

Chapter 10

Liverpool to Louisiana in one lyrical line: Style choice in British rock, pop and folk singing

“Can Blue Men Sing the Whites?”
(The Bonzo Dog Doo Dah Band)

Franz Andres Morrissey

1. Introduction

When Pink Floyd’s original guitarist/songwriter Syd Barrett died in July 2006, the BBC News website featured a quote by British singer David Bowie, “He was the first guy I’d heard to sing pop or rock with a British accent – his impact on my thinking was enormous”. Indeed, as we shall see, the two 1967 singles “See Emily Play” and “Arnold Layne”, which represented the Pink Floyd’s entry into the musical mainstream, show unmistakably just how British Barrett’s vocals sound.

Bowie’s admiration for Barrett’s adoption of “a British accent” and the fact that this should be noteworthy can be explained in terms of a phenomenon that is typical for British popular music.¹ At the time relatively few singers of note used a British singing style consistently, the best known – and exceptional – exponents being former actor Anthony Newley, who focussed mainly on chanson- or music-hall-oriented material, and Jake Thackray, the “founding father of English chanson” (Clayson 2002). By contrast, ever since the Jazz era, but particularly from the 1950s onwards, British singers have modelled their singing style on what they perceived to be an American pronunciation, a tendency that continues to the present time. This is true for Jazz singers, Skiffle groups, Rock’n’Roll, R’n’B or Hard Rock bands as well as doowop pop and soul vocalists to the extent that this style represents a standard style, a norm that seems to permeate even the material of musicians who as of the mid-Sixties have begun to adopt singing styles other than American ones. The reason for the choice of standard style is clearly that the original input for these types of popular music is based on Afro-American Blues and its musical developments, mixed with other elements, such as white American pop music (“Schlager-

musik”) (Flender and Rauhe 1989: 72), American folk song influences, Country and Western, etc. Unmistakably the resulting melting pot had and still has a strong American flavour.²

This choice of singing style often contrasts drastically with the singers’ speech style, e.g. Keith Richards’ and Mick Jagger’s insistent – and given their background, not always wholly convincing – Cockney speech style whereas their singing is predominately based on American models, particularly in the early Blues and R’n’B material, with which the Stones first made a name for themselves in the purist Crawdaddy blues club in Richmond, London (Shapiro 1999: 831). However, despite the continued prevalence of American pronunciation in the singing style of British vocalists, there have been trends towards other, mostly British accents, in rock and pop vocals, a trend that began, according to Trudgill (1983: 150–151), as of 1964, became more widespread in the Seventies and Eighties with Punk and the New Romantics, and reached a new high with the popularity of Brit Pop and Indie Rock from the Nineties onward.

This paper discusses various factors which influence style choice in rock, pop and folk singing and attempts to present reasons for some of the dialectological inconsistencies which Trudgill (1983) and Simpson (1999) have pointed out. Their approach primarily focuses on sociolinguistic theories, which will also form part of this analysis. I would posit, however, that there are explanations for style choice and the inconsistencies mentioned, for which we may need to look further afield. Admittedly, some of these explanations may be somewhat marginal to linguistic investigation in a narrow sense, focussing on issues such as musical genre, song topics and cultural considerations, as well as the fact that performance has an important role to play. Therefore, the final focus of this paper will include phonological considerations, which to date seem to have been somewhat neglected.

The data used are a number of recordings by seminal artists representing a variety of genres, in particular rock, pop, mainly of the Sixties, folk rock, singer-songwriter material and, given the starting point of this paper, psychedelic and prog rock. Clearly such an analysis, even if it were conducted in a format which would afford more space, needs to remain impressionistic and indicates tendencies rather than universal realities.

2. Theoretical framework and scope

For the discussion, the term *style* will be used in preference to *accent*. Accent according to Swann et al. (2004: 2) “identifies a speaker in terms of regional origin, social standing and, possibly, ethnicity”, which does not describe the deliberate nature of the choice that appears to be at the basis of what singers do. For this, the term *style* seems to be more appropriate, firstly, because style “refers to a distinctive way of speaking ... People *adopt* different styles in different contexts” (Swann et al. 2004: 299, emphasis added). Furthermore, Bell (1984: 2001) uses the term in his discussion of *audience design*, which presents the aptest model for the phenomenon under discussion.

At this point a caveat is called for. A crucial fact when we discuss style choice in popular music is that it is part of an act, a performance. Flenders and Rauhe (1989: 72) point out that recorded instances of performances play a crucial role for the dissemination of popular music; sheet music is usually available but, unlike in classical music, is not crucial for reproduction and hardly ever does justice to an actual performance. Moreover, performances, even by the same artist, frequently differ considerably from the original recording – and in concerts may even be expected to.³ Thus, to a certain extent the performance poses similar problems for notation as for linguistic analysis, a point we shall return to below. What is more, it is a cultural construct, not an instance of natural language, a fact that we can afford to ignore with as much impunity as a discourse analyst examining an excerpt from a play. A literary text, like the – intrinsically theatrical – performance of a singer, can yield interesting insights, but conclusions drawn will apply only partially to the “real world”.

Another characteristic of performance is its unidirectionality and the resulting lack of interpersonal interaction that much of sociolinguistic analysis is based on, which poses problems for such an analysis. Trudgill (1983), for instance, rightly dismisses accommodation as an explanatory framework for style shift in the absence of interlocutors a speaker could accommodate. The fundamental peculiarity of popular music and of mass communication in general lies in the spatial and usually the temporal distance between the audience (addressee), and the performer. As a mass, the audience make performers into stars, but at the same time may well force them to “replay concert after concert popular songs that [they] *will* hear but the musician wants to leave behind” (Bell 1984: 193, emphasis added). By contrast, performers “hold the initiative to express themselves, and the audience has *no adequate channel for feedback*” (Bell 1984: 193, emphasis

added), which is an integral part of (face-to-face) verbal interaction. Furthermore, if we consider Bell's model of concentric circles (1984: 159) to describe the various roles of participants in a speech situation, we can see that the audience at a performance may have characteristics of all the "persons and roles in [a] speech situation", and yet lack some as a result of the temporal and spatial distance mentioned (see Diagram 1 and Table 1). Thus, the audience exhibits characteristics of addressee, auditor, overhearer and eavesdropper, the latter in the sense that they may not be known to the performers, especially if the performance is recorded rather than a live event.

