to her Barbadian heritage (Gibsone 2016), others, unaware of and unfamiliar with CEC and Bajan features, dismissed it as lyrical gibberish (Noelliste 2016). Nonetheless, "Work" is one of her most successful hits.

Many of the features in the chorus are typical of CEC, Bajan, or JC. Particularly the under-articulation of consonants, her nasalized pronunciation, and /t/-glottaling in word-final position are characteristic of her Bajan accent (Roberts 2007: 96–97; Wells 1982: 584). Apart from employing certain phonetic features, she also includes many morphosyntactic elements that are typical of CEC. In the chorus, she uses, for example, the personal pronoun *me* in subject position, the modal auxiliary *hafi*, and the quotative *se* (*he se me hafi work*).

Reactions showed that many people were rather confused by these features and not aware of their Caribbean origin. They did not have sufficient knowledge to recognize her Bajan accent or CEC and hence could not activate an association with the Caribbean or, more precisely, Barbados. An online review of her song claimed that "[w]hat begins as slurring soon just devolves into gibberish, 'work work work work work' becoming 'wor wer waa wahhhhh wa.' Repeated listening is genuinely hilarious" (Nightingale 2016). On Twitter we find comments like "Rihanna literally speaking gibberish in her new song" (KaiYak 2016) or "It's saddening that if people like @Drake or @rihanna put out incoherent gibberish, pretty sure it would sell. Wait… #Work" (laurenbabic 2016). Her lyrics were simply unintelligible to many listeners, which culminated in mocking memes and mock transcriptions as well as destructive criticism.

In an interview (TheCelebFactory 2012), Rihanna explains that she felt the need to adapt to an Americanized accent for interviews and business matters to ensure intelligibility. She seems well aware that her Bajan accent is difficult to understand

outside the Caribbean and that emulating an Americanized accent is crucially important for her career (Jansen & Westphal forthcoming). Although she regularly makes use of CECs in her songs, an Americanized singing style remains the dominant voice in her performances.

3.2.5 First insights into the audience's perspective

The cases above show that the audience has different linguistic expectations concerning different music genres and types of performance. The Arctic Monkeys are exemplary for indie bands. In this genre, singers are expected to promote authenticity, i.e. the performance and private persona are the same, which entails that they should retain their local accent when singing. Changing one's singing style to an American-influenced accent is equated with selling out and losing credibility. In soul and R&B music, by contrast, listeners are used to an Americanized singing style. Here, Trudgill's explanation of imitating those who came first and do it best seems very much alive. Stone's case, however, shows that when it comes to speaking, a singer's original local voice is preferred, and changes are recognized and immediately criticized. The performer is under close scrutiny. In the case of One Direction, we deal with a typical boy band. In pop music, an American accent is the expected norm and not necessarily evaluated negatively – even if the artists openly state that they change their language behavior on purpose to be more successful and accessible not only to an American but also to an international audience. One Direction use an Americanized singing style and hence are "authentically pop" (Bell & Gibson 2011: 565). Rihanna's case corroborates Lee's view (1982: 105). Changes and innovations are only understood and tolerated within very strict limits: If listeners do not or cannot share the values and associations attached to certain features, performances may fail in communicating a specific meaning or feeling.

Researching the audience's perspective provides evidence for the interplay of language perception, language ideological processes as well as developments in indexical fields. It is interesting to find out what influences listeners' perceptions of language performances. The cases above already indicate that it is not necessarily a specific set of features (e.g. the USA-5 model) alone that shapes what the audience perceives. So, why do listeners think a performer sounds American and how do they evaluate such a language behavior in different circumstances (i.e. different genres, modes of singing, etc.)? Questions like these have been, so far, mostly approached without consulting the audience (e.g. Beal 2009; O'Hanlon 2006; Trudgill 1983).

3.3 Making a case for folk-linguistic research into music performances

"Still, little is known about how listeners realize social meaning, how they receive sociolinguistic cues, and what they do with them" (Campbell-Kibler 2009: 135). As the sociolinguistic research on the motivations for singing styles as well as the presented cases on the audience's perception of them show, an American(ized) accent, and specifically convergence toward or divergence from it, are at the center of attention. A folk-linguistic approach seems indispensable to examining listeners' perceptions of and attitudes toward performed singing styles and to investigate their awareness of certain features and attached values. Many studies have elicited attitudes toward the two dominating varieties British and American English (e.g. Bayard, Weatherall, Gallois, & Pittam 2001; Garrett, Williams, & Evans 2005; Giles 1970; Hiraga 2005; Trudgill 1983;). However, perceptions and attitudes concerning the use of English in the context of music have yet to be explored.

Eckert (2008) points out that indexical fields are "fluid, and each new activation has the potential to change the field by building on ideological connections" (p. 453). Music performances can introduce new potential meanings to the indexical field of various stylistic resources. The social values attached to different stylistic devices in singing are not necessarily identical with those in non-performance, i.e. spontaneous contexts. For instance, Beal (2009) points to Sheffield speech being one of those local, 'old-fashioned,' and traditional accents that would not immediately be associated with "young and fashionable" (p. 231) speakers. Nonetheless, the Arctic Monkeys give it a modern twist and promote local pride among young Northern English speakers (Beal 2009: 221, 224). In the context of music, local British accents – urban or rural (Hiraga 2005) – can receive positive evaluations and recognition instead of being marginalized. As mentioned above, stigmatized non-standard varieties have the potential to gain global, yet covert, prestige through music performances. Pop culture products disseminated through (online) mass and social media can "construct new social meanings for linguistic varieties by embedding them in new discourse contexts and genres" (Coupland 2007: 184).

The audience provides a window on a crucial part of performances, namely the perception of features and the reception of style. The USA-5 model is described as a perception-based singing style, although it has never been validated by listeners' perceptions. The latter seem to be treated as somewhat self-explanatory and fixed, discounting the role of the audience as passive. Nonetheless, indexical fields of linguistic variants and other semiotic resources, as well as entire singing styles or language varieties, are inextricably linked to language perceptions and attitudes. This study aims to explore listeners' perceptions of music performances and to verify the USA-5 model. This leads to the first research question (RQ1): Are typical American

and/or British phonetic features actually recognized as American or British by the participants? If the USA-5 model (and its British equivalents) represent prototypical features of their respective varieties, then the participants' perception will verify their validity as and status of a perception-based sound pattern.

According to Eckert's (2008, 2018) notion of style as a bricolage of stylistic systems and the multimodal nature of music performances, resources other than a presupposed pronunciation model might additionally influence listeners' perceptions. Since every performance and its stylistic resources are embedded in and potentially carry the 'taste' of all previous occurrences, associations with similar artists can be triggered as well (Bakhtin 1981; Bell & Gibson 2011: 560). This evokes the follow-up research question (RQ2): Which other features (linguistic and non-linguistic) prompt a response and affect listeners' evaluations? If a music performance is understood as a multimodal accumulation of stylistic resources, it can be hypothesized that other features, linguistic as well as non-linguistic, such as music genre, voice characteristics, and the lyrics' content will substantially influence listeners' perceptions of and attitudes toward said performances.

A statement by sociomusicologist Frith (1996) gave rise to the idea of including American participants as a counter group to the British interviewees. He writes in relation to Trudgill's (1983) study that "voices that were heard as 'American' by British listeners still seemed – in their very peculiarity! – obviously British (or, at least, non-American) to Americans" (Frith 1996: 167). The expectation described here is that Americans would more readily recognize British singers emulating an American accent than British speakers themselves. Hence, the third research question (RQ3) emerges: How do British and American listeners' perceptions of the same stimuli differ? In his 'World System of Standard Englishes,' Mair (2013) hints at a linguistic rivalry between the two dominating varieties British and American English. He claims that American English is the 'hub,' i.e. the one hyper-central variety that has an undisputed reach and influences all other English varieties; and he does so "[a]t the risk of causing offence to British readers" (Mair 2013: 260). Mair is referring to America's achieved technological, political, economic, military, and cultural power, which in turn has led to a linguistic dominance. American English has replaced British English as the leader and distributor of English around the world. Moreover, also "British English has tended to move towards American English" (Culpeper & Nevala 2012: 380). Although the linguistic consequences for British English are by far not extensive, popular opinion reflects a cultural insecurity that disapproves of the American influence on British English (Culpeper & Nevala 2012: 380–381). Consequently, it is worth examining whether the insecurity triggered by an Americanization of British English is palpable in the participants' perception and evaluation of singing styles. If the interviewees feel that American

English and culture are encroaching upon Britain, then this would manifest itself in critical responses to British singers using an Americanized singing style as well as rather negative attitudes toward an American accent in general.

The fourth research question (RQ4) aims to collect general opinions on language use in music: How do the British and American listeners evaluate different artists' language behavior? If the audience has certain expectations of music performances and sometimes even wishes for a particular language behavior, its members will express their ideas and opinions of and attitudes toward the topic. This will help understand the reflexive nature of language performances and show how listeners take part in forming the semiotic landscape of singing styles. Furthermore, notions of genre appropriateness and associations with various singing styles will be revealed.

The following chapter introduces the study's methodological framework and explains the need for a qualitative exploration of folk perceptions. The data as well as the method used to approach the research questions outlined above and to verify the stated hypotheses are presented. The interview procedure and the development of the codebook to carry out and retrace the qualitative content analysis of the transcribed interview data are described in detail.

CHAPTER 4

Qualitative data and analysis

Researching in a time of ever-growing masses of data (i.e. big data), their collection and analysis, it is important to remember the 'qual-quant continuum' and carefully consider the potential of qualitative studies (Brown 2005: 486; see also Bernard & Ryan 2016; Kuckartz 2012: 18; Oswald 2010: 75). Qualitative and quantitative research do not constitute a strict dichotomy but align along a fluid and interactive continuum (Brown 2005: 488–491; Newman & Benz: 1998). The two methodological approaches overlap and can be combined in multitudinous ways (Oswald 2010).

Although qualitative data are considered 'rich' in their complexity and depth, they are often regarded as less convincing or meaningful. They are labelled 'soft' data because they are difficult to analyze systematically and often do not provide generalizable results (Callies 2013b). For qualitative data processing to be taken seriously, it is crucial to ensure "rigour in qualitative research" (Seale & Silverman 1997: 16). It is often the case that researchers do not fully disclose all working steps involved in qualitative analyses, i.e. processes of developing meaningful categories. They stay on the surface and only provide anecdotal accounts. To avoid vague descriptions of methodological execution and 'cherry-picking' of results, the data need to be interpreted and analyzed in their entirety, and every step – from data collection to processing to presenting results – must be transparent, comprehensive, and reliable. Qualitative analyses must aspire to be just as systematic and methodologically sound as quantitative investigations based on mathematical statistics (Kuckartz 2012: 14). When comparing qualitative and quantitative approaches, it is also necessary to keep in mind that they commonly differ in their basic aim: Qualitative research is highly explorative and discovery oriented. It sets out to generate hypotheses. Quantitative research, on the other hand, focuses on testing these hypotheses (Brown 2005: 485; Callies 2013b).

Sociolinguistics is an inherently interdisciplinary field of research. However, the methodological literature consulted for this thesis mainly stems from primarily sociological works. It is easy to find detailed and comprehensive accounts of how to collect qualitative data in sociolinguistics as well as sociology. However, when researchers look for guidance concerning the processing of such data, they will hardly find any exemplary descriptions to replicate in sociolinguistic studies. In addition, methodological literature providing comprehensive instructions on how

to analyze qualitative data is scarce (Kuckartz 2012: 20). One example that is symptomatic of this lack of methodological rigor is Johnstone's *Qualitative Methods in Sociolinguistics* (2000). As Bailey (2000) points out in his review, "[t]he section on analytical methods is short and disappointing" (pp. 285–286). Meyerhoff, Schleef, and MacKenzie's *Doing Sociolinguistics: A Practical Guide to Data Collection and Analysis* (2015) also only superficially explains the steps of a content analysis for qualitative data. They dedicate a short paragraph to content analysis in which they point to further sources – those of sociologists, namely Mayring (2000) and Berg (2001), who provide "a more theoretically informed way to do" (Meyerhoff et al. 2015: 90) content analysis. Since qualitative content analysis has its roots in sociology, it is useful – if not required – to follow a sociological approach and further dissolve the boundaries between these closely related disciplines.

In this study, qualitative data were collected with guided interviews. However, the analysis of the transcripts was not purely qualitative as the results were also quantified for descriptive statistics. The study explores hearers' language perceptions and evaluations of music performances. Following Kuckartz' (2012) guideline, I give a detailed and transparent account on all steps of the qualitative content analysis of the interview transcripts to claim credibility for the results and demonstrate a systematic and comprehensive structure. The heuristic, i.e. interpretive, text analysis as well as the codebook aim to be intersubjectively comprehensible and verifiable.

4.1 Methodology and data collection

This research project aims to elicit people's perceptions of and attitudes toward performed accents in music. Therefore, it lies at the intersection of perceptual dialectology and folk linguistics. Lay views, observations, and evaluations of language are at the heart of this study's methodology. To discover laypeople's reactions to and opinions of language in music, it is crucial to collect qualitative data. Semi-structured, focused interviews are a fruitful source of collecting said data, allowing for an explorative, discovery-oriented approach. I chose to conduct semi-structured interviews based on auditory stimuli, i.e. short music clips. This method facilitates self-reported perceptions and the verbalization of metalinguistic reasoning (Callies 2013a), which are crucial to this methodological approach and key to this study. Conducting guided interviews, the researcher can follow a pre-defined yet flexible structure while giving the participants the possibility to express themselves freely, to pronounce their ideas, attitudes, and opinions in their own words. They are not forced to choose from pre-set answers or labels, which is often the case in attitude or perception studies and can be very limiting (Callies 2013a; Kuckartz 2012: 14–15).

Standardized interviews or verbal questionnaires are less explorative and adequate in capturing the complex interplay of singer, performance, and audience.

The comparison of Bayard et al.'s (2001) and Garrett et al.'s (2005) attitude studies on different English accents reveals the advantages of the method at hand. The overall question of attitude studies is 'What are people's associations with different varieties, dialects, and accents in terms of different social dimensions?' Bayard et al. (2001) and Garrett et al. (2005) both investigated language attitudes of inner-circle variety[20] speakers toward one another and in Bayard et al.'s case also toward speakers of the participants' own variety. In order to do so, Bayard et al. conducted a verbal guise test with a questionnaire that elicited attitudes by means of semantic differential scales. Garrett at al.'s study, on the other hand, employed a folk-linguistic approach. Their participants filled in an open-ended questionnaire. They were instructed to name no more than eight countries in which English is a native language and subsequently to describe how the English spoken in the respective country strikes them when they hear it spoken (Garrett et al. 2005: 217). This keyword approach led to the collection of a multitude of comments and associations which were then grouped content-wise according to shared characteristics and organized into categories. The description of data processing is easy to follow and the collection of the data themselves was very productive.

Comparing the results of these two studies, it is apparent that the evaluation of an American accent diverges drastically. Both studies show that American English is considered a powerful and dominant variety and Bayard et al. (2001) ultimately suggest that "overall the American accent seems well on the way to equaling or even replacing RP as the prestige – or at least preferred – variety" (p. 22). These attributes seem to be interpreted rather positively by the participants. On the other hand, Garrett et al.'s examination comes to a different conclusion and a different evaluation of power and dominance. Their study reveals rather negative associations with American English and with that a loss of prestige. Garrett et al. (2005: 229–231) provide two likely explanations for the divergent results of both studies. The different methodological approaches might have led to different answers. They explain that the scales used in a verbal guise test can fail to represent negative evaluations. For example, if there is a scale for confidence, ranging from unconfident (1) to very confident (5), then ticking the highest value is understood as assigning a positive trait to a speaker. However, if the respondent wanted to express the notion of over-confidence, which can be viewed as a negative evaluation of the speaker,

20. Inner-circle varieties according to Braj Kachru's (1985) three circles model referred to here are: Australian English, New Zealand English, English English, US English.

this information gets lost and negative evaluations are construed as positive ones (Garrett et al. 2005: 230–231; Preston 1989: 3).

While Garrett et al.'s folk-linguistic keyword technique comes with its own challenges, it gives respondents the possibility to express themselves freely, and succeeds in capturing nuanced meanings. A transparent content analysis creates space for ambiguous or otherwise difficult answers and analyzes them in their entirety. Another possible influencing factor for the diverging results of the two studies could be extralinguistic events (e.g. politics) between the two periods of data collection. They might have entailed actual changes in attitudes toward an American accent (Garrett et al. 2005: 231). Research on language attitudes, which are dynamic and constantly undergoing changes, gives information on existing underlying stereotypes, ideologies, and values. Another aspect that might have given rise to the different results is that the two studies partly include different populations. Bayard et al. (2001: 22) included New Zealand, Australian, and American respondents to rate New Zealand, Australian, US, and British English, whereas Garrett et al. (2005: 211) also involved UK respondents.

Garrett et al. (2005) provide the methodological foundation for this study, which allows for an in-depth insight into folk perceptions of language performances in music. Bayard et al. (2001) give impetus for using auditory stimuli. The interview technique seemed more suitable to elicit the respondents' answers than a writing task as the interviewer was able to spontaneously react to the subject's responses and, if necessary, to ask follow-up questions on details that narrow down certain answers. The small online survey conducted beforehand (see Section 4.1.1) also shows that laypeople's descriptions of accent features are quite often very vague (Jansen 2018: 131). Hence, an interactive technique promised more detailed and reflected data. Engaging in a conversation-like interview also simulates a more natural or at least less artificial listening experience than a strict experimental set-up (Gibson 2010: 159).

One could argue that presenting complete music samples with background music instead of only asking the interviewees to listen to the singer in isolation would lead to too many uncontrolled factors that distract the interviewee from the main task (i.e. concentrating on the performed language), and make a structured analysis aimed at revealing patterns more difficult. However, considering that this study seeks to discover how the audience perceives accents in music, it is inevitable to confront them with music as it is typically encountered. Moreover, the instrumental arrangement is an inseparable part of the artist's persona and performance, which reflects, for example, the genre or mood of a song. It also activates the hearer's memories and associations with previous music experiences and shapes their linguistic perceptions and expectations. All in all, this influence on

the hearer's perception is favorable; it might even lead to a better understanding of the correlation between artists, music genre, and performed accent and ultimately also the audience's evaluation.

Gibson (2010: 159-161) provides evidence of the influence of the instrumental background on people's perception of performed accents. His perception experiment concentrated on the evaluation of vowel sounds with and without background music. The participants – all from New Zealand – listened to eight isolated and synthetically generated words ranging from *bed* to *bad*. Each word was played with and without instrumental background. Being told that they would listen to a New Zealander speak and sing the participants had to choose whether they heard either *bed* or *bad* for all stimuli. The results show that in the singing context, the subjects more often believed to hear *bed* than *bad*. They did not expect a singer from New Zealand to produce the New Zealand-typical raised TRAP vowel while performing (Gibson 2010: 159–161). This not only shows that the audience anticipates an accent modification but also that listeners activate different sets of phonetic memories associated with different genres. "Viewed in this way, it is not only singers who construct different styles in singing and speech, but also their listeners" (Gibson 2010: 147). Gibson also suggests that different musical styles might trigger different associations and interpretations of the accent heard: "[A] punk music background versus a pop music background could influence the perception of a vowel towards an urban London English interpretation in the former, and an AmE [American English] interpretation in the latter" (Gibson 2010: 161). In other words, punk music is so strongly linked to urban London as the birthplace of the (British) genre itself and many well-known bands that listeners' expectations are likely to make them believe that it is also an urban London accent they perceive. In contrast, an American accent has become so well-entrenched in pop music that it is the default mode for many singers and hence the anticipated accent in this genre (Beal 2009: 226; Gibson & Bell 2012: 160).

Niedzielski (1999) shows that social information influences the perception of linguistic variables. If listeners are provided with certain information on speakers (in the case of her study the regional background), they hear differences in the exact same stimuli, based on their associations with and beliefs about that group of speakers. This social information activates the listeners' knowledge and experiences and creates or calibrates "the phonological space of speakers" (Niedzielski 1999: 63). Gibson explains this phenomenon with exemplar theories (e.g. Pierrehumbert 2001) of speech perception, "which argue that phonetic details are stored as episodic memories, indexed with social and contextual associations" (Gibson 2010: 15). I argue that background music can be understood as social information because it equally triggers specific phonetic patterns and affects the hearer's perception.

Considering Gibson's (2010) and Niedzielski's (1999) methods, results, and suggestions for future research, the proposed holistic approach to accent perception in music seems suitable to answer the research questions of this study. Every method involves difficulties which need to be anticipated and carefully attended to throughout the procedure. The most obvious ones, namely response biases, arise from the interview situation itself. The participants' awareness of being observed and recorded by the researcher always remains an influencing factor for these kinds of studies. Since the project deals with a generally less controversial or emotionally charged topic, the probability of social desirability (Oppenheim 1992: 126 in Garrett 2006) was not underestimated but remained rather low throughout the interviews. It should also be mentioned that the proximity of the researcher to the focus group in terms of age and occupation, i.e. being a student, resulted in a relaxed and informal atmosphere. This was clearly an advantage in gathering attitudinal data since most participants expressed their ideas and opinions uninhibitedly. Nevertheless, an expectancy bias might have conditioned some responses in two directions. Participants want to be considered 'good interviewees,' which can drive them to adopt answers simply to meet the researcher's expectations. This can lead subjects to rather say something than nothing. They do not want to be regarded as incompetent at the given task or question. They might also perceive the interview situation as some kind of quiz and preventively take the opposite view from their initial response to avoid being tricked and giving in to their intuition. Both manifestations are conscious or subconscious reactions to the interview situation. In such cases the careful and systematic analysis of the interview transcripts is crucial and depends on the researcher's intuition and expertise. Field notes are an additional help to scrutinize such possible instances (Callies 2013a).

4.1.1 Online survey

Prior to the guided interviews, an online survey was conducted in 2013 at the University of Hull not only as an end in itself (Jansen 2018) but also to pre-test British sentiments toward an American accent in general and in music. It also helped to gain valuable methodological experiences in eliciting perceptual and attitudinal data in the field of music performances. The online survey functioned as a preparation for designing the structure of the guided interviews, i.e. assembling and refining questions and auditory stimuli. The survey structure and data analysis were modelled on Garrett et al.'s (2005) attitudinal study. A thorough description of the implementation of the online survey as well as the results can be found in Jansen (2018). Here, I only give a brief overview of the results and show how they stimulated the methodological considerations for this study.

The questionnaire mainly consisted of open-ended questions but also included a few polar questions which still provided a comment function. The answers, i.e. keywords, underwent a content analysis. The participants, all British and affiliated with the University of Hull, revealed positive attitudes toward the going local trend. They feel that artists are somewhat obliged to advocate British culture and language against the popular, dominant American mainstream. Further comments showed (in part strongly) negative evaluations of American English, which is associated with two stereotyped groups, i.e. the American youth and the American South. At the same time, the rather positive descriptions of American English, such as "'cheerful' and 'having a nice tone to it, being maybe more musical' and fitting 'the rhythm of the music'" (Jansen 2018: 130), show that it is considered perfectly suitable for entertainment purposes, especially for singing. Their answers also hint at an understanding of an Americanized singing style as the default, unmarked performance code in music. However, their linguistic description of what is considered to sound American remains very vague. In turn, this lack of precision led to preferring face-to-face data collection to using on- or offline questionnaires. Also, providing music clips creates a natural listening experience and gives participants a stimulus to react to: They can report on what they listened to from a descriptive-perceptual metalinguistic perspective but also comment on the music itself.

4.1.2 Auditory stimuli

In preparation for the guided interviews ten songs were chosen as auditory stimuli. A first collection was gathered through simple browsing and a perceptual trial and error evaluation, partly inspired by the results of the online survey. In a second step, two native speakers of British English, who were lecturers and researchers of English linguistics, provided their perceptual evaluations and professional opinions on the samples and helped refine the selection process. The main idea behind the sampling of stimuli was to include a continuum of songs performed by British artists that range from sounding very British, i.e. local, to 'somewhat American' (Trudgill 1983: 144), and adding American artists as comparative examples. Two main genres were considered: rock and pop. Nonetheless, the music pieces cover a range of subgenres within these broad categories, for example, grunge and indie rock or electro and dance pop, to acknowledge and represent the genre diversity in music and to possibly gain insight into perceptions of and associations with such subgenres. The songs were allocated to one of these genres mainly on an auditory basis. Broadly this auditory analysis differentiated between rather guitar-heavy songs associated with rock music and more dance-oriented rhythms associated with pop music. Additionally, this allocation was supported by descriptions and

definitions found on online platforms such as Wikipedia, Spotify, Every Noise, and others. The songs chosen were released between 2010 and 2013. The British stimuli excluded Scottish or Irish singers to avoid possible overlaps with American English features, such as rhoticity.

Figure 1 shows the final selection of songs[21] and their categorization. The stimuli were grouped according to the degree of perceived Americanness, that is, broadly, to what extent the USA-5 model (Simpson 1999: 345; Trudgill 1983: 141–142) was realized:

Figure 1. Auditory stimuli. BrE = British English, AmE = American English

Category 1 includes one rock and one pop sample by British artists that were characterized by British English features, that is e.g. counterparts to the USA-5 model but also partly local British English features. The rock stimulus is performed by The Subways, an English band from Hertfordshire. The single "Celebrity" was released in 2011 on their third album entitled *Money and Celebrity* and can be best characterized as a punk or alternative rock song. It includes features such as intervocalic and word-final /t/-glottaling in *photograph* [fəʊʔəgɹɑːf] and *get* [gɜʔ] as well as intervocalic /t/ realized as [t] in *celebrity* [səlɛpɹɪtˢiː]. The excerpt also is non-rhotic throughout and exemplifies the London Diphthong Shift (Altendorf & Watt 2008: 205–206) in some instances (*screen* [skɹeiːn], *music* [mjuːzɪk], *famous* [fʌɪməs]). The broad Southern British English BATH vowel *photograph* ([fəʊʔəgɹɑːf]) occurs as well.

21. The selected songs are linguistically by no means necessarily representative of the respective artists' oeuvre.

The pop song is performed by Cheryl (formerly Cheryl Cole), an English singer from Newcastle upon Tyne. Her single "Girl in the Mirror" was released in 2012 on her third solo album *A Million Lights* and can be considered an electro-pop song. Just as the rock song in this category, Cheryl's singing includes intervocalic /t/-glottaling (*little* [lɪʔᵊl]) as well as a pre-glottalized or laryngealized alveolar plosive [d̰] (this transcription is proposed by Watt & Allen 2003: 267–268) for /t/ in *fights* [faɪd̰s], which is typical of Tyneside English. She also uses [ɒː] for BATH in *can't* [kɒːnt̰], a further Geordie feature, and stays non-rhotic for the most part. A clearly rounded LOT vowel is audible in *got* [gɒ̹t] and *song* [sɒ̹ŋ].

Category 2 includes another pair of rock and pop songs. Both samples are recorded by British artists and show salient features of British as well as American English. The rock song is performed by the Band of Skulls from Southampton. "The Devil Takes Care of His Own" was published in 2012 on the band's second album *Sweet Sour* and can be characterized as alternative rock. On the one hand, they produce the BATH vowel [ɑː] in *half* [hɑːf], on the other, they sing *dance* [dæns] and *answer* [ænsəˠ] using the American open and front BATH equivalent [æ]. They clearly display non-rhoticity when singing *carve* [kɑːv] but rhoticize *dancer* [dænsəˠ] and *answer* [ænsəˠ].

The pop stimulus is performed by Jessie J, who was born and raised in London. The single "It's My Party" was published on her second album *Alive* (2013) and can be best described as a dance-pop song. This sample was chosen because the actual singing part is quite Americanized, including, for example, the American BATH vowel in *dancing* [dænsɪn], /t/-flapping in *party* [pɑːdeɪ], and the American unrounded LOT vowel in *stop* [stɑːp] and *not* [nɑːt]. However, the excerpt includes one spoken sentence that represents her British voice and contains a centralized GOOSE vowel in *dude* [dʉːd] conveying her London background.

Category 3 consists of two rock and two pop songs by British artists showing a certain degree of USA-5 and further American English features so that overall an Americanized singing style was perceived by the test listeners. The first rock song is performed by Bush, who are considered a (post-)grunge, alternative rock band. Their singer, Gavin Rossdale, was born and raised in London. "Heart of the Matter" is a single on Bush's fifth album *The Sea of Memories* published in 2011. It shows instances of rhoticity in *heart* [hɑːˠt̰] and *world* [wɜːˠl] as well as /t/-flapping in *matter* [mæɾə]. Not part of the USA-5 model but still worth mentioning is the realization of GOAT with an American, more peripheral onset [o] than the British English centralized onset [ə] in *go* [goʊ], *most* [moʊst], and *closer* [kloʊsəˠ]. For the second rock sample, another The Subways song from their 2011 album *Money and Celebrity* was chosen. Their single "It's a Party", a pop-punk song, includes some features that can be interpreted as American English: /t/-flapping occurs in the

song's key word *party* [pɑːɾeɪ] and the unrounded LOT vowel is used in the short forms *wanna* [wɑnə] and *gonna* [gɑnə]. They also use an elongated American LOT vowel for *awesome* [ɑːsəm] instead of the British THOUGHT vowel [ɔː]. The latter lexical item is additionally considered an Americanism.

Olly Murs, a singer from Essex, provides the first pop stimulus in this category. His single "Hey You Beautiful" is a dance-pop song released on his third album *Right Place Right Time* in 2012. It contains instances of /t/-flapping in *beautiful* [bjuːɾɪfʷʊ] and *dirty* [dɜ˞ːɾi]. The latter also shows rhoticity, which occurs as well in *girl* [gɜ˞l] and *your* [jɔ˞]. PRICE is either monophthongized (*why* [waː], *deny* [diːnaː], *lie* [laː]) or has a clearly elongated onset (*mind* [maːᴵn]). The excerpt also includes an unrounded LOT vowel in *knock* [nɑːk] and *body* [baːdi] as well as the American GOAT diphthong in *don't* [doʊnt] or *know/no* [noʊ]. The second pop sample, "End of the World", is performed by McFly, a boy band formed in London. The single was published in 2010 on their fifth and last album *Above the Noise*. The stimulus includes prominent American pronunciation features such as rhoticity in *girls* [gɜ˞ːlz], *heart* [hɑ˞ːt], and *world* [wɜ˞ːl] as well as the unrounded LOT vowel in *somebody* [sʌmbɑːdi].

Category 4 consists of a rock and a pop song by American artists. The Black Keys is a band from Ohio. Their song "Little Black Submarines" was released in 2011 on their seventh album *El Camino* and can be considered a blues rock song. It exhibits tokens of four out of five USA-5 features: postvocalic /r/ (*treasure* [tɹɛʒə˞]), /t/-flapping (*operator* [aːpəɹeɪɾə˞]), the monophthongized PRICE vowel (*mind* [maːn]), and an unrounded (long) LOT vowel (*everybody* [ɛvɹibaːɾi]). Additionally, there are instances of the American GOAT vowel in *broken* [bɹoʊkʰn] and an elongated American LOT vowel [ɑː], which is typically realized as THOUGHT [ɔː] in British English (*calling* [kɑːlɪn], *fallen* [fɑ̻ːlən]).

The American pop song is performed by Taylor Swift, who was born and raised in Pennsylvania and is considered a (country-)pop singer. Her song "Stay Stay Stay" was released in 2012 on her fourth album *Red*. The USA-5 model is fully represented in this sample: /t/-flapping in *dated* [dɛɪɾəd]), postvocalic /r/ in *fears* [fiɻz], the American BATH vowel in *laughing* [ɬæəfɪn], monophthongized PRICE in *time* [taːm], and the American LOT vowel in *problems* [pɻɑːbləmz]. Additionally, there are instances of retroflex /r/ in, for example, *takers* [tɛɪkʰɻs], BATH is diphthongized to [æə] in *laughing* [ɬæəfɪn], and the realization of the FACE vowel as more Southern American [ɛɪ] in *takers* [tɛɪkʰɻs] and *stay* [stɛɪ]. These and further features give this sample a hint of Southern drawl or a country accent.

All ten auditory stimuli are excerpts of approximately one minute in length and contain either a full verse or parts of it and the chorus. It was necessary to shorten the samples to include a certain amount of variability among the songs and to keep

the interview to a bearable length for the interviewees. The music clips were played in two different orders. The samples were independently transcribed orthographically and phonetically (see Appendix I. Orthographic and phonetic transcriptions of the stimuli) to provide a basis of comparison for the interviewees' perceptual evaluations: Which features are they sensitive to, which ones remain unnoticed? Which features do they identify despite their not actually occurring in the stimulus?

4.1.3 Participants

The sampling of interviewees mainly followed pragmatic considerations. Students were most easily accessible and willing to participate in a research project that consumed up to an hour of their free time. Moreover, most of the subjects were in their early to late twenties and therefore presumably relatively well-informed about current music genres and developments. While the sample was not further stratified or representative, for example by its size, it achieved to produce many perceptual and attitudinal comments on different singing styles.

The final sample included 25 British participants – ten males and 15 females with an age range from 18 to 54, with a mean age of 24 years. Only two subjects were notably older (41 and 54) than the rest of the group (18 to 27). Twenty-three interviewees were students affiliated with Hull University, one worked as an outbound caller, and one was an MA student at the University of Muenster. The students' subjects of study included different foreign languages such as Spanish, German, and French, some with a focus on translation studies. The British sample also included four music students and one – at the time – indie rock band member. However, the participants' background in languages and music did not make them especially skilled or trained in perception or attitude tasks. Nonetheless, especially the participants who sing or play music themselves could lend insight into hands-on experiences. Fourteen participants come from Yorkshire and the Humber, four from North East England, two from North West England, two from Greater London, one from South West England, and one each from the West Midlands and Wales.[22] The British sample was collected during a stay at Hull University in 2013 with the exception of one MA student from the University of Muenster.

In addition to the British participants, 25 American interviewees took part in the study. Twenty-four of them were MA students at the English Department of the University of Muenster and enrolled in the National and Transnational Studies program. One participant was a PhD student in Educational Sciences at the University

22. One British interviewee did not provide information on their regional background.

of Muenster. While some had rudimentary knowledge of linguistics, most of them turned to literary and cultural studies as their major field of study. The American sample included eight males and 17 females from ages 21 to 48, the mean age being 28. Two participants were older (39 and 49) than the rest (21–32). Eight participants come from the Midwest, six each from the West and the Southeast, and five from the Northeast. The data involving the American participants were collected from 2016 to 2019.

4.1.4 The guided interview: Procedure

The guided interview involved four phases. Firstly, the subjects were informed about the interview and its procedure. They were briefly introduced to the study's intention and familiarized with the interview structure. The participants were told that the research project deals with language use in anglophone music and that their native speakers' perceptions of the language performances in the stimuli is key to the study. It was clearly pointed out that there were neither right or wrong nor good or bad answers to minimize the effect of various biases and to mitigate possible anxiety. The fact that I am a non-native speaker myself certainly made the participants feel more secure in describing their perceptions and explaining different ways of pronunciation or use of lexis to me as an 'outsider.' All participants were made aware that they were taking part in a language perception and attitudes study. However, they were left unaware that only British and American English music clips were involved. It was important that the subjects were not influenced by any previously mentioned labels or accent descriptions. The final step of this introductory phase was to answer participants' possible comprehension questions and to let them fill in the consent form.

The second phase involved having the interviewees listen to the ten sound clips. To this end, the interviewees were equipped with headphones to provide a good sound quality and to let them fully concentrate on the sound. They were also handed the respective lyrics for the song excerpts. This facilitated following the stimuli and offered the participants the opportunity to highlight whatever they felt was noticeable and worth mentioning after listening to each stimulus. After each stimulus was played to them once, the participants answered the following four consecutive questions:

– Do you know the artist/band or song?

This question investigated whether the participants were possibly biased in their following description of the artists by knowing their origin.

– Where do you think the artist is from?

This question intended to reveal how aware the participants were of the nature of high performances (Coupland 2007). In other words, are they aware that an artist's (regional) origin is not necessarily reflected in their linguistic performance as singers? Do they differentiate between a singer's possible origin and their singing style? The answers initiated perception-based descriptions of the language performances. Such descriptions were further encouraged by the follow-up question:

– Why do you think the artist is from X?

It inquired their reasons for identifying a particular accent, variety, or origin and in turn revealed perceptual descriptions and attitudinal evaluations in reference to the performances. Many times, it proved helpful to have the possibility of asking follow-up questions so that the subjects could explain and specify their answers with examples.

– How would you label the genre?

This question evoked genre labels and possible associations with them. The interviewees' answers and metalinguistic descriptions often carried potential for follow-up questions in the next phase. The order of questions could vary and often became unnecessary since the interviewees quickly became accustomed to the task and reported back immediately. Nonetheless, there were also cases in which the interviewer had to be very sensitive to the interview atmosphere – some participants felt encouraged by follow-up questions, while others became rather insecure and drew back. To avoid that such participants completely refused to be interviewed further, probing for more specific or precise information was abandoned.