Table 1: Attributes and audience roles in a speech situation according to Bell (1984), with *popular music audience* added

	Known	Ratified	Addressed
Addressee	+	+	+
Auditor	+	+	-
Overhearer	+	-	-
Eavesdropper	-	-	-
Popular music audience	-/+	+	+/-

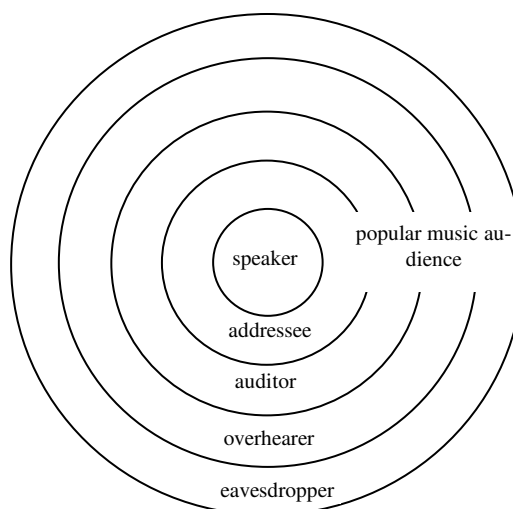


Diagram 1. Persons and roles in a speech situation according to Bell (1984: 159) with *popular music audience* added

When style shift occurs in face-to-face verbal interaction it tends to be a reaction to the persons and their roles in the interaction as shown in Dia-

gram 1 and therefore represents, in Bell's terminology, *Responsive Style Design*. However, style shift can also signal a change in topic or the speaker's attitude, e.g. a shift towards a more formal style if the speaker wants to make a point with authority and uses, say the H-variety in an L conversation (e.g. Standard German in a Swiss German conversation; cf. Ferguson 1959) to do so. Style shifts of this type are not responsive, but as they are initiated by the speaker, represent instances *Initiative Style Design*. As Bell (2001) puts it:

Initiative style shift is essentially a redefinition by speakers of their own identity in relation to their audience. The baseline from which initiative shifts operate is the style normally designed for a particular kind of addressee. (Bell 2001: 147)

Furthermore, such style shifts "are not predictable" and thus represent "the marked case, which draws its force from the unmarked, responsive use of style" (Bell 1984: 184). They depend for their effectiveness on their relative infrequency. By contrast, an institutionalisation would also mean a loss of markedness.

However, as "pop musicians ... are acting according to *conventions*" (Frith (1988: 4, original emphasis), as quoted in Simpson (1999: 344)), their choice of singing style is one of them and thus institutionalised, which suggests that we are faced with a special type of initiative style design, the so-called *Referee Design*. According to Bell, "a speaker diverges from an addressee and towards a third party whom I call the 'referee'." Referees, usually "not physically present at the interaction" are regarded by speaker (and listener) as so important as to "influence speech events in their absence" (Bell 1984: 186). The resulting style model could be called the *reference style*. Blues, blues-derived rock and pop, and country-based singer-songwriter material are obviously rooted in American popular culture and generally associated with an American reference style. Song material of this kind, for which the expected American reference style is not used, will, like marked forms in language, either sound odd or have a specific effect on the audience. The same holds true for other genres of popular music, associated with a specific style, such as British English, perhaps regionally coloured, for music-hall or regional accents for traditional folk material.

The tendency for British singers to adopt an American singing style represents an instance of Bell's *Outgroup Referee Design*: "speakers lay claim to a speech and identity which are not their own but which hold prestige for them *on some dimension*", but the absence of the outgroup referee

and thus the “absence of feedback” often leads to an “inconsistent adoption of the forms of outgroup speech” (Bell 1984: 188). One could argue that this insight provides the perfect explanation for the often less than accurate imitation of American pronunciation, for instance in the case of “hyper-rhoticity” in Cliff Richard’s “Bachelor Boy” where “(I’ll be) a bachelor boy” is rendered as [əɪ bætʃələɪ bɔɪ] (Trudgill 1983: 149).

However, with the move away from American forms as the main model *Ingroup Referee Design* has started to play a role as well. Here group membership is emphasised in interaction with “members of an outgroup ... with a shift towards the speaker’s own (absent) ingroup” (Bell 1984: 187). Instances of this in the context of Brit Pop and British Indie Rock will be discussed below.

This raises the question as to which features speakers and listeners would consider salient in an American or a British reference style. Simpson (1999: 345) presents five such features, the “USA-5”, which represent the distinctive differences between Standard British English or Received Pronunciation (SBE/RP) and General American (GenAm, Wells (1982a: 10)). In the following I shall refer to these features as SF for Style Feature and the number under which they appear in Table 2.

Table 2: Distinctive Style Features (SF) and their realisations in SBE/RP and GenAm (adapted from Simpson 1999)

Style Feature	Standard British English (SBE) / Received Pronunciation (RP)	General American (GenAm)
SF1	Vowels in <i>bath</i> and <i>hat</i> are realised as [ɑ:] or [æ] respectively.	The vowel in <i>bath</i> and <i>hat</i> is realised as [æ].
SF2	Vowels for <i>not</i> and <i>all</i> are rounded [ɒ] and [ɔ:].	The same unrounded lower back vowel [ɑ] is used for <i>not</i> and <i>all</i> .
SF3	The vowel in <i>eye</i> is the diphthong [aɪ].	The vowel is pronounced as a half-lengthened [a:] (the so-called Confederate Vowel).
SF4	Postvocalic /r/ as in <i>car</i> is realised as a lengthening of the vowel [ɪ].	Postvocalic /r/ is realised as an alveolar or possibly retroflex approximant, i.e. [ɹ] or [ɻ].
SF5	Intervocalic /t/ is pronounced as [t ^h] or [t] ([ʔ] in regional variants).	Instead of intervocalic /t/ we have a [d], (Simpson (1999: 345), possibly dentalised [ɖ] (Trudgill 1983) or something close to the alveolar flap/tap [ɾ]. ⁴

In addition, we will also touch upon features such as “yod-dropping”, the replacement of SBE/RP vowel [ʌ] in *love* with a more central, more fronted American vowel that could be represented as [ɜː] and the complementary distribution of [ɪ] and [ɨ] in SBE/RP versus dark /ɪ/ in GenAm. These are less salient features and in the case of the elision of /j/ “not entirely uniform” in GenAm (Wells 1982: 247). Nevertheless, “yod-dropping” will have a bearing on the considerations in Section 4.

3. Instances of style choice

3.1. Defining oneself through a reference style

On the Lindisfarne live album “Caught in the Act”, recorded in Newcastle City Hall in 1983, we can observe a telling phenomenon: in “*Lover not a Fighter*” the lyrics are sung in an unmistakable and relatively consistent American singing style.