After the participants listened to the ten stimuli, the discussion phase was initiated and guided by three main questions. The participants responded to whether they think that British and non-American artists in general often switch to an Americanized singing style. Next, they were encouraged to explain whether they think that singers purposefully modify their singing style or not. Consequently, interviewees started to explore possible motivations for singers to change their singing style or stick to their local voice. Finally, they were directly asked about their attitudes toward, opinions of, or associations with the Americanized singing style and the going local trend. Sometimes these questions varied slightly depending on whether British or American participants were interviewed. For instance, the American interviewees were additionally asked whether they knew any local-sounding British bands successful in the US and played on the radio there. All questions were carefully formulated in a way that the interviewees were not

influenced to answer one way or another and to make sure that they were free to express whatever came to their mind. The discussion phase either started or concluded with revealing the artists' names and origins behind the auditory stimuli.

Eventually, the participants filled in a sheet that elicited some demographic data such as age, sex, and regional origin. They were also asked to state their occupation, and if they were a student, teacher, lecturer or the like, to name their subject(s). The interview length stretched from 30 minutes (shortest interview) to 69 minutes (longest interview) with an average duration of 41 minutes. All interviews took place individually and privately in a quiet room to achieve a proper sound quality for the audio recordings and to facilitate the transcription process.

4.2 Data analysis and processing

The interview recordings were orthographically transcribed. Whenever interviewees imitated sounds or words, phonetic transcriptions were included. The annotations participants jotted down on the sheet(s) with the lyrics were transferred to the interview transcripts as well. The interview corpus amounts to circa 170,000 words. A content analysis of the transcript corpus was carried out with the help of MAXQDA 2018 (VERBI Software, 2017), a software designed for computer-assisted qualitative data analysis. The entire material was carefully and closely read to inductively develop codes and ultimately the codebook (see Appendix II. Codebook). The codebook provides all codes, the respective coding instructions as well as anchor examples to achieve transparency and replicability. Although the development of codes was primarily an inductive process, some categories were expected to be perceived based on previous research, for example features of the USA-5 model (Simpson 1999: 345; Trudgill 1983: 141–142).

In principle, coding the data was a cyclical, multilevel process. Firstly, the interviews were worked through, generating new codes whenever necessary, i.e. when new content-related aspects occurred. For instance, when an interviewee recognized a feature that had not been mentioned before or provided a new argument for why singers use an Americanized singing style, a new code or sub-code was generated. This first phase of the content analysis produced a multitude of codes. In a second phase, some codes were pooled together and differentiated from others (Kuckartz 2012: 63). The main guiding questions here were: Which degree of complexity is necessary and useful to answer the research questions sufficiently? And which quantity of categories, i.e. which level of detail, is sensible and adequate for the representation of the results? This phase also entailed that the coder had to determine to what extent the interviewees' utterances needed to be condensed in order to create meaningful

but distinctive categories (Kuckartz 2012: 63). This refinement of codes was repeated until no new codes needed to be generated, i.e. the necessity of (new) codes was saturated. Eventually, the list of codes and the codebook were finalized and fixed. As mentioned above, these phases were not conducted in a strict consecutive manner but cyclically, following a hermeneutic-interpretative process. Several intracoding phases were conducted in appropriate intervals to ensure a fresh view on the data and to improve codes or code descriptions and instructions where necessary. In the following, I give insight into the creation, development, and application of codes and the compilation of the codebook to disclose important steps conducted and noteworthy issues encountered within the multilevel coding process.

The first step of the coding process was more technical than content-related: Each song in the interview, i.e. everything that was said about a specific auditory stimulus (coding unit), was marked with a corresponding code. For instance, all answers and comments concerning the excerpt of Olly Murs' "Hey You Beautiful" were coded with **OM-Beautiful**. The advantage of marking each song with its proper code is that it provides the possibility to see which codes overlap within one song. In other words, the quantities of different features perceived in each stimulus can be retrieved separately. This also facilitates contrasting and comparing the perceptions of (and attitudes toward) one song with another song.

In a second step, the answers to the first question 'Do you know the artist/band or song?' were coded. If the participant was not able to identify the song, the code **unknown** was applied. If they did know the song or artist, the corresponding code (i.e. abbreviation of the artist's or band's name) was used instead, for example "I think it's Olly Murs(#"Olly Murs?" noted)" (BE02: 79) was coded with **OM**. A third possibility that occurred in the interviews was that the interviewee did not know the actual performer but either ascribed the stimulus to someone else or named other artists they were reminded of and with whom they associated the performance. In such cases a corresponding code was applied to capture these associations as well. In the case of the Olly Murs sample, interviewee AE12 said: "I don't think it's Maroon 5(#band noted on lyrics), but they sound like Maroon 5" (l. 52). Here, the code **OM associations** was applied. Additionally, each song received either a **genre rock** or **genre pop** code according to the previously assigned music categories (see Section 4.1.2). However, the interviewees' genre associations were ascertained as well, particularly and directly with the question: 'How would you label the genre?' The labels collected were grouped under the respective genre name: "I feel like I would put it more into possibly like the punk scene, maybe a tinge of grunge in there, but I don't know if they would technically be considered grunge" (AE13: 9). Here, the codes **punk (rock)** and **grunge** were applied.

The third step involved the more complex coding of the stimuli phase, i.e. all answers to the questions: 'Where do you think the artist is from?' and 'Why do you think the artist is from X?' The aim of the first run-throughs was to identify all perceptual and attitudinal utterances and to create codes from the material. For coding the answers to the first question 'Where do you think the artist is from?,' a form of the summary technique was applied. The aim was to allocate only one code per song (e.g. **AMERICAN +++** or **AMERICANIZED British**) so as to facilitate well-structured and readily comprehensible results. The summary technique (Kuckartz 2012: 89) involved carefully reading all previously coded passages concerning the singers' origins or singing style and copying the interviewees' main point(s) into a separate document. Finally, all pivotal arguments were listed and were therefore easily comparable. This technique facilitated comparing and contrasting utterances to detect argumentative nuances, and finally to define a code and its instructions in more detail. Table 1 shows a snippet of the main points leading to the decision of coding an utterance with **AMERICAN +++** (i.e. strongly affirmative). As opposed to **AMERICAN ++** (i.e. affirmative) or **AMERICAN +** (i.e. affirmative with doubt), this code is only applied when a participant used an intensifier to support their perception and/or correctly identified the American artist behind the sample. Also, when the interviewee did not correctly identify the performer(s) but nonetheless assumed an American artist, this code was used. For example, concerning the Jessie J sample, AE04 states:

> I'd say she's American. She just sounds very American. I would say this singing style with like the squeaky-ness. It's squeaky and it's also screechy. Just don't feel like she's using her vocal cords right. Sounds just like typical American style. […] I mean it's really typically American speech. (AE04: 67)

A04 does not only affirm that the singer sounds American, but also underpins her statement with intensifiers (*very*, *typical*[23]). AE06 correctly identifies the band behind the stimulus and adds an intensifier to her description: "Okay, I think that's The Black Keys. I don't know if Black Keys are, I don't know exactly where they come from but I am going to say definitely American" (l. 32). Hence, both examples are coded with **AMERICAN +++**.

23. *Typical* is considered an intensifier here because it supports the participants' perception of knowing what is typically American and what is not.

Table 1. Excerpt from summary technique for language labels

LANGUAGE DESCRIPTIONS	
LANGUAGE LABELS The following ten codes are the interviewees' language descriptions of the performed singing styles. The coding unit for the perceived performed language is the complete song, i.e. all utterances referring to the respective stimulus. The anchor examples only show an excerpt of the entire coding unit which includes the main statement. Only one code per song can be allocated. The coder (at times) should consider the entire interview to assess statements made resulting in the interviewees' perceptual allocation.	
AMERICAN+++ This code applies when an interviewee is firmly convinced that the artist comes from America or sounds American. Such a case occurs when a. an intensifier is used to emphasize the certainty that the singer is American/the accent sounds American (eg. *definitely, very, quite, absolutely,* etc.) b. the artist is either identified (despite degree of certainty) or other American artists are named as being similar, reminding the interviewees of an American artist c. a particular region/accent/dialect/sociolect is added to specify the singer's origin or performed accent. Descriptions like *twang(y)* or *drawl* are also counted as specifications which support the perception of an American(ized) performance. In the latter two cases, specification is understood as displaying a certain confidence in the choice of language allocation. *Canadian English is not an independent code. It is coded with **AMERICAN** because either interviewees lumped together American and Canadian English as one variety without great differences, particularly in singing, or because no (convincing) feature was named to substantiate choosing Canadian English. Nonetheless, such cases are coded with **Canada** under **America/n further specifications** to ascertain this information	
1. **AE01/02BUS**	For this one I'd definitely say American(#"American" added) (14).
2. **AE01/09McF**	[I]t definitely had like Backstreet Boys feel to it (69). I think again I'd just go back to American because nothing, nothing jumps out at me (71).
3. **AE02/02BUS**	Definitely American and/or Canadian (16).
4. **AE02/05BK**	[…] made me think probably American. […I]t felt like it had a little bit of a twang to it (38). […] LJ: So, I mean I would just assume now that you would place country music in America (41)? AE02: Absolutely, yes (42).
5. **AE02/08JJ**	This one sounds to me like Katy Perry (58). Just sounded American (61).
6. **AE02/09MCF**	I feel like I'm just saying all of them sounded American, but this one does too. It wasn't as like hard.., that I would believe that this person was from somewhere other than America (66).
7. **AE02/10TS**	This sounds a bit like Taylor Swift. […] So, I would guess South, Southern United States (75).
8. **AE03/02BUS**	Yeah, that sounds American (20). Actually, it kind of reminds me of a band called Staind (22).

(*continued*)

Table 1. (*continued*)

	LANGUAGE DESCRIPTIONS
9. **AE03/05BK**	Honestly, going default, like it sounds American to me. […] It sounds really twangy though […]. I'd just say American, I guess (57).
10. **AE03/08JJ**	I'd say American (86). If it's not really American, it sounded pretty convincing(#laughs) (88). […I]t sounds like a typical shitty American pop song (90).

Some interviewees wavered between different statements or did not immediately clarify what exactly they perceived. In such cases, the entire interview was consulted to provide a comprehensive interpretation of utterances and to decide on a suitable code. For example, AE21 states in her description of Jessie J's song excerpt:

> Okay. I definitely hear an accent when she speaks this line(#referring to *awww, come and give me a hug dude*) and sounds more British or something to me. But I think again she's trying to try not to be too accented in her singing because it did come out when she spoke the line but you don't hear it as much when she's singing. (AE21: 78)

For this stimulus, as for some others, she mentions a performance accent that singers use to conceal their actual origin and sound "polished" (AE21: 32). In the discussion, she explains – upon request – what this performance accent sounds like to her: "I guess it's more of what you might consider an American accent, except that I think of an American accent as not being very, sometimes, very accented" (AE21: 117). In turn, whenever interviewee AE21 mentions a performance accent, it entails an Americanized singing style. Now looking back at her description of Jessie J's song, it can be said that although AE21 hears a British accent in the spoken line and hence assumes a British singer, in the rest of the song the performance accent, an Americanized singing style, is used. Finally, the code **AMERICANIZED British** is assigned. Before the summary technique, the code definitions were quite fuzzy and cases like that of AE21 above were unclear. Afterward, the interviewees' arguments were structured, the codes refined, and the coding instructions described in more detail. For this particularly complex coding step, a second coder was consulted to test the comprehensibility of the coding instructions and the reliability of the author's results. The evaluations of 250 stimuli, i.e. 50% of all stimuli, were intercoded, achieving an agreement of 92%. The remaining 8% were subsequently discussed face-to-face. Differences were identified, problems pinpointed, and solutions provided so that an agreement of 100% was achieved. Ultimately, the intercoding process helped to refine the codebook and to validate the author's coding choices.

Using the summary technique for the language label of the perceived singing style, ten different codes were finally set (see Figure 2). The coding unit for these codes was, again, the entire song. Just as for the 'song identification' codes, this provides the opportunity to see which perceived language features are considered part of the perceived singing style. Further details concerning the origin of the singers or their accent were captured with respective codes under **America/n(-ized) further specification** or **Britain/British further specification**. For instance, AE18 says that Cheryl "definitely sounds English" (l. 52) and adds "I associate that with like you know Cockney-ish." (l. 52). Therefore, **British** +++ (use of intensifier *definitely*) and **Cockney** were coded as her utterance further specifies the perceived accent.

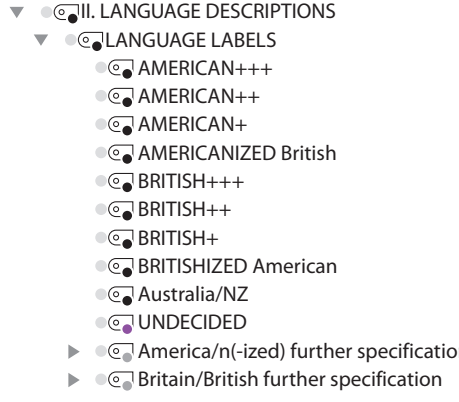


Figure 2. Final language labels of performed singing styles

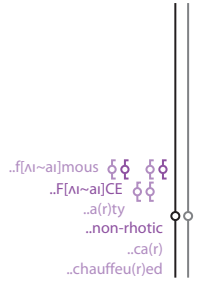
The question 'Why do you think the artist is from X?' collected all identified features by the participants. Since most interviewees lacked the proper linguistic terminology, the coder had to draw information from their metalinguistic descriptions or imitations. The participants' annotations on the lyrics sheets also proved useful to clarify statements. The interviewees' comments ranged from precise linguistic descriptions, for example: "[T]he word *little*(#<tt> underlined) seemed to be [lɪʔᵊl], so like a glottal stop, which strikes me as pretty English" (BE19: 85), to imitations, such as: "He says the word *dirty*(#underlined twice, "Am" added) in an American [dɜːɾi] way" (BE08: 72), to very general observations: "it just sounded American" (BE24: 155). In general, if a feature was noticed in a song, it was coded once for that song within an interview. For instance, as in the example above, interviewee BE19 perceived a glottal stop in the word *little*, hence **/t/-glottaling** was coded once. Additionally, *little* was categorized as a sub-code of **/t/-glottaling** and named **li[ʔ]le**

accordingly. This way all examples provided for one feature are collected as well. The next example serves to clarify this coding procedure. Concerning the Band of Skulls sample, interviewee AE17 explains: "[T]hey said [ænsəˑ](#*answer*)(#<ans> circled, "american" noted) and that sounded American. And [dænsəˑ] as well" (l. 26). Here, two examples for the same feature are provided. In turn: **B[æ]TH** is coded once and the examples are coded separately as sub-codes of said feature, namely **[æ]nswer** and **d[æ]nce/r/ing** (see Figure 3):

26 AE17: Okay. I don't know it. Rock is what I would say it was. But I don't know, the whole song seemed like it was American but then they said like [haːf](#*half*) *and* [haːf](#<a>s circled, "british" added) and it sounded British. But then like for example, they said [ænsə](#*answer*)(#<ans> circled, "american" noted) and that sounded American. And [dænsə] as well. Yeah, the rest of the song sounded American, so I guess that they're from the United States.
27 LJ: Okay.

Figure 3. Coding example of American B[æ]TH vowel; AE17: 26

Figure 3 also shows that although interviewee AE17 did not explicitly state hearing a postvocalic /r/ for both lexical items, she pronounced them with a word-final rhoticized schwa (see phonetic transcription in Figure 4). She adds that the words "sounded American" (l. 26). Hence, **postvocalic /r/** was coded once for that stimulus, and both words are named as examples for this variant: **answeR** and **danceR**. There were also cases in which the coder had to be very attentive and deduce features from lay descriptions:



6 AE09: I believe they're from England.
7 LJ: Uh-huh. Why is that?
8 AE09: Because of the way they pronounce a lot of the vowels in certain words, yeah.
9 LJ: Can you name them? Or also maybe you can imitate it or describe it?
10 AE09: I can try to imitate it. It didn't really hit me until [aːti] *scene*. So it's really the <a>s, like *famous* and *chauf*, *chauffeured*, [ʃoʊfɜːd kɑː].
11 LJ: Uh-huh. Any particular region in England, or anything?
12 AE09: Oh Jesus! I would say London. Yeah, and I don't

Figure 4. Coding example of non-rhotic accent; AE09: 10

Figure 4 shows how interviewee AE09 reports, upon request, which vowels sound particularly (British) English to him: "[I]t's really the <a>s" (l. 10). However, the examples he provides do not fall under the same category; the participant confuses graphemes and sounds here, which is a common lay misconception. *Arty* he imitates as [ɑːti] and *car* as [kɑː] (l. 10). In these two cases the vowel sounds distinctly British English because both lexical items are produced without rhoticity. Although this American-British contrastive feature will also influence the quality of the vowels themselves, it is primarily the absence of post-vocalic /r/ that makes these words sound British. He also notices the non-rhotic pronunciation of *chauffeured* [ʃoʊfɜːd] (l. 10). *Famous* (l. 10), on the other hand, includes the grapheme <a> as well, but apparently falls under another category, as postvocalic /r/ or non-rhotic pronunciation are out of the question for this lexical item. The interviewee seems to pick up on the pronunciation of the FACE vowel in *famous*. He thinks that the band is from London, which supports the suggestion that what he recognizes is FACE with a more central onset [ʌɪ~aɪ] as result of the London Diphthong Shift (Altendorf & Watt 2008: 205–206). That leaves the coder with coding the feature **non-rhotic** once with three examples: **a(r)ty**, **chauffeu(r)ed**, **ca(r)**, and the feature **F[ʌɪ~aɪ]CE** with one example: **f[ʌɪ~aɪ]mous**.[24]

The coding of the discussion phase was most challenging as it demanded filtering through many utterances to find argumentative structures and key statements. Seemingly polar questions 'Do you think artists change their singing style on purpose?' often led to quite differentiated and complex answers in which interviewees explained that this language behavior depends on various reasons. To collect their basic answer (Yes/No, or both, i.e. it depends) and said various reasons, a table was set up to collect their arguments and obtain a structured overview. An excerpt from this table (see Table 2) is provided to exemplify this process:

24. Generally, all features named could be classified into being perceived as either American-influenced or British-influenced English. If it was not possible to deduce a feature with certainty, it was allocated to a **leftover** category.

Table 2. Excerpt from summary technique for discussion phase

DISCUSSION PHASE			
AMERICANIZED SINGING STYLE The interviewees are encouraged to explain whether they think that singers purposefully emulate an Americanized singing style or not. Consequently, they explore possible motivations for singers' accent modification and argue for a respective conscious or sub/unconscious behavior.			
Int#	**On purpose?**	**Yes reason(s)**	**No reason(s)**
AE01	**Y/N**	**AmE for cultural reasons** **AmE for economic reasons** Really it boils down to economics, and American hegemony. The American music industry is huge and to be able to sound like that could potentially mean better sales and could be taking what people find cool, whether or not that's cool or not(#laughs), and trying to market that in a different way. So, that's what I see with trying to sound American (94).	**AmE for singing-inherent reasons** I don't think it's them switching. I think it's the way that our voices switch when we sing (88). […] I don't think it's on purpose (92).
AE02	**Y/N** Probably sometimes, probably sometimes not (91).	**AmE for cultural reasons** imitating role models/genre appropriateness I think it also depends on if you listen to certain kinds of music, you just end up doing that same thing that they do. You want to impersonate it (91). **AmE for economic reasons** Well, America has more people, bigger music industry. Seems like a good sort of strategy if you want to have more listeners (AE02: 89).	**AmE for cultural reasons** imitating role models/genre appropriateness But it might have just been that they listen to that kind of music, and comes out of this(#laughs), when they think of singing (91).
AE03	**Y**	**AmE for economic reasons**	

Firstly, if possible, a main utterance was collected that directly answered the question whether they think singers emulate an Americanized singing style on purpose. However, in most cases the interviewees started to argue for either a conscious or subconscious act, but then included the opposing position as well. Without much assistance, many participants entered a conversation with themselves balancing reasons for both conscious and subconscious language modification. Here again, it was many times crucial to consider the entire interview to fully grasp the participant's chain of arguments. AE09 and BE09 clearly state that the motivation for consciously emulating an Americanized singing style is, on the one hand, based on economic reasons. AE09 describes a calculated "marketing production aspect" (l. 140) behind

it to reach a wider audience, and BE09 refers to an Americanized singing style as being "more marketable" because "that's what people are used to hearing [hence] that's what people are going to buy" (l. 125). On the other hand, they describe the imitation of role models as a subconscious modification. AE09 calls it the emulation of "the sounds that they hear" (l. 140), and BE09 explains that if singers are "listening to American bands and they're getting their inspiration from American bands, then sometimes they might just begin to emulate what they're hearing without even doing it consciously" (l.125). BE06 represents a case in which one side is taken without further reflection. He is convinced that an Americanized style has become the default code for singers and hence comes naturally to them and is not used on purpose. In principle, however, the coding processes of the discussion part followed the same phases as described above: Close readings of the transcripts while generating and refining the codes until the saturation point was reached.

4.3 Reviewing indexical fields

Following Silverstein's (2003) 'orders of indexicality,' the study at hand is concerned with first-order indexicalities, i.e. the mere regional allocation based on a singer's linguistic style; second-order indexicalities, i.e. which metapragmatic meanings are encoded by the choice of singing style, for instance, working-class, Valley girl, independent or mainstream; and higher-order indexicalities, which might develop based on genre affiliations and establish a "convention-dependent indexical iconicity" (Silverstein 2003: 222). Simply put, indexicalities are associations and social values attached to a particular language behavior, i.e. employing a specific variant or – more generally – the choice of using a specific language variety. Such social values can be deduced from the production as well as the perception side and "constitute a field of potential meanings" (Eckert 2008: 453), i.e. indexical fields, that are fluid and dynamic. Indexical fields often combine evaluations from the production and perception side. And even when they illustrate only one of the two perspectives, terminologically they are referred to as indexical fields. While both sides, the speaker's intentions and the hearer's associations, certainly complement and affect each other in cyclical processes, they are not necessarily congruent. I therefore suggest to specify the terminology, especially with regard to the type of data collected (see Figure 5): Indexical fields present a combination of social values from the speaker's and hearer's point of view. 'Intentional fields' focus only on the production side, i.e. the speaker's stylistic choices to achieve a desired effect. 'Associative fields' offer a perception-based approach to indexed values, i.e. they only reflect the associations and values of hearers.

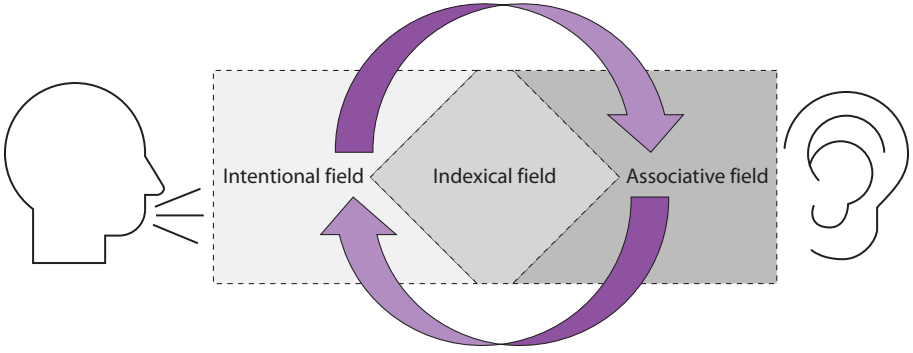


Figure 5. Intentional, associative, and indexical field

Eckert's (2008) work with indexical fields is briefly described here to show how these fields have been developed and depicted so far. Additionally, Leimgruber's (2013) indexical approach to Singapore English is reviewed.

Eckert creates an indexical field for the variable (-ing) and its two variants, i.e. non-standard [ɪn] and standard [ɪŋ], based on the results of Campbell-Kibler's studies (2007a, 2007b), i.e. "on experimental evidence of hearer's interpretations" (Eckert 2008: 469). Applying the more detailed terminology described above, this collection of potential social values represents an associative field. The indexed values of both variants are depicted opposing one another, i.e. educated, effortful, articulate/pretentious, formal for the velar nasal [ɪŋ] and uneducated, easygoing/lazy, inarticulate/unpretentious, relaxed for the apical realization [ɪn] (Eckert 2008: 466, Fig. 3).

This representation of the indexical field of (-ing) focuses on the opposition as well as the attached social values of the two realizations. However, it is important to mention that in contrast to what this depiction suggests at first sight, it is not a strictly dyadic, 'good vs. bad' opposition of the indexed meanings. While speakers using standardized English [ɪŋ] are considered 'well-educated' and 'articulate,' they might also come across as 'pretentious.' And speakers employing non-standard [ɪn] can be positively evaluated as 'relaxed' and 'easygoing,' which might also be interpreted as being 'lazy' and, in turn, be considered impolite to the interlocutor (Eckert 2008: 466). Which of the potential meanings is triggered is certainly also influenced by the overall speech style and the content of the utterance. The hearer's impression of the speaker will affect their interpretation and evaluation of the feature employed.

Eckert (2008: 467–471) also collects the results of several studies on /t/-release in American English and proposes an indexical field for this variant. This indexical field brings together various communities of practice and the social values they

attach to this realization of /t/: nerd girls at a northern Californian high school (Bucholtz 2001, 2010), orthodox Jewish boys in northern California (Benor 2001), and gay men (Podesva 2004, 2007, 2008; Podesva, Roberts & Campbell-Kibler 2002). In this indexical field, she differentiates between stances, permanent qualities, and social types (Eckert 2008: 469, Fig. 4). The latter are enregistered or characterological figures (Agha 2003: 243) that are relatively stable and have associated social meanings clustered around them. Such social meanings can occur as stances – momentary positions expressed in the verbal exchange – or as permanent qualities, which reflect habitually employed stances that have become part of the speaker's identity. The more often a specific stance co-occurs with the variant, the more likely it is that it turns into a permanent quality associated with the speaker. Hence, the boundaries between stances and permanent qualities are fluid (Eckert 2008: 469–470; see also Leimgruber 2013: 55).

Although this representation is not based on perception but "on interpretations of correlations in speech and hence [is] more speculative" (Eckert 2008: 469), it shows how one variant can carry various potential meanings in different communities of practice. And although the groups analyzed might not have a lot in common, they share some of the potential meanings for this variant, which attests to the fluidity of social values in an indexical field. The degree of proximity of the indexed values indicates, for example, which social types are closer to each other ('British' and 'Nerd Girl') and hence share some attributes ('educated') and which ones are farther apart from one another ('School Teacher' and 'Gay Diva') and raise very different associations. Nonetheless, it is not entirely transparent on which basis the decisions on proximity and distance are made, especially since the indexical field is based on data from various studies and different methods. It possibly combines both potential social values from speakers and hearers.

Leimgruber (2013) uses indexicality as an analytic tool in his investigation of Singapore English drawing on Eckert (2008) to create an indexical field. Accordingly, Leimgruber's indexical field does not represent potential social meanings of a linguistic variable and its variants but instead attempts "to give a non-exhaustive list of stances that can be achieved by using" (Leimgruber 2013: 106) Singlish (local vernacular) or standardized English (global standard) features. Various stances cluster around the two larger cultural orientations 'local' and 'global'. They are arranged horizontally as two poles of a continuum. Speakers use specific features of Singlish or standardized English to do social work but do not necessarily fully use either one or the other. Instead, they agentively employ and mix features of both locally-oriented Singlish and globally-oriented standardized English, to express stances and trigger particular associations in speech (Leimgruber 2013: 104). In this way, speakers can locate themselves in-between local and global orientations

and highlight certain aspects when wanted or needed. Vertically, the potential stances associated with the use of Singlish and standardized English features are arranged from positive (top) to negative (bottom). For instance, taking a positive 'community membership' stance can be indexed with local vernacular features, while said features can also be associated with being 'uneducated' or even 'rude.' Leimgruber's illustration (Leimgruber 2013: 106, Fig. 5.1) demonstrates that it is not really the nature of an indexical field to distinguish between production and perception. What remains somewhat unclear in his indexical field is the distinction between agentive stances (i.e. what the speaker intends to express) and the social meanings that might be interpreted by the hearer (i.e. what the interlocutor perceives).

For instance, it is highly unlikely that a speaker actively intends to take an 'uneducated' stance. It is more probable that this label is a potential association of hearers with local vernacular features. On the one hand, this indexical field shows how closely production and perception are intertwined and engage in a cyclical process, which makes a distinction between the two difficult. On the other hand, it demonstrates that what a speaker intends to portray is not necessarily what the hearer perceives.

Reviewing these possible representations of indexical fields, several observations should be pointed out. While the indexical fields presented here are generally quite comprehensible, they are not necessarily replicable as such, not least because a transparent description of how the results were translated into the depiction is missing. However, the visual representation of an indexical, intentional, or associative field has to be customized to the method applied and results ascertained, which offers freedom in design: Such fields can include various realizations of a variable, several communities of practice and their values, or it can give insight into the associations attached to a particular variety. This flexibility is necessary and facilitates the creation of individualized fields of potential social meanings.

The study at hand collects perception data. It thus presents an audience-centered perspective; the values which the interviewees attach to the singing styles in the stimuli are collected and depicted in associative fields.[25] Furthermore, possible influencing factors, such as genre, are included. The notion of indexical fields offers a flexible, holistic approach to show the interaction between speech production and perception as well as the relationship between particular social meanings and their relation to extralinguistic factors. Leimgruber sums up: "It is this more inclusive

25. In comparison to Eckert's associative field for the variable (-ing) (Eckert 2008: 465–467) that is based on Campell-Kibler's (2007a, 2007b) work, the data in this study is collected with the intention of creating associative fields.

nature and this potential to explain the complex interplay of many social meanings and linguistic variables that make the indexical approach such a powerful tool" (Leimgruber 2013: 103). Focusing on production and perception separately and then merging them into an indexical field can enrich the quality of such fields and allow for a more detailed analysis of potential social meanings.

CHAPTER 5

Results I
Perception of stimuli

The results are presented in two sections. The first part focuses on the interviewees' reactions to the stimuli regarding which language labels British and American participants attach to the song samples and why. The latter includes the description of various possible linguistic and non-linguistic features perceived by the participants which are decisive for their conclusion. The results for all ten stimuli are presented separately, first the rock songs and subsequently the pop songs. Eventually, an interim summary compares results within and across the rock and pop samples and finalizes part one of the results section. For each stimulus, the results are generally structured as follows: First, a brief discussion of the general allocation to a variety or accent by British and American interviewees, and second, the linguistic and/or non-linguistic reasons for choosing a particular language label. The reasons are listed accordingly in the order from vowel to consonant features to lexis and content, and other possible influencing factors, such as music genre. Differences between British and American interviewees' evaluations are noted if they deviate more than +1 or less than −1 from one another. In this case, the higher amount is provided in parenthesis. 'BEn' and 'AEn' stand for 'total amount of British/American English interviewees;' 'n' alone indicates the sum of British and American participants. All numbers, if not explicitly stated otherwise, refer to total amounts.

5.1 Perception of rock stimuli

5.1.1 The Subways: "Celebrity"

The first stimulus by the British band The Subways, "Celebrity", is clearly described as British or English by both interviewee groups ($n = 41$, see Figure 10). Among both groups, only one British participant recognizes the band. Eighteen British and three American interviewees locate The Subways more precisely in the South of the UK. In contrast, others, namely one American and six British interviewees, also locate them in the North of the UK. Only two British interviewees think that the band sounds American and one suggests an Americanized British accent. Three American interviewees ascribe the performance to Australia/New Zealand.

Eight British interviewees describe the accent as sounding British in general[26] and a further eight (*BEn* = 7) mention that the performed British accent or parts of it are strong. Interviewee BE04 describes The Subways' performance as "very English" (l. 14) and is reminded of the Mancunian Britpop band Oasis:

> It's like I said, it's very English. It's very like I said like the sort of way like Oasis like sort of pronounced stuff, like very English. (BE04: 14)

Interviewee BE12, on the other hand, ascribes their accent features to the British South:

> I'd say [fəʊtəgɹaf] but they say [fəʊtəgɹɑːf](*#photograph*, <graph> underlined) and it sounds quite… There are certain sounds that they make that sound very Southern British. (BE12: 8)

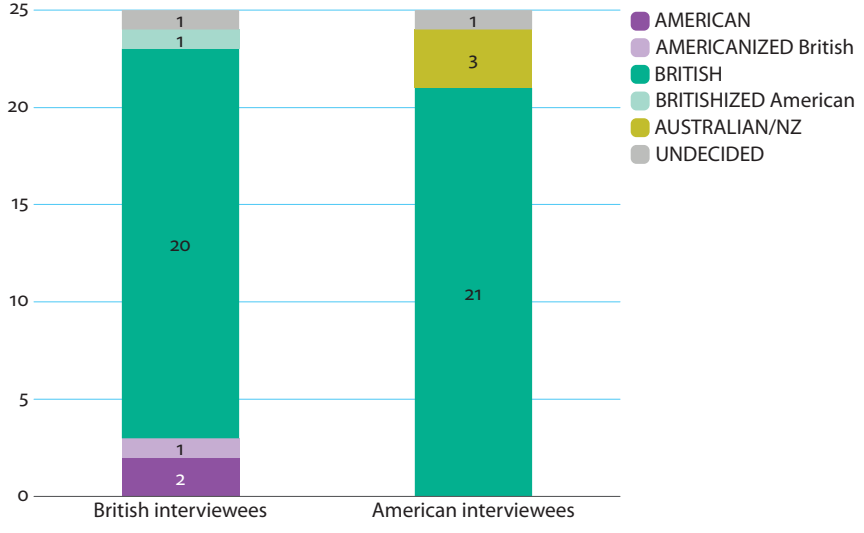


Figure 6. Interviewees' language labels for The Subways: "Celebrity"

26. To avoid confusion with the allocated language label **BRITISH**, I want to clarify and quote from the codebook that the code **BrE accent general** applies when the interviewee does not name any particular pronunciation features but states that the accent used in general sounds British English or when the interviewee gives an example for an unidentifiable or unverifiable British English pronunciation feature. By analogy, the same of course applies to the language label **AMERICAN** and the code **AmE accent general**.

The most prominent vowels identified as British are the London and Southeastern variants of FACE [ʌɪ~aɪ] recognized by twenty-five participants (*AEn* = 14) in *famous* (19), *papers* (10), and *face* (3)[27] as well as diphthongized FLEECE [ɪi~ei] noticed by seventeen interviewees (*BEn* = 10) in *screen* (13), *scene* (10), and *magazine* (5); both realized with a more central onset (Altendorf & Watt 2008: 205–206). The British GOAT variant is named eight times (*BEn* = 6), namely in *chauffeured* (7) and *alone* (1). Nine interviewees identify the British BATH vowel, for example in *photograph* (8). Consonant features perceived as typically British are the singer's non-rhotic pronunciation, which is mentioned by thirty-one interviewees (*AEn* = 21) in *arty* (22), *car* (11), *chauffeured* (9), *papers* (8), *silver* (6), and *care* (5), and the realization of intervocalic /t/ as a glottal stop in *arty* (3) and *photograph* (2), which is named by four British participants. Six American interviewees attribute the realization of intervocalic /t/ as [t] in *arty* (8) to British English. Moreover, the genre is perceived as typically British by five British and two American participants. It is generally recognized as rock. However, some interviewees offer more precise descriptions, such as punk rock (*n* = 15), indie rock (*n* = 9), pop rock (*n* = 8), alternative rock (*n* = 6), Britpop (*n* = 3), and British rock (*n* = 2). The performance is associated with Oasis (*n* = 5) as well as with the Arctic Monkeys (*n* = 7). These two bands are intrinsically linked to important British music movements, namely Britpop and post-punk revival. The latter is considered by many as the second wave of Britpop as it gave rise to successful British indie rock bands such as the Arctic Monkeys. Both movements center around emphasizing Britishness.

> I'd say it's like Britpop, indie rock sort of sound (l. 6). […] I'd say they're from like England. Definitely from England. Probably somewhere like London or like Manchester, or somewhere like that (l. 8). […] It's just that sort of general style of singing that their singing is so very similar to bands like Oasis and that sort of band like Britpop bands. And the sound of the music makes it somewhat, like really that I'd say it's from there (l. 10). […] It's like I said, it's very English. It's very like I said like the sort of way like Oasis like sort of pronounced stuff, like very English. (BE04: 14)

Interviewee BE04's elaboration shows how closely such vernacular performances in music are connected to specific bands (Oasis) and genres (Britpop and indie rock) as well as particular cities which are considered centers of British music (London and Manchester).

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27. Reminder: The number of examples can exceed the number occurrences of the variant. The variant is counted once, the examples separately (see Appendix II. Codebook).

The three American interviewees who assume the performers come from Australia (or New Zealand) base their conclusion mainly on the non-standard London and Southeastern English pronunciation of FACE ($n = 3$) in *famous* (3), *face* (2), and *papers* (1), which they interpret as a (broad) Australian variant and which is in fact quite similar to the London and Southeastern British one.