- (1) I'm a lover not a fighter
 [a'm ə ʔɜːvəɪ nɔː ə fɑːrəɪ]
 and I'm [a'm] really [ɹiːʔɪ] built for [fɔː] speed

There is widespread use of flapped intervocalic /t/ (SF5) and relatively consistent postvocalic /r/ (SF4), with the exception of the missing /r/ in “for speed”. In addition we have two elements which go beyond the USA-5, the pronunciation [ɜː] for /ʌ/ in *lover* and the dark /ɪ/ where we would expect a light /ɪ/, especially in “*Geordie*”, which, unlike SBE/RP has the light /ɪ/ feature in all positions (Wells 1982: 374). However, in the music-hall flavoured “*I Must Stop Going to Parties*” we are confronted with a high incidence of unmistakably (North Eastern) English features.

- (2) I must [ɑ must] stop going [gəːn] to parties ['paːrɪz], ...
 My hair is changing colour ['kʊlə] and I'm getting kind [kɛnd] of thin
 ...
 Next time [teɪm] you see me there, will you kindly ['kɛndli] throw me out
 [ɛʊʔ].

The sample, apart from the typically northern absence of the FOOT-STRUT split in [mʊst] and ['kʊlə], highlights a whole range of Geordie features (cf. Wells 1982: 374) such as the rather open word-final [ɑ] in *colour*, the monophthongal realisation [əː] in *going*, the [ɛɪ] in *kind*, *time* and *kindly* (but [ɑ] for *I*) and the [ɛʊ] in *out* together with the glottal stop.

However there is a departure from the almost textbook Geordie style in the pronunciation of *parties*, where we would expect at least a glottalised intervocalic /t/, if not a glottal stop. However the weak vowel /ɪ/, both raised and relatively long, again corresponds to the Tyneside style.

What we observe here is not so much an inconsistency in singing style between the two examples (although some of the features are inconsistent with the style chosen) but a deliberate change between the two songs, in keeping with the different genres, namely, the Swamp Blues “*Lover not a Fighter*” by Louisiana producer J.D. Miller and the “folky” self-penned Lindisfarne song. Whereas it makes sense to use an American model for the former, it seems just as appropriate to use a Geordie style for the latter.

The departure from the “unmarked” American reference style conditioned by genre, i.e. Rock’n’Roll, can also be observed when the Bonzo Dog Doo Dah Band’s Viv Stanshall covers the Elvis hit “*Suspicion*” (1974) and in Nottingham-based Roaring Jelly’s Buddy Holly parody “*Trev and the Rock’n’Roll Rockets*” (1977) complete with Holly’s legendary yelps. In the former, Stanshall sings the lyrics in his trademark RP accent, in the latter the pronunciation never wavers from Midland / Northern English style. In both cases much of the resulting comic effect stems from the use of this “marked” singing style. To put it another way, the unmarked style choice reflects the style of the culturally dominant group from where the genre originates, i.e. an American singing style for Blues, blues-derived rock and pop. By contrast, the marked use of a style, regional in the case of Lindisfarne (Geordie) and Roaring Jelly (Midlands), SBE/RP in the case of the Bonzo Dog Doo Dah Band, contributes to what is known in the recording industry as their novelty status.

The cultural dominance manifested in a reference style can be illustrated particularly well with the Rolling Stones version (3a) of “*Little Red Rooster*” (1964), where Jagger demonstrates how closely his singing style is modelled on that of the original singer, black Blues shouter Howlin’ Wolf (1961) (3b).

(3a) Ain’t had no peace in the farmyard [ˈfɑ:mjɑ:d]
 Since my [mɑː] little [tɪrɪ] red rooster’s [ˈru:srəz] been gone

(3b) There’s [ðeəz] been no peace in the barnyard [ˈbɑ:njɑ:d]
 Since my [mɑː] little [tɪrɪ] rooster [ˈru:srə] been gone

Both use the “Confederate vowel” (SF3), both are clearly non-rhotic (SF4), and in both versions we can observe a flap (SF5) between two vowels or between a vowel and a syllabic /l/.

Another example that illustrates the strength of cultural dominance, even when the image of the band or the setting of their material are in conflict with this are “The Who”. They started their career on the London pub circuit with a sound that has been described as “the hard, vulgar and relentless Rock’n’Roll style of British working class youth” (Graves and Schmid-Joos 1990: 854). Although Townsend often wore a jacket made of a Union Jack and many early publicity photographs show the band posing against the British flag, the singing style of their enduring first hit “My Generation” (1965) obviously owed more to their genre of choice, R’n’B, than to their projected British image:

(4) People try [traː] to put us [pʊrəz] down
talkin’ [ˈtɑ:kɪn] about my [maː] generation

...

Hope I die [aː daː] before I [aː] get old

Clearly in evidence is the American model for SF2 in [ˈtɑ:kɪn], SF3 for “I die” etc., and SF5 for “put us”. This pattern remains the same even in “Pinball Wizard” (1969) with its unmistakable English setting; in the opening lines “Ever since I was a young boy, I played the silver ball/ from Soho down to Brighton I must have played them all” /a/ is consistently realised as [aː], and “all” and “ball” as [ɑːɫ] and [bɑːɫ] respectively.

A similar pattern is evident in the singing of Kent songwriter and folk guitarist Ralph McTell. The 1974 hit “Streets of London” shows “McTell’s admiration for practitioners of the country blues” (Jenkins 2003) both in the guitar picking style and in the chord progressions. However, the musical orientation towards American country blues and the focus on lonely denizens of the Capital create an interesting conflict. One might well expect the topic to have a stronger influence on the singing style than the musical orientation, but the result is less clear-cut. While there is a consistent absence of postvocalic /r/ (SF4), in my mind based on SBE/RP rather than a non-rhotic Southern American style, there is a case of yod-dropping in the first verse in the line “Yesterday’s papers telling yesterday’s news [nu:z]”, which would be in line with just such an American model. However, as (5) illustrates, there are several other instances where GenAm and SBE/RP seem to sit side by side:

(5) In our winter city [ˈsɪrɪ] the rain cries [kɹaɪz] a little pity [ˈlɪɾɪ ˈpɪɪɪ]
for one more forgotten [fəˈgɒrɪ] hero ...

We have, thus, for SF3 in [kɹaɪz] for SF2 in “forgotten” [fə'gɒrŋ] the SBE/RP pronunciation; the same applies for the differentiation between light and dark /l/ in ['lɹɪ].

However, for SF5 the intervocalic /t/ is consistently flapped as would be typical for GenAm. In the chorus we have a further American feature, albeit not a phonological one, when McTell sings “and say that for you the sun *don't* shine” instead of *doesn't*.⁵ However, this may be as much an issue of rhythm as a bow towards an American reference style.

In later McTell recordings similar phenomena persist. Both “The Enemy Within” and “Care in the Community” on the 1995 album “Sand in Your Shoes”, take up two catchphrases of the Thatcher era. “Care in the Community”, described in the liner notes as a follow-up to “Streets of London”, also presents maladjusted inhabitants of London’s streets. Unlike its predecessor, however, it contains references to two actual places, the Strand and Waterloo station, as well as to the Tube. The song is set to a laid-back, jazzy tune, which stands in stark contrast to the bitter sarcasm of the lyrics. It seems that, here too, it is the music that determines the choice of the singing style more than the topic (the effect of Thatcherite politics) or the setting (London) as (6) demonstrates:

(6) At the world [wɜ:l] blurring past [pæst] on the street.

[...]

You better ['bɛə] take care [kɛə] in the community [kə'mju:nəɹɪ]

The community [kə'mju:nəɹɪ 'bɛə] better take care [kɛə]

There is no immunity [ɪ'mju:nəɹɪ]

Everybody [ɛvɹɪ'bɒdɪ] must bear [bɛə] his share [ʃɛə].

SF1 being realised as /æ/, SF2 as unrounded [ɛvɹɪ'bɒdɪ] and SF5 consistently as a flap rather than a voiceless plosive point towards an American reference style, which could well be the result of the choice of tune and orchestration. However both SF3 (/aɪ/ diphthong rather than the Confederate vowel) and SF4 (absence of rhoticity) are relatively consistently realised according to an SBE/RP model.

By contrast, we have a British reference style in “The Enemy Within”, the Thatcherite reference to the miners during the 1984 Miners’ Strike. The tune is based on a hymn and the arrangement features a colliery band. It may well be that all elements come together in this song, the topic (the miners’ strike), the setting (the practice room of a colliery band) and the reference style. All style features from SF2 to SF5 are consistently SBE/RP, as illustrated to an extent in (7), but there are two features in the excerpt which deserve special attention.

(7) ... the colliery band [band] in front
Some said we'd been defeated [di'fi:təd]
but it felt [fɛɫt] as if we'd won

As we can see SF1 is realised closer to /a/ rather than /æ/, and the /ɛ/ in “felt” seems to be lowered somewhat in comparison to the SBE/RP pronunciation; these two elements would seem to point towards a “folky” rural style with a slight Northern English flavour which we can find in the singing style of some folk singers with rocky leanings as a shift towards what could perhaps be called a “generic non-urban” singing style.

This generic non-urban style is not usually in evidence with more traditional folk singers, whose singing style does not differ markedly from their speaking style, even when the topic of the song or its origin (and setting) might make such a shift appropriate. Admittedly, Scottish folk singer Dick Gaughan sings “Song for Ireland” (1981) in less pronounced Scots than the traditional “The Bonnie Earl O’Moray” (1978) but nevertheless makes no attempt at including Irish style features in the former. The same can be said of Irish singer Christy Moore or Northerner Dave Burland and their respective versions of Ewan MacColl’s “Sweet Thames Flow Softly” (1972/1978), which depicts a relationship from the tender beginnings to the break-up as a journey along the Thames flowing through London. Neither affect a singing style like MacColl’s, nor do they opt for (perhaps London-tinged) SBE/RP to reflect the fact that the song was originally written for a radio adaptation of *Romeo and Juliet* set in London.

In contrast to the tendency among traditional folk singers not to adopt a singing style markedly different from their speaking style, English folk rockers like Fairport Convention, The Albion Country Band and Steeleye Span have a tendency to make use of certain features that would signal the “generic non-urban” singing style that McTell uses in “The Enemy Within”. Bell (1984) has made the case that for Outgroup Referee Design it is enough that the style chosen contains the features associated with the outgroup, but need not be so convincing as to pass muster with it. The token gestures of the folk rock singing style illustrates this, perhaps even going beyond the concept of an existing outgroup because the style features that can be observed do not seem to belong to *one* actual style. Thus, apart from a lowering of /æ/ towards [a] alongside [ɑ:] and a similar lowering of the unrounded front vowels /e/ and /ɛ/, we have /aʊ/ and /əʊ/ sounding relatively close to Southern rural styles (cf. Trudgill 1999). To complete the picture of a lack of specificity in terms of dialect area and group we sometimes have a slight raising, possibly with some lip-rounding

of /ʌ/ towards [ʊ], but without the full realisation of a Northern vowel. Consonant articulation includes intervocalic /t/ being usually an aspirated voiceless alveolar stop, a penchant towards l-darkening also in places where in SBE/RP the /l/ would be light, a tendency towards lenis pronunciation of some word-initial voiceless stops, in particular /k/, as well as occasional h-dropping. However, even if the subject matter suggests a relation to specific regions as in Fairport Convention's concept album "Babba-combe Lee" set around the Torquay area, the typical style features which one would associate with South Western dialect varieties, initial fricative voicings ([^hzɛvən] instead [^hsɛvən]), lenis articulation of medial obstruents ([dʒa'gɪd] for *jacket*) and the typical West country "burr" (cf. Wells 1982: 343–344 and Elmes 2005: 29–30), are largely absent. The style that emerges shows a mixture of local features, predominately but not exclusively rural, from a variety of traditional dialect areas being added to what is otherwise a relatively clearly identifiable form of SBE/RP.

3.2. SBE/RP as a dominant reference style

Whereas the picture that emerges for a folk rock reference style is slightly uneven, an interesting case can be made for a somewhat more uniform reference style in prog or art rock. Pink Floyd guitarist Syd Barrett's use of SBE/RP style features has been referred to briefly at the beginning of this discussion. To illustrate, in the second line of "See Emily Play" "She often inclined to borrow somebody's dreams till tomorrow" the pronunciation of *tomorrow* is [tə'mɔrəʊ], with the vowel in the second syllable possibly slightly lowered and fronted (SF2); in the opening line of the second verse "Soon after dark" [su:n 'aftə dɑ:k], there is not only no trace of post-vocalic /r/ (SF4), but we also get the typical SBE/RP /ɑ/ in the pronunciation of *after* rather than the GenAm /æ/ (SF1). In "Arnold Layne" the pronunciation is also SBE/RP throughout, for instance with the rounded back vowel /ɔ:/ in *wall* and *tall* (SF2) in "on the wall hung a tall mirror" and the clearly non-rhotic [^hmɪrə] (SF4). The adoption of these SBE/RP features, especially the focus of SF1 (/ɑ/ instead of /æ/) has remained a feature in much of Pink Floyd material, clearly observable in many of the songs sung by Barrett's successor Dave Gilmour (cf. for instance "Comfortably Numb", where Gilmour sings "I can't [kɑ:nt] hear what you're saying"). But also in "Another Brick in the Wall Part II" (both 1979) sung by Roger Waters we have "no dark [dɑ:k] sarcasm [^hsɑ:kæzm] in the classroom [^hklɑ:sru:m]" although in other places Waters may use the GenAm pro-

nunciation for instance SF2 in “is there anybody [eni'ba:di] in there” and SF5 in “on your feet again [fi:r ə'gɛn]” in “Comfortably Numb”.