5.1.2 Band of Skulls: "The Devil Takes Care of His Own"

No interviewee recognizes the British band Band of Skulls. The allocation of language labels for this stimulus is quite mixed but both interview groups share a similar distribution (see Figure 7). Nineteen participants identify the stimulus as American, sixteen claim it is a British band with an Americanized singing style, eight argue the singers are British, and yet seven cannot decide where to locate them but are mostly torn between British and American English; this is the highest number for the 'undecided' category in the data set. Some interviewees provide a closer regional allocation to explain some of the pronunciation features perceived and to compensate for their insecurity, for example, American South ($n = 2$), Canada ($n = 2$), American West Coast ($n = 3$), and UK North ($n = 2$).

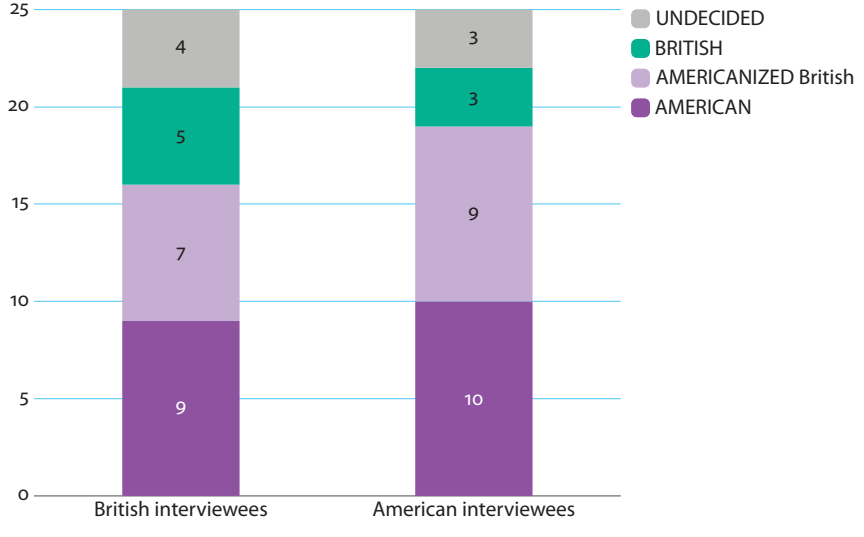

Figure 7. Interviewees' language labels for Band of Skulls: "The Devil Takes Care of His Own"

Thirteen interviewees (*AEn* = 10) describe the accent as American in general. Six Americans state that the performed accent sounds familiar. Three British interviewees find that the accent or parts of the performance sound strongly American. The interviewees' rather difficult decision-making process for this stimulus is also reflected in nine participants considering the possibility that the accent could just as well be put on for performance purposes and three suspecting non-native English singers adopting an Americanized singing style. The vowel most often recognized as typically American and named twelve times is the American BATH vowel in *dance/r* (12) and *answer* (5). The two most convincing consonant features associated with an American accent in this stimulus are rhoticity, mentioned thirteen times (*AEn* = 8) for *dancer* (12), *answer* (7), *razor* (2), *better* (1), and *carve* (1), as well as /t/-flapping in *better* (4) mentioned by four British participants. Furthermore, four British interviewees ascribe the contraction of *want to* into *wanna* to American English. The music genre itself is considered American by five interviewees, and the American rock performer Jack White (*n* = 3) as well as the American rock band The Black Keys (*n* = 2) are associated with the performance of Band of Skulls.

Six British interviewees describe the performance accent as generally British. Those who interpret the stimulus as British (or British with an Americanized singing style) predominantly base their decision on the singer's use of the British English BATH vowel [ɑː], which is recognized twenty-one times (*AEn* = 15) in *half* (*n* = 21). Only two British interviewees notice the non-rhotic pronunciation of *carve* as a typical British accent feature.

One reason for the mixed allocation of language labels in the case of this stimulus is the co-existence of British and American variants, such as the British (*half and half*) vs. American BATH vowel (*dance/r* and *answer*), as well as the non-rhotic *carve* vs. rhoticized *dancer* and *answer*. Those who do notice the co-occurrence of British and American variants opt for the category 'Americanized British' (*BEn* = 7, *AEn* = 9), as most interviewees find it much more likely that a British band would try to sound American than vice versa. For instance, interviewee AE02 describes the idea of an American band emulating a British English accent as "really bizarre" (l. 25):

> I only really caught it when they sang [hɑːf] *and* [hɑːf](#<a> circled for both). Everything else I would have otherwise said sounds American. They had the [ænsᵊɻ](#*answer*), [dænsᵊɻ](#*dancer*, <r> circled for both) (l. 21). […] Or they are kind of putting on an American accent, or Americans putting on a British accent but that would be really bizarre if an American person decided to say [hɑːf] *and* [hɑːf]. But, so, I would say UK, somewhere in the UK. (AE02: 25)

Interviewee BE03 reports on her confusion in identifying both American and British English features, which ultimately leads to the conclusion that the singer is English using an Americanized style for performance purposes, i.e. "for theatrical effect" (l. 26):

> It was difficult because at first I was like, "they're definitely English." But then halfway through the sort of way he said the <a>s changed because he said [kɑːv, hɑːf, hɑːf](#*carve* underlined, *half* underlined "a" added, *half* underlined again), which is very English. And then he was like [dænsə](#*dancer*, <a> underlined, "e" added), which is quite American but I would say they're English. I think he's just putting that on for theatrical effect, shall we say sort of Americanizing his way of speaking but I think they're English or am I completely wrong? I don't know. (BE03: 26)

This stimulus was chosen because it exhibits features of both British and American English. The results for this song reveal the interviewees' general tendency to assume that an American accent is the norm in popular music and therefore expected, and that performers, whether from Britain or non-Anglophone countries, will – consciously or not – emulate it.

5.1.3 Bush: "The Heart of the Matter"

The British band Bush is predominantly perceived as American ($n = 42$, see Figure 8). Four participants locate the band in Canada. Three participants think that they are British but emulate an American singing style, and a further three say they sound British. Two American interviewees identify the band as Bush. Others associate Bush with the American rock band Papa Roach ($n = 2$) and the Canadian rock band Nickelback ($n = 2$).

The performed accent is generally described as American by eighteen participants. Fourteen American interviewees explain that the singer's accent sounds familiar, i.e. similar to their own accent with nothing noticeable standing out. Still, seven interviewees consider the possibility that the accent could just as well be put on for performance purposes, for example by non-native English speakers ($n = 5$). Describing the stimulus, interviewee BE21 explains:

> I don't know whether they are actually American or just doing it for the music because I know sometimes in rock music it's quite popular to be American, I think, rather than English. So, I think that sometimes happens, but to me they're quite obviously American. (BE21: 19)

This quote also demonstrates a general awareness of singers modifying their accent for performances. Many interviewees clarify early on that just because singers come

from a certain place does not automatically imply that their performance accent will reflect their regional affiliation.

Concerning vowels, the raising of TRAP (Labov 2006: 175) is named most often (n = 7) as typical of an American accent in *matter* (3), *misunderstand* (3), *accident* (2), and *bad* (1). Consonants seem to be more demonstrative of the perceived American(ized) singing style. Rhoticity is identified by twenty participants, four of whom even claim to hear 'an American /r/,' i.e. a retroflex approximant, in *matter* (10), *heart* (7), *weather* (5), *closer* (2), and *world* (1). Interviewee AE13 describes this 'American /r/' as follows:

> It's more of like the <ter>, <ther> sound, the like the end of [mærᵊɻ](#*matter*), and the end of [weðᵊɻ](#<ther> underlined). When they were singing, it had this similar kind of like, I don't know, coming up from the throat. This I don't know how to describe it exactly but it's a sound I'm very familiar with so, I associate with American English(#laughs). (AE13: 18)

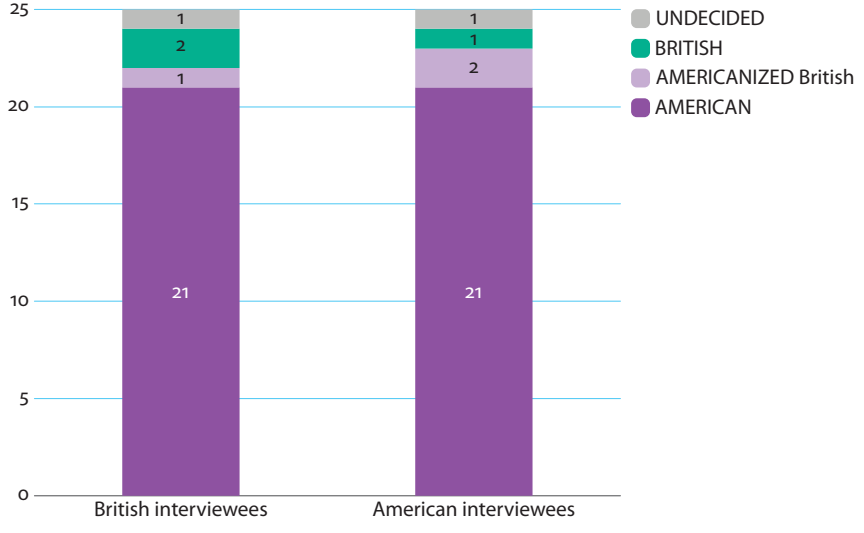

Figure 8. Interviewees' language labels for Bush: "The Heart of the Matter"

Ten out of twelve British interviewees in total also name /t/-flapping in *matter* (11) and *to*[28] (5) as typically American. Another pronunciation feature that is, somewhat surprisingly, exclusively interpreted as American throughout all stimuli is the word-final sonorization of the alveolar plosive /t/ or the omission of audible release

28. The /t/-flapping of *to* occurs intervocalically across word boundaries in the phrase *easy to go* [iːzi də goʊ].

for word-final /d/. The sonorization can occur and is described to different degrees from /t/-voicing over reducing aspiration to omitting the plosive altogether. This behavior can be ascribed to recording reasons as singers want to avoid an unpleasant audible release burst and aspiration into the microphone. Nonetheless, it is perceived as an American accent feature. Since an Americanized singing style has been the dominant voice in music recordings, this (supposed) feature or singing technique has become associated with and indexes an American accent or singing style. In some cases, British interviewees also misinterpret the word-final sonorization of /t/ as /t/-flapping. The rules of /t/-flapping are unclear to the participants; what is known and described by British participants is that American speakers often realize a /t/ as something like [d], regardless of position and phonetic environment. Interviewee BE03 interprets the word-final sonorization of /t/ in *heart* as the same phonetic process as flapping the /t/ in *matter*:

> I mean because they're saying, you know like [mærə˞](#*matter*, <tt> underlined). It's got that sort of like <d>-sound, which is sort of typical for American English isn't it? They sort of put a <d> sound to the <t>(#<t> in *heart* circled, "d" added). I don't know, I just don't think it's kind of a typical British English, to how I speak, it's quite kind of proper and pronounced, where I think these types of songs like join quite a lot of the words together as well like link everything. (BE03: 34)

For the Bush stimulus, eight out of ten British participants in total describe word-final sonorization of /t/ or the omission of audible release for word-final /d/ as an American feature in *heart* (8), *violent* (3), *accident* (2), *world* (2), and *misunderstand* (1).[29]

The few interviewees who report that the band sounds British stay quite vague in their accent description and do not provide any specific features to support their impression.

5.1.4 The Subways: "It's a Party"

The second stimulus by the British band The Subways yields much more mixed results for the allocation of language labels than the first one (see Figure 9). While eight British interviewees describe the performance as American (three of whom emphasize that it sounds like a strong American accent), and five consider the

29. To ensure that the interviewees refer to a sonorization process and not intervocalic /t/-flapping across word boundaries, the phonetic environment was taken into account. The examples named here either occur at the end of lines which are followed by longer pauses or generally occur before a pause which made connected speech improbable.

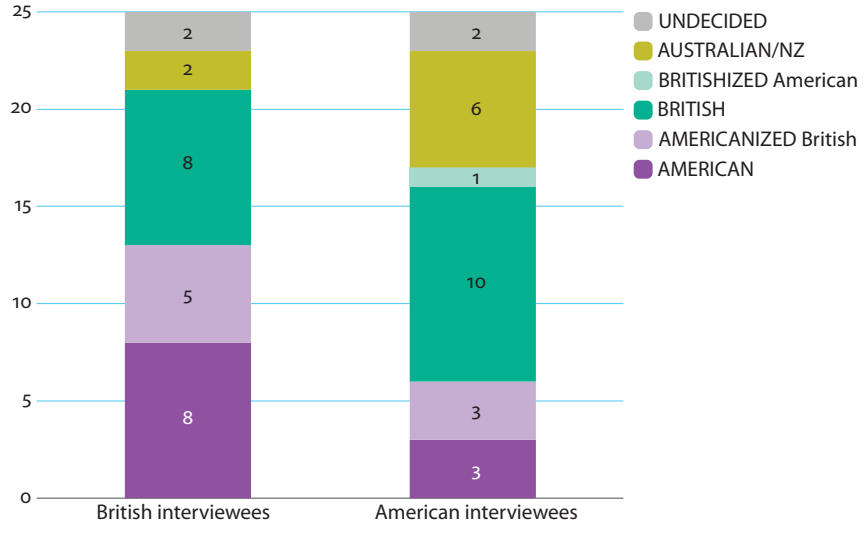

Figure 9. Interviewees' language labels for The Subways: "It's a Party"

band to be British using an Americanized singing style, only three American interviewees allocate the performance to these two respective categories. Altogether, eighteen participants identify the band as British (*AEn* = 10). Eight British and two American interviewees ascribe the singer's accent more precisely to the UK South. Two British and six American interviewees categorize the performance as Australian or New Zealand. Four participants stay undecided. Only one British interviewee recognizes the band.

The decisive features for perceiving the performance as American are /t/-flapping in *party* (10), *sweeter* (6), and *better* (6), mentioned by eleven British and two American interviewees, and the pronunciation of postvocalic /r/ in *party* (2) and *better* (1), noticed by three participants. The latter is in fact not performed by the singer; it seems that reporting on perceived rhoticity simply fitted the overall impression that the song is typically American. This impression was further stimulated by the contraction of *want to* into *wanna* (9), *meet you* into *meetcha* (3), *going to* into *gonna* (2), and *don't you* into *dontcha* (1), which mainly British interviewees (*n* = 12; *BEn* = 9) found to clearly hint at an American accent. Nine out of ten British participants in total ground their decision to ascribe the performance to American English on the song's content in general and on the use of certain words in particular. The 'party topic' and the adjective *awesome* (particularly in the phrase *awesome party*), the interjection *yeah*, and the use of *sweet(er)* ('very pleasant') are considered typically American. For instance, interviewee BE06 explains:

> A lot of the words were quite American, like *awesome*(#underlined), *sweeter* (#underlined, "American" added), *gonna*(#underlined), and *wanna*(#underlined). We wouldn't really say that in England(#laughs). (BE06: 46)

Particularly for this stimulus, it seems that British interviewees are biased toward American English as they identify a rich interplay of what they perceive as a (stereo) typical American topic and expressions as well as pronunciation features. This leads some interviewees to supposedly recognize further salient American features which are not actually performed by the singer, such as rhoticity.

As for the first song by The Subways, eight (*AEn* = 6) of the participants who identify them as British notice the London and Southeastern FLEECE variant in *sweeter* (8) and *meet* (1), and eight recognize the British GOAT variant in *go* (7) and *know* (1) with a centralized onset. Six participants also mention the London and Southeastern realization of MOUTH as [æʊ] (Altendorf & Watt 2008: 206–208) in *now* (3) and *town* (3). The participants (*n* = 22; *AEn* = 13) find the identified non-rhotic accent most convincing of a British accent in this stimulus. They notice it in *party* (16), *better* (13), *sweeter* (10), and *far* (8). The interviewees who imitate the singer's performance to exemplify the non-rhotic pronunciation, for instance AE17 and AE20, realize intervocalic /t/ as [t] in *sweeter* (4), *party* (7), and *better* (5), although, in fact, the singer flaps the /t/ in these instances:

> And then, in the second part, there was a woman also singing and she definitely didn't sound American because like she wasn't pronouncing the <r>s like in [bɛtə] (#*better*), [pɑːti](#*party*), yeah. So maybe from the UK. (AE17: 40)

> They did that non-rhotic [pɑːti](#<par> underlined), [betə](#<etter> underlined), [pɑːti](#underlined again), [swiːtə](#<ee> circled). (AE20: 32)

Their imitation indicates that the perception of non-rhoticity overrules that of /t/-flapping and that generally the realization of intervocalic /t/ as [t] is considered typical of a British accent by four British and nine American participants. Other interviewees, two British and six American, also imitate the same words with a flapped /t/, for instance in *party* (5), *sweeter* (3), and *better* (2). The American participants only focus on getting the non-rhotic pronunciation or the diphthongized FLEECE in *sweeter* right, which leads them to flap the /t/ as they would usually do. Only one British interviewee comments on the flapped /t/ supposedly being a British English accent feature:

> I mean being at Hull(#laughs), I hear lots of Northern accents and either people skip the <t> or they pronounce it. So, it'd be [bɛʔə] or [bɛtə] and they would pronounce the <t>. But down South you'd either hear [bɛtə] in a really posh accent or [bɛɾə] in that kind of lazy Southern accent. So yeah, just going from living in England, I'd definitely say it's a Southern accent. (BE13: 63)

Those who classify the performance as Australian or New Zealand mainly base their decision on the co-occurrence of a non-rhotic pronunciation (n = 8; *AEn* = 6) with /t/-flapping (n = 6; *AEn* = 4). The realization of FLEECE, particularly in *sweeter* as [əɪ], a diphthong with a central onset, is interpreted as the broad Australian variant (n = 7; *AEn* = 5). This broad Australian pronunciation of FLEECE is indeed very similar to the Southeastern and London variant undergoing the London Diphthong Shift (Turner 1994: 289–90). Also, the realization of STRUT in the word *fun* as Australian/New Zealand low central [ɐ] (Bauer & Warren 2008: 41; Horvath 2008: 91) adds to the perception of an Australian/New Zealand accent and is mentioned by three American interviewees.

5.1.5 The Black Keys: "Little Black Submarines"

The American band, The Black Keys, is recognized and identified most often by both groups (n = 11; *AEn* = 7) within the rock category. This stimulus is the only actual American rock sample played to the interviewees and it is perceived as American by the majority of the participants (n = 36, see Figure 10). Still, the American group shows less doubt as twenty-two say it sounds American and only three are undecided. Fourteen British participants categorize the band as American, five think it is a British band trying to sound American, and six describe the performance as British. Seven American and two British participants give a closer

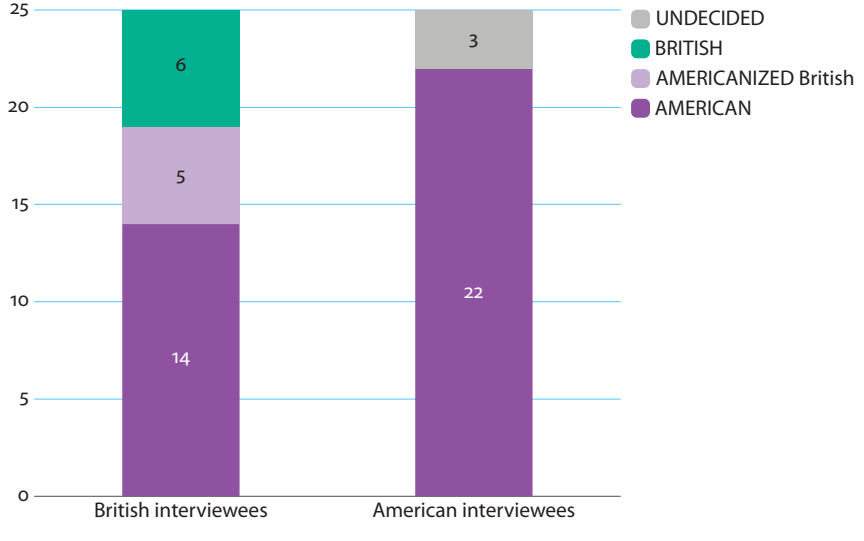

Figure 10. Interviewees' language labels for The Black Keys: "Little Black Submarines"

regional specification and locate The Black Keys in the US South. Four Americans think the band sounds like it might come from the West Coast and three British interviewees place it in different British regions.

The accent is described as sounding generally American by ten American and three British interviewees. Fifteen American participants say that the performed accent sounds familiar. Four interviewees report that the accent is strong and five attribute the description 'twang' to the performance. The expression *twang* is mostly used in correlation with a described Southern American or American country accent. Interviewee AE04's utterance is exemplary for this:

> And I'd say he almost sounds like he's from the South. He's got like a twang to his voice. That I would put as more of a Southern US feature or like Tennessee, Kentucky area also. (AE04: 39)

The vowels considered most American in this stimulus are monophthongized PRICE, which is recognized fifteen times in *time* (11), *blind* (5), *mind* (4), and *my* (2); raised TRAP ($n = 6$), which is mentioned by six interviewees (*BEn* = 4) in *and* (2), *back* (2), *can* (2), and *that* (1); and the unrounded American LOT variant, which is noticed by five participants in *everybody* (4), *operator* (1), and *lost* (1). Among the consonant features, rhoticity is named eight times (*AEn* = 5) in *operator* (4) and *heart* (3). Five participants even refer to the /r/s sounding particularly American, i.e. retroflex, and four interviewees recognize /t/-flapping in *operator* (3) and *that a* (1) as a noticeable American feature. Even though the word-final sonorization of the alveolar plosive /t/ or the omission of audible release for word-final /d/ is only named three times in *heart* (2) and *blind* (1), it is worth mentioning as the interviewees report it as a supposed American pronunciation feature again. The music genre itself is considered typical American rock. It is more closely labeled as alternative rock ($n = 4$), indie rock ($n = 4$), blues rock ($n = 3$), psychedelic rock ($n = 3$), as well as (Southern) American rock ($n = 3$) or described as having a hint of country ($n = 2$).

> Yeah, it kind of also just reminds me of more of like this, maybe like a more contemporary version of like sort of psychedelic rock, I don't know. When I think of that, I think of actually like The Doors and people which kind of sounds like more American to me, I don't know. […] And there were many English and American psychedelic rock bands, but yeah, I don't know. The sound sort of just reminded me of certain, like, yeah, American psychedelic rock, like yeah, The Doors. (AE08: 41)

Among those who identify the performance as British or British imitating an American accent, one American and eight British participants describe the accent as British in general. Three British interviewees argue that the performed accent sounds familiar, i.e. similar to their own accent. No feature in particular is named to a noteworthy degree.

5.2 Perception of pop stimuli

5.2.1 Cheryl: "Girl in the Mirror"

The British singer Cheryl is correctly identified by four British participants. The majority of the interviewees (n = 36) reports that the stimulus sounds British (see Figure 11). Seven American and three British participants think they hear a British singer performing with an Americanized accent; two British interviewees assume the singer is American. Two participants are undecided. Seven British and eight American interviewees of those who elaborate on Cheryl's possible origin and accent choose the UK South. Seven British participants locate her in the UK North. A further seven interviewees (*AEn* = 5) even suspect a singer with a (British) Caribbean or Afro British background. Others (n = 3) report on a possible African American influence on the performance.

Six British interviewees describe the accent as British in general, one American and five British participants perceive the performed British accent or parts of it as strong. Among the vowels most noticeably recognized as British is the British 'broad' BATH vowel [ɑː] (n = 39) occurring in the word *can't* (39). This is the only case in which all twenty-five American interviewees notice and report on the same feature within the same word. Almost all interviewees immediately highlighted the word while still listening to the stimulus; thus, it became clear early on that this is one of the most recognizable features and occurrences. In comparison to the Band

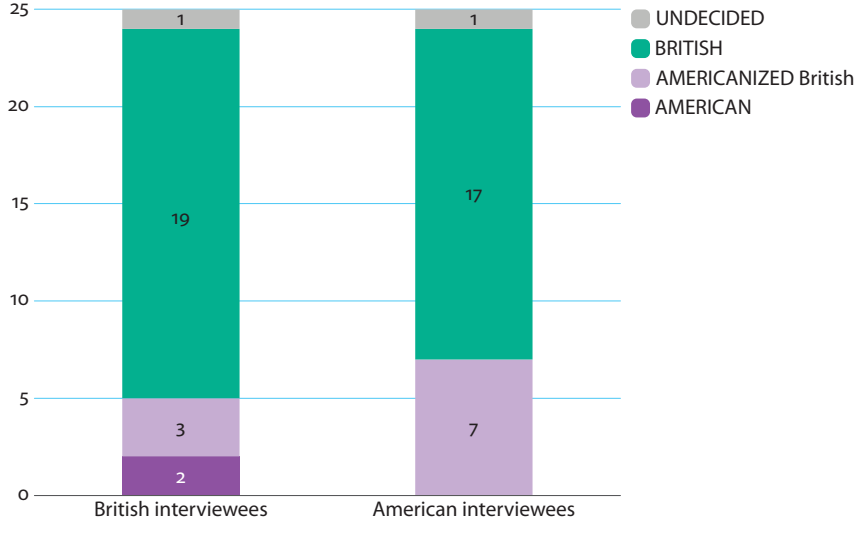

Figure 11. Interviewees' language labels for Cheryl: "Girl in the Mirror"

of Skulls stimulus, which includes the same variant in the word *half*, twenty-one interviewees in total (*AEn* = 15) mention this British feature. The comparison to previous results conveys the impression that some words are more prototypical of a certain pronunciation feature than others, hence, the occurrence of BATH in *can't* is more readily perceived than in *half*. Also, twenty interviewees (*AEn* = 15) notice the American LOT variant in *got* (17), *strong* (4), and *song* (2).

The consonant features most often perceived as British are intervocalic and word-final /t/ realized as a glottal stop (*n* = 33; *AEn* = 18) predominantly in *little* (33) but also in *got* (4), *fights*[30] (2), *can't* (2), and *what* (1). Additionally, thirteen participants (*AEn* = 10) mention the singer's non-rhotic accent in *girl* (4), *mirror* (4), *yourself* (4), and *hard* (3). Cheryl's voice reminds two participants of Barbadian pop singer Rihanna. It seems that the co-occurrence of this particular pop genre, which is described as dance (*n* = 12), electro pop (*n* = 10), or club music (*n* = 6) with hints of R&B (*n* = 3), the identified non-standard British accent, and supposedly (African) American features, leads participants to perceive Cheryl as a British singer with Caribbean roots. Interviewee AE02 describes the stimulus as follows:

> There were British elements to it. This glottal stop in *little*(#circled), [lɪʔˠl]. And *got*(#circled) and *can't*(#<ca> underlined) were more open. So, I'd call this like dance kind of, what's the right word? I'll just say R&B but that's not really the perfect term. But like, it has this element to it that makes me think that the singer's probably Black. There's certain ways of singing kind of like a Rihanna sound. And also there are lots of other artists that I've heard sing that way. It's obviously a pop star's, like *you*(#<y> circled) in the beginning, this like scooping up that you hear. I really don't know where this person would be from. I would guess a large city, maybe London. But it has a lot of American or [what] I perceive as American elements to it. (AE02: 44)

Those who find that the singer sounds American remain fairly vague in describing the accent. Ten say that the singer sounds American in general. The negator *ain't* is considered as a predominantly (African) American non-standard expression by four participants.

30. Cheryl realizes /t/ in *fights* as a pre-glottalized or laryngealized alveolar plosive [d̰] (this transcription is proposed by Watt & Allen 2003: 267–268), which is typical of Tyneside English and interpreted by the listeners as word-final /t/-glottaling. Since this is the only occurrence of this variant, it was conveniently subsumed under word-final **/t/-glottaling**.

5.2.2 Jessie J: "It's My Party"

The British artist Jessie J is described as sounding American by the majority of the participants (n = 39, see Figure 12). Eight participants (AEn = 6) compare her to American artist Katy Perry and the type of female-led American pop genre (n = 3) she is associated with. Among the British interviewees, three think she is American and fifteen explain that she is British but emulates an American accent. Here, an Americanized singing style is perceived as quite intentional since sixteen British interviewees identify the singer as Jessie J and hence know she is in fact British. For instance, interviewee BE10 reports that had she not known it was Jessie J, she would have thought the singer is American:

> Well, that's Jessie J, I know that song. So, I actually know she's English. But I was trying to listen to the lyrics whether, if I didn't know the song, whether I'd be able to definitely tell and surprisingly if I didn't know the song at all I would perhaps gone for American. Just because the way she sings it and it's very kind of… Again sort of that high-pitched, whiny American voice(#chuckles). If I didn't know the song, I would've said American. But I know it's not. (BE10: 70)

Jessie J is the British artist recognized most often within the sample, but only by the British interviewees (BEn = 16). For most of the interviewees, identifying the singer does not necessarily mean that they listen less closely just because they know where

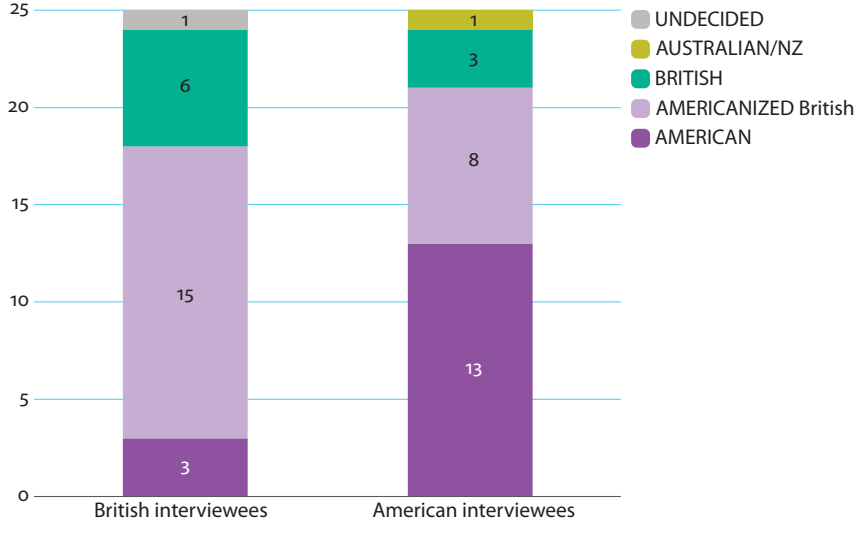

Figure 12. Interviewees' language labels for Jessie J: "It's My Party"

the artist is from. On the contrary, many report that the interview task makes them listen more attentively than usual, as interviewee BE12 explains:

> Okay, so that one was Jessie J(#"Jessie J" added). That one was really interesting, it's probably the first time I've heard one of her songs and realized that she does quite Americanized words when she sings even though she is a hundred percent British(#"British"added). She's got quite the, I don't know whether I'd say Cockney accent or what, but I know that in her interviews she's got a really strong Southern accent. So, to hear her singing like that was really interesting. It just never occurred to me before that she does it and then there obviously was the contrast in the song as well where she did the spoken part(#*awww, come and give me a hug dude* underlined) and that was in her usual voice and the rest of it was sort of Americanized. (BE12: 55)

Six British interviewees describe her accent as British and one is undecided. As for the American interviewees, thirteen identify her as American and eight say she is British using an Americanized singing style. In contrast to the British interviewees, no American participant recognizes Jessie J and, therefore, most of them do not doubt that she could be an American singer. The main reason for classifying her as British is the spoken sentence in the stimulus: *Awww, come and give me a hug dude*. Three American participants say she sounds British and one thinks she might be from Australia/New Zealand.

In this stimulus, Jessie J switches from an Americanized singing style to her Essex accent in one spoken sentence (cited above). It is this spoken part in particular that is noticed by twenty participants. Many cannot pinpoint why exactly this part sounds British to them, so they simply describe her pronunciation of this word as British ($n = 5$). Six interviewees are more specific and explain that the pronunciation of *dude* with centralized GOOSE [ʉː] reveals her British origin although *dude* ("Dude" 2016; "Dude" n.d.) is considered an Americanism by both interview groups.[31] Interviewees AE17 and BE06 report on this perceived discrepancy between the artist's sung and spoken performance:

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31. The lexeme *dude* is so well-entrenched as an Americanism that it seems to have been adopted by British speakers without phonetic adaptations. No British (or American) interviewee comments on Jessie J's yod-dropping in *dude* as a typical American accent feature. The OED Online (2016) transcribes the British pronunciation of *dude* as /d(j)uːd/ and the American as /dud/. The online Cambridge Dictionary (n.d.) transcribes *dude* as /duːd/ for both varieties. These two dictionary entries as well as the reactions of the interviewees indicate that producing the yod in *dude* seems so be the exception for British speakers and the American pronunciation the unmarked case.

> The whole time when she was singing, it sounded like an American accent. And then she spoke one line(*#awww, come and give me a hug dude* highlighted, *dude* circled, "spoken" noted) and then it sounded like an accent from the UK. So, I think she's from the UK. (AE17: 75)

> Yeah, that's Jessie J. It's quite weird because listening to it, to think about the language, it sounds really American. Until she says, you know, *come and give me a hug dude*(#underlined, "spoken British" added). Even the word *dude* is not really English. And but it was with a British accent. (BE06: 67)

Another vowel, the British LOT variant, is only perceived by four participants in *want* (2), *not* (2), *watch* (1), and *stop* (1).

Eleven participants (*AEn* = 8) describe Jessie J's accent as sounding generally American. Four American interviewees say that her accent sounds familiar or that there is nothing noteworthy about it. Five interviewees (*AEn* = 4) describe her accent or parts of it as strongly American. As for some of the other stimuli, if the participants doubt that the singer is American, they mention the possibility of a non-native speaker using an Americanized singing style (*n* = 4; *AEn* = 3) or describe the singing style as Americanized for performance purposes (*n* = 3). Of those who describe Jessie J's singing style as American or Americanized, five British interviewees describe the vowels as generally elongated. In accordance with that, eight British interviewees ascribe the diphthongization of *happy* in *me* (5) and *happy* (5) to American English as well as four participants the raising of TRAP in *acting* (2), *damn* (2), and *had* (1). Interviewee BE03 explains:

> I think kind of prolonging words at the end as well is quite an American thing to do, it's quite kind of typical of their style as well (l. 91). […] *So why you sit and watch* [meɪ](*#me* underlined) is kind of going on kind of longer and I don't know whether that is just part of the song or what she wanted to do but for me that it doesn't sound like a British producer would have sat down with her and made it. It does sound like it was an American influence somewhere with the way she's kind of singing and the kind of techniques that are used as well. (BE03: 93)

Concerning consonant features perceived as American, /t/-flapping is mentioned nine times (*BEn* = 7) and noticed in *party* (8) and *what I* (1), followed by the alveolarization of the velar nasal (*n* = 5) in *wondering* (4), *acting* (3), *stalking* (3), *dancing* (2), and *being* (1), as well as rhoticity (*n* = 4) heard in *party* (3) and *you're* (1). However, particularly the word *dude* is recognized as an Americanism by sixteen participants. Interviewee AE04 for instance argues:

> I'd say she's American. She just sounds very American. […] Also the lyrics don't really help here because *hug dude*. I mean it's really typically American speech and I guess I noticed that more in this one than the others with the lyrics. (AE04: 67)

As for The Subway's second stimulus, "It's a Party", here again at least one British participant (BE10) comments on the lyrics' topic of 'partying' and explains that it is a typical American theme. Interviewee BE10 elaborates that if singers choose this topic it might have an influence on the performer's singing style, i.e. British singers would imitate an American accent to match the American theme:

> That tune is very much about having fun and party, all this and everything like that. Drinking and I think that perhaps this comes more from America, so they're perhaps trying to imitate that. So, I think if it was on an English topic, they wouldn't do that so much. (BE10: 93)

5.2.3 Olly Murs: "Hey You Beautiful"

No American interviewee identifies British artist Olly Murs, but twenty-one of them describe him as American, two as a British singer using an Americanized singing style, and only one thinks he sounds British. Within the British group, twelve participants recognize Olly Murs. Nonetheless, eight British interviewees describe the performance as American. Most of those who identify Olly Murs opt for an Americanized British accent. Only five say he sounds British. Three interviewees assume an AAE speaker (see Figure 13).