What may account for the adoption of SBE/RP as the reference style for much of prog rock, at least in Britain, is that these compositions aspired to be much more sophisticated than the standard three-minute pop song; with the increasing length and musical complexity of the material and its aspirations towards “serious” music, the lyrics had to move away from the (American) Rock'n'Roll model towards the language of the literary sophistication of the – theatrical – stage, in other words towards SBE/RP.⁶

Another reason for the emergence of SBE/RP as a reference style in prog rock may be the celebration of Englishness, possibly resulting from the popularity of English bands with audiences worldwide in the second half of the Sixties. At that time, British musicians met with considerable success in the US and the resulting tours by British bands was often referred to as the “British Invasion”. This rise and the attendant increase in what one could call cultural confidence began with The Beatles, although at the time, about 1964, they still focussed on American material for their covers on “Beatles for Sale” (mainly black Rhythm and Blues, Rockabilly and Country). Robertson (1994: 26) points out that on some recordings this album “sounds like the peak of British beat music”, a fact that becomes obvious when we consider the cover of Carl Perkins’ “Everybody’s Trying to Be My Baby”, on which “Harrison’s scouse drawl made Perkin’s lyrics almost impossible to decipher” (Robertson 1994: 31). Scouse, however, had always been part of their media personality, first on the (RP) BBC and later during interviews in the States (cf. Atkinson 2007: 17). The trend away from American dominance is evident on the albums that followed in the next two years, “Help”, “Rubber Soul”, “Revolver”, “Sgt. Pepper”, which show how the Beatles left their rock roots and embraced new concepts, musically and lyrically. As of “Rubber Soul” they entirely eschewed cover material, only doing their own songs.

Interestingly enough, Beat music, spearheaded by the Beatles, seems to have given rise to a reference style of its own, which in turn created a phenomenon not often discussed in the literature, i.e. that not all transatlantic style imitation went from the New to the Old World. Probably the best-known example for this are The Monkees. Formed in 1965 by Columbia in response to the commercial success of the Beatles films *A Hard Day’s Night* and *Help* the group, selected from a field of 400 applicants, comprised a carefully tailored line-up of two folk/country musicians, Michael Nesmith and Peter Tork, and two singing actors, Micky Dolenz and Manchester-born Davy Jones, the latter included no doubt for both his boyish

good looks and the added bonus of being a Northerner. The “manufactured” band, “an American Beatles” (Nixon 1999: 858), meant to be the transatlantic answer to the Fab Four, were often unflatteringly referred to as “the Prefab Four”.

It is hardly surprising that when Jones sings lead vocals, the pronunciation is unmistakably British. In “Here Comes Tomorrow” we have SF1 as [ɑ:] in *can’t* but also some non-standard features such as a glottal stop in [əʊ wɑʔ ə swi:t ɡɜ:l], the “Velar Nasal Plus” in [lɒŋg], a feature typical of “most of the western half of the midlands and the middle North, including ... Manchester and Liverpool” (Wells 1982: 365). Possibly the most interesting instance is Jones’ adoption of specific Northern English style features in the 1967 hit “Daydream Believer” (8):

- (8) Oh, I [ɑ:] could hide [hɑɪd] ‘neath the wings
 ...
 But [bʊɾ] it [ɪɾ] rings and I [ɑɪ] rise [raɪs]

The /aɪ/ diphthong seems to conform mostly to the midland pronunciation (Wells 1982: 358).⁷ More surprising is perhaps that Mancunian Jones uses Scouse t-affrication in [bʊɾ ɪɾ], which, similar to his more recent fellow Mancunian Liam Gallaher in “Wonderwall” (see Simpson 1999: 363), may well indicate an imitation of the Beatles (even though they rarely used Scouse features in their singing⁸).

However, SBE/RP features play an important part in the Monkees’ singing style even when American Micky Dolenz acts as the lead vocalist. “I’m a Believer”, a number 1 hit in 1966, shows a surprising adherence to a British style in the consistent absence of rhoticity (SF4) (“for” [fɔ:] and “believer” [bɪˈli:və]), and /aɪ/ being mostly realised as a diphthong (SF3) in [maɪ maɪnd]. Back vowels, on the other hand, seem to follow mostly American models as in [nɑt] and [ˈhɑ:ntrɪd] although there is a relatively British realisation of [ɔ:t] in “haunted all my dreams”. Similarly, intervocalic /t/, only in evidence at a word boundary in this song (e.g. “not a [nɑr ə] trace”), corresponds to the American voiced flap rather than the British unvoiced plosive. “Last Train to Clarksville” (1966), on the other hand, presents a wider spectrum of USA-5 features but here too we have a mixture of styles.

- (9) Take the last [læst] train to Clarksville [ˈklɑ:ksvɪl].
 I’ll [aɪl] be waiting [ˈweɪtɪŋ] at the station.
 We’ll have time [taɪm] for coffee [ˈkɒfi] - flavoured kisses
 And a bit of conversation [ˌkɑ:nvəˈseɪʃn].

SF1 unmistakably follows the American model, SF2 once again veers between GenAm and SBE/RP, whereas SF3 and SF4 are consistently British. That Dolenz's style seems so strongly influenced by SBE/RP is somewhat unexpected when we consider the song's subject matter – a young man about to be drafted and shipped off to Vietnam (hence “I don't know if I'm ever coming home”) arranging a last date with his girlfriend – as well as the geographical reference, i.e. Clarksville, Tennessee near Fort Campbell, Kentucky, the young man's presumed destination. What this would point towards, on the one hand, is the strength of British cultural dominance in pop and beat music at the time, which led to the adoption of British features. On the other hand, it demonstrates that reference style in popular music, when it goes from Britain to the New World, is subject to the same lack of consistency in the adoption of salient features that would apply to British singers aiming for an American reference style.