Eleven interviewees, the Americans in particular (*AEn* = 9), describe the performed accent as sounding American in general. Thirteen American participants note that nothing about the accent stands out against their own, i.e. it sounds

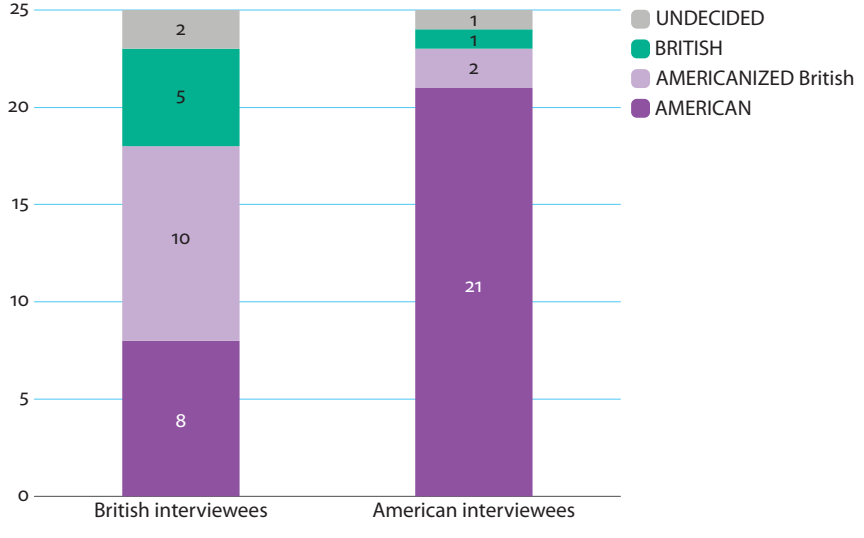

Figure 13. Interviewees' language labels for Olly Murs: "Hey You Beautiful"

familiar, accentless. Vowels identified as typically American are the American LOT variant in *body* (8), *got* (2), and *knock* (2) mentioned by twelve interviewees (*BEn* = 9), monophthongized PRICE noticed by seven in *why* (3), *try* (2), *lie* (2), *die* (1), and *mind* (1), as well as MOUTH with a raised onset in *down* (5) and *out* (1) (Kretzschmar 2008: 47), which is named by five participants. Consonant features seem to be more salient: Sixteen interviewees (*BEn* = 9) mention the pronunciation of postvocalic /r/ in *dirty* (11), *girl* (4), *before* (1), *disregard* (1), and *hard* (1). /t/-flapping is noticed by fifteen interviewees, mostly by British participants (*BEn* = 11), in *dirty* (10), *beautiful* (5), and *got it* (2). Also, the alveolarization of the velar nasal is identified as an American feature by six interviewees in *saying* (3), *something* (3), *playing* (3), *calling* (1), *coming* (1), and *telling* (1). As for previous stimuli, the contraction of *out your* into *outcha*, *but your* into *butcha*, and *don't you* into *dontcha* is considered an American habit. No British feature is named to a degree worth mentioning. The American interviewees, not knowing the artist, show very little doubt in their perception of Olly Murs as an American artist. Moreover, one British and eleven American participants associate him with the lead singer of the American pop rock band Maroon 5 (Adam Levine), which might have supported their perception that Olly Murs sounds American. Interviewee AE17 shares this association and states:

> I think the artist is from the United States. Yeah, basically because his accent reminds me of Adam Levine from Maroon 5 and his voice does. I don't think it is but, yeah (l. 67). […] No. Yeah, I guess with like the one that sounds more from the United States. Things stick out less because it sounds more familiar to me. So, like I would like for example, the last one I was listening to it. And at first it sounded like nothing stood out to me and then immediately when something sounds like different, then it's when I notice it. (AE17: 69)

Although Olly Murs produces /l/-vocalization in *beautiful*, non-rhoticity in *hard* and *disregard*, and /t/-glottaling in *get*, his performance sounds convincingly American(ized) to the participants. Clearly, the recognized American features are noticed more readily and their perception outweighs the partly vernacular British ones.

5.2.4 McFly: "End of the World"

The British pop band McFly are majorly perceived as sounding American by the participants (*n* = 35, see Figure 14). However, a closer look at the results reveals that the American participants are more convinced that the band is American than the British ones, who rather perceive the performance as Americanized or British. Whereas thirteen American interviewees identify the performance as American,

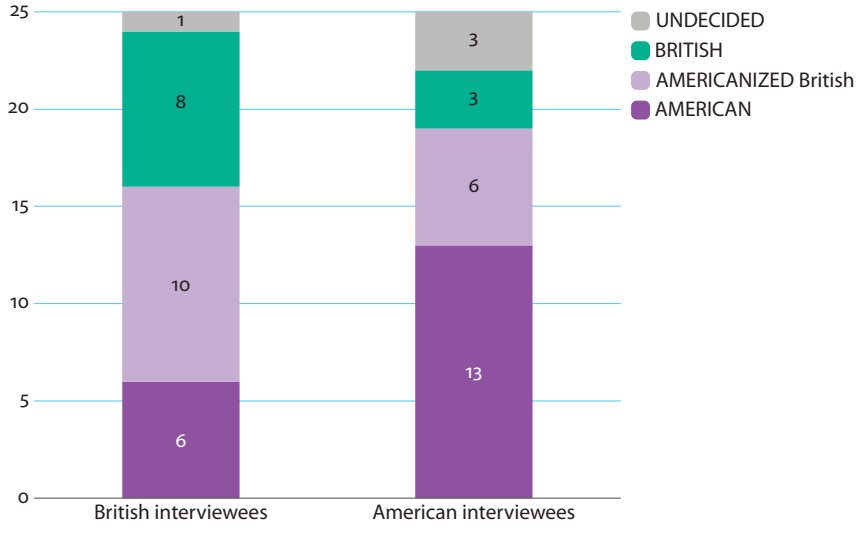

Figure 14. Interviewees' language labels for McFly: "End of the World"

only six British interviewees share this allocation. Instead, ten British participants decide that the band is British but emulates an Americanized singing style, and only six Americans concur with this attribution. Eight British and three American interviewees state that the band sounds British. Altogether, four participants remain undecided. Only four British interviewees recognize McFly. The band is mainly associated with American boy bands such as N'Sync ($n = 4$) and the Backstreet Boys ($n = 3$).

The performance accent is perceived as sounding generally American by nine American and five British participants. Five American interviewees explain that the accent sounds familiar with nothing in particular standing out. A further five describe that although the performance sounds American, there is something to it which makes them doubt that the singers are actually from America but possibly non-native English speakers. The features most markedly American in this stimulus are the realization of post-vocalic /r/ recognized by nine interviewees in *forever* (5), *girls* (2), *heard* (2), *heart* (2), *Mars* (2), *word* (2), *apart* (1), *world* (1), and *your* (1). Seven participants mention the alveolarization of the velar nasal in *moving* (6) and *something* (6). The word-final sonorization of /t/ is a minor supposedly American feature for this stimulus as it is only mentioned three times (*heart* (3)), but it is nonetheless important to mention it here for the overall impression of the American accent. Four British interviewees add that the contraction of *going to* into *gonna* is typically American. One American and five British participants also identify the word *guys* as an Americanism.

Eleven interviewees (*BEn* = 9) describe the accent as British in general. Three British interviewees report that the accent sounds familiar. The one feature that is named most often for this stimulus, i.e. by twenty-three participants (*AEn* = 15), is the absence of postvocalic /r/ in *dark* (15), *apart* (11), *heart* (7), *Mars* (6), *tear* (4), *girls* (3), *heard* (2), *they're* (2), *word* (2), *world* (1), and *your* (1). Five of the interviewees who notice a non-rhotic or only slightly rhoticized /r/ still decide that the singer is American. More interviewees hear a non-rhotic (*n* = 23) than a rhotic pronunciation of postvocalic /r/ (*n* = 9). The interviewees' perception corresponds to the actual realizations in the stimulus: The only rhoticized postvocalic /r/s can be found in *heart* and *world*; *your* might be interpreted as rhotic as it occurs in the phrase *your eyes*, which includes a linking /r/. Still, four interviewees (*AEn* = 2) perceive exclusively a rhotic pronunciation and consequently identify the band as American. A further four participants (*AEn* = 3, *BEn* = 1) identify both rhoticity as well as absence of postvocalic /r/ within the stimulus. As a result, two of them (*AEn* = 2) stay undecided, one (*AEn* = 1) chooses that the performers are nonetheless American, and the fourth one (*BEn* = 1) thinks the band is British emulating an Americanized singing style. Apparently, the interviewees do not entirely agree on whether the performance sounds rhotic or non-rhotic. One difficulty here is the autotuning of the singers' voices, which renders it difficult to filter out particular sounds. Nonetheless, the perception of the presence or absence (or both) of postvocalic /r/ is obviously not the sole decisive factor in the decision of an American(ized) or a British accent, respectively.

5.2.5 Taylor Swift: "Stay Stay Stay"

The American singer Taylor Swift triggers the most homogenous results. Forty-six participants (*AEn* = 25) describe her performance as American (see Figure 15) and she is identified most often by the interviewees (*n* = 28). Sixteen American and eight British interviewees specify the accent as Southern American. One British participant supposes she is a British singer adopting an Americanized singing style. Three other British interviewees suggest that she could be an American singer who imitates British indie pop artists, such as Lily Allen, based on the singing technique, which can be described as a melodic storytelling in a straightforward staccato manner.

The performed accent is generally described as American by eleven participants. Nineteen report that the singer has a strong accent, others describe it as "twang" or "twangy" (*n* = 8; e.g. AE18: 69; AE04: 79) or "nasal" (*n* = 6; e.g. AE08: 78; BE13: 103). The interviewees perceive the following vowels as particularly (Southern) American: The realization of FACE as [ɛi] is recognized by twenty-four participants in *takers* (17), *stay* (11), and *dated* (1), monophthongized PRICE (*n* = 18) in *time*

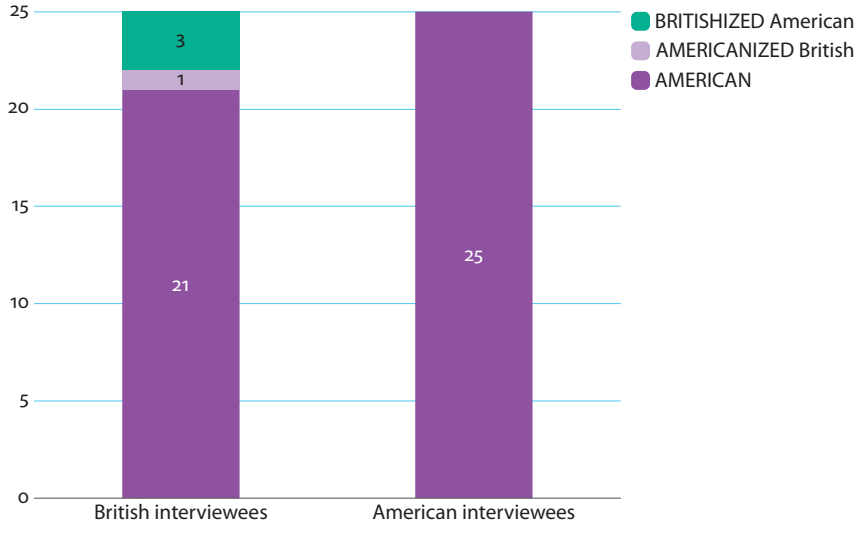

Figure 15. Interviewees' language labels for Taylor Swift: "Stay Stay Stay"

(14), *like* (7), *my* (5), *I* (3), *quite* (1), *like* (1), and *memorize* (1). Fourteen interviewees mention the raising of the American BATH vowel in *laughing* (8) and of TRAP in *mad* (4), *have* (3), *hang* (3), and *carry* (1). Named less often but listed here nonetheless to complement the overall impression are the American LOT variant in *problems* (6) and the BATH vowel in *laughing* (3) as well as a diphthongized *happy* variant in *me* (3). More generally, four participants describe the vowels as elongated, which corresponds to the variants mentioned above and the description of Southern drawl. Concerning the consonant features, nineteen interviewees (*AEn* = 11) name the alveolarization of the velar nasal in *laughing* (14), *loving* (11), *hanging* (10), and *having* (1). Eighteen recognize rhoticity in general in *takers* (16) and *fears* (2), and ten in particular notice a more retroflex /r/ in *takers* (9), *occurring* (2), *carry* (1), *fears* (1), and *problems* (1) as markedly American features. Further consonant features named less often are /t/-flapping in *dated* (4) noticed by four British participants and the use of dark /l/ in onset (*like* (2), *loving* (1)) and coda (*self* (1)) position mentioned by four interviewees. Sixteen British interviewees furthermore claim that the lyrics include expressions which they perceive to be typically American, such as *groceries* (11), *to hang out* (9), *mad* ('angry') (3), and *to date* ('regularly spending time with someone you have a romantic relationship with') (3). The music genre is another decisive factor which supports the interviewees' perception of a Southern American singing style. Twenty-seven participants (*AEn* = 17) describe the stimulus as country or country pop music, three call it folk – genres which are deeply rooted in and associated with the American South. Taylor Swift is also compared to other female American country singers such as

Carry Underwood (n = 2), Miley Cyrus[32] (n = 2), and Dolly Parton (n = 1). The following interview excerpt is exemplary for the strong connection between the country (pop) genre and Southern American accent features perceived by many participants. Interviewee AE12 states:

> This sounds like Taylor Swift(#"taylor swift" added). I don't think it is Taylor Swift but definitely like country but I wouldn't call it like firm country music. It's like pop country(#"pop/country" noted on lyrics). Specifically the hard <r> on *takers*(#<a> and <er> underlined), it's like a long <a>, [tɛɪkᵊɻz]. That's very like Southern, Southern accent. *I've been lovin' you*, this also very Southern with the absence of the <g>. And I know that the lyrics says *I've been* but it sounds more like "I been lovin' you"(#<vin' yo> underlined). And like the long <a> sounds, *stay, stay, stay,* that sounds like Southern accent to me. So, I would say this is the US, Southern US, pop country music. (AE12: 58)

The interview notes also reveal that many interviewees start to smile or chuckle as soon as Taylor Swift starts singing, the Southern American accent being a source of amusement or even ridicule.

> *[T]akers, laughing*(#<au> and <n'> circled), and *mad*(#<a> circled). It was, I think, again, with the *laughing* it's like [læːfɪn], it's kind of like a country,(#chuckles) "You wanna do kind of some sort of weird barn dance to it," you know?(#laughs) It's hard to explain. (BE03: 118)

The stimulus reminds BE03 of a "weird barn dance" (l. 118). Barn dances are commonly associated with an American rural scenery and evoke an imagery of an outdated cowboy-like fashion and square dancing to country and western music. Interviewee BE16 seems so overwhelmed by the richness of Americanness expressed in the stimulus that he chuckles throughout his report on it and admits having difficulties in pinpointing particular features:

> The whole thing is so American(#laughs). Judging by the way it sounds and the subject matter. It sounds, it looks like it is Taylor Swift maybe but yeah, it sounds very, very, ah God it's so strong the whole way through(#chuckles). It's not neutral at all. It's just very, very American and I'd say she's a hundred percent American. […] All of it(#chuckles). I'd circle the entire thing. That's, I can't, the whole thing, all of it is just completely. I can't give you specific words because there would be no point because every word is… I don't know. I can't, no I can't(#chuckles), I can't pick out one, because they're all, the whole way through. (BE16: 65)

As briefly mentioned above, three British interviewees argue that the singer is American and trying to emulate a British singing style or genre.

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32. Miley Cyrus started her career in the country music scene but has recently moved more and more to a poppy, commercial sound.

> It could have been an American trying to sound English but I would've said overall she sounded more English. Again, it seemed to have that way of singing which I can only describe as Lily Allen-ish because I think she did it first. In parts like that chorus in the middle sounded more American to me but the two verses sounded more English. But it was almost like she was putting on an accent, I would say.
> (BE23: 112)

Interviewee BE23 assumes an American singer who is partly emulating a British accent and explains that she feels reminded of the performance style of British indie pop artist Lily Allen.

5.3 Interim summary: Perception of stimuli

After focusing on each stimulus separately, the following interim summary gives a brief overview of similarities and differences in the evaluation of the two genres and interview groups.

Most participants did not know the bands behind the rock stimuli. Only one British interviewee recognizes the British band The Subways. The other two rock bands identified are Bush (*AEn* = 2) and The Black Keys (*n* = 11; *AEn* = 7). The latter American rock duo is recognized by both British and American interviewees. Bush is recognized by two American participants. The band was very successful in the USA as it engaged in the 1990s grunge movement, which emerged and thrived in America. For the pop sample, the American interviewees solely identify the American artist Taylor Swift. None of the British artists are identified by the American interviewees although they tour(ed) the US and/or collaborated with well-known American pop artists. The British group, on the other hand, recognizes its own pop artists quite frequently. Sixteen name Jessie J, twelve Olly Murs, and four each Cheryl and McFly. This leads to the conclusion that pop music in general is more present in the media than rock and hence more easily consumed. American artists (although only two are included in the sample) are identified by both interview groups, but the British performers are almost exclusively recognized by the British participants. This already hints at a supposed one-way street concerning matters of consumption and prominence, a point which is revisited more closely in the discussion section of the interviews (see Chapter 6).

In general, the perception of Americanness is quite congruent with the author's choice of the stimuli for both genres. The American (The Black Keys, Taylor Swift) and Americanized British (Bush, Olly Murs) stimuli score highest, followed by the samples with mixed features (Band of Skulls, The Subways "It's a Party", McFly, Jessie J). The British artists going local (The Subways "Celebrity", Cheryl) are perceived to show least or no Americanness. The interviewees are very attentive and sensitive to accent differences.

At a first glance, both groups describe the stimuli within the two genres quite similarly not only across but also within categories. Both genres are predominantly perceived as American or Americanized; nonetheless, the pop genre scores higher concerning the perceived Americanness. In contrast to 69.6% of all pop stimuli, 57.2% of all rock samples are considered American(ized). In turn, the rock genre scores higher in all other categories, i.e. 31.2% (*v. pop* = 26%) for British(ized), 7.2% (*v. pop* = 4%) for undecided, and 4.4% (*v. pop* = 0.4%) for Australian/New Zealand. A possible reason for this difference between genres is that for rock performances the notion that locality is expressed through accent is more likely than for pop, where an Americanized singing style is much more expected and considered "authentically pop" (Bell & Gibson 2011: 565).

The results also show that for all stimuli except two, the American interviewees more often choose the American(ized) label than the British interviewees, which, in turn, means that they less often expect or notice a British singer emulating an American singing style. The two exceptions mentioned above as well as some of the more striking differences (marked in Table 3 in blue and red) in the British and American participants' evaluations are briefly summarized.[33]

Table 3. Detailed results of interviewees' language labels. *BEn* = total amount of British interviewees, *AEn* = total amount of American interviewees

	BEn	AEn	BEn	AEn
	genre rock		genre pop	
AMERICAN+++	26	29	28	**45**
AMERICAN++	18	16	8	**18**
AMERICAN+	10	11	4	**9**
all American	54	56	40	**72**
AMERICANIZED British	**19**	14	**39**	23
all American(ized)	73	70	79	**95**
BRITISH+++	**31**	13	**29**	9
BRITISH++	8	**22**	8	**13**
BRITISH+	2	0	1	2
all British	**41**	35	**38**	24
BRITISHIZED American	1	1	**3**	0
all British(ized)	**42**	36	**41**	24
AUSTRALIAN/NZ	2	**9**	0	1
UNDECIDED	8	**10**	5	5

33. Reminder (see Section 4.2): **AMERICAN/BRITISH+++** (i.e. strongly affirmative), **AMERICAN/BRITISH++** (i.e. affirmative), **AMERICAN/BRITISH+** (i.e. affirmative with doubt).

For the rock and pop genre alike, when a British interviewee identifies a singer as British, they are quite confident and reinforce their assessment in different ways, which leads to the **BRITISH+++** categorization (*BEn* = 31; *AEn* = 13). For instance, they provide a more specific regional allocation of the performed accent or feel reminded of British bands with whom they associate the stimulus. The American interviewees do not provide the same detailed descriptions as they rarely differentiate between regional British accents or British-influenced varieties and they seldom name British-sounding bands. The terms "Queen's English" (AE03: 44) and "Commonwealth English" (AE03: 44) are used as umbrella terms when they cannot provide a more fine-grained differentiation. When asked about the performance of The Subways' "It's a Party", interviewee AE03 elaborates:

> Queen's English, I would say. (l. 44) […] Yeah, or I could say Commonwealth English, I guess, with the exception of Canada. Yeah, Commonwealth English is a better description, probably. (l. 48) […] British English features then. I can't pinpoint so if they sound Australian, British, and New Zealand-y to me. Then I say that. (AE03: 50)

This explains the discrepancy between the British and American interviewees' categorization of the perceived British rock and pop stimuli. Particularly in the rock genre, when the American interviewees do notice non-standard British features, they are more likely to categorize the performer as Australian (or coming from New Zealand) than attributing a specific local British accent (*AEn* = 9; *BEn* = 2).

In the pop genre, the American interviewees perceive most stimuli (*AEn* = 45; *BEn* = 29) as clearly American (i.e. **AMERICAN+++**). Most British participants (*BEn* = 39; *AEn* = 23), on the other hand, identify British artists using an Americanized singing style. This difference in perception is mainly based on the fact that the British interviewees quite often recognize the pop artists performing in the stimulus and hence know they are British. Nonetheless, it obviously does not influence them to the extent that they deny the artist's Americanized singing style. The clear majority with which the American interviewees consider British artists to be American (*AEn* = 72; *BEn* = 40) shows that even minor perceived linguistic differences do not raise any doubt in categorizing an artist as American.

More specifically, I want to present cases within each genre that stand out. Figure 16 compares British and American assessments of the rock stimuli. The results are sorted according to the degree of perceived Americanness. The British (BEint, left) and American participants' (AEint, right) language labels are paired, i.e. in direct comparison, for each stimulus. It is noticeable that British interviewees perceive the British band Bush as more American (*BEn* = 21) than the American band The Black Keys (*BEn* = 14). The genres and artists associated with the bands might hint at an explanation for this outcome. The British participants who perceive

Bush as American categorize them as hard, heavy, or alternative rock ($n = 6$) and feel reminded of American or Canadian rock bands of said genres, such as Papa Roach, The Calling, Linkin Park, or Nickelback; and the British participants who think The Black Keys are British name the indie genre and associations such as British band Kaiser Chiefs or Paul McCartney. The language descriptions remain quite vague, as interviewees mainly argue with describing the accent as generally British or sounding familiar, i.e. 'accentless.'

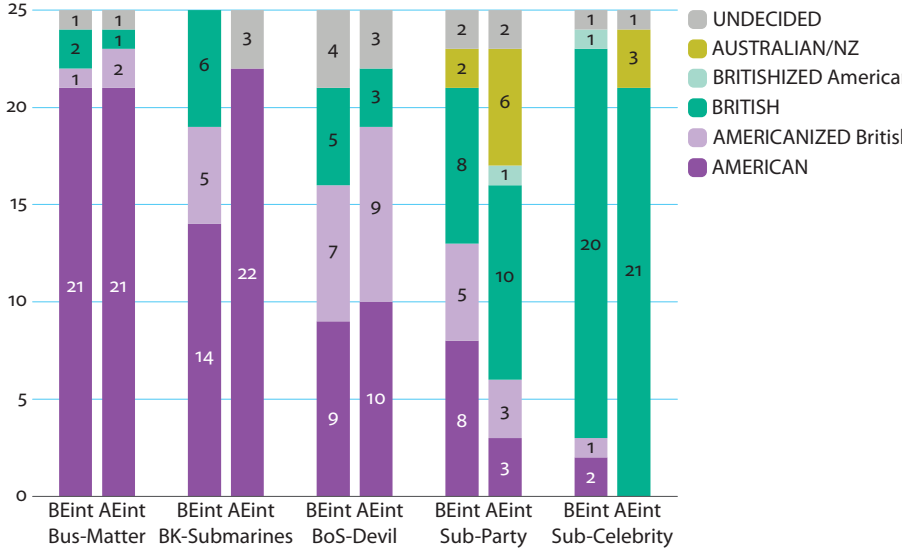

Figure 16. Overview: Interviewees' language labels for the rock stimuli.
BEint = British interviewees, AEint = American interviewees

The two exceptions named above for which the British interviewees perceive the stimuli as more American(ized) than the American group are The Subways' "It's a Party" (*BEn* = 13; *AEn* = 6) and "Celebrity" (*BEn* = 3; *AEn* = 0). The results exemplify the underlying suspicion of the British participants that many British artists will Americanize their performance (with pronunciations, expressions, topics, or genre). Alternatively, the perceived features are convincing enough to directly opt for an American artist. Moreover, The Subways' stimuli are interesting cases because the results for both of them vary most strikingly, in particular for the British group. While the band is mainly identified as British (*BEn* = 20) for the "Celebrity" song, more than half of the British participants perceive it as sounding American(ized) (*BEn* = 13) in the other stimulus "It's a Party". The combination of the song's content ('partying'), particular expressions (*wanna*, *awesome party*), and the use of

the flapped /t/ in *party* is so convincingly American that the also occurring British non-standard features are ignored. The American group on the other hand does notice the latter and ascribes these features to Australian or New Zealand English: The noticeable pronunciation of FLEECE in *sweeter* and of STRUT in *fun* are interpreted as Australian (or New Zealand) variants. Moreover, the combination of a non-rhotic pronunciation with /t/-flapping in *sweeter*, *party*, and *better* strengthens the American interviewees' perception. Both groups encounter the same stimulus with different mindsets. It appears the American cultural dominance has sensitized British listeners to look out for anything American, i.e. linguistic features, content, etc. The American interviewees do not necessarily share the stereotypes the British participants have about them and they do not notice supposed Americanisms such as *awesome*, *sweet*, and *wanna* as much, if at all. Ignoring lexis and content gives the American participants room to notice further pronunciation features and assume British, Australian, or New Zealand artists.

Figure 17 compares British and American perceptions of the pop stimuli. The results are sorted according to the degree of perceived Americanness. In the pop sample, the Jessie J stimulus is worth taking a closer look at because of its spoken sentence. For both groups, this British-accented interlude is the main reason for categorizing her performance as **AMERICANIZED British**, because she 'gives away' that she is in fact British. The sung portion of the song is still so convincingly

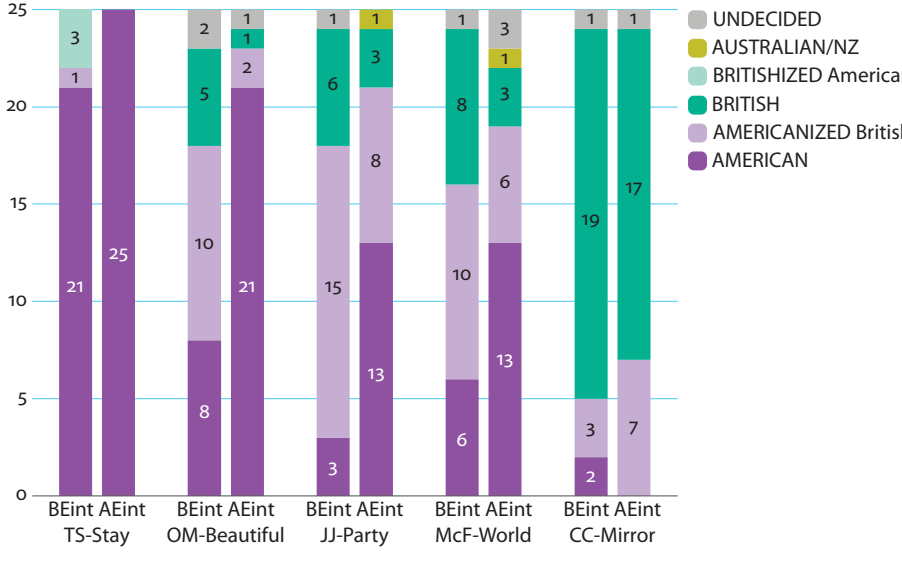

Figure 17. Overview: Interviewees' language labels for the pop stimuli.
BEint = British interviewees, AEint = American interviewees

Americanized that the majority of American interviewees (*AEn* = 13) thinks Jessie J is American and that some British participants became unsure as to whether she was American or British.

The results for Taylor Swift and Cheryl hint at the importance of non-linguistic features for a linguistic categorization. In both cases, interviewees argue with genre and artist associations which overrule clear linguistic features. Three British participants think Taylor Swift is an American artist trying to perform British indie pop, and twelve interviewees assume that Cheryl's singing style is American(ized) as she is associated with Caribbean artist Rihanna.

CHAPTER 6

Results II

The discussion phase

This second results section deals with the perceptions and attitudes elicited in the discussion phase of the interviews. It gives insight into the participants' thoughts on singers' possible motivations and intentions to Americanize their singing style or to stick to their local vernacular. In the course of this discussion, the interviewees reveal attitudes, directly and less explicitly, toward both trends as well as associated music genres. Section 6.1 presents answers to the guiding questions of the interview's discussion phase and Section 6.2 suggests associative fields for the two analyzed singing styles and music genres.

6.1 Attitudes toward singing styles and genres

The discussion phase was initiated and guided by three main questions. In all interviews, the transition into the discussion phase was facilitated by the participants' previous descriptions of the stimuli. Many interviewees had already commented on the Americanized singing style being the expected norm or stated that British performers as well as non-native English singers tend to emulate an American accent before reaching the interview's discussion section. These comments provided the ideal starting point for the first question, i.e. whether they think that British and, more generally speaking, non-American artists frequently switch to an Americanized singing style (Q1). A clear majority of forty-eight out of fifty interviewees agrees that British and non-American artists often adopt an Americanized singing style. Next, they were encouraged to explain whether they think that singers intentionally modify their singing style or not (Q2). Consequently, the interviewees start to explore possible motivations for singers' accent modification. Thirty interviewees (*BEn* = 14) deliver a nuanced discussion with arguments for both sides and provide reasons for a possible conscious as well as a subconscious stylization toward an American accent. A further sixteen participants (*AEn* = 9) argue that this stylization is always an active choice, hence done on purpose. Only three British interviewees think that singers only subconsciously Americanize their singing style.

British and American participants alike overwhelmingly perceive economic considerations not only to be the strongest motivation for emulating an American voice, but also the dominant reason for an intentional, conscious change. Twenty-five American and twenty-one British interviewees share the basic underlying assumption that if singers want to break into the American market, they have to converge to an American audience. Being a success in the USA guarantees a wider audience, which in turn entails that artists do well economically, as America is considered the gatekeeper to international success. Interviewee AE02 describes the use of an Americanized singing style as a "strategy," (l. 89) which indicates that this language behavior is intentional:

> Well, America has more people, bigger music industry. Seems like a good sort of strategy if you want to have more listeners. (AE02: 89)

Interviewee AE10 explains that if singers sound American, they will appeal to an American audience and market:

> Yes, yeah, they're trying to appeal to a bigger market… (l. 100). […] I think they are definitely trying to appeal to the American market because that's where a lot of the money would be, yeah. (AE10: 116)

Fourteen interviewees even argue that American English is more intelligible and accessible to non-native speakers and therefore more popular. For instance, interviewee AE15 reports that American English is easier to understand than British English, especially for non-native speakers:

> [A] lot of people have told me American is easier to understand than British. Especially in sort of a lyrical context and things like that. People say it's all just for me as a non-native of English, it's easier for me to understand Americans. If you want to reach a lot of people, maybe you do that sort of with intention, I don't know. (AE15: 102)

And AE13 adds that she experienced that Asians are familiar and comfortable with American English:

> There's a huge sweep now of like people doing concert tours across Asia. And they are more likely to have buyers if they understand the English that is spoken and they are more comfortable in most of Asia with the American accent. They find it more intelligible. (AE13: 108)

Four interviewees[34] explicitly state that local British accents might be too difficult to understand and hence, artists opt for the more intelligible and popular accent.

34. Reminder: Differences between British and American interviewees' evaluations are noted if they deviate more than +1 or less than -1 from one another. In this case, the higher amount is provided in parenthesis.

Interviewee BE18 elaborates why McFly, whose band members have strong local, Northern English accents in normal speech, would choose an Americanized singing style:

> Maybe because, I know that, well, they're successful in America now but they obviously when they started probably wanted to break into America and Americans find it difficult to understand us. Really, there's an element of just making sure that internationally they're understood but yeah, that's one reason I can think of. (BE18: 127)

An Americanized singing style is felt to be more marketable, which facilitates singers' career prospects. Clearly, matters of intelligibility and monetary success are closely linked. Interviewee BE14 describes positive attitudes toward an American accent and characterizes it as "up-beat" and "cheerful" (l. 11), which makes it a suitable choice for entertaining purposes such as singing. Interviewees BE03 and BE08 address the global reach and appeal of American English:

> You have to sort of appeal to everybody and I think American English does that rather than British English. (BE03: 134)

> If you want to be an internationally known band you might feel that the American, you know, accent is a more of an accessible one from an international point of view but also you just to sell in America. (BE08: 125)

Cultural reasons are named second most often (n = 29) as a motivation for emulating an American accent. Many interviewees describe America as the dominant cultural power and as having the most influential music industry. They explain that due to this dominance, an Americanized singing style has become the default code for many popular genres. Ultimately, British artists, for instance, emulate this American voice. So, 'cultural reasons' deal less with a straightforward money-making agenda, i.e. economic reasons, but rather with America's strong cultural influence that leads singers to follow their American role models for artistic reasons. The interviewees' explanations show that there is no consensus on whether cultural motivations lead singers to consciously or unconsciously emulate an American accent. Some interviewees (n = 12), as for instance AE15, argue that such cultural reasons can put singers under pressure to consciously modify their language:

> [I]t might also, for some people, be sort of a conscious decision because […] America has like a certain sort of soft cultural power in the world, especially in sort of pop culture. (AE15: 102)

Others (n = 17) explain that these cultural reasons lead to a subconscious stylization. They assume that an Americanized singing style is so well-entrenched in the music industry and certain popular genres that emulating it is not an active choice, i.e. an initiative act of identity, but comes naturally. Interviewees BE09 and AE18

think that non-American singers and bands subconsciously imitate American artists they habitually listen to and admire:

> And if they're listening to American bands and they're getting their inspiration from American bands, then sometimes they might just begin to emulate what they're hearing without even doing it consciously. (BE09: 125)

> But I also think that maybe just the fact that there's this, you know, like kind of cultural imperialism involved with mainstream American music for so long that there's probably also this subconscious thing where bands want to make music like what they like, and so they are emulating a style. (AE18: 103)

Some interviewees elaborate on the American role model function ($n = 20$) and name certain genres for which they think it applies in particular. The pop genre is mentioned most often (*BEn* = 12; *AEn* = 5), preceding rock (*BEn* = 7; *AEn* = 2), and country music (*AEn* = 3; *BEn* = 1).

Sixteen interviewees (*BEn* = 10) explain the use of an Americanized singing style with singing-inherent factors. They claim, for example, that an American accent is simply easier to sing and therefore adopted automatically, thus not by choice. The participants either argue that an American accent is simply better suited for singing (BE16) or that it is an unavoidable physiological process (AE01):

> American English kind of is a bit more flexible in terms of rhythm and the way you can say things and the way you can elongate words as well. It works much better in an American accent than in an English accent. (BE16: 111)

> I don't think it's them switching. I think it's the way that our voices switch when we sing (l. 88). […] I don't think it's on purpose. (AE01: 92)

Four interviewees argue that when artists move to or predominantly work in America, they will converge to their American-speaking environment; a change that happens unintentionally. Interviewee AE11 explains:

> Like also just spending time in America. Like the music business is obviously really largely based in Los Angeles, New York. And so, just like picking up accents from spending time there, I think it's also something that could affect the way they sound. (AE11: 129)

Subsequently, the interviewees were also asked to elaborate on possible motivations for singers to reject an Americanized singing style and instead stylize the local. Seventeen interviewees explain that if singers 'go local,' they demonstrate that they are different and stand out against the perceived American-dominated mainstream. They describe such artists as unique, individual, (more) interesting, cool, and exotic. Interviewees AE19 and BE12 provide typical statements that describe this motivation:

> But maybe because it's more cool, like indie, it's different. You don't want to be mainstream because I think indie bands, they don't want to be mainstream. It's kind of better if you have a really distinct voice, which sometimes doesn't sound like an American accent. (AE19: 105)

> I guess they probably find it quite interesting to listen to and it is something a bit different. Again, going back to the thing about individuality, they do sound different to other bands, which is nice. You can differentiate them. You can pick them out of a line really easily if you know. They just sound completely different. (BE12: 116)

Twelve interviewees (*BEn* = 8) emphasize that going local reflects authenticity. They explain that artists who use their vernacular voice stay true to themselves and their origins; such performers demonstrate originality. Part of the interviewees' idea of authenticity is that singers process personal stories and experiences in their lyrics. For instance, when asked about her associations with bands that stick to their regional accent, interviewee AE03 explains:

> [It] feels more authentic. It feels like they're writing their music. (AE03: 137)

Closely related to authenticity is the expression of a local identity, which is unsurprisingly associated with singers using their vernacular voice. Eight British and three American interviewees state that (in particular British) local accents emphasize the artists' local identity and express local pride (i.e. cultural patriotism). In particular, they are often used to appeal to a local audience. Interviewee BE06 describes how local accents in music can draw attention to a particular city, for example:

> But also some people can't knock it, if they got a really thick accent. It's just there and I don't know if they can help it or not but I know people that like to, like to say that they're proud of their city and that they like to keep their accent and if they do get famous, people look at them like, "Ah, they're from this city." And it kind of adds, you know, value to the city in that sense. (BE06: 105)

Six interviewees (*BEn* = 4) further find that maintaining a local accent reflects artistic integrity and credibility. They explain that for such artists making music is more important than making money and gaining international success; they do not change their principles or themselves for economic gain. When asked what would motivate British singers to perform in their vernacular, AE11 elaborates:

> For perhaps artistic integrity? Not changing who they are to reach a mass audience. […] So, I mean, is it their goal [...] just to make music because they enjoy it and love it and someone else happens to like it too, but they never dreamed of being like huge, and I don't think it's necessarily like relevant for them to change their accent. (AE11: 145)

When discussing the likelihood of American artists emulating a British singing style, twelve American and five British interviewees explicitly mention they find it hardly probable. Interviewee BE03 cannot think of a convincing motivation for doing so:

> [W]hy would they want to do that? (BE03: 140)

Interviewee BE15 admits that he does not think American bands would try to sound British. When asked whether he thinks that it only happens the other way around, i.e. British artists emulating an Americanized singing style, interviewee BE15 answers:

> Yeah, think so because Americans are very proud of being American, you know, and it would be fake for them to put on a British accent, but I do think it happens the other way. (BE15: 159)

Nine participants (*AEn* = 8) explain that such a behavior would probably be mocked within their speech community or that Americans simply are not capable of properly imitating other accents. Interviewee AE09 describes this potential situation as follows:

> First, it wouldn't make much sense, I don't think to emulate a British voice. […] But I think what would be the greater hindrance was just I think that artists would be mocked at home, yeah, for imitating a British accent. (AE09: 146)

And interviewee BE16 explains:

> No, I don't think American bands would want to try and sound English. I don't think it's something they want to do and I don't think it's something that they would do well either, if I'm honest(#laughs). (BE16: 137)

Nonetheless, one British and ten American participants imply that they do think American artists would choose a British singing style. Eight interviewees argue that if singers have British idols or perform in a genre considered typically British, such as indie pop and rock ($n = 9$) or punk rock ($n = 9$), they would be likely to adopt a British accent. It is noticeable, though, that even if they think American artists could find a motivation for imitating British role models, they can only very rarely think of a concrete example. So, some generally consider the possibility but find it unlikely and do not have examples at hand. Interviewee AE10's reaction is exemplary for this:

> It's very possible but highly unlikely because like, just feel like the British people would just be like, "Oh, there's some Americans that are just trying to copy us." I mean I think it's more acceptable the other way for some reason. I mean that's kind of been happening since like the 60s, pretty much since The Beatles. So, I mean they sang with an American accent. (AE10: 132)

Additionally, some of the interviewees' statements and explanations reveal more general attitudes toward the rock and pop genres. While rock is rather positively connoted as more down-to-earth and authentic (n = 5), pop is considered more commercial (n = 7), i.e. suitable for the masses, uniform (n = 14), and autotuned (n = 6), i.e. somewhat artificial and produced.

Finally, the participants were directly asked about their attitudes, opinions, and associations regarding an Americanized singing style and the going local trend (Q3). Most interviewees, twenty British and ten American, claim that the performed accent does not play a role in whether they like the music or not or that it is, at least, secondary to the music itself. For instance, when asked whether the performed accent is important to her, interviewee BE07 says:

> No, I listen to like the tune and like the lyrics, I don't really pay attention to the singing. (BE07: 125)

Interviewee BE12 reacts similarly and explains that an accent modification in general is commonplace in music performances:

> No, I don't think so, no, it's not important to me. I think, you know, there are a lot of artists from this selection, the selection we heard today that I like that don't necessarily sing in their accent. I think it'd sound bizarre, I think, if everybody did that it would sound quite strange. Some people just don't have singing voices that are their accent through and through, and no, it doesn't bother me at all. I'd say that it's, you know, a majority of artists don't sing in their native accents, and it's, you know, it doesn't stop anybody liking them. (BE12: 114)

At the same time, thirteen British and five American interviewees explicitly express positive attitudes toward local accents in music. In general, the British participants are more (emotionally) involved in evaluating these trends. Most of them seem to face a dilemma: On the one hand, many of them listen to British bands that sound American and some of them notice this consciously for the first time during the interview. Hence, they argue that they do not really care about accents in music. On the other hand, local, cultural, and linguistic pride encourage positive attitudes toward mediated vernaculars. It is observable that British participants, to whom this topic is much more sensitive and complex, adopt the position of the underdog who takes a stance against American cultural dominance. These seemingly contradictory circumstances become obvious in many answers by the British interviewees. For instance, when interviewee BE15 is asked what he thinks of British artists using an Americanized singing style, he explains:

> It would annoy me, that Olly Murs song has annoyed me. For me ultimately, if I like the song then I like the song. The particular accent doesn't bother me too much. If the singer has got a good voice you can sort of overlook it, you know. I suppose in certain cases it can be annoying, but I don't know. (BE15: 165)

While saying that it "doesn't bother [him] too much" (BE15: 165) if British singers sound American, he openly expresses negative attitudes – namely, annoyance – toward this behavior, referring to the Olly Murs stimulus in particular. Interviewee BE16 also claims that an American accent in singing "doesn't really bother [him] at all" (l. 125). And although his answer might not carry as obviously negative evaluations as his predecessor's, his response reveals that he associates an Americanized singing style with aims of economic success overriding artistic integrity:

> Not really. If he can sing, he can sing. And if something sounds good then stick with it and, you know, he's clearly making more money(#chuckles) singing with an American accent, and, yeah, good for him, if that's what he needs to do. Doesn't really bother me at all. (BE16: 125)

Interviewee BE23 argues similarly. She states that whether she likes an artist or not "really depends on the music more than anything else" (l.182). Nonetheless, she adds that using local accents is more respectable and less career oriented. When asked what she associates with artists promoting their local accent, she says:

> I'm probably more likely to listen to them. Again, it really depends on the music more than anything else. I would probably respect them more actually, I think, sticking to their accents, because it just does all end up sounding the same and it doesn't make me think that they are just in it for the money and because that's whatever the recent trend is. (BE23: 182)

Interviewee BE11 explains that she does not necessarily think that switching to an Americanized singing style is a "bad thing" (l. 98), while at the same time she advocates the going local trend:

> Well, if I were to be in a band, which I'm not, I would generally not like the idea of changing accent because it's kind of like possibly giving up your identity and as a smaller, there is many less British people than American people, you might have the fear of that kind of accent dying out in music and of course to have an abundance of different accents and more diversity in music. But I don't think it's particularly a bad thing. (BE11: 98)

She clarifies that vernacular voices are more authentic and promote diversity in music. What is also palpable is an apprehension of American English (and culture) encroaching upon British English (and culture). This anxiety is reflected in the British interviewees' general suspicion that whenever there is only the slightest bit of doubt about a stimulus not being British, for example because of an unknown or unidentifiable feature, they assume it is due to an American English influence. Interviewee BE24's utterance underlines the perception of an American dominance, which makes it difficult for British bands to be internationally successful or

survive. She expresses positive attitudes toward British accents but uses the modal auxiliaries *would* and *could* to express the unlikelihood of British singers using the vernacular voice:

> I think it would be nice if they could like show that they were actually British. (BE24: 209)

They would do it if they could. This statement implies that there is a reason that somehow prevents British singers from sounding local. Performers are considered much less likely to be successful with local voices than an Americanized singing style. Hence, if they accept to be less successful or risk not getting their big break in America and ultimately internationally, they could openly express their Britishness. Finally, interviewee BE25 offers another description typical of the British interviewees' ambiguous reactions to the two trends discussed. She first claims she does not mind if British singers Americanize their performance, then explains how important it is that they preserve and represent their British identity:

> I think I don't mind some dropping of accents simply because it flows better in a song and sounds actually some of the American sounds, like dropping some of the harsh sounds of British English, sounds nicer, is more melodious […]. I think I don't mind a bit but I don't like it when they take their identity and they're not identifiable as British. I think it's important. (BE25: 128)

Most of the reasons for the positive evaluations of vernaculars in music are congruent with the perceived motivations for singers to use them (explained in detail above). For instance, when interviewee AE22 is asked about her opinion on British singers sticking to their local voice, she explains:

> I like it when they keep their accent and it seems like a positive thing to me and it distinguishes them from all the millions of American singers. (AE22: 100)

She perceives local vernaculars as a welcome change to the American mainstream; going local is different. Interviewee BE12 reacts similarly positively but, being British, emphasizes the importance of local pride expressed through vernacular performances. The Arctic Monkeys serve as her example; she feels that they represent her hometown and accent:

> I think that, so I from where they're [Arctic Monkeys] from, I from Sheffield, so for me it's that sense of pride and that sense of you know, they're not, I don't know, for me it's nice to hear because it's my accent and that's really nice. (BE12: 116)

The going local trend enjoys favorable attitudes, especially from the British participants, who clearly feel more strongly about it than the American counter group. An Americanized singing style, as shown above, is mainly associated with cultural

dominance, mainstream music, and monetary success. When asked directly, generally, the most positive comments only state that it is not important which accent is chosen for performances as long as the music itself is enjoyable. Consequently, also if someone emulates an American accent, it does not really matter or trigger any negative evaluations. When asked directly what they think about singers adopting an Americanized singing style, twelve British and three American participants consider them inauthentic or fake. Here again, the British interviewees in general express stronger opinions than their American counter group. For instance, interviewee BE02 says:

> They're trying to be something they're not, really. I don't know why they would do it, perhaps to get more record sells in America because it's maybe what they all want. (BE02: 117)

Interviewee BE13 claims that for him accent plays a crucial role in evaluating performers and that he prefers local accents. Concerning artists who emulate an American accent he explains:

> Most people would still like them. It's definitely in the air that they might just be in it for the influence and the money and the big corporate events […]. But yeah, I just say it's still about the authentic nature and the artists don't seem true to who they are and that they're completely like clay, they can be molded to whatever they want. (BE13: 162)

Fifteen participants (*BEn* = 10) more or less explicitly describe the American accent as the default in (mainstream) music, which again underlines America's perceived cultural and economic dominance in the music industry. American English in popular music is considered the unmarked case; the interviewees describe it as normal or standard. Interviewees BE03 and BE09 elaborate:

> [I]t's kind of normal to sing in an American accent I would think. (BE03: 122)

> I think American is kind of seen as being standard, like in a way, it's almost like British music is becoming its own separate genre. So, the people try to sound standard and therefore come out sounding kind of American. (BE09: 121)

Others identify the mainstream singing style as a hybrid pop accent. Interviewee BE01 describes it as an international accent constructed for performance purposes:

> It could be a kind of constructed accent for a specific purpose. A sort of international thing perhaps, for the music industry maybe, yes. (BE01: 110)

And interviewee BE11 imagines a hybrid of all possible Anglophone accents, resulting in a comprehensible "average […] English" (l. 100) that also includes clear hints of American English:

> I think if you like put everybody in the English speaking world's accent together, kind of like you put images of faces on top of each other and you get the one general average kind of English, it would sound American and the way a lot of these people sing it's kind of, it's not so accented that it's completely miscomprehensible. And I think the standard way of speaking English maybe is like you speak it with an American accent but it's not a very strong American accent. (BE11: 100)

Although most interviewees are relatively reserved in expressing direct opinions about an Americanized singing style, their less explicit attitudes, for example expressed while describing features perceived in the stimuli, reveal clearer evaluations, both positive and negative. Said attitudes are explored in the next section and presented as associative fields.

6.2 Associative fields of singing styles and genres

The associative fields in this section represent attitudes toward different singing styles and genres based on the interviewees' perceptions and evaluations. The associative fields serve to complement and corroborate the perceptions and opinions observed so far. Throughout all interviews, the evaluation of the stimuli as well as the discussion section expose many metalinguistic accent descriptions which give insight into potential meanings activated when listening to music. The codings that provide such attitudinal insights are filtered for descriptive items characterizing an American(ized) singing style or the use of local (British) vernaculars. Additionally, comments on associated genres were collected and incorporated into the respective associative fields. The interviewees perceive the pop genre as predominantly American:

> Certain genres, I think, need that kind of thing, like pop music, they're more likely to use an Americanized accent. (BE12: 122)

Rock genres (especially indie) are more closely connected to local (British) vernaculars:

> I think I associate rock more with the UK. (AE25: 135)

> Certain styles like indie music and alternative music because I think those are the styles that blend well with the English accent. (BE06: 103)

All items are clustered into the main descriptive themes and subsumed under an appropriate label. For instance, "appealing" (BE03: 77), "cool" (BE11: 58), "comfortable" (AE19: 21), and "cheerful" (BE14: 11) are subsumed under ***appealing*** because they describe qualities that imply that an American(ized) singing style is likable and enjoyable. The larger the font, the more often an item is named, ranging from five

(e.g. ***contrived***) to forty-six (e.g. ***success***) mentions in total. If a specific description occurs several times within one interview, three instances are maximally counted to still underline the strength of this perception and nonetheless put the statements into perspective with all others. The attitudinal terms are then arranged on an axis which represents the associative field.

6.2.1 Associative field: American(ized) singing style and pop music

Figure 18. comprises attitudes toward and descriptions of an American(ized) singing style presented above in purple and associations with pop music below in green. The left side of the axis (light) collects negative items, the right side (dark) positive ones.

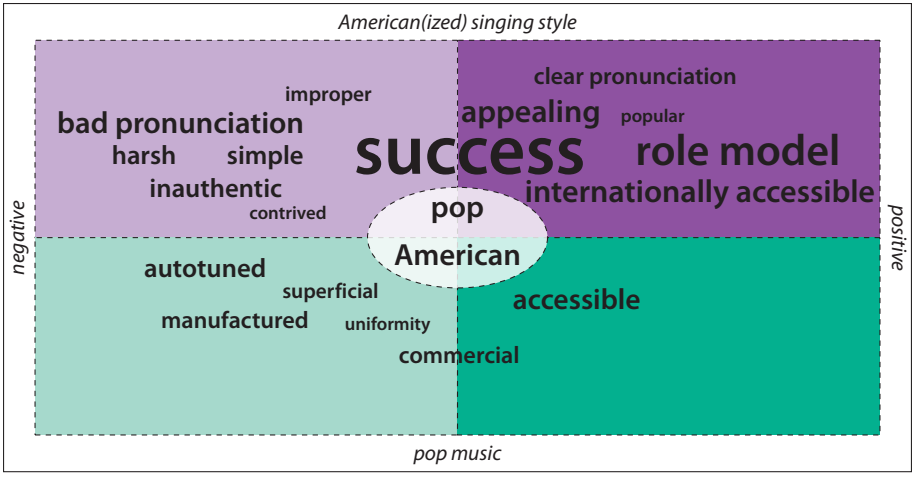

Figure 18. Associative field of an American(ized) singing style and pop music

The items – both positive and negative – describing an American(ized) singing style revolve around two major themes: 1. status and social norms, i.e. descriptions that mainly deal with correctness and overt prestige, such as ***clear pronunciation*** or ***role model*** and 2. affective associations, i.e. items that describe emotional reactions, such as ***harsh*** or ***appealing***.

The strongest positive perception is that an American(ized) singing style will lead performers to (worldwide) success (e.g. AE02: 89; BE16: 125; BE18: 179). The basic assumption is that American English is globally so well known that virtually no one will encounter problems understanding it. Particularly the American interviewees ascribe a ***clear pronunciation*** (e.g. AE13: 108) to their variety and describe it as "precise" (AE21: 22), "correct" (BE14: 51), and "neat" (AE13: 74). American English is omnipresent in the entertainment industry and

hence considered ***internationally accessible*** (e.g. AE13: 108; BE08 125; BE18: 127) and ***popular*** (e.g. AE01: 94, BE21: 60). *Accessibility*, here, means that the interviewees consider an American(ized) accent "easy to understand" (e.g. AE15: 102; BE12: 108) and 'easy to emulate'[35] (e.g. AE20: 48; BE25: 112). Renowned American and American-sounding artists become role models for others. In turn, the interviewees think an American(ized) singing style has become a prerequisite for a successful music career. Interviewee BE12's utterance exemplifies the clear connection between being intelligible and economic success:

> [I]f they're wanting to make money and go to the US, to other parts of the world, it's better if they do have the US accent, I think, because it's quite easy to listen to and easy to understand and your fan base will grow quicker that way if they understand what your singing about. (BE12: 108)

Interviewee AE25 points to the "Americanization" (l. 120) of pop culture and the music industry, which leads to an Americanized singing style being the preferable accent choice as it is considered "more accessible and fun" (l. 120):

> I mean, I think it's like this weird homogenization, globalization obviously. I think it's way better marketing and it sells more. […] I think in the past few decades, so much has been put out by America that there's this association of like an American accent… I mean, I just think it's like people prefer it for music or it sounds more accessible and fun. And I also just think it's like the Americanization of everything, you know, it's translating to music. (AE25: 120)

This statement also includes the positive affective description that an American accent is considered "fun" (AE25: 120). Further such qualities mentioned include "cool" (BE11: 58), "upbeat" (BE14: 11), "easier on the ears" (BE12: 55), and "comfortable" (AE19: 21). They are subsumed under the item occurring most often in this category, namely ***appealing*** (e.g. BE03: 77). American English has certainly profited from being the dominant voice in pop culture as it evokes crucial positive attributes of a performance accent, i.e. it is accessible, appealing, and entertaining as well as nearly indispensable for an internationally successful career.

The negative evaluations of an American(ized) singing style on the left-hand side also include items dealing with correctness and social status, such as ***bad pronunciation*** (e.g. AE02: 16; BE20: 67) and ***improper*** (e.g. AE01: 78; AE12: 18). The majority of such descriptive terms is provided by the British participants (*BEn* = 18 v. *AEn* = 7). Clearly, the British group is quite critical of an American accent, which already became noticeable in the findings previously described. For instance, some

35. In this section, the single quotation marks indicate that the expression summarizes an interviewee's more complex utterance for convenience.

of the attitudinal evaluations included in the associative field occur in the descriptions of the stimuli and their perceived American English features. Contractions (e.g. *wanna*, *gonna*, *outcha*, and *dontcha*) and the word-final realization of /t/ and /d/ are associated with a "lazy" (e.g. BE02: 54; AE25: 27) or 'unclear' (e.g. BE03: 34; BE08: 3) pronunciation. Interviewee BE02 expects American speakers to "shorten" (l. 54) words and expressions as a result of laziness:

> Well, from what I know about Americans like they say, "y'all" like they very, they shorten quite a bit of it. So *wanna* is another shortened version. It's like lazy English in a way. (BE02: 54)

Interviewee BE11 does not "expect Americans to pronounce <t>s very well" (l. 13). Here, she refers to the feature of /t/-flapping, which is devalued as bad pronunciation:

> I don't normally expect Americans to pronounce <t>s very well but they did and I don't think they would generally speak like that, that is just an assumption. (BE11: 13)

And interviewee BE10 equates American English with *slang*:

> American is slightly slang, so perhaps it would just get much more casual with the way we speak and so I could mix them up, whether it sounds American or just slangy. (BE10: 103)

Negative affective terms characterize an American(ized) singing style as ***harsh*** (BE06: 50), i.e. "hard" (AE22: 59), "screechy" (AE04: 67), and "violent" (BE13: 75) or ***contrived*** (BE01: 98), i.e. "manufactured" (AE03: 121) and "cheesy" (BE24: 211). Using an Americanized singing style as a non-American English speaker in singing is perceived as ***inauthentic*** (e.g. AE07: 9; BE02: 114; BE08: 123). The item ***simple*** (e.g. BE01: 98) condenses both comments on social status, for example "stupid" (BE08: 45) and "over-simplistic" (BE01: 98), as well as rather negative affective ones, such as "flat" (AE20: 18), "bland" (AE22: 51), and "generic" (BE13: 168). British and American interviewees contribute equally to these three terms. The attitudinal descriptions ***manufactured***, ***contrived,*** and ***inauthentic*** also hint at the idea that an Americanized singing style is deliberately emulated to achieve financial success. In general, the negative associations characterize American English as mainstream, undefined, and somewhat uneducated. Nonetheless, it is considered suitable for performance purposes and is positively associated with values important for entertainment, i.e. it is intelligible and popular around the globe.

Focusing on the descriptive comments on pop music it becomes apparent that negative evaluations prevail. The interviewees largely define pop music as highly produced and manipulated. ***Autotuned*** voices (e.g. AE03: 79; BE04: 65; BE20: 52), i.e. recorded vocals changed with a computer program, and a generally

manufactured (e.g. AE03: 99) sound, i.e. somehow technologically adjusted or fixed, essentially characterize the pop genre. Furthermore, pop music is perceived to be ***superficial*** (e.g. AE03: 127; BE08: 121). The interviewees describe it as "devoid of character" (AE03:127), 'impersonal' (BE18: 207), and not dealing with "hard themes" (AE19: 121), which fittingly leads them to describe all pop music as "the same" (e.g. AE11: 199; BE04: 63; BE23: 168*)*, following a particular 'pop algorithm' (AE03: 127). The heavily produced instrumentals are similar, the manipulated vocals sound alike, and pop songs deal with superficial topics that reveal nothing about the artist. Ultimately, pop music is perceived as light entertainment in bland ***uniformity***. On the positive side, pop music is appreciated for its entertainment value – in particular because this type of pop entertainment is easily accessible. It is not only practically ***accessible*** because it is played on the "radio" (e.g. AE20: 59; BE04: 63; BE17: 122), but also musically, as it contains "catchy lyrics" (AE03: 127), "is easy to listen to" (AE20: 59), and "gentle" (BE07: 6). Finally, the interviewees describe pop music as strongly ***commercially*** oriented (e.g. AE24: 83; BE04: 56; BE15: 145). It is "very much about selling" (BE18: 207), the artists and their songs become "commodified" (AE25: 134) and they "make a bunch of money" (AE03: 141).

The boundaries between an American(ized) singing style and the pop genre as well as between positive and negative evaluations are fluid. Associations with pop music can affect attitudes toward American English and vice versa, especially because of their closeness and virtually constant co-occurrence – the similarities in the descriptions suggest that this is the case. The terms ***success*** and ***commercial*** are intentionally located in both positive and negative evaluations. On the one hand, emulating an American accent facilitates global success, which certainly is a great achievement many performers long for and many listeners view favorably. On the other hand, listeners will most likely suspect that the singer has only switched to an Americanized singing style for economic reasons, strategically choosing commercial success over artistic integrity; they are labeled sellouts. This associative field also shows that an American(ized) singing style and pop music share similar descriptive labels and attitudinal tendencies. Both are considered easily accessible and successful but also fairly contrived and non-descript. Interviewee AE03's utterance demonstrates how autotuning has become an index of American English and that the notion of pop music vocals being generic and nondescript also transfers to American English:

> But that seven and eight song sounded really autotuned, manufactured. When they do that, it always sounds American, because I can't really put… It just sounds very general, doesn't sound like anything. (AE03: 123)

The fact that an American(ized) singing style has spread around the globe evokes the idea that American English is simple and lacks in variation – just like the pop genre it is so intertwined with. Pop music is considered superficial, manufactured, and money-oriented. These values might transfer to the voice of pop music, American English, as well.

6.2.2 Associative field: Going local and rock music

Figure 19 depicts the associative field for the going local trend and rock music. Here, again, negative evaluations are on the left-hand side and positive descriptions on the right-hand side. In the interviews, the going local trend mainly focuses on local British vernaculars in general but not on a specific one. As comments made concerning rock and its subgenres are congruent with those uttered about the going local trend, a horizontal axis separating the two from one another becomes superfluous. It not only stands out that a vernacular singing style activates almost exclusively positive attitudes but also that it can be put in direct opposition to the American(ized) singing style and the pop genre.

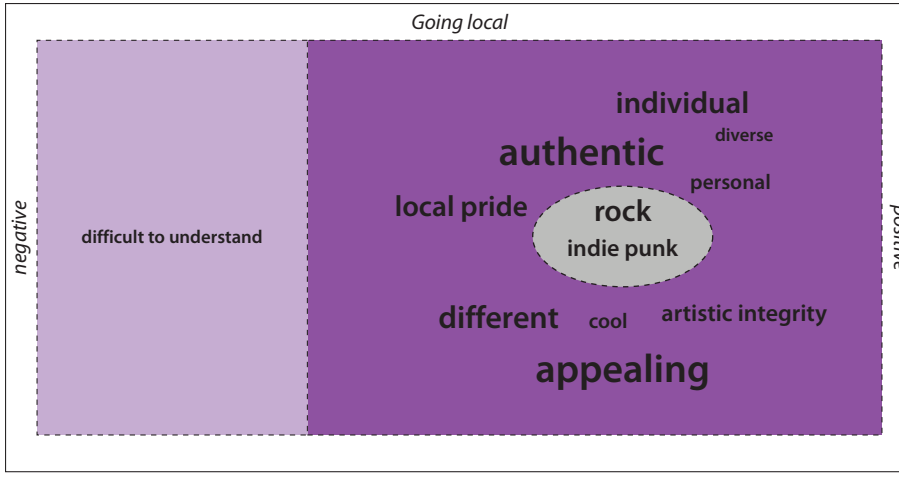

Figure 19. Associative field of the going local trend and rock music

The interviewees describe vernacular rock performances as ***authentic*** (e.g. AE03: 137; BE04: 96; BE06: 105), ***appealing*** (e.g. AE08: 124; BE07: 115; BE17: 110), ***cool*** (e.g. AE15: 114; BE08: 107), and noticeably ***different*** (e.g. AE02: 97; BE09: 141; BE11: 90) from mainstream music (which is considered *all the same*). It is different because it is perceived as ***individual*** (e.g. AE22: 100; BE12: 108), artists share ***personal*** experiences (e.g. BE13: 156; BE15: 145), and express ***local pride*** (e.g.

BE03: 132; BE06: 105; BE25: 128) with their voices which reflect their regional (and social) background. Moreover, rock as well as British English are considered ***diverse*** and complex. The participants assume that rock has various subgenres, such as indie, alternative, and punk (rock), and that British English is complex in that it is socially and regionally stratified, resulting in many different accents and dialects. Interviewee AE02 compares American with British English in terms of their diversity. She states:

> I think also because the American accents are more uniformed, and British accents say something about where you come from. They are really particular to a region, and in America it's just kind of flat across, everybody sounds the same.
>
> (AE02: 93)

Here again, parallels to the description of the genres pop and rock become obvious: Pop is ***uniform*** and Americans sound "the same," (e.g. AE11: 199; BE23: 168), while rock is diverse and Britons sound "particular to a region" (e.g. AE02: 93; BE17: 108). Furthermore, as an American(ized) singing style is associated with success and pop music is considered a money-oriented genre, rock artists who go local are described to choose artistic integrity over commercial success. Interviewee AE25 sums up perfectly how most of the participants perceive the different singing styles and the respective genres:

> I think pop is like very commodified so I think it's going to naturally be a lot more Americanized and I think rock, at least it's supposed to be kind of like opposite of commodification, so you should think there would be less of that. […] I mean pop is more American and I think I associate rock more with the UK, so it would be weird for them to… How would they benefit from putting on an American accent?
>
> (AE25: 134)

This quote shows how strongly the associations and attitudes play into the audience's expectations and the performers' language behavior. According to the interviewees, a British rock performer would be rather ill-advised to Americanize their accent because all the negative attitudes attached to it and by extension to the pop genre would be activated and damage their credibility. It would go against the norms and expectations of the rock genre. In music, local voices are described as "charming" (BE08: 121) and by the American interviewees in particular as "exotic" (e.g. AE05: 94; AE18: 115). Some interviewees also reveal positive attitudes generally associated with overt prestige as they describe British accents as "posh" (e.g. AE15: 112; AE25: 168) and "proper" (e.g. AE14: 73; BE03: 34). It is noticeable that British interviewees refer to such descriptions when explicitly talking about a Southern British accent which they assume reflects a prestigious standard British English pronunciation or when they describe what, for instance, Americans think about British English accents. The American interviewees, on the other hand,

mainly distinguish between American English and any type of British English accent, the latter always being more overtly prestigious.

> I mean, I think like it's posh even if it's like not a posh British accent it sounds posh to Americans. We use British accents for everything even remotely intellectual, so it's like automatically if it's British, it's posh, yeah. (AE25: 168)

Moreover, ten American interviewees think that generally Americans could at the most differentiate between standard and non-standard British accents. Interviewee AE16 evaluates the situation as follows:

> We [Americans] would be able to hear much less distinctions. I think a lot of people know the Cockney accent versus, you know, like the Queen's English accent. They would be able to recognize that but wouldn't have the same associations of like, "Oh, that's a Northern accent and that means this or, you know." So, yes, but not to the extent that other like British listeners. (AE16: 122)

Since a Standard British English accent is very rarely heard in rock music, its evaluation is irrelevant to the associative field presented here. Either way, in music performances British accents enjoy prestige and encourage positive attitudes. Again, the fact that local accents in music are evaluated so favorably and activate positive social meanings might also be transferable to non-performance contexts. The interviewees' attitudes support Mugglestone's (2003) notion of a "rise of the regional" (p. 273), which could be "linked to a general upsurge in the vitality of popular culture" (Coupland 2007: 69). The only downside of the going local trend is that the audience might have difficulties understanding particular accents (BE12: 55), but this seems to be a minor issue.

CHAPTER 7

Discussion

The analysis of the interviews shows that, in general, the British and American students who participated in this study demonstrate a great awareness of language modification in music, and that they are able to detect, describe, and allocate many linguistic features to accents or varieties, in particular. They also reveal that non-linguistic features, such as the music genre, do not only influence their evaluation process, but are so closely connected to certain singing styles that activated social meanings become transferred to and take part in shaping associative, and hence the indexical fields of accents. In this section, the results are contextualized and discussed in the light of previous research, theories, and notions reviewed in Sections 2 and 3. In the course of this, the research questions (RQ1 to 4) posed in Section 3.3 are revisited and answered.

7.1 Perception of linguistic and non-linguistic features in the stimuli

The first research question (RQ1) aims at finding out whether typical American and/or British phonetic features are actually recognized as American or British by the participants. In this case, 'typical American and/or British phonetic features' refer to the USA-5 model (Simpson 1999, Trudgill 1983) and its British equivalents. Further vowel and consonant features identified and perceived as distinctly British or American are presented as well. The following graphs depict the total amount of vowel and consonant features most frequently perceived as American or British by the participants. The interviewees' description of American vowels within all stimuli demonstrates that the USA-5 model comprises the most telling features. Accordingly, PRICE monophthongization (n = 41), unrounded LOT (n = 26), and the American BATH vowel (n = 17) are among the vowel features recognized most often (see Figure 20). Nonetheless, a closer look reveals that it is not solely the American BATH vowel /æ/ that is noticed in contrast to the British equivalent /ɑː/ (or Northern English [a]), but more generally /æ/-raising (and tensing, n = 32; *BEn* = 19), which concerns BATH as well as TRAP variants and is currently underway in America (Labov 2006: 175).[36] The participants also notice local features, such as

36. If an interviewee clearly juxtaposes the British and American BATH variants (e.g. *can't* [kɑːnt] as opposed to [kæːnt]), the example is coded as **B[ɑː]TH("broad"([ɑː])** or **B[æ]TH** respectively.

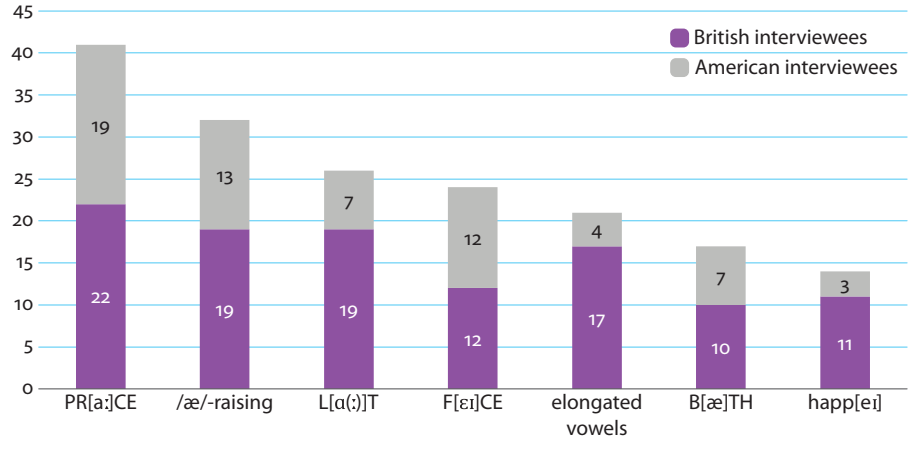

Figure 20. Vowel features perceived as American by the interviewees

Taylor Swift's rather Southern American FACE [ɛɪ] variant (n = 24). Elongation of vowels in general is considered a typical American English habit, especially by the British participants (n = 21; *BEn* = 17).

The tensing of the *happy* vowel resulting in a diphthong [ɪi~eɪ], which, for instance, turns *party* [pɑ˞ɾi] into [pɑ˞ɾeɪ], sometimes also spelled <partay>, or *me* [mi] into [meɪ], is interpreted as typically American (n = 14; *BEn* = 11). This feature does not only fit the notion of 'elongated vowels' but is particularly interesting because it has been frequently used by prominent American pop music artists, especially in the late 1990s and 2000s. Nosowitz (2016) writes about this seemingly new but rediscovered and fashionable pronunciation feature and provides several popular examples for it. For instance, Justin Timberlake realizes *me* as [meɪ] in the N'Sync song "It's Gonna Be Me" (2000). Consequently, his conspicuous pronunciation of *happy* gave rise to various memes, (see: e.g., It's gonna be may [Digital image] 2014), and videos that prove the audience's attention and attraction. This is only one example that shows how the audience uses modern technologies to actively participate in the spread and reproduction of pop phenomena and reinforce the association of certain linguistic features with characterological figures (Agha 2003: 243).

Furthermore, Britney Spears' famous single "…Baby One More Time" (1998) as well as No Doubt's "Hey Baby" (2001) both feature the pronunciation of *baby* as [beɪbɪi~eɪ]. Further examples include Mandy Moore's song "Candy" (1999), in

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If this opposition is not mentioned and the interviewee instead only focuses on the diphthongization, i.e. raising, of BATH (e.g. *laughing* [læəfɪn]), it is coded as **/æ/-raising**. If an interviewee mentions TRAP (e.g. in *accident*) as being pronounced in an American way or delivers an imitation which involves diphthongization, it is also coded as **/æ/-raising**.

which the title word is turned into [kændeɪ], and Cee-Lo Green's pronunciation of *crazy* into [kɹeɪzeɪ] in the same-titled Gnarls Barkley hit (2006). Nosowitz (2016) explores several possibilities that could motivate pop singers to diphthongize *happy*, namely the singers' Southern American roots or a necessary physiological process (i.e. if a tense vowel is supposed to be sung with an intense and emotion-filled high note). But not all artists who diphthongize *happy* come from the American South, and those that do, do not use any other Southern American features in their singing or speech; and not all instances of diphthongized *happy* occur in high notes. Nosowitz (2016) finally concludes that the singers mentioned above use a diphthongized *happy* variant "without any of the physiological need for it. It's fake energy. Fake passion." Although the actual roots and development of this feature are difficult to trace (Karen 2017), it has certainly been made popular and gained global reach with some of the examples described above. The case of *happy* shows how one pronunciation feature has the potential to become indexed as a typical American accent feature through recurrence in a few crowd-pleasing pop songs. It has become part of a mainstream pop song accent. Nosowitz's (2016) description of this feature expressing 'fake energy and passion' also fits the stereotype that pop music is ***manufactured*** and ***superficial*** (see Figure 22). Interestingly, *happy* tensing (Wells 1982: 257–258) can as well be found in, for instance, London and Southeastern English as diphthongal *happy* variant (Altendorf & Watt 2008: 187; Harrington 2006). Still, only three participants (*BEn* = 2) associate this feature with (Southern) British English. All three instances are identified in The Subways' pronunciation of *party* – The Subways are from Hertfordshire and this feature might very well be part of their local vernacular. Nonetheless, in music, the association of *happy* tensing with American(ized) popular music prevails.

For the British vowels, the analysis demonstrates that the participants also perceive the vowels that are the British counterparts to the USA-5 model as typically British (see Figure 21).

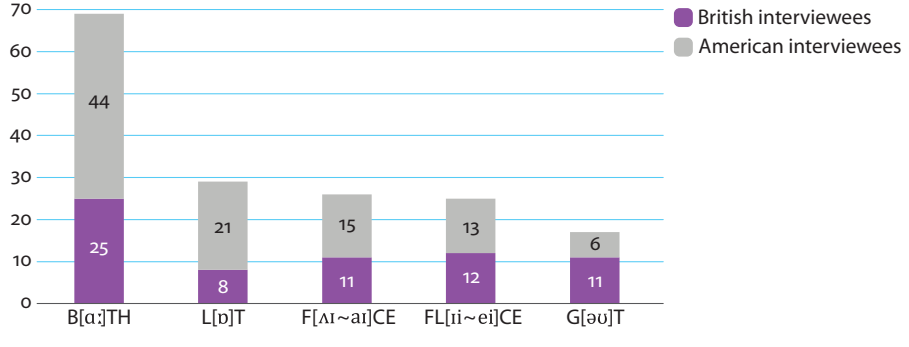

Figure 21. Vowel features perceived as British by the interviewees

The broad British BATH vowel (*n* = 69; *AEn* = 44) is most recognizable. The British BATH vowel is identified much more often than its American equivalent. This can possibly be ascribed to the fact that the American variant is so well-entrenched in music performances it is often 'overheard' or simply accepted as typical of singing. Moreover, the British BATH variant occurs in one very prominent, i.e. prototypical, lexical item: *can't* (*n* = 39; *AEn* = 25). Rounded LOT is recognized second most often (*n* = 29; *AEn* = 21), directly followed by local London and Southeastern English features of FACE (*n* = 26; *AEn* = 15) and FLEECE (*n* = 25) with a centralized onset and British English GOAT with a centralized onset (*n* = 17; *BEn* = 11).