Another instance where the reference style is SBE/RP with an American singer trying to sound British can be observed in Jefferson Airplane's “White Rabbit” (1967). The title alludes to *Alice in Wonderland* and the musical style is reminiscent of Pink Floyd's prog rock / psychedelic piece “Astronomie Domine”. Both factors, but certainly the former, may be the reason for the style choice in this instance. The first verse (10) shows a number of interesting elements

(10) ...and one pill [pɪl] makes you small [smɔ:l],
 And the ones that mother [ˈmʌðə] gives you
 Don't do anything at all [ətʰ ɔ:l].
 Go ask [ask] Alice
 When she's ten feet tall [tʰɔ:l].

Most style features follow the SBE/RP model: low back vowels are rounded in *tall* and *at all* (SF2), *mother* is non-rhotic (SF4), SF5 is realised as an aspirated /t/ (*at all*) and /a/ in *ask* (SF1), while not corresponding entirely to SBE/RP seems closer to a Northern English than a GenAm pronunciation. It is intriguing, however, that the /l/ in *pill*, *all* and *tall* is pronounced as a light [l] where we would expect [ɫ] in SBE/RP; this appears to be a hypercorrection of a (perceived) British feature, which results in something resembling an educated Irish accent.

While American singers adopting SBE/RP features is a relatively rare occurrence, the weakening of the American model as the only or the strongest reference style as of the mid-Sixties (Trudgill 1983) is evident in a number of cases, for instance in the Small Faces “Lazy Sunday Afternoon” (1968), which has mainly Cockney vocals. What is interesting, how-

ever, is that the last chorus after an instrumental break has lost all Cockney features and, in keeping with the R&B musical style, reverts to the American style model in all features in evidence, i.e. SF1 [æftə'nu:n], SF2 [gət], SF3 [ma' a:z].

A similar tendency towards a British reference style can be observed in Brit Pop and Indie Rock of the Nineties. Both genres owe an allegiance to the British musical past, the former to the Sixties, the latter more to the punk era of the Seventies and early Eighties. In several cases the tendency is to employ regional features, e.g. the Scouse t-affrication in Mancunian Oasis's song "Wonderwall" referred to above. Other examples include the Colchester band *blur* (11) or *Catatonia* from Wales (12).

(11) City dweller ['dwɛlə], successful fella ['fɛlə]
... I'm caught in a rat race [kɔ:ʔ in ə raʔ reɪs] terminally
("Country House" 1995)

(12) You should be making it easy on yourself ['meɪkɪŋ ɪr 'i:zɪ ən jɔ:sɛlf]
...
It's all over ['ouvə] the front page, you give me road rage, ['roud reɪdʒ]
... possibly [ʔeɪdʒ]
you're driving ['draɪvɪŋ] me crazy ['kreɪzɪ] ("Road Rage" 1998)

In (11) we have evidence of Southern English features, for instance, non-rhoticity with a tendency towards an open rather than a central word-final vowel for *dweller* and *fella*. SF2 follows the SBE/RP rounded back vowel and /t/ mostly the "Estuary" style model as a glottal stop. Similarly there are typical Welsh elements in (12), notably the [ou] in *over* and *road* and the absence of rhoticity (SF4), but probably the most strikingly Welsh feature is the /r/ in *rage*, *driving* and *crazy*. Carmosino (1999: 7) has argued that /r/ in *rage* is a uvular /ʁ/, a rural Welsh feature known as *tafod tew* (thick tongue) (Wells 1984: 390), but this is a little difficult to assess because of the instrumentation. It is also possible, and in the case of *driving* and *crazy* more obvious, that what we are faced with is the flapped realisation – or possibly a very short alveolar trill – that is also widespread in Welsh English (Wells 1984: 390).

Two points are noteworthy here: firstly, the commercial success of Brit Pop and Indie Rock on both sides of the Atlantic may well have been a driving force for the tendency to retain British reference styles. Clarke (1998: 135) has suggested that Brit Pop and Indie Rock of the Nineties are characterised by a "backward-looking anglocentricity", and thus hark back to periods in which there was a similar cultural confidence as during the

Sixties and Seventies.⁹ Secondly, the prominence of these features hints at an interesting phenomenon, which Carmosino (1999) links to Giles and Coupland's concept of ethnolinguistic identity (1991): the marked use of such features can "accentuate ingroup communicative markers" (Giles and Coupland 1991: 97). This ties in with Bell's notion of *Ingroup Style Design* and would explain the salience of regional style features connected to the bands' origins or possibly their real or suggested social background as they emphasise group membership, i.e. (regional) Britishness, with "members of an outgroup", the audience, "with a shift towards the speaker's own (absent) ingroup" (Bell 1984: 187).

4. Beyond sociolinguistics

What is interesting in the case of Catatonia (12) – as well as in other examples – is the presence of GenAm features, i.e. SF2 realised as an unrounded lower back vowel and SF5 flapped, which represent some of the many inconsistencies in style choice presented in this chapter and referred to in the literature. The questions they raise are summed up in the conclusion of Trudgill's 1983 paper:

... even in the narrow field of pop-song pronunciation it is not possible, in terms of [Le Page's] theory [of linguistic behaviour] (or any other), to explain why *particular* ... consonantal, vocalic or other variants are retained, rejected or selected, and not others. We may therefore await theoretical refinements, since it may be the case that until we are better able to account for why, say, the Clash ... sing [kɑ:nt ɡeɖ ə'hɛd] (rather than [kænt ɡeɖ ə'hɛd] or [kɑ:nt ɡɛ? ə'hɛd]), we as sociolinguists may perhaps not be able to make much progress either. (Trudgill 1983: 159–160)

The present discussion neither claims to present these theoretical refinements, nor to advance the theory that would help the sociolinguistic progress Trudgill refers to. However, a partial answer to the question why The Clash, like so many others, are inconsistent in their use of SF5, among other style features, and why they opt for a GenAm rather than a British realisation, could well stem from the fact that the data we are examining are performances of songs. As such they are subject to rules and restrictions not necessarily and certainly not only governed by sociolinguistic considerations.

As any vocalist appreciates, there are certain speech sounds that lend themselves better to singing than others because, to put it simply, they

“carry” the tune. Hawkins, somewhat more technically, points out that “more ‘sonorous’ sounds have greater carrying power ..., which corresponds in articulatory terms to the freedom of passage of air through the vocal tract” (1984: 98). Whereas (voiceless) stops restrict the free passage of air, vowels, at the other end of the spectrum, have the greatest carrying power; particularly “[o]pen vowels are (as any singer appreciates) more sonorous than close vowels” (Hawkins 1984:98). In other words, the more sonorous speech sounds vocalists can use in their singing, the easier it is to hold their own against the electric competition of the band.