Among the consonant features recognized and perceived as American, rhoticity (*n* = 90; *AEn* = 50) and /t/-flapping (*n* = 62; *BEn* = 50) score highest (see Figure 22). This validates the salience of the consonants belonging to the USA-5 model as well. Further noticeable features include the alveolarization of the velar nasal (*n* = 38; *AEn* = 20), retroflex /r/ (*n* = 27; *AEn* = 15), and word-final sonorization of the alveolar plosive /t/, or the omission of audible release for word-final /d/ (*n* = 18; *BEn* = 13).

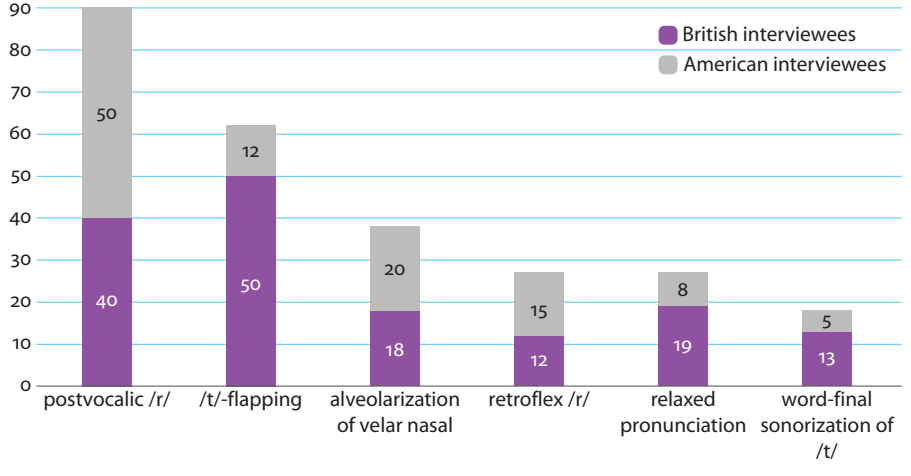

Figure 22. Consonant features perceived as American by the interviewees

As mentioned above, the latter supposed feature is partly misunderstood as /t/-flapping but nonetheless identified as typically American. For recording purposes, the audible aspiration accompanying these plosives is minimized by the singer or filtered out with recording techniques such as autotuning. A feature developed for a more microphone-friendly voice has become indexed as American through music recordings. Contractions turning *want to* into *wanna* or *going to* into *gonna*

are associated with a relaxed pronunciation and also considered American habits. /t/-flapping, word-final sonorization of alveolar plosive /t/, or the omission of audible release for word-final /d/, the alveolarization of the velar nasal, as well as certain contractions are often interpreted as lazy or unclear pronunciation – especially by the British interviewees. Consonant features in general seem to be recognized more often, hence more easily, than vowel features. This is probably the case because the participants, lacking the appropriate technical terms, find it easier to pinpoint and describe consonants than vowels. Moreover, the transitions between vowel variants are much more fluent than those of consonant variants. In general, vowel realizations are highly variable with consonantal context and stress, which may render a vocalic divergence from a supposed accent norm overall harder to perceive and detect.

The description of consonants perceived as British, again, corroborates the British consonants equivalent to the USA-5 model. Most notably, the interviewees ascribe a non-rhotic pronunciation (n = 98; AEn = 64), /t/-glottaling (n = 42; BEn = 22), and the retaining of intervocalic and word-final /t/ (n = 24; AEn = 16) to British English (see Figure 23). The non-rhotic pronunciation in particular seems to be a prominent and telling British feature for the American participants.

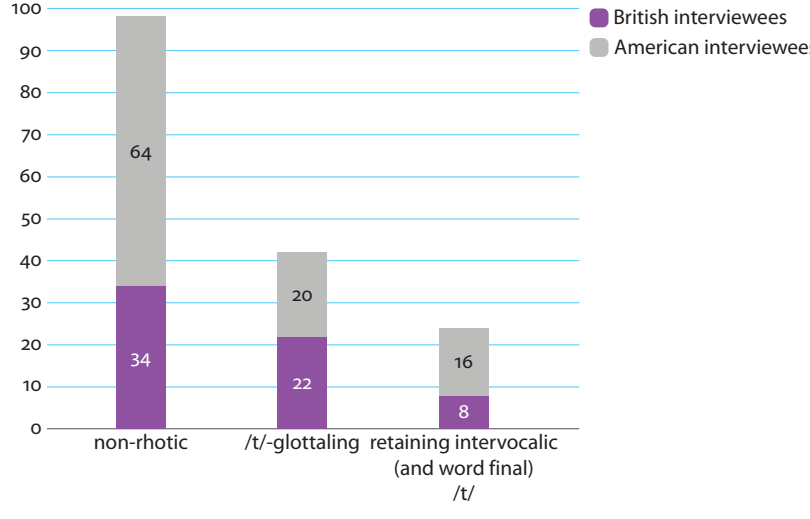

Figure 23. Consonant features perceived as British by the interviewees

Americans are quite vague when describing their own accent or an American(ized) singing style. Very often, they describe the perceived American accent in a stimulus as 'familiar' (AEn = 63, see Figure 24), i.e. nothing stands out against their

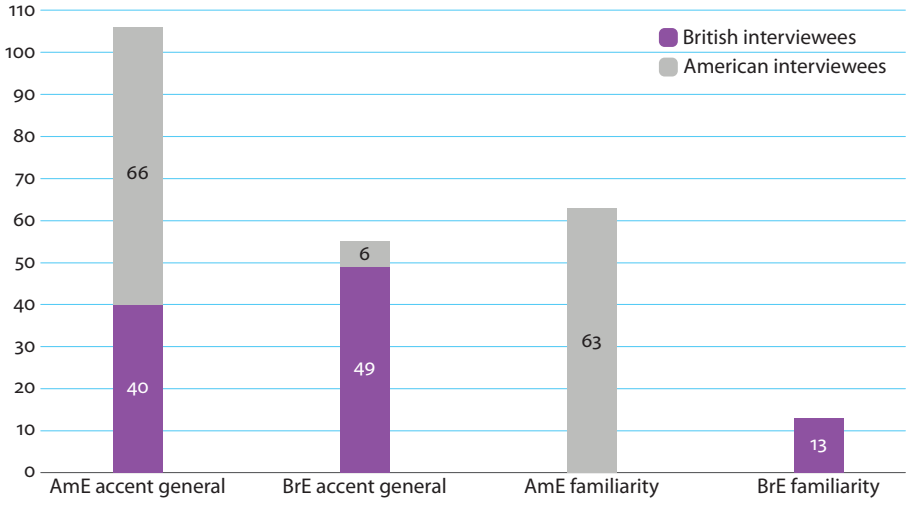

Figure 24. General accent descriptions for British and American English by the interviewees

own pronunciation and the performance is basically considered 'accentless,' or they describe the voice as sounding American in general without any further specification (*AEn* = 66). In contrast, they seldom describe a stimulus as British in general (*AEn* = 6). A possible explanation for this is that, on the one hand, the American interviewees often accept a performance, even if they notice minor differences to their own accent, such as an only slightly rhoticized performance, as genuinely American. If, on the other hand, they do identify a performance as British (or from Australia/New Zealand), they can point to particular accent features, especially local ones, as they are most clearly distinguishable from their own, to corroborate their perception. Although they might identify features that diverge from their own accent, they still admit to having difficulties in differentiating between various British-influenced accents and varieties. The British participants use both the descriptions **AmE general accent** (*BEn* = 40) and **BrE general accent** (*BEn* = 49) almost equally frequently for both accents. And they also rarely (*BEn* = 13) refer to **familiarity** as an explanation for identifying a stimulus as British. The British interviewees might have a much narrower definition of what they deem familiar. As the majority of them comes from the North of England, they might not perceive The Subways' London and Southeastern accent as similar to their own.

The second research question (RQ2) explores which other features (linguistic and non-linguistic) prompt a response and affect listeners' evaluations (see Figure 25). The results show that lexical items (e.g. *awesome*) or particular phrases (e.g. *awesome party*, *hanging out*) are associated with American language and culture and carry notable importance for interpreting a language performance

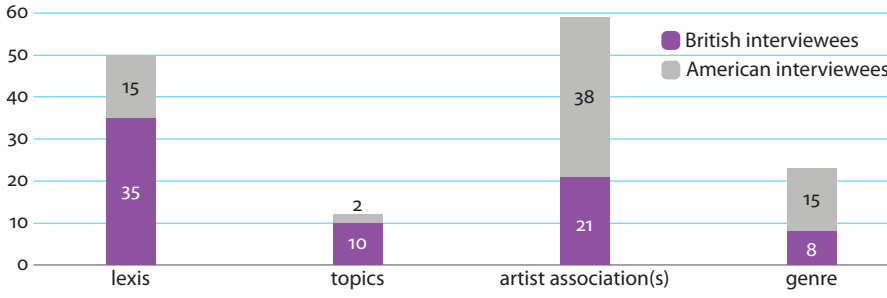

Figure 25. Other features perceived as American by the interviewees

as American(ized) (n = 62; *BEn* = 45). Similarly, specific topics (e.g. 'partying' or 'boy-meets-girl-themes') are more likely to be ascribed to American artists (n = 12; *BEn* = 10). A case in point is the evaluation of The Subways' song "It's a Party". Here, the 'party theme' was a decisive factor for interviewees to identify the band as American, although it was overwhelmingly perceived as British in their other performance (i.e. the "Celebrity" stimulus).

I previously argued, following Gibson's (2010) and Niedzielski's (1999) research, that background music can be understood as social information which possibly affects the listener's perception and evaluation. The results show that if the interviewees associate the stimulus with an American artist (n = 59; *AEn* = 38) or a music genre they consider typically American (n = 23; *AEn* = 15), they expect the singer in the stimulus to sound American as well. For instance, one British and six American interviewees imagine Cheryl to have British Caribbean roots; two explicitly associate her with Barbadian singer Rihanna. The interplay of the genre itself, a resemblance to Rihanna, and a non-standard British accent leads to such assumptions. Artist and genre associations can strongly influence the perception of linguistic features. The Olly Murs stimulus represents an exemplary case: Twelve interviewees compare him to Maroon 5 frontman Adam Levine mainly based on his vocal timbre and voice quality. Most interviewees identify Olly Murs' performance as American or Americanized and take no notice of British non-standard features, such as /l/-vocalization, in the song's most prominent word *beautiful*. Only one American participant notices the clearly non-rhotic pronunciation of *hard* and *disregard*. Jessie J is associated with famous American pop singer Katy Perry. She is pigeonholed as belonging to the female-led American pop genre Perry epitomizes and, therefore, is most prominently identified as American herself. These examples strengthen the notion that background music and previous listening experiences connect to how unknown artists are evaluated and their singing style is interpreted. Some artists have become characterological figures (Agha 2003: 243) or social types (Bell & Gibson 2011: 558). They are so strongly associated with certain speech styles

that if characteristic parts of their performances recur in those of other artists, the interviewees will be reminded of them.

The third research question (RQ3) investigates how British and American listeners' perceptions of the same stimuli differ. In particular, it aims at figuring out whether Frith's (1996: 167) expectation that Americans would more readily recognize British singers emulating an American accent than British speakers themselves, holds true. The results show that in fact the opposite is true – the British participants are more sensitized to identifying American(ized) features than the American group. Simpson (1999) demonstrates how sociocultural and political factors can affect singing styles. The interviewees' reactions show that the same forces are at play in the perception of performances. For instance, interviewee BE06 demonstrates that America is perceived as the hegemonic cultural power that influences Britain so strongly that the accents "blend together" (l. 93):

> Yeah, it [British artists Americanizing their singing] happens. It happened to a remarkable amount. […] And now in the pop industry they're all quite Americanized. […] I think even if I try to sing, it kind of blends together with the American accent and the way they pronounce words. […] I think it's mainly because there's so much American music now because it's such a big country and a big culture-wise, it just influences us so much […] So, I don't know, maybe it's down to the pop industry, or the American music industry, yeah. (BE06: 93)

Interviewee BE11 describes another scenario in which British identity and language are endangered by America's cultural predominance:

> I would generally not like the idea of changing accent because it's kind of like possibly giving up your identity and as a smaller, there is many less British people than American people, you might have the fear of that kind of accent dying out in music. (BE11: 98)

Both quotes exemplify an underlying sentiment of a power imbalance between Britain and America in pop culture and the music industry. Language ideological bias and cultural insecurity make the British participants much more suspicious of and sensitive to any feature that is not directly assignable to a British accent. They often categorize such features as American(ized) because they feel American English has the strongest influence on British English. Overall, the British participants more often identify British singers as British or as British with an Americanized accent. The American interviewees seem more relaxed in the evaluation process and show a wide acceptance when it comes to identifying an accent as American. Even perceived linguistic 'oddities' do not necessarily challenge their assessment. For instance, AE13 says:

> [U]nless there's something drastically different about it, we won't notice that it's not American English. (AE13: 114)

7.2 British and American attitudes toward an American(ized) accent and local vernaculars in music

Research question four (RQ4) further investigates how British and American listeners evaluate artists' language behavior. This mainly concerns the participants' notions of an Americanized singing style and local vernaculars in music. The results of the discussion phase show how nuanced and balanced the interviewees elaborate on various motivations for singers' language modification in music performances. In fact, they unknowingly[37] argue similarly to almost every explanation offered in sociolinguistic research on music performances. Similar to Trudgill's observations (1983: 144), they describe America's cultural dominance as a major driving force behind the imitation of an American accent. While some of them see this process as an initiative act of identity paying homage to successful American artists and popular American genres, others follow O'Hanlon's (2006: 202) as well as Gibson and Bell's (2012: 160) explanations and interpret the use of an Americanized singing style as a well-institutionalized language behavior that occurs quasi-automatically, especially in particular genres such as pop. The desire to imitate role models and to follow well-established genre-related norms are equally recognized as important cultural motivations. Interestingly, sociolinguistic research in the field of music performances discusses the motivation of becoming commercially successful as a possible reason why singers emulate an Americanized singing style rarely and often only on a side note (e.g. O'Hanlon 2006: 202). Nonetheless, the results reveal how strongly the interviewees view this perceived Americanization of language and culture as a money-making strategy. It is not only the motivation named most often and almost intuitively first, but it is also evaluated quite negatively, especially by the British participants. They feel that if British singers choose to sound American, they sacrifice their artistic integrity and betray their identity in order to be successful in America and ultimately also internationally. Interviewee BE03 expresses her frustration with this situation:

> I think it's a shame that there is this need to kind of Americanize your music. […] I think it's just something that can't be helped and it's a shame for British artists. (BE03: 138)

The fact that an Americanized singing style is perceived as inextricably intertwined with pop culture, i.e. mainstream music, partly supports Beal's notion (2009: 229) that the USA-5 model rather indexes mainstream pop than Americanness. Her report on the Arctic Monkeys' open rejection of the USA-5 model as a mainstream pop accent with the aim of sounding different from the perceived homogeneity

37. Some interviewees say they have read texts on the topic, but they certainly are neither experts in the field nor have they conducted research on this phenomenon.

in the popular music industry is strengthened by the interviewees' assessments. And although there are tendencies detectable that show that the participants view this pronunciation pattern as either a hybrid or simply an entertainment accent, the notion of Americanness is still very much alive. America is perceived as the "cultural imposer" (Murphy 2018: 262), the American music industry as the gatekeeper to international success, and choosing an Americanized singing style as a conscious act of identity to reach a wider audience and to earn more money. Beal (2009) states that the Arctic Monkeys chose their Sheffield vernacular "at the risk of undermining their own commercial success" (p. 225). The interviewees clearly support the assumption that with a local British accent, a vastly successful career is extremely unlikely. If there is an exception, such as Sheffield's Arctic Monkeys (see Section 3.2.1), then again, they are scrutinized even more closely than before. Interviewee BE09 comments:

> I think it would have to depend on the band as well because like with the Arctic Monkeys, their accent is big part of their style, so I think if they change like, for example to an American accent, I think they'd probably lose quite a lot of fans just because it'd be quite a big change. (BE09: 133)

The Arctic Monkeys' perceived linguistic change and ideological shift as well as genre experiments (Flanagan 2019; Jansen & Gerfer 2019, forthcoming) have certainly disappointed core members of their Sheffield and Northern English fanbase. The developed associative fields (see Figure 18 and Figure 19) anticipate which social meanings might be activated when British listeners detect American features in the band's performances. The merging of their genre, i.e. formerly and originally indie rock, and a singing style now sprinkled with Americanized variants and topics creates an even more apparent discrepancy than if the band was considered pop. The One Direction case (see Section 3.2.3) has shown that the band members think an Americanized accent is typical of pop music, i.e. the genre-related norm, and that a local British accent would immediately make a song sound indie. According to their own statements, the band conformed to its record company's wishes and adopted an Americanized singing style (Moodie 2013). Interestingly, One Direction is brought up by eight interviewees ($BEn = 6$) as a typical example of a British band who became successful in America and internationally because they emulate an American accent. The associative fields presented in Section 7.2 support One Direction's as well as the Arctic Monkeys' statements from a listener's perspective. An Americanized accent is "authentically pop" (Bell & Gibson 2011: 565) and a local British voice in singing will immediately presuppose an indie or rock genre. The two singing styles and respective genres are so closely connected to one another that the values they index have become congruent.

Still, some interviewees also argue that the physiological process of singing itself can lead to an unplanned accent modification that results in voices sounding somewhat American. Coupland's (2009: 11) and Morrissey's (2008: 211) assumptions of singing-inherent pronunciation patterns echo through these explanations. The notion that American vowels are easier to sing than New Zealand variants, as is reported by New Zealand artist Dylan Story (Gibson & Bell 2012: 146), is also mentioned by the interviewees. The participants also reflect on the effect of different modes of discourse (Simpson 1999: 359–360) on the singing style. The fact that Jessie J uses her British vernacular voice to speak one sentence in the stimulus is considered normal. Joss Stone's case (see Section 3.2.2) has demonstrated the perceived limits of a widely institutionalized linguistic Americanization in performances. As a British artist, you may use an Americanized singing style, but you may not sound American in all other contexts, including 'normal speech.' Interviewee BE12 explains that speaking in another accent would "detach [Jessie J] from her own culture" (l. 110):

> So I guess she'd feel uncomfortable speaking in an accent that wasn't hers. (l. 59) [T]he line that's in her actual, original spoken accent, it adds a little something of individuality and I think people, you know, they are not asking her to completely mask where she's from or, you know, detach herself from her own culture.
>
> (BE12: 110)

Others, if only few, indirectly mention that language accommodation processes (Giles & Smith 1979) could lead singers to adopt an American accent. Living and working in America might lead singers to converge to their immediate environment.

Although the participants are very careful in openly expressing negative attitudes toward any culture or language, they clearly criticize the Americanization of British culture and music. However, instead of explaining the perceived downsides of this trend, they positively evaluate and support the presence of local accents in music. The British participants clearly perceive local vernaculars in music as part of their linguistic and cultural preservation. Negative status associations with local British accents are replaced with ideas of a young and modern Englishness that expresses local and cultural pride. In music, negative attitudes toward vernacular voices, which may be perceived as uneducated and old-fashioned, are ignored in favor of valorizing the local as fashionable and cool. The American interviewees simply support diversity in music. Even though they suggest a widespread American incompetence in differentiating between different British or British-influenced accents, they generally have positive attitudes toward British English, standard or non-standard. The American interviewees do indicate a cultural cringe situation in direct comparison to British English.

> My impression of Americans and their accents is that those who are maybe a little more international feel kind of embarrassed about their accent. So, I think a British accent still makes you think like, "Oh, high-class, or well-educated, or yeah, just classy." (AE16: 120)

They describe Standard British English as "posh" (e.g. AE15: 112; AE25: 168) and "proper" (e.g. AE14: 73; BE03: 34) and refer to it as "Queen's English" (e.g. AE3: 6; AE15: 114). Non-standard accents are also only characterized positively, as none of the negative status evaluations usually attached to vernaculars in Britain are part of the American interviewees' conceptions of local British voices.[38] Both interview groups describe local vernaculars in music as a positive trend that counterbalances the American-sounding mainstream. If artists 'go local,' they are considered 'down-to-earth and honest' (e.g. AE03: 137; BE15: 145). They demonstrate artistic and cultural integrity and jeopardize a possibly widely successful career for matters of authenticity and local pride. Their music is valued as it is perceived to be individual and of substance. An Americanized singing style, by contrast, indicates that a singer is in it for the money and to please the masses. Their music is not sophisticated but artificial and generic. It becomes indistinct and mainstream.

The language attitudes in general and those represented in the indexical fields in particular corroborate Garrett et al.'s (2005) findings. In their attitudinal study, they find that American English attracts many negative affective comments by their British participants. The negative affective category they created includes evaluations such as "'harsh,' 'ugly,' 'not a very nice accent to listen to'" (Garrett et al. 2005: 228), which are similar to those expressed in the interviews, for example "harsh" (BE06: 50), "hard" (AE22: 59), and "violent" (BE13: 75). Garrett et al. (2005: 228) notice three subthemes that emerge in their data, which also find equivalents in the interviewees' reactions. The subtheme of power and excess is reflected in the interviewees' recurring description of America as cultural power that dictates the rules of success(ful music). Especially the British participants indicate that they feel America's cultural dominance is encroaching upon British music. Garrett

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38. It has to be noted that some of the American students interviewed also share quite critical notions on America. For instance, AE12 thinks:

> America is very focused on itself. I think if there were like, I think that now that the US has committed suicide – Trump – that there will probably be a lot more desire or stuff to be like, maybe we will see more people trying to get their music played in Britain and what have you, but as in right now, I think it's a one-way street. I think the US still imagine themselves to be kind of like the top dog of everything, the top producer of everything; and I think that in that regard that's why musicians are probably trying to make themselves sound more American. (AE12: 105)

This quote also hints at Garrett et al.'s (2005: 231) and Simpson's (1999) suggestion that political events and issues (here: Donald Trump's presidency) might influence language attitudes and behavior.

et al.'s second subtheme of exaggeration is expressed in the interviewees' associations describing the American accent as, for example, "high-pitched" (BE10: 70), "whiny" (BE10: 70), and "squeaky" (AE04: 67). The third subtheme of insincerity occurs not only in accent descriptions as "contrived" (BE01: 98), "manufactured" (AE03: 121), and 'inauthentic' (BE25: 126) but also appears in associations with the pop genre, which is predominantly associated with America, and as being "auto-tuned" (BE20: 52) and manufactured, i.e. artificially modified. The indexical fields also show that long-held preconceptions about pop culture and music as well as about an American accent are persistent and not necessarily mitigated through occurring in performance-related contexts, but that those might as well support such negative attitudes. They might include that American English is admittedly suitable for entertainment purposes but therefore also simple, superficial, and not to be taken seriously.

The results strongly suggest that associations concerning pop music, positive and negative, are closely linked to language attitudes toward American English. The co-occurrence of American(ized) English and pop culture products reinforces the transmission and strength of shared activated social meanings. Similarly, associations with rock and indie genres are so strongly connected to local British accents that especially positive attitudes toward them are established and consolidated. The going local trend promotes vernacular forms. This kind of "vernacularization […] will also be reflected in changing norms and reflexive commentaries on usage; vernacular performances will be symbolically mediated into new contexts, and into popular consciousness" (Coupland 2014: 87). Vernaculars in music activate positive associations. Here, local forms serve as a symbol for authenticity and cultural pride as well as preservation. In such contexts, vernacular performances become iconic and spread through the audience across national and cultural boundaries, which might ultimately lead to a re-evaluation in 'popular consciousness.' They gain prestige and can become imitation-worthy codes, such as JC through reggae and dancehall, AAE through hip-hop, or Southern American English through country music (Duncan 2017; Mair 2013). The developed associative fields indicate this reflexive process between production and perception. The stimuli represent intentionally produced stylistic practices. The interviewees engage with these practices and compare and evaluate them against previously encountered performances. In such interactions, the audience's evaluations of style and attached social meanings are revealed and (temporarily) manifest themselves in associative fields. Rihanna's case (see Section 3.2.4) also demonstrates possible limits, even if surmountable, in deviating from the institutionalized Americanized singing style. If an accent or variety is not internationally well-known and widespread, singers might face unintelligibility issues and linguistic discrimination. This is also the only expected possible downside of the going local trend mentioned by the interviewees.

7.3 Reflections on data and method

The fifty interviews conducted give insight into the audience's perception of language performances, their evaluation of singing styles and genres, and into how these equally shape associative and eventually indexical fields. The participants' perception validates the USA-5 model and its British equivalents but also highlights the importance of other linguistic and non-linguistic features for the evaluation process that remained understudied so far, just as the audience's perspective itself. One undisputable advantage of qualitative data analysis is that several smaller results, in terms of numbers, can collectively give insight into a broader picture. For instance, looking at the stimuli separately, it might seem that a song's content does not play an important role in deciding on a language label. But focusing on the topics perceived as typically American and connecting them to the interviewees' metalinguistic description of American English, a picture of pop culture stereotypes unfolds. Findings that would probably get lost in quantitatively oriented research can be included in an in-depth contextualization of sociolinguistic issues. Moreover, apart from ensuring methodological rigor, the researcher as interviewer and analyst of interviews is sensitive to (linguistic and cultural) sentiments expressed by participants as well as to the development of recurring themes in the interviews. A transparent and comprehensible content analysis reveals if the researcher's intuition on trends perceived in the interviewees' reactions can be confirmed. Nonetheless, the contextualization of the interviewees' comments and reasoning is a crucial assignment for the researcher and only possible if the interviews are conducted attentively, data are thoroughly edited and read, and core statements are properly filtered and interpreted. The downside of this kind of qualitatively-oriented data collection and analysis is that the more data you collect, i.e. the more interviews you conduct, the less feasible it becomes for one person to manage the data amount as opposed to, for example, classic language attitudes questionnaires based on semantic differential scales. Finding a suitable sample size to identify attitudinal tendencies and meaningful results in general while keeping the data corpus manageable is challenging. The advantage is that the researcher can collect nuanced opinions and attitudes in their complexity and subtlety. The qualitative content analysis provides an ideal tool to investigate this 'richness' of data and to adopt a highly explorative and discovery-oriented approach. Nonetheless, the coding process is a laborious task that demands several repetitions, revisions, and adjustments. The greatest challenge was to categorize the participants' assessments into language labels and to structure their arguments and attitudes expressed in the discussion phase of the interview. It is important to keep in mind that an interview, no matter how properly structured, delivers spontaneous speech. It is a conversation situation that invites for longer monologues of the interviewees. They are seldom well-structured and at

times incoherent and contradictory. This certainly also reflects the complex relationship between different music genres and their conventions as well as listeners' expectations. The summary technique proved useful to filter core statements and to list them in tabular form. It provided a structured overview and could include utterances from other questions that nonetheless fit or even enriched the discussion. Constant intracoding in various intervals as well as intercoding when deemed essential, following a hermeneutic-interpretative process, is certainly the primary methodological challenge. However, what remained most important is that the audience, i.e. the interviewees, were provided with the opportunity to express their perception of and attitudes toward music performances freely.

CHAPTER 8

Concluding remarks

This study used sociolinguistic approaches from perceptual dialectology and folk linguistics. Fifty participants gave insight into the audience's perception of and attitudes toward stylistic practices in English (and American) rock and pop music. The interview technique allowed for an explorative investigation of the relationship between performances and listeners from an audience-centered perspective. It has shown which linguistic features are more central to identifying an accent or variety and which are more peripheral from the perception side. The assumed salience of the USA-5 model (Simpson 1999: 345; Trudgill 1983: 141–142) was verified. Nonetheless, further features, linguistic and non-linguistic, had an impact on the interviewees' interpretation of the stimuli. Genre and content turned out to be among the most influencing non-linguistic features. Concentrating on these two factors in a follow-up perception experiment could solidify the trends observed in this study. Is the singing style of the same performer(s) evaluated differently depending on changes in genre and differences in content?

Overall, the interviewees corroborate theories and notions emerging from the sociolinguistics of performance. Their thoughts on different stylistic practices are elaborate and almost identical with those of language experts. They expect pop culture in general and the music industry in particular to commodify singers and their performances. The interviewees show a great awareness of the inherent performativity and stylization of singing. They know that artists often modify their singing style and that such stylistic choices depend on various cultural and economic motivations. They realize that a certain discrepancy between a singer's speaking and singing voice is to be expected. What has become clear is that in the context of pop culture, listeners perceive America as the predominant cultural force. American English is considered to be the most influential and popular variety of English. Hence, the interviewees support Mair's (2013) notion that it is "the hub of the 'World System of Englishes'" (p. 260) and has an undisputed global reach. The American influence is also perceived as unilateral. Singers from around the globe are affected by America's cultural and linguistic dominance, whereas American performers are seldom perceived to be influenced by trends outside of their cultural realm. Emulating American English has led to the development of an Americanized singing style perceived to be the default code in popular music.

Going beyond a mere perception study that focuses on which linguistic features are identified as typical of a, for instance, American or British accent, a further aim has been to investigate the social values associated with the performed stylistic practices. While on the one hand, American English is positively evaluated as accessible and very likely to lead to success, on the other hand, it is characterized as simple and reflecting a bad pronunciation. British vernaculars, by contrast, evoke predominantly positive attitudes: They are considered authentic and representative of a stance against the American-sounding majority. It is important to keep in mind that context plays an important role here. Although the interviewees' reactions for the most part overlap with results from other attitude studies, future research could provide a direct comparison between language attitudes triggered through performance and non-performance contexts. Such a focus might reveal further similarities and more fine-grained differences in the evaluation of accents or varieties.

Indexical fields (Eckert 2008) describe social values attached to, for example, linguistic features from the production and perception side without establishing a boundary between the two. Speakers or singers employ indexed features to have a certain effect on the listener. This study has shifted the focus to the audience's perception and developed the notion of associative fields, which broaden the understanding of how social meanings become embedded and re-negotiated. What does the audience associate with particular features? Which perceptions, attitudes, and opinions are triggered? This approach provides the possibility of a more holistic perspective to enregistered forms and highlights the complex reflexive, cyclical process of speech production and perception. Intentional and associative fields complement each other and are not necessarily congruent. A British performer might use a particular accent feature to index certain values. For instance, they could incorporate /t/-flapping as a typical American feature to pay homage to American role models or genres; the audience, however, might evaluate this differently as an accommodation strategy to be more marketable in the US or even as betraying one's roots. When openly expressed, the audience's reaction might influence future stylistic choices of the performer and re-shape the social meanings attached to this pronunciation feature. For singers to trigger a particular effect, the audience needs to share the values of the intentional field. Moreover, the associative fields have revealed a strong connection between genres and stylistic practices: Listeners expect pop to sound American(ized). It is often referred to or even equated with mainstream music. Rock, on the other hand, is considered more individual and open to variation, even encouraging divergence from said mainstream. It offers a platform for local voices. The language attitudes toward an American(ized) singing style and British vernaculars become interchangeable with pop and rock genre associations, respectively, and vice versa. The perceived co-occurrence of a certain stylistic practice with a particular music genre leads to shared associations and attitudes.

This notion of separate associative and intentional fields creating complex indexical fields contributes to the understanding of language ideological processes and offers various possibilities of application for future research. Comparative studies contrasting singers' and audience's perception of the same stimuli could prove insightful. Perception data can be collected through interviews, questionnaires, and the like which rather elicit spontaneous data, or through specifically collected data such as comments on social media platforms, such as YouTube or Facebook (e.g. Jansen & Westphal forthcoming). It would be equally interesting to compare and contrast the audience's reactions from various sources or platforms.

On a larger scale, sociolinguistic notions on globalization, localization, and glocalization (e.g. Blommaert 2010: 23; Robertson 1995) may profit from considering pop culture products and people's perceptions of them. Both give insight into the push and pull of global and local forces, the importance of overt and covert prestige, and how these play a role in the emergence and development of genre-related conventions and evaluations of performers and their language use.

Especially in the context of performances, the listener's (or user's) opinion is key to success as the audience's voice gains more and more importance with growing participatory structures in online media. Audience members actively take part in shaping cultural values attached to language. This study has emphasized the hermeneutic circle of production and perception, giving the audience the attention it deserves.

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Auditory stimuli

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APPENDIX I

Orthographic and phonetic transcriptions of the stimuli

Stimulus 1

Lunn, B., Cooper, C., & Morgan, J. (2011). Celebrity. [Recorded by The Subways]. On *Money and Celebrity* [MP3 file]. London, England: Cooking Vinyl.

– The Subways. 2011. Celebrity, *Money and Celebrity*.

1 **she doesn't care about the silver screen**
ʃiː dʌzᵊnt keəˠəbaʊt ðə sɪlvə skɹeiːn

2 **she doesn't care about the music business**
ʃiː dʌzᵊnt keəˠəbaʊt ðə mjʉːzɪk bɪznɪs

3 **she doesn't care about arty scene**
ʃiː dʌzᵊnt keəˠəbaʊt ɑːtiː seiːn

4 **'cause all she knows is she wants to be famous**
kəzɔl ʃiː nəʊz ɪz ʃiː wɒnts tə biː fʌɪməs

5 **she wants to ride in a chauffeured car**
ʃiː wɒnts tə ɹɑɪd ɪn ə ʃəʊfɜːd kɑː

6 **her photograph in the morning papers**
hɜː fəʊʔəgɹɑːf ɪn ðə mɔːnɪn pʌɪpəz

7 **'cause in this world it's who you are**
kəzɪn ðɪs wɜʊd ɪts hʉː jʉː ɑː

8 **and all she knows is she wants to be famous**
ənɔl ʃiː nəʊz ɪz ʃiː wɒnts tə biː fʌɪməs

9 **she wants to be a celebrity with her face in a magazine**
ʃiː wɒnts tə biː ə səlɛpɹɪtᵊiː wɪθ hɜː fʌɪs ɪnə mægəzᵊin

10 **she doesn't care how you get her there**
ʃiː dʌznt keəˠɑːjə gɜʔ hɜː ðeə

11 **she just doesn't want to be alone anymore**
ʃiː d͡ʒəst dʌznt wɒnə biː ələʊn ɛnimɔə

Stimulus 2

Rossdale, G. (2011). The Heart of the Matter [Recorded by Bush]. On *The Sea of Memories* [MP3 file]. Hamburg, Germany: earMUSIC.

– Bush. 2011. The Heart of The Matter. *The Sea of Memories*.

1 **it's so easy to go and misunderstand**
ɪtsoʊ iːzi də goʊ ən mɪsʌndəstæn

2 **the distance we run**
ðə dɪstᵊns wiː ɹʌn

3 **with this violent heart**
wɪθ ðɪs vaɪlᵊnt hɑːt̬

4 **it's a dangerous world**
ɪts ə deɪnd͡ʒᵊɹᵊs wɝːl

5 **and each accident**
ænd iːt͡ʃ æksidənt

6 **brings us closer to those**
bɹɪŋz əs kloʊsɚ tuː ðoʊz

7 **who mean the most**
huː miːn ðə moʊst

8 **who mean the most**
huː miːn ðə moʊst

9 **fly straight to the heart of the matter**
flaː stɹeɪt tuː ðə hɑːɹʌ ðə mæɾɚ

10 **elevate through bad weather**
ɛləveɪt θɹuː bæd wɛðə

11 **strip away, strip away, strip away**
stɹɪp əweɪ stɹɪp əweɪ stɹɪp əweɪ

Stimulus 3

Hayward, M., Mardsen, R., & Richardson, E. (2012). The Devil Takes Care of His Own [Recorded by Band of Skulls]. On *Sweet Sour* [MP3 file]. London, England: PIAS Recordings.

– Band of Skulls. 2012. The Devil Takes Care of His Own. *Sweet Sour*.

1 **if you flip the rug then you reveal an ugly scene**
ɪf jə flɪp ðə ɹʌg ðɛn juː ɹɪviːl ən ʌgli siːn

2 **but the strength of ten thousand will never weaken me**
bʌt ðə stɹɛŋθ əf tɛn θaʊzᵊn wɪl nɛvə wiːkᵊn miː

3 **wit just like a razor blade you carve me half and half**
wɪt d͡ʒəs laːk ə ɹeɪzə bleɪd juː kaːv miː haːf ən haːf

4 **oh what better way to kill the time**
oːʊ wɑt bɛdə weɪ tə kɪl ðə taːm

5 **didn't you read it in the detail**
dɪdᵊnt juː ɹiːd ɪɾɪn ðə diːteil

6 **that if you're idle then you will fail**
ðæɾɪf jʊˠaidᵊl ðɛn jə wɪl feil

7 **now you want to know an answer**
naʊ jə wɑnə noʊ ən ænsəˠ

8 **well if you dance than you're a dancer**
wɛl ɪf jə dæns ðæn jʊɹə dænsəˠ

9 **the devil takes care of his own**
ðə dɛvᵊl teɪks kæɹəvɪz oʊn

Stimulus 4

Lunn, B., Cooper, C., & Morgan, J. (2011). It's a Party [Recorded by The Subways]. On *Money and Celebrity* [MP3 file]. London, England: Cooking Vinyl.