Sonority of speech sounds can be illustrated with the following diagram:

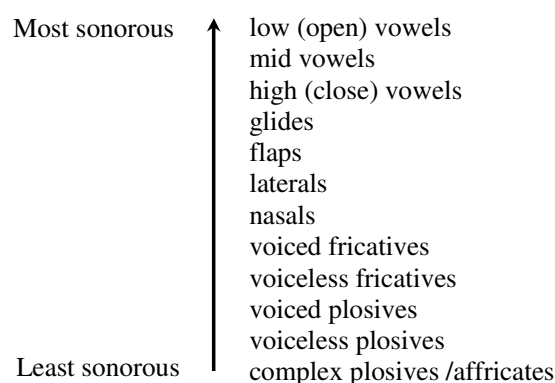


Diagram 2: Sonority scale (Burquest and Payne 1993: 101)

This scale ignores the issue of lip-rounding, which would also affect sonority because the relative opening through which the sound escapes is reduced in comparison to unrounded (and not spread) vowels produced in the same articulatory region.

Reconsidering the style features discussed above, we see an interesting pattern emerge: several of the favoured – and, one could postulate, unmarked – style features, i.e. the GenAm realisations, have a higher sonority than their SBE/RP equivalent. SF5 is a case in point. Intervocalic /t/ realised as a voiceless stop, irrespective of whether it is alveolar or glottal, has a very low sonority; by contrast, if we accept the sonority scale above, flaps are considerably more sonorous, which is also the reason why it makes sense to transcribe this speech sound in singing as [ɾ] rather than [d] or [ɖ]. In practical terms the SBE/RP realisation of /t/ or a regional [ʔ]-variant means that the sound produced by the two vowels is interrupted by

a voiceless stop, which is difficult to sing unless the song allows for a *staccato* phrasing. This is the case, for instance, in the chorus of the Small Faces's "Itchycoo Park", an acoustic, bluesy song with relatively strong SBE/RP style features. "It's oh so beautiful" is realised as [ˈbju:tɪfʊl], i.e. with an aspirated /t/ with each syllable articulated separately. However, in (12) the phrasing for "making it easy" is much more *legato*. The same is true for "to make it better [ˈbɛtʰə] better [ˈbɛrə] better [ˈbɛrə] in the Beatles' "Hey Jude" (1968) and in "We're so pretty [prɪreɪ], oh so pretty [prɪtʰɪ]" in "Pretty Vacant" (1977) by the Sex Pistols (cf. Simpson 1999: 349). In both cases we have the SF5 GenAm and SBE/RP variants side by side, but the musical phrasing in "Hey Jude" would make it almost impossible to pronounce the intervocalic /t/ as a voiceless stop in the ascending melody after the first *better*. The Sex Pistols may simply sound inconsistent but it is at least possible to interpret this as vocalist Rotten succumbing to the temptation of opting for the more "singable" flap, even in this tentatively more *staccato* phrasing. To put it another way: the flapped realisation of intervocalic /t/ is relatively sonorous and thus more singable, which is why we can take it as the unmarked form, particularly in *legato* phrasings; by contrast, the unvoiced stop /t/ may represent a marked realisation, which signals a conscious choice of a British reference style as is the case in "Itchycoo Park".

Singability may also have an impact on rhoticity (SF4). A postvocalic /r/ represents a closure in comparison to the position of tongue and mouth during the pronunciation of the vowel. For the singer this creates two problems: firstly, the closure reduces the opening for the air flow, thus reducing sonority, and, secondly, it requires a decision as to when the tongue should begin to move from the vowel constellation towards the alveolar approximation of the [ɹ]. For a singer, non-rhoticity may therefore be preferable, particular in sustained notes. In shorter notes, on the other hand, it is easier to produce the approximant, because the two problems mentioned above represent less of an issue. Nevertheless, they may be a reason why non-rhotic realisation is relatively widespread, especially in monosyllabic words, at the end of a line in the lyrics or generally in a sustained note, an observation which also applies to singers not actively aiming for an SBE/RP or a Southern/Black Southern reference style (3a and 3b).

What holds true for the difficulties in producing post-vocalic /r/ also applies to SF3, the /aɪ/-diphthong and to an extent to yod-dropping, although in the opposite direction: the diphthong requires a movement from a relatively sonorous open vowel to a less sonorous closed vowel. Both, the reduction of sonority and the need to decide when this movement is best

executed, create a problem for singers, which can easily be avoided if a monophthong is substituted. This is clearly the case in a long note, where the decision when to start the move is not an easy one; furthermore, notes sustained on /i:/ create a screechy, rather unpleasant sound and are therefore avoided. On a very short note the problem of the screech obviously does not apply but may make it difficult to execute the diphthongal glide. The decision to produce a SBE/RP /aɪ/ is therefore probably limited to a middle-length note on a syllable with a coda. In yod-dropping the move is from the relatively less sonorous glide /j/ to a more sonorous vowel; this means that the potential difficulties mentioned above apply, albeit in the reverse direction. Life for a singer may therefore be easier if the (American) realisation with yod-dropping is an option.

As far as SF2 is concerned, we can perhaps say that this is, together with SF5, the feature which is used most inconsistently as far as adherence to a reference style is concerned. Our examples show that singers who use a SBE/RP or a British regional reference style may use the unrounded back vowel [ɑ] in preference to [ɒ] and [ɔ:]. Ringo Starr's "I need somebody [ˈsʌmbədɪ] to love" in "With a Little Help from My Friends", where he also uses the "velar nasal plus" feature in "if I sang [sɑŋg] out of tune" illustrates this preference. Avoiding the reduced "freedom of passage of air through the vocal tract" (Hawkins 1984: 98) as a result of lip-rounding could present an explanation for the prevalence of the unrounded and more open back vowels that we can observe in so many of the examples discussed in this paper. Therefore, if Grace Slick not only opts for an aspirated /t/ but also the rounded back vowel in [atʰ ɔ:l] (10), we can postulate that this constitutes a marked form, a clear signal that the reference style used here is SBE/RP in keeping with the Carrollian theme of the song.

This leaves us with the one style feature not affected by sonority, the choice between [æ] and [ɑ:] (SF1). Both are open vowels and their length can be varied and thus adapted to the needs of melody. Therefore, when the Beatles sing "I can't [kænt] get you out of my mind" in the Coasters' cover "Young Blood", they plainly adopt the (black) American pop vocalists' reference style.¹⁰ In the same way, Sophie Ellis-Bextor pronunciation of [ˈdɑ:ns flɔ:] in "Murder on the Dance Floor" (2002) must represent a conscious decision to opt for an SBE/RP reference style, possibly to convey an image of Sloane Ranger poshness demonstrated in the video.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion we can say that there are a variety of elements that affect style choice. There is clearly the issue of reference style which may be influenced by the origin of the song, the demands of the genre, to a lesser degree the topic and to a certain extent the cultural confidence in the image the performers are trying to project. Many of these choices reflect what could be considered an unmarked style, where the genre and the reference style are in keeping with each other, i.e. an American pop song would be sung with American style features, a Sixties beat number may be studded with English or even Northern style features, a folk rock ballad would use elements from a variety of rural English dialects, etc. By contrast, a deviation from this unmarked use of a reference style may lead to a variety of effects, often comical, e.g. Spinal Tap's prog rock parody "Stonehenge" (1984), where the spoken intro and much of the lyrics are intoned in a London accent (including h-dropping in [staun'ɪŋ]), or the Bonzo Dog Doo Dah Band's SBE/RP pronunciation of the blues lyrics in "Can Blue Men Sing the Whites" (1974).

However, a discussion of the phenomenon of style choice in popular music must also take into account the aspect of performance and its impact on pronunciation. It is a truism that singing is not speaking and that singing style and speaking style are therefore subject to different parameters. As the literature makes abundantly clear, singers do not have the sociolinguistic knowledge that would allow them to monitor the accuracy of their adopted singing style, but it is clearly also important to take into account that their performance needs to conform to different criteria, one of the foremost being lyrics affording the potential for carrying sound. For this reason it makes sense to broaden the scope of the discussion of reference styles to include the notion of sonority and to what degree it can help to answer the question that Trudgill raised at the end of his seminal 1983 paper.

Notes

1. In this paper I shall use "popular music" as an umbrella term for rock, pop and modern folk music, both traditionally influenced and contemporary.
2. Liverpoolian dockers and sailors who first brought recordings of American Rock music to Britain in the Fifties were known as "Cunard Yanks", Cunard

- being one of the principal shipping lines by which these records and other American goods were brought across the Atlantic.
3. Compare, for instance, the recording of Eric Clapton's "Layla" (1972) with the unplugged version of 1992.
 4. I shall use the /r/ for reasons that will emerge later in the discussion but as Trudgill (1983: 141) has pointed out the sound is "a voiced alveolar flap of some kind."
 5. This could be a Cockney feature but the pronunciation makes this possibility rather unlikely.
 6. Theatricality was also a strong feature in the almost operatic performances with elaborate costumes and stage effects (e.g. Peter Gabriel with Genesis and the legendary special effects at Pink Floyd concerts).
 7. Nevertheless there are some instances of American realisations, e.g. SF3 for *I* in the first line.
 8. Lennon's pronunciation of *git* [get] in "I'm so tired" ("White Album"), the Liverpudlian style in "Polythene Pam" or the Scouse /r/ in "spinal cracker" on "Come together" ("Abbey Road") are relatively rare exceptions.
 9. For a more detailed discussion of Brit Pop, cultural precedents and the perception of it representing a reaction against American dominance in popular music compare Mitchell (1996).
 10. The recording represents a wild mixture of styles in the line "just look at her" sung in succession by all four band members, running the gamut from GenAm to Scouse. This may be a sign of markedness as the band are known to have tired of doing BBC studio session at the time and may have been sending up the song with this strategy.

References

- Atkinson, Pete
 2007 Scouse: The accent that defined an era. *The Times Higher*, June 29, 2007, 17.
- Bell, Allan
 1984 Language style as audience design. *Language in Society* 13 (2): 145–204.
 2001 Back in style: Reworking audience design. In *Style and Sociolinguistic Variation*, Penelope Eckert and John R. Rickford (eds.), 139–169. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bowie, David
 2007 BBC News website. Available at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/entertainment/5169344.stm>. Accessed on: 11.06.06/20.3.07

- Buckley, Jonathan, Orla Duane, Mark Ellingham and Al Spicer (eds.)
1999 *Rock: The Rough Guide*. 2nd expanded and revised edition. London: The Rough Guides.
- Burquest, Donald A. and David L. Payne
1993 *Phonological Analysis: A Functional Approach*. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Carmosino, Giovanni
1999 "You wanna sing like the common people": British regional accents in 1990s British pop music. Unpublished paper, Berne: University of Berne.
- Clarke, David
1998 *Penguin Encyclopedia of Popular Music*. 2nd revised edition. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Clayson, Alan
2002 Jake Thackray: Original lyricist and founding father of the English chanson. *Guardian*, 28 December.
- Elmes, Simon
2005 *Talking for Britain. A Journey Through the Nation's dialects*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Ferguson, Charles A.
1959 Diglossia. *Word* (15): 325–340. Reprinted in J. B. Pride and J. Holmes (eds.). 1972. *Sociolinguistics*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Flender, Reinhard, and Hermann Rauhe
1989 *Popmusik. Aspekte ihrer Geschichte, Funktionen, Wirkung und Ästhetik*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Frith, Simon
1988 *Performing Rites: On the Value of Popular Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Giles Howard and Nikolas Coupland
1991 *Language: Context and Consequences*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Graves, Barry and Schmid-Joos Siefrid
1990 *Das neue Rock Lexikon: Gianna Nannini to ZZ-Top*. Volume 2. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag.
- Hawkins, Peter
1984 *Introducing Phonology*. London: Edwards.
- Jenkins, Paul O.
2003 Recurring Themes in the Songs of Ralph McTell. http://www.mctell.co.uk/paul_jenkins_essay.htm. Accessed 22.6.07.
- Mitchell, Tony
1996 *Popular Music and Local Identity*. London and New York: Leicester University Press.

Nixon, Neil

1999 The Monkees. In Buckley et al., 856–857.

Robertson, John

1994 *The Complete Guide to the Music of The Beatles*. London, New York, Sydney: Omnibus Press.

Shapiro, Peter

1999 The Rolling Stones. In Buckley et al., 831–834.

Simpson, Paul

1999 Language, culture and identity: With (another) look at accents in pop and rock singing. *Multilingua* 18 (4): 343–367.

Swann, Joan, Ana Deumert, Theresa Lillis and Rajend Mesthrie

2004 *A Dictionary of Sociolinguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Trudgill, Peter

1983 Acts of conflicting identity: The sociolinguistics of British pop-song pronunciation. In *On Dialect; Social and Geographical Perspectives*, Peter Trudgill (ed.), 141–160. Oxford: Blackwell.

1999 *The Dialects of English*. Second Edition. Oxford: Blackwell.

Wells, J. C.

1984 *Accents of English*. Volumes 1 and 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.