– The Subways. 2011. It's a Party. *Money and Celebrity*.

1 **I wanna leave this town**
a wɑnə liːv ðɪs tæaʊn

2 **I wanna travel south far yeah**
a wɑnə tɹævᵊl saʊθ fɑː jɛː

3 **I wanna meet you all**
a wɑnə miːt͡ʃuː ɒːl

4 **I wanna have some fun**
a wɑnə hæv sɐm fɐːn

5 **you wanna join me now**
juː wɑnə d͡ʒɔɪn miː nɛaʊ

6 **you wanna join me now**
juː wɑnə d͡ʒɔɪn miː nɛaʊ

7 **it's a party**
ɪts ə pɑːɾeɪ

8 **and don't you know it don't get much better**
ən doʊnt͡ʃuː noʊ ɪt doʊn gɛʔ mʌt͡ʃ bɛɾɐ

9 **we gonna make it such an awesome party**
wɪ gɑnə meɪk ɪt sʌt͡ʃ ən ɑːsəm pɑːɾeɪ

10 **and you should know it don't get much sweeter**
ænd juː ʃʊd noʊ ɪt doʊn gɛʔ mʌt͡ʃ swəɪɾɐ

11 **so here we go**
soʊ hɪə wiː gʌəʊ

Stimulus 5

Burton, B., Auerbach, D., & Carney, P. (2011). Little Black Submarines [Recorded by The Black Keys]. On *El Camino* [MP3 file]. New York, USA: Nonesuch.

– The Black Keys. 2011. Little Black Submarines. *El Camino*.

1 **treasure maps, fallen trees**
tɹɛʒəˠ mæps fɑːlən tɹiːz

2 **operator please**
aːpəɹeɪɾəˠ pliːz

3 **call me back when it's time**
kɒl miː bæk wɛn ɪts taːɪm

4 **stolen friends and disease**
stoʊlᵊn fɹɛndz æn dɪziːz

5 **operator please**
aːpəɹeɪɾəˠ pliːz

6 **patch me back to my mind**
pætʃ̂ mɪ bæk tuː maː maːn

7 **oh can it be**
oː kænɪt biː

8 **the voices calling me**
ðə vɔɪsᵊs kɑːlɪn miː

9 **they get lost**
ðeɪ gɛt lɑːst

10 **in out of time**
ɪn aʊt̚ əv taːm

11 **I should've seen a glow**
əʃʊdᵊv siːnə gloʊ

12 **but everybody knows**
bərɛvɹibaːɾi noʊz

13 **that a broken heart is blind**
ðærə bɹoʊ kᵊn hɑːt̚ ɪz blaːˈn

Stimulus 6

Cowan, A., & Johnson, J. R. (2012). Girl in the Mirror [Recorded by Cheryl]. On *A Million Lights* [MP3 file]. London, England: Polydor.

– Cheryl. 2012. Girl in the Mirror. *A Million Lights*.

1 **you can always sense with me**
juː kæn ɑːlweɪz sɛns wɪθ miː

2 **when things ain't quite right**
wɛn θɪŋz eɪn kwaɪt̬ ɹaɪt̬

3 **I bareley speak I can't seem**
a bɛəli spiːk aː kɒːnt̬ siːm

4 **to sit still tight**
tuː sɪt stɪl taiţ

5 **there's many things that run and pass through my mind**
ðəz mɛni θiŋz ðæt rʌn ən pæs θɹuː maː maːɪnd

6 **it's hard to show when you're the only one with your eyes**
ɪts haːd tə ʃoʊ wɛn jɔː ðɪ oʊnli wʌn wɪθ jɔːaɪz

7 **life expects me to be strong**
laɪf ɪkspɛkts miː tuː biː stɹɑ̃ŋ

8 **doesn't always mean I've got to sing that song**
dʌznt ɑːlweɪs miːn ɑv gɒtuː sɪŋ ðæt sɑ̃ŋ

9 **need to take it easy on yourself**
niːd tə teɪkɪt iːzi ɒn jɔːsɛl

10 **I need to take it easy on myself**
a niːd tə teɪkɪt iːzi ɒn masɛlf

11 **I've been picking little fights**
ɑv bɪn pɪkɪn lɪʔˢl faɪd̬s

12 **with the girl in the mirror**
wɪθ ðə gɜːl ɪn ðə mɪɹə

13 **with the girl in the mirror**
wɪθ ðə gɜːl ɪn ðə mɪɹ

14 **stressing me to be a woman**
stɹɛsɪn miː tə biː ə wʊmᵊn

15 **oh I don't need this today**
oʊ ɑɪ doʊn niːd dɪs tədeɪ

16 **I don't know quite what to say**
aɪ doʊnoʊ kweɪt̬ wɑːtə seɪ

17 **to the girl in the mirror**
tuː ðə gɜːl ɪn ðə mɪɹə

18 **I've been picking little fights**
ɑɪv bɪn pɪkɪn lɪʔˢl faɪd̬s

19 **with the girl in the mirror**
wɪθ ðə gɜːl ɪn ðə mɪɹə

Stimulus 7

Kelly, C., Murs, O., & Robson, S. (2012). Hey You Beautiful [Recorded by Olly Murs]. On *Right Place Right Time* [MP3 file]. Los Angeles, USA: Epic.

– Olly Murs. 2012. Hey You Beautiful. *Right Place Right Time*.

1 **hey you beautiful**
heɪ juː bjuːɾɪfˠʊ

2 **hey you beautiful, girl you knock me down**
heɪ juː bjuːɾɪfˠʊ gɝl jə nɑːk mə dæaʊn

3 **haven't seen you before, try to feel you out**
hævˠnt siːn juː bifɔˑ tɹaːɾə fil juːwaʊt̚

4 **die hard, disregard, coming out your mouth**
daːˈ hɑːd̚ dɪsɹigɑːd̚ kʌmɪn at͡ʃɐ maʊ

5 **but your body saying something else**
bʌʔt͡ʃəˑ baːɾi seɪjɪn sʌmθɪn ɛɫs

6 **you say that you don't, don't but I know you do, do**
jə seɪ ðæt jə doʊn doʊn bəţaːnou jə duː duː

7 **playing hard to get, get**
pleˈjɪn hɑːd̚ tə gɛʔ gɛʔ

8 **girl I'm on to you**
gɝl aːmɒntyjuː

9 **telling me no, no**
tælɪn mi noʊ noʊ

10 **you really mean ye- yes**
juː ɹiːli miːn jɛ jɛs

11 **Le-let yourself go, go**
lɛlɛt jəsɛlf goʊ goʊ

12 **why don't you confess**
waː doʊnt͡ʃu kənfɛː

13 **whoa feel your body calling out to me**
wohohoho fiːl jɔˑ bɑːdi kɑːlɪn aʊtə miː

14 **don't deny this electricity**
doʊnt diːnaː ðɪs iːlɜktɹɪsɪti

15 **know there's something dirty on your mind**
noʊ ðɛəz̩ sʌmθɪn dɝːɾi ɒn joʊ maːˈn

16 **you don't have to lie**
juː doʊn hæv tə laː

17 **no, you don't have to lie**
noʊ juː doʊn hæv tə laː

18 **whoa oh I know it, whoa oh you got it**
wohohoho a noʊ ɪt̚ wohohoho juː gɑːɾɪt

Stimulus 8

Kelly, C., Norman, C., Cornish, J., & Larderi, J. (2013). It's My Party [Recorded by Jessie J]. On *Alive* [MP3 file]. New York, USA: Republic Records.

– Jessie J. 2013. It's My Party. *Alive*.

1 **you're stuck in the playground and I'm a grown woman now**
jə stʌk ɪn ðə pleɪgɹaʊnd ænd amə gɹoʊn wʊmən naʊ

2 **considering you hate me, you're stalking like you made me**
kənsɪdᵊɹɪŋ juː haɪt miː jə staːlkɪn laɪk jə meɪd miː

3 **so why you acting like you're tough**
soʊ waɪ juː ɛəktɪn laɪk jə tɐf

4 **but now I thought you'd had enough**
bʌt naʊ aː θɑːt juːd hæd inɐf

5 **don't you get tired of being rude**
doʊnt͡ʃuː gɛt taɪdə biːɪn ɹʉːd

6 **aww, come and give me a hug dude**
ɑː kʌmən gɪmi ɐ hʌg dʉːd

7 **let's go**
lɛts goʊ

8 **it's my party, I do, do what I want do, do what I want**
ɪts ma pɑːdeɪ a duː duː waːda wɑːnt̬ duː duː waːda wɑːnt̬

9 **so while you sit and watch me**
soʊ waːl juː sɪt ən wɑːt͡ʃ meɪ

10 **I keep dancing alone da-dancing alone**
a kiːp dænsɪn ələʊn dæ-dænsɪn ələʊn

11 **so put this record on and keep it going 'til I say stop**
soʊ pʊt ðɪs ɾɛkɔd ɑːn ən kiːp ɪt gaːn tɪl a saɪ staːp

12 **if you were wondering if I give a damn, well, I do not**
ɪf juː wɜː wʌndɹɪn ɪf aɪ gɪv ə dæm wɛl aɪ duː nɑːt

13 **'cause it's my party, I do, do what I want**
kəz ɪts maɪ pɑːdeɪ a duː duː waːda wɑːnt̬

Stimulus 9

Jones, D., Poynter, D., Judd, H., Wayne, J., & Fletcher, T. (2010). End of the World [Recorded by McFly]. On *Above the Noise* [MP3 file]. London, England: Island Records.

– McFly. 2010. End of the World. *Above the Noise*.

1 **I thought I saw something moving**
aː θɑːdaː sɑː sʌmθɪŋ mʉːvɪn

2 **eyes in the dark**
aːz ɪn ðə dɑːk

3 **under a cloud of confusion**
ʌndəˑə klaʊdə kənfjuːʒˢn

4 **they're gonna tear you apart**
ðɛ gənə tɛə juː əpɑːɾ̥

5 **I heard that girls are from Venus**
a hɜːd ðæt gɜˑlzə frəm viːnəs

6 **and the guys are from Mars**
ən ðə gaɪz ɑː frəm mɑːs

7 **but in the end they all leave us**
bʌ̆dɪn ði ɛnd ðeɪ ɑːl liːv ʌs

8 **once they've destroyed your heart**
wʌns ðeɪv dɪstɹɔɪd͡ʒə hɑˑt

9 **looking in your eyes**
lʊkɪŋ ɪn jʊɹaɪz

10 **I can see forever**
a kæn siː fɔːɹɛvə

11 **I heard somebody say**
a hɜːd sʌmbɑːdi seɪ

12 **we're being hypnotised**
wə biːjɪŋ hɪpnoʊtaɪ

13 **and if it's true then**
ən ɪf ɪts tɹuː ðɛn

14 **I really think this could be**
aː ɹiːli θɪnk ðɪs kəd biː

15 **the end of the world**
ðə ɛnd əv ðə wɜˑl

16 **the skies falling down**
ðə skaɪz fɑːlɪn dæaʊn

17 **so guys grab the girls**
soʊ gaɪz gɹæb də gɜːlz

18 **and spread the word around**
æn spɹɛd ðə wɜːd əɹæaʊn

Stimulus 10

Swift, T. (2012). Stay Stay Stay [Recorded by Taylor Swift]. On *Red* [MP3 file]. Nashville, USA: Big Machine Records.

– Taylor Swift. 2012. Stay Stay Stay. *Red*.

1 **before you, I'd only dated self- indulgent takers**
bifɔˑː juː aɪd oʊnli deɪɾəd sɛɬf ɪndʊɬd͡ʒənt teɪkʰɻs

2 **that took all of their problems out on me**
ðæt tʊk ɑːl əv ðɛˑ pɻɑːbləmz æʊʔɑːn miː

3 **but you carry my groceries, and now I'm always laughing**
bət͡ʃuː kʰɛɻi maː gɻoʊsᵊɻiz ən naʊ am ɑːlweɪz ɬæəfɪn

4 **I love you because you have given me no choice but to**
aː ɬʌv juː bikəːz juː hæəv gɪvᵊn miː noʊ t͡ʃɔɪs bʌt tə

5 **stay, stay, stay**
steɪ steɪ steɪ

6 **I've been loving you for quite some time, time, time**
aːv bɪn ɬʌvɪn juː fəˑ kwaːt sʌm taːm taːm taːm

7 **you think that it's funny when I'm mad, mad, mad**
juː θɪŋk ðærɪts fʌni wɛn aːm mæd mæd mæd

8 **but I think that it's best if we both stay, stay, stay**
bʌɾaĭ θɪŋk ðærɪts bɛst ɪf wiː boʊθ steɪ steɪ steɪ

9 **you took the time to memorise me**
juː tʊk ðə taːm tə mɛməɻaːz miː

10 **my fears, my hopes, and dreams**
maː fiɻz maː hoʊps ən dɹiːmz

11 **I just like hanging out with you, all the time**
aĭ d͡ʒəs ɬaːɪk hɛŋɪn æʊt̬ wɪθ juː ɑːl ðə taːm

12 **all those times that you didn't leave**
ɑːl θoʊz taːmz ðət͡ʃu dɪdᵊnt liːv

13 **it's been occurring to me I'd like to hang out with you**
ɪts bɪn əkɜˑːɪŋ tə miː aːd ɬaːɪk tə hɛŋ æʊt wɪθ juː

14 **for my whole life**
fə maː hoʊl ɬaːf

APPENDIX II

Codebook

Code	Anchor examples	Coding instructions
INTERVIEW PHASE (with stimuli)		
ARTIST AND GENRE		
unknown	(LJ: Do you know the artist?) No, I don't. (BE02: 60)	This code is used when an interviewee does not know or recognize the artist and/or song.
Sub-Celebrity **Bus-Matter** **BoS-Devil** **Sub-Party** **BK-Submarines** **CC-Mirror** **OM-Beautiful** **JJ-Party** **McF-World** **TS-Stay**		Each song in the interview, i.e. everything that was said about a specific auditory stimulus is marked with a corresponding code. This gives the coder the possibility to investigate all overlapping codes with a respective song.
JJ (Jessie J) **OM** (Olly Murs) **SubC** (The Subways – Celebrity) **Bus** (Bush) **BoS** (Band of Skulls) **SubP** (The Subways – Party) **BK** (The Black Keys) **CC** (Cheryl Cole) **McF** (McFly) **TS** (Taylor Swift)	Yeah, that's Jessie J. (BE06: 67) I'm not sure what I make of that one. At first I thought it might have been Olly Murs(#"Ollie Murs?" added) because it sounded like Olly Murs but I wasn't sure. (BE12: 64)	The following codes are used when an interviewee identifies the performer, even if unsure. The respective performer's initials are used as code.

Code	Anchor examples	Coding instructions
SubC associations **JJ associations** **Bush associations** **BoS associations** **SubP associations** **BK associations** **CC associations** **McF associations** **TS associations**	Reminded me of Kaiser Chiefs actually. (BE13/01SubC: 10) I think it's Katy Perry, isn't it? (BE17/08JJ: 67)	If the performers are compared to other artists, the respective performer's initials plus "associations" are used as code to collect such associations.
genre pop	Yip, and it's dance(#"Dance" added), pop music. (BE12: 51)	Each song is coded for genre according to the initial classification of the author into either pop or rock. The interviewees' genre associations are ascertained as well and subcoded with the respective genre name given. The anchor example is coded once for **genre pop** in general and subcoded additionally for **dance**.
genre rock	I guess I would call this one indie rock(#"Indie Rock" added). (AE01: 29)	Each song is coded for genre according to the initial classification of the author into either pop or rock. The interviewees' genre associations are ascertained as well and subcoded with the respective genre name given. The anchor example is coded once for **genre rock** in general and subcoded additionally for **indie rock**.

Code	Anchor examples	Coding instructions
	LANGUAGE DESCRIPTIONS	
LANGUAGE LABELS The following ten codes are the interviewees' language descriptions of the performed singing styles. The coding unit for the perceived performed language is the complete song, i.e. all utterances referring to the respective stimulus. The anchor examples only show an excerpt of the entire coding unit which includes the main statement. Only one code per song can be allocated. The coder should consider the entire interview to assess individual statements made resulting in the interviewees' perceptual evaluation.		
AMERICAN+++		This code applies when an interviewee is firmly convinced that the artist comes from American or sounds American. Such a case occurs when
	a. For this one I'd definitely say American(#"American" added). (AE01: 14)	a. an intensifier is used to emphasize the certainty that the singer is American/the accent sounds American (e.g. *definitely*, *very*, *absolutely*, etc.).
	b. I think they're American. It sounds like Maroon 5. (AE20: 59)	b. the artist is either identified (despite degree of certainty) or other American artists are named as being similar, reminding an interviewee of an American artist.
	c. I think this person is from America, maybe even the South. It had kind of like that country pop twang to me. (AE20: 78)	c. a particular region/accent/dialect/sociolect is added to specify the singer's origin or performed accent. Descriptions like *twang(y)* or *drawl* are also counted as specifications which support the perception of an American(-ized) performance. In the latter two cases, specification is understood as displaying a certain confidence in the choice of language allocation.
	* Yeah, it's sort of for me indistinct North American. Could be US American, could be Canadian but I would probably put it somewhere in the US. (AE15: 55)	* Canadian English is not an independent code. It is coded with **AMERICAN** because either the interviewees did not differentiate between American and Canadian English and considered them one variety without great differences, particularly in singing; or because no feature was named to substantiate choosing Canadian English. Nonetheless, such cases are coded with **Canada** under **America/n(-ized) further specification** to ascertain this information.

Code	Anchor examples	Coding instructions
AMERICAN++	I am going to say he was American. (AE05: 63)	This code applies when the accent or other leads an interviewee to believe that the artist comes from American or sounds American.
AMERICAN+	[N]othing sounded terribly un-American to me. […]	This code applies when an interviewee believes that an artist comes from America or sounds American but mitigates the statement expressing doubt. Such a case occurs when
	a. I have a feeling it's not American but I can't place it anywhere else. (AE16: 37)	a. it is mentioned that, although the performance sounds somewhat American, the singer is possibly a non-native speaker of English or at least not American.
	b. Either American or English, very hard. I am going to say American but it could be English too. But final answer is American. (BE10: 87)	b. an interviewee is clearly torn between various answers but in the end decides that the artist comes from America or sounds American.
AMERICANIZED BRITISH	I would say they were British but they were trying to sound American. (BE17: 28)	This code applies when the accent or other leads an interviewee to state that the artist sounds like a British singer putting on an American accent, using American features, or being influenced by American English.
BRITISH+++		This code applies when an interviewee is firmly convinced that the artist comes from Britain or sounds British. Such a case occurs when
	a. I'd definitely say that they have a British like background. […T]hey sounded very British I thought. (AE08: 33)	a. an intensifier is used to emphasize the certainty that the singer is British/the accent sounds British (e.g. *definitely*, *very*, *absolutely*, etc.).
	b. I want to say they are British but at first I thought it was Arctic Monkeys. […] Yeah, I don't know if it's them or not but that's what they sounded like. They sounded like Arctic Monkeys to me. So, I am going to say they're British. (AE20: 5)	b. the singer is either identified (despite degree of certainty) or other British artists are named as being similar, reminding an interviewee of a British artist.

Code	Anchor examples	Coding instructions
	c. I would say that the artist was English(#"English" noted). […] Southern English like towards London. It's kind of a little bit Cockney. (BE02: 58)	c. when a particular region/accent/dialect/sociolect is added to specify the singer's origin or performed accent. Descriptions like *twang(y)* or *drawl* are also counted as specification which supports the perception of an British(ized) performance. In the latter two cases, specification is understood as displaying a certain confidence in the choice of language allocation.
BRITISH++	I think they're from somewhere in England or Great Britain. (AE11: 3)	This code applies when the accent or other leads an interviewee to believe that the artist comes from Britain or sounds British.
	* Queen's English, I would say (l. 44). […] Yeah, or I could say Commonwealth English, I guess, with the exception of Canada. Yeah, Commonwealth English is a better description, probably (l. 48). […] Yeah, British English features then… I can't pinpoint so if they sound	* Labels such as Commonwealth English (or Queen's English) are not independent codes. It is coded with **BRITISH** because either the interviewees lumped together British, Australian, and New Zealand English as one variety without great differences or because no (convincing) feature was named to substantiate choosing
	Australian, British, and New Zealand-y to me. (AE03: 50)	one or the other. Nonetheless, such cases are additionally coded with **Commonwealth English** under **Britain/British further specifications** to ascertain this information.
BRITISH+		This code applies when an interviewee believes that the artist comes from Britain or sounds British, but mitigates the statement expressing doubt. Such a case occurs when
	a. They sound European. […H]e tries very hard to sound sort of like English. […T]here's some sort of twang there that is not English but he tries incredibly hard to get the pronunciation right (l. 18). […] Like British English, yeah. (BE20: 20)	a. it is mentioned that, although the performance sounds somewhat British, the singer is possibly a non-native speaker of English or at least not British.

Code	Anchor examples	Coding instructions
	b. I can't really locate it (l. 44). England or America. […] I am not entirely sure but the endings would, the end of the song would make me think more of like a British type of accent. (AE13: 50)	b. an interviewee is clearly torn between various answers, but in the end decides that the artist comes from Britain or sounds British.
AUSTRALIAN/ NEW ZEALAND	I would say perhaps like Australia, New Zealand. (AE11: 50)	This code applies when the accent or other leads an interviewee to believe that the artist comes from Australia or New Zealand or sounds Australian or New Zealand. *There is no separate code for New Zealand (English) because the interviewees only very rarely ever differentiate between Australian and New Zealand English.
BRITSHIZED AMERICAN	I would say it's an American band trying to be English. (BE23: 10)	This code applies when the accent or other leads an interviewee to state that the artist sounds like an American singer putting on a British accent, using British features, or being influenced by British English.
UNDECIDED	Like it could have been either Australian or American, because of the accent. I don't know exactly where they're from. (AE10: 4)	This code applies when an interviewee does not reach a decision on where the artist is from or which variety is used in the performance. Such a case occurs when an interviewee simply does not come to a clearly identifiable decision naming no or various possible varieties.
AMERICA/N(-IZED) FURTHER SPECIFICATION The following subcodes apply when further specifications on region, variety, accent, etc. are provided by the interviewees. Multiple codings within one song are possible for the purpose of collecting associations.		
America South/ country	And I'd say he almost sounds like he's from the South. He's got like a twang to his voice that I would put as more of a Southern US feature or like Tennessee, Kentucky area also. (AE04: 39)	This code applies when an interviewee allocates the performed language to any US Southern state (or city) as well as descriptions such as country accent/twang as they are intrinsically associated with the US South.

Code	Anchor examples	Coding instructions
Canadian	I think they might be American or Canadian. (AE21: 22)	This code applies when an interviewee allocates the performed language to Canada.
West Coast	In terms of the accent, it's kind of a bit tricky because like something, something told me like West Coast but I couldn't tell you exactly why I thought that. West Coast in United States. (AE05: 39)	This code applies when an interviewee allocates the performed language to a West Coast state (or city) such as California or Los Angeles.
East Coast	Yeah. Where would I guess? I mean, it's such a common accent across the United States to say the <r> so strong, so I'd guess maybe East Coast, possibly where there's some places where the <r>s aren't said as strongly. (AE02: 70)	This code applies when an interviewee allocates the performed language to an East Coast state (or city) such as New York or Boston.
AA(V)E	And that's definitely American, definitely more African American, yeah. (BE19: 104)	This code applies when an interviewee states that the performed language includes African American (Vernacular) English.
Midwest	So, I would say like Midwest American because that's where he's from, I think, yeah. (AE15: 43)	This code applies when an interviewee allocates the performed language to a Midwestern state (or city).
BRITAIN/BRITISH FURTHER SPECIFICATION The following subcodes apply when further specifications on region, variety, accent, etc. are provided by the interviewees. Multiple codings within one song are possible for the purpose of collecting associations.		
South (UK, Britain, England)	The UK, more from the South. (BE09: 53) Ok, definitely British of some variety. It sounds kind of just like sort of like east side of London, it borders on like pop Cockney. (AE15: 50)	This code applies when an interviewee places the performed language in the South of the UK, Britain, or England. This includes general descriptions, e.g., the South of England, or relatively precise descriptions e.g., London or Cockney.

Code	Anchor examples	Coding instructions
North (UK, Britain, England)	Somewhere around the North of England. (BE08: 8) I think it's a Geordie accent. (BE25: 59)	This code applies when an interviewee places the performed language in the North of the UK, Britain, or England. This includes general descriptions, e.g., the North of England, or relatively precise descriptions e.g., Geordie.
Caribbean	Some kind of British-influenced Caribbean, Trinidadian kind of pop music that can't quite shake, it's Afro-Caribbean reggae roots but it's trying to, to a certain extent. (AE07: 36)	This code applies when an interviewee places the performed language in the British English-influenced Caribbean.
British Commonwealth	I could say Commonwealth English (l. 48). […] British English features then I can't pinpoint so if they sound Australian, British, and New Zealand-y to me. Then I say that. (AE03: 50)	This code applies when an interviewee cannot or does not differentiate between British, Australian, and New Zealand English. In such cases, the interviewees often use the label Commonwealth English to refer to e.g., British, Australian, or New Zealand English as one group with similar features that cannot be differentiated.
Scotland	The <r> sounded a bit, not fully, but a little bit Scottish. (AE01: 49)	This code applies when an interviewee places the performed language in Scotland.
Manchester	I would have a guess, they could be from Manchester(#"Manc?", "London?" noted). (BE02: 4)	This code applies when an interviewee places the performed language in Manchester.
Ireland	I mean it could even be Irish or something. (AE14: 87)	This code applies when an interviewee places the performed language in Ireland.
South Africa	I would maybe say South Africa or something like that, perhaps. (AE07: 20)	This code applies when an interviewee places the performed language in South Africa.
working class	I also had some of, kind of what I associate anyway from this music, kind of like a lower class tinge to it (l. 8). […I] it could be like I said working class. (AE02: 10)	This code applies when an interviewee places the performed language in the British working class.

PERCEIVED FEATURES (LINGUISTIC AND OTHER)

General coding instructions for pronunciation features (i.e. VOWEL and CONSONANT features). Codes are applied as follows:

The general feature or variant, e.g., **B[æ]TH**, was coded only once per song if mentioned. The examples given for one variant were subcoded separately. This explains why the sum of examples can exceed the number of occurrences of the general feature (i.e. two examples are given for one variant):

> But then like for example, they said [ænsəˑ](*#answer*)(#<ans> circled, "american" noted) and that sounded American. And [dænsəˑ] as well (AE17/BoS: 26).
>
> ➔ Code **B[æ]TH** applies once. Additionally, the two examples given are subcoded with **d[æ]nce/r/ing** and **[æ]nswer**.

Since most interviewees lack the proper terminology for defining linguistic phenomena, the coder needs to draw this information from metalinguistic descriptions or imitations. For the latter, phonetic transcriptions are provided in the interview transcripts:

> [S]he says it in the way the Americans do. She like says [pɑːɹeɪ] and that kind of like struck me when I was thinking about it (BE21/JJ: 40).
>
> ➔ Here, the imitation suggests three pronunciation features, namely rhoticity, /t/-flapping, and the diphthongization of *happy*. In some cases, the imitation includes even more features than (explicitly) named by the interviewee.

If a variant is only named once and only one example is provided or several examples are provided but come from the same interviewee, such cases are not included in the codebook.

BRITISH ENGLISH

PRONUNCIATION features ascribed to British English

BrE accent general		This code applies when the interviewee
	a. I think they're from the UK. I don't know why again. I would like to give you a specific example but I would just say generally his accent sounds as if he's from, sounds like he's British. (BE15: 50)	a. does not name any particular pronunciation features but states that the accent used in general sounds British English.
	b. But then there was two parts the word acting but I don't remember how she's sung it but it sounded like UK. (AE06: 45)	b. gives an example for an unidentifiable or unverifiable British English pronunciation feature. In such cases, the code is used even if other identifiable features are named to represent the interviewee's impression.

BrE familiarity	If I don't hear something to make me think it's from somewhere else, I just assume it's from the UK because it feels more normal. (BE09: 109)	This code applies when a British interviewee argues that the accent heard sounds familiar, i.e. like they themselves sound; or when the stimulus is described as having no accent (other than the one considered 'normal,' i.e. the one the interviewee has).
strong BrE accent	That one for me is definitely very British. (AE15: 35)	This code is used when an interviewee emphasizes that the accent or parts of the accent heard are strong. Equivalent intensifiers include, e.g. *heavy*, *thick*, *very*, etc.
BrE prosodic features	Or also *magazine*(#<mag> underlined) is *magazine*(#singing the word) because, I think, I don't think the stress would be on the first <a> in American. That's to me how it's some of the things that sounded more English. (BE08: 3)	This code applies when an interviewee describes any type of prosodic feature (e.g. intonation, voice quality, stress, and rhythm) as typical of British English.
BrE nasality	It was very, very nasal and also on the <-zine> syllable of *magazine*(#<zine> circled, "nasal" added), yeah. (BE13: 10)	This code is used when a nasal pronunciation, generally or of a specific feature, is perceived as typically British.
BrE drawl	In comments: "drawl" added. (BE13: 14)	This code applies when the performance is described as having a British drawl.
BrE twang	I felt that there was a London twang or an English, certainly an English twang. (BE01: 43)	This code applies when the performance is described as having a British twang (of some sort).
spoken part JJ BrE	The only indication that I have that it's probably from somewhere in the UK is this kind of spoken line, like *come give me a hug dude*(#put in square brackets). There was, I don't know what it was, but it just sounded British to me. (AE15: 59)	This code is stimulus-specific and refers to the Jessie J sample, in which she speaks one sentence instead of singing it. The code applies when an interviewee emphasizes that this sentence, in particular, sounds British.
BrE comparison	Or like, he said [gɜ˞ːls] (#*girls* circled), not [gɜːls]. (AE20: 71)	This code applies when an American interviewee names a British English feature in comparison to an American English feature they identify in the stimulus.

inner-British comparison	It's just because of the way that they pronounce certain words like, well I'm from the North so I'd say [fəʊtəgɹɑːf] but they say [fəʊtəgɹɑːf](#*photograph*, <graph> underlined) and it sounds quite… There are certain sounds that they make that sound very Southern British. (BE12: 8)	This code applies when a British interviewee draws a comparison between different British accents, mostly referring to the North-South divide.
VOWEL features ascribed to British English		
BrE vowels general	a. Yeah, just in how, especially I think with how the vowels sound and things like that. I am still not familiar with the terms I'm supposed to be familiar with. So, I just heard what sounded to me like what I equate with a British accent or something like that. (AE21: 10) b. I circled *magazine*(#circled), because it's like [meɪ], with the [æɪ]. For me the <mag>, I would say [ma ɑ] (AE01: 8).	This code applies when an interviewee a. does not name any particular vowel as sounding British but states that the vowels in general sound British. b. gives an example for an unidentifiable or unverifiable British English vowel. In such cases, the code is used even if other identifiable vowels are named to represent the interviewee's impression.
BrE elongated vowels	But in terms of the accent, I think it's very like sample one in the sense that everything's elongated. In particular the *have some fun, now* and *sweeter*. (BE20: 33)	This code is used when an interviewee describes the elongation of vowels as a British English feature.
B[ɑː]TH ("broad" [ɑː]) (Altendorf & Watt 2008: 194)	She was British(#"British" added) because of the way she said [kɒːnt](#*can't* underlined) as opposed like [kænt]. (BE12: 51)	This code is used when the British BATH vowel [ɑː] is identified as a British feature within a stimulus. The examples given are subcoded separately and named accordingly, i.e. the anchor example is subcoded with **c[ɑː]n't**.
FL[ɪi~ei]CE (Altendorf & Watt 2008: 206)	The UK. Basically just because of the pronunciation of like [skɹeɪn](#*screen*, <een> highlighted and circled). (AE25: 4)	This code is used when an interviewee describes the Southeastern/London FLEECE variant [ɪi~ei] (London Diphthong Shift) as a noticeable British feature within a stimulus. The anchor example is further subcoded with **scr[ɪi~ei]n**.

F[ʌɪ~aɪ]CE (Altendorf & Watt 2008: 205–206)	And the way they said *famous*(#<am> circled), they got [faɪməs] so the <a> the long <a> sound kind of put it on to me that they were from England or trying to imitate an English accent. (BE21: 4)	This code is used when an interviewee describes the Southeastern/London FACE variant [ʌɪ~aɪ] (London Diphthong Shift) as a noticeable British feature within a stimulus. The anchor example is further subcoded with **f[ʌɪ~aɪ]mous**.
L[ɒ]T	Yeah, the <o> is how you pronounced it, like kind of [gɒt](#circled) sort of thing, and not like [gɑːt]. (AE13: 66)	This code is used when the British rounded LOT vowel [ɒ] is identified as a British feature within a stimulus. The anchor example is further subcoded with **g[ɒ]t**.
G[əʊ~ʌʊ]T	I don't know them but I would guess, well, the way they are speaking they are from the UK, maybe England. I am guessing that because of the pronunciation of […] [ʃəʊfəːd kɑːt](#<au> circled, imitated without /r/). (AE13: 5)	This code applies when an interviewee describes GOAT realized as [əʊ~ʌʊ] and ascribes this to a British English accent. The anchor example is further subcoded with **ch[əʊ~ʌʊ]ffeured**.
G[ʉː]SE (Altendorf & Watt 2008: 206)	But then when she spoke *awww, come and give me a hug dude*, sounded British, like the way she said *dude*(#underlined, "B, dude, British" noted). It's like [dʉːd] which sounded more British to me. (AE19: 58)	This code is used when an interviewee describes the Southeastern/London GOOSE variant [ʉː] (London Diphthong Shift) as a noticeable British feature within a stimulus. The anchor example is further subcoded with **d[ʉː]de**.
TH[ɔː]GHT	[fɔːlɪŋ](#*falling*, "fahling" added) *down* instead of [faːlɪŋ] down, that was too <o> sounding. (AE04: 84)	This code is used when the British THOUGHT vowel [ɔː] is identified as a British feature. The anchor example is further subcoded with **f[ɔː]lling**.
M[æʊ]TH (Altendorf & Watt 2008: 191)	*town*(#underlined, <o> circled), he said the <o> differently. (AE22: 35)	This code is used when an interviewee describes the Southeastern/London MOUTH variant [æʊ] (London Diphthong Shift) as a noticeable British feature. The anchor example is further subcoded with **t[æʊ]n**.

TR[a]P (North) (Beal 2008: 121)	Again, because the vowels but this time I specifically heard like the <a> in like *patch me* [bak], it was like a longer <a> in *back* and words like that. (BE09: 55)	This code is used when an interviewee describes the Northern English TRAP variant [a] as a noticeable British feature in a stimulus. The anchor example is further subcoded with **b[a]ck**. *The Northern TRAP variant is perceived by some interviewees in some instances but is not actually realized in one of the stimuli.
PR[ɑɪ~ɒɪ]CE (Altendorf & Watt 2008: 205–206)	But also once with *guys*(#circled), [gɑɪs]. (AE17: 83)	This code is used when an interviewee describes the Southeastern/London PRICE variant [ɑɪ~ɒɪ] (London Diphthong Shift) as a noticeable British feature in a stimulus. The anchor example is further subcoded with **g[ɑɪ~ɒɪ]s**. *The London and Southeastern PRICE variant is perceived by some interviewees in some instances, but is not actually realized in one of the stimuli.
STR[ɐ]T (Altendorf & Watt 2008: 204)	Yeah, [fɐːn], there was like a slight… like it was a bit deeper rather than like, I feel like American… At least my American accent is more at the front. Yeah, so the vowels went a bit deeper into the throat, I guess. (AE25: 48)	This code is used when an interviewee describes the Southeastern/London STRUT variant [ɐ] as a noticeable British feature in the stimulus. The anchor example is further subcoded with **f[ɐ]n**.
happ[eɪ] (Altendorf & Watt 2008: 204)	They're British. It's probably a same sort of accent to the first one. Southern, like [pɑːtei] (#"partay" added). (BE07: 37)	This code is used when an interviewee describes the diphthongization of tensed/relatively high front happy to FACE, an upgliding diphthong with half-close onset [eɪ], as a noticeable British feature. The anchor example is further subcoded with **part[eɪ]**.
PR[ɑː]CE (Beal 2008: 134–135)	I think it's a Geordie accent. Is it Cheryl Cole? I think it's Cheryl Cole because she says like […] [mɑːsɛlf](*#myself*, "ma" added) […], which is like a Northern British accent? (BE25: 59)	This code is used when an interviewee describes the monophthongized PRICE variant [ɑː], as found in the "'middle North,' including West and South Yorkshire", and ascribes this pronunciation to British English. The anchor example is further subcoded with **m[ɑː]self**. *Cheryl Cole is from Newcastle/Tyneside, where a narrower variant [ɛɪ] is to be expected. She does not actually produce [ɑː] in the two words mentioned for this category.

STR[ʊ]T (Beal 2008: 121–122	It was straight, very [rʊg] kind of,(#giggles) just like English people would say it. I don't know, I'm guessing really. (BE10: 28)	This code is used when an interviewee describes the Northern English STRUT variant [ʊ] as a noticeable British feature within a stimulus. The anchor example is further subcoded with **r[ʊ]g**. *The Northern STRUT variant is perceived by some interviewees in some instances but is not actually realized in one of the stimuli.
CONSONANT features ascribed to British English		
non-rhotic	I think also they, in *arty*, there was a clear sort of like a non-rhotic <r>, I would say. And all of the <r>s I've heard, more of a kind of British pronunciation. (AE08: 10)	This code is used when an interviewee describes the accent or the pronunciation of particular words as non-rhotic and identifies this as a British English feature. The anchor example is further subcoded with **a(r)ty**.
/t/-glottaling	I'm like, "No, she's definitely British." She must be British because nobody else says [lɪʔˢl] instead of [lɪtˢl]. (BE11: 47)	This code is used when an interviewee identifies /t/-glottaling as a British English feature. The anchor example is further subcoded with **li[ʔ]le**.
retaining intervocalic /t/	Like they don't do, with the <d>, like I would say [pɑːɾi], with the <d> sound and they sounded more with the <t>, [pɑːt], [pɑːti]. (AE19: 39)	This code is used when an interviewee identifies the realization of /t/ as [t] as a British English feature. The anchor example is further subcoded with **parTy**.
/t/-flapping	But down South you'd either hear [bɛtə] in a really posh accent or [bɛɾə] in that kind of lazy Southern accent. (BE13: 63)	This code is used when an interviewee identifies /t/-flapping as a British English feature. The anchor example is further subcoded with **be[ɾ]er**.
alveolarization of the velar nasal	There was no hint to a Northern accent because with like *calling* was [kɔːlɪn], *telling* was [tɛlɪn], *playing* was [pleɪjɪn], as if there was no <g> at the end of the word, generic English thing. (BE13: 92)	This code is used when an interviewee identifies the alveolarization of the velar nasal (i.e. fronting of the velar nasal in (ING) [-ɪŋ] to an alveolar place of articulation [ɪn]) as a British English feature. The anchor example is further subcoded with **callin'**, **tellin'**, **playin'**.

no alveolarization of the velar nasal	The only thing I could pick out was they drop the <g>s at the start obviously in the American way but then they said [...] *falling*(#<ing> circled) with the <g>s on them and that kind of like sounded more English when I was listening to it. (BE21: 55)	This code is used when an interviewee describes that [ŋ] in (ING) is retained and ascribes this pronunciation to British English. The anchor example is further subcoded with **fallinG**.
/l/-vocalization	His <l>s like on *beautiful*(#"fuw" noted below it) and *something else*(#"ewse" noted below it). They are almost like a <w>, like [fʊ], [eʊs], which I associate with like my friends from like Southeast England. (AE18: 62)	This code is used when an interviewee identifies /l/-vocalization as a British English feature. The anchor example is further subcoded with **beautifu(l)** and **e(l)se**.
FURTHER PRONUNCIATION FEATURES ascribed to British English		
BrE contractions	Also the [t] followed by [jə] in [miːʔ juː] that came out as [miːt͡ʃə](*#meet you*, <tj> added between the two words), which I think is more common in British English. (BE22: 52)	This code is used when an interviewee identifies specific contractions as a British English feature. The anchor example is further subcoded with **meetcha**.
LEXIS & CONTENT ascribed to British English		
BrE topic	I don't know if *being rude*(*#being rude* circled)... To me is kind of an English way of thinking as well, I don't know if, I'm sure it exists like in American culture too, somebody being rude, of course it does, but somehow... Like politeness might be more important in British culture and to say *don't you get tired of being rude*. The fact that it's even in there, to me, kind of lets me think British as well. (BE08: 85)	This code is used when an interviewee feels that the topic dealt with in the stimulus is rather British.

BrE slang	The language as well, *I do, do what I want*, it sounds a bit slang English, I think. (BE20: 55)	This code is used when an interviewee feels that they identify British slang in a stimulus.
morning papers	And then *the morning papers*(*#morning papers* underlined), *her photograph in the morning papers*; we don't have that in the United States really(#laughs). These sorts of tabloids, so that also makes it seem British to me. (AE02: 8)	When a certain lexical item or expression is considered typically British then it is coded respectively, i.e. for the anchor example **morning papers.**
OTHER ascribed to British English		
BrE genre	I would say it's British, just because of this upbeat tempo. I really cannot recall back in the US, we had music on the radio but such like high, kind of club beat, I just think it's not that prevalent in the US. (AE09: 96)	This code applies when an interviewee states that the music genre, the singing style, or the like sounds British.
AMERICAN ENGLISH/AMERICANIZED SINGING STYLE		
PRONUNCIATION features ascribed American English (or to an Americanized singing style)		
AmE accent general	a. I feel like I'm just saying all of them sounded American, but this one does too. (AE02: 65) b. It sounds like American pop song. There was like a hard <k> on *eyes in the dark*(#<k> underlined). (AE12: 52)	This code applies when an interviewee a. does not name any particular pronunciation features but states that the accent in general sounds American(-ized). b. gives an example for an unidentifiable or unverifiable American English pronunciation feature. In such cases, the code is used even if other identifiable features are named to represent the interviewee's impression.
AmE familiarity	Yeah, I think the genre is again rock and I would say the lead singer is from the United States. Yeah, based on the accent it sounded like mine(#laughs). (AE17: 45) But again, it all seems kind of accentless because it's like familiar. (AE14: 126)	This code applies when an American interviewee argues that the accent heard sounds familiar, i.e. like they themselves sound; or when the stimulus is described as having no accent (other than the one considered 'normal,' i.e. the interviewee's accent).

AmE strong accent	I'd say she's American. She just sounds very American. (AE04: 67)	This code is used when an interviewee emphasizes that the accent or parts of the accent are strong. Equivalent intensifiers include, e.g. *heavy*, *thick*, *very*, etc.
AmE prosodic features	You know, just like the stresses, sounds very American English to me. (AE09: 66)	This code applies when an interviewee describes any type of prosodic feature (e.g. intonation, voice quality, stress, and rhythm) and perceives it as typical of American English.
AmE nasality	It's quite a nasal sound at some of the words. (BE13: 85)	This code is used when a nasal pronunciation, generally or of a specific feature, is perceived as typically American.
AmE drawl	And there was just that American drawl that they seem to have in their singing as well. (BE07: 21)	This code applies when the performance is described as having an American drawl.
AmE twang	I feel like in the US a lot of the rock bands have this kind of, like almost Southern twang, like really light Southern twang when they sing rock. That's just my perception obviously. (AE25: 27)	This code applies when the performance is described as having an American twang of some sort, i.e. sometimes it is defined more closely as, e.g. Southern twang.
unnatural/ non-native AmE	There's something about it that just doesn't feel American but can't give you precise reason why. (AE01: 53)	This code applies when an interviewee generally perceives an American(ized) singing style but adds that the performance nonetheless sounds somewhat off, i.e. un-American, unnatural, or non-natural.
American(ized singing style) as performance accent	So, I mean, I suppose it might be American although that's kind of vague too because that could be, I suppose, anywhere but United States, I suppose. (AE05: 27)	This code applies when an accent is identified as American, but the interviewee adds that singers from everywhere often use an Americanized singing style (without providing an example for their suspicion other than an Americanized singing style being the dominant role model).
comparison AmE	She was British(#"British" added) because of the way she said [kɒːnt](#*can't* underlined) as opposed like [kænt]. (BE12: 51)	This code applies when a British interviewee names an American English feature in comparison to a British English feature they identify in the stimulus.

VOWEL features ascribed to American English (or to an Americanized singing style)		
AmE vowels general	a. The vowels sounded American to me. (AE02: 54) b. *Accident*(#<e> underlined), the [dənt], he had kind of actually a <y> on it, [æksədɪnt]. I wouldn't be able to say where he came from in the United States though. (AE02: 18)	This code applies when an interviewee a. names any particular vowel as sounding American but states that the vowels in general sound American. b. gives an example for an unidentifiable or unverifiable American English vowel. In such cases, the code is used even if other identifiable vowels are named to represent the interviewee's impression.
AmE elongated vowels	I think kind of prolonging words at the end as well is quite an American thing to do, it's quite kind of typical of their style as well. (BE03: 91)	This code is used when an interviewee describes elongated vowels as an American English feature.
PR[a:]CE	[S]he said *time*(#"tame" noted) as well, it was more [ta:m]. (BE02: 85)	This code is used when monophthongized PRICE [a:] is identified as American or part of an Americanized singing style in a stimulus. Again, same procedure: The examples are subcoded separately with the respective code name, i.e. the anchor example is further assigned to the subcode **t[a:]me**.
/æ/-raising (Labov 2006: 175)	In the first line where he says *misunderstand*(#<stand> underlined) he kind of did the long [æ] sound, it was like [stæ:nd] and that kind of gave it away for me. (BE21: 19) I heard what sounded to me like very Southern ways of pronouncing the vowels like […] [læəfɪn](#l*aughin*' underlined). (AE24: 54)	This code includes cases in which /æ/-raising (BATH/TRAP) is described and identified as an (Southern) American feature. It also includes cases in which General American TRAP [æ] is described as a typical American feature. The anchor examples are further subcoded with **misunderst[æ]nd** and **l[æ]ghing.** *Since many British interviewees come from the North of England they compare the American TRAP [æ] with the Northern English realization [a].
M[ɛ~æʊ]TH (raising) (Kretzschmar 2008: 47)	*down*(#"doawn" added) it was more [dæʊn] rather than [daʊn], so American there. (BE25: 94)	This code applies when an interviewee describes MOUTH with a raised onset [ɛ~æʊ] as an American English feature identified in a stimulus. The anchor example is further subcoded with **d[ɛ~æʊ]n**.

L[ɑ(ː)]T	*Body*(#underlined) because he said like [bɑːdi], I don't know how you do that(#laughs) but *body* in an American way. (BE12: 66)	This code is used when LOT realized as open, back, unrounded [ɑ(ː)] is identified as American or part of an Americanized singing style. The anchor example is further subcoded with **(some/every)b[ɑː]dy**.
F[ɛɪ]CE	[I]t was like [teɪkˢɻz](#<take> circled, "tay" added). It just sounded really twangy. But yeah, she is American. (AE04: 79)	This code applies when an interviewee describes FACE realized as [ɛi] and ascribes this pronunciation to (Southern) American English or an Americanized singing style. The anchor example is further subcoded with **t[ɛɪ]kers**.
B[æ]TH	Again, I think it was the <a>, *if you dance than you're a dancer* and it sounded like the [æ], the long <a>, I think. (AE01: 23)	This code is used when the American BATH vowel [æ] is identified as American or part of an Americanized singing style. The anchor example is further subcoded with **d[æ]nce/r/ing**.
happ[eɪ]	There are slight things that sound like American. Like instead of [mi] she said [meɪ] and instead of [pɑːti] it was [pɑːɾeɪ] but I don't know it kind of sounds like she might be putting that on. (BE05: 87)	This code is used when an interviewee describes the diphthongization of tensed/relatively high front *happy* into an upgliding diphthong with half-close onset [eɪ] as a noticeable American feature. The anchor example is further subcoded with **m[eɪ]** and **part[eɪ]**.
G[oʊ]T	I can't remember, it was this sort of [doʊnt], like a, it was like a Southern American accent. (BE03: 88)	This code is used when the General American GOAT [oʊ] is identified as American or part of an Americanized singing style. The anchor example is further subcoded with **d[oʊ]n't**.
TH[ɑ(ː)]GHT	[Y]ou get kind of twangs of American like the way she said *stalking*(#<al> underlined, "aw?" added) its not, it would be weird to sing [stɔːkɪŋ] whereas like a [stɑːkɪŋ] kind of. (BE03: 91)	This code is used when an interviewee describes THOUGHT realized as [ɑ(ː)] and ascribes this pronunciation to American English or an Americanized singing style. The anchor example is further subcoded with **st[ɑ(ː)]lking**.
[iː]lectricity	I noticed like [iːlɛktrɪsəti] (#*electricity* underlined). Like that's very, like I know Brits are like [ɛlɛktɪɪsəti] whereas this one, I feel like they pronounced it the way an American would pronounce it. (AE20: 61)	This code is used when an interviewee notices that *electricity* is realized with word-initial [i(ː)] and ascribes this pronunciation to American English or an Americanized singing style.

DR[e(j)ə]SS	I am going to say definitely American and maybe even Southern. Like the part *stolen* [fɪɛəndz](#*friends*), kind of like, it was drawn out a bit, that gave me a Southern vibe. (AE06: 32)	This code applies when an interviewee notices that the General American DRESS /ɛ/ is realized as [e(j)ə] and ascribe this pronunciation to (Southern) American English or an Americanized singing style. The anchor example is further subcoded with **fr[e(j)ə]nds**.
CONSONANT features ascribed to American English (or to an Americanized singing style)		
postvocalic /r/	But then also when they say […] *dancer*(#<r> underlined for both words, "more rhotic" noted), the <r> sounded more pronounced, like maybe how I would say it. (AE19: 11)	This code is used when the realization of postvocalic /r/ is identified as an American English feature or part of an Americanized singing style. The anchor example is further subcoded with **danceR**.
retroflex /r/	I think I did identify that they were like *broken heart*(#<r> underlined in three instances, imitates singing). So like the American <r>, yeah. (BE15: 52)	This code applies when an interviewee emphasizes that the realization of postvocalic or any other /r/ is typically American. Interviewees refer to the retroflex variant [ɻ]. The anchor example is further subcoded with **hea[ɻ]t**.
/t/-flapping	I mean because they're saying, you know like [mærə˞] (#*matter*, <tt> underlined). It's got that sort of like <d>-sound which is sort of typical for American English. (BE03: 34)	This code is used when the realization of intervocalic /t/ as flap [ɾ] is ascribed to American English or part of an Americanized singing style. The anchor example is further subcoded with **ma[ɾ]er**.
word-final sonorization of /t/	Okay, so this felt very familiar. American English, for me. It's because of the pronunciation of the <r>s. And kind of the <d>-ish sort of noise with *heart* instead of like as hard as a <t>. (AE13: 89)	This code applies when an interviewee describes the voicing of /t/, the unaspiration of /t/, or the omission of /t/ in word-final position (different degrees of perceived sonorization) as an American English feature or part of an Americanized singing style. Some interviewees add that this is done for singing reasons, others mistake it for /t/-flapping and show that the pronunciation rules for /t/-flapping are unclear. It also includes cases of the omission of audible release for word-final /d/. The anchor example is further subcoded with **hear(t)**.

alveolarization of the velar nasal	The only thing I could pick out was they drop the <g>s at the start obviously in the American way. […] Like the first way they said it, they said it like [sʌmθɪn](#<in'> in *something*' circled) and they didn't say it like the <g>. (BE21: 55)	This code is used when an interviewee identifies alveolarization of the velar nasal (i.e. fronting of the velar nasal in (ING) [-ɪŋ] to an alveolar place of articulation [ɪn]) as an American English feature or part of an Americanized singing style. The anchor example is further subcoded with **somethin'**.
dark [ɬ]	The way she says *like*(#underlined, "Southern Amer." noted) also like from where I am from, people say it's kind of somewhat like [laɪk], "I [ɬɑːk] that"(#laughs). (AE19: 72)	This code applies when an interviewee perceives the use of a velarized /l/, i.e. dark [ɬ], in particular before vowels as an American pronunciation feature. The anchor example is further subcoded with **[ɬ]ike**.
FURTHER PRONUNCIATION FEATURES ascribed to American English (or to an Americanized singing style)		
AmE contractions	Like the use of *wanna*(#underlined in all instances) instead of *want to*. Again, like before it sounds very American. (BE17: 33)	This code is used when an interviewee identifies contractions as typical of American English. The anchor example is further subcoded with **wanna**.
AmE unclear pronunciation	(LJ: Okay. Anything language-wise that you would classify as specifically American?) Not pronouncing words very clearly. (AE10: 16)	This code is used when an interviewee perceives any kind of unclear pronunciation as typical of American English.
LEXIS & CONTENT ascribed to American English (or to an Americanized singing style)		
AmE topics	That tune is very much about having fun and party, all this and everything like that. Drinking and I think that perhaps this comes more from America, so they're perhaps trying to imitate that. So, I think if it was on an English topic, they wouldn't do that so much. (BE10: 93)	This code is used when an interviewee feels that the topic dealt with in the stimulus is rather American.

AmE slang	American is slightly slang, so perhaps it would just get much more casual with the way we speak and so I could mix them up, whether it sounds American or just slangy. (BE10:103)	This code is used when an interviewee perceives American slang in the sample.
AmE repetition	Also I feel like, maybe the repetition of words is sort of more American to me, I don't know. (AE08: 78)	This code applies when an interviewee describes the repetition of lyrics as typical of American singers.
dude **groceries** **hang out** **awesome (party)** **guys** **ain't** **mad 'angry'** **whoa** **yeah** **sweet/er 'pleasant, kind'** **to date/dated**	*Dude* is a very(#laughs) American word. (AE05: 59) I think it's American because of […] *groceries*(#circled, "American word" added). (BE6: 80)	When a certain lexical item or expression is considered typically American then it was coded respectively. The anchor example is further subcoded with **dude** and **groceries**.
OTHER ascribed to American English (or to an Americanized singing style)		
AmE genre	Yeah, that's country. So, I would assume it's American English. (AE13: 93)	This code applies when an interviewee states that the music genre, the singing style, or the like sounds American.
produced in America	Oh man, I'd definitely say produced in America(#laughs). (AE11: 97)	This code applies when an interviewee believes that the song sounds like it was produced in America.
AUSTRALIAN ENGLISH/NEW ZEALAND ENGLISH		
PRONUNCIATION features ascribed to Australian/New Zealand English		
AusE twang	I mean, there's a twang of an Australian. (BE03: 62)	This code applies when the stimulus is described as having an Australian twang.
VOWEL features ascribed to Australian/New Zealand English		
FL[ɪi~əːɪ]CE	I thought that's definitely got to be Australia(#"U.K./ Australia" added) or somewhere like that because of all the vowels they use. The one that stuck out the most was the word *sweeter*(#<wee> underlined) they said [sweɪdɐ], like that. (BE12: 46)	This codes applies when an interviewee describes the realization of FLEECE as a closing diphthong [ɪi~əːɪ] and ascribes this pronunciation to Australian English. The anchor example is further subcoded with **sw[ɪi~əːɪ]ter**.

F[ɛɪ~ɐɪ]CE	He said [fasɪs](*#face*) rather than [feɪs]. (AE07: 10)	This codes applies when an interviewee describes the realization of FACE as [ɛɪ~ɐ̟ɪ] and ascribes this pronunciation to Australian English. The anchor example is further subcoded with **f[ɛɪ~ɐɪ]ce**.
STR[ɐ]T	Yeah, [fɐːn], there was like a slight… like it was a bit deeper rather. (AE25: 48)	This codes applies when an interviewee describes the realization of STRUT as [ɐ] and ascribes this pronunciation to Australian English. The anchor example is further subcoded with **f[ɐ]n**.
TH[oː]GHT	*All* was [oːl]. (AE25: 50)	This codes applies when an interviewee describes the realization of THOUGHT as [oː] and ascribes this pronunciation to Australian English. The anchor example is further subcoded with **[oː]ll**.
CONSONANT features ascribed to Australian/New Zealand English		
non-rhotic	All the words that end in <r>. Americans have a very strong <r>, this was very light like [swiːrɐ], is what I heard. (AE24: 24)	This code is used when an interviewee describes the accent or the pronunciation of particular words as non-rhotic and identifies this as an Australian English feature. The anchor example is further subcoded with **sweete(r)**.
/t/-flapping	One reason why I would say maybe it's Australian is when they say *party*(#<t> circled). Sounds more like [pɑːdeɪ] (#laughs), the way they say it. (AE19: 39)	This code is used when the realization of intervocalic /t/ as flap [ɾ] is ascribed to Australian English. The anchor example is further subcoded with **par[ɾ]y**.
OTHER ascribed to Australian/New Zealand English		
nondescript/ neutral	At least the sung portions of it sounded to me very non-regional, I couldn't place it on anything really. (AE15: 59)	This code is used when an interviewee describes (a part of a) performance as nondescript, neutral, non-regional, etc.
non-allocated feature	Well, I mean it's a bit of irregular English. But for example *it don't get much sweeter*, but I don't think that is distinctive of any place. (BE19: 70)	This code is used when an interviewee describes a noticeable feature but does not or cannot allocate it to a specific variety.

DISCUSSION PHASE		
AMERICANIZED STYLE **subsumes all codes that deal with an Americanized singing style used by various singers**		
AmE default in music (mainstream)	I think American is kind of seen as being standard, like in a way, it's almost like British music is becoming its own separate genre. So, the people try to sound standard and therefore come out sounding kind of American. (BE09: 121)	This code is used when an interviewee describes an Americanized singing style as the default accent in singing and the expected code. Interviewees often describe it as normal or the norm, the standard in music. It represents the unmarked case – this is the singing style against which all others stand out.
hybrid pop accent (mainstream)	It just seems like they sing in English, and it doesn't sound like any accent to me, it just sounds like, I don't know, it's a weird English hybrid, cause there's features from both, but I would never be able to tell anyone where that would be from. (AE03: 125)	This code is used when an interviewee mentions a performance style that is e.g., a mixture of accents, conceals the singer's origin, or simply some kind of singing code that has established itself but is not clearly assignable to one variety.
REASONS **subsumes motivations and reasons for artists choosing an Americanized singing style**		
AmE for cultural reasons	And I think America has like a certain sort of soft cultural power in the world, especially in sort of pop culture. (AE15: 102) But I also think that maybe just the fact that there's this, you know, like kind of cultural imperialism involved with mainstream American music for so long that there's probably also this subconscious thing where bands want to make music like what they like, and so they are emulating a style. And so I think it would be both, like a subconscious kind of leaning towards a dominant genre or like way of singing. (AE18: 103)	This code is based on Trudgill's assumption that "cultural domination leads to imitation" (1983: 144). He states that since the cradle of pop and rock music lies in the American South, these genres have been dominated by Americans. In turn, this led to an Americanized singing style becoming the associated and appropriate code for making pop and rock music. Nonetheless, this code goes beyond Trudgill's description and includes statements that describe America as the dominant cultural (and musical) power and the gatekeeper of international success.

imitating role model (genre appropriateness)	But it might be intentional, I never thought about that. I know the West is pretty, maybe dominant is a bad word, but they sort of took the lead when it comes to pop culture. So maybe trying to emulate that was something people would do. (AE05: 84) I think some people, like Olly Murs, that song sounds a lot like the American pop songs. So maybe he's sort of being influenced by that or trying to copy that to some extent. Because that sort of sound is popular at the moment. (BE15: 147) a. Therefore, you're going to sing with a country accent, because that's how that genre sounds. So, maybe it's the same way with, I mean, it seems a little like country. (AE17: 126) b. I think it all depends. The genre, you know, who your influences are, who you market is, you know which one you lean towards. So like the heavy rock songs they probably try and sound more American because that genre is very, very big in America, than a sort of punk style. (BE15: 151)	This subcode collects utterances that particularly emphasize that American artists are role models for many artists outside the US – they have dominated many genres for such a long time that their accent is emulated by others. In most cases this type of convergence is described as subconscious, i.e. not on purpose. If genre names are provided, they are collected under an appropriate name. a. This anchor example is further subcoded with **country**. b. This anchor example is further subcoded with **rock**.
AmE for economic reasons	I think to an extent that it's probably on purpose by a good part or better like more capitalist-minded, because the US is a much bigger market for, I guess, for profitability in the music industry. Because you can play so many more shows when they go on tour. So there's just a, I don't know,	This code collects various economic reasons for singers choosing an Americanized singing style such as that it is more commercial, i.e. it guarantees more money, or is in general more marketable. It also collects various audience-related reasons for switching to an Americanized singing style, e.g., that particularly America offers a wider audience. This includes comments

	maybe it's a misconception, but I've always had the idea that in Europe bands can make a living, in the US bands can make it big. (AE18: 103) [I]f they're wanting to make money and go to the US, to other parts of the world. (BE12: 108)	claiming that an Americanized singing style is more easily intelligible and hence more appealing to an international audience.
AmE is accessible & intelligible	And a lot of people have told me American is easier to understand than British. Especially in sort of a lyrical context and things like that. People say it's all just for me as a non-native of English, it's easier for me to understand Americans. (AE15: 102) You have to sort of appeal to everybody and I think American English does that rather than British English. (BE03: 134)	This code applies when an interviewee describes the Americanized singing style as internationally more accessible and intelligible than e.g., British English. Hence, it is used in singing to potentially reach a broader audience.
AmE for singing-inherent reasons	I've read some research about that that suggests when you sing it, at least when Brits sing, sort of unintentionally it comes out somewhat American, just because of the mechanics of the voice. Maybe not because they are consciously trying to affect the sound but just sort of the way vocal chords resonate and things like that. (AmE 15: 102)	This code is used when an interviewee explains that an American accent is easier to sing and therefore is used automatically and/or naturally.
accommodating to AmE because of being in America	I don't know, the change in accent is a change in like lifestyle and if they've moved to America, then they're picking up Americanisms. (BE13: 163)	This code is used when an interviewee explains that an Americanized singing style develops because of a direct exposure to American English, i.e. singers accommodate to American English because they live and work in the USA.

on purpose?	I think you must have to do it on purpose because if you're British and you were to say that, I would sound strange to you. So, I think, yeah, it must have to be a conscious effort to change the way you speak in a song, well, sing a song, but you accent to how you would speak normally. (BE17: 100)	This code is used when an interviewee explains why they think artists emulate an Americanized singing style and whether they do this on purpose or rather subconsciously. The coding unit covers the entire line of argumentation within the discussion phase. The anchor example here only provides the core statement in the interest of brevity and clarity.
YES	[B]ands trying to break into the American market, they like to sound more American (l. 98). […] So, I think, yeah, it must have to be a conscious effort to change the way you speak in a song, well, sing a song, but you accent to how you would speak normally. (BE17: 100)	This code is used when an interviewee gives reasons for artists changing their singing style on purpose. The coding unit covers the entire line of argumentation within the discussion phase. The anchor example here only provides the core statement in the interest of brevity and clarity.
NO	I don't think it's them switching. I think it's the way that our voices switch when we sing (l. 88). […] I don't think it's on purpose. (AE01: 92)	This code is used when an interviewee gives reasons for artists not changing their singing style on purpose. The coding unit covers the entire line of argumentation within the discussion phase. The anchor example here only provides the core statement in the interest of brevity and clarity.
artists switch to an Americanized singing style	(LJ: Do you think that happens a lot?) I think so, yeah. I think it's hard to tell sometimes like where the music is from. (BE08: 107) (LJ: Do you think generally that this happens often?) British bands putting on an American accent? I'd say it probably happens more often than I realize. (AE04: 89) a. One Direction is obviously British and sometimes you can hear it but you'd have to be listening for it otherwise they sound fairly American to me and they're so huge in America. (AE22: 94)	This code is used when an interviewee mentions or agrees that artists (British and/or other) switch to a somewhat American accent when singing. If examples are provided, they are coded with their proper name. a. This anchor example is further subcoded with **One Direction**.

GOING LOCAL **subsumes all codes that deal with local varieties and accents being used in music**		
positive attitudes toward going local	I am like, "Why are so many rock bands from like the UK trying to sound American?" because like I love their accent. Like, Lily Allen. I love her because when she sings, she sounds British. (AE20: 122) I think there's something charming about keeping a local accent wherever you're from and it makes you stand out and I think in general it's a quite positive thing. I like the Cranberries for example. […] So, it's attractive, yeah, you don't see it so much as a commodity but you see a person in the product, in what you hear. So I generally think it's quite positive. (BE08: 121)	This code is used when an interviewee provides positive evaluations of artists (mostly British) using their local accents in music.
changing your accent for singing is inauthentic	I can't remember what band it was, but it was one of those things that where you kind of go like, "Well, that's a little bizarre." They are trying to seem like something they aren't. (AE02: 91) Well, if I were to be in a band, which I'm not, I would generally not like the idea of changing accent because it's kind of like possibly giving up your identity. (BE11: 98)	This code is used when an interviewee mentions that a change of accent for singing is inauthentic, i.e. false or fake.
accent does not play a role	Because when you are listening to music, for me it's a very passive activity. So it doesn't really matter where they are from but it's if I like the song or not. (AE04: 89)	This code is used when an interviewee states that accent does not play a role for them when listening to music. They do not necessarily care where an artist is from or whether they change their accent when singing.
REASONS **collects motivations and reasons for artists sticking to their local sound**		

going local is different	But maybe because it's more cool, like indie, it's different. You don't want to be mainstream because I think indie bands, they don't want to be mainstream. It's kind of better if you have a really distinct voice, which sometimes doesn't sound like an American accent. (AE19: 105) I guess they probably find it quite interesting to listen to and it is something a bit different. Again, going back to the thing about individuality, they do sound different to other bands which is nice. You can differentiate them. You can pick them out of a line really easily if you know. They just sound completely different. (BE12: 116)	This code collects statements describing the use of local voices as different. This includes descriptions such as *unique, individual, (more) interesting, exotic*, and *standing out against the mainstream/ standard*.
going local is authentic	I think there's an Irish band, they have like a playlist called Heart and Soul, and I can't tell until they said heart and soul, because the way their accent comes out, but I like it, because it feels more authentic. It feels like they're writing their music. (AE03: 137) Stick to the roots. I think it adds originality in music, if you've got your own roots, you know like if you're keeping what, kind… I'm not like this but you keep what you're true to, in that kind of sense. (BE06: 105)	This code is used when an interviewee states that artists who use their local voice are authentic, i.e. they stay true to themselves, they do not change who they are, they reflect originality. Part of this authenticity is processing personal stories and experiences in their lyrics.

going local reflects local identity	But also some people can't knock it, if they got a really thick accent. It's just there and I don't know if they can help it or not but I know people that like to, like to say that they're proud of their city and that they like to keep their accent and if they do get famous, people look at them like, "Ah, they're from *this* city." And it kind of adds, you know, value to the city in that sense. (BE06: 105)	This code is used when an interviewee explains that going local reflects the artists' local identity or a local pride (i.e. cultural patriotism). It also includes utterances that state such local accents are used to mainly address a local audience.
going local reflects artistic integrity	Biffy Clyro as well with the Scottish accent you can hear that it's homegrown and they choose how they want to write their own songs as opposed to a producer coming and saying, "Well this band are doing it this way, so we want you to do it as well" which probably is why they're festival-lovers because they go there and everyone loves someone who's true to their music. (BE13: 158)	This code collects utterances that connect local voices with artistic integrity and credibility. Such utterances state that for artists who go local, making music is more important than making money and international success. Such artists do not change their principles or themselves for economic reasons.
BrE artists going local	Arctic Monkeys I think is a good example. Like, they sound extremely British when they sing. (AE20: 134) I don't know if you've heard of The Libertines but they've very sort of strong British accent and that sort of get characterized as garage rock or punk rock, things like that. The Clash or the Sex Pistols all of them are like, they stuck to their British, British accents and they got sort of characterized as punk rock. (BE20: 109)	This code is used when an interviewee mentions British artists who they know/think sound particularly British when performing. If specific artists are named, they are coded with their name.

BrE genre appropriateness	I think if they would do that… Certain styles like indie music and alternative music because I think those are the styles that blend well with the English accent like Arctic Monkeys. (BE06: 103)	This code collects utterances explaining that a local British singing style is associated with specific genres. If genre names are provided, they are coded with their name.
AmE artists would use BrE style	Oh, I just thought of another band that is American that sounds British – Green Day. Very much so the lead, Billie Armstrong. It's like he's really trying to sound British, especially their first album. (AE20: 148)	This code is used when an interviewee acknowledges that also American singers would be likely to switch their singing style to a British sounding one. If particular artists are named, they are coded with their name.
AmE artists would not be likely to try and sound BrE	Yeah, I don't think, yeah. No, I don't think American bands would want to try and sound English. I don't think it's something they want to do. (BE16: 137)	This code is used when an interviewee claims that it would not be likely that American singers switch their singing style to a British sounding one or that it definitely happens less often than British artists emulating an Americanized singing style.
AmE artists would be mocked imitating a BrE accent	No, I don't think so. And like based on my… I think you could get like made fun of for and be like, "What are you doing? Why are you singing with a British accent?" (AE17: 118)	This subcode is used when an interviewee explains that American artists would be mocked or made fun of if they tried to imitate a British accent – in particular because they would lack proficiency.
ASSOCIATIONS "ROCK" **subsumes codes dealing with general associations with the rock genre**		
ROCK is authentic	Whereas rock music is a bit less produced in terms of like autotuning and things like that. (AE11: 139) But again, I think more indie, hipster music, people are more into the meaning of words and then we, "Oh, what does this mean? I want to feel what the artist is saying," and then they might hear more of how they are saying it. (AE19: 121)	This code is used when an interviewee states that rock music genres are more individual and real in terms of content (i.e. lyrics) and production (i.e. less autotuning). It includes utterances that describe rock music genres as, in general, more diverse – especially in opposition to pop music.

associations "pop" **subsumes codes dealing with general associations with the pop genre**		
POP is uniform	I mean, I think it's much more difficult to tell in pop because, at least for me, because pop all sounds the same, like it regardless of who is singing, more than rock does. (AE11: 199) I would say pop more than rock changes because it's… Rock is a certain style that's very particular to certain people whereas pop is just general radio stuff, music. So I think it's more pop wise than rock-wise definitely. (BE17: 122)	This code subsumes utterances that state pop music is uniform, i.e. it all sounds the same. Most of these utterances stand in direct contrast to opposite statements made for rock music.
ATTITUDES toward AmE		
positive	You know, like, "Hey, maybe you should try to pronounce your words a little more clearly," which would end up with them sounding a little bit more Americanized. (AE13: 108) Yeah, because I've been surprised listening to bands I know come from England but, like I said before, maybe to sound cooler they try to sound a bit more American. (BE11: 86)	This code is used when an interviewee expresses positive evaluative or emotional comments toward American English.
negative	American is slightly slang, so perhaps it would just get much more casual with the way we speak and so I could mix them up, whether it sounds American or just slangy. (BE10: 103) I think sometimes it sounds kind of cheesier, if they start talking in an American way. (BE24: 211)	This code is used when an interviewee expresses negative evaluative and emotional comments toward American English.

AmE is uniform	I think also because the American accents are more uniformed, and British accents say something about where you come from. They are really particular to a region, and in America it's just kind of flat across, everybody sounds the same. (AE02: 93)	This code is used when an interviewee states that American English is uniform, i.e. does not show much variation across the country. Such utterances mostly co-occur in opposition to evaluating British English as diverse.
ATTITUDES toward BrE		
AmE speakers cannot identify BrE dialects	Yeah, in general, I would say no. That most people I know of, even that would listen to them or like them, wouldn't, in the US, wouldn't know. It'd be completely lumped in their brain as just British or English accent, without any like social determiners or even regional. (AE18: 113)	This code is used when an interviewee (mostly American) states that Americans cannot identify or differentiate between different British accents or dialects. At most, they can only distinguish between RP and Cockney.
positive	There's also, and British accents command a lot of respect. I mean the general idea is that Brits sound smarter. That's what everybody says. That's what Americans say. That's what virtually everyone says. It's like Brits sound smarter, it's a nicer accent. So, I think that's just the way it is. (AE15: 112) That an English accent is sexy, that it's exotic […] people kind of associate it with success, sexy, and, you know, exotic. (AE18: 115)	This code is used when an interviewee expresses positive evaluative and emotional comments toward British English.
BrE is diverse	I know in England with all the various accents. There's a huge stratification of RP. You talk about Cockney, or Manchester. (AE01: 96)	This code is used when an interviewee states that British English is a diverse variety.

Index

This book addresses the phenomenon of non-American rock and pop singers emulating an Americanized singing style for performance purposes. By taking a novel approach to this pop cultural trend and drawing attention to the audience, British and American students' perceptions of English rock and pop performances were elicited. Interviews guided by various music clips were conducted and analyzed through a detailed qualitative content analysis. The interviewees' responses provide important insights into social meanings attached to Americanized voices and local British accents in the respective genres and show how British and American attitudes toward these performance accents differ. These perceptions and attitudes are illustrated by developing associative fields which offer a fresh view on the notion of indexicalities.

An engaging folk linguistic investigation of a relatable everyday pop culture phenomenon, this book makes complex sociolinguistic phenomena easily approachable and qualitative research accessible. It is suitable for intermediate students onward and inspires further research projects in the field of language performances.

